

DE GRUYTER

Laura Hinrichsen

THE LOST LIBRARIES OF TUNIS

BOOK CULTURE OF ḤAFSĪD IFRĪQIYA AND
ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS IN EUROPE AFTER
THE SACK OF TUNIS (1535)


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Laura Hinrichsen

The Lost Libraries of Tunis

The European Qur'an



Edited by
Mercedes García-Arenal, Jan Loop,
John Tolan, and Roberto Tottoli

Volume 7

Laura Hinrichsen

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Annotations

For the transliteration of Arabic words and names, this publication follows the standards of the International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies (IJMES). For names listed in alphabetical order (as in the bibliography), the letter ‘ayn and the article “al-” are disregarded. Arabic letters are sorted according to their closest Latin equivalent type (jīm is sorted under “J”, ḥā’ under “H”, shīn under “Sh”, etc.).

Words that have entered the Oxford English Dictionary are given in the English form (e.g., hadith, shaykh, Qur’an). Lesser-known words are transcribed and rendered in italics (e.g., *nāẓir*, *khizāna*); their plural, if not stated otherwise, is given according to English grammar with the plural s (e.g., *zāwiyas*). They are translated or explained when they first appear in the text. For topography, the publication uses the English rendition only when it is commonly established (e.g., Tunis, or Kairouan; but Ifrīqiya, or Jarīd).

Arabic dynasties are anglicized to render the text more fluent, however; where possible, Arabic characters are provided in transcription to avoid onomatological confusion (Ḥafṣids, but Almohads, not al-Muwaḥḥidūn).

Dates are generally given according to the Christian calendar. If the date in question derives from a primary source and was converted, both dates are provided, stating the hijra date first (AH/AD). For rulers, the span of their rule is provided, for other actors, the life span, if available.

For quotations from the Qur’an, the text refers to sura and verse number according to the following system: Q. 2:181 refers to sura 2, verse 181.

Throughout the main text, manuscripts that are catalogued in the Appendices III, V, and VI are referred to by their catalogue numbers (e.g., MS001 or Q007). For quoting from manuscripts, the system recommended in Géhin’s publication of *Lire le manuscrit médiéval* (2005) is used to refer to the source:

BnF, Arabe 389, fol. 1r [Abbreviated library name, shelf-mark, folio number and side]

A list of all library abbreviations can be found in Appendix II, where it serves as a key to the manuscript catalogue.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Scope and Aim

In Tunis in 893/1487, mourning for his son and successor to the throne, Ḥafṣid sultan Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān (r. 1435–1488) had a richly decorated Qur’an manuscript laid at the prince’s grave – possibly for honoring his memory in daily recitation of the holy text. The reader of the Arabic text would find on the first page of said manuscript the annotation: “*bi-waḍ’ihā ‘alā qabr al-mawlāy al-marḥūm* [. . .] ‘*Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Mas’ūd*” (“To be placed at the grave of the deceased prince.”)¹ Sultan Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān himself died shortly after his son, whereupon a succession crisis began for the Ḥafṣid rulers of Ifrīqiya that was to mark the end of the dynasty. That Tunisian Qur’an manuscript is nowadays in the Biblioteca Vadiana in St. Gall, Switzerland. If the book is opened from the opposite side, like a European reader would, it tells of a different story: On 21 July 1535, Johann Marquart Freiherr of Königsegg had found himself in the “capital of the *Barbaric* land called Tunis,” where he had gone on a military expedition with the armies of Charles V. During the sack of Tunis that followed the “conquest and marauding victory” over the city, he pocketed a handwritten copy of the Qur’an as a “souvenir” of the events, which he took back to his estate in Württemberg, Europe.² Before placing it in his library, the Freiherr of Königsegg wrote an account of its acquisition on what he mistook for the manuscript’s front page, for himself and for posterity, to remember an event of which he was certainly proud.

The sack of Tunis by Emperor Charles V and his European troops in the summer of 1535 represents a devastating chapter in the history of the city, then under Ḥafṣid rule. The attack, traumatic for the city’s inhabitants at the time, also caused great loss for the material culture of Tunis. The so-called “Tunis expedition” is a historical event still studied in modern-day scholarship, just as the Freiherr of Königsegg might have intended with his manuscript souvenir. Missing from historiography, however, is our knowledge of Ḥafṣid book culture; it is as if the looting of the libraries of Tunis effectively transported an entire manuscript tradition into oblivion. The Freiherr of Königsegg was indeed just one of many who took books as war booty. These looted Ḥafṣid manuscripts were sold and

1 KBV, VadSlg Ms 387, fol. 1r, Arabic manuscript note in Q015; more in chapter 3.4. [“Q013,” etc., refers to the manuscripts by their catalogue number in the Appendices III, V, and VI Ḥafṣid Qur’an manuscripts (Q001–Q026), other Ḥafṣid manuscripts (MS001–MS061), and Ḥafṣid chancery documents (D001–D034)].

2 KBV, VadSlg Ms 387, fol. 74v, German manuscript note in Q015; more in chapter 2.2.

donated to bibliophiles all over Europe who widely appreciated and sought them as precious objects from among the Tunis spolia. Yet just a century later, barely even the legend of the great Ḥafṣid libraries had survived. The fame of the book booty from Tunis was quickly superseded by that of manuscripts acquired in the Ottoman Empire and further east; a phenomenon that has continued to steer the focus of European scholars toward such Mashriqi manuscripts to this day. The Ḥafṣid manuscripts soon became obsolete; a corpus too fragmented to be considered coherent, scattered across too many collections to be studied as an entity, the manuscripts have remained buried in European libraries for the past five centuries.

In light of these facts, it is not surprising that we know little about the book culture of Ḥafṣid Tunis, although the city had been a center of teaching and learning throughout Ḥafṣid rule (1229–1574) in Ifriqiya, a region stretching from what is today Tripoli in western Libya to Bejaia in eastern Algeria, and beyond its borders. Scholars generally agree that Ḥafṣid book culture was lost with the European invasions of Tunis in the course of the sixteenth century. Indeed, today only very few manuscripts from the Ḥafṣid period can be identified in the Bibliothèque nationale in Tunis. As we will see, the inconsistencies of the narrative accounts and the neglect of the Tunisian books in official loot registers of the events in 1535 together with the need to construct a narrative of the enemy's will for destruction, leave ample room for speculation and thus for the formation of the trope of the destruction of the libraries: while the legacy of the great Ḥafṣid libraries prevailed, the manuscripts themselves were thought to be lost and have disappeared from historical consciousness. A closer look at the manuscript evidence, however, suggests that the loss of Tunisian book culture was, in fact, more a matter of translocation than destruction (not that this distinction makes the result less damaging).

The history of Ḥafṣid manuscripts is one of destruction and displacement. This study on the book culture of Ḥafṣid Ifriqiya thus requires an extended first section on corpus-building. The text is divided into two main sections: the first part is concerned with the looting of the manuscripts in Ḥafṣid Tunis and their after-life in Europe, corresponding to the quest for and discovery of Ḥafṣid manuscripts in European collections. The second part examines various aspects of Ḥafṣid book culture and thus relates to the analysis of the reconstructed manuscript corpus. The 1535 Tunis expedition serves as a point of departure for the discussion, just as it did for the research behind it: the looting of the city's libraries represents the pivotal event in the history of Ḥafṣid book culture, providing a date ante quem for delimiting the chronological extent of the research corpus itself. The book booty also constitutes, as will be established, an important turning point for the role of Arabic manuscripts, and particularly Maghribi manuscripts, in European collectorship and scholarship. The re-evaluation of contemporary sources on the conquest

and the sack of Tunis in 1535 (such as official dispatches, eyewitness accounts, chronicles, and letters), with a special emphasis on material culture, reveals new aspects of the campaign. The metadata furnished by the manuscripts themselves (acquisition notes, owner-marks, collection histories) partly fills the gaps that are left open by the narrative accounts. Following these traces from Tunis to Europe, the first part of this publication will shed light on the new scholarly activities of sixteenth-century European Arabists and contribute to a better understanding of the routes of knowledge in Renaissance Europe by providing case studies of manuscript movement and reception.

Ḥafṣid manuscripts are virtually invisible, dispersed around the globe and forgotten in the records of museum and manuscript holdings. Their provenance has been forgotten along the way: only very few of the (mainly European) library catalogues consulted for this research list the manuscripts as coming from Ḥafṣid Tunis. The only way to locate them was to study Maghribi manuscripts in collections that go back to the sixteenth century and to find evidence linking some of those books to Ḥafṣid Tunis and the sack of the city, in most cases by ownership marks like the one from the Freiherr of Königsegg or endowment certificates linking a manuscript to a Ḥafṣid institution. This procedure reveals the Achilles' heel of such an approach: firstly, the material evidence stems mainly from Tunis. Examples from other cities in Ifrīqiya, such as Annaba or Mahdia are rare, and there are virtually none from other Ḥafṣid centers such as Bejaia. This is not to say that Ḥafṣid manuscript culture flourished only in Tunis; it is rather a matter of survival and how to find respective manuscripts. Secondly, since it was impossible to consult every single manuscript in European libraries and investigate their connection with Tunis, the catalogues were trusted to list correctly all the Maghribi manuscripts in their collections. Since the catalogues can suffer from other noticeable flaws, the manuscripts gathered for the research may potentially be but the tip of the iceberg. Additionally, non-Maghribi or even non-Arabic manuscripts that were at some point endowed to Ḥafṣid Tunis were not to be found by this method. On a final note, it is important to bear in mind that the Ḥafṣid manuscripts that have survived have been through multiple selection processes: they are manuscripts that have been looted, dispersed, and collected over the centuries, and are thus but a reflection of what has been considered valuable enough to be kept. The present description of Ḥafṣid manuscript culture is inevitably filtered through that lens, and all conclusions drawn from the analysis of this corpus are ultimately defined by these limitations.

The dynastic label used to describe the corpus of “Ḥafṣid manuscripts” has been chosen for the sake of simplicity and clarity. The definition comprises all books that were produced or used in Ifrīqiya, mostly Tunis, during Ḥafṣid rule. These manuscripts reveal their origin through colophons, endowment deeds, or other marginal notes. So far, their number amounts to eighty-seven manuscripts in 152 dispersed

volumes, not including some thirty-four documents produced by the Ḥafṣid chancery (see Appendices III, V, and VI). Although these manuscripts show great variety in their script and decoration, they can be divided into three subgroups for the purpose of discussion: Qur'an manuscripts, illuminated manuscripts other than Qur'an, and unembellished manuscripts. On basis of this division, distinctive features emerge within each subgroup. The focus here will be on the two former groups: copies of the Qur'an and other elaborate manuscripts produced for patrons of the Ḥafṣid ruling elite. It will be possible to describe a "Ḥafṣid Qur'an" and a "Ḥafṣid Imperial Style" which justifies the use of the dynastic brand. As the discussion proceeds, a cautious definition of Ḥafṣid features will be proposed, which will also help to attribute other manuscripts to Ḥafṣid Tunis.

Once the Ḥafṣid corpus was reconstructed, a dynamic and vivid regional book culture started to emerge embedded in the wider Arabic manuscript tradition, revealing strong interactions and exchange. This study will describe the context and use of the manuscripts along with the practices and people involved in Ḥafṣid book culture by bringing in the few surviving Arabic sources on libraries and book use in Tunis, most of which are from the fifteenth century. Once again, the manuscript notes – such as owner-marks or endowment certificates – provide crucial evidence for further interpretations. Two main spheres of book culture are addressed: firstly, the Ḥafṣid court and the practices of royal patronage; and secondly, the milieu of religious institutions and the book collections of mosques and madrasas. There is overlap between these spheres (i.e., royal endowments to mosque libraries), but such separation allows for a more conclusive comparison. This reconstruction of the Ḥafṣid manuscript corpus facilitates a description and classification of such aesthetic aspects as script, page layout, and illumination, which is followed by a discussion of such codicological traits as writing surface and bookbindings. The interpretation set forth here leads us to questions of artistic choice and expression, and subsequently to interpretations of a Ḥafṣid aesthetic identity.

1.2 Historical Framework: The Ḥafṣids, the Ottomans, and the Habsburgs in Tunis

The Ḥafṣid dynasty was present in North Africa from the early thirteenth century. The Almohad caliph Muḥammad al-Nāṣir (r. 1182–1213) appointed Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Abī Ḥafṣ (r. 1207–1221) as governor of Ifrīqiya, thus handing the Ḥafṣids de facto control over a territory stretching from Bejaia in today's eastern Algeria to Tripoli in western Libya. The Ḥafṣids functioned as administrators of Ifrīqiya for the Almohads until 1229, when Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā Ibn Abī Ḥafṣ (r. 1229–1249) declared independence. He pronounced himself *amīr al-mu'minīn*,



Figure 1: Map of the Mediterranean Sea and power balances in the 1530s.

Leader of the Faithful, during the Friday Prayer in the Zaytūna Mosque, the main mosque of Tunis, thus assuming the caliphal title in 1236/7. Abū Zakariyāʾ Yaḥyā hence paved the (at times rocky) ground for 300 years of dynastic rule, characterized by alternating political fragmentation and centralization of power, the blossoming of Tunis as a cultural center, and troubled relations with Europe, oscillating between prosperous trade and marauding piracy.³

Abū Zakariyāʾ Yaḥyāʾs successor, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad I al-Mustanṣir (r. 1249–1277), used military strength to consolidate his authority in Ifriqiya. He

³ Cristelle E. Baskins, *Hafsids and Habsburgs in the Early Modern Mediterranean. Facing Tunis* (Cham: Springer International Publishing AG, 2023); Robert Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides des origines à la fin du XV siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1940–47); Abdelaziz Daoulati, *Tunis sous les Ḥafṣides. Évolution urbaine et activités architecturale* (Tunis: Institut national d'archéologie et d'art, 1976); Hichem Djait, Faouzi Mahfoudh, and Muhammad Talbi, *Histoire générale de la Tunisie. Tome II: le Moyen-Age* (Tunis: Sud éditions, 2008), 353–434; Bernard Doumerc, *Venise et l'émirat hafside de Tunis, 1231–1535* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2010); Sébastien Garnier, *Histoires Hafsides. Pouvoir et Idéologie* (Brill: Boston, 2022); Ramzi Rouighi, *The Making of a Mediterranean Emirate. Ifriqiya and its Andalusis, 1200–1400* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011); Dominique Valérian, *Bougie. Port maghrébin, 1067–1510* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2006); Gennaro Varriale, *Arrivano li Turchi. Guerra navale e spionaggio nel Mediterraneo, 1532–1582* (Novi Ligure: Città del silenzio edizioni, 2014).

was recognized as caliph by the Marinid ruler of Morocco, Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb (r. 1258–1286), and even by the governor of Mecca, Muḥammad Abū Numayy (r. 1254–1301), who sent a letter recognizing Muḥammad I al-Mustaṣṣir’s caliphate, in defiance of the Mamluks of Cairo. With his death in 1277, conflicts of power amongst Ifrīqiya’s rival groups led to the disintegration of centralized political authority and to the division of the Ḥafṣid state into two parts, one ruled from Tunis and the other from Bejaia. It was only in 1318 that Abū Bakr al-Mutawakkil ‘alā Allāh (r. 1318–1346), coming from Bejaia, reunited the Ḥafṣid realm by depriving Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyā’ I b. al-Liḥyānī (r. 1311–1317) of caliphal power in Tunis. Even after unification, however, Ḥafṣid authority under Sultan Abū Bakr al-Mutawakkil remained unstable, with local leaders dominating parts of the countryside, and with the threat of Marinid invasions in 1347 and 1357. Two successive caliphs, Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad (r. 1370–1394) and Abū Fāris ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Mutawakkil (r. 1394–1434), managed to incorporate the leading urban centers of Ifrīqiya under the authority of Tunis. This strengthening of political power led to a revival of Ḥafṣid political and cultural prosperity, and culminated in the reign of Ḥafṣid sultan Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān (r. 1435–1488), who emerged as the dominant ruler in the Maghrib in the fifteenth century.

The commercial relations which the Ḥafṣids maintained with the European states gave Ifrīqiya a high degree of wealth. From the reign of the first Ḥafṣid caliph, Abū Zakariyā’ Yaḥya, onwards, the merchants of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice were authorized to settle and trade in the principal Ḥafṣid ports, and the French of Provence negotiated commercial treaties. From 1246, the Crown of Aragón had an ambassador in Tunis, and peace treaties were signed. The Aragonese founded their first *funduq*, an equivalent to a mercantile colony, in Tunis in 1253.⁴

4 On documents of trade and peace treaties between Ḥafṣid Ifrīqiya and European states, see inter alia Maximiliano Alarcón y Santón and Ramón García de Linares (eds.), *Los documentos árabes diplomáticos del Archivo de la corona de Aragón* (Madrid: Mastre, 1940); Beatriz Alonso Acero, *Sultanes de Berbería en tierras de la cristianidad. Exilio musulmán, conversión y asimilación en la Monarquía hispánica XVI–XVII s.* (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2006), 138–151; Michele Amari, *I diplomi arabi del Reale Archivio fiorentino: Testo originale con la traduzione. Documenti degli archivi Toscani* (Florence: Monnier, 1867); Giovanna P. Balbi, “L’emirato hafside di Tunisi: contatti e scambi con il mondo cristiano (XII–XVI s.),” *Storia Religiosa Euro-Mediterranea* 5 (2016); Houssein E. Chachia and Abdeljelil Temimi, “Cartas Háfsidas ineditas en el Archivo General de Simancas (1535–1536),” *Revue d’Histoire Maghrebine* 157 (2015); Cristelle Baskins and Houssein E. Chachia, “Ten Ḥafṣid Letters (1535–1536) from the General Archive of Simancas (Spain) Respecting the Politic Situation in Tunisia after the 1535 Defeat of the Ottoman and the Restoration of Ḥafṣid Rule,” *Hespéris-Tamuda* 56, no. 1 (2021); Louis de Mas Latrie, *Traité de paix et de commerce entre les chrétiens et les Arabes de l’Afrique septentrionale au moyen âge. Recherche des documents*

Despite the great expansion of commercial relations between the Ḥafṣids and Europeans during the reign of Muḥammad I al-Mustanṣir, Ifrīqiya also witnessed an invasion by European crusaders under the king of France, Louis IX (r. 1226–1270). The Eighth Crusade, in the summer of 1270, ended with the king's death from illness and the signing of a truce between Muḥammad I al-Mustanṣir and the brother of Louis IX, the king of Sicily, Charles I d'Anjou (r. 1266–1285).⁵

From the beginning of the fourteenth century, piracy was an important element in the relations between the Maghrib and Europe. The island of Mallorca was a crucial base for Christian pirates who regularly attacked the ports of Bejaia. In response, Muslim privateers in Bejaia and eventually Mahdia organized and enjoyed the protection of the Ḥafṣid ruler. Mahdia became such a threatening center of Muslim piracy that, in 1390, the Christians sent a major expedition against it, with ships from Genoa, Sicily, France, and Aragón.⁶

However, piracy did not hinder the Ḥafṣid state from maintaining commercial relations with Christian Europe, and Ḥafṣid prosperity continued to thrive throughout the fifteenth century. Tunis became a cultural center famous among travelers and pilgrims, who integrated a stay in Tunis into their journeys across North Africa.⁷

The tide changed, however, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Rival groups were once again difficult to keep in check throughout Ifrīqiya, and the external threat came to be of an entirely different dimension. The Spanish occupied Bejaia and Tripoli in 1510, and Oran and Algiers in 1519. This led to involvement from the Ottomans as well, who sent corsairs to the Mediterranean coast of North Africa to intervene militarily in the region, posing as the defenders of Islamic lands against Christian expansion.⁸

(Paris: Henri Plon, 1866); Mohamed Ouerfelli, "Le sceau de la paix," *Annales islamologiques* 52 (2018). The peace treaties are summarized in chronological order in Valérien, *Bougie*, Annexe III. The original documents discussed in these publications are catalogued here in Appendix III (D001–D033).

5 On the Eighth Crusade, see inter alia Michael Lower, *The Tunis Crusade of 1270. A Mediterranean History* (Corby: Oxford University Press, 2018).

6 On piracy in the Mediterranean, see inter alia Brunschvig, *Berberie orientale*, II:94–98; Doumerc, *Venise et l'émirat hafside*, 170–171; Godfrey Fisher, *Barbary Legend. War, Trade, and Piracy in North Africa 1415–1830* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), esp. 23–31, 41–65; Georges Jehel, *L'Italie et le Maghreb au Moyen Âge. Conflits et échanges du VIIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2001), 180; Varriale, *Arrivano li Turchi*.

7 Salah M'ghirbi, *Les voyageurs de l'occident musulman du XIIIe au XIVe siècles* (Manouba: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres – Manouba, Tunis, 1996), esp. 44–45, 158, 267–277.

8 On the Spanish invasions into North Africa in the sixteenth century, see Fernand Braudel, *Les espagnols et l'Afrique du Nord. De 1492 à 1577* (Algiers: J. Carbonel, 1928), 352–353. for a list of

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, two major imperial powers emerged in the Mediterranean (figure 1): in the West, Charles V, who ruled as Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1519–1556) and king of Spain (as Carlos I since 1516); and in the East, Sultan Suleiman I (r. 1520–1566), who, by the 1530s, had conquered Belgrade and had besieged Vienna. Costly wars with the kings of England and France and the German Reformers deterred Charles from confronting Suleiman in the Danube region. By 1534, however, corsairs in the service of the Ottoman sultan operated out of the central Maghrib, today's Algeria, conducting raids along the Mediterranean coasts of Europe. Neither Charles V nor the European maritime states could risk losing dominion in the Mediterranean, and they set forth to confront the Ottoman corsairs in Tunis. The Ottomans, on the other hand, were supported by the French king Francis I (r. 1515–1547), turning the impending battle in Tunis not only into a showdown between the two opposing empires, but into a proxy war between France and Spain.

On 14 May 1535, Charles V set out from Barcelona on a military expedition to Tunis for which he had assembled an impressive alliance:⁹ Pope Paul III (1468–1549) sent a fleet of galleys, and the Genoese, a fleet led by Andrea Doria (1466–1560); the Portuguese were represented by Charles's brother-in-law, the infant Dom Luis (1506–1555); the order of Saint John of Jerusalem and Malta sent a contingent; mercenaries were acquired from the Holy Roman Empire and Switzerland; infantry came from Flanders and Spain, and from Naples and Sicily headed by Alfonso d'Avalos, the Marquis del Vasto, governor of Milan (1502–1546). They stood against the army of Suleiman's vassal, Khayr al-Dīn (d. 1546), also known as Barbarossa, supported by French forces.

"interventions"; Anne Brogini and Maria Ghazali, "Un enjeu espagnol en Méditerranée: les présides de Tripoli et de La Goulette au XVI^e siècle," *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 70, no. 1 (2005); Tomás García Figueras, *Africa en la acción Española* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1949).

⁹ On the Tunis expedition and the sack of Tunis in 1535, see inter alia Vicenc Beltran, "De Túnez a Cartago. Propaganda Política y Tradiciones Poéticas an la Época del Emperador," *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* (2017); Sadok Boubaker, "L'empereur Charles Quint et le sultan hafside Mawlāy al-Ḥasan (1525–1550)," in *Empreintes espagnoles dans l'histoire tunisienne*, ed. Sadok Boubaker and Clara Ilham (Somonte-Cenero: Trea, 2012); Brogini and Ghazali, "Un enjeu espagnole"; André Clot, *Suleiman the Magnificent* (London: Saqi, 2005), esp. 105–107; Roger Crowley, *Empires of the Sea. The Final Battle for the Mediterranean, 1521–1580* (London: Faber, 2009); Edith Garnier, *L'alliance impie. François Ier et Soliman le magnifique contre Charles Quint, 1529–1547* (Paris: Félin, 2008); Gülru Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Habsburg-Papal Rivalry," *The Art Bulletin* 71–73 (1989); Geoffrey Parker, *Emperor. A New Life of Charles V* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 237–245; Kaya Şahin, *Peerless among Princes. The Life and Times of Sultan Süleyman* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023), 193–195.

The siege of the powerful fortress known as La Goletta, constructed on the strip of land separating the sea from the salt lake around which Tunis was built, began on 15 June 1535. Shortly after the arrival of the European armies, the ruler of Tunis, Mawlāy Ḥasan (the Ḥafṣid sultan Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, r. 1526–1543), came to Charles’s camp at the gates of La Goletta and officially asked the emperor for help in liberating his city from the Ottoman occupation. He provided the imperial forces with military details necessary for the conquest of Tunis. La Goletta was besieged for over a month before Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa and his soldiers retreated in the direction of Tunis, and the fort was taken on 14 July.

Only one week later, Tunis was conquered without much resistance when the Christian slaves within the city broke free, thus tipping the balance. With the victory of the European troops on 21 July 1535, the city was left to a three-day sack that cost thousands of lives and caused extensive destruction.

Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa, who was forced out of the city, fled along the coast towards Annaba (a harbor in today’s Algeria), from where he set out to raid the Balearics. Andrea Doria unsuccessfully tried to find him and failed to pursue him to Algiers – a missed opportunity that haunted the Europeans for years to come.¹⁰

After his victory in Tunis, Charles V reinstated Mawlāy Ḥasan on the throne as a vassal to the Spanish crown. The sultan had to agree to pay an annual tribute, to pursue pirates, to permit the Catholic religion in his lands, and to give the fortress of La Goletta over to the emperor, where a garrison of Spanish soldiers and ships was deployed.¹¹

Shortly after, in 1542, Mawlāy Ḥasan’s son, Aḥmad (r. 1542–1569), used the hostility which his father’s dependence on the Spanish crown had engendered in the people to depose him. Mawlāy Ḥasan tried to get again reinforcements from his European allies. In 1548, he made his way to an audience with Charles V in Augsburg.¹² The emperor sent him back to Sicily via Genoa, where he joined Andrea

10 Charles V’s expedition to conquer Algiers in 1541 failed, and the Ottomans continued to threaten the European Maritime states. On the 1541 Algiers expedition, see inter alia Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 151; Ḥamīs Mawlāy, “Ghārit Shārl al-Khāmis ‘alā madīnat al-Jazā’ir,” *Revue d’histoire et de civilisation du Maghreb* 6–7 (1969).

11 The contract between the two rulers can be found inter alia in Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Charles Weiss (ed.), *Papiers d’états. D’après les manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Besançon*, 2 vols., (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1841–1852), II:368–377.

12 Presumably, on the matter of his lost treasures: Mawlāy al-Ḥasan had left valuables from the royal treasury in the citadel at the fortress in La Goletta which the Spanish governor did not return; Baskins, *Ḥafṣids and Habsburgs*, 72. Mawlāy Ḥasan had left further belongings in Italy with Carlo d’Aragona Tagliavia Marquis of Terra Nuova. He later complained in a letter to Ferrante Gonzaga, Vice King of Sicily, that the marquis was unwilling to return his possessions (1546);

Doria at the head of a small contingent sent by the emperor to take Mahdia. Mawlāy Ḥasan died there in exile without having reconquered his throne.¹³

When the Turkish governors of Algiers conquered Tunis again in 1569, Mawlāy Aḥmad himself was forced out and taken hostage by the Spanish, then sent back and forth to Naples and Palermo, where he died of the plague in 1575. In 1573, the forces of John of Austria (1547–1578), illegitimate son of Charles V, returned to Tunis and reinstated as governor Aḥmad's brother, Mawlāy Muḥammad (r. 1573–1574), on terms of tutelage similar to those under which their father had ruled. This last recapture, however, was only short-lived; Tunis was conquered again in 1574 by the Ottomans, thus putting an end to Ḥafṣid rule in Ifrīqiya.¹⁴

Federico Odorici, "Lettere inedite di Muley-Hassen re di Tunisi a Ferrante Gonzaga vicerè di Sicilia (1537–1547)," *Atti e Memorie delle Deputazioni di Storia patria per la provincie modenese e parmense* 3 (1865), 79; Gennaro Varriale, "De emires en Túnez a refugiados en Nápoles y Sicilia. Las últimas generaciones de la dinastía Hafsí (1535–1642)," *Algerian Review of Ottoman and Mediterranean Studies* 1 (2021). I am very grateful to Cristelle Baskins, who shared her valuable research with me and for her feedback on my work.

¹³ Alonso Acero, *Sultanes de Berbería*, 139–140; Boubaker, "Charles Quint et Mawlāy al-Ḥasan," 56.

¹⁴ On the 1574 conquest and the last Ḥafṣid rulers, see inter alia François Arnoulet, "Les derniers princes hafside à Tunis (1526–1574) à partir de documents espagnols et italiens des XVIe et XVIIe siècles," *Arab Historical Review for Ottoman Studies* 15–16 (1997); Baskins, *Hafsids and Habsburgs*; Sebag, "La Goulette et sa forteresse de la fin du XVI siècle à nos jours," *IBLA* 70.2 (2007). On the Ottomans in Tunis, see inter alia Abun-Nasr, *History of the Maghrib*, 144–205; Wayne S. Vucinich, *The Ottoman Empire. Its Record and Legacy* (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1965), 30–33, 135–140; Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 55–66, 83–85.

2 Part I: The Dispersion of Ḥafṣid Libraries

2.1 The Sack of Tunis and the Looting of Its Libraries

The libraries of the Ḥafṣids have been considered lost since the European conquests of Tunis in the course of the sixteenth century. If one believes the written sources – and the scholars who repeat them – the city’s books were destroyed on those occasions. However, the reconstruction of the Ḥafṣid corpus presented here will show that many of the books actually were looted and taken as war booty to Europe and the Ottoman Empire. This chapter examines the sources of the so-called “Tunis expedition” – paintings, reports, eyewitness accounts – with a special emphasis on Tunis’s material culture in order to understand how the trope of the lost books arose and to follow the traces of the looted books.

For Charles V, the campaign in Tunis was of major importance. Omnipresent is the comparison with St. Louis, the French King Louis IX, who died near Carthage on his crusade to Tunis. The image of Charles V as the victorious crusader of his epoch – apparently a childhood dream of the emperor – and defender of his Roman Empire entered the iconography of Renaissance art.¹ Equally often reoccurring is the image of Emperor Charles as the new *Caesar Africanus*, referring to the Roman general Scipio, who defeated Hannibal (substitute Barbarossa) near Carthage during the Second Punic War in 202 BC. Charles V made sure that his victories in Tunis would be remembered, and travelled with an entourage of court poets, painters, and savants to immortalize his exploits.² The artistic representations of the expedition to Tunis – poems, drawings, maps, etc. – underline the role of the campaign as a key historic moment in Charles’s reign. They became crucial to the process of creating the imperial image and in organizing propaganda campaigns centered on the figure of Charles V.³

1 Beltran, “De Túnez a Cartago,” 57–60; Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, “L’Expédition de Tunis (1535): Images, interprétations, répercussions culturelles,” in *Actes du 37e colloque international du CESR (1994). Chrétiens et Musulmans à la Renaissance*, ed. Bartolomé Bennassar and Robert Sauzet (Paris 1998), 94–113, 75–132; Parker, *Emperor*, 225–247; María José Rodríguez-Salgado, “Carolus Africanus: Carlos V y el Turco,” in *Carlos V y la quiebra del humanismo político en Europa (1530–1558)*, ed. José Martínez Millán (Madrid: Sociedad estatal para la conmemoración de los centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001).

2 Otto Benesch, “The Orient as a Source of Inspiration of the Graphic Arts of the Renaissance,” in *Festschrift Friedrich Winkler*, ed. Hans Möhle (Berlin: Mann 1959), 244.

3 Beltran, “De Túnez a Cartago,” 45; Deswarte-Rosa, “L’expédition,” 78; Ferdinand Seibt, *Karl V. Der Kaiser und die Reformation* (Berlin: Goldmann, 1990), 194–196. The notion of the key historic moment of the Tunis campaign is also mirrored in the emperor’s memoirs that he dictated to his chron-



Figure 2: *The Sack of Tunis*, the tenth tapestry of the series *Conquest of Tunis*, workshop Francisco van der Goten, c. 1733–1744, after the drawings by Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen (1535).

Among the emperor’s entourage was, for example, the Dutch painter Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen (1500–1559). The artist, who was on the battlefield, sketching and recording what he witnessed, later used his drawings to produce a series of twelve large-scale cartoons, one for each step of the campaign: from the *Muster in Barcelona*, over the *Siege of Goletta* and the *Fall of Tunis*, to the *Departure from Goletta*. The tenth of the series, *The Sack of Tunis*, shows the loading of booty and captured Tunisians onto the ships and the cruel slaughter of local inhabitants, all set against the background of the city skyline (figure 2).⁴ Vermeyen displays an eye for Tunis’s

icler Wilhelm van Male in 1550; although the Schmalkalden Wars take up most of his memoirs, the expedition to Tunis marks the emperor’s first important action; cf. Wilhelm van Male, *Commentaires de Charles-Quint*, ed./trans. Joseph M. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Paris: Firmin-Didot frères, fils & cie, 1862), 34–39. For a comparison with the campaign of Lepanto in 1571, see Stefan Hanß, *Die materielle Kultur der Seeschlacht von Lepanto (1571). Materialität, Medialität und die historische Produktion eines Ereignisses* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2017). The workshop *Habsburgs in Tunis (1535–1574): The Conquest (Fath) of Tunis and New Mediterranean Order*, held at Columbia Global Centers, Tunis, 4–5 June 2022 (concept by Avinoam Shalem, Alina Payne, and Paul E. Geier), focused on the European art production celebrating the Habsburg capture of Tunis as well as on the city’s looted art and antiquities.

⁴ Antonio Gozalbo, “La representación artística de la campaña de Carlos V en Túnez (1535). Estado de la cuestión,” *ForumRecerca* 20 (2015); Hendrik Horn, *Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen. Painter of Charles V and his Conquest of Tunis: Paintings, Etchings, Drawings, Cartoons and Tapestries*, 2 vols. (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1989); Sabine Haag and Katja Schmitz-von Ledebur, *Kaiser Karl V. erobert Tunis*.

material culture: we can see the minarets of Tunis in the background. His drawings of Tunis are the earliest visual records of the city and thus most useful for the reconstruction of plans of medieval Tunis.⁵ But the plundering of the libraries, or books, among the loot is not recorded in the paintings.

Upon his return from Africa in 1535, during his triumphal progress through Italy, Charles V bequeathed columns and doors taken from the mosques in Tunis to churches and convents. After the return of the fleet from Tunis to Trapani (Sicily), the emperor is said to have donated a baptismal font of African marble to the Basilica of San Nicolò, a banner with gold brocade to the parish church of San Pietro, and two wooden doors covered with iron to the convent of Maria SS. Annunciata.⁶ All these donations were spoils from Tunis. Similarly, other treasures looted from Tunis – especially textiles and armor – were worn and displayed during festive performances organized for the emperor's triumphal entries into a number of Italian cities as well as upon his return to the Spanish court.⁷ A big part of these ceremonies was the staging of mock battles between Muslims and Christians, for which the participants dressed in fabrics and clothes looted during the sack. Upon his victorious return to Naples, for instance, Charles himself took part in a tournament for which he dressed *à la mauresque*.⁸ Similarly, plays and songs that were

Dokumentation eines Kriegszuges in Kartons und Tapisserien (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2013); Agnes Stillfried, "War into Art: The Tapestries Celebrating the Campaign Against Tunis of Emperor Charles V," *Hadeeth ad-Dar* 33 (2011). Vermeyen's drawings, which served as models for later tapestry makers, are now in the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* in Vienna, GG 283 to GG 246.

5 The spade work of reconstructing medieval Tunis was done by Brunschvig, *Berbérie orientale*, I:338–357, esp. 339. The correlation of Brunschvig's map and Vermeyen's *Tunis Series* was done by Vittu, "Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, peintre de Tunis en 1535," *IBLA – Revue de l'Institut des belles lettres arabes à Tunis* 40, no. 2 (1977): 251–259.

6 José Miguel Morales Folguera, "El viaje triunfal de Carlos V por Sicilia tras la victoria de Túnez," *Revista de Emblemática y Cultura Visual* 7 (2016): 99; Salvatore Agati, *Carlo V e la Sicilia. Tra guerra, rivolta, fede e ragion di Stato* (Catania: Giuseppe Maimone, 2009), 128. A series of tombstones from Tunis ended up in Naples; see Elisabetta Serrao, "Ex Spoliis Victoriae Africanae. Sull'origine delle iscrizioni Arabe di Napoli e Pozzuoli," in *Europa e Islam tra i secoli XIV e XVI*, ed. Michele Bernadini (Naples: Collana Matteo Ripa, 2002). On the dispersed Tunis spoils, see Baskins, *Hafsids and Habsburgs*, 153–159.

7 On Charles's triumphal entries, see inter alia Mélanie Bost and Alain Servantie, "Joyeuses entrées de l'empereur Charles Quint: le Turc mis en scene," *Journal of Iberian Studies* 33 (2016); Morales Folguera, "Viaje triunfal"; Marion Philipp, *Ehrenporten für Kaiser Karl V. Festdekorationen als Medien politischer Kommunikation* (Münster: Lit, 2011), 119–136; Maria Antonietta Visceglia, "Il viaggio cerimoniale di Carlo V dopo Tunisi," in *Carlos V y la quiebra del humanismo político en Europa (1530–1558)*, ed. José Martínez Millán, 101–108 (Madrid: Sociedad estatal para la conmemoración de los centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001).

8 Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, who has studied the influence of the Tunis expedition on Renaissance visual culture, argues that these public celebrations gave rise to a fashion *alla turchesca*; Deswarte-Rosa, "L'expédition," 117–125.

composed about the victorious conquest of Tunis based on the accounts of the soldiers were performed with the original armor and accessories brought home from North Africa.⁹ Many layers of meaning were attached to the war spolia from imperial expansion and global power to a sixteenth-century crusade against the Ottomans. The collection of these artefacts should not necessarily be seen as a reflection of the emperor's personal taste, but rather as the result of his propagandistic use of art and artefacts from conquered lands and defeated enemies. The display of the objects as an imperial collection thus represents the imperial ambitions of his rule.¹⁰ The inventory of Charles's possessions compiled in Simancas after the emperor's death in 1561 enumerates countless treasures once belonging to Ḥafṣid sultan Mawlāy Ḥasan, especially armor, jewelry, and textiles – the same objects that were displayed during the triumphal processions and plays.¹¹ Books, however, are neither mentioned in the protocols of such ceremonies nor in the inventory of the emperor's treasures.¹²

As we shall see, a very similar phenomenon occurs in other sources on the sack of Tunis. After the artistic interpretations of the "Tunis expedition," the next group of sources to look at are the official reports from the campsites in Ifrīqiya. And although the war spolia would become so important in forming the emperor's image as the victorious crusader, the reports do not mention the sack of the city. In order to keep his European allies informed about the campaign, Emperor Charles V

9 For example, the play *L'Amor Costante* composed by Alessandro Piccolomini for the emperor's entrance into Siena 1536, and numerous *canti* in honour of Charles's victories in Tunis; see Marina Beer and Cristina Ivaldi (eds.), *Guerre in ottava rima – IV Guerre contro i Turchi, 1453–1570* (Modena: Panini, 1989), 439–512.

10 William L. Eisler, *The Impact of the Emperor Charles V upon the Visual Arts AH* (PhD diss., Pennsylvania University, 1994), 129–156. Although Eisler bases his arguments on objects brought to Spain from South America, the same conclusions could be drawn for the objects from Tunis. For the display of looted objects, see also Parker, *Emperor*, 346, 357.

11 The Samancas inventory is published in Rudolf Beer, "Acten, Regesten und Inventare aus dem Archivio General zu Simancas. II. Theil," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 1891, esp. 154–158. For the history of the compilation of these inventories, see Juan Luis González García, "Charles V and the Habsburgs' Inventories. Changing Patrimony as Dynastic Cult in Early Modern Europe," *RIHA Journal* 12 (2010). In his 1565 treatise on collecting, *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatre*, Samuel Quiccheberg does not count books among his five classes of collectables, but were treated separately; Hanß, *Materielle Kultur der Seeschlacht*, 292, 324.

12 The sole exception is the mention of an "el alcoran" within a "tahelio" in an anonymous inventory of the belongings of Mawlāy Ḥasan, which is probably a talisman in a belt sheath; anon., "Inventario de varios efectos que pertenecieron al Rey de Túnez," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos* 5 (1875), 396. I am grateful to Cristelle Baskins for the hint.

dictated a number of dispatches to his secretaries: Francisco de los Cobos y Molina (1475/85–1547) and Alonso de Idiáquez y Yurramendi (1497–1547) were responsible for reports in Spanish and Antoine Perrenin (d. 1538?) from the Franche-Comté for missives in French.¹³ Charles wanted to portray his mission in the best light to his brother Ferdinand I, Archduke of Austria and King of Bohemia and Hungary (r. 1526–1564), whom he had not involved in his plans to attack North Africa until the very last minute. Facing the more immediate threat of Ottoman power at his borders in central Europe, Ferdinand had been skeptical about spending the empire's budget on an overseas expedition.¹⁴ In his letters to his brother and his sister Mary of Hungary (also known as Mary of Austria), Governess of the Habsburg Netherlands (r. 1531–1555), Charles explains his military strategy in detail, and the difficulties that he had to face. He emphasizes his achievements – such as the capture of Tunis without great losses on his side, the liberation of Christian slaves, the expulsion of Barbarossa and the Turks – and only mentions in passing the atrocities committed by his mercenaries.¹⁵ Another important reason for the eulcorated description of the sack of Tunis could have been that the Romans had not yet forgotten the trauma of the sack of Rome by imperial troops only eight years earlier.¹⁶ Bulletins sent from Tunis to Italy thus stress the liberation of Christian captives and the defeat of the Ottoman enemy, not the massacre of the citizens of Tunis.¹⁷

More detailed and descriptive than the official reports and artistic interpretations of the 1535 expedition are the eyewitness descriptions from soldiers and high-ranking officers who participated in the campaign. However, these accounts vary greatly as to their portrayal of the quality and quantity of booty, the reason for the sack itself, the intensity of the raiding, and the identity of the raiders. Reporters of one contingent accuse those of others of having been the more violent marauders, while they themselves always find fewer treasures. This creates a problem when reconstructing the provenance and path of the spoils taken from Tunis and explaining the circumstances of their reappearance in Europe. Moreover, the sources are primarily concerned with whether the treasures would cover the pay of the merce-

¹³ In that order: Manuel Fernández Álvarez, *Corpus documental de Carlos V* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 5 vols., 1973–1981), II:421–444 (nos. 172–176, 178, 180–181); Lanz, *Correspondenz Kaiser Karls*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1844–1846), II:186–204 (nos. 405–411).

¹⁴ Bernadette Hofinger, *Familienkorrespondenz 1535 und 1536* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag), 42.

¹⁵ Hofinger, *Familienkorrespondenz*, nos. 900, 902, 908, 912, 914.

¹⁶ Deswarte-Rosa, “L'expédition,” 76.

¹⁷ See, for example, the anonymous bulletin *La Copia de la Littera venuta da Tuneci*, Munich, BSB, Res/4 Turc. 82.9.

naries. Therefore, the focus lies on loot of more immediate material value, such as money, gold, and slaves.¹⁸

Most witnesses concentrate on the military aspects of the expedition. Such surviving accounts of the sack of Tunis come from Charles's chamberlain Don Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga (1504–1573), the Genoese captain Andrea Doria, the Roman captain Gentil Virginio Orsini (d. 1548), an Italian soldier named Cosentius, the otherwise unknown soldiers Amerius and Flaminus, Cerezeda (a Spanish soldier in the service of the Marquis del Vasto), the Italian diplomat Alfonso Rosetti (d. 1577), the Portuguese chronicler Luís de Sousa (c. 1555–1632), and the Flemish chronicler and Charles's court historian Jean de Vandenesse (c. 1497–1561).¹⁹

Exceptional in its richness of detail is the account given by the Swiss mercenary Niklaus Guldin in his letter to Joachim Vadian (1484–1551), Mayor of St. Gall in Switzerland.²⁰ In line with the inventories of Charles's possessions, Guldin lists a variety of merchants' treasures (*kauffmanchatz [sic]*) – “almost too much to carry” – which were loaded onto the ships and taken back to Europe: jewels and precious stones; cloths of velvet, silk, and cotton; golden embroideries; bracelets and necklaces of silver or gold; and silver tableware; but no books.

Only three eyewitnesses seem truly concerned with the material culture of Tunis and are therefore the most valuable to us: Antoine Perrenin, Charles V's personal secretary; an otherwise unknown Spanish soldier by the name of Licenciado Arcos; and the Spaniard Alonso de Sanabria, who was later ordained bishop of Drisht in Albania. While the latter two describe a library in the Zaytūna Mosque in Tunis (their accounts will be discussed in more detail in the chapter on reconstructing

¹⁸ In sixteenth-century Europe, mercenaries were entitled to loot within the law of war, which would assure them to be paid for their duty; cf. Fritz Redlich, *De praeda militari. Looting and booty 1500–1815* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1956). The distribution of the loot was institutionalized and regulated by law; cf. Hanß, *Materielle Kultur der Seeschlacht*, 287–363. Hanß studied the material aspects of the battle of Lepanto (1571) and determined that the booty listed in official registers was artillery (ships, canons, weapons) and slaves; cf. Hanß, *Materielle Kultur der Seeschlacht*, esp. 292.

¹⁹ For a complete list, see the author's thesis.

²⁰ Niklaus Guldin, “Bericht über den Zug Kaiser Karls V nach Tunis,” in *Die Vadianische Briefsammlung der Stadtbibliothek St. Gallen (1536–1540)*, ed. Emil Arbenz (St. Gall: Fehr, 1903), 294: letter written on 12 January 1536: “*Die welschen kriegslüt unnd de schifflyt habent groß gut gewonnet, darvon nit zú sagen ist, als von kauffmanchatz [sic], von berillen unnd von edlent gestain, von samet, siden unnd von guldin stucken, von bumwoll samdel unnd ssill, mit sampt allerlay spetzerey, grolamechtig deren seck voll, welche wir nit hinweg mochten bringen; aber die schifflyt trugentz mit irem gsend in die schiff und furentz mit unns hinweg. Sylbere unnd guldy armring und halsbannd wurden vill gefunden; was barm gelt und andrem silbergeschier was ich nit, wie vill des selbigen gewonen ist worden, doch onzall vill. Doch kain Düscher hat gar vill darvon bracht, ußgenommen der hauptman von Wanngen. Dem ist was des Barbenroßen credentzgschier worden.*”

the library landscape of Tunis), the former is the only one to report on the destruction of Tunis's libraries. The Comtois Antoine Perrenin, a well-educated bourgeois, had been placed into Charles's entourage by the emperor's aunt and confidant, the archduchess Margaret of Austria, Governess of the Habsburg Netherlands (r. 1507–1530). The longest part of Perrenin's account, which has been compared to the best French prose of the age, is dedicated to the slaughter and enslavement of the inhabitants of Tunis and the plundering of their houses.²¹ However, the account does not stop there, but rather emphasizes the soldiers' destructive mania by following the trail of devastation:

And in the mosques and temples of these *Mores*, they destroyed and broke libraries and books, of which there were many about their law, beautifully gilded, bound and written in letters of gold and blue; also, from some of these mosques they took columns of grey jasper, and other valuable stones.²²

Perrenin's report is the only one to record that not only the houses of Tunis were plundered, but also the mosques. The stolen columns of grey jasper described here can be correlated with the abovementioned donations to churches in Sicily upon the emperor's return to Italy. Perrenin's mastery of the French language speaks of an erudite, cultured character, and it is no surprise that he was concerned about the material culture of Tunis and interested in the mosques and libraries of the city. He probably saw the libraries or at least some of the books himself, since he knows to describe them, and enquired about their content. Still, although Perrenin attempted to differentiate between "mosques" and "temples,"²³ it is not clear to which specific places he is referring. The fact that even a well-educated narrator such as Perrenin did not seem to know the mosques and libraries by name, or did not care to name them, suggests that the topography of Tunis was of little significance to the plunderers.

In a curious way, Perrenin's description of the books is very similar to the one given by Arcos and Sanabria (see chapter 3.1.1.): they all praise the beauty of the

²¹ Auguste Castan (ed.), *La conquête de Tunis en 1535 racontée par deux écrivains franc-comtois, Antoine Perrenin et Guillaume de Montoiche* (Dodivers: Besançon, 1891), 17.

²² Antoine Perrenin, "Djurnal," in *Staatspapiere zur Geschichte des Kaisers Karl V. Aus dem Königlichen Archiv und der Bibliothek de Bourgogne zu Brüssel mitgeteilt*, ed. Karl F. W. Lanz (Stuttgart: Literarischer Verein, 1845), 571: "Et par les mesquites et temples des dicts *Mores* gastoient et rompoient les livres et libraries dont y avoit plusieurs de leur loy tres bien dorez, liez et escript en lectres d'or et d'azur; aussi prindrent aucuns es [sic] dicts mesquites des pillieres de jaspre gris, et autres riches pierres."

²³ I am grateful to Péter Nagy who suggested the reference to *masjid* and *jāmi'*—i.e., neighborhood mosque and Friday mosque; a differentiation that he has found in Leo Africanus's description of places in Morocco.

craftsmanship of bookbinding and gilding. As did Perrenin, Arcos includes the columns of grey jasper in his account, a detail that seems important to both. How this similarity came about is debatable: the authors might have witnessed and noticed similar things independently of one another, or they might have been aware of each other's reports or drawn on similar sources. If the looting had been a topic broadly discussed among contemporaries, then the libraries and their books might have found mention during such debates, which could explain the concord between these statements. However, despite certain similarities, the essential parts of the reports vary greatly. While Arcos and Sanabria merely describe the facilities of the mosque library, Perrenin is the only one to speak about the destruction of the place. Interestingly, Perrenin's *Djurnal* suggests that while the columns of grey jasper and other rare stones were looted, the libraries and the books were simply destroyed on the spot. The books are not explicitly mentioned as booty by any of the eyewitnesses.

The most famous and most frequently cited account of the sack of Tunis is the *Historiarum sui temporis* by the Italian historian Paolo Giovio (1483–1552), who followed and enthusiastically supported the Tunis campaign. Before the Tunis expedition, Giovio – then residing in Rome – had gathered all there was to know about Tunis. He did so by interrogating enslaved captives from North Africa, such as Giuliano Romano (enslaved by the pope), Josuf Turco (enslaved by Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici), and a certain Giovanni (enslaved by the Count of Anguillara). Giovio ordered the printing of maps of the North African coast and the surroundings of Tunis and handed them out to participants of the campaign, specifically to the Marquis del Vasto. The marquis stayed in contact with Giovio during the campaign and provided him with information directly from the camp in North Africa. With the additional and new information, Giovio commissioned updated maps, thus turning the Tunis expedition into a “cartography enterprise.”²⁴ His correspondence with the Marquis del Vasto allowed Giovio, who was well connected within the humanist community in Europe, to converse about the Tunis expedition and to distribute his knowledge among recipients all over Europe. Within Giovio's network, the Tunis expedition seems to have been the talk of the hour, as can be perceived from the letters that he exchanged with men like Francesco II Sforza, Duke of Milan (1495–1535); with Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, the Bishop of Faenza (1500–1564), ordained cardinal in 1536; and Jean du Bellay, Bishop of Paris (1492–1560), ordained cardinal in 1535.²⁵ Inter-

24 Deswarte-Rosa, “L'expédition,” 81–87, esp. 84–86 for a reprint of the maps; Monchicourt, “Essai bibliographique sur les plans imprimés de Tripoli, Djerba et Tunis-Goulette au XVI^e siècle et note sur un plan d'Alger,” *Revue africaine* 325 (1925), esp. 405.

25 Paolo Giovio, *Lettere*, ed. Giuseppe Guido Ferrero, 2 vols. (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea, 1956–1957), I, esp. nos. 47–63.

estingly, as we will see below, manuscripts from Ḥafṣid Tunis circulated within this network of enthusiasts soon after the Tunis expedition.

For his *Histories*, Giovio interviewed participants of the expedition to Tunis upon their return to Naples. He was invited to dine with the emperor's entourage, among them Francisco de los Cobos and Alfonso d'Avalos Marquis del Vasto, and he must even have had the chance to talk to Charles V himself.²⁶ Back in Italy, these men who had met the Ḥafṣid sultan in person might have provided Giovio with the additional information that distinguishes his accounts from all the others. Possibly, Giovio also met Mawlāy Ḥasan in person later, when the latter travelled to Italy to seek audience with Charles.²⁷ Although Giovio had not been to Tunis, his testimony can thus be considered as important as the eyewitness accounts, and it conveys information on the expedition that is not transmitted elsewhere. In Giovio's chronicles we read:

In the sack of the citadel, Mawlāy Ḥasan regretted three incomparable losses: foremost, the Arabic books that perished after the library was sacked and pillaged. There were preserved very ancient codices, containing not only guides to all the sciences, but also the deeds of all the kings before him, and the interpretation of the superstitions of Muhammad, which, the king himself later said in my own hearing, he would gladly have redeemed (had it been possible) for the price of the whole town.²⁸

This short paragraph is important since it explicitly speaks of the sack and pillage of the library (“*conturbata et direpta bibliotheca*”), reporting not only the destruction of Arabic books (“*Arabicorum voluminem . . . perierunt*”), but also the looting of the library. It should be emphasized that the loss of his library was the greatest damage that Mawlāy Ḥasan was reportedly mourning – his store of drugs and perfumes from the East, and his supply of rare dyestuffs and paints of different colors being the others. This anecdote underlines the value and the importance of the lost libraries. While the eyewitnesses discussed so far were talking about mosque libraries, Giovio reports on a library in the royal citadel (*arx*), which the Ḥafṣid sultan considered to be his own. The paragraph gives a (brief) description of the books that the library contained, among which were very ancient codices on all the sciences

²⁶ T. C. Price Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio. The Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 144.

²⁷ Baskins, *Hafṣids and Habsburgs*, 260.

²⁸ Paolo Giovio, *Historiarum sui temporis. Tomus Secundus* (Strasbourg: Augustinus Frisius, 1555), book 34, 303r: “*In ea arcis direptione tria incomparabilis iacturae detrimenta Muleasses deploravit, Arabicorum voluminum in primis quae, conturbata atque direpta bibliotheca, perierunt. Asservantur enim antiquissimi codices, non disciplinarum modo omnium praecepta sed superiorum etiam regum res gestas et Mahometanae superstitionis interpretationem continentes [quos rex ipse postea, me audiente], se unius urbis pretio (si fieri posset) avide redempturum disserebat.*”

and religion as well as the deeds of the rulers of the Ḥafṣid dynasty.²⁹ Interestingly, Giovio mentions the pillage of the library, but does not expand on what happened to the books as a consequence – although, as we will see in the next chapter, he was one of the recipients of the book booty from Tunis.³⁰

Later European chronicles add very little information on the sack of Tunis that is not given by one of the eyewitnesses. After reading Giovio's chronicles, the Spanish chronicler Francisco López de Gómara (c. 1511–1566) – dissatisfied with Giovio's description of the Spanish contribution – decided to write his own chronicles.³¹ Since he worked in the service of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1503/4–1575), who had participated in the “Tunis expedition” as Charles's interpreter for Arabic, Gómara might have had the opportunity to add Mendoza's view to his *Compendio de lo que trata Francisco López de Gómara en el libro que hizo de las guerras de mar de sus tiempos*. However, the information on Mawlāy Ḥasan's library is very close in wording to Giovio's report:

[Mawlāy Ḥasan] regretted, as can be read, the destruction and loss of a rich and big library of all sciences, particularly on the Qur'an and the history of the kings of his lineage, which books had silver handles.³²

Like Giovio, Gómara only talks about the books of a royal library and does so very briefly. However, he additionally describes the books as having silver clasps (*manillas de plata*); a notion that cannot be verified in any material evidence.³³ The picture given here rather sounds like the description of a European manuscript mounted in silver clasps and fittings.

²⁹ This could have been the royal archive. The notion of a palace library, the *khizāna*, will be discussed in chapter 3.1.3.

³⁰ This is in line with the battle of Lepanto, where books were taken as booty, but did not appear in the booty registers; cf. Hanß, *Materielle Kultur der Seeschlacht*, 292, 344.

³¹ Gómara's account is known from a manuscript (BNM, Ms 17498) made by a copyist in 1560, shortly after the former's death; Francisco López de Gómara, Miguel A. de Bunes Ibarra, and Nora E. Jimenez (eds.), *Guerras de mar del Emperador Carlos V* (Madrid: Sociedad estatal para la conmemoración de los centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2000). Prudencio de Sandoval (1553–1620), official historian to Charles V's son, King Philip II of Spain, adopts much of Gómara's text verbatim, except that he emphasizes the glorification of the Spanish king and his subjects; Sandoval, *Historia de la vida y hechos del emperador Carlos V. Máximo, fortísimo, rey católico de España y de la Indias, Islas y Tierra firme del mar Océano* (Saragossa: Bartholome Paris, 1634), book 22.

³² Gómara, *Guerras de mar*, 173–174: “Sintió mucho el rey, como era leído, el destrozo y pérdida de una rica y grande librería de todas [174] ciencias, y principalmente sobre el Alcorán e historias de los reyes de su linaje, cuyos libros estaban con manillas de plata [. . .].”

³³ Common enough in western bindings but rare in Islamic bindings; see Theodore C. Petersen, “Early Islamic Bookbindings and Their Coptic Relations,” *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954).

A comparable description of the books (albeit in the mosques) only occurs in a loose Latin translation of Perrenin's account, published in 1547 by Johannes Etrobius, in which he claims that the looters "stripped the books of their gold and silver covers."³⁴ The differences with Perrenin's original text may point to the fact that Etrobius had a more complete version of Perrenin's account, as suggested by Georg Voigt.³⁵ Whether Etrobius had heard about the silver covers firsthand, or whether he imagined the Ḥafṣid books, like the European ones, mounted in silver and gold covers that could be ripped off and pocketed for their material value, is hard to tell. Similarly, it cannot be determined whether Gómara used Etrobius's translation as a model for his chronicles or whether he utilized another independent source from which he learnt about the silver covers. The comparison with the material evidence speaks for a product of imagination: some of the surviving original book covers have gilded ornamentation, but none of them have gold or silver handles, covers, or mounts that could have been stripped off.

Unfortunately, there are no surviving eyewitness accounts that report on the sack of Tunis from the Tunisian angle. The closest Arabic source to the time of the sack is a late seventeenth-century chronicle. Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī Dīnār al-Ru'aynī al-Qayrawānī composed his compendium on the history of Ifrīqiya and Tunis (*Al-Mu'nīs fī akhbār Ifrīqiya wa-Tūnis*) in 1092/1681 or 1110/1698. The work is mostly relevant for the period close to the date when it was written, as earlier events can be inaccurate. For example, Ibn Abī Dīnār dates the sack of Tunis to the hijra year 941 instead of 942.³⁶ Although the accuracy of this text is debatable, it is still important for the Arabic historiography of the events under the last Ḥafṣid rulers.³⁷ Thus, Ibn Abī Dīnār's account is responsible for the reputation of Mawlāy Ḥasan in Arabic histori-

³⁴ Johannes Etrobius, *Comentarium seu potius diarium, expeditionis Tuniceae* (Leuven: Jacob Badius, 1547), F2r–F3v: "Quid multa? ne a templis quidem & larariis Maurorum manus abstinent. Sed libros omnines claustris aureis & argenteis nudatos, conscindunt signa ex marmore ex iaspide subnigro exsculpta, multaue toreumata preciosa auferunt: nihil intentatum, nihil intactum (ut est natio auri avida) relinquunt." ("What more? From neither the shrines nor the temples of the Moors do they keep their hands but, having stripped all the books of their gold and silver covers, they tear out the marble statues, sculpted from blackish jasper, and carry off many precious carved works; they leave nothing untouched, nothing intact (for they are a people greedy for gold).")

³⁵ Georg Voigt, *Die Geschichtschreibung über den Zug Karl's V. gegen Tunis (1535)* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1874), 180.

³⁶ Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī Dīnār al-Ru'aynī al-Qayrawānī, *al-Mu'nīs fī Akhbār Ifrīqiya wa-Tūnis* (Beirut: Dar El Massira, 1993), 186, gives only the year without the month. The date of the sack on 21 July 1535 corresponds to 20 Muḥarram 942 in the Hijra calendar.

³⁷ Ibn Abī Dīnār, *al-Mu'nīs fī Akhbār*, 183–201.

ography as a villain and traitor to his own people.³⁸ In Ibn Abī Dīnār's compendium, Mawlāy Ḥasan not only asked the Christian armies for help and led them into the country in the first place, but also betrayed his people when he entered his palace after Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa was forced out of Tunis. In this account, the sight of the sultan gave the inhabitants of the city a false sense of security, causing them to open their shops and their houses, only to be sacked by the European soldiers.³⁹ Also according to Ibn Abī Dīnār, the looting of the libraries of Tunis by Christian soldiers did not take place during the sack of 1535, but during the second European invasion at the very end of Ḥafṣid rule. After the Ottomans had taken Tunis again in 1569, John of Austria, illegitimate son of Charles V, recaptured the city for a brief period in 1573 (before it fell under lasting Ottoman rule in 1574). On the sack in 1573, Ibn Abī Dīnār writes:

And during these days [the reign of Mawlāy Muḥammad], the Great Mosque was desecrated and its libraries ransacked. The teachings of the schools were put to shame by the feet of the unbelievers, and their scholarly collections were scattered. And they were scattered in the streets, so that the passer-by in the east of the mosque, where al-Nawarin is today, could not walk without stepping on books. And the bells were struck at the same time.⁴⁰

Unfortunately, we do not know what sources were available to Ibn Abī Dīnār. He might have used written sources that are lost today or he might have recorded what he found in local oral history. Considering that he composed his chronicles a century after the event, his reconstructions should be treated with caution. However, his account is largely responsible for the narrative of the humiliation brought by the looting of the mosque that has left a mark in the historiography of Tunis. The description of the manuscripts scattered in the streets is a particularly strong image: soldiers trampling all over Tunis's knowledge, the passer-by unable to walk without stepping on and destroying their own heritage, the dishonoring of sanctuary spaces and the discrediting of centuries' worth of accumulated wisdom.⁴¹

³⁸ Boubaker, "Charles Quint et Mawlāy al-Ḥasan," expl. 13.

³⁹ Ibn Abī Dīnār, *al-Mu'nis fī Akhbār*, 186.

⁴⁰ Ibn Abī Dīnār, *al-Mu'nis fī Akhbār*, 197: "wa-*fī tilk al-ayyām uhīn al-masjid al-a'ẓam, wa-nuhibat khazā'in al-kutub allatī bihi wa-duyisat bi-arjul al-kafara ma'ālim al-madāris wa-tafarraḡ mā jumi' fthā min dawāwīn al-ūlīm wa-tabaddadat fī shawāri' ḥattā qīl anna al-mārr min sharqī al-jāmi' ḥaythu al-nawāriyyīn al-'ān innamā yamurr 'alā al-kutub al-maṭrūḥa hunāk, wa-ḡaribat al-nawāqīs fī al-ḥaḍra.*"

⁴¹ The notion of the enemy as a threat to learning and high culture was not a new invention and had been used, for example, in turn by European humanists to discredit the Turks as "barbaric." When reports of the siege of Constantinople in 1453 hit Europe, humanists excoriated the Turks for their destruction of great works of art, especially religious artefacts and architecture;

The only other source that is transmitted from the capture of Tunis in 1573 is, again, a European one. The otherwise unknown Bartholomeo Ruffino reports:

[In the prayer hall,] we saw four rows of marble columns of jasper and porphyry, all of different colors. These various columns were placed with admirable skill one after the other, so that one saw after a white a black, after a red a brown, and so on, one more beautiful than the other. [. . .] Of these columns, there were some that were carried away by certain lords to Christian lands when His Highness the Lord Don Juan conquered Tunis. The matter caused the *Maures* great distress, partly because of the high value of these extremely rare pieces, and, in part, because they had been removed from their prayer hall. But apart from that, [the mosque] remained intact and we did not cause it any other harm during the time that we were the masters [of the city].⁴²

Again, the columns in the mosque draw all the attention of the visitor – and there is no book or library mentioned in this account. Why the author feels the need to stress that no more damage was done to the mosque is difficult to say, but it seems to be an important matter to Ruffino to stress that the sanctuary place was not abused. Is it to set himself apart from the actions of cruel plunderers? Is he anticipating accusations that were (rightly) made in 1535? Or is it regret over what did indeed happen in 1573, and thus a cover-up?

It will be hard to determine which loot (books or columns) was taken when (in 1535, in 1573, or at any other point during Habsburg rule over Tunis). Be that as it may, Ibn Abī Dīnār's narrative of the destruction of the Ḥafṣid libraries during

Bisaha, “‘New Barbarian’ or Worthy Adversary? Humanist Constructs of the Ottoman Turks in Fifteenth-century Italy,” in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Perception of Other*, ed. David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto, 185–206 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 190. The same narrative was built around the conquest and sack of Buda by the Ottomans, following the Battle of Mohács in 1526 during which the Bibliotheca Corviniana at the Royal Palace in Buda was plundered; Christian Gastgeber, “Auf der Spur der Bibliotheca Corviniana: Peter Lambecks Reisebericht nach Buda aus dem Jahr 1666,” *Biblos* 54 (2005). The origin of this trope may lie in the destruction of the Great Library of Alexandria; see Daniel Heller-Roazen, “Tradition's Destruction: On the Library of Alexandria,” *Obsolescence* 100 (2002).

42 Paul Sebag, “Une relation inédite sur la prise de Tunis par les Turcs en 1574,” *Cahiers de Tunisie* 17 (1969), 13: “[. . . la salle de prières] où l'on voyait quatre rangées de colonnes de marbre jaspé et de porphyre, toutes de différentes couleurs. Ces diverses colonnes étaient placées avec un art admirable l'une après l'autre, de sorte que l'on voyait après une blanche une noire, après une rouge une brune et ainsi de suite, l'une plus belle que l'autre. [. . .] De ces colonnes, il y en eut qui furent emportées par certains seigneurs en terre chrétienne lorsque Son Altesse le Seigneur Don Juan fit la conquête de Thunis. La chose plongea les Maures dans une grande affliction, en partie, en raison de la valeur même de ces pièces d'une extrême rareté, et, en partie, parce qu'elles avaient été enlevées de leur salle de prières. Mais à cela près, [la mosquée] resta intacte et nous ne lui causâmes aucun autre tort pendant tout le temps que nous fîmes les maîtres [de la ville].”

the conquest of the city by the Spaniards in 1573 came down in Arabic historiography, and it still prevails in Arabic scholarship.⁴³ Conversely, European scholarship agrees on the sack of the libraries in 1535, drawing foremost on Giovio's and Perrenin's accounts as the prime sources.⁴⁴

2.2 *Alcoranus ex direptione Tunnetana*

The survey of the European soldiers' and reporters' engagement with the material culture of Tunis in their artistic interpretations and accounts of the campaign (pamphlets, paintings, plays, and festivals) has shown that the spoils of the "Tunis expedition" played a major role in the visual culture of sixteenth-century Europe. The importance of the campaign in the symbolism surrounding Charles V and his victorious campaign against the infidels placed different layers of meaning on the war spolia. Although, as we shall see in the following chapters, many books from Ḥafṣid Ifriqiya were among the spolia from Tunis, they are not mentioned in any treasure register nor in the descriptions of the triumphal processions, and only sparsely in the eyewitness accounts. However, a look at the material evidence, the manuscripts themselves, reveals that the Tunis book loot was in fact famous – and coveted – by contemporary collectors and scholars. Furthermore, this chapter will use the looted manuscripts to retrieve information about the looting of Tunis's libraries that could not be determined with the written sources alone.

Giorgio Levi Della Vida, who meticulously reconstructed the history of the Arabic manuscript collection of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in the 1930s, was the first scholar to suggest that the Maghribi manuscripts attested in the earliest foundations of the collection may have come to Rome with the spoils of the Tunis expedition in 1535.⁴⁵ Robert Jones addressed the phenomenon more comprehensively in 1987, identifying other manuscripts looted in Tunis and scattered across

⁴³ Ibrahim Chabbouh and Geoffrey Roper, *Worldwide Survey of Islamic Monuments* (London: al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1991), 257–258; Daoulati, *Tunis sous les Hafṣides*, 230–231; Muḥammad Ibn al-Khūja, "Kayf naṣa'at khazā'in al-kutub li-dirāsāt al-'ulūm bi-ḡāmi' al-Zaytūna," *al-Majalla al-Zaytūniyya* 1, no. 1–3 (1936), 73; Maḥmūd Ibn Maḥmūd, *Jāmi' al-Zaytūna al-a'zam. Barnāmaj al-maktaba al-'Abdaliyya*, 2 vols. (Tunis: al-Maṭbi'a al-rasmiyya al-'arabiyya, 1908), I:p. dā; Mohamed Makki Sibai, *Mosque Libraries. A Historical Study* (New York and London: Mansell, 1987), 117–118.

⁴⁴ Brunschvig, *Berbérie orientale*, II:368; Natalie Z. Davis, *Trickster Travels. A Sixteenth-century Muslim between Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006), 255; Deswarte-Rosa, "L'expédition," 121.

⁴⁵ Giorgio Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), 171.

collections all over Europe.⁴⁶ Their research forms the starting point for the present reconstruction of the Tunis book loot.

Nine manuscripts in European collections bear evidence to the Tunis booty by way of inscriptions that associate their new owners with the expedition. The inscriptions suggest that the objects had value as souvenirs of conquest and trophies of war. These men were seemingly less interested in the content of the manuscripts: while two merely speak of “books” when referring to their manuscripts, two other texts (a prayer book and a hadith collection) are both misidentified as Qur’an copies – presumably the best-known or, rather, most sought-after Arabic text. That none of these men (or their heirs) were able to read Arabic would explain why all the owner-marks are written on what they would have perceived as the first leaf of the book, but what are actually – to a reader of the Arabic text – the final folio of the manuscripts.

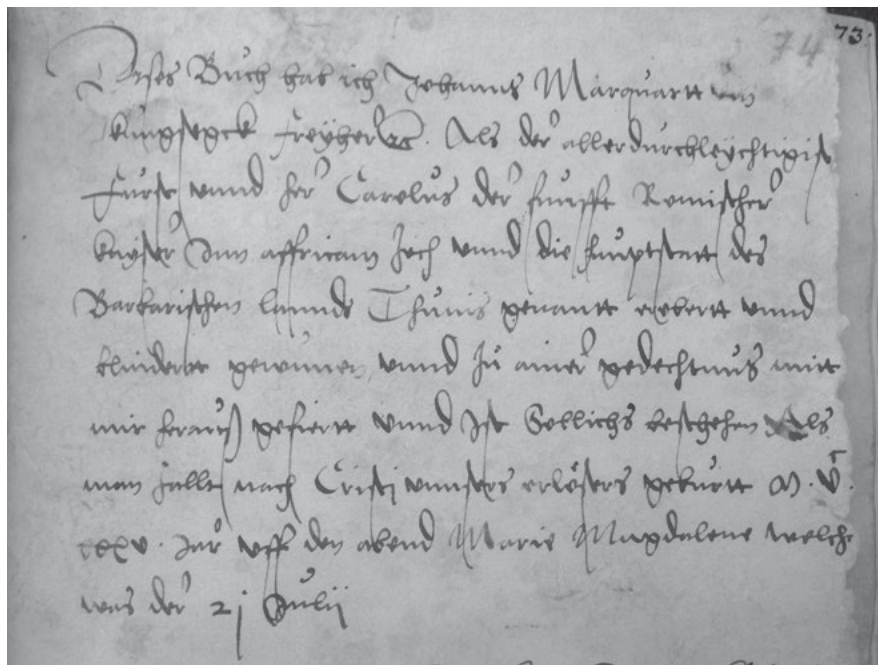


Figure 3: *Ex libris* Freiherr of Königsegg in Q015.

⁴⁶ Robert Jones, “Piracy, War, and the Acquisition of Arabic Manuscripts in Renaissance Europe,” *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 2 (1987), 100 (he lists six manuscripts).

The first example, which can be best described as a personal souvenir, is a Qur'an manuscript now kept in the Kantonsbibliothek, Biblioteca Vadiana, in St. Gall, Switzerland (Q015, for the manuscript see figures 38 and 39). An annotation on the last folio reads (figure 3):

I, Johann Marquart of Königsegg, Freiherr etc., took this book when the Most Serene Ruler and Lord Charles the Fifth, Roman Emperor, set off [to] Africa [where he had] conquered and taken, plundering, the capital of the Barbaric land called Tunis and I took [it] with me as a commemoration, and this happened in the year 1535 after the birth of Christ our Saviour on the eve of the Feast of Mary Magdalene which was on 21 July.⁴⁷

The gloss is written in a sixteenth-century book hand, and there is no reason to doubt its authenticity. The Tunis provenance of the manuscript is confirmed by the Arabic dedication on its first folio: it was to be laid at the grave of the Ḥafṣid Prince 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Mas'ūd in 893/1487 and was presumably produced on the occasion of the prince's death (more in chapter 3.4.).⁴⁸ Königsegg's note reveals a personal reason for collecting the object as a memento of the owner's participation in the Tunis campaign ("*zu meiner gedechtnis*"). We do not have evidence that he took more manuscripts with him or that he intended to pass them on as a gift, not to mention make any profit out of them.⁴⁹ Only a century later, in 1647, did the heir of Königsegg bequeath the family's manuscript to Sebastian Schobinger (1579–1652), Mayor of St. Gall and administrator of the Biblioteca Vadiana,⁵⁰ where it served the Swiss scholar Johann Hottinger (1620–1667) in his studies of the Arabic language and script (see below).⁵¹

Much briefer is the annotation by the otherwise unknown Italian soldier Bernardo Riparoli in a copy of the famous collection of hadith by al-Bukhārī, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* (MS047): "I, Bernardo Riparoli, took this book in the mosque of Tunis on 26 July

47 KBV, VadSlg Ms 387, fol. 74v: "*Dißes Buch hab ich Johannes Marquart von / Kungeck Freyherr etc. als der allerdurchleuchtigest / Fürst unnd herr Carolus der fünfte Römischer / Keißer aus affricam zoch unnd die Hauptstatt des / Barbarischen lannds Thunis genannt erobert unnd / blündert genommen unnd zu meiner gedechtnis mit / mir heraus geführt unnd ist sollich beschehen Als / man zallt nach Christi unßers erlößers geburt M.D. / XXXV. Jahr auff den abend Maria Magdalena welcher war / der 21. Julii*".

48 KBV, VadSlg Ms 387, fol. 1r: "*bi-waḍ'ihā 'alā qabr al-mawlāy al-marḥūm [. . .] 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Mas'ūd*." On the prince's death, see Brunschvig, *Berbérie orientale*, II:276.

49 From private correspondence with the archivist of Castle Königsegg zu Aulendorf, Dirk Nicklaus, we know that there are no other Arabic manuscripts in the library of the heirs of Königsegg (contacted 14 June 2018).

50 KBV, VadSlg Ms 387, fol. 74v: a gloss in the manuscript commemorates the donation.

51 Jan Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger. Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 124.

1535.”⁵² However brief this note is, it allows various conclusions to be drawn about the sack of the libraries of Tunis. Firstly, the sack of Tunis took place for three days, starting on 21 July 1535, when Königsegg allegedly took his Qur’an manuscript. If Riparoli was not mistaken, and he had indeed looted this second book on 26 July, we have to assume that it was possible to pillage the libraries even after the official sack of the city was over. That Riparoli took the manuscript from the Zaytūna Mosque is confirmed by an endowment certificate on the first folio of the manuscript that states that it had been constituted *taḥbīs* (endowment) to the Great Mosque of Tunis in 900/1495 (*taḥbīs* 7).⁵³ Incidentally, the manuscript was clearly produced in a Mamluk workshop and gives evidence of the fact that the Ḥafṣid libraries held manuscripts from a variety of regions (more in Part II).

Unlike Königsegg, who bequeathed his book trophy to his heirs, Riparoli may have sold and made a profit from his souvenir: it somehow entered the possession of the French orientalist Guillaume Postel (1510–1581). It is conceivable that Riparoli sold his manuscript once back in Italy, which must have brought him a good profit. An interesting correspondence between Postel and his student Andreas Masius (1514–1573) about this manuscript gives insight into an estimation of the manuscript’s value.⁵⁴ In a letter dated 1553, Masius suggested to Postel, who seemed to have been in financial difficulties, that he could sell some of his Arabic manuscripts to the Palatine Elector Otto Heinrich (1502–1559) in Heidelberg, which was becoming a center for Arabic studies.⁵⁵ Masius explained to Postel how he himself had sold a “*commentarium in Alcoranum*” to Otto Heinrich for 20 ducats. Thereupon, in 1555, Postel gave fifteen of his Arabic books as a pledge to the Palatine Elector in exchange for 200 gold ducats – an incredibly high sum.⁵⁶ Postel never got his manuscripts back from Heidelberg: In 1623, the Palatinate Library was sent to the Vatican after the defeat of the Protestant alliance led by Otto Heinrich’s successor Frederick V (the Winter King, 1596–1632) by the armies of the Catholic League in the early stages of the Thirty Years War. Among its 3,500 manuscripts was the col-

52 BAV, Vat.ar.249, fol. 1Br: “*Io bernaro [sic] riparoli ho preizo il decto libro ne la moschea di tunexi adi 26 Julij nel 1535.*”

53 The endowment certificates of the Ḥafṣid manuscripts are discussed in chapters 3.1.1. and 3.1.2. All certificates are transliterated in Appendix IV.

54 Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche*, 296–298.

55 Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche*, 296–298; with scholars such as Jakob Christmann (1554–1613), Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), and Peter Kirstenius (1577–1640).

56 Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche*, 308–309. Although the constantly fluctuating currencies make it difficult to translate the sum of 200 ducats, it is still clear that it was a very large amount of money. In Bern in 1545, for example, the annual income of a medical surgeon was about 30 ducats; cf. Wolfgang Trapp, *Kleines Handbuch der Münzkunde und des Geldwesens in Deutschland* (Cologne: Anaconda Verlag GmbH, 2005), 205.

lection of Guillaume Postel.⁵⁷ The Mamluk manuscript from Ḥafṣid Tunis is listed as “*Librum Elbuchari Mahometis, seu Interpretem super Portam Alcorani, Arabice manuscriptum*” in the inventories of the transfer of these books to Rome.⁵⁸

Perhaps, for Riparoli, who had sold the book to Postel in the first place, the books looted in Tunis were as profitable as other booty; as valuable as, for example, the jewelry praised in the sources. Riparoli, who was arguably not able to read Arabic, might have been aware of how sought-after books generally were in Renaissance Europe, where a real “hunt” for manuscripts was taking place.⁵⁹

The *ex libris* notes in two further manuscripts commemorate the participation of their new owners in the Tunis expedition. The first, a prayer book today in the Bibliothèque municipale in Lyon, was taken by a certain Lord of Crangiac, an otherwise unknown member of the Tunis expedition (MS037): “*Ex libris* Lord of Crangiac / the Qur’an of Muhammad found and taken by the mentioned Lord in Tunis on voyage with the victorious Emperor Charles V to Tunis and La Goletta in Africa.”⁶⁰ The second manuscript, now held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, was seized by Jacques de Ligne de Wassenaer (c. 1503–1552), a statesman in the service of Charles V (MS036). Like the prayer book of the Lord of Crangiac, which was mistaken for an “*Alcoran*” in the *ex libris* note, Wassenaer’s copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī was misidentified as “*Alcoranus lex Mahometo*” by a note from the year 1635 on its first folio (later crossed out in 1644; figure 4).⁶¹ The *ex libris* note on the final leaf of the manuscript reads: “The noble and generous Jacques de Ligne de Wassenaer etc. took this book from the Synagogue of Hippo in the year that the Emperor Charles V conquered Tunis.”⁶² While the Ifriqī origin of the prayer book can only be approved tentatively based on aesthetical comparison of the

57 Stephan Roman, *The Development of Islamic Library Collections in Western Europe and North America* (New York and London: Mansell Publishing, 1990), 134.

