

Maqriziana X: al-Maqrīzī and His *al-Tārīḥ al-Kabīr al-Muqaffā li-Miṣr*. Part 2: The Fortunes of the Work and Its Copies

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Abstract

This second part of a study devoted to the history of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Tārīḥ al-Kabīr al-Muqaffā li-Miṣr* retraces the history of its copies, first the holograph, then the apograph. By considering their users (readers, owners), this article focuses on the paratextual elements in the preserved copies and on references to al-Maqrīzī's text in other works to reconstruct the itineraries of these copies across several centuries. By examining consultation notes and ownership marks, we can better understand how these manuscripts changed hands, how the text evolved over time, and how the text we have today may ultimately differ from al-Maqrīzī's intent. Our analysis of similar paratextual marks – by owners and readers of *al-Muqaffā* – found in other manuscripts also helps us better understand the interactions between these users and the copies of *al-Muqaffā* they owned or had access to.

Keywords

manuscripts – paratextual marks – al-Maqrīzī – history of books – reading – libraries

1 All Objects Have a Life

Since its publication in 1986, Kopytoff's essay on the commoditization of objects as a process deeply embedded in anthropological and sociological structures has usefully stimulated the writing of object biography.¹ This new genre of

¹ Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography".

biography aims to follow the life cycle of objects – mostly commodities, but also objects initially devoid of any commercial value, like spiritual or religious artifacts –, from their production to their inclusion in public or private collections. Keeping in mind the historical context, we can reconstruct the narrative of an object using written and/or oral testimonies to analyze the role it played in social interactions with its creator, user, and owner. Logically, object biographies have thrived in the arts, archeology, and museology,² and more recently, there has been a particular focus on the much debated issue of the role of objects in museums.³

Manuscripts and, in the printing age, printed books, are commodities that were exchanged as gifts, purchased, or borrowed from their authors or owners. In the process of writing a biography of a text and its containers (handwritten or printed copies), we retrace the relationships between these objects and the people who leafed through them, sometimes sought to acquire them, and, in some cases, bequeathed them permanently to public institutions. The study of these interactions offers helpful insights into the social life of books, highlighting who read them, who bought them, and for what purpose.⁴ This article builds on this theoretical approach to recount the biography of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Tārīḥ al-Kabīr al-Muqaffā li-Miṣr* (henceforth *al-Muqaffā*) and reveal the complex and, at times, dramatic history of this text and its copies. In the first part of this study, we recounted the history of the text as al-Maqrīzī planned it.⁵ Recall that of the sixteen volumes that were extant at the time of al-Maqrīzī's death, only a few have survived, and all are now held in European libraries.⁶ Apart from these holograph volumes, a copy based on them – an apograph – has also been partially preserved.⁷

In what follows, we propose to write the history of these copies, considering first the holograph copy and its readers and owners. Relying on the types of interventions and marks these two categories of users left in the manuscripts,⁸ we take these users into consideration separately even though such a division

2 See, particularly for archeology, Joy, "Reinvigorating Object Biography".

3 For a recent example in Islamic art, see McSweeney, *From Granada to Berlin*.

4 For such an approach with regard to manuscripts, see Stabile, "Manuscripts".

5 See Bauden, "Maqriziana X/1". This article was written as part of the Ex(-)Libris ex Oriente (ELEO) project funded by the Fonds de la Recherche Scientifique – FNRS (Belgium) and the Bibliotheca Maqriziana (BiMa) project financed by the University of Liège.

6 Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MSS Or. 1366a, 1366c, 3075, 14533; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Ar. 2144.

7 Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Pertev Paşa 496.

8 Readers and owners who could be identified beyond doubt are detailed. In total, there is only one unsigned note in a handwriting that I could not attribute to anyone (Leiden, MS Or. 14533, fol. 190a).

is patently artificial: some of the readers could also have owned the volumes, despite the fact that they did not leave ownership marks. In addition, the owners whose marks are still found in the volumes were not necessarily readers, some of them may have been more interested in the commercial value of these manuscripts that are in the handwriting of one of the most celebrated scholars in Islam. As a consequence, the identification of these categories (readers and owners) is based on the nature of the user's intervention in or access to the manuscripts; that is, are there consultation notes, ownership marks, or references in the user's own works. In each of these two categories, we study the people involved, in the chronological order of their interaction with the manuscripts, as far as this chronology can be established based on various elements found in the manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā*, sources, and manuscripts of other texts that passed through the hands of these readers and/or owners.

2 The Readers

2.1 *During al-Maqrīzī's Lifetime*

2.1.1 Ibn Ḥaḡar

The relationship between Ibn Ḥaḡar (d. 852/1449) and al-Maqrīzī may be described as close. The former expressed the tight bonds between them in dithyrambic terms.⁹ As a token of this particular relationship, Ibn Ḥaḡar even granted al-Maqrīzī access to the dictionary of his masters, where he was able to correct some parts of his own biography.¹⁰ In Ibn Ḥaḡar's biography of al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Ḥaḡar declared that he had consulted al-Maqrīzī's history of Egypt from the beginning of the conquest up to the dawn of the Fāṭimid dynasty, during the author's lifetime.¹¹ In light of this example, it is not surprising to find Ibn Ḥaḡar's handwriting in holograph manuscripts of several of al-Maqrīzī's works.¹² These works included *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār*, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*,¹³ and *al-Muqaffā*.¹⁴ Of course, the identification of a scholar's

9 See Bauden, "Maqriziana IX", p. 214 ("The friendship that exists between us is beyond words").

10 *Ibid.*, p. 220-223 (appendix 1).

11 *Ibid.*, p. 223 (*al-Ijtibāt bi-aḥwāl al-Fuṣṭāt*, a title al-Maqrīzī changed to *Iqd ḡawāhir al-asfāt fi aḥbār madīnat al-Fuṣṭāt*).

12 *Ibid.*, p. 217.

13 Ibn Ḥaḡar discovered his own biography, to which he added some marginal additions. See MS Or. A1771 (Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek), fol. 51b.

14 Jan Just Witkam was the first to identify this scholar's handwriting in the manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā*. See Witkam, "Les Autographes", p. 95.

handwriting remains a challenge, even for the most trained eye.¹⁵ For instance, al-Ya'lawī, the editor of *al-Muqaffā*, thought all the biographies in *al-Muqaffā* were drafted by al-Maqrīzī; he did not imagine that some were in fact additions made by Ibn Ḥaḡar.¹⁶ This said, it is hard to confuse the handwritings of these two scholars. Ibn Ḥaḡar's script cannot be mistaken for calligraphy and may be better depicted as "chicken scratches". He was not too proud to admit the hurriedness of his pen,¹⁷ even though apparently, he had been trained in the art of calligraphy in his early career.¹⁸

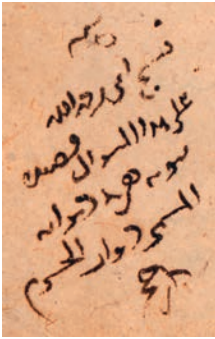


FIGURE 1

A marginal gloss added by Ibn Ḥaḡar

COURTESY OF UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, LEIDEN, MS OR.
14533, FOL. 125A

15 On this, see Bauden and Franssen, *In the Author's Hand*.

16 See, for instance, al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, vol. IV, p. 50. There al-Ya'lawī reproduced fol. 35b from MS Ar. 2144 (Paris, BnF), where Ibn Ḥaḡar's handwriting appears, and stressed the difference in the hand, which he attributed to the haste with which al-Maqrīzī wrote this passage (*wa-yazhar fihā l-farq bayna l-ḥaṭṭ al-muta'annī wa-l-ḥaṭṭ al-mutarri'*).

17 See what he says about this in his *Inbā' al-ġumr*, vol. III, p. 61 (*innā lam nahḍur imtiḥānan fī sur'at al-kitāba ma'a anna šuhrat kātibihi bi-sur'at al-kitāba ġayr ḥafīyya*).

18 In his biography of Ibn Ḥaḡar, see what al-Saḥāwī says (*al-Ġawāhir wa-l-durar*, vol. I, p. 167-168, under the heading "the hurriedness of [his] nevertheless nice handwriting" [*sur'at al-kitāba ma'a ḥusniḥā*]). He provides a list of Ibn Ḥaḡar's masters in the field of calligraphy and indicates that he was licensed to write like the secretaries of the chancery. Al-Saḥāwī also reports that his master said that he was able to write an in-folio quire until noon in a handwriting that looked like gold chains (*salāsil al-daḥab*), particularly for family names (*nisbas*). There existed a calligraphic style, called *musalsal*, in which most of the letters and words are linked (see al-Ṭayyibī, *Ġāmi' maḥāsīn kitābat al-kuttāb*, p. 80-81 and fols. 29b-32b of the facsimile; Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 264), a feature that certainly characterizes Ibn Ḥaḡar's unrestrained handwriting, but this would contradict al-Saḥāwī's metaphor. For Ibn Ḥaḡar's education in calligraphy and how his handwriting evolved as a scholar, see Bauden, "Maqriziana XV", p. 154-156.

حاشية
 نسج أبي رحمه الله
 على هذا المنوال قصيدة
 نبوية هي في ديوانه
 المسمى ديوان الحرم
 ك[تب] ابن حجر

Al-Ya'lawī's mistake is even harder to explain in view of the following two facts. First, he should have noticed that the writer of the additional biographies and the marginal glosses sometimes signed these with his name (see fig. 1). Second, the copyist of MS Pertev Paşa 496 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), which was copied directly from the holograph now corresponding to MS Or. 14533, was not misled like al-Ya'lawī; he took great pains to indicate in the margin, before each biography that he identified as being in Ibn Ḥaḡar's handwriting, the following expression: *hādīhi l-tarğama li-Ibn Ḥaḡar* (see figs. 2-3). While al-Ya'lawī edited the text on the basis of MS Pertev Paşa 496 and MS Or. 14533, he seems to have disregarded the identifications made by the copyist of the former manuscript.

While Ibn Ḥaḡar's interventions in *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār* and *Durar al-ʿuqūd* are quite limited, the case is completely different for *al-Muqaffā*. The appendix at the end of this article is a compilation of all the biographies that can be attributed to Ibn Ḥaḡar, either in what remains of the holograph manuscripts

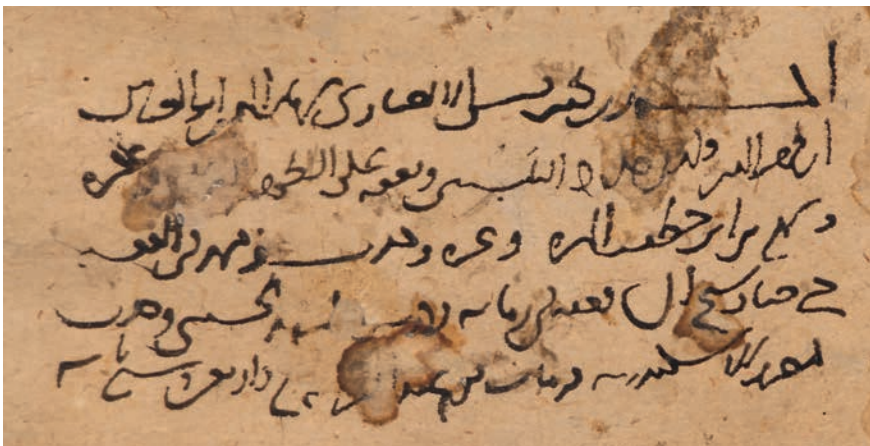


FIGURE 2 Biography of al-Anṣārī in Ibn Ḥaḡar's handwriting
 COURTESY OF UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, LEIDEN, MS OR. 14533, FOL. 50B

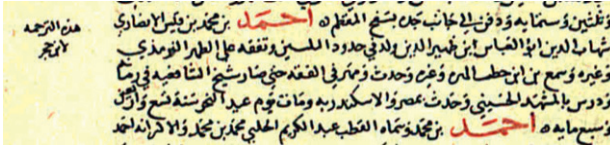


FIGURE 3 Biography of al-Anṣārī identified by the copyist in the margin as being Ibn Ḥaḡar's addition: *hādīhi l-tarǧama li-Ibn Ḥaḡar*
COURTESY OF SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ,
ISTANBUL, MS PERTEV PAŞA 496, FOL. 137A

or in what are identified as his additions in the Pertev Paşa apograph.¹⁹ This shows that no fewer than 178 biographies were added by Ibn Ḥaḡar in the spaces left blank by al-Maqrīzī, and also that the copyist of the Pertev Paşa manuscript was not always very careful in his work. For instance, one biography that is clearly in Ibn Ḥaḡar's handwriting in the holograph (MS Or. 14533, fol. 38b) was faithfully transcribed in the Pertev Paşa manuscript but without the marginal identification, in contrast to most of the other cases.²⁰ It also appears that, in some cases, Ibn Ḥaḡar made mistakes, as his student al-Ṣaḥāwī noticed.²¹ For instance, he penned a biography (MS Or. 14533, fol. 120b) for a certain al-Ḥusbānī, who died in 815/1412, though al-Maqrīzī had included him in his dictionary of his contemporaries, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*.²² Al-Ṣaḥāwī reported this mistake in al-Ḥusbānī's biography in his own biographical dictionary, implying that there was no need for Ibn Ḥaḡar's addition in *al-Muqaffā*.²³

Many additions raise correlated questions about the reason Ibn Ḥaḡar supplemented al-Maqrīzī's unfinished work and about when he started to write these supplementary biographies. As for the reason, it seems clear that he did so because he had started to use al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā* as a source for his own works. He was not only a man of integrity, but also a traditionist who paid great attention to the issue of sources,²⁴ and he was eager to rely on trustworthy informants and references. Though he does not mention *al-Muqaffā* in his works,

19 This is the first time that such an inventory of Ibn Ḥaḡar's contributions to *al-Muqaffā* has been carried out, though Ibn Ḥaḡar's added biographies in (Leiden) MS Or. 14533 were listed by al-Samarrāʾī, "Musawwadat", p. 511-516 (he mentions eighty of the eighty-nine biographies that are in Ibn Ḥaḡar's handwriting in this manuscript).

20 The copyist of (Istanbul) MS Pertev Paşa 496 failed to label fifty-four biographies as being Ibn Ḥaḡar's additions.

21 For more details regarding this case, see Bauden, "Maqriziana IX", p. 216.

22 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*, vol. 1, p. 366 (no. 286).

23 Al-Ṣaḥāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmī*, vol. 1, p. 239. On the issue of overlap between *al-Muqaffā* and *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*, see Bauden, "Maqriziana X/1", p. 85-92.

24 See Bauden, "Maqriziana IX", p. 194-196, and my forthcoming "Maqriziana XVII".

he does quote al-Maqrīzī on several occasions in his *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, a biographical dictionary of judges who were active in Cairo from the Islamic conquest to his own time. Some of these references are vague (in the sense that he indicates al-Maqrīzī as the source, but does not refer to the specific work)²⁵ and some are precise,²⁶ but are all traceable to *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*.²⁷ Nevertheless, in his introduction to *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, he indicates that he benefitted greatly from the history (*tārīḥ*) of his colleague al-Maqrīzī.²⁸ Notwithstanding the absence of a clear mention of *al-Muqaffā*, thanks to a statement made by one of his students (al-Saḥāwī), we know that he did rely on al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā* for this work and some others. In his supplement to his master's *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, al-Saḥāwī declares – regarding a person who was active in the judicial system – that Ibn Ḥaḡar mentioned him in his *al-Durar al-kāmina* as having held a judgeship.²⁹ Al-Saḥāwī proceeds to state that Ibn Ḥaḡar relied on al-Maqrīzī's *Tārīḥ Miṣr* (i.e. *al-Muqaffā*). Still, Ibn Ḥaḡar canceled the biographee (*ḥadaḡahu*) from his *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, and in this “he did well” (*aḡāda*), says al-Saḥāwī, because the person in question was only a deputy judge (*niyābat^{am}*). “This is one of the places where al-Maqrīzī behaved with cunning and where he was wrong” stresses al-Saḥāwī.³⁰ Al-Saḥāwī's statement also confirms that in his introduction to his *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, Ibn Ḥaḡar uses the word *tārīḥ* to allude to *al-Muqaffā*. This is confirmed by one of Ibn Ḥaḡar's marginal additions in *al-Muqaffā*, where he states that al-Maqrīzī did not give a basis (*mustanad*) for including the biographee in his dictionary (*Tārīḥ Miṣr*), and emphasizes that this person never entered Egypt (see fig. 4). Thus, Ibn Ḥaḡar was fully aware of the scope of *al-Muqaffā*.

25 Ibn Ḥaḡar, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, p. 28 (*qaraʿtu bi-ḥaṭṭ ...*), 65 (*qaraʿtu bi-ḥaṭṭ ...*), 67 (*ḡakara lī*), 82 (*qāla*), 108 (*wa-arraḡahu*), 191 (*wa-qad bālaḡa*), 236 (*qaraʿtu bi-ḥaṭṭ ...*), 287 (*qaraʿtu bi-ḥaṭṭ ...*).

26 *Ibid.*, p. 225 (*qāla ... fī tārīḡihi*), 228 (*ḡakarahu ... fī l-tarāḡim al-muḡida*).

27 All the biographees either died after 760/1359 or were born after that date, which fits the scope of *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*. Some of these biographees also appear in *al-Muqaffā*, but the clear reference to *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* (see last quotation in the previous footnote) demonstrates that Ibn Ḥaḡar in fact relied on it, rather than on *al-Muqaffā*.

28 Ibn Ḥaḡar, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, p. 3 (*wa-staḡadtu kaṡīran min ḡalik min Tārīḡ rafīḡī l-imām al-aḡḡad al-muṡṡalī Taḡī l-Dīn Abī Muḡammad Aḡmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Tamīmī*). Note that Ibn Ḥaḡar refers to his colleague in dithyrambic terms and without citing his family's name, al-Maqrīzī, rather he uses another *nisba* (al-Tamīmī).

29 Al-Saḥāwī, *al-ḡayl*, p. 62. This is the biography of Aḡmad b. Aḡmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī l-Anṡārī (d. 724/1324). Unfortunately, it is missing in the preserved manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā*.

30 *Ibid.* (*fa-inna ḡadā min al-amākin allatī taṡarraḡa fīḡ l-Maqrīzī fa-aḡṡaʿa*). For this translation of *taṡarraḡa fī*, see Lane, *Madd al-qāmūs*, p. 1081.

