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aṣ-Ṣafadī's *taḏkira* and its Holograph in Princeton University Library

Abstract: aṣ-Ṣafadī was an important scholar during the Mamlūk period, a time of information overload. He was also a civil servant all his life. He made use of a specific tool for his scholarly and professional activities: his *taḏkira*. This note-book was a reading journal in which he wrote down texts or excerpts of texts he considered of interest, either by him or other authors – texts he heard, read or composed. In his *taḏkira* he also recorded notes and the first drafts of books. A thorough analysis of a holograph of the *taḏkira* enables an improved approach to aṣ-Ṣafadī's methodology, both from an intellectual point of view and from a practical, material point of view.

1 Introduction

Although there has long been knowledge of aṣ-Ṣafadī's *taḏkira*,[1] it has only recently aroused researchers' interest. Its manuscripts are indeed peculiar: they gather together very different content, by several authors, including aṣ-Ṣafadī himself. Their logic is not apparent, and it is not immediately clear just how they could be exploited and highlighted, or even if they are worth it. Several holograph and scribal manuscripts of the *taḏkira* have been recently (re)dis-covered, generating new research questions. For instance, how did this eminent Mamlūk period scholar use these notebooks? How were they produced, intellec-tually speaking, but also materially speaking? This article addresses these ques-tions, and others, via a thorough analysis of a holograph volume of the *taḏkira*.[2]

This paper is part of a broader project on aṣ-Ṣafadī and his methodology. Over recent years there has been increasing interest in Mamlūk authors' meth-odology: Frédéric Bauden's work on al-Maqrīzī,[3] Maaike van Berkel's on al-

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1 Brockelmann includes it in his bio-bibliography of aṣ-Ṣafadī, cf. *GAL*, vol. 2, 39–42; *GAL S*, vol. 2, 27–29; and Arberry 1961 gives the contents of the Chester Beatty volumes.

2 Franssen 2022b studies aṣ-Ṣafadī's readings and thus approaches his *taḏkira* as well.

3 See all the 'Maqriziana' articles (Bauden's contributions are all accessible on the biblio-graphic repository of the University of Liège, see https://orbi.uliege.be, accessed on 19 August 2022), the first one published in 2003.

Qalqašandī,[4] Elias Muhanna's on an-Nuwairī[5] clearly signal this new interest, but aṣ-Ṣafadī's working method has not undergone any thorough going investigation till now. However, holographs and manuscripts in aṣ-Ṣafadī's hand, that are not his own texts (whereby he was solely a scribe) have been noted in the past: Rudolf Sellheim and Carl Brockelmann cited them in their sums,[6] Franz Rosenthal mentioned them in his entry of the *Encyclopedia of Islam* devoted to aṣ-Ṣafadī,[7] and Jürgen Paul's study about manuscripts of the *Wāfī* gave prominence to the holographs and has already approached a few questions regarding his working method.[8]

This contribution is to open with some notes about the Mamlūk period and aṣ-Ṣafadī's biography, for the purpose of contextualizing the *taḏkira*. An attempt will be made to define the *taḏkira* in general, before dealing specifically with aṣ-Ṣafadī's *taḏkira*. The focus will be on a particular volume of aṣ-Ṣafadī's *taḏkira*, a holograph volume now preserved in Princeton University Library. This manuscript is significant for a number of reasons, firstly as it is in aṣ-Ṣafadī's hand and, even if it is not preserved in extenso, as will be seen, the number of extant folios (95 fols) is significant enough to justify proper study. This study includes an important and unprecedented codicological approach. Indeed, the materiality of the manuscript is greatly illustrative of the circumstances of its redaction, and its later uses. Therefore, such a codicological approach is necessary for this study: in a volume interrogating the nature and use(s) of 'personal' documents and manuscripts, such details cannot be overlooked. Aside from which, the study of dated and localized manuscripts is the key to codicology progresses. This article thus addresses different fields, e.g. intellectual history, Mamlūk studies, Arabic manuscripts and codicology.

2 aṣ-Ṣafadī and the Mamlūk period

Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Ḫalīl b. Aybak al-Albakī aṣ-Ṣafadī (696–764 AH /1297–1363 CE) was a well-known author of the Mamlūk period.[9] He was born in Ṣafad, Palestine, in

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4 Van Berkel 1997.

5 Muhanna 2012; Muhanna 2018; Muhanna 2020.

6 Sellheim 1976–1987, vol. 1, 200–201; vol. 2, 111; *GAL*, vol. 2, 39–42; *GAL S*, vol. 2, 27–29.

7 Rosenthal 2012.

8 Paul 1994.

9 aṣ-Ṣafadī's bio-bibliography is found in Rowson 2009. See also, a.o., as-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 10, 5–32 (no. 1352); Ibn Taġrībirdī, *Manhal*, vol. 5, 241–257; Ibn Taġrībirdī, *Nuǧūm*, vol. 11, 19–21

696 AH /1297 CE, and his father was a Mamlūk *amīr*.[10] He worked as a civil servant within different ranks of the Mamlūk chancery, in the two capital cities, Cairo and Damascus,[11] but also in Ṣafad, Aleppo, Hamah and ar-Raḥba, and he never left the administration: he was still in his post when he died from the plague on 10 Šawwāl 764 AH / 23 July 1363 CE in Damascus.

The Mamlūk period opened with victory over the Crusaders and the Mongols, the region's two great lingering threats at that time. A peaceful period followed, allowing the arts to flourish, and literature and scholarship to prosper – the Mamlūk period is now recognized for its great intellectual vivacity: the sum of knowledge reached an unequalled level and the period is defined as an age of encyclopaedism.[12] Many major authors and scholars were active during the period.[13]

Aṣ-Ṣafadī was one such figure. He was extremely prolific, and his curiosity and expertise were multi-faceted, as the different fields in which he was active, clearly indicate. He was and still is renowned for his biographical dictionaries in particular, mainly the *Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt* ('The Comprehensive Book of Obituaries')[14] and the *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr* ('Notables of the Age'),[15] still referred to by researchers today for information on a wide range of individuals, thus still fulfilling aṣ-

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and Franssen 2022b, 84, n. 1 for other primary sources; for other secondary sources, see Lāšīn 2005; Little 1976; Rosenthal 2012; Van Ess 1976; Van Ess 1977.

10 The Mamlūk sultanate stretched over the lands of Egypt, Syria, Palestine and the Hejaz from 648 AH /1250 CE to 923 AH / 1517 CE. Its political system relied on the manumission of slaves of Inner Asia, the *mamlūk*s, bought in their childhood and brought to Egypt to be educated and raised, to form the army of the sultanate. This training consisted in a military instruction, a religious education, and literacy and law classes. The level of this instruction varied according to the personal skills of each *mamlūk* and to the wealth of his master (see Flemming 1977; Franssen 2017; Mauder 2021). Some of them became *amīr*s, and it is from the latter that the sultan was chosen or emerged.

11 The actual seat of power was the Cairo Citadel, but Damascus, for its historical importance in the Ayyūbid period and before, was seen as the second capital city of the Mamlūk sultanate and a major seat of administration.

12 Van Berkel 2013; Muhanna 2013; Muhanna 2018.

13 Some of them have already been cited and others will be cited in the coming pages. The poets Ibn Nubāta and Ibn Dāniāl, the *littérateur* as-Suyūṭī, the historians al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, Ibn Taġribirdī, the chancery secretary al-Qalqašandī, the *ḥadīṯ* scholar as-Saḫāwī, the encyclopedist an-Nuwairī, the theologian Ibn Taimīya... It could be interesting to compare aṣ-Ṣafadī's methodology to that of his peers. See also Bauden's contribution in this volume for another insight into Mamlūk scholars' methodology.

14 The translations of aṣ-Ṣafadī's book titles are borrowed from Rowson 2009. Edition: Ritter et al. 1931–2013. On manuscripts of the *Wāfī*, see Paul 1994.

15 Edition: al-Bakkūr 1998.

Ṣafadī's intention to be of use to scholars. aṣ-Ṣafadī was also a famous *littérateur*, both in prose and in poetry, a theoretician and practician, renowned literary critic and linguist; he was also active in Islamic tradition (*ḥadīṯ*) and religious studies. His wide range of knowledge reflects what, at that time, was expected from a chancery secretary.[16] A great number of his autograph and holograph manuscripts have been preserved, a fact often interpreted as material evidence of the excellent reputation he and his work enjoyed during his lifetime, and to the present day.[17] These manuscripts handwritten by him are both drafts and fair copies, both texts of other authors and his own works.[18] Aside from these, several volumes of his *taḏkira* have been preserved.

3 What is a *taḏkira*?

As its root (Ar. *ḏakara*, 'to remember') implies, a *taḏkira* is supposed to sustain memory.[19] The word appears as (part of) the title of different works, especially handbooks, in the sense 'what should be recorded in term of'. This is the case of ʿAlī b. ʿIsā's (d. first decade of the fifth century AH / eleventh century CE) *Taḏkirat al-kaḥḥālīn*,[20] a handbook for ophthalmologists; or Ibn Ḥamdūn's (d. 562 AH / 1166 or 1167 CE) *adab* encyclopaedia, *at-taḏkira al-Ḥamdūnīya*.[21] Besides, in the Ottoman and Persian traditions, poets' anthologies or biographical dictionaries of poets are also *taḏkira*s, and are often called *safīna*s; this is not mere coincidence, as will be evidenced later.[22]

The term *taḏkira* is also used to refer to personal tools used by scholars. Such tools are reservoirs of quotations, recorded for later use and the composition of other texts. These quotations come from various sources: books read, sayings heard, or even texts composed by the owner himself, such as those necessary for his duties at the chancery.[23] The *taḏkira* usually follows the chron-

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16 Dekkiche 2011, 255–260; Martel-Thoumian 1992, 133–136.
17 Rosenthal 2012; Sellheim 1976–1987, vol. 1, 200–201; vol. 2, 111; Rowson 2009, 345. See also Paul 1994.
18 See Franssen 2022b, 124–140.
19 See also Bauden in this volume.
20 *GAL*, vol. 1, 236; *GAL S*, vol. 1, 884.
21 *GAL*, vol. 1, 281; *GAL S*, vol. 1, 493.
22 See note 51 below for more details about the term *safīna* and its various meanings and see the introduction of this volume by Durand-Guédy and Paul for an attempt of definition of the *safīna*.
23 Bauden 2019, 36, n. 171.

ological order of the readings and writing activities of its owner, but examples of thematic *taḏkira*s are also known.[24]