58 The complete list of manuscripts is published in Augustin Theiner, *Schenkung der Heidelberger Bibliothek durch Maximilian I. Herzog und Churfürsten von Bayern an Papst Gregor XV. und ihre Versendung nach Rom* (Munich: Verlag der Lit. Art. Anstalt, 1844), esp. 88. In the handwritten inventory of the book transfer from Heidelberg to Rome composed by Leo Allacius (BAV, Vat.Lat.7762), the manuscripts are simply listed as “*Arabici mss*”.

59 Bernd Roeck, *Morgen der Welt. Geschichte der Renaissance* (Munich: C. H. Beck), 135, 475, 824. That author repeatedly speaks of *Handschriftenjäger* (manuscript hunters) or *Handschriftenfischer* (manuscript fishing).

60 BnL, MS 6026, fol. 1v: “*Ex-libris Domini Crangiacy / L’Alcoran de Mahomet trouvé et apporté par ledit seigneur a Tunis au voyage de l’invictissime empereur Charles le Quint audit Tunis et La Golette en affrique*”.

61 BnF, Arabe 692, fol.1r.

62 BnF, Arabe 692, fol. 154v: “*hunc liber attulit ex Synagoga hipponen[se] nobilis et generosus vir D. Jacobus de Ligne D. de Waßenaer etc. anno quo Imperator Carolus V Thunas expugnerat.*”



Figure 4: Title page of a hadith manuscript (MS036) with Ḥafṣid endowment deed (taħbīs 19) and European marginal notes.

script and illumination with other Ḥafṣid manuscripts, the provenance of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* copy is again confirmed by an Arabic endowment certificate on the first folio of the manuscript, constituted *taḥbīs* to the Great Mosque of Annaba (*taḥbīs* 19).⁶³ It is remarkable that the author of the *ex libris* note uses the name “Hippo” as the place of origin of the manuscript. Hippo Regius is the ancient name of today’s Annaba, known by its Arabic name since the Arab conquest. In using the Latin name, the writer stresses the importance of the town for Christian ecclesiastical history: the bishop of Hippo Regius, at the beginning of the fifth century, was Saint Augustine of Hippo, one of the Fathers of the Church. The mistaken rendition of “mosque” into “synagogue” (“*Synagoga*”) is noteworthy, and yet very common. The manuscript’s specific provenance from Annaba (Hippo), confirmed by the endowment certificate, was transmitted correctly by Wassenaer to whomever wrote the *ex libris* note, proving its reliability. The fact that the manuscript comes from Annaba and was looted during the Tunis expedition confirms that books were seized not only from Tunis, but also from other towns in Ifriqiya. The specific occasion on which Wassenaer might have laid hands on the manuscript could have been the pursuit of the fugitive Khayr al-Din Barbarossa between Tunis and Algiers.

We cannot assume that the looters had any interest in these books other than for their curiosity or anticipated market value. These manuscripts represent good examples of the aristocratic taste of the time as well as of their owners’ desire to retain a physical reminder of their adventures during the Tunis expedition. The transmission of the Tunisian provenance of the manuscripts in the *ex libris* notes speaks for the lasting importance – and the value – of their connection with the Tunis expedition.

Another inscription in a multivolume Qur’an manuscript is associated with Charles V himself and suggests that particularly valuable looted manuscripts might have travelled up the chain of command: the three volumes of an eight-volume Qur’an were allegedly brought to Spain by Charles V and passed on to the Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo in El Escorial (Q016, see figures 40 and 41), presumably by his heir, Philip II of Spain (r. 1556–1598).⁶⁴ The manuscripts were later acquired by a member of Philip’s inner circle, Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), whose father Nicolas had participated in the Tunis expedition as Charles V’s chancellor. At the beginning of the second volume, an *ex libris* note reveals: “This is the Qur’an that Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and King of

⁶³ I am very grateful to Fatma Dahmani, who deciphered the difficult epigraphy.

⁶⁴ François Déroche, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes. Manuscrits musulmans: Du Maghreb à l’Inde*. Fasc. 2 du tome 1 (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1985), 37–38.

Spain, brought with him from his expeditions to Tunis and Algiers, and that the Cardinal de Granvelle took from the Escorial for his own library.”⁶⁵ According to the inscription, the manuscript was brought back by Charles V, without making clear how he got hold of the books. As a valuable object, it might have been given to the emperor by one of his officers, who knew of Charles’s selection of war trophies. As part of the *Wunderkammer*, the piece could have joined his collection of trophies from Tunis and other conquered lands, like the South Americas – a collection representing the imperial ambitions of his rule.⁶⁶

While it is true that the emperor possessed a vast collection of artefacts looted from Tunis (as revealed by the Simancas inventories),⁶⁷ the assertion that Charles personally owned Qur’an manuscripts from the Ḥafṣid libraries should be treated cautiously. A court library of Arabic books was only founded by Charles’s son and successor Philip II in the monastery of San Lorenzo in El Escorial.⁶⁸ Philip tasked the Spanish humanist Juan Paéz de Castro (1512–1570), royal chaplain and chronicler, with the systematic assembly of books for his Real Biblioteca.⁶⁹ The library of El Escorial has a significant collection of Arabic manuscripts; to a large extent, this is due to the incorporation of the libraries of the historian Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (more on his collection below) and the humanist Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598).⁷⁰ However, both these collections entered the library only after the inventory of Philip II’s book donation, assembled in 1576.⁷¹ Thus, the sixty-one Arabic manuscripts listed there must have been collected by direct order of the Spanish

65 BnF, Arabe 439, fol. 1r: “c’est l’alchoran que Charles le Quint, Empereur des Romains et Roy des Espagnes, aporta de ses expeditions de Tunis et Alger et que le cardinal Granvelle avoit tiré de l’Escorial pour le mettre en sa Bibliothèque.”

66 See also above; Eisler, *Impact of the Emperor Charles V*, 129–156; and Sabine Haag, Franz Kirchweger, and Rainer Paulus (eds.), *Das Haus Habsburg und die Welt der fürstlichen Kunstkammern im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Holzhausen Verlag, 2016).

67 Beer, “Acten, Regesten und Inventare,” 154–158.

68 In the course of his life, Charles V had accumulated a collection of books that accompanied him at his moving court. This “travelling library,” which he deposited in Salamanca Castle in 1542, formed the “nucleus of an ‘imperial library,’” cf. Parker, *Emperor*, 222. See also José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, “La biblioteca postrimera de Carlos V en España. Las lecturas del emperador,” *Hispania* 206 (2000), without the mention of Arabic books.

69 Rudolf Beer, “Die Handschriftenschenkung Philipp II an den Escorial vom Jahre 1576. Nach einem bisher unveröffentlichten Inventar des Madrider Palastarchivs,” *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 23 (1902): xi.

70 Braulio Justel Calabozo, *La Real Biblioteca de El Escorial y sus manuscritos árabes. Sinopsis histórico-descriptiva* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1987); Nemesio Morata, “Un catálogo de los fondos árabes primitivos de El Escorial,” *Al-Andalus* 2 (1934); Georges Vajda, “Notes sur les fonds de manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque de l’Escorial,” *Al-Andalus* 28 (1963).

71 Beer, “Handschriftenschenkung”, xi.

king himself.⁷² Unfortunately, the inventories do not reveal how Philip acquired the manuscripts or whether he inherited (at least some of) them from his father.⁷³

Therefore, the inscription in the Qur'an manuscript should be read with caution. The provenance of the manuscript was not recorded until decades after the alleged event of its acquisition. The ownership mark was either noted down by Granvelle or, even later, by the following owner, Pierre Séguier (1588–1672). Furthermore, the Ifrīqī origin is not attested other than by the *ex libris* note, which mentions both Tunis and Algiers as possible sources. The latter could refer either to the advance to Algiers pursuing the fugitive Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa from Tunis in 1535 or to a second expedition to Algiers in 1541 – both ventures were unsuccessful and did not provide opportunity to obtain books. In any case, here the note again confirms that the association with Charles V and the Tunis campaign increased the value of a manuscript as a collector's item for later owners.⁷⁴

A final group of four manuscripts that bear an abbreviated form of the “Tunis-loot” label entered the collections of scholars. Their ownership notes are characterized by their brevity and impersonality: while the reference to Tunis is certainly a means of underlining the value of the manuscripts and consolidating their authenticity, it is not followed by the names of individuals who wish to associate themselves with the campaign. In contrast to the earlier owners, who recorded their notes upside down in the books, here the marginalia are always correctly added on the first folio, which testifies to the skilled handling of the texts.

In one case, the German orientalist Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter (1506–1556) simply noted in one of his Qur'an manuscripts that it came “from the sack of Tunis” (“*Alcoranus ex direptione Tunnetana*”; Q002, figure 5).⁷⁵ Another case is a copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī which the monk Antonius Franciscus from Naples received on 15 November 1573 and which he passed on to the Italian orientalist Giovanni Battista Raimondi (1536–1614) on 20 September 1596 (MS032). The scholar added to the donation note: “from the spoils of Tunis” (“*ex manubiis*

72 Beer, “Handschriftenschenkung”, cxxi–cxxii for a list of the manuscripts.

73 Nuria Martínez De Castilla Muñoz seems to have identified an example; see the description of her research project, “The Moriscos and the Qur'an,” *Iberian Connections* 2 (Fall 2019), available at <https://iberian-connections.yale.edu/articles/the-moriscos-and-the-quran>, consulted 18 November 2019: “All of [the Qur'ans looted in Tunis] were brought to Europe, and remained there. Having inherited the volumes of his father, King Philip II sent to the Royal Library of the El Escorial at least two of these volumes. One of them is still in the library, next to the luxurious Qur'an of Mawlay Zaydān, commissioned by the Saadian sultan and copied in 1599.”

74 Objects relating to Charles V were very fashionable in the sixteenth century; cf. Parker, *Emperor*, 419–420.

75 BSB, Cod.arab. 1, fol. 1r.



Figure 5: The inscription “Alcoranus ex direptione Tunnetana” in an Andalusi manuscript (Q002).

Tuneti).⁷⁶ The third example is a Qur'an manuscript in the library of Augustus II (1579–1666), Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, which – according to a (more detailed) note on the first leaf of the manuscript – was seized amongst other spoils in the royal palace of Tunis after Charles's conquest of the city ("*Caesar cum Thunetem urbem et arcem Goletam cepisset, in palatio regis eius loci hic liber inter caetera spolia deprehensus est*"; Q023, for the manuscript see figure 47).⁷⁷ Lastly, a small prayer book in the collection of the seventeenth-century scholar Johann Andreas Bose (1626–1674) reveals that it came from the Tunis loot of the year 1535 ("*Venit libellus ab Thunissa spolio anno 1535*"; MS044).⁷⁸

Despite their brevity, these annotations are important witnesses to the history of the Tunis booty. Not only do they connect the narrative accounts to the material evidence of the book loot, but they also complement the sparse eyewitness accounts of the sack of the libraries. Out of all the eyewitnesses, Antoine Perrenin was the only one to report on the destruction of the books in the mosques of Tunis, and only Paolo Giovio, who interviewed eyewitnesses for his chronicles, mentioned the loss of the palace library. Notably, neither of them addressed the whereabouts of the books after the looting of the libraries. These short annotations in the manuscripts thus constitute precious evidence that books did form an important part of the Tunis spolia.⁷⁹

Unfortunately, none of these four manuscripts bear evidence of an Ifriqī provenance other than the European ownership marks that would confirm the attribution to the Tunis loot. The Widmanstetter Qur'an was copied in Seville in 642/1226, but may have been brought to Tunis by Muslim refugees from al-Andalus. The other three books are rather simple or even inelegant copies that are not easily comparable with other books from Ḥafṣid Tunis.

Be that as it may, the short "Tunis-loot" labels added by scholars to their manuscripts – "*ex direptione Tunnetana*," "*ex manubiis Tuneti*," "*ab Thunissa spolio*" – points not only to the importance attached to the event but also to its notoriety, acting almost like a brand. The existence of the spolia from Tunis was so well-known – and the loot presumably wide-spread – among collectors that the label "Tunis loot" required no further explanation.

Widmanstetter, Raimondi, Raphelengius, and Bose: the "Tunis-loot" labels were written by scholars of Arabic who were interested in the content of the manuscripts and presumably also in their history. A detailed study of the extent to which scholars worked with the texts from Tunis is still pending, but they were of particu-

⁷⁶ BML, Orientali 266, fol. Iiv.

⁷⁷ HAB, 88 Ms. Aug. Fol., fol. 1r.

⁷⁸ ThULB, Bos. O. 18, fol. 1r.

⁷⁹ The books are mentioned as booty in a letter by Guillaume Postel; see below.

lar importance to scholars in the middle of the sixteenth century. The “Tunis-loot” annotations seem to be more a proof of provenance than a “souvenir” of the Tunis expedition since they describe the circumstances rather than the people involved. This is not to say that the fact that the manuscripts were part of the Tunis booty did not add value to them. On the contrary, the Tunis booty arrived in Europe at a time when Arabic manuscripts were hard to come by.

Altogether, sixty-five manuscripts in 115 volumes (or fragments) with an Ifriqī origin could be identified in overall twenty-five European collections (of eighty-seven manuscripts in 152 volumes in total). Where the manuscript can be attested in fonds reaching back to the sixteenth century, the hypothesis is that it came to Europe with the Tunis loot; this is the case for eighty-eight volumes (or fragments, see Appendices V and VI). The most helpful tool for the identification of the Ifriqī origin is the presence of endowment deeds to Ḥafṣid institutions on the first page of these manuscripts. In a few cases, the manuscripts can be linked to Tunis by colophons or reader marks. In a few instances, the connection to Tunis is made based on codicological comparison with other Ḥafṣid manuscripts. Many more manuscripts, however, which do not bear any marks of that kind (anymore), cannot be securely identified, and thus lie hidden in the libraries.

The *taḥbīs* certificates will be discussed in more detail in the context of Ḥafṣid manuscript culture in chapters 3.1.1.–2. However, they also contain information relevant for the historical context of the sack of Tunis, which should be considered here. In particular, they provide evidence for the places from where they were looted. An illuminated Qur’an manuscript was taken from the madrasa in the alley Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām just outside the medina of Tunis,⁸⁰ to which it was endowed in 742/1342 (Q007, see figures 30 and 31; *taḥbīs* 1). A copy of a *Shāfi‘ī* law treatise came from a madrasa that was newly built in 831/1428 (MS019; *taḥbīs* 2): the endowment certificate is vague but mentions the institution as “*al-madrasa al-jadīda*” (“the new madrasa”). The only madrasa known to be built remotely close to this date is the one founded by Ḥafṣid sultan Abū Fāris ‘Abd al-‘Azīz in 801/1399.⁸¹ It was erected next to the Bāb al-Baḥr in Tunis, but does not exist anymore. A lavish Qur’an manuscript, written in silver ink on dyed red paper and copied in five volumes, had been bequeathed to the palatial Qaṣba Mosque in

⁸⁰ Brunschvig identifies this madrasa as the al-‘Uṣfūriyya Madrasa; cf. Brunschvig, *Berbérie orientale*, II:495.

⁸¹ Brunschvig, “Quelques remarques historiques sur les médersas de Tunisie,” *Revue Tunisienne* (1931): 268, 279–280.

Tunis in 807/1405, from where it must have been taken (Q010, see figures 34 and 35; *taḥbīs* 3). A Qur'an in thirty volumes, endowed in the year 930/1524, was taken from the Zāwiyat Ibn 'Arūs in Tunis and brought to Naples (Q021, see figure 46; *taḥbīs* 15).

It is very important to note that manuscripts were not only taken from institutions in Tunis, but from mosques in other cities as well. This is confirmed by four manuscripts that bear endowment deeds from the mosques in Annaba (MS011 – figure 60, MS022, MS036) and Bizerte (Q020, for the manuscript see figure 45). That they came to Europe with the men from the Tunis expedition is revealed by Wasensaer's ownership mark discussed above. The Tunis expedition did not bring the Europeans only to Tunis, but also westwards along the coast of Ifrīqiya (when a contingent of men followed the fugitive Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa). However, only the sack of Tunis, which was officially announced as a recompense to the European mercenaries, is recorded in the historical sources. The fact that manuscripts were taken from mosques of other towns in Ifrīqiya speaks for a common practice of taking books as booty, for which no official authorization was apparently needed.

The largest group of manuscripts comes from the Zaytūna Mosque in Tunis. Eleven manuscripts in sixteen volumes bear a *taḥbīs* certificate naming the Great Mosque (*taḥbīs* 4–14) to which they were endowed between 854/1450 and 915/1509. Of these, five heterogenous volumes were all endowed to the mosque in the single year 900/1495 (*taḥbīs* 7–10). This might suggest that books were stored in the library according to their date of endowment and that, at least in this case, the plunderers seized books that were shelved together or held in the same bookcase, without further selection. It is equally possible that an unusually high number of endowments were made in the centennial hijra year 900 – a sort of pious millenarianism – and that this is reflected in the chronological distribution of these fifteen manuscripts.

This raises the question: how did the plunderers perceive the manuscripts they were looting, and how did they choose them? The multivolume manuscripts in this corpus tell different stories. Some examples, which will be discussed in more detail below, show how multivolume works were split and dispersed regardless of their content. Both the general inability of the looters, the distributors, and the purchasers to read Arabic, and the increase in profit from breaking up a multivolume set for sale, volume by volume, are likely to have played a part. Two volumes of a multivolume Qur'an (endowed to the Zaytūna Mosque in 880/1475) were separated between a collection in Spain (Hurtado de Mendoza) and the collection of Cardinal Federico Borromeo (1564–1631) in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (Q014, see figure 44). A copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī in multiple volumes (MS034, see figures 70 and 71) was split between France (Postel collection), Italy (Pio da Carpi collection), and Germany (Widmanstetter collection). Whether the manuscripts

were collected by different people in the first place or brought to Europe by the same person and then, for whatever reason – maybe profit, maybe ignorance – split between different recipients, cannot be determined.

It is remarkable then that the individual volumes of the five-volume Qur'an from the Qaşba Mosque (Q010) were kept together and ended up in the collection of the French chancellor Pierre Séguier, although one was somehow acquired later by the German orientalist Johannes Dorn (1805–1881) and bequeathed to the Rossiyskaya natsional'naya biblioteka in St. Petersburg. The five-volume Qur'an from the Zaytūna Mosque (bequeathed in 893/1488; Q017, see figures 42 and 43) was also held largely intact: four volumes are now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in Rome while one is in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence. The very same pattern can be observed in the thirty-volume Qur'an from the Zāwiyat Ibn 'Arūs (Q021). Remarkably, twenty-three volumes of the ensemble have survived, the largest group yet identified: twenty were kept together in the library of the Italian cardinal Girolamo Seripando (1493–1563), now in the Biblioteca nazionale in Naples, while only three volumes somehow ended up in Florence (the others are lost). These examples seem to suggest that works in multiple volumes were recognized as an entity, most likely because of their physical proximity and the similarity of their bindings, and were appreciated in their completeness.

The large scale of the Tunis expedition, comprising participants from all over Europe, is mirrored in the dispersal of the booty: the books were looted by men from Württemberg (Königsegg), Spain (Mendoza), Franche-Comté (Wassenaer), Italy (Riparoli), and beyond, who took them to their home countries. The manuscripts, however, did not stay there, but continued to circulate. Nowadays, manuscripts from Ḥafṣid Tunis can be found in collections in France, Spain, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, the UK, the Netherlands, and other countries. In the chapter to follow, by mapping their circulation routes and identifying the people behind them, we can reveal the networks and strategies of the first European orientalist of the sixteenth century.

2.3 Mapping Manuscripts from Ḥafṣid Ifrīqiya in Early Modern Europe

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the growing interest in Arabic texts among European collectors and scholars correlated with the great difficulty of their acquisition. Later networks of travelling scholars and diplomats, which helped to circulate manuscripts on a larger scale, were yet to be established, and so the story of the accumulation of Arabic manuscripts was often one of pillage and violence.

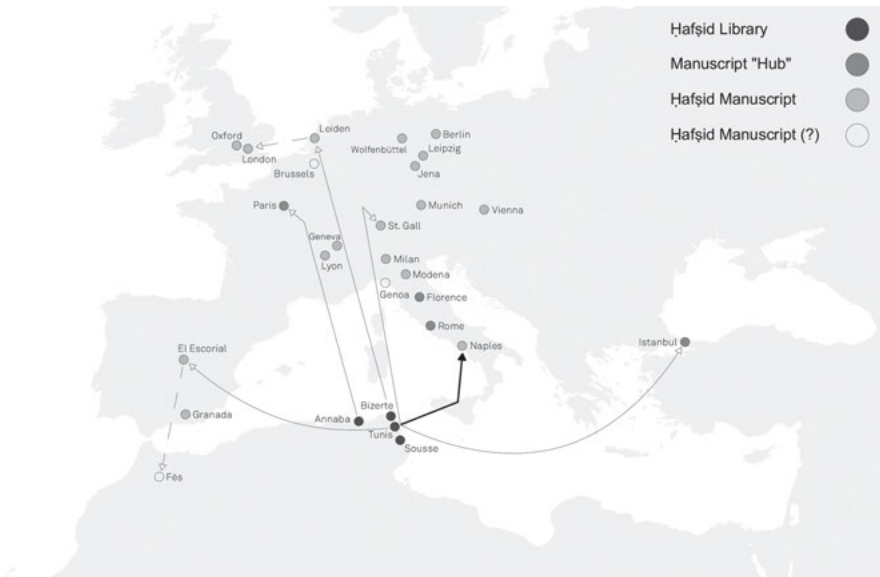


Figure 6: Mapping Ḥafṣid manuscripts in Early Modern Europe after the sack of Tunis in 1535.

Books were taken as *spolia* of war from the seized cities of North Africa,⁸² as pirates' booty from captured boats in the Mediterranean,⁸³ or after battles with the Ottoman troops from the bodies of the defeated.⁸⁴ Even if other European interventions in

⁸² During the capture of Oran in 1509, books were taken as booty by Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517), cf. Alcolea, *Seminario de nobles taller de venerables y doctores, el Colegio Mayor de S. Pedro y S. Pablo, fundado en la universidad de Alcalá de Henares por Franc. Cisneros con su admirable vida* (Madrid: Manuel Martín, 1777), 87. From the expedition of Tlemcen in 1543, such booty was brought to Oran, cf. Braudel, *Les espagnols et l'Afrique du Nord*, 372. Two manuscripts were taken from the Ḥafṣid town of Mahdia during the capture of the city in 1550 by the physician of the Italian captain Andrea Doria (MS028, MS031); on the Mahdia campaign, see Cristelle Baskins, "De Aphrodisio expugnato: The Siege of Mahdia in the Habsburg Imaginary," *Il Capitale Culturale* Supp 6 (2017).

⁸³ On the fate of the library of the Moroccan sultan Mawḷāy Zaydān, see below.

⁸⁴ Jones, "Piracy"; for an early distribution of *Türkenbeute* in Europe (sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries) and for the circulation patterns post-1683, see Paul Babinski, "The Formation of German Islamic Manuscript Collections in the Seventeenth Century," in *Sammler, Bibliothekare, Forscher. Zur Geschichte der orientalischen Sammlungen an der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, ed. Sabine Mangold-Will, Christoph Rauch, and Siegfried Schmitt, 19–44 (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 2021). Collections of these *spolia* are to this day known as *Türkenbeute*. The *Türkische Cammer* in Dresden was founded 1591 and includes war booty as well as diplomatic gifts and acquisitions from the Ottoman court. The collection of the *Badische Türkenbeute*, now in the *Badisches Landesmuseum Kassel*, was started by the Marquis Ludwig Wilhelm (1655–1707) with the

North Africa gave occasion to manuscript acquisition (e.g., Oran in 1509 or Mahdia in 1550), the Tunis expedition of 1535, due to its global nature, was outstanding with regard to its scale in both the accumulation and the diffusion of Arabic manuscripts.⁸⁵ Contrary to what the trope of the lost libraries of Tunis suggests, the material evidence shows that many Ḥafṣid manuscripts circulated in Europe and the Ottoman Empire from the sixteenth century onwards; they were distributed among collectors and scholars or donated to important clerical and royal figures. The label “Tunis loot” seems to have been a renowned trademark among these bibliophiles. In this chapter, the manuscripts from Ḥafṣid Ifrīqiya are traced through European collections in (mainly) Spain, Italy, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Germany, with a short excursion to Istanbul (figure 6).

2.3.1 The Case of Spain

The only known connoisseur of Arabic who participated in the 1535 campaign – and who would have had the opportunity to gather manuscripts for his own collection – was the Spanish scholar Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1503–1575). As Charles V’s personal interpreter, Mendoza traveled as part of the emperor’s close entourage. From Paolo Giovio, we know that these same learned men, whom he later interviewed for his *Histories*, personally met and engaged in discussion with the Ḥafṣid ruler at the imperial camp in La Goletta. Several sources mention the appearance of Mawlāy Ḥasan in the emperor’s tent and seem impressed by the commanding and honorable figure of the Ḥafṣid sultan. Paolo Giovio, however, is the only one to elaborate on the nature of these encounters:

And, indeed, he seemed to want to mix with our soldiers at leisure in order to discuss with philosophers the nature of the universe, the movement of the heavens, and the power of the stars, according to the precise teaching of Averroes.⁸⁶

objects he gathered in the battles against the Ottomans; see Claus Hattler and Schoole Mostafawy (eds.), *Kaiser und Sultan – Nachbarn in Europas Mitte 1600–1700* (Munich: Hirmer, 2019). A great number of books was taken booty during the battle of Lepanto in 1571; cf. Hanß, *Materielle Kultur der Seeschlacht*, 344–52.

85 Nuria Martínez De Castilla Muñoz even calls it a “bookish expedition” in her talk “Charles V and the Tunisian Qur’ans. A Bookish Expedition of 1535” presented at the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at Yale University (17 September 2019), available at <https://iberian-connections.yale.edu/articles/charles-v-and-the-tunisian-qurans>; consulted 04 June 2023.

86 Giovio, *Historiarium*, book 34, 294v: “*et serio praeliantibus nostris admisceri cupere videretur, per otium autem cum philosophis de natura universi et de motu coeli potestateque syderum exactissime ex Averrois disciplina disputaret.*”

Although Giovio does not name the “philosophers” who conversed with Mawlāy Ḥasan, we can imagine to whom he refers. The Portuguese Prince Dom Luis, Charles V’s brother-in-law, was well known for his interest in astronomy; he had studied Aristotle with the mathematician Pedro Nunes (1502–1578). On the expedition to Tunis, he was accompanied by the nobleman and seafarer Dom João Castro (1500–1548), who later remembered his master Dom Luis sitting in the camp in Tunis discussing astronomy.⁸⁷ As Charles V’s interpreter of Arabic, Mendoza surely took part in these debates. These were the men who provided Giovio with the stories for his chronicles and who must have reported on Mawlāy Ḥasan’s grief about the loss of his library. Interestingly, Mendoza refers to Mawlāy Ḥasan’s books years later in his history of the *Guerra de Granada* (only published posthumously in 1610), citing them among the sources for his own chronicles:

And for a better understanding of what happened, I will say something about the foundation of Granada, what people populated it at the beginning, how they were mixed, how it was given this name, with whom the kingdom of Granada began; it might not be in accordance with the opinion of many; but it will be what I have found in the Arabic books of these lands, and those of Mawlāy Ḥasan, king of Tunis, and what remains to this day in the memory of men, putting the authors in charge of the truth.⁸⁸

Although the actual use of Mawlāy Ḥasan’s books for Mendoza’s chronicle is debatable – the *Guerra de Granada* is primarily concerned with the Alpujarras Revolt of 1568–1571 – this tribute to the Ḥafṣid library shows the significance that the books had in Mendoza’s work in general. In Tunis, Mendoza might have systematically chosen books for his own collection: the above-cited dedication to Mawlāy Ḥasan’s library suggests that he was less interested in gathering objects as collectables or looting booty to make profit, but was rather looking for texts and sources on the history of the Maghrib.

Mendoza’s collection of Arabic manuscripts is today part of the Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo in El Escorial.⁸⁹ Unfortunately, none of the manu-

⁸⁷ Deswarte-Rosa, “L’expédition,” 128. In these memoirs, entitled *Roteiro de Goa a Diu*, Castro also mentions his collection of astrolabes, collected in Tunis; cf. Haag and Schmitz, *Kaiser Karl V*, 21.

⁸⁸ Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada hecha por el rey D. Felipe II contra los moriscos de aquel reino, sus rebeldes; seguida de, La vida del Lazarillo de Tormes, sus fortunas y adversidades*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: J. Oliveres, 1842), II:2: “Y porque mejor se entienda lo de adelante, diré algo de la fundación de Granada, qué gentes la poblaron al principio, cómo se mezclaron, cómo hubo este nombre, en quién comenzó el reino della; puesto que no sea conforme a la opinión de muchos; pero será lo que hallé en los libros arábigos de la tierra, y los de Muley Hacén, rey de Túnez, y lo que hasta hoy queda en la memoria de los hombres, haciendo a los autores cargo de la verdad.”

⁸⁹ Morata, “Fondos árabes,” 88. Mendoza’s manuscripts can be identified by his ownership mark “De D. D° de Mendoza”; for a list of his manuscripts, see Aurora Cano Ledesma, *Indización de los manu-*

scripts that have been proven to come from the Mendoza collection can be linked to the royal library (*khizāna*) of the Ḥafṣids or to Mawlāy Ḥasan himself. Although there is one manuscript in the Real Biblioteca that was indeed produced for the Ḥafṣid court (MS009, for the manuscript see figures 58 and 59) and dedicated to a Ḥafṣid sultan, it cannot be linked to the Mendoza collection. A Tunisian manuscript of the history of Cordoba, now in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, remains thus the best example to get an idea of Mawlāy Ḥasan's historiographic books (MS045). Although this manuscript must have come to Europe with the Tunis booty, it was seemingly never in Mendoza's possession, but rather part of the collection of the French orientalist Guillaume Postel.

While it is difficult to distinguish the Maghribi manuscripts of North African origin in Mendoza's collection from those that he had collected in Spain, it is still worth noting the wide range of subjects in which Mendoza was seemingly interested: Arabic history, medicine, philosophy, and even poetry. The commemoration of Mawlāy Ḥasan's books as one of the sources for his research shows Mendoza's appreciation of the manuscripts as important historical sources and valuable textual material. Of the twenty Arabic manuscripts in the Mendoza collection, only one can be linked with any certainty to the sack of Tunis (Q014). It is one volume of a Qur'an, originally in thirty volumes. An endowment certificate on the first page records that it was endowed to the Zaytūna Mosque in the year 880/1475 (*taḥbīs* 5). Interestingly, the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan holds another volume of the same set. The connection of these two manuscripts with Mendoza confirms that the Ambrosiana manuscript also came to Europe as part of the Tunis booty. The Biblioteca Ambrosiana, however, was only founded in 1602 (opened in 1609) by the Italian Cardinal Federico Borromeo.⁹⁰ The Ambrosiana manuscript must have therefore been circulating for a while before it ended up in Milan. One can only speculate as to the route that it took. Mendoza, if he looted both volumes, might have given the second one away

scritos arabes de el Escorial. Vol. I (Madrid: Ediciones Escurialensis, 1996), 20. More of his manuscripts seem to be scattered and there are efforts to reconstruct his library; see Javier Castillo Fernández, "Hurtado de Mendoza. Humanista, arabista e historiador," *el fungidor – revista de cultura* 21 (2004). It would be an interesting undertaking to check his other manuscripts for a Ḥafṣid connection.

⁹⁰ On the history of the collection of Arabic manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, see: Joseph Hammer-Purgstall, *Catalogo dei codici arabi, persiani e turchi della Biblioteca ambrosiana* (Milan: Ambrosiana, 1839); Oscar Löfgren, "I manoscritti arabi dell'Ambrosiana e la loro catalogazione," in *Atti del convegno di studi su la Lombardia e l'Oriente*, ed. Aristide Calderini, 209–216 (Milan: Ambrosiana, 1963); Oscar Löfgren and Renato Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana* (Milan: N. Pozza; Silvana, 1975); Jan Just Witkam, "The Arabic Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana," in *Gli studi orientalistici in Ambrosiana nella cornice del IV centenario (1609–2009)*, ed. Carmela Baffioni, R. B. Finazzi, Anna Passoni Dell'Acqua, and E. Vergani, 35–46 (Milan: Bulzoni, 2012).

when he arrived in Europe. It is also plausible that the two manuscripts were taken by different plunderers in the first place, thus taking different routes from the start.

Another possibility is that Sultan Mawlāy Ḥasan himself gave away these books: in the years 1547 to 1548, the exiled sultan travelled through Italy towards Augsburg, where he was to attend an audience with Charles V.⁹¹ In January 1548, Mawlāy Ḥasan arrived in Rome, where he spent one month. The Ḥafṣid ruler met with Paolo Giovio and might have provided him with the information on his lost library of the citadel, and he also met with Mendoza. Possibly, Mendoza received books from Mawlāy Ḥasan on that occasion.

On a side note, there are traces of other manuscripts that the Ḥafṣid ruler might have brought to Italy personally to give to his European hosts. However, their provenance is difficult to prove because, again, these transactions are not mentioned in any contemporary protocols (discussed further in chapter 2.3.3.).⁹²

The 1535 expedition and his connection to the Ḥafṣid ruler must have been a good opportunity for Mendoza to gather Arabic manuscripts for his own library. How difficult it actually was to get hold of Arabic manuscripts in early sixteenth-century Spain is well represented by the hardship of the Flemish scholar Nicolas Clenardus (1495–1542).⁹³ Clenardus, who was eager to learn Arabic in order to refute the teachings of the Qur'an, began his self-taught enterprise by comparing the different columns in Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic in Agostini Giustiniani's multilingual *Psalter*, printed in Genoa in 1516.⁹⁴ While Clenardus did not directly possess manuscripts from the Tunis booty, he had a man in his service who had been taken

⁹¹ Baskins, *Hafsids and Habsburgs*, 259.

⁹² Even if not mentioned in the protocols, books did indeed play an important role in diplomatic embassies and gift trafficking; Roeck, *Morgen der Welt*, esp. 129, 135; Maria Sardi, “Le livre comme cadeau diplomatique dans l’Islam medieval,” *Le livre* 24 (2021).

⁹³ One reason for the difficulty of obtaining Arabic manuscripts in the context of the Iberian Peninsula was the strict prohibition of the Arabic language instituted to eradicate its use. Throughout the sixteenth century and especially from the middle of the century onwards, the Spanish Crown, local authorities, and the Spanish Inquisition pursued a policy of confiscating Arabic books; Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain. Converted Muslims, the Forged Gospels of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013). The case Clenardus was published before by Nuria Martínez De Castilla Muñoz: “The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Salamanca in the Early Modern Period,” in *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Charles Burnett, Alastair Hamilton, and Jan Loop, 163–188 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017).

⁹⁴ Although the intended success of the *Psalter* (a very ambitious first edition of 2,000 copies was printed) failed to materialize, the multilingual text served as a language learning tool when other Arabic sources were still rare. This is evidenced for the scholars Clenardus, Postel, and Andreas Musculus (1514–1581); cf. Hartmut Bobzin, “Agostino Giustiniani (1470–1536) und seine Bedeutung

captive in Tunis, presumably on the 1535 campaign. Clenardus referred to the man as “Charufius” and explained how Charufius actually helped him to learn Arabic. Charufius, identified by Pieter van Koningsveld as ‘Abd al-Wāḥid Kharūf al-Anṣārī al-Tūnisī,⁹⁵ is known to have copied a number of manuscripts, which he probably carried with him when he was taken to Europe. His manuscripts are today dispersed between collections in Vienna, Leiden, and Uppsala (MS052–MS058). However, Clenardus does not seem to have profited from Kharūf’s manuscripts. In a letter addressed to Charles V, sent from Granada on 17 January 1542, he expresses his struggle to get hold of Arabic books. Clenardus, who in the letter expands on his goal of fighting a missionary war against Islam (*bellum Antimachometricum*),⁹⁶ explains his ambition to establish an Arabic language school to educate Christian missionaries, for which he was in desperate need of Arabic texts to use as learning aids:

To achieve this, we would need books which contain the mysteries of Islam, and since many books which we find most useful are frequently burned by the inquisitors, I have left no stone unturned to make [the books] available to me, since I would like to use them for proselytism, rather than let them perish in the flames.⁹⁷

It is interesting to note that Charles V was the authority Clenardus decided to contact on this matter. Whether this was only a question of protocol, or whether Charles was actually known for his involvement in the preservation and collection of Arabic manuscripts, is not clear. The emperor’s reply to Clenardus’s lamentation, if ever there was one, has not survived. However, Jean Siliceus, the tutor of Charles’s son, apparently offered to help Clenardus with his missionary project on the condition that he would build the Arabic school in Granada, and not, as the latter insisted, in Leuven. In any case, Clenardus died before an agreement could be reached.⁹⁸

für die Geschichte der Arabistik,” in *Ausgewählte Vorträge. 24. Deutscher Orientalistentag*, ed. Werner Diem, 131–139 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1990), 133.

95 Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, “Mon Kharuf: quelques remarques sur le maitre tunisien du premier arabisant neerlandais, Nicolas Clenard (1493–1542),” *Nouvelles approches des relations islamo-chretiennes a l’epoque de la Renaissance* (2000), 9.

96 Clenardus expands on his mission in a number of letters, the most iconic of which is probably that entitled *Nicolas Clenardus Christianis Omnibus* (Nicolas Clenardus to all Christendom) that Clenardus composed in Fes in 1540/41; see Nicolas Clenardus, *Correspondence de Nicolas Clénard*, ed. Alphonse Roersch, 3 vols. (Brussels: Palais des academies, 1940), I:206–209.

97 Clenardus, Roersch (ed.), *Correspondence*, I:202–203: “*Caeterum quia ad hanc rem nobis opus esset libris, in quibus mysteria sectae continentur, et passim ab Inquisitoribus multi cremantur qui nobis plurimum conducerent, omnem lapidem moui ut huiusmodi codices mihi seruirent, quia illis in fidei augmentum uti uellem, potius quam ut sinerentur perire flammis.*”

98 Clenardus, Roersch (ed.), *Correspondence*, III:159.

Clenardus's letter to the emperor reads as a travel report; when he wrote the letter, Clenardus had just returned from a fifteen-month stay in Fes, where he had unsuccessfully tried to acquire knowledge of Arabic after his unsatisfying attempts in Europe. However, his trip turned out to be a waste of time. Not only did Clenardus fail to obtain manuscripts in Morocco,⁹⁹ but the local shaykh of Fes, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Yasīsatnī, also issued a fatwa ordering Clenardus's slave Kharūf to refrain from teaching him Arabic.¹⁰⁰ It was on that same journey that Clenardus was forced to sell Kharūf to the Moroccan sultan.¹⁰¹ Still, after all these defeats, Clenardus experienced something else as the toughest drawback:

Regardless of the loss of a year and a half, without fruit for my studies, I only reached the result of losing a learned master, missing hoped-for manuscripts, [. . .] such that it is a miracle that, succumbing to pain, I did not perish in the midst of the Mohammedans. What made my grief worse was to learn that books from Tunis had been sold by the Christians in *Mauretania*! And much more, that they were introduced there from Aragon, while I went through great pains there to search for manuscripts.¹⁰²

This lamentation is extremely interesting for what it suggests about the Tunis booty,¹⁰³ and possibly about other Arabic manuscripts from al-Andalus. According to Clenardus, Christian travelers or merchants sold Arabic manuscripts in Morocco which they had brought there from Aragón. This means, firstly, that Andalusian books were not only taken to North Africa by Morisco refugees and migrants, but that these manuscripts – confiscated by the Inquisition back in Spain – were also part of the trade between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa.¹⁰⁴ One example could be a manuscript that was initially produced for the royal *khizāna* of the Ḥafṣid ruler Abū Bakr al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāh (r. 1318–1346; again MS009), but

99 Van Koningsveld, “Mon Kharuf,” 39.

100 Van Koningsveld, “Mon Kharuf,” 9. It was probably the debate about Clenardus's person led by that shaykh that made it impossible for Clenardus to buy Arabic manuscripts.

101 Van Koningsveld, “Mon Kharuf,” 36.

102 Clenardus, Roersch (ed.), *Correspondance*, I:203: “*Itaque hac profectioe, quam pietatis causa susceperam, praeter sesquiannum sine fructu studiorum exactum, id modo sum consecutus, ut et Praeceptorem doctum amiserim, et speratis codicibus caream [. . .], ut miraculi instar sit me ex cruciatum doloribus non perisse inter Machometistas. Magnus etiam dolori cumulus accessit, quod didicerim a Christianis Tunetenses libros uenditos esse in Mauritania, quin et ex Aragonia illuc aduehi, et me interim sic angere conquirendis codicibus.*”

103 Roersch also suggests that these books refer to the Tunis booty; see his French translation: “*Ce qui mit le comble à mon chagrin, ce fut d'apprendre que les livres provenant du butin fait à Tunis avaient été vendus par les Chrétiens au Maroc!*” Clenardus, Roersch (ed.), *Correspondance*, I:203.

104 So far, one manuscript from the Ḥafṣid royal collection could be identified in the Qarawiyīn Library in Fes (MS020); another one formed part of the library of Moroccan sultan Mawlay Zaydān (MS009).

was incorporated in the library of the Saadian sultans of Morocco. This manuscript might have come from Tunis to Spain and back to North Africa, where it was sold on the Moroccan market. Ironically, the manuscript travelled back to Spain; in 1612, a Spanish fleet captured a French ship whose stolen cargo included the library of the Moroccan sultan Mawlāy Zaydān (r. 1603–1627).¹⁰⁵ The collection was incorporated into the Royal Library in El Escorial, and among them was also the Ḥafṣid manuscript.

Clenardus suggests that due to the special circumstances in Habsburg Spain, the Tunis manuscripts there may not have followed the pattern of distribution seen in other European countries – especially the Italian cities where most Tunisian manuscripts are found – or later in the seventeenth century, for example, with the capture of Mawlāy Zaydān’s library.

2.3.2 Italian Ecclesiastical Circles

It is remarkable that representatives of the same Catholic church whose Inquisition propagated the destruction of Arabic books in contemporary Spain and put the printed edition of the Qur’an on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* seem to have collected Arabic manuscripts somewhat eagerly.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, these manuscripts were not incorporated into the libraries of prominent bishops and cardinals simply in order to learn about or refute Islam, but as precious objects and, in some cases, for their valuable content. However, similarly to what happened at the Spanish court, the exchange of manuscripts within the ecclesiastical circles is not mentioned in official records. Therefore, the nature of these transactions can only be reconstructed by following the manuscripts’ circulation patterns.

¹⁰⁵ François Déroche, Nuria Martínez de Castilla Muñoz, and Bashir Tahali, *Les livres du sultan. Matériaux pour une histoire du livre et de la vie intellectuelle du Maroc saadien (XVIIe siècle)*, 2 vols. (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 2022); Daniel Hershenzon, “Traveling Libraries. The Arabic Manuscripts of Muley Zidan and the Escorial Library,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 18, no. 6 (2014).

¹⁰⁶ The Qur’an was put on several Catholic indices of prohibited books: the Portuguese index of 1547, the Spanish index of 1551, the Venetian index of 1554, and the Roman indices of 1559, 1564, 1612, and 1670, while all books related to Islam were condemned by a Roman decree of 1609; see Alastair Hamilton, *The Forbidden Fruit. The Koran in Early Modern Europe* (London: London Middle East Institute, 2008), n1. The same was noted for the paradigmatic example of Luis Fajardo who, in his role as the admiral of the Armada of the Ocean Sea, was responsible for inventorying captured goods such as Arabic manuscripts, and at the same time was also in charge of the expulsion of the Moriscos of Valencia and Murcia and their transfer to North Africa; Hershenzon, “Traveling Libraries,” 542.

One of the few known records of a conversation about the looted manuscripts of Tunis among their European owners is given in the correspondence of Paolo Giovio. Giovio was very proud to correspond with the most important men of his time, and his collection of letters is a reflection of his wide social networks. He managed to produce and circulate maps of Tunis and La Goletta before Charles V's expedition even left for North Africa. The letters that Giovio exchanged in the period of the Tunis expedition – with participants in Tunis as well as his contacts in Europe – show how the Tunis campaign was one of the main concerns and favorite topics of European elites in the year 1535.

For his chronicles *Historiarum sui temporis*, as seen above, Giovio interviewed participants of the Tunis expedition upon their return to Naples. We also saw that he was invited to dine with the emperor's entourage and that he must have had the chance to speak with Charles V himself.¹⁰⁷ In December 1535, Giovio described these encounters in a letter sent to Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, the Bishop of Faenza and apostolic nuncio to France. From the letter, we learn that the Marquis del Vasto, with whom Giovio had been in contact since before the Tunis expedition, had offered him gifts from the “Barbarossa booty” during one of their meetings in Naples. The list is long and includes, among other treasures: the ceremonial robe of Mawlāy Ḥasan and a jacket that belonged to Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa, made of dark blue velvet ornamented with gold flowers; a basin used as a bird bath; a large porcelain serving bowl; a brass bowl inlaid with gold and silver; various musical instruments; a turban; shoes; and two keys to the treasure chest of Tunis.¹⁰⁸ Among these souvenirs were also two Arabic books: a Qurʾān and a work on Islamic tradition (“*l'Alcoran e 'l Rationale divinorum do Mahometo*”). While it is debatable what work Giovio referred to by *Rationale divinorum do Mahometo* (see below for a possible solution), he probably described a hadith manuscript, which would have transmitted the words and actions of the Prophet Muhammad. It is significant to note that, even though Giovio was not able to read Arabic, he was aware of the books' contents.

107 Zimmermann, *Giovio*, 144.

108 Giovio, Ferrero (ed.), *Lettere*, I, no. 59: “*Il Signor Marchese [del Vasto . . .] mi ha dato delle spoglie di Barbarossa; idest un par di chiavi lavorate del cassone del tesoro, le quali il nostro Chieregato porta in processione. Ho havuto ancora l'Alcorano, e 'l Rationale divinorum do Mahometo, iquali ho donati a Monsig. Reverendissimo di Bellai. Ho una vesta da sacerdote, un vaso ove si lavavano le gaze di Barbarossa, e uno scudellone di porcellanissima, nel quale Sua Maestà si lavava i baltroni. Ho la scimitarra di Ramadan di Baeza, e lo scettro, il quale fu già del re Muleassem; e io non burlo in questo. Ho uno zafiro datomi dal signor Marchese, il quale fu di Barbarossa: però ha un poco di effimera. Basta, che ho anche un tappeto di seta bellissimo, il qual fu di Giafer Agà, eunuco da fortificate di Barabrossa; al quale Cesare ha fatto buona ciera, e il Marchese lo voleva per sua moglie; e il Doria l'ha mandato a Cataro, per essere gentile uomo. Si che, Signor mio, io ho la processione a casa; e Cornucopia non le vederà mai, se non vien qua in persona a braccio col Papa.*”

The donor of the manuscripts must have informed him about the nature of his gifts when presenting them.¹⁰⁹

The two manuscripts, however, never found their way into Giovio's collection.¹¹⁰ The same letter that lists the Tunis treasures also reveals that Giovio gave these two Arabic books to the Bishop of Paris, Jean du Bellay, who visited Rome the same year. In an earlier letter to Pio da Carpi, Giovio had already disclosed his plan to "do his best" to cultivate Du Bellay, as he hoped that the Bishop of Paris would recommend him to the French king for a pension.¹¹¹ His best, apparently, was to present Du Bellay with the gift of the Arabic books (and none of the other treasures) that Giovio had received from the Marquis del Vasto. This act clearly demonstrates the precious nature of the manuscripts. Even though neither Giovio nor Du Bellay were able to read their contents, these books were highly appreciated in intellectual, ecclesiastical circles.

Although there must have been many distributors and donors of souvenirs from the Tunis booty, the Marquis del Vasto is the only recorded example. With Italy being the first stop after the Christian army's return from Tunis, and given the triumphal processions through Italian cities, most manuscripts from Tunis can be found in Italian collections. The soldiers brought with them numerous books looted on the expedition, which they seem to have distributed or donated to their favorite clerical figures (as in the example of the Marquis del Vasto to Giovio).

Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, the same bishop that Giovio informed about the manuscripts brought from Tunis by the Marquis del Vasto, himself possessed a small collection of Arabic manuscripts. The inventory of his library, compiled upon his death in 1564, paints a very colorful picture of the cardinal's interests and bibliophilia.¹¹² Among the many books in his library are works (both manuscripts and printed books) on a great variety of subjects ranging from philosophy to philology and medicine to theology. The inventory lists eleven Arabic manuscripts on the

109 The following, promising document was not available at time of publication: SSC, Archivio Aliati, 25/5, fol. 322 r–v: "Chatalogo degli spoglie affricane portato da Jovio a Roma per ornamento della sua bottega che mi ricordo" [Biblioteca della Società Storica Comense, Como].

110 The story of Giovio's museum—possibly the first museum in Europe—and his picture gallery can be read in *inter al.* Guy Le Thiec, "L'entrée des Grands Turcs dans le Museo de Paolo Giovio," *mefr* 2 (1992); Müntz, "Le musée de portraits de Paul Jove"; Rosanna Pavoni, *Collezioni Giovio. Le immagini e la storia; 1483–1983 quinto Centenario della nascita* (Como: Musei Civici, 1983).

111 Giovio, in another letter to Pio da Carpi on 28 August 1535; cf. Giovio, Ferrero (ed.), *Lettere*, I, no. 55.

112 The inventory is published in Johan Ludvig Heiberg, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg Vallas und seiner Bibliothek. Beihefte zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen XVI* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1896), 108–126.

same broad range of subjects.¹¹³ Five of these manuscripts are volumes of a copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī produced in Ḥafṣid Ifrīqiya (MS034, see again figures 70 and 71; the attribution based on comparison in calligraphy, paper, and binding analysis is further explained below). Although we do not know exactly how Pio da Carpi acquired his Bukhārī volumes, he evidently moved within the same circles as Giovio and must have had contact with the men returning from Tunis, and thus access to the Tunis loot. As a prominent bibliophile, it is conceivable either that Pio da Carpi acquired manuscripts for his collection when he heard of the arriving book booty (maybe from Giovio), or that, as an important clerical figure as well as a renowned humanist, he was given the manuscripts as a donation by a devout follower or admirer.

Another important clerical collection in Italy received manuscripts from the Tunis booty. Cardinal Girolamo Seripando established his library in the monastery of San Giovanni a Carbonara in Naples,¹¹⁴ and his collection held at least twenty codices of a thirty-volume Qur'an.¹¹⁵ The connection with Tunis is made evident by the *taḥbīs* certificates on the first folio of each volume, which all mention the Zāwiyat Ibn 'Arūs in Tunis (Q021; *taḥbīs* 15). This is the largest surviving multivolume manuscript from the Tunis booty, and it would be very interesting to know how it came into Seripando's possession. It is conceivable that Charles V himself, who was very fond of the cardinal,¹¹⁶ or somebody else from the emperor's entourage, gifted the precious manuscript to Seripando upon their passage through Naples after return-

113 Heiberg, *Beiträge*, 126; these are texts of Aristotle, Averroes, Algazel, Avicenna, al-Bukhārī, one anonymous treatise on medicine, and one unidentified "Haradrico in lingua Araba".

114 Hartmut Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation. Studien zur Frühgeschichte der Arabistik und Islamkunde in Europa* (Beirut and Würzburg: DMG, 1995), 287–300, and the article by Anna Delle Foglie, "La 'Brava Libreria' di San Giovanni a Carbonara e il Vat. Lat. 11310," in *Dalla notitia librorum degli inventari agli esemplari*, ed. Rosa Mariso Borraccini, 327–345 (Macerata: eum, 2009).

115 Bartolomeo Capasso, "Sulla spoliazione delle biblioteche napoletane nel 1718," *Archivio storico per le Province Napoletane* 3 (1878): 578. The volumes are recorded in documents from 1716–18, written by Gaetano Argenot, who was charged with selecting and collecting manuscripts in Naples for Charles VI. The manuscripts were transferred to Vienna in 1718. They are catalogued in the Oriental collection of the National Library in Austria (ÖNB); cf. Gustav Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, 3 vols. (Vienna: K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1865–1867), III:47; AF 242. The ÖNB confirmed that the manuscripts were returned to Italy in 1919 in an act of restitution, where they can now be found in the National Library of Naples (handwritten list).

116 Seripando even gave the eulogy at Charles's burial ceremony in Naples in 1559: "*Oratio in funere Caroli V imperatoris*".

ing from Tunis. The quantitative and qualitative value of the present speaks for a donor of a high rank.

In the Catholic church, Arabic texts were used for the study of Arabic as a Semitic language, which was hoped to provide clues for difficult passages in the Hebrew and Aramaic texts of the Bible. Further reasons to learn Arabic were the attempts to establish better contacts with Eastern Christianity and to educate missionaries that would have been sent to the Middle East.¹¹⁷ At the heart of the ecclesiastical circles, the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana held one of the largest collections of Arabic manuscripts in Renaissance Europe. Giorgio Levi Della Vida, who researched its history meticulously, was the first scholar to suggest that the Maghribi manuscripts attested in the earliest collections of the Vaticana may have come to Rome with the Tunis booty.¹¹⁸ The Ranaldi inventories (composed by the brothers Federico and Marino Ranaldi in the 1570s) are the first catalogues to single out the seven “*Libri Arabici Mauretani*” of the papal collection.¹¹⁹ Levi Della Vida identified these items from the inventories: two are manuscripts which bear endowment certificates that confirm their Tunisian provenance (Q007, Q022) while the other five in Maghribi script are without a clear connection to the Tunis booty.¹²⁰

The inventory composed in the seventeenth century by Abraham Ecchellenis (1605–1665), born Ibrahīm al-Ḥāqilānī, mentions three Maghribi manuscripts (described as being written in “*charactere africanus*”) that must have entered the Vatican collection after the Ranaldi inventories were compiled.¹²¹ Of these three

117 Thomas E. Burman, *Reading the Qur’an in Latin Christendom, 1140–1560* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 1.

118 Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche*, 171.

119 Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche*, 147–149, 169. For the handwritten Ranaldi inventory, BAV, Arch.Bibl. 15, pt. A, esp. fols. 86r–87r, nos. 32–51; cf. Angelo Michele Piemontese, “La raccolta vaticana di orientalia: Asia, Africa ed Europa,” in *La Vaticana nel Seicento, 1590–1700. Una Biblioteca di biblioteche*, ed. Claudia Montuschi (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2014), 435.

120 BAV, Vat.ar. 210, Vat.ar. 211, Vat.ar. 257, Vat.ar. 321, and Vat.ar. 368. The latter is the famous illustrated copy of the love story of *Bayāḍ wa-Riyāḍ*, and it has been suggested that this is part of the Tunis booty; cf. Giorgio Levi Della Vida, *Elenco dei manoscritti arabi islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana. Vaticani, Barberiniani, Borgiani, Rossiani* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1935), 139–41, 189. However, the discovery of labels in *mercantesca* handwriting on some of the figures would indicate that the manuscript was already in the possession of a Tuscan (possibly a merchant) by the second half of the fourteenth century; cf. Mariam Rosser-Owen, “Mediterraneanism: How to Incorporate Islamic Art into an Emerging Field,” *Journal of Art Historiography* 6 (2012): 28–29, citing a research seminar given by Arianna D’Ottone at SOAS, 8 December 2011. In any case, the thirteenth-century manuscript is of Andalusi production; cf. Arianna D’Ottone, “Il manoscritto Vaticano arabo 368: Ḥadīt Bayāḍ wa Riyāḍ,” *Rivista di storia della miniatura* 14 (2010).

121 Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche*, 346–349.

manuscripts, one is a Qur'an which shows its Tunisian provenance in an endowment certificate dated to 900/1495 (Q008). The manuscript had already been recorded in the inventory produced in the 1620s by Felice Contelori (1588–1652), one of the prefects of the Vatican Apostolic Archives.¹²² Another Qur'an manuscript was copied in Tunis in 712/1312 (Q006) and came from the collection of Lelio Ruini, Bishop of Bagnoregio (d. 1621).¹²³ Both manuscripts could have come with the Tunis booty to Europe, where they would have circulated for a while before entering the Vaticana.¹²⁴ The third Maghribi manuscript in the Echellense inventory, also a Qur'an, was in Italy well before the Tunis expedition, as part of the collection of Federico da Montefeltro (1422–1482).¹²⁵ The manuscript is a reminder that it can be speculative to ascribe the presence of a given manuscript in Europe to the sack of Tunis: Maghribi manuscripts circulated there earlier and, even more so, later (more below).

Levi Della Vida suggested that some other Arabic manuscripts with a connection to Tunis should equally be associated with the booty of 1535 even though they cannot be linked to the Vaticana before the seventeenth century. Four large-size volumes of a luxurious Qur'an were endowments to the Great Mosque of Tunis (Q017, see figures 42 and 43), and so was a copy of the epistolary compilation *Rayḥānat al-kuttāb* (The marvels of the secretaries), by Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khatīb (MS025). The identification of these manuscripts with the Tunis booty is plausible. Three other manuscripts were brought to Rome by the Apostolic Delegate and Inquisitor of the island of Malta, Leonetto della Corbara (active around 1607–1608), at the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹²⁶ However, it is equally plausible to assume that they were confiscated by the inquisitor himself or taken on any occasion during a confrontation in the Mediterranean.¹²⁷ For all the other Maghribi manuscripts in the Biblioteca Vaticana, it would be far-fetched to posit a connection to the Tunis booty.

The Arabic manuscripts in the Vaticana seem to have taken very individual paths. Some books from the Tunis booty might have been given to Pope Paul III by the looters themselves (books from the Ranaldi inventories), or else circulated in

122 The manuscript is no. 11; Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche*, 346.

123 Piemontese, "Raccolta vaticana," 437.

124 Echellensis also had his own contacts with Tunisia (i.e., the slave market) and had obtained manuscripts for antiquaries in Rome and France (he worked with French orientalist Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, 1580–1637); Bernard Heyberger, *Orientalisme, science et controverse. Abraham Echellensis, 1605–1664* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010); and Peter N. Miller, *Peiresc's Mediterranean World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015).

125 Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche*, 398–399; BAV, Vat.ar.212.

126 BAV, Vat.ar.205 / Vat.ar.237 / Vat.ar.238.

127 Piemontese, "Raccolta vaticana," 435.

Italy for a while before entering the library in the seventeenth century (from the Ecchellense inventory). Indeed, the Vaticana – being one of the most prominent libraries in the ecclesiastical sphere, and generally, in Renaissance Italy – seems to function as a hub where circulating manuscripts ended up, even if they had all come to Europe with different travelers.

2.3.3 Royal and Ducal Collections

Although it might seem paradoxical that the possession of Arabic books was persecuted by the same Spanish Crown that ordered their collection for a royal library, the formation of the Arabic section in the Escorial collection is very much in line with those of contemporary royal libraries in Europe, the richest and most important being the library of the kings of France. In the inventories compiled in 1544 upon the transfer of the court library from Blois to the Château de Fontainebleau (the backbone of today's Bibliothèque nationale de France) by order of Francis I, we find at least three Arabic manuscripts.¹²⁸ One of Francis's manuscripts can be identified as a copy of the Malikite juridical treatise *Tahdhīb masā'il al-mudawwana wa-l-mukhtaṭiṭa* by Khalaf b. Abī al-Qāsim al-Barādhi'ī (c. 983–1038), and it is written in Maghribi script.¹²⁹ Another Maghribi copy of the same work belonged to Catherine de' Medici (1519–1589), the wife of Francis's son, Henry II of France (1519–1559), and also found its way into the French royal library (MS012, figure 61).¹³⁰ While the place of origin of the former manuscript is still unclear, the manuscript in possession of Catherine de' Medici is very similar to other manuscripts from Ifrīqiya (see, for example, MS011, copied in Tunis in 793/1390, figure 60), and can tentatively be attributed to Tunis as well.

The story of the sale of the humanist library of the beforementioned cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi illustrates the way in which the librarians of royal and aristocratic collections procured manuscripts for their patrons. Upon the cardinal's death in 1564, the *Inventario delli libri della Libreria della bo. me. del Sr. Card. Di*

¹²⁸ Ernest Quentin-Bauchart, *La Bibliothèque de Fontainebleau et les livres des derniers Valois à la Bibliothèque nationale, 1515–1589* (Paris: Huard et Guillermin), 89; the Arabic manuscripts are listed as nos. 714–716 in Quentin-Bauchart's edition of the inventory.

¹²⁹ BnF, Arabe 1053. The manuscript was exhibited as Francis I's manuscript; Maxence Hermant, *Trésors royaux. La bibliothèque de François Ier* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2015), 151, no. 62 [Exhibition at the Château royal de Blois, Jul–Oct 2015].

¹³⁰ For a list of the collection of Catherine de' Medici, see José Balagna Coustou, *Arabe et humanisme dans la France des derniers Valois* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1989), Annexe I.

*Carpi*¹³¹ was sent to the courts of Philip II of Spain, of Grand Duke Cosimo I de' Medici in Florence (1519–1574), and of Duke Alfonso II d'Este in Ferrara (1533–1597) with the intention of whetting their appetites for precious manuscripts.¹³² The *Inventario* lists eleven Arabic manuscripts, five of which had come from the Tunis booty (see below).¹³³ In approaching the Biblioteca Medicea in Florence and the Escorial in Spain, the Da Carpi collection was offered to two major European players. Alfonso II, on the other hand, had just launched the ambitious project of building a collection which he hoped would rival that of the French royal library at Fontainebleau and would even surpass other courtly libraries in Italy.¹³⁴ Alfonso was relatively new to the business of collecting manuscripts, but after long negotiations, he was eventually able to acquire the Carpi collection for 88 *scudi d'oro*,¹³⁵ thus founding his Ducal Library in Modena. The fact that the Carpi collection was offered to major European court libraries indicates its outstanding richness and value. While the Tunis manuscripts within the collection were most probably not decisive for its purchase, the fact that they were part of such an important and coveted library speaks for a special value attached to them.

The curious example of a fragmentary Ḥafṣid Qur'an can provide a different perspective on just how precious and well-received manuscripts from Tunis were within European aristocratic circles. The Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv in Vienna owns one large-size Qur'an folio (49 x 34 cm) copied in a calligraphic Maghribi script in blue ink (Q012, see figures 36 and 37), ornamented with gold and red verse markers. In the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris and the Bodleian Library in Oxford

131 The inventory is published in Heiberg, *Beiträge zur Geschichte*, 108–126.

132 This is revealed by the letters found in the archives of the respective addressees; Domenico Fava, *La Biblioteca Estense nel suo sviluppo storico. Con il catalogo de la mostra permanente e 10 tavole* (Modena: G.T. Vicenzi e nipote di Dante Cavallotti, 1925). More research could be done to draw together the economic and diplomatic history of Tunis and the Italian States: for example, the house of Este held diplomatic relations with the ruler of Tunis in the fifteenth century; see Beatrice Saletti, "Imitation Games. Some Notes on the Envoys Sent by Borso d'Este to Uthman, Ruler of Tunis," *Legatio* 4 (2020), but no mention of books.

133 Heiberg, *Beiträge zur Geschichte*, 126.

134 Carlo Bernheimer, *Catalogo dei manoscritti Orientali della Biblioteca Estense* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1960), ix.

135 In Rome in 1560, one *scudo d'oro* would buy eleven chickens, 110 fresh eggs, eleven *libbre* of parmesan cheese or forty-four *libbre* of mutton; a barrel of *vino chiarello* cost four scudi; one scudo was half the monthly wage Ippolito II d'Este (1509–1572) paid his pastry cook, or six days' work for a builder. Cp. Mary Hollingsworth, "A Cardinal in Rome: Ippolito D'Este in 1560," in *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*, ed. Jill Burke and Michael Bury (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 81–94. Hollingsworth quotes from documents in the Archivio di Stato di Modena (Camera Ducale, Amministrazione Principi, no. 1006, fols. 12–37, and no. 957, fol. 46).

are kept three more leaves from the same codex. The large paper sheets show signs of folding in all four instances; the folio in Vienna was originally folded into a rectangle measuring 12 x 15 cm. It used to be stored together with an envelope, measuring exactly 12 x 15 cm, inscribed with the words “[. . .]ré en African escripte a l’empereur par Le Roy de Túnes” and the date “ca. 1542”.¹³⁶ Unfortunately, the actual letter that the lavish Qur’an folio must have accompanied does not survive in the Vienna archives. However, from the documents in other collections, we can imagine what these letters must have looked like. The Archivo General de Simancas preserves five letters that Mawlāy Ḥasan sent to Charles V in 1535 (D029–033).¹³⁷ After the conquest of Tunis on 6 August 1535, Charles V signed a contract with Mawlāy Ḥasan that settled the latter’s liabilities to the Holy Roman Empire (see above). The sultan had to agree to pay an annual tribute and to cede to the emperor the fortress of La Goletta, where a garrison of Spanish soldiers and ships was left. The deal required the two to maintain diplomatic relations. If the note in the Vienna archive is trustworthy, and the missing letter was actually written around 1542, then it might have been sent in preparation of Mawlāy Ḥasan’s journey through Italy in 1547/8, on his way to an audition with the emperor in (see above).

The folios of the Qur’an copied in blue ink that have survived in Paris and Oxford are folded to a slightly different size than the one in Vienna (Paris: 15 x 13.5 cm; Oxford: 9.5 x 8.5 cm) and are nonconsecutive to the text of the Vienna folio. This seems to suggest a dispersal of these fragments as part of different letters, maybe addressed to other aristocratic figures in Italy with whom Mawlāy Ḥasan is known to have corresponded. It is tempting to imagine that the folios stem from a personal codex of the Qur’an that belonged to Mawlāy Ḥasan, which he might have carried with him to Europe. If, as it seems, he detached some of its folios in order to add them to his letters, this is a rare example of a Muslim ruler dismantling a Qur’an manuscript and gifting it to Christian recipients. Perhaps these impressive samples of calligraphy were used as a sort of signature or proof of authenticity. They might have underlined the importance of the letter’s subject to the Ḥafṣid ruler: Mawlāy Ḥasan might have also been aware of the lust for beautiful Arabic manuscripts among the European aristocracy.

¹³⁶ HHStA, Staatenabteilung Tunis 1, Konv. 1.

¹³⁷ Some of the documents have been published in: Baskins and Chachia, “Ten Ḥafṣid Letters”; Chachia, “Dos documentos”; Chachia and Temimi, “Cartas Háfsidas”; Federico Odorici, “Lettere inedite.”

2.3.4 From Italy to France

After his diplomatic trip to Italy, where he was presented with manuscripts from the Tunis booty by Paolo Giovio, Jean du Bellay returned to his bishopric in Paris. Being unacquainted with the Arabic language himself, he passed on his Arabic manuscripts to the French orientalist Guillaume Postel, who – as we have already seen – had a great interest in the Tunis booty.¹³⁸ We know of his gift only because Postel mentions the donor in a letter that he wrote to Jean Morel de Loches on 9 August 1537:

I already have various examples of Qur’ans. I even got some of them in Constantinople [Istanbul], of the kind made by those rulers, in a very small script. A beautiful fourth [part of the Qur’an] in Maghribi script was given to me by Cardinal Du Bellay, who got it as booty from Tunis.¹³⁹

One year later, Postel mentions Du Bellay’s books again in the *dedicatio* to his *De Originibus seu de Hebraicae linguae antiquitate Liber*, printed in 1538. Postel thanks the bishop for his generous gifts that enabled him to compose the work:¹⁴⁰

I will not mention the gifts of Punic [i.e., Ifriqī] books that you gave me at the beginning of this year: immeasurably expensive to you, as they were in Gallia [i.e., France] before our Arabic library arrived, and rare [gifts]; offered to you by a unique and highly educated friend who is more than worthy of attention; [I was] rewarded with such a gift that – if he will appreciate your generosity in this matter – he can rightly say that he gave you the coat of Syloson.¹⁴¹

138 It was suggested that Postel was in Tunis himself in 1535; Angela Codazzi, “Una descrizione del Cairo du Guglielmo Postel,” in *Studi di paleografia, diplomatica, storia e araldica in onore di Cesare Manaresi*, ed. Cesare Manaresi (Milan: Giuffrè, 1953), 174; Codazzi is referring to Clarence Dana Rouillard, *The Turk in French History, Thought, and Literature, 1520–1660* (Paris: Boivin & cie, 1938), 111–113. However, this seems rather implausible since no other source, not even Postel himself, mentions this. It is more conceivable that Postel was in Constantinople with the French embassy in 1536, discussing the Tunis matter, as suggested in Garnier, *L’alliance impie*, 91.

139 The letter is edited in François Secret, “Notes sur Guillaume Postel: La correspondance de Guillaume Postel,” *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 3 (1961): 545: “Alcorani habeam iam varia exempla. Attuli enim Constantinopoli quale circumferunt illic principes, minutissimis ut puta literis. Preclarum unum pene quarta illis parte Mauro caractere picta me donavit Cardinalis Bellaius, quem ex Tunicorum habuerat praeda.”

140 Although discussing the *dedicatio*, Levi Della Vida did not connect the “librorum Punicorum” with the Tunis booty; Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche*, 320–322.

141 Guillaume Postel, *De Originibus seu de Hebraicae linguae antiquitate Liber* (Basel: John Opporinus, 1538), fol. Aii.v: “Transeo silentio illa librorum Punicorum xenia, quibus me sub hoc anni principio donasti: illa quidem usque adeo tibi chara, ut erant, tum in Gallia antequam Arabica nostra bibliotheca advenisset, rara, et a raro ac doctissimo simulque, observari dignissimo amico tibi oblata, talique; dono repensa, ut si ille liberalitatem tuam ab ea re aestimabit, possit revera dicere se συλόσωντος χλαμύδα tibi dedisse.” The accentuation on the Greek term “Sylosontos chlamyda” is wrong, as the

Although Postel does not specifically speak of the Tunis booty again, it is clear that he refers to it when speaking of the “*librorum Punicorum*” (“Punic books”). The qualification “Punic,” referring to ancient Carthage and the Roman province of Africa, carries a clear reference to the realm of Ḥafṣid Ifriqiya.¹⁴² The transmission of the provenance of these manuscripts seems to be of great importance to Postel. The brief mention of the manuscripts in the dedication to his *De Originibus* – a very prominent location within his publication – further shows their extremely prestigious status. Postel seems to appreciate how rare and how sought after such manuscripts were in France, at least before he had the chance to build his own library after travelling to the Ottoman Empire as an interpreter for the French embassies sent by Francis I in 1536.¹⁴³ With the Greek metaphor of “the coat of Syloson,” Postel not only expressed his erudition, but also referred to Du Bellay’s generosity and munificence: Syloson gave away his fiery red coat, which was actually offered for sale, to Darius when he noticed how much he liked it. When the time came to thank him for his generous gift, Darius, who had become king in the meantime, put an entire army at Syloson’s disposal.¹⁴⁴ This once again emphasizes the high value of the manuscripts. A few sentences before expressing his gratitude to Du Bellay, Postel also named Rabelais and Gioivo as part of his erudite circle, corroborating the connection between them.¹⁴⁵

It is notable that Postel speaks of books in the plural in the 1538 dedication to Du Bellay, when he only mentions one Qur’an in his letter to De Loches. We can thus assume that Du Bellay not only passed on Gioivo’s “*Alcoran*” (as mentioned in the letter), but also the “*Rationale divinatorum do Mahometo*,” described by Gioivo.

accent should be on the omega (not the omicron). The Greek accusative, however, fits the Latin construction of the *accusativus cum infinitivo*. I am grateful to Andrea and Ulrich Eigler (University of Zurich) for their help and explanations.

142 Benoît Grévin, “Connaissance et enseignement de l’arabe dans l’Italie du Xve siècle: quelques jalons,” in *Maghreb-Italie. Des passeurs médiévaux à l’orientalisme moderne, XIIIe–milieu Xxe siècle*, ed. Benoît Grévin (Rome: École française de Rome, 2010), 115n37, 137–138.

143 His commission was to collect Oriental manuscripts for the French king; see Robert Irwin, *For Lust for Knowing. The Orientalists and their Enemies* (London: Allen Lane, 2006), 73.

144 Herodotus, Pamela Mensch (transl.), James Romm (ed.), *Histories*, book 3, ch. 139–140.

145 Postel, *De Originibus*, fol. Aii. –Aiii.: “*Nolo hic attingere propensum illum tuum animum, in Iovium, Rabelaesum, Bigotium, ac tales absolutae eruditionis viros, nec paucos nec vulgares, numerando enim me dies deficeret.*” Translation: “I do not want to mention here how you are inclined towards Gioivo, Rabelais, Bigotius and such men of complete learning, neither few nor ordinary ones; one day would not be enough for me to list them all.”

Today, Postel's collection is dispersed;¹⁴⁶ however, two Maghribi manuscripts in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin can be traced back to him (MS034, MS045).¹⁴⁷ Unfortunately, neither of them is a Qur'an which could be linked to the *Alcoran* mentioned by both Giovio and Postel. One of the two Berlin manuscripts is the aforementioned history of Cordoba, which does not fit the description of Giovio's books. The other manuscript from Postel's collection, however, is a volume of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī. This *hadith* collection could very well be the *Rationale divinatorum do Mahometo* described by Giovio in his letter to Pio da Carpi. The Bukhārī manuscript in the Postel collection can be linked to Ḥafṣid Tunis on comparative grounds (script, page layout, use of color, paper), as it was part of a multivolume copy now dispersed between different collections. Five volumes of the same *Ṣaḥīḥ* belonged to Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, the cardinal that Giovio informed about the manuscripts from Tunis (see above); three further volumes were part of the collection of the German scholar and diplomat Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter in Munich (more on him below). All nine volumes are clearly copied by the same hand.

On these grounds, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* manuscript in the Postel collection (Berlin) can be tentatively traced back to Giovio, who received Arabic books from the Tunis booty from the Marquis del Vasto. The nine Bukhārī volumes divided between collectors in France (Du Bellay and Postel), Italy (Giovio and Pio da Carpi), and Bavaria (Widmanstetter) allow for some interesting conclusions. The reason behind the dispersal of multivolume manuscripts such as these among different European collections could be that they were looted from the libraries of Tunis by distinct individuals (among whom was the Marquis del Vasto). Once in Europe, the reappearance of these volumes in related European collections speaks for an enclosed network of bibliophiles in close conversation with each other. Alternatively, these manuscripts might have come to Europe as complete sets (in this case, looted by

146 Some manuscripts are in the Vaticana, but only those from his own travels to the Ottoman Empire; Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche*, 134. Other manuscripts are in the University Library in Leiden, the BnF in Paris, and the Royal Library in El Escorial, but none of them are of Tunisian origin; Coustou, *Arabe et humanisme*, Annexe II, 125–126.

147 Postel bequeathed some manuscripts to the Jesuit college in Paris. Following the suppression of the order, the library was sold in 1764, see *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque des ci-devant soi-disans Jésuites du Collège de Clermont* (Paris: Prault, 1764). A great part of the manuscript collection was bought by Gerard Meerman (1722–1771) and, upon his son's death in 1824, sold to Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872); see Henri Omont, "Notes sur les manuscrits grecs du British Museum," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes Année* 45 (1884), 326. Phillipps collection, in turn, is today partially held in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz; Ludwig Stern, *Die orientalischen Meermann-Handschriften des Sir Thomas Phillipps in der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin: Schade, 1892); see p. 1 for correlation Phillipps – Postel.

the Marquis del Vasto) which were then split up and offered to different recipients (such as Giovio, Pio da Carpi, or Widmanstetter) without any interest in preserving their coherence as a whole.

2.3.5 From Italy to Bavaria

Before it became common to acquire Arabic manuscripts during one's travels to the Arabic-speaking world, scholars who could not go to North Africa personally had to find means by which to get hold of Arabic manuscripts. The news that Arabic manuscripts had arrived in Europe amongst the booty from Tunis must have spread quickly as it was one of the primary book sources for contemporary Arabists. The German scholar Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter seems to have been the most successful among collectors in acquiring them. His library, which today is part of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, consisted of at least forty-three Arabic manuscripts, of which thirty-one are copied in Maghribi script.¹⁴⁸ Among them is the Qur'an which was copied in Seville in 642/1226 and was presumably brought to Tunis by Muslim refugees from al-Andalus, and which came into Widmanstetter's possession "*ex direptione Tunnetana*" ("from the Tunisian plunder," Q002). Fourteen more of Widmanstetter's Arabic manuscripts were either copied in Tunis or endowed to a Ḥafṣid mosque or madrasa, and, presumably, they entered Widmanstetter's possession in the same way as the Qur'an: *ex direptione Tunnetana*.

Widmanstetter might have acquired his books with the help of his Arabic teacher, the Spanish theologian Diego López de Zúñiga (1470–1531), whom he had met in Bologna on the occasion of Charles V's coronation in 1530.¹⁴⁹ However, López de Zúñiga died in Naples four years before the Tunis expedition. As a source, he might have provided Widmanstetter with manuscripts from Spain, rather than North Africa. One of Widmanstetter's manuscripts reveals another possible source for his Arabic collection: the manuscript in question is an Arabic grammar that was

¹⁴⁸ For a list, see "Hans Striedl, "Die Bücherei des Orientalisten Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter," in *Serta monacensia*, ed. Hans Joachim Kissling and Alois Schmaus (Leiden: Brill, 1952), 230–233. Widmanstetter owned twenty-nine manuscripts in Maghribi script of which twelve are identified here with an Ifrīqi origin; see Appendix I. Further Maghribi manuscripts in his collection: BSB, Cod.arab. 7, 56, 62, 65, 130, 203, 234, 238, 342, 343, 609, 802, 809, 840, 853, 887, 920. One of Widmanstetter's manuscript from Tunis ended up in the British Library in London (Q004) after a purchase from Sotheby's in 1889; Widmanstetter's signature is faded out, but still visible on fol. 3v. He also owned twelve Mashriqi manuscripts: BSB, Cod.arab 28, 124b, 190, 341, 359, 649, 811a, 812, 816, 824a, 840, 920.

¹⁴⁹ Helga Rebhan, "Die Bibliothek Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter," in *Die Anfänge der Münchener Hofbibliothek unter Herzog Albrecht V*, ed. Alois Schmid (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009), 124.

compiled and copied by the Genoese bishop and orientalist Agostino Giustiniani (1470–1536) for his student Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo (1472–1532).¹⁵⁰ It is most likely that Widmanstetter got hold of this manuscript when he was himself studying Arabic with Egidio in Rome. Of course, since Egidio died three years before the Tunis expedition, he could not have owned, let alone have distributed, manuscripts from the Tunis booty. Nevertheless, after Egidio's death, his Roman library was administered by Cardinal Girolamo Seripando,¹⁵¹ and it is known that Seripando allowed Widmanstetter continuous access to Egidio's library.¹⁵² This arrangement puts Widmanstetter in connection with Seripando and thus with Seripando's own manuscript collection, in which there was at least one large multivolume Ḥafṣid Qur'an (Q021; see above).

Another possible source for Widmanstetter's Tunisian manuscripts is Giustiniani's own library, which was dispersed after he died in a shipwreck in 1536. The remains of his collection, among which there were at least sixteen Arabic manuscripts, were bequeathed to the Republic of Genoa.¹⁵³ Giustiniani may have purchased some of these manuscripts from members of Charles V's entourage, or from the Genoese contingent after the Tunis campaign, in the year preceding his untimely death. Four of his manuscripts, which are indeed copied in a Maghribi script, are now in the Biblioteca Universitaria of Genoa;¹⁵⁴ however, none of these can be securely linked with the Tunis expedition. Both Seripando and Giustiniani are possible sources for Widmanstetter's Tunisian manuscripts, although neither of them can be confirmed definitively. In whatever way Widmanstetter was working, it seems clear that he was well connected with like-minded collectors in Italy. These relationships would have helped him gain access to the most important source of Arabic manuscripts of that time – namely, the book booty from Tunis.

