

DE GRUYTER

# PERSONAL MANUSCRIPTS: COPYING, DRAFTING, TAKING NOTES

*Edited by David Durand-Guédy  
and Jürgen Paul*

STUDIES IN  
MANUSCRIPT CULTURES

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## **Personal Manuscripts: Copying, Drafting, Taking Notes**

# **Studies in Manuscript Cultures**



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## **Volume 30**

# **Personal Manuscripts: Copying, Drafting, Taking Notes**



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The publication of this volume was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – EXC 2176 'Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures' – project no. 390893796.

ISBN 978-3-11-103408-9

e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-103719-6

e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-103721-9

ISSN 2365-9696

DOI <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111037196>



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**Library of Congress Control Number: 2023931788**

**Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek**

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

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Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

[www.degruyter.com](http://www.degruyter.com)

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David Durand-Guédy, Jürgen Paul  
**Introduction**

## **1 Preliminary remarks**

Some manuscripts are produced only for the personal use of their scribes. Some of them are ephemeral and discarded, others are valued as autographs. These manuscripts are not written for a patron, commissioner or customer. They are copies, anthologies, florilegia, notes, excerpts, drafts and notebooks, but also family books, accountancy notebooks and many others, and mixed forms of all of these.

These types are defined in current scholarship predominantly according to the contents of the manuscripts, and most of the types are characterized by mixed content; the degree of heterogeneity, thus, is often a criterion. Content is also an issue in the contributions to this volume. But beyond that, it opens up a new perspective in that the material aspects are central. In so doing, it combines approaches from literary studies with codicology, adopting a cross-disciplinary perspective.

Manuscripts written for personal use appear in probably every manuscript culture. This volume offers a number of case studies from very different areas and periods, from Japan to Western Europe, with a focus on the Near and Middle East, and from Babylonian to modern times. Therefore, it is also a contribution to cross-cultural comparison.

A manuscript written for personal use is defined by the identity of the scribe and user. The task is not undertaken by order of someone else, it is not done for the market or to produce an object which is later to be donated to a patron, the writing is not commissioned and the scribe does not get paid. Therefore, the reasons for undertaking the task must be seen as a personal interest or commitment to produce the manuscript.

Manuscripts produced in this way were not meant for display but for a specific use, in producing one's own works in teaching or learning, for going about one's business, for instance, in legal matters, or as collectibles.

Manuscripts produced by writing for oneself are not necessarily autographs, i.e. an artefact written entirely or partly by the author of the text (or the music noted down in it).<sup>1</sup>

Both scribe and user are, at first, thought to be individuals, but there can be cases where a small group of people appears as either scribes or users or both, and, thus, there can be a communal side to both production and use. Even in such cases, however, the use is restricted to a well-defined group of people (such as the family or part of the family). Moreover, ‘personal use’ does not exclude the manuscript being used by other people apart from the scribe, particularly after the scribe’s death. This results in a ‘public face’ of such manuscripts.

Manuscripts written for personal use form a large part of the entire manuscript production. However, we cannot say yet in what proportion, as the question has been asked only regarding some specific manuscript cultures. Thus, it is thought that a majority of manuscripts written in the vernacular in fourteenth-century Italy were probably written for personal use.<sup>2</sup> A similar statement has been made for Middle English.<sup>3</sup> Adam Gacek writes concerning Arabic manuscripts that ‘[p]rimarily, and in the majority of cases, manuscripts were copied for private use’.<sup>4</sup> François Déroche points to the same situation, and adds:

The final appearance of a manuscript thus might differ greatly depending on circumstances: since a hand is rarely unintelligible to the writer himself, copying for oneself is quite different from working for another party, a task requiring a higher standard of legibility. External features, such as the way a script is laid out and the page composed, can convey additional data in this regard, although these too should be treated with caution.<sup>5</sup>

Déroche hints here at the possibility of certain features being different when copying for oneself, and admonishes scholars, and cataloguers in particular, to look at individual cases. It should be noted that both Gacek and Déroche speak

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**1** This use of the term ‘autograph’ for a manuscript written in the poet’s own hand is comparatively young and dates only to around 1800 in Western Europe (Benne and Spoerhase 2018, 136). The term ‘holograph’ refers to manuscripts written entirely by the author of the text. For a discussion of ‘autograph’ and ‘holograph’ writings in the Near and Middle East, see Bauden and Franssen 2020.

**2** Petrucci 1995, 187.

**3** Pearsall 2005, 26.

**4** Gacek 2012, s.v. ‘Patronage’ (p. 197). See also Sobieroj this volume. According to the definition adopted by the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, a manuscript is a material object, and therefore it is ‘produced’ (not ‘copied’ as Gacek wrote).

**5** Déroche 2000, 202; Déroche 2005, 189.

about copied texts; the contributions in this volume go far beyond that and also include excerpts, drafts and notebooks, in addition to copies.

Déroche and Gacek are dealing with manuscript cultures using the Arabic script. It must be presumed in many other manuscript cultures that manuscripts written for personal use were not usually preserved but discarded or lost. However, this issue awaits further study, and all we can say today is that manuscripts written for personal use exist in large quantities, at least, in some areas and periods.

Research has, up to now, concentrated on Western European examples. Famous notebooks, such as the ones written by Leonardo da Vinci, Isaac Newton, Paul Valéry, Ludwig Wittgenstein and other luminaries of European culture, have been studied in some detail. Studies from other cultural areas have covered less ground, focusing on the occasional outstanding artefact, such as Sei Shōnagon's *Pillow Book* from eleventh-century Japan.<sup>6</sup>

A second characteristic of the existing scholarship is that it has mostly been informed by literary history. That is to say that the focus of researchers has been on the text, the content of what was written. This is, of course, a legitimate perspective, and texts and transmitted materials will be also discussed in this volume.

The ambition of this volume is to go beyond that. This ambition is twofold: firstly, by introducing the artefact itself, particularly its material aspects, as a central concern to the study of manuscripts written for personal use. Secondly, by focusing on non-Western manuscript cultures, in order to allow a more comparative perspective (seven out of fifteen contributions concern the Islamic Near and Middle East, another one ancient Mesopotamia, one a Hebrew manuscript from Egypt and one deals with Japan).

We have to start from the written artefact itself because this is frequently all we have to begin with. We must look for traces of the process of production and the post-production paratextual and other entries in the artefact, such as colophons, readers and owners' notes, later additions, and traces left on the body of the written artefact, for example, loss of pages, binding of one codicological unit together with others or continued additions to the writing. We also have to note the sizes, qualities and styles of paper or generally the writing supports, inks and binding. The visual organization of the artefact is also an important point: details of the *mise-en-page*, techniques of correction, marginal notes,

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<sup>6</sup> Haarkötter 2021 is a particularly ambitious monograph on notebooks; it discusses a large number of examples from many periods, but all from Western Europe or the Ancient Mediterranean. For the *Pillow Book*, cf. Ivanova 2018 and Sei Shōnagon (Stein) 2015.

justification of margins, writing directions, decoration and so forth can all be different in manuscripts written for personal use. In these respects, manuscripts written for personal use may be the opposite of those produced for display.

Even if, at the end, no particular material aspects could be identified in artefacts that would make it possible to address a group of manuscripts as having been written for personal use, the question is central to the volume. All contributions work towards an analysis of the artefact itself in consonance with hypotheses about who produced it, who used it and for what purpose.

This implies a number of methodological difficulties. The first is evident: producers and users of the artefact have to be identified, at least, to a reasonable degree of certitude. This sometimes makes one go deeply into questions of codicology and palaeography, and it is necessary to look around for whatever sources there may be outside of the written artefact under study.

A certain sloppiness is sometimes evoked (see Déroche's quotation above) among the differences characterizing certain manuscripts produced for the writer's own use. Regarding Mamluk Egypt, Élise Franssen and Frédéric Bauden have differentiated between manuscripts 'penned to be sold' and those made for the personal use of the writer, and they quote many of the features also discussed in the contributions to this volume.<sup>7</sup> Exemplarily, margins are not kept well; the writing sometimes comes so close to the edges of the writing support that there are hardly any margins left. Ruling and pricking (in cultures where such techniques are standard) are disregarded. The central block of text is not regularly justified (right or left depending on the writing direction of the script used). There is less use of colours, and decoration is generally either absent altogether or much less prominent than in books made on commission. Inks and papers can vary as can formats, and we sometimes see a reuse of the writing support, such as scrap paper, parchment or clay. The handwriting can be very idiosyncratic, but in order to pass a judgment as to its legibility, one needs to consider the standards of the region where and moment when the artefact originated: perhaps it is illegible to us but was perfectly legible to readers the producers may have had in mind, back then and over there.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Franssen and Bauden 2020, 4: a 'manuscript penned to be sold was usually more nicely copied, with a steady handwriting, careful *mise en page*, regular margins, on even and good quality paper, and with the use of text dividers and rubrication when necessary. By contrast, if the manuscript was intended for the personal use of the writer/scholar, the result might be much more messy and hardly legible, the support might be reused paper, the lines of the writing may go in different directions, with hardly any margin delimited [...]'.  
<sup>8</sup> Hirschler 2020, 45 and 49–50, discusses a very 'untidy' manuscript, but underlines that 'illegible' handwriting might just be a different writing style, in this case, a 'notarial' hand,

The question of sloppiness is discussed in many contributions to this volume, and authors often observe that such features are indeed present in the manuscripts they study, and that they are indicative of their having been written for the scribe's own use (Frédéric Bauden, Mohammad Karimi Zanjani Asl, Jürgen Paul, Florian Sobieroj, Nazlı Vatanserver, all in this volume).

However, it is clear that such traces of sloppiness are not a general feature of writing for personal use. We are not only dealing with individual exceptions from what might be a rule, such as professionals (scribes) who kept their habits even when they were writing for themselves (David Durand-Guédy, Elise Franssen in this volume; this specification is no longer given henceforth). The writing sometimes seems a bit careless but is still very legible (Horikawa Yasufumi, Ilona Steimann). Notebooks and excerpt books written in an environment where the printed book dominated may imitate these books even in their material details (Elisabeth Décultot). Writers worked very carefully in the family books, one of the groups of manuscripts discussed in this volume (Mélanie Dubois-Morestin). Moreover, what appears to modern (Western) readers and scholars as sloppiness may have been understood as a sign of immediacy, straightforwardness or an honest expression of one's feelings in different manuscript cultures.<sup>9</sup>

Thus, even though writing for personal use sometimes led to degrees of sloppiness unthinkable in other contexts, this is not a general feature of such artefacts, and thus, a seemingly disorganized appearance may give a clue that this particular artefact was written for the scribe's own use, but this cannot be firmly concluded from the outward appearance alone: we might say that 'untidy' manuscripts were probably written for personal use but, on the other hand, many 'tidy' (or 'regular') manuscripts were too.

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which would be perfectly normal in legal documents but a bit out of its place in scholarly books.

<sup>9</sup> For the Chinese 'art of writing' in this context, see Egan 1989 and McNair 1998.



## 2 A double perspective: literary studies and codicology

### 2.1 Manuscripts with mixed contents – for personal use

In this section, we discuss a number of terms regarding manuscripts written for personal use. Many of them come from modern scholarship, but terms used by the scribes and users of the manuscripts themselves are also discussed. These terms come from different cultural contexts and languages, and, in order to make cross-cultural comparison possible, we think it worthwhile to start with a short discussion. In addition, it is important to think about the materiality of the written artefact as one possible additional marker for identifying manuscripts written for personal use. This is why we discuss terms from both literary studies and codicology. We start with terms from literary studies which define manuscripts mostly by their content.

The following general terms are current for manuscripts with mixed contents which could have been written for personal use. We enumerate them first in alphabetical order: anthologies, *biji* (Chinese), commonplace books, florilegia, *ḡung* (Persian, *cönk* in Ottoman and Republican Turkish), *Hausbücher* (German), *hypomnemata* (Greek), *safīna* (Arabic, Persian), scrapbooks, *taḍkira* (Arabic, Persian), *zibaldone* (Italian) and *zuihitsu* (Japanese, derived from Chinese *suibi*). Regarding many of these terms, only some of the manuscripts were produced for personal use, as will be stated below.

#### 2.1.1 Modern categorization

Attempts at structuring these terms have been based on the degree of heterogeneity, planning and order discernible in them, together with the time factor, i.e. whether they were produced in a single operation or over a longer period of time in several stages.

‘Miscellany’ is sometimes used as a catch-all term, but from time to time it has a more specific meaning. The same seems to hold true for the Arabic *maḡmū‘a* (‘collectanea’) and its derivatives.<sup>10</sup> The term ‘miscellanies’ has been

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<sup>10</sup> Whereas *maḡmū‘a* seems to generally refer to all kinds of multiple-text manuscripts (and composite manuscripts as well), there is a special discussion in Turkey, coming from earlier uses in the Ottoman period. In Turkey, the term *mecmua* comes closer to the ‘extended person-

discussed before, and indeed ‘miscellaneity’ is a major subject in both literary and manuscript studies. Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke have retraced much of the discussion, and there is no need to repeat it here.<sup>11</sup> Their result was that the term ‘miscellany’ was banned from the volume introduced by their programmatic article, and for good reasons: the term is overly ambiguous, and it is particularly unclear whether the contents are ‘mixed’ or if miscellaneity is a quality of the manuscript artefact as a material object. This ambiguity is a central feature of the term since its first uses (in England, at least) in the sixteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

Starting from the material artefact itself, it appears that many of the compilations studied in this volume are composite or multiple-text manuscripts. A look at the general codicological debate seems in order to arrive at a better understanding of the material studied. The results will be subsequently contrasted to corresponding discussions in literary studies.

Composite manuscripts result from binding together previously independent codicological units into one volume. The definition for multiple-text manuscripts initially seems simple, but we shall see that there are complications. A multiple-text manuscript is ‘a codicological unit “worked in a single operation” (Gumbert) with two or more texts or “production units” resulting from one production process delimited in time and space (Andrist, Canart, Maniaci)’.<sup>13</sup> A ‘codicological unit’, following J. Peter Gumbert, is made up from a discrete number of quires, worked in a single operation and contains a complete text or set of texts.<sup>14</sup> For our purposes, it is important to add Gumbert’s extended definition: the codicological unit is worked in a single operation unless it is *disturbed*. If it is disturbed, it can *become smaller*, either by loss or severing parts of it so that a ‘trunk’ remains; conversely, it can *grow*, by the addition of a new layer

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al manuscript compilation’, and Vatansever (this volume) uses it accordingly. See Köprülü 1976, 282, n. 54: ‘Earlier, everyone who had only a little literary taste, from whatever social class they came, had their *mecmûa* or *cönk* manuscripts’ (Translation Leiser 2006, 298). The state of the discussion in Turkey is represented in Uzun 2003. For the term *mağmû’a*, also see Hirschler 2020, 117–121. The latter discusses composite manuscripts which were thus called by their compiler. And see, in particular, his remarks on cataloguing such manuscripts, Hirschler 2020, 119–120.

11 Friedrich and Schwarke 2016.

12 Eckhardt and Smith 2014.

13 Friedrich and Schwarke 2016, 15–16 (with references to Gumbert 2004 and to Andrist, Canart and Maniaci 2013). Production units (*unités de production*) are discussed in Andrist, Canart and Maniaci 2013, 59–60.

14 Gumbert 2004, 25.

(which results in an ‘enriched unit’), a guest text (also an ‘enriched unit’), an infix, usually an element mechanically added into the manuscript through sewing, gluing and so forth (an ‘enlarged unit’), and, finally, an accretion, the adding of new elements into the same manuscript (an ‘extended unit’).<sup>15</sup>

Considering writing for personal use, the most frequent case is probably the last one: continuous accretion through continued writing into the same volume. Writing does not proceed in a single operation but in several stages; we, thus, have ‘books where one person, or a group of persons, keeps adding pieces behind or between the existing text(s) during a prolonged period’.<sup>16</sup> Gumbert refers to the Italian *zibaldone* (see below 2.1.2) as an example of such a type of artefact.<sup>17</sup>

Production and use come into the picture for Gumbert only if their traces are materially extant in or on the object. This is slightly different with the formula used by Alessandro Bausi, Michael Friedrich and Marilena Maniaci in a later publication: multiple-text manuscripts are ‘made up of more than one text and have been planned and realized for a single project with one consistent intention’.<sup>18</sup> It is the plan and the consistent intention which make the difference here; in the passage just quoted, Gumbert only speaks of ‘one production process delimited in time and space’ and does not say anything about plans and intentions. These have to be reconstructed, though, from the traces we have on the written artefact or else from contextual sources.

We now turn again to the state-of-the-art in literary studies. There, it seems to be the degree of planning and consistency of intention that has been used for grouping the numerous terms for the compilations listed above. Derek Pearsall has suggested a fourfold gradation of such manuscripts according to the degree of planning present in them: the most distinctly planned ones would be anthologies into which writers compile a collection of entire texts or fragments according to a preconceived plan.<sup>19</sup> Such anthologies – if executed accordingly –

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<sup>15</sup> Gumbert 2004, 33.

<sup>16</sup> Gumbert 2004, 31.

<sup>17</sup> Many other types of manuscript compilations could have been quoted at this point; the *zibaldone* is not a unique phenomenon. It is perhaps a nod towards the Italian hosts of the conference that Gumbert mentions the *zibaldone* (the article goes back to a conference held at Cassino in 2003).

<sup>18</sup> Bausi, Friedrich and Maniaci 2019, 1.

<sup>19</sup> Florilegia can be distinguished from anthologies even if the terms strictly speaking both mean the same, a gathering of flowers. A florilegium would then be a collection of shorter quotes from a given set of literary sources, whereas the anthology would also include longer excerpts or even entire texts. Hamesse 2015.

would qualify as ‘undisturbed codicological units’ *à la* Gumbert and, therefore, as normal multiple-text manuscripts. The last one, the most disordered and least planned where a consistent intention cannot be detected, would be a notebook, a

collection not just of tastes and interests that the compiler might share with others of his class or training [...] but also of things that could be of interest only to himself – records of his life, family records, lists of rents, copies of legal documents, information relevant to his job [...]. In other words, no readers or users are in the compiler’s mind apart from himself.<sup>20</sup>

These compilations would, therefore, have been written for personal use in the strictest sense, with only one person both producing and using them. It is regrettable that Pearsall calls this ‘extended personal manuscript compilation’ (an ‘extended codicological unit’ in Gumbert’s parlance) a ‘commonplace book’, adding to a confusion which has developed and still prevails around this term in English literary studies.<sup>21</sup> But it is interesting to note that this degree of diversity is seen as typical for manuscripts written for personal use, and that the personal entries set this type apart, in Pearsall’s suggestion, from the other types of more or less unplanned manuscripts. We shall come back to the question of plans and intentions later (section 3.3).

The term ‘extended personal manuscript compilation’ instead of ‘commonplace books’ for such manuscripts was coined by Carol M. Meale:

The extended personal manuscript compilation was a late-flowering medieval phenomenon. Compiled by their owners, such manuscripts were made possible by a growth in lit-

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**20** Pearsall 2005, 24. A discussion of Pearsall’s suggestions is to be found in Taylor 2015, 149–151.

**21** In our view, the term ‘commonplace book’ should be reserved for ‘collection[s] of quotations culled from various authoritative sources and organized under a series of topical headings’ (Hooks 2012, 206; see also Franssen this volume). The term is often used quite differently when it comes to medieval English manuscripts. This has led scholars of other cultural areas to call extended personal manuscript compilations ‘commonplace books’ even if they are far from being a collection of short sayings under topical headings. For the (in our view misleading) use of the term for Arabic notebooks, for example, Liebrecht and Richardson 1442 AH / 2021 CE and Richardson 2020, the manuscripts they discuss appear to be notebooks, not commonplace books in the sense just quoted.

eracy among the middle class, coupled with a rise in the desire for recreational, informative and religious reading matter to be combined in one handy volume at minimal cost.<sup>22</sup>

In another publication, she writes:

Personal compilations, although they may include, indeed may have been formed around, a nucleus of professionally-copied text or texts, are essentially accretive in their structure: they evolved gradually, as their compilers gained access to various kinds of texts, literary or otherwise, or developed new interests.<sup>23</sup>

Both approaches, the codicological one represented by Gumbert, and the literary one represented by Meale, Pearsall and others, stress that the manuscripts can include large and very large numbers of the most diverse entries, the writing of such manuscripts takes place over an extended period of time and, therefore, no plan can be assumed to be behind the compiling activity, and no consistent intention can be postulated beyond the very vague one of compiling such a book. Translating her statement into codicological terminology (which she herself does not use), thus, Meale speaks of extended codicological units, either multiple-text manuscripts or composites if they have been bound together with other units, such as could be the case with manuscripts ‘formed around a nucleus of professionally-copied text or texts’. She also stresses the accretive nature of such manuscripts, quite in line with Gumbert’s definition of the ‘extended unit’. Writing such manuscripts was an open-ended matter.

### 2.1.2 About some vernacular terms

As mentioned above, Gumbert refers to the Italian *zibaldone* as an example of ‘books where one person, or a group of persons, keeps adding pieces behind or between the existing text(s) during a prolonged period’.<sup>24</sup> Armando Petrucci puts this particular type of manuscript book at an early stage of writing *volgare* in Italy in the fourteenth century: the *zibaldone* was a ‘hodgepodge book’, *zibaldoni* were

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<sup>22</sup> Meale 2009, 65. We should keep in mind that one does not compile manuscripts, but texts (into a manuscript), and that a text compilation could be any subtype of multiple-text manuscripts along the lines discussed above. Some of the compilations which Meale seems to have in mind could indeed be one-volume libraries.

<sup>23</sup> Meale 2015, 158.

<sup>24</sup> Gumbert 2004, 31.

always paper codices of small or medium format, lacking lining or any real ornamentation beyond simple pen designs, written in cursive [...], and containing an astonishing variety of poetic and prose texts, including devotional, technical, and documentary texts, which were juxtaposed apparently without any specific criteria.<sup>25</sup>

This description (which combines a statement about the heterogeneity of contents with observations on the material artefacts) fits in well with what many authors in this volume observe in the manuscripts they study and what has been stated in a general way about writing for personal use. It was only centuries later that the term *zibaldone* was nobilitated by Giacomo Leopardi in his *Zibaldone di pensieri*: the ‘hodgepodge book’, the extended personal manuscript compilation, turned into a notebook of a more intellectual kind, with ideas, fragments of longer texts, drafts, aphorisms and so on, an authorial undertaking of awe-inspiring dimensions. Such notebooks have retained the attention of literary scholars in Western Europe and elsewhere.<sup>26</sup> The notebook can turn into a literary genre of its own: Chinese *biji* have been such for many centuries.

Notebooks of the *zibaldone* type are an old phenomenon not only in China. The Greek term *hypomnema* (pl. *hypomnemata*) is polyvalent, and only one of the various meanings comes close to ‘notebook’. It can mean a compilation of excerpts on a given question or subject, but there is also the example of such a book described by Photios (d. 893), himself an avid reader of ancient books which he excerpted: Pamphila, a lady who lived in Egypt in the first century CE, noted down what she had learned from her husband, heard from his visitors and read in many books, and this in a mixed format, without headings and order, just as she chanced upon the material.<sup>27</sup>

The examples could be multiplied. Chinese *biji* simply means ‘notes taken with a brush’, and notes were taken probably already in antiquity. *Biji* appears first as a title for the collection attributed to Song Qi (eleventh century). This collection includes notes on not only linguistics, philology, history and cultural history, but also on good government and moral judgment as well as aphorisms

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<sup>25</sup> Petrucci 1995, 187. Petrucci links the rise of the *zibaldone* to the writing habits of the urban middle class with its focus on register and account books. Petrucci and Meale, therefore, both have this class in mind when they describe the rise of extended personal manuscript compilations. Registering and accounting are also important in some Arabic notebooks, such as the one discussed in El-Leithy 2011 and Wollina 2013.

<sup>26</sup> See Haarkötter’s discussions, Haarkötter 2021. Many more examples could be mentioned, such as Paul Valéry’s notebooks or those written by Charles Darwin.

<sup>27</sup> Eichele 1998, col. 124.

and autobiographical remarks.<sup>28</sup> The mixed nature of the *biji* is often underlined, and attempts at fitting them into the taxonomy of genres seem to have yielded no conclusive result so far. Writing *biji* has been very popular until today, though, and these writings oscillate between writing for personal use and with a wider audience in mind. Many of these collections could be extended personal compilations, and the artefacts holding them extended codicological units. The Japanese *zuihitsu*, derived from Chinese models (and written frequently in Chinese in the earlier periods), is a similar form of writing. In both cases, it is open to question to which degree the claimed spontaneity and lack of planning was real or corresponds to a literary convention.

Other manuscripts with mixed contents have been characterized by their heterogeneity in a very similar way. Thus, French *livres de raison* have been defined by three main characteristics: they are heterogeneous, mixing accountancy elements with lists, recipes, prayers, drafts; a family tree is often included, and we find infixes (loose sheets of paper added); they include personal matters; and professional elements take a prominent place, not only accountancy matters, but all kinds of entries related to work life.<sup>29</sup> This could also be used as a definition for a certain type of *Hausbuch*: these manuscripts have a lot of poetry, indeed, they can be centred around longer poetical texts (in this respect, quite like many contemporary English compilations), but they also have lists, recipes, personal matter and texts related to work life. Moreover, the books of this type that emanate from middle- and lower middle-class contexts often are very simple in their layout.<sup>30</sup>

## 2.2 Textual and paratextual features

### 2.2.1 Copies

Copies are distinct from excerpts: excerpts summarise the content of a text, copies render it faithfully; excerpts may only concern a shorter part of a text, copies are made from entire texts or at least larger parts. Some of the articles present manuscripts which are copies in this sense; many more include copies, longer pieces which were copied from exemplars, alongside other material.

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<sup>28</sup> Alimov 2009; Egan 2010, 453–460. We owe these references and additional information to Michael Friedrich.

<sup>29</sup> Tricard 2002. See Dubois-Morestin in this volume.

<sup>30</sup> Meyer 1989. For an overview of *Hausbücher*, see Studt 2004.

Indeed, a very large part of all manuscripts produced in all manuscript cultures may have been copied by people who wanted or needed the copied texts, even if only a part of these manuscripts has survived.

Copies were made for personal use in different spheres. In this volume, Patrick Sängér discusses copies which legal experts in Egypt under the Severian emperors made for their own use in writing petitions. Steimann has examples of copies made by German monks in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for studying – yet, in her case, the copyists did not simply copy, but they deflected the Hebrew texts from the Jewish background to fit a Christian one, and in this way, they were not only copyists but also creative writers. Szilvia Sövegjártó theorises that the Babylonian scribes who wrote the tablets she discusses also wanted to make copies from royal inscriptions in order to emulate them or just to have them as monumental examples. Philippe Depreux depicts a Carolingian scribe who was both creating new elements and copying known ones.

Copying for personal use is a means of appropriating the copied text, to make it fit one's own purposes, in legal matters or learning and teaching or just in order to have it, as collectible or otherwise. Such an appropriation may imply introducing changes in the text, arrangement or visual organization in the copy compared to the exemplar from which the copy was taken.

The question of how and where exemplars were available for copying is answered in some of the contributions: Sängér shows that the papyrus he discusses was copied from a 'public' version; Sövegjártó thinks that the copyists could have seen the royal inscriptions they copied *in situ*; the Iranian scribe of the manuscript studied by Durand-Guédy obviously found the books he copied in the madrasas and other learning institutions he stayed in during his travels; Steimann discusses the provenance of the exemplars at length. But copying may also have been haphazard, following the sometimes very random availability of exemplars (Sobieroj).

Bauden discusses the transition from copying to more active ways of engaging with a text (e.g. excerpting, making selections, lists and indexes), and indeed the line is sometimes hard to draw (see also Depreux). The excerpt books discussed by Décultot also have a fair share of copies in them. We find copied texts, and sometimes these copies are very faithful, even in extended personal manuscript compilations (Franssen, Durand-Guédy).

Some copies were also made to serve as models. Models are at times not only textual, but can also concern, for example, the visual organization, arrangement or kind of writing. Sövegjártó, for instance, observes that some copies of royal inscriptions imitate on the tablet the visual organization these inscriptions had on the wall or statue. A model for a letter to a royal person not only gives



the ideal textual versions of greeting and so forth, but can also be a model of the handwriting to be used in such cases (Paul). The style of quoting the name of the Mongol ruler is imitated in a letter copied in Hindūšāh Naḡgawānī's (d. before 1327) compilation: the name appears in the margin just like it would in the original letter (Durand-Guédy). In legal contexts, models could be copied for later use in the practice of juriconsults and other practitioners (Sānger).

Depreux discusses *formulae*, i.e. models for legal (and other) documents which could be compiled into special volumes, but also entered as stand-alone texts into volumes with quite a different focus. Not much can be said so far about their ulterior use. Depreux theorises that the writers worked for themselves in these cases – perhaps they intended to create their own collections of *formulae* later.

### 2.2.2 Excerpts and drafts

Making excerpts for personal use is a regular activity of, for example, scholars and men of letters. Excerpts could fill many volumes, and excerpt books could be the pride of their owner (Décultot). Writers of excerpt books could also be renowned for having them, and from time to time these books circulated after the owner's death and perhaps even earlier (Bauden, Franssen).

Quite a few contributions to this volume show how a writer made use of their excerpt books in their own writings. This is then the way 'from excerpt to draft': Karimi Zanjani Asl, who studied twenty-four autograph manuscripts of the Iranian philosopher Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1635), shows how, as the young scholar matured and gradually mastered his subject, these excerpts could serve as a basis for his authorial writings.

Bauden demonstrates how different forms of making excerpts and selections (and lists, registers and indexes) derived from a kind of information overflow. He also shows that these excerpt books, written at first for the exclusive usage of their compiler, later came to be valued by collectors and also copied by students and colleagues (adding to the 'public face' of personal collections discussed below, in section 3.2). Bauden thinks that the scholars from Mamluk Egypt and Syria (in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) used the same techniques as their Western European counterparts several centuries later. These European practices are detailed in Décultot's contribution.

Décultot demonstrates how Johann Joachim Winckelmann (d. 1768), the famous German scholar, handled his excerpts, sometimes welding quotes from different authors and languages together into a formulation which then went

under his own name. She also stresses that no traces of negligence appear in Winckelmann's excerpt books, and that he sometimes imitated features of the printed book in them. Jean Paul (d. 1825) also noted bibliographical references with great precision, at least in the earlier stages of his literary career. Such writers clearly foresaw a public future for their private excerpts and notes.

The way from excerpting and note-taking to authoring works is also an important point in Vatansever's contribution: Es'ad Efendi (d. 1848) also used his excerpt books as a basis for the works he wanted to circulate. Vatansever distinguishes between two types of personal books which Es'ad Efendi kept: more planning went into the books of the first type, which mostly consist of excerpts; they show better order in that they have an introduction, entries are separated, more colour is used and so forth. The other group of manuscripts is closer to the notebook, the extended personal manuscript compilation: there are very rough drafts in them, passages are crossed out, and there are sometimes infixes in the form of glued-in papers and inserted documents. The situation with Mullā Şadrā's manuscripts is the same: there are two manuscripts of the notebook type where diversity is greater and personal notes come to the fore, and, on the other hand, he also had excerpt books (Karimi Zanjani Asl). This difference is echoed in Bauden's contribution: he distinguishes excerpt volumes (of various kinds depending on the degree of abridgement and abstraction) and notebooks in the case of al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442). Notebooks were made of selections from other sources, but also had various material, notes, and drafts of personal texts. Thus, the notebooks display more heterogeneity, and al-Maqrīzī's notebooks come close to Es'ad Efendi's 'unorganized' volumes or the manuscripts where Mullā Şadrā laid down the first versions (*musauwada*) of his own works.

In addition to these excerpt books and notebooks, however, al-Maqrīzī also left behind a number of draft versions of his own works in his own handwriting. Draft copies in the author's own handwriting are also known from aṣ-Şafadī (d. 1363), another towering figure from the Mamluk period (Franssen). He always wrote in a very neat hand and did not allow himself any negligence when writing, not even in his notebooks. Some of these were evidently meant to be carried around (see below, section 3.1). Aṣ-Şafadī's multi-volume *Taḍkira* also included excerpts (but not the specific volume presented by Franssen here).<sup>31</sup> The reuse of paper or various kinds of paper is also typical of both al-Maqrīzī and aṣ-Şafadī.

Vatansever's distinction between 'badly' and 'better' organized volumes may relate to the degree of publicity the writers expected the volumes to have. It seems that the 'public face' (see below, section 3.2) was, indeed, more pro-

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<sup>31</sup> For the term *taḍkira*, see also Bauden this volume.

nounced in volumes which had mostly excerpts; volumes with drafts and personal notes were not meant to circulate, and their outward appearance is indicative of this, at least, in many cases, though not in all: aṣ-Ṣafadī again is the one who spent an even amount of diligence on all his writings.

Gacek had noted that many of the sloppiness indicators observed regarding notebooks also apply to drafts, and this, indeed, seems to set both apart from excerpt books, copies, and models.<sup>32</sup>

### 2.2.3 Notebooks

We have discussed notebooks in different cultural contexts above (section 2.1). We have seen that notebooks are often characterized by their heterogeneity ('mixed content') and by their frequently disordered internal organization and sloppy appearance. Moreover, writing a notebook is an open process, and the plan and intention behind it does not go beyond the writing of notes in general. Notebooks contain a significant number of personal notes or drafts which were subsequently integrated into circulating works. In this understanding, many contributions in this volume concern notebooks: those written by al-Maqrīzī, aṣ-Ṣafadī and other luminaries of Mamluk Egypt and Syria, such as Ibn Ḥaḡar (d. 1449) (Bauden, Franssen), Mullā Ṣadrā (Karimi Zanjani Asl) and Es'ad Efendi (Vatansever), and also by Winckelmann (Décultot). The manuscript produced by Hindūšāh Naḡḡawānī (Durand-Guédy) offers an example of oscillating between a copy and a notebook: it has two different types of entries, longer texts, mostly copies of medical or philosophical works, is well organized and comes close to some form of 'one-volume library'. However, short notes of the most variegated character are interspersed.

The mufti notebook from nineteenth-century Bukhara which is the subject of Paul's contribution is probably the most disordered manuscript presented in this volume. It offers writing by a number of hands, and more than one person worked on it at different times; it is a composite manuscript since it has been rebound; it has entries on very variable subjects, including personal notes, lists and diagrams; and even though legal matter takes the lion's share of space, it cannot be seen as belonging to the legal sphere alone. Many of its parts are very carelessly written and formatted, and the volume was evidently not meant to be circulated. Notebooks of this kind were (and are) often called *ḡung* in Central

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<sup>32</sup> Gacek 2020, 56–59.

Asia; this term can also denote a personal collection (mainly of poetry) as well as notebooks of all kinds in other parts of the Turko-Iranian world.<sup>33</sup>

All the notebooks – and also many excerpt and draft books – presented in this volume are extended codicological units. They were not written in one go, the main characteristic is accretion: adding new elements behind and in between earlier entries over longer periods of time. Vatansever's differentiation between better and more badly organized manuscripts often relates to the audience the scribe had in mind.

#### 2.2.4 Family books

'Family books' echo the Italian *libri di famiglia*,<sup>34</sup> which are closely related to the French *livres de raison* (on them, see above 2.1.2). A certain type of *Hausbuch* in the German-speaking lands could be compared to these manuscripts. 'Family books' blossomed in Europe in the Late Middle Ages and into the Early Modern Period; indeed, there are specimens from all over Western Europe.<sup>35</sup> Such books regularly had more than one scribe, and there is often a generational sequence of scribes. The audience is also not restricted to a single individual. Nevertheless, this type of artefact is not public, and one could see a kind of 'extended ego' behind them. They are not supposed to fall into 'alien hands', this is forcefully stated in some cases in the preface.

In the prefaces, we repeatedly find admonitions addressed to children and descendants not to take the books out of the family archive, let alone have them fall into alien hands [*in fremde Hände fallen*]. But, at the same time, there are quite a number of indicators showing that *Hausbücher* found an audience beyond the strictly circumscribed family circle, albeit only in a small, restricted public.<sup>36</sup>

They did fall 'into alien hands' if the family line became extinct. Such is the case of the *livre de raison* of Jean Teisseire (d. 1384?), a hemp grower from Avignon,

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<sup>33</sup> See above note 10, and Paul 2021, 567, n. 7.

<sup>34</sup> Cicchetti and Mordenti 1984; Mordenti 2004. For the beginning of a comparison between the Italian *libri di famiglia* and the French *livres de raison*, cf. Tricard 2002. The Italian model spread into the Alps and beyond into southern Germany, cf. Teuscher 2004.

<sup>35</sup> Studt 2007. Many of the German *Hausbücher*, however, seem to have been produced on commission, and some of them – the ones produced by or for members of the nobility – were lavishly decorated so that they are nowadays treated as objects of art. These books were clearly not produced by writing for personal use but for display.

<sup>36</sup> Studt 2007, 28 (translation Jürgen Paul).

discussed by Dubois-Morestin. These manuscripts are also characterized by longevity; they are meant to endure, to last over many generations. The artefact which is the subject of Horikawa's contribution certainly did: the diary of Yoshida Kaneatsu (d. 1408) became part of the family's patrimony, being an essential element of the family's renown (and also professional activity). Horikawa also demonstrates that even if the family scroll he discusses was not public, it was known to exist, and it was sometimes shown to strangers outside the family. Such a tension between the postulated secrecy of the family book and its 'public face' has also been noted for some of the German cases.<sup>37</sup>

### 2.2.5 Paratextual markers

The present volume includes two contributions dealing with manuscripts where, in paratextual remarks, the scribe(s) claim(s) to have written the manuscript for themselves: Sobieroj regarding a group of Arabic manuscripts, and Judith Olszowy-Schlanger with a very particular Hebrew manuscript (and it is perhaps not without interest to note that this manuscript originated in Egypt). In both cases, however, it seems that the formula which the writers employed in this claim means, first of all, that they wrote without having been commissioned to do so, and Olszowy-Schlanger even wonders whether this particular manuscript was produced in a workshop, for the market, but without a client having commissioned it. It is in such a context that we note that a formula like 'he wrote it for himself' does not necessarily mean that no other readers or users were initially envisaged by the writer. The Arabic examples make it clear from the notes we find in them that their use was by no means restricted only to the writer, and that many writers clearly knew that their books would be used by future generations, or perhaps even by contemporaries. Nevertheless, many of them exhibit a degree of sloppiness which might be one of the characterizing features of writing for personal use in general. The reason for writing, after all, was not to hand the book down to posterity in the first place, but to use it here and now.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Tomaszewski 2017 (in particular pp. 118–158) discusses such manuscripts, particularly the tension between familial exclusivity and the urban public sphere.

<sup>38</sup> For a detailed discussion of the formula 'he wrote it for himself', see also Franssen 2020.

## 3 Beyond the texts: some common features

In the preceding section, we discussed terms for manuscripts with mixed content in perspectives derived from both literary studies and codicology. In this section, the focus is on common features which appear in some of the manuscripts discussed. We do not look for common features in the texts transmitted but in the material aspects of the manuscripts discussed, in the audience they were meant to have (or really had) and, on the production side, we discuss the plans and intentions which may have led a person to start producing the manuscript we have today.

### 3.1 Material aspects: formats, portability, binding, writing support

Some book sizes could be privileged for books written for personal use. In particular, one observes that many such manuscripts were meant to be portable and, thus, small and thin. This translates in a number of cases into a special format, a codex in a pronounced oblong format (with the longer side often more than twice as long as the narrower one), with the binding on the narrow side in a number of cases. Such books (if bound on the narrow side) are called *bayāḍ* or *safīna* in both Arabic and Persian. There is an interesting parallel in Early Modern England: the so-called ‘holster books’ which, however, are bound on the longer side. A holster book is

a portable notebook or memorandum book characterized by its long, narrow format [e.g. 26 × 14 cm], resulting from its sheets being folded by bisecting the shorter side, and by its generally overlapping leather or vellum wallet binding or leather carrying-case somewhat like a holster of a pistol. From late medieval times onwards, holster books were often used for accounts, but might also be used as miscellanies or even commonplace books.<sup>39</sup>

Irrespective of the binding, the format of these manuscript books, whether in Iran or in England, corresponds to the need or the wish to carry them around, frequently when travelling on horseback: ‘the format is not to do with content,

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<sup>39</sup> Beal 2008, 188. Such a manuscript, written in the 1650s by a Catholic (Jesuit) missionary in Warwickshire, is discussed in detail in Brown 2014. The manuscript in question is Oxford, Bodleian, Eng. poet. b.5, and measures 39.5 × 15 cm. It contains a compilation of devotional poetry.

but with having to travel about on mission, the narrow volume, stoutly bound, slipping into a deep coat pocket or saddlebag'.<sup>40</sup>

One of Es'ad Efendi's notebooks which Vatansever discusses in this volume is also in a pronounced oblong format.<sup>41</sup> The same is true concerning the notebook of the Ilkhanid scholar Hindūšāh (Durand-Guédy) and at least one of the notebooks of the Iranian philosopher Mullā Ṣadrā (Karimi Zanjani-Asl).<sup>42</sup> This means that personal notebooks in the Turko-Iranian manuscript culture, at least, could have a special format, but evidently this does not allow us to conclude the reverse: that this format is a sure sign that the manuscript in question was meant for personal use.

The type of binding is not explicitly linked to personal use in Déroche's classical study: 'Again there exist, especially in the Iranian world, oblong or "landscape" format volumes (in Persian, *saḫīna*), whose utilization recalls that of the roll.'<sup>43</sup> Notebooks in the *saḫīna* style of binding are also discussed by Franssen: aṣ-Ṣafadī wrote his *taḍkīra* in many volumes – but only one is extant in the particular *saḫīna* format.<sup>44</sup> They could be carried around, but perhaps were not stowed away in a coat pocket or saddlebag, but in a sleeve. And whereas they open on the narrow side of the folio, most are in a more or less regular portrait format, 18.6 × 12.8 cm.<sup>45</sup> Vatansever also theorises that Es'ad Efendi carried notebooks around with him, for instance, when he attended meetings of poets or poetry recitals.

The manuscript from Mongol Iran discussed in Durand-Guédy's contribution was also a travel companion; from the colophons, we can trace its whereabouts all over Western Iran and a stint in the south lasting at least six years

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**40** Brown 2014, 122.

**41** Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Es'ad Efendi 3856 measures 35.2 × 13.9 cm, see Vatansever in this volume.

**42** In particular, Shiraz, 'Allāma Ṭabāṭabā'ī Univ. 958, which measures only 8 × 16 cm, with 80 folios.

**43** Déroche 2000, 60; Déroche 2005, 53. For a larger discussion of such manuscripts, not only from the Yemen, see Dufour and Regourd 2020. Dufour and Regourd do not discuss the question whether this particular format could be linked to personal use, but some of the individual manuscripts they present fall into this category. They define *saḫīna* by the specific form of binding, and not all of the volumes they discuss are pronouncedly narrow, but are within a range of more regular oblong formats.

**44** Aṣ-Ṣafadī's notebooks are discussed by Franssen (this volume) and Bauden and Franssen 2020. The near-contemporary scholar Ibn Ḥaḡar also wrote numerous notebooks, and they are described as thin and small (*liṭāf* in Arabic), see Bauden in this volume.

**45** This can also be observed of many of the Yemeni manuscripts discussed by Dufour and Regourd 2020.

(1315 to 1321). Its format is rather small (18.5 × 12.7 cm), identical for practical purposes to the *safīna* manuscript which aṣ-Ṣafadī produced. It is much thicker, running into 349 fols in its present shape, but the quires were rebound at some point, so that we do not know what it looked like when the author stopped writing.

The manuscripts just mentioned are rather close to a number of other notebooks recently edited or studied. We list a number of them here as part of the state-of-the-art. The notebook of a weaver from sixteenth-century Aleppo, for example, now edited by Boris Liebrez and Kristina Richardson, also belongs here; it opens on the longer side of the folio (15 × 11 cm, 63 fols extant).<sup>46</sup>

Another such portable notebook was studied by Florian Schwarz. It is the product of a scholar, similarly from Aleppo, but dating to the seventeenth century. Muḥammad Faṭḥallāh al-Bailūnī carried his notebook with him for decades; entries are dated between 1605 and 1630, in Tripolis (Lebanon), Cairo, Mekka and Aleppo. The manuscript has 76 fols today; the first 26 are fair copies of smaller treatises by this writer, whereas the rest of the manuscript contains mostly biographical notes on students and acquaintances.<sup>47</sup> This manuscript is, thus, the result of copying and note-taking.

The smallest of all the portable manuscripts we want to mention here measures only 12 × 8 cm and has only 122 fols. It is a parchment multiple-text manuscript written by Franciscan friars in around 1230. It popped up on the art market in 2014 and was bought by the Bibliothèque nationale de France. It is assumed that some itinerant Franciscan friar carried it with him when travelling.<sup>48</sup> In this case, in addition to portability, the make-up of the manuscript may also be grounded in a demonstration of humility by the *Fratres minores*.<sup>49</sup>

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**46** Liebrez and Richardson 1442 AH / 2021 CE, 1–99. The manuscript in question is Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Ms. orient. A 114. The editors are certain that the writer of this notebook did not keep it for himself but showed it around.

**47** Schwarz 2008. The manuscript is Damascus Maktabat al-Asad al-Waṭāniya, 4325. Schwarz did not have access to the manuscript itself and, therefore, could not provide a codicological analysis. In this case, this means that even the dimensions of the manuscript are not given. He calls it a '*Bändchen*' (tiny volume), p. 84. He also says that the manuscript is not a diary (even if many entries are dated) because there are too many lacunae between entries.

**48** Bériou, Dalarun and Poiret 2020. The manuscript is Paris, BnF, Nouvelles Acquisitions Latines, 3245. It is available at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10516082m>> (accessed on 16 July 2022).

**49** This manuscript was probably used by the Franciscan friars themselves; even if it is not clear whether it was produced for only a restricted audience, we list it here as a possible case of 'writing for personal use'.



That writers who wanted or needed to have a portable manuscript for personal use tended to make it small and thin is one thing, and that certainly makes sense. But can we conclude the reverse – that small, thin, and portable manuscripts were probably written for the writer’s personal use? This is open to question, and the contributions to this volume do not give an answer – but some of them do raise this question.

Some scholars wrote exclusively at home and their notebooks, thus, were not meant to be carried around.<sup>50</sup> The *Safīna-yi Tabrīz*, a famous example of a manuscript for personal use that Durand-Guédy uses for comparison with Hindūšāh’s, is 32 × 19 cm, and its 368 fols make a very large volume 9 cm thick. It was evidently not portable, at least not on a daily basis.<sup>51</sup>

Another example is the notebook written by Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ṭauq (d. 1509) from Damascus. His *Ta’liq* (the edition runs into four volumes) was found in the form of three packages of unbound paper, held together by some rubber band – evidently, it was never bound.<sup>52</sup> The work otherwise exhibits all the characteristics of notebooks: it has entries on many different subjects: on domestic and private life; gives a meticulous account of daily spending; is a ‘candid diary of the many transactions he [Ibn Ṭauq] performed in his capacity of notary-witness’; has the sloppiness so often found in personal notebooks; the entire space on the page is filled with writing, and there are no margins and no interlinear space.<sup>53</sup> And it was evidently written over an extended period of time in numerous stages.

But the situation can be even more complicated. We have already mentioned the case of Hindūšāh’s notebook (Durand-Guédy) which has been rebound. The Aleppine scholar Akmal ad-Dīn Ibn Muflīḥ (d. 1603) evidently produced a number of notebooks – one volume is entitled *Volume 15 of the Taḍkira*

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50 Franssen (this volume) thinks that aṣ-Ṣafādī wrote some of the entries in his notebooks when travelling but that he wrote on prepared quires at home.

51 This manuscript has no title. The denomination *Safīna-yi Tabrīz* was coined by modern scholars in Iran, where the word *safīna* does not refer (today) to a special format.

52 Wollina 2013, 347, n. 59; Wollina 2014, 34–35. Wollina discusses this manuscript as a ‘journal’ or ‘diary’ because entries are dated. El-Leithy sees it instead as a notebook, see note 25. The extent to which notebooks could be written on unbound paper is another question. One of Mullā Ṣadrā’s notebooks was also initially written on unbound paper, and it is unclear when the volume was bound (Tehran, National Library of Iran, 19164).

53 El-Leithy 2011, 411–412.

al-akmaliya.<sup>54</sup> This volume has 249 fols, and its dimensions of 21.5 × 11.5 cm come close to the pronounced oblong format. However, regarding another volume of this notebook, Richardson informs us that the 179 fols apparently formed four distinct parts when they arrived at their present abode, Oxford. This, then, is a composite manuscript, and possibly made up from four earlier independent units which may have been small, thin and portable.<sup>55</sup>

Another manuscript where binding (in Europe) intervenes so that the original shape of the artefact is difficult to determine has been discussed by Benedikt Reier. Again, we have a notebook from Aleppo, this one made by a scholar and judge, Muḥammad at-Taḡāwī (d. 1650). It has 195 fols, but Reier observes that ‘not all pages were originally envisaged to be part of the book’, and there are signs that the volume was rebound at Gotha where it arrived in the early nineteenth century and is kept today.<sup>56</sup>

Thus, in a number of cases, later binding prevents us from seeing the notebooks as their originators used them, and here, detailed codicological analyses are required to come to a conclusion.

People who write for themselves sometimes use a manuscript book begun by others (Dubois-Morestin in this volume); reuse of materials is rather frequent (Horikawa, Bauden, Franssen; Depreux mentions the notebook produced from scrap parchment by a monk called Hirminmaris in the ninth century).

## 3.2 Audience

Writing for oneself, at first sight, implies a restriction in the number of people involved in the production of the artefact: we tend to take this ‘oneself’ in the singular, so that there is only one person behind the production. Individuals can be seen as sole producers of many of the artefacts under study, however, this is not the case with all of them. Two contexts in particular seem to provide room for some kind of ‘extended ego’ (as we would call it) as originators of written artefacts: the monastic community and the family. In monastic communi-

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<sup>54</sup> The Arabic term *taḡkira* is polyvalent and can also denote, *inter alia*, a compilation of biographies (mostly of poets), a poetical anthology, and a treatise in general. For Arabic terminology, see Bauden and Franssen 2020.

<sup>55</sup> Richardson 2020. The ‘volume 15’ manuscript, the narrow one, is Beirut, American University, 1004; the composite one is Oxford, Bodleian, Pococke 26.

<sup>56</sup> Reier 2021, 476. There is no information about the dimensions of the volume; this can be explained by the fact that there are pages which are considerably smaller than the rest. The manuscript is Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Ms. orient. A 98.

ties, monks are embedded in communal life to such a degree that makes it difficult to identify individual contributions to a writing project, additionally, the targeted audience in these cases is larger than one as a general rule (Steimann). In families, it is sometimes only one member (the acting head of the household) per generation who writes, but many manuscripts of the family type are continued over longer periods of time and are, thus, pluri-generational projects. The audience for such artefacts is always restricted, but it is also larger than one because all or a number of family members are included. Pluri-generational aspects are not restricted to family books: Horikawa, Steimann, Sobieroj, Durand-Guédy and Karimi Zanjani Asl present cases where descendants are an important part of the picture, either in the continued use of the manuscript, as the envisaged audience or as the (only) vector of the manuscript's transmission.

The situation which Bauden and Franssen describe in their contributions to this volume regarding excerpts and notebooks written by Mamluk scholars is complicated; quite a number of these artefacts were known to contemporaries, and friends and disciples sometimes used them, others circulated after their writers' deaths.

Use could be restricted, possibly to just one person – the person of the scribe him- or herself.<sup>57</sup> In other cases, use was restricted to a small circle. Many manuscripts which their producers intended to use only themselves have a 'public face' to them.<sup>58</sup> By 'public face', we want to point to the tension between a restricted use and the forms in which these artefacts circulated, nevertheless. It is open to question to which degree aṣ-Ṣafadī was an exception: he was known to write notebooks, and some people gained access to a number of them; not all of these people were necessarily very close to him (Franssen). Notebooks, excerpt books and copies could circulate during their writers' lifetime or after their demise (Bauden, Décultot).

Yoshida Kaneatsu's diary was also known to exist, and it was consulted (Horikawa). Es'ad Efendi's notebooks have come down to us without any traces of later use (Vatansever). Es'ad Efendi himself left notes in the notebooks he collected, for instance the one written by Hindūšāh and studied by Durand-Guédy.

Thus, some artefacts produced primarily for the author did have an audience, sometimes even during the writer's lifetime. Circulating, in most cases,

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57 It is true that all the manuscripts studied in this volume were written by men. The *Pillow Book*, however, is a good example of an artefact written for oneself by a female writer (note 6), and see the example of Pamphila and her notebook (note 27).

58 We owe the term 'public face' in this context to Scott Reese (personal communication).

meant reading, and there are readers' notes in some of the relevant manuscripts (Bauden, Durand-Guédy, Sobieroj). In some cases, however, circulation meant copying, and copying could be restricted: it has been said of the Italian *libri di famiglia* that they were not to be copied, and if they were, this was for a lateral branch of the family.<sup>59</sup> The same can be observed in the case of the Yoshida diary (Horikawa).

Writing for personal use, therefore, is to be understood with certain qualifications. We are not always looking at an individual conceiving of no other reader than him- or herself, even if such cases do appear in the volume. In many cases, it is impossible to find out whether scribes intended to restrict the use of the artefact to just themselves or if they foresaw a larger audience after their death. This very probably was the case with Mullā Ṣadrā (who, nevertheless, wanted to restrict the audience for these manuscripts, cf. Karimi Zanjani-Asl), with many of the writers discussed by Sobieroj, and also with the Mamluk scholars presented by Franssen and Bauden. In the European context, both Winckelmann and Jean Paul were known to have produced the manuscripts discussed by Décultot, and they probably anticipated that they would be widely used after their deaths.

### 3.3 Plans and intentions

Writing for personal use does not of necessity imply that the writing proceeds according to a premeditated plan. It may make a difference whether a person decides to copy a text he or she needs or wants to have or if we are looking at text production. Regarding notebooks, the plans and intentions are to have a notebook and write down noteworthy things in it; the writing process itself is open-ended. And plans, of course, can be changed: someone who started a manuscript as an account book may well end up entering poetry and various notes in it, a change that would imply not only a different textual genre but also a different visual organization, and probably also a different audience (if any). One example is the famous *Glastonbury Miscellany* (fifteenth century), which was started as an account book but has mainly literary entries.<sup>60</sup> The almost contemporary manuscript made for Charles d'Orléans (d. 1465) started as a collection of Charles's own poetry, copied by professional scribes and made up according to princely standards, but later it turned into an album where many

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<sup>59</sup> Cicchetti and Mordenti 1984, 1122.

<sup>60</sup> Rigg 1968, 5.

participants of his literary circle entered their poems. This manuscript, then, is an example of writing for personal use only in part: Charles wrote some of his poetry into it in his own hand, but the use was communal, and the book functioned as a material support for the literary circle at Blois. Some manuscripts of this kind could, similar to family books, thus, serve as a constituent factor of a community.<sup>61</sup> A similar case of communal use could perhaps be made for the Hebrew manuscripts discussed by Steimann: in a way, they served to constitute a community of Hebraists. This is another point where the production of manuscripts for personal use is not strictly individual, but relates to a larger, albeit always restricted, audience.

As for the purpose for which an artefact was produced, a look at the context is always necessary. Such contextual information together with what we can observe in the written artefact itself, its materiality, may allow us to make an educated guess at the purpose the manuscript was meant to serve. This may very well be a purpose of a social kind: the scribe may have needed the manuscript to go about his or her business, in order to draft publications or to keep in memory (for generations) the knowledge accumulated by the times in which he or she was writing. The writing may also serve internal purposes for the family or community; it may help to build up a family or corporate identity, or reflect processes in which social status is negotiated. This is also a kind of ‘public face’ even if it does not involve the artefact being shown around or otherwise publicized.

## 4 Concluding remarks

At the outset of this introduction, we asked whether it would be possible to identify manuscripts written for the writer’s personal use from material features present in the written artefact itself. It is clear that some features – a certain sloppiness in particular, in the ways characterized above – are observed in many such manuscripts, perhaps in a majority, but certainly not in all. Above

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<sup>61</sup> Charles d’Orléans had this volume started as a collection of his French poetry before he came back from exile in England (1440), where he had been kept as a hostage after the French defeat at Agincourt (Azincourt in French) in 1415. Subsequently, more vellum was added, and now a large number of participants in his literary circle at Blois entered their poems into it by their own hand. Writing into the volume continued until the prince’s death in 1465. The visual organization and make-up of the volume are very different in its consecutive phases of production; cf. Arn 2008.

all, it is important to note that some types of ‘personal manuscripts’ do not or not regularly present these features: *libri di famiglia* or *livres de raison* seem to be carefully written most of the time. This also seems to be the case with manuscripts written within a community: the ‘extended ego’ behind both the production and the reception of a given manuscript, thus, may preclude the tendency to sloppiness which otherwise dominates. Copies noted as exercises or in imitation of a venerated exemplar, such as royal inscriptions, were also written with the utmost care. Among the personal writings of scholars, it makes sense to introduce a distinction between copies, excerpts and selections (mostly written carefully enough), on the one hand, and drafts and notes, on the other. Therefore, only a part of the various types of manuscripts written for personal use are prone to exhibit features of carelessness, and the latter cannot be taken as characterizing such manuscripts in general.

How the various types of manuscripts written for personal use could be grouped remains an open question, though. Coming from a codicological point of view, notebooks in particular – extended codicological units following Gumbert because they are created through continued accretion – are not easy to grasp. Are they still multiple-text manuscripts even if they are not produced in one go under a consistent intention? Excerpt books are more easily classified in this respect: they match the criteria for multiple-text manuscripts much better because the units of production are more clearly separated, and they are not always accretive.

Manuscripts written for personal use are not generally all alike, and the answer to the main question of this volume – whether it is possible to identify any particular material forms, formats and traces in given artefacts that would make it possible to address these manuscripts as having been written for personal use – must be given in the negative. However, there is a certain probability that carelessly written manuscripts are notebooks, personal copies or drafts, even if this is, of course, always subject to individual scrutiny.

The survival of such manuscripts depended on the interest people took in them (e.g. descendants of the first producer, students or admirers), and many must have disappeared because such manuscripts were not of general interest (and sometimes hardly decipherable). This is the case even with manuscripts written in Arabic script where, as we have seen, it has been postulated that a majority of copies were made for the scribe’s own use.

Therefore, the question arises whether the state of our knowledge (and the vicissitudes of transmission) gives us a biased picture of the situation for the ancient and medieval periods: commissioned manuscripts (identified by their colophons) could be better represented than those written for personal use.

Consequently, the burden of proof would have to be reversed: if we ascertain that neither the format nor the script, neither the legibility nor the *mise-en-page*, nor even the claims of the scribe can serve as sure indicators of a manuscript having been written for personal use, at least not in all types of such manuscripts, does it not follow that manuscripts could be considered as belonging to that category *by default*?

### **Acknowledgements**

This volume goes back to a conference held on 20–21 February 2020 at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC), Hamburg. Nearly all the speakers are also present in the volume. We are grateful to all of them for their cooperation and understanding, for carrying through their work mostly under the restrictions caused by the global pandemic, which, in our field, means that personal encounters were very rare for a very long time, and that access to manuscripts was sometimes not only difficult but strictly impossible. In addition to the participants at the conference, we invited other colleagues to contribute.

We thank the CSMC for its support in making the event possible; special thanks are due to the staff at the CSMC secretariat: Roswitha Auer, Sabrina Grabe and Christina Kaminski, who facilitated numerous things and found solutions for the many problems surrounding such events. Thanks are also due to the series editors of *Studies in Manuscript Cultures* for accepting this volume into the series. We would also like to thank the anonymous colleagues, the reviewers who saw the volume and the individual contributions through to publication, and the copy-editors Richard Bishop and James Rumball for their meticulous work. Many thanks to all members of the CSMC who discussed drafts of this introduction and various problems with us, Konrad Hirschler in particular, whose expertise helped us in many ways, not only with the introduction. And above all, our deeply felt gratitude to Caroline Macé, the secretary of the editorial board, for the enormous amount of time she spent over the papers which finally form this volume. We also thank Francesca Panini for her careful typesetting of the book.

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Frédéric Bauden

# Data Overload and Information Management in the Mamluk Period (1250–1517)

**Abstract:** Scholars of the Mamluk period were weighed down by a vast abundance of texts and had to develop strategies to cope with such data overload. In this article, a series of tools (lists, indexes, summaries, and notebooks) devised by those scholars to condense and cope with the information have been analysed from various points of view. Several examples of these tools have been topologically detailed. The external features of the manuscripts containing them have then been considered before turning to their usefulness for the people who conceived them. Even though these tools were made primarily for personal use, they proved useful to other scholars, who, in acquiring or copying them, avoided repeating the same task. As the manuscripts under scrutiny here are largely holographs, they were of some interest to bibliophiles as well.

## 1 Introduction

In a seminal study published more than a decade ago, Ann M. Blair tackled the issue of information management as addressed by scholars of early modern Europe wishing to produce reference books designed to help them and their readers manage the overload of data.<sup>1</sup> Processes such as note-taking, to aid memory and help writing, and preparing tools such as dictionaries, florilegia, commonplace books, encyclopaedias, lists and indexes, were some of the strategies developed by scholars in premodern Europe who faced the overabundance of texts which by the sixteenth century and the spread of printing increased exponentially.

The idea of *multitudo librorum* was no stranger to Islamic civilization.<sup>2</sup> In an article devoted to this question in Islam, Franz Rosenthal chose the first part of the title of his article in the *Ecclesiast* ('Of Making Many Books There Is No End')

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1 Blair 2010. See also her earlier work: Blair 2003; Blair 2004.

2 As expressed by Seneca in one of his letters to Lucilius: *distingit librorum multitudo* ('the abundance of books causes distraction'), cited by Chatelain 2008, 146.

to emphasize the vertigo caused by the overabundance of texts in Islam.<sup>3</sup> While this phenomenon could be cast unfavourably, by some scholars it was in fact regarded as a blessing to be attributed to the virtues of Islam, a blessing an Ottoman scholar, al-Ġazzī (d. 984 AH / 1576 CE), expressed in the following terms:

Our master, the imam Abū ‘Abd Allāh at-Tilimsānī al-Ābilī – May God have mercy upon him –, was questioned about the abundance of texts [produced by] this community and its engagement with writing and he answered: ‘This is one of the benefits of the prohibition of [consuming] wine that was imposed on it.’<sup>4</sup>

Be that as it may, scholars in Islam had to cope with the same dilemma as their peers in Europe but faced it a few centuries earlier. Due to several factors the number of works composed in the period starting from the fourth AH / tenth CE century significantly increased:<sup>5</sup> the blossoming of all fields in general, the adoption of a new support far cheaper to produce (paper) from the third AH / ninth CE century,<sup>6</sup> the creation and spread of colleges (*madrasa*) from the fifth AH / eleventh CE century,<sup>7</sup> the progress of alphabetization,<sup>8</sup> the institutionalization of charitable foundations (*waqf*) with philanthropic goals (libraries linked to various institutions, e.g. colleges, mosques, mausolea, convents for mystics, hospitals) from the third AH / ninth CE century,<sup>9</sup> the Abbasid empire’s splitting into (semi-)autonomous powers with competing courts, each patronizing arts, culture, and scholars. The combination of these factors provided a fertile ground for the growth of writing and the proliferation of books. Aside from the quantity of books composed during this period, one notices an expansion of the size of the books. Compared with earlier periods, multi-volume works, some comprising thousands of pages, were no longer an exception. Manuals in which

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**3** Rosenthal 1995.

**4** al-Ġazzī, *al-Durr*, 293: *su’ila šaiḥunā al-imām Abū ‘Abdallāh at-Tilimsānī raḥimahu Allāh al-Ābilī ‘an kaṭrat taṣānīf ḥādīhi al-umma wa-ištiḡālīhā bi-t-ta’līf. Fa-qāla: ḥādā min fawā’id taḥrīm al-ḥamr ‘alaihā.* At-Tilimsānī (Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Marzūq, d. 781 AH / 1379 CE) was from Tlemcen. He was active as a diplomat and scholar composing works in various disciplines: see Hadj-Sadok 1971.

**5** Gruendler 2020.

**6** Bloom 2001.

**7** Makdisi 1981; Makdisi 1990.

**8** Hirschler 2012.

**9** Eche 1967; Hirschler 2016; Behrens-Abouseif 2018.

authors explained how books should be composed with details on their *modus operandi* began to flourish.<sup>10</sup>

To manage the ever-growing literature, both in terms of quantity and size, scholars had no choice but to develop similar strategies to those that would be applied by their European peers a few centuries later. If memory continued to play an important role here, it could not replace the process of note-taking, even though clearly both systems applied together are more efficient. The quantity and size of books led scholars to summarize and select the texts that interested them. At the same time, the need for quick access to the information led scholars to prepare tools, such as lists and indexes, to help organize the material in a more effective way. Encyclopaedias as a tool enabling a scholar to embrace the amount of knowledge required in a specific field (mainly for those willing to work for the chancery) also emerged in Egypt and Syria in the eighth AH / fourteenth CE century, a geographical area and period coinciding with the emergence of the Mamluk sultanate.<sup>11</sup>

The Mamluk period covers approximately two and a half centuries of rule (1250–1517) over an area that included, broadly speaking, Egypt, Syria and the Hijaz (the eastern coast of the Arabian Peninsula where the holy cities of Mecca and Medina are located). Political power was characterized by a military elite made up of freed slaves drafted in very early youth from the outer borders of the Muslim world (mainly of Turkish and Circassian origin). Converted to Islam and educated as military men, they controlled the local population composed of common people and a religious elite. The religious elite contributed to the management of power by running the state in cooperation with the Mamluks to whom they were subjugated. At the same time, the Mamluks strengthened their grip on the population by fostering the arts and education through charitable foundations to which they contributed part of their wealth.<sup>12</sup>

On this basis, it comes as no surprise that during this period there is an increase in the variety of tools scholars could implement for dealing with data overload. Several witnesses of the influx of tools from this period have survived. The Mamluk period is an excellent case study for those interested in this phenomenon. In what follows, I propose to follow a set of issues linked to such tools. Firstly, the various categories of tools used by Mamluk period scholars to help them retain or gain easier access to information will be discussed. The external features of these tools will be introduced and just how they would be

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**10** Rosenthal 1947.

**11** van Gelder 1997; Muhanna 2012; Van Berkel 2013.

**12** For a general and up-to-date overview of the Mamluks, see Petry 2022 and Loiseau 2014.

useful to those conceiving them. The focus will then turn to the fate of the preserved manuscripts: Why were these manuscripts preserved over time? How could they be identified as belonging to a specific author if his name does not appear in the text? A study of the paratextual elements will also reveal the use made of these texts, not only during the author's lifetime but also after his death.

## 2 Tools for information management

In the Islamic Middle Ages, a would-be scholar would have to broaden his interests beyond his primary and secondary education very early on.<sup>13</sup> Obtaining access and reading huge quantities of sources was the prerequisite for writing original works. While some canonical texts were accessible in numerous libraries or on the book market, others were more difficult to obtain. Were a copy located in a public library or known to be owned by a collector or scholar, access to it may well have been restricted. In such circumstances, it is no small wonder scholars strove to keep track of their reading. Note-taking was made in various ways according to how a scholar planned to use his notes. The best way to keep track of information was to prepare a summary in more or less detail according to its intended use. These summaries could take various forms. Indexes and lists also proved useful.

To obtain a better idea of the tools scholars used to cope with the accumulation of knowledge, I propose to look at works produced by a leading scholar of this period: Ibn Ḥaḡar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852 AH / 1449 CE). Ibn Ḥaḡar was born in Cairo to a wealthy family of merchants but was orphaned in infancy. This, however, did not prevent him from receiving a good education and becoming one of the most renowned scholars of his time and beyond. In his early years, he roamed the Mamluk realm, living in Syria and the Hijaz for some years, and on several occasions visiting Yemen. He wrote more than 270 works of various lengths.<sup>14</sup> His intellectual output is particularly well documented as a detailed biography of him was written by one of his students, as-Saḡāwī (d. 902 AH / 1497

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<sup>13</sup> Primary education consisted mainly in learning to read and write while memorizing the whole Qur'an, a goal the pupil usually attained between the age of 8 and 12. Secondary education followed which would be completed by examination. See Bauden 2020, 150–151 and the references quoted there.

<sup>14</sup> Jaques 2009.

CE), which provided valuable information on his methodology.<sup>15</sup> According to as-Saḥāwī, Ibn Ḥaḡar was renowned for his ability to read and write quickly.<sup>16</sup>

As-Saḥāwī did his best to enumerate his master's production as a scholar, detailing most of the works he authored. From the list compiled, I have selected some titles that point to works that correspond to tools that helped Ibn Ḥaḡar manage the information he needed to become a scholar and a prolific author:<sup>17</sup>

1. *at-Taḍkira al-adabiya* ('The *aide-mémoire* covering literature')<sup>18</sup>
2. *at-Taḍkira al-ḥadiṯiya* ('The *aide-mémoire* covering the science of prophetic traditions')<sup>19</sup>
3. *Muntaqan min Tārīḥ Ibn 'Asākir* ('Selections from Ibn 'Asākir's *History*')<sup>20</sup>
4. *Muntaqan min Tārīḥ Ibn Ḥaldūn* ('Selections from Ibn Ḥaldūn's *History*')<sup>21</sup>
5. *Muntaqan min Mu'ḡam as-Subkī* ('Selections from as-Subkī's *Dictionary of masters*')<sup>22</sup>
6. *Muntaḥab Riḥlat Ibn Rušaid* ('Excerpts from Ibn Rušaid's travel relation')<sup>23</sup>
7. *Talḥiṣ Maḡāzī al-Wāqidi* ('Epitome of al-Wāqidi's military expeditions')<sup>24</sup>

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15 as-Saḥāwī, *al-Ġawāhir*.

16 as-Saḥāwī, *al-Ġawāhir*, vol. 1, 161–165, 167–169.

17 The list of Ibn Ḥaḡar's works (completed or not) was prepared by as-Saḥāwī. Cf. as-Saḥāwī, *al-Ġawāhir*, vol. 2, 659–696.

18 40 vols. Cf. as-Saḥāwī, *al-Ġawāhir*, vol. 2, 694–695.

19 10 vols. Cf. as-Saḥāwī, *al-Ġawāhir*, vol. 2, 680–681 (no. 178).

20 as-Saḥāwī, *al-Ġawāhir*, vol. 2, 690 (no. 219). The work in question, *Tārīḥ madīnat Dimašq*, a multi-volume biographical dictionary of Damascenes, was composed by Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571 AH / 1176 CE). The work is available in print (80 vols), cf. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīḥ madīnat Dimašq*.

21 as-Saḥāwī, *al-Ġawāhir*, vol. 2, 690 (no. 220). This work, titled *al-'Ibar wa-dīwān al-mubtada' wa-l-ḥabar fi tāriḥ al-'Arab wa-l-Barbar wa-man 'āṣarahum min ḍawī aš-ša'n al-akbar*, consists of a history of Islam preceded by a long methodological introduction and an account of the Arabs and other peoples in Antiquity. Its author is Ibn Ḥaldūn (d. 808 AH / 1406 CE). The work is available in print (14 vols), cf. Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*.

22 as-Saḥāwī, *al-Ġawāhir*, vol. 2, 668 (no. 67). A dictionary of authorities with whom the author, as-Subkī (d. 771 AH / 1370 CE), studied. The work is available in print (1 vol.), cf. as-Subkī, *Mu'ḡam*.

23 as-Saḥāwī, *al-Ġawāhir*, vol. 2, 690 (no. 221). The work, entitled *Mil' al-'aiba bi-mā ḡumi'a bi-ṭūl al-ḡaiba fi al-wiḡha al-waḡiḥa ilā al-ḥaramain Makka wa-Ṭaiba*, is a multi-volume travel diary where the author, Ibn Rušaid (d. 721 AH / 1321 CE), lists the places he visited and persons he met during the journey he made from Almeria to Mecca for the pilgrimage. The work has been partly preserved and has been published (4 vols.), cf. Ibn Rušaid, *Mil' al-'aiba*.

24 as-Saḥāwī, *al-Ġawāhir*, vol. 2, 690 (no. 218). Al-Wāqidi's (d. 207/823) *al-Maḡāzī* is a biography of the Prophet focusing on his military achievements after his installation in Medina. It is available in print (3 vols): al-Wāqidi, *al-Maḡāzī*.



8. *Muḥtaṣar al-Bidāya wa-n-nihāya li-Ibn Kaṭīr* ('Summary of Ibn Kaṭīr's *al-Bidāya wa-n-nihāya*')<sup>25</sup>
9. *Taḡrīd al-Wāfi liṣ-Ṣafadī* ('Outline of aṣ-Ṣafadī's *al-Wāfi*')<sup>26</sup>
10. *Tartīb Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz liḍ-Ḍahabī* ('Index of aḍ-Ḍahabī's *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz*').<sup>27</sup>

The main characteristic of these titles is that the majority of them contains the title of a work composed by another author. The title in question is preceded by a word that refers to the category to which the tool belongs:

1. *Taḍkira*: a text meant to sustain memory (*ḍakara* means 'to remember')
2. *Muntaqan*: a text that is the result of a selection (*intaqā* means 'to purify, clean')
3. *Muntaḥab*: a text that consists of a choice (*intaḥaba* means 'to pick, choose')
4. *Talḥīṣ*: a text that epitomizes (*ḥallaṣa* means 'to explain, expound')
5. *Muḥtaṣar*: a text that shortens, abridges (*iḥtaṣara* means 'to curtail the words of a text preserving its meaning')
6. *Taḡrīd*: a text that abstracts (*ḡarrada* means 'to peel, strip, bare')
7. *Tartīb*: a text that arranges in a regular and given sequence (*rattaba* means 'to set in order').

Among these words, five (2–6) refer to the idea of choice made during the process of note-taking. They correspond to what would be termed an epitome, a resumé, or a summary, with the last (6) actually indicating an abstract but in the sense that what is left of the text is what has been peeled off (i.e. very basic information). One category (7) is linked to the previous with a more specific meaning: the idea of organization, i.e. ordering the original text in a different manner. Finally, one category (1) clearly refers to the idea of sustaining the memory without indicating the type of text (summary or full text, own text or by someone else).

<sup>25</sup> as-Saḥāwī, *al-Ġawāhīr*, vol. 2, 690 (no. 217). *Al-Bidāya wa-n-nihāya*, a multi-volume chronicle of Islam from the Prophet up to the author's lifetime, was composed by Ibn Kaṭīr (d. 774 AH / 1373 CE). The work is available in print (21 vols), cf. Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Bidāya*.

<sup>26</sup> as-Saḥāwī, *al-Ġawāhīr*, vol. 2, 689 (no. 213). *Al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt* is a multi-volume dictionary of famous people from the beginning of Islam up to the author's lifetime. It was composed by aṣ-Ṣafadī (d. 764 AH / 1363 CE) and is available in print (30 vols), cf. aṣ-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*.

<sup>27</sup> as-Saḥāwī, *al-Ġawāhīr*, vol. 2, 684 (no. 200). The *Taḍkirat al-ḥuffāz* by aḍ-Ḍahabī (d. 748 AH / 1348 CE) is a biographical dictionary of traditionists. The work is published (4 vols), cf. aḍ-Ḍahabī, *Taḍkirat*.

Despite its usefulness for our purpose, this list calls for two remarks. Firstly, some summaries were meant for publication (in the etymological sense of the verb, i.e. ‘to make public’)<sup>28</sup> from their inception and not for a scholar’s exclusive use. With the development of colleges, there was a great proliferation of several categories of texts aimed at providing students with tools enabling them to access sources essential for their education. Aside from summaries – commentaries, glosses and super glosses became available,<sup>29</sup> the didactic function of which is indisputable. For obvious reasons, these texts are not under consideration here. In the list provided above, none of the summaries was prepared by Ibn Ḥaḡar in the notion of being produced for someone else: each of these texts is the result of his necessity to create personal tools to obtain and retain information from these texts. Naturally, it does not exclude the fact that they could later on prove useful to other readers.

Secondly, the terms used to describe these tools, as exemplified in the above-mentioned list regarding Ibn Ḥaḡar, do not necessarily reflect the scholar’s terminology. When these tools were preserved in the scholar’s handwriting, at times the term chosen by the scholar appears different to that mentioned by one of his pupils in describing the same text. For instance, as-Saḡāwī states that Ibn Ḥaḡar wrote a *Muntaqan min Tārīḡ Ibn ‘Asākir* (see under (3) in the aforementioned list). However, the copy of the text, in Ibn Ḥaḡar’s handwriting,<sup>30</sup> shows that Ibn Ḥaḡar’s description of the summary is *ta‘liq* (the result of jotting down, taking notes) not *muntaqan*. This example clearly demonstrates how several such terms were interchangeable and did not necessarily refer to a specific kind of tool.<sup>31</sup> It is thus hazardous to attempt systematically distinguishing some of these terms.

To gain a better understanding of how a scholar prepared himself to become a specialist in a given field, I will now consider another case from a different perspective, i.e. no longer based on what we are told this scholar’s output was and instead taking into account those of the scholar’s manuscripts that have survived to this day. Al-Maqrīzī (d. 845 AH / 1442 CE) was born in Cairo as was Ibn Ḥaḡar, with whom he struck an acquaintance and with whom he became a colleague and a friend. Al-Maqrīzī was educated first as a traditionist (a specialist of the Prophet’s traditions) and worked in various capacities for the

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<sup>28</sup> This is the meaning that will be referred to in this article.

<sup>29</sup> Arazi and Ben Shammai 1993; Gilliot 1997; Rosenthal 1971.

<sup>30</sup> Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriya, 522 Tārīḡ.

<sup>31</sup> A similar assessment is made by Jürgen Paul and David Durand-Guédy in their contributions to this volume regarding various terms widely used in the Persianate world.

government (chancery, legal positions) until his early fifties when he decided to retire from public life and devote his time to writing the history of Egypt, an activity curtailed by his death at the age of 78.<sup>32</sup> Of his work as a scholar, some twenty-four holograph volumes, totalling 5,000 leaves, have reached us, which is rather uncommon.<sup>33</sup> Most of these volumes correspond to fair copies and drafts of his own works, but some cases reflect his note-taking activities.<sup>34</sup> Of these, three volumes can be identified as summaries of single works. Regarding the first two summaries, the texts deal with *ḥadīṭ* (the Prophet's traditions) and the colophons indicate that al-Maqrīzī produced them in his early career, when he was already working for the government but was still specializing to be a religious scholar. The third summary, based on a text on history, was made after he had decided to retire from public life and devote himself entirely to writing history. Of the other volumes in holograph form, another category emerges with features not yet considered: three volumes can be identified as notebooks, i.e. single volumes made of selections from other sources, various notes, and drafts of parts of his own texts. It has been established that the notes of the summaries – be they independent or inserted in his notebooks – were taken when al-Maqrīzī was reading from the source. In other words, it is not a fair copy of selections made at a different time, but the immediate result of the process of note-taking. He was thus progressively reading a source, sentence by sentence, and successively jotting down a verbatim or paraphrased version of the passage.<sup>35</sup>

Ibn Ḥağar and al-Maqrīzī's examples provide us with tangible evidence of the way scholars in the Mamluk period tried to manage the flow of information they were required to know should they wish to establish themselves as scholars of their community. They took great pains in obtaining access to books, buying or borrowing them and, should a text be deemed indispensable for their work or knowledge, they made a summary of it or limited themselves to jotting down the most useful or pertinent passages. Unsurprisingly, such scholars are often described as compulsive copyists.<sup>36</sup> Some would leave a consultation note in the book they had implemented to their own ends. As will be shown below, such practice indicated just how they benefitted from the text.

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<sup>32</sup> Bauden 2014; Rabbat 2003.

<sup>33</sup> Bauden 2020.

<sup>34</sup> To be compared with what two contributors to this volume report about later authors, respectively Karimi Zanjani-Asl about Mullā Ṣadrā and Nazlı Vatanserver about Es'ad Efendi.

<sup>35</sup> Bauden 2008.

<sup>36</sup> Aş-Saḥāwī says of al-Maqrīzī that he wrote copiously in his own hand (*ḥaṭṭa bi-ḥaṭṭihi al-kaṭīr*): as-Saḥāwī, *al-Ḍau'*, vol. 2, 22.

## 2.1 Listing and indexing

In the biography devoted to Nağm ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd (d. 885 AH / 1480 CE), as-Saḥāwī warmly praised a Meccan traditionist and historian with whom he was well acquainted, for one distinct scholarly aspect:

He arranged (*rattaba*) in alphabetical order the names of the biographees [appearing in] *al-Ḥilya*,<sup>37</sup> *al-Madārik*,<sup>38</sup> *Tārīḥ al-aṭibbā'*,<sup>39</sup> *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila* by Ibn Rağab,<sup>40</sup> [*Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz* by ad-Dahabī and its supplements,<sup>41</sup> indicating in which section and under which generation a given name is to be found to make it easy to find it and check. This is the most important and useful thing he did.<sup>42</sup>

Scholars in the Mamluk period also prepared outlines, sometimes identifiable as lists and/or indexes, to quickly access a source difficult to handle due to its size, particularly when the order the author followed was chronological and not exclusively alphabetical.<sup>43</sup> These lists and indexes also helped them to know if a given person or fact had been dealt with in a given source as indicated by the aforementioned passage.

In the above list of tools prepared by Ibn Ḥağar, such outlines are referred to by the words *tağrīd* ('to remove all the superfluous data from a text to keep the basic information') and *tartīb* ('to organize, arrange in a given order'). One example quoted, the *Tağrīd al-Wāfi liṣ-Ṣafadī*, has been preserved, though not in the hand of its author but by one of his students, Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd (d. 871

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37 *Ḥilyat al-auliya' wa-ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiya'*, a multi-volume biographical work including individuals involved in the development of mysticism, by Abū Nu'aim al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430 AH / 1038 CE).

38 *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taqrīb al-masālik ilā ma'rifat al-'ām maḏhab Mālik*, a biographical dictionary of Mālikī scholars composed by al-Qāḍī 'Iyād (d. 544 AH / 1149 CE).

39 *'Uyūn al-anbā' fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, a biographical dictionary of physicians from Antiquity to the author's lifetime composed by Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a (d. 668 AH / 1270 CE).

40 *Aḍ-Ḍail 'alā ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*, a biographical dictionary of Ḥanbalī scholars conceived by its author, Ibn Rağab (d. 795 AH / 1393 CE), as a supplement to a previous work.

41 *Taḍkirat al-ḥuffāz*, already mentioned above, and its supplements composed by the same author (see above, n. 27).

42 as-Saḥāwī, *al-Ḍau'*, vol. 6, 129 (*wa-rattaba asmā' tarāğim al-Ḥilya wa-l-Madārik wa-Tārīḥ al-aṭibbā' wa-Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila li-Ibn Rağab wa-l-Ḥuffāz liḍ-Dahabī wa-d-ḍuyūl 'alaihi 'alā ḥurūf al-mu'ğam ḥaitu yu'aiyinu maḥall ḍāka al-ism min al-ağzā' wa-ṭ-ṭabaqa li-yusahhala kaṣfuhu wa-murāğā'atuhu*).

43 The organization of biographical works according to generations (*ṭabaqa*) prevailed for a long time. See Hafsi 1976; Hafsi 1977a; Hafsi 1977b.

AH / 1466 CE).<sup>44</sup> In the introduction Ibn Ḥağar explains the function of this list precisely:

I started to abstract (*tağrīd*) the book *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt* by the Sheikh Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn aṣ-Ṣafadī, except that I limited myself to write down from the biography of a person his name, his genealogy, the name under which he was known, his birthdate, if I found it, and his date of death.<sup>45</sup>

The source (*al-Wāfi*) is a biographical dictionary containing some 15,000 entries composed by aṣ-Ṣafadī and covering 30 volumes in print. In his *tağrīd*, Ibn Ḥağar's aim was to list the name of each biographee to which he also added basic data (birthdate, if known, and date of death). In this listing, each entry generally fills one line of text, with the first name (*ism*) in red ink and the date of death indicated twice: in full letters at the end of the entry and in figures above the name in red: for example, on the first line of fol. 10a we read 'Muḥammad 700' (see Fig. 1). The following order adhered to the arrangement aṣ-Ṣafadī gave (the alphabetical order starting, however, with the Muḥammads, to show respect to the Prophet). Ibn Ḥağar worked systematically, indicating where a volume of *al-Wāfi* ended and a new one began, which helped him, when necessary, to localize the biography in the correct volume. At the end of the section corresponding to the first volume of *al-Wāfi*, he even specifies the date he completed the abstract: during the month of Ṣafar 795 AH / December 1392 – January 1393 CE (see Fig. 2), i.e. when he was 20 years old.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Istanbul, Millet Genel Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah 1413.

<sup>45</sup> Ibn Ḥağar al-'Asqalānī, *Tağrīd*, vol. 1, 46.

<sup>46</sup> Istanbul, Millet Genel Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah 1413, fol. 10b: *Intahā hunā al-ğuz' al-auwal min al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt fi at-tārīḥ liš-ṣaiḥ Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn aṣ-Ṣafadī ġarradahu al-faqīr ilā Allāh Abū al-Faḍl al-'Asqalānī fi ṣafar sanat ḥams wa-tis'īn wa-sab'imi'a*.

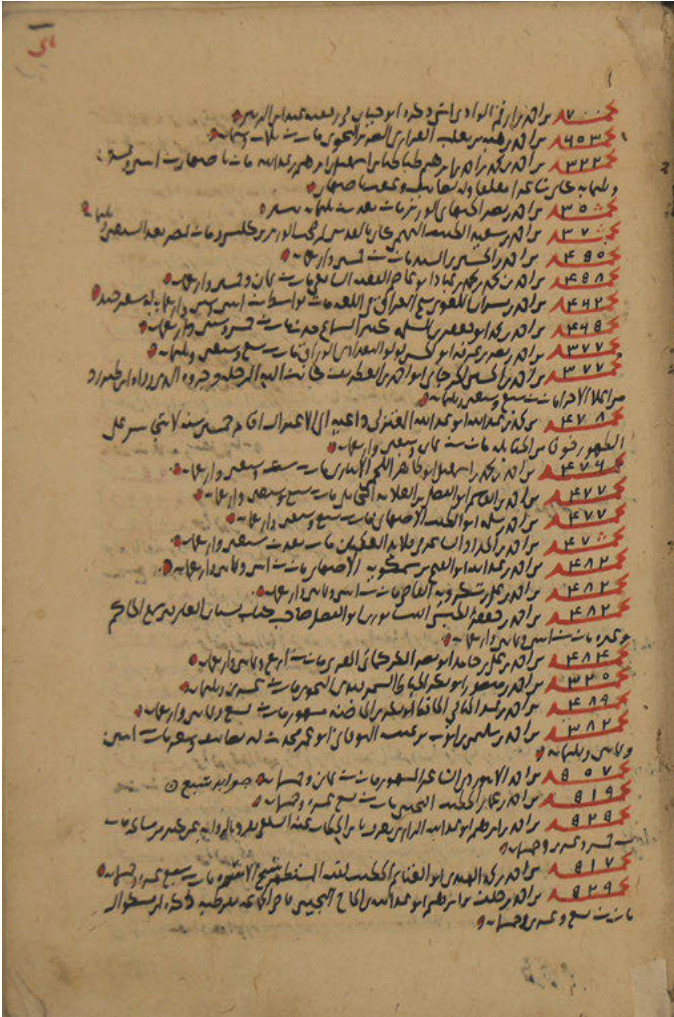


Fig. 1: Ibn Ḥaḡar, *Taḡrīd of aṣ-Ṣafadī's al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, copied by Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd; Istanbul, Millet Genel Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah 1413, fol. 10a.

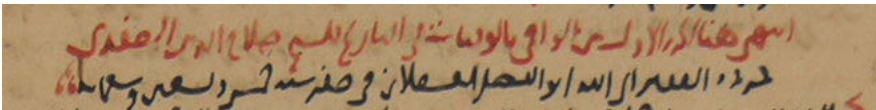


Fig. 2: Ibn Ḥaḡar, *Taḡrīd of aṣ-Ṣafadī's al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, copied by Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd; Istanbul, Millet Genel Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah 1413, fol. 10b (detail).

At the end of the following section (fol. 22b), he also clearly states how his intent is to focus on those biographees not mentioned in al-Mizzi's (d. 742 AH / 1341 CE) *Tahḍīb al-kamāl*. The reason for such limitation being that aḍ-Ḍahabī's (d. 748 AH / 1348 CE) *al-Kāšif* is already a *tağrīd* of the latter.<sup>47</sup> Ibn Ḥaḡar was clearly trying to save time by not repeating work already done by other scholars.<sup>48</sup> Thanks to his list (*tağrīd*) of aṣ-Ṣafadī's *al-Wāfi*, Ibn Ḥaḡar could quickly discover whether or not a person's biography was contained in the source and refer to it in when necessary. The index also provided him with basic information on each biographee to check against his own works (e.g. to find the death date of a given person or to verify his full name).

The Meccan scholar Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd and father of the aforementioned Naḡm ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd was a prolific author who built a rich library which he left as an endowment upon his death, and he produced similar tools for his own use.<sup>49</sup> One such example is preserved in a manuscript now at al-Azhar, though not mentioned in the sources listing his works.<sup>50</sup> It has been wrongly identified as a summary (*muḥtaṣar*) of an unknown text.<sup>51</sup> It actually relates to a *tağrīd* of Ibn al-Aṭīr's (d. 630 AH / 1233 CE) *Usd al-ġāba*, a biographical dictionary of 7,714 men and women who met the Prophet and transmitted traditions from him.<sup>52</sup> The manuscript is dated precisely (17 Raġab 817 AH / 2 October 1414 CE) showing that Taqī ad-Dīn prepared this outline when he was 29 years old. Due to it being a holograph, one is able to get a glimpse of the way Taqī ad-Dīn arranged the

<sup>47</sup> *Al-Kāšif fi ma'rifat man lahu riwāya fi al-kutub as-sitta*, an abridgement of al-Mizzi's *Tahḍīb al-kamāl*, a biographical dictionary of transmitters. Ibn Ḥaḡar al-'Asqalānī, *Tağrīd*, vol. 1, 285 (aqūl: *iḥtaṣartu min al-aṣl ḡālib mā kāna fi Tahḍīb al-kamāl min asmā' ar-riġāl fa-inna al-Kāšif liḍ-Ḍahabī tawallā tağrīd ḍālika*).

<sup>48</sup> In fact, Ibn Ḥaḡar was not able to proceed much further than a few volumes due to some impediment that he does not detail. He thus asked one of his colleagues to complete the abstract applying the rule that he had set. Ibn Ḥaḡar al-'Asqalānī, *Tağrīd*, vol. 1, 46 (*wa-laqaḍ 'araḍa lī ba'da an katabtu min hādā al-ġuz' qit'a 'āriḍ fa-sa'altu ṣāḥibanā Badr ad-Dīn al-Baštakī fi takmilat tağrīdihi 'alā aṣ-ṣarṭ al-laḍī qaddamtuhu fa-fa'ala*).

<sup>49</sup> On Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd and his library, see as-Saḡāwī, *al-Ḍau'*, vol. 9, 281–283 (no. 727).

<sup>50</sup> Cairo, al-Maktaba al-Azharīya, MS 10667.

<sup>51</sup> The manuscript is acephalous (it probably lacks two leaves) and the introduction of the text where Ibn Fahd indicated the nature of his work is missing. A later owner, the famous scholar az-Zabidī (d. 1205 AH / 1790 CE), indicated on the opening page the following description: *Kitāb muḥtaṣar asmā' aṣ-ṣaḡāba liṣ-ṣaiḥ Taqī ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Fahd wa-bi-ḥaṭṭihi*. The entry for this manuscript found in the catalogue was based on this short description. See *Fihris maḥṭūṭāt maktabat al-Azhar aṣ-ṣarīf* 2016, vol. 18, 610 (no. 37128).

<sup>52</sup> Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Usd al-ġāba*. A comparison of the contents of the manuscript with Ibn al-Aṭīr's text confirms that both are similar.

material (see Fig. 3): the text follows the structure of the source (alphabetical order according to the name (*ism*) within several categories of transmitters), each entry largely limited to one line with the given name written in red ink. Such a presentation served two purposes: one to help Taqī ad-Dīn to easily find the basic information and the other in case it was necessary to consult the source for more details about a transmitter.

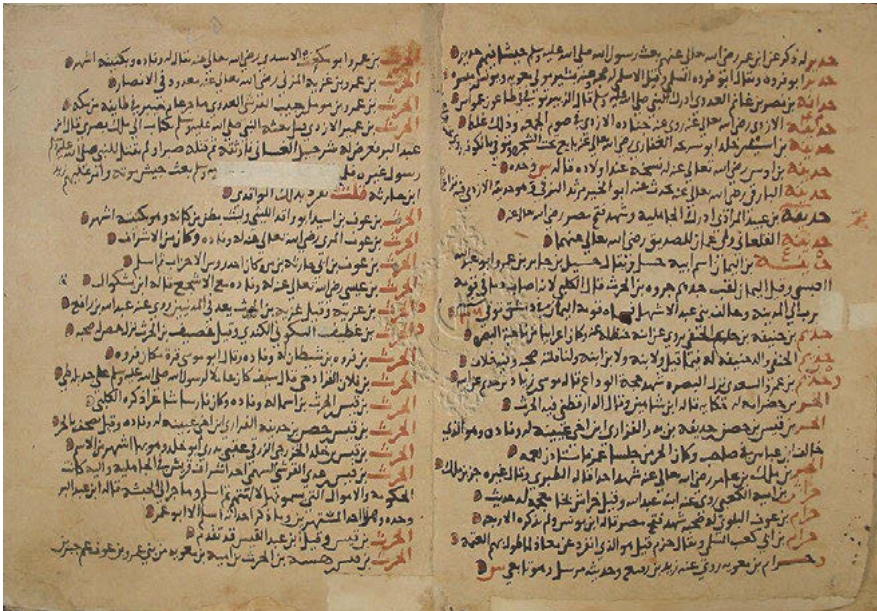


Fig. 3: Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd, *Taḡrīd of Ibn al-ʿAṭīr's Usd al-ḡāba*; Cairo, al-Maktaba al-Azharīya, MS 10667, fols 24b–25a.

