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Authors as Readers in the Mamlūk Period and Beyond

edited by
Élise Franssen



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Authors as Readers in the Mamlūk Period and Beyond

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Serie orientale

Serie diretta da
Daniela Meneghini

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Authors as Readers in the Mamlūk Period and Beyond

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Abstract

Authors read. They read to inform themselves and stay up-to-date, they read for their pleasure and to get inspired. And they write, by definition, using their readings in the course of their writing process. Authors often keep written traces (sometimes dated) of what they have read: a short statement on a manuscript page, a blurb, an anecdote in a letter to a colleague or friend, a *résumé* or notes jotted down in a notebook, a reading journal, an explicit quotation in their own work or the use of information unknown elsewhere than in a specific source.

Scrutinising authors' readings is informative on a variety of levels. It provides information on their tastes and interests, on the subjects of their work at a given period, on their methodology and possible note-taking strategies, or on their scholarly milieu. It also brings a lot to intellectual history, giving information about the texts and manuscripts circulating at a certain period, in a certain place and milieu.

The research project RASCIO (*Reader, Author, Scholar in Context of Information Over-flow*, Marie Curie Grant Agreement no. 749180, 2018-21) aimed at getting a better sense of al-Şafadī's (d. 764/1363) working method, his scholarly network, his habits as a reader and as a scholar in the extremely rich context of the beginning of the Mamlūk period. Reaching the end of the project, an international conference was to be organised in order to share the results of RASCIO and to broaden the scope by confronting these results to other situations: other authors, other periods, other places... The world pandemic of COVID-19 obliged us to cancel the event, originally planned for 10-12 December 2020 (then postponed to 13-15 April 2021), at the University Ca' Foscari Venice, and entitled *Authors as Readers in the Mamlūk Period and Beyond. Al-Şafadī and his Peers*. We nevertheless proposed that all speakers directly write an article instead of a conference paper, and to publish the initially planned proceedings. Nine speakers replied positively and this book is the result of this initiative.

Authors as Readers in the Mamlūk Period and Beyond gathers eight contributions investigating the readings of different authors from different points of view. The studied authors are mainly from pre-modern Islam – al-Qādī al-Fāḍil, Ibn Taymiyya, al-Şafadī, al-Subkī, al-Maqrīzī – with three notable exceptions: an incursion in the Ottoman nineteenth century with Es'ad Efendi, a detour by the French court of King Charles V with his physician Evrart de Conty working as a translator, and a preface mentioning the papyrus of Philodème de Gadara, from Greek Antiquity.

Keywords Authorship. Readings. Library. Scholars' library. Literary tastes. Collecting. Methodology. Scholars' networks. Book circulation. Intellectual history. Correspondence. Commentaries. Marginalia. Paratext in manuscripts.

Authors as Readers in the Mamlūk Period and Beyond

edited by Élise Franssen

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[The writers] who read books by good authors
and thumb through wise men's works
in order to make use of the ideas they contain
are on the right track.
(al-Ġāḥiḏ, cited by Pellat, C.
The Life and Works of Jāḥiḏ.
London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1969, 114)

La bibliothèque est elle-même, pour l'écrivain,
un lieu de consommation de cervelles plus ou
moins fraîches, de digestion – ou de rejet – de
la pensée d'autrui. [...] ce que la bibliothèque
d'un écrivain permet d'intercepter et d'appré-
hender, c'est moins un savoir qu'une série de
relations – relations entre des esprits par l'inter-
médiaire de textes, relations entre des textes par
l'intermédiaire de manuscrits, relation entre une
écriture et son environnement.
(Ferrer, D. "Un imperceptible trait
de gomme de tragacathe...")
D'Iorio, P.; Ferrer, D., *Bibliothèques d'écrivains*.
Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2001, 8)

**Authors as Readers
in the Mamlūk Period and Beyond**

En guise d'ouverture

Antonella Ghersetti

Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia

Le volume que j'ai le plaisir de présenter ici est la synthèse d'un plus vaste projet, que j'ai eu l'honneur de diriger et qu'Élise Franssen a développé dans le cadre d'une Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellowship à l'Université Ca' Foscari de Venise. Ce projet, *RASCIO. Reader, Author, Scholar in a Context of Information Overflow*, multiforme et novateur, avait pour but d'analyser, par le biais de l'étude pointue de la bibliothèque d'un savant de l'époque mamelouke, quelles étaient les stratégies des érudits de l'époque pour gérer l'énorme masse d'informations à leur disposition pour s'en servir afin d'écrire leurs propres ouvrages. Le thème était sans aucun doute bien choisi, ainsi que la période et la figure du savant qui a fait l'objet de cette recherche : Ḥalīl ibn Aybak al-Şafadī (1297-1363) est en effet l'un des savants les plus représentatifs de la période mamelouke, une période où l'activité intellectuelle était intense et la masse d'informations dont les hommes cultivés disposaient impressionnante.

Ce phénomène n'est pas sans nous rappeler ce qui se passe aujourd'hui-même, et notamment le problème posé par la quantité phénoménale de données qui circulent, surtout grâce aux nouvelles technologies, un phénomène qui impose – et imposait aussi à l'époque mamelouke – la mise au point de stratégies visant à sélectionner, organiser et finalement utiliser ces données pour écrire un ouvrage qui, à l'époque d'al-Şafadī, était très souvent à caractère encyclopédique et anthologique.

Chaque auteur est donc avant tout un lecteur. al-Şafadī ne faisait pas exception, comme Élise Franssen le démontre dans l'enquête exhaustive qu'elle a menée sur les textes qu'il possédait ou qu'il consultait, sur les notes qu'il y ajoutait lorsqu'il les lisait. Celles-ci révèlent

ses habitudes de lecteur et nous font connaître le réseau de savants dans lequel il évoluait. Dans une perspective comparative, d'autres chercheurs explorent ici ce même sujet concernant d'autres auteurs qu'al-Şafadī et à des époques et dans des cultures différentes. Le lecteur de cet ouvrage collectif, vu que ce volume parle de lecteurs, aura ainsi l'occasion de s'interroger sur les différentes pratiques de lecture, pour se rendre finalement compte que, dans l'univers de l'écriture tout du moins, ces pratiques, dans des contextes historiques et culturels différents, sont plus semblables qu'on ne pourrait le penser de prime abord. Je ne peux que féliciter Élise Franssen, ainsi que les chercheurs qui ont participé à cette publication, pour avoir accepté le défi d'aborder ce thème dans une perspective comparative, interdisciplinaire et novatrice qui ouvre de nouvelles pistes de recherche.

Préface

Tiziano Dorandi

CNRS

Liber legebatur, adnotabat, excerpebatque

Quand, il y a plusieurs mois, Élise Franssen m'avait invité à participer au colloque interdisciplinaire au sujet des auteurs en tant que lecteurs qu'elle organisait à l'Université Ca' Foscari de Venise, j'avais immédiatement accepté sa proposition car ce sujet correspond depuis plusieurs années à un volet de mes recherches que je n'ai pas tout à fait abandonné.

J'avais alors suggéré comme titre de mon exposé "Un auteur antique au travail : nouvelles considérations sur le *PHerc.* 1691/1021 de Philodème de Gadara". Je me proposais de revenir sur le Papyrus d'Herculanum 1691/1021, qui est un document unique de très grande importance, car il transmet un cas rarissime dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine d'un brouillon, non autographe, d'un livre : un véritable manuscrit d'auteur aux caractéristiques tout à fait spécifiques. À travers une étude de ce document et une analyse de ses particularités physiques, de sa structure et de l'organisation des données qu'on y lit, il est possible d'avoir une idée concrète de la manière de travailler de Philodème et donc de se représenter l'auteur à son écritoire en train de lire ses sources, préparer des cahiers de notes, élaborer les matériaux qu'il a recueillis et rédiger enfin un livre dans les toutes premières phases de sa composition.

Ce thème s'éloignait du thème principal du Colloque, dont le titre était *Authors as Readers in the Mamlūk Period and Beyond. Al-Şafādī and his Peers*. Il avait néanmoins attiré l'attention de l'organisatrice de la rencontre, qui l'avait accepté, suivant l'esprit d'interdisciplinarité qu'elle voulait insuffler à son projet.

La suite des événements et les difficultés liées à la terrible crise sanitaire qui persistent ont eu comme conséquence le report et ensuite l'annulation du colloque. D'où la décision, à mon avis plus qu'opportune, de la part d'Élise Franssen de se concentrer essentiellement sur la publication sous forme de volume des interventions prévues.

Le volume est maintenant devant nous et il donne une excellente idée des thèmes qui occupent notre jeune collègue et qui ont fait l'objet principal de ses recherches sur *RASCIO. Reader, Author, Scholar in a Context of Information Overflow* pendant les trois années de son séjour à Venise en tant que Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow. Ce projet vise à donner une idée de la méthode de travail d'al-Şafadī (1297-1363) et de son réseau savant, dont Franssen a analysé les habitudes de lecteur et d'érudit dans le contexte du début de la période mamelouke. Pour cela, la chercheuse s'est fondée sur l'étude approfondie d'un holographe de cet auteur : le quarante-quatrième tome des cahiers de ses lectures personnelles (*Taḍkira*). À partir de, et au-delà de ce document important, Franssen avait donc proposé à plusieurs collègues d'élargir leur champ d'action en confrontant les résultats qu'elle a obtenus à d'autres situations, d'autres auteurs, d'autres périodes, d'autres lieux. Les chapitres du volume sont une preuve concrète de la validité de l'ensemble de ce type de recherches et les résultats qui y sont présentés s'avèrent d'une grande utilité pour tous ceux qui travaillent sur ces sujets fascinants dans n'importe quel milieu culturel, région géographique ou époque, de l'Antiquité classique à l'ère moderne.

La grande majorité des chapitres du volume ont évidemment comme objet des auteurs dont la collocation géographique et la chronologie ne s'éloignent pas trop du milieu d'al-Şafadī. Deux seulement parmi eux portent sur le monde occidental (le Moyen Âge avec M. Goyens et les Temps modernes avec T. Van Hemelryck, qui s'est finalement désistée). À côté de ceux-ci, aurait dû trouver place l'article que j'avais moi-même prévu et dans lequel je me proposais de jeter un regard sur l'Antiquité gréco-romaine.

Malheureusement, pour toute une série de conséquences, je me suis trouvé dans l'impossibilité de maintenir ma promesse. C'est pour cette raison que, quand Élise Franssen m'a enfin proposé d'écrire une préface au livre, j'ai accepté son offre de bon gré et pas uniquement pour payer, par ce moyen, une partie de ma dette. J'ai en effet pensé que cette occasion m'aurait donné la possibilité de présenter un aperçu, très limité il va de soi, de ce qu'aurait été le contenu de mon chapitre et dont le but principal était celui de prouver que des pratiques semblables à celles d'al-Şafadī et à d'autres auteurs du Moyen-Âge oriental et occidental étaient déjà présentes dans la société gréco-romaine. Ces quelques pages ne remplaceront évidemment pas ma contribution, mais elles donneront au moins une toute petite idée de mes résultats. Un lecteur plus curieux trouvera, s'il le désire, une

présentation d'ensemble des conclusions auxquelles j'étais arrivé sur ces questions dans mon article "Pratiche di redazione e di produzione libraria nella biblioteca di Filodemo a Ercolano",¹ qui complète ce que j'avais écrit dans mon petit livre *Nell'officina dei classici. Come lavoravano gli autori antichi* (Roma, 2007).

Le *PHerc.* 1691/1021 fait partie de la bibliothèque personnelle du philosophe épicurien Philodème Gadara (1^{er} s. av. J.-Chr.) qui avait été enseveli par l'éruption du Vésuve de l'année 79 apr. J.-Chr. et miraculeusement découverte au milieu du XVIII^e siècle à Herculaneum. Ce papyrus présente une écriture négligée, une mise en page irrégulière ; on y aperçoit des ratures, des suppressions, des ajouts entre les lignes, dans les marges et dans l'espace entre les colonnes ; on y a détecté aussi des doublons, des annotations qui marquent des transpositions de parties de texte, des additions, des dégâts causés au texte ; en outre le rouleau est écrit aussi bien sur le recto que sur le verso. Comme le plus souvent dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine, il n'est cependant pas autographe : il a été rédigé sous dictée. Philodème avait dicté ou avait fait recopier, sous sa surveillance, sur rouleau de papyrus toute une série d'extraits tirés de plusieurs auteurs qui avaient écrit sur le sujet de son livre et qu'il avait parfois ici et là retravaillés. Ce papyrus est donc le résultat d'une première systématisation des *excerpta* rassemblés par le philosophe au fil de ses lectures pour la composition d'un livre sur l'histoire de l'Académie, de Platon à Antiochus d'Ascalon et son frère et successeur Aristos. Plus dans les détails, on peut supposer un processus de composition selon lequel Philodème avait lu, ou s'était fait lire, ses sources ; il avait marqué (*adnotare*) les passages qui l'intéressaient le plus ; ceux-ci avaient été copiés par un de ses aides ou ont été dictés à un sténographe (*notarius*). Tous ces matériaux avaient été enfin copiés sur le recto du rouleau que l'on connaît aujourd'hui comme *PHerc.* 1691/1021. Au cours de ses enquêtes ultérieures, l'Épicurien avait augmenté le dossier déjà rassemblé et copié. Ces nouveaux extraits avaient été alors ajoutés, faute d'espace, au verso du même papyrus sur lequel figurait, au recto, le texte y afférent.

Le fait que ce rouleau ne soit pas un document holographe ne doit pas non plus surprendre. Dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine l'autographie d'un texte était en effet un phénomène rare, l'écriture étant considérée comme *opus servile*, et la méthode de la dictée non seulement d'un texte littéraire, mais aussi de recueil de notes ou d'extraits, était habitude courante.² Les 165 rouleaux de papyrus qu'avait

¹ Dans Cohen-Skalli, A. (2019). *Historiens et érudits à leur écritoire*. Bordeaux : Ausonius, 69-91.

² Voir tout dernièrement Marganne, M.-H. (2020). « Comment reconnaître un autographe parmi les papyrus littéraires grecs ? L'exemple du P. Oxy. 74.4970 ». Bau-

réunis le grand érudit de l'époque flavienne Pline l'Ancien, d'énormes cahiers de notes écrits sur le recto et sur le verso, n'étaient pas non plus autographes, de la main de Pline. Ils avaient en effet été copiés ou rédigés sous la dictée par ses secrétaires. Les mêmes considérations valent aussi pour les dossiers que l'on doit présupposer à l'origine des *Nuits Attiques* d'Aulu-Gelle ainsi que pour la rédaction de ces livres en tant qu'œuvre littéraire.

Qu'un recueil de notes ait été rassemblé par un auteur en recopiant les extraits de sa propre main ou non ne change pas la mise et la fin pour laquelle ces passages étaient destinés reste la même. Ce qui est bien plus important est de remarquer que l'on retrouve des traces de cette pratique de plus en plus loin dans le temps et dans des régions et cultures entre elles assez différentes.

Si les cahiers de notes de ce genre sont assez fréquents et répandus dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine, on en repère des traces encore plus consistantes et tangibles dans le monde byzantin – où la culture de la συλλογή (recueil) a toujours joué un rôle fort –, dans le Moyen Âge occidental et jusqu'à la Renaissance, moment où j'ai arrêté mon enquête dans la pleine conscience que le phénomène est répandu bien au-delà et jusqu'à l'époque moderne. Dans ces nouveaux milieux et à ces époques différentes domine presque toujours une écriture autographe, comme dans l'entourage d'al-Şafadī.

Je ne donne que trois exemples de ces cas plus tardifs que j'ai choisis, parmi beaucoup d'autres, parce qu'ils ont déjà occupé mon attention, certes d'une manière assez marginale. Dans le monde byzantin, je signale le gros carnet de notes transmis par le manuscrit de Heidelberg, Palatinus gr. 129 du milieu du XIV^e s., autographe du grand érudit constantinopolitain Nicéphore Grégoras³ ainsi que celui du *Parisinus* gr. 2381, XIV^e s., rassemblé par un savant anonyme avec des intérêts surtout scientifiques, qui le copia en large partie de sa main.⁴ Si l'on passe à la Renaissance italienne, on peut énumérer plusieurs cahiers de notes de la main d'Ange Politien (1454-1494), parmi lesquels le *Parisinus* gr. 3069 dont j'ai récemment étudié quelques extraits.⁵

Il y a, on le voit, de quoi occuper pendant des années encore de nombreux chercheurs et envisager la publication de plusieurs ar-

den, F. ; Franssen, É. (eds), *In the Author's Hand. Holograph and Authorial Manuscripts in the Islamic Handwritten Tradition*. Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 38-54. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004413177_003.

³ On en trouvera une description dans les études répertoriées par C. Giacomelli: *Quaderni di Storia*, 80, 2014, 223 note 15.

⁴ Voir Guidetti, F. (a cura di) (2020). *Leonzio Meccanico: "Trattato sulla sfera celeste. Sulla costruzione di una sfera aratea"*. Pisa : Edizioni ETS, 7-29.

⁵ « Il corso di Angelo Poliziano sulla Isagoge di Porfirio e le Categorie di Aristotele nello Studio fiorentino (1491/1492) ». *Medioevo*, 43, 2018 (publié en 2020), 211-33.

tibles et livres sur ce sujet tout à fait intrigant et riche d'enseignements en ce qui concerne différentes expressions de la culture, que celles-ci soient holographes ou non. Un vaste monde ouvre de plus en plus ses portes devant nous. Il faut en profiter et on ne sera pas déçus des résultats qu'on atteindra. Le volume d'Élise Franssen en est un exemple à suivre.

Foreword

Élise Franssen

Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia

This miscellany is a workaround, a bypass, a fallback solution... Indeed, the initial plan was to organise a conference, and then to publish proceedings, as we would normally do. It would have been a closing conference for a great project, my Marie Skłodowska Curie project *RASCIO. Reader, Author, Scholar in a Context of Information Overflow. How to Manage and Master Knowledge When There is Too Much to Know?* (grant agreement no. 749180). The call for papers and the invitations were sent in February 2020, for a conference to be held in Venice, 10-12 December 2020. But February 2020 was when the COVID-19 pandemic began and no one imagined that an event scheduled nearly a year in advance would be impacted by this global health situation. However, in October 2020, after an entire spring and summer confined at home with my children, I had to resign myself to postponing the conference to spring of 2021, 13-15 April - and everyone was, or tried to be, confident that the situation would be over by then, and that COVID-19 would simply be part of our collective bad memories... We all know now that in Europe, even in spring a year later, we could not live, travel, and go about daily life as we used to, not at all: schools were closed again in several countries, including Belgium; the Veneto vacillated between an orange and a red zone; more or less severe lockdowns came one after another in all European countries... Winter 2022 looks the same and we still cannot see the end of this hardship...

A virtual conference could have been possible. Nevertheless, a conference without the chats at coffee breaks, the informal lunches, a farewell dinner, the human contacts and meetings seems terri-

bly sad to me. I have taken part in conferences as a remote speaker, and it has always been a very strange experience. Even if I am convinced that for environmental reasons, it is often better not to travel and to take part in conferences while at home, I could not imagine that the social apex of this project, in which I invested so much personally, intellectually and emotionally, would come to a close when I was sitting alone, at home; this was not an option. I decided to publish these “non-proceedings of a non-conference” in a surrealist – maybe surrealist – way, instead. If we are missing the conviviality of the conference anyway, we will at least want to have a written trace of the contributions from which more people can benefit and have the chance to read and reread.

And so here is the result. A journey from Antiquity to the nineteenth century across authors’ tricks and habits, tastes and methodology; a journey through the Arab-Turkish world and Europe; a journey passing by belles-lettres, medicine, correspondence, theology, and history; in brief, a wide spectrum of authors, genres, and epochs, deepening our understanding of the peculiar readers that are authors, and showing us that reading habits of people who write are often similar across the borders of place and time.

This pluri- and inter-cultural approach is comparable to that of Jürgen Paul and David Durand-Guédy, in their interesting workshop *By One’s Own Hand - for One’s Own Use* at the CSMS (Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, Hamburg University): in February 2020, they gathered specialists of Europe, the Arab world, the Iranian world, and the Turkish world, as well as of Chinese and Japanese cultures, of Hebrew manuscripts, and of Old Babylonian texts, for this interesting event. The workshop focused on manuscripts and texts for one’s personal use, whether utilitarian or for pleasure, and the proceedings, which promise to be very rich, are forthcoming (*Writing for oneself*. Berlin: de Gruyter. Studies in Manuscript Cultures); if you are reading this, you may well find their book interesting and I encourage you to seek it out.

I would like to thank all the authors who have replied positively to my request despite the tight schedule and who appear in the table of contents of this book: Frédéric Bauden, Mehdi Berriah, Yehoshua Frenkel, Michèle Goyens, Jaakko Häameen-Anttila, Stefan Leder, and Nazlı Vatanserver. I am very grateful for their participation and I very much hope to meet in person in the near future. I would also like to express my gratitude to those who had planned to take part in the conference, but had to decline my offer to include their paper: Olly Akkermann, Thomas Bauer, Fozia Bora, Caterina Bori, Roger Chartier, Carine Juvin, Ahmed al-Rahim, Adam Talib, Gowaart Vandenbossche, Tania van Hemelryck, Dirk Van Hulle, and Güllü Yıldız. I appreciate their frankness, understand their difficulties and hope to meet soon, in person.

Since this book is also the tangible conclusion of my Marie Skłodowska Curie research project *RASCIO*, this is the place to thank all the individuals and institutions who have given their support at one stage or another of the project: all my gratitude goes first to Antonella Ghersetti, my dear Supervisor; I would also like to thank Frédéric Bauden; Lisa Botter and Andrea Rudatis, both very efficient and understanding administrative support for researchers of the DSAAM (Department of Asian and North African Studies of Ca' Foscari University of Venice); the late Maria Pia Pedani and her husband Antonio Fabris; Maxim Romanov; Daniela Meneghini, pleasant colleague and editor of the oriental section of Edizioni Ca' Foscari's series *Filologie medievali e moderne*; Marius Suciu, excellent Project Officer; Vicente Martí Tormo, my dear office coworker; the Ca' Foscari Research office, and in particular Silvia Zabeo, a model of efficiency and accuracy with a great deal of humanity; Stefano Patron and Alessandro Busetto, kind and attentive librarians; Carlo Volpato; Marina Buzoni; Eugenio Burgio; Claudia Simonelli; Alessandro Rizzo; and last but not least, my dear Aimee Kelley. I am grateful to the University of Liège Oriental Languages and Literature Department for their ad hoc support and welcome during some of the strange months of the pandemic. I extend my deepest thanks to The European Union 2020 Research Programme and Ca' Foscari University Venice.

Introduction

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Once you have learnt to read, you read all the time. Whether for utilitarian reasons or for pleasure, we read so frequently that we do not even know how many times a day we do so. Part of what we read is books, and the books we choose to read tell much of our tastes and interests: browsing through someone's bookshelves can reveal much of the owner's personality, activities, and likes and dislikes. It also gives general information about the circulation of information, especially when the library observed is old: the given time and place it was possible to read the texts in question under this form.¹

Authors do read as well, and they are special readers. They are creators: litterateurs are artists whose medium is language. The scholarly production also has a hint of creativity: the only fact to produce a new text about a certain subject is an act of creation. The way we treat a particular topic, the moment we decide to treat it, the perspective we adopt, the links we tie with other realities, data or ideas... all these circumstances contain a varying degree of creativi-

1 For the Islamic world, with the notable exceptions of Hitzel 1999 and Strauss 2013, about the Ottoman period, we are lacking studies of average individuals' libraries. D'Hulster 2020 is the study of the library of a person of exception: sultan Qanşūh al-Ġawrī. The volume about Topkapı palace library at the same period is very instructive as well: see Necipoğlu et al. 2019, but their book concerns again exceptional book owners. Hirschler (2012) and Hirschler (2016) do not deal with personal libraries, but gather information about unexceptional readers. Behrens-Abouseif's texts (2018) is more general, but worth consulting, especially for its material approach to the libraries (physical structure, architecture...). Outside Islam, for Byzantium, see Cavallo, Carrié 2010; for Europe, see Hermand et al. 2014 and Cavallo, Chartier 2001 (notably Grafton 2001) and their bibliography.

ty. Nothing is lost, nothing is created, everything is transformed: we only reshuffle material seen, heard, read, or lived elsewhere. Thus, authors' libraries are extremely informative: the books owned by a certain author tell a lot of his/her tastes and subjects of predilection, but also of his/her past, present and future (possible) works.²

How can we approach an author's library? Sometimes, lists of books are known: this is the case for Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī's (d. 744/1343), for instance.³ Some authors' biographies also include indications about their library. Another source of information about an author's readings is the marks he/she left on the books read: consultation notes, comments, marginalia, ex-libris... The mere presence of these "paratexts"⁴ is already a source of information at least at two different levels. The first level is the information provided by the mark: this author owned/read/studied this book. It is already very useful and can be put in relation with the bio-bibliography of the author in question. The second level is the importance given to the record of this information. For the ex-libris, a first explanation is straight-forward: when lending or losing a book, one can more easily find it again when one's name is on it. The way to express one's ownership can be meaningful: the example of Poliziano citing his friends in his ex-libris is eloquent (see chapter 3): it inscribes himself in a network of litterateurs.⁵ Similarly, the vocabulary used by al-Şafadī or al-Maqrīzī to indicate their consultation and note-taking of a certain manuscript is interesting as well (see chapters 3 and 5): the terms chosen imply the reading, and sometimes the note-taking, the excerpting, or the extracting of the book read. The analysis of such short inscriptions opens a window on their scholarly methods. Many authors leave traces of their reading in the margins of the books. These marginalia can be of many different types:⁶ comments, sometimes disparaging for the text or its author (see al-Maqrīzī in chapter 6), thoughts, links with other information or readings, even first drafts for a new book; in the latter case, reading the marginalia is like attending the formation of a new idea, the fertilisation of one mind by an idea, a text, or, more precisely, the reading of a text. Indeed, as noted by Ferrer,⁷ the marginal note is the reference to the moment of the

² Several examples of authors' libraries will be cited in the next pages. Let us begin with Açıllı 2015; Haarmann 1984; Kohlberg 1992; Liebrecht 2018; Mejcher-Atassi 2019.

³ Hirschler 2020.

⁴ Term forged by Genette to designate any peripheral text with regard to the actual text of the book or manuscript in presence. Among others, see Genette 1982.

⁵ Grafton 2001, 259-60.

⁶ Jackson 2002 offers a wide panorama and reflection on English-language marginal annotations on books, dating back to the period between 1700 and 2000.

⁷ Ferrer 2001, 21.

reading, in the present, soon past, but it is oriented towards the future – the re-reading of the note –, and hence becomes the materialisation of this past moment of reading, of this fecund “meeting between [an author]’s disposition of mind and a text, and it carries in itself the sprout of a new text”.⁸

Traces of reading experiences, but also of what we saw, heard, or lived remain in our brain and integrate our memory, a reservoir that I imagine as a great inner library, with shelves and boxes, arranged according to specific classifications (subjects, rhymes or sonorities, ideas, but also circumstances of one’s life when reading something...) that constitute the basis for our new ideas, and this is even more true for authors. It enters what Ferrer calls “authors’ virtual library”: the intertextual references found under an author’s pen in any writings of his/her, attesting his reading of a certain text.⁹ From these references, the researcher can reconstruct a collection of titles and texts of which the author in question was aware. These intertextual references can be found in published texts, but also in ‘genesis documents’, like notebooks, reading journals, drafts etc.

Indeed, next to the “marginalists” who write directly on the book pages, there are the “extractors” who dismantle the text and write down part of it elsewhere.¹⁰ Because they feel they have to sustain their memory, or fear not to remember perfectly what they have just read or heard, these readers write down what they deem important to be recorded, for instance in a reading journal or in a commonplace book, an in-between place to store someone else’s words in order to remember them and perhaps use them oneself. We will see examples of such tools for pre-modern and modern Islam in the coming pages (especially in chapters 3 and 8); they were already used in Antiquity; examples of similar sorts of compendia are sporadically known in Europe from the twelfth century, and were in favour during the Renaissance and still during the Enlightenment but with more reluctance.¹¹ Such collections of excerpts are meant to meet several requirements: we already mentioned the demand for memory; second, writing down something read (or heard) is also a way to study it and appropriate it; third, it is the place where an author can find an argument, an example, or a thesis developed by someone else (and their more or less precise bibliographical references), in order to use it in

⁸ “[La note] est le mémorial d’une rencontre entre le texte et une disposition d’esprit, mais aussi l’épure embryonnaire d’un nouvel événement de pensée – et en dernier ressort, d’un nouveau texte qui sera dérivé du premier” (Ferrer 2001, 21; transl. by the Author).

⁹ Ferrer 2001, 15-6; 2010; for an eloquent illustration, see Van Hulle 2016.

¹⁰ These two categories were elaborated and described, with examples, by Ferrer 2001, 16-21.

¹¹ Hamesse 2001, 140, 149 *et passim*; Décultot 2003, 7-38, partic. 8-11; Blair 1996.

his/her own writings after all; fourth, such collections, personal, at first, often came to be readers' digests for others: the tendency to read only the commonplace books and not the original works anymore came to be lamented upon during the Enlightenment.¹² Similarly, the writers resorting only to their books of excerpts to compose their own books were mocked and disregarded during the same period, especially in France; but the wind-up merchants kept one as well: they had an ambiguous relation to these tools, ashamed to need one, but at the same time jealous of it and dependent on it.¹³ In fact, such tools appeared each time the sum of knowledge available in a certain culture became too heavy and wide for the human brain.¹⁴ This is a cultural convergence.¹⁵

When preserved, such reading journals are a goldmine of information. Sadly, they are not often identified as such, and thus are not studied.¹⁶ As it happens, they are not easy to study, though. Their contents are often so varied that it can be hard to find an angle of approach. If a mere list of the contents is already useful,¹⁷ it is not sufficient. What is interesting to my eyes is the links between the readings and the writing process. Indeed, for an author, the reason why it is important to record something is sometimes the project, more or less concrete, of writing something (a book, an essay, a poem...) in relation to what was just read. The reading can be the source of inspiration, or the project can condition the reading. Being able to determine what comes first (project of writing or reading) is meaningful and helps retrace the mental process of the author. Generally speaking, reconstructing the *avant-texte*, that is: gathering and organising all the documents in relation to the birth of a text (including the reconstitution of an author's library, physical or virtual) brings us behind the scenes of the writing process and make the genetic interpretation of the creation progress possible:¹⁸ it is one of the main steps of ge-

¹² Hamesse 2001, 141.

¹³ Décultot 2003, 10-11, 23-7. For instance, Montaigne, Voltaire or Diderot mocked the German scholars following the tradition of excerpting but they did it themselves as well.

¹⁴ Blair 2003; 2010. Examples are known in the Chinese culture as well: the *leishu* are commonplace books, collections of excerpts, see Blair 2007; Elman 2007.

¹⁵ Concept especially used in Prehistory studies, to characterise identical behaviours of different populations that cannot be explained by a direct influence of one population on the other. For instance, see Otte, Noiret, Remacle 2009, *passim*. It has nothing to do with Henry Jenkins' theory about past and present media contents' convergence, which he called "Convergence Culture" (see Jenkins 2006).

¹⁶ This is valid for Islamic manuscripts, and for European manuscripts as well. See Décultot 2003, 26.

¹⁷ Like the one established by Arberry 1961 for several volumes of al-Şafadī's reading journal (his *taḍkira*).

¹⁸ De Biasi 2011, 62, 68-70.

netic criticism. Notions of endogenesis (*endogenèse*) and exogenesis (*exogenèse*) were also coined in the frame of genetic criticism.¹⁹ The subject of this book concerns exogenesis: the term is defined as the “selection and appropriation of the sources”²⁰ while the endogenesis is the writing process, in its different stages of drafting and reviewing. In fact, the genetic criticism aims at analysing the written work in light of its gestation, as a process, documented by a series of documents attesting to it: drafts, but also notebooks, preliminary notes, reading journals, or titles of works read. In the end, with the genetic approach, the birth of the work studied is fully contextualised.

Indeed, when compared to the author’s production, the information about an author’s readings complements our knowledge of his/her work. For instance, we get to know if the reading of the sources is concomitant to their use or if an intermediate step is implied, like a notebook or a reading journal (*taḍkira*) as a depository of information or quotations waiting to be used in a future work, like al-Ṣafādī and Es’ad Efendi did (see chapters 3 and 8). It also provides information about the level of ‘digestion’ of the sources by the author in question: are the texts read cited *verbatim*, as al-Maqrīzī does for the *Testament of Ardašīr* (see chapter 6), or are they paraphrased? Are the original work and actual manuscript cited or not, and if yes, with which degree of precision are they cited?

To do justice to such documents, and to present most of the information available, digital tools prove extremely useful. Two specific projects come to mind as eloquent examples in this regard: the BDMP (Beckett Digital Manuscript Project), which aims at digitally presenting Beckett’s manuscripts, together with the documents of the avant-texte and other useful tools;²¹ and the BVH (Bibliothèques Virtuelles Humanistes), which gathers together digitalised documents, books and personal manuscripts of the Renaissance, as well as their digital editions and search tools.²² These examples are inspiring and could be a great source of inspiration for the Arabic manuscript tradition.

If studying authors as readers amounts mostly to dealing with case studies – each author is different and his/her readings can only be dif-

¹⁹ Debray-Genette 1979, cited by De Biasi 2011, 190-1; Van Hulle 2016, 192. The issue 51 of *Genesis* (2020), entitled “Intertextualité-Exogenèse”, is worth consulting, notably De Biasi, Gahungu 2020.

²⁰ De Biasi 2011, 190 (transl. by the Author).

²¹ Directed by Dirk Van Hulle and Marc Nixon, see <https://www.beckettarchive.org/>.

²² Directed by Chiara Lastraioli, see <http://www.bvh.univ-tours.fr>.

ferent as well – ,²³ it is still possible to widen the scope.²⁴ What we tried to do with this volume is to show the common points of different authors in their reading practices across time and space to see if general trends and peculiarities would appear.

This is not the first collection of articles about authors' libraries: at least three excellent publications come to mind when thinking of the topic.²⁵ Nevertheless, this thematic volume is different in various regards. First, its scope of study is not limited to modern writers: most of the authors tackled here date back to the pre-modern period. A straightforward consequence of this is the lack of documents. When scholars working on Flaubert or other authors of the twentieth century complain about the immensity of their documentation and the great number of preparatory documents at their disposal for one book, we, scholars working on the pre-modern period in Islam, are extremely lucky if we have both a draft and final stage of a text, or a mention in a reading journal and a quotation in a published work. Second, since we study pre-press societies, the status of fixed text is less evident than in the modern period: even after its publication – in the first sense of the word: after having been rendered public, as attested by audition certificates, for instance – , the text of a given book could change, be augmented, and/or corrected. Third, as already said, multi- and inter-disciplinarity are distinctive features of this volume. Indeed, the idea was to confront authors' practices in terms of reading across time and space. Observing the relation between the reading author and the author read, while reading ourselves the production of the reader-author offers a rich and inspiring *mise en abyme*. It is also the occasion to reflect on our own practices as readers and authors.

*

We have already mentioned several contributions in the course of this introduction, but I would like to sum up more systematically each of them. After a short glimpse into the antique world by Tiziano Dorandi in his preface, the volume follows a chronological order. Hence, the reader will find as first chapter a contribution about Saladin's state secretary, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200). Stefan Leder brilliantly shows that al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil was not simply a clerk composing stereotyped texts for the sultan's chancery, but that he was a real creative author. al-Ṣafadī would have agreed: he was an admir-

²³ This is what the bibliography of European authors show; see D'Iorio, Ferrer 2001; Knoche 2015; Van Hulle, Nixon 2013.

²⁴ A good example, for the Ottoman world, is Hitzel 1999.

²⁵ Belin et al. 2018; D'Iorio, Ferrer 2001; Knoche 2015.

er of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's poetry and gathered a collection of his verses (*Muḥtār šī'r al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil*, Selections from the Poetry of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil"). The readings of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil scrutinised here are the letters to which he responded: these are a real source of inspiration for him and the refined style he implemented in his letters of reply resonates with the letter received. In addition, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil mentioned other readings of his in his letters, his reply letters becoming both a source of information about his skills as an author and his tastes as a reader.

The mere analysis of an author's production can also provide a wealth of information about his readings. For instance, in chapter 2, Mehdi Berriah offers an analysis of Ibn Taymiyya's (d. 728/1328) readings and of his uses of the latter. The great scholarly culture of Ibn Taymiyya is shown by the wide variety of sources mastered and used wisely by him. The focus is methodological here: the reading is approached through its results in the theologian's works. This contribution shows different things. First, Ibn Taymiyya's tremendous knowledge of the texts is revealed by several examples. Second, we see his exceptional capacity in using any text if it is useful for his argumentation: Ibn Taymiyya did not confine himself to the *ḥanbalī* corpus; on the contrary, he pulled out all the stops to make his point. It shows his independence and his critical and analytical ability. It also implies that he was reading a lot. These matters of fact make Berriah think Ibn Taymiyya must have used tools like *taḍkiras* (reading journals), notebooks, summaries, and/or indexes. We hope to discover any material trace of them one day.

In the case of al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), several volumes of his *taḍkira* reached us, both holograph manuscripts and scribal copies. al-Ṣafadī's *taḍkira* is the subject of the second part of the third chapter of this volume, devoted to the scholar al-Ṣafadī as a reader (by the Author of this introduction). al-Ṣafadī's *taḍkira* is contextualised in the Islamic tradition. Its extent and contents are described. The various types of texts featured in it are excerpts of readings, texts heard (mainly poetry or riddles), first drafts of his works, or parts of the latter, and documents composed in the frame of his professional activity as chancery secretary. The first part of the article deals with the ownership and consultation marks that al-Ṣafadī left on the title page of various manuscripts. These number fifteen in the current state of research. All of them are described, as well as the manuscripts bearing them and the use al-Ṣafadī did of these readings and note-takings. al-Ṣafadī's son's library is also tackled, since, as far as we know now, it is only composed of books inherited from his father. The third part of the article concerns al-Ṣafadī's inner library, materialised by the manuscripts of other authors' texts he copied and by his own holograph manuscripts. All of this information provides us with a clearer image of al-Ṣafadī, a scholar whose methodology

is not so different from ours, a scholar who takes notes and cites his sources, whose reading agenda is dictated by scholarly and professional activities.

al-Şafadī's working method is also approached by Yehoshua Frenkel, in his article about Tāġ al-Dīn al-Subkī's and Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Şafadī. What should be the historian's methodology according to al-Subkī is explained and examples of cooperation between al-Subkī and al-Şafadī are displayed. The master-disciple relationship is thus put forward and the book is shown as 'an open enterprise': it can be emended and/or augmented by others in the course of study sessions.

With chapter five, we cross the Mediterranean. Michèle Goyens leads us to the court of King Charles V (d. 1380) where a skilful and conscientious translator, the king physician Evrart de Conty, was busy with the Middle-French translation of a pseudo-Aristotelian text: the *Problemata*. The draft of the second version of his translation has been preserved. This manuscript is extremely rich, since it contains various marginalia showing the translator at work. These demonstrate his critical mind towards the source text (the Latin translation by Bartholomew of Messina) and its commentary by Pietro de Abano at his disposition, and his struggles, hesitations, and creativity to render the technical terms and concepts in a non-intellectual language. Besides, it is the occasion to mention the diglossia at stake in the Middle Ages. In the end, Evrart de Conty appears not only as a careful and creative translator but also as an author of various comments inspired by his reading of the source text and above all, by Pietro de Abano's commentary. Some of these comments were introduced inside his translation thus forming part of the text for the later reader. Goyens finally underlines the usefulness of digital editions to render the richness of this kind of document.

Chapter six returns to the Arabic world, and more specifically, to the Mamlūk sultanate. Frédéric Bauden continues his exploration of al-Maqrīzī's (d. 845/1442) writings, , life and activities investigating this time al-Maqrīzī's readings and their relation to his contemporary scholarly production, as well as his marginalia. This study sheds light on a variety of subjects: book circulation (which works were accessible to al-Maqrīzī?), author's methodology (when did al-Maqrīzī consult the books? What did he retain from them? How did he use them?) and networking (from whom did he borrow the books?). The marginalia consist of corrections, additions or comments, and provide information about his understanding and rating of the texts he read. The article is richly illustrated and documented.

al-Maqrīzī is the author studied in chapter seven as well. Jaako Håmeen-Anttila offers us the analysis of al-Maqrīzī's account of the *Testament of Ardašīr* in his *Ḥabar 'an al-bašar*. Since we have the very manuscript al-Maqrīzī read – Miskawayhi's *Taġārib* – as a source of information for this event, and the holograph of the vol-

ume of the *Habar* where the event is featured, we can see al-Maqrīzī at work. It appears in this case that, in general, al-Maqrīzī quoted his source *verbatim*, as a faithful transmitter of the text read, except when the source text was corrupted and did not make sense, or when al-Maqrīzī misunderstood it; then, his rewriting of the text read is illuminating and provides great information about his way of thinking.

In the last chapter of this volume, Nazlı Vatansever leads us to the nineteenth-century Ottoman sultanate. We follow the readings of an important intellectual and statesman of the time, Es'ad Efendi, thanks to his *mecmū'a*. This personal notebook gathers excerpts of texts he read, but also first drafts of works of his and lists of books used to compose some of his own works. It is the perfect tool to approach Es'ad Efendi as a reader and to follow his writing activity, in parallel to his readings. Besides, his readings are influenced by the evolution of his career and the *mecmū'a* thus appears as a mirror of various facets of the man.

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Letters in My Mind

Concepts and Practices of Response in the Writing of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil

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Abstract al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, Saladin's omnipotent minister and head of the state chancery, was a famous prose stylist and a model for later authors of epistolary literature. In his letters, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil mentions the critical reading of his own texts, and he reacts to incoming letters as an inspiration for his work as an author. For this reason and as a central component of the practice and concept of correspondence, which carried his writing, the response is a pivotal topic. al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil referred to reading the letters he received, anticipated replies, encouraged or urged his addressee to respond, thereby referring to what the reception and reading of the reply letter meant to him as an author whose artful writing was meant to induce and nourish the ideal of an affective relationship.

Keywords Critical reading. Active and responsive reading. Public reading. Interrelation of writing and reading. Ornate prose style. Conceptual framework of response. Ideal of affective relationship.

The beginnings and evolution of ornate prose (*inšā'*) are closely related to the institution of the state chancery. For centuries, the refined prose style displayed by chancery scribes in letters and official documents linked the demonstration of rhetoric proficiency, the representation of political authority – in particular of the rulers in the name of whom the texts were issued – and the appeal to moral values and religious beliefs. The stylistic features such as assonance (*tarṣī'*), paronomasia (*ġinās*) and particularly prose rhyme (*saġ'*), which became



firmly established in the fourth/tenth century,¹ as well as figurative embellishment such as tropes, metaphors, similes, and allusions, and the insertion of Qur'ānic quotations and poetry, were conventional characteristics of ornate prose also beyond the Arab speaking world.² These elements of elegant and ornate style, in conjunction with the regular structuring of letters and documents and the use of specific formulaic expressions in its different parts, provided a complex formal framing.³ The composition of these multilayered texts, which might construe a multitude of equivocal references, was a highly appreciated art and underwent a remarkable evolution over the centuries, especially from the sixth/twelfth century onwards.⁴ An abundant didactical literature accompanied the scribes' work.⁵ Despite the official nature of diplomatic letters and the practical importance of official acts such as a decree (*tawqī'*, *marsūm*), an appointment (*taqlīd*) and other types of official communication – intercession (*ṣafā'a*), blame (*mu'ātaba*), reports of victories (*futūḥāt*) or minor notes (*ruq'a*) – archival preservation of original documents was rare, at least as far as we can infer from what was preserved. A major part of this literature survived in compilations of letters, documents and excerpts, and selective florilegia (or rather collections of what was available), all dedicated to prominent representatives of the art. As these collections often aimed at demonstrating the literary achievement of the secretary-authors as well as the compilers' connoisseurship, and were not composed for the purpose of historical documentation, they often anonymise the addressees of the letters or persons referred to in the documents. Yet historiography and manuals of the chancery scribes' art, as well as encyclopedias, also provide pertinent material.

This is particularly true for the oeuvre of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, 'Abd al-Rahīm b. 'Alī al-Baysānī, whose prose enjoyed an excellent reputation among contemporaries and exercised remarkable influence.⁶ Prominent chancery scribes of the Ayyubid and Mamlūk periods

1 Hachmeier 2002a, 3; 2002b, 139.

2 Mitchell 2009, 13-18, 118-44.

3 For the study of documents from the eighth to the fourteenth century, Diem 2018. Hachmeier 2002a, 27-93 examined the structure and content of the letters of Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābi'. Hein 1968, 27-93 studied the form and content of Ayyubid's diplomatic documents and letters.

4 Diem 2002, 155.

5 For the time up to the fifth/eleventh century, see Hachmeier 2002b, 142-51. In the Ayyubid period, the works of Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (d. 542/1147), on him, see Helbig 1909, 10 ff.; Ibn Mammātī (d. 606/1209); and Ibn Šiṭ al-Qurašī (d. Muḥarram 625/December-January 1227-28) were significant.

6 Diem 2020, 502.

composed anthologies of his writings, as a rule mostly letters,⁷ and thus expressed their great esteem for his highly refined and wonderfully balanced prose style. Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Dībāḡī (d. 617/1220), a chancery clerk as well as *wazīr* under Sultan al-Kāmil,⁸ composed an eclectic collection entitled *Min tarassul al-Qāḍi al-Fāḍil*.⁹ Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ‘Abd al-Ẓāhir (d. 692/1292), administrator and head of the chancery for the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars, Qalāwūn and al-Ašraf Ḥalīl,¹⁰ produced the anthology *al-Durr al-naẓīm min tarassul ‘Abd ar-Raḥīm*,¹¹ and Ğamāl al-Dīn Ibn Nubāta (d. 768/1366), poet, *adīb*, prolific author and chancery scribe, compiled *al-Fāṣil min kalām al-Fāḍil*.¹² Ibn Nubāta also acknowledged al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil’s virtuoso mastership of ornate epistolary prose composition in one of his *adab* anthologies, and compiled two collections of his own chancery prose.¹³

The bulk of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil’s writings is preserved in anonymous collections, some of which may date back to his lifetime or the early thirteenth century. Authors of works on the history of the Ayyubid period, such as al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil’s colleague ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201)¹⁴ and Abū Šāma (d. 665/1268),¹⁵ also quote his writings. Ibrahim Hafsi’s unpublished biography and edition of 430 letters and documents offers a survey of the sources, mostly manuscripts, which he used for his study.¹⁶ In addition to his letters, fragments of his *mutaḡaddidāt*, a type of journal, are also preserved.¹⁷ al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil’s letters constitute an important, yet seldom-used source for modern research on Saladin and his time,¹⁸ and the obvious prominence of his epistolary style has also encouraged modern research in Arabic epis-

7 Diem 2015, 135 points out that letters may refer to, or even convey, official decisions. A strict distinction between letters and edicts thus was not always applied.

8 al-Šafadī 1981, 398; al-Suyūṭī 1968, 216.

9 al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil ms Süleymaniye. The text was edited under the title *Rasā’il ‘an al-ḥarb wa-l-salām* (al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil 1978).

10 Meisami, Starkey 1998, 2: 303.

11 al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil 1959.

12 al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil ms London.

13 Bauer 2009, 190, 197.

14 ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī 1987.

15 Abū Šāma 1418/1997 comprises more than 120 quotations of and from al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil’s letters.

16 Hafsi 1979. Cf. Smarandache 2015. Most of these manuscripts are not edited to date. The forthcoming edition (*Rasā’il al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil*) makes use of all the material available for the 326 letters, which it contains.

17 al-Maqrīzī 1434/2013, 5: 959; Hafsi 1979, 3: nos. 1-44.

18 With the exception of Lyons, Jackson 1984. The authors refer frequently – about 250 times – to al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil’s letters preserved in various manuscripts. These references to al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil do not appear in the index of the book.

tology to include his letters. Several studies of Werner Diem contributed substantially to our acquaintance with his work.¹⁹

Born in Ascalon in 529/1135, he came to Egypt as a young man, found humble and precarious employment as a scribe in Cairo and Alexandria, and then ascended to the position of the deputy head of the Fatimid chancery in 563/1167.²⁰ Three years later, he became director of the *dīwān al-inšā'* in Cairo and held this position officially until his death, which occurred on the 6 or 7 Rabi' II 596/26 or 27 January 1200. He was actively involved in the transition from Fatimid to Ayyubid rule and served Saladin as his right hand when the latter became vizir of the Fatimid caliph al-ʿĀqid li-llāh. With the end of the Fatimid era, the submission to the Abbasid caliph's authority and the negotiation of Saladin's needs and interests were mainly conducted through al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's correspondence. Once Saladin's dominion in Egypt was established in 567/1171, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil remained his omnipotent minister and chief diplomat for more than two decades.²¹ He assisted with Saladin's war against the Franks in Syria, where he was often at Saladin's side. He also supported Saladin's expansion into northern Syria and the Ġazīra practically and diplomatically, even though he felt free to advocate the interests of Egypt in the correspondence with his patron.²² al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil entertained a literary *maḡlis* frequented by scholars and literati,²³ and among the prestigious endowments he made were, quite characteristic of his private interests, book endowments.²⁴

At this time, the institution of the chancery (*dīwān al-inšā'*) was a pillar of the state, a pivotal component of the alliance between the politico-military and the civil elites and a crucial agent of the political communication between central power and the governmental and military leadership of fief holders and members of Saladin's extended family.²⁵ al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's correspondence gives ample evidence of his personal influence and self-reliance. Even though the importance and weight of practical agendas and the style conventions of the chancery required issuing official texts according to these paradigms, there remained enough leeway for al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's proper articulation to include his authorial accentuation. His prose is a mile-

¹⁹ In Diem 2002, 10 letters of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil are considered. Diem 2015, 75-112 and 369-71, discusses, interprets and partly translates 32 letters of intercession. Diem 2020 contains pertinent observations regarding four of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's letters.

²⁰ Helbig 1909, 18.

²¹ Saladin died in 589/1193.

²² Ehrenkreutz 1972, 187 ff., 228. See also Dajānī-Shakeel 1977.

²³ al-Ṣafadī 1408/1988, 346 ff.

²⁴ Hirschler 2012, 131, 135.

²⁵ On the organisation and political impact of this institution, see also Eddé 1999, 316-22.

stone in the evolution of epistolary literature; this is not only obvious from the brilliant rhetorical elaboration of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's writings, but also apparent in his self-awareness as an author and his appreciation of letters he received and the mastership of their authors. From this perspective, reading, or the various kinds of reading, to which his letters refer, is a foundational practice for the process of writing. His letters maintain the idea of correspondence and sustain the irreplaceability of response, documenting reading as a practice and revealing that reading is a conceptual component of his writing.

In a letter addressed to 'Imād al-Dīn, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil explained that, for him, writing a text was a creative act instigated by impulse and nurtured by an enduring stimulus that would not end the moment he had composed the text. He described the constant effort of correcting and improving the texts, which he had written or dictated. When he expressed his view of his work as an author, he applied the rhetoric embellishment and hyperbolic periphrasis characteristic of the ornate prose style, yet the display of a diversity of references, allusions and linguistic nuances appears particularly elaborate here.²⁶ As correspondence between colleagues, this letter was not written in the name of Saladin or any other superior and may be considered as belonging to the genre of *ihwāniyyāt*, letters of exchange between friends and colleagues.²⁷ al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, who had recommended to Saladin the employment of 'Imād al-Dīn as his *munšī*' in the year 570/1175,²⁸ was a colleague, superior and supportive friend of 'Imād.²⁹ As the private correspondence among the urban elites of literati, scholars and civil officials later developed into a proper literary discipline, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's prose here again has a precursory and foundational character.³⁰

In the attempt to highlight aspects of the literary dimension of his epistolary work, we apply a reductive approach regarding al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's scintillating prose, which translation cannot adequately render, and concentrate instead on specific ideas to which the prose refers. Our translations are therefore selective, approximate and necessarily simplifying. It is our intent, however, to convey something of the enthusiasm that this prose induced among the educated of the time and during the following Mamlūk period and we therefore incorporate samples of his sophisticated rhetorical style.

²⁶ al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil 1978, 73-6. Cf. *Rasā'il al-Qaḍī al-Fāḍil* (forthcoming), Risāla 53.

²⁷ Hachmeier 2002a, 2, 37. Bauden 2017, 204-8.

²⁸ Richter-Bernburg 1998, 106-8.

²⁹ The title of 'Imād's historical work *al-Faḥḥ al-qussī fī al-faḥḥ al-quḍsī*, referring to Quss ibn Sā'ida, was inspired or encouraged by al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil; Richter-Bernburg 2014, 46.

³⁰ Ibn Nubāta 2019, 11.

I do not write [anything] on a scrap of paper (*fa-lā aktubu ġuzāzatan*) [he writes] without asking to bring it forward to me again in due time, and no detail (*wa-lā lum'ata*) without being exposed to utmost disgust when I read through it again (*fī stirġā'ihā*). Tirelessly I apply sharp criticism by unsheathing the sword of the Sunday-people, when I bring it in shape (*lā azālu uġarridu fī aḥḍihā sayfa ahli l-aḥādī*), and I become as frail (*wa-taḍ'ufu nafsī*) as the Sabbath-people's souls (*da'fa anfusi ahli s-sabt*) while trying to preserve it (*fī stibqā'ihā*).³¹ There are reasons for this. One is that, by God, I do not write any utterance (*lafzatan*) without being unsatisfied (*ġayru rāḍin*) afterwards, and unwilling that it is quoted or something is reproduced from it (*ġayru mu'tirin li-an tunqala 'annī wa-lā an yunqala minhā*).

Another reason, he explains, refers to his good reputation (*fīyya zunūnun ġamilatun*) and wish to “not reduce with what I write [lit. with my own hand] the credit which I have in the hearts of well-meaning people” (*wa-lā 'astarġi'u bi-yadī mā liya fī qulūbi ahli ḥusni z-zanni min al-'awārī*). He also hints at his difficult situation, explaining that his responsibilities at the chancery naturally provoke rebuke and rejection, but that he is willing to endure this situation despite all difficulties.

While this argument may be understood, in accordance with an allusion at the beginning of this letter, as an excuse for not having returned to 'Imād al-Dīn the books he had borrowed from him, the explication of his working method also highlights that al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil does not need model texts found in books in order to compose his texts. Yet his remark also implies that reading, in this case the critical reading of his own text, was a basic tool used in his work as an author. He returns to this aspect when he asserts that he never saw something written the day before that did not require being redone today (*illā wa-qtadā l-wuqūfu 'alayhi al-yawma*), either because of the depreciation of its purpose (*tasfīhan li-murāḍihi*) or the rebuke of its hyperbolic and composition (*qadḥan fī mubālaġatihi wa-qtiṣāḍihi*). In another passage of this letter, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil emphasises that for the process of writing, or dictating, he is completely within himself, not distracted by any preoccupation or disturbance (*lā a'lamu šāġilan li-qalbin aw sam'in*), and does not allow for secondary considerations or calculations. “During the dictate I do not seek confirmation of the beauty of the text (*lā stath-bitu fīhi 'alā ġariyyin*)”,³² and while writing with his own hand, he does not restrain (lit. tighten the strings of) his hand (from moving with the flow) of his ideas (*lā aḥbisu 'anāna yadī 'alā ḥātīrī*).

³¹ The edited text al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil 1978 reads *istifā'ihā*.

³² The edited text al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil 1978 reads *ġayrī*.

This idealised image of authorship served more than one purpose. al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil presented his own inspired creativity as a model and incitation, and he highlighted that the originality of his writing did not depend on books from which he would copy. It also relates to the idea that the mastery of ornate prose meant striving towards perfection. As an author, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil was well aware, of course, that his own texts were read and sometimes, if not regularly, also read aloud. Producing texts with the purpose of having them read aloud was a common practice at the chancery; official texts, such as edicts, which al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil regularly produced, might explicitly request a public reading of the document (*tilāwa*).³³ Reading letters aloud could serve a similar purpose, namely communicating them to an assembly of people. In this case, however, the performative character of the reading would contain a demonstration of the particularly artful composition of the text, making recognisable its aesthetic qualities, such as assonance and symmetry, rhyme and rhythm of the *ko-la*. The attention for both kinds of reception, we assume, were thus part of the author's strategy when he composed his texts. al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's reply to an anonymous addressee, probably a person of high standing, contains a laudation of the letter he had received. Here he mentions the reaction of those who read it aloud as an evidence for the letter's outstanding qualities and the reader's as well as the listeners' respect for its author.³⁴ "And what would our patron think", he writes, "of the faces of the slaves, as they were cheerfully shining when they read it, and of their tongues which, when articulating it, were spluttering because of their utmost respect for it?!" (*mā ḡannu mawlānā bi-wuḡūhi l-mamālīki taqra'uhu wa-hiya li-l-isfāri bi-hi tataballaḡu, wa-l-alsunati taṭaliqu bi-hi wa-hiya li-l-i'zāmi tatalaḡlaḡu*). His reference to reading aloud probably indicates a usual practice and it implies that al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil considered careful attention to the text's phonetic effects as being part of the author's task; in a reply letter to 'Imād al-Dīn, he affirms this. His eulogy, adorned by metaphoric and hyperbolic phrasing, asserts that accomplished ornate prose is a delight when read or heard (*wa-aḡḡat kutubuhā³⁵ tatahādā bayna r-rā'ina wa-l-sāmi'ina*).

In this letter, dated 14 Muḡarram 574/2 July 1178, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil elucidated more specifically that reading the artfully composed epis-

³³ His letter to an anonymous *amīr* contains an edict (*manšūr*), which he ordered – in Saladin's name – to be publicly proclaimed from the pulpit (*minbar*). al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil 1978, 234–6, spec. 236. Cf. *Rasā'il al-Qaḍī al-Fāḍil* (forthcoming), Risāla 129.

³⁴ al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, *Ḡuz' min kalām al-Qaḍī al-Fāḍil*, ff. 58b–59a (p. 118f.; cf. fig. 2). *Rasā'il al-Qaḍī al-Fāḍil* (forthcoming), Risāla 221.

³⁵ Referring to 'Imād as *al-ḡaḡra*.

tle of his addressee served as a source of inspiration.³⁶ His allusion to his own expertise as an author of refined prose at the end of his empathic appraisal of ‘Imād’s letter did not serve, or at least not centrally, his claims as an authority, but purposely correlated responsive reading and creative authorship. al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil here evokes the benefits of studying the letter in a way that penetrates to its precious essence (*wa-stašfaftu ḡawharahu t-tamīn*) and seeks healing from its grace manifest in a clear message (*wa-stašfaytu min faḍlihi l-mubīn*). The effects of ‘Imād’s letter produce an extended, if not endless, shade and protective sphere and sweet, salubrious water (*far-ṛa’aytu kitābatan warafat*³⁷ *zīlālan wa-raqqat*³⁸ *zulālan*). al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil asserts that praising the letter to the highest heavens is a forgivable wrong: the one who lets himself go unrestrained when describing it does not stumble or commit a sin, but will be forgiven (*lā ya’turu man aṭlaqa ‘ināna*³⁹ *wašfīhi fa-yakūnu muqālan*). al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil’s praise of the unchallenged uniqueness of ‘Imād’s style makes use of the notions *ḥaqīqa* and *maḡāz* in a pun that has a double entendre. ‘Imād’s letter, he states, reached the (protected) treasures of the scribe’s craft as a matter of fact and with respect to literal meaning (of course through his use of appropriate metaphors), while the utmost to be realised by a less capable person is to reach this metaphorically and with respect to metaphorical meaning (by use of less appropriate metaphors) (*Wa-ḥaṣalat min ḡaḥā’iri ḥādhihi ṣ-ṣinā’ati ‘alā l-ḥaqīqa, wa-quṣārā l-muqaṣṣiri an yaḥṣula ‘alā l-maḡāzi*). ‘Imād’s pen (lit. ‘pens’; the plural is employed hyperbolically) is, metaphorically, the conquering sword of the hero to whom “the land of rhetoric” was made subservient (*ḡulūlan*),⁴⁰ in reference to the Qur’ānic notion.⁴¹ After elaborating on the significant equitation of the chancery scribe’s pen and political power, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil insinuates that the recognition of the letter’s superior quality is a binding juridical act: ‘Imād al-Dīn’s letters were considered to replace his hand (used for vowing, we infer; *wa-stunībat*⁴² *kutubuhā ‘an yadihā*), and they thus constitute a protecting hindrance (or, intended ambiguity, a butt) for the sinners (*fa-hiya ‘urḡatun li-l-*

36 ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī 1987a, 108-10, reproduced by Hafsi 1979, no. 67. In the quoted passage, we correct a few readings of the editor of ‘Imād’s *al-Barq al-šāmī*. For a documentation of the variants, which appear in manuscripts containing anonymous collections of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil’s letters, see *Rasā’il al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil* (forthcoming), Risāla 169.

37 ‘Imād al-Dīn 1987a reads *raqqat*.

38 ‘Imād al-Dīn 1987a reads *rāqat*.

39 ‘Imād al-Dīn 1987a reads *lisān*.

40 ‘Imād al-Dīn 1987a reads *ḡulūlan*.

41 67:15: “He it was who made the earth subservient to you”.

42 ‘Imād al-Dīn 1987a reads *unši’at*.

āṭimīn). As a condition for this rule, “the testimonies for its superiority or quality were brought forward (*wa-ubdiyati š-šahādātu bi-faḍlihā*)”. Therefore, the Qur’ānic precept would be applicable: “We shall not conceal the testimony of God, or else we are counted sinners”.⁴³

In a particular expression of his appreciation for ‘Imād’s letter, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil relates his reading of it to his own work as an author. ‘Imād’s letters, “every passage of which appears as a unique and inimitable pearl (of a necklace; *wa-ġadat kullu fiqratin minhā yatīmatan*)”, he states, would make a deep impression on every reader. If this is the case, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil argues further, “for the one who is not directly addressed or concerned (*man lam yakun bi-hā ma’niyyan*), or for the one whom the concealed, intended meaning of the letter might allude to (*wa-man rubbamā kāna sirru surūrihā ‘anhu makniyyan*)”, what would one think of someone like himself?

Someone who takes up from them the tiny twilight of daybreak as evidence (*fa-mā z-zannu bi-man*⁴⁴ *yataqalladu minhā l-faġra*⁴⁵ *burhānan*), and to whom the (everlasting) stones of their exquisite features (*ḥawālidu*⁴⁶ *maḥāsinihā*) grant that they will endure for a time after the [end of] time? Someone whose petrified thought becomes flexible (*talīnu ṣaḥriyyatu fikrihi*), and who is sustained by these letters in his effort of inventing figurative expression (*fa-yakūnu bi-hā ‘alā tawliḍi l-ma’ānī mu’ānan*)?!

One may suggest that al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil’s praise reflected the ambitious style of ‘Imād’s ornate prose. However, when al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil referred to the personal experience of receiving inspiration from reading this letter, he again spoke to his addressee as an author who read his prose. A short reference to his reading experience also appears in a reply preserved in Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir’s (d. 692/1292) collection *al-Durr an-naẓīm min tarassul ‘Abd ar-Raḥīm*.⁴⁷ The remark concerns the letter al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil had received from his anonymous addressee and regards his expertise of active and responsive reading: while reading, he wrote, he elaborated in his mind on the ideas, or figurative expressions, that the wording of the letter suggested. Yet apart from this aspect, this letter’s character is quite different from what he wrote to ‘Imād al-Dīn.

⁴³ 5:106: *wa-lā naktumu šahādata llāhi innā iḡan la-mina l-āṭimīna*. The context here is the testimony for a bequest.

⁴⁴ ‘Imād al-Dīn 1987a reads *li-man*.

⁴⁵ ‘Imād al-Dīn 1987a reads *li-l-faġr*.

⁴⁶ The three stones of the fireplace that support the cooking-pot.

⁴⁷ al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil 1378/1959, 55 ff. *Rasā’il al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil* (forthcoming), Risāla 280. For Ibn ‘Abd az-Zāhir, see above.

The duties as a chancery scribe, we may suppose, required the production of letters of reply as a common diplomatic practice, and included the convention of an articulation of gratitude for a received letter. al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil applied this scheme here in his own fashion. A major thematic aspect of the missive, as we read it, regards the value that he bestowed upon the communication with his correspondent, while the style of the received letter was less significant. Making use of an established motif, he placed next to the conventional eulogy of his addressee five verses complaining about the grief and despair caused by separation from the beloved – “The letter reached the distressed because separation afflicted him” (*al-ka’iba li-mā ‘arāhu min al-firāqi*).⁴⁸ Continuing in this vein, he confirmed the arrival of the addressee’s letter: “The illustrious letter reached me at a time of looking forward (to it with great impatience) and of an anticipation growing every day” (*waṣala l-kitābu l-karīmu ilayya hīna taṭallu’in šadīd wa-tawaqu’in yazīdu fī kulli yawmin ḡadīd*). The author’s relief and delight upon being in contact with his correspondent again explained his esteem for the letter, which he received with utmost care and respect.

When he⁴⁹ broke its seal and kissed the letter [lit. his lips came close to the abundant refreshment⁵⁰ that it offered] and let his gaze pasture freely in its blossoming [meadowland] (*fa-lammā faḍḍa ḥitāmahu wa-šāfaha mudāmahu wa-sarraḥa nāzirahu fī nāḍirihi*), and when he augmented in his mind the ideas, or figurative expressions, of the letters wording (*wa-tazayyada ma’āniyahu min alfāzihi fī ḥātiri*), and studied what the writing had laid down (*waqafa ‘alā rasmihi*), and inferred (*qaḍā*) what the mamlūk [referring to himself] had to honour and observe according to his instruction (*mā yaḡibu mina t-ta’ziimi ‘alā rasmihi*), and saw a plantation full of ripened fruits (*rawḍatan qad ayna’at*) and gardens which had blossomed, bearing fruits (*qad azharat wa-aṭmarat*), his mind (*sarā’ir*) was delighted and his heart (*ḍamā’ir*) gladdened. The ties of his benevolence (*asbāb ni’amihi*) were reaffirmed in him, and renewed were for him (*‘indahu*) the obligations resulting from his nobleness (*min ‘uhūdi karamihi*).

As we may infer from al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil’s references to the letters, which he had received or expected to receive, many of his letters were factually or intentionally part of an exchange. Yet the collections

⁴⁸ Aḥmad Badawī included these verses in his edition of the *Dīwān* (al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil 1961, 493, no. 607).

⁴⁹ The author’s use of the third person, after referring to himself in the first person, ties in with the preceding poem and alludes to his authorship of the verses.

⁵⁰ *Mudām*, lit. continuing rain; also wine.

that preserve his writings focus on al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍīl as the author of outstanding ornate prose and thus do not contain replies or letters that were sent to him. Notwithstanding the scarceness of documented correspondence containing letters from both sides,⁵¹ we may certainly suppose that the exchange of letters was a routine particularly in matters of political significance. A letter written in the name of Saladin and sent to the Abbasid caliph after the conquest of Sinğār, when Saladin stayed at Nişibīn in the early month of Ramaḍān of the year 578/December-January 1182-1183, contains al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍīl's allusion to letters he had received earlier from the caliph. Saladin's military operations in the Ġazīra and his objective to subdue Mosul were contested matters,⁵² and al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍīl was obviously anxious to emphasise Saladin's docility in reaction to the caliph's letters.⁵³ "Whatever replies reached him [i.e. Saladin] extended the pastures of hope, lightened the lamps of accepted guidance, reached his inner craves, and deepened his insight even though its perspicacity had waned" (*wa-mahmā waradahu mina l-aǧwibati fasaḥa masāriḥa r-raǧā'i, wa-aḍkā maşābīḥa l-ihtidā'i, wa-balaġa fī nafsīhi munāhā, wa-zāda fī başīratīhi wa-in kāna stibşāruhā qad tanāhā*).

Diplomatic correspondence, as this case illustrates, was a means of polite communication articulating and negotiating specific political interests. More generally, communication through the exchange of letters granted relational contact and served the social cohesion between the participants, important for the functioning of the state and the networking of the head of the chancery. The intersecting of both perspectives, duty and personal relationship, fostered diplomacy and provided personal statement with authority. The wide range of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍīl's correspondence in the wider context of the state chancery, may illustrate this aspect.⁵⁴ At the same time, the collections of excerpts, represented here by the Konya manuscript, manifest the perception of his writings as epistolary literature largely independent of the historical and functional contexts of the chancery. Detached from the circumstance of the individual communication, this literature depicts and models the common cultural exercise of writing and receiving messages composed in accordance to the exi-

⁵¹ As an exception, see Bauden 2017. 'Imād al-Dīn 1987 also occasionally includes the exchange of letters from both sides.

⁵² Lyons, Jackson 1984, 182.

⁵³ al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍīl 1978, 65-8, spec. 66. For the dating of the letter, see ms London, British Museum 25757, f. 88a. Cf. *Rasā'il al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍīl* (forthcoming), Risāla 50.

⁵⁴ A preliminary list of 2,080 items of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍīl's correspondence (letters, documents and fragments), many of which are preserved in several sources, does certainly not comprise everything preserved. Even if this list may still hide so far unrevealed cases of multiple preservation in several sources, it may give an idea of the extent of the author's activity.

gent conventions of ornate prose. Yet even if the practice of reading remains in the background, we can discern an implicit notion of readership. For instance, when al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil explained in his response the impact and value of a letter he had received from the Emir ‘Izz al-Dīn Mūsak, Saladin’s nephew (d. 585/1189),⁵⁵ he insinuated that he had held it in his hands, read it and appreciated it. He mentions the significance of the *amīr*’s letter as a means of access to the sender (*ḡarī’a*), describes the sensual sensation that the musk-scent of its ink conveyed, and the smell that spread when he touched it, as well as the cheerfulness that arose from the reflecting surface of its page (*al-biṣru l-lā’iḡu min mir’āti ṡirsihi*).⁵⁶

In al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil’s writing, the composition and reception of letters were closely interrelated, not only for the exigencies of the chancery and not only in terms of the author’s explicit reference to the impulse that reading might afford to writing. Letters of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil suggest that receiving replies was a purpose and postulate of his writing, since they were a medium of expressing an idealised affective relationship often conveyed according to literary convention through love poetry. Independent of how al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil’s use of this theme related to literary tradition and to the relationship between the persons concerned in the individual case, it often stands for the importance given to the reciprocity of correspondence: the idea and practice of response was a concept that drove and structured his writing. One may encounter in al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil’s writing the solicitation of a close relationship with the addressee in a particularly elaborate manner. However, this aspect is to some extent a common trait of correspondence⁵⁷ and al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil’s elaboration of this motif illustrates his art of prose composition in the framework of chancery letters and more specifically relates to the conceptual framework of response. Both the aesthetic dimension of its literary articulation and the pragmatic objective of valuing the relationship between the author and his addressee are plausible incentives for this practice.

Waiting for a reply impatiently, urging the addressee to send a reply and despair over the addressee’s abstinence from replying are *topoi*, which explain the author’s attachment and wish for reciprocity. His pleas may very well have been a concern of plausible actuality, such as the sickness of his addressee, and he thus described his impatience to receive a letter, which would announce recovery. “He (referring to himself as *ḡādim*) waits for a reply letter which lets him expect an answer to the invocations elevated to their creator (*fa-hu-*

⁵⁵ Abū Šāma 1418/1997, 4: 108.

⁵⁶ al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil 1978, 47-50, spec. 47. Cf. *Rasā’il al-Qaḍī al-Fāḍil* (forthcoming), Risāla 35.

⁵⁷ Diem 2015, 275.

wa yantaḡiru ḡawāban yanḡuru bi-hi ilā ḡawābi l-ad‘iyati l-marfū‘ati ilā ḡāliqihā).⁵⁸ al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil’s concern for the continuity of communication with his correspondent and the responsiveness of his addressees pervades many of his letters. Letters, it seems, were written in order to assure and encourage communication. Metaphorically, communication – through letter writing, one must note – signifies life.

In an undated letter to Saladin, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil implores him to resume the correspondence. The metaphoric use of the terms truce and war, and the inversion of their meaning make his plea particularly impressive.⁵⁹ The arrows, which he asks Saladin to shoot, revive, and the truce, which means that no arrows are shot, is a deadly peril.

The slave over time entered a truce (*kāna l-mamlūk ma‘a l-ayyām ‘alā hudnatin*), yet it declared its proper war since our patron’s hand made him become *hors de combat*, depriving him of the weapon of its letters (*fa-āḍinat bi-ḡarbihā muḡ ‘aṭṭalathu yadu mawlānā min silāḡi kutubihā*). [...] When the arrow of our patron’s letters is notched for the bowstring, it revives the moment it hits, the slain (*wa-s-sahmu min kutubi mawlāna idā fuwwiqa aḡyā bi-‘iṣābatihī l-maḡtala*). By God, he is a marksman who revives with his shot, and a renegade whose forbearance kills (*fa-lillāhi huwa min rāmin rāmin yuḡyī bi-ramyihī, wa-nāhin yaḡtulu bi-nahyihī*). The slave had a share (*sahm*) of his patron’s letters, which kept him alive, and when they stopped to flow, the share became an arrow (*sahm*), which destroyed him (*kāna li-l-mamlūki saḡmun min kutubi mawlānā yuḡyīhi fa-lammā nḡaṭa‘at ṡāra saḡman yurḡihī*). So induce the arrow to hit him – if not, he is killed by its failure to appear (*fa-‘arid ‘alayhī s-sahma wa-illā qutila bi-‘uṭlatihī*).

In another instance, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil compares the effect of the addressee’s letter that revives the reader to that of the rain, which brings back vegetation to the dried earth as the Qur’ān depicts it,⁶⁰ and thus gives emphasis to this idea.⁶¹

The condition of the hearts is like the condition of this (lifeless) earth, lifeless when the letters ceased as is the numbness of the earth when rain has stopped to fall (*ka-ḡalika ḡālu l-qulūbi ka-*

⁵⁸ al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, *Ḡuz’ min kalām al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil* (ms Konya, Yūsuf Aḡhā 4881), ff. 58a-b (p. 117; cf. figs 1-2). *Rasā’il al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil* (forthcoming), Risāla 220.

⁵⁹ al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, *Ḡuz’ min kalām al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil*, ff. 55a-b (p. 111). *Rasā’il al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil* (forthcoming), Risāla 214.

⁶⁰ 22:5: *wa-tarā l-arḡa ḡamidatan fa-iḡā ‘anzalnā ‘alayḡa l-mā‘a htazat wa-rabat wa-anbatat min kulli zawḡin baḡiḡin*.

⁶¹ al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, *Ḡuz’ min kalām al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil*, ff. 58b-59a (pp. 118-19; cf. fig. 2). For another quotation from the same letter, see fn. 34.

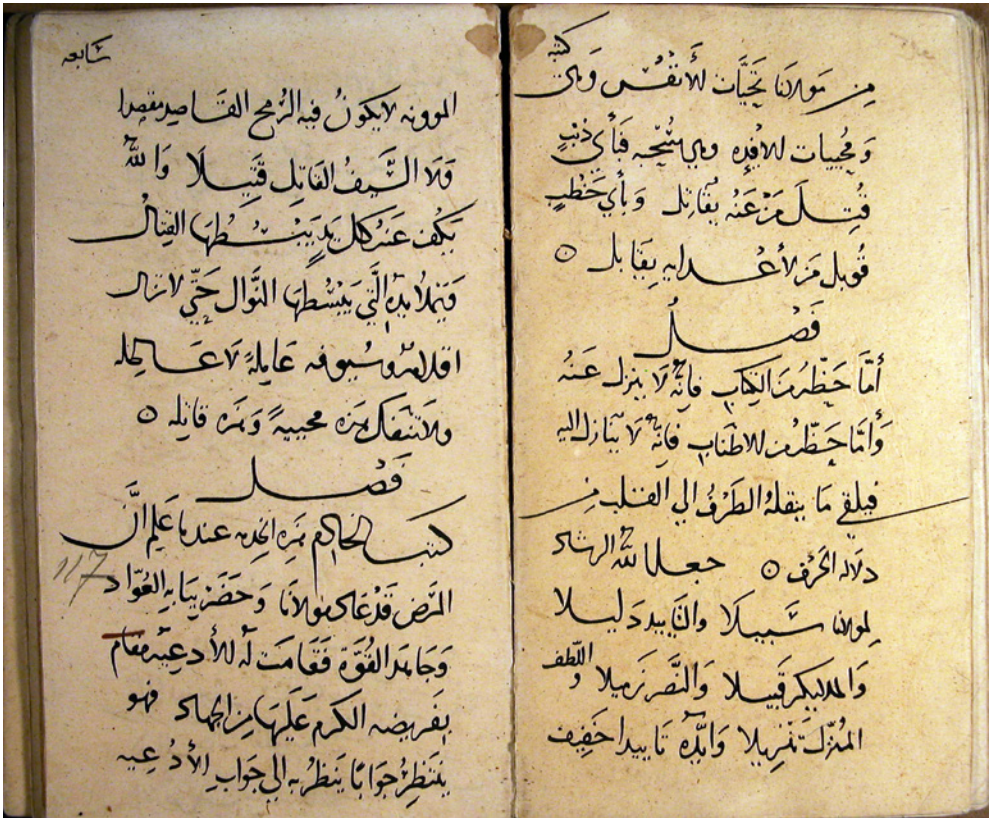


Figure 1 al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil. *Ġuz' min kalām al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil*. Ms Konya, Yūsuf Aghā 4881, ff. 116-17

ḥālī ḥāḍihi l-arḍi, hāmidatun iḡā nqaṭa'ati l-kutubu humūda l-arḍi iḡā nqaṭa'ati s-saḥābu). When the letter came [down] to us from our patron, it was as if rain would fall upon us (*fa-iḡā nazala bi-nā min mawlānā l-kitābu fa-huwa ka-mā nazala 'alaynā s-saḥābu*). It brought life [lit. motion] back into the bodies (with the alertness of the mind reawakened), just as the dried earth [i.e. its vegetation] comes into motion again. Fresh ideas grew from every fragrant pool, as the earth brings forward all kinds of splendid plants (*fa-hazza l-aṭāfa htizāza l-arḍi l-iḡāfi, wa-anbatati l-ḥawāṭiru min kul-li rawḍin 'arīḡ inbāta l-arḍi kulla zawḡin bahīḡ*).