The intellectual or academic aspect of Semitic languages was the key motivation for scholars to collect Arabic manuscripts in sixteenth-century Europe.¹⁵⁵ This

150 BSB, Cod.arab. 920; Bobzin, "Giustiniani," 131. Bobzin mentions Leo Africanus as Edigio's second teacher; Bobzin, *Koran*, 85.

151 Bobzin, *Koran*, 288–289.

152 Bobzin, *Koran*, 86–87.

153 Stelio Bassi and Sergio Noja, *Catalogo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino I manoscritti arabi, persiani i turchi* (Rome: Ist. Poligrafico dello Stato, 1974), 234–235. For the inventory, see F. L. Manucci, "Inventari della Biblioteca di Agostino Giustiniani," *Giornale storico e letterario della Liguria* 2 (1925), nos. 272a&b, 274, 275, 276, 280, 297, 298, 299, 302, 307, 308, 319, 329, 338, 348. The inventory is otherwise useless since it does not specify the "libri arabi."

154 Bassi, *Catalogo*, 234–235; 5 MSS in Genoa.

155 Burnett, Hamilton, and Loop, *Teaching and Learning*; Irwin, *Lust for Knowing*, esp. 62–87; Robert Jones, *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe, 1505–1624* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 10–13.

thirst for knowledge of the Arabic language, especially in the early sixteenth century, cannot be separated from the interest in Arabic as a missionary and polemic tool, as seen in the case of Clenardus. It has been pointed out, that to that end, the Qur'an was also sought after as a learning tool, since it was the only text that was fully vocalized. It is hardly surprising then that the Qur'an was the text that scholars sought to read most ardently even though it was put on the *Index of Forbidden Books*.¹⁵⁶ By the seventeenth century, there was hardly an Arabist who had not tried his hand at translating the Qur'an. Most of them never got further than a few suras, and of these attempts, only a small portion was ever published – but then few Arabists reached the age of fifty. The mortality rate was high – a phenomenon so striking in late seventeenth-century Germany that it was rumored that early death was a divine punishment for anyone who meddled with the Qur'an.¹⁵⁷

However, the Ḥafṣid manuscripts that spread through collections all over Europe after the Tunis expedition show quite a diverse interest in terms of textual material. The range of manuscripts in Widmanstetter's collection reflects the personality of a polymath who was interested in Arabic poetry, Islamic texts (such as *hadith* and *fiqh*), history, medicine, astrology, and philosophy. How intensively the scholar used his scientific Arabic works is, however, difficult to assess. While Postel translated the Qur'an based on the Arabic manuscripts in his possession, and published his translation in Paris in 1543,¹⁵⁸ Widmanstetter based his refutation of the Qur'an (printed in Nuremberg in 1544) on a Latin translation.¹⁵⁹ This is curious, since at least one of Widmanstetter's Qur'an manuscripts bears evidence of his extensive study of the text.¹⁶⁰ It would be an avenue worth further research to study the use and perception of the Tunisian manuscripts by sixteenth-century scholars such as Postel or Widmanstetter.

156 Witkam, "Ambrosiana," 42.

157 Hellmut Braun, "Der Hamburger Koran von 1694," in *Libris et litteris*, ed. Christian Voigt and Erich Zimmermann (Hamburg: Maximilian-Gesellschaft, 1959), 149–150.

158 Guillaume Postel, *Alcorani seu legis Mahometi et Evangelistarum concordiae Liber, in quo de calamitatibus orbi christiano imminentibus tractatur. Additus est libellus de universalis conversionis, iudicive tempore, & intra quot annos sit expectandum, conjectatio, ex diuinis ducta auctoribus, veroque proxima* (Paris: Petrus Gromorsus, 1543). This makes him the first Qur'an translator of modern times whose work, albeit selective, has been preserved in printed form. Cf. Bobzin, *Koran*, chapter 5.

159 Johann A. Widmanstetter, *Mahometis Abdallae filii Theologia dialogo explicate* (Nuremberg, 1543); Bobzin, *Koran*, chapter 4, esp. 331–342.

160 BSB, Cod.arab.7; more on this manuscript specifically: Bobzin, *Koran*, chapter 4.4.2.2.; Xavier Casassas Canals, "El Alcorán de Bellús: un Alcorán mudéjar de principios del siglo XVI con traducciones y comentarios en catalán, castellano y latín," *Revista Alhadra* 1 (2015).

2.3.6 In the Netherlands

In 1595, the *Plantinian Printing Office* in Antwerp published the *Specimen Characterum Arabicorum*. The typesetting of Arabic letters had been designed by Franciscus Raphelengius (1539–1597), who had been Leiden’s university printer since 1586.¹⁶¹ The *Specimen* is clearly inspired by the most influential typesetting of that time, namely the *Alphabetum Arabicum* published by the *Stamperia Medicea Orientale* in Rome.¹⁶² The *Stamperia*, established in 1584 by Cardinal Ferdinando I de’ Medici (1549–1609), became the most important printing office in Italy and was influential for Arabic types in Europe.¹⁶³ It was directed by the Italian orientalist Giovanni Battista Raimondi, who owned at least one manuscript from Tunis (MS032), must have had access to other Maghribi manuscripts in the Vaticana collection, and did, in fact, commission types of *lettere Africane* for his printing press.¹⁶⁴ However, the *Alphabetum Arabicum* that was published under Raimondi’s supervision in 1592 is inspired by Mashriqi calligraphy. The same Mashriqi tendency can hence be found in Raphelengius’s typesetting; Raphelengius himself admitted that the letters of the *Stamperia Orientale* were “so delicately formed that they were incapable of improvement.”¹⁶⁵ Still, Raphelengius’s *Specimen* does contain a second Arabic type which is based on Maghribi models (figure 7).¹⁶⁶

What made Raphelengius add a Maghribi alternative to the *naskhī* (curvilinear Mashriqi) counterpart? What were Raphelengius’s models before seeing the Roman *Alphabetum Arabicum* of 1592? Namely, the first Arabic books to be printed from movable types were the *Kitāb ṣalāt al-sawā’ī* (Book of hours) in 1513 and Giustiniani’s multilingual *Psalter* in Genoa in 1516.¹⁶⁷ While it is not certain whether

¹⁶¹ Ernst Braches, “Raphelengius’s Naschi and Maghribi. Some reflections on the origin of Arabic typography in the Low Countries,” *Quaerendo* 3 (1975): 237.

¹⁶² Angelo Michele Piemontese, “Venezia e la diffusione dell’alfabeto arabo nell’Italia del cinquecento. Gli Arabi nella Storia: Tanti Popoli una Sola Civiltà,” *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 5, no. 6 (1987–8): tables VII & VIII.

¹⁶³ Jones, “Learning Arabic,” 197–198.

¹⁶⁴ Alberto Tinto, *La tipografia medicea orientale* (Lucca: M. Pacini Fazzi, 1987), 32, 48, 55, 95.

¹⁶⁵ Franciscus Raphelengius, *Specimen characterum arabicorum officinae Plantiniana* (Leiden: Plantin Press, 1595); Braches, “Raphelengius,” 39, translating from the introduction.

¹⁶⁶ The facsimile of the *Specimen* is reproduced in Ronald Breugelmans, John A. Lane, and Jan Just Witkam, *The Arabic Type Specimen of Franciscus Raphelengius’ Plantinian Printing Office 1595* (Leiden: University Library, 1997).

¹⁶⁷ Miroslav Krek, “The Enigma of the First Arabic Book Printed from Movable Type,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 38, no. 3 (1979): 203. While Giustiniani’s Arabic *Psalter* can be understood as a tool to make the Hebrew *Psalter* more accessible, the Arabic *Book of Hours* was commissioned and published at the expense of Pope Julius II (1443–1513) for distribution among Christians in the Middle East. Another early attempt at printing Arabic from movable type characters occurred

Raphelengius had seen the former; he certainly owned a copy of the *Psalter*. Two further sources are known that Raphelengius might have built upon: the earliest is a woodcut alphabet in Pedro de Alcalá's Arabic grammar, published in Granada c. 1505; the other is a woodcut alphabet in Rutger Spey's compendium of Arabic grammar, which he added to his text edition of the Arabic version of *Epistola Pauli ad Galatas* (Heidelberg 1583).¹⁶⁸ Both Arabic alphabets are in Maghribi letters.

It is noteworthy that also in Italy, before the *Stamperia Orientale* in Rome became authoritative, two different alphabetic tables circulated that clearly show Maghribi characters. In both the printed *Alphabetum Arabum* by Giovanni Battista Palatino (Rome, 1540) and the handwritten album *Alphabeta Orientalia* by Domenico De Fossi (Florence, 1545), tables of Maghribi letters appeared as part of compendia of different alphabets, produced as aids to scholars and librarians of non-European books and languages.¹⁶⁹ Whether Raphelengius knew about these is not clear.

In Paris in 1538, Guillaume Postel published "An Introduction to the Alphabetic Characters of Twelve Different Languages."¹⁷⁰ His *Grammatica Arabica* that featured in the publication earned him the title of the first influential Arabist of the Renaissance.¹⁷¹ In the subchapter *De lingua Punica, Arabique* (About the North African and Arabic languages),¹⁷² a woodcut table of the Arabic alphabet shows the Maghribi forms of the letters after the *naskhī* script and gives explanations about their differences (figure 8). Raphelengius, himself a student of Postel, owned a copy of the *Grammatica Arabica*, which had been the most important publication in Arabic script outside Italy.¹⁷³ Postel's setting with the Maghribi types after the *naskhī* may have been the direct model for Raphelengius's *Specimen*, following established precedents by combining Maghribi and Mashriqi letter forms.

in the 1530s, also in Italy (Venice). The books—an edition of the Qur'an—were not meant for the European market but were sent to the Ottoman Empire; however, they were destroyed upon their arrival in Istanbul because their Arabic contained too many typos; Hartmut Bobzin, "Von Venedig nach Kairo: Zur Geschichte arabischer Korandrucke, 16. – frühes 20. Jahrhundert," in *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution*, ed. Dagmar Glass, Eva-Maria Hanebutt-Benz, Geoffrey Roper, and Theo Smets (Westhofen: WVA-Verlag Skulima, 2022). One surviving copy was found in the library of the Franciscan Friars of San Michele in Isola, Venice; see Angela Nuovo, "A Lost Arabic Koran Rediscovered," *Library* 4 (1990): 273.

168 Breugelmann, Lane, and Witkam, *Arabic Type Specimen*, xxviii, n10 (with reproductions).

169 Piemontese, "Diffusione," 645, see table II.

170 Guillaume Postel, *Linguarum Duodecim Characteribus Differentium Alphabetum Introductio* (Paris: Petrus Gromorsus, 1538); for the Arabic grammar and alphabet, see fols. Diii–Ex.

171 François Secret, "Guillaume Postel et les études arabes à la Renaissance," *Arabica* 9, no. 1 (1962): 21. Irwin calls him "the first true orientalist" and titles the chapter on him "The Crazy Father of Orientalism"; see Irwin, *Lust for Knowing*, 72–76.

172 Postel, *Linguarum*, fols. Diii recto and verso.

173 Breugelmann, Lane, and Witkam, *Arabic Type Specimen*, x, xxviii, n10; Irwin, *Lust for Knowing*, 76.

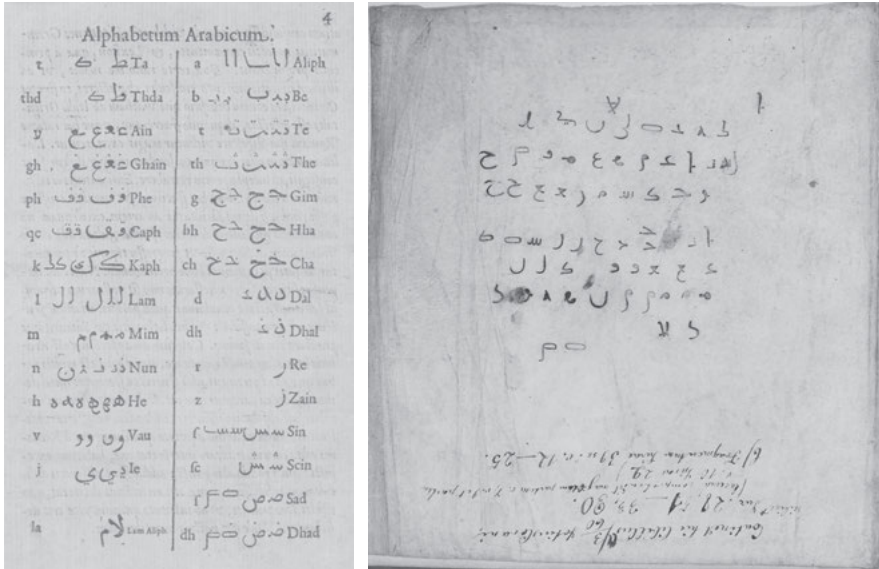


Figure 7: Franciscus Raphelengius's *Specimen* (left) and the smoke proofs of the Maghribi punches in his Arabic manuscript (upside down).

Perhaps more important than the printed books that Raphelengius saw and used were the Arabic manuscripts at his disposal. At the beginning of his Arabic studies, Raphelengius had an (unidentified) “grammar” and a Latin-Arabic dictionary, both of which were given to him, together with other manuscripts, by Andreas Masius, himself a student of Arabic with Guillaume Postel. The Latin-Arabic dictionary was probably copied in twelfth-century Toledo and served Raphelengius not only as a main source for his *Lexicon Arabicum* (posthumously published in 1613)¹⁷⁴ but also as a visual model for his own Maghribi-inspired handwriting.¹⁷⁵ The University Library in Leiden holds three further Maghribi manuscripts that belonged to Raphelengius, among them one from Ifrīqiya (Q020, figure 45). The manuscript is a *juz'* (part) of the Qur'an bearing an endowment certificate that connects it to the mosque of Bizerte, a harbour town near Tunis (*tahbīs* 18).¹⁷⁶ The manuscript must have come to Europe with the Tunis campaign, where it was acquired by the professor of

¹⁷⁴ Jan Just Witkam and Tsjikke Vlasma, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Ter Lugt, 2007), 100. The manuscript entered the Scaliger collection, UBL, Or 231.

¹⁷⁵ Braches, “Raphelengius,” 241.

¹⁷⁶ Alastair Hamilton, “‘*Nam tirones sumus*’. Franciscus Raphelengius's *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (Leiden 1613),” *De Gulden Passer* 66–7 (1988–9), shows very convincingly that the manuscript has

Considering the Maghribi manuscripts and prints with Maghribi letter-shapes that Raphelengius possessed, it is not surprising that his first attempts at an Arabic typesetting that he completed in 1591 were in Maghribi character.¹⁸⁰ However, in 1593, Leiden University succeeded in attracting the French scholar Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), who brought with him a fine collection of Oriental manuscripts and made them all available to Raphelengius to use.¹⁸¹ He also brought with him a copy of the *Alphabetum Arabicum* from the *Stamperia Orientale* for Raphelengius to see.¹⁸² By 1595, when Raphelengius finally published his *Specimen*, the *naskhī* script had seemingly replaced Raphelengius’s preference for the Maghribi script.

In 1613, the Plantinian Press published the *Grammatica Arabica* by Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624), reproducing Raphelengius’s alphabetic table, though including only the *naskhī* letter-shapes. Raphelengius’s Maghribi typesetting was only used once more, in the running titles of Erpenius’s *Passio Domini nostri Iesu Christi, secundum Matthaeum* (Leiden, 1613).¹⁸³ Erpenius’s *Grammatica Arabica* represented a breakthrough in European attempts to render Arabic grammar accessible to students: a real watershed in the history of the study of Arabic in Europe.¹⁸⁴ This “new age” is perceivable in the lecture “On the Value of the Arabic Language” that Thomas Erpenius, then professor at the University of Leiden, delivered on 5 November 1620 to a new generation of students:

Away with those who want discord among us and try with imaginary difficulties to put you off from the study of this most excellent language! I admit that, not so long ago, it presented difficulties for us here. But that was because the necessary means – the rules, the teachers, and the books – were missing, not because of its nature. But now I hope you will never lack them in abundant supply.¹⁸⁵

The invention of the Arabic typesetting that allowed the wide spread of Arabic texts as well as the fashion of gathering Oriental libraries that had started with the more common travels to the Ottoman Empire, led to the establishment of what Alexander Bevilacqua calls the “Republic of Arabic Letters” in the early seventeenth century.¹⁸⁶ Bevilacqua coins this expression in order to illustrate the formation of networks

180 Raphelengius, *Specimen*, 4.

181 Breugelman, Lane, and Witkam, *Arabic Type Specimen*, x.

182 Braches, “Raphelengius,” 241.

183 See the reproduction in Breugelman, Lane, and Witkam, *Arabic Type Specimen*, xxxvi.

184 Burnett, Hamilton, and Loop, *Teaching and Learning*, 5; Jones, *Learning Arabic*, 13.

185 Translated in Robert Jones, “Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624) on the Value of the Arabic Language,” *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 1 (1986): 25.

186 Alexander Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters. Islam and the European Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Belknap, 2018).

among European orientalists following the *European Republic of Letters*, a continental scholarly community with shared rules of conduct and goals. The first scholar to appear on the stage of Bevilacqua's *Republic* is the English orientalist Edward Pococke (1604–1691), the first Laudian Professor of Arabic at the University of Oxford. However, a century before Pococke and his fellow orientalists were actively collecting Arabic manuscripts in the eastern Islamic world, a network of scholars was already at work across Europe. For them, Muslim Spain and North Africa were important sources for Arabic manuscripts. This is well represented in the printed tables of Arabic script in the mid-sixteenth century in Paris (Postel), Rome (Palatina), and Florence (De Fossi), which present the Maghribi script together with the *naskhī* alternative. By the end of the century, Raphelengius seemed to negotiate between what he knew and had learned as a student – the Maghribi script – and what became more fashionable by the turn of the century, its Mashriqi counterpart.

2.3.7 In Switzerland

One last attestation of the use of manuscripts from the Tunis booty in the seventeenth century is found in two very curious books now held in the libraries of Groningen and Kassel.¹⁸⁷ Both contain parts of the Qur'an text with a first section copied in Maghribi script and a second, shorter one in Kufi characters (figure 9). The Maghribi part of each manuscript is introduced by a note naming the same Freiherr of Königsegg who took a copy of the Qur'an during the Tunis campaign (Q015). The two copies in Groningen and Kassel were identified by Jan Loop as handwritten facsimiles of the Königsegg manuscript now in St. Gall, produced by the Swiss scholar Johann Heinrich Hottinger.¹⁸⁸ It seems that Sebastian Schobinger (1579–1652), then the Mayor of St. Gall and administrator of its library, had provided Hottinger with two Arabic prototypes: one in Maghribi script (the Königsegg Qur'an) and one in Kufi characters (unidentified). Hottinger later described both manuscripts in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*.¹⁸⁹ In the section on the Qur'an, he first mentions early manuscripts on parchment and gives two examples, one of which is the Kufi specimen. In the following paragraph about the lavishly embellished Qur'ans, Hottinger again gives two examples, one of which is the Königsegg manuscript from Tunis. It is described as a volume “of large letters, adorned with gold

¹⁸⁷ UBG, ukluHANDS 468 and KUB, Ms. Orient. 4.

¹⁸⁸ Loop, *Hottinger*, 124–128.

¹⁸⁹ Johann H. Hottinger, *Promptuarium sive Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Heidelberg: Wyngården, 1658), 105.

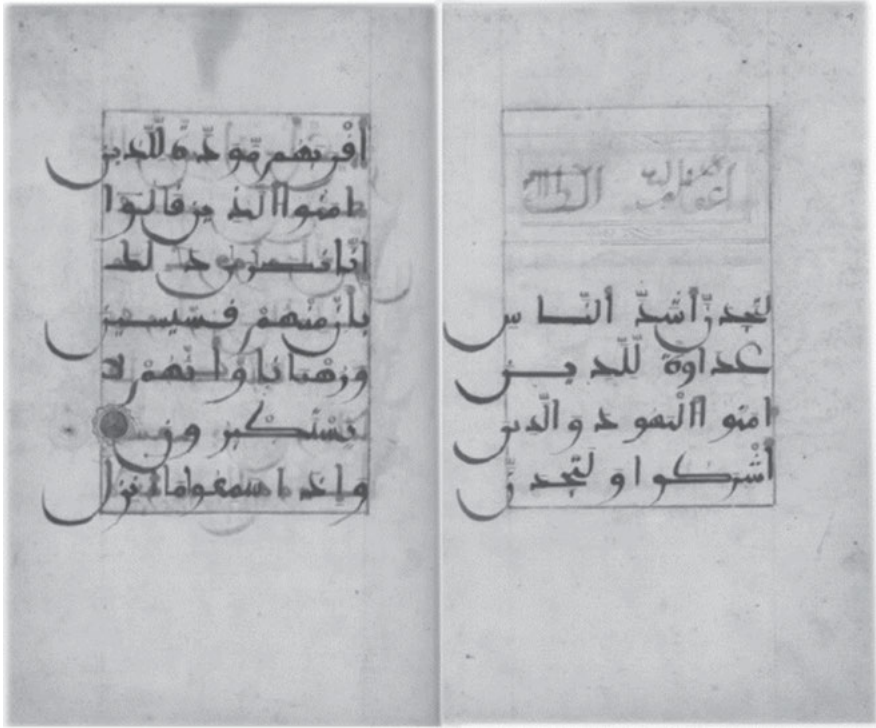


Figure 9: Johann H. Hottinger’s facsimile of Königsegg’s manuscript (Q015).

and different colors [to mark the] intertext” (*“majusculis literis, auro hinc inde, et colorum varietate intertextis, adornata”*). The author mentions the provenance of the manuscript as well: the Baron of Königsegg brought back booty from Tunis when Charles V conquered the city (*“quem a.Ch. 1535, cum Carolus V expugnerat Tunetum, Baro von Königseck [sic], tanquam spoliū in Europam deportavit”*).¹⁹⁰ Hottinger had received the Maghribi and the Kufi manuscripts from Schobinger with the initial request to decipher their content. This was particularly necessary for the Kufi letters since they were still a mystery to Arabists of Hottinger’s time.

¹⁹⁰ Hottinger, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 105–106. Interestingly, Hottinger lists and describes the Königsegg manuscript together with another, seemingly similar manuscript (*“Proxime quo ad splendorem, sequuntur, exemplaria, distinctis Tomis”*). The other manuscript is said to be in the library of the Queen of Sweden and was offered by the Turkish emperor himself to the emperor of the Romans (*“ut magni viri conjiciunt Imperatore Turcico, Romanorum Imperatori oblatum”*); this latter manuscript is unidentified. The third group of Qur’an manuscripts, according to Hottinger, are coarse examples (*“vulgaris exemplaria”*) in private libraries and not worth mentioning.

While this marks the beginning of the quest to understand Kufi and the development of *naskhī* scripts, paleography conversely needed a few more centuries before it devoted itself to the Maghribi script.¹⁹¹

In 1785, the German orientalist Johann Heinrich Wepler (1755–1792) rediscovered Hottinger’s Qur’an facsimile in Kassel and mistook it for the original that was taken during the Tunis expedition by the Freiherr of Königssegg. Wepler regretfully wrote:¹⁹²

Regarding the content, we could only wish that – since this gentleman had occasion to do so – of the many books that were then destroyed in Tunis, he had saved another one, actually useful for historiography; because this codex contains only a portion of the Qur’an.¹⁹³

Clearly, the story of the lost libraries of Ḥafṣid Tunis was still known in eighteenth-century Germany. With this knowledge, the word “saved” is of course a euphemism, given the destructive nature of any looting. Apparently, Wepler was not aware of the book booty from Tunis and the remains of the Ḥafṣid libraries in European collections. By 1785, at least in Kassel, where Wepler was teaching philology, the legacy of the great Ḥafṣid libraries lived on, but the whereabouts of their manuscripts had been forgotten.

191 The field of Maghribi scripts was initiated by the studies of Octave V. Houdas, *Essai sur l’écriture maghrebine* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1886); more below. Hottinger produced the Kassel facsimile as a precious gift for the Palatine Elector Charles Louis (1617–1680); Loop, *Hottinger*, 127; see also for an analysis of the perception of Kūfī script by seventeenth-century orientalists. Déroche traces back the early interest in Kūfī to the seventeenth century and identifies Jacob Georg Christian Adler’s 1780 publication of some Kūfī fragments as the first influential attempt to decipher the script; François Déroche, “Les écritures coraniques anciennes: bilan et perspectives,” *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 48, no. 2 (1980): 208; François Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran dans les débuts de l’islam. Le codex Parisino-petropolitanus* (Leiden and Boston: Brill), 9ff; Jacob G. C. Adler, *Descriptio codicum quorundam cuficorum partes Corani exhibentium in Bibliotheca regia hafniensi et ex iisdem de scriptura Arabum observationes novae, Præmittitur disquisitio generalis de arte scribendi apud Arabes ex ipsis auctoribus arabicis adhuc ineditis sumta* (Altona: Eckhardius, 1780).

192 What he had discovered was actually Hottinger’s facsimile; Loop, *Hottinger*, 124–128.

193 Wepler, “Beschreibung der auf hochfürstl. kasseler Bibliothek befindlichen arabischen Handschriften mit mauritanischen und kufischen Charakteren,” *Hessische Beiträge zur Gelehrsamkeit und Kunst I* (1785), 490. “Wegen des Inhalts wäre zu wünschen, daß, da doch dieser Herr Gelegenheit dazu hatte, er von den vielen Büchern, die damals in Tunis vernichtet wurden, eine andere, für die Geschichte nützliche Schrift gerettet hätte, denn dieser Codex enthält nur ein Stück des Korans.”

2.4 Other Ways of Dispersion

The fate of the libraries of Tunis is inevitably linked to the sacking of the city in 1535, which left a deep mark on the history of the city and its material culture. In the previous chapters, we have seen that books from the libraries of Tunis were distributed in European collectors' circles during the sixteenth century and were probably also found on the market in North Africa (especially Morocco). In what follows, we will see that parts of the Ḥafṣid libraries were also incorporated into Ottoman collections, especially those in Istanbul. However, even if – simply due to its immense scale – the Tunis loot of 1535 and 1573 was one of the most serious factors in the dissolution of the Ḥafṣid library collections, not all Ḥafṣid books found in European collections can be linked to the looting of Tunis.

A small number of manuscripts attest to the admiration and appreciation of Arabic books from Ifrīqiya in European royal collections from the twelfth century onwards. These came to Europe as diplomatic gifts or even on commission. Under the Hauteville kings of Sicily, the Muslim community of the island participated fully in a common literary culture with Ifrīqiya, which was stifled during and after the expulsion of the Muslims of Sicily by their successor Frederick II (r. 1194–1250). After 1230, Frederick II ruled from the Italian mainland, as did Charles d'Anjou, whence they occasionally dispatched embassies, ordered books, and invited scholars and scribes from Ifrīqiya and al-Andalus. The medical school at Salerno imported medical texts and scholars from Ifrīqiya from as early as the eleventh century and continued to do so under the royal patronage of Frederick II and then Charles d'Anjou. A good example is the shipment of books from Tunis to Naples, where Charles kept his court and who requested Arabic manuscripts so that they could be translated into Latin for his own use. The registers of the Angevin chancellery record the arrival of the first five of the requested twenty Arabic books on 25 February 1279.¹⁹⁴

Books were also an important part of gifts presented with embassies. The Ḥafṣid sultan Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān sent an embassy with gifts to Istanbul with the goal of appeasing the Ottoman sultan Bayazid II (r. 1481–1512) in his conflicts with Mamluk Cairo.¹⁹⁵ Besides rich textiles and precious jewelry, were included a rare

¹⁹⁴ Grévin, "Connaissance et enseignement," 107. Charles of Anjou commissioned the Sicilian Jewish scholar Farāj ibn Sālim with the Latin translation of the *Kitāb al-ḥawī* by al-Rāzī. The illustrated copy of the Latin translation still exists in the Paris library, BnF lat. 6912. For the registers of these transactions (the order of books and the translation), see Riccardo Filangieri (ed.), *I registri della cancelleria angioina* (Naples: Presso L'Academia, 1950), II, nos. 1, 43, 219, 221, 224.

¹⁹⁵ Mouayed El Mnari, "Remarques sur l'ambassade Hafside d'Abu Osman et de Molla Arab d'après les sources Ottomanes," *Annual of Istanbul Studies* 6 (2017).

exemplar of a Qur'an as well as a copy al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.¹⁹⁶ A *Ṣaḥīḥ* copy in multiple volumes dedicated to the Ḥafṣid *khizāna* of Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān (MS021, see figures 62 and 63) is today indeed held at the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi in Istanbul. The manuscripts, however, do not bear evidence that they came to Istanbul with said embassy, but they are stamped with the seal of the Ottoman sultan Mahmud I (r. 1740–1754). It is possible that Mahmud I incorporated these manuscripts from Bayazid's collection and that the two books are indeed the manuscripts that were sent by the Ḥafṣid sultan to make peace between Istanbul and Cairo. However, books travelled from Tunis to Istanbul also in later decades during Ottoman rule over Ifriqiya.

As often mentioned, the conquest of Tunis left irreparable damage to the city's libraries, but there is evidence that at least remnants of the libraries were still present in Tunis after the sixteenth century. The remains of Mawlāy Ḥasan's library are recorded again in the seventeenth century in a correspondence between the two Italian physicians Giovanni Pagni (1634–1674) and Francesco Redi (1628–1697). Pagni had travelled to North Africa, then part of the Ottoman Empire, in order to offer his services to the Ottoman bey of Tunis.¹⁹⁷ In return, he was allowed to choose gifts from the bey's collection to be sent to his patron Ferdinando II de' Medici (1610–1670) in Florence. After consulting with Redi, who was court physician to Ferdinando, Pagni decided, among other things, on a collection of forty manuscripts originally from the library of Mawlāy Ḥasan, the remains of which were apparently kept in the bey's palace ("*i quali sono un residuo dell'antica libreria del Re Muleass*").¹⁹⁸ Pagni informed Redi on 2 June 1667 that he had finally selected eighteen Greek manuscripts as well as twenty-two manuscripts in Arabic characters which he had chosen randomly ("*alla ventura*"),¹⁹⁹ since he did not read Arabic

196 Cihan Y. Muslu, *The Ottomans and the Mamluks. Imperial Diplomacy and Warfare in the Islamic World* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 148; H. Reindl-Kiehl, "East Is East and West Is West and Sometimes the Twain Did Meet. Diplomatic Gift Exchange in the Ottoman Empire," in *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies. State, Province, and the West*, ed. Colin Imber and Keiko Kiyotaki (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 118; Sardi, "Le livre comme cadeau," 264.

197 Pagni only speaks of "Sig. Bey," identified as "Mohamet Apsi Bey" by the editor; Giovanni Pagni, *Lettere di Giovanni Pagni, medico, ed archeologo Pisano a Francesco Redi in Raggvaglio. Di quanto egli vidde, ed operò in Tunisi* (Florence: Magheri, 1829), 25 and 28n2. This identification, however, could be problematic since in 1667, Muḥammad al-Ḥafṣī al-Murādī was the pasha of Tunis, while the bey of Tunis was Murad II Bey. Upon the latter's death in 1675, this tension led to a succession war which only ended in 1705 with the establishment of the Husainid dynasty of beys of Tunis.

198 Pagni, *Lettere*, 24–30, esp. 28. I am grateful to Federica Gigante and Pier Mattia Tommasino for the reference.

199 Pagni, *Lettere*, 26.

himself. The fact that Pagni and Redi specifically chose Arabic manuscripts from the Ḥaḥḥsid palace collection for their Medici patron not only demonstrates that Mawlāy Ḥasan's library was still renowned in mid-seventeenth-century Florence (Pagni might have known Giovio's work), but also attests to the diffusion of Ḥaḥḥsid books from sources other than the sack of 1535.²⁰⁰

Whether the Ottoman bey was only evoking the legend of Mawlāy Ḥasan to impress the Europeans or whether there were indeed still remnants of the famous library present in Tunis is difficult to determine. When the Ottomans took over the government of Tunis in 1574, they redistributed the remains of the city's libraries and may have sent the most precious copies to the court in Istanbul. Indeed, we find valuable Ḥaḥḥsid manuscripts in the royal Ottoman collections of Suleiman I and Mahmud I.²⁰¹

In addition to the destruction and looting of the sixteenth century, the collections were thus subject to further dissolution and (re)amalgamation over the following centuries under the Ottoman rulers. Parts of the Ḥaḥḥsid corpus stored in Istanbul were later returned to Tunis by Prince Ali Pasha b. Muhammad (r. 1740–1755) and installed in his library in the Bardo Palace. In 1840, Ahmad Pasha Bey (r. 1837–1855) founded a new library collection in the Zaytūna Mosque, including the books from Ali Pasha's library that might have contained Ḥaḥḥsid remains, called the Aḥḥmadiyya collection.²⁰² Similarly interesting is the history of stock of the 'Abdaliyya-Ṣādiqiyya collection, which derives its name from the Ḥaḥḥsid sultan 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b.

200 The Medici manuscript collection is held in Florence in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana; however, none of the Ḥaḥḥsid manuscripts can be linked to Ferdinando II de' Medici and thus traced back to Pagni's selection from Mawlāy Ḥasan's library. Redi's manuscripts are also held in the BML; see "Inventario dei codici Redi, Tempi e Rinuccini," [handwritten list of 1820–50 provided by the BML. There are two Greek manuscripts (Redi 87.137 and Redi 110.116), one in Hebrew (Redi 39), and one in Arabic, even Maghribi script (Redi 4); however, there seems to be no connection with Ḥaḥḥsid Tunis.

201 WAM, W580: a volume of *al-Shifā'* by al-Qāḥḥī 'Iyād with the seal of Suleiman I. Further volumes of the same copy—together with a *muṣḥaf*—bear the seal of Mahmud I, still in Istanbul: SKüt, Aya-sofya 757–758–760 and Fatih 16. I am grateful to Günseli Gürel and Dagmar Riedel for their help in deciphering the Ottoman seals in these books. The Ottomans showed a very systematic approach to book annexation in other cities they conquered; see Kristof D'hulster, *Browsing through the Sultan's Bookshelves. Towards a Reconstruction of the Library of the Mamluk Sultan Qāniṣawh al-Ghawri, r. 906–922/1501–1516* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021), 315–341, who discusses a register of looted books that was compiled in the citadel of Aleppo upon the conquest of the city by the Ottomans in 1517 (Topkapı Palace Museum Archive, D 9101.1): The document shows the urgency and complexity of the task of the collection and appropriation of portable objects, among which books seem very important.

202 Chabbouh and Roper, *Worldwide Survey*, 257–258.

al-Ḥusayn b. Mas'ūd b. 'Uthmān (r. 1493–1526), who established a library in the east side of the courtyard of the Zaytūna Mosque (more in chapter 3.1.1.). At the end of the nineteenth century, Khayr al-Din Pasha (1822/3–1890), during the rule of Sadiq Bey (r. 1859–1882), restored this library of the Zaytūna Mosque and collected in it the remains of the madrasa and mosque libraries of Tunis, to which he added his own private collection. In 1908, before the Zaytūna collections were moved again (first to the library of the *Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines* of the University of Tunis and then, finally, by presidential decree in 1967, to the *Dār al-Kutub al-Waṭaniyya*, the Bibliothèque nationale), Maḥmūd Ibn Maḥmūd started a catalogue of the 'Abdaliyya collection – albeit not completed. In the introduction, the author summarizes the fate of the Tunisian libraries on the basis of Ibn Abī Dīnār's account – namely, that the libraries were completely destroyed and dispersed by Christian soldiers in 980/1573. The author adds that only three copies of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī and a handful of other manuscripts from the Ḥafṣid period had survived.²⁰³

Today, the National Library holds about 25,000 manuscripts, of which around 6,000 are catalogued.²⁰⁴ The remains of Ḥafṣid manuscripts held in the Bibliothèque nationale de Tunisie are rather sparse; only eleven Ḥafṣid manuscripts have been identified so far.

203 Ibn Maḥmūd, *al-Maktaba al-'Abdaliyya*, p. *dāl*. He does not name specifics or shelf marks. Among the manuscripts that Qā'id al-'A'rāḍ Qāsim ibn 'Ayād endowed to the 'Abdaliyya in 1212/1797, a few date from the Ḥafṣid period and might have come from the original 'Abdaliyya endowment. The author does not give any further references or a list of these manuscripts. The earliest Bukhārī manuscript listed in the catalogue was copied in 996/1587 (nos. 730–733 of the 'Abdaliyya catalogue); other manuscripts datable to the Ḥafṣid period are nos. 40, 134, 342, 550, 1211, 4339, 7116. Unfortunately, there is no published reference work to correlate the old 'Abdaliyya (and Aḥmadiyya) shelf marks with the current BnT ones; I am grateful to Rachida Bensmine for her help in identifying nine out of the ten. Other scholars adopt the same historiography, but also without giving any references; cf. Abū al-Ajḡān, "Waḍ'iyyat al-makḥṭūṭāt al-'Arabīyya bi-Tūnis," in *Manuscrits arabes en occident musulman: Etat des collections et perspectives de la recherche*, ed. Wallada (Casablanca: Mu'assasat al-Malik 'Abd al-'Aziz, 1990), 99–100; Muḥammad ibn Ḥashā'ishī, Muḥammad Ibn al-Khūja, and Bernard Roy, *Extrait du catalogue des manuscrits et des imprimés de la bibliothèque de la Grande Mosquée de Tunis* (Tunis, 1900); Muḥammad Ibn al-Khūja, *Ṣaḥīḥāt min tārikh Tūnis* (Beirut, 1986), 298–301.

204 Bibliothèque nationale de Tunisie, *Fihris al-makḥṭūṭāt*, 6 vols. (Tunis: Dār al-Kutub al-Qawmiyya, 1976–1985), is an attempt to catalogue all the manuscripts in numerical order, each volume describing 1,000 pieces. So far, six volumes have been printed (1976–1985). According to a personal correspondence with the librarian Rachida Smine, this is still an ongoing project today; I am grateful for her help in accessing the manuscript collection in Tunis.

3 Part II: Fragments of Ḥafṣid Book Culture / Reconstructed

3.1 Library Landscape in Ḥafṣid Ifrīqiya

3.1.1 Religious Institutions and Book Endowments (Focus: Zaytūna Mosque)

Little is known about the libraries of Tunis from the time of the Ḥafṣid dynasty. They are considered lost since the European invasions of Ifrīqiya during the sixteenth century. The analysis of the conquest of Tunis in 1535 (and 1573) and the distribution of the Tunis loot has shown that the libraries were dissolved, and the books were distributed among (mainly) European collectors in all directions. We will see in this chapter that not much is known about the Ḥafṣid libraries, since they are mentioned only very marginally in contemporary written sources.¹ The books themselves that were originally stored there with their traces of use are the most important sources that we have for a reconstruction of the libraries. The manuscript corpus reconstructed in the first part of the thesis will help us here in the second part to better understand the library landscape of Ifrīqiya, especially Tunis, during Ḥafṣid rule.

A great number of travelling scholars and students, who sometimes stayed in Tunis for a few months or even years, dedicated long chapters to the city in their journey reports (*riḥla* literature), but libraries receive surprisingly little attention among them.² Rather, the authors expand on the many learned people they met and whose classes they attended. These lessons, with shaykhs and teachers, who could issue certificates of the learning progress one made, were of greater importance to them than a visit to any library. For example, the Valencian scholar Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-‘Abdarī, who travelled to Tunis around 688/1289 (the year he wrote his “Travel through the Maghrib”), listed all the scholars he had met in Tunis without devoting a word to libraries.³ The traveler Muḥammad b. ‘Umar Ibn Rushayd from Ceuta devoted a large part of his travel descriptions to the city

1 The only survey on Ḥafṣid libraries was done by Brunshvīg and is based on narrative sources; Brunshvīg, *Berbérie orientale*, II:367–368.

2 The same has been noted by Ma‘mūrī, *Jāmi‘ al-Zaytūna wa-madāris al-‘ilm fi al-‘ahdayn al-Ḥafṣī wa-l-Turkī min sanat 603/1206 ilā sanat 1117/1705* (Tunis: al-Dār al-‘Arabīya lil-Kitāb, 1980), 28; M’ghirbi, *Les voyageurs*, 270–271.

3 Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ma‘ūd Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Balansī al-‘Abdarī, *al-Riḥla al-Maghribiyya* (Rabat 1968), 65–69; an exception is the mention of some ancient codices he saw in Kairouan.

of Tunis, where he spent one year in 685/1286 on his way back from Mecca.⁴ He included every *ijāza*, “licence (to teach),” that he collected on his journey, but he did not mention any library visits.⁵ Libraries only find brief mention when the traveler met a shaykh who also held the position of *nāzir*, the supervisor of a library. While these *riḥla* reports and *ijāza* collections are evidence of the thriving teaching and learning environment in Ḥafṣid Tunis, they are not particularly helpful for understanding the material aspects of Ḥafṣid book culture.

In the few chronicles authored by Ḥafṣid historians, the libraries that are mentioned are those founded by the ruling elite. This is not surprising, since the chroniclers in question worked at court and were eager to praise their Ḥafṣid patrons. Their accounts are helpful for the dating of certain foundations and book collections; however, it is important to keep in mind that their narratives offer a particular lens through which historical reality might be distorted.

Where narrative sources do not provide clarity, documentary sources can complement the picture.⁶ In the case of Ḥafṣid Tunis, these sources are mainly endow-

4 Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar Ibn Rushayd, *Māl al-ʿayba fī mā jumiʿa bi-tūl al-ghayba fī-l-riḥla ilā Makka wa Ṭayba* (Tunis: al-Dār al-Tūnisīyah lil-Nashr; Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1982), vol. II (of five) is dedicated to Tunis. He speaks at length about fourteen *ʿulamāʾ* (scholars) whom he met and adds the received *ijāzat* in an appendix; Ibn Rushayd, *Māl al-ʿayba*, 419–426.

5 This in accordance with the studies of Davidson, who strongly argues for a distinction between transmission and proper education; Garrett Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition. A Social and Intellectual History of Hadith Transmission across a Thousand Years* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020).

6 The study of documentary as opposed to narrative sources has proven fruitful before; see the studies of endowment records, manuscript notes, and cataloguing by inter alia Ibrahim Chabbouh, “Siġill qadīm ġamiʿ al-Qayrawān,” *Majallat Maʿhad al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya* 2 (1956); Andreas Görke and Konrad Hirschler, *Manuscript Notes as Documentary Sources* (Beirut: Orient-Institut, 2012); Ulrich Haarmann, “Mamluk Endowment Deeds as a Source for the History of Education in Late Medieval Egypt,” *al-Abḥāth* 28 (1980); Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands. A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013); Konrad Hirschler, *A Monument to Medieval Syrian Book Culture. The Library of Ibn Abd al-Hādī* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020); ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, *Dirāsāt fī-l-kutub wa-l-makṭabāt al-Islāmiyya* (Cairo, 1962); Sibai, *Mosque Libraries*; Élise Voguet, “L’inventaire des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan (693/1293–4). Une contribution à l’histoire du mālikisme kairouanais,” *Arabica* 4 (2003). These refuted the results of studies that were mainly based on narrative sources, namely the decline paradigm of Islamic libraries throughout history or the sheer number of books in medieval Islamic libraries. This approach is evident in inter alia Youssef Èche, *Les bibliothèques arabes publiques et semipubliques en Mésopotamie, en Syrie et en Égypte au Moyen Âge* (Damascus: Imprimerie Catholique, 1967); Ribhi Mustafa Elayyan, “The History of the Arabic-Islamic Libraries (7th to 14th centuries),” *International Library Review* 2 (2014); Gerhard Endreß, “Die wissenschaftliche Literatur,” in *Grundriss der Arabischen Philologie. Literaturwissenschaft*, ed. Helmut Gätje, 448–460 (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1987); Ibrahim V. Pourhadi, “Muslim Libraries during the Middle Ages in the Works of Orientalists,” in *Bea-*

ment certificates (*taḥbīs*), most often written on the first page of a manuscript. In addition to providing a date, these certificates can reveal a lot about the space, usage, and archival practices of the libraries in which the books were kept. In what follows, the library landscape of Tunis will be reconstructed on the basis of what has been found in the narrative sources, complemented by the information provided in the documents. A short survey of the thirty-eight Ḥafṣid *taḥbīs* certificates found in the corpus will be given below.⁷

It lies beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the private sphere of Ḥafṣid book culture, although the private homes of many Tunisian scholars must have been filled with books.⁸ In what follows, “library” refers to manuscript holdings that were administered by the ruling elite or their representatives (hence we will speak of Ḥafṣid libraries) and that were accessible to a wider audience of users. A notable exception is the royal library, presumably held at the palace at the sultan’s private disposal, which will be discussed in the next subchapter. The term for “library” used in the sources, *khizāna*, can refer to collections of various sizes, ranging from several thousand volumes to a mere book chest or several cupboards for storing manuscripts.⁹ In the case of Ḥafṣid Tunis, these libraries were part of larger religious institutions to which the books were endowed.¹⁰ Two modes of endowment have become apparent: the endowment of whole collections, on the one hand, and

con of Knowledge: Essays in Honor of Seyyed Hossein Nasr, ed. Muhammad H. Faghfoory, 439–467 (Louisville, 2003).

7 Certificates were found in thirty-six manuscripts, in two of them two at a time. Some manuscripts are different volumes of the same copy in which the certificate is repeated. The *taḥbīs* deeds are reproduced in the Appendix IV (*taḥbīs* 1 to 21).

8 One could gain a clearer image of the private sphere of book culture by studying in greater depth those manuscripts that were not attached to any (public) library, but whose colophons reveal that they were copied in Ḥafṣid Ifriqiya. For comparative studies, although mainly based on narrative sources, on private libraries in al-Andalus, see Muḥammad Ashraf, Muḥammad Isrā’, “al-Ḥayā al-fikriyya fī al-ḥaḍāra al-Islāmiyya. al-Maktabāt al-shakhṣiyya fī al-Andalus un-mūjadhan” [a list of prominent figures in al-Andalus and their private libraries, from Salamat Ibn Sa’id (327–406/938–1015) to Ibn Ḥarbalā (c. 760/1359)], *Journal of Architecture, Art & Humanistic Science* 3 (2016); S. M. Imamuddin, *Arabic Writing and Arab Libraries* (London: Ta-Ha Publishers. 1983), 53–5, on private libraries in Cordova.

9 I can confirm this for the Maghribi sources; for the Mashriq, see Hirschler, *Written Word*, 124–125.

10 On books as endowments, see inter alia Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria (1250–1517). Scribes, Libraries and Market* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018), 34–42; Èche, *Bibliothèques*, 68–74, 301–313; Hirschler, *Written Word*, 124–163. Independent libraries that were not part of any mosque, madrasa, *dār al-ilm*, or other institution came into existence only in the late seventeenth century during the Ottoman period with the founding of the Köprülü Library in Istanbul; Hirschler, *Written Word*, 124–125.

the donation of single volumes, on the other.¹¹ The former mode, the endowment of whole collections, is only attested for royal patronage. In these cases, it is appropriate to speak of “library foundations” since new spaces were established in the respective institution under the order of the sultan. The latter mode, the endowment of single volumes, complemented existing libraries and is attested for both royal and nonroyal donations.

In Ḥafṣid Tunis, the religious institutions that housed libraries were mosques, madrasas, and *zāwiyas*.¹² The collections in the Zaytūna Mosque of Tunis are the most famous, with royal endowments that were recorded in contemporary sources. However, mosque libraries are known from cities all over Ifrīqiya, from the prominent library of the mosque of Kairouan¹³ to the main mosques of every important community. In our corpus, there are manuscripts taken from the main mosques in Annaba (MS011, MS022, MS036), Bizerte (Q020), Mahdia (MS028, MS031), and Sfax (MS026).

As institutions of learning, madrasas, by their very nature, also had books available for their students. The first madrasa founded in Tunis was the Shamā'iyya, established through donations made by Sultan Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā Ibn Abī Ḥafṣ.¹⁴ Although the teaching activities of the Ḥafṣid madrasas are well attested, not much is known about their libraries.¹⁵ In fact, only very few manuscripts are

11 In his seminal study on libraries, Èche has defined three modes of endowment: 1) a list of books, i.e., endowment of a collection; 2) inscription in the book, signed by a witness for books of great importance; 3) a short formula of endowment in the book for less important books or books that were part of an endowed collection (mode 1); Èche, *Bibliothèques*, 310–313, esp. 303.

12 The latter is a Sufi lodge, but in the Maghrib also had the role of a school adjacent to a mosque where the Mashriqi form of the madrasa was not yet established; see Sheila Blair, “Zāwiya,” in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., ed. P. J. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs (Brill Online, 2012). While the madrasa already had come to Ifrīqiya probably through Egyptian influence in the thirteenth century, the first *zāwiyas* were built in the fourteenth century, with inspiration from the Maghrib.

13 The mosque of Kairouan still incorporated new books into its library after its heyday in the eleventh century, as confirmed by the endowments of manuscripts by the Ḥafṣid sultans to that library (MS013 and Q018).

14 On the institution of the madrasa in Ḥafṣid Tunis, see al-Bāji, *Madāris madīnat Tūnis min al-āhd al-Ḥafṣī ilā al-āhd al-Ḥusaynī* (Tunis, 2006); Brunschvig, “Quelques remarques”; Daoulati, *Tunis sous les Ḥafṣides*, 164–166, 221–225; El-Gafsi, “La médersa des moriscos andalous à Tunis,” *Sharq al-Andalus* 5 (1988); Lucien Golvin, *La madrasa médiévale. Architecture musulmane* (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 1995), esp. 173–193; Ma'mūrī, *Jāmi' al-Zaytūna*, 81–91. For a list, see Daoulati, *Tunis sous les Ḥafṣides*, 294–295; we can add to the list an unnamed (unidentified) madrasa which must have been constructed shortly before 831/1428 since the manuscript MS019 was endowed in that year to “the new madrasa” (*al-madrasa al-jadīda*; see *taḥbīs* 2).

15 Ma'mūrī, *Jāmi' al-Zaytūna*, 28, 41–45, 49–80. These early madrasa foundations might have provided the first studying libraries in Ifrīqiya. However, the historian Muḥammad ibn Qāsim al-Anṣārī (d. 825/1422) reported that “the first library constituted a *waqf* for the people of knowledge in the

known to have been endowed to Ḥafṣid madrasas (only two in this corpus, discussed below). By far the least represented, in the written as well as in the material evidence, are the *zāwiya* libraries: only one manuscript has survived, and this was originally endowed in 930/1524 to the Zāwiyat Ibn ‘Arūs, located very close to the Zaytūna Mosque (Q021). Two other *zāwiya* libraries in Ifriqiya are mentioned in contemporary sources, one in Kairouan and one in Surmān (Libya).¹⁶

The first attested foundation of a library in Ḥafṣid Tunis is linked with the mission of Ḥafṣid Prince Abū Zakariyā’ Yaḥyā (active around 1283), later sovereign of Bejaia, to turn a funduq of ill repute into a madrasa. The prince, who must have initiated his project before his expulsion from Tunis in 1283, is said to have endowed the whole surrounding quarter to his newly established madrasa, named al-Ma’riḍiyya, in order to turn the neighborhood from a reportedly loathsome place of drunks and gamblers into a place of virtue and education. Along with the houses adjacent to the madrasa, the prince also endowed precious books on diverse sciences (*kutub naftisa fi kull fann min funūn al-‘ilm*), all from his own funds.¹⁷ The Ma’riḍiyya was the third madrasa to be founded in Ḥafṣid Tunis, after the Shamā’iyya and Tawfiqiyya, the latter which was erected by Abū Zakariyā’s widow ‘Aṭf between 1250 and 1260.¹⁸ It has not survived, nor have any of its books.

There are no references in the sources to library establishments or book endowments during the fourteenth century. Only one manuscript in the corpus, a Qur’an, bears an endowment certificate from that century, specifically of the year 742/1342, mentioning the Madrasa al-‘Uṣfuriyya (Q007, see figures 30 and 31; *taḥbīs* 1) that once stood near the *darb* (alley) Ibn ‘Abd as-Salām in the medina

Maghrib” (*wa-hiya awwal khizāna wuqqifāt bi-l-Maghrib ‘alā ahl al-‘ilm*) and was established by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shārrī (d. 649/1251) in Anṣārī’s hometown, Ceuta. This institution was part of a splendid madrasa founded by the same patron and contained “ancient originals and the work of rare authors” (*dhāt al-wuṣūl al-‘atīqa wa-l-mu’allifāt al-gharbiyya*). Anṣārī also reported that already in the eleventh century, before the establishment of such institutions, the town had several study libraries (“*khazā’in al-‘ilmīyya*”), which the notables and *‘ulamā’* had established in their own houses. Muḥammad b. Qāsim Al-Anṣārī, Evariste Lévi-Provençal (ed.), “Une description de Ceuta musulmane au XV siècle. *Ikhtisār al-akhbār*,” *Hespéris* 12, no. 2 (1931): 153–154.

¹⁶ Al-Tijānī mentions the library in a *zāwiya* in Surmān; M’ghirbi, *Les Voyageurs*, 271. Ibn al-Nāji reports how the *faqīh* ‘Alī ibn Ḥasan al-‘Awwānī profited from a famine in Kairouan when he exchanged corn for manuscripts for his *zāwiya*; Ibn al-Nāji, *Ma’ālim al-imān fi ma’rifat ahl al-Qairawān* (Tunis, 1902), 151–152; Brunschvig, *Berbérie orientale*, II:367.

¹⁷ Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Zarkashī, *Tārīkh al-dawlatayn al-muwahḥadiyya wa-l-ḥafṣiyya* (Tunis: A. Braham, 1966), 51.

¹⁸ For these early Ḥafṣid madrasas, see Brunschvig, “Quelques remarques”: 265–267, 278–279; Daoulati, *Tunis sous les Ḥafṣides*, 164, 225; Golvin, *Madrasa médiévale*, 173–193; Lamia Hadda, *Nella Tunisia medievale. Architettura e decorazione islamica, IX–XVI secolo* (Naples: Liguori Ed, 2008), 145–151.

of Tunis.¹⁹ This *taḥbīs* is the earliest dated endowment certificate from Ḥafṣid Tunis and one of only two recorded donations to a madrasa (as opposed to eight-
 een for mosque libraries). The second surviving manuscript that was endowed to
 a madrasa is a copy of the political treaty *Kitāb al-ihkām al-sultāniyya* (MS019). It
 was donated in 831/1428 to the so-called *al-madrasa al-jadīda* (the new madrasa;
taḥbīs 2), which has not yet been identified.²⁰ The fifteenth century saw a series of
 additional madrasas founded by the Ḥafṣids, including the Madrasa al-Muntaṣiri-
 yya, finished in 841/1437; the madrasa of Sīdī Muḥriz b. Khalaf, the city's patron
 saint, restored in 841/1440; and the madrasa next to the Bāb Intjammī, established
 in 850/1447. Nothing is known about the libraries from these madrasas. One manu-
 script from the fifteenth century, an anonymous commentary on Malikite *fiqh*, has
 come to light, however, which was copied in the Madrasa al-Shamā'iyya in 886/1481
 (MS039). This attests to the continuous activity of this institution 150 years after its
 founding, and to the role of madrasas as places of manuscript production, and not
 just storage or study.

The best-known Ḥafṣid libraries are those once held in the Zaytūna Mosque.
 This is due to multiple factors: firstly, the Zaytūna is the most prominent building
 of Tunis, with a history that reaches back to the first hijra century.²¹ It was also the
 place where the Ḥafṣids pronounced themselves caliphs and thus declared their
 independence from the Almohads.²² The location was therefore of great impor-
 tance to the city and its Ḥafṣid rulers. They initiated various expansions and resto-
 rations to the mosque, such as the addition of the ablution room (*mīḍa'a al-sultān*)
 and the installation of a hydraulic system.²³ Indeed, the library foundations in the

19 The first to decipher the place of endowment “*darb* (alley) Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām” and to identify
 it as the madrasa of al-Uṣfūriyya was Levi Della Vida, *Elenco*, 3; followed in Brunschvig, *Berbérie
 orientale*, II:495 and Daoulati, *Tunis sous les Ḥafṣides*, 295.

20 The fifteenth-century constructions were all built after 831/1428. The closest foundation is a
 madrasa near the Bāb al-Baḥr that was founded by Abū Fāris in 1399, which would hardly have
 been called “new” in 1428; Daoulati, *Tunis sous les Ḥafṣides*, 294.

21 Inter alia Jonathan Bloom, *Architecture of the Islamic West. North Africa and the Iberian Penin-
 sula, 700–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), 38–40, 85, 208–209; Khalifa Chater, “Zaytū-
 na,” in *Encyclopedia of Islam*. 2nd ed., ed. P. J. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel,
 and W. P. Heinrichs (Brill Online, 2012); Daoulati, *al-Zaytūna*; Muḥammad ibn ‘Uṣmān Ḥashā’ishī,
 Yahyā, al-Ġilānī Ibn al-Ḥāgg, *Tārīkh jāmi’ al-Zaytūna* (Tunis: al-Aṭlasīyah lil-Nashr, 1974); Ibn
 Maḥmūd, *al-Maktaba al-Abdaliyya*; Ma’mūrī, *Jāmi’ al-Zaytūna*; Slimane Mostafa Zbiss, “La Grande
 Mosquée de Tunis,” *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 97,
 no. 4 (1953).

22 Abun-Nasr, *History of the Maghrib*, 119.

23 Lotfi Abdeljaouad, *Inscriptions arabes des monuments islamiques des grandes villes de Tun-
 isie: Monastir, Kairouane, Sfax, Sousse et Tunis, II–X ème s. AH* (PhD diss., Université Aix-Marseille,
 2001), III:442; Daoulati, *Tunis sous les Ḥafṣides*, 227–233; Hadda, *Nella Tunisia medievale*, 151–158.

Zaytūna were all established by the sultans themselves, which might explain why they received the most attention in contemporary sources and thus in modern scholarship. Furthermore, a great number of the manuscripts that were looted from the city in 1535 were taken from the Zaytūna Mosque (eleven manuscripts in total: *tahbīs* 4–14) before entering European collections. The Zaytūna Mosque (and, in three instances, its library) is also the only mosque that is described by the European eyewitnesses to the 1535 sack.

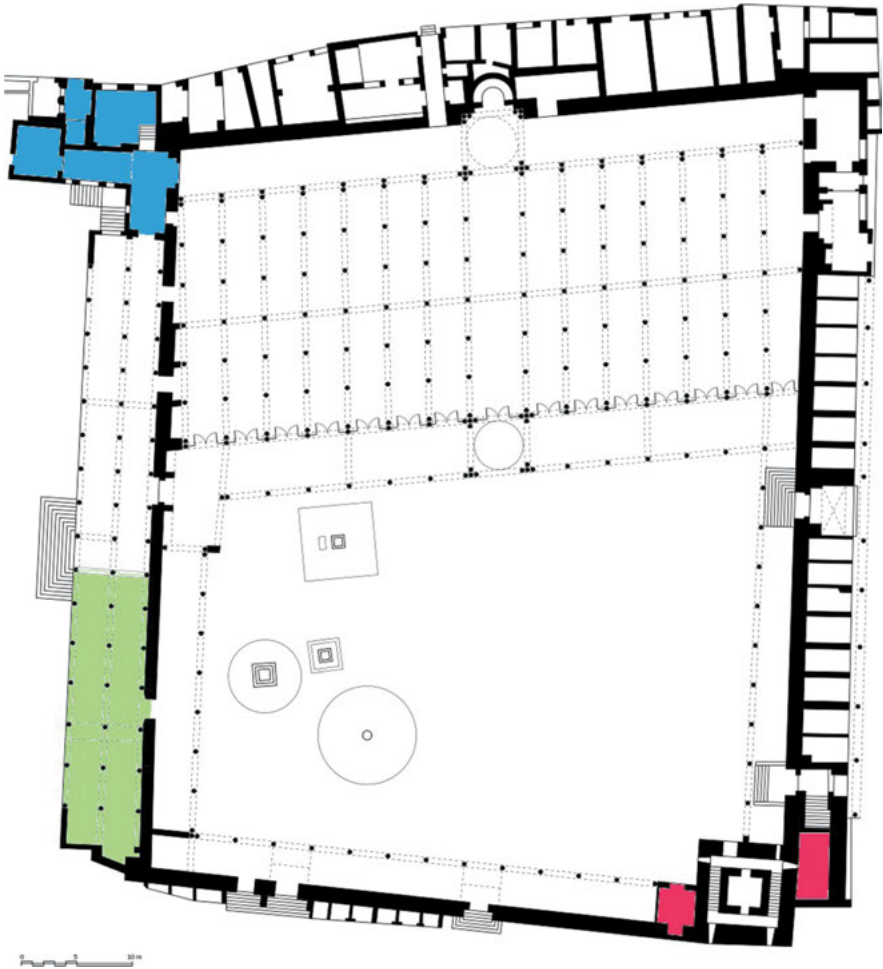


Figure 10: Sitemap of the Zaytūna Mosque with the tentative location of its three Ḥaḥṣid libraries: that of Abū Fāris (red), that of Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān (blue), and that of ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad (green).

Contemporary Arabic sources are quite clear about the three successive royal library endowments to the Zaytūna Mosque (figure 10): in 822/1419, the sultan Abū Fāris ‘Abd al-‘Azīz established a library in a *maqṣūra* (a separate chamber adjacent to the courtyard)²⁴ in the northwestern corner of the Zaytūna Mosque, and more precisely in the Hilāl arcade, close to the minaret. He donated all the books from his palace library (*min qaṣrihi*) and added more books on theology, lexicography, philology, medicine, history, *adab*, and other subjects.²⁵ The endowment was perpetual (*waqf dā’im*) and came with the following instructions: the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhāri and the *Shifā’* of al-Qāḍi ‘Iyāḍ were to be read daily after the midday prayer, and daily pious exhortations were to be proclaimed after the prayer of *‘aṣr* (in the afternoon); access to the library was allowed daily from *zuhr* (midday) prayer until *‘aṣr*; and the sultan entrusted supervisors and left enough funds for the caretaking of the library.²⁶ Abū Fāris’s successor, Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān, founded a second library in the Zaytūna in 854/1451, in the *maqṣūra* of Sīdī Muḥriz adjacent to the southeastern corner of the prayer hall. His donation was also meant as a perpetual endowment, with books on diverse religious sciences, medicine, lexicography, history, and arithmetic.²⁷ One example of this corpus has survived in the copy of Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s *Rayḥānat al-kuttāb* (The marvels of the secretaries, MS025). The endowment certificate on its first folio states that the manuscript was to be endowed, on Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān’s order, to the new *maqṣūra* built in the Zaytūna Mosque in 854/1451 (*taḥbīs* 4). ‘Uthmān also ordered the establishment of a *maktab* (school for the recitation of the Qur’an) for daily recitation.²⁸ It is not exactly clear where in the Zaytūna Mosque the *maktab* was located nor whether it replaced or complemented the recitation practices implemented by Abū Fāris.

Two manuscripts in the corpus which were endowed to the Zaytūna Mosque in 880/1475 and 893/1488 (*taḥbīs* 5 and 6) show that the library collections were not sealed after their initial endowment. Although the endowed books were not allowed to exit the library, new books could certainly enter and complement the collection.²⁹ In contrast to the books endowed by royal patronage – identifiable

24 The *maqṣūra* was usually a secluded chamber for the caliph; however, it could also refer to other small rooms shut off by wooden lattices; see Johannes Pedersen, “Masjid,” in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., ed. P. J. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs (Brill Online, 2012).

25 Aḥmad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Shammā’, *al-Adilla al-baiyina al-nūrāniya fi mafākhir al-daula al-ḥaḥṣiya* (Tunis: al-Dār al-‘Arabīya lil-Kitāb, 1984), 114; al-Zarkashī, *Tārīkh al-dawlatayn*, 116.

26 al-Zarkashī, *Tārīkh al-dawlatayn*, 116.

27 al-Zarkashī, *Tārīkh al-dawlatayn*, 136.

28 Ibn al-Shammā’, *al-Adilla*, 125. Two more *makātib* were installed by the *bāb al-manāra*.

29 In Syrian libraries, the phenomenon of supplementary endowments was so common that some endowment records explicitly prohibited them; Hirschler, *Written Word*, 140.

by the addition “on royal order” (*bi-amr al-maqām al-‘alī [al-malikī al-sulṭānī]*), in the endowment certificate – neither of these manuscripts indicate whether they were endowed by the sultan or by other members of the elite. Furthermore, these later book endowments do not specify to which of the two existing libraries in the Zaytūna they were made. It is possible that the two libraries had already merged. Even more interestingly, *taḥbīs* 5 shows that the manuscript was donated to the Zaytūna Mosque “secondhand,” as it had first been donated to a person, a certain Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī al-‘Abbās Aḥmad al-Hawārī. The certificate states that, in the case of his death, the manuscript should go to his grandchildren, and that only if he did not have any and his lineage ceased should the manuscript be endowed to the mosque. Although this is a unique example from among the Ḥafṣid manuscript corpus, appointing a person as beneficiary was not an unusual procedure in endowment practices.³⁰

The third Ḥafṣid sultan to build a library in the Zaytūna was ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad, in a *maqṣūra* situated in the northeastern corner of the mosque, overlooking the Sūq al-Aṭṭārīn.³¹ ‘Abd Allāh’s library gave the name to the ‘Abdaliyya collection, today held in the Bibliothèque nationale de Tunisie. After the pillage of the Zaytūna in 1535, however, as well as further removals in the sixteenth century and additions during the Ottoman period, not much is left of its original Ḥafṣid holdings (see discussion above). It is not transmitted in the sources when exactly this third library was established. However, a group of four endowment certificates suggest that their respective manuscripts formed part of the original corpus donated by the sultan: they were endowed to the “new *maqṣūra*” established in the east of the Zaytūna (*al-maqṣūra al-jadīda al-inshā’ sharqī al-jāmi’ al-a’zam; taḥbīs* 7–10). They all date from the last day of the month of Ramadan in the year 900/1495. This cluster suggests that Sultan ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad founded his library on that occasion, in the centennial year 900. The foundation might have been accompanied by a celebration or a ceremony that involved book donations during the holy month. Later endowments to ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad’s library (*taḥbīs* 11 in 906/1500 and *taḥbīs* 12 in 915/1509) prove, again, that the manuscript collection was enlarged after its original endowment. Both certificates clearly state to which library in the Zaytūna they were to be endowed, namely the eastern *maqṣūra*, still considered “new” in the certificate of 915/1509.

³⁰ R. Peters, “Waqf,” in *Encyclopedia of Islam*. 2nd ed., ed. P. J. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs (Brill Online, 2012). Although modern legislation distinguishes between charitable *waqf* (“*waqf khayrī*”) dedicated to pious causes and family *waqf* (“*waqf ahli*”) made in favour of one’s relatives and descendants, no distinction is made in classical doctrine, and the two types are governed by the same rules.

³¹ Ibn Abī Dīnār, *al-Mu’nis fi Akhbār*, 161.

Some complementary descriptions of the Zaytūna collections are transmitted by European eyewitnesses who came to Tunis with the campaign in 1535.³² Of all the accounts of the “Tunis expedition,” only two described the Zaytūna library, and the two sources complement each other: while the otherwise unknown Spanish soldier Licenciado Arcos describes the furnishing of the mosque and the location of the library, the Spanish cleric Alonso de Sanabria, later ordained bishop of Drisht in Albania, focuses on the content of the library and the range of topics it covered.³³ Arcos writes:

The Great Mosque is very big, rich and of fine work: the floor is covered with Moorish mats, and so are the walls to a certain level, where the Moors lean on them, because all Moors (men and women) sit on the ground. It has a fine courtyard paved with worked stone, with many shrines. All the columns in the mosque are of rich jasper, especially two of them, next to the shrine where the *faqīh* stands on his *malaseta*,³⁴ which are worth more than 2000 ducats. In one of the chambers of the courtyard three carpets lay on the floor. [. . .] In the courtyard there was also a large library that held more than a thousand very well-bound Arabic books, many of them with golden letters.³⁵

According to Arcos’s account, a library of more than one thousand Arabic books was held in the courtyard of the mosque. He most probably refers to the ‘Abdaliyya library, which was indeed accessible from the mosque’s courtyard. However, both Arcos and Sanabria (below) speak of only one single library in the mosque,

32 Even in his detailed description of the Zaytūna Mosque, al-‘Abdarī, for example, does not mention a library. On the other hand, he does talk about the ancient manuscripts held in the mosque of Kairouan; al-‘Abdarī, *Riḥla*, 68–69.

33 For Arcos, see the unpublished manuscript dated 1536, BNM, No. Ee 85; fol. 103r; for Sanabria, see the unpublished manuscript, ca. 1536, BNM, Mss/1937, fol. 173r. It is not known whether Sanabria saw the library with his own eyes, or whether he had access to the looted books from Tunis or the reports on the sack back in Spain. For the present study, 58 sources on the sack of Tunis have been consulted; a complete list can be found in the PhD thesis of the author, submitted to the University of Oxford in June 2022.

34 Alasdair Watson suggested that this could refer to the *muṣallā* (oratory, place of prayer), while Péter Nagy read this as a description of the *miḥrāb* (prayer niche) with the *malaseta* as the *minbar* (pulpit); and I am thankful for their insights.

35 Unpublished manuscript dated 1536, BNM, No. Ee 85; fol. 103r: “*La mezquita maior es miuy grande rica y bien labrada: tieno todo el suelo esterado con esteras moriscas: y las paredes della hasta una vora de medir de alcuna donde se arimem los moros porque todos moros y moras se sientem en el suelo. tiene un buen patio losado con canteria labrada y con mmhas capillas. tiene la mezquita todas las colunas de Jaspa miuy ricas: especialmente dos dellas que estan junto a la capilla donde se pone el alfaqui [sic] amostien su malaseta (?) que valen mas de mill ducados. Avia alli en una camera delas del patio tres carpemas asentadas en el suelo. [. . .] Avia ansi mesmo en el patio una libreria grande que tenia mas de mill libros aravigos y miuy bien enquadernados y muchos dellos con letras doradas.*”

which raises the question of whether the three libraries had not merged by then, or whether the looters had only discovered one of them. Arcos also reports that the floor in the mosque and the walls to a certain level were covered with mats.

The description given by Sanabria, if trustworthy, is more interesting. He dedicated his work to Francisco de los Cobos, Secretary of State under Charles V.³⁶ It cannot be said with certainty whether Sanabria had been to Tunis himself or whether he collected reports at the Spanish court where he had resided since before 1535.³⁷ In either case, however, his descriptions (even if only a secondhand report) give evidence of the huge impression that the library in Tunis must have made on the Europeans:

In Tunis, there is a superb and sumptuous Moorish library, the books' covers are very ornate and gilded, most of the books have letters in gold, and blue, and vermillion, with various illuminations and paintings. Even if the Pope's library and the one in Paris, the one in Alcalá de Henares, and the one in Sevilla of Cristobal Columbus are of better quality, the one in Tunis is not of minor quantity, and it even exceeds the others by far in value and in the price of the books and their rich bindings, because they are all made by hand and are so costly. In some cases, we find Catholic books – for the Holy Mass, Saints' Days, and Sundays – according to the guidelines of the church of Ávila, and [books on] canonical and civil law. There are some books on philosophy, logic, and mathematics, and some on astrology and theology. [The library also holds] the trilingual bible that requires knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, that was initiated to be printed by the heroic and excellent baron Don Frey Francisco Ximénez, cardinal and governor of *las extrañas*, archbishop of Toledo, founder of the university of Alcalá de Henares.³⁸

Like Arcos, Sanabria also speaks of one (main) library in Tunis, which is presumably the collection of the Zaytūna Mosque. He enumerates the genres of books available there, which corresponds to the range provided by the Arabic sources: philosophy,

³⁶ BNM, Mss/1937, fol. 2r.

³⁷ Horn suggests that Sanabria was present in Tunis, and his account should be considered an eyewitness report; Horn, *Vermeyen*, 176. Beltran informs us about Sanabria's residency at the Spanish court; Beltran, "De Túnez a Cartago," 49n10.

³⁸ Unpublished manuscript, c.1536, BNM, Mss/1937, fol. 173r: "*Hallose en tunek una superbaba e sumptuosa libreria morisca / las enquadernaciones de libros muy vistosas e doradas / los mas dellos de letras de oro / e azul / e bermellon con diversas illuminaciones e pinturas / aunq la libreria del papa e la de paris / e alcalá de henares / e la q dexo en sevilla ch.oval colombo / en qualidad so mejores / en cantidad no era menor / y en valor e precio de los libros y ricas enquadernaciones / excediales en mucho por ser todos de mano e ser tan costosos. Hallaronse en algunas casas (?) libros catholicos / oficerio / e santural / e dominical de letra / e punto bueno segu(ndo) la madre igl(esi)a de avila [/] del derecho e canonico e civil. algunos libros de philosophia / logica / e mathematicas: algunos de astrologia e theologia. La biblia trilingue / conviene a saber hebraica / griega / latina / de aquellas q(ue) mando imprimir aquel heroico y excelente varon don frey Francisco Ximenez cardenal e governador de las e(str)añas arcobis(co)bo de Toledo en aquella insigne universidad de Alcalá de Henares."*

logic, mathematics, astrology, and theology. The surviving material evidence from the Zaytūna collection confirms the range of topics, entailing a history book and a grammar manual as well as various works of hadith and *fiqh*. Sanabria adds that there were Christian books in the library. Although some Christian manuscripts have been discovered that were presumably produced in the medieval Maghrib or Ifrīqiya (all written in the Arabic language and copied in Maghribi script), none of them can be linked with certainty to Ḥafṣid Tunis.³⁹ What makes Sanabria's account of the Zaytūna collection so exciting is his suggestion that the library also held a copy of the multilingual *Psalter* (in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin) known as the *Complutensian Polyglot Bible*.⁴⁰ This would not only prove the existence of foreign language books in (late) Ḥafṣid Tunis, but also the presence of printed examples. The psalter first appeared after 1520. Thus, if Sanabria's account of 1535 can be trusted, that would suggest that the circulation of books from Europe to Ifrīqiya was rapid.⁴¹ As far as the existence of foreign books in Ḥafṣid libraries is concerned, as seen above, the travelling physician Giovanni Pagni reported on Greek manuscripts in the Ottoman pasha's library of Tunis, which was said to encompass the remains of the library of the Ḥafṣid sultan Mawlāy Ḥasan. Pagni's account equally supports the claim that manuscripts in foreign languages were available in Ḥafṣid Tunis, although none could be identified.⁴² The only "foreign" manuscripts present in the Ḥafṣid corpus are manuscripts from Almohad al-Andalus (Q001, Q002), Marinid Morocco (Q005), and Mamluk Egypt (MS047). Interestingly, those of them that were endowed to the Zaytūna Mosque were bequeathed on royal order (*taḥbīs* 7 and 8).

What the narrative sources do not reveal, and where the endowment certificates can help, is the use of the books and the practices involved within the library

39 Some examples in Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, "Christian-Arabic Manuscripts from the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa: A Historical Interpretation," *al-Qantara* 1, no. 15 (1994): a Christian Gospel copied in Fes in 1137 (MQE, MS 730); a Christian Gospel copied in 1394 (Fes or al-Andalus, BSB, Cod.ar. 238); a psalter copied in Ceuta in 1239 (BL, Cod.add. 9060). A thirteenth-century Latin-Arabic glossary copied by the Dominican missionary, Raimundo Martin, might have been produced in Tunis, but it circulated in Florence from the fifteenth century onwards (BRicc, Ricc 217). Sanabria's report on the range of topics and languages in the Zaytūna collection could be compared to what was found in the Great Mosque of Damascus, although within a different context; cf. Arianna D'Ottone and Paolo Radiciotti, "I frammenti della Qubbat al-khazna di Damasco. A proposito di una scoperta sottovalutata," *Nea Rhome* 5 (2008).

40 The first printed polyglot version of the entire bible, a project initiated and financed by Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517).

41 European prints were sent to the Levant (Syria) only shortly after their publication; cf. Benedikt Reier, "Bibliophilia in Ottoman Aleppo. Muḥammad al-Taḡawī and his Medical Library," *Der Islam* 2 (2021).

42 Pagni, *Lettere*, 28 (see above).

space. Unfortunately, no archival documents survive that record the endowments and their conditions in more detail.⁴³ The only remains are the *taḥbīs* notes written on the first folio of the endowed manuscripts. According to them, the *khizāna* was held in a separate chamber in the mosque or madrasa. The *muḥabbis* (benefactor) would set the terms and conditions for the use of the library and would appoint a *nāzīr* (supervisor) responsible for the implementation of these rules. Therefore, if Sultan Abū Fāris granted daily access to his library, it was under the auspices of the appointed shaykh that the scholars could read the books there. It is possible that the *nāzīr* was the only person allowed to take books off of the shelves and put them back, as well as being responsible for keeping track of book circulation. The endowment certificates were most probably inscribed by the *nāzīr* himself, who also functioned as a witness to the endowment and would confirm the process with his own signature. He was usually accompanied by at least one more witness.⁴⁴

If the endowment entailed a whole collection and coincided with the foundation of the library, the *taḥbīs* notes were usually very short. This is probably because the terms were recorded separately in a longer deed, although no such documents are known to have survived. It is interesting to note that each manuscript was labelled individually to render it identifiable as a part of the larger endowment stock. In some cases, the *taḥbīs* note gives the title of the endowed work, the total number of volumes, and the number of the volume at hand. This practice might have made the archival process easier for the *nāzīr*, who only had to open the first page of the manuscript to know to which endowment stock this book belonged, and to keep track of which volumes were missing from the shelves in case they were taken out. This would suggest that mosque and madrasa libraries were organized according to endowments rather than production dates, subject, or titles.⁴⁵

⁴³ The writing of long, separate *waqf* deeds accompanying book endowments was practiced in Mamluk Egypt; cf. Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria*, 39–42; Haarmann, “Mamluk Endowment Deeds.”

⁴⁴ For practices under the Mamluks, see Christian Müller, *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen. Studie der mamlukischen Ḥaram-Dokumente aus Jerusalem* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013). It has been suggested that the number of witnesses says something about the importance of the endowment; cf. Èche, *Bibliothèques*, 304–307.

⁴⁵ In Mamluk libraries, where the addition of endowments to earlier foundations was often practiced, the original stocks were kept together, and later additions were clearly separated; Hirschler, *Written Word*, 139–140. In Mamluk archives, the documents were stored according to their date, hence the dates in the documents were highlighted, cf. Müller, *Der Kadi*, 46–48. How far the directives in the endowment notes were actually followed is unclear; evidence from Egypt and Syria suggests not. This is what I understand from discussions with Kyle Wynter-Stoner about his project on the Maḥmūdiyya collection in Mamluk Cairo.

This assumption is supported by the fact that a curious cluster of manuscripts has survived, despite their heterogeneous content, for the simple reason that the books were endowed at the same time: this is a group of four manuscripts (one of them in two volumes), now held in different European institutions, that were all endowed to the Zaytūna Mosque in 900/1495 (see above). Since it is conceivable that the European plunderers took books that were held together in the library – they grabbed what they could without much contemplation in front of the shelves – this accumulation of endowments from the year 900/1495 might suggest that books were stored in the library, maybe in bookcases, according to their date of endowment.