If the outlines described as *taḡrīd* in the abovementioned examples remained faithful to the organization of data in the original source (resembling, to a degree, a table of contents) it seems scholars also resorted to another type of tool to gain easier access to the data available in multi-volume works. This tool is usually defined in Arabic as *tartīb*, a word referring to how the data is arranged in a particular order. Of course, not all the data is indicated here, only basic information as in the *taḡrīd*. The *tartīb* could in some cases resemble what is usually defined as an index. As detailed earlier, Naḡm ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd, was commended by as-Sahāwī for his work preparing alphabetical listings (*tartīb*) of various texts. Despite as-Sahāwī’s appraisal of their usefulness, none appear to



have survived. To gain some idea of how this category of text functioned, one example remains from the sixth AH / twelfth CE century. The Damascene traditionist Ibn ‘Asākir (d. 571 AH / 1176 CE) compiled a list of all the companions who transmitted traditions from the Prophet mentioned in Ibn Ḥanbal’s (d. 241 AH / 855 CE) *al-Musnad*, a canonical collection of almost 30,000 *ḥadīṭs*. The author’s son organized the *musnad* according to several criteria related to the virtues and qualities of the companions. Ibn ‘Asākir titled his work *Tartīb asmā’ aṣ-ṣaḥāba al-laḏīna aḥraḡa ḥadīṭahum Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal fī al-Musnad* (‘Index of the names of the [Prophet’s] Companions whose traditions Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal selected in his *al-Musnad*’). In the introduction, he explains how the consultation of *al-Musnad* has been complicated by its internal organization, hence his decision to prepare an alphabetical list of all the companions mentioned therein with clear indication of the different parts where a given name appears.<sup>53</sup> Ibn ‘Asākir took the opportunity to add some clarifications, additions, and corrections regarding the names or the place where a person settled, thus transforming his *tartīb* into a useful tool. Interestingly, Ibn ‘Asākir characterizes his work in the introduction as an index (*fahrasa*).<sup>54</sup>

Tools such as the *taḡrīd* and the *tartīb* proved indispensable to the scholar needing to quickly navigate through voluminous texts. This is a clear indication that the scholar who prepared them had direct access to the original text, and therefore could afford an extensive library and owned a copy of the text that was the subject of the outline or the index. Either that or he had easy access to a copy for consultation whenever he wished. In other instances, a book may have been of such rarity that its owner would keep it jealously guarded and scholars had no choice but to request its borrowing. Should the book-owner comply with the request and the book proved to be of great use for the scholar, the latter may feel compelled to copying either the entire text – always a costly and time-consuming enterprise – or selections considered essential for their work.

## 2.2 Summarizing and excerpting

When describing Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd’s output as a scholar, as-Saḥāwī emphasized how ‘he copied a lot in his own hand, created notebooks, summarized and

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<sup>53</sup> Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tartīb*, 33.

<sup>54</sup> Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tartīb*, 33.

excerpted [texts]'.<sup>55</sup> This describes the very essence of what a scholar had to do to broaden his knowledge. First he had to make copies of the whole text of sources as far as was possible. This he expresses in Arabic as *kataba bi-ḥaṭṭihi al-kaṭīr*. Here, *kataba* does not mean 'to write', i.e. 'to compose', but 'to copy'.<sup>56</sup> An additional example found under as-Saḥāwī's pen regarding another scholar who did not author works confirms this interpretation: *kataba bi-ḥaṭṭihi al-kaṭīr bi-ḥaiṭu mu'zam kutubihī bi-ḥaṭṭihi* ('he copied a lot in his own hand to such an extent that most of his books are in his hand').<sup>57</sup> When copying the entire source was impossible, the scholar had to select the passages he thought most useful, the selection process as-Saḥāwī expressed by two verbs (*iḥṭaṣara* and *intaqā*) has already been encountered at the beginning of this article. In some cases, the result of this process could be gathered (*ḡama'a*, 'to collect') by the scholar in notebooks (*maḡāmi'*, pl. of *maḡmū'*, 'collection of notes') as Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd apparently did.

At times scholars indicated how they benefitted from the manuscript they accessed. Some of the most prolific scholars of this era, such as aṣ-Ṣafadī (d. 764 AH / 1363 CE), Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809 AH / 1407 CE), al-Maqrīzī, Naḡm ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd, and as-Saḥāwī have left such notes. These notes provide us with primary information on the nature of the scholar's interaction with the text (usually not found anywhere else) as evidenced by the samples in Table 1.

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<sup>55</sup> as-Saḥāwī, *al-Ḍau'*, vol. 9, 282 (*kataba bi-ḥaṭṭihi al-kaṭīr wa-ḡama'a al-maḡāmi' wa-iḥṭaṣara wa-intaqā*).

<sup>56</sup> See also Florian Sobieroj's contribution in this volume.

<sup>57</sup> as-Saḥāwī, *al-Ḍau'*, vol. 6, 112 (no. 353).

**Table 1:** Example of consultation notes

al-Şafadī's consultation note in Yāqūt al-Rūmī's *Mu'ğam al-buldān* (see Fig. 4):

Ḥalīl ibn Aibak aṣ-Şafadī read it and the one that precedes it making excerpts (*muntaqīyan*) from it praising God and asking Him to bless and grant salvation to His prophet.

طالعه وما قبله منتقيا / خليل بن أيبك الصفدي حامدا ومصليا.

Ibn Duqmāq's consultation note in Şafadī's holograph copy of *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt* (see Fig. 5):

Ibrāhīm ibn Duqmāq – May God forgive him – read it.

طالعه إبراهيم بن دقماق عفا الله عنه

Ibrāhīm ibn Duqmāq read it a second time and took notes (*istafāda*) from it.

طالعه إبراهيم بن دقماق / ثانيا واستفاد منه.

al-Maqrīzī's consultation note in Ibn Waḥṣīya's *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭīya* (see Fig. 6):

Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī – May God be kind to him – finished to read it and to made excerpts (*intiqa*) of its useful notes (*fawā'id*) during the month of Rabī' II 806 [October–November 1403 CE] invoking God to provide its owner a protracted life and a prolonged fame.

أنهاه مطالعة وانتقاء من / فوائده داعيا لمالكة بالبقاء / والعز المديد أحمد بن علي / المقرزي لطف الله به في شهر ربيع / الآخر سنة ست وثمان مائة.

al-Maqrīzī's consultation note in Ibn Faḡl Allāh al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-abṣār* (see Fig. 7):

Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī made excerpts (*intaqa*) from it in 831 [1427–1428 CE] invoking God in favour of its lender.

انتقاه داعيا لمعيره / أحمد بن علي المقرزي / سنة ٨٣١.

Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Fahd's consultation note in al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda* (see Fig. 8):

Praise be to God. The servant Muḥammad – called 'Umar – ibn Muḥammad ibn Fahd al-Hāšimī al-Makkī read it in it [Mecca] in 839 [1435–1436 CE] from the beginning to the end taking notes (*mustafīdan*) from it and asking God to provide its author a protracted life and a lasting progress.

الحمد لله / طالعه من أوله إلى آخره مستفيدا منه / داعيا لمؤلفه بالبقاء ودوام الارتقاء العبد / محمد المدعو عمر بن محمد بن فهد الهاشمي المكي بها سنة ٨٣٩.

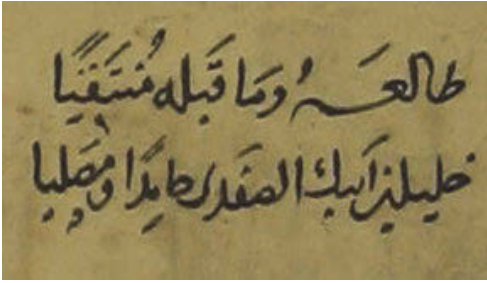


Fig. 4: aṣ-Ṣafadī's consultation note in *Yāqūt al-Rūmī's Muḡam al-buldān* (vol. 2); Istanbul, Köprülü Kütüphanesi, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1161, fol. 1a (detail).

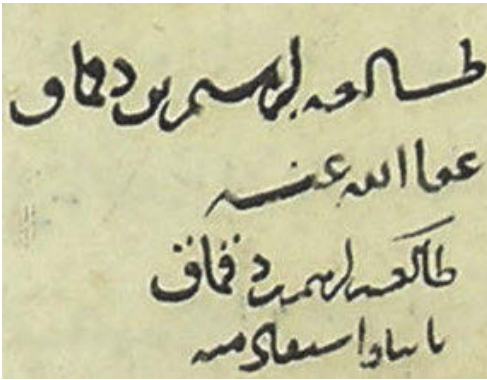


Fig. 5: Ibn Duqmāq's consultation note in aṣ-Ṣafadī's holograph copy of *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt* (vol. 1); Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Süleymaniye 841, fol. 193b (detail).

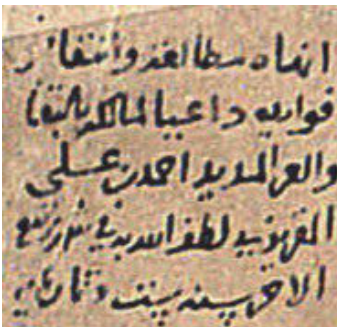


Fig. 6: al-Maqrīzī's consultation note in Ibn Waḡṣīya's *al-Filāḡa an-nabaṭīya* (vol. 1); Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Fatih 3612, fol. 1a (detail).



Al-Maqrīzī seems to have been quite systematic in writing such consultation notes on each manuscript given that thirty-nine of them, corresponding to sixteen works, have been identified so far.<sup>58</sup> To describe how he took advantage of a work, al-Maqrīzī resorted to two verbs: *intaqā* and *istafāda*. While the first verb refers to the action of excerpting, the second verb means ‘to take advantage of’, the *fā’ida* – deriving from the same root – indicating a useful note. The result of the note-taking process may be expressed differently (*muntaqan*, *muhtaṣar*, *talhīṣ*, *ta’līq*, *muḥtār*, etc.), the term used varying with no clear definition in mind as if all terms used were synonyms or could be used indiscriminately. This can be observed in a collection of three summaries prepared by Ibn Ḥaḡar preserved in his handwriting.<sup>59</sup> The volume opens with a summary of Ibn Kaṭīr’s *al-Bidāya wa-n-nihāya* (fols 1a–77b), proceeds with excerpts from al-Wāqidi’s *al-Maḡāzī* (fols 78a–149b), and ends with selections from Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Tārīḡ Madīnat Dimašq* (fols 150a–194b). The terms Ibn Ḥaḡar used to designate these notes differ completely to those his student, as-Saḡāwī, chose to describe them. For the first, Ibn Ḥaḡar calls it *Mā warada min ar-riwāya fī al-Bidāya wa-n-nihāya li-Ibn Kaṭīr* (‘Reports that appear in Ibn Kaṭīr’s *al-Bidāya wa-n-nihāya*’) while as-Saḡāwī referred to it as *Muhtaṣar al-Bidāya wa-n-nihāya li-Ibn Kaṭīr* (‘Summary of Ibn Kaṭīr’s *al-Bidāya wa-n-nihāya*’). In the introduction to the latter, Ibn Ḥaḡar explains that he limited his selections to those reports that concern the prophets who preceded Muḡammad but left aside the remainder of the text because this is already available in plenty of other histories. The second text, with no title page, starts immediately after three lines, the first two corresponding to the *basmala* and the *ḡamdala* (religious formulae traditionally starting any text, respectively ‘In the name of God the Compassionate the Merciful’ and ‘Praise be to God’), with a description of what the text that follows consists: *Ta’līq min Maḡāzī al-Wāqidi* (‘Notes from al-Wāqidi’s *al-Maḡāzī*’).<sup>60</sup> In as-Saḡāwī’s rendition, this became *Talhīṣ Maḡāzī al-Wāqidi* (‘Epitome of al-Wāqidi’s *al-Maḡāzī*’). Finally, the third text has a title page in which Ibn Ḥaḡar indicates that the text following is a *Ta’līq min Tārīḡ Ibn ‘Asākir* (‘Notes from Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Tārīḡ*’). For as-Saḡāwī, it was a *Muntaqan min Tārīḡ Ibn ‘Asākir* (‘Excerpts from Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Tārīḡ*’).

When note-taking of a particular text ended, the scholar sometimes concluded his notes with a colophon mentioning his name, the date when he com-

<sup>58</sup> Bauden 2022.

<sup>59</sup> Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriya, 522 Tārīḡ. See *Fihris al-kutub al-‘arabiya al-mauḡūda bi-d-Dār* 1924, vol. 5, 143, 322.

<sup>60</sup> The text was recently published, cf. Ibn Ḥaḡar al-‘Asqālānī, *al-Muntaqā*.

pleted the work and occasionally the place where it had been carried out. These indications sometimes mirror those mentioned by scholars in their consultation notes. After al-Maqrīzī read Ibn ‘Adī’s (d. 360 AH / 971 CE or 365 AH / 976 CE) *al-Kāmil fī aḍ-ḍu‘afā’*, a multi-volume biographical dictionary of transmitters of the Prophet’s traditions considered to be of weak authority, in each of the volumes he read a consultation note was added stating he had taken notes from it: *istafāda minhu dā‘iyan li-mālikihī Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī laṭafa Allāh bi-hi* (‘Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī – May God be kind to him – took notes from it invoking God for its owner’). The result of his note-taking was a summary where he disclosed the date of completion: the first day of the year 795 AH / 17 November 1392 CE.<sup>61</sup> This colophon tells precisely when he consulted Ibn ‘Adī’s text and also the date he prepared his summary. Upon studying some of his surviving summaries and his handwriting, it is clear he took notes while reading from his source. As a result, the copies of these summaries are not the preparation of a draft followed by a fair copy, but the result of an instantaneous process.<sup>62</sup>

Al-Maqrīzī’s summary of Ibn ‘Adī’s *al-Kāmil* fills a whole volume. Obviously, the length of the summaries depended on two factors: the length of the text to be summarized and the degree of interest the scholar had in the text itself. A scholar may make a copy of the entire text if deemed sufficiently significant to his education or work. Some summaries would fill only a few quires whereby the scholar could gather several summaries in one volume as was the case with Ibn Ḥaḡar’s above-mentioned summaries of three sources. Elsewhere, scholars had recourse to notebooks as witnessed by Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd’s tools detailed by as-Saḡhāwī: ‘he created notebooks’ (*ḡama‘a maḡāmi‘*, literally ‘he gathered [notes] in miscellanies’<sup>63</sup>).

### 2.3 Note-taking

To date, notebooks have received little attention from modern scholars.<sup>64</sup> This may be down to the fact that notebooks are usually anonymous largely because the author rarely writes down his name in the volume. One notorious example

<sup>61</sup> Bauden 2022, 230.

<sup>62</sup> Bauden 2008, 60–67.

<sup>63</sup> Note that *maḡmū‘* is a generic word usually translated as compilation, miscellany, collection, etc.

<sup>64</sup> See Friedrich and Schwarke 2016.

of a thorough study of a Mamluk scholar's notebook is that of al-Maqrīzī.<sup>65</sup> The volume I identified in the collection of the University of Liège is entirely in his handwriting, enabling me to recognize al-Maqrīzī as the author of the notebook. Comprising several short summaries and excerpts of various sources al-Maqrīzī put to good use, the manuscript also contains drafts of personal texts he inserted in his books and various notes regarding his contemporaries. Even though some summaries begin with brief introductions explaining the goal pursued by the compiler, al-Maqrīzī does not write his name anywhere, which can be taken as evidence the volume was intended for his own personal needs. On the rare occasion al-Maqrīzī made reference to his notebooks, he dubbed them his miscellanies (*mağāmī*),<sup>66</sup> the same term as-Saḥāwī used to designate Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd's notebooks.

Though Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd's notebooks have not yet been discovered, a volume of his grandson's notebook, Muḥyī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd (d. 885 AH / 1481 CE; he died the same year as his father, Nağm ad-Dīn), has been preserved.<sup>67</sup> Somewhat thin (97 fols), this volume opens with selections (*muntaḥab*) (fols 1a–34b) of ad-Dīnawarī's (d. 310 AH / 922 CE) *al-Muğālasa*. Ibn Fahd explains how he decided to omit the chains of transmitters – mentioned in full at the beginning of each account in the original work – for the sake of clarity. He also says his selections do not follow the original order of *al-Muğālasa* (see Fig. 9).<sup>68</sup> These selections are followed by excerpts from Ibn Ḥağar's *tağrīd* of aṣ-Ṣafadī's *al-Wāfi* (fols 35a–38a) (see Fig. 10).

<sup>65</sup> On this notebook, see Bauden 2003; Bauden 2006. For what the notebook reveals about al-Maqrīzī's working method, see Bauden 2008; Bauden 2009a; Bauden 2010.

<sup>66</sup> Bauden 2008, 104–107.

<sup>67</sup> Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Arabic 3857. See Arberry and Lyons 1955, vol. 4, 38. On Muḥyī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd, see al-Hila 1994, 160 (no. 63) who was not aware of the notebook's existence.

<sup>68</sup> Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Arabic 3857, fol. 1a (*wa-hāḍihi al-aḥbār mutṭaṣila bi-s-sanad ḡamī'uhā ḥaḍaftuhu taḥfifan wa-hiya 'alā ḡair tartīb aṣlihi*).



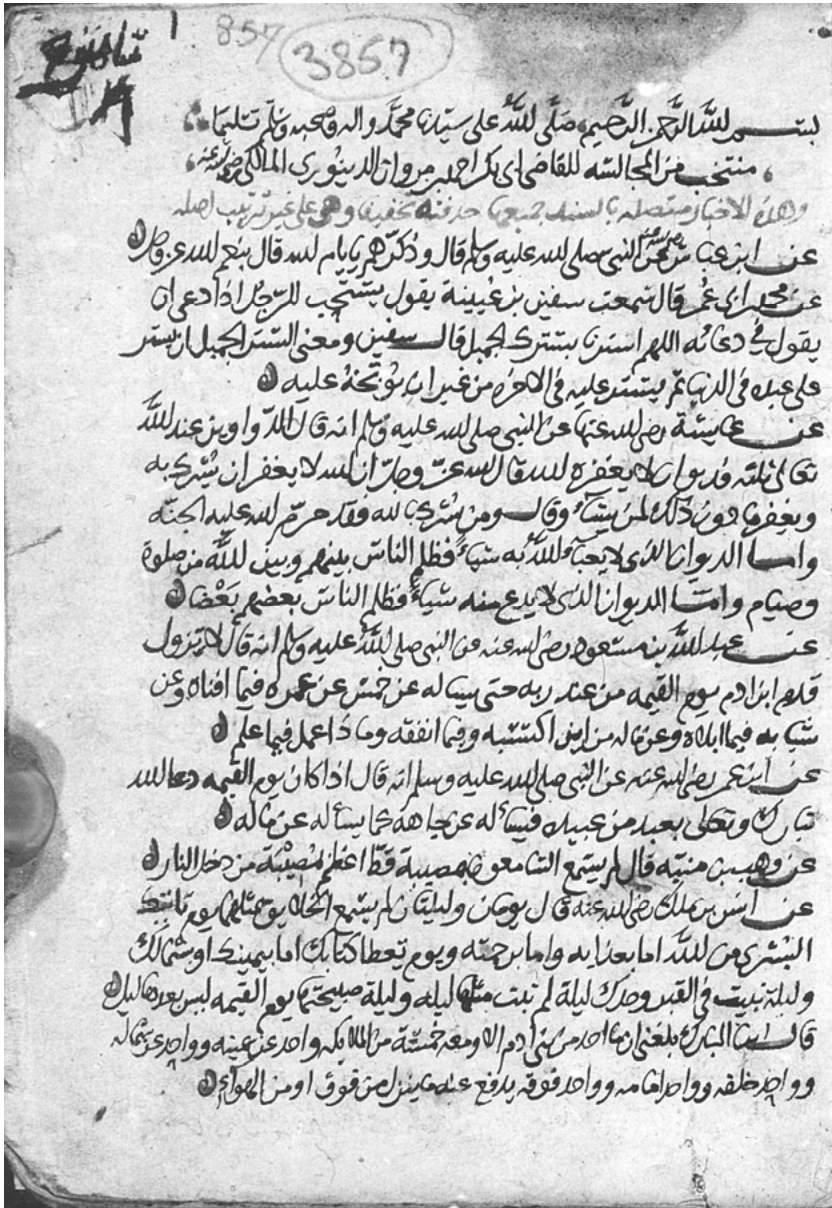


Fig. 9: Muḥyī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd's notebook; Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Arabic 3857, fol. 1a.



Despite his father having made a copy of Ibn Ḥaḡar’s *Taḡrīd*, as seen earlier, it is clear Ibn Fahd has exploited a tool made by another scholar.<sup>69</sup> The volume proceeds with various notes taken from other sources, including two substantial summaries. The identity of the notebook’s originator would remain unknown had its compiler not mentioned his name in a colophon added at the end of the last summary (fol. 91a) in which he also indicated the year (27 Raḡab 874 AH / 30 January 1470 CE) (see Fig. 11):

This is the end of the selections made from *al-Bulḡa fi tāriḥ a’immat an-naḥw wa-l-luḡa* (‘The means of attaining knowledge of the history of the authorities in grammar and lexicography’), the work of the most learned imam, the authority on lexicography, Maḡd ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ya’qūb al-Firūzābādī. The needy of God’s forgiveness and generosity, Yaḥyā ibn ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Fahd al-Hāšimī – May God be kind to him – made the selections for himself. It was completed on Wednesday 27 Raḡab – the holy the sacred – 874 [28 December 1472 CE]. Praise be to God Alone. May God bless and grant salvation to our lord Muḥammad, his family, and his companions. God is our sufficiency, and an excellent Steward is He!

This detail reveals he was 25 years old at the time and the volume corresponds to his period of preparation in becoming a scholar and author. As-Saḡāwī, one of Muḥyī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd’s acquaintances, confirms the latter prepared miscellanies (*ḡama‘a maḡāmī‘*). The Dublin manuscript is a sample of such miscellanies.<sup>70</sup>

ما آخر المنتخب من البلغة في تاريخ ائمة النحو واللغة  
 ما تأليف الامام العلامة امام اللغة مجد الدين محمد يعقوب الفيروز آبادي  
 ما انتخبه لنفسه الفقير الى حقول الله وكرمه يحيى بن عمر بن محمد بن Fahd الهاشمي  
 ما و كان الراج منه في يوم الاربعاء السابع عشر من رجب الحرام سنة اربع مائة وسبعة وثمانين  
 والحمد لله وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه وسلم تسليمًا حسبت الله نعم الوكيل

Fig. 11: Muḥyī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd’s notebook; Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Arabic 3857, fol. 91a (detail).

<sup>69</sup> He may have read the copy his grandfather Taqī ad-Dīn made of Ibn Ḥaḡar’s *Taḡrīd*. As mentioned earlier, Taqī ad-Dīn established his library as an endowment.

<sup>70</sup> as-Saḡāwī, *al-Ḍau‘*, vol. 10, 239.

Notebooks were deeply linked to authorship, for scholars compiled them as preparation for the composing of their own books. Hence, they very often consist of summaries and selections of texts. Aside from this use, scholars also felt the need to write down information from texts for no other reason than to preserve passages they liked, or recall their creators' own prose and poetry. Such collections functioned in a different way to notebooks and rightly received a distinct name as the subsequent section will demonstrate.

## 2.4 Note-taking continued... but with something else in mind

European scholars used florilegia, i.e. collections of short quotes, and commonplace books, i.e. books in which they would take note of excerpts, quotations, sentences, whether their own or penned by others, contemporary or not.<sup>71</sup> Mamluk scholars also used similar tools to keep a trace of things they read or heard. Such collections may be better defined as collectanea for the material was not arranged in any pre-established order.<sup>72</sup> The Arabic word used to refer to such collections is usually *taḍkīra* (*aide-mémoire*), referring to their basic function of reminding. First and foremost, *taḍkīra* was a key mnemonic device for the scholar.<sup>73</sup> As several examples survive from the early fourteenth century and the sources contain more testimonies, it has become easier to analyse this particular tool and see how the authors conceived it.<sup>74</sup> What led a scholar to devise a *taḍkīra* has to be emphasized, for it differed from the tools previously described. The purpose of this tool was primarily to note passages and texts the author particularly liked which were not necessarily ones he wished to exploit for his own compositions, although – as will be seen below – some scholars did.

In his detailed biography of Ibn Ḥaḡar, as-Saḡāwī tells of how his master began his own *taḍkīra* at the age of 19:<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> On commonplace books in Europe, see Lainé 2019; Cazalé Bérard 2019 for two specific cases of the medieval period; Allan 2010 for the modern period. See also Élisabeth Décultot's contributions and those of Mélanie Dubois in the present volume.

<sup>72</sup> These can be defined as 'extended personal manuscript compilations' as explained by the editors of this volume in their introduction.

<sup>73</sup> In one volume of his *taḍkīra*, Ibn Mubārakšāh (see below) in a short preamble states 'this is a *taḍkīra* for what the mind strains' (*ḥāḍīhi taḍkīra li-mā imtaḡana al-ḡāḡir*). Istanbul, Millet Genel Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah 1613, fol. 1b.

<sup>74</sup> See more recently Franssen 2022, 114–123.

<sup>75</sup> Ibn Ḥaḡar was born in 773 AH / 1372 CE.

In the course of the year [7]92 [1371 CE], he was fondly inclined towards various branches of literature in which he excelled to the extent that he could not hear a piece of poetry without recalling from where the poet had taken it. He was passionate about and remained obsessed by it until he excelled and became a master [in this field], conversing with *littérateurs*, declaiming perfect poetry and excellent prose, and composing laudatory poems for the Prophet and epigrams which the leading authorities [in literature] took note of.<sup>76</sup>

For Ibn Ḥaḡar, the *taḏkira* functioned as a repository of selections of nice pieces of poetry and prose he memorized but also wrote down should he have felt the need to refresh his memory. Having begun his *aide-mémoire* when planning to specialize in belles-lettres, the *taḏkira* served as a useful tool for a young student wishing to collate as much material as possible. In only a few years, his *taḏkira* reached forty thin (*liṭāf*) volumes.<sup>77</sup> Here Ibn Ḥaḡar noted personal poetical compositions that were not necessarily included in his official poetical collections (*dīwān*) published later.<sup>78</sup> In 796 AH / 1393–1394 CE, aged 22, he became more interested in *ḥadīṭ* studies, a field he was to choose for his future career. Turning increasingly away from literature, he began a new *taḏkira* dedicated to this subject (*ḥadīṭ*) specifically.<sup>79</sup>

Typically such collections of notes had no pre-established order as they were notes taken almost daily. Repetitions were inevitable.<sup>80</sup> According to Ibn Ḥaḡar, ‘people call things of this sort an *aide-mémoire* (*taḏkira*) but it looks more like it impedes memory (*munsiya*)’.<sup>81</sup> One volume of Ibn Ḥaḡar’s *taḏkira* has been preserved. On the title page he states, in his own hand, that it is the

76 as-Saḡāwī, *al-Ḍauʿ*, vol. 1, 126 (*wa-naẓara fī funūn al-adab min atnāʿ sanat iṭnatain wa-tisʿin fa-fāqa fihā ḥattā kāna lā yasmaʿu šīʿran illā wa-yastahḏiru min aina aḥaḏahu an-nāẓim wa-tawallaʿa bi-ḏālīka wa-mā zāla yatbaʿuhu ḥaṭīruhu ḥattā fāqa fihī wa-sāda wa-ṭaraḥa al-udabāʿ wa-qāla aš-šīʿr ar-rāʿiq wa-n-naṭr al-fāʿiq wa-nazzama madāʾiḥ nabawīya wa-maqāṭīʿ wa-kataba ʿanhu al-aʿimma min ḏālīka).*

77 as-Saḡāwī, *al-Ġawāḥir*, vol. 2, 694.

78 as-Saḡāwī, *al-Ġawāḥir*, vol. 2, 694.

79 as-Saḡāwī, *al-Ġawāḥir*, vol. 2, 680. To differentiate between them, he refers to the first as *at-taḏkira al-adabiya* (‘the *taḏkira* on literature’) and the second as *al-taḏkira al-ḥadīṭiya* (the *taḏkira* on *ḥadīṭ*), but there is no indication that Ibn Ḥaḡar named them this way. He did, however, give a title to his *taḏkira* on literature: *Masāmīr as-sāḥir wa-masāḥir as-sāmīr* (‘Nightly entertainments for the sleepless partygoer and nocturnal conversations for the restless merry-maker’).

80 as-Saḡāwī, *al-Ġawāḥir*, vol. 2, 695 (*wa-qad yūḡad fihā al-mutakarrir li-kaunihā ḡair murat-taba*).

81 as-Saḡāwī, *al-Ġawāḥir*, vol. 2, 695 (*an-nās yusammūna mā kāna min ḥaḏā al-qabil at-taḏkira wa-huwa bi-l-munsiya ašbah*).

sixth volume of his new *taḍkira*, begun upon his decision to devote himself to religious studies (see Fig. 12): one reads in Ibn Ḥaḡar’s handwriting *al-muḡallad as-sādis min at-taḍkira al-ḡadīda likātibihi Aḡmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Ḥaḡar ‘afā Allāh ta‘ālā ‘anhu* (‘the sixth volume of the new *taḍkira* by its writer Aḡmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Ḥaḡar – May God the Exalted forgive him’). This volume of 287 fols is replete with various kinds of notes: requests for answers from other scholars, received and inserted in the volume in their own hand with Ibn Ḥaḡar’s drafted answer at the end of each; lists of autograph licenses granted by famous scholars allowing him to transmit their works and those of others they were authorized to circulate; excerpts from various works, short texts copied by someone else, probably for Ibn Ḥaḡar’s use. On fols 25\*b–25\*\*a for instance, there is a piece of paper in which four verses have been written in a different hand. Below the verses, Ibn Ḥaḡar penned a note explaining the author’s identity and the circumstances in which that author addressed them to him. ‘Alī ibn Maḡmūd al-Muḡulī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 827 AH / 1423 CE) was that author and he had composed the verses to celebrate the recitation of the Qur’an by Ibn Ḥaḡar’s son, an event marking the completion of his primary education. Al-Muḡulī accompanied that piece of paper with a garment from Baalbek as gift. Ibn Ḥaḡar continues saying he answered with verses and wrote them on the other side of the piece of paper (indeed present on fol. 25\*\*b). At a later date, as the different colour of ink shows, Ibn Ḥaḡar states how this took place at a given date and place that he details (see Fig. 13).<sup>82</sup>

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**82** *Hāḡīhi al-abyāt al-arba‘a kataba bi-hā ilaiya qāḡī al-quḡāt ‘Alā’ ad-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Maḡmūd Ibn al-Muḡulī al-Ḥanbalī lammā ḡatama ibnī Badr ad-Dīn Muḡammad al-qur’ān wa-ḡaḡara al-a‘yān wa-ahḡā lī ‘Alā’ ad-Dīn ma‘ahu ṡauban ba‘labakkīyan wa-katabtu ilaihi al-ḡawāb bi-maqlūbihā wa-kāna al-ḡatm (corrected over ḡālika) fi ṡahr ramaḡān sanat sitt wa-‘iṡrīn wa-ṡamānīmi’a bi-l-ḡānḡāh ar-rukniya al-baibarsiya ‘ammarahā Allāh ta‘ālā* (‘The supreme judge ‘Alā’ ad-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Maḡmūd Ibn al-Muḡulī al-Ḥanbalī wrote these four verses to me when my son Badr ad-Dīn Muḡammad completed the recitation of the Qur’an attended by the leading scholars. Together with these ‘Alā’ ad-Dīn offered me a garment from Baalbek. I wrote him an answer which is on the verso. The completion of the recitation of the Qur’an took place during the month of Ramaḡān 826 [8 August–6 September 1423 CE] at the Sufi convent (*ḡānḡāh*) of Rukn ad-Dīn Baibars – May God the Exalted preserve it’). The exchange did not stop here as a small sheet of paper bearing Ibn al-Muḡulī’s answer in verses to Ibn Ḥaḡar’s follows (fol. 25\*\*a), to whom Ibn Ḥaḡar responded, his versified answer was written on the verso (fol. 25\*\*b).



Fig. 12: Ibn Hağar's *Tağkira* (vol. 6); Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Aya Sofya 3139, fol. 1a.



Fig. 13: A poem addressed to Ibn Hağar in Ibn Hağar's *Tağkira* (vol. 6); Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Aya Sofya 3139, fols 25\*b-25\*a.

This kind of volume is difficult to access, for those consulting it are faced with some disarray: the entire volume must be read through to understand its content. Moreover, it is impossible to remember what is in it without a list of these contents. This feature explains how Ibn Ḥaḡar himself felt regarding his own *taḍkira* when stating how this kind of tool impedes rather than assists the memory.

A few scholars were aware how the lack of organization made such texts difficult to consult, particularly for those expressing an interest in reading their *taḍkira*. Ibn Mubārakšāh (d. 862 AH / 1458 CE at the age of 54), a modest scholar who authored some works and was active as a poet, held a *taḍkira* of which thirteen holograph volumes are available.<sup>83</sup> In one of these volumes, he states: ‘This twenty-fifth volume of the *safīna* that I am keeping is not divided into sections nor organized. If God grants completion, it will be organized if God the Exalted will’ (see Fig. 14).<sup>84</sup> Ibn Mubārakšāh may not have been able to attain his wish to organize his *taḍkira*, but others were. Al-Ḥiḡāzī (d. 875 AH / 1471 CE), another of Ibn Ḥaḡar’s students, wrote a *taḍkira* in excess of fifty volumes.<sup>85</sup> In the knowledge of Ibn Ḥaḡar’s statement on the *taḍkira*, he organized his own *aide-mémoire* concerned he may not be able to retrieve the information he searched. But the order he followed is not known.<sup>86</sup>

It is clear the *taḍkiras* with no preestablished organization – most of them in fact – at least followed a logical chronological order. The scholar penned his notes in the volume according to what he was reading or hearing. When he indicated the time a piece had been written down, the *taḍkira* volumes can be dated to that given period. This is confirmed by as-Saḡāwī’s testimony regarding Ibn Ḥaḡar’s first *taḍkira* dealing with literature. He explains how he would consult about twenty of the original forty volumes during a stay in Mecca. The dates found in the volumes corresponded to the years 794 AH / 1391–1392 CE, 795 AH / 1392–1393 CE, and 796 AH / 1393–1394 CE, i.e. the year when Ibn Ḥaḡar’s scholarly interests shifted increasingly to religious studies and when he started a new – parallel – *taḍkira*, devoted to his readings in this field. Aṣ-Ṣafadī’s

**83** Istanbul, Millet Genel Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah 1610-1622. As-Saḡāwī confirms that he kept a *taḍkira*, cf. as-Saḡāwī, *al-Ḍau’*, vol. 2, 65 (*wa-ṣannafa ašyā’ wa-ḡama’a at-taḍkira*).

**84** Istanbul, Millet Genel Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah 1618, fol. 1b (*wa-hādā al-ḡuz’ al-ḡāmis ba’da al-’išrīn min as-safīna min ḡam’ī ḡair mubauwab wa-lā murattab wa-in manna Allāh bi-l-farāḡ ruttiba in šā’a Allāh ta’ālā*).

**85** as-Saḡāwī, *al-Ḍau’*, vol. 2, 148 (*balaḡat taḍkiratuhu azyad min ḡamsīn muḡallada*).

**86** as-Saḡāwī, *al-Ġawāhir*, vol. 2, 695 (*wa-lifrār al-Ḥiḡāzī min hādā kānat taḍkiratuhu murattaba*).



*taḍkira*, said to have consisted of fifty volumes,<sup>87</sup> shares the same chronological characteristics of Ibn Ḥaḡar’s *taḍkira*. Of the surviving volumes, the first contains pieces at times dated 728 AH / 1327–1328 CE whereas the forty-ninth is dated 762 AH / 1360–1361 CE, i.e. two years before his death.<sup>88</sup> From which it can be asserted that aṣ-Ṣafadī began collecting data in his *taḍkira* in his thirties and continued till the end of his life. As for the content, aṣ-Ṣafadī’s *taḍkira* does not appear to be organized either and includes literary selections by other poets and belletrists as well as quotations of literary pieces (poetry, letters, documents) composed by himself or received from colleagues.

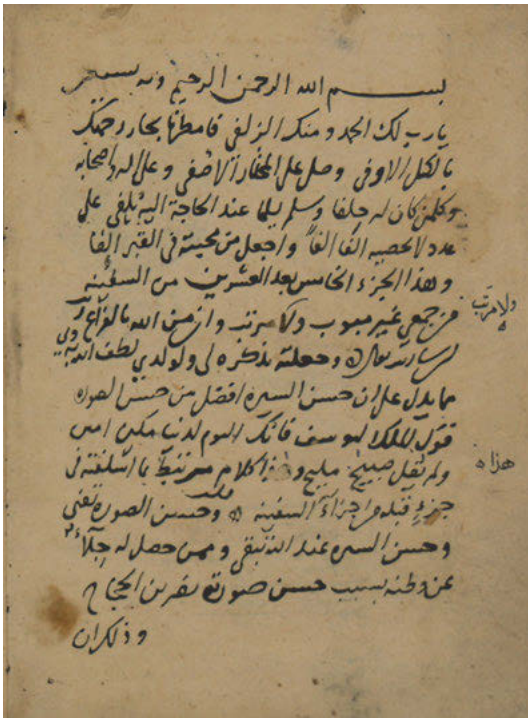


Fig. 14: Ibn Mubārakshāh’s *Taḍkira* (vol. 25); Istanbul, Millet Genel Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah 1618, fol. 1b.

<sup>87</sup> Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Arabic 3861, fol. 54a (*taḡzi’at ḥamsin*).

<sup>88</sup> See Franssen 2022, 120–121 as well as her article in this volume.

### 3 Material features

The tools' material features have also, thus far, only ever been poorly investigated. It is unfortunate because the physical characteristics of this kind of manuscript are helpful in identifying other manuscripts. Several of the features described in the following pages refer to holograph manuscripts in general, whether drafts or clean copies of a scholar's own works or texts that can be identified as tools they fabricated. The nature of the text helps differentiate between these two categories.

Most of the examples surveyed in this chapter share one characteristic up to now: they are a holograph and this is quite predictable. The scholars produced them primarily to serve their personal needs and most of these texts were not intended for publication. Whenever such tools are spotted in a library's collection, the scholar's handwriting usually serves to identify them. Nevertheless, some such texts were copied at a later date by one of the scholar's students wanting a copy for their own use if they were unable to acquire the scholar's holograph, as witnessed with Ibn Ḥaḡar's *Taḡrīd al-Wāfi* copied by Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd.<sup>89</sup> In such cases, the question arises as to whether these copyists retained some of the physical features of these holograph manuscripts and which they actually ignored. In the case of Ibn Ḥaḡar's *Taḡrīd al-Wāfi*, the difficulty arises from the fact that Ibn Ḥaḡar's holograph has been lost impeding any comparison between the original and its copy. Nonetheless, Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd wrote the first name of each biographee in red ink (see Fig. 1). The red ink makes for an easy perusal of the text. Regarding an outline, such as *Taḡrīd al-Wāfi*, it allows the user to navigate through the text. There is no reason to believe the use of red ink was Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd's decision: Ibn Ḥaḡar most likely resorted to this stratagem to expedite consultation of the outline. Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd behave no differently when producing his own outline of Ibn al-Aṭīr's *Usd al-ḡāba* (see Fig. 3). The advantages of red ink were proved when al-Maqrīzī decided to carry out a summary of *al-Wāfi*: each entry starts with the name of the biographee in red ink, enabling rapid navigation of the text. Another method to improve the browsing of a text were various visual marks, such as titles for sections, keywords in the margins, and signs of separation, red ink often plays a central role here too. Keywords added in the margin feature in the summary of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's *Futūḥ Miṣr* that al-Maqrīzī inserted in his

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<sup>89</sup> He executed his copy in 862 AH / 1458 CE, nine years after Ibn Ḥaḡar's death. Cf. Ibn Ḥaḡar al-'Asqalānī, *Taḡrīd*, vol. 5, 629.

notebook: in the example (see Fig. 15), he points to the contents of a passage that makes brief reference (respectively *ḥaliḡ Miṣr* ‘the canal of Egypt’ and *ḥaliḡ Sardūs* ‘the canal of Sardūs’) surmounted by a sign meaning *qif* (‘stop/read’) and further drawing his attention.

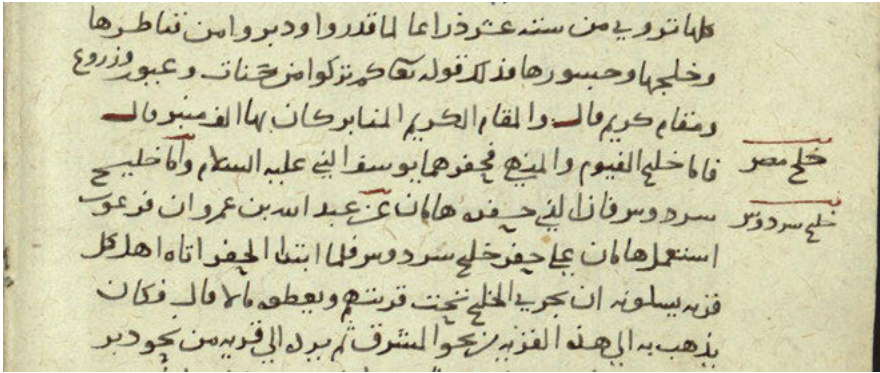


Fig. 15: al-Maqrīzī’s summary of Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam’s *Futūḥ Miṣr* in his notebook; Liège, Université de Liège. Bibliothèque ALPHA, 2232, fol. 39b (detail).

As has been seen, the scholars making these tools could reveal their name in the colophon or not. Ibn Ḥaḡar did not write his name in his volume comprising three summaries and al-Maqrīzī did likewise in his notebook. However, Muḡyī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd did mention his name in the colophon of one of the summaries in his notebook. When a scholar did include his name, he stated a certain form of his name and always invoked specific religious formulas enabling the reader to detect he is writing in the first person.<sup>90</sup> Taken alongside with others and the above-mentioned features, these elements provide further evidence confirming the text to be a holograph.<sup>91</sup>

The layout of the text is also a feature worthy of attention. Should the text be a holograph, it usually contains marginal additions, cancellations, erasures, all in the same handwriting as the main text. The justification of the text can be erratic depending on the scholar. While al-Maqrīzī took note of his summaries in neat handwriting applying regular justification, Ibn Ḥaḡar, on the contrary,

<sup>90</sup> He always left out his agnomen (*laqab*), an honorific composed of an adjective and the word *ad-dīn* (‘religion’), like Muḡyī ad-Dīn in the case of Ibn Fahd.

<sup>91</sup> On this, see Gacek 2020, 72–75.

scribed his summary of al-Wāqidi's *al-Mağāzī* in hasty handwriting with little attention to the justification (see Fig. 16).

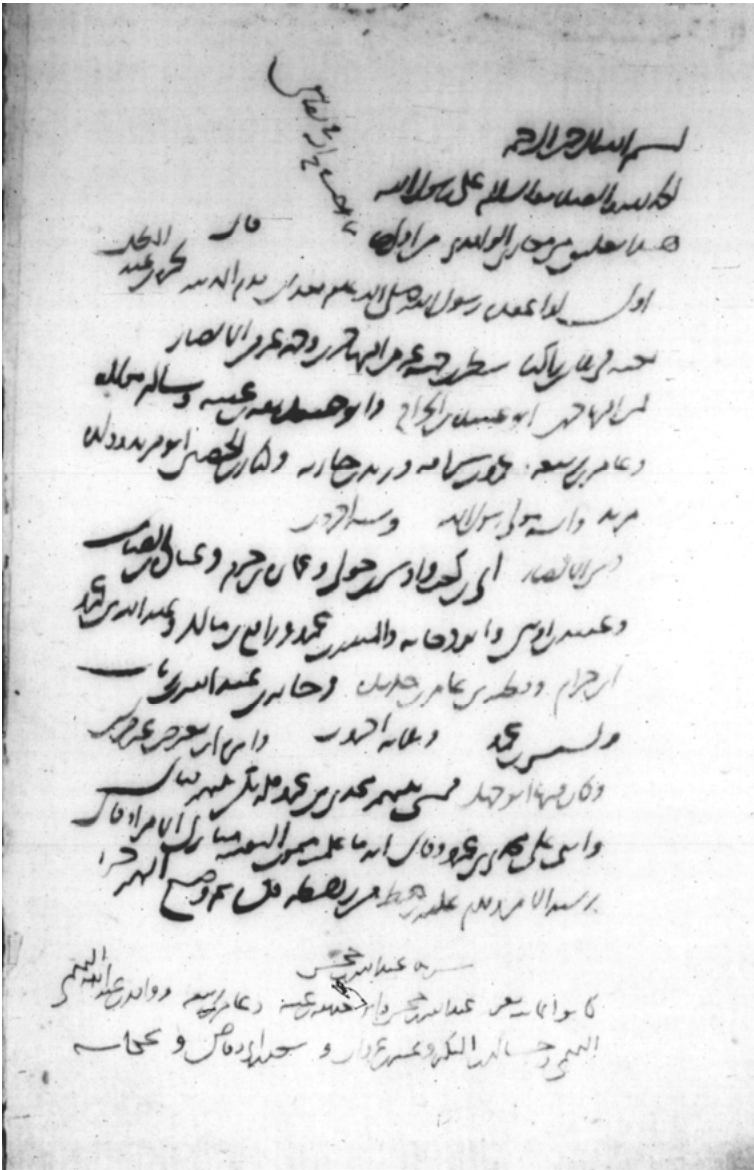


Fig. 16: Ibn Ḥaḡar's *Ta'īīq* of al-Wāqidi's *al-Mağāzī*; Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīya, 522 Tārīḡ, fol. 78b.

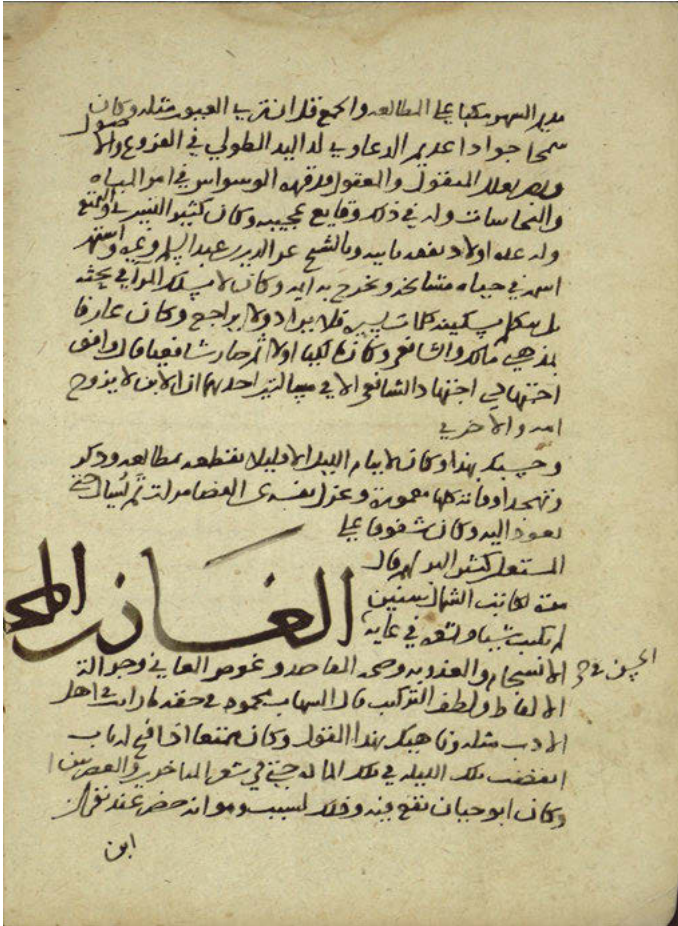


Fig. 17: al-Maqrīzī's notebook; Liège, Université de Liège. Bibliothèque ALPHA, 2232, fol. 114b.

Considering such tools were essentially to serve the scholar's own needs, now and then it appears scholars chose not to waste costly blank paper, choosing scrap paper instead. During the Mamluk period, scrap paper – perhaps not uniquely – derived from chancery documents provided sufficient blank spaces for scholars to reuse for their own purposes. These documents bore the following main characteristics: they were rolls made of several pasted sheets of paper; the text of the official document would be copied by a secretary and leaving large blank interlinear spaces of several centimetres; the script size was usually large and only the recto was put to good use. Such documents were often reused

by cutting the sheets that made up the roll and building quires with them. One of the scholars who reused this kind of scrap paper was al-Maqrīzī as a great amount is found in his notebook (see Fig. 17) but also in several drafts of his own works.<sup>92</sup> Other uses of scrap paper have been identified in Mamluk scholars' holograph manuscripts such as Ibn Ḥaḡar.<sup>93</sup>

In fabricating their notebooks and commonplace books, scholars used various kinds of paper seeming to wish to reuse any paper they found as optimally as possible. In this respect Ibn Ḥaḡar's *taḍkira* volume is quite idiosyncratic. Naturally, it is composed of quires of blank paper but not throughout the entire volume. As noted earlier, Ibn Ḥaḡar inserted in this volume texts received from others who used their own paper that was usually blank and from different places of production. Wherever possible Ibn Ḥaḡar also fitted in slips as well as small quires of tinted paper (see Fig. 18). Such red-tinted paper was normally reserved for chanceries in Syria and it may be deduced here that Ibn Ḥaḡar was reusing pieces cut out from documents issued by these chanceries.<sup>94</sup> The holograph volume of aṣ-Ṣafadī's *taḍkira* held in Princeton shows that some were made using a combination of different kinds of paper, as well as the red-tinted paper.<sup>95</sup> These volumes demonstrate how he prepared quires with remains of paper probably taken from the chancery in which he was employed.

In the above cases, such reuse of documents and paper remains affected the size of the volumes. Shop-bought sheets of paper were of standard sizes. Thus, quires fabricated using such paper would be of a more or less regular size no matter how they were folded. Implementing scrap paper rendered the maintaining of regular sizes impossible. A study of al-Maqrīzī's holographs established the volumes fabricated from scrap paper were smaller than those largely composed of full sheets of blank paper.<sup>96</sup> The size of aṣ-Ṣafadī's *taḍkira* holograph volume, kept in Princeton, confirms this fact.<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, the volume's nine-

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**92** For the list of the fragments identified in all his holograph manuscripts, see Bauden 2020, 163–164. Some of these fragments have been studied: see Bauden 2004; Bauden 2019; Bauden 2022.

**93** The practice was not limited of course to Mamluk scholars. In Europe, Giovanni Boccaccio (d. 1375) wrote his *Zibaldone* on a palimpsest (a gradual written on parchment and datable to the end of the thirteenth century). See Cazalé Bérard 2019, 63. See also for Japan Yasufumi Horikawa's contribution in the present volume.

**94** On the use of red-tinted paper by the Syrian chanceries, see aḡ-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdat*, 132.

**95** Princeton, University Library, 3570Y.

**96** Bauden 2020, 163 (compare between manuscripts listed under category 1 and categories 2–3).

**97** Franssen 2022, 117. It measures 186 × 128 mm.



ty-seven leaves can be described as thin, a recognizing feature of Ibn Ḥaġar's *taḍkira adabiya*.<sup>98</sup>

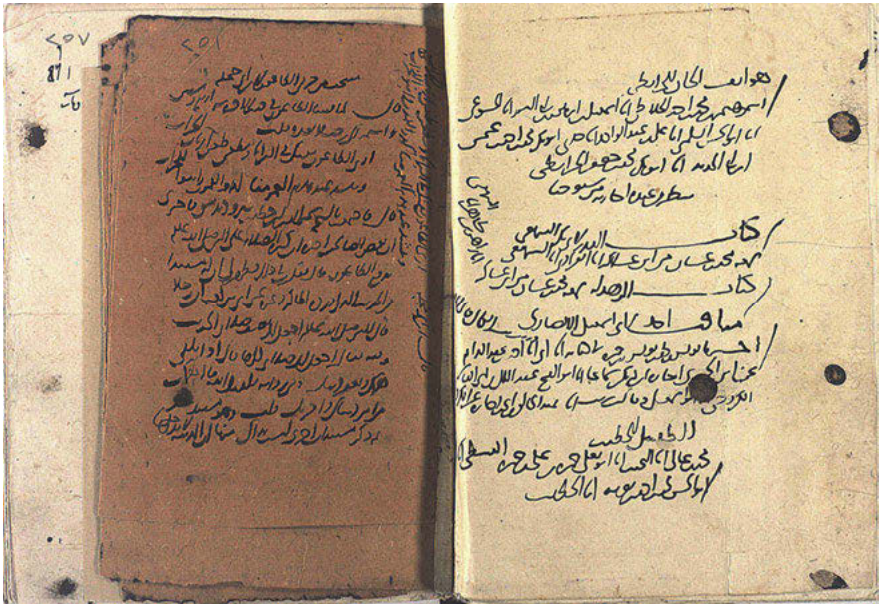


Fig. 18: Ibn Ḥaġar's *Taḍkira* (vol. 6); Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Aya Sofya 3139, fols 250b–251a.

Aş-Şafadī's Princeton volume is also interesting as it exhibits how, at times, a different format was preferred by scholars when collecting notes. Rather than adopting the usual format featuring the quires stitched and bound along the longer side, aş-Şafadī preferred them bound along the short side.<sup>99</sup> Thus the volume's shape is oblong, and his notes penned parallel to the spine. This shape must have been particularly convenient for carrying volumes in one's

<sup>98</sup> As-Saḥāwī characterized the volumes that he saw in Mecca as thin (*liṭāf*). See above.

<sup>99</sup> The word *safīna* (boat) is generally applied to the shape for Arabic manuscripts (*safīna* was also used in Persian but to refer to *maġmūʿas* while the word *bayāḍ* describes the manuscript with an oblong shape; for Ottoman manuscripts, the word *cōnk* is more common). It is important to note that the word *safīna* came to be used metonymically for some *taḍkiras*. For instance, even though Ibn Mubārakšāh calls his *taḍkira* a *safīna* (Istanbul, Millet Genel Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah 1612, fol. 1b: *fa-hādā ġuzʿ min aġzāʿ as-safīna*), the surviving eleven volumes are not in an oblong format. See also David Durand-Guédy's contribution in this volume.

sleeves. This provides a clue as to the use of the *taḍkira* which he must have carried with him at all times, so he could instantly take notes of a text of which he wished to keep track. This oblong shape was not always applied to his *taḍkira* volumes as more classical shapes have also been attested.

## 4 Use and usefulness of the tools

The above-mentioned tools' functions were mainly twofold functioning as a memory aid and to assist in writing. Each tool could serve both functions, but this was not a prerequisite. Scholars often stated the reason for preparing the tools. In his summaries of three sources, Ibn Ḥaḡar told of the purpose of his note-taking in his summary of al-Wāqidi's *al-Maḡāzī*, after the initial sentence 'These are notes (*ta'liq*) from al-Wāqidi's *al-Maḡāzī*, [starting] from the beginning', adding this note: 'from among things I need for my works'.<sup>100</sup> This note was penned at the end of the sentence, vertically, as if an afterthought (see Fig. 16). As for his summary of Ibn 'Asākir's *Tārīḥ*, a title page briefly describes the text's purpose ('Notes from Ibn 'Asākir's *Tārīḥ*'), beneath which is scribbled (see Fig. 19): 'to be inserted in the works I want to compile – May God assist [me] by His grace and His munificence in completing them'.<sup>101</sup> The notes are introduced with a short introduction in which Ibn Ḥaḡar tells why he wrote these notes:

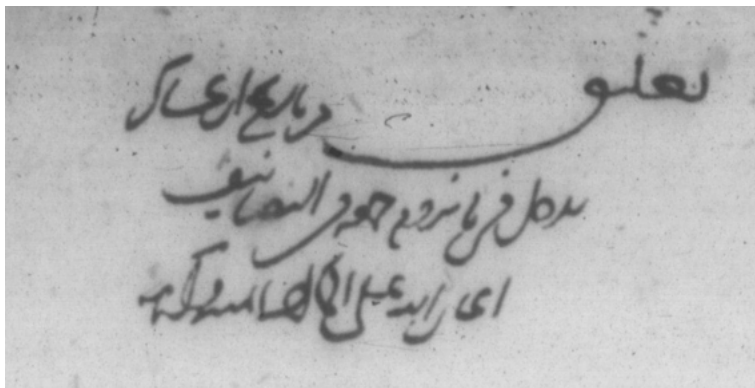
These are notes I have taken from *at-Tārīḥ al-kabīr* by the memorizer Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ad-Dimašqī. I have only written down what I was missing or had forgotten without pretending to be exhaustive in my selections.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Fol. 78b: *mimmā aḥtāḡu ilaihi fī taṣānifī*.

<sup>101</sup> Fol. 150a: *yudḥal fī mā narūm ḡam'ahu min at-taṣānif a'āna Allāh 'alā ikmālihā bi-mannihī wa-karamihī*.

<sup>102</sup> Fol. 150b: *fa-hāḍihī fawā'id 'allaqtuhā min at-Tārīḥ al-kabīr lil-ḥāfiẓ Abī al-Qāsim 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ad-Dimašqī wa-innamā katabtu minhu mā laisa 'indī au ḡāba 'an ḥifẓī lā 'alā sabīl al-istī'āb fī al-intihāb*.





**Fig. 19:** Ibn Ḥaḡar’s *Ta’līq* of Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Tārīḥ Madīnat Dimašq*; Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīya, 522 *Tārīḥ*, fol. 150a (detail).

These examples reveal Ibn Ḥaḡar’s need to disclose why he took these notes: for his own use, i.e. intending to compose his own works. A tentative explanation for why he and other scholars indicated their goal at the outset for these tools intended for personal use may simply be their conforming to the traditional way of presenting a text in Islam. They may have felt such a compulsion when thinking their texts could be subject to the scrutiny of other scholars.

It is quite evident that scholars made good use of their summaries as quotations can be spotted in their own works. A biography al-Maqrīzī summarized from aṣ-Ṣafadī’s *al-Wāfi* demonstrates he reused the material in three of his works, giving priority to some items of information according to the subject of the text he was composing.<sup>103</sup> On rare occasions, al-Maqrīzī alludes to his notebooks, telling his reader more information would be found in his *maḡāmī*, i.e. his notebooks, as if these were accessible to anyone.<sup>104</sup> In his texts aṣ-Ṣafadī appears more inclined to refer to material in his *taḍkira*, even indicating which volume contains a certain item of information.<sup>105</sup> It is these references that make it possible to locate a given passage in the chronologically written volumes.

<sup>103</sup> Bauden 2009b.

<sup>104</sup> Bauden 2008, 104–107.

<sup>105</sup> Franssen 2022, 115.

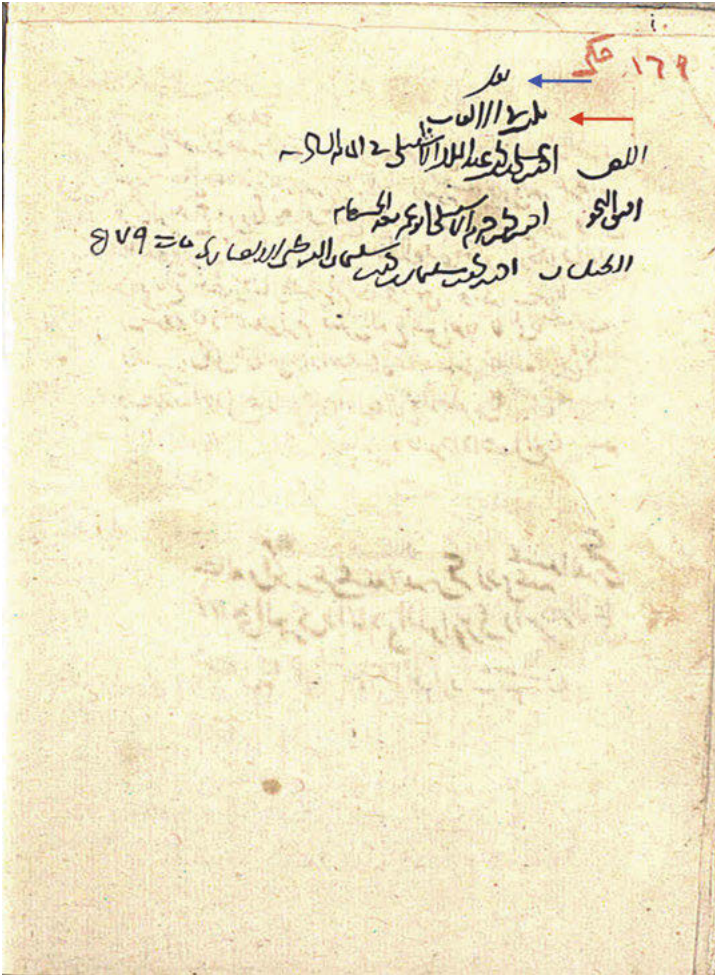


Fig. 20: Ibn Ḥaḡar's *Taḡkira* (vol. 6); Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Aya Sofya 3139, fol. 169b.

As the notebooks were to the greatest extent not organized, with the material written down randomly, authors at times needed to know whether or not they had already taken advantage of some passages or items of data.<sup>106</sup> Al-Maqrīzī

<sup>106</sup> Aṣ-Ṣafādī wrote on volumes of his *taḡkira* that he had consulted for a book he was writing on a literary device. See Franssen 2022, 116.

and Ibn Ḥaḡar, both marked some passages with an expression indicating the necessity to exploit the material in some of their works.<sup>107</sup> In the following example selected from Ibn Ḥaḡar's *taḍkira*, he wrote above three lines of text *yuktab fī al-alqāb* ('to be written in [the book on] the agnomens') (see Fig. 20, second line). If repetitions were hard to avoid, scholars did their best to limit them. Once the information had been inserted in the book indicated, Ibn Ḥaḡar resorted to a cipher he placed above the aforementioned expression (see Fig. 20, first line). This cipher corresponds to the word: *nuqila*, meaning 'copied, transferred'. Upon seeing this cipher, Ibn Ḥaḡar was made aware he had already transferred the data into the said book. Al-Maqrīzī used the same cipher in his notebook.<sup>108</sup>

## 5 Fate of the tools

Although these tools primarily served their users' needs, they were, however, not always intended for their creator's use exclusively. In introducing the twenty-fifth volume of his *taḍkira*, Ibn Mubārakšāh reveals the purpose of an *aide-mémoire* to be, not only for himself, but also for his son.<sup>109</sup> His literary selections were thus served as an educational guide, almost a gift, mirroring similar practices observed for commonplace books in eighteenth-century England.<sup>110</sup> The gift could also be intended for an educated ruler. When he decided to turn to religious studies, Ibn Ḥaḡar offered the forty volumes of his literary *aide-mémoire* (*at-taḍkira al-adabiya*) to the Rasulid sultan of Yemen during one of his visits to his territories. As-Saḡāwī was then able to consult half of them in Mecca, meaning that the Rasulid sultan sold or gave the holograph of Ibn Ḥaḡar's *taḍkira* to someone who then brought it to the holy city.<sup>111</sup> Circles of friends and close colleagues could also show interest in a scholar's tools, particularly a commonplace book reflecting his literary taste. Aṣ-Ṣafadī was known to lend volumes of his *taḍkira* to friends who requested its access.<sup>112</sup> Consultation notes left in the manuscripts by such subsequent readers confirm this in-

<sup>107</sup> For al-Maqrīzī, see Bauden 2008, 112.

<sup>108</sup> Bauden 2008, 109–111.

<sup>109</sup> Istanbul, Millet Genel Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah 1618, fol. 1b.

<sup>110</sup> Allan 2010, 31–32.

<sup>111</sup> as-Saḡāwī, *al-Ġawāhir*, vol. 1, 152; vol. 2, 680, 694.

<sup>112</sup> Franssen 2022, 115–116. See also Nazlı Vatansever's contribution in this volume regarding a late Ottoman scholar.

terest. When as-Saḥāwī obtained access to Ibn Ḥaḡar’s new *taḍkira*, he wrote the following note on the first page indicating what had led him to consult it (see Fig. 21):

الحمد لله / فرغه مطالعة على كتابه في تراجم المالكية / محمد بن عبد الرحمن السخاوي وراجعه /  
غفر الله ذنوبه وستر عيوبه.  
ثم فرغه وما بعده ترتيبا / سهل الله إكماله بمنه وكرمه.

Praise be to God. Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Saḥāwī – May God forgive his sins and veil his imperfections – finished to read it [this volume] for his book on the biographies of the Mālikī scholars and went over it again.

Then he finished to prepare an index (*tartīban*) for it [this volume] and for those that follow – May God facilitate its completion by His grace and His munificence.<sup>113</sup>

At a distance of several decades or even centuries, such interest did not fade away. It is known that Ibn Ḥaḡar read aṣ-Ṣafadī’s *taḍkira* as he wrote a passage down he was interested in, in his own *taḍkira*, clearly referring to the volume where the information had been found (see Fig. 22): ‘from [volume] 11 of aṣ-Ṣafadī’s *Taḍkira* and from [volume] 12 as well’.

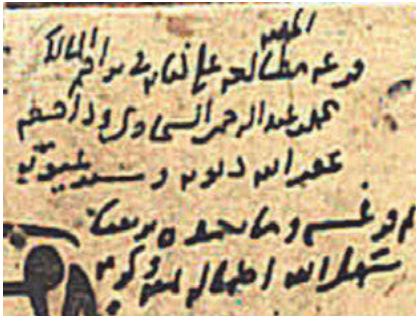


Fig. 21: as-Saḥāwī’s consultation note in Ibn Ḥaḡar’s *Taḍkira* (vol. 6); Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Aya Sofya 3139, fol. 1a (detail).

Even lists and indexes drew the attention of scholars several centuries after they had been drawn up. When az-Zabidī (d. 1205 AH / 1733 CE), a scholar of Indian origin who had settled and was mainly active in Egypt, acquired the holograph of Taqī ad-Dīn’s *Taḡrīd Usd al-ġāba*, he jotted down a note at the end of the

<sup>113</sup> Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Aya Sofya 3139, fol. 1a.

manuscript stating he had read it, checked it, and taken advantage of it, i.e. taken notes from it (see Fig. 23).<sup>114</sup>

أتمه قراءة ومراجعة / واستفادة مالكة الفقير إلى الله تعالى / السيد محمد / مرتضى الحسيني الزبيدي  
/ عفي عنه وذلك في مجالس عديدة / بمصر القاهرة / حرسها الله تعالى / وسائر بلاد / الإسلام.

Its owner, the needer of God the Sublime, the *saiyid* Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Ḥusainī az-Zabīdī – May he be forgiven – finished to read it, to check it and to take advantage of it during several sessions in the old city of Cairo – May God the Sublime protect it as well as all the other Islamic lands.<sup>115</sup>

Such tools were actually the result of an authorial process unique to its author. They formed part of a scholar's literary archive and his intellectual output.<sup>116</sup> These texts were largely published after their author's death (at times, perhaps, even against their will). Occasionally, such a publication helped ensure their preservation either as a holograph or as an apograph. If several volumes of aṣ-Ṣafadī's *taḍkira* remain partly available, it is due to copies being made of it later on, for only a few volumes of the holograph have survived. As for summaries, they provided information that may have become hard to find, if the original work had been lost or destroyed, as was the case regarding al-Maqrīzī whose summaries of Fatimid sources remain essential to this day.<sup>117</sup>

**114** Such an interest in these tools has never really flagged because some are still printed even though their current usefulness is, to say the least, limited. Ibn Ḥaḡar's *Taḡrīd* of aṣ-Ṣafadī's *al-Wāfi* was recently published in seven volumes (cf. Ibn Ḥaḡar al-'Asqalānī, *Taḡrīd*), the editor justifying the choice of this text claiming some biographies selected by Ibn Ḥaḡar to now be missing from aṣ-Ṣafadī's *al-Wāfi*. Had that been the case, it would have sufficed to publish the very few biographies in question in an article. The editor even went out of his way to add to the outline biographies Ibn Ḥaḡar had neglected!

**115** Cairo, al-Maktaba al-Azharīya, MS 10667, fol. 157b.

**116** The literary archive of a scholar is typically composed of his drafts, fair copies, notebooks, reading notes, correspondence, etc. See Chartier 2013, 12–15, where he builds on the concept of literary archives representing an author's intellectual output as developed by Michel Foucault.

**117** His summary of Ibn Muḡassar's chronicle still proves all the more useful as no copy of the original text has been located thus far. The holograph of al-Maqrīzī's summary has also been lost, but an apograph, made in the eleventh AH /seventeenth CE century which reproduces al-Maqrīzī's colophon, has been preserved (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 1688). As a proof of its significance for Fatimid history, this summary was published: Ibn Muḡassar 1981.

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مرآة الصدور في آراء الصفا

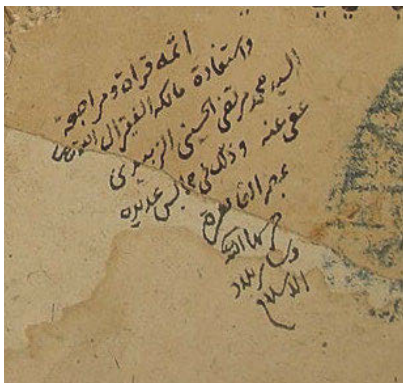
**شرحها ابو بصير**

ما في المرآة الذي امانة طالعه اسره  
 ودر لمرآة من العلي على صوابها الفكر  
 احكامه العرفه على ادلة النامه  
 اذ لم ير الصبح عن حجاب وزهر العفوف العيون  
 البكرت كوكبا لما حال في فومها  
 على طهر من تكرارها عالمه في - التي  
 احدهم العلي الجوهرة التي لم ياك في الاس  
 صابرا على الناس واليه كالمو اليهم  
 ان يكونا لم يبراهم ما رجا في الحسن  
 له من الكتب يفضله من كل يوم السهم  
 ابول ١٢ احد احكامها سرها انما في الحسن  
 واصل العفوف ما عمد فيهم واخذوا في  
 نازحه ان عاسوا في العفة في كماله او انما  
 لسكرانها في كماله في كمالها ومن  
 كما حبل ان ابنه منه وطوف عنها الكمال  
 ما حركه من علس والبر من ورده

ابو بصير في شرحها في الامانة  
 ما في المرآة الذي امانة طالعه اسره  
 ودر لمرآة من العلي على صوابها الفكر  
 احكامه العرفه على ادلة النامه  
 اذ لم ير الصبح عن حجاب وزهر العفوف العيون  
 البكرت كوكبا لما حال في فومها  
 على طهر من تكرارها عالمه في - التي  
 احدهم العلي الجوهرة التي لم ياك في الاس  
 صابرا على الناس واليه كالمو اليهم  
 ان يكونا لم يبراهم ما رجا في الحسن  
 له من الكتب يفضله من كل يوم السهم  
 ابول ١٢ احد احكامها سرها انما في الحسن  
 واصل العفوف ما عمد فيهم واخذوا في  
 نازحه ان عاسوا في العفة في كماله او انما  
 لسكرانها في كماله في كمالها ومن  
 كما حبل ان ابنه منه وطوف عنها الكمال  
 ما حركه من علس والبر من ورده

Fig. 22: Ibn Ḥaḡar's selection from aš-Šafadī's *Taḡkira* in his own *Taḡkira* (vol. 6) ; Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Aya Sofya 3139, fol. 151a.





**Fig. 23:** az-Zabidī's consultation note in Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd's *Taḡrīd* of Ibn al-Aṭīr's *Usd al-ḡāba*; Cairo, al-Maktaba al-Azhariya, MS 10667, fol. 157b (detail).

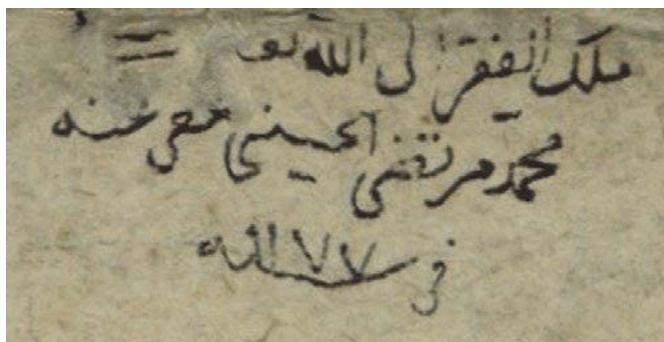
Another reason for the preservation of such tools over several centuries is that they were made by scholars of renown. Being holographs, such manuscripts became particularly sought after by bibliophiles. However, the scholar rarely left his name on such tools: al-Maqrīzī did not feature his name in his notebook nor did Ibn Ḥaḡar reveal his identity in the volume containing three of his summaries. As they were tools implemented for their personal use, they did not feel the need to systematically indicate their authorship. That being the case, how could bibliophiles identify the scholar penning these texts? Some scholars and bibliophiles appear to have been able to recognize the handwriting of a given scholar, even from several centuries ago as in the case of al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Ḥaḡar. Their handwriting was sufficiently idiosyncratic for such identification to be possible.<sup>118</sup> If several examples of their handwriting remained available, they helped corroborate identification and to confer on the tool prepared by the said scholar its full price. Therefore it is not surprising to see someone like az-Zabidī acquiring several holographs consisting of tools prepared by renowned scholars though their names never occur in these manuscripts. Aside from the holograph of Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Fahd's *Taḡrīd* of Ibn al-Aṭīr's *Usd al-*

**118** A later owner would add *bi-ḥaṭṭ...* ('in the hand of...') somewhere in the manuscript (usually the title page or near the colophon) to indicate he had identified a scholar's handwriting. Internal elements discovered in the text would also help strengthen identification of the originator's identity.

*ġāba*, az-Zabīdī owned both al-Maqrīzī's notebook (see Fig. 24) and Ibn Ḥaġar's volume comprising three of his summaries.<sup>119</sup>

ملك الفقير إلى الله تعالى / محمد مرتضى الحسيني عفي عنه / في سنة ١١٧٧.

Property of the needer of God the Sublime Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaini – May he be forgiven – in the year 1177 [1763–1764 CE].<sup>120</sup>



**Fig. 24:** az-Zabīdī's ownership mark in al-Maqrīzī's notebook; Liège, Université de Liège. Bibliothèque ALPHA, 2232, fol. 4a (detail).

## 6 Conclusion

A few concluding remarks may be drawn as this study of tools to help cope with information overload prepared by scholars of the Mamluk period comes to an end. First and foremost, it must be kept in mind that the preceding pages are nothing more than a brief synopsis based on a limited number of manuscript witnesses and testimonies in historical and literary sources. Undoubtedly, dozens if not hundreds of other examples of both categories exist and would help refine our understanding of these tools. Naturally, the limitation of this study to the Mamluk period is artificial as scholars from the region focused on here (broadly speaking Egypt and Syria) were part of a long-standing tradition that continued far beyond the Mamluk period. An all-encompassing study should be

<sup>119</sup> Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriya, 522 Tārīḥ, fol. 1a. See *Fihris al-kutub al-‘arabiya al-mauḡūda bi-d-Dār* 1924, vol. 5, 322.

<sup>120</sup> Liège, Université de Liège, Bibliothèque ALPHA, 2232, fol. 4a.



envisaged in the *longue durée* for identifying trends in how scholars managed to cope with the overabundance of texts.

The survey we conducted emphasises how, in accordance with their purposes, scholars had recourse to a wide variety of tools. Faced with the abundance of multi-volume works, above all they had to find a way to navigate such large texts. The preparation of lists and indexes served that purpose. The reading process generated other kinds of tools. These tools varied according to the nature of the reading, that is to say, with a future work in mind or for pleasure. Whenever they needed to keep track of a text that had for them great use, they would either make a copy of it or seek to acquire one. However, when the text was of a limited use, they noted excerpts they thought could prove useful. These excerpts could take the form of a summary the size of which was a condition of its intended use. The size also determined the physical aspect of these summaries: a single volume if detailed, or conversely a few quires. Several short summaries could be gathered in a single volume, thus forming a miscellany. The originators of the summaries referred to them using a wide gamut of terms, some of which have been analysed in the preceding pages. Far from any generalizing, those terms have to be considered in their context, i.e. how they were used by the scholars in describing their summaries and excerpts. The terms appear to have often been interchangeable: we saw how a scholar's student could define his master's summaries with a different term despite his master having in his summary clearly indicated the term he regarded as most convenient for describing the result.

Scholars also made use of notebooks. The few examples studied show that these volumes were composed of units consisting of summaries, excerpts, quotes from various sources to which scholars, at times, added sketches and drafts of parts of their own works and personal notes. No clear organization of these volumes appears at first glance but the scholar who produced them may have had some form of organizational concept that is no longer possible to recognise. The Mamluk period witnessed the development of a different kind of notebook better defined as an *aide-mémoire* or *collectanea* (*taḍkira* or *safīna*) the scope of which diverged from previous examples. The sources provide a few clues as to why a scholar began such a *collectanea*. In most cases, they are initiated in the early career of a scholar eager to gather quotations from works that arouse his interest, in a series of volumes, usually from a literary perspective. Hence, most *taḍkiras* feature poetic and prosaic quotations. Sometimes, the originator may take note of a personal piece composed in the frame of his private or professional life. When the scholar came to the end of one volume, he

started a new one. In doing so, he gave a chronological order to his *taḍkira* and the only type of organization this kind of tool appears to have.

Most of the tools described were primarily intended for scholars' personal use evidenced by the way they exploited them in their own works. Hence, they have often been preserved in the scholar's hand. Another material feature proving these texts were intended for their own use is scholars' use of scrap paper or papers of varying sizes for their documents. Simple thrift probably caused them to refrain from using expensive blank paper. If these texts served one person's own interest primarily, they could nevertheless be borrowed and copied by others, not only after the death but even during the originator's lifetime. Assuming these tools were helpful for those who created them, such usefulness actually extend to other scholars, and lead to the preservation of the manuscripts which contained them. Mainly conceived for personal use, these tools survived their originators and came to be part of their literary archive or *nachlass*. Thanks to them we have a much improved understanding of how these medieval scholars addressed the issue of information overload.

### Acknowledgements

Part of this article was written in the frame of the *Ex-libris ex Oriente* (ELEO), a project dedicated to paratextual marks related to the history of the book in Islam and funded by the F.R.S-FNRS. I take this opportunity to thank Jürgen Paul and David Durand-Guédy for their useful comments that helped me to refine some of my arguments. It goes without saying that I am solely responsible for any errors and opinions that remain in this article. The following institutions have granted permission to publish images of their manuscripts: Bibliothèque ALPHA (Université de Liège), Chester Beatty Library (Dublin), Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriya (Cairo), Forschungsbibliothek Gotha (Universität Erfurt), Köprülü Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), al-Maktaba al-Azhariya (Cairo), Millet Genel Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Istanbul).

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Elisabeth Décultot

# Between Reading and Writing: Manuscript Collections of Excerpts in Eighteenth-Century Germany

**Abstract:** The purpose of this paper is to highlight the role that collections of excerpts played for literary and scholarly works of the eighteenth century. Although the history of reading constitutes a significant field of research in the humanities, the technique of excerpting – studied extensively for the beginning of the Modern Period – has received little attention for the eighteenth century. Yet this century was pivotal in the tradition of excerpting. On the one hand, the eighteenth century saw the humanistic method of reading subjected to sharp criticism; on the other hand, writers throughout Europe not only applied themselves to the practice of excerpting, but also attempted to adapt and reform it. The present article examines the handwritten collections of excerpts made by some German writers (Johann Joachim Winckelmann and Jean Paul); these collections reflect the vacillation in the eighteenth century between traditional and modern cultures of reading and excerpting.

## 1 Introduction

The technique of excerpting – that is, of extracting elements of a text while or after reading it – has been known since Antiquity.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the Modern Period, and due especially to the dissemination of the printing press throughout Europe, the practice of excerpting enjoyed considerable popularity in the learned world. In times of increasing print production, collections of excerpts served as personal manuscript substitutes for extensive printed book collections.

Since their appearance in Antiquity, collections of excerpts have fulfilled two central functions: first, they serve as a storehouse of selected readings and observations; second, they serve as a reservoir of material (information, words, tropes, etc.) which could be reused for other texts and reflections. In this way, these collections form an important hinge between some central facets of intel-

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1 Morlet 2015.



lectual activity which began, especially from the Modern Era, to be considered different, separate or even antagonistic. In terms of textual genetics, the collections provide insight into the process that leads from reading to writing, from the notetaking activity of the excerptor to the production of ‘new’ literary or scholarly works. With regard to this genetic dimension, the collections highlight the complexity of concepts that are fundamental to understanding texts in the Modern Era, namely, original and copy, source and derivative. In the case of collections of excerpts, these concepts can no longer be regarded as opposites or even as distinct from each other.

In cognitive terms, collections of excerpts provide an instructive glimpse into the relationship between the acquisition and the production of knowledge. In particular, such collections make it possible to analyse the very complex relationship between book-based and object-based knowledge. In the academic world of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, collecting excerpts was widespread not only in disciplines that rely primarily on books and written sources, but also in scholarly fields which claim to rely on experimental methods, such as natural history, or on the empirical study of objects, such as art history. This broad scope entails a semantic extension of the notion of excerpt. Collections of excerpts were intended to collect not only extracts of readings but also observations, that is, notes on things which had been thought about or seen.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, collections from the Early Modern Period, especially collections by natural or art historians, shed light on the relationship between experimental thinking on one hand and book knowledge on the other hand. In the wake of important scholarly works from recent decades, early modern collections of excerpts can therefore also contribute to a historiographical revision of the empiricist paradigm in the age of the Scientific Revolution.<sup>3</sup>

Finally, with regard to the sociology of knowledge, studying collections of excerpts makes it possible to approach and better understand one of the central transformations in the Early Modern intellectual field: the (real or constructed) differentiation between the scholarly and the literary sphere, especially with

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2 Cf. Morhof, *Polyhistor*, vol. 1, 561 (recte 563): ‘Utilissimum est, non tantum sub Locis Excerpta digerere, sed & Adversaria quaedam conficere, in quibus congeramus, quicquid unquam cogitatum a nobis est, in lectione Autorum, aut in quotidiana meditatione: deinde quicquid vel vidimus, aut ab aliis nobis narratum est’ (cf. Zedelmaier 2015, 58); ‘It is very useful not only to classify excerpts under Loci, but also to create Adversaria, in which we collect what came to mind when reading an author or when thinking about things on a daily basis, including what we have seen or been told by others’ (my translation after Zedelmaier’s German translation of Morhof’s quotation).

3 Daston 2004; Daston 2010; Daston and Park 2006.

regard to reading and writing habits. Studying these collections allows us to analyse whether the growing differentiation between erudition and literature – which can be observed to varying degrees throughout Europe in the Modern Era, especially from a sociological perspective – is also reflected in reading and writing practices. More specifically, studying collections of excerpts provides new insights into scholarly or literary practices (such as dealing with sources, for example via footnotes) that are central to understanding early modern concepts of authorship and authority.

The purpose of this paper is to highlight the role that collections of excerpts played for literary and scholarly works of the eighteenth century. The current deficit in research on this topic is the first reason for the chronological focus. Although the technique of excerpting constitutes a significant field of scholarship for the fifteenth–seventeenth centuries,<sup>4</sup> the same technique has received little attention for the eighteenth century and the following period. This lack of interest on the part of researchers has deep origins, which are closely related to the eighteenth century's own self-fashioning, that is, to the image that significant eighteenth-century protagonists put forward. During the Enlightenment, excerpting was increasingly criticized: many eighteenth-century writers and scholars kept their distance from a practice that was considered the cause of dependent thinking and epigonal writing.<sup>5</sup> This new opinion had repercussions for teaching programmes. While excerpting courses flourished in German universities during the seventeenth century, the discipline was abolished in the eighteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

Researchers in the field of Late Modernity have largely followed this stylization and ignored the survival of excerpting practices during and after the Age of Enlightenment. Nevertheless, numerous documents – such as manuscripts by Voltaire, Montesquieu, Winckelmann, Jean Paul, or Nietzsche – show that excerpting remained a widespread and intense practice in eighteenth-century Europe and in the following period, even in the private study of authors who zealously and publically criticized excerpting. The eighteenth century is therefore characterized not by the extinction of excerpting but by an increasing discrepancy between an assiduously cultivated private activity and public discourse about scholarly habits that either criticizes the practice or refrains from mentioning it at all.

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4 Cevolini 2016; Grafton 2014; Krämer 2014; Yeo 2014; Blair 2010; Cevolini 2006; Mayer 1998; Moss 1996; Chatelain, 1997; Goyet 1986–1987.

5 Décultot 2014b; Décultot 2018; Mayer 1999.

6 Zedelmaier 2016, 79–104.

In this regard, the eighteenth century exemplifies the difficulty and potential of studying collections of excerpts. During the whole Modern Period, the practice of excerpting had a double dimension. On the one hand, excerpting was a private, personal, subject-related operation, shaped by the idiosyncrasy of a particular reader and reflecting that reader's intellectual personality; on the other hand, excerpting was highly codified both socially and institutionally. Learned at school and university, excerpting was the product of a system that exceeded and determined individual reading habits. It is consequently possible to trace the history of a particular reader's collection of excerpts and to find there a key to understanding that reader's own work; it is also possible to trace the history of excerpting as a technique that was taught and practised by a group. The challenge is to connect these two dimensions, especially in a period such as the eighteenth century in which this practice seems to have disappeared from the public sphere, no longer cultivated except in the secrecy of the private office.

In order to shed light on the history of excerpting in the eighteenth century, this article proceeds in three stages. In the first, I sketch some of the structural features of the excerpting tradition – from Antiquity to Modernity – in which this history is embedded. In a second stage, I focus on the development of excerpting in the eighteenth century, relying on the concrete example of collections by two German writers, Winckelmann and Jean Paul. In the third and final stage, I investigate how this excerpting activity affected the writing activity of these authors.

## 2 Excerpting in the eighteenth century: Tradition, condition, methods, and development

By the eighteenth century, the practice of excerpting could draw on a very ancient tradition indeed. Pliny the Elder composed and used collections of excerpts in writing his voluminous *Historia naturalis*, as his nephew reports:

some author was read to him while he took notes and made excerpts. He read nothing that he did not excerpt; indeed, it was a maxim of his that no book was so bad but some good might be got out of it.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Pliny the Younger, *Epist.*, III, 5, 10: 'liber legebatur, adnotabat excerpebatque. Nihil enim legit quod non excerpteret; dicere etiam solebat nullum esse librum tam malum ut non aliqua parte prodesset'; translation after Dorandi 2016, 38.

Cicero openly mentions having used *excerpta* for his *De inventione*, and Quintilian describes this practice as common among rhetoricians.<sup>8</sup> This tradition, having taken a more modern shape during the Renaissance, was still alive in the eighteenth century. From the beginning of their school and university training, all European scholars were invited to assemble collections of excerpts, or, for the richest of them, to delegate this activity to some secretary, as was the case with Montesquieu (Fig. 1).<sup>9</sup> These collections constituted veritable private libraries, whose handwritten volumes sometimes resembled printed and bound books, as Jean Paul's collections of excerpts do (Fig. 2).<sup>10</sup>

These collections were seen as the scholar's most valuable capital. This image must not be understood in a purely metaphorical way. In the Early Modern Period, such collections were commonly traded for money, as real goods. Every prospective scholar was encouraged to enrich his notebooks with new information and thereby to increase his symbolic and material capital. The association between capital and collections of excerpts finds its linguistic counterpart in repeated comparisons between excerpting and bookkeeping. Excerpts are goods for which scholars, like merchants, must keep a tally, recording on one page what they have bought and on the other what they have sold – in other words, what they have copied from others and what they have 'consumed', i.e. incorporated into their own writings. In terms of this commercial metaphor, collections of excerpts made it possible to balance debit and credit, what the copyists borrowed and what they produced in return. This metaphor permeates the entire eighteenth century; it is found, for example, in the French author François Gayot de Pitaval:

J'exige d'un homme d'esprit, lorsqu'il emprunte quelque belle pensée, qu'il paye comptant avec usure, qu'il y mette du sien le double de ce qu'il a reçu. Je veux qu'il fasse comme le diamant qui ne reçoit pas un rayon de lumière qu'il n'embellisse, qu'il ne multiplie.<sup>11</sup>

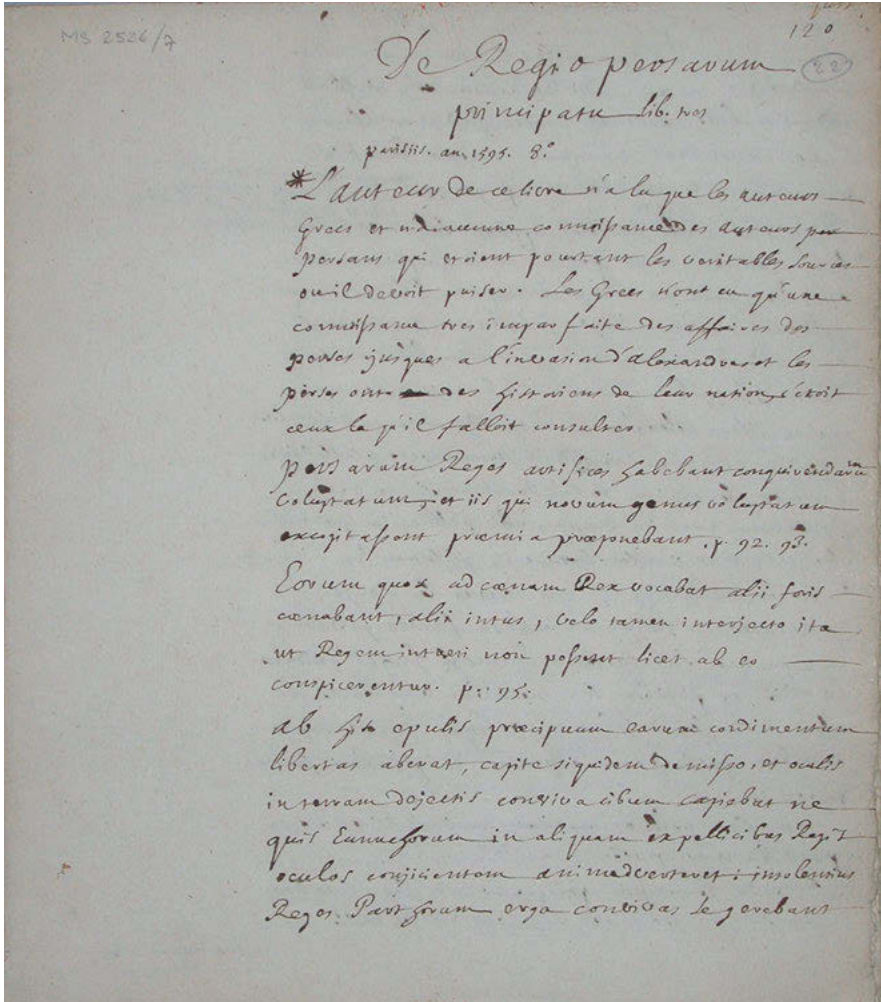
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**8** Cicero, *De inventione*, II, 4: 'sed omnibus unum in locum coactis scriptoribus, quod quisque commodissime praecipere videbatur, excerpimus et ex variis ingeniis excellentissima quaeque libavimus'; 'After having gathered all the authors, we selected [excerpimus] what each seemed to offer as most useful precepts, nibbling at whatever was excellent from these diverse talents' (my translation); Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, V, 10, 120 and IX, 1, 24.

**9** Volpilhac-Auger 2014.

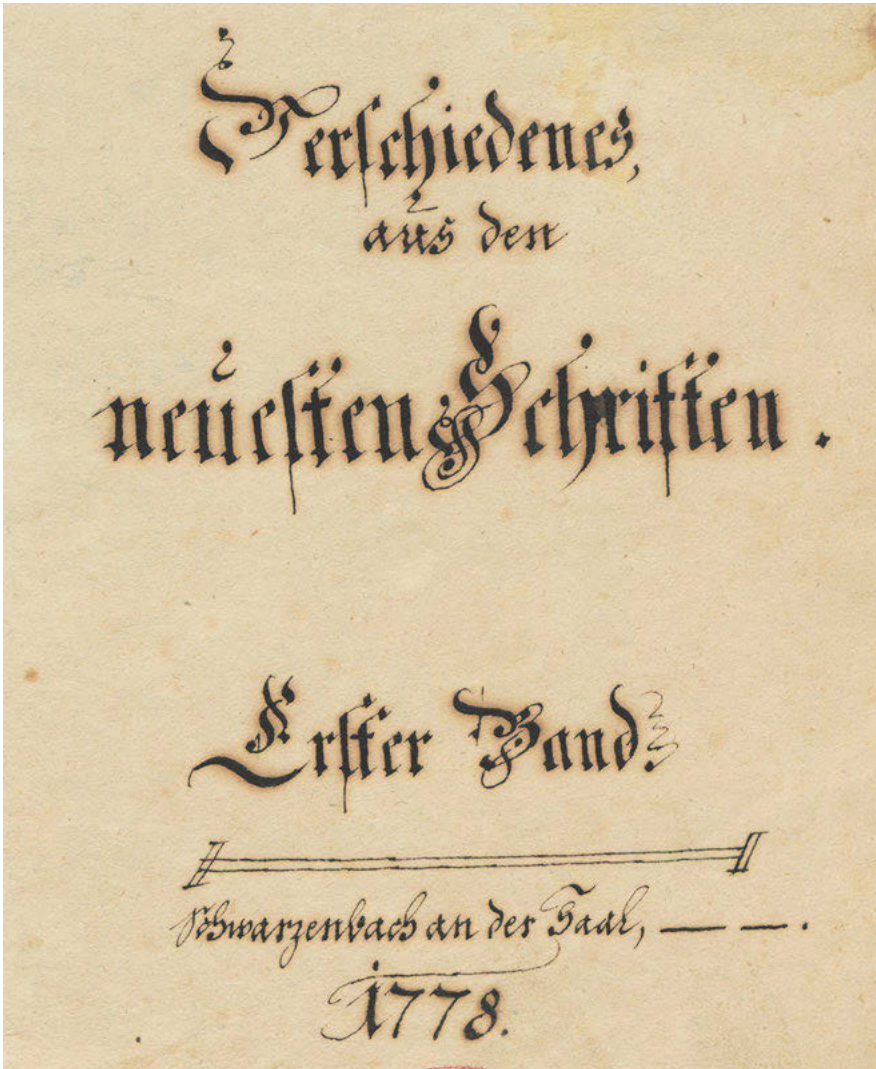
**10** Will 2013. See also Wirtz 1999. Through its many illustrations, the exhibition catalogue *Jean Paul: Dintenuiversum* allows us to visualize the material reality of Jean Paul's collection of excerpts (Bernauer, Steinsieck and Weber 2013).

**11** Gayot de Pitaval, *L'Art d'orner l'esprit en l'amusant*, vol. 1, Part 2, 266–267: 'When a clever man borrows a thought, I insist that he pay it back with interest, that from his own resources



**Fig. 1:** Montesquieu, excerpts from *De Regio Persarum principatu*, a. 1595, in Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Municipale, Manuscrit 2526/7, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>; © Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Municipale.

he lay down double what he received. I want him to be like the diamond that receives no ray of light that it does not embellish and multiply' (my translation).