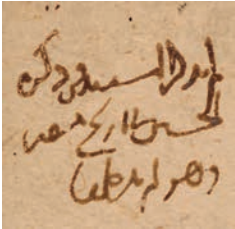


FIGURE 4
Ibn Ḥaḡar's note indicating that the biographees should not have a place in *al-Muqaffā*
COURTESY UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, LEIDEN, MS OR. 14533, FOL. 465A

لم يذكر المستند في ذكره
الحسين في تاريخ مصر
وهو لم يدخلها

Ibn Ḥaḡar did not limit his interventions in al-Maqrīzī's text to supplementing the biographies. As we see in fig. 4, he also added comments criticizing the author for some of his choices. Beside these comments, he also made corrections whenever he found a mistake, as can be seen in fig. 5. There, Ibn Ḥaḡar placed a sign above the last part of the biographees' date of death, corresponding to the century (*wa-talāṭimi'a*). The sign looks like an elongated initial *ḥā'* (—→) and probably stood for *ḥāšiya* (gloss) or *ḥā'* for *ḥaṭa'* (mistake). In the margin, in front of the word, he indicated the correction to be made (*wa-arba'i mi'a*), preceded by the word *qif*, i.e. "beware".

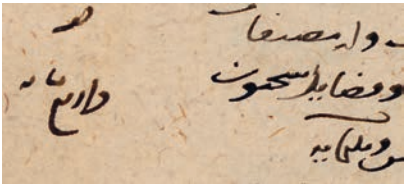


FIGURE 5
Ibn Ḥaḡar's correction in the margin
COURTESY UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, LEIDEN, MS OR. 1366A, FOL. 65A

قف
وأربع مائة

In another case (see fig. 6), he stressed that a biography for one Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā was in fact a duplicate; al-Maqrīzī had already mentioned this person under a different name (Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Yaḥyā), and therefore, Ibn Ḥaḡar indicated that this biography should be merged with the other entry in the dictionary.

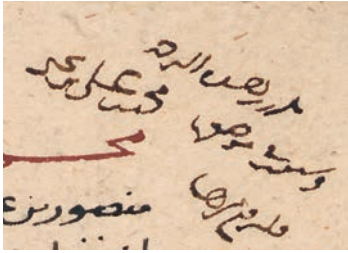


FIGURE 6

Ibn Ḥaḡar's note indicating that the biography is a duplication and wrongly placed in the alphabetical order

COURTESY UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, LEIDEN,
MS OR. 1366C, FOL. 213B

تكررت هذه الترجمة
وستثبت في موضعها محمد بن علي بن يحيى
فلترفع من هنا

Such remarks not only enable us to grasp Ibn Ḥaḡar's understanding of al-Maqrīzī's work, but also show how closely he read it. It remains to be understood when Ibn Ḥaḡar had access to *al-Muqaffā*, commented on it, and added his own material to it, noting that these tasks did not necessarily take place at the same time. Indeed, he could have been granted access to *al-Muqaffā* at one time, during al-Maqrīzī's lifetime,³¹ and have made additions later on, after the latter's death. In fact, what follows confirms this view about the timing. On one occasion Ibn Ḥaḡar evoked biographies that al-Maqrīzī showed him.³² Ibn Ḥaḡar later identified the source for these biographies, al-Furriyānī (d. 859/1455 or 862/1458), as a charlatan, but in the meantime, he had used some of the information from al-Maqrīzī's notes. One of these biographies with incorrect information regarded the famous al-Būnī (d. after 622/1225).³³ After he realized that the material he had used based on al-Maqrīzī was incorrect, Ibn Ḥaḡar made every effort to correct his mistake by sending letters to various cities where (as far as he knew) copies of his book with references to al-Būnī had circulated, and specifically asked that the owners cross through the latter's biography. Thanks to this affair, which can be dated precisely (one of his letters reached Aleppo in Ša'bān 840/February 1437), we can infer that Ibn Ḥaḡar had discovered the truth (of al-Maqrīzī's fraudulent source) shortly before that date and after al-Maqrīzī's return to Cairo from a fifteen-month absence on 24 Muḥarram 840/8 August 1436.³⁴ Thus, Ibn Ḥaḡar had read the above-mentioned biographies well before that year. By contrast, the very

31 His acknowledgment that he benefitted from al-Maqrīzī's *Tārīḥ* in *Raf' al-iṣr* confirms that he accessed the text during al-Maqrīzī's lifetime.

32 For details regarding this affair, see my forthcoming "Maqriziana XVII".

33 On him, see Bauden, "Maqriziana X/1", p. 68.

34 He was in Mecca for an extended stay. See Bauden, *al-Maqrīzī's Collection*, chap. 1.

biography of al-Būnī found in *al-Muqaffā* indicates that Ibn Ḥaḡar's interventions in al-Maqrīzī's work occurred after the latter's death. In a marginal note,³⁵ Ibn Ḥaḡar informs the reader that all the details in al-Būnī's biography stem from a single source, al-Furriyānī (i.e. al-Maqrīzī's deceitful authority), that this biography is all made up and must be ignored, and that he had drawn al-Maqrīzī's attention to this fact, yet his colleague and friend had disregarded his advice. The terms used in this marginal note are bitter and disparaging,³⁶ a detail that indicates that it was penned after al-Maqrīzī's death, like all the other notes and additions written by Ibn Ḥaḡar in *al-Muqaffā*, because he would never have dared to write such harsh a judgment in al-Maqrīzī's manuscripts during the latter's lifetime.³⁷

This conclusion also implies that the volumes of *al-Muqaffā* – but not only because Ibn Ḥaḡar's handwriting is conspicuous, as already indicated, in other manuscripts of al-Maqrīzī's works – were available to Ibn Ḥaḡar for an extended period of time. Al-Maqrīzī's manuscripts were inherited by his next of kin, his nephew Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 867/1462),³⁸ who apparently granted special access to Ibn Ḥaḡar, who had been one of his uncle's closest colleagues and friends.³⁹

2.1.2 Ibn Quṭlūbuḡā

Al-Qāsim b. Quṭlūbuḡā l-Sūdūnī (d. 879/1474) was a Ḥanafī scholar from among the sons of mamlūks (*awlād al-nās*). Despite being orphaned, he received a primary education and, after working as a tailor for some time, an occupation in which he excelled, he successfully embarked on studying with masters. Though he never filled high-ranking positions, such as a judge or a teacher, in his lifetime he was considered an influential specialist of Ḥanafī law. Ibn Quṭlūbuḡā and al-Saḡhawī both attended the lessons of Ibn Ḥaḡar, which might have been where they struck up a friendship that led al-Saḡhawī to write a detailed account of Ibn Quṭlūbuḡā's life and works.⁴⁰ Even before al-Saḡhawī,

35 Leiden, MS Or. 14533, fol. 87a.

36 He uses terms like "untruth" (*bāṭil*), "carelessness" (*tahawwur*), "uncritically" (*taqlīdan*).

37 Among the arguments in favor of this interpretation, it is worth noting that al-Ḥayḡarī's consultation note (dated 844/1440-1441; see below under 2.1.3) was added in the upper part of the leaf (Paris, MS Ar. 2144, fol. 41b). It is followed by a biography in Ibn Ḥaḡar's hand, who wrote it below al-Ḥayḡarī's note, i.e. well after 844/1440-1441. Moreover, Ibn Ḥaḡar canceled al-Ḥayḡarī's note with circles, a system that was typical of Ibn Ḥaḡar's manuscripts (see Bauden, "Maqriziana IX", p. 220).

38 See Bauden, *al-Maqrīzī's Collection*.

39 One year after al-Maqrīzī's death, the Meccan scholar Ibn Fahd (d. 885/1480) also consulted al-Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk*. *Ibid.*

40 Al-Saḡhawī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmī*, vol. VI, p. 184-190. For another biography written by a contemporary from the same circle, see al-Biqā'ī, *Unwān al-zamān*, vol. IV, p. 144-145. For

al-Maqrīzī was sufficiently impressed by Ibn Quṭlūbugā to devote a few lines to him in *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*, where he mainly lists his production as a scholar.⁴¹ Nowhere in this short text does al-Maqrīzī allude to any kind of relationship between himself and Ibn Quṭlūbugā, and certainly not that the latter studied under his direction. Nevertheless, in one of his texts, *Tāǧ al-tarāǧim*, Ibn Quṭlūbugā explicitly referred to al-Maqrīzī as his master. In the introduction, he stresses that the reason he composed his work was the following:

When I fell upon the commonplace book (*taḍkira*) of our master, the learned and most erudite imam, the master of historians,⁴² the last of the source of knowledge, Šihāb al-Dīn⁴³ Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Maqrīzī – may God enable [us] to enjoy his life for a long time and let us benefit from his blessings –, I saw there the biographies he had written of the Ḥanafī imams. Then I wanted to add what I could to each of the biographees that he mentioned, limiting myself to concisely evoke, like he did, those who authored books, in a desire to follow him, to the limits of my knowledge that does not compare with his.⁴⁴

Ibn Quṭlūbugā thus gained access to one of al-Maqrīzī's works, and selected the biographies of the Ḥanafī scholars who composed books in order to add material that al-Maqrīzī was not aware of, and thereby supplement the material found in *al-Muqaffā*.⁴⁵ This event took place when al-Maqrīzī was still alive, as the supplication he uses after his name implies. Ibn Quṭlūbugā specifically

Ibn Quṭlūbugā's standing as a Ḥanafī jurist, see al-Azem, "A Mamluk Handbook"; *idem*, *Rule-Formulation*.

41 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*, vol. III, p. 21-22 (no. 906). Al-Šaḥāwī quoted this work extensively in his own biography of Ibn Quṭlūbugā. See al-Šaḥāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ*, vol. VI, p. 189-190.

42 This edition has *imām al-ʿarīfīn*; the editor indicates in a footnote that this was found in the holograph, while all the other copies have *imām al-muʿarriḥīn*. It appears that this is the very same reading found in the holograph. See the reproduction in Ibn Quṭlūbugā, *Tāǧ al-tarāǧim*, p. 68.

43 Al-Maqrīzī's *laqab* was Taqī l-Dīn, not Šihāb al-Dīn. Ibn Quṭlūbugā is not the first to mistake his *laqab* in this way. The reason may be found in a common practice of attributing, almost automatically, the *laqab* Šihāb al-Dīn to those named Aḥmad. The combination Taqī l-Dīn and Aḥmad is far less attested. See Malti-Douglas, "The Interrelationship", p. 35 (of 157 biographies of Aḥmads in Ibn al-ʿImād's *Šaḍarāt al-ḍaḥab*, 99 give the *laqab* Šihāb al-Dīn while only three have Taqī l-Dīn).

44 Ibn Quṭlūbugā, *Tāǧ al-tarāǧim*, p. 85.

45 Al-Maqrīzī does not mention *Tāǧ al-tarāǧim* among Ibn Quṭlūbugā's production. Al-Šaḥāwī was aware of it and refers to it as a work that dealt with Ḥanafīs who had authored books (*fīman šannaḥa min al-Ḥanaḥiyya*). See al-Šaḥāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ*, vol. VI, p. 187.

refers to al-Maqrīzī's work as a commonplace book (*taḍkira*). When Ibn Tagrī Birdī mentioned a *taḍkira* with regard to his master al-Maqrīzī, it was in relation to one of his other works that was full of useful notes and came to eighty volumes, like the *taḍkira*.⁴⁶ Al-Maqrīzī's *taḍkira* obviously contained biographies, given that Ibn Quṭlūbuḡā specifically indicated that this was where he selected the biographies of Ḥanafīs he was interested in. The question is, was Ibn Quṭlūbuḡā referring to al-Maqrīzī's notebooks? We know that al-Maqrīzī referred to his notebooks with the word *maǧmūʿ*, not *taḍkira*, though Mamluk authors used various terms to refer to their notes, including, for instance, *taʿlīq*.⁴⁷ What one author called a *maǧmūʿ* could well have been referred to by another scholar as a *taḍkira* or *taʿlīq*. Be that as it may, Ibn Quṭlūbuḡā could not have overlooked al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā*, which certainly included material relevant to his subject. The manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā* may provide clues that he indeed read and selected biographies from this work.

In several places, we notice in front of the name of a Ḥanafī scholar the presence of a word in a different hand that reads *ḥanafī* (see fig. 7). This word was found in all the volumes of the holograph that are preserved in Leiden.⁴⁸ By contrast, it does not appear in the Paris manuscript (MS Ar. 2144). In the case of this manuscript, the reason for its absence may be the trimming, which cut off the places where the word was added. It appears that this word was usually placed close to the external margin, where words were often lost if the trimming involved an overly large section of the margin. It should be noted that other occurrences may have been lost in the Leiden volumes too as, in some cases, the word in question (i.e. *ḥanafī*) is only partially visible due to the trimming of the margin. In any case, the person who added this description was definitely interested in the biographies of Ḥanafī scholars. The identification of this scholar with Ibn Quṭlūbuḡā is tantalizing. Such an identification could be confirmed by a paleographical comparison, though the sample (one word) is too small to remove all doubts.⁴⁹ We might also check to see if these biographies appear in Ibn Quṭlūbuḡā's *Tāǧ al-tarāǧim*, keeping in mind that

46 *Kitāb Maǧmaʿ al-farāʿid wa-manbaʿ al-fawāʿid, kammala minhu naḥw al-ṭamānīn muǧallad ka-l-taḍkira*. Ibn Tagrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, vol. I, p. 419. A manuscript held in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Ar. 1514) is presented as a selection (*muntaḥab*) of al-Maqrīzī's *taḍkira*. See Bauden, "Maqriziana II", p. 107. It has been established that this manuscript is not related to al-Maqrīzī.

47 See Bauden, "Maqriziana II", p. 107.

48 MSS (Leiden) Or. 1366a, fols. 43b, 50b, 110a, 133a, 194b, 203b, 262b; Or. 1366c, fols. 41b, 78b, 123b; Or. 3075, fols. 12b, 25a, 62a, 98b, 101a, 151a, 156b, 176b, 179b, 180b, 186a, 189b (twice); Or. 14533, fols. 438b, 470a.

49 The holograph of *Tāǧ al-tarāǧim* is preserved in Medina, Maktabat al-Malik ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (MS ʿArif Ḥikmat 78 *Tārīḥ*). See the reproduction in Ibn Quṭlūbuḡā, *Tāǧ al-tarāǧim*, p. 67-71.

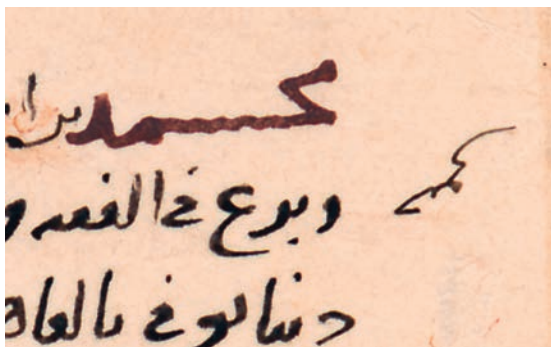


FIGURE 7 The word *ḥanafī* written upside down
COURTESY UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK,
LEIDEN, MS OR. 1366A, FOL. 110A

in this work, he only included the Ḥanafīs who were also authors. Two such biographies were indeed identified in *Tāğ al-tarāğim*.⁵⁰ While selecting the data in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā*, Ibn Quṭlūbuḡā clearly marked all the biographies of Ḥanafīs as, at that stage, he did not yet know who had authored books. If our hypothesis were true, that the word *ḥanafī* found in the manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā* was indeed added by Ibn Quṭlūbuḡā, it would mean that he consulted them during al-Maqrīzī's lifetime, just as he read what he called al-Maqrīzī's *taḍkira*.

2.1.3 al-Ḥayḍarī

Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥayḍar al-Ḥayḍarī was a Šāfi'ī scholar born in Damascus in 821/1418 and raised there. He arrived in Cairo in 843/1439-1440, and became a follower (*lāzama*) of Ibn Ḥaḡar,⁵¹ under whose direction al-Ḥayḍarī read many of his master's works and the works of other authors, for which he had a license of transmission. He also studied with al-Maqrīzī that year and the following one. This is confirmed by Ibn Fahd (d. 885/1480) who stated that al-Ḥayḍarī benefitted from al-Maqrīzī's notes

50 These are found in Leiden, MSS Or. 1366a, fol. 110a and Or. 3075, fol. 186a. They correspond, respectively, to Ibn Quṭlūbuḡā, *Tāğ al-tarāğim*, p. 265 (in footnote 1; it was only found in one copy) and 272 (no. 253).

51 According to Chamberlain, the *mulāzama* defines "the continuous physical propinquity of a follower to a powerful man". If the latter was a scholar, the follower would receive his *baraka* during the initiatic relationship. See Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*, p. 118.

and from the sources that he transmitted.⁵² In 844/1441, he went to Mecca on the pilgrimage and came back to Cairo the next year. Later, he pursued his education by visiting scholars in various cities until he established himself in his birthplace, and held the offices of judge and secretary. He died in Cairo in 894/1489.⁵³ According to Ibn Fahd, he collected a raft of notes and collected prized books,⁵⁴ as is also witnessed by the numerous manuscripts on which we find his consultation notes or ownership marks (see table 1).

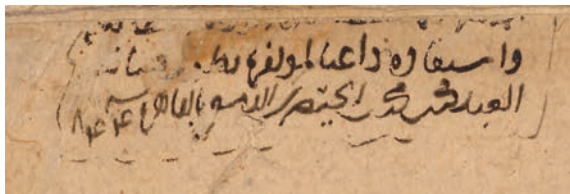


FIGURE 8 Al-Ḥayḍarī's consultation note
COURTESY UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK,
LEIDEN, MS OR. 14533, FOL. 62B

[الحمد لله ...] مطالعة
واستفادة داعيا لمولفها بطول حياته
العبد محمد بن محمد الخيضي الدمشقي بالقاهرة سنة ٨٤٤

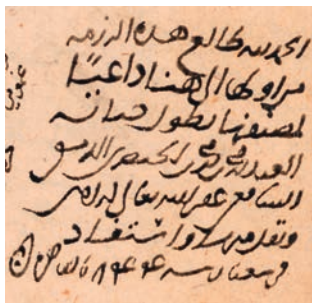


FIGURE 9
Al-Ḥayḍarī's consultation note
COURTESY UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, LEIDEN,
MS OR. 14533, FOL. 170B

⁵² Ibn Fahd, *Muḡam al-šuyūḥ*, p. 390 (*aḥaḍa 'an Taqī l-Dīn al-Maqrīzī kaṭīran min fawā'idihī wa-masmū'ātihī*). For more detail on his relationship with al-Maqrīzī, see Bauden, *al-Maqrīzī's Collection*, chap. 1.