If one were to endow but a single book, the endowment note could be more detailed (e.g., *taḥbīs* 20). The *muḥabbis*, the benefactor, could set his own terms and conditions, but the book would also be incorporated under the rules and regulations of the broader library endowment and of the hosting institution. In this case, the endowment note would refer to the *rasm al-taḥbīs*, the main endowment certificate.

The condition repeated most frequently in the external sources as well as in the endowment certificates themselves is the regular recitation of the Qur'an and al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* manuscripts of the collection. Tantalizingly, the endowment of the *muṣḥaf* Q010 with a complicated, polychrome recitation system (more below) to the Qaṣba Mosque in 807/1405 (*taḥbīs* 3) corresponds to the date in which a certificate of recitation proficiency was issued (MS016, see figure 72). The precious document is copied on a large sheet of fine parchment (57 x 36 cm) in a neat Maghribi handwriting with titles and highlights enhanced in chrysography (golden letters). Although a secure link between the document and the Qur'an manuscript cannot be established, it is tempting to imagine that such certificates could have been issued upon the successful recitation of some of the endowed Qur'an manuscripts in the corpus, just as teaching licences (*ijāzas*) were issued by the teachers in the madrasas.

Some manuscripts were also explicitly endowed for copying and collating. This condition (or request) is only attested in endowment certificates issued by the Great Mosque of Annaba (*taḥbīs* 20 and 21) and for a *zāwiya* in Kairouan.⁴⁶ However, this practice would surely have also been followed in the mosque and madrasa libraries of Tunis. At least one manuscript bears collation marks of the mufti of the Zaytūna Mosque in Tunis in 887/1482 (MS040), and another manuscript was copied in the Madrasa al-Shamā'iyya in 886/1481 (MS039). As such, the libraries also functioned

⁴⁶ In the *zāwiya* of the faqih 'Alī b. Ḥasan al-'Awwānī in Kairouan, the students were even allowed to take the books home as long as they brought them back by the end of the winter season; Ibn al-Nāǧī, *Ma'ālim al-īmān*, 151–152; Brunschvig, *Berbérie orientale*, II:367.

as places of manuscript production. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the facilities, implements, and materials provided for the readers and copyists.

The endowed books were not to leave the library.⁴⁷ Exceptions could be made for the restoration (or “correction,” *iṣlāḥ*) of the manuscript, as well as for teaching purposes. This practice is thus far again only attested in the endowment notes from the Great Mosque of Annaba and could be a unique feature of the book culture of the region.

3.1.2 Excursus: A Survey of Ḥaḥṣid Endowment Deeds

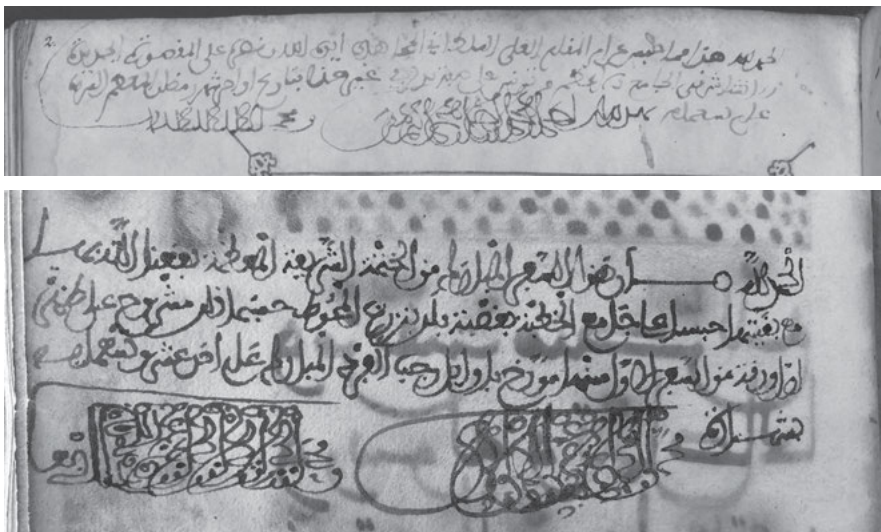


Figure 11: Two examples of *taḥbīs* certificates (*taḥbīs* 8 above and *taḥbīs* 18 below).

In total, thirty-eight endowment certificates have been identified from Ḥaḥṣid institutions (see the two examples in figure 11).⁴⁸ The endowment, or *taḥbīs*, certificates are usually copied on the recto side of the first folio of a manuscript. The *taḥbīs* statement was not repeated on other folios within the manuscript, as was the prac-

⁴⁷ As stated in the *taḥbīs* as well as in a series of fatwas of the period; for a collection of fatwas, see Aḥmad Ibn Yaḥyā al-Wansharīsi, *al-Miyār al-mu'rib wa-l-jāmi' al-muḡrib 'an fatāwā 'ulamā' Ifriqiya wa-l-Andalus wa-l-Maḡrib* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub, 1981), esp. 37, 54–55, 227–228.

⁴⁸ They are transliterated in Appendix IV; since the certificates in endowments of multiple volumes are very repetitive, only one of each multivolume example is transliterated (21 in total).

tice in other Maghribi traditions.⁴⁹ The only exception is *taḥbīs* 5 that is copied on the recto and verso of the first text folio. The practice of writing the endowment statement only once in a manuscript and, what is more, on its front page, namely a very fragile place, makes these certificates vulnerable to loss and fading. We have to assume that many of them have been lost, removed, or have become unrecognizable, and therefore that some other manuscripts can no longer be identified as Ḥafṣid endowments.

From recurring references in these certificates, it is perceivable that a longer endowment deed, namely a more detailed contract or statement of the conditions, must have existed separately. Unfortunately, no such documents have survived or yet been discovered. The short notes in the manuscripts are therefore the only evidence presently available.

While it is surprising that there is no standard formula for the endowment notes, a common pattern can still be identified across all the certificates (table 1):⁵⁰

1. The certificate starts with the *ḥamdala*;
2. the verb from the root *ḥ-b-s* indicates the act of endowing;
3. sometimes the benefactor (*muḥabbis*) is named, and, in half of our examples, can be identified as the sultan himself (*ʿan amr al-maḳām al-ʿalī al-sultānī*);
4. blessings are invoked on the *muḥabbis*;
5. the endowed object (*muḥabbas*) is named;

⁴⁹ In many Maghribi manuscripts, the word “*ḥubs*” is pierced in the margins of some folios throughout the manuscript to render it identifiable as an endowment. Although manuscripts from the Almohad period (and earlier) bear such marks, the practice probably developed under the Marinids; François Déroche, *Islamic Codicology. An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script* (London: al-Furqān, 2006), 330–331.

⁵⁰ The patterns and phrasing of endowment notes in manuscripts vary greatly throughout the Islamicate world; for comparisons, see Ahmed-Chouqui Binebine, “Zāhirat waqf al-kutub fī taʾrīkh al-khizāna al-Maghribiyya,” *Majallat majmaʿ al-lughā al-ʿarabiyya bi-Dimashq* 63 (1988); Gaston Deverdun and Muhammad Ghiati, “Deux *taḥbīs* almohades,” *Hesperis* 41 (1954); Fuad Sayyid, *al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī al-makḥṭūṭ wa-ʿilm al-maḥṭūṭāt* (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyyat al-Lubnāniyyat, 1997), 428–442; Alessandro Gori, “Waqf Certificates of Qurʾāns from Harar: A First Assessment,” in *Essays in Ethiopian Manuscript Studies*, ed. Alessandro Bausi, Alessandro Gori, and Denis Nosnitsin (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015); John O. Hunwick and R. S. O’Fahey, “Some Waqf Documents from Lamu,” *Sudanic Africa. A Journal of Historical Sources* 13 (2002); David James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks* (London: Alexandria Press / Thames and Hudson, 1988), 181–183, 229–232, 234, 236, 239, 243, 248, 249; Stoyanka Kenderova, “De la bibliothèque privée à la bibliothèque publique – les inscriptions de la donation du livre à titre de waqf,” in *Studies in Arabic and Islam. Proceedings of the 19th congress in Halle 1998*, ed. Stefan Leder (Leiden: Peeters, 2002); Gérard Troupeau, “Les actes de waqf des manuscrits arabes chrétiens de la Bibliothèque nationale de France,” in *La tradition manuscrite en écriture arabe*, ed. Geneviève Humbert (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 2002).

6. (sometimes the root *ḥ-b-s* is used as an cognate object, *ḥubs^{an}*);
7. the beneficiary is indicated by *ʿalā* (a place or, more rarely, a person);
8. the use of the *muḥabbas* as well as the conditions are explained;
9. the spiritual reward (*thawāb*) of the *muḥabbis* is guaranteed;
10. reference is made to the main deed of endowment (*rasm al-taḥbīs*);
11. the date is given, usually introduced by either *bi-tārīkh* or *mu'arrakh*;
12. in rare instances the *nāzir* responsible for the endowment is named;
13. the *nāzir* and/or the witnesses put their signatures.

The *ḥamdala* can be enhanced by the addition of the *basmala* and/or the *taṣliyya*. However, in most instances, the formula that serves as an introduction is kept very brief. In all the certificates, the *ḥamdala* looks similar and is easily recognizable. Sometimes, it is set apart from the main text of the certificate by a blank space, thereby visually accentuating its introductory purpose. This effect can also be generated by the elongation of the baseline of the following verb. The verb indicating the endowment stems from the root *ḥ-b-s* (either as the passive perfect *ḥubbiṣa* or as a *ḥāl* construction such as *ṣāra ḥubs^{an}*). The root *ḥ-b-s* is the common indication for an endowment in al-Andalus and the Maghrib (as opposed to *w-q-f* in the Mashriq). In this respect, the Ḥafṣid endowment certificates inscribe themselves in the Maghribi tradition of book endowments.⁵¹

The donors are only rarely identified by their names, and so is the respective witnessing shaykh (*al-qāḍī al-shāhid*). When they are identified, the name is mostly followed by a blessing phrase. The placement of the name of the *muḥabbis* is the most flexible part of the certificate: it can be placed either at the beginning of the certificate, in the middle, or towards the end. The object of donation, the *muḥabbas*, is always explicitly named in the *taḥbīs*. In some cases, the certificates give the title of the endowed work, the total number of volumes, and the number of the volume at hand.

The beneficiaries of the endowments are in most instances religious institutions, such as a mosque (in eighteen cases), a madrasa (in two cases), or a *zāwiya* (in one case). In some instances, the location of endowment within the institution is further specified by the request to store the manuscript in the *khizāna* of the mosque or even in a named *maqṣūra*.

⁵¹ Binebine, “Zāhirat waqf al-kutub”; Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, 330f; Deverdun and Ghiati, “Deux *taḥbīs* almohades.” The root *ḥ-b-s* was used in the Mashriq only in the early period, after which *w-q-f* (also “to bequeath as religious endowment”) became the predominant morpheme. Hence, most research refers to the study of endowments as “*waqf* studies”.

Table 1: Formula of Ḥafṣid endowment deeds (the arrows show variations from the standard case).

<i>Tahbīs</i> #	hamdala	verb	<i>muḥabbis</i> / <i>nāẓir</i>	blissing	<i>muḥabbas</i> (verb)	beneficiary (mawqūf bihi)	use / condition	<i>thawāb</i>	<i>rasm al-tahbīs</i>	date	<i>nāẓir</i> / <i>ishhad</i>
1	x		<i>muḥabbis</i> ; name highlighted in bold script	x	<i>al-khitma al-mubāraka</i> ; with volume number	'alā <i>al-madrasa</i> ...	<i>bi-qirā'atihā</i> / not to leave the <i>mawqūf</i> ; to be enclosed in the endowment of the madrasa	<i>thawāb</i>	<i>rasm al-tahbīs</i>	<i>bi-tārīkh</i>	4 sign's
2	x	[<i>šāra</i>]			<i>al-sifr</i>	'alā <i>al-madrasa</i> ...	not to leave the <i>mawqūf</i>			<i>bi-tārīkh wa-shahāda bi-dhālik al-nāẓir</i>	
3		<i>basmalataṣṭiyya ḥubbisa</i>	' <i>an amr al-maqām al-'alf</i> ...	x	<i>al-juz' al-mubārak</i>	'alā <i>al-jāmi'</i>	<i>li-qirā'[a] fīhi</i>			[...]	1 sign.
4	x	<i>ḥubbisa</i>	<i>i-amr al-'alī</i> ; with a name (?)		<i>al-sifr al-mubārak</i>	'alā <i>al-maqṣūra</i> ; 'alā <i>man yaqra'ā</i>					2 sign's
5	x	[<i>šāra</i>]			<i>al-juz' al-mubārak</i>	'alā [person]; if no heirs then to the Zaytūna				ref. to (<i>hasabamā</i>) what is noted "on the first page of the first volume"	<i>wāḍi'</i> ; <i>shahāda</i> 1 sign.

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

#	ḥamdala	verb	<i>muḥabbīs</i> / <i>nāzīr</i>	blissing	<i>muḥabbas</i> (verb)	beneficiary use / (mawqūf bihi)	<i>thawāb rasm al-ṭahbīs</i>	date	<i>nāzīr</i> / <i>ishhād</i>
6	x	[šāra]			<i>al-sifr</i> <i>al-mubārak</i> ; "one of 20 volumes"	<i>ḥubs^{an}</i> <i>dā'im^{an}</i> <i>mu'abbad^{an}</i> [<i>'alā qirā'a fihī</i>] <i>'alā an yakān</i> <i>bi-l-jāmi'</i> <i>al-qirā'a</i> / eternal <i>ḥubs</i>	ref. to (<i>ḥasabamā</i>) what is noted "elsewhere"	<i>mu'arrakh</i> <i>bi-</i>	<i>wa-shahāda</i> 1 sign.
7	x	<i>mi-mmā</i> <i>ḥubbisa</i>	<i>'an amir</i> <i>al-maqām</i> <i>al-'āli...</i>	x		<i>'alā</i> <i>al-maqšūra</i>	ref. to (<i>'alā šifa</i>) what is noted "elsewhere"	<i>bi-tārīkh</i>	<i>wa-shahāda</i> 2 sign's
8	x	<i>mi-mmā</i> <i>ḥubbisa</i>	<i>'an amir</i> <i>al-maqām</i> <i>al-'āli...</i>	x		<i>'alā</i> <i>al-maqšūra</i>	ref. to (<i>'alā šifa</i>) what is noted "elsewhere"	<i>bi-tārīkh</i>	<i>wa-shahāda</i> 2 sign's
9	x; <i>tašlīyya</i>	[šāraʿ]			<i>al-khitma</i> <i>al-mubāraka</i> ; "in 20 volumes"; "this is the first page of the 6 th volume"	<i>ḥubs^{an}</i> <i>al-qirā'aj; fī</i> <i>al-maqšūra</i>	ref. to <i>rasm</i> <i>al-ṭahbīs</i> ; ref. to (<i>ḥasabamā</i>) what is noted "on the front page of the first volume"	<i>bi-tārīkh</i>	<i>bi-shahāda</i> 2 sign's
10	x	<i>mi-mmā</i> <i>ḥubbisa</i>	<i>'an amir</i> <i>al-maqām</i> <i>al-'āli...</i>	x		<i>'alā</i> <i>al-maqšūra</i>	ref. to (<i>'alā šifa</i>) what is noted "elsewhere"	<i>bi-tārīkh</i>	<i>wa-shahāda</i> 3 sign's
11	x	<i>mi-mmā</i> <i>ṭahbīs (?)</i>	<i>'an al-amr</i> <i>al-'āli</i>			<i>'alā</i> <i>al-maqšūra</i>		<i>bi-tārīkh</i>	<i>wa-shahāda</i> 1 sign.

12	x	[šāra]	min al-maqām al-ʿalf. . .	x	al-sifr	ḥubs ^{an}	ʿalā al-maqšūra	fi tārikh	2 sign's
13	x	innaḥu ḥabbas	al-qāḍī al-shāhid		al-khitma al-mubāraka	ḥubs ^{an} waqf ^{an}	[ʿalā qirāʾa fīhi] to be recited; bi-l-jāmi' not to be sold or taken away		al-shahāda 1 sign.
14	basmala tašlyya	ḥabbasa		x	[. . .] in 12 volumes			bi-tārikh	shāhiduḥu
15a	x	annaḥum ḥabbasū	min al-maqām al-ʿalf. . .	x	al-khitma al-mubāraka; of 30 volumes		ʿalā al-zāwiya bi-qirāʾ[al] fīhā	x	mu'arrakh shahāda 1 sign.
15	x	[šāra]			al-sifr al-mubārak	ḥubs ^{an}	ʿalā al-zāwiya	ref. to (ʿalā sifa) what is noted "in the last [sic] volume"	fi shahāda 1 sign.
16	x	[šāra]	name of muḥabbis		al-ḡuz'; volume 10 of 20	ḥubs ^{an} waqf ^{an}	ʿalā man yaqra' bihi	ref. to (ḥasabamā) what is noted "elsewhere"	mu'arrakh name of naḥir; 2 sign's
17	x	[šāra]			al-sifr; title; in 40 volumes	ḥubs ^{an}		ref. to (ʿalā sifa) what is noted "elsewhere"	mu'arrakh shahādahu 2 sign's
18	x; tašlyya	[šāra]			al-juz' al-mubārak		ʿalā al-jāmi'	ref. to (ḥasabamā) what is noted "on the front page of the first volume"	mu'arrakh bi-shahāda 2 sign's

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

<i>Tahbīs</i> #	<i>ḥamdala</i>	verb	<i>muḥabbis/ nāzīr</i>	blissing <i>muḥabbas</i> (verb)	beneficiary use / (mawqūf bihi)	use / condition	<i>thawāb rasm al-ṭahbīs</i>	date	<i>nāzīr/ ishhād</i>
19	[...]	<i>ḥabbasa</i>	name of <i>muḥabbis</i> and <i>nāzīr</i> (end of document)	<i>al-ta'jīf</i> <i>al-mubārak</i> ; title; volume 13 of 20	' <i>alā 'an yakūn bi-ḥizānat al-kutub bi-l-jāmi'</i>	eternal <i>ḥubs</i> ; to be read; not to leave the library, except for teaching purposes	x	<i>bi-tārīkh</i>	name of <i>nāzīr</i> ; <i>shahada</i> 3 sign's
20	x	<i>ḥabbasa</i>	<i>al-qāḍī al-shāhid</i>	<i>al-kitāb</i>	' <i>alā al-jāmi'</i>	eternal <i>ḥubs</i> ; to look at, to collate, to copy from it; only to leave for correction		<i>bi-tārīkh</i>	2 sign's
21	x	<i>ḥabbasa</i>	<i>al-qāḍī al-shāhid</i>	<i>al-diwān</i> ; in 10 volumes		eternal <i>ḥubs</i> ; to look at, to collate, to copy from it; only to leave for correction		<i>bi-tārīkh</i>	2 sign's

Very little is revealed about the personal intentions of the donors. While some conditions or terms might be given (such as the recitation of the manuscripts or the permission to copy it), the donor's spiritual reward, the *thawāb*, is only mentioned in three instances. Similarly, and maybe related to it, the perpetual nature of the endowment is not noted explicitly, except in four examples. Quotations from the Qur'an, which one might expect to complement the endowment, do not occur at all.⁵² Although quotation from the Qur'an seems to be the prevalent protocol in Islamic endowment practices, it does not appear in endowment inscriptions on Ḥafṣid buildings either.⁵³ The lack of Qur'anic quotations is in line with what has been observed for Almohad endowment practices, which the Ḥafṣid characteristic seems to build upon.⁵⁴

As already mentioned, it is conceivable that more detailed instructions and legal contexts were given in separate endowment deeds. Reference is regularly made to conditions that are noted "elsewhere" (*ḥasabamā fi ghayr hādihā*). Sometimes, the reader is referred to what has been noted "on the first page of the first volume" (*'alā awwal waraqa/zahr min al-juz' al-awwal*). One such example of a multivolume endowment with a longer note in the first volume and shorter notes in the remaining volumes can be found in a Ḥafṣid Qur'an endowed to the Zāwiyat Ibn 'Arūs (Q021, *taḥbīs* 15 and 15a; for the manuscript see figure 46). While the shorter notes in volumes 2–30 only mention the place of endowment and the date, the longer certificate in the first volume also provides information about the *muḥabbis* (royal order), the *muḥabbas* (Qur'an in thirty volumes), and the conditions (for reading, *thawāb* to the benefactor). This longer certificate in the first volume, referred to in the subsequent volumes, does not refer to a separate deed itself. In this case, there might not have been one after all.

The scripts of these certificates are all very cursive Maghribi hands, only decipherable to the trained eye. The scribe might well have been the *nāzīr* himself, who both supervised the endowments and witnessed the endowment process. The notes are easily identifiable as endowment certificates thanks to their layout and the witnesses' signatures, but the specifics of the endowment (especially the place and the date) would probably have been read only by the *nāzīr* responsible for the collection.

The signatures of the witnesses largely follow a similar format, with the attributes to their name, the *kunya*, *ism*, and *nisba* of the individuals written seemingly

⁵² Such as Q. 21:89 or Q. 2:181, cf. Abdeljaouad, *Inscriptions arabes*, 343; Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, 331.

⁵³ The *taḥbīs* in Ḥafṣid epigraphy were studied by Abdeljaouad, *Inscriptions arabes*, esp. II:343–352.

⁵⁴ Deverdun and Ghiati, "Deux *taḥbīs* almohades."

in one stroke, forming intricate loops within a rectangular space. However, they also show individual idiosyncrasies. For a trained librarian of that period, the signatures must have been recognizable, just as the Ottoman *waqf* stamps or *tughra* seals were in later periods.⁵⁵

3.1.3 The Royal *Khizāna*

When we consider the libraries and book collections of Ḥafṣid Tunis, we have to bear in mind that the evidence at our hands – the material as well as the written sources – underwent more than one selection process over the course of centuries. Many of the manuscripts that have survived from the Ḥafṣid libraries are precious, illuminated examples produced on royal commission. These manuscripts have been preserved for their material value and beautiful appearance, especially by European collectors. Likewise, it is only the history of the royal book collections that has left any traces in the written sources, since they are the only libraries that contemporary authors describe as such. (For Ḥafṣid rulers and their involvement in book culture, see table 2). Other libraries, as discussed above, are only mentioned in the context of more specific aspects of book culture: in the few fatwas that are concerned with the use of the books of a certain mosque, or in the writings of an excited student eager to study with a certain shaykh who happened to be a *nāẓir* (supervisor) of a book collection.

The sources all use the term *khizāna* (sometimes with the addition *khizānat al-kutub*) when referring to book collections, and this encompasses everything from a small storage container in a mosque to the royal library in Tunis.⁵⁶ It is therefore difficult to obtain a clear image of the actual space holding the royal collection. For most of the year, the Ḥafṣid sultans resided in the Qaṣba, the palatial

55 For the study of *tughra* seals and *waqf* stamps, see Nimet Bayraktar and Günay Kut, *Yazma eserlerde vakıf mühürleri* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1984). For visibility of Arabic signatures, see Nadia Jamil and Jeremy Johns, “Signs of the Times: Arabic Signatures as a Measure of Acculturation in Norman Sicily,” *Muqarnas* 21 (2004).

56 For a *khizāna* stored in a small fruit dryer, see al-Wansharīsī, *al-Miʿyār al-muʿrib*, VII:55; the royal *khizāna* is mentioned in the colophons of Q003, Q018, MS005, MS009, MS021. There seems to have been a royal library in Bejaia as well, the town that rivalled Tunis for authority in Ifrīqiya in the thirteenth century. Al-Ghubrīnī reports that he had seen a copy of a certain work in the *khizāna al-sulṭāniyya* (the royal library) in Bejaia, but without giving more details about the space; see Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Ghubrīnī, *ʿUnwān al-dirāya ft-man ʿurifa min al-ʿulamāʾ ft-l-miʿa al-sābiʿa bi-Bijāya* (Algiers: al-Taʿālibiyya, 1910), 26.

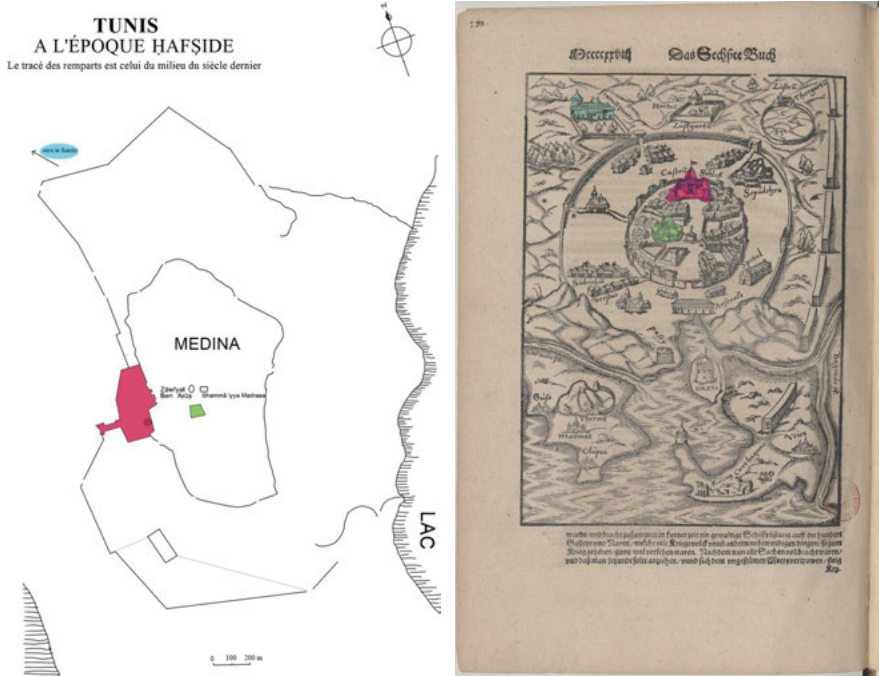


Figure 12: Two maps of Medieval Tunis: on the left after Robert Brunschvig (1940–1947) and on the right by Agostino Veneziano (1535), both showing the citadel, or *Qaşba*, with adjacent mosque (red), the *Zaytūna* Mosque (green), and the *Bardo* Palace (blue).

citadel adjacent to the medina of Tunis (figure 12).⁵⁷ If the sources talk about the location of the *khizāna* at all, they merely refer to the citadel (*qaşba* and *qaşr* in Arabic sources, or *arx* in Latin).⁵⁸ They do not specify whether the sultan’s collection was held in the palace mosque, i.e., the *Qaşba* Mosque located in the citadel, or in a private sector of the palace.⁵⁹ Only with the first foundation and endowment of

57 Anselm Adorne, “Travelogue,” in *Deux récits de voyage inédits en Afrique du nord au XV siècle*, ed. Robert Brunschvig (Paris: Larose éditeurs, 1936), 190.

58 In that order: al-Zarkashī, *Tārīkh al-dawlatayn*, 52; Ibn al-Shammā, *al-Adilla*, 124; Giovio, *Historiarum sui temporis*, book 34, 303r.

59 Behrens-Abouseif asks the same question about a Mamluk palace library in the citadel of Cairo of which nothing is mentioned in the sources; Behrens-Abouseif, “A Palace Library?,” chapter title in *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria*, 17–19. A point of comparison could be the Ottoman palace library in Istanbul; Gülru Necipoğlu, “The Spatial Organization of Knowledge in the Ottoman Palace Library: An Encyclopedic Collection and Its Inventory,” in *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)*, ed. Cornell H. Fleischer, Cemal Kafadar, and Gülru Necipoğlu (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

Table 2: Ḥafṣid rulers and their involvement in book culture.

Ḥafṣid Rulers and Their Manuscript Collections	Sources
Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā Ibn Ḥafṣ (r. 1229–1249)	
He discusses the needs of the libraries with the state secretary (<i>al-wazīr al-faḍl</i>).	Ibn Faḍl, <i>Masālik al-abṣār</i> , 129; <i>cit.</i> Ibn Saʿīd.
His palace library counts 30,000 volumes.	al-Tijānī, <i>Riḥla</i> , 275.
He founds the Shamāʿiyya Madrasa; nothing known about a library.	Ibn Faḍl, <i>Masālik al-abṣār</i> , 111.
Dedication to <i>al-khizāna al-ʿāliyya</i> [sic] <i>al-imāmiyya al-ḥafṣiyya</i>	MS003, on the title page (fol. 1r).
Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Mustanṣir (r. 1249–1277)	
He appoints the position of a <i>nāzir</i> for the <i>khizāna</i> (n.a.).	Ibn Faḍl, <i>Masālik al-abṣār</i> , 111.
The palace library only counts 20,000 volumes.	Ibn Faḍl, <i>Masālik al-abṣār</i> , 111.
Dedication to the <i>khizāna</i> of <i>mawlānā amīr al-muʿminīn</i>	Q003, front and finispiece (fols. 1v, 69).
Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā al-Wāthiq (r. 1277–1279)	
He appoints the position of the <i>nāzir</i> for the <i>khizāna</i> (n.a.).	al-Tijānī, <i>Riḥla</i> , 275–267.
Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā, sovereign of Bejaia after 1283	
He founds the madrasa of al-Maʿriḍ (?), for which he bought books on diverse sciences with his own funds.	al-Zarkashī, <i>Tāʾrikh al-dawlatayn</i> , 40.
Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyā I b. al-Liḥyānī (r. 1311–1317)	
Only 6,000 volumes are left in the palace library.	al-Tijānī, <i>Riḥla</i> , 275–267.
He sells every precious thing in the Qaṣba, even the books that Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā had assembled, and brings them to book dealers to sell them in the market.	al-Zarkashī, <i>Tāʾrikh al-dawlatayn</i> ; Ibn Khaldūn, <i>Kitāb al-ʿibar</i> , transl. 1852, II, 446.
Abū Bakr al-Mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh (r. 1318–1346)	
He discusses the needs of the libraries with the state secretary (<i>al-wazīr al-faḍl</i>).	Ibn Faḍl, <i>Masālik al-abṣār</i> ; <i>cit.</i> Ibn Saʿīd.
Dedication to <i>al-khizāna al-ʿāliyya al-imāmiyya al-mutawakkiliyya</i> of al-Mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh <i>amīr al-muʿminīn</i>	MS009, on the title page (fol. 1r).
Abū Fāris ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. 1394–1434)	
In 822/1419, he establishes a library in a <i>maqṣūra</i> in the Hilāl arcade of the Zaytūna Mosque and donates all the books from his palace library (“ <i>min qaṣrihi</i> ”), as well as other books.	Ibn al-Shammāʾ, <i>al-Adilla</i> , 114; al-Zarkashī, <i>Tāʾrikh al-dawlatayn</i> , 116.
<i>Taḥbīs</i> to Kairouan; n.a.	MS013

Table 2 (continued)

Ḥafṣid Rulers and Their Manuscript Collections	Sources
<i>Tahbīs</i> to the Qaṣba Mosque in 807/1405 on royal order; ‘ <i>an amr al-maqām al-‘alī al-mawlāwī al-mutawakkilī al-mujāhidī al-‘azīzī</i>	Q010 (<i>tahbīs</i> 3)
Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān (r. 1435–1488)	
In 854/1451, he establishes a second library in the Zaytūna Mosque (<i>maqṣūra</i> of Sīdī Muḥriz) and stipulates a <i>tahbīs dā‘im</i> with books; endowment on his order (<i>li-amr al-‘alī . . . al-‘Uthmānī</i>).	al-Zarkashī, <i>Tā‘rikh al-dawlatayn</i> , 136; MS025 (<i>tahbīs</i> 4).
He has a <i>khizāna</i> in his palace (“ <i>bi-qaṣrihi</i> ”).	Ibn al-Shammā, <i>al-Adilla</i> , 124.
He builds three offices (“ <i>makātib</i> ”) for Qur’ān recitals in the Zaytūna Mosque, of which two at the <i>bāb al-manāra</i> .	Ibn al-Shammā, <i>al-Adilla</i> , 125.
In 869/1464, he appoints four readers to the Qaṣba Mosque to recite the Qur’ān after the <i>zuhr</i> and <i>‘aṣr</i> prayers.	Ben Azzouna, “Les corans”, 121.
Dedicated to <i>al-khizāna al-‘aliyya</i> of <i>amīr al-mu‘minīn</i> (843/1440).	MS021, colophon (last fol. in last vol.).
Dedication of Ibn al-Shammā’s <i>al-Adilla</i> to <i>al-khizāna al-ḥaḍra al-‘aliyya al-imāmiyya al-mujāhidīyya al-mutawakkilīyya</i> finished in 861/1457	Ibn al-Shammā, <i>al-Adilla</i> , cit. Brunshvīg, “Ibn ash-Shammā”, 198, fn. 2; using the manuscript BnF, 4625; esp. fol. 44r.
Prince ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Mas‘ūd (d. 893/1487)	
He appoints al-Khayyir as secretary, who is praised for his beautiful handwriting.	Ibn Khalīl, <i>Riḥla</i> , ed. Brunshvīg, “Deux récits inédits”, 76.
A <i>muṣhaf</i> to be laid at his grave in commemoration of his passing.	Q015, commemoration note fol. 1r.
‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad IV (r. 1494–1526)	
He founds a third library in Zaytūna Mosque (the ‘Abdaliyya).	Ibn Maḥmūd, <i>Jāmi‘ al-Zaytūna</i> , p. ḥā’.
Endowments to the ‘new <i>maqṣūra</i> ’ in the Zaytūna Mosque, between 900/1495 and 915/1509; Q008 to be recited every Friday	<i>tahbīs</i> 7–12
<i>Tahbīs</i> to the Zāwiyat Ibn ‘Arūs 930/1524	Q021 (<i>tahbīs</i> 15)
<i>Tahbīs</i> to Kairouan; n.a.	Q018
MS001 in the ‘Abdaliyya collection	BnT, MS 7447
Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥasan (r. 1526–1543)	
After the sack of the citadel (in 1535), he regrets the loss of his library, together with other personal belongings.	Giovio, <i>Historiarum</i> , book XXXIV, 303r-v.
Mendoza pays tribute to Mawlāy Ḥasan’s library.	Mendoza, <i>Guerra</i> , II, 2.
In 1667, remains of his library are found in the Bardo palace.	Pagni, <i>Lettere</i> , 28.

a library in the Zaytūna Mosque, under Abū Fāris in 822/1419, are the sources very clear about the specific location of the sultan's *khizāna*: in the Hilāl arcade of the mosque's courtyard.⁶⁰

The first Ḥafṣid caliph, Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā Ibn Abi Ḥafṣ, who declared independence from the Almohads in 1229 and pronounced himself *amīr al-mu'minīn* during the Friday Prayer in the Zaytūna Mosque in 1236, already counted among his duties the daily discussion of the needs of his library. According to the Mamluk encyclopedist Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, every morning the sultan received his chief minister (*al-wazīr al-faḍl*) and head of the chancery,⁶¹ with whom he discussed the letters that had arrived from the provinces, the news from the capital and its surroundings, everything concerning the *'ulamā'* and the qadis, and the needs of the *khizānat al-kutub*.⁶² That the sultan discussed the needs of the *khizāna* with the state secretary suggests that the royal *khizāna* might have also encompassed the chancery archive. This idea is supported by the chronicle of Paolo Giovio (1483–1552), who reported that Ḥafṣid sultan Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥasan (Malwāy Ḥasan) had lost his palace archive along with his private library during the sack of 1535 (see chapter 2.1).⁶³ According to Giovio, Mawlāy Ḥasan's library held “very ancient codices, not only guides to all the sciences, but also deeds of all the kings before him.”⁶⁴ This description may be taken to refer to some kind of archive of chancery documents at the palace, recording the “deeds of the kings.” The distinction between royal library and state archive may have been less neat than one might expect. However, recent scholarship has shown that it was a common archival practice to routinely deaccession the archives and to put the paper in them into public circulation for reuse.⁶⁵ Giovio's description rather suggests that Mawlāy Ḥasan's library incorporated books that he had inherited from his predecessors.

60 Ibn al-Shammā', *al-Adilla*, 114; al-Zarkashī, *Tā'rikh al-dawlatayn*, 116.

61 Brunschvig, *Berbérie orientale*, II:61.

62 Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* (Cairo, 1924), 129. Although the Egyptian author, Ibn Faḍl Allāh (1301–1341), wrote during the reign of Abū Fāris al-Mutawakkil, a century after Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥya, Ibn Faḍl quotes from an earlier composition describing Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā's duties, because, as he says, nothing had changed since then. Ibn Faḍl's remarks thus hold true for the reign of both sultans. The source Ibn Faḍl refers to is the *Mughrib* by Ibn Sa'īd, composed in 1243–4 and only transmitted in the fragments quoted by Ibn Faḍl; Brunschvig, *Berbérie orientale*, I:xxxvi.

63 Giovio, *Historiarum sui temporis*, book 34, 303r; quoted in chapter 2.1.

64 Giovio, *Historiarum sui temporis*, book 34, 303r.

65 Marina Rustow, *The Lost Archive. Traces of a Caliphate in a Cairo Synagogue* (Princeton University Press, 2020), 247.

Be that as it may, the traveler al-Tijānī suggests that Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā assembled a palace library counting 30,000 volumes.⁶⁶ Although the quantities given in the source seem to be highly exaggerated, the fact remains that the holdings were impressive. Unfortunately, al-Tijānī does not provide information about the location of the collection. Reportedly, Abū Zakariyā's library lost around 10,000 of its volumes during the reign of 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad I al-Mustanṣir and counted only 6,000 volumes in al-Tijānī's own time, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The reason for the diminution was "rain and the hand of men" (*al-maṭar wa-ayādī al-baṣhar*).⁶⁷ The book collection was given its quietus when Sultan Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyā' I b. al-Liḥyānī (r. 1311–1317), facing abdication, sold every precious and valuable thing in the Qaṣba. The sultan also dissolved the library that Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā had assembled with "carefully chosen originals as well as *dīwāns*" (*istijād uṣūlahā wa-dawāwīnahā*).⁶⁸ Al-Liḥyānī ordered that the books be brought to the local bookdealers, who sold them in their shops.⁶⁹ The accounts of these events do not distinguish between the original location of the books and that of the other treasures from the Qaṣba, such as gold and pearls, that were sold by al-Liḥyānī. By simply enumerating these items in the same paragraph, the sources create the impression that the books and treasures all came from the same space.

As discussed above, three sultans founded libraries in different sections of the Zaytūna Mosque in the course of the fifteenth century (figure 10). While there is evidence that Sultan Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān (r. 1435–1488) kept books in his palace after he founded his Zaytūna library in 854/1451,⁷⁰ his predecessor, Abū Fāris, is said to have endowed all the books from his palace to the library he established in the same mosque in 822/1419.⁷¹ However, the Qur'an manuscript that Abū Fāris had previously endowed to the Qaṣba Mosque in 807/1405 (*tahbīs* 3; Q010, see figures

66 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Tijānī, *Riḥlat al-Tijānī* (Tunis: al-Dār al-'Arabiya lil-Kitāb, 1958), 275–276.

67 al-Tijānī, *Riḥla*, 276.

68 al-Zarkashī, *Tā'rikh al-dawlatayn*, 63.

69 al-Zarkashī, *Tā'rikh al-dawlatayn*, 63; 'Abd al-Raḥman b. Muḥammad Ibn Khaldūn, William MacGuckin Slane (ed./transl.), *Kitāb al-ibar: Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, 4 vols. (Algiers: Imprimerie de Gouvernement, 1852–1856), II:446.

70 Ibn al-Shammā', *al-Adilla*; Brunschvig, "Ibn aṣ-Ṣammā', historien hafside," *Annales Institut Etudes orientales* 1 (1934–5): 198n2; using the manuscript BnF, 4625; esp. fol. 44r.

71 For Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān, see Ibn al-Shammā', *al-Adilla*, 124; al-Zarkashī, *Tā'rikh al-dawlatayn*, 136; colophon in MS021. For Abū Fāris, see Ibn al-Shammā', *al-Adilla*, 114; al-Zarkashī, *Tā'rikh al-dawlatayn*, 116.

34 and 35), does not carry a second endowment certificate that would suggest that the manuscript changed location after that date. Therefore, “all the books from his palace” cannot refer to the manuscripts in the Qaṣba Mosque, but rather to an independent, personal library at the sultan’s disposal.

In contrast to the manuscripts endowed to mosques and madrasas, the books that were presented to a member of the Ḥafṣid royal court, or those that were produced for the palace library, never bear an endowment certificate. Rather, they bear the dedication to the royal *khizāna* either in their colophon or, more prominently, on their title page. This practice corroborates that, apart from the pious foundations and endowments to madrasa and mosque libraries, the sultans had their own private library in the palace.⁷² While the endowed libraries in the mosque were theoretically bound to one place and only used under certain conditions, the palace library seems to have been more flexible and adapted to the use and taste of each sultan.

Only very few manuscripts are known to have survived al-Liḥyānī’s deaccession of the palace library in 1317. Single volumes of two manuscripts survive that were produced under the patronage of the first Ḥafṣid sultan, Abū Zakariyā’ Yaḥyā; interestingly, they were copied by a supposedly Yemeni scribe by the name of Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Kharrāz al-Yamanī (MS003 and MS004). Two further manuscripts that belonged to the early Ḥafṣid sultan patronage both bear a dedication to Sultan Muḥammad I al-Mustaṣir, mentioning his *khizāna* (Q003 and MS005; for the manuscripts see figures 26, 27, 54, and 55); the latter, more specifically, reads to *al-khizāna al-‘aliya al-imāmiyya al-ḥafṣiyya*, the “sublime, royal Ḥafṣid library.” Another manuscript survives from the reign of Abū Bakr al-Mutawakkil ‘alā Allāh, dedicated to *al-khizāna al-‘aliyya al-imāmiyya al-mutawakkiliyya* (MS009, figures 58 and 59). In later times, a royal library is mentioned in the dedication of MS021 to *al-khizāna al-‘aliyya* of Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān in 843/1440 (for the manuscript see figures 62 and 63). A second dedication of a different kind is known to have been made to the same sultan: the historian Ibn al-Shammā’ dedicated his work, *al-Adilla* (finished 861/1457) to the *khizānat al-ḥaḍra al-‘aliyya al-imāmiyya al-mujāhidiyya al-mutawakkiliyya*. Whether the original manuscript was copied by Ibn al-Shammā’ and handed to the sultan personally is not known. The dedication

⁷² A similar distinction has been made for the royal Nasrid book collection which was personal to each sultan and could be added to the palace library. The royal collection was thus movable, as opposed to the endowment to religious institutions where books were bound by law to the location; Josef Ženka, “A Manuscript of the Last Sultan of al-Andalus and the Fate of the Royal Library of the Nasrid sultans at the Alhambra,” *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 9 (2018): 346.

is transmitted in a later copy of the work, now held in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris.⁷³

These dedications are all based on the formal title and follow the standard protocol to address the Ḥafṣid ruler.⁷⁴ Although the sultan is referred to impersonally (e.g., the transformation of the sultan's personal *laqab* into an impersonal *nisba* (al-Mutawakkil becomes *al-mutawakkiliyya*), the books can be assigned to individual ruler's collections.

This personal connotation also fits the reports by the European eyewitnesses who met Ḥafṣid sultan Mawlāy Ḥasan in person in 1535, and especially, again, the one given by Paolo Giovio in his *Historiarum sui temporis*, who reports on the loss of Mawlāy Ḥasan. Not only does the loss of the library seem to be his greatest affliction, but a very personal one at that. The Spanish historian Hurtado de Mendoza mentions Mawlāy Ḥasan's library in the acknowledgments of his *Guerra de Granada*: the sultan's books had helped the Spanish scholar compose his chronicles. Again, this dedication implies that the Arabic manuscripts that served Mendoza as a source for his studies had belonged to the Ḥafṣid sultan personally.⁷⁵

From the fifteenth century onwards, the Ḥafṣid elite built residences in the countryside, which served as a recreational area for the sultan and his entourage. The Bardo Palace, a Ḥafṣid residency outside the city walls of the medina of Tunis, is attested for the first time in a written source of 823/1420 and had replaced the Qaṣba as a main residence for the sultan by the beginning of the sixteenth century (figure 12).⁷⁶ It is conceivable that the sultan brought books with him when he

73 Brunschvig, "Ibn ash-Shammā", 198n2; using the manuscript BnF, Arabe 4625; esp. fol. 44r.

74 Brunschvig, *Berbérie orientale*, II:61–66.

75 Mendoza, *Guerra*, II:2.

76 Brunschvig, *Berbérie orientale*, I:356; without giving a reference for the date. The Bardo is mentioned again in 824/1431 in relation to a succession fight during which the governor of Bejaia, al-Mu'tamid, came to reside in the palace for a short period; Brunschvig, *Berbérie orientale*, I:356; Ibn al-Shammā', *al-Adilla*, 154–170. The Bardo Palace is attested in the writings of the European traveler Anselm Adorne in 1470, who describes the palace and the Zaytūna Mosque in detail; Adorne, "Travelogue," 199. For the Bardo Palace, see Jamila Binous, "Summer Palaces," in *Ifrīqiya. Thirteen Centuries of Art and Architecture in Tunisia*, ed. Jamila Binous, Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi, Maria Leonidas Vlotides, and Mourad Rammah (Vienna: Museum With No Frontiers, 2002), 109–11; Brunschvig, *Berbérie orientale*, II:37; Georges Marçais, *L'architecture musulmane d'occident. Tunisie, Algérie, Maroc, Espagne et Sicile* (Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1954), 53–54; Jacques Revault, *Palais et demeures de Tunis. Vol. I: XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1967), 303–304. The residence of the sultan in his summer palace had become institutionalized at least by the time of the construction of the 'Abdaliyya Palace in La Marsa at the beginning of the sixteenth century; for the 'Abdaliyya, see Binous, "Summer Palaces," 103–5; Brunschvig, *Berbérie orientale*, I:356 and II:37; Georges Marçais, *Tunis et Kairouan*

moved his household. A library is attested in the Bardo Palace at least during the Ottoman period: there, in 1670, the Ottoman bey of Tunis received the Italian physician Giovanni Pagni who, when invited to handpick some of the bey's treasures as a reward for his services, chose a selection of books. The library, as Pagni described in a letter sent back home to Italy, included the remains of Mawlāy Ḥasan's library.⁷⁷ Whether it was the Ḥafṣid sultan or his Ottoman successor who moved the books there is not clear.

The remains of the Bardo library, in turn, form part of the Aḥmadiyya collection that was founded in 1840 by the Ottoman bey of Tunis, Aḥmad Pāshā Bey, and is now kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de Tunisie.⁷⁸ One of the Aḥmadiyya manuscripts can be dated back to the Ḥafṣid period and thus possibly linked to Mawlāy Ḥasan's library: the treatise on falconry (*al-Bayzara*, MS005) dedicated to *al-khizāna al-'ālīyya [sic] al-imāmiyya al-ḥafṣiyya* of Muḥammad I al-Mustanṣir could be an example of the manuscripts that Mawlāy Ḥasan had kept as a dear reminder of his Ḥafṣid inheritance.

3.2 Introduction to Ḥafṣid Manuscript Studies

3.2.1 Ifrīqiya and al-Andalus: Ḥafṣid Identity and Maghribi Scripts

Relatively few scholars have concerned themselves with Ḥafṣid material culture. Because only a small number of artefacts from the period are known to have survived, the focus has been on architecture and architectural features. Published research on other aspects of Ḥafṣid material culture is virtually nonexistent.⁷⁹ Nonetheless, some

(Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1937), 100; Jacques Revault, "Une Résidence Hafside: L'Abdalliya à la Marsa," *Cahiers de Tunisie* 19 (1971).

⁷⁷ Pagni, *Lettere*, 28.

⁷⁸ The catalogue of the Aḥmadiyya collection states that collection goes back to Abū Fāris's donation to the Zaytūna Mosque, but without giving any reference; 'Abd al-Ḥafīz Maṣṣūr, *Fihris makh-tutat al-maktaba al-Aḥmadiyya bi-Tūnis. Khizānat Jāmi' al-Zaytūna* (Tunis: Dār al-Faṭḥ lil-ṭabā'a al-Nashir, 1969), 5–6.

⁷⁹ Apart from the main works discussed in the following paragraph, these are: on architecture and epigraphy, Jenina Akkari-Weriemmi, "La mosquée Ḥarmal: Etude et travaux de restauration," *Africa (Tunis)* 10 (1988); al-Raja Aoudi-Adouni, *Stèles funéraires tunisoises de l'époque Hafside, 628–975 AH*, 2 vols. (Tunis: Institut National du Patrimoine, 1997); Antonio Almagro, "La qoubba de Sidi Qasim et ses précédents andalous," *Cartas de la Goleta* 3 (2009); Lamia Hadda, *Il decoro architetonico hafside. Materiali per una storia dell'arte islamica in Ifrīqiya, XIII–XVI* (Agrigento: 2004); Naziha Mahjoub, "Un monument funéraire hafside de la fin XVe siècle à Tunis," *Africa (Tunis)* 14 (1966); Revault, "Une résidence hafside"; Ahmed Saadaoui, "The Inscription on the Foundation of the Hafsid

recent engagements with architecture and epigraphy have demonstrated that the absence of evidence, as often noted, is not evidence of absence. Through their meticulous research, Abdelaziz Daoulatli, Lotfi Abdeljaouad, and Lamia Hadda have shown that many examples of Ḥafṣid architecture can be found under layers of subsequent urban development. Daoulatli (1981) goes back to historic sources that speak of many Ḥafṣid buildings and traces substantial construction activities from the thirteenth century onwards.⁸⁰ Abdeljaouad (2001), in his unpublished thesis, gathers historical Islamic inscriptions in Tunisia and uncovers a vast corpus of Ḥafṣid epigraphy, also pointing to dynamic building programs.⁸¹ Building on Jacques Revault's 1967 monograph on the palaces of the Ottoman beys of Tunis,⁸² Hadda (in 2008) shows that much Ḥafṣid architecture was incorporated into Ottoman buildings, and uses the surviving evidence to outline a particular Ḥafṣid building style.⁸³

For a long time, Ḥafṣid visual identity has been described only in relation to either their descent from the Almohads, who appointed the Ḥafṣids as governors in Ifriqiya, or to the influence of Andalusi immigrants on the material culture and intellectual milieu of the period. As the most prominent example of early Ḥafṣid architecture, the Qaṣba Mosque in Tunis (built after 1230), also known as the Almohad Mosque at the time,⁸⁴ has repeatedly been described as evoking authority by rep-

Mosque of Moknine," *IBLA* 12, no. 1 (1999). The Ḥafṣids appear in monographs on architecture in Islamic Tunisia and the wider Maghrib: al-Bāji, *Madāris madīnat Tūnis*; Bloom, *Architecture of the Islamic West*, 207–213; Lucien Golvin, "Les modes d'expression artistique au Maghreb," in *Maghreb medieval. L'apogée de la civilisation islamique dans l'Occident arabe*, ed. Francesco Gabrieli (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 1991), 271–277; Marçais, *Architecture musulmane d'Occident*, 294–299, 312–313, 323–324, 327–328, 455–458; Marie-Madeleine Viré, "Inscriptions arabes des stèles funéraires du musée de Sousse," *Cahiers de Tunisie* 4 (1956), 489–492; Slimane Mostafa Zbiss, *Corpus des inscriptions arabes de Tunisie* (Tunis: Direction des Antiquités et Arts, 1955); Slimane Mostafa Zbiss, *Les monuments de Tunis* (Tunis: Ministère des affaires culturelles, 1971); Slimane Mostafa Zbiss, *La Médina de Tunis* (Tunis: Ministère des affaires culturelles, 1981). There is one work on Ḥafṣid ceramics: Abdelaziz Daoulatli, *La céramique de la période hafside* (Paris 1995); and there are a few publications on numismatics: Khaled Ben Romdhane, "Calligraphie et numismatique," in *Itinéraire du savoir en Tunisie. Les temps forts de l'histoire tunisienne*, ed. Hassen Annabi (Tunis: Alif, 2002); Abdelhamid Fenina and Tarek Kahlaoui, "La monnaie hafside," in *Numismatique et histoire de la monnaie en Tunisie. Tome II: Monnaies Islamiques*, ed. Jacques Alexandropoulos, Ali Khiri, and Cécile Morrison (Tunis: Simfact, 2007).

⁸⁰ Daoulatli, *Tunis sous les Ḥafṣides*.

⁸¹ Abdeljaouad, *Inscriptions arabes*. He builds on Zbiss, *Corpus des inscriptions arabes de Tunisie*.

⁸² Revault, *Palais et demeures*.

⁸³ Hadda, *Nella Tunisia medievale*, 119–166.

⁸⁴ See the endowment certificate in a Qaṣba Mosque endowment of 807/1405 (Q010; *taḥbīs* 3); Ibn al-Shammā', *al-Adilla*, 56, 64.

licating Almohad architectural features.⁸⁵ The otherwise sparse building activities of early Ḥafṣid rulers has even been linked to Almohad religious austerity.⁸⁶ The increase of cultural and artistic activity towards the end of the thirteenth century has, in return, been linked to the Andalusī migrants, who conceivably brought with them some cultural characteristics of al-Andalus to North Africa. This notion of the influence of Andalusī on Ifrīqiya is by far the most prominent theme in scholarship on Ḥafṣid intellectual and material culture.⁸⁷

The bias concerning the Islamic material culture of North Africa, which perceives that culture only flourished there under Andalusī influence,⁸⁸ has started to shift in recent decades. This change can be traced in Jonathan Bloom's research. Together with Sheila Blair, in their encyclopedia of 2009, the authors write: "Hafsid buildings show a change from Almohad models, as in the kasba of the 13th century, to Andalusian ones, as at the Bardo Palace of the 15th."⁸⁹ Yet, in 2020, Bloom comes to a completely different conclusion:

⁸⁵ For example, Brunschvig, *Berberie orientale*, 413; Daoulati, *Tunis sous les Ḥafṣides*, 176; Henri Terrasse, "Influences Hispaniques sur l'art hafside," *al-Andalus* 34, no. 1 (1969): 175.

⁸⁶ Bloom, *Architecture of the Islamic West*, 208; Golvin, *Madrassa médiévale*, 189.

⁸⁷ On the Andalusian influence, see, for example: Mohamed Salah Baizig, "L'élite andalouse à Tunis et à Bougie et le pouvoir hafside," in *Communautés et pouvoirs en Italie et au Maghreb au Moyen Age et à l'époque moderne*, ed. Annliese Nef and Dominique Valérian (Rome, 2003); Mohamed Habib Belkhdja, "L'émigration andalouse vers l'ifrikiya au 7e–13e s.," *Cahiers de Tunisie* 69–70 (1970); Lamia Hadda, "L'apport artisanal et culturel de l'immigration andalouse en Ifriqiya pendant l'époque Hafside (XIII–XVI s.)," *Schola Salernitana* 10 (2005); J. Derek Latham, "Towns and Cities of Barbary: The Andalusian Influence," *Islamic Quarterly* 16 (1973); J. Derek Latham, "Towards a Study of Andalusian Immigration and Its Place in Tunisian History," *Cahiers de Tunisie* 5 (1957); Rouighi, *Ifriqiya and its Andalusis*; Ahmed Saadaoui, "The Andalusians," in *Ifriqiya. Thirteen Centuries of Art and Architecture in Tunisia*, ed. Jamila Binous, Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi, Maria Leonidas Vlotides, and Mourad Rammah (Vienna: Museum With No Frontiers, 2002); Muhammad Talbi, "Les contacts culturels entre l'Ifriqiya hafside (1230–1569) et le sultanat nasride d'Espagne (1232–1492)," in *Actas del II Coloquio Hispano-Tune-cino de Estudios Históricos* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1973); Terrasse, "Influences Hispaniques"; Dominique Valérian, "Les Andalous à Bougie, XIe–XVe siècle," in *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes (Xe–XVIIe s.)*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2002). Although Latham makes the case that the thirteenth-century immigrants' political role was different from that of the wave in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, he also admits that only the final expulsion of the Moriscos under Philip III in 1609 produced the largest wave of immigration—half a century after the last Ḥafṣid rulers; J. Derek Latham, "Andalus in North Africa," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*. 2nd ed., ed. P. J. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs (Brill Online, 2012).

⁸⁸ This has been criticized as a "postcolonial bias"; Rosser-Owen, "Mediterraneanism," 30.

⁸⁹ Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom (eds.), "Hafsids," in *The Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture* (Oxford University Press: online, 2009).

Hafsid architecture, despite what many researchers believed, is quite unlike that of al-Andalus [. . .]. Despite the Almohad past, the influx of immigrants from al-Andalus, and even the brief Marinid occupations, the architecture of Ifriqiya largely charted a course independent of developments elsewhere in the Maghrib.⁹⁰

Under the Ḥafṣids, Tunis became a new cultural hub and a center of teaching and learning. As many have noted before, the Ḥafṣids brought the madrasa, as a building type, to Ifriqiya: the first was built in 1236 by Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā and, by the end of the thirteenth century, Tunis already counted at least three madrasas.⁹¹ Travelers from the western Islamic realms, on their way to Mecca and the Mashriq, often stopped in Tunis to experience its intellectual landscape.⁹² When the many migrants from al-Andalus sought refuge in the city and settled there, they must have found an already thriving intellectual scene, to which they surely contributed.

As we will see, in describing the manuscripts and classifying certain styles and traditions, we cannot avoid the Andalusi/Maghribi and Ifriqī bias, especially in the study of manuscripts. In order to elaborate on the Ḥafṣid book production as a regional and strong style, we need to be aware of these criteria. It will be a particular aim of the following discussions to counterargue the trope of the decline of book art in the Maghrib with the demise of the Almohad dynasty, which was promulgated by the famous historian Ibn Khaldūn in fourteenth-century Tunis and is continually reproduced in modern scholarship, has become codified into historiography.⁹³ Although the detailed studies on epigraphy in Ifriqiya may, to some extent, be helpful to contextualize the calligraphic scripts in the Ḥafṣid manuscript corpus below, the present study is ploughing a lone furrow.⁹⁴ Systematic scholarship on

⁹⁰ Bloom, *Architecture of the Islamic West*, 208.

⁹¹ Brunschvig, “Quelques remarques historiques”; Daoulatli, *Madīnat Tunis*, 165.

⁹² M'ghirbi, *Les Voyageurs*, 44, 158. On the general influence of the Ḥafṣid realm on its surroundings, see Brunschvig, *Berbérie orientale*, II:354.

⁹³ Déroche, *Livre manuscrit arabe. Préludes à une histoire* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2004), 90–91. Although he gives many examples of a flourishing Maghribi manuscript culture after Ibn Khaldūn's lifetime, Déroche interprets Ibn Khaldūn's *topos* of decline as the point of departure for the enduring unpopularity of the Maghribi script.

⁹⁴ Ḥafṣid manuscripts are repeatedly mentioned in surveys of the manuscript culture of Tunisia; see, for example, Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq 'Abd al-Laṭīf, “al-Khaṭṭ wa-l-ḥaṭṭātūn fi Tūnis,” in *al-Khatt al-'Arabī. Fa'aliyyat 'ayyām al-khaṭṭ al-'Arabī* (Carthage: Bayt al-Ḥikma, 2001), 68–70; Abū al-Ajfan, “Waḍ'iyat al-makḥṭūāt,” 99–100; Marie-Geneviève Guesdon, “Histoire du livre, témoin d'un passé,” in *Itinéraire du savoir en Tunisie. Les temps forts de l'histoire tunisienne*, ed. Hassen Annabi (Tunis: Alif, 2002), 52–54; Fathi Jarray, *Irth al-khaṭṭ al-'Arabī fi Tūnis* (Tunis: National Centre of Calligraphy, 2017), 30; Samia Kamarti, “Bibliotheca Tunisiensia,” in *Itinéraire du savoir en Tunisie. Les temps forts de l'histoire tunisienne*, ed. Hassen Annabi (Tunis: Alif, 2002), 161; Mourad Rammah, “Manuscripts,” in *Ifriqiya. Thirteen Centuries of Art and Architecture in Tunisia*, ed. Jamila Binous,

Maghribi paleography has only just begun with Umberto Bongianino's research on the development of Maghribi scripts up to 600/1204, and the research project on the Saadian library of Mawlāy Zaydān conducted by Nuria Martínez de Castilla, François Déroche, and Bashir Tahali.⁹⁵ The evaluation of the Ḥafṣid manuscript corpus presented here will be primarily descriptive, and hypotheses on traditions, techniques, and styles can at this point only be tentative until a more substantial comparative research corpus has been established. If this is already true for the descriptions of aesthetics (script, ornamentation, layout, etc.), it is all the more the case for statements about techniques of book production. Preliminary remarks on techniques present in Ḥafṣid Ifrīqiya for preparing the writing surface and binding

Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi, Maria Leonidas Vlotides, and Mourad Rammah (Vienna: Museum With No Frontiers, 2002), 182–183. However, no comprehensive study has yet been produced on the topic. In some manuscript catalogues, the rather curious term “*khaṭṭ tūnisi*” (“Tunisian script”) can be found; see, for example, Ibn Maḥmūd, *al-Maktaba al-'Abdaliyya*; Kamarti, “Bibliotheca Tunisiana.” The term, however, is misleading and does not say anything about the manuscript in question. It seems that it was introduced by Octave V. Houdas, whose pioneering research launched the study of Maghribi scripts to begin with; see also next footnote. It has been shown that Houdas's attribution of regional scripts does not hold true in comparison with the actual material evidence; Nico van den Boogert, “Some Notes on Maghribi Script,” *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 4 (1989), 30–31.; Umberto Bongianino, *The Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West. Maghribi Round Scripts and Andalusī Identity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022). One publication describes the “*écriture tunisienne*” as opposed to Andalusī or Fasī as “plus proche de l'écriture orientale lorsque la ligne de base horizontale est moins perceptible dans le tracé des lettres”; Guesdon, “Histoire du livre,” 47, which might refer to the Ifrīqī hybrid style discussed below in the chapter.

⁹⁵ Bongianino, *Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*; Déroche, de Castilla Muñoz, and Tahali, *Les livres du sultan*. The field was initiated by the studies of Octave V. Houdas (*Essai sur l'écriture maghrébine*, 1886), Pieter van Koningsfeld (*The Latin-Arabic Glossary*, Leiden 1977), Nico van den Boogert (“Some Notes on Maghribi Script,” 1970), and the studies of François Déroche (inter alia “O. Houdas et les écritures maghrébines,” in *al-Makḥṭūṭ al-'Arabī wa-ilm al-makḥṭūṭāt*, ed. Ahmed-Chouqui Binebine [Rabat: Manshūrāt Kulliyat al-Ādāb wa-al-'Ulūm al-Insāniyah, 1994] and “Tradition et innovation dans la pratique de l'écriture au Maghreb pendant les IVe/Xe et Ve/XIe siècles,” in *Actes du VIIe Colloque international sur l'histoire et l'archéologie de l'Afrique du nord*, ed. Serge Lancel [Paris: C.T.H.S., 1999]). Since then, there have been publications on different aspects of Maghribi manuscript culture which will be further discussed in the subsequent chapters; see especially, but not only, Marianne Barrucand, “Observaciones sobre las iluminaciones de Coranes hispanomagrebies,” in *Arte islámico en Granada*, ed. Jesús Bermúdez López (Granada: Junta de Andalucía-Consejería de cultura, 1995); Ahmed-Chouqui Binebine (ed.), *al-Makḥṭūṭ al-'Arabī wa-ilm al-makḥṭūṭāt* (Rabat: Manshūrāt Kulliyat al-Ādāb wa-al-'Ulūm al-Insāniyah, 1994); Dandel, *L'Enluminure Hispano-Maghrébine VI/XIe au IX/XV siècle* (PhD diss., Université Paris IV – Sorbonne, 1994); Sābiḥa Khemir, “The Arts of the Book,” in *Al-Andalus. The Art of Islamic Spain*, ed. Jerrilynn D. Dodds (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992); Muḥammad al-Manūnī, *Qabas min 'aṭā' al-makḥṭūṭ al-Maghrībī. Quintessence des manuscrits marocains* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1999).

of the books are provided in the following chapter. Whether these represent unique and even defining features cannot be conclusively clarified in most cases.

The books discussed in more detail in the catalogue (chapters 3.5 and 3.6) are mostly precious, illuminated manuscripts – which, due to the matter of survival, form the great part of the Ḥafṣid corpus – that were presumably produced for the Ḥafṣid elite and other wealthy Ifrīqī patrons. These manuscripts are clearly inscribed in Maghribi manuscript production, which is why a short introduction to Maghribi scripts is needed.

Generally, Maghribi script differs from Mashriqi *naskh* in having strokes of a more uniform thickness, in which the differences between thick and thin are much less pronounced. This more uniform stroke may well be due to the way the scribe cut his pen (*qalam*). A standard Maghribi *qalam* is generally cut from a reed of relatively large diameter and slit in half along its length, as opposed to the slender, whole reeds employed in the East. One extremity of the half-reed is then trimmed into a point with a blunt nib that gives a rounded uniform outline to the letters and is very different from the transverse cut, in the form of a chisel (either square or angled), used in eastern nibs, which produces lines of varying thickness.⁹⁶

Some individual letter forms are distinctively Maghribi, of which the following are the most important: descending letters have large bowls with swooping curves; the shafts of the letters often swell at the top, and they, like most initial strokes, begin with a left serif; final *alif* ends with a spur at the bottom; *ṣād/dād* is a smooth rhomb, without any initial bump; the strokes on *fā'* and *qāf* are generally diagonal and contrast with the rounded bodies of these letters; the punctuation of these letters differs from eastern scripts and is most often the first indicator of a Maghribi script, in that *fā'* is indicated by a dot below the letter, while *qāf* carries it above.⁹⁷

Another peculiarity of the Maghribi script is the general lack of fixed dimensions of, and proportions between, individual letters traced by the same hand. The size, stretch, and even shape of most homographs can vary noticeably depending on the word they appear in or on the position of the word in the line or page. The letters can appear in their elongated, compact, rounded, or angular variants in two consecutive words. For example, the letters *dāl/dhāl* and *rā'/zāy* can appear in both round and pursed (i.e., hook-like) forms on the same folio. This divergence from eastern scripts, the key principle of which is the codified proportion of letters, can be explained as a result of different scribal training techniques: the tracing of indi-

96 Nourane Ben Azzouna, “Les corans de l’Occident musulman médiéval: état des recherches et nouvelles perspectives,” *Perspective 2* (2017): 112; Bongianino, *Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*, 35–46; Déroche, *Le livre manuscrit arabe*, 79–80.

97 For illustrations of the letter forms, see van den Boogert, “Some Notes on Maghribi Script.”

vidual letters in the Mashriqī school, as opposed to the tracing of words and homographs in the Maghribi fashion.⁹⁸

As Bongianino has shown, Maghribi round scripts have their roots in al-Andalus, as they originated and developed there before being exported to North Africa.⁹⁹ The early Arabic scripts of Ifrīqiya, on the other hand, were embedded in ‘Abbāsīd traditions of stark, angular book hands.¹⁰⁰ With Kairouan as its religious and cultural center, Ifrīqiya was politically and culturally oriented towards Egypt and, to a lesser extent, *Bilād al-Shām*, until the late twelfth century, when the Almohads included it in their Maghribi empire and fully “maghribized” its visual and material culture.¹⁰¹

No manuscripts are known to have been copied in the traditional style of Ifrīqiya in Kairouan after the Hilālian invasion of the area in 1058.¹⁰² Furthermore, there are no examples of Arabic codices certainly produced in this region between that date and the late thirteenth century. The first datable manuscript after the decline of Kairouan that can be attributed to Ifrīqiya is the *Qaṣīda alfiyya*, copied in Annaba in 698/1298 (MS006, figures 56 and 57). After a gap of more than 200 years, the late thirteenth-century Ḥafṣid manuscript shows the mastery of Maghribi script in Ifrīqiya.¹⁰³

98 Bongianino, *Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*, 38–39.

99 Bongianino, *Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*, 13–14, on why to keep the determination “Maghribi” for these scripts.

100 With the exception of some hybrid hands that show a certain roundness under the influence of Andalusī book hands in the late fourth/tenth and early fifth/eleventh centuries, see Umberto Bongianino, “Le Kitāb Sibawayh X 56 sup. de la Bibliothèque Ambrosienne et les écritures de l’Occident arabe avant la diffusion du maghribī arrondi,” in *Paléographie des écritures arabes d’al-Andalus, du Maghreb et de l’Afrique subsaharienne*, ed. Mustapha Jaouhari (Rabat 2015).

101 Bongianino, *The Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*, 15.

102 Bongianino, *The Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*, 46–49; Miklos Muranyi, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hadit- und Rechtsgelehrsamkeit der malikiyya in Nordafrika bis zum 5.Jh.d.H* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 1997). For a discussion of Ifrīqī manuscripts, see Bongianino, “Le Kitāb Sibawayh”; for an example, see also MS001 in the present catalogue.

103 The *Bayzara* (MS006), copied between 1249 and 1277, does not confirm the place of production, although it is dedicated to the Ḥafṣid *khizāna*. The earliest, “timid” appearance of Maghribi script can be found in the surviving correspondence between the Almohad governors of Tunis and the Pisan maritime republic, dated between 596/1200 and 624/1227, along with Mashriqī and hybrid hands; Bongianino, *Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*, 20. Three important Ifrīqī documents of the thirteenth century were not penned in Maghribi, but in Mashriqī scripts: a property sale contract drafted in Kairouan in 632/1234; the 669/1270 peace treaty between the Ḥafṣid caliph Muḥammad I al-Mustanṣir and King Philip III of France (D001); and the inventory of the library of the Great Mosque of Kairouan, dated 693/1294. The earliest dated document written in Maghribi script to have survived from the Ḥafṣid chancery of Tunis is a peace treaty between Caliph Muḥammad II al-Mustanṣir and King James II of Aragon, dated 701/1301 (D003).

Bongianino's study thus confirms the declaration that the scribes of al-Andalus were (even if just initially) the masters of Maghribi script, first promulgated by the famous historian Ibn Khaldūn in fourteenth-century Tunis and since continually reproduced in modern scholarship.¹⁰⁴ As a source, Ibn Khaldūn's observations are certainly very important. Not only is Ibn Khaldūn contemporary to the time that we are concerned with (he wrote a first version of his *Muqaddima* in c. 778/1377), but he also grew up in, and later returned to, Tunis. Additionally and more importantly, he was a trained calligrapher and an expert in scribal practices himself. His assessment of the development of scripts in the Maghrib and Ifriqiya in particular, thus deserves a closer look:

[Andalusis] dispersed over the coast of the Maghrib and Ifriqiya, from the time of the Almoravids to the present day. Through their crafts, they associated themselves with the civilized people, and attached themselves to the ruling dynasty. Hence their script prevailed over the Ifriqi script and wiped it out. The scripts of Kairouan and Mahdia were forgotten together with their customs and crafts. All the scripts of the inhabitants of Ifriqiya were assimilated to the Andalusian style used in Tunis and in neighboring regions, since there were so many Andalusis there after their emigration from the East of al-Andalus. A trace [of the Ifriqi script] has survived in the Jarīd region, where the people did not mingle with Andalusian scribes, nor did they work in their proximity. [The Andalusis] only reached the seat of power in Tunis, so the script of the inhabitants of Ifriqiya became one of the finest types of Andalusian script.¹⁰⁵

Although, as we will see, Maghribi scripts and Andalusian scribes, as described by Ibn Khaldūn, were indeed preferred at the Ḥafṣid court, this seems to speak of a conscious choice in the development of a Ḥafṣid style. The Andalusian artists did not just take over the Ḥafṣid manuscript production, but rather their aesthetic was requested by the Ḥafṣid elite whose visual identity was embedded in the Maghribi tradition. Ḥafṣid manuscripts – i.e., manuscripts produced for the Ḥafṣid elite, mostly illuminated manuscripts, Qur'an and others (discussed in the catalogue below) – incorporate the script, the layout, and the ornaments of their Andalusian forerunners. In some cases, individual details in Ḥafṣid manuscripts can even be linked directly to specific, older manuscripts from further west that circulated in Ḥafṣid Tunis. The calligraphers and illuminators must have worked directly with such manuscript models. This inclusivity and receptiveness in Ḥafṣid manuscript production, however, was not only directed towards the West and a glorious Maghribi past, but it was also open to

¹⁰⁴ François Déroche, *Le livre manuscrit arabe*, 90–91. Although he gives many examples of a flourishing Maghribi manuscript culture after Ibn Khaldūn's lifetime, Déroche interprets Ibn Khaldūn's trope of decline as the point of departure for the enduring unpopularity of the Maghribi script.

¹⁰⁵ 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar wa-dīwān al-mubtada' wa-l-ḥabar* (Cairo and Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Miṣrī/al-Lubnānī, 1999), II:751; translation in Bongianino, *Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*, 15–16.

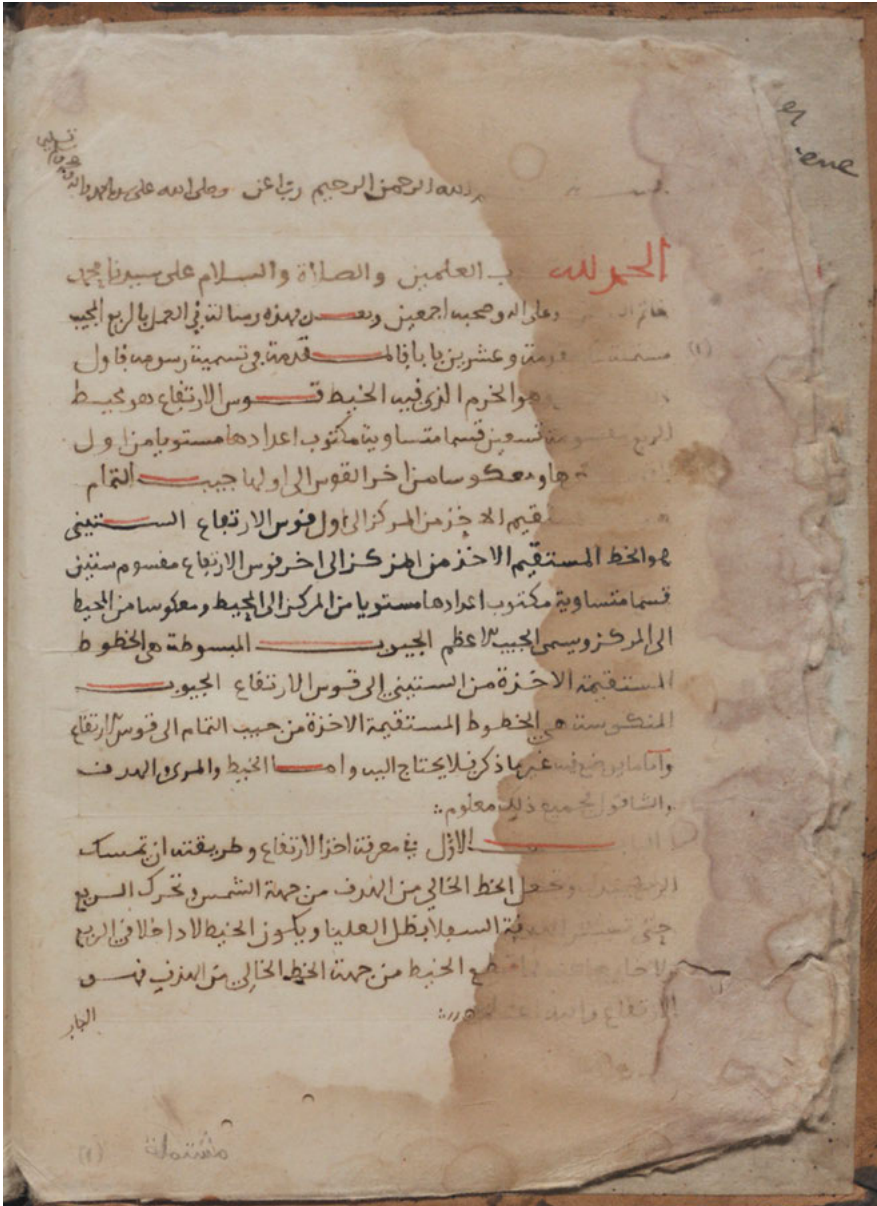


Figure 14: Manuscript copied in Tunis 829/1425 by al-Tūzurī (MS018) in a Maghribi hybrid script.

developments in the East, and – as will be demonstrated – incorporated designs from contemporary Mamluk manuscripts. In the fifteenth century, a distinct, Ḥafṣid style emerged in Qur'an manuscripts, with an archaizing, codified Qur'anic calligraphy and layout. At the same time, a series of manuscripts in a very distinct aesthetic, all of *hadith* literature, was produced at the Ḥafṣid court and sent to mosques throughout Ifrīqiya, which amounts to an advertising of a Ḥafṣid aesthetic identity (see below).

The story is very different for less precious manuscripts. There is naturally a large body of manuscripts from Ḥafṣid Ifrīqiya that are neither Qur'anic nor illuminated manuscripts. These simpler manuscripts survive mainly from the fifteenth century, with one earlier example being a commentary on the *Mudawwana*, copied in Tunis in 793/1390 by a certain Muḥammad al-Qaysī (MS011, see figure 60). Mālikī *fiqh* (jurisprudence) is among the most common genres (MS011, MS012 – figure 61, MS022, MS024, MS027, MS028, MS031, MS039, MS040, MS050, MS054). However, other manuscripts evidence a far wider spectrum of Ifrīqī book culture during the Ḥafṣid period: there are grammar books (MS023, MS015), poetry compilations (MS006, MS018, MS038), medical treatises (MS020), astronomical texts (MS049, MS053), historical chronicles (MS042, MS045, MS046), a work on ethics (MS041), and prayerbooks (MS037, MS044).

Stylistic comparisons are more difficult within this group of manuscripts since their script (unlike Qur'anic calligraphy or in enhanced book hands) is not codified. For this group of manuscripts, the handwriting seems freer and more individual, as it varies significantly from scribe to scribe. Although the scripts applied in these codices are very diverse, the manuscripts have a similar layout in common. The ink in most cases is a dark brown, blackish ink, although sometimes it is light brown. Highlighted words are either copied in bold script, or in red mostly with a magenta tint, or sometimes as a brighter red.¹⁰⁶ The recto of the first folio bears the title page with title and subtitle. The text starts on the verso side of the title folio with a heading (in highlighted script), while the invocations above the heading – just as we will see for illuminated manuscripts – follow the tradition of Almohad chancery documents.¹⁰⁷

Not much is known about the scribes of these manuscripts, nor about the circumstances of their copying. Seven names of scribes can be discovered from this corpus of manuscripts. The scribes Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Sulaymān b. Musayyab al-Ziyādī and 'Abd Allāh b. Zakariyyā' al-Tūzurī are each represented by two codices: the former copied MS049 in 916/1510 and MS050 in 920/1514; the latter

¹⁰⁶ The use of red ink for highlighting words or headings in Maghribi manuscripts starts in the eleventh century; cf. Bongianino, *The Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*, 162.

¹⁰⁷ Sheila Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 394–395; Bongianino, *Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*, 327–348.

copied MS017 in 821/1418 and MS018 in 829/1425 (see figures 13 and 14). Interestingly, al-Tūzurī penned his manuscripts in a Maghribi hybrid script heavily influenced by Mashriqī *naskh*. He was able to switch between scripts and was acquainted with both the Maghribi and the Mashriqī system of dotting of *fā'* and *qāf*. This suggests that some scribes were trained in different writing styles. Not only could they master both Maghribi and Mashriqī scripts, but also developed a hybrid script.