**Fig. 2:** Jean Paul, *Verschiedenes, aus den neuesten Schriften*, Erster Band Schwarzenbach an der Saal 1778, in Jean Paul estate, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Fasz. Ia, 1, fol. 2'; © Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

Johann Georg Hamann, who was very familiar with the world of commerce, excerpted this very passage from Gayot de Pitaval and translated it into German in his *Tagebuch eines Lesers*, without identifying the source:

Ich fordere von einem witzigen Kopf, dass er, wenn er einen schönen Gedanken borgt, ihn brav mit Wucher wiederzahle, und dass er von den seinigen noch einmal soviel zulege, als er bekommen hat. Ich verlange von ihm, dass ers wie der Diamant machen soll, der keinen Lichtstrahl auffängt, den er nicht verschönt und vervielfältigt.<sup>12</sup>

In the same period, Georg Christoph Lichtenberg developed in his *Sudelbücher* a similar analogy between the ‘Waste book’ of merchants and scholars’ books of excerpts, an analogy which he may have borrowed from Cicero.<sup>13</sup> Such capital had to be carefully preserved: ‘Bei Feuer sind die schwarzeingebundnen Exzerpte zuerst zu retten’, was one of the first instructions that Jean Paul gave his wife, Caroline, before he left the house for several days.<sup>14</sup>

Winckelmann’s 7,500 handwritten pages of excerpts provide ample evidence of their symbolic and material value.<sup>15</sup> Winckelmann organized his excerpts in notebooks, the size of which varies slightly but always remains close to the handy and practical octavo format. The notebooks kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, which constitute the bulk of his collection, were bound around 1800, that is to say more than thirty years after his death, in twenty-one volumes, when they were incorporated into the library estate.<sup>16</sup> Everything about the composition of his notebooks points to the importance he attached to the excerpts contained inside. In 1754 he explained to his friend Hieronymus Dieterich Berendis:

Meine Extraits sind auf einen gantz andern Fuß eingerichtet, und sehr angewachsen. Ich habe sie sehr sauber geschrieben: ich halte sie nunmehr vor einen großen Schatz, und wünschte, daß Du Zeit hättest daraus zu profitiren.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Hamann, *Tagebuch*, ed. Nadler, 267–268. This metaphor is common in Hamann’s works. See Jørgensen 2014. The expression ‘Gelehrte Buchalterey’ (‘scholarly bookkeeping’) was also used by the scholar Johann Caspar Hagenbuch. See Weimar 2014.

<sup>13</sup> Lichtenberg, *Schriften*, ed. Promies, vol. 1, 352. In *Pro Quinto Roscio comoedo* (II, 7), Cicero compared the *adversaria* collections with a merchant’s cash book, a kind of ledger for tracking daily deposits and withdrawals, in contrast with registers (*codices* or *tabulae*), which organized or neatly filed these records on a month-by-month basis.

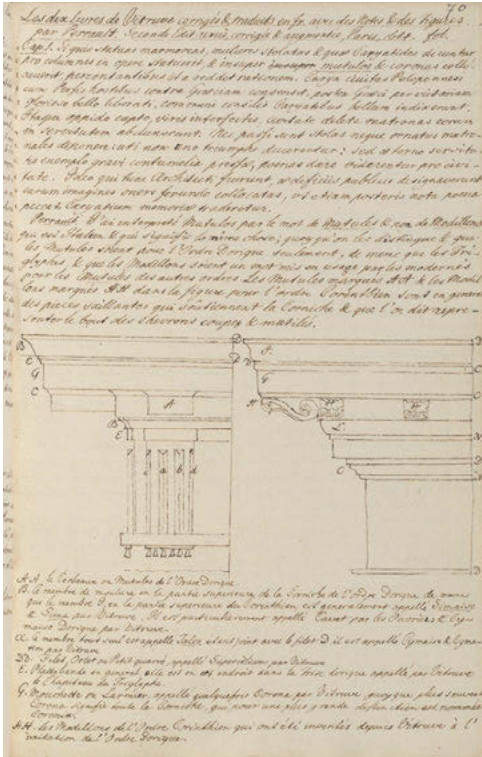
<sup>14</sup> Jean Paul, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Berend et al., vol. 3, 6, p. 267: ‘In the event of fire, the black-bound excerpts must be saved first’ (my translation). One of these volumes of excerpts is probably the volume shown in Fig. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Décultot 2000; Décultot 2004.

<sup>16</sup> For the history of this estate and a material description of it, see Décultot 2001; Tibal 1911.

<sup>17</sup> Johann Joachim Winckelmann to Hieronymus Dieterich Berendis, 6 July 1754, in Winckelmann, *Briefe*, ed. Rehm, vol. 1, 142: ‘My excerpts possess an entirely different dimension and

Winckelmann excerpted meticulously: he wrote very cleanly and did not transform the copied text, with the exception of omissions. He even liked to copy engravings, such as those by Claude Perrault in the French translation of Vitruvius's treatises on architecture (Fig. 3).<sup>18</sup>



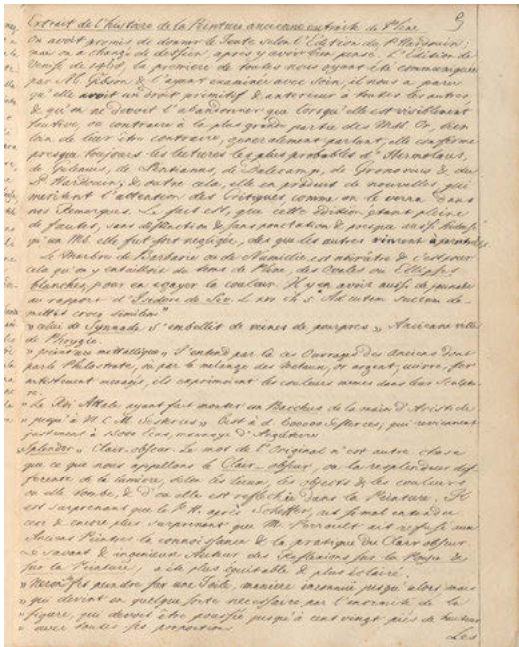
**Fig. 3:** Winckelmann, excerpts from Claude Perrault: *Les dix livres d'architecture de Vitruve* [...], seconde édition revue, corrigée et augmentée (Paris: Jean-Baptiste Coignard, 1684), in Winckelmann estate, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Fonds allemand, vol. 62, fol. 70<sup>r</sup>; © Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

have grown considerably. I have written them down in a very clean hand: I now consider them a great treasure and wish you had time to benefit from them' (my translation).

**18** Winckelmann, excerpts from Claude Perrault, *Les dix livres d'architecture de Vitruve* [...], seconde édition revue, corrigée et augmentée (Paris: Jean-Baptiste Coignard, 1684), in Winckelmann estate, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Fonds allemand, vol. 62, fol. 70<sup>r</sup>.



On numerous manuscript pages, he even made the effort – in keeping with the typographic conventions of the time – to supply catchwords. In the margins he occasionally used a retrieval system and wrote letters in alphabetical order, or, if necessary, retraced faded words – sure signs of scrupulous planning and frequent use (Fig. 4).<sup>19</sup>



**Fig. 4:** Winckelmann, excerpts from *Histoire de la peinture ancienne, extraite de l'Hist. Naturelle de Pline*, Liv. XXXV (translated by David Durand), in Winckelmann estate, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Fonds allemand, vol. 61, fol. 5'; © Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

How were these collections of excerpts organized in the eighteenth century? Since the Renaissance, the technique of excerpting had been dominated by topical classification models inherited from Antiquity. Scholars were encouraged to order excerpts according to distinct and well-known rubrics – the *loci* or

<sup>19</sup> Winckelmann, excerpts from *Histoire de la peinture ancienne, extraite de l'Hist. Naturelle de Pline*, Liv. XXXV (translated by David Durand), in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Fonds allemand, vol. 61, fol. 5'.

*tituli*. For example, in 1532 Georg Meier, rector of the Johannes-Gymnasium in Magdeburg, recommended organizing the parables of Erasmus according to pairs of opposites, such as *virtus/vitium sive improbitas, sapientia/stultitia, fortitudo/timor*.<sup>20</sup> The topical tradition offered a varied arsenal of possible rubrics, from which readers could freely choose categories that best met their needs.<sup>21</sup> At the end of the seventeenth century, Christian Weise, who only partially dedicated himself to this tradition, recommended a reasonable number of easily comprehensible rubrics, which were neither too specific nor too general, so as to make their usage as comfortable as possible.<sup>22</sup> Despite this variety, however, the categories used for the classification of excerpts largely followed generally accepted templates and were transposed from one collection to the next with only slight variation.<sup>23</sup>

Over the course of the seventeenth century, didactic treatises on reading and excerpting increasingly insisted on the benefit of more flexible patterns of classification: Daniel Georg Morhof in Germany,<sup>24</sup> Bernard Lamy in France,<sup>25</sup> and John Locke – the philosopher and tutor of Shaftesbury – in England,<sup>26</sup> each suggested establishing efficient rubrics strictly adapted to the needs of the reader. Jesuit educators such as Jeremias Drexel in Germany played a fundamental role in this shift to classification models that were no longer dictated by a predetermined system, but by the reader's interests and the internal structure

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**20** Concerning Georg Meier's anthology *Elegantiores aliquot parabola ex Erasmi Rote* (1532), see Moss 1996, 186–187 (Meier is also referred to as Major or Maior).

**21** On the diversity of classification models, see Schmidt-Biggemann 1983; Goyet 1996, esp. 22.

**22** Weise, *Gelehrter Redner*, 550.

**23** Moss 1996, 188–189, 192–193; Zedelmaier 1992, 73–75.

**24** Cf. Morhof, *Polyhistor*, vol. 1, 559–560. Morhof insists that only the composition of unimportant excerpts could be delegated to a secretary; it was imperative that the important excerpts be written down by those who would use them so that the users might impress their own order upon the collections of excerpts.

**25** Lamy, *Entretiens sur les sciences*, ed. Girbal and Clair, 161–164. See also Moss 1996, 275–276.

**26** Locke, 'Méthode nouvelle', 320–321: 'Si je veux mettre quelque chose dans mon recueil [*sic*], je cherche un titre, à quoi je le puisse rapporter, afin de le pouvoir trouver, lorsque j'en ai besoin. Chaque titre doit commencer par un mot important & essentiel à la matière dont il s'agit. [...] Quand je rencontre quelque chose que je croi [*sic*] devoir mettre dans mon Recueil, je cherche d'abord un titre qui soit propre'. The English translation was first published in 1706: 'If I would put anything in my Common-Place-Book, I look a Head to which I may refer it. Each Head ought to be some important and essential Word to the matter in hand [...]. When I meet with any thing that I think fit to put into my Common-Place-Book, I first find a proper Head' (Locke, 'His New Method', 316–317). On Locke's method, see Meynell 1993; Stolberg 2014; Yeo 2020.

of the text.<sup>27</sup> This development goes hand in hand with a new insistence on the role of *judicium* in educational instructions: the focus was on training young readers' judgement so they would be steeled against the influence of what were regarded as bad books.

The emancipation from pre-established topical patterns and the increasing insistency on the subject-oriented dimension of excerpting constitutes a central phenomenon in the history of reading during the Modern Period. Many treatises on reading method reflect this development. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, instructions on excerpting generally distinguished two main forms of collections: the *collectanea* and the *adversaria* (also called *miscellanea*).<sup>28</sup> At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Friedrich Andreas Hallbauer, professor of poetry and eloquence at Jena, points to this distinction in his much-read *Anweisung zur verbesserten Teutschen Oratorie* (1725). In the *collectanea*, the excerpted passages were classified according to a more-or-less fixed grid of *loci*, which were intended to make it easier to find specific quotations. In contrast, the *adversaria* or *miscellanea* followed a less codified order. They were arranged according to the process of reading and were therefore more influenced by the reading subject than the *collectanea* were.<sup>29</sup> In the Late Modern Period, the *adversaria* or *miscellanea* model spread widely.

### 3 Reading subjects: Some eighteenth-century writers and their collections of excerpts

The estates of many eighteenth-century writers reflect the various stages of this development. Jean Paul's collection of excerpts provides a very instructive example. Following scholars Götz Müller and Michael Will, it is possible to divide Jean Paul's activity as an excerptor into two main phases, which differ significantly.<sup>30</sup> In the early phase, his approach to excerpting was marked by traditional *collectanea* models, which he had likely learned at school and university.

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<sup>27</sup> In his work *Aurifodina artium & scientiarum* (1638), which provided instruction regarding *excerpendi sollertia*, Augsburg-born Jesuit Jeremias Drexel defended the right of scholars to classify excerpts extracted from the 'goldmine of the arts and sciences' in accordance with their own needs. See Neumann 2001.

<sup>28</sup> It must be emphasized, however, that these terminological distinctions have a certain vagueness and variability.

<sup>29</sup> Hallbauer, *Anweisung*, 271.

<sup>30</sup> Müller 1988; Will, 2002a; Will, 2002b; Will, 2006; Will 2013; Wirtz 1999.

Eighteen volumes of excerpts, which he made in his youth between 1778 and 1781 and which were intended to support his planned study of theology, consist of longer excerpts, often word-for-word, with very precise bibliographic references (author, title, edition, place and date of publication, page numbers).<sup>31</sup> Despite the diversity of excerpted material, main thematic concerns – such as theology and philosophy, literature, or anthropology – can be identified in these first notebooks. In the course of his development as a writer, Jean Paul gradually gave up his habits as a conscientious copyist of long quotations embellished with precise bibliographic references. In other words, he distanced himself from the *collectanea* tradition in favour of *miscellanea*. Starting in 1782, miscellaneous excerpts take up increasing space in his notebooks. The excerpted entries are usually shorter; due to personal reworking or absent references, their provenance is often indeterminable, and their grouping does not evince a clear thematic classification.<sup>32</sup>

A similar trend can be observed in the development of Winckelmann's excerpting practice. In his years as a private tutor, schoolmaster, and secretary in Germany, Winckelmann took to writing long, accurate, and detailed excerpts from very extensive works such as encyclopaedias or collections of periodicals. He excerpted numerous issues of Leipzig's *Acta eruditorum* in chronological order and read Pierre Bayle's *Historisches und Critisches Wörterbuch* twice in its entirety. From his thorough reading came three stately collections of excerpts: the first one of about seven hundred pages and two others of around forty pages, which consist of excerpts from excerpts.<sup>33</sup> At the end of his stay in Germany,

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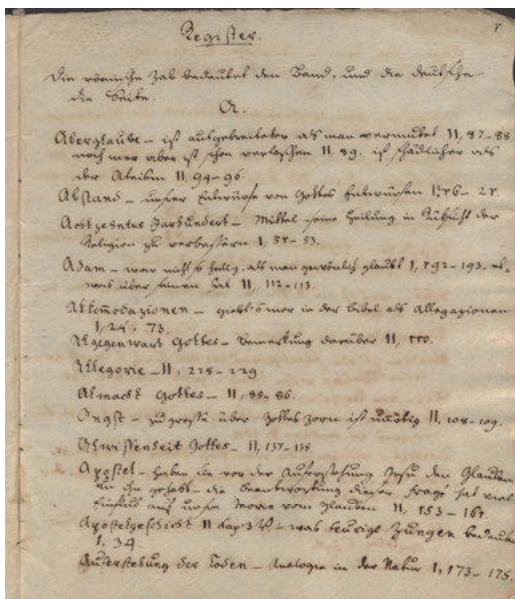
**31** On the excerpts from this period, see Jean Paul estate, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Fasz. Ia, Ib, IVb. For example, Fasz. Ia, 2, fol. 2<sup>r</sup>, contains an excerpt from *Über die Krankheiten der Gelehrten und die leichteste und sicherste Art sie abzuhalten und zu heilen* by Johann Gottlieb Akkermann der Arzneigelahrtheit Doktor (Nürnberg, in der Martin Jakob Lauerischen Buchhandlung, 1777; the title was specified by Jean Paul in this form).

**32** This tendency is evident in the volume of excerpts that bears the title *Geschichte. 1. Band. 1782* (Jean Paul estate, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Fasz. IIa, 1). An example of this development is provided in the excerpts without references collected under the heading 'Anekdoten' (Fasz. IIa, 1, Bl. 9ff.); these excerpts consist of short sentences and paragraphs on various topics.

**33** Winckelmann, excerpts from Peter [Pierre] Bayle, *Historisches und Critisches Wörterbuch*, translated into German from the newest version of 1740; with a foreword and miscellaneous notes, particularly for objectionable passages, by Johann Christoph Gottscheden, 4 vols, Leipzig 1741–1744, in Winckelmann estate, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Fonds allemand, vol. 76, pp. 1–676 (in vol. 76 the excerpts were exceptionally numbered by pages; in the other volumes, numbering was based on folio); also vol. 72, fols 176<sup>r</sup>–191<sup>v</sup>; Winckelmann estate, Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod.

and especially after his arrival in Rome at the end of 1755, he broke off his practice of excerpting. The excerpts of his later collections are considerably shorter and more targeted, i.e. clearly oriented towards the current needs of his writing activity.

The emergence of this subject-oriented approach is especially evident in the shape that the organizational systems take. Most eighteenth-century writers used purely personal methods for organizing their collections.<sup>34</sup> For example, Jean Paul created highly personal, very sophisticated systems of classification that were so heavily tailored to his own needs that they partly remain indecipherable to outsiders (and even to Jean Paul experts). It is challenging to find a way through his alphabetical registers, tables of contents, registers of registers, repositoria of registers, and numbering systems of all kinds (Fig. 5).<sup>35</sup>



**Fig. 5:** Jean Paul, Register über die vorzüglichsten Sachen, in den Exzerpten aus den neuesten Schriften, in Jean Paul estate, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Fasz. Ia, 6, fol. 3<sup>r</sup>; © Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

hist. art. 1, 2 (4<sup>o</sup>), fols 4<sup>r</sup>–9<sup>v</sup>. Winkelmann's excerpts from the *Acta eruditorum* are preserved at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: Cod. hist. art. 1, 2 (4<sup>o</sup>), fols 122<sup>r</sup>–139<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> See Décultot 2014c; Helmreich 2014; Le Moël 2014.

<sup>35</sup> Müller 1988, esp. 9–13 and 327–330; Will 2006.

Winckelmann provides a striking example of this subjective turn. In 1767, one year prior to his violent death, he wrote some pages entitled *Collectanea zu meinem Leben* (Fig. 6), a curious form of autobiographical narrative. In this manuscript he retraces his own life via quotations from other authors, which he has borrowed from his immense store of excerpts. He describes his serious youth with the words of Ovid, and he uses a passage from Sallust to evoke his numerous travels. The portrait of himself that emerges from this cobbling together of quotations is based exclusively on a succession of excerpts.<sup>36</sup> The subjective turn in excerpting is particularly clear in these remarkable pages. Winckelmann's act of excerpting texts by other authors was a way of making his own autobiography. For him, excerpting works of others was a form of writing about himself.

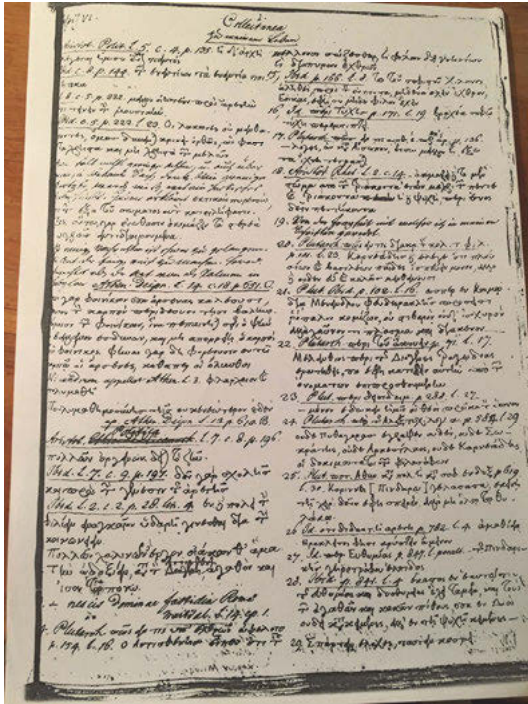
These developments are accompanied by terminological and semantic transformations. In the Early Modern Period, there were repeated efforts to set up borders between the real excerpt and other recording methods. For example, Weise's instruction in eloquence from the late seventeenth century insists on the distinction between the *collectanea* (excerpts from works read by the excerptor and which are subject to fixed classification) and *miscellanea* (collections of records that contain not only reading excerpts, but also good, rare material picked up here and there and freely organized).<sup>37</sup> Everything indicates that this terminological distinction became increasingly permeable in the eighteenth century. Winckelmann provides an eloquent example of this evolution. For no apparent reason, he sometimes uses the term *collectanea* and sometimes *miscellanea* for the titles to his precise, verbatim excerpts from antiquarian literature or from Voltaire's writings. In his excerpting practice, these terms no longer refer to clearly distinguishable corpora; in fact, the terms have become interchangeable.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Winckelmann, *Collectanea zu meinem Leben*, in Giovanni Cristofano Amaduzzi estate, Savignano sul Rubicone, Rubiconia Accademia dei Filopatridi, classis VI. See Schadewaldt 1960; Décultot 2000, 9–10 (German translation: Décultot 2004, 11–12).

<sup>37</sup> Weise, *Gelehrter Redner*, 40.

<sup>38</sup> Winckelmann estate, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Fonds allemand, vol. 63, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, with the title *Antiquitat. Graec. Collect*; vol. 72, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, with the title *Miscellanea* (begins with excerpts from Voltaire's *Siècle de Louis XIV*); vol. 66, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, with the title *Extraits of English Poets*; vol. 62, fol. 13<sup>r</sup>, with the title *Extraits touchant la vie des peintres*; vol. 67, fol. 7<sup>r</sup>, with the title *Miscellanea Romana inchoata mense Nov. 1757*. In the last volume, however, Winckelmann seems to stand more closely by the traditional definition of *miscellanea*, inasmuch as this collection contains, in addition to reading notes on Roman Antiquity, personal comments about thinkers, interesting works of art, galleries, and the like.



**Fig. 6:** Winckelmann, *Collectanea zu meinem Leben*, in Giovanni Cristofano Amaduzzi estate, Savignano sul Rubicone, Rubiconia Accademia dei Filopatridi, classis VI; © Savignano sul Rubicone, Rubiconia Accademia dei Filopatridi.

Despite all these transformations, a fundamental feature closely linked eighteenth-century excerptors with their predecessors: excerpting by hand originated for them in a necessity which was not only determined by material conditions. Certainly, for many of these authors, the decision to excerpt was partly due to socioeconomic factors such as poverty or distance from adequate libraries. Winckelmann and Jean Paul dedicated themselves to excerpting, particularly when they were young, because they could not buy printed books. In other words, their handwritten notebooks of excerpts served as substitutes for book collections, which they could not afford. These socioeconomic conditions, however, cannot entirely explain their passionate excerpting activity. If such handwritten libraries are regarded only as surrogates of actual libraries, then it is difficult to explain why Winckelmann also excerpted from printed books that he

owned, or why Jean Paul still practised excerpting when he was able to purchase books in print.<sup>39</sup> For both authors, the motivations for the intensive practice of excerpting appear to have been rooted in a central cognitive benefit of copying as only true means for assimilating a text. For Winckelmann or Jean Paul, real book ownership was achieved only after incorporating another author's text into one's own notebooks. Despite their sometimes vociferous protests against traditional forms of learning and writing, and especially against imitating and copying, many eighteenth-century excerptors were in this respect representative of long-established patterns in written culture.

## 4 From excerpting to writing: Collections of excerpts as text generators

From the beginning of excerpting, collections of excerpts were supposed to not only document reading, but also facilitate writing. In other words, such collections did not just store what had been read but also generated new texts and ideas. What then the path that leads from excerpting to writing for eighteenth-century authors?

That path usually begins with grouping excerpts around a theme, and, in a more elaborate way, with the production of indices, catalogues, registers, and tables of contents for the collection of excerpts – in other words, with the generation of organizational systems that facilitate the recovery and revision of excerpts for the excerptor's own writing activities. Characteristic of this process are the different stages in the evolution of Winckelmann's excerpting practice. During the first part of his stay in Germany, when he was not yet thinking of any specific book project, he tended to take down broad-ranging excerpts about very different subjects and fields of knowledge (history, medicine, modern literature, antiquarian science, etc.) without a clearly identifiable objective. Not until he was preparing his first publication, *Gedancken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Wercke* (1755), do thematically coherent *corpora* – such as the material concerning the French *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* – appear in his notebooks of excerpts. When he arrived in Rome and began working on *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (1764), his excerpts became more succinct, with a clearer thematic focus on Antiquity. From this period of Winckelmann's

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<sup>39</sup> Décultot 2014c.



life on, copying indisputably serves his writing projects.<sup>40</sup> A similar trend can be observed with Jean Paul.<sup>41</sup>

Winckelmann's numerous attempts to produce catalogues or directories of his own excerpt library corroborate this interpretation. As his *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* began to take shape shortly after he arrived in Rome, Winckelmann also started to work on a catalogue of his excerpt collection, an ambition that he never achieved.<sup>42</sup> At the same time, he started to classify his previous excerpts according to certain headings. Under the title *Collectanea ad historiam artis*, for example, he gathered excerpts from Pausanias, Strabo, Lucian and Pliny, and then attempted to arrange these texts into even more specific categories such as architecture, Olympics, the origin and decline of art, and Greek freedom (Fig. 7).<sup>43</sup> The titles under which the excerpts are ordered make it possible to determine the intellectual scaffolding for the new writing that was to come. With the production of registers, collections of excerpts could start to generate actual writing.

It would be pointless to try to make a stylistic typology of writings that are based on excerpt collections. Among the writers of the eighteenth century who used excerpts, however, there are some similarities which may be attributable to their common intensive treatment of reading notes. These similarities include a clear preference for aphoristic formulas, gnomic phrases, and catchy expressions. Such is the case in Winckelmann's first work, *Gedancken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Wercke*, as well as in texts by Lichtenberg, Heinse, and Jean Paul. A sure sign of this preference is that the works these authors published often gave rise to anthologies, including Jean Paul's *Chrestomathie der vorzüglichsten, kräftigsten und gelungensten Stellen* and Lichtenberg's *Aphorismen*.<sup>44</sup> Authors not only read the works from which they were excerpting, but

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**40** Décultot 2020.

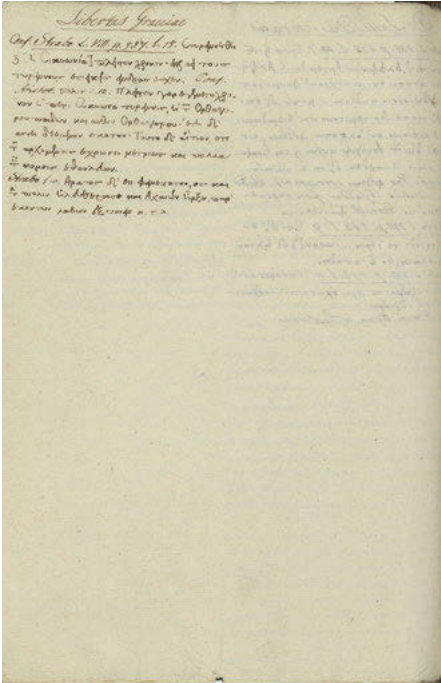
**41** From 1782 on, when he started to work on his own writings, Jean Paul's collections of excerpts contain more and more pages on which he made short extracts from various works, without mentioning titles or even indicating the transitions from one source to another. These volumes of excerpts had thus become storehouses of *florilegia* that no longer needed to indicate their source but instead could support the production of new texts by Jean Paul himself. See Müller 1988, 120–281.

**42** Winckelmann estate, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Fonds allemand, vol. 73, fols 46<sup>r</sup>–68<sup>r</sup> (*Catalogus*).

**43** Winckelmann estate, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Fonds allemand, vol. 57, fols 198<sup>r</sup>–233<sup>v</sup> (for rubrics such as 'De Architectura', 'Ludi Olympici', 'Libertas Graeciae'). See also Winckelmann estate, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Fonds allemand, vol. 59, fols 252<sup>r</sup>–273<sup>v</sup>; vol. 69, fols 43<sup>r</sup>–126<sup>v</sup>.

**44** Jean Paul, *Geist*; Lichtenberg, *Aphorismen*, ed. Leitzmann.

even wrote texts that were particularly well-suited to forthcoming anthologies. It is quite conceivable that some eighteenth-century authors wrote with a view to the anthological plucking process, walking in the footsteps of Montaigne, who wrote in his *Essais*: ‘J’aimerais quelqu’un qui me sache déplumer’.<sup>45</sup>



**Fig. 7:** Winckelmann, *Collectanea ad Historiam Artis/Libertas Graeciae*, in Winckelmann estate, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Fonds allemand, vol. 57, fol. 215<sup>v</sup>; © Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Of particular interest is how eighteenth-century writers dealt with the attribution of the sources they excerpted, thereby fashioning their own image as authors. Winckelmann provides a telling example. In some cases, he explicitly attributes the sentence he borrowed to its original author.<sup>46</sup> But even more does

<sup>45</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, ed. Michel, vol. 2, 105: ‘I want someone who knows how to deplume me’ (my translation). See Goyet 1986–1987.

<sup>46</sup> An example of this is the following consideration by François de La Rochefoucauld about the moral concept of truth, which Winckelmann excerpts: ‘La vérité est le fondement et la

he love to transform some excerpt of his arsenal and reuse it, without stating its origin. In what is certainly the most striking instance of this procedure, Winckelmann writes in the first pages of his *Gedancken über die Nachahmung*:

Der einzige Weg für uns, groß, ja wenn es möglich ist, unnachahmlich zu werden, ist die Nachahmung der Alten, und was jemand vom Homer gesagt, daß derjenige ihn bewundern lernet, der ihn wohl verstehen gelernet, gilt auch von den Kunst-Wercken der Alten, sonderlich der Griechen. Man muß mit ihnen, wie mit seinem Freund, bekannt geworden seyn, um den Laocoon eben so unnachahmlich als den Homer zu finden.<sup>47</sup>

The first sentence of this paragraph ('Der einzige Weg für uns, groß, ja wenn es möglich ist, unnachahmlich zu werden, ist die Nachahmung der Alten') is a near translation of a line by Jean de La Bruyère which Winckelmann copied down in a booklet of excerpts (Fig. 8):

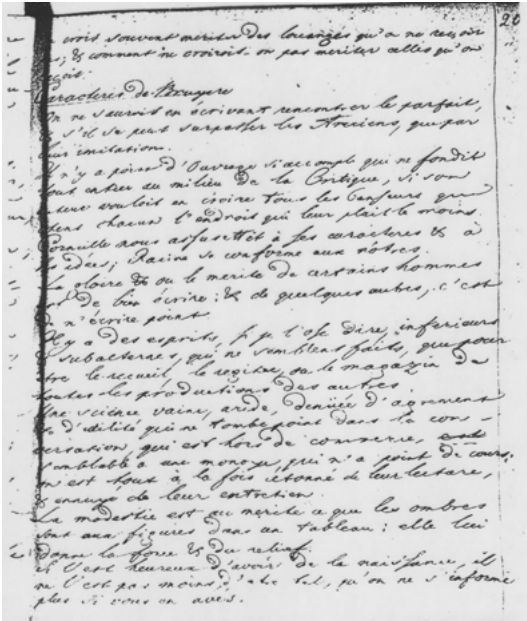
On ne saurait en écrivant rencontrer le parfait et s'il se peut surpasser les Anciens que par leur imitation.<sup>48</sup>

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raison de la perfection et de la beauté; une chose, de quelque nature qu'elle soit, ne saurait être belle et parfaite si elle n'est véritablement tout ce qu'elle doit être, et si elle n'a tout ce qu'elle doit avoir' (Winckelmann, excerpt from La Rochefoucauld, *Pensées*, in Winckelmann estate, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Fonds allemand, vol. 72, fol. 11'; 'Truth is the cause and origin of perfection and beauty; whatever its nature, a thing cannot be beautiful and perfect if it is not truly all that it must be, and if it does not have all that it needs to have' [my translation]). He translated this excerpt in *Sendschreiben über die Gedanken* and indicated the source: 'Die Wahrheit ist der Grund und die Ursach der Vollkommenheit und der Schönheit; eine Sache, von was vor Natur sie auch ist, kann nicht schön und vollkommen seyn, wenn sie nicht wahrhaftig ist, alles was sie seyn muß, und wenn sie nicht alles das hat, was sie haben muß' (Winckelmann, *Sendschreiben über die Gedanken von der Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerey und Bildhauerkunst*, in Winckelmann, *Kleine Schriften*, 60–89, here 77).

**47** Winckelmann, *Gedancken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Wercke in der Malerey und Bildhauer-Kunst*, in Winckelmann, *Kleine Schriften*, 27–59, here 29–30 ('The only way for us to become great, and indeed – if this is possible – inimitable, is by imitating the Ancients. And what someone said of Homer, that he who has learned to understand him well as learned to admire him, is also true of the art of the Ancients, and of the Greeks in particular. One must become familiar with their works, as with a friend, in order to find the *Laocoön* group as inimitable as Homer' [my translation]).

**48** Excerpt from La Bruyère, *Les Caractères de Théophraste* (possible edition: Paris: Estienne Michallet, 1688; numerous re-editions), in Winckelmann estate, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Fonds allemand, vol. 70, fol. 20<sup>r</sup>.



**Fig. 8:** Winckelmann, excerpts from La Bruyère, *Les Caractères de Théophraste* (possible edition: Paris: Estienne Michallet, 1688), in Winckelmann estate, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Fonds allemand, vol. 70, fol. 20<sup>r</sup>; © Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The core of the second sentence ('und was jemand vom Homer gesagt, daß derjenige ihn bewundern lernet, der ihn wohl verstehen gelernet, gilt auch von den Kunst-Wercken der Alten, sonderlich der Griechen') is a faithful rendering of an excerpt from Alexander Pope's *Essai sur la critique*, which Winckelmann attentively read and copied from the French translation (Fig. 9):

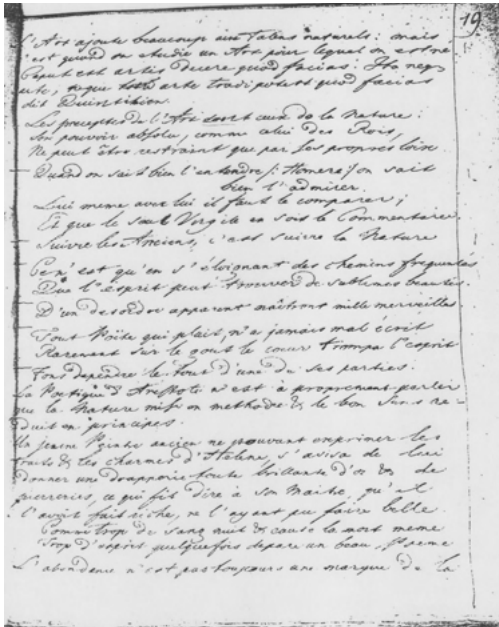
Quand on sait bien l'entendre [= Homère], on sait bien l'admirer,  
Lui-même avec lui il faut le comparer.<sup>49</sup>

The subsequent piece of advice ('Man muß mit ihnen, wie mit seinem Freund, bekannt geworden seyn, um den Laocoon eben so unnachahmlich als den Ho-

<sup>49</sup> Excerpt from Pope, *Essai sur la critique* (possible edition: *Essai sur la critique, imité de l'anglois de Mr. Pope* [trans. John Robethon], London: J. Delage, 1717), in Winckelmann estate, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Fonds allemand, vol. 70, fol. 19<sup>r</sup>.

mer zu finden') is a variation on a theme that Winckelmann came across while reading a preface by the famous Homer translator Anne Dacier:

J'ai lu Homère plusieurs fois, car j'ai pour lui la même passion qu'avait le philosophe Arcésilas qui soir et matin ne manquait jamais de lire quelque endroit de ce poète, et qui disait toujours en prenant son livre 'qu'il allait à ses amours'.<sup>50</sup>



**Fig. 9:** Winckelmann, excerpts from Pope, *Essai sur la critique* (possible edition: *Essai sur la critique, imité de l'anglais de Mr. Pope* [trans. John Robethon], London: J. Delage, 1717), in Winckelmann estate, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Fonds allemand, vol. 70, fol. 19<sup>r</sup>; © Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

**50** Excerpt from Anne Dacier's introduction to her translation of the *Iliad* (possible edition: *L'Iliade d'Homère, traduite en françois, avec des remarques, par Madame Dacier*, 3 vols, Paris: Rigaud, 1711), in Winckelmann estate, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Fonds allemand, vol. 72, fol. 83<sup>r</sup> ('I have read Homer repeatedly for I harbour the same passion for him as did the philosopher Arcelisas, who never failed to read a passage by this poet, morning and night, and who, in taking up his book, always said, he was going to his dear friends' [my translation]).

In order to write this section, Winckelmann had to piece together several excerpts from his collection – a writing process that explains the impression of heterogeneity mentioned above. Even in its revised form, the text possesses something of its original collage-like character.

In fact, the entire structure of *Gedancken über die Nachahmung* owes its form to the economy of excerpting. In 1756 Winckelmann published the second edition of his treatise, which included three more essays, two of which are especially interesting for our purposes. The first is entitled *Sendschreiben über die Gedanken von der Nachahmung*. Supposedly written by a fictitious and anonymous adversary in reply to Winckelmann's antiquity-friendly arguments in the first edition – the author is in fact none other than Winckelmann himself. In the second essay, entitled *Erläuterung der Gedanken*, Winckelmann personally rebuts the defence of the *modernes* contained in *Sendschreiben*.<sup>51</sup> By staging a fictitious dispute, Winckelmann presumably hoped to heighten interest in his publication. This adversarial, textual structure, however, is a direct result of his excerpting activity. With the publication of the first edition of *Gedancken*, Winckelmann had largely exhausted his argumentative reservoir in defence of the *anciens*. In the second text, *Sendschreiben über die Gedanken*, he thus made use of the numerous remaining excerpts in favour of the *modernes* in his extensive arsenal of quotations.<sup>52</sup> The third text, the *Erläuterung der Gedanken*, adheres to the same procedure.

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51 Winckelmann, *Sendschreiben über die Gedanken von der Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerey und Bildhauerkunst*, in Winckelmann, *Kleine Schriften*, 60–89; Winckelmann, *Erläuterung der Gedanken von der Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerey und Bildhauerkunst*; and *Beantwortung des Sendschreibens über diese Gedanken*, in Winckelmann, *Kleine Schriften*, 97–144. Between the *Sendschreiben* and *Erläuterung*, Winckelmann inserted the article 'Nachricht von einer Mumie in dem Königlichen Cabinet der Alterthümer in Dreßden' (Winckelmann, *Kleine Schriften*, 90–96), which mainly addresses the topics of the Egyptian script and language.

52 Excerpt from Antoine Joseph Dézallier d'Argenville, *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres* (Paris: De Bure, 1745–1752), in Winckelmann estate, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Fonds allemand, vol. 61, fols 27<sup>r</sup>–29<sup>v</sup> (esp. 29<sup>r</sup>–29<sup>v</sup>). Quoted Winckelmann, *Sendschreiben über die Gedanken von der Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerey und Bildhauerkunst*, in Winckelmann, *Kleine Schriften*, 77; excerpt from Filippo Baldinucci, *Vita del Cavaliere Gio[vanni] Lorenzo Bernino* (Florence: Nella stamperia di Vincenzo Vangelisti, 1682), in Winckelmann estate, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Fonds allemand, vol. 61, fol. 25<sup>v</sup>; excerpt from Roger de Piles, *Dissertation sur les ouvrages des plus fameux peintres* (Paris: Nicolas Langlois 1681), in Winckelmann estate, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Fonds allemand, vol. 61, fols 9<sup>v</sup>, 11<sup>r</sup>.

The close connection between reading, excerpting, and writing simultaneously explains a predominant feature of Winckelmann's work – its fundamentally and necessarily incomplete character. Winckelmann never declared his writings to be finished. For him, sending a manuscript to the publisher did not mean that the text had achieved its final version. While the first edition of *Gedancken über die Nachahmung* was in the process of being printed in 1755, he was already at work on a second, expanded edition. Almost immediately after sending his first manuscript of *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* to his publisher, Georg Conrad Walther in Dresden, in the early 1760s, Winckelmann began making additions to the text. When this first edition finally appeared in 1764, he already had a significantly enlarged, improved version at the ready, the publication of which he vehemently insisted on.<sup>53</sup> Understandably, Walther refused to print a new edition before the 1,200 copies of the first edition had been sold.<sup>54</sup> Yet Winckelmann was not to be discouraged and came up with some audacious plans for a new edition – one being to publish the new version directly in French or English.<sup>55</sup> All the projects failed, leaving him no alternative but to publish his addenda in a separate volume, the *Anmerkungen über die Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, which appeared in autumn of 1767.<sup>56</sup> Winckelmann's practice of excerpting thus resulted in what feels like contingency and instability in his publications. Writing, as Winckelmann understood

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53 The publishing house still had unsold copies of his work sixty years after its publication. In addition to his many addenda, Winckelmann was especially occupied with correcting some of the major errors contained in the first edition. For example, he commented on frescoes which he had erroneously believed to be ancient. Shortly after the book went to print, he discovered these frescoes to be modern imitations. See Winckelmann's letter to Lodovico Bianconi, 24 July 1761, in Winckelmann, *Briefe*, ed. Rehm, vol. 2, 164.

54 See Stoll 1960, 23, citing Carl Justi (1923, vol. 3, 297), who did not indicate his source.

55 Following numerous failed attempts to convince Walther, Winckelmann considered publishing the second edition of *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* in English after learning that the painter Heinrich Füssli, living in London at the time, was working on an English translation of the first edition. This plan also fell through, at which point Winckelmann decided to publish a French edition at his own expense. Acknowledging that he did not master the language sufficiently, he attempted to find a translator among the French-speaking scholars in Berlin. François-Vincent Toussaint, who had settled in Berlin in 1764 and was a member of the Academy, agreed to the undertaking, but he never completed it. Another German manuscript appeared in Vienna and became the basis for the posthumous edition of 1776. Unfortunately, this manuscript has been lost, so that we cannot determine how reliable this second edition is; nevertheless it was this second edition which became popular throughout Europe.

56 Winckelmann, *Anmerkungen über die Geschichte der Kunst*, ed. Borbein and Kunze.

it, consisted in updating, revising, and evaluating his previously copied excerpts, which in turn provided material for an endless creative process.

It is naturally quite tempting to view the numerous passages borrowed from foreign sources and translated without mention of their origin as instances of plagiarism – all the more so when these passages belong to authors who took pains to emphasize their originality. Such an appraisal, however, would not do justice to Winckelmann's complex understanding of writing and his position within the history of literary practices. This demurral is substantiated even in how he came up with the previously mentioned sentence from *Gedancken über die Nachahmung*: 'Der einzige Weg für uns, groß, ja wenn es möglich ist, unnachahmlich zu werden, ist die Nachahmung der Alten'.<sup>57</sup> Apparently Winckelmann contented himself with translating La Bruyère's sentence almost word-for-word into German, thereby incorporating the text into his *Gedancken* without any mention of its original source: 'On ne saurait en écrivant rencontrer le parfait et s'il se peut surpasser les Anciens que par leur imitation'.<sup>58</sup> But he introduces a slight shift of emphasis, which in itself played a significant role in the development of his own theory of imitation. In La Bruyère's French formulation, the meaning is evident; only by imitating the Ancients can one achieve perfection. The logical difficulty inherent in this claim, i.e. the possibility of surpassing a model deemed perfect and insurmountable, is discretely acknowledged in the words 'et s'il se peut surpasser les Anciens'.<sup>59</sup> This logical stringency is weakened in Winckelmann's translation. In the German formulation, La Bruyère's briefly implied contradiction between perfection and imitation gains much stronger contours. At the core of Winckelmann's sentence, two words collide: 'unnachahmlich' ('inimitable') and 'Nachahmung' ('imitation'). This paradoxical construction immediately awakens doubts regarding the validity of the claim. How can one become inimitable through imitation? Can one truly surpass a perfectly rendered original? And can one do so by producing a faithful imitation of exactly this original? All of these questions, which were only latent in La Bruyère's aphorism, shine through in Winckelmann's version. In this respect, the foundation upon which he proposes the principle of imitation in *Gedancken* is assailable from the start and anticipates how he questioned the

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57 See note 46.

58 Excerpt from La Bruyère, *Les Caractères* (n. 48). Literal translation (mine): 'One can only achieve perfection in literature, if surpassing the Ancients is possible, by imitating them'.

59 Literal translation: 'if surpassing the Ancients is possible'.



principle in his later writings.<sup>60</sup> In Winckelmann's dialectics of imitation and originality, the translation of La Bruyère is particularly revealing: in a place where Winckelmann appears to be faithfully following his source, he actually distances himself from it in the most substantial way.

The result is a fascinating parallel between Winckelmann's writing practice as an excerptor and the development of his artistic theory. His reflection on imitation in the fine arts, which addresses the manifold relationships and contradictions of imitation and originality in art, seems to be connected with the practice of excerpting that he had cultivated since his childhood. Because of his personal experience with the diverse paths and pitfalls of copying, and because he so fastidiously practised the art of excerpting, Winckelmann was able to propound a theory of imitation in the fine arts that delicately accentuated the paradox of imitation. In practising art, as in writing, originality arises from imitation. In Winckelmann's case, excerpting certainly influenced his writing with respect to its technical aspects. But more than that, excerpting played a definitive role in the very questions he addressed to the theory of art.

The collections of excerpts found in the estates of eighteenth-century writers have often been neglected by research, as we briefly mentioned in the introduction. This neglect is certainly due in part to the precariousness of such collections, which may be partially lost, difficult to access, or rarely inventoried. But what hinders their exploitation even more are the epistemological obstacles: to study these sources, we must relinquish the assumption that the eighteenth century is the cradle of Modernity, and especially of modern authorship and writing practices that supposedly broke decisively with previous copying and borrowing habits. Digital humanities provide new means to overcome these obstacles and to fully appreciate the impact of excerpting on modern text and knowledge production. Through digitization, collections of excerpts can be

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**60** After the publication of *Gedanken über die Nachahmung*, the formulation of the imitation principle did indeed become more variable and ambivalent. In his essay from 1759, *Erinnerung über die Betrachtung der Werke der Kunst* (Winckelmann, *Kleine Schriften*, 149–156), Winckelmann was already trying to differentiate the positive term *Nachahmung* ('imitation, emulation') from *Nachmachung* ('copying'). In his view, copying was mere epigonism, while *Nachahmung* required creativity. This accusation levelled at 'copying', however, was soon directed at the term *Nachahmung* as well. With the publication of *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* in 1764, this growing challenge to the imitation principle came to an abrupt end. In his description of the stages of Greek art, imitation was clearly relegated to the last stage of art, the epoch of its demise. For more on the general questioning of the imitation principle against the backdrop of Winckelmann's excerpting practice, see Décultot 2000, 95–117 (German translation: Décultot 2004, 61–74).

come accessible to a wider public and generate new research. Some new projects are currently exploring this terrain.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> The project 'Excerpts. On the Digital Study and Edition of a Unique Text-Image Constellation – Based on the example of Johann Joachim Winckelmann' by the University of Halle-Wittenberg and TU Darmstadt (<https://exzerpte.uzi.uni-halle.de>, accessed on 9 December 2022) aims to produce a digital edition of Johann Joachim Winckelmann's *Gedanken über die Nachahmung* by linking three corpora: sources that Winckelmann read, excerpts he made from these sources, and his published essay. The edition will make the long chain of transmission and transformation visible and develop a digital methodology for locating cross-references between a given collection of excerpts, the sources from which these excerpts were taken, and any work or works produced on the basis of these excerpts.

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Philippe Depreux

# ***Raison d'être* and Use of Stand-alone *formulae* in Early Medieval European Legal Manuscripts**

**Abstract:** This article seeks to explore why early medieval scribes added stand-alone *formulae* (anonymized templates for charters and letters) to multiple-text manuscripts containing legal texts such as *leges* ('law texts') or capitularies. It discusses several cases, and in some of them, we can assume the scribe not only added such a *formula*, but modified it in an original way, because he thought of creating a collection of legal texts for his own use. This can therefore be regarded as a case of 'writing for oneself'.

## **1 Introduction**

Most of the early medieval anonymized templates for charters and letters (*formulae*) are transmitted within collections.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of their creation is difficult to determine. With the exception of the *formulae* compiled approximately in the mid-seventh century by a monk named Marculf,<sup>2</sup> all these collections have been transmitted anonymously and only by chance does some information – for example the name of a city or the presence of an anonymized document otherwise known integrally – permit some presumption about the place of realization. Presumably such *formulae* were put together as examples for writing charters or letters by notaries or by teachers (in monastic schools for instance), for their own use or their pupils. As did Marculf who explicitly states he wrote his texts *ad exercenda initia puerorum* ('for introducing boys to the art of writing').<sup>3</sup> The original codex of his collection is lost (the most complete *codices* date from the beginning of the ninth century, i.e. one and a half century after the author's lifetime). Being part of this corpus, *formulae* have been transmitted in more

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<sup>1</sup> On the manuscript transmission of *formulae*, see Rio 2009.

<sup>2</sup> Marculf presents himself shortly in the preface of his collection, which is divided into two books, containing respectively forty templates for use at royal court (*palatium*) and fifty-two templates for use on the country (*pagus*). See Rio 2009, 82–92.

<sup>3</sup> Zeumer 1886, 37. A new edition (beta-version) is available on <https://werkstatt.formulae.uni-hamburg.de> (accessed on 19 August 2022).



than ten manuscripts, but not one is identical to the other: a few manuscripts contain a great number of these templates, others contain but a small number. As the manuscripts usually contain no information on the collection's author or about the scribe who copied it, it is generally not possible to determine if a codex is an original compilation of older or new templates, or if it is the copy of such a collection.

Anonymity is the general rule for the transmission of *formulae*. This is true for two reasons: in consideration of the author of a collection, but also in consideration of the scribe(s) who wrote the codex.<sup>4</sup> It is a rare exception when the author of a collection of *formulae* is mentioned by name or can be identified as the author. This is the case regarding Marculf but also of Notker the Stammerer, who assembled a collection of *formulae* based on charters and letters written for or at Saint-Gall Abbey, in the late ninth century.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes it is only possible to make an assumption regarding the identity of a collection's creator as with the collection made at Laon at the beginning of the tenth century.<sup>6</sup>

We are aware of the owner of a few manuscripts only by chance. The personal notebook of Ademar of Chabannes (b. c. 989, d. 1034), who was a monk at Saint-Martial Abbey in Limoges, is an interesting example of codex containing stand-alone *formulae* (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. Lat. 8° 15). This small manuscript (about 210 × 150 mm), written on poor quality parchment, contains not just texts but also drawings, and is famous for its role as an important witness to the transmission of Antique knowledge and its reception during the Middle Ages.<sup>7</sup> It was kept at the library of Saint-Martial Abbey till at least the beginning of the thirteenth century. At the end of the nineteenth century, the codex was disassembled into fourteen separately bound booklets. The last of these is a multiple-text manuscript containing, among other texts, the Fables of Avianus, a collection of recreational mathematics problems attributed

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<sup>4</sup> Colophons are rare. See for example a manuscript of the *Liber Papiensis* and capitularies copied about 1030 by a notary named Secundus, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, O. 55. sup., fol. 75<sup>v</sup>: *Secundus notarius scripsit oc manus suas* (Mordek 1995, 245); Radding 2018, 296. Another example is discussed below n. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Steinen 1945; on the *formulae* originated in Saint-Gall, see Rio 2009, 152–160, and Zeller 2022, *passim*; on the manuscripts of Notker's collection, see below p. 119; on Notker see at last Heinzer 2022.

<sup>6</sup> Contreni 1973. These *formulae* have been transmitted in the codex Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 11379.

<sup>7</sup> Van Els 2011; Van Els 2018.

to Alcuin and – inserted within this text – two models for writing marriage charters (*libelli dotis*), most probably copied by Ademar himself.<sup>8</sup>

In this article, I will argue that a closer look at the multiple-text manuscripts taken as a whole may explain the additional copy of *formulae*.<sup>9</sup> To appreciate the reasons why stand-alone templates might have been copied within legal manuscripts, I will first give an overview of different cases of transmission for collections of *formulae* within multiple-text manuscripts (the most usual way of transmission of these kind of texts); in a second step, I will consider different cases of legal manuscripts containing stand-alone *formulae*.

## 2 Transmission of collections of *formulae* as part of a multiple-text manuscript

(a) Collections of *formulae* could be a part of multiple-text manuscripts not primarily devoted to this kind of documentation. These manuscripts could have been used, for instance, for teaching in a monastic school as in the case of two manuscripts preserving the *compendium* composed in the second half of the ninth century by the school master of Saint-Gall Abbey, Notker the Stammerer (b. c. 840, d. 912), for his pupils, Waldo (b. c. 852, d. 906) and Salomon (b. c. 860, d. 919 or 920), who became bishop of Freising and Constance respectively.<sup>10</sup> the codex Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1609, most probably written in Freising at the beginning of the tenth century,<sup>11</sup> and its twin-manuscript Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 19413, written probably some decades later somewhere in south-east Francia.<sup>12</sup>

(b) In other cases, a collection of *formulae* could also be part of a legal book. This is the case regarding such a collection that originated in Angers. These Merovingian templates for charters and protocols of civil procedure date, presumably, from the late sixth century and the seventh century. They have been

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**8** Depreux 2019.

**9** It may be that *formulae* are transmitted through composite manuscripts, such as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 10756; such cases are not considered in this article: all manuscripts discussed here are codicological units. On the multi-text manuscripts, composite manuscripts and codicological units, see the volume's introduction.

**10** Hennings 2021b.

**11** Rio 2009, 269–270; on this manuscript, see Hennings 2021a, *passim*.

**12** Rio 2009, 249–251; on this manuscript, see Hoffmann 2004, vol. 1, 161, who supposes Kempten as original location; Hennings 2021a, *passim*.

transmitted in a codex most probably written in the Loire valley in the late eighth century,<sup>13</sup> containing the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* ('Law of the Visigoths', dating to the beginning of the sixth century). It may therefore be presumed that the *formulae* of Angers were considered by the scribe as a kind of supplement to the Law of the Visigoths: after the legal dispositions stated in the Law, a pragmatic part follows, with concrete examples in the way in which civic affairs were to be dealt. The manuscript of the *formulae* of Angers can be considered mainly as a codex of Roman Law,<sup>14</sup> but many other legal *codices* do not contain just one law-text, but several. This is due to the specific juridic situation of early medieval north-western Europe: each member of an ethnic group had the right to be judged according to his own ethnic law. Therefore, judges (for instance counts and their assessors or so called *rachimburgi*) needed books containing diverse law-texts at their disposal;<sup>15</sup> for that reason, many *codices* contain not just one, but a number of law-texts.<sup>16</sup>

(c) Sometimes *formulae* are copied in a booklet devoted largely to that kind of documentation. A good example is the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 10757 written during the tenth century in southern Germany. This codex with only 16 folios of medium size (190 × 160 mm) contains mostly *formulae*: models for writing royal diplomas, letters of recommendation and other pieces of correspondence originated in Saint Gall Abbey; most of these documents are part of collections transmitted by other manuscripts, but four of them (copied on the first leaves) are known only due to this one manuscript.<sup>17</sup> Among these models for royal diplomas and land transactions, the scribe copied a chapter of a treatise on the origin of ecclesiastical practices (*De exordiis et*

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**13** Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, D1; see Rio 2009, 244; Liebs 2022.

**14** Other Roman-Law-manuscripts with *formulae* copied after the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* exist: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 4629 (Rio 2009, 258–259); Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, BPL 114 (see Rio 2009, 245–246); some scholars presume that the latest volume was originally the first part of a big legal codex for Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 4629 as second part (see Mordek 1995, 502), but Ganz 2008, 90 n. 1, rejects this hypothesis.

**15** Guterman 1990; Hoppenbrouwers 2013; on the *rachimburgi*, see Lößlein 2021.

**16** This is the case for example regarding those manuscripts also containing *formulae*: Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliothek, Gl. Kgl. Saml. 1943 4<sup>o</sup> (see Mordek 1995, 192–195; Rio 2009, 242–243); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 4409 (see Mordek 1995, 463–4666; Rio 2009, 255–256); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 4629 (see Mordek 1995, 502–506; Rio 2009, 257–258); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1050 (see Mordek 1995, 847–852; Rio 2009, 268–269); Warsaw, Biblioteka uniwersytecka, 1 (see Mordek 1995, 898–903; Rio 2009, 270–271).

**17** Rio 2009, 158.

*incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum*) in which Walahfrid Strabo (d. 849) compared some ecclesiastical and secular offices.<sup>18</sup> There is no doubt this text was intentionally part of the collection assembled by the scribe, for the heading announcing this excerpt (which begins on fol. 2<sup>r</sup>) is written in the same hand as at the bottom of fol. 1<sup>v</sup>. Therefore in this multiple-text manuscript, the excerpt of Walahfrid's treatise is not to be considered as a 'guest-text', but as part of the textual collection, this comparison of ecclesiastical and secular offices being a kind of instruction manual on titles and offices occurring in the models of charters.

### 3 Transmission of stand-alone *formulae* in legal manuscripts

The *formulae* are generally transmitted in a collection as part of multiple-text manuscripts containing other literary or legal texts. However, some *formulae* were copied on blank leaves as 'guest-texts' and at times are not in direct relationship to the main text. This is the case with Ademar of Chabannes who copied the text of two charters (probably originating in the Loire valley over a century earlier) perhaps due to his own personal interest in the subject, but the precise reason is unknown.<sup>19</sup> Such transmission is not an exceptional phenomenon: some vernacular texts such as charms or prayers have been transmitted individually as *addenda* (written for example in the margin) to Latin manuscripts. Many such cases demonstrate no obvious connection to the main text's subject matter.<sup>20</sup> As a result, it is worth looking at such *formulae*, transmitted in legal manuscripts isolatedly, and seeking explanations for their insertion into such *codices*. Karl Zeumer, the editor of the nineteenth century MGH-*Formulae* volume, created a special category for such *formulae*, dubbing them '*formulae extravagantes*' (meaning something like 'templates circulating outside collections'). This expression is problematic as medieval scribes made no distinction

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**18** Rio 2009, 260; see Harting-Correa 1996, 190–197 (Latin text quoting Boretius and Krause 1897, 515, line 3–516, line 25, and English translation); Chapter 32 is not copied entirely: the beginning (with allusion to biblical times) is omitted; the excerpt begins with the mention of Roman emperors; at the end of the chapter, Walahfrid's conclusion is omitted; the scribe added the closing word *Amen*.

**19** Depreux 2019.

**20** Edwards 1994.

between isolated *formulae* and *formulae* being part of an earlier collection and copied separately in another manuscript.<sup>21</sup>

Instances when the scribe created an original collection of legal documents by adding a *formula* on a blank leaf or in the margin of a codex are now to be scrutinized. Various cases have been identified. First (case a), the scribe deliberately adds a single text generally transmitted with other documents, hence diverging from the established tradition. Sometimes, a page left blank offered the possibility to add a text, for instance to complete a textual collection with information on how to implement what had been exposed theoretically in the previous pages (case b). Sometimes this kind of addition could become classical (case c). Finally, the scribe sometimes did not slavishly copy their model, but adapt the text collected to his own needs (case d), or even create an entirely new model (case e).

(a) The first case is illustrated by the manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 582. This codex is one of the most important collections of capitularies. It was written in northern France in the late ninth or early tenth century and the original collection may have been created by a royal delegate (a *missus*) living in Burgundy.<sup>22</sup> The manuscript not only contains capitularies, but also hagiographic texts. At its end (fols 153<sup>v</sup>–154<sup>r</sup>), is a tenth-century addition: a fragmentary copy of the *Passio* of Saint Symphorian (a martyr venerated at Autun). Probably not long after this addition was made, the manuscript arrived in Mainz,<sup>23</sup> where, during the second half of the tenth century, a scribe added two texts.<sup>24</sup> The first text (fols 154<sup>v</sup>–155<sup>v</sup>) is a fragmentary copy of the Gelasian Decree (*Decretum Gelasianum*); a five-chapter text written in the sixth century, attributed to Pope Gelasius (492–496), and dealing with authorized and non-authorized books.<sup>25</sup> Immediately after this text the same scribe copied a *formula* used for the oblation of a child to a monastery<sup>26</sup> (Fig. 1): the *formula* begins at line 20 with the words *Dum legaliter ...* written by the same hand as the text above it, ending with the words *Explicit. Amen*. This *formula* for the oblation of a child is often transmitted with two other models of engagement and constitutes a kind of trifold model: a charter for promising monastic obedience, another for an adult person applying to be a new monk and a third offer-

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<sup>21</sup> Rio 2009, 162.

<sup>22</sup> Mordek 1995, 781.

<sup>23</sup> There is a late medieval *ex libris* of a monastery in Mainz on fol. 1, see Mordek 1995, 780.

<sup>24</sup> Mordek 1995, 780; Hoffmann 1986, 258–259.

<sup>25</sup> Gioanni 2015.

<sup>26</sup> Zeumer 1886, 570 (*Formulae extravagantes*, II, no. 32).

ing a child as a monk.<sup>27</sup> These three *formulae* have been transmitted in the Codex Sangallensis 914 (first half of the ninth century); the scribe wrote these texts as an *addendum* to the Rule of Saint Benedict (preserved in this manuscript in the closest version to the supposed original),<sup>28</sup> to commentaries on that text and to the monastic legislation of Louis the Pious.<sup>29</sup> This is not an isolated case.<sup>30</sup> It is very likely the scribe of the manuscript discussed here<sup>31</sup> wanted to add a model for the implementation of some practice (such as entering monastic life) described in the Benedictine Rule (in the case here: Chapter 59, on the oblation of children by their parents).<sup>32</sup> The text copied in the codex Pal. lat. 582 is a slightly shortened version of the classical *formula* for offering a child to a monastery.<sup>33</sup> Since the eleventh century, these three *formulae* discussed above form a sort of canonized *addendum* to the monastic legislation of Louis the Pious and to a collection of Canon law probably made in Freising at the beginning of the eleventh century (*collectio XII partium*).<sup>34</sup>

There is something striking here, when compared with the entirety of the manuscript tradition: the *formula* for the oblation of a child is transmitted separately from the other *formulae* for entering monastic life.<sup>35</sup> It is possible the

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**27** Depreux 2016.

**28** Zelzer 1989.

**29** St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 914: *formula* for the oblation of a child to a monastery opens the triad (p. 192), followed by the *petitio novitiorum* (p. 193) and the monastic promise (p. 194); without any rupture of the layout the scribe copied an Office Collectar, i.e. 'selected prayers'. On that manuscript, see Schaab 2003, 102–103; <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/description/csg/0914/Hendrix> (accessed on 19 August 2022).

**30** These *formulae* have been transmitted together with Carolingian monastic legislation (*Capitulare monasticum* III) in manuscripts dating from the eleventh century or slightly later, see Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Can. 7, fol. 70<sup>r</sup> (Mordek 1995, 11), Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weiss. 45, fol. 124<sup>r-v</sup> (Mordek 1995, 957).

**31** Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 582.

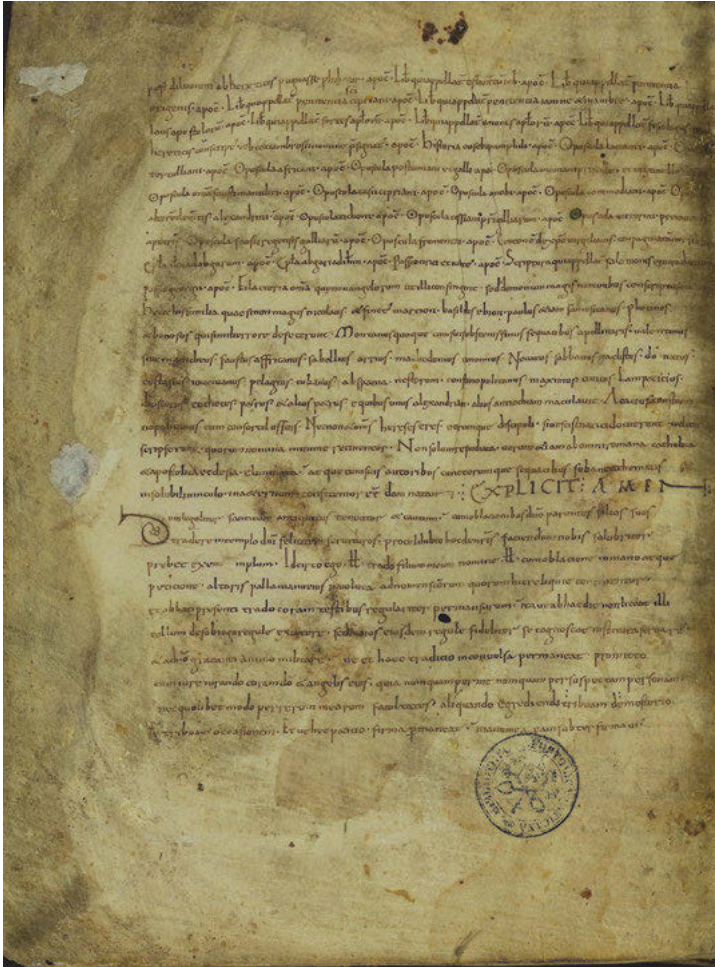
**32** Vogüé and Neufville 1972, vol. 2, 632–635.

**33** Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 582, fol. 155<sup>v</sup>: *Dum legaliter sancitum antiquitus teneatur ... Et ut hec petitio firma permaneat, manu mea eam subter firmaui*. There are some minor differences between both readings (for example: *in templo Domini feliciter servituros* instead of *filios in templo Domini fideliter servituros* in Zeumer's edition). At the beginning of the text, the arenga of Zeumer's edition is missing (*Aequum etenim iudico Creatori nostro de nobis reddere fructum*). The long version is attested in the first half of the ninth century (St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 914); on its mid-eleventh-century use, see also the chronicle of the northern Italian Abbey of Novalesa: Alessio 1982, 174 (III, 24).

**34** Depreux 2016, 494.

**35** According to Zeumer 1886, 568, the *formula* for the oblation of a child to a monastery was also copied together with the third *Capitulare monasticum* in a part of the codex Paris, Biblio-

scribe selected that one *formula*, but not the two others traditionally associated to it, and copied it together with the Gelasian Decree because he wanted this largely legal manuscript bearing a few liturgical texts to be more useful in a monastic context, but it remains uncertain why only that *formula* was copied.



**Fig. 1:** Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 582, fol. 155v; [https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav\\_pal\\_lat\\_582](https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_582).

thèque nationale de France, lat. 4761, which remains lost to the present day (see Mordek 1995, 544).

(b) The second case concerns the copy of a stand-alone *formula* on a blank leaf. At times there is an explanation for this. The *formula* copied on the recto of the first leaf (i.e. the page left blank by the scribe of the main text) of Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weiss. 97 (fol. 1<sup>r</sup>), which is a model of *securitas*,<sup>36</sup> i.e. the written promise that both litigants will keep in peace after a trial and respect the security of each other is worthy of consideration here.<sup>37</sup> This legal manuscript dates from the second half of the eighth century and contains the *Lex Salica* and a shortened version (*epitome*) of the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*.<sup>38</sup> This *formula* is clearly thematically connected to the topics of this codex. The short addition may have been written by a judge or a notary – but it is not known precisely by whom.<sup>39</sup> It is therefore clear, that by investigating the copying of *formulae* in legal manuscripts a thematic explanation usually reveals itself. But it must be accepted that nothing is known about the scribe. Did he copy texts he had at his disposal by chance, or did he look for them in another manuscript? Did he modify the structure of the collections he was copying, or did he add something according to his own needs or those of his patron? These questions remain unanswered.

(c) Another example exists to illustrate how the addition of a *formula* to a corpus could become a classical way of textual transmission. The *formula* in question (Fig. 2) deals with the legal conditions for an accusation (*edictio*),<sup>40</sup> which refers to a passage of the Theodosian Code.<sup>41</sup> It is to be found in three legal manuscripts bearing similar content.<sup>42</sup> This demonstrates a close thematic connection between the Law and the *formula*, which was copied directly after the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*. The three manuscripts contain a small compilation of extracts of the explanations on law given by Isidor of Sevilla in his *Etymologies*<sup>43</sup> and then, in the same order,<sup>44</sup> the *Lex Romana*, the model for

<sup>36</sup> Zeumer 1886, 537–538 (*Formulae extravagantes*, I, 8); see Ubl 2017, 138.

<sup>37</sup> Classen 1977, 33.

<sup>38</sup> Butzmann 1964, 278–282.

<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, thanks to a colophon, we know the scribe of the main text by name: Agambert (see Butzmann 1964, 282). The scribe appears to have had a sense of humour, having invented, or at least copied a parody of legal decision in addition to the Salian Law, see Kiesler 2006, 115–119.

<sup>40</sup> Zeumer 1886, 536–537 (*Formulae extravagantes*, I, 5).

<sup>41</sup> Codex Theodosianus, IX, 1, 6, *Interpretatio*: Haenel 1849, 170. See Kimmelman 2010, 99; Di Cintio 2013, 51; Biavaschi 2015, 144.

<sup>42</sup> Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 263, fol. 160<sup>v</sup>–161<sup>r</sup>; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 4409, fol. 120<sup>r</sup><sup>v</sup>; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1048, fol. 224<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> Tardif 1895.

<sup>44</sup> See for example Hagen 1875, 297, in which the reference to the *formula* has been omitted.



informing the adversary about the charge initiated against him by the plaintiff (*edictio*),<sup>45</sup> a list of Frankish kings<sup>46</sup> ending with Pippin (the first Carolingian king), and a Glossary. The list of Frankish kings beginning with Theuderic III (679–690) has not been transmitted by these three manuscripts exclusively. The relationship between these three manuscripts is clear, not only because they transmit the same texts, but because they transmit the same addition that mentions Pippin (Charlemagne’s father) at the end of this list.<sup>47</sup> According to paleographical criteria the order of the copies has been ascertained: first Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 263, dating from the beginning of the ninth century,<sup>48</sup> then Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 4409 (late ninth century)<sup>49</sup> and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1048 (tenth century);<sup>50</sup> the last two manuscripts derive independently from the Bern manuscript.<sup>51</sup> Unfortunately, a look at the oldest manuscript provides no information on the author of this text or the scribe’s identity. It is written in the same hand as the rest of the text: this *formula* could have been part of the model as well as an original text written by the scribe or his sponsor.<sup>52</sup> The manuscript is clearly designed for a jurist who not only wished to have a juridical codex at his disposal, but also wanted to meditate upon the law.

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45 Bürge 1995.

46 Krusch 1920.

47 This list is also copied in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 2225, fol. 189<sup>v</sup>, which is the earlier manuscript of that list. In that manuscript and in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 4409, fol. 120<sup>v</sup>, the list of kings is followed by a dating related to the law book (an authentication of the copy made under King Alaric II): the *Subscriptio Aniani* (Forma B), see Kaiser 2017, 317. On early medieval lists of kings, see Reimitz 2002; Giesriegel 2006. On the manuscript transmission of this list, see Trouvé 2019, vol. 1, 159–163; edition: vol. 3, 93–140.

48 Bischoff 1998, 120.

49 Mordek 1995, 463.

50 Haenel 1849, LXXII; Tardif 1895, 662.

51 Trouvé 2019, vol. 1, 161.

52 According to Trouvé 2019, vol. 1, 161, the *formula* must have been originally written by the scribe of the lost codex (θ) which was the model for Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 2225 and Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 263 (‘ces trois volumes remontent à un modèle commun, θ, élaboré au moins dès le début du IXe siècle, voire à la fin du siècle précédent. La *formula edictionis*, qui accompagne uniquement ces témoins du Bréviaire d’Alaric, a sans doute été écrite au moment de la rédaction de θ’). This is nothing but a mere speculation.

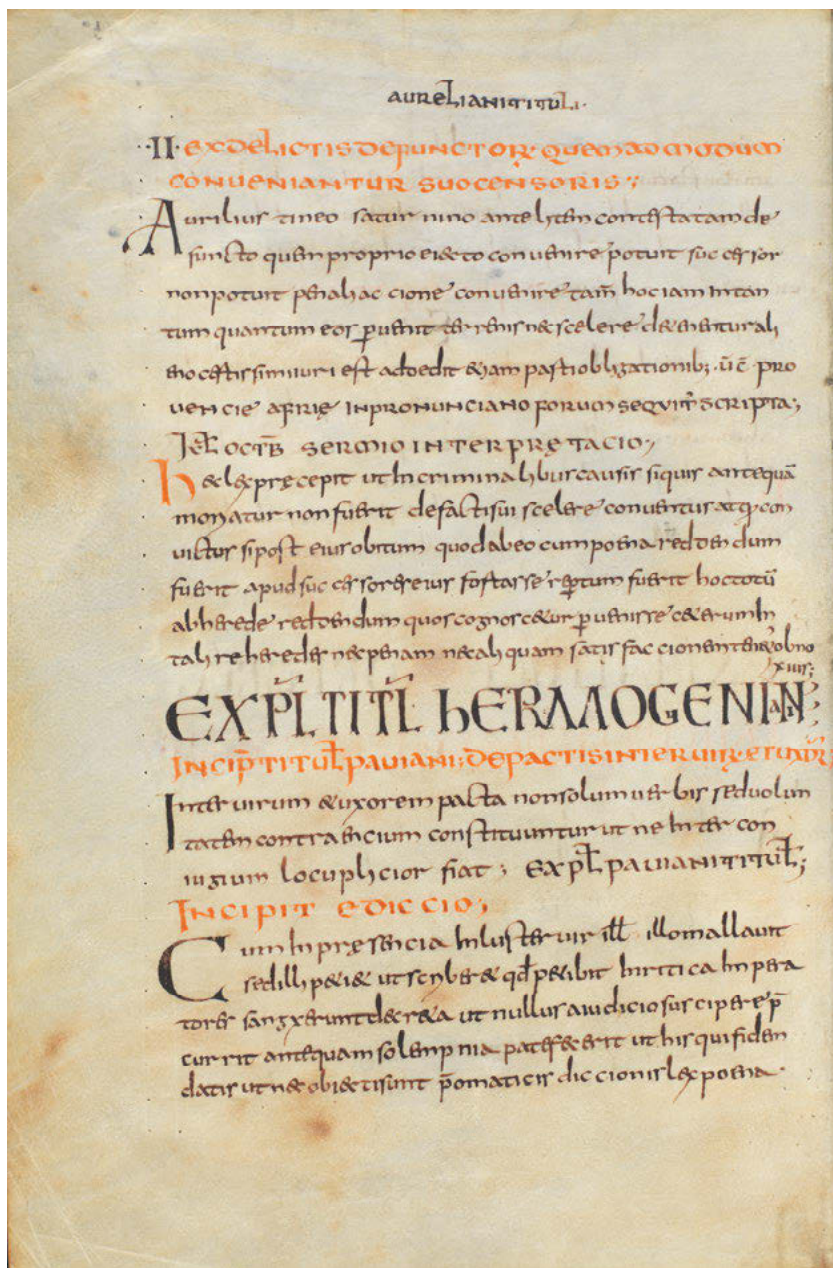


Fig. 2: Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 263, fol. 160<sup>v</sup> (end of law book and beginning of formula: 'incipit ediccio ...'); <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/bbb/0263/160v>.

(d) Another case deals with the liberty a scribe had in modifying a text by writing a codex for his patron or himself and adapting it to his own use. The manuscript to be focused on is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. lat. 204, an important collection of legal documents probably written in Tours, during the first quarter of the ninth century.<sup>53</sup> The scribe copied the Frankish Salian Law and the Law of the Alemannic people as well as parts of the Law of the Bavarians and the Law of the Burgundians. It seems the scribe anticipated a need for legal texts dealing with these foreigners from the southeastern part of the empire; at least, it is clear there existed direct contacts between monastic communities of the Loire valley and Alemania<sup>54</sup> (intensive contacts also existed between both regions and northern Burgundy, with the latter acting as a kind of hub between the other two).<sup>55</sup> The scribe obviously had a special interest in Burgundy as is to be seen in the *formula* he copied in his codex.<sup>56</sup>

Immediately after the Burgundian law the anonymous scribe copied a model for an imperial diploma ordering all public agents to observe the interdiction for entering the properties of a monastery enjoying immunity.<sup>57</sup> This text has also been preserved in another manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2718), it is most probably the personal notebook of Hirminmaris, an imperial notary and a member of the Saint-Martin Abbey in Tours.<sup>58</sup> This manuscript of 140 folios appears to have been manufactured from scraps of parchment left over from the production of other works, such as charters, and has an unusual (horizontal) format. It contains texts on diverse topics (legal texts issued by Emperor Louis the Pious during the years 817 to 821 and anonymized models for writing imperial diplomas, but also theological treatises), many are written in Tironian notes (a system of Roman shorthand commonly used in the Frankish imperial chancellery and in the monastic *scriptoria* of that time).<sup>59</sup>

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53 Hubert Mordek called it a 'sehr zu beachtend(es) Rechtswerk' (Mordek 1995, 621).

54 Vogler 1995; Ludwig 2015.

55 On the contacts between the Touraine and northern Burgundy, see Depreux 2004, 61–64; on the contacts between northern Burgundy and Alemania see Wollasch 1957.

56 Directly after this *formula* (on fol. 77<sup>v</sup>), a younger hand added the beginning of an Advent Trope: *Patris ingenti filius/venit etheris sedibus/secrete fit (rei nuncius...)*, sung in twelfth century at Saint-Martial in Limoges. Spanke 1932, 467–468; see London, British Library, Add MS 36881, fol. 12<sup>r</sup>; Spanke 1928–1932, 291–292 (text of the Advent hymn).

57 Zeumer 1886, 296–297 (*Formulae imperiales*, no. 15).

58 Mordek 1995, 422–430; Mersiowsky 2004; Patt 2016.

59 Ganz 1990.

The model for the *formula* discussed here is a diploma of Emperor Louis the Pious for the abbey of Aniane in Septimany (southern France,<sup>60</sup> near Montpellier), one of the most important locations of Carolingian monastic reform.<sup>61</sup> The manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2718 was clearly the model of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. lat. 204 as both contain imperial legislation (capitularies) in the same order (some of these texts are only transmitted in these two manuscripts).<sup>62</sup> The scribe of the latest manuscript was not only interested in legislation but also in practical information on administration, as he probably had not only Hirminmaris's notebook at his disposal. It is very likely he consulted the diploma for Aniane or at least a copy of it, as both versions of that *formula* contain minor differences<sup>63</sup> (the original of Louis's diploma is lost, but it has been copied in the cartulary of that abbey, a codex made in the twelfth century collecting all important charters). The scribe of the codex Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. lat. 204 selected this one *formula* (there is no other *formula* copied in that manuscript) and adapted the text to his own needs. He modified the beginning of the text and replaced the mention of Provence with Burgundy.<sup>64</sup> Let us compare the diploma (as transmitted in the cartulary), the *formula* written by Hirminmaris and the alternative version of that *formula* (the document is addressed 'to all counts, all agents in charge of a district called *vicaria* or of a hundred, and to all your subordinates dwelling in Provence, Septimany, and Aquitaine' – according to the reading of the alternative *formula*: 'to all your subordinates dwelling in Burgundy, Aquitaine, and Septimany'):

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**60** Kölzer 2016, 505–508 (no. 205, 19.03. 822).

**61** See Kettemann 2000; Schneider 2016.

**62** Mordek 1995, 622. The order of the capitularies of the part of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2718 copied in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. lat. 204, is the same, only one capitulary is missing: the *Capitula per se scribenda*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2718: fols 105<sup>r</sup>–108<sup>r</sup>: *Capitula legibus addenda*; 108<sup>r-v</sup>: *Capitula per se scribenda*; fols 109<sup>r</sup>–110<sup>r</sup>: *Capitularie missorum*; fols 110<sup>r</sup>–111<sup>r</sup>: *Capitula de functionibus publicis*; 111<sup>r</sup>: *Capitula de iustitiis faciendis*; fol. 111<sup>r-v</sup>: *Responsa imperatoris de rebus fiscalibus data*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. lat. 204, fols 20<sup>v</sup>–22<sup>v</sup>: *Capitula legibus addenda*; fol. 23r: *Capitularie missorum*; fol. 23<sup>r-v</sup>: *Capitula de functionibus publicis*; fol. 24<sup>r</sup>: *Capitula de iustitiis faciendis*; fol. 24<sup>r-v</sup>: *Responsa imperatoris de rebus fiscalibus data*.

**63** For instance, the word *ceteris* in the first sentence is not concordant to the reading of Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2718, but to that of the diploma. Kölzer 2016, 506 mentions this ('einige weniger wichtige Varianten', 'some less important variants'), but does not refer to the diploma as potential source of information.

**64** Patt 2016, 87–90.

Omnibus comitibus, vicariis, centenariis sive ceteris iunioribus vestris, partibus Prouincie, Septimanie et Aquitanie consistentibus.<sup>65</sup>

Omnibus comitibus, vicariis, centenariis sive iunioribus vestris, partibus Prouincie, Septimanie et Aquitanie consistentibus.<sup>66</sup>

Omnibus comitibus, vicariis, centenariis sive ceteris iunioribus vestris, partibus Burgundiae, Aquitaniae atque Septimaniae consistentibus.<sup>67</sup>

(e) Finally, it is possible to consider, at times, the insertion of a *formula* to be the creation of an original text. In the case of the manuscript Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 406, the creation of an original legal assemblage can easily be explained. This codex was written by an anonymous scribe in the twelfth century, perhaps in Bavaria or in Austria.<sup>68</sup> It contains the Law of the Bavarians completed by capitularies concerning Bavaria and the *History of the Lombards* by Paul the Deacon (b. c. 720, d. c. 799). After the last capitulary,<sup>69</sup> which contains ‘chapters added to the Bavarian Law’ (some of them dealing with the royal protection toward slaves that had been enfranchised),<sup>70</sup> the scribe added a *formula* in an original manner (fol. 26<sup>v</sup>). Between this text (Fig. 3: first two lines on the top of the folio) and a short excerpt of the Law of the Bavarians, written in the same hand and neither thematically connected with the texts prior to it (which concern the killing of falcons)<sup>71</sup> nor announced by a heading (Fig. 3: last two lines on the bottom of the folio), the scribe copied two texts taken from the books on synodal matters composed by Regino, abbot of Prüm (b. c. 840, d. 915). Regino wrote this handbook for the annual inspection of parish churches by the bishop. On the Vienna manuscript, the first text is announced by the heading written in red ink stating ‘in what way clerics have the possibility of freeing their slaves’: *Quod clerici mancipiis suis possint dare libertatem*. It is a shortened version of Regino’s handbook (I, Chap. 418, a text based on the Theodosian Code), explaining under which condition a slave can be enfranchised by the cleric.<sup>72</sup> Immediately below (the beginning of line 7), the scribe copied an extremely abridged version of the template for writing a charter of manumission, stating ‘in what way are slaves to be made free before the altar

<sup>65</sup> Diploma (according to the twelfth-century Aniane cartulary; original lost).

<sup>66</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2718, fol. 74<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. lat. 204, fol. 77<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>68</sup> Mordek 1995, 903–904.

<sup>69</sup> Boretius 1883, 157–158 (no. 68: *Capitula ad legem addita*, Chaps 1–7).

<sup>70</sup> Boretius 1883, 158 (no. 68, Chaps 4–6).

<sup>71</sup> Schwind 1926, 466 (XXI, 4). This paragraph of the Law of the Bavarians is also transmitted within the complete text (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 406, fol. 24<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>72</sup> Hartmann 2004, 212.

and how the guarantee should be given, or the exemplification be made' (*Qualiter mancipia ad altare debeant absolui uel dari cautio seu descriptio talis habenda est*,<sup>73</sup> taken from Book I, Chapter 414). It seems that the scribe of the Vienna manuscript used Regino's handbook in an original manner for completing the text of the Bavarian capitulary with a practical example. In that way, he modified an older text and adapted it to his own legal collection,<sup>74</sup> with the obvious aim of obtain a practical example of the implementation of a legal text. Perhaps he copied some notes, as the excerpt on the falcons suggests, as it is not connected to the prior text (as if it had been copied by mistake).

A final similar case, also concerning a *formula* for enfranchising people, deals with a slave who to be ordained as a priest: for that reason, he must first be made a free citizen. This text occurs in the Vienna manuscript, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 501, a ninth- or tenth-century codex probably written in Italy.<sup>75</sup> As in many other manuscripts of the *Institutio canonicorum* of the council in Aachen (816), this text is completed by the *Regula formatarum* of Atticus, an explanation of how to write a letter of recommendation for a priest moving from one diocese to another.<sup>76</sup> As usual, models of such letters following this general explanation exist but in a very unusual manner the scribe inserted a *formula* for enfranchising a priest with a unique formulation<sup>77</sup> – it is unedited:<sup>78</sup> Perhaps the scribe or his patron was the author of this text...

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**73** Hartmann 2004, 208–210 (= Zeumer 1886, 544–545). Mordek 1995, 904, describes that text as similar ('ähnlich') to the *formula* transmitted by Regino. The source is clearly the text given by Regino but the scribe cut about half of each sentence.

**74** This case is not isolated. Another example of a *formula* for enfranchising a slave who was going to be ordained as a priest, which could be transmitted within a collection or as a stand-alone-model, is a *formula imperialis* (Zeumer 1886, 311–312) also transmitted by Regino (Hartmann 2004, 206–208), as described by Patt 2016, 91–94. There is another version of this *formula* in a tenth-century manuscript from Saint Remi Abbey, Reims (London, British Library, Royal 15 B XIX, fols 97<sup>v</sup>–98<sup>r</sup>), see Warner and Gilson 1921, 161. I thank Prof. David Ganz (Cambridge) for this information.

**75** Mordek 1995, 905–906.

**76** Werminghoff 1906, 421 and Zeumer 1886, 557 (*Formulae extravagantes*, II, no. 11). On these documents, see Fabricius 1926.

**77** Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 501, fol. 113<sup>v</sup>: *ITEM DE CARTULIS REMISSIONUM SACERDOTALIUM*.

**78** This text will be edited within the project 'Formulae – Litterae – Chartae' (<https://www.formulae.uni-hamburg.de/>, accessed on 2 February 2023).

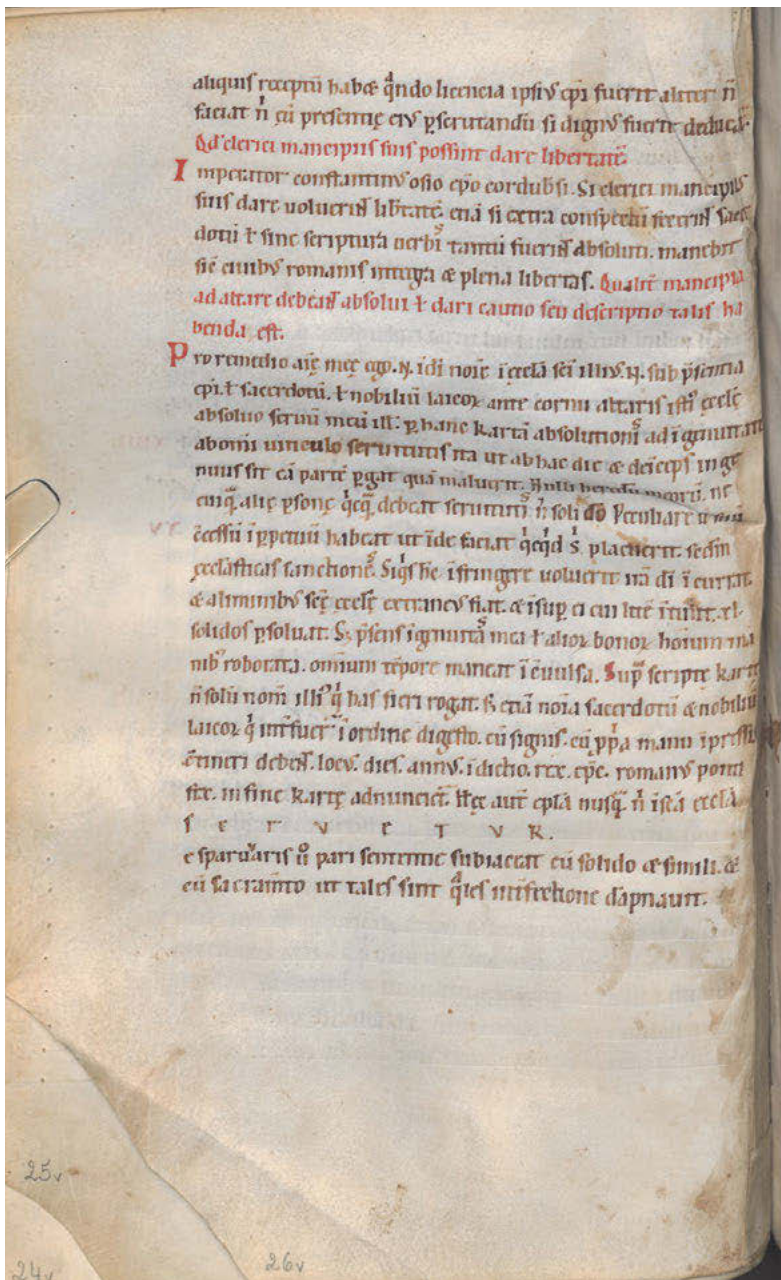


Fig. 3: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 406, fol. 26v; [https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL\\_5295538&order=1&view=SINGLE](https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_5295538&order=1&view=SINGLE).



## 4 Conclusion

The collections of legal texts can be considered as a more or less conventional exercise; the way some texts were put together may provide information on the genesis of the manuscripts and the scribe's or the sponsor's aims. In many cases, we can be reasonably certain or at least surmise, which codex was used as a model for copying a multiple-text manuscript. The scribes sometimes had no choice, and copied the single and only codex at their disposal; in important places and *scriptoria*, they could probably be more selective. What was their reason in so doing? Is it possible to find out how early medieval specialists of law wrote their own codex or commissioned a scribe? The answer is often negative, however, some evidence (mainly of textual, not palaeographical nature) suggests minor modifications such as the selection of a single template for writing a charter and its addition to an already existing collection were motivated by the meaning of the text being incorporated in this legal collection. It is thus possible to assume that scribes sometimes added a *formula* to an already existing corpus with the aim of creating their own collection of legal texts. In so doing, they had the possibility of modifying the text and adapting it to their own needs or those of their patron. In copying and adapting already existing individual *formulae* and adding them to already existing textual collections or multiple-text manuscripts, they were writing and compiling 'for themselves'.

### Acknowledgements

The research for this article was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – EXC 2176 'Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures', project no. 390893796. The research was conducted within the scope of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at Universität Hamburg.

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Mélanie Dubois-Morestin

# The *Livre de Raison* of Jean Teisseire

**Abstract:** The Archives Départementales du Vaucluse (now being transferred to the Archives Municipales d'Avignon) hold a series of Provençal documents written between 1370 and 1377 by Jean Teisseire, a hemp grower from Avignon. The main manuscript is a *livre de raison*, or *cartularium*, which helped Teisseire organize his commercial and public activities. Known since the nineteenth century, these personal notes are compared with other manuscripts of the same kind and analysed in English here for the first time. The writing practices of Teisseire (formatting, referencing), as well as the use he made of these personal manuscript books are dealt with in detail. Teisseire's private papers were likely preserved because he died without progeny.

## 1 Introduction

Jean Teisseire, a hemp grower of fourteenth-century Avignon in France, produced a unique corpus of personal and professional documents, including his well-known *livre de raison*, or *liber rationis*, which contains records from 1370 to 1377. These papers were intended to help him organize his activities and transactions as a private and public actor of the city. The first scholarly mention of his *livre de raison* dates to 1889. That is when George Bayle consulted it while investigating Teisseire's religious activities and a trial in which he and two of his employees were involved. Bayle did not analyse the *livre de raison* as such, but he wrote a precious article that examines some since-lost notarial documents. In an article of 1910 entitled 'Un marchand avignonnais au XIVE siècle', Joseph Girard used Bayle's article and other documents to deal with Jean Teisseire as a merchant.<sup>1</sup> Girard analysed the biography of Jean Teisseire, without providing any information about the composition of Teisseire's *livre de raison* or his writing practices. Much later, in 1996, Anne Marie Hayez studied the elite of Avignon and paid attention to Jean Teisseire's estate management and economic strategies.<sup>2</sup> So while the Teisseire documents have been known for some time, only a few of his writing practices and economic strategies have been studied by

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1 Bayle 1889; Girard 1910.

2 Hayez 1996.

scholars. This state of affairs is not surprising, given the small amount of attention paid to the private papers of merchants in medieval Western Europe by nineteenth-century scholars, who were the first to study *livres de raison* as a source. Through these documents, historians tried to analyse privacy and family intimacy in the Middle Ages and the Modern Period in Western Europe. The purpose was not to provide a better understanding of the source itself, but to read testimonies concerning a specific period. This approach can be seen, for example, in the studies of the Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques. Indeed, in 1885 and 1892, one of the programmes of this committee was called ‘Anciens Livres de Raison and de comptabilités, papiers de famille’. Because of the richness of private archives in Provence and Limousin, these two provinces of central and southern France were the focus of scholarly interest. Thus in 1882 Louis Guibert edited *Le livre de raison d’Etienne Benoist (1426)*. In 1888, Guibert provided a general analysis in *Livres de raison, registres de famille et journaux individuels limousins et marchois*.<sup>3</sup> For Provence, Charles de Ribbe wrote multiple studies on private papers.<sup>4</sup> In 1873, de Ribbe published *La Famille et la société en France avant la Révolution d’après les documents originaux*, adding German documents in 1886; this work was the first European research project based on private papers. These studies, even if they did not pay attention to the materiality and codicological aspects of the documents, were nonetheless effective in preserving, itemizing, and publishing exceptional documents. These editions are precious even if they contain only a selection of extracts, depending on the choices and interests of the editor. For example, Edouard Forestié, when explaining his selection of documents about the Boyssset brothers of Saint-Antonin-en-Rouergue, says ‘the analysis we just had the pleasure to submit and the few quotations included seem sufficient to highlight what merits interest in these documents’.<sup>5</sup> Jean Teisseire’s *livre de raison* was studied in the same way by Joseph Girard in the early twentieth century.<sup>6</sup> The selected extracts provided information about Teisseire’s life, behaviour, and personality, or about his faith. When Pierre Pansier chose excerpts in his *Histoire de la langue Provençale*,<sup>7</sup> he selected passages and phrases with a specific syntactical interest. Finally, the corpora established by scholars and archived in the library of Avignon are also

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3 Guibert 1882; Guibert 1888.