⁵³ Ibn Fahd, *Muḡam al-šuyūḥ*, p. 389-390 (no. 102). See also al-Saḥāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, vol. IX, p. 117-124.

⁵⁴ Ibn Fahd, *Muḡam al-šuyūḥ*, p. 390.

الحمد لله طالع هذه الرزمة
 من اولها الى هنا داعياً
 لمصنفها بطول حياته
 العبد محمد بن محمد بن الخيزري الدمشقي
 الشافعي غفر الله تعالى له امين
 ونقل منها واستفاد
 في شعبان سنة ٨٤٤ بالقاهرة

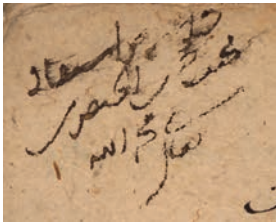


FIGURE 10

Al-Hayḍarī's consultation note

COURTESY UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, LEIDEN, MS OR. 14533, FOL. 457A

[...] واستفادة
 محمد بن محمد بن الخيزري
 سامحه الله
 تعالى

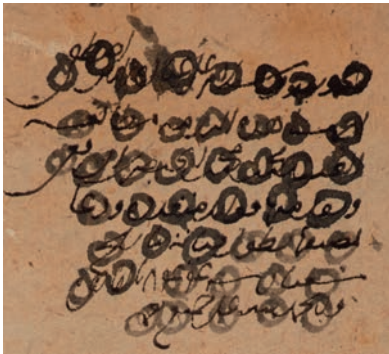


FIGURE 11

Al-Hayḍarī's consultation note

COURTESY BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, MS AR. 2144, FOL. 41B

الحمد لله وسلام على عباده والذين اصطفى
 انها هذه الرزمة مطالعة
 العبد محمد بن محمد بن الخيزري الشافعي
 ونقل منها فوائد متعددة ودعا
 لمصنفها بطول حياته بتاريخ

شعبان سنة ٨٤٤ بالقاهرة
والحمد لله على جميع نعمه

Al-Ḥayḍarī left four consultation notes in two volumes of *al-Muqaffā* (see figs. 8-11), of which two (figs. 9 and 11) are dated Šaʿbān 844/26 December 1440-23 January 1441,⁵⁵ that is, thirteen months before al-Maqrizī's death.⁵⁶ Clearly, al-Ḥayḍarī had planned to work on at least two projects (that he brought to completion after al-Maqrizī's death): a book dealing with demonyms (*nisba*, pl. *ansāb*) and a biographical dictionary of Šāfiʿīs. Two months after he completed his perusal of *al-Muqaffā*, he read and took notes from Ibn al-Aṭīr's *al-Lubāb fī l-ansāb* as shown by his consultation note (see fig. 12). Based on his note-taking, he was able to compile a dictionary of family names which he entitled *al-Iktisāb fī maʿrifat al-ansāb*.⁵⁷ His consultation notes, found in two volumes of al-Ḍahabī's multi-volume *Tārīḥ al-islām* (as preserved in Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MSS Ayasofya 3008-9), are also dated the same year, i.e. 844/1440-1441 (see fig. 13).

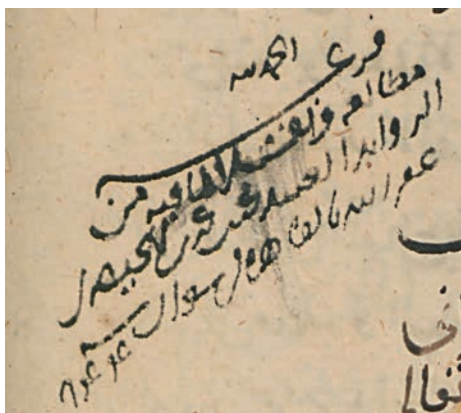


FIGURE 12

Al-Ḥayḍarī's consultation note in Ibn al-Aṭīr's *al-Lubāb fī l-ansāb*

COURTESY TOPKAPI SARAYI MÜZESİ
KÜTÜPHANESİ, ISTANBUL, MS AHMET
III 2980, FOL. 228B

55 A couple of months before he left on the pilgrimage.

56 While no similar note has been found in the other holograph volumes of *al-Muqaffā* (Leiden, MSS Or. 1366a, 1366c, 3075), this does not mean that al-Ḥayḍarī did not peruse them, rather that his notes were written on a leaf that is no longer extant. Indeed, there is no reason for al-Maqrizī to have denied him access to these volumes. As indicated above, al-Ḥayḍarī benefitted from the contents by taking notes (see fig. 11).

57 The third volume of the holograph is available: MS Feyzullah 1377 (Istanbul, Millet Genel Kütüphanesi). The title appears in the colophon in the author's hand. On the title page it differs slightly, but it was added by another hand: *al-Iktisāb fī talhīṣ al-ansāb*. The colophon is dated 4 Šafar 846/18 June 1442. The author completed it in al-Madrassa al-Mankūtamuriyya in the Bahā' al-Dīn quarter (*hārat*) in Cairo. *Ibid.*, fol. 275b.

الحمد لله
 فرغ
 مطالعة ونقلها لما فيه من
 الزوائد العبيد محمد بن محمد الخيضي
 غفر الله بالقاهرة في شوال سنة ٨٤٤

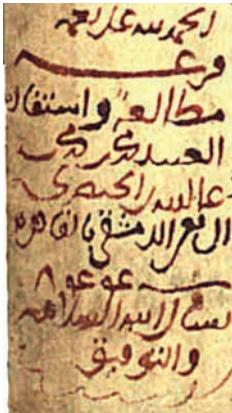


FIGURE 13
 al-Ḥayḍarī's consultation note in al-Ḍahabī's *Tārīḥ al-Islām*
 COURTESY SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ, İSTANBUL,
 MS AYASOFYA 3009, FOL. 222B

الحمد لله على نعمه
 فرغ
 مطالعة واستفادة
 العبيد محمد بن محمد بن
 عبد الله بن الخيضي
 الشافعي الدمشقي بالقاهرة
 سنة ٨٤٤
 يسأل الله السلامة
 والتوفيق

In the long biography al-Saḥāwī dedicated to al-Ḥayḍarī, al-Saḥāwī indicates that al-Ḥayḍarī benefitted from the notes Ibn Ḥaḡar added to his personal copy of al-Subkī's *al-Ṭabaqāt al-wuṣṭā* and that he used these notes and other material (among which, as we can understand from what precedes it, the notes he took from *al-Muqaffā*) as the basis for a biographical dictionary of Šāfiʿī scholars organized by generations (*ṭabaqa*). According to al-Saḥāwī, al-Ḥayḍarī neglected to indicate the origin of the notes from Ibn Ḥaḡar, and sometimes even wrongly attributed them to al-Maqrīzī.⁵⁸ Al-Ḥayḍarī entitled his work on

⁵⁸ Al-Saḥāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, vol. IX, p. 119; *idem*, *al-Ġawāhir wa-l-durar*, vol. II, p. 688-689.

TABLE 1 A list of the manuscripts in which al-Ḥayḍarī's notes have been found^a

Author	Title	Library	Shelf mark	Remark	Type of note
Al-Rāmahurmuzī	<i>al-Muḥaddiṭ al-fāḍil bayna l-rāwī wa-l-wāʿi</i>	Istanbul, Köprülü Kütüphanesi	Fazıl Ahmet Paşa 397		Certificate of audition (Cairo, 845/1442-3)
Al-Aṣʿarī	<i>al-Maqāmāt al-islāmīyya</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofya 2366		Consultation
Al-Ḍahabī	<i>Tārīḥ al-islām</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofya 3008-3009	Holograph	Consultation
Al-Haytamī	<i>Mawārid al-ḡamʿān</i>	Istanbul, Millet Genel Kütüphanesi	Feyzullah 549		Consultation
Ibn al-Aṭīr	<i>al-Lubāb fī l-ansāb</i>	Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	Ahmet III 2980		Consultation
Ibn al-Aṭīr	<i>al-Kāmil fī l-tārīḥ</i>	Jerusalem, National Library of Israel	Yahuda Arabic 177		Consultation
Ibn al-Firkāḥ	<i>al-Taʿlīqa ʿalā l-Taṇbih (vol. 1)</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofya 1065		Consultation
Ibn Ḥaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya	<i>al-Durr al-muntaḥab fī takmilat Tārīḥ Ḥalab</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Laleli 2036		Consultation
Al-Şafadī	<i>al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt</i>	Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek	Or. A1733	Holograph	Consultation
Al-Ḥusaynī	<i>Şilat al-takmila li-wafayāt al-naqala</i>	Istanbul, Köprülü Kütüphanesi	Fazıl Ahmet Paşa 1101		Consultation and note-taking (Cairo, 851/1447-8) ^b

^a The manuscripts are listed by type of note, then by alphabetical order of the authors.

^b Sellheim, "Izzaddīn al-Ḥusaynī's Autograph".

TABLE 1 A list of the manuscripts in which al-Ḥayḍarī's notes have been found (*cont.*)

Author	Title	Library	Shelf mark	Remark	Type of note
	[Collection of texts of <i>ḥadīṡ</i> s]	Damascus, Maktabat al-Asad	3749 ^c		Copy
Al-Ḍahabī	<i>Talḥiṡ al-Mustadrak 'alā l-Ṣaḥīḥayn</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Turhan Valide Sultan 47		Ownership
Al-Ḍahabī	<i>Tārīḥ al-islām</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library	Laud. Or. 304		Ownership
Ibn Ḥaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya	<i>al-Durr al-muntaḥab fī takmilat Tārīḥ Ḥalab</i>	Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek	Or. A1772		Ownership
Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba	<i>Three summaries of historical works</i>	Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	Ar. 4125	Holograph	Ownership
Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba	<i>Al-Dayl al-muṭawwal</i>	Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	Ar. 5527	Holograph	Ownership
Ibn Qutayba	<i>Adab al-kātib</i>	Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	Ar. 3370		Ownership (867/1462-3)
Al-Ṣafadī	<i>Taṣḥīḥ al-taṣḥīf</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofya 4732	Holograph	Ownership

c This volume belonged to the Damascene scholar Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Hādī. On his library, see Hirschler, *A Monument*.

the Šāfi'īs *al-Luma' al-alma'iyya li-a'yān al-Šāfi'iyya*.⁵⁹ The manuscripts listed in table 1 demonstrate his primary interest in historical works (chronicles and biographical dictionaries).

59 The holograph of the second part (from 'Uṭmān to al-Muḥassin), preserved at Maktabat al-Maṭḥaf al-'Irāqī, Baghdad (MS 8642, 518 fols.), bears numerous notes added by his master Ibn Ḥaḡar. It also contains many slips confirming that al-Ḥayḍarī continued to expand his work. See al-Naqšbandī and 'Abbās, *Maḥṭūṭāt*, p. 342, no. 682 (and pl. 26 on p. 608). The manuscript in question was recently published: al-Ḥayḍarī, *al-Luma' al-alma'iyya*.

2.2 *After al-Maqrīzī's Death*

2.2.1 Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba

The Syrian traditionist-cum-historian Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba (d. 851/1448) left only a trace of his handwriting in one place in a volume of *al-Muqaffā* (see fig. 14) where he, in fact, completed the biography of an eighth-/fourteenth-century amir whose name al-Maqrīzī had written down, but not completed. Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba's handwriting, described as an "abysmal *naskh*,"⁶⁰ is easy to identify; one of its main features was the absence of diacritical dots. Several holograph manuscripts of his have been preserved, thus allowing for a comparison.⁶¹ *Al-Muqaffā* was not the only one of al-Maqrīzī's works that he consulted: several of Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba's marginal notes and additions are also visible in *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*.⁶² His consultation of these manuscripts probably took place after al-Maqrīzī's death during one of his stays in the Egyptian capital. Al-Saḥāwī emphasizes that Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba's historical notebooks (*taʾālīq tāriḥiyya*) greatly benefitted from Ibn Ḥaḡar's works and correspondence⁶³ and Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba identified his sources, a fact that confirms that these two scholars were in contact and exchanged information.⁶⁴ Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba could have gained access to al-Maqrīzī's manuscripts when they were entrusted to Ibn Ḥaḡar. Both al-Maqrīzī's biographical dictionaries (*al-Muqaffā* and *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*) certainly would have been of interest to him for his own historical works, particularly his supplement to the chronicles of his eighth-/fourteenth-century Syrian predecessors and his biographical dictionary of Šāfiʿis classified according to generations.⁶⁵ His numerous selections from historical works, some of which have survived in his handwriting, not only attest to his methodology, but also confirm his reliance on his predecessors' works.⁶⁶

60 Reisman, "A Holograph MS", p. 20.

61 See, for instance, MSS Ar. 4125, 4922, and 5527 (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library).

62 Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, MS Or. A1771, fols. 5a, 13a, 28b, 30b, 46a, 72b, 76b, 82a, 83b, 87b, 102b, 110a, 143b.

63 The holograph of Ibn Ḥaḡar's *Dayl al-Durar al-kāmina* (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, MS Tāriḥ Taymūr 649) constitutes a witness of al-Saḥāwī's statement: it starts with two unnumbered leaves filled with Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba's notes.

64 Al-Saḥāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ*, vol. 11, p. 22.

65 Both are published: Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba, *al-Tāriḥ* (which corresponds to the summarized version Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba made from a longer five-volume version that continues to the year 810/1407-1408; see Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba, *al-Tāriḥ*, vol. 11, p. 30-31); Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba, *Ṭabaqāt al-Šāfiʿiyya* (the author completed the work in 841/1438; see Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba, *al-Tāriḥ*, vol. 11, p. 31; Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba, *Ṭabaqāt al-Šāfiʿiyya*, vol. IV, p. 147-148).

66 In Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba's biography, his son mentions several *muntaqan* ("selections"): al-Nuwayrī's (d. after 775/1374) *al-Ilmām*; al-Samʿānī's (d. 562/1166) *al-Ansāb*; al-Dimašqī's (d. 727/1327) *Nuḥbat al-dahr*; Ibn ʿAsākir's (d. 571/1176) *Tāriḥ madīnat Dimašq*. See Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba, *al-Tāriḥ*, vol. 11, p. 31. Beside these, one holograph volume containing

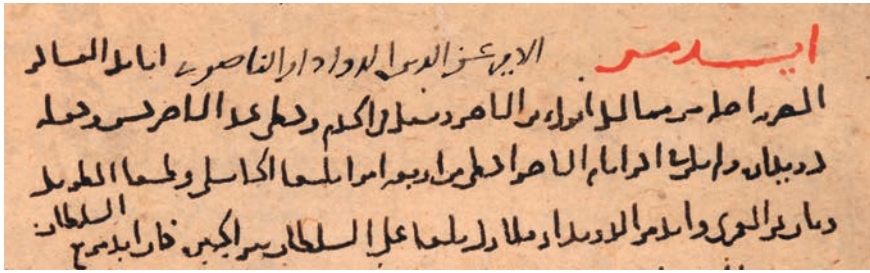


FIGURE 14 Biography completed by Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba

COURTESY UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, LEIDEN, MS OR. 14533, FOL. 237A

Al-Maqrīzī can certainly be considered among his predecessors and it has been demonstrated that Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba also benefitted from al-Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk*.⁶⁷

2.2.2 al-Saḥāwī

Though al-Saḥāwī's (d. 902/1497) handwriting does not feature in the manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā* – it does appear in al-Maqrīzī's collection of opuscles⁶⁸ –, he undoubtedly accessed most of the latter's works, and utilized them in some cases.⁶⁹ We can be certain that he consulted *al-Muqaffā* because he noticed the additions made by his master Ibn Ḥaḡar.⁷⁰ He is also one of those authors who state that *al-Muqaffā* was composed of sixteen volumes.⁷¹ We can tentatively date his access to these manuscripts of al-Maqrīzī's works to the year 855/1451 (when he was twenty-three years old), because this is the date on which he finally managed to consult his *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*, as attested by his consultation note.⁷²

2.2.3 al-Mālikī

A note was added in MS Or. 14533 (see fig. 15), at an unspecified date. Its author, who signed it Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ġaffār al-Mālikī, added the name Bahrām

two selections is available in MS Ar. 4125 (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library): one from Ibn al-Furāt's (d. 807/1405) *al-Ṭarīq al-wāḍiḥ al-maslūk*, and one from Ibn Duqmāq's (d. 809/1407) *Nuzhat al-anām*. Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba's notes can be spotted in one of Ibn al-Furāt's holograph manuscripts of his chronicle: see MS A.F. 125 (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek), fols. 148b, 163b, 206a.

67 See Massoud, *The Chronicles*, p. 82 and 85.

68 See Bauden, *al-Maqrīzī's Collection*, chap. 3.

69 He frequently refers to *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* in his *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmī*.

70 See above, p. 200.

71 See Bauden, "Maqriziana X/1", p. 69-70.

72 See MS Or. A1771 (Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek), fol. 1a, and Bauden, *al-Maqrīzī's Collection*, chap. 3.

Ġūr with the word *wālid* (father of) without completing the data, and followed this with the *basmala*. This attempt to add a biography of the father of the Sassanid emperor Fīrūz was made in the right place according to the alphabetical order, though this figure did not have a place in *al-Muqaffā*.⁷³ In his note, al-Mālikī thanked the owner of the manuscript – even though this thanks was later canceled and is nowadays almost undecipherable –, an indication that it was a loan and that al-Mālikī had asked to borrow the book to read its contents.

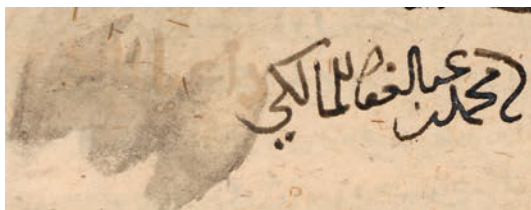


FIGURE 15 Al-Mālikī's note
COURTESY UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK,
LEIDEN, MS OR. 14533, FOL. 269B

ك[تبه] محمد بن عبد الغفار المالكي [داعيا مالكة]

We can tentatively identify this person as Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ġaffār b. Muḥammad al-Samādīsī l-Azharī l-Mālikī. He was the elder of three brothers mentioned by al-Saḥāwī,⁷⁴ who, unfortunately, did not provide any information on this Badr al-Dīn. Nevertheless, some details regarding his origin and his family context can be grasped from the biographies of his father and his two brothers. We can establish that it was the father who migrated to Cairo from Samādīsa, his native town located in the Buḥayra province of Egypt. He was active as a deputy judge as well as an inspector of various endowments. He died in his fifties, in 871/1467.⁷⁵ His son Mūsā took over the position of deputy judge from his father upon the latter's death.⁷⁶ Al-Saḥāwī underlines that he mastered calligraphy and excelled in the arts of the book (writing, binding,

73 It precedes a biography added by Ibn Ḥaḡar for a Būlbuḡā.

74 Al-Saḥāwī, *al-Daw’ al-lāmi’*, vol. VIII, p. 64 (no. 104), states that he was older (*akbar*) than his two brothers, Mūsā and Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad. By contrast, in the biography of the father, ‘Abd al-Ġaffār, al-Saḥāwī emphasized that his eldest son (*asannuhum*) was Mūsā. *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 244. Mūsā was born around (*taqrīban*) 846/1442-1443. *Ibid.*, vol. X, p. 183.