With Ibn Khaldūn's suggestion in mind that ancient Ifrīqī scripts might have survived in the Jarīd region around the *Chott el Djerid* (*Shaṭṭ al-Jarīd*), a large salt lake in the south of present-day Tunisia and far away from the Ḥafṣid court in Tunis, another interesting source can help for more clarity. The shaykh al-Tijānī, during his journey (*riḥla*) in the year 706/1307, met a master scribe in Nefzaoua (Nafzāwa), in the east of the Jarīd region.¹⁰⁸ A *faqīh* and a talented poet, Abū Bakr b. Faṭḥ al-Ghamarī al-Nafzāwī al-Tarī is said to have mastered “good handwriting in a unique way: he invented [a script] that has never been seen among the various types of calligraphy, and a group of people from al-Jarīd has excelled in it in our time.”¹⁰⁹ Unfortunately, none of the present manuscripts, which are all from a century after al-Tijānī's and al-Nafzāwī's lifetime, can be attributed to him or to his writing school. While modern scholarship has made al-Nafzāwī “a pioneer calligrapher of Ifrīqī writing,”¹¹⁰ al-Tijānī expresses his surprise to find such talent and innovation in such a remote place.¹¹¹ From al-Tijānī's account, it sounds as though al-Nafzāwī invented a new type of calligraphy. However, when Ibn Khaldūn writes about the script of the people from the Jarīd seventy years later in his *Muqaddima*, he rather suggests that “a trace [of the Ifrīqī script] has survived in the Jarīd region, where the people did not mingle with Andalusī scribes, nor did they work in their proximity.”¹¹² That would speak for the remains of old Ifrīqī scripts in the writing style of the people of the Jarīd, rather than a completely new one. The *nisba* of the copyist al-Tūzurī, who copied manuscripts in both Maghribi and Mashriqī scripts (figures 13 and 14), points to the Jarīd, since Tozeur (or Tūzur) is located on the shores of the *Shaṭṭ al-Jarīd*. Al-Tūzurī's handwriting could thus represent the vestiges of Ifrīqī writing that was preserved in that region, or a specimen of al-Nafzāwī's innovative writing school.

In either case, the sources suggest that different styles of writing coexisted in Ḥafṣid Ifrīqiya. This indeed can be confirmed by the material evidence. Although

¹⁰⁸ al-Tijānī, *Riḥla*, 153.

¹⁰⁹ al-Tijānī, *Riḥla*: “*wa-lahu al-taqaddum fi ḥusn al-khaṭṭ wa-huwa infarad fihi bi-ṭarīqa ikhtara'ahā lam tu'raf qaṭṭ fi anwā' al-khaṭṭ al-ma'dūda, wa-bara' fihā fi waqtinā hādihā jamā'a min ahl al-Jarīd.*” Al-Tijānī also cites two poems by al-Nafzāwī, al-Tijānī, *Riḥla*, 147–149 and 173–174.

¹¹⁰ 'Abd al-Latif, “al-Khaṭṭ wa-l-khaṭṭātūn,” 68: “*khaṭṭāt rā'id fi ibdā' al-kitāba al-Ifrīqiyya.*”

¹¹¹ al-Tijānī, *Riḥla*, 153: “*wa huwa mimman yastaghrib wujūduhu fi mithl tilka al-biqā'.*”

¹¹² Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*; II:751.

all scripts in the corpus bear the main Maghribi features (especially the punctuation of *fā'* and *qāf*), a few examples are rather curious. Some scribes employ a script that resembles Mashriqī *naskh* (MS017, MS046, MS049, MS050) and, furthermore, some of these scripts appear to be written by a very confident hand. Whether these represent examples of Nafzāwī's school is unfortunately not discernible. The "clumsiness" in other examples could be explained with the same phenomenon observed in "semi-Maghribi" manuscripts of the eleventh century: some Ifrīqī scribes apparently tried to adapt to the new writing style coming from al-Andalus.¹¹³ Furthermore, the derivations of Ifrīqī scripts detectable in the angular traits of these fourteenth-century manuscripts imply that the tradition of manuscript production did not fade after the demise of Kairouan in the eleventh century.

Following his analysis of writing styles in Ifrīqiya, Ibn Khaldūn continues his evaluation:

Eventually, the shadow of the Almohad dynasty receded somewhat, and sedentary culture and luxury retrogressed with the retrogression of civilization. At that time, writing also suffered a setback, and its forms deteriorated. The method of teaching writing was no longer known [. . .]. Traces of the Andalusī script remain there, attesting to the [perfection in it] which the people had formerly possessed. [. . .] The types of script used in Ifrīqiya and the Maghrib inclined to be ugly and far from excellent. When books were copied, it was useless to look at them critically. [The study of them] merely caused pain and trouble, [. . .] the letters were no longer well formed. Thus, they could be read only with some difficulty.¹¹⁴

In one respect, the material evidence has confirmed the analyses that the Andalusī scribes in Tunis brought their Maghribi traditions with them and that a scribal school in the south of Ifrīqiya possibly kept developing their Ifrīqī heritage. On the other side, the material evidence contradicts Ibn Khaldūn's prediction about the irreversible decline of contemporary Ḥafṣid calligraphy; this tradition continued to flourish and evolve under Abū 'Umar 'Uthmān and continued well into the sixteenth century.

3.2.2 Towards a "Ḥafṣid Imperial Style"

Arts and letters seem to have been extremely important and were highly valued at the Ḥafṣid court. The sultans surrounded themselves with poets who were eager to sing their praises, and a successful poem would guarantee the poet a prestigious

¹¹³ Bongianino, *Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*, 54.

¹¹⁴ Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, II:751.

place at the court. Every morning, the vizier would read poetry to the sultan, and if the latter liked it, the author of the poem was allowed to recite it to the sultan himself.¹¹⁵ It was not only the immaterial value of the texts that was appreciated at the court, but the visual and aesthetic aspect of literature seems to have been of importance as well. The poet and historian al-Khayyir (active around 864/1459–1460), for example, appointed secretary at the court, was praised for his beautiful handwriting (more on him in the catalogue of Qur'an manuscripts).¹¹⁶ The Ḥafṣid sultans seem to have promoted a thriving literary and book culture. As seen in the previous chapter, the manuscripts they endowed to their mosques and madrasas were to be studied and read, and the Qur'an was to be recited every day along with a selection of hadith works. Not only did the sultans stipulate that this should be done, but they chose very specific manuscripts for this purpose, as stated in the endowment certificates of Q017 (*taḥbīs* 6), Q008 (*taḥbīs* 9), or MS036 (*taḥbīs* 19, see again figure 4). Apart from the pious intentions that might have motivated these endowments and recitation instructions, the sultans seem to have had a clear program for the material aspect of the book culture that they were promoting. The aesthetic that lies behind their choices and decisions reveals a lot about the (visual) identity that the Ḥafṣid sultans created in Ifrīqiya.¹¹⁷

Ḥafṣid authority was initially based on the legitimacy of Almohad rule over Ifrīqiya. The Ḥafṣids came to the region as the governors of the Almohads at the beginning of the thirteenth century. After their declaration of independence from the Almohads in 1229, the Almohad religious doctrine, the advocates of which were a minority in Ifrīqiya, seems to have lost momentum in the region. With independence from the Almohads, the Ḥafṣids had to build their own legitimacy and identity. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, Malikite scholars were in charge of all important religious offices in the Ḥafṣid realm, and the state was adapted to the political culture of Ifrīqiya and to the balance of forces therein.¹¹⁸ In particular, the Ḥafṣid sultans came to rely upon the religious and political expertise of Andalusī migrants, who were Malikite scholars themselves. The Ifrīqī reorientation of the Ḥafṣid state thus occurred in tandem with the influence of Andalusī and their own visual culture and scribal practices.

115 Ibn Faḍl, *Masālik al-absār*, 130–131.

116 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl al-Malaṭī, "Riḥla," in *Deux récits de voyage inédits en Afrique du nord au XV siècle*, ed. Robert Brunschvig (Paris: Larose éditeurs, 1936), 76.

117 The Almohad expansion towards Ifrīqiya had already coincided with the phase of ideological deployment of Maghribī scripts; Bongianino, "The Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West: Maghribī Round Scripts and the Andalusī Identity", at the Columbia University, *Religion and Writing*, 17 March 2021 (webinar).

118 Abun-Nasr, *History of the Maghrib*, 132.

This transition and identity politics are mirrored in the artistic output of the period, especially in the manuscript culture. The Almohads initiated the “maghribization” of Ifriqiya, which is clearly visible in the manuscript production.¹¹⁹ According to Ibn Khaldūn, Ifriqī scripts only seem to have survived far from the court in Tunis, in the south of Ifriqiya and in a more private sphere of book culture. Although the Ḥafṣids, leaning on the political legitimacy established by the Almohads, continued the Maghribi tradition, a shift from Almohad visual expression can also be observed. In Ḥafṣid building and coinage epigraphy, the masons and other craftsmen often applied Maghribi *thuluth*, a curvilinear script inspired by eastern calligraphic styles and chancery scripts that was very popular in Almohad manuscripts.¹²⁰ The Ḥafṣids also reverted, at least partially, to the use of Kufi for architectural as well as numismatic inscriptions.¹²¹ For example, a coin minted under Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar I (r. 1284–1295) kept an entirely Kufi design.¹²² Incidentally, Kufi script is also used in the royal seal of Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad I al-Mustanṣir, as preserved in a peace treaty with France of the year 600/1270 (D001).¹²³

The Ḥafṣids, and with them the Andalusi scribes they employed, show an almost conservative appeal towards Maghribi manuscript tradition, turning away from Almohad innovations. While the Almohads had institutionalized paper for chancery documents, the Ḥafṣids (but also other, contemporary dynasties – namely, the Marinids and Nasrids) regressed to parchment for some kinds of chancery documents – e.g., peace treaties (D001, D002, D003). Similarly, Ḥafṣid Qur’an manuscripts and important hadith works were copied on parchment until the fifteenth century. The Ḥafṣids did not try to differentiate themselves from the Almohads with regard to scribal materials alone, however, and their attempts are also visible in some aesthetic aspects. Thus, Maghribi *thuluth*, once so fashionable under the Almohads, is used rather hesitantly in Ḥafṣid manuscripts (see the colophon of Q007, figure 30). The Ḥafṣid manuscript culture also shows the incorporation of

119 Bongianino, *Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*, 15.

120 For the use of Maghribi *thuluth* in architecture, see: Abdeljaouad, *Inscriptions arabes*, “Le style cursif hafsid,” 527–535; Khaled Ben Romdhane, “À propos de l’apparition du naskhi officiel en Occident musulman,” in *Mélanges d’archéologie, d’épigraphie et d’histoire. Offerts à Slimane Mustapha Zbiss*, ed. Muhammad Hassine Fantar and Saloua Khaddar-Zangar (Bab Mnara: Institut National du Patrimoine de Tunisie, 2011). For its use in numismatics, see Ben Romdhane, “Calligraphie et numismatique,” 40–43; Fenina and Kahlaoui, “La monnaie hafside”; Mourad Rammah, *Trésors de Kairouan* (Tunis, 2009), 46.

121 For Kufi inscriptions, see Abdeljaouad, *Inscriptions arabes*, II:511–526.

122 See a coin sold at Christie’s auction house 14 July 2000: <https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-1843835/>, consulted 8 March 2021.

123 Ouerfelli, “Le sceau de la paix.”

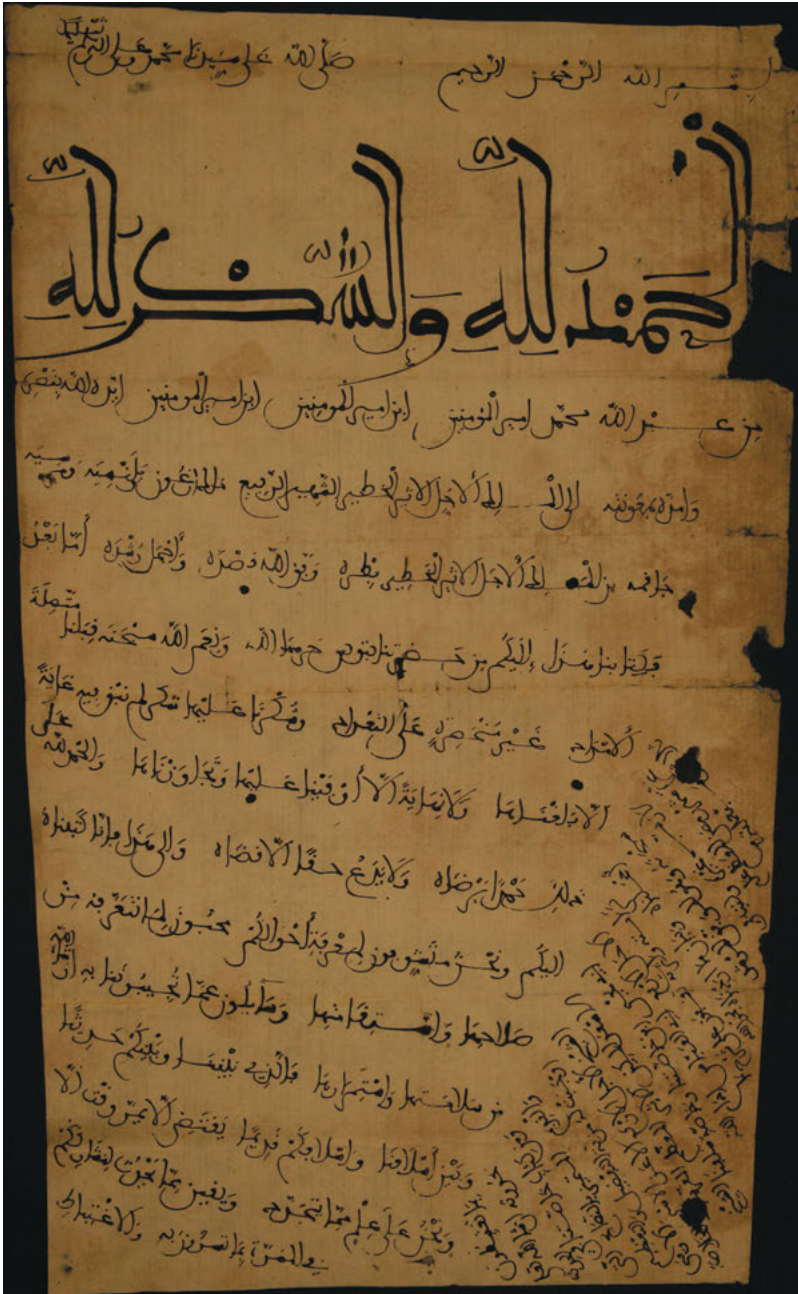


Figure 15: Letter from the sultan of Tunis Muḥammad II al-Mustansir to Jaime II of Aragon, 8 April 1304 (D004).

eastern manuscript traditions, such as the integration of Mamluk design (see the sura title in Q012, figure 37).

Similarly, the Ḥafṣid search for identity is mirrored in the chancery practices at the court. While the Almohad rulers used an immediately recognizable *‘alāma* (signature on documents),¹²⁴ the Ḥafṣids do not seem to have settled on a single approach. Although a rich protocol of chancery practices is attested in Ḥafṣid epigraphy,¹²⁵ and the phrasing of the *‘alāma* – “Praise to God and gratitude to God” (*al-ḥamd li-llāh wa-l-shukr li-llāh*) – is attested in contemporary sources,¹²⁶ no visual unity can be discerned in the archival documents available (D001–D033; two examples in figures 15 and 16).¹²⁷

Ḥafṣid royal endowments were not restricted to the capital in Tunis (or to the counter capital of Bejaia). The history of Ifrīqiya was deeply embedded in the legacy of Kairouan, one of the earliest centers of Islam. As such, Kairouan was an important city to be incorporated into the Ḥafṣid realm. Sultan Abū Fāris ‘Abd al-‘Azīz sent a manuscript, a copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, from Tunis to be endowed to the Great Mosque in Kairouan (MS013).¹²⁸ In addition to the pious intention behind that donation, the royal gift from the court in Tunis to the mosque in Kairouan also embodied a political message. A striking group of manuscripts shows the same intention very well: seven multivolume hadith manuscripts, all copied in a very distinct aesthetic, were either sent to the mosques of Kairouan, Sfax, and Annaba where they were eventually found (MS013, MS026, MS032, MS036), or copied by a scribe with an Ifrīqi *nisba*, such as al-Tūnisi or al-Sūsi (MS030, MS034, figures 64 to 67, 70 and 71, 74 and 75). Another such manuscript was dedicated to the royal *khizāna* of Sultan Abū ‘Amr

124 For Almohad chancery practices, see Hicham El Aallaoui, Travis Bruce, and Pascal Buresi, *Governing the Empire: Provincial Administration in the Almohad Caliphate, 1224–1269* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Evariste Lévi-Provençal, *Trente-sept lettres officielles almohades* (Rabat: Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines, 1941); Evariste Lévi-Provençal, “Un recueil de lettres officielles almohades, étude diplomatique et historique,” *Hesperis* 28 (1941). The Almohad *‘alāma* was copied in *naskh* to represent their universal legitimization; cf. Bongianino, “The Caliph and the Monks’ Cattle: An Almohad Decree in Favour of a Catalan Monastery (1217),” KRC research webinar, University of Oxford, 21 January 2021.

125 Abdeljaouad, *Inscriptions arabes*, II:415–418.

126 Al-Ghubrīnī, *‘Unwān al-dirāya*, 185; al-Zarkashī, *Tā’rikh al-dawlatayn*, 28, 53.

127 Usually, the sultan would not lift the *qalam* himself, but had his secretary in charge of the *al-‘alāma al-kubra* (the long signature) sign for him; for the practice, see Brunshvig, *Berbérie orientale*, II:61–66. As opposed to Almohad documents where the *‘alāma* is omnipresent, the Ḥafṣid documents show the *‘alāma* in only half of the examples, and, even then, in different writing styles.

128 This manuscript was not inspected in person; the endowment is mentioned in Rammah, *Trésors de Kairouan*, 23.

ʿUthmān himself in 843/1440 (MS021, figures 62 and 63). Again, the manuscripts have a very distinct aesthetic in their script and layout that will be further introduced in the discussion below – such as the developed fifteenth-century book hand, the stapling of the *basmala* at the end of the line, the use of the colors blue and magenta, the shadow and light additions to the chrysography, and the use of *mabṣūṭ* instead of *thuluth* script for titles. This definition will inevitably have caveats, such as an innate degree of variability and the incomplete nature of the present corpus or a reference set. However, until a wider body of comparative manuscripts allows further conclusions, the high recognition value of these manuscripts suggests a defining and conscious feature that will here be deemed the “Ḥafṣid Imperial Style.”

In line with the prosperous reign of Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān, which was marked by internal strength and stability, these manuscripts, presumably sent from the Ḥafṣid court as endowments to Ifrīqī mosques and as diplomatic gifts in foreign embassies, successfully promoted the hegemony of Tunis and the unity of Ifrīqīya. This amounts to a promulgation of a Ḥafṣid visual identity. The lavish manuscript production in fifteenth-century Ḥafṣid Ifrīqīya, attested by the material evidence, thus refutes Ibn Khaldūn’s prophecy of the demise of book production in Ifrīqīya. In his account of the craft of calligraphy and book production, Ibn Khaldūn seems to imply that Ḥafṣid art and culture depended on their Almohad leaders and was doomed to decline with the retreat of the Almohads, and correspondingly with the political independence of the Ḥafṣids in Ifrīqīya. While Ibn Khaldūn is famous for his circular theory of the ebb and flow of civilization, the notion of the decrease or decline of culture is somewhat problematic. We should not forget that Ibn Khaldūn was writing at the end of the fourteenth century, and that Ḥafṣid material culture lasted for almost two more centuries after that.

3.3 Book Production: Some Preliminary Remarks on Techniques

3.3.1 Writing Surface

In order to better place book production in Ḥafṣid Ifrīqīya within the regional traditions, a few technical aspects, such as the preparation of the writing surface and the binding of the finished book, will be analyzed.

Parchment was used as a writing surface for Qur’an manuscripts and illuminated *hadith* works until the turn of the fourteenth century, when it became almost entirely replaced by paper. The graph (figure 17) shows that for almost two centuries, parchment and paper were in parallel use, although for different purposes: the earliest paper manuscript in the corpus, dated 698/1298 (MS006), is a poetry col-

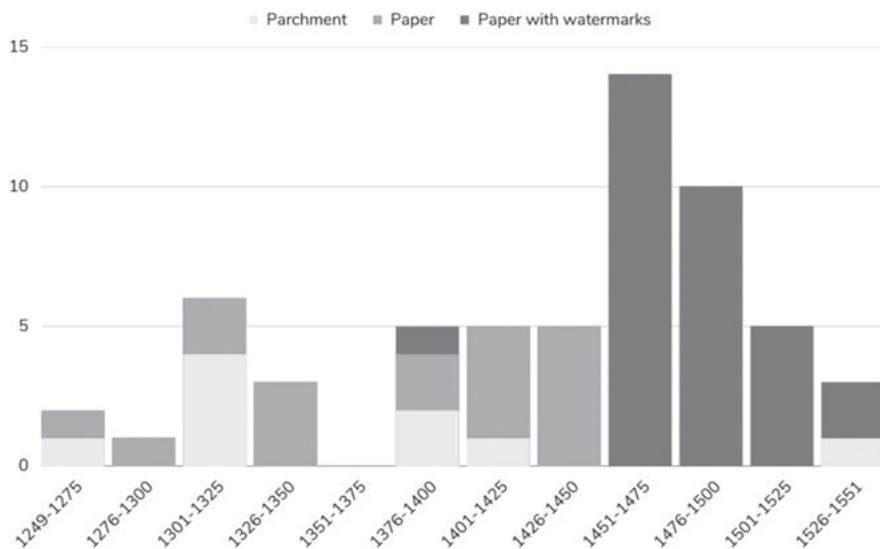


Figure 17: Distribution of the use of different writing surfaces over time.

lection, while the latest attested use of parchment is found in the precious diploma of the year 807/1405 (MS016), which certifies the owner as proficient in reciting the Qur'an. A similar observation can be made for the choice of writing surface in the Ḥafṣid chancery (the documents are not counted in the graph). The latest Ḥafṣid document written on parchment is a commercial treaty with the municipality of Pisa and Florence, signed in 824/1421 (D025), while the earliest paper document, a letter from the Ḥafṣid sultan to Jaime II of Aragon, was issued as early as 704/1304 (D004). Although it is certainly noteworthy that the use of parchment for Ḥafṣid manuscripts and documents persisted for a long time, even when the use of paper was already well established, this observation is very much in line with the manuscript production in the Maghrib under the Marinids, Nasrids, and Zayyanids.¹²⁹

From the fourteenth century, parchment was mostly used for copying the Qur'an (the latest is from 712/1312; Q006) and prestigious copies of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī (MS013 and MS014; both examples from the late fourteenth century).¹³⁰ Dated copies on paper, for both the Qur'an and the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, are known to exist only from the

¹²⁹ Hossam Mujtār 'Abbādī, *Las artes del libro en al-Andalus y el Magreb, IV–VIII s. AH* (Madrid: El Viso, 2005), 32–38; Bongianino, *Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*, 97–98, 140; Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, 32–33, 55; Déroche, *Livre manuscrit arabe*, 77–79.

¹³⁰ Whereas Orsatti concludes (from the material from the Vaticana) that the use of parchment until the end of the fourteenth century is connected to Qur'an copies; Paola Orsatti, "Le manuscrit islamique: caractéristiques matérielles et typologie," in *Ancient and Medieval Book Materials and*

second half of the fifteenth century onward. Since we can assume that this is not a mere question of survival, the evidence indicates that a conscious change, specifically concerning the writing surface of religious texts, took place around the early fifteenth century. Bongianino observes that, after centuries of using parchment, it first became common under the later Almohads to copy the Qur'an on paper, and he suggests – besides obvious economic reasons – an ideological motivation behind this phenomenon.¹³¹ If the Almohad rulers perceived this traditional preference for parchment over paper as one of the many superfluous innovations developed within the Maliki school of jurisprudence, then the application of parchment for religious manuscripts during Ḥafṣid rule could point to a purported return to Maliki values and ideology. In Ḥafṣid Ifrīqiya, the comeback of parchment can also be understood as a return to local traditions of book production, since Kairouan was a famous center of parchment production in the tenth century.¹³²

Locally produced paper was introduced into Maghribi manuscript culture in the tenth century and was used alongside parchment for 500 years. As opposed to European papers, Maghribi papers often show irregular chain lines. The pattern of lines is the result of the natural pressure exerted by the weight of the pulp in the mold; in other words, these lines reflect the pattern of the mesh of the mold.¹³³ The horizontal chain lines are set wider apart, while the laid lines are the narrow vertical lines. Chain lines can appear very irregular, or clustered in groups of two and three. In some instances, the mold (and thus the paper) does not have chain lines at all.¹³⁴ The laid lines (the narrow lines imprinted in the paper from the mold) can be irregular as well and are often double, looking like thin stripes. By the twelfth century, Xàtiva in al-Andalus was a famous center for papermaking, exporting also to Christian Europe. Paper from Xàtiva and elsewhere in al-Andalus are marked with zigzag marks along the gutter; they can be described as scratches in “comb” or diagonal-cross form running from the upper to the lower margin. Already under the Almohads, however, fine paper was being produced locally throughout the Maghrib.¹³⁵ In the corpus of Ḥafṣid manuscripts, all these different Maghribi techniques

Techniques, ed. Marilena Maniaci and Paola Munafò (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1993), 297.

¹³¹ Bongianino, *The Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*, 211.

¹³² 'Abbādī, *Artes del libro*, 36.

¹³³ Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts. A Vademecum for Readers* (Leiden/Boston 2009), entry on “Laid paper.”

¹³⁴ Gacek states this feature for Iranian and Transoxanian papers; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 101. However, it can be found in Maghribi papers as well, as the present corpus attests.

¹³⁵ Bongianino, *The Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*, 191. While Bongianino says that zigzag is a typically Andalusī feature, Gacek says that it was applied throughout the Maghrib; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 297.

of papermaking are attested: the earliest dated example of a Ḥafṣid manuscript, copied in 698/1298 (MS006), is copied on a paper with very irregular chain lines; the paper of a manuscript endowed to the mosque of Annaba in 849/1445 (MS022) shows the zigzag lines; the paper of MS023, copied in 850/1446, has laid lines only; and the paper of a 900/1495 endowment to the Zaytūna Mosque (MS046) is molded on a form with chain lines in groups of two. Whether these papers were produced in Ḥafṣid Ifrīqiya or imported from other parts of the Maghrib cannot be discerned.

A common technique to enhance the writing surface was the dyeing of the paper in different colors, from a bright pink, to red, and yellow. This technique has been associated with the Nasrid rulers in al-Andalus, who are believed to have invented it; scholarship hence refers to it as “Naṣrī paper.”¹³⁶ The earliest known Nasrid example, however, is from the year 1239,¹³⁷ while the method for dyeing paper is already mentioned in an eleventh-century manual on book production, *Kitāb ‘umdat al-kuttāb*, written in Ifrīqiya by Zīrid prince Mu‘izz Ibn Bādīs (r. 1016–1062).¹³⁸ The use of colored paper was popular throughout the Maghrib, and there is no reason to link its origin to the Nasrids. The most impressive Ḥafṣid example of dyed paper is from the late fourteenth century, a *mushāf* copied on dark red paper with silver and gold ink (Q010, see figures 34 and 35). Another Qur’an manuscript with a very similar script and layout is copied in silver and gold ink on a green writing surface, probably dyed paper (Q011).¹³⁹

In the fifteenth century, when paper was imported from Europe in large quantities and the local production declined, this European paper was also occasionally dyed before it was used, as can be seen in the example of a *Ṣaḥīḥ* copy from 873/1468 (MS034). The watermarked European paper was, in this case, dyed in yellow and pale pink. This suggests that producing the paper and dyeing it were two separate production steps, with the latter still being carried out in Ifrīqiya when the former had been reduced or even abandoned.

¹³⁶ Jonathan Bloom, *Paper before Print. The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 88; Oriol Valls i Subirà, *Paper and Watermarks in Catalonia. El Papel y sus filigranas en Catalunya* (Amsterdam: The Paper Publications Society, 1970), 12.

¹³⁷ Valls i Subirà, *Paper and Watermarks*, 12.

¹³⁸ Martin Levey, “Mediaeval Arabic Bookmaking and Its Relation to Early Chemistry and Pharmacology,” *Mediaeval Arabic Bookmaking and Its Relation to Early Chemistry and Pharmacology* 54, no. 4 (1962): 43–44 (translation of Ibn Bādīs).

¹³⁹ The manuscript is held at the Bibliothèque nationale de Maroc and could not be examined for this study.

In the cities of Fez, Tlemcen, and Tunis, the manufacturing of paper continued in some measure until as late as the fourteenth century,¹⁴⁰ before the mills became redundant with the rise of paper imported from Europe in the fifteenth century. The main indicator of the European origin of paper is the use of watermarks: a mark imprinted on the paper during the production process by the metal wires attached to the paper mold – a technique invented in Italy in the late thirteenth century.¹⁴¹ European watermarks are often symbols of tools, such as scissors or gloves, but they can also have a religious, Christian connotation, such as the cross or the lamb. In 812/1409, Ibn Marzūq al-Ḥafid issued a fatwa in Tlemcen concerning the problem of the use of such Christian paper by pious Muslims.¹⁴² In addition to the interesting debate recorded in this document, it also indicates that European paper had entirely supplanted the local production by the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The earliest dated example of European paper used in Tunis is a letter from the Ḥafṣid ruler of Tunis to Peter IV of Aragon in December 1350. The document is written on paper bearing a griffin watermark.¹⁴³ So far, there is only one example of an equally early use of European paper for manuscripts: the copy produced in Tunis in 761/1360 or 771/1370 (MS008) was written on thick paper with watermarks of unicorns, bells and bows with arrows. The origin of the paper is unidentified. In the second half of the fifteenth century, European paper seems to replace the local production rather abruptly and completely. How this development took place is not recorded in the sources. Concerning the comparable situation of the paper market in Egypt, it has been suggested that Italian sellers spread across the Mediterranean and even purposefully depressed local markets by selling the paper initially for a very low price.¹⁴⁴

New and more extensive trading links with the northern Mediterranean had been established under the Ḥafṣids, characterized by the settlement of European trading communities in Tunis from the early thirteenth century. The first consulate was opened by the Venetians in 1231, though by then the Pisans had been estab-

140 Paper is included in a list of merchandise coming out of Tunis in the late fourteenth century; Miguek G. Camarena, *El primer manual hispánico de mercadería, siglo xiv* (Barcelona, 1981), 174, no. 79. Gacek states that paper production lasted only until the thirteenth century; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 188.

141 Bloom, *Paper before Print*, 112; Edward Heawood, "Watermark. Historical Review," in *Dictionary and Encyclopaedia of Paper and Paper-making*, ed. Émile Joseph Labarre (Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1952), 330.

142 Leor Halevi, "Christian Impurity versus Economic Necessity. A Fifteenth-Century Fatwa on European Paper," *Speculum* 4 (2008): 936. Ibn Marzūq argued that writing God's name on such paper replaced falsehood with truth. The situation, he said, was comparable to transforming a Christian church into a mosque.

143 Bloom, *Paper before Print*, 86.

144 Bloom, *Paper before Print*, 111–112.

lished for sixty years and commercial treaties had already been signed with Venice (1170), Sicily (1206), Provence, and Catalonia (1229). The continuous use of European paper is evidence of the continuous flow of the trade between Europe and Ḥafṣid Tunis during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, despite political disputes.¹⁴⁵



Figure 18: German watermark in a Ḥafṣid manuscript (MS034).

It is important to note that paper did not only come from Italy, as scholarship has assumed, but that there are also examples of fifteenth-century Spanish and even German paper in Ḥafṣid manuscripts. The latter suggests a new trading connection that has not yet been explored and deserves further attention. The paper in question can be found in multiple volumes of a *Ṣaḥīḥ* manuscript, copied in 870–873/1465–1468 (MS034). The manuscripts are bound *in octavo*, so that the watermark appears on the upper and lower edges of the sheet. The mark shows a city wall of ashlar masonry with a gate, three towers, and a hovering eagle above it (figure 18).¹⁴⁶ In fifteenth-century Germany, paper mills were established in many different cities and used their local coats of arms as watermarks. The towered city

¹⁴⁵ Trade relations with Italy were not good in the first half of the fifteenth century, while in the second half, Italian traders penetrated the local market in the Maghrib; Dominique Valérian, “Les relations entre l’Italie et le Maghreb dans la seconde moitié du XVe siècle: les conditions d’un nouvel essor,” in *Maghreb-Italie. Des passeurs médiévaux à l’orientalisme moderne, XIIIe–milieu XXe siècle*, ed. Benoît Grévin (Rome: École française de Rome, 2010).

¹⁴⁶ It is closest to the watermark attested from a mill in Stuttgart in 1464; Gerhard Piccard, *Wasserzeichenschlüssel* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1979), online Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart: <https://www.wasserzeichen-online.de/?ref=DE6300-PO-105976>; last accessed 23 November 2020).

walls (a modified form of the arms of the city of Ravensburg) are seen in many German documents.¹⁴⁷ It has been noted before that a good deal of the paper marked in this way was produced for export; yet the fact that it was traded as far as Tunis is an interesting and hitherto unrecognized element of Ḥafṣid book culture.

On a side note, filigranology (the study of watermarks) demands very accurate research. Measurements need to be very precise in order to distinguish between different marks and mills, since the symbols used in watermarks spread across Europe and were shared by different papermakers. The most common watermarks in this set of Ḥafṣid manuscripts, the pair of scissors and the hand or glove, appearing in different variations, were also the most widely used by papermakers in Italy, France, and Spain. Even if the watermark can help to narrow down the span of possibilities for the production of the paper, this does not say anything yet about the production date of the manuscript itself. The interval between the production of the paper and its use has been defined as fifteen to twenty years, but theoretically – and in some examples practically – there are no limits to that rule.¹⁴⁸

Within the Ḥafṣid corpus, the size of the paper sheets (i.e., the bifolios) does not exceed 45 x 65 cm, and in most folio volumes every page measures at least 35 x 27 cm. These measurements correspond to the rules that Déroche has established more generally for Maghribi manuscripts.¹⁴⁹ The sole exception, with such a slight divergence that it is almost too small to be mentioned, is the three surviving folios of a *muṣḥaf* that measure 49 x 33 cm, indicating that the original sheets (bifolios) must have measured at least 49 x 66 cm (Q012, see figures 36 and 37).

As far as the preparation of the writing surface is concerned, the system of ruling and scoring used in the Ḥafṣid corpus is very much in line with what has been observed in Maghribi manuscripts of other origins. The earliest use of a ruling board (*miṣṭara*) is attested in the late fourteenth-century Qur'an written on dark red paper (Q010): the instrument used was probably a wooden board with threads or cords attached to it at regular intervals, laid on top of the writing surface as to guide the hand of the scribe. Andalusī copyists do not seem to have used a ruling board for the single writing lines, with only a few exceptions, at least until the fourteenth century. Rather, the individual leaves were scored in the margins using a

147 Heawood, "Watermark," 340.

148 Irigoien argues for a time span of fifteen to twenty years; Jean Irigoien, "La datation par les filigranes du papier," *Codicologica* 5 (1980): 24–29; in an unpublished talk, Anne Regourd argued for a much longer time span: "Papers of Islamic Manuscripts as Geographical Indicators," at the *Silsila* series (NYU), 18 November 2020.

149 Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, 52.

dry point, a technique borrowed from parchment manuscripts. Pricking was sometimes added to the four corners of the scored surface so as to delineate the text box; the two vertical lines marking the left and right margins were often the only writing aid employed by copyists.¹⁵⁰ Because the laid lines were clearly visible in the paper of Maghribi production, the copyist could easily follow these lines when writing.¹⁵¹ However, in some cases all the individual lines were scored in drypoint.

Both techniques, *mistara* and scoring (sometimes with additional pricking), were applied in the fourteenth and even fifteenth centuries in Ḥafṣid manuscript production, irrespective of the kind of paper used (Arab paper with clearer laid lines or glossy European paper with fainter laid lines).

3.3.2 Binding

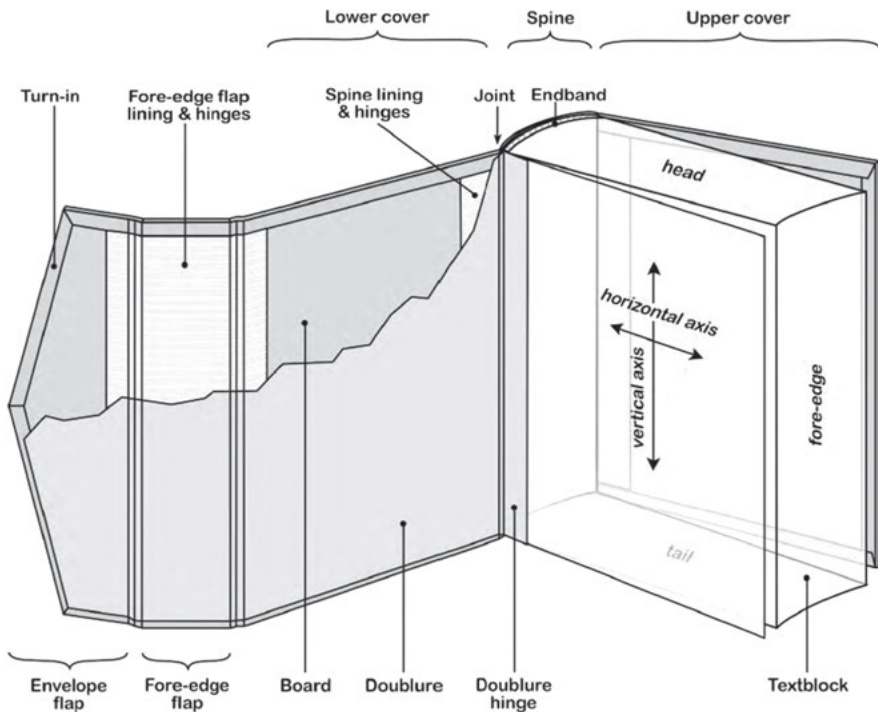


Figure 19: Bookbinding technical terms after Bosch, Carswell, and Petherbridge.

¹⁵⁰ Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, 162; Gacek, “Ruling,” chapter in *Vademecum*.

¹⁵¹ Bongianino, *Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*, 255.

The subject of Islamic bookbindings, as repeatedly stated in the scholarship, is severely understudied. This situation becomes problematic when one seeks to contextualize a particular corpus of material or classify any given binding. Most publications with any variation of “Islamic” and “binding” in the title present images of the actual covers of the books and their decoration, but they do not offer classifications on the basis of technical distinctions.

The 1981 catalogue of Islamic bookbindings in the Oriental Institute in Chicago presented, for the first time, an overview of the possibilities for the construction of Islamic manuscripts and the materials used to produce them.¹⁵² The picture that emerged of the making of manuscripts has found its way into many studies conducted since. The diagram offered in the catalogue for exemplifying the terms used for describing the bookbinding has been widely accepted and has allowed scholars to communicate on the subject (figure 19); it can help us here to understand the technical terms used in the following observations.¹⁵³

The drawing shows the bound textblock with a spine lining adhered to the quires of the manuscript by the endband sewing; the spine lining is attached by hinges to the inner board of the cover; a continuous doublure, covering the board with the fore-edge flap and envelope flap, is pasted by hinges onto the outer leaves of the textblock.

From a technical point of view, Déroche appears to recapitulate the 1981 publication when he states that the predominant Islamic form of bookbinding is similar to a western, European case binding, implying that the covers are made separately from the book.¹⁵⁴ The accepted assumption that Islamic bindings are case bindings has only been challenged in recent years by studies approaching the topic from a conservational viewpoint. One interesting research project has studied the materials and production techniques of Arabic manuscripts dated from the eighth to fifteenth centuries in the Abbey of Sacramonte in Granada.¹⁵⁵ Their Maghribi scripts and presence in a Spanish collection leads the researchers to label the technique “Andalusi bindings” (although the manuscripts are not necessarily of Andalusian origin). The technique explained in this study is remarkable, since it differs significantly from the predominant structure of Islamic bindings described in the aforementioned publications.

152 Gulnar Bosch, John Carswell, and Guy Petherbridge, *Islamic Bindings and Bookmaking* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 1981), diagram on p. 38.

153 Gacek's *Vademecum*, for example, reproduces the diagram and thus admits to its authoritative role in the field; Gacek, *Vademecum*, 26.

154 Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, 260.

155 Teresa Espejo Arias, Juan Pablo Arias Torres, and Ana Beny, “Andalusi Binding. A Model of Islamic Binding from the Iberian Peninsula, 14th–16th Century,” *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 6 (2015).

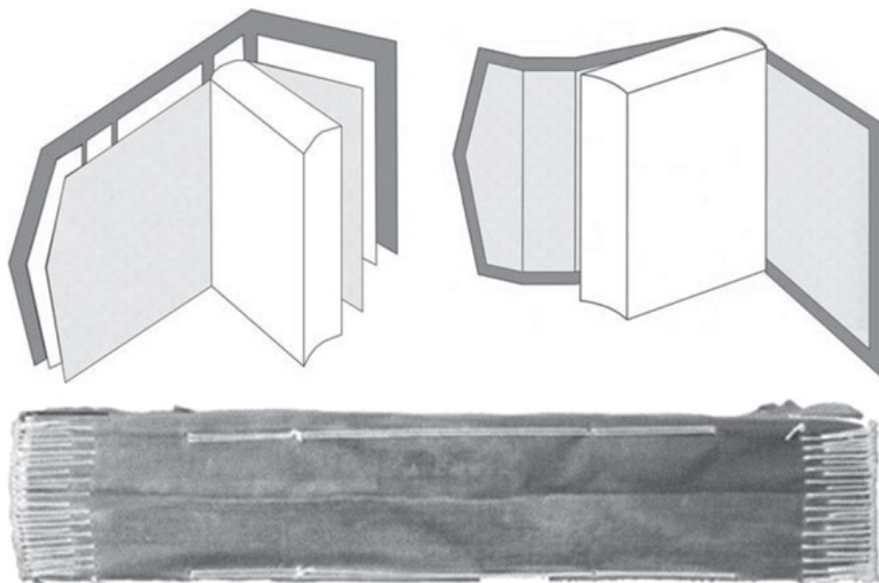


Figure 20: The structure of the “Andalusi binding”.

In the “Andalusi binding,” the first and last two quires were not sewn on two stations – i.e., with two entry points of the needle – like the rest of the quires. Instead, a more elaborate technique was used, resulting in a long outer running stitch using four positions (figure 20). The sewing thread of these outer gatherings also passes through a cloth spine lining made of blue cloth. The spine lining is thus connected to the textblock not only by the endband sewing, as is the usual case depicted in the above diagram (see again figure 19), but even more securely, by sewing the outer quires to it. The same lining was then also used to cover the inner side of the boards, functioning as doublures. That is remarkable, since the majority of the cloth spine linings, as seen in the “predominant” model, are just used as inner joint and board attachment. Since the cloth lining is structurally attached to the textblock and simultaneously makes up part of the cover, the designation of case binding needs to be reconsidered, at least for these “Andalusi bindings.”

Karin Scheper recently rediscovered two Maghribi manuscripts in the Leiden collection with a binding construction similar to the sewing structure observed in the Granada collection (Q020 and MS012), although neither of them is dated or bears any immediate sign of origin. However, the endowment certificate on the first leaf of the Qur’an manuscript (the smaller of the two), reveals that the manuscript had been endowed to the mosque of Bizerte, a harbour town near Tunis, in 1505 (*tahbīs* 18), suggesting an Ifriqī origin for the manuscript. It is worth noting

that Scheper describes the two volumes separately from all the other 2,000 manuscripts studied in the Leiden collection, thus highlighting their very distinctive features.¹⁵⁶



Figure 21: One example of sewn-on leather doublures in MS012; the edges of the covering leather are turned in over the doublures.

The structures described by Scheper bear a strong resemblance to the “Andalusi binding,” differing only in the material that was used for the lining: leather, instead of cloth. The outer quires of both Leiden manuscripts have six sewing stations, and in the sewing of the first and last quires, the thread passes through the lining several times (figure 21). In the smaller of the two volumes (Q020), this divergent sewing structure was only used in the outer quires, while the remaining quires were sewn on two stations. In the larger manuscript (MS012), however, the second quire is sewn on four stations, functioning as a stepping-link between the outer quires (sewn on six stations) and the rest of the textblock (sewn on two stations).

This characteristic binding technique of sewn-on leather doublures can be observed in two other manuscripts (Q001 and Q002) that were both copied in al-Andalus during the Almoravid period in 533/1138 and the Almohad period in 624/1226,

¹⁵⁶ Karin Scheper, *The Technique of Islamic Bookbinding. Methods, Materials and Regional Varieties* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 265–269.

respectively. Both manuscripts, however, do not bear a binding contemporary to their date of copying, but were re-bound later instead, in the same binding technique and very similar cover designs, probably in Ḥafṣid Tunis (compare figures 5 and 22).¹⁵⁷ The second manuscript (Q002) was later taken as booty in 1535 and ended up in the Widmanstetter collection as the “*Alcoranus ex direptione Tunnetana*” (see chapter 2.2). Other bindings in the research corpus are unfortunately restored, and the presence of this technique can no longer be ascertained.



Figure 22: Two Ḥafṣid book covers (left Q001 and Q020).

It is interesting to note that, although the sewn lining-doublure structure of these manuscripts seems to be a rarity among the surviving examples, the technique is described in two medieval Maghribi manuals on bookbinding. The first author, Bakr al-Ishbīlī (d. 1231), dedicated his work (*Kitāb al-taysīr fī šināʿat al-tasfīr*) to the Almohad ruler Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb al-Mansūr (r. 1184–1199). Gacek’s interpretation of the text suggests that it was a common practice that doublures, when made of leather or cloth as opposed to paper, could be sewn together with the textblock.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ On the manuscript itself, see Bongianino, “Rediscovered Almoravid Qur’an.” On the manuscript binding, see Emil Gratzl, *Islamische Bucheinbände des 14. bis 19. Jahrhunderts. Aus den Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1924), 8, no. 6.

¹⁵⁸ Adam Gacek, “Arabic Bookmaking and Terminology as Portrayed by Bakr al-Ishbīlī in his ‘Kitāb al-taysīr fī šināʿat al-tasfīr,’” *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 5 (1990), 107.

The same technique is mentioned in an eleventh-century treatise on bookmaking, a text by the Zīrid ruler and patron of the arts in Ifrīqiya, Mu‘izz Ibn Bādīs.¹⁵⁹

Another distinctive feature in the two Leiden manuscripts is that the leather turn-ins from the outer cover lie on top of the leather doublure. The majority of Islamic bindings show that leather doublures were attached by hinges to the textblock and were part of the outer cover. The turn-ins are then covered by the leather doublures that are attached in the last step of the process, leaving only a small strip of the turn-ins visible on the interior of the boards. This reveals that, for the majority of bindings, the turn-ins of the leather covering are made before the leather or paper doublures are applied (for a comparison of techniques see figure 23). According to Scheper, it is common in those instances where the doublures consist of cloth that the edges of the fabric are covered with the leather of the turn-ins, as it happened in the “Andalusi binding.” This makes sense from a conservational viewpoint, so that the cloth would not become frayed. However, turn-ins that cover a leather doublure, on the other hand, are not found in any of the other bindings in the Leiden collection. It is noteworthy, then, that what Scheper describes as a rarity can be found in almost all manuscripts of the present research corpus, with one exception (Q016). However, this technique has also been noted to have prevailed in contemporary Mamluk manuscript techniques – a line of investigation that deserves further research.¹⁶⁰

The practice of covering the doublure with the turn-ins can be explained by the order of the production steps: first, the doublures are attached to the textblock, then the cover is pasted to the doublures, and the turn-ins are folded. This procedure is in accordance with Ibn Bādīs’s description, where the leather application of the outer cover is the last stage in the book’s manufacture.¹⁶¹ As a consequence, the leather turn-ins from the outer cover would lie on top of whatever material – according to Ibn Bādīs, preferably leather – was pasted onto the inside of the boards. This description of binding techniques during Ibn Bādīs’s time in North Africa fits the material evidence of Ḥafṣid manuscripts: all instances where the doublures consisting of leather have the turn-ins covering the doublure, even if the doublure is not sewn with the textblock. This can be clearly observed, for instance, in the thirty-volume Qur’an manuscript that was endowed to the Zāwiyat Ibn ‘Arūs in Tunis in 1524 (Q021; *tahbīs* 15). The turn-ins from the outer cover lie on top of the leather doublures (figure 24). However, the binding technique is very different

¹⁵⁹ Levey, “Mediaeval Arabic Bookmaking,” 42.

¹⁶⁰ From private correspondence with Kristine Rose-Beers, Head of Conservation at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, I have learnt that both hooked-in and pasted-on doublures are applied prior to covering in Mamluk bookbinding techniques; I am grateful for this preview.

¹⁶¹ Levey, “Mediaeval Arabic Bookmaking,” 42.

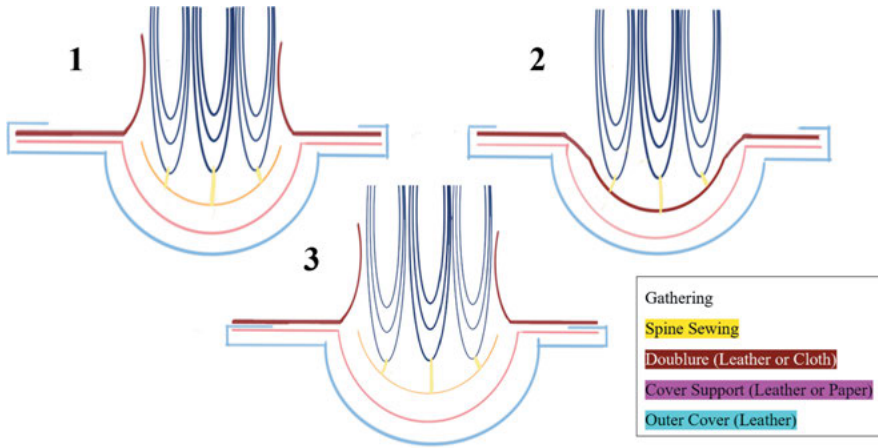


Figure 23: A comparison of different binding techniques; the first two are the most common among the Ḥaḥṣīd corpus: 1) sewn spine lining, the doublures are attached to the outer gatherings by glued hinges, the outer cover lays on top of the doublure, as seen in figure 21 (MS012); 2) the doublure functions as spine lining, sewn on the outer gatherings, the outer cover lays on top of the doublure, i.e., “Andalusi binding”; 3) sewn spine lining, the doublures are attached to the outer gatherings by glued hinges, the doublure lays on top of the hinges of the outer gathering.



Figure 24: The doublure of a Ḥaḥṣīd Qurʾan manuscript glued to the textblock by hinges (Q021); the leather turn-ins from the cover lay on top of the doublure.

from the “Andalusi bindings”: all quires were apparently sewn on ten stations. The spine lining consists of colorless cloth (as can be seen in a broken example), and the leather doublures are pasted onto the outer leaves of the textblock by cut hinges.

Many questions concerning Ḥafṣid binding techniques remain open. The technique of the sewn spine lining doublure has been attributed to the Iberian Peninsula and called “Andalusi bindings,” although it was also known in North Africa. Whether or not the manuscripts with the blue cloth lining were produced in al-Andalus, the technique of applying the spine lining in a double function as doublure can also be found in examples of Ḥafṣid origin. The above discussion implies that the use of leather bears a strong relation to bookbinding in North Africa, where the technique, according to Ibn Bādīs, had been present at least since the eleventh century. The Andalusi variation of using cloth in this sewing construction might have evolved from a structure using leather, which may have developed in North Africa during the time of Ibn Bādīs. However, it also seems plausible that the technique of turn-ins covering the leather doublures was adapted from the technique for when cloth was applied, where the covering turn-ins prevented fraying. The cloth technique would then consequently be the earlier method.

Another important aspect of bookbindings is the decoration of their covers. Stamping or block stamping is one of the most common decorative techniques in Islamic manuscripts, using panel stamps which have whole decorative designs engraved in relief or *intaglio*.¹⁶² The technique is said to have been introduced to the Maghrib in the fifteenth century from Persia.¹⁶³ Before the introduction of block stamping for certain areas of vegetal and/or geometrical decoration, bindings were decorated by tooling, whereby a design was made by various small tools.¹⁶⁴ The techniques used for the cover decoration in Ḥafṣid production are not distinctive to other Maghribi manuscript traditions. What is remarkable, however, is that the corpus of Ḥafṣid bindings shows the technique of stamping from the early fourteenth century. The earliest datable Ḥafṣid manuscripts with their original stamped covers are both royal manuscripts: one made for the *khizāna* of Abū Bakr al-Mutawakkil ‘alā Allāh (MS009) and the red *muṣḥaf* copied to be endowed to the Qaṣba Mosque in 807/1405 (Q010). This suggests either an earlier transmission of stamping techniques from the Mashriq, prior to the fifteenth century, or, alternatively, an independent development.

162 Gacek, “Stamping,” chapter in *Vademecum*.

163 Bosch, Carswell, and Petherbridge, *Islamic Bindings*, 68.

164 Gacek, “Tooling,” chapter in *Vademecum*.

If the matter of attribution is not easy from the point of view of the decoration techniques, it is even more complicated when we address the design of the book covers. While the former depend on the expertise of geographically bound groups of craftsmen, aesthetic aspects fluctuate more easily with the circulation of the manuscripts. It is therefore more difficult to attribute book covers to a certain place and time based solely on their decoration. Furthermore, most manuscript covers have been restored or even replaced throughout the centuries, and it is often difficult to decide whether they are contemporary to the manuscript they enclose.

The common reference work for manuscript cover designs is the 1962 publication by Max Weisweiler, *Der islamische Bucheinband des Mittelalters* (Islamic Book-binding of the Middle Ages). Weisweiler studied a great number of manuscripts in Gotha, Berlin, Tübingen, Istanbul, and Leiden, and developed a system to group them according to differences in tooling patterns and decorative schemes. The predominant design pattern in the group of surviving Ḥafṣid manuscript covers is a framing bordure and a circular central motif. For the Ḥafṣid covers, three of Weisweiler's categories can be considered: plain circle without lobes or pendants (nos. 17–43); circle with pendants (nos. 57–63); or lobed circle with pendants (nos. 76–88). Within each of these groups, however, manuscripts can be found from all over the Islamic world. While Weisweiler's categories might make it easier to describe the cover designs, more research is still needed to be able to date and locate the use of certain stamps and patterns.¹⁶⁵

A very similar, if not more frustrating, situation is epitomized by another go-to publication for comparing Islamic book covers. Using the 1983 catalogue of the Islamic bindings in the V&A by Duncan Haldane, the Ḥafṣid reference material would seem to coincide with a manuscript tradition encompassing the whole Maghrib and South Arabia from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century.¹⁶⁶ Although the 1948 publication on the decoration of various objects from Kairouan from the ninth to the thirteenth century by Georges Marçais and Louis Poinssot sounds more promising, it is not more useful. Some similarities, such as, for example, the interlacing knotwork in

¹⁶⁵ Max Weisweiler, *Der islamische Bucheinband des Mittelalters. Nach Handschriften aus deutschen, holländischen und türkischen Bibliotheken* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1962), manuscript no. 106, figure 27. I am suggesting that the manuscript is of Ḥafṣid origin (MS045); it bears a strong resemblance to other manuscripts in the corpus and was, at one point, part of Guillaume Postel's collection, who actually owned books from the Tunis booty.

¹⁶⁶ Duncan Haldane, *Islamic Bookbindings in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: World of Islam Festival Trust, 1983), esp. nos. 54–72.

the central circle and the borders, can be pointed out, but unfortunately none of the illustrated decorations corresponds satisfyingly to any of the Ḥafṣid manuscripts.¹⁶⁷

While the design of Ḥafṣid manuscript covers is very diverse in most instances (in comparison Q015, Q016, Q017), one group of six Ḥafṣid manuscripts shares common cover design elements (Q014, Q020, Q021, Q023, MS018, MS037). The details of the cover ornaments show that the filling of the central medallions, both lobed and plain circles, is in all instances geometric, complex interlacing knotwork (table 3). A number of punched gold dots and circles, sometimes in groups of three, are used to enhance the design. The filling of the outer borders can be very similar to the interlacing knotwork of the medallions, filled with the same gold dots. The design of a knotwork bordure and a medallion of the same knotwork in the center, both filled with punched gold dots, can already be found in Almohad book covers.¹⁶⁸ The most striking similarities to Almohad bindings can be found in the Qur'an endowed to the Qaṣba, or Almohad, Mosque in Tunis (Q010).

While these details seem to be common in Maghribi cover designs, one design element found in these manuscripts is remarkable: it was done with a small rectangular stamp, imprinting a hexagon with two interlacing lobed lines, forming an oval in its center. It is found in two variations, with single lines and doubled lines, respectively (Motif A and Motif B; figure 25). When imprinted next to each other by the shorter sides, the lines connect, forming a wavy line, as is done in the corner pieces of the Leiden manuscript (Q020; see again figure 22). In the other instances, the imprints were placed next to each other by the longer sides to form a broad bordure. This feature is striking, not for its complexity, but for its resemblance in all these instances without any immediate comparison found in unrelated manuscripts. The corner pieces are detached from the bordure by a blank frame (except in one instance) and formed of interlacing knotwork. Different forms of dots are punched in the compartments and gilded. The decoration of the flap retakes the design of the pendentive from the cover, for which Weisweiler does not offer a classification. The motif on the flap of the Lyon manuscript (MS037, table 3) is particularly remarkable: it is comparable to the other flap designs within this corpus, even though it is not taken from the full-cover design of the manuscript itself, connecting the two designs and relating it to “Ḥafṣid craftsmanship.” The craftsman was presumably not only aware of other man-

¹⁶⁷ Georges Marçais and Louis Poinssot, *Objets Kairouanais IX au XIII siècle* (Tunis: Tournier, 1948), plates XL–XLVII.

¹⁶⁸ On Almohad bindings, see al-Sa'īd Benmūsa, *Tarīkh fann tasfīr al-maṣāḥif al-sharīfa wa-l-kutub al-makḥṭūta bi-l-Maghrib* (Rabat?, 1996), 10–32; Prosper Ricard, “Réliures Marocaines du XIIIe siècle. Notes sur des spécimens d'poque et de tradition Almohades,” *Hespéris* 16 (1933).

Table 3: Comparison of Hafşid book covers (left) with unidentified manuscripts from the Widmanstetter collection.

	Covers of Hafşid manuscripts						Covers of unidentified manuscripts (Widmanstetter collection)			
	MS018	MS037	Q014	Q020	Q021	Q023	MS033	MS034	Q024	Q001
Central Medallion										
Corner Element										
Bordure										
Corner Bordure										
Flap										

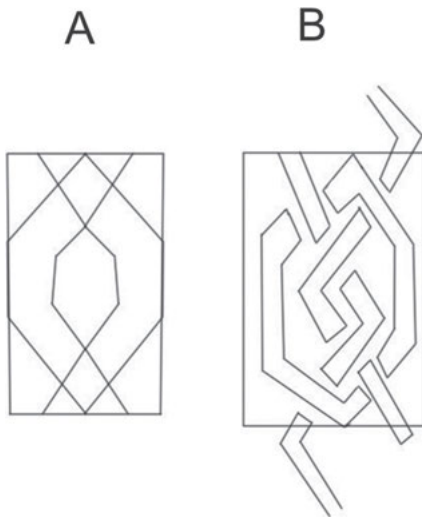


Figure 25: Imprint of the panel stamp used to form a bordure; Motif A (single) and Motif B (double lined).

uscripts with that motif, but better still, he was in possession of the stamp that imprinted that motif.

The coherence of ornaments within this large group of manuscripts demonstrates their distinctiveness. On this basis, other manuscripts can tentatively be assigned to this group of Ḥafṣid manuscripts. As discussed in chapter 2, the German scholar Johann Widmanstetter possessed ten manuscripts securely ascribable to the Tunis booty. Consequently, other Maghribi manuscripts in his collection are likely to share the same provenance. Four as yet unallocated Widmanstetter manuscripts are very similar to the Ḥafṣid manuscripts as far as the script, the page layout, and the use of paper is concerned (Q001, Q024, MS033 – figures 68 and 69, MS034 – figures 70 and 71). Significantly, they also share common features in the cover design:¹⁶⁹ the bordure is formed with the stamp of Motif A or B; the circular central medallion is formed of the same knotwork; they show the same use of round and petalled gold dot punches; the knotwork is repeated in the corners of the bordures; and the pendentives of the central medallions are used for the decoration of the flap. The fact that not only the cover design, but also the script,

¹⁶⁹ Although the manuscript Q001 has been identified as an Almoravid Qur'an, the bookbinding is clearly later than the early twelfth century; Bongianino, "A Rediscovered Almoravid Qur'an in the Bavarian State Library, Munich (Cod.arab. 4)," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 11 (2020). The suggestion is that this manuscript was taken by an Andalusí migrant to Tunis where the manuscript was rebound; Gratzl, *Islamische Bucheinbände*, 8.

paper, and page layout is very similar to Ḥafşid manuscripts further supports the attribution to a Ḥafşid workshop.

Although some distinctive features can be discerned from the above-discussed group of Ḥafşid book cover designs, the notion of “Ḥafşid features” should be treated with caution. Until a critical mass of book covers is evaluated – which will eventually allow for a more certain attribution of any given book cover to a specific region and period – the conclusion to this chapter can only be rather constrained.

3.4 Ḥafşid *Maşāḥif*

There are twenty-six copies of the Qur’an (*maşāḥif*, sg. *muşḥaf*) in the corpus that can be traced back to Ḥafşid Tunis. Just one of the manuscripts comprises the whole Qur’an (Q026), while the others only survive in fragments, or were copied in multiple volumes of which no more than a selection survives. The manuscripts can be linked to Ḥafşid Tunis by their colophon, naming the place and date of production, or the patron; by an endowment certificate (*tahbīs*) naming the place and date of the endowment; or by an owner mark, naming the sack of Tunis as the occasion of acquisition. On the basis of the information contained in the colophons and the stylistic comparisons presented below, twenty-three Qur’ans can be demonstrated to be of Ḥafşid production, while the other three were produced elsewhere and/or before the Ḥafşid period but were present in Ḥafşid Tunis and thus formed part of Ḥafşid book culture (Q001, Q002, Q005). The earliest datable Ḥafşid Qur’an was copied for Sultan ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad I al-Mustanşir (r. 1249–1277, Q003, figures 26 and 27); the latest manuscript was endowed to the Zaytūna Mosque in 966/1559, towards the end of the Ḥafşid era (Q026).

Until the mid-fourteenth century, Ḥafşid Qur’ans were copied on parchment (Q003, Q004, and Q006–Q009, see figures 30 to 33). The use of parchment must have been a conscious choice over paper, since paper had already been in use in Ifriqiya for other manuscripts since the early thirteenth century (see, for example, MS006, figures 56 and 57). The features of the early *maşāḥif*, such as the format, the use of chrysography, and the illumination, closely resemble their Andalusi forerunners. Many Andalusi Qur’ans must have found their way to Ḥafşid Tunis with the immigrants from the Iberian Peninsula; at least two were found among the Tunis booty (Q001 and Q002, both in the Widmanstetter collection).

Unfortunately, we know very little about the scribes of the Ḥafşid parchment Qur’ans. Only two colophons include the calligraphers’ names: they were Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Azdī, active in 706/1306 (Q004, figures 28 and 29), who



Figure 26: Opening page of a *mushaf* copied for ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad I al-Mustansir (Q003).



Figure 27: Frontispiece of a *muṣḥaf* copied for ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad I al-Mustanṣir (Q003).



Figure 28: Colophon with the name of the scribe, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Azdi, the date (706/1306) and place (Tunis) of the copy (Q004).



Figure 29: Opening page of a *muṣḥaf* copied 706/1306 in Tunis (Q004).



Figure 30: Colophon of a *mushaf* endowed 742/1342 to the Madrasa al-Uṣfuriyya in Tunis (Q007).



Figure 31: Opening page of a Q007.



Figure 32: Opening page of an early parchment Qur'an endowed to the Zaytūna Mosque (Q009).



Figure 33: Frontispiece page of an early parchment Qur'an with *taḥbīs* certificate (*taḥbīs* 14) to the Zaytūna Mosque, date illegible (Q009).



Figure 34: Page of a *muṣḥaf* copied in silver ink on dyed paper (Q010).



Figure 35: Page of a *mushaf* copied in silver ink on dyed paper (Q010).

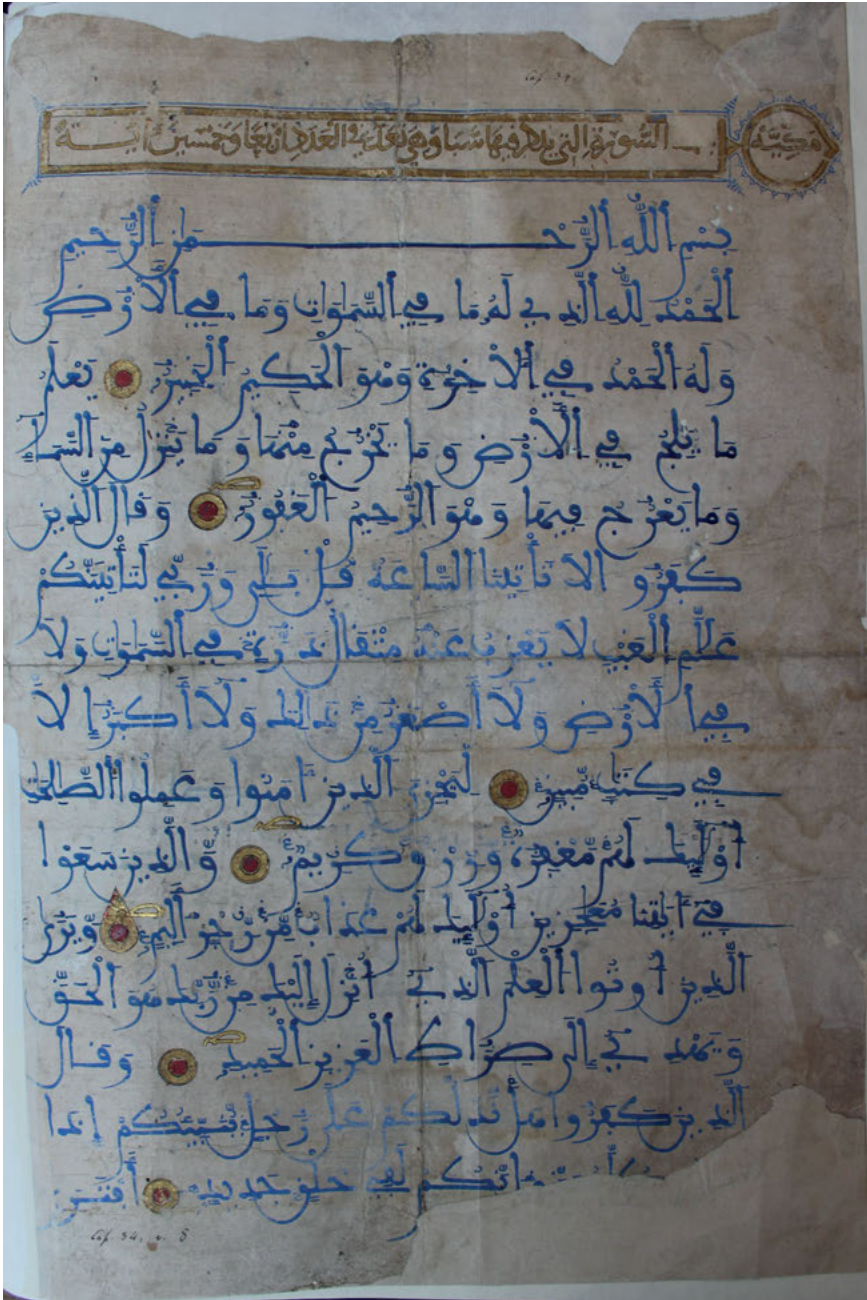


Figure 37: Recto of a large paper folio of a *mushaf* copied in blue ink with the sura title in chrysography and *naskhi* script (Q012).

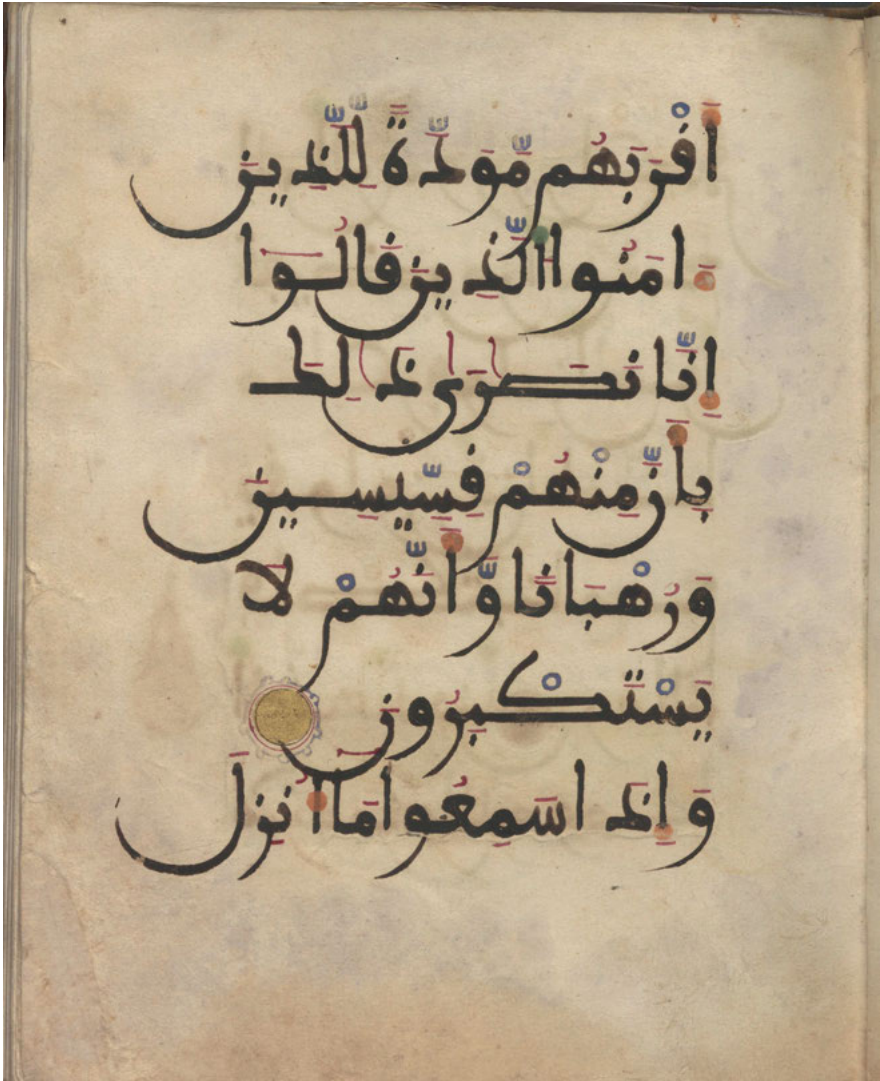


Figure 38: Opening pages of a *muṣḥaf* copied in honor of ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Maṣ’ūd (d. 893/1487; Q015).



Figure 39: Opening sura heading of Q015.



Figure 40: Folio of a Ḥafṣid *muṣḥaf* with experimental script (Q016).



Figure 41: Opening page of Q016.



Figure 42: Page of an illuminated *muṣḥaf* endowed to the Zaytūna Mosque in 893/1488, copied in a hybrid script (Q017).



Figure 43: Page of Q017.

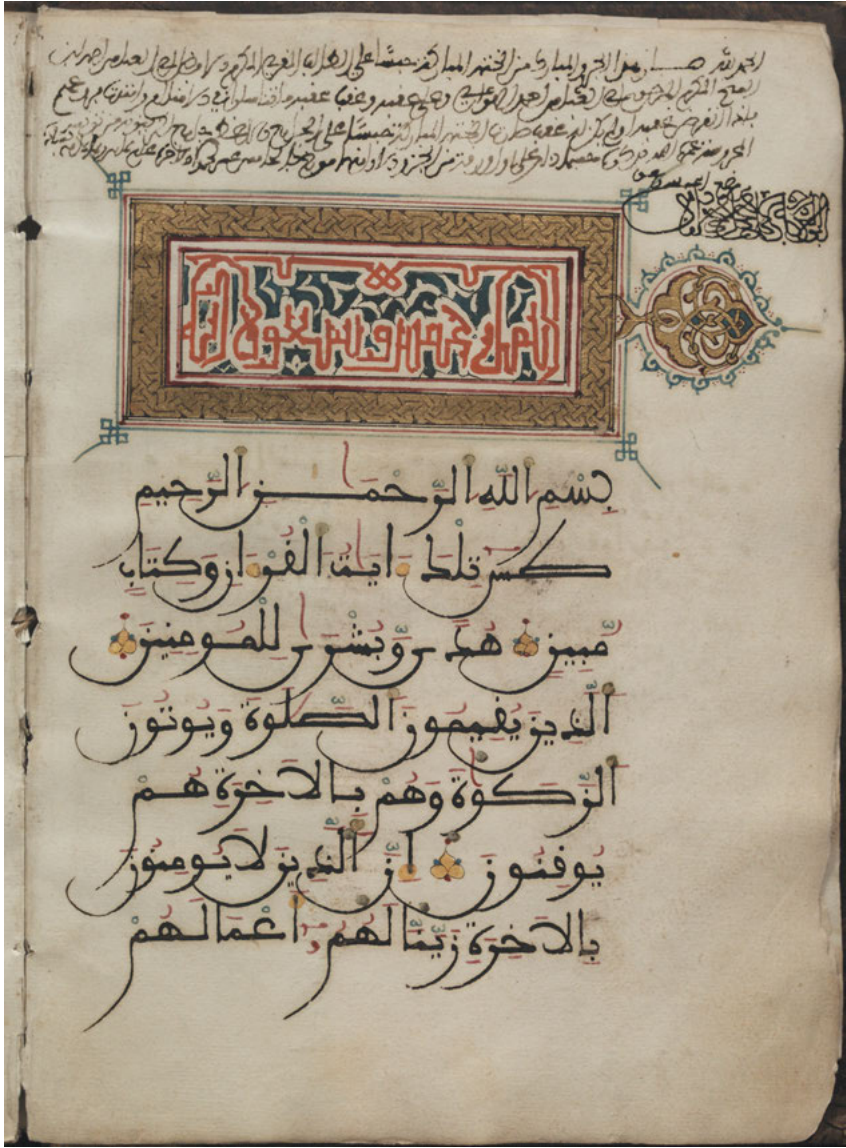


Figure 44: Opening page of a *mushaf* endowed in 880/1475 to the Zaytūna Mosque (Q014).



Figure 45: Opening page of a *muṣḥaf* endowed to the Great Mosque of Bizerte in 911/1505 (Q020).



Figure 46: Opening page of a *mushaf* endowed to the Zāwiyat Ibn 'Arūs in 930/1524 (Q021).



Figure 47: Opening page of a *mushaf* taken during the sack of Tunis in 1535 (Q023).

also identifies himself as the illuminator, and Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-Ghassānī, active in 712/1312 (Q006). Their work evidently follows those Qurʾan manuscripts produced in eleventh- and twelfth-century al-Andalus, copied on square parchment folios.¹⁷⁰ The Ḥaḥṣid parchment Qurʾans mostly retain the same square format as the Andalusi examples (measuring about 17–20 cm), with five to eleven lines per page. Only the earliest example (Q003), copied for the royal library (*khizāna*) during the reign of Muḥammad I al-Mustanṣir, is in an upright rectangular format, and with thirteen lines to the page (see again figures 26 and 27). Although this format is certainly remarkable among the otherwise homogenous group of square Ḥaḥṣid codices, it is also found in some late Almohad Qurʾans copied in Seville, Malaga, and Marrakesh, and can be understood within this tradition of manuscript production.¹⁷¹

In Ḥaḥṣid Ifrīqiya, paper replaced parchment as a writing surface for the Qurʾan in the fourteenth century. How this transition took place is unclear, since there is a “grey area” of almost 100 years: the latest dated parchment Qurʾan copied in Tunis is dated 712/1312 (Q006), while the earliest paper example was copied during the reign of Abū Fāris ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. 1394–1434; Q010, see figures 34 and 35). The only format applied in these paper *maṣāḥif* is the upright rectangular one. The size of the folios varies considerably from 20.5 x 14.5 cm (Q025) to 49 x 33.5 cm (Q012, see figures 36 and 37), with between seven to seventeen lines per page. The textblock, no matter the size, always shows a ratio of 1:5 (i.e., the width is 2/3 of the height).

The spacious scripts used in Ḥaḥṣid *maṣāḥif*, with only a few words to the line and between five to seventeen lines per page, required a lavish use of writing support, whether parchment or paper. This resulted in codices of many folios, most often split into multiple volumes. The division of the text into volumes does not seem to follow a coherent rule; at least, none can be established for the present research corpus. The individual volumes of Ḥaḥṣid *maṣāḥif* are all examples of multivolume manuscripts originally divided into 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 20, or 30 volumes. The splitting of the volumes follows the traditional division into sections for recitation into

¹⁷⁰ It might only be a matter of survival; Bongianino, *Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*, 277. This square surface used for Qurʾan manuscripts in Maghribi script replaced the oblong format which was used for Qurʾan manuscripts in the bold Kūfī script of the ninth and tenth centuries; François Déroche, “Cercles et entrelacs: format et décor des corans maghrébins médiévaux,” *Académie des inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (2001): 613–614.

¹⁷¹ The change from square to rectangular format can be observed in the fourteenth century; Barrucand, “Observaciones,” 168.

aḥzāb (sg. *ḥizb*, a sixtieth of the Qur'an).¹⁷² In two examples, the *juz'* number (pl. *ajzā'*, a thirtieth of the Qur'an) is imprinted on the cover of the books (Q010, Q021). Only three manuscripts (Q004, Q005, and Q016) begin or end with the beginning or, respectively, the ending of a sura, disregarding the recitational division.

In the following description of Ḥaḥḥḥid Qur'an manuscripts, copies on parchment and paper are treated separately. Parchment Qur'ans are described first in terms of their script, layout, and ornamentation, as their aesthetics establish the basis for later Ḥaḥḥḥid copies on paper. The Ḥaḥḥḥid parchment *maḥḥḥif* are a direct continuation of Andalusī and Almohad Qur'anic calligraphy and illumination. For the paper *maḥḥḥif*, we will see that – contrary to what is commonly assumed – artists in the late fourteenth century began to experiment with new styles and, most interestingly, with a synthesis of archaizing elements, innovative color schemes, and foreign features.

The early Ḥaḥḥḥid *maḥḥḥif* copied on parchment show the application of large Maghribī scripts in both square and rectangular format (see figures 26 to 33). This monumental style was developed in the Almohad period in the first half of the thirteenth century.¹⁷³ It follows the features of Maghribī round scripts as described in chapter 3.2.1. With only a few words to the line, the letters are very spacious and generously fill the lines, as well as the space in between. This script is known to both medieval and modern scholars as *mabsūṭ* (dilated) script.¹⁷⁴ As in the miniature Qur'anic scripts of al-Andalus, most famously represented by the calligrapher Ibn Ḡhaṭṭūs in twelfth-century Valencia,¹⁷⁵ the copyists enhanced the angular elements of letters, such as the trapezoidal body of *ṣād/ḍād*, *ṭā/zā'*, and *kāf* (the latter is of course an

172 The division into *aḥzāb* is the basic unit of memorization and recitation in the Islamic West, as opposed to the other division pattern into *juz* (pl. *ajzā'*; a thirtieth of the Qur'an). On divisions of Qur'an manuscripts, see Juan Pablo Arias Torres, "Sicut Euangelia sunt quatuor, distribuerunt continentiam eius in quatuor libros. On the Division of Iberian Qur'ans and Their Translations into Four Parts," in *The Latin Qur'an, 1143–1500*, ed. Cándida Ferrero Hernández, and John Tolan (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021); and I am very grateful for his many comments on my work.