4 Ribbe 1873 and 1898.

5 Forestié 1892.

6 Girard 1910.

7 Pansier 1927.

selected passages of this particular *livre de raison*, according to the concerns these scholars had (history of art, history of craftsmen, etc.).<sup>8</sup>

Beginning in the 1990s, a new approach to private papers was adopted by historians. Without offering here a comprehensive account of this new approach, some important milestones can be mentioned. Jean Tricard's work is one such milestone. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, he wrote several articles highlighting the interest of private papers in which he also established a clear and consistent definition of what a *livre de raison* is.<sup>9</sup> Comparing French private papers (especially from Limousin) to Italian family papers, he underlines the difficulty of defining private papers, because they are by nature heterogeneous. If family and economic matters are the main issues in *livres de raison*, Tricard shows that they differ one from another (e.g. in size, length, author, language, and denomination). The definition he eventually gives is nonetheless enlightening. These documents are neither journals nor family papers.<sup>10</sup> They answer to the need to organize a professional and personal life (*ratio*): a *livre de raison* is a book that encompasses accounting and management as well as personal and economic matters, which means that they are complex objects. More recent analyses of these private papers have followed. In 2003, a research programme led by Jean-Pierre Bardet and François-Joseph Ruggiu was established to study private writings in France, from the end of the Middle Ages to 1914.<sup>11</sup> This wide chronological scope resulted in a huge database that has facilitated numerous studies on, for example, the materiality of private papers, as well as what they reveal about individuality, intimacy, gender, love, first-person writing, and friendship. The content and the form of the documents are understood as a whole: in other words, the meaning of the texts only becomes clearer, according to Bardet and Ruggiu, with a thorough analysis of the author and the author's family, social relationships, writing practices, and strategies. In this way, the definition of *livre de raison* is understood through the intention of the *scriptor*:

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**8** See especially corpus 4382, which is a collection of papers and notes concerning Avignon's brotherhoods; see corpus 4470 and corpora 5692–5745, which are collections of notes concerning artists and craftsmen of Avignon between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries.

**9** Tricard 1988; Tricard 2002; Tricard 2007.

**10** On family papers in Italy, see Mordenti 2004 and Klapisch-Zuber 2009. Even if Jean Teisseire's *livre de raison* is not a family book, many of his writing practices can be compared to these documents, as we will see.

**11** This group, established in 2003, was supported by the Sorbonne University and the CNRS. The titles of some of their workshops well indicate the group's focus: “‘Car c'est moy que je peins’”, Individu et liens sociaux dans les écrits du for privé' (2008), ‘De l'écriture de famille à l'écriture de soi' (2010).



such private papers were a way to organize and classify thoughts and activities. That very organization is why an intimate link is drawn between these documents and memory in the articles of Sylvie Mouysset, who works on private papers in the Modern Period in Western Europe.<sup>12</sup>

Today all these approaches are encompassed by a more general reflection on writing practices: why do we write and how? How are accounts established? How can writing be a way to administrate? Private papers are important though not the only sources for studying such issues. Jean Teisseire's *livre de raison* is at the crossroads of questions about private papers and the study of graphic choices, documentary writings, and personal administration. Writing is indeed a way to organize, and the different graphic signs result from significant choices made by the *scriptor*. Since Michael Clanchy and James Goody, and their seminal research about links between writing practices and memory, research that was conducted by analysing graphic choices in England during the Middle Ages, this approach to studying private papers has combined history and anthropology in order to understand the process of documentary innovation and administration.<sup>13</sup> Inscribed in social and transactional networks, this process is at the intersection of written and oral considerations, and of personal and professional matters; therefore this process connects literacy activity and the art of accounting.<sup>14</sup>

Building up on these studies and questions, the present article investigates Jean Teisseire's papers in order to understand the way he wrote, organized, and archived them. The investigation will result in a better understanding of writing practices and economic strategies.

## 2 Presentation of the manuscript

Jean Teisseire's papers were preserved in the archives of Avignon when that city became the universal heiress of Jean Teisseire's estate, since he died without

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**12** See Mouysset 2003 and 2007. Even if the author presents the question of memory through documents of the Modern Period, many observations can be applied to the Middle Ages in Western Europe.

**13** Goody 1978; Clanchy 2013. For a synthesis of these renewals, see Bertrand 2015 and a recent article by Dewez 2019.

**14** On graphic signs and formal approaches to writing practices, see Barret, Stutzmann and Vogeler 2016 and Mostert 2017. On accounting and lists, see Beck and Mattéoni 2015 and Anheim et al. 2020.

surviving progeny. If the manuscripts had been kept by Jean Teisseire's family, they might have been lost, as often happens with private papers. These documents' chain of transmission thus explains the complexity and richness of this material and the fact that it was archived by the city, albeit incompletely.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, the city's choices influenced the preservation of the Jean Teisseire dossier. Avignon chose to preserve Jean Teisseire's documents insofar as they were useful for its own administration (taxes on different lands, deeds of selling and buying of properties, etc.). Private matters and papers were of no interest to the city council, and as a result these papers were progressively lost; manuscript Avignon, Archives Départementales du Vaucluse (henceforth ADV, and now AMA, Archives Municipales d'Avignon), II330 (henceforth II330) is an exception to this rule. Such a conclusion is supported by analysis of the city inventories from the fifteenth (1416) to the eighteenth centuries (1725). Therefore, although Jean Teisseire's archives were conserved as a whole by the city of Avignon, many individual documents within the collection were lost: of the 224 documents mentioned in the first inventory of 1416, only 182 remained in the inventory of 1725.

To understand the organization of the writings, a list of the documents Teisseire used and wrote can be established. The main such list is manuscript II330. This manuscript, which was second-hand to them, contains information that was compiled by Jean Teisseire and his son, Bertranet, between 1370 and 1377. The document includes a list of debts, accounts, and a *livre de raison*, consisting in the transcription of several professional and personal transactions.

Other isolated items pertaining to Jean Teisseire have been found:

- in the Bibliothèque Ceccano in Avignon, document number 5390 contains an account by Jean Teisseire, dated 1 October 1362.<sup>16</sup>
- loose leaves written by Jean Teisseire, called *notisias* and inserted in manuscript II330. Jean Teisseire calls them *notisias* when he refers to these transactions in his manuscript. Most of them were probably lost since they are not glued to his book but just put in as *plantadas*, in the craftsman's vocabulary.
- a letter from Olivier Amoros to Jean Teisseire, in 1369, from Barcelona. Jean Teisseire wrote a short sentence on the verso of this document.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> See Dubois-Morestin 2018 and 2019a, 2019b.

<sup>16</sup> Avignon, Bibliothèque Ceccano, manuscript 5390, entitled 'règlement de comptes, 1372, 1<sup>er</sup> octobre'. This title is inaccurate, since the paper is in fact dated 1 October 1362.

<sup>17</sup> Avignon, ADV, II329.

- several accounts originally written by Jean Teisseire to keep a record of his role as guardian for several persons, notably Peyret Ortolan, from 1350 to 1357.<sup>18</sup>

Many documents mentioning the ropemaker could be added, but this list includes only the documents that Jean Teisseire wrote himself and which were dedicated to a personal use. While the isolated documents and short accounts can give precious information about the different activities and roles of Jean Teisseire, this article will mainly address manuscript II330, which is the ropemaker's only complete and preserved *livre de raison*.

This manuscript is not referred to the same way in the different scholarly papers and studies about Jean Teisseire. Joseph Girard speaks of a *livre de comptes*<sup>19</sup> but also uses the term *cartulaire*, translating the Latin word *cartularium*, which is how Jean Teisseire referred to his own manuscript. In the inventory of Robert-Henri Bautier and Janine Sornay, the manuscript is referred to as a *registre de comptabilité commerciale*.<sup>20</sup> Finally, in Anne Marie Hayez's article,<sup>21</sup> the book is referred to as a *livre de raison*. These different terms evoke the difficulty of precisely defining this document: it belongs to the category of private papers, and it is only by analysing the document's composition that we can reveal its purpose and determine a proper name. Thus, codicology and a typology of the manuscript's entries are necessary to understand how it was used by Teisseire.

This manuscript is in folia of 30 × 20 cm. As can be seen in Fig. 1, the book's original binding was made of leather and parchment, which was common in Western Europe during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The binding is attached to the quires by visible threads, following a side-sewing pattern. All the leaves of the manuscript are made of paper, with a rattle watermark at the centre of the pages. This watermark is not decisive for dating the manuscript, since it was the most common watermark in Italy and in the south of France during the fourteenth century. The laid lines are horizontal and run perpendicular to the chain lines, as is visible on blank folia (see Fig. 2). Finally, the manuscript is introduced by a cover page with contains short notes and whose bottom

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**18** Avignon, ADV, Grandes Archives, box 96, 3156bis and 3156ter, entitled '1353–1356, cahier de 27 feuillets venant du Livre de compte de la tutelle de Peyret Ortolan'; previously kept in the city archives (CC1, 1309–1400).

**19** Girard 1910, 1.

**20** See Bautier and Sornay 1971.

**21** Hayez 1996.

right portion has been cut away (see Fig. 3). The manuscript contains 302 folia, only some of which were numbered by the craftsman himself. The manuscript is regular in its composition (8 or 9 bifolia in 18 units). By its size, it is a convenient document which could be used daily, like a merchant diary. If we compare this document to the different *livres de raison* of Provence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we observe that this size is quite common.<sup>22</sup> The use of vernacular language is also comparable to other merchant diaries. Jean Teisseire wrote this manuscript in medieval Provençal rather than Latin. By its size, length, and language, the *livre de raison* of Jean Teisseire is representative of fourteenth-century merchant diaries.

The artefact under examination here is particularly complex since Teisseire re-used an older manuscript. Some parts of the manuscript were used by an anonymous Italian merchant to record accounts from 1364 to 1367.<sup>23</sup> Teisseire bought this book just a few months before he began to use it, since the last transactions written by the anonymous Italian merchant date to 1369, and Jean Teisseire started to write his own notes in 1369 as well. Jean Teisseire used the manuscript upside down, writing his transactions on the blank pages.

The ropemaker's reuse of the manuscript explains the heterogeneity of its composition. The manuscript has four main components:

- a list of debts copied from previous *cartularia* that Jean Teisseire was no longer using when he started this new manuscript;
- the accounts of Saint Bénézet hospital; from 1372 to 1374, Jean Teisseire was responsible for its administration;
- three quires of accounts recorded by the anonymous Italian merchant;
- Jean Teisseire's *cartularium*.

These four components are not inserted the same way into the manuscript and are not numbered according to the same pattern. At least three foliations can be observed: a modern one in red, which tries to give coherence to this heterogeneous manuscript (see Table 1 and Fig. 2) and uses Arabic numerals; the anonymous Italian merchant's foliation, on his quires, also in Arabic numerals; and finally, Jean Teisseire's foliation, in Roman numerals. But Jean Teisseire num-

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<sup>22</sup> The comparison is with a list of private writings from France, and more precisely a list of diaries: <http://ecritsduforprive.huma-num.fr/accueilbase.htm> (accessed on 2 February 2023).

<sup>23</sup> This merchant is unknown, but from what we can read in the manuscript, he was a silk merchant. The fact that Jean Teisseire used a second-hand manuscript is not unusual, but quite common: it shows his great familiarity with writing and that these documents were primarily for personal use.

bered only his *cartularium*, not the other components that he wrote himself, such as that containing the hospital accounts. This pattern of foliation points to the special significance that the *livre de raison* had for him: he may have thought of it as a particular unit in the management of his transactions.<sup>24</sup>



Fig. 1: Cover of the manuscript (Avignon, ADV, II330).

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<sup>24</sup> We will return to this point later.

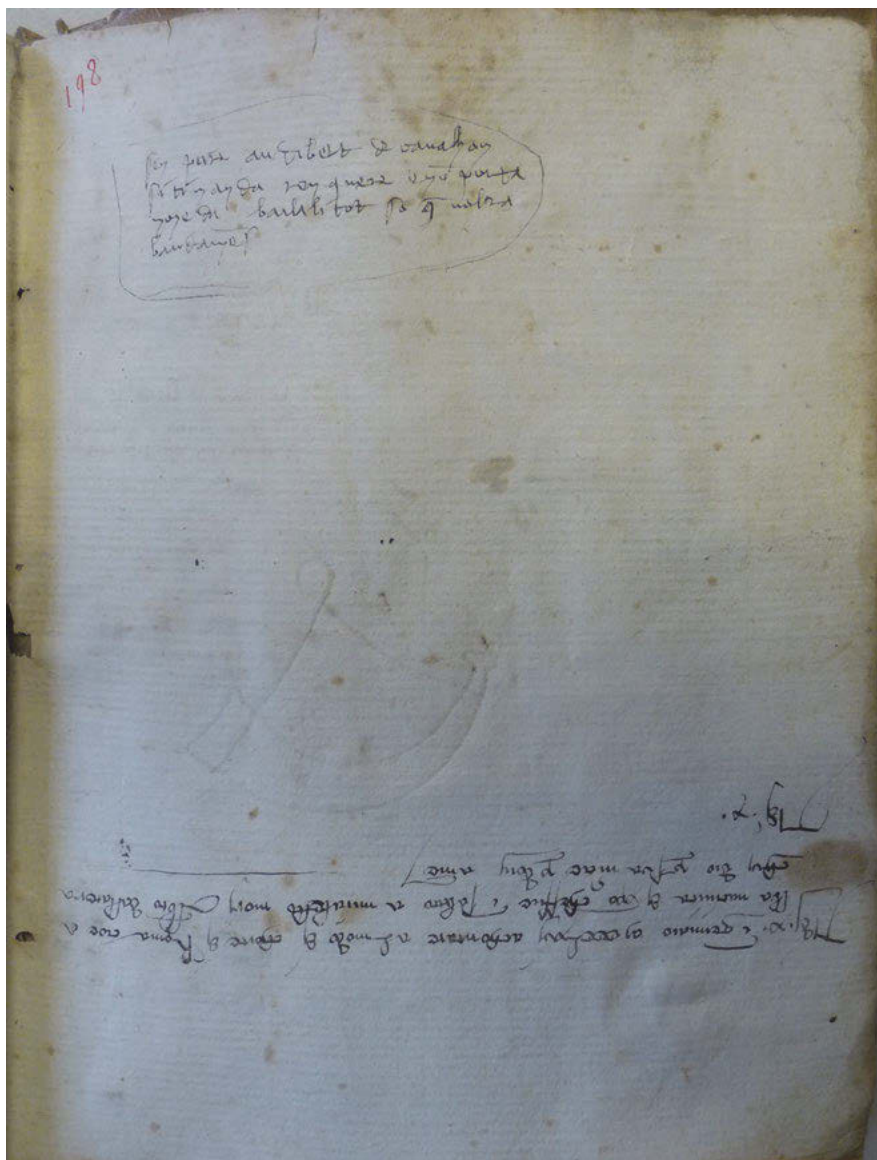


Fig. 2: Last page of the manuscript (Avignon, ADV, II330, fol. 198r).



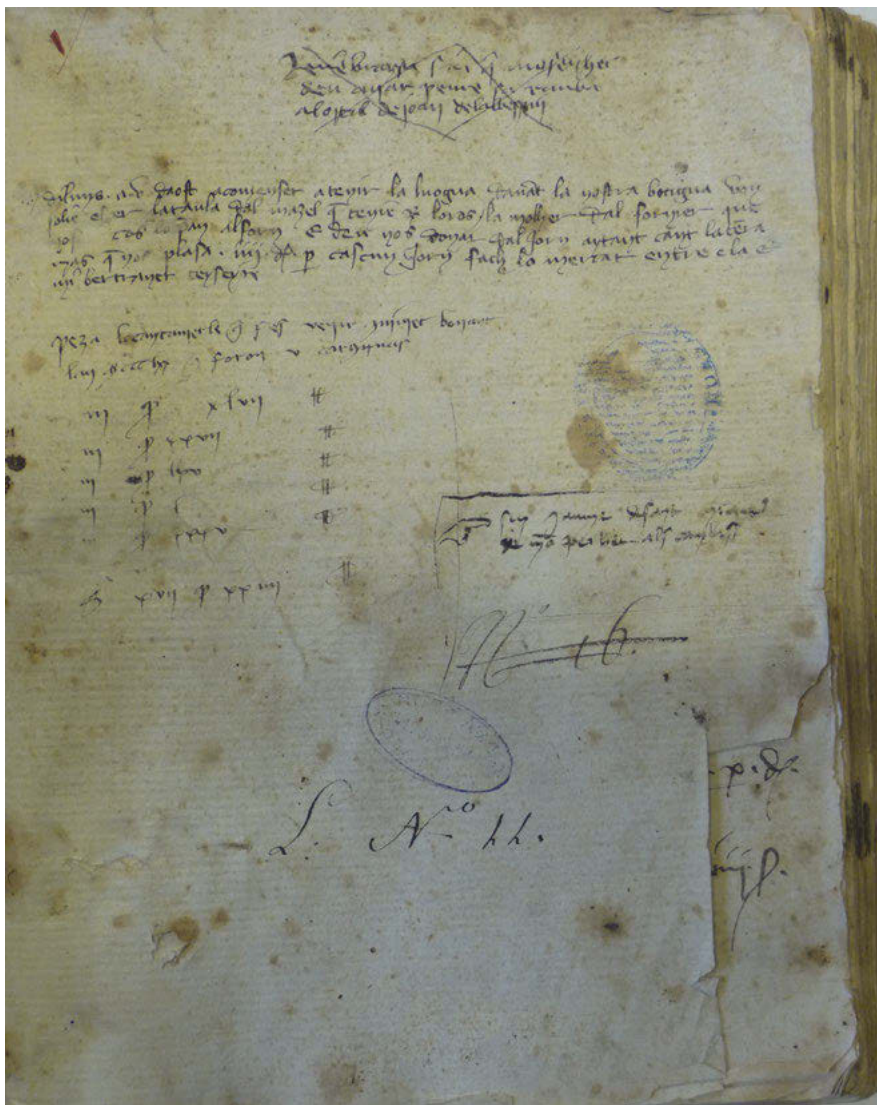


Fig. 3: Cover page of the manuscript (Avignon, ADV, II330).

**Table 1:** Foliation

Item	Folia	Foliation	Quires	Comments
Cover page	1	not numbered	1	
List of debts	2–8	modern foliation	1	
Hospital accountings	9–41	modern foliation	1–4	
Italian quire 1	42–70	Italian foliation (51–26)	4–5	used upside down
Italian quire 2	71–97	Italian foliation (25–1)	5–6	used upside down
<i>Cartularium</i> ( <i>livre de raison</i> )	98–287	Jean Teisseire's foliation (1–187) + modern foliation 188–189	7–18	
Italian quire 3	288–297	not numbered	18	used upside down

A closer examination of quires 7 to 18 will give us a more precise comprehension of the way this manuscript was used. These quires correspond to the part entitled *Cartularium* by the hemp maker. The different entries and notes written in this part deal with a variety of subjects:

- notes concerning the activity of Jean Teisseire as a ropemaker (commercial transactions, contracts, transactions with employees);
- notes concerning the activity of Jean Teisseire as a land and property owner;
- notes concerning all the economic transactions (debts, credits, rents, inheritances, etc.) between Jean Teisseire and members of his social network;
- notes concerning personal aspects of Jean Teisseire's life.

All these entries, consisting of ten to twenty lines and covering half a page, are mostly linked to the commercial and economic activities of Jean Teisseire. The only references to personal matters concern his children Bertranet and Martin Teisseire.<sup>25</sup> Bertranet also wrote transactions in the *livre de raison* until his death on the 18 December in 1370: the mention of his death appears in Jean Teisseire's hand on fol. 30<sup>v</sup>. The only mention of Martin comes in a contract of 1372 between Jean Teisseire and a teacher who must teach Martin psalms and the alphabet:

<sup>25</sup> Nothing is said about Teisseire's daughter; from other sources we know she was already married by the time her father had begun to keep this *livre de raison*.



L'an MCCCLXXII disapte premier jorn del mes de may mezem Martin a l'escola a l'agleyza de Sancta Perpetua per apenre l'abese a los psalmes a fon de covinent espres entre nos el maystre que l'ensenha que z el lo deu ensenhar l'abese e los set salmes denfra un an complit e devem li donar XVIII gros per tot lo dig han a pres que Martin aia l'abese e los set salmes e d'autremens non deu aver lo compliment de la dicha soma lo dig maystre que si fa apelar Johan Aynes de Nisa. Paguem al dig Johan Aynes lo jorn sus dig que martin yntret a l'escola VIII gros. Lo dig maystre deu provezir Martin de l'abese e de set salmes a sos despens. E d'aiso avem polisia de sa man en lo mieu petit cofret denfra la mieua caisa en ma cambra.

'On the first day of the month of May in the year 1372, Martin enters school at the church of Saint Perpetua to learn the alphabet and the psalms. We agreed with the teacher that [Martin] must learn the alphabet and seven psalms in one year. I will give [the teacher] 18 gros for the year if Martin knows his alphabet and seven psalms. Otherwise, the teacher will not have the 18 gros. The teacher is Jean Aynes of Nice. I will pay him 9 gros the day Martin enters school. The said teacher must give Martin [the books for] the alphabet and the psalms. I have the notice of this transaction in a little box in my room.'<sup>26</sup>

Thus, the entries mostly concern payments, contracts, or transactions: Jean Teisseire did not record his feelings or thoughts about personal aspects of his life. Even in biographical matters, his main concern is linked to accounting and the administration of his affairs. This book, referred to as a *cartularium* since it was made of small *cartas* ('charters', as notaries would call them in their cartularies), was comparable to a notarial register.<sup>27</sup>

It is precisely the heterogeneity of the matters dealt with in the manuscript which allows us to speak of a *livre de raison*. As defined by Tricard and Noel Coulet, a *livre de raison* has three main characteristics:<sup>28</sup>

- heterogeneity: accounts can be mixed up with lists, recipes, prayers, a family tree, draft papers, or loose sheets of paper.<sup>29</sup>
- personal matters: we have already seen examples in Jean Teisseire's book, and Noel Coulet found similar items in six *livres de raison* from late medieval Provence.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> II330, fol. 68<sup>r</sup>. Regarding the role of teachers and masters, see Kinztinger 2000. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations in this article are my own.

<sup>27</sup> Many studies have dealt with the organization and purpose of *cartularia*. In ecclesiastical institutions and notary offices, charters were collected in registers, which formed a record of professional activities. On these scholarly approaches to *cartularia*, see Chastang 2006 and Boisseuil, Chastang and Feller 2010.

<sup>28</sup> See Coulet 1988 and Tricard 1988.

<sup>29</sup> In the *livre de raison* of Jean Blaise, Jean de Barbentane, or Jaume Deydier, all between 1313 and 1385. As a comparison, see Claustre 2021, who deals with Colin de Lormoye and his accounts.

- professional components: accounts, but more generally all transactions related to work life.

The Latin word *ratio* is particularly useful in understanding what a *livre de raison* is: it is a book of *ratio*. With this manuscript Jean Teisseire could account to himself and sometimes to others for the management of his affairs. The purpose, in other words, was memory, which is perfectly clear on the manuscript's cover page, where we can read the words *remembransia sia* ('let us remember that') (see Fig. 3).<sup>31</sup>

### 3 Jean Teisseire, hemp grower and *expertus*

The private archives of Jean Teisseire provide exceptional insight into not only the economic choices and behaviour of a late medieval craftsman of Western Europe but also into his literacy. What we know about his biography will help us understand the way he used this book and his daily writing practice. Jean Teisseire was born in Avignon in the 1320s.<sup>32</sup> The city enjoyed a special status at that time because in 1309 the popes had decided to reside there, at first temporarily, and then after 1316, permanently. So the city's history during this period was linked to the presence of the popes, who guaranteed its independence. The papal residency in Avignon encouraged the commercial and economic activities of merchants, craftsmen, and courtiers.<sup>33</sup> This dynamism provided opportunities for social climbing, and Jean Teisseire is representative of these merchants' activities and behaviours.

Jean followed in his father's footsteps. Guillaume Teisseire, who died in 1334, had also been a hemp maker, and Guillaume's other son, Raymond, was

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<sup>30</sup> As shown in Noel Coulet's article, the examples of Guillaume de Rouffillac and Jaume Deydier are representative for family books, which were written for later generations. Such an ambition does not fit Jean Teisseire's purposes, since his sons died before him.

<sup>31</sup> These words were crossed out by Jean Teisseire when this specific transaction was completed. It is nonetheless the only known use of the word *remembransia*.

<sup>32</sup> The exact date of his birth is unknown, but the moment of his death is known from his testament: Avignon, ADV, Grandes Archives, box 96, Pintat, 3216.

<sup>33</sup> On Avignon in the fourteenth century and the economic activity of merchants and craftsmen, see Sclafert 1929; Guillemain 1964; Rollo-Koster 2009; Mollat 1950; and Lentsch 1999. On economic dynamism in the cities, see Renouard 1941; on important families of the city, Hayez 2006; and more recently, on construction sites in Avignon during the fourteenth century, see Dautrey 2002 and Bernardi 2002.

likewise a ropemaker. Jean began his career as an apprentice to the hemp maker Pons Marroco. After completing the apprenticeship in 1345, Jean Teisseire set up his own business in Avignon; he might have been in his twenties at this time. Teisseire specialized in cultivating hemp and manufacturing ropes, fasteners, canvasses, and mats, all of which he sold in the region of Avignon and abroad, notably in Catalonia. As a craftsman and a merchant of the city, he was a member of the social elite.<sup>34</sup> Through his three matrimonial alliances, Jean Teisseire reinforced this professional stature: his first wife was the daughter of a merchant, and his third wife came from a prominent family of hemp makers.<sup>35</sup>

If Jean Teisseire was a craftsman, he was also an active member of the political and economic life of Avignon. The large scope of his activity made the use of manuscripts necessary: he was both a public and private actor of the city.

In addition to being a cultivator of hemp and a ropemaker, Teisseire was a wine merchant and owned a tavern; he also possessed lands which he could sell or rent. These properties, mainly for vines, were situated in the neighbourhood of his *cordatorium*, or workshop, which was outside the city's fortifications. As a property owner, Teisseire rented, bought, and sold tables, houses, and hotels,<sup>36</sup> all of which were inside the city, in the *Corderie* neighbourhood, following a strategy of spatial concentration. It is interesting to note that these transactions appear mainly in notarial papers, which were archived by Teisseire in a specific box.<sup>37</sup> The *livre de raison* mentions these transactions only when they required careful attention, such as when payment was not made immediately, which implied a delayed treatment of the transaction.<sup>38</sup> For example, in 1371, on the 30 August, Jean Teisseire sold to a baker named Anric half of a house and the attached yard. The amount due was 150 florins, and the payment plan was the following: 25 florins for the first six months, 25 after that, and two payments of

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**34** See Girard 1910 and Hayez 1996.

**35** Indeed, families of hemp makers in the south of France and in Avignon were among the most prominent families at the time. This manufacturing and commercial activity seems to have been very lucrative for craftsmen in late medieval Europe. The following scholars do not deal specifically with the role of ropemakers but do mention them as members of important families in these regions: Lonchambon 1998; Rossiaud 2002; Stoff 1986; Coulet 1988; and Reynaud 1929. This last source studies *halfa* (esparto) workers and mentions that their good reputation is still not better than the reputation of ropemakers.

**36** For an exhaustive perspective on this activity, see Hayez 1996.

**37** This box is now Avignon, ADV, Grandes Archives, box 96, Pintat, 3216.

**38** We will return to ways in which the *livre de raison* was used, but we can nonetheless keep this example in mind as an explanation of the variety of transactions contained in the manuscript.

50 florins the following year. Jean Teisseire needed to keep a record of this trade in his *livre de raison* in order to record these payments as they were made and thus complete the transaction. Indeed, we can read that the first two payments were made, and the remaining ones were included in secondary transactions: Anric the baker lent money to Jean Teisseire and sold him different materials, which allowed a deduction of 50 florins the following year.<sup>39</sup>

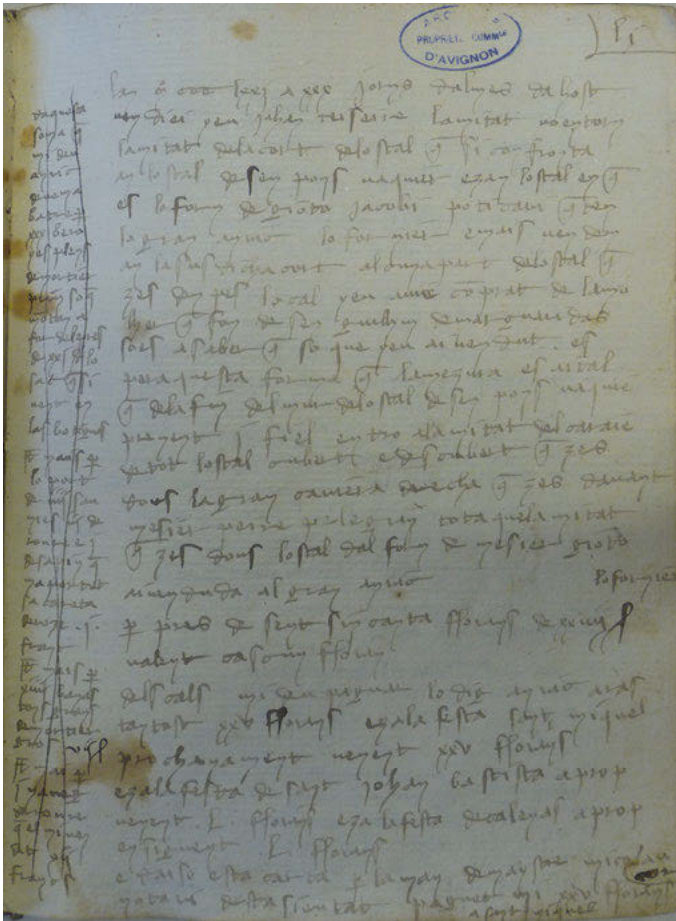


Fig. 4: Internal references (Avignon, ADV, II330, fol. 51').

<sup>39</sup> This transaction can be found in II330, fols 51<sup>r</sup> and 74<sup>v</sup> for the last payment, in 1373, after the deduction of several purchases (notably, bread); see Figs 11 and 12.

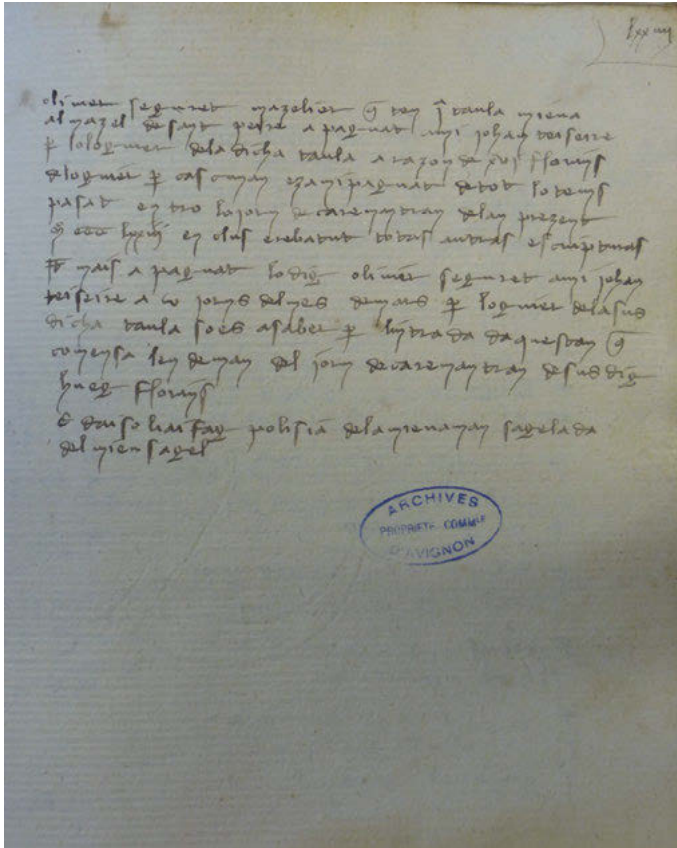


Fig. 5: Internal references (Avignon, ADV, II330, fol. 73r).

Besides his commercial activities, Jean Teisseire engaged in the life of his community. In 1365, he was in charge of tax collection, in the parishes of Saint-Pierre and Saint-Symphorien. This special tax had to cover the cost of fortifications between the Saint Bénézet bridge and the cardinal of Bologna's livery. This is what we can read in a notarial deed, dated 5 May 1365:

Noverint universi et singuli presentes [...] quod cum discretus vir Johannes Textoris, corderius de Avinione, institutus fuerit per consilium civium civitatis Avinionis ad levandum et recipiendum a civibus civitatis predictae in parrochiis Sancti Petri et Sancti Simphoriani [...] de pecunia recepta mille florenos auri

‘Each and everyone present knows that Jean Teisseire, a prudent man, ropemaker of Avignon, was appointed by the city council of Avignon to levy and collect tax from the city’s citizens in the parishes of Saint Pierre and Saint Symphorien [...]. The amount of money received is 1000 gold florins.’<sup>40</sup>

The responsibility for collecting tax was renewed in 1375,<sup>41</sup> when Jean Teisseire was a member of the city council (also called ‘syndic’ in official deeds),<sup>42</sup> from 1361 to at least 1377.<sup>43</sup> He attended the different sessions and participated in special commissions, including those tasked with reviewing the status of corporations, such as the fishmongers in 1374. Above all, he was appointed administrator of the Saint Bénézet hospital, from 1370 to at least 1374.<sup>44</sup> This charity was overseen by the city council, and notables were appointed administrators of the hospital from 1302 on, beginning with Jean de Bagnols. This administrative responsibility meant that Jean Teisseire was in charge of the charity’s expenses and purchases, mainly dealing with domestic issues. He knew how to count, calculate, measure, and make estimations, mastering monetary values and techniques of conversion.

All these activities led Jean Teisseire to be an expert in writing. His talents were acknowledged both in his craft and in his public responsibilities. This is why we can use the Latin term *expertus* to describe him: he was experienced, but also qualified and authoritative in his field of expertise. His judgement, opinion, and ability to deal with different kinds of transactions, thanks to his administrative skills, made him a real *magister expertus*.<sup>45</sup> Even if it was a process of learning by doing,<sup>46</sup> his skills brought Teisseire *fama* in his network of merchants, notables, and craftsmen in Avignon and elsewhere in the south of France.

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<sup>40</sup> Avignon, ADV, Grandes Archives, box 22, 5 May 1365.

<sup>41</sup> Avignon, ADV, B2, fol. 59<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> These syndics appeared in Avignon in 1225 and rapidly became members of the city administration, similar to the Italian model.

<sup>43</sup> Avignon, ADV, Grandes Archives, box 8, deeds 284 and 285. For 1361, see box 34, deed 983.

<sup>44</sup> One part of Jean Teisseire’s manuscript, II330, contains the accounts of this hospital (fols 11–42).

<sup>45</sup> These notions have been studied by Denjean and Feller 2013.

<sup>46</sup> Many examples of such processes can be found in the late Middle Ages and in the Modern Period. For an example quite similar to Jean Teisseire, see Rives 2010.

## 4 Teisseire's writing and archiving practices

### 4.1 A daily practice

Jean Teisseire wrote almost every day. Writing in the *cartularium* was, at least from 1370 to 1377, a daily *habitus*. The years 1375–1376 are visibly more prolific than the others and represent 64 per cent of this part of the manuscript. The difference between these and the preceding years may be due to the numerous responsibilities that Jean Teisseire had between 1370 and 1374, which led him to delegate his professional activities to employees and associates. Rather than writing in his book, these employees would have had their own papers, which may explain the lack of professional transactions from 1370 to 1374. Since the main purpose was to produce a clear picture of ongoing business, Teisseire paid attention to the precision, meticulousness, and readability of his notes. His chronological organization and attention to clarity of presentation allowed him to make efficient use of the book. Indeed, he needed to have a quick overview on the transactions to be completed or updated. It is interesting to notice that Jean Teisseire possessed skills that his son Bertranet did not, as far as we can tell from the first thirty pages of the *cartularium*, which Bertranet composed. In the manuscript, Jean Teisseire was *expertus* when his son was still learning. I will give some examples of Jean Teisseire's thoroughness.

The first example is the list of debts already mentioned as one part of manuscript II330. This list, which occupies the first eight folia, consists of a table summing up the transactions that had not been completed in a previous *livre de raison*.<sup>47</sup> The table saved Teisseire from the need to refer to other documents, and it bears the following title: 'Here are written all the debts that still have to be paid, according to the 1367 *cartularium* and according to the 1369 *cartularium*, as follows'. This list is perfectly well organized and homogeneous; each entry mentions the same elements:

- the name of the debtor, sometimes with an indication of his geographical origin;
- the page of the previous manuscript which mentioned the transaction;
- the amount due, in the margin on the right;
- in the left margin, the year of the debt.

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<sup>47</sup> Although these previous *cartularia* were not archived, and so are not preserved, we can infer their existence from internal references made by Jean Teisseire.

A blank is left between each entry, allowing for the transactions to be completed. This arrangement can be interpreted as a way to remember transactions and organize private records and archives.<sup>48</sup> The list is a memo, almost a directory by which Jean Teisseire could easily find the data he was searching for, most likely the names of delinquent debtors.

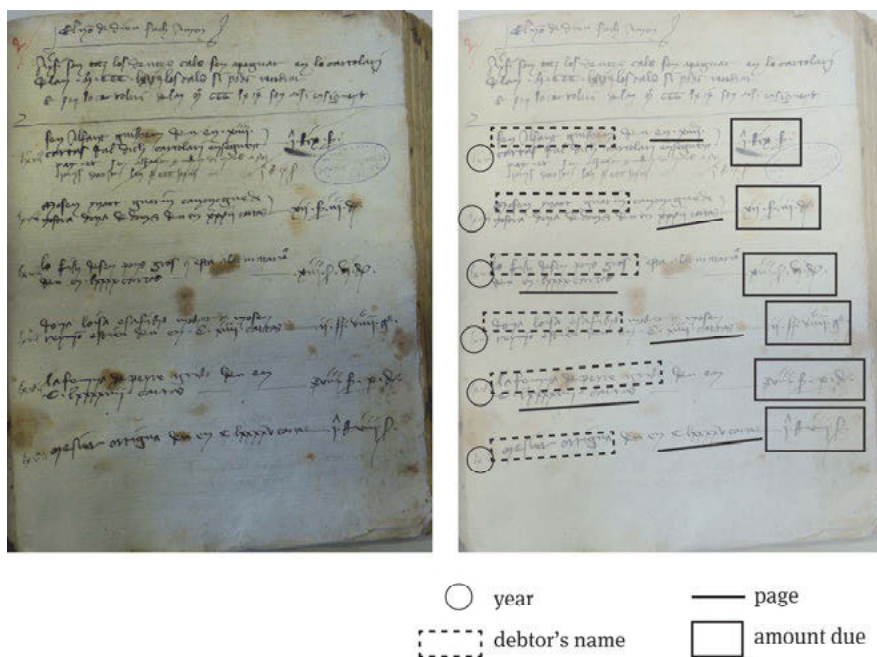


Fig. 6: List of debts (Avignon, ADV, II330, fol. 9<sup>r</sup>, modern foliation).

We find the same attention to presentation in the last part of manuscript II330, in the *cartularium*. As efficiency was needed, Jean Teisseire adapted his writing practices to the intended use of his *livre de raison*. This use explains the large margins, the regularity of the writing, and the graphic organizers, of which there are several types, including horizontal lines between each entry and sidebars for mentioning specific information about a transaction (such as a year, or

<sup>48</sup> The use of lists and graphical ruptures in private writings from medieval Western Europe was the subject of several workshops from 2013 to 2018. See Angotti et al. 2019 and Anheim et al. 2020.



an update). Jean Teisseire also used drawings, though they are rare and reserved for very specific cases, such as transactions connected with important relationships. The drawings are mostly of hands and fingers, though brackets are also used to indicate significant transactions (see Figs 7 and 8). Some specific graphic organizers highlight the transition from one year to another. To facilitate searching for something in his book, Teisseire customarily wrote on the recto of the folio and used large-format writing.

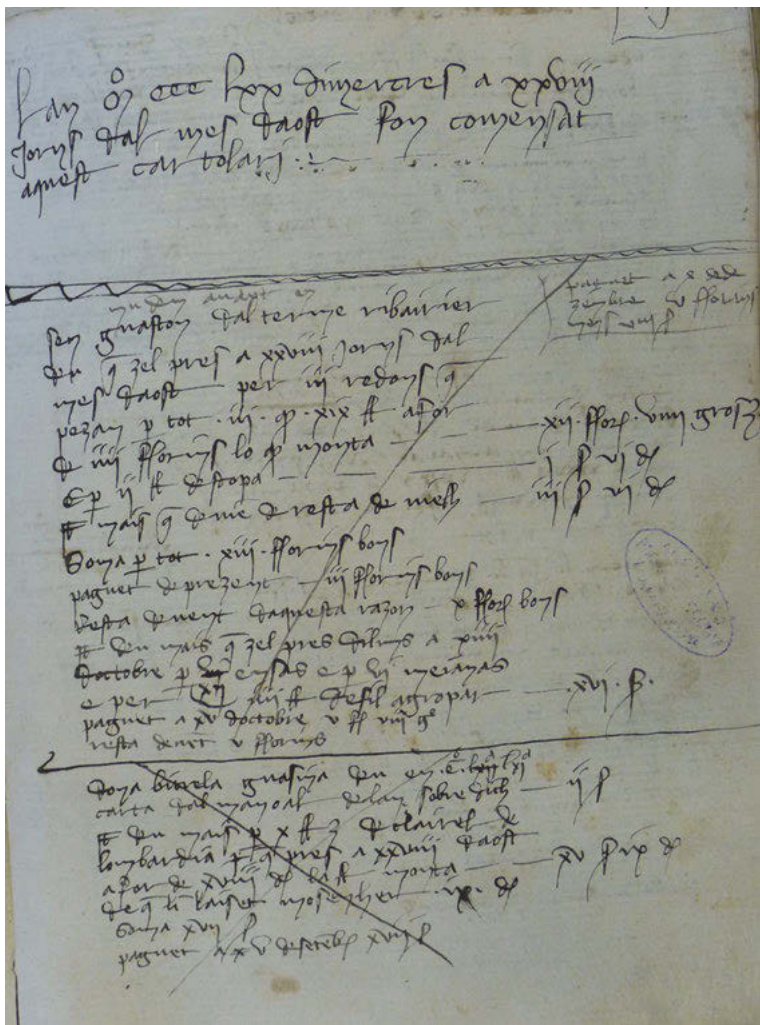


Fig. 7: Graphic organisers (Avignon, ADV, II330, fol. 1').

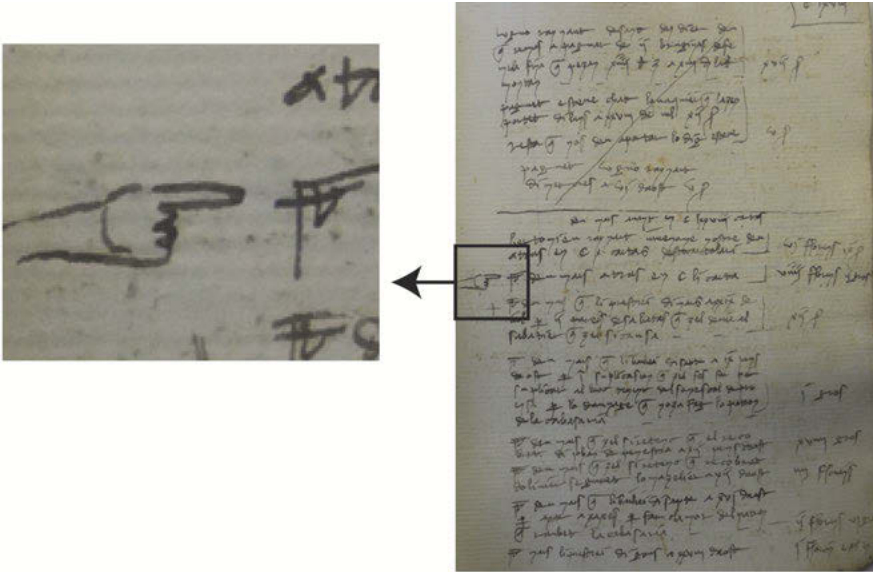


Fig. 8: Drawings (hands) (Avignon, ADV, II330, fol. 168<sup>r</sup>).

Letters could also help him to organize lists, as can be seen in Fig. 8. We can mention here the example of accounts related to Olivier Amoros, one of Teisseire's employees (*factor*): in this case, in fols 43 to 45, Jean Teisseire established an account summing up all the transactions that were not yet completed and that therefore preserved a relationship between him and his *factor*. Because the list was long and extended over several pages, the craftsman organized it differently from other transactions. He used small letters at the beginning of each entry and wrote a specific note to himself at the end of the first page: 'turn page'.<sup>49</sup> Together these techniques exhibit great expertise in the graphic systems that could be employed for these purposes (see Fig. 9).

<sup>49</sup> The text originally said *gira pagina* (see Fig. 9).

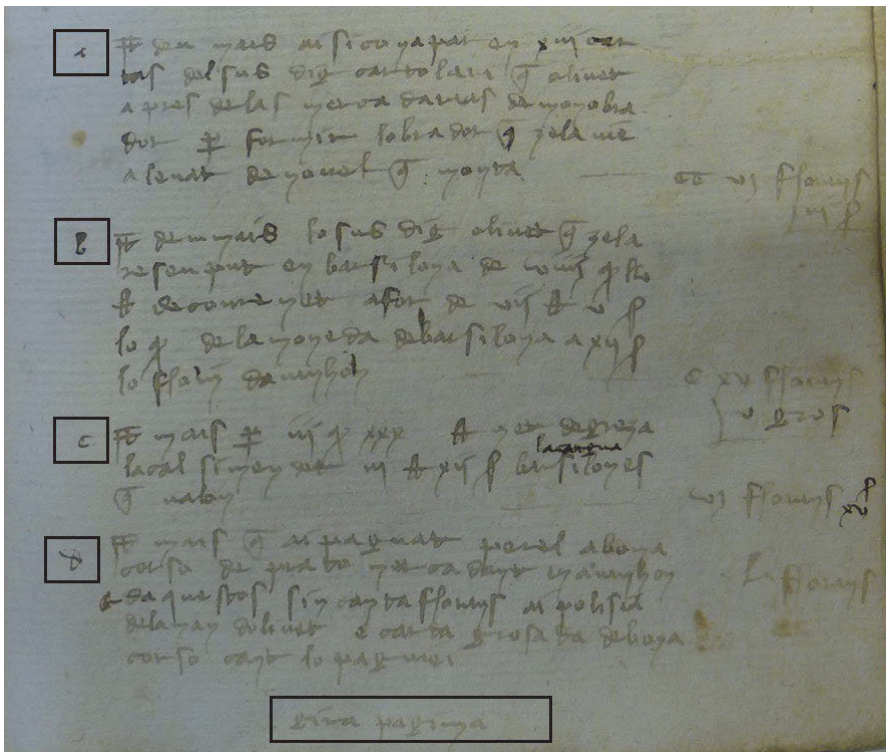


Fig. 9: Letters and *gira pagina* (Avignon, ADV, II330, fol. 45').

Finally, Teisseire's daily writing practice can be understood through the chronology of the *cartularium*. Adhering to a strict chronology, Teisseire developed a whole system of updating, marking the completion of a transaction, and internal references. The *livre de raison* was not supposed to be written once and for all. It was instead a regularly updated document that allowed for modifications. Comparison of all the entries leads us to understand that he wrote not only every day but even multiple times a day. Indeed, palaeographical analysis of writing patterns, based on several examples throughout the manuscript, reveals that Jean Teisseire would begin to write an entry immediately and complete it later if necessary. There was no delay between transactions and writing: the manuscript became his memory. As an example, we can analyse fol. 38 (Fig. 10). He wrote a first transaction on Monday 17 March, followed by several notes made on Tuesday and Wednesday, the 18th and 19th, and he had to make some updates in the margin on the 20 March. This example proves that he wrote al-

most every day from the 17th to the 20th: when it was time to provide an update, he had already begun a new transaction and did not have enough space to write the update for the 20 March.

All these examples reveal the picture of a man who worked pen in hand.

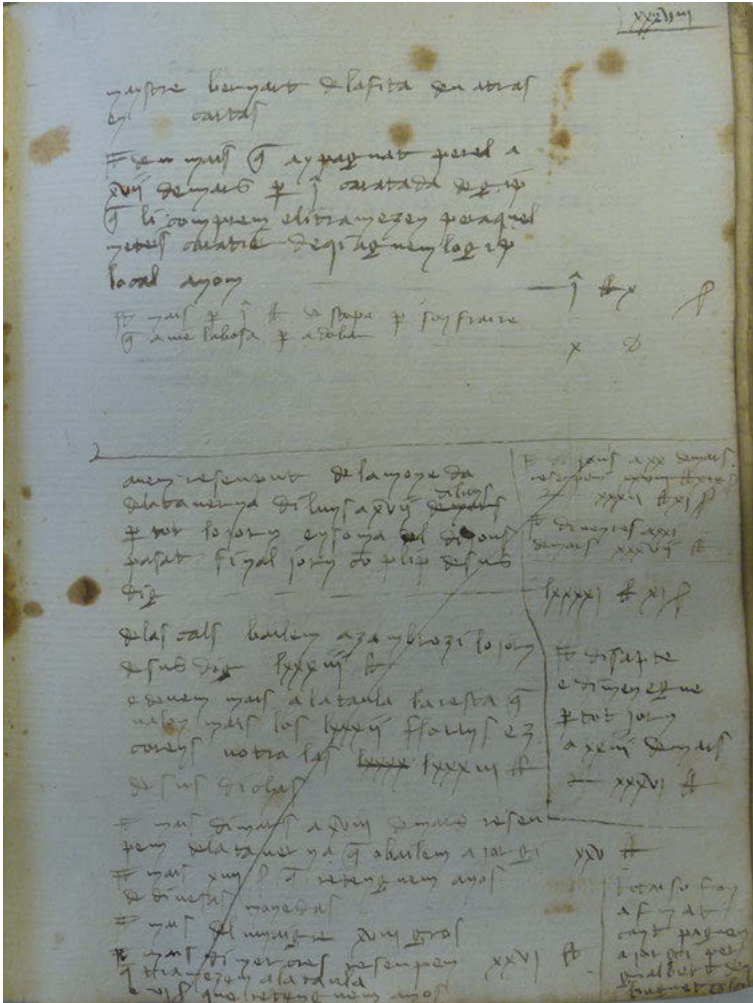


Fig. 10: Cancellations (Avignon, ADV, II330, fol. 38r).

## 4.2 Private archives and family memory

This daily writing practice, necessary for managing Teisseire's professional and public activities, eventually birthed the aim of archiving all the notes. These archives were supposed to be transferred to his associates (notably Peiret Guichart) after his death, but the archives obviously came to be considered personal papers, which were transferred to the city as part of Teisseire's estate. Far from being a family book, such as we find in Italian examples from the late Middle Ages, this manuscript was nonetheless supposed to be preserved. Teisseire's expertise in archiving can be shown through internal and external references to other documents or to the *livre de raison* itself. In the case of internal references, the ropemaker mentions preceding or following pages as sources of information linked to the current transaction. When he refers to preceding pages, the phrase *deu atras* ('he also owes') indicates that previous debts ought to be remembered in connection with the new transaction.<sup>50</sup> This practice of cross-referencing creates coherence and consistency between the different entries. When referring to following pages, the phrase *mudem avant* indicates that the debt was cancelled or the credit paid later on. These internal references bring clarity to the different transactions by mentioning the page number on which the conclusion or the beginning of a professional relationship could be found. For example, on fol. 155<sup>r</sup>, we read 'la primera obliguansa d'aquestos cent florins es escricha atras en CIII cartas', which means that the first mention of the hundred florins that are to be paid occurs on fol. 103<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 11). The latest entry mentions that this amount has been paid 'aquestos sent florins desus escrig foron paguas a mosen Durant' ('these hundred florins mentioned above were paid to Mr Durant'). Another example can be found on fol. 173<sup>r</sup>, where we read the following notation: *mudem avant en CLXXV cartas* ('completed on page 175'), i.e. 'we can confirm that on fol. 175 this transaction is completed'.

Teisseire also made references to other books that he kept and archived, as well as to personal writings about his professional relationships.<sup>51</sup> We have already mentioned fol. 173<sup>r</sup>, where we read 'aiso fon mudat al cartolari lonc de l'an M (blank)' ('this was completed in the long *cartularium* of ...').<sup>52</sup> It is interesting to notice that Jean Teisseire intended to complete this note by adding the year of this new *livre de raison*, but this addition was forgotten.

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<sup>50</sup> On transactions between debtors and creditors, see Signori 2018.

<sup>51</sup> Such as his relationship with Peiret Guichart.

<sup>52</sup> This long *cartularium* has not been preserved.







These references give us precious information. If they create coherence, they also reveal the breadth of Jean Teisseire's archives. Table 2 lists the items contained in these archives, as those items appear either in external cross-references of the *cartularium* or as they appear in an inventory that was drawn up after Teisseire's death and that mentions the way these books were preserved.

**Table 2:** List of external references to *cartularia*

Items	Year	Original name	Translation
1	1356	<i>Cartolari vieilh de l'an 1356</i>	Old cartulary of 1356
2	1367	<i>Cartolari vieilh de l'an 1367</i>	Old cartulary of 1367
-	-	<i>Manoal par d'aquest de l'an 1367</i>	Identical book of 1367
3	1369	<i>Cartolari que fon fag avant aquest</i>	Cartulary that was written before this one
-	-	<i>Manoal que fon fag l'an 1369</i>	Book that was started in 1369
-	-	<i>Cartolari d'avant aquest</i>	Previous cartulary
4	1370	<i>Cartolari de l'an 1370</i>	Cartulary of 1370
5	1376	<i>Cartolari lonc</i> <sup>53</sup>	Long cartulary
-	-	<i>Cartolari lonc nou</i>	New long cartulary
6	1378	<i>Cartolari lonc de l'an 1378</i>	Long cartulary of 1378

On the basis of the numbers of the pages mentioned by Teisseire, we can determine that these books were all about the same length, except for the new *cartularium*. In addition to these *livres de raison*, Teisseire also owned books which have not been preserved. These books were specifically dedicated to his professional activity and were not *livres de raison* according to the aforementioned definition. We can nonetheless sum up all these books in Table 3.

The *cartularium* or *livre de raison* was indeed just a small part of an enormous corpus containing numerous personal papers. The role of the *livre de raison* was to create chronological and spatial coherence in personal and professional administration. Consequently the *livre de raison* fits very well the definition of personal papers given by Christiane Klapisch-Zuber,<sup>54</sup> according to

<sup>53</sup> Indeed, Jean Teisseire always refers to this book as the 'long' one. We can only imagine that its dimensions were not comparable to those of manuscript II330.

<sup>54</sup> Klapisch-Zuber 2009, 372. She regrets that it is nonetheless impossible to compare all these documents. Even in Florence, which is known for its archival richness, Klapisch-Zuber men-



which the *ricordanze* had to be on hand, ready to be organized and gathered in a memorial book. Such a book would be an entry point to complex and large archives, acting as their index and inventory. The *liber rationis* guides its *scriptor*, Jean Teisseire, through all the domestic and personal papers that he produced as a craftsman and a businessman. The *liber rationis* thus creates a moral and temporal unity reinforced by the ropemaker's classification and archiving. In this perspective, all these papers can be seen as an organized private archive.

**Table 3:** List of external references to other manuscripts

	Name	Purpose
1	<i>Petit cartolari</i>	accounts of the bishop of Avignon
2	<i>Cartolari</i> <i>Cartabel</i> <i>Libret</i>	accounts of the workshop
3	<i>Libre dals cordies</i>	accounts and technical details about ropemaking
4	<i>Cartolari vert</i>	?

Manuscript II330 itself also provided a way to organize loose leaves, which Teisseire often inserted into the codex, sometimes in the cover of the *cartularium*. In fact this practice is mentioned on fol. 117<sup>v</sup>. In this example, Teisseire explains that a note, called a *sedula*, was written on a loose leaf that can be found in the *cartularium* itself. In this way, the book also became a binder.<sup>55</sup>

Several boxes were used to organize archives in Jean Teisseire's house and workshop. Thanks to the inventory established after his death, and several references made in the manuscript itself, we have clear insight into the organiza-

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tions that comparison is rarely possible: 'Ainsi, les ricordanze du quotidien sont bien toutes là, à portée de main et de mémoire, tapies dans le dédale des livres de comptes avant d'être parfois rassemblées et ordonnées dans un livre memorial de plus grande envergure'.

<sup>55</sup> It is nonetheless difficult to analyse this practice since a large majority of these small papers were lost; they might have been given back to Jean Teisseire's associates, or they might have slipped out of the codex. A dozen of these papers were found randomly inserted in manuscript II330.

tion of these boxes.<sup>56</sup> Analysis of these documents reveals that the classification was made according to the type of document and not according to chronology.

We have to admit that the ropemaker's system of classification is not perfectly clear to an external observer. The different *cartularia* seem to have been scattered in different places and rooms. On the other hand, notarial deeds and receipts were archived in specific boxes. This impression of disorder must not be taken for granted: Jean Teisseire was obviously able to handle all these documents. Nonetheless, by adding up all the documents and archives belonging to Jean Teisseire, we reach the following result (Table 4).

**Table 4:** Organization of personal archives

Room	Type of document	Number	Storage
Bedroom	<i>cartularia</i> and notarial deeds	9 <i>cartularia</i> ; various deeds and papers	a little box
Nearby yard	<i>cartularia</i>	8 <i>cartularia</i>	boxes
Room next to the kitchen	<i>cartularia</i> and notarial deeds	5 <i>cartularia</i> ; various deeds	none mentioned

## 5 Conclusion

Whereas the *homo novus* and the rural dignitary were still content to keep a diary and one all-purpose book, the great merchants and bourgeois felt the need for more specialized books, from business books to family books. These books certainly met new technical needs but also cultural needs. If the merchants contented themselves with recording the facts of their existence on a daily basis, the bourgeois had the ambition of establishing a family memoir. The *livre de raison* was no more than an accounting book; in time and with social success it would become the memoir of a lineage.<sup>57</sup>

This quotation from Jean Tricard explains what this book probably would have been for Jean Teisseire if he had not died without progeny. All his *cartularia*, his *livres de raison*, were not only a tool in the management of his business but also

<sup>56</sup> This is not unusual. Jean Tricard mentioned the same kind of habit in the *livres de raison* of Etienne Benoist and Jaume Deydier. Klapisch-Zuber also evokes this practice for Francisco di Baldino Inghirami, in 1471; see Musacchio 1999, 37.

<sup>57</sup> Tricard 1988, 274.

a way to remember his transactions, relationships, decisions, and sometimes personal matters. These documents, then, participate in creating the memory and history of a family and a workshop. Indeed, some of these archives were given to Peiret Guichart, one of Teisseire's associates. Thus, Jean Teisseire was clearly conscious of a possible transmission, if not to his own family, at least to the men he had trained. The reputation of his activity was at stake, and all the documents could vouch for the integrity and the good *fama* of his workshops.<sup>58</sup>

### Acknowledgements

I thank the Archives Départementales du Vaucluse and the Archives Municipales d'Avignon for having granted permission to publish images of the manuscript.

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<sup>58</sup> For the question of *fama* and recognition, see Albert and Ternon 2013.

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David Durand-Guédy

# The *bayād* of Hindūšāh Naḥḡawānī: A Collection of Excerpts from Mongol Iran

**Abstract:** Esad Efendi 1932 in the Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul) is a notebook-like manuscript containing a large variety of Persian and Arabic texts. The manuscript's first part, which includes excerpts on philosophy, poetry, and medicine, was copied by the Iranian scholar Hindūšāh Naḥḡawānī (d. before 728 AH / 1327–1328 CE) at the end of his life, over nearly a decade and at different places in western Iran. These excerpts are contemporaneous with the *Taḡārib as-salaf*, a history book for which Hindūšāh is known. Hindūšāh does not say why he copied these excerpts, but internal and external evidence supports the hypothesis that they were personal notes, which passed after his death to his son, the famous Šams-i Munšī. These notes reveal a scholar deeply interested in mainstream Avicennian philosophy.

## 1 Introduction

Copies made for personal use are a well-represented category of books in the vast corpus of Islamic manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> In Iran, the so-called *Safīna-yi Tabrīz* is one of the category's most famous specimens. This massive codex of 486 folios, without title, was copied by one Abū l-Maḡd Muḥammad Tabrīzī in Tabriz (north-western Iran) between 721 AH / 1321 CE and 723 AH / 1323 CE.<sup>2</sup> Iran was then ruled by Mongols, descendants of Chinggis Khan. Scholars have described the *Safīna-yi Tabrīz* as 'a library between two covers' with 'kaleidoscopic material', 'copied for [the author's] own use'.<sup>3</sup> Not much is known about the author, how-

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1 The expression 'Islamic manuscripts' refers to manuscripts using Arabic script to write Arabic, Persian, and the many languages of the expanding Islamic world. Cf. Sourdel-Thomine 1978.

2 The best introduction to this manuscript (kept in private hands until 1995) are Seyed-Gohrab 2007 and 2019. See also the prefaces of 'Abd al-Ḥusain Hā'irī and Naṣrallāh Pūrḡawādī to the facsimile edition.

3 Seyed-Gohrab 2007, 19 and 21. The expression 'a library between two covers' (*kitābhāna'ī bain ad-daffatain*) is from Hā'irī 1380/2001. Vesel 2007, 212, speaks of 'une sorte de bibliothèque résumée portative'. Speaking about another Persian manuscript, Akimushkin describes it as 'an entire library in a single binding' (quoted by Abdullaeva 2007, 63, n. 64).



ever, except for what the manuscript tells us, which is little. In this article, I deal with a manuscript from the same period and region, but from a much more well-known person: Hindūšāh Naḡḡawānī (d. before 728 AH / 1327–1328 CE).

His contemporary, the Baghdadi scholar Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (d. 723 AH / 1323 CE), said of Hindūšāh: ‘he was interested in astronomic/astrologic knowledge (*maʿrifat an-nuḡūm*), mathematics (*ʿilm ar-riyādi*), all kinds of philosophy (*ḥikma*), and the techniques of *adab*’.<sup>4</sup> Today, however, Hindūšāh is known for his Persian adaptation of an Arabic chronicle. This book, called *Taḡārib as-salaf* (‘Experiences of the Ancients’), was first introduced by the British Orientalist Edgar Browne in 1924 and edited by ‘Abbās Iqbāl in 1932.<sup>5</sup> Iranian scholars have praised the purity of its style, which they deem closer to the famous poet Saʿdī (d. 690 AH / 1292 CE) than to the other historiographers of the Mongol period.<sup>6</sup> Recently, several Iranian scholars have collected Persian verses written by Hindūšāh and scattered across various works.<sup>7</sup> Another work by Hindūšāh, dealing with what Ibn al-Fuwaṭī called ‘the techniques of *adab*’, remains unstudied and unedited. It is a compilation of Arabic verses entitled *Mawārid al-adab*.<sup>8</sup> One of its manuscripts is in the Esad Efendi collection of the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul.<sup>9</sup>

The Esad Efendi collection holds yet another manuscript linked to Hindūšāh which has long remained overlooked.<sup>10</sup> Esad Efendi 1932 is a voluminous multi-text manuscript contains much more than the ten works listed in the catalogue of the Süleymaniye Library. Not only is this list of titles very incomplete, it ex-

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<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Maḡmaʿ*, vol. 3, 225. The word *ḥikma* could refer to all sciences, including philosophy. For example, Ibn Rušd/Averroes (d. 595 AH / 1198 CE) opposed *ḥikma* and religious sciences (Qurʾan, hadith, and Islamic law). Frank Griffel has thoroughly investigated the new meaning of the term in the twelfth century (Griffel 2021, 96–107).

<sup>5</sup> None of the three editions of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* has a notice on Hindūšāh. See the very short notices in Storey 1927–1994, vol. 2, 81; cf. Storey and Bregel 1972, no. 315; and Bosworth 2003. The most detailed presentation on Hindūšāh is still Browne 1924 and Iqbāl’s introduction to Hindūšāh’s *Taḡārib as-salaf*. Cf. Durand-Guédy forthcoming.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Bahār 1321/1942, vol. 3, 180; Şafā 1953–1992, vol. 2, 1244.

<sup>7</sup> Ğahānbaḡš 1385/2006 has edited the Persian verses of Hindūšāh that are quoted in the *Şiḡāḥ al-Furs*, a dictionary of Persian composed by Hindūšāh’s son. Bašārī (1387/2008) has done the same by searching various poetic compilations still in manuscript.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *GAL S*, vol. 2, 256; Īmānī 1401/2022, 54–55.

<sup>9</sup> Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi 2926.

<sup>10</sup> I have worked on a 75MB digital copy of the manuscript; each page is fully visible, including the paratexts. The resolution is average but good enough for most of the texts to be readable. In May 2022, I was able to consult a much better digital copy, as well as the original manuscript, in the reading room of the Süleymaniye Library.

cludes the copyists mentioned in the colophons. Reza Pourjavady and Sabine Schmidtke have used Esad Efendi 1932 in their meticulous study of the Jewish philosopher Ibn Kammūna (d. 683 AH / 1284 CE), but they did not deal with the manuscript itself.<sup>11</sup> Bīhrūz Īmānī was the first to survey the manuscript's content in introduction to an article dedicated to the Persian verses it contains.<sup>12</sup> In addition, 'Alī Mīr-Afḍalī has dealt with a quatrain that appears in the manuscript and is attributed to the famous mathematician 'Umar Ḥayyām (d. 526/1131?).<sup>13</sup>

How much of Esad Efendi 1932 comes from the hand of Hindūšāh? On what grounds can we be sure that Hindūšāh copied the excerpts and texts for his own use? And, finally, what new information does this manuscript tell us about Hindūšāh and the times in which he lived? These are the question I will deal with in this article. But first, it is necessary to start with a general presentation of the manuscript.

## 2 Description of Esad Efendi 1932

### 2.1 Format

Esad Efendi 1932 has 352 paper leaves, each measuring around 185 × 127 mm. It is a rather small, but thick object, the size of a small brick (see Fig. 1). The leather book cover and the binding (with its pink and green endband) date to the modern period. When the book was bound (or rebound), folios were cut to give them all the same dimensions. As a result some texts have been amputated (e.g. upper paratext on fol. 8<sup>v</sup>; text written vertically on fol. 68<sup>v</sup>, see Fig. 2).

Unlike most Islamic manuscripts, Esad Efendi 1932 has an oblong format, and the leaves are bound together along the top edge (see Fig. 3). For this reason, we speak of upper and lower pages, rather than left and right pages as with the usual codex. We know other such manuscripts dating from the Ilkhanid period.<sup>14</sup> Déroche writes that such an 'oblong or "landscape" format volume'

<sup>11</sup> Schmidtke and Pourjavady 2006, 11, n. 59. Cf. Schmidtke and Pourjavady's introduction to Ibn Kammūna, *As'ila*, esp. IX.

<sup>12</sup> Īmānī 1401/2022, 56–61.

<sup>13</sup> Mīr-Afḍalī 1399/2020. Mūsawī-Ṭabarī and Īmānī (1397/2018) had previously referred to Esad Efendi 1932 in a short article dedicated to a *ḡazal* attributed to Ḥāfiẓ (d. 792 AH / 1390 CE).

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, three seventh/thirteenth-century manuscripts: Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi milli, 992, produced in 659 AH / 1260–1261 CE (treatises of Ibn Sīnā, Aḥmad Ḡazālī, Suhrawardī, etc.); Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Carullah Efendi 2078, produced in 669 AH / 1270–1271 CE (treatises of Ibn

was called a *safīna*.<sup>15</sup> In Persian codicology, this special type of book is also called a *bayāḍ*. The word *bayāḍ* means ‘white, whiteness’ in Arabic, but it has been used in Persian as a synecdoche for a portable notepad to be used when out and about. As *bayāḍ* manuscripts were used to copy materials of varying provenance, the word came to be employed for ‘compilation’ in general, whatever the book format. Hence, *bayāḍ* is also synonymous with terms such as *maġmū‘a*, *muḥtārāt*, *taḍkira*, *safīna*, or *ġung*.<sup>16</sup> For example, the anthology of the seventeenth-century poet Šā‘ib Tabrīzī has been called either *Safīna-yi Šā‘ib* or *Bayāḍ-i Šā‘ib*.



**Fig. 1:** Esad Efendi 1932 (photo David Durand-Guédy, May 2022).

Sinā, ‘Ain al-Quḍāt, Suhrawardī, etc.); Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4821, produced in 677 AH / 1278–1279 CE (treatises by Suhrawardī, Aḥmad Ġazalī, Faḥr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, etc.). I owe these references to Mohammad Karimi Zanġani Asl.

<sup>15</sup> Déroche et al. 2006, 53. Repeated in Gacek 2009, 34.

<sup>16</sup> For the terms used in Iran for ‘compilation’, see Afšār’s painstaking research (reprinted in Afšār 1390/2011). In English, see Abdullaeva 2007. She notes that the terms *bayāḍ*, *safīna*, etc. are ‘often almost indistinguishable’ (p. 75). Cf. also de Bruijn 1993; Maġīdī 1383/2004 and the introduction to this volume.

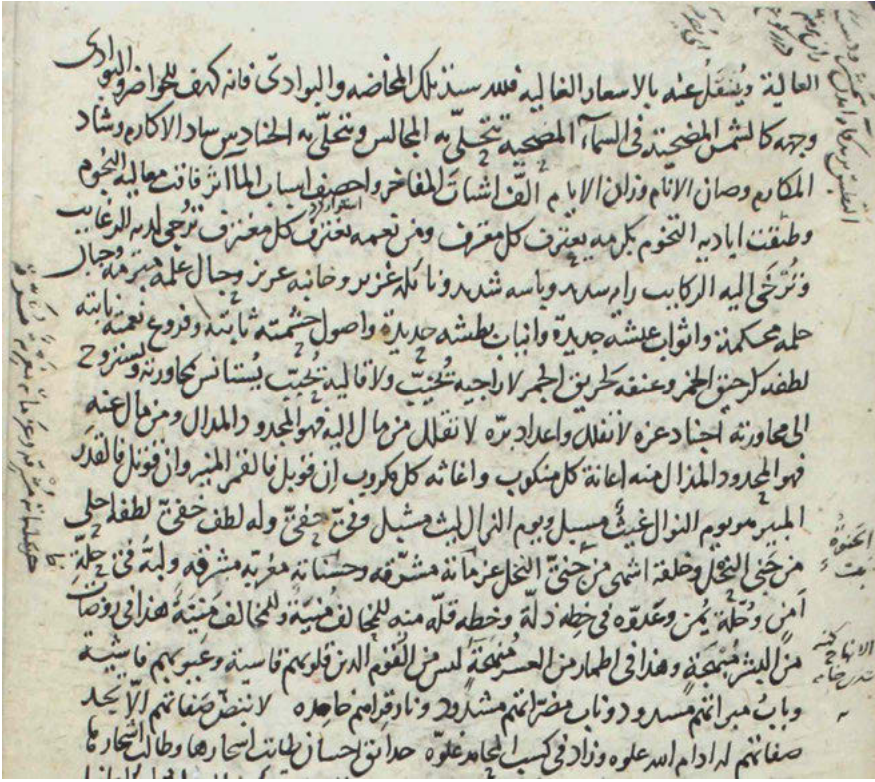


Fig. 2: Evidence of cutting of the folios (Esad Efendi 1932, fol. 8<sup>v</sup>).

In Esad Efendi 1932, a modern foliation has been added on the bottom of the lower page (see Fig. 3).<sup>17</sup> This foliation does not include the first folio (hence, fol. I), nor does it include a smaller leaf glued between fol. 79<sup>v</sup> and 80<sup>r</sup> with text in Ottoman Turkish (see Fig. 4). The last folio number is 349.

<sup>17</sup> The librarian of the Süleymaniye (or whoever foliated the manuscript at the modern period) made a mistake on folio 53, which forced him to cross out and edit about 80 per cent of the folio numbers.

Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis 14590 (*Safīna-yi Tabrīz*)

modern foliation



fol. 15 verso

Esad Efendi 1932  
(*Bayāḍ-i Hindūshāh*)



fol. 16 recto

modern foliation

Fig. 3: Esad Efendi 1932 and Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis 14590 (= *Safīna-yi Tabrīz*) in the same scale.

Quire numbering appears every ten folios, from fol. 10<sup>r</sup> (second quire) to fol. 120<sup>r</sup> (fourteenth quire). The numbering is followed by *al-mubārak* ('the blessed'), hence *aṭ-ṭānī al-mubārak* (fol. 10<sup>r</sup>), *aṭ-ṭālīṭ al-mubārak* (fol. 20<sup>r</sup>), *ar-rābi' al-mubārak* (fol. 30<sup>r</sup>), etc. But within this section of the manuscript (fols 1–128), the dates of the various colophons do not appear in a strict chronological order (see below section 2.3). Two colophons dated 715 AH / 1315–1316 CE (fols 87<sup>v</sup> and 97<sup>v</sup>) come after a colophon dated 717 AH / 1317 CE (fol. 74<sup>r</sup>). The appearance of components out of chronological order shows that the different booklets making up the manuscript today were bound into one volume after the various textual units were separately copied.<sup>18</sup> On fol. 129<sup>r</sup>, a new numbering starts with *al-ḡuz' al-awwal al-mubārak* ('the blessed first quire'), but does not continue. Instead, from fol. 140 to 298 (Šahrazūri's *Šarḥ*, 'Commentary'), a catchword appears on the verso of each page, repeating the first word of the next page.<sup>19</sup>

Texts are written in a very tiny script, usually regular. They are written in black ink, while red ink is used for highlighting. Elements that are highlighted include excerpt titles (e.g. fol. 93<sup>r</sup>: 'from the *Daḡīra al-Ḥwārazmšāhī*, may God have mercy on his author'); subtitles (e.g. the sub-chapters of al-Yamanī's treatise on grammar, fols 17<sup>r</sup>–44<sup>v</sup>); specific words in a particular text, e.g. *qāla* ('he said'), *aqūlu* ('I say'), and *qawlu-hu* ('his words') (as is the case in Šahrazūri's *Commentary*, fols 140<sup>r</sup>–298<sup>v</sup>). The copyists have also drawn red lines to distinguish block texts (in particular the many short poems), or the various elements inside a list (e.g. above the word *kitāb*, 'book' in a long list of books), or to highlight attribution (e.g. above *lahu*, '[authored] by him') (see Fig. 5).

<sup>18</sup> Small numbers from one to five are visible on the upper part of some folios. They appear in random order, e.g. '1' on fol. 68<sup>v</sup>; 'reverse 6' on fol. 86<sup>v</sup> and fol. 96<sup>v</sup>; '3' on fol. 102<sup>r</sup>; '4' on fol. 103<sup>r</sup>; '5' on fol. 104<sup>r</sup>; '3' on 112<sup>r</sup>; '4' on 113<sup>r</sup>; '5' on 114<sup>r</sup>; '2' on fol. 121<sup>r</sup>. It cannot be ascertained whether these numbers are traces of an old system for navigating between the booklets (*ḡuz'*).

<sup>19</sup> Catchwords appear from fol. 140 to fol. 211, then from fol. 228 to fol. 297 (end of Šahrazūri's *Commentary*).





Fig. 4: Leaf with text in Ottoman Turkish glued between two folios of Esad Efendi 1932 (between fol. 79<sup>v</sup> and fol. 80<sup>r</sup>).



Fig. 5: Use of red ink in Esad Efendi 1932 (fol. 13<sup>v</sup>).

## 2.2 Incipit and title page

An incipit is on the top of fol. 1<sup>v</sup>:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَبِهِ اسْتَعِينُ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ وَالصَّلَاةُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا وَمَوْلَانَا مُحَمَّدٍ  
 الْمَصْطَفَى صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَأَصْحَابِهِ الطَّاهِرِينَ. أَمَّا بَعْدُ فَهَذِهِ مَجْمُوعَةٌ مُشْتَمَلَةٌ عَلَى الْفَوَائِدِ  
 وَاللِّطَائِفِ الْمُنْتَوْرَةِ وَالْمَنْظُومَةِ. نَسْأَلُ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى أَنْ يَمَهِّلَنَا إِلَى خْتَمِهِ وَيُوفِّقَنَا لِنَظْمِهِ. إِنَّهُ خَيْرُ مَسْئُولٍ  
 وَأَكْرَمُ مَأْمُولٍ.

‘By the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, and I turn to Him for help. Praise to God, Lord of the worlds, and prayer upon our master (*sayyid, maulā*), Muḥammad the Chosen One – God bless him and his family and his pure followers (*aṣḡāb*). This is a compilation containing useful and pleasant pieces in prose and verse. We ask God Almighty to grant us the time to finish it and to put it into order. He is the best at being in charge, and the most generous in giving hope.’

The previous pages are filled with short texts in prose and verse, written haphazardly in all directions. On fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, a very clumsy hand has written with a large quill (see Fig. 6, section A):

المجموعة المشتتملة على الفوائد المنثورة والمنظومة والرسائل

which can be translated as ‘the compilation containing useful and pleasant pieces in prose and verse, and letters’. This title is directly drawn from the incipit of fol. 1<sup>v</sup>. The copyist has merely added *wa-l-rasā’il* (‘and letters’). We can note that the manuscript known as the *Safīna-yi Tabrīz* had no title; it is modern Iranian scholars who have chosen to call it by this name, since it is a compilation of various materials.<sup>20</sup>

In the middle of the same page (and thus separated from the title by a short, intervening text on medicine), we read six short lines identifying the owner of the manuscript, followed by the mention of a second name (see Fig. 6, section C):

لمحمد بن هندوشاه بن سنجر بن عبدالله / طال بقاوه / النوبة للفقير إلى هدي الله الهادي / عبدالحی  
 بن أبي محمد بن طاهر بن أبي محمد الكاشي / متعه الله بالعلم النافع و العمل / الصالح

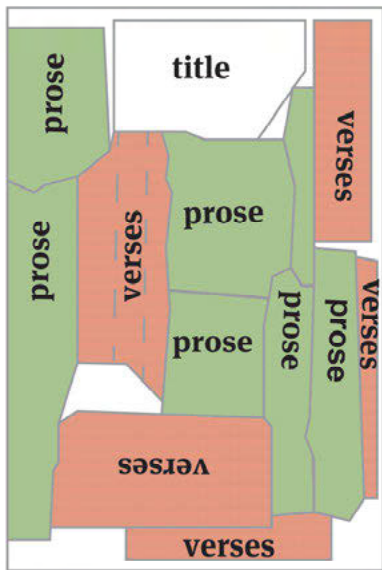
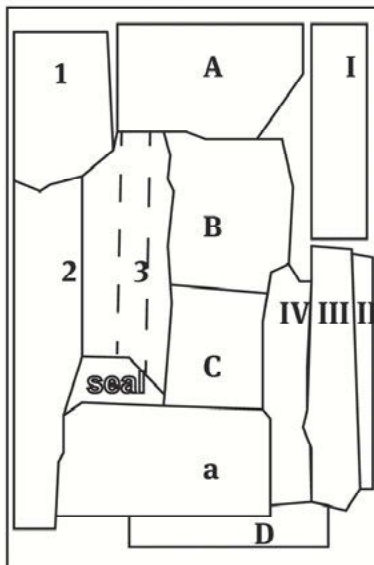
‘pertaining to Muḥammad b. Hindūšāh b. Saṅḡar b. ‘Abd Allāh, may God prolong his life. Now belonging to the poor man in need of divine guidance, ‘Abd al-Ḥaiy b. Abī Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Abī Muḥammad al-Kāšī, let him God partake in useful science and virtuous deeds.’

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Seyyed-Gohrab 2007, 16.

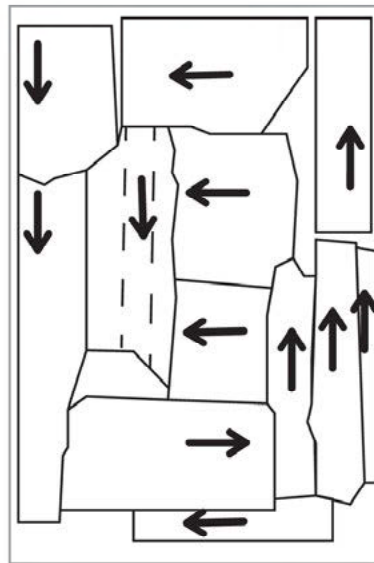




fol. 1r



Arabic
  Persian



← direction of reading

Fig. 6: Content and format of the 'title page' of Esad Efendi 1932 (fol. 1).

The owner of the manuscript, ‘Muḡammad b. Hindūšāh b. Saḡḡar’, is none other than Hindūšāh’s son, otherwise known as Šams-i Munši (d. after 768 AH / 1366 CE). He is the celebrated author of the dictionary *Sihāḡ al-Furs* (‘The sound words of the Persians’) and of the secretarial manual *Dastūr al-kātib* (‘Rules for the secretary’).<sup>21</sup> The second person, ‘Abd al-Ḥaiy al-Kāšī, is unknown to me.

## 2.3 Contents

The manuscript contains a great number of excerpts from texts in prose and verse, even a few treatises copied in their entirety. Texts longer than one page usually start on the top of the upper page.<sup>22</sup> There is, however, neither a blank page nor even blank space in the manuscript until fol. 136<sup>v</sup>. The long texts are followed by much shorter texts running to the end of the page or for several pages. For example, a long letter ends in the middle of fol. 76<sup>v</sup> (i.e. on the upper page). The remaining space of the double page is filled by a thirteen lines of text in Arabic, and then by a series of short Persian poems (*rubā’ī*, *qiṭ‘a*). At the top of the next double-page (fol. 77<sup>v</sup>), a *qaṣīda* begins and continues for three pages. The *qaṣīda* ends on fol. 78<sup>v</sup> (i.e. on the upper page). The remaining space before the following long text is, once again, filled with short texts of various nature and format: a thirty-one-verse Arabic *qaṣīda* on joking (*hazl*), a three-line hadith (in Arabic), a twelve-verse *ḡazal* written diagonally, and finally two short Arabic texts on religious topics.

I give below a simplified table of contents for Esad Efendi 1932. The texts shorter than one page (excerpts, quatrains, anecdotes, etc.) are brought together under the umbrella designation ‘Short Texts’. These are mostly poetical quotations, although some of these texts are in prose, including coded writing (*rumūz*, in the margin of fol. 98<sup>r</sup>) and palindromes (in the margin of fol. 73<sup>r</sup>). In total, the manuscript has twenty-one texts longer than one page, and fifteen Short Texts sections. One item (Šahrazūri’s commentary of Suhrawardī’s *Ḥikma al-išrāq*) fills half the manuscript (fol. 140<sup>r</sup> to fol. 298<sup>v</sup>). The eight longest texts of Esad Efendi 1932 fill 84 per cent of the manuscript (see Figs 7 and 8):

<sup>21</sup> On Muḡammad b. Hindūšāh, see Dārānī’s introduction to the new edition of the *Dastūr al-kātib*. Nothing in European languages, except the very short encyclopedia notices of Morgan 1996 and Bosworth 1993.

<sup>22</sup> I have noted two exceptions in the first third of the manuscript: on fol. 80<sup>r</sup>, a long text starts at the top of the lower (and not upper) page; on fol. 93<sup>r</sup> a long text starts in the middle of the lower page, immediately after the end of another long text.

1. fols I–1<sup>r</sup>: Short Texts I (Arabic and Persian).
2. fols 1<sup>v</sup>–13<sup>v</sup>: Excerpts from Yāqūt's (d. 626/1229) *Mu'ğam al-udabā'* (Arabic).<sup>23</sup> Colophon no. 1.
3. fols 13<sup>v</sup>–14<sup>r</sup>: Short Texts II (Arabic and Persian).
4. fols 14<sup>v</sup>–16<sup>r</sup>: Letter (*inšā'*) of 'Aṭā' Malik Ğuwaynī (d. 681/1283) dated 651/1253 (Arabic).
5. fol. 16<sup>v</sup>: Short Texts III (Arabic). Colophon no. 2.
6. fols 17<sup>r</sup>–44<sup>v</sup>: Excerpts from Maṣūr Ibn Fallāḥ al-Yamanī's (d. 680/1282) *al-Muğni fi 'ilm an-naḥw*, first volume (Arabic).<sup>24</sup> Colophon no. 3.
7. fols 44<sup>v</sup>–46<sup>r</sup>: Short Texts IV (Arabic and Persian).
8. fols 46<sup>r</sup>–68<sup>r</sup>: as-Siğzi's (fl. 500/1106) *Īdāḥ maḥağğā al-'ilāğ* (Arabic).
9. fols 68<sup>v</sup>–73<sup>r</sup>: Short Texts V (Arabic and Persian). Colophon no. 4.
10. fols 73<sup>v</sup>–74<sup>r</sup>: Ismā'il Ğurğānī's (d. 530/1135) *Risāla al-Manbaha* (Arabic). Colophon no. 5.
11. fols 74<sup>r</sup>–75<sup>r</sup>: Short Texts VI (Arabic and Persian).
12. fols 75<sup>v</sup>–76<sup>v</sup>: Naṣir ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī's (d. 672/1274) answer to Nağm ad-Dīn al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī (d. 675/1276) about the problem of heat and cold (Arabic).<sup>25</sup>
13. fols 76<sup>v</sup>–77<sup>r</sup>: Short Texts VII (Arabic and Persian).
14. fols 77<sup>r</sup>–78<sup>v</sup>: Niğāmī Ganğawī's (d. beginning seventh/thirteenth century) *qaṣida* extolling the ruler of Marāğa (*maṭla'*: *har āfarida ki nikū kunad kārīš-rā*) (Persian).<sup>26</sup>
15. fols 78<sup>v</sup>–79<sup>v</sup>: Short Texts VIII.
16. fols 80<sup>r</sup>–93<sup>r</sup>: 'Alī b. 'Abbās al-Ahwāzī alias al-Mağūsī's (d. 384/994) *Kāmil aṣ-ṣanā'at*, tenth chapter (*maqāla*) of the first part and first chapter of the second part (Arabic).<sup>27</sup> Colophon no. 6.
17. fols 93<sup>r</sup>–97<sup>v</sup>: Excerpts from Ismā'il Ğurğānī's *Daḥira-yi Ḥwārazmšāhi* (Persian).<sup>28</sup> Colophon no. 7.
18. fols 97<sup>v</sup>–98<sup>v</sup>: Short Texts IX (Arabic and Persian).
19. fols 99<sup>r</sup>–117<sup>r</sup>: Nağm ad-Dīn al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī's *As'ila 'an al-ma'ālim* (Arabic).<sup>29</sup>
20. fol. 117<sup>v</sup>: Short Texts X (Persian).
21. fols 118<sup>r</sup>–128<sup>v</sup>: Ibn Kammūna's (d. 683/1284) *Ta'liqat* on Faḥr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī's *Ma'ālim fi uṣūl ad-dīn* (Arabic). Colophon no. 8.
22. fol. 129<sup>r</sup>–129<sup>v</sup>: Short Texts XI (Persian).
23. fol. 130<sup>r</sup>–130<sup>v</sup>: Anonymous text (*risāla*) on *ṣarf wa-naḥw* (Arabic).
24. fol. 130<sup>v</sup>: Short Texts XII (Arabic).
25. fol. 131<sup>r</sup>–131<sup>v</sup>: Authorization to teach (*iğāza*) given in 708/1308–1309 by Abū Sa'id b. 'Utman Tabrizī (Arabic).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'ğam*.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Maṣūr al-Yamanī, *al-Muğni*.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Naṣir ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī, *Risāla*.

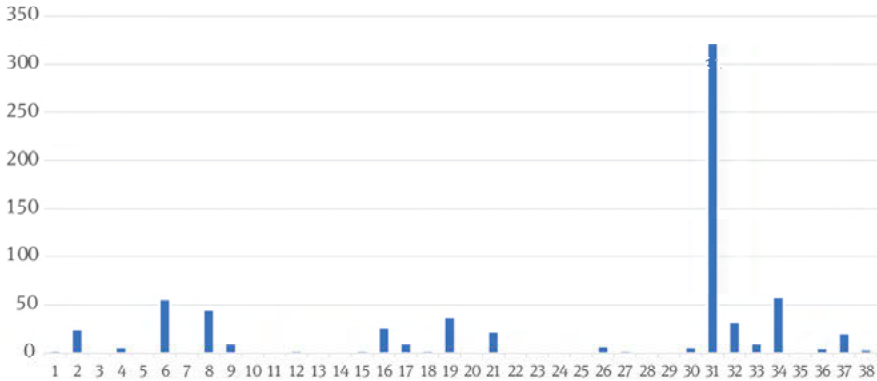
<sup>26</sup> Not in Niğāmī's *Kulliyāt*.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. al-Mağūsī, *Kāmil*.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Ismā'il Ğurğānī, *Daḥira*.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Ibn Kammūna, *As'ila*.

26. fols 132<sup>r</sup>–134<sup>v</sup>: panegyric poem (*qaṣīda*) sent by Šams ad-Dīn Abarqūhī to Našīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī, followed by Našīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī's reply (Persian).
27. fols 134<sup>v</sup>–135<sup>v</sup>: Short Texts XIII (Persian).
28. fol. 136<sup>r</sup>: Excerpt from Sirāḡ ad-Dīn al-Urmawī's (d. 682/1283) *Šarḡ al-išārāt* (Arabic).<sup>30</sup>
29. fol. 36<sup>v</sup>: Našīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī's letter (*kitāb*) to Ğamāl ad-Dīn Ğīlī (Arabic).
30. fols 137<sup>r</sup>–139<sup>v</sup>: Short Texts XIV (Arabic).
31. fols 140<sup>r</sup>–298<sup>v</sup>: aš-Šahrazūri's (d. after 687/1288) *Šarḡ ḡikma al-išrāḡ* (Arabic).<sup>31</sup>
32. fols 298<sup>v</sup>–299<sup>v</sup>: Short Texts XV (Arabic and Persian).
33. fols 300<sup>r</sup>–304<sup>v</sup>: Blank pages.
34. fols 305<sup>r</sup>–333<sup>v</sup>: Excerpts from 'Abd ar-Razzāq al-Qāšānī's (d. between 730/1329 and 736/1333) *al-Iṣṭilāḡāt aš-šūfiya* (Arabic).<sup>32</sup>
35. fol. 334<sup>r</sup>: Blank page.
36. fols 334<sup>v</sup>–336<sup>v</sup>: Excerpts from Abū Ḥāmid Ğazālī (d. 505/1111) (Arabic).
37. fols 337<sup>r</sup>–347<sup>r</sup>: Excerpts from 'Izz ad-Dīn Aidamir al-Ğildakī's (d. 743/1342) (Arabic).
38. fols 347<sup>v</sup>–349<sup>v</sup>: Blank pages (except one short poem and a few lines on an elixir).



**Fig. 7:** Bar representation of the size of the different sections in Esad Efendi 1932 (y-axis: number of pages).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. al-Urmawī, *Šarḡ*.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. aš-Šahrazūri, *Šarḡ*.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. 'Abd ar-Razzāq al-Qāšānī, *al-Iṣṭilāḡāt*.

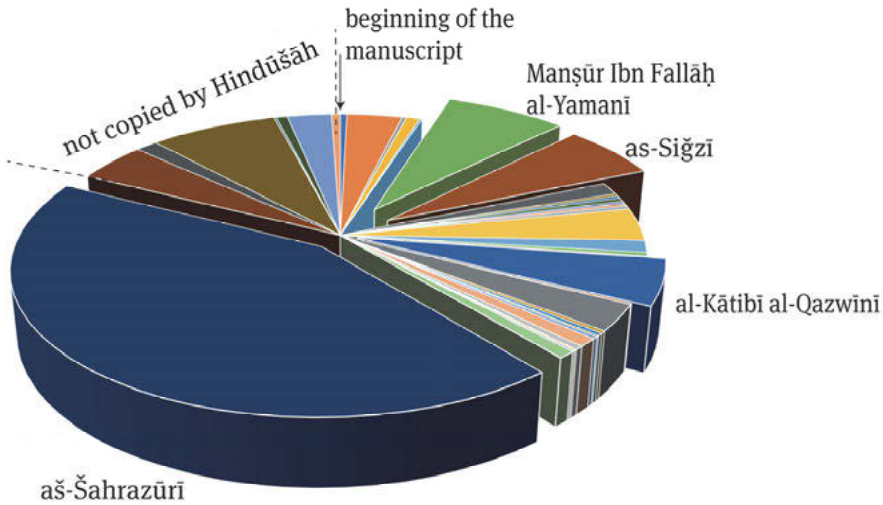


Fig. 8: Pie representation of the size of the different sections in Esad Efendi 1932.

One immediately visible feature of the manuscript is the irregular way in which the Short Texts were copied. They appear not only horizontally, but also vertically (upward or downward) and sometimes in diagonal. For example, the excerpts from Yāqūt (item 2) are followed by a series of short poems (mainly in Arabic) copied horizontally, and then in all possible directions in the margin (cf. Fig. 9).

As far as the content is concerned, the texts longer than one page are excerpts from treatises dealing with grammar (al-Yamanī); medicine (as-Sizgī, al-Mağūsī, Ismā‘il Ğurġānī); philosophy (Faḥr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, Šihāb ad-Dīn as-Suhrawardī, Našīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī, Nağm ad-Dīn al-Kātibī, aš-Šahrazūri, Ibn Kammūna, Sirāğ ad-Dīn al-Urmawī); theology (al-Ġazālī); mysticism (‘Abd ar-Razzāq al-Qāshānī); and alchemy (Aidamir al-Ġildakī). Most of these authors lived in the seventh/thirteenth century (Fig. 10). Some poems are longer than one page (there are a few *qaṣida*), but most are only a few verses long. Some of the verses are in Arabic (like the great fourth/tenth-century Iraqi poet al-Mutanabbī); more rarely contemporary Iranians. The great majority of the verses, however, are in Persian.<sup>33</sup> Among them, the sixth/twelfth-century masters of Persian poetry (Amīr Mu‘izzī, Anwārī, Sanā‘ī, Ḥāqānī, Niẓāmī) prevail. But vers-

<sup>33</sup> Īmānī 1401/2022 has edited 251 Persian verses drawn from Esad Efendi 1932.

es from the Mongol period are also numerous and make up more than one-third of the total (cf. Table 1 and Fig. 11). Like in the *Safīna-yi Tabrīz*, quatrains are the most common type of poetry copied.<sup>34</sup>

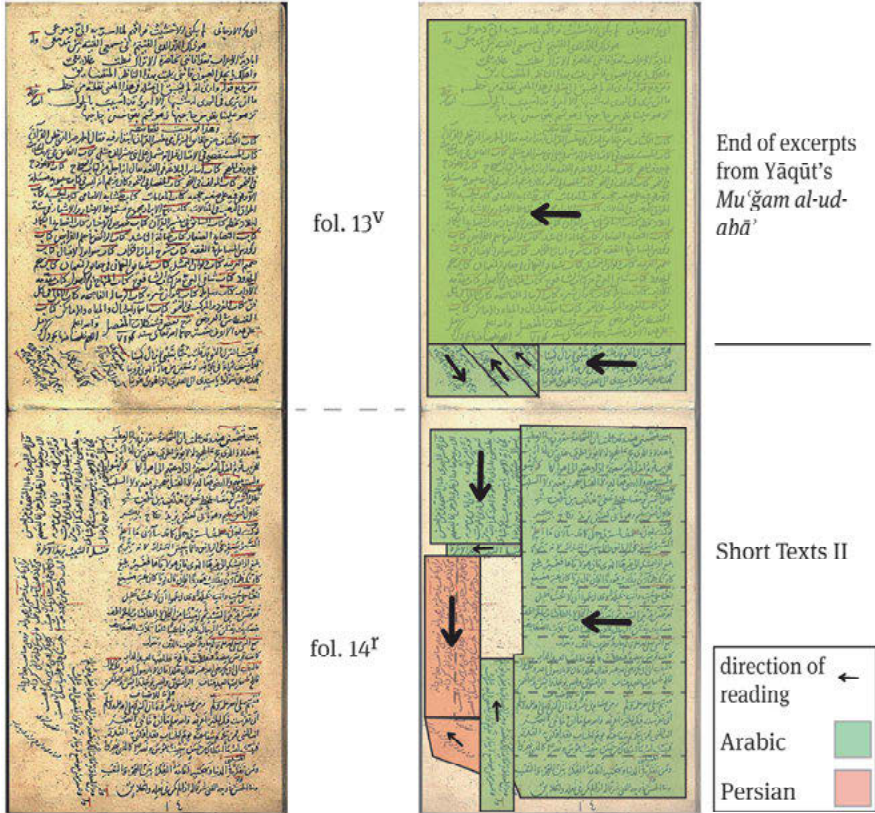


Fig. 9: Sequencing of Esad Efendi 1932, fols 13<sup>v</sup>–14<sup>r</sup>.