The use of the *taḏkira* by chancery secretaries is documented in al-Qalqa-šandī's (d. 821 AH / 1418 CE) *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšāʾ* (today, the most famous chancery manual of the Mamlūk period).[25] Thanks to this sum, we know that two important chancery secretaries kept a *taḏkira*, namely Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711 AH / 1311–1312 CE) and Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 749 AH / 1349 CE), in which they copied chancery documents and letters.[26] ʿAlī b. Muẓaffar al-Kindī al-Wadāʿī (d. 716 AH / 1316 CE), another chancery secretary, also kept a *taḏkira*, *at-taḏkira al-kindīya*, which is said to have numbered thirty volumes.[27] The habit of using a *taḏkira* was not exclusive to chancery secretaries; for instance, the historian al-Maqrīzī (d. 845 AH / 1442 CE) is reputed to have used a *taḏkira*, now lost, even though he himself never mentioned any *taḏkira* of his own, but simply alluded to his *maǧāmiʿ* (*miscellanea*, quires) – that may or may not have included his *taḏkira*.[28] Another example of *taḏkira* is ʿAlī b. Mubārakšāh's (d. *c*. 850 AH / 1450 CE), known as the *Safīna*.[29] The *taḏkira* of the Ottoman Damascene judge Ibn Mufliḥ (d. 919 AH / 1513 CE), several volumes of which have been recently discovered by Kristina Richardson, is yet another example.[30] *Taḏkira*s are found elsewhere in the Islamic world; for instance, Esʿad Efendī's (d. 1848 CE) *tezkire* (the Turkish form for *taḏkira*) are known, upon which Nazlı Vatansever has been working thoroughly and on Esʿad Efendī's private collection of other authors' *tezkire*s or *taḏkira*s.[31]

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24 According to his student as-Saḫāwī, the historian Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī used to keep two *taḏkira*s, one for belles-lettres (*at-taḏkira al-adabīya*) and the second one for the Islamic traditions (*at-taḏkira al-ḥadīṯīya*). as-Saḫāwī adds that since the *taḏkira*s were not arranged in chapters, they contained many repetitions. as-Saḫāwī, *al-Ǧawāhir*, vol. 2, 694–695, 771; Ritter 1953, 81–82. See also Bauden in this volume.

25 Cf. al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*.

26 Ibn Manẓūr's *taḏkira* was entitled *Taḏkirat al-labīb wa-nuzhat al-adīb*; it is a main source for al-Qalqašandī's *Ṣubḥ*; cf. vol. 14, 70 and *passim*; about Ibn Manẓūr, famous above all for his large-scale dictionary *Lisān al-ʿArab*, see Fück 2012; *GAL*, vol. 2, 21; *GAL S*, vol. 2, 14. About Ibn Faḍl Allāh's *taḏkira*, see *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 7, 29; about Ibn Faḍl Allāh himself and his family counting many important chancery secretaries, see Salibi 2012; *GAL*, vol. 2, 141.

27 See a.o. aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, vol. 3, 546–555, no. 1237; az-Ziriklī 2002, vol. 5, 23.

28 Ibn Quṭlūbuǧā, *Tāǧ*, 85. See also Bauden in this volume.

29 Otherwise lost *zaǧal*s by Ibn Quzmān were recorded in it, see Hoenerbach and Ritter 1950, 267; Heinrichs, de Bruijn and Robinson 2012. On Ibn Mubārakšāh, see az-Ziriklī 2002, vol. 1, 157.

30 Richardson 2020.

31 Vatansever 2022; cf. Vatansever in this volume.

It is striking to note that such tools appear in different cultures, in which information and books are overabundant.[32] For instance, Western Renaissance authors used commonplace books, dubbed by Ann Blair as *bibliothèques portables* ('portable libraries'), a locution that perfectly renders their *raison d'être*.[33] The main difference between Western commonplace books and *taḏkira*s is the importance given to the internal organization of the commonplace books.

4 aṣ-Ṣafadī's *taḏkira*

As for aṣ-Ṣafadī's *taḏkira*, we are lucky enough to have quite an array of information available. These include, his own mentions of his *taḏkira*, in his own works; mentions by his biographers and other authors, and last but not least, the twenty or so volumes[34] preserved until today of both scribal copies and holograph manuscripts.[35] Thanks to these sources of information, it has been possible to establish aṣ-Ṣafadī's *taḏkira* is a multi-volume work, originally numbering up to fifty volumes, arranged chronologically. In terms of the contents, it comprises records of aṣ-Ṣafadī's readings and of his writing activities: alongside his reading notes are correspondence, official chancery documents, notes jotted down on a particular subject, and first drafts of (or parts of) some of his books. At first, a personal tool, *at-taḏkira aṣ-Ṣafadīya* or *aṣ-Ṣalāḥīya* (after his *laqab* Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn) was circulated. Thanks to various biographies of the *Wāfī* and of the *Aʿyān*, we know aṣ-Ṣafadī lent it to friends and colleagues. The story of the *mamlūk* Ṭāšbuġā, *dawādār* (executive secretary) of the sultan an-Nāṣir Muḥammad (d. 741 AH / 1341 CE), is telling in this regard. In his biographical notice, aṣ-Ṣafadī underlined Ṭāšbuġā's penchant for erudition and by way of illustration of this

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32 Western Renaissance and Mamlūk periods can be defined by this overload of knowledge, as was the case with the Ming dynasty, during which similar collections developed, see Elman 2007. See also Ann Blair 2007; and Bauden in this volume. On commonplace books, see Ann Blair 2003; Havens 2001; Hooks 2012, 206–207; and Durand-Guédy and Paul's introduction to the present volume.

33 Ann Blair 1996.

34 In the present state of research, twenty different volumes of the *taḏkira* have been preserved. For some, such as vol. 14, for instance, different copies are available, so in total, 24 physical volumes are known today.

35 i.e., later copies, realized by someone other than the author (scribal copies), and the manuscripts handwritten and used by aṣ-Ṣafadī himself (holographs).

trait, told of how when they were both in Damascus, Ṭāšbuġā would borrow volume after volume of his *taḏkira*, and study them.[36]

Aṣ-Ṣafadī's *taḏkira* was a useful tool for his own scholarly activities. As the repository of his correspondence, aṣ-Ṣafadī widely used it for the redaction of his *Alḥān as-sawāġi' bayna al-bādi' wa-l-murāġi'* ('Tunes of cooing doves between the initiator and the responder [in literary correspondence]').[37] This alphabetically arranged list of aṣ-Ṣafadī's correspondents provides details of letters exchanged and some of their content. In Ibn Nubāta's (d. 768 AH / 1366 CE) notice in this work,[38] there is a letter of thanks he wrote to aṣ-Ṣafadī for a book aṣ-Ṣafadī had lent him, the *Kitāb at-tašbīhāt* (also known under the title *al-Manāqib an-nūrīya*), by the *adīb* and chancery secretary Ibn Ẓāfir (d. 613 or 623 AH / 1216 or 1226 CE).[39] Ibn Nubāta availed himself in this letter of the opportunity to ask aṣ-Ṣafadī for a text in prose he had read in his *taḏkira*. This clearly shows aṣ-Ṣafadī's friends were aware of (some of) the contents of the *taḏkira*.

Moreover, aṣ-Ṣafadī himself sometimes alluded to specific volumes of his *taḏkira* in his works, and quoted them, or explicitly referred to them, also presupposes the *taḏkira* was available for his readers. For instance, in Taqī ad-Dīn as-Subkī's (d. 756 AH / 1355 CE) entry in the *Alḥān as-sawāġi'*,[40] he only recorded the verses composed by him for a letter replying to Taqī ad-Dīn. For the prose part of the letter, he explicitly referred to his *taḏkira*. The same applies to the reference of some of Ibn Dāniāl's (d. 710 AH / 1310 CE) verses in the *A'yān*.[41]

Other authors also refer to aṣ-Ṣafadī's *taḏkira*. For instance, in his biography of aṣ-Ṣafadī, the famous Tāġ ad-Dīn as-Subkī (d. 771 AH / 1370 CE), the son of the aforementioned Taqī ad-Dīn as-Subkī, tells an interesting anecdote.[42] Explaining that while composing his *al-Kašf wa-t-tanbīh 'alā al-waṣf wa-t-tašbīh* ('Revelation and Instruction about [Poetic] Description and Simile'),[43] aṣ-Ṣafadī perused all the volumes of his *taḏkira* in search for examples of verses featuring description and imitation, and that after finishing the consultation of the vol-

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36 aṣ-Ṣafadī, *A'yān* , vol. 2, 585.

37 Edition: Sālim 2005.

38 aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān*, vol. 2, 180–268, esp. 253 (no. 87).

39 *GAL*, vol. 1, 321; *GAL S*, vol. 1, 553–554; edition in *EI²*: Bearman et al. 2012.

40 aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān*, vol. 2, 5–18, particularly 9 (no. 56). On al-Subkī's family, counting several important scholars, see Schacht and Bosworth 1997.

41 aṣ-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'aṣr*, vol. 4, 431.

42 as-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 10, 5–32 (no. 1352). See also Franssen 2022b, 115–117 and Frenkel 2022.

43 Not in *GAL*, but preserved: the holograph is kept at the BnF, under the shelf mark Arabe 3345, see Franssen 2022b, 135–137.

umes, he mentioned it on the title page with this phrase: '[The book on] simile has been finished from it [this volume]' (*naǧiza at-tašbīh min-hu*).[44] This confirms the function in aṣ-Ṣafadī's working method of the *taḏkira* as a reservoir of material for future works.

The third source of information about the *taḏkira* is the preserved manuscripts themselves. They consist of two main types: the copies and the holographs. The latter are the focus here. In the actual state of research, there are four holographs of aṣ-Ṣafadī's *taḏkira*.[45] Three that were recently identified and/or discovered will be quickly reviewed; namely the manuscripts Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Landberg 812; Paris, BnF, Arabe 3339; and Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha der Universität Erfurt, Ms. orient. A 2141. After which the focus will be on the manuscript of PUL, Garrett 3570Y, that I have been studying over recent years.

Manuscript Landberg 812 was the most recently discovered. In January 2020, I was able, quite unexpectedly, to identify a hitherto unknown holograph of aṣ-Ṣafadī in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. This fourth manuscript is also the oldest: it is a fragment of the fifth or sixth volume of aṣ-Ṣafadī's *taḏkira*, displaying the copy of documents dated 731 AH / 1330–1331 CE.[46]

The record of manuscript BnF Arabe 3339 in MacGuckin de Slane's catalogue caught my attention because it is located in the chapter about anthologies and described as an 'album composed in the seventh century AH containing many pieces in verse and prose, almost all belonging to authors of that time. The first folios are missing. Manuscript dated to 874 AH (1469–1470 CE)'.[47] I thought it could be a scribal copy of the *taḏkira*, but discovered it was a holograph; the date cited by MacGuckin de Slane is actually the date of a consultation note, not the date of copy or composition of the manuscript. It still merits further study, as well as the Gotha manuscript, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Ms. orient. A 2141.[48] The handwriting is extreme-

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44 as-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 10, 7.