This simile represents the reply letter as a source of life and intellectual vitality and reveals the significance of a fecund topic in the writing of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil. As the extracts above show, he referred to letters received, anticipated replies and encouraged or urged his addressee to respond. The topic of the reply relates his concept of

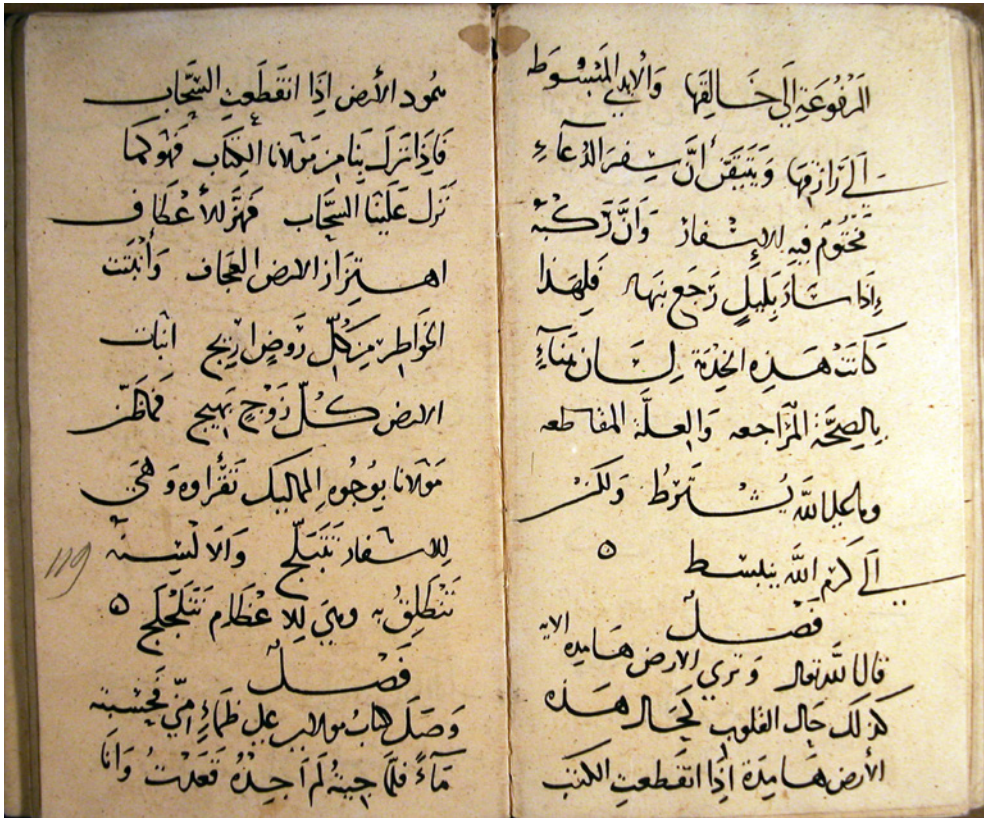


Figure 2 al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil. *Ġuz' min kalām al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil*. Ms Konya, Yūsuf Aghā 4881, ff. 118-119

authorship to the idealized image of reading: al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's mind responds to the stimulating text he reads, and reading is not only a means of absorbing the text, but also of valuing the courtesy implied by the sending of the message. The expression of appreciation is generally a formal aspect of letters, yet the rhetorical elaboration on the image of affective relationship, which the issue of the reply letter accommodates and invites in the context of both diplomatic and private correspondence, is an essential component of the communication that ornate prose is expected to entertain and frame. The reply letter serves as a means to construe affective relationships in a context of intersecting social conventions and established literary themes. Pivotal as it is for any correspondence, the reply letter is an essential feature of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's prose, independent of its true appearance and shape.

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Ibn Taymiyya's Methodology Regarding his Sources. Reading, Selection and Use

Preliminary Study and Perspectives

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Abstract Over the past two decades, the growing number of works on Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) has confirmed the ever-growing interest of scholars in the famous Ḥanbalī theologian of Damascus, who is undeniably one of the most studied and well-known medieval Muslim theologians. In addition to the diversity of the subjects covered, the analysis of Ibn Taymiyya's writings demonstrates the author's vast erudition and his argumentation methodology, which was both efficient and complex. Even though he has been the subject of research in both the Arab world and Western scholarship, grey areas remain regarding what can be called Ibn Taymiyya's source methodology. Based on a close reading of a sample of the Ḥanbalī theologian's writings, this article attempts to provide some preliminary information on Ibn Taymiyya's way of reading, selection and use of sources in his argumentation methodology. Far from being an exhaustive study that would require a complete analysis of the Ḥanbalī scholar's work, this article aims to be a preliminary study to suggest analytical and research perspectives.

Keywords Way of reading texts. Source methodology. Companions. *ḡumhūr al-ṣaḥāba*. Intellectual independence. Pluri-*madhhab* referencing. Aš'arī. *Mutakallimūn*. Isnād.

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1 Introduction

Ibn Taymiyya is undeniably one of the most studied medieval Muslim theologians and one who raises the most interest among researchers both in the Arab world and in the West. This is due to his numerous works on a wide range of subjects, in which a rich and complex writing still influences to a certain extent contemporary Islam. As a result, Ibn Taymiyya is more often (mis)quoted than understood.¹

The flowering of works over the last two decades has broadened our knowledge of the theologian's work and thought including his position in matters of dogma, Sufism, logic, philosophy, politics but also the later reception of his writings and principles. However, the significant number of works on Ibn Taymiyya is still insufficient to hope to propose a definitive introduction to his thought and writings.² Ibn Taymiyya's enormous body of work was due to his vast erudition that came from the study and knowledge of a corpus of sources as wide as they were varied, just like the diversity of the subjects he dealt with in depth. In his writings, Ibn Taymiyya quoted jurists, theologians, exegetes, *muḥaddithūn*, Sufi masters, philosophers, historians – whether he liked them or not – and their works, sometimes to support his opinion and elsewhere to criticise and refute the views of his opponents. The fact that Ibn Taymiyya used such a corpus of sources confirms his “intellectual independence”.³ It is also because of his views and his profound knowledge of Aristotelian logic, Greek philosophy and *kalām*, but also because all these elements influenced his methodology, that Ibn Taymiyya was criticised by some traditionalists, including the Ḥanbalīs and other scholars from his circle like al-Dahabī.⁴

One only needs to read Ibn Taymiyya's *magnum opus Dar' al-ta'arūḍ* to be made aware of his vast erudition, which many of his contemporaries acknowledged, whether they were close to him or adversaries, an erudition before which, in the words of Yahya Michot, “on ne peut rester que pantois”.⁵ Recently, Carl Sharif El-Tobgui has shown that the *Dar' al-ta'arūḍ*:

reveals a broadly coherent system of thought that draws on diverse intellectual resources. Ibn Taymiyya synthesized these resources and, combining them with his own unique contributions, created an approach to the question of reason and revelation that stands

1 Rapoport, Shahab 2010, 4; Michot 2020b.

2 Rapoport, Shahab 2010, 5; Michot 2020a, VI-VII.

3 Anjum 2012, 184; El-Tobgui 2019, 87-93.

4 Bori 2010, 35-9; al-Matroudi 2006, 20-3; Michot 2000, 600; Von Kügelgen 2013, 257-8.

5 Michot 2000, 599.

in marked contrast to previously articulated approaches. Through this ambitious undertaking, Ibn Taymiyya develops views and arguments that have implications for fields ranging from the interpretation of scripture to ontology, epistemology, and the theory of language.⁶

It is true that Ibn Taymiyya's rather dry writing style, as well as his repetitive digressions and tangled discussions that overshadow the internal structure of his arguments, coupled with an uninterrupted flow of detailed information and quotations, often make his writings difficult to read – the level of difficulty varying from work to work. However, despite these difficulties, one can analyse Ibn Taymiyya's discursive strategy and some of these aspects have already been studied.

In his book *Ibn Taymiyya: ḥayātu-hu*, Muḥammad Abū Zahra (d. 1974) highlighted Ibn Taymiyya's writing *manḥağ* in *tafsīr*, issues related to dogma, jurisprudence and Sufism. For Muḥammad Abū Zahra, his *manḥağ* was the same regardless of the field.⁷ In an important contribution, Ibrāhīm 'Uqaylī was interested in the importance given to revelation, reason and the Arabic language itself in Ibn Taymiyya's *manḥağ*.⁸ The Arabic language as a reasoning tool in Ibn Taymiyya was later analysed in detail by Hādī Aḥmad Farḥān al-Šāğirī⁹ and then 'Abd al-Allāh b. Nāfi' al-Da'ğānī.¹⁰ In 1999, the book *Manḥağ šayḥ al-Islām* by 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Sa'd al-Ḥağīlī attempted to highlight the various aspects of Ibn Taymiyya's written output, the historical context, the number of writings, the date and place of production.¹¹ Finally, other aspects of Ibn Taymiyya's *manḥağ* have been studied, like the issue of *takfīr*,¹² dogma,¹³ innovations (*bida'*)¹⁴ or even knowledge in general.¹⁵

Undeniably, Ibn Taymiyya's argumentation strategy in the fields of philosophy and rationalism, particularly in his *Dar' al-ta'āruḍ*, attracted much scholarly interest and fostered a substantial scientific

6 El-Tobgui 2019, 4-5.

7 Abū Zahra 1991, 180-1.

8 'Uqaylī 1994, 109-76.

9 al-Šāğirī 2001, 347-488.

10 al-Da'ğānī 2014, 537-649.

11 al-Ḥağīlī 1999.

12 al-Miš'abī 1997.

13 al-Barīkān 2004.

14 al-Muqrīn 2014.

15 al-Da'ğānī 2014.

ic output to this day.¹⁶ Following Syed Nomanul Haq,¹⁷ Nadjet Zouggar pointed out that the digressions that characterise Ibn Taymiyya's writing style allowed him to discuss various topics and were in a way "dans le champ du *kalām* auquel il refusait pourtant d'appartenir".¹⁸ The idea of a Taymiyyan *kalām* would however certainly deserve further investigation.

While Ibn Taymiyya was an important historical source for his time,¹⁹ he also knew how to use history in his argumentation strategy in order to corroborate his religious arguments as Sa'd b. Mūsā al-Mūsā and Daniella Talmon-Heller have demonstrated.²⁰ Geography was not left out. In her article, Zayde Antrim highlighted Ibn Taymiyya's "discourse of place" concerning the Šām region. He highlighted the region's merits and history to encourage the Mamlūks to defend it as the territory of Islam against the danger of Mongol invasion.²¹ The complexity of Ibn Taymiyya's argumentation methodology and discursive strategy should not obscure the fact that he was also capable of simplifying particularly sibylline theological subjects for the sake of the popular masses.²²

While all these works provide insight into Ibn Taymiyya's argumentation methodology and discursive strategy, his source methodology is less well known. This paper intends to explore this issue in further depth. I mean by source methodology how Ibn Taymiyya, on the one hand, selected, read his sources and dealt with them, on the other, how he integrated them into his argumentation strategy. This is not an exhaustive study of Ibn Taymiyya's source methodology based on a complete analysis of all his works, which would require a collective effort as with so many other aspects of Ibn Taymiyya's thought and writing methodology. This article is a preliminary study to suggest analytical perspectives and provide initial findings

16 Michel 1983; Abrahamov 1992; Heer 1993. See the introductions of Yahya Michot's translations: Michot 2000; 2003; El Omari 2010; Zouggar 2010; Anjum 2012, 196-227, partic. 196-215; Von Kügelgen 2013, 277-328; Vassalou 2016, 229-41; Griffel 2018; Hoover 2018a; Hoover, Mahajneh 2018b; El-Tobgui 2019, 132-299; Hoover 2019a. Among the main elements of Ibn Taymiyya's anti-philosophical argument, for instance that of "l'èse-prophétie" and the foreign origin of this science, see: Zouggar 2020, 91-2; 2010, 198. Ibn Taymiyya highlights "l'atteinte à l'institution de la prophétie et en particulier à la personne du prophète. C'est un argument plus accessible au commun des croyants et donc, plus efficace pour compromettre les philosophes" (Zouggar 2020, 99).

17 In the preface of the book *Ibn Taymiyya and His Times*, Syed Nomanul Haq already questioned whether Ibn Taymiyya should be considered a philosopher or a neomutakallim. Rapoport, Shahab 2010, IX.

18 Zouggar 2010, 198.

19 Michot 1995, 336-53.

20 Talmon-Heller 2019, 232-41, 243-50; al-Mūsā 2010, 12-17, 25.

21 Antrim 2014-15, 92-100.

22 Bori 2013, 78-80; 2018, 301-2.

based on the examination of a selection of passages taken from different works among the writings of the Ḥanbalī theologian and dealing with various subjects. These thoughts, which came to light on reading some of Ibn Taymiyya's writings, will be further developed at a later date by analysing some of his other writings.

2 The Texts

This study is based on five of Ibn Taymiyya's writings: *al-Fatwā al-ḥamawiyya* (The Fatwā for the People of Hama), *al-Istiqāma* (The Rightness), *Iqtiḍā' al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm li-muḥālafat aṣḥāb al-Ġaḥīm* (The Necessity of the Straight Path in Distinction from the People of Hell), *al-Ġawāb al-bāhir fī zuwwār al-maqābir* (The Outshining Answer About the Visitors of Graves) and *al-Iḥnā'iyya* (The Iḥnā'īs [title referring pejoratively to the Mālikī Taqī al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Iḥnā'ī]).

Written in 698/1298, the *Fatwā al-ḥamawiyya* was Ibn Taymiyya's response to a question by inhabitants of the city of Hama about the verses and *ḥadīṭs* mentioning names and attributes of God.²³ This *fatwā* by Ibn Taymiyya, in the form of a treatise, was not to the liking of the Aṣ'arī 'ulamā' and followers of the *kalām*, some of whom tried to have him judged and condemned.²⁴ The second work is *al-Istiqāma*, probably written between the years 708-09/1308-09 during his incarceration in Egypt.²⁵ In *al-Istiqāma*, Ibn Taymiyya emphasised the need to follow the right and just path with regard to the divine names and attributes as well as the oneness of God via the observance of the precepts of the Qur'ān and the Sunna in order to avoid *in fine* any innovation.²⁶ One of the characteristics of the book is that most of it was actually a commentary on Abū al-Qāsim al-Quṣayrī's *Risāla* (d. 465/1072-73).²⁷ Ibn Taymiyya acknowledged that this work contained much that was good and true but it "lacks the path fol-

²³ The verses concerned are as follows: S20/V5; S57/V4; S41/V11.

For the *ḥadīṭs*: "أَنَّ قُلُوبَ بَنِي آدَمَ بَيْنَ إصْبَعَيْنِ مِنْ أَصَابِعِ الرَّحْمَنِ" (Verily, the hearts of all the sons of Adam are between the two fingers out of the fingers of the Most Gracious); "يَضَعُ الْجِبْرَ قَدَمَهُ فِي النَّارِ" (Al-Ġabbār will put his Foot in the fire of Hell). Ibn Taymiyya 2015, 61-2 (if not otherwise stated, all translations are by the Author). According to Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, Ibn Taymiyya's student and biographer, there are two *fatawā* // *fatwā-s al-ḥamawiyya*: a small one (*suġrā*) and a large one (*kubrā*). Ibn Taymiyya 2015, 16.

²⁴ Laoust 1960, 15-16; Hoover 2019b, 10-11. On Ibn Taymiyya's imprisonments, see Little 1973; Murad 1979; Jackson 1994.

²⁵ Ibn Taymiyya 2005, 8.

²⁶ Ibn Taymiyya 2005, 35.

²⁷ On al-Quṣayrī, his work and thought see Chiabotti 2008-09; 2013a; 2013b; 2014; 2016.

lowed by the majority of the *awliyā'* of God".²⁸ *Al-Istiqāma* showcased the importance of *taṣawwuf* as a spiritual path, bringing one closer to God and Ibn Taymiyya's interest in it. *Al-Istiqāma* is in itself another argument refuting the false accusation that Ibn Taymiyya was staunchly anti-Sufi.²⁹

In the *Iqtidā' al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm li-muḥālafat aṣḥāb al-Ġaḥīm*, written around 715/1315-16,³⁰ the third writing selected from his corpus, Ibn Taymiyya dealt with "a very important rule among the rules of *ṣarī'a*",³¹ the danger of imitating the People of the Book or polytheists in their practices. These included, for instance, going on pilgrimage to visit the tombs or mausoleums of saints or prophets, or celebrating non-Islamic festivals in the company of infidels and polytheists.

The last two works of Ibn Taymiyya I have selected for this study are *al-Ġawāb al-bāhir fī zuwwār al-maqābir* and *al-Iḥnā'iyya*, both of which concern visiting the tombs.³² In his *Ġawāb al-bāhir*, Ibn Taymiyya defends the following position: it is possible to visit graves (even those of non-believers in order to remember the dead) as the Sunna authorises (*ziyāra ṣar'iyya*) and avoiding introducing into this practice innovations (*ziyāra bid'iyya*) that can lead the Muslim to the *ṣirk* (polytheism/associationism) particularly through the veneration of the dead or imploring their help and/or intercession. The other important point that Ibn Taymiyya emphasises is the prohibition to travel to visit the tombs of the saints and prophets according to his inter-

28 "ولكن فيه نقص عن طريقة أكثر أولياء الله.", Ibn Taymiyya 2005, 89.

29 The ill-established hypothesis that Ibn Taymiyya was a stubborn opponent to Sufism no longer holds as Henri Laoust, George Makdisi, Thomas Homerin and more recently Assef Qays clearly demonstrated his links with *al-taṣawwuf* especially with al-Qādiriyya Ḥanbalī brotherhood. Laoust 1960, 35; Laoust 1962, 33; Makdisi 1973, 118-29; Homerin 1985; Assef 2012. In reality, Ibn Taymiyya only strongly condemned certain practices such as *samā'* which he considered an innovation to which he was vehemently opposed in contrast to al-Ġazālī who considered it licit on condition that certain rules were strictly observed: Ibn Taymiyya 1991. See also Michot 1988; Ibn Taymiyya 2001. The words of Carl Sharif al-Tobgui in his recent book sum up the issue quite well: "Ibn Taymiyya's reputation for being implacably anti-Sufi is inaccurate and misleading when indiscriminately generalized, but it is not entirely without foundation as he was indeed staunchly – and very vocally – opposed to discrete ideas and practices that were widely associated with Sufism in his day. For Ibn Taymiyya's critiques of such aspects of contemporary Sufism, critiques that are responsible not only for the stereotype we have inherited of him today but also for a considerable amount of the opposition and tribulations he faced in his own day" (El-Tobgui 2019, 88 fn. 32).

30 Estimate made from the copy that was originally kept at Chester Beatty Library but was later purchased by al-Imām Muḥammad b. Sa'ūd University. Nowadays, the manuscript is conserved at the Central Library of Riyadh under the number 4160. Ibn Taymiyya 2003, 18, 20.

31 Ibn Taymiyya 2003, 51.

32 In addition to *al-Ġawāb* and *al-Iḥnā'iyya*, see Ibn Taymiyya 2001b, vol. 14, t. 27. See also Ibn Taymiyya 2007, 131-7. For more information see Taylor 1999, 179-94; Olesen 1991; Munt 2014, 227-51; Berriah, forthcoming.

pretation of the *ḥadīṭ*: “No travel except to one of the three mosques: the mosque al-Ḥarām (Mecca), this mosque which is mine (Medina) and the mosque al-Aqṣā (Jerusalem)”.³³ Ibn Taymiyya considered travelling to visit the tombs of the prophets and saints as an innovation since it was neither encouraged by the Prophet nor even practised by the Companions except for very rare exceptions. Moreover, this innovative practice is dangerous since such visits can, over time, turn into a kind of pilgrimage like those of the Christians. For Ibn Taymiyya, whoever goes to Medina must go there with the intention (*al-niyya*) of praying in accordance with the *ḥadīṭ* quoted above and not with the intention of visiting the Prophet's tomb. The same applies to Jerusalem with the al-Aqṣā mosque and the tombs of the prophets present in the area. In his voluminous *al-Iḥnā'iyya*, written during his last stay in prison in Damascus, Ibn Taymiyya, on the one hand, retorts to the accusations of the Mālikī *qādī al-quḍāt* Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Iḥnā'ī (d. 750-751/1350-51) against him and, on the other hand, refutes the latter's positions which encourage visiting the tomb of the Prophet Muḥammad, other prophets and saints in general. Ibn Taymiyya takes up the arguments already present in his *Ġawāb al-bāhir* which he develops further while bringing in new ones.³⁴

In addition to Ibn Taymiyya's writings, I also make use of contemporary chroniclers of the Ḥanbalī *ṣayḥ* of Damascus as well as his biographies when necessary.

3 Opinions of the Companions

After the Qur'ān and the Sunna, the opinions of the Prophet's Companions constitute the third source of reference in Islam, both for dogmatic issues, belief/creed and Muslim law with differences in their consideration according to the Sunni *madhabs*. It is true that the opinions of the Companions, and to a lesser extent those of the Successors (*tābi'ūn*), are of particular importance to Imam Aḥmad.³⁵

Like the founder of his formative *madhab*, Ibn Taymiyya quoted extensively the so-called *al-salaf* (ancestors or predecessors) or *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ* (pious predecessors)³⁶ in his arguments, especially the Com-

³³ Narrated from Abū Hurayra, reported by al-Nasā'ī in his Sunan (<https://sun-nah.com/nasai:700>).

³⁴ Ibn Taymiyya 2011a, 110, 137-41, 144, 150, 252-3, 264, 266, 300, 365-6.

³⁵ Abū Zahra 1947, 284-99; al-Matroudi 2006, 33-4, 41.

³⁶ Concept referring to the first three generations of Islam which is supported by several *ḥadīṭs*. Among the best known is that reported by al-Buḥārī, according to 'Imrān b. al-Ḥusayn, the Prophet said: “The best people are those of my century, then those of the next two centuries”.

panions of the Prophet.³⁷ What interests us here is how Ibn Taymiyya chose the opinions of the Companions and quoted them to support his ideas as well as to refute those of his opponents. While it is not possible to carry out a complete analysis of Ibn Taymiyya's works, we will focus on two themes that he dealt with in two of his works: the first concerns the visitation of the tomb of the Prophet, the prophets and the saints in general. This is one of the topics on which Ibn Taymiyya wrote extensively, especially towards the end of his life, and for which he repeatedly used the opinions of the Companions. The second theme deals with the merit of Arabs over other peoples and of the Arabic language over other languages. Initially, Ibn Taymiyya approached the subject through a sociological prism before 'Islamising' it by inserting it into religious discourse.

The examination of these two themes will allow us to compare Ibn Taymiyya's use of the Opinions of the Companions. Of course, the results presented here are only preliminary and far from definitive; they will be supplemented by further analyses.

3.1 Pre-Eminence According to Merit and *ḡumhūr al-ṣaḥāba* as a Selection Criterion

The last major polemic initiated by Ibn Taymiyya in his writings concerned the *ziyārāt*. Scholars have seen Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziyya (d. 751/1350) as the trigger for this controversy. The works and letters Ibn Taymiyya wrote during his last term of imprisonment reveals the extent of the polemic, its violence as well as the animosity of his opponents towards him, especially the Mālikī Abū Bakr al-Iḥnā'ī.³⁸ In fact, his supporters and their opponents kept it going, with Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355), Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī (d. 744/1343) and others even later.³⁹

When writing on the visitation of tombs, Ibn Taymiyya called tirelessly on the Opinions of the Companions quoting them to support his statements and deconstruct the discourse of his opponents. One of his chief arguments, which he often insisted upon in his various writings, is that no Companion from the time of the *Rāšidūn* caliphs or later rulers made journeys for the sole purpose of visiting the tomb of a prophet or a saint. The Companions who travelled to Jerusalem went there to pray in the al-Aqṣā Mosque, the third mosque after that

³⁷ For example, on the *fiṭra* see Holtzman 2010, 163-88. See also Anjum 2012, 215-32.

³⁸ Berriah, forthcoming.

³⁹ Berriah, forthcoming. See also El-Rouayheb 2010, 288-95.

of Mecca and Medina for which the Prophet authorised the journey.⁴⁰ According to Ibn Taymiyya, none of the Companions who travelled to Jerusalem visited the tomb of Abraham.⁴¹

Not all the opinions of the Companions were of equal value for Ibn Taymiyya and he ranked them by merit. The four *Rāšidūn* caliphs, Abū Bakr (d. 13/634), 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb (d. 23/644), 'Utmān b. 'Affān (d. 35/656) and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661) occupied, in regnal order, the first places. This position was supported by several *ḥadīths*, the best known of which was that reported by Abū Dāwūd and al-Tirmidī according to Abū Naḡīḥ al-'Irbād b. Sāriya.⁴² In his *Raf' al-malām 'an a'immat al-a'lām*, Ibn Taymiyya stated that the *Rāšidūn* caliphs were the most knowledgeable about the Prophetic Sunna, especially Abū Bakr who was most often in the company of the Prophet, then came the turn of 'Umar.⁴³ Then came the "ten promised to Paradise" (*al-'ašara al-mubaššarīn bi-l-ḡanna*),⁴⁴ followed by precedence in conversion, the Hijra, participation in the first battles of Badr, Uḥud, etc.⁴⁵

40 Aḥmad, al-Buḥārī, Muslim and others reported from Abū Hurayra:

"لا تشد الرحال إلا إلى ثلاثة مساجد المسجد الحرام، ومسجد الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم، ومسجد الأقصى." (No travel except to one of the three mosques: the mosque al-Ḥarām [Mecca], the mosque of the Prophet [Medina] and the mosque of al-Aqṣā [Jerusalem]).

41 For a quotation of this argument see Ibn Taymiyya 2011-12a/1433H, 195.

42 It is also quoted by al-Nawawī in his *Fourteen ḥadīths*: "I advise you to fear Allah, listen, and obey, even if an Abyssinian slave is put in charge of you. Whoever lives after me will see many conflicts. You must adhere to my Sunna and the Sunna of the righteous, guided successors. Hold firmly to it as if biting with your molar teeth. Beware of newly invented matters, for every new matter is an innovation and every innovation is misguidance" (translated by Sunnah.com, <https://sunnah.com/nawawī40>).

43 Ibn Taymiyya 1992-93, 10. Ibn Taymiyya always quotes the opinion of each of the four caliphs in the chronological order of their reign, which also corresponds to their merits. See 11, 16-17.

44 Abū Bakr, 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb, 'Utmān b. 'Affān, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh, Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Ḡarrāḥ, Sa'īd b. Zayd.

45 In his *Ġawāb al-bāhir fī zuwwār al-maqābir*, Ibn Taymiyya indicates this ranking of the Companions according to their merits by reporting a dispute that broke out between the two Companions 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf and Ḥālid b. al-Walīd: "He [the Prophet] said in an authentic *ḥadīth*: 'Do not insult my companions, by the one who has my soul in his hands, if one of you gives in alms the equivalent of Mount Uḥud in gold, it would not reach the [amount] of the *mudd* of one of them or even half of it.' This was said to Ḥālid b. al-Walīd when he quarrelled with 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf because the latter was among the early converts, those who spent well before *al-Faṭḥ* [the conquest of Mecca], who fought, and the *faṭḥ* referred to here is the pact of Ḥudaybiyya. Ḥālid, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and 'Utmān b. Ṭalḥa converted during the truce following al-Ḥudaybiyya and before the capture of Mecca. They were among the *muhāḡirūn* followers and not like the original *muhāḡirūn*. As for those who converted in the year of the capture of Mecca, they are not considered *muhāḡirūn* because there was no *hiḡra* after the capture of Mecca. Those who converted from among the inhabitants of Mecca are called *al-ṭulaqā'* because the Prophet let them go in peace after the capture of the city by arms in the image that the prisoner of war is released" (Ibn Taymiyya 2011-12a/1433H, 260-1).

Ibn Taymiyya put forward this pre-eminence of the *Rāšidūn* caliphs in several passages. According to him, during the reigns of the four *Rāšidūn* caliphs, the Companions who travelled and stayed in Medina, when they had finished praying behind the caliph who occupied the place of imam, would either greet the latter and keep him company for some time, or leave the mosque, or else they remained seated in the mosque while making *dīkr* (the remembrance of God). In any case, and Ibn Taymiyya insisted on this point, there was no account according to which the Companions visited the Prophet's grave. Saying the *taṣliyya* (uttering the salutation over the Prophet) in the *taṣāhhud* in prayer⁴⁶ or outside of it, was the practice that the Prophet had recommended for himself and was therefore far more meritorious.⁴⁷

Similarly, in response to those who considered that the mosque in Medina had more merit since it enshrined the Prophet's tomb, Ibn Taymiyya argued that the Prophet's mosque in Medina already had more merit at the time of the *Rāšidūn* caliphs before it included his tomb for one good reason: that era had more merit - because closer to the time of the Prophet - than later times when the expansion of the mosque was carried out by integrating the Prophet's tomb within its walls.⁴⁸

The proponents of visiting the Prophet's grave relied, among other things, on a narrative that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb, one of the most illustrious Companions and considered to be among the most learned, used to go to the Prophet's grave after returning from a journey to visit the Prophet as well as Abū Bakr and his father, 'Umar,

⁴⁶ The *taṣāhhud* is the part of the Muslim prayer where the person kneels facing the *qibla* after two rounds of prayer (*rak'āt*), holding out the index finger of the right hand, leaving it either motionless or performing with slight circular movements to the right. At this point, the believer utters a formulation glorifying and praising God, greeting the Prophet followed by the two attestations of faith. The second *taṣāhhud*, which closes the prayer, is performed before the *taslīm*. In this second *taṣāhhud*, an invocation of blessings and peace upon the Prophet Muḥammad and Abraham is added. This invocation is known as the *taṣliyya*. Sābiq 2009, 119-23.

⁴⁷ Ibn Taymiyya 2011-12a/1433H, 205, 258-9; see also 277 et 292. For Ibn Taymiyya, the devil did not try to trick the Companions by making them hear some voice that would make them believe that the Prophet had responded to their greeting or had spoken to them from his grave, a belief and superstition that came after the Companions. Nothing is reported about the Companions in this regard, which makes them a reliable and fundamental source for Ibn Taymiyya regarding the visit to the Prophet's tomb. Ibn Taymiyya, *Ġawāb al-bāhir*, 260-1. In his book *The Holy City of Medina, Sacred Space in Early Islamic Arabia*, Harry Munt states that a kind of "pilgrimage" existed in Medina from the second/eighth century onwards, which consisted of visiting sites related to the Prophetic story. However, it was not until the fourth/tenth century that the visit to the Prophet's tomb became increasingly popular and can be considered ritual. Munt 2014, 141-3.

⁴⁸ Ibn Taymiyya 2011-12a/1433H, 304.

both of whom were placed on either side of the Prophet's grave.⁴⁹ Ibn Taymiyya at no point questioned the veracity of this account of Ibn 'Umar's well-known practice. To refute the opinion of his opponents, Ibn Taymiyya initially invoked the *ḡumhūr al-ṣaḥāba* (the majority opinion of the Companions) to show that the case of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar was, in fact, an exception among the majority of the Companions for whom there was no testimony attesting to this practice.⁵⁰

Later in his *al-Ġawāb al-bāhir*, he mentions another practice of Ibn 'Umar which was also considered to be an exception. It was reported that he sought to pray in the exact location where the Prophet had prayed in the Medina mosque in order to pray there in turn. This practice of Ibn 'Umar could be seen as, implicitly, seeking some *baraka* (blessing) from the Prophet in the locations where the latter had prayed. To show that this practice was an exception, that it was not in line with the Sunna and that it was not to be followed, Ibn Taymiyya summoned both the *ḡumhūr al-ṣaḥāba* as well as the pre-eminence of the *Rāšidūn* caliphs:

ولم يأخذ في هذا بفعل ابن عمر، كما لم يأخذ بفعله في التمسح بمقعده على المنبر، ولا باستحباب قصد الأماكن التي صلى فيها؛ لكون الصلاة أدركته فيها، فكان ابن عمر يستحبُّ قصدَها للصلاة فيها، وكان جمهور الصحابة لا يستحبون ذلك، بل يستحبون ما كان - صلى الله عليه وسلم - يستحبُّه، وهو أن يصلي حيث أدركته الصلاة، وكان أبوه عمر بن الخطاب ينهى من يقصدها للصلاة فيها، ويقول: "إنما هلك من كان قبلكم بهذا؛ فإنهم اتخذوا آثار أنبيائهم مساجد، من أدركته الصلاة فيه فليُصل، وإلا فليذهب".

and one should not take this practice of Ibn 'Umar [that of coming to visit the Prophet's grave] as an example or touching by brushing with one's hand [*tamassuḥ*] the place he [the Prophet] occupied on the *minbar* or even seeking to pray at the places where he [the Prophet] prayed because Ibn 'Umar liked to pray at these places while the majority of the Companions [*ḡumhūr al-ṣaḥāba*] did not like to do this but instead they liked what he [the Prophet] liked, that is, to pray wherever one was when the hour of prayer arrived. His father, 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb forbade seeking out these places to pray and he said, 'Surely those who preceded you perished because of this; they took the footsteps and relics [*ātār*] of their prophets as places of worship. Let him who is in a place at the time when the hour of prayer has arrived, let him pray there, or else let him go!'⁵¹

49 Abū Bakr to the right, 'Umar to the left.

50 Ibn Taymiyya 2011-12a/1433H, 276, 282-3.

51 Ibn Taymiyya 2011-12a/1433H, 295-6. For another account of 'Umar's disapproval of praying in a place because the Prophet had prayed there see 304.

In this and other passages, Ibn Taymiyya relied on the opinion of one of the *Rāšidūn* caliphs, in this case that of 'Umar who is none other than the father of 'Abd Allāh. Since the father's position and merit was superior to that of the son, so were his opinions, sayings and practices. Moreover, Ibn Taymiyya ended his argument by explaining that this pre-eminence of 'Umar in merit, supported by the words of the Prophet, meant that one had to follow him,⁵² before his son 'Abd Allāh, despite the latter's merits, which were certainly numerous, but lesser:

فأمرهم عمر بن الخطاب بما سته لهم النبي - صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ - ؛ إذ كان عمر بن الخطاب من الخلفاء الراشدين، الذين أمرنا بالتباع سنتهم، وله خصوص الأمر [بإقتداء به] وبأبي بكر؛ حيث قال: "أقتدوا باللذين من بعدي: أبي بكر وعمر"، فالأمر بالاقتداء أرفع من الأمر بالسنة؛ كما قد بسط في مواضع.

And 'Umar enjoined upon them [the Companions and Muslims] what the Prophet taught them [*sanna-hu la-hum*] and 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb was one of the *Rāšidūn* caliphs for whom we were ordered to follow the traditions [*sunnati-him*]. And he ['Umar] has a peculiarity in this from the fact that he and Abū Bakr are to be taken as an example since he [the Prophet] said: 'take as an example the two who are after me: Abū Bakr and 'Umar'. Taking [someone] as an example is superior to following a tradition.⁵³

This criterion of merit also applied to less illustrious Companions. Ibn Taymiyya reported the discussion between Abū Hurayra, one of the greatest narrators of *ḥadīth*, and Abū Bašra al-Ġifārī about visiting Mount Ṭūr:

وقد ثبت عنه في "الصحیحين" أنه قال: "لا تُشَدُّ الرِّحَالُ إِلَّا إِلَى ثَلَاثَةِ مَسَاجِدَ: الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ، وَمَسْجِدِي هَذَا، وَالْمَسْجِدِ الْأَقْصَى." حتى إن أبا هريرة سافر إلى الطُّور الذي كلم الله عليه موسى بن عمران، فقال له أبو بصرة الغفاري: "لو أدركتُك قبل أن تخرج، لما خرجت؛ سمعت رسول الله - صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ - يقول: "لا تُعْمَلُ الحُطِيُّ إِلَّا إِلَى ثَلَاثَةِ مَسَاجِدَ: الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ، وَمَسْجِدِي هَذَا، وَمَسْجِدِ بَيْتِ الْمَقْدِسِ".

And it is according to him [the Prophet], in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*, that he [the Prophet] said: 'One does not undertake a journey except to three mosques: the holy mosque [Mecca], this mosque which is mine [Medina] and the mosque al-Aqṣā [Jerusalem]'. So much so that Abū Hurayra travelled to Mount Ṭūr where God spoke to Moses b. 'Imrān - upon him be Peace - and that Abū Bašra al-Ġifārī said to him, 'How I wish I had joined you before you left. I heard the Prophet of God - may the prayers and salvation of God be upon him - say: 'One does not use a mount [for travelling] except for

⁵² On 'Umar's authority see Hakim 2008; 2009a; 2009b. I thank Hassan Bouali for his precious remarks and these references.

⁵³ Ibn Taymiyya 2011-12a/1433H, 296.

three mosques: the Holy Mosque, this mosque which is mine [Medina] and the al-Aqṣā Mosque [Jerusalem].⁵⁴

While he was not among the best-known Companions, Abū Baṣra al-Ġifārī was the son of Baṣra b. Abī Baṣra b. Waqqāṣ who was himself a Companion of the Prophet. Abū Baṣra al-Ġifārī was raised in the Muslim religion. As for Abū Hurayra, Muslim historians and biographers reported that he converted only late, in year 7 of the Hijra.⁵⁵ In addition, as the passage indicates, Abū Baṣra al-Ġifārī was one of the transmitters of the *ḥadīth* about the only permission to travel to the three mosques for the purpose of worship that Abū Hurayra would later relate. It is this *ḥadīth* that formed the pillar on which Ibn Taymiyya's argument about the visitation of graves rested throughout the controversy. Although not explicit in the quoted passage, Abū Baṣra al-Ġifārī's remark to Abū Hurayra shows implicitly the precedence of the former over the latter, justified by the primacy of his conversion to Islam. On the subject of the expansion of the Medina mosque carried out during the reign of 'Utmān, Ibn Taymiyya again invoked both the criterion of precedence of the Companions according to their merits, in this case with the character of 'Umar, as well as that of the *ḡumhūr al-ṣaḥāba*:

وقد كره كثير من الصحابة والتابعين ما فعله عثمان من بناء المسجد بالحجارة والقَصَّة والسَّج، وهؤلاء لما فعله الوليد أكرهه، وأما عمر فإنه وسَّعه، لكن بناءه على ما كان من بنائه من اللبن، وعمده جذوع النخل، وسقفه الجريد، ولم يُنقل أنَّ أحداً كره ما فعل عمر، وإنما وقع النزاع فيما فعله عثمان والوليد.

and many of the Companions and Successors hated what 'Utmān – may God be pleased with him – did by building the mosque with stone, plaster and teak wood, and hated even more what al-Walīd [d. 96/715] did [in the matter of works]. As for 'Umar – may God be pleased with him – he enlarged the mosque using the same materials already present in its [original] construction namely: mud bricks, its pillars with trunks and its roof with palm branches. It has not been reported that anyone [among the Companions] disliked what 'Umar did but rather the disagreement was about what 'Utmān and al-Walīd did.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Ibn Taymiyya 2011-12a/1433H, 189-90.

⁵⁵ Some versions state that Abū Hurayra was present (*ṣahīd*) at Ḥaybar's expedition although it is not known whether he fought or not. According to other versions, Abū Hurayra arrived in Medina after the Prophet had gone on an expedition against Ḥaybar. Ibn Sa'd 2001, 5: 232-3; Ibn al-Atīr 2012, 1412.

⁵⁶ Ibn Taymiyya 2011-12a/1433H, 298. At the end of his *al-Iḥnā'iyya*, Ibn Taymiyya offers a history of the expansion of the mosque and its various stages. Ibn Taymiyya 2011a, 123, 311-33. See also Ibn Taymiyya 2011-12a/1433H, 175-6, 275; Ibn Taymiyya 1997, 66.

Although the material used for the work carried out by the third caliph 'Utmān was of better quality and far stronger than that used under 'Umar, the latter's work on the Medina mosque was considered to be better by Ibn Taymiyya for two reasons: 'Umar used the same type of material constituting the initial structure of the mosque. Although Ibn Taymiyya did not directly mention the Prophet here, 'Umar seemed to be presented as imitating the Prophet, the best of men, in his choice of building materials for the mosque; second reason: according to Ibn Taymiyya there was no account of a Companion criticising 'Umar's expansion work unlike those of 'Utmān and al-Walīd. Therefore, the lack of criticism of 'Umar's works by Companions seemed to stand for Ibn Taymiyya as an approval of the latter towards 'Umar's works. Although the works of 'Utmān and al-Walīd made the building stronger, enlarged it and thus allowed more believers to come and pray in the mosque, Ibn Taymiyya considered the quality of the works not in terms of their material result, but according to the time, rank and merits of the one who ordered them, all echoing the Prophetic *ḥadīths*. This dual recourse to the Companions as a source, a use that was both vertical (criterion of precedence according to merit) and horizontal (majority of the Companions) was a fairly effective method to refute the opinions of opponents who relied on isolated opinions and/or practices of illustrious Companions. By quoting the opinion of a more illustrious Companion and then the *ǧumhūr al-ṣaḥāba* (majority of the Companions), Ibn Taymiyya made it very difficult for any counter-argument to be made even on the basis of Companions' opinions. Ibn Taymiyya really stands out due to the frequency with which he used this dual criterion. Further analysis of his other writings would confirm this trend. In the following lines, I will try to show that Ibn Taymiyya did not always follow this methodology scrupulously in referring to the Companions and that he proceeded in a different way depending on the subject matter.

3.2 Relevance of the Source at the Expense of Its Pre-Eminence

In his *Iqtida' al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*, Ibn Taymiyya devoted about thirty pages to the question of Arabness, the merits of Arabs and the Arabic language, approaching the subject through a religious and, to a lesser extent, sociological and cultural prism.⁵⁷ By way of introduction, Ibn Taymiyya offered an interesting 'ḥaldūnian' sociological analysis of the different peoples before Ibn Ḥaldūn, each of whom had two components: nomadic living in the *bādiyya* (steppe/desert) and sedentary living in the *ḥaḍāra* (city/town).⁵⁸

At the beginning of his argument, Ibn Taymiyya reported two sayings attributed to Salmān al-Fārisī (d. 33/654) followed by one by 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb to show the superiority of Arabs and the Arabic language over non-Arabs.⁵⁹ Given the manner, seen above, in which Ibn Taymiyya used the Companions, one would have expected 'Umar, the second *Rāšidūn* caliph, to be cited before Salmān since he occupies a higher rank as having the most merits in the Sunni tradition. However, Salmān was cited before 'Umar. But why quote the latter when words attributed to the second Caliph of Islam and other more illustrious Companions following the example of 'Alī, about the importance of the Arabic language and Arabism were well-known?

The choice of quoting Salmān before 'Umar was due to Ibn Taymiyya's need to build a more relevant and compelling argument. Salmān was of Persian origin and his testimony in favour of the Arabs constituted a stronger, more 'hard-hitting' argument than that of an Arab 'Umar from the Quraysh. Here, the criterion for selecting sources was no longer precedence and merit but relevance. The word of a non-Arab Companion who lived among the Arabs and who defended Arabness was a far more relevant testimony than that of one of the most illustrious Arab Companions.

Ibn Taymiyya followed the same method when highlighting the merits of Muslim Persians, particularly those of Isfahan from where the Companion Salmān al-Fārisī was said to be originated.⁶⁰ Ibn Taymiyya reported the words of the one who was considered the best of the Successors, and who was an Arab, Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib who praised the merits of the Muslim Persians, especially those of Isfahan. Ibn Taymiyya's choice to devote a section to the merits of the

⁵⁷ Ibn Taymiyya 2003, 250-71.

⁵⁸ Ibn Taymiyya 2003, 250. In the introduction to his recently published collection of articles, Yahya Michot wrote: "Parfois, j'ai pu constater chez lui des accents trahissant un intérêt qu'on qualifierait aujourd'hui de sociologique. Ibn Taymiyya précurseur d'Ibn Khaldūn ? La question mériterait une étude en bonne et due forme". Michot 2020a, VI.

⁵⁹ Ibn Taymiyya 2003, 265-6.

⁶⁰ Ibn Taymiyya 2003, 270; Ibn Sa'd 2001, 4: 69. Ibn al-Atīr reports that he may also have come from the city of Rāmahurmuz in Ḥūzistān. Ibn al-Atīr 2012, 499-500.

Persians was not insignificant since there were many great *tābi'ūn* and *tābi' tābi'īn* (Successors) of Persian origin who were students of the Companions and transmitters of their opinions such as 'Ikrima, the *mawlā* of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās.⁶¹

As these few elements show, Ibn Taymiyya's selection and use of the opinions of the Companions and Successors was not only based on the criterion of merit but also on the relevance of his argument and to ensure his discursive strategy was more effective.

4 Use Your Opponent's Corpus of Texts

4.1 Capacity to Use the Opponent's Corpus

Certainly, one of the characteristics of Ibn Taymiyya's source methodology was his ability to use his opponent's sources at his own advantage. This could only be carried out by someone who had a good knowledge of his opponent's corpus. The writings that probably best highlight Ibn Taymiyya's use of his opponents' sources in order to deconstruct their discourse were probably those on the visitation of tombs, particularly his *Ġawāb al-bāhir* and *al-Iḥnā'iyya*. Composed at the very end of his life, the latter were the culmination of Ibn Taymiyya's art, having reached the peak of his erudition, which fed into a solid and effective argumentation methodology built up over a lifetime of writing, discussion, debate and polemics.⁶²

It was after receiving a copy of the text of the Mālikī *qāḍī* Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Iḥnā'ī that Ibn Taymiyya responded to the latter's very virulent criticisms and false accusations in a work that he would entitle after his opponent's name.⁶³ In *al-Iḥnā'iyya*, Ibn Taymiyya reviewed each of al-Iḥnā'ī's criticisms and remarks point by point, refuting them and deconstructing his discourse on the basis of arguments and information of all kinds drawn from a large and varied body of sources.⁶⁴

In addition to the verses of the Qur'ān, the *ḥadīṭs*, and the words of the Companions and Successors that he cited in a jumble, Ibn Taymiyya relied very frequently on the Mālikī corpus. This phenomenon is already observable in his *Ġawāb al-bāhir*, but in *al-Iḥnā'iyya* the fre-

⁶¹ Ibn Taymiyya 2003, 269-70.

⁶² He is said to have started writing at a fairly early age, in his early twenties. Al-Ḥaḡīlī 1999, 16-17.

⁶³ For more information about this polemic see Berriah, forthcoming.

⁶⁴ In particular, pointing out the weak, deficient and fabricated nature of the *ḥadīṭs* referred to by al-Iḥnā'ī encouraging the visit to the Prophet's tomb. Ibn Taymiyya 2011a, 110, 137-41, 144, 150, 252-3, 264, 266, 300, 365-6. See also Ibn Taymiyya 2003, 509; 1997, 81-3.

quency is higher and the process more obvious. Why did Ibn Taymiyya quote Mālikī scholars and not Ḥanbalī, those of his formative *madhab*? We know that he wrote a book extolling the merits of Imam Mālik's school entitled, *Tafḍīl madhab Mālik wa ahl al-Madīna wa-ṣiḥḥat uṣūli-hi*.⁶⁵ But the primary reason for selecting the rich Mālikī corpus on the visitation of graves was not Ibn Taymiyya's respect and admiration for Imam Mālik, but rather because his opponent Tāqī al-Dīn al-Iḥnā'ī was the *qāḍī al-quḍāt* of the Mālikīs.

To support his positions and refute those of al-Iḥnā'ī, Ibn Taymiyya repeatedly quoted, in addition to Imam Mālik, the various Mālikī authorities who shared his own position on the *ziyārāt*: the *qāḍī* Ibn al-Qāsim (d. 191/806) and his *Mudawwana*, Ismā'īl b. Iṣḥāq (d. 282/896) and his *al-Mabsūt*, the *qāḍī* 'Iyāḍ (d. 544/1149), the *qāḍī* 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Baḡdādī (d. 422/1031), Abū al-Qāsim b. al-Ġallāb (d. 378/989), Muḥammad b. al-Mawwāz (d. 269/875), 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. Baṣīr al-Tanūḥī (d. first half of the sixth/twelfth century) and 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996) among others.⁶⁶

By building his argument on reading texts from his opponent's *madhab*, Ibn Taymiyya deconstructed the latter's discourse and discredited it. Compared to the Mālikī 'ulamā', Ibn Taymiyya quoted few Ḥanbalī and even refuted some of their positions.⁶⁷ In doing so, Ibn Taymiyya showed on the one hand that his position on the issue was the same as those of Imam Mālik and the leading Mālikī authorities. On the other hand, he highlighted the opposition between the positions of his opponent al-Iḥnā'ī and those held by eminent scholars belonging to his own *madhab*. The image of an al-Iḥnā'ī who was not a 'good' Mālikī or, even worse, who did not know his *madhab* well, while he was its most illustrious representative by virtue of his high position of *qāḍī al-quḍāt*, seemed to be Ibn Taymiyya's methodological trademark.⁶⁸ It should be noted that several Mālikī 'ulamā' living in Damascus supported Ibn Taymiyya during his incarceration. They wrote a letter confirming that his opinion on the *ziyārāt* was

⁶⁵ Ibn Taymiyya 2006; Ibn Ruṣayyiq 2001-02/1422H, 308. When Ibn Taymiyya speaks about *Ahl al-Madīna*, he refers to *Ahl al-ḥadīth* and the generations living in Medina before Mālik. When he evokes the *madhab* of Mālik, Ibn Taymiyya means the period in which Imam Mālik lived. al-Matroudi 2006, 42-4.

⁶⁶ Ibn Taymiyya 2011a, 156-9, 170-4, 218, 222-3, 227, 230, 257, 270, 288, 340, 352-5, 360, 406-9, 431.

⁶⁷ As the authentication of *ḥadīths* by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ġanī al-Maqdisī (d. 600/1203) advocating the *ziyārāt*, Ibn Taymiyya only cites the *kunya* and *nisba* which is the same for 'Abd al-Ġanī and his cousin Muwaffaq al-Dīn, better known as Ibn Qudāma'. The former was a *ḥadīth* scholar. Ibn Taymiyya 2011a, 143. See also al-Matroudi 2006, 97. On Ibn Taymiyya's criticism of Ḥanbalī scholars see al-Matroudi 2006, 92-128, 172-85; Bori 2010, 33-6.

⁶⁸ Ibn Taymiyya 2011a, 184.

not in opposition to the *šarī'a*.⁶⁹ This wide-ranging selection from the Mālikī corpus by Ibn Taymiyya and the way he used it showed his deep knowledge of the Mālikī *madhab*, as if he had been a Mālikī. In fact, an analysis of Ibn Taymiyya's writings demonstrates his erudition in all the *madhabs* and a great respect for each of the founders of the four schools of law.⁷⁰ However, it seems that, with the exception of the Ḥanbalī *madhab*, Ibn Taymiyya's expertise in the Mālikī *madhab* was superior to the others, for he considered it to be the most accurate in matters of *uṣūl*.⁷¹ All these elements, to which we could add others, show that Ibn Taymiyya, by the end of his life, had become, as was already the case in the field of heresiography, an expert in the *madhabs*, as mentioned by his contemporaries and biographers.⁷²

I would like to take this opportunity to add a few remarks on a point related to Ibn Taymiyya's reading his sources and dealing with them. Ibn Taymiyya remained faithful to the Ḥanbalī school of law, favouring the approach of the people of *ḥadīṭ* over that of the people of opinion (*al-ra'y*).⁷³ In his recent book, Carl Sharif El-Tobgui writes:

Despite his intellectual independence, Ibn Taymiyya maintained his affiliation with the Ḥanbalī school throughout his life, an affiliation that implied as much a theological outlook as an approach to law and legal theory.⁷⁴

While one cannot but agree with these statements, a close examination of some of his writings like *al-Ġawāb al-bāhir* and *al-Iḥnā'iyya*, shows that, at the end of his life, Ibn Taymiyya no longer wanted to put forward his affiliation to Hanbalism in his arguments, or at the very least did not find it necessary.

⁶⁹ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥādī 2002, 278-84.

⁷⁰ According to Ibn Rušayyiq, Ibn Taymiyya composed a treatise on the merits and virtues of each of the four founders of the *madhabs* (Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik, al-Šāfi'ī, and Ibn Ḥanbal). Ibn Rušayyiq 2001-02/1422H, 306; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥādī 2002, 49.

⁷¹ Ibn Taymiyya 2006, 33-80; al-Matroudi 2006, 43.

⁷² Al-Dahabī 2001-02/1422H, 268-72; al-Bazzār 1976, 25, 335; al-'Umarī 2001-02/1422H, 313; Ibn Katīr 1998, 18: 298.

⁷³ al-Matroudi 2006, 41-4.

⁷⁴ El-Tobgui 2019, 88.

4.2 Circulation Across the *Madhabs* and Independence from the *Madhabs*

The contents of *al-Ġawāb al-bāhir* and *al-Iḥnā'iyya* testify to the high degree of scholarship and mastery achieved by Ibn Taymiyya in the knowledge of the *madhabs*. As we have seen, Ibn Taymiyya quoted extensively from the Mālikī 'ulamā' to refute the positions of Abū Bakr al-Iḥnā'ī on visiting the graves. He did the same with the 'ulamā' of the other *madhabs*, whether of law or thought, quoting, discussing and commenting on their opinions as if he was affiliated with each of them although it was known that he opposed the four official *madhabs* on several points of jurisprudence (*masā'il fiqhiyya*).⁷⁵ I think it is possible to speak of pluri-*madhab* referencing use in Ibn Taymiyya.

This can certainly be explained, in our case-study, by pragmatic reasons linked to the polemic and by a concern to effectively refute and deconstruct the discourse of his opponents with relevant arguments. But there is more: combined with other examples that cannot be discussed here, this pluri-*madhab* referencing can be read as Ibn Taymiyya's willingness to 'circulate' between the *madhabs*, to use their respective corpus when and how he saw fit. This 'intellectual independence' of Ibn Taymiyya from the *madhabs* is confirmed by many of his students and biographers.⁷⁶

Although Ibn Taymiyya was trained as a Ḥanbalī from his youth, he was not always careful to emphasise his membership of the *madhab* and to identify himself with it in his positions. Let us keep in mind that Ibn Taymiyya, besides eliciting criticism from other Ḥanbalīs,⁷⁷ also criticised the methods and opinions of several great Ḥanbalī scholars such as Abū Bakr al-Ḥallāl (d. 311/923), or Abū Ya'lā (d. 458/1066) to name but a few,⁷⁸ just as he criticised some of the principles of the Ḥanbalī *madhab* including some that he considered to be innovations (*bida'*).⁷⁹ Caterina Bori suggests "that Ibn Taymīyah's detachment from the authority of the four *madhab*-s and his challenge to judicial authority became socially and politically inconvenient at some point, as his death in prison shows".⁸⁰

⁷⁵ One of the best-known examples is his *fatwā* on the oath of divorce. See Rapoport 2005, 94-105; al-Matroudi 2006, 172-85; Baugh 2013, 181-96.

⁷⁶ Al-Dahabī 2001-02/1422H, 267; Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī 2002, 251; Ibn Katīr 1998, 18: 298-9; al-'Umari 2001-02/1422H, 313; Ibn al-Wardī 2001-02/1422H, 332; al-Ṣafadī 2001-02/1422H, 347. See also Abū Zahra 1971, 81; al-Ḥaḡīlī 1999, 33.

⁷⁷ Bori 2010, 33-6.

⁷⁸ al-Matroudi 2006, 56-7.

⁷⁹ al-Matroudi 2006, 92-8. For what he considers to be erroneous rules in the *madhab* (*ḡalat*), see also 107-15. For some *madhab* rules that he refutes, see 122-5.

⁸⁰ Bori 2009, 67.

His independence from the *madhabs* was well-known, especially towards the end of his life, when he sometimes seemed to place himself above the *madhabs*, wishing maybe to detach himself from them for certain issues. The example of his two works on visiting the tombs are noteworthy in this respect. Let us recall in passing that Ibn Taymiyya wrote an epistle on the abandonment of *taqlid* in which he said that there was no need to follow the opinions of the four schools.⁸¹

How can this circulation across the *madhabs* be explained? First of all, it is the result of a long intellectual journey and a solid expertise in the *madhabs*. But above all, it is motivated by Ibn Taymiyya's primary concern to protect the principle of *tawhīd* against all deviant practices that could lead to the *širk* (polytheism/associationism), a leitmotiv that he hammers tirelessly in his writings. This desire to defend the Islamic creed of divine uniqueness, the spread of heterodox practices and beliefs that can lead the believer to the *širk* explains why Ibn Taymiyya devoted most of his writings to issues related to dogma and belief.⁸² For Ibn Taymiyya, the search for the truth, the need to protect the *tawhīd*, the interest of Muslims and not that of a *madhab* or a school of thought, are the most important things.⁸³ Despite his admiration for Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Ibn Taymiyya

81 Ibn Taymiyya 1988.

82 "He [Ibn Taymiyya] – May God be pleased with him – has written a great deal on the founding principles [*uṣūl*] in addition to other sciences. I asked him about the reason for this and to write me a text on law, which would group his choices and preferences so that he would serve as a support [*umda*] for giving *fatwās*. He replied: 'concerning the branches [*al-furū'*] the matter is simple. If a Muslim follows and applies [*qallada*] the opinions of one of the '*ulamā'* who is authoritative, then he is allowed to practice his religion based on his words [of the scholar] and for what he is not certain that this scholar made a mistake. As for the founding principles of religion [*uṣūl*], I have seen people of innovation, bewilderment and passions like followers of philosophy, *bāṭiniyya*, heretics [*malāhida*], supporters of the unity of existence [*waḥdat al-wuḡūd*], Dahriyya, Qadariyya, Nuṣayris, Ḡahmiyya, Ḥulūliyya, those who refute divine Names and Attributes [*al-mu'aṭṭila*], anthropomorphists [*al-muḡassima wa-l-muṣabbiḥa*], the supporters of al-Rawāndī, those of Kullāb, the Sulamiyya and others among the people of innovation [...] and it was clear that many of them sought to nullify the sacred *ṣarī'a* of Prophet Muḥammad, which prevails over all other legislations, and that they put people in doubt regarding the founding principles of their religion [*uṣūl dīni-him*]. This is why from what I have heard or seen, it is rare that the one who opposes the Book and the Sunna and is favourable to their words does not become a *zindīq* or has no longer the certainty [*yaqīn*] about his religion and belief. When I saw this situation, it seemed obvious to me that it was up to anyone who had the capacity to combat these ambiguities, these trivialities, to refute their arguments and errors, to strive to expose their vile and low character as well as the falsity of their evidence in order to defend the religion of pure monotheism and the authentic and illustrious prophetic tradition". Al-Bazzār 1976, 33-5. See also al-Ḥaḡīlī 1999, 37-43. Nevertheless, he devoted several writings to jurisprudence (*al-fiqh*) and the foundations of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*). Ibn Taymiyya 2011-12b/1433; Ibn Ruṣayyiq 2001-02/1422H, 306-9. See also al-Matroudi 2006, 23-9; Rapoport 2010; al-'Utayṣān 1999; 'Ulwān 2000; al-Barikān 2004; Abū Zahra 1991, 350-65, 378-405.

83 Ibn Taymiyya 2011a, 11, 243, 276-82, 286, 451, 466, 468-72.

did not follow him blindly. Conversely, he had great respect for all *muğtahids* since they would be rewarded for their reasoning even if they were wrong in their thinking and judgement.⁸⁴ George Makdisi summarised very well Ibn Taymiyya's understanding of the schools of law and thought: "chaque groupe n'a de mérite en islam que dans la mesure où il s'est fait le défenseur de la foi islamique".⁸⁵

Finally, Ibn Taymiyya's circulation across the *madhabs* and independence from the *madhabs* lead to another question - raised by several scholars⁸⁶ - namely that of Ibn Taymiyya's level of *iğtihād* but which will not be addressed here.⁸⁷

4.3 Ambivalence in Ibn Taymiyya's Treatment of the Writings of Aš'arī *mutakallimūn* Authors

Ibn Taymiyya's critical stance on certain points of the Aš'arī doctrine, particularly with regard to the Aš'arīte scholars who followed the *kalām*, is becoming better known thanks to recent scholarship.⁸⁸ Despite his disagreements and criticisms, Ibn Taymiyya still acknowledged that the Aš'arī scholars had produced many good results. Some of their interpretations of the Divine Names and Attributes were correct, despite the influence of Ġahmite and Mu'tazilite

⁸⁴ al-Matroudi 2006, 45.

⁸⁵ Makdisi 1983, 65.

⁸⁶ For Muḥammad Abū Zahra, Ibn Taymiyya is a *muğtahid muntasib* in the Ḥanbalī *madhab*. Abū Zahra 1991, 347-8, 372-8, in particular 375-8. For al-Matroudi, Ibn Taymiyya should be considered a *muğtahid muṭlaq* but who wanted to depend on Imam Aḥmad's sources. al-Matroudi 2006, 21-2, 49-54 in particular 54. See also Rahāl 2002.

⁸⁷ The question is whether or not Ibn Taymiyya should or could be considered a *muğtahid muṭlaq*. For many of his biographers and students, there is no doubt that Ibn Taymiyya was a *muğtahid*. Some of them, such as Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziyya, al-Birzālī, Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, al-Bazzār and Ibn Katīr had much admiration for their *ṣayh*, which may explain the praise. Others such as Šāms al-Dīn al-Dahabī did not share all his views and even seem to have distanced themselves from the *ṣayh* for various reasons. Despite this, for al-Dahabī, Ibn Taymiyya reached the level of *muğtahid muṭlaq*. His greatest opponents of the Aš'arī school among his contemporaries such as Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355), Ibn Zamlakānī (d. 727/1327) or other later '*ulamā'* such as Ibn Ḥaġar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852/1449), in spite of their virulent criticism, acknowledged his immense scholarship. The laudatory remarks, reported by al-Dahabī, allegedly made by Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd (d. 702/1302) about Ibn Taymiyya, constitute one of the most important testimonies in his favour. Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd was a pupil of the famous 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Salām and successor of Ibn Bint al-'A'azz as al-Šāfi'ī *qāḍī al-quḍāt*. According to Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370), the '*ulamā'* did not disagree that Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd was considered the *muğaddid* of the seventh/thirteenth century. As will be clear, the question of Ibn Taymiyya's level of *iğtihād* is still far from being decided.

⁸⁸ Al-Maḥmūd 1995; El Omari 2010; Anjum 2012, 189-95; Griffel 2018; Hoover 2020.

thought.⁸⁹ To better refute the views of his opponents, Ibn Taymiyya does not hesitate to quote and incorporate Aš'arite authors and their works into his argument: the *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn wa ih̄tilāf al-muṣallīn* of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Aš'arī (d. 324/936) about the 'iṣma (impeccability/infallibility) of the Prophet especially in his *Minhāğ al-Sunna*;⁹⁰ the *Tahāfūt* of al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111) in his *Radd 'alā al-Mantiqiyyīn* and other writings;⁹¹ he took up some of the positions of Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) whom he contrasted with other positions of al-Ġazālī on the issue of the priority of reason over revelation, just as he found inspiration in the structure of the arguments from some of al-Ġazālī's works, like *Masā'il al-ḥamsūn* and *Ta'sīs al-taqdīs*.⁹²

In his *al-Iḥnā'iyya*, in addition to Mālikī scholars, Ibn Taymiyya quoted famous Aš'arī scholars such as Abū Muḥammad al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085), Abū Ḥamid al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111) and Abū Zakariyyā al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277) to corroborate his statements even though this did not prevent him from criticising these same authors elsewhere and disagreeing with them on various issues.⁹³ This ambivalent method of Ibn Taymiyya in dealing with Aš'arī authors by criticising them on the one hand, and using them to refute other opponents on the other, comes out quite well in his *al-Fatwā al-ḥamawiyya al-kubrā*.

At the beginning of his *fatwā*, Ibn Taymiyya criticised the position of the *mutakallimūn* who considered the *ḥalaf*⁹⁴ to be more learned than the *salaf*.⁹⁵ To show the vain nature of the practice of *kalām*, Ibn Taymiyya reported words that he attributed to great *mutakallimūn* such as Abū al-Faḥr al-Šahrastānī (d. 548/1153), Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī or

⁸⁹ For Ibn Taymiyya the interpretations found in the *Ta'sīs al-taqdīs* of Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, in Abū al-Wafā' b. 'Aqīl as well as in Abū Ḥamid al-Ġazālī are those of Bišr b. Giyāt al-Marīsī who, according to Ibn Taymiyya, was implied in the spread of the doctrine of *ta'tīl al-sifāt* (denial of divine attributes) of the Ġahmiyya. Ibn Taymiyya 2015, 86-7.

⁹⁰ Zouggar 2011, 84-5.

⁹¹ Zouggar 2020, 95. On the *Fayṣal al-tafriqa bayn al-islām wa-l-zandaqa*, another work by al-Ġazālī refuting philosophy but little known see fn. 54, 99-100. On al-Ġazālī and philosophy see also Griffel 2004, 101-44. On the points of convergence of Ibn Taymiyya with al-Ġazālī concerning reason and revelation see Griffel 2018, 14, 21-7, 38. Ibn Taymiyya explicitly acknowledges the fame of the *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*: Ibn Taymiyya 2005, 83. On the *ṣaḥḥ* in some Sufī groups, Ibn Taymiyya 2005, 108. On the fact that God loves and is loved, see Ibn Taymiyya 2005, 390.

⁹² Griffel 2018, 15, 27-30.

⁹³ Ibn Taymiyya 2011a, 172, 176, 218, 222-3, 227, 257, 270, 288, 340, 407-9. E.g. on the *samā'* see Michot 1988. For an example of a point of convergence with al-Ġazālī's views on the power of God, see Anjum 2012, 183.

⁹⁴ Generic term for the generations following the *salaf*. In other words, from the third/tenth century onwards.

⁹⁵ Ibn Taymiyya 2015, 68. In his *Raf' al-malām*, Ibn Taymiyya writes:

“فهؤلاء كانوا أعلم الأمة وأفقهها، وأتقانا وأفضلها، فمن بعهم أخص” (1992-93, 17-18)

Abū al-Ma'ālī al-Ġuwaynī, who were said to have expressed, at the end of their lives, their doubts, their remorse, their dissatisfaction – for some of them even their repentance⁹⁶ – for not having succeeded in finding the 'way' despite they made great efforts, implicitly by practising the *kalām*.⁹⁷ As usual, Ibn Taymiyya left the best argument for last and quoted a saying he attributed to Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī:

أكثر الناس شكاً عند الموت أصحاب الكلام .

The people most prone to doubts when death presents itself to them are the people of the *kalām*.⁹⁸

Ibn Taymiyya presented the saying he attributed to al-Ġazālī as an acknowledgement, a kind of *mea culpa* of these *mutakallimūn* for practising *kalām* and considering it the way forward. Nevertheless, Ibn Taymiyya's criticism would not prevent him from using, later in the *fatwā*, these same authors and other Aš'arī to corroborate his opinion on the 'uluww (height, altitude) of God who was on his throne, the latter situated above the seven heavens.⁹⁹ Ibn Taymiyya quoted the *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* of Abū al-Ḥassan al-Aš'arī (d. 324/936) and the *Kitāb al-asmā' wa al-ṣifāt* of Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066).¹⁰⁰

Further on, Ibn Taymiyya defended the idea that the term *al-istiwā'* in verse 5 of Sura 20 could not be interpreted¹⁰¹ and refuted the interpretation of the term *yad* as *ni'ma* (benefit).¹⁰² To support his position, he quoted once again Abū al-Ḥasan al-Aš'arī and his work *al-Ibāna* as well as the Mālikī qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Baqillānī (d. 402/1013) – with his work also titled *al-Ibāna* – the best Aš'arī *mutakallim* who existed according to Ibn Taymiyya.¹⁰³ A little further he used the words of al-Baqillānī to refute the belief that God, by virtue of His Being, was

⁹⁶ It is the case for Fahr al-Dīn al-Rāzī.

⁹⁷ Ibn Taymiyya 2015, 68-70.

⁹⁸ Ibn Taymiyya 2015, 70.

⁹⁹ Ibn Taymiyya 2015, 127-37. It is on this last point that several Aš'arī scholars have accused Ibn Taymiyya of anthropomorphism. This accusation is based on the following syllogism: if God is attributed a direction (in this case *al-'uluw*), this amounts to saying that He is therefore contained in a space and only a body can be contained in a space. God cannot therefore have a direction as is asserted in the Muršīda of Muḥammad b. Tūmart (d. 524/1130), often, and wrongly, attributed to Ibn 'Asākir, one of the reference texts of the Aš'arī belief: "ليس له قبل ولا بعد ولا فوق ولا تحت ولا يمين ولا شمال ولا أمام ولا خلف" (al-Qāḍī 1999, 31-2, 46). In another version, we find: "لا تحويه الجهات الست كسائر المبتدعات".

¹⁰⁰ Ibn Taymiyya 2015, 186, 190.

¹⁰¹ Ibn Taymiyya 2015, 200.

¹⁰² Ibn Taymiyya 2015, 202.

¹⁰³ Ibn Taymiyya 2015, 203.

present everywhere (*fī kullī makān bi-dāti-hi*).¹⁰⁴ Ibn Taymiyya concluded his line of reasoning with his most relevant argument, namely a passage from the *Risāla al-nizāmiyya* of Abū al-Ma'ālī al-Ġuwaynī (d. 478/1085) in which the author explicitly stated that the best path to follow regarding the interpretation of divine names and attributes was that of the *salaf*.¹⁰⁵

These few examples illustrate this ambivalent attitude of Ibn Taymiyya's towards certain Aš'arī-*mutakallimūn* ulemas: on the one hand, refuting some of their opinions, on the other hand, integrating them into his discursive strategy and using them to refute the opinions and arguments of other opponents. Ibn Taymiyya did not shy from this ambivalent use of the texts of the *mutakallimūn* to support his theses. On the contrary, shortly before the end of his *fatwā*, Ibn Taymiyya explained in no uncertain terms why he quoted them:

وكلامه وكلام غيره من المتكلمين في هذا الباب مثل هذا كثير لمن يطلبه وإن كنا مستغنين بالكتاب والسنة وآثار السلف عن كل كلام. وملاك الأمر أن يهيب الله للعبد حكمة وإيماناً بحيث يكون له عقل ودين حتى يفهم ويدين، ثم نور الكتاب والسنة يغنيه عن كل شيء، ولكن كثير من الناس قد صار متنسباً إلى بعض طوائف المتكلمين، ومحسناً للظن بهم دون غيرهم، ومتوهماً أنهم حققوا في هذا الباب ما لم يحققه غيرهم، فلو أتى بكل آية ما تبعها حتى يؤتى بشيء من كلامهم...

And his [Abū Bakr al-Baqillānī's] sayings and similar sayings of others among the *mutakallimūn* on this subject are numerous for anyone who wants to know them. And certainly, we could have been content only with the Qur'ān, the Sunna, the traditions of the *salaf* and dispensed with reporting their [the *mutakallimūn*'s] sayings. But the main thing is that God grants the servant's wisdom and faith to have reason and religion so that he can understand and profess religion. Thereafter, the light of the Qur'ān and Sunna will suffice for him and he will not need anything else. Nevertheless, most people have become affiliates of certain groups of *mutakallimūn* for whom they have a good opinion at the expense of others. They are convinced that they [the *mutakallimūn*] have achieved in this regard what no one has done apart from them and that even if one were to come to them with a verse, they will not follow it until one of their [the *mutakallimūn*'s] words is presented to them.¹⁰⁶

There is no denying that Ibn Taymiyya exhibits a certain transparency and intellectual honesty in this passage. Nevertheless, on careful examination it also turns out to be yet another argument against the *mutakallimūn*: by explaining that he used the words of *mutakallimūn*

¹⁰⁴ Ibn Taymiyya 2015, 204.

¹⁰⁵ Ibn Taymiyya criticises this position at the beginning of the book, see fn. 95.

¹⁰⁶ Ibn Taymiyya 2015, 205.

to speak to those who follow the *kalām*, Ibn Taymiyya showed on the one hand that he held the same opinion as the earlier great *ṣuyūḥ mutakallimūn* on crucial points relating to dogma and that on the other hand, the proponents of the over-interpretation of divine names and attributes among the neo-*mutakallimūn* were innovators.¹⁰⁷ This process was quite similar to that employed in al-Ḥnā'ī's refutation of the visitation of the tombs with the use of Mālikī-Aṣ'arī sources; or that of al-Quṣayrī, regarding the *kalām* as the path of the great Sufi masters, with the use of a Sufi corpus.

5 Rigour and Criticism in the Reading of Sources

In addition to transparency in his choice to use *mutakallimūn* authors in his *Fatwā al-ḥamawiyya al-kubrā*, a certain rigour in the reading, treatment and validation of texts which are used as sources seems to emerge from the analysis of Ibn Taymiyya's writings. Given the impossibility of conducting an in-depth analysis of Ibn Taymiyya's entire output, I will limit myself to his work entitled *al-Istiqāma*. One of Ibn Taymiyya's criteria of source validation that recurred quite often in this work was *isnād* (chain of transmission). Although less well known and less presented as a *muḥaddith*, Ibn Taymiyya was competent in the science of *hadīṭ* and the so-called science of narrators (*'ilm al-riḡāl*).¹⁰⁸ He emphasised the importance of the *isnād* and lamented that in his time, "many among the servants did not memorise the *hadīṭ* or their *isnād* and consequently, there were many errors made in both the *isnād* and the *matn* [text] of the *hadīṭ*".¹⁰⁹ Ibn Taymiyya sifted through the passages of al-Quṣayrī's *Risāla* with particular attention to those in which the author reported the sayings attributed to different Sufi masters, validating them or not after analysis of the *isnād*.

Al-Quṣayrī reported that Dū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī¹¹⁰ was said to have been asked about verse 5 *sūra* 20¹¹¹ and replied that God confirms His Being there and refutes any place for Him. God exists by His Be-

¹⁰⁷ On Ibn Taymiyya's position on the different types of interpretations see Zougar 2010, 198-204.

¹⁰⁸ al-Matroudi 2006, 25-6.

¹⁰⁹ Ibn Taymiyya 2005, 159:

لكن كثيراً من العباد لا يحفظ الأحاديث ولا أسانيدها فكثيراً ما يغلطون في إسناد الحديث أو منته.

¹¹⁰ His full name Abū al-Fayḍ Tawbān b. Ibrāhīm, born in Aḥmīm in Egypt in 179/796. Great Sufi scholar and master who died in Egypt in 245/859. For more information see Chiabotti, Orfali 2016, 90-127.

¹¹¹ "The Most Merciful [who is] above the Throne established".

ing and things exist by His command (*ḥukm*) and as He Wills.¹¹² But for Ibn Taymiyya, the problem of the *isnād* arose already before analysing its content:

هذا الكلام لم يَذكر له إسناداً عن ذي النون، وفي هذه الكتب من الحكايات المسندة شيء كثير لا أصل له، فكيف بهذه المنقطعة المسببة التي تتضمن أن يُنقل عن المشايخ كلام لا يقوله عاقل، فإن هذا الكلام ليس فيه مناسبة للآية، بل هو مناقض لها. فإن هذه الآية لم تتضمن إثبات ذاته ونفي مكانه بوجه من الوجوه، فكيف تُفسر بذلك؟! وأما قوله: "هو موجود بذاته، والأشياء موجودة بحكمه"، فهو حقٌّ، لكن ليس هذا معنى الآية.

I say: he [al-Quṣayrī] does not cite any *isnād* going back to Dū al-Nūn for this saying. In these books, there are many stories/anecdotes reported with an *isnād* that has nothing true. So, what about this evil saying reported without an *isnād* which makes one attribute to *ṣuyūḥ* something a reasonable person would not say. This word has nothing to do with the verse, on the contrary it opposes it. This verse does not in any way refer to the affirmation [*itbāt*] of the Being of God [*dāti-hi*] or even to the refutation that it is contained in a place. So how can this verse be explained in this way?! When it says 'that He exists by His Being and things exist by His command [*ḥukm*]', it is a word of Truth but this is not the meaning of this verse.¹¹³

Further on, we find this same problem of the *isnād* concerning a saying which al-Quṣayrī attributed to Dū al-Nūn and according to which he praised the merits of the beautiful voice and the *samā'* which pushes and directs hearts towards the truth (*al-ḥaqq*).¹¹⁴ For Ibn Taymiyya:

هذا الكلام لم يسنده عن ذي النون، وإنما أرسله إرسالاً، وما يرسله في هذه الرسالة قد وجد كثير منه مكذوب علي أصحابه، إما أن يكون أبو القاسم سمعه من بعض الناس فاعتقد صدقه، أو يكون من فوقه كذلك، أو وجده مكتوباً في بعض الكتب فاعتقد صحته.

This saying has no *isnād* going back to Dū al-Nūn but he [al-Quṣayrī] reports it without quoting its main narrator [*arsala-hu irsālan*].¹¹⁵ Many of what he reports in this book are actually false words that are

¹¹² Ibn Taymiyya 2005, 150. This position echoes what is also found in the *Muršīda*: (al-Qāḍī) وله الحكم والقضاء وله الأسماء الحسنى، لا دافع لما قضى ولا مانع لما أعطى يفعل في ملكه ما يريد ويحكم في خلقه بما يشاء (1999, 20-7, 46)

¹¹³ Ibn Taymiyya 2005, 151.

¹¹⁴ Ibn Taymiyya 2005, 275.

¹¹⁵ Although it is not a prophetic *ḥadīth*, Ibn Taymiyya treats this *ḥadīth* (narrative) attributed to Dū al-Nūn using the nomenclature of *ḥadīth* scholarship. By the expression *arsala-hu irsālan* Ibn Taymiyya refers to the *mursal ḥadīth*, characterised by the lack of the last person to hear the *ḥadīth* directly from the Prophet.

falsely attributed to these people; either Abū al-Qāsim [al-Quṣayrī] heard it from some people and considered it true or he found it written in some books and considered it authentic [...].¹¹⁶

Ibn Taymiyya went on to highlight the phenomenon of attributing false and misleading words to the most illustrious *ṣuyūḥ* and *‘ulamā’* for the purpose of legitimising a particular belief or innovative practice:

ومن أكثر الكذب، الكذب على المشايخ المشهورين، فقد رأينا من ذلك وسمعنا ما لا يحصىه إلا الله. وهذا أبو القاسم – مع علمه وروايته بالإسناد – ومع هذا، ففي هذه الرسالة قطعة كبيرة من المكذوبات، التي لا يُنازع فيها من له أدنى معرفة بحقيقة حال المنقول عنهم.

And among the most numerous lies are those about the famous *ṣuyūḥ* and we have seen and heard what only God is able to count. And Abū al-Qāsim despite his erudition and his reported versions with an *isnād*, in his book *al-Risāla*, there is a significant portion of the false narratives about which there is no need to polemicise for the one who has a minimum of knowledge of the reality of the narratives that are reported about them [the *ṣuyūḥ*].¹¹⁷

Ibn Taymiyya did not merely note the absence of the *isnād* or criticise its authenticity. In the discussion that concerns us, Ibn Taymiyya cited the texts in which, according to him, many stories and narrations related to the *samā’* were found:

أما الذي يستند من الحكايات في باب السماع، فعامته من كتابين: كتاب اللمع لأبي نصر السراج – فإنه يروى عن أبي حاتم السجستاني عن أبي نصر عن عبد الله بن علي الطوسي، ويروى عن محمد بن أحمد بن محمد التميمي عنه – ومن كتاب السماع لأبي عبد الرحمن السلمى، قد سمعه منه.

As for the one who supports, with an *isnād*, narrations related to the *samā’* then most of the time he uses two works: the book *al-Lam’* by Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāḡ which reports after Abū Ḥātim al-Siḡistānī, after Abū Naṣr, after ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī, and also reports from Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī; the book *al-Samā’* of Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī that he heard from him directly.¹¹⁸

Ibn Taymiyya was ardently opposed to singing, which he considered a perversion and a danger for the heart.¹¹⁹ Although he was an enthusiast for warrior arts like *furūsiyya*, Ibn Taymiyya had no taste for military music, a military practice for which there is no trace either

¹¹⁶ Ibn Taymiyya 2005, 275-6.

¹¹⁷ Ibn Taymiyya 2005, 276.

¹¹⁸ Ibn Taymiyya 2005, 276.