34 On the vogue of the *nubā'ī*, see Mir-Afḡalī 1395/2016; Meier 1963; Durand-Guédy forthcoming 2023.

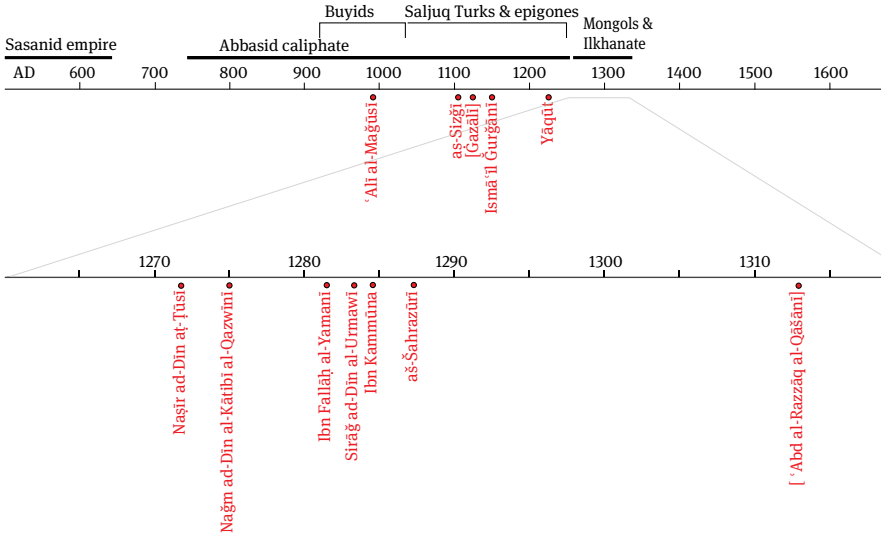


Fig. 10: Timeline for the authors of long prose excerpts in Esad Efendi 1932.

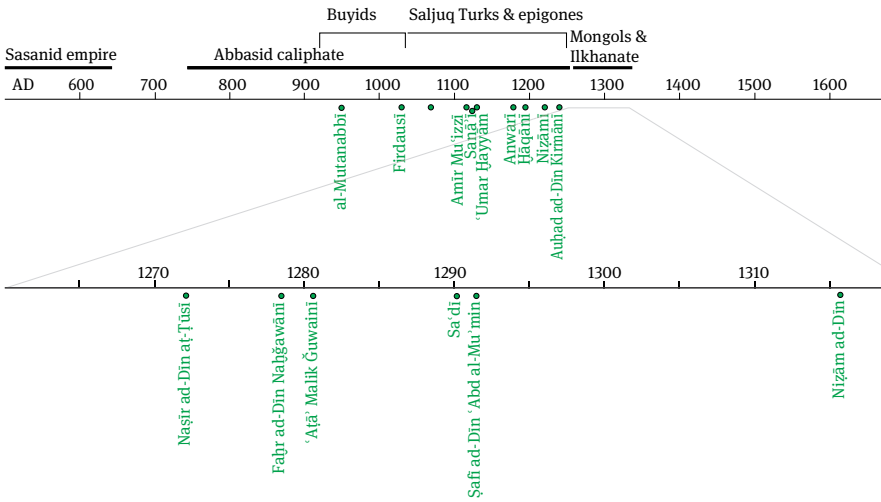


Fig. 11: Timeline of the authors of verses quoted in Esad Efendi 1932.

**Table 1:** Authors of verses copied in Esad Efendi 1932

<b>Author (by date of death)</b>	<b>in Esad Efendi 1932</b>
Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣanaubarī (d. 334/945)	Short Texts I
al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/955)	Short Texts II
Firdausī (d. 416/1025?)	Short Texts VI
Abū l-Qāsim Quṣairī (d. 465/1072)	Short Texts IX
Amīr Mu‘izzī (d. c. 519–521/1125–1127)	Short Texts I, VI
Sanā‘ī (d. c. 525/1131)	Short Texts XIII
‘Umar Ḥayyām (d. 526/1131?)	Short Texts V
Anwarī (d. 565/1169–1170 or after 582/1186)	Short Texts XI, XIII
Ḥāqānī Šīrwānī (d. c. 595/1199)	Short Texts V
Šaraf ad-Dīn Šufurwa (d. 598/1201–1202)	Short Texts V
Ḥālīd (sixth/twelfth century?)	Short Texts V
Ḥasan Ġaznawī (fifth/eleventh or sixth/twelfth century)	Short Texts XV
Mahastī (probably sixth/twelfth century)	Short Texts I
‘Imād Ġaznawī Šahyārī (sixth/twelfth century)	Short Texts V
Ibn Ḥamūya (d. 647/1249)	Short Texts I
Auḥad ad-Dīn Kirmānī (d. 635/1238)	Short Texts IV
Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274)	item 25
Šams ad-Dīn Abarqūhī (contemporary of Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī d. 672/1273)	item 26
Ġalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273)	Short Texts I
‘Aṭā’ Malik Ġuwainī (d. 681/1283)	Short Texts VI
Maḡd Hamgar (d. 686/1287)	Short Texts VI
Sa‘dī Šīrāzī (d. 690/1291)	Short Texts XIII
Šafī ad-Dīn ‘Abd al-Mu‘min Urmawī Baḡdādī (d. 693/1294)	Short Texts XV
Badr ad-Dīn Ḥasan Dāmḡānī (probably seventh/thirteenth century)	Short Texts IV
Sulāmī (beg. seventh/ thirteenth century)	Short Texts XI
Niẓāmī Ganḡawī (d. beg. seventh/thirteenth century)	item 14
Humām Tabrīzī (d. 714/1314–1315)	Short Texts VI
Niẓām ad-Dīn (maybe Niẓām ad-Dīn Iṣfahānī d. 716/1316)	Short Texts IX
Šāḥībī (dead at the time of copying)	Short Texts XI
Rukn Bakrānī/Abharī (second part seventh/thirteenth or first part eighth/fourteenth century)	Short Texts XV
‘Imād ad-Dīn Hamadānī (dead at the time of copying)	Short Texts VI, IX
‘Imād ad-Dīn Kirmānī (alive at the time of copying)	Short Texts XI



Author (by date of death)	in Esad Efendi 1932
Hindūšāh Naḥḡawānī (d. before 728/1327–1328)	Short Texts XIII
Salmān Sāwaḡī (d. 778/1376?)	Short Texts XI
Naḡm ad-Dīn b. Abī Bakr, alias Sayyid Sūfī (seventh/thirteenth or eighth/fourteenth century)	Short Texts IV
‘Alī Faḡr Šabistārī (seventh/thirteenth or eighth/fourteenth century?)	Short Texts I
Bahā’ ad-Dīn Nafīs Naḥḡawānī	Short Texts XIII
Bahā’ ad-Dīn Kāšī	Short Texts XIII

After this general presentation, we can now focus on the two main issues: what is by Hindūšāh’s hand in the manuscript, and to what end did he copy these texts?

### 3 Who copied what in Esad Efendi 1932?

All in all, eight texts come with a colophon mentioning the date and the place in which that portion of text was copied:

- fol. 13<sup>v</sup>: copied in 714 AH / 1315–1316 CE at Tustar
- fol. 16<sup>v</sup>: copied in 714 AH / 1315–1316 CE at Tustar
- fol. 44<sup>v</sup>: copied in 1 IX 715 AH / 29 Nov. 1315 CE] at Tustar
- fol. 68<sup>r</sup>: copied in 15 IX 717 AH / 21 Nov. 1317 CE] at Bailaḡān by Hindūšāh
- fol. 71<sup>v</sup>: copied at Bailaḡān
- fol. 74<sup>r</sup>: copied in 19 VI 717 AH / 29 Aug. 1317 CE] at Sulṡāniya
- fol. 87<sup>v</sup>: copied in IX 715 AH / December 1315 CE] at Tustar
- fol. 97<sup>v</sup>: copied in 6 XII 715 AH / 2 March 1316 CE] at Tustar, Dār al-ḡadīṡ aṡ-Šāḡibiya al-‘alā’iyya
- fol. 128<sup>v</sup>: copied in 2 IX 721 AH / 25 Sept. 1321 CE] at Naḥḡawān by Hindūšāh.

Hindūšāh identifies himself as the copyist (*al-kātib*) in two of these colophons.<sup>35</sup> No other copyist is mentioned in the manuscript. The colophon of as-Siḡzi’s medical treatise (item 8) refers to ‘the poor man, who stands in the need of God the All-Sufficient, Hindūšāh, may God let him obtain [what he needs]’ (*al-faḡīr*

<sup>35</sup> On *kātib*, the most common Arabic term for ‘copyist’, cf. Déroche et al. 2006, 185–188; Gacek 2009, 238–240.

*ilā llāh al-ġānī Hindūšāh anālahu llāh*) (fol. 68<sup>r</sup>).<sup>36</sup> In the colophon of Ibn Kammūna's commentary (item 21), Hindūšāh gives a longer version of his name: 'the poor copyist Hindūšāh b. Saṅḡar b. 'Abd Allāh aṣ-Ṣāḡhibī, may God give him success in [his endeavours to perform] good and perfect deeds' (*wa-l-kātib al-faḡīr Hindūšāh b. Saṅḡar b. 'Abdallāh aṣ-Ṣāḡhibī, waḡaḡa-hu llāh ta'ālā li-l-ḡairāt wa-l-kamālāt*) (fol. 128<sup>v</sup>). As was customary, the copyist identifies himself by writing his *ism* (given name), his *nasab* (ancestry), one *nisba* (origin), and a formula of self-abasement ('the poor copyist').<sup>37</sup> Logically, the *laḡab* (honorific title) is omitted. The combination of the *ism* (Hindūšāh), the *nasab* ('son of Saṅḡar son of 'Abd Allāh'), and the *nisba* (aṣ-Ṣāḡhibī) leave no doubt about the identity of the copyist. These rare onomastic elements are also present in the opening lines of Hindūšāh's *Taḡārib as-salaḡ*.<sup>38</sup>

About thirty-three folios of Esad Efendi 1932 (items 8 and 21) are explicitly by the hand of Hindūšāh. Several factors, however, show that Hindūšāh copied a much greater quantity of text. This can be established thanks to the data in the colophons and palaeographic features of the text. Let's begin with the colophons.

### 3.1 Evidence from the colophons

The dates of the eight colophons fall between 714 AH / 1314–1315 CE (item 2) and 721 AH / 1321 CE (item 21).<sup>39</sup> This period of time corresponds to the reigns of Ilkhan Öljeitü (r. 704–716 AH / 1304–1316 CE) and Ilkhan Abū Sa'īd (r. 716–736 AH / 1316–1336 CE), the height of the *pax mongolica* in Iran.

These dates are consistent with the few chronological indications we have for Hindūšāh. The oldest version of the *Taḡārib as-salaḡ* was written in 714 AH / 1314 CE, the same year as the oldest dated colophon in Esad Efendi 1932 (item 2).<sup>40</sup> Besides, of six other manuscripts by the hand of Hindūšāh (Table 2), four of

<sup>36</sup> The formula *al-faḡīr ilā llāh al-ġānī* derives from Qur'an, 35:15 (all the Quranic quotations are from Arberry's translation).

<sup>37</sup> According to Ġahānbaḡš 1385/2006, 55, Hindūšāh was not the *ism*, but the *taḡalluṣ* (nom de plume) of this scholar.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Hindūšāh, *Taḡārib*, 1. I deal elsewhere with Hindūšāh's name, ancestry and biography, cf. Durand-Guédy forthcoming.

<sup>39</sup> For the colophon on fol. 13<sup>v</sup> (item 2), Mīr-Aḡḡalī 1399/2020, 53, reads 712 AH. But the date is crossed out, and I find it more convincing to follow Īmānī 1401/2022, 59, in reading 714 AH. This later date, however, does not change anything for our analysis.

<sup>40</sup> Since Browne 1924, 247, the *Taḡārib as-salaḡ* had been dated to 723 AH / 1323–1324 CE. But Raudaḡī, who found and edited in facsimile an older manuscript, concluded that Hindūšāh wrote the first version around 714 AH. Cf. Melville 1998.

them are older than to the colophons of Esad Efendi 1932, and one is more recent.<sup>41</sup>

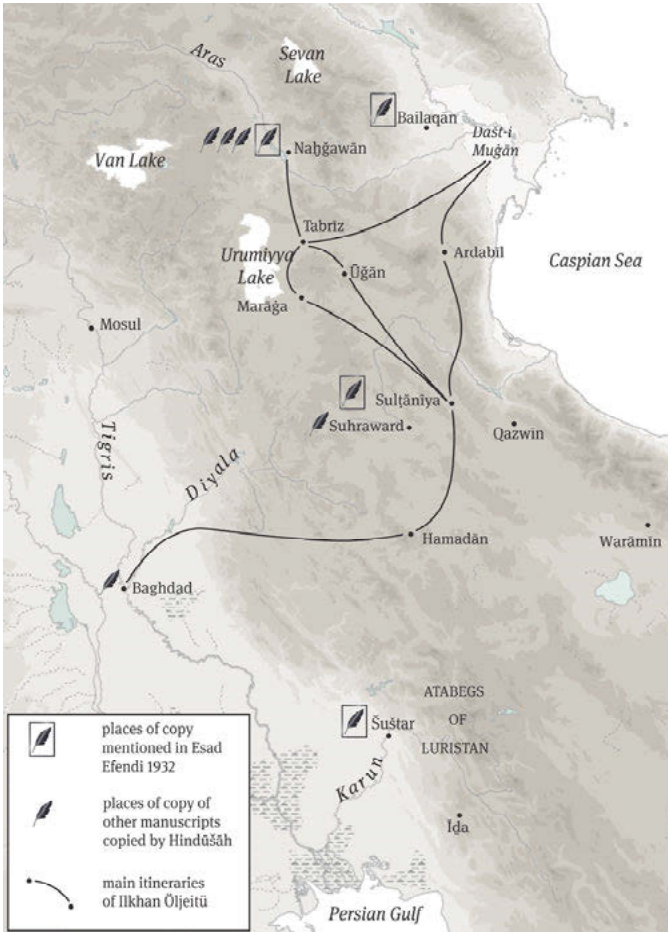
**Table 2:** Manuscripts copied by Hindūšāh

Date and place of copying (according to the colophon)	Content	Location of the manuscript
683/1284–1285 in the madrasa Niẓāmīya of Baghdad	Nağm ad-Dīn al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī, <i>Āmī' ad-daqqā'iq fī kaşf al-ḥaqqā'iq</i>	Istanbul, Topkapı, 3372
beg. XII 693/Oct. 1294 in the madrasa Şāhibīya of Nağğawān	fols 1–43: Abū l-Qāsim b. Firruh aš-Şātabī, <i>al-qaşīda al-muqbila bi-ḥarḥ al-amānī wa-wağh at-tahānī</i>	Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 31
beg. V 694/March 1295 Nağğawān	fols 43–146: Abū 'Amr 'Uṭmān b. Sa'īd b. 'Uṭmān Muqrā, <i>at-Taisīr fī l-qirā'āt as-sab'</i>	
begun in 714/1315–1316; ended after 721/1321–1322	copies and excerpts dealing with medicine, grammar, philosophy, poetry	Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi 1932, fols 1–136
ended on 14 III 718/13 May 1318, at one stage ( <i>marḥala</i> ) from Suhraward	Ibn Sīnā, first part of <i>al-Işārāt</i>	Istanbul, Damad İbrāhīm Paşa, 809
date erased; madrasa Şāhibīya of Nağğawān	Ġazālī, <i>Kīmiyā-yi sa'ādāt</i>	Istanbul, Mustafa Atif Efendi, 1390
	Quṭb ad-Dīn aš-Şīrāzī (d. 710/1311), <i>Şarḥ Hikma al-işrāq</i>	Lost but mentioned in Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Turhan Valide 207, fol. 147'

In the two colophons mentioning Hindūšāh in Esad Efendi 1932, Nağğawān (item 21) and Bailaqān (item 8) are indicated as the place in which that portion of the manuscript was written down. Nağğawān is a narrow fertile plain two stages north of Tabriz, north of the Aras River, while Bailaqān lies on the other side of the Armenian highlands (Fig. 12). Nağğawān was the home of Hindūšāh, who bore the *nisba* of an-Nağğawānī. It was in Nağğawān that Hindūšāh copied

<sup>41</sup> The surviving manuscripts of Hindūšāh are listed by Īmānī 1401/2022, 55–56. I have added the copy of Quṭb ad-Dīn aš-Şīrāzī made in 694 AH / 1295 CE from the holograph version. Hindūšāh's copy has been lost, but it is mentioned as the source of Süleymaniye, Turhan Valide 207 (cf. fol. 147').

three (out of the six) other manuscripts (cf. Table 3). The appearance of Bailaḡān is interesting because the city, which was situated on the road of the first Mongol invasion (617/1220), had been razed to the ground.<sup>42</sup> Its mention by Hindūšāh shows that a century later, the city had recovered, although we cannot say to what extent. Bailaḡān is mentioned again on fol. 71<sup>v</sup>, as the place of the copy of ‘poems collected in an old compilation’ (fols 68<sup>v</sup>–71<sup>v</sup>).



**Fig. 12:** Places of copy mentioned in Esad Efendi 1932 and in other manuscripts copied by Hindūšāh.

<sup>42</sup> Le Strange 1905, 178.

**Table 3:** Introductions to the texts longer than one page in Esad Efendi 1932

Fol.	Item	Hindüşāh's introduction	Translation
1 <sup>v</sup>	Item 2	<i>mā iltaqatuhu min al-ğild aṭ-ṭāmin min kitāb Muğam ahl al-adab radiya llāh 'an muşannafihī</i>	What I have collected inside the eighth volume of the book <i>Dictionary of the Learned Men</i> ; may God be pleased with its author
14 <sup>v</sup>	Item 4	<i>nuşha kitāb katabahu al-mahdūm as-sa'īd şāhib dīwān mamālik al-'arab wa-l-'ağam 'Alā' al-Ḥaqq wa-d-Dīn 'Aṭā' Malik b. aṣ-şāhib dīwān al-mamālik Bahā' al-Ḥaqq wa-d-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ğuwainī anāra llāh burhānahu wa-nuqila min haṭṭihī mā haḍihī şūraturu</i>	Copy of the text written by the fortunate servant, head of the central divan, Height of the Religion, 'Aṭā' Malik, son of the fortunate lord, head of the central divan, Splendor of the Religion, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ğuwainī – may God illuminate the proof of them both. Copied from his handwriting exactly as it is [in the original]
17 <sup>v</sup>	Item 6	<i>haḍihī fawā'id naqaltu-hā min kitāb al-Muğnī fī 'ilm an-naḥw min al-muğallad al-auwal muşannaf aṣ-şaiḥ al-imām 'allāma az-zamān huğğa al-islām Şams al-a'imma Baqīya al-milla wa-l-ḥaqq wa-d-dīn Nāşir al-Islām wa-l-muslimīn Manşūr b. Fallāḥ al-Yamanī radiya llāh 'an-hu wa-ğazāhu 'an ṭalabihī al-'ilm ḥairan</i>	These are useful things I have copied from the first volume of the book <i>What Is Sufficient to Know About the Science of Syntax</i> , composed by the shaykh, the imam, the most learned of his time, the proof of Islam, Sun of the imams, Continuation of the religion, Helper of Islam and the Muslims, Manşūr b. Fallāḥ al-Yamanī; may God be pleased with him and bless him for his quest of science
46 <sup>v</sup>	Item 8	<i>Kitāb İdāḥ maḥağğā al-'ilāğ li-l-fāḍil al-muḥaqqaq qudwa al-aṭibbā' wa-l-ḥukamā' Abī l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad as-Siğzi rahma allāh 'alaihi</i>	<i>The Explanation of the Method of the Medical Treatment</i> , by the eminent scholar, model of the physicians, Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad as-Siğzi; may God have mercy on him
73 <sup>v</sup>	Item 10	<i>haḍihī r-risāla al-Manbaha min inşā' as-sayyid al-fāḍil Buqrāṭ zamānihī Ismā'il b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusainī al-Ğurğānī rahimahū llāh ta'ālā</i>	<i>The Call</i> is a treatise written by the eminent sayyid, Hippocrates of his time, Ismā'il b. Ḥasan al-Ḥusainī al-Ğurğānī; may God Almighty have mercy on him
75 <sup>v</sup>	Item 12	<i>qāla maulānā Naşir al-ḥaqq wa-d-dīn Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭūsī qaddasa llāh rūḥa-hu fī bayān qaul aṣ-şaiḥ...</i>	Our master, Helper of the Religion, Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭūsī, may God sanctify his soul, said about the statement of the Shaykh...

Fol.	Item	Hindūšāh's introduction	Translation
80 <sup>r</sup>	Item 16	<i>had[ā] min fawā'id multaqaṭa min al-ḡuz aṭ-ṭānī min kitāb Kāmil aṣ-ṣanā'a aṭ-ṭabība al-ma'rūf bi-l-Malikī ta'lif 'Alī b. al-'Abbās</i>	These are useful things collected from the second volume of the <i>The Complete Book of Medical Skills</i> , known as <i>al-Malikī</i> , written by 'Alī b. al-'Abbās
93 <sup>r</sup>		<i>āḡhar al-multaqaṭ min Kāmil aṣ-ṣanā'a</i>	End of the excerpts from <i>The Complete Book of [Medical] Skills</i>
93 <sup>r</sup>	Item 17	<i>min Daḡhira al-Ḥwārazmšāhī raḡhima llāh muṣannifa-hu</i>	From the <i>Compendium of the King of Khwārazm</i> ; may God have mercy on his author
99 <sup>r</sup>	Item 19	<i>qāla l-maulā as-sa'id ḡuḡḡa al-ḡaqq Naḡm ad-dīn al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī 'alā llāh daraḡatahu 'alā kitāb al-Ma'ālim</i>	The fortunate master, proof of the religion, Star of the Religion, al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī, may God elevate his rank, said about the book <i>Guideposts [of Theology]...</i>
118 <sup>r</sup>	Item 21	<i>qāla š-šaiḡ al-'allāma al-fāḡil al-mifḡal al-muḡhaqqaq 'Izz ad-Daula Sa'd b. Maṣūr b. Sa'd b. al-Ḥusain Hibba allāh b. Kammūna al-Baḡdādī raḡi-mahū llāh ta'ālā</i>	The most learned, the most excellent, the established shaykh, Glory of the State, Sa'd b. Maṣūr b. Sa'd b. al-Ḥusain Hibat-allāh b. Kammūna al-Baḡdādī, may God Almighty have mercy on him, has said...
130 <sup>r</sup>	Item 23	-	
131 <sup>r</sup>	Item 25	<i>nusha-yi iḡāza</i>	Copy of an authorization to teach
136 <sup>r</sup>	Item 28	<i>min šarḡ al-išārāt li-l-'allāma Sirāḡ al-milla wa-d-dīn Urmawī al-qāḡī bi-Qunyā raḡhima llāhu ta'ālā 'alā ḡuṭba al-išārāt</i>	From the <i>Commentary on The Remarks [and Admonitions]</i> by the most learned, Luminary of the religion Urmawī, qadī of Konya, may God have mercy on him, about the discourse on <i>The Remarks</i>
136 <sup>v</sup>	Item 29	<i>nusha kitāb kataba-hu afḡal al-muḡhaqqiqīn maulānā Naṣīr al-ḡaqq wa-l-milla wa-d-dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī ilā š-šaiḡ ar-rabbānī ḡamāl al-milla wa-d-dīn 'Ain az-zamān al-ḡīlī raḡīya llāhu 'anhumā</i>	Copy of a letter written by the best of the scholars, our master Helper of the Religion, at-Ṭūsī, to the divine shaykh, Beauty of the Religion, [Most] important man of his time, al-ḡīlī; may God Almighty be pleased with both of them
140 <sup>r</sup>	Item 31	<i>Kitāb fīhī Šarḡ ḡikma al-išrāq li-l-fāḡil al-ḡakīm Šams ad-dīn Šahrazūrī raḡimahū llāh ta'ālā</i>	Book containing the <i>Commentary on the Philosophy of Illumination</i> by the eminent scholar, Sun of the religion, Šahrazūrī, may God Almighty have mercy on him

The two other places mentioned in the colophons of Esad Efendi 1932 are Sulṭāniya (item 10) and Tustar (items 2, 5, 6, 17). Sulṭāniya is called *dār al-mulk* ('centre of political power, capital'), which was indeed its role at the time when

the *R. al-Manbaha* was copied. Under the reign of Ilkhan Öljeitü (d. 716 AH / 1316 CE), a vibrant city had mushroomed on this pasture east of Zanjan. Its primacy was symbolized by the huge mausoleum Öljeitü had built for himself (it is still the second-highest brick structure in the world). Scholars flocked to Sulṭāniya, where many scientific institutions had been built. We know that Hindūšāh finished a copy of another manuscript in nearby Suhraward, on the road to Sulṭāniya, one year after he had copied the *R. al-Manbaha* there (cf. Table 2). According to the colophon of Esad Efendi 1932, the copyist was in Sulṭāniya at the end of the summer (29 August), which is logical since the city, at 1800 m above sea level, was a summer capital.<sup>43</sup>

The most frequent place of copying mentioned in Esad Efendi 1932 is Tustar. This very old city (called Šūštar in Persian) lies far to the south, in the Iranian province of Ḥūzistān.<sup>44</sup> It was far from the base of Hindūšāh in north-western Iran and is not mentioned by him in any other of the manuscripts he copied. The colophon of item 17 (on fol. 97<sup>v</sup>) contains a telling indication. Hindūšāh mentions not only the city of Tustar but also the very building in which the copy was made: the Dār al-ḥadīṭ aṣ-Šāhibīya. A *dār al-ḥadīṭ* is an institution meant for teaching Muslim traditions.<sup>45</sup> In an Ilkhanid context, the adjective *šāhibīya* points to the Ğuwainīs, the family of Persian bureaucrats who controlled the Mongol administration until the years 681–683 AH / 1283–1284 CE.<sup>46</sup> The Ğuwainīs were called *Šāhib Dīwān* ('head of administration'), hence the adjective *šāhibī*. Hindūšāh was one of their protégés. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, who was their contemporary, says it explicitly: '[Hindūšāh] was one of these very learned *ulamas* fostered under the patronage of Šāhib' (*tarabbā fi ḥidma aṣ-Šāhib*), and for this reason he bore the *nisba* of aṣ-Šāhibī.<sup>47</sup> We also know that Hindūšāh copied two texts in the madrasa aṣ-Šāhibīya of Naḥḡawān (Laleli 31 and Atf Efendi 1390, cf. Table 2). With this in mind, the reference to the Dār al-ḥadīṭ aṣ-Šāhibīya of Šūštar makes perfect sense: Šūštar had been one of the territories of 'Aṭā' Malik Ğuwainī, the governor of 'Irāq and Ḥūzistān after being conquered by the Mongols. Further to which, Šūštar is not far from Īda, the winter capital of the Ata-

<sup>43</sup> Like all Turko-Mongol dynasties in Iran, the Ilkhans led an itinerant way of life that followed the seasons. Cf. Melville 1990 for the reign of Öljeitü.

<sup>44</sup> Bosworth 1998. Since Ḥamdallāh Mustaufī starts his description of Ḥūzistān with Šūštar/Tustar, we can surmise that it was the most important city of the province.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Sezgin 1960.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Biran 2011. For more detail, see Browne's introduction to the edition of Ğuwainī's *Ġahān-Gušā*, vol. 1, XIX–LVIII; Aubin 1995, 19–36; Lane 2003, 177–225.

<sup>47</sup> Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Maḡma'*, vol. 3, 225. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī met with Hindūšāh in the years 679 AH / 1280–1281 CE. The 'Šāhib' mentioned in this quotation was Šams ad-Dīn Ğuwainī.

begs of Luristān, to whom Hindūšāh dedicated the *Taḡārib as-salaf* (Fig. 12). The dates of the colophons mentioning Tustar (Šūštar) in Esad Efendi 1932 (714–715 AH / 1315–1316 CE) happen to correspond to the date of the oldest redaction of the *Taḡārib as-salaf* (714 AH / 1314 CE).<sup>48</sup>

In conclusion, the places mentioned in the colophons that do not identify the copyist fit perfectly what we know of Hindūšāh's biography. Let us turn now to the palaeographic features of Esad Efendi 1932.

### 3.2 Palaeographic evidence

Several hands are distinguishable in the manuscript. The hand of the last 90 pages (fols 305<sup>r</sup>–349<sup>v</sup>) is totally different from the parts signed by Hindūšāh. Conversely, the long texts until fol. 136<sup>v</sup> (item 29) are written by the same hand, in a neat *nash* like script. Moreover, this hand is consistent with Hindūšāh's hand in other manuscripts, such as his copy of Ibn Sīnā's *al-Išārāt*. The layout of text might be different (the lines are much shorter and more spaced for Ibn Sīnā's *al-Išārāt*); besides, the copy of *al-Išārāt* is entirely vocalized, which is very rare in Esad Efendi 1932. But as far as the script is concerned, they are very similar, as evidenced by the sample words *yakūn*, *fī*, *min*, *al-āḡhar* (Fig. 13).

Šahrazūri's *Commentary* of Suhrawardī (item 21), which takes up half of Esad Efendi 1932, deserves some attention. It lacks a colophon, but the hand seems to be the same as in the texts in Hindūšāh's hand (Fig. 14). Preceding the *Commentary*, however, are two pages not written by Hindūšāh. On fol. 139<sup>v</sup>, excerpts of the *Commentary* have been written in an unidentified hand. On fol. 140<sup>r</sup>, Hindūšāh's son has written an anecdote about Suhrawardī. The text starts with 'I have heard from my father ... Faḡr ad-Dīn Hindūšāh...'. Muḡammad b. Hindūšāh wrote this in 743/1342 (i.e. well after Hindūšāh's death) in the mad-rasa of Tabriz. The hand is clearly different, e.g. the final *nūn* or *sīn* is often stretched, unlike in Šahrazūri's *Commentary* (Fig. 15). For this reason, there is every reason to believe the *Commentary* was also copied by Hindūšāh.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> The dedicatee of the *Taḡārib as-salaf* was Atabeg Nušra ad-Dīn Aḡmad (r. 696 AH / 1296 CE to 730 AH / 1230 CE or 733 AH / 1333 CE). Like all the Atabegs of Luristān, he spent his summers in the high valleys of the Zagros and his winters on the fringes of the plain of Ḥūzistān. On the Atabegs of Luristān, cf. Spuler 1971 and 1987; Minorsky 1978; Ġahānbaḡš 1385/2006, 40–41.

<sup>49</sup> Mīr-Afḡdalī (1399/2020) refers to Hindūšāh's son addendum in arguing that Šahrazūri's *Commentary* could not have been copied by Hindūšāh. But Mīr-Afḡdalī does not take into consideration palaeography; neither does he explain why Hindūšāh's son would have copied such a long and complex philosophical text, very different from the kind of works he is known for,





**Fig. 13:** Palaeographic similarities between Esad Efendi 1932 (fol. 47') and Damad İbrâhîm Paşa 809 (fol. 52').



**Fig. 14:** Palaeographic similarities between the copy of Šahrazûrî's *Commentary* (*Šarḥ ḥikma al-išrāq*) in Esad Efendi 1932 and previous sections of Esad Efendi 1932.

while Hindūšāh's interest in philosophy is not only mentioned by Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, but also obvious from the nature of the texts copied by Hindūšāh in the parts of Esad Efendi 1932 that can be attributed to him (see below).



Most of the shorter texts are also in Hindūšāh's hand. Palaeographic similarities are obvious. For example, the texts appearing horizontally and vertically on fol. 70<sup>r</sup> have been copied by the same person (same hand, same ink) who copied the long texts, i.e. Hindūšāh. These similarities are confirmed at least on one occasion by the mention of Hindūšāh's own name after a short text. Indeed, on fol. 129<sup>r</sup>, a verse on pharmacopeia is introduced as 'the four-elements antidote, versified by the copyist, poor Hindūšāh' (*taryāq arba'a nuẓima kātibuhu al-faqīr Hindūšāh*). This formula mentions Hindūšāh as the author and the copyist of the verse. If most of the quatrains and short texts in prose are obviously by the hand of Hindūšāh, such is not the case for all of them. On fol. 72<sup>r</sup>, two quatrains, one written vertically (and probably written last) and one horizontally at the bottom of the page stand out for their script and ink.<sup>50</sup> For chronological reasons, a couple of short texts on fol. 129<sup>v</sup> and fol. 299<sup>r</sup> could not have been written by Hindūšāh.<sup>51</sup>

The paratexts (in the margin of the long texts) are often written in a distinctly different, clearer ink (cf. the clearer black ink on Fig. 2). Naturally, the notes in Ottoman Turkish (Figs 2, 4, 16) are not in Hindūšāh's hand.<sup>52</sup>

To sum up, three main parts can be distinguished in Esad Efendi 1932. The first part, from fol. 1<sup>r</sup> to fol. 139<sup>v</sup>, is a series of texts, mostly long excerpts in Arabic, intercalated with short texts (mostly Persian quatrains). Palaeographic analysis, in combination with contextual analysis of the colophons shows that this part was written down by Hindūšāh, with some minor addenda by his son and later owner(s) of the manuscript. The second part, from fol. 140<sup>r</sup> to fol. 298<sup>v</sup>, contains Šahrazūri's *Commentary*, also copied by Hindūšāh but introduced by a preface-like text added by his son. The third part, from fol. 305<sup>r</sup> until the end,

**50** See the binding of the *alif* to the next letter in the quatrain written vertically. The same holds for the two verses (from Anwārī) written vertically on fol. 134<sup>r</sup>.

**51** On fol. 129<sup>v</sup>, three verses from Salmān Sāwaġī (d. 778 AH / 1376 CE?) cannot be from Hindūšāh's hand since this poet was still a child during Hindūšāh's lifetime (Īmānī 1401/2022, 69). We note in the same section (fol. 129<sup>r</sup>) a new type of formatting (the various textual units are separated by a circled point of the same ink as the text, instead of a red line as elsewhere). Also not from Hindūšāh are the verses of Rukn ad-Dīn Bakrānī (d. 747 AH / 1346–1347 CE) on fol. 299<sup>r</sup>, since he is mentioned as deceased though Hindūšāh died before him (Īmānī 1401/2022, 61). Likewise, we can observe that a historical anecdote in Arabic, written hastily on the first page of the manuscript (fol. 1<sup>r</sup>), is quoted in Persian by Hindūšāh's son in his *Dastūr al-kātib*. The anecdote is about the visit of Caliph Hārūn ar-Rāšid (d. 193 AH / 809 CE) to the mausoleum of Simeon the Stylite; cf. Muḥammad b. Hindūšāh, *Dastūr*, 105–106.

**52** These notes are most probably by the Ottoman book-collector and public figure Es'ad Efendi (d. 1848), who owned this manuscript. On Es'ad Efendi's library and his personal *mecmū'as*, see Vatansever in this volume.

contains a series of texts copied into the manuscript at unknown date and not by Hindūšāh. Let's focus now on the aims pursued by Hindūšāh in copying the texts of the first part into the manuscript. Can we say he copied them for his own use?

## 4 How did Hindūšāh reference the excerpts?

At the beginning of each excerpt, Hindūšāh gives information about the source. Most of the time, he mentions the title of the book and, when relevant, the chapter. Hence, the first long item is 'What I have collected inside the eighth volume of the *Mu'ğam ahl al-adab*', for Yāqūt's *Mu'ğam al-udaba*' (*Dictionary of Learned Men*). The word *multaqaṭa* is the past participle of the verb *iltaqaṭa*, 'to gather, collect, pick up from the ground, glean'. Hindūšāh employed the same word to introduce several poems, 'picked up in an old compilation' (*haḍā multaqaṭāt min mağmū'a 'atīqa*) (fol. 68<sup>v</sup>). The action of excerpting is also referred to by the words *muḥtār min* ('selected from') (item 2). The excerpts on medicine from al-Mağūsī's *Kāmil aṣ-šanā'at* are introduced initially as *muḥtār min* (fol. 87<sup>v</sup>), then as *multaqaṭ min* (fol. 93<sup>v</sup>). *Nuqila min* merely means 'copied from' (item 6). A synonym is *nusha*, from the verb *nasaḥa*, 'to transcribe, copy', hence the copy of the letter by 'Aṭā' Malik Ğuwainī (d. 681 AH / 1283 CE) is introduced as *nusha kitāb katabahu al-maḥdūm ... 'Aṭā' Malik* ('copy of the letter written by our lord ... 'Aṭā' Malik') (item 4).<sup>53</sup>

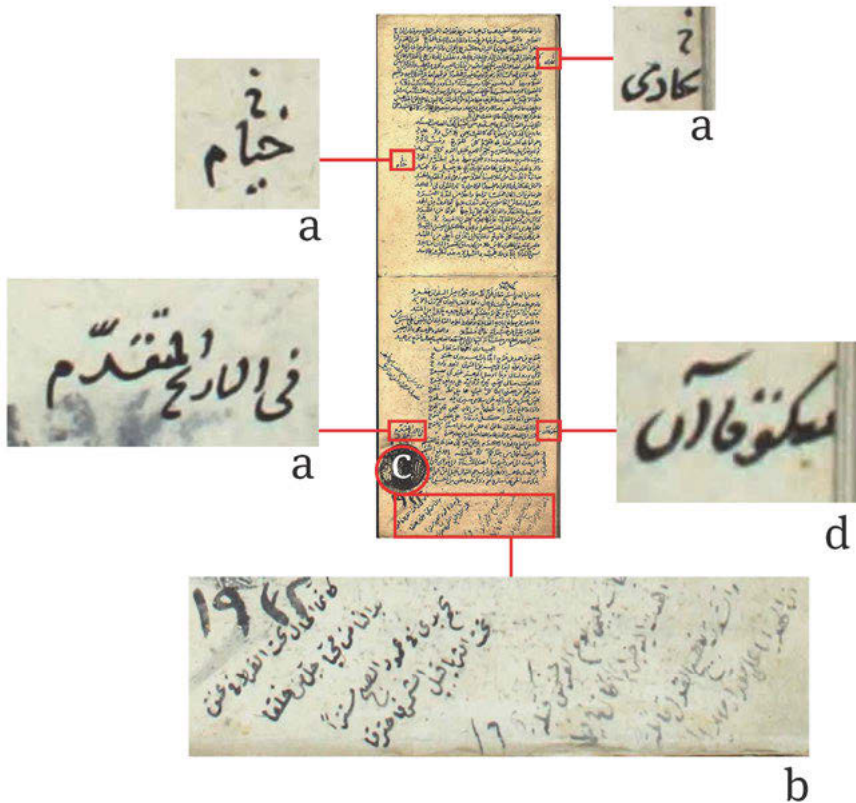
In a *nusha*, the transcription is precise. This explains why 'Mongke', the name of the Great Khan (d. 1260), appears in the margin of the letter authored by 'Aṭā' Malik Ğuwainī. This is a typical example of a secretarial practice called *mumtāz-niwīsī*, i.e. leaving blank the name of the ruler in the text and writing it in the margin (Fig. 16, section d).<sup>54</sup> Accordingly, the letter has been carefully proofread, as the addition in the margin proves (see *ḥayyām* under the typographic symbol *ḥā*, Fig. 16, section a). Indication of proof-reading appears elsewhere in the *bayāḍ*, at the end of a *risāla* and the end of the *iğāza* (the written authorization to teach on a book).<sup>55</sup> Conversely, a *malṭaqa* does not need to follow the source. This is very clear from the first item. Thus, in the last notice (on Zamaḥšarī, d. 538 AH / 1144 CE), based on Yāqūt's *Dictionnaire of Learned*

<sup>53</sup> In this sentence, *kitāb* does not mean 'book', but 'piece of writing, letter'.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Šaiḡ al-ḥukamā'ī 1390/2011.

<sup>55</sup> Esad Efendi 1932, fol. 76<sup>v</sup>: *qūbila bi-l-manqūl minhi*; fol. 135<sup>v</sup>: *qūbila bi-l-aṣl*.

*Men* (fols 10<sup>v</sup>–13<sup>v</sup>), we see that Hindūšāh has indeed ‘collected’ what interested him. He drops the general presentation, Zamaḥṣarī’s nickname, and a great deal of data. In place of the long anecdote detailing the circumstances in which Zamaḥṣarī lost his leg, Hindūšāh simply mentions this infirmity. Instead of *qaṣaba Ḥwārazm* (‘capital of Khwārazm’), he writes its name, ‘Ġurġāniya’. Instead of the long quotation from Zamaḥṣarī’s *Aṭwāq al-ḡahab*, Hindūšāh copies an epistolary exchange (fol. 11<sup>v</sup>) and verses (fols 11<sup>v</sup>–13<sup>v</sup>). Some of these verses are *nuqilat min kitāb al-Ḥarīda* (fol. 13<sup>v</sup>), i.e. ‘Imād ad-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī’s (d. AH 597 / 1201 CE) poetical anthology.



**Fig. 16:** Example of paratextual elements: (a) word insertion; (b) comments; (c) seal; (d) *mumtāz-niwīsī* (Esad Efendi 1932, fols 15<sup>v</sup> and 16<sup>r</sup>).

Hindūšāh always takes care to mention the sources, whatever the size of the texts. This is true of the longer excerpts (Table 3). But the author (or the title) is also mentioned for short quotations. For example, the two short texts on fol. 79<sup>v</sup> are ‘quoted from (*manqūl min*) Ibn Šāhīn’s commentary on the Qur’an, known as *al-Ġailāniyāt*’, and, for the second one, ‘from *al-Aqṭāb al-quṭbiya*, called *Ḥikma al-aḥmadiya fi mabāhiṭ al-aḥadiya*’. Similarly, the short quotations in verse come with the name of the poet. Sometimes, Hindūšāh adds additional data. For example, an eleven-verse *ġazal* is ‘from our master Bahā’ ad-Dīn Kāšī, who lives in Tabriz (*sākin bi-Tabrīz*), may God protect him’.<sup>56</sup> For quotations from autograph material, Hindūšāh says it by using the formula *min ḥaṭṭ* or, in Persian, *az ḥaṭṭ* (Table 4). On the basis of autograph material, it is easy to find a personal connection between Hindūšāh and the authors quoted.<sup>57</sup>

On fol. 16<sup>v</sup>, an anecdote (*qiṣṣa*) about Šabīb b. Šaiba al-Bašrī (d. c. 170 AH / 786–787 CE) is ‘from the notes (*min imlā’*) of my master Maḡd ad-Dīn ‘Alī son of al-Mu’ayyad, the astronomer/astrologer’. And on one occasion at least, Hindūšāh quotes an oral source: on fol. 129<sup>r</sup>, he has written down an anecdote ‘heard’ from one ‘Imād ad-Dīn Kirmānī (*az šāḥib-i sa’id-i šahīd Ḥwāḡa ‘Imād ad-Dīn Maḡmūd Kirmānī raḥimahū llāh šinīdam ki...*). This man told Hindūšāh about a dream he had: he saw the famous mystic Abū Ishāq Kāzirūnī (d. 426 AH / 1033 CE) handing him a prayer written on a piece of paper (*du‘ā bar kāḡadī*), which eventually led him to change his way of life – a striking *mise en abyme*, since we have a manuscript containing a quotation from a manuscript seen in a dream.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Īmānī 1401/2022, 63. This Bahā’ ad-Dīn Kāšī is also quoted in the *Safīna-yi Tabrīz*.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Table 4: ‘Aṭā’ Malik Ġuwainī (fol. 14<sup>v</sup>) was Hindūšāh’s patron; Šafī ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭiqṭaqā (fol. 44<sup>v</sup>) was the father of Ibn aṭ-Ṭiqṭaqā, whose chronicle was adapted into Persian by Hindūšāh; Faḡr ad-Dīn Naḥḡawānī (fol. 75<sup>r</sup>) lived in Kairān, the hometown of Hindūšāh; Šadr ad-Dīn at-Tustarī (fol. 98<sup>r</sup>) is unknown to me, but he was alive when Hindūšāh copied his handwriting, and from his *nisba* we can infer that Hindūšāh met him in Tustar/Šūštar, the most frequently mentioned place in the colophons.

Table 4: Quotations from autograph material in Esad Efendi 1932

Fol.	Item	Formula referring to the autograph material	Translation
14 <sup>v</sup>	Item 4	<i>wa-nuqila min haṭṭihi mā haḍihi ṣūrātuhu</i>	Copied from his [Ĝuwainī] handwriting exactly as it is [in the original] [cf. Table 3]
44 <sup>v</sup>	Short Texts 4	<i>nuqila min haṭṭ as-sayyid as-saʿīd Ṣaḥīḥ ad-Dīn ʿAlī aṭ-Ṭīqṭaqā raḥimahū llāh fī tartīb kitāb aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ</i> [followed by three Arabic verses without attribution]	Copied from the handwriting of the fortunate Sayyid Ṣaḥīḥ ad-Dīn ʿAlī aṭ-Ṭīqṭaqā, may God have mercy on him, in his copy of the <i>K. aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ</i>
75 <sup>v</sup>	Short Texts 6	<i>az haṭṭ-i amīr-i ḥākim qudwa as-sālikīn</i> <i>Faḥr ad-Dīn Dailamšāh Naḥḡawānī sākin-i Kairān taḡammadahū llāh naql karda ast</i> [followed by three lines in Arabic]	Copied from the handwriting of the learned amir, model of the Sufis, Faḥr ad-Dīn Dailamšāh Naḥḡawānī, who lives in Kairān; may God protect her
98 <sup>v</sup>	Short Texts 9	<i>nuqila min haṭṭ al-maulā al-muʿazzam šaiḥ šuyūḥ az-zamān ṣadr al-ḥaqq wa-d-dīn šaiḥ al-warā at-Tustarī muniʿa l-muslimūn bi-tarkihi ḥayātīhi (?) aṣ-šarīfa wa-l-manqūl ḥaḍā min k. al-Ḥuḡub li-š-šaiḥ al-ʿarif Muḥyi ad-dīn b. al-aʿrābī fī bāb Ḥiḡāb kitmān al-maḥabba li-Amīr al-muʿminīn Hārūn [?]ar-Rašīd raḍīya llāh ʿanhu</i> [followed by eight Arabic verses]	Copied from the handwriting of the great master, shaykh of all the shaykhs of our time, leader in the religion, the shaykh of all the mortals, at-Tustarī; may the Muslims be prevented from the departure of his noble life, and the excerpt is this: ‘from the book <i>The Curtains</i> by the Shaykh the Mystic Muḥyi ad-Dīn Ibn al-Aʿrābī [= Ibn ʿArabī, d. 638/1240] in the chapter “The curtain veiling affection”, [verses] to the Amir of the Believers Hārūn ar-Rašīd; may God be pleased with him’
130 <sup>v</sup>	Short Texts 12	<i>nuqila min haṭṭ al-fāḍil al-marḥūm Ṣams al-milla wa-d-dīn Ibn al-[illegible word] al-Baḡdādī raḥimahū llāh taʿālā</i> [followed by two Arabic verses] <i>ayḍān nuqila min haṭṭihi raḥamahu llāh taʿālā</i> [followed by two Arabic verses]	Copied from the handwriting of the late learned Sun of the Religion, Ibn al-[illegible word] al-Baḡdādī; may God have mercy on him  Also copied from his handwriting; may God have mercy on him

## 5 Why did Hindūšāh copy these texts?

In Islamic manuscripts, there is a marker of personal use: it is the formula *kataba li-nafsihi* and its many variants, written by the copyist in the colophon. Literally, it means ‘he wrote it for himself’. For example, this is what a student of Hindūšāh wrote after copying the commentary on Suhrawardī by Quṭb ad-Dīn aš-Šīrāzī (d. 710 AH / 1311 CE):

وقد فرغ الشارح - قدس الله نفسه و روح رسمه - من تصنيف هذا الشرح في رجب سنة أربعة و تسعين و ستمائة هجرية و كتبت هذا الكتاب لنفسي من نسخة صحيحة منقولة عن نسخة المصنف بخط مولانا و أستاذنا و مخدمنا سلطان الحكماء المحققين ... فخر الحق و الدين هندوشاه الصاحبى

‘The commentator [i.e. Quṭb ad-Dīn aš-Šīrāzī], may God bless his soul and refresh his tomb, finished writing this commentary in the month of raḡab of 694 [May–June 1295]. I have copied this book for myself from a sound copy made from the original by our master, teacher, and lord, the sultan of the philosophers, ... Faḥr ad-Dīn Hindūšāh aṣ-Ṣāḥibī.’<sup>58</sup>

The copyist tells us that he copied the text from a copy made from a holograph version by Hindūšāh; the copyist also tells us that he made this copy *for himself*. Florian Sobieroj has studied a sample of manuscripts with such colophons in the present volume. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī wrote a note concerning a scholar who ‘copied a lot of manuscripts for himself (*kataba al-kaṭīr li-nafsihi*)’.<sup>59</sup> Schmidtke and Pourjavady assume that Ibn al-Fuwaṭī’s note refers to Hindūšāh.<sup>60</sup> This is, however, untenable as explained elsewhere.<sup>61</sup>

Even without this explicit formula *kataba li-nafsihi*, a wide array of elements indicate personal use. As Gacek observes in his vade mecum for readers of Arabic manuscripts, ‘primarily, and in the majority of cases, manuscripts were copied for private use’.<sup>62</sup> Since the formula *kataba li-nafsihi* is found only in a minority of manuscripts, it means that a great number of Islamic manuscripts copied for personal use lacked this clear marker. In other words, any manuscript without a clear dedicatee could be, by default, ‘copied for private use’. For the texts copied by Hindūšāh into Esad Efendi 1932, however, the case for personal use can be made on the basis of several elements. The most im-

<sup>58</sup> Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Turhan Valide 207, fol. 147<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> Ibn al-Fuwaṭī *Maḡma*, vol. 1, 182–183 (notice of Abū l-Faḍl Daulatšāh b. Saṅḡar b. ‘Abd Allāh aṣ-Ṣāḥibī al-Adīb al-Kātib, on him see Durand-Guédy forthcoming).

<sup>60</sup> Ibn Kammūna, *As’ila*, IX, n. 2; XIX.

<sup>61</sup> Durand-Guédy forthcoming.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Gacek 2009, 197.



portant of these is that the folios copied by Hindūšāh passed to his own son. This fact is indisputable proof Hindūšāh had in his possession at least the first part (fols 1–139) making up Esad Efendi 1932. The manuscript's format is also conspicuous. Manuscripts of the *bayāḍ* type (pages flipped from the bottom or the top) were usually personal copies, although not always.<sup>63</sup> Regarding Esad Efendi 1932, the folios extremely small dimensions and its tiny script, are very much in keeping with personal notes carried by a frequently travelling scholar.

In answering questions about formatting, the absence of the Arabic texts' vocalization in prose (in contradistinction to Hindūšāh's copy of Ibn Sīnā's *al-Išārāt*) is quite indicative of personal notes taken by a master of the Arabic language.<sup>64</sup> The script is usually regular, but it is not systematically so. Many short texts, as well as the last part of some long texts was obviously written down hastily (e.g. end of item 1 on fol. 13<sup>v</sup>; end of item 17 on fol. 97<sup>v</sup>).<sup>65</sup> Far more conclusive is the way Hindūšāh sometimes filled the empty spaces between the long excerpts with as many texts as possible. For example, after Niẓāmī's *qaṣīda*, neatly written in two columns, with a large space between the hemistichs, Hindūšāh has copied several shorter poems (by Šams ad-Dīn Ğuwainī) first horizontally, then vertically upward (fol. 135<sup>r</sup> on Fig. 17). The same can also be seen in *Safīna-yi Tabrīz*, although the script and layout are remarkably regular, even for quatrains.<sup>66</sup> It is difficult to imagine such a layout being a manuscript produced for a patron.

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**63** Among the three other *bayāḍ* manuscripts copied in Ilkhanid Iran (cf. note 14), the copyist of one of them (Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Carullah Efendi 2078) indicates the number of folios filled by each *risāla* (treatise) at its end. This indication was unnecessary if he copied the texts only for himself. Conversely, the *bayāḍ*s of Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi millī, 992 and Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4821 are very probably copied for personal use.

**64** Arabic verses are more consistently vocalized, to dispel ambiguity. However, Arabic prose on fol. 76<sup>v</sup> and fol. 97<sup>v</sup> is vocalized.

**65** The quality of the script cannot be the decisive criterion for a personal copy: Abū l-Mağḍ Tabrīzī wrote with care inside the manuscript known today as the *Safīna-yi Tabrīz*, and it is fully established he produced it for himself. On the issue of 'sloppiness', cf. this volume, the contributions of Sobjieroj, Bauden and general introduction.

**66** Verses written vertically in the *Risāla al-qaṣīya*, pp. 704–710 of the facsimile edition (corresponding to item no. 192 in the table of contents drawn up by Seyed-Gohrab 2007, 35–42).

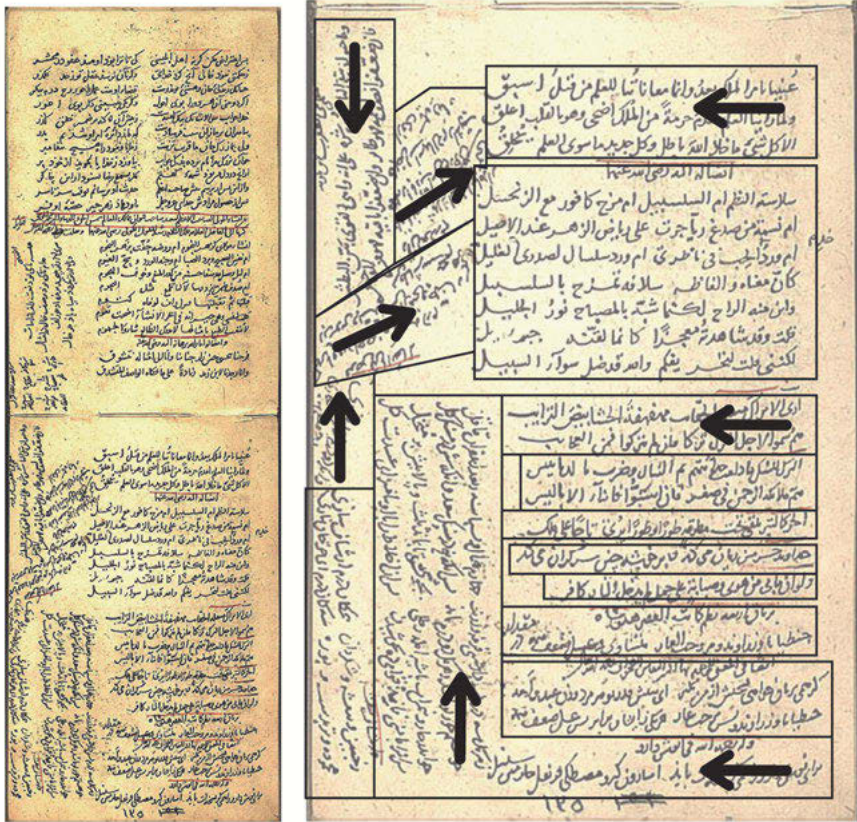


Fig. 17: Left: fols 134<sup>v</sup>–135<sup>r</sup>. Right: sequencing of Esad Efendi 1932, fol. 135<sup>r</sup> (arrows indicate direction of reading).

Finally, the very nature of the material copied would make sense only in a manuscript made for personal use. The thematic heterogeneity of the excerpts in the first part of Esad Efendi 1932 mirrors Hindūšāh’s personal interests. In Yāqūt’s *Dictionary of Learned Men*, Hindūšāh has selected six scholars among hundreds (item 2), and it is easy to understand why he selected these six. Faḥr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī (606 AH / 1209 CE) was one of the greatest and most systematic thinkers of Islam, and his compendium *al-Ma‘ālim fī uṣūl ad-dīn* has been commented on many times. Hindūšāh’s own interest in him is visible in his copying of several sections of the *bayāḍ*: Kātibī Qazwīnī’s (d. 675 AH / 1276 CE) commentary on *al-Ma‘ālim* (item 19), as well as a commentary on Kātibī’s commentary (item 21). From Yāqūt’s, Hindūšāh also collected data on the Egyptian poet Ibn Sanā’ al-

Mulk (d. 608 AH / 1211 CE), famous for his *muwaššahāt* (a late type of stanzaic poetry). Hindūšāh's interest in Arabic poetry is well known. Significantly, the *iğāza* that appears in the first part of Esad Efendi 1932 is for a treatise on Arabic syntax written in the form of *muwaššahāt* (item 25).<sup>67</sup> As for the four other scholars selected by Hindūšāh, they were like him Iranian specialists in the Arabic language.<sup>68</sup>

The first part of Esad Efendi 1932 contains several excerpts from treatises on medicine<sup>69</sup> and syntax.<sup>70</sup> Hindūšāh's interest in these topics goes back to the time he was a student. Indeed, in a rare biographical digression in the *Tağārib as-salaf*, Hindūšāh recalls that he studied ophthalmology (*kaḥḥālī*) along with syntax (*naḥw*) and hadith in the al-Mustanširiya madrasa of Baghdad.<sup>71</sup> Several of the short poems and short quotations in prose in the first part of Esad Efendi 1932 also have medical content. For example, on fol. 129<sup>r</sup>, we find a short poem on the noxiousness of hashish (*maḍamma al-ḥašīš*), allegedly by Anwarī.<sup>72</sup> Five folios further, we find four short poems (*qiṭ'a*) by a poet from Naḥḡawān with an obvious interest in pharmacopeia.<sup>73</sup> Hindūšāh added a verse of his own compo-

**67** The *iğāza* is for *al-muwaššah fi šarḥ al-Kāfiya* ('the commentary in strophes on *al-Kāfiya*') of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ḥabīšī (d. 731/1330–1331). It was a commentary on Ibn al-Hāḡib's (d. at earliest in 609 AH / 1212–1213 CE) *al-Kāfiya*, a popular work of syntax (*naḥw*), cf. *GAL*, vol. 1, 312–322.

**68** The subjects of these notices are Abū Bakr al-Anbārī (d. 328 AH / 940 CE), who was a prolific philologist from Baghdad, cf. *GAL*, vol. 1, 122–123; Abū Muḍar Maḥmūd b. Ġarīr ad-Ḍabbī al-Išfahānī (d. 507 AH / 1114 CE), a Mu'tazilite from Ḥwārazm, who taught grammar and literature; his famous compatriot and pupil, az-Zamaḡšarī (d. 538 AH / 1144 CE), who was the author of a hugely popular book on Arabic grammar and of an Arabic–Persian dictionary, cf. *GAL*, vol. 1, 345–350; and finally, Rašīd ad-Dīn Waṭwāt (d. 578 AH / 1182–1183 CE), also a resident of Ḥwārazm, who authored several works on stylistics, cf. *GAL*, vol. 1, 275–276.

**69** 'Alī b. 'Abbās al-Maḡūsī's (d. 384 AH / 994 CE) *Kāmil aš-šinā'a aṭ-ṭibbiya* (excerpted in item 16) is one of the most important treatises on medicine after those of Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) and Rāzī (the analysis of this work is the backbone of Ullmann 1978, the standard study on Islamic medicine). Ismā'il Ġurḡānī's (d. 530 AH / 1135 CE) *Daḡīra* (excerpted in item 17) is the first medical encyclopaedia in Persian, based on Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna)'s *Canon*. As-Siḡzī's (fl. 500/1106) *Īdāḡ* (item 8) is not as famous.

**70** al-Yamanī's (d. 680 AH / 1282 CE) *al-Muḡnī fi 'ilm an-naḥw* (excerpted in item 6) was another commentary on Ibn al-Hāḡib's *al-Kāfiya* (cf. note 56).

**71** Hindūšāh, *Tağārib*, 347.

**72** The same verses have been attributed by others to the Khurasani poet Ibn Yamīn (d. 769 AH / 1368 CE), and even more hypothetically to Ibn Sīnā. Cf. Īmānī 1401/2022, 61–62.

**73** The first poem starts with *gar hamī taryāq ḥwāhī nušḡataš az man bigīr* ('if you want an antidote, ask me for a prescription'); the second is also about an antidote (*anūš-dārū*); the third is on unguent (*šiyāf*); and the last one is on a pill made of sap (*qurš kaḡrabā*). Cf. Īmānī

sition on the same subject (see above section 3.2).<sup>74</sup> On the ‘title page’ (fol. 1’), there is an eight-line theoretical text on medicine which also fits Hindūšāh’s interests (Fig. 6, section B).<sup>75</sup> Hindūšāh also copied a letter of ‘Aṭā’ Malik Ğuwainī (item 4), which shows his enduring loyalty to his former patrons (at the time this letter was copied into the manuscript, obviously in 714 AH / 1315–1316 CE, the fall of the Ğuwainīs had happened thirty-five years earlier).

Hindūšāh copied two other letters (items 12 and 29) of Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī (d. 672 AH / 1274 CE), ‘the foremost philosopher of the school of Avicenna throughout the Muslim world’ (*dixit* Madelung) – and a protégé of the Ğuwainīs.<sup>76</sup> Hindūšāh copied a short answer that Ṭūsī made to his colleague Naḡm ad-Dīn Kātībī Qazwīnī. From the latter, Hindūšāh copied a commentary on Rāzī (item 19). From Ismā‘īl Ğurḡānī, Hindūšāh not only made excerpts from his famous medical compendium, he also copied the little known *Risāla al-Manbaha* (item 10).<sup>77</sup> The commentary on Ibn Sīnā by the Āḍarbaigānī born philosopher Sirāḡ ad-Dīn al-Urmawī (d. 682 AH / 1283–1284 CE) belongs to the same category (item 28).

The towering figure of Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī also appears in a panegyric *qaṣīda* addressed to him, followed by Ṭūsī’s answer (item 26). Another *qaṣīda* copied by Hindūšāh (item 14) is from Niḡāmī Ganḡawī, the great poet of Arrān (close to Hindūšāh’s home region). Other lesser-known poets quoted in the Short Texts are linked to Naḡḡawān or to the Ğuwainīs (cf. Table 1). Firdausī (d. 416 AH / 1025 CE ?), who versified Iran national epic, is quoted only for the satire of the work’s parsimonious dedicatee (Short Texts VI).<sup>78</sup> This particular piece goes well with the *qaṣīda* on joking that Hindūšāh included in the manuscript

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1401/2022, 64. *Taryāq* (not to be given its modern meaning, ‘opium’) and (*a*)*nušdārū* both refer to preservative medicines.

74 Hindūšāh’s versified recipe starts with *ḡinṡianā ū zarāwand ū murr ū ḡabb al-ḡār mutasāwī* (‘Gentiana, aristolochia, myrrh, laurel berries in equal quantity’).

75 The text starts with *ad-dawā allaḡī yatanāwalu-hu al-insān fa-ammā in yakūn aṡarahu fī al-badan baiyīnan au ḡayr, fa-in kāna aṡ-ṡānī ...* (‘Whatever medicine a person ingests, either its effect is visible on the body, or it is not visible; in the latter case...’).

76 Madelung 2000, 1.

77 Its main subject is how to cope with earthly desires. This treatise is not mentioned in the list that Ibn Funduq Baihaqī gives of Ismā‘īl Ğurḡānī’s books (Ibn Funduq Baihaqī, *Tatimma*, 173). Rūḡullahī (1393/2014) supposes that this work is the same as the ‘letter’ written by Ismā‘īl Ğurḡānī to his friends and mentioned by Ibn Funduq.

78 Firdausī, who spent thirty years putting the Iranian epic into some 50,000 verses, is said to have received such a small reward from Maḡmūd of Ğazna (d. 421 AH / 1031 CE), the conqueror of India, that he distributed the sum to the workers of a public bath, fled Ğazna, and wrote a lampoon in verse. Cf. Khaleḡhi-Motlagh 1999.

(Short Texts VIII). In a nutshell, the texts in the first part of Esad Efendi 1932 have nothing in common, except the personal tastes of Hindūšāh.

To sum up the argument so far, the first part of Esad Efendi 1932 (fols 1–136) is beyond reasonable doubt an assemblage of texts written out by Hindūšāh for his personal use. It is also clear that the existing manuscript has a complex history, about which we know little, and that history might explain some problems. For one thing, nothing proves that the various bundles copied by Hindūšāh were bound by him into one volume before his death. If they were not, it would explain why the dates mentioned in the colophons do not follow a strict chronological order (see above).

## 6 Conclusion: What does Esad Efendi 1932 tell us about Hindūšāh?

The first 136 folios of manuscript Esad Efendi 1932 are a collection of texts copied by Hindūšāh over a period of at least six years in the second decade of the eighth/fourteenth century.<sup>79</sup> Evidence in favour of personal use is compelling: the type of manuscript (small size folios, written and bound as a modern notepad); the possession of the manuscript by Hindūšāh's son; the nature of the material copied by Hindūšāh; and some particularities in the formatting.

What does the manuscript tell us? The amount of material found solely in this manuscript is very small (some verses of pre-Mongol poets, and most of the poets who were contemporaries of Hindūšāh). Conversely, it is an exceptional source for shedding more light on the intellectual life of the Ilkhanid period.<sup>80</sup> We do not know what Hindūšāh intended to do with these notes, how he used them, and whether he had a bigger project in mind. What the *bayāḍ* shows, however, is the persistence of his interest in medicine, and in 'all kinds of *ḥikma* and also the techniques of *adab*' (as wrote his contemporary Ibn al-Fuwaṭī) over the years. Of the first 136 folios, philosophy fills 122 pages and medicine 82 pages. History is absent. While Hindūšāh is known among Orientalists and modern

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<sup>79</sup> According to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, Hindūšāh taught in a madrasa of Baghdad in 679 AH / 1280–1281 CE. If we suppose he could not have been younger than twenty-five years old by then, he was no younger than sixty-two (solar) years at the date of the oldest colophon of the *bayāḍ* (714 AH / 1315 CE).

<sup>80</sup> The intellectual life of Ilkhanid Iran has been studied in depth by Corbin 1971–1972, as well as by Gramlich 1965–1981; Lewisohn 1995; Schmidtke and Pourjavady 2006; and Pfeiffer 2014.

scholars as the author of a chronicle (with little interesting historical value), Esad Efendi 1932 portrays a scholar deeply familiar with the intellectual debates of his time. For poetry and medicine, Hindūšāh copied mostly pre-Mongol, authors. But for philosophy, we see him taking notes on the authors who were active in the second half of the seventh/thirteenth century (Ṭūsī, Kātībī Qazwīnī, Šahrazūrī, Ibn Kammūna, Sirāḡ ad-Dīn al-Urmawī). All these authors belong to what Dimitri Gutas has called ‘mainstream Avicennism’, in ‘the golden age of Arabic philosophy’.<sup>81</sup> It is as if Hindūšāh was keeping alive his interest in the authors that had dominated the intellectual life of Baghdad when he himself was studying there. It happens that all these authors also benefited from the favours of Hindūšāh’s patrons, the Ğuwainīs: the Ğuwainīs put Ṭūsī in charge of the scientific complex at Marāḡa; his associate Kātībī Qazwīnī dedicated his famous work on logic, *ar-Risāla aš-Šamsīya*, to Šams ad-Dīn Ğuwainī; Ibn Kammūna was patronized by Šams ad-Dīn Ğuwainī at least from 671 AH / 1273 CE (incidentally, Ibn Kammūna dedicated one of his works to Hindūšāh’s brother<sup>82</sup>); as for Sirāḡ ad-Dīn al-Urmawī, he was *qāḍī* in Anatolia when the region was controlled by Šams ad-Dīn Ğuwainī.<sup>83</sup> Conversely, the three long excerpts in Esad Efendi 1932 that are not by the hand of Hindūšāh (items 34, 36, 37 on the last 44 folios) do not only stand out because they are in a different hand, but also because their authors do not belong to this ‘Ṭūsī generation’. Hindūšāh’s notes may therefore be seen as a tribute to this period, and it also bears the nostalgia of it.

### Acknowledgements

I am deeply indebted to Bihrūz Īmānī, who kindly shared with me in 2019 a digital copy of the manuscript under study as well as a draft of his article on its poetical quotations. I am also very thankful for the help of Mohammad Karimi Zanjani Asl in clarifying numerous reading issues, and to A.C.S. Peacock for helping me put my hands on the manuscript in Istanbul in May 2022. I am indebted to the Süleymaniye Library for the photographs of the manuscript.

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**81** Gutas 2002. ‘Arabic philosophy’ refers to philosophy in Arabic. For a detailed analysis of these Avicennian philosophers, see Corbin 1971–1972, vol. 2 (entitled *Sohrawardī et les Platoniciens de Perse*). Cf. Corbin 1986 and Nasr and Leaman 1375/1996. Although dated, Iqbal’s dissertation is still interesting, especially since the Punjabi scholar shared with Hindūšāh much of his philosophical orientation (Iqbal 1908).

**82** It is Ibn Kammūna’s *al-Kāšif*. Cf. Schmidtke and Pourjavady 2006, 87–88.

**83** On Urmawī’s biography, see Marlow 2010.

## Abbreviations

*DMBI* = *Dāyirat al-ma'ārif-i buzurġ-i islāmī*, Tehran: Markaz-i Dāyirat al-ma'ārif-i buzurġ-i islāmī, ed. Muḥammad-Kāzīm Buġnūrdī, started in 1367 š. / 1988 CE.

*EI*<sup>2</sup> = *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New edition*, multiple editors, Leiden: Brill, 11 vols and one volume of supplement, 1960–2004.

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

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

*Iranica* = *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater, 16 vols in print (London: Routledge / New York: Kegan Paul; then Costa Mesa: Mazda; then New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press); online edition: <https://iranicaonline.org/>.

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Élise Franssen

# aş-Şafadī's *taḍkira* and its Holograph in Princeton University Library

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

## 1 Introduction

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

This paper is part of a broader project on aş-Şafadī and his methodology. Over recent years there has been increasing interest in Mamlūk authors' methodology: Frédéric Bauden's work on al-Maqrīzī,<sup>3</sup> Maaïke van Berkel's on al-

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

2 Franssen 2022b studies aş-Şafadī's readings and thus approaches his *taḍkira* as well.

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

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

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

## 2 aṣ-Ṣafadī and the Mamlūk period

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

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<sup>4</sup> Van Berkel 1997.

<sup>5</sup> Muhanna 2012; Muhanna 2018; Muhanna 2020.

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

<sup>7</sup> Rosenthal 2012.

<sup>8</sup> Paul 1994.

<sup>9</sup> aṣ-Ṣafadī's bio-bibliography is found in Rowson 2009. See also, a.o., as-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 10, 5–32 (no. 1352); Ibn Taḡribirdī, *Manḥal*, vol. 5, 241–257; Ibn Taḡribirdī, *Nuḡūm*, vol. 11, 19–21

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

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

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

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

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

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

**12** Van Berkel 2013; Muhanna 2013; Muhanna 2018.

**13** Some of them have already been cited and others will be cited in the coming pages. The poets Ibn Nubāta and Ibn Dāniāl, the *littérateur* as-Suyūṭī, the historians al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Ḥaḡar al-'Asqalānī, Ibn Taḡribirdī, the chancery secretary al-Qalqaşandī, the *ḥadīṭ* scholar as-Saḡāwī, the encyclopedist an-Nuwairī, the theologian Ibn Taimiyya... It could be interesting to compare aṣ-Şafadī's methodology to that of his peers. See also Bauden's contribution in this volume for another insight into Mamlūk scholars' methodology.

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

**15** Edition: al-Bakkūr 1998.

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

### 3 What is a *taḍkira*?

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

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

<sup>16</sup> Dekkiche 2011, 255–260; Martel-Thoumian 1992, 133–136.

<sup>17</sup> Rosenthal 2012; Sellheim 1976–1987, vol. 1, 200–201; vol. 2, 111; Rowson 2009, 345. See also Paul 1994.

<sup>18</sup> See Franssen 2022b, 124–140.

<sup>19</sup> See also Bauden in this volume.

<sup>20</sup> *GAL*, vol. 1, 236; *GAL S*, vol. 1, 884.

<sup>21</sup> *GAL*, vol. 1, 281; *GAL S*, vol. 1, 493.

<sup>22</sup> See note 51 below for more details about the term *safīna* and its various meanings and see the introduction of this volume by Durand-Guédy and Paul for an attempt of definition of the *safīna*.

<sup>23</sup> Bauden 2019, 36, n. 171.

ological order of the readings and writing activities of its owner, but examples of thematic *taḍkiras* are also known.<sup>24</sup>

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

<sup>24</sup> According to his student as-Saḥāwī, the historian Ibn Ḥağar al-'Asqalānī used to keep two *taḍkiras*, one for belles-lettres (*at-taḍkira al-adabiya*) and the second one for the Islamic traditions (*at-taḍkira al-ḥadiṭiya*). as-Saḥāwī adds that since the *taḍkiras* were not arranged in chapters, they contained many repetitions. as-Saḥāwī, *al-Ğawāhir*, vol. 2, 694–695, 771; Ritter 1953, 81–82. See also Bauden in this volume.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. al-Qalqaşandī, *Şubḥ*.

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Manzūr's *taḍkira* was entitled *Taḍkirat al-labīb wa-nuzhat al-adīb*; it is a main source for al-Qalqaşandī's *Şubḥ*; cf. vol. 14, 70 and *passim*; about Ibn Manzūr, famous above all for his large-scale dictionary *Lisān al-'Arab*, see Fück 2012; *GAL*, vol. 2, 21; *GAL S*, vol. 2, 14. About Ibn Faḍl Allāh's *taḍkira*, see *Şubḥ*, vol. 7, 29; about Ibn Faḍl Allāh himself and his family counting many important chancery secretaries, see Salibi 2012; *GAL*, vol. 2, 141.

<sup>27</sup> See a.o. aṣ-Şafadī, *A yān*, vol. 3, 546–555, no. 1237; az-Zirikli 2002, vol. 5, 23.

<sup>28</sup> Ibn Quṭlūbuğā, *Tāğ*, 85. See also Bauden in this volume.

<sup>29</sup> Otherwise lost *zağals* by Ibn Quzmān were recorded in it, see Hoenerbach and Ritter 1950, 267; Heinrichs, de Bruijn and Robinson 2012. On Ibn Mubārakşāh, see az-Zirikli 2002, vol. 1, 157.

<sup>30</sup> Richardson 2020.

<sup>31</sup> Vatansever 2022; cf. Vatansever in this volume.



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

## 4 aṣ-Ṣafadī's *taḍkira*

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

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

<sup>33</sup> Ann Blair 1996.

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

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

trait, told of how when they were both in Damascus, Ṭāšbuḡā would borrow volume after volume of his *taḍkira*, and study them.<sup>36</sup>

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

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

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

36 aṣ-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, vol. 2, 585.

37 Edition: Sālim 2005.

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

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

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

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

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

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

umes, he mentioned it on the title page with this phrase: ‘[The book on] simile has been finished from it [this volume]’ (*nağiza at-tašbih min-hu*).<sup>44</sup> This confirms the function in aṣ-Şafadī’s working method of the *taḍkira* as a reservoir of material for future works.

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

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

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

<sup>44</sup> as-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 10, 7.

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

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

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

<sup>48</sup> Pertsch 1878–1892, vol. 4 (1883), 169–170.

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

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

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

<sup>49</sup> On *tawqī'* script, the typical Mamlūk chancery script, see Gacek 2009, 263–265.

<sup>50</sup> Van Ess 1976, 246.

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

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



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

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



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

## 5.1 Paratext

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

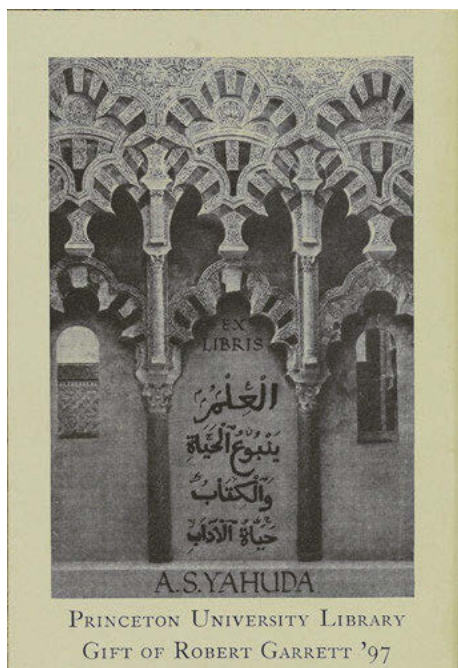


Fig. 3: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, doublure of the upper board.

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



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

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

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

1. من نعم الله على عبده | محمد الحافظ القدسي | عفي عنه
2. في نوبة أحقر عباد الرحمن | احمد بن محمد بن شعبان | الحنفي [seal] العبد الحقير الى الرحمن احمد بن محمد بن شعبان | ؟ [exergue]
3. الحمد لله رب العالمين | ثم ملكه | الفقير الى الله تعالى عبد القادر | بن محمد الحريري عفا الله عنه
4. الحمد لله | من كتب الفقير الى عفو ربه إبراهيم بن | محمد الصالح الشافعي ع[في عنه؟]
5. الحمد لله رب العالمين | قرا في هذا الكتاب المبارك وطالعه فيه الفقير الى الله تعالى | المعترف بذنبه الراجي عفو ربه وغفرانه وغفرانه [sic] | علي بن ابراهيم بن علي المعري الشافعي اللهم اغفر له ولوالديه ولمن قراه | ودعى له بالمغفرة ولجميع المسلمين آمين يا رب العالمين | وكتب بتاريخ رابع ربيع الاول سنة احدى وثمانمئة
6. هو | استصحبه الحقير عفت | كان الله له
7. ساقه المقادر للعبد | الفقير شرف الدين | المقدسي العسياني (؟) | القاضي بالمنزلة | مؤقتا | عفي عنه [seal] بشرني ؟ | ... عفت | الأقدار



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

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

8. ملكه الفقير الحقيير إليه سبحانه | وتعالى | شرف الدين العسياني (؟) القاضي | بالمنزلة

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

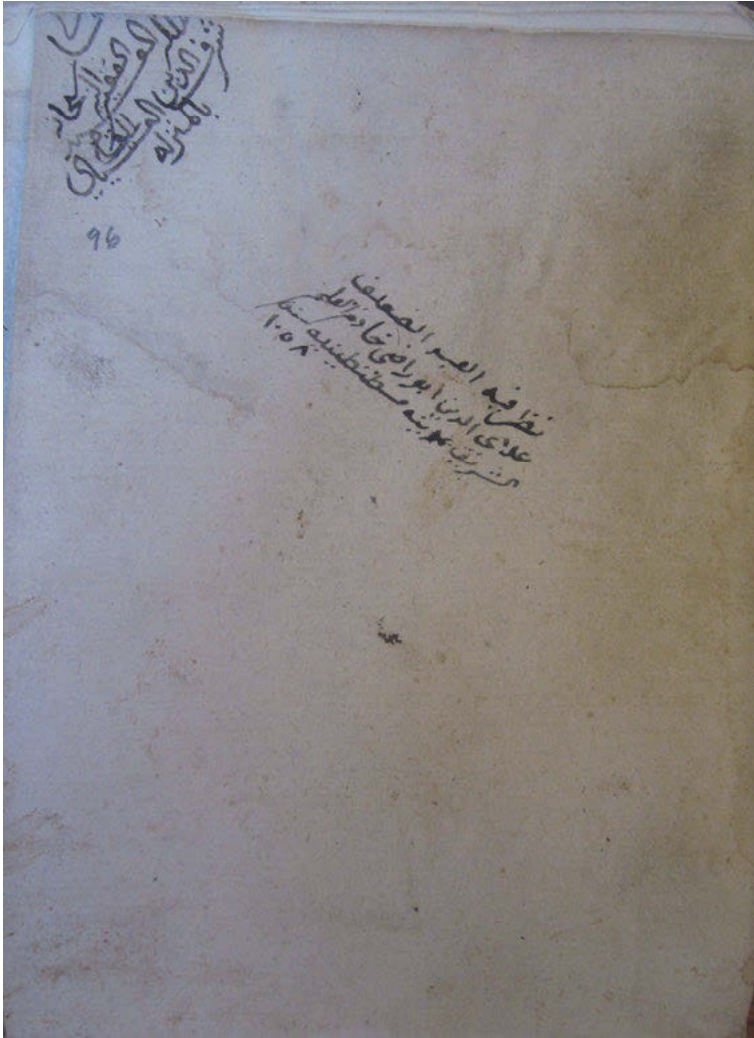


Fig. 5: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 96 [= 95b].

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

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

10. نظر فيه تقي الدين

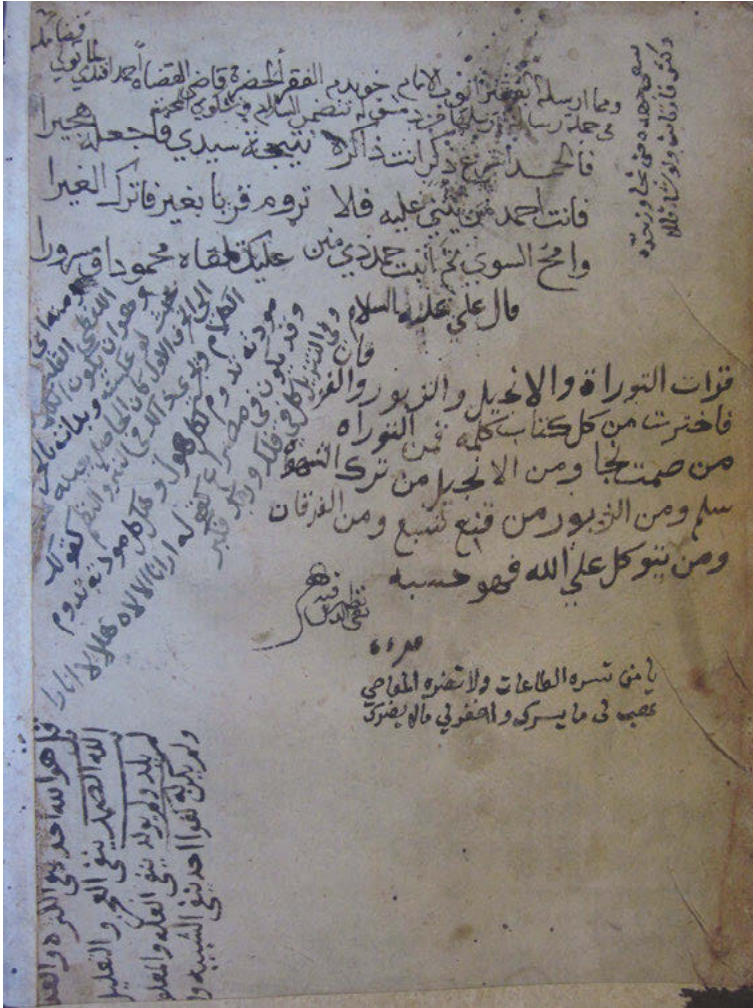


Fig. 6: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, last guard-leaf.

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

(see item number 5 on Fig. 4). It informs us that ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ma‘arrī aš-Šāfi‘ī read and studied this volume of the *taḍkira*. He attested of his reading and studying on 4 Rabī‘ I 801 / 14 November 1398, only thirty-five years after aš-Šafadī’s death. Unfortunately, he is not cited in the most important biographical dictionaries of the period (al-Maqrīzī’s *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda*, az-Ziriklī’s *al-A‘lām*) and one only finds a namesake in aḍ-Ḍahabī’s *Mu‘ǧam aš-šuyūh*. Conversely, it was possible to identify the owner who wrote mark number 2. This Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ša‘bān al-Ḥanafī also owned a volume of al-Maqrīzī’s *Muqaffā*, now Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Pertev Paşa 496 (the first volume of an apograph, that is a scribal copy of the holograph).<sup>59</sup> His complete name was Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ša‘bān al-‘Umarī aṭ-Ṭarābulusī al-Maǧribī. He was born in Ṭarābulus in Libya and acted as a hanafite *qāḍī* in different towns (Damietta, Istanbul and finally Ṭarābulus) before his death in 1020 AH / 1611 CE. Note number 9 is a consultation note by ‘Alā’ ad-Dīn Abū Rāḍī, *ḥādīm al-‘ilm aš-šarīf* (‘servant of the noble science’), who consulted the manuscript in Istanbul (‘Qusṭanṭīniya’) in 1058 AH / 1648 CE. The ownership marks number 7 and 8 are related to the same person: Šaraf ad-Dīn al-Maḳdisī al-‘Asyānī (?), *qāḍī* of al-Manzala, a coastal village in the Bāniyās region in Syria. The first mark has been signed by Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Qudsī, another Jerusalemite.

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

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

<sup>59</sup> Bauden 2020, 246.

<sup>60</sup> Thanks to Ukeles 2017, we know that Yahuda preferably bought ancient scholars’ libraries that had remained inside the family for centuries.

<sup>61</sup> On collation marks and statements, see Gacek 2009, 65–69.



another author copied by aṣ-Ṣafadī and attest his careful rereading of his own copy. The *buliḡa* mark is to be seen in the margin of a text composed by aṣ-Ṣafadī that was read aloud in public, as attested by an *iḡāza* (permission to teach and transmit a certain text, see below), in two sessions; this marginal mention showed where the reading of the first session had stopped. The margins also contain other annotations, such as additions or corrections. The latter are signalled by a symbol (we find the usual ۲, or simple, rounded vertical traits, see Fig. 18), most of the time finish with the *صح* sign, indicating ‘it is correct now’, and could be by aṣ-Ṣafadī or by later readers.<sup>62</sup>

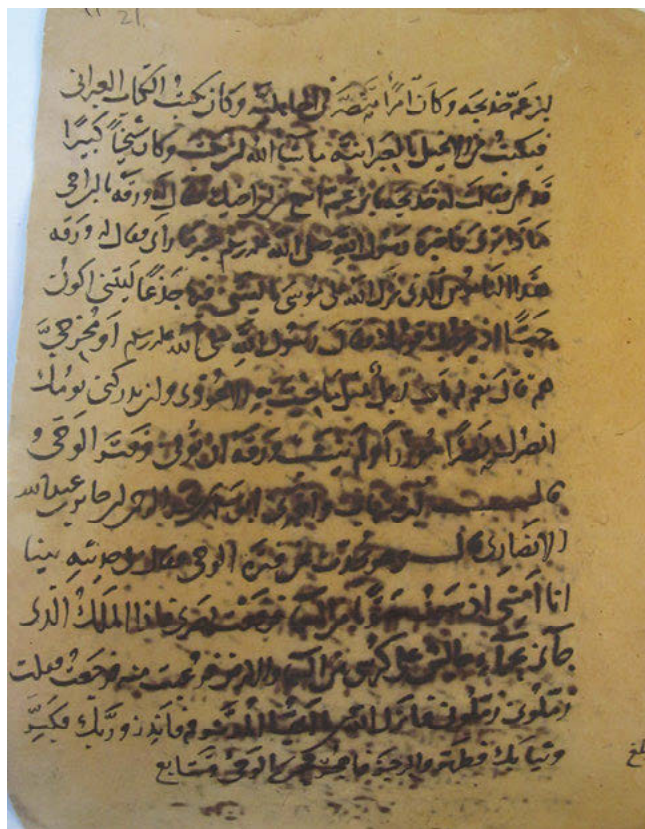


Fig. 7: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 21b: marginal collation mark.

<sup>62</sup> On this, see Gacek 2001, 82; Gacek 2009, 250–251.

## 5.2 Quires, quire numbering, foliation

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

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

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

### 5.3 Papers

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

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

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

<sup>64</sup> Humbert 1998, 21–22, 31–32.

<sup>65</sup> Beit-Arié 1996, 11; Beit-Arié 1999, 48.



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



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

<sup>66</sup> The first paper of manuscript BnF, Arabe 5915, see Humbert 1998, 24–25, 43. For details about the manuscript and the scan of its microfilm, see <http://archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc329442>.

<sup>67</sup> Beit-Arié 1996, 11; Beit-Arié 1999, 48.

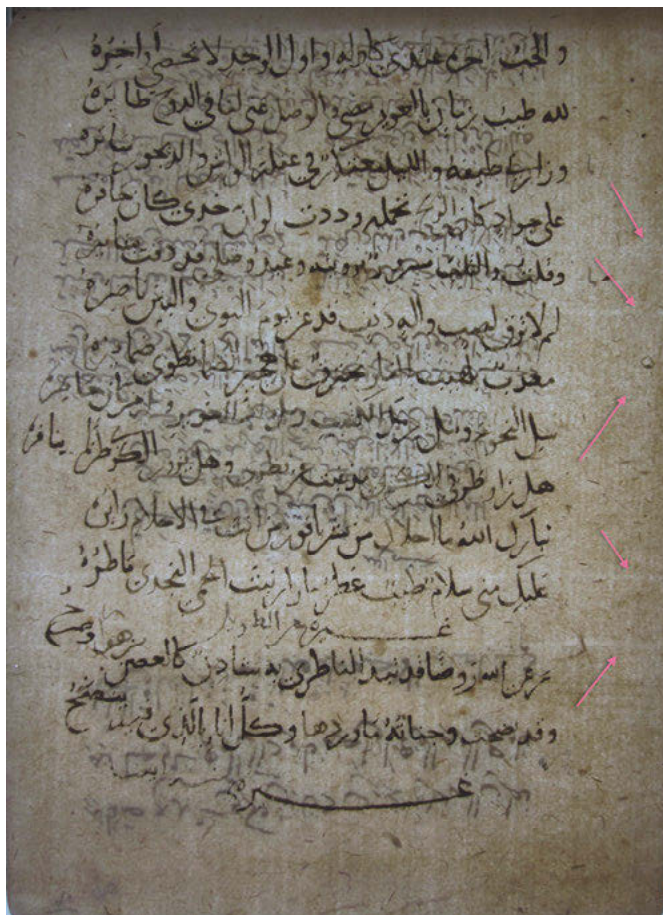


Fig. 9: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 91: second white paper.

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

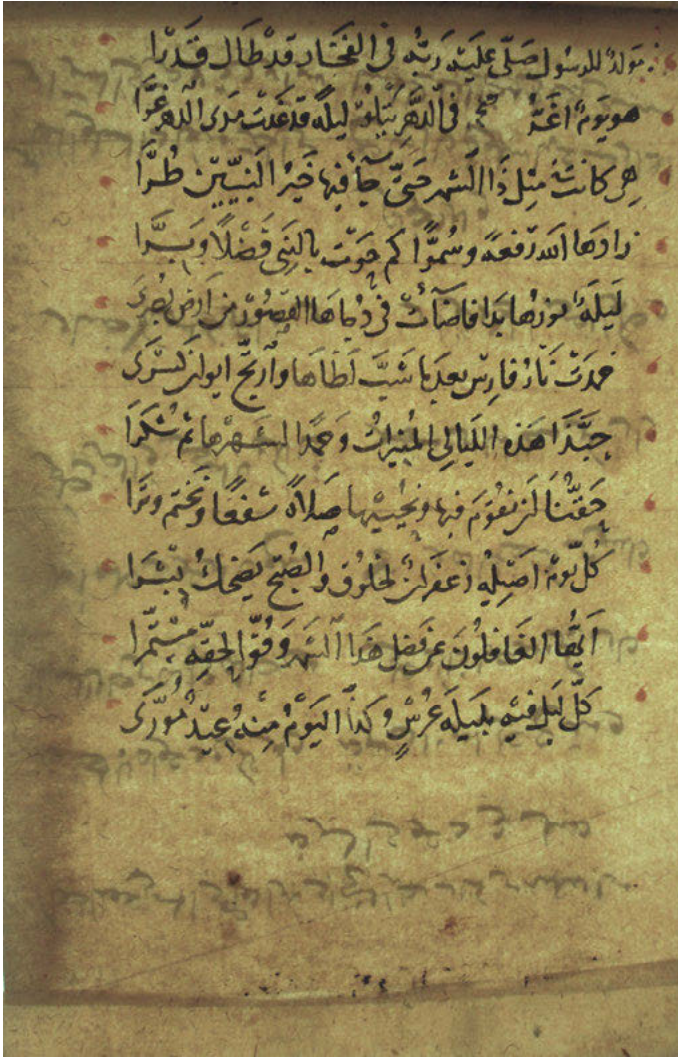


Fig. 10: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 17: third white paper.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



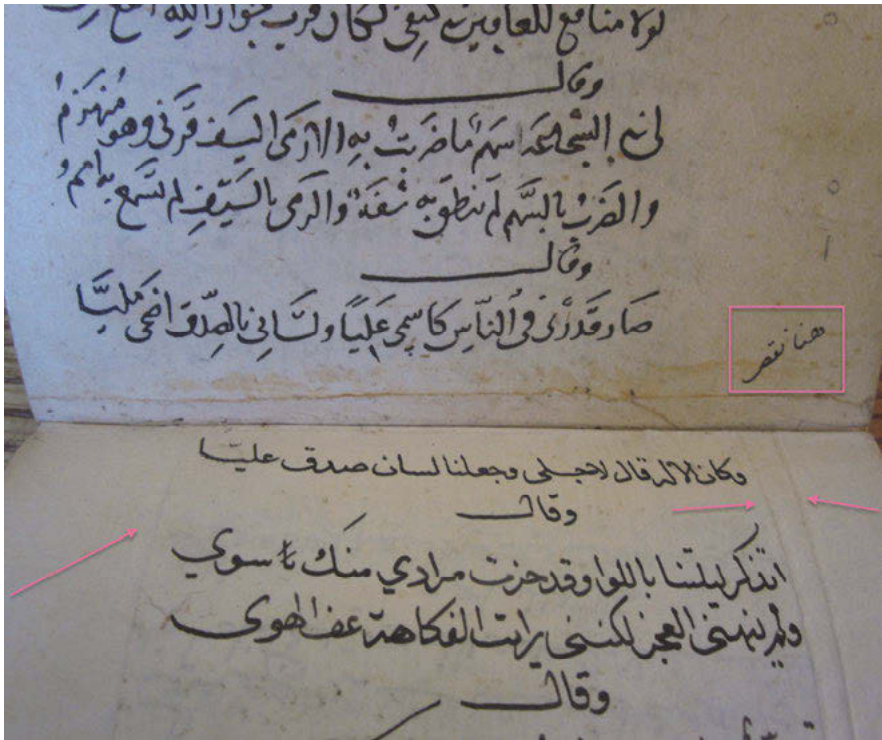


Fig. 11: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 78b: indication of lacuna.