45 In Franssen 2022b, the complete list of preserved holographs and scribal copies of aṣ-Ṣafadī's *taḏkira* is given. Note that the manuscript Oman National Library 1384 is mentioned there as a supposed holograph of the text. Nevertheless, recent access to a digital reproduction of it attested it to be a scribal copy of vols 9 and 10. I would like to thank Stéphane Ippert for his assistance in my search of a digital copy of this manuscript.

46 More details about the manuscript and its contents are found in Franssen 2022b, 118–122.

47 MacGuckin de Slane 1883–1895, 584: '[a]lbum composé au VIIe siècle de l'hégire et renfermant un grand nombre de morceaux en vers et en prose qui, presque tous, appartiennent à des auteurs de l'époque. Les premiers feuillets manquent. Ms daté de l'an 874 de l'hégire (1469–1470)' (my translation).

48 Pertsch 1878–1892, vol. 4 (1883), 169–170.

ly similar to aṣ-Ṣafadī's, but much faster than the examples found until now: the influence of *tawqīʿ*,[49] especially for the abusive ligatures, is much more salient and the lack of many dots has been observed.

5 The Princeton manuscript of the *taḏkira*: History of the manuscript and physical features

This holograph of the *taḏkira* was mentioned by one of the aṣ-Ṣafadī specialists, the late Josef Van Ess, in the first part of his impressive 'Ṣafadī-Splitter'.[50] It is the holograph of the forty-fourth volume of the *taḏkira*. Part of the Garrett collection at PUL, it is recorded under the shelf mark 3570Y. This manuscript is a small notebook, measuring only 186 × 128 mm, and its spine is parallel to the text, not perpendicular, as is usually the case with *codices*. This special format is called *safīna*, as with some of the *taḏkira*s mentioned earlier.[51] *Safīna* means 'boat': these books are meant to move, to be carried around, which may explain the portable format of the manuscript. Other examples are known of *safīna*-shape *taḏkira* manuscripts; for instance, one in the same Garrett collection of PUL, under the shelf mark 166H (219 × 139 mm), catalogued under the title *Maǧmūʿat qiṭaʿ adabīya* ('Collection of literary snippets').[52]

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49 On *tawqīʿ* script, the typical Mamlūk chancery script, see Gacek 2009, 263–265.

50 Van Ess 1976, 246.

51 On this particular format, see Déroche et al. 2005, 53; Gacek 2009, 34. Hence, the term *safīna* primarily refers to a book format, the notebook. By metonymy, it was then used as a genre label for poetic anthologies, because the latter were originally written on such manuscripts. The term *safīna* meaning 'anthology' remained, even for codices of the usual shape, and was used as (part of) a book title. As we have seen, the same occurred with some *taḏkira*s, entitled *Safīna*s as well.

52 Available at http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/dc028715641. See Littmann 1904, 39 (no. 170: *GAL*, vol. 2, 177).

Fig. 1: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, upper board.

This small notebook is protected by a very simple bookbinding of marbled paper and dark brown leather on boards made of cardboard (Fig. 1). This binding is not the original one, as attested by the folding of parts of different folios. The folding was made in order to preserve parts of the margins, i.e. to avoid them being trimmed during the binding. As was the case, for instance, of fol. 15, which, however, was eventually trimmed, permitting the presupposition that the volume was rebound at least twice (see also fol. 11, Fig. 2). It numbers 95 folios. Even if it was probably a bit longer originally, as is to be seen, it is still a thin and small manuscript, easy to carry around in one's sleeve, for instance.

Fig. 2: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 11: a marginal addition was folded in order not to be trimmed during one of the binding operations of the volume.

5.1 Paratext

Different ex-libris and consultation marks are displayed on the guards and title page bearing witness to the text's circulation. On the doublure of the upper board, covered with pink paper, two stickers have been pasted down. In the right hand corner, is a small rectangle with a seal impression saying 'ELS n°' and, handwritten: '3570. مجموع الفضل المنيف للمولد الشريف للصفدي وبخطه / ٧٥٩ *AUT.*'.[53] In the middle of the page, the large (112 × 77 mm) illustrated ex-libris of Abraham Shalom Yahuda is pasted down (Fig. 3).[54] Under the image, can be read: 'Princeton University Library. Gift of Robert Garrett '97'. This proves the manuscript was acquired, with many others, by Princeton University Library in 1942,[55] due to the generosity of the Garrett brothers, Robert and John W., and was originally the property of the famous Orientalist and book collector Abraham Shalom Yahuda (1877–1951).[56]

There are three guard-leaves at the beginning of the manuscript. The first one shows a brief table of contents, written upside down. Its paper is clearly of European type – the 'twisted' chain lines attest to this – and looks recent (28 mm between the chain lines, 20 laid lines on 28 mm). The second and third guard-leaves are watermarked: a bunch of grapes, and (probably) a crown sitting atop it, with the three capital letters AIG (?) on its left. What seems to be a crown is cut by the edge of the folio. That letters are found only on one side of the motif is unlikely; they could be the first part of a longer name, for the mould is damaged. If this were the case, the watermark would be very similar to Aspa-

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53 'ELS' could mean 'Enno Littmann Series': we know Enno Littmann (1875–1958) worked in Princeton University between 1901 and 1904, and that he was particularly busy cataloguing Arabic manuscripts; see, for instance, his Littmann 1904.

54 It represents bichromatic polylobed and engraved arcades on two levels, immediately evoking the great mosque of Cordoba, and more specifically its enlargement by the second caliph of the Umayyads of al-Andalus, al-Ḥakam II (d. 366 AH / 976 CE). We can read 'A.S.YAHUDA' and 'EX LIBRIS العلم يبدوع الحياة والكتاب حياة الاداب' ('Knowledge is the source of life and the book is Belles-Lettres' life').

55 Hitti 1942, 120–122, is an account of the acquisition.

56 See Mach 1977, vii, who cites Hitti 1942, 120–122. On Yahuda, see Plessner 2007; on his role in the trade of manuscripts and antiquities, see Gonzalez 2020. Yahuda was a highly qualified collector of Arabic manuscripts. Several of today's most important Western institutions holding manuscripts in Arabic script have actually bought parts of his collection; this is the case of PUL, as we have just seen, and it is also true of Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, the University of Michigan (see Kropf 2012), the National Library of Israel (see Ukeles 2017), the University of Pennsylvania Library, the University of Heidelberg Library, and the National Library of Medicine in Washington DC. For more details, see the A.S. Yahuda Project: https://yahuda.princeton.edu.

ruh Trayanov Velkov and Stephane Andreev's no. 30A, showing an indication of quality of the paper 'FIN' on the top of the crown, and the name of the papermaker on either side of the lower part of the bunch of grapes: 'A GAIL-LIARDON'.[57] This watermark was observed on an Ottoman document written in Istanbul in 1749. What is known of paper commerce and the provenance of the paper used in Arabic manuscripts fits perfectly with these items of information: in the eighteenth century, French paper, especially from the south of France, was most frequently used in Arabic manuscripts.

Fig. 3: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, doublure of the upper board.

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57 Velkov and Andreev 2005, 28–29, 386–387, pl. 30–30A. On the other part of the sheet of paper, another inscription is observed, giving the place of production of the paper: 'ROCOR-LAN LANGVEDOC', in the south of France. Note that the authors consider the 'A' is the preposition ('at'), whereas it is most probably the initial letter of the papermaker's given name, 'Gailliardon' being his surname. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that other papermakers named Gailliardon (or Gaillardon or Gailhardon) have been documented for the same period and in the same region, see Briquet 1923, vol. 4, 646; *Almanach* 1772, 222.

The third guard-leaf is blank, but the second shows some notes about the contents. The two guard-leaves at the end of the manuscript are watermarked. The first one displays an anchor inscribed in a circle typical of the Venetian – or at least Italian – papers of the sixteenth century[58] (vertical chain lines separated from each other by 29.5 mm; 20 laid lines on 28.5 mm). The watermark of the last guard-leaf has been cut by the edge of the folio and could not be identified, but the paper is more recent, as shown by the very thin chain and laid lines (22 to 24 mm between two horizontal chain lines and 20 laid lines on 20 mm).

The fact that all the guard-leaves are more recent than the text is additional evidence of the re-binding of the text, as guard-leaves have been added at this stage of the manuscript life.

On the title page, below the indication of volume number, written in large and wide characters, one can read various ownership marks and paratextual annotations, as well as two seal impressions (see Fig. 4). I have numbered them, for the sake of convenience. They need not be translated as they only give the names of the respective owners or readers, and their content will be discussed below. They read as follows:

1. من نعم الله على عبده | محمد الحافظ القدسي | عفي عنه

2. في نوبة احقر عباد الرحمن | احمد بن محمد بن شعبان | الحنفي [seal] العبد الحقير الى الرحمن احمد بن محمد بن شعبان | ؟ [exergue]

3. الحمد الله رب العالمين | ثم ملكه | الفقير الى الله تعالى عبد القادر | بن محمد الحريري عفا الله عنه

4. الحمد الله | من كتب الفقير الى عفو ربه إبراهيم بن | محمد الصالحي الشافعي عـ[في عنه؟]

5. الحمد الله رب العالمين | قرا في هذا الكتاب المبارك وطالعه فيه الفقير الى الله تعالى | المعترف بذنبه الراجي عفو ربه وغفرانه وغفرانه [sic] | علي بن ابراهيم بن علي المعري الشافعي اللهم اغفر له ولوالديه ولمن قراه | ودعى له بالمغفرة ولجميع المسلمين آمين يا رب العالمين | وكتب بتاريخ رابع ربيع الاول سنة احدى وثمنمئة

6. هو | استصحبه الحقير عفت | كان الله له

7. ساقه المقادر للعبد | الفقير شرف الدين | المقدسي العسياني (؟) | القاضي بالمنزلة | مؤقتا | عفي عنه [seal] بشرني ؟ | ... عفت | الأقدار

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58 Briquet 1923, vol. 1, 40–44.

Fig. 4: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 1a.