¹¹⁹ Ibn Taymiyya 2011c, 343-52; 2005, 238; 1991; Michot 1988, 255-61.

in the Prophet or the *salaf*.¹²⁰ But it was above all the *samā'* practised by some *mutaṣawwifa* with all the turpitudes and perversions committed therein that he strongly denounced and condemned.¹²¹ However, Ibn Taymiyya's position on the *samā'* should in no way be taken as a condemnation of Sufism as such or of the brotherhoods as has already been well demonstrated by several scholars.¹²²

In other passages of his *al-Istiqāma*, Ibn Taymiyya pointed out the absence of *isnād* which was one of the first criteria – if not the first – for validating a reported saying even before analysing its content.¹²³ Even for a saying that he considered good, Ibn Taymiyya did not fail to point out the absence or lack of knowledge of the *isnād*.¹²⁴ Like a *muḥaddit*, Ibn Taymiyya analysed in depth the *isnāds* quoted by al-Quṣayrī and did not hesitate to point out when one of the narrators was unknown:

قال أبو القاسم: "حدثنا الشيخ أبو عبد الرحمن، سمعت أبا العباس بن الخشاب البغدادي، سمعت أبا القاسم بن موسى، سمعت محمد بن أحمد، سمعت الأنصاري، سمعت الخزاز يقول: حقيقة القرب فقد حُسن الأشياء من القلب، وهذوء الضمير إلى الله."
قلت: "هذه الحكاية في إسناده من لا يُعرف حاله، وإن صحَّ هذا الكلام عن أبي سعيد الخزاز، فليس مقصوده أنّ القرب من الله ليس إلا مجرد ذلك".

Abū al-Qāsim said: 'the *ṣayḥ* Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān reported to us': 'I heard Abū al-'Abbās b. al-Ḥaššāb al-Baḡdādī who heard Abū al-Qāsim b. Mūsā who heard Muḥammad b. Aḥmad who heard al-Anṣārī who heard al-Ḥarrāz say, 'the real closeness [to being with God] is not losing the attachment for the good things in one's heart and the serenity of mind towards God'.

120 According to Ibn Taymiyya, the origin of the military music would come from Persian kings. This tradition would have spread through the conquests of the Persian armies during Antiquity. Ibn Taymiyya 2005, 238. For Ibn Taymiyya, the Prophetic tradition at war is "خفض الصوت". Poetry is acceptable for motivating and exciting the combatants' ardour to fight. Ibn Taymiyya 2005, 238, 242, 279. For more information see Michot 2016, 8-10 and Frenkel 2018, 5-12. It should be noted that for some 'ulamā's music could be a psychological weapon in the service of Muslims. For the Ḥanafī Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī (d. 855/1451), banging the drum was allowed in the context of war to gather the fighters and as a signal for combat readiness. Although it is detestable (*makrūh*) to use bells (*al-aḡrās*) in the territory of Dār al-ḥarb to avoid detection by the enemy, there is no harm in hanging them on the horse harness for frightening the enemy before the fight. Al-'Aynī 2014, 1: 452-3.

121 In many passages of his writings, Ibn Taymiyya denounces the contemplation and penchant for hairless young people in the circles of *samā'*. See also Pouzet 1983, 132; Homerin 1985, 226 fn. 32; Berriah 2020.

122 See fn. 30.

123 Here are just a few examples. Ibn Taymiyya 2005, 157-8.

124 "فهذا الكلام كلام حسن، وإن لم يعلم إسناده" (And this saying is a good saying even if its *isnād* is not known) (Ibn Taymiyya 2005, 379).

I say, 'this story has in its *isnād* someone whose degree of trust [*ḥāl*] is not known and even if it is true that this saying is from Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥarrāz, it does not mean that closeness to God is achieved only by this means'.¹²⁵

One might think that Ibn Taymiyya raised this criterion of a narrator's lack of knowledge in the *isnād* to protect the reputation of Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, a great Sufi *ṣayḥ* whom he greatly revered and whom he quoted extensively in his writings. Yet, Ibn Taymiyya also raised the problem of *isnād* and was equally dubious about a saying on divine attributes that al-Quṣayrī attributed to al-Ḥusayn b. Maṣṣūr, better known as al-Ḥallāḡ, and whose reputation as a misguided person, heretic and even apostate was well known and which Ibn Taymiyya did not forget to mention.¹²⁶ Regarding the words of al-Ḥallāḡ, Ibn Taymiyya wrote:

هذا الكلام - والله أعلم - هل هو صحيح عن الحلاج أم لا؟ فإن في الإسناد من لا أعرف حاله، وقد رأيت أشياء كثيرة منسوبة إلى الحلاج من مصنفات وكلمات ورسائل، وهي كذب عليه لا شك في ذلك، وإن كان في كثير من كلامه الثابت عنه فساد واضطراب.

Is this saying - and God is more Knowledgeable - really from al-Ḥallāḡ or not? In the *isnād* there is a narrator whose degree of trust [*ḥālu-hu*] I do not know and I have seen many things attributed to al-Ḥallāḡ in books, epistles and statements when they are lies without any doubt, even though it is true that in many other sayings attested to be those of al-Ḥallāḡ, there is corruption, disorder and disruption.¹²⁷

We must acknowledge here a certain rigour and objectivity on the part of Ibn Taymiyya, which were not always present,¹²⁸ if we take into consideration the criticisms he made of al-Ḥallāḡ in other *fatwās*.¹²⁹

It is clear that no matter which author al-Quṣayrī attributed a saying to, whether he was appreciated or not by Ibn Taymiyya, the *isnād* was the first element to be analysed. This way of proceeding was later confirmed when Ibn Taymiyya expressed doubts about the *isnād* of a saying he considered to be 'good' and which was attributed to al-

¹²⁵ Ibn Taymiyya 2005, 154. See page 158 for another example of criticism of the absence of an *isnād*.

¹²⁶ Ibn Taymiyya 2005, 106.

¹²⁷ Ibn Taymiyya 2005, 107.

¹²⁸ See for example the false accusations against Rašīd al-Dīn, highlighted by Michot 1995.

¹²⁹ Massignon 1975. Nevertheless, he agrees on several points with al-Ḥallāḡ and his perception of al-Ḥallāḡ and his creed seems to have evolved over time. See Michot 2007.

Fuḍayl b. 'Iyād (d. 187/803), a famous Sufi *ṣayḥ* whom he particularly liked.¹³⁰ For some sayings reported by al-Quṣayrī from Sufi masters, Ibn Taymiyya did not limit himself to refuting the authenticity of the *isnād* but made corrections and clarifications. This is the case with a saying attributed to Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh about the created character of the letters of the Qur'ān:

هذا الكلام ليس له إسناد عن سهل، وكلام سهل بن عبد الله وأصحابه في السنّة والصفّات والقرآن أشهر من أن يُذكر هنا. وسهل من أعظم الناس قولاً بأنّ القرآن كله حروف، ومعانيه غير مخلوقة، بل صاحبة أبو الحسن بن سالم – أختير الناس بقوله – قد عُرف قوله وقول أصحابه في ذلك. وقد ذكر أبو بكر بن إسحاق الكلاباذي في "التعرّف في مذاهب التصوّف" عن الحارث الحّاسبي وأبي الحسن بن سالم، أنّهما كانا يقولان: إنّ الله يتكلّم بصوت. ومذهب السالمية أصحاب سهل، ظاهر في ذلك، فلا يُترك هذا الأمر المشهور المعروف بالظاهر لحكاية مرسله لا إسناد لها.

This saying has no *isnād* from Sahl. The saying of Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh and his companions about the Sunna, the Attributes and the Qur'ān are so well known that there is no need to recall them here. Sahl is among the most illustrious people who claimed that the Qur'ān in its entirety consists of *hurūf* and that its meanings are not created. Moreover, his companion Abū al-Ḥasan b. Sālim – the most knowledgeable of Sahl sayings – and his companions, are known for his words on this subject. Abū Bakr b. Ishāq al-Kalābādī has mentioned in his book *al-Ta'arruf fī madhhab al-taṣawwuf* according to al-Ḥārit al-Muḥāsibī and Abū al-Ḥasan b. Sālim that both say: 'surely God speaks through a *ṣawṭ*.' The *madhhab* of the Sālimiyya and the companions of Sahl is clear on this and it is not appropriate to bring a *mursal* narration without an *isnād* for this type of thing that is clear and well-known.¹³¹

Ibn Taymiyya's methodological process demonstrates both a scientific rigour and a vast erudition, which were unanimously accepted by his contemporaries, whether those in his circle or his fiercest opponents.

6 Conclusion

The analysis of a sample of Ibn Taymiyya's writings has shed light on some aspects of his source methodology. Of course, these results are only preliminary and, given the limited corpus, need to be completed. The example of the visit to the tombs shows how Ibn Taymiyya used the Companions in order to disprove his opponents who based their arguments on the opinion or word of a Companion. In the first instance, Ibn Taymiyya invoked the authority of a Companion who

¹³⁰ Ibn Taymiyya 2005, 377.

¹³¹ Ibn Taymiyya 2005, 163.

was higher in the ranking of merits. If it was an isolated opinion as in the case of Ibn 'Umar, Ibn Taymiyya opposed it in a second step to the *ǧumhūr al-ṣaḥāba* (majority of the Companions).

Ibn Taymiyya did not follow this methodology in every case. Depending on the subject matter, the relevance of the word reported by the Companion could prevail over the order of merit of the Companions. Thus, Ibn Taymiyya gave priority to the word of Salmān al-Fārisī over that of 'Umar, the second caliph of Islam and who occupied the second place in the ranking of the Companions in the Sunni tradition, on the subject of the superiority of the Arabs and the merits of Arabness since it made his argument more relevant and effective.

The examination of the *Ġawāb al-bāhir* and *al-Iḥnā'iyya*, writings dealing with the visitation of graves, showed Ibn Taymiyya's ability to use to his advantage, thanks to his vast erudition and sound knowledge of the different *madhabs* and schools of thought, the sources of his opponents regardless of their *madhab* of affiliation. Ibn Taymiyya built his arguments on sources from his opponent's *madhab* and used it against him to deconstruct his discourse and discredit him. His expertise in the *madhabs* in general, and the Mālikī *madhab* in particular, allowed him to discuss and quote the opinions of the '*ulamā*' of the different *madhabs* as he wished. Although he was attached to the Ḥanbalī *madhab* and admired its founder, it would seem that Ibn Taymiyya was not concerned with necessarily appearing to be a Ḥanbalī scholar and/or ensuring that the opinions of the scholars affiliated with his *madhab* prevailed, particularly towards the end of his life. This pluri-*madhab* referencing and selection of sources, which he practiced at the end of his life, was the result of both his expertise in the *madhabs* and a long intellectual journey. It was a further indicator of his independence from the *madhabs*, an independence that was evident in his later writings: Ibn Taymiyya wanted to place himself above the *madhabs*, to detach himself from them in the treatment of certain issues because quite simply the struggle to defend his conception of orthodoxy went beyond the *madhabs* and concerned all Muslims without distinction. In line with the work of other scholars, the passages analysed in this study confirm Ibn Taymiyya's ambivalent attitude towards certain Aṣ'arī-*mutakallimūn* '*ulamā*': on the one hand, he criticised them and disagreed with them on several points, on the other hand, he did not hesitate to use them against his opponents.

The examination of other writings of Ibn Taymiyya would allow us to potentially corroborate these results but, above all, bring new elements regarding his source methodology, which remains to be studied in depth as well as the idea of a Taymiyyan *kalām*.

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al-Şafadī: The Scholar as a Reader

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Abstract Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Şafadī (d. 764/1363) was a famous author of the Mamlūk period. He was a renowned scholar, especially for his great literary culture and for his encyclopedic knowledge, chiefly of biographies. This article approaches him as a reader and focuses on the link between his readings and his scholarly production. The sources of information tackled here are three-fold. First, the ownership statements found on manuscripts title pages are tracked and analysed, put in relation to his contemporaneous writings and life events. Second, his reading journal (*taḍkira*) is investigated and its various roles are specified; its extent, original number of volumes, contents and uses are all discussed and the preserved manuscripts are also cited. Third, the manuscripts preserved in his hand, whether holographs or copies of other authors' works, are investigated. Indeed, these are part of his inner library, even if some of them were offered to others.

Keywords History of reading. Books circulation. Authors' methodology. Arabic manuscripts. Mamlūk period.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Documentary Evidence: The Paratextual Elements in Manuscripts. – 2.1 Ex-libris and Consultation Marks. – 2.2 A Word of Conclusion. – 3 Al-Şafadī's Reading Journal: The *Taḍkira al-Şalāḥiyya*. – 4 Al-Şafadī as a Reader and as an Author: The Holograph Manuscripts and the Manuscripts with Autograph Interventions. – 4.1 al-Şafadī as a Scribe. – 4.2 al-Şafadī's Holographs. – 5 Conclusion.



1 Introduction

Şalāḥ al-Dīn Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Albakī al-Şafadī (696-764/1297-1363) was a well-known author of the Mamlūk period.¹ The Mamlūk sultanate between 648/1250 and 923/1517 stretched over the lands of Egypt, Syria, Palestine and the Hejaz. The head of the state – the sultan – was normally a manumitted slave of Central Asian origin (a *mamlūk*),² bought in his childhood and brought to Egypt to be educated and raised as a future military man,³ just like the other *mamlūks*, forming the army of the state. The Mamlūk army was organised under the authority of the sultan and of various *amīrs*, whose power varied according to the number of *mamlūks* they owned.

The Mamlūk sultans succeeded the Ayyubids and established themselves as the major power in the region, and then in all the Arabo-Islamic world, by putting an end to the Crusades and to the Mongol invasions. A peaceful period thus began, allowing the arts to flourish. Literature and scholarship benefitted from the situation as well, and the Mamlūk period is now recognised for its great intellectual vivacity: the sum of knowledge reached an unequalled level, notably thanks to the great cultural exchanges among different parts of the Islamic world, the multiplication of places of knowledge, the encouraging patronage from wealthy personalities – sultans, *amīrs*, and the civilian elite – and the possibility to travel and to make books and ideas travel easily.⁴ To master this growing knowledge, scholars would arrange it in encyclopaedias, manuals, anthologies and dic-

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1 GAL G II 39-42, S II 27-9. Biographical data are found chiefly in the account given by his friend al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 10: 5-32 (no. 1352), but also in al-Dahabī, *Muġam*, 91-2 (no. 107); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Şaġarāt*, 8: 343-4; Ibn Ḥaġar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar*, 2: 87-8; Ibn al-ʿIrāqī, *Ḍayl*, 2: 134-6; Ibn Kaṭīr, *Bidāya*, 14: 303; Ibn Qāḍī Şuhba, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3: 120-1; Ibn Qāḍī Şuhba, *Tārīḥ*, 3: 227-9; Ibn Rāfiʿ al-Salāmī, *Wafayāt*, 2: 268-70 (no. 789); Ibn Taġribirdī, *Manhal*, 5: 241-57; Ibn Taġribirdī, *Nuġūm*, 11: 19-21; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar*, 2: 77-8; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3: 87; al-Saḥāwī, *Waġīz*, 1: 135 (no. 258); for secondary sources, see Lāşīn 2005; Little 1976; Rosenthal in *EP*; Rowson 2019; Van Ess 1976; Van Ess 1977, etc.

2 ‘Normally’ because a tendency to transmit the sultanic power to one’s son is observed at various stages of the Mamlūk history. ‘*Mamlūk*’, literally ‘thing possessed’, hence ‘slave’, see Ayalon in *EP*.

3 This training consisted in a military instruction, but not only: a religious education was also provided, as well as literacy and law classes, that could be rather advanced depending on the personal skills of the young *mamlūk* and on the wealth of his master. See Flemming 1977; Franssen 2017; Mauder 2021.

4 Behrens-Abouseif 2008, 10-11, 16; Manstetten 2018.

tionaries: the period is defined as an age of encyclopaedism.⁵ Summaries, commentaries and abstracts from this knowledge were also written, a kind of a secondary literature that made the knowledge more accessible.

A great system of knowledge transmission was in full vigor. It is known thanks to the written sources (annals, histories, biographical dictionaries...) and it is reflected in a number of annotations found in manuscripts: licences of transmission (*iğzāt*), i.e. authorisations given by an author (or a master) to transmit and teach a certain text to others and to provide them with such a licence afterwards; certificates of audition (*samā'āt*), i.e. attestations that such persons assisted the lessons of a certain master or author about a certain text; and collation notes (*balāğāt* or *tablīğāt*), attesting the comparison of the manuscript in presence with another one or several others, older and/or nearer from the author of the text, this comparison possibly done in community, by several scholars gathered together for a number of meetings.⁶ All of these notes are extremely useful for our understanding of knowledge construction in the Mamlūk period and allow us to discern social practices in the study and elaboration of scholarship and expertise, as we will see in some examples.

al-Şafadī was one of these authors and scholars. Very prolific, he composed numerous books, some of them counting tens of volumes. His curiosity and expertise were multi-faceted as illustrated by the different fields in which he was active. He was and still is particularly reputed for his biographical dictionaries, mainly the *Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt* (The Comprehensive Book of Obituaries)⁷ and the *A'yān al-aşr wa-a'wān al-naşr* (Notables of the Age and Supporters of Victory),⁸ which are still used by researchers today. He was also a famous *littérateur*, both in prose and in poetry, as well as a theoretician and practician. For instance, in his *Ġinān al-ġinās* (Gardens of Paronomasia) – a monograph about a specific literary device, namely paronomasia (a type of pun, or play on words) – he used for the first time a book structure he favoured, which is in two parts: the first one is theoretical (etymology, definitions, classifications of the stylistic device under study); and the second practical: an anthology of verses, often his own, using the literary device previously expounded. This book structure was implemented to treat three other literary devic-

⁵ van Berkel 2013; Muhanna 2013; Muhanna 2018.

⁶ Chamberlain 1994; 1997; Gacek 2001; 2009, 51-6, 65-9; Hirschler 2013; Leder et al. 1996; 2000; al-Munajjed 1955; Rosenthal 1947; 2007; Schöler 2009; Sellheim in *EF*; Sublet 1997; Vajda 1957; 1983; Vajda et al. in *EF*; Witkam 2007.

⁷ Ed. Ritter et al. 1931-. I borrow the translation of al-Şafadī's book titles from Rowson 2009.

⁸ Ed. Sezgin, 'Amāwī 1990.

es: *tawriya*, *istiḥdām* (two forms of double-entendre)⁹ and *tašbīh* (simile; see §§ 3 and 4.2). He was also a renowned literary critic (see his *al-Ġayṭ al-musaġġam fī šarḥ Lāmiyyat al-‘aġam*, Copious Showers of Commentary on the ‘Poem Rhyming in -l’ of the Non-Arabs).¹⁰ His *Tašḥīḥ al-tašḥīf wa-taḥrīr al-taḥrīf* (Correction of Misspellings and Rectification of Mispronunciations)¹¹ or *Ma‘ānī al-wāw* (The Various Meanings of the Particle *wa-*)¹² are a linguist’s oeuvres. History, linguistics, literature, but also tradition and religious studies: his wide gamut of knowledge reflects what was expected from a gentleman (*adīb*) and even more from a chancery secretary.¹³

He was born in Şafad, Palestine, in 696/1297, his father being a Mamlūk *amīr*.¹⁴ As the son of a Mamlūk, he is part of what was called then the *awlād al-nās*, and, as it would often be the case for Mamlūk offspring after him, he worked as a civil servant at different ranks of the Mamlūk chancery.¹⁵ He worked and lived in different towns, in the two capital cities, Cairo and Damascus, but also in Şafad, Aleppo, Hamah and al-Raḥbah. He held different positions, beginning from the lowest rank for chancery secretaries, *kātib al-darġ* (‘secretary of the roll’, responsible for the writing of everyday documents) from 717/1317-18, in his hometown, Şafad, to the highest: *kātib al-sirr* (‘secretary of the secret’, head of the chancery), in Aleppo, in 759/1358, skipping over the intermediary position of *kātib al-dast* (literally ‘secretary of the rostrum’, responsible for the important documents).¹⁶ In 745/1345, he worked for the *dīwān al-inšā’* (central chancery) at the Cairo Citadel, the sultan’s al-Malik al-Şāliḥ Ismā‘īl (r. 743-6/1342-5) own chancery. At the end of his life, from 760/1358, he was *wakīl bayt al-māl* (agent of the Mamlūk treasury) in Damascus. Contrary to other great scholars of the Mamlūk period, like al-Maqrīzī, for instance,¹⁷ he never left the administration to dedicate himself to his scholarly activities and he was still in his post when he died from the plague on 10 Şawwāl 764/23 July 1363.

A great number of autograph and holograph manuscripts of his were preserved until today, a fact often interpreted as material evi-

⁹ Bonebakker 1966.

¹⁰ Ed. Dār al-Kutub al-‘ilmiyya 1975.

¹¹ Ed. al-Şarqāwī 1987b.

¹² Unpublished.

¹³ Dekkiche 2011, 255-60; Martel-Thoumian 1992, 133-6.

¹⁴ For the bibliography about his biography, see fn. 1.

¹⁵ On this specific category, see Haarmann 1988.

¹⁶ This appellation comes from the fact that, in the central chancery of Cairo, this secretary was on the rostrum next to the sultan at various occasions. On the organization of the Mamlūk chancery, see Dekkiche 2011, 263-9; Martel-Thoumian 1992, 40-7.

¹⁷ See Bauden 2020, 144.

dence of the excellent reputation he and his work enjoyed during his lifetime, and until now (see §§ 4.1 and 4.2).¹⁸

In order to envisage al-Şafadī as a reader, different sources of information are available. First, the documentary evidence: notes he left on manuscripts because he owned them (ownership marks) or borrowed them. These are the subject of the first part of this article, together with consultation notes and note-taking attestations that were left by al-Şafadī in the manuscripts he used, perused, and read. All of these are paratextual elements; that is, small textual units unrelated to the main text of the manuscript but featured on its pages.¹⁹ The paratextual elements are a wealth of knowledge for the historian of the book, the historian of ideas, or the biographer, among others. Sometimes, they are dated and bear a direct or indirect indication of place, still improving their documentary value.²⁰

Another great source of information about al-Şafadī's readings is his reading journal, his *taḍkira*. This document is the object of the second part of this contribution. The *raison d'être* of the *taḍkira*, its chronology, use, look and extent will all be discussed. Special attention will be given to the holograph fragments or volumes of the *taḍkira* that were preserved until today, two of them having been identified only recently.

Third, the manuscripts copied by al-Şafadī will be considered as well. Indeed, if these were not always his property, they were first owned by him, and in any case, they are part of his inner library, since he cautiously copied their text. The reasons for such copied works are varied – and not always known – but what we see of the care he took in doing them is always tremendous. Already in his early twenties, al-Şafadī showed a great concern for the exactitude of the text he copied. This concern had to do with his own copying, but also with the *exemplar* chosen to be reproduced. He took great care to respect the manuscript copied, re-read his work to make sure he did not commit errors or *sauts du même au même*. Even more, his concern was merely philological since he was looking for the best source to be copied or to collate his text with. This “best source” was a holograph, when

18 Rosenthal *EF*; Sellheim 1976-87, 1: 200-1, 2: 111; Rowson 2009, 345. See also Paul 1994.

19 The term “paratexte” was coined by Gérard Genette. See Genette 1982, among others.

20 Happily, these paratextual elements are more and more used by scholars and several ongoing projects aim at gathering them, see ELEO (*Ex-Libris ex Oriente*) project in ULiège (<http://web.philo.ulg.ac.be/islamo/ex-libris-ex-orient/>), the Refaiya project in Leipzig University (<https://www.refaiya.uni-leipzig.de/content/index.xml>) or the efforts of Berlin State Library to mention them in their online catalogue (<http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/content/index.xml>). A double special issue of the *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* was devoted to them and gathered 12 studies about them, see Liebrecht 2018a. See also below fn. 24.

available, an authorial manuscript (checked by the author of the text) or an apograph, a direct copy of a holograph.²¹

For the same reason – the fact that his works are part of his inner library – holograph manuscripts of al-Şafadī’s that were preserved until today will be mentioned. On the contrary, even if they also reflect his readings, the licences of transmission and audition certificates mentioning his name or issued by him will not be systematically treated here.

2 Documentary Evidence: The Paratextual Elements in Manuscripts

Bibliophiles often leave a trace of their property in their books. It can be a seal impression, an ornate ex-libris, like the one of the late Seeger A. Bonebakker [fig. 1] in the twentieth century,²² or a few words scribbled on one of the first pages of a manuscript; the Italian humanist scholar and poet Poliziano (d. 1494), for instance, used to write this simple note: “Angeli Politiani et amicorum” at the beginning of his books, a way to testify to his intellectual history and to the intellectual milieu he was in.²³

Similarly, the first pages of Arabic manuscripts are often filled with short notes by different hands, traced at different moments of the history of the book. Some of them are just a name jotted down on one corner of the page, but others contain additional details, like the date, place and price of purchase or the name of the lender and an expression of gratitude to him. Others are a bit more ornate, with the name of the owner written in a beautiful way. Others have been circled by a later bibliophile in order to draw attention to them and their value. Some are property marks, others are consultation statements. Whatever they look like, these marks and their context actually provide a great deal of information about a range of themes: at an individual level, about the readings of the person in presence, and, when the mark is dated, about the moment of this reading, thus more broadly, about the biography of the person and his intellectual history, or his methodology, about the peculiar handwriting of the person; at a collective level, about the history of the book, including

²¹ For terminology, see Bauden, Franssen 2020, 2-37, spec. 3, 20.

²² Seeger A. Bonebakker (1923-2005) was a Dutch orientalist who worked mainly for the University of California in Los Angeles. He had a special relation with Venice and the Ca’ Foscari University and bequeathed all his library (worth 70,000 €, as estimated in 2006, counting almost 8,000 books, 200 microfilms of manuscripts and thousands of printed articles), as well as nearly 230,000 € to finance the cataloguing of the collection and doctoral and post-doctoral projects about Arabic literature. See Franssen 2019.

²³ Grafton 2001, 259-60.



Figure 1
Seeger A. Bonebakker's personal ex-libris. Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Biblioteca Area Linguistica, Dipartimento di Studi sull'Asia e l'Africa Mediterranea, Bonebakker's collection. © Author

the circulation of books and ideas (what was read where and when), about the extent and status of libraries, either private or public; and many other details particular to each case.²⁴

When the person who left the mark is a well-known scholar, these pieces of information are even more valuable. In the case of al-Şafadī, we are lucky enough, in the current state of research, to have fifteen marks of different kinds.

2.1 Ex-libris and Consultation Marks

al-Şafadī's ex-libris and consultation marks currently identified can be classified in three different groups. First, we will concentrate on simple marks, which merely attest to his ownership, and of which nine were found. Second, we will mention one mark featuring supplementary information about the author of the text of the manuscript. Third, consultation marks will be discussed; these five marks are also instructive in terms of working methodology, since they always specify the fact that notes were taken from these readings. We will also

²⁴ On the historical value of these notes, see Görke, Hirschler 2012. Studies taking into account these paratexts are happily more and more numerous, see for instance and in addition to the references cited in fn. 20: Daaif, Sironval 2013; Krimsti 2018; Liebrez 2018b; Zouache 2018 etc. See also Bauden in this volume.

mention al-Şafadī's son's ownership marks, written on manuscripts inherited from his father's library and of which there are four.

2.1.1.1 Simple Ex-libris

Simple ex-libris marks are short marks, just a few words, always written parallel to the spine, usually from the bottom up saying *Min kutub Ḥalīl b. Aybak [al-Şafadī]* ('from among the books of Ḥalīl b. Aybak [al-Şafadī]').²⁵ This inscription generally occupies two or three lines, the first featuring solely *min kutub*, the final *bā'* being elongated so that these two short words occupy the same space as his name.

This is the case in the manuscript of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (henceforth BnF) Arabe 2061 (see [fig. 2](#)).²⁶ This manuscript is a copy of the *Talī kitāb wafayāt al-a'yān*, the continuation of Ibn Ḥallikān's *Kitāb wafayāt al-a'yān*,²⁷ by al-Muwaffaq Faḍl Allāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Aḥmad b. Tāġ al-Dīn b. Abī al-Faḥr Ibn al-Şuqā'ī (d. 726/1325),²⁸ more precisely the obituaries for the years 660/1262-725/1325. We know that Ibn al-Şuqā'ī served as a secretary in different *dīwāns* related to crimes of fraud in the Mamlūk administration. He had thus access to sensitive information that other biographers did not know about. Jacqueline Sublet adds that his integration in the Damascene *intelligentsia* granted him of witty and unheard anecdotes and stories about his peers of the administration.²⁹ It is no wonder at all that such a text was part of al-Şafadī's library: it is often cited in the *Wāfi*³⁰ and must have been one his main sources for the obituaries of those years.

As ex-libris, al-Şafadī simply wrote *Min kutub Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Şafadī* on the title page, parallel to the spine and facing upward, in two short lines [\[fig. 3\]](#). We also know that al-Şafadī had a personal copy of Ibn Ḥallikān's opus (see § 4.1).

²⁵ His *nisba* "al-Şafadī" is not always mentioned and there is no apparent logic explaining its presence or absence.

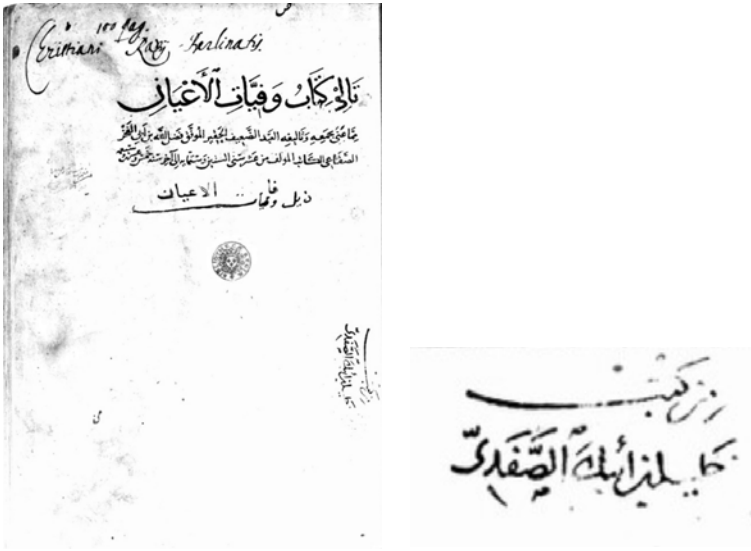
²⁶ The ex-libris is cited in the catalogue: Mac Guckin de Slane 1883-95, 367. The ms is freely available online: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11001646v.image>.

²⁷ GAL G I 326-8, S I 561; ed. 'Abbās 1968-72.

²⁸ al-Şafadī, *A'yān*, 4: 459 (no. 1586); al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, 3: 139 (no. 1082); GAL G I 328; ed. Sublet 1973.

²⁹ Sublet 1973, XVIII-XXVIII.

³⁰ Sometimes *verbatim*, see Sublet 1973, XII, 183 fn. 253 *et passim*. See also van Ess 1976, 256-7.



Figures 2-3 Ibn al-Şuqā'ī. *Talī kitāb wafayāt al-a'yān*. Paris, BnF, Arabe 2061, f. 1 and detail (courtesy BnF)

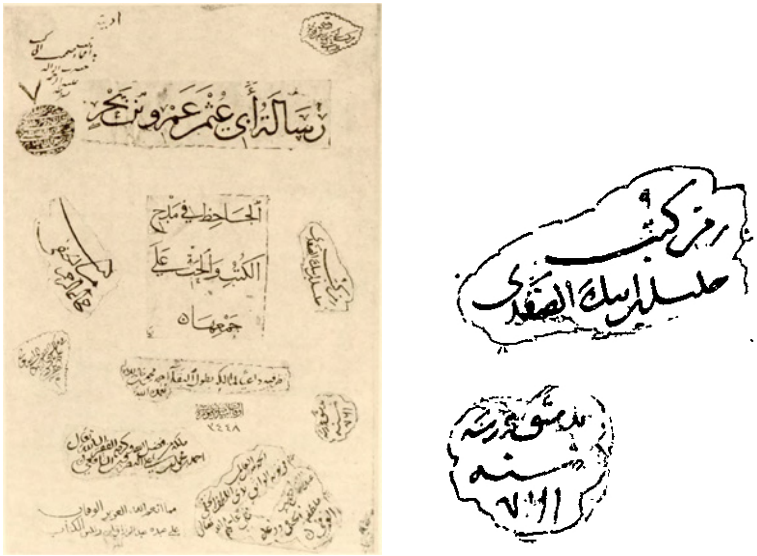
Another example of such simple ex-libris is found on the title page of a manuscript kept in the Turkish Islamic Arts Museum in Istanbul (Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, henceforth TIEM), under the shelf mark 2014T. In this case, it is a text of *adab* by al-Ġāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9), “the father of *adab*”,³¹ the famous *littérateur* of the ‘Abbāsīd period, described as a “bibliophile and sometimes bibliomaniac”.³² This short epistle is entitled *Risāla fī madḥ al-kutub wa al-ḥaṭṭ ‘alā ġam‘i-hā* (see the title page, fig. 4), hence an epistle about bibliophilia, but one should not trust this title: the text is actually a portion of the *Kitāb al-ḥawayān* by the same author.³³ I did not have the chance to consult this manuscript, but Frédéric Bauden procured a copy of its microfilm for me and it seems to be an exceptional manuscript. The twenty-six folios display a very regular and large handwriting, in only five lines per page, a masterful example of calligraphic *ṭuluṭ*.³⁴ The colophon is

31 GAL G I 158-160, SI 239-247; Pellat 1956; Montgomery 2013; 2018; Ghersetti 1994.

32 “al-Ġāḥiẓ, la cui passione di bibliofilo, e talvolta di bibliomane, traspare da ogni riga” (Ghersetti 1994, 67 *et passim*).

33 More precisely, an abbreviated form of a passage of the first volume of 1947 edition (by ‘Abd al-Salām b. Hārūn), from p. 50, as already shown by Rice 1955, 27. Note that the shelf mark given by Rice is TIEM 1024, but he is describing the manuscript we now know under the shelfmark TIEM 2014T.

34 About *ṭuluṭ*, see Gacek 2009, 274-5; Blair 2006, XXIII, 167.



Figures 4-5 al-Gāhiz. *Risāla fi madh al-kutub wa al-ḥaṭṭ 'alā ḡam'i-i-hā*.
Türke ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, ms 2014T, f. 1 and detail of place and date of acquisition
(courtesy D.S. Rice 1955, plate XVC and TIEM)

signed “Alī b. Hilāl”, a fact that lets us suppose the manuscript was penned by the great calligrapher Ibn al-Bawwāb (d. 255/868-9), one of the two eminent calligraphers who have developed the five calligraphic styles still in use today.³⁵ Nevertheless, D.S. Rice has convincingly shown it was a forgery: “The paper, ink, and script indicate that the manuscript is probably a Mamlūk forgery attributable to the fourteenth century”.³⁶

The ex-libris stands in two lines [fig. 5], in this case with the *nisba* (“al-Ṣafadī”). A bit further, indications of place and date are added: *bi-Dimašq al-maḥrūsa sana 761* (‘in Damascus the safeguarded, year 761/1359-60’). Had al-Ṣafadī been fooled by the forger? I could not answer, but since the manuscript is written on “thick salmon-coloured paper,”³⁷ a paper often used by al-Ṣafadī for his own holographs (see below §§ 3 and 4.2), one may wonder if he had not recognised it as a common commodity...

35 On Ibn al-Bawwāb, see Sourdel-Thomine in *EI*; Rice 1955, 5-9; Blair 2006, 160-73 *et passim*. al-Ṣanṭī 2007 develops the idea that this ms was actually penned by Ibn al-Bawwāb.

36 Rice 1955, 27.

37 Rice 1955, 27.

An interesting thing to add is the fact that the ownership marks have all been circled. Besides this, a new page has been pasted down on the title page and cut so that the ownership marks, the title and the author name are nevertheless visible. As it is often the case, the title page of the manuscript was probably very damaged, and a careful bibliophile must have wanted to restore his acquisition. Actually, we know this book collector is Abū Bakr b. Rustam al-Şirwānī (d. 1135/1722-23): his ex-libris is the only one that was directly written on the new f. 1 (in the upper right corner). He gathered an impressive library and seems to have had a habit of circling the previous ex-libris of his books, especially those by famous scholars or characters.³⁸

al-Şafadī was fond of *adab*, of works with a literary character, and, as we will demonstrate, he was fond of books so it is no wonder that such a book was part of his library: the theme it claims to cover, its conscientious calligraphy, and the name of its author are all reasons to covet such a book, even if it is not as old as the calligrapher's name in the colophon makes us think.

Two other examples of simple ownership statement are found in two manuscripts of the Fazīlahmed Pasha collection of the Köprülü Library: 1518 and 1519, the two volumes of the *Kitāb al-af'āl*, by Abū 'Uṭmān Sa'īd b. Muḥammad al-Ma'āfirī al-Qurṭubī ṭumma al-Saraqustī, also known as Ibn al-Ḥaddād (d. after 400/1010) [figs 6, 8].³⁹ The date and place of each ex-libris are noted a bit farther down: *bi-Dimaşq al-maḥrūsa sana 758* ('in Damascus the safeguarded, in the year 758/1356-57') [figs 7, 9].

According to the colophon, the manuscript was copied in Damascus in 670/1271-72, by a certain Yaḥyā al-Muṭarriz al-Ḥanafī.⁴⁰ The book in question is about linguistic matters (more precisely verb morphology), one of al-Şafadī's numerous interests. It is striking that three of his works about lexicography, namely the *Ġawāmiḍ al-Şiḥāḥ* (Problems in [the Lexicon Titled] 'The Sound'),⁴¹ the *Nufūd al-sahm fī mā waqa'a li-l-Ġawharī min al-wahm* (The Penetrating Arrow, on the Errors of al-Ġawharī [in his Lexicon Titled 'The Sound'])⁴² and the *Ḥālī al-nawāhid 'alā mā fī al-Şiḥāḥ min al-Şawāhid* (The Adornment of the Full-Breasted, on the Poetic Citations in [the Lexicon Titled] 'The Sound')⁴³ were written in this same year.⁴⁴ For the first two,

38 On al-Şirwānī, see Fu'ād Sayyid 2003, 19-24 (who cites this particular ms); Richard 1999; Bonmariage 2016.

39 Ziriklī 2002, 3: 101, who does not know of these copies. Ed. Şaraf 1975.

40 Ms Fazīlahmed Pasha 1518, f. 245.

41 Ed. Nabḥān 1996.

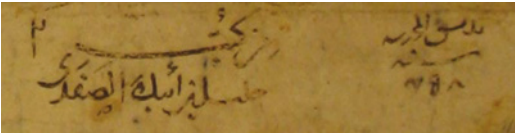
42 Ed. 'Āyiş 2006.

43 Unpublished.

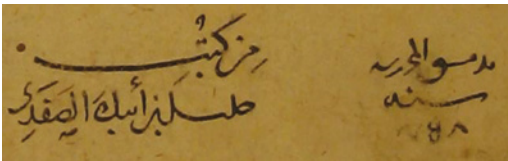
44 Rowson 2009, 339.



Figures 6-7
Abū 'Uṭmān Sa'īd b. M. al-Ma'āfirī al-Qurtubī ṭumma al-Saraqūṣṭī. *Kitāb al-Af'āl*, vol. 1. Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, ms Fazılamed Pasha 1518, f. 1 and detail (courtesy Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi)



Figures 8-9
Abū 'Uṭmān Sa'īd b. M. al-Ma'āfirī al-Qurtubī ṭumma al-Saraqūṣṭī. *Kitāb al-Af'āl*, vol. 2. Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, ms Fazılamed Pasha 1519, f. 1 and detail (courtesy Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi)



we know that al-Şafadī had finished his drafts in Ğumādā I 757/May 1356⁴⁵ and 21 Ramađān 757/17 September 1356, respectively.⁴⁶ We have here one of his reference books for the composition of the different works about linguistic and phonologic correctness he wrote during that period.⁴⁷

In a manuscript now in Bursa, in the İnebey Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, under the shelf mark Hüseyin Çelebi 764, one reads *Min kutub | Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Şafadī*, on f. 2a (the title page), parallel to the spine, in the inner margin [figs 10-11]. The book is a copy of *al-Rawḍ al-unuḥ fī šarḥ al-sīra al-nabawīyya li-Ibn Hišām*, by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Suhaylī (d. 581/1185).⁴⁸ The author is from al-Andalus, where he studied with the traditionalist Abū Bakr Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 543/1148),⁴⁹ a specialist in religious studies, among others. The book in question is a commentary on a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad (*sīra*), mainly on the biography originally written by Ibn Hišām (d. 218/833 or 213/828). Ibn Hišām’s *sīra* relies on the lost text of Ibn Ishāq (d. ca. 150/767),⁵⁰ son of a *ḥadīth* transmitter and grandson of a contemporary of the Prophet.

The manuscript is an apograph: it was collated with a manuscript that had been read aloud and checked by the author. It was copied on 10 Šawwāl 607/27 March 1211, in Jerusalem (*al-Bayt al-maqdis*), by Ḥusayn b. Faḍl b. Ḥalaf al-Maqdisī. A contemporary and acquaintance of al-Şafadī, Muğultāy b. Qiliğ (d. 762/1361), had written a critical commentary of al-Suhaylī’s biography of the Prophet,⁵¹ a subject that was in vogue during the Mamlūk period. The Prophet’s birthday, the *mawlid al-nabī*, was celebrated more and more widely, and Muḥammad’s biography was recited for the occasion. al-Şafadī composed such a text to celebrate the Prophet’s birthday, entitled *al-Faḍl al-munīf fī al-mawlid al-šarīf* (The Overwhelming Merit of the Noble Birthday), and hence we have here, with this manuscript, one his sources.⁵²

⁴⁵ Note that a fair copy, dedicated to the head of the chancery, was realised the same year by al-Şafadī as well. al-Şafadī, *Ġawāmiḍ*, 35-6.

⁴⁶ According to the colophons of the two scribal copies realised on the basis of the draft of the first volume, which is lost. al-Şafadī, *Nuḥūd*, 25-6.

⁴⁷ The *Tašḥīḥ al-tašḥīf wa tahrīr al-tahrīf* was finished only a couple of years later, if we trust the date of the *iğāza*: 759/1358. See § 4.2 and al-Şafadī, *Tašḥīḥ*, 34.

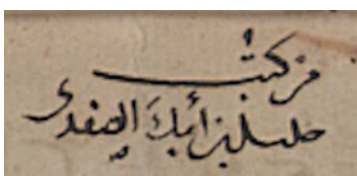
⁴⁸ Raven in *EP*; GAL G I 413, S I 206, 733-4. Ed. al-Wakīl 1387-90/1967-70.

⁴⁹ Robson in *EP*; GAL G I 525, S I 632-3, 732-3.

⁵⁰ On Ibn Hišām: Montgomery Watt in *EP*; GAL G I 135, S I 732-3. On Ibn Ishāq: Jones in *EP*; GAL G I 135.

⁵¹ Entitled *al-Zahr al-bāsim fī sīrat Abī al-Qāsim*, see GAL G II 48, S II 47-8 and Hamdan in *EP*. The two men knew each other and exchanged letters, see al-Şafadī, *Alḥān*, 2: 321 (no. 99); al-Şafadī, *A’yān*, 5: 433-8 (no. 1865); al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, 26: 145 (no. 109).

⁵² Franssen, forthcoming; al-Şafadī’s *Faḍl al-munīf* was edited by ‘Āyīš 2007. About the *mawlid*, see Katz 2007, and for the *mawlid* texts from Mamlūk Damascus, partic. 54-61, 216.



Figures 10-11 al-Suhaylī. *al-Rawḍ al-unuf fi šarḥ al-sira al-nabawiyya li-Ibn Hišām*. Bursa, İnebey Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, ms Hüseyin Çelebi 764, f. 2a and detail (courtesy İnebey Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi)

Another simple ex-libris is found on the title page of ms Rağıp Pasha 1078 [fig. 12]. This manuscript is a copy of the *Taḥrīr al-taḥbīr fī šināʿat al-šīʿr wa-l-naṭr wa-bayān iğāz al-Qurʾān*⁵³ (The Composition of the Writing in the Art of Poetry, Prose and Exposition of the Inimitability of the Qurʾān), by Zakī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm b. ʿAbd al-Wāhid, commonly called Ibn Abī al-Iṣbaʿ (d. 654/1256).⁵⁴ As the title implies, it is a work of stylistics. This manuscript was commissioned for the library of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, as attested by the cartouche with the ornate chrysography visible on the title page.⁵⁵ The Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī family counted several important chancery secretaries of the Mamlūk period.⁵⁶ This manuscript was commissioned for Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā, head of the chancery (*kātib al-sirr*) successively in Damascus and Cairo. According to the mark, al-Şafadī acquired the manuscript in 738/1337-8, the year of Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā's death. The

⁵³ Ed. Ḥifnī 1963.

⁵⁴ Harb in *EP*.

⁵⁵ We will discuss further this particular ms a bit later (see § 4.1), as well as another manuscript commissioned for the same library.

⁵⁶ Salibi in *EP* (1).



Figures 12-13 Ibn Abi al-Iṣba'. *Kitāb Ṭahīr al-taḥbīr fī ṣinā'at al-šī'r wa al-naṭr wa i'ğāz al-Qur'ān*. Raġip Pasha Kütüphanesi, ms 1078, f. 1 and detail (courtesy Raġip Pasha Kütüphanesi)

ownership mark is simple, written parallel to the spine; it says only *Min kutub | Ḥalīl b. Aybak 'afā Allāh 'an-hu | sana 738* ('from among the books of Ḥalīl b. Aybak, may God forgive him, year 738') [fig. 13]. Other ownership statements are visible on the same page, four of them written beneath al-Şafadī's and in the same direction. Another ownership mark is written in the opposite part of the page from al-Şafadī's; it is in the name of Aḥmad b. Yāhyā b. Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī al-'Adawī al-Qurašī, the son of the first owner of the manuscript.⁵⁷ At the time of his father's death, this Aḥmad was in prison for having displeased the sultan al-Naṣir Muḥammad, and this is probably why al-Şafadī was able to acquire the manuscript. All of the five ownership marks written in the lower part of the page have been circled in red, probably by al-Şirwānī (see fn. 38), whose ownership statement is in the superior margin, next to the spine. A short *taqrīz* (blurb) was added inside the spine and seems to be in al-Şafadī's hand.

In addition to manuscripts, albums of paleography can also be a source for the discovery of paratextual elements. It is the case with al-Munajjed's, since several ownership marks cited above are dis-

⁵⁷ Salibi in *EP* (2).

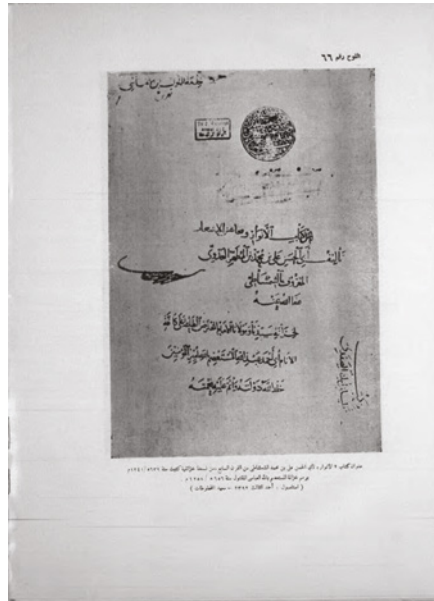


Figure 14
al-Şimşātī. *Kitāb al-anwār wa-maḥāsīn al-aş'ār*. Ms Topkapı, Ahmet III 2392, f. 1 (courtesy al-Munajjed 1960, plate 66)

played on its pages.⁵⁸ On plate 66, we see another example of al-Şafadī's simple ex-libris, undated [fig. 14]. The plate shows the title page of a poetic anthology by Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Muṭaḥhar al-'Adawī al-Şimşātī (third/ninth c.), the *Kitāb al-anwār wa-maḥāsīn al-aş'ār*, a manuscript that was dedicated to the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mu'taṣim bi-Llāh (d. 227/842).⁵⁹ The manuscript is preserved in Topkapı palace (henceforth TKS) under the shelf mark Ahmet III 2392. al-Şafadī was extremely fond of poetry and this manuscript is old and prestigious; he must have been happy and proud to have it in his collection.

Sometimes, the catalogues of manuscripts do specifically mention the paratextual elements. This is the case, although not systematically, of Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'i'iq al-Miṣriyya's (henceforth DK). For instance, under the entry about *al-Kāşif 'an riġāl al-kutub al-sitta*, by Şams al-Dīn al-Ḍahabī (d. 748/1348), one finds the mention of al-Şafadī's ownership statement dated 763/1361-62.⁶⁰ I did not have

⁵⁸ al-Munajjed 1960.

⁵⁹ On al-Şimşātī, see Heinrichs in *EP*.

⁶⁰ *Fihrist al-maḥṭūṭāt* 1956, 278, ms 17 *mim*. On al-Ḍahabī, see GAL G II 46-8, S II 45-7; Ben Cheneb, Somogyi in *EP*. See also Romanov's works on the computational treatment of the information taken from al-Ḍahabī's *Ta'riḥ*, for instance Romanov 2017.

the chance to consult the manuscript, or to have access to it digitally, but one may think it is an alternative title for al-Ḍahabī's *al-Kāšif fī ma'rifat man la-hu riwāya fī al-kutub al-sitta*.⁶¹ In any case, the book must be a biographical dictionary of the transmitters (*riḡāl*) of the six most important *ḥadīth* collections.⁶² Hence, this is the first book on religious sciences that we have found in what remains from al-Ṣafadī's library, and an important source for his redaction of biographies.⁶³

2.1.2 Simple Ex-Libris with Details About the Author of the Text

The second category deals with more detailed ex-libris. In a *maḡmū'* preserved in the Ayasofya collection under the shelf mark 3711, one finds, from what is now f. 64, a *risāla* supposedly by Ibn al-Bayṭār.⁶⁴ Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 646/1248) is an Andalusian author originally from Málaga who studied botany in Seville and then left the Iberian Peninsula to carry out a study trip to the East, ending up as chief herbalist for the Ayyubid Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil. His *opus major* is the *Ġāmi' li-l-mufradāt al-adwiya wa-l-aḡḡiya*, a dictionary of natural history, where he synthesised the knowledge of his time about plants, vegetables, animals and minerals. He is also known for his commentary on Dioscorides, listing drugs and medicines in various languages (Arabic, Latin, Berber).

In the manuscript Ayasofya 3711, no title was written on the title page – we can only read paratextual elements by several owners and readers – but the beginning of the text, f. 64b, says in red that this is the *Risālat Ḥunayn b. Ishāq al-mutaṭabbib fī al-awzān wa-l-akyāl* (Ḥunayn b. Ishāq's Epistle on the Weights and Measures of Capacity) [figs 15-16]. Ḥunayn b. Ishāq (d. 260/873)⁶⁵ was an outstanding translator of the 'Abbāsīd period, specialised in Greek scientific literature. It is mostly thanks to him that Galen's and Hippocrates' works were transmitted to the Arab and then to the Latin worlds. He used to work as a genuine philologist, gathering as many manuscripts as possible and collating them in order to translate a faithful text. He was also an author and various texts of his are preserved, on subjects as varied as linguistics, philosophy, anecdotes attributed to Greek philos-

⁶¹ Ed. 'Aṭiyya, al-Mawṣī 1972. His *Riḡāl al-kutub al-sitta*, cited in GAL G II 48, with a ms in Patna, in the Khuda Bakhsh oriental public library, may well be the same work with another alternative title.

⁶² See Juynboll, Hendrik in *EP*; Robson in *EP*.

⁶³ al-Ṣafadī cites abundantly al-Ḍahabī *opus magnum*, the *Ta'rīḥ al-Islām*, in the *Wāfī*, as shown by van Ess 1976, 260-1.

⁶⁴ GAL G I 492, S I 896; Vernet in *EP*.

⁶⁵ GAL G I 205-7, S I 366-9; Strohmaier in *EP*; Bergsträsser 1966a; 1966b; Sezgin 1999.



Figure 15-16 Hunayn b. Ishāq. *Risāla fī al-awzān wa-l-akyāl*. Handwritten by Ibn al-Bayṭār, with a commentary by Quṣṭā b. Luqā al-Ba'labakkī. Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Ayasofya 3711, f. 64 and detail (courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi)

ophers, meteorology or religious subjects (he was a Christian Nestorian). Nevertheless, I have not found any trace of such an epistle.

The annotations we can read on what should have been the title page are interesting in various respects. Next to the simple ownership mark of al-Ṣafādī, of the same kind as those we have already seen, several other marks insist that the following pages are in Ibn al-Bayṭār's own handwriting. For instance, the following inscription occupies the place normally intended for the title of the book:

Hāḍihi al-karārīs bi-ḥaṭṭ ṣayḥi-nā al-ḥakīm | al-fāḍil Ḍiyā' al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh al-Aššāb | al-Mālaqī qaddasa Allāh rūḥa-hu wa-nawwara Allāh ḍarīḥa-hu | kataba-hu Ibn al-Suwayḍī al-mutaṭabbib ḥāmīdan wa muṣallīyan | wa musalliman

These quires are in the hand of our *ṣayḥ* the wise man, the eminent Ḍiyā' al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh the herbalist from Málaga, may God sanctify his spirit and illuminate his grave. Ibn Suwayḍī the doctor wrote this lauding [God] and praying [saying the *taṣliya*].

Is that truly a manuscript in the hand of Ibn al-Bayṭār? Without another sample of his handwriting it is difficult to assert this with a good degree of certainty.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, Ibn al-Bayṭār was born and raised in al-Andalus and we know that the Arabic handwriting in use in the Western parts of the Islamic world is different from the one used in the East. In this text, various features of what we call *maġribī* script are effectively visible, the most straightforward being the dot under the *fā*' (instead of above) and the single dot above the *qāf* (instead of the double dot); the small tail crossing the written line in the *alifs* is another clear feature.⁶⁷ One could add the description of the *dāl*, forming an angle of broadly 45 degrees, with its upper part curved, or the *kāf*, which is smaller than usual and presents, in its *mabsūṭa* form, a vertical upper part.⁶⁸ Such features are an argument in favour of the identification of the hand.

Another commentator, a certain 'Uṭmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān..., indicated that this is a *risālā* by al-Ba'labakkī, that is Qusṭā b. Lūqā al-Ba'labakkī, another outstanding translator of the 'Abbāsīd period (see the upper outer corner of the same f. 64).⁶⁹ al-Şafadī seems convinced of the hand identification: next to the inscription that occupies the title place, he added three lines of text, in diagonal in the outer margin [fig. 16]:

*Qultu huwa Ibn al-Bayṭār | ṣāhib Kitāb al-mufradāt al-mašhūr | wa-
kataba Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Şafadī*

I said: he [i.e. the person mentioned in the previous inscription] is Ibn al-Bayṭār, the author of the well-known book about the simples.

If al-Şafadī is right, we have here a working document penned and used by an outstanding scholar of the Ayyūbid period, owned and used by another outstanding scholar, of the Mamlūk period. al-Şafadī's ex-libris is, as always, written parallel to the spine, in the inner margin, and includes his *nisba*: *Min kutub | Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Şafadī* ('from among the books of Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Şafadī'). A bit farther, he wrote *bi-Dimašq | sana | 763* ('in Damascus, 763/1361-62').

The reason why such a book was part of al-Şafadī's library may be linked to his last position as Damascus *wakīl bayt al-māl* (from

⁶⁶ On the identification of handwritings, see Bauden, Franssen 2020; more specifically Franssen 2020.

⁶⁷ On *maġribī* script features, see Déroche 1994; Houdas 1886; van den Boogert 1989; on the *andalusī* more precisely, see Gacek 2009, 8-9; Bongianino 2017a; Bongianino 2017b and his bibliography.

⁶⁸ About the *kāf mabsūṭa*, see Gacek 2009, 318-19.

⁶⁹ Hill in *EP*; GAL G I 204-5.

760/1358), which necessitated the mastering of weights: this knowledge may be part of what one should know in order to be an accomplished agent of the Mamlūk treasury in Damascus.⁷⁰ The late date of acquisition – he was already sixty-seven and was in his last year of life – corroborates this hypothesis. The prestige of the author and copyist may also have sufficed to arouse al-Şafadī’s interest.

2.1.3 Consultation Marks with Note-taking Attestation

Consultation marks with note-taking attestations are another type of personal marks. These are a bit longer and more informative than the simple ex-libris. For instance, on the title pages of four manuscripts of the Fazıl Ahmed Pasha collection, shelf marks 1161 to 1164,⁷¹ there are two lines in the hand of Şafadī, explaining that he “finished or consulted [the book] and what was before it,⁷² selecting and choosing the best parts of it”. These manuscripts are four volumes of the geographical dictionary *Kitāb Muġam al-buldān* by Yāqūt al-Rūmī al-Ĥamawī (d. 626/1229), the reference work at that time in geography and toponymy, which also includes biographies of prominent figures of the places cited, as well as poetry and literary subjects.⁷³

Yāqūt al-Rūmī, the author, was born into a Byzantine family and sold as a slave. His master was a merchant, who provided him with an outstanding education and took him along during his numerous travels. Yāqūt took advantage of these travels to visit libraries and to meet local scholars and study with them. After a disagreement, the merchant manumitted Yāqūt, who decided to earn his life as a *warrāq*, copyist and bookseller, and went on travelling extensively and composing his various books.

The manuscripts preserved are volumes two to five. The marks are, as usual with the ex-libris, written alongside the spine, from bottom to top, in two lines, and the wording is very similar though never exactly the same:

70 On this position, see Martel-Thoumian 1992, 62.

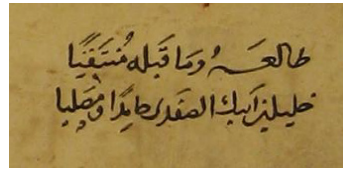
71 Şeşen 1406/1986, 595-7.

72 I.e. the first volume of the work, which apparently has not been preserved.

73 Gilliot in *EP*; GAL G I 479-81, S I 880. Ed. Wüstenfeld 1866-73.

vol. 2, Fazilahmed Pasha 1161 [figs 17-18] *ṭāla'a-hu wa mā qabla-hu muntaqiyān* | Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Şafadī ḥāmidan wa muşalliyan.

Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Şafadī studied it [i.e. this book] and what stands before it, selecting [best passages], lauding [God] and praying [the Prophet].



Figures 17-18 Yāqūt. *Kitāb Muḡam al-buldān*. Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, ms Fazilahmed Pasha 1161, f. 1a and detail (courtesy Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi)

vol. 3, Fazilahmed Pasha 1162 [fig 19] *faraḡa min-hu wa mā qabla-hu muṭālī'an wa muntaqiyān* | Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Şafadī ḥāmidan wa muşalliyan.

Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Şafadī finished it [i.e. this book] and what stands before it, studying it and selecting [best passages], lauding [God] and praying [the Prophet].

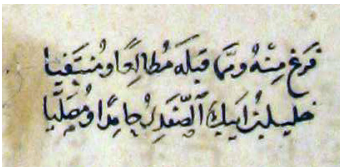
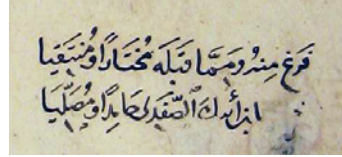


Figure 19 al-Şafadī's consultation mark in Yāqūt. *Kitāb Muḡam al-buldān*. Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, ms Fazilahmed Pasha 1162, f. 1a, detail (courtesy Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi)

vol. 4, Fazlāhmed Pasha 1163 [fig. 20] *farāġa min-hu wa mimmā qabla-hu muḥtāran wa muntaqīyan* | Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Şafadī ḥamīdan Allāh wa muşallīyan.

Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Şafadī finished it [i.e. this book] and what stands before it, choosing and selecting [best passages], lauding [God] and praying [the Prophet].

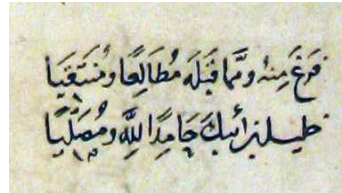
Figure 20
al-Şafadī's consultation mark in Yāqūt.
Kitāb Muġam al-buldān. Köprülü Yazma Eser
Kütüphanesi, ms Fazlāhmed Pasha 1163, f. 1a, detail
(courtesy Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi)



vol. 5, Fazlāhmed Pasha 1164 [fig. 21] *farāġa min-hu wa mimmā qabla-hu muḥtāli'an wa muntaqīyan* | Ḥalīl b. Aybak ḥamīdan Allāh wa muşallīyan.

Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Şafadī finished it [i.e. this book] and what stands before it, studying it and selecting [best passages], lauding God and praying [the Prophet].

Figure 21
al-Şafadī's consultation mark in Yāqūt.
Kitāb Muġam al-buldān. Köprülü Yazma Eser
Kütüphanesi, ms Fazlāhmed Pasha 1164, f. 1a, detail
(courtesy Köprülü Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi)



This book was extremely useful to al-Şafadī as a source of first-hand information for his greatest biographical dictionary, the *Wāfi*, and is abundantly cited in different biographies.⁷⁴ The considerations on literature must have particularly pleased him.

The next mark is featured on the title page of another manuscript in a Western handwriting: Ibn al-Bayṭār's was not the only *maġribī* hand in al-Şafadī's library. As attested by two volumes now preserved respectively in the DK under the shelf mark *ta'riḥ mīm* 103, and in the Ma'had Balaşfüra al-dīnī, near Sūhāġ (no shelf mark number), at least another *andalusī* hand was represented. These manuscripts are volumes four and six of 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Sa'īd al-Andalusī (or al-Maġribī)'s (d. 685/1286) *Kitāb al-Muġrib fī ḥulā al-Maġrib*.⁷⁵ Actu-

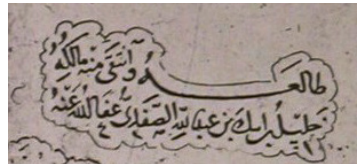
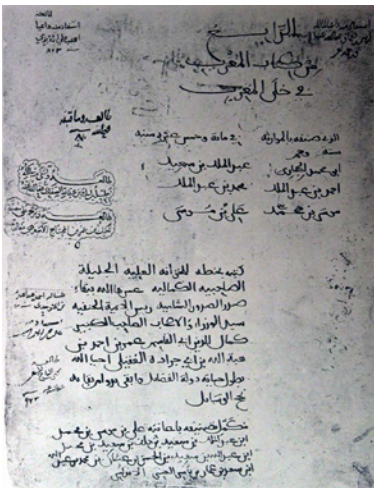
⁷⁴ van Ess 1976, 96.

⁷⁵ GAL G I 336-7, S I 576-7; Pellat in *EP*; *Fihris al-kutub* 1924-63, 5: 353-4; 'Abd al-Badī' 1956, 257; ed. Ḥasan 1953.

ally, the book is the result of the work of four generations: this description of events in al-Andalus since the time of its conquest was begun by an acquaintance of ‘Alī b. Mūsā’s great-grandfather, Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥiġārī (d. after 530/1135), and was continued by different ancestors of Ibn Sa‘īd al-Andalusī or al-Maġribī (grandfather, granduncle, and father). The book’s fame preceded the arrival of its last author in the East, so that when Ibn Sa‘īd al-Andalusī arrived in Cairo on his way to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, he was already well-known. According to the colophons of the remaining volumes, the holograph was finished in 657/1250 in Cairo. Volumes four and six are not the only ones preserved, but they are the only ones to show al-Şafadī’s handwriting. On the title page of volume four [fig. 22], one can read an inscription in his hand, for once written horizontally, perpendicular to the spine, which is the usual way, but which is also contrary to al-Şafadī’s habit, as we have seen. It says [fig. 23]:

Ṭālā‘a-hu wa intaqā min-hu māliku-hu | Ḥalīl b. Aybak b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Şafadī ‘afā Allāh ‘an-hu.

Its owner, Ḥalīl b. Aybak b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Şafadī, may God forgive him, consulted it and selected [passages] from it.



Figures 22-23 Ibn Sa‘īd al-Maġribī. *Kitāb al-Muġrib fi ḥulā al-Maġrib*, vol. 4. Dār al-Kutub al-miṣriyya, ms *ta’riḥ mim* 103, f. 1 and detail (courtesy DK)

Again, other inscriptions are displayed on this same page, among others a consultation mark by al-Maqrīzī, located in the upper left corner of the page, dated 803/1400-1 (see chap. 6, Bauden's contribution in this volume). Like in the case of the pseudo-Ibn al-Bawwāb's manuscript, with the text by al-Ġāhiz, some ownership and consultation marks have been circled. Only two marks, both consultation marks, were highlighted this way: al-Şafadī's and the one just beneath it, by another Ḥalīl, Ḥalīl b. 'Umar b. Muḥtāġ al-Aş'arī. His handwriting is similar to al-Şafadī's: a very regular and professional handwriting, very respectful of the calligraphic standards and thus close to the theoretical *nash*,⁷⁶ influenced by *tawqī'*, a chancery script characterised by a "liberal use of hairlines" (see the ligature between the *ṭā'* and the *alif*).⁷⁷ Two sound differences immediately visible reside in the final loops, more ample and less regular in al-Aş'arī's hand, and in the blanks between the words, much more reduced in al-Şafadī's handwriting. Such handwritings are tricky: they are so impersonal that they can be difficult to identify.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, a precise analysis of the combination of their peculiar features, on the basis of the objective criteria developed by forensic scientists, can help a lot to distinguish even such regular chancery secretaries' hands.⁷⁹

The title page of vol. six [figs 24-25], now preserved near Suhāġ, in the Ma'had Balaşfūra al-dīni, presents the same kind of annotation, at roughly the same place. It says:

*Ṭāla'a-hu wa 'allaqa min-hu mā iḥtāra-hu | māliku-hu Ḥalīl b. Aybak
'afā Allāh 'an-hu.*

Its owner, Ḥalīl b. Aybak, may God forgive him, studied it and copied [the passages] he selected.

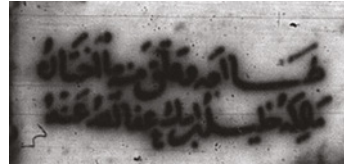
We thus see that al-Şafadī does not designate himself the same way on these two volumes of the same book, which he probably acquired at the same time. It proves that adding his *nisba* or not, and completing his name with his father's *kunya* or not, are not significant, nor instructive of the moment of the inscription.

⁷⁶ The term *nash* is so imprecise – almost any *Maşriqī* script can be qualified as *nash* – that it should be used very cautiously. See Witkam 1978, 18; Franssen 2017, 321-2. About the characteristics of *nash*, see Gacek 2009, 163; for illustrations of the calligraphic *nash* dating back to the end of the Mamlūk period (holograph dated 908/1503), see al-Ṭayyibī, ed. al-Munajjed 1962, 64-6.

⁷⁷ On *tawqī'*, see Gacek 2009, 263-5.

⁷⁸ Gacek 2020, 69.

⁷⁹ For an example of such an analysis on a scribe's handwriting, see Franssen 2020. See also here fn. 131.



Figures 24-25 Ibn Sa'īd al-Mağribī. *Kitāb al-Muğrib fi ḥulā al-Mağrib*, vol. 6. ms al-Ma'had Balasfūra al-Dīnī (Suhāğ), no shelfmark number, f. 1 and detail (courtesy Ma'had al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya)

Other ownership marks are also visible on the title page of this manuscript.⁸⁰ The work can be classified in the field of history, specifically of al-Andalus, and was useful to al-Şafadī for the composition of Andalusians' biographies in his *Wāfi*.⁸¹

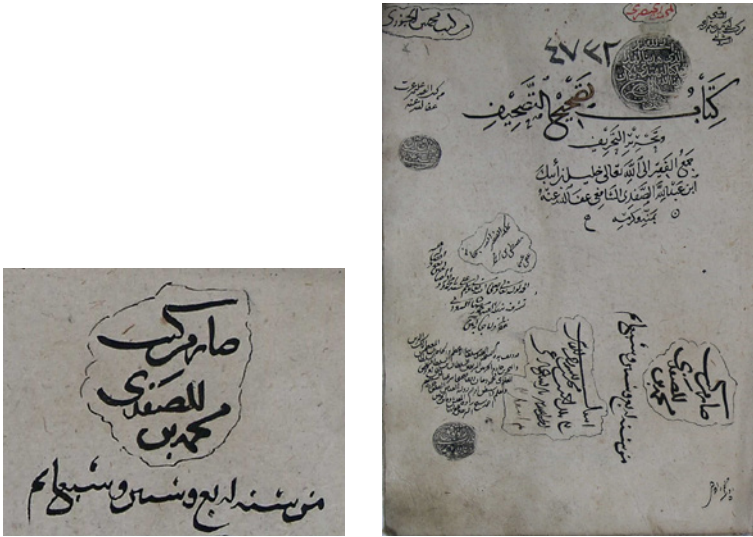
2.1.4 Muḥammad b. al-Şafadī's Library

If we know nothing about al-Şafadī's wife (or wives?), we can gather information about his children from documentary sources, namely licences of transmission of his works (*iğāzāt*). We thus know that he had two sons named Muḥammad – “the *Muḥammadān*”, as al-Şafadī calls them (with the dual suffix), specifying afterwards their *kunya*, respectively Abū 'Abd Allāh and Abū Bakr – but also, and this is not a well-known fact, at least three daughters, Fāṭima, Salmā and Asmā.⁸²

⁸⁰ For a more complete account of the different readers' marks present on the various volumes of the work, see the edition: Ḥasan 1953, 59.

⁸¹ Another work of the same author is cited among the sources effectively used by al-Şafadī for some biographies of the *Wāfi*, see van Ess 1974, 259.

⁸² Fāṭima is cited in the *iğāza* dated 759/1358 of ms Ayasoya 4732 (a holograph of the *Taṣḥīḥ al-taṣḥīf wa-taḥrīr al-taḥrīf*), Salmā and Asmā, in the *iğāza* dated 757/1356 of ms Çorum, Genel Kitaplık 1906 (a holograph of the *Ġawāmiḍ al-Şaḥāḥ*), see § 4.2. Note that several of his personal *mamlūks* are also cited in *iğāzāt*: Asinbuğā al-Turkī, Murād al-



Figures 26-27 Ḥalil b. Aybak al-Şafadī. *Taṣḥīḥ al-taṣḥīf wa-taḥrīr al-taḥrīf* (holograph). Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Ayasofya 4732, f. 1 and detail (courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi)

One of the Muḥammads inherited al-Şafadī’s library and we can find his ex-libris on various manuscripts. The mark is usually very similar to his father’s: the localisation and the direction are the same (in the inner margin of the title page, parallel to the spine), the handwriting is also similar (harmonious chancery hand), but bigger and inscribed with a wider *qalam*, almost always saying *şāra min kutub | Muḥammad b. (Ḥalīl) | al-Şafadī* (‘became part of Muḥammad b. [Ḥalil] al-Şafadī’s books’). Here are three examples.

Ms Ayasofya 4732 is a fragment of the holograph of al-Şafadī’s *Taṣḥīḥ al-taṣḥīf wa-taḥrīr al-taḥrīf*. The title page shows Muḥammad b. al-Şafadī’s ownership statement, which states: *şāra min kutub | Muḥammad b. al-Şafadī* (‘became part of Muḥammad b. al-Şafadī’s books’), and below: *min sana arba’ wa sittin wa-sab’i mi’a* (‘from the year 764/1363’), that is the year of his father’s death [figs 26-27]. This ownership mark was circled, and the book was also part of al-Şirwānī’s collection (see § 2.1.1 and fn. 38, and the upper right corner of the title page).

Turkī or Arġūn al-Ḥiṭā’ī. I have found a trace of a possible fourth daughter of his in an *iğāza* not directly related to al-Şafadī: Leder et al. 1996, 119 mention a certain Bilqīs bint Şalāḥ al-Dīn Ḥalil b. Aybak al-Şafadī as part of the attendees to the reading of a *ḥadīṭ* by Hibat Allāh al-Akfānī (m. 524/1129-30) in 748/1348 in a Damascus mosque, the *masġid* Barānī al-Qaṣṣā’in.



Figures 28-29 Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Şafadī. *Alḥān al-sawāġi'* (holograph), vols. 3-4. Staatsbibliothek Berlin, ms Wetzstein II 151, f. 1 and detail (courtesy SBB)

This manuscript appears to be a draft of the beginning of the text. It comprises many inserts and blanks, the beginning of a section often coincides with the recto of a folio. The fair copy of the same text is said to be kept in Riyāḍ University Library. As a matter of fact, according to a description by al-Şarqāwī, the editor of the text, the Riyāḍ manuscript also presents an ownership mark in the name of Muḥammad b. al-Şafadī and dated 764 as well.⁸³ This manuscript must be the fair copy of the text.

Mss Staatsbibliothek Berlin (henceforth SBB) Wetzstein II 150-151 are the four tomes in two volumes of al-Şafadī's *Alḥān al-sawāġi' bayna al-bādi' wa al-murāġi'* (Tunes of Cooing Doves Between the Initiator and the Responder [in Literary Correspondence]). This is the holograph of the text, and it shows several traces of work in progress (see § 4.2). The title page of the second volume (that is tome three, ms SBB Wetzstein II 151) bears the ownership statement of one of al-Şafadī's sons Muḥammad. The inscription is written in red ink and has been partially scratched, but we still can read *min kutub | Muḥammad b. Ḥalīl al-Şafadī* ('from among the books of Muḥammad b. Ḥalīl al-Şafadī'), written parallel to the spine, and a bit further, perpendicular to the spine, we read *min sana arba' wa sittin wa sab'i mi'a* ('from the

83 al-Şafadī, *Taṣṣiḥ*, 33.

year 764/1363'), again the year of al-Şafadī's death. Note that the title page of the first volume (ms SBB Wetzstein II 150) has been scratched and the surface erased by this scratching corresponds to the one of Muḥammad b. al-Şafadī's ownership mark on volume three [figs 28-29].

On the ms Ayasofya 1970 (a fragment of the holograph of the tenth volume of the biographical dictionary *A'yān al-'aşr wa a'wān al-naşr*), the ownership mark of Muḥammad b. al-Şafadī has been scratched away as well, but is still decipherable. It appears on f. 108b (the first folio of this text: the manuscript is a miscellany), under the *iğāza* [fig. 30].

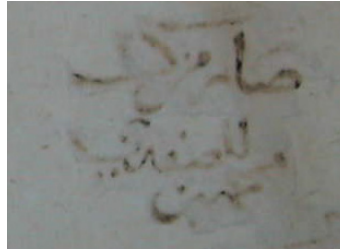


Figure 30

Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Şafadī. *A'yān al-'aşr wa a'wān al-naşr* (holograph, part from vol. 10). Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Ayasofya 1970, f. 108b, detail (courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi)

2.2 A Word of Conclusion

This sampling is mere coincidence and cannot be considered representative of al-Şafadī's library: it is only what has survived during the almost seven centuries separating al-Şafadī's lifetime from today, 2022. It is what was spared from worms, fires, floods, carelessness and any other of the many threats to a manuscript's preservation. Moreover, these small annotations are located on one of the most fragile part of the manuscripts: the first folio. Hence, other manuscripts that were al-Şafadī's property may well be preserved but without any mark attesting they were his, without us knowing he kept them on his bookshelves. Besides, a more systematic search for his ownership or consultation annotations could lead to new discoveries: there can be many other marks in his name scattered in diverse libraries. Still, it is nevertheless interesting to sum up the information this sample provides us.

Out of the fifteen marks by al-Şafadī, one-third (five) are displayed on works of literature, poetry, stylistics or linguistics. Besides this, almost half of the total (seven manuscripts) can be said to belong to the biographical literature, among which two of them are about religious figures (the Prophet Muḥammad himself and the transmitters of the six main *ḥadīth* collections), and four of them are not only biographies but also works on geography. These last four manuscripts also enter the sciences section, which comprises only one other work, for a total of five volumes (but only two works). The volumes dealing with history number three in total, one of them being a biographical history.

The works represented in this view of al-Şafadī's library mainly date back to the Ayyūbid period, just before al-Şafadī's times, and to

the Mamlūk period (five of them, in eight volumes), with the notable exception of the two ‘Abbasid texts (by al-Ġāḥiẓ and al-Şimşātī), one text of the fifth/eleventh century (by Ibn al-Ḥaddād) and two works by contemporaries of al-Şafadī, al-Ḍahabī and Ibn al-Şuqā’ī.

Five manuscripts are valuable manuscripts, philologically and/or codicologically speaking: there is one apograph (a copy of a manuscript checked by the author, the manuscript by al-Suhaylī, from Bursa, İnebey Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Hüseyin Çelebi 764); one manuscript copied by a famous scholar of the Ayyūbid period, Ibn al-Baytār (ms Ayasofya 3711), which could be the only surviving copy of a *risāla* by the famous ‘Abbāsīd translator Ḥunayn b. Işḥāq; one calligraphed manuscript (pseudo Ibn al-Bawwāb, ms TIEM 2014T); two manuscripts dedicated to important figures, one manuscript dedicated to the ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Mu’taṣim bi-Llāh (ms TKS, Ahmet III 2392, by al-Şimşātī) and the second dedicated to the library of Ibn Faḍl Allāh, with a chrysographed cartouche.

In the current state of research, all the manuscripts bearing al-Şafadī’s son’s ex-libris are holographs of the father.