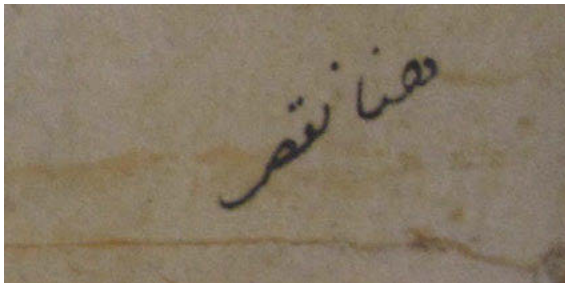


Fig. 12: Detail of Fig. 11.

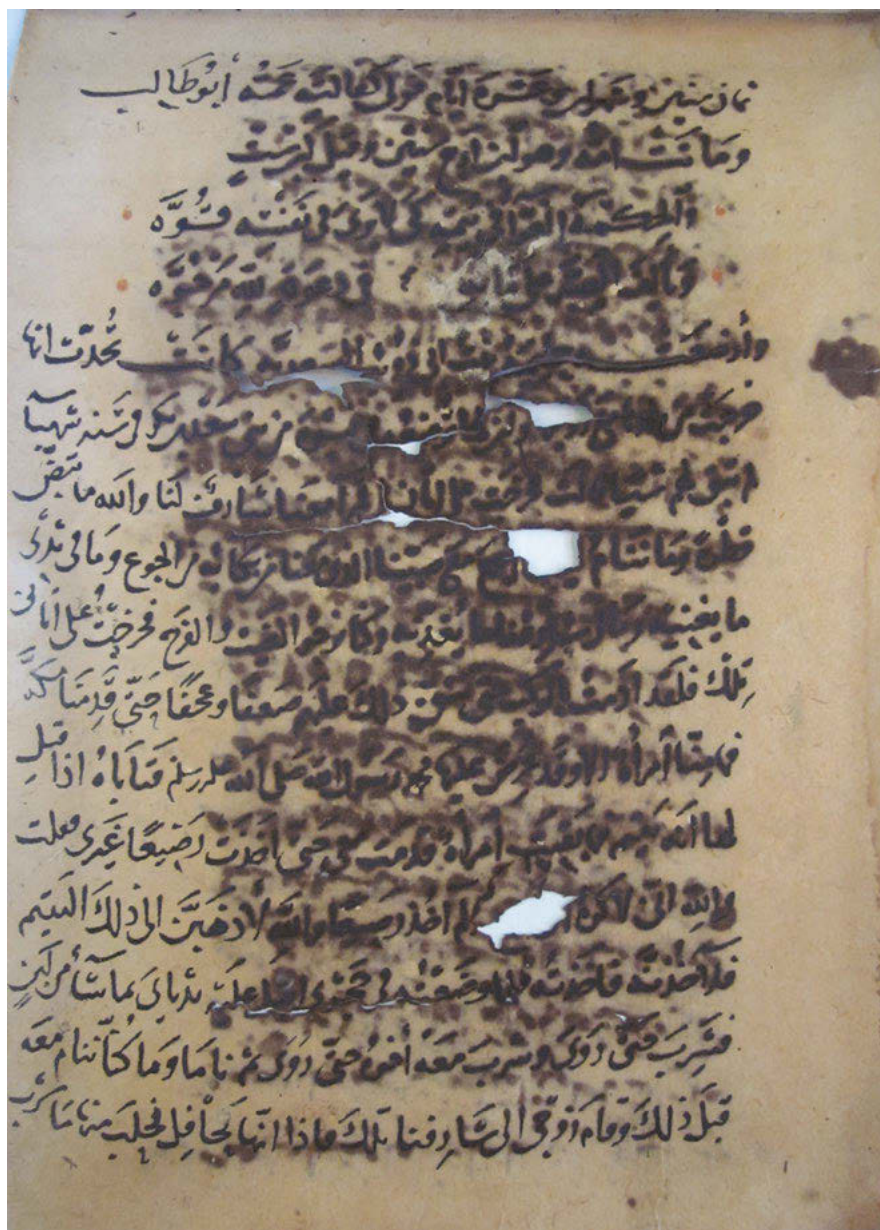


Fig. 13: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 18, damaged yellow paper.

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



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

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

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

<sup>73</sup> Baker 1991, 32 (Fig. 5); Loveday 2001, 46 (Fig. 7).

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

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

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

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**75** Gacek 2009.

**76** Bloom 2001, 58.

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

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

**79** Humbert 1998, 34.

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

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



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

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

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

<sup>82</sup> Karabacek 2001, 49; Loveday 2001, 52; Bosch, Carswell and Petherbridge 1981, 34–35.

<sup>83</sup> al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 6, 193.

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 قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم لما أذنبت آدم الذي أذنبت  
 رفع رأسه إلى العرش فقال أسألك بحق محمد الاغفر لي يا وحي  
 الله اليه وما محمد من محمد فقال تبارك اسمك لما خلقتني وبعثت راسي  
 إلى عرشك فاذا فيته مكتوب لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله فعلت انه لس  
 احد اعظم عندك قدرا بمن جعلت اسمع مع اسمك يا وحي الله عز وجل اليه ما  
 آدم انه آخر النبيين فزد نبيك وامته اخرا الامم فزد نبيك ولولا عونا  
 آدم ما خلقناك قال الطبراني لا روى عن عمر الابدال الاسناد  
 تفرد به احمد بن عبد الفرياني واخوه الحاتم بن محمد بن  
 وهو صلى الله عليه وسلم دعوة ابراهيم . وذكر ان برؤ على الاكباد  
 فكلم ابراهيم . وذلك نص في الكتاب العزيز . ودليله  
لا يحتاج إلى تعزيز وهو قوله تعالى ربنا وابعث فيهم رسولا  
 منهم يتلو عليهم آياتك ويزكيهم ويعلمهم الكتاب والحكمة  
 وهو صلى الله عليه وسلم اخبار موسى عليه السلام لانه جاء في التور  
 في الفصل العشرين من السفر الخامس ان الرب جاء من طور سيناء واسر  
 من ساعير واسبعلى فزجبال فاران ومعه عن منيه ربوات العاسر  
 فيهمم العدم فزجبتهم إلى الشعوب ودعا لجميع قدسنيه بالبركة

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



Fig. 16: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 31: foldings.

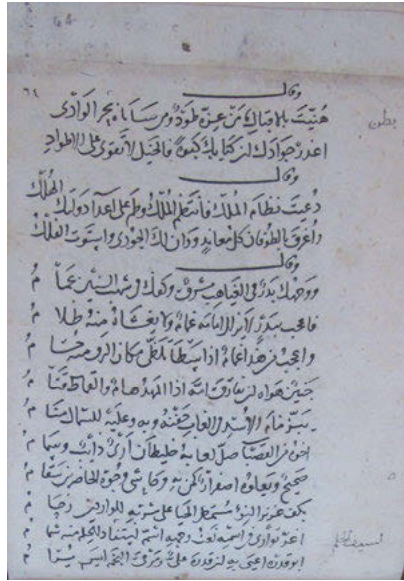


Fig. 17: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 64b: lengthened folio. See also the quire signature in the lower part of the image.

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

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

<sup>85</sup> Bauden 2004.

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

#### 5.4 *Mise en page*

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

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

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<sup>86</sup> On notebooks, see Durand-Guédy and Paul's introduction to this volume.

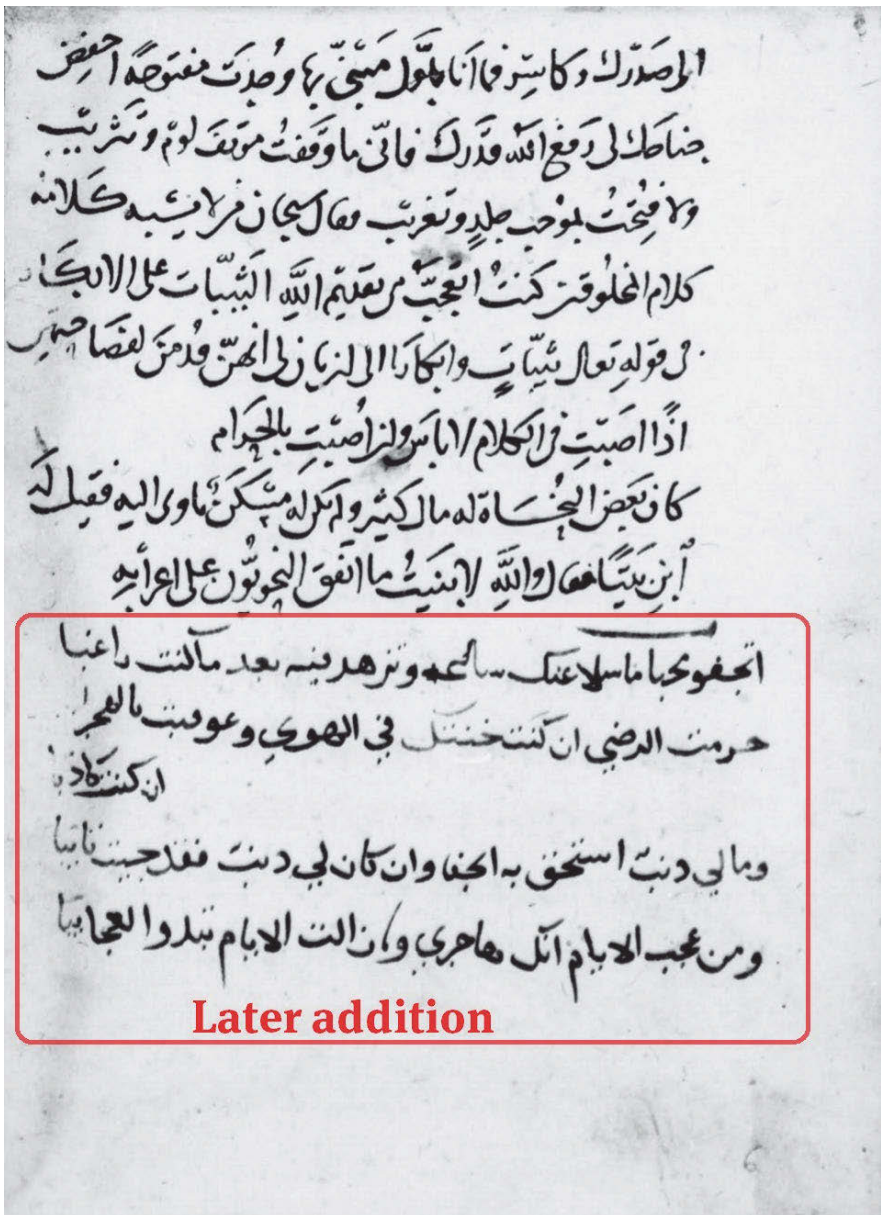


Fig. 18: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 6a: blank space left at the end of the page. See also the folded note visible in the lower part of the image.



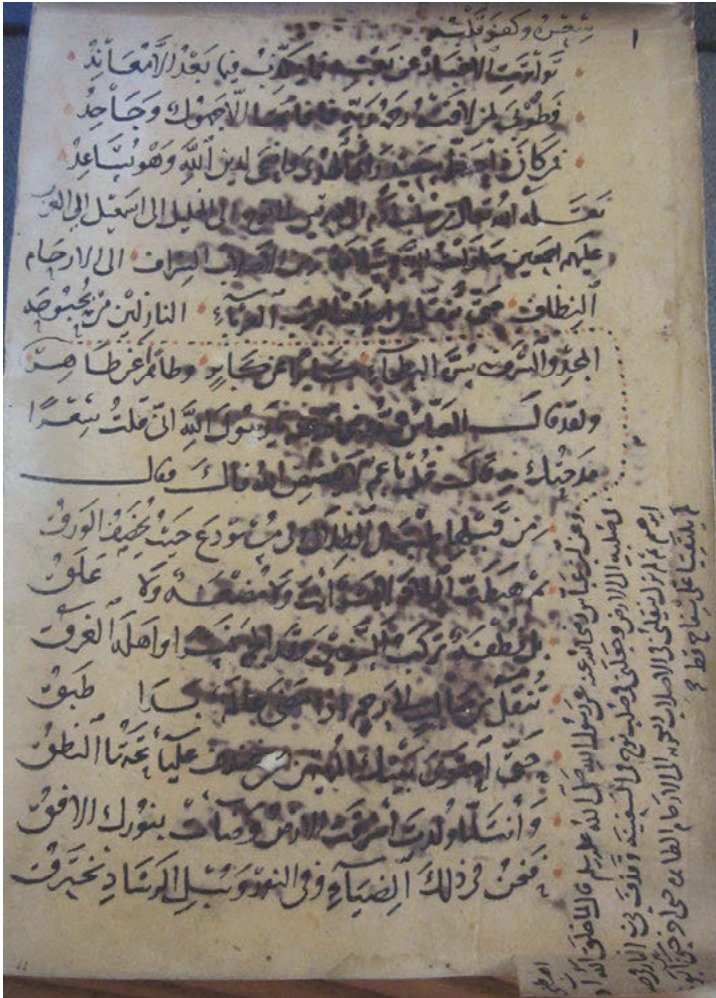


Fig. 19: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 11: care for the layout.

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

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

## 6 The Princeton manuscript of the *taḍkira*: Contents

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

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

<sup>87</sup> See aṣ-Šafadī, *al-Wāfi*, vol. 6, 375–376 (no. 2878).

<sup>88</sup> Edition: 'Āyiš 2007.

<sup>89</sup> A detailed study of the context of composition and transmission of the text is under preparation.

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

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

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

<sup>90</sup> *GAL*, vol. 1, 386; *GAL S*, vol. 1, 668.

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

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

<sup>93</sup> See Franssen 2022b, 133–134.

<sup>94</sup> The pair no. 85, in the chapter *rā'*, is missing in the *taḍkira*, as well as the last example in the chapter *sīn* (no. 162), and sometimes the third person of the plural (*yaqūlūna*) is found instead of the passive *yūqālu* and vice versa.

<sup>95</sup> See aṣ-Ṣafadī's *Faḍḍ al-ḥiṭām 'an at-tawriya wa-l-istiḥdām* and *Ġinān al-ḡinās fi 'ilm al-badī'*.





Fig. 20: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 43: care for the layout: titles of chapters centred and written in red. See also the quire signature in the upper part of the image.

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

<sup>96</sup> GAL, vol. 1, 252; GAL S, vol. 1, 446.

<sup>97</sup> On Arabic metrics, see Capezio 2013.

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

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

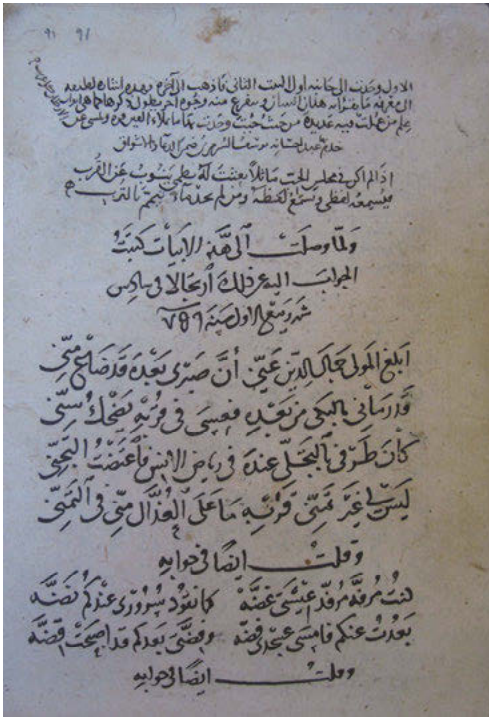


Fig. 21: PUL, Garrett 3570Y, fol. 91b: example of aş-Şafadī's '5'.

## 7 Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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<sup>98</sup> al-Maqrīzī, *Durar*, vol. 2, 77–78, esp. 77.

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

### Acknowledgements

This contribution was written during my Marie Skłodowska-Curie Grant (grant agreement 749180) project 'RASCIO', 'Reader Author Scholar in a Context of Information Overflow. How to manage and master knowledge when there is too much to know?' and is part of a broader project about aṣ-Ṣafadī and his working method approached through his notebooks, among other sources of information. I would like to thank Jürgen Paul and David Durand-Guédy for their support, patience and kind understanding.

## Abbreviations

BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

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

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

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

PUL = Princeton, Princeton University Library.

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

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Horikawa Yasufumi

# The Diary of a *Shintō* Priest in Medieval Japan

**Abstract:** In medieval Japan, many social elites wrote diaries to accumulate precedents, which prescribed political customs and the conduct of ceremonies. Due to their importance as both a reference for precedents and family patrimony, medieval diaries were studied and preserved for generations. The importance of personal diaries increased for social elites through the tenth and the eleventh centuries, corresponding to the discontinuation of official compilations, the formation of highly ritualized court society, and the formation of hereditary family status and expertise. This article focuses on the diary of Yoshida Kaneatsu (吉田 兼敦) (1368–1408) and introduces his efforts to create a valuable diary. In so doing, the article aims to demonstrate some characteristics of medieval diaries.

## 1 Introduction

Diaries are, at their most basic, daily (or at least frequently noted) records of events written by a participant or immediate observer; the entries are normally dated. Today, the word ‘diary’ usually refers to private diaries in which authors record experiences and events around them and express their inner thoughts and feelings. Although some diaries are intended to be shared with others, most diaries remain secret or available only to a limited audience.

In ancient and medieval Japan,<sup>1</sup> however, personal diaries<sup>2</sup> (日記 *nikki*)<sup>3</sup> had different functions and values, which will be discussed in this chapter.

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**1** The terms ‘medieval period’ and ‘medieval Japan’ refer to the period from the late eleventh to the late sixteenth century. Medieval Japan is characterized by a unique political-economic structure called the *shōen* (莊園) system and the foundation of the two military governments called the Kamakura *bakufu* (鎌倉幕府) and the Muromachi *bakufu* (室町幕府) respectively. The terms ‘ancient period’ and ‘ancient Japan’ refer to the period from the seventh to the late eleventh century when the Imperial Court played a major role.

**2** Following previous research, this chapter uses the word ‘personal diaries’ to refer to the diaries written by individuals not as a part of their public duties in order to distinguish them from ‘official diaries’ compiled at public offices, such as those of the Imperial Court. ‘Personal diaries’ were usually named after authors, whereas ‘official diaries’ were named after the

In Japan, diaries from ancient and medieval periods have survived in relatively large numbers when compared to other regions such as Europe and East Asia.<sup>4</sup> These diaries are essential and fundamental historical sources for the study of Japanese history. In particular, due to surviving sources being far less frequent than for later periods, the historiography of diaries, termed 古記録学 (*kokirokugaku*, ‘the studies of old diaries’), has been highly developed.<sup>5</sup> In these studies, various aspects of diaries, such as author’s attitudes and efforts to make valuable diaries, material aspects, relation to other historical records, secondary uses, and preservation and management, have been explored. In recent years, scholars also started to take a comparative approach to the study of these diaries.<sup>6</sup> Building on such previous research, this chapter discusses some of the important characteristics of personal diaries.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first will cover the development of personal diaries and elucidate the historical background, particularly in relation to the structural transformation of the Imperial Court during the tenth

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public offices at which they were compiled. For example, the official diary kept by the Secretaries’ Office (外記局 *gekikyoku*) is called 外記日記 (*geki nikki*, the diary of *geki*). For official diaries, see Takahashi Hideki 2005, 16–20.

**3** In the ancient and medieval periods, the meaning of the word ‘日記’ (*nikki*) was not limited to ‘diaries’ in the modern sense. It also referred to (1) reports on incidents such as fire, thefts, losses, (2) lists and accounts of things, (3) the genre of the literature called literary diaries (日記文学 *nikki bungaku*) which includes essays, memoirs, poetic works, and travel records that take the form of diaries. The word *hinamiki* (日次記) refers to the most common form of the personal diaries discussed in this chapter, while other forms of personal diaries include *bekki* (別記) and *burui* (部類). For further discussion on the meanings of *nikki*, see Takahashi Hideki 2005, 8–15.

**4** For an introduction of major diaries in ancient and medieval Japan, see Hashimoto Yoshihiko et al. 1989. Kuramoto Kazuhiro 2015, iii-iv. Arashi Yoshindo points out that although personal diaries would have been written in China, most of them were integrated into official chronicles or were not considered something to be disseminated, and thus few original diaries survived. In Europe, on the other hand, personal diaries emerged from the thirteenth century as the sense of individualism developed, according to Nejime Kenichi. See Arashi Yoshindo 1989 and Nejime Kenichi 1989.

**5** For the historiography of personal diaries in ancient and medieval Japan, see Momo Hiroyuki 1988–1989; Saiki Kazuma 1989; Gomi Fumihiko 1998; Onoe Yōsuke 2003; Takahashi Hideki 2005; Motoki Yasuo and Matsuzono Hitoshi 2011; and Matsuzono Hitoshi and Kondō Yoshikazu 2017. For scholarship in English, see Piggott and Yoshida Sanae 2008 and Adolphson 2018, 302–303, 313–314. The discussion in this chapter, especially that of the first section, largely builds on those previous studies.

**6** In February 2020, the Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo held an international conference entitled ‘Nikki shiryō no kanōsei 日記史料の可能性’ (‘the potential of historical diaries’) in which premodern diaries from East Asia were comparatively discussed.

and eleventh centuries. The second section is a case study; discussing a specific example of a medieval diary, that of the diary of Yoshida Kaneatsu (吉田 兼敦) (1368–1408), a *shintō*<sup>7</sup> priest of the late Nanbokuchō (南北朝, 1334–1392) and the early Muromachi (室町, 1393–1467) periods.

## 2 Development of personal diaries in Japan

### 2.1 The emergence of personal diaries

The production of diaries dates back to the seventh century. *Nihon Shoki* (日本書紀), the first official chronicle of Japan, and its annotated version from the late thirteenth century quotes several 書 (*sho*, ‘documents’) and 日記 (*nikki*, ‘diaries’) attributed to individual officials.<sup>8</sup> It suggests that these *sho* and *nikki* of individual officials were submitted to the Imperial Court as materials for the compilation of *Nihon Shoki*. But these *sho* and *nikki* were probably different to personal diaries: individual officials most likely wrote them as part of their public duties. That being the case, the *sho* and *nikki* are more accurately classified as ‘official diaries’.

The earliest extant personal diary can be found in the Shōsōin Archives (正倉院文書 *Shōsōin monjo*) which contain a number of ancient records preserved at the Tōdaiji Temple Construction Agency (造東大寺司 *Zō Tōdaiji shi*).<sup>9</sup> This diary survives as detached segments of the scroll calendar (具注曆 *guchūreki*)<sup>10</sup> for the eighteenth year of Tenpyō (746) and contains brief records for ten out of fifty-three days in the margins of the calendar. This diary is thought to have been written by one Shibinomaro (志斐麻呂), a low-ranking official of the Agency, and to have been preserved with the intention of its reverse side being reused in the future.

Although fragments of personal diaries from the seventh and eighth centuries exist, it was only at the turn of the tenth century that several diaries appeared featuring substantial content, such as the diaries of Emperors Uda (宇多)

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7 The term ‘*shintō*’ (神道) is a catch-all term for the so-called indigenous religion of Japan, as opposed to foreign religions such as Buddhism and Christianity. For the development of *shintō*, see Inoue Hiroshi 2011 and Itō Satoshi 2012. See in English, Hardacre 2016.

8 Kuroita Katsumi 2000, 255, 270; Kuroita Katsumi 1999, 199–200.

9 Historiographical Institute 1968, 570–574.

10 For *guchūreki*, see Yoshida Sanae 2008, 14–15.

(867–931), Daigo (醍醐) (885–930), and Murakami (村上) (926–967).<sup>11</sup> In the eleventh century, personal diaries expanded remarkably both in number and in detail and scope of subject-matter covered. One of the representative diaries from this period is *Midō kanpaku-ki* (御堂関白記), the diary of Regent Fujiwara Michinaga (藤原 道長) (966–1027). This diary contains rich records of his official and private life from the fourth year of Chōtoku (998) to the fifth year of Kan'nin (1021). Fourteen scrolls in his hand are preserved in the Yōmei Bunko Archives (陽明文庫).

As Shibunomaro's diary and other examples suggest, early diaries only have succinct entries, so are considered to have been written in the margins or between the lines of calendars, which often had a few blank lines for diary entries. However, such calendars were not sufficient to accommodate long notes and entries were written using small characters or the reverse sides were also implemented. As the importance of personal diaries as a reference for precedents increased at the turn of the tenth century, entries grew longer and embraced more subject-matter, making such calendars no longer suitable as supports for diaries. Hence, individuals began preparing special supports specifically for diaries. As paper was still precious in the ancient and medieval periods, scrap paper (反故紙 *hogushi*) was the most common material on which to write diaries, regardless of content or author.

Most texts (such as private letters or drafts of poems) on the reverse side (紙背 *shihai*) of the papers used to make diaries were considered unnecessary to preserve and therefore would probably have been trashed at some point. However, the diaries were kept over long periods of time and so the texts written on the reverse sides also survived, adding considerably to the sources for the relevant periods of Japanese history. Thus, the fact that diaries transmit many such texts on their reverse side increases their value as a historical record. But not all texts on the reverse side of written diaries were deemed useless: as it is easy to open and read the reverse side of scrolls, it was also common to choose specific texts as the paper for diaries with the intention of preserving them together with the diaries.<sup>12</sup>

As discussed in more detail below, there exist three common formats for diaries: the scroll (卷子 *kansu*), accordion-book or leporello (折本 *orihon*), and

<sup>11</sup> Piggott and Yoshida translated a part of the diary of Regent Fujiwara Tadahira (藤原 忠平) (880–949), one of the earliest diaries from the turn of the tenth century, into English (Piggott and Yoshida Sanae 2008).

<sup>12</sup> For further discussion, see Suegara Yutaka 1998; Onoe Yōsuke 2003, 25–28; and Takahashi Hideki 2005, 52.

bound book or codex (冊子 *sasshi*) formats. Some diaries now preserved in the scroll format are known to have been kept and used in the bound or accordion book formats for legibility.<sup>13</sup>

## 2.2 The increase of personal diaries

Three changes in the tenth and eleventh centuries were major factors that led to the increase in the importance of personal diaries.<sup>14</sup>

1. The first factor was that around the tenth century the Imperial Court ceased to compile national chronicles, ceremonial manuals, and statute books. Ancient Japan, which imported political systems and ideas from China, had promoted compilation projects since the seventh century. Court nobles and officials followed political customs and conducted ceremonies referring to these official compilations. However, compilation projects gradually came to an end after the Engi era (901–923).<sup>15</sup> With the court no longer producing official records, court nobles and officials had to create records themselves. This led to the development of personal writings, including diaries.
2. The second factor was the formation, around the tenth century, of a highly ritualized court society. With political customs and ceremonies persisting for decades, they became more and more elaborated, and such refinement called for specialists. At the same time, the Imperial Court developed new political customs and ceremonies unique to Japan. The highest priority of court nobles and officials in ancient Japan was acting in accordance with ceremonial precedents. In the mid-tenth century, individual nobles and officials started to compile manuals for political customs and ceremonies for a larger audience. For example, the oldest surviving example of such a ceremonial manual is *Saikyūki* 西宮記, compiled by Minamoto Taka'akira (源高明) (914–982), a high-ranking noble, around the Anna era (968–970). The development of personal diaries coincided with that of ritual manuals, both of which contain detailed information on political customs and ceremonies. The increase of the production of ceremonial manuals and personal diaries and their focus on ceremonies and rituals had a common root in the for-

<sup>13</sup> For such cases, see Suegara Yutaka 1998, 185–186 and Onoe Yōsuke 2003, 94–95.

<sup>14</sup> Onoe Yōsuke 2003, 67–70 and Takahashi Hideki 2005, 20–22.

<sup>15</sup> For further discussion on the national chronicles compiled by the Imperial Court, see Endō Keita 2016.

mation of a highly ritualized court society: both were written to conduct rituals and ceremonies properly.

3. The final factor is the development of hereditary family status and expertise. Although in principle the ancient bureaucracy was based on individual skills and performance, careers and promotions came to be determined by family origins and backgrounds by the tenth century. It led to the specialization of families in certain areas of expertise. In the late eleventh century, most court nobles and officials formed ‘medieval families’ based on the principle of succession from fathers to legitimate children. As a result, records of precedents and knowledge about political customs and ceremonies came to be accumulated and passed down in the form of personal diaries.

Thus, the importance of personal diaries as sources of precedents and knowledge increased from the tenth century onward due to the three mutually reinforcing factors above.

### 2.3 The importance of personal diaries

In *Kujō-dono yuikai* (九条殿遺誠), a collection of precepts for his descendants, Regent Fujiwara Morosuke (藤原 師輔) (908–960) stressed the importance of checking calendars and keeping diaries in them to follow political customs and conduct ceremonies without making mistakes.<sup>16</sup> As this precept shows, the most significant purpose of keeping diaries was to guide the writers’ own and their descendants’ future actions concerning political customs and ceremonies. In order to create valuable diaries or supplement them, it was common to collect diaries belonging to other families. Some diaries containing rich information were circulated widely even beyond the families originally inheriting them, transforming their status from ‘personal diaries’ to widespread ‘manuals’ for political customs and ceremonies.<sup>17</sup>

Both authors and subsequent readers often rearranged diaries to make them easier to read. Such rearrangements range from making clean copies,<sup>18</sup> adding

<sup>16</sup> *Kujō dono yuikai* 九条殿遺誠 in Hanawa Hokiichi 1978, 136–145.

<sup>17</sup> What modern historians classified as ‘manuals for political customs and ceremonies’, such as the aforementioned *Saikyūki*, were sometimes considered ‘diaries’ in the ancient and medieval periods as Kondo Yoshikazu pointed out. See Kondo Yoshikazu 2015, 27.

<sup>18</sup> When clean copies were made, their contents were often revised and deleted. Manuscripts from which clean copies were made were sometimes disposed of, but at other times preserved. The process and time of copying are usually recorded in colophons. The diary of Yoshida

tables of contents, indexes, and headings, to excerpting, sorting contents according to subjects, and changing formats. For example, the scroll for the fifth and sixth months of the first year of Kangi (1229) of *Minkeiki* (民經記), the diary of a middle-ranking courtier Kadenokōji Tsunemitsu (勘解由小路 経光) (1212–1274), has several colophons that show how the diary had been rearranged.<sup>19</sup> The first one is Tsunemitsu's own colophon that shows he added headings (首書 *shusho*) himself. The second to fifth ones are his grandson Mitsunari's (光業) (1287–1361) colophons added when he made indexes (目録 *mokuroku*) and excerpts in 1315, 1326, 1331, and 1349. The last one is Kadenokōji (or Hirohashi) Kanehide's (兼秀) (1506–1567) colophon that also shows he made an index in 1526.

In the medieval period, diaries appeared in testamentary documents from fathers to their children, along with land properties and houses. For example, in the fourth year of Ōan (1371), Kadenokōji Kanetsuna (勘解由小路 兼綱) (1315–1381), a great-grandson of the aforementioned Tsunemitsu, wrote a testament addressed to his heir Nakamitsu (仲光) that mentioned 'familial [inherited] diaries', including the diaries of his great-grandfather Tsunemitsu, grandfather Kanenaka (兼仲) (1244–1308), and father Mitsunari, along with excerpts from the diaries of the other three ancestors. Kanetsuna also wrote that,

original diaries must be kept in our family and should not be allowed to be shown. However, when the orders of emperors and the two regents cannot be neglected, they should be submitted soon. Even in such cases, however, make and submit copies of original diaries.<sup>20</sup>

Later, diaries even became attributes of headship of individual families. Main-branch families sometimes restricted sub-branch families from reading or copying familial diaries. In such cases, sub-branch families had to accumulate diaries themselves. Due to such regulations, diaries sometimes caused disputes over ownership between main and sub-branch families. For example, in the

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Kanemi (吉田兼見), one of Kaneatsu's descendants, is a famous example of such rewriting. Kanemi left two versions of diaries for the first to sixth months of the tenth year of Tenshō (1582). In the sixth month of that year, Oda Nobunaga (織田 信長), the most important political figure at that time, was attacked and killed by his general Akechi Mitsuhide (明智 光秀). As Kanemi deleted some descriptions related to his meetings with Mitsuhide, it has led some scholars to suspect Kanemi deleted them fearing accusation after Mitsuhide's death. For Kanemi's diary, including this discussion, see Kaneko Hiraku 2011.

<sup>19</sup> Historiographical Institute 1978, 97–98.

<sup>20</sup> 6. 3. 1371 *Kadenokōji Kanetsuna yuzurijō* 勘解由小路兼綱讓狀 in Historiographical Institute 1961, 349–356.



second year of Hōji (1248), ex-Emperor Gosaga (後嵯峨) issued an edict to settle a dispute between Koga Michitada (久我通忠) and his younger brother Masamitsu (雅光) over inherited documents. In the edict, Gosaga ordered Michitada to inherit family diaries but allowed Masamitsu to copy them.<sup>21</sup>

Initially, diaries were mainly written by social elites such as emperors, court nobles and officials, court ladies,<sup>22</sup> and priests of temples and shrines around Kyoto and Nara, the old capitals of Japan. However, as time passed, the range of people who kept diaries continued to expand both geographically and hierarchically. In the late thirteenth century, about a hundred years after the foundation of the Kamakura *bakufu* (the first military government located in Kamakura of eastern Japan), diaries written by *bakufu* officials appeared. *Bakufu* officials created diaries for the same reason as court nobles and officials: to record and accumulate precedents for political customs and ceremonies. At the end of the sixteenth century, Uwai Kakuken (上井 覚兼) (1545–1589), a local landlord in Satsuma province (modern Kagoshima prefecture, in the southern part of the Japanese archipelago), left a diary that describes the political and military situation in that region.<sup>23</sup>

The contents of diaries are quite different depending on the personalities and positions of authors and the social conditions that produced them, and the focus of diaries seems to have diversified as time passed.<sup>24</sup> However, their main function continued to be the accumulation of precedents and this is the reason why they have been passed down to the present.

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21 29. Intercalary 12. 1248 *Gosaga jōkō inzen an* 後嵯峨上皇院宣案 in Takeuchi Rizō 1976, Doc. 7034.

22 The oldest surviving diary was written by Empress Fujiwara Onshi (藤原 穩子) (885–954). Most of her diary is lost, but a few parts survive as quotations in other records. In addition, though it has been classified as an ‘official diary’, there is a diary titled *Oyudononoue nikki* (御湯殿上日記) written by court ladies from the medieval to the early modern periods. For diaries written by women, see Matsuzono Hitoshi 2016.

23 In the Edo period (1603–1867), as literacy improved, various people of more varying social statuses started to keep diaries, including merchants and village headmen.

24 Takahashi Hideki points out that while diaries from the ancient and early medieval periods can be grouped together, as ceremonies and political customs at the Imperial Court and the way of serving emperors changed in the late medieval period, the diary content also changed. See Takahashi Hideki 2005, 25–26.

## 3 The diary of Yoshida Kaneatsu

### 3.1 Kaneatsu and the Yoshida family

This section will focus on the diary of Yoshida Kaneatsu (吉田 兼敦) (1368–1408) as a case study in how medieval diaries were created and used.

Kaneatsu was a *shintō* priest of the Yoshida Shrine still located in Kyoto. He was a middle-ranking courtier at the Imperial Court, and also served the Muromachi *bakufu* (the second military government located in Kyoto). The Yoshida family was originally a low-ranking family of priests whose hereditary functions included the performance of *shintō* rituals and ceremonies and the study of *Nihon Shoki*.<sup>25</sup> In the age of Kaneatsu, the Yoshida family had three major roles in aristocratic society: (1) conducting *shintō* rituals and ceremonies, (2) studying and lecturing on ancient Japanese history, and (3) answering various questions about defilement (religious taboo in *shintō* related to death and bleeding) and purification.

The Yoshida family experienced a political rise during the time of Kaneatsu's father, Yoshida Kanehiro (吉田 兼熙) (1348–1402). Kanehiro served people of political importance at both the Imperial Court and the Muromachi *bakufu*, including *shōgun* Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (足利 義満) (1358–1408) and Regent Nijō Yoshimoto (二条 良基) (1320–1388), and gained their trust. In 1390, for the first time in the Yoshida family's history, Kanehiro was appointed to the third court rank making him a member of the nobility. In the Nanbokuchō period (1334–1392), two imperial lines competed for the throne for over sixty years. In 1392, Kanehiro served as emissary of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and went to the rival Southern Court, which had fought against the Northern Court, where the Yoshida served. Kanehiro successfully negotiated the peace agreement between the two imperial lines.

As the heir and, following the death of Kanehiro in 1402, becoming head of the Yoshida family, Kaneatsu was actively involved in building up *shintō* as a religion with systematic beliefs and ceremonies, taking advantage of his close connections to the Imperial Court and the Muromachi *bakufu*.<sup>26</sup> The Yoshida family established its foundation during Kaneatsu's and his father's times. In

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<sup>25</sup> For the history of the Yoshida family and its *shintō* theory, see Nishida Nagao 1979 and Inoue Tomokatsu 2013. For Kaneatsu and his father Kanehiro in particular, see Iwahashi Koyata 1971; Hashiguchi Yūko 1991; Ōsawa Kahori 2006; and Kirita Takashi 2018 and 2020. For English scholarship on the Yoshida *shintō*, see also Grapard 1992 and Hardacre 2016.

<sup>26</sup> Nishida Nagao 1979, 85–138.

the late fifteenth century, Yoshida Kanetomo (吉田 兼俱) (1435–1511) consolidated the Yoshida family's beliefs and practices into more formal ones (known as the Yoshida *shintō*) and established a central position in the *shintō* scene for the family.<sup>27</sup> Although there were ups and downs, the Yoshida family maintained their dominant position until the late nineteenth century when the Meiji government replaced them to put the *shintō* under state control.

### 3.2 Kaneatsu's diary

The heads of the Yoshida family, including Kaneatsu, left diaries. The diaries written by four of them during the medieval period are collectively known as *Yoshidake hinamiki* (吉田家日次記, 'Yoshida family diaries').<sup>28</sup> They had been preserved in the Yoshida Shrine, but were scattered when the Yoshida family underwent financial difficulties after the Japanese surrender in the Second World War.<sup>29</sup> Fortunately, most of the historical records were purchased by Tenri University (天理大学) in Nara prefecture, and are now preserved in its library under the name of the Yoshida Collection (吉田文庫).<sup>30</sup> As well as the diaries, the collection includes a large number of religious texts and historical records created and accumulated by the Yoshida family over generations.

Researchers assume that Kaneatsu kept a diary for most of his life, but much has been lost.<sup>31</sup> Today, twenty-eight autograph scrolls for seven years in

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**27** The Yoshida family are known for forging documents to claim the superiority of the family and their teaching. There is evidence that suggests Kanehiro and Kaneatsu were also involved in such forgeries. See Nishida Nagao 1979, 11–30.

**28** For introductions of *Yoshidake hinamiki*, see Iwahashi Koyata 1971 and Okada Shōji 1989.

**29** For the dispersion of the Yoshida documents after the Second World War, see Sorimachi Shigeo 1989.

**30** For the catalogue of the Yoshida collection, see Tenri toshokan 1965. However, *Yoshidake hinamiki* is not included in the Yoshida Collection. Kishimoto Mami, Mimura Tsutomu and Sawai Kōji 2018 assumes that this is because *Yoshidake hinamiki* was studied and opened to the scholars earlier than other historical records due to its importance. The Kokugakuin University (國學院大学) also holds a collection it purchased from the Yoshida family after the Second World War. For the catalogue of the Yoshida Collection held by the Kokugakuin University, see Kokugakuin daigaku kenkyū kaihatsu suishin kikō kōshi gakujuitsu shisan kenkyū center 2015, 35–60. This article only deals with the Yoshida Collection of the Tenri University Library.

**31** There was an incident where Yoshida Kanemitsu (1485–1528) (吉田 兼満), the head of the Yoshida in the early sixteenth century, absconded from Kyoto after putting fire on his own residence. It is said that many of the inherited documents of the Yoshida were lost due to this fire. Yoshida Kanesuke, a son of Kanemitsu, wrote in the colophon for the seventh month of the

total, the third year of Eitoku (1383) and the fifth to ninth years of Ōei (1398–1403), remain in relatively good condition while the scrolls for the other years have survived partially in the form of fragments or copies and excerpts from the later period. As the following sections show, Kaneatsu's diary contains rich information, and is considered to be one of the most important historical records of its period for the study of politics, culture, and religion. However, there is no complete transcription yet.<sup>32</sup> Only partial transcriptions in various source-books and scholarly works are available.



**Fig. 1:** Kaneatsu's diary: beginning of the scroll for the second to fourth months of the fifth year of Ōei (1398); courtesy of the Tenri University Library.

second year of Tenbun (1551) that he was keeping his diary 'because all the inherited diaries are lost'.

**32** Of the four diaries included in *Yoshidake hinamiki*, the diary of Kanesuke (兼右) (1516–1573) has been published in the bulletins of the Tenri University Library. The diary of Kanemi (兼見) (1535–1610), Kanesuke's son, has been published as well as one of the *Shiryō sanshū kokirokuhen* series. For Kanemi's diary, see Kaneko Hiraku 2011.

Kaneatsu's diary is written on scrolls made of scrap paper. Kaneatsu used the old calendars of the third and fourth years of Ōei (1396–1397) for the scroll shown in Fig. 1 for example, but used private letters and drafts of his poems for the scroll for the seventh to ninth months. The current second page, the one with the small square seal of the Tenri University Library, the current owner, is the original front cover.<sup>33</sup> Kaneatsu wrote the term of the diary (the second to fourth months) on its outer side for his own reference. In other scrolls, the one for the summer of the eighth year of Ōei (1401) for instance, Kaneatsu added a brief table of contents related to his concerns as a *shintō* priest such as 'the first service of Kanenari (Kaneatsu's heir)' and 'about the Hie Shrine' (a shrine located in modern Shiga prefecture) on the front cover.

The current front cover was added later for preservation. It has a thin, half-cylindrical wooden bar with a string making it easier to tie the scroll. Not shown in Fig. 1, a wooden axis is attached to the end of the scroll that also makes it easier to roll the scroll. The other formats of diaries include the bound-book and accordion-book formats that are easier to open and read. Most diaries from the ancient and early medieval periods, Kaneatsu's diary included, adopted the scroll format which is the most traditional format for writings in ancient and medieval Japan, but in the late medieval period (the mid-fourteenth to the late sixteenth centuries), the number of the diaries that adopted the other two formats increased.<sup>34</sup>

Horizontal lines are sometimes drawn at the top of the paper to align the beginning of each line when writing. For example, the scroll for the third month of the seventh year of Ōei (1400) has two horizontal lines at the top and one line at the bottom. In the case of *Meigetsuki* (明月記), the diary of the prominent poet Fujiwara Sadaie (藤原定家) (1162–1241), the scrolls with horizontal lines are considered clean copies.<sup>35</sup> There is no conclusive evidence, but some scrolls of Kaneatsu's diary with such horizontal lines could be clean copies he made himself.

Finally, when taking a brief look at the characters, they are written in a cursive style, a common way of writing throughout the premodern period, with a

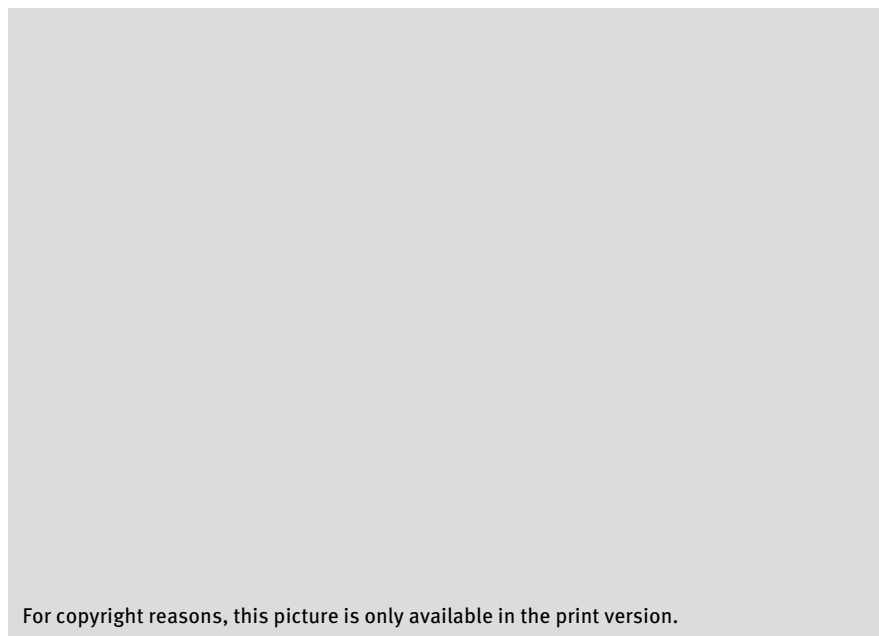
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<sup>33</sup> The author has not yet had an opportunity to closely inspect the original diary. The following description is based on the observation of microfilms held by the Historiographical Institute, The University of Tokyo (call numbers: 6173/43/2–6173/43/11). The Historiographical Institute also holds handwritten copies of some of the *Yoshidake hinamiki* (call number 2073-205) which are available online. The call numbers of the original diary in the Yoshida Collection of the Tenri University Library are 210.5/イ/49/6 to 210.5/イ/49/32.

<sup>34</sup> Takahashi Hideki 2005, 61.

<sup>35</sup> Onoe Yōsuke 2003, 74–78.

brush and black ink. Kaneatsu's handwriting looks a little careless but is still easy to read as each character is written more or less separately. The language is *kanbun* (漢文), the Japanese manner of writing only in Chinese characters, which was also a common way of formal writing in premodern Japan.



**Fig. 2:** Kaneatsu's diary: entries for the twentieth and twenty-first days of the second month of the fifth year of Ōei (1398); courtesy of the Tenri University Library.

Both entries presented in Fig. 2 begin with the day of the month and the Chinese zodiacal date (or place in the sexagenary cycle), the weather, and then their content, which is a standard pattern and layout for ancient and medieval diaries (see Appendix for the full transcription and translation). These two entries have a certain length, and their topics range from Kaneatsu's duties as a *shintō* priest to his relatively private life and experience such as a visit from his friends, the death of a courtier he had known, a supernova, and his dream about the God of Kitano. The length of entries varies largely depending on what happened on certain dates. In the entry for the fourteenth day of the second month, for instance, Kaneatsu only recorded that *shōgun* Ashikaga Yoshimitsu returned to

his residence from the Kitano Shrine. Nothing notable happened around Kaneatsu on that date.

In diaries of this type, the length of entries also differs depending on the author's attitudes and positions. Diaries of middle to low-ranking officials tend to have richer content than those of high-ranking aristocrats because the former were required to accumulate ceremonial and administrative precedents in detail for their public duties. It was common to create separate records called *bekki* (別記) when entries for particular events became too long. In such cases, they simply wrote in their diaries 'see *bekki*'.

Kaneatsu's diary provides an intimate look at the personal life and feelings of a medieval person; details about such matters rarely appear in other types of historical records. In this respect, Kaneatsu's diary is no different from the diaries we keep today. However, due to the fact that Kaneatsu copied an entire letter he wrote to Regent Nijō Morotsugu answering a question about defilement in the entry for the twentieth day, it is evident that Kaneatsu kept the diary with the intention to preserve it as a reference for precedents. To illustrate Kaneatsu's attitude, the next section examines several specific entries from Kaneatsu's diary of the fifth year of Ōei (1398).

### 3.3 How Kaneatsu kept his diary

On the fifteenth of the eighth month, Kaneatsu participated in an important *shintō* ceremony at the Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine in Kyoto. He inserted a list of attendants that he obtained from Hamuro Sada'aki (葉室 定顕), one of the court officials in charge of this ritual. Here, Kaneatsu took advantage of the scroll format: if one wants to insert a document into a scroll, one can cut the scroll in two, insert the document, and then glue the parts together again. On the next day, Kaneatsu recorded an offering ritual to the Ise Inner Shrine about which he heard from his younger brother Yoshida Kaneyuki (吉田 兼之), who attended it. Kaneatsu pasted a copy of the emperor's edict dedicated to the shrine into his diary. As the copy was written on grey paper usually used at the Royal Secretariat (藏人所 *kurōdo dokoro*), whose duties included issuing emperors' edicts, it is assumed that Kaneatsu obtained this item directly from them. As these cases show, the scroll format, while appearing inconvenient for opening and reading, is quite useful for the related documents to be inserted and preserved. This is regarded as one of the main reasons for the preference for the scroll format.

The next example from the entry for the fourth day of the seventh month shows how Kaneatsu and others used diaries to discuss precedents. On this day,

Hamuro Muneaki (葉室 宗顕), the father of the aforementioned Sada'aki, visited the Yoshida residence to discuss whether or not his son, who was in charge of the construction of the Ise Outer Shrine, should suspend the purification rituals required for construction. The recent death of a former emperor caused a defilement that encompassed the entire country and might undermine the purification. Muneaki brought a report about precedents submitted by an official of the Controlling Office (弁官局 *benkankyoku*) before, which claimed that they did not have to cease the purification. Kanehiro, Kaneatsu's father, adopted the precedent recorded in the diary of Yoshida Kanetoyo (吉田 兼豊) (1305–1376) and advised Sada'aki to cease the ritual. Muneaki returned home with the copy of Kanetoyo's diary.

On the sixteenth day of the ninth month, Kaneatsu borrowed and copied diaries that belonged to other families. The construction of the Ise Outer Shrine was traditionally conducted every twenty years, but this time there was an argument over whether 1398 or 1399 should be the year for the construction. Following the recommendations of the local priests who invoked their own precedents, the *bakufu* and the Imperial Court decided to postpone construction until 1399. Kanehiro asked Muneaki for the loan of his son's diary to record these circumstances for future reference by copying the relevant entries into his son's diary. Sada'aki's diary also included copies of two documents he received. One was a petition from the head priest of the Ise Outer Shrine that asked Sada'aki to postpone the construction. The other was an edict from Ashikaga Yoshimitsu that decreed the postponement.

Concerning the Yoshida family's responsibility for studying and lecturing on *Nihon Shoki*, the entry for the seventh day of the eighth month provides an interesting example. Kaneatsu gave a sequence of lectures on *Nihon Shoki* to Ki Toshinaga (紀 俊長), a *shintō* priest from Ki'i province (modern Wakayama prefecture). As knowledge of how to read and interpret *Nihon Shoki* was, in principle, a secret passed down within the Yoshida family, Kaneatsu recorded the process of his lectures – on what day and which volumes he taught – in detail from the beginning. At the first lecture, Toshinaga told Kaneatsu that his uncle had been given lectures by Urabe Kanefumi (卜部 兼文), a prominent scholar on *Nihon Shoki* who came from the Hirano family (related to the Yoshida family) in the thirteenth century. As evidence, Toshinaga brought a copy of Kanefumi's version of *Nihon Shoki*. After Toshinaga left, Kaneatsu checked an index (目録 *mokuroku*) of Kanefumi's diary and found a related description in it that did indeed suggest Kanefumi had given a lecture to Toshinaga's uncle. This example shows that Kaneatsu, or his ancestors, made indexes of their diaries for quick retrieval.



On the twelfth day of the third month, the regent sent an edict to Kaneatsu appointing him to a managerial office on an estate. Kaneatsu copied the edict into his diary for future reference. Later, because he found a mistake in the edict, he asked the regent to correct it. He recorded his negotiation with the regent in the space at the top of the diary (the upper margin left for such notes). In medieval Japan, it was important to record information about properties because there were no official land registration systems. In this sense, personal diaries also had a legal, record-keeping function.

Finally, the entry for the thirteenth day of the second month shows the importance of inherited documents, including diaries. In Kyoto, there was a fire at the Southern Kitano Boulevard. As Kaneatsu kept inherited documents (文書 *monjo*), probably including diaries, at the Jinkōji Temple (神光寺) near Kitano, he sent his younger brother to check on them. When the documents turned out to be unharmed, Kaneatsu wrote that it had been due to ‘divine protection.’ In the entry for the second day of the fourth month of the seventh year of Ōei (1400), Bōjō Toshitō (坊城 俊任), a court noble, visited Kaneatsu to celebrate the fact that the Yoshida inherited documents had survived: two fires near Kaneatsu’s residence had not harmed them. Toshitō told Kaneatsu that these documents were essential ‘for the sake of the Imperial Court and the Yoshida family’s expertise’ (為朝為道). These descriptions show the importance of inherited documents, including diaries, for both the Yoshida family and the Imperial Court. The loss of a family’s diary is often considered to be the fall of that family.

### 3.4 Kaneatsu’s diary after his death

Thus, Kaneatsu recorded and accumulated various precedents and information in his diary, often quoting and copying various texts, including from others’ diaries. Due to its informative content, Kaneatsu’s diary was studied and copied for generations after his death by his descendants and other *shintō* priests.

In the upper margin of the manuscript of Kaneatsu’s diary, there are small headings attached to some entries in red ink, and the handwriting is different to Kaneatsu’s. Most of the headings are attached to entries related to *shintō* rituals, defilement and purification, and ancient Japanese history, all of which were hereditary concerns of the Yoshida family. According to colophons, these headings were added by Yoshida Kanesuke (吉田 兼右) (1516–1573). At the end of the scroll for the ninth month of the fifth year of Ōei (1398), for example, Kanesuke added a colophon that reads, ‘On the twenty-seventh day of the fourth month, the third year of Tenbun (1534), I added headings after reading through [this diary].’ Kanesuke also left his own diary, but unfortunately, no

description of his reading and annotation can be found in entries around this time.<sup>36</sup>

Kaneatsu's diary was studied and copied well into the Edo period.<sup>37</sup> In 1692, about three hundred years after Kaneatsu's death, Yoshida Kaneyuki (吉田 兼敬) (1653–1732) made various excerpts and copies of Kaneatsu's diary.<sup>38</sup> One of which is *Yoshida shasaiki* (吉田社祭記), the 'Records of Yoshida Shrine ceremony'. It consists of excerpts of entries on the Yoshida Shrine ceremony from Kaneatsu's and his father Kanehiro's diaries. According to its colophon, Kaneyuki submitted this record 'for the sake of His Highness' (殿下御用). Details have not been clarified, but this description suggests that Kaneyuki made this excerpt for a practical purpose. Making compilations on individual subjects from one or more diaries in order to have the relevant passages ready at hand and easy to retrieve is a common practice called *burui* (部類), and the resulting records are called *buruiki* (部類記). Many *buruiki* on various subjects were compiled by both the authors themselves and their readers.

There are also colophons at the end of each scroll added by Kaneatsu's descendants. For example, the scroll for the ninth month of the fifth year of Ōei (1398) has two colophons. The first was written by the aforementioned Kaneyuki when he separated this scroll into two scrolls (one scroll for the seventh to eighth months, and the other for the ninth month) for preservation in the third year of Shōtoku (1713). The second colophon was added by Yoshida Nagayoshi (吉田 良芳) (1810–1868) when he added a new cover for either preservation or decoration (or both) in the first year of Ka'ei (1848). These colophons documenting repairs well into the mid-nineteenth century show that Kaneatsu's diary was preserved with great care as a family treasure.

Finally, it seems that Kaneatsu's diary was studied and copied outside the Yoshida family. One example can be found in the diary of Ozuki Suetsura (小槻 季連) (1655–1709), a low-ranking official at the Imperial Court. In the entry for the twenty-first day of the ninth month of the fourth year of Jōkyō (1687),<sup>39</sup> Suetsura received a record about the program of a purification ceremony at the Aramigawa River in Kyoto. At that time, Emperor Higashiyama (東山) planned

36 Kishimoto Mami, Mimura Tsutomu and Sawai Kōji 2020.

37 The term 'Edo period' roughly refers to the seventeenth to late nineteenth century when the Edo *bakufu* (or the Tokugawa *bakufu*), the third military government, ruled Japan.

38 Following are some of the excerpts and copies made by Yoshida Kaneyuki from the Yoshida Collection of the Tenri University Library: *Yoshida shasaiki* (吉田社祭記), call number 吉 42–37; *Meitoku Ōei Meiō kiroku shō* (明徳応永明応記録抄), call number 吉 64–113; *Kaneatsuki nukigaki* (兼敬記抜書), call number 吉 64–117.

39 Suetsura-sukuneki (季連宿禰記) in *Jingūjichō* 1972, 1370–1372.

to revive the Daijō-sai (大嘗祭), a ceremony to celebrate the enthronement of a new emperor, which had been discontinued for more than two hundred years, and this purification ceremony at the Aramigawa River was a part of it. Suetsura wrote that he had no idea about the author and the date of the record he received, and even doubted its reliability. However, judging from the similarity between the two texts, it is possible to identify it as a record based on Kaneatsu's diary: the entry for the twenty-eighth day of the eighth month of the third year of Eitoku (1383).<sup>40</sup>

Sorimachi Shigeo (1901–1991), an antiquarian bookseller who deeply engaged in the buying and selling of Yoshida documents, stated in his memoir that Yoshida documents were closed to other families for about seven hundred years until the end of the Second World War with a few exceptions.<sup>41</sup> There remains a lot to be clarified, but some parts of Kaneatsu's diary certainly circulated outside the Yoshida family in the Edo period. This seems natural when considering that the Yoshida family answered questions about their familial expertise in the form of many reports well into the Edo period.

### Acknowledgements

This chapter is based on a presentation at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, Hamburg University in February 2020, which aimed at introducing diaries in medieval Japan. As research on Yoshida Kaneatsu's diary is still in progress, the analysis in this article is tentative. I have greatly benefited from the comments made by participants at the conference, the editors of the volume as well as Megan E. Gilbert (then graduate student of Princeton University, currently post-doctoral fellow of JapanLab, University of Texas at Austin).

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<sup>40</sup> In the Yoshida Collection of Tenri University Library, there is a record on the *Daijō-sai* of that year attributed to Kaneatsu and Kanemitsu. *Eitoku san-nen daijōe no koto* (永徳三年大嘗会之事), call number 吉 41–38.

<sup>41</sup> Sorimachi Shigeo 1989, 55. See also Nishida Nagao 1979, 3–9.

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## Appendix: Transcription and translation of the entries for the twentieth to twenty-first of the second month of the fifth year or Ōei (1398)

廿日、戊戌、天晴、顯深法印・基久等入来、被勸一献了、  
今日自大殿以御使（侍、）被下折紙、昨日頼冬問同篇也、  
猪食之人参入殿中・同火以下不可有其憚候哉、又可被忌之歟、御不審候、可  
被注申候也、

猪食人参入殿中事、三十ヶ日可有其憚候、雖一度令食者不可有浅深候、三十  
日以後、猶於御同火者五十日不可叶候、猪鹿同事候、可得御意候、  
兼敦

酉刻前権大納言正二位源朝臣定具卿遂以薨去、五十八歳云々、丞相事、依旨  
執遂無出家之儀云々、近年細々申通之了、去月予所勞之時分連々被驚示之了  
、可哀々々、

後聞、亥刻坤方光物出現、二時許不消滅、客星歟云々、

20th. The weather was clear. Priest Kenshin [a Buddhist monk] and Motohisa [a magistrate of the Muromachi *bakufu*] called at our house. My father, Kanehiro, offered them drinks.

Today, His Excellency [Regent Nijō Morotsugu] sent me a letter [of inquiry] through his messenger, rank: samurai [6th court rank]. His Excellency's letter concerned the same question that Yorifuyu [a man in the service of the Nijō family] conveyed yesterday. His Excellency wondered whether a person defiled by eating wild boar meat should be forbidden to serve within the regent's residence and to use the same fire as other people. He ordered us to report [precedents].

[The following is a copy of Kaneatsu's letter]

People who eat wild boar meat should avoid serving in the regent's residence for thirty days. After they have eaten wild boar meat even once, it does not matter how much they had. Even after thirty days, they should avoid using the same fire as others for fifty days. There is no difference between wild boar meat and wild deer meat. I appreciate your forbearance.

Kaneatsu

Tsuchimikado Sadamichi, a former senior counsellor of the senior second rank, passed away at the hour of the rooster [around 6 pm]. I heard that he was 58 years old. He never renounced the world because of his stubborn desire for promotion to Minister. I have been in touch with him in recent years. He sent me many concerned letters when I was sick last month. It is deeply saddening.

I heard that a bright object had appeared in the northern sky at the hour of the boar [around 10 pm]. It continued shining for about four hours. People said it could be a guest star [supernova, meteorite, etc.].

廿一日、己亥、自卯刻雨降、如車軸、未刻以後止、風吹、  
 今晚寅刻予有夢想事、拝見北野天神委細之縁起、則奉拝神躰、剩御前生事、  
 誰トモナク令語之給、予歎喜涕淚畏悦余身、即予起掲之、手水心神念誦、一  
 睡之處、此夢想語申入家君、其後罷向或所之處、菅相公（秀長卿、長者也、）  
 参会、成祝着之思帰出、於門脇謁少納言言長朝臣、（相公之舍弟、當時三座  
 云々、）殊悦喜帰亭ト見了、旁仰而取信、又一睡而此等之趣又語申家君、隨  
 喜ト見之覺了、三ヶ度相続、凡御前生事正承之、依有恐不注之、兼敦自少年  
 当社信仰異他、今儀先世之宿執也、拭感涙之外無他、就中法樂事聊有存企之  
 子細、今日可出題之由先日相談右金吾了、仍行水旬日念誦之後予出題了、所  
 願成就尤有憑々々、  
 吉田社神事、兼之（当番、布衣、）依洪水一人參勤、如例云々、  
 予行副御神樂、又於神樂岡行之了、

21st. It rained from the hour of the rabbit [around 6 am]. The rain was as thick as wheel axles. It stopped raining after the hour of the sheep [around 2 pm]. It was windy.

I had a dream at dawn, at the hour of the tiger [around 4 am]. I was looking at a detailed history of the God of Kitano [a god of scholarship and literature]. Then I worshipped the sacred image. Furthermore, I heard the God of Kitano recount his previous life. I was overjoyed and moved to tears. I rose and hung a scroll of the God of Kitano on the wall and worshipped it. When I slept again, [I had another dream in which] I told this auspicious dream to my father. I went to a certain place and met Associate Counsellor Sugawara (Hidenaga, the head of the Sugawara family). I was pleased to meet him [because Sugawara Hidenaga is a descendant of the God of Kitano]. I also met Minor Counsellor Tokinaga, a younger brother of Hidenaga and the third-ranked in the Sugawara family at the time, beside the gate. I dreamt that I returned to my home with joy. I could do nothing but worship [the God of Kitano] more and more. I slept again, and [in my third dream] I told my father about these dreams. It seemed that we were pleased, and I woke up.

I had three dreams in a row. Although I heard the previous life of the God of Kitano, I am afraid to write about it in my diary. I, Kaneatsu, have truly worshipped the Kitano Shrine since I was young. These dreams must be my fate from previous lives. I could do nothing but cry. I have a certain plan to organize a poetry party [dedicated to the Kitano Shrine]. I consulted with Ukingo [Ka-

neatsu's friend and fellow poet] the other day, planning to submit a theme for that poetry party today. Thus, I submitted the theme after I purified my body with cold water and recited a recurrent sutra. I can depend upon the God of Kitano for the fulfilment of my hope.

Concerning the *shintō* ritual at the Yoshida Shrine, Kaneyuki [Kaneatsu's younger brother] was the priest on duty and wore *hoi* [a traditional informal outfit]. He performed the rite alone due to a flood. I heard that the ritual proceeded as usual.

I performed supplementary *kagura* [sacred music and dance devoted to Gods]. *Kagura* was performed at Kaguraoka as well.





Mohammad Karimi Zanjani Asl

# The Autograph Manuscripts of Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1045 AH / 1635 CE): Classification and Preliminary Study

**Abstract:** This article is a first overview of the autograph manuscripts left by Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1635), one of the most important figures of the Iranian renaissance of the seventeenth century. He is considered to be the author of more than one hundred books and treatises, and the corpus of his manuscripts numbers more than 2200 copies. So far it has been possible to identify twenty-four manuscripts copied by Mullā Ṣadrā, between 1596 and 1633. These items include collection of treatises, some of them authored by Mullā Ṣadrā's teachers (Mīr-Dāmād and Šaiḥ Bahā'ī) and copied from their own autograph copy and authenticated by them. Other manuscripts contain excerpts of treatises or poetical quotations he copied for his own personal use. These manuscripts are an incomparable source in understanding the intellectual formation of this major thinker. It is possible to show that Mullā Ṣadrā used these manuscripts as drafts or aide-memoire in his own writing. Additions to some of the manuscripts dating back to the early period of Mullā Ṣadrā's intellectual life shed light on his process of authoring books.

## 1 Introduction

The philosopher and mystic Ṣadr ad-Dīn Muḥammad Šīrāzī, better known as Mullā Ṣadrā (979–1045 AH / 1571–1635 CE), is one of the most controversial and prolific writers of early modern Iran.<sup>1</sup> He lived in the Safavid empire (907–1135 AH / 1501–1722 CE) at the time of its splendour, during the reign of Shāh 'Abbās the Great (d. 1038 AH / 1629 CE). He was then known as the Ṣadr al-Muta'allihīn, 'leader of the theosophists'. Henry Corbin, whose research was so influential to renew our understanding of post-classical Islamic philosophy, speaks of him as 'the high peak of Perso-Islamic philosophy of the past centuries', and he adds:

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<sup>1</sup> I am very grateful to the editors of this volume for their comments and their help in preparing this article for publication. A Persian version of this text will be published in Karīmī Zanḡānī Aṣl 2022, 19–150.

'his thought has left until today its personal mark on the whole Iranian philosophy, and even on the Shi'i mind in its philosophic expression'.<sup>2</sup> Mullā Ṣadrā's written production is huge, with over a hundred titles, ranging from very short treatises to massive summae.<sup>3</sup> His opus magnum, *al-Asfār al-'aqliya al-arba'a* ('The four journeys of the intellect'), fills a thousand pages in-folio and has formed the philosophical horizon for most Iranian thinkers. Unsurprisingly, the number of manuscripts of Mullā Ṣadrā's works is considerable, and are to be found all over the Islamic world, from Delhi to Istanbul and Cairo. There are at least 2,300 manuscripts, starting with 310 copies of the *Four Journeys*, and 230 copies of the *Book of the Metaphysical Penetrations* (*Kitāb al-Mašā'ir*), his second most famous work (Table 1).<sup>4</sup> In comparison, the works of Mīr Dāmād (d. 1040 AH / 1631 CE), Mullā Ṣadrā's famous teacher, are only known through very few manuscripts.

But Mullā Ṣadrā is not only one of the most frequently copied Iranian philosophers, he is also one of the few whose handwriting has survived. In 1998, Muḥammad Barakat published *Yāddāšt-hā-yi Mullā Ṣadrā* ('The handnotes of Mullā Ṣadrā'), a selection of *Mullā Ṣadrā's* personal notes and quotations extracted from Šīrāz, Kitābḥāna-yi 'Allāma Ṭabāṭabā'i Dānišgāh-i Šīrāz, 958. This manuscript has an oblong format, like a modern notebook. The selected folios were printed in facsimile, alongside a typed version. Among them, was the handlist Mullā Ṣadrā made of his personal library (listing 111 titles). In 2007, Sajjad Rizvi, one of the leading scholars on Mullā Ṣadrā after Corbin, produced

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2 Corbin 1986, 467–468 ('sa pensée a marqué de son empreinte personnelle jusqu'à nos jours toute la philosophie iranienne, plus largement dit, la conscience shiite au niveau de son expression philosophique'). Before Corbin, Max Horten (d. 1945) had worked extensively on Mullā Ṣadrā but his excellent work has remained little known. The most important publications on Mullā Ṣadrā in European languages are Corbin 1971–1972, vol. 4, 54–122; Corbin's introduction to the edition of Mullā Ṣadrā's *al-Mašā'ir*; Rahman 1975; Nasr 1978; Morris 1981; Jambet 2006; Rizvi 2007 and 2009 (with full bibliographical references to the literature in Arabic). Publications following Rizvi's *Mullā Ṣadrā and Metaphysics* (2009) includes Kalin 2010; Rustom 2012; Meisami 2013; Jambet 2014; al-Kutubi 2015; Jambet 2016; Jambet 2017; Meisami 2018. The most up-to-date research until now is Rizvi's entry for the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (cf. Rizvi 2005). See also Karīmī Zaṅḡānī Aṣl 2022, 15–18.

3 Corbin (1986, 468) speaks of forty-five works, Rizvi (2005) says 'over 45', but Dirāyati (1393/2014, vol. 36, 25–27) has identified 104 titles.

4 Bāqirī Ḥurramdaštī (1378/1999) has reviewed the manuscripts and editions of Mullā Ṣadrā's works in libraries over the world, but her list is not complete. For Iranian libraries, see now Dirāyati 1393/2014 (Mullā Ṣadrā's works fills three pages in the indices only, cf. Dirāyati 1393/2014, vol. 36, 25–27). See also Rizvi 2007, 51–135.

an English version of this handlist.<sup>5</sup> In 2009, Muṣṭafā Faiḏī edited another autograph manuscript by Mullā Ṣadrā which was kept by his descendants (Faiḏī himself is descended from Mullā Ṣadrā). The manuscript was untitled and Faiḏī named it *Ġung-i Mullā Ṣadrā*. In Persian, *ġung* is one of the words indicating a ‘personal compilation’.<sup>6</sup> The National Library of Iran acquired the manuscript and immediately published a facsimile version of it.<sup>7</sup> This publication is very useful, however the introduction does not discuss the manuscript, the motivations of the copyist, nor the way the material is formatted.<sup>8</sup> Aside from which, it neglects reference to the many other manuscripts Mullā Ṣadrā copied for himself that await analysis in Iranian libraries. Also, in 2017 another handwriting of Mullā Ṣadrā was printed in facsimile by Muḥammad Barakat.<sup>9</sup> That volume covered Mullā Ṣadrā’s personal Qur’ānic notes and commentary and his quotations from some famous Iranian scholars’ texts; but as with the previous *Ġung*, this edition is without analysis.<sup>10</sup>

Mullā Ṣadrā’s autographs are exceptional as they offer glimpses on the different stages of his intellectual work: from the notetaking to the draft versions. They are a unique source of documentation in answering the following questions: what were the sources of Mullā Ṣadrā’s thought? How did these personal notes find their way into his later compositions? How did he review draft copies and prepare a final edition of the work he wanted to circulate? In this article, I would like to offer the first classification of this untapped material. I will endeavour to put the analysis of these manuscripts in perspective with what is known of Mullā Ṣadrā’s life, and the works attributed to him. Needless to say, given the state of the research on the subject, this article can only be a preliminary study.<sup>11</sup>

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5 Rizvi 2007, 117–136 (Rizvi has corrected some of Barakat’s readings).

6 The words *ġung*, *saḡina*, *bayāḏ*, *kaṣkūl*, etc. are largely interchangeable in the Iranian context. See Afšār 1390/2011, VII–IX. Several contributions of this volume deal with manuscripts of this type produced in the larger Turko-Iranian world (see the articles of David Durand-Guédry, Jürgen Paul and Nazlı Vatansever).

7 Cf. Mullā Ṣadrā, *Rasā’il*. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi milli-yi Īrān, 19164 is available online at <http://dl.nlai.ir/UI/dd0c7f3e-bb7c-40b4-b3ae-35870135df34/LRRView.aspx>. Unfortunately, the anonymous editor of the facsimile has not retained the frames and the original design of the paper.

8 Rizvi 2007, 117 merely speaks of an ‘aide-mémoire’ for the handlist or inventory of books.

9 Cf. Mullā Ṣadrā, *Maġmū’a*.

10 Barakat’s introduction covers only three pages (Mullā Ṣadrā, *Maġmū’a*, XIII–XV).

11 The current article is the first publication of a larger research project dedicated to Mullā Ṣadrā. In a forthcoming publication, I analyse in detail the relationship between Mullā Ṣadrā’s

## 2 Inventory

At least twenty-four manuscripts in Mullā Ṣadrā's hand can be identified. All are in Iran (eleven in Tehran, seven in Qum, four in Širāz – Mullā Ṣadrā's home, one in Iṣfahān and one in Tabriz). They are of several types: the notes and excerpts (for the two manuscripts which have been published so far in facsimile editions); the copies Mullā Ṣadrā made of one or several other authors (nine manuscripts); finally, the first drafts (*musauwada*) or final versions (*mubaiyaḍa*) of Mullā Ṣadrā's own works (thirteen manuscripts).

Presented in chronological order (when date known), these manuscripts are:

1. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi milli-yi Īrān (henceforth Milli), 19164: 107 × 177 mm, 197 fols, *taḥrīrī* script, dated 1004/1596.
2. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Dānišgāh-i Tihrān (henceforth Dānišgāh-i Tihrān), 1773: 130 × 200 mm, 42 fols, *šikasta nasta'liq* script (18 lines/page), dated 1005/1597.
3. Širāz, Kitābhāna-yi Ḥānqāh Aḥmadi (henceforth Ḥānqāh Aḥmadi), 693: 110 × 190 mm, 208 fols, *nasta'liq* and *šikasta nasta'liq* scripts (17 lines/page), dated 1005/1597 and 1006/1598.
4. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Malik (henceforth Malik), 693: 137 × 180 mm, 107 fols, *ta'liq* script (15 lines/page), 1006/1598.
5. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, 8225: 95 × 170 mm, 217 fols, *nash* script (15 lines/page), dated 1006/1598.
6. Iṣfahān, Maḡmū'a-yi Šaḥṣi-yi Kalbāsi: *ta'liq* script (12 lines/page), 1007/1599 (only the last folio of the manuscript is available).
7. Širāz, Kitābhāna-yi madrasa-yi Imām-i 'Aṣr (henceforth Madrasa-yi Imām-i 'Aṣr), 46: 165 × 250 mm, 281 fols, *šikasta nasta'liq* script, dated 1019/1609.
8. Širāz, Kitābhāna-yi 'Allāma Ṭabāṭabā'i Dānišgāh-i Širāz, 958: 80 × 160 mm, 80 fols, *taḥrīrī* script, dated between 1019/1609 and 1030/1620.
9. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, 10693: 125 × 200 mm, 73 fols, *ta'liq* script (14 lines/page), dated 1027/1617.
10. Širāz, Kitābhāna-yi maṣḡid-i Šāhčirāq (henceforth Šāhčirāq), 55: 130 × 253 mm, 160 fols, *ta'liq* script, no date but before 1030/1620.
11. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Āyatullāh Mar'aṣi (henceforth Mar'aṣi), 7716: 130 × 250 mm, 117 fols, *ta'liq* script (20 lines/page), dated 1030/1620.

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poetical quotations and his philosophical thought, as well as the evolution of Mullā Ṣadrā's political thought.

12. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Şūra-yi islāmī (henceforth Mağlis), 10602: 130 × 210 mm, 26 fols, *nasta'liq* script (27 lines/page), dated 1031/1621.
13. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Āyatullāh Mar'aşī, 4322: 190 × 260 mm, 255 fols, *nash* script (20 lines/page), dated 1044/1633.
14. Tabriz, Kitābhāna-yi markazī, 3096: 125 × 250 mm, 100 fols, *nasta'liq* script (20 lines/page), dated 1044/1633.
15. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Şūra-yi islāmī, 13614: 130 × 200 mm, 113 fols, *nasta'liq* script, no date.
16. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Dānişgāh-i Tihrān, 254: 145 × 220 mm, 292 fols, *ta'liq* script (15 lines/page), no date.
17. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Dānişgāh-i Tihrān, 1090: 125 × 200 mm, 3 fols, *ta'liq* script (14 lines/page), no date.
18. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Masğid-i A'zam (henceforth Masğid A'zam), 1916: 130 × 250 mm, 236 fols, *ta'liq* (22 lines/page), no date.
19. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Dānişgāh-i Tihrān, 7048a: 14 fols, *taħriri* script, no date.
20. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Āyatullāh Mar'aşī, 14605: 135 × 200 mm, 67 fols, *nasta'liq* script (13–16 lines/page), no date.
21. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Āyatullāh Mar'aşī, 10947: 130 × 195 mm, 59 fols, *nasta'liq* script.
22. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Dānişgāh-i Tihrān, 2602: 120 × 180 mm, 68 fols, *nasta'liq* script (15 lines/page), no date.
23. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Āyatullāh Mar'aşī, 13260: 120 × 180 mm, 96 fols, *nasta'liq* script, (20 lines/page), no date.
24. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Āyatullāh Mar'aşī, 13257: 80 × 180 mm, 241 fols, *nasta'liq* script (21 lines/page), no date.

## 2.1 Aspect of the manuscripts

The manuscripts in Mullā Şadrā's hand are not uniform. The smallest is three folios long (Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 1090), while the longest are a hundred times longer (292 folios for Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 254). Seven manuscripts are over two hundred folios and the total number of folios written by Mullā Şadrā numbers 3049 (not including the Kalbāsī collection). The manuscripts' dimensions are equally heterogenous. The most common format is about 13 × 20 cm (about half A4), some smaller or larger. The manuscript edited by Barakat ('The handnotes of Mullā Şadrā') is only 8 × 16 cm. The largest manuscript (Mar'aşī 4322) is two and a half times as wide and 90% as high as the latter. The number of lines per page varies in function of the format of the folio, but also, of the content. For his

personal notes, but also for poetic anthologies, the density of the text can vary greatly from one page to the other.

Manuscripts in *ta'liq* and *nasta'liq* scripts make up two thirds of Mullā Ṣadrā's known autographs (and we will see that they cover his entire scholarly life). With its easily recognizable aspect (words descending onto the baseline and curving upwards at the end of the line), *ta'liq* was the most frequent script used in Iran at that time.<sup>12</sup> I will return to the relationship between script and content below. The texts are written in black ink, with red being used largely to underline (on this, see also below). So far, I have not yet been able to handle the manuscripts. The catalogue notices are extremely thin and the digital copies at my disposal make it impossible to comment yet on the type of paper, binding and arrangement of the quires.

## 2.2 Chronology of the manuscripts

A number of colophons inside these manuscripts contain precious data in discovering how Mullā Ṣadrā's mystical and philosophical thinking developed, and gain a clearer idea of his intellectual trajectory. A full transcript of the thirty colophons found in eighteen manuscripts is provided in Appendix 2. Millī 19164 (i.e. the *Ġung-i Mullā Ṣadrā* edited by Faiḏī) has eight colophons, most are written in the layout visible in Fig. 1: the first words are written horizontally, and the text continues on the right side, diagonally downward to the left, then jumps to the left side, diagonally upward toward the right. In later manuscripts, Mullā Ṣadrā chose a simpler format, with one orientation, usually horizontal (once vertical, see Fig. 2). Three manuscripts have no colophon at all. I did not have access to three manuscript (items 3, 7, 14) and have relied on the catalogue notices.<sup>13</sup>

In Table 2, the manuscripts are listed in chronological order, with the date of copy indicated in the colophons (the columns of the table give information about the content, which will be referred to later). As can be seen, twelve manuscripts can be precisely dated, two others dated approximately and ten lack any date.

<sup>12</sup> For the presentation of these different scripts, cf. Gacek 2009, 165–167, 249, 263. See also Māyil-Hirawī 1380/2001, 196–197.

<sup>13</sup> The item numbers reference the manuscripts following the numeration above (identical in Table 2). In his catalogue, Barakat (1374/1995, 83) dedicates only one line to the important manuscript of Madrasa-yi Imām-i 'Aṣr (item 7). For items 3 and 14, cf. Wafādār-Murādi 1391/2012, 206–208; Sayyid Yūnusi 1393/2014, vol. 2, 816.



Fig. 1: Colophon dated 1004 Š. / 1596 CE in Millī 19164, p. 232 of the facsimile.

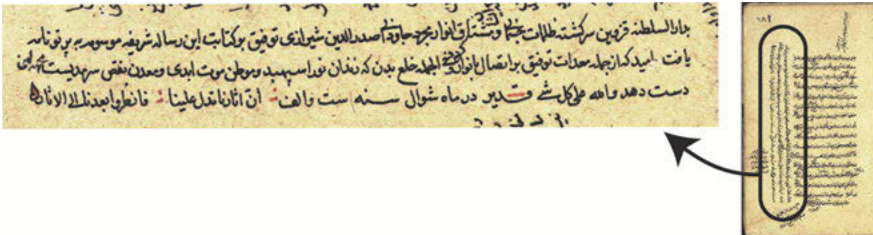


Fig. 2: Colophon dated 1006 Š. / 1598 CE in Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 8225, fol. 181b.

These manuscripts were written over a period of at least forty years: from 1004 AH / 1596 CE (item 1) to 1044 AH / 1633 CE (item 13). As such, they are essential for understanding the philosopher's formative years. Despite some grey areas in Mullā Ṣadrā's life there is knowledge of the significant periods: after his youth spent in Širāz (in the Fārs province), the young Muḥammad (Mullā Ṣadrā's first name) first moved to Qazwīn (west of Tehran), then to Iṣfahān, as both cities were successively made capitals of the Safavid empire. Born into a wealthy and powerful family (his father was governor of Fārs), he studied with the leading scholars of the time, starting with Mīr Dāmād, the official theologian of the Shi'i empire, and also with Šaiḫ Bahā'ī (d. 1030 AH / 1620–1621 CE), the Lebanese scholar who helped strengthen Shi'ism in Iran.<sup>14</sup> But, due to his philosophical orientation, Mullā Ṣadrā incurred the wrath of the ulamas, and spent three dec-

<sup>14</sup> On Mīr Dāmād, see Mūsawī Bihbahānī 1349/1970, 19–58; Mūsawī Bihbahānī 1370/1991; Newman 1993, 623–626. On Shaykh Bahā'ī, see Kohlberg 1989, 429–430; Newman 1986, 165–199; Stewart 1991, 563–571.



ades in self-exile (near Qum) and an itinerant life. He was eventually offered a ‘professorship’ in a prestigious college in Šīrāz, his native town (see Fig. 3).<sup>15</sup>

As seen on Fig. 3, the first autograph manuscripts of Mullā Šadrā date from his late twenties when he was still studying (items 1–6). The last manuscript, dated 1044 AH / 1633 CE, was written while in Šīrāz, he died a year later. In spite of the significance and success of Mullā Šadrā’s thought, it is difficult nowadays to reconstruct the exact chronology of his works. Of all dozens of works authored by Mullā Šadrā, the actual time and place of redaction is known of only fourteen. These established dates span over a quarter of century, from 1019 AH / 1609 CE to the year of his death, in 1045 AH / 1634 CE (Table 3). At least five of the autograph manuscripts of Mullā Šadrā, therefore predate his earliest known work (*al-Mabda’ wa-l-Ma’ād*, ‘the beginning and the ending’). They are precious documents of the period when he was still studying with Mīr Dāmād and Šaiḥ Bahā’i at the Iltifātiya madrasa of Qazwīn and, later, at the Ḥwāğū madrasa of Iṣfahān.

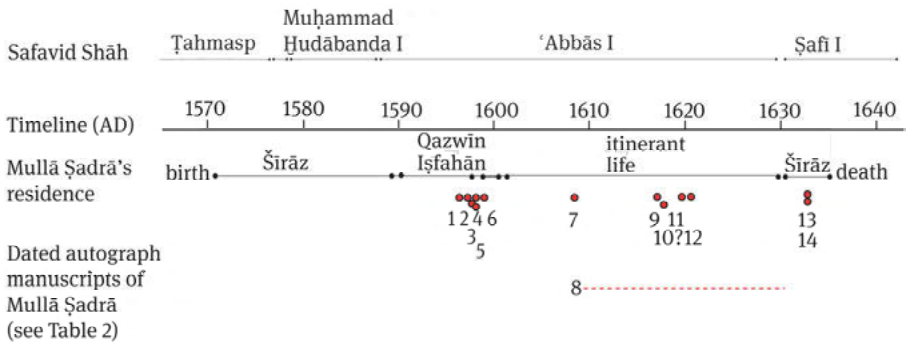


Fig. 3: Timeline of Mullā Šadrā’s life.

<sup>15</sup> For the life of Mullā Šadrā, see Rizvi 2007. In the present article, I will refrain from quoting from the original sources unless the sources available to me contradict Rizvi’s presentation.

## 2.3 The content of the colophons

Table 4 gives a synthetic view on the formatting of the data in the colophons. Usually Mullā Şadrā indicates the month and the year, with the expected epithet.<sup>16</sup> For example, *al-faqīr al-ḥaqīr al-muḥtāğ* ('the poor, miserable, needy') Şadr ad-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm Şīrāzī (Milli 19164, fol. 118a). But it is not systematic (in the *ğung*, the two first items are copied during the month of *ramaḍān*, but it is 'the blessed month of Ramadan', *şahr ramaḍān al-mubārak*, only in the second colophon). The day is indicated only in four colophons. In one colophon of the *ğung*, Mullā Şadrā gives the day by referring to the beginning of the Iranian New Year: *fī sâ'at taḥwīl aš-şams ilā burğ al-ḥamal* ('at the hour when the sun entered the constellation of Aries') (Milli 19164, fol. 73a = p. 143). As in this year, the month of writing (*rağab*) fell in March, it means that Mullā Şadrā wrote on 21 March.

The place of copying is never indicated in the *ğung*, but in the four following items (items 2, 3, 4, 5) Mullā Şadrā mentions Qazwīn, here again with the expected formula for a capital (*maḥrūsa* on item 2, fol. 23a, item 4, fol. 97b, item 5, fols 141a, 201a, or *dār as-saltana* on item 5, fol. 181a). In Ḥānqāh Aḥmadī 693 (item 3), fols 116a, 157a, he speaks of *balada Qazwīn* ('city of Qazwīn'). Just exactly why Mullā Şadrā felt compelled to note the place of copying is not clear. In any case, after finishing his studies, he gave up this practice (one exception is visible on a page of 'Allāma Ṭabāṭabā'ī Dānişgāh-i Şīrāz 958).

The way Mullā Şadrā introduces himself in the colophons deserves some comments. Usually, there are one or several expressions indicative of humility (e.g. *faqīr* the 'poor', *aḥqar* 'miserable', *ḍa'if* 'weak', *muḥtāğ* 'needy' etc.), followed by the honorific title and the various elements of the name (*ism*, *nasab*, *nisba*). For his own works, he adds he is 'the author'.<sup>17</sup> Most often he is 'Şadr ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm aš-Şīrāzī'. But later, more precisely he adds: he is 'known' as Şadr ad-Dīn (var. Şadr Şīrāzī).<sup>18</sup> This precaution might be to justify the use of a bombastic *laqab* (and what honorific title! Şadr ad-Dīn i.e. 'Leader of the Religion') after expressing humility. But to understand Mullā Şadrā's attachment to this title, we need to remember that it was master Mīr Dāmād, the

<sup>16</sup> Gacek 2009, 84.

<sup>17</sup> e.g. Dānişgāh-i Tīhrān 10693 (= item 9), fol. 94a: *wa-kataba ḥaḍīhi s-suṭūr mu'allifuhā al-faqīr...* ('these lines have been copied by their author, the poor...').

<sup>18</sup> Item 5, fols 40a, 141a: *Muḥammad aš-şahīr bi-Şadr ad-Dīn*; variant in item 6 ~ *bi-Şadr aš-Şīrāzī*; item 9, fol. 94a: *al-muštahar bi-Şadr ad-Dīn*; item 11, fol. 36a: *al-ma'rūf bi-Şadr*.

most respected scholar of his generation, who bestowed it upon him. A note in the *ḡung* (Milli 19164, p. 11) says:

ورقمت الأحرف اتيانا بملتمس أعزّ الأولاد الروحانيّة و أقرب ذوى القربى العقلانيّة الواحد الأمجد  
الأفضل الأكمل اللودعى الألمعى صدرا للفضل و المجد و الحقّ و الحقيقة و الملة و الذين محمّد  
الشيرازى.

I wrote these words at the request of my dearest spiritual son, the closest to me by the links of the 'rational' kinship, the unique, the most glorious, the most learned, the most perfect, the most ingenious and smartest, the first (*ṣadr*) in knowledge, glory, rightness, truth and religion, Muḥammad aš-Širāzī.

With such recommendation, the young Muḥammad's self-confidence most likely knew no bounds.

## 2.4 Personal use

Although not expressed explicitly, it is obvious that all these autograph manuscripts were for Mullā Ṣadrā's own use. This goes without saying for the two *ḡungs* (items 1 and 8) in which Mullā Ṣadrā copied excerpts of various proverbs, which will be referred to later. It is naturally also true for the fourteen draft and holograph versions (*musauwada* and *bayāḍ*) (these are items 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24).

But the other manuscripts (those containing one or several works of other authors) were also copied for his own use. There are compelling elements supporting this thesis. Mullā Ṣadrā was a man of means. His father, who died after 985 AH / 1577 CE was the most prominent official in the rich province of Fārs; he had made a very good marriage (to the daughter of his professor in Kāšān, Ḍiyā' al-'Urafā'). In other words, he had no need to copy manuscripts to make a living, as so many men of letters were compelled. Furthermore Mullā Ṣadrā explicitly ordered all his handwritten materials to be passed down to his descendants. In determining this, a note left by a grandson of Mullā Ṣadrā on the back-cover of the first *ḡung* (Milli 19164) suffices (Fig. 4). The note refers to 'several' *waqf-nāma* (endowment letters) in which Mullā Ṣadrā explicitly forbade his handwriting to be scattered:

صورة ما وجدته مكتوباً على ظهر بعض الكتب بخط جدّنا الأمجد صدر العرفاء و المتألّهين أنار الله  
برهانه المبين و جعل له لسان صدق في الآخرين:  
«هذا الكتاب المسمّى بالأسفار الأربعة المشتمل على هذا المجلّد و ... من مصنّفاتي و كتبى و  
رسائلى و كلّ ما كتبتّه ... على أفضل أولادى النكور و بعده على أفضل ... عقباً بعد عقب بأن لا  
يباع و لا يوهب و لا يعار....».

This is a copy of what is written on the back of some of the books in the handwriting (*bi-ḥaṭṭ*) of our most glorious grandfather, leader (*ṣadr*) of the mystics and theosophists – may God illuminate his clear demonstration and let him have a tongue of trustfulness in the Hereafter. This book entitled *al-Asfār al-arba'a* includes this volume, and [the others?] from my works (*muṣannafāt*), my books (*kutub*), my treatises (*rasā'il*) and everything that I wrote (*kull mā katabtuḥu*) [are endowed] to my oldest [or: preferred?] male child and after him to the oldest ... generation after generation, on the condition that they shall be neither sold nor donated nor lent out...<sup>19</sup>



Fig. 4: Endowment deed dated 1004 ھ. /1596 CE in Millī 19164 inside the cover.

<sup>19</sup> This is a standard formula in *waqf* deeds. The note continues but damages render it illegible.

The form he uses here points to the *waqf awlādī*, and the purpose is not only to have the belongings remain in the personal sphere, but also to prevent them to be divided up according to shariatic rules of inheritance. Even in his first *ḡung*, the beginning of a treatise contains the explicit mention *waqf al-awlād* (Milli 19164, fol. 65a) (Fig. 5). It shows the manuscript to be part of a *waqf awlādī* endowment, and the endowment must have been made in a regular document (that we do not have). As it is known he had no children when he took these notes, it is clear the sentence was added afterwards (the ink and the quill differ), probably in his old age. The fact that all the autograph manuscripts of Mullā Şadrā are still in Iran is additional proof of his wish having been respected.

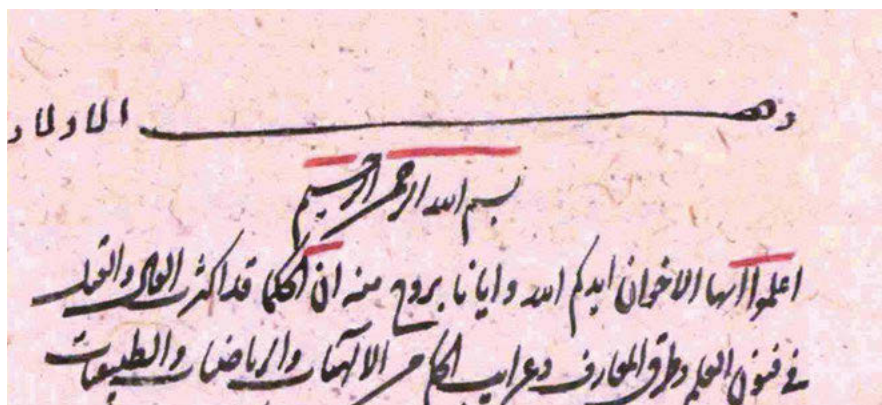


Fig. 5: Endowment sentence at the beginning of a treatise copied in Milli 19164, fol. 65a.

## 2.5 Taking notes

In terms of calligraphy, Mullā Şadrā's autographs are mostly written in *ta'liq* and *nasta'liq*. Mullā Şadrā wrote in *ta'liq* either for copying treatises or writing his own works.

During the early days in Qazwīn, he also copied a treatise in *nashī* script (Dānişgāh-i Tih-rān 8225), which had been the most popular book hand in the Islamic East for centuries (until the inception of *ta'liq* in the seventh/thirteenth century). Less frequently than the *ta'liq*, Mullā Şadrā also copied treatises in *nasta'liq* script (items 12, 14, 15, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24). This was the script of choice in the Persianate world (known in the Arab world as the 'Persian script'). But while *nasta'liq* was usually used to write Persian (as in Mar'aşī 10947, a poetic *dīwān*), Mullā Şadrā also used it for Arabic, even for commenting the Qur'an (item 20).

Finally, six manuscripts (items 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 19) are in *šikasta nasta'liq* (lit. 'broken *nasta'liq*') and *taḥrīrī*, two close variants resulting from writing *nasta'liq* rapidly.

In Milli 19164 (the first *ḡung*), the colophons do not appear in chronological order (see Table 4) This indicates Mullā Ṣadrā had first written on loose leaves, which were bound later into one volume (the last folios of the manuscript are missing). Future work on the original manuscript will enable us to answer such crucial issues as the quire structure of the volume and the binding.