At the end of the manuscript, on the folio that was foliated 96 (actually, fol. 95b), two other marks are visible (see Fig. 5):

٨. ملكه الفقير الحقير إليه سبحانه | وتعالى | شرف الدين العسياني (؟) القاضي | بالمنزلة

9. نظر فيه العبد الضعيف | على [*sic* for علاء*] الدين ابو راضي خادم العلم |
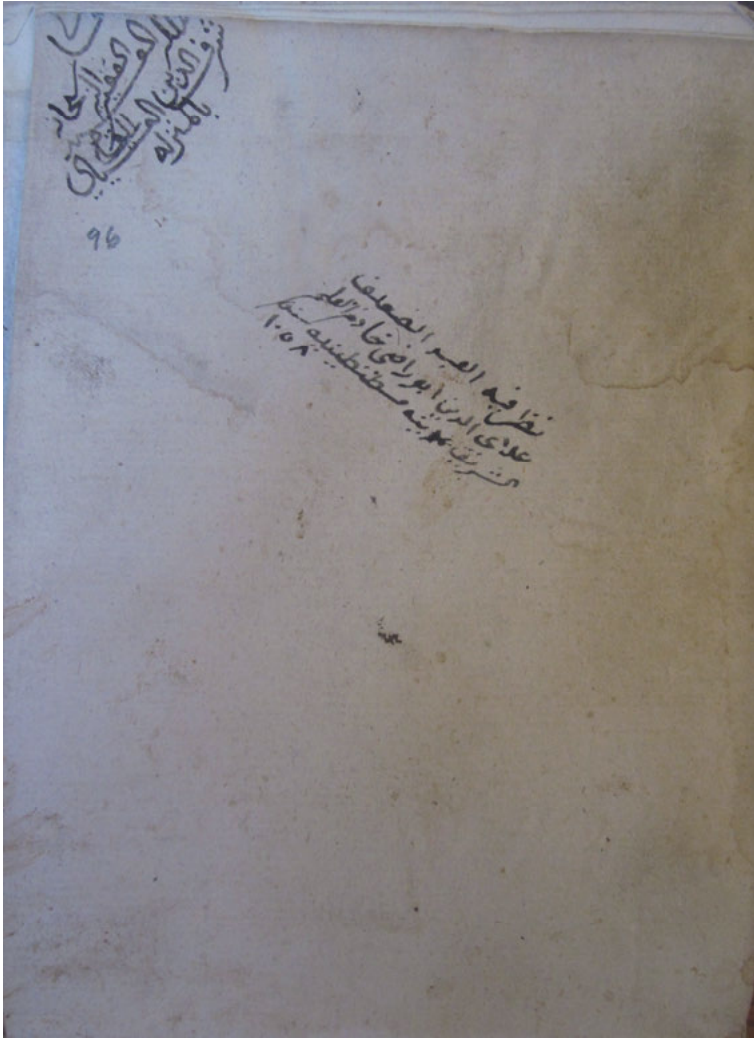   الشريف بمدينة قسطنطينية سنة | ١٠٥٨

Fig. 5: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 96 [= 95b].

On the last guard-leaf, just before the lower board, several short texts were add-
ed by different readers (see Fig. 6). Most of them are short prayers or the record

of personal anecdotes, but one of them is another ownership mark; imprecise, it says:

<div dir="rtl">

10. نظر فيه تقي الدين

</div>
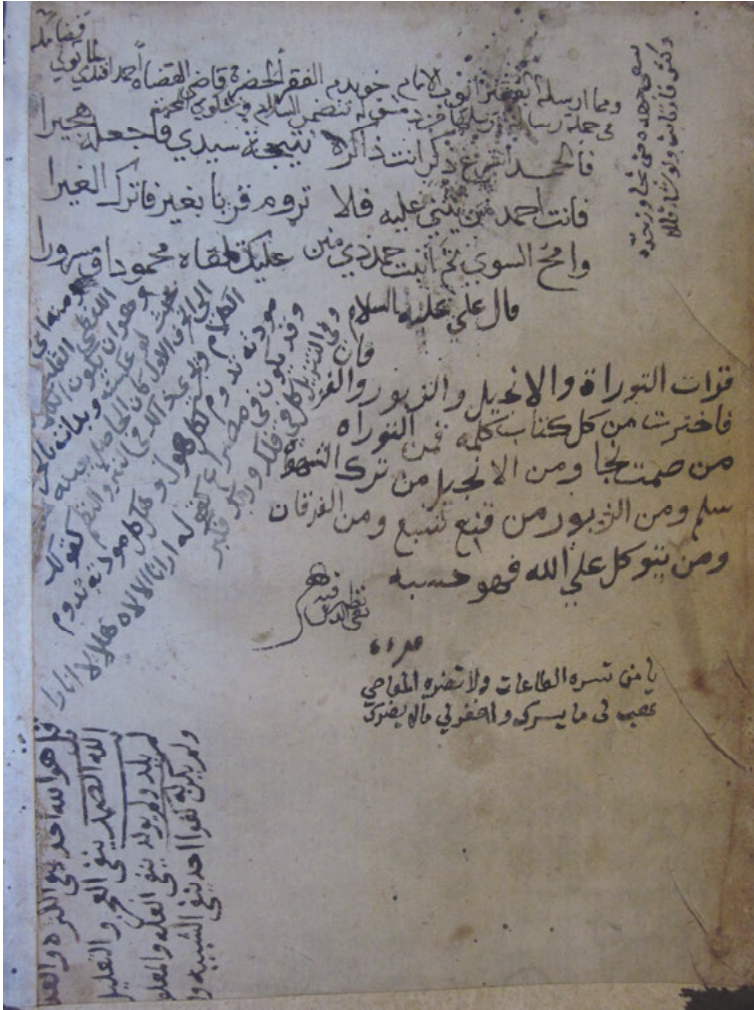
Fig. 6: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, last guard-leaf.

The most informative mark is also probably the oldest. It occupies the central part of the title page and the other marks seem to accommodate themselves around it

(see item number 5 on Fig. 4). It informs us that ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Maʿarrī aš-Šāfiʿī read and studied this volume of the *taḏkira*. He attested of his reading and studying on 4 Rabīʿ I 801 / 14 November 1398, only thirty-five years after aṣ-Ṣafadī's death. Unfortunately, he is not cited in the most important biographical dictionaries of the period (al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*, az-Ziriklī's *al-Aʿlām*) and one only finds a namesake in aḏ-Ḏahabī's *Muʿǧam aš-šuyūḫ*. Conversely, it was possible to identify the owner who wrote mark number 2. This Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Šaʿbān al-Ḥanafī also owned a volume of al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā*, now Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Pertev Paşa 496 (the first volume of an apograph, that is a scribal copy of the holograph).[59] His complete name was Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Šaʿbān al-ʿUmarī aṭ-Ṭarābulusī al-Maġribī. He was born in Ṭarābulus in Libya and acted as a hanafite *qāḍī* in different towns (Damietta, Istanbul and finally Ṭarābulus) before his death in 1020 AH / 1611 CE. Note number 9 is a consultation note by ʿAlāʾ ad-Dīn Abū Rāḍī, *ḫādim al-ʿilm aš-šarīf* ('servant of the noble science'), who consulted the manuscript in Istanbul ('Qusṭanṭīnīya') in 1058 AH / 1648 CE. The ownership marks number 7 and 8 are related to the same person: Šaraf ad-Dīn al-Maqdisī al-ʿAsyānī (?), *qāḍī* of al-Manzala, a coastal village in the Bāniyās region in Syria. The first mark has been signed by Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Qudsī, another Jerusalemite.

To be deduced from these marks is that the volume was preserved after aṣ-Ṣafadī's death – it is obvious since it is still preserved today, but it is not the case regarding all notebooks and drafts, that are not always seen as interesting – and it changed hands quite a number of times. Nevertheless, it does not seem to have travelled a lot. It was likely in Damascus at the death of aṣ-Ṣafadī, in 764 AH / 1363 CE, and seems to have remained in aš-Šām (Syro-Palestine region), before being brought to Istanbul, where Yahuda probably bought it.[60]

Other paratextual elements, in relation to the history of the text of this period, can be observed on the manuscript pages. For instance, different collation marks are visible in the right margin of some folios.[61] The typical and straightforward بلغ (*buliġa*, literally '[place] reached [in the course of the collation]') is attested (see for instance fol. 21b, Fig. 7). Aside from less obvious signs, such as small circles, typical collation signs primarily used in *ḥadīṯ* manuscripts, or small symbols resembling a Greek cross, or a plus sign, made of four traits, are also to be seen. These marks are visible mainly in the margins of a treatise by

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59 Bauden 2020, 246.

60 Thanks to Ukeles 2017, we know that Yahuda preferably bought ancient scholars' libraries that had remained inside the family for centuries.

61 On collation marks and statements, see Gacek 2009, 65–69.

another author copied by aş-Şafadī and attest his careful rereading of his own copy. The *buliġa* mark is to be seen in the margin of a text composed by aş-Şafadī that was read aloud in public, as attested by an *iğāza* (permission to teach and transmit a certain text, see below), in two sessions; this marginal mention showed where the reading of the first session had stopped. The margins also contain other annotations, such as additions or corrections. The latter are signalled by a symbol (we find the usual ٢, or simple, rounded vertical traits, see Fig. 18), most of the time finish with the صح sign, indicating 'it is correct now', and could be by aş-Şafadī or by later readers.[62]
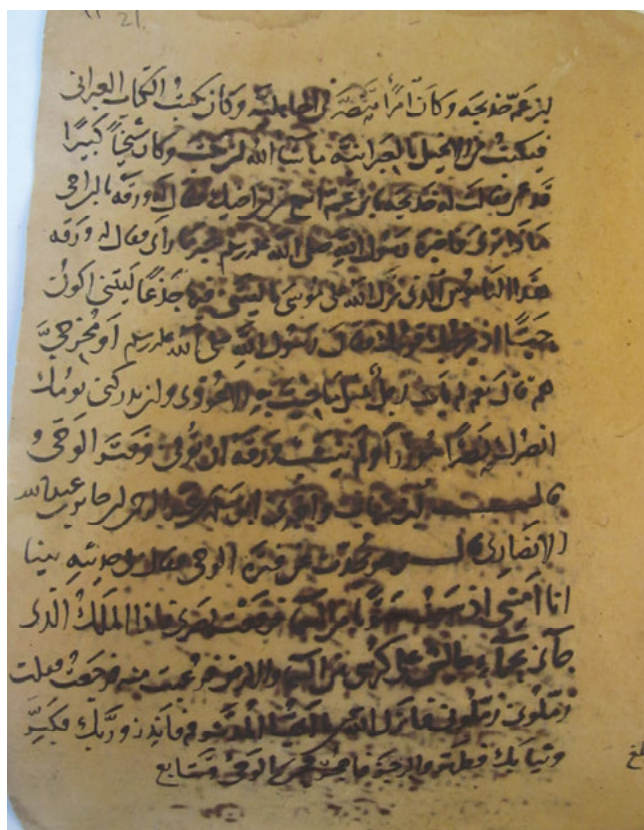
Fig. 7: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 21b: marginal collation mark.