75 *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 243-244 (no. 632).

76 This might indicate that Mūsā was indeed the oldest of his brothers.

illumination).⁷⁷ The younger brother, Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, opted for a career in trade after he had received a traditional education similar to his elder brothers. His commercial activities took him to Yemen, and, from there, to Calicut in India.⁷⁸ Al-Saḥāwī does not indicate Badr al-Dīn's year of death, an indication that he was probably still alive when he completed *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*.

2.2.4 al-Suyūṭī

A later reader of al-Maqrīzī's biographical dictionary, the great polymath writer al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), was an acquaintance of al-Saḥāwī, though animosity prevailed in their relationship. In his *Buġyat al-wu'āt*, a dictionary of lexicographers and grammarians, al-Suyūṭī quotes al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā*, employing the most frequently used expression *ḍakarahu l-Maqrīzī fī l-Muqaffā*.⁷⁹ On one occasion, he even specifies that he extracted a biography from *al-Muqaffā*.⁸⁰ While he left no handwritten trace of his consultation of *al-Muqaffā* in the preserved manuscripts, his reading of this work is also confirmed by the fact that he noticed Ibn Ḥaġar's additions,⁸¹ and we know that he accessed the whole work, as he mentions biographees whose names start with the letters (*sīn, šād, 'ayn, nūn, hā'*) that are now missing or only partially preserved in *al-Muqaffā*.⁸² Given that we do not know when al-Suyūṭī worked on and

77 *Ibid.*, vol. x, p. 183 (no. 776). He died in 912/1506. Al-Ġazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira*, vol. i, p. 310 (no. 617).

78 He was born in 853/1449-1450. Al-Saḥāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, vol. viii, p. 64 (no. 105).

79 Al-Suyūṭī, *Buġyat al-wu'āt*, vol. i, p. 15 (no. 20) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. v, p. 47 (no. 1610); p. 25 (no. 39) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. v, p. 101 (no. 1729); p. 37 (no. 61) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. v, p. 131 (no. 1795); p. 52 (no. 88) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. v, p. 160 (no. 1876); p. 82 (no. 133) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. v, p. 292 (no. 2053); p. 98 (no. 160) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. v, p. 328 (no. 2180); p. 107 (no. 176) = *al-Muqaffā* (missing); p. 162 (no. 274) = *al-Muqaffā* (missing); p. 190 (no. 318) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. vi, p. 183 (no. 2823); p. 190 (no. 319) = *al-Muqaffā* (missing); p. 190 (no. 320) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. vi, p. 190 (no. 2831); p. 190 (no. 321) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. vi, p. 190 (no. 2832); p. 191 (no. 322) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. vi, p. 210 (no. 2861); p. 202 (no. 349) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. vi, p. 215 (no. 2883); p. 203 (no. 350) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. vi, p. 236 (no. 2937); p. 208 (no. 366) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. vi, p. 266 (no. 3003); p. 216 (no. 386) = *al-Muqaffā* (missing); p. 228 (no. 412) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. vii, p. 34 (no. 3135); p. 248 (no. 458) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. vii, p. 161 (no. 3359); p. 267 (no. 497) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. vii, p. 245 (no. 3549); p. 334 (no. 634) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. i, p. 321 (no. 515); p. 589 (no. 1239) = *al-Muqaffā* (missing); p. 603 (no. 1281) = *al-Muqaffā* (missing).

Al-Suyūṭī, *Buġyat al-wu'āt*, vol. ii, p. 10 (no. 1308) = *al-Muqaffā* (missing); p. 101 (no. 1546) = *al-Muqaffā* (missing); p. 107 (no. 1559) = *al-Muqaffā* (missing); p. 220 (no. 1838) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. iv, p. 376 (no. 1561-10); p. 313 (no. 2059) = *al-Muqaffā* (missing); p. 315 (no. 2064) = *al-Muqaffā* (missing); p. 325 (no. 2093) = *al-Muqaffā* (missing).

80 *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 315 (no. 2064): *wa-minhu laḥḥaštu ḥādīhi l-tarġama*.

81 *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 313 (no. 2059): *istadrakahu l-ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥaġar 'alā l-Maqrīzī fī l-Muqaffā*.

82 At present, the preserved manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā* are missing eleven biographies quoted by al-Suyūṭī.

completed his *Buġyat al-wu'āt*,⁸³ we cannot provide a precise date for his access to al-Maqrīzī's work. Nevertheless, it could not have taken place before the 860s/1450s-1460s when, in his early twenties, he started to teach and to write his most famous texts.

2.2.5 Al-Dā'ūdī

Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Dā'ūdī (d. 945/1539) was one of al-Suyūṭī's students. He authored a biography of his revered master, as well as a supplement to al-Subkī's *Ṭabaqāt al-Šāfi'īyya* and a biographical dictionary of exegetes (*Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*).⁸⁴ His relationship with al-Suyūṭī helps us to understand the circumstances in which he probably became aware of *al-Muqaffā*, given that one of his consultation notes can be found in one of the preserved volumes (see fig. 16).

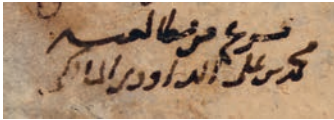


FIGURE 16
Al-Dā'ūdī's consultation note
COURTESY UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, LEIDEN,
MS OR. 1366A, FOL. 31A

فرغ من مطالعته
محمد بن علي الداودي المالكي

Al-Maqrīzī's biographical dictionary proved useful for al-Dā'ūdī's *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*: at the end of his work he states that *al-Muqaffā* was among the various sources he utilized for this purpose.⁸⁵ He refers to it in relation to twenty-five biographies, six of which are missing in the preserved manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā*.⁸⁶ Given that he prepared the fair copy of his work in

83 See Spevack, "Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī", p. 388.

84 On him, see Ibn al-'Imād, *Šaḍarāt al-ḍahab*, vol. VIII, p. 264; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, vol. III, p. 496 (no. 14501); Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, vol. II, p. 289; *idem*, *Suppl.*, vol. II, p. 401.

85 Al-Dā'ūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*, vol. II, p. 386: *wa-qad ṭāla'tu 'alā hādā l-kitāb ... wa-min al-Muqaffā li-l-Maqrīzī*.

86 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 84 (no. 75) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. I, p. 379 (no. 604); p. 432 (no. 370) = *al-Muqaffā* (missing); p. 436 (no. 374) = *al-Muqaffā* (missing); p. 438 (no. 377) = *al-Muqaffā* (missing).
Ibid., vol. II, p. 51 (no. 419) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. V, p. 48 (no. 1613); p. 52 (no. 420) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. V, p. 52 (no. 1623); p. 53 (no. 421) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. V, p. 47 (no. 1610); p. 55 (no. 422) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. V, p. 55 (no. 1632); 77 (no. 440) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. V, p. 140 (no. 1818); p. 89 (no. 451) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. V, p. 161 (no. 1879); p. 120 (no. 469) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. V, p. 274 (no. 2004); p. 140 (no. 482) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. V, p. 311 (no. 2122); p. 152 (no. 493) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. V, p. 370 (no. 2310); p. 159 (no. 497) = *al-Muqaffā*,

941/1534-1535,⁸⁷ his access to *al-Muqaffā* can be dated to a few years before he completed it. In his final note, he also provides us with a very important physical description of the work; he explains that it was a holograph consisting of thirteen large volumes.⁸⁸ From this description, we can understand that three volumes were apparently already missing at the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century, or at least that the owner of the larger set who lent it to al-Dā'ūdī did not own them.

Al-Dā'ūdī also added marginal notes during his consultation of *al-Muqaffā*.⁸⁹ Some of these notes are corrections to data, as in the case of fig. 17, where he specifies how a personal name should be read.

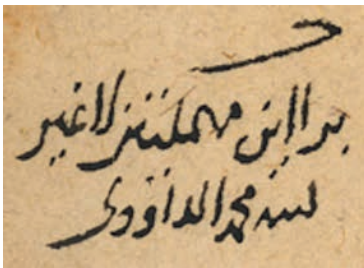


FIGURE 17

Al-Dā'ūdī's marginal note

COURTESY BNF, PARIS, MS AR. 2144, FOL. 169A

برالین مهملتين لا غير
كتبه محمد الداودي

Al-Dāwūdī's perusal of *al-Muqaffā* must have been comprehensive. His note taking certainly went beyond his project on the biographies of the exegetes. When he consulted a four-volume copy of Ibn Ḥaḡar's *al-Iṣāba* in al-Saḡhawī's hand that he owned (see fig. 18),⁹⁰ he rectified a mistake that he found in Ibn

vol. v, p. 377 (no. 2328); p. 193 (no. 530) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. vi, p. 86 (no. 2624); p. 202 (no. 539) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. vi, p. 168 (no. 2780); p. 235 (no. 566) = *al-Muqaffā* (missing); p. 242 (no. 571) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. vii, p. 34 (no. 3135); p. 249 (no. 576) = *al-Muqaffā* (missing); p. 252 (no. 577) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. vii, p. 85 (no. 3258); p. 254 (no. 581) = *al-Muqaffā* (missing); p. 267 (no. 593) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. vii, p. 212 (no. 3465); p. 269 (no. 595) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. vii, p. 227 (no. 3501); p. 273 (no. 597) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. vii, p. 250 (no. 3564); p. 285 (no. 606) = *al-Muqaffā*, vol. vii, p. 269 (no. 3590).

87 Al-Dā'ūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssirin*, vol. ii, p. 386.

88 *Ibid.*, *bi-ḥaṭṭihi ṭalāṭa 'aṣar muḡallad kibār*.

89 He also signed some of his marginal notes (Leiden, MS Or. 3075, fol. 222a; MS Or. 14533, fols. 500a and 503a; Paris, MS Ar. 2144, fol. 168a).

90 MSS Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 243-247 (Istanbul, Köprülü Kütüphanesi).

Ḥaḡar's text on the basis of what al-Maqrīzī stated in *al-Muqaffā* (see fig. 19). He concludes the note by saying that in *al-Muqaffā*, which is in his own handwriting, al-Maqrīzī correctly (*muḡawwadan*) determined how the name should be read.

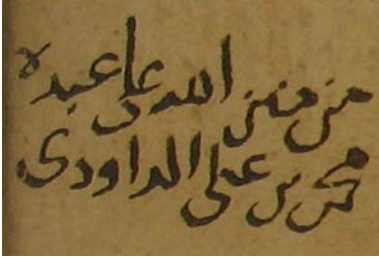


FIGURE 18 Al-Dā'ūdī's ownership mark in Ibn Ḥaḡar's *al-Iṣāba*

COURTESY KÖPRÜLÜ KÜTÜPHANESİ, ISTANBUL, MS FAZIL AHMED PAŞA 243, FOL. 1A

من من الله على عبده
محمد بن علي الداودي

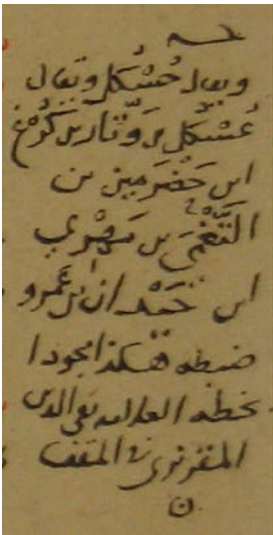


FIGURE 19 Al-Dā'ūdī's marginal note in Ibn Ḥaḡar's *al-Iṣāba*
COURTESY KÖPRÜLÜ KÜTÜPHANESİ, ISTANBUL, MS FAZIL
AHMED PAŞA 243, FOL. 73B

حاشية
ويقال حُسْكُلُ ويقال
عُسْكُلُ بن وَتَار بن كُرْغ
ابن حَضْرَمِين بن
التَّغْمِي بن مَهْرِي

ابن حيدان بن عمرو
 ضبطه هكذا مجودا
 بخطه العلامة تقي الدين
 المقرئ في المقفا
 ن [انتهى]

3 The Owners

Al-Dā'ūdī was certainly not the last person who read *al-Muqaffā*. However, in the following decades, the preserved volumes of the work started to be separated from one another. As a consequence, the history of each volume started to vary, some volumes were taken from Islamic lands to Europe and others remained in the Ottoman Empire. In the following section, we consider those who left ownership marks in one of the volumes. Some owners were book collectors who were more interested in possessing rare items than in gaining access to their contents. Other owners sought to acquire the volumes of *al-Muqaffā* for their contents alone and thus consulted them, and sometimes left notes in the margins. For these reasons, we survey the owners according to two periods: until the mid-tenth/sixteenth century, when most were still owned by a single owner; and after that period, when the surviving volumes were brought to Europe. As in the preceding section, the chronological order prevails as far as this can be established.

3.1 *The Owners until the Mid-Tenth/Sixteenth Century*

3.1.1 Al-'Alā'ī

Al-'Alā'ī's ownership mark was added on fol. 31a of MS Or. 1366a (see fig. 20), where another ex-libris (see fig. 24) and a consultation note (see fig. 16) also appear. This folio corresponds to what must have originally been the beginning of the first volume. As has been demonstrated, al-Maqrīzī followed the organization of al-Ḥalabī's (d. 735/1335) biographical dictionary; this was the basis for al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā*, i.e. he began with names beginning with Muḥammad, then other names in alphabetical order starting with *alif*.⁹¹ Fol. 31a of MS Or. 1366a indeed starts with the biography of a Muḥammad b. Ādam. This also explains why two owners and one reader penned their marks there. This assumption is further confirmed by a trace left on the verso of that folio by

⁹¹ Bauden, "Maqriziana X/1", p. 82-85.

the flap of the original Oriental binding, now lost and replaced by a Western binding made in Leiden.⁹² This volume (MS Or. 1366a) now opens with a treatise (partially mutilated at the end) in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting and various biographies starting with letters *alif*, *kāf*, *lām*, and *mīm*. These were placed at the beginning of the volume at a later date, while from fol. 31a on, the volume contains only biographies of Muḥammads. As such, it constitutes, with the other two volumes Or. 3075 and Or. 1366c, a full set of the biographies of Muḥammads.

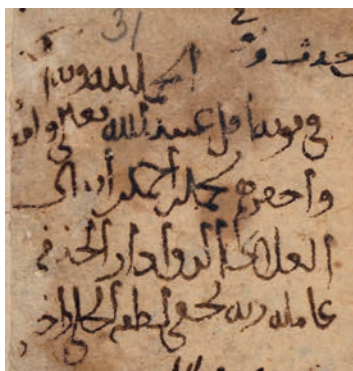


FIGURE 20
Al-'Alā'ī's ownership mark
COURTESY UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, LEIDEN,
MS OR. 1366A, FOL. 31A

الحمد لله وبه اك[تفي]
في نوبة اقل عبيد الله تعالى وافق[ر]ه[م]
واحقرهم محمد بن احمد بن اينال
العلاءي الدوادار الحنفي
عامله ربه بخفي لطفه الجلي وا[ل]خ[د]في

The person who wrote this ownership mark can be identified as Muḥibb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Īnāl al-'Alā'ī l-Qāhīrī l-Dawādār al-Ḥanafī (b. 837/1434; d. after 902/1497).⁹³ According to al-Saḥāwī,⁹⁴ while al-'Alā'ī served as executive secretary to Barsbāy Qarā (d. 893/1488),⁹⁵ he dedicated

92 See *ibid.*, p. 72, fig. 3.1.

93 He should not be confused with his homonym, Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Īnāl al-Qāhīrī l-Ḥanafī, better known as Ibn al-Šiḥna (d. 902/1497). See al-Saḥāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, vol. VI, p. 295 (no. 985); Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr*, vol. III, p. 359-360.

94 Al-Saḥāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, vol. VI, p. 295 (no. 984).

95 *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 10 (no. 40).

himself to collecting rare books dealing with the religious sciences (*kutub al-ʿilm*) and history. Al-Saḥāwī's characterization of al-ʿAlāʾī as a book collector is substantiated by a small and far from exhaustive survey of his ex-libris found in various manuscripts (see table 2). This survey lists sixty-two volumes corresponding to thirty titles and confirms al-ʿAlāʾī's propensity to look for books on the religious sciences and history. He was also particularly interested in collecting manuscripts in their author's hand. In fact, he owned at least three volumes of Ibn al-Furāt's (d. 807/1405) history, one volume of Ibn Duqmāq's (d. 809/1407) *al-Ġawhar al-ṭamīn*, as well as four volumes of Ibn Manẓūr's (d. 711/1311) *Muḥtaṣar Tārīḥ Madīnat Dimašq*. It is noteworthy that he also acquired two holograph manuscripts by al-Maqrīzī: volume 1 of *al-Sulūk* and volume 2 of the first version of *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʾitibār*. He must have been particularly interested in al-Maqrīzī's work, as he owned at least two additional copies of *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʾitibār*. Moreover, he specifically commissioned for his library a full copy of al-Maqrīzī's last opus, *al-Ḥabar ʿan al-baṣar*, in six volumes (see fig. 21). His copy was made on the basis of the holograph.