Mullā Ṣadrā wrote in black ink but used red to underline, or rather, 'over-line' some words or significant passages (such as the colophons in item 1, see Fig. 1).<sup>20</sup> At times he inserted red points inside the text, between two hemistichs of a verse for instance (see Fig. 2 and Appendix 2: colophon of item 5, fol. 40a).

When copying treatises (in full or simply excerpts), he filled the width of the page, but would leave a small margin for corrections (in the drafts, or *musauwada*, the margin is wider, intended, as it was, for corrections and elaborations). His copy is very clean, as evidenced by the copy of the *Partau-nāma* by the Illuminationist philosopher Suhrawardī (d. 587 AH /1191 CE) (Fig. 6). Mullā Ṣadrā also added a table of contents to this anthology (item 5).<sup>21</sup> It features the same kind of formatting seen at the beginning of Multi-Text Manuscripts made during the Safavid period. The titles of nine *risāla* are written in three groups of three, roughly forming a square in the middle of the page (see Fig. 7).<sup>22</sup> In his second *ḡung* (item 8: 'Allāma Ṭabāṭabā'ī Dānišgāh-i Šīrāz 958), Mullā Ṣadrā used the same pattern to write the titles of the handlist of his personal library (see Table 6 and Fig. 8).

**20** Violet is also visible, as in the stroke above the date on the colophon of item 1, p. 248 of the facsimile, but it is probably not Mullā Ṣadrā's hand.

**21** It resembles the 'personal anthology' studied by Vatanever in this volume. See also general introduction.

**22** The owner's note top left of the page reads: من متمكات العبد الحقير محمد مؤمن ابن شيخ محمد قاسم الشريف 1164. Such a table of contents, on several folios, can be seen on the three magnificent *ḡungs* made for the vizier of Azarbayjan, Ṣahīr ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm, some decades later (see Karimi Zanjani Asl and Durand-Guédy 2022).

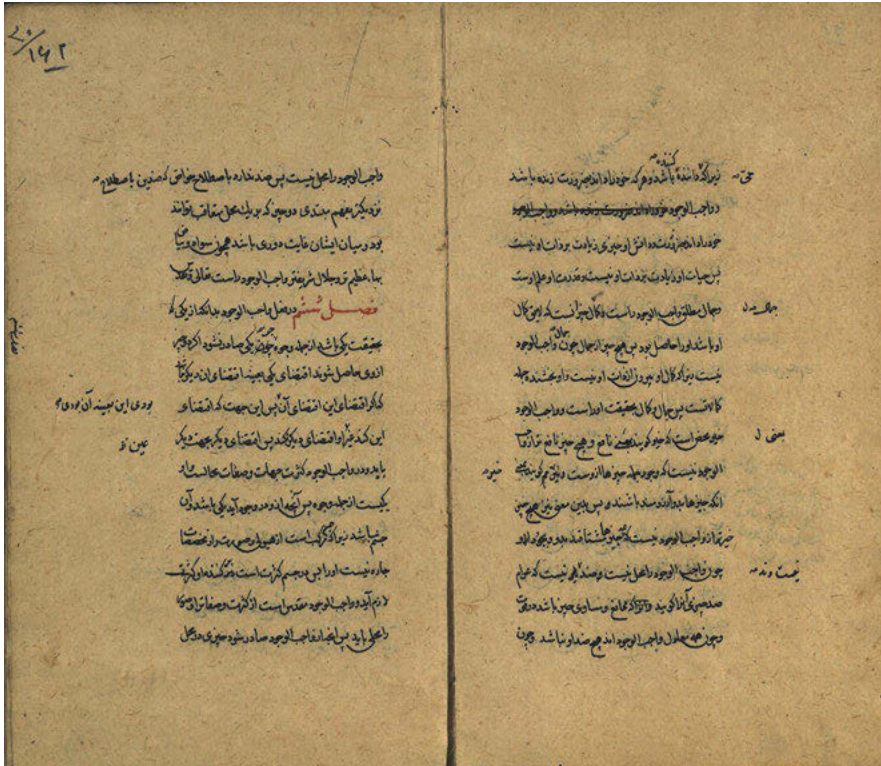


Fig. 6: Mullā Ṣadrā's copy of Suhrawardī's *Partau-nāma* in Dānišgāh-i Tīhrān 8225, fols 161b–162a.

For poetic excerpts, the formatting varies a great deal. For instance the quotes from Maḥmūd Ṣābistārī inside Milli 19164 (see Fig. 9, with a page of the facsimile edition and next to it, the same page with 50% opacity and directions of writing). On the first page, under the title *az Sa'ādat-nāma Šaiḥ Maḥmūd Ṣābistārī* ('from Maḥmūd Ṣābistārī's *Sa'ādat-nāma*') in the upper right corner, Mullā Ṣadrā starts by writing the verses he selected in one column-like format, one hemistich under another (this format is typical of personal notes as in Persian poetry, a verse is composed of two hemistichs which should always appear side by side).<sup>23</sup> Each excerpt ends with a heart-like symbol (actually a reverse five in

<sup>23</sup> e.g. the poems copied in the *Safīna-yi Tabrīz* and Hindūšāh's *bayāḍ*, dealt with by David Durand-Guédy in this volume.



Perso-Arabic numerals).<sup>24</sup> The second excerpt is written in diagonal in the right corner at the bottom of the page, the third on the top of the page, etc. At times, the writing direction changes: the fourth excerpt was written downward, with the fifth in the opposite direction. The following page (Fig. 10) displays an even more idiosyncratic way: the first excerpt starts as on the previous page, then winds around the bottom of the page, up to the bottom right corner, after which Mullā Ṣadrā turned his notebook bottom up and continued the excerpt by writing the hemistichs in the usual two columns (hence upside down), then he turned the notebook again to the right (long side up) to finish the excerpt on two columns. The following excerpts are written on one column (downward for the second and fourth excerpt, to the left for the third).



Fig. 7: Table of contents added by Mullā Ṣadrā at the beginning of Dāniṣgāh-i Tih-rān 8225.

24 Cf. Gacek 2009, 76.





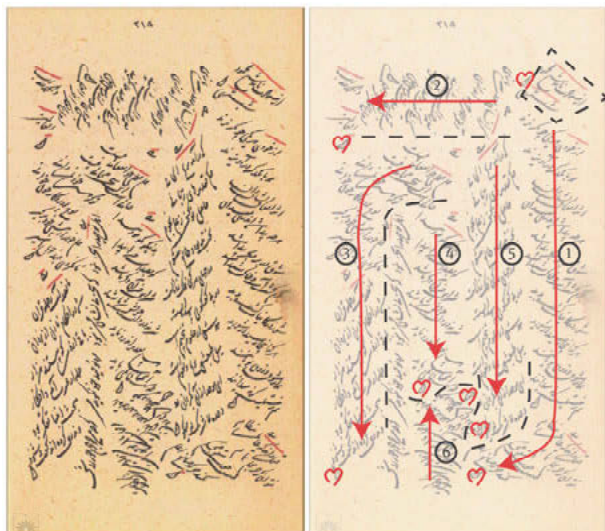


Fig. 9: Poetic quotes from Maḥmūd Şabistarī in Millī 19164, fol. 109b (p. 215 of the facsimile).

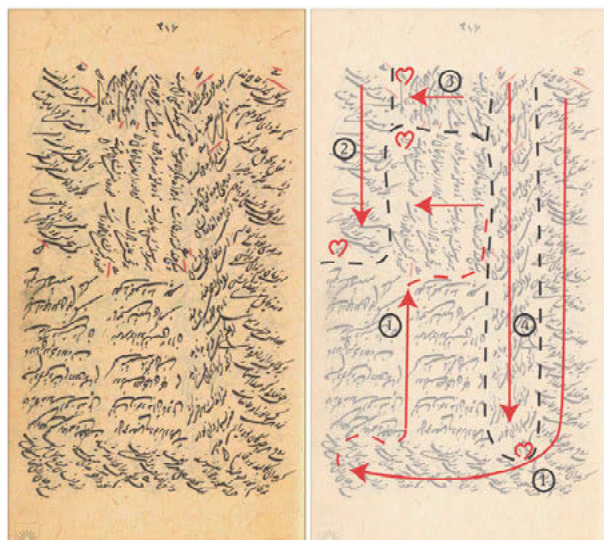


Fig. 10: Poetic quotes from Maḥmūd Şabistarī in Millī 19164, fol. 110a (p. 216 of the facsimile).

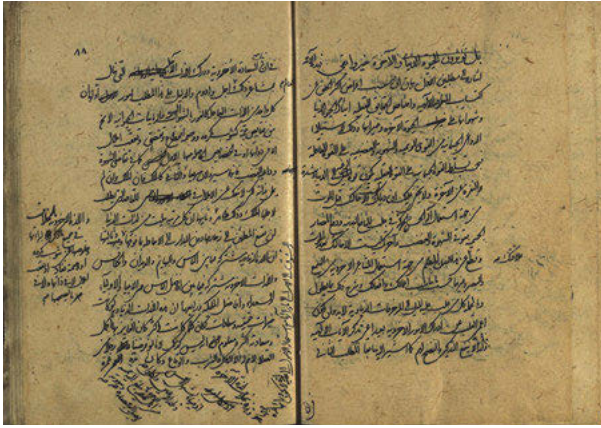


Fig. 11: Example of corrections on a draft copy. Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 10693, fols 87b–88a.

## 2.6 Contents

The topics that interested Mullā Ṣadrā were primarily philosophy and mysticism. In Appendix 2, all the treatises copied by Mullā Ṣadrā have been listed. The philosophers and the mystics have been indicated in Tables 6 and 7 respectively. These manuscripts mirror Mullā Ṣadrā's formation: in Qazwīn, Kāšān and Iṣfahān, he had studied Shi'ite jurisprudence (*fiqh*), the sciences of Qur'an and hadith, philosophy and logic. In quantity, the authors most copied by Mullā Ṣadrā are none other than his own masters, Mīr Dāmād and Šaiḥ Bahā'ī. They are copied in six manuscripts (items 2, 3, 4, 6, 15, 17). Conversely, setting aside the 'ḡungs' (items 1 and 8), only four manuscripts (items 3 and 5, 19 and parts of item 2) contain authors *other* than Mīr Dāmād and Šaiḥ Bahā'ī. As with all great scholars, Mullā Ṣadrā had perfectly assimilated the teachings of his masters before elaborating his own theoretical revolution.

Mullā Ṣadrā also copied works on logic ('Aḩud ad-Dīn al-Īḡī), hadith and prayers and astronomy (Šaiḥ Bahā'ī, Autolykos, Euclid and Ptolemy), and Qur'anic sciences (like the many commentaries by Ġazālī, Faḩr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, Naḡm ad-Dīn Dāya, 'Umar as-Suhrawardī and Kāšānī).

To a certain extent, Mullā Ṣadrā's personal copies mirror the rest of his library, at least as can be known from the list he took in item 8. This handlist, edited by Barakat and after him Rizvī, gave philosophy first place (in number of titles), far beyond the other subjects (see Table 8). Interestingly, Mullā Ṣadrā's library contains numerous books on jurisprudence, although this subject is

totally absent from his writings. The books were probably those he had to study while in the madrasas, and simply remained in his library.

Conversely, Mullā Ṣadrā's autograph manuscripts show that his range of interests far exceeded the horizons set by his masters Mīr Damād and Ṣaiḥ Bahā'ī, in poetry for instance. The latter did quote some verses from Sa'dī and Ğalāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad Balḥī (alias Rūmī), but Mullā Ṣadrā went far beyond that in both quantity and variety. All the major poets of Iran are mentioned, including all the mystical poets, from Sanā'ī (d. 545 AH / 1151 CE) to Ğalāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad Balḥī, Maḥmūd Ṣabistārī and Ḥāfiẓ of Šīrāz, to eleventh/sixteenth century poets (see Table 9). This interest in poetry is surprising as the handlist he made of his personal library does not contain one single poetic anthology, even though he quoted several poets in the same notebook.<sup>25</sup>

Similarly, Mullā Ṣadrā copied many philosophers which were not given right of entry into the madrasas, such as the esoteric tradition of the fourth AH / tenth CE century crypto-Ismailī *Iḥwān aṣ-ṣafā'* (copied in Millī 19164, pages 8–9, 130–143), Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) and post-Avicennian traditions, as well as the illuminative philosophy (*iṣrāq*) of Šihāb ad-Dīn Yaḥyā Suhrawardī (d. 587 AH / 1191 CE, followed by Dawānī, d. 908 AH / 1503 CE and Manṣūr Daštakī, d. 949 AH / 1542 CE).<sup>26</sup>

Also significant is the importance of mysticism in Mullā Ṣadrā's writings. From the first Muslim mystics in Abbasid Baghdad (Ğunaid Baġdādī and al-Ḥallāġ), to the major figures of the thirteenth century ('Umar as-Suhrawardī, Ibn al-'Arabī, Ğalāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad Balḥī) and fifteenth century (Ibn Turka and Muḥammad Nūrbahš). Of course, mysticism had become an essential dimension of Iranian philosophy since the fifth/eleventh century, but some authors were out of favour with the Shi'ī clergy. Interestingly the last mystic quoted ('Abdallāh Quṭb Muḥyī) pre-dates the Safavid takeover (the complex relationship of Mullā Ṣadrā with the ulamas of his time will be referred to below).

Islamic theology and heresiography is also represented, e.g. with the *Bayān al-adyān* of 'Alawī Balḥī (d. after 485 AH / 1092 CE) (Millī 19164, pages 34–36) and the *Qawā'id al-'aqāyid* of Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī (page 45). A particularly remarkable quotation in Mullā Ṣadrā's notes is Šahristānī's *K. Milal wa-n-niḥal*. As neither Mīr Dāmād nor Ṣaiḥ Bahā'ī taught it, its presence in the book is, I

<sup>25</sup> Item 8, facsimile edition, 58 (verses of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Ğāmī, d. 898 AH / 1492 CE and Muḥtaṣam Kāšānī, d. 996 AH / 1588 CE), 60 (verses of 'Urfī Šīrāzī d. 999 AH / 1591 CE), 61 (the lesser known Ṣaiḥ 'Alī Naqī Kamarīh'ī, d. 1030 AH / 1620 CE).

<sup>26</sup> On these scholars, see Corbin 1971–1972, Corbin 1986, as well as the relevant entries in *Iranica*.

believe, proof Mullā Ṣadrā followed the course of Mīr Findiriskī, the third luminary of Safavid Iṣfahān under Shāh ‘Abbās the Great.<sup>27</sup>

Finally Mullā Ṣadrā also copied pre-Islamic poets and philosophers (Homer, Hermes Trismegistos, Apollonius of Tyana’s *Sirr al-ḥaliqa*, Socrates, Solon); a surprising amount of Persian poetry (epic, lyrical and mystical); and one cosmographical work in Persian (*Nuzha al-qulūb* by Ḥamd-Allāh al-Musta’fi). Arabic poetry is present through the poems attributed to the two Shi’i imams ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusain.

There will now follow several comments on how Mullā Ṣadrā’s autograph material could be better studied to understand how he worked.

### 3 Perspective

The notes taken in Millī 19164 are from many sources, but deal with a small number of themes: the concepts of monotheism and unity of God (*tauḥīd*), divine love (*‘išq-i ilahī*), the meaning of knowledge, the hierarchy of existence, the meaning of prophecy, the esoteric meaning of the religious Law, ethics and the salvation of the soul. Strikingly, these are the core issues dealt with by Ibn Sinā, Suhrawardī and Faḥr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī in the treatises Mullā Ṣadrā copied less than two years later in Dānišgāh-i Tih-rān 8225 (item 5).<sup>28</sup> Mullā Ṣadrā developed them later in his work *al-Mabda’ wa-l-ma’ād* (1019 AH / 1609 CE). The question of the ultimate happiness of the soul after death apparently continued to occupy his mind as is found in the middle of his Qur’anic notes written around 1030 AH / 1620 CE : on fol. 29a, a short a passage on God’s infinite mercy has no connection whatsoever with the rest of the notes’ content. The same idea is developed later in his book *al-Ḥikma al-muta’ālīya*: he makes the ultimate happiness of the soul the reason for God’s forgiveness for all people (Muslim and non-Muslim).<sup>29</sup> This is an example of a theme to which Mullā Ṣadrā paid special attention during his formative years and can be followed throughout his life and later production.

A fascinating quotation in Mullā Ṣadrā’s early notes is Ḥusain ibn Manṣūr al-Ḥallāḡ, executed in 309 AH / 922 CE by the religious establishment of the Abbasid state. For having claimed a mystical union with God, al-Ḥallāḡ remained

<sup>27</sup> Rizvi (2007, 14) considered that Mullā Ṣadrā did not follow Findiriskī’s lessons. This confirms Corbin’s assumption (Corbin 1972, vol. 4, 58).

<sup>28</sup> See Karimī Zanḡānī Aṣl 2022.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Mullā Ṣadrā, *al-Ḥikma al-muta’ālīya*, vol. 5, 362.

the most famous example of the heterodoxy of the Sufis, and during the Safavid period, quite a few ulamas were very critical of him.<sup>30</sup> Mullā Ṣadrā wrote two pages on al-Ḥallāğ's *aṭ-Ṭawāsīn* in 1004 AH / 1595 CE (Milli 19164, pp. 286–287 of the facsimile) and he called him the ‘martyred shaykh’.

A quarter of a century later, in the middle of his Qur’anic notes, Mullā Ṣadrā quoted a commentary by the Iranian mystic ‘Ain al-Quḍāt al-Hamadānī (d. 525 AH / 1131 CE) about a sentence from al-Ḥallāğ<sup>31</sup> (item 10, fol. 28b).<sup>32</sup> Both mystics are known to have been killed (or ‘martyred’, in their followers’ eyes) upon the ruler’s order. Such an association in Mullā Ṣadrā’s notes is therefore meaningful in his *Kasr aṣnām al-ğāhiliya* written in 1027 AH / 1617 CE. Mullā Ṣadrā attacks the false Sufis; nevertheless, they also contain a defence of al-Ḥallāğ, in relying on Ġazālī’s *Iḥyā’ ulūm ad-dīn*.<sup>33</sup> Perhaps the attack of false Sufis was, for Mullā Ṣadrā, a diversion created to prevent the Shi’i Safavid clergy accusing him of heresy and apostasy?<sup>34</sup> Mullā Ṣadrā’s will in keeping his notebooks inside the family circle supports this hypothesis (in other words, he did not want the quotations taken from a scandalous figure to fall into the wrong hands).

Thanks to the draft and final versions of some of Mullā Ṣadrā’s books, and the handlist of his personal library,<sup>35</sup> a better understanding is obtained of how he thought and worked as a scholar. Taking an example from item 10 (Šāḥčirāğ 55, written before 1030 AH / 1620 CE), on fols 29b–50b, the first draft of Mullā Ṣadrā’s own commentary of the famous ‘verse of Light’ (*āya an-nūr*, Qur’an 24:35) is one of the verses most prone to esoteric interpretation.<sup>36</sup> But this draft version in the *ğung* notebook does not feature the introduction, the final passages or the colophon of the text visible in the holograph version dated 1030 AH / 1620 CE (Mar’aṣī 7716). The differences between the two versions are substantial, as can be seen on Table 10. In the draft version, Mullā Ṣadrā speaks of the

**30** On al-Ḥallāğ, see the seminal research of Louis Massignon, who insisted on the Christic-like attitude of al-Ḥallāğ toward death. Mullā Muḥammad Ṭāhir Qumī (d. 1098/1686) is an example of a Shi’i author, in phase with the Safavid state, who was disapproving of al-Ḥallāğ. See Qumī, *Tuḥfa al-ahyār*, 225–227.

**31** See ‘Ain al-Quḍāt al-Hamadānī, *Tamhīdāt*, 223–225; see also Karīmī Zangānī Aşl 2022, 125–127.

**32** The eleven texts making up *aṭ-Ṭawāsīn* have been translated by Massignon 1922, 830–839.

**33** See Mullā Ṣadrā, *Kasr*, 9, 28; Pürğawādi 1380/2001, 287–290 (and 273–291 for other references to al-Ḥallāğ in Mullā Ṣadrā’s works).

**34** See Karīmī Zangānī Aşl 1377/1998, 170–174.

**35** For a detailed presentation of Mullā Ṣadrā’s personal library by topic, see Karīmī Zangānī Aşl 2022, 84–121.

**36** About this verse, see Elias 2003, 188.

'*ulamā' al-kalām*, but this formula was highly equivocal as it could refer to the *mutakallimūn*, a special kind of theologians considered to be an enemy by philosophers. In the holograph, Mullā Ṣadrā instead wrote the neutral '*ulamā' al-lisān* (*kalām*, lit. 'word, speech', and *lisān*, lit. 'tongue, language', belong to the same semantic field, but *kalām* carries a special meaning since the first centuries of Islam; '*ulamā' al-lisān* could instead be understood as a specialist of the language).<sup>37</sup> Another significant difference is the replacement of *wuḡūdāt* ('beings') by *māhiyāt* (quiddities) in the last sentence.

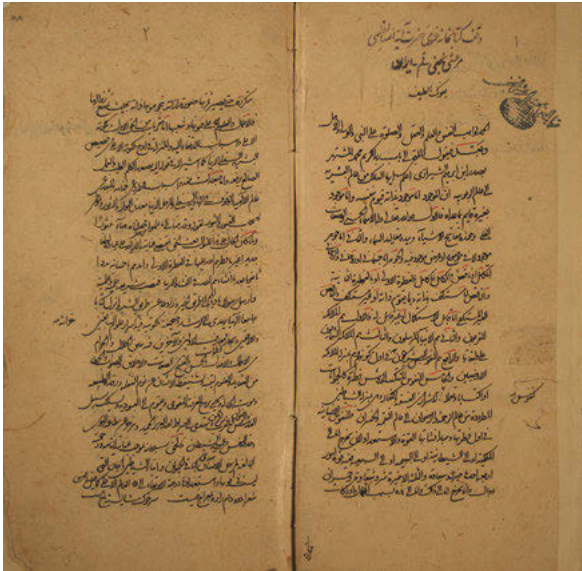


Fig. 12: Commentary of the Qur'an by Mullā Ṣadrā's hand, in Mar'ašī 7716, fols 57b–58a.

On fol. 2b of the same manuscript (item 10), within a commentary of the tenth verse of the Sura 'The Angles' (al-Fāṭir, Qur'an 35: 10), Mullā Ṣadrā writes several sentences on his own intuitive interpretation of this verse and several other verses. It is written after the sentence *min al-wāridāt 'alā qalb al-kātib al-faqīr*, 'from the inspirations that came into the poor copyist's heart (i.e. Mullā Ṣadrā)'. It is a nice illustration of what scholars now call an ego-document.<sup>38</sup> But such

<sup>37</sup> On *kalām* as 'defensive apologetics', see Gardet 1997, 468–471

<sup>38</sup> On the ego-documents ('écrit du for privé' in French) cf. Schulze 1996, 14, 28. About this concept in the Arabic world during this period, see Reichmuth and Schwarz 2008.

personal impressions are rare in Mullā Ṣadrā's autograph manuscripts (Mullā Ṣadrā, as other scholars, usually wrote their commentaries directly on the manuscript they were reading).<sup>39</sup> It is of great interest that Mullā Ṣadrā uses this very passage in the preface of his commentary of the sura 'The Friday Congregation' (al-Ġum'a) in 1030/1620 (item 20 is the holograph version of it). In Table 11, the differences are noted between the two versions. It can be seen from his notes that the Qur'anic verses have been quoted incompletely, probably as it was written from memory, but in the holograph, they are restored in their canonic version. He must have checked the Qur'an he had at his disposal (there are two manuscripts in his library).

## 4 Conclusion

This first analysis of Mullā Ṣadrā's handwritings shows how we have been blessed with a truly unique set of twenty-four manuscripts written over at least forty years, mirroring his many interests, from philosophy to logic and literature to mysticism. They present an invaluable source for far more detailed investigations into the formation and intellectual evolution of the most influential philosopher of early modern Iran. They will be of great use in reassessing Mullā Ṣadrā's writing method, the sources of his thought (particularly on politics and the ideal governance inspired by Suhrawardī's political doctrine), and his attempt to find a way to escape self-censorship. As Michel Foucault said, the best way to follow the evolution of a thinker's thought is not by studying the final version of his work, but rather the scratched lines in the writing process. And it is upon this that future research should focus.

## Abbreviations

*Iranica* = *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater, 16 vols in print (London: Routledge / New York: Kegan Paul; then Costa Mesa: Mazda; then New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press); free online access <https://iranicaonline.org/>.

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<sup>39</sup> Cf. Mullā Ṣadrā's annotation to the Commentary of *Ḥikma al-iṣrāq* by Quṭb ad-dīn Ṣirāzī. See Schmidt 2010 for a detailed study of the annotations in the Ottoman manuscripts of the Leiden Library.



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## Appendix 1: Tables

**Table 1:** Mullā Ṣadrā's most copied works (source Bāqirī Ḥurramdaštī 1378/1999; GAL; Rizvi 2007; Dirāyatī 1393/2014)

Title	Subject	Number of manuscripts	References
<i>al-Ḥikma al-muta'ālīya fī al-asfār al-'aqliyat al-arba'a</i> ('The Transcendent Philosophy of the Four Journeys of the Intellect')	philosophy	> 310	Bāqirī 142–166; GAL SII, 588; Rizvi 56–58; Dirāyatī 13: 260–300.
<i>Kitāb al-Maṣā'ir</i> ('The Book of Meta-physical Penetrations')	philosophy	> 230	Bāqirī 202–217; GAL SII, 589; Rizvi 67–68; Dirāyatī 29: 520–531.
<i>aṣ-Ṣawāhid ar-rubūbiya fī al-manāhiḡ as-sulūkīya</i> ('Witnessing the Divine along the Path of the Wayfarers')	philosophy	> 170	Bāqirī 258–270; GAL SII, 589; Rizvi 60–61; Dirāyatī 21: 237–247.
<i>Ṣarḥ al-Hidāya al-ḥikma</i> ('Commentary on the Guidance in Philosophy')	philosophy	> 180	Bāqirī 180–191; GAL I, 608; GAL SII, 589; Rizvi 71–72; Dirāyatī 20: 970–980.
<i>Ṣarḥ Uṣūl al-Kāfī</i> ('Commentary of the Sufficient Principles [of Ṣaiḥ al-Kulainī]')	hadith	> 120	Bāqirī 89–96; GAL SI, 320, GAL SII, 589; Rizvi 73–75; Dirāyatī 20: 470–479
<i>al-Mabda' wa-l-Ma'ād</i> ('The Beginning and the Ending')	philosophy / theology	> 110	Bāqirī 278–286; GAL SII, 589; Rizvi 64–65; Dirāyatī 27: 783–789.
<i>al-Ḥikma al-'arṣīya</i> ('The Wisdom of the Throne')	philosophy	> 80	Bāqirī 241–245; GAL SII, 588; Rizvi 63; Dirāyatī 13: 250–254.
<i>Tafsīr āya an-Nūr</i> ('Commentary of the verse of Light')	Qur'anic studies	> 70	Bāqirī 241–245; Rizvi 80–81; Dirāyatī 8: 623–632.
<i>Asrār al-āyāt wa-anwār al-bayyināt</i> ('Secrets of the verses/signs and their manifest lights')	Qur'anic studies	> 70	Bāqirī 30–34; GAL SII, 589; Rizvi 78; Dirāyatī 3: 374–378.

**Table 2:** Datation and contents of Mullā Ṣadrā's autograph manuscripts

Item	Location	Date of Copy AH/CE	Content	Subject	Language
1	Tehran, Millī 19164	1004/1596	personal notes and quotations	philosophy, literature, mysticism, Qur'anic studies, theology, heresiography	Ar., Ps.
2	Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṛān 1773	1005/1597	three treatises of Ṣaiḥ Bahā'ī, al-Ġurġānī and al-Īǧī; poetic excerpts	hadith, theology, philosophy, logic, literature	Ar.
3	Šīrāz, Ḥānqāh Aḥmadī 693	1005/1597 – 1006/1598	four treatises of Ṣaiḥ Bahā'ī, Muḥammad Ġazālī, Fārābī; poetic excerpts; quotations of Euclid and Faḥr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī	hadith, theology, philosophy, <i>tafsīr</i> , astronomy, literature	Ar., Ps.
4	Tehran, Malīk 693	1006/1598	treatise of Ṣaiḥ Bahā'ī	hadith	Ar.
5	Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṛān 8225	1006/1598	nine treatises of Ibn Sīnā, Suhrawardī and Faḥr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī	philosophy, mysticism	Ar., Ps.
6	Iṣfahān, Kalbāsī	1007/1599	treatise of Mīr Dāmād	philosophy	Ar.
7	Šīrāz, Madrasa- yi Imām-i 'Aṣr 46	1019/1609	holograph ( <i>bayāḍ</i> ) of his <i>al-Mabda' wa-l-Ma'ād</i>	philosophy	Ar.
8	Šīrāz, 'Allāma Ṭabāṭabā'ī Dānišgāh-i Šīrāz 958	Between 1019/1609 and 1030/1620	personal notes; eight treatises from six different authors various authors (Dawānī, Ṭūsī, 'Umar as-Suhrawardī, Muḥammad Ġazālī, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn al-'Arabī); handlist of his personal library	philosophy, literature, mysticism, Qur'anic studies, theology	Ar., Ps.
9	Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṛān 10693	1027/1617	draft version ( <i>musawwada</i> ) of three of his works: <i>Aḡwiba al-masā'il</i> , <i>Kasr aṣnām al-ġāhiliya</i> , and <i>Tafsīr sūra al-a'lā</i>	mysticism, Qur'anic studies	Ar.

Item	Location	Date of Copy AH/CE	Content	Subject	Language
10	Šīrāz, Šāhčīrāq 55	Before 1030/1620	draft version ( <i>musauwada</i> ) of one of his works; notes on Qur'an and poetic quotations; two treatises of Nağm ad-Dīn Dāyā and 'Abd ar-Razzāq Kāšānī	mysticism, Qur'anic studies	Ar., Ps.
11	Qum, Mar'ašī 7716	1030/1620	holograph ( <i>bayāḍ</i> ) of three of his works: <i>Tafsīr Āyat an-Nūr</i> , <i>Tafsīr sūra aṭ-Ṭāriq</i> , and <i>al-Maṭāli' wa-l-išrāqāt</i>	Qur'anic studies	Ar.
12	Tehran, Mağlis 10602	1031/1621	holograph ( <i>bayāḍ</i> ) of his <i>Iksīr al-'arīfin</i>	philosophy	Ar.
13	Qum, Mar'ašī 4322	1044/1633	holograph ( <i>bayāḍ</i> ) of his <i>Šarḥ Uṣūl al-Kāfi</i>	hadith	Ar.
14	Tabrīz, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī 3096	1044/1633	holograph ( <i>bayāḍ</i> ) of his <i>Šarḥ Uṣūl al-Kāfi</i>	hadith	Ar.
15	Tehran, Mağlis 13614	n.d.	two treatises of Mīr Dāmād	philosophy	Ar.
16	Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 254	n.d.	draft version ( <i>musauwada</i> ) of his <i>Šarḥ al-hidāya al-ḥikma</i>	philosophy	Ar.
17	Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 1090	n.d.	treatise of Mīr Dāmād	philosophy	Ar.
18	Qum, Masğid A'zam 1916	n.d.	draft version ( <i>musauwada</i> ) of his <i>Tafsīr sūra al-Baqara</i>	Qur'anic studies	Ar.
19	Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 7048a	n.d.	anthology of Ğalāl ad-Dīn Balḥī (Rūmī)	mysticism	Ps.
20	Qum, Mar'ašī 14605	n.d.	holograph ( <i>bayāḍ</i> ) of his <i>al-Maṭāli' wa-l-išrāqāt</i> (a.k.a. <i>Tafsīr sūra al-ğum'a</i> )	Qur'anic studies	Ar.

Item	Location	Date of Copy AH/CE	Content	Subject	Language
21	Qum, Mar'ašī 10947	n.d	draft version ( <i>musau-wada</i> ) of his poetic <i>dīwān</i>	literature	Ps.
22	Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 2602	n.d	holograph ( <i>bayāḡ</i> ) of his <i>Ḥudūt al-'ālam</i>	philosophy	Ar.
23	Qum, Mar'ašī 13260	n.d	holograph ( <i>bayāḡ</i> ) of his <i>Ḥāšiya aš-Šifa'</i>	philosophy	Ar.
24	Qum, Mar'ašī 13257	n.d	holograph ( <i>bayāḡ</i> ) of his <i>Ḥāšiya Ḥikma al-išrāq</i>	philosophy	Ar.

Table 3: Mullā Ṣadrā's works

Date of Composition AH / CE	Title
1019/1609	<i>al-Mabda' wa-l-Ma'ād</i> ('The beginning and the ending')
1023/1613	<i>Tafsīr Āya al-Kursī</i> ('Commentary of the Throne verse')
1023/1613	<i>al-Wāridāt al-qalbiya fi ma'rifa ar-rubūbiya</i> ('Insights in the heart about knowledge of the divine')
1027/1617	<i>Kasr ašnām al-ḡāhiliya fi ḡamm al-mutaṣawwifa</i> ('Destroying the Idols of Unbelief in admonition of the soi-disant Sufis')
1029/1619	<i>Mafātīḥ al-ḡaib</i> ('Keys to the unseen')
1029/1619	<i>Šarḥ al-hidāya al-ḥikma</i> ('Commentary on the Guidance in Philosophy')
1030/1620	<i>Tafsīr Āyat an-Nūr</i> ('Commentary of the Light verse') <i>Tafsīr sūra al-ḡum'a</i> ('Commentary of Sura of The Friday Congregation') <i>Tafsīr sūra aḡ-Ṭāriq</i> ('Commentary of the Sura of The Night Star') <i>Tafsīr sūra Yā-Sīn</i> ('Commentary of the Sura Yāsīn')
1031/1621	<i>Iksīr al-'ārifīn fi ma'rifat ṭariq al-ḡaqq wa-l-yaqīn</i> ('The elixir of the gnostics on the knowledge of the way of Truth and certainty')
1032/1622	<i>Risāla al-ḡašr</i> ('The treatise on the resurrection')
1037/1627	<i>Risāla fi ittiḥād al-'āqil wa-l-ma'qūl</i> ('On the union of the intellecting agent and the intellecteed')
1044/1633	<i>Šarḥ Uṣūl al-Kāfi</i> ('Commentary on [al-Kulainī's] <i>Sufficient Principles</i> ')

**Table 4:** Data from colophons in Mullā Şadrā's autograph manuscripts

Legend. Abbreviations: M.: Muḥammad; Ş: Şadr; ŞD: Şadr ad-Din; ŞŞ: Şadr aŞ-Şirāzī. The manuscripts are listed according to Table 2 (item 1 = Millī 19164, etc.). For Millī 19164 (item 1), the original foliation is not visible in the facsimile edition. For the Hegirian dates, the Roman numerals refer the lunar months.

Item	Colophon (fol.)	Place of copy	Date of copy		Self-designation of the copyist		
			Month and year AH	CE equivalent	Epithet	<i>Laqab</i>	<i>Isim, nasab, nisba</i>
1	41a (p. 79)	-	IX 1004	29 Apr.– 28 May	<i>al-faqīr</i>	ŞD	M. b. Ibrāhīm Şirāzī
	52a (p. 101)	-	IX 1004	1596	-	ŞD	M. b. Ibrāhīm Şirāzī
	73a (p. 143)	-	VII 1004	[20] Mar. 1596	<i>al-aqall al-aḥqar</i>	ŞD	Muḥammad Şirāzī
	109a (p. 214)	-	VII 1004	1–30 Mar. 1596	<i>al-faqīr al-muḥtāğ</i>	ŞD	b. Ibrāhīm Şirāzī
	118a (p. 232)	-	1004	1595– 1596	<i>al-faqīr al-ḥaqīr al-muḥtāğ</i>	ŞD	b. Ibrāhīm Şirāzī
	120b (p. 237)	-	III 1004	4 Nov.–3 Dec. 1595	<i>al-aḥqar al-aḍʿaf al-muḥtāğ</i>	ŞD	M. b. Ibrāhīm Şirāzī
	126a (p. 248)	-	VII 1004	1–30 Mar. 1596	-	ŞD	b. Ibrāhīm Şirāzī
2	23a	Qazwīn	XII 1005	16 July–13 Aug. 1597	<i>ʿabduhu ar-rāğī</i>	ŞD	M. Şirāzī
3	102b	-	10 VIII 1006	18 March 1598	-	ŞD	M. b. Ibrāhīm Şirāzī
	116b	Qazwīn	XI 1005	16 June– 14 July 1597	-	-	-
	157b	Qazwīn	1005	1597	<i>al-aqall al-aqallīn</i>	ŞD	M. b. Ibrāhīm aŞ-Şirāzī
4	97b	Qazwīn	28 II 1006	10 Oct. 1597	<i>al-faqīr ilā Allāh al-ğanī</i>	ŞD	M. Şirāzī



Item	Colophon (fol.)	Place of copy	Date of copy		Self-designation of the copyist		
			Month and year AH	CE equivalent	Epithet	<i>Laqab</i>	<i>Ism, nasab, nisba</i>
5	40a	Qazwīn	20 VIII 1006	28 March 1598	<i>al-'abd aḍ-ḍa'īf</i>	ŞD	b. Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā M.
	117a	-	7 IX 1006	13 April 1598	-	-	-
	141a	Qazwīn	IX 1006	7 April–6 May 1598	<i>al-'abd al-muḥtāğ ilā Allāh</i>	ŞD	b. Ibrāhīm Muḥammad
	181a	Qazwīn	X 1006	7 May–4 June 1598	-	ŞD	Şīrāzī
	201a	Qazwīn	X 1006	-	-	-	-
	209b	-	-	-	-	-	-
	217a	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	1 III 1007	2 Oct. 1598	<i>al-'abd aḍ-ḍa'īf ar-rāğī ilā Allāh al-ğanī</i>	ŞD	M
7	-	-	1019	1609	-	-	-
8	15b	Asadābād	between 1019 and 1030	between 1609 and 1620	-	-	-
9	72a	-	beg. VIII 1020	c. 9 Oct. 1611	<i>mu'allifuhu</i>	-	-
	94a	-	-	-	<i>[al-]mu'allif al-faqīr al-muḥtāğ ilā raḥma al-ḥaqq ta'ālā...</i>	ŞD	M. b Ibrāhīm
11	36a	-	IV 1030	23 Feb.–23 Mar. 1621	<i>mu'allifuhu</i>	ŞD	M. b Ibrāhīm
	116b	-	VII 1030	22 May.–20 June. 1621	<i>mu'allifuhu</i>	Ş	M
12	26b	-	1031	1622	<i>mu'allifuhā wa-muta-ğammi'uhā al-miskīn al-mustakīn</i>	ŞD	M

Item	Colophon (fol.)	Place of copy	Date of copy		Self-designation of the copyist		
			Month and year AH	CE equivalent	Epithet	Laqab	Isn, nasab, nisba
13	255b	-	1044	1633	<i>mu'allif aš-šāriḥ biyadihi al-ġaniya wa at-tīya al-fāniya</i>	ŞŞ	M. b Ibrāhīm
14	100b	-	1044	1633	-	-	-
15	51a	-	-	-	<i>ḥādīm al-quwa al-'aliya ar-ruḥāniya</i>	ŞD	M. Ibrāhīm
16	292a	-	-	-	<i>mu'allifuhu</i>	Ş	M. Şirāzī
17	1a	-	-	-	<i>al-ġaniya al-fāniya mu'allifuhu</i>	Ş	M. Şirāzī
22	1a	-	-	-	<i>al-ġaniya al-fāniya</i>	ŞD	M. b. Ibrāhīm al-Şirāzī

Table 5: Table of contents of Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 8225 (item 5 in Table 2)

فهرست ما في هذه المجموعة من الرسائل		
رسالة في بيان حال النفس و سعادتها و شقاوتها ايضا له	رسالة في بيان القوى النفسانية ايضا له رفع رسمه	الرسالة الاضحية في المعاد للشيخ الرئيس قدس سره
الرسالة المسماة بپرتونامه على لغة الفرس لصاحب الاشارات و الانوار الشيخ المقتول السهروردي	رسالة في بيان معراج النبي صلى الله عليه و آله لغة الفرس ايضا للشيخ	رسالة في الحدود و الرسوم ايضا للشيخ رفع رسمه
رسالة في الاخلاق للشيخ الرئيس قدس سره	الرسالة المسماة بأواز پر جبرئيل ايضا لصاحب الانوار و الاشارات رفع الله روحه	رسالة في بيان معرفة الله تعالى و اسرار النبوة و حكمة التكليف للعلامة الشيرازي

**Table 6:** Philosophers copied by Mullā Şadrā in his autograph manuscripts

<b>Author</b>	<b>Work copied by Mullā Şadrā</b>
Apollonius of Tyana (d. 96 CE)	<i>Sirr al-ḥalīqa</i>
Abū Naşr al-Fārābī (d. 329/950)	<i>Mabādī al-mauğūdāt</i>
Iḥwān aş-şafā' (4th/10th c.)	<i>Rasā'il</i>
Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037)	<i>ar-Risāla fī aş-şal'āt</i> <i>ar-Risāla al-aḥḥawīya</i> <i>Fī bayān al-quwwa al-insānīya</i> <i>al-Aḥlāq</i> <i>al-Işārāt wa-t-tanbīhāt</i> <i>Fī bayān ḥāl an-nafs</i> <i>Risāla fī al-ḥudūd</i> <i>Risāla al-mi'rāğ</i> <i>Su'al wa-ğawāb Abū Sa'īd wa-Ibn Sīnā</i>
Muḥammad Ğazālī (d. 505/1111)	<i>Tahāfut al-falāsifa</i> <i>al-Maḥnūn bihī 'alā ğayr ahlihi</i>
Şihāb ad-Dīn Yaḥyā Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191)	<i>Āwāz-i par-i Ğibra'īl</i> <i>Partau-nāma Sulaimān-Şāhī</i>
Faḥr ad-Dīn ar-Razī (d. 606/1210)	<i>Bayān ma'rifat Allāh</i> <i>Asrār an-Nubuwwa</i> <i>al-Mabāḥiṭ al-maşriqiya</i>
Naşīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274)	<i>Baqā' an-nafs ba'd ḥarāb al-badan</i> <i>Āğāz wa-anğām</i> <i>Qawā'id al-'aqqā'id</i>
Sayyid Şarīf al-Ğurjānī (d. 816/1413)	<i>Maqāla fī al-'ilm</i> <i>Marātib-i Mauğūdāt</i>
Ğalāl ad-Dīn Dawānī (d. 908/1503)	<i>az-Zaurā'</i> <i>Aḥlāq ğalālī</i>
Mīr Dāmād (d. 1040/1631)	<i>al-Şaḥīfat al-malakūtīya</i> <i>at-Taqdīsāt</i> <i>aş-Şirāṭ al-mustaqīm</i>

**Table 7:** Mystics copied by Mullā Şadrā in his autograph manuscripts

<b>Author</b>	<b>Work copied by Mullā Şadrā</b>
Ğunaid al-Bağdādī (d. 297/910)	(words attributed to him)
Ĥusain b. Manşūr al-Ĥallāğ (d. 309/922)	<i>aṭ-Ṭawāsīn</i>
Muĥammad Ğazālī (d. 505/1111)	<i>Minhāğ al-‘ābidīn</i> <i>Miškāt al-anwār</i> <i>Mufīd al-mustafīd</i> <i>Sirr al-‘ālamīn</i> <i>Ğawāhir al-Qur‘ān</i> <i>Tafsīr Qur‘ān</i>
‘Ain al-Quḍāt al-Hamadānī (d. 525/1131)	<i>Tamhīdāt</i>
Şihāb ad-Dīn ‘Umar as-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234)	<i>Tafsīr al-Qur‘ān</i> (words attributed to him)
Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 638/1240)	<i>al-Futūĥāt al-Makkīya</i> <i>Fuşūş al-ĥikam</i> [Letter to Faĥr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī]
Ğalāl ad-Dīn Balĥī alias Rūmī (d. 672/1273)	<i>Maṭnawī</i>
‘Azīz ad-Dīn an-Nasafī (d. c. 680/1282)	<i>Kaşf al-ĥaqā‘iq</i> <i>Ṭarā‘iq al-ĥaqā‘iq</i>
‘Abd ar-Razzāq Kāşānī (d. 735/1335)	<i>Ta’wīlāt al-Qur‘ān</i>
Mahmūd Şabistarī (d. 740/1340)	<i>Ĥaqq al-yaqīn</i> <i>Sa‘ādat-nāma</i> <i>Gulşan-i rāz</i>
Şā‘in ad-Dīn Ibn Turka (d. 835/1432)	<i>al-Mafāĥiş</i>
Abū al-Wafā Ĥwārazmī (d. 835/1432)	<i>Daftar al-ğawāhir</i>
Muĥammad Nūrbaĥş (d. 869/1465)	(words attributed to him)
‘Abdallāh Quṭb Muĥyī (d. after 901/1496)	<i>Makātīb</i>

**Table 8:** Mullā Ṣadrā's handlist of his personal library in Šīrāz, 'Allāma Ṭabāṭabā'ī Dānišgāh-i Šīrāz 958 (fols 69b–71a) (source: Mullā Ṣadrā 1998: 66–73; Rizvi 2007: 117–135)

Subject	Number of titles	Number of manuscripts
Philosophy	38	33
Jurisprudence ( <i>fiqh</i> )	14	17
Qur'anic sciences	9	11
Theology	7	7
Logic	8	8
Mysticism	10	9
Arabic literature	6	7
Astronomy, astrology	6	6
Hadith, prayers, ethics	8	9
Mathematics	3	3
Medicine	3	2
History	1	1

**Table 9:** Persian poets copied by Mullā Ṣadrā in Millī 19164 and 'Allāma Ṭabāṭabā'ī Dānišgāh-i Šīrāz 958

Century (AH / CE)	Poet
third/ninth c.	Bayazīd Baṣṭāmī (d. c. 261/875)
fourth/tenth c.	Abū Ṭāhīr Ḥusrawānī (d. 342/954)
fifth/eleventh c.	Firdausī (d. 416/1020), Manūčīhrī (d. 432/1040), Faḥr ad-Dīn As'ad Gurgānī (d. after 446/1054), Asadī Ṭūsī (d. 465/1073), Nāṣir Ḥusru (d. 481/1088)
sixth/twelfth c.	Ḥayyām (d. 517/1131), Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān (d. 518/1125), Abu 'l-Farağ Rūnī (d. 525/1130), Sanā'ī (d. 545/1151), Naṭanzī al-ma'rūf bi ḍu 'l-lisānain (d. 550/1155), Ḥasan Ġaznawī (d. c. 565/1170), Rašīd ad-Dīn Waṭwāṭ (d. 573/1178), 'Imādī Šahriyārī (d. c. 573/1178), Muğīr ad-Dīn Bailaqānī (d. 586/1194), Ġamāl ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Razzāq (d. 588/1192), Ḥāqānī (d. 595/1199), Ašrafī Samarqandī (d. 595/1199), 'Imād ad-Dīn Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201)
seventh/thirteenth c.	Nizāmī (d. 614/1218), 'Aṭṭār Nišāpūri (d. 618/1221), Kamāl ad-Dīn Ismā'īl (d. 635/1238), Sa'd ad-Dīn Ḥammūya (d. 651/1254), Sayf ad-Dīn A'rağ (d. c. 666/1268), Ġalāl ad-dīn Balḥī, alias Rūmī (d. 672/1273), Sa'dī Šīrāzī (d. 690/1291), Sa'd ad-Dīn Hirawī, 'Abd as-Salām Rūzbihān
eighth/fourteenth c.	Humām Tabrīzī (d. 714/1315), Mīr Ḥusainī (d. 718/1318), Maḥmūd Pūriya (d. 722/1322), Amīr Ḥusru Dihlawī (d. 725/1325), Auḥadī Iṣfahānī Marāğī (d. 738/1338), Maḥmūd Šabistarī (d. 740/1340), Ibn Yamīn (d. 769/1368), 'Aṣṣār Tabrīzī (d. 792/1390), Ḥāfiẓ Šīrāzī (d. 792/1390)

Century (AH / CE)	Poet
ninth/fifteenth c.	‘Imād ad-Dīn Nasīmī (d. 807/1417), Mūḥammad Ṣīrīn Maġribī (d. 809/1407), Ṣāh Dā‘ī Ṣīrāzī (d. 869/1465), ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān Ġāmī (d. 898/1492)
tenth/sixteenth c.	Waḥṣī Bafqī (d. 991/1583), Muḥtaṣam Kāṣānī (d. 996/1588), ‘Urfī Ṣīrāzī (d. 999/1591), Ṣāḥibī (d. 1001/1593)
eleventh/seventeenth c.	Mīr ‘Abd al-Ġanī (d. 1018/1610), Ṣāiḥ Baḥāī (d. 1030/1621), Ṣāiḥ ‘Alī Naqī Kamarīhī (d. 1030/1620)

**Table 10:** Mullā Ṣadrā’s comment on the ‘Verse of Light’ and preface of his commentary on the sura ‘The Friday Congregation’ (*al-Ġum’a*) in two autograph manuscripts

Mar‘aṣī 7716 (holograph dated 1030/1620), fol. 2a	Ṣāḥīrāq 55 (draft version before 1030/1620), fol. 29b
قوله عز اسمه {الله نور السموات و الأرض مثل نوره كمشكاة فيها { - الآية - تمهيد الإشارة في تحقيق هذه الآية يتمهد بأن لفظ النور ليس موضوعا كما فهمه المحجوبون من علماء اللسان و أصحاب الكلام للعرض الذي يقوم بالأجسام و هو الذي عرفوه بأنه لا بقاء له زمانين و هو من الحوادث الناقصة الوجود، بل هذا النور أحد أسماء الله تعالى و هو منور الأنوار و محقق الحقائق و مظهر الهويات و موجد الماهيات.	قوله سبحانه { الله نور السموات و الأرض مثل نوره كمشكاة فيها مصباح { الآية الإشارة في تحقيق الآية يتمهد بأن لفظ النور ليس موضوعا كما فهمه المحجوبون من علماء الكلام و أصحاب الألفاظ للعرض الذي يقوم بالأجسام و هو الذي عرفوه بأنه لا بقاء له زمانين و يكون من الحوادث، بل هذا النور أحد أسماء الله تعالى و هو منور الأنوار بل محقق الحقائق و مظهر الهويات و موجد الوجودات.
His saying, may His name be glorified: ‘God is the Light of the heavens and the earth; the similitude of His Light is that of a lamp in a niche.’ The verification of this verse requires an introduction, which is as follows: the word ‘light’ is not, as those experts on language and Kalām theologians ( <i>aṣḥāb al-kalām</i> ) who are veiled understand it, a subject of the accident ( <i>al-‘araḍ</i> ) that subsists by the behaviour of bodies. They have defined it as something that ‘does not remain for two moments’ and is among one of the imperfect temporal events in existence. Rather, this ‘light’ is one of the Name of God the Exalted. He is the One who is the illuminator ( <i>munawwir</i> ) of the lights, who actualizes the realities, manifests the ipseities ( <i>al-huwiyyāt</i> ) and existentiates the quiddities ( <i>al-māhiyyāt</i> ). (translated by Peerwani, in Mullā Ṣadrā, <i>Tafsīr Āya al-Nūr</i> , tr. 35).	His saying, be He glorified: ‘God is the Light of the heavens and the earth; the similitude of His Light is that of a lamp in a niche.’ The verification of verse requires an introduction, which is as follows: the word ‘light’ is not, as those experts on Kalām theologians ( <i>‘ulamā’ al-kalām</i> ) and associates of Words ( <i>aṣḥāb al-alfāz</i> ) who are veiled understand it, a subject of the accident ( <i>al-‘araḍ</i> ) that subsists by the behaviour of bodies. They have defined it as something that ‘does not remain for two moments’ and is among one of the events. Rather, this ‘light’ is one of the Name of God the Exalted. He is the One who is the illuminator ( <i>munawwir</i> ) of the lights, also who actualizes the realities, manifests the ipseities ( <i>al-huwiyyāt</i> ) and existentiates the beings ( <i>al-wuġūdāt</i> ).

Table 11: Mullā Ṣadrā's commentary on the 'Verse of Light'

Mar'āṣī 7716 (holograph dated 1030/1620), fol. 58a	Šāhčīrāq 55 (draft version, before 1030/1620), fol. 2b
<p>فالأعمال و العلوم - على فنونها و شعبيها - إما مقربات من الحق الأول و ملكوته الأعلى، و أسباب الارتقاء إليه، و المنزلته في أوج ملكوته الأعلى من حضيض البشرية السفلى الدنيا، كما أشير إليه في قوله {إليه يصعد الكلم الطيب و العمل الصالح يرفعه} و إما مبعدها منه و أسباب الطرد عن جنبه و البعد عن عالم الإلهية و الوقوف في الهاوية السفلى و المرحلة الدنيا و معدن البوار و الدثور و موطن أصحاب القبور لقوله {و قدمنا إلى ما عملوا من عمل فجعلناه هباء منثورا}</p>	<p>قوله تعالى {إليه يصعد الكلم الطيب و العمل الصالح} من الواردات على قلب الكاتب الفقير. تحقيق هذه الآية إن أفعال العباد و أقوالهم و أعمالهم على فنونها و شعبيها يؤل إلى قسمين منها ما هو سبب القرب و المنزلة عند الله و الارتقاء من الحضيض الأدنى إلى العلو الأعلى و هو المشار إليه في هذه الآية و منها ما هو سبب البعد عن العالم الإلهية و الوقوف في الهاوية السفلى و منشأ البوار و الهلاك كما أشار إليه بقوله {و قدمنا إلى ما عملوا فجعلناه هباء منثورا}</p>

## Appendix 2: Complete colophons inside Mullā Ṣadrā's autograph manuscripts (listed according to Table 2)

Item 1, fol. 41a (p. 79)

الحمد لله رب العالمين و الختم بالصلوة على رسوله محمد و آله و أصحابه أجمعين تمت الرسالة في شهر رمضان سنة أربع و ألف على يد الفقير صدر الدين محمد ابن ابراهيم الشيرازي عفا عنه

Item 1, fol. 52a (p. 101)

تمت في تاريخ شهر رمضان المبارك سنة أربع و ألف حرره صدر الدين محمد بن ابراهيم الشيرازي غفر الله له

Item 1, fol. 73a (p. 143)

تمت الرسالة على يد الأقل الأحمر صدر الدين محمد الشيرازي حرره في شهر رجب المرجب سنة أربع و ألف من الهجرة في ساعة تحويل الشمس إلى برج الحمل نفعه الله بها و ساير المسلمين

Item 1, fol. 109a (p. 214)

تمت الرسالة الشريفة المنيفة من تصانيف المرتضى الأعظم السيد الشريف رحمة الله عليه في شهر رجب سنة 1004 على يد الفقير المحتاج صدر الدين ابراهيم الشيرازي غفر الله لهما

Item 1, fol. 118a (p. 232)

تمت الرسالة في سنة أربع و ألف بحول الله تعالى و قوته م إن آثارنا تدل علينا فانظروا بعدنا إلى الآثار على يد الفقير المحتاج صدر الدين بن ابراهيم الشيرازي عفى الله تعالى عنهما و غفر ذنوبهما

Item 1, fol. 120b (p. 237)

تمت الرسالة في شهر ربيع الأول سنة أربع و ألف من الهجرية على يد الأحمر الأضعف المحتاج إلى رحمة الله صدر الدين محمد بن ابراهيم الشيرازي عفا الله عنهما

Item 1, fol. 126a (p. 248)

تمت الرسالة المسماة بالزورا في شهر رجب سنة اربع و الف حرره صدر الدين بن ابراهيم الشيرازي و لا حول و لا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم



Item 2, fol. 23a

قد تشرف بنقله من نسخة التي نقلت  
من نسخة الاصل بخطه ادام الله ظله  
عبدہ الراجی صدرالدين محمد  
الشيرازى فى محروسة  
قزوين شهر ذى الحجة سنة  
الف و خمس من الهجرة النبوية

Item 3, fol. 116b

تم كتاب الكرة لأطولوقس بعون الله تعالى فى شهر ذىقعدة سنة خمس و ألف ببلدة قزوين. تم

Item 3, fol. 157b

تمت الرسالة الشريفة الموسومة بتشريح الأفلاك فى شهور سنة خمس و ألف من الهجرة على يد  
أقل الأقلين صدرالدين محمد بن ابراهيم الشيرازى ببلدة قزوين

Item 4, fol. 97b

اتفق الفراغ من مشقة مشقة يوم السبت  
ثمان و عشرين من شهر صفر ختم بالخير و الطفر  
سنة ست و اله من هجرة سيد المرسلين  
عليه و آله افضل صلوات المصلين على يد  
الفقير الى الله الغنى صدرالدين محمد الشيرازى  
وفقه الله للعمل فى يومه لوزه قبل ان  
يخرج الامر من يده لمحروسة قزوين  
و الحمد لله اولاً و آخراً  
و باطنا و ظاهراً

Item 5, fol. 40a

قد فرغ من كتابة هذه الرسالة الشريفة النفيسة  
المنسوبة الى الشيخ الرئيس قدس سره العبد الضعيف  
ابن ابراهيم بن يحيى محمد الشهير بصدرالدين  
الشيرازى رزقه الله الوصول الى العالم الربانى  
العقلانى النورانى و التخلص عن  
كدورات الجسمانى الهيولانى الظلمانى  
فى العشر الآخر من شهر شعبان سنة 1006  
و الحمد لله اولاً و آخراً  
و باطنا و ظاهراً

Item 5, fol. 117a

فرغ عن تسويده  
يوم الثلاثاء 7 شهر رمضان سنة  
ست و الف

Item 5, fol. 141a

تمت المعراجية التي للشيخ الرئيس بمثابة  
المعراج على يد العبد المحتاج الى الله الغني ابن ابراهيم  
محمد الشهير بصدرالدين الشيرازي عفا الله عنهما  
في شهر رمضان سنة ست و الف بمحروسة  
قزوين صانها الله عن قدوم  
اعداء الدين

Item 5, fol. 181a

بدار السلطنة قزوين سرگشته ظلمات جسماني و مشتاق انوار مجرد جاوداني صدر الدين شيرازي  
توفيق بر كتابت اين رساله شريفه موسومه به پرتونامه  
ياقت. اميد كه از جمله معادات توفيق بر اتصال بانوار گردد و في الجملة خلع بدن كه زندان نور  
اسپهيد و موطن موت ابدى و معدن نقص سرمدپست دست دهد و الله على كل شى قدير در ماه  
شوال سنه ست و الف  
.: ان آثارنا تدل علينا .: فانظروا بعدنا الى الآثار

Item 5, fol. 201a

تمت الرسالة في شهر شوال سنة  
ست و الف بمحروسة قزوين

Item 5, fol. 209b

و الله اعلم بالصواب تمت الرسالة  
بعون الله و توفيقه و الصلوة على محمد و آله  
المعصومين و سلم تسليمًا

Item 6<sup>40</sup>

قد تم نقلها على يد  
العبد الضعيف الراجي الى الله الغني  
محمد الشهير بصدر الشيرازي رزقه الله

40 The digital version of the colophon available online (<http://mirdamad.info/wp-content/uploads/The-Last-Page-Of-Alsirat-Al-Mostaqim-Coppied-By-Molla-Sadra.jpg>) does not mention the manuscript folio.

توفيق الى رفض  
البدن و لذاته لذات الزور  
و نقض الحواس و آلاتها آلات القبور  
فى غرة شهر ربيع الاول  
سنة سبع و الف  
من الهجرة

Item 8, fol. 15b

كتب فى قرية اسداباد حين التوجه الى العتبات  
المقدسات حفت بالانوار الالهية و الاضواء الرحمانية

Item 9, fol. 72a

و قد تمت كتابته بيد مؤلفه  
فى اوائل شهر شعبان المعظم لعام سبع و عشرين بعد الالف ختم الله له  
بالحسنى و جعل عقباه خيرا من الاولى

Item 9, fol. 94a

و كتب هذه السطور مؤلفها الفقير  
المحتاج الى رحمت الحق تعالى رب الملك و الملكوت محمد بن ابراهيم  
المشتهر بصدر الدين الشيرازى مسلما مستغفرا

Item 11, fol. 36a

كتبه مؤلفه بيده الجانية محمد  
بن ابراهيم المعروف بالصدر الشيرازى حامدا مسلما مستغفرا  
فى شهر ربيع الثانى لسنة الف و ثلثين

Item 11, fol. 116b

حرر هذه السطور بيد مؤلفه محمد  
المشهور بصدر الشيرازى جعل الله عين عقله مكحلة بنور الهدى و كشف عنها عشاة  
الاسراء فى شهر الله الاصب رجب المرجب لعام الف و ثلثين  
حامدا مستغفرا مصليا على نبيه و آله اجمعين

Item 12, fol. 26b

و كتب ارقام هذه السطور بيده الجانية  
الفانية فى هذه الأيام و الشهور من عام الف و احدى ثلثين مؤلفها  
و مترجمها المسكين المستكين محمد المعروف بصدر الدين الشيرازى  
حامدا لله مستغفرا لذنبه و مصليا و مسلما على نبيه و آله غفر الله له و لواليه  
و لسائر المسلمين حيثما كانوا فى البلاد نجاهم الله عن موبقات يوم المعاد و الله ولى الرشاد

Item 13, fol. 255b

و كتب المؤلف الشارح بيده الجانية و التية الفانية في شهر أربع و أربعين سنة بعد الألف حامدا  
مستغفرا محمد بن ابراهيم المشتهر بصدر الشيرازى أوتى كتابهما بيمينهما بحق محمد و آله  
الطاهرين

Item 14, fol. 100b

قد تمت الكتاب

Item 15, fol. 51a

و كتب هذه الاحرف خادم القوى العالية الروحانية  
محمد بن ابراهيم الشهير بالصدر الشيرازى احسن الله احواله  
حامدا لله مصليات على نبيه و مستغفرا لذنبه

Item 16, fol. 292a

و كتب بيده الجانية الفانية مؤلفه محمد المشتهر بالصدر الشيرازى

Item 17, fol. 1a

و تلك خديعة الطبع اللئيم ،، ولكن الكل ميسر لما خلق له و كتب هذه الاحرف  
خادم القوى العالية الروحانية محمد بن ابراهيم الشهير بالصدر الشيرازى احسن الله احواله  
حامدا لله مصليات على نبيه مستغفرا لذنبه

Item 22, fol. 1a

و كتب هذه السطور بيده الجانية الفانية محمد بن ابراهيم الشيرازى  
المعروف بصدر الدين حامدا مصليا مستغفرا

## Appendix 3: Table of contents of Mullā Šadrā's autograph manuscripts

Milli 19164 (see Table 2, item 1)

- Verses from several authors including Ḥayyām, Ḥāqānī, Ğalāl ad-Dīn Balḫī (Rūmī) and Šaiḫ Bahā'ī
- Quotations of Muḥammad Ğazālī, *Minhāğ al-'ābidīn*; *Miškāt al-anwār*; *Ğawāhir al-Qur'ān* and *Mufīd al-mustafīd*
- Personal notes of Mullā Šadrā on the nature of the soul, treatise on the nature of the soul (*Risāla dar ta'rīf nafs*)
- Quotations of Ibn al-'Arabī, *al-Futūḫāt al-Makkīya* and *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*; words attributed to Ibn al-'Arabī
- Words attributed to Muḥammad Nūrbahāš
- Quotations of Iḥwān aṣ-ṣafā', *Rasā'il*
- Words of Mīr Dāmād quoted from memory
- Quotations of 'Azīz ad-Dīn an-Nasafī, *Kašf al-ḥaqā'iq* and *Ṭarā'iq al-ḥaqīqa*
- Quotations of 'Alawī Balḫī, *Bayān al-adyān*
- Quotations of Maḥmūd Šabistarī, *Ḥaqq al-yaqīn*, *Sa'ādat-nāma* and *Gulšan-i rāz*
- Quotations of 'Abdallāh Quṭb Muḥyi, *Makātīb*
- Quotations of Našīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī, *Qawā'id al-'aqa'id*
- Quotations of 'Abd ar-Razzāq Kāšānī, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān*
- Quotations of Apollonius of Tyana, *Sirr al-ḥaliqa*
- Quotations of Šā'in ad-Dīn Ibn Turka, *al-Mafāḥiṣ*
- Quotations of Ğalāl ad-Dīn Dawānī, *az-Zaurā'* and *Aḥlāq ğalālī*
- Quotations of Ḥamd-Allāh Mustaufī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*
- Quotations of Abū al-Wafā Ḥwārazmī, *Daftar al-ğawāhir*

Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 1773 (see Table 2, item 2)

- Šaiḫ Bahā'ī, *al-Ḥadiqa al-hilālīya*
- al-Ğurğānī, *Maqāla fi 'l-'ilm*
- al-Iğī, *Ādāb al-baḥt*
- Verses from several authors including Firdausī and Rašīd ad-Dīn Waṭwāt

Šīrāz, Ḥānqāh Aḥmadi 693

- Verses from several authors including 'Umar Ḥayyām
- Muḥammad Ğazālī, *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*

- Quotation of *al-Ḥuṭba al-Şişiqiyya*, *Taḥrīr al-Mağisti* and Şaiḥ Bahā'ī's *Kaškūl*
- Quotations of Faḥr ad-Dīn ar-Razī's *al-Mabāḥiṭ al-maşriqiyya*
- Quotations of Uṭlūqus (i.e. Autolykos), *Taḥrīr Kura al-mutaḥarraka*
- Quotation of Şaiḥ Bahā'ī, of *al-'Urwa al-wuṭqā*
- Personal notes on Euclid's *al-Ağrād maqālāt Uqlīdis*, *Multaqaṭāt min Kitāb al-manāẓir Uqlīdis*
- Şaiḥ Bahā'ī, *Taşrīḥ al-aflāk*
- Personal notes on the subject of *Kawākib al-mutaḥayyara*
- Quotations of Fārābī, *Mabādī al-mauğūdāt*

Malik 693 (see Table 2, item 4)

- Şaiḥ Bahā'ī, *al-Arba'un ḥadiṭan*

Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 8225 (see Table 2, item 5)

- Ibn Sīnā, *ar-Risāla al-aḍḥawīya fi l-ma'ād*
- Ibn Sīnā, *Risāla fi bayān al-quwa al-nafsāniyya*
- Ibn Sīnā, *Risāla fi bayān ḥāl an-nafs wa sa'ādatihā wa-şiqawatihā*
- Ibn Sīnā, *Risāla fi l-ḥudūd wa-r-rusūm*
- Ibn Sīnā, *Risāla fi bayān mi'rāğ an-nabī*
- Şihāb ad-Dīn Suhrawardī, *Partau-nāma*
- Faḥr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Risāla fi bayān ma'rifa allāh ta'ālā wa-asrār an-nubuwwa wa-ḥikmat at-taklīf*
- Şihāb ad-Dīn Suhrawardī, *Āwāz-i par-i Ğibra'īl*
- Ibn Sīnā, *Risāla fi l-aḥlāq*

Kalbasī (see Table 2, item 6)

- Mīr Dāmād, *aş-Şirāṭ al-mustağīm*

Şirāz, Imām-i 'Aşr 46 (see Table 2, item 7)

- Mullā Şadrā, *al-Mabda' wa-l-Ma'ād*

Şirāz, 'Allāma Ṭabāṭabā'ī Dānişgāh-i Şirāz 958 (see Table 2, item 8)

- Mullā Şadrā's personal notes
- *Ziyārat Ğāmi'a* (attributed to Shi'i Imam Hādī 'Alī an-Naqī)
- Ğalāl ad-Dīn Dawānī, *Ḥāşīya Ḥuṭba az-Zaurā'*
- Naşīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī, *Baqā' al-nafs ba'd ḥarāb al-badan*
- Şihāb ad-Dīn 'Umar as-Suhrawardī, *Tafsīr al-Qur'an*

- Šihāb ad-Dīn ‘Umar as-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), *al-Futūḥ* (words attributed to him),
- Muḥammad Ġazālī, *Tafsīr Qur’ān*
- Muḥammad Ġazālī, *al-Maḍnūn bihī ‘alā ġayr ahlihi*
- Ibn Sinā, *su’āl wa-ġawāb Abū Sa‘īd wa-Ibn Sinā*
- handlist of Mullā Šadrā’s library
- Ibn al-‘Arabī, [Letter to Faḥr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī]

Dānišgāh-i Tihirān 10693 (see Table 2, item 9)

- Mullā Šadrā, *Aġwiba al-masā’il*
- Mullā Šadrā, *Kasr aṣnām al-ġāhiliya*
- Mullā Šadrā, *Tafsīr sūra al-a‘lā*

Širāz, Šāhčirāq 55 (see Table 2, item 10)

- Notes on Qur’an by various authors including al-Ḥallāġ
- Mullā Šadrā, *Tafsīr Āya an-Nūr*
- Naġm ad-Dīn Dāya, *Muntaḥab Baḥr al-ḥaqā’iq*
- ‘Abd ar-Razzāq Kāšānī, *Muntaḥab at-Ta’wilāt*
- Verses of several authors including al-Ḥallāġ, Sanā’i and ‘Aṭṭār

Mar‘aši 7716 (see Table 2, item 11)

- Mullā Šadrā, *Tafsīr Āyat an-Nūr*
- Mullā Šadrā, *Tafsīr sūra at-Ṭāriq*
- Mullā Šadrā, *al-Maṭāli‘ wa-l-išrāqāt* (= *Tafsīr sūra al-ġum‘a*)

Maġlis 10602 (see Table 2, item 12)

- Mullā Šadrā, *Iksīr al-‘ārifīn*

Mar‘aši 4322 (see Table 2, item 13)

- Mullā Šadrā, *Šarḥ Uṣūl al-Kāfi*

Tabriz, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī, 3096 (see Table 2, item 14)

- Mullā Šadrā, *Šarḥ Uṣūl al-Kāfi*

Maġlis 13614 (see Table 2, item 15)

- Mīr Dāmād, *at-Taqdīsāt*
- Mīr Dāmād, *aṣ-Šaḥīfa al-malakūtiya*

Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 254 (see Table 2, item 16)

- Mullā Ṣadrā, *Šarḥ al-hidāya al-ḥikma*

Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 1090 (see Table 2, item 17)

- Mir Dāmād, *ʿArš at-taqdīs*

Masḡid Aʿzam 1916 (see Table 2, item 18)

- Mullā Ṣadrā, *Tafsīr sūra al-Baqara*

Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 7048a (see Table 2, item 19)

- *Muntaḥab-i Maṭnawī* (Mullā Ṣadrā's excerpts from Ġalāl ad-Din Balḥi, alias Rūmī, *Maṭnawī*)

Marʿaši 14605 (see Table 2, item 20)

- Mullā Ṣadrā, *al-Maṭāliʿ wa-l-išrāqāt* (= *Tafsīr sūra al-ḡumʿa*)

Marʿaši 10947 (see Table 2, item 21)

- Mullā Ṣadrā, *Maṭnawī*

Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 2602 (see Table 2, item 22)

- Mullā Ṣadrā, *Ḥudūt al-ʿālam*

Marʿaši 13260 (see Table 2, item 23)

- Mullā Ṣadrā, *Ḥāšiya aš-Šifāʿ*

Marʿaši 13257 (see Table 2, item 24)

- Mullā Ṣadrā, *Ḥāšiya Ḥikma al-išrāq.*





Judith Olszowy-Schlanger

# User-Production of Hebrew Manuscripts Revisited: the Case of Manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Huntington 200

**Abstract:** Manuscript Huntington 200 of the Bodleian Library contains a colophon in which a scribe is said to have copied the book for his personal use. The palaeographical study of the manuscript indicates this to be only partly true. In fact, several different individuals participated in this work. This article argues that this manuscript was produced in an urban workshop, rather than by a curious bibliophile for his personal reading. Thus far, professional commercial copy of Jewish manuscripts has been little studied, and the analysis of manuscript Hunt. 200 in this paper aims to contribute to this important issue.

## 1 Introduction

Manuscript Huntington 200 of the Bodleian Library in Oxford (henceforth Hunt. 200) belongs to a collection of over two hundred manuscripts in Hebrew characters, acquired in the 1670s in Aleppo by the chaplain to the merchants of the English Levant Company and Oxford Hebraist, Robert Huntington (1637–1701). When Huntington collected his treasures, Aleppo was a thriving commercial hub of the Ottoman Empire and hosted a large Jewish community. Its members were either of local ancient origin or descendants of several waves of refugees, notably from Egypt in the 1390s or Spain in 1492.<sup>1</sup> This vibrant community possessed ancient manuscripts, some produced locally, others brought by the immigrants.

Hunt. 200 was produced in Egypt, in 1279.<sup>2</sup> The manuscript does not mention its place of copy but its Egyptian provenance can be proposed on palaeographical grounds and confirmed by several fragments of another manuscript copied by one of the Hunt. 200 scribes, preserved in the Cairo Genizah. Hunt.

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<sup>1</sup> On Robert Huntington and his collection, see Mills 2020, 96–138; Mills and Merchán-Hamann 2020, 89–113.

<sup>2</sup> A possible Iraqi origin of the manuscript has been suggested by Beit-Arié 1978, 365–367, in a description of the manuscript appended to the textual study of the manuscript by Ta-Shma 1978, 356–365.

200 is one of a small percentage of extant Hebrew script manuscripts (less than 4000), containing a scribal colophon with crucial information on the circumstances of its production. On fol. 226<sup>r</sup> is written:

איסתיים הדין פירושא דבבא בתרא בחמשה בשבה דהוא / תמנת עשר יומי בירח שבט דהיא  
שנת אתקץ לשטרות / וכתב יתיה עזרא בן נתנאל / לנפשיה סימן טוב עליו ועל / כלל עמו  
ישראל

This commentary on the tractate *Baba Batra* was finished on Thursday, eighteenth of the month of Shevat of the year 1590 of the documents (Seleucid era = Julian calendar: 2 February 1279). Ezra ben Nathanael wrote it for himself, may a good omen be upon him and upon all his people Israel.

The colophon is written in Babylonian Aramaic. The main language of the Talmud, in the thirteenth century Aramaic was no longer a Jewish vernacular (with the exception of a few Eastern communities). It was, however, studied in Talmudic schools, and used, together with Hebrew (often as a mixed language), to compose erudite Rabbinic essays and commentaries, such as the one in Hunt. 200. In the colophon, a certain Ezra ben Nathanael is said to have copied this Talmudic commentary in person for his own use. The Aramaic expression לנפשיה, *le-nafsheih*, ‘for himself’ (or its Hebrew or Judeo-Arabic equivalents) is often employed in colophons of books copied by readers for their personal use (user-produced books). Books copied by literate individuals for their own needs and enjoyment constitute an important share of medieval Hebrew book production. According to Malachi Beit-Arié who analysed the sample of 2771 Hebrew manuscripts containing a scribal colophon, 38% of Hebrew books across the Jewish world were produced by a scribe working on commission for a specified patron, 29% were written by a scribe for his own use or for a member of his family, and 33% do not contain any mention of their destination. For the Islamic world, 22% of these manuscripts with colophons were produced for specified patrons, 27% were copied by scribes for themselves or their families and 51% do not mention their destination.<sup>3</sup> Malachi Beit-Arié added that manuscripts not specifying their destination may also have been user-produced as it would have been difficult not to mention a paying patron in the colophon had the manuscript been copied for a third party.<sup>4</sup> Extrapolating from the numbers of the manuscripts

<sup>3</sup> Beit-Arié 2021, 113.

<sup>4</sup> Beit-Arié 2021, 84 and 108–111; Beit-Arié 2003, 62–63.

with colophons, Beit-Arié argued that a large proportion of medieval Hebrew manuscripts were copied privately by literate individuals for their personal use.<sup>5</sup>

However, in the case of Hunt. 200, the straightforward information provided by the colophon appears to be misleading. Whereas the signatory of the colophon, Ezra ben Nathanael, participated in the manuscript's creation, he was but one of several different scribes who copied it. In this article, I will assess the implications of this attribution of the copy to one hand, one craftsman alone, when the palaeography tells a different story. I will argue that such a fallacious statement of the scribe's identity in an evidently multi-hand book has implications for the context of its production. After summarizing the textual, codicological and palaeographical features of Hunt. 200, I will argue how its palaeographical features indicate urban workshop production, rather than that of a curious bibliophile for his own personal reading.

The first study of the scribes of Hunt. 200 was provided by Malachi Beit-Arié, who identified seven scribal hands in a supplement to the study of the text of the manuscript by Israel Ta-Shma in 1978, and eleven scribes in Sfardata online database.<sup>6</sup> My own palaeographical analysis has identified six scribes, and one additional, much later scribe who wrote on damaged and repaired parts of fol. 2. Hunt. 200 is therefore a multi-hand manuscript, but only one of its scribes is mentioned in the colophon.<sup>7</sup> It is therefore difficult to consider Hunt. 200 to be a manuscript copied by a reader in his own hand for his own use. However, as will be seen, misleading as it is, the statement of self-production in this manuscript copied by different scribes is not a simple error or an untruthful appropriation. Instead it reflects a specific mode of the manuscript's production, and the role played in it by the colophon's signatory, Ezra ben Nathanael.

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5 Book production as a private initiative implies in turn high levels of literacy, but also explains strong textual variance and fluidity. The personal and unsupervised production and diffusion of books account for their free textual transmission: the scribes writing for themselves are much freer to introduce conscious changes into the text they copy, and are often less concerned by a precise transmission of their models. See Beit-Arié 1993, 33–52; Beit-Arié 2000, 225–247; Beit-Arié 2006, 91–103; Beit-Arié 2014, 17–28.

6 Beit-Arié 1978, 366; <https://sfardata.nli.org.il> (accessed on 28 July 2022), no. 0C077.

7 It may be relevant that the colophon itself is formulated in the third person, rather than as a declaration of the scribe in the first person, as is more frequent in colophons.

## 2 The contents

Hunt. 200 contains a commentary on the tractate Baba Batra of the Babylonian Talmud. Its text is, to a large extent, parallel to a shorter version of this commentary printed in the Vilna Romm edition of the Babylonian Talmud (1880–1886), and attributed there to Rabbenu Gershom Meor ha-Gola of Metz (c. 960–1040).<sup>8</sup> The original kernel of this commentary does go back to the teachings of Rabbenu Gershom and his followers in the Talmudic school (yeshivah) of Mainz, but contains later modifications.<sup>9</sup> This Talmudic commentary of the Mainz school circulated in Italy, and was quoted and transmitted, sometimes without mention of its original author, across the Jewish diaspora. In Italy, it was mentioned by Nathan ben Yehiel of Rome, in his *Sefer he-Arukh* completed in 1101. Around 1130–1140, the commentary was cited extensively in another Talmudic commentary, by Barukh ben Samuel known as ‘from the land of Greece’ (for he was active in southern Italy).<sup>10</sup> Barukh did not specify the sources of his quotations, and the commentary of Rabbenu Gershom was later mistakenly attributed to Barukh himself, by such Ashkenazi writers as Isaac of Vienna in his *Or Zarua*.<sup>11</sup> Barukh ben Samuel’s commentary circulated in Syria and Egypt and was mentioned, in the second half of the twelfth century, by Judah al-Madārī, a contemporary of Maimonides, in his commentary on Isaac Alfasi’s Talmud digest, the *Hilkhot Alfasi*.<sup>12</sup> A commentary on Neziqin by R. Barukh (כתאב תעליק) also features in a list of scribal jobs of a thirteenth-century bookseller, discovered in the Cairo Genizah.<sup>13</sup> Roughly at the same time, another Genizah booklist compiled by Ezra ben Meir mentions a Talmud commentary by

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**8** The Vilna edition was based on different manuscripts containing a shorter version of the commentary, see Dubovick 2015, 17. For an edition based on Hunt. 200, see Leitner 1998–1999.

**9** Epstein 1896, 115–143. Abraham Epstein hypothesized that the attribution of the commentary to Rabbenu Gershom stems from the ‘Arukh of Nathan ben Yehiel, who attributed to Gershom an anonymous commentary from the school of Mainz. For Epstein, the commentary reflects the teaching of the generations after Rabbenu Gershom, and notably of R. Elyaqim of Mainz, who was active in eleventh century. Israel Ta-Shma, for his part, argued in favour of Rabbenu Gershom’s authorship of the original commentary, which was successively augmented by other eleventh- and twelfth-century scholars, see Ta-Shma 1978, 359–360. For a recent summary of the discussion, see Dubovick 2015, 15–29.

**10** Ta-Shma 1978, 360.

**11** Ta-Shma 1978, 360.

**12** Ta-Shma 1978, 360–361.

**13** London, British Library, Or. 10656.5, see Allony et al. 2006, 287–289, no. 78; Beit-Arié 2021, 99–100; Olszowy-Schlanger forthcoming.

R. Gershom.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, R. Gershom was quoted *nominatim* in the supercommentary on *Hilkhot Alfasi* to the three Babylonian Talmud tractates, Baba Qamma, Baba Meši'a and Baba Batra, composed by Zakhariah ben Judah ha-Levi (c. 1120–1195) from the Moroccan town of Aghmat, which in turn incorporated quotations from the Book of the Candle (*kitāb al-sirāḡ*), a commentary on several Talmudic tractates by Alfasi's contemporary R. Isaac ben Ghayyāt.<sup>15</sup> Thus, the commentary of R. Gershom circulated in North Africa and the Middle East, either under its original author's name or in a version transmitted by R. Barukh ben Samuel. While the version of Zakhariah Aghmāti is similar to the text included in the Vilna Talmud, the version of the commentary of Baba Batra in Hunt. 200 is more developed and contains later additions. The Hunt. 200 does not mention the author of the commentary, and it is unclear whether its copyists and readers were aware of its ancient roots dating back to medieval Ashkenaz, or whether they knew it as the work of R. Barukh.

### 3 Codicology

Hunt. 200 is not a calligraphic artefact. Of average size, 24.5 × 16.5 cm, it is written on common Oriental paper. It was ruled with a *mistara*, a ruling board, but despite the use of this mechanical device the number of lines varies not only from one quire to another or from one scribe to another, but within the writing of the same scribe in the same quire or even between the recto and verso of the same leaf (fols 112<sup>r</sup>–112<sup>v</sup>, with a change of the scribe). Lines of text were added when the copy required it. The manuscript contains a wealth of additions, collations and corrections, most of them by two main scribes, which are shown below to be relevant to the process of the manuscript's creation. Several different hues of brown iron-gall ink were used to copy it.

The volume is composed of twenty-four paper quires, most of them composed of five bifolio. There are traces of writing on the talon, by the same hand as the previous folio. It is likely the scribe copied a longer portion of the text than that which he was assigned, realized his error, removed the entire folio (leaving a short talon for the stitching of the quire), and continued copying the text smoothly from fol. 17<sup>v</sup>. The folio catchword on fol. 17<sup>v</sup> corresponds to the

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<sup>14</sup> Allony et al. 2006, 80, no. 21.

<sup>15</sup> On this author and his commentary, see Leveen 1961; Hirschberg 1973; Malchi 2009. On Ibn Ghayyāt's Book of the Candle and its relationship with the commentary of Zakhariah Aghmāti, see Greenberger 2015.

beginning of fol. 18<sup>r</sup>. Quire 6 was originally a ternion, but the second half now contains only two folios (and the quire contains five folios instead of six): the last folio (after fol. 53) was cut off, probably having been left blank after scribe 2 finished copying his allocated chunk of the text, and before the writing was picked up by the next scribe (scribe 5) from the top of fol. 54<sup>r</sup>, the beginning of quire 7.

The manuscript contains different graphic means to ensure the order of the quires and leaves. Less resilient than parchment manuscripts, paper manuscripts tend to include more sophisticated ordering systems.<sup>16</sup> These were destined for the binders or for the readers and scribes, if the manuscript circulated unbound. In Hunt. 200, we find signatures of the quires, catchwords at the end of the quires, catchwords of the end of folios and numbering of the leaves in the first half of the quire. These different techniques are used unequally from one quire to another, and some depend on the choice of individual scribes: scribes 1 and 6 wrote a catchword at the end of every folio, scribes 2, 3 and 4, only at the end of the quire. Scribe 5 and 6 wrote the last word of a folio in the lower margin below the block of text, but did not repeat it at the beginning of the next folio – despite their graphic similarity, they are not catchwords. All quires were numbered at their beginnings in the inner upper corner of the margin, by Hebrew letters with a single dot or three dots above. These signatures, written all in the same hand, are visible in all the quires save those in which a piece of modern conservation tape covers the inner margin and probably conceals the numbers. In quires 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, the folios of the first half of the quire are numbered on their recto, in the upper inner corner; one dot for the first leaf of the quire, two, three, four dots and finally the Arabic numeral five for the fifth leaf – the right-hand leaf of the middle bifolio of a quinion.<sup>17</sup> The second halves of the bifolios are never numbered. This marking of the folios is absent in quire 3 (although it was copied by the same scribe as quires 1 and 2), 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 24. Such numbering of bifolios may be destined specifically for the scribes' needs: the copy of the book was made on individual bifolios which were gathered together into quires after the text had been copied.

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<sup>16</sup> Beit-Arié 2021, 332–333.

<sup>17</sup> For two more Oriental examples of this rare means of ordering of the copy, see Beit-Arié 2021, 357.

## 4 Palaeography

The manuscript was copied by six different scribes who worked independently but in close collaboration, towards the common goal of producing a single, coherent codex. Although sharing some typological features characteristic of the non-square Oriental bookhand of the thirteenth century, their handwritings differ. They maintain a similar page layout but follow their own idiosyncratic scribal practices.

The palaeographical identification of the scribal hands and their respective contributions is essential for the reconstruction of the process of producing and ‘editing’ this collective manuscript. The six scribes who copied the book shared their work unequally. Two of them, copied large portions of the manuscript whereas others participated to a lesser degree (Table 1).<sup>18</sup>

Thus, scribe 1 copied ten quires (1–3, 8–10 minus one page, fol. 92<sup>v</sup>, as well as 13–16); he also copied two folios at the beginning of quire 11 (fols 93<sup>r</sup>–95<sup>r</sup>, up to the middle of line 18). Scribe 2 copied three folios of quire 4 (fols 31<sup>r</sup>–33<sup>v</sup>), quire 6 from its second folio to the end, end of quire 11 and most of quire 12 as well as the first folio and lines 1–18 of the second folios of quire 17. Scribe 3 is responsible for only three folios in quire 4 (fols 34<sup>r</sup>–36<sup>v</sup>) whose first half was copied by scribe 2. Scribe 4, whose handwriting corresponds to that of the colophon and is the only scribe identified by name, Ezra ben Nathanael, copied quire 5 and one folio of quire 6, as well as all the last part of the manuscript, quire 17, from the end of the second folio, fol. 156<sup>v</sup> (ll. 19–27) to quire 24. Scribe 5

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**18** According to Sfordata, fols 6–8 were copied by a different scribe (scribe 2 in Sfordata), as well as fols 64–95 (scribe 9 in Sfordata), and fols 113–117 (scribe 11 in Sfordata). This is not confirmed by my own analysis which establishes that these folios were copied by scribe 1, like the rest of the quire, and that the differences are limited to the colour and quality of ink. The scribe 2 bears number 3 in Sfordata. The Sfordata identification of the pages he copied agrees with my own palaeographical evaluation, except for fols 50<sup>r</sup>–53<sup>v</sup>, which according to Sfordata were copied by a different scribe (scribe 6 in Sfordata). The identification of the pages copied by scribe 4, designated in Sfordata as scribe 5, corresponds to my own appreciation except for fol. 62<sup>r</sup> l. 16–fol. 63<sup>v</sup>, which in Sfordata have been attributed to a separate scribe 8. Whilst it is true that the handwriting corresponds to scribe 4, as do some of the space filling devices (extended letters), the shape of the graphic filler on these pages corresponds to the graphic filler used by scribe 5 who copied the previous part of this quire. I do not consider this space filler as sufficient to differentiate between the scribes. It is possible that scribe 4 (the main scribe of the volume) imitated the space filler of scribe 5 of the previous portion of the text, in order to contribute to the volume’s overall uniformity. The other scribes’ share of text are identical to Sfordata’s identification: my scribe 3 = 4 in Sfordata; scribe 5 = scribe 7 in Sfordata; scribe 6 = 10 in Sfordata.



copied quire 7 and scribe 6 copied only one folio, 112<sup>v</sup>, ll. 4–26, and even that incompletely. Thus, scribes 1, 2 and especially 4 copied the large part of the main text.

**Table 1:** The scribes and their portions of Hunt. 200

Scribe	Scribe (Sfardata)	Fols	Quire
1		2 <sup>r</sup> –30 <sup>v</sup>	1–3
		64 <sup>r</sup> –95 <sup>r</sup>	8–10 (less one page, fol. 92 <sup>v</sup> ) and two folios at the beginning of quire 11 (fols 93 <sup>r</sup> –95 <sup>r</sup> up to the middle of line 18)
		113 <sup>r</sup> –152 <sup>v</sup>	13–16
2	[3]	31 <sup>r</sup> –33 <sup>v</sup>	4
		50 <sup>r</sup> –53 <sup>v</sup>	6 (from the second folio to the end of the quire)
		95 <sup>r</sup> , middle line 18–112 <sup>v</sup> , l. 1–3	End of quire 11 and most of quire 12
		153 <sup>r</sup> –154 <sup>v</sup> l. 1–18	17 (first folio of the quire and lines 1–18 of the second folio of the quire)
3	[4]	34 <sup>r</sup> –36 <sup>v</sup>	4 (remaining part of the quire)
4	[5]	37 <sup>r</sup> –49 <sup>v</sup>	5 and 1 fol. of 6
		62 <sup>v</sup> l. 16–63 <sup>v</sup>	7 (last folio of the quire and thirteen lines of the previous folio)
		154 <sup>v</sup> (ll. 19–27)–226 <sup>v</sup>	17 from the end of the second folio to the end of quire 24
5	[7]	54 <sup>r</sup> –62 <sup>v</sup> (ll. 1–16)	7
6	[10]	112 <sup>v</sup> , ll. 4–26	End of quire 12 (except for the first three lines)

The different scribes have been identified on palaeographical grounds. Indeed, as has been seen, only one of them, Ezra ben Nathanael, scribe 4 in our analysis, signed in the colophon, while the other scribes' input is not mentioned at all. All six scribes wrote in the same type, mode and style of script: Oriental non-square bookhand, and their handwritings share common typological features. These scribes were all trained in the same scribal tradition. Nonetheless, it is relatively easy to differentiate between their individual handwriting, with the exceptions of scribe 2 and scribe 4 whose ductus, letter forms and scribal practices are so similar that only the inclination of the script and letter proportions make it possible to claim them to be of two different hands (Fig. 1).

מאזי צוריא דהקראוב מתני דע  
כרחו משן הזיק רחיה הואיל דעתי  
הואיל דעתי ער אחד מיהן לתוקב  
עדי ער צוידר מישן הזיק רחיה

Scribe 1

עלה למיכלה ודמי כמאן דלוי  
שמלו כלך מיכונות ודק הוא ו  
קמל דלא: ותוסת ל דדקית או  
דעלוש מעקרא במים ותו מו

Scribe 2

כעין שדגלין לעשות כדמכרי  
אות העולין מן העיר כה אמר  
נמה משום דאיכא תרופ  
ועוד שנפסה מרובין משמר

Scribe 3

אבעים אלה דבשן אדול בו  
הוס ומחר מרית צוב התק  
דקומין דמפחית לאו אדע  
נושין חלקה אבן הטא באול

Scribe 4

מחזיקין: והאמר דעניל לעו  
מחאה וזה לא מוחה לה כרי מח  
לעניל כדאמר: אלא האקמט  
שאין יכולין לומר לול מחזיק

Scribe 5

המכר בעינייה מוכר גב  
לו בלה שדה ועדיך ליקח לו דה  
אמיק לך בוד ודור ואין מדה  
דלא אמתי ליה ללקח שהדי י

Scribe 6

Fig. 1: Samples of the different handwritings of Hunt. 200; © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

The writing of scribe 2 leans to the right. A relatively strong parallelism exists between the vertical strokes in a line. The ascenders of the *lamed* are longer than the body of the letter. The letters are vertically elongated, the height of the average letter is considerably greater than its width. The headline is quite regular, with upper horizontal bars almost parallel to the headline, except for the *daleth* whose headline is concave. Sometimes the components of the letters do not touch each other, accounting for a larger proportion of non-written space.

The pages copied by scribe 2 display a high density, with thirty lines per page, and a very narrow bottom margin. The letters are narrow, vertically elon-

gated (average *he* c.  $3.5 \times 2$  mm). The upper horizontal bars are convex. The descenders are wavy, especially that of the final *nun*, with the lower extremity turned strongly to the left. There are several allographs of the *aleph*: a regular *kappa*-shaped letter, which its right-hand chevron attached to the middle of the main stem, sometimes without touching it; an N-shaped letter, with the right-hand arm attached to the oblique stroke at its various points according to the letters, and sometimes concave, and a letter composed of the main left-hand downstroke and the right-hand part traced with one rounded movement taking the form of the *c*. Sometimes this part has been detached from the stem. Gimel is characteristically traced with one movement, creating a loop at the baseline or slightly below, and its left-hand stroke rounded and convex. The final *mem* is either a vertically elongated circle or less frequently a square shape traced with two movements: a rounded right-hand part, with a concave upper horizontal bar, and a downstroke on the left, often continuing below the meeting point with the base, on the left. The *lamed*, traced with two strokes with no horizontal bar, with the lower stroke rounded tending to an almost horizontal base, has often a long serif on its ascender, sometimes closing the letter on the left into a vertically elongated oval. The lobe of the *qoph* is open at the bottom: either the letters looks like a *rash* to which a left-hand stroke is added, or its lobe is reduced to a slanted short line. There are ligatures of *aleph* and *lamed* as well as occasionally of *nun* and *yod* at the end of a word.

The writing of scribe 3 leans to the right. The upper horizontal bars are slightly concave but to a lesser degree than scribe 2 and 4. Pertinent features of scribe 3 include *'ayin* whose left arm meets the main stroke at its extremity on the baseline. There are two allographs of the *aleph*, one *kappa*-shaped and another N-shaped.

The ductus and the shapes of the letters of scribe 4 are very similar to those of scribe 2, and they can be very difficult to differentiate. However, on the whole, the proportions of the letters of scribe 4 are different, square rather than vertically elongated (c.  $3.5 \times 3$ – $3.5$  for an average *he*). It is possible the same scribe may have had more or less space to write and did not need to squeeze his letters vertically, however, in scribe 4, we also find a tendency to fill the page to the brim, by leaving a very narrow bottom margin and writing 29–30 lines per page. The general aspect of the letters differs slightly from scribe 2 by its more rounded lines. As for the letters' shapes, the same allographs of the *aleph* have been attested in scribe 4 as in scribe 2 but not with the same frequency. While scribe 2 most frequently uses the allograph composed of a left-hand downstroke and a *c*-shaped right-hand part, scribe 4 displays a clear preference for N-

shaped letter, with the right-hand arm attached to the bottom of the oblique stroke and rounded like a shallow *c*.