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62 On this, see Gacek 2001, 82; Gacek 2009, 250–251.

5.2 Quires, quire numbering, foliation

Safīna-shape manuscripts are made of quires, just like usual *codices*. In this case, the quires are largely quinions, but many folios are mounted on a stub or directly glued on a folio. There is also one senion at the end of the manuscript. Many quires bear a quire signature, comprised of two elements in the upper margin of the first recto of a quire: on the right, is seen ٤٤ ('44'), the number of the volume of the *taḏkira*, and on the left, the figure corresponding to the rank of the quire in the total. The first occurrence is on fol. 8, the beginning of the text of aṣ-Ṣafadī's treatise about the Prophet's birthday (see below). Before it is a binion and folios mounted on rims, either because they were torn away at some point or were added later. Unfortunately, this first quire signature is not clear: the volume number is very clear, but not the quire number. It had probably been quire number 2, but the manuscript's actual structure somehow contradicts this assumption: indeed, the next quire number comes on fol. 22 and is number 3 (see the lower part of Fig. 7); it is a quinion plus one folio on a rim. The preceding quire begins on fol. 10. It is also a quinion plus a folio on a rim. It has no quire signature. Fol. 8 seems to be part of the preceding quire but the situation of fols 5 to 9 is unclear. In any case, the text from fol. 8 does not present any lacuna, so it is unlikely fol. 8 is the first folio of an incomplete quire. It is possible the quire is simply very messy, with so many rims and stubs that it renders its structure doubtful. After fol. 22, the quire signatures follow one after the other very regularly until quire number 9, on fol. 85a. All the following quires are quinions save two senions, at the sixth and ninth position. The codicological structure of the manuscript and its quire arrangement is illustrative of the circumstances of its composition: when the quires are even and follow each other with regularity, it corroborates the fact that this is a coherent phase of work. This is why it is important to confront this codicological structure with the actual text written on the folios. Here it is very clear: the regular structure of quires begins with the copy of longer texts.

The apposition of quire signatures is a system designed to maintain the folios of a manuscript in good order; foliation and catchwords fulfil the same purpose. This manuscript is devoid of catchwords but displays two different systems of foliations. The first is in *hindī* ('Indian') numbers (i.e. the numerals written in Arabic script). The other foliation, probably added when the manuscript arrived in Occident, shows Arabic numbers written with a pencil. Howev-

er, neither foliation is in aṣ-Ṣafadī's hand.[63] As for the quire signatures, they could be original, for, although rare, the use of numerals as a quire signature has been attested from the fourteenth century. The specific shape of the numeral four is interesting being the so-called Persian shape (٣) and not the usual Arabic one (٤). The same applies to the five, written like a number ٤ closed with a vertical line on its right and not the usual (٥). A little further on in the manuscript, there is an example of the numeral 5 in aṣ-Ṣafadī's hand and it is the same shape (see fol. 91b, Fig. 20 below). This presents an argument supporting the view that the original quire signatures were by aṣ-Ṣafadī.

5.3 Papers

In terms of paper, four different white papers (not to mention the guard leaves) can be identified, a dark yellow-orange paper, and a salmon-pink paper. The main part of the manuscript – more than seventy percent – is written on white, rather thick paper, with numerous undissolved fibres observable in the paper pulp. As far as can be made out the chain lines seem to be grouped in twos, they are barely visible and the folios are not large; the laid lines are even less detectable (Fig. 8). According to Geneviève Humbert's study, this pattern of paper is attested to from the second quarter of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, and she describes ten examples dating back to the fourteenth century.[64] Malachi Beit-Arié found it as early as 1119–1120, but found its peak use to be the second half of the fourteenth century.[65] The presence of this paper in this volume of the *taḏkira* confirms their conclusions.

The second white paper observed in the manuscript is thinner, verges on yellow, and is carefully sized with a surface treatment rendering it shiny; numerous fibres are observed, also on the surface of the folios, and the pulp is evenly distributed over the sheet. Its overall aspect is of better quality than the previous paper described. Its chain lines are grouped in twos and threes, alternating, as far as we can observe from the manuscript folios, the space between the groups is around 50 mm long and 12 mm between the chain lines of a same group. The paper of a manuscript copied in 1365 in Cairo, described by Hum-

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63 This comes as no surprise as it is known that: '[...] Arabic manuscripts coped in the East [...] were not foliated before the second half of the fifteenth century' (Guesdon 2002, 102, 108, 113: '[...] les manuscrits arabes copiés en Orient [...] n'ont connu la foliotation qu'après la première moitié du XVe siècle').

64 Humbert 1998, 21–22, 31–32.

65 Beit-Arié 1996, 11; Beit-Arié 1999, 48.

bert, displays the same characteristics – except for the format.[66] Beit-Arié observed this general type of paper (grouped chain lines in twos and threes) from the second third of the fourteenth century.[67]

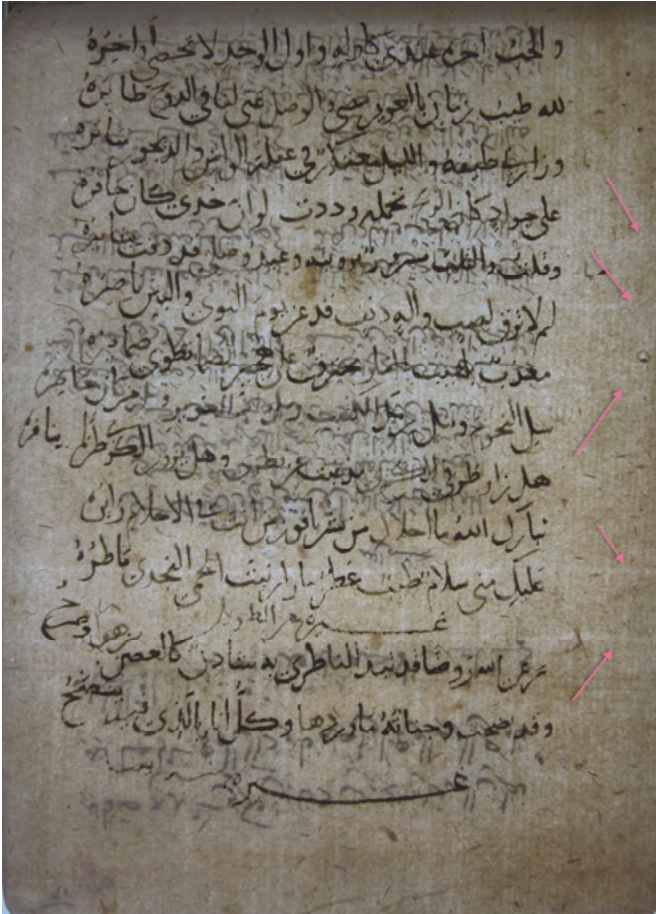**Fig. 8:** PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 5, visible through a light sheet: first white paper.

Fig. 9: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 91: second white paper.

The third white paper is thicker with a creamy colour and reveals another format being less wide than the rest of the manuscript. As has been seen, the manuscript is 139 mm wide, but folios made of this paper are only 119 to 121 mm wide. This paper is homogenous with only few fibres visible. Only two chain lines are visible per folio, spaced out of 12 mm, and twenty laid lines occupy 23.5 mm. These few items of information are insufficient in identifying precisely the circumstances of its fabrication and use.
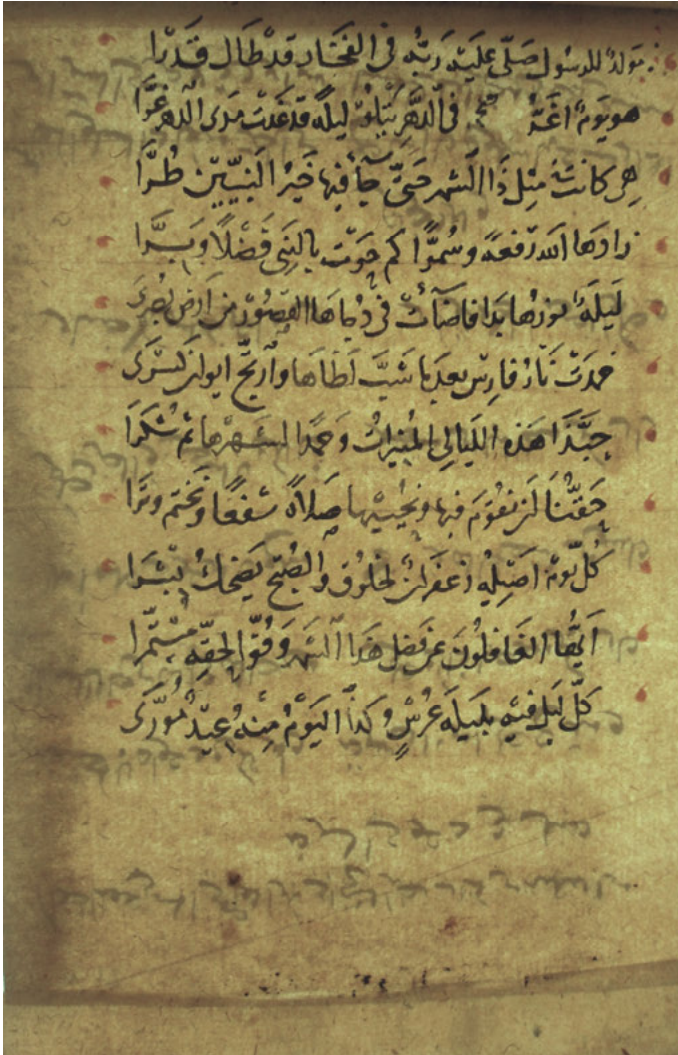
Fig. 10: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 17: third white paper.

The fourth white paper is whiter than the others, better sized, with clear traces of the use of *misṭara* (ruling board) for delimiting the margins: a double vertical mark on the right and a single one on the left of the pages (see Fig. 11). Its chain lines are horizontal, single, twisted, and spaced out of 27 mm; twenty laid lines occupy 29 mm. This paper is more recent; it is European paper made on a metal mould. What appears as 'twisted' chain lines is actually the result of the sewing

of the chain lines to the laid lines due to another thinner wire; these are not documented any earlier than the last quarter of the fourteenth century in Europe and a century later in the Middle East, which is long after the completion of aṣ-Ṣafadī's *taḏkira*.[68] This paper is only present on fols 79–80, a later addition aiming at filling a lacuna, as noted in the right lower margin of fol. 78b (*hunā naqṣ*, 'there is a lacuna here', see Fig. 11). The handwriting of the added folios is clearly different to aṣ-Ṣafadī's. The text in question is an anthology of verses entitled *al-Aḥsan li-l-Bāḫarzī*[69], by al-Aḥsīkaṯī (see below). These folios must therefore have been added to the volume at least roughly a hundred years after aṣ-Ṣafadī's death.