173 Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 227; Khemir, "Arts of the Book," 119–120.

174 'Umar Afā and Muḥammad al-Maḡrāwī, *al-Khaṭṭ al-Maḡhribī: tā'rikh wa-wāqī' wa-āfāq* (Rabat, 2007), 62–63; Afif Bahnassi, *Mu'jam muṣṭalahāt al-khaṭṭ al-'Arabī wa-l-khaṭṭāṭin*, 137. The earliest medieval author known to use the adjective *mabsūṭ* with reference to calligraphy is the Nasrid secretary Ibn Sīmak al-'Āmilī (d. after 820/1417) in a passage of his *Kitāb rawnaq al-taḥbūr*, speaking of "the Qur'anic script used nowadays"; Mustapha Jaouhari, "Une supposée variété d'écriture arabe propre à Šarq al-Andalus aux XIe et XIIe siècles," in *Paléographie des écritures arabes d'al-Andalus, du Maghreb et de l'Afrique subsaharienne*, ed. Mustapha Jaouhari (Rabat, 2015), 44.

175 Elisabeth Dandel, "Ibn Ḡaṭṭūs, une famille de copistes-enlumineurs à Valence (Espagne)," *Histoire de l'Art* 24 (1993).

“open” body, traced as two parallel lines linked by a vertical one). The lengthening of these individual letters, together with their angular traits, hark back to Kufi scripts and thus attain an archaizing character.¹⁷⁶

The “horizontalism” and the roundness – both so distinctive for Maghribi scripts – are attained by the repetitive emphasis of the baseline by stretching either the baseline strokes in between letters or the bodies of individual letters, contrasted by the concurrent emphasis of the deep rounded curves of the tails of the letters (also in final *nūn*, *yāʾ*, and *qāf*, in addition to final *ṣād/dād*).

The *rasm* (consonantal body) of the text and the *ijām* (diacritics to distinguish the consonants) are penned in a dark brown ink.¹⁷⁷ As is common in Maghribi Qurʾan manuscripts since the late tenth century, polychrome inks are used to mark vowels and other recitation signs.¹⁷⁸ The Ḥafṣid parchment *maṣāḥif* are no exception to this rule: short vowels are added with red dashes; the long (dagger) *alif* is added with a vertical stroke in red ink, and *madda* with a horizontal one; *sukūn* and *shadda* are marked by a blue circle and a miniature undotted *shīn* respectively;¹⁷⁹ *hamza* is added with an orange, sometimes yellow dot (sitting on the line if pronounced with an “i,” within the word for a “u,” and above the word indicating an “a”); and *waṣla* is marked by a green dot.¹⁸⁰

All markers of text divisions are gilded. Single verses are separated by markers of three gold dots, assembled in a triangular shape (figure 48). Every fifth verse is marked by a separator in the shape of the letter *hāʾ*, which has the value of five in the *abjad* (alphanumeric) system. Every tenth verse is marked with a gilded circle; this division unit is in some instances further highlighted by the repetition of the golden circle in the text margin. The text division into sixty parts is indicated by an illuminated, round marker in the margins with the word *ḥizb* written within. In the example of the earliest Qurʾan copied for Muḥammad I al-Mustansir (Q003), the places of prostration are also indicated with a similar round marker enclosing the word *sajda* (act of prostration).

176 Colin F. Baker, *Qurʾan Manuscripts. Calligraphy, Illumination, Design* (London: British Library, 2007), 29; Bongianino, *Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*, 322–323.

177 For writing on parchment, metalogallic inks were preferred, a derivation of tannic acids from the gallnut found on the leaves of certain trees; Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, 114.

178 See, for example, the Palermo Qurʾan copied in 372/983 (London, Khalili Collection, QUR 261 and QUR 368) or the Andalusī Qurʾan copied in 483/1090 (Uppsala, Universitetsbibliothek, O. Bj. 48).

179 Not a small *dāl* as in Kufi manuscripts from the Maghrib; Alain George, “Coloured Dots and the Question of Regional Origins in Early Qurʾāns. Part I,” *Journal of Qurʾanic Studies* 17, no. 1 (2015): 8.

180 Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 222; Bongianino, “Rediscovered Almoravid Qurʾan,” 271; Yasin Dutton, “Red Dots, Green Dots, Yellow Dots and Blue: Some Reflections on the Vocalization of Early Qurʾanic Manuscripts,” *Journal of Qurʾanic Studies* 1, no. 1 (1999): 117–119; George, “Coloured Dots,” 1:9; all quoting from Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān ibn Saʿīd al-Dānī, *al-Muḥkam fi naqṭ al-maṣāḥif*, ed. ʿIzzat Ḥasan (Damascus, 1960).

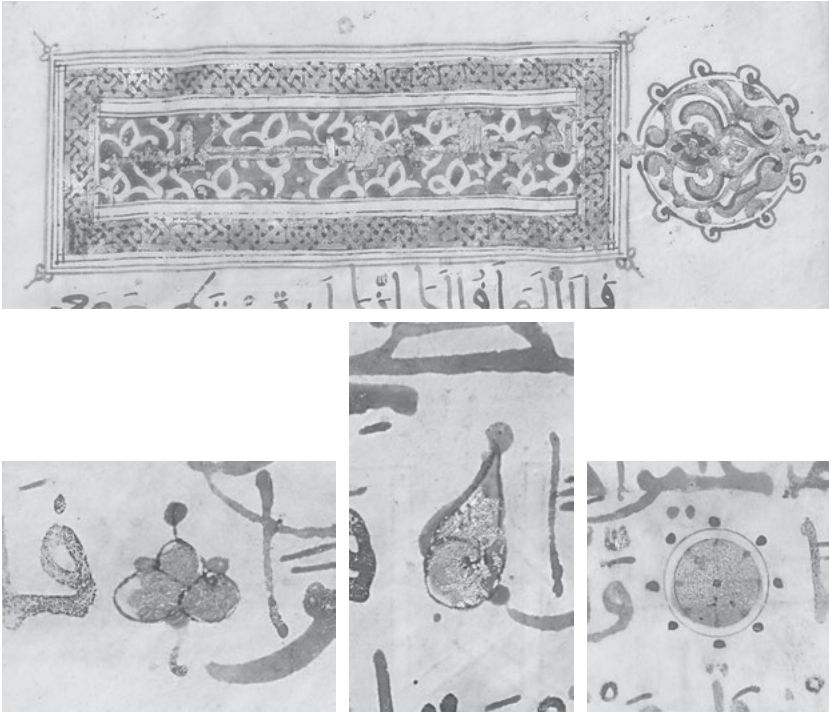


Figure 48: Details of Q003; opening sura heading in Kufi script (above) and markers of a single verse, five, and ten verses (from left to right).

The sura headings, providing the name and number of verses, are copied in an archaizing Kufi script. They are accompanied by a marginal vignette which is ornamented with vegetal and floral designs, often in a polychrome scheme with additions of red and blue inks. The use of chrysography is not reserved for sura headings but also applied in the colophons and dedications on the frontispiece and finispiece pages (if present). These texts are either copied in Kufi as well, or, in three instances (the frontispiece and finispiece in Q003 and the colophons of Q006 and Q007, figures 27 and 30), in Maghribi *thuluth*, a curvilinear script, inspired by eastern calligraphic styles and chancery scripts, that was very popular in Almohad manuscripts.¹⁸¹ The scarce use of this script in Ḥafṣid parchment *maṣāḥif* (and also

¹⁸¹ Umar Afā, “al-Khaṭṭ al-Maghribī wa-adawāt intāji-hi,” *Les écritures des manuscrits de l’Occident musulman (Les Rencontres du Centre Jacques Berque)* 5 (2013), 63–67; Bongianino, “Quelques remarques,” 179–180.

in later examples copied on paper), is surprising and will be addressed below in the context of manuscript illuminations.

Besides the square format, the use of chrysography, and the application of different scripts (Kufi, Maghribi *mabsūt*, Maghribi *thuluth*), all of which recall Andalusí models, the conservatism of Ḥafṣid Qur'an production can also be observed in the ornamentation of the parchment copies. The lavish, intricate designs are reserved for the frontispieces and finispieces, the incipit (or opening) pages, and the marginal vignettes that accompany the sura headings.¹⁸² The small vegetal arabesques can be found in the fillings of a larger ornament and in the marginal vignettes. The borders of cartouches around the first sura heading or the colophons consist of a wide golden guilloche (pseudo-braid) border. The mirrored carpet design in the opening pages is a page-filling, circular composition of interlaced braids. In the rectangular parchment codex of Muḥammad I al-Mustanṣir (Q003, figures 26 and 27), the square format is kept in the ornament of the carpet page, which leaves space for inscription cartouches above and below the square-shaped ornamental field. Only two of the six parchment *maṣāḥif* do not have this opening carpet page (Q007 and Q008), while conversely only one of the sixteen paper *maṣāḥif* shows this feature (Q015 figures 38 and 39). After the opening pages, the first heading on the verso of the carpet page is more embellished than the others in the manuscript, marking the beginning of the text. The title, written in Kufi letters and accompanied by the marginal vignette, is always framed in a large cartouche, and copied against an illuminated background of vegetal or geometrical design.

The introduction of paper for *maṣāḥif* production launched a series of aesthetic innovations, especially in terms of calligraphy, the style of which became more experimental. The earliest known Ḥafṣid *muṣḥaf* on paper is probably the most famous one from the period, since it is one of the few Ḥafṣid manuscripts identified so far: the Red Qur'an (Q010, figures 34 and 35). It is a small codex of 20.5 x 15 cm with thirteen lines to the page, copied in silver ink on paper dyed in shades of dark red, although some folios are brownish or purple; the silver ink elegantly contrasts with the red surface.

The text is divided into five volumes of six *ajzā'* each, which are bound in a light brown leather cover with a tooled star pattern design; the number of the *juz'* is imprinted on the back of the book. The manuscript was bequeathed to the Qaṣba Mosque of Tunis in 807/1405 by Sultan Abū Fāris 'Abd al-'Azīz, as the endowment certificate in the first volume reveals (*taḥbīs* 3). Four volumes came into the posses-

¹⁸² Baker, *Qur'an Manuscripts*, 31; Dandel, "L'enluminure hispano-maghrébine."

sion of the French chancellor Pierre Séguier and were donated with his collection to the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 1732; they are now held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. One volume was separated from the others over the course of the centuries and came into the possession of the Rossiyskaya natsional'naya biblioteka in St. Petersburg with the collection of the German orientalist Johannes Dorn.

The manuscript was most probably produced for the occasion of Abū Fāris's endowment shortly before 807/1405. Although some ornamental details resemble twelfth-century Andalusi manuscripts, the script, with deliberate pacing and balance, is a derivation of fourteenth-century Ḥafṣid book hands, which will be further discussed in the following chapter. The round letter forms lost their archaizing, angular features, as can be seen clearly in the round and steep curve of an initial *kāf*, the round back of an initial *dāl*, or the hook-like, parallel backswing of a final *rā'*. These special forms exist alongside the more traditional ones (squatting *kāf* or pursed *dāl*) and exemplify how the letter forms are not canonized (as in Mashriqī scripts), but rather interact with their surroundings.

Apart from the script, a new innovation vis-à-vis the parchment manuscripts seen so far is the introduction of a new color scheme: the whole text of this Red Qur'an is copied in the silver ink of the *rasm*, including the diacritics, the short and long vowels, the *shadda*, the *sukūn* and the *hamza*. The *hamza* is no longer indicated by dots but is written with a small letter resembling the head of an initial *ayn*. In this particular case, polychrome inks are used to indicate seven of the variant readings of the Qur'an, the *qirā'āt*.

An index-like explanation for the variant readings of these text layers is given on the first two folios of the first volume, written in the same silver ink: "This *muṣḥaf* is vocalized according to the readings of the seven imams known in the *amṣār* [the main cities of the Umayyad caliphate]."¹⁸³ The introduction lists the seven readers, each with his two traditions; the first to be named is the reader Nāfi' according to the traditions (*riwāya*) of Qālūn and Warsh, the most popular ones in the Maghrib. Then the color code is given, "you can know the readings according to every reader from the colors indicating him": the reading according to Nāfi' is copied in silver ink (*bi-l-fidda*), white ink is used for the reading of Ibn Kathīr, light blue (*al-shaḥmī*, lit. "grease") for Abū 'Amr, yellow for Ibn 'Āmir, pink for 'Āṣim, pistachio (*fustuq*) for Ḥamza, and verdigris (*al-jinzār*) for al-Kisā'ī. An eighth color, cinnabar or vermilion (*al-zunjufūr* [*sic*]), is for contradictions with the reading of Nāfi' with all other

183 BnF, Arabe 389, beginning of fol. 1v: "ḍubiṭa ḥādhā al-muṣḥaf 'alā qirā'at al-sab'a al-a'immā al-mashhūrīn bi-l-amṣār [. . .] wa-u'lim 'alā qirā'at kull qarī' fī lawn yadull 'alayhi."

readers (“*li-kull man ahmal qirā’ātihi bi-lawnihi mimman yujālib nāfi’an*”). The text goes on to explain some differences between the readings.

The polychrome inks thus create a mnemonic system to help the reciter remember the variant reading traditions. In most cases, the variants are orthoepic and differ in the intonation and pronunciation. In some cases, however, the variants are on the level of the text itself and give variants of vocalization and diacritics (which changes the consonantal body).¹⁸⁴ This does not necessarily imply a variant meaning but can be a different rule for inflecting a verb. For example, in the third sura, *Sūrat Āl ‘Imrān*, the tradition of Nāfi’ (main text in silver ink) reads *wa-lā taḥsibanna* (Q. 3:169), while the variant reading of *wa-lā taḥsabanna* with the vowel “a” instead of an “i” is indicated by a *fatḥa* in blue, pink, and yellow ink.¹⁸⁵ A similar thing happens further on in the same sura, where a variant vocalization of *wa-lā yuḥzinka* (Q. 3:176; Nāfi’ as the main text in silver ink) is given by a *fatḥa* and *ḍamma* in red ink, giving the pronunciation *wa-lā yaḥzunka*. In the following sura, *Sūrat al-nisā’*, however, the different punctuation of the *rasm* leads to a difference in the consonants and thus in the meaning: the silver ink reads *fa-tabayyanū* (Q. 4:94; “they discerned”), while the variant in light green reads *fa-tathabbatū* (they established).¹⁸⁶

A very similar example of a *muṣḥaf* is now kept in the Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc in Rabat (Q011):¹⁸⁷ the text is also copied in silver ink, here on a

184 For the differences between Warsh and Ḥafṣ, see Adrian Brocket, “Studies in Two Transmissions” (PhD diss., University of St. Andrews, 1984); the variant readings are being studied by the research project *Corpus Coranicum* (Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin) and are continuously published on their website: www.corpuscoranicum.de (consulted 05 June 2023).

185 The root *ḥsb* always takes *a* in the inflection in the reading according to ‘Āṣim, and always *i* according to Nāfi’; Brocket, “Studies in Two Transmissions,” 124–125.

186 All the variants from the Red Qur’an Q010 discussed in this paragraph are in accordance with the variants recorded in modern concordances; (in the order mentioned in the text) ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Muḥammad Khaṭīb, *al-Muḥjam al-qirā’āt*, 11 vols. (Damascus: Dār sa’d al-dīn li’l-ṭibā’a wa’l-nashr wa’l-tawzī’, 2002), II:618, 625, and III:131; Aḥmad Mukhtār ‘Umar, Makram ‘Umar, and ‘Abd al-‘Āl Sālim, *Muḥjam al-qirā’āt al-qur’āniyya, ma’ muqaddīma fī al-qirā’āt wa ashhar al-qurrā’*, 8 vols. (Kuwait: Jāmi’at al-kuwayt, 1982–85), II:83, 86, and 154.

187 A detail of the manuscript is published in Abdelkebir Khatibi and Mohamed Sijelmassi, *The Splendour of Islamic Calligraphy* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995), 77. The authors note that the silver text is copied on green silk, but without giving any references on the manuscript. The combination of a dyed writing surface (paper or parchment) with an illuminated ink (silver or gold) builds on a long tradition, as seen, for example, in the famous Blue Qur’an copied in gold ink on blue dyed parchment or in the Byzantine and Sicilian *Purpurkunden* copied on red parchment; Alain George, “Calligraphy, Colour and Light in the Blue Qur’an,” *Journal of Qur’anic Studies* 11, no. 1 (2009); Carlrichard Brühl, “Purpurkunden,” in *Festschrift für Helmut Beumann zum 65. Ge-*

paper dyed in green, and it shares both the same script and the polychrome system for referring to the variant readings of the Qur'an. The codex might be another Ḥafṣid example, although that cannot be established with certainty. In any case, it is an important attestation to the tradition of studying the *qirā'āt* in the Maghrib which is well represented in the material culture.¹⁸⁸ That mastery of Qur'an recitation was an acknowledged achievement is further shown by a certificate that proves the beholder's proficiency in it, now held in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (MS016, see figure 72). The certificate, which is also a license to teach, was granted by a certain 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-'Urayfī to Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī 'Uthmān Sa'īd b. Abī al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭarābulusī al-Ghāfiqī. The document, the script of which strongly resembles contemporary Ḥafṣid manuscripts, was issued in 808/1405. The close dates of the certificate and of the Red Qur'an that allows the reading of all seven *qirā'āt* (endowed in 1405) might suggest a connection between the manuscript and the reader honored in the document.¹⁸⁹

The markers of text divisions in the Red Qur'an are very similar to those found in its parchment forerunners: a pyramid of three circles for the single verse separator (the top is slightly pointed to resemble a leaf), the stylized letter *hā'* for the indication of a group of five verses, a large golden circle for the end of every tenth verse (the inside designed to look like an eight-petalled flower), and a marginal vignette to signal a *juz'* section. All these markers are drawn in gold ink and outlined in a contrasting white ink. A unique feature is the lack of sura headings, and thus the missing opening title for the *Fātiḥa*; instead, the end of each chapter is indicated. Such sura footers are penned in gold ink, squeezed into the line.¹⁹⁰

burtstag, ed. Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke, Reinhard Wenskus, Helmut Beumann, (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1977).

188 The study of the *qirā'āt* was a very important branch of theology in the Maghrib and al-Andalus; see, for example, Adday Hernández López, "Qur'anic Studies in al-Andalus. An Overview of the State of Research on *qirā'āt* and *tafsīr*," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 3 (2017).

189 Déroche argues that the endowed *maṣāḥif* were not used, but rather were only representative; Déroche, "Cercles et entrelacs," 615; Déroche, "A Note on the Medieval Inventory of the Manuscripts Kept in the Great Mosque of Kairouan," in *Writings and Writing*, ed. Robert M. Kerr and Thomas Milo (Cambridge: 2013), 250. They could have been used for training in recitation; Ben Azzouna, "Les corans," 121.

190 The footers bear mistakes in many instances, e.g., the footer of *Sūrat al-ḥajj* counts seventy-seven verses which would correspond to a Meccan reading, but the verse markers of that sura only count seventy-six verses, corresponding to the Medinan reading of the manuscript; Anton Spitaler, *Die Verszählung des Koran nach islamischer Überlieferung* (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1935), 47–48.

The floral designs in the marginal vignettes seem to be inspired by Almohad Qur'an manuscripts. One such Almohad example (Q002, see also figure 5), copied in Seville in 624/1226, circulated in Ḥaḥṣīd Tunis and might have served as a direct model for the Red Qur'an.¹⁹¹ It was probably brought by Andalusī refugees to Tunis, where it was found and looted during the 1535 sack of the city. The marginal vignette in the Red Qur'an is clearly inspired by the intricate Almohad design, and even the pastel color palette, the light blue and the light pink, is closely comparable (figure 49).

While the script of the Red Qur'an is not new, but rather a derivation of fourteenth-century book hands, it is an innovative move to apply it to a Qur'an manuscript. Falling back on traditional Almohad *muṣḥaf* designs for the ornamentation could therefore have been intended to make the manuscript clearly recognizable as a Qur'an manuscript. It could also have served as a metaphorical reference to the Qaṣba Mosque (also called the Almohad Mosque) to which the manuscript was endowed. Even the endowment deed of the manuscript (*taḥbīs* 3) invokes the Almohad connection: "This blessed *juz'* was endowed to the Almohad Mosque, the Qaṣba [Mosque]."¹⁹² Additionally, the binding of the manuscript, which is unique among the group of Ḥaḥṣīd bindings discussed below, closely resembles Almohad book covers, which further underlines the conscious choice of the Almohad design.¹⁹³ The idea that the aesthetic of the manuscript should reference the place where it was meant to be stored suggests that this Qur'an was specifically produced at the sultan's order as an endowment to the Qaṣba Mosque. Interestingly, the conscious stylistic choice to reproduce specifically Almohad – and not only "archaizing" – features further implies that there was an awareness of a distinctive Almohad aesthetic.

A similar choice of script, in the "freer" style of book hands, can be observed in a Ḥaḥṣīd paper *muṣḥaf* of large scale (the folio measures 49 x 33.5 cm; Q012, figures 36 and 37). Only four single folios of the codex have survived, in three European cities: Paris, Oxford, and Vienna. The folios were detached from the original manuscript and sent as an addendum in diplomatic letters from the Ḥaḥṣīd court to European recipients in the 1540s (see chapter 2.3.3.). The date of the letter in the Vienna archives is 1543, which provides a date *ante quem* for the production of the Qur'an leaves. The close similarities with the Red Qur'an commissioned by

¹⁹¹ Two other Almohad manuscripts uniquely exhibit these characteristics (with marginal vignettes fully gilded and decorated with more than two different hues): A *Ṣaḥīḥ* al-Bukhārī, copied in 591/1195 and a Qur'an copied in 599/1203 in Marrakesh; both are now held in Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A.240 and R.33; I am grateful to Umberto Bongianino for this note.

¹⁹² BnF, Arabe fol. 3bis r: "*ḥubisa ḥādhā al-juz' al-mubārak 'alā jāmi' al-muwahḥidīn al-Qaṣba.*"

¹⁹³ The cover of Q010 (images in the catalogue) can be compared with the Almohad covers published by Ricard, "Réliures Marocaines."



Figure 49: Details of Q010 (left) and Q002 in comparison.

Abū Fāris, especially in terms of the script and layout, suggests a production date in the early fifteenth century.¹⁹⁴ The manuscript might have been kept in the royal library of Tunis until the Ḥafṣid ruler Mawḷāy Ḥasan sent it to his anticipated allies in Europe.

The text of the Vienna and Oxford fragments are copied in a vivid blue ink in three of the four folios, while in the folio in Paris, the letters are traced in silver ink, partly oxidized, and outlined in black. Still, the leaves are undoubtedly from the same codex: the textblock is exactly the same size, and they share the same distance between lines and the same script. The difference in the color of inks can be explained by the text division. The text section of the silver folio covers Q.7:10–7:28, which marks the beginning of the sixteenth *ḥizb*, and thus corresponds to the beginning of the second quarter of the Qurʾanic text. It is not unusual for the middle folios of a Qurʾan codex to be lavishly illuminated to mark this point for the reader.¹⁹⁵ This *muṣḥaf* might have been copied in two volumes, each comprising two quarters of the book, with the beginning of each new quarter marked by an illuminated page.

In these folios, in a manner similar to the Red Qurʾan, not only the *rasm* is copied in blue (or, in one folio, silver) ink, but also the short vowels and the signs for *sukūn*,

194 The Paris folio is dated by Déroche to the sixteenth century; Déroche, *Catalogue*, 41.

195 Baker, *Qurʾan Manuscripts*, 31.

shadda (a small *sīn*), *hamza* (a small *ʿayn*), and the long dagger *alif*. The reader is also provided with orthoepic signs for the recitation in miniature letter forms (*qāf* for *tarqīq*, *fāʾ* for *tafkīm*, *khāʾ* for *ikhfāʾ*, *hāʾ* for *iṭhār*, *ghayn* for *idghām*, etc.), copied in the same blue ink. In this case, they are not variant readings, but indicate the *tajwid* (correct pronunciation of the letters). The most prominent orthoepic sign is the regular occurrence of a small golden *ṣād-hāʾ* above the word; these reflect the pause system of ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥabṭī (born 1485), whose reading school became popular in sixteenth-century Maghrib.¹⁹⁶



Figure 50: Detail of Q012 with Mashriqi sura heading.

One of the folios contains the beginning of a new sura, *Sūrat Sabaʾ* (Q. 34), and shows an interesting sura heading (figure 50). The title is placed in a plain gilded frame with a thin, undecorated border. The golden letters are traced in a fine black line. The title gives the name of the sura and the number of verses, and an addition in the marginal vignette specifies that the sura was revealed in Mecca (*makkiyya*). Curiously, however, the script is a cursive *naskh*, and the punctuation of *fāʾ* and *qāf*, unlike the main text, follow the eastern system.

Because the manuscript had left Tunis before the Ottomans took over the city and has been kept in European archives since the mid-sixteenth century, the *naskh* could not have been added later by Mashriqi owners. Rather, the style of the chrysography suggests an eastern connection in the aesthetics of manuscript production of the Ḥafṣids at that time. One Mamluk manuscript is known to have circulated in Ḥafṣid Tunis, namely a Bukhārī manuscript that was endowed to the Zaytūna Mosque in 990/1495, from where it was looted by the Italian soldier Riparoli in 1535 (MS047). Although no Mamluk Qurʾans have yet been identified in connection to the Ḥafṣid collections, the Mamluk Bukhārī manuscript attests to the presence of Mamluk examples in Ḥafṣid manuscript culture. Just as Almohad decorative elements were incorporated in the sura footers of the Red Qurʾan, the Qurʾan copied in blue ink incorporates Mamluk designs in the sura heading.

¹⁹⁶ I am very grateful to Umberto Bongianino for the information.

One group of late fifteenth-century Ḥafṣid Qurʾans copied on paper (Q014–Q023, figures 38, 39, and 44 to 47) shows a synthesis of all the elements encountered in parchment *maṣāḥif* and the earlier paper copies so far. They follow the archaizing layout and polychrome systems, which evoke traditional Qurʾan layouts; the conjunction of archaizing letter forms next to experimental ones, which pays tribute to the development of a Qurʾanic calligraphy; and the incorporation of traditional Maghribi designs as well as foreign (Mamluk) ones. In short, they echo the inclusive and receptive nature of Ḥafṣid manuscript culture as well as the Ḥafṣid elite's taste for exotic diversity.

This group of nine manuscripts can be built around a manuscript that was presumably produced on the occasion of the death of Ḥafṣid Prince ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Masʿūd in 893/1487 (Q015, figures 38 and 39):¹⁹⁷ a note on the front page of the manuscript states that it was to be laid at the prince's grave.¹⁹⁸ It might have been commissioned by Masʿūd's father, Sultan Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān, who died shortly after his son. The manuscript was looted during the sack of Tunis in 1535 by Johann Marquart of Königsegg and later gifted to Joachim Vadian, the mayor of St. Gall in Switzerland, where the manuscript remains to this day in the Biblioteca Vadiana (see chapter 2.2).

The Qurʾan of Prince al-Masʿūd has a conspicuous Maghribi appearance: it features the emphasized baseline through the elongation of horizontal strokes, the lengthened bodies of *kāf* and *ṣād/dād*, the braided, illuminated frames of sura headings together with their marginal arabesque vignettes, the black ink of the *rasm* together with the traditional polychrome system for *waṣla* (green) and *hamza* (yellow), etc. The letters are well proportioned, only one letter form is used for each letter (in initial, medial, final, or separate position), and each letter always has the same dimensions.¹⁹⁹ The emphatic stretching of the baseline and the “horizontalism” seems to be more important than previously, and even pursed or round letter

197 Brunschvig, *Berbérie orientale*, II:276. There is only scant information on Ḥafṣid mausolea. It is known that a *turba* (mausoleum) for members of the sultan's family was built in the fifteenth century next to the tomb of Sīdī Mahruz, the saint of the city, in the center of the medina; Brunschvig, *Berbérie orientale*, I:354. One suggestion is that Masʿūd was buried among them. Another source (attributed to al-Zarkashī) mentions the burial of Abū Bakr al-Mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh (d. 747/1346) in a mausoleum of his forefather, the shaykh ʿAbd al-Waḥīd, situated in the Qaṣba; E. Fagnan, *Chronique des Almohades et des Hafṣides attribué à Zerkechi* (Constantine, Algeria: Adolphe Braham, 1895), 119.

198 KBV, VadSlg Ms 387, fol. 1r: “*bi-waḍʿihā ʿalā qabr al-mawlāy al-marḥūm [. . .] ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Masʿūd.*”

199 The proportions and uniformity of letter forms is a key principle of Mashriqī cursive scripts, while Maghribi round scripts are known for their lack thereof. As described above, this divergence can be explained as a result of the differences in scribal training: the tracing of individual letters in the Mashriq, as opposed to the tracing of words and homographs in the Maghrib.

forms (such as *ḍāl/dhāl* or *hā'*) tend to be flattened when they meet the baseline. While the early, fourteenth-century paper *maṣāḥif* (the Red Qur'an Q010 and the Qur'an copied in blue ink Q012) incorporate elements from Maghribi book hands into their calligraphy, this fifteenth-century Qur'an seems to emphasize the Maghribi tradition of *mabsūt* scripts, and the neat letter forms even suggest a canonization of this archaizing script. Although the letter forms differ from Kufi scripts, the static look of the letters and the canonized features (also in the color scheme) are strongly reminiscent of Maghribi parchment Qur'ans and evoke an archaizing character; it thus references Kufi aesthetics.

The same style also appears in a series of other Ḥafṣid Qur'an manuscripts: in two volumes of a *muṣḥaf* which was donated to the Zaytūna Mosque in 880/1475 (Q014, figure 44), now split between the Mendoza collection in Spain (El Escorial) and the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan; in a manuscript endowed to the mosque in Kairouan by Sultan Muḥammad IV (r. 1494–1526) in 903/1498, of which only two leaves survive (still in Kairouan; Q018); in a manuscript endowed to the mosque in Bizerte in 911/1505 (Q020, figure 45), of which two volumes are held in Leiden and Oxford respectively; in a thirty-volume Qur'an that was endowed to the Zāwiyat Ibn 'Arūs in Tunis in 930/1524 (Q021, figure 46), of which three volumes are held in Florence and twenty more in Naples; and, in a less-skilled form, in an undated and unilluminated manuscript (Q023, figure 47) that was looted during the Tunis sack in 1535 and held in Wolfenbüttel with the collection of Duke Augustus II.²⁰⁰

None of these manuscripts inform us about the identity of their calligraphers. However, the traveller 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl (d. 1514) gives insights about a scribe in the service of the same Prince al-Mas'ūd in whose honor the Qur'an manuscript Q015 was copied. 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ refers to the Andalusī poet Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Khayyir al-Mālaqī, who was made personal secretary of the Ḥafṣid prince upon his arrival in Tunis in 864/1459–60. He reports in his travelogue:

This Khayyir, one of Spain's most notable writers and most eloquent poets, was born in Malaga in 831 [1427–1428]. There he was raised, learned the venerable Qur'an, a little jurisprudence and other sciences, and he indulged in literature; he distinguished himself in his art, wrote in verse and prose, composed poems; he had a very beautiful handwriting, in the manner of his countrymen. He was secretary to a few princes, then came to Tunis in the year 864 [1459–1460], and he clung to the service of al-Mas'ūd bi-llāh Muḥammad, son of the ruler of Tunis 'Uthmān, who died in 893, shortly before his father, and never ascended the throne. He sung his praises: therefore, this prince made him his familiar, his close friend, and took him as secretary.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ The script is also found in Q019; the manuscript is as yet unspecified, but the script suggests its Ḥafṣid origin.

²⁰¹ Ibn Khalīl, "Riḥla," 76.

Interestingly, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ goes on to describe an enmity between Khayyir and a rival scribe by the name of Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī al-Qāsim Muḥammad al-Ḥimyarī al-Andalusi al-Khulūf, another Andalusi poet in the entourage of the prince’s father, Sultan Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān. Both scribes were wooing Mas‘ūd for his favors. After al-Khulūf had left Tunis, al-Khayyir remained the sole secretary in the service of Mas‘ūd. While this anecdote is insightful, it does not answer the most pressing question: is one of the prince’s personal secretaries also the artist behind the Qur’an manuscripts discussed here, or were they merely responsible for their master’s correspondence? Even if none of the discussed manuscripts was copied personally by one of the Andalusi calligraphers mentioned by al-Bāsiṭ, the favor granted to Andalusi artists at the Ḥafṣid court reveals much about the taste of the Ḥafṣid elite, steeped in the tradition of Andalusi aesthetics.

Some peculiar details, however, set the Qur’an of Prince al-Mas‘ūd apart from the others. Firstly, it is the only paper manuscript in the Ḥafṣid corpus with a fully illuminated carpet page; this may be considered as an allusion to the earlier tradition of parchment Qur’an manuscripts. Despite the rectangular format of the manuscript, the geometrical design of the carpet page is square, just like the earliest parchment Qur’an of Muḥammad I al-Mustanṣir (Q003). It differs considerably, however, in the geometric pattern, which enhances the angular traits of the ornament instead of the circular geometry behind it. An almost identical design is found in a marble window grill in the ablution room of the Zaytūna Mosque built by the architect Aḥmad al-Qusanṭīnī in 1448–1450 under the patronage of Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān (figure 51).²⁰²

Another peculiarity lies in the design of the opening heading. The text of the manuscript starts in the middle of *Sūrat al-mā’ida* (Q. 5:82, the beginning of *juz’ 7*). The initial heading thus does not give the name of the sura, but opens with an invocation to God. While this is not unusual (see, for instance, vol. 11 of Q021), the design of the heading with the central medallion is. None of the framed headings encountered in this corpus (or in other Maghribi Qur’ans) show this use of a central medallion. This layout rather resembles Mamluk designs.²⁰³ Furthermore, the curvilinear chrysography resembles Mashriqi models, with its narrow letters with long stem and nested baselines.²⁰⁴ The only other sura heading in this codex

²⁰² Brunschvig, *Berbérie orientale*, I:353; Hadda, *Tunisia Medievale*, 152–154.

²⁰³ Mamluk metalware bears medallions in the inscription bands that surround the vessels from the earliest (Baḥrī) period (1279–1382) onwards; see, for example, Maria Amalia de Luca and Ursula Staacke, *I metalli mamelucchi del periodo baḥrī* (Palermo: Assessorato regionale dei beni culturali ambientali e della pubblica istruzione, 1997).

²⁰⁴ See, for example, the catalogue of Qur’an manuscripts from Mamluk Cairo and Ilkhanid Baghdad in James, *Qur’ans of the Mamlūks*, esp. cat. nos. 1–40.

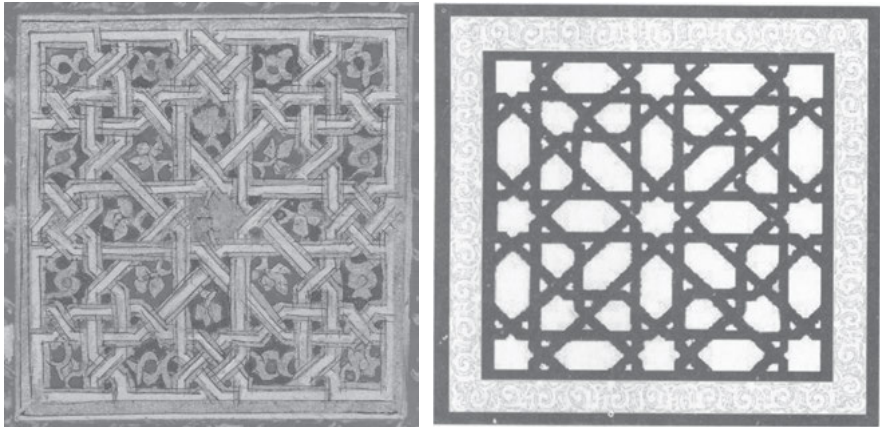


Figure 51: Detail of the carpet page in the Qur'an copied in honor of Prince al-Mas'ūd (Q015) in 893/1487 (left) and the window in the ablution room of the Zaytūna Mosque, constructed in 852/1448 on order of al-Mas'ūd's father, Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān.

is presented in the traditional golden Kufi script in a braided frame. However, this sura heading is also unusual since the *basmala* that opens the sura is highlighted in chrysography.

The markers for separating verses also differ from those of earlier parchment Qur'ans: the plain golden circle with a sequence of blue and red dots for single verses, the drop-like marker with the indication *khamsa* for every fifth verse, and the larger golden circle with the word *'ashra* written within for every tenth verse (figure 52).

The same type of ornament – albeit in a more elaborate and more lavish fashion – was used in a manuscript very peculiar for its hybrid style (Q017; see again figure 52 and figures 42 and 43). This Ḥafṣid hybrid Qur'an was endowed to the Zaytūna Mosque in 893/1488 (*taḥbīs* 6). Originally in twenty large-size volumes (39 x 29 cm) of three *aḥzāb* each, it is now partly held in the Biblioteca Vaticana (three volumes) and the Biblioteca Laurenziana (one volume, from the Strozzi collection). Although the manuscript was endowed to the Zaytūna Mosque, it is unclear whether the manuscript was produced in Ḥafṣid Tunis. At first glance, the appearance would suggest otherwise: the letters seem to have been written with a *qalam* nibbed according to the Mashriqī tradition, which allowed the copyist to play with the thickness of his stroke.²⁰⁵ Additionally, some of the letter forms follow Mashriqī prototypes: the *alif* is drawn from top to bottom (with a leftward hook and without a bump below the line), *dāl/dhāl* opens in an isosceles triangle with the little hooks pursing outwards, the

²⁰⁵ Ben Azzouna, “Les corans,” 112; Déroche, *Le livre manuscrit arabe*, 79–80.

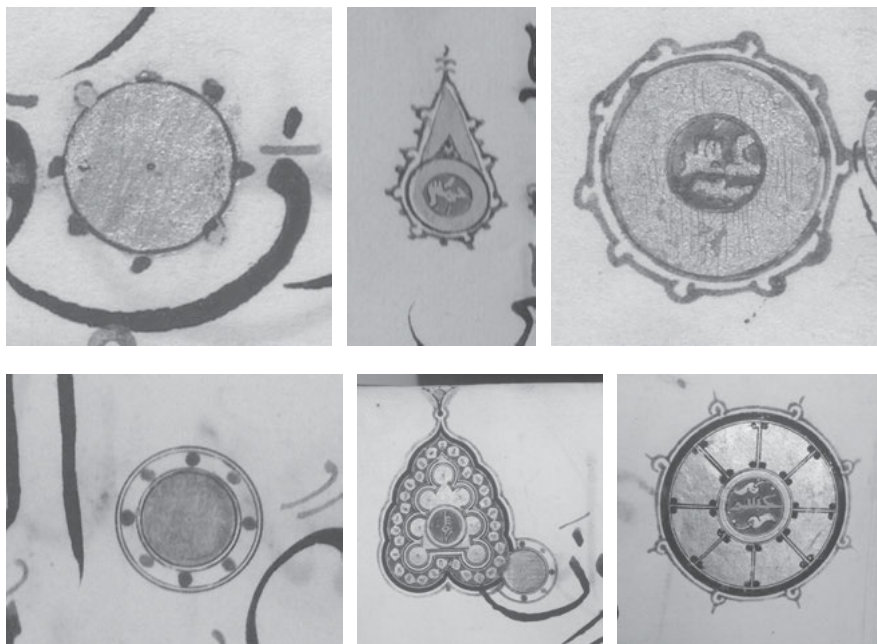


Figure 52: From left to right, markers of single verses, groups of five, and ten verses in Q015 (above) and Q017 (below).

hanging swoops are flattened, the body of *ṣād/dād* and *ṭā'/ẓā'* is rounded to an eye-like shape and shows a distinctive denticle before connecting to the following letter, etc. Especially noticeable is the Mashriqī rendition of the *basmala* with the elongation of the *sīn* in *bi-sm*, instead of the Maghribi elongation of the *ḥā'*-baseline in *al-rahmān*.

Likewise, the illuminations and the use of ornaments vary distinctively from the Ḥafṣid *maṣāḥif* discussed so far. Every sura is preceded by an elaborate heading. While the opening sura heading is framed by a vegetal tendril, the others are framed with the guilloche encountered in all other Ḥafṣid *maṣāḥif*. What is most remarkable, however, is the unique color palette in the Kufi title and the marginal arabesque vignette. Each sura heading shows a combination of different colors of a vividity that does not occur in other Ḥafṣid manuscripts: pitch black, sky blue, ruby red, grass green. The gilding in these ornamental elements is especially shiny because of the application of gold leaf. This technique is unattested in Maghribi manuscript production but can be observed in contemporary Mamluk workshops.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ See examples in James, *Qur'āns of the Mamlūks*.

However, a closer inspection reveals the inconsistencies of the Ḥaḥṣid hybrid style Qur'an with Mashriḳi manuscripts. Although the letters hover on irregular heights over the baseline, the commitment to the horizontalism and roundness is still performed by the elongation of certain strokes (most prominent in the body of *kāf*) and the exaggerated curves of other letters such as the bowl of the final *nūn*. The two most obvious Maghribi features of the manuscript are the punctuation of *fā'* and *qāf*, with a dot below and above respectively, and the use of the polychrome system for vowels (red), *shadda* and *sukūn* (blue), *waṣla* (green), and *hamza* (orange).

It is hard to say whether a member of the Ḥaḥṣid court could have commissioned a manuscript with a Mamluk appeal from a Maghribi calligrapher, and whether that choice reflected the commissioner's taste. The fact that such a script is not attested in Mashriḳi manuscripts either suggests a Maghribi scribe who experimented with Mashriḳi letter forms (although the script admittedly looks rather advanced for an experiment). The manuscript might equally have been a gift from an eastern visitor to the Ḥaḥṣid court who wanted to impress his hosts. The Maghribi punctuation of *fā'* and *qāf*, as well as the polychrome system for vowels, etc., was presumably known in the Mashriḳ. The hybrid style might have been fashioned by a scribe trained in one of several contexts: a Mamluk scribe working for a Maghribi readership, a Maghribi scribe working in Egypt, or a well-travelled artist synthesizing his experiences.²⁰⁷ The vivid colors of the inks (unparalleled in Ḥaḥṣid manuscripts) and the professional application of gold leaf (a technique used in Mamluk manuscripts, and further east) speaks for this latter theory. Still, for now, this hybrid style Qur'an largely remains a mystery. Regardless of its origins, it is clear that this manuscript, not necessarily copied under the Ḥaḥṣids, must have been produced for their elite or commissioned by them for the endowment to the Zaytūna Mosque in 1488.²⁰⁸

The comparable ornamentation of the verse markers in the Qur'an of Prince al-Mas'ūd confirms the high appreciation for that style. Its illuminator must have had similar models to copy from as did the mysterious illuminator of the hybrid

207 See the collective volume that is dedicated to reflecting the Maghribi presence in the Mashriḳ, Maribel Fierro and Mayte Penelas, *The Maghrib in the Mashriḳ* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021); here esp. Umberto Bongianino, "Vehicles of Cultural Identity: Some Thoughts on Maghribi Scripts and Manuscripts in the Mashriḳ."

208 For some preliminary remarks on the exchange of art between Egypt and the Maghrib, see Georges Marçais, "Les échanges artistiques entre l'Égypte et les pays musulmans occidentaux," *Hesperis* 19 (1975); in that article, however, Marçais is more concerned with periods before the Ḥaḥṣids. For diplomatic relations between Ḥaḥṣid Ifriḳiya and Mamluk Egypt, see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Practising Diplomacy in the Mamluk Sultanate. Gifts and Material Culture in the Medieval Islamic World* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 52–57; Mounira Chapoutot-Remedi, "Entre Ifriḳiya hafside et Égypte mamelouke. Des relations anciennes, continues et consolidées," in *Mamluk Cairo, a Crossroads for Embassies*, ed. Frédéric Bauden and Malika Dekkiche (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

style Qur'an. The less skillful nature of the ornaments in the Mas'ūd Qur'an might even suggest that the illuminator copied directly from the lavish hybrid style manuscript endowed to the Zaytūna Mosque, which might have circulated at the court before it was endowed in 1488. Be that as it may, the style of illumination of the hybrid Qur'an was seemingly appreciated to such an extent that it was partially reproduced in a Qur'an manuscript in commemoration of the Ḥafṣid Prince Mas'ūd.

One last Ḥafṣid *muṣḥaf* needs to be mentioned here. The manuscript, of which three volumes are held in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, is said to have been taken from Tunis in the 1535 sack by Emperor Charles V himself (Q016, figures 40 and 41 see chapter 2.2.). The three volumes begin and end with a sura, which differs from the traditional division for recitation purposes. This paper manuscript is undated, although the looting gives a date *ante quem*. Its letter forms are too experimental to attribute it confidently to the group of late fifteenth-century Ḥafṣid Qur'ans. However, the *rasm* of the text is copied in black ink, and polychrome inks are used according to the system found in the early parchment *maṣāḥif*. The manuscript thus follows the overall aesthetics and the archaizing character of the Ḥafṣid style.

The script draws on the traditional forms of the elongated, angular bodies of *ṣād/ḍād*, *ṭā'/ẓā'* and *kāf* in order to emphasize the horizontal direction.²⁰⁹ The use of a *miṣṭara* (ruling board) further encouraged a flat baseline for the letters. However, in contrast to the flat elongated forms, the calligrapher exaggerated the curvilinear elements to give a wavy appearance to the page. In view of the overall page layout, the scribe makes use of the whole spectrum of letter forms, even when it means that the same letter appears in different shapes and sizes in two succeeding words. For instance, the tail of final *nūn* and *wāw* can be flattened or shortened so as to give a rhythmic sequence to neighboring letters but can also appear in their angular shape. The same goes for *rā'*, with the hook-like backswing, and *kāf*, which can appear in the archaizing, angular form, but can also be traced with the same round body topped by a diagonal stroke, as in Maghribi book hands. Final *mīm* can have a plunging, vertical tail with a final spur to the left, but also a semicircular tail turned backwards; again, the letter form is adapted to the page layout.

While the script is very innovative, the ornamentation, chrysography, and illuminations resemble earlier Maghribi Qur'an manuscripts, specifically the style of a parchment Qur'an donated to the Zaytūna Mosque in the fourteenth century (Q009; *taḥbīs* 14, see figures 32 and 53). The sura heading of the first folio is squeezed into

²⁰⁹ It has been suggested that the script is a development of the book hand applied in the red *muṣḥaf*; Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 395.



Figure 53: Details of sura headings in Q009 (above) and Q016 in comparison.

a panel of white strapwork; the title hovers over a blue background with a white floral design.²¹⁰

The appreciation of ancient parchment codices that are used as manuscript models can be clearly seen in the practices surrounding them. One square parchment *muṣḥaf* (Q008) bears an endowment certificate (*taḥbīs* 9) that reveals that Sultan ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad, the son of the deceased Prince Mas‘ūd, stipulated that the ancient codex was to be used for recitation during the Friday Prayers in the Zaytūna Mosque. The use of the manuscript in the most important prayer of the week, in the most prominent religious building in the city, demonstrates its importance.

Interestingly, the decoration of the binding of Charles V’s Qur’an resembles contemporary Ottoman bindings more than that it does the other Ḥafṣid bindings in the corpus. A similar trend has been noted in the bindings of the Saadian library of

²¹⁰ Blair finds the ornaments “unusual,” while Dandel calls them “uninspired”; Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 399, and Dandel, “L’enluminure hispano-maghrébine,” 562.

the sultans of Morocco.²¹¹ The Saadian manuscripts are equally copied in a Maghribi hand with a cover design resembling Ottoman craftsmanship. It is well documented that they were in Marrakesh in 1612, when the library of Mawlāy Zaydān was boxed and shipped overseas, and it is therefore unlikely that they had been sent eastwards to be bound. It is more conceivable that the bindings of the manuscripts, just as the Ḥafşid example, were decorated in North Africa in a style imitating the art of contemporary Ottoman workshops. This is just one more attestation to the diverse designs of Maghribi and particularly Ḥafşid manuscript production.

In conclusion, the design of Maghribi manuscripts, in general, and Qur'an manuscripts, specifically, has repeatedly been described as exhibiting a certain conservatism, and their artists even having been called "inflexible" and "uninspired."²¹² The assumption, however, that Maghribi Qur'ans did not change in their appearance from the twelfth to the sixteenth century has led to a lot of these manuscripts being misdated. Manuscripts which show certain innovative features, such as the *naskh* sura heading in the Qur'an copied in blue ink, have been dated to the late sixteenth century.²¹³ After the survey of the here-reconstructed corpus, we can oppose this notion of conservatism by proposing that there was a certain inclusivity or receptiveness in Ḥafşid manuscript production towards manuscript traditions whose traces were present in Ḥafşid Tunis. The style of the Ḥafşid Qur'ans is based on former Maghribi traditions, especially those from al-Andalus. Their archaizing character is embedded in Maghribi visual culture and reflects the Ḥafşids' identity as Maghribi rulers over Ifrīqiya. At the same time, the manuscript producers also drew inspiration from eastern traditions, especially from the Mamluk world, thus presenting Tunis as an inspiring, multicultural hub, characterized by a kingly taste for exoticism. The inventive environment also led to experiments and innovation that can, thus far, only be linked with Ḥafşid Tunis (e.g., the script in the Qur'an of Charles V).

If the inclusion of Mamluk elements in Ḥafşid manuscript culture is a new observation, it comes as no surprise. Ifrīqiya was a region which, until the late twelfth century, was politically and culturally oriented towards Egypt and the Mashriq, before becoming "maghribised" under the Almohads and Ḥafşids. Furthermore, as a cultural hub and an educational center for travelers and scholars, Tunis must have been a place of exchange for scribes and book merchants coming from the Maghrib as well as the Mashriq.

²¹¹ Nuria Martínez de Castilla Muñoz, "Maghrebi Bindings in Ottoman Dress. About Changes of Tastes and Techniques in Saadian Morocco," *Turcica* 50 (2019).

²¹² For example, Barrucand, "Observaciones"; Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 392–416; Dandel, "L'enluminure hispano-maghrébine."

²¹³ Déroche, *Catalogue*, 41, no. 317.

3.5 Illuminated Manuscripts (other than Qur'an)



Figure 54: Manuscript of the *Bayzara* dedicated to royal *khizāna* of ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad I al-Mustaṣṣir (MS005).



Figure 55: Title page of MS005.

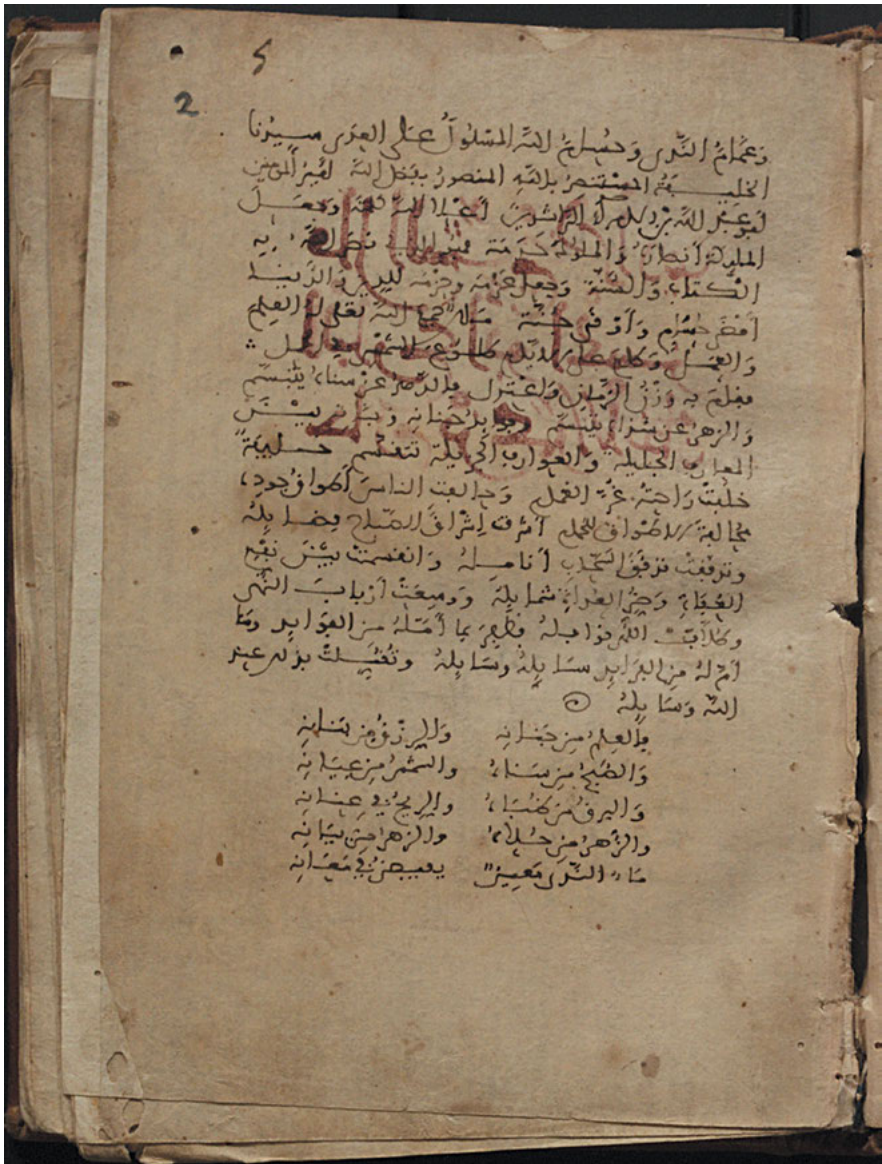


Figure 56: Opening pages of al-Anṣārī's *al-Qaṣīda al-'alfiyya* copied 698/1298 in Anaba (MS006).

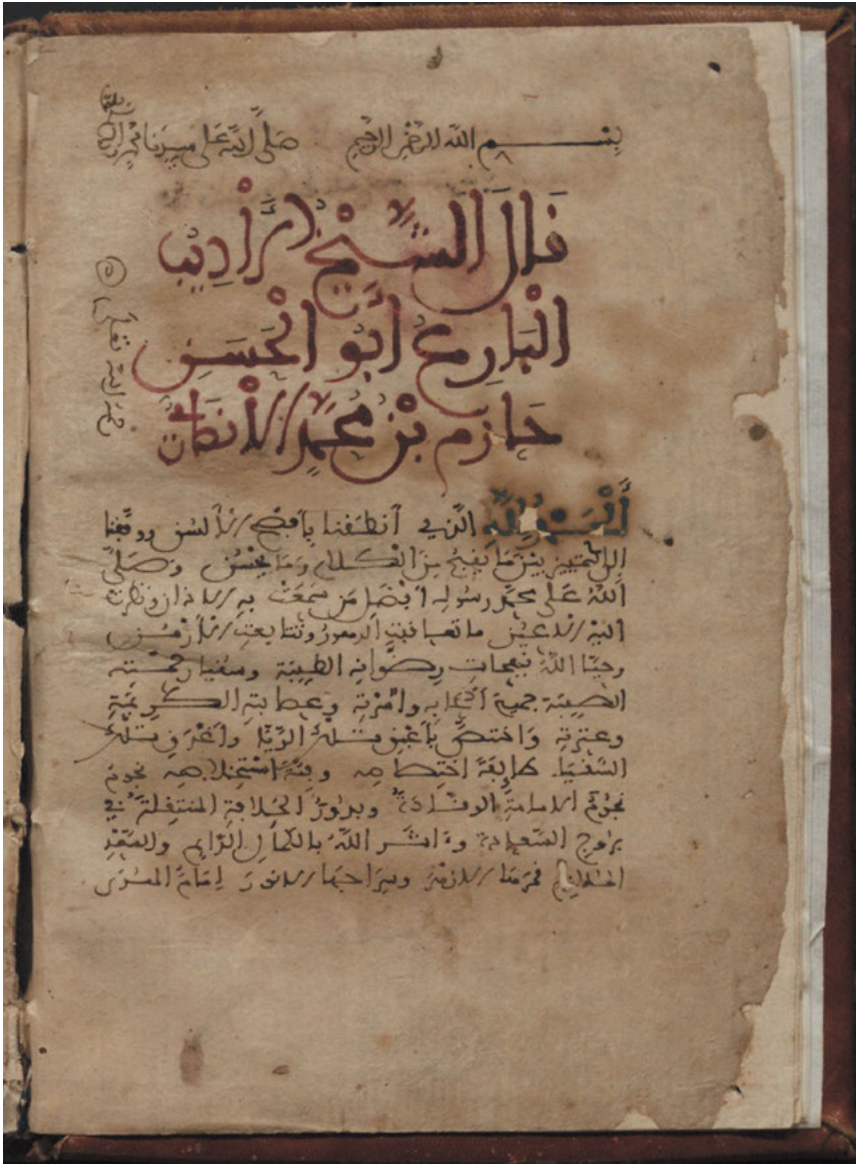


Figure 57: Opening pages of MS006.



Figure 58: Opening page of a copy of *Kitāb fihī siyāsāt al-‘imārā* dedicated to the *khizāna al-‘aliyyah* of Abū Bakr al-Mutawakkil ‘alā Allāh (MS009).



Figure 59: Title page of MS009.

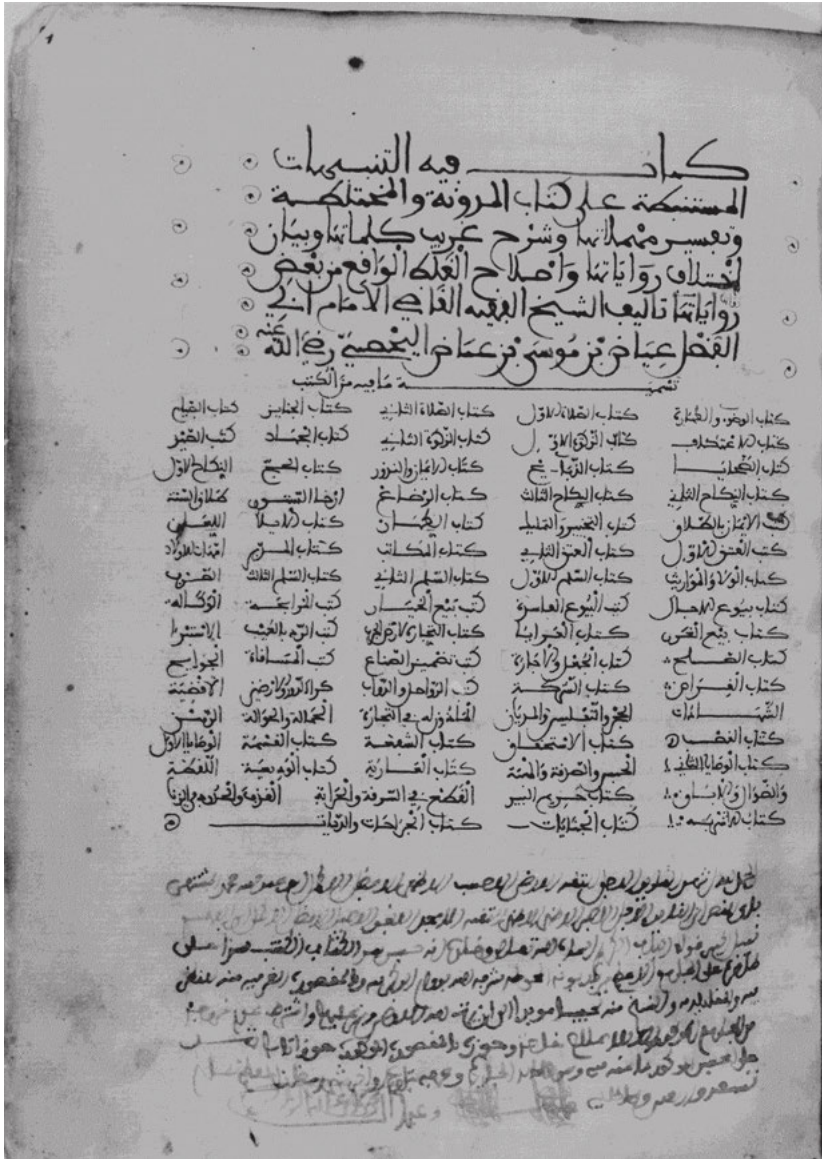


Figure 60: Title page of a manuscript copied 793/1390 in Tunis by Muḥammad al-Qaysī al-Attār with endowment certificate (*tahbis* 20) to the Mosque of Annaba (MS011).

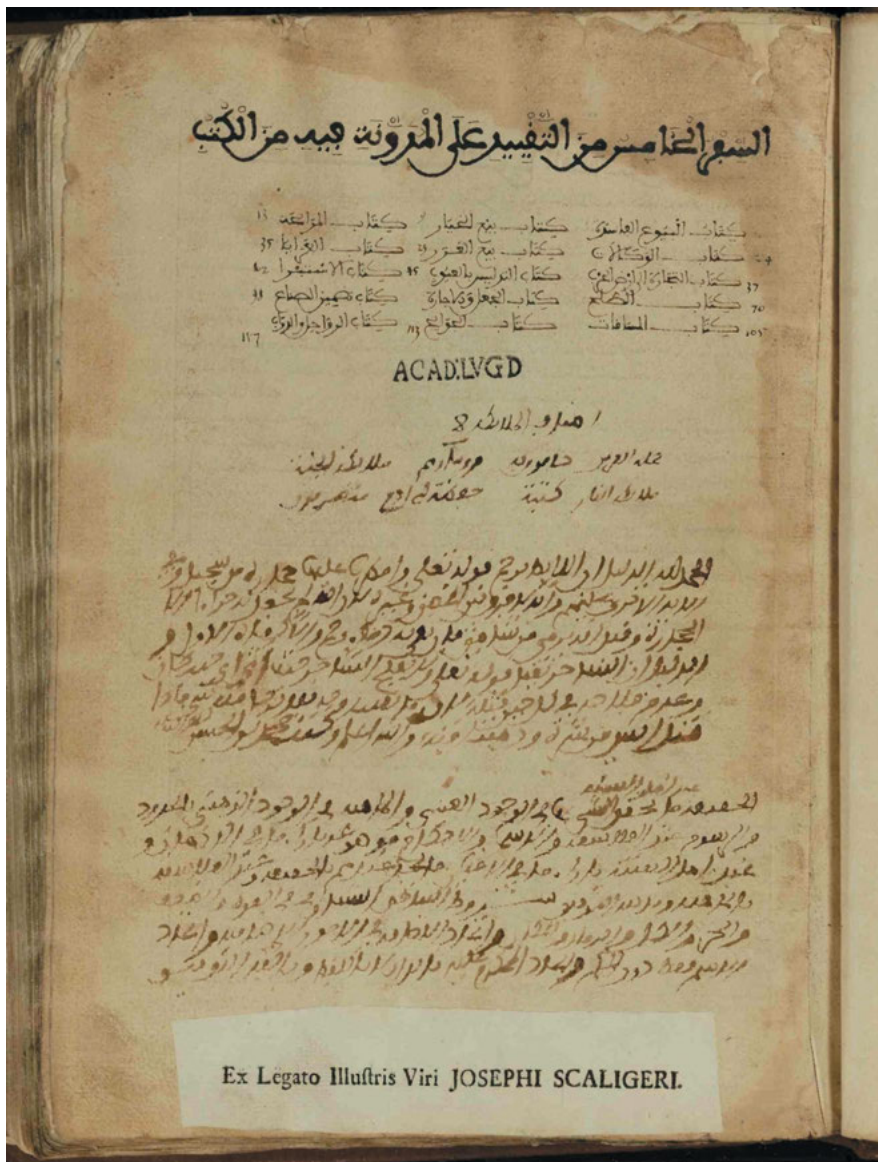


Figure 61: The title page of a copy of 'Alī al-Ṣaghīr Abū al-Ḥasan's *Mudawwana* (MS012).

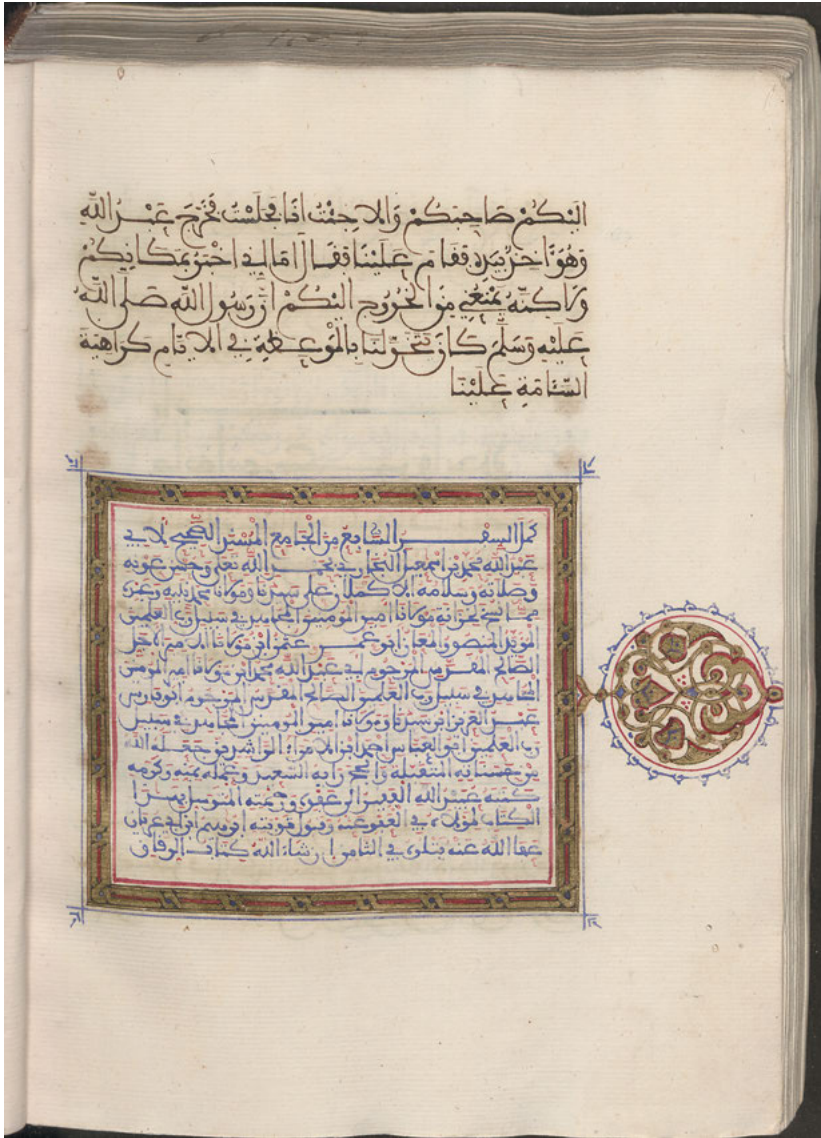


Figure 62: The colophon of a copy of al-Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* dedicated to the *khizāna* of Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān (MS021).



Figure 64: Illuminated frontispiece of al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ's *Shifā'* copied by a certain al-Tūnisī (MS030).



Figure 65: Illuminated frontispiece of al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ's *Shifā'* copied by a certain al-Tūnīsī (MS030).



Figure 66: Opening page of al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ's *Shifā'* copied by a certain al-Tūnisī with the seal of Suleiman I (MS030).



Figure 68: Opening page of a copy of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* copied 871/1466 (MS033).



Figure 69: Title page of a copy of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* copied 871/1466 (MS033).

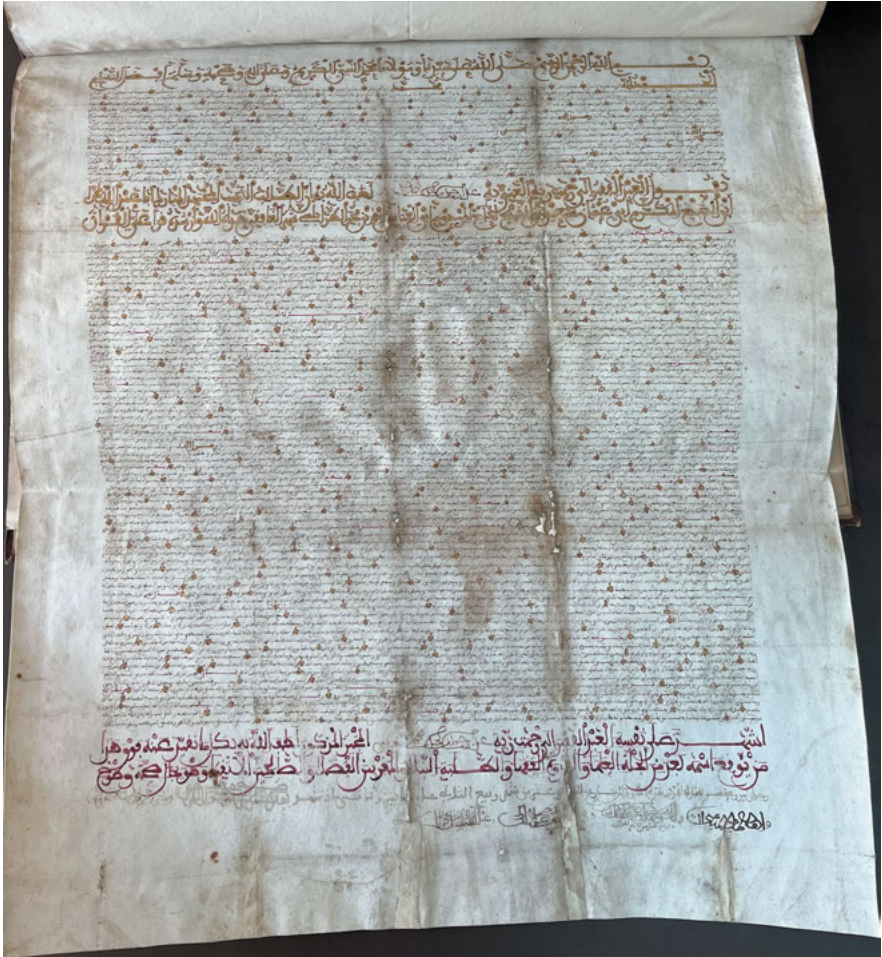


Figure 72: A certificate that confirms the beholder's proficiency in reciting the Qur'an, copied 808/1405 in Tunis (MS016).

This section describes the manuscripts that were produced for the dynastic elite of Ifrīqiya, apart from the Qur'an manuscripts examined above. The discussion follows the chronology of the material evidence: the earliest thirteenth- and fourteenth-century royal manuscripts show the application of Ḥafṣid book hands, which laid the groundwork for the formation of a distinct Ḥafṣid imperial style observable in a group of fifteenth-century manuscripts.

Apart from copies of the Qur'an, only five manuscripts were found to be datable with certainty to the early Ḥafṣid period, from the mid-thirteenth to the late fourteenth centuries (MS003, MS004, MS005, MS006, and MS009). These all bear the marks of royal patronage. While the Qur'an was still being copied on parchment, paper was used for all these other early royal manuscripts. The secular content of these books (falconry, poems, and politics) could explain the use of the innovative material, since surely no expense was spared by their patrons to attain their prestigious appearance.

The earliest manuscripts of Ḥafṣid royal patronage are datable on the basis of the dedication to the Ḥafṣid rulers for whose *khizāna* (library) the books were copied. The first Ḥafṣid sultan, Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā Ibn Abī Ḥafṣ, who declared Ḥafṣid independence from the Almohads in 1229 and pronounced himself caliph during the Friday Prayer in the Zaytūna Mosque in 1236/7, had the scribe Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Kharrāz al-Yamanī (active in the 640s/1240s) produce simple copies of Mālik Ibn Anas's *Kitāb al-Muwaṭṭa'* (MS003) and al-Zamakhsharī's *al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-Tanzīl* (MS004). From the patronage of Sultan Muḥammad I al-Mustanshir survives – apart from the illuminated Qur'an copy Q003 – also a more enhanced, precious manuscript of a more profane content: the manuscript MS005, a treaty on falconry (*al-Bayzara*), which stayed in Tunis and was later endowed to the Aḥmadiyya collection in 1256/1840 (endowment deed on fol. 1r); it is now in the Bibliothèque nationale in Tunis (figures 54 and 55).²¹⁴ The text of a poem composed in praise of the same al-Mustanshir, titled *al-Qaṣīda al-'al-fīyya* by the poet Abū al-Ḥaṣan al-Anṣārī al-Qartājannī (1212–1285),²¹⁵ survives in a manuscript copied about half a century later. The copy is in itself very important because it is the earliest securely dated manuscript in Maghribi script, undoubtedly copied in Ifrīqiya (MS006, figures 56 and 57);²¹⁶ the colophon on fol. 28r reveals that the manuscript was copied in Annaba (*Būna*) in the year 698/1298. The only other

²¹⁴ Dedication on fol. 1r of the manuscript. The colophon on fol. 178r provides no additional information; a date of 645 AH (1247–1248) is written in a modern hand on fol. 178v, but this is not confirmed in the text.

²¹⁵ Al-Qartājannī was born in Carthage and died in Tunis 684/1285–6; Library of Congress entry: <http://id.loc.gov/authorities/names/n83127907>, consulted 7 January 2021.

²¹⁶ Bongianino, *Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*, 15.

manuscript that survives from the first half of the fourteenth century is the political treatise titled *Siyāsat al-'imarā'* (On the policy of princes) by Ibrahīm b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Abī al-Nūr, copied for the *khizāna* of Abū Bakr al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāh (MS009, figures 58 and 59). These last two royal Ḥaḥḥsid manuscripts are now held in the library of El Escorial in Spain.

These early manuscripts show very skilled, enhanced book hands, and all of them were copied for the Ḥaḥḥsid elite in a fully developed, formalized Maghribi script. Such enhanced book hands originated in eleventh-century al-Andalus and Maghrib al-'Aqṣā (west of Ifrīqiya) before they came to Tunis with the Almohads and the Ḥaḥḥsids as their governors.²¹⁷ The manuscript of the *Bayzara* (MS005), copied in the second half of the thirteenth century, is the first example of such an enhanced Maghribi book hand in Ifrīqiya.²¹⁸ The manuscript is penned in a slow, proportioned, and mannered way. The letter forms are clearly inspired by round scripts, as opposed to the angular form of contemporary Qur'anic calligraphy (on parchment); see, for example, the round bodies of *ṣād/dād/ṭā'/zā'* and also the letter *kāf* which has a half-open body of two parallel lines and avoids the trapezoidal character. However, these book hands do share some features that are found in the *maṣāḥif* discussed above: the superfluous elongation of baseline strokes and the pronounced hanging curves; the use of a similar color scheme (vowels, *hamza*, and sometimes *sukūn* in red ink, *sukūn* and *shadda* in blue ink), and the letters *dāl/dhāl* and *rā'/zāy* which appear in both round and pursed (or hook-like) forms.

These enhanced book hands of the second half of the thirteenth century can help to fill the gap between the angular, archaizing script of early fourteenth-century parchment *maṣāḥif* and the more fluid script of Qur'anic manuscripts, such as in the Red Qur'an (Q010), from around 1400, which incorporates elements from non-Qur'anic calligraphy.

Unfortunately, we know very little about the scribes working for the Ḥaḥḥsid elite, especially in the early period (up to the fourteenth century). The names of scribes in non-Qur'anic manuscripts only appear from the fifteenth century onwards: the earliest is Muḥammad al-Qaysī, who copied a manuscript in 793/1390 (MS011, figure 60), and the chronologically subsequent name of a scribe, 'Abd Allāh b. Zaka-riyyā' al-Tūzurī, appears in 821/1418 (MS017; see figure 13). Whether this anonymity is a trend in Ḥaḥḥsid book culture or a mere coincidence of survival is hard to tell.

²¹⁷ Bongianino, *Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*, "Evolution of Maghribi Bookhands," 237–248; Bongianino, "Quelques remarques"; Déroche, "Tradition et innovation," 233.

²¹⁸ MS005 is dated on the basis of its connection to the *khizāna* of Muḥammad I al-Mustaṣfir.

Evidence of Maghribi scribes who did name themselves dates from as early as the tenth century, suggesting the latter.²¹⁹

As recorded in a contemporary source, Maghribi scripts from al-Andalus had completely replaced local manuscript traditions in Tunis by the end of the fourteenth century; when first drafting his *Muqaddima* in 1377, the chronicler Ibn Khaldūn discusses the development of writing styles in Ifrīqiya. He explains that migrating scribes and poets from al-Andalus, who were welcomed at the Ḥafṣid court, brought with them to Tunis an overwhelming skill and knowledge of their scribal practices and wiped out the local, presumably Ifrīqī, scripts.²²⁰ Not only is Ibn Khaldūn contemporary to the time that we are concerned with, but he also lived and worked in Tunis, witnessing the events in situ. A trained calligrapher himself, his observations on the development of scripts in Tunis are therefore coming from a place of expertise. The material evidence proves his claim: manuscripts produced for the Ḥafṣid elite – Qur'ans and others – are all copied in Andalusi – i.e., Maghribi – script. (Traces of Ifrīqī scripts can still be found in contemporary, noncourtly manuscripts, as is discussed above.) However, Ibn Khaldūn's account is somewhat problematic since he specifies that, by the time of his writing, only “traces of the Andalusi script remain” in Tunis, which are a mere attestation to the perfection that the “people had formerly possessed.” According to Ibn Khaldūn, most manuscripts produced in Ḥafṣid Ifrīqiya towards the end of the fourteenth century “inclined to be ugly and [are] far from excellent,” posing a rather grim outlook for Ḥafṣid manuscript production after the fourteenth century.

Brunschvig was able to trace many historians, chroniclers, geographers, and poets who were active during the Ḥafṣid period.²²¹ However, only a number of them is attested to have worked for the court. While they were probably all men of letters and copied their books themselves, most of their works, unfortunately, came down to us only in later copies. An interesting exception is an autograph by the Ḥafṣid court historian and poet Muḥammad b. Ibrahīm al-Zarkashī (MS038), in the service of Ḥafṣid sultan Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān.²²² Al-Zarkashī composed and copied his commentary on a poem of al-Damāmīnī (*Bulūgh al-amānī fi sharḥ qaṣīdat al-Damāmīnī*) for the sultan.²²³ In his treatise, al-Zarkashī mentions a contemporary scribe

219 E.g., a manuscript copied in Toledo in 364/974 by Kathīr ibn Khalaf ibn Sa'd al-Murādi (Turkey, Ankara, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafiya Fakültesi Kütüphanesi, Ismail Saib 2164); see Bongianino, *Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*, item 3. This is only the earliest example and one of many.

220 Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ibar*; esp. II:751.

221 Brunschvig, *Berbérie orientale*, “La production intellectuelle,” II:368–416.

222 Brunschvig, *Berbérie orientale*, II:399–400.

223 *Nouvelles des Manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, Fichier 10/1–2001, no. 351.

among the group of poets who sang the praises of the Ḥaḥḥsid ruler, the Andalusī poet al-Khayyir;²²⁴ the same al-Khayyir who is lauded for his mastery of scribal practices by the fifteenth-century traveller ‘Abd al-Baḥḥit, mentioned above. While the beautiful handwriting of al-Khayyir is only known by reputation, al-Zarkashī’s autograph is an interesting visual example of the neat Maghribi writing of a Ḥaḥḥsid court poet of the fifteenth century.