Table 1 Recap chart of the ownership and consultation marks in the name of al-Şafadī and of his son. NB: the dates followed by a * are dates featured in the *iğāza*, which means they are dates of transmission of the text, not exactly dates of composition

n°	Manuscript				Mark				
	Library	Shelfmark	Author	Title	Date	Field	Type	Date	Place
1	Süleymaniye K.	Rağıp Pasha 1078	Ibn Abī al-Işba’	<i>Taḥrīr al-taḥbīr fi şinā’at al-şī’r wa al-naṭr wa bayān iğāz al-Qur’ān</i>	∅	<i>adab</i>	ex-libris	738	∅
2	Süleymaniye K.	Fazıl Ahmed Pasha 1518	Ibn al-Ḥidād	<i>K. al-af’āl</i> (vol. 1)	670	linguistics	ex-libris	758	Damascus
3	Süleymaniye K.	Fazıl Ahmed Pasha 1519	Ibn al-Ḥidād	<i>K. al-af’āl</i> (vol. 2)	670	linguistics	ex-libris	758	Damascus
4	TIEM	2014T	al-Ġāḥiẓ	<i>R. fi madḥ al-kutub</i>	∅	<i>adab</i>	ex-libris	761	Damascus
5	DK	17 <i>mim</i>	al-Ḍahabī	<i>al-Kāşif’an riğāl al-k. al-sitta</i>	?	bio of <i>hadīṭ</i> transmitters	ex-libris	763	∅
6	Süleymaniye K.	Ayasofya 3711	Ḥunayn b. Işḥāq	<i>R. fi al-’awzān wa al-’akyāl</i>	bef. 646	sciences	ex-libris	763	Damascus
7	TKS	Ahmet III 2392	al-Şimşātī	<i>K. al-anwār wa maḥāsīn al-aş’ār</i>	bef. 227	poetry	ex-libris	∅	∅
8	BnF	Ar. 2061	Ibn al-Şuqā’ī	<i>Tālī K. waḥāyāt al-’ayān</i>	733	biography	ex-libris	∅	∅
9	Süleymaniye K.	Fazıl Ahmed Pasha 1161	Yāqūt al-Rūmī	<i>Muğam al-buldān</i>	704	geography toponymy bio	consultation & notes	∅	∅

n° Manuscript		Mark							
Library	Shelfmark	Author	Title	Date	Field	Type	Date	Place	
10	Süleymaniye K. Fazilahmed Pasha 1162	Yâqūt al-Rūmī	<i>Muġam al-buldān</i>	703	geography toponymy bio	consultation & notes	∅	∅	
11	Süleymaniye K. Fazilahmed Pasha 1163	Yâqūt al-Rūmī	<i>Muġam al-buldān</i>	703	geography toponymy bio	consultation & notes	∅	∅	
12	Süleymaniye K. Fazilahmed Pasha 1164	Yâqūt al-Rūmī	<i>Muġam al-buldān</i>	704	geography toponymy bio	consultation & notes	∅	∅	
13	DK	<i>ta'riḥ mīm</i> 103	Ibn Sa'īd al-Andalusī (al-Maġribī)	<i>K. al-Muġrib fi ḥulā al-Maġrib</i> (vol. 4)	657	history (al-Andalus)	ex-libris, consultation & notes	∅	∅
14	Suhāġ	Ma'had al-Dīnī	Ibn Sa'īd al-Andalusī (al-Maġribī)	<i>K. al-Muġrib fi ḥulā al-Maġrib</i> (vol. 6)	657	history (al-Andalus)	ex-libris, consultation & notes	∅	∅
15	İnebey Yazma Eser K.	Hüseyn Çelebi 764	al-Suhaylī	<i>al-Rawd al-unuf fi šarḥ al-sıra al-nabawiyya li-Ibn Hišām</i>	607	bio of Prophet	ex-libris	∅	∅
16	Süleymaniye K. Ayasofya 4732	al-Şafadī	<i>Tašḥīḥ al-tašḥīf wa taḥrīr al-taḥrīf</i>	759*	linguistics	Muḥammad b. al-Şafadī's ex-libris	764	∅	
17	SBB	Wetzstein II 150	al-Şafadī	<i>Alḥān al-sawāġi' bayna al-bādī' wa al-murāġi'</i>	758*	bio	[Muḥammad b. al-Şafadī's ex-libris]	[764]	∅
18	SBB	Wetzstein II 151	al-Şafadī	<i>Alḥān al-sawāġi' bayna al-bādī' wa al-murāġi'</i>	758*	bio	Muḥammad b. al-Şafadī's ex-libris	764	∅
19	Süleymaniye K. Ayasofya 1970	al-Şafadī	<i>A'yān al-aşr wa a'wān al-naşr</i>	758*	bio	Muḥammad b. al-Şafadī's ex-libris	764	∅	

3 Al-Şafadī's Reading Journal: The *Taḍkira al-Şalāhiyya*

Another source of information about al-Şafadī's readings is his *taḍkira*. Etymologically, a *taḍkira* is something that sustains memory.⁸⁴ In some respects, it is similar to Western Renaissance florilegia or commonplace books: it is "a collection of quotations culled from various authoritative sources", "serving as an aid to memory by building and preserving a storehouse of acquired knowledge", which was also "central to the presentation and composition of literary works".⁸⁵ The commonplace books appeared in a context of overabundance of information, and of books, such a context being the one of the Mamlūk period as well. They are sometimes called *bibliothèques portables* ('portable libraries'), a locution that perfectly renders their *raison d'être*.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the examples from the Islamic world that have reached us or mentions of these examples that have reached us,⁸⁷ do not feature the "organizational pattern"⁸⁸ that is so important for Renaissance commonplace books; rather, they were completed in a chronological order, following the readings of their owner or, and this is

84 The word is used in different titles of works, often with the meaning of handbook, in the sense 'what should be recorded in term of'. For instance, one can think of 'Alī b. 'Isā's *Taḍkirat al-kaḥḥālīn* (GAL G I 236, S I 884), a handbook of ophthalmology; or of *al-taḍkira al-Ḥamdūniyya*, the *adab* encyclopaedia of the thirteenth-century Ibn Ḥamdūn (GAL G I 281, S I 493). In the Ottoman and Persian traditions, the *taḍkiras*, often called *safīnas*, are poetic anthologies or biographical dictionaries of poets. They deal exclusively with poetry and they are edited books: they are meant to circulate. See Dufour, Regourd 2020 for Yemenite examples and the bibliography.

85 Hooks 2012, 206-7. On commonplace books, see also Blair 2003; 2010, 69-90, 112-16; Havens 2001. On the use of the commonplace books to gather information about the reader, see Colclough 1998.

86 Blair 1996.

87 The chancery secretary al-Qalqaşandī cites, in his chancery manual, Ibn Faḍl Allāh's *taḍkira* (*Şubḥ*, 7: 29) and Ibn Manzūr's *taḍkira*, entitled *Taḍkirat al-labīb wa-n-zhat al-adīb* (*Şubḥ*, 14: 70), both being the repositories of letters and documents written by chancery secretaries. Besides, 'Alī b. Mubārakşāh was keeping a *taḍkira* entitled *Safīna*, where for instance, otherwise lost *zağals* by Ibn Quzmān were recorded, see Hoenerbach, Ritter 1950, 267. Another chancery secretary, 'Alī b. Muzaffar al-Kindī al-Wadā'ī (d. 716/1316) was also keeping a *taḍkira*; it was known as *al-taḍkira al-kindīyya* (see, among others, al-Şafadī's *A'yān*, 3: 546-55, no. 1237) and is said to have counted thirty volumes (al-Ziriklī 2002, 5: 23). Kristina Richardson recently identified several volumes of the Ottoman Damascene judge Ibn Mufliḥ's *taḍkira* (Richardson 2020). Other authors are reputed to have used a *taḍkira*, now lost, for instance al-Maqrīzī (see Ibn Quṭlubūga, *Tāğ*, 85; note that al-Maqrīzī himself never uses the word *taḍkira*, but mentions his *mağāmi*). I am grateful to Frédéric Bauden for providing me with these information).

88 Even if, according to al-Saḥāwī, Ibn Ḥağar al-'Asqalānī used to keep two *taḍkiras*, one for belles-lettres (*al-taḍkira al-adabiyya*) and the second one for the traditions (*al-taḍkira al-ḥadiṯiyya*). al-Saḥāwī adds that, since it was not arranged in chapters, it contained many repetitions; a student of Ibn Ḥağar decided to organise it. al-Saḥāwī, *Ġawāhir*, 2: 694-5, 771; Ritter 1953, 81-2.

a second major difference, its composition activities, for instance in the frame of his duties at the chancery.⁸⁹

Thus, al-Şafadī's *taḍkira*, *al-Taḍkira al-Şalāḥiyya* or *al-Şafadiyya*,⁹⁰ is a multi-volume work, arranged chronologically, containing results of his readings, parts of his writing activities and correspondence, some of his works as a composer of official documents for the chancery, first drafts of (or parts of) some of his books, and notes jotted down about a particular subject. It was for his personal use that he kept it, even if he lent several volumes to friends and colleagues, as attested in various biographies of the *Wāfī* and of the *A'yān*. For instance, the mamlūk Ṭašbuġā, *dawādār* (executive secretary) of al-Nāşir Muḥammad, who had a beautiful handwriting and a penchant for erudition, used to borrow al-Şafadī's *taḍkira*, volume after volume, to study it, when both men were in Damascus (*wa-kāna yaktubu kitāba ḥasana mansūba wa-kāna fī-hi maʾyl ilā al-fuḍalā'*. *Wa-kāna bi-Dimaşq yasīru yasta'īru minnī al-taḍkira allatī lī ġu'zan ba'd ġu'zin yuṭālī'uhā*).⁹¹

The biographical dictionaries are not the only works where al-Şafadī cites his *taḍkira*. Since the *taḍkira* contains part of his correspondence, it is no surprise that various volumes are cited in al-Şafadī's book of correspondence, his *Alḥān al-sawāġi' bayna al-bādi' wa-l-murāġi'* (Tunes of Cooing Doves Between the Initiator and the Responder [in Literary Correspondence]).⁹² This book is arranged like a biographical dictionary as well. Under the name of his addressees, we find the details of letters sent and received. For instance, the record about his friend – and then nemesis – Ibn Nubāta (d. 768/1366) is instructive in more than one regard.⁹³ Indeed, we read that Ibn Nubāta had borrowed a book from al-Şafadī, namely the *Kitāb al-taşbīḥāt* (also known under the title *al-Manāqib al-nūriyya*), by the *adīb* and chancery secretary Ibn Zāfir (d. 613 or 623/1216 or 1226).⁹⁴ When returning the book, Ibn Nubāta wrote a letter of thanks in which he would ask at the same time for a text in prose he had read in al-Şafadī's *taḍkira*. His request is very ornate and his short note in praise of the *taḍkira* contains a Qur'ānic quotation (*al-Kahf* 76), but sadly he does not specify the volume number of the *taḍkira*.

This anecdote is interesting for several reasons. First, it teaches us that al-Şafadī had a copy of the *Kitāb al-taşbīḥāt*.⁹⁵ It also con-

⁸⁹ Bauden 2019, 36 fn. 171.

⁹⁰ "al-Şalāḥiyya" refers to his *laqab* Şalāḥ al-Dīn.

⁹¹ al-Şafadī, *A'yān*, 2: 585.

⁹² Ed. Sālim 2005.

⁹³ al-Şafadī, *Alḥān*, 2: 180-268, partic. 253 (no. 87). On Ibn Nubāta, see Bauer 2009.

⁹⁴ GAL G I 321, S I 553-4; Ed. in *EI*².

⁹⁵ The particular manuscript that was al-Şafadī's property has not been found. The only recorded ms of the text is ms Escorial 425 (Derenbourg et al. 1884, 2: 283). I have

firms that al-Şafadī was lending books to friends and gives the assurance that al-Şafadī's friends knew what was in his *taḏkira*. Hence the image of the *taḏkira* as a personal tool must be nuanced: it was public to a certain extent.

Another argument for this status of availability of the text of the *taḏkira* lies in Ibn Dāniyāl's entry in the *A'yān*. There, al-Şafadī mentions various poems, giving their type and the volume number of his *taḏkira* where he had recorded them, namely the first, third and twenty-fourth.⁹⁶ Why would al-Şafadī give this information if his *taḏkira* were not available for readers?

Still another example is found in Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī's entry in the *Alḥān al-sawāḡi'*.⁹⁷ Taqī al-Dīn and Tāġ al-Dīn al-Subkī⁹⁸ were close friends of al-Şafadī; they knew each other when al-Şafadī was studying with Taqī al-Dīn, Tāġ al-Dīn's father. The three men exchanged numerous letters in the course of their lives, and on one occasion al-Şafadī explains that he wrote a reply letter to Taqī al-Dīn; he cites the verses included in the letter in the *Alḥān* and explains that the part of the letter which is in prose is integrally recorded in the twenty-ninth volume of his *taḏkira*, showing us again that the *taḏkira* was available. The same goes with other scholars and colleagues of al-Şafadī, like Ğamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ğānim (d. 744/1344), who wrote laudatory lines about the fifth volume of the *taḏkira*,⁹⁹ and about Ibn Qāḏī al-Mawṣil (born in 698/1299),¹⁰⁰ who wrote such eulogistic verses in the nineteenth volume of the *taḏkira*, a volume al-Şafadī had sent to him at his request.¹⁰¹

What is even more interesting is the mention of the *taḏkira* in al-Şafadī's biography by Tāġ al-Dīn al-Subkī, Taqī al-Dīn's son.¹⁰² After giving al-Şafadī's titles, birth date, specialities, and the name of two

not had the chance to peruse it or to see any reproduction of it. The description by Derenbourg does not give any chronological detail. Since it is acephalous, al-Şafadī's ownership mark would anyway have disappeared.

96 al-Şafadī, *A'yān*, 4: 431.

97 al-Şafadī, *Alḥān*, 2: 5-18, partic. 9 (no. 56). On al-Subkī's family, counting several important scholars, see Schacht, Bosworth in *EP*.

98 al-Şafadī, *Alḥān*, 1: 392-424 (no. 52).

99 This text is recorded by al-Şafadī in the section of the *Alḥān* devoted to Ibn Ğānim, see al-Şafadī, *Alḥān*, 1: 357-76, partic. 361 (no. 45). On Ibn Ğānim, see al-Şafadī, *A'yān*, 2: 696-707 (no. 883); al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, 17: 351 (no. 296); or al-'Umārī, *Masālik al-absār*, 12: 461-8 (no. 27).

100 Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qāhir Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Şahrazūrī al-Mawṣilī, see al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, 3: 275-7 (no. 1317), where one of his poems, asking al-Şafadī some verses from the *taḏkira*, but without specifying the volume number, is recorded. See also Ibn Ḥaġar, *Durar*, 4: 21.

101 al-Şafadī, *Alḥān*, 2: 129-32, partic. 132 (no. 80).

102 al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 10: 5-32 (no. 1352). See also Frenkel's chapter in this volume.

of his masters – Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī and Ibn Sayyid al-Nās¹⁰³ – he explains that al-Şafadī was prolific in the fields of *adab* and history: he himself claimed to have authored more than 600 volumes. Then comes the statement of friendship between both men, friendship begun during the frequent visits by al-Şafadī to Tāġ al-Dīn’s father and which lasted until al-Şafadī’s death. Later, Tāġ al-Dīn lists several of the official posts held by al-Şafadī,¹⁰⁴ preceding all of them by *sā’adtu-hu fa-* (‘I favoured him and then he became...’), and then giving the date and cause of death of al-Şafadī. Afterwards, once again, al-Subkī emphasises his own importance for al-Şafadī, this time for his writing process: he states that al-Şafadī would not write a book without asking him advice on *fiqh*, *ḥadīth* and grammar and that he was the one to urge al-Şafadī to write the *A’yān al-aşr*. A bit later in the text, al-Subkī shows that this assistance was actually mutual: he goes on explaining the role of al-Şafadī in the elaboration and diffusion of his book *Ġam‘ al-ġawāmi‘*: al-Şafadī copied it, took part in the study sessions and read it aloud himself, taking pleasure in its elaboration and thus he is associated with part of its importance. Then, al-Subkī recalls several anecdotes and gives verses written by al-Şafadī and his responses. Here he mentions the *taḍkira*:

Once, he lent me a volume of his *taḍkira*. He had authored a book about description and imitation [*al-waşf wa al-taşbīh*] and he had inspected the *taḍkira* searching for description and imitation; he wrote on all the volumes he had finished to inspect this way ‘[search for] imitation from [this volume] is finished’ [*naġiza al-taşbīh min-hu*].¹⁰⁵

al-Subkī is alluding to al-Şafadī’s *al-Kaşf wa al-tanbīh ‘alā al-waşf wa al-taşbīh* (Revelation and Instruction about [Poetic] Description and Simile).¹⁰⁶ We thus see again that al-Şafadī was lending volumes of the *taḍkira* to friends and colleagues. But here, in addition, we have the demonstration that the *taḍkira* was really a tool for al-Şafadī as an author, a reservoir of examples he had read elsewhere for future works: he was perusing his reading journal in search of appropriate verses, passages or text excerpts when he needed them. We have seen that many of his works are composed of two parts, theoretical and practical. In the latter, he would list hundreds of examples of the stylis-

103 Faḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 1334), outstanding scholar from a young age, who had inherited a great library from his family, see Rosenthal in *EP*.

104 As already noted, see § 1, and al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 10: 6.

105 al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 10: 7.

106 Not in GAL, but preserved: the holograph is kept at the BnF, under the shelfmark Ar. 3345, see § 4.2.

tic device dealt with, which supposes the gathering of such excerpts and a place to store them. This reservoir is clearly the *taḍkira*. It is also interesting to see that he was keeping track of his work on the pages of the *taḍkira* itself, to make sure he would not use the same excerpt in the same book more than once. We thus have the confirmation that the *taḍkira* was a major methodological tool for al-Şafadī, even if it was less personal than first thought.

In this particular case, al-Subkī does not give the number of the volume of the *taḍkira* he had borrowed. We have already seen quoted volumes 5, 19, and 29.¹⁰⁷ How many volumes were there originally? According to al-Şafadī's biography by al-Maqrīzī,¹⁰⁸ the *taḍkira* stood in thirty volumes. But then, how can we explain the existence of volumes 48 and 49?¹⁰⁹ And especially of volume 44, which is a holograph, the original volume handwritten by al-Şafadī, not a later copy?¹¹⁰

In fact, by the time of al-Maqrīzī, at least one complete set of the *taḍkira* was in circulation and it was a scribal copy of the original in thirty volumes.¹¹¹ We can estimate that the holographs originally numbered a maximum of fifty volumes; indeed, the last date featured in volume 49, the last known volume, is 18 Ğumādā I 762/26 March 1361,¹¹² only a year and three months before al-Şafadī's death, on 10 Şawwāl 764/23 July 1363. The preserved volumes are not equally distributed, but we still can estimate the time needed to complete one volume, which seems to be more or less a year in average, even if a certain level of variation is observed (see [table 2](#)). To explain the difference between the number of volumes of the copy and the original, we can check the number of folios of the original volumes of the *taḍkira*. For instance, volume 44, a complete holograph, counts 95 ff. This is not much for a manuscript, probably because it had to be portable: we can imagine that al-Şafadī was carrying the in-progress volume with him, to record on the spot the texts he composed, read or heard. The limited dimensions of the manuscript also support a claim for portability – 186 × 128 mm is less than the usual in-quarto format (220 × 150 mm) – as well as the orientation of the page:

107 Quotations or mentions of many other volumes of the *taḍkira* can be found in different biographical notices by al-Şafadī. An exhaustive survey, preferably realised with the help of digital tools, would be useful.

108 al-Maqrīzī, *Durar*, 2: 77-8 (spec. 77).

109 Mss cited by GAL G II 32, British Library (henceforth BL) India Office (henceforth IO) 3799. This puzzle has already been solved by Frédéric Bauden during a keynote speech in Chicago in 2010, titled "A Neglected Reservoir of Mamlūk Literature: al-Şafadī and his *Taḍkira*". I warmly thank him for providing me access to his text, presentation and material.

110 Ms Princeton University Library (henceforth PUL) Garrett 3570Y.

111 al-Maqrīzī, *Durar*, 2: 77.

112 Ms BL IO 3799.

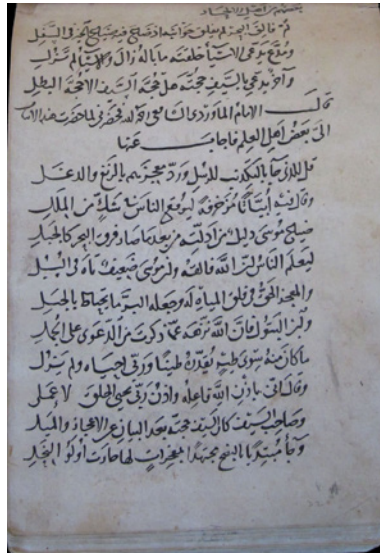
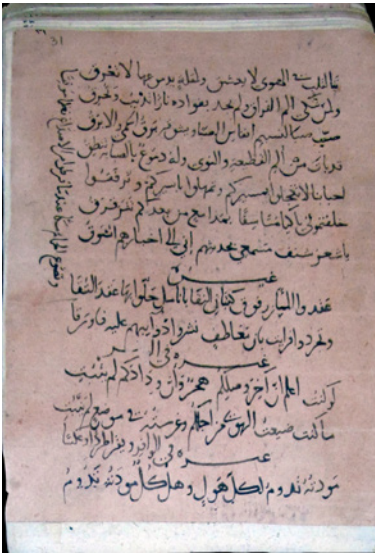


Figure 31 al-Şafadī. *al-Taḍkira*, vol. 44. Princeton University Library, ms Garrett 3570Y, f. 30b, 31 (courtesy PUL)

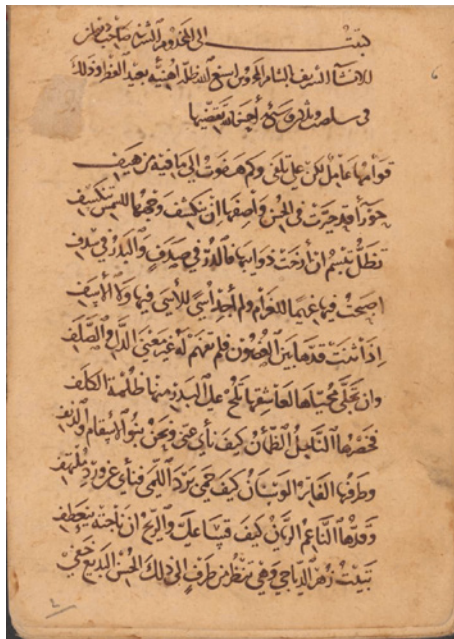


Figure 32 al-Şafadī. *al-Taḍkira*, vol. 5, 6 or 7. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, ms Landberg 812, f. 2, with the date 731 (line 3) (courtesy SBB)

the format is a *safīna*, a book where the spine is parallel to the text, not perpendicular to it as usual, like modern notebooks (see [fig. 31](#)).¹¹³

The Arabic name of this format also means ‘boat’: the *safīna*-books are meant to circulate.¹¹⁴ It is particularly meaningful that at least one *taḍkira* is entitled *Safīna* – ‘Alī b. Mubārakšāh’s (d. mid-ninth/mid-fifteenth century) – and that the manuscripts of the Persian and Turkish genre called *taḍkira* (volumes of poetry or biographies of the Prophet) are *safīna*-shaped manuscripts.¹¹⁵

The newly discovered fragment of al-Ṣafadī’s *taḍkira* is a *safīna*-shaped manuscript as well [\[fig. 32\]](#). Ms Landberg 812, from the Berlin State Library, is only a fragment, without any indication of the number of the volume. There are three dates in the manuscripts, all of them of from the year 731/1331.

The first and second volumes of the *taḍkira* feature the years 728 and 729, respectively, so that one could think that al-Ṣafadī was filling a volume within a single year. But the next date available is 735 for vol. 13. Apparently, at that time al-Ṣafadī was filling more than one volume per year. If we imagine he was completing two or three volumes per year, it means that during the year 731, he was using volume five, six or seven. The allusion to volume five in the *A’yān al-‘aṣr* does not help us: none of the texts preserved in the few folios from Berlin are cited.

The information available in the current state of research are as follows [\[table 2\]](#).

113 On this particular format, see Déroche et al. 2005, 53; Gacek 2009, 34.

114 See also Dufour, Regourd 2020 about Yemenite *safīnas*.

115 See Heinrichs et al. in *EI²* and chap. 8 here, by Vatansever.

Table 2 The volumes of al-Şafadī's *taḍkira*, their date of composition and their mention in other works by al-Şafadī. NB: the dates in *italics* are not documented but deduced from the overall distribution of the volumes; the mss in **bold** are holographs or contain holograph folios; CB stands for Chester Beatty Library; ÖNB stands for Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Vol.	Date	Mss	Mention
1	728	BL IO Isl. 3829	<i>A'yān</i>
2	729	BL IO Isl. 3829 (f.89)	
3	<i>729-730</i>		<i>A'yān</i>
4	<i>730</i>		<i>A'yān</i>
5	<i>730-731</i>	SBB Landberg 812 (731)	<i>Alḥān; A'yān</i>
6	<i>731</i>		
7	<i>731-732</i>		
...			
11	<i>733-734</i>		<i>A'yān</i>
12	<i>734</i>		<i>A'yān</i>
13	735	DK Adab 420.1	<i>Nuṣrat al-tā'ir</i>
14	735-736	DK Adab 420.2 DK Adab 9796 CB Ar. 3861	<i>A'yān</i>
...			
18	<i>739</i>		<i>A'yān</i>
19	<i>740</i>		<i>Alḥān; A'yān</i>
20	<i>741</i>		<i>A'yān</i>
21	<i>742</i>	FB Gotha 2140 CB Ar. 5178	
22	<i>743-744</i>	FB Gotha 2140	
23	<i>745</i>	Beşir Ağa Eyüp 162	
24	<i>745</i>	CB Ar. 3861 (f. 56)	<i>A'yān</i>
25	<i>745-746</i>	CB Ar. 3861 (f.89)	<i>A'yān</i>
26	<i>746-747</i>	CB Ar. 3861 (f. 136)	<i>A'yān</i>
...			
29	<i>748</i>		<i>Alḥān; A'yān</i>
...			
32	<i>750</i>		<i>A'yān</i>
33	<i>751</i>		<i>A'yān</i>
34	<i>752</i>	Tehran 3209	<i>A'yān</i>
...			
37	<i>755</i>		<i>A'yān</i>
38	<i>756</i>	DK Adab Taymūr 804	<i>A'yān</i>
...			
44	<i>759</i>	PUL Garrett 3570	
...			

Vol.	Date	Mss	Mention
48	761	BL IO Isl. 3799 DK Adab 420.3	
49	762	BL IO Isl. 3799 (f. 69)	
?		BnF Ar. 3339ⁱ	
?		FB Gotha Ar. 2141	
?		Oman nat. Lib. 1384	
?	729-732	ÖNB Cod A F 395 ⁱⁱ	

ⁱ This ms and the following one (FB Gotha Ar. 2141) remain to be investigated. No date was found on their pages (Mac Guckin de Slane 1883-95, 584, says the ms BnF Ar. 3339 is dated 874/1469-70, but it is actually the date of one of the consultation marks, by a later reader). The handwriting is extremely similar to al-Şafadī's, but much faster than the examples found till now: the influence of *tawqī*, especially for the abusive ligatures, is much more salient and the lack of many dots is observed. These two mss would deserve further study. Regarding the ms from Oman, it seems to be a holograph as well, as pointed out to me by Benedikt Reier, whom I warmly thank for the information.

ⁱⁱ Known under the title *Dīwān al-fuṣaḥā' wa tarġumān al-bulaġā'* (GAL G II 40; Flügel 1865, 365-7, no. 389), this *safīna*-shaped ms is actually most likely a copy of a volume of al-Şafadī's *Ṭaḍkira*. Indeed, it comprises a sample of all the texts usually found in the *ṭaḍkira*: letters, poetry by him and by others, copies of chancery documents and copies of texts he read. For instance, two texts by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, the *Yaqaẓat al-sāhir* and the *Dam'at al-bākī* (till now lost, apart from the last folio of the *Dam'at*, see Rice 1951, 856; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Ta'rīf*, 40-1), are recorded in extenso; in al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, 8: 255, cited in Van Ess 1976, 259, al-Şafadī assures he read these texts to Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Ibn Faḍl Allāh and we have here the confirmation that he copied them as well. This ms deserves thorough further study.

Ms SBB Landberg 812 only counts nine folios. The first two folios present letters, both dated 731: f. 1, a letter from Şihāb al-Dīn Abū al-Ṭanā' Maḥmūd (d. 725/1325),¹¹⁶ one of al-Şafadī's masters, also a chancery secretary, to Ibn Ġānim;¹¹⁷ f. 2, a letter by al-Şafadī, sent to the Head of Damascus chancery. On f. 3b, we can read a *tawqī'* (decree) for the nomination of the *şayḥ* Şalāḥ al-Dīn Ḥalīl al-'Alā'ī (d. 761/1359) as *mudarris* (teacher) at the Madrasa al-Şalāḥiyya in Jerusalem.¹¹⁸ On f. 4b, there is a *waqf* certificate for Ibn Ġānim's Egyptian house (*diyār al-miṣriyya*), and from f. 8b to the end, we can read verses that were recited in al-Şafadī's presence by Şāfi al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl al-Ḥillī (d. 749/1348)¹¹⁹ and others by Ibn Ḥamdīs al-Şiqillī (d. 527/1132).¹²⁰ Such a brief description of the contents of this short fragment eloquently shows the variety of the contents, but also the personal character of the *taḍkira*: when al-Şafadī cites texts he has not composed, it is because he received them as a listener or as reader.

Another type of content found in the *taḍkira* is the first drafts of books by al-Şafadī. Ms PUL, Garrett 3570Y, another holograph of the *taḍkira*, the volume 44, offers a great example of this latter category. From f. 8 to f. 31, we can read the very first (and only?) version of *al-Faḍl al-munīf fī al-mawlid al-şarīf* (The Overwhelming Merit of the Noble Birthday [of the Prophet Muḥammad]),¹²¹ al-Şafadī's treatise about the Prophet's birthday. The circumstances of its composition are explained in a short statement at the beginning of the text. It echoes al-Subkī's account of the composition of the *Ġam' al-ġawāmi'* mentioned earlier: at "closest friends' request" (*al-aşḥāb al-a'azz*), *al-Faḍl al-munīf* was recited and improved in the course of a *maġlis* precisely held during the night of the Prophet's birthday in Rabī' I 759/February 1358. The first version of the text was ready a bit earlier, since the *iġāza* literally attached to the text – on a fly leaf added in the binding of the manuscript, thanks to a stub – is dated 23 Şafar 759/4 February 1358.¹²²

116 al-Şafadī, *A'yān*, 5: 372-99. See also Van Ess 1977, 97 and Little 1976, 204.

117 Already mentioned here, because of the laudatory lines he wrote about al-Şafadī's *taḍkira*.

118 The *madrasa* was established by Şalāḥ al-Dīn, the Ayyubid sultan, when he conquered Jerusalem. It is now Saint-Anne church. On Şalāḥ al-Dīn Ḥalīl al-'Alā'ī, see al-Şafadī, *A'yān*, 2: 328-36, partic. 333 for his nomination at Jerusalem *madrasa al-şalāḥiyya*.

119 al-Şafadī, *Wāfī*, 18: 481-512; al-Şafadī, *A'yān*, 2: 86-98; Heinrichs in *EP*; DeYoung 2011.

120 Rizzitano in *EP*.

121 Ed. 'Āyiş 2007.

122 A more detailed account and analysis of the text is forthcoming in *Mamlūk Studies Review*, see Franssen, forthcoming.

Finally, the same manuscript provides us with the third type of contents found in the *taḍkira*: the book excerpts. For instance, from f. 33 to f. 47b, we find the *Kitāb al-itbā' wa al-muzāwaḡa*, by Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004),¹²³ an alphabetically arranged collection of pairs of words that present the same pattern.¹²⁴ al-Ṣafadī copied the text carefully, even leaving a large blank space under the title, later filled by a reader [fig. 33].

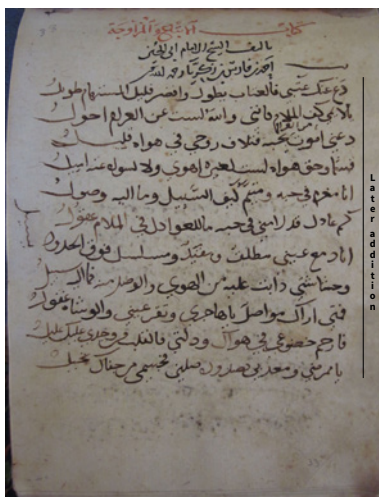


Figure 33
al-Ṣafadī. *al-Taḍkira*, vol. 44.
Ms Princeton University Library, Garrett
3570Y f. 33, title of text excerpt
(courtesy PUL)

It is striking to note that even in his *taḍkira*, al-Ṣafadī leaves blank spaces under the titles of the book excerpts he takes note of, beginning the proper text on the verso, just like in manuscripts meant to be published. Similarly, he uses red ink for the titles and his page layout clearly distinguishes the different parts of the text, respecting its articulation, especially in the case of poetry. Surely, this would help him to find information later when needed. The quires were numbered, a small “٤٤” in the upper left extremity of the first folios of the quires (see fig. 33) showing that the number of the volume of the *taḍkira* was added to the number of the quire. The fact that the beginning of the quire coincides most of the time with the beginning of the text excerpt comes as no surprise. An exhaustive codicological study of the four (or five, if the Oman ms enigma is solved) holographs of the *taḍkira* is forthcoming.

¹²³ GAL G I 130, S I 197-8; Fleisch in *EF*.

¹²⁴ Ed. Brünnow 1906.

4 Al-Şafadī as a Reader and as an Author: The Holograph Manuscripts and the Manuscripts with Autograph Interventions

As clearly explained by Adam Gacek,¹²⁵ and as recalled in the introduction of the recently published *In the Author's Hand*,¹²⁶ a holograph is a manuscript entirely handwritten by its author, whereas an autograph bears an inscription in the hand of the author of the text, the main part of the text being handwritten by someone else (or being a typescript). If the term 'holograph' was first only used for manuscripts in Arabic script,¹²⁷ it is now used to describe manuscripts in Latin or Greek script, as shown by the title of the European Society for Textual Scholarship (ESTS) 2022 conference in Oxford: *Histories of the Holograph. From Ancient to Modern Manuscripts and Beyond*. The ESTS defines the holograph as "a manuscript that is written by the person named as, or presumed to be, its author".¹²⁸

In this section, I claim that a scholar's library can be understood in a wider acceptance: not merely the books physically owned, bought or received by a scholar, and the books read, studied or used for one's work and for which, for instance, an *iġāza* was granted; but also the books the scholar wrote, working as a scribe, or copying them for his own use.

al-Şafadī is acknowledged for the great number of manuscript volumes he handwrote, these being his own opus or not: he worked as a scribe more than once and was praised for his beautiful handwriting, something mentioned by most of his biographers.¹²⁹ As stated earlier, I consider these manuscripts as constitutive parts of his library, even if we know that some of them were kept elsewhere, in great libraries of the time, for instance, as we will see. Indeed, his writing of (and sometimes, commenting on) the texts brought these into his inner library, his mental bookshelves. The manuscripts treated here are thus holographs and manuscripts of another author's work handwritten by al-Şafadī.

A last point remains to be addressed: how to identify a holograph?¹³⁰ The researcher working on the oeuvre of an author can generally recognise his handwriting at first sight, without needing any further confirmation, but without being able to rationally explain exactly how.

125 Gacek 2009, 14-16; 2020.

126 Bauden, Franssen 2020, 1-25.

127 This is why Marganne exclusively used the term "autograph", even when referring to ancient Greek fragments wholly handwritten by their author, in her contribution in Bauden, Franssen 2020; see Marganne 2020. See also Goyens here, chap. 4.

128 See <http://genesis-ests-oxford.eu/ests-2022/>.

129 See the list of his biographers in fn. 1.

130 The question has been addressed in Bauden, Franssen 2020.

In the case of al-Şafadī, his great respect of the model of ideal calligraphic styles may be an impediment, but his handwriting nevertheless shows a number of peculiarities and distinctive features. A precise, exhaustive and objective analysis of his handwriting is forthcoming and will be the most useful way to demonstrate this.¹³¹

4.1 al-Şafadī as a Scribe

For different reasons, al-Şafadī copied texts by other authors. It could be for his own use in the course of his work, because he could not acquire any copy of a work, for pecuniary reasons or because the work in question was not easily available, or because he deemed it better to take care of the copy by himself, thus already studying the whole work once, and thus trusting the version of the work at his disposal.¹³² It could also be to please a friend, or to act as “registerer” during a reading and study session of a work with its author, after which audition certificates were issued – like al-Subkī’s *Ġam‘ al-ġawāmi‘*, mentioned earlier – or as a gift, for instance to Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, the chancery secretary, as we have seen.

In the case of ms BnF Arabe 3127, we do not find any specific information regarding the motives of its copy by al-Şafadī. The text is a commentary by ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Badrūn (608/1211)¹³³ about the *qaṣīda* by the Andalusian poet and *adīb* ‘Abd al-Maġīd b. ‘Abdūn al-Yāburī al-Fihri (d. 529/1134 or 520/1126),¹³⁴ who has worked for the Aftāsids chancery.¹³⁵ The *qaṣīda* is entitled *al-Bassāma*¹³⁶ and is a long poem lamenting the fall of the Aftāsids, following more gen-

131 Such an analysis will be realised on the model developed in Franssen 2020. I speak in favour of such analyses for any important author. These would be helpful in the discovery of unknown and unsigned holographs and autographs, and for the confirmation of signed ones, or the eviction of forgeries. The creation of a database gathering the salient points for many authors and specimens of their handwriting is a must for tomorrow’s research.

132 I have not come across any disparaging remarks from al-Şafadī about scribes’ works, but some of his fellow authors are well-known for their disdain regarding scribal copies of manuscripts, which they describe as careless and full of errors. al-Maqrizī’s comments in the margins of ms Leiden University Library Or 560, the copy of his small treatises that he ordered from a scribe at the end of his life, are particularly eloquent in this regard. See Bauden, forthcoming.

133 al-Şafadī, *Wāfī*, 19: 176-7 (161); GAL G I 271, 340, S I 579-80.

134 al-Şafadī, *Wāfī*, 19: 129-36 (115); GAL G I 271, S I 480.

135 The Aftāsids being one of the dynasties of the *Ṭawā’if*, the small principalities that flourished in many cities of al-Andalus between the fall of the Umayyads and the advent of the Almoravids. See Lévi-Provençal in *EP*.

136 Or *al-Baššāma – bi-aṭwāq al-ḥamāma*. This text was edited and commented upon by Dozy 1848, mainly on the basis of this specific manuscript, that he recognised as handwritten by al-Şafadī, see Dozy 1848, 11-13.



Figure 34 Ibn Badrūn. Commentary on Ibn 'Abdūn's *qaṣīda* entitled *al-Bassāma*. BnF, ms Arabe 3127, p. 60 (courtesy BnF)



Figure 35 Ibn Badrūn. Commentary on Ibn 'Abdūn's *qaṣīda* entitled *al-Bassāma*. BnF, ms Arabe 3127, p. 250: end of the text and colophon (courtesy BnF)

eral considerations about other sovereigns' violent death and the adversity of one's destiny. al-Şafadī's manuscript presents two different styles of handwriting: the original text of the *qaṣīda*, the text by Ibn 'Abdūn, is written in a large *tulūṭ*, while the text of the commentary, by Ibn Badrūn, is mainly in a more usual style of handwriting, that we could call *mašriqī*, and is also in a more usual size [fig. 34]. The colophon (p. 250)¹³⁷ is introduced by a line in *tulūṭ* as well and says the manuscript was finished mid-Ramaḡān 717/end of November 1317, in Şafad [fig. 35].

By then, al-Şafadī was in his early twenties and working as *kātib al-darġ* for the governor Ḥusayn b. Ġandar Bak, in Şafad, but regularly travelling to Damascus. This manuscript is the earliest dated trace of al-Şafadī's handwriting and work known today. We know that Naġm al-Dīn Aḡmad Ibn al-Aṭīr (d. 737/1336),¹³⁸ a contemporary of al-Şafadī working in the Mamlūk chancery in Cairo, wrote a commentary on this *qaṣīda* as well, relying much on Ibn Badrūn's text but

¹³⁷ The manuscript was paginated.

¹³⁸ Zirikli 2002, 1: 97.

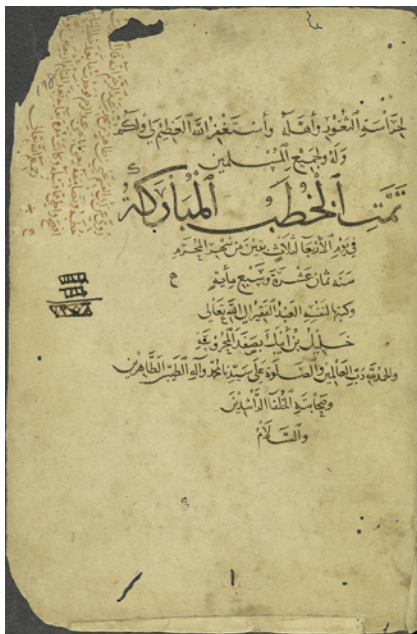


Figure 36 Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn Nubāta. *al-Ḥuṭab al-mubāraka*. Princeton University Library, ms Garrett 298B, f. 178: colophon (courtesy PUL)



Figure 37 'Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn Nubāta. *al-Ḥuṭab al-mubāraka*. Princeton University Library, ms Garrett 298B, f. 72: marginal glosses (courtesy PUL)

augmenting it slightly with parts of his own composition.¹³⁹ Hence, we can deduce that the *qaṣīda* and its commentaries were in favour at that time, and were probably deemed to be known by learned people, *adībs* and by those versed in literature.

In the chronological order of preserved manuscripts copied by al-Ṣafadī next comes a collection of sermons by 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Nubāta (d. 374/984),¹⁴⁰ an ancestor of Ḡamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Nubāta, the Mamlūk poet, friend and later nemesis of al-Ṣafadī. The manuscript is entitled *al-Ḥuṭab al-mubāraka*. It is part of the collections of the PUL and preserved under the shelf mark Garrett 298B.¹⁴¹ Its

¹³⁹ Dozy 1848, 25-35.

¹⁴⁰ GAL G I 92, S I 149-50; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 18: 388-90 (no. 399). The manuscript contains some texts by some of the author's descendants as well: his son Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad, his grandson Abū al-Faraḡ Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad and his great-grandson Abū al-Qāsim Yaḥyā b. Ṭāhir. This collection was gathered around 629/1223, see PUL digital library, ms Garrett 298B, accessible from <http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/kp78gg43d>. And see the manuscript itself: the authors of the sermons are cited on the title page.

¹⁴¹ Hitti 1938, 566-7 (no. 1907); Rosenthal in *EP*².



Figure 38 al-Ḥarīrī. *Maqāmāt*. Danmarks Kongelige Bibliotek, ms Cod. Arab. Add. 83, f. 1a (courtesy DKB)



Figure 39 al-Ḥarīrī. *Maqāmāt*. Danmarks Kongelige Bibliotek, ms Cod. Arab. Add. 83, f. 154 (courtesy DKB)

colophon explains this copy was realised in Şafad in Muḥarram 718/ March 1318 by Ḥalīl b. Aybak ‘for himself’ [fig. 36]. The manuscript is acephalous as almost a whole quire is missing: the second quire begins with f. 2, as attested by the quire signature (ordinal number in full) observed in the upper outer margin. The copy is carefully rendered and a number of marginal glosses in red ink are referred to with the letter *kāf*, written in the text and in the beginning of the marginal gloss [fig. 37]. The meaning of this abbreviation is found in the author’s biography by al-Şafadī in the *Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*: these are Tāġ al-Dīn al-Kindī’s comments, which were carefully added to the *Ḥuṭab* text, by al-Şafadī.¹⁴² Other marginal glosses are introduced by the letter *şād*.

The text is fully vocalised and the titles of the sermons are written in bigger letters, as are a few articulating words inside the text. An interesting system of foliation and quire numbering is present, but it has probably been realised at a later period by one of the bookbinders who have taken care of this volume. This manuscript is thus a careful copy in every sense of the word: the handwriting is regular and conscientious and the manuscript shows evident traces of careful study.

The manuscript under the shelf mark Cod Arab Add 83 is more renowned [fig. 38].¹⁴³

It is a hybrid manuscript: the main text is not by al-Şafadī, having been written by the famous al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122),¹⁴⁴ but the marginal glosses, explanations and digressions are al-Şafadī’s own production and everything is handwritten by him. This copy is a very ornate: the title and the colophon are surrounded by an illuminated frame and the titles of every *maqāma* are written in gold ink outlined in black and in “a formal calligraphic *tawqī’*”;¹⁴⁵ several medallions, illuminated or traced in red ink, stress the rhythm of the text. The orthoepic signs, such as the vowels, are traced in colour as well: in total, five colours are observed in the whole manuscript: black, gold, red, light blue and dark blue.

The colophon [fig. 39] confirms that the illumination is al-Şafadī’s work, as well as the copy and the commentary; all of this (except for some of the marginal glosses, but we cannot tell which ones are later) was done in Şafad in 720/1320-1. To me, this manuscript can be seen as a kind of a business card, displaying some of al-Şafadī’s skills: he is a talented scribe, who chooses well his *exemplar*, who

¹⁴² al-Şafadī, *Wāfī*, 18: 390. About Tāġ al-Dīn al-Kindī, see al-Şafadī, *Wāfī*, 15: 50-7 (no. 63).

¹⁴³ Perho 2007, 1416-21.

¹⁴⁴ GAL G I 326, S I 486-9; Margoliouth, Pellat in *EF*.

¹⁴⁵ Gacek 2010; 2020, 70.

does not make major mistakes, whose handwriting is legible and skillful and confines to calligraphy; he is a dexterous illuminator, who is able to produce masterful compositions and to use wisely different kinds of textual dividers; he is also an extremely cultivated *adīb*, capable of understanding and glossing one of the most demanding texts of Arabic culture. At that time, al-Şafadī was in his early to mid-twenties, and he was still living in Şafad but may have wanted to upgrade to a better position in the administration, or to a more important chancery, leaving his regional hometown for one of the capital cities of the Mamlūk sultanate. All these skills are validated, as attested by the display of collation statements and *iġāzāt* (licences of transmission), directly on the pages of the manuscript (ff. 1-4), dated 724/1324-758/1357.¹⁴⁶ One specific collation statement eloquently displays the philological consciousness and the importance granted to the transmission of faithful texts that motivated al-Şafadī and many of his peers.¹⁴⁷ Unfortunately, this statement is incomplete and scattered around ff. 3b and 1a. It testifies, in the hand of al-Şafadī, to three reading sessions organised in the Ğāmi‘ al-Aqmar in Cairo in 729/1328, during which not less than 13 other manuscripts of the *Maqāmāt*, including a holograph by al-Ĥarīrī, were read and collated. This was an event and was even reported by al-Şafadī in his *Wāfī* in the entry about Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī (d. 745/1344), who countersigned the certificate and added a few words in his hand¹⁴⁸ (fig. 38, f. 1a). This particular manuscript is a witness of the transmission of al-Ĥarīrī’s *Maqāmāt* in the Mamlūk period, and more generally, as already said, of the importance given to the transmission of exact texts.¹⁴⁹

If we continue to follow the chronological order of preserved manuscripts in the hand of al-Şafadī, the next one was copied more than twenty years later. It is now kept in Erfurt-Gotha Forschungsbibliothek (henceforth FB Gotha) under the shelf mark Orient. A 1731.¹⁵⁰ It is a fragment of the eighth volume of Ibn Ḥallikān’s (d. 681/1282) biographical dictionary, the *Wafāyāt al-a‘yān wa-anbā’ abnā’ al-zamān*.¹⁵¹ According to the colophon (f. 145, see fig. 40), al-Şafadī copied it for himself and finished the copy of this volume on 3 Şawwāl 741/22 March 1341.

146 For the detail of the collation statements and reading certificates, see Gacek 2010, 151-65.

147 On this regard, see the interesting Talib 2019.

148 al-Şafadī, *Wāfī*, 5: 276-81.

149 On the transmission of al-Ĥarīrī’s *Maqāmāt*, see Keegan’s work, especially Keegan 2017.

150 Pertsch 1878, 3: 318-19. This manuscript is cited in al-Şafadī’s entry by Rosenthal in the *EP*.

151 GAL G I 327-8, S I 561. Fück in *EP*.

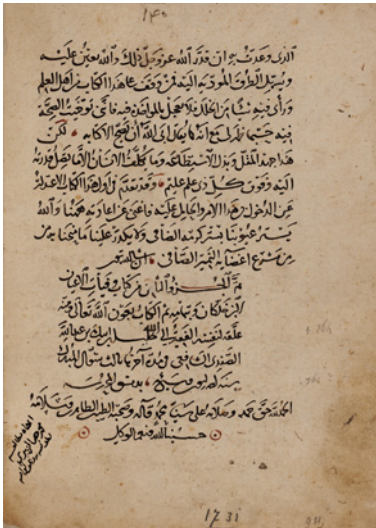


Figure 40 Ibn Ḥallikān. *Wafāyāt al-a'yān wa-
anbā' abnā' al-zamān*. Forschungsbibliothek
Gotha, ms Orient. A 1731, f. 145: colophon (courtesy
Forschungsbibliothek Gotha)



Figure 41 Ibn Ḥallikān. *Wafāyāt al-a'yān wa-
anbā' al-zamān*. Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, ms
Orient. A 1731, f. 97 (courtesy Forschungsbibliothek
Gotha)

The handwriting appears quickly done yet it is very legible and carefully placed. The beginnings of the biographies are highlighted in red ink and most of the time pointed out in the margins as well, under the usual name of the biographees (see fig. 41, f. 97). Few corrections are visible in the margins. The margins are straight, the text being justified. The copy of this work is emblematic of al-Ṣafadī's interest in history and biography. If our partial information is correct, in the first part of his career as an author, al-Ṣafadī's works dealt exclusively with literature: lexicography (*Ma'ānī al-wāw*, 'The Various Meanings of the particle wa-'), specific stylistic devices (*Ginān al-ġinās*, 'Gardens of Paronomasia'), poetic anthologies (*Muntaḥab šī'r Muḡīr al-Dīn Muḡammad b. 'Alī b. Ya'qūb b. Tamīm*, 'Selected Poetry of Ibn Tamīm'), textual criticism (*Ġawāmiḡ al-Sihāḡ*, 'Problems in [the Lexicon entitled] "The Sound"'), linguistic corrections (*Taṣḡīḡ al-taṣḡīf wa taḡrīr al-taḡrif*, 'Correction of Misspellings and Rectification of Mispronunciation') and textual commentaries (*al-Ġayṡ al-musaġġam fī šarḡ Lāmiyyat al-aġam*, 'Copious Showers of Commentary on the "Poem Rhyming in -l" of the non Arabs'). The first biographical dictionary he undertook to compose is also the most extensive, the *Wāfī bi-l-wafāyāt*. We know that he was already dealing with the biographees whose names began with *qāf* in 745/1345, as attested by a list of works for which he granted an *iġāza* to his colleague at Cairo



Figure 42 Ibn Abī al-İşba'. *Taḥrīr al-taḥbīr fī şinā'at al-ši'r wa-l-naṭr wa bayān i'ğāz al-Qur'ān*. Ms Raġıp Pasha 1078, f. 1

chancery, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad.¹⁵² Ibn Ḥallikān's work is a major source¹⁵³ for al-Şafadī's *Wāfī* and we may wonder if he would have begun its composition before having at his disposal a complete copy of this biographical dictionary.

al-Şafadī's philological concern is already clear, but here is still additional evidence of it: more than once he copied previous colophons found in the manuscript he was copying, especially if the colophon contained crucial information about the quality and precision of the current text. This is not only the case with Ibn Ḥallikān's manuscript just mentioned, but also with ms Raġıp Pasha 1078 [fig. 42].

This manuscript is a copy of the *Taḥrīr al-taḥbīr fī şinā'at al-ši'r wa al-naṭr wa bayān i'ğāz al-Qur'ān* (The Composition of the Writing in the Art/Skill of Poetry, Prose and Inimitability of the Qur'ān), by Zakī al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīm b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid, commonly called Ibn Abī al-İşba' (d. 654/1256).¹⁵⁴ As the title implies, it is a work of *adab*. This manuscript was commissioned for the library of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī,

¹⁵² The grandson of Şihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, a former teacher of al-Şafadī; Rowson 2009, 351.

¹⁵³ See van Ess 1976, 256.

¹⁵⁴ GAL G I 306, S I 539. The text was edited in Cairo in 1583/1963.



Figure 43

Ibn Abī al-Isbā'. *Tahrīr al-tahbīr fi šinā'at al-sī'ri wa-l-naṭr wa bayān iğāz al-Qur'ān*. Raḡıp Pasha Kütüphanesi, ms 1078, f. 148b (courtesy Raḡıp Pasha Kütüphanesi)

as attested by the cartouche with the ornate chrysography visible on the title page (see a bit further for another example of such a dedication, in a holograph).¹⁵⁵

The *exemplar* used by al-Şafadī is an apograph: it was copied on the holograph. Again, the colophon was copied by al-Şafadī, who did not add any more specific information about this particular copy [fig. 43]. The title page is adorned by illuminated cartouches. The first cartouche displays the title of the book and the name of its author in a thick golden frame, with floral and vegetal motifs surrounding the inscription, while the second one, beneath it, shows an inscription of dedication in thick *ṭuluṭ* in white ink, outlined in black, on a dark blue background adorned with golden vegetal motifs. As already said, the dedication is to the library (*ḥizāna*) of Ibn Faḡl Allāh, Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā, *kātib al-sirr* in Damascus and then in Cairo from 729/1329 until his death in 738/1338. The manuscript must have been copied between these two dates.

Finally, one can mention the manuscript of Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī's, *Ġam' al-ġawāmi'* preserved in the Jerusalem National Library, ms Ya-

¹⁵⁵ The ex-libris of Ibn Faḡl Allāh al-'Umārī has already been mentioned, see § 2.1.1.1.

huda Arabic 198. It was written by al-Şafadī in the course of *maġālis* (sessions) with his friend, Tāqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, in 761/1360, for his own use. Yehoshua Frenkel deals with this particular manuscript in his contribution to this volume.

4.2 al-Şafadī's Holographs

al-Şafadī's holographs can be divided into two groups: fair copies and drafts or works-in-progress documents. Nevertheless, as we have already seen, almost all the manuscripts of al-Şafadī bear traces of corrections or additions: as was noted by Rowson, al-Şafadī showed a "tendency to keep revising and supplementing works after their publication".¹⁵⁶ In this case, the word 'publication' must be understood in its etymological sense, i.e. 'to render public'. For our modern minds, the publication is the printed text, but printing and publishing are not exactly the same.¹⁵⁷ The printed text can still be revised, but it is seen as fixed, and most of the time definitive. In premodern times however, the situation was different. First, the printing press did not yet exist, so each copy of a same work was different from the others: handwriting, page layout, number of folios, type of paper, number of volumes, scribal errors... are as many changeable elements. But the difference from our time is still more profound; the texts were considered fluid, and knowledge was ever-evolving, as well as literary expressions.¹⁵⁸

According to my current incomplete estimation, almost 60 volumes of al-Şafadī have been preserved. Some of them are only short fragments, but others are several volumes long. I will only mention here several fair copies, i.e. manuscripts that are nearly free of corrections, and will deal with this subject more extensively in the future.

The holograph of the first volume of *al-Kaşf wa-l-tanbīh* 'an al-waşf wa-l-taşbīh (Revelation and Instruction about [Poetic] Description and Simile), ms BnF Arabe 3345 is a fair copy.¹⁵⁹ The title page displays now a bizarre geometric composition, most likely designed in order to hide previous ownership statements or consultation notes [fig. 44]. The text is about a specific rhetorical figure, the *taşbīh*, 'compari-

¹⁵⁶ Rowson 2009, 344.

¹⁵⁷ It becomes crystal clear if you think of online publications.

¹⁵⁸ Other examples of text fluidity, revisions and multiple versions of a same text can be found in Blecher 2017; Burge 2016; Hirschler 2012a; 2012b; Sublet, Roiland 2017; Talib 2013 etc. The situation was the same outside of the Arab world and the advent of the print did not immediately change the situation: it is only gradually that the tendency to heavily revise one's text after its publication faded; see Cerquiglini 1989.

¹⁵⁹ Mac Guckin de Slane 1883, 585.



Figure 44 al-Şafadī. *al-Kaṣf wa-l-tanbih 'alā al-waṣf wa-l-taṣbih*, vol. 1. BnF, ms Arabe 3345, f. 1 (courtesy BnF)

Figure 45 al-Şafadī. *al-Kaṣf wa-l-tanbih 'alā al-waṣf wa-l-taṣbih*, vol. 1. BnF, ms Arabe 3345, f. 20b-21 (courtesy BnF)



Figure 46
al-Şafadī. *Kaşf al-ḥāl fī waşf al-ḥāl*.
Danmarks Kongelige Bibliotek,
ms Cod. Arab 294, f. 1a (courtesy DKB)

son' or 'simile',¹⁶⁰ and al-Şafadī articulated his monograph as usual:¹⁶¹ two big introductions, about terminology and theoretical questions, and examples, verses displaying *taşbīh*, by numerous authors of different ages, arranged thematically. Apart from a small insert between ff. 20b and 21, an addition, nothing diverges from the regular justified text [fig. 45].

Second, in the Danish Royal Library in Copenhagen, Cod. Arab 294¹⁶² is a holograph of the *Kaşf al-ḥāl fī waşf al-ḥāl* (Revealing the Situation about Describing Beauty Marks). Just like ms Raġıp Paşa 1078 mentioned earlier, this manuscript was dedicated to the library of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, *şāḥib dawāwīn al-inşā’* (f. 1a). The dedication is chrysographed and outlined in black, on the title page, under the elegant cartouche accommodating the title and a circular decorative composition, probably not the work of al-Şafadī [fig. 46].

¹⁶⁰ On the *taşbīh* as a rhetorical figure, see van Gelder in *EF*.

¹⁶¹ For instance, as already noted, he wrote monographs on two other rhetorical figures, namely the *ġinās* ‘paronomasia, wordplay’ (*Ġinan al-ġinās*, see Heinrich in *EF*; ed. Ḥalabī) and the *tawriya/istiḥdām* ‘double-entendre’ (*Faḍḍ al-ḥitām ‘an al-tawriya wa al-istiḥdām*, see Bonebakker in *EF* and Bonebakker 1966; ed. al-Ḥinnāwī).

¹⁶² Perho 2007, 1142-6. The ms is visible online <http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/254/dan/1/>.

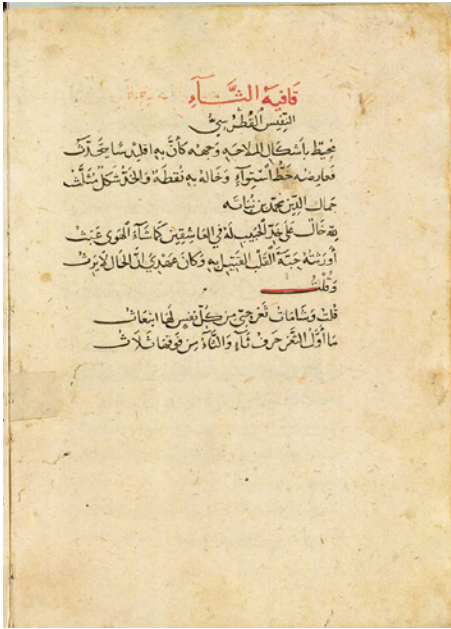


Figure 47 al-Ṣafadī. *Kāfiyat al-ḥāl fi waṣf al-ḥāl*.
Danmarks Kongelige Bibliotek, ms Cod. Arab 294, f. 22b
(courtesy DKB)

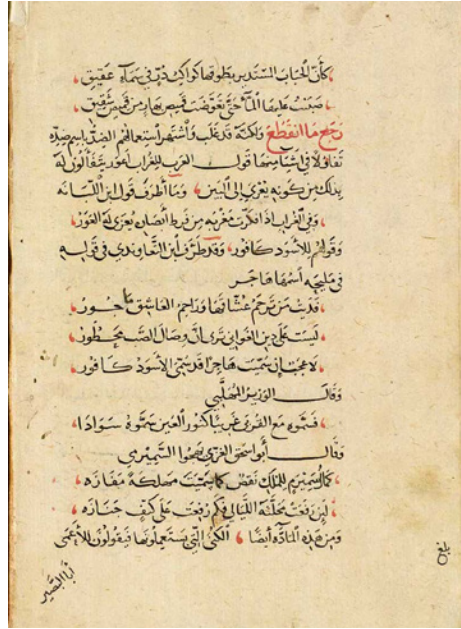


Figure 48 al-Ṣafadī. *Kāfiyat al-ḥāl fi waṣf al-ḥāl*.
Danmarks Kongelige Bibliotek, ms Cod. Arab 294, f. 8b
(courtesy DKB)

Again, the text presents two introductions, the first one lexicographical and the second one concerning the meanings of moles and a list of persons presenting peculiar beauty marks; then comes a list of verses by different authors, including al-Ṣafadī himself, arranged alphabetically according to the rhyme letter and by subject. The manuscript only counts 58 folios, and finishes abruptly, without any conclusion or colophon, but the entire alphabet is covered, as the last chapter is about the letter *yā*. What is extremely interesting is the presence of many blank spaces, left at the end of every chapter, in case the author found other examples to fit in (for instance see f. 22b, fig. 47, where one counts only ten lines on the page, instead of the usual 17 lines per page, like on f. 14, for instance). This could be interpreted as another clear demonstration of the fluidity of texts but it could also be understood differently: that al-Ṣafadī made sure to always begin a chapter (or section, for the introduction) in the upper part of a page, whether recto or verso. This is plausible, but is not a usual scribal practice. A last interesting thing to note is the numeration of the quires, with the feminine form of the ordinal adjective,



Figure 49 al-Şafadī. *Şarf al-ʿayn ʿan şarf al-ʿayn fī waşf al-ʿayn*. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, ms or. Oct. 3806, f. 1 (courtesy SBB)



Figure 50 al-Şafadī. *Şarf al-ʿayn ʿan şarf al-ʿayn fī waşf al-ʿayn*. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, ms or. Oct. 3806, f. 2b (courtesy SBB)

in letters, and the presence of catchwords on the versos of a continued text - there is no catchword if the next recto begins with the title of a new section or chapter. Finally, collation notes (*balāġa*) are visible in the outer margin of several folios, always in the last folio of a quire, sometimes partially trimmed off, such as on ff. 8b, 18b and 28b (see [fig. 48](#)).

Third, the SBB fragment of the *Şarf al-ʿayn ʿan şarf al-ʿayn fī waşf al-ʿayn* (Avoiding Envy While Paying Cash Down for Descriptions of the Eye) ms or. Oct. 3806 is the third clean copy known.¹⁶³ It consists only of a short fragment of 23 folios. Again, the title page is illuminated [[fig. 49](#)], the title inscribed in a rectangular cartouche finished on its outer side by a medallion, and on its lower side by a polylobed circle housing the name of the author. The title page was realised by another illuminator;¹⁶⁴ it displays a heavily adorned title cartouche, filled with vegetal motifs in dark blue, red and gold, while the au-

¹⁶³ Sellheim 1976, 1: 54.

¹⁶⁴ According to Gacek 2020, 69.

thor cartouche is more spaced out but presents a very delicate outside ornament.

The handwriting of the main text appears quickly done, the layout is simple but very regular, red ink is used to highlight or to write some words, giving rhythm to the meaning of the text. One chapter title is displayed on f. 2b, in black ink but with a bigger module [fig. 50]. Few indications are observable in the margins. Two different papers are observed, one white and one darker, a colour between saffron-yellow and reddish. The structure of both papers is similar to the structure of all the papers of al-Şafadī's holographs.

The manuscripts showing traces of work-in progress are more numerous.¹⁶⁵ For instance, all of the holographs of the biographical dictionaries fit this category, as al-Şafadī continued working on them until his death. An exhaustive list of al-Şafadī's surviving holographs, including details about the status of the text in presence (is it a working document? Does it contain many corrections and/or additions?) and about its materiality (al-Şafadī favours three specific papers) is in preparation.

5 Conclusion

The study of the three sources of information discussed in this paper – the paratextual statements, the reading journal, and the manuscripts in al-Şafadī's own hand – provides us with a more precise picture of al-Şafadī as a reader, but also as a scholar. What is striking for me is the similarity of his working method with that of today.

This should come as no surprise, since it is very logical, but it is now clearly shown: al-Şafadī follows what could be called a reading agenda, in which he reads what he needs for the work in progress; this is particularly clear when the ownership and consultation statements are dated. For instance, his acquisition of the *Kitāb al-af'āl*, by al-Saraqūṣī, a book on verb morphology, coincides with the period of his publication about linguistic and phonologic correctness. It is a pity that his ownership note on al-Suhaylī's critic of Ibn Hişām's biography of the Prophet Muḥammad is not dated, but I would surmise that it was bought at the end of the 750s/1350s, when al-Şafadī was composing his *al-Faql al-munif fī al-mawlid al-şarīf* to celebrate the Prophet's *mawlid*. When he was appointed *wakīl bayt al-māl* of Damascus, al-Şafadī naturally would have required some help with

¹⁶⁵ Benedikt Reier is working on the *A'yān al-ʿaṣr* holographs in the frame of his PhD *Archive Fever in Egypt and Syria: The Social Logic and Use of Biographical Dictionaries in the Mamlūk Period (1250-1517 CE)*, prepared under the supervision of Konrad Hirschler, at the Frei Universität Berlin.

his new function: he bought Ḥunayn b. Işhāq's epistle on weights and measures, handwritten by another recognised author in the field of sciences, Ibn al-Bayṭār, the herbalist of an Ayyubid sultan.

Another common point of al-Şafadī's working method with ours, and contrary to some of his contemporary scholars,¹⁶⁶ is the fact that he systematically cites his sources. This is true for the texts he mentions in his *taḍkira*, and it is also the case in his monographs and biographical dictionaries: as already shown, chiefly by Van Ess and Little, his biographical notices always feature information of provenance for the data he transmits, whether the name of the author from whom he read the information, or the name of the person from whom he heard it, but also very often the fact that he heard it himself.¹⁶⁷

The *taḍkira* appears as the perfect intermediary between the readings and the use of the readings, between the documentation and the synthesis, the heuristics and the citation. This tool is an ideal aid for both the conscientious philologist and the fecund anthologist, to efficiently find back useful examples and illustrations of a certain literary device when needed (as attested by his biographer al-Subkī about the *taşbīh*, as we have seen) and their sources, but also for the chancery secretary, who finds examples of nomination decrees, contract marriages and other official documents (like in the volume of the *taḍkira* from Berlin, when he was still in his early career), and for the biographer of his contemporaries, who writes down any beautiful poem, clever riddle or interesting play on words he heard or he received in a letter, any interesting thing he heard or read and the circumstances under which he received the information.

The manuscripts in his hand are instructive in more than one regard. When he copied texts by other authors, it could be a gift (Ibn Abī al-Işba'ʿs work of *adab* was commissioned to the library of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī), or for his personal library (Ibn Ḥallikān's *Wafāyāt* was very useful for al-Şafadī). Thanks to his son's ownership statements, it appears that al-Şafadī used to keep not only the drafts or preparatory documents of his own works, but also the fair copies: both versions of his *Taşhīḥ al-taşhīf* are preserved and feature his son's ownership statement. We also know that drafts could have been transmitted in their unfinished state, since some of them bear an *iğāza*. This is the case of several manuscripts of the *A'yān* (and this comes as no surprise, since many of the people mentioned in

¹⁶⁶ See al-Maqrīzī (Bauden 2010), for instance, or the fact that al-Suyūṭī devoted a book to plagiarism (al-Suyūṭī, *al-Fāriq*), or even the recommendations by al-Subkī for the historian's work (see Frenkel in this volume). The conflict between al-Şafadī and Ibn Nubāta should be mentioned, since the latter accused the former of plagiarism of some of his verses. The limit between emulation and plagiarism is sometimes very thin, see Rowson 2009, 349-50; Lāşin 2005.

¹⁶⁷ Little 1976; Van Ess 1976; 1977.

this work were still living and thus their achievements and activities, worth remembering, including their deaths, current), but it is also true of other works, for instance of the *Ġawāmid al-Şihāh*.¹⁶⁸ This last point deserves further investigation and the future list of al-Şafadī's holographs under preparation will shed new light on the question.

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On Networking and Book Production in Fourteenth-Century Damascus

Tāğ al-Dīn al-Subkī's and Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Şafadī's Working Methodology

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Abstract A unique manuscript, written in Damascus (in 1359), sheds light on author-copyist relation. Tağ al-Subkī and al-Şafadī, two well-known scholars and authors, met at a private house and produced a legal compendium, which became popular among Muslim jurists. The inspection of this *unicum* and its comparison with printed editions of *Ġam' al-ğawāmi'* enriches our data on book production in the Mamlūk Sultanate.

Keywords Tağ al-Dīn al-Subkī. al-Şafadī. Ġam' al-ğawāmi'. Book production.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 al-Şafadī and Historians' Methodology. – 3 Tāğ al-Dīn al-Subkī's *Ġam' al-ğawāmi'*. – 4 Authors' Methodology. – 5 In Conclusion.

1 Introduction

The diffusion of both the written word and reading skills generated literate enclaves in the urban centres of the Fertile Crescent long before the emergence of the Mamlūk Sultanate (1259-1517).¹ Through meticulous examination of several manuscripts of Tağ al-Dīn al-Subkī's *Ġam' al-ğawāmi' fī 'ilm uşūl al-fiqh* (The Assemblage of

¹ Ibn Ġubayr, *al-Riḥla*, 271-2.

Numerous [books] on the Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence), this chapter investigates fourteenth-century Mamlūk authors' working methods. Its *point de départ* is that contemporaneous recipients (the audience) did not consider a book's manuscript as a completed recension. It was for them instead an open text, with changes inserted during its transmission. In support of my *thèse de travail* I will provide a condensed account of two prolific scholars who stand out in the fourteenth-century Damascene records. *Inter alia*, I will analyse accounts that cast light on authors' working methods and book production.

The reading and writing of books within the Mamlūk Sultanate was the art of transmitting facts and ideas, as well as amusing the audience. This creative activity was not always a silent practice. On the contrary, reading was often a collective aural routine. Voices flanked the word. Writing went hand in hand with listening/reciting. The aural transmission was an integral stage in the writings' transmission. The production of a book was often seen as a speech act and, hence, preliminary steps in the writing of a book could imply listening instead of silent reading.

There were several ways in which authors who worked in this era could obtain texts and read works that were written by past masters or by colleagues. To peruse works that interested them they could visit libraries,² participate in learning circles,³ consult manuscripts,⁴ borrow (*ista'āra*),⁵ buy manuscripts from booksellers (*warrāqūn*; *kutubiyyūn*)⁶ or obtain autographs and/or holographs (*malaktu-hu bi-ḥaṭṭi-hi*)⁷ and gain transmission licenses (*iğāza*).⁸ The act of private acquisition did not result in the vanishing of a text, which continued to surface in the communal space. This is visible in many manuscripts that bear the mark *waqf* (endowment).

² al-'Udfuwī, *al-Ṭālī'*, 46 (*wa-wağadtu anā bi-Asnā kitāban sammā-hu ṣāhibu-hu*); Hirschler 2012; 2020.

³ Leder et al. 1996.

⁴ Ibn Ḥağar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar*, 1: 9 (*qara'tu tarğamata-hu bi-ḥaṭṭi al-quṭubi al-Ḥalabī fī ta'rīḥi Mişra*), 10 (*ra'ytu bi-ḥaṭṭi-hi ġuz'an aḥrağa-hu li-nasfi-hi*), 13 (*qara'tu ḡalika bi-ḥaṭṭi Ibn Sukr*).

⁵ Ibn 'Asākīr, *Ta'rīḥ madīnat dimaşq*, 52: 196 (*fa-sta'āra-hu minī Abū Bakr fa-radda-hu ba'da sinīn*).

⁶ Behrens-Abouseif 2018, 71-6.

⁷ al-Şafadī, *al-Wāfī*, 18: 528; al-Biqā'ī, 'Unwān, 4: 122 (*wa-ra'ytu ḥaṭṭa Ibn al-Ġazarī bi-ḡalika*), 150 (*kataba lī bi-ḥaṭṭi-hi*); al-'Udfuwī, *al-Ṭālī'*, 654.

⁸ al-Biqā'ī, 'Unwān, 4: 177; Chamberlain 1994, 15, 49; Ducène 2006; Arjmand 2018; Vajda 2012; Witkam 2012.

Students sought out revered men of letters.⁹ They studied with them, reciting aloud before them (*qara'tu 'alay-hi*), or listened to an author reading from his compilations (*sami'tu*)¹⁰ or otherwise presenting a text (*'araḍa*).¹¹ The aural communication was an integral stage in written transmission. Reciting aloud textual productions,¹² such as exegeses, religious sciences, literary works and poetry, was a common group practice, as we learn from many jottings at the end of works that refer to public performances of reciting and listening (*qara'a/sami'a*).¹³ Hearing the text went hand in hand with seeing it written.

Audiences who listened to the dictation of a book often used written notes while copying (*qultu wa-aḥḍara lī waraqa*)¹⁴ their masters' manuscripts (*naqaltu min ḥaṭṭi-hi*),¹⁵ summarising their books (*talḥiṣ*)¹⁶ and toiling to produce high quality works (*al-ṣayḥ al-muṭābir*).¹⁷ The opening remarks by Abū Sa'īd Ḥalīl b. al-'Ālā'ī, who studied in Damascus with al-Ḍahabī (*ba'da an qara'tu 'alay-hi*),¹⁸ provides one example among many records of this undertaking. In one of his impressive onomastic productions, al-Ḍahabī¹⁹ furnishes a short entry on Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Kāfī al-Subkī (683-756/1284-1355), the father of Tāḡ al-Dīn (727-771/1327-1370), whose *Ġam' al-ḡawāmi' fī 'ilm uṣūl al-fiqh* serves as the hub of the present study. The great Damascene scholar declares: "I listened to his reading and he listened to mine" (*sami'tu 'alay-hi wa-sami'a minnī*).²⁰

This technique of transmission was not restricted to *ḥadīṭ*, Qur'ān exegeses or jurisdiction, but was common also in poetry and literary

9 al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 5: 327, 353 (no. 1831; *ustāḍu-nā* [Ibn Ḥayyān] *sultān 'ilm al-naḥw*).

10 al-'Udfuwī, *al-Ṭāli'*, 58 fn. 13.

11 al-Biqā'ī, *'Unwān*, 4: 14 (no. 359), 98 (no. 389), 105 (*wa-kataba wa-sami'a al-kutuba*), 125 (*amlā 'alayya*).

12 Snow in Damascus (744/1344) stimulated al-Subkī and al-Ṣafadī to compose stanzas describing this climate event. They exchanged letters about it and we may assume that they were read collectively. See al-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān*, 2: 15.

13 Little 1976, 199; Frenkel 2006a; 2006b.

14 al-Biqā'ī, *'Unwān*, 4: 176.

15 al-Biqā'ī, *'Unwān*, 4: 5, 6; al-'Udfuwī, *al-Ṭāli'*, 46 (*ḍakara-hu al-ṣayḥ al-manbiḡī fī ta'rīḥi-hi allaḡī ṣannafa-hu wa-huwa musawwadāt bi-ḥaṭṭi-hi lam yubayyiq min-hu illā al-qalīl wa-naqaltu min al-musawwadati fī ḥaḍā al-kitābi mawāḍi'a naqaltu-hā min ḥaṭṭi-hi*), 51, 649.

16 al-Suyūṭī, *Ta'rīḥ al-ḥulafā'*, 65.

17 al-Biqā'ī, *'Unwān*, 4: 58.

18 al-Ḍahabī, *Bayān*, 71; on al-'Ālā'ī, see Kızılkaya 2021, 114-18.

19 De Somogyi 1932; Bori 2016.

20 al-Ḍahabī, *al-Mu'ḡam al-muḥtaṣṣ*, 166 (no. 204). All translations were made by the Author.

works.²¹ Evidence of it can be traced in sources that report on the production of books. This working method provides a basis for assuming that the copyists or the transmitters regarded the text as open to interpretations (*šarḥ*), abridgments (*talḥīṣ*; *muḥtaṣar*) and continuations (*ḡayl*), similar to their activity when discussing each other's texts together. They did not erase the authors' names; on the contrary, they used the authors' works and names as bases on which rested a complex structure of other texts.

Based upon his in-depth investigation of al-Nuwayrī, Elias Muhanna concludes that "copying [*nash*] involved more than mere replication of exemplary manuscripts. Some level of editing and markup was not only considered acceptable, but was expected from a good scribe".²² Contemporaneous recipients did not consider these agents' interventions as a corruption of the author's recension. The evolution of abridged compendia (*muḥtaṣars*) supports this deduction.²³ Yet, this very common technique of book circulation does not rule out self-production, namely the compilation of books by an author who inscribed a draft (*musawwada*) and later produced a fair copy (*mubayyada*).²⁴

The above-mentioned sources (i.e. authorisation certificates (*iḡāzāt*), transmission records (*samā'āt*), colophons, and title pages), and also chronicles and biographical dictionaries, provide an emic view of the textual production in Mamlūk Damascus and highlight circles of scholars,²⁵ their learning and compilation. Nevertheless, this rich documentation does not fully illuminate the working techniques of such authors and the way they read texts/listened to the voice of masters and selected, reused or discarded information gathered in this way. In order to gather information that reveals their practices and methods we should look at another sort of contemporary source: references within the works that record transmission of textual production and name works consulted by authors.²⁶ Some information on working methods and personal meetings can also be traced in manuscript marginalia.

21 al-Biqā'ī, *'Unwān*, 4: 13; al-Šafadī, *A'yān*, 5: 334 ("listening to lyric love poems [*ḡazal*] he [Ibn Ḥayyān] took the liberty of shedding tears"), 341 ("he authorised [*iḡāza*] me, the writer of these lines [al-Šafadī], to transmit literary compilations [*al-taṣānīf al-adabīyya*]").

22 Muhanna 2020, 238.

23 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, 5: 280 [Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah*, 3: 290-1]; Arazī 1993; al-Šaykh 1994, 343-4.

24 Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar*, 1: 26 (*wa-nasaḥa ḡālība taṣānīfī-hi bi-ḥaṭṭī-hi*).

25 al-Šafadī, *al-Wāfī*, 2: 164 (*aḥbaranī min lafẓi-hi bi-mawliḍi-hi*), 165 (*aḥbaranī Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī*).

26 Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Bidāya*, 9: 338, 339 (*wa-qad ḥarraranā ḡalika fī al-tafsīr*; *wa-qad ḡakarnā*), 340 (*wa-ḡakara fī kitābi-hi*), 355, 411 (*qāla fī dīwāni-hi al-maktūb*).

As already indicated, three protagonists, Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, Tāġ al-Dīn al-Subkī, and Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Şafadī (696-764/1297-1363) serve as the focus of the present article. Looking at them through the prism of a unique Mamlūk document that fortunately reached us, we are able to investigate techniques of textual production and transmission of books in fourteenth-century Damascus. The document in question is an understudied manuscript of Tāġ al-Dīn al-Subkī's *Ġam' al-ġawāmi'* in the handwriting of Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Şafadī. This latter prolific author recorded, rather than copied, a legal work that had been compiled by Tāġ al-Dīn al-Subkī, his companion and the son of his celebrated teacher.²⁷

As such, this manuscript illuminates the circumstances surrounding communication between an author and a scribe. From that data we can, therefore, deduce more general conclusions on the relations between a man of letters and his devoted audience who, by recording his work, contributed to its dissemination. Producing a recension of his master's book, al-Şafadī intervened as an agent, other than the author, in the transmission of that work.²⁸

2 al-Şafadī and Historians' Methodology

Al-Şafadī is known as the author of several biographical dictionaries and other works, and historians of Mamlūk textual production agree on his importance. Analysis of Middle Islamic Arabic textual production reveals that, in some of his compilations, al-Şafadī referred to earlier writings that were either composed by him or were comments on his social companions and intellectual circles.²⁹ Indeed, many of his writings inform his audience about his working techniques and practices in collecting data and, more generally, his method of textual production.³⁰ He often quotes paragraphs and verses, both short and long, from early and late Arab authors.

In several of his works, al-Şafadī refers to this composition technique. The texts that he consulted, or copied,³¹ were employed by him in two opposing ways: on the one hand, as a source of inspiration, as

²⁷ On the close working relations between these two scholars, see Little 1976, 205.

²⁸ See chap. 3 of this book, by Élise Franssen, for more details about al-Şafadī as a scribe.

²⁹ Little 1976, 197.

³⁰ Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Fuṣūl*, 29 (*wa-qaḍ aḥbabbtu an u'aliqqu taḍkiratan fī ḡalika li-takūn maḥalan ilay-hi, anmūḡaḡan wa-'awnan la-hu wa-'alay-hi*).