The manuscript also displays coloured papers. It is known the latter became more common in Arabic manuscripts from the second half of the fourteenth century. One of the coloured papers of this manuscript is a 'saffron-yellow paper', yellow verging on dark orange.[70] This paper has two severe conservation issues. First, the ink has literally burnt most of the folios made of this paper, primarily in the centre of the sheets, creating holes and lacunas (Fig. 12). As a result, the text is no longer fully legible and the integrity of these folios is severely threatened, if not already gone. The second conservation issue with this paper is the state of some folios, whose angles sometimes split into two (see Fig. 13). This phenomenon has already been observed on the papers of other Arabic manuscripts of the Mamlūk period.[71]

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68 Briquet 1923, vol. 1, 8 and pl. B.

69 *GAL*, vol. 1, 252; *GAL S*, vol. 1, 446.

70 Its colour could effectively come from saffron, since we know this spice was used as a pigment for the dyeing of papers (Sheila Blair 2000, 25), but no chemical analysis was done on the manuscript.

71 For instance, the manuscript commonly called 'Galland manuscript of the *Thousand and one Nights*', BnF, Arabe 3609–3611 (see https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc31493v) is made of two different papers, a creamy white paper and a saffron-yellow paper, and some of these yellow folios are also split into two (cf. BnF, Arabe 3609, fol. 46). Due to internal factors, the manuscript has been dated later than 829 AH / 1425 CE. Hence, such a paper was still in use at that time. Other examples are known, see a.o. Kropf and Baker 2013 (U-M, Isl. Ms. 491).
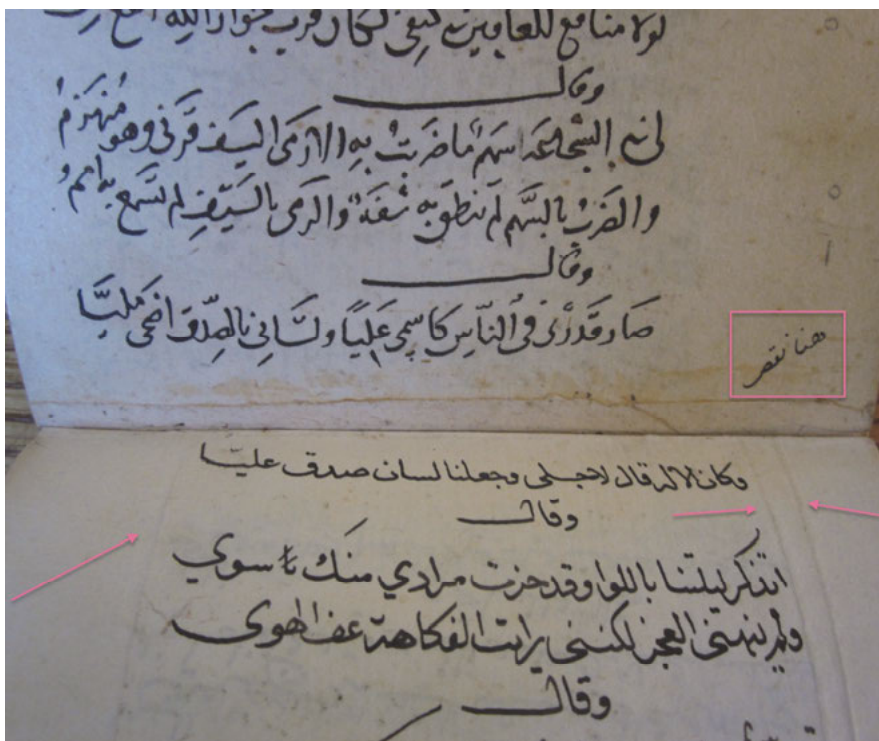
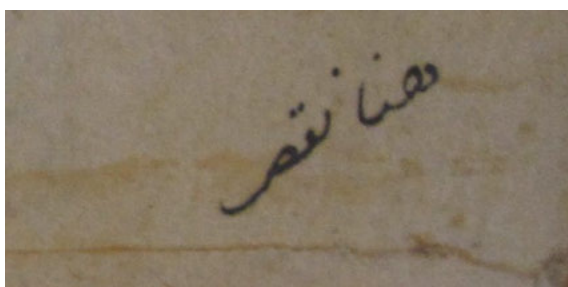**Fig. 11:** PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 78b: indication of lacuna.

Fig. 12: Detail of Fig. 11.

Fig. 13: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 18, damaged yellow paper.

The splitting edges of this particular paper would be a consequence of a (at least) double dip of the mould into the paper pulp when forming the sheet of paper.[72] Don Baker gave an example of the mid-eighth AH / mid-fourteenth CE century, and Helen Loveday used the same example (and the same illustration).[73] Don Baker does not give any explanation for this tendency to delaminate, but Loveday argues that it is caused by 'a low degree of interfibrillar bonding within the web of the sheet, [...] and the creation of two distinct sides of the sheet through sizing and burnishing'.[74] This explanation does not fully convince Cathleen A. Baker and Evyn Kropf, who argue that the adding of a formation aid in the vat slows down the drying process of the pulp, thus allowing a lengthier manipulation while forming the sheet, and possible multiple dips.

Fig. 14: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, delamination of the title page.

The online catalogue of the Islamic manuscripts collection of the University of Michigan is a treasure trove, especially for codicological and palaeographical information. A quick search for the term 'delaminat*' among the manuscripts in Arabic script returns 152 results. But the vast majority of delaminations is ob-

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72 Kropf and Baker 2013, 31–36 and Fig. 10a (U-M, Isl. Ms. 491, copied in Damascus in 1447). Exhaustive description of this manuscript is available at https://search.lib.umich.edu/catalog/record/990068068580106381.

73 Baker 1991, 32 (Fig. 5); Loveday 2001, 46 (Fig. 7).

74 Loveday 2001, 46, caption of Fig. 7. Jonathan Bloom gives the same explanation, mentioning two early examples, dating back to the third AH / ninth CE century. Bloom 2001, 58–60 and Figs 25 and 27.

served on the boards of the bindings, not on the paper. In total, only two manuscripts present splitting edges folios, the one already cited and U-M, Isl. Ms. 519. They both (appear to) date back to the ninth/fifteenth century, and are in Arabic. The geographical provenance of Isl. Ms. 519 is unknown, as well as its date of copy, when Isl. Ms. 491 was copied in Damascus in 1447. In the description of Isl. Ms. 519, nothing is told regarding the colour of the paper, but the observation of the scans displayed online gives the impression of a creamy white paper, not yellow. One may question whether the information regarding the delaminating edges of some folios was noted consistently or not. This phenomenon has apparently not generated much interest – the term is not even cited in Adam Gacek's *Vademecum*.[75] According to Bloom, the phenomenon is seen 'in many early papers'[76] but is not frequently underlined. I wonder, as in the case of manuscripts PUL, Garrett 3570Y and U-M, Isl. Ms. 491, if a relation could be drawn between delamination and a certain type of yellow paper.[77]

Lastly, a salmon-pink paper is displayed (see Fig. 14). Its paper pulp is fairly homogenous, and few fibres are observed. Its chain lines are grouped in threes, there is 10 to 14 mm between the chain lines within a group and 35 mm between two groups. The laid lines are even and parallel and twenty of them occupy 22 mm. This paper structure is actually the most frequent one in the Mašriq from the middle of the seventh/thirteenth century to the first half of the tenth/sixteenth century, and it progressively supplants all other types of papers.[78] Humbert observed a paper with the same characteristics, save the colour, in an Armenian manuscript copied in 1356.[79] Another example of salmon-pink paper is found in manuscript BnF, Persan 3, copied in Ǧumādā II 776 / November–December 1374 in Crimea.[80] Coloured papers are not rare in the Arabic manuscript tradition,[81] and

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75 Gacek 2009.

76 Bloom 2001, 58.

77 Finally, it may be of interest to note that the inside of the sheet of paper has the same colour as its surface. This contradicts the idea that paper manufactured in the Arab world was coloured after the sheet's formation, immersing it in a tinted bath, while European papers were coloured in the mass, the paper pulp being tinted before the formation of the sheet (Levey 1962, 29–32; Sheila Blair 2000, 24). Hence, what we see here is either a sheet of paper made of coloured pulp, or a sheet of paper with the colour altered in the course of the time.

78 Beit-Arié 1999, 48; Humbert 1998, 21–22.

79 Humbert 1998, 34.

80 Richard 1989, 29–30, cited by Sheila Blair 2000, 25. A black and white scan of the microfilm of the manuscript is available online: http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc101513h; unfortunately, the colours are not visible.

81 Sheila Blair 2000, even if the article chiefly mentions manuscripts from the east of the Islamic world, under Persian influence.

a specific meaning is generally associated with the colour of the paper: red paper is often used to present petitions for justice, as it is understood to be the colour of poor people asking for favour; it is also a symbol of joy, and for festivities, light red or pink paper was chosen; finally, it is a widely used symbol of high rank and, for this reason, was used for official correspondence between distinguished individuals.[82] It is for this use al-Qalqašandī mentions red-coloured paper in his chancery manual, the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšāʾ* as typical of al-Karak and aš-Šām chanceries.[83]

Some of the manuscript folios present traces of horizontal folding at regular distance (see for instance bifolio 14–15, or fol. 31, and Fig. 15). This folding could be the result of the smashing of a roll, either of blank paper, ready to be used in chancery, but rendered unsuitable due to this smashing. A second hypothesis is that the folio had been cut in one of the spaces left blank in a chancery document that had at some point been smashed. That red paper was known as Karak and Damascus chancery paper, and aṣ-Ṣafadī's long career in Mamlūk administration present good arguments supporting this hypothesis. But al-Qalqašandī clearly speaks of *waraq aḥmar*, which is red and not pink...