A large group of fifteenth-century manuscripts contradicts Ibn Khaldūn’s statement on the decline of book culture and confirms the continuous production of lavishly illuminated Maghribi manuscripts in Ḥaḥḥsid Tunis beyond Ibn Khaldūn’s time. Although one could argue that the homogeneous appeal of the group speaks of a traditionalist approach to manuscript production and represents little artistic innovation, the discussion of contemporary Qur’an manuscripts has shown that the fifteenth century generated quite a spectrum of experimental styles of writing and illumination. The conservative appeal of the following manuscripts, with an obvious conformity and high recognition value, should be considered a deliberate decision in the development of a what could be deemed the “Ḥaḥḥsid Imperial Style.” In the following discussion, this group will be considered as a unit, as they all help to define the imperial style. Only in the case of deviations or unique features will individual manuscripts be pointed out. Among the non-Qur’anic manuscripts in the corpus, a group of twelve items of fifteenth-century multivolume manuscripts (twenty-six volumes in total) can be identified as representative of this Ḥaḥḥsid Imperial Style (see figures 62 to 71). Nine items are copies of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī (MS013, MS014, MS021, MS026, MS029, MS032, MS033, MS034, MS036; figures 63 and 63, 68 to 71, and 4). An eleventh multivolume manuscript contains the important Maghribi work in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad, *al-Shifā’* by al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ (MS030, figures 64 to 67). They were all copied and endowed between 843/1440 and 873/1468 in different Ḥaḥḥsid cities, from Sousse to Annaba, Sfax to Kairouan, and of course Tunis.²²⁵

Excepting Qur’an manuscripts, these religious codices are the only illuminated Ḥaḥḥsid books that survive from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.²²⁶ In two

224 BnA 239, fol. 110b; Brunschvig, “Deux récits inédits,” 75n3.

225 Two manuscripts have unclear dates: MS013 was endowed to the mosque of Kairouan by Sultan Abū Fāris ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Mutawakkil. The date in the endowment certificate (mosque of Annaba) in MS036 is partially illegible, only the last and first cipher is discernible: 8 and 800, corresponding to a time range of 8x8/1405–1492.

226 The script is also applied in other illuminated manuscripts of different content, but these are only tentatively attributed to Ḥaḥḥsid Tunis: MS041 Maqḍisī (ethics), or MS042 al-Ṣūlī (history), or

of these copies of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, parchment was even used as a writing surface (MS013 and MS014), which further emphasizes their precious nature, especially since the Ḥafṣid *maṣāḥif* of this period were already copied on paper.

The manuscripts are rather small (15–20 x 9–12 cm) and copied with an odd number of lines to the page (7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17). The main text is traced in black ink with highlights and titles in magenta or blue. The recto of the first folio is the title page, with the beginning of the text on its verso. In some instances, the text is introduced by an illuminated heading containing the title of the book section preceded by the *basmala* and the invocation of blessing on the Prophet Muḥammad (*taṣḥīyya*). The last words of the formula do not fit the page and are piled up towards the left upper corner of the sheet. This unbalanced layout seems to have been intentional and to have been derived from chancery practices. In some Ḥafṣid chancery documents, the first lines are written horizontally across the page, and while the left margin is flush with the edge of the paper folio, the last words of the line are often piled up, possibly in order to prevent additions to the text.²²⁷ This practice dates back to Almohad scribal practices.²²⁸

The highly recognizable script used in these manuscripts is a development of the enhanced book hands applied in the earliest extant manuscripts of Ḥafṣid patronage, such as the *Bayzara* (MS005) produced for the library of ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad I al-Mustanṣir, employing the same curvilinear forms. The chronological gap of 200 years between the two groups can be visually filled by the most informal examples of Qur’anic calligraphy of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, such as the silver script of the Red Qur’an (Q010, see again figures 34 and 35).

In the less lavish examples, the titles, opening heading, and colophons (if present) are copied in the same script as the main text, but sometimes in blue or red ink, and the lines for the colophons are narrower than for the main text. The title page can be framed by a golden guilloche, and the titles and colophon can be enhanced with golden ornaments, resembling the verse separators of Qur’an manuscripts. The more elaborate manuscripts are variations of this layout: ornamented carpet pages are inserted between the title page and the opening of the text; the title and opening pages show extravagant chrysography; the gilded opening title is additionally enhanced by a golden guilloche frame and a marginal vignette. They finish with the equally lavish designs of the closing colophons,

MS043 *al-Mudhish* (hadith). The recitation certificate of the year 808/1405 (MS016) and an undated prayer book (MS037) are also illuminated. There is also one unilluminated version of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī (MS032).

²²⁷ Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 394.

²²⁸ Bongianino, *Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*, item D6.

featuring different styles of chrysography set against a dark-colored ground and framed in golden guilloche or colored geometrical sequences.

With only one exception, the gilded titles in these illuminated manuscripts are copied in a *mabsūṭ* script, a stylization of the book hand of the main text. This can already be observed in the title of the thirteenth-century *Bayzara* (MS005) and finds an interesting parallel in chancery styles: the exaggerated left curve top of the stems of *alif* and *lām*, and the enclosed denticles of *sīn/shīn*, are already found in the Ḥaḥṣid *‘alāma* (signature) of chancery documents (figure 73).²²⁹ The additional coloring of the golden letters, already visible in the *Bayzara*, gives a 3D effect to the script; the protruding tips are highlighted in red while the enclosed bodies of letters, such as *ṣād* and *kāf* or the space created between the denticles of the *sīn*, is darkened in blue, creating an interplay of light and shadow.

Interestingly, Maghribi *thuluth* does not seem to play a key role in the chrysography of these illuminated manuscripts. The same was already true for Ḥaḥṣid Qur’ans: only two early parchment *maṣāḥif* show the use of Maghribi *thuluth* either in the frontispiece and finispiece (Q003) or in the colophon (Q007, see again figures 27 and 30). Other Qur’an colophons (if present) are in the same script as the main text, only in a narrower textblock in red ink, sometimes set in a frame. In the non-Qur’anic manuscripts (hadith and secular books alike), Maghribi *thuluth* is similarly rare. It can only be found in two instances: one rather clumsy example in the opening titles of an Bukhārī manuscript copied in the imperial style (MS034), framed by a guilloche border and accompanied by a marginal vignette; and in one more elaborate example in the colophon of the first volume of Qāḍi ‘Iyāḍ, copied as well in the imperial style (MS030, see again figure 73). However, even in this manuscript, the main and final colophon in the last volume – the longest one which includes the name of the scribe, who identifies himself as the illuminator as well, and the date of the copy – is copied in the same enhanced book hand as the main text, in red ink and with a narrower spacing within the lines, just as in contemporary *hadith* manuscripts. In other words, the most important colophon is not the most embellished one.

As a calligraphic feature, Maghribi *thuluth* was popularized under the Almohads. This calligraphic style, inspired by Mashriqī proportioned scripts, is a mannered script of a highly ornamental nature. It can be applied to monumental epigraphy and numismatic inscriptions; in manuscripts, it takes the role of highlighting passages with paratextual function (titles, colophons, etc.). For that purpose, it can

²²⁹ For Ḥaḥṣid chancery documents, see the catalogue D001–D033. On Ḥaḥṣid chancery practices, see Lévi-Provençal, “Le traité d’Adab al-kātib”; Brunschvig, *Berbérie orientale*, II:61–66; al-Wazzān (known as Leo Africanus), *La descrizione dell’Africa* (Venice 1550), 73v–74r.

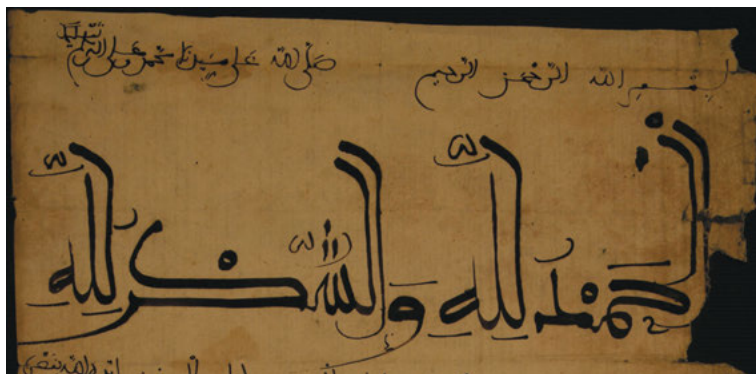


Figure 73: Chrysography in *mabsut* script in D004, MS005, and MS030.

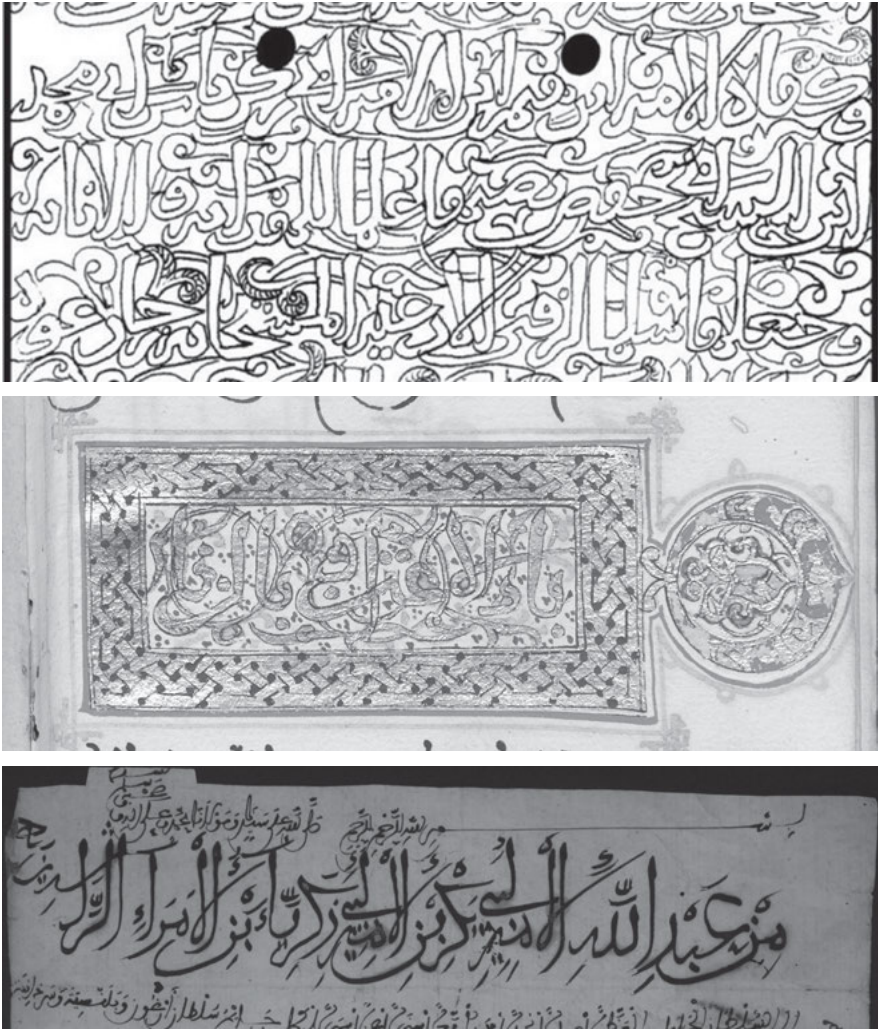


Figure 74: Ḥafṣid examples of Maghribi *thuluth* in epigraphy on the Qaṣba Mosque in Tunis of the year 681/1282; Ḥafṣid Imperial Style hadith manuscript (heading in MS034); Ḥafṣid *'alāma* in D016.

be found in the majority of illuminated manuscripts from the Almohad period. Maghribi *thuluth* has also been observed as an innovation in Ifriqī epigraphy during the Almohad–Ḥafṣid period. In fact, there are so many examples of Ḥafṣid architectural inscriptions in Maghribi *thuluth* that the style was branded “*le style officiel*” or “*la scrittura ufficiale*” of the Ḥafṣid rulers.²³⁰ It can also be found on Ḥafṣid coinage, minted in Bejaia and Tunis.²³¹ The scarcity of Maghribi *thuluth* in Ḥafṣid codices is remarkable compared to both its prevalence in Ḥafṣid epigraphy, on the one hand, and its extensive use in earlier Almohad manuscripts on the other.

The inclusivity towards earlier traditions in Ḥafṣid manuscript production, as has already been observed for Qur'ans, can also be found in the group of fifteenth-century *hadith* manuscripts of the Ḥafṣid Imperial Style. The motif of whirling tendrils of arabesques that decorates the carpet pages in two of them (one *Ṣaḥīḥ* and one *Shifā*) were derived quite literally from a Moroccan Qur'an manuscript copied in 705/1306 for the Marinid ruler Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf (r. 1286–1307; see figure 75). Intriguingly, that manuscript was endowed to the Zaytūna Mosque in 900/1495 (Q005; *tahbis* 8). If it circulated in Tunis for some time before the endowment, the Qur'an manuscript could have served as a direct model for the ornaments in the *hadith* manuscripts copied in the 1460s. As with Qur'ans, an assumption that these features were motivated by conservatism has led to the repeated misdating of these fifteenth-century Ḥafṣid manuscripts; some scholars have seen a fitting context in the landscape of fourteenth-century Maghribi manuscript production, while others have observed the extravagances of an eighteenth-century illuminator.²³²

230 Abdeljaouad, *Inscriptions arabes*, II:536: “*le style officiel*”; Hadda, *Nella Tunisia medievale*, 165: “*la scrittura ufficiale*.” Bongianino has rightly criticized the way in which Maghribi *thuluth* is often referred to as a cursive or *naskhī* script. Due to its mannered (calligraphic) nature, rather, it is fundamentally different from Maghribi and Mashriqī standard book hands and *naskh*, which are truly cursive scripts—i.e., written with a running hand and at a relatively faster pace; Bongianino, *Manuscript Tradition of the Islamic West*, 249–254. Indeed, both Abdeljaouad and Ben Romdhane, who have studied Ḥafṣid epigraphy, speak of “*le cursif Ḥafṣid*” and the “*naskhī Ḥafṣid*,” respectively; Abdeljaouad, *Inscriptions arabes*, “*Le style cursif Ḥafṣid*,” 527–535; Ben Romdhane, “À propos de l'apparition du *naskhī officiel* en Occident musulman.” Apart from the designation Maghribi *thuluth*, Bongianino recommends the use of *Mashriqī mutamaghrab* (“Maghribised *Mashriqī*”), developed in Moroccan scholarship; Afā, *al-Khaṭṭ al-Maghribī*, 63–64.

231 See esp. Fenina and Kahlaoui, “*La monnaie Hafside*.”

232 MS014 was dated to the fourteenth century in Sijilmassi, *Enluminure*, 48, with auction houses following this dating, as also Dandel, “*L'enluminure hispano-maghrébine*,” 479–481. Adam Gacek, for The Walters Art Museum, has dated MS030 to the eighteenth century; cf. <https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W580>, consulted 13 January 2021. Both MS014 and MS030 are the most vague Ḥafṣid attributions among the group of the fifteenth-century Ḥafṣid Imperial Style. While neither has an endowment or colophon confirming the theory, the overwhelming com-



Figure 75: Carpet pages of MS014 and MS030 (above) and Q005 (below).

parative material in contemporary hadith manuscripts from Ḥafṣid Ifriqiya strongly supports it. Furthermore, although the scribe of MS030 does not give a place of copy in his colophon, his name reveals a strong connection to Ḥafṣid Ifriqiya: Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Tūnīsī with the date of production in 866/1462; cf. colophon MS030 in SKüt, Ayasofya 760, fol. 161r.

The group of twenty-six illuminated manuscripts discussed here shares a distinctive visuality; their script and layout form an unmistakable aesthetic which can be seen as a quintessential “Ḥafṣid style.” No comparable manuscripts are known so far to have come out of the contemporary manuscript cultures of the Nasrids in al-Andalus or of the Marinids in the Maghrib. What is more, this aesthetic is linked to the Ḥafṣid elite: the lavish manuscripts were commissioned at the court, and many were then sent to religious institutions throughout Ifrīqiya. This elite promulgation of a visual identity from the Ḥafṣid center of Tunis led me to associate these manuscripts with a Ḥafṣid Imperial Style.

As seen, there is a certain degree of variability in the discussed group which could be related to the amount of the commission and even suggests artistic freedom in the placement and elaboration of certain components (especially the colophon and ornamentation of the opening sides). In addition, of course, the present corpus is, to a large extent, incomplete, and any conclusions drawn from it should be viewed with caution. Nevertheless, the comparison of the existing manuscripts reveals unifying elements and, in their high recognition value, suggests defining and deliberate features. They have so far only been established for the special group of manuscripts produced in the context of the Ḥafṣid elite in Ifrīqiya. With these caveats in mind, it may still be useful, given the current state of our knowledge, to identify some defining features of Ḥafṣid Imperial Style. They may be summarized as follows:

- illuminated opening pages of swirling tendrils that adopt ornaments from early Maghribi manuscripts that were circulating in Ḥafṣid Tunis (figure 75);
- the opening of the text on the verso of the first page, preceded by the *basmala* and/or the *taṣliyya*, of which the last words do not fit the page and are piled up towards the left upper corner of the sheet; a derivation from chancery practices (compare for example figure 70 with figure 15);
- the shadow and light play to the chrysography with highlights of blue and red (figure 73);
- the use of *mabṣūṭ* script for titles, instead of *thuluth* (figure 74);
- the use of the colors blue and magenta for highlighting words and chapter headings throughout the text;
- a carefully developed fifteenth-century book hand; with forerunners in thirteenth-century Ḥafṣid royal manuscripts and fourteenth-century Ḥafṣid Qur'an manuscripts.

Admittedly, the present corpus of Ḥafṣid manuscripts may not be generally representative of book culture in Ifrīqiya during the Ḥafṣid period. The private sphere of book collecting, as well as the production of manuscripts outside the influence of the Ḥafṣid court in Tunis, are research topics that deserve more attention, for which the discussion above might just provide the stimulus. On a final note, it is unfortu-

nate that no illustrated manuscripts of the Ḥafṣid period survive, although they must have existed. A unique item that comes closest to an illustrated manuscript is a *Portolan*, a collection of nautical charts of the Mediterranean Sea (MS059). The manuscript opens with a solar calendar and a plan of the Ka'ba in Mecca, with indications of orientation for different countries. The atlas was produced in 958/1551 by 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sharafī al-Ṣafāqṣī (d. after 1579), a member of a famous family of cartographers from Sfax on the Tunisian coast.²³³ Although al-Sharafī's writing is not calligraphic, the beautiful colors and intricate drawings of the maps make this a precious manuscript that might have been produced for the court in Tunis. Al-Sharafī is known to have produced at least two other maps (MS060 and MS061), one copied in the form of a manuscript, the other drawn on a large parchment sheet, making this item the latest dated parchment item in Ḥafṣid Ifrīqiya.

The research corpus reconstructed here has revealed many aspects about Ḥafṣid manuscript culture in its stricter sense – namely, book culture promoted by the Ḥafṣid elite in Tunis. The visual identity of the Ḥafṣids initially evolved around negotiating Maghribi traditions rather than adapting to local ones. As Maghribi leaders over Ifrīqiya, they based their authority on the legitimacy of their predecessors, the Almohads, from whom, at the same time, they wanted to stress their independence. It has become clear that the Ḥafṣid rulers deliberately influenced the artistic choices that created their visual identity. They employed Andalusī scribes at their court, in the role of secretaries as well as political consultants, who were praised for their beautiful handwriting. Their distinct aesthetic was preferred by the Ḥafṣid elite whose visual identity was embedded in the Maghribi tradition. The Ḥafṣid ruling elite also established libraries in the mosques and madrasas of Tunis for which they handpicked the manuscripts that were intended to be used for the study and recitation of the Qur'an. They did so not only in Tunis, but also expanded their authority throughout Ifrīqiya by sending manuscripts to mosques in other major cities.

Visually as well as technically, Ḥafṣid manuscript production was anchored in Maghribi traditions. As the foundation of their own visual identity, Ḥafṣid manuscripts built on Maghribi aesthetics – with its initial sources in al-Andalus. The

²³³ On the Sharafī family, see Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi, "Les Charfi et la cartographie," in *Itinéraire du savoir en Tunisie. Les temps forts de l'histoire tunisienne*, ed. Hassen Annabi (Tunis: Alif, 2002); Victor De Castro León and Alberto Tiburcio, "'Alī al-Sharafī's 1551 Atlas: A Construct Full of Riddles,'" in *Concepts and Practices of Translation in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Regina Topfer (Berlin: J.B. Metzler, 2021); Mónica Herrera-Casais, "The Nautical Atlases of 'Alī al-Sharafī,'" *Suḥayl* 8 (2008).

Ḥafṣids thus relied heavily on the experience and skill of Andalusī scribes who brought with them a rich tradition of calligraphy, book illumination, and binding techniques. In the attempt to set themselves apart from the Almohads, the Ḥafṣids returned to more ancient forms: they employed parchment for hadith manuscripts and important correspondence (a material that was considered outdated by the Almohads) and copied ornaments from older manuscripts that came to Tunis from al-Andalus or Morocco. Alongside such conservatism were also innovative elements and experimental forms. The many “foreign” motifs and techniques incorporated find their source mainly in Mamluk and Ottoman traditions, mirroring the receptiveness of Ḥafṣid manuscript culture, centered around a flourishing capital at the very heart of the Mediterranean basin. In a sense, the inclusive approach to manuscript production could also be seen as another regression, in this case away from the radical Islamism of the Almohads and back to a more open Mediterranean pattern in which the ruler, his court, and his palace, displayed authority, power, and wealth through command over the diversity of his material and visual culture.

Although derivations of the Ifrīqī scripts that had been prevalent in the region before the invasion of the Almohads still survived in scribal schools away from the Ḥafṣid court, they seem to have been a parallel development – parallel to innovations both further West and East. The material evidence suggests that scribes in Ḥafṣid Ifrīqiya could be trained in different schools, presumably able to apply different scripts for different patrons. Those elements that are newcomers to Maghribi manuscript aesthetics, such as Mashriqī *naskh* for sura headings and new letter forms, are incorporated from Mamluk and Ottoman traditions rather than based on local Ifrīqī ones. After the Almohads had introduced change to the visual culture, it was the Ḥafṣids who went back to incorporating the cultural variety of the Mediterranean into their aesthetic identity.

Therefore, in one respect, the material evidence has confirmed the analyses of the contemporary historian Ibn Khaldūn, who reported on the Andalusī scribes in Tunis bringing their Maghribi traditions with them, as well as the scribal school in the south of Ifrīqiya, where scribes continued to develop their Ifrīqī heritage. On the other side, the material evidence contradicts Ibn Khaldūn’s prediction about the irreversible decline of contemporary Ḥafṣid calligraphy; this tradition continued to flourish and evolve under Abū ‘Umar ‘Uthmān and extended well into the sixteenth century. The implementation of the Maghribi identity by the Ḥafṣids was so successful that manuscript production in Ifrīqiya was continuously understood as a Maghribi tradition even after the takeover by the Ottomans.

Ironically, the fame and power of Ḥafṣid manuscript culture might have also led to its destruction. Ḥafṣid manuscripts were sent from the Ḥafṣid capital in Tunis to centers all over Ifrīqiya to implement a certain identity. Specimens were

even included in the correspondence with European allies to complement their diplomatic exchange or sent with embassies to the Ottoman Empire to accompany diplomatic negotiations on war and peace. The Ḥafşid manuscripts found many admirers among contemporaries, so much so that, in the course of just one century following their abdication, the libraries of the Ḥafşids were dissolved.



Appendices

Appendix I: European Collectors of Ḥafṣid Manuscripts (sixteenth to early seventeenth century)

Acoluthus, Andreas (Bernstadt 1654 – 1704 Breslau/Wrocław). German orientalist and linguist, teacher of Hebrew, Arabic, and Armenian in Leipzig and Breslau. His manuscript collection was part of the foundation of the Oriental collection of the Ratsbibliothek in Leipzig, today in the Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig.

MS033 (further volumes of the same manuscript in the collection of → Widmanstetter)

Augustus II, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg (Dannenberg 1579 – 1666 Wolfenbüttel). Considered one of the most literate princes of his time, he is known for founding the Herzog August Library at his Wolfenbüttel residence, then the largest collection of books and manuscripts north of the Alps. Q023

Borromeo, Federico (Milan 1564 – 1631 Milan). Ordained cardinal by 1587, Federico became Archbishop of Milan in 1595. In 1609, he founded the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, after the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the first public library in Europe. The library holds one of the biggest Arabic manuscript collections in its Antico Fondo.

Q014 (another volume of the same manuscript in the collection of → Mendoza), MS051

Bose, Johann Andreas (Jena 1626 – 1674 Leipzig). A student of philosophy and theology in Leipzig, Wittenberg, and Strasbourg; a diligent collector of rarities and manuscripts. After his death, his collection of more than 3000 manuscripts was bequeathed to the University of Jena, where he had been teaching.

MS044

Charles V (Ghent 1500 – 1558 Yuste). As a result of the marriage politics of his grandfather Maximilian I (1459–1519), Charles inherited an empire with territories all over Europe. He governed as Duke of the Netherlands from 1506, governing Burgundy and the Franche-Comté; he ruled over the united Castile and Aragon as King of Spain from 1516 with territories extending to South Italy; he inherited the Habsburg Lands of Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary as Archduke of Austria from 1519; and he was crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 1530. During his reign he was faced with ongoing wars with → Francis I of France, with the Ottoman sultan Suleiman I in Constantinople, and the German Reformers.

Q012, Q016 (taken from the Escorial Library by → Granvelle; ended up in → Séguier's collection)

Clenardus, Nicolas (Diest 1495 – 1542 Granada). His desire of collecting Arabic manuscripts for studying purposes first led him to Granada and later in 1540 to Fes. The Tunisian scribe → Kharūf taught him Arabic after Clenardus had bought the latter as a slave, captured on the Tunis expedition. His plans for a missionary language school in Leuven were never realized.

Possibly → Kharūf's manuscripts: MS052, MS053, MS054, MS055, MS056, MS057, MS058

Contelori, Felice (Cesi/Terna 1588 – 1652 Cesi/Terna). Prefect of the Vatican Apostolic Archives, collected many scattered materials and united them into volumes, also saved texts endangered by extensive copying from perishing. He produced an inventory in the 1620s.

Q008 (later also recorded in → Ecchellense inventory)

Crangiac (active in 1535). Otherwise unknown participant in the Tunis expedition.
MS037

Da Carpi, Rodolfo Pio (Carpi 1500 – 1564 Rome). A cardinal and well-educated scholar, he became a diplomat negotiating between → Charles V and → Francis I of France on behalf of the pope. He helped to establish the Inquisition in Milan and built an extensive and humanist library. Upon his death in 1564, the library was sold to Alfonso II d'Este (1533–1597) and is now part of the Biblioteca Estense in Modena.

MS034 (further volumes of the same manuscript in the collections of → Postel and → Widmanstetter; brought from Tunis by → Marquis del Vasto)

Du Bellay, Jean (Souday1492 – 1560 Rome). Bishop of Paris from 1532, appointed cardinal by → Pope Paul III in May 1535, and member of the privy council of → Francis I from 1530. As Ambassador Extraordinary he was sent to the English royal court and the papal court in Rome, where in 1534, he was in the residence of → Da Carpi. He held correspondences with → Giovio and supported the work of → Postel.

MS034 (ended up in the possession of → Postel; further volumes of the same manuscript in the collections of → Da Carpi and → Widmanstetter; brought from Tunis by → Marquis del Vasto)

Ecchellensis, Abraham (Lebanon 1605 – 1664 Rome). Born Ibrahīm al-Ḥāqilānī, he was educated in the Maronite College in Rome where he received his doctorate in theology and philosophy, he taught Arabic and Syriac in Pisa and Rome, and translated Arabic works into Latin. He compiled an inventory of the Oriental manuscripts of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, the Ecchellense Inventory, in the 1650s. Q006 (before in → Ruini collection), Q008 (already recorded in → Contelori inventory)

Erpenius, Thomas (Gorinchem 1584 – 1624 Leiden). Dutch theologian and orientalist. His *Grammatica Arabica* was the breakthrough in European attempts to render Arabic grammar accessible to students. MS028, MS031 (both taken by → Roberti in the Mahdia campaign of 1555)

Francis I, King of France 1515–1547. → Charles V's biggest opponent, forming a Franco-Ottoman alliance with the sultan Suleiman I. He was a patron of the arts as well as a man of letters. He ordered the transfer of the court library from Blois to the Château de Fontainebleau (the backbone of today's Bibliothèque nationale de France) in 1544.

MS012

Giovio, Paolo (Como 1483 – 1552 Florence). Bishop of Novara, humanist, and medical physician. He wrote the historical chronicles *Historiarium sui temporis*. He was well connected among the European elite, which is reflected in the collection of his letters. At his estate in Como, he founded the first museum in Europe with a picture gallery of the most important figures of his time.

MS034 (ended up in the possession of → Postel; further volumes of the same manuscript in the collections of → Da Carpi and → Widmanstetter; brought from Tunis by → Marquis del Vasto)

Granvelle, Antoine Perrenot de (Besançon 1517 – 1586 Madrid). Cardinal, Burgundian statesman, and as a leading minister of the Spanish Habsburgs, one of the most influential politicians in Europe. Granvelle's art collection and his magnificent library were famous during his time. His father Nicolas had participated in the Tunis expedition as one of → Charles V's secretaries.

Q016 (from → Charles V's collection; taken from the Escorial library by Granvelle; ended up in → Séguier's collection)

Greaves, John (Colemore 1602 – 1652 London). English mathematician, astronomer, and antiquarian; educated at Balliol College, Oxford, and elected Fellow of Merton College (1624). He studied Persian and Arabic, acquired a number of book manuscripts for archbishop → Laud.

Q020 (acquired for → Laud's collection; another volume of the same manuscript in the collection of → Raphelengius)

Harley, Robert (London 1661 – 1724 London). The English statesman was an important patron of the arts and built an unparalleled library. His collection was sold to the British Museum in 1753 and is, as the Harleian Collection today, part of the British Library, containing more than 22,000 manuscripts and documents.

Q025

Hottinger, Johann Heinrich (Zurich 1620 – 1667 Zurich). The Swiss scholar studied oriental languages and theology in Zurich, Geneva, Groningen, and Leiden. He later taught in Zurich at the *Collegium Carolinum* and was appointed professor of the Oriental languages by the Elector of the Palatinate in 1655 in Heidelberg.

Q015 (sent by → Schobinger in order to produce a facsimile copy)

Kharūf, 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Anṣārī al-Tūnisī (active in 1535). A man of letters from Tunis, he is known to have copied a number of manuscripts—some of them in Tunis, some in Cairo—that are today held in European collections. He was probably captured and taken as a slave on the Tunis expedition in 1535 and taken back to Europe. He became the teacher of → Clenardus, who sold him to the Moroccan sultan in Fes in 1541.

Autograph: MS052, MS053, MS054, MS055, MS056, MS057, MS058

Königsegg, John Marquart Freiherr of Königsegg, of Aulendorf and Marstetten (active in 1535).

Brother of John Jacob of Königsegg, the progenitor of the royal line of the house of Königsegg.

Q015 (later donated to the library of → Schobinger by one of Königsegg's heirs)

Laud, William (Raeding 1573 – 1645 London). He studied theology at St. John's College in Oxford, where he later established the chair of Laudian Professor of Arabic in 1636; Laud was then chancellor of the University of Oxford and Archbishop of Canterbury. The first professor to hold this chair was → Pococke. Laud bequeathed his vast manuscript collection to the Bodleian Library.

Q020 (acquired by → Greaves; another volume of the same manuscript in the collection of → Raphelengius)

Marquis del Vasto, Alfonso d'Avalo (Ischia 1502 – 1546 Vigevano). Italian prince, one of the most important naval generals of → Charles V, as part of the latter's entourage on the Tunis expedition. He donated spoils from Tunis to → Giovio, and possibly others.

MS034 (given to → Giovio; further volumes of the same manuscript in the collections of → Da Carpi, → Postel and → Widmanstetter)

Masius, Andreas (Lennik 1514 – 1573 Zevenaar). Humanist and Orientalist, he studied Hebrew in Leuven, Arabic with → Postel in Rome; he was one of the first syriacists in Europe and became famous for the translations of Syriac texts into Latin. He received a manuscript from the Tunis booty from → Rescius.

Q020 (ended up in the collection of → Raphelengius; another volume of the same manuscript in the → Laud collection)

Massimo, Camillo (Rome 1620 – 1677 Rome). Cardinal in Rome, patron of Baroque artists and known collector of arts and manuscripts. He acquired Arabic manuscripts during his apostolic nunciature in Madrid (1654–1658).

MS025

Medici, Caterina de' (Florence 1519 – 1589 Blois). As the wife of Henry II of France, son of → Francis I, she became queen of France in 1547.

MS012 (further volumes of the same manuscript in the collections of → Scalliger and Gerard Meermann, 1722–1771)

Medici, Ferdinando II de' (Florence 1610 – 1670 Florence). Grand Duke of Tuscany, a man of culture and science, actively participating in the Accademia del Cimento, the first scientific society in Italy. In 1667, the Ottoman bey of Tunis sent him eighteen Greek and twenty-two Arabic manuscripts from the remains of the Ḥafṣid palace library; so far unidentified.

Mendoza, Diego Hurtado de (Granada 1503 – 1575 Madrid). Spanish poet, historian, and diplomat. He accompanied → Charles V on the Tunis expedition as interpreter for Arabic. His vast collection of manuscripts is part of the first foundations of → Philipp II's library in El Escorial.

Q014 (another volume of the same manuscript in the collection of → Borromeo)

Philip II, King of Spain 1556–1598. The son and heir of → Charles V; he founded the Real Biblioteca in the Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial in 1563.

Q016 (said to have belonged to → Charles V before it was incorporated into the Escorial; later taken by → Granvelle; ended up in → Séguier's collection)

Pococke, Edward (Oxford 1604 – 1691 Oxford). He studied theology in Oxford. In 1530, he sailed for Aleppo, where he studied Arabic. In 1536, he became the first professor for Arabic in Oxford, a chair that → Laud had established there. Pococke lived in Constantinople from 1537 to 1540. Here, as well as in Syria before, he collected many valuable manuscripts.

Q012

Postel, Guillaume (Dolerie 1510 – 1581 Paris). French linguist, diplomat, and humanist. He published the first Latin translation of the Qur'ān from the Arabic original text in print (Paris 1544). He travelled to Constantinople as the interpreter for the French Embassy sent by → Francis I to the Ottoman sultan Suleiman I. Here, he bought manuscripts for his Oriental library.

MS034 (given by → Du Bellay; further volumes of the same manuscript in the collections of → Da Carpi and → Widmanstetter), MS045, MS047 (sold to him by → Riparoli)

Raimondi, Giovanni Battista (Naples 1536 – 1614 Rome). During extensive travels, he studied oriental languages and became a famous Italian orientalist. Raimondi was the director of the *Stamperia Medicea Orientale* in Rome that was established by Ferdinando I de' Medici (1549–1609) and became the most important printing office to publish Arabic texts in Italy.

MS032

Ranaldi, Marino and Federico (active in Rome in the 1560s). The brothers compiled the first inventories of Arabic manuscripts in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in the 1560s.

Q007, Q022

Raphelengius, Franciscus (Lannoy 1539 – 1597 Leiden). A Flemish scholar, he learned Arabic in Antwerp and Leiden, where he later taught Hebrew. His Arabic–Latin dictionary, published

posthumously in 1613 in Leiden, was the first publication by printing press of a book-length dictionary for the Arabic language in Latin.

Q020 (given by → Masius; another volume of the same manuscript in the → Laud collection)

Raue, Christian (Berlin 1613 – 1677 Frankfurt Oder). He studied theology and oriental languages. After extensive travels in Europe and the Middle East, he taught languages in Utrecht and Amsterdam, and later in London. He became librarian at Magdalen College in Oxford and later at the Swedish royal court in Stockholm. His own collection is today in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

MS023

Renaudot, Eusèbe (1646–1720). French theologian and Orientalist.

Q009

Rescius, Rutger (Maaseik ca. 1495 – 1545 Leuven). Dutch humanist and the first professor of Greek at Leuven's Collegium Trilingue. He passed on his Arabic manuscript to his student → Masius.

Q020 (another volume of the same manuscript in the → Laud collection)

Riparoli, Bernardo (active in 1535). Otherwise unknown soldier in the Tunis expedition.

MS047 (sold to → Postel)

Roberti (active in 1550); accompanying physician of Captain Andrea Doria (1466–1560) during a campaign to Mahdia in 1550.

MS028, MS031 (both ended up in collection of → Erpenius)

Ruini, Lelio (d. 1612), Bishop of Bagnoregio.

Q006

Scaliger, Joseph Justus (Agen 1540 – 1609 Leiden). French scholar, he studied Greek at the University of Paris. Here he met → Postel, who inspired him to learn Arabic. Scaliger accepted a position at the University of Leiden that did not require him to lecture – the university only wished for his presence. MS012 (further volumes of the same manuscript in the collections of → Catherine de' Medici and Gerard Meermann, 1722–1771)

Schobinger, Sebastian (St. Gall 1579 – 1652 St. Gall). Mayor of St. Gall and administrator of its library, the Bibliotheca Vadiana.

Q015 (donated by one of → Königsegg's heirs)

Séguier, Pierre (Paris 1588 – 1672 Saint-Germain-en-Laye). The chancellor of France, his library was one of the most important of his time, second to the French royal collection.

Q010, Q016 (said to have belonged to → Charles V before it was incorporated into the Escorial; later taken by → Granvelle)

Seripando, Girolamo (Trioia 1493 – 1563 Trient). He was professor of theology in Siena and later in Bologna. He won such a reputation for eloquence by his discourses in the principal cities of Italy that → Charles V often made it a point to be present at his sermons. Seripando built a library in the convent of San Giovanni a Carbonara (Naples); the collection is today in the Biblioteca nazionale in Naples.

Q021

Simone, Padre Angelo (active after 1559 in Naples).

Q026, MS029

Wassenaer, Jacques de Ligne of (ca. 1503 – 1552). The Comte of Fauquemberghe, in the County of Holland; participant in the Tunis expedition.

MS036

Widmanstetter, Johann Albrecht (Nellingen 1506 – 1557 Regensburg). One of the first Orientalists, a German humanist, diplomat, and philologist. He studied Arabic in Italy. He became the papal secretary and gave lectures on Copernicus in Rome. In Bavaria, he built a massive library that is now part of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich.

MS011, MS018, MS019, MS022, MS033 (further volumes of the same manuscript in the → Acoluthus collection), MS034 (further volumes of the same manuscript in the collections of → Da Carpi and → Postel; brought from Tunis by → Marquis del Vasto), MS042, Q001, Q002, Q004, Q005, Q024

Appendix II: Abbreviations of Libraries

<i>Abbr.</i>	<i>Institution Name, City, Institution Country</i>
ACA	Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona, Spain
AGS	Archivo Generales, Simanca, Spain
AnP	Archives nationales, Paris, France
ASFi	Archivio di Stato, Florence, Italy
ASG	Abadía del Sacromonte, Granada, Spain
ASGe	Archivio di Stato, Genoa, Italy
ASPi	Archivio di Stato, Pisa, Italy
AucAP	Ader Auction, Paris, France
AucSF	Sam Fogg Auction, London, UK
AucSL	Sotheby's Auction, London, UK
AzC	Al-Azhar, Cairo, Egypt
BAM	Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, Italy
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, Italy
BBod	Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Geneva, Switzerland
BEUM	Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Modena, Italy
BL	British Library, London, UK
BML	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, Italy
BmL	Bibliothèque Municipale, Lyon, France
BnA	Bibliothèque nationale d'Algérie, Algiers, Algeria
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France
BNN	Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Italy
BnRM	Bibliothèque nationale, Rabat, Morocco
BnT	Bibliothèque nationale de Tunisie, Tunis, Tunisia
BodL	Bodleian Library, Oxford, UK
BPUG	Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Geneva, Switzerland
BRB	Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Brussels, Belgium
BRH	Bibliothèque Royal Ḥasaniyya, Rabat, Morocco
BRicc	Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, Italy
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Germany
BUB	Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna, Italy
BUG	Biblioteca Universitaria, Genoa, Italy
BUGh	Bibliothèque de l'Université de Gand, Ghent, Belgium
DAI	Dār al-Athār al-Islāmiyya, Kuwait, Kuwait
ESC	Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, El Escorial, Spain
HAB	Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Germany
HHStA	Österreichisches Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, Austria
KBS	Kungliga biblioteket, Uppsala, Sweden
KBV	Kantonsbibliothek Vadiana, St. Gall, Switzerland
LACM	LA County Museum, Los Angeles, USA
MAI	Musée des Arts Islamiques, Raqqada, Tunisia
MQF	Maktabat al-Qarawiyyīn, Fes, Morocco
NLQ	National Library Qatar, Doha, Qatar
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Austria

RNB	Rossiyskaya natsional'naya biblioteka, St. Petersburg, Russia
SKüt	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Turkey
SLUB	Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden, Germany
StaBi	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany
ThULB	Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Jena, Germany
UBG	Universiteitsbibliotheek, Groningen, Netherlands
UBK	Universitätsbibliothek, Kassel, Germany
UBL	Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, Netherlands
UBLz	Universitätsbibliothek, Leipzig, Germany
UUB	Universitetsbibliotek, Uppsala, Sweden
WAM	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, USA

Appendix III: List of Ḥafṣid Documents (D001–D033)

(In chronological order)

D001. France, Paris, AnP, An-Paris - J 937 n° 1

Peace treaty between the Ḥafṣid caliph in Tunis 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad I al-Mustanṣir (r. 1249–1277) and the king of France, Philip III; 5 Nov. 1270

D002. Spain, Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, núm. 155

Peace treaty between 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ibn al-Wāthiq and Alfonso III of Aragon; 29 Jul. 1287

D003. Spain, Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, núm. 116

Peace treaty between the Ḥafṣid caliph Muḥammad II al-Mustanṣir (r. 1301–1309) and king James II of Aragon; 21 Nov. 1301

D004. Spain, Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, núm. 117

Letter from the caliph of Tunis Muḥammad II al-Mustanṣir to Jaime II of Aragon, announcing the ambassador; 8 Apr. 1304

See figures 15 and 74.

D005. Spain, Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, núm. 118

Letter from the caliph of Tunis Muḥammad II al-Mustanṣir to Jaime II of Aragon, in which he complains about various acts committed by Catalans (the claims are listed separately); 30 Oct. 1307

D006. Spain, Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, núm. 121

Letter from the caliph of Tunis Muḥammad II al-Mustanṣir to Jaime II, in which he announces the dispatch of the response given to the claims presented by Pere Busot; 21 May 1308

D007. Spain, Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, núm. 124

Letter from the caliph of Tunis Muḥammad II al-Mustanṣir to Jaime II of Aragon, announcing the arrival of an Aragonese ambassador; 21 Aug. 1308

D008. Spain, Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, núm. 122

Letter from the caliph of Tunis Muḥammad II al-Mustanṣir to Jaime II of Aragon, in which he tells of his dealings with Frederic of Sicily; 27 Jan. 1309

D009. Spain, Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, núm. 126

Letter from the caliph of Tunis Abū Yaḥya Zakariyyā I b. al-Liḥyanī (r. 1311–1317) to Jaime II of Aragon; 8 Dec. 1311

D010. Spain, Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, núm. 127

Letter from the caliph of Tunis Abū Yaḥya Zakariyyā I b. al-Liḥyanī to Jaime II of Aragon; 28 Jan. 1313

D011. Spain, Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, núm. 133

Letter from the Ḥafṣid prince in Tunis Abū Bakr al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāh (r. 1318–1346) to Jaime II of Aragon; 11 Oct. 1313

D012. Spain, Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, núm. 129

Letter from the caliph of Tunis Abū Yaḥya Zakariyyā I b. al-Liḥyanī to Jaime II of Aragon with claims of piracy of Catalan and Sicilian corsairs against Muslims; 17 Aug. 1314

D013. Spain, Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, núm. 130

Letter from the caliph of Tunis Abū Yaḥya Zakariyyā I b. al-Liḥyanī to Jaime II of Aragon with news about the execution of the peace treaty, regarding certain economic clauses, and answering claims about piracy; 29 Sep. 1314

D014. Italy, Pisa, ASPI, Prima Serie XXIX

Commercial treaty under Abū Yaḥya Zakariyyā I b. al-Liḥyanī, with the municipality of Pisa, through the ambassadors Giovanni Fagioli and Ranieri del Bagno; 14 Sep. 1315

D015. Spain, Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, núm. 132

Letter from the Ḥafṣid Prince Abū Bakr al-Mutawakkil ‘alā Allāh in Tunis to Jaime II of Aragon; 14 Sep. 1315

D016. Spain, Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, núm. 131

Letter from the Ḥafṣid prince in Tunis Abū Bakr al-Mutawakkil ‘alā Allāh to Jaime II of Aragon, answering claims about piracy; 21 Feb. 1316
See figures 16 and 75.

D017. Spain, Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, núm. 134

Letter from the Ḥafṣid prince from Tunis Abū Bakr al-Mutawakkil ‘alā Allāh to Jaime II of Aragon; 25 Feb. 1316

D018. Spain, Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, núm. 135

Letter from the Ḥafṣid caliph Abū Yaḥya Zakariyyā I b. al-Liḥyanī dispatched from Tripoli to Jaime II in Aragon; 3 Apr. 1316

D019. Spain, Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, núm. 123

Letter from the Ḥafṣid sovereign in Tunis Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad II (r. 1317–1318) to Jaime II of Aragon, in which he tells of his dealings with Frederic of Sicily; 25 Jul. 1320

D020. Spain, Barcelona, ACA, Cartas árabes, núm. 138

Letter from the Ḥafṣid caliph in Tunis Abū Bakr al-Mutawakkil ‘alā Allāh to Alfonso IV of Aragon; 16 Oct. 1333

D021. Italy, Pisa, ASPI, Prima Serie XXX

Commercial treaty under Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm II (r. 1350–1369), with the municipality of Pisa, through the ambassador Ranieri Porcellino; 16 May 1353

D022. Italy, Pisa, ASPI, Prima Serie XXXI

Letter by the caliph of Tunis Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm II (r. 1350–1369) to the dogi of Pisa and Lucca, Giovanni Dell’Agnello; 15 Dec. 1364

D023. Italy, Pisa, ASPI, Prima Serie XXXIV

Commercial treaty under Abū Fāris ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Mutawakkil (r. 1394–1434), concluded with Giacomo d’Appiano, captain of Pisa, through the ambassador Andrea di Michele del Campo; 14 Dec. 1397

D024. Italy, Pisa, ASPI, Prima Serie XXXV

Treaty under Abū Fāris ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Mutawakkil, apparently not completed, with Giacomo the young count of Appiano; Sep. 1414

D025. Italy, Florence, ASFi, Diplomatico, Normali, 1445 apr 23, Rif. Atti Publici

Commercial treaty under Abū Fāris ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Mutawakkil, with the municipalities of Pisa, Florence, and Giacomo d’Appiano of Piombino through the Florentine ambassador Bartolommeo di Giacomo de Galea; 5 Oct. 1421

D026. Italy, Florence, ASFi, Diplomatico, Normali, 1421 ott 5, Rif. Atti Publici

Commercial treaty under Abū ‘Uthmān (r. 1435–1488), with the municipalities of Pisa and Florence, through the ambassador Baldinaccio d’Antonio degli Erri; 23 Apr. 1421

D027. Italy, Genoa, ASGe, 2737 D / IV

Letter by the Ḥafṣid caliph Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān to the doge and municipality of Genoa; 1462

D028. Italy, Genoa, ASGe, 2737 D / III

Letter by the Ḥafṣid caliph Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad IV (r. 1494–1526) addressed to the governor of Genoa, Ottaviano di Campofregoso; 1517

D029. Spain, Simanca, AGS, PTR, LEG, 11, DOC. 106, 2

Contract of capitulation between Charles V and Mawlāy al-Ḥasan Muḥammad V (r. 1526–1543); 1535

D030-1. Spain, Simanca, AGS, PTR, LEG, 11, DOC. 105, 1–2

Contract of the capitulation of Annaba (Būna) between Charles V and Mawlāy al-Ḥasan Muḥammad V; 1535

D032. Spain, Simanca, AGS, PTR, LEG, 11, DOC. 204

Letter by Mawlāy al-Ḥasan Muḥammad V to Charles V; 1535

D033. Spain, Simanca, AGS, Estado, Leg. 463

Nine letters by Mawlāy al-Ḥasan Muḥammad V; 1535–6

Appendix IV: Ḥafṣid Endowment Certificates (*taḥbīs* 1–21)

[lacuna] / illegible

***Taḥbīs* 1:742 / 1342, Tunis, Madrasa al-‘Uṣṣūriyya in the alley Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām**
Rome, BAV, Vat.ar.214, fol. 1r. (Q007)

الحمد لله هذه الختمة المباركة الجلييلة الذي هذا الجزء منها هو الثاني والعشرون محبسا | على المدرسة الغربية
البلدة التي بدرب ابن عبد السلام بداخل مدينة تونس حرسها الله تعالى بقراءتها [...] | القرآن العظيم في كل
يوم بالمدرسة المذكورة على [...] فالشتركة فالكتب ومحبسها [...] المدرسة المذكورة | العبد الفقير الى رحمة
ربه محمد عبد الرحمن الفخمي ه الحمد لله به وعقبى له | تضم في رسوم تحببب المدرسة المذكورة بتاريخ
اواسط شوال عام اثنين واربعين وسبعماية [...] | من [...] المحببب ان الختمة المذكورة لا تخرج من المدرسة
المذكورة وتقدمت هادئة بهادنة في رسم تحبببب المدرسة | المذكورة وهو [— الشاهد —]
[— الشاهد —] | [— الشاهد —] | [— الشاهد —]

***Taḥbīs* 2:831 / 1428, Tunis, “New Madrasa”**

Munich, BSB, Cod.arab. 357, fol. 1r. (MS019)

الحمد لله صار هاذو السفر حببسا على المدرسة الجديدة التي بالقباقين بتونس المحروسة | لا يخرج منها لأحد
وشهد بذلك والإذن في حوزة للنظر فيها حفصه الله بتاريخ ثالث | رجب عام أحد وثلاثين وثمانماية

***Taḥbīs* 3: 807 / 1405, Tunis, Qaṣba Mosque**

Paris, BnF, Arabe 389, fol. 3 bis.r; two repetitions on same folio; Royal *taḥbīs* (Q010)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم صلى الله على نبيه (ﷺ) محمد [...] | حببب عن أمر المقام العلى المولوي المتوكلي
المجاهدي العزيزي [...] | [...] المتغني وخلف [...] وجعل البركة [...] عنه [...] | [...] ورضى الله عنهم
| حببب هاذو الجز المبارك على جامع الموحد بالقصبة العلية من حضرة تونس | المحروسة تحببببا صحببا [...] |
القراء فيه بالجامع المذكور [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] رضى الله عنهم [...] الله العظيم [...] ثوابه الحمد لله [...] |
[...] | اوآخر شهر رمضان العظم عام سبعة وثمانماية [— الشاهد —]

***Taḥbīs* 4: 854 / 1451, Tunis, Zaytūna Mosque**

Rome, BAV, Borg.ar.252, fol. 1r. (MS025)

الحمد لله حببب هذا السفر المبارك [...] لأمر العلى الصدر العثماني أيده الله | ونصره على المقصورة الجديدة
الإنشا بجامع الزيتونة عمره الله بدوام ذكره وعلى من يقرأ | بتاريخ أول جمادى الآخرة اربع وخمسين وثمانماية
[— الشاهد —] | [— الشاهد —]

***Taḥbīs* 5: 880 / 1475, Tunis, Zaytūna Mosque**El Escorial, ESC, D 1258, fol. 2v; same signature as *taḥbīs* 6 (Q014)

الحمد لله صار هذا الجزء المبارك من الختمة المباركة حبسا على الطالب المقرري المكرم الافضل ابي العباس احمد بن | الشيخ المكرم المرحوم ابي العباس احمد الهواني وعلى عقبه وعقب عقبه ما تناسلوا في الاسلام وامتدت فروعهم | فاذا انقرض عقبه او لم يكن له عقب صارت الختمة المباركة حبسا على الجامع الاعظم جامع الزيتون من تونس | المحروسة عمره الله بذكره حسبما ذلك على أول ورقة من الجزء الاول منها مؤرخ بالخامس عشر لجمادى الاخرة عام ثمانين وثمانماية بسلام | من يضع اسمه فيه وهو [— الشاهد —]

Abbreviated repetition on fol. 2r.

Same endowment: Milan, BAM, E 107 sup., with deeds on fols. 2r and 2v, slight variations

***Taḥbīs* 6: 893 / 1488, Tunis, Zaytūna Mosque**Florence, BML, Strozzi 34; same signature as *taḥbīs* 5 (Q017)

الحمد لله صار هذا السفر المبارك من الختمة المباركة المشتلة على عشرين جزءا هذا احدها حبسا | دائما مؤيدا على القراءة فيه بالجامع الاعظم من تونس يحمد الله بذكره وعلى ان يكون القراءة بالجامع المذكور | حسبما هو معبر في غير هذا مؤرخ باواسط جمدى الاخرة عام ثلاثة وتسعين ثمانماية وشهد بذلك [— الشاهد —]

Same endowment: Rome, BAV, Vat.ar. 196, Vat.ar. 197, Vat.ar.198, Vat.ar. 199, with deeds on each fol. 1r

***Taḥbīs* 7: 900 / 1495, Tunis, Zaytūna Mosque**Rome, BAV, Vat.ar. 249, fol. 1r; same signature as *taḥbīs* 8 & 9; Royal *taḥbīs* (MS047)

الحمد لله هذا مما حبس عن أمر المقام العلي السلطاني المجاهدي المحمدي ايدهم الله ونصرهم على المقصورة الجديدة | الانشاء شرقي جامع الزيتوية على صفة تذكر في غير هذا بتاريخ اواخر رمضان المعظم عام تسعمماية شهد بذلك | [— الشاهد —] [— الشاهد —]

***Taḥbīs* 8: 900 / 1495, Tunis, Zaytūna Mosque**Munich, BSB, Cod.arab. 3, fol. 2r; same signature as *taḥbīs* 7 & 9; Royal *taḥbīs* (Q005)

الحمد لله هذا مما حبس عن أمر المقام العلي السلطاني المجاهدي أيده الله ونصره على المقصورة الجديدة | الإنشاء شرقي الجامع الاعظم من تونس على صفة مذكورة في غير هذا بتاريخ أواخر شهر رمضان المعظم الكريم | عام تسعمماية شهد بذلك [— الشاهد —]

Same endowment: Munich, BSB, Cod.arab. 2, deed on fol. 2r

See figure 11.

Taḥbīs 9: 900 / 1495, Tunis, Zaytūna MosqueRome, BAV, Vat.ar. 213, fol. 1r; same signature as *taḥbīs* 7 & 8; (Q008)

الحمد لله والصلاة على رسول الله | صارت هذه الختمة المباركة من القرآن العظيم التي في عشرين جزا | المكتوب هذا على ظهر الجزء السادس منها حسبما يختم فيها القراء | عشرون قارنا بقراء كل واحد منهم جز القراءة مرتلة ترتيلا يختلف باختلاف الفصول وذلك في كل يوم جمعة باثر صلاة الخطبة | في المقصورة التي بالجهة الشرقية من الجامع الاعظم من تونس | المحروسة حسبما [...] ذلك وما يقرا به عند الختم وبينها | نه [...] الله تعالى من الدعوات في رسم التحبيس المعين ما يعطى | للقراء وعلى ظهر اول جزء منها بتاريخ او اخر شهر رمضان عام تسعمائة | بشهادة [— الشاهد —] [— الشاهد —]

Taḥbīs 10: 900 / 1495, Tunis, Zaytūna MosqueFlorence, BML, Orientali 178, fol. 2r; Royal *taḥbīs* (MS046)

الحمد لله مما حبس عن أمر المقام العلى المجاهدي المحمدي ايدهم الله | ونصرهم على المقصورة الجديدة الانشا شرقي الجامع الاعظم من | تونس على صفة مذكورة في غير هذا بتاريخ او اخر شهر رمضان المعظم | عام تسعمائة وشهد بذلك [— الشاهد —] [— الشاهد —] | [— الشاهد —]

Taḥbīs 11: 906 / 1500, Tunis, Zaytūna MosqueMilan, BAM, C 31 inf., fol. 1r; Royal *taḥbīs* (MS007)

الحمد لله مما التحبيس عن الأمر | العلى المتوكلي المجهدي نصرهم الله | على المقصورة التي [...] انشا | شرقي الجامع الاعظم من تونس المحروسة | وشهد بتاريخ او اخر [...] عام ستة | وتسعمائة [— الشاهد —]

Taḥbīs 12: 915 / 1509, Tunis, Zaytūna MosqueBerlin, StaBi, Ms.or.fol. 62, fol. 1r; Royal *taḥbīs* (MS023)

الحمد لله صار هذا السفر حبسا من المقام العلى ايده الله ونصره على المقصورة الجديدة الانشا | [...] في اوائل ربيع الاول عام خمسة وعشر وتسعمائة [...] في التاريخ | [— الشاهد —] [— الشاهد —]

Taḥbīs 13: 966 / 1559, Tunis, Zaytūna Mosque

Naples, BNN, III G 55, fol. 1r (Q026)

الحمد لله اشهد الامين التاجر المكرم المبروك ابو الطيب بن | الشيخ الفقيه القارى ابي القاسم الخضار انه حبس هذه | الختمة المباركة على من يقرا فيها بالجامع الاعظم جامع | الزيتونة من تونس عمره الله بذكره وصلى الصلوات [...] | حبسا وقفا حراما انما لا يباع ولا يرهب ولا يورث الى ان يرث | الله الارض ومن عليها وهو خير الوارثين فمن بدله بعد ما سمعه | فانما اثمه على الذين يبدلونه الذين يملونه ان الله سميع عليم وشهد على اشهاد | بذلك في الحالة الجائزة في رابع شهر ذي حجة الحرام من عام ستة | وستين وتسعمائة والمعرفة به تامة [— الشاهد —]

Taḥbīs 14: date illegible, Tunis, Qaṣba or Zaytūna Mosque

Paris, BnF, Arabe 388, fol. 1r (Q009)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم | صلى الله على سيدنا محمد سلم تسليما | اشهد [...] | [...] | ونصره و [...] | حبس هذه [...] | المشتعلة على [...] | العطيمني الثاني عشر جزا | على التلاوة فيها بجامع الزيتونة من حضرة تونس حرسها الله و [...] | [...] | [...] |
 [...] | وشاهده بتاريخ

See figure 33.

Taḥbīs 15: 930/ 1524, Tunis, Zāwiyat Ibn ‘ArūsNaples, BNN, Ex-Vind.Corano 1.1, fol. 1r, Royal *taḥbīs* (Q021)

الحمد لله تلقا شهادة من المقام العلي المولوي السلطاني المجاهدي المحمدي | ايده الله ونصره وسنالة الفتح [...] | انهم حبسوا هذه الختمة المباركة التي | هي في ثلاثين جزا على زاوية الشيخ الصالح الوالي ابي العباس بن احمد بن عروس | بقرا فيها بالزاوية المذكورة و [...] | ايدهم الله | ونصرهم واعلاهم وطهرهم ثواب الله الحسم [...] | [...] | ايدهم الله ونصرهم وضم على [...] | [...] | الله شهادة هنا في مورخ عشر من شهر القعدة الحرام عام ثلاثين | وتسعمائة [— الشاهد —]

Taḥbīs 15a: 930/ 1524, Tunis, Zāwiyat Ibn ‘ArūsNaples, BNN, Ex-Vind.Corano 1.2, fol. 1r; abbreviated certificate of *taḥbīs* 15 (Q021)

الحمد لله صار هذا السفر المبارك وما بعده حبسا على الزاوية العروسة على صفة مكتوبة على أول جزء من هذه الختمة المباركة [...] | ايدهم الله ونصرهم [...] | على [...] | شهادة هذا في اواخر القعدة الحرام عام ثلاثين وتسعمائة [— الشاهد —]

Same endowment: Naples, BNN, Ex-Vind.Corano 1.3–20 and Florence, BML, Orientali 257–259–260, abbreviated certificates of *taḥbīs* 15 each on fol. 1r

Taḥbīs 16: 882 / 1478, Tunis?

Rome, BAV Vat.ar.219, fol. 2r (Q022)

الحمد لله صار هذا الجز وهو العاشر من الختمة المباركة من [...] | [...] | في عشرين جزا حبسا وقفا على من يقرأ بها بمدينة [...] | الختمة [...] | على الموتى وغير ذلك من انواع الخير حبسها [...] | ابي عبد الله محمد المودن الغساني [...] | فكاتبه [...] | الفقيه ابي القاسم بن ابي العشير احمد التميمي | حسبما ذلك في غير هذا شهادة شهيد به مورخ | اثنتين وثمانين وثمانمائة [— الشاهد —] | [— الشاهد —]

Taḥbīs 17: 899 / 1493, Tunis?

BEUM, Or 3, fol. 1r (MS034)

الحمد لله صار هذا السفر من الجامع الصحيح للامام البخاري المشتمل على اربعين جزا حبسا على صفة مذكورة في غير هذا مورخ بالاربع عشر لثمانين عام تسعة وتسعين وثمانمائة وشهده [— الشاهد —] | [— الشاهد —]

Same endowment: Modena, BEUM, Or 3 and Or 4 and Or 5 and Or 6 and Or 7, and Munich, BSB, Cod.arab. 114 and Cod.arab. 115 and Cod.arab. 116; deeds on each fol. 1r (MS034)

See figure 71.

***Tahbīs* 18: 911 / 1505, Bizerte, Great Mosque**

Oxford, BodL, MS Laud Or 72, fol. 5r (Q020)

الحمد لله حق حمده والصلاة على سيدنا محمد نبيه وعبدہ صار هذا | الجز المبرک من الختمة الترخمة المعظمة مع بقيتها حبسا على جامع الخطبة بقصبة | بلد بزرتع المحوط حسبما ذلك مشروح على ظهر اول ورقة من السفر الاول منها مورخ | باوانل رجب الفرد المبارک عام احد عشر وتسعمانه بشهادة [— الشاهد —]

Same endowment: Leiden, UBL, Or. 241, deed on fol. 1r

See figure 11.

***Tahbīs* 19: 8x8 / 1405-92, Annaba, Great Mosque**

Paris, BnF, Arabe 692, fol. 1r. (MS036)

[...] المقرس المرحوم ابي الفتح نصر الله صاحب بونة حين التاريخ انه حبس هذا التاليف المبارک المشتمل على عشرين جزا [يحتوي] | (بل الثالث عشر) | ذا على اول جز منه المعروف بالبخاري انشاء الشيخ الامام علي الاعلام ابي عبد الله محمد بن اسماعيل البخاري على ان يك[ون] | بخزانة الكتب التي بالجامع الاعظم من داخل بلد بونة المحوطة على ان يقرأ فيه في الخزانة المذكورة والجامع المذكور وان لا يخرج [من] | الجامع المذكور لأحد إلا لمن يتصدر بالتدريس بالبلد المذكور من اهل العلم المشهورين به او لقاري الوعظ في الجامع سفرا بعد [سفر] | وذلك بعد الاسماء عليه فاذا افرغ من قراته يرده الى محلة تحببها تماما مستمرا دائما الى ان يرث الله الارض ومن عليها وهـ[و] خير | الوارثين فاصدا بذلك ثواب الله العظيم واحسانه العميم واذا حان ليوم لا ينفع فيه مال ولا بنون الا من اتا الله بقلب [سليم] | ممن يربه ما سمعه فانما | الذين يبدلونه ان الله سميع علي[م] | على القايد المذكور بما عنه [...] | به على نفسه وهو بحال صحة وطـ[...] | وجواز امر وعابن حوز الفقيه [...] | المدرس الفتح الارط الاعدل [...] | بحيا الكلمي صاحب الاحباس [...] | المذكور حين التاريخ التاليف [المذكور] | زنقة ذات اربع بيوت وذهب بـ[...] | صحبته الرهبة المذكورة بالكتب [...] | الى الجامع الاعظم المذكور [...] | وهو لما لمجاها [...] | المذكورة وذلك بتاريخ [...] | لشهر رجب الفرد من عام ثمانية [...] | وثمانماية شهد [— الشاهد —]

See figure 4.

***Tahbīs* 20: 849 / 1445, Annaba, Great Mosque**

Munich, BSB, Cod.arab. 339, fol. 1r; same signature as *tahbīs* 21 (MS011)

الحمد لله لشهد القايد الاجل [...] | الاحبس الاطهر الفضل [...] | احمد عبد الله محمد المشتهر | بابي القصرين القايد الاجل الاطهر العظم الاطهر الفقيه الامجد العبد الاجل الافضل الاكمل ابو [...] | نبيل [...] | قوله [...] | الكريم اسماء الله تعالى ونصره انه حبس هذه الكتب هذا على | ظاهره على الجامع العظم من بلد بونة المحوطة

شرفية [...] وللمقصورة الغربية منه للنظر | فيه والمقابل به والنسخ منه تحبيسا مؤبدا الوارثين [...] واشترط
 عدم خروجه | من الجامع [...] خلصة وحوزة بالمقصورة المذكورة حوزا تماما شهد | على التحبيس المذكور
 [...] بتاريخ اواخر شهر رمضان المعظم عام | تسعة واربعين وثلاثماية
 [— الشاهد —] [— الشاهد —]

See figure 60.

Taḥbīs 21: 849 / 1445, Annaba, Great Mosque

Munich, BSB, Cod.arab. 340, fol. 1r; same signature as *taḥbīs* 20 (MS022)

الحمد لله لشهد القايد الفضل المعظم [...] الاحسب الافصل الاكمل ابو [...] محمد | المشتهر بابي القصرين
 القايد الفضل الاكبر الاطهر الاصيل [...] المغرب الامجد | الاكمل [...] نبيل [...] قوله [...] الكريم
 اسماء الله تعالى ونصره انه حبس | هذا الديوان المشتمل على عشرة اجزا المكتبة هذا الرسم على ظاهر الجز
 الول منهم | على الجامع العظم من بلد بونه المحوطة وبالمقصورة الغربية منه للنظر فيه والمقابل به والنسخ
 منه واشترط عدم خروجه من الجامع المذكور | للإصلاح خلصة تحبيسا | مؤبدا له [...] الوارثين | وحوز
 ذلك بالمقصورة المذكورة حوزا تماما شهد على [...] المحبس المذكور [...] عنه | فيه وهو ناظر [...] بتاريخ
 اواخر شهر رمضان المعظم عام سبعة واربعين | وثلاثماية [— الشاهد —] [— الشاهد —]

Appendix V: Catalogue of Ḥafṣid Qur'an Manuscripts (Q001–Q026)

Q001

Location. Germany, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 4

Content. Complete text

Data and Inscriptions. Copied 533/1138, colophon fol. 127v–128r.

Dimensions. 130 fols.; 17.5 x 16.5 x 4 cm; 23 lines

Description. Parchment. Restored leather binding with flaps (Munich 1970). Cover: Bordure formed with the same stamp used for MS019 (and others, “Motif A”), triangular corner pieces and central motif in plain circle is formed by similar knotwork, as is the motif on the flap; gold dot punching (see figure 22). Condition good; restricted access.

Provenance. Almoravid manuscript rebound in Ḥafṣid Tunis; Widmanstetter coll. (owner mark on fol. 4v). Old shelf mark: Cod.or.80.membr.

Reference. Aumer, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, 2; Bongianino, “Rediscovered Almoravid Qur'an”; Gratzl, *Islamische Bucheinbände*, 8

Figures. See table 3.

Q002

Germany, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 1

Complete text

Copied 624/1226 in Seville; colophon fol. 129v–130r.

130 fols. + I + I'; 25 lines

Parchment; fols. I and I' in original parchment, but blank and not counted in European pagination: Latin numerals in black ink, upper left corner of recto. Restored leather binding with flaps (Munich, 1970); blue cloth doublures. Cover: geometrical knotwork bordure with gold dot punching, central medallion: knotwork in plain circle with gold dots; four pendants. Condition good; restricted access.

Maghribi miniscule script; black ink; with red (vowels), blue (*sukkūn*, *shadda*), green (*waṣla*), and yellow (*hamza*). Sura headings outlined in black with gold filling; headings in Kufi script; illuminations in gold. Intricate design of the marginal vignette (pink, pale blue, purple).

Prov.: Almohad Andalusi manuscript rebound in Ḥafṣid Tunis; probably taken to Tunis by Morisco refugees; Tunis booty note on fol. 1r; “*Alcoranus ex direptione Tunnetana*”; Widmanstetter's owner mark on fol. 2v; marginal notes in W's hand in red ink (Latin and Arabic) on fol. 2v; *ex libris* “Biblioteca Regia Monacensis,” stamps on fols. 1r, 2r, 130v, 131v. Old shelf mark: Cod.or. 62 membr.

Ref.: Aumer, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, 1; Gratzl, *Islamische Bucheinbände*, 6–7, III; Jones, “Piracy,” 100; Rebhan, *Wunder der Schöpfung*, 30

See figures 5 and 49.

Q003

Turkey, Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Fatih 16

Vol. 5 of 8; Q. 18:75–26:227

Copied for 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad I al-Mustanşir (r. 1249–1277), colophon 69v–70r.

70 fols.; 13 lines

Large Maghribi Qur'anic calligraphy. Blackish-brown ink; with red (vowels), blue (*sukkūn, shadda*), green (*waṣla*), and yellow (*hamza*); verse markers, marginal vignettes, and opening heading illuminated in gold. Carpet pages in the beginning and end with geometrical design. Sura headings in Kufi script, dedication in frontis- and finispiece in Maghribi *thuluth*; all in chrysography.

Prov.: Dedicated to the *khizāna* of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, *amīr al-mu'minīn*; cf. frontispiece and finispiece. Stamp of Ottoman sultan Mahmud I, fol. 1r, when he transferred his collection to the Ayasofya library. Stamp of Aḥmad Sheyzāde, supervisor of the imperial pious foundations (Evkaf-i Haremeyn).

Ref.: Fleischer, Kafadar, Necipoğlu et al., *Treasures of Knowledge*, 23

See figures 26, 27 and 48.

Q004

UK, London, British Library, Add MS 11638

Vol. 4 of 4; Q. 38:1–114

Copied 706/1306 by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Azdī in Tunis; colophon fol. 135r

136 fols.; 13 x 13 cm; 11 lines

Parchment; rule of Gregory. Large Maghribi Qur'anic calligraphy. Blackish-brown ink; with red (vowels), blue (*sukkūn, shadda*), green (*waṣla*), and yellow (*hamza*); verse markers, marginal vignettes, and opening heading illuminated in gold. Left side of a carpet page in the opening page with geometrical design. Sura headings and colophon in Kufi script, chrysography.

Prov.: Earliest dated manuscript surely produced in Tunis in Maghribi script. Fol. 3v bears the worn-out signature of Widmanstetter; fol. 1r: "Purch. Of Rodd 8 July 1839 Sotheby's Lot 245 6 July"; acquired by the British Library in 1839.

Ref.: Lings, Safadi, *Quranic Art of Calligraphy*, pl. 49

See figures 28 and 29.

Q005 (2 volumes)

Germany, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 2 and Cod.arab. 3

Vol. 1 of 12; 5 'aḥzāb; Q. 1–3:14

Vol. 12 of 12; 5 'aḥzāb; Q. 62–114

Copied 705/1306 for Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb (r. 1286–1307); endowed 900/1495 to Zaytūna Mosque, Tunis; *tahbis* fol. 2r of both volumes (*tahbis* 8)

115 fols.; 26.5 x 23 x 4 cm; 7 lines

Parchment; European pagination: Latin numerals in black ink, upper left corner of recto. Restored leather binding (Munich, 1980), original cover: star pattern, gilded lines; two bordures (knotwork) are

framing an inner field, overall geometric design, star pattern, reciprocal, compartments filled with arabesque forms, gilt lines and gold dot punching. Condition good; restricted access.

Large Maghribi script with illuminated headings in Kufi; *rasm*: black ink, with red (vowels), blue (*sukkūn, shadda*), green (*waṣla*), and yellow (*hamza*). Carpet page, marginal vignettes, and verse markers illuminated.

Prov.: Dedicated to Marinid prince, cf. finispiece in Cod.Arab. 3, fol. 121v; Ḥafṣid endowment deed on fol. 2r of both volumes (*taḥbīs* 8); Widmanstetter coll., owner mark on fol. 2v of both volumes; “Biblioteca Regia Monacensis” (acc. 1558), cf. stamp fol. 1r. Old shelf mark: Cim. III, 1, b. membr.

Ref.: Aumer, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, 1–2; Gratzl, *Islamische Bucheinbände*, 4–5; Rebhan, *Wunder der Schöpfung*, 32.

See figure 76.

Q006

Italy, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.ar. 215

Vol. 6 of 6; Q. 46–114 (5 'ajzā'; *ḥizb* 51–60)

Copied 712/1312 by Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-Ghassāni in Tunis, colophon fol. 109r

110 fols. + I + I'; 21.5 x 20 x 5 cm; textblock: 12.5 x 14.5; 9 lines

Very fine and thin parchment (restored); rule of Gregory; edges cut; bifolio; tertions.

Large Maghribi Qur'anic calligraphy. Blackish-brown ink; with red (vowels), blue (*sukkūn, shadda*), green (*waṣla*), and yellow (*hamza*); verse markers, marginal vignettes, and opening heading illuminated in gold. Carpet pages in the beginning with vegetal design. Sura headings in Kufi script, colophon in Maghribi *thuluth*; all in chrysography.

Prov.: Copied in Tunis 712/1312; Ruini coll., cf. owner's mark on fol. 109r: “*Emptus ex Libris Illustrissimi Lelij Ruini episcopi Balneoregiensis 1622*”; in the Ecchellense inventory (between 1653–1658): n. 146.

Ref.: Anzuini, *Manoscritti Coranici*, 60–62; Levi Della Vida, *Elenco*, 3; Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche*, 346–350; Piemontese, *Raccolta Vaticana*, 437

Q007

Italy, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.ar. 214

Vol. 22 of 30; Q. 33:31–35:45; 1 *juz'*; starting with *ḥizb* 43, followed by *ḥizb* 44, but finished with sura instead of end of *ḥizb* (Q 36:26)

Endowed 742/1342 to Madrasa al-Uṣfuriyya, Tunis; *taḥbīs* fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 1)

72 fols. + I + I'; 22 x 22 x 3.5 cm; textblock: 15 x 12.5 cm; 5 lines

Thick parchment; Rule of Gregory; not ruled. Binding restored; in very good condition.

Large Maghribi Qur'anic calligraphy. Brown ink; with red (vowels), blue (*sukkūn, shadda*), green (*waṣla*), and orange (*hamza*); verse markers, marginal vignettes, and opening heading illuminated in gold. Sura headings in Kufi script, colophon in Maghribi *thuluth*; all in chrysography.

Prov.: Colophon, fol. 71r without further indications. Ḥafṣid endowment deed on fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 1); former owner, fol. 72v, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥamzat at-Takhamī; in the Ranaldi inventory (second half sixteenth century): n. (43–45).

Ref.: Anzuini, *Manoscritti Coranici*, 58–60; Levi Della Vida, *Elenco*, 3; Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche*, 190; Jones, “Piracy,” 100; Monneret de Villard, “Codici magrebini,” 88–89; Orsatti, “Manuscrit islamique,” 293–295.

See figures 30 and 31.

Q008

Italy, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Vat.ar. 213

Vol. 6 of 20; Q. 7–8:40 (3 *ʾaḥzāb*)

Endowed 900/1495 to Zaytūna Mosque, Tunis; *taḥbīs* fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 9)

59 fols. + I + I'; 18 x 17 x 2.5 cm; textblock: 10 x 10; 7 lines

Parchment; rule of Gregory; side lines ruled: dry-point (on the hair side); quaternions; fol. 59 blank. Restored binding; in OK condition.

Large Maghribi Qur'anic calligraphy. Blackish-brown ink; with red (vowels), blue (*sukkūn*, *shadda*), green (*waṣṣla*), and yellow (*hamza*); verse markers, marginal vignettes, and opening heading illuminated in gold. Carpet pages in the beginning and end with geometrical design. Opening sura heading in round script (fol. 1v); the second in Kufi script.

Prov.: Ḥafṣid endowment deed on fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 9); in the Contelori inventory no. 11 (1620s); in the Ecchellense inventory (between 1653–1658): n. 254.

Ref.: Anzuini, *Manoscritti Coranici*, 57–58; Levi Della Vida, *Elenco*, 3; Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche*, 346–91; Monneret de Villard, “Codici magrebini”; 90–91.

Q009

France, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 388

Vol 2 of 12 (?); Q. 3–4; 5 *ḥizb* (6 to 10), copying of the last one until the end of the sura instead of the *ḥizb* section (Q 3:14)

Endowed to Zaytūna Mosque, Tunis (date illegible); *taḥbīs* fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 14)

87 fols. + V + II'; 20.5 x 18.5 x 3.5 cm; textblock: 12.5 x 11; 9 lines

Parchment; rule of Gregory; traces of side-line ruling: dry point; fols. I–IV & I'–II' fly-leaves in paper; fol. V parchment (not counted). European binding; coat of arms Napoleon I. In good condition.

Large Maghribi Qur'anic calligraphy. Brown ink; with red (vowels), blue (*sukkūn*, *shadda*), green (*waṣṣla*), and yellow (*hamza*); verse markers, marginal vignettes, and opening heading illuminated in gold. Left side of a carpet pages in the beginning with geometrical design. Sura headings in chrysography, Kufi script (outlined in black ink).

Prov.: Ḥafṣid endowment deed on fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 14); ex libris Eusèbe Renaudot, bequeathed to the abbey of Saint-Germain des Prés in 1720. Old shelf marks: 8Z (?); Saint-Germain 289; Supplément arabe 157.

Ref.: Déroche, *Catalogue*, vol. 1.2, 34, no. 301

See figures 32, 33 and 53.

Q010 (5 volumes)

1–4) France, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 389 and Arabe 390 and Arabe 391 and Arabe 392

Vol. 1 of 5; Q. 1:1–5:81 (6 'ajzā'); lacuna: Q. 4:132–5:20; 94 fols. + II + II', counted fols. 3 bis & 72 bis

Vol. 2 of 5; Q. 5:82–12:50 (6 'ajzā'); 82 fols. + II + II'; lacuna between fols. 77 and 78; defective in the end

Vol. 3 of 5; Q. 12:53–25:30 (6 'ajzā'); 68 fols. + II + II'; with two lacunae between fols. 19 and 20 and between fols. 29 and 30

Vol. 5 of 5; Q. 42–114, with lacuna (6 'ajzā'); 78 fols. + II + II', counted fol. 1 bis

Endowed 807/1405 to Qaşba Mosque, Tunis, on royal order (Abū Fāris 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Mutawakkil, r. 1394–1434); *taḥbīs* fol. 3br of volume I (*taḥbīs* 3)

24.5 x 16.5 x 2 cm; textblock: 17.5 x 11 cm; 13 lines

Dyed paper, dark red; *mīṣṭara*; quinions; Restored binding. Edges of leather doublures lie on top of the turn-ins. Cover: overall pattern with bordure; front star pattern, back geometrical design. Number of *juz'* on the leather cover.

Maghribi round script; book hand. Copied in silver ink, sura footers in gold; verse markers illuminated; marginal vignettes in Almohad design. Polychrome mnemonic markers for the reading of the *qira'āt*.

Prov.: Ḥafṣid endowment deed on fol. 3br of volume I (*taḥbīs* 3); owner's mark in volume II: Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī. Séguier coll.; bequeathed to the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 1732. Old shelf marks: 8 Z (?); Séguier 139 (1672); Saint-Germain 68; Supplément arabe 152a.

Ref.: Déroche, *Catalogue*, vol. I.2, 34, nos. 301.305.306.307.308; Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 395–398.

See figures 34, 35 and 49.

5) Russia, St. Petersburg, Rossiyskaya natsional'naya biblioteka, Dorn 41

Vol. 4 of 5

Prov.: Collection of Johannes A. B. Dorn (1805–1881)

Ref.: Vasilyeva, "Oriental manuscripts," fig. 7

Q011

Morocco, Rabat, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 1304

7 lines

Dyed paper; green; or silk (?). Ink: silver and gold.