³¹ al-Şafadī, *A'yān al-'aṣr*, 5: 331 (no. 1831): "He [Ibn Ḥayyān] composed a great number of works [*taṣānīf*] that were distributed all over [*sāra wa-tāra*]. They spread all over but did not vanish. The gleaming books were read and copied [*nusiḥat*]. Preserving the books of past generations' fallacies did not alter them".

a model; and on the other hand, as examples of mistakes that should be avoided, references that should be corrected.³² A case in point is al-Şafadī's detailed biography of 'Uṭmān b. Ḥāğib al-Mālikī (570-646/1177-1249), within which the biographer narrates:

[the] šayḥ Şams al-Dīn [al-Dahabī] says:³³ I copied [*wa-naqaltu*] from a manuscript in the hand of [*min ḥaṭṭi*] the jurist al-Tuḥī al-Şāfi'ī whom I already mentioned earlier in my book. He wrote a dissertation [*ta'līq*] on Ibn Ḥāğib but did not complete it; Ibn Ḥallikān has also mentioned him; I learned that Ibn al-Wakīl has provided a similar account.³⁴

Several paragraphs of *al-Wāfi bi al-wafayāt* (The Continuum List of Deceased Men), one of al-Şafadī's major compilations, illustrate al-Şafadī's close relations with the al-Subkī family. In the introduction to this multi-volume work, he presents the history of Arab historiography and adds guidelines for those who are engaged in producing historical works. These lines support and further illuminate my argument regarding intra-author relations. This paragraph is based on a long quotation (*naqaltu min ḥaṭṭi al-imāmi*) from Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī's handwriting:

I copied the following lines from a text that the grand savant, *şayḥ al-Islām*, the chief judge Taqī al-Dīn Abī al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Kāfi al-Subkī al-Şāfi'ī had written himself [*min ḥaṭṭi*]. [It says]: "While compiling [*naqala*] from a written record, the faithful historian should concern himself with a literal transmission rather than an interpretative one. The data that he transmits should be in the words that have been recorded [*muḍākara*] by him, and which subsequently should be written down accurately. He should name the author of the text that he transmits. He should differentiate between the text transmitted by him and paragraphs added by him. In biographies [*tarğama*] written by him he should meet four essential conditions. This is required even in cases that he either extends the biography or shortens it. He should know the circumstances of the person he portrays, his learning, religiosity and other qualities. Although it is very difficult to meet it, this obligation should not be missed [*wa-ḥaḍā 'azīz ġiddan*]. He should have a comprehensive knowledge of the vocabulary and obtain a very eloquent style when depicting the subject of the biography. He should portray all the circumstances of this person and his features. Describ-

32 al-Şafadī, *Taşḥīh*.

33 al-Dahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-islām*, 48: 320.

34 al-Şafadī, *al-Wafī*, 19: 490-5.

ing him, he should be very precise, not adding unnecessary data and not omitting necessary information. Emotions should not govern his depiction, which in the case of a person whom he loves will lead his flattering efforts astray and will cause him to accumulate needless words. And in the opposite case it will result in neglecting essential words. Hence, he should avoid emotions and should not give into sentiments; indeed, this is very difficult. Sound evaluation should lead the biographer while depicting someone he does not like, and he must advance along the path of even and balanced composition. These are four primary stipulations and to them can be added an additional fifth one. Only the combined stipulations enable the biographer to produce a sound portrayal and balanced picture. The most difficult among these primary stipulations is the evaluation of a person's scholarship. To evaluate correctly the person who concerns him, the biographer must know profoundly all the branches of science and must be familiar with the scholarly production of the subject of the biography".³⁵

In al-Şafadī's biography of al-Ḍahabī we read:

Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-Zamlakānī (d. 727/1327) read al-Ḍahabī's history [*ta'rīḥihi al-kabīr al-musammā bi-ta'rīḥ al-islām*] carefully, inspecting section after section till he completed surveying [*muṭāla'a*] it. He concluded his reading with the remark: "This is a fine scholarly work, I studied it and gained from it. I read with him a considerable number of his compilations [*taṣānīf*]. Reading them I did not stumble upon the dullness [*ġumūd*] of *ḥadīṭ* scholars nor upon the ponderousness [*kūdana*] of transmitters. On the contrary, he [al-Ḍahabī] is a scholar with deep insight. He makes sharp analysis of opinions [*darba*] and piercing evaluation of past scholars' methodology and of sages' writings. I was deeply impressed by his working practice. If, in his writings, he criticized a *ḥadīṭ*, he would first clarify its meaning and indicate its weak points or faults in the chain of transmission, pointing out deficiency of transmitters. Only with him and in his writings did I find this high quality of working habits".³⁶

In both quotations al-Şafadī provides guidelines for the historian who is engaged in compiling a book. He advises him about collecting data and evaluating it, yet he does not mention originality. Moreover, the subtext of al-Şafadī's advice amplifies the conformism of writers. Although an author should not avoid a critical approach to texts

³⁵ al-Şafadī in Amar 1911, 44-7; Ritter 1962, 1: 46.

³⁶ al-Şafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 2: 163.

consulted by him, he is advised to follow his predecessors and to refrain from breaking the literary lines.

Concentrating on a *unicum* text, namely the copy of *Ġam' al-ġawāmi'* in al-Şafadī's handwriting, I will look into al-Şafadī's role in writing down his master's recitations and in the transmission of the book's draft.

3 Tāġ al-Dīn al-Subkī's *Ġam' al-ġawāmi'*

Taqī al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Kāfī al-Subkī³⁷ was an eminent Mamlūk scholar and jurist whose intellectual productions were favourably received during his lifetime and among Şafī'ite, and it continues to the present day.³⁸ The list of his works is impressive, containing approximately 30 books and numerous epistles that cover a vast range of subjects, from grammar to jurisdiction. This productivity boosted his social position and intellectual fame; in Damascus, and villages in the city's green belt, students gathered around him. They studied *ḥadīth* and jurisdiction with the master, who held several high ranking scholarly and juridical positions.³⁹ As we shall see, some among them transcribed his lectures, and these manuscripts circulated among book-reading communities. Among his students were his son Tāġ al-Dīn and al-Şafadī.

Tāġ al-Dīn al-Subkī is considered the most illustrious member of the well-known family of Shāfi'ī '*ulamā'*' from the Mamlūk period.⁴⁰ He composed a considerable number of books, including, among other subjects, biographies and texts on juridical administration and jurisdiction.⁴¹ Tāġ al-Dīn al-Subkī's *Ġam' al-ġawāmi'*, the book under consideration here, was well-received in Mamlūk society, as demonstrated by the amount of exegeses composed in the decades that followed.⁴² Its popularity among Arabic-speaking Muslim audiences en-

³⁷ The earliest account of his life was written by his son Tāġ al-Dīn al-Subkī in his great biographical dictionary of eminent Şafī'ites (*al-Ṭabaqāt al-Şāfi'iya al-kubrā*). Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Şāfi'ī copied this long entry as an independent booklet, titled *Kitāb I'lām al-a'lām bi-manāqib šayḥ al-Islām qāḍī al-quḍāh 'Alī al-Subkī raḥimahu Allāhu* informing the learned public about the virtues of the late Muslim leader and chief judge 'Alī al-Subkī (in 17 Ša'bān 766/9 May 1365). A joint examination of the various manuscripts of al-Subkī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Şāfi'iya* and a comparison with his *Kitāb I'lām* resulted in the conclusion that the booklet version of the biography contains a limited number of changes. See *Kitāb I'lām* (Princeton University Library, Islamic Manuscripts, ms Ar. Garrett no. 2258Y).

³⁸ Thomas, Mallett 2013, 5: 88-91; Schacht 1997.

³⁹ al-Ḍahabī, *Mu'ġam a*, 2: 34 (no. 355); Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Bidāya*, 18: 566.

⁴⁰ Berkey 2010.

⁴¹ For his teachers see Ibn Sa'd al-Şāliḥī, *Mu'ġam šuyūḥ al-Subkī*. For his works Brockelmann 2016, 2: 92-3.

⁴² The first one was actually written by al-Subkī himself. al-Subkī, *Man' al-mawānī'*, 1: 369.

couraged them to facilitate access to it and they worked diligently to achieve this goal.⁴³ According to my estimation, at least four authors wrote exegeses on this work of al-Subkī during the first century after the book's composition.

The circulation of such pre-modern exegeses of the *Ġam' al-ġawāmi'*, as well as the publication of several modern editions of the book, illuminate al-Subkī's prominent position in Islamic juridical studies and the reception of his scholarship, at least among the Šāfi'ites. However, it seems that the recensions currently circulating fail to collate all of the interesting manuscripts of the book.⁴⁴ Editors of these editions of the *Ġam'* do not refer, to the best of my knowledge, to the manuscript stored at the library of Princeton University (copied in 921/1515). Its colophon reads:

The complier [*mušannif*] completed the fair copy of [this work] [*kāna tamām bayādi-hi*] in his dwelling at al-Dahīša, in the village of al-Nayrab in the suburb of Damascus on the last watch of the night of 1 Dū al-Ḥiġġa 760/3 November 1359.⁴⁵

A second manuscript that did not catch the attention of modern editors is kept in Jerusalem, at the National Library of Israel (henceforth NLI); this manuscript of al-Subkī's compilation was handwritten by al-Šafadī. This recension ends with a colophon written and signed by al-Šafadī, which means that we are facing with a holograph:⁴⁶ this manuscript was written entirely in al-Šafadī's hand. It opens with a blurb (*taqrīz*), a short poem put down in al-Šafadī's handwriting.⁴⁷

This is a compilation by our master and leader Abū al-Naṣr 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī. I, Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Šafadī, wrote this blurb [*taqrīz*] of that composition:

⁴³ al-Zarkašī 2000; Ibn al-'Irāqī al-Kurdī al-Qāhirī 'al-Šāfi'ī 2004; al-Maḥallī al-Šāfi'ī, 2005; al-Waqqād al-Azharī 2006.

⁴⁴ Ed. by 'Abd al-Mun'im Ḥalīl Ibrāhīm (1424/2003) and 'Aqīlah Ḥusayn (1432/2011). The Nation al Library of Israel, in Jerusalem, stacks a second manuscript of the *Ġam' al-ġawāmi'* (Yahuda, *maġmū'a* 274: it is an Ottoman collection of 10 titles).

⁴⁵ al-Subkī, *Ġam' al-ġawāmi' fī 'ilm uṣūl al-fiqh* (Princeton Islamic Manuscripts, ms Ar. Garrett 4168Y), see appendix 3.

⁴⁶ On this term see Gacek 2020. Editor's note: technically speaking, the Author is mentioning a manuscript handwritten by another famous author, that is, a manuscript for which the scribe is also an author. 'Holograph' can be said when a manuscript is entirely in its author's hand. Since al-Šafadī is not the author of the *Ġam' al-ġawāmi'*, the manuscript cannot be called a holograph. See Bauden, Franssen 2020 and Gacek 2020. On the contrary, the blurb mentioned below is holograph: it is the oeuvre of al-Šafadī and it is in his hand.

⁴⁷ al-Biqā'ī, 'Unwān, 4: 191; Rosenthal 1981; Levani 2013. See appendix 1 for the edition of this *taqrīz*.

“This is a book in Islamic law that incredibly transformed the perception of juridical principals [*uṣūl*] [in the Qur’ān and *ḥadīṭ* as they are applied by the judge].⁴⁸ If you were to ponder on the book’s content you would find it a striking artefact.

This compilation [*ġam’*] is an abridgment of an unmatched legal anthology. Disregarding it would damage you, so don’t neglect it.⁴⁹ It exposed gleaming moons, its shining beams explore hidden topics. Uniquely the book’s author beamed, radiating steadily his merits. Unafraid, he concluded his verdict decisively, neither a close opponent nor a remote adversary could disagree with him.

He directed and taught those who gathered around him, and every letter will profit us, even when we become old.

His eloquent speech refines and astonishes, and you will solemnly use it even if you do not understand a word in the text.

He accomplished marvellous achievements while epitomizing, adding highly sophisticated expressions to it.

He did not leave a single word without clearly explaining it, these exegeses by him are astonishing.

In an extremely pleasing and beautiful approach he combined the understanding of the Qur’ān and *ḥadīṭ*, the two sources of legal theory, with legal dialectic disputation [*ġadal*],⁵⁰ providing an account of loose wording in an eloquent form.

As if tomorrow the *agama* lizard due to his eloquent talk will be saved and beloved.

Similarly, opposing him the sword’s blade will decay.

The poor Ibn al-Ḥāḡib⁵¹ is merely the chief guardian who stands at the gates of our eminent magistrate”.

According to the colophon, al-Ṣafadī visited Tāġ al-Dīn al-Subkī’s home, where he listened to his master’s lectures and dictations and wrote them down, resulting in a book. It reads:

Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, the scribe who inscribed this compilation [*kātibu-hu*], completed writing it down for his own usage [*ta’līqih li-nafsi-hi*] on the fifth of the month Rabī’ II in the year 761 [24 February 1360] in the protected city of Damascus.⁵²

⁴⁸ Calder 2010, 140; Musa 2014, 327.

⁴⁹ For a reference to Tāġ al-Dīn al-Subkī’s, *Ġam’ al-ġawāmi’*, see Zakariyah 2015, 24.

⁵⁰ Siddiqui 2019.

⁵¹ A reference to Ibn al-Ḥāḡib al-Mālikī’s *Ġāmi’ al-ummaḥāt*.

⁵² al-Subkī, *Ġam’ al-ġawāmi’* (Jerusalem, NLI, ms Yah. Ar. 198). In addition to the above-mentioned manuscript of the *Ġam’ al-ġawāmi’*, the NLI also owns some folios of al-Ṣafadī’s *al-Wāfi*, which were not used by the editors of the two editions of this impor-

This manuscript demonstrates that, although writing was the prevalent method of preservation and transmission of a book, dictating could sometimes be the preliminary stage of textual production. This explains minor distinctions between the manuscripts at our disposal. There was no final recension.

It should be added that this unique manuscript is not the only reference to the close relations between Tāġ al-Dīn al-Subkī and al-Şafadī. Such closeness obliterates the borderlines that separate the two men, the master-writer and his student-scribe, particularly given that the age gap between them was not very wide. Occasionally they become a united entity that jointly produced a text, as will be demonstrated below. Moreover, in the earlier stage of their career, the two were joined by a third scholar, al-Subkī's father, Tāqī al-Dīn, creating a multi-generational set of writers and readers. This collaboration resembles the study and transmission of *ḥadīṭ* and is an additional verification of the holistic approach that characterises the Arab-Islamic Republic of Letters.⁵³

Indeed, master-student relations are depicted in several other contemporaneous works. A case in point is the opening paragraph of al-'Udfuwī's treatise on *şūfī* doctrine. Şāliḥ b. 'Abd Allāh al-Dimaşqī al-Qaymarī notes that he wrote (*wa-dā ḥaṭṭī-hi wa-şahḥa ḍalika*) it at the house of Abū Ḥayyān in the Şāliḥiyya *madrassa* in Cairo, where the author (*mu'allif*) dictated his work (*sami'a ġami'a ḥadā al-kitābi min lafzi mu'allifi-hi al-şayḥ al-imām al-'Udfuwī bi-ḥuḍūri sayyidi-nā wa-şayḥi-nā Ibn Ḥayyān yawma al-'ṭnayn tāmin 'aşr Şafar sanat 741 bi-manzili sayyḥi-nā Abī Ḥayyān*).⁵⁴

al-Subkī's intellectual *vita* (*mu'ġam*) should also be mentioned here.⁵⁵ Thanks to this, we possess rich data on the Damascene scholarly circles, and on the productivity of the three savants mentioned above. Nevertheless, I will refrain here from analysing the detailed information that the *vita* furnishes, and will limit my contribution to a single node in al-Şafadī's circle of intellectual acquaintance,⁵⁶ namely al-Şafadī's activity within the coterie of Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī and his relations with Tāġ al-Dīn al-Subkī, his master's son. In fact, they operated as a collective, a community that shared recreational delight in book production.

tant biographical dictionary: NLI, ms Yahuda Ar. 307. Moreover, the text of these folios is not included in the holograph fragments preserved in Gotha Library (ms Ar. 1733).

53 Cf. al-Musawi 2015, 33.

54 al-'Udfuwī, *al-Mūfī*, 33 (13 August 1340).

55 al-Suyūṭī, *Buġyat al-wu'āh*, 2: 176.

56 The list of al-Şafadī's acquaintances includes some of the leading jurists and literati of mid-seventh/fourteenth-century Damascus: Ibn Nubāta, Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī, Ibn Taymiyya and others. He served as a secretary in the chancery of the famous viceroy Tankiz, whose biography he wrote. See Conermann 2008.

4 Authors' Methodology

In the previous sections I have mentioned, *inter alia*, scholars' circles, networks and inter-generation communication. This section of the paper looks at the techniques of composition and book transmission. It will cast light on several authors who functioned, often simultaneously, as recipients as well as disseminators.

Among al-Şafadī's contemporaries in fourteenth-century Damascus, transmission of condensed paragraphs from earlier volumes, as well as offering pastiches, were common practices, as we learn from his and other scholars' texts. To write the biography of al-Şafadī, Ibn Ḥaġar al-'Asqalānī collected data from various sources, which he names:

al-Dahabī cherished him [*qāla fī ḥaqqi-hi*] arguing: "I learned with him and he studied from me"; Ibn Kaṭīr says: a note written by him informs the reader: "I wrote *circa* five hundred tomes"; His student Ibn Ḥamza al-Ḥusaynī (1315-1364) said [similar words] and also Ibn Rafī' al-Sallāmī (1305-1372).⁵⁷

Many times, the sentence "the writing is completed" did not indicate that the composition of a book had indeed ended. It is not rare to stumble upon a sentence that discloses continuations (*ḡayl*) of books compiled by past authors, nor the completion of a compilation previously started by another author. It seems that the community of writers/readers imagined transmitted/copied texts as 'a work in progress' engaged by creative *littérateurs*. Al-'Alā'ī, a Jerusalemite contemporary of Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, opens his book with the statement:

What drove me to compile [*ġama'a*] this book is *al-Aşbāh wa al-naẓā'ir*, a composition [*ta'līq*] about this topic that was written by Şadr al-Dīn Ibn al-Wakīl, one of the great scholars with whom I met. His nephew, Zayn al-Dīn, added to it [*tamma 'alay-hi*] several legal enquiries. I extracted from several compendia similar issues and added them to this book of mine.⁵⁸

In his *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Şāfi'iyya*, his paramount work, Tāġ al-Dīn al-Subkī provides a detailed biography of al-Şafadī, who was his colleague and one of his father's students. The entry contains information on al-Şafadī's working method, as we can summarise from the following ego-documents:

⁵⁷ Ibn Ḥaġar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, 2: 87-8 (no. 1654).

⁵⁸ al-'Alā'ī, *al-Maġmū'*, 208.

He did not endeavour to compose a book without consulting me. He would ask me and enquire about topics in law, tradition, sources of jurisdiction and philology. This is certainly the case with his book on the leading figures of our days [*A'yan al-ʿaṣr*]. I was the one who suggested its compilation to him and encouraged him to compose it. Frequently he asked for my advice while he was busy with its composition. When I prepared my short synopsis in jurisdiction and theology, the book that is named *Ġamʿ al-ġawāmiʿ*, he copied my text [*kataba-hu bi-ḥaṭṭi-hi*]. He participated regularly in my learning circle and read the entire book aloud, while I chaired the session. His reciting was very agreeable. He profited from re-reading the book. Moreover, he participated in clarifying some points in the book. He named me as the compiler of the book, although he contributed in clarifying certain points in the text. I accompanied him from childhood. I used to write to him and he wrote to me. He encouraged me to immerse in *adab* [...] One time he granted me the privilege of reading a volume of his *Taḍkira*. At that point he was occupied in writing a book about description and imitation. He used to search in the *Taḍkira* and to take notes, whenever he found an appropriate line.⁵⁹

From the reference to the *taḍkira* we can confirm that the usual mnemonic for composing a compilation was the use of notes (*hypomnēma*: private notes to commit to memory for a lecture).⁶⁰ It supported the predominant aural 'reception' of a book, which should not surprise students of Arabo-Islamic civilisation. Although Islamic jurisdiction procedures emphasise the importance of oral evidence, the use of documents in court halls is nevertheless widely recorded.⁶¹

The common method of literary production mentioned above is illustrated by another paragraph taken from Tāġ al-Dīn al-Subkī's works; it casts light on his close working relations with al-Ḍahabī, "one of the four [Damascene] scholars (*ḥuffāz*) of our days, there is no fifth", who served both as his companion and as his teacher (*ustāḍu-na; wa-huwa allaḍī ḥarraġa-na fī hādhihi al-ṣināʿa*).⁶² Al-Subkī then dwells upon al-Ḍahabī's compilation technique and quotes an ego-document:

I was struck [*yu'ġibu-nī*] by the words of our ṣayḥ Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ in a chapter composed by him after he had completed the

⁵⁹ al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Šāfiʿiyya*, 10: 6-7. About al-Šafadī's *Taḍkira*, see chap. 3 by Élise Franssen.

⁶⁰ Schoeler 1997, 423; Schoeler 2009, 20-1; Kohlberg, Amir-Moezzi 2009, 4.

⁶¹ Wakin 1972; Messick 1993, 211-16; Hallaq 1999; Ergene 2004; Marglin 2017.

⁶² Tāġ al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Šāfiʿiyya*, 9: 100 ff. (no. 1306).

compilation [*taṣnīf*] of his book *al-Mizān*. He [Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ] stated: “in this compilation of mine, I mentioned a considerable number of trustworthy transmitters of *ḥadīṭ* [*ṭiqāt*] who have been refuted by al-Buḥārī, al-Muslim and other authoritative *ḥadīṭ* collectors. They did so because these men were refuted by sources that evaluate the credibility of *ḥadīṭ* transmitters. I mentioned their name in my work not because I disqualified them as untrustworthy, but in order to inform my audience about my evaluation of their features”.⁶³

As argued above, contemporary authors regarded the book as an open enterprise, ‘a work in progress’, which we can also conclude from lines that encouraged poets to quote works of earlier writers (*taḍmīn*, i.e. inclusion, quotation),⁶⁴ the compilation of exegeses and continuations (*ḡayl*) is further support for this hypothesis.⁶⁵ In the biography of Taḡī al-Dīn al-Subkī, his son Tāḡ al-Dīn narrates:

I copied these verses from a text [*ḥaṭṭ*] that my brother Abū Hāmid Aḥmad handwrote about verses that our father had recited (in AH 719) [...] Our friend, the paramount scholar Ṣalāh al-Dīn Ḥalīl b. Kaykaladī al-‘Alā‘ī, inserted [*ḡammaṇa*] the first stanza in a poem that he wrote.⁶⁶

Al-Ṣafadī wrote a short treatise that praised the art of inclusion:

How nice is the making of poetry by an elegant scholar who, by writing highly sophisticated texts appropriately, following his father’s benevolence or memories of a beloved friend, will guard their fame forever. I liked the idea of composing a work that uses earlier texts, a compilation that will augment scattered verses and fragments and will assemble new and old stanzas, will organize dispersed ideas and consolidate strewn literary branches. This work will make difficulties easier and will provide literature lovers with all they need. It will illuminate the marginal topics and will be useful for those who debate them, supporting them and saving them from [errors]. It will save the one who does not play according to the canon and eliminate [his mistakes]. He will not be approached and not flattered.⁶⁷

⁶³ Tāḡ al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣāfi‘iyya*, 9: 111.

⁶⁴ van Gelder 1997; Gully 1997, 467.

⁶⁵ On this genre see Farah 1967; Massoud 2007, 25-6.

⁶⁶ Tāḡ al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣāfi‘iyya*, 10: 181.

⁶⁷ al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb iḥtiyār taḍmīḥ al-taḍmīn*, Princeton University Library ms Ar. Garrett 440Y, ff. 32a-34b, see appendix 2.

Yet this stylistic approach does not eliminate the notion of the difference between originality and plagiarism among Mamlūk authors.⁶⁸ The boundary between literary theft and convention or legitimate appropriation of motives (*lafẓ*) and rhetorical devices (*ma'nā*) was clear. Al-Suyūṭī's "On the difference between the author and the thief (plagiarist)" explores the relation between these two categories.⁶⁹

5 In Conclusion

This contribution has concentrated on a single node in mid-fourteenth century Damascene networks. By comparing the two recensions (Berlin, Princeton) of Tāğ al-Dīn al-Subkī's *Gam' al-ḡawāmi'* with the copy made by Ḥalīl al-Ṣafadī (Jerusalem), we can shed new light on author-scribe relations in Mamlūk Damascus, as well as on al-Ṣafadī's and al-Subkī's working method. The texts analysed serve to augment biographical and historical reports, which illuminate the production of knowledge, the role of the author and the role of the copyist.

The written and the aural served together in the transmission of texts: reading was often performed collectively and loudly, and reading aloud and writing down the text that the author/teacher read to an audience was a common practice, and it illuminates social practices. In a number of cases, the production of the written text was done in group, in a circle assembled around an author who performed as a reader of a text compiled by himself. The widespread use of the verbs 'I read aloud/I listened to' (*qara'tu/sami'tu*) indicates that reading was a speech act. Some of those present among the listeners in the learning assemblies recorded the lectures, which ended up in the form of books. The materials reviewed above also cast light on the common contemporary concept of book, on both authorship and reception.

Yet, although data sources regularly report on collective reading aloud, such information does not exclude the possibility of solo silent reading or writing/copying (*naqaltu*). It would be proper to mention here that the verb *katabtu* (I wrote) is not often used by the contemporary authors who reported on their compilation techniques. The close inspection of the documentation discussed in this article adds to the growing knowledge of Mamlūk learning, transmission of knowledge, compilation techniques and book production.

⁶⁸ On questions of originality and plagiarism see von Grunebaum 1944; Heinrichs 1987-88; Bonebakker 1997; Bauden 2010.

⁶⁹ al-Suyūṭī, *al-Fāriq*; al-Biqā'ī, *'Unwān*, 4: 45.

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Appendix 1

Edition of al-Ṣafadī's *taqrīz* for Tāğ al-Dīn al-Subkī's
Ġam' al-ğawāmi' (ms NLI Yahuda Ar. 198)

تصنيف مولانا وسيدنا مفتي الفرق حجة المذاهب جامع أشات / العلوم قاضي القضاة أبي نصر عبد الوهاب السبكي الشافعي / امتع الله المسلمين بفضائله وأوزع العافين شكر فواصله / بمنذر كرمه¹
 لكانه خليل بن أبيك الصّفدي
 في تقرّيط هذا المصنّف
 كتابٌ في الأصول غداً غريباً تأمله تجد شيئاً عجيباً
 وجميماً في الجموع بلا نظير فلا تصرفه عنك تكن مصيباً
 به كشفت بدور مصنفات شمس منه يأتي لن تغيباً
 فأبرق مصنفه فريداً مشيراً من فوائده مثيباً
 وأحكّمه فما يخشى رقيباً يُناقضه بعيداً أو قريباً
 وسدد ما حواه وكل حرف إذا شيينا نجيب به نجيباً
 وقد راققت فصاحتُهُ فما إن تربت بأن تزين به
 واعجز حين أوجز مع بيان بها الأدبياً
 فما من لفظة إلا ويُعطي معاني لم يكن فيها مربياً
 حوى الأضليل مع جدل بديع وحسن تصرف يحكي السبياً
 كأنّ لبّ الحيين غداً يناجي بحسن بلاغة منه حبيباً
 فخلّ السيف يبلى في صداه له ضريباً
 كما ابن الحاجب المسكين² على أبواب قاضينا نقيباً
 <لب> بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عفوك اللهم ورحمتك
 قال مولانا وسيدنا قاضي القضاة حجة المذهب
 مُفتي الفرق لسان المتكلمين سيف المناظرين
 علامة العلماء واللجّ الذي لا ينتهي لكل بحر ساحل³
 تاج الدين أبو نصر عبد الوهاب السبكي ابن قاضي القضاة شيخ الإسلام
 تقي الدين أبي الحسن علي ابن قاضي القضاة زين الدين أبي محمد عبد الكافي
 الأنصاري الخزرجي السبكي الشافعي أمتع الله المسلمين بأيامه
 وفوائده

1 وفي مخطوطة 4168Y Princeton Garrett no. - قاضي القضاة وشيخ الإسلام - ملك ملوك الفقهاء سلطان والأديب مظهر / الفوائد والفتون أهبت والعيون حجة / الإسلام شرف الأنام بقية السلف الكرام ناصر / السنة والدين قابع المبتدعين لسان المتكلمين / سيف المناظرين رُخلة الطالبين قدوة / المحققين آخِر المجتهدين سيّد العلماء العاملين تاج الدين / أبي نصر عبد الوهاب / السبكي الشافعي تَقَمَّدهُ اللهُ تعالى / بِرَحْمَتِهِ الوَاسِعَةِ / وَرَوَى ثَرَاه بِشَاتٍ / سَحِيحًا اله / بِحُجَّتِهِ وَآلِهِ / وَصَحِيحِهِ.

2 تاج الدين أبو نصر عبد الوهاب بن علي بن عبد الكافي السبكي الأنصاري الشافعي (727-1327/771-1370)، رفع الحاجب عن مختصر ابن الحاجب حقه علي محمد عوض وعادل أحمد عبد الموجود (بيروت: عالم الكتب، 1419/1999).

3 تاج الدين أبو نصر عبد الوهاب بن علي بن عبد الكافي السبكي الأنصاري الشافعي (727-1327/771-1370)، طبقات الشافعية الكبرى حقها حقيق محمود محمد الطناحي، عبد الفتاح محمد الخلو (القاهرة: عيسى البابي الحلبي (1383-1395/1963-1976)، 01: 161، وقد خصص تاج الدين كتاباً لترجمة والده تاج الدين كتاب إعلام الأعلام بتناقب شيخ الإسلام قاضي القضاة علي السبكي رحمه الله (مخطوطة Princeton Garrett no. 2258Y)، 24؛ وهذا هو بيت الشعر للمنتهي (303-915/965-354). وينظر عند أبي الحسن علي الواحدي النيسابوري الشافعي (1076/468)، شرح ديوان المنتهي حقها ياسين الأيوبي وقصي الحسين (بيروت: دار التراث العربي 1419/1999)، 397 (72)؛ وعند أبي العلاء المعري (363-449/973-1058)، معجز أحمد [شرح ديوان أبي الطيب المنتهي] حقق عبد المجيد دياب (القاهرة: دار المعارف، 1413/1992) 2: 281.

Appendix 2

al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb Iḥtiyār taḍmīḥ al-taḍmīn* (ms PUL Garrett 440Y)

﴿32ب﴾ ما حُسن موقع التضمين من الأديب ولاق في صناعة الإنشاء غيث الوليد أو ذكر من حبيب وسلامه إلى يوم الدين وقد أحببت أن أضع في التضمين تصنيفًا يجمع شتاته ويضم فتاته ويلم فتاه ويحقق ظنونه ويدقق فنونه وهذا التصنيف تخف المؤاينة ويكف المحب شأنه وتضى ديباجه ويجد من يناقشه ويُناجيه ويهد من يناقحه ويُنافيه ويُداينه ولا يُداجيه و يا الله اعتضد واعتصم واستند إليه ما يصمي أو يصم⁴ أنه خير معين وأكرم مبین.

Appendix 3

Colophons of *al-Subkī, Ġam' al-ġawāmi'*

Staatsbibliothek Berlin, ms Sprenger 603

تم تعليقه على يد أفقر الخلق إلى عفو الحق وتوفيقه أحمد بن محمد بن عمر الشافعي غفر الله له ولوالديه ولن نظره فيه ولجميع المسلمين في آخر شهر المحرم سنة ثمان وخمسين وثمانمائة (1\January\1454). قال مصنفه رحمه الله تعالى كان تمام بياضه في أخريات ليلة حادي عشر ذي الحجة سنة ستين وسبعمائة (3\Nov\1359) بمنزلي بالدهشة من أرض النيرب ظاهر دمشق المحروسة حرسها الله تعالى والحمد لله رب العالمين. بلغ مقابله على أصله فصح وبالله التوفيق سنة تسع وستين وستمائة في جمادى الأولى سنة تأريخه (ا!).

Princeton University Library, ms Ar. Garrett 2258Y

قال مصنفه رحمة الله عليه كان تمام بياضه في أخريات ليلة حادي عشر ذي الحجة سنة ستين وسبعمائة (3\Nov\1359) بمنزلي بالدهشة من أرض النيرب ظاهر دمشق المحروسة. ووفق الفراغ من كتابته وتحريره نهاري الخميس منسوخ شهر شوال من شهر عام أحد وعشرين وتسعمائة (9\Dec\1515) علقه لنفسه ولن شاء الله من خلقه الفقير إلى عفو الله تعالى الودود المتعرف بالعجز والتقصير محمود ابن محمد ابن مكية الشافعي حامداً لله تعالى ومُصلِّياً على رسوله محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم ورضي عن آله وأصحابه وتابعيهم بإحسان إلى يوم الدين.

NLI, ms Yahuda Ar. 198

فرغ من تعليقه لنفسه كاتبه خليل بن ايبك الصَّفدي عفا الله عنه في خامس شهر ربيع الآخر سنة إحدى وستين وسبعمائة بدمشق المحروسة . الحمد لله حقَّ حمده وصلاته على سيِّدنا محمد نبي الرَّحمة وَهادي الأُمَّة وآله وَصحبه (2\March\1360) وسلامه إلى يوم الدين . حسْبنا الله ونعم الوكيل .

4 محمد بن سعيد بن حماد الصنهاجي البوصيري (1295-1213/696-608)، البردة طبع ضمن. Stetkevych 2010, 245 (l. 19).

The Translator as a Reader and Commentator of Aristotle

The Testimony of Evrart de Conty and his Autograph Manuscript (ca. 1380)

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Abstract This article wants to discuss how an autograph manuscript can be a source of knowledge regarding medieval translation methodology, showing the efforts the translator makes, having read his source text, to ponder the words to use in order to express the ideas displayed in it as adequately as possible. The text at stake is Evrart de Conty's Middle French translation of the pseudo-aristotelian *Problemata*, made on the basis of the Latin translation by Bartholomew of Messina and its commentary by Pietro de Abano. The numerous corrections in the manuscript reveal a continuous re-reading of the translation and display the translator's struggle to render the content of the source texts as accurately as possible, but also his concern to make his translation easy to understand for his audience.

Keywords Medieval translation. Autograph manuscripts. Autograph. Bilingualism. Medieval commentary.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 The *Problemata physica* and their Translations. – 3 The Medieval Translator and the Question of Bilingualism. – 4 An Autograph Manuscript: The Author/Translator at Work. – 5 Translating Aristotle: Some Case Studies of Evrart's Attempts. – 6 Some Conclusions.

1 Introduction

When Evrart de Conty, the physician of King Charles V of France, translated the (pseudo-)aristotelian *Problemata* into French at the end of the fourteenth century, he used Bartholomew of Messina's Latin translation (1260) of the Greek source text, as well as Pietro de Abano's *Expositio* (1310), a commentary on Bartholomew's translation that Pietro composed because of the obscurity of that text, a word for word translation from Greek to Latin. Every act of translation implies an act of reading in order to interpret the source text adequately, and usually also an act of re-reading, where the translator verifies if the translated version matches the original appropriately.

Evrart's Middle French translation is preserved in a manuscript that has been acknowledged as an autograph, showing quite some passages where the translator hesitates, correcting words, sentences or passages, adding new ones. Those hesitations not only display the translator's difficulties with respect to the French language, but also show his struggle to render the content of the source texts as accurately as possible, and also easy to understand for his audience, all testimonies of a thorough reading not only of his source texts, but also of his translation.

This article wants to show how the autograph manuscript is a source of knowledge regarding Evrart's translation methodology, and the efforts the translator makes to ponder the words to use in order to express the ideas displayed in the source texts as adequately as possible. The analysis of corrections and additions will also allow to observe how this translator manages to interpret the medical knowledge of the source texts that form the basis of the translation.

In the following, I will briefly present the texts at stake (§ 2), before evoking the question of bilingualism in the Middle Ages (§ 3). A third section is dedicated to the autograph manuscript, which shows the author at work, his reading and re-reading of the source texts and of his translation (§ 4) and which allows us to look into some case studies of Evrart's hesitations and struggle while translating Aristotle (§ 5), before drawing some conclusions.

2 The *Problemata physica* and their Translations¹

The pseudo-aristotelian *Problemata physica* is a Greek treatise composed partly by Aristotle himself, and partly by his students and suc-

¹ We have already presented those texts extensively in previous publications. For more details, see e.g. Goyens, De Leemans 2004; De Leemans, Goyens 2005; Guichard-Tesson, Goyens 2009.

cessors. It is a colourful collection of ‘problems’ on diverse themes, such as medicine, music, meteorology, gardening etc., all themes that interested the medieval scholar, yet at least one third of the treatise is dedicated to medical problems.²

The treatise is divided into 38 sections, and each problem has systematically the following structure: first the author asks a question “Why is it that...?”, which is followed by an answer “It is because...”.

During the Middle Ages, the Greek text has been translated a first time into Latin by Bartholomew of Messina, ca. 1260.³ Half a century later (1310), Pietro de Abano added a commentary to that translation.⁴ At the end of the fourteenth century, ca. 1380, the French king’s physician Evrart de Conty translated both Bartholomew’s translation and Pietro’s commentary into Middle French. It is this translation that will be at the centre of this contribution, and that my colleague Françoise Guichard-Tesson and I are editing.⁵

It might be important to stress that in Evrart’s translation, each problem is divided into two parts, a *Texte* and a *Glose*. Roughly speaking, the *Texte* translates Bartholomew’s translation, and the *Glose* Pietro’s commentary, but it is somewhat less simple than that: the *Texte* already includes wordings of Pietro’s comments, and the *Glose* translates Pietro’s commentary in a freer way, since Evrart often does not respect the structure of his source and adds his own reflections to the text.⁶

In order to understand what happens when we see Evrart’s hesitations in his autograph manuscript, let us first look into the situation of bilingualism in the medieval translation context.

² The Greek text has been edited among others by Louis 1991-94.

³ The translation by Bartholomew of Messina has not yet been the object of a critical edition as a whole; only specific fragments have been edited: the first section is edited in the *Aristoteles Latinus Database* (ALD) in a semi-critical way by Dévière (see also Dévière 2009), as well as by Seligsohn 1934 and Marengi 1966; Gijs Coucke’s edition of section IV is included in his doctoral dissertation (Coucke 2008, vol. 1). Bartholomew’s translation is transmitted in more than 50 manuscripts, of which one of the most important seems to be ms PATAVINUS, Bibl. Antoniana, Scaff. XVII, 370 (fourteenth century).

⁴ The commentary has not been edited in its entirety either, apart from certain fragments. The prologue was edited by Pieter De Leemans (De Leemans 2016); section IV by Coucke (2008, vol. 2), section VII by Delaurenti (unpublished transcription); section XXXII in the unpublished master thesis by Devriese 2013, 76-101. The manuscript tradition of Pietro’s commentary is complex; see Coucke 2008, 2: xxii-xlvi. However, there are four manuscripts containing Bartholomew’s translation as well as Pietro’s commentary.

⁵ The edition of the whole of the text is the project of a team of researchers, under our supervision. Françoise Guichard-Tesson and I are completing the edition of the first section, which will also present an extensive introduction on the author, the manuscripts, the text genre, the methodology of editing an autograph, etc.

⁶ For a detailed study of this matter, see De Leemans, Goyens 2007.

3 The Medieval Translator and the Question of Bilingualism

In her PhD dissertation, Van Tricht discusses the issue of bilingualism in a medieval translation context.⁷ When we want to understand how translators work, it is important to comprehend the linguistic situation in the medieval period. In France, there was not yet a standardised language, and different dialects were at stake, among others the king's dialect, *françois*, which became later on the standard language. But for religious, legal or scientific matters, Latin, the learned language, was used. Medieval translators were in a plurilingual situation, a dialect being their mother tongue, and Latin being their second language, acquired during their studies, since they learned to read and write in Latin and later on studied at the university in Latin. Their second language is thus rather predominant in a specific domain.⁸

In modern times, the situation of plurilingualism, and more specifically of bilingualism, can be summarised in the following diagram:

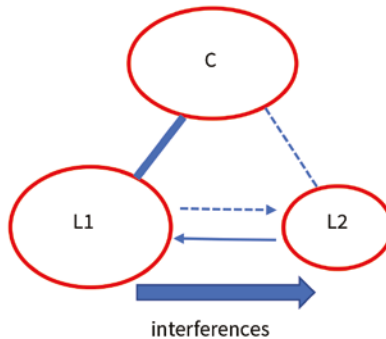


Figure 1 Revised Hierarchical Model. Van Tricht 2015a, 163; 2015b, 56 and Kroll, Stewart 1994

⁷ What follows is drawn from Van Tricht 2015a and 2015b.

⁸ See, for instance, Ouy 1986.

As the model shows, in a translator, who usually translates from a foreign language towards his/her mother tongue, the lexicon is more developed in his/her first language (L1, represented by the larger circle), and there is a stronger association between the conceptual level and his/her first language (represented by the thick line between L1 and C), more so than is the case for his/her second language. If there are interferences between those languages, they will go from L1 towards L2, and not the other way around, as has been shown in research on that matter.⁹

But what happens during the Middle Ages? One has to take into account the sociolinguistic reality of the time. In the case of Evrart de Conty, we see a cleric who learned to read and write in Latin, and who studied medicine at the university in Latin. So his first language in the medical domain is Latin, and not his mother tongue. When he translates a Latin text such as the *Problemata*, and more specifically medical issues, the situation becomes quite complex: while translating towards his mother tongue, specific medical terminology for instance will be more elaborated for him in his second language, Latin; we could summarise this by adapting figure 1 in the following way:

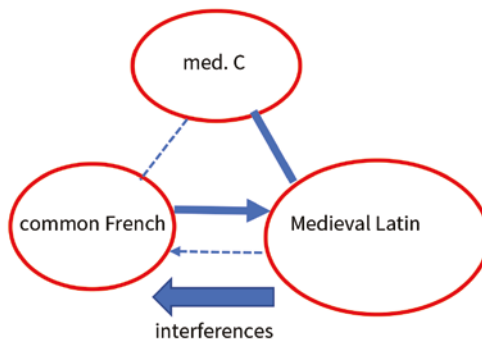


Figure 2 Adaptation of Kroll, Stewart's (1994) *Revised Hierarchical Model* to the domain of medieval medicine, cf. Van Tricht 2015a, 183; Van Tricht 2015b, 56

So what happens here is that, for a specific domain, the lexicon of the second language is more developed, and the relation with C stronger with L2, than is the case for the mother tongue, and that L2 influences L1 now, and not the other way around.

⁹ Among others, Costa, Santesteban 2004; Van Tricht 2015b, 54.

We can see this happening while Evrart is translating. In a study I made with Elisabeth Dévière, where the medical terminology of Bartholomew of Messina, for the first section of the *Problemata*, was screened for borrowings from Greek, the language used in Bartholomew's source text, we found 28 borrowings from Greek in the Latin translation. Those borrowings were already in use in contemporary medical texts. These words were, in their turn, translated by Evrart into French by borrowings from Latin in 25 cases, 5 of them being neologisms attested for the first time in Evrart's text. Let me give just two examples. The Greek term ἀποπληξία (*apoplexy*) was translated by Bartholomew with the Latin *apoplexia*, a borrowing from Greek; Evrart used the French borrowing *apoplexie* in his text, already attested in French medical texts before his translation. Another example is the Greek κάσους, referring to a burning fever, translated in Bartholomew's text with *causon* and the derivative *causonides*, and in the French translation by *causon* and the neologism (*fièvres*) *causonides*. In other words, borrowings from Greek into Latin can lead to borrowings of the borrowings in the French medical terminology.

We observed that both translators tried to develop translation strategies that allowed them to stay close to the contemporary terminology, trying to avoid neologisms as much as possible, but when they had to coin new words, they integrated them in the best way they could into the phonological and morphological systems of their respective goal language.

In order to see how the translator works, the autograph manuscript can play an important role, revealing quite some interesting hesitations and corrections during the translation process.

4 An Autograph Manuscript: The Author/Translator at Work

Evrart's text is transmitted in about 8 complete manuscripts, one of which is nowadays considered to be an autograph. Ms Paris BnF fr. 24281-24282 counts about 500 folios, distributed over 2 volumes. There are also 7 complete and 2 incomplete copies that are still preserved up until today.¹⁰

Gilbert Ouy¹¹ characterised this manuscript as a “brouillon du second jet”, a ‘second draft’ of the text, implying a re-reading by the translator of a first version of his text. Figure 3 shows clearly why: the text is already quite definitive, but there are still some corrections and additions made to the text, as can be seen in the right and left margins where text is added, and corrections are made even in

¹⁰ For their description and their filiation, see Guichard-Tesson, Goyens 2009, 182-6.

¹¹ Ouy 1979, 368.

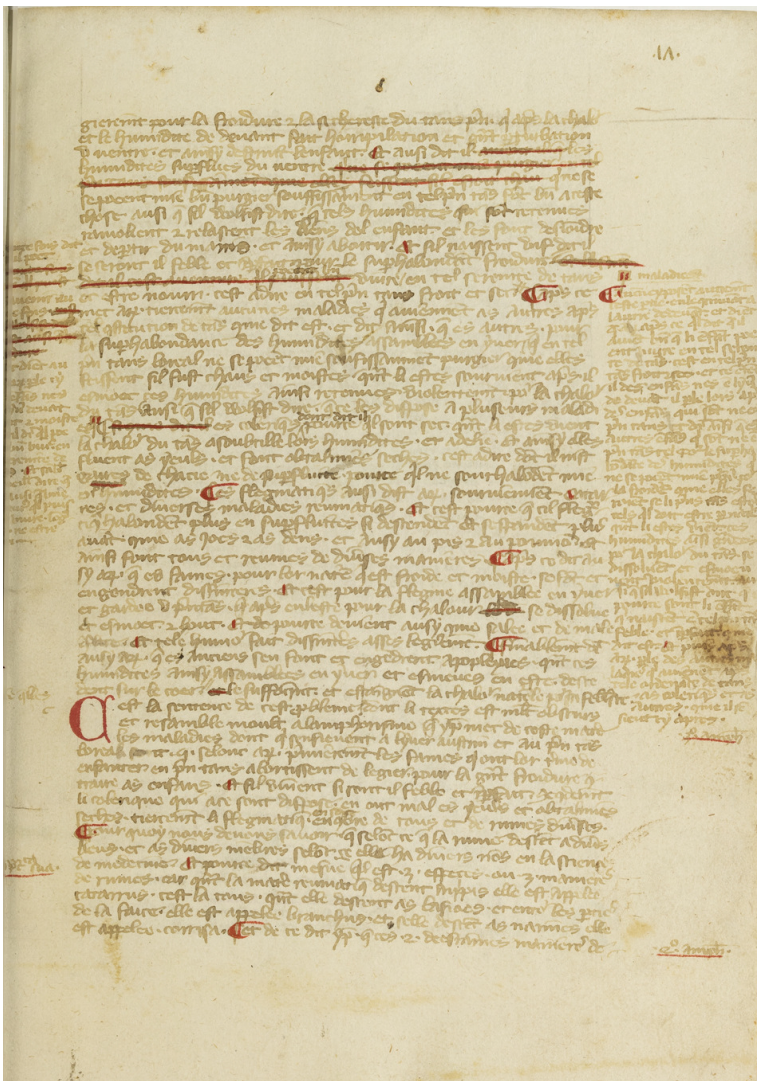


Figure 3 Pseudo-Aristotle. *Problemata*. Evrart de Conty's Middle-French translation. Ms Paris BnF fr. 24281, f. 17a

the added passages. In the entire manuscript, there is hardly a page that does not contain erasures, corrections or additions, going from a single erased letter, correcting a careless mistake, to a cut folio, or a replaced one. It shows the author at work: adding, cutting out, correcting letters, words, phrases or sentences.

Medieval autograph manuscripts are rather rarely preserved. Some examples are those by Jean Miélot, Christine de Pizan, and of course Evrart de Conty. Delsaux shows that there are different types of autograph manuscripts to be discerned in that period, and the one made by Evrart de Conty is a “manuscrit de composition”, where the author composes and writes his own text.¹² In the catalogue established by Delsaux and Van Hemelryck, this manuscript is classified as entirely transcribed by the author.¹³

Of course, an autograph manuscript is interesting from several points of view. It allows to study certain characteristics of the author’s language with respect to spelling, morphology or syntax, and to detect the stages in a translator’s work. Without going into details,¹⁴ we can observe the high quality of grammatical spelling on behalf of the author, who pays much attention to noun declension in a period where it was already largely abandoned, agreement of verbs and adjectives etc., of which erased or added letters are testimonies.

We could mention here the interesting case of the nasal consonant *n* or *m* before the bilabials *m*, *b* or *p*. When Evrart does not shorten the word, thus when he does not use the tilde to abbreviate the nasal consonant, he usually writes *n*, as in the following cases: *corrumpent* (A1 f. 246b9),¹⁵ *empaindre* (A2 f. 19a10, 19a55),¹⁶ *enpeesche* (A1 f. 30b25),¹⁷ *impossible* (A1 f. 148a27), *inpression* (A2 f. 13b8). In the same way, we find *n* before *m* in most of the cases:¹⁸ *poissanment* (A1 f. 34b47), *evidanment* (A1 f. 247b39, A2 f. 5a31), *souffissanment* (A1 f. 17b16, 149b55, A2 f. 15b42, 19b6, 183a20, 186b51), *granment* (A2 f. 194a31). In the examined sections, we found only one occurrence of *mm* in *enflammee* (A1 f. 16a41).

An autograph manuscript also allows interesting insights in the chronology of the corrections. We can discern three layers of correc-

¹² Delsaux 2013.

¹³ Delsaux, Van Hemelryck 2014, 77, 148.

¹⁴ See the study made on these aspects by Guichard-Tesson 1993.

¹⁵ We refer to the autograph manuscript in the following way: A1 and A2 refer to the first (ms 24281) and the second volume (ms 24282) respectively, followed by the folio number, recto (a) or verso (b), and the line number on the page.

¹⁶ But we also find *empaindre* (A2 f. 15b49, 16a25, 19a27, 19b21).

¹⁷ We also found once *mp* in *empeeschie* (A1 f. 30b26).

¹⁸ This usage was verified systematically on the following sections: I, VIII, IX (probl. 1-5), XV (probl. 1-5), XVI, XX (probl. 1-6), XXX (1-12), which is almost 20% of the text.

tions in Evrart's work: a first layer is the immediate correction of the text, while the author is copying or composing it; an example of this is found in A1, ff. 112b-113a, where we see that, while he was already writing the text of a new problem, he realised that he forgot a part of the *Glose* at the end of a former problem, which he adds at the bottom of the page and the beginning of the following page; he uses different symbols, like a clover or a square, to indicate where to put the addition. Other corrections reveal an immediate proofreading, when words are erased and replaced by another on the same line, in the margins or between the lines. A third layer of corrections are written with ink of a different colour, and are thus made during a subsequent revision.¹⁹

We find different types of corrections in the manuscript. First of all, some manifest errors, like words repeated by accident, or confusions, or typical mis-reading and copying errors, but also corrections made for stylistic reasons, or allowing the text to be more comprehensible for his audience.

Yet some other interventions are highly interesting from a linguistic and a translational point of view. In what follows, corrections that reveal hesitations with respect to the choice of certain words or the translation of specific concepts will be examined more closely.

5 Translating Aristotle: Some Case Studies of Evrart's Attempts

The study of the autograph manuscript gives us indeed the possibility to see the author at work, reading and interpreting a source text. His erasures, additions and corrections sometimes disclose interesting hesitations with respect to the choice of certain connectives or determiners, or the translation of specific scientific concepts, showing an author and translator that weighs his words while rendering the ideas of Aristotle, the *grant philosophe*.

Let us first examine a case where the semantics of connectives are at stake, such as the hesitation between *car* and *pource que*. The following passage is situated at the beginning of the text, the prologue, and is thus not a translated sentence. It shows the hesitation between *pource que* (because), and *car* (because, for):

La seconde cause poet estre pour ce que les choses medicinauls nous sont plus evidentes et mieus congneües quant on y entent, ~~pource que~~ *car* nous nous congnissons mieus que les autres choses. (I, prologue; A1, f. 1a)

¹⁹ For illustrations of these types of correction, see Guichard-Tesson, Goyens 2009, 178-82, ill. 5-7.

The second cause might be because the medical things are more obvious and better known to us, if one tries to understand, *because* for we know ourselves better than any other thing.²⁰

The semantic difference between the two connectives is subtle: they are both used to express a causative relation, but *car*, originating from Latin *quare* (that is why), usually justifies a preceding assertion; the sentence introduced by *car* in the preceding example seems indeed to justify what the translator just declared. On the other hand, in the first part of the sentence, the author already used the connective *pource que*, so it is possible that he wanted to avoid a repetition. A second example is found in a translated part, at the end of the *Texte*, a passage that translates Bartholomew's text; this time, the connective *car* is replaced by *pource que* written between the lines:

Pource conclut Aristotes après que li vomites waulroit mieus en cest cas que la sueur, *car*^V *pource que* li vomites purge mieus les grosses humidités visqueuses que la sueur ne fait. (II, 22, *Texte*; A1, f. 69b)

This is why Aristotle concludes afterwards that vomiting is more profiting in this case than sweat, *for because* vomiting purges the thick viscous humidities better than sweat would do.

In Bartholomew's translation, the connective corresponding to *pource que* is *propter quod* (because of):

[Amplius viscosum glutissimum cum humido quidem expellitur; propter commixtionem, cum spiritu autem non potest, maxime autem hoc est quod ledit] *propter quod* et vomitus sudoribus alleviatur magis. (*Problemata Physica*, incunabulum Mantua, 1475, f. 41a)

We know that Pietro's comment is often a source of inspiration also for the part *Texte*, and there, we find, interestingly, *quare*. Yet, in this example, the sentence introduced by the connective *pource que* in Evrart's text is a real explanation, and not a justification of a preceding assertion; in Pietro's comment however, this explanation precedes the assertion that vomiting is more profiting than sweat, so *quare* is perfectly suitable for that context:

sicut etenim vomitus fortior est purgatio quam sudor, ita purgatur humores grossiores, *quare* merito magis iuvant[ur] vomitibus quam sudoribus (Pietro de Abano, *Expositio Problematum*, incunabulum Mantua, 1475)

²⁰ If not otherwise stated, all translations are by the Author.

In the following example, the translator's intervention in an added comment reveals a more accurate vocabulary:

Et devons savoir que par l'air, en ceste partie, ne doit pas tant seulement estre entendus li airs qui ~~est entour nous~~ nous avironne sans moyen, mais ausy toutes les aultres choses qui sont entour nous. (I, 1, *Glose*; A1, f. 6a)

And we have to know that by air, in this section, we should not only understand the air ~~that is around us~~ surrounds us without immediate, but also all the other things that are around us.

The wording *est entour nous* is erased and followed, on the same line, by the more compact verb phrase *nous avironne*; it is thus an immediate correction, and probably not influenced by the phrase *qui sont entour nous* at the end of the sentence. A more accurate phrasing is also at stake in the following translated passage; it concerns a problem dealing with the question why a dry and cold summer and autumn is profitable to women and phlegmatic persons:

et c'est voir, ce dit Aristotes, s'il n'y ha erreui en lor gouvernement par ~~lor erreui et defaute~~ me euls meismes et par lor coupe. (I, 11, *Texte*, A1 f. 18b)

And it is true, Aristotle says, if there is no mistake in their regime, due to themselves or *their fault*.

Bartholomew's text reads:

nisi per se peccaverint. (*Problemata Physica*, incunabulum Mantua 1475)

The erased part, *lor erreui et defaute*, repeats *erreui* (error) found earlier in the sentence and adds *defaute*, which means 'fault', but also 'privation, shortage'. In the Latin translation by Bartholomew, we find the verb *peccare* (to make a fault, to sin). In Pietro's comment, we find the substantive *peccatum*. The French word *coupe*, which obviously replaces the erased nouns, implies the responsibility that comes with a fault that is made, and carries also the connotation of sin.²¹ The correction made by Evrart leads him to a translation that is semantically more accurate, and closer to the source text.

²¹ *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* (DMF) 2020. Nancy: ATILF-CNRS, Université de Lorraine. <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf>.

A fourth example regards the translation of a nominal phrase. In the following passage, Evrart first translates the Latin phrase *ex vapore viscoso fumoso* in Pietro's commentary quite literally with *de une vapeur fumeuse et visqueuse*; however, he erases it and replaces it by *de matere moiste et vaporeuse*:

Et pource veons nous, en ciaux qui sont de seche complexion et froide et en l'aage qui a ce se acorde, que nul cevel ne vienent ne ne s'engendrent se trop poy non, qui est significations que li cevel sont engendré de ~~une vapeur fumeuse et visqueuse~~ *matere moiste et vaporeuse*. Et de ce dit Avicennes que li cevel sont engendré de *une vapeur fumeuse et visqueuse* quant elle se coagule et endurest es pores de la teste. (I, 16, *Glose*; A1, f. 25a-b)

And that is why we see, in those who are of dry and cold complexion and of an age that is in accordance with it, that no hair is generated, or just a small amount, which means that hair is generated by ~~a smoky and viscous vapor~~ *moist and vaporous matter*. And of this, Avicenna says that hair is generated by a *smoky and viscous vapor* when it coagulates and hardens in the head's pores.

The corresponding passage of Pietro's commentary reads as follows:

quoniam in siccis complexionibus et etatibus et frigidis vehementer aut minime aut pauci nascuntur. Unde Avicenna [...] capillus nascitur *ex vapore viscoso fumoso* quando congelatur in poris. (Pietro de Abano, *Expositio Problematum*, incunabulum Mantua, 1475)

So the first time Evrart uses the expression, which he replaces immediately by another wording, is in a sentence that he manifestly adds: "qui est significations que li cevel sont engendré de matere moiste et vaporeuse", a sentence that actually already encroaches upon the following one, translated from the source text where Pietro uses the expression *vapore viscoso fumoso*. In the added sentence, while first literally translating Pietro's expression, Evrart realises that he would have to use the same expression in the next phrase, so he chooses another wording, viz. the generic term *matere* (matter, substance), accompanied by the adjectives *moiste* (humid) and *vapereuse* (vaporous), which could be considered as (almost) synonymous with respect to *vapeur fumeuse et visqueuse* in the following sentence, but this rephrasing is lacking the feature of viscosity. The adjective *visqueux* refers to the liquidity of a substance, a feature also present in the adjective *moiste* used the first time, but adds the feature of viscosity.

A rather complex yet intriguing case is one of the corrections found in problem 9 of the first section, in the part *Glose*. Figure 4 is an en-

largement of f. A1, 17a given in figure 3, and shows the passage that will be analysed.

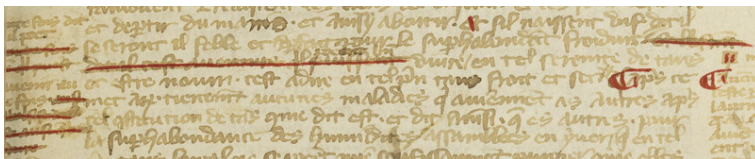


Figure 4 Pseudo-Aristotle. *Problemata*. Evrart de Conty's Middle-French translation. Ms Paris BnF fr. 24281, f. 17a (detail)

It regards the multiple corrections marked in red on the folio. This text section concerns the influence of the weather on health, and specifically on what happens to unborn children, or newborns. If springtime is cold and dry, it has a bad influence on the foetus, and there is a risk of a miscarriage. If the child is born alive, he will be weak and imperfect because of the cold. But it might happen that he survives, during this cold and dry springtime.

The final version of Evrart's text reads as follows:²²

ausi que s'il wolsist dire que tels humidités qui sont retenues ramolient et relascent les liens de l'enfant et les font desjoindre et partir du marris et ainsy abortir. Et s'il naissent vif, dit il, se seront il feble et imparfait pour le superhabondant froidure. *Toutefois, dit il, il poet bien avenir aucune fois qu'il poeent bien vivre en tel serenité de tans et estre nourri, c'est a dire en tel prin tans froit et sec.*

as if he wanted to say that this contained dampness softens and loosens the cords of the child and separates them from the womb, thus leading to a miscarriage. And if they are born alive, he says, they will be weak and imperfect because of the overabundant cold. *However, he says, it can happen sometimes that they may survive in this calm weather and be fed, this is to say in this cold and dry spring time.*

This passage contains five stages of correction. First, Evrart writes a sentence which he does not seem to like: *Et briefment dit il c'est aventure qu'il puissent* (and briefly, he says, it may be that they may); he erases it and replaces it in the left margin by another wording *Toutefois combien qu'il puist* (However, although he may), which he still does not like, so he erases also the addition:

²² The sentence that has been subject to multiple corrections is in italics.

~~Toutefois combien qu'il~~ ... seront il feble et imparfait pour le superhabondant
~~puist~~ froidure. Et ~~briefment dit il c'est aventure qu'il puissent~~

He replaces the erased addition by the phrase *Toutefois dit il il poet bien avenir aucune fois ausi que s'il volsist dire que c'est ausi que une aventure* (However he says it may happen sometimes as if he wanted to say that it is by chance), partly above the erasure, partly below:

Toutefois dit il il poet ... seront il feble et imparfait pour le
~~Toutefois combien qu'il~~ superhabondant froidure. Et ~~briefment dit il c'est~~
~~puist~~ aventure qu'il puissent
 bien avenir aucune fois,
 ausi que s'il volsist dire que
 c'est ausi que une aventure

However, he does not like this hesitation (*ausi que s'il volsist dire que c'est une aventure*) either, so he erases it and replaces it by writing *poeent bien* (may well) between the lines of the text, in the centre of the line, and then continues his sentence:

Toutefois dit il il poet ... seront il feble et imparfait pour le
~~Toutefois combien qu'il~~ superhabondant froidure. *poeent bien*
~~puist~~ Et ~~briefment dit il c'est aventure qu'il puissent~~ vivre
 bien avenir aucune fois, en tel serenité de tans et estre nourri, c'est a dire en
~~ausi que s'il volsist dire que~~ tel prin tans froit et sec.
 c'est ausi que une aventure

While making all these corrections, he forgets the conjunction and pronoun *qu'il* that is necessary to link the subordinate clause to the main clause, which has been added by the copyists in the copies that were made of the autograph.

So we see that the translator-commentator really struggles with the part where he has inserted lots of modalities: "it may happen that, sometimes, by chance, they could...". It is clearly a difficult part of the text, since he writes a line further that "some say that Aristotle talks about children here" (*dient aucun que Aristotes parle cy des enfans...*) and also "and it seems that he wants to say..." (*et samble qu'il woeille dire*). This hesitation does not appear in Pietro's comment, at least not in the versions I looked at; this is the corresponding passage in Pietro's text:

Unde facta quadem humidi relaxatione separantur ab eis, propter quod embriones nutrimento privati moriuntur; si debiles extiterint aut semivivi egrediuntur in aborsum. Si autem fetus non fuerit adeo imbecilis quod predicto egrediatur modo, remanent in vita

cum multa tamen imbecillitate ratione virtutis et imperfecte quantitatis, si accidat ipsos nasci in huiusmodi vere quia cum forent prius in loco humido et calido venientes ad frigidum et siccum mutatione maxima mutantur. (Pietro de Abano, *Expositio Problematum*, incunabulum Mantua 1475)

Therefore, because of a certain fact, contained dampness, by softening [the embryos], loosens the cords [of the embryos], that is why embryos, deprived from nutrition, die; if they are weak, they will be expelled, or come out half-alive, by way of a miscarriage. If however the fetus is not weak to the point that he would be expelled in the declared way, he stays alive with yet a great frailty because of a defective strength and quantity, when it happens that they are born in such a springtime so that they would have come first into a moist and warm place, and are then moved towards a cold and dry one, by way of the largest mutation.

So it seems that Evrart is the one who has doubts about the content of what he reads in Aristotle's text, and the fact that this autograph manuscript is available allows us to see the author struggling with his interpretation and translation of his source. Of course, there is no certainty regarding the model Evrart had before him, so we cannot rule out a different version of Pietro's commentary. Anyway, more research is necessary to point to the exact reasons of these hesitations, in the light of the medical context of the time.

6 Some Conclusions

In this article, I wanted to show the opportunities offered by an autograph manuscript with respect to the study of the transmission of ideas, and the translation of classical authorities into a medieval context. While editing Evrart's *Livre des problemes*, there are quite some challenges, especially for the cases where we see the author struggling with his translation. These are interesting passages, that need to be offered to the scientific community in order to be researched more thoroughly, also in the light of the specific situation of bilingualism in the medieval context, and that reveal how an author, as a reader, struggles with the precise interpretation and translation of a source text.

In the edition Françoise Guichard-Tesson and I are preparing and that will be published in a printed version, these stages of the work appear via a thorough description of the process. Gilbert Ouy and Ezio Ornato²³ developed a model, in the late 1980s, that allowed them

²³ Ornato, Ouy 1988.

to visualise different subsequent autograph manuscripts of a Latin treatise by Jean de Montreuil, making use of different fonts, font sizes and symbols that indicate the stage of the alteration of the text, each stage corresponding to a different autograph manuscript. Unfortunately, this model was too complex for Evrart de Conty's manuscript, since it is not always possible to indicate the exact stage of a correction, all the alterations appearing within the same manuscript.

In our printed edition, the corrections will be described in the critical apparatus. The last case analysed earlier will thus be presented in the following way: the edited text itself presents the final version, while in the critical apparatus the interventions of the author are explained; this is shown in the next extract:

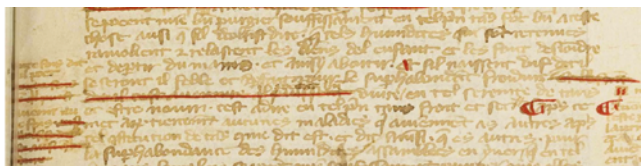
... seront il feble et imparfait pour le superhabondant froidure. Toutefois, dit il, il poet bien avenir aucune fois qu'il poeent bien¹ vivre en tel serenité de tans et estre nourri, c'est a dire en tel prin tans froit et sec.

[1] *Passage avec couches de corrections successives.* Et briefment dit il c'est aventure qu'il puissent raturé après froidure et remplacé en m.g. avec indication de position, par toutefois combien qu'il puist, raturé à son tour et remplacé au-dessus par toutefois dit il il poet. *Suite de la phrase* (toutefois dit il il poet) bien avenir aucune fois ausi que s'il volsist dire que c'est ausi que une aventure, en m.g. *Ensuite*, ausi que s'il volsist dire que c'est ausi que une aventure raturé après fois, toujours en m.g. *Dans le texte même*, poeent bien suscrit au-dessus de qu'il puissent raturé; qu'il raturé, mais nécessaire au sens.

Text passage with several layers of corrections. Et briefment dit il c'est aventure qu'il puissent erased after froidure and replaced in the left margin with indication of position, by toutefois combien qu'il puist, that is also erased and replaced above by toutefois dit il il poet. *Continuation of the sentence* (toutefois dit il il poet) bien avenir aucune fois ausi que s'il volsist dire que c'est ausi que une aventure, in the left margin. *Then*, ausi que s'il volsist dire que c'est ausi que une aventure erased after fois, still in the left margin. *In the text itself* poeent bien written above qu'il puissent that is erased; qu'il erased, although necessary for the meaning

When we want to show the different stages of Evrart's work, the printed version of the edition does not leave much room for visualisation; we did our best to capture the evolution of his work within the context of the printed edition. So next to the printed edition, a

web-version offering more possibilities that may lead to a better understanding of what is going on in the mind of our author-translator, would be interesting. Let us look into one possible web-based presentation, on the basis of the same passage, making the subsequent stages of the corrections visible:²⁴



[1]

... seront il feble et imparfait pour le superhabondant froidure. Et briefment dit il c'est aventure qu'il puissent

[2]

... seront il feble et imparfait pour le superhabondant froidure. **Et briefment dit il c'est aventure qu'il puissent**

[3]

... seront il feble et imparfait pour le superhabondant froidure. **Toutefois, combien qu'il puist**

[4]

... seront il feble et imparfait pour le superhabondant froidure. **Toutefois, combien qu'il puist**

[5]

... seront il feble et imparfait pour le superhabondant froidure. **Toutefois, dit il, il poet bien avenir aucune fois, ausi que s'il volsist dire que c'est ausi que une aventure**

[6]

... seront il feble et imparfait pour le superhabondant froidure. Toutefois, dit il, il poet bien avenir aucune fois, **ausi que s'il volsist dire que c'est ausi que une aventure**

[7]

... seront il feble et imparfait pour le superhabondant froidure. Toutefois, dit il, il poet bien avenir aucune fois, **[qu'il] poent bien vivre en tel serenité de tans et estre nourri, c'est a dire en tel prins tans froit et sec.**

Figure 5 An example of presentation of a corrected passage in the autograph

This type of visualisation may lead to a better understanding of what is going on in the mind of our author-translator: the physician Evrart de Conty, reading, translating and commenting a scientific treatise of the 'great philosopher' Aristotle, whom he admires and wants to respect in the best possible way. But sometimes, he is confronted with difficulties, because of a Latin source text that might have been al-

²⁴ I was inspired, amongst others, by *The Samuel Beckett Digital Manuscript Project*, developed at the Centre for Manuscript Genetics of the University of Antwerp, directed by Dirk Van Hulle and Mark Nixon; see <https://www.beckettarchive.org/>.

tered by succeeding copies, as he states more than once, and because of his aim to render a text that is comprehensible for his audience. The edition of his commented translation should do justice to an author that is scrupulous and eager to instruct his audience.

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Maqriziana XVI: al-Maqrīzī as a Reader

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Abstract This article aims at analysing notes left by the renowned Mamlūk historian al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) in dozens of manuscripts representing sixteen works. Two categories of notes are considered: consultation notes and marginalia. Al-Maqrīzī's consultation notes, dated or datable over a period spanning some fifty years, allow us to demonstrate which texts he accessed, when he consulted them, what his reading practices were and from whom he borrowed the books. Thanks to his marginalia, which consist of corrections, additions, and emotional notes, it is also possible to shed light on al-Maqrīzī's assessment of the work of some authors.

Keywords al-Maqrīzī. Paratextual marks. Consultation notes. Ownership statements. Marginalia. Individual reading practices. Mamlūk scholars. Libraries. Book loans.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Al-Maqrīzī as a Reader. – 3 Methodological Issues. – 4 Al-Maqrīzī's Library. – 5 Borrowing Books. – 6 *Libido Marginalium*. – 7 Conclusion.

1 Introduction

Studies devoted to the history of reading have flourished during the last three decades, shedding light on readers and reading practices over various periods since Antiquity.¹ In the Islamic context, with the exception of Gregor Schoeler's book that addressed, *en passant*,

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some issues linked to the transmission of books in the first centuries,² we only have Hirschler's study to establish an overview of some of the questions related to reading in the medieval period.³ Though this work greatly improved our knowledge of collective reading practices, whole topics remain understudied, especially with regard to individual reading practices.⁴ One of the reasons for this lacuna lies in the nature of the material: these practices are seldom described in books, rather we must focus on the materiality of reading. This materiality includes ownership marks stating that a book was in the library of a scholar, consultation notes attesting that a given scholar read and took notes from a book, and marginal annotations and other means by which readers altered the text (corrections, cancellations, under-scores etc.). All these elements, which Gérard Genette (in the 1980s) broadly defined as 'paratexts', provide invaluable information on the reader's interaction with the book. These elements imply that thousands of manuscripts are read and a scholar's hand is known: a note signed by a scholar does not necessarily attest that this is really his handwriting and must be confirmed through a palaeographical analysis and a comparison with other samples of his handwriting. Once these impediments are overcome, paratextual marks related to reading provide their fair share of data by which we can study the reading techniques of a given scholar, and thus better approach readers that are made of flesh and bones, as stressed by Houari Touati.⁵ While scholars interested in reading practices in Europe, more particularly for Renaissance and Modern English books,⁶ have paid a lot of attention to marginalia, Islamic manuscripts and printed books have barely been studied from this point of view.⁷ Their collection and analysis will enable a new chapter of the history of reading in Islam to be written, but not exclusively. In fact, reading is often linked to writing: authors are also readers who need sources on which to build their own works. Thus, the traces they left in books offer insight into their interest in a text and marginalia help us better understand their assessment of the text. Moreover, the notes they took while reading that they used to create their own works provide us with invaluable infor-

1 For Ancient Greece and Rome, see more recently Johnson, Parker 2009; for the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Moulton 2004; for the modern period, see more particularly Chartier 1995 as well as Robert Darnton's works.

2 Schoeler 2006.

3 Hirschler 2012.

4 For a first attempt regarding the Ottoman period, see Hitzel 1999.

5 Touati 2007, 12.

6 See Jackson 2001; Sherman 2008. For a recent similar approach regarding manuscripts from early medieval Europe, see Teeuwen, van Renswoude 2017.

7 For an early study that lacks any analytical perspective, see Fu'ād Sayyid 1999.

mation on the history and the process of writing. Consequently, the study of all the elements that led to the writing of a text (the *avant-texte*), a field that is deeply embedded in genetic criticism that aims to locate the creative act in its spatial and temporal contexts, is crucial to analyse a scholar's reading and writing practices.⁸

2 Al-Maqrizī as a Reader

To address some of the above-mentioned issues, I consider the case of the Egyptian scholar Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrizī (766-845/1364-1442). One may indeed argue that al-Maqrizī's relevance for such a study is not in doubt given his fame, a fame he owed and still owes to his output as a historian. A prolific scholar who authored dozens of volumes covering many aspects of the history of Egypt and its most significant actors from the Islamic conquest to his own time, he represents a case in point: there are many witnesses to his activity that have reached us in his own handwriting (notebooks, summaries, drafts, and fair copies). In total, these works with his handwriting cover more than 5,000 leaves. To produce his works, al-Maqrizī, who often defined himself as a compiler (*ḡāmi'*), relied on hundreds of books that he found in various libraries, private and public, including his own. Thanks to his methodical practice of leaving his mark in each book he consulted, we know precisely which manuscripts he consulted, provided they have been preserved. The perusal of tens of thousands of manuscripts over the last twenty years has allowed me to collect thirty-nine consultation notes in volumes representing sixteen works (see **table 1** and appendix). This number may seem negligible when compared to the quantity of manuscripts that I examined but for a scholar like al-Maqrizī, who may have consulted several hundreds of volumes, the number of consultation notes identified already corresponds to a good percentage. We must also take into account several losses. Manuscripts that were extant in the ninth/fifteenth century are not necessarily still accessible, as some collections were lost for a wide variety of reasons. In some cases, multi-volume works were dismembered, a phenomenon that further complicates the process of locating the various volumes. Moreover, while I perused tens of thousands of manuscripts, these represent a tiny percentage of the manuscripts held in various libraries around the world. The digitalisation of manuscripts and their accessibility online, a phenomenon that is quickly expanding in Europe and North America, has greatly facilitated research focusing on the history of the book in Islam. Nevertheless, this process has not yet been fully

⁸ For the modern period, see D'Iorio, Ferrer 2001.

implemented in countries known for their rich collections, like Turkey, Egypt, and Syria. Though libraries in Istanbul offer researchers the possibility of examining digitised versions of their manuscripts, as yet access to these collections is only possible in person. Last but not least, manuscripts that have reached us may have gone through various processes, including obliteration and alteration. Ownership statements and consultation notes may constitute proofs in cases in which a manuscript has been stolen and/or acquired in obscure circumstances. Quite often, leaves where such marks and notes were left (usually the title page and the last leaf, or sometimes leaves that preceded and/or followed them) were altered, damaged, or even removed. In such cases, precious information related to the history of the book is lost. The preceding remarks serve to underline the fact that we may yet discover more notes jotted down by al-Maqrizī in the manuscripts he consulted, but we are not likely to find significant numbers of them.

3 Methodological Issues

Of course, the identification of a note in al-Maqrizī's handwriting may seem like searching for a needle in a haystack. It often results from a stroke of serendipity, though the most advantageous method consists of narrowing the scope by consulting copies of sources that he used to compose his works. Historical works must definitely be prioritised given his output in this field, but he was also active in other fields, like *ḥadīth*, theology, and law, for instance. Thus, we cannot reduce the scope as much as we would hope. Whenever al-Maqrizī quotes a source and manuscripts of this source are still available, the research can be limited to copies that predate al-Maqrizī's death. Unfortunately, al-Maqrizī was not known for revealing his sources. Serendipity may thus still play a major role in spotting other marks left by al-Maqrizī.

Besides the laboriousness involved in searching for traces of a particular scholar in manuscripts, identifying his handwriting with a certain level of confidence remains problematic. Even in the case of marks displaying the name of the person who penned them, we must always consider the possibility that these are forgeries. As in every domain in which economic interests may play a role, manuscripts could fetch higher prices when they were said to be in the author's handwriting, i.e. holographs, or to have been owned by some renowned scholar. In some cases, the production of the forgery may result from a less materialistic impetus: an owner may have reproduced a consultation note by another author, and written it in his own manuscript, or he might have copied an ownership statement found on another copy to document this historical witness. Generally speaking,

forgeries – whatever the underlying reason for their production – can be detected with the help of palaeography. Regrettably, palaeographical studies of scholars' handwritings in the world of manuscripts in Arabic script are almost nonexistent.⁹ Given this, the identification of a scholar's handwriting relies on one's experience and knowledge of the handwriting. The more examples of a scholar's handwriting are available, the greater our level of confidence. Even in the medieval and early modern period, scholars and booksellers were able to recognise a famous scholar's hand and would indicate their identification.¹⁰ But such identifications of someone's handwriting may also be misleading for a number of reasons. When a later owner of ms Reisülküttab 862 [fig. 1] spotted an ownership statement signed Aḥmad ibn 'Alī and dated 811/1408-09,¹¹ he outlined it to emphasise its significance and wrote beneath it a note indicating the alleged identity of the author of the statement: "This is al-Maqrizī's handwriting".¹² While both names and the date fit with al-Maqrizī's given names and the period he was active as a scholar, the handwriting differs completely from al-Maqrizī's hand as witnessed by thousands of leaves and the thirty-nine consultation notes listed in the appendix and by the detailed palaeographical study I recently carried out.¹³ The owner who highlighted the ownership statement was obviously misled in his attempt to recognise the author of this statement. His intention in doing so does not really matter. Ultimately, in his eyes and in the eyes of someone who is not an expert on al-Maqrizī, the manuscript's value significantly increased.

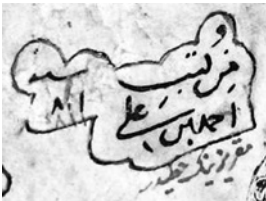


Figure 1

Ownership statement falsely attributed to al-Maqrizī in al-Mawṣilī's *Gāyat al-wasā'il*. (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Reisülküttab 862, f. 1a)

9 On this issue and for a broad outline of what needs to be done, with some examples of leads to be explored, see Bauden, Franssen 2020.

10 For an example regarding al-Maqrizī, see Bauden 2020a, 164 fn. 98.

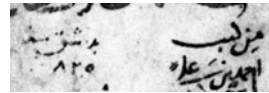
11 *Min kutub | Aḥmad ibn 'Alī | sanat | 811* (from among Aḥmad ibn 'Alī's books in the year 811).

12 In Ottoman Turkish: *Maqrizī'nin ḥaṭṭıdır*.

13 See Bauden 2020a.

Another ownership statement by the same person [fig. 2] on ms Arabic 3315 at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin allows us to rule out any link between this Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī with al-Maqrizī as, in this specific case, we also find a note of consultation in al-Maqrizī’s hand on the same leaf (see fig. 55). Here, the ownership statement reveals that the book was purchased by Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī in 825/1422 in Damascus while al-Maqrizī’s consultation note is dated 824/1421.¹⁴ The palaeographic comparison between the two marks means we can dismiss any link between the two: the hands that penned the marks had nothing in common. Moreover, al-Maqrizī wrote the number five differently from other scholars: he used the digit for four closed by a vertical line (۴) while he used the so-called Persian shape (۴) for the number four.¹⁵ In the ownership statement written by the person called Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī, the digit used is the usual one (٥), found widely in Egypt and Syria at that time. These examples demonstrate how cautious one must be in attributing a mark to a given scholar without further palaeographic investigation.¹⁶ Knowledge of the scholar’s life may prove essential too: al-Maqrizī did travel to Damascus and regularly spent several months there between 810/1407 and 815/1412, but after the latter year he stayed in Cairo, only leaving the capital to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca.¹⁷

Figure 2
Ownership statement in al-Nadīm’s *al-Fihrist*.
(Courtesy Chester Beatty Library, ms Arabic 3315, f. 1a)



The examples considered above show how difficult it is to ascertain the attribution of a specific mark to a scholar when his *nisba* (his family name broadly defined) is not part of the name. Such cases cannot be regarded as fakes as they were penned by a namesake. Though seldom found in manuscripts, forged ownership statements and consultation notes usually resulting from bad intent should not be overlooked. Deception can be detected in some marks but a mark labelled as a fake can also result from the desire of a later owner or reader to keep a trace of a mark found in the same copy but on a leaf that was damaged or on another copy, as in the case detailed now, which concerns al-Maqrizī.