Aside from which, as already mentioned, some papers were shorter originally than the others, and were lengthened, by gluing a small piece of another paper at their extremity, superior or inferior margin (see fols 29, 38, 41, 53, 55, 57, 60, 62, 64, 66, 68, 71, 73, 78, 86, 87, 89, 92, 94, 95, and Fig. 16). As the foliation of the versos in *hindī* numbers is not on these small slips of paper, this lengthening was done post the text's composition, but before the Occidental foliation, as seen on fol. 60b or fol. 62: the *hindī* number is in the lateral margin, the superior margin being still inexistent when the latter was written down, whereas the 'Arabic' (i.e. the Occidental) number is at its usual location, in the upper left corner of the verso, that is on the addition.

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82 Karabacek 2001, 49; Loveday 2001, 52; Bosch, Carswell and Petherbridge 1981, 34–35.
83 al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 6, 193.

Fig. 15: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 9b: salmon-pink paper.
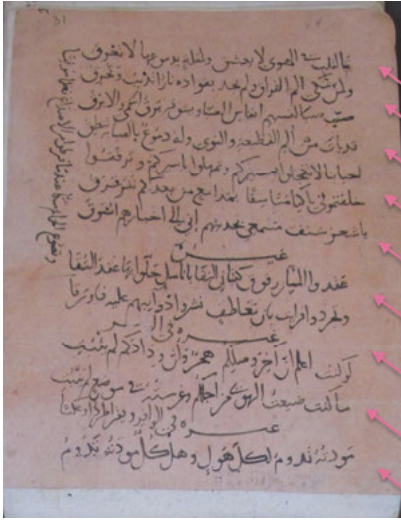
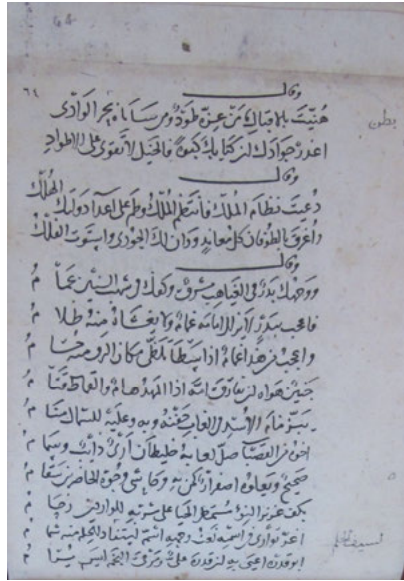Fig. 16: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 31: foldings.

Fig. 17: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 64b: lengthened folio. See also the quire signature in the lower part of the image.

The presence of different types of papers and the peculiarities just mentioned (folding and smaller size of certain folios) point to aṣ-Ṣafadī's recourse to reused papers for writing the *taḏkira*.[84] This practice does not differ from al-Maqrīzī's. Due to the discovery and thorough study of holograph volumes of his notebook by Frédéric Bauden, it is known that al-Maqrīzī used discarded diplomatic documents as a support for his notes, taking advantage of the large amount of blank space between the written lines of the document.[85] In the case of aṣ-Ṣafadī's *taḏkira*, it is easy to imagine him writing down quotations, verses or anecdotes he heard immediately, on any paper at his disposal, adding them into the binding of his notebook during a second phase. But he would use quires prepared in advance for longer quotations that were the result of his readings. This logical practice is also attested in other of aṣ-Ṣafadī's manuscripts, more specifically, in the holographs of his biographical dictionaries, where it is not unusual to find a slip of paper with some information or verses, added in the

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84 About reused papers in personal notebooks, see also the chapters of Bauden and Horikawa in this volume.

85 Bauden 2004.

binding over a second phase. This is the case in his *Alḥān as-sawāǧiʿ*, manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Wetzstein II, no. 150 at several places; for instance, fol. 7 and fol. 33 are smaller pieces of paper glued to one of the adjacent folio.

5.4 *Mise en page*

It is interesting to note that aṣ-Ṣafadī did not always fill the entire space available on the pages written. For instance, on fol. 6a, his text stops in the middle of the page; a later reader took advantage of the blank space to add four verses (Fig. 17). On another occasion, when copying part of a book, he wrote only the title of the book on the recto of a folio, beginning the text itself on its verso. This is typical scribal practice: the title is written on the first recto, the text itself beginning on its verso.

Indeed, even if this is a notebook,[86] certain attention is paid to the page layout. While the number of lines per page varies (particularly for shorter notes), it is more or less constant (13 to 16 lines per page) when the written text covers the entire folio. Most of the time the text is justified, the margins are even and the right margin is larger than the left one. The same attention is paid to the use of inks: black and red inks alternate according to the nature of the parts of the texts. And the verses of poetry are always carefully separated and framed by textual dividers. Even when aṣ-Ṣafadī adds some text as a marginal annotation, he takes care to do it in the clearest way possible, indicating precisely where the addition should take place, etc., using arrows and sometimes bi-colour dotted lines (see fol. 11, Fig. 18).

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86 On notebooks, see Durand-Guédy and Paul's introduction to this volume.
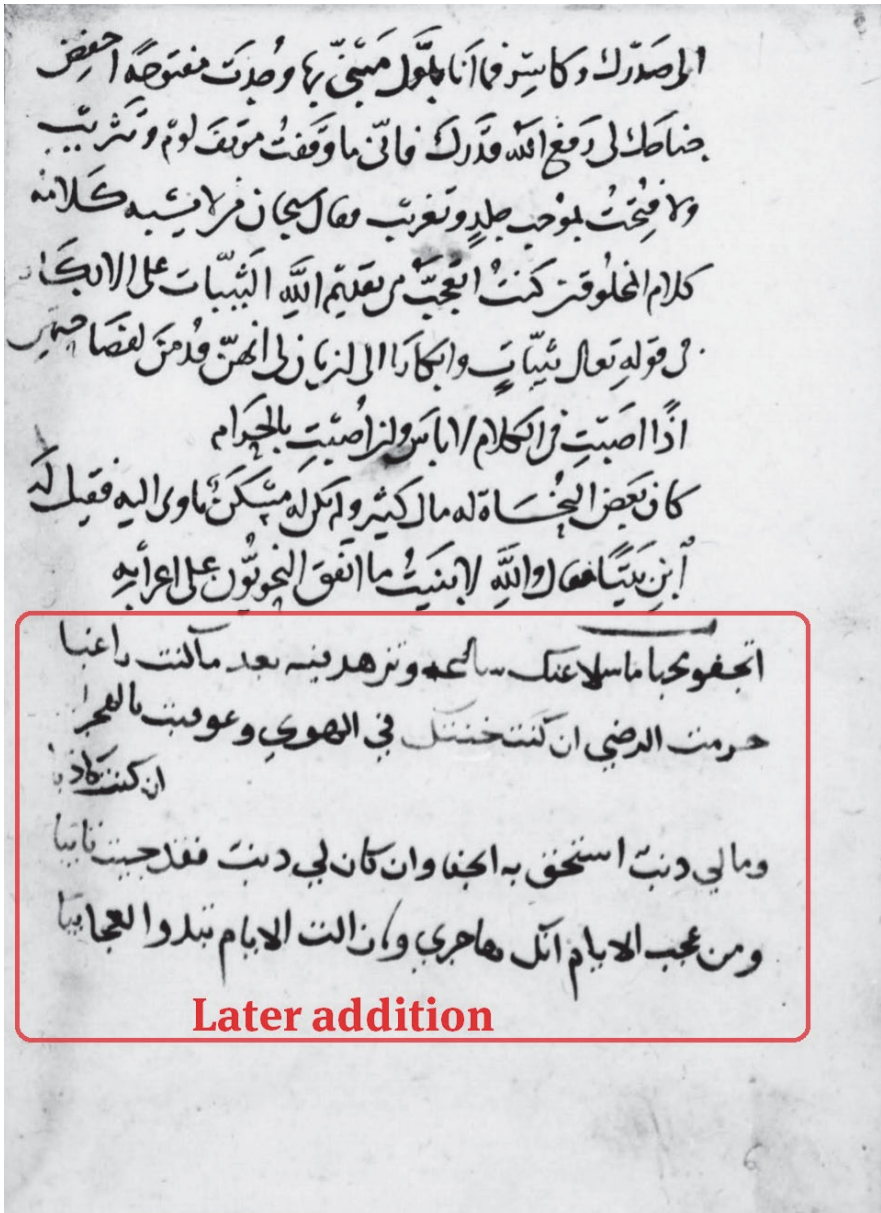
Later addition

Fig. 18: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 6a: blank space left at the end of the page. See also the folded note visible in the lower part of the image.

Fig. 19: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 11: care for the layout.

All of these features can be explained by the fact that aş-Şafadī had mastered the art of writing perfectly, in all the senses of the expression and, as is known, performed as a talented scribe on a number of occasions. He also had easy access to paper – a commodity normally said to be precious that was not in short supply for him. Aside from which, such care enabled him to easily find back information when needed and made it easier for others to understand his notes. Finally, we can postulate that when taking note of a larger text, he would do so

on separate quires, binding them with the rest of his notes later. This also explains the diversity of papers used.

6 The Princeton manuscript of the *taḏkira*: Contents

The text begins on fol. 1b, with a brief doxology, five lines in praise of Allāh and the Prophet Muḥammad. The text continues with a centred *qawlu-hu taʿālā* ('the Word of the Elevated', introductory formula of quotations from the Qur'an), and a quotation from the chief *qāḍī* of Syria, Šams ad-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ḫalīl al-Ḫuwainī aš-Šāfiʿī (d. 637 AH / 1239 CE) follows.[87] Unfortunately, being written on saffron-yellow paper, large parts of the text are now illegible: from fol. 2a to fol. 4b, the central part of the text has been altered, as if the paper had not been properly glazed or had been scratched there. Whatever the reason, the ink has been absorbed by the paper, blurring the letter strokes, and the text from the recto and that from the verso have melted into one another. That the outer parts of the justification frame have not been affected by this phenomenon remains inexplicable (see Figs 2 and 7). Fol. 5a is clear again and contains two anecdotes featuring the same al-Ḫuwainī. It is interesting to note that aṣ-Ṣafadī left the lower part of fol. 6 and fol. 7 blank, preferring to copy the following anecdote on the verso. Later readers and users of the manuscript took advantage of these free spaces to note down other related stories or verses. All these anecdotes are introduced by *qāla*.

On fol. 8, another textual unit begins. Here is, until fol. 30, aṣ-Ṣafadī's treatise on the Prophet's birthday, *al-Faḍl al-munīf fī al-mawlid aš-šarīf*.[88] The text finishes with an *iǧāza* granted in the Great Mosque of the Omeyyads in Damascus on 23 Ṣafar 759 / 4 February 1358.[89] The *iǧāza* has been written on a separate sheet, added in the binding later. It is a perfect example of the third type of content found in the *taḏkira* – the other two being the use as a notebook (notes jotted down), and as a repository of material (correspondence, chancery documents, results of readings) –: this is the first version of a text by the compil-

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87 See aṣ-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, vol. 6, 375–376 (no. 2878).
88 Edition: ʿĀyiš 2007.
89 A detailed study of the context of composition and transmission of the text is under preparation.

er/author of the *taḏkira*, i.e. by aṣ-Ṣafadī. On the verso of the *iğāza*, that is on fol. 30b, a later hand added several poems.