Ref.: Khatibi, Sijilmassi, *Splendour of Islamic Calligraphy*, 67–70.

Q012 (3 Fragments)

1) Austria, Vienna, Österreichisches Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, HHStA Or HS 593

Q. 40:35–53; 1 fol.; 49 x 33 cm; 17 lines; folded (15 x 12 cm)

Large paper folio; chain lines not discernible; 20 laid lines = 25 mm.

Maghribi round script; stylized book hand. Blue ink; also for diacritica and vowels, etc. Verse markers and the mnemonic sign *ṣād* in gold (with red). The Oxford fragment has a sura heading: chrysography

in *naskh* script; in plain golden frame with marginal vignette and the addition “*makkiyya*” (sura revealed in Mecca). The Paris fragment is copied in silver ink.

The Vienna fragment is kept together with an envelope (HHStA, Staatenabteilung Tunis 1, Konv. 1) with the inscription: “[. . .]ré en African escripte a l'empereur par Le Roy de Túnes” and ca. 1542”; paper with watermark (crown?).

Prov.: Mawlāy Ḥasan (r. 1526–1543) might have sent the fragments together with letters to his European allies.

2) UK, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Pococke 444

Q. 33:64–34:21; 2 fols. + I + I'; 46 x 32 x 0.5 cm; textblock: 39 x 24; 17 lines; folded (9.5 x 8.5 cm)

Ref.: Small, Leoni, *Divine Encounter*, 50–51.

See figures 36, 37 and 50.

3) France, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 396

Q. 7:10–28; 1 fol.; 41.5 x 30.5; textblock: 39 x 24; 17 lines; folded (15 x 13.5 cm)

Old shelf mark: Supplément Ar. 2250

Ref.: Déroche, *Catalogue*, vol. I.2, 41, no. 317

Q013

Tunisia, Tunis, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 3443

Q. 4:148–5:75

48 fols. + I + I'; 31.5 x 21.5 cm; textblock: 19 x 13 cm; 7 lines

Fragment. Paper with irregular chain lines (c. 2.8 cm); 20 laid lines = 26 mm, perpendicular to spine; watermark: *tre lune*; in folio; alternating quaternions and sixtions. Binding restored; in very good condition.

Maghribi round script. Black ink; verse markers and *abjad* in gold (and the word Allāh).

Q014 (2 Volumes)

1) Italy, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 107 sup.

Vol. 7 of 8; Q. 38–52; *ḥizb* 46–52

Endowed 880/1475 to Zaytūna Mosque, Tunis; *tahbīs* on fol. 1v (*tahbīs* 5)

85 fols. + I; 29.5 x 21.5 x 2.5 cm; textblock: 19.5 x 12.5; 11 lines

Three different papers; thick, but fine, bright. Watermarks: bull's head (chain lines 2.6 cm, 20 laid lines = 20 mm), shield (chain lines 3.4 cm); ruled: dry-point; in folio; quinions. Leather binding: Leather turn-ins cover the leather doublures, not attached by hinges. (Do they function as spine lining?) Cover: simple bordure, knotwork; central medallion knotwork in plain circle, two pendants: *kreuzschlaufe*, same motif on flap. triangular corner pieces are formed by little crosses. In very good condition (except for cover).

Large Maghribi Qur'anic calligraphy. Black ink; with red (vowels), bright blue (*sukkūn*, *shadda*), green (*wasla*), and yellow (*hamza*); opening heading illuminated in gold. Sura headings in Kufi script, in yellow ink with red shadows (3D effect).

Prov.: Ḥafṣid endowment deed on fol. 1v (*taḥbīs* 5); another (consecutive) volume of the same Qur'an manuscript in the Mendoza coll. Old shelf mark: Hammer 12.

Ref.: Hammer-Purgstall, *Catalogo*, 4, no. 12; Löfgren, Traini, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, 47, no. 55

See table 3.

2) Spain, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, D 1258

Vol. 6 of 8; Q. 27–37; *ḥizb* 38–45; lacuna 31:15–33:16

Prov.: Ḥafṣid endowment deed on fol. 1v (*taḥbīs* 5); Mendoza collection. Old shelf mark: Cas 1253.

Ref.: Derenbourg, Lévi-Provençal, *Manuscrits arabes*, III, 1

See figure 44.

Q015

Switzerland, St. Gall, Kantonsbibliothek Vadiana, VadSlg Ms 387

Vol. 7 of 30; Q. 5:82–6:110 (1 *juz*)

Dedicated to the death of 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Mas'ūd (d. 893/1487); dedication on fol. 1r

83 fols. + II; 16.5 x 11 cm; 7 lines

Thick, coarse-grained paper; chain lines: 5 cm; 20 laid lines = 25 mm; watermark: scissors; different watermarks; in quarto; quaternions, quinions. European foliation ("wrong" direction); later foliation in right order; fols. 1 and 75 to 83 blank. Binding restored. Cover: The bordure (knotwork) is framing an inner field, overall geometric design, star pattern, reciprocal, compartments filled with floral forms, gilt lines, and gold dot punching. In very good condition.

Large Maghribi Qur'anic calligraphy. Black ink; with red (vowels), blue (*sukkūn*, *shadda*), green (*waṣla*), and yellow (*hamza*); verse markers, marginal vignettes (same design as Q017), and opening heading illuminated in gold. Carpet pages in the beginning with geometric design. Frontispiece and sura headings in *thuluth* script; sura headings in chrysography.

Johann Heinrich Hottinger created two facsimile copies of the manuscript: Netherlands, Groningen, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ukluHANDS 468 and Germany, Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. orient. 4.

Prov.: Dedicated to the grave of the Ḥafṣid Prince 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Mas'ūd, who died in 893/1487. Taken from Tunis by Baron Johannes Marquart von Königsegg; given to mayor of St. Gall Sebastian Schobinger in 1644 by Johan Georg Graf zu Königsegg, the heir of Königsegg.

Ref.: Loop, *Hottinger*, 116, 123–30, 153–4; Scherer, *Verzeichniss der Manuscripte*, 110–111.

See figures 3, 9, 38, 39, 51 and 52.

Q016 (3 Volumes)

France, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 438 and Arabe 439 and Arabe 440

Vol. 1 of 8; Q. 1–3; *ḥizb* 1 to mid-8, copied until the end of the sura, instead of the *ḥizb* section; 114 fols. + I + I'

Vol. 2 of 8; Q. 4–6; *ḥizb* 8–15; 118 fols.

Vol. 6 of 8; Q. 17–37; *ḥizb* 38–45, copied until the end of the sura, instead of the *ḥizb* section; 121 fols. + I

38 x 27.5 x 3.5; textblock: 30 x 17 cm; 9 lines

Paper; different papers; chain lines: 3.9 cm, 20 laid lines = 19 mm; watermarks: mermaid with two fins in circle, alternating chain lines: 2.5; (other marks: crown in circle; crescent with cross); miṣṭara; in folio; quinions. Binding: light brown leather; leather doublures attached to block by hinges, the doublure covers the turn-ins. Cover: mandorla with two floral pendants, filled with arabesques. (cf. Weisweiler, Cover type 96). In very good condition.

Large Maghribi Qur'anic calligraphy; experimental letter forms. Black ink; with red (vowels), blue (*sukkūn, shadda*), green (*waṣla*), and yellow (*hamza*); verse markers, marginal vignettes, and sura headings illuminated in gold (same design as Q006). Sura headings in Kufi script.

Prov.: Taken by Charles V in Tunis or Algiers, then added to Escorial Library; coll. Granvelle, cf. owner mark in vol. 2, fol. 1r; coll. Séguier-Coislin. Bequeathed to the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 1732. Old shelf marks: 34 (?); Séguier BB (1672); Saint-Germain 60, 61, 62; Supplément arabe 170a, b, c

Ref.: Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 398–401; Dandel, "L'enluminure," 553–562; Déroche, *Catalogue*, I.2, 37–38, nos. 309.310.311; Weisweiler, *Islamische Bucheinband*, Typ 96

See figures 40, 41 and 53.

Q017 (5 Volumes)

1–4) Italy, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.ar. 196 and Vat.ar. 197 and Vat.ar. 198 and Vat.ar. 199

Vol. 4 of 20; Q. 8:41–10:25 (3 'ahzāb); 64 fols. + II

Vol. 10 of 20; Q. 16:51–18:74 (3 'ahzāb); 60 fols. + II

Vol. 15 of 20; Q. 33:31–37:144 (3 'ahzāb); 60 fols. + II

Vol. 17 of 20; Q. 41:47–48:17 (3 'ahzāb); 62 fols. + II

Endowed 893/1488 to Zaytūna Mosque, Tunis; *taḥbīs* on fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 6)

Textblock: 34 x 21 cm; 8 lines

Paper with watermarks; in folio; quaternions, quinions, sextions. Foliation on verso upper right in European hand, on recto lower left in Arabic hand. Binding restored; in good condition.

Large Qur'anic calligraphy; experimental letter forms; resembling *naskhi* script, with Maghribi elements. Black ink; with red (vowels), blue (*sukkūn, shadda*), green (*waṣla*), and orange (*hamza*); verse markers, marginal vignettes, and sura headings illuminated in gold; application of gold leaves. Sura headings in Kufi script, white ink on ornamented ground. Polychrome palette.

Prov.: Ḥafṣid endowment deed on fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 6).

Ref.: Anzuini, *Manoscritti Coranici*, 30–24; Levi Della Vida, *Elenco*, 1; Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche*, 27–28, 171; Monneret de Villard, "Codici magrebini," 89–90.

2) Italy, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Strozzi 34

Paper partially restored; chain lines 3.5 cm, 20 laid lines = 22 mm; with watermark: bull's head with 4-petaled star; in folio; quaternions, quinions, sextions. No foliation. Binding restored; original cover glued to new binding. Dark red leather with gold. Front and back different. Flap is missing, but left imprint on paper. In very good condition.

Large Qur'anic calligraphy; experimental letter forms; resembling *naskhi* script, with Maghribi elements. Black ink; with red (vowels), blue (*sukkūn, shadda*), green (*waṣla*), and orange (*hamza*); verse

markers, marginal vignettes, and sura headings illuminated in gold; application of gold leaves. Sura headings in Kufi script, white ink on ornamented ground. Polychrome palette.

Prov.: Ḥafṣid endowment deed on fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 6); from the collection of the Strozzi family, Florence; Bibliotheca Leopoldina; entered BML in the eighteenth century.

Ref.: Bandini, *Bibliotheca Leopoldina Laurentiana*, coll. 377–8; Elsheikh, “I manoscritti del Corano”

See figures 42, 43 and 52.

Q018

Tunisia, Raqqada, Musée des Arts Islamiques, Rutbi 191

Q. 50:19–21; 7 lines

Endowed 903/1498 to the Great Mosque of Kairouan by Muḥammad IV (r. 1494–1526)

Fragment. Large Maghribi Qur'anic calligraphy. Black ink; with red (vowels), bright blue (*sukkūn*, *shadda*), green (*waṣla*), and yellow (*hamza*); opening heading illuminated in gold; chrysography; *thuluth* script.

Prov.: Discovery place *maqṣūra* of the Great Mosque of Kairouan; *taḥbīs* on fol. 1r, endowed to Great Mosque of Kairouan by Mawlāy Ḥasan (r. 1526–1543)

Ref.: https://www.qantara-med.org/public/show_document.php?do_id=624 (last consulted 01 June 2022)

Q019

Belgium, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS 11.243

Vol. 9 of 12; Q. 29:46–37:144 (5 *ʾaḥzāb*)

89 fols.; 25.5 x 19.5 x 7 cm; textblock: 15 x 10 cm; 9 lines

Paper, chain lines 3 cm, 20 laid lines = 19 mm; watermark: hand with 5-petaled flower; quaternions; in folio. Binding has fallen apart, separate from textblock, no flap; not bound anymore. Cover: Bordure stamped with motive A/B design, The central motif in plain circle, the two medallions and the corner pieces are all made of the same simple knotwork; gold dot punches. Condition good (except cover).

Large Maghribi Qur'anic calligraphy. Black ink; with red (vowels), bright blue (*sukkūn*, *shadda*), green (*waṣla*), and yellow (*hamza*); opening heading illuminated in gold in *thuluth* script. Sura headings in Kufi script, in yellow ink with red shadows (3D effect).

Prov.: *ex libris* Mons, Collège des Jésuites, cf. fol. 1r.

Q020 (2 Volumes)

1) Netherlands, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Or. 241

Vol. 15 of 20; Q. 33:31–37:144 (3 *ʾaḥzāb*); lacuna between 36:80–37:22.

Endowed 911/1505 to Great Mosque of Bizerte; *taḥbīs* on fol.1r (*taḥbīs* 18)

56 fols. + 1; 19.5 x 14.5 x 1.5 cm; textblock: 15 x 9; 9 lines

Fragment. Paper; three different types (watermarks: three different hands with 5-petaled flower); chain lines 3.5–4.2 cm, 20 laid lines 16–18 mm; in quarto. Binding: Traditional link-stitch sewing with sewn on leather doublures, but with leather instead of cloth (see figure 22). Cover: Hexagonal

motif (A or B?) is used to form the bordure, corner pieces and central motif in a plain circle. In good condition; fol. 1 restored.

Large Maghribi Qur'anic calligraphy. Black ink; with red (vowels), green (*waṣla*), and ochre (*hamza*); verse markers and *abjad* in ochre. Headings in ochre, same script as *rasm*.

Prov.: Ḥafṣid endowment deed on fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 18); owners: Rescius then Masius; coll. Raphelengius, cf. fol. II. Old shelf mark: Ar. 241.

Ref.: Coxe, Hunt, *Laudian Manuscripts*, xiv; Dunkelgrün, "From Tunis to Leiden," 7–8; Van Leeuwen, Vrolijk, "Scaliger's Oriental Legacy," 69–71; Scheper, *Technique of Islamic Bookbinding*, 265–270; Witkam, *Inventory*, vol. I, 103

See figure 45.

2) UK, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Or 72

Vol. 2 of 20; Q. 2:203–3:91 (3 *'aḥzāb*); 64 fols.

Prov.: Ḥafṣid endowment deed on fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 18); Greaves, see title in his hand fol. 1r.; donation 1635 (Donation 1635/1); Laud coll.

See table 3.

Q021 (23 Volumes)

1–20) Italy, Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ex-Vind. Corano 1.1–20

Vol. 1 of 30; Q. 1–2:141 (1 *juz'*)

And vols. 2–4, 6–15, 20, 21, 26–29 of 30; 19 volumes, all comparable to the first described here; endowment certificate in the first volume most comprehensible; some vols. with original binding (2.3.4.7.10.12.14; see figure 24); the shelf mark does not always correspond to volume or *juz'* number respectively, because the booklets have been bound in wrong covers during restoration, for example: Ex-Vind. Corano 1.12 is Flügel XIII is bound in cover of *juz'* 9.

Endowed 930/1524 to Zāwiyat Ibn 'Arūs, Tunis; *taḥbīs* on fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 15)

48 fols. + II + II'; 21.5 x 17.5 x 1.5 cm; textblock: 13.5 x 9 cm; 7 lines

Paper; chain lines 3.2 cm, 20 laid lines = 18 mm; watermark: hand with 5-petaled pointed flower, single cuff; differing chain lines: 2 cm; quaternions; quinions; in quarto. All original leaves, first and last blank and not counted. Binding restored (Roma, 1965): Turn-ins from the outer cover on top of the leather doublures; stabbed sewing on 10 stations; the spine lining consists of colorless cloth (as can be seen in a broken example), and the leather doublures are pasted onto the outer leaves of the textblock by cut hinges (see figure 23). The title of the work respectively the number of the volume is gilt tooled into the leather on the back of the fore-edge flap. Cover: Bordures, corner pieces, and central medallion of simple knotwork; gold dot punches; gilt; central medallion within lobed circle and two pendants; retaken on flap.

Large Maghribi Qur'anic calligraphy. Black ink; with red (vowels), blue (*sukkūn*, *shadda*), green (*waṣla*), and yellow (*hamza*); verse markers and *abjad* in yellow. Sura headings in Kufi script, in yellow ink with red shadows (3D effect).

Prov.: Ḥaḥṣid endowment deed on fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 15), in vol. 1 most comprehensive; coll. Seripando, first in his library in San Giovanni a Carbonara (Naples); volumes are recorded in documents from 1716–18 written by Gaetano Argento (1661–1730), who was charged with selecting and collecting manuscripts in Naples for Charles VI (king of Naples, r. 1707–1735). The manuscripts were transferred to Vienna in 1718. They are catalogued in the Oriental collection of the National Library in Austria (ÖNB), cf. Flügel, *Hofbibliothek*, III, 47: AF 242. The ÖNB confirmed that the manuscripts were returned to Italy in 1919 in an act of restitution. Old shelf marks: AF 242 (345), Flügel 1600 (ÖNB).

Ref.: Capasso, “Sulla spoliazione”; Casamassa, “Documenti inedita”; Delle Foglie, “Brava Libreria”; Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften*, III, 47–48; Mencik, “Die neapolitanischen Handschriften”

See figure 46 and table 3.

21–23) Italy, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Orientali 257 and Orientali 259 and Orientali 260

Vol. 30 of 30; Q. 78–114 (1 *juz*)

Vol. 5 of 30; Q. 4:24–4:147 (1 *juz*)

Vol. 22 of 30; Q. 31:33–36:27 (1 *juz*)

See description above. Paper is in good condition, cover falls apart.

Prov.: Ḥaḥṣid endowment deed on fol. 1r of each volume (*taḥbīs* 15a); Bib. Palatina Medicea.

Ref.: Assemani, *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, 465–466, CCCCLIX; Elsheikh, “I manoscritti del Corano”

Q022

Italy, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.ar. 219

Vol. 10 of 20; Q. 16:51–18:74 (3 *ʾaḥzāb*)

Endowed 882/1477 to Ḥaḥṣid institution (?) by Abū ʾAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Muʾdhdhin al-Ghassānī; *taḥbīs* on fol. 2r (*taḥbīs*-16)

26 fols. + I + I'; 23 x 15.5 x 2 cm; textblock: 16.5 x 10.5 cm; 11 lines

Paper, marks not discernible (scissors?); ruled: miṣṭara; in quarto; tertion and quinions. Some water damage: paper restored; otherwise in good condition.

Maghribi. Brown ink; with magenta (vowels) and yellow (*hamza*).

Prov.: Endowment deed to possibly a Ḥaḥṣid institution on fol. 2r (*taḥbīs* 9). Patron or Donator: Abū ʾAbdullāh Muḥammad al-Muʾdhdhin al-Ghassānī. In the Ranaldi inventory (second half sixteenth century): n. 39 or 46

Ref.: Anzuini, *Manoscritti Coranici*, 67–68; Levi Della Vida, *Elenco*, 3; Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche*, 190; Jones, “Piracy,” 100; Orsatti, “Manuscrit islamique,” 296

See table 3.

Q023

Germany, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 88 Ms. Aug. Fol.

Vol. 4 of 12; Q. 7–9:83 (5 *ʾaḥzāb*)

38 fols. + III + IV'

Textblock: 21 x 14; 15 lines

Paper, chain lines 2.3 cm, 20 laid lines = 22 mm; watermark: hands with 5-petaled flower; second part different paper with hand-watermark; in folio. Foliation on verso. Binding restored; llued leather doublure with cut hinges; leather turn-ins cover the doublure (sewn stitches = restoration?). Cover: Bordure stamped with Motif (A–B) corner pieces derive from little crosses, gold dot; central medallion with knotwork with pendants (same on flap), groups of gold dots punched in eight groups of three. In good condition; leaves are loose, greyish.

Maghribi Qur'anic calligraphy. Black ink; with red (vowels), green (*sukkūn, shadda*), green (*waṣla*), and ochre (*hamza*); verse markers and *abjad* in ochre. No headings, space left blank.

Prov.: Spolia from Tunis, cf. annotation on fol. 1r; coll.; acquired 1658/9: *Bücherradkatalog*, no. 5106.

Ref.: Ebert and Fleischer, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum*, 77, no. 11

See figure 47 and table 3.

Q024

Germany, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 61

Q. 19–26; 6 *aḥzāb* copied until the end of the sura instead of the *ḥizb* section

74 fols. + I + I'; 21 x 17 x 2 cm; textblock: 16 x 10 cm; 10 lines

Paper; cut, last folio torn out; chain lines: 3,5 cm, 20 laid lines = 15 mm; watermark: glove with open fingers, 5-petalled flower. Fols. I & I' blank, fol. I glued to doublure (BSB). Leather binding. Cover: Bordure hexagonal motif B (1x1 cm); corner pieces formed with little crosses and three gold dots; central medallion knotwork in plain circle with gold dots attached (4 groups of 3 dots, and 4 single dots) with pendants cross knotwork (just as MS015). Leather turn-ins cover the leather doublure. Doublure with cut hinges attached to outer folios. Fragments of yellow and red endbands. Quires sewn on two stations with two more for endband sewing. No title on tail or cover. Slight water damage, binding broken; otherwise in good condition.

Maghribi Qur'anic calligraphy. Black ink; with magenta (vowels, *shadda, sukkūn*), green (*waṣla*), and ochre (*hamza*); verse markers in ochre.

Prov.: Ḥafṣid binding (?); Widmanstetter coll. Old shelf mark: Cod.or. 9.

Ref.: Aumer, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, 11

See table 3.

Q025

UK, London, British Library, Harl 5491

Q. 46-51:30; *juz'* 26

37 fols. + I + I'; 21,5 x 16 x 1,5 cm; textblock 15,5 x 9,5 cm; 9 lines

Paper with watermark (hand with five-petalled flower); tertions. Cover: Bordure with motif A/B; corner pieces of little crosses and gold dots; central medallion in plain circle of same knotwork with two pendants and adj. triple pyramids of gold dots.

Large Maghribi Qur'anic calligraphy. Black ink; with red (vowels), turquoise (*sukkūn, shadda*), green (*waṣṣla*), and yellow (*hamza*); verse markers and *abjad* in ochre. Heading same script as *rasm*, outlined in brown, filled in yellow.

Prov.: Colophon on fol. 37v: 'Abd al-'Azīz (?); Ḥafṣid binding (?); Harleian coll. Old shelf mark: O.R. 30 A.e.

Q026

Italy, Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, III G 55

Complete text

Endowed 966/1559 to Zaytūna Mosque, Tunis; *taḥbīs* on fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 13)

206 fols. + I + I'; 28 x 20 x 5 cm; textblock: 22 x 15; 17–8 lines

Paper with watermarks (not discernible). Binding restored.

Maghribi. Black ink; with magenta (vowels, *sukkūn, shadda*) and yellow (*hamza*). Heading same script as *rasm*, outlined in brown, filled in yellow.

Prov.: Endowment deed to Ḥafṣid institution on fol. 2r (*taḥbīs* 12); Collegi Napoitani, fol. 1r; Padre Angelo Simone, fol. 206v (also owned Ḥafṣid manuscript MS029, and another unidentified Maghribi manuscript, BNN, III F 64).

Ref.: Buonazia, *Catalogo*, 202, no. 2

Appendix VI: Catalogue of Ḥafṣid Manuscripts other than Qur'an (MS001–MS061)

MS001

Location. Tunisia, Tunis, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 7447

Content (Author: Title). Ibn Salām: *Tafsīr*; part 1

Data and Inscriptions. Copied 383/993, colophon on fol. 84r (without location)

Dimensions. 99 fols. + I + I'; 23 x 16.5 x 4.5 cm; textblock: 19.5 x 12.5; 32 lines

Description. Parchment, rule of Gregory, side lines ruled and first and last lines; fly leaves in paper; quires: quaternions. In good condition.

Provenance. 'Abdaliyya coll.; old shelf mark: 'Abdaliyya 134.

Reference. Ibn Maḥmūd, *Jāmi' al-Zaytūna*, 1:45

Figures.

MS002

Tunisia, Tunis, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 3357

Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī: *Iḥyā' ulūm al-Dīn*

Copied 601/1204 by 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Iṣām (no place); colophon fol. 123v–124r.

124 fols.; 19 x 28 cm; 13 lines

Maghribi *thuluth*; maybe the first Almohad manuscript copied in Tunis?

MS003

Tunisia, Tunis, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 19409

Abū 'Abd Allāh Mālik Ibn Anas al-Aṣḥabī: *Kitāb al-Muwatta'*

Copied 640–9/1242–52 by Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Kharrāz al-Yamanī (no place) for the *khizāna* of Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā Ibn Abī Ḥafṣ (r. 1229–1249); colophon fol. 207r

207 fols. (?); 23 lines. Paper (?).

MS004 (2 Volumes)

1) Germany, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Petermann I 157

Maḥmūd b. 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī: *al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-Tanzil*; part 5

Copied by Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Kharrāz al-Yamanī (no place or date) for the *khizāna* of Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā Ibn Abī Ḥafṣ; colophon fol. 226r; endowed to the Madrasa al-Sābiqiyya in Cairo in 763/1361–1362, certificate on fol. 1r.

226 fols.; 30 x 21.4 cm; 19 lines. Paper.

2) Germany, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Petermann I 158

Maḥmūd b. 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī: *al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-Tanzil*; part 6

Copied by Muḫammad b. 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Kharrāz al-Yamanī (no place or date) for the *khizāna* of Abū Zakariyā' Yahyā Ibn Abī Ḥaḫṣ; colophon fol. 240v; endowed to the Madrasa al-Sābiqiyya in Cairo in 763/1361–1362, certificate on fol. 1r.

240 fols.; 30 x 21.7 cm; 19 lines. Paper.

MS005

Tunisia, Tunis, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 15072

Mu'awiyya Darhallī: *al-Manṣurī fī al-bayzara*; part 4

Dedicated to Royal *khizāna* of 'Abd Allāh Muḫammad I al-Mustanṣir (r. 1249–1277), Tunis, dedication on fol. 1r; endowed 1256/1840 to Aḫmadiyya, Tunis, *taḥbīs* on fol. 1r.

178 fols. + III + III'; 31.5 x 24 x 6 cm; textblock: 22.5 x 15 cm; 9 lines

Thick paper; 20 laid lines = 28 mm, very irregular, perpendicular to spine; quinions. Binding is new, but the holes from the original spine lining are visible with 1.5 cm distance from the spine (just as Q021).

In good condition.

Large Maghribi script; stylized book hand. Brown ink, with magenta (vowels) and blue (*sukkūn*, *shadda*); highlights in gold and blue. Chrysography for title (with red and blue shadows, 3D effects), same script as main text; accompanied by ornamented marginal vignette.

Prov.: The year 645 AH is noted in a modern hand on fol. 178v, but not confirmed in the text.

Dedication to the *khizāna* of Muḫammad I al-Mustanṣir on fol. 1r; colophon without further indication on fol. 178r. Endowment to the Aḫmadiyya, cf. fol. 1r. Old shelf mark: Aḫmadiyya 5452.

Ref.: Bauwens, *Maktūb biliyad*, no. 65; Chabbouh, *Le manuscript*

See figures 54, 55 and 74.

MS006

Spain, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, D 454

Abū al-Ḥasan b. Ḥāzīm b. Muḫammad b. Ḥasan b. Ḥāzīm al-Anṣārī: *al-Qaṣida al-'alfiyya*; and one other poem by the same author

Copied 698/1298 in Anaba (Būna), colophon on fol. 28r.

52 fols. + II + II'; 20.5 x 15 x 2.5 cm; textblock: 13.5 x 9 cm; 22 lines

Paper with irregular chain lines (c. 5 cm); 20 laid lines = 34 mm; tertions and quinions; in folio.

Paper restored, (restored) binding in fragile condition.

Maghribi round script. Brown ink, title and highlights in magenta (on 1v blue?). Poem 1: fols. 1–18; 2nd poem fols. 29–fine.

Prov.: The earliest dated codex in Maghribi script undoubtedly produced in Ḥaḫṣid Ifrīqiya. Old shelf mark: Cas. 452 (not in Saadian library).

Ref.: Derenbourg, *Manuscrits arabes*, vol. I, 299

See figures 56 and 57.

MS007

Italy, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 31 inf.

Ibn Zarqīn al-Ishbīlī: *al-'Anwār fī al-jam' bayn al-muntaqā wa-l-mukhtār*; part 5

Copied 705/1305 by Ismā'īl b. 'Alī b. Ḍirghām b. 'Umar, colophon on fol. 154r; endowed 906/1500 to Zaytūna Mosque, Tunis, *taḥbīs* on fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 11)

194 fols. + II + I'; textblock: 20 x 13; 25 lines

Thick, coarse-grained paper. Heavily restored, still in poor condition.

Brown ink; Ifrīqī script (?).

Prov.: Copied 705/1305, endowed to Ḥafṣid institution (*taḥbīs* 11); Cuvié coll. (1809) with mark fol. IIv. Old shelf mark: Antico Fondo, Hammer 75.

Ref.: Löfgren, Traini, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, 68–69, no. 108

MS008

Germany, Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Vollers 407

Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Ishāq al-Zajjājī: *al-Jumal fī al-naḥw*

Copied 761/1360 or 771/1370 in Tunis, colophon on fol. 360v

360 fols.; 27.8 x 20.9 cm; textblock: 21.2 x 15,1 cm

Paper with irregular chain lines (c. 5 cm); 20 laid lines = 50 mm; in folio.

Brown artificial leather binding with fore-edge flap and envelope flap. Yellowish-white paper with different watermarks of triple mount, bell, arrow with bow, and unicorn.

Prov.: Copied in Tunis; previous owner: Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusain b. al-Kharrāṭ al-Ḥanafī (d. 1156/1743), sold in Damascus by Ismā'īl al-Dallāl (d. after 1136/1724); Refaiya coll.

Ref.: Liebreuz, "Die Rifā'ya"

MS009

Spain, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, D 719

Ibrahīm b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Abī al-Nūr: *Kitāb fīhi siyāsāt al-'imārā*; and three prescriptions

Dedicated to Royal *khizāna* of Abū Bakr al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāh (r. 1318–1346), Tunis, dedication on fol. 1r

97 fols. + III + II'; 2.,5 x 21 x 3 cm; textblock: 20 x 12.5 cm; 14 lines

Paper, chain lines 4.5 cm, 20 laid lines = 38 mm, very clear and regular; ruled: dry-point; in folio; quinions. Binding new. Original cover glued to new one. Dark leather. Gold tooled cover design; border of knotwork and a central knotwork medallion, small pendants and corner pieces. Fragments of blue and red endbands. Title on tail (worn out). In good condition.

Maghribi round script. Black ink; highlights in magenta; chrysography for dedication and titles on fols. 1r–3r (with red shadow).

Prov.: Dedicated to the *khizāna al-'aliyyah* of Abū Bakr al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāh on fol. 1r; library of Saadian ruler Mawlāy Zaydān (r. 1603–1627). Old shelf mark: Cas. 716.

Ref.: Derenbourg, *Manuscrits arabes*, II.1, 9; Déroche, De Castilla Muñoz, and Tahali, *Livres du sultan*, II, 276–277

See figures 58 and 59.

MS010

Tunisia, Tunis, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 18656

al-A'lam al-Shantamarī: *Sharḥ kitāb al-khamāsa*

164 fols.; 17 lines

Maghribi round script. Black ink; highlights in gold; comments in margins in magenta; chrysography for titles (with red shadow). Almohad or early Ḥafṣid period?

Ref.: Chabbouh, *Le manuscrit*, no. 71

MS011

Germany, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 339

al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Faḍl 'Iyāḍ b. Mūsā b. 'Iyāḍ al-Jaḥṣabī: *al-Tanbihāt al-mustanbaṭa 'alā kitāb al-mudawwana wa-'l-mukhtaḷiṭa*

Copied 793/1390 in Tunis by Muḥammad al-Qaysī al-'Attār, colophon on fol. 236r; endowed 849/1445 to Great Mosque of Annaba (Būna), *taḥbis* on fol. 1r (*taḥbis* 20).

237 fols. + I + I'; 30 x 23.5 x 5.5 cm; textblock: 22.5 x 16 cm; 33 lines

Thick paper, chain lines 3.8 cm; 20 laid lines = 20 mm, perpendicular to spine; in folio; quires not discernible. European cover ("kgl. Hofbuchbinder F.X.Beer"); title on tail. Very good condition.

Maghribi round script. Blackish-brown ink; title and highlights in magenta.

Prov.: Copied 793/1390 in Tunis and endowed to Ḥafṣid institution (*taḥbis* 20); Widmanstetter coll., owner mark on fol. 1v. Old shelf mark: Cod.or. 52.

Ref.: Aumer, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, 118–119

See figure 60.

MS012 (3 Volumes)

1) France, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 1054

Fols. 1–129, 'Alī al-Ṣaghīr Abū al-Ḥasan: *Taqyid 'alā al-mudawwana*; fols. 130–232, Khalaf b. Abī al-Qāsim al-Barādhī: *Tahdhīb masā'il al-mudawwana wa-'l-mukhtaḷiṭa*

Part I as MS012; part II copied by Abū al-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Ja'far al-Bunnaṭī; together with BnF, Arabe 1053?

223 fols. + IV + III'; 31 x 23 x 6 cm; textblock: 23.5 x 15.5 cm; 37 lines

Paper; chain lines 2.7 cm, 20 laid lines = 25 mm (with bull's head half profile); chain lines 4.2 cm, 20 laid lines = 22 mm (with plain crown); in folio; ruled: dry-point; quinions. Restored binding, with coat of arms Louis XV; manuscript belonged to Catherine de' Medici. Delicate condition; restricted access. Possibly Ḥafṣid binding in the other volumes in Leiden.

Maghribi round script; two hands. Brown ink with highlights in bold and magenta.

Prov.: Ifrīqiya (?); Bibliothèque de Blois, note by Barthélemy d'Herbelot (1625–1695): "Bibliothèque du roi." Old shelf marks: 1675:494; 516 (Regius); Ancien fonds arabe 469.

Ref. Coustou, *Arabe et humanisme*, Annexe I: Collection Cathérine de Medici; Quentin-Bauchart, *La bibliothèque de Fontainebleau*, 89

2) Netherlands, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Or. 220

ʿAlī al-Ṣaghīr Abū al-Ḥasan: *Taqyīd ʿalā al-mudawwana*; part 5

Fragmented; paper see above. Restored binding. In very good condition. Script, see above.

Fol. 1r *samaʿāt*; addendum in Dutch.

Prov.: Scaliger coll.; connection with Philippe Hurault (1528–1599) and his manuscripts in the Bibliothèque du roi (?). Old shelf mark: Ar. 220.

Ref.: Witkam, *Inventory*, I, 97

3) Netherlands, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Or. 220, Or. 1313

ʿAlī al-Ṣaghīr Abū al-Ḥasan: *Taqyīd ʿalā al-mudawwana*; part 4

Fragmented; paper see above. Ḥafṣid Binding: traditional link-stitch sewing with sewn on leather doublures (see figure 21). Cover delicate, otherwise in very good condition. Script, see above.

Notes: fol. 1r *samaʿāt*; fol. 153 in sixteenth-century Latin hand.

Prov.: Jesuit college in Paris; Gerard Meerman (1722–1771) had bought the college's library in 1764; Meerman coll. auctioned off in 1824. Old shelf mark: Ar. 1313.

Ref.: Witkam, *Inventory*, II, 109; Scheper, *Technique of Islamic Bookbinding*, 265–270

See figure 61.

MS013

Tunisia, Raqqada, Musée des Arts Islamiques, n.a.

Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī: *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*

Endowed to Great Mosque of Kairouan by Abū Fāris ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mutawakkil

7 lines

Ḥafṣid Imperial Style. Stylized Maghribi book hand. Highlights in magenta and chrysography with vowels in blue (gold with red shadows); titles accompanied by marginal vignette; text markers resembling Qur'an verse markers (three circles in pyramidal shape).

Ref.: Rammah, *Trésors de Kairouan*, 23

MS014 (5 Volumes)

1–2) Morocco, Rabat, Bibliothèque Royal Ḥasaniyya, Inv. 12617

Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī: *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*; parts 5 and 7

15 lines

Ḥafṣid Imperial Style. Stylized Maghribi book hand. Highlights in blue, magenta, and chrysography with vowels in blue (gold with red and blue shadows, 3D effect); titles in stylized book hand; accompanied by marginal vignette; text markers resembling Qur'an verse markers (three circles in pyramidal shape). Colophon in chrysography, Kufi script.

Old shelf marks: MS 12619 and MS 12641

Ref.: Sijelmassi, *Enluminures*, 48; Dandel, "L'enluminure," 479–482.

3–4) UK, London, Sotheby's Auction, Lot 158 (19/10/2016) and Lot 204 (06/04/2004)

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī: *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*; part 8 and one part unidentified

See figure 75.

5) UK, London, Sam Fogg Auction, Lot 26 (n.a.)

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī: *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*; parts 45–49

MS015

Tunisia, Tunis, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 6424

Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ṣafaqāsī: *al-Mujīd fī 'rāb al-Qur'an al-majīd*

Copied 797/1395, colophon on fol. 176v (without location)

176 fols. + III + I'; 28.5 x 22.5 x 5 cm; textblock: 23 x 16 cm; 35 lines

Paper with regular chain lines (36 mm); 20 laid lines = 28 mm, perpendicular to spine; quinions; septions. Title on tail. Some leaves restored, some waterstains; in good condition.

Maghribi script. Black ink, highlights in red.

Prov.: 'Abdaliyya collection; old shelf mark: 'Abdaliyya 342.

Ref.: Ibn Maḥmūd, *Jāmi' al-Zaytūna*, I, 115

MS016

UK, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl Or 795

Recitation proficiency certificate

Copied 808/1405 in Tunis

1 fol. + II + III'; 57 x 36 x 0.5 cm; textblock: 49 x 42 cm

Fine parchment. Maghribi round script. Highlights in crysography and magenta (gold with red shadows).

See figure 72.

MS017

Spain, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, Cod 1946

Fols. 1–5, Abū al-Ṣafā' Jalīl al-Māridīnī: *Risāla fī al-amal bi-l-rub' al-mujayyab*

Copied 821/1418 in Tunis by 'Abd Allāh b. Zakariyyā' al-Tūzurī, colophon on fol. 5v

49 fols. + I + I'; 20 x 14.5 x 1.5 cm; textblock: 14 x 9.5 cm; 21 lines

Very fine Paper; ruled: dry-point. Restored binding; heavy water damage.

Angular script with Maghribi elements; Ifriqī script (?); same scribe as MS018 in a different style. Black ink with highlights in red.

(Collective vol.; other parts in Mashriqi hands; part 2: geometry, part 3: astronomy.)

Old shelf mark: Legajo 63

See figure 13.

MS018

Germany, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 103

Burhān al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ibrāhīm b. Sirāj al-Dīn Abī Ḥafẓ 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm al-Ja'barī: *Sharḥ al-sh'ir li-Shātībī*

Copied 829/1425 in Tunis by 'Abd Allāh b. Zakariyyā' al-Tūzurī, colophon fol. 381r

381 fols. + I + II'; 22 x 14 x 8 cm; textblock: 19.5 x 12 cm; 35 lines

Paper, chain lines 3.9 cm, 20 laid lines = 26 mm parallel to spine; ruled: dry-point; in quarto; quinions; with catchwords; first leaf is glued to doublure and not counted. Cover: Bordure with hexagonal motif B (0.9 x 1 cm); corner pieces formed with little crosses, 1 gold dot; central medallion knotwork with 9 gold dots in plain circle with gold dots attached (4 groups of 3 dots = flowers, and 4 single dots) with pendants cross knotwork. Leather turn-ins cover the leather doublure. Doublure with cut hinges attached to outer folios. Colorless cloth spine lining sewn with one of the inner quires on both ends. Fragments of yellow and red endbands. Quires sewn on two stations with two more for endband sewing. Decorated flap hinge, but not the back. Title on tail. Slight water damage; binding fragile; otherwise good condition.

Maghribi script; blackish-brown ink with highlights in magenta.

Prov.: Copied in Tunis; Widmanstetter coll., owner mark on fol. 1r. Old shlefmark: Cod.or. 114.

Ref.: Aumer, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, 21; Gratzl, *Islamische Bucheinbände*, 9

See figure 14 and table 3.

MS019

Germany, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 357

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Māwārdī al-Shāfi'i: *Kitāb al-iḥkām al-sultāniyya*

Copied before 828/1425; endowed 831/1428 to unknown madrasa in Tunis, *taḥbīs* on fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 2)

148 fols. + II + I'; 27.5 x 20.5 x 5 cm; textblock: 21.5 x 13.8 cm; 21 lines

Thick, coarse-grained paper; chain lines 3.7 cm; 20 laid lines = 16 mm; ruled: dry-point; older foliation on first and last leaf in "wrong order" (on fol. 1v it says fol. 148; in Widmanstetter's hand?); quinions. Later European binding; quires sewn on 12 stations (= restoration?). In very good condition.

Large Maghribi book hand. Blackish-brown ink with highlights in red; title in red with vowels in bright green.

Prov.: Colophon on fol. 148r n.a. Ḥafṣid endowment certificate on fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 2); with an anonymous owner's mark of the year 828/1425 (fol. 1r); Widmanstetter coll. (fol. 1r). Old shelf mark: Cod.or. 51.

Ref.: Aumer, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, 128

MS020

Morocco, Fes, Maktabat al-Qarawiyyin, MS 627

Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Khaṭīb Lisān al-Dīn al-Ghranāṭī: *Rayḥān al-kuttāb wa-naġ'at al-muntāb*

Copied 843/1439 in Tunis

Large Maghribi book hand. Black ink, with highlights in blue, magenta, and gold. Titles in stylized book hand, accompanied by marginal vignette; text markers resembling Qur'an verse markers (three circles in pyramidal shape).

Ref.: al-Fāṣī, *Fihris al-Makḫūṭāt*

MS021 (7 Volumes)

Turkey, Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 832 to 838

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī: *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*; parts 2 to 8 of 8

Copied 843/1440 by 'Abd Allāh Ibrāhīm b. 'Arbān (?) for the Royal *khizāna* of Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān (r. 1435–1488), Tunis, colophon on fol. 187r

17 lines

Cover: star pattern, gilded lines; two bordures (knotwork) are framing an inner field, overall geometric design, star pattern, reciprocal, compartments filled with arabesque forms, gilt lines and gold dot punching, cf. Q005.

Ḥaḫṣid Imperial Style. Stylized Maghribi book hand. Highlights in blue, magenta, and chrysography (gold with red and blue shadows, 3D effect); titles in stylized book hand; accompanied by marginal vignette; text markers resembling Qur'an verse markers (three circles in pyramidal shape). Colophon in same stylized book hand.

Prov.: Dedicated to the *khizāna* of Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān; cf. colophon on fol. 187r; seal of Mahmud I (r. 1730–1754) of when he endowed books to the Ayasofya library; second stamp and handwritten note: Aḫmad Sheyzāde, supervisor of the imperial pious foundations (Evkaf-i Haremeyn); cf. fol. 2r. See figures 62 and 63.

MS022

Germany, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 340

Anonymous collective volume on Mālikī law

Endowed 849/1445 to Great Mosque of Annaba (Būna), *taḥbīs* on fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 21)

143 fols.; 27 x 21 x 6 cm; textblock: 21 x 14.5 cm; 29 lines

Thick, coarse-grained paper, chain lines 5 cm, 20 laid lines = 33 mm perpendicular to spine; with zigzag (fols. 14–15); ruled: dry-point; in folio; quaternions. Binding from light brown leather (wrapped in paper for protection); flap is broken and missing; leather turn-ins cover blue cloth doublure, which functions as spine lining; sewn on two stations (or 4 with endbands?). Simple cover design: Bordure of geometrical knotwork, central medallion is a circle of knotwork. Title on tail, illegible. Binding and first few leaves in bad condition (wormholes; water damage).

Neat Maghribi script. Brown ink; highlights in bold.

Prov. Endowment to Ḥafṣid institution (*taḥbīs* 21); collation marks; Widmanstetter coll., cf. fol. 1v. Old shelf mark: Cod.or. 56.

Ref.: Aumer, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, 119; Gratzl, *Islamische Bucheinbände*, 7–8

MS023

Germany, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms.or.fol. 62

ʿAbd Allāh b. Hishām al-Anṣarī: *Mughannā al-labīb ʿan kutub al-aʿarīb*

Copied 850/1446 by ʿAfīth b. Aḥmad b. ʿAfīth al-Ghumūdī al-Ḍarbīsī (?), colophon on fol. 95r; endowed 915/1509 to Zaytūna Mosque, Tunis, *taḥbīs* on fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 12)

95 fols. + I + I'; 28 x 22.5 x 3 cm; textblock: 23 x 15.5 cm; 40 lines

Coarse-grained paper with laid lines only, 20 laid lines = 53 mm; quaternions and quinions; pagination in Arabic hand corresponds to original counting (order: 1.2.5.4.3.6; lacuna. 7–19.18b.18a. 10–17. 19–81. 85–90. 82–84. 91–95). Fol. 1 counted as fol. 1B. Later binding, fragile; otherwise in good condition.

Maghribi script. Black ink with highlights in bold or magenta.

Prov.: endowment to Ḥafṣid institution (*taḥbīs* 12). On fol. I many owner marks. Old shelf mark: Ahlwardt 6725, Raue coll.

Ref.: Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, 139–140, no. 6725

MS024

Tunisia, Tunis, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 6959

Ḥasan b. Qāsim al-Murādī: *Sharḥ fiqh Ibn Mālik*

Copied 851/1447 by ʿAbd al-Ghanī ʿAlī al-Būnī, colophon on fol. 212r

212 fols. + I + I'; 26 x 19 x 5.5 cm; textblock: 20 x 13.5 cm; 27 lines

Paper; 20 laid lines = 25 mm; quinions. Restored binding; fragile condition.

Maghribi script; neat for titles. Brownish-black ink; highlights in magenta and blue; beige markers.

Prov.: Colophon (with date) on fol. 212r, mentioning the scribe al-Būnī. Connection to Annaba (Būna)? Various owner marks (fols. 1r–v); no early *taḥbīs*. Old shelf mark: Ahmadiyya 2452

Ref.: *Fihris al-makḥṭūtāt*, Tunis 1976–1985, VII

MS025

Italy, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg.ar. 252

Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Khatīb Lisān al-Dīn al-Ghranāṭī: *Rayḥān al-kuttāb wa-naj'at al-muntāb*; part 3

Endowed 854/1451 to Zaytūna Mosque, Tunis, *taḥbīs* on fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 4)

118 fols. + I + I'; 22 x 16.5 x 2.5 cm; textblock: 15.5 x 9.5 cm; 17 lines

Paper with watermarks (fish?); quaternions and sixtions; ruled: dry-point; in folio; quinions. Binding restored, paper as well; in good condition.

Maghribi script; Andalusī manuscript? Brown ink with highlights in red.

Prov.: Colophon on fol. 118v n.a.; endowment to Ḥaḥṣid institution (*taḥbīs* 4); many marginalia in European hands, not related to text. Collection of cardinal Camillo Massimo (or Massimi), who acquired manuscripts during his apostolic nunciature in Madrid (1654–1658).

Ref.: Levi Della Vida, *Elenco*, 270; Orsatti, “Manuscrit islamique,” 293–294.

MS026 (2 volumes)

1) Switzerland, Geneva, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, MS 537

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī: *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*; part 11

Copied 861/1457 confirmed by colophon

Paper with watermarks; margins ruled; quinions;

Ḥaḥṣid Imperial Style. Stylized Maghribi book hand. Highlights in bold, magenta, and gold. Colophon in same stylized book hand.

Prov.: A note confirms that the manuscript was taken from the mosque in Sfax in 1881, signed A. Wallet; sold in Auction 1947 (Maggs).

Ref.: NMMO 1992–2001, no. 175

2) France, Paris, Ader Auction, Lot 69 (31/05/2013)

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī: *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*; part 14

MS027

Tunisia, Tunis, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 6942

Khalaf b. Abī al-Qāsim al-Barādhī: *Tahdhīb masā'il al-mudawwana wa-l-mukhtaḥaḥ*

Copied 862/1458 by 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Jabālī

210 fols.

Neat Maghribi script. Title in chrysography, Maghribi *thuluth*. Black ink, highlights in red and blue. Title in gold.

MS028

Switzerland, Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Ms. o. 88

Fols. 1–145, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Yaḥya b. al-Qāsim al-Jazīrī: Different law treatises; fols. 155–197, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ya'lā al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī: *al-Durra al-naḥwiyya fī sharḥ al-jurrūmiyya*

Copied 864/1459, colophon on fols. 145

197 fols. + III + III'; 21.5 x 15 x 4 cm; textblock: 16.5 x 11 cm; 25 lines

Paper with watermarks: hand and scissors; in octavo. Pagination (left to right; 266 pp.; disarranged); fols. 61–68 between fols. 80/81. Fols. 120 & 121 added later. Binding: seventeenth-century European parchment. In good condition.

Maghribi script. Blackish ink, highlights in bold.

Prov.: Taken as booty in Mahdia by Roberti, note on fol. 1r; Erpenius coll. (notes fols. III, fol 155); Dutch donation to Geneva.

Ref.: Louca, Schmitt, *Catalogue*, 57; Senebier, *Catalogue*, 26, no. 17

MS029

Italy, Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, III F 66

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī: *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*

129 fols. + III, 28.5 x 21 x 3.5 cm; textblock: 19.5 x 13; 13 lines

Ḥafṣid Imperial Style. Stylized Maghribi book hand. Blackish-brown ink; highlights in bold, magenta.

Prov.: Ḥafṣid copy (?); Padre Angelo Simone (also owned Ḥafṣid manuscript Q026, and another unidentified Maghribi manuscript, BNN, III F 64).

Ref.: Buonazia, *Catalogo*, 209, no. 24

MS030 (4 Volumes)

1) USA, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms.W.580

Abū al-Faḍl 'Iyāḍ b. Mūsā Ibn 'Iyāḍ al-Yaḥṣubi: *Kitāb al-shifā' fī ta'rīf ḥuqūq al-muṣṭafā'*; part 3

Copied 866/1462 by al-Tūnisī

140 fols.; 18.5 x 13 cm; 13 lines

European laid paper. Catchwords on versos of the first five folios of each quire. Reddish-brown goatskin binding with gold-tooled frame and central medallion of geometric design with two pendants. Title on tail. In good condition.

Ḥafṣid Imperial Style. Stylized Maghribi book hand. Highlights in blue, magenta, and chrysography (gold with red and blue shadows, 3D effect); titles in stylized book hand; accompanied by marginal vignette; text markers resembling Qur'an verse markers (three circles in pyramidal shape). Opening page, illuminated carpet page; finispiece (fol. 140r) contains a tailpiece inscribed with a prayer for the Prophet; in same stylized book hand.

Prov.: Ḥafṣid copy (?) by al-Tūnisī; with a seal of Suleiman I (r. 1520–1566), on fol. 3v; Walters Art Museum, 1931, by bequest of Henry Walters (1848–1931). Old shelf mark: 195 or 295, see fol. 1a and tail.

See figures 64, 65, 66, 67 and 74.

2–4) Turkey, Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 757 and Ayasofya 758 and Ayasofya 760

See description above.

Prov.: Seal of Mahmud I (r. 1730–1754) of when he endowed books to the Ayasofya library; second stamp and handwritten note: Aḥmad Sheyzāde, supervisor of the imperial pious foundations (Evkaf-i Haremeyn); cf. fol. 1r.

See figure 75.

MS031

Switzerland, Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Ms. o. 18a

Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. Farḥūn: *Tashīl al-muhimmāt fī sharḥ jāmi' al-'ummahāt*; part 5

Copied 867/1462, colophon on fol. 262r

262 fols. + III + IV; 25 lines

Paper; in quarto; with catchwords. seventeenth-century European parchment binding. Good condition.

Maghribi script; brown ink.

Prov.: Taken as booty in Mahdia by Roberti (fol. 262v); Erpenius coll. (fol. III); Dutch donation to Geneva.

Ref.: Louca, Schmitt, *Catalogue*, 27; Senebier, *Catalogue*, 27, no. 17.2

MS032

Italy, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Orientali 266

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī: *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*

Copied 869/1464, colophon on fol. 125rv

126 fols. + II + I'; 20 x 15 x 4 cm; textblock: 12.5 x 9; 9 lines

Coarse-grained paper; chain lines 4 cm, 20 laid lines = 20 mm; watermark: horseshoe; quinion; in quarto; ruled: dry-point; fol. 126 blank, fol. II original, but not counted. New binding; title on tail still legible. In good condition.

Stylized Maghribi book hand, imitating Ḥafṣid Imperial Style. Highlights in yellow and magenta. Colophon on fol. 125r without further indications, in same stylized script.

Prov.: Tunis "spolia" as noted on fol. Iiv by Ant. Franciscus; Raimondi coll.

Ref.: Assemani, *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, 316 bis–317 bis, CLXVIII

MS033 (3 Volumes)

1) Germany, Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, B. or. 133

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī: *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*; part 20

101 fols. + II + II'; 27 x 20 x 4 cm; textblock: 19 x 12 cm; 13 lines

Copied 871/1466 by 'Ubayd Allāh, colophon on fol. 129v

Paper 1: chain lines 4.3 cm, laid lines 25 mm, castle watermark; Paper 2: chain lines 3.3 cm, 20 laid lines = 22 mm, scissors watermark; ruled: dry-point; in quarto; with catchwords. Brown, European leather binding with the personification of hope (*spes*) in four plate (stamped); doublures made of parchment. In very good condition.

Ḥafṣid Imperial Style. Stylized Maghribi book hand. Highlights in blue, magenta, and chrysography; titles in stylized book hand; accompanied by marginal vignette; text markers resembling Qur'an verse markers (three circles in pyramidal shape). Titles in stylized book hand, colophon in the same script.

Prov.: Colophon with date on fol. 129v–130r; marginal note from al-Qurṭubī in 1470 (875 AH = rumi numerals) on fol. 130r; Acoluthus coll.; former Ratsbibliothek Leipzig. Old shelf mark: CLXXXIII.

Ref.: Delitz, Fleischer, and Naumann, *Catalogus*, 465–466

See figures 68 and 69.

2) Germany, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 113

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī: *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*; part 9

131 fols. + III + II'; 27 x 20 x 4 cm; textblock: 18.5 x 12 cm; 13 lines

Description Writing surface and script see above. Foliation starts with illuminated title page; fols. I–III original paper with script; bound in wrong order; fols I'–II' blank. Binding restored, cover glued to

new leather spine; original sewing on four stations, endbands sewed in as well. Leather turn-ins cover leather doublure. In very good condition; restricted access.

Prov.: On fol. 131r marginal note from al-Qurṭubī in 1470 (875 AH = rumi numerals); Widmanstetter coll., cf. fol. 1r. Old shelf mark: Cod.or. 47.

Ref.: Aumer, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, 23; Gratzl, *Islamische Bucheinbände*, 5–6, 9–10

See table 3.

3) Spain, Granada, Abadía del Sacromonte, MS 10

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī: *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*; part 9

See description above.

Ref.: Asin, “Noticia de los Mss. Árabes,” 265–266; Arias Tores, Espejo Arias, “Addenda a los manuscritos árabes”; Bueno, Benito, Espejo, Garía, Montes, “Study about Colourants”

MS034 (9 Volumes)

1–3) Germany, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 114 and 115 and 116

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī: *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*; parts 22 and 30 (?) and 37

Copied 873/1468 by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sūsī, colophon on fol. 121r of Cod.arab. 116; endowed 899/1493 to Ḥafṣid institution (?), *taḥbīs* on fol. 1r of each volume (*taḥbīs* 17)

116, 11 and 120 fols. + II + II'; 10 x 14.5 x 3.5 cm; 11 lines

Dyed paper (red and yellow); watermarks: hand with closed fingers and 5-pointed star (in quarto), castle (in octavo, see figure 18); margins of textblock ruled. First two folio blank, fol. I sticks to doublure. Last two folios blank. With catchwords. Binding: endband in red and yellow; leather turn-ins cover the doublure. Leather doublure with cut hinges > not sewn to spine. Title not on tail, but on flap; illegible. (Although there is a number on the tail). Cover: hexagonal/knot design: 1.1 x 0.9 cm. In very good condition; restricted access.

Ḥafṣid Imperial Style. Stylized Maghribi book hand. Highlights in blue and magenta. Opening title illuminated in gold frame with marginal vignette; heading in *thuluth* script. Colophon in the same script as main text.

Prov.: Scribe al-Sūsī connection with Sousse in Ifrīqiya (?), colophon 120r of Cod.arab.166; Ḥafṣid (?) endowment deed on fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 17), without location; Widmanstetter coll., fol. 1r of Cod.arab 114 and 115. Old shelf mark: Cod.or. 101, 102 and 103.

Ref.: Aumer, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, 23–24

See figures 70, 71 and 75 and table 3.

4–8) Italy, Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Or 3 to 7

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī: *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*; parts 4.14.18.23.36

Copied 870/1465 by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sūsī, colophon on fol. 108v of Or 5; endowed 899/1493 to Ḥafṣid institution (?), *taḥbīs* on fol. 1r of each volume (*taḥbīs* 17)

Description, see above.

Prov.: Scribe al-Sūsī connection with Sousse in Ifrīqiya (?), colophon 108v of Or 5; Ḥafṣid (?) endowment deed on fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 17), without location; Da Carpi coll. Old shelf marks: α T.7.12 and α S.7.11 and α S.7.12 and α S.7.20 and α S.7.13.

Ref.: Bernheimer, *Catalogo dei manoscritti Orientali*, ix, 63–64, nos. 53–56

9) Germany, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Philipps 1393

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī: *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*; part 6 (?)

The first page is missing, so no endowment and no title page. Binding new. Some water damage: fols. 1–9 and others restored; otherwise in good condition.

See description above.

Prov.: Postel coll.; Collège des Jésuites, Paris; Gerard Meerman (1722–1771); Sir Thomas Phillips (1792–1872). Old shelf marks: Meerman 14; Claromont 20; Stern 1393. Ahlwardt 10242.1.

Ref.: Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, 578, no. 10242/1; Stern, *Meerman-Handschriften*, 1

MS035

Algeria, Bejaia/Kabiliya, Zawiya: Private Library of Shaykh Lmühüb Ulaḫḫīb, TEF ASN16

Abu Miqrā'

Copied 869/1465 in Qafṣa (colophon?)

MS036 (1 Volume and 1 Fragment)

1) France, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 692

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī: *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*; part 13, with lacunae

Endowed 8 x 8/1405–92 to Great Mosque of Annaba (Būna), *taḥbīs* on fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 19)

154 fols. + II + II'; 23.5 x 19.5 x 3 cm; 19 x 12 cm; 13 lines

Paper; some pages dyed yellow; watermarks: scissors (on chain lines 2.8 cm, 20 laid lines = 20 mm) and crescent with pommety cross (in between chain lines 4 cm, 20 laid lines = 18 mm); in folio. With catchwords. Binding restored and new. In good condition.

Ḥaḫṣid Imperial Style. Stylized Maghribi book hand. Highlights in blue and magenta. Opening title and colophon in same script as main text.

Prov.: Colophon on fol. 152v, without further indications; endowment deed to Ḥaḫṣid institution on fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 19). Tunis booty, cf. *ex libris* Wassenaer, fol. 154v; Monastery of Saint Amand (in 1635); Latin note on fol. 1r ("*Alcoranus*") of 1635 crossed out. Old shelf marks: A 246; suppl. 171; Supplément arabe 298.

Ref.: Dandel, "L'enluminure," 533–535.

See figure 4.

2) Netherlands, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Or. 26.729

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī: *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*; part 7

Old. Shelf mark: MS. Juynboll No. 10

Ref.: Witkam, "Juynboll Family Library," 52–54

MS037

France, Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 6026

Prayer book

67 fols. + I + I'; 26 x 22 x 2.5 cm; textblock: 15.5 x 12.5 cm; 9 lines

Paper, chain lines 3.8 cm, 20 laid lines = 18 mm, parallel to spine; watermark: mermaid with two fins in circle, differing distance chain lines 2 cm (cf. Q016 and MS038); with catch words. Pagination on verso. First folio missing; fols. I + I' different paper (watermark: hand with "λP" in folio). Leather binding, restored. Leather turn-ins covers doublure. Full cover design with bordure and same repetitive element in inner field; interestingly flap has corner pieces and central element similar to other Tunisian covers although not derived from this MS itself; gold dot punched. In very good condition.

Maghribi book hand. Black ink. Highlights in gold and magenta; some in green and blue. Imprint of an illumination on fol. 1r still visible; blank space on fol. for illumination? Interesting "catch word" here (star). Paper is late fifteenth century.

Prov.: Tunis "spolia," cf. *ex libris* Crangiac, fol. 69v; Jacques-Antoine Lambert (1770–1850); Bibliothèque du palais des arts (Lyon).

Ref.: Dandel, "L'enluminure," 570–573.

See table 3.

MS038

Algeria, Algiers, Bibliothèque nationale d'Algérie, No. 239

Muḥammad b. Ibrahīm al-Zarkashī: *Bulūgh al-amānī fī sharḥ qaṣīdat al-damāmīnī* (autograph)

Copied 882/1477 by Muḥammad b. Ibrahīm al-Zarkashī for Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān in Tunis

115 fols.; 19 x 13.5 cm; 16 lines

Paper with watermark: Hand with star.

Maghribi book hand. Brown ink; additions in red, blue, and green, highlights in gold.

Ref.: NMMO 1992–2001, no. 351

MS039

Tunisia, Tunis, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 10844

Anon.: *al-Mukhtaṣar fī al-fiqh al-mālīkī*

Copied 886/1481 in the Madrasa al-Shamā'iyya, Tunis, colophon on fol. 245r; endowed 1291/1874 to Aḥmadiyya, Tunis, *taḥbīs* on fol. 1r

245 fols. + I + I'; 27.5 x 23 x 5.5 cm; textblock: 22 x 14 cm; 33 lines

Paper, chain lines 3.8 cm, 20 laid lines = 14 mm, perpendicular to spine; with watermarks: ring with 6-petaled flower; quinions; in folio; ruling: possibly double side lines. With catch words. Title on tail; loose binding; paper restored; in OK condition.

Maghribi round script. Brown ink with highlights in bold or magenta.

Prov.: The Madrasa al-Shamā'iyya in Tunis is mentioned in the colophon on fols. 245r–v; first two folios are glued together, so that original fol. 1r with possible older *taḥbīs* is not visible anymore. Old shelf marks: Aḥmadiyya 2676; also stamps from 'Abdaliyya and Ṣāḍiqiyya Fonds, but without numbers.

Ref.: Chabbouh, *Le manuscrit*, no. 39

MS040

UK, London, British Library, Add MS 9551

Anon.: *Jāmi' masā'il al-aḥkām*

Copied before 887/1482, possibly in Tunis

266 fols. + III + I'; 31.5 x 23 x 5 cm; textblock: 23.5 x 17; 29 lines

Paper with watermarks. Later binding; in good condition.

Hasty, Maghribi script. Brown ink.

Prov.: colophon on fols. 265v–266r. without further indications; collation mark of the year 887/1482 (fols. uncounted) by the mufti of the Zaytūna Mosque.

MS041

Belgium, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS 11.241

al-Maqdīsī: *Kitāb faḍā'il al-'amāl*

181 fols. + I + I'; 29 x 22.5 x 5.5 cm; textblock: 19 x 14; 15 lines

Paper, chain lines 4 cm, 20 laid lines = 18 mm; watermark: anchor (?); ruled: dry-point; in quarto; quaternions, quinions. Binding restored. In very good condition.

Stylized Maghribi book hand. Blackish-brown ink with highlights in bright red, magenta, violet/blue (very thick); title in gold frame, first pages Allāh and Muḥammad in gold.

Prov.: Ḥafṣid copy (?); colophon without indication on fol. 179r; Mons. Collège des Jésuites, cf. note on fol. 1v.

Ref.: Bauwens, *Maktūb biliyad*, 20, no. 39, pl. VII

MS042

Germany, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 633

Ibrahīm b. al-Faraj al-Ṣūlī: *Kitāb akhbār al-Iskandar wa-l-Khiḍr*

176 fols. + I + I'; 28 x 20.5 x 5; textblock: 18 x 13 cm; 20 lines

Paper; chain lines 3.9 cm; 20 laid lines = 18 mm, perpendicular to spine; in folio; watermark: Symmetric mermaid with two fins in circle (cf. Briquet 13887); margins of textblock ruled. With catchwords; European foliation on recto pages; older indication on first and last leave in “wrong order” (on fol 1v it says fol 176 and vice versa; in Widmanstetter’s hand?). Quires not discernible. Binding restored BSB 1973. Cover: Bordure with hexagonal stamp “Motif A” 1.1 x 0.8 cm. Corner pieces with knotwork; so is the central motif within plain circle. On flap: Cross. Slight water damage; otherwise in very good condition.

Stylized Maghribi book hand. Blackish-brown ink with highlights in magenta and blue; title in gold frame and chrysography, first page Muḥammad in gold.

Prov.: Ḥafṣid copy (?); Widmanstetter coll., fol. 1v. Old shelf mark: Cod.or. 48.

Ref.: Aumer, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, 273; Briquet, *Filigranes*, IV, 685

MS043

UK, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl Or 279

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Abū al-Farash b. al-Jawzī: *al-Mudhish*; part 1 of 30

148 fols. + II + XII; 28 x 22.5 x 3 cm; textblock: 17.5 x 14.5 cm; 15 lines

Paper, chain lines 33 mm, 20 laid lines = 28 mm, perpendicular to spine; Watermark: Hand, fingers slightly open, 6-pointed star; between chain lines with broader distance (36 mm); in folio. With catchwords; fol. 148 blank (scribble on verso). Title on tail. Binding restored, very tight. Fols. II and XII later; fols 1 & 2 restored (water damage). In good condition.

Stylized Maghribi book hand. Black ink with highlights in magenta, blue and gold (shadowed in red); title in gold frame and chrysography.

Prov.: Ḥafṣid copy (?).

MS044

Germany, Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Bos. o. 18

Anon.: *Tahlil al-Qurʿān*

90 fols.; 10 x 10.5 x 2 cm; textblock: 6 x 7; 9 lines

Paper, chain lines 4.2 cm, 20 laid lines = 22 mm, parallel to spine; in octavo. Binding of dark leather; leather turn-ins cover the parchment doublure with an uncut hinge; quires sewn on three stations on colorless spine lining; fragments of red and yellow endbands. Bordure, corner pieces, central medallion (unique). Binding fragile.

Maghribi script. Brown ink with highlights in red; yellow for illuminations.

Prov.: From the Tunis booty, see note on fol. 1r; Bose coll.; Jena library bought the Bose collection in 1647. Old shelf marks: no. 22; Bose no. AC II 3 (handwritten list "Catalogus Bibliothecae Bosinae": Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Bos. q. 28).

Ref.: Sobieroj, *Islamische Handschriften: Thüringen*, VOHD 37.5, 70–2, no. 36

MS045

Germany, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Phillipps 1389

Anon.: *Tadhkirat al-Qurṭūba*

178 fols. + I + I; 29 x 22 x 4.5 cm; textblock: 21 x 13 cm; 24 lines

Paper, solid, smooth; fols 1 & 178 colored red. Chain lines 3.5 cm, 20 laid lines = 20 mm; watermark: hand with 6-petaled flower and small circle. Binding restored (Berlin 1930); Original cover pasted on new leather: Border, corner pieces, central medallion (in plain circle) of knotwork, gold dot punching. Flap complements central medallion. Title on tail. Weisweiler uses this MS as example of cover type 18. In good condition.

Maghribi book hand. Blackish-brown ink with highlights in (bright) red and magenta, yellow fol. 2v.

Prov.: Postel coll.; Collège des Jésuites, Paris; Gerard Meerman (1722–1771); Sir Thomas Phillips (1792–1872). Many Arabic owner/reader marks on fols. 1r–2r. Old shelf marks: Meerman 8. Claromont 21. Stern 1389. Ahlwardt 10348.2.

Ref.: Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, 608, no. 10348/2; Stern, *Meerman-Handschriften*, 1; Weisweiler, *Islamische Bucheinband*, 109–110

MS046

Italy, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Orientali 178

ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Murākishī: *al-Rawḍ al-mughṭam fī faṣl ʿazamzam*

Endowed 900/1495 to Zaytūna Mosque, Tunis, *taḥbīs* on fol. 2r (*taḥbīs* 10)

70 fols. + II + II'; 28.5 x 19.5 x 2 cm; textblock: 20 x 13 cm; 11 lines

Paper with chain lines in groups of two; 20 laid lines = 25 mm, very irregular, perpendicular to spine; ruled: dry-point; in folio; quinions. Binding restored, old cover of brown leather is glued on new binding; flap has been lost. Paper restored; in good condition. Fourteenth century (Catalan) paper?

Angular script with Maghribi elements; Ifrīqī script (?). Black ink with highlights in red. (Yellow on fol. 7v)

Prov.: Endowed to Ḥafṣid institution (*taḥbīs* 10). Old shelf mark: Assemani CXIV.

Ref.: Assemani, *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, 163–164

MS047

Italy, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.ar. 249

Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī: *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*; part 4

Endowed 900/1495 to Zaytūna Mosque, Tunis, *taḥbīs* on fol. 1r (*taḥbīs* 7)

188 fols. + I + I'; 28 x 19 x 5.5 cm; textblock: 18 x 11.5 cm; 15 lines

Paper, ruled with blunt tool. Restored binding. Title on tail. Some holes in paper; restored. Very good condition.

Black ink; "*ḥadathnā*" in red ink; titles traced in black and filled with gold leaves. Mamluk manuscript.

Prov.: Copied in Mamluk workshop, endowed to Ḥafṣid institution (*taḥbīs* 7); Tunis "spolia," cf. Riparoli's note on fol. 187v; Postel coll.; Palatine library Heidelberg.

Ref.: Levi Della Vida, *Elenco*, 9; Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche*, 296–298, 318, 334; Jones, "Piracy," 100

MS048

Tunisia, Tunis, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 6363

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Bahādir al-Zarkashī: *Tanqīh alfāz*

Copied 912/1507 by Abū al-Karīm b. ʿAlī al-Ṣuḥūf

199 fols. + I + I'; 29 x 21.5 x 5 cm; textblock: 21 x 15 cm; 27 lines

Paper with irregular laid lines (20 lines = 15 mm); Watermark: Hand with 5-petaled flower; in folio; quinions. Title on tail; restored binding of red leather falls apart, worm-eaten.

Maghribi script. Brown ink; highlights in bold brown, magenta, or red.

Prov.: ʿAbdaliyya coll. Old shelf mark: ʿAbdaliyya 550.

Ref.: Ibn Maḥmūd, *Jāmiʿ al-Zaytūna*

MS049

Italy, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M 21 sup.

Collection of magical and astrological texts

Copied 916/1510 in Tunis by Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Sulaymān b. Musayyab al-Ziyādī, colophon on fol. 127v

128 fols. + II + II'; 15.5 x 11 cm; textblock: 13 x 7.5 cm; 22 lines

Paper, chain lines 2.6–3.5 cm, laid lines 18 mm; watermarks: hand with 5-petaled flower and taurus; in folio. Binding survives in fragments; otherwise in good condition.

Maghribi script with Ifrīqī elements. Brown ink with highlights in red and turquoise.

Prov.: Copied in Ḥafṣid Tunis, colophon on fol. 127v; bought for the Ambrosiana in Alexandria by the Jesuit Antoniotti, cf. fol. 1r (as is MS050 by the same copyist); Ambrosiana Antico Fondo.

Ref.: Löfgren, Traini, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, 80–81, no. 150

MS050

Italy, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 32 sup.

Collections of treatises on Mālikī law

Copied 920/1514 in Tunis by Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Sulaymān b. Musayyab al-Ziyādī, colophon fol. 107r

109 fols.; 15.5 x 8 cm; textblock: 12.5 x 8 cm; 24 lines

Paper with watermarks: hand with 5-petaled flower; in octavo. Simple cut leather binding. In good condition.

Maghribi script with Ifrīqī elements. Black ink with highlights in red.

Prov.: Copied in Ḥafṣid Tunis, colophon fol. 107r; bought for the Ambrosiana in Alexandria by the Jesuit Antoniotti, cf. fol. 1r (as is MS049 by the same copyist); Ambrosiana Antico Fondo. Old shelf mark: Hammer 61.

Ref.: Löfgren and Traini, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, 54, no. 79

MS051

Italy, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, & 100 sup.

fols. 1–26, Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī: *Man' al-mawānī' 'an 'ikmāl jamī' al-jawāmi'*

Copied 888/1483 by 'Abd Allāh b. Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jabbānī (?) al-Tūnisī

162 fols. + I'; 20 x 15 cm; textblock: 16 x 10 cm; 25 lines

Paper with watermarks (hand, fish). Binding very fragile; punctured.

Brown ink with highlights in magenta.

Prov.: Scribe al-Tūnisī with connection to Tunis (?), colophon with date and name of scribe on fol. 26v. Old shelf mark: Hammer 67.

Ref.: Löfgren and Traini, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, no. 210

MS052

Netherlands, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Or. 234

Fols. 1–16, al-Jaghminī: *al-Mulakkhḥaṣ fī al-ḥay'a*; fols. 21–79, 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī: Commentary on this work; fols. 83–138, Mūsā b. Muḥammad al-Rūmī Qāḍī Zāda: Commentary on this work

Copied 935/1529 in Cairo by 'Abd al-Wāḥid Kharūf al-Anṣārī al-Tūnisī

139 fols. + II + II'; 22 x 16 x 2.5; textblock: 14.5 x 11 cm; 25 lines

Paper, chain lines 4 cm, laid lines = 20 mm, parallel to spine; watermarks: hand with initials "BR", simple cuff, on chain lines (distance varies: 2.5 cm); ruled: dry-point; tertions, quaternions, quinions; in 4to. Brown leather binding with flap; cover with blind tooling: lobed central medallion. In very good condition.

Maghribi script. Black ink with highlights orange and bright red (or magenta in part II). Some astronomical illustrations.

Prov.: The scribe Muḥammad b. Abī l-Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid Kharūf al-Anṣārī al-Tūnisī was taken as a slave in the Tunis campaign; he was the Arabic teacher for Nicolas Clenardus (1493–1542) until his release in 1541; colophons on fols. 16r, 19r, 79r. Old shelf mark: Ar. 234.

Ref.: van Koningsveld, "Tunisian Teacher," 3–4; Witkam, *Inventory*, I, 201

MS053

Austria, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. A.F. 167

Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar al-Taftāzānī al-Shāfi': *al-Talwīḥ fī kushif ḥaḳā'iq al-tanqīḥ*

Copied by 'Abd al-Wāḥid Kharūf al-Anṣārī al-Tūnisī, colophon on fol. 268r

272 fols. + I; 18 x 22.5 x 5 cm; textblock: 16 x 11 cm; 26 lines

Different papers; in octavo. Pagination in Arabic hand lower left corner recto; fols. 269–272. empty. Binding restored. In good condition. Golden medallions are glued to the manuscript.

Maghribi script. Black ink with highlights in red.

Prov.: On the scribe see above.

Ref.: Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften*, 196–197, III, no. 1775

MS054

Austria, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. A.F. 168a

'Ubayd Allāh b. Mas'ūd al-Maḥbūbī al-Bukhārī: *al-Tawḍīḥ fī ḥall ghawāmiḍ al-tanqīḥ*

Copied 938/1532 by 'Abd al-Wāḥid Kharūf al-Anṣārī al-Tūnisī, colophon on fol. 138r

139 fols.; 22 x 16 x 3 cm; textblock: 16 x 11 cm; 25 lines

Paper with watermark (hand?); ruled: dry-point; octavo. With catchwords (lacuna after fol. 137r). Restored binding. In good condition.

Maghribi script. Black ink with highlights in magenta.

Prov.: On the scribe see above. Old shelf mark: Flügel 349.

Ref.: Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften*, 195–196, III, no. 1774

MS055

Austria, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. A.F. 168b

Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar al-Taftāzānī al-Shāfi': *Sharḥ al-'aqa'id*

Copied 938/1532 by 'Abd al-Wāḥid Kharūf al-Anṣārī al-Tūnisī, colophon on fol. 37v

37 fols.; 22 x 16.5 x 2 cm; textblock: 16 x 10 cm; 25 lines

Yellowish paper, with watermarks: hand; in quarto. Binding restored. In good condition.

Maghribi script. Black ink with highlights in red.

Prov.: On the scribe see above. Old shelf mark: Flügel 349.

Ref.: Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften*, 92–93, II, no. 1657

MS056

Austria, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. A.F. 168c

Mullā Aḥmad b. Mūsā Khayālī: *Ḥāshiyā* (Glossary to Taftāzānī's commentary)

Copied 938/1532 by 'Abd al-Wāḥid Kharūf al-Anṣārī al-Tūnisī, colophon on fol. 27r

27 fols.; 22 x 16.5 x 2 cm; textblock: 16 x 10 cm; 25 lines

Different sorts of paper, different qualities; watermarks: hand. Binding restored. In good condition.

Maghribi script. Black ink with highlights in red.

Prov.: On the scribe see above. Old shelf mark: Flügel 349.

Ref.: Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften*, 94, III, no. 1659

MS057

Austria, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. A.F. 168d

Imām 'Umar b. 'Ubayd al-Masīlī: *Risāla*

Copied 938/1532 by 'Abd al-Wāḥid Kharūf al-Anṣārī al-Tūnisī, colophon on fol. 13v

13 fols.; 22 x 16 x 1 cm; textblock: 17 x 10.5 cm; 27 lines

Paper with watermark (hand?); 20 laid lines 21 mm; in octavo. Binding restored. In good condition.

Maghribi script. Black ink with highlights in magenta.

Prov.: On the scribe see above. Old shelf mark: Flügel 349.

Ref.: Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften*, 612, II, no. 1538

MS058

Sweden, Uppsala, Kungliga biblioteket, Cod. Sparmenf 36

Copied by 'Abd al-Wāḥid Kharūf al-Anṣārī al-Tūnisī

Prov.: On the scribe see above. Old shelf mark: Flügel 349.

Ref.: van Koningsveld, "Tunisian Teacher," 4

MS059

France, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 2278

ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sharafī al-Ṣifāqṣī: Portolan, nautical charts of the Mediterranean Sea

Copied 958/1551 by ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sharafī al-Ṣifāqṣī

8 fols.; 25 x 20 cm

Cardboard (?).

Maghribi script. Color palette: magenta, dark blue, green. Nautical charts, flags with Berber elements.

Prov.: The cartographer al-Ṣifāqṣī was active in Sfax, Ifrīqiya. Old shelf mark: Ancien fonds arabe 847

Ref.: Chapoutot-Remadi, "Les Charfi," 84ff; De Castro Léon and Tiburcio, "Alī al-Sharafī's 1551 Atlas"

MS060

UK, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Marsh 249

ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sharafī al-Ṣafāqṣī: Portolan, nautical charts of the Mediterranean Sea

Copied 977/1570 by ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sharafī al-Ṣifāqṣī, colophon on fol. 13r

16 fols. Maghribi script. Possibly together with a manuscript in the BnT (MS 8481)?

Prov.: The cartographer al-Ṣifāqṣī was active in Sfax, Ifrīqiya.

Ref.: De Castro Léon and Tiburcio, "Alī al-Sharafī's 1551 Atlas"

MS061

France, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Dept. des cartes

ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sharafī al-Ṣafāqṣī: World Map

Copied 1579 by ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sharafī al-Ṣifāqṣī

1 fol. Parchment sheet.

Prov.: The cartographer al-Ṣifāqṣī was active in Sfax, Ifrīqiya; currently held at the National Library of Italy, Rome?

Ref.: De Castro Léon and Tiburcio, "Alī al-Sharafī's 1551 Atlas"

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