FIGURE 21 Note referring to the production of the copy for al-ʿAlāʾī

COURTESY TOPKAPI SARAYI MÜZESİ KÜTÜPHANESİ, ISTANBUL, MS AHMET III 2926/4, FOL. 1A

برسم خزانة
الجناب العالي المحيي محب الدين محمد
ابن الجناب العالي المرحوم الشهابي أحمد
ابن اينال العلّاي الدوّادار
الحنفي

His ownership mark, almost invariably the same, is mostly found on the title pages and runs as follows (see fig. 22):

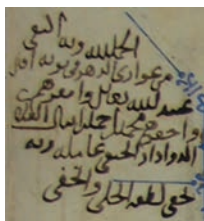


FIGURE 22

Al-'Alā'ī's ownership mark

COURTESY TOPKAPI SARAYI MÜZESİ KÜTÜPHANESİ, ISTANBUL,
MS AHMET III 2926/4, FOL. 1A

الحمد لله وبه اكتفي
من عواري الدهر في نوبة اقل
عبيد الله تعالى وافقرهم
واحقرهم محمد بن احمد بن اينال العلامي
الدوادار الحنفي عامله ربه
بخفي لطفه الجلي والحنفي

Al-'Alā'ī also usually added an apotropaic formula on the leaf preceding the title page or, when this leaf was missing, on the title page itself, in the upper margin; in every case, it reads as below (see fig. 23):⁹⁶

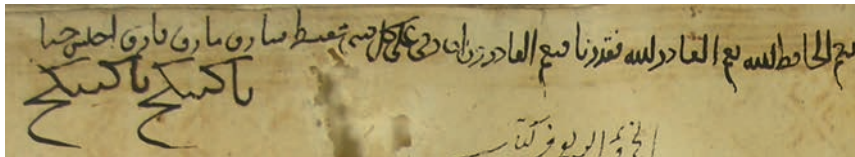


FIGURE 23 Al-'Alā'ī's apotropaic formula

COURTESY TOPKAPI SARAYI MÜZESİ KÜTÜPHANESİ, ISTANBUL,
MS AHMET III 2926/4, FOL. 1A

نعم الحافظ الله نعم القادر الله ﴿فقدرونا فنعم القادرون﴾⁹⁷ إن ربي على كل شيء حفيظ
سارق مارق فارق احبس حيا يا كبيكج يا كبيكج

Besides MS Or. 1366a, he also probably owned other volumes of *al-Muqaffā*, as the study of the following owner seems to indicate.

96 In some cases, when his mark was canceled on the title page or when the title page was removed from the manuscript, this apotropaic formula can still be found on the preceding leaf; thus, it can help confirm that the manuscript was in his ownership.

97 Qur, 77, 12.

TABLE 2 A list of the manuscripts in which al-‘Alāṭ’s ownership marks have been found

Author	Title	Library	Shelf mark	Remark	Type of note
Al-Atqānī	<i>Ġāyat al-bayān</i> (vol. 1)	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Mesih Paşa 5		Ownership
Al-‘Aynī	<i>‘Umdat al-qārī’</i> (vol. 3)	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Yeni Cami 214	Presentation copy made for him	Ownership
Al-Bağawī	<i>Maṣābiḥ al-sunna</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofya 913	Presentation copy made for sultan Şa‘bān	Ownership
Al-Buḥārī	<i>al-Ġāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ</i> (vol. 1)	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	Or. Quart. 42		Ownership (in 864/ 1459- 1460)
Al-Ḍahabī	<i>al-Kāšif</i>	Cairo, Dār al- Kutub al-Miṣriyya	17 <i>Muṣṭalah Mīm</i>		Ownership
al-Ġurġānī	<i>Ḥizānat al-akmal</i> (3 vols.)	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Yeni Cami 413-415		Ownership
Ḥākim al-Šahīd	<i>Šarḥ al-Kāfi</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofya 1229		Ownership
Ibn al-‘Adīm	<i>Buġyat al-ṭalab</i>	Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi	Feyzullah 1404		Ownership
Ibn al-‘Adīm	<i>Buġyat al-ṭalab</i> (vol. 1)	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofya 3036		Ownership
Ibn al-‘Adīm	<i>Buġyat al-ṭalab</i> (vols. 2-4, 6-10)	Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	Ahmet III 2925/1-8		Ownership
Ibn al-Atīr	<i>al-Nihāya</i> (vol. 2)	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofya 4782		Ownership
Ibn Duqmāq	<i>al-Ġawhar al-ṭamīn</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Fatih 4313	Holograph	Ownership

TABLE 2 A list of the manuscripts in which al-‘Alā’ī’s ownership marks have been found (*cont.*)

Author	Title	Library	Shelf mark	Remark	Type of note
Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī	<i>Masālik al-abṣār</i>	Manchester, John Rylands Research Library	Arabic 16		Ownership
Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī	<i>Masālik al-abṣār</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France	Arabe 2327		Ownership
Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī	<i>Masālik al-abṣār</i> (7 vols.)	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofya 3416, 3418, 3428, 3432, 3437, Laleli 2037, Yazma Bağışlar 1917		Ownership
Ibn al-Furāt	<i>al-Ṭarīq al-wāḍiḥ al-maslūk</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana	241Q	Holograph	Ownership
Ibn al-Furāt	<i>al-Ṭarīq al-wāḍiḥ al-maslūk</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana	Arabo 726	Holograph	Ownership
Ibn al-Furāt	<i>al-Ṭarīq al-wāḍiḥ al-maslūk</i>	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	A.F. 117	Holograph	Ownership
Ibn Ḥaḡar	<i>Inbā’ al-ğumr</i> (vol. 1)	Algiers, Bibliothèque nationale	1599		Ownership
Ibn Manzūr	<i>Muḥtaṣar Ṭārīḥ Dimašq</i> (4 vols.)	Istanbul, Köprülü Kütüphanesi	Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1148-1151	Holograph	Ownership
Ibn al-Šahīd	<i>Faṭḥ al-qarīb</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Reisülküttâb 682		Ownership
Ibn al-Šā’ig	<i>Šarḥ al-Muğnī</i>		Ayasofya 987		Ownership

TABLE 2 A list of the manuscripts in which al-‘Alāṭ’s ownership marks have been found (*cont.*)

Author	Title	Library	Shelf mark	Remark	Type of note
Ibn Sayyid al-Nās	<i>Uyūn al-aṭar</i>	Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi	Veliyüddin 890		Ownership
Al-Kāsānī	<i>Badā’i’ al-šanā’i’</i> (vol. 1)	Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi	Veliyüddin 1033		Ownership
Al-Maqrīzī	<i>al-Ḥabar ‘an al-bašar</i> (6 vols.)	Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	Ahmet III 2926/1-6	Presentation copy made for him	Ownership
Al-Maqrīzī	<i>al-Mawā’iz wa-l-i’tibār</i> (vol. 2)	Istanbul, Topkapı Saray Müzesi Kütüphanesi	Hazine 1472	Holograph	Ownership
Al-Maqrīzī	<i>al-Mawā’iz wa-l-i’tibār</i> (vol. 2)	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France	Ar. 1754		Ownership
Al-Maqrīzī	<i>al-Mawā’iz wa-l-i’tibār</i> (vol. 3)	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofya 3473		Ownership
Al-Maqrīzī	<i>Al-Sulūk</i> (vol. 1)	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Yeni Cami 887	Holograph	Ownership
Al-Mas‘ūdī	<i>Murūğ al-dahab</i> (vol. 3)	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofya 3408		Ownership
Al-Maydānī	<i>Mağma’ al-amṭāl</i>	Bursa, İnebey Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi	Hüseyin Çelebi 1143		Ownership
Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ	<i>al-Šifā’</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Yeni Cami 267	Presentation copy made for Sultan Qāyrbāy	Ownership
Al-Šarīšī	<i>Šarḥ al-Maqāmāt</i> (vol. 3)	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofya 4121		Ownership

TABLE 2 A list of the manuscripts in which al-‘Alā’ī’s ownership marks have been found (*cont.*)

Author	Title	Library	Shelf mark	Remark	Type of note
Al-Ṭabarī	<i>Tārīḥ al-rusul wa-l-mulūk</i> (vol. 7)	Istanbul, Köprülü Kütüphanesi	Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1043		Ownership
Al-Ṭībī	<i>Futūḥ al-ğayb</i> (2 vols.)	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofya 373-374		Ownership
Al-Tirmidī	<i>Al-Sunan</i> (vol. 2)	Istanbul, Köprülü Kütüphanesi	Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 295		Ownership
Unidentified	<i>Tafsīr</i>	Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi	Veliyüddin 436		Ownership
Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī	<i>Muğam al-buldān</i> (vol. 6)	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Turhan Valide Sultan 247		Ownership

3.1.2 Al-Zā’ir

Three ownership marks were scribbled by the same person: one in MS Or. 1366a (see fig. 24) and two in MS Or. 14533 (see figs. 25-26). This demonstrates that most of the holograph volumes were in his possession, probably at the same time: the marks are all similar in color, and shape, and only vary slightly in the wording.



FIGURE 24
Courtesy Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, MS Or. 1366a, fol. 31a

[من من الله على عبده
احمد بن فتح الدين الزاير
غفر الله لهما
امين]



FIGURE 25
Courtesy Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, MS Or. 14533,
fol. 51a

من من [الله على عبده]
احمد بن فتح الدين الزاير
عفا الله عنهما
امين



FIGURE 26
Courtesy Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, MS Or. 14533,
fol. 307a

من من الله على عبده
احمد بن فتح الدين الزاير
غفر الله لهما
امين

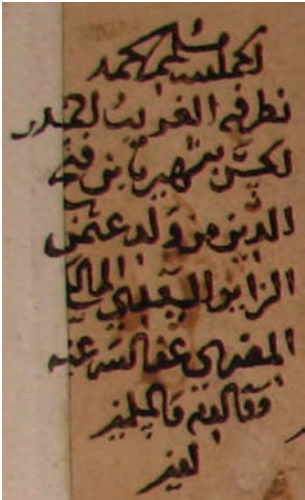


FIGURE 27
Al-Zā'ir's consultation note in Muṭaḥhar al-Iṣfahānī's
Dīwān
COURTESY SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ, ISTANBUL,
MS REİSÜLKÜTTÂB 978, FOL. 1A

الحمد لله مُستمر الحمد
 نظري فيه الغريب أحمد بن
 الحسن الشهير بابن فتح
 الدين من ولد عثمان
 الزائر السعدي المالكي
 المصري عفا الله عنه
 ووالديه والمسلمين
 امين

While every effort to identify this person in the biographical dictionaries of the ninth-tenth/fifteenth-sixteenth century proved unsuccessful, his full name can be reconstructed on the basis of his other ex-libris and consultation notes identified in various manuscripts. The most complete attestation of his name appears in a consultation note (see fig. 27): Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, known as Ibn Faṭḥ al-Dīn, min walad ‘Uṭmān al-Zā’ir al-Ḥasanī l-Sa’dī l-Mālīkī l-Miṣrī.⁹⁸ His family name, al-Ḥasanī l-Sa’dī, to which he appended his *maḏhab*, indicates that he grew up in the western part of the Muslim world.⁹⁹ His *maḡribī* handwriting and the fact that he wrote his father’s name al-Ḥassan with two *sīns* (as confirmed by the *šadda*), further support this assumption. However, he must have traveled to Egypt and settled there; this is implied by the *nisba* al-Miṣrī, placed at the very end of his name, and the characterization in his consultation note (see fig. 27) as *ḡarīb* (‘foreigner’). One of his visits to Syria is even dated precisely, thanks to a consultation note in which he states that he consulted a book in Aleppo in 904/1498-1499 (see fig. 28). Thus far, his ownership marks and consultation notes have been identified in various collections around the world (see table 3), and are found in twenty-three manuscripts.

98 The last name cannot be read al-Maḡribī, as the combination of the *ḡayn* and the *rā’* would have given a different result in paleographical terms. The final *yā’* is also clearly not connected to a *bā’*. Finally, the word is partially vowelized.

99 His *nisba* al-Sa’dī might indicate that he was member of the Saadian family that ruled Morocco from 915/1509 and claimed descent from the Prophet through his grandson al-Ḥasan.

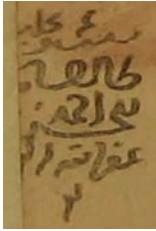


FIGURE 28

Al-Zā'ir's consultation note in al-Bayḍāwī's *Tuḥfat al-abrār*

COURTESY KÖPRÜLÜ KÜTÜPHANESİ, ISTANBUL, MS FAZIL AHMED

PAŞA 339, FOL. 1A

سنة ٩٠٤ [٩٠] بحلب
طالعه
احمد
الحسني
غفر الله له
امين

Among the manuscripts listed in table 3, note that three of these manuscripts also appear in the list given for the previous owner, al-'Alā'ī. Al-Zā'ir consulted the first one (al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūğ al-dahab*) while he owned the second (Ibn Sayyid al-Nās' *Uyūn al-aṭar*) and the third (Ibn al-Furāt's *al-Ṭarīq al-wāḍiḥ al-maslūk*). We can tentatively conclude that the property was passed on in this order: al-'Alā'ī > al-Zā'ir, because, in the case of Ibn Sayyid al-Nās' text, al-'Alā'ī scribbled his note in the upper margin, close to the edge of the folio, while al-Zā'ir's note was added just below it. This assumption is corroborated by one of al-Zā'ir's ownership marks found in another manuscript (see fig. 29). There, his ownership mark is followed by another note that he penned at a later date (and partially struck through); in the latter note, he testifies that he sold the book to a man named 'Uṭmān b. al-Sammān al-Ḥalabī. This person is mentioned in Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's *Durr al-ḥabab*.¹⁰⁰ His name was Faḥr al-Dīn 'Uṭmān b. Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī l-Šāfi'ī and Ibn al-Ḥanbalī specifies that he used to be known as Ibn al-Sammān, though in recent times he was often referred to as al-Kutubī, the bookseller. The biography lacks any details regarding his life. His death date is given as 2 Ramaḍān 931/23 June 1525.

100 Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, vol. 1, p. 887 (no. 293).

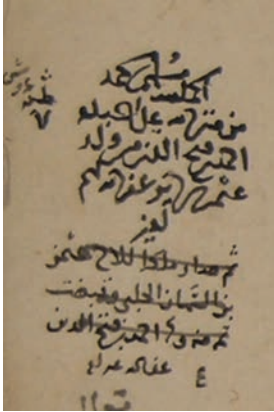


FIGURE 29

Al-Zā'ir's ownership mark and sale note in al-Tirmidī's
al-Ġāmi' al-kabīr

COURTESY MILLET GENEL KÜTÜPHANESİ, ISTANBUL, MS
FEYZULLAH 341, FOL. 2A

الحمد لله المستمر الحمد
من منن الله على عبده ثمنه غروش
احمد بن فتح الدين من ولد ٧
عثمان الزاير غفر الله لهم
امين
ثم صار ملكا للاح عثمان
بن السمان الحلبي وقبضت
ثمنه منه وكـ[تب] له احمد بن فتح الدين
عفا الله عنه امين

The preceding helps to determine that al-Zā'ir was indeed still alive after al-ʿAlā'ī's death (after 902/1497, but not much later, as al-ʿAlā'ī was sixty-three years old that year). On the other hand, Ibn al-Sammān, who died in 931/1525, became a bookseller toward the end of his life, as we know from Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's words, which means that the bookseller must have bought the book from al-Zā'ir after al-ʿAlā'ī died. In such a case, al-Zā'ir might have been in contact with al-ʿAlā'ī, from whom he borrowed al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūǧ al-ḍaḥab* as his consultation note witnesses, and this would explain how he managed to acquire some of his books, among which were several holograph volumes of *al-Muqaffā*.

TABLE 3 A list of the manuscripts in which al-Zā'ir's notes have been found^a

Author	Title	Library	Shelf mark	Remark	Type of note
Al-Bayḍāwī	<i>Tuhfat al-abrār</i>	Istanbul, Köprülü Kütüphanesi	Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 339		Consultation (904/ 1498-1499)
Al-Maqrīzī	<i>al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār</i>	Damascus, Maktabat al-Asad	3437		Consultation
Al-Mas'ūdī	<i>Murūğ al-dahab</i> (vol. 3)	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofya 3408		Consultation
Muṭahhar al-Iṣfahānī	<i>Dīwān</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Reisülküttāb 978		Consultation
al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baḡdādī	<i>Šaraf aṣḥāb al-ḥadīṭ</i>	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	Or. Quart. 1060		Ownership
Al-Ḥuṣrī	<i>Zahr al-ādāb</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Reisülküttāb 813		Ownership
Ibn Barrağān	<i>Īdāḥ al-ḥikma</i> (vol. 1)	Bursa, İnebey Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi	Hüseyin Çelebi 38		Ownership
Ibn al-Furāt	<i>al-Taṛīq al-wāḍiḥ al-maslūk</i>	Rabat, al-Ḥizāna al-Āmma	241Q	Holograph	Ownership
Ibn al-Ğawzī	<i>Šuḍūr al-uqūd</i>	Istanbul, Köprülü Kütüphanesi	Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1095		Ownership
Ibn Ḥabīb	<i>Šarḥ al-Burda</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Yeni Cami 963		Ownership
Ibn al-Marzubān al-Şayrafī	<i>Tafṣīr abyāt Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq</i>	Istanbul, Köprülü Kütüphanesi	Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1296		Ownership

^a The manuscripts are listed according to the type of note, then by alphabetical order of the authors.

TABLE 3 A list of the manuscripts in which al-Zā'ir's notes have been found (*cont.*)

Author	Title	Library	Shelf mark	Remark	Type of note
Ibn Qayyim al-Ğawziyya	<i>Zād al-ma'ād</i> (vols. 2-4)	Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi	Veliyüddin 878-880		Ownership
Ibn Šākir al-Kutubī	<i>Uyūn al-tawāriḥ</i> (vol. 5)	Istanbul, Millet Genel Kütüphanesi	Feyzullah 1488		Ownership
Ibn Sayyid al-Nās	<i>Uyūn al-aṭar</i>	Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi	Veliyüddin 890		Ownership
Al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ	<i>al-Šifā' bi-ta'rif ḥuqūq al-muṣṭafā</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofya 756		Ownership
Al-Siğistānī	<i>al-Aḍdād</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Reisülküttâb 874		Ownership
Al-Şūfī	<i>al-Kawākib al-tābīta</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library	Hunt. 212		Ownership
Al-Suhaylī	<i>al-Rawḍ al-unuf</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France	Arabe 1962		Ownership
Al-Tirmidī	<i>al-Ğāmi' al-kabīr</i> (vol. 1)	Istanbul, Millet Genel Kütüphanesi	Feyzullah 341		Ownership
Al-Wāḥidī and Ibn Salāma al-Bağdādī	<i>Asbāb nuzūl al-Qur'an and al-Nāsiḥ wa-l-mansūḥ</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofya 65		Ownership
Al-Yazīdī	<i>Marāṭin wa-aš'ār</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Reisülküttâb 904		Ownership

3.2 *From the East to Europe*

We can ascertain that most of the volumes of *al-Muqaffā* were still in Cairo during the first half of the tenth/sixteenth century, as they were still consulted by a scholar like al-Dā'ūdī. At the turn of the same century, they were also owned by bibliophiles like al-'Alā'ī and al-Zā'ir. Unfortunately, their fate from the mid-tenth/sixteenth to the beginning of the twelfth/eighteenth century is shrouded in a veil of uncertainty. On one hand, their owners did not leave marks in the preserved manuscripts. On the other hand, it seems that the volumes of *al-Muqaffā* started to be dispersed during this period. As we see below, four volumes arrived in Europe in the eighteenth century.