Following which, is a lacuna, for, quite out of the blue, the next folio, fol. 31, begins with the words *baʿḍu-hum min ahl al-ilḥād* ('some of them from the heretics/apostates'). This is followed by three verses and a quotation of al-Māwardī (d. 450 AH / 1058 CE), *šāfiʿite imam* of the ʿAbbāsid period.[90] He is an author of religious and political works, but also wrote on *adab* and poetry. Even if information is lacking due to the lacuna, here, the text can be identified: it comes from the *Kitāb aʿlām an-nubuwwa* ('Book of the signs of prophethood')[91] and it is no surprise to find an extract of a text about prophethood immediately following aṣ-Ṣafadī's treatise on the Prophet Muḥammad's birthday. The extract ends on the verso and, again, a reader added some verses in the blank space of the lower part of the page.

From fol. 32 begins the *Kitāb al-itbāʿ wa-l-muzāwağa*, by Ibn Fāris (d. 395 AH / 1005 CE).[92] This is an anthology of words of the same form, which are always used together in poetry or in *sağʿ* (rhymed prose). Only the title and author's name are written on fol. 33 and the text itself begins on the verso. Again, the space left blank has been filled with a poem by a later reader. The text is arranged by chapters, each dealing with a letter, in alphabetical order. aṣ-Ṣafadī wrote the titles of chapters in red and centred them (see fol. 43, Fig. 19). Within the chapters, the expressions have been separated by textual dividers with the first word highlighted in red. The copy ends with a short and stereotyped colophon on fol. 47b. This too is not surprising: it is known that when acting as a scribe aṣ-Ṣafadī would copy everything he found on his exemplar.[93] Again, importance is given to the layout, probably both due to habit and to find the information easily when needed. Only minor differences are observed between the modern edition of the text and aṣ-Ṣafadī's copy.[94] Recalling aṣ-Ṣafadī's taste for wordplay and stylistic figures involving homophones of different meanings, and double entendre (see his works about paronomasia, *tawriya* and *istiḫdām*),[95] the presence of this work among his notes is perfectly comprehensible.

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90 *GAL*, vol. 1, 386; *GAL S*, vol. 1, 668.

91 al-Māwardī, *Aʿlām an-nubuwwa*, 129–130. Not to be confused with his homonym by Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī (d. 322 AH /933–934? CE).

92 *GAL*, vol. 1, 130; *GAL S*, vol. 1, 197–198. The text was edited by Brünnow 1906.

93 See Franssen 2022b, 133–134.

94 The pair no. 85, in the chapter *rāʾ*, is missing in the *taḏkira*, as well as the last example in the chapter *sīn* (no. 162), and sometimes the third person of the plural (*yaqūlūna*) is found instead of the passive *yuqālu* and vice versa.

95 See aṣ-Ṣafadī's *Faḍḍ al-ḫiṭām ʿan at-tawriya wa-l-istiḫdām* and *Ğinān al-ğinās fī ʿilm al-badīʿ*.
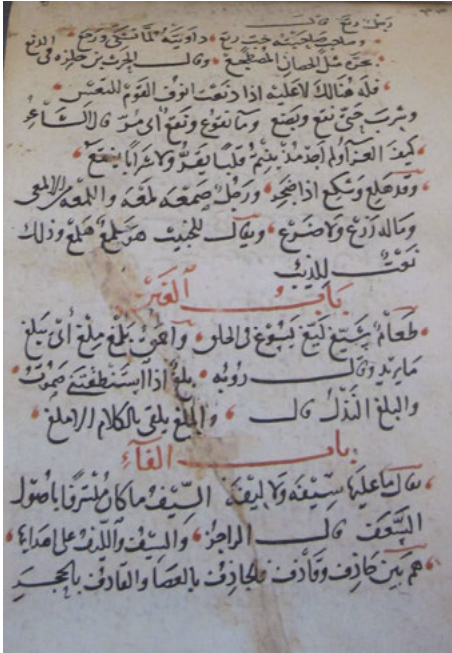
Fig. 20: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 43: care for the layout: titles of chapters centred and written in red. See also the quire signature in the upper part of the image.

Following on from fol. 48 to fol. 86b, another text is cited in extenso. It is an anthology of al-Bāḫarzī's poetry, entitled simply *al-Aḥsan li-l-Bāḫarzī* ('The Best of al-Bāḫarzī'), composed by al-Aḥsīkatī. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan al-Bāḫarzī (d. 467 AH / 1075 CE)[96] was a poet of the ʿAbbāsid period, primarily reputed for his anthology of poets of his time. Again, aṣ-Ṣafadī paid much attention to the layout, composing a proper title page with no text other than the title and information about the author/compiler, and for once, save a note explaining which letters form the name 'al-Aḥsīkatī', nothing was added underneath. The same is true within the text, where the articulation is clear and the chapter headings are written in red. The collation marks resembling a cross are found in the margins, attesting to aṣ-Ṣafadī's proof-reading of his text. A later reader and user of the manuscript added the type of verses next to the introductive *qāla*: *ṭawīl, basīṭ, kāmil...*[97]

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96 *GAL*, vol. 1, 252; *GAL S*, vol. 1, 446.

97 On Arabic metrics, see Capezio 2013.

After this selection by al-Aḥsīkaṯī, aṣ-Ṣafadī added other poems by al-Bāḫarzī, on fols 87–88. This is followed by poetry by Ibrāhīm al-ʿIzzī al-Qādirī, part of the verses being written in the form of tables, and other verses by aṣ-Ṣafadī himself, composed and originally featured in a letter sent on 6 Rabīʿ I 746 / 7 July 1345 (see Fig. 20). These texts occupy fols 88b–95, that is make up the rest of the entire volume, which finishes abruptly with a *wa-min-hu aiḍan* ('and also by him', introducing other verses), displaying with some certainty the text is incomplete.

In sum, the contents are consistent with what was expected in light of what is known of the *taḏkira* and aṣ-Ṣafadī's tastes and predilections. Biographical anecdotes are found and what was probably the first draft of his treatise on the Prophet's birthday, extracts from another text about prophethood, two complete collections of poetry, and other verses and extract of a letter by him, with poetry.
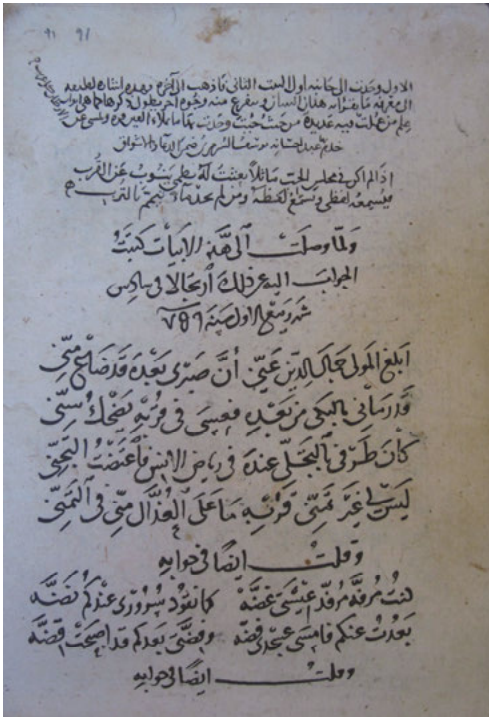

Fig. 21: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 91b: example of aṣ-Ṣafadī's '5'.

7 Conclusion

The *taḏkira* served as a methodological tool for aṣ-Ṣafadī and for later readers. Due to as-Subkī's anecdote recorded in aṣ-Ṣafadī's biography, just how aṣ-Ṣafadī used his *taḏkira* as a reservoir of examples for his treatises on different literature devices is clearly viewed. Some of his numerous references to the *taḏkira* in his other works, is also to be witnessed giving clear assurance that the *taḏkira* was public to a certain extent and that it had already circulated during his lifetime. As such, it was a reference work for some of his contemporaries – the *Amīr* Tāšbuġā used it as a readers' digest – or a reservoir of literature, verses, or literary devices for his colleagues; Ibn Nubāta is not the only one to have borrowed specific volumes of the *taḏkira*, in search of a precise information, quotation or turn of phrase. It must therefore be acknowledged that conventional categories such as 'personal working tool' vs 'published work' are far too confining in describing the reality of aṣ-Ṣafadī's *taḏkira*.

This publicity (in the first meaning of the word: the fact that something is public, known) of the *taḏkira* and its fame did not fade after aṣ-Ṣafadī's death. This is attested to by the mere fact that copies of its different volumes were created and still exist to this day. Thanks to al-Maqrīzī,[98] at least one complete copy of all the volumes of aṣ-Ṣafadī's *taḏkira* is known to have existed and was circulating in the ninth/fifteenth century. Similarly, the fact that several holographs withstood the passing of time reveals them to have been deemed precious. The paratextual elements displayed on these manuscripts and on the copies, ownership marks, reading attestations, notes of consultation, etc., present of this, clear, tangible evidence.

Through thorough analysis of the holograph of the forty-fourth volume of the *taḏkira*, a deeper insight into aṣ-Ṣafadī's habits and working methods has been rendered. His recourse to reused papers from diverse sources is crystal clear, as is his care in the copying, both in terms of content and form: respecting the usual layout of a title page, and differentiated use of black and red inks, can be surprising in a notebook. The experienced scribe most probably could not allow himself to do otherwise. Furthermore, it made it easier for him to retrieve information that may have been needed later.

Further to all that, such a study is useful for manuscript studies in general. It is also a codicological analysis of a dated and localized manuscript and, as such, reveals new data on the types of papers circulating at that time. It also

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98 al-Maqrīzī, *Durar*, vol. 2, 77–78, esp. 77.

poses new research questions, such as the possible relation between the yellow dye of some papers and their delamination, or the reasons for very localized damages to the same paper.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

EI² = P. Bearman et al. (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Islam. Second Edition*, online edition 2012 <https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2> (accessed 19 August 2022).

GAL = Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2nd edn, 2 vols, Weimar: Verlag von Emil Felber, 1943–1949.

GAL S = Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur. Supplementbände*, 3 vols, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937–1942.

PUL = Princeton, Princeton University Library.

U-M = Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Special Collections Research Center, Islamic Manuscript Collection.

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