14 *Min kutub | Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī | bi-Dimašq sanat | 825* (from among Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī’s books in the year 825).

15 See respectively figs 32 and 35 for digit 5 and figs 55, 72, and 73 for digit 4.

16 In his catalogue of Arabic manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Library, Arthur Arberry paid heed to the 825 ownership entry, characterising it as being signed by al-Maqrizī without doubt. He did not say anything about the consultation note clearly signed by al-Maqrizī. See Arberry 1955-69, 2: 31.

17 Bauden 2014, 166.

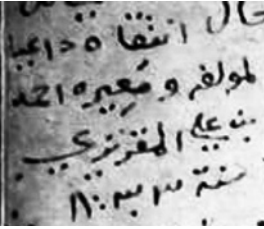


Figure 3

A consultation note attributed to al-Maqrizī in Ibn Ḥaldūn's *al-'Ibar*. (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Damad İbrahim Paşa 868, f. 4a)

On the title page of the seventh volume of Ibn Ḥaldūn's (d. 808/1406) magnum opus, *al-'Ibar*, a consultation note said to be by al-Maqrizī states that he took notes from it in the year 833/1429-30 (see [fig. 3]). This note is tricky because this is a formula that al-Maqrizī customarily followed in his consultation notes.¹⁸ Though the form of the note looks convincing, two elements are contradictory. First, the handwriting does not compare, even minimally, with al-Maqrizī's. Second, it does not make sense that al-Maqrizī would have taken notes from Ibn Ḥaldūn's *al-'Ibar* at the end of his life (twelve years before his death to be precise). Al-Maqrizī attended Ibn Ḥaldūn's teaching sessions in his youth, in the late eighth/fourteenth century, and knew Ibn Ḥaldūn's work well. It has been argued that Ibn Ḥaldūn's teaching and œuvre deeply impacted the young al-Maqrizī and his work,¹⁹ and al-Maqrizī expressed his admiration for his former master and his books in extravagant terms.²⁰ As a consequence, should this consultation note be entirely dismissed on these grounds? The case might be more complicated than it seems.

The person who penned the note in question also wrote several marginalia throughout the manuscript, which is dated to the year 796/1394, i.e. during al-Maqrizī's lifetime. The same person also covered the leaf that precedes the title page with various notes, including the table of contents of the volume in question. Unfortunately, it is impossible to identify this person, though, from the contents of some notes, it appears that he was writing at the end of the tenth/sixteenth century.²¹ The detailed notes clearly point to a scholar – and probably a historian. On f. 3b, the list of contents ends with the following words: *min kutub Faḥ Allāh* (from among Faḥ Allāh's books). These words clearly appear to be an ownership statement that was apparently copied by our anonymous annotator. As we see below, Faḥ Allāh was the head of the chancery in Cairo at the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century and owned a remarkable library: his own-

18 See below.

19 See Rabbat 2012.

20 See Ito 2021.

21 On f. 5a, the date 985/1577-8 is quoted.

ership statements tally with the one quoted here. This information strengthens the impression that this annotator was indeed copying details found elsewhere and, more probably, on a leaf that preceded the title page.²² Thus, the consultation note attributed to al-Maqrizī should be considered credible, though we should not accept it at face value. The annotator perhaps faced a damaged note – something that justified the replacement of the leaf – and what he thought to be the year 833 could well have been 803, a date that would better fit with al-Maqrizī's use of Ibn Ḥaldūn's work. This example therefore shows how and why copies of notes may still be valuable, though the status of this particular note impairs its significance for our study.²³

In most cases, ownership statements and consultation notes are signed by their authors. Thanks to these signatures, such marks can be compared with other similar marks and, whenever possible, with other samples of a scholar's handwriting (holograph manuscripts, autograph notes). However, autograph notes – usually marginalia – are less frequently signed because the annotator already indicated (on one of its leaves) that he owned or consulted the manuscript. As we saw, such marks may be altered, damaged, or even disappear entirely. In such circumstances, the autograph marginalia can only be spotted by a trained eye. Of course, the attribution must still be confirmed palaeographically. All in all, it appears that studies on reading practices in Islam can only be undertaken with any seriousness in coordination with an exhaustive palaeographical analysis of a given scholar's handwriting. In the case of al-Maqrizī, I recently published such an analysis and thus I am in a better position to provide accurate information about his consultation notes and marginalia.

4 Al-Maqrizī's Library

Born into a family of scholars, on both his paternal and maternal side, al-Maqrizī was raised in an intellectual environment and surrounded by books. His maternal grandfather, who played a decisive role in the education of the young al-Maqrizī, died when the latter was nineteen years old. His father followed him to the grave three years later. Thus, by the age of twenty-two, al-Maqrizī had lost the two most prominent figures of his childhood and youth. Both his grandfather and his father had personal libraries. Though nothing is known of these libraries, they must have included a few dozen books, as did most private libraries of that period. In the case of his grandfather, at least

²² The present leaf (f. 3) is a replacement as it was pasted on a band of paper that appears to be a remnant of the leaf that was cut out.

²³ In fact, it is not listed in the appendix.

one work that has survived is known to have been in his ownership; this was a volume that al-Maqrizī consulted two decades after his grandfather's death.²⁴ The book then belonged to another person, whom al-Maqrizī thanked. From this indication, we can understand that the book had been sold by his grandfather, or more probably after his death.²⁵ As a scholar, al-Maqrizī also studied various works during his education and afterward, according to the traditional method, i.e., in the presence of a master. As a result, he was granted licenses to transmit such works, of which he may have copied some during the sessions.²⁶ The works that he transmitted included *Kitāb Faḍl al-ḥayl* (The merits of horses), a book composed by al-Dimyātī (d. 705/1306), and Ibn al-'Adīm's (d. 660/1262) *Buḡyat al-ṭalab*, a multi-volume history of Aleppo. Both works were later transmitted by al-Maqrizī himself to another generation of scholars.²⁷ The transmission could not have been done without al-Maqrizī possessing a copy.

Beside these books related to his education, al-Maqrizī collected books that certainly proved useful to fulfil his public duties (he held various positions) and in composing his own books when he started to write. While I retrieved some thirty-nine consultation notes over the last twenty years, it appears that not a single ownership statement has resurfaced. This absence can be explained by two reasons. Either al-Maqrizī did not adopt a similar approach toward his own books, that is, he decided not to write ownership statements in books that were part of his library, or none of the books that he owned have survived or been found so far. Whatever the case may be, and despite our lack of knowledge about his private library, he left some clues in his own works, and these help us imagine how he built his library and which books were in it.

To procure books, al-Maqrizī could rely on the book markets in the main cities where he lived and stayed. Cairo was his birthplace and the city where he spent most of his life, though he sojourned several years in Damascus and Mecca, two cities that were considered significant intellectual centres in the Mamlūk realm. In Cairo, the book market was located close to where al-Maqrizī lived, i.e., in the formerly Fatimid quarter with its main street called Bayn al-Qaṣrayn (lit. 'between the two palaces').²⁸ On one occasion, al-Maqrizī, speak-

24 See no. 14 in the appendix.

25 The owner from whom al-Maqrizī borrowed the book, al-Diḡwī, was an old acquaintance: the person in question played a role as a professional witness when the inheritance of al-Maqrizī's grandfather was divided between his heirs. It is probably at that time that al-Diḡwī could acquire the book in question. See al-Maqrizī 2002, 3: 99-100 (no. 985).

26 On these aspects, see Davidson 2020.

27 For al-Dimyātī's work, see Ibn Taḡrī Birdī 1984-2009, 7: 372-3; for Ibn al-'Adīm's history of Aleppo, see Ibn al-'Adīm 2016, 1: 104-5 (of the introduction).

28 See Behrens-Abouseif 2018, 71-2.

ing of a wealthy Damascene scholar (Ibn al-Muġlī, d. 828/1424) whom he visited when he was in the Syrian capital and to whom he paid a call when the latter was in Cairo, states that Ibn al-Muġlī accompanied him during his visits to the book market (*sūq al-kutub*) in Cairo.²⁹ Such visits imply that al-Maqrizī continually searched for books that might surface in one bookshop or another.

To help him find the objects he sought, al-Maqrizī also resorted to booksellers. One of these, al-Amšāṭī (d. 823/1420), also known as al-Kutubī, i.e. the bookseller, was highly praised by al-Maqrizī, who described him as a man with a high level of expertise in books (*‘urifa bi-l-ḥibra al-tamma fihā*), words that can be interpreted to mean that he was able to recognise collectors’ items and find rarities because of his knowledge of private libraries and their contents.³⁰ Al-Maqrizī also discloses that he was a good customer of al-Amšāṭī from whom he bought and sold books.³¹ This last piece of information reveals that al-Maqrizī, like many book owners, parted with some of his books in order to buy new ones.

Apart from these small clues, al-Maqrizī also occasionally reveals that he owned a particular work, as in the following case: “I copied it in this way from Ibn al-Kalbī’s hand in the book *Kitāb Nasab al-abnā’* (Lineage of the sons) which is in my possession in his handwriting”.³² Al-Maqrizī must have particularly valued this copy, as it was a holograph of a rare text (now considered lost) by an author who died in 204/819 or 206/821.³³ In some cases, al-Maqrizī also speaks of the books that he received from colleagues, like a collection of poems (*dīwān*) from his friend and neighbour al-Awḥadī (d. 811/1408).³⁴

Nowadays al-Maqrizī is also appreciated for passing on information about numerous works from the Fatimid period, works to which he still had access and many of which are no longer extant. One such work was a book composed by the Fatimid vizier Ya’qūb ibn Killis (d. 380/991).³⁵ The caliph al-Zāhir (r. 411-27/1021-36), who banned all other law books, urged that this compendium dedicated to Ismaili legal materials (*fiqh*), together with another work, should be committed to memory. According to al-Maqrizī, the book was organised into chapters, as is usual for legal works, and was one-half the size of al-

29 Al-Maqrizī 2002, 2: 469-70 (no. 789).

30 Al-Maqrizī 2002, 3: 104 (no. 991).

31 Al-Maqrizī 2002, 3: 104 (no. 991).

32 Al-Maqrizī 2006, 2: 241 (*hākaḡā naqaltu-hu min ḡaṭṭ Ibn al-Kalbī fī Kitāb Nasab al-abnā’ la-hu wa-huwa ‘indī bi-ḡaṭṭi-hi*). If not otherwise stated, all translations are by the Author.

33 On him and his work, see Sezgin 1967, 268-71.

34 Al-Maqrizī 2002, 1: 186.

35 On him and his work, see Walker 2017.

Buḥārī's (d. 256/870) well-known *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Al-Maqrizī was able to provide such material details because, he said, he owned it and read it.³⁶

5 Borrowing Books

If al-Maqrizī could rely on his personal library and continually sought to acquire new sources from the book market, in some cases he had no choice but to borrow books from private and public libraries. The loaning of books was such a well-established practice in Islam that the issue was considered in legal terms.³⁷ A book deposit could be requested depending on the status of the library. Private owners were allowed, without restrictions, to ask for a fee, although this practice was not always applied. Close relationships between colleagues favoured the exchange of books and their loan for long periods, in some cases even for free. By contrast, the request of a fee was contested in the case of public libraries, particularly those endowed as charitable institutions. Book loans from public libraries were also considered a peril to the integrity of a collection, a situation that drove the founders of endowed institutions, including libraries, to refuse to loan books in any circumstances, even with the payment of a deposit.³⁸ Despite these measures, librarians in charge of endowed libraries were subject to bribery, a situation that led to the dismemberment of collections.³⁹

Whenever al-Maqrizī borrowed a book, he added a consultation note in it. This practice seems to have been al-Maqrizī's standard practice as is confirmed by the number of notes so far identified (thirty-nine) (see **table 1**). In many respects, such notes represent invaluable sources of information as they offer data on the copy that al-Maqrizī accessed, his purpose in reading the source, when he read it, at what pace, and how he reacted, as a reader, to some parts of the text. Considered together with the contextual paratexts, these notes also allow us to guess, in some cases, the identity of the lender.

36 Al-Maqrizī 2013, 4: 389 (*huwa mubawwab 'alā abwāb al-fiqh yakūn qadru-hu miṭl niṣf Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḥārī malaktu-hu wa-waqafu 'alay-hi wa-huwa yaṣtamīl 'alā fiqh al-ṭā'ifa al-ismā'īliyya*).

37 See Sayyid 1958.

38 See al-Suyūṭī 1958.

39 See Rosenthal 1947, 10-11; Behrens-Abouseif 2018, 43-6.

Table 1 Al-Maqrizī's consultation notes

No.	City	Library	Shelf-mark	Author	Title	Date
1	Cairo	Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iq al-Miṣriyya	<i>Muṣṭalah ḥadīṭ</i> 94	Ibn 'Adī	<i>al-Kāmil fi asmā' al-mağrūhīn</i>	nil [794]
2	Cairo	Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iq al-Miṣriyya	<i>Muṣṭalah ḥadīṭ</i> 94	Ibn 'Adī	<i>al-Kāmil fi asmā' al-mağrūhīn</i>	nil [794]
3	Cairo	Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iq al-Miṣriyya	<i>Muṣṭalah ḥadīṭ</i> 96	Ibn 'Adī	<i>al-Kāmil fi asmā' al-mağrūhīn</i>	nil [794]
4	Cairo	Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iq al-Miṣriyya	<i>Muṣṭalah ḥadīṭ</i> 54	Ibn 'Adī	<i>al-Kāmil fi asmā' al-mağrūhīn</i>	nil [794]
5	Cairo	Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iq al-Miṣriyya	<i>Muṣṭalah ḥadīṭ</i> 96	Ibn 'Adī	<i>al-Kāmil fi asmā' al-mağrūhīn</i>	nil [794]
6	Cairo	Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iq al-Miṣriyya	<i>Muṣṭalah ḥadīṭ</i> 95	Ibn 'Adī	<i>al-Kāmil fi asmā' al-mağrūhīn</i>	nil [794]
7	Cairo	Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iq al-Miṣriyya	<i>Muṣṭalah ḥadīṭ</i> 96	Ibn 'Adī	<i>al-Kāmil fi asmā' al-mağrūhīn</i>	nil [794]
8	Cairo	Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iq al-Miṣriyya	<i>Muṣṭalah ḥadīṭ</i> 96	Ibn 'Adī	<i>al-Kāmil fi asmā' al-mağrūhīn</i>	nil [794]
9	Cairo	Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iq al-Miṣriyya	<i>Tārīḥ mīm</i> 103	Ibn Sa'īd	<i>al-Muğrib</i> (vol. 3)	803
10	Cairo	Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iq al-Miṣriyya	<i>Tārīḥ mīm</i> 103	Ibn Sa'īd	<i>al-Muğrib</i> (vol. 3)	803
11	Sühāğ	Ma'had Balasfūra al-Dīnī	nil	Ibn Sa'īd	<i>al-Muğrib</i> (vol. 6)	803
12	Istanbul	Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphane Müzesi	Ahmet III 2832	Ibn Duqmāq	<i>Nazm al-ğumān fi ṭabaqāt aṣḥāb imāmi-nā al-Nu'mān</i> (vol. 2)	803
13	London	British Library	Or. 8050	Ibn Duqmāq	<i>Nazm al-ğumān fi ṭabaqāt aṣḥāb imāmi-nā al-Nu'mān</i> (vol. 3)	803
14	Istanbul	Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphane Müzesi	Ahmet III 1822	al-Ṭūfī	<i>al-Intiṣārāt al-islāmiyya fi kaṣf sunnat al-naṣrāniyya</i>	805
15	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Reisülküttab 157	al-Dāraqutnī	<i>al-Sunan</i> (vol. 1)	Ḍū al-Qa'da 805
16	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Fatih 3612	Ibn Waḥṣiyya	<i>al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya</i> (vol. 1)	Rabī' II 806
17	Vaticano	Biblioteca apostolica vaticana	Arabo 904	Ibn Waḥṣiyya	<i>al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya</i> (vol. 4)	Ğumādā I 806
18	Oxford	Bodleian Library	Huntington 326	Ibn Waḥṣiyya	<i>al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya</i> (vol. 5)	Ğumādā II 806
19	San Lorenzo de El Escorial	Real Biblioteca de El Escorial	Árabe 534 (ff. 132a-289b)	al-Musabbihī	<i>Aḥbār Miṣr</i> (vol. 40)	807
20	Cairo	Maktabat al-Azhar	lost	Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb	<i>al-Iḥāṭa</i> (vol. 4)	Rabī' I or II 808
21	Tübingen	Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen	Ma. VI.18	Ibn al-'Aṭṭār	<i>Tuḥfat al-ṭālibīn fi tarğamat ṣayḥi-nā al-imām al-Nawawī Muḥyī al-Dīn</i>	Ḍū al-Qa'da 810
22	Rabat	Al-Maktaba al-Waṭaniyya	241 qāf	Ibn al-Furāt	<i>al-Tarīq al-wādiḥ al-maslūk fi tarāğim al-ḥulafā' wa-l-mulūk</i> (years 625-638)	Muḥarram 818

No.	City	Library	Shelf-mark	Author	Title	Date
23	Vatican	Biblioteca apostolica vaticana	Arabo 726	Ibn al-Furāt	<i>al-Ṭariq al-wāḍiḥ al-maslūk fi tarāğim al-ḥulafā' wa-l-mulūk</i> (years 639-658)	Rabī' I 818
24	Vienna	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	AF 123	Ibn al-Furāt	<i>al-Ṭariq al-wāḍiḥ al-maslūk fi tarāğim al-ḥulafā' wa-l-mulūk</i> (years 672-682)	Şafar 819
25	Dublin	Chester Beatty Library	Arabic 3315	al-Nadīm	<i>al-Fihrist</i> (vol. 1)	824
26	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Aya Sofya 3416	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī	<i>Masālik al-abşār fi mamālik al-amşār</i> (vol. 3)	831
27	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Aya Sofya 3418	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī	<i>Masālik al-abşār fi mamālik al-amşār</i> (vol. 5)	831
28	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Laleli 2037	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī	<i>Masālik al-abşār fi mamālik al-amşār</i> (vol. 6)	831
29	London	British Library	Add. 9589	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī	<i>Masālik al-abşār fi mamālik al-amşār</i> (vol. 14)	831
30	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Aya Sofya 3428	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī	<i>Masālik al-abşār fi mamālik al-amşār</i> (vol. 15)	831
31	Paris	Bibliothèque nationale de France	Arabe 2327	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī	<i>Masālik al-abşār fi mamālik al-amşār</i> (vol. 17)	831
32	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Aya Sofya 3432	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī	<i>Masālik al-abşār fi mamālik al-amşār</i> (vol. 19)	831
33	Manchester	John Rylands Research Institute and Library	Arabic 16	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī	<i>Masālik al-abşār fi mamālik al-amşār</i> (vol. 20)	831
34	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Aya Sofya 3437	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī	<i>Masālik al-abşār fi mamālik al-amşār</i> (vol. 25)	831
35	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Yazma bağışlar 1917	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī	<i>Masālik al-abşār fi mamālik al-amşār</i> (vol. 26)	831
36	Istanbul	Millet Genel Kütüphanesi	Feyzullah 549	al-Haytamī	<i>Mawārid al-żamān fi zawā'id Ibn Ḥibbān</i>	842
37	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Aya Sofya 3116	Miskawayh	<i>Tağārib al-umam wa-'awārif al-humam</i> (vol. 1)	844
38	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Aya Sofya 2577M	al-Balḥī	<i>Aqālim buldān wa-şurat ğamī' al-arḍ</i>	844
39	Oxford	Bodleian Library	Marsh 424	Şāfi' ibn 'Alī	<i>al-Faḍl al-ma'tūr min sirat al-sulṭān al-malik al-Manşūr</i>	nil

What is most surprising in these consultation notes is how methodical and systematic al-Maqrizī was in registering his access to a particular book: such notes were added on every single volume of a multi-volume work.⁴⁰ The contents of these notes vary only slightly over the years, from one work to another, but also from one volume to another in the case of a multi-volume work, and seem to have followed a formulary that al-Maqrizī maintained over some fifty years. The most frequently used form of note contained: (a) a verb indicating the purpose of the reading; (b) an invocation for the person who loaned the book; (c) al-Maqrizī's name, rarely followed by an invocation for himself; (d) the date. I shall now review the various elements.

Each note starts with a verb indicating the purpose of his reading: *istafāda* (18 notes) or *intaqā* (19 notes).⁴¹ Sometimes, al-Maqrizī coupled them with another verb: *ṭāla'a*, which means 'to consult, to read'. In fact, the first two verbs clearly indicate another activity. On one hand, *istafāda* can be translated as 'to take advantage of', and in this specific context, 'to take notes'. The word *fā'ida*, belonging to the same root, refers to a useful note. On the other hand, *intaqā* has the idea of extracting what is useful in the reader's mind. In rare cases, al-Maqrizī connected this verb with the word *fā'ida*, indicating that he excerpted useful notes.⁴² Given these slight differences, al-Maqrizī seems to have used both terms to indicate different processes: summarising a source or excerpting from it. This assumption can be verified thanks to the summaries that have been preserved in al-Maqrizī's hand and are found inserted in his notebooks or occupying a full volume. For instance, al-Maqrizī summarised Ibn 'Adī's *al-Kāmil* based on several volumes of this work now held in Cairo. His consultation notes on several of these volumes are introduced by the verb *istafāda*.⁴³ The holograph volume containing his summary is now held in Istanbul; on the title page, al-Maqrizī characterised it as a *muḥtaṣar*, i.e. a summary.⁴⁴ Yet in one of his notebooks, al-Maqrizī included excerpts that he made of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-abṣār*; his consultation note found in several volumes of this work starts with the verb *intaqā*.⁴⁵ On the basis of the chronological distribution of the consultation notes, we also note that he used the verb *istafāda*, for the most part, until 807/1404-5; by contrast, he used the verb *intaqā* over-

⁴⁰ As in the case of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-abṣār* (see nos. 26-35), a 27-volume work. Ten volumes that once belonged to the same set bear al-Maqrizī's consultation note.

⁴¹ In the case of the consultation notes found on nos. 36 and 38, the verb is not visible anymore.

⁴² See no. 25 in the appendix (*intaqā min fawā'id-i-hi*).

⁴³ See nos. 1-8 in the appendix.

⁴⁴ Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Murad Molla 575.

⁴⁵ On this issue, see Bauden 2008, 73-6 and 83.

whelmingly after that date. Such a variation might indicate a shift in the way al-Maqrizī read and took notes after a certain period, a shift that corresponded to his activity as a writer: after starting with exhaustive summaries at the beginning of his career, he became more selective in his choices and instead opted for excerpts for his later works.

After indicating the purpose of his reading, al-Maqrizī systematically proceeded with an invocation of the owner or lender of the book (*dā'iyan li-*). The term he used to designate the owner is always *mālik* while the lender was referred to by the word *mu'ir*. In just one case, al-Maqrizī chose a circumlocution (*li-man a'āra-hu*, 'for the one who lent it').⁴⁶ The distinction al-Maqrizī made between owner and lender could be significant, that is, in the case of a lender al-Maqrizī meant a loan that implied a fee or a deposit. Be that as it may, the name of the owner or the lender is not mentioned. We are left to guess from whom al-Maqrizī might have borrowed these numerous volumes. To determine this, a contextual study of the other paratextual marks may prove fruitful when such marks are contemporary with al-Maqrizī's dated consultation notes. Among the books al-Maqrizī consulted, some belonged to famous book collectors.

One of these book collectors was certainly Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Bārizī (d. 856/1452) who, with his father Nāṣir al-Dīn (d. 823/1420), occupied the position of head of the chancery on various occasions at the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century. Both were acquaintances of al-Maqrizī. Nāṣir al-Dīn donated five hundred of his books to the library attached to al-Mu'ayyad Ṣayḥ's funerary complex in Cairo.⁴⁷ The ownership statement identified on the volumes of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-absār* must have belonged to his son Kamāl al-Dīn, given that they do not bear endowment notes to al-Mu'ayyad Ṣayḥ's library and the volumes were later acquired by another book collector.⁴⁸ Al-Maqrizī's consultation notes in these volumes are dated 831/1427-28, i.e. a time when Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Bārizī's career had reached its apex. The quality of his library was renowned in his lifetime, but unfortunately had to be sold on his death to pay his debts.⁴⁹ The auction fetched over 6,000 dinars, with some volumes selling for 250 dinars. Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Bārizī's propensity to answer positively to a request from a borrower was proverbial. Moreover, it was known that he did not retrieve his loaned books unless someone else requested them or he needed them personally.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ No. 37 in the appendix.

⁴⁷ See Behrens-Abouseif 2018, 25.

⁴⁸ See no. 26 in the appendix.

⁴⁹ Al-Saḥāwī 1934-36, 9: 239.

⁵⁰ Al-Biqā'i 1992-93, 1: 190. Dozens of his ownership statements have been identified in the frame of the ELEO project.

Faṭḥ Allāh al-Dāʾūdī al-Tabrīzī (d. 816/1413) was another famous bibliophile who was also among al-Maqrizī's close circle of acquaintances, as he frequented him for more than thirty years.⁵¹ Faṭḥ Allāh was a physician who also headed the state chancery. His library became famous for its many rarities.⁵² Indeed, his ownership statements appear on dozens of manuscripts,⁵³ and among those that were consulted by al-Maqrizī, I counted no fewer than four volumes representing two different works.⁵⁴ For Ibn Waḥṣiyya's *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya*, al-Maqrizī even modified his standard and simple invocation (*dāʾiyan li-*) addressed to the owner, opting instead for a more elaborate one to display more overtly his appreciation and gratitude for Faṭḥ Allāh.⁵⁵

Besides libraries owned by close friends, al-Maqrizī was sometimes allowed access to works composed by some of his colleagues. This practice was widespread among authors, even before the fair copy of a work was ready. In the case of al-Maqrizī, we know that he lent some of his drafts to friends and colleagues.⁵⁶ Unsurprisingly, al-Maqrizī consulted their works too. One of these was a biographical dictionary of Ḥanafī scholars authored by Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809/1407). In this case, al-Maqrizī's invocation referred to the lender as the author (*ḡāmiʿ*), meaning that Ibn Duqmāq loaned al-Maqrizī the book directly.⁵⁷ Al-Maqrizī also greatly benefitted from Ibn al-Furāt's *al-Ṭarīq al-wāḍiḥ al-maslūk*: he wrote consultation notes in several volumes and also acknowledged the extent to which he took advantage of when referring to the author in the entry he devoted to him in his biographical dictionary of contemporaries.⁵⁸

Last but not least, like his colleagues al-Maqrizī resorted to endowed libraries. Access to the books in such libraries was not necessarily public in the sense that anyone could consult them, but scholars like al-Maqrizī managed to gain entry because of their status, fame, and acquaintances. In al-Maqrizī's time one such reputable library was located in the Maḥmūdiyya madrasa founded by Maḥmūd al-Ustādār (d. 799/1396). This amir purchased the private library of an Aleppo scholar, a library that was renowned for its high quality books and rare copies. He then endowed some four thousand volumes

51 See al-Maqrizī 2002, 3: 8-17 (no. 899); Behrens-Abouseif 1987.

52 See al-Saḥāwī 1934-36, 6: 166 (*ḡamaʿa kutuban nafīsa*, 'he collected rare books').

53 Collected in the frame of the ELEO project.

54 Nos. 16-18 and 38 in the appendix.

55 *Dāʾiyan li-mālīki-hi bi-l-baqāʾ wa-l-ʾizz al-madīd* (no. 16); *dāʾiyan li-mālīki-hi bi-l-ʾizz al-sarmad wa-l-naʾīm al-madīd* (no. 17); *dāʾiyan li-mālīki-hi bi-bulūḡ al-daraḡāt al-ʾulā fī l-ḡazāʾ al-awfā* (no. 18).

56 See al-Maqrizī 2002, 1: 102; Bauden 2010, 197.

57 See nos. 12-13 in the appendix.

58 *Waqaftu ʾalay-hā ... wa-stafadtu min-hā*. See Bauden 2020b, 97 fn. 119.

and placed the library under the supervision of a librarian. There, at the very end of his life al-Maqrizī borrowed a six-volume set of Ibn Miskawayh's *Tağārib al-umam*. This loan went against the policy set by the founder of the endowment, according to the note placed on the title page of the first volume.⁵⁹

In their standardised form, al-Maqrizī's consultation notes featured his name which is usually given as Ahmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrizī, though in the case of two works, he signed his name without his family name (*nisba*). If al-Maqrizī avoided mention of his family name, it might have been an expression of the humility of a young scholar.⁶⁰ In a very limited number of cases, al-Maqrizī appended an invocation in his own favour: *laṭāfa Allāh bi-hi* (may God be kind with him).⁶¹

Finally, with the exception of his consultation notes found in two works present in nine volumes, all his notes are dated, sometimes with a precise indication of the month (he did this between the years 805/1403 and 819/1416). Al-Maqrizī's consultation notes over a span of fifty years indicate that his scholarly reading was ongoing throughout his life and continued until his very last breath. These notes also provide us with incomparable data as they enable us to establish when al-Maqrizī accessed a specific source and took notes from it, and, consequently, we can date his summaries and excerpts. Thanks to these details, the reuse of his notes in his own works can also be dated accordingly. Yet the date when he read and made notes from a specific source should not be considered the unique moment he gained access to that source. This was particularly true at the beginning of his career as a young author when his working programme was still limited. When focused on a specific project, al-Maqrizī did not necessarily pay attention to all the data in a given source. Later, when working on other projects, he may have returned to a work he had previously summarised and, in another reading, extracted specific information. Such a case can be identified in the work of Ibn Sa'īd (d. 685/1286-87).⁶² Al-Maqrizī read *al-Muğrib* entirely⁶³ in 803/1400-1

⁵⁹ On this note, see Bauden 2020d, fig. 7 and the translation below the figure.

⁶⁰ See nos. 1-8 and 39 in the appendix. In both cases, the date is also missing. However, it can be determined for Ibn 'Adī's *al-Kāmil* (nos. 1-8), thanks to the summary al-Maqrizī prepared on the basis of this text which he dated to the first day of the year 795/1392: the reading of the volumes thus took place during the preceding year. The second consultation note (no. 39) is only partly visible now, but it looks very similar to the consultation note found in nos. 1-8. Given the similarity between the formulary and the handwriting (at that time, al-Maqrizī was in his early thirties), no. 39 might indicate that it should be dated to that period of al-Maqrizī's life.

⁶¹ Nos. 1-8 (dated 795), 16-17 (dated 806), 39 (undated but see previous note).

⁶² Nos. 9-11 in the appendix.

⁶³ In his consultation note, he indicated that the work included fifteen volumes (*sifr*). See no. 9 in the appendix.

but we know that he must have consulted it later because on the title page of the third volume he added a long biography of the author that he extracted from Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb's *al-Iḥāṭa*,⁶⁴ a work we know he only accessed and extracted information from in 808/1405.⁶⁵

The dates that mention the month and concern a multi-volume work also help us analyse al-Maqrizī's pace of reading and excerpting information. As demonstrated from several samples, al-Maqrizī summarised a text while reading it, i.e. he read a portion of text and took note (either *verbatim* or in a slightly modified form) of anything he was interested in.⁶⁶ In the case of Ibn Waḥṣiyya's *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya*, al-Maqrizī managed to consult a copy in five volumes, of which only three are extant (volumes 1, 4, and 5).⁶⁷ In his note in the first volume al-Maqrizī stated that he completed reading and taking excerpts from it in Rabī' II 806/18 October-15 November 1403. The same process was finished for the last two volumes, in Ğumādā I 806/16 November-15 December 1403 and Ğumādā II/16 December-13 January 1404 respectively. Thus, over the course of three months, he was able to read more than one thousand leaves while writing excerpts at the same time.⁶⁸ Of course, he did not devote the entire day to reading, particularly in that period of his life when he was still engaged in public life, and filled various positions. Time constraints applied too, as the books had been borrowed and needed to be returned to the owner within a reasonable time limit.

The consultation notes were probably added at the end of the process and thus state that al-Maqrizī had read and used a specific work on the given date. Otherwise, he would not have indicated, in some cases, the month when he read and excerpted information from them. We can marshal evidence that this was indeed the case by paying attention to some variations thus far not emphasised: instead of starting with the usual above-mentioned verbs (*istafāda*, *intaqā*, and *ṭāla'a*), two notes are introduced by the verb *anhā*, which means 'to finish', and are followed by the nature of the activity (reading, excerpting).⁶⁹ The addition of the consultation notes at the end of the process and the materiality of these notes cannot be overlooked. Until his early forties, al-Maqrizī favoured a rather ostentatious position on the title page: the notes are predominantly found on the left side of the page,

⁶⁴ See no. 9 in the appendix.

⁶⁵ See no. 20 in the appendix.

⁶⁶ For the study of this process, see Bauden 2008, 59-67; 2009, 101-9.

⁶⁷ See nos. 16-18 in the appendix.

⁶⁸ The total number of leaves in the three extant volumes (respectively 305, 253, and 190) is 748. In his consultation note on the last volume, al-Maqrizī confirmed that he read the five volumes (no. 18: *anhā-hu muṭāla'atan wa-ntiqā'an wa-l-arba'a qabla-hu*). For another example, see also nos. 22-4 in the appendix and Bauden 2020b, 96-8.

⁶⁹ See nos. 16 and 18 in the appendix; respectively *anhā-hu muṭāla'atan wa-ntiqā'an*.

in the upper left corner or in the centre of the outer margin, depending on the availability of free space. From the year 810/1407-8, he showed a preference for the right side (upper or lower corner, centre of the margin), with his text written parallel to the spine (vertically), as though he wanted to make it less visible. Such a choice impacted the conspicuousness of the notes as the inner margin, less subject to damage than the outer one, is nevertheless the one where the glue used to paste the quires in case of rebinding can overflow and lead to the disappearance of part of the text written near the spine.⁷⁰ The evolution noticed in the placement of his consultation notes cannot be purely accidental as it does not result from a lack of space on the left side. However, any attempt to interpret it remains conjectural.

Al-Maqrizī's consultation notes also allow us to better understand the competitive context that prevailed between scholars with regard to who was able to gain access to some texts. Even though scholars exchanged information about their findings, the dated notes established that a given scholar read the text in question before anyone else. Such a competition can be detected in several notes left by scholars whom al-Maqrizī knew personally and sometimes considered friends. Three of these figures passed away before al-Maqrizī had published any of his renowned works: Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405), Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809/1407), and al-Awḥadī (d. 811/1408). These three authored works – some of which they were not able to finish – in the field of history, including chronicles, and/or biographical dictionaries, and/or topographical compendia, three genres in which al-Maqrizī later distinguished himself. In the case of al-Awḥadī, we can establish that al-Maqrizī always followed him, by one or even several years.⁷¹ This confirms what we already knew: al-Awḥadī had been working on a project dealing with the history of the city of Cairo for a long time, well before al-Maqrizī wrote his book on the same subject.

6 *Libido Marginalium*

Al-Maqrizī's consultation notes offer a wealth of information on the texts he read, including which texts he took notes from, when, and from whom he borrowed them. Despite the quantity of data such notes reveal about al-Maqrizī's readings, they fail to convey al-Maqrizī's opinion of them. To address this issue we would be left in the dark if it were not for the marginal notes that he penned in some of the texts

⁷⁰ This is the reason the first lines of some of his notes are not visible anymore (see nos. 27, 36-8).

⁷¹ See nos. 10-11, 19 in the appendix.

he read. Marginalia were rarely signed by their annotator⁷² and their attributions to a specific reader are even more challenging than the identification of a signed consultation note. Whenever a scholar left a consultation note in the manuscript, his marginalia are easier to compare with it. However, as in the case of al-Maqrizī,⁷³ these consultation notes have sometimes disappeared and it is only by perusing the whole manuscript that we can spot marginalia in his hand, and even then it must be confirmed through a palaeographical analysis.

Table 2 al-Maqrizī's marginalia

No.	Author	Title	City	Library	Shelf-mark	Marginalia
1	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī	<i>Masālik al-abṣār</i>	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Aya Sofya 3416	ff. 11a, 156b
2	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī	<i>Masālik al-abṣār</i>	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Aya Sofya 3418	ff. 7b, 67a, 71a, 74a, 108b, 149b
3	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī	<i>Masālik al-abṣār</i>	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Aya Sofya 3432	ff. 114b, 127a, 156b
4	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī	<i>Masālik al-abṣār</i>	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Laleli 2037	f. 65a
5	Ibn al-Furāt	<i>al-Ṭarīq al-wāḍiḥ al-maslūk</i>	Vienna	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	A.F. 122	f. 116a
6	Ibn al-Furāt	<i>al-Ṭarīq al-wāḍiḥ al-maslūk</i>	Vienna	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	A.F. 125	ff. 197a, 226b
7	Ibn al-Furāt	<i>al-Ṭarīq al-wāḍiḥ al-maslūk</i>	Rome	Biblioteca apostolica vaticana	Arabo 726	f. 187a
8	Ibn Sa'īd	<i>al-Muğrib</i>	Cairo	Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iq al-Miṣriyya	<i>Tārīḥ mim</i> 103 (vol. 3)	f. 105b ⁱ
9	Al-Nadīm	<i>al-Fihrist</i>	Dublin	Chester Beatty Library	Arabic 3315	ff. 1a, ⁱⁱ 3b (2 notes) ⁱⁱⁱ
10	Al-Nadīm	<i>al-Fihrist</i>	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Şehid Ali Paşa 1934	f. 17a (2 notes) ^{iv}

ⁱ Note edited in Ibn Sa'īd 1970, 249 fn. 2.
ⁱⁱ Note edited in Al-Nadīm 2009, 1/1: 107 (of the introduction).
ⁱⁱⁱ Note edited in Al-Nadīm 2009, 1/1: 10.
^{iv} Both notes were edited in Al-Nadīm 2009, 1/2: 668.

Twenty-one marginalia were identified in ten volumes⁷⁴ of four different works (see **table 2**). Compared with the total number of volumes listed in table 1, table 2 shows that al-Maqrizī seldom resorted to annotations in the texts and that whenever he did, he limited them to

72 In the case of al-Maqrizī, he only signed two of his marginalia. See below, **fig. 9** and the marginalia in Ibn Sa'īd's *al-Muğrib*.

73 In two volumes of Ibn al-Furāt's *al-Ṭarīq al-wāḍiḥ al-maslūk* (see Table 2, nos. 5-6) no consultation notes have been found, even though they contain marginalia in al-Maqrizī's hand.

74 In al-Maqrizī's time there were nine volumes, given that Al-Nadīm's *al-Fihrist* was in one volume and that it was split into two volumes much later.

four texts: Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī’s *Masālik al-abṣār*, Ibn al-Furāt’s *al-Ṭarīq al-wādiḥ al-maslūk*, Ibn Sa‘īd’s *al-Muḡrib*, and al-Nadīm’s *al-Fihrist*. As we saw, all the books mentioned in table 1 were loaned to al-Maqrīzī. As these books were someone else’s property, he may have been reluctant to alter the text. In fact, in his treatise on the technique of the written transmission of learning, Ibn Ġamā‘a (d. 733/1333) specifically stressed that marginal notes should not be made in borrowed books, with the exception of corrections to the text, and these should only be made with the owner’s permission.⁷⁵ Ibn Ġamā‘a recommended that “the blank space (which is found on the pages that contain) the introductory and final formulas of a book should be left blank,” and that “[n]otes may be made in that space, however, if one can be sure that the owner of the book would approve of it”.⁷⁶ Despite the prescriptive nature of these recommendations, it seems that readers of borrowed books annotated them whenever they felt the need to do so and these recommendations did not prevent al-Maqrīzī from annotating the four above-mentioned texts whose reading must have triggered some reaction. Two questions thus arise: What was the nature of his irrepressible desire to add notes in a volume that had to be returned to its owner, an impulse that Daniel Ferrer characterised as *libido marginalium*?⁷⁷ And *cui bono* (for whose benefit) did he add these notes? In what follows, I address these issues by reviewing al-Maqrīzī’s marginalia according to their nature. Scholars studying marginalia in European printed books from the Renaissance to the Modern period have established various kinds of typologies to which each marginal note, taken broadly as a paratext linked or not to the main text, can be attributed.⁷⁸ However, such typologies do not necessarily apply fully to manuscripts, given that most of the scholars who worked on European printed books mostly took into consideration the private libraries of writers. In al-Maqrīzī’s case, the situation is clearly different, as all the books containing his marginalia were not part of his private library, rather they were borrowed. Thus, I divide his marginalia according to the purpose of the annotation: corrections, additions, comments.

⁷⁵ Rosenthal 1947, 10.

⁷⁶ Rosenthal 1947, 10

⁷⁷ Ferrer 2001, 13.

⁷⁸ Regarding the particular case of Dürenmatt, see the more recent work of Wieland 2015. For other schemes formulated by Elaine Whitaker and Carl James Grindley, see Sherman 2008, 16-17.

Corrections

Among all of al-Maqrizī's marginalia, I only identified one example of a correction regarding not the contents but the formulation of the sentence. In this case [fig. 4], because the sentence did not make sense, al-Maqrizī noticed that the copyist of the text had forgotten a word. Instead of reading "Abd al-Ġanī headed to Isfahan with a pouch of money" (*ḥaraġa 'Abd al-Ġanī ilā Iṣbahān wa-ma'a-hu kīs fulūs*), al-Maqrizī indicated in the margin that the last part of the sentence ("with a pouch of money") read "without" (*ṣawābu-hu walaysa ma'ahu*).⁷⁹ Al-Maqrizī inserted the word *ṣawābu-hu* (that which is correct is...), then clearly indicated where the marginal correction should be placed in the text with a sign pointing in the direction of the outer margin, where the correction is. The sign was inserted after the word 'Iṣbahān'. As we saw, in his treatise Ibn Ġamā'a approved of this kind of correction, which was intended to improve the text. Here, al-Maqrizī could not help adding the correction given the misinterpretation. For someone who was writing a summary of the text while reading it, this correction must have felt almost compulsory, as it meant he had to temporarily stop reading and write the marginal correction.

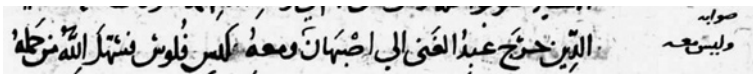


Figure 4 A marginal note by al-Maqrizī in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari's *Masālik al-abṣār*. (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Aya Sofya 3418, f. 108b)

Additions

Compared with the correction analysed above, additions were much more frequent and point to another kind of impulse in the reader. We have already seen that on two occasions al-Maqrizī added the biography of the author on the title page of the text that he read,⁸⁰ thus helping to contextualise the work. It was also perhaps a way for him to express his gratitude to the book owner from whom he borrowed it by providing interesting information regarding the life of the author. The examples that I review below also show that al-Maqrizī regarded his additional notes as a means to supplement the text. In most of these cases, he introduced them with an abbreviation clearly indicating their function: the letter *ḥā'* for *ḥāṣiyya*, i.e. note, gloss.⁸¹

⁷⁹ One can see that the copyist hesitated as the word *kīs* seems to have first been written *fā-laysa*. The copyist then cancelled the *fā'* but failed to correct the sentence.

⁸⁰ See nos. 9 and 25 in the appendix.

⁸¹ See figs 5-6, 9.

In the following four examples, al-Maqrizī provided additional information to enrich the text. In fig. 5, the marginal note conveys that the city of Delhi was ruined by Tīmūr Lang, information that the author of the work, Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī (d. 749/1349), could not be aware of, as he died well before Tīmūr Lang’s political career even started [fig. 5]. Given that at this point in the text the author describes the city of Delhi in detail, based on the testimony of an informant, al-Maqrizī wanted to point out that the description was no longer accurate.

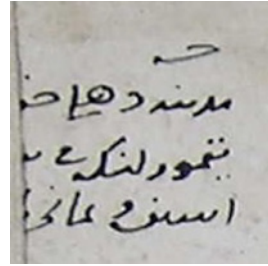


Figure 5

A marginal note by al-Maqrizī in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī’s *Masālik al-abṣār*. (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Aya Sofya 3416, f. 11a)

Note

The city of Delhi was ruined by Tamerlane in the year 802.

مدينة دهلي خربها / تيمورلنك في سنة 802
الثنتين وثمانين ما [نة]

In the next example [fig. 6], Ibn Faḍl al-Allāh al-‘Umarī’s text gives the biography of a person and states that he taught in various institutions, including the Mosque of the amir Mūsak in the Fatimid quarter of Cairo. In front of this mention, al-Maqrizī supplies information regarding the mosque in question, stating that it disappeared when it was integrated into the mausoleum of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn inside his complex in the Bayn al-Qaṣrayn quarter. By the time al-Maqrizī penned this marginal note, he had already completed the first version of his topography of Cairo where he indeed refers to this event.⁸² Thus, the note may be considered a way for al-Maqrizī to establish his standing in issues linked to the history of Cairo.⁸³

⁸² Al-Maqrizī 2013, 2: 500.

⁸³ On the same leaf, he added a marginal note regarding the Ṭaybarsiyya madrasa.

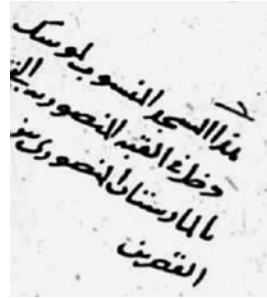


Figure 6

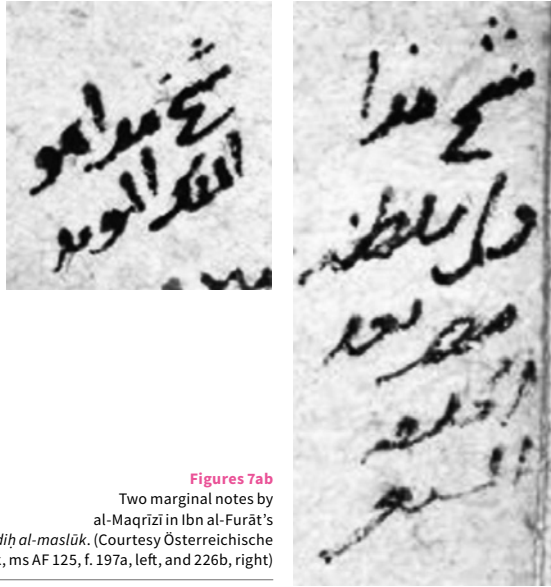
A marginal note by al-Maqrizī in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-abṣār*. (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Aya Sofya 3418, f. 74a)

Note

This mosque attributed to Mūsak was included in al-Manṣūr [Qalāwūn's] cupola (mausoleum) that is located in the Hospital of al-Manṣūr on [the street] Bayn al-Qaṣrayn [lit., between the two palaces].

هذا المسجد المنسوب لموسك / دخل في القبة المنصورية التي / بالمارستان المنصوري بين / القصرين

In other cases, the marginal additions may seem trivial. While reading and taking notes from Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle, al-Maqrizī came across a passage where the author mentions the amir Sayf al-Dīn Ṣayḥ al-Maḥmūdī. He felt the need to explain that this amir was later known under his regnal title: al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad [fig. 7a]. Some thirty leaves later, al-Maqrizī read another passage where the same person was evoked under a slightly different name: Ṣayḥ ibn Maḥmūd Ṣāh. This time, he indicated in his marginal note that this person became sultan after the caliph al-Musta'in [fig. 7b]. Ibn al-Furāt died a few years before Ṣayḥ's career as a sultan unfolded (r. 815-24/1412-21), but al-Maqrizī wanted to communicate that the rather obscure amir Ibn al-Furāt mentioned was the same one who later became sultan.



Figures 7ab
Two marginal notes by
al-Maqrizī in Ibn al-Furāt's
al-Tariq al-wāḍiḥ al-maslūk. (Courtesy Österreichische
Nationalbibliothek, ms AF 125, f. 197a, left, and 226b, right)

This Šayḥ became sultan of Egypt after the
caliph al-Mustaʿīn.

This Šayḥ is al-Malik al-Muʾayyad.

شيخ هذا / ولي سلطنة / مصر بعد / الخليفة / المستعين

شيخ هذا هو / الملك المؤيد

Al-Maqrizī's desire to supply additional information to the text he was reading can also be detected in the following example [fig. 8]. Here, the author, once again Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, speaks of the famous poet Ibn Dāniyāl (d. 710/1310). It is not really a biography, rather the text details several episodes in which Ibn Dāniyāl's eloquence was better expressed. In fact, the author does not even mention his full name, limiting himself to his surname (Ibn Dāniyāl). This lack of detail triggered al-Maqrizī's desire to add more information about Ibn Dāniyāl's full pedigree as well as his main profession (as a physician and oculist) and to specify his exact date of death.

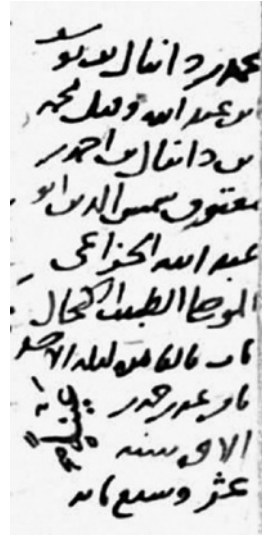


Figure 8

A marginal note by al-Maqrizī in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-abṣār*. (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Aya Sofya 3432, f. 114b)

Muḥammad ibn Dāniyāl ibn Yūsuf ibn ʿAbdallāh – also said to be Muḥammad ibn Dāniyāl ibn Aḥmad ibn Maʿtūq – Šams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥuzāʿī, from Mosul, the physician and oculist. He died in Cairo during the night of Sunday 28 Ġumādā II 710.

محمد بن دانيال بن يوسف / بن عبد الله وقيل محمد / بن دانيال
بن أحمد بن / معتوق شمس الدين أبو / عبد الله الخزازي /
الموصلي الطبيب الكحال / مات بالقاهرة ليلة الأحد ثامن عشرين
/ جمادى / الآخرة سنة / عشر وسبع مائة

Marginal additions also gave al-Maqrizī the occasion to boast about his own accomplishment as a scholar. When Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī opened his chapter on poets with Imruʿ al-Qays, who lived in the pre-Islamic period, al-Maqrizī wrote a marginal note [fig. 9] giving an example of his knowledge and demonstrating that he knew that two poets bore the same name Imruʿ al-Qays: the first was the one Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī meant, who lived before the Prophet and whom al-Maqrizī undoubtedly identified based on the initial words of his most famous poem; and the second one, who was not mentioned by the author, was a Companion of the Prophet and converted to Islam and did not apostasize, but remained firm in his faith even after the Prophet’s death. Al-Maqrizī further stressed that he had dedicated a booklet (*ḡuzʿ*) to the namesakes of the pre-Islamic poet and he signed his addition in case future readers wanted to know the identity of the annotator.

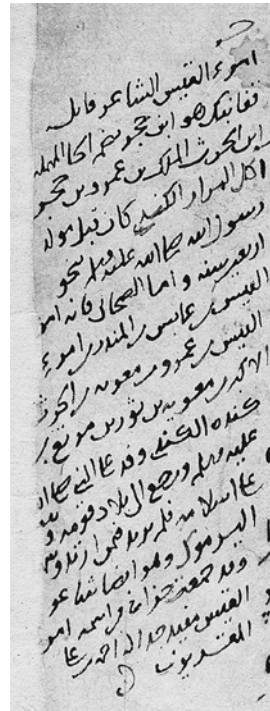


Figure 9

A marginal note by al-Maqrizī
in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī's *Masālik al-abṣār*.
(Courtesy British Library, ms Add. 9589, f. 1b)

Note

Imru' al-Qays the poet who said “Halt, both of you. Let's weep . . .”. He is the son of Ḥuḡr – with vowel *u* on the unpointed letter *ḥā* – ibn al-Ḥārīt the King ibn 'Amr ibn Ḥuḡr the myrrh eater al-Kindī. He lived about forty years before the birth of the Messenger of God – God bless him and grant him salvation. As for the Companion [of the Prophet], he was Imru' al-Qays ibn 'Amr ibn Mu'āwiya ibn al-Ḥārīt the elder ibn Mu'āwiya ibn Ṭawr ibn Murtī ibn Kinda al-Kindī. He was sent as an envoy to the Messenger of God – God bless him and grant him salvation – and went back to the land of his people, firm in his faith in Islam. He did not apostatize with those who did and took part in the battle of Yarmuk. He was also a poet. I compiled a very useful booklet on those named Imru' al-Qays. Written by Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrizī.

ح
امرء القيس الشاعر قائل / قفا نبك هو ابن حجر بضم الحاء المهملة
/ ابن الحرث الملك بن عمرو بن حجر / أكل المرار الكندي كان
قبل مولد / رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بنحو / أربعين سنة
وأما الصحابي فإنه امرء / القيس بن عمرو بن معوية بن الحرث
/ الأكبر بن معوية بن ثور بن مرتع بن / كندة الكندي وقد على
رسول الله صلى الله / عليه وسلم ورجع إلى بلاد قومه وثبت /
على إسلامه فلم يرتد فيمن ارتد وشهد / اليرموك وهو أيضاً شاعر
/ وقد جمعت جزء في من اسمه امرء / القيس مفيد جدا كتبه أحمد
بن علي / المقرئ

Emotional notes

Several of al-Maqrizī's marginalia can be characterised as notes that were caused by his emotional reaction to what he was reading. In such cases, it seems that al-Maqrizī could not help expressing his disagreement in a marginal note. The first example of this clear exhibition of *libido marginalium* regards Ibn Sa'īd's *al-Muġrib* which al-Maqrizī read and summarised in 803/1400-1. In a passage where Ibn Sa'īd talked about Ibn Sūrīn, a secretary who was active at the state chancery in the Fatimid period, the author acknowledged that he could not find any details about this person until he consulted the work of another secretary from the same period. Al-Maqrizī expressed his irritation in a colourful way, addressing the author directly, as though he was talking to him – even though Ibn Sa'īd was long dead: "May God forgive you!". Al-Maqrizī was indignant because he knew that Ibn Sa'īd had consulted the work of a Fatimid historian, al-Musabbiḥī – whose work al-Maqrizī also accessed – ,⁸⁴ where Ibn Sūrīn appears on numerous occasions, and he noted this. Al-Maqrizī took the occasion to show the breadth of his knowledge and outlined the major elements of Ibn Sūrīn's life and character. The note ends with a reference to a personal work that al-Maqrizī was currently writing and hoped to soon prepare the fair copy of. He once again signed his marginal note to help the reader identify the author of the annotation, or, more probably, the author of the work-in-progress.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ See no. 19 in the appendix.

⁸⁵ The work, *Ḥulāṣat al-tibr fī aḥbār kuttāb al-sirr*, is no longer extant. The fair copy of this work was not yet completed more than ten years later. See Bauden 2017, 216-17.

May God forgive you! This Ibn Sūrīn is renowned and his standing among the secretaries of the Fatimid dynasty is reputed. I know that you copied from al-Musabbihī who mentioned Ibn Sūrīn in numerous places in his *Kitāb al-kabīr fī aḥbār Miṣr* (Great Book on the annals of Egypt). He also quoted a great deal of his compositions. He was Abū Maṣṣūr Biṣr ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Sūrīn, the secretary in charge of the issuance of the decrees. He was a Christian and passed away on 17 Ṣafar 400. He distributed alms in the amount of three hundred dinars each year, pretending that they were an expiation for [his] mention of [God's] blessing over our lord Muḥammad – God bless him and grant him salvation – at the end of the decrees that he composed. He was a stern zealot in religion. I found several decrees he composed and I have never seen a secretary or a composer more inspired in quoting Qur'ānic verses that fitted the circumstances of what he was writing. I mentioned him in what I am currently writing about those who occupied the positions of composer and of secretary responsible for the issuance of decrees in Egypt. If God wills, He will make possible its completion and enable me to prepare the fair copy. Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī – may God be kind to him – wrote it.

عفا الله عنك ابن سورين هذا شهير ذكره خطير في كتاب الدولة الفاطمية قدره وعهدي بك تنقل عن المسيحي وهو قد ذكر ابن سورين في عدة مواضع من كتابه الكبير في أخبار مصر وأورد جملة كثيرة من إنشائه وهو أبو منصور بشر بن عبيد الله بن سورين كاتب السجلات كان نصرانيا توفي في سابع عشر صفر سنة أربعمائة وكان يتصدق في كل سنة بثلاثمائة دينار يزعم أنها كفارة عن ذكر الصلاة على سيدنا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم فيما يكتبه من الإنشاء في آخر السجلات وكان متشددا في دينه ولقد وقعت له على عدة سجلات من إنشائه فما رأيت كتابيا ولا منشئا أكثر استحضارا منه فيما يكتبه من آيات القرآن المناسبة للحال وقد ذكرته فيما أنا جامع من التعريف بمن ولي وظيفة الإنشاء وكتابة السجلات في مصر إن شاء الله يسر الله في إتمامه وأعان على تبييضه وكتبه أحمد بن علي المقرئ لطف الله به

Al-Maqrīzī's marginalia sometimes also included disparaging comments addressed to the author. When he consulted Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle, al-Maqrīzī's eyes fell on a passage in which the author spoke about the mosque of al-Azhar and the Friday sermon there. Al-Maqrīzī showed his disagreement with the author [fig. 10], first by denigrating him ("This is a statement made by someone who has no knowledge at all of the annals of Egypt"), then by exhibiting his overwhelming knowledge.

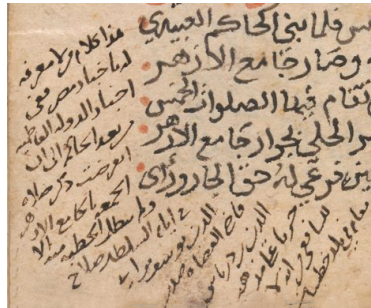


Figure 10

A marginal note by al-Maqrizī in Ibn al-Furāt's *al-Tariq al-wāḍiḥ al-maslūk*. (Courtesy Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms AF 122, f. 116a)

This is a statement made by someone who has no knowledge at all of the annals of Egypt. In the annals of the Fatimid dynasty, starting after [the reign of] al-Ḥākim until it vanished, it is reported that the Friday prayer was never discontinued at the mosque of al-Azhar, except in the days of the sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf. [At that time,] the supreme judge, Ṣadr al-Dīn Dirbās, considered, in accordance with a legal opinion attributed to al-Šāfi'ī, that two sermons could not be held in the same city.

هذا كلام من لا معرفة / له بأخبار مصر قفي / أخبار الدولة الفاطمية / من بعد الحاكم إلى أن / انقضت ذكر صلاة / الجمعة بالجامع الأزهر / ولم تبطل الخطبة منه إلا / في أيام السلطان صلاح الدين يوسف فرأى / قاضي القضاة صدر / الدين بن درباس جريا على مذهب / للشافعي من أنه لا / تقام في بلد خطبتان

Al-Maqrizī's disparagement of the author is even more frequent in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's text. In one passage, the author argues that the Arabic spoken by Andalus improved after the establishment of the Umayyad Amirate in 138/756 and that the scientific movement developed from that point until it reached the level of their Oriental counterparts. In the following marginal note [fig. 11], placed before the substance of the passage, al-Maqrizī invoked God's forgiveness for the author and explained that, despite his readings, the author's discourse was based on his chauvinism.

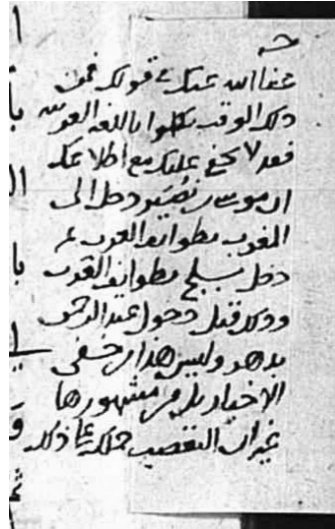


Figure 11

A marginal note by al-Maqrizī in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-abṣār*. (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Aya Sofya 3418, f. 7b)

Note

May God forgive you when you say “From this moment on they spoke Arabic”. You are well aware from your readings that Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr entered the Maghrib with Arab troops. Then Balğ entered with Arab troops. This took place well before ʿAbd al-Raḥmān’s arrival. Far from being a secret, these facts are well-known except that your chauvinism led you to [say] that.

ح
عفا الله عنك في قولك فمن / ذلك الوقت تكلموا باللغة العربية /
فقد لا يخفى عليك مع اطلاعك / أن موسى بن نصير دخل إلى
المغرب بطوائف العرب ثم / دخل بلج بطوائف العرب / وذلك
قبل دخول عبد الرحمن / بدهر وليس هذا من خفي الأخبار بل
من مشهورها / غير أن التعصب حملك على ذلك

In another volume of the same work, al-Maqrizī continued with his critical comments [fig. 12]. First, he stressed that the author was mistaken in stating that the name of the city of al-Manūfiyya was derived from the Memphis (Manf) of Antiquity. On this occasion, he drew the attention of future readers to his own work; namely, his book on the topography of Cairo. Second, he emphasised that the author was also mistaken about the origin of the name of Banū Naṣr Island. After expounding on the true origin of the name with a profusion of details, he concluded his annotation with a sarcastic comment: “Know, O Sa’d, that this is the way camels are brought to the watering place”. Al-Maqrizī’s satire can only be understood by someone who has knowledge of the story related to this quotation. The context for the story linked to this quotation can be found in al-Qālī’s (d. 356/967) *Dayl al-amālī*, where al-Qālī explains that it regards the dumbest of the Ar-

abs.⁸⁶ The message could not be clearer: here al-Maqrizī is showing Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī that he had erred and needed to be put on the right path, i.e. corrected.

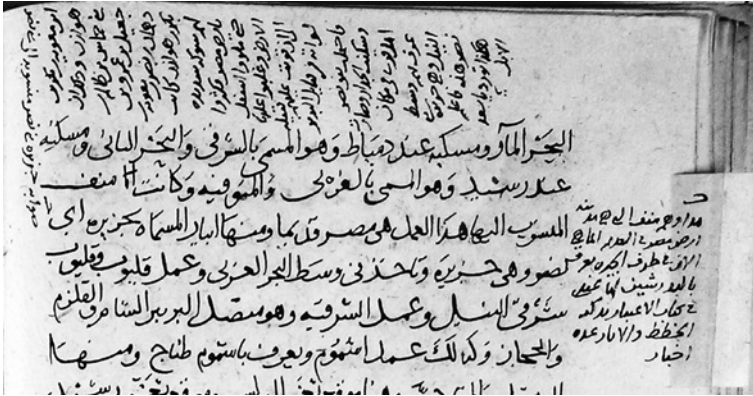


Figure 12 Two marginalia by al-Maqrizī in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-abṣār*. (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Aya Sofya 3416, f. 156b)

Note

This is pure imagination. Memphis (Manf), which was the capital of the land of Egypt in Antiquity, is now located on the edge of Giza and known as al-Badrašin. I have several stories about it in the book *Kitāb al-'tibār bi-dīkr al-ḥiṭaṭ wa-l-āṭār* (Reflections on the quarters and monuments).

Note

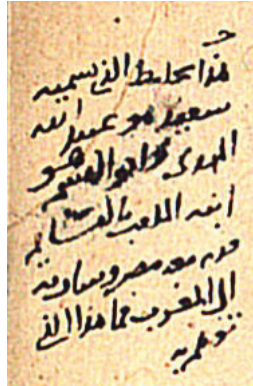
That which is correct is that the Island of Banū Naṣr takes its name from the Banū Naṣr ibn Mu'āwiya ibn Bakr ibn Hawāzin. This is because the Banū Ḥamās ibn Zālim ibn Ġu'ayl ibn 'Amr ibn Dahmān ibn Naṣr ibn Mu'āwiya ibn Bakr ibn Hawāzin exerted a mighty power over the land of Egypt and they proliferated such that they occupied the lower part of the country and achieved supremacy over it until the Lawāta, one of the Berber tribes, dominated over them. The Banū Naṣr endured and settled in al-Ġidār, and they became sedentary in a place known by their name in the middle of the Nile. This is the Island of the Banū Naṣr. Know, O Sa'd, that this is the way camels are brought to the watering place.

هذا وهم منف التي هي مدينة / أرض مصر في القديم إما هي / الآن في طرف الجزيرة وتعرف / بالبدريشين لها عندي / في كتاب الاعتبار بذكر / المخطوط والآثار عدة / أخبار

صوابه جزيرة بني نصر منسوبة إلى بني نصر / ابن معوية بن بكر بن / هوازن وذلك أن / بني حماس بن ظالم بن / جميل بن عمرو بن / دهمان بن نصر بن معوية بن / بكر بن هوازن كانت / لهم شوكة شديدة / بأرض مصر فكثروا / حتى ملؤوا أسفل / الأرض وغلبوا عليها / إلى أن قويت عليهم قبيلة / لواتة من قبائل البربر / فاحتملت بنو نصر / وسكنت الجدار وصارت / أهل قرى في مكان / عرف بهم وسط / النيل وهي جزيرة بني / نصر هذه فاعلم / هكذا تورد بأسعد الإبل

⁸⁶ Al-Qālī 2001, 587 (the full verse reads: *awrada-hā Sa'd wa-Sa'd muštamil | mā hakaḡā tūrad yā Sa'd al-ibīl*).

The above-mentioned authors were not the only ones whom al-Maqrizī chided: al-Nadīm also bore the brunt of his irritation. The two following marginalia were added by al-Maqrizī in relation to the same passage [figs 13a-b] where he identified some confusion (*tahlīt*) in the data given by al-Nadīm about the genealogy of the Ismailis. These illustrate al-Maqrizī's desire to correct information that he deemed misleading. Here again, al-Maqrizī addresses al-Nadīm directly, to show him that he is alone in pretending what he says.



Figures 13a-b

Two marginalia by al-Maqrizī in al-Nadīm's *al-Fihrist*.
(Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Şehid Ali Paşa 1934, f. 17a)

Note

This is confused. The one that you name Sa'ād is [in reality] 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī, and Abū al-Qāsīm is his son whose title was al-Qā'im. He came to Egypt with him and went with him to the Maghrib. Thus he is not the one you think he is.

هذا تخليط الذي تسميه / سعيد هو عبد الله / المهدي وأبو القسم / هو / ابنه الملقب بالقائم / قدم معه مصر وسار به / إلى المغرب فما / توهم به

Note

This is once again confused. The one who rebelled against him is Abū Zayd and the name of the one who was Ismā'īl's father is none other than Muḥammad – and some say 'Abd al-Raḥmān. As for [the name] al-Ḥasan, he was not called this way and you are the only one who says otherwise.

هذا تخليط آخر / الذي خرج عليه / أبو يزيد والذي / هو والد / إسماعيل / ما اسمه إلا محمد / وقيل عبد الرحمن / وأما الحسن / فلم / يتسم به ولا قاله / غيرك

The marginalia detailed above allow us to address the questions laid out at the beginning of this section: why and for whom did al-Maqrīzī write these marginalia in books that did not belong to him? A partial answer regarding corrections and additions was given above. In such cases, it seems that al-Maqrīzī wanted to improve the text he was reading and, given that the book was borrowed, he did so for the sake of the book owner and all future readers and owners. Should we brush aside the idea that this was a one-sided transaction? The emotional notes, as we characterised them, demonstrate that another phenomenon is at play. As Heather Jackson notes, “all annotators are readers but not all readers are annotators. Annotators are readers who write”.⁸⁷ The combination of both actions – reading and writing – is best expressed by a portmanteau word specifically created to describe the person who is a writer and a reader at the same time: the ‘wreader’.⁸⁸ As a consequence, we must consider the relationship that the wreader establishes with the text and, through the text, with its author. As we see, al-Maqrīzī engages in some kind of debate or conversation with the author whom he addresses as ‘you’. Such a debate/conversation⁸⁹ can only be fictitious as the authors al-Maqrīzī was talking to were all dead by the time he was reading their texts: these authors could not reply. His – sometimes offensive – comments could not be addressed to the authors directly: rather they constituted for him a kind of reward, as it enables him to have the final word over the authors whose texts he is reading. As some theorists of reading state, “the experience of reading always involves an element of contest or struggle, and an oscillation between surrender and resistance, identification and detachment”.⁹⁰ In such circumstances, the reader may be seen as a rival of the author, and as someone who wants to show that he knows better. This characterisation best fits al-Maqrīzī’s marginalia, particularly those that reveal his indignation. Through them, al-Maqrīzī expresses his superior knowledge, something that is proven by his own output about which he does not neglect to boast. These marginalia, taken together with al-Maqrīzī’s consultation notes or, more rarely, with his signature, entail “a degree of self-assertion, if not aggression”⁹¹ that comes with a boomerang effect: his prickly notes, more than his annotations, put al-Maqrīzī in a bad light and the ‘wreader’ al-Maqrīzī has been hoisted by his own petard.

⁸⁷ Jackson 2001, 90.

⁸⁸ Wieland 2015, 147.

⁸⁹ Or best “minute criticism” as Jackson puts it (2001, 214-15).

⁹⁰ Jackson 2001, 85-6.

⁹¹ Jackson 2001, 90.

7 Conclusion

While our understanding of collective reading in the medieval period in the Islamic world has greatly improved thanks to the study of the reading certificates (*samā'āt*), much work remains to be done to reach a similar level of knowledge about scholars reading books in solitude. A major obstacle – the collection and identification of the marks they left in books that belonged to them or that they borrowed from other owners – is in the process of being overcome thanks to digitalisation and the accessibility of manuscripts in online repositories. Other caveats still remain, like the authentication of a scholar's handwriting or the decipherment of his notes. When these issues are solved, a scholar's consultation notes and marginalia provide a wealth of information on his reading interests, his motivations and aims in accessing a given source, his interaction with the text, and his fictitious dialogue with its author. Furthermore, this consideration of notes left by other scholars can help to contextualise some aspects of a reader's access to books and to recreate the network of book owners from whom he borrowed texts not extant in his own library.

In this case study devoted to al-Maqrīzī, our aim was to demonstrate that a medieval scholar's consultation notes and marginalia represent an ideal example of how the above-mentioned issues can be approached. Moreover, what I found in some of al-Maqrīzī's marginalia is only a token of a more general phenomenon that would seem to apply to other authors/readers in other periods and places. Indeed, in writing down his satirical and disparaging comments, al-Maqrīzī was no exception: studies on readers' marginalia in Renaissance and modern English books show that this phenomenon has already been observed.

Appendix

Detailed List of al-Maqrizī's Consultation Notes¹

1 Cairo, Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iq al-Miṣriyya, ms *Muṣṭalaḥ ḥadīṭ* 94²

Manuscript Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil fī asmā' al-maḡrūḥīn min al-ruwāt wa-'ilal al-ḥadīṭ*, volume containing biographies starting with Aḥmad ibn Hārūn until the end of the letter *alif*. *Maḡribī* script. 231 ff. Part of a multi-volume set of which two volumes remain.

Description This work is a dictionary of some 2,212 persons³ whose probity and trustworthiness are assessed as transmitters of prophetic traditions; it was composed by 'Abdallāh ibn 'Adī ibn 'Abdallāh al-Ḡurḡānī, better known as Ibn al-Qaṭṭān (d. 365/976 or 360/971).⁴

Bibliography *Fihrist al-maḥṭūṭāt* 1956, 279.

Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a, in the upper left corner)

استفاد منه داعيا لمالكة أحمد بن علي لطفه الله به.

Though the note is not dated, al-Maqrizī's access to this manuscript can be dated precisely to the year 794/1392 thanks to the summary he made of Ibn 'Adī's text. The holograph of the summary has been preserved and is available at the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi in Istanbul, ms Murat Molla 575. In the colophon (ff. 216a-b), al-Maqrizī states that he completed the summary on the first day of the year 795/17 November 1392, implying that he read and took his notes during the previous months:

انتهى وكمل ما دل رائد الاختيار عليه وقاد دليل الفكر إليه من الكامل في أسماء المجروحين من الرواة وعلل الحديث للحافظ أبي أحمد بن عدي / على يد كاتبه أحمد بن علي بن عبد القادر بن محمد بن إبراهيم بن محمد بن تميم المقرئ بلغته الله بلغته الله⁵ أماله وأحسن في الدارين ماله بمنه وذلك عند غروب الشمس من يوم الأحد المبارك مفتتح عام ٧٩٥.

¹ In this appendix, we provide all the details that prove useful for our study. Ownership statements, endowment notes, and consultation notes added by other people are only mentioned when they provide a context for al-Maqrizī's notes.

² The information regarding the presence of al-Maqrizī's notes of consultation in this source (nos. 1-8) is based on the data provided in the following references: *Fihrist al-maḥṭūṭāt* 1956, 279; Fu'ād Sayyid 2013, 121; and Ibn 'Adī 2014, 1: 46-9. The discrepancies, contradictions, and inconsistencies in the descriptions of these three references prevent any reconstruction of the volumes without verification of the manuscripts. For instance, Fu'ād Sayyid 2013, 121, mentions the presence of al-Maqrizī's notes of consultation on mss *Muṣṭalaḥ ḥadīṭ* 94 and 97, though the catalogue of the library, *Fihrist al-maḥṭūṭāt* 1956, 279, does not mention a shelf mark *Muṣṭalaḥ ḥadīṭ* 97 for this work. I was only able to check the presence and the text of al-Maqrizī's note on ms *Muṣṭalaḥ ḥadīṭ* 94. Consequently, the information regarding mss *Muṣṭalaḥ ḥadīṭ* 54, 95, 96, including the history of the various volumes, must be taken with caution pending further confirmation after examination of the manuscripts.

³ In the preserved version.

⁴ On him, see Sezgin 1967, 198-9 (no. 223). On the book and the methodology the author applied, see 'Alī Nūr 1997. The most complete edition, based on all the known manuscripts, is Ibn 'Adī 2014.

⁵ Sic. This repetition is due to a modification that al-Maqrizī made by erasing part of the religious invocation in order to modify it, which he did later in life, as it is clear from his handwriting.

History of the Manuscript It was copied by Naṣr ibn Abī al-Qāsim ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Naḥwī al-Iskandarī; this first volume was completed in Ṣafar 523/January-February 1129;⁶ it was bequeathed as a *waqf* by the Mamlūk sultan al-Mu‘ayyad Ṣayḥ to his mosque at Bāb Zuwayla in Cairo completed in 824/1421.⁷

- 2** Cairo, Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā’iq al-Miṣriyya, ms *Muṣṭalaḥ ḥadīṭ* 94
Manuscript Same as no. 1 above. The volume contains biographies starting with the letter *sin* until the letter *ṭā’*. *Maḡribī* script. 213 ff. Part of the same set as no. 1 above.
Description Same as no. 1 above.
Bibliography *Fihrist al-maḥṭūṭāt* 1956, 279.
Al-Maqrizī’s consultation note (f. 1a, in the upper left corner)

استفاد منه داعيا لمالكة أحمد بن علي لطفه الله به.

History of the Manuscript Like no. 1.

- 3** Cairo, Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā’iq al-Miṣriyya, ms *Muṣṭalaḥ ḥadīṭ* 96
Manuscript Same as no. 1 above. The volume contains biographies of ‘Abdallāhs. *Acephalous*. *Maḡribī* script. 155 ff. Part of a multi-volume set of which four volumes remain.
Description Same as no. 1 above.
Bibliography *Fihrist al-maḥṭūṭāt* 1956, 279.
Al-Maqrizī’s consultation note (f. 1a)

استفاد منه داعيا لمالكة أحمد بن علي لطفه الله به.

History of the Manuscript This copy was made for the library of the Almoravid amir Ibrāhīm ibn Yūsuf ibn Tāṣūfin and completed on Ṣafar 523/January-February 1129.⁸

⁶ According to the editor of Ibn ‘Adī 2014, 1: 46, the copyist was a student of the Damascene traditionist Ibn ‘Asākir (571/1176). Given the date of the copy (523/1129), this looks highly improbable and it might indicate that the date of the copy was read incorrectly.

⁷ The document establishing the religious endowment was issued on 4 Jumādā II 823/16 June 1420. See Meinecke 1992, 2: 319.

⁸ In *Fihrist al-kutub* 1888-92, 1: 243, the date is Ṣafar 593/December 1296-January 1297. Any of the two dates is problematic as the amir in question is reported to have died in 520/1126 or 515/1121-2.

- 4 Cairo, Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iq al-Miṣriyya, ms *Muṣṭalaḥ ḥadīṭ* 54
Manuscript Same as no. 1 above. The volume contains biographies starting with 'Uṭmān ibn Maqṣam and finishing with 'Utba ibn 'Alqama. *Maḡribī* script. 139 ff. Part of the same set as no. 3 above.
Description Same as no. 1 above.
Bibliography *Fihrist al-maḥṭūṭāt* 1956, 279.
Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a)

استفاد منه داعيا لمالكة أحمد بن علي لطفه الله به.

History of the Manuscript Same as no. 1 above.

- 5 Cairo, Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iq al-Miṣriyya, ms *Muṣṭalaḥ ḥadīṭ* 96
Manuscript Same as no. 1 above. The volume contains biographies starting with 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Zayd and ending with Fiṭr. *Maḡribī* script. 150 ff. Part of the same set as no. 3 above.
Description Same as no. 1 above.
Bibliography *Fihrist al-maḥṭūṭāt* 1956, 279.
Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a)

استفاد منه داعيا لمالكة أحمد بن علي لطفه الله به.

History of the Manuscript As no. 3.

- 6 Cairo, Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iq al-Miṣriyya, ms *Muṣṭalaḥ ḥadīṭ* 95
Manuscript Same as no. 1 above. The volume contains biographies starting from Muḥammad ibn Yazīd and ending with Maṭar. 106 ff.
Description Same as no. 1 above.
Bibliography *Fihrist al-maḥṭūṭāt* 1956, 279.
Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a)

استفاد منه داعيا لمالكة أحمد بن علي لطفه الله به.

History of the Manuscript It was copied by Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Muqbil and dated 784/1382.

- 7 Cairo, Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iḳ al-Miṣriyya, ms *Muṣṭalaḥ ḥadīṭ* 96
Manuscript Same as no. 1 above. The volume contains biographies starting with Mu'āwiya and ending with Wahb. *Maḡribī* script. 158 ff. Part of the same set as no. 3 above.
Description Same as no. 1 above.
Bibliography *Fihrist al-maḥṭūṭāt* 1956, 279.
Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a)

استفاد منه داعيا للملكه أحمد بن علي لطفه الله به.

History of the Manuscript Same as no. 3 above.

- 8 Cairo, Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iḳ al-Miṣriyya, ms *Muṣṭalaḥ ḥadīṭ* 96
Manuscript Same as no. 1 above. This is the last volume of the work, it starts with the biography of Yahyā ibn Muslim. *Maḡribī* script. 137 ff. Part of the same set as no. 3 above.
Description Same as no. 1 above.
Bibliography *Fihrist al-maḥṭūṭāt* 1956, 279.
Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a)

استفاد منه داعيا للملكه أحمد بن علي لطفه الله به.

History of the Manuscript Same as no. 3 above.

- 9 Cairo, Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iḳ al-Miṣriyya, ms *Tārīḥ mīm* 103
Manuscript Ibn Sa'īd, *al-Muḡrib bi-ḥulā al-Maḡrib*. A composite volume containing book 3 (*sifr*) and 4.⁹ *Maḡribī* script. 142 ff.
Description This work was authored by several members of the family of the Banū Sa'īd over a period of some 115 years, but was completed in its present state by 'Alī ibn Mūsā Ibn Sa'īd al-Ansī (d. 685/1286-7). It consists of fifteen volumes (*sifr*) covering a geographical area including Egypt (six volumes), North Africa (three volumes), and al-Andalus (six volumes). The work mixes geographical descriptions of cities with biographical entries of famous persons from the past and the present; the whole work is chronologically organised.¹⁰
Bibliography *Fihrist al-kutub* 1924-63, 5: 353-4.