3.2.1 From Istanbul to Paris (MS Ar. 2144)

The volume (MS Ar. 2144) now held in Paris is the only one that bears ownership marks attesting to its passage via Istanbul, from where it was bought at the beginning of the eighteenth century, to Paris. Prior to its final move to Paris, the volume was owned by two major book collectors in Istanbul.

3.2.1.1 *Al-Širwānī*

The first owner in Istanbul left his mark in the upper left corner of the title page (see fig. 30). This title page was added at about the same time as the title of the work and the name of its author were correctly indicated. The person who penned the title page was also aware that the manuscript was in al-Maqrīzī's hand and mentioned this below the information on the work and its authorship. The owner, Abū Bakr b. Rustam b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Širwānī (d. 1135/1723), was a civil servant of the Ottoman state, and served as head of the chancery (*reisülküttâb*) on several occasions.¹⁰¹

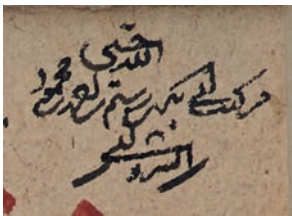


FIGURE 30

Al-Širwānī's ownership mark

COURTESY BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE,
PARIS, MS AR. 2144, FOL. 1A

الله حسي
من كتب ابني بكر بن رستم بن احمد بن محمود
الشرواني

¹⁰¹ Süreyya, *Sicill*, vol. II, p. 430-431.

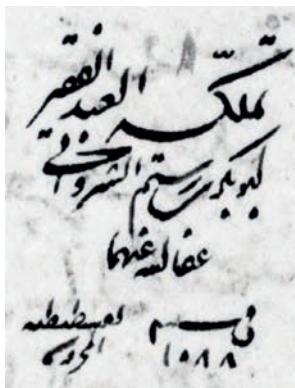


FIGURE 31

Al-Širwānī's ownership mark in Abū l-Fidā's *al-Muḥtaṣar*
 COURTESY BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE,
 PARIS, MS AR. 5953, FOL. 161B

تملكه العبد الفقير
 أبو بكر بن رستم الشرواني
 عفا الله عنهما
 في سنة بقسطنطينية
 ١٠٨٨ الحروسة

However, nowadays he is better known for the richness of his library. His ownership mark, which was consistent and almost identical, can be found in hundreds of manuscripts that have now been disseminated in several libraries around the world.¹⁰² Unfortunately, his marks only rarely detailed the date and place of his acquisitions (see fig. 31). Among the rare manuscripts he once owned were another holograph manuscript of al-Maqrizī¹⁰³ and three volumes of an apograph copy of the latter's *Imtā' al-asmā'*.¹⁰⁴ The fate of his library remains unknown; we only know that it was sold and not bequeathed to a religious institution, as is proven by the dissemination of manuscripts bearing his mark in several libraries around the world. In the case of the volume of *al-Muqaffā*, we know from another ownership mark that it passed into the hands of another book collector from Istanbul.

¹⁰² For incomplete lists of his manuscripts, see Richard, "Lecteurs ottomans", p. 81; Fu'ād Sayyid, "Les Marques", p. 19 and 22. In the frame of the Ex(-)Libris ex Oriente (ELEO) project, several hundred of his marks have already been collected.

¹⁰³ *Al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār* (vol. 2 of the first version), Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, MS Hazine 1472.

¹⁰⁴ Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MSS Amcazade Hüseyin 354-355 and 357.

3.2.1.2 *ʿIffatī*

The next ownership mark was written on fol. 2a that corresponds to the first leaf in al-Maqrīzī's hand (see fig. 32). The name of the owner is given as ʿIffatī, who can be identified as Muṣṭafā ʿIffatī Efendī, a teacher (*müderriş*) and poet who died on 27 Muḥarram 1139/24 September 1726,¹⁰⁵ that is, three years after the previous owner. ʿIffatī appears to have been an important book collector too, as is clear from his many ownership marks identified in dozens of manuscripts.¹⁰⁶ Notably, he also possessed two volumes from two different sets of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk*.¹⁰⁷ In addition, two volumes of an old copy of Ibn Saʿd's (d. 230/845) *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* also belonged to him, and to al-Širwānī.¹⁰⁸

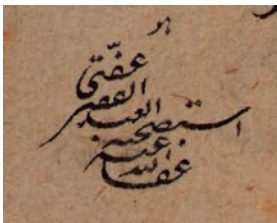


FIGURE 32

ʿIffatī's ownership mark

COURTESY BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE,
PARIS, MS AR. 2144, FOL. 2A

هو
استصحبه العبد الفقير عفتي
عفا الله عنه

3.2.1.3 *Paris*

Soon after ʿIffatī's death in 1139/1726, his library was sold. Indeed, shortly after he died, the evidence points to the arrival of the manuscript of *al-Muqaffā* in Paris. Though no indication of its exact arrival date could be found in the archives of the Bibliothèque nationale,¹⁰⁹ we can establish that it reached Paris

¹⁰⁵ Süreyya, *Sicill*, vol. III, p. 793.

¹⁰⁶ Richard, "Lecteurs ottomans", p. 82.

¹⁰⁷ Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Hafid Efendi 247, vol. 1; Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, MS Hazine 1431, vol. 2, dated 950/1543.

¹⁰⁸ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Wetzstein II 349 (see Liebrecht, "The Library", p. 37); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Ar. 5951 (in this volume, al-Širwānī's ownership mark is partly canceled).

¹⁰⁹ It was first described in an undated handwritten list of Arabic and Syriac manuscripts that probably had been added recently to the royal library: *Catalogus librorum syriacorum et arabicorum tum syriaco-arabicorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Arch. AR67, fols. 344a-348a). On fol. 346b it is described as follows: "Dictionarium historicum a Tachijddino Macrisio". It was registered as an in-folio manuscript in the section of historical works and in the right margin, in

before 1733, when it was catalogued by Joseph Ascari,¹¹⁰ whose handwritten description remains where he pasted it, on the leaf facing the title page.¹¹¹ At the same time, the seal of the Royal Library was stamped on the title page and the last leaf.¹¹² Ascari's description was later inserted in the first volume of the general catalog (published in 1739) of the library's collections, where he indicates that the manuscript originated in Istanbul and was acquired recently.¹¹³ In Istanbul, the French government relied on local diplomatic agents to provide it with highly requested manuscripts, while the head of the Royal Library continued to send scholars there to acquire manuscripts wherever they could find them.¹¹⁴ One such mission was conducted by François Sevin (d. 1741) and Michel Fourmont (d. 1746) between December 1728 and July 1730. During their stay in the Ottoman capital and in other places, they succeeded in purchasing some six hundred manuscripts in various languages.¹¹⁵ In all likelihood, given their mission, we can assume that the manuscript of *al-Muqaffā* was part of this ensemble.¹¹⁶ Since the 1730s, it has been part of the royal, then national, collections.¹¹⁷

front of the description, the author of this list specified that the manuscript was part of a multi-volume work and that the total number of volumes was unknown ("una pars habet et quaequam sit ignorat", *ibid.*).

- 110 Ascari prepared a new catalog of the Arabic manuscripts that was included in the first printed catalog of the Royal Library's manuscripts. See Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits*, vol. I, p. 413.
- 111 The description reads as follows: "Hic liber manuscriptus arabicus est propria manu Authoris nomine Tachijddini cognomina Macrisij exaratus; narratus hunc decessissa anno Egre octogentesimo quadagesimo; Cairi eratque Egyptius. Est quoddam dictionarium Alphabeticum historicum continens nonnullorum Illustrium virorum tum doctrina tum militia è secta Maomethana celebriorum succinctam ac brevem historiam. Incipit a littera Tha ia, usq. ad litteram hain &. Necdum huic parsi videtur ultimam de ditta manum cum non sit bene ordinata. Fecit Joseph Ascari 1733."
- 112 The seal matches one used by the Royal Library between 1724 and 1735. See Josserand and Bruno, "Les Estampilles", p. 270-272.
- 113 *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum*, vol. I, p. 171, no. DCLXXV ("Codex bombycinus, Constantinopoli nuper in Bibliothecam regiam illatus, quo continetur Makrisii historia virorum fortitudine & doctrina clarorum, ordine alphabetico disposita. Is auctor anno Hegirae 840. Cairi diem supremum obiit").
- 114 For the seventeenth century, see Omont, *Missions archéologiques*. Unfortunately, for the eighteenth century, we do not have a similar study.
- 115 See Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits*, vol. I, p. 380-387.
- 116 The French traveler Paul Lucas (d. 1737), who made several missions to the East to acquire manuscripts, coins, and antiquities for the royal collections, made his last trip in 1723, but he could not have provided the manuscript of *al-Muqaffā*, as it still belonged to either al-Širwānī or to ʿIffatī. His trip was a short one, it lasted six months. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 371.
- 117 The manuscript's original binding was removed and replaced by a new one, of the western type, and Louis-Philippe's (r. 1830-1848) monogram was added.

3.2.2 From Istanbul to Leiden (MSS Or. 1366a, Or. 1366c, Or. 3075)

A few decades after the manuscript reached Paris, three more volumes of *al-Muqaffā* reached Europe, this time through the Low Countries. They were acquired by Everard Scheidius (1742-1794) as his ex-libris attests: "Ex Oriente accepit. E. Scheidius. 1767".¹¹⁸ Scheidius was a professor of Oriental languages and "Old Testament and Sacred Philology" from 1765 to 1793 at the (now defunct) University of Harderwijk, and, for the last year of his life, at the University of Leiden.¹¹⁹ He was an avid collector of books and managed to purchase some seventy-eight Oriental manuscripts. Unlike some of his Dutch predecessors, Scheidius never visited the Orient. He acquired his manuscripts, as he said, "from the East", but we do not have any further information as to how he did this. It seems that the purchase of several of these manuscripts, if not most of them, took place the same year, i.e. 1767, given that, apart from the three volumes of *al-Muqaffā*, other manuscripts that bear his ex-libris are similarly dated 1767.¹²⁰ The exact origin of these manuscripts and the person who served as an intermediary remain unknown, we can reasonably speculate that they originated in Istanbul.¹²¹ After his death, Scheidius' library was sold in Leiden between 19 and 22 March 1806.¹²² Several manuscripts were bought by the prominent Orientalists of the period, like Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy and his son-in-law Étienne Quatremère; from their libraries these manuscripts then passed into larger public collections in London, Munich, Manchester, and

118 His ex-libris is found on the second of two unnumbered leaves that were added when the actual binding (an Ottoman one) was made, with the exception of MS Or. 3075 that was damaged in the nineteenth century and was rebound later with a modern binding.

119 Nat, *De studie*, p. 83-90. On his efforts to publish several seminal sources like al-Maydānī's *Mağma' al-amṭāl*, al-Ġawharī's *al-Šihāh*, see Vrolijk, "Entirely Free".

120 See the following manuscripts: MS Or. 3268 (London, British Library; see Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 581-582 (no. 855)); MS Cod. Pers. 46 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; see Aumer, *Die persischen Handschriften*, vol. 1/3, p. 16); MS Cod. Arab. 453 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; Aumer, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, p. 186-187); MS Cod. Arab. 561 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; Aumer, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, p. 237-238); MS Cod. Arab. 677 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; Aumer, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, p. 306-309); MS Arabic 695 (Manchester, John Rylands Library; Mingana, *Catalogue*, cols. 410-411); Salisbury MSS 57 (New Haven, Yale University Library); Salisbury MSS 63 (New Haven, Yale University Library); MS Or. 3077 (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek; see Witkam, "The Oriental Manuscripts", p. 62).

121 According to Witkam, "Reflections", p. 102, Scheidius' note ("Ex Oriente accepit") means that he received the volumes from the Dutch ambassador in Istanbul, but Witkam fails to provide a reference to support this statement. He repeats the same statement in *idem*, "The Oriental Manuscripts", p. 62: "It is known that Scheidius was able to acquire manuscripts from Constantinople, with the assistance of the Dutch ambassador(s) that was/were located there".

122 *Bibliotheca Scheidiana*.

New Haven. The three volumes of *al-Muqaffā* featured at the sale in 1806 were given a misleading title and author (*Mutharrezii Thabacaat*).¹²³ This description matched the information indicated on the opening pages of the first and third volumes.¹²⁴ The author of the catalogue nevertheless identified the three volumes as being in the author's hand.¹²⁵ The erroneous identification was based on a misreading of the inscription found on the lower edge of volume one, where an Oriental hand had written: "*qit'a min Ṭabaqāt Maqrīzī*". Despite this misleading description, the three volumes were bought for the library of the University of Leiden for the price of 42 Dutch guilders.¹²⁶ They were given the shelf marks Or. 1366a, b, and c. Shortly after its inclusion in the Leiden holdings, it drew the attention of Sebald Rau (d. 1807), who was working on the question of mineralogy. Rau borrowed the second volume of *al-Muqaffā* and brought it home. On 12 January 1807, a freight ship carrying gunpowder moored in the city of Leiden and exploded, destroying an entire quarter, including Rau's house. Some of the manuscripts he had borrowed were salvaged from the ruins by his family who kept them, and then (finally) returned them to the University of Leiden in 1888.¹²⁷ However, the second volume of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā* had already been returned; we know this because, in 1847, the young Orientalist Reinhart Dozy (1820-1883) identified the three volumes as al-Maqrīzī's holograph of *al-Muqaffā*, and not, as alleged on the title pages of the volumes, al-Muṭarrizī's *al-Ṭabaqāt*.¹²⁸ The second volume was given a new shelf mark (Or. 3075 instead of the initial Or. 1366/b) when it was returned to the library.

3.2.3 From Egypt to Leiden (MS Or. 14533)

As we saw, by the eighteenth century, four volumes of *al-Muqaffā* had already been transferred to Europe. Of the sixteen original volumes, twelve were still available in eastern libraries, or maybe some had already been lost. Most are

123 *Ibid.*, p. 89, no. 13.

124 On the first volume, one can read, written in an Oriental hand, "*Ṭabaqāt Muṭarrizī/ġild 3/ġild awwal*", followed by an inscription in Scheidius' hand on the following leaf: "*Ṭabaqāt Muṭarrizī/ġild/awwal/Motharrezii Thabacat/Tom. I*". On the third volume, similar inscriptions are visible on the second leaf: "*Ṭabaqāt Muṭarrizī/ġild/tālīt*" (in an Oriental hand) and "Motharrezii/Thabacat/Tom. III" (in Scheidius' hand).

125 *Ibid.*: "III. voll. in forma 4ta maiori, Videtur scriptoris ἀντόγραφον unicum fortasse & in ipso Oriente huc usque ἀνέχδοτον".

126 *Ibid.* The price it fetched is marked in the copy of the catalogue held at the National Library in The Hague.

127 On the disaster and its impact on manuscripts borrowed from the Leiden holdings, see Witkam, "The Oriental Manuscripts", p. 62; *idem*, "Reflections", p. 102.

128 See Dozy, "Découverte".

now considered lost or are waiting to be correctly identified in Near Eastern collections. The contents of about two volumes survived in Egypt until the mid-twentieth century, and were then purchased and taken to Europe like the previous ones. The history of this section of *al-Muqaffā* (MS Or. 14533) remains unknown after the early tenth/sixteenth century, when they, as well as the remainder of the volumes, belonged to al-Zā'ir. At least, this was the case until the beginning of the thirteenth/nineteenth century, when some marks enabled us to reconstruct the itinerary of this part to the present day. The author of these marks was a famous Egyptian scholar with a long-lasting impact on his native country.

3.2.3.1 *Al-ʿAṭṭār*

Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-ʿAṭṭār (d. 1250/1835) was an Egyptian scholar who witnessed the French Expedition and was associated with the French scholars who accompanied Bonaparte's army. From his relationships with them, he tried to learn the modern techniques and knowledge they implemented in Egypt. He later contributed to the khedive's efforts to modernize the country. In 1245/1830, Muḥammad ʿAlī appointed him rector of al-Azhar. Finally, he played an influential role in the formation of the young Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭaḥṭawī (d. 1290/1873), not only through his teaching, but also, first and foremost, by encouraging him to join the company of Egyptians who traveled to Paris.¹²⁹

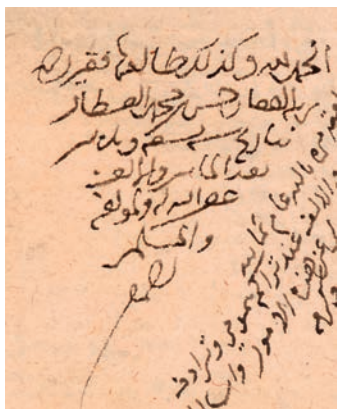


FIGURE 33

Al-ʿAṭṭār's first consultation note

COURTESY UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, LEIDEN,
MS OR. 14533, FOL. 170B

129 On al-ʿAṭṭār, see Gran, *Islamic Roots*; de Jong, "The Itinerary"; Delanoue, *Moralistes*, vol. II, p. 344-357; Kaḥḥāla, *Muḡam al-muʿallifin*, vol. I, p. 587-588 (no. 4418); Gibb, "al-ʿAṭṭār".

الحمد لله وكذلك طالعها فقير رحمة
ربه الغفار حسن بن محمد العطار
بتاريخ سنة تسعة وثلاثين
بعد المائتين والالف
غفر الله له ولولفه
والمسلمين
اجمعين

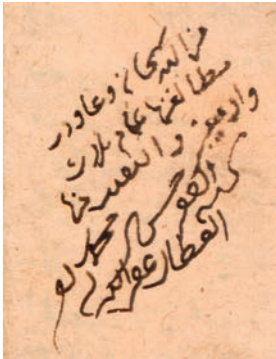


FIGURE 34

Al-ʿAṭṭār's second consultation note

COURTESY UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, LEIDEN,
MS OR. 14533, FOL. 170B

من الله سبحانه وعادته
مطالعها عام ثلاث
واربعين وانتقيت منها
كتبه الفقير حسن بن محمد
العطار غفر الله له امين

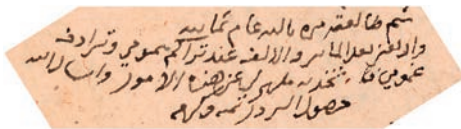


FIGURE 35 Al-ʿAṭṭār's third consultation note

COURTESY UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK,
LEIDEN, MS OR. 14533, FOL. 170B

ثم طالعته مرة ثالثة عام ثمانية
واربعين بعد المائتين والالف عند تراكم همومي وترادف
عمومي فاتخذته ملهى لي عن هذه الامور واسال الله
حصول الزور بمنه وكرمه

On three occasions, in 1239/1823-4, 1243/1827-8, and 1248/1832-3 (see figs. 33-35),¹³⁰ al-ʿAṭṭār indicated that he read the part of *al-Muqaffā* that was still in Egypt. The rather long intervals separating each of these consultation notes indicate that the manuscript was easily accessible and might suggest that al-ʿAṭṭār was in fact its owner.¹³¹ The third note, two years before his death, also expresses his distress when, as stressed by Gran, he “suffered greatly [...] from the turmoil of bureaucratic in-fighting”.¹³² Al-ʿAṭṭār’s reading of al-Maqrīzī’s *al-Muqaffā* emphasizes his interest in this scholar’s work. Unsurprisingly, al-ʿAṭṭār also consulted and annotated a copy of al-Maqrīzī’s treatise on the Arab tribes in Egypt and his renowned *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿitibār*.¹³³

On his death, al-ʿAṭṭār was survived by his slave and the son she had given him. The enmity that characterized the relations between al-ʿAṭṭār and some of his opponents at al-Azhar in his last years came to a climax after his death, when his personal effects were declared the property of the religious institution. A number of books were removed from his library and taken to al-Azhar, while others went to private libraries.¹³⁴ Al-ʿAṭṭār’s relationship with al-Ṭaḥṭāwī helps to explain how the manuscript of *al-Muqaffā* came into the latter’s possession.

3.2.3.2 *Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī*

We know from al-Ṭaḥṭāwī that some of al-ʿAṭṭār’s manuscripts passed into his hands, as his ownership is confirmed by his own testimony. In one of al-Ṭaḥṭāwī’s works, he testifies that he found numerous marginal notes added by his master al-ʿAṭṭār in a wide gamut of sources:

130 In addition, he made marginal notes on MS Leiden, MS Or. 14533, fols. 96a, 103b, 210b, 236a, 258b, 288b, 294a, 307a, 343b, 384a, 385b, 406a, 406b.

131 Interestingly, al-ʿAṭṭār’s master, al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790), owned al-Maqrīzī’s notebook now in Liège. See Bauden, “Maqriziana I/1”, p. 25-26.

132 See Gran, *Islamic Roots*, p. 129, where another note similar in tone was found in another manuscript and quoted.

133 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Bayān wa-l-ʿirāb*, MS 1150 *Tārīḥ* (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya; see Gran, *Islamic Roots*, p. 161); *idem*, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿitibār*, vol. I, MS Arabic 34 (Manchester, John Rylands Library; vol. II is held under shelf mark Arabic 35 and is by the same hand). Al-ʿAṭṭār’s notes can also be identified in various other texts by other authors: see Gran, *Islamic Roots*, appendix III. In addition, a significant copy of Ibn Ḥurraḍābiḥ’s *al-Masālik* (MS Mixt. 783, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) which al-ʿAṭṭār read during his stay in Mecca (see Zadeh, “Of Mummies”, p. 39) and a copy of Ibn Iyās’ *Badāʾir al-zuhūr* (MS Arabic 104, Manchester, John Rylands Library) also contain notes by al-ʿAṭṭār.

134 Gran, *Islamic Roots*, p. 126.

I have found in his [al-‘Aṭṭār’s] hand significant marginal notes on the book *Taqwīm al-buldān* by Ismā‘īl Abū l-Fidā’, the sultan of Hama who is also known as al-Malik al-Mu‘ayyad. I have also spotted marginal notes by the above-mentioned master in most of the history books as well as biographical dictionaries of physicians, and other books.¹³⁵

Even though al-Ṭaḥṭāwī does not specify that these manuscripts were in his possession, some of them did belong to him; for instance, he owned the same copy of Abū l-Fidā’s *Taqwīm al-buldān* that featured al-‘Aṭṭār’s marginal notes that he evoked in the above-mentioned quotation.¹³⁶ The manuscript of *al-Muqaffā* also came to be part of al-Ṭaḥṭāwī’s library. Upon al-Ṭaḥṭāwī’s death, it remained in his family’s possession until 1932, when his grandson, Muḥammad Badawī, bequeathed it to the governorate where al-Ṭaḥṭāwī’s hometown (Ṭaḥṭā) was located. The collection was thus transported to Sūhāğ (Upper Egypt), the administrative center of the governorate, where a library was built for this purpose.¹³⁷ The manuscript went unnoticed until 1958, when a scientific mission led by scholars from Cairo identified *al-Muqaffā*.¹³⁸ Thrust into the limelight, the manuscript was soon taken from Egypt to its current location.

3.2.3.3 From Sūhāğ to Leiden

In 1978, exactly twenty years after its discovery, the manuscript resurfaced in London, where it was being evaluated, prior to being offered for sale at an

135 Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, *Manāhiğ al-albāb al-miṣrīyya*, p. 375-376 (*fa-qad wağadtu bi-ḥaṭṭihi hawāmiš ġalila ‘alā kitāb Taqwīm al-buldān li-Ismā‘īl Abī l-Fidā’ sultān Ḥamāh al-mašhūr ayḍan bi-l-Malik al-Mu‘ayyad wa-li-l-šayḥ al-maḍkūr hawāmiš ayḍan wağadtuhā bi-akṭar al-tawārīḥ wa-‘alā ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’ wa-ğayrihā*). Gran, *Islamic Roots*, p. 244, where he refers to this passage and wrongly concludes that the manuscripts al-‘Aṭṭār notated belonged to al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, and thus came from his library and not that of al-‘Aṭṭār.

136 See Gran, *Islamic Roots*, p. 204 (no. 60); Zaydān, *Fihris*, vol. 1, p. 260-261 (no. 272: Zaydān does not mention the identity of the author of the marginal notes but indicates that the copy is dated 1248/1832-1833). For another manuscript now in al-Ṭaḥṭāwī’s library that bears al-‘Aṭṭār’s ownership mark, see Ğum’a ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, *Maḥṭūṭāt*, p. 77-78 (the mark is in a copy of al-Kāfiyāğī’s *Daḥīrat al-qaṣr fi tafsīr sūrat al-‘aṣr*).

137 See al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, *Lamḥa tāriḥīyya*, p. 24. Beside the printed books, it originally contained 1,067 (according to al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, *Lamḥa tāriḥīyya*,) or 1,064 manuscripts (according to ‘Amir, “Maktabat Rifā‘a Rāfi‘ al-Ṭaḥṭāwī”, p. 41). The catalogue of the manuscripts was only published in 1996-1998. See Zaydān, *Fihris*. For a study of the most important manuscripts still held in the library, see Ğum’a ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, *Maḥṭūṭāt*.

138 ‘Amir, “Maktabat Rifā‘a Rāfi‘ al-Ṭaḥṭāwī”, p. 41-42 (*aṭar taqāfi ḥaṭīr kāna li-kašfihi rağğā kabīra fi l-awsāt al-‘ilmiyya ḍālik annahu umkina iğād ġuz’ kabīr min kitāb al-Tāriḥ al-kabīr al-muqaffā li-l-Maqrīzī*).

auction at Christie's. Despite its identification in Egypt in 1958, the news had barely traveled outside the country and experts in Europe did not know of the existence of a part of *al-Muqaffā* in Egypt. A few months before the London sale, a man consulted al-Maqrīzī's three holograph volumes of *al-Muqaffā* preserved at the Leiden University Library. Aroused by such a request, Jan Just Witkam (then curator of the Oriental manuscripts) was told by the visitor, at the end of his visit, that he thought that he owned another part of the holograph of *al-Muqaffā*. Later, when Christie's accepted to offer the manuscript for sale, they contacted Witkam to confirm that it was indeed al-Maqrīzī's holograph and that it was part of *al-Muqaffā*, and they shared some pictures with him. This fortuitous combination of circumstances led Witkam to connect the events. Aware of the upcoming sale and being one of the few people in the world who could expertly appraise the manuscript, Witkam secured the necessary funds, kept the notice secret as far as possible, and spared no effort to purchase the manuscript. He eventually succeeded in acquiring the manuscript for the University of Leiden, where it was added to the holdings with the shelf mark Or. 14533.¹³⁹

Now, it is clear that, at some time between 1958 and 1978, the manuscript was purloined.¹⁴⁰ The key to understanding who was involved in this act lies in the identity of man who consulted the Leiden manuscripts in 1978. The man in question was Maḥmūd al-Ġalīlī,¹⁴¹ an Iraqi physician from Mosul, who had inherited a collection of manuscripts,¹⁴² and already owned the only known full apograph copy of al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*.¹⁴³ In 1966, he had

139 The stunning story of the acquisition of this manuscript, as narrated by the principal protagonist may be found in Witkam, *Inventory*, p. 242-244; *idem*, "Reflections", p. 103-109. Shortly after its acquisition, Witkam published an article announcing the discovery of a new part of *al-Muqaffā* in al-Maqrīzī's hand, a valuable addition to the three volumes Leiden already held. See Witkam, "Discovery". Of course, Witkam did not know that the manuscript originally belonged to al-Taḥṭāwī's library in Sūhāg. He was only informed of this shortly before 2014. See Witkam, "Reflections".

140 The thief was very careful to erase a *waqf* statement; nevertheless it can still be discerned in the upper margin of fol. 266a (من وقف ال؟). Just above it, in what appears to be the same handwriting, we can read: الجزء الثاني من تاريخ المقرئ بخطه. Interestingly, *waqf* statements were attached to al-ʿAṭṭār's manuscripts that were brought to al-Azhar after his death. See Gran, *Islamic Roots*, p. 128.

141 It took Witkam many years to identify the then owner of the manuscript; this is evidenced by his previous publications on the subject: Witkam, "Discovery", p. 354 ("at an auction at Christie's in London, from an anonymous (Egyptian or Iraqi?) vendor"); *idem*, *Inventory*, p. 242-244, (he reveals the name of the visitor, but concludes: "I will never know for sure whether Mahmoud Jalili or someone from his circle was the previous owner").

142 For a short description of the main contents of this library, see al-Šalabī, *Maḥṭūṭāt al-Mawṣil*, p. 263-265.

143 In 2002, he edited the text. See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*.

published a small article on that copy.¹⁴⁴ This may have drawn the attention of the person behind the theft in Sūhāğ, who could have approached al-Ġalilī as a potential buyer, interested in acquiring one volume of al-Maqrīzī's holograph to complete his collection. But this is pure conjecture.¹⁴⁵

4 The Apograph (MS Pertev Paşa 496)

Before the volumes of the holograph were separated from one another and followed different paths, a copy based on these manuscripts was prepared by a copyist whose identity remains unknown. Only the first volume of this apograph, covering the letters *alif-hā'*, i.e. roughly the material found in MS Or. 14533, has been identified so far. The text ends (fol. 448b) with an indication that the next volume will proceed with the biographies starting with the letter *dāl*, a detail that confirms that the whole text, as it was left by al-Maqrīzī at his death, was available to the copyist. Moreover, as has already been demonstrated, in the margins of his copy, the copyist used the holograph: he clearly differentiates the biographies that he identified as being in Ibn Ḥağar's handwriting from those in al-Maqrīzī's hand. The copyist left the leaf that was supposed to receive the title blank (fol. 1a),¹⁴⁶ a characteristic that may indicate that he hoped to sell the manuscript to a book collector who would have added a personalized frontispiece. The manuscript is also devoid of any colophon and can only be dated based on paleographical and codicological grounds. The paper used is of the Oriental type (there is no watermark) and presents the features that have been produced in the Islamic world from the sixth/eleventh century, but that became prevalent starting from the eighth/fourteenth century. The paper has vertical chain lines grouped by threes, each group separated by a little more than double the space occupied by two chain lines.¹⁴⁷ The handwriting points to the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century or the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century. Given that at that time, the holograph manuscripts were still in Egypt, it is safe to locate this apograph there too. The ownership marks were added to the title page several decades after its production.

¹⁴⁴ Al-Ġalilī, "Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda".

¹⁴⁵ Al-Ġalilī may have served as a representative for the thief.

¹⁴⁶ It was later filled with (1) three notes, in different hands, related to the contents of the book, (2) three ownership marks with one seal impression, and (3) two modern seal stamps linked to the repository where the manuscript was kept before it was transferred to its present location.

¹⁴⁷ Humbert, "Papiers non filigranés", p. 21-22.

4.1 *Al-Ṭarābulusī*

The name of the first person who owned the manuscript after the copyist himself is given by the following mark (see fig. 36):

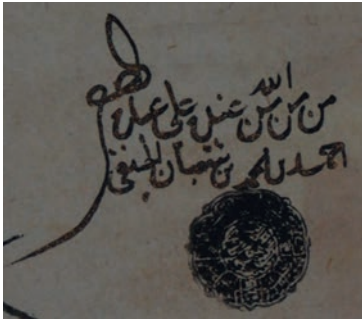


FIGURE 36

Al-Ṭarābulusī's ownership mark

COURTESY SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ,
ISTANBUL MS PERTEV PAŞA 496, FOL. 1A

من من الله عنده على عبده الفقير
احمد بن محمد بن شعبان الحنفي
indecipherable seal impression

This person can be identified as Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ša'bān al-'Umarī l-Ṭarābulusī l-Mağribī, a Ḥanafī jurist who was born in Tripoli (Libya), pursued a career in law, and worked as a judge in, among other places, Damietta. In 1016/1607-1608, he was in Istanbul, where he was appointed to a judgeship in his hometown. He headed there and died shortly thereafter, in 1020/1611.¹⁴⁸ He does not seem to have been an avid book collector, though his ownership mark can also be found in a holograph volume of al-Šafadī's *al-Taḍkira* (vol. 44).¹⁴⁹

148 Al-Muḥibbī, *Ḥulāṣat al-aṭar*, vol. III, p. 474-475; Kātib Ḥalebī, *Kašf al-zunūn*, vol. II, p. 1600; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. IV, p. 159; Kaḥḥāla, *Muḡam al-mu'allifin*, vol. I, p. 269 (no. 1954). Both al-Muḥibbī and al-Ziriklī mention his name as Muḥammad b. Ša'bān, while Kātib Ḥalebī, followed by Kaḥḥāla, give it as it stands in the ownership note. Beside this difference, all these authors indicate the same death date. The ambiguity of his name can be resolved easily, as in one of his works entitled *Tašnīf al-masma' 'alā l-Mağma'*, a commentary on Ibn al-Sa'ātī's *Mağma' al-baḥrayn* (a work on the substantive law (*furū'*) according to the Ḥanafī school), he identifies himself (both in the preamble and the authorial colophon) exactly as his name appears in his ownership mark. He also states that he completed the work in 989/1581. See MS Rağıp Paşa 519 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), fols. 1b and 646b.

149 MS 3570Y (Princeton University Library): / احمد بن محمد بن شعبان / احمد بن محمد بن شعبان الحنفي. His seal impression, also indecipherable, appears just below, but differs from the one found in our manuscript.

الله حسي
 يتق بالله ويتوكل عليه ويفوض كل اموره اليه
 عبده الخائف مستمر عفائه اسمعيل بن محمد المدعو
 بين احداثه وامرائه بكوچك چلي
 زاده جعل الله التقى زاده

TABLE 4 A list of the manuscripts in which Çelebîzâde's ownership marks have been found

Author	Title	Library	Shelf mark	Date
	<i>Mağma' al-nawādir</i>	Manchester, John Rylands Library	Persian 194	1165/ 1751-1752
Al-ʿĀmilī	<i>Šarḥ ʿalā tafsīr al-Bayḍawī</i>	Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi	Veliyüddin 410	
Amīr-i Ḥusraw Dihlavī	<i>Dīvān</i>	Manchester, John Rylands Library	Persian 221	1162/ 1748-1749
Al-Āqšahrī	<i>al-Rawḍa al-firdawsīyya</i>	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	Or. Quart. 2082	1159/ 1746-1747
Al-Buḥārī	<i>Ḥulāṣat al-fatāwā</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Reisülküttâb 408	
Al-Ğazirī	<i>Durar al-farāʿid al-munazzama</i>	Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	Arabic 5269	1158/ 1745-1746
Al-Ḥafāğī	[Poetic selections]	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Reisülküttâb 1215	
Ibn al-Aṭīr	<i>Usd al-ğāba</i>	Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi	Veliyüddin 476	1164/ 1750-1751
Ibn Nuğaym	<i>al-Ašbāḥ wa-l-naẓāʾir</i>	Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi	Veliyüddin 1027	Before 1145/ 1732-1733
Al-İğī	<i>Šarḥ muḥtaṣar Muntahā al-sūl</i>	Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi	Veliyüddin 975	
Al-Isfarāʾinī	<i>Ḥāšiya ʿalā šarḥ Šadr al-Šarīʿa's Wiqāyat al-riwāya</i>	Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi	Veliyüddin 1103	1160/1747

TABLE 4 A list of the manuscripts in which Çelebîzâde's ownership marks have been found (*cont.*)

Author	Title	Library	Shelf mark	Date
Ishâq Efendî	<i>Muntaḥab Rabîʿ al-abrâr</i>	Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi	3729	
Mustawfî	<i>Tārîḥ-i Guzîda</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofya 3072	1125/ 1713-1714
Al-Mutanabbî	<i>Dîwân</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofya 3967	
Al-Qâḍî al-Fâḍil	<i>Mukâtabât</i>	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek	Cod. Arab. 402	
al-Qūnawî	<i>Iğâz al-bayân</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Reisülküttâb 464	
Qūnawî Zâde	<i>Al-Fatâwî l-asʿadiyya</i>	Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi	Veliyüddin 1467	
Al-Şafadî	<i>Aʿyân al-ʿaşr</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France	Arabe 5859	
Şerefeddin Sabuncuoğlu (Moses Hamon)	<i>Al-Ğarrāḥiyya al-ilḥāniyya</i>	Istanbul, Institute for the History of Medicine	^a	1171/ 1757-1758
Al-Şiblî	<i>Aḥkām al-marğān</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France	Ar. 5864	
Al-Şirwānî	<i>Rawḍat al-ʿitr</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana	Arabo 877	
Tağ al-Salmān	<i>Şams al-ḥusn</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Lale Ismail 304	1162/ 1748-1749
Al-Taʿālibî	[Collection of works]	Medina, Maktabat al-Malik ʿAbd al-ʿAzîz	ʿĀrif Ḥikmat 31 <i>Mağāmîʿ</i>	1146/ 1733-1734

a See Terzioğlu, "Un traité turc", p. 121.