⁹ See below no. 10.

¹⁰ On the author and his work, see Cano Ávila 2004. The contents of this volume were published: Ibn Sa'īd 1953.

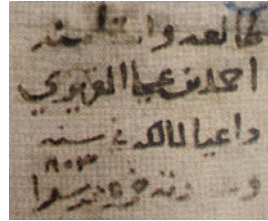


Figure 14
al-Maqrizī's consultation note in Ibn Sa'īd's *al-Muğrib*.
(Courtesy Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iḳ al-Miṣriyya,
ms 103 *Tārīḥ mim*, f. 1a)

Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a, in the middle of the left half of the upper margin)

طالعه واستفاد[د] منه / احمد بن علي المقرزي / داعيا لملكه في سنة ٨٠٣ / وعدته خمس عشر سفرا.

Beside this note, al-Maqrizī also added, on the same folio in the available space, a long biography of Ibn Sa'īd that he extracted from Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb's *al-Iḥāṭa*.¹¹ **History of the Manuscript** The volume is a holograph and was copied for the library (*ḥizāna*) of the Aleppan historian Ibn al-'Adīm (d. 660/1262) in Aleppo between 645/1247 and 647/1250; there is an undated consultation note by Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809/1407) [fig. 15];¹² it was bequeathed as a *waqf* by the Mamlūk sultan al-Mu'ayyad Ṣāyḥ to his mosque at Bāb Zuwayla in Cairo completed in 824/1421.¹³

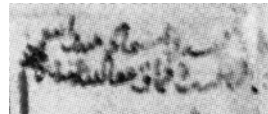
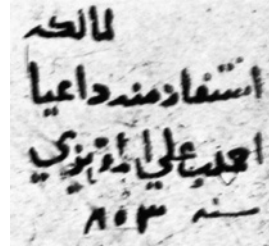


Figure 15
Ibn Duqmāq's consultation note in Ibn Sa'īd's *al-Muğrib*.
(Courtesy Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iḳ al-Miṣriyya,
ms 103 *Tārīḥ mim*, f. 132a)

11 قال كاتب هذه الترجمة أحمد بن علي المقرزي خطت هذه الترجمة من كتاب الإحاطة بتاريخ غرناطة للوزير / الخطير لسان الدين ابن الخطيب عفا الله عنه بكمه .
For al-Maqrizī's consultation of *al-Iḥāṭa*, see no. 20 below.

12 [طالعه] واستفاد منه داعيا / [لملكه] إبراهيم بن دقماق عفا الله عنه ورحمه.

13 وقف هذا الجزء الملك المؤيد أبو النصر شيخ على الجامع المؤيدي وأن لا يخرج منه.

10 Cairo, Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iq al-Miṣriyya, ms *Tārīḥ mīm* 103**Manuscript** As no. 9. Volume 3 contains book (*sifr*) 4. *Maḡribī* script. 189 ff.¹⁴**Description** As no. 9.**Bibliography** *Fihris al-kutub* 1924-63, 5: 353-4.**Figure 16**

al-Maqrizī's consultation note in Ibn Sa'īd's *al-Muḡrib*.
(Courtesy Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iq al-Miṣriyya,
ms 103 *Tārīḥ mīm*, f. 132a)

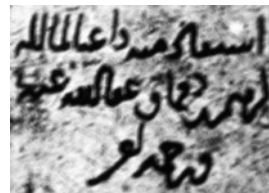
Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 132a, in the upper left corner)

استفاد منه داعيا لملكه / أحمد بن علي المقريري / سنة ٨٠٣.

History of the Manuscript As no. 9. In addition, there is an undated consultation note by Ḥalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) in which he states that he owned this volume [fig. 17]; there is an undated consultation note by Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809/1407) [fig. 18]; there is a dated consultation note by Aḥmad ibn 'Abdallāh al-Awḥadī (d. 811/1408) [fig. 19]; and there is a consultation note by Faṭḥ Allāh (d. 816/1413) dated 810/1407-8 [fig. 20].

**Figure 17**

al-Ṣafadī's consultation note in Ibn Sa'īd's *al-Muḡrib*.
(Courtesy Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iq al-Miṣriyya,
ms 103 *Tārīḥ mīm*, f. 132a)¹⁵

**Figure 18**

Ibn Duqmāq's consultation note in Ibn Sa'īd's *al-Muḡrib*.
(Courtesy Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'iq al-Miṣriyya,
ms 103 *Tārīḥ mīm*, f. 132a)¹⁶

¹⁴ The contents of this volume were published: Ibn Sa'īd 1970.

¹⁵ طالعاً وانتقى منه مالكة / خليل بن ايבק بن عبد الله الصفدي عفا الله عنه.
See chap. 3 in this volume, by Élise Franssen.

¹⁶ استفاد منه داعيا لملكه / إبراهيم بن دقماق عفا الله عنه / ورحمه آمين.

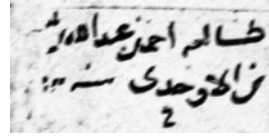


Figure 19
al-Awḥadī's consultation note in Ibn Sa'īd's *al-Muḡrib*.
(Courtesy Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'i'iq al-Miṣriyya,
ms 103 *Tārīḥ mim*, f. 132a)¹⁷

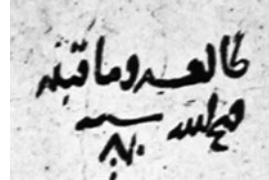


Figure 20
Fath Allah's consultation note in Ibn Sa'īd's *al-Muḡrib*.
(Courtesy Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Waṭā'i'iq al-Miṣriyya,
ms 103 *Tārīḥ mim*, f. 132a)¹⁸

11 Sūhāḡ, Ma'had Balaṣfūra al-Dīnī, shelf number unknown

Manuscript As no. 9. Volume 6. *Maḡribī* script. 235 ff. This volume covers al-Andalus.¹⁹

Description As no. 9.

Bibliography 'Abd al-Badī' 1956, p. 257 (no. 501).

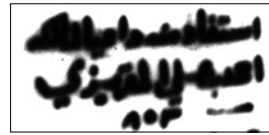


Figure 21
al-Maqrizī's consultation note in Ibn Sa'īd's *al-Muḡrib*.
(Courtesy Ma'had Balaṣfūra al-Dīnī, f. 6a)

Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 6a, in the middle of the outer margin)

استفاد منه داعيا للملكه / أحمد بن علي المقريري / سنة ٨٠٣.

¹⁷ طالعہ احمد بن عبد اللہ بن الحسن / بن الأوحدي سنة ٨٠٣. The date was read 803 by Fu'ād Sayyid 1999, 125, while the editors of Ibn Sa'īd 1953, 59 (of the introduction), read it as 802. Only the last two digits are faintly visible, but can be compared with his consultation note in another volume of the same work (see no. 19). Note that al-Awḥadī wrote the zero as two dots placed one above the other. Al-Awḥadī authored (but did not complete) a topographical history of the city of Cairo from which al-Maqrizī benefitted for his own work. On him and his work, see al-Saḡāwī 1934-6, 1: 358-9.

¹⁸ طالعہ وما قبلہ / فتح اللہ سنة ٨١٠.

¹⁹ Parts of this volume were published: Ibn Sa'īd 1964.

History of the Manuscript As no. 9. In addition, there is an undated consultation note by Ḥalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī in which he states that he owned this volume (f. 6a) [fig. 22]; there is an undated consultation note by Ibn Duqmāq [fig. 23]; and there is a dated (802/ 1399-1400) consultation note by Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Awḥadī (f. 6a) [fig. 24].

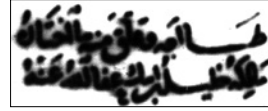


Figure 22
al-Ṣafadī's consultation note in Ibn Sa'īd's *al-Muḡrib*.
(Courtesy Ma'had Balaṣfūra al-Dīnī, f. 6a)²⁰



Figure 23
Ibn Duqmāq's consultation note in Ibn Sa'īd's *al-Muḡrib*.
(Courtesy Ma'had Balaṣfūra al-Dīnī, f. 6a)²¹



Figure 24
al-Awḥadī's consultation note in Ibn Sa'īd's *al-Muḡrib*.
(Courtesy Ma'had Balaṣfūra al-Dīnī, f. 6a)²²

12 Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphane Müzesi, ms Ahmet III 2832

Manuscript Ibn Duqmāq, *Naẓm al-ḡumān fī ṭabaqāt aṣḥāb imāmi-nā al-Nu'mān*, vol. 2 contains the first four generations. 164 ff.

Description This four-volume work, composed by Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Aydamur al-‘Alā‘ī, known as Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809/1407), consists of a biographical dictionary of Ḥanafī scholars. The entries are organised by generations (*ṭabaqāt*), starting from the founder, Abū Ḥanīfa, and then alphabetically in each section.²³

Bibliography Karatay 1962-9, 3: 556 (no. 6454).

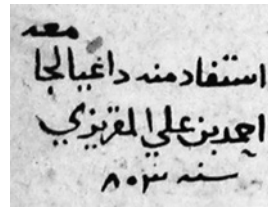


Figure 25
al-Maqrizī's consultation note in Ibn Duqmāq's *Naẓm al-ḡumān*.
(Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Müzesi,
ms Ahmet III 2832, f. 1a)

²⁰ طَالَعَهُ وَعَلَّقَ مِنْهُ مَا اخْتَارَهُ / تَالِكُهُ خَلِيلٌ مِنْ أَيْبِكُ عَفَا اللَّهُ عَنْهُ.

²¹ طَالَعَهُ وَعَلَّقَ مِنْهُ مَا اخْتَارَهُ / إِبْرَاهِيمُ بْنُ دُقْمَاقٍ عَفَا اللَّهُ عَنْهُ وَغَفَرَ لَهُ آمِينَ.

²² أَحْمَدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ الْحَسَنِ بْنِ الْأَوْحَادِ [بَدَنِي] / بِالْقَاهِرَةِ سَنَةَ ٨٠٢.

²³ On the author, see Pedersen 1986. The work is unpublished.

Al-Maqrīzī's consultation note (f. 1a, in the middle of the upper half of the outer margin)

استفاد منه داعيا لجامعه / أحمد بن علي المقرزي / سنة ٨٠٣

History of the Manuscript This volume is a holograph dated 794/1392; there is a consultation note by 'Abdallāh ibn Aḥmad al-Biṣbīṣī dated 803/1400-1 (f. 1a) [fig. 26]; there is an undated ownership statement by 'Alī Ibn al-Adamī al-Ḥanaḥī (f. 1a) [fig. 27]; and there is an undated consultation note by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Saḥāwī (f. 1a) [fig. 28]. In 825/1422, it was endowed by Fāris al-Aṣrafī to al-Azhar mosque (f. 1a).²⁴

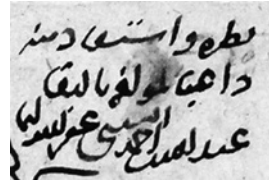


Figure 26

al-Biṣbīṣī's consultation note in Ibn Duqmāq's *Naẓm al-ḡumān*.
(Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Müzesi, ms Ahmet III 2832, f. 1a)²⁵

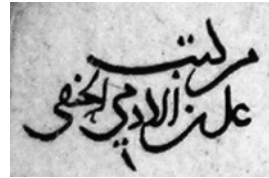


Figure 27

al-Adamī's ownership statement in Ibn Duqmāq's *Naẓm al-ḡumān*.
(Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Müzesi, ms Ahmet III 2832, f. 1a)²⁶

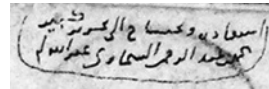


Figure 28

al-Saḥāwī's consultation note in Ibn Duqmāq's *Naẓm al-ḡumān*.
(Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Müzesi, ms Ahmet III 2832, f. 1a)²⁷

²⁴ Fāris al-Ḥāzindār al-Ṭawāṣī (death date unknown but the endowment note shows that he died sometime after 825/1422).

²⁵ نظره واستفاده منه / داعيا لمؤلفه بالبقاء / عبد الله بن أحمد البيشبيسي غفر الله لهما.
This is Ḡamāl al-Dīn 'Abdallāh ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-'Uḍrī al-Biṣbīṣī al-Ṣāfi'ī (d. 820/1417). See al-Maqrīzī 2002, 2: 347-8 (no. 689); al-Saḥāwī 1934-6, 5: 7 (no. 18).

²⁶ من كتب / علي بن آدمي الحنفي.
This is Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Dimaṣqī al-Ḥanaḥī, known as Ibn al-Adamī (d. 816/1413). See al-Maqrīzī 2002, 2: 550-1 (no. 866); al-Saḥāwī 1934-36, 6: 8-9 (no. 25).

²⁷ استفاده ويحتاج إلى تحرير كبير / محمد بن عبد الرحمن السخاوي غفر الله له.
This is the famous traditionist and historian al-Saḥāwī (d. 902/1497). On him, see Petry 1995.

13 London, British Library, ms Or. 8050

Manuscript Same as no. 12 above. Volume 3 covers generations 5-7. Part of the same set including no. 12.

Description Same as no. 12 above.

Bibliography Stocks 2001, 227.

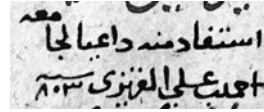


Figure 29

al-Maqrizī's consultation note in Ibn Duqmāq's *Nazm al-ġumān*.
(Courtesy British Library, ms Or. 8050, f. 2a)

Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 2a, in the middle of the outer margin)

استفاد منه داعيا لجامعه / أحمد بن علي المقرزي سنة ٨٠٣.

History of the Manuscript Same as no. 12 above (consultation note by al-Biṣḥī [fig. 30] and al-Saḥāwī [fig. 31]; there is a note of endowment made by Fāris al-Hāzindār).²⁸

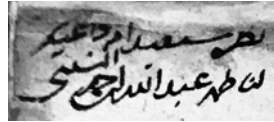


Figure 30

al-Biṣḥī's consultation note in Ibn Duqmāq's *Nazm al-ġumān*.
(Courtesy British Library, ms Or. 8050, f. 2a)²⁹

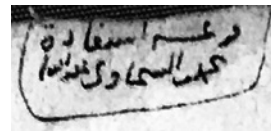


Figure 31

al-Saḥāwī's consultation note in Ibn Duqmāq's *Nazm al-ġumān*.
(Courtesy British Library, ms Or. 8050, f. 2a)³⁰

²⁸ Ms Pet. II.24 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek) is another holograph copy of this volume with the same contents. It seems that ms Or. 8050 corresponds to the first version and ms Pet. II.24 to the second. The latter was owned by Ibn al-Adamī as no. 12, as well as by Faṭḥ Allāh (on him, see no. 10). Ms Arabe 2096 (Paris, BnF), a holograph copy of the first volume, confirms that Ibn Duqmāq prepared a fair copy: in the colophon (f. 154a) he states that he completed the process (*bayyaḍtu ḥāḍihi al-nuṣṣa min al-musawwada*) in 795/1393.

²⁹ نظره مستفيدا منه داعيا / لناظمه عبد الله بن أحمد البيشبي.

³⁰ فرغه استفاضة / محمد بن السخاوي غفر الله له.

14 Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphane Müzesi, ms Ahmet III 1822

Al-Ṭūfī, *al-Intiṣārāt al-islāmiyya fī kašf sunnat al-naṣrāniyya*. 121 ff.

Description This is a work composed by Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Qawī al-Ṭūfī (d. 716/1316) as an apology of Islam and written in close connection with his refutation of Christianity.³¹

Bibliography Karatay 1962-69, 3: 61 (no. 4863).

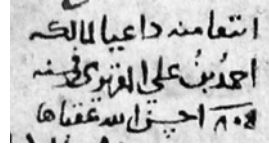


Figure 32

al-Maqrīzī's consultation note in al-Ṭūfī's *al-Intiṣārāt al-islāmiyya*.
(Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Müzesi, ms Ahmet III 1822, f. 1a)

Al-Maqrīzī's consultation note (f. 1a, in the middle of the outer margin)

انتقا منه داعيا للملكه / أحمد بن علي المقريري في سنة / ٨٠٥ أحسن الله عقباها.

History of the Manuscript This copy is an apograph dated 711/1311, i.e., three years after the completion of the work; there is an undated note (of ownership?) by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣā'iḡ (f. 1a) [fig. 33]; there is an undated ownership statement by Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥaydara (f. 1a, in the middle of the outer margin) [fig. 34].

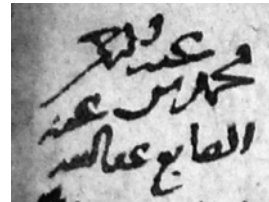


Figure 33

Ibn al-Ṣā'iḡ's note in al-Ṭūfī's *al-Intiṣārāt al-islāmiyya*.
(Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Müzesi, ms Ahmet III 1822, f. 1a)³²

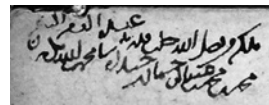


Figure 34

al-Diḡwī's ownership statement in al-Ṭūfī's *al-Intiṣārāt al-islāmiyya*. (Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Müzesi, ms Ahmet III 1822, f. 1a)³³

³¹ On al-Ṭūfī and his work, see Demiri 2013. The work has been published: al-Ṭūfī 1992.

³² محمد بن عبد الرحمن / الصانع عفا الله عنه.

He is probably Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Alī al-Su'ūdī al-Ḥanafī, known as Ibn al-Ṣā'iḡ (d. 776/1375), al-Maqrīzī's maternal grandfather. See al-Maqrīzī 2002, 3: 255-60 (no. 1157).

³³ ملكه من فضل الله جلت قدرته عبده الفقير إليه / محمد بن محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن حيدر سامحه الله بكرمه.

He is Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥaydara al-Diḡwī al-Ṣāfi'ī (d. 809/1406). See al-Maqrīzī 2002, 3: 99-100 (no. 985); al-Saḥāwī 1934-36, 9: 91 (no. 254).

15 Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Reisülkütab 157

Manuscript al-Dāraquṭnī, *al-Sunan*, vol. 1. 159 ff. *Maḡribī* script.

Description This is the famous collection of prophetic traditions collected by ‘Alī ibn ‘Umar al-Dāraquṭnī (385/995).³⁴

Bibliography Nil.

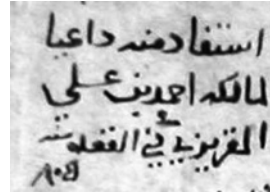


Figure 35

al-Maqrizī’s consultation note in al-Dāraquṭnī’s *al-Sunan*.
(Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Reisülkütab 157, f. 1a)

Al-Maqrizī’s consultation note (f. 1a, in the middle of the upper half of the outer margin)

استفاد منه داعيا / لملكه أحمد بن علي / المقريني في ذي القعدة سنة / ٨٠٥.

History of the Manuscript This copy is dated 511/1117 and was made by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Laylā; the copy was read aloud by the copyist to Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣadafī (d. 514/1120)³⁵ during the same month the copy was completed (f. 1a); a certificate of audition witnesses that the text was read in the presence of three masters in 753/1352 in Cairo; there is a (consultation?) note by Ibrāhīm al-Biqā’ī (d. 885/1480)³⁶ dated 862/1458 [fig. 36].

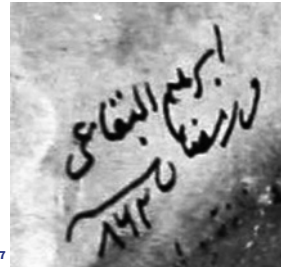


Figure 36

al-Biqā’ī’s (consultation?) note in al-Dāraquṭnī’s *al-Sunan*.
(Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Reisülkütab 157, f. 1a)³⁷

³⁴ On the author and his work, see Sezgin 1967, 206-9.

³⁵ He is probably al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn Firruh al-Ṣadafī (d. 514/1120). On him, see de la Puente 2012.

³⁶ Al-Biqā’ī is the famous scholar who authored a chronicle and used the Bible in his exegesis of the Qur’ān. On him and his work, see Thomas 2013.

³⁷ ابراهيم البيقاعي / في رمضان سنة ٨٦٢.

16 Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Fatih 3612

Manuscript Ibn Waḥṣiyya, *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya*, vol. 1. 305 ff. Part of a set in five volumes.

Description The work, written by Aḥmad ibn `Alī ibn Qays al-Kasdānī, known as Ibn Waḥṣiyya (d. 318/930-1), corresponds to an agricultural treatise mixing botanical and astrological information as well as ancient stories.³⁸

Bibliography Nil.

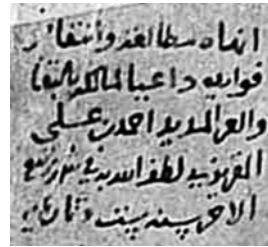


Figure 37

al-Maqrizī's consultation note in Ibn Waḥṣiyya's *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* (vol. 1). (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Fatih 3612, f. 1a)

Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a, in the upper left corner)

أنها مطالعة وانتقاء من / فوائده داعيا للملكه بالبقاء / والعز المديد أحمد بن علي / المقريزي لطف الله به في شهر ربيع / الآخر سنة ست وثمان مائة.

History of the Manuscript Though undated, this volume was written before 640/1242-43 as it belonged to a set in five volumes of which volumes 4 and 5 have been preserved and volume 4 includes a colophon added by a later hand dated from that year;³⁹ there is an undated ownership statement by Faṭḥ Allāh (f. 1a) [fig. 38]; and there is a dated note of acquisition by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Hanafī (d. 862/1458) who owned the whole set in five volumes (f. 1a) [fig. 39].

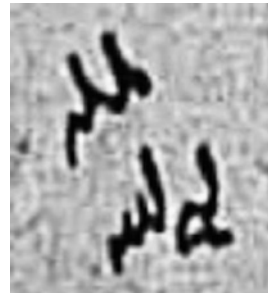


Figure 38

Faṭḥ Allāh's ownership statement in Ibn Waḥṣiyya's *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* (vol. 1). (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Fatih 3612, f. 1a)⁴⁰

³⁸ On the author and his work, see Hämeen-Anttila 2006. The work was published: Ibn Waḥṣiyya 1993-98.

³⁹ See no. 17. The manuscript is more likely from the sixth/twelfth century.

⁴⁰ ملكه / فتح الله.

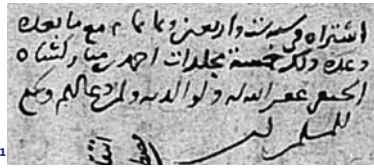


Figure 39

Ibn Mubārakšāh's note of acquisition in Ibn Waḥšīyya's *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* (vol. 1). (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Fatih 3612, f. 1a)⁴¹

17 Rome, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, ms Arabo 904

Manuscript Same as no. 16 above. This is vol. 4. 253 ff. Part of a set in five volumes.

Description Same as no. 16 above.

Bibliography Levi della Vida 1935, 86.

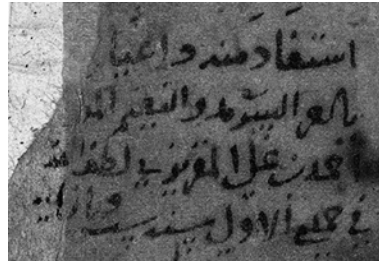


Figure 40

al-Maqrizī's consultation note in Ibn Waḥšīyya's *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* (vol. 4). (Courtesy Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, ms Arabo 904, f. 1a)

Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a, in the upper left corner)

استفاد منه داعيا [بالله] / بالعر السرمدم والتعيم المديد] / أحمد بن علي المقرزي لطف الله [به] / في جمدي الأولى سنة ست وثمان مائة.

History of the Manuscript This is a copy made before 640/1242-43, which corresponds to the date added by a later hand; there is an undated ownership statement by Faḥ Allāh (f. 1a) [fig. 41]; and there is a dated ownership statement by Aḥmad ibn Mubārakšāh al-Ḥanafī (f. 1a) [fig. 42].

⁴¹ اشتراه في سنة ست وأربعين وثمانمائة مع ما بعده / وعدة ذلك خمسة مجلدات أحمد بن مباركشاه / الحنفي غفر الله له ولوالديه ولعن دعا لهم وجميع / المسلمين آمين . He is Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (known as Mubārakšāh) ibn Ḥusayn al-Qāhirī al-Sayfī Yašbak al-Ḥanafī. On him, see al-Saḥāwī 1934-36, 2: 65 (no. 200).

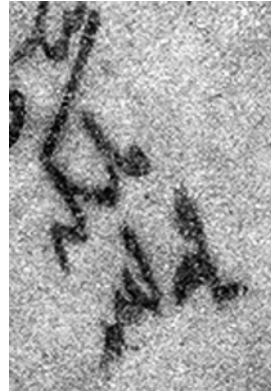


Figure 41
Fath Allāh's ownership statement in Ibn Waḥṣīyya's
al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya (vol. 4). (Courtesy Biblioteca apostolica
vaticana, ms Arabo 904, f. 1a)⁴²

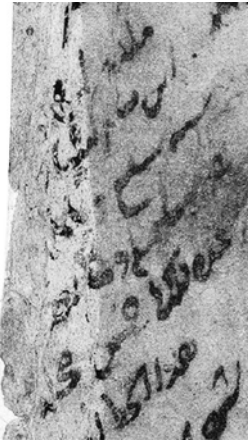


Figure 42
Ibn Mubārakšāh's ownership statement in Ibn Waḥṣīyya's
al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya (vol. 4). (Courtesy Biblioteca apostolica vaticana,
ms Arabo 904, f. 1a)⁴³

18 Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms Huntington 326⁴⁴

Manuscript Same as no. 16 above. This is vol. 5. 190 ff. Part of a set in five volumes.

Description Same as no. 16 above.

Bibliography Uri 1787, 118 (no. CCCCLXIII).

⁴² ملكه / فتح الله.

⁴³ ملكه أحمد / ابن مبارکشاه / سنة سبع وثمانماية / مع ما قبله وما بعده / عدة ذلك خمس مجلدات.

The year is pretty clear but does not agree with the date provided by the same owner on vol. 1 (see no. 16).

⁴⁴ I am grateful to Umberto Bongianino for kindly sending pictures of this manuscript.

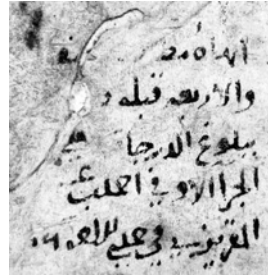


Figure 43

al-Maqrizī's consultation note in Ibn Waḥṣhiyya's *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* (vol. 4). (Courtesy Bodleian Library, ms Huntington, f. 1a)

Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a, in the upper left corner)

أنها مطر [العة وانتقاء] / والأربعة قبله د[اعيا لملكه] / يبلغ الدرجات [العلی فی] / الجزء الأوفى أحمد بن علي / المقریزی فی جمدی الآخرة سنة [٥٠٦هـ]

History of the Manuscript There is an undated ownership statement by Faḥ Allāh (f. 1a) [fig. 44], and an ownership statement by Aḥmad ibn Mubārakšāh (f. 1a) [fig. 45].



Figure 44

Faḥ Allāh's ownership statement in Ibn Waḥṣhiyya's *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* (vol. 4). (Courtesy Bodleian Library, ms Huntington, f. 1a)⁴⁵

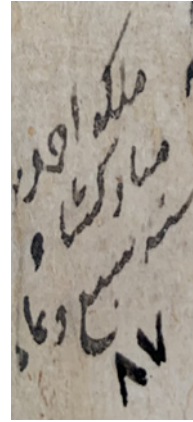


Figure 45
Ibn Mubārakšāh's ownership statement in Ibn Waḥṣīyya's *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭīyya* (vol. 4). (Courtesy Bodleian Library, ms Huntington, f. 1a)⁴⁶

19 San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de El Escorial, ms Árabe 534, ff. 132a-289b

Manuscript Al-Musabbiḥī, *Aḥbār Miṣr wa-faḍā'ilu-hā wa-aḡā'ibu-hā wa-ṭarā'ifu-hā wa-ḡarā'ibu-hā wa-mā bi-hā min al-biqā' wa-l-āṭār wa-siyar man ḥalla-hā wa-ḥalla ḡayra-hā min al-wulāt wa-l-umarā' wa-l-a'imma al-ḥulafā' ābā' amīr al-mu'minīn* (vol. 40).

Description This history of Egypt from the Muslim conquest to the author's lifetime was written by Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Musabbiḥī (d. 420/1029). Only one volume, covering part of the year 414/1023-24 and most of the year 415/1024-25, has been preserved.⁴⁷

Bibliography Derenbourg 1884, 362-3 (no. 534).

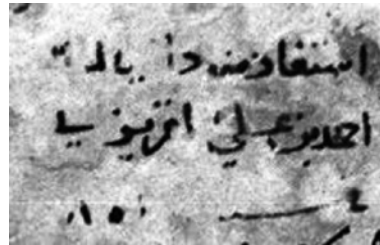


Figure 46
al-Maqrīzī's consultation note in al-Musabbiḥī's *Aḥbār Miṣr*. (Courtesy Real Biblioteca de El Escorial, ms Árabe 534, f. 132a)

Al-Maqrīzī's consultation note (f. 132a, in the upper left corner)

استفاد منه دا[ع]يا ل[د]الملكه / أحمد بن علي المقرزي / في سنة ٨٠٧.

⁴⁶ ملكه أحمد بن / مبارکشاه [في] سنة سبع وثمانمائة / ٨٧.

The digits were probably added by a later hand as the colour of the ink differs from the text of the mark.

⁴⁷ On him and his work, see Bianquis 1993. This volume was published: al-Musabbiḥī 1978; 1984.

History of the Manuscript This fortieth volume of the work was bound at a later date with another unrelated text; though undated, this copy seems to be from the sixth/twelfth century; there is a consultation note (f. 132a) by Aḥmad ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Awḥadī dated 803/1400-01 in Cairo [fig. 47].



Figure 47
al-Awḥadī's consultation note in al-Musabbiḥī's *Aḥbār Miṣr*. (Courtesy Real Biblioteca de El Escorial, ms Árabe 534, f. 132a)⁴⁸

20 Lost?

Manuscript Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa bi-tārīḥ Ḡarnāṭa*, vol. 4.

Description This is a history of Granada in eight volumes composed by the polymath and head of the chancellery in the same city, Lisān al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb (d. 776/1374).⁴⁹

Bibliography de Castro León 2021, 180-1.

Al-Maqrizī's consultation note:

انتقى منه داعيا لمؤلفه أحمد بن علي المقرئ في شهر ربيع⁵⁰ سنة ثمان وثمانمائة.

History of the Manuscript This fourth volume was part of a full set in eight holograph volumes sent by the author to Cairo as an endowment to the Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ convent;⁵¹ this volume could still be consulted by the historian from Tlemcen al-Maqqarī (d. 1041/1632) during his stay in Cairo and he registered some of the notes that were left by scholars from various periods;⁵² these included, beside al-Maqrizī's note, notes by Ibn Duqmāq, Ibn Ḥaḡar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449),⁵³ and al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505),⁵⁴ among others.

21 Tübingen, Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, ms Ma. VI.18

Manuscript Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, *Tuḥfat al-ṭālibīn fī tarḡamat ṣayḥi-nā al-imām al-Nawawī Muḥyī al-dīn*.

⁴⁸ طالعه أحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الأوحدي / بالقاهرة سنة ٨٠٣.

⁴⁹ On him and his work, see del Moral, Velázquez Basanta 2012. The work is published: Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb 1956-78; Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb 1988.

⁵⁰ There is a lacuna in the text as the number of the month is not provided.

⁵¹ This set is considered lost, though some 170 scattered folios were retrieved in al-Azhar mosque in the last century; their fate is currently unknown.

⁵² Al-Maqqarī 1988, 7: 105-6.

⁵³ He is the chief magistrate who was also a colleague and a friend of al-Maqrizī. On him, see Van Arendonk, Schacht 1986.

⁵⁴ الحمد لله وحده طالعه على طبقات النجاة واللغويين وكتبه عبد الرحمن بن أبي بكر السيوطي سنة ثمان وستين وثمانمائة. He is the famous polymath. On him, see Ghersetti 2017.

Description This concerns the life of the Damascene traditionist Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī (d. 676/1278) narrated by his student, 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-'Aṭṭār al-Šāfi'ī (d. 724/1324), who completed the fair copy in 708/1309.⁵⁵

Bibliography Seybold 1907, 36.



Figure 48

al-Maqrizī's consultation note in Ibn al-'Aṭṭār's *Tuḥfat al-ṭālibin*. (Courtesy Universitätsbibliothek, ms Ma. VI. 18, f. 1a)

Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a, in the upper right corner, parallel to the spine)

انتقاهم داعيا لملكها / أحمد بن علي المقرزي في ذي / القعدة سنة ٨١٠.

History of the Manuscript This copy appears to be a *unicum*; moreover it was copied by the author's brother in 744/1343 and collated with the author's holograph (f. 47a).

22 Rabat, al-Maktaba al-Waṭaniyya, ms 241 qāf

Manuscript Ibn al-Furāt, *al-Ṭariq al-wāḍiḥ al-maslūk fi tarāḡim al-ḥulafā' wa-l-mulūk*. Volume covering the years 625-38, 596 pages.

Description This work is a multi-volume history of Islam with a major focus on Egypt and Syria up to the author's own time and preceded by several volumes on the prophets who preceded Muḥammad; it was composed by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Furāt al-Ḥanafī (d. 807/1405).⁵⁶

Bibliography Al-Murābiṭī 2001-02, 294-5 (no. 302).

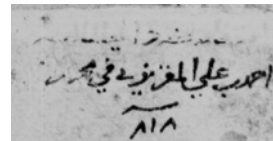


Figure 49

al-Maqrizī's consultation note in Ibn al-Furāt's *al-Ṭariq al-wāḍiḥ al-maslūk*. (Courtesy al-Maktaba al-Waṭaniyya, ms 241 qāf, f. 1a)

Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a, in the middle of the inner margin, parallel to the spine)

استفاد منه داعيا لملكه / أحمد بن علي المقرزي في محرم / سنة ٨١٨.

History of the Manuscript This volume is an undated holograph; there is an undated ownership statement by Muḥammad al-Abšādī al-Mālikī (d. aft. 898/1493) (f. 1a) [fig. 50]; there is an undated ownership statement by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad

⁵⁵ On him, see Ibn Ḥaḡār 1966-67, 3: 73-4 (no. 2636). The work was published on the basis of the Tübingen ms: Ibn al-'Aṭṭār 1993.

⁵⁶ On him and his work, see Bora 2019. The Rabat ms remains unpublished.

ibn [Īnāl al-ʿAlāī] (d. 902/1497) (f. 1a) [fig. 51]; and there is an undated ownership statement by Aḥmad ibn Faṭḥ al-Dīn al-Zāʿir (d. bef. 931/1525) (f. 1a) [fig. 52].

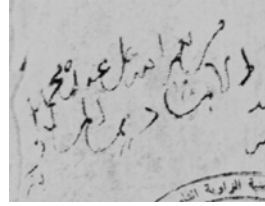


Figure 50
al-Abšādī's ownership statement in Ibn al-Furāt's
al-Ṭarīq al-wādiḥ al-maslūk. (Courtesy al-Maktaba al-Waṭaniyya,
ms 241 qāf, f. 1a)⁵⁷

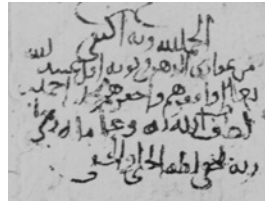


Figure 51
al-ʿAlāī's ownership statement in Ibn al-Furāt's
al-Ṭarīq al-wādiḥ al-maslūk. (Courtesy al-Maktaba al-Waṭaniyya,
ms 241 qāf, f. 1a)⁵⁸

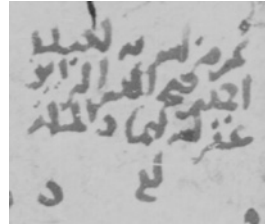


Figure 52
al-Zāʿir's ownership statement in Ibn al-Furāt's
al-Ṭarīq al-wādiḥ al-maslūk. (Courtesy al-Maktaba al-Waṭaniyya,
ms 241 qāf, f. 1a)⁵⁹

23 Rome, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, ms Arabo 726

Manuscript Same as no. 22 above. This volume covers the years 639-58.

Description Same as no. 22 above.⁶⁰

Bibliography Levi della Vida 1935, 69.

⁵⁷ من نعم الله على عبده محمد / الإيشادي المالكي .

On him, see al-Saḥāwī 1934-36, 8: 184 (no. 467).

⁵⁸ الحمد لله وبه أكتفي / من عواري الدهر في نوبة أقل عبيد الله / تعالي وأقربهم وأحقرهم محمد بن أحمد بن [...] / لطف الله به وعامله / ربه يحفي لطفه الجلي والحفي .
His full name was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Īnāl ibn al-Šiḥna al-Dawādār al-ʿAlāī al-Ḥanafī. On him, see al-Saḥāwī 1934-36, 6: 295. For several other ownership statements related to him, see Bauden 2020c, 220-7.

⁵⁹ ثم من الله به لعبد / أحمد بن فتح الدين الزائر / غفر الله لهما والملة / أمين .

His full name was Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan; he was known as Ibn Faṭḥ al-Dīn, min walad ʿUṭmān al-Zāʿir al-Ḥasanī al-Saʿdī al-Mālikī al-Miṣrī. On him and several of his ownership statements and consultation notes, see Bauden 2020c, 227-33.

⁶⁰ The Vatican ms remains unpublished.

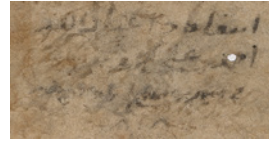


Figure 53

al-Maqrīzī's consultation note in Ibn al-Furāt's *al-Ṭarīq al-wāḍiḥ al-maslūk*. (Courtesy Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, ms Arabo 726, f. 291b)

Al-Maqrīzī's consultation note (f. 291b, on the left, below the end of the text)

انتقاء داعيا لملكه / أحمد بن علي المقرزي / في شهر ربيع [الأول] سنة / ٨١٨.⁶¹

History of the Manuscript This is an undated holograph volume.

24 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms AF 123

Manuscript Same as no. 22 above. This volume covers the years 672-82.

Description Same as no. 22 above.⁶²

Bibliography Flügel 1865-67, 2: 46-9 (no. 814).

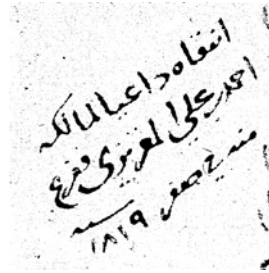


Figure 54

al-Maqrīzī's consultation note in Ibn al-Furāt's *al-Ṭarīq al-wāḍiḥ al-maslūk*. (Courtesy Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms AF 123, f. 95b)

Al-Maqrīzī's consultation note (f. 95b, in the lower left corner, written vertically)

انتقاء داعيا لملكه / أحمد بن علي المقرزي ففرغ / منه في صفر سنة ٨١٩.

History of the Manuscript Another holograph volume.

⁶¹ The note is barely legible now, but it was read almost a century ago by Tisserant 1914, xxxiii; however, he was unable to read the second and the third words.

⁶² The contents of this volume have been published: Ibn al-Furāt 1942.

25 Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, ms Arabic 3315

Manuscript al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, vol. 1.⁶³

Description This catalog of works available in Arabic and composed by Arabs and non-Arabs from Antiquity to the fourth/tenth century was compiled by Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm (d. 385/995).⁶⁴

Bibliography Arberry 1955-69, 2: 31.

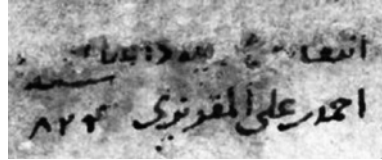


Figure 55
al-Maqrizī's consultation note in Ibn al-Nadīm's
al-Fihrist. (Courtesy Chester Beatty Library,
ms Arabic 3315, f. 1a)

Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a, in the middle of the upper half of the inner margin, parallel to the spine)

انتقا من [فوا]ئده داعيا لـ [...] / أحمد بن علي المرزوقي سنة ٨٢٤.

Al-Maqrizī also added a biography of al-Nadīm on the title page.⁶⁵

History of the Manuscript This is an undated apograph copy datable to the early fifth/eleventh century, an ownership statement (f. 1a) by a certain Aḥmad ibn 'Alī dated 825/1422 in Damascus [fig. 56]; and there is an ownership statement (f. 1a) by Yahyā ibn Ḥiḡḡī al-Šāfi'ī dated 885/1480-81 [fig. 57].

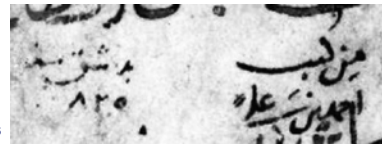


Figure 56
Aḥmad ibn 'Alī's ownership statement
in Ibn al-Nadīm's *al-Fihrist*. (Courtesy Chester
Beatty Library, ms Arabic 3315, f. 1a)⁶⁶

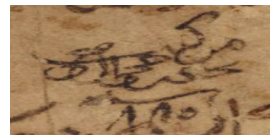


Figure 57
Ibn Ḥiḡḡī's ownership statement
in Ibn al-Nadīm's *al-Fihrist*
(Courtesy Chester Beatty Library, ms Arabic 3315, f. 1a)⁶⁷

⁶³ The second volume is now in Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Şehid Ali Paşa 1934. The text was originally in one volume, and was later separated into two.

⁶⁴ On the author and his work, see Fleishhammer 1996. The work is published: al-Nadīm 2009.

⁶⁵ This was edited in al-Nadīm 2009, 1/1: 13 (of the introduction).

⁶⁶ من كتب / أحمد بن علي / بدمشق سنة / ٨٢٥.
Arberry 1955-69, 2: 31, wrongly attributes this mark to al-Maqrizī. This attribution can be dismissed, as demonstrated in this study (see above).

⁶⁷ من كتب / يحيى بن حجي الشافعي / سنة / ٨٨٥.
He is Yahyā ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Ḥiḡḡī al-Sa'dī al-Dimašqī al-Qāhirī (d. 888/1483), a famous book collector. See al-Saḡāwī 1934-36, 10: 252-4 (no. 1030).

26 Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Ayasofya 3416

Manuscript Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, vol. 3.
Description This is a 27-volume encyclopedic work composed by the chancery secretary Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī al-Šāfiʿī (d. 749/1349).⁶⁸
Bibliography *Defter* 1887, 205.

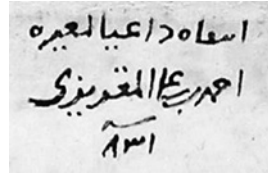


Figure 58

al-Maqrizī's consultation note in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-abṣār*. (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Ayasofya 3416, f. 1a)

Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a, in the lower right corner, parallel to the spine)

انتفاه داعيا لمعيره / أحمد بن علي المقرئ / سنة ٨٣١.

Three excerpts selected in this multi-volume work are extant in al-Maqrizī's notebook held in Liège (ms 2232).⁶⁹

History of the Manuscript This is a copy datable to the eighth/fourteenth century; there is an ownership statement by Ibn al-Bārizī (d. 856/1452) [fig. 59]; and there is an ownership statement by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ināl al-ʿAlāʾ al-Dawādār al-Ḥanafī [fig. 60].

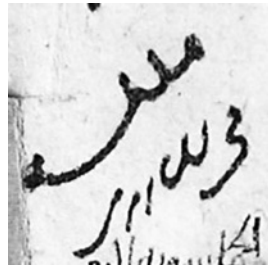


Figure 59

Ibn al-Bārizī's ownership statement in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-abṣār*. (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Ayasofya 3416, f. 1a)⁷⁰

⁶⁸ On him and his work, see Krafūlskī 1990. The work has recently been completely published several times, the last time by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī 2010, but no real critical edition of the whole is available.

⁶⁹ See Bauden 2003, 63-4; 2006, 135.

⁷⁰ ملكه / بن البارزي.

He is probably Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Bārizī al-Ḥamawī al-Šāfiʿī (d. 856/1452). On him, see al-Saḥāwī 1934-36, 9: 236-9 (no. 583).

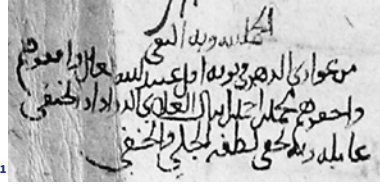


Figure 60

al-'Alā'ī's ownership statement in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-abṣār*. (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Ayasofya 3416, f. 1a)⁷¹

27 Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Ayasofya 3418

Manuscript Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, vol. 5.

Description Same as no. 26 above.

Bibliography *Defter* 1887, 205.

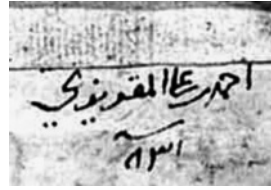


Figure 61

al-Maqrizī's consultation note in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-abṣār*. (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Ayasofya 3418, f. 1a)

Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a, in the middle of the lower half of the inner margin, parallel to the spine)

[...] / أحمد بن علي المقرزي / سنة ٨٣١.

History of the Manuscript Same as no. 26 above.

⁷¹ الحمد لله وبه أكتفي / من غوارى الدهر في نوبة أقل عبده الله تعالى وأقرهم / وأخبرهم محمد بن أحمد بن إبنال العلاني الدوادار الحنفي / عامله / ربه بحفي لطفه الجلي والحنفي.

28 Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Laleli 2037

Manuscript Same as no. 26 above. This is vol. 6.

Description Same as no. 26 above.

Bibliography Nil.

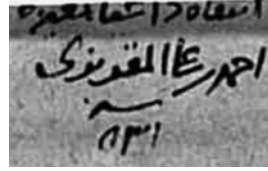


Figure 62

al-Maqrizī's consultation note in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī's *Masālik al-abṣār*. (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Laleli 2037, f. 1a)

Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a, in the middle of the lower half of the inner margin, parallel to the spine)

انتقاء داعيا لمعيره / أحمد بن علي المقرئ / سنة ٨٣١.

History of the Manuscript Same as no. 26 above.

29 London, British Library, ms Add. 9589

Manuscript Same as no. 26 above. This is vol. 14.

Description Same as no. 26 above.

Bibliography Stocks 2001, 386.

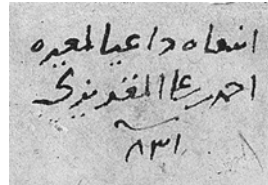


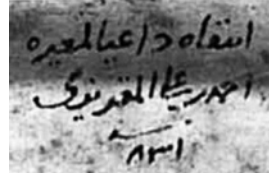
Figure 63

al-Maqrizī's consultation note in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī's *Masālik al-abṣār*. (Courtesy British Library, ms Add. 9589, f. 1a)

Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a, in the middle of the lower half of the inner margin, parallel to the spine)

انتقاء داعيا لمعيره / أحمد بن علي المقرئ / سنة ٨٣١.

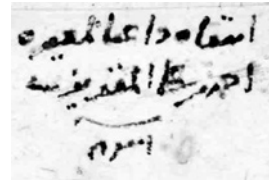
History of the Manuscript Same as no. 26 above.

30 Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Ayasofya 3428**Manuscript** Same as no. 26 above. This is vol. 15.**Description** Same as no. 26 above.**Bibliography** *Defter* 1887, 205.**Figure 64**

al-Maqrizī's consultation note in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari's *Masālik al-absār*. (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Ayasofya 3428, f. 1a)

Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a, in the middle of the lower half of the inner margin, parallel to the spine)

انتقاء داعيا لمعيره / أحمد بن علي المقرئ / سنة ٨٣١.

History of the Manuscript Same as no. 26 above.**31** Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms Arabe 2327**Manuscript** Same as no. 26 above. This is vol. 17.**Description** Same as no. 26 above.**Bibliography** de Slane 1883-95, 408.**Figure 65**

al-Maqrizī's consultation note in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari's *Masālik al-absār*. (Courtesy Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms Arabe 2327, f. 3a)

Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 3a, in the middle of the lower half of the inner margin, parallel to the spine)

انتقاء داعيا لمعيره / أحمد بن علي المقرئ / سنة ٨٣١.

History of the Manuscript Same as no. 26 above.

32 Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Ayasofya 3432

Manuscript Same as no. 26 above. This is vol. 19.

Description Same as no. 26 above.

Bibliography *Defter* 1887, 205.

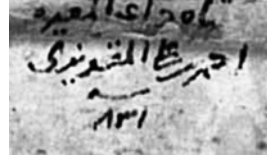


Figure 66

al-Maqrizī's consultation note in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-abṣār*. (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Ayasofya 3432, f. 1a)

Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a, in the middle of the lower half of the inner margin, parallel to the spine)

[انتقاه داعيا لميره / أحمد بن علي الميرزي / سنة ٨٣١.]

History of the Manuscript Same as no. 26 above; in addition, there is a consultation note by 'Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Yahyā ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī al-'Adawī al-Quraṣī in Cairo dated 793/1391 [fig. 67].

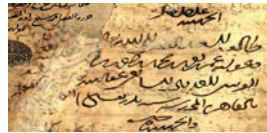


Figure 67

'Umar Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's consultation note in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-abṣār*. (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Ayasofya 3432, f. 1a)⁷²

33 Manchester, John Rylands Research Institute and Library, ms Arabic 16

Manuscript Same as no. 26 above. This is vol. 20.

Description Same as no. 26 above.

Bibliography Mingana 1934, 532-4.

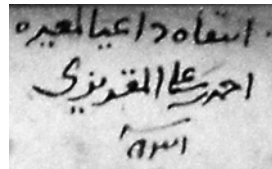


Figure 68

al-Maqrizī's consultation note in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-abṣār*. (Courtesy John Rylands Research Institute and Library, ms Arabic 16, f. 3a)

Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 3a, in the middle of the lower half of the inner margin, parallel to the spine)

⁷² الحمد لله / على كل حال / طالعہ العبد الفقير إلى الله تعالى [الراجي رحمتہ] / وغفرانہ عمر بن أحمد بن محمد بن أحمد بن يحيى بن فضل الله العمري / القرشي العدوي / الشافعي عفا الله تعالى عنه مند / بالقاهرة المحروسة سنة ثلاث وتسعين وسبعماية الكلام صفة المتكلم / والحمد لله وحده . He is the great-great-grandchild of the author of the book.

انتقاء داعيا لمعيره / أحمد بن علي المقرئزي / سنة ٨٣١.

History of the Manuscript Same as no. 32 above.

34 Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Ayasofya 3437

Manuscript Same as no. 26 above. This is vol. 25.

Description Same as no. 26 above.

Bibliography *Defter* 1887, 205.

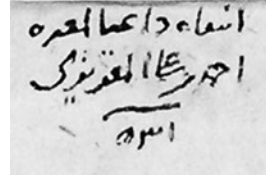


Figure 69

al-Maqrizī's consultation note in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari's *Masālik al-absār*. (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Ayasofya 3437, f. 1a)

Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a, in the middle of the lower half of the inner margin, parallel to the spine)

انتقاء داعيا لمعيره / أحمد بن علي المقرئزي / سنة ٨٣١.

History of the Manuscript Same as no. 26 above.

35 Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Yazma Bağışlar 1917

Manuscript Same as no. 26 above. This is vol. 26.

Description Same as no. 26 above.

Bibliography Nil.

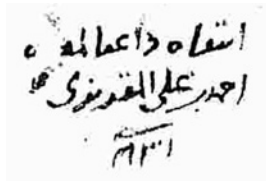


Figure 70

al-Maqrizī's consultation note in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari's *Masālik al-absār*. (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Yazma Bağışlar 1917, f. 1a)

Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a, in the middle of the lower half of the inner margin, parallel to the spine)

انتقاء داعيا لمع[ير]ه / أحمد بن علي المقرئزي / سنة ٨٣١.

History of the Manuscript Same as no. 26 above.

36 Istanbul, Millet Genel Kütüphanesi, ms Feyzullah 549

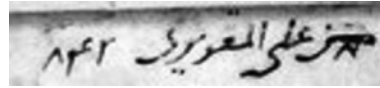
Manuscript Al-Hayṭamī, *Mawāriḍ al-ẓamʿān fī zawāʿid Ibn Ḥibbān*.

Description A collection of prophetic traditions extracted from Ibn Ḥibbān's (d. 354/965) *Ṣaḥīḥ*, the selection is limited to the traditions that were not quoted by al-Buḥārī and Muslim, and was organised into chapters by 'Alī ibn Abī Bakr ibn Sulaymān al-Hayṭamī al-Qāhirī al-Šāfi'ī (d. 807/1405).⁷³

Bibliography Nil.

Figure 71

al-Maqrizī's consultation note in al-Hayṭamī's *Mawāriḍ al-ẓamʿān*. (Courtesy Millet Genel Kütüphanesi, ms Feyzullah 549, f. 1a)



Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a, in the upper right corner, parallel to the spine)

[...] / أحمد بن علي المقرزي [سنة] ٨٤٢.

History of the Manuscript This is a holograph copy.

37 Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Ayasofya 3116

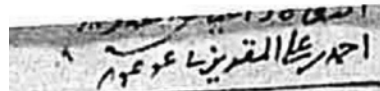
Manuscript Ibn Miskawayh, *Tağārib al-umam wa-'awāriḍ al-humam*, vol. 1. Part of a set in six volumes.⁷⁴

Description This is a universal history from the pre-Islamic Persian dynasties until the beginning of Islam down to the author's lifetime written by the Buyid secretary Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb Ibn Miskawayh (d. 932/1030).⁷⁵

Bibliography *Defter* 1887, 187.

Figure 72

al-Maqrizī's consultation note in Ibn Miskawayh's *Tağārib al-umam*. (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Ayasofya 3116, f. 1a)



Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a, in the middle of the upper half of the inner margin, parallel to the spine)

انتقاء داعيا [لنا] من [أ]ع[ل]اره / أحمد بن علي المقرزي سنة ٨٤٤.

⁷³ On him, see al-Maqrizī 2002, 2: 478-9 (no. 800); al-Saḥāwī 1934-36, 5: 200-3 (no. 676). The work is published: al-Hayṭamī 1990.

⁷⁴ The six volumes are together (mss Ayasofya 3116-21).

⁷⁵ On the author and his work, see Arkoun 1970. The work is published: Ibn Miskawayh 2001-02.

History of the Manuscript This is a copy dated 505/1111; it has a dated (797/1395) note of endowment of the whole set by Maḥmūd al-Ustādār (d. 799/1396) to his madrasa in Cairo.⁷⁶

38 Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Ayasofya 2577M

Manuscript Al-Balḥī, *Aqālīm al-buldān wa-ṣūrat ḡamī' al-arḍ*.

Description This is an abridgement of Ibn Ḥawqal's (d. after 368/978) *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, a description of the earth with maps attributed to Abū Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Balḥī.⁷⁷

Bibliography *Defter* 1887, 154.



Figure 73

al-Maqrizī's consultation note in al-Balḥī's *Aqālīm al-buldān*. (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Ayasofya 2577M, f. 1a)

Al-Maqrizī's consultation note (f. 1a, in the middle of the lower half of the inner margin, parallel to the spine)

[...] أحمد بن علي المقريزي / سنة ٨٤٤

History of the Manuscript This was commissioned by 'Alam al-Dīn Saḡar al-Ġāwalī (d. 745/1345) (f. 1a);⁷⁸ there is an ownership statement (f. 1a) by Faṭḥ Allāh [fig. 74]; and there is a note of endowment by sultan Ḥuṣḡadam (d. 872/1467) to his mosque located in the desert outside Cairo in 871/1466.



Figure 74

Faṭḥ Allāh's ownership statement in al-Balḥī's *Aqālīm al-buldān*.⁷⁹ (Courtesy Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, ms Ayasofya 2577M, f. 1a)

⁷⁶ On this person and his library, see Behrens-Abouseif 2018, 25.

⁷⁷ See Tibbets 1992.

⁷⁸ On him, see al-Ṣafadī 1931-2010, 15: 482-4 (no. 645).

⁷⁹ ملكه / فتح الله.

39 Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms Marsh 424

Manuscript Šāfi' ibn 'Alī, *al-Faḍl al-ma'tūr min sīrat al-sultān al-malik al-Manṣūr*.

Description This is a biography of the Mamlūk sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (r. 678-89/1279-90) composed by the chancery secretary Šāfi' ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abbās al-Kinānī al-'Asqalānī (d. 730/1330).⁸⁰

Bibliography Uri 1787, 169 (no. DCCLXVI).

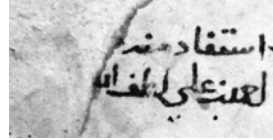


Figure 75

al-Maqrīzī's consultation note in Šāfi' ibn 'Alī's *al-Faḍl al-ma'tūr*. (Courtesy Bodleian Library, ms Marsh. 424, f. 1a)

Al-Maqrīzī's consultation note (f. 1a, in the upper left corner)

استفاد منه [داعيا...]/ أحمد بن علي لطف اللله به

History of the Manuscript This is an undated copy possibly made at the author's request for the library of a certain Šihāb al-Dīn (f. 1 a);⁸¹ there is a dated ownership statement by 'Uṭmān ibn al-Mulūk in Cairo (f. 1a, in the upper left corner) [fig. 76].

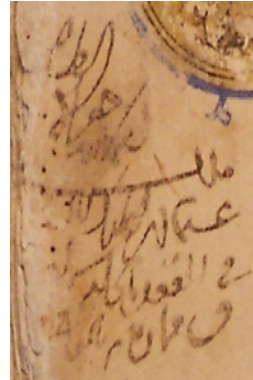


Figure 76

Ibn al-Mulūk's ownership statement in Šāfi' ibn 'Alī's *al-Faḍl al-ma'tūr*. (Courtesy Bodleian Library, ms Marsh. 424, f. 1a)⁸²

⁸⁰ On him and his work, see Van Den Bossche 2018. The work is published: Šāfi' ibn 'Alī 1998.

⁸¹ خدمة الملوك المنصوري / شافع بن علي الكاتب / برسم الخزانة العالية / المولوية المخدومية / المالكية الشهبانية / عمرها الله تعالى بقاءه. This Šihāb al-Dīn can be tentatively identified as Šihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Salmān ibn Faḥd al-Ḥalabī (d. 725/1325), a famous chancery secretary and belletrist celebrated for his prose and poetry. On him, see al-Šafadī 1931-2010, 25: 301-61 (no. 196). Another hand added the name Maḥmūd below the inscription giving some weight to this identification.

⁸² نعمة الله تعالى / مسطره / ملك / عثمان بن الملوك [...] / في القعدة الحرام سنة [ربعين؟] وثمان مائة بالقاهرة. He is probably Faḥr al-Dīn 'Uṭmān ibn Muḥammad al-Ayyūbī al-Qāhirī, known as Ibn al-Mulūk due to his pedigree, according to which he was a descendent of the Ayyubids. He died in 884/1470. On him, see al-Saḥāwī 1934-36, 5: 143 (no. 485). The number preceding the year is illegible because the border was damaged. Given the space occupied by the word and taking into account the date of his death (he was more than seventy years old), it must correspond to one of the tens, more probably 40 given that it starts with an *alif*.

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al-Maqrīzī as a Reader of *The Testament of Ardašīr*

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Abstract This chapter discusses the way al-Maqrīzī quotes *ʿAhd Ardašīr* through Miskawayhi. As we have at our disposal al-Maqrīzī's holograph and the manuscript of Miskawayhi's *Tağārib* he used, we can see exactly how al-Maqrīzī understood the text he quoted. This is particularly illuminating in cases where Miskawayhi, or the copyist of the manuscript, had misunderstood the *ʿAhd* and al-Maqrīzī had a partly corrupt text in front of him. Even though elsewhere al-Maqrīzī can be very free with his sources, with this text he avoids emendations and aims at a high fidelity to the text. Sometimes, however, we can see how he has misunderstood the text and changed its original meaning.

Keywords al-Maqrīzī. *ʿAhd Ardašīr*. Mistakes. Copying. Quoting.

Arabic literature, historiography included, is cumulative and traditional in character, copying longer or shorter extracts from earlier works and compiling new works partly or wholly based on these extracts. This generates polyvalence in texts: while in its original context, a fragment had a certain function, according to which it was understood by its readership, in other contexts it may have a different meaning for a new readership.

Later authors usually modified the excerpts they quoted, abbreviating or rephrasing them or mixing them with material from other sources. Accordingly, we see them as authors creating a new text rather than readers trying to understand an old one. Few text types, such as quotations from the Qurʾān, were usually quoted without changes: even poems underwent abbreviations and verses were often reshuffled to create a new poem in a new order, even if they were less often completely rephrased.

This article studies one specific case as an example of how an author read, understood, and dealt with a text he quoted. The text in question is *‘Ahd Ardašīr* (The Testament of Ardašīr), an early Arabic translation of a probably sixth-century Middle Persian text.¹ As such, its language is somewhat archaic and its train of thought is not always easy to follow. Its earliest surviving form is represented by ms Köprülü 1608, ff. 146b-155b, used for his edition and translation of the text by Mario Grignaschi.² The manuscript is late, probably from the early eleventh century AH,³ and its last copyist was not very learned as shown by several crude mistakes, but in general it represents an early stage in the transmission history of the text and the mistakes are mostly transparent and the original text easy to reconstruct. The other texts that transmit the *‘Ahd* contain numerous passages that are further removed from the original.

Next in stratigraphy comes the anonymous *Nihāyat al-arab* (196-200), which contains an abbreviated version of the text. The date of the *Nihāya* is uncertain, but it may partly go back to the ninth, or even eighth century.⁴ Typically, the author of the *Nihāya* has not attempted to copy the exact original wording of the text but has freely rephrased it.

The unabbreviated text next surfaces in Miskawayhi’s (d. 421/1030) *Tağārib al-umam* with some significant changes, most of which are clearly inferior readings that confuse the sense of the original and sometimes result in a text that cannot be understood.⁵ Another, heavily abbreviated version, *al-Muntaḥab min ‘Ahd Ardašīr ibn Bābak fī al-siyāsa*, was edited by Aḥmad Bek Tīmūr from a manuscript dated 710/1311 and published by Muḥammad Kurd ‘Alī in his *Rasā’il al-bulaḡā’* (299-301).

The focus in this article is on the next, and final, level. From Miskawayhi’s *Tağārib* the text was copied by al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) into his *al-Ḥabar ‘an al-bašar* (II §§ 23-54). What makes this level particularly interesting is that we can see exactly how al-Maqrīzī has worked and how he read and understood the text, with no outside influence to muddy the water. This is because we still have the very manuscript of the *Tağārib* al-Maqrīzī used, ms Ayasofya 3116,

1 There is no proper study of the text, and I will not delve here any deeper into the question of its early history before ms Köprülü 1608. It is mentioned as a translation from Middle Persian in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 126, (probably wrongly) attributed to al-Balāḡurī (d. 279/892). Possibly identical with *‘Ahd Ardašīr Bābakān ilā bnihi Sābūr*, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 378.

2 Grignaschi 1966, 46-90.

3 Grignaschi 1966, 2.

4 Hämeen-Anttila 2018, 93.

5 Ed. Ḥasan, 1: 97-107; ed. Emāmi, 1: 122-14; ed. Caetani, 1: 99-127.

as shown by a reader's note on it,⁶ and, moreover, this has been conveniently edited in facsimile by Leone Caetani. Al-Maqrīzī's own text is further preserved in a holograph, ms Fatih 4340, the relevant section of which has been edited, together with the facsimile reproduction of the holograph.⁷

The text of the *'Ahd* has been inserted into Miskawayhi's *Tağārib* and al-Maqrīzī's *Ḥabar in toto*, with no attempt either to elaborate, lengthen, or abbreviate it. It is often claimed that by grafting texts into a new context authors were consciously manipulating their meaning. Sometimes this clearly is the case, but often the evidence for such hidden agendas is vague and depends on subtle changes, which may as well be due to the oversensitivity of the scholar studying the text. However that may be in other cases, in this particular case it is difficult to see any hidden agenda behind the changes the text has undergone. Thus, the existing text shows al-Maqrīzī as a reader trying to understand the text, rather than a writer deliberately manipulating it.

Even a superficial look at the manuscript shows that al-Maqrīzī has endeavoured to keep the text in the form he found it: usually in the *Ḥabar*,⁸ he uses one main source at a time and adds to it material from other sources, which has often been written in the margins of the holograph. In the case of the *'Ahd*, al-Maqrīzī uses no other sources but faithfully copies the whole work from a single source, Miskawayhi's *Tağārib*, with no additions of his own and, moreover, does it remarkably carefully, so that the margins of this section (ff. 139b-145b) are clear, whereas most of the margins are full of corrections and additions.⁹

As the text of the *'Ahd* does not have religious prestige, even though Ardašīr was generally considered a wise and just king, it may be that the unwillingness to tamper with the text mainly rises from its being a complete, clearly defined work. It seems that Miskawayhi's and al-Ṭabarī's texts were freely modified and considered mines of material to be quarried, but the *'Ahd* was a complete and unified whole not to be touched.

The copy al-Maqrīzī was using contained numerous mistakes, whether by Miskawayhi or the copyist of ms Ayasofya 3116. Mostly al-Maqrīzī copies these as such into his text, even when it is hard to

⁶ Bauden, forthcoming and chap. 6, Bauden's contribution in this volume.

⁷ Hämeen-Anttila, forthcoming.

⁸ When speaking of the *Ḥabar*, I primarily refer to the section on pre-Islamic Iran, which, I believe, also reflects more generally al-Maqrīzī's use of sources. However, his attitude towards the sources slightly varies between the sections of the *Ḥabar*, and I have only studied this section in detail.

⁹ See Hämeen-Anttila, forthcoming.

see how the copied text could have been understood. E.g. ms Köprülü 1608, f. 147b, reads:

وهذا الباب من الأبواب التي يكثر بها سكور الفساد ويحتاج بها قرائن البلاء ويعمى البصير عن لطيف ما ينهتك من الأمور في ذلك.

This is one of the ways that add to the inebriety of corruption and through it the effects of affliction are awakened and [even] an intelligent person is made blind of the [at first] subtle breeches of affairs.¹⁰

In Miskawayhi, *Tağārib* (ms Ayasofya 3116, 100), and following him, al-Maqrīzī, *Ḥabar* II § 25, this has become (diacritics and vocalisation from al-Maqrīzī):

وهذا الباب من الأبواب التي تكسر سُكُورَ الفساد ويُهاج بها قُرُبات البلاء ويغني البصيرَ اللطيفَ ما ينتهك من الأمور في ذلك.

This does not make much sense, and we may translate it as:

This is one of the ways that break the inebriety of corruption, and through it the proximities of affliction are awakened. The affairs that have been profaned in that will be enough [as a warning example?] for an acute observer.

More than anything this remains empty words, and it is only their vagueness that protects them from sounding completely out of place. It is not easy to imagine what al-Maqrīzī has thought of the sentences. Did he stop thinking about what he was copying or did he not realise that the words do not make much sense? Was the *ʿAhd* for him too prestigious to be corrected without evidence or abbreviated by excising what was beyond emendation?

In *Ḥabar* II § 29, al-Maqrīzī either has not noticed that there is a problem or if he has, he has not found a suitable way to correct it. Following Miskawayhi, he reads:

واعلموا أن العاقل سال عليكم لسانه وهو أقطع سيفيه.

As such, the sentence means: 'Know that an intelligent man uses his tongue against you,¹¹ and his tongue is sharper than his sword'. Although grammatically blameless, the sentence is odd in the context:

¹⁰ All translations are by the Author.

¹¹ This is meant to be read *sāllun* 'alay-kum *lisāna-hu*, but it is possible that al-Maqrīzī read it as *sāla* 'alay-kum *lisānu-hu*.

why should intelligent men use their tongue against kings for no obvious reason? ms Köprülü 1608, f. 149a provides the answer to the problem, as it reads *al-‘āqil al-maḥrūm* ‘intelligent man deprived/left without’. If al-Maqrīzī was sensitive to the problem, he silently accepted his inability to correct the issue and left the odd sentence as he found it.

In most of these cases, al-Maqrīzī’s problems arise from mistakes made by Miskawayhi or the copyist of ms Ayasofya 3116. In *Ḥabar* II § 38, we have a case where it is al-Maqrīzī who has carelessly misread the text and produced a sentence that does not make sense. He reads:

وهكذا الملك وولي عهده لا يسر الأرفع الا وضع سُؤله في فنائه

The original of Miskawayhi, *Taḡārib* (ms Ayasofya 3116, 113), reads (vocalisation from the original):

وهكذا الملك وولي عهده لا يسر الأرفع ان يعطى الا وضع سُؤله في فنائه

So it is with the king and the heir-apparent. The higher of them will not be pleased to see the lower have his wish fulfilled and see him pass away.

When reading the text, al-Maqrīzī has overlooked the words *ان يعطى* and then changed the vocalisation (*al-awḡa‘u su‘la-hu > illā waḡ‘u su‘li-hi*; note that it is basically simply the spacing that needs to be changed: *الوضع سؤله < الا وضع سؤله*) in an attempt to make sense. The deliberately altered vocalisation shows that this was not a mere mistake in copying, but al-Maqrīzī tried to understand what he had (mis)read. He did not notice his mistake even though the continuation should have alerted him to the correct reading:

ولا يسر هذا الأوضع ان يعطى الآخر سُؤله في البقاء

Examples such as this make one suspect that the phenomenally productive al-Maqrīzī has at least in this last major work of his worked hastily, not always stopping to look carefully at the text he was reading and copying. In the case of Miskawayhi, this would be understandable, as he was still excerpting the book a few months before his death, as we can see from his reader’s note, dated 844.¹²

Another attempt at correcting a corrupt text is found in *Ḥabar* II § 38, where al-Maqrīzī writes about divulging the name of the heir-apparent:

¹² See Bauden in this volume, chap. 6.

ومتى تداينا بالتَّهْمَةِ يَتَّخِذُ كل واحد منهما وِغْرًا على احيا صاحبه. ثم تنساق الأمور إلى هلاك أحدهما

The word إحياء is one of the very few marginal corrections in the section that contains the *Ahd*. The text derives as such from Miskawayhi, *Taḡārib* (ms Ayasofya 3116, 113), with the exception that ms Ayasofya 3116 uses diacritical dots more sparingly than al-Maqrīzī and actually writes احيا, not احيا as al-Maqrīzī. The marginal addition shows that al-Maqrīzī stopped to think about the passage and checked it against Miskawayhi. The text is somewhat strange and while it is just conceivable to make sense of يتخذ كل واحد منهما وِغْرًا على احيا صاحبه, it is not a very natural way to express the idea of each feeling hatred of leaving the other alive. But this is how al-Maqrīzī will have understood it, after first accidentally dropping the word احيا, which would actually make the sentence slightly less odd. But the change was not deliberate, as we can see from al-Maqrīzī restoring the word in the margin.

The enigma is solved by ms-Köprülü 1608, f. 151a, which reads:

ومتى تباينا بالتَّهْمَةِ يَتَّخِذُ كل واحد منهما أحميا وإخوانا وأهلا ثم يدخل كل واحد منهما وعر على أحميا صاحبه. ثم تنساق الأمور إلى هلاك أحدهما.

There are two simple mistakes in this sentence, both easily corrected. The first أحميا has been written احيا, and the dot of *ḡayn* has been dropped from وعر. In both the correction is obvious. Otherwise, this makes good sense:

When they drift further from each other they take for themselves friends, confidants, and family, and they both feel hatred against the friends of the other. This will undoubtedly lead to the destruction of one of them.

The copyist of ms Ayasofya 3116 has dropped some crucial words and, as usual, been sparing with diacritical dots, which has left the latter word for ‘friends’, احيا, in an ambivalent form. As ‘friends’ does not make much sense in the corrupt sentence as found in ms Ayasofya 3116, al-Maqrīzī has tried to make sense and, perhaps misguided by the continuation, which mentions ‘destruction’, has read this as the opposite, ‘leaving alive’. Here, al-Maqrīzī has not consciously changed anything, merely added diacritical marks in the way he considered appropriate.

While usually following the original even when it leads him into difficulties, there is one case in the *Ahd* where al-Maqrīzī has opted for correcting the text. This comes in *Ḥabar* II § 45, where Miskawayhi, *Taḡārib* (ms Ayasofya 3116, 120) reads:

وفي الرعية صنف دعوا إلى أنفسهم الجاه بالآباء والرد له ووجدوا ذلك عند المغفلين ناقفا وربما قرب الملك الرجل من أولئك لغير نبل في رأي ولا أجزاء في العمل ولكن الآباء والرد أغرياه به.

Despite the misplaced *madda*, the word pair والآباء والرد has to be read *al-ibā' wa-l-radd*, which is also supported by ms Köprülü 1608, f. 153r, where the first of these appears unequivocally in the form *bi-l-ta'abbī wa-l-radd*. The scribe of ms Ayasofya 3116 has written the *madda* in the first instance clearly above the first consonant (بِالآباء) and in the second it is not clear whether it belongs to the first or the second consonant (*ibā'* or *ābā'*). The place of the *madda* is ambivalent also in al-Maqrīzī, but he has clearly read the word as *al-ābā'*, dropping the word الرد from both cases and putting the final verb in plural, instead of the dual in original:

وفي الرعية صنف دعوا إلى أنفسهم الجاه بالآباء ووجدوا ذلك عند المغفلين نافعا وربما قرب الملك الرجل من أولئك لغير نبل في رأي ولا إجزاء في العمل ولكن الآباء أغروه به.

The changes make it clear that al-Maqrīzī took the word الآباء to mean 'fathers/ancestors' and could do nothing with the following *al-radd* (*la-hu*) so he dropped it from both places, which also makes it less probable that it was dropped accidentally. In the latter sentence, he changed the verb from the dual (*āgrayā-hu*, subjects: *al-ibā'* and *al-radd*) to the plural (*āgraw-hu*, subject: *al-ābā'*) Thus, for him the text read:

Then there are those who claim high rank through ancestors. They find this useful among inattentive people. A king may draw close one of these not because of any nobility of thought or sufficient deeds, but because the (mention of) ancestors makes him want (to have) him (in his entourage).

The original speaks of ostensibly simulating reluctance to accept a nomination, but al-Maqrīzī changes this to claiming such a nomination on the basis of illustrious ancestors.

To sum up the relations between the versions of *Ahd* in ms Köprülü 1608, Miskawayhi's *Tağārib*, and al-Maqrīzī's *Ḥabar*, the text has mainly been transmitted intact and both later authors probably understood most of the text in the same way as its author/translator intended it to be understood. At least al-Maqrīzī, however, was removed, both spatially and temporally, from pre-Islamic Iran, which he did not know too well. He would probably have been unable correctly to understand the references to Zoroastrian and Sasanian institutions. Occasionally, the text uses Arabic terms that refer to Sasanian institutions. While it is probable that the author/translator and some among his audience knew the Middle Persian equivalents and functions of these, it is also probable that they were not as clearly understood by Miskawayhi and it is highly dubious whether al-Maqrīzī had any idea of what functions each of these had. To take but one example, ms Köprülü 1608, f. 148b, speaks of *al-'ubbād* and

al-mutabattilīn, changed into *al-‘ubbād* and *al-nussāk* in Miskawayhi, *Tağārib* (ms Ayasofya 3116, 105) and retained as such by al-Maqrīzī (*Ḥabar* II § 29). The words are rather vague in Arabic and do not directly refer to any category of Zoroastrian religious officials, but it is quite possible that the author/translator equated these with *hērbads* and *mōbads*, both here and in *Ḥabar* II § 35.

Miskawayhi or the copyist of his work did not do very careful work, and the version of the *Tağārib* is often corrupt. In most cases, al-Maqrīzī has copied the corrupt text without trying to emend it or to avoid the problem by abbreviating or rephrasing the passage. This is probably due to the prestige of the text, but whether this is simply because it was a complete whole or specifically because this particular text enjoyed great repute still in the Mamlūk period is not clear.

This has led al-Maqrīzī as a reader to try and find interpretations that would make sense. When he has made no changes in the text, this remains invisible to us and we can only speculate on how he might have understood certain passages. In some cases, we may doubt whether al-Maqrīzī understood what he was reading or whether he gave up and merely copied what he saw. In a restricted number of cases, al-Maqrīzī has either tried to emend the text or has provided diacritical marks, other than those intended by the author/translator, to a word originally without diacritics. These enable us to see how al-Maqrīzī as a reader interpreted the text when the original interpretation had been lost, either by mistakes in copying or by missing diacritical marks.

One final point. Why did al-Maqrīzī include the *‘Ahd* in his history of Iran? His section of Sasanian Iran also includes two shorter texts, *Sīrat Anūšīrwān wa siyāsatu-hu* (The Life of Anūšīrwān and his ways of governing) (*Ḥabar* II §§ 161-83), also quoted from Miskawayhi, *Tağārib*, and, as an appendix to this, still following Miskawayhi, a speech by Anūšīrwān to his people (*Ḥabar* II §§ 184-90). In the earlier sections of Iranian history, he had included the maxims of philosophers at the burial of Alexander (*Ḥabar* I §§ 202-4) and some material on Aristotle and Plato (*Ḥabar* I §§ 237-46) from other sources. All these are much shorter than the *‘Ahd*, and only the *Sīrat Anūšīrwān* is quoted as an independent, complete text, like the *‘Ahd*.

All these inserted texts belong to wisdom literature. By including such extensive chunks of text al-Maqrīzī both follows the tradition which had seen many of the pre-Islamic Persian kings as sages akin to prophets and strengthens it. The *‘Ahd* and *Sīrat Anūšīrwān* are also rare texts, which may have been an additional reason for al-Maqrīzī to quote them in full in his work, giving it the added value of preserving two rare texts. Thinking in the context of the fifteenth century, the existence of these texts in the *Ḥabar* would have been a major asset, as they would otherwise have been extremely difficult to find.

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Books as Career Shapers

The Reading Activities of Şahhāflarşeyhizāde Es'ad Efendi (1789-1848) at the Rise of His Career

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Abstract This paper focuses on a book list that was recorded by Şahhāflarşeyhizāde Es'ad Efendi, who occupied an important place as a scholar and as a chronicler in both cultural and political life of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, in one of his personal manuscript notebooks. This type of personal manuscript notebook was called *mecmū'a* in Turkish and consisted of a variety of selected texts (e.g. poems, lines of prose, chronograms, correspondence, calculations, prayers). Generally, a compiler or several compilers selected texts and gathered their own *mecmū'a* with these texts – this was a very common habit among Ottoman scholars. Es'ad Efendi started to compile his own at the beginning of his official career, collecting parts of the various books he had read and copying them into his *mecmū'a*. In addition, Es'ad Efendi's *mecmū'a* contains uncompleted first drafts of his works and a list of books that he used during his researches. Considering together the book list and the works written by Es'ad Efendi in the following years, it is possible to see the relationship between the texts compiled into his *mecmū'a*, the readings he made and his career trajectory. Thus, this paper aims to uncover the details of these relations through an examination of Es'ad Efendi's reading practices.

Keywords Ottoman book history. Ottoman reading culture. Ottoman Mecmū'a. Şahhāflarşeyhizāde Es'ad Efendi. Ottoman scholars' reading practices.

Summary 1 A Short Overview of Es'ad Efendi's Career Line and of His Works. – 2 Es'ad Efendi's Book List. – 3 Concluding Remarks.