4.3 *Mehmed Ağazâde Tîmûr Ali*

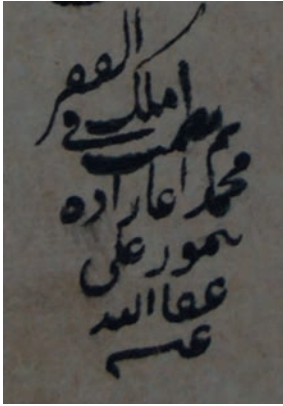


FIGURE 38
Mehmed Ağazâde Tîmûr Ali's ownership mark
COURTESY SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ, ISTANBUL MS
PERTEV PAŞA 496, FOL. 1A

ثم نظمت في ملك الفقير
محمد آغا زاده
تیمور علی
عفا الله
عنه

Though not dated, the next ownership mark (see fig. 38) probably must be considered as having been written before the following one, which is dated and corresponds to the date Pertev Paşa, the last private owner, purchased the manuscript. The name that features in this mark, Muḥammad Ağazâda Tîmûr 'Alî, could not be identified in biographical repertoires and so far, his ex libris is the only one that we have found.

4.4 *Mustafa Behcet*

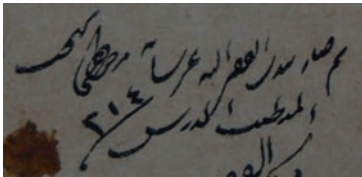


FIGURE 39
Mustafa Behcet's ownership mark
COURTESY SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ,
ISTANBUL MS PERTEV PAŞA 496, FOL. 1A

ثم صار بيدي الفقير اليه عز شأنه مصطفى بهجت
المتطبب المدرس سنة ٢١٤

The next owner (see fig. 39) was Muṣṭafā Bahğat, who is described in the mark as *al-mutaṭabbib al-mudarris* (a teaching physician). He was the son of Mehmed Emin Şükûhî Efendî. Born in 1188/1774 in Rumelia, he became a teacher (*müderriş*) in 1206/1791-1792 and, in 1218/1803, was promoted to the rank of chief physician (*reisületibba*). Beside his activity as a physician, he also composed a few works on medical issues. His activity as a translator is also noteworthy; he rendered into Ottoman Turkish Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* and, at the sultan's request, al-Ğabartî's account of the French Expedition to Egypt (*Mazhar al-taqdîs*). He died in 1249/1834.¹⁵² As the ownership mark witnesses, he bought the copy in 1214/1799-1800, when he was a *müderriş*. Beside this mark, six other ex libris of his have been identified so far:

- 1) Ibn al-Nafis' commentary on Hippocrates' *Epidemics*, MS Ṭal'at 583 *ṭibb* (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya), fol. 1a:
استكتب هذا الكتاب أنا الفقير مصطفى بهجت المتطبب غفر له
(the copy is dated 1215/1800-1801);¹⁵³
- 2) *al-Taqāsim al-insāniyya fī l-ṣūra al-baṣariyya*, MS A74 (Bethesda, MD, National Library of Medicine), fol. 1a:
من كتب مصطفى بهجت رئيس الأطباء السلطاني سنة ١٢٣٦
- 3) Şāliḥ b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ğa'farī l-Hāšimī, *Taḥḡil man ḥarrafa l-tawrāt wa-l-inğil*, MS 'Ārif Ḥikmat 130 *tawḥīd* (Medina, Maktabat al-Malik 'Abd al-'Azīz), fol. 1a:
من كتب الفقير مصطفى بهجت رئيس الأطباء السلطاني
- 4) Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥaḥir al-Ḥanafī, *Rawḍat al-adīb wa-nuzhat al-adīb* (holograph), MS Esad Efendi 2723 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), fol. 1a:
استصحبه الفقير مصطفى بهجت رئيس الأطباء السلطاني غفر له سنة ٢٣٦
(with seal impression);
- 5) al-'Aynī's *al-Tārīḥ al-badri* (holograph), MS Esad Efendi 2095 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), fol. 2a:
من كتب الفقير مصطفى بهجت / غفر له سنة ٢٣١
- 6) Abū al-Fidā's *al-Muḥtaṣar*, MS Arabe 5953 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France), fol. 1a:
من كتب الفقير مصطفى بهجت / غفر له سنة ٢٣١

These marks indicate that Mustafa Behcet collected books dealing with his professional activities, but not exclusively. This small sample also provides

¹⁵² Al-Bağdādī, *Hadīyyat al-'arīfīn*, vol. II, p. 456; *idem*, *İdāḥ al-maknūn*, vol. II, p. 738; Süreyya, *Sicill*, vol. II, p. 364; Sarı, "Behcet Mustafa Efendi". For his translation of al-Ğabartī, see al-Ğabartī, *Tārīḥ*, p. 21-22, n. 62.

¹⁵³ See Bachmann, "Quelques remarques", p. 303-304.

some clues about his collecting taste and appetite for books: if he could not acquire a manuscript from its owner, he asked for a copy of it, as attested by Ibn al-Nafīs' *Commentary*. The geographical distribution of the seven manuscripts that were once in his possession points to the fact that his library was sold at his death.

4.5 *Pertev Paşa*

On his death, Mustafa Behcet's copy of *al-Muqaffā* passed into the collection of a prominent figure of the Ottoman state: Pertev Mehmed Said Paşa, who died three years after Mustafa Behcet.¹⁵⁴ A year before, in 1252/1836, he had endowed his library, composed of 665 manuscripts, to the Selimiye Sufi convent. The library remained there until 1963, when the whole collection was transferred to the Suleymaniye Kütüphanesi where it remains until now. The catalog of his library was published in 1893-1894.¹⁵⁵

5 Conclusion

As this study has illustrated, Mamluk authors were keen to read the works of their colleagues and predecessors.¹⁵⁶ Understandably, they wanted to be aware of and benefit from the works of their peers. The manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā* bear witness that al-Maqrīzī was generous with his books; he granted access to them to known savants and colleagues (like Ibn Ḥağar) on the one hand, and aspiring scholars (like al-Ḥaydarī) on the other hand. After his death, their successive owners, often themselves readers, also granted access to them to a wide gamut of scholars who borrowed from them (like al-Suyūṭī and al-Dā'ūdī) or interfered in al-Maqrīzī's text by making additions, corrections, comments (like Ibn Ḥağar and Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba), and even reorganizing the whole text. With all these paratextual interventions, al-Maqrīzī's text started to evolve beyond his will.

Moreover, these paratextual elements help us reconstruct the itinerary, or better, the itineraries, each of the volumes followed, as they followed their own paths once they were separated from each other. For the most part, they were still available as a whole by the first half of the tenth/sixteenth century, when they were owned by book collectors like al-'Alā'ī and al-Zā'ir; in the following

154 Erünsal, "Pertev Paşa Kütüphanesi".

155 The manuscript is described (*Defter*, p. 34, no. 505) as *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanaḥfiyya li-l-imām al-muqaffā* (*sic*) on the basis of an erroneous description found on fol. 1a.

156 For instance, al-Maqrīzī got permission to peruse Ibn Ḥağar's dictionary of his authorities, *al-Mağma' al-mu'assis*, while the latter stated that he had read the former's history of Egypt up to the advent of the Fātimids. See Bauden, "Maqriziana IX", p. 168, 214, 223.

decades, the volumes were disseminated. Once in the Ottoman capital, which was renowned as an international book market and visited by collectors and scholars from the Islamic world and Europe, some volumes passed into the hands of famous Ottoman connoisseurs (‘Iffatī, al-Širwānī) before being acquired by Orientalists from France and the Low Countries. From the twelfth/ eighteenth century, these volumes have been part of public institutions, where they were and are still consulted by generations of scholars from all over the world. Al-Maqrīzī’s holograph copy of *al-Muqaffā* remained a highly desirable object. A section that remained in Egypt until the last century, after belonging to two of the most distinguished representatives of the modernizing phase of Egypt (al-‘Aṭṭār and al-Taḥṭāwī), was pilfered between 1958 and 1978, at which point it joined the three volumes that had been held in Leiden since the twelfth/eighteenth century.

As we have seen, all objects have a life ... and death. Of the original sixteen volumes of the holograph and the multi-volume apograph, only a small part has survived. While some of the missing volumes may yet resurface, the remaining ones still offer valuable insights into the way al-Maqrīzī’s text was appreciated by his peers, generation after generation, until the twenty-first century. As commodities, the copies (holograph and apograph) were sought after by scholars and book collectors. The search for consultation notes and ownership marks in manuscripts of other texts helps us contextualize the readers and/or owners of these manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā*. As such, their whole life cycle – though with some gaps – can be better traced and can enlighten us on various social aspects related to the life of books in Islam and beyond.

Appendix: Entries Ibn Ḥaġar Added to *al-Muqaffā*

<i>al-Muqaffā</i> (2006 ed.) <i>al-Muqaffā</i> (holograph mss) <i>al-Muqaffā</i> (ms Pertev 496) ^a				
vol., p.	no.	ms	fol.	fol.
i, 213-4	412	MS Or. 14533	127b	
i, 221	427	MS Or. 14533	120b	
i, 233	437	MS Or. 14533	40b	
i, 253	457	MS Or. 14533	38b	
i, 275	460	Leiden, MS Or. 1366a	14b	

a For this apograph, entries specifically indicated as having been identified by the copyist in Ibn Ḥaġar’s handwriting are referred to in this table.

(cont.)

al-Muqaffā (2006 ed.) *al-Muqaffā* (holograph MSS) *al-Muqaffā* (MS Pertev 496)

vol., p.	no.	MS	fol.	fol.
i, 293	464	Leiden, MS Or. 1366a	12b	
i, 313	498			110b
i, 313	499			110b
i, 313	500			110b
i, 318	509	MS Or. 14533	60b	112a
i, 318	510	MS Or. 14533	60b	112a
i, 323	518			113b
i, 332-3	532			116b
i, 333-4	536	MS Or. 14533	92b	
i, 336-7	541	MS Or. 14533	100b	118a
i, 337	543	MS Or. 14533	101b	
i, 363	573			126b
i, 364-5	577	MS Or. 14533	69b	127a
i, 371	588			129b
i, 371	589			129b
i, 371	591			129b
i, 375	596			131a
i, 390	614	MS Or. 14533	50b	137a
i, 420	645	MS Or. 14533	110b	147b
i, 424	651	MS Or. 14533	73b	149a
i, 449	676	MS Or. 14533	80b	159b
i, 452-3	678-9	MS Or. 14533	82b	160b
i, 454	681			161a
i, 461	687			164a
i, 467	694	MS Or. 14533	114b	
i, 467-8	694/1	MS Or. 14533	91b	
i, 468	694/3	MS Or. 14533	7a	
i, 468	694/5	MS Or. 14533	120b	
i, 469	694/7	MS Or. 14533	121b	
i, 470	694/8	MS Or. 14533	123b	
i, 473	694/10	MS Or. 14533	3b	
i, 473-4	694/11	MS Or. 14533	40b	
i, 514	694/23	MS Or. 14533	96b	
i, 518	694/26	MS Or. 14533	21b	
i, 519	694/28	MS Or. 14533	21b	

(cont.)

al-Muqaffā (2006 ed.) *al-Muqaffā* (holograph MSS) *al-Muqaffā* (MS Pertev 496)

vol., p.	no.	MS	fol.	fol.
i, 521	694/30	MS Or. 14533	76b	
i, 521	694/31	MS Or. 14533	84a	
ii, 14	698m	MS Or. 14533	135b	
ii, 34	717m	MS Or. 14533	143b	
ii, 41	725/2	MS Or. 14533	147b	
ii, 42	725/4	MS Or. 14533	151a	179b
ii, 43	726/2	MS Or. 14533	153b	
ii, 49	736	MS Or. 14533	151b	179b
ii, 51	740	MS Or. 14533	152b	180a
ii, 59	750	MS Or. 14533	156b	183a
ii, 64	756			185a
ii, 64	757			185a
ii, 66-7	760	MS Or. 14533	164a	185b
ii, 67	761	MS Or. 14533	164b	185b
ii, 69	765	MS Or. 14533	186b	
ii, 70	768			186b
ii, 71-2	772	MS Or. 14533	172b	
ii, 73	775	MS Or. 14533	173b	188a
ii, 106	782	MS Or. 14533	167b	
ii, 112	789/2	MS Or. 14533	154a	
ii, 131	801/2	MS Or. 14533	201b	209a
		MS Or. 14533	201b	
ii, 149	820	MS Or. 14533	216b	215b
ii, 156	827/2	MS Or. 14533	222b	
ii, 166	839			222a
ii, 177	847/2	MS Or. 14533	234b	
ii, 215-6	894	MS Or. 14533	262b	239b
		MS Or. 14533	269b	
		MS Or. 14533	273b	
		MS Or. 14533	285a	
ii, 223	900			241a
ii, 237	920	MS Or. 14533	298b	245b
ii, 251	925	MS Or. 14533	306b	250b
ii, 277	948/2	MS Or. 14533	294b	
ii, 278	950	MS Or. 14533	295b	

(cont.)

al-Muqaffā (2006 ed.) *al-Muqaffā* (holograph MSS) *al-Muqaffā* (MS Pertev 496)

vol., p.	no.	MS	fol.	fol.
ii, 284-5	973			262b
ii, 293-4	985	MS Or. 14533	269b	
ii, 296	988	MS Or. 14533	267b	266b
ii, 298-300	992			267b
ii, 327	1011	MS Or. 14533	324a	
ii, 350	1031	MS Or. 14533	326b	
ii, 350-1	1033	MS Or. 14533	327b	284b
ii, 350-60	1035	MS Or. 14533	339b	287b
ii, 366	1038	MS Or. 14533	343b	
ii, 372	1041	MS Or. 14533	346b	291a
ii, 372	1042	MS Or. 14533	346b	
ii, 373	1044			291b
iii, 10	1051	MS Or. 14533	353b	293a
iii, 10-1	1053/2	MS Or. 14533	356a	
iii, 11	1054	MS Or. 14533	356b	293b
iii, 11	1059			293b
iii, 39	1085	MS Or. 14533	391b	303a
iii, 39-40	1086	MS Or. 14533	391b	303a
iii, 41	1090	MS Or. 14533	393a	
iii, 49	1101			306a
iii, 89	1117/2	MS Or. 14533	423b	
iii, 152	1132			30b
iii, 155	1136	MS Or. 14533	528b	342a
iii, 155	1138	MS Or. 14533	529b	342a
iii, 161	1141/2	MS Or. 14533	534a	
iii, 162	1144			344a
iii, 173	1147/2	MS Or. 14533	513a	
iii, 191	1162			354b
iii, 193	1167			355a
iii, 243	1202			372a
iii, 260	1218/2	MS Or. 14533	432b	
iii, 261	1218/3	MS Or. 14533	468b	
iii, 261	1218/4	MS Or. 14533	521b	
iii, 261	1219	MS Or. 14533	432a	377b
iii, 261	1220	MS Or. 14533	432a	377b

(cont.)

al-Muqaffā (2006 ed.) *al-Muqaffā* (holograph MSS) *al-Muqaffā* (MS Pertev 496)

vol., p.	no.	MS	fol.	fol.
iii, 280-1	1229	MS Or. 14533	444b	383a
iii, 289	1234	MS Or. 14533	491b	386a
iii, 289	1235	MS Or. 14533	491b	386a
iii, 357	1258	MS Or. 14533	542b	409a
iii, 364	1271			411b
iii, 364	1272			411b
iii, 397	1315/2	MS Or. 14533	410b	
iii, 398	1315/3	MS Or. 14533	410b	
iii, 398	1316/2	MS Or. 14533	411b	
iii, 398	1316/3	MS Or. 14533	411b	
iii, 431	1369			432b
iii, 431	1372			433a
iii, 438	1379			434b
iv, 14	1407	MS Ar. 2144	4a	
iv, 14	1408	MS Ar. 2144	4a	
iv, 33	1431	MS Ar. 2144	20a	
iv, 33	1432	MS Ar. 2144	20b	
iv, 36	1435	MS Ar. 2144	22a	
iv, 49	1442	MS Ar. 2144	35b	
iv, 54	1449	MS Ar. 2144	38b	
		MS Ar. 2144	38b	
iv, 55	1451	MS Ar. 2144	39b	
iv, 56	1454	MS Ar. 2144	41a	
		MS Ar. 2144	41b	
iv, 64	1464	MS Ar. 2144	49a	
iv, 64	1465	MS Ar. 2144	49b	
iv, 198	1480	MS Ar. 2144	140b	
iv, 219	1486	MS Ar. 2144	155b	
iv, 220	1489	MS Ar. 2144	156b	
iv, 237	1507	MS Ar. 2144	174b	
iv, 251	1518	MS Ar. 2144	186b	
iv, 254	1520	MS Ar. 2144	187b	
iv, 257	1522	MS Ar. 2144	189b	
iv, 318	1532	MS Ar. 2144	227b	
iv, 320	1535	MS Ar. 2144	229b	

(cont.)

al-Muqaffā (2006 ed.) *al-Muqaffā* (holograph MSS) *al-Muqaffā* (MS Pertev 496)

vol., p.	no.	MS	fol.	fol.
		MS Ar. 2144	229b	
iv, 325-6	1539	MS Ar. 2144	233b	
iv, 326-7	1541	MS Ar. 2144	234b	
iv, 327-8	1543	MS Ar. 2144	235b	
iv, 328	1544	MS Ar. 2144	235b	
iv, 357	1561	MS Ar. 2144	260b	
iv, 375-6	1561/9	MS Or. A1771	152a	
v, 13	1566	MS Or. 1366a	20b	
v, 287	2034	MS Or. 1366a	202a	
		MS Or. 1366a	202b	
v, 384	2349	MS Or. 1366a	278a	
v, 388	2370	MS Or. 1366a	281a	
v, 388	2371	MS Or. 1366a	281a	
v, 395	2381	MS Or. 1366a	285b	
vi, 52	2527	MS Or. 3075	47b	
vi, 126	2703	MS Or. 3075	104b	
vi, 191	2834	MS Or. 3075	160b	
vi, 235	2931	MS Or. 3075	191b	
vi, 281-2	3043	MS Or. 3075	225b	
vii, 31-2	3125	MS Or. 1366c	31b	
vii, 34	3133	MS Or. 1366c	33a	
vii, 50	3166	MS Or. 1366c	49a	
vii, 54	3180	MS Or. 1366c	52a	
vii, 81	3245	MS Or. 1366c	77b	
vii, 83	3246	MS Or. 1366c	77b	
vii, 83	3249	MS Or. 1366c	78b	
vii, 83	3250	MS Or. 1366c	78b	
vii, 85	3257	MS Or. 1366c	79b	
vii, 180-1	3421	MS Or. 1366c	165b	
vii, 187-8	3443	MS Or. 1366c	171b	
		MS Or. 1366c	204b	
vii, 231	3516	MS Or. 1366c	204b	
vii, 231	3517	MS Or. 1366c	204b	

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