1 A Short Overview of Es'ad Efendi's Career Line and of His Works

Es'ad Efendi was an exceptional personality who made considerable, various and lifelong contributions to the fields of culture, politics and education in his numerous roles as a poet, author, translator, literary critic, book collector, owner of a public library, court-historiographer, director of the Imperial Publishing House, education minister, and the first Ottoman ambassador to Iran.¹ Moreover, he had a unique title in the whole of Ottoman history: *Şahhâflarşeyhizâde* (son of the shaykh of booksellers),² which sums up his métier and his relationship with books, reading and writing. Es'ad Efendi was born on December 6, 1789 in Istanbul in the district of Hagia Sophia.³ His family was originally from Malatya, as he repeatedly mentioned in his *mecmû'as*, and had the title of *seyyid*,⁴ which are known to have had an important place in the Ottoman bureaucratic hierarchy; *seyyids* were educated as scholars and respected by state officials, which certainly helped Es'ad Efendi's career journey.⁵

In 1738, Es'ad Efendi's grandfather and father came to Istanbul, and after that, they brought the rest of the family from Malatya to Istanbul.⁶ Es'ad Efendi's father, Aḥmed Efendi, started his education in the *madrassa* of Hagia Sophia as soon as he came to Istanbul but did not become a *müderriş*⁷ immediately after his *madrassa* edu-

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1 Abu-Manneh, s.v. "Mehmed Es'ad, Sahaflar Şeyhizade".

2 *Şahaflarşeyhi*: the person responsible for the second-hand bookseller's activities in the Ottoman Empire, and the head of the second-hand bookshop guild. See Erünsal 2013.

3 This information was first given by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, who wrote the biography of Es'ad Efendi while Es'ad Efendi was still alive. This biography contains information about his life and career that Es'ad Efendi himself had written to Hammer in a letter. See Hammer-Purgstall 1938, 463.

4 A term that refers to the descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad.

5 As a matter of fact, Es'ad Efendi served as *Nākibū'l-ʿesrāf* in the later years of his career. *Nākibū'l-ʿesrāf* was the title given to the officials who dealt with the descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad in the Ottoman Empire. This duty was institutionalised in the Ottoman Empire around 1494 and over time, it gained an important place in the Ottoman hierarchy. *Nākibū'l-ʿesrāfs* took part in the ceremonies near the *şayḫ al-islām*, in the first line. See Buzpınar 2006.

6 Süleymaniye Manuscript Library (SK) Es'ad Efendi Collection ms 3847, on a paper between 17a-18b.

7 *Müderriş*: high-ranking lecturer in higher education institutions (*madrassa*) in the Ottoman Empire, where Islamic law and various other sciences were taught, especial-

cation; he had begun his career by selling books around Hagia Sophia when he was a *madrassa* student, and it seems that he continued with this after finishing school.⁸ During this time he gained the official title: *Şahhâflarşeyhi*. In 1769, after Aḥmed Efendi had passed the *ru'ūs* exam,⁹ he became a *müderri*s and worked at the different levels of *madrassa* ranks such as *şahın-ı semân*, *ibtidâ'-i altmışlı* and *müşile-i Süleymâniyye*¹⁰ in different *madrassas*. After his duties as a *müderri*s, he was then appointed as judge in Jerusalem, Egypt and Mecca, which were important Ottoman provinces, indicating his success in his job. At the age of 74, Aḥmed Efendi died on the way to Medina, when his boat sank in the Red Sea.¹¹

Es'ad Efendi had been with his father during his tenure in Jerusalem and Egypt, so not only did he have the opportunity to receive a good education, but he also learned about bureaucracy and government work from his father. Es'ad Efendi survived the accident, returned to Istanbul and continued his education with Hodja Emîn Efendi for a long time. Sources containing information about Es'ad Efendi's life indicate that he was patronised by Hâlet Efendi (d. 1822),¹² who had helped secure Es'ad's first appointment as a *müderri*s with the rank of *ibtidâ'-i hâric* in May of 1808, as was claimed.¹³

Before holding high-level positions, like court-historiographer, director of the Imperial Publishing House, journalist and minister of education, Es'ad Efendi started his career as a *müderri*s in 1808.¹⁴ After that, because he had trouble supporting his family, Es'ad Efendi decided to switch from *müderri*s to a judge's regency; he was hence assigned in Kütahya (a city in Western Anatolia) as regent of judge in 1821 and, in 1822, he was sent to Birgi (a town in Western Anatolia) with the same title, staying there until 1824. From then on, Es'ad Efendi's career was on the rise, and this rise lasted until his death in 1848.¹⁵ In 1825, he returned to Istanbul as the clerk of the Istanbul Court and, in 1827, he was appointed as a chronicler (*vak'a-*

ly graduating students as high-ranking judges and scholars.

8 Yılmaz 2000, XXXVIII.

9 The test that must be passed in order to get acquittal and the title *müderri*s after completing the education of the *madrassa* and the seven-year period of employment.

10 *Şahın-ı semân*, *ibtidâ'-i altmışlı* and *müşile-i Süleymâniyye*: all names of ranks for *madrassas* in the Ottoman education system, which were determined by prestige and curriculum. See İpşirli 2003.

11 Aktı 2019, 7-12.

12 Hâlet Efendi is one of the most famous grand vizier of Sultan Mahmud II. See Kuran, s.v. "Hâlet Efendi".

13 Bond 2004, 217.

14 Yılmaz 2000, XXXIX-XL.

15 Yılmaz 2000, XXXIX-XL.

nüvīs) and remained at this post for the rest of his life.

The most striking point is that Es'ad Efendi was the person brought to the head of the new practices of the Empire, as well as very high positions such as the judge of Istanbul (*Istanbul kādısı*),¹⁶ the *Nāḳibū'l-eṣrāf*¹⁷ and the chief military judge of Rumelia (*Rumeli kāz'askeri*).¹⁸ He was appointed in the census held for the first time in the Empire in 1831 and was appointed as the director of the Imperial Printing House (*Tab'hāne-i Āmire*) and the chief editor of the first official newspaper (*Takvīm-i Vekāyī*) in 1831 as well,¹⁹ the first Ottoman Ambassador to Iran in 1833;²⁰ a member of the Quarantine Council in 1838;²¹ a member of the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*Meclīs-i Ahkām-ı Dāhiliyye*) in 1839; and Minister of Education in 1846 – the first Minister of Education in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey's history. Finally, just before his death, he was brought to the Presidency of the General Assembly of Education (*Meclīs-i Ma'ārif-i 'Umūmiyye*), in 1848. Although Es'ad Efendi aspired throughout his life to become *ṣayḥ al-islām*²² as the peak of his career, he never achieved this goal; Es'ad Efendi died on January 11, 1848 in his mansion on the Bosphorus in Kanlıca in Istanbul. He was buried in the garden of his library, which he had ordered built in 1845 in the Yerebatan district of Istanbul,²³ following a funeral in the Sultan Ahmed Mosque where

16 Es'ad Efendi was appointed as the judge of Istanbul with a document dated 29 December 1834, see: BOA-HAT, 464-22741. (BOA is the abbreviation of the Office of the Prime Minister's Ottoman Archives).

17 *Nāḳibū'l-eṣrāf*: chief of the prophet's descendants. See fn. 6.

18 Es'ad Efendi was appointed judge of Rumelia with the document: BOA-HAT, 695-33538.

19 He stayed in this position until 1837. His appointment, like many other appointments of his, also appeared in the international press. For some coverage, see: *Münchener politische Zeitung* on Sunday 18 September 1831; *Nürnbergischer Friedens und Kriegs-Kurier* on Monday 19 September 1831; *Bayreuther Zeitung* on Friday 2 September 1831; *Der Österreichische Beobachter* on Wednesday 14 September 1831; *Regensburger Zeitung* on Monday 19 September 1831; *La voce verità* on Tuesday 27 September 1831; *Giornale Italiano* on Thursday 29 September 1831.

20 See BOA, A.DVNSNMH. 11-43; 44-12; dated: 10.03.1837. For documents on Es'ad Efendi's mission as the embassy in Iran, see BOA-HAT, 835 - 37155, 37677, 37681; BOA-C.HR., 16-773; BOA-HAT, 804-37134, 37137; BOA-HAT, 637-31421; BOA-HAT, 805-37155; BOA-HAT, 785-36658;

21 BOA-HAT, 523-2555.

22 *Ṣayḥ al-islām*, the highest authority of the Islamic law and the top of the scholar ranks.

23 Es'ad Efendi is one of the most distinguished figures in the history of Ottoman books and book collectors, whose personal library still provides resources to numerous academic studies. His personal library, which lives up to his name Şaḥḥāflarşeyḫizāde (son of the shaykh of the booksellers) distinguishes him both as a collector and a reader. Es'ad Efendi established his library near his mansion in Istanbul in the Yerebatan neighbourhood and donated nearly 4,000 books collected throughout his life to this library. Çavdar in *TDVIA*.

almost all of the scholars in Istanbul, state officials and the *şayh al-islām* were present.²⁴

During his life-time Es'ad Efendi produced many works in across diverse fields. Sometimes the disciplines he worked on were very different from each other in terms of content, although the topics he worked on share several characteristics. It is possible to categorise Es'ad Efendi's original works under the three general headings: historical, literary and religious works. In addition to these categories, Es'ad Efendi translated works as well. Undoubtedly, the most important of his works in the field of history is his chronicle, generally known as *Tārīh-i Es'ad*, detailing in two volumes the events between October 1821 and July 1826.²⁵ One of the most important indicators of Es'ad Efendi's support for the Sultan's reforms is undoubtedly his work *Üss-i Zafer* ('The Bases of Victory', published in 1828 by the Imperial Publishing House in Istanbul), which explains the reasons for the abolition of the Janissaries and how this decision was based on verses of the Qur'ān, *hadīts* and quotations from various Islamic textual sources.²⁶ Like most Ottoman bureaucrats, scholars and intellectuals, Es'ad Efendi was deeply interested in literature and he compiled a *Dīvān* of his poems and a *Tezkire* named *Bâğçe-i şafā-endüz*, which is an addendum (*zeyl*) to the *Tezkire of Sâlim*.²⁷ Aside from his works in these two genres of typical classical Ottoman literature, the most original works of Es'ad Efendi in the field of literature are *Şāhidü'l-Müverrihîn* (The Testimony of the Chronogramers) and *Sürürî Mecmū'ası* (The Miscellany of Sürürî).²⁸ The *Sürürî Mecmū'ası* came into being as a collective effort and hence is not a work belonging to Es'ad Efendi alone. The poet Sürürî (d. 1814) only collected chronograms for his *mecmū'a* and, after his death, the manuscript was passed on to his student Keçecizāde 'İzzet Mollâ (d. 1829), and later, following Keçecizāde's death, to Es'ad Efendi; all three of them added chronograms, and so the *mecmū'a* was completed as a collective effort. At the same time, Es'ad Efendi penned his work *Şāhidü'l-Müverrihîn* with the inspiration given to him by Sürürî's *mecmū'a*. Es'ad Efendi explains, in the *Şāhidü'l-Müverrihîn*, the features and types of the art of the genre of chronogram, evaluates and discusses

24 Ed. Rifat Efendi 1998, 122-3.

25 An addition (*zeyl*) to his chronicle was written by the clerk of the ministry of interior (*dāhiliyye nāzırı*), 'Abdürrezzāk Bāhir Efendi (d. 1860), in one of the copies of Es'ad Efendi's chronicles. See Millet Library in Istanbul, History (Tarih) Collection, ms 50.

26 Heinzelmann 2000.

27 Sâlim (d. 1743) was an Ottoman poet and calligrapher. He wrote a bibliographical work called *Tezkire-i Sâlim* that includes the biographies of the poets who lived between 1688-1722.

28 Vatansever 2014, 8-9.

various verses in each section of the work and recommends the most appropriate chronogram for each genre of chronogram. Moreover, he uses these explanations and evaluations to elaborate on the orthography rules in Ottoman-Turkish. With these practices, it seems that Es'ad Efendi was the first in the entire history of Ottoman literature to write a theory of a literary genre and express his own views as a poet, thereby acting as a literary critic.²⁹

He also wrote many treatises on different topics of religion. Es'ad Efendi engaged with these issues within the boundaries of the Sunni branch of Islam, which was the doctrine of the state and of the majority of the Ottoman population, and never stepped outside these boundaries. In addition, translations occupy a large part of Es'ad Efendi's scholarly activities as he worked on translation and on its theory; his best-known translation is the *Mustaṭraf*, the translation of Muḥammed b. Aḥmed İbşihî's (d. 1446) *El-Mustaṭraf min külli fennin mustaṭraf* (A Quest for Attainment in Each Fine Art)³⁰ which earned Es'ad Efendi the title 'Mustaṭraf's Translator'. In addition to some of the works mentioned above, Es'ad Efendi has compiled so many *mecmū'as* that it is currently impossible to determine their number. He also wrote treatises on various subjects that appear to be lost. Their titles are mentioned in his *mecmū'as* but the actual manuscripts cannot be located in his own or other's libraries.³¹

2 Es'ad Efendi's Book List

When Es'ad Efendi was appointed the regent of judge in Kütahya, he made a list of the titles of the books he took with him from Istanbul to Kütahya, added those he later bought in Kütahya, and recorded this list in his *mecmū'a*.³²

²⁹ Of course, it has to be noted that the literary critics in the biographical dictionaries (*tezkires*) of the poets and art of poetry are not ignored. However, *tezkires* are generally biographical works and focus on the lives of poets and their poetic aspects rather than a particular literary genre.

³⁰ Marzolph 2013, 35; Vadet 1979; Marzolph 1992, 60.

³¹ Yilmazer 2000, LXXXI-II.

³² *Mecmū'as* stand in the world of Ottoman manuscripts as a very special and complicated genre. One of the main reasons of this speciality and complication is that, as mentioned above, *mecmū'as* consisted of a variety of selected texts. Occasionally, some were produced systematically and professionally for one discernible purpose like anthologies. On the obverse of this systematic production, some *mecmū'as* are characterised by dissimilarity, multiplicity and assortment of texts. These are mixed-content *mecmū'as* that compilers have made for their own use, and do not have consistency of subject or genre throughout. These are often called 'personal *mecmū'as*' to emphasise the compiler's motives for selection and intended use. Es'ad Efendi compiled a personal *mecmū'a* while he was in Kütahya and Birgi. He copied his original texts, as well as various texts from the books he read, into this manuscript.

The *mecmū'a* (ms 3847), which includes the book list discussed in this paper, is found within Es'ad Efendi's own collection in the Istanbul Süleymaniye Manuscript Library. The *mecmū'a* has mixed content, with no special/systematic inner organisation, and is a 161-leaf, large-size manuscript (193 × 123 mm). There is no particular layout, nor frame, and the ms is generally written in black ink. The texts in the manuscript, which were written in Turkish, Arabic and Persian, depending on the source-text read, sometimes have a heading, especially if they were copied from other books. There is not any note-taking discipline readily apparent. For instance, there are many folios that have different directions of writing on a same page. Moreover, it is possible to see many entries on a single page, while sometimes only one couplet is the sole content of the folio. Following the marginal notes is also difficult: for instance, notes on different pages are connected to each other by lines. Pages were not numbered by Es'ad Efendi himself. Although correspondences were specifically dated by Es'ad Efendi, the other texts have no dates. Es'ad Efendi used to write "Hüve'l-Mu'in" (He-God-is the Helper) at the beginning of the texts he created himself. This habit is seen frequently, in this *mecmū'a* and in the other *mecmū'as* he compiled in later years. The content of *mecmū'as* can be categorised as follows.

Copies of official correspondence: in his *mecmū'as*, Es'ad Efendi made copies of letters he wrote to other bureaucrats, as well as copies of letters sent to him by others. Although mostly official in content, some letters contain biographical information about Es'ad Efendi.

Excerpts from various books: Es'ad Efendi noted the references of most of the excerpts he included in his *mecmū'as*. This provides an opportunity to learn about the books he has read and to profile him as a reader, and it illustrates the relationship between the works he wrote and those he read.

Essays: the *mecmū'as* contain a number of essays written by Es'ad Efendi on the topics of Turkish spelling and punctuation, language reforms and poetic prose. These essays will serve as the primary source for describing his personality as an intellectual.

Poem Quotations and Notes: these contain verses written by other poets as well as the chronograms composed for his new appointments. They also contain annotations and dates Es'ad Efendi wrote regarding the works of other poets.

Drafts: Es'ad Efendi's *mecmū'as* contain the drafts of some of his works that have since then been published in final form. The drafts provide a glimpse into the way the work was created, and reveal the methods Es'ad Efendi used in his work.

Biographies of other authors: as a writer of a bibliographical anthology, Es'ad Efendi was keenly interested in biographical information.

In addition to the general categories cited above, his *mecmū'as* contain selections from Qur'ānic verses and *ḥadīths*, drug recipes, date calculations and his financial sheets.

The book list is found on ff. 140b-142a in the *mecmū'a*. Es'ad Efendi's list starts with the heading "It is the books I have brought from Istanbul to Kütahya which are mentioned [here]"³³ and contains 169 titles. The second part of the list, entitled "Books Acquired in Kütahya",³⁴ consists of 29 volumes. As it can be inferred from these titles, Es'ad Efendi had made meticulous records in his *mecmū'a* of the volumes he took to Kütahya when he was posted there for an assignment, and of the books he purchased there. With respect to the properties of Es'ad Efendi's list, although he has sometimes listed books on *fiqh* and *fatwā* or history and literature together, no further effort at classification can be observed, and, predictably, abridged titles of books have been used, especially for Arabic volumes, rather than their full titles.³⁵ Nevertheless, he has taken note of the names of the authors of the books, and sometimes of the copyists or calligraphers as well. In the case of *mecmū'as* or booklets including a known author or copyist, these names have been given; however, some *mecmū'as* are described by their content or appearance.³⁶

In this list, which runs for about one and a half folio, the titles of the books are written side by side and there are usually five of them in a row. The information contained in Es'ad Efendi's detailed lists would have helped him keep track of his inventory and prevented loss during his subsequent moves. It is Es'ad Efendi's care for his books and his efforts to record them that have enabled his extensive collection to survive to the present day.³⁷ Nevertheless, as explained

33 The original Turkish title in Es'ad Efendi's *mecmū'a* is: *Āsitāneden Kütahya'ya götürdüğüm kütübdür ki zikr olunur*.

34 The original Turkish title in Es'ad Efendi's *mecmū'a* is: *Kütahya'dan tedārik olunan kütüb*.

35 For example, instead of *Ravzatü'l-Aḥbāb fī Siyeri'n-Nebī ve-l-Āl ve-l-Aḥḥāb*, he writes *Ravzatü'l-Aḥbāb* for short.

36 Such as *Mecmū'a-i Eṣ'ār*, *Mecmū'a ez-Fıkh*, *Mecmū'a -i Tülāni* or *Sıgır Dili Mecmū'a ez-Fıkh*. These examples and similarly-described *mecmū'as* probably have unknown compilers, otherwise Es'ad Efendi, whose attention to citing the names of authors, copyists or calligraphers is notable, would have noted them down as he has done in other *mecmū'as*.

37 Today, the Es'ad Efendi book collection in the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library still contains one or more copies of many volumes recorded in this list. It is not possible to know whether Es'ad Efendi took any of these volumes with him, and if he did, which ones. Although the online catalogue has been checked for each book, only the catalogue numbers assigned to them in the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library are provided here as needed; however, this does not mean that the corresponding volume has been taken to Kütahya or acquired there.

above, while Es'ad Efendi has not explicitly classified the books on his list, he has made a systematic recording of them and added details like appearance, price and the persons the books were sold or lent to. The notes Es'ad Efendi has written next to some of the book entries shows that he did not collect books solely out of personal preferences as a reader or as requirements for his government job, but that he was also engaged in book circulation and trade. In addition, some books were marked with the letter *mīm* written in red ink and Es'ad Efendi explains the *mīm* as follows: "The ones marked in red were trusted to Allah's care and shipped to Istanbul in the custody of my wife. May Allah protect, 1821-22".³⁸ As the note explains, Es'ad Efendi sent some 90 of the volumes he either brought from Istanbul or acquired in Kütahya with his wife, who left Kütahya before he did. He made a mark next to the volumes he sent to ensure that they all arrived safe and sound.

His first list begins with the entries *Qur'ân* and *Tafsir al-Beyzâvî*, and continues with Münâvî's (d. 1467) annotation of *Câmi'ü's-Şağîr* (two volumes). Es'ad Efendi has recorded three *Qur'âns* in his list, two of which he took to Kütahya, and one he acquired there. One of the volumes is recorded as "Holy Qur'ân written on 60 folios". Together with the *Qur'ân* copies, there are four *tafsirs* (al-Suyûtî's *tafsir Itkân fî 'ulûm al-Ķur'ân*, *Tafsir al-Beyzâvî*, *Risâletü't-tenzihât* by Saçaklızâde, al-Râğîb al-Işfahânî's *Durrat al-ta'wîl fî mutaşâbih al-tanzîl*), all of which Es'ad Efendi had brought from Istanbul and not acquired in Kütahya.

The complete Es'ad Efendi's Library collection has an extensive Qur'ânic exegesis selection counting 222 volumes, some of which are primary sources in interpretation, and others secondary sources, written across the Ottoman territory. Besides the obvious purposes of reading the *Qur'ân* for worship and Qur'ânic interpretations for better understanding of the *Qur'ân*, these books had a special importance for Es'ad Efendi. As Es'ad Efendi was assigned to Kütahya as a regent, he would be responsible for adjudicating cases related to the study of *fiqh* based on the *Qur'ân*.³⁹ Therefore, he also needed interpretations to do his job properly.

Of course, regents made extensive use of legal resources as well. This is why, in addition to books on *fiqh* and Islamic inheritance, there were almost 100 volumes on calculation, *hadîth* and theology, which were also resources to support the study of *fiqh*. This wealth of knowledge on Islamic studies, comprising almost half of the books on the list, suggests that Es'ad Efendi took nearly the entire Ottoman

38 *Mecmû' şurh ile işâret olunan kitâblar mütevekkilen 'ale'l-Allâhi te'âlâ harem yeddiyle Âsitâne'ye irsâl olundu. Allahümme sellemnâ fi ğurre-i Rebî'ü'l-âhir* 1237.

39 For a definition of regency, see: İpşirli in *TDVIA*.

madrasa compendium with him to Kütahya. The volumes acquired in Kütahya are of similar nature to those brought from Istanbul, and are mostly on *fiqh*, *fatwā* and *hadīṭ*. Furthermore, with the exception of the *Qurʾān* and Mūnāvī's comments on Şeybanī's (d. 805) famous works *Cāmi'ü'ş-Şağīr*, mentioned above, there are no recurring entries for books acquired in Kütahya, which means that Es'ad Efendi only bought the books he had not brought from Istanbul, did not have on hand or felt the need to buy during his assignment.

Continuing to look closely at Es'ad Efendi's lists, books on *fiqh* make up a sizeable number of the books on the list, and include almost all resources read and studied in the Ottoman Empire as well as *Ḥanafī* literature. Among the primary resources of *fiqh* and the *Ḥanafī* school, *el-Cāmi'ü'ş-Şağīr* is one of the most reliable.⁴⁰ In Es'ad Efendi's list, Mūnāvī's comments on *Cāmi'ü'ş-Şağīr* is in the fourth position after *Qurʾāns*. The list also shows that the book was sold by Es'ad Efendi, but then acquired again in Kütahya. In other words, the *fiqh* books on the list begin with this key resource, which was still current at the time. Another resource in the *Ḥanafī fiqh* literature is al-Ḳudūrī's (d. 428/1037) *el-Muḥtaşar*.

Cited together with this work by Ḳudūrī is 'Alāeddīn es-Semerḳandī's (d. 539/1144) *Tuḥfetü'l-Fuḳaḫā*, which is noted as being based on Ḳudūrī's *el-Muḥtaşar*, but having a different systematic approach than the works written up to that time. On Es'ad Efendi's list, one also finds books that are known to be popular among *Ḥanafī* scholars: Burhāneddīn al-Merğīnānī's (d. 593/1197) *al-Hidāye*, Tācüşşerī'a's (d. eighth/fifteenth century) *Vikāyetü'r-Rivāye*, Mollā Ḥüsrev's (d. 885/1480) *Dürerü'l-Ḥükkām* and *Ğurerü'l-aḥkām*, and İbrāhīm al-Ḥalebī's (d. 956/1549) *Mülteḳā'l-Ebhūr*.⁴¹ The fact that he took with him all of these resources and a number of other books to Kütahya leads one to think that Es'ad Efendi did a vast amount of reading and analysis for his position. To support sources in *fiqh* with studies in Islamic inheritance, calculation, *hadīṭ*, theology, prophetic biography, morality and politics, and logic, Es'ad Efendi's list contains fundamental works like *Maḳāşidü'l-Maḳāşid* (by al-Taftāzānī, d. 1390), *Ḳırk Ḥadis Tercümesi* (Translations of Forty *hadīṭs*) by an Ottoman scholar Vaḫdetī (d. 1723) and *Şerḫ-i Sirāciye* (by al-Curcānī, d. 1413). One of the most extensive areas in Es'ad Efendi's list is books on *fatwā*. Most of the *fatwā* books written either by *Ḥanafī* jurists or in the Ottoman territory that were part of Es'ad Efendi's collection were taken with him to Kütahya. Es'ad Efendi added this list to his *mecmū'a* to ensure that he had all the resources he may need while performing his duty as a regent in Kütahya. Es'ad Efendi's close in-

40 Özel 1996; 1997.

41 Hızlı 2003, 329; Erünsal, Aydın 2019.

terest in *fiqh* and *fatwā* literature may be the result of his professional needs and interests, as well as his career plans; Es'ad Efendi aspired to become *şayh al-islām* one day, and could have been working towards this objective from the early days of his assignment.

In his history as well as *Üss-i Zafer*, Es'ad Efendi often referenced Qur'ānic verses and *hadīts*, and cited almost all scholarly Islamic references known in the Ottoman territories.⁴² Es'ad Efendi's grasp of Islamic sources, owing to his father being a judge (*qādī*) and partly responsible for educating Es'ad Efendi, proved to be a great advantage in his career. Being pro-modernisation, Sultan Mahmud often commissioned Es'ad Efendi to produce propaganda against the opponents of modernisation and, for this, Es'ad Efendi used *hadīts*, verses and Islamic sources; in this light, being well-versed in Islamic literature boosted Es'ad Efendi's career. Furthermore, after 1835, which may be considered his late career, Es'ad Efendi wrote treatises on faith, worship and conversion, and used such a variety of sources to substantiate his arguments. There is no doubt that Es'ad Efendi's treatises are the culmination of the readings he did in his early career.

Es'ad Efendi's list also contains 12 history books, four of which were acquired in Kütahya and all of which are noteworthy. In 1827, six years after being posted to Kütahya, Es'ad Efendi was appointed chronicler (*vak'a-nüvis*) and the history books on his list show that he had started reading about history far in advance of his appointment. All of the history books on Es'ad Efendi's list are in Turkish and include chronicles by Ottoman court chroniclers like Peçevî, Na'imâ, Râşid, and 'Âsım Efendi. The chronicles by Peçevî, Sa'âdeddîn Efendi and Na'imâ in particular are known to be read among Pashas and Ottoman bureaucrats.⁴³ However, Es'ad Efendi diversified into subjects like Albanian history and started translating Muḥammed Muşliḥiddîn al-Lâri al-Anşâri's Persian-language world history titled *Mer'ât al-edwâr wa merkât al-akbâr* (A Mirror for the Eras and the Staircase of Narratives) while he was in Kütahya, giving it the title *Zibâ-yı Tevâriḥ* (The Ornament of Chronicles).⁴⁴ It is possible to consider Es'ad Efendi's studies in history and this translation as evidence that he considered history or being a historian a step in his career.

⁴² There are references to Münâvî's comments on *Câmi'ü's-Şağîr*, which is found in Es'ad Efendi's list, in *Üss-i Zafer* as well, see Es'ad Efendi 1828, 170-4.

⁴³ Sievert 2013, 189-91.

⁴⁴ See ms 3847 (in Es'ad Efendi Library Collection in Süleymaniye Library), 30a-34b. Es'ad Efendi intended to translate the book into Turkish by referring to its previous translation by Sa'âdeddîn Efendi and other resources, taking its timeline from creation to the reign of Yavuz Sultan Selim and extending it to the Mahmud II era, but he was only able to translate the text to the chapter on the Daylamis. See Süleymaniye Manuscript Library (Istanbul), Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 2410 (holograph).

The list also contains a geography and a logic book, as well as three books on morals and politics. The geography book on the list is *Cihān-nümā*, which was written by the famous Ottoman scholar and encyclopaedist Hāğğī Hālīfa. Therefore, it is possible that Es'ad Efendi used this work while translating Muḥammed Muşliḥiddin al-Lāri al-Anşāri's world history. Books on morality and politics that Es'ad Efendi read, such as *Naşīhatu'l-Mülūk* (by the Ottoman scholar Şarı 'Abdullāh), *Şerhu'l Aḥlākü'l-Adūdiyye* (by the Ottoman scholar İsmā'il Müfid İstanbulī) and *Aḥlāk-ı 'Alāi* (by the Ottoman scholar Kınalızāde)⁴⁵ introduced another perspective to his identity as a historian, and served as a source for the treatises on *'amel* (deeds) that he would later write.⁴⁶

In the case of Es'ad Efendi, for whom reading and writing were a major part of life, it is difficult to place hard boundaries between his professional and personal interests. However, it makes sense to consider the books of literature on the list as reflective of Es'ad Efendi's personal reading habits. Es'ad Efendi took 16 volumes that may be considered books of literature (such as *Dīvāns*, *masnawīs*) and rhetoric books. Obviously, the books on rhetoric and the dictionaries, including one of key terms in Islamic studies, particularly *Qur'an* and *ḥadīṭ*, entitled *el-Külliyāt*, a dictionary of terms entitled *et-Ta'rīfāt* and *Fıkhü'l-Luğa ve Sırrü'l-'Arabiyye*, are books that Es'ad Efendi probably used as sources while reading or working on the *Qur'an* or Arabic interpretations and *fiqh* texts. Meanwhile, if we consider that Es'ad Efendi began his work on Turkish spelling at around this time, the fact that he brought dictionaries such as *ed-Dürerü'l-Münteḥabāti'l-Mensûre* (*Ġalaṭât-ı Hafid Efendi*), *Luğat-ı Vanḳulu*, *Deşîşe*, *Burhān-ı Kāt'ı*, *Tuḥfe-i Vehbī* makes sense for his researches about the spelling.⁴⁷ Es'ad Efendi's *mecmû'a* also contains his short work on Turkish spelling rules, and the definitions and etymologies of some words. Es'ad Efendi's knowledge of these matters must have helped him considerably during his tenure as director of the first Imperial publishing house, where he was in charge of choosing the books to be printed. One of his successors as chronicler, Lütfi Efendi, even argues that Es'ad Efendi's proofreading performance in the printing of *Üss-i Zafer* was what brought him the directorship.⁴⁸

The key sources that draw Es'ad Efendi's portrait as a reader are the compendia and collected works on his lists. For pleasure reading,

⁴⁵ Es'ad Efendi has cited Kınalızāde's *Künhü'l-aḥbār* in *Üss-i Zafer* as well. See Es'ad Efendi 1828, 200.

⁴⁶ For example, his short treatise *Naşru'n-Aziz* (The Sacred Help). See Yılmaz 2000, LXXV.

⁴⁷ These are all the dictionaries that were often used by the Ottoman scholars.

⁴⁸ Ahmed Lütfi Efendi, edition of 1999, 1257.

his preferences are poetry like *divan* and *mesnevi*; in fact, the prevalence of poetry for pleasure reading among Ottoman readers continued until printed books became common and Western genres like the novel gained currency. In this respect, it can be said that Es'ad Efendi acted like a typical pre-print Ottoman scholar in his personal reading. Es'ad Efendi brought variety into the poetry he read by expanding to the *mesnevi* genre, and he chose the works of Atayî, which was very popular in the Ottoman territories. On the other hand, he preferred poets closer to his time for *divan* readings. *Külliyyât-ı 'Aṭâ'î* (Complete Works of 'Aṭâ'î),⁴⁹ *Şerḥ-i Gülistân* (Annotation of Gülistân), *Külliyyât-ı Sürürî* (Complete Works of Sürürî),⁵⁰ *Dīvân-ı Sâmi* (*Dīvân* of Sâmi), *Dīvân-ı 'Aşım* (*Dīvân* of 'Aşım), *Külliyyât-ı Nâbi* (Complete Works of Nâbi)⁵¹ are some of the other books than the *mecmû'as* that reflect his 'personal reading' habits, and so a discussion of these books within his library collection is warranted in order to better grasp Es'ad Efendi as a reader. In addition, as mentioned above, Es'ad Efendi worked on Sürürî's *mecmû'a*, and we can thus imagine that Es'ad Efendi was interested in his other works, too.

As explained above, the largest section in Es'ad Efendi's personal library, apart from his *mecmû'as*, is literature, comprised of 426 books and second only to the number of books on *fiqh*. One-third of the library, or 135 out of 426 books, are compendia of poetry and many books classified under literature are in verse; it is natural that, as a court poet himself, Es'ad Efendi was interested in poetry. Even if, as a classical Ottoman literate, Es'ad Efendi had to write texts in prose (correspondences) and to read prose (resources, books on *fiqh*), poetry occupied a major part of his personal reading, as already mentioned. Es'ad Efendi also compiled a *Dīvân*, in which he used plain language, a way to implement the linguistic reform movement of the era in his own poetry. Since Es'ad Efendi was also a writer of biographical dictionaries (his *Bâğçe-i şafâ-endüz*), it is natural to come across books on Prophetic biography and other biographies, such as *Ravzatü'l-Aḥbâb*, or *Süleymännâme*, on his list. It is certain that Es'ad Efendi made use of the biographies on his list as resources, but it is also reasonable to think that he was inspired by the way information was compiled and books were written.

Es'ad Efendi's list also includes books on mysticism, such as *Şerḥ-i Risâle-i Nakşibendiyye* (by Ḥâdimî), or *Kitâbü'l-Ḥiṭâb* (by İsmâ'il Haḳḳî); five of them were brought from Istanbul and three were ac-

49 'Aṭâ'î (d. 1635), known as Nev'î-zâde 'Aṭâ'î, is an Ottoman poet. The collected works include 'Aṭâ'î's biographical dictionary and various letter examples. Es'ad Efendi makes references to 'Aṭâ'î in *Üss-i Zafer* as well. Es'ad Efendi 1828, 256.

50 Sürürî (d. 1814) is an Ottoman poet.

51 Nâbi (d. 1712), Sâmi (d. 1734), 'Aşım (d. 1760) are Ottoman poets.

quired while in Kütahya. Es'ad Efendi's interest in the Nakşibendî Order is clear since his father was close to it; nevertheless, Es'ad Efendi never revealed himself as a mystic, which leads one to wonder whether his interest in this subject was limited to its professional application.

Finally, *mecmū'as* merit particular attention, as these hold a special place in both Es'ad Efendi's library and book list: Es'ad Efendi's book collection features 557 *mecmū'as*, forming the largest category in his library. *Mecmū'as* can be thought of as 'the sidelines' of library collections in Ottoman book culture in that they always make up for a shortcoming of a collection. For a statesman like Es'ad Efendi, *mecmū'as* were both an instrument for his reading and writing activities, as well as a convenient form that contained texts written by various authors about different topics, saving him the burden of taking many other books to Kütahya when he was assigned there. Therefore, *mecmū'as* take up a considerable part of his library and, thus, of his book list. Es'ad Efendi took 14 *mecmū'as* from Istanbul to Kütahya, and these *mecmū'as* are like the table of contents or the summary of his list: there are *mecmū'as* on *fiqh* and *fatwā*, as well as poetry, and a *mecmū'a* entitled *Mecmū'a-i Edebiyye*, which contains prose.

3 Concluding Remarks

Although *madrassa* literature lies at the core of the reading practices of Ottoman scholars, the latter personalised their readings according to their interests, scholarly and professional aspirations, and other activities. Es'ad Efendi focused on Islamic studies and law, supplementing these subjects with history, literature and mysticism. The books Es'ad Efendi read on Islamic studies were usually in Arabic, except for *fatwā* books, and these were mostly by Ottoman compilers, although there are a few Arabic examples too. The predominance of Arabic in Islamic sources can be observed in Es'ad Efendi's book list as well as in his library. Among the almost 4,000 books, the most numerous are *Kütübü'l-Fıkh* (The Books of *fiqh*) with 552 books. Adding 267 *Kütübü'l-ḥadīt* (The Books of *ḥadīṡ*), 222 *Kütübü'l-Tefāsīr* (The Books of *tafsīr*), and 64 *Kütübü'l-Fetāvā* (Books of *fatwā*) brings the total of nearly a thousand, making up a significant portion of the books he owned. As I mentioned in several footnotes above, there are references to Islamic sources in Es'ad Efendi's historical writings, but they are more often found in the religious treatises, Es'ad Efendi's focus on towards the end of his career.

The Persian-language books on the list are mostly on literature and history. The majority of the books are in Turkish and cover a wide range of subjects, from *fatwā* to biography, rhetorics, literature and history. Es'ad Efendi's knowledge of Persian and familiar-

ity with works written in Persian must have played a part in his assignment as the first ambassador to Iran. Archive documents suggest that Es'ad Efendi was closely involved in the cultural scene. His personal library contains books that may have been bought from Iran. In other words, Es'ad Efendi did not simply carry out an official duty in Iran, but was a close follower of books and cultural activities as well.

The book list and the works written by Es'ad Efendi in the following years reveal the relationship between the texts compiled into his *mecmū'a*, the readings he made, and the career path he followed. As such, this study attempted to show how the reading practices of an Ottoman scholar shaped his career by drawing attention to the relationship between *mecmū'as* and reading practices – an area that has not been studied in detail yet. A comparison of the books on the list and the texts copied into his *mecmū'a* shows that the parallels between them are limited to a few citations and notes. The reading that Es'ad Efendi undertook, starting from his time in Kütahya until his return to Istanbul, deeply influenced his later career, his activities, and the ideas surrounding them.

Appendix

Es'ad Efendi's Book Lists (with translation of his notes)

List 1 Books he brought from Istanbul to Kütahya⁵²

	Title of the book	Language	Subject
1	<i>Tefsir-i Beyzâvî</i> with calligraphy by Hâyâlî. It was loaned to eş-Şeyh İbrâhîm Karahisârî who is residing in Birgi ⁵³	Arabic	Islamic Theology (<i>Tafsîr</i>)
2	The exquisite ⁵⁴ <i>Muşhaf-ı Şerîf</i> written in sixty leaves	Arabic	Coran
3	Printed <i>Muşhaf</i>	Arabic	Coran
4	<i>Şerh-i Câmî' u's-şagîr</i> by Munâvî, sold to Mollâ - two volumes ⁵⁵	Arabic	Islamic Theology (<i>Hadît</i>)
5	<i>Hadîs-i Erba'în</i> [Translation of Forty <i>Hadît</i>] by Vaḥdetî, with calligraphy by the commentator ⁵⁶	Persian	Islamic Theology (<i>Hadît</i>)
6	<i>Ravzatu'l-Aḥbâb</i> on Prophetic Biography, exquisite ⁵⁷	Arabic	Prophetic Biography (<i>Siyer</i>)
7	<i>Hâşiye-yi Durer</i> by Şurunbulâlî ⁵⁸	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
8	<i>Siyer-i Abdul'azîz Efendi der Tercüme-i Kâzerûnî</i> ⁵⁹ [Prophetic biography by 'Abdul'azîz Efendi, translation of Kâzerûnî's work]	Turkish	Prophetic Biography (<i>Siyer</i>)
9	<i>Siyer-i Veysi</i> ⁶⁰ - new [<i>Prophetic Biography</i> by Veysi]	Turkish	Prophetic Biography (<i>Siyer</i>)
10	<i>Fatâwâs</i> of 'Alî Efendi, with <i>nesih</i> calligraphy ⁶¹	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwâ</i>)
11	Other <i>Fatâwâs</i> of 'Alî Efendi, dispersed	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwâ</i>)
12	<i>Neḥcu'n-Necât</i> ⁶²	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwâ</i>)
13	<i>Behcetü'l-Fatâwâ</i> with calligraphy by Şiddîkizâde ⁶³	Turkish	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwâ</i>)

52 In order to clearly explain the many abbreviations used by Es'ad Efendi, I have translated his notes directly into English, instead of giving the full Ottoman Turkish transcription, and preferred to give the original terms in footnotes, where clarification is required. My own translations for the book titles are given in square brackets.

53 Today, the Es'ad Efendi book collection in the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library (SK) in Istanbul still contains one or more copies of many volumes recorded in this list. It is not possible to know whether Es'ad Efendi took any of these volumes with him to Kütahya, and if he did, which ones. Therefore, all the copies of the books in the list in Es'ad Efendi's book collection today are mentioned in the footnotes. SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 3, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 42, 43, 97.

54 Exquisite is *nefis* in Turkish.

55 Two other *Şerh-i Câmî' u's-şagîr*, by Munâvî, are still part of Es'ad Efendi's book collection. SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 364, 368.

56 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 340.

57 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 2112.

58 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 651.

59 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 2286.

60 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 2285, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291.

61 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 1065, 1067, 1068, 1069, 1070, 1071, 1072, 1081, 1082.

62 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 1033.

63 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 558, 559.

Title of the book	Language	Subject
14 <i>Durretu't-Te'vîl</i> by al-İşfahānî. ⁶⁴ It was loaned to Gürcü Aḥmed Efendi who is residing in Birgi	Arabic	Islamic Theology (<i>Tafsîr</i>)
15 <i>Bezzâziyye</i> ⁶⁵	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwâ</i>)
16 <i>Ḳādîḥân</i> ⁶⁶	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwâ</i>)
17 <i>Durer wa Ğurer</i> ⁶⁷	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwâ</i>)
18 <i>Mecmū'a</i> with calligraphy of Dursunzâde ⁶⁸	Multilingual	Miscellany
19 <i>Durr-i Muḥṭâr</i> gifted to Muftî ⁶⁹	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
20 <i>Şerḥ-i Manzûmeti Muḥibbiyye</i> by al-Nāblusî ⁷⁰	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
21 <i>Fatâwâs</i> of Timurtaşî ⁷¹	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwâ</i>)
22 <i>Fatâwâs</i> of Ḥayriyye ⁷²	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwâ</i>)
23 <i>Treatise</i> ⁷³ of Timurtaşî ⁷⁴	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
24 <i>Ḳayd-ı Cedîd</i> , exquisite ⁷⁵	Turkish	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwâ</i>)
25 <i>Şerḥ-i Tarîkat-ı Muḥammediyye</i> by Ḥadimî ⁷⁶	Arabic	Mysticism ⁷⁷
26 <i>Şerḥ-i Şahâ'if</i> ⁷⁸	Arabic	Islamic Theology (<i>Kalâm</i>)
27 <i>Şerḥ-i the Treatise of Nakşibendiyye</i> by Ḥadimî ⁷⁹	Arabic	Mysticism
28 <i>Şerḥ-i Menâr</i> by Ibn-i Melek ⁸⁰	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
29 <i>Bahr-i Râ'ik</i> with <i>Tekmîle</i> four volumes ⁸¹	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
30 <i>Fatâwâs</i> of Seyyid Rizâ ⁸²	Turkish	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwâ</i>)
31 <i>Treatise</i> on calculation in Turkish ⁸³	Turkish	Calculation
32 <i>Sakḳ</i> by Şânîzâde [<i>Miscellany</i> on Islamic Law] ⁸⁴	Turkish	Miscellany
33 <i>Furûḳ</i> by İsmâ'îl Ḥakḳî ⁸⁵	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)

64 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 176.

65 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 1089, 1090, 1091.

66 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 856.

67 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 3663.

68 It is possible that he was the calligrapher Dursunzâde 'Abdullâh Feyzî (d. 1610).

69 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 687.

70 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 1555.

71 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 1114.

72 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 1118-1119.

73 *Treatise/treatises* is *risâle/resâ'il* in Turkish.

74 This treatise is probably *Risâle fi'n-Nukûd*.

75 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 586, 853-854.

76 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 1529.

77 Mysticism is *Taşavvuf* in Turkish.

78 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 1253, 1254, 1272.

79 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 3543.

80 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 456.

81 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 563.

82 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 1111.

83 It is not clear which treatise is meant.

84 This miscellany could not be found in Es'ad Efendi's current book collection.

85 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 3244, 3245, 3681.

	Title of the book	Language	Subject
34	<i>Ğalağāt-ı Ĥafīd</i> , lost ⁸⁶	Arabic- Turkish	Dictionary
35	<i>Tārīğ-i Ĥasan Paşa</i> [the Chronicle of Ĥasan Paşa] ⁸⁷ Ĥasan Paşa is the governor of Bağdād, the book is lost	Arabic	History
36	<i>Külliyāt-i 'Atāyī</i> [the Complete Works of Atāyī] ⁸⁸	Turkish	Literature
37	<i>Tārīğ-i Vāşif</i> [the Chronicle of Vāşif] ⁸⁹	Turkish	History
38	<i>Miscellany</i> by Ĥafīd-i Taftāzānī ⁹⁰	Arabic	Miscellany
39	<i>Ĥadīs-i Erba'in</i> by Akkirmānī [Forty Ĥadīts] ⁹¹	Arabic	Islamic Theology (<i>Ĥadīt</i>)
40	<i>'Ale'l-ğāfiye</i> by Cāmī ⁹²	Arabic	Syntax
41	<i>Tārīğ-i Na'imā</i> [The Chronicle of Na'imā] printed, two volumes ⁹³	Turkish	History
42	<i>Tārīğ-i Rāşid</i> [The Chronicle of Rāşid] printed, three volumes ⁹⁴	Turkish	History
43	<i>Tārīğ-i Ağvan</i> [The History of Albania] ⁹⁵	Unknown	History
44	<i>Tārīğ-i Timur</i> [The History of Timurlenk] ⁹⁶	Arabic	History
45	<i>Cihānnumā</i> ⁹⁷	Turkish	Geography
46	<i>Vançulu</i> , two volumes ⁹⁸	Arabic- Turkish	Dictionary
47	<i>ed-Deşşe</i> ⁹⁹	Persian- Turkish	Dictionary
48	<i>Tıbyān-ı Nāfi</i> ¹⁰⁰	Persian- Turkish	Dictionary
49	<i>Kulliyāt-ı Ebi'l-Bekā</i> [The Complete Works of Ebi'l-Bekā Kefevī] ¹⁰¹	Arabic	Dictionary
50	<i>Tārīfāt-ı Seyyid</i> ¹⁰²	Arabic	Dictionary
51	<i>Zeyl-i 'Aṭāyī</i> ¹⁰³	Turkish	Biography

86 Two copies of this book are preserved in Es'ad Efendi's book collection today. SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 2862, 3207.

87 He may be Eyüplü Ĥasan Paşa (d. 1723) who was the governor of Bağdād.

88 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 2872.

89 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 2190.

90 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 3742.

91 This book could not be found in Es'ad Efendi's current book collection.

92 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 162, 3075, 3076, 3077.

93 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 2187, 2439.

94 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 2130, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135.

95 This book could not be found in Es'ad Efendi's current book collection.

96 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 2092.

97 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 2046.

98 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 3286, 3288.

99 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 3210, 3211.

100 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 3189.

101 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 3255, 3256, 3257.

102 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 3198, 3199, 3200, 3201, 3202, 3203.

103 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 2309, 2310, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344.

	Title of the book	Language	Subject
52	<i>Mecmū'a</i> on Islamic Law ¹⁰⁴	Unknown (possibly Arabic)	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
53	<i>Mecmū'a</i> on <i>Fiqh</i> with my own humble calligraphy	Unknown (possibly Arabic)	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
54	<i>Kitābu'l-Ḥiṭāb</i> by İsmā'il Ḥaḳḳı ¹⁰⁵	Turkish	Mysticism
55	<i>Şerḥ-i Hadīs-i Erba'ın</i> by Şeyh Ḥaḳḳı ¹⁰⁶	Turkish	Islamic Theology (<i>Ḥadīṭ</i>)
56	<i>Şerḥ-i Şalavāt-ı Meşīyye</i> by Ḥaḳḳı ¹⁰⁷	Arabic	Prayer Book
57	<i>Mecmū'a</i> by Ḥaḳḳı, two volumes ¹⁰⁸	Multilingual	Miscellany
58	<i>Mecmū'a</i> ¹⁰⁹ (with my own humble calligraphy) [includes]: <i>el-Keşkül/ el-Musemmā</i> [bound with] <i>İntihābu'l-'Ulūm</i>	Multilingual	Miscellany
59	<i>Fatāwās</i> of 'Alī Efendi Aḳkirmānī ¹¹⁰	Turkish	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwā</i>)
60	<i>Eşbāh ve'n-Nezā'ir</i> ¹¹¹	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
61	<i>Devḫatu'l-Meşāyih</i> with the Zeyl-i Munīb ¹¹²	Turkish	Biography
62	<i>Şerḥ-i Gulistān</i> by Siyāhizāde and with his calligraphy ¹¹³	Turkish	Literature
63	<i>Şadru'ş-Şerī'a</i> ¹¹⁴	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
64	<i>Multekā</i> ¹¹⁵	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
65	<i>Süleymānnāme</i> by 'Aziz Efendi ¹¹⁶	Turkish	Biography
66	<i>Ḥizānetu'l-Fatāwā</i> ¹¹⁷	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
67	<i>Zeyl-i Eşbāh</i> by İbni'l-Muşannif ¹¹⁸	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
68	<i>Mecmū'atu'l-Fatāwā</i> [includes] <i>Resā'il-i uḫrā</i> ¹¹⁹	Unknown	Miscellany
69	<i>Fatāwās</i> of Feyzullāh Efendi ¹²⁰	Turkish	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwā</i>)

104 It was not possible to find the manuscripts recorded in the list as *Mecmū'a* in the library catalogue.

105 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 1608, 1621.

106 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 341.

107 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 352, 3580,

108 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 3572, 3767.

109 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 1144.

110 This book could not be found in Es'ad Efendi's current book collection.

111 There are more than ten copies of *Eşbāh ve'n-Nezā'ir* (by İbn Nuceym) in Es'ad Efendi's library.

112 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 2265, 2441.

113 This book could not be found in Es'ad Efendi's current book collection.

114 It is not clear which book is meant. Es'ad Efendi gave only the author's name here, it may refer to *al-Vikāye*, which was frequently read among Ottoman scholars.

115 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 1047.

116 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 2284.

117 This book could not be found in Es'ad Efendi's current book collection.

118 This book could not be found in Es'ad Efendi's current book collection.

119 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 698.

120 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 1112.

Title of the book	Language	Subject
70 <i>İşlâh-ı İzâh</i> ¹²¹	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
71 <i>Siyâlkütî 'ale'l Hayâlî</i> ¹²²	Arabic	Islamic Theology (<i>Kalâm</i>)
72 <i>Sefînetu'r-Râğîb</i> ¹²³	Turkish	Miscellany
73 (Compendious) <i>Hayâtu'l-Hayevân</i> by 'Ali el-Kârî ¹²⁴	Arabic	Zoology
74 <i>Ramazân Efendi 'ale'l-Hayâlî</i> ¹²⁵	Arabic	Islamic Theology (<i>Akâ'id</i>)
75 (Compendious) <i>Maķâşîd</i> on <i>Kalâm</i> ¹²⁶	Arabic	Islamic Theology (<i>Kalâm</i>)
76 <i>Naşîhatu'l-Mülûk</i> by Sarî Abdullâh ¹²⁷	Turkish	Morals
77 (Compendious) <i>Me'ânî</i> by Mes'ûd ¹²⁸	Arabic	Arabic Language (<i>Me'ânî</i>)
78 <i>Mesâlik</i> about meanings ¹²⁹	Arabic	Arabic Language (<i>Me'ânî</i>)
79 <i>Zeyl-i Risâle-i Mu'arreb</i> about meanings, by Mevlevî Ahmed Efendi ¹³⁰	Arabic	Arabic Language (<i>Me'ânî</i>)
80 <i>Risâle fi't-Taşavvuf</i> [Treatise on Mysticism] with calligraphy by Musannifeş, Nevres Efendi ¹³¹	Unknown	Mysticism
81 <i>Kitâbu'l-Hudûd</i> by Musannifek ¹³²	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
82 <i>Mesâlik</i> about meanings ¹³³	Arabic	Arabic Language
83 <i>Fatâwâs</i> named <i>Tuĥfetu'l-fukahâ</i> - two, one of them is sent ¹³⁴	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwâ</i>)
84 <i>Meţâlî' fi Şerĥi Tavâlî</i> ¹³⁵	Arabic	Islamic Theology (<i>Kalâm</i>)
85 <i>Ravzati'l-Ĥaĥîb</i> - two, small one is sent ¹³⁶	Arabic	Mysticism
86 <i>Ankaravî</i> ¹³⁷ with calligraphy of my father - May God relieve his soul	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwâ</i>)
87 <i>Kuhistânî</i> ¹³⁸	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
88 Another <i>Kitâbu'l-Hudûd</i> - exquisite ¹³⁹	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
89 <i>Âdâbu'l-Evsiyâ</i> ¹⁴⁰	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)

121 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 70.

122 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 224, 1165, 1166.

123 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 1203, 1204, 1382.

124 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 2579, 2566, 2567, 2568.

125 *Ĥâşiyetu'l Ĥayâlî 'alâ Şerĥi'l-Akâ'id* is meant here. SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 1230.

126 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 1244, 1245.

127 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 3430.

128 This book could not be found in Es'ad Efendi's current book collection.

129 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 3000, 3001, 3679.

130 Since this addendum is probably also a treatise that it is probably in a *Mecmû'a*.

131 This treatise is probably in a *Mecmû'a*.

132 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 668, 669, 879, 992, 3631, 3808.

133 *Evĥadu'l-Mesâlik* could be meant.

134 This book could not be found in Es'ad Efendi's current book collection.

135 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 1224, 1225, 1226, 1227, 1242.

136 This book could not be found in Es'ad Efendi's current book collection.

137 It is not clear which book is meant. Es'ad Efendi gave only the author's name here.

138 Probably Kuhistânî's (d. 1554) work *Câmi'û'r-rumûz* is meant. SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 612, 794, 872.

139 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 668, 669, 879, 992, 3631, 3769, 3808.

140 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 2003.

Title of the book	Language	Subject
90 <i>'Ale'l-Eşbâh</i> by Hamevî ¹⁴¹	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
91 <i>Risâle-i Şurunbulâliyye</i> ¹⁴²	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
92 <i>Risâle-i Ibn Nuceym</i> ¹⁴³	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
93 <i>Mecmû'a</i> of poems, with calligraphy by Mustakîmzâde Another <i>Mecmû'a</i> with calligraphy by Mustakîmzâde	Unknown (probably Turkish)	Miscellany
94 <i>Mecmû'a</i> on <i>fiqh</i> , with calligraphy by 'Atâyî	Unknown (probably Arabic)	Miscellany
95 <i>Mecmû'a</i> on <i>fiqh</i> , with calligraphy by Şeyhu'l-İslâm Bostânzâde ¹⁴⁴	Unknown (probably Arabic)	Miscellany
96 <i>Şerh-i İzhâr</i> by Adalî ¹⁴⁵	Arabic	Arabic Language (<i>Syntax</i>)
97 <i>Fatâwâ</i> , named with Kırmızı ¹⁴⁶	Turkish	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwâ</i>)
98 <i>Muştemilü'l-Ahkâm</i> ¹⁴⁷	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
99 <i>Şerh-i Ahlâku'l-Adudîyye</i> by Ahmed Mevlevî, May God bless his secret ¹⁴⁸	Turkish	Morals
100 <i>Ahlâk-ı Alâî</i> ¹⁴⁹	Turkish	Morals
101 <i>Değâ'iku'l-Hakâ'ik</i> by Ibn Kemâl - exquisite ¹⁵⁰	Persian- Turkish	Dictionary
102 <i>Şakâyyık-ı Nu'mâniyye</i> - exquisite ¹⁵¹	Arabic	Biography
103 Halebî's-Şağır ¹⁵²	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
104 <i>Munşeât</i> of Çelebizâde ¹⁵³	Turkish	Miscellany
105 <i>Mecmû'a-i Tevârîh</i> , with calligraphy by 'İsmetî, Hafid-i Birgîvî	Turkish	Miscellany
106 <i>Mecmû'a</i> of Kadri Efendi on <i>Fiqh</i>	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
107 <i>Fiqhu'l-Luğa</i> by Seâlibî ¹⁵⁴	Arabic	Dictionary
108 <i>Ŧilbetu'l-Talebe</i> by Neseî ¹⁵⁵	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)

141 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 667.

142 This treatise could be in a *Mecmû'a* now.

143 There are many treatises belonging to Ibn Nuceym in Es'ad Efendi Collection.

144 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 997.

145 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 3065, 3066.

146 Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, ed. A. Fikri Yavuz and İsmail Özen, vol. 1 (İstanbul: Meral Yayınevi, 1972), 480. This book could not be found in Es'ad Efendi's current book collection.

147 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 977.

148 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 1231, 1414, 3702.

149 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 1804, 1805.

150 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 2589, 3212.

151 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 2308.

152 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 629, 630, 631, 632.

153 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 3312.

154 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 3247.

155 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 816.

	Title of the book	Language	Subject
109	<i>Külliyyât-ı Surûrî</i> , with my own calligraphy ¹⁵⁶	Turkish	Literature
110	<i>Divân</i> of Sâmî, given to Selim Beg ¹⁵⁷	Turkish	Literature
111	<i>Mecmû'a</i> on Literature	Unknown	Miscellany
112	<i>Nevâbiğü'l-Kelim</i> ¹⁵⁸	Arabic	Literature
113	<i>Muntehâb-ı Tatarhâniyye</i> by İbrâhîm el-Ḥalebî ¹⁵⁹	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwâ</i>)
114	<i>Ḳudûrî</i> – [<i>al-Muhtaşar</i>] ¹⁶⁰	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
115	Another <i>Fatâwâs</i> of 'Alî Efendi, with calligraphy of my father ¹⁶¹	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwâ</i>)
116	<i>Fatâwâs</i> of Mu'eyyedzâde	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwâ</i>)
117	<i>Treatise</i> on calculation with calligraphy of this humble [Es'ad Efendi]	Unknown	Calculation
118	<i>Câmi'ü'l-Fatâwâ</i> ¹⁶²	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwâ</i>)
119	<i>Cevâhirü'l-Fiqh</i> ¹⁶³	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
120	<i>Vakf-ı Haşşâf</i> ¹⁶⁴	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
121	<i>Târîḫ-i Hezârfen</i> [The Chronicle of Hezârfen] ¹⁶⁵	Turkish	History
122	<i>Mecmû'a-i Fatâwâ</i> in Turkish, bigger one	Turkish	History
123	<i>Fatâwâs</i> of Seyyid 'Abdullâh Efendi ¹⁶⁶	Turkish	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwâ</i>)
124	<i>Muşkilât-ı Durer</i> ¹⁶⁷	Unknown	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
125	<i>Ḥilâfiyyât</i> on Kelâm by Mestcizâde ¹⁶⁸	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Kalâm</i>)
126	<i>Treatise</i> on İrade-i Cuz'iyye by Gümülcinevi ¹⁶⁹	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Ferâ'iz</i>)
127	<i>el-Ḥaṭar ve'l-İbâhe</i> by Ḳudûrî ¹⁷⁰	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
128	<i>Muhtârâtü'n-Nevâzil</i> ¹⁷¹	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
129	<i>Damânât</i> by Fudayl Cemâlî ¹⁷²	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
130	<i>Şerḫ-i Sirâciyye</i> by Ibn Kemâl ¹⁷³	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Ferâ'iz</i>)
131	<i>Şerḫ-i Sirâciyye</i> by Seyyid ¹⁷⁴	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Ferâ'iz</i>)

156 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 3849.

157 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 2643, 2644.

158 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 3331, 3724, 3766, 3782.

159 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 1008.

160 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 860, 861, 862, 863.

161 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 1065, 1067, 1068, 1069, 1070, 1071, 1072, 1081, 1082.

162 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 617.

163 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 873, 874, 875, 876, 877.

164 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 1043, 1044.

165 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 2239.

166 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 558, 559.

167 It is not clear which book is meant.

168 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 1175, 1192.

169 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 3570.

170 This book could not be found in Es'ad Efendi's current book collection.

171 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 3570.

172 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 812.

173 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 1123, 1125.

174 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 1129.

Title of the book	Language	Subject
132 <i>Elğāz-ı Fiqh</i> , Ibnu'ş-Şihne ¹⁷⁵	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
133 <i>Mecmū'a</i> with calligraphy by Sarāczāde Hasan Hātifi el-Bursevî	Unknown	Miscellany
134 <i>al-Muntehāb</i> on grammar ¹⁷⁶	Arabic	Lexicography
135 <i>Sakķ-ı</i> Receb Efendi [<i>Miscellany</i> on Islamic law]	Unknown (probably Turkish)	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
136 <i>et-Tehzīb fi Elğāzi'l-Fiqhiyye</i> ¹⁷⁷	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
137 <i>Le'ālī</i> ¹⁷⁸	Arabic	Islamic Theology (<i>Ahlāk</i>)
138 <i>Tuhfe-i Vehbī</i> ¹⁷⁹	Turkish	Dictionary
139 <i>Resā'il-i Fiqh</i> by Çivizāde ¹⁸⁰	Arabic	Islamic Law
140 <i>Risāletu't-Tenzihāt</i> by Saçaklızāde ¹⁸¹	Turkish	History
141 <i>Ķānūnnāme</i> , two volumes ¹⁸²	Turkish	Islamic Law
142 <i>Ķazavāt-ı Mesleme</i> by Nergisizāde ¹⁸³	Turkish	History
143 <i>Hāşiyye-i MuĶaddemātī'l Erba'a</i> by Siyālkütī with calligraphy of this humble [Es'ad Efendi] ¹⁸⁴	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
144 <i>Mecmū'atu Mudevvene</i> on <i>Fiqh</i> ¹⁸⁵	Unknown	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
145 <i>Mecmū'a-i MaĶlūta</i>	Unknown	Miscellany
146 <i>al-Ķavl</i> [translated] by 'Aṭāyī ¹⁸⁶	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
147 <i>Risāle-i ŞeyĶ Beşir</i> about <i>devrān</i> ¹⁸⁷	Turkish	Misticism
148 <i>Vesīletu'l-'Uzmā</i> [translated] by my Father - God rest him ¹⁸⁸	Turkish	Islamic Theology (<i>Kalām</i>)
149 <i>Cāmi' u'l-İcāreteyn</i> ¹⁸⁹	Turkish	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwā</i>)
150 <i>Fatāwā-yı Usküb</i> ¹⁹⁰	Arabic- Turkish	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwā</i>)
151 <i>Mir'ātu'l-Usūl</i> by Mollā Ķusrev ¹⁹¹	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)

175 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 529, 711, 712.

176 This book could not be found in Es'ad Efendi's current book collection.

177 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 929.

178 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 3782.

179 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 3695.

180 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 697, 924, 695, 3754.

181 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 1184.

182 It is not clear which *Ķānūnnāme* is meant. Es'ad Efendi gave only the author's name here.

183 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 2412.

184 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 1164, 1457.

185 It should be a *Mecmū'a* which contains texts from SaĶnun's (d. 854) work, *al-Mudevvetu'l Kubrā*.

186 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 547.

187 *Devrān* is a mystic ritual among *şūfis*. SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 1352.

188 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 3624.

189 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 614.

190 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 1094, 1117.

191 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 480, 500.

	Title of the book	Language	Subject
152	<i>Resā'il-i Mesā'il</i> by Muftī - bigger one ¹⁹²	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
153	<i>Şerh-i Nuḥbe</i> by Munāwī ¹⁹³	Arabic	Islamic Theology (<i>Ḥadīth</i>)
154	<i>Şerh-i 'Aḳā'id</i> ¹⁹⁴	Arabic	Islamic Theology (<i>Kalām</i>)
155	<i>Bahā'iyye fi'l-Ḥesāb</i> ¹⁹⁵	Arabic	Calculation
156	<i>Dīvān</i> of Āsım - borrowed ¹⁹⁶	Turkish	Literatur
157	<i>İtḳān</i> by Suyūti ¹⁹⁷ - exquisite	Arabic	Islamic Theology (<i>Tafsīr</i>)
158	<i>Mecmū'a</i> [in Jong form] on <i>Fiqh</i>	Unknown	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
159	<i>Şerh-i Lāmiyye</i> by Şafedī ¹⁹⁸	Arabic	Literatur
160	<i>Metn-i Miḫtāḥ</i> ¹⁹⁹	Arabic	Arabic Language (<i>Syntax</i>)
161	<i>Şaġīr</i> by Munāwī ²⁰⁰ - two volumes, sold to Mollā	Arabic	Islamic Theology (<i>Ḥadīth</i>)
162	<i>Netāyicu'l-Funūn</i> ²⁰¹	Turkish	Encyclopaedia

List 2 Books Acquired in Kütahya.

	Title of the book	Language	Subject
1	<i>Kulliyāt-ı Nābī</i> [The Complete Works of Nābī] ²⁰²	Turkish	Literature
2	'Alī Efendi - given to Mollā ²⁰³	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwā</i>)
3	<i>Tārīḫ-i Çelebizāde</i> Āsım Efendi ['Āsım Efendi] ²⁰⁴	Turkish	History
4	<i>Tārīḫ-i Peçeḫvī</i> [The Chronicle of Peçeḫvī] ²⁰⁵	Turkish	History
5	<i>Şerh-i Ta'līm-i Asker-i Cedīd</i> ²⁰⁶	Turkish	History
6	<i>Ḥōca Tārīḫi</i> [The Chronicle of Ḥōca] - two volumes ²⁰⁷	Turkish	History

- 192** SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 1186.
- 193** SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 258.
- 194** It is not clear which *Şerh-i 'Aḳā'id* is meant.
- 195** SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 3164, 3165.
- 196** SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 2661.
- 197** SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 31.
- 198** This book could not be found in Es'ad Efendi's current book collection.
- 199** SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 2999, 2999.
- 200** There are still *Şerh-i Cāmi'u's-şaġīr* by Munāwī in Es'ad Efendi Collection, today.
- 201** SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 3612.
- 202** SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 3324.
- 203** *Fatāwās* of 'Alī Efendi is meant. SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 1065, 1067, 1068, 1069, 1070, 1071, 1072, 1081, 1082.
- 204** SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 2105, 2135.
- 205** SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 2094.
- 206** It may be meant to refer to the *'Asker-i Cedīd* of Vak'a-nuvis Aḫmed Vāşif. This book could not be found in Es'ad Efendi's current book collection.
- 207** SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 2149.

	Title of the book	Language	Subject
7	<i>Behçetu'l-Fatāwā</i> ²⁰⁸ - 80 ²⁰⁹	History	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwā</i>)
8	<i>Delā'ilü'l-Ḥayrāt</i> ²¹⁰ - 50	Arabic	Prayer Book
9	<i>Muşhaf-ı Şerif</i> , printed	Arabic	Coran
10	<i>Şerḥ-i Munāvi</i> ²¹¹ two volumes - 200	Arabic	Islamic Theology (<i>Ḥadīṭ</i>)
11	<i>Hidāye</i> ²¹² - 50	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
12	<i>Tebyīnu'l-Mehārim</i> ²¹³ - 50	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
13	(Compendious) <i>Tezkire-i Kurtubi</i> ²¹⁴ - 40	Arabic	Islamic Theology (<i>Ḥadīṭ</i>)
14	<i>Resā'il-i Kazvīni</i> ²¹⁵	Arabic	Logic
15	<i>Şerḥ-i Meşārīḳ</i> ²¹⁶ - 50	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
16	<i>Muzilu'l-Ḥafā</i> ²¹⁷ - 6	Arabic	Prophetic Biography (<i>Siyer</i>)
17	<i>Şerḥ-i Şifā</i> by Hanif Efendi ²¹⁸ first classification - 50	Turkish	Prophetic Biography (<i>Siyer</i>)
18	<i>Fatāwā-yı Abdurrahīm</i> . ²¹⁹ The book was copied	Turkish - Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwā</i>)
19	Another Abdurrahīm, with translations - did not arrive yet	Turkish - Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fatwā</i>)
20	<i>Şerḥ-i Vikāye</i> ²²⁰ - 30	Arabic	Islamic Law (<i>Fiqh</i>)
21	Altıparmak - exquisite ²²¹	Turkish	Prophetic biography (<i>Siyer</i>)
22	<i>Evrād-ı Şeyḫ Muhyiddīnu'l-'Arabī</i> ²²² May God bless his secret - 15	Arabic	Prayer Book
23	<i>Ḥişn-ı Ḥaşīn</i> ²²³ - 3	Arabic	Unknown
24	<i>Risāle-i Muceddīdīn</i> by Minkārīzāde ²²⁴ - 5	Turkish	Unknown
25	<i>Mecmū'a-i Şeyh Hakkı</i> ²²⁵ It was bought from Bursa, after that the book was found, weird	Turkish	Miscellany

208 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 558, 559.

209 In this second and shorter list, Es'ad Efendi also recorded the prices of some books.

210 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 19, 21, 25.

211 It may be meant to refer to the *Şerḥ-i Cāmi'u's-şagīr* by Munāvi.

212 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 1050, 1051, 1052, 1053, 1054, 1055, 1056, 1057.

213 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 3589.

214 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 284.

215 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 3144.

216 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 379, 1240.

217 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 429, 430.

218 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 356.

219 This book could not be found in Es'ad Efendi's current book collection.

220 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, mss 738, 799.

221 It is not clear which book is meant. Es'ad Efendi gave only the author's name here.

222 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 1442.

223 It is not clear which book is meant. There are several books which have the title: *Ḥişn-ı Ḥaşīn*.

224 This book could not be found in Es'ad Efendi's current book collection.

225 SK Es'ad Efendi Collection, ms 3572.

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Transliteration

ا	ā	ل	l
ب	b	م	m
ت	t	ن	n
ث	ṭ	و	ū or w
ج	ǧ	ي	ī or y
ح	ḥ	ه	h
خ	ḫ	ة	a or at
د	d	ء	ʾ
ذ	ḏ	پ	p
ر	r	چ	ç
ز	z	ف	v
س	s	گ	g
ش	š or š	پ	p
ص	ṣ		
ض	ḏ		
ط	ṭ		
ظ	ẓ		
ع	ʿ		
غ	ǧ		
ف	f		
ق	q		
ك	k		

Appendix

Conference Programme

Authors as Readers in the Mamlūk Period and Beyond. Al-Şafadī and his Peers

Università Ca' Foscari Venice, 10-12 December 2020

Provisional programme

Day 1 – 10 December, Ca' Dolfin

14.00-14.15 Foreword (Antonella Ghersetti)

14.15-15.15 Introduction (Élise Franssen): “RASCIO Achievements; RASCIO’s Future”
Coffee Break

Authors as Readers – al-Şafadī Specifically

15.45-16.30 Güllü Yıldız, “al-Şafadī and his *iḥwān*: Authoring and Reading the Epoch Through Correspondence”

16.30-17.15 Ahmed H. al-Rahim, “al-Şafadī and the Philosophers”

17.15-18.00 Gowaart Vandenbossche, “The Blind and the Bold: Networks of Meaning in al-Şafadī’s *tarğamas* of Šāfi’ ibn ‘Alī (d. 730/1330)”

18.00-18.45 Yehoshua Frenkel, “An Appendix to Two Works by al-Şafadī”
Aperitivo

Day 2 – 11 December, Ca' Cappello

Authors’ Reading Practices I: Methodology – or How to Use What You Read?

8.30-9.15 Tiziano Dorandi, “Un auteur antique au travail. Nouvelles considérations sur le P. Herc. 1691/1021 de Philodème de Gadare”

9.15-10.00 Mehdi Berriah, “Le commentaire de la *Risāla al-quṣayriyya* : un exemple de la méthode de travail d’Ibn Taymiyya”

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- 10.00-10.45 Tania van Hemelryck, “Dis-moi ce que tu as lu... La place du livre dans le geste auctorial au XVe siècle”
Coffee Break

Authors' Reading Practices I - Continuation

- 11.00-11.45 Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, “Al-Maqrīzī as a Reader. The Case of The Testament of Ardašīr”
11.45-12.30 Michèle Goyens, “The Physician as Reader and Commentator of Other Physicians' Works: The Testimony of Evrart De Conty and His Autograph Manuscript (c. 1380)”
12.30-13.15 Nazlı Vatansver, “The Portrait of Mustafraf, the Translator as a Reader”
Lunch at Venice Eat, Ca' Foscari Courtyard

Authors' Reading Practices II: Who Reads What and How? What for and How Do We Know?

- 15.00-15.45 Caterina Bori, “The *taqārīz* of *al-Radd al-wāfir 'alā man za'ama anna man sammā Ibn Taymiyya shayḥ al-islām kāfir* of Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Dimaṣqī (d. 842/1438)”
15.45-16.30 Carine Juvin, “Reading on Writing: What Did the Mamlūk Calligraphers Read?”
Coffee Break

Authors' Reading Practices II - Continuation

- 16.45-17.30 Adam Talib, “The Directionality of Poetry Collection”
17.30-18.15 Thomas Bauer, “Ibn Ḥaḡar Reads Ibn Nubāta”
19.30 Farewell Dinner

Day 3 – 12 December, Ca' Cappello

Authors as Readers – Chancery & Archives

- 8.30-9.15 Olly Akkermann, “The Bohras as Neo-Fāṭimids: Documentary Remains of a Fāṭimid Past in Gujarat”
9.15-10.00 Fozia Bora, “Stories, Documents and Narrative Strategies: The Archival Turn in Medieval Arabic Historiography”
10.00-10.30 Stefan Leder, “Reading and Reception as Part of al-Qāḏī al-Fāḏīl's Literary Production (12th c.)”
Coffee Break

Authors as Readers – Their Libraries

- 10.45-11.30 Dirk Van Hulle, “Writers' Libraries, Extant and Virtual”
11.30-12.15 Frédéric Bauden, “al-Maqrīzī's Traces of Readings”
12.15-13.00 Roger Chartier, “Les auteurs, ces lecteurs particuliers”

Conclusions (Élise Franssen)

Contributors

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Élise Franssen (elise.franssen@unive.it) PhD (2012), she is a researcher in the field of Arabic manuscripts, especially interested in codicology, palaeography textual criticism and authors' methodology. Her last research project (2018-21) was a Marie

Skłodowska-Curie grant (grant agreement no. 749180) at the Ca' Foscari University of Venice, entitled *RASCIO. Reader, Author, Scholar in a Context of Information Overflow. How to Manage and Master Knowledge When There is Too Much to Know?* and dealt with al-Şafadī's reading strategies and methodology thanks to the study of his *taḍkira*, particularly of the holograph volumes, and of his library. She published several peer-reviewed articles and is the co-editor, with Frédéric Bauden, of the thematic volume *In the Author's Hand. Holograph and Authorial Manuscripts in the Islamic Handwritten Tradition* (Brill, 2020).

Yehoshua Frenkel (yfnewmail@gmail.com) PhD (1995), he is Professor Emeritus at the University of Haifa. His research interests embrace popular culture, Islamic etiquette, communal practices, social history, and legal discourse in Middle and Late Caliphate Egypt and Syria (1055-1517). His recent publications include: "Slavery in 17th-Century Ottoman Jerusalem in light of Several Sharia Court Records", in Conermann, S.; Şen, G. (eds), *Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire* (Göttingen, 2020), 237-82; "Mamluk Soundscape", in Walker, B.J.; Al Ghouz, A. (eds), *History and Society During the Mamluk Period (1250-1517)* (Göttingen, 2021), 127-62; "A Concise History of Islamic Egypt", in Frenkel, M. (ed.), *The Jews in Medieval Egypt* (Boston, 2021), 22-46.

Antonella Gheretti (antghers@unive.it) PhD (1998), she is Full Professor of Arabic Language and Literature at Ca' Foscari University of Venice. Her main fields of research are themes and techniques of medieval Arabic narrative, the Arabic linguistic tradition, and physiognomy in the medieval Arabic tradition. She authored a series of studies on pre-modern Arabic prose, the Arabic grammatical tradition, and Arabic physiognomy; she translated *adab* works and edited or co-edited books or monographic issues of journals on travelogues in Arabic, on the transmission and circulation of Arabic narratives, on the book in Arabic literature, on images of women in Mamluk texts, and on the Arabic grammatical tradition. She is the Editor in chief of the journal *Quaderni di Studi Arabi n.s.*

Michèle Goyens (michele.goyens@kuleuven.be) PhD (1991), she is Professor of French and Historical Linguistics at the University of Leuven. Her teaching focus on French historical linguistics, French phonetics and French proficiency. Her research interests lie in the field of French diachronic linguistics. Beside working in the field of text editing, she has always been interested in the role Medieval translations into French can play in the study of linguistic change, e.g. with respect to syntactical problems (determiners, case system, prepositional phrases), but especially to lexicology. During the last decade, she has focused on the development of the medical vocabulary in French during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and on the role played by Latin in the survival of Medieval neologisms in the field of medicine. One of the publications with respect to that issue is the following: Goyens, M.; Szeceł, C. (2018) "Autorité du latin et transparence constructionnelle : le sort des néologismes médiévaux dans le domaine médical". *Diachroniques 7 : Les états anciens des langues à l'heure du numérique* (coord. J. Ducos), 141-65.

Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila (J.Hameen-Anttila@ed.ac.uk) PhD (1994), he has been Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the University of Helsinki (2000-16) and since 2016 he is the Iraq Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the University of Edinburgh. He was the President of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants (2014-2021). Hämeen-Anttila has published extensively in the fields of classical

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Stefan Leder (stefan.leder@orientphil.uni-halle.de) PhD (1982), he is Professor Emeritus of Arabic and Islamic Studies at Martin-Luther-University in Halle (Germany) and former director of the Orient-Institut Beirut (2007-17). He is currently preparing a critical edition of the correspondence of the head of Saladin's chancellery. His publications cover early Arabic historical narration, textual practices of religious authority, Islamic ethics and Arabic political literature and, mainly from this point of view, the history of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries (crusades, Ayyubids, Mamlūks), the Bedouin in history and Arabic discourse, Orientalism and Western imagery of Islamic culture and society (nineteenth and twentieth centuries).

Nazlı Vatansver (nazli.vatansver@univie.ac.at) (PhD candidate, University of Vienna) She completed her BA and MA in Turkish Language and Literature in Istanbul. From 2012 to 2018, she worked as a research assistant for the project *Database for Ottoman Inscriptions*. Since 2019, she has been working at the Institute for Oriental Studies and the Institute for Art History at the University of Vienna and for the ERC-Project: *Islamic Architecture and Orientalizing Style in Habsburg Bosnia, 1878-1918 (2018-2023)*. She was one of the translators in the FWF-Project: *Escape Slaves Christians in African Pirate Encounters* and her translation *The Exploits of Barbarossa (second part)* will be published in *Piracy and Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean: A Source book of Ottoman and Arabic Texts*, ed. by M. Klarer (Berkeley). Also, one of her articles with the title "The Types of Text Compiling as Practiced by Şaḥḥāflarşeyḫi-zāde Es'ad Efendi (1789-1848)" will be published in the volume *Writing for Oneself*, ed. by J. Paul and D. Durand-Guédy (Berlin). Her research interests lie in the manuscript and reading culture as well as in the history of printing in the Ottoman Empire.

Filologie medievali e moderne

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Authors read and they use their readings within their writing process. Scrutinising authors' readings provides information on their tastes, working subjects at a given period, methodology, and scholarly milieu. It also brings a lot to intellectual history, highlighting the texts and manuscripts circulating in a certain context. Eight contributions investigating the readings of as many authors, from different points of view, are gathered here. The studied authors are mainly from pre-modern Islam – al-Qādī al-Fāḍil, Ibn Taymiyya, al-Ṣafadī, al-Subkī, al-Maqrīzī – with three exceptions: an incursion into the Ottoman nineteenth century – Es'ad Efendi –, a detour by the French court of Charles V – Evrart de Conty –, and a preface about Greek Antiquity – Philodème de Gadara.



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