Scribe 5's writing leans slightly to the right. The letters are vertically elongated. The concavity of the upper horizontal bars is less strong than in the writing of scribes 2 and 4. There are two allographs of the *aleph*, one *kappa*-shaped and one N-shaped, but the *kappa*-shaped *aleph* is clearly predominant. The head of *zayin* is placed to the right of the downstroke. The body of the *lamed* is rounded. The *mem* has a rounded base.

Scribe 6's writing has a lesser degree of parallelism between vertical strokes. The proportions of the letters are square. The upper horizontal bars are slanted rather than concave. The pertinent morphological features include a rounded downstroke of the *zayin* with the head to the left. The *aleph* is, in the majority of cases, N-shaped.

In addition to the salient features of personal handwritings, each scribe followed different graphic practices, such as different ways of marking the order of the quires or leaves and the implementation of different devices to justify the left-hand margins.

Scribe 1 wrote catchwords at the end of every folio, below the last line of the text. He justified the left-hand margin with extended letters and a characteristic, elongated upper part of the right-hand chevron of the *aleph*, almost parallel to the headline, the last word written above the line, sometimes obliquely, very occasionally, by the anticipated first letter of the first word of the next line with a dot above, or by a space filler in the shape of a cursive *teth*. His punctuation of the end of the paragraphs consists of one dot or two dot like a *sof pasuq*, with the upper one placed slightly to the left in respect to the lower one.

Scribe 2 wrote catchwords only at the end of the quires, and not at the end of each folio. He kept the left-hand margin even, largely by writing the last word, obliquely, above the line. Very rarely, extended letters and a space filler in the shape of a *v* with a dot above appear. He ends the paragraphs with a *sof pasuq* sign in which both dots are usually vertically aligned.

Scribe 3 too ended the quire he completed with a catchword but did not add catchwords at the end of each folio. He justified the left-hand margin with an occasional elongation of the letters, words written above the end of the line and a space filler in the shape of a *v* with a dot above. The paragraphs end with a *sof pasuq*.

Scribe 4, Ezra ben Nathanael, also wrote a catchword at the end of the quire and no catchwords on individual folios. Extended letters and obliquely written words above the lines are the most frequent means of justification of the left-hand margin but the *v* symbol with a dot, often doubled, as well as extended

letters and abbreviations have also been attested. When the extension involves an *aleph*, the main oblique stroke of the letter is elongated. The ends of paragraphs take the form of *sof pasuq*. The means of justification are similar to those of scribe 2, however, as with the letter allographs, their distribution varies, with a far more frequent use of extended letters.

Scribe 5 wrote a word below the text on the verso of every leaf except for fol. 55. These words in the lower part of the inner margin look like folio catchwords. However, unlike in scribe 1's part whose catchwords consist in the repetition of the first word of the next folio, scribe 5 simply wrote the last word of the leaf below the line without repeating it on the next folio. His line management devices consist of extended letters and a space-filler in the shape of the broken non-square *aleph* (the right-hand chevron of the letter). One notices the scarcity of supralinear writing of the words at the end of the line: this space-filling device only appears on fol. 63<sup>v</sup>.

Scribe 6 did not number the bifolios. He wrote the last word of the page, like a catchword, below the text, in the lower margin.

The participation of different scribes and their various graphic practices account for the lack of this manuscript's visual uniformity. Significant changes of the quality and hue of ink and a marked irregularity in the number of lines per page between the parts written by different scribes (for example, scribe 1 on fol. 30<sup>v</sup> wrote twenty lines per page whereas on next page, fol. 31<sup>r</sup>, scribe 2 wrote thirty lines per page) can be seen. However, even within the same scribe's copy in the same quire, important variations occur, for instance, scribe 1, fol. 20<sup>v</sup>, contains twenty-six lines, whereas fol. 28<sup>v</sup> contains only twenty-four lines).

Despite this irregularity, the volume was nonetheless conceived from the outset as a coherent project, as one codicological production unit, despite the fact that it contains six distinct palaeographical units (i.e. scribal hands).<sup>19</sup> As will be seen, the passage from one scribe to another shows attempts to match the text, or in contradistinction, contains tell-tale errors in the text flow. The overall unity of the volume and its coherent planning from the outset is evident from the fact that scribe 1 left blank spaces in his copy, awaiting diagrams to be supplied by a different hand, and that one individual proofread and collated the text as a whole. Although in most cases the change between the scribes occurred at the beginning of a new quire or at least on a new folio, in quire 9, on

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<sup>19</sup> For the definition of a codicological 'production unit' as 'l'ensemble des codex ou des parties de codex qui sont le résultat d'un même acte de production', see Andrist, Canart and Maniaci 2013, 59. For the use of different terms for the palaeographical units, see Gumbert 2004.

fol. 95<sup>r</sup>, the change between scribe 1 and scribe 2 happens in the middle of line 18, and, in quire 12, its main copyist, scribe 2, stopped after line 3 of the last page of the quire, fol. 112<sup>r</sup>. This page (and the entire quire 12) was finished by someone else, scribe 6, who intervened only here. In quire 17, the change between scribe 2 and scribe 4 occurred at the end of line 18 on fol. 154<sup>v</sup>.

Several examples show how the scribe attempted to accommodate the text he was supposed to copy in such a way that it matched the beginning of the work of the next scribe. Thus, quire 4, is smaller and contains only six folios (a ternion = three bifolios). Its first part was copied by scribe 2 and its last three folios by scribe 3. The last page of the quire, fol. 36<sup>v</sup>, from the middle of the page (line 16), is written less densely, with a much larger proportion of extended letters than previous folios, the letters are bigger, the spaces between the words and between the letters in a word are also wider. It is clear that the scribe was keeping to a model, trying to fill the space, too large for the remaining text to copy and trying hard not to leave an incongruous blank space within the text; a different scribe picks up, in the middle of the same section of the text, at the top of the next folio (and quire), fol. 37<sup>r</sup>. Similarly, in quire 6, fol. 49<sup>r-v</sup>, the beginning of the quire, has been copied by the previous quire's scribe (scribe 4). Arriving at the end of fol. 49<sup>v</sup>, he extended the letters of the four last lines of the text. He used this graphic device to fill the space allocated to his chunk of text, before the flow was to be picked up by another scribe (scribe 2) from fol. 50<sup>r</sup> to the end of the quire, fol. 53<sup>v</sup>. As already noted, the last folio of this quire 6 was completely cut off probably having been left blank after scribe 2 finished his portion of the work. His allocated part of the text was certainly too short for the entire, even small, quire. As already seen, the last page of his portion, fol. 53<sup>v</sup>, contains enlarged letters, with the last two lines filled with space fillers in the shape of a *v* with a dot on the top.

Evidence that the scribes worked separately and their portions were put together later is provided by some errors of organization, promptly remedied, as elegantly as possible. For example, quire 5, copied entirely by scribe 5, ends on fol. 63<sup>v</sup>. The next folio is copied by scribe 1, who, however, repeats a chunk of the text already copied by the previous scribe on fol. 63<sup>v</sup>, from line 11. This repetition takes up lines 1 to 20. These lines were cancelled crudely, with irregular crossing lines, and an editorial symbol in the shape of a horizontal line with down-facing short vertical strokes at its extremities has been inserted above one word, corresponding to the catchword on fol. 63<sup>v</sup>. A diminutive inscription on the corresponding left-hand margin states in Arabic in Hebrew script: ינסק עלי ינסק עלי, *yansuq 'alā haḏā*, 'he harmonized, arranged it', clearly commenting on the crude correction. If such an overlap in copy could happen, it is likely that two,

rather than one model exemplar, existed that were not perfectly identical in their layout, and different scribes copied their allocated portions from these separate models. Another accident occurred during the copy of quire 7, written by scribe 5. It begins by *לו קרקע*. One small word *שי* was lost in transmission of the two portions allocated to two separate scribes.

Thus, when viewing the manuscript, one gets a clear impression that the scribes followed a model (or models) and tried not to delay or anticipate the amount of written text for it. Thus, on a few pages, scribes continued writing vertically in the margins (e.g. scribe 1 on fol. 7<sup>r</sup>), adding several long lines to the text copied in the main block, sometimes encircling this central block and populating two or three margins. In such cases, the text of the main block spills over to the margins, making their blank space very narrow, clearly showing the scribe's reluctance in turning the page. Vertical writing is used differently by scribe 4, the author of the colophon. He used such vertical writing in a planned way rather than just to accommodate a leftover portion of the text. On fols 37<sup>v</sup>, 48<sup>r</sup>, 164<sup>v</sup> and 168<sup>r</sup> the block of text is narrower and shorter (on fol. 164<sup>v</sup>, for example, it is 8 cm wide whereas the usual width of the text block is c. 13.5 cm, and 24 rather than 29 lines), with the space filled by several lines of text written vertically and below the main block, in smaller characters, very densely, but still by the same scribe. Unlike the spillage of a text too long for the planned space, the layout here was probably influenced by local fashion (Fig. 2).

The copy was therefore done by separate portions. In many cases, the pieces of the model text to copy corresponded to one or more quires. Indeed, instances of special writing space arrangements which were found at the end of the quires have been already seen. However, this division of copy by quires is not perfect, and one suspects the copy was done by the less regular units of copy analogous to the *ǧuz'*, the unit of copy in Arabic bookcraft.<sup>20</sup> As suggested by Malachi Beit-Arié, it is likely the scribes worked towards the common aim but independently from one another, copying simultaneously from separate quires or *ǧuz'* of an unbound exemplar. The volume was then put together from these separately copied portions.

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<sup>20</sup> Humbert 1988, 12–15; Humbert 1997, 77–86.







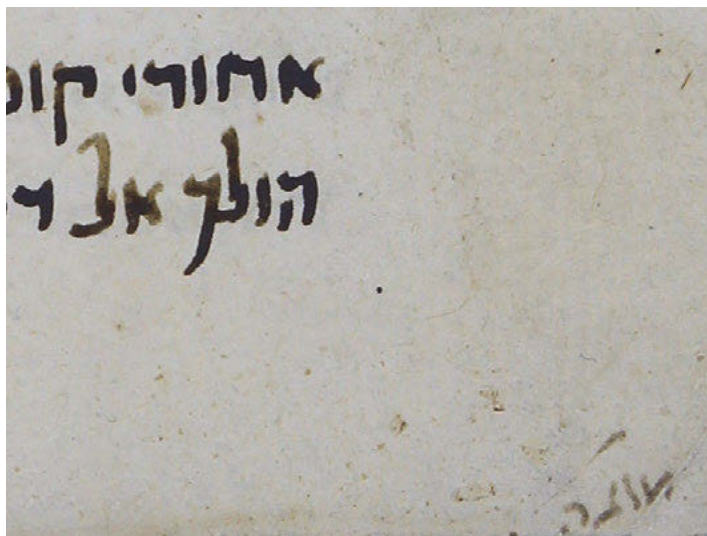
Despite this work by separate pieces, the volume was planned as a coherent whole from the beginning. Evidence of such planning features blank spaces left on six of its pages by their scribes, to be supplemented later with diagrams, a frequent visual feature in the manuscripts of Talmud commentaries.<sup>21</sup> Only two additional pages (fols 128<sup>r</sup> and 129<sup>r</sup>) contain diagrams added in the margin rather than in a specially planned space. Diagrams have been traced inexpertly, without any artistic ambition, and without a ruler. They are annotated by their author. Indeed, the hue of ink used to draw the diagrams corresponds to their explanatory inscriptions but differs from the ink of the surrounding main text. Most importantly, the scribe of the inscriptions in diagrams differs from the scribes of the main text around them. All the diagrams in the manuscript were inserted in the parts copied by scribe 1. The handwriting of the inscriptions seems to be that of scribe 4, who also inserted most corrections and collations.

These additions, including corrections and collations with different model manuscripts of the same text, are the most important unifying elements of the manuscript. They are numerous and most were added by scribe 4, Ezra ben Nathanael, who took credit for the entire volume in the colophon, where, as we remember, it is stated that ‘he wrote the manuscript for himself’. He was certainly not the only scribe of the volume, but he was in charge of the final version of the text. It was probably Ezra ben Nathanael, in his overseeing capacity, who wrote inconspicuously, in small characters and very light ink, at the edge of the final folios of the quires, the word מוּגַג, ‘corrected’ (Fig. 3), although the rapidity and smaller size of only four characters of the inscription make it difficult to ascertain the scribe.

The mark מוּגַג, ‘corrected’, appears in the outer corner of the verso at the end of seventeen out of twenty-four quires of the manuscript. It was not only written in quires 1–3, 9, 11 and 15, and cannot be ascertained in the last quire 24 because the lower part of the folio had been truncated. It is always in light brown ink, usually with a short horizontal stroke above the middle of the word. It does not always correspond to the colour of the corrections, although it does in some quires. In most cases this discreet inscription is slanted, in one case, quire 16, it is written vertically from the bottom of the page upwards.

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<sup>21</sup> The diagrams appear on fols 22<sup>v</sup>, 87<sup>r-v</sup>, 88<sup>r</sup>, 128<sup>r</sup>, 130<sup>r</sup>.



**Fig. 3:** Hunt. 200, fol. 36<sup>v</sup>, end of quire 4, inscription מוגה in the corner of the page; © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

## 5 The context of production

To sum up, Hunt. 200 is a codex written by multiple hands but collated, supplemented and corrected by one individual, whose name appears in the colophon. Ezra ben Nathanael was the scribe of a large part of the manuscript as well as the overseer of the whole. His script is also far more decorative than that of the other scribes, particularly scribe 1 and 6. Was he a private patron and an avid reader who asked family members and friends to help him copy a book he desired for himself? The correction marks מוגה may suggest a different story. Proofreading and annotating texts was of course a common practice, and many scholars read their books pen in hand. However, marking individual quires as ‘corrected’ after checking the copy and collating it with another manuscript more likely defines this manuscript to have been produced in a more professional context. This discrete mark of correction shows that the proofreader needed to record the work he had accomplished, perhaps to signal its completion to the other book specialists with whom he worked. The analysis of these characteristics of Hunt. 200 lead me to consider this manuscript to be a product of a professional workshop specialized in producing books for sale.

Indeed, in addition to the two privileged ways of making Jewish books, i.e. user-production and the hiring of scribes by wealthy patrons and book collectors, increasing evidence reveals that books were also copied commercially in urban workshops.<sup>22</sup> A careful reappraisal of manuscripts and Cairo Genizah fragments, including Hunt. 200, reveals that just like the Muslim *warrāqūn* (pl. of *warrāq*, ‘stationer’), Jewish book and paper ware traders played a role in the professional copying of books for sale.<sup>23</sup> Such writing professionals were often themselves scribes but also trained apprentices and employed other scribes. Evidence has been gleaned from the Cairo Genizah that several scribes employed by a *warrāq* could participate in the ‘chain’ copy of the different parts of the same book.<sup>24</sup> Similarly to the production of books by *pecia* (by piece) accredited by Western universities,<sup>25</sup> a simultaneous copy of different parts of the same book by different scribes in an Egyptian workshop allowed for much quicker production. Even if such a multi-hand copy would be of less aesthetic value than a volume uniformly crafted by one scribe, the simultaneous copy by pieces (quire or *ǧuzʿ*) supplied a larger number of books for the growing market and readers’ demand.<sup>26</sup>

The features of Hunt. 200 point towards such a commercial copy for the text portions entrusted to different scribes and Ezra ben Nathanael’s overseeing role in a professional workshop. An important confirmation of the professional production of Hunt. 200 is provided by the identification of three fragments of the same commentary on the tractate Baba Batra, discovered in the Cairo Genizah, and published in 2015 by Yosef Mordechai Dubovick: Taylor-Schechter Additional Series (henceforth T-S AS) 95.33, T-S AS 85.49 and T-S AS 85.50. The editor correctly joined the latter two fragments feeling they belonged to the same original volume, and established that the text of all three agrees with our Hunt. 200. This includes the passages which depart from the version of the commentary printed in the Vilna Talmud edition.<sup>27</sup> When combining Dubovick’s textual analysis with the palaeo-

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<sup>22</sup> For a preliminary study of a Fustat workshop, see Olszowy-Schlanger forthcoming. The existence of workshops in other parts of the Jewish diaspora, especially workshops of manuscripts illuminators, has been mentioned by scholars. For instance, Fronza 2016 studied a case in the Franche-Comté, whereas Kogman-Appel 2004, 98–130, Hacker 2015 or Del Barco 2014 focused on medieval Iberia.

<sup>23</sup> Olszowy-Schlanger 2021. On the role and status of the *warrāq* in the Genizah world, see Frenkel 2017.

<sup>24</sup> Olszowy-Schlanger forthcoming.

<sup>25</sup> For the *pecia* system of the medieval universities, see for example Pollard 1978, 145–161; Murano 2005.

<sup>26</sup> Olszowy-Schlanger forthcoming.

<sup>27</sup> Dubovick 2015.

graphical study, the connection between the Genizah fragments and Hunt. 200 becomes much more intimate than merely a common strand of a textual version. At a closer look, it becomes clear that all three Genizah fragments of the commentary on Baba Batra were copied by the same scribe and that this scribe is none other than Ezra ben Nathanael (Fig. 4).

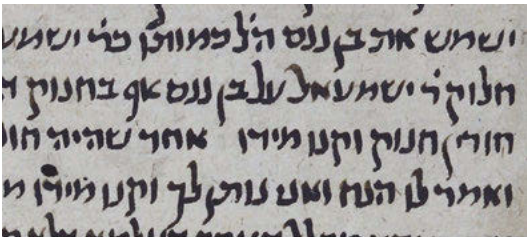
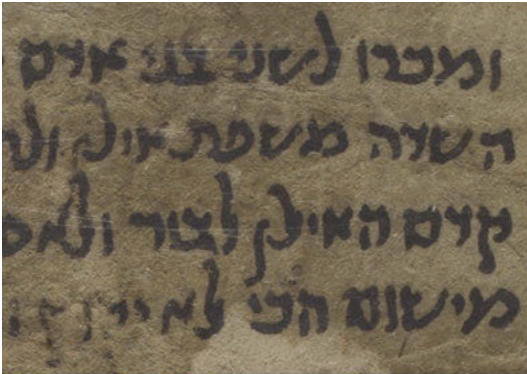
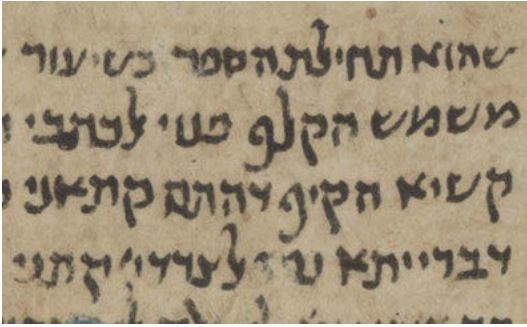


Fig. 4: Script samples of T-S AS 95.33<sup>r</sup> (4a), T-S AS 85.49<sup>v</sup> (4b), and Hunt. 200 (4c); © Syndics of the Cambridge University Library and © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

The identity of the script is further emphasized by the fact that both Hunt. 200 (on fol. 22<sup>v</sup>) and the remains of another copy in the Cairo Genizah (in T-S AS 85.50<sup>v</sup>) contain an identical diagram. Although the diagram in the Genizah fragment is only partly preserved and the text is damaged on the right-side, it is beyond doubt that both were annotated by the same person (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5: An almost identical diagram in Hunt. 200, fol. 22<sup>v</sup> (5a) and in T-S AS 85.50<sup>v</sup> (5b); © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford and © Syndics of the CUL.

## 6 Conclusions

The discovery in the Cairo Genizah of the fragments of a second copy of the same commentary on Baba Batra written, at the very least its preserved part, by one of the scribes of Hunt. 200 shows that this text was diffused in several copies emanating from the same scribal context and argues for the existence of a professional workshop. Pending further study, it is possible to claim Ezra ben Nathanael, scribe 4, had been in charge of the production of multiple copies of the same work and that he was a *warrāq*. At any rate, his colophon's statement that 'he copied the commentary for himself' appears to be more of a workshop trademark than a proud reader's announcement that he copied the book for his private library, study and enjoyment.

## Acknowledgements

I thank the Bodleian Library and in particular César Merchán-Hamann, the Hebrew and Judaica Curator in the Bodleian Library and Director of the Leopold Muller Memorial Library at the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies; and the Syndics of the Cambridge University Library, and in particular Ben Outhwaite, for their kind permission to study and reproduce the manuscripts.

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Jürgen Paul

# Mufti Notebooks: Two *ğung* Manuscripts from Late Nineteenth-Century Bukhara

**Abstract:** *Ğung* manuscripts from Muslim Central Asia are comparatively numerous, but have not, as yet, been studied in sufficient numbers. In this contribution, two such manuscripts are presented, the thesis being that *ğung* manuscripts differ strongly among themselves. The two under scrutiny here are personal notebooks containing a great deal of legal content (due to their compilers being active in the judiciary), but many other texts and notes. The latter content refers to the professional and social activities of muftis and qadis outside the judiciary. These and many other *ğung* manuscripts contain compilations of legal texts, excerpts, quotes, and drafts of original documents, but these collections have been made within notebooks and thus in manuscripts written in the compiler's own hand and for his own use.

## 1 Introduction

Manuscript culture of nineteenth-century Muslim Central Asia, particularly its western region – around Bukhara and Samarqand – presents a number of peculiarities to be kept in mind when approaching individual written artefacts. Firstly, the region was multilingual: two vernacular languages were used, Persian and Turki, Arabic being an important written language for the religious and natural sciences, philosophy, and law. In regions such as Bukhara, Persian predominated, however, in Tashkent, for instance Turki was the first language. Secondly, printing came very late to the region. Lithographed books were published only towards the end of the nineteenth century, and the printed press was initially exclusively in the hands of the Russians and at their service. As a result, the manuscript age persisted far longer in Central Asia than in India, the Ottoman Empire, or Iran.

Bukhara was one of the major centres of Islamic learning in the eastern Persianate world. Thousands of students studied at its madrasas. Most came from the greater region, the others from what is now known as Afghanistan, the steppes and forest regions to the north, and Xinjiang. No record has been discovered of students from Iran. Twelver Shiism was the state religion there, and relations between Bukhara and Iran were often strained. Literary and scholarly

contacts were maintained with other Sunni (particularly Hanafi) centres of learning such as the Ottoman Empire and India.<sup>1</sup>

In law, the Hanafi school dominated in Muslim Central Asia very early on. The region produced some of the most outstanding scholars of the school, particularly during the classical age (eleventh and twelfth centuries CE). One of the most widespread handbooks of Hanafi law, used in madrasas all over the Muslim world, was the *Hidāya* ('Guidance') written by Burhān ad-Dīn al-Margīnānī (d. 593 AH / 1197 CE).

In the nineteenth century, the emirate of Bukhara was faced with the advance of the Russian Empire into Central Asia. The Russians took Bukhara in 1868, but the emirate continued as a kind of vassal state, with its own army, albeit subordinate to Russia and its interests. The judiciary also continued in Bukhara without major changes (in contradistinction to regions under direct Russian administration, including Tashkent in which a very complex system emerged).<sup>2</sup>

## 2 *Ĝung* as a term: State of the art

This contribution concerns two manuscripts going under the moniker *ġung*. *Ĝung* is a term in Persian and other languages (*cönk* in Ottoman and Republican Turkish) which probably derives from the Chinese term 'junk', a designation of a type of ship. It is also interesting to note that the Arabic-Persian term *safīna* also means ship. Other terms are in use, some of them practically synonymous, and attempts at arriving at a clear terminology have not yielded convincing results so far.<sup>3</sup> The term *ġung* is used for notebooks of different kinds, with strong regional varieties: whereas in Iran (and in the Ottoman world), it is used mostly for compilations of poetry made by an individual for his or her own use, in Central Asia, it denotes compilations made mostly by muftis (jurisconsults giving legal opinions) and other men working in the legal system. Many of these compilations include excerpts and quotes from books of law, the 'authoritative books' (*al-kutub al-mu'tabara*), often as part of expert opinions (fatwas). While these quotes are given in (the original) Arabic most of the time, the collections also present (anonymized) cases, often fatwas or qadi documents which are

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1 Pickett 2020.

2 Wilde 2016 for the general background, Sartori 2016a for the judiciary.

3 See the contributions by David Durand-Guédy, Frédéric Bauden and Élise Franssen in this volume. See also the Introduction.

then in one of the two Central Asian vernaculars, Persian or Turki, with the legal technical formulae in Arabic. Not infrequently, original documents are added to the compilation, in particular fatwas (*riwāyāt*, ‘solicited legal opinions’ in Central Asian usage). Thus, in all, Central Asian *ğung* manuscripts have a background in the world of jurisconsults.

The term is used mostly in modern research, but Bukharan legal scholars also called their collections of fatwas *ğung*.<sup>4</sup> But as I hope to show, many of the relevant manuscripts are more (or less) than that, they are personal notebooks of muftis or qadis, where fatwas and other documents have a more or less prominent place, but the manuscripts include texts on many other subjects as well. These parts are essential for the manuscripts and must be taken into account when working with them.

Dozens of manuscripts described as *ğung* are held in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies in Tashkent, Uzbekistan (the Beruni Institute). Others are kept in St Petersburg, but the relevant catalogues do not use the term *ğung*.<sup>5</sup> It is therefore important to ask whether mufti’s notebooks of the kind discussed in this article really could be considered as a special manuscript genre. To answer this question, however, many more detailed studies on individual manuscripts must be made. The present article proposes such a study, fundamentally of one manuscript, but by means of comparison, a second one is also to be treated in some detail.

In general, the study of such manuscripts is still in its infancy. Preliminary studies have been published by Saidakbar Mukhammadaminov, who takes it for granted that *ğung* manuscripts form their own category, firmly linking them to fatwa collections. Some collections circulated through copying, and *ğung* books exist even in lithograph form.<sup>6</sup> Such copied compilations often come across as

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4 See Mīr Rabī‘ b. Mīr Niyāz Ḥwāğa al-Ḥusainī, *Risāla-yi raḥmāniya*, manuscript Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies (henceforth Beruni), 9060/XII, fol. 404a–b; and Ṣadr ad-Dīn ‘Ainī, *Bukhārā inqilābining ta’riki*, ed. Shimada and Tosheva 2012. I owe these references to Paolo Sartori.

5 In the catalogue of the new acquisitions of the National Library of Russia, for instance, there are some items that may be classified as *ğung*, but the cataloguers used ‘Sbornik’ (Collection) instead. This concerns e.g. manuscripts St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, PNS 561, PNS 558 and PNS 615. PNS 558 is a ‘collection of fatwas’, and it also has some glued-in documents; PNS 615 has a number of treatises related to the Naqshbandiyya Sufi brotherhood, a treatise on *iḥtisāb* (in Bukhara, the *muḥtasib* was a kind of police officer), and a shorter collection of fatwas, with two documents glued in. See Yastrebova and Vasil’ev 2017. For a detailed analysis of PNS 561, see Paul 2021. PNS stands for ‘Persidski- Novaya seriya’ (‘Persian – new series’).

6 Lithographs have been identified by Mukhammadaminov: one is a *Muḥtaṣar al-wiqāya ma‘a ğung*, printed in Bukhara in 1327 AH / 1909 CE, another one is entitled *Ğung-i fatāwā wa-*

commentaries on or additions to a standard work of Hanafite law in Central Asia, the *Muhtaşar al-wiqāya*,<sup>7</sup> by ‘Ubaidallāh al-Maḥbūbī (d. 694 AH / 1295 CE), so that a number of manuscripts are entitled *Muhtaşar al-wiqāya ma‘a ḡung* (‘Compendium of the *Wiqāya*, with excerpts and quotes from authoritative fatwa collections’).<sup>8</sup> Mukhammadaminov distinguishes two types of *ḡung* manuscripts: one type, he thinks, are collections of legal documents such as ‘solicited legal opinions’ (*riwāyāt*) and ‘claim protocols’ (*maḥāḍīr*).<sup>9</sup> Some *ḡung* collections contain hundreds of original documents of these types.<sup>10</sup> Mukhammadaminov’s second type are compilations of ‘legal questions’ (*masā’il fiqhīya*), listing quotes and excerpts from the authoritative books, but without including any original documents. In the two volumes discussed in this contribution, both ‘legal questions’ and copies or drafts of documents are an important component, together with non-legal parts.

Sanjar Gulomov has also worked with *ḡung* manuscripts, including the two under study here. He focuses on the presence of original documents in these manuscripts, and offers a valuable overview on the subject.<sup>11</sup>

A central component of Central Asian *ḡung* manuscripts are excerpts from authoritative books of Hanafite law. The books from which these excerpts were made are mostly fatwa collections, many of which date from the pre-Mongol period. Burhān ad-Dīn Marḡinānī’s *Hidāya* is also frequently quoted. Fatwa collections were prominent among the ‘authoritative books’, in Central Asia as

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*maḥḍarāt*, ‘Compilation of fatwas and claim protocols’, printed in Bukhara in 1326 AH / 1908 CE. This book also seems to be extant in St Petersburg; see Shcheglova 1975, vol. 1, 284, no. 639.

7 The *Muhtaşar al-wiqāya* has been printed as early as 1845 in Kazan; the person behind the edition was Mirza Aleksandr Kazembek. The printed edition served the needs of Tatar (and other) juriconsults in the Russian Empire, just as early prints of Hanafite books of law were made in British India. There were two print runs of the Kazan’ edition: one with only the Arabic text, and another one with a lengthy Russian introduction by Kazembek. On this, see now Sartori 2020a.

8 The *Wiqāya* (by Burhān aš-Şarī‘a al-Maḥbūbī, thirteenth century CE) in turn is an abridgement and commentary on the *Hidāya* by Burhān ad-Dīn al-Marḡinānī. See McChesney 1998.

9 The translations of the terms for these types of legal documents in Central Asian Hanafi parlance are taken from Welsford and Tashev 2012. A ‘solicited legal opinion’ will be presented below. A ‘claim protocol’ corresponds roughly to a statement of a claim by which an individual could open a lawsuit. Both documents followed a well-defined format, drafted by muftis or other jurists, provided with quotes from the authoritative books, and sealed by one or several legal scholars. This catalogue also is of great help in identifying the legal works quoted – I follow it without providing each individual reference.

10 Mukhammadaminov 2017. Last consulted January 20, 2020. See also Gulomov 2012.

11 Gulomov 2012.

well as in the Indian Mughal and Ottoman Empires.<sup>12</sup> Some Ottoman authors are also quoted in Central Asian *ğung* manuscripts, and the list of works quoted, generally, looks very similar in both regions. These works were ranked in a hierarchy of reliability.<sup>13</sup>

Central Asian *ğung* manuscripts thus belong to the legal sphere – but not solely to the legal sphere. James Pickett has argued they touch upon all spheres in which a legal scholar or other writer was required to be knowledgeable. The authors or compilers were active in many fields and by no means restricted only to the legal one.<sup>14</sup> Other relevant fields are astronomy (and astrology), occult sciences, medicine (both in the tradition going back to Antiquity via Avicenna and others and in the practices based on charms, amulets, prayers and so forth), arithmetic, speculative theology, Sufism, poetry, history (including chronograms), and others. Non-legal matters occupy a varying part of the overall space in *ğung* manuscripts, and there may be some *ğung* manuscripts devoted entirely to legal questions. The two manuscripts upon which this essay is based are of the variegated kind.

Aside from full texts, fragments, excerpts and quotes from this wide variety of fields, *ğung* manuscripts also include personal notes. These notes feature remarks on the compiler's career and financial situation and include dates of the deaths of friends and colleagues.

Materials may be added to the volume via various methods e.g. depositing a loose sheet between two pages, stacking a paper into it, gluing or otherwise fastening materials to the body of the manuscript. Such added materials include documents, mostly legal documents, out of which 'solicited legal opinions' (*riwāyāt*) form the vast majority, but also official documents (appointment deeds), private and official correspondence, and sheets of paper with hastily scribbled notes that are barely decipherable.

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<sup>12</sup> Burak 2015 and 2016.

<sup>13</sup> Sartori 2016a, 262; the author whom Sartori quotes here, 'Ibādallāh b. Ḥwāğa 'Ārif al-Buḥārī, puts the *Ḥulāṣa*, the *Fatāwā Qāḍīhān* and the *Muḥiṭ* on the first three places. Beruni 9767, fol. 199a has a slightly different list, with preference given to Qāḍīhān, the *Ḥulāṣa* and the *Ḥizāna*. The *Ḥulāṣa* is a compilation by Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd ar-Rašīd al-Buḥārī (d. 540 AH / 1147 CE); Qāḍīhān is Faḥr ad-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Maṣṣūr al-Ūzğandī (d. 592 AH / 1196 CE); the *Muḥiṭ* or *Muḥiṭ al-Burhānī* belongs to Burhān ad-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. aṣ-Ṣadr aṣ-Ṣahīd, Ibn al-Māza (d. c. 569 AH / 1174 CE), the *Ḥizāna* or *Ḥizānat al-muḥtiyīn fī l-furū'* is a work by al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad as-Sam'ānī al-Ḥanafī (d. 739 AH / 1339 CE). Lists of the most respected books of the Ottoman Empire were surprisingly similar, Burak 2015, 149.

<sup>14</sup> Pickett 2020.

Whether or not it may be ascertained that Central Asian *ḡung* manuscripts are a specific genre must be left open until sufficient numbers of individual manuscripts have been studied thoroughly. Nevertheless, I think that there are very different sorts of manuscripts grouped together under that label. The two manuscripts used for this article are notebooks, compiled either by one man purely for personal use, Beruni 2588, the manuscript made by Qāḏī Mīr Sayyid Qamar Ṣudūr, or over a longer period of time by more than one scribe, but also for these scribes' personal use, like Beruni 9767.

### 3 Presenting the main manuscripts

The manuscript which is the main protagonist in this contribution is kept in Tashkent, at the Institute of Oriental Studies (Beruni), no. 9767. It measures 25 × 14 cm containing, in all, 304 folios.<sup>15</sup> It features several hands, and the scribes appear to have worked at different times. At some point it was probably rebound. Therefore, it can be classified as both a multiple-text manuscript and a composite manuscript.<sup>16</sup> Earlier, it was housed at Bukhara, the State District Library, where it received the title, *Maḡmū'a wa tāriḡ-i Mullā-zāda*; this title was written in blue on the inner cover of the manuscript (Fig. 1).

The title has indeed been well chosen: it is a miscellany<sup>17</sup> and it also includes a copy of the well-known fourteenth-century work on cemeteries and shrines at Bukhara with short biographical notes of their inmates (fols 272a–300a).<sup>18</sup> This part of the manuscript differs from the rest by containing a well-

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**15** It is not described in the printed Tashkent catalogue, the *Sobranie Vostochnykh Rukopisei*, but Saidakbar Mukhammadaminov sent me the new description which was made for the electronic catalogue (at the time of writing, September 2021, this electronic catalogue was still not available online. It is today: [www.scam.beruni.uz/arabic\\_reader/index.php](http://www.scam.beruni.uz/arabic_reader/index.php), accessed on 5 July 2022). The description identifies the language of the manuscript as Persian (many parts are written in Arabic, though), it describes the contents as 'forms of judicial documents'. The description relates to the first part only which accordingly covers the first 272 folios and also the last five (fols 300b–304b). A lacuna is identified between fols 188 and 189. In a note, we are informed that imprints of qadis' seals, cut out from documents, have been glued into the volume between fols 1b–8a and 300a–303a. I have not seen the manuscript itself.

**16** For the terms, see Friedrich and Schwarke 2016b.

**17** The term *maḡmū'a* is often translated as 'miscellany' without taking the differences between types of such manuscripts into consideration. See Friedrich and Schwarke 2016b, 11–12.

**18** The *Tāriḡ-i mullā-zāda* has been edited: Mu'in al-Fuqarā, *Tāriḡ-i mullā-zāda*, ed. Aḡmad Gulčīn-i Ma'ānī 1960.

known text that presents as an orderly and very well legible copy, it is written like any other copy, without personal notes in the margins and with catchwords between folios; it does have a colophon, but it only notes the date of copying (1292 AH / 1875–1876 CE), not the name of the copyist (fol. 300a) (Fig. 2).

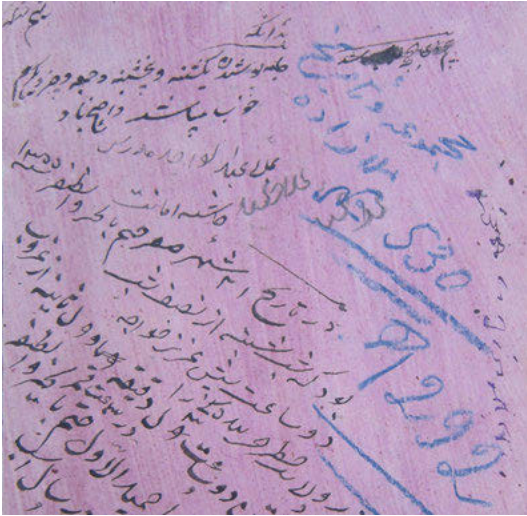


Fig. 1: Beruni 9767, inner cover. Library-given title in blue. Personal notes in various hands.

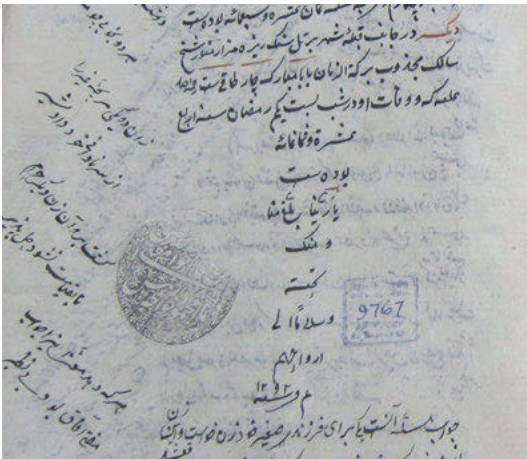


Fig. 2: Beruni 9767, fol. 300a. Colophon of ‘Part II’ (*Tārīḥ-i Mullā-zāda*), with seal imprint ‘Mullā Maḥmūd Ḥwāḡa Ra’īs’.



However, next to the colophon, there is a seal imprint – stamped into the manuscript itself, not cut out and glued onto it like all the other seals in this manuscript, see below – which I read as Mullā Maḥmūd Ḥwāḡa Ra'īs Muftī (1298 AH / 1881 CE). One suggestion is that the man was the copyist of this part of the volume, and as the handwriting in this part could be the same as what will be introduced as ‘hand A’, also the compiler of an important part of the entire manuscript.<sup>19</sup>

The *Tārīḥ-i Mullā-zāda* stands out to such a degree that it has been counted as a separate part, marked by a II (in Roman numerals); Soviet-period librarians used Roman numerals for separate parts of miscellany manuscripts. This makes all the rest a ‘part I’, including, thus, both the first 271 and the last three folios. In that part, many individual texts can be identified together with excerpts and cases, copies of documents and so forth, alongside added materials.

Beruni 9767 was compiled in at least two stages by several hands, all of unidentified writers, in or close to Bukhara, between roughly 1280 and 1305 AH (1863–1885 CE). Thus, the Russian conquest of Bukhara was contemporary with the compilation of this manuscript. The Russian conquest left no visible traces in the manuscript, in contradistinction to its near-contemporary Beruni 2588 that differs markedly with brief reports on the conquest and the author cursing the Russians vehemently.<sup>20</sup>

Beruni 2588 is not anonymous, but clearly made by Qāḏī Mīr Sayyid Qamar Ṣudūr as appears from a number of places where he appears as author and writer in colophons of individual parts of the volume.<sup>21</sup> At least one of the Beruni 9767 compilers knew and respected Mīr Sayyid Qamar as he noted this man had been appointed to the position of mufti of the army (*muftī-yi 'askar*) in 1304 AH / 1886–1887 CE.<sup>22</sup> Beruni 2588 is also a notebook and multiple-text manuscript, but not a composite manuscript.

Beruni 9767 has two paginations, one ‘Oriental’ and one ‘European’. The European pagination continues to its end, but the Oriental one stops at fol. 268, which corresponds to fol. 220 in the European pagination.<sup>23</sup> Over several stages a difference in all of forty-eight folios builds up where sheets of paper have been torn out of the volume, sometimes only one, but one instance appears to have

<sup>19</sup> I have been unable to identify this Mullā Maḥmūd. His seal is not to be found on any other page of the manuscript as it is today.

<sup>20</sup> Beruni 2588, fols 143b–144a and 244a–244b with chronograms following.

<sup>21</sup> Mīr Sayyid Qamar Ṣudūr was identified as compiler of Beruni 2588 by Gulomov 2012, 143.

<sup>22</sup> Beruni 9767, fol. 264a.

<sup>23</sup> This is why I use the European pagination throughout.

an entire quire missing (between 121 and 122 of the European pagination). Evidently, the volume was (at least occasionally) treated as a paper reservoir.

Some passages contain catchwords, and in two places, at least, they do not match (fols 188–189 and fols 198–199; the catchword of fol. 188b seems to surface on fol. 216a; I have not found the catchword of fol. 198b again). The binding is damaged so the block is broken in a number of places (fols 61–62, 82–83, 121–122, 180–181). Thus, it cannot be ascertained whether or not the manuscript as it exists today resembles approximately what it was when its compilers ceased working on it. It is highly likely to have been rebound at least once which would have led to the quires being misplaced. The copy of the *Tārīḥ-i Mullā-zāda* may have been added to the volume after the first pagination was made together with the quires between fols 221 and 271; the last pages of that block very much look like the flyleaves of a previously independent unit.<sup>24</sup> The European pagination was probably made when the book entered the Soviet academic system.

One of Beruni 9767's particular features are the imprints of seals in two parts of the manuscript, at the beginning and end (fols 1b–8a and 300b–303a). These seal imprints have not been stamped onto the manuscript itself, but cut out from somewhere and glued into the volume. The imprints can only be partly read together with their dates. They belonged to officials in the emirate's administration: titles such as *Mirāḥūr* and *Dīwānbigī*<sup>25</sup> occur repeatedly. Dates range from 1282 AH / 1865–1866 CE (fol. 4a, *Qāḍī Mirzā Mullā Šihāb ad-Dīn*) to 1313 AH / 1895–1896 CE (fol. 3a, 'Abd al-'Aẓīm Mirzā Muḥammad b. *Mirāḥūr*). The seals have no clear connection to the texts preserved in the volume. Collections of seal imprints cut out and glued into a volume are not unknown in late nineteenth- to early twentieth-century Bukhara: a modern publication of seals was based on a collection of this kind<sup>26</sup> (Fig. 3).

<sup>24</sup> Therefore, there is a very marked caesura at fol. 221: a quire ends there, the Oriental pagination ends, and probably another hand continues; hands before and after fol. 221 do look similar (none of them is hand A or hand B), but the hand after the caesura gives the introduction to the presentation of a case *dar in mas'ala* 'regarding this question/case' in the main block of the text whereas the earlier hand places this formula in the margin. Moreover, the lower third of fol. 221 has been cut off.

<sup>25</sup> Both titles point to the political and military administration of the emirate rather than the judiciary.

<sup>26</sup> Kurbanov 1987. None of the seals published in that volume are to be found in Beruni 9767 as far as I can see.



Fig. 3: Beruni 9767, fol. 3a. Seal imprints cut out and glued in.

The texts in the manuscript are in two languages: Persian and Arabic. Arabic is the language of the law books, Persian dominates elsewhere. No parts have been seen in Turki.

There are several hands in the manuscript, none recognized as an identifiable writer. In this contribution, two hands and their entries will be studied in some detail, they make up the larger part of the volume. A note must be made regarding a third and fourth hand: one hand submits only three entries, all are addresses of devotion and loyalty to the ruler (fols 156a, 165a, 260a). This does not mean that this hand is a third person necessarily: one of the main writers may well have decided to write these drafts and style exercises in a particular hand, a very neat *nasta'liq* as would have been appropriate for official correspondence. The other hand has at least two entries: one is a list of chapter headings such as in a law book, it starts with a chapter on marriage (*Kitāb an-nikāḥ*) and the chapters follow very much the same order as in *Muḥtaṣar al-wiqāya* (fol. 142a). On the same page, this hand gives a list of districts of the emirate of Bukhara (where judges and other officials could be appointed, see below). This hand returns on fol. 177a, where it presents forms of addressing various high-ranking people, and there is a closing note (*tammāt*) for this part on fol. 178a.

To sum up: the two manuscripts under study have both legal and non-legal texts in prose and verse, and personal notes. Both manuscripts also contain diagrams, figures, calculations, and other non-textual elements. Both also feature added materials (infixes) such as glued-in documents, seals, letters, notes and so forth.

In the next sections, the manuscript's legal texts will be surveyed, followed by an analysis of the referencing techniques.

## 4 Legal texts

The legal texts in Beruni 9767 are of several kinds. One category features quotes and excerpts from authoritative books, not linked to individual cases (*masā'il fiqhīya*, 'legal questions'). These are often introduced by headings such as 'Chapter on Marriage' (*kitāb an-nikāḥ*). Of the forty-eight such chapters in the *Muḥtaṣar al-wiqāya*, quite a lot do not appear at all, most conspicuously those dealing with the relations of men to God (*'ibādāt*) that form the first five chapters in the *Muḥtaṣar*. Of these, only the chapter on prayer is quoted at all (fol. 11b: *aṣ-ṣalāt wa-mā yata'allāqu bihā*, 'On prayer and what is related to it'). However, some chapter headings are given twice. There is one hand – here referred to as hand A – which adds 'and what relates to it' to the chapter topic, and this form appears fol. 89b for the chapter on marriage, but the chapter on marriage is introduced again in another hand on fol. 227a with the shorter form *kitāb an-nikāḥ*. Both forms are given for the chapter on manumission (*'itāq*) which comes on fol. 44b in the extended and on fol. 252b in the simpler form, for the chapter on pious endowments (*waqf*), fols 63b and 234b, on loans (*'ārīya*), fols 74b and 245a, on certain cases in criminal law (*ḥudūd*), fols 66b and 182a.

I conclude that the volume was either made by several authors at several moments, and that these compilers did not build on each other's work, or that the volume was bound together from a number of quires or earlier smaller notebooks. As the manuscript most probably ended with fol. 221 (of the European pagination), it is noteworthy that most of the 'double' chapter headings come after that. As already stated, Beruni 9767 is therefore not only a multiple-text manuscript but also a composite manuscript.<sup>27</sup>

Beruni 2588, Mīr Sayyid Qamar's *ḡung*, also contains entries on legal questions, but they take up less space in relation to the rest of the volume. Mīr Sayyid Qamar does not follow the order of chapters in the *Muḥtaṣar* either, but does not quote any chapter heading twice. Many chapters from the *Muḥtaṣar*'s list are also missing in his *ḡung*.

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<sup>27</sup> For the terms see Friedrich and Schwarke 2016b, 11–12.

The quotes themselves are brief anyway, merely a couple of Arabic lines from the authoritative books. The sources are given mostly only very briefly. The way of referencing legal sources will be discussed in the next section.

The second form of legal texts are drafts and copies of legal documents. These too are of different kinds. The most frequently used form is the ‘solicited legal opinion’ (*riwāya*)<sup>28</sup>, and this is the category to which the only original document in Beruni 9767 belongs. Such documents are easily identified by the ornamental design at the top: ‘We invoke blessing in the name of the supreme Lord. What do the imams of Islam – may God be pleased with them all – have to say on the following question?’<sup>29</sup> (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4: Beruni 9767. Document (‘solicited legal opinion’) glued in between fols 181 and 182.

<sup>28</sup> *Riwāya* means ‘transmission’ in Arabic. The term was chosen for this type of document evidently because of the quotes which transmit rulings and opinions of earlier authoritative scholars.

<sup>29</sup> I follow Paolo Sartori’s translation, Sartori 2016a, 259, with a reproduction of such a document from another context. Isogai Ken’ichi 2011 has another translation; he studied a group of seven Samarqandī documents. In all such documents the Arabic reads: *tayammunan bi-dikrihi al-a’lā mā qawl a’immati l-islām raḍiya allāhu ‘anhum aḡma’in*, and then the text continues in Persian: *dar in mas’ala*. The case at stake here revolves around the question whether a named woman is a slave or freeborn.

Such a document can be divided into three parts. The question – indeed the case – is exposed in Persian or Turki (only Persian features in the manuscripts under study here) in horizontal lines in the main body of the sheet, ending in the question ‘Is that legally valid or not?’ A final formula again addresses the mufti or muftis to whom the paper was presented: ‘Explain and be concise’ or ‘Explain so that you may be rewarded’ (with the reward coming from God).<sup>30</sup> The second part has the seal imprints of the muftis or other legal experts stamped on the sheet below the question, most of the time with the answer ‘Yes’ (*bāšad* in Persian). A negative answer has not yet been seen. Very rarely is there a *riwāya* without seal imprints. The third part features quotations on the right margin of the document, written at a 45° angle; they are practically all in Arabic and the same type of excerpts as the quotes and excerpts in the ‘legal questions’ parts of *ǧung* manuscripts.

This is not the place to discuss how such documents functioned in the Central Asian legal system before and after the Russian conquest.<sup>31</sup> Suffice it to say that these *riwāya* documents were an essential part of litigation, and therefore exist in large numbers today in the original, not counting the numerous copies or drafts which are preserved in *ǧung* manuscripts.<sup>32</sup> They were perhaps not written by the muftis themselves, but by junior clerks (*mīrzā* or *muḥarrir*), possibly students or graduates of the Bukharan (and other) madrasas, and sealed by higher-ranking representatives of the legal profession. The writing and sealing of such documents came at a price for the customer.<sup>33</sup>

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**30** Sartori’s and Isogai Ken’ichi’s translations, respectively.

**31** Sartori 2016a, 250–288 gives an overall picture. Isogai Ken’ichi 2011 presents a complex case of seven related such documents. See also Pickett 2020, 143.

**32** There is no way of estimating the number of original Central Asian *riwāya* documents in existence today. Aside from the documents housed in the State Archive of Uzbekistan (an unknown quantity), Gulomov counted 151 *riwāya* documents added on to Beruni 2588, and identifies further *ǧung* manuscripts with original documents inserted. Beruni 9747 has 445 such documents according to Mukhammadaminov. Beruni 6102 in fact is an album featuring a large quantity of such documents, mainly from Tashkent; Gulomov counted 609 *riwāyāt* in it. Welsford and Tashev 2012 describe dozens of ‘solicited legal opinions’. This catalogue however also shows that the ‘solicited legal opinion’ did not dominate legal proceedings and activities as much as could be surmised from their presence in *ǧung* manuscripts. The catalogue shows two types of documents to have quotes from the ‘authoritative books’: ‘solicited legal opinions’ and ‘claims for restitution’, *maḥḍar*, which Sartori translates as ‘claim protocols’. All other documents, mostly notarial acts such as deeds of sale, did not need quotes from the legal literature. However, *ǧung* manuscripts only rarely feature models of such acts compared to the number of documents requiring quotes from the authoritative books.

**33** Sartori 2016a, 263–264.

## 5 Referencing the sources

As has been seen, both the entries on ‘legal questions’ (*masā’il fiqhīya*) and the ‘solicited legal opinions’ (*riwāyāt*) use quotes from an almost canonized set of law books, the ‘authoritative books’ (*al-kutub al-mu‘tabara*). Though these quotes are written on the right margin of the solicited legal opinions (and also the ‘claim protocols’ *maḥādīr*), they can also appear in the main body of text in pages on ‘legal questions’.

How are these citations referenced? Is there a difference between entries on legal questions and solicited legal opinions?

Turning first to the legal questions: just a short form is given, frequently derived from either the title of the book or the name of the author, e.g. hand A in Beruni 9767 gives a chapter heading on fol. 37b, ‘On judgement and what relates to it’ (*fi l-qaḍā’ wa-mā yata‘allaqu bihā*). In Beruni 9767, the chapter has a relatively large number of quotes. There are around ten of them in the main text on the page,<sup>34</sup> and another four in the margin; the quotes continue on the following page (fol. 38a). The first quote on fol. 37b is ‘The qadi is appointed in order to assert the rights of those who have justified claims, and not to void them’, and after that, just the title of a book of law is given, the *Ġāmi‘ aṣ-ṣaġīr*.<sup>35</sup> The same sentence comes again, with slight variations, from another source, the *Ġāmi‘ al-fatāwā*.<sup>36</sup> Another quote is about the right of judges to appoint deputies for themselves if they are not present, ‘this is legal according to the consensus of the scholars’, and the source is given as *Ḥizānat al-fatāwā*.<sup>37</sup> After the title, there is a short sign reading *min nafsihā*, ‘from the work itself’, indicating that the quote was indeed taken directly from the work quoted and not from another collection, for example a *ġung*.

<sup>34</sup> There is one case inserted on fol. 37b. The compiler quotes the (famous Indian) fatwa collection *al-Fatāwā al-‘ālamġiriya* (mostly quoted as ‘*Ālamġiri*’ in Central Asian *ġung* manuscripts), and then introduces his case: ‘A claim protocol on this question’; it is about a qadi having sold a trove, in this case a found horse, which was then claimed by its original owner.

<sup>35</sup> *al-qāḍī nuṣiba li-iṣāl al-ḥuqūq ilā al-mustaḥiqq lā li-ibṭālihā*. Possibly *al-Ġāmi‘ aṣ-ṣaġīr* by Muḥammad aṣ-Šaibānī (d. 189 AH / 805 CE), one of the three principal founding figures of the Hanafite school. I have been unable to spot the citation in Šaibānī.

<sup>36</sup> There are two works bearing this title, one far more widespread, a fatwa collection by Nāṣir ad-Dīn Abu l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Yūsuf as-Samarqandī al-Ḥanafī (d. 556 AH / 1161 CE).

<sup>37</sup> *wa-hāḍā bi-iġmā‘ al-‘ulamā’*. There are three works going under the quoted title, two written in Transoxiana. The authors are Faḥr ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Buḥārī (d. 522 AH / 1128 CE), and Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd ar-Raṣīd al-Buḥārī (d. 542 AH / 1148 CE) who is better known as the compiler of the *Ḥulāṣa*.

This short note appears very frequently, particularly in the ‘legal questions’ sections. It is a means for enhancing the value, credibility and authenticity of the material transmitted.<sup>38</sup> It could be reduced to an abridged form: two strokes slanted downwards to the left. As the documents in question were used in lawsuits, quoting the sources in this way may have given additional weight to the argument advanced.

At times, therefore, the references are imprecise and, on occasion, do not even refer to one work unambiguously. At other times, the references are more detailed. Still regarding hand A in Beruni 9767, and on fol. 22b, in the chapter on dividing estates (*fī l-qisma wa-mā yata‘allaqu bihā*), one quote refers to the chapter of the work from which the excerpt was taken: Qāḍihān, from the chapter on dividing estates, quoted directly<sup>39</sup> (Fig. 5).

But references may be even more precise however, providing not only the chapter, but the section of a chapter, and even the page number. Such reference occurs (still in hand A) on fol. 55b, where there is ‘Fuṣūl ‘Imādī, Chapter 16 on making someone take an oath, folio 145’<sup>40</sup> (Fig. 6).

Another very full reference is on fol. 58a: ‘Fatāwā ‘Ālamgīriya, consulted directly, in the chapter on procedural law, section on the sitting of the qadi, fol. 158’<sup>41</sup> (Fig. 7).

Such fuller references do not occur very frequently in Beruni 9767, and they are concentrated in the sections on legal questions. In the sections which transmit copies or drafts of documents, they are much less frequent.<sup>42</sup>

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**38** Sartori 2016a, 259 contains a reproduction of such a document described in Welsford and Tashev 2012 as no. 146. In the third quote on this document, we have the note *min nafsihi* relating to the source quoted, *Tanwīr*. Sartori integrates the formula into his translation. *Tanwīr al-abṣār* is a fatwa collection otherwise quoted under the name of the author, Šams ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ġazzī at-Tīmūrtāšī (d. 1004 AH / 1595 CE), one of the not very numerous Ottoman authors quoted in Central Asian material from the nineteenth century.

**39** *Qāḍihān min nafsihi fī l-qisma*.

**40** *Fuṣūl ‘Imādī fī l-faṣl as-sādis ‘aṣr fī masā’il al-istiḥlāf, q 145*. What I render as ‘q’ is a sign derived from this letter form as an abridgment for *waraqqa*, ‘folio’. That this sign does indeed represent the letter *qāf* is evident from an entry in Beruni 2588, fol. 430a where it appears with two dots as does the letter *qāf*. See note 43 for a case in which the word is written in full. Gacek 2012, 317 gives the letter *wāw* as abbreviation of *waraqqa*. The work is *Kitāb fuṣūl al-iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām* by ‘Imād ad-Dīn Abu l-Faṭḥ ‘Abd al-Raḥīm as-Samarqandī (d. c. 670 AH / 1271 CE).

**41** ‘*Ālamgīrī min nafsihi fī l-qāḍā’ faṣl ḡulūs al-qāḍī q 158*. The work is the state-sponsored Indian fatwa collection under the name of Sultan ‘Ālamgīr (Awrangzīb) (r. 1659–1707).

**42** See e.g. the sections on pious endowments *waqf* fol. 63b, or the one on criminal law *ḥudūd* fols 66b–67a, the section on ‘various questions’ *masā’il šattā*, fols 85b–86a, the section on divorce *ṭalāq* fol. 96b.



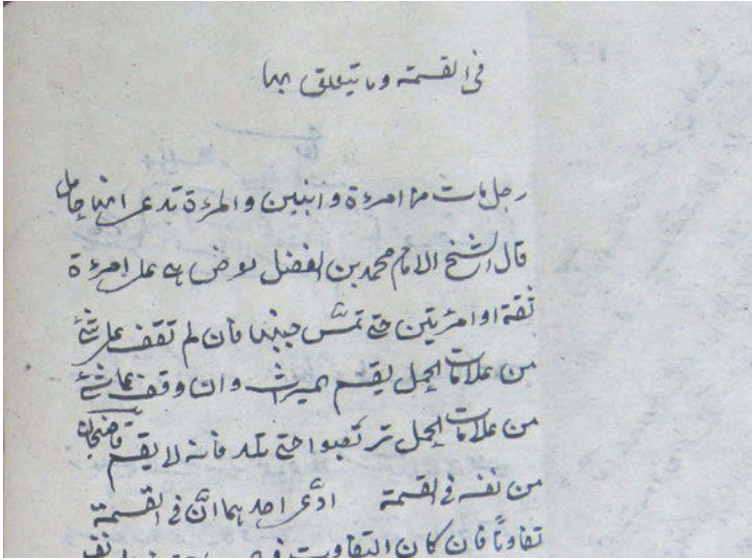


Fig. 5: Beruni 9767, fol. 22b. Hand A. Section on dividing inheritances.

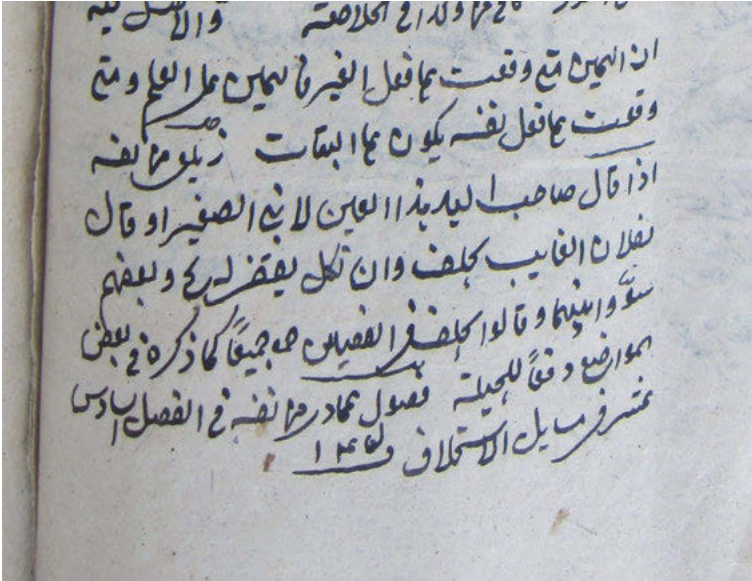


Fig. 6: Beruni 9767, fol. 55b. Quote from *Fuṣūl 'Imādī*.

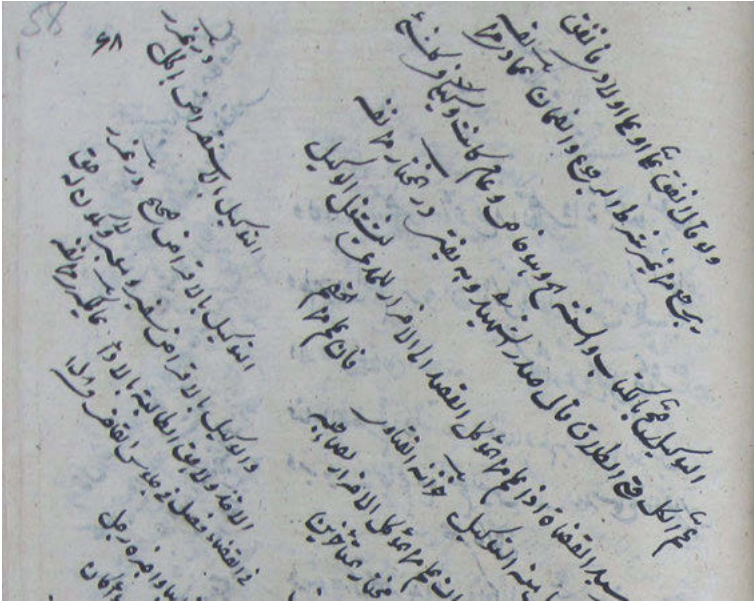


Fig. 7: Beruni 9767, fol. 58a. Note double pagination, and see quote from the *Fatāwā ʿĀlamgīriya* with the sign for *waraqa*.

In Sayyid Qamar’s *ḡung* (Beruni 2588), the same forms of references appear. A fairly large amount of excerpts and quotes are referenced only by the short name of the work as it was used in professional circles of Bukharan jurisconsults in the nineteenth century; many jurisconsults add that this quote was taken directly from the work in question. Some are even more precise, giving the folio number of the quoted work, and additional information at times, e.g. in the section where Sayyid Qamar lists quotes on the status of the slave who has the right to earn his own redemption (*Kitāb al-mukātab*), he says that his quote is to be found at the end of the chapter on manumission in the *Muḥtār al-Fatāwā*, fol. 162.<sup>43</sup> Slavery was widespread in Muslim Central Asia and only abolished by the Russians.<sup>44</sup>

What about referencing in the documents themselves, particularly the ‘solicited legal opinions?’ One sheet exists with such documents inserted into Ber-

<sup>43</sup> Beruni 2588, fol. 192a: *fī āḥir kitāb al-ʿitāq min Muḥtār al-Fatāwā, warāqa 192*. This is one of the rare cases where the word *waraqa* is not abridged but written in full.

<sup>44</sup> Eden 2018.

uni 9767, between fols 181 and 182. On the recto side of the sheet, there is a regular stamped document (see above Fig. 4), and the quotes are referenced only by the conventional title of the work. On the verso side, however, is something that may be a draft as it has no seal impressions (and moreover was written on the verso side of a regular document) (Fig. 8).



Fig. 8: Beruni 9767. Verso of document glued in between fols 181 and 182 (see Fig. 4 for recto).

In this draft complete references appear. The question to be answered is what must be done should a person who has to take an oath at court be unable to attend. Is it possible for a deputy or attorney to take that oath in his or her place? The quotes in the right margin tell us that a qadi has no right to make a sick man or a woman leave their home, and that swearing through a deputy is, indeed, possible. The quotes read: ‘*Ḥulāṣa*, consulted directly, in the section on procedural law, fol. 48’; ‘*Ḥizānat al-fatāwā*, consulted directly, chapter on the rights and duties of the qadi, section two, fol. 117’.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *Ḥulāṣa min nafsihi fī l-qaḍā’* q 48; *Ḥizānat al-fatāwā min nafsihi fī kitāb adab al-qāḍī fī faṣl at-tānī* [sic, should be *fī l-faṣl at-tānī*] q 117. For the *Ḥulāṣa*, see note 11. The *Ḥizānat al-fatāwā* could not be identified.

Gulomov has reproductions of further documents from other *ǧung* manuscripts, some of which show that extended references were used.<sup>46</sup>

In the Samarqand catalogue, one more document is reproduced; it has the formula *min nafsihi* in one of the two quotes.<sup>47</sup> The catalogue authors not only give short descriptions of the cases, but also extended summaries of the quotes, and though they do not tell us whether the formula *min nafsihi* has been added, they do provide information on more extended forms of referencing. There are forty-two *riwāya* documents described in the catalogue (out of 748 items meaning that other types, in particular notarial acts, occur much more frequently). There are certainly more than one hundred quotes on these forty-two documents. Extended forms of referencing occur in only a small number of cases. I have found only one reference to a folio number, and one rather enigmatic reference to the *Fatāwā ‘Ālamǧiriya*.<sup>48</sup> This tells us that referencing the conventional title of the work was the rule in late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Samarqand.<sup>49</sup>

The documents inserted in Beruni 2588 offer another picture, however. According to Gulomov’s count, this volume contains 151 *riwāya* documents.<sup>50</sup> Most provide more than one quote; and thus, approximately 400–500 quotes appear on the documents. While the mention *min nafsihi* frequently occurs and appears to be a standard (but not mandatory) feature in quotes on documents, only approximately twenty references to folio numbers appear. However, some of the jurists who drafted these documents used references to sections of chapters, some of whom used a sign derived from the letter form *šād*, with a figure written above it; I take this to denote ‘section’ *fašl*.<sup>51</sup> The document inserted at fol. 405, on a divorce case, also contains elaborate references. It continues a practice widespread in the legal literature: relating the text to a web of references in the

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46 Gulomov 2012, photograph no. 5, p. 157, three documents in a row from Beruni 1740. The first quote in the first document seems to end in *fi l-bay’*, ‘on sales’, *q* 212 (the figure cannot be read with confidence on the photograph).

47 Welsford and Tashev 2012, 679.

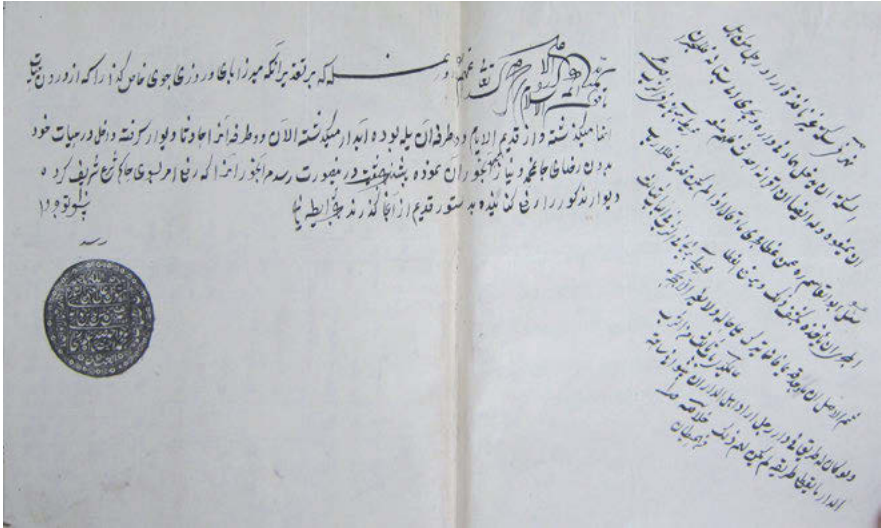
48 The reference to a folio number is in no. 537 quote iii, this particular document is a general statement that bribery is a crime, and some more quotes are referenced by the chapter of the work quoted. The reference to the *‘Ālamǧiriya* is in no. 453, and it gives a number: 11.838.

49 Samarqand came under direct Russian rule in 1868 and was separated from the Bukharan emirate at that point.

50 It should be noted that Mīr Sayyid Qamar, the compiler of the *ǧung*, did not draft all these documents. Moreover, his seal is to be found on only a small amount.

51 Very elaborate references in the quotes to the document fol. 35. The case regards water rights, and the quotes are from *Muḥiṭ Burhānī fi š-šurb fašl* 6; another quote using this sign on this document is from the *Ḥulāsa fašl 1 fi l-ḥiṭān*.

authorities, quotes within quotes. Here, the *Fatāwā ‘Ālamgīriya* are quoted which in turn refer to the fatwa collection known under the name of *Tātārḥān*<sup>52</sup> (Fig. 9).



**Fig. 9:** Beruni 2588, fol. 35. ‘Solicited legal opinion’. Note quotes on the right margin with abridged form for *faṣl*.

Thus, in all, extended references are given in both the ‘legal questions’ sections and on the sealed documents. Such extended references in the legal questions sections of the *ḡung* manuscripts, particularly to folio numbers, could have served as a retrieval system to orient the compiler within his own manuscript copy of the quoted work. A reference to chapters and sections of chapters would also serve ‘outside’ readers wanting to consult their manuscript, however, they will not benefit from folio numbers. Nonetheless, it certainly enhanced the credibility of a quote and, by the same token, the force of the argument in a fatwa

<sup>52</sup> The reference is to *Fatāwā ‘Ālamgīriya min nafsihā fi kitāb aṭ-ṭalāq faṣl 15 fi n-nafaqāt q 200*, ‘Fatāwā ‘Ālamgīriya, quoted directly, in the chapter on divorce, section 15 on maintenance, fol. 200’. The *Fatāwā Tātārḥānī*, called *Zād al-musāfir*, compiled by Faḥr ad-Dīn ‘Ālim b. ‘Alā’ (d. 786 AH / 1384 CE), was dedicated to Tātārḥān, an emir at the court of the Delhi sultan Firūzshāh Tuḡluq (1351–1388). The work in turn is a compendium composed of references to numerous earlier works, some of which are prominent in Central Asian *ḡung* manuscripts, such as the *Muḥīṭ al-Burhānī*.



should such fuller references be given. There is in fact more to referencing: authenticity of the quoted text is at stake, and therefore I think the tendency to have exact references should be seen as a way to use referencing as a means of authentication.

How to quote legal literature is an old problem, and indeed the problem is to safeguard authenticity, the validity of the transmission. The Ottoman Empire even had rules concerning references. The Ottoman authorities differentiated between imperial muftis, particularly between the chief imperial jurisconsult (*şeyhülislam*) and those jurisconsults active in the provinces, of whom some were not of imperial appointment. The provincial muftis were required to cite the texts they consulted for their ruling whereas the *şeyhülislam* could make do with just answering ‘yes’ or ‘no’. This was stated in an edict issued by Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–1595) in which the sultan ‘demanded the proper citation of the jurisprudential works on which the jurisconsult relied’.<sup>53</sup> In an edict addressed to the jurisconsult of Sarajevo, issued in 1783, it states: ‘You must write the sources on which you base your expert-opinions, and you must sign your legal rulings clearly’.<sup>54</sup>

Ottoman muftis also collected their fatwas into books or had them collected or rearranged by their scribes. One such mufti was Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi (d. 1156 AH / 1743 CE). One of the most important Ottoman fatwa collections goes back to the opinions he wrote. His scribe (*fetvâ emini*) Mehmed Fikhî el-Aynî produced the book we have today, *Behcetü'l-fetâvâ ma'a'n-nukûl* (printed at Istanbul in 1266 AH / 1850 CE and again in 1289 AH / 1872 CE). Aynî wrote an introduction to the work in which he tells us that Abdullah Efendi collected his fatwas into a book himself (*bizzat kendisi*), but due to the large numbers of fatwas and them not being arranged systematically, the book was difficult to use. Therefore, Abdullah Efendi asked his scribe to rearrange them according to the systematic order of chapters in the Hanafi books of law. This was what Aynî did, but there was more: in order to provide support for muftis when they wrote their fatwas, or for qadis in cases they had to decide, the book gave all the citations from the authoritative books of the Hanafi scholars in the original Arabic, next to the legal questions to which they related, quoting the title of the work, the chapter and its section, without changing anything in either content or form.<sup>55</sup>

This is very much the extended citing form we have in the Central Asian *ğung* manuscripts: title, chapter and section of a given ‘authoritative book’.

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<sup>53</sup> Burak 2016, 22.

<sup>54</sup> Burak 2016, 22.

<sup>55</sup> Özen 2005, 303.

However, there is no mention of folio numbers.<sup>56</sup> With the help of such a compendium, it would have been possible to write fatwas without turning to the ‘authoritative books’ themselves, relying instead on a second-hand collection, trusting the compilers to have not altered anything of either content or wording. Thus, the Ottoman work functioned very similarly to the way a Central Asian *ğung* was supposed to function.

Witnessed in the case of Abdullah Efendi’s work is the possible transition from a collection made for the compiler’s own use to a ‘published’ work intended to be used by (many) others. To make that transition possible and the work meaningful for others, the material had to be rearranged. In Central Asia, as noted above, there are also fatwa collections arranged according to the chapters in the Hanafi legal literature such as the *Muhtaşar al-wiqāya*, and these collections are also called *ğung*. But regarding the two manuscripts under study, such a transition was not intended and was actually out of the question: there are too many entries which are unrelated to the giving of fatwas. They are notebooks made exclusively for the compilers’ own use.

The word our sources use for ‘quotation’ is *naql*, which in Arabic means ‘transmitting’, in either oral or written form. What muftis do when they quote from the authoritative books therefore is transmitting, with all the respect that implies for the transmitted text and the authority from which one transmits. Referencing therefore is, as the preface of *Behcetü’l-fetâvâ* tells us, a means of ensuring the texts are being transmitted faithfully, but also a way of bowing towards the authorities upon whose word such texts are constructed.

## 6 Personal notes: Hand B in Beruni 9767

Personal notes in *ğung* manuscripts are to be found not only on the flyleaves and the inner sides of the cover, but in many places elsewhere in the manuscript. They give details on the professional career of the compiler, dates of the deaths of colleagues and friends, and sometimes financial details. Jan Schmidt

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<sup>56</sup> A comparison between Central Asian *ğung* manuscripts and Ottoman fatwa collections cannot be undertaken in the framework of this article. But I want to note that Ottoman collections can also be made by ‘writing for oneself’, such as the collection made by Şeyhülislâm Sa’dî Çelebi (d. 945 AH / 1538 CE), manuscript Istanbul, Şehit Ali Paşa, 1073, which impressed Özen as being *dağmık*, ‘scattered, dispersed’, that is, as disorderly as many of the Central Asian *ğung* collections and perhaps as unsystematic as the raw collection from which the *Behcetü’l-fetâvâ* was made; Özen 2005, 259.

has described Ottoman ‘scrapbooks for personal use’ as offering many personal items, but, disappointingly in his eyes, these are ‘fragments of book-keeping, brief travel notes, remarks on the weather or historical events, quotations from official letters, notes about the birth and death of family members’.<sup>57</sup> This is also very much the case in the two *ğung* manuscripts under discussion here.

Sayyid Qamar made many personal entries in his *ğung*, Beruni 2588. On the inner back cover, it reads that he was appointed qadi at Karmīna on 3 Ša‘bān 1287 (29 October 1870). Just before that is the original appointment deed which, however, is dated 1293 (1876). Another entry tells of how he had seen his appointment to the rank of *şudūr* in a dream, in 1289 (1872–1873) (fol. 394a). Preceding that, there is a long passage where the compiler enumerates who was appointed to which position, among others his own (fols 391b–392a). There is also quite a number of documents and letters concerning his private business and family life. One note – indeed a letter – tells us that the writer arrived in St Petersburg on 8 Ša‘bān 1300 (14 June 1883); as Sayyid Qamar is addressed as ‘Qāḍī Bābā-mā’, it may be deduced that the traveller was Sayyid Qamar’s son.

Earlier from Beruni 9767 we are told Sayyid Qamar was appointed *Muḥtābi-askarī* in 1304 (1886–1887). Seal imprints show he did indeed occupy that position (Beruni 2588, fol. 147b without date, fol. 217b without date), and on a draft document he has that title, the document itself is dated Dū l-Qa‘da 1303 (August 1886). More documents feature his father ‘Ālim, thus the manuscript also served as a kind of family chronicle.

In Beruni 9767, hand B is responsible for such entries above all. This hand is later than hand A as appears from fols 23a and 23b. On fol. 23a, hand A breaks off in the middle of a case, and the rest of this page and the verso side must have been left empty for a while. Fol. 23a was later filled in by various hands. On fol. 23b, hand B continues, with another case. The writer identifies the court in which the case was heard: *dār al-qaḍā’-i wilāyat-i Ḥaṭīrčī ḥumiyat ma‘a ḥaḍrat [sulṭāninā] ‘an al-āfāt*, ‘the courthouse of Ḥaṭīrčī province, may it be protected together with our sultan from all disasters’ (Fig. 10).

Scribe B notes his cases in a way that differs from hand A. And in particular, he identifies the place: Ḥaṭīrčī, today Yangiribod, a small town on the road from Bukhara to Samarqand and the main settlement of a *wilāyat* of the Bukharan emirate in the late nineteenth century.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Schmidt 2016, 212.

<sup>58</sup> In Welsford and Tashev 2012, two documents mention this place, nos 9 and 423; the first is dated 1232 AH / 1816–1817 CE and does not mention that this place was a *wilāyat*, the second 1259 AH / 1843 CE, a statement of conferral of appointment to the position of qadi there. Later, in



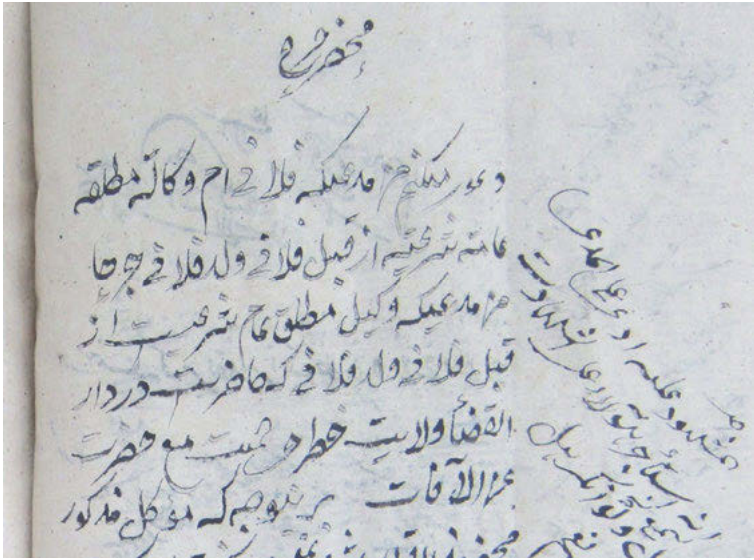


Fig. 10: Beruni 9767, fol. 23b. Hand B. 'Claim protocol' with identification of Ḥaṭīrčī courthouse.

Moreover, scribe B sometimes identifies the litigants, and he gives some dates. There is a passage, for instance, on fol. 151b, a form for obtaining a document appointing a legal representative; the representative is to cash in loans and to take the debtors to court and settle the cases should the debtors deny the debt. The document (copy or draft) is dated to 18 Ša'bān 1299 (5 July 1882), the man appointing a representative is identified as Muḥammad Dākīr (unlikely a fictitious name), and the court, again, is located at Ḥaṭīrčī.

Ḥaṭīrčī comes again several times, and the reason is very simple. On fol. 304a at the bottom of the page, there is a personal note which is dated to 22 Ramaḍān 1298 (12 August 1881): *az marāḥim-i sulṭānī manšūr-i ra'īsī wa muftagī-yi wilāyat-i Ḥaṭīrčī rasīd*, 'by the mercy of our ruler, the deed appointing [me] as mufti and *ra'īs* at Ḥaṭīrčī arrived'.<sup>59</sup> The frequent occurrence of the place name is simply due to scribe B having a position there (Fig. 11).

1315 AH / 1897–1898 CE, Šadr-i Dīyā' served as qadī in Ḥaṭīrčī; he also calls the place a *wilāyat*. Shukurov 2004, 174–177. In around 1290 AH / 1873 CE, Mullā Muḥammad 'Ālim was appointed qadī at Ḥaṭīrčī, replacing Sa'dallāh Ḥwāḡa, Beruni 2588, fol. 392b. Sayyid Qamar himself may have been responsible for cases there when he was qadī at Karmīna.

<sup>59</sup> *Ra'īs* and *muhtasib* were synonymous in nineteenth-century Bukhara; the office was responsible for policing the city.



Lists of positions and the pay earned may have been a regular feature in such manuscripts: there is another in Sayyid Qamar's *ḡung* where, incidentally, *Ḥaṭirčī* also is mentioned.<sup>60</sup> Men serving in the judiciary surely kept track of what a given position was worth. But there were instances where it must have been important for someone in a subaltern position to have access to additional income if he had no landholding or was from an otherwise well-to-do family.

Another note appears concerning this writer's career. On the same page (fol. 266b), we read that on the 1 Rabi' I 1303 (8 December 1885), he was appointed *ra'īs* in Nūr, a somewhat more important place to the north-east of Bukhara, known today and then also as Nurata: *az marāḥim-i sulṭānī ba-riyāsāt-i Nūrātā sar-afrazī yāfta šud*. A *ra'īs*, according to the table just quoted, had a six-months allowance of just 25 *tanga* there – certainly no promotion in financial terms, but perhaps a location that offered improved potential for making a living.<sup>61</sup>

It becomes clear that Scribe B is not a rich man from entries registering debts he has incurred, among others, from his mother (fol. 269b). There are many notes on credits and back payments, e.g. in the beginning of the volume (fols 2a–2b), but mainly in a large section (fols 268a–269b).<sup>62</sup> Dates most frequently mentioned are 1293 and 1294 (1876–1877), and the creditors seem also to come largely from the legal professions and are the debtor's colleagues. Interest (*ribḥ*) is mentioned sometimes, without posing any problems (in spite of the interdictions on interest in Islamic law). There are no notes about this man lending money to others.

The first personal entry by this hand is not related to the writer's career, however; it is the announcement of the birth of a son, Dā'ūd Ḥwāḡam, on the 11 Rabi' II 1294 (25 April 1877). It is not stated whether this was his firstborn or what position the boy had in the family (fol. 304a).

Both writers in Beruni 9767 therefore used the manuscript for noting legal cases, but for several kinds of other notes also, among them literary texts, excerpts from law books, personal notes, accountancy notes and so forth. Differences exist between the two: the second writer did not copy poetry into the

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**60** Beruni 2588, fol. 3b where the pay for a *ra'īs* there is quoted as 130 *tanga* and for the qadi as 1000, thus the same amounts as in Beruni 9767. The list in Beruni 2588 is not dated but must refer to the situation before the Russian conquest as the pay for positions at Samarqand is also shown; the list in Beruni 9767 is probably later as Samarqand is absent. See also above, note 49.

**61** The list in Beruni 2588 states the pay for a qadi at Nūr to be 525 *tanga*, a *ra'īs* had 25, the same as in Beruni 9767.

**62** If the assumption is correct the volume did not include fols 272–300 originally, these would have been the beginning and the end of the volume.

manuscript; he did not always anonymize his material and show the same precision in giving his references when quoting from law books, and his personal notes are more personal and at least two appointments enable a link to him. In all, however, the method of compiling seems very much the same: texts from legal practice, *riwāyāt* and other forms, are noted into a manuscript which also served as notebook for other purposes, and in times of emergency, as a reservoir for paper.

## 7 Non-legal entries

Sayyid Qamar's *ḡung* is only partly devoted to legal issues. Most of the space is taken up by other writings. Subjects come from various fields; among the most important are astrology and astronomy (the writer introduces himself sometimes as al-Aflākī, 'the astronomer'), occult sciences, mathematics, Sufism, and others such as history. Poetry is also represented, but Beruni 9767 features more particularly in hand A. Sayyid Qamar also used his notebook for drafting some of his own works, mostly on occult sciences and on astronomy and arithmetic.<sup>63</sup>

A number of entries appear to draw on a shared body of texts and practices, possibly linked to non-legal professional activities of muftis and other graduates of the Bukharan madrasa system. Among these, prayers, charms, recipes and talismans take an important place. Muftis apparently also worked as healers or prided themselves in knowledge linked to healing.

I have identified two charms which occur in both manuscripts. One is to be recited when attempting to free a patient from the *rišta* worm, a parasite endemic in Bukhara up to the Soviet period.<sup>64</sup> Beruni 9767 has *būt yā man bāt \* bi-ḥaqq-i ḥayy allaḏī lā yamūt*, to be recited as a *du'ā* (prayer) when extracting the worm. 'Worm, whatever worm is there, in the name of the Living one who never

<sup>63</sup> Some of these have been traced in other Tashkent manuscripts by Gulomov. Such a treatise begins e.g. on fol. 113b, marked by a II (in Roman numerals). These traces of counting discrete parts of the manuscript recur until a V on fol. 162a. Moreover, at fol. 113, there is a scrap of paper inscribed in Russian: 'In this manuscript, excerpts from *Nafā'is al-funūn* are given' (the Arabic title in Arabic script – perhaps *Nafā'is al-funūn fi 'arā'is al-'uyūn* by Āmulī is intended, a work on physiognomy), signed A. Semenov, possibly the Orientalist (and former imperial servant in Bukhara) Aleksandr A. Semenov (1873–1958) who worked at the Institute of Oriental Studies in Tashkent in the 1930s.

<sup>64</sup> Bukhara was renowned for the very low quality of its drinking water, and many parasites and other diseases were linked to the Bukharan reservoirs' stagnant water (*ḥauḏ*). For the *rišta* worm (*filaria medinensis*) in Bukhara, see Vambéry 1865, 183.

dies'.<sup>65</sup> The same invocation, with variants, is also to be found in Sayyid Qamar's *ḡung*: *man būta bi-ḡasad man yamūt \* mut bi-ḡaqq allaḡī lā yamūt*, 'Whatever worm lives in the body of a mortal man \* die in the name of the One who never dies'.<sup>66</sup> To lend more authority to the prayer, Sayyid Qamar adds that this comes from the 'authoritative books' (*al-kutub al-mu'tabara*), the same category of books used as sources in the legal sections of *ḡung* manuscripts.

There are many recipes and prayers for applications against various ailments in both manuscripts. Here is but one example: to help a woman in labour to deliver her child, both manuscripts offer the same procedure: one must write *bismillāh ar-raḡmān ar-raḡīm* on a sheet of paper and affect it to the body of the woman in a certain way, then she will deliver immediately.<sup>67</sup> Both quote a *Fatāwā al-Ḥuḡḡa* as their source (I could not identify this book; the title may be translated as 'Legal opinions of the proof of God'). In both manuscripts, this practice is linked to ancient authorities, both of the regional Hanafi scholars and of early transmitters of the Prophetic tradition.

Other examples are for instance Beruni 9767 telling us how to find out if a pregnant woman is to give birth to a boy or a girl (fol. 2a), next to which is a prayer to be used as a cure for toothache: the prayer text is in Arabic and written here in a script normally used for solemn purposes (such as chapter headings such as those of the Qur'an, funeral inscriptions and so forth), the so-called *tuluḡ*. The text is to be written on a piece of bread, that the patient should eat (fol. 2a); it reads: 'By God's craft, and we are His bondsmen'.<sup>68</sup> There are more recipes and prescriptions and prayers to be recited for healing patients, most very short. Sayyid Qamar contains sections on how to prepare medicine, which are not to be seen in Beruni 9767.

Aside from healing, one of the graduates of the Bukharan madrasas tasks or activities was officiating at weddings. Qadis were indeed asked (or allowed) to be present at weddings, and they were entitled to a fee – one presumes for setting up the marriage contract. But other figures could also officiate. Another duty would be to give a blessing speech. One such speech appears in Beruni

<sup>65</sup> Beruni 9767, fol. 304b. The page is otherwise filled with various private notes, including on the purchase of a horse, the departure of a mulla for the pilgrimage to Mekka, and another contracted loan. *Al-ḡayy allaḡī lā yamūt* is a formula for God, Qur'an 25:58.

<sup>66</sup> Sayyid Qamar, Beruni 2588, fol. 29a. Besides exercises in arithmetic, this page has other incantations to protect people from scorpions and snakes.

<sup>67</sup> Beruni 9767, fol. 4a; Beruni 2588, fol. 147b.

<sup>68</sup> *bar ṣan'at Allāh wa-naḡnu lahu 'ābidūn*.

9767. This was no single occurrence as such a speech is mentioned as part of a lithographed book<sup>69</sup> and in a handwritten *ḡung* kept at St Petersburg.<sup>70</sup>

A final example of the continuity between legal and non-legal activities is a passage in Beruni 9767 that appears like a *riwāya* but is actually not a legal text. It begins with the ornamental heading of *riwāya* documents (for an example of such a heading, see Fig. 4), but rather than a case being recounted, the story of how the jinn became Muslim is related (fol. 15a). There are two sheets of this type in the Samarqand collection, both starting with the ornamental heading and giving variants about the jinn and Islam. The Samarqand catalogue editors tell us that these sheets were hung in people's houses for protection.<sup>71</sup>

Both manuscripts present a number of magical squares and other drawings to be used as magic, largely for protection. Sayyid Qamar was a real expert in such matters, and goes into great detail here.<sup>72</sup>

It can be presumed, therefore, that the writing of prayers for healing, officiating at weddings, writing protection papers, against malevolent jinn or others, was part and parcel of a mufti's work, and all contributed, as did his work in the legal sphere, to the earning of a livelihood. As Pickett puts it: 'They [the *ḡung* manuscripts] offer a sense of what was useful to the ulama on a daily basis and how competencies were applied in practice.'<sup>73</sup> Muftis were not only legal scholars, but active in many fields, and much of what they did was in some way linked to knowledge, *ilm*: *ḡung* manuscripts, for all their multifarious, disorganized, disparate appearance, are repositories of *ilm*, some of it taught at the Bukharan madrasas, some transmitted by other channels.

## 8 Why did the writers compile such manuscripts?

To obtain a clearer explanation of why these manuscripts exist in such large numbers, two steps are taken. The first addresses the legal aspects, and the second, the non-legal entries.

In terms of the legal aspect, *ḡung* manuscripts acquired a bad reputation in late nineteenth-century Bukhara. It was suspected the muftis were not directly

<sup>69</sup> Shcheglova 1975, vol. 1, 194, no. 385.

<sup>70</sup> Pickett 2020, 159.

<sup>71</sup> Welsford and Tashev 2012, 505–506, nos 683 and 684.

<sup>72</sup> Beruni 9767, fol. 8b: a drawing serving to protect a horse. One must draw it on a piece of paper and hang it around the horse's neck.

<sup>73</sup> Pickett 2020, 158.

quoting from relevant sources, but from *ğung* compilations, thus opening up a host of mistakes, possibly even fraud. Thus many quotes, both in the *riwāyāt* and in excerpts from law books not linked to individual cases, are underlined stating they were taken directly from the source – and not from another *ğung* compilation: we have seen how precise references may be a means of authentication.

Muftis were directly warned against working from *ğung* compilations rather than ‘real’ fatwa collections. One such voice was Mīr Rabī‘ b. Mīr Niyāz Ḥwāğā al-Ḥusainī, ‘who in the 1880s despised the fatwa miscellanies of his contemporaries’ – that is, the *ğung* compilations – ‘and asserted that their legal opinions should not be applied’.<sup>74</sup>

Later, in the early twentieth century, particularly after the Revolution, modernists asked the Muslim legal practitioners to ground their opinions not just on the authoritative fatwa collections, but the primary sources of Muslim law, the Prophetic tradition and the Qur’an.<sup>75</sup>

Nevertheless, *ğung* compilations continued to be produced. Paolo Sartori quite rightly raises the question why

in the field of Islamic law [...] we find juristic miscellanies (*ğung*) produced at a time when local jurists warned against the pitfalls of relying on precisely this kind of collections when issuing their legal opinions.<sup>76</sup>

The question thus boldly presents itself as to why such manuscripts as Beruni 9767 exist, not only as individual and strange artefacts, but as a massive body of manuscripts from late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Bukhara.

One or two observations may be helpful here. To begin with, quite materially speaking: what do we actually know about the access to law books in places such as Nūrātā and Ḥaṭīrčī in the late nineteenth century?<sup>77</sup> There were no public libraries and no madrasas in these small provincial towns where muftis and qadis were nonetheless quite active, and it is to be kept in mind that printing (first in the form of lithography) started in Muslim Central Asia only in the late

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<sup>74</sup> Sartori 2016b, 220.

<sup>75</sup> Sartori 2016b. The most forceful author quoted in this context is ‘Abd ar-Ra’ūf Fiṭrat who served for a while as minister of education in the Bukharan People’s Soviet Republic.

<sup>76</sup> Sartori 2016b, 229.

<sup>77</sup> Jan Schmidt writes that in the Ottoman Empire, literacy was low and personal libraries were rare, particularly outside Istanbul and, to a lesser degree, in provincial centres such as Cairo or Damascus. He links this observation to the fact that many personal notebooks, scrap-books, survive from the Ottoman Empire. Schmidt 2016.

nineteenth century. Should a legal scholar not be wealthy and capable of building up his own personal library, or not inherit the books he needed, he was dependent on his excerpts and notes and what he had learnt by heart studying at one of the Bukharan madrasas. It was not self-evident that legal practitioners had even the most elementary books – in Beruni 9767, a number of entries appear in which the writer states he has lent out the first volume (*daftar*) of the *Hidāya*.<sup>78</sup> The body of literature to be quoted is however quite impressive, and even a very good student would not be able to retain all those works in his memory for extended periods of time. Thus, creating a *ḡung* for one's own practice may have been a practical necessity. This would further explain why many *ḡung* compilations follow the *Muḡtaṣar al-wiqāya*, one of the works most widely used in teaching.

Another observation links to the theory of *iḡtihād*, independent legal reasoning. Without discussing the question of whether and when or why the 'Gate of *iḡtihād* was closed'<sup>79</sup>, I recall the teaching that there is a hierarchy of sources for legal opinions. The most authoritative fatwa collections (three of them) all date back to the twelfth century (thus contemporary to the most widely used compendium of Hanafite law, the *Hidāya*), and all of the collections quoted by a nineteenth-century author as bearing authority are prior to 1400.<sup>80</sup> Some later fatwa collections were also in use, such as the *Fatāwā 'Ālamgīriya* and some works from the sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire, but the bulk of quoted works is older. These authoritative books are the network of knowledge to which muftis in the nineteenth century had to link themselves and their legal expert opinions. They are also the works that provided the link to the treatises of Hanafi law, from the vast body of works written in pre-Mongol Transoxiana to the works of the founding fathers (who lived in the eighth and ninth century CE in Iraq). Both groups of works are rarely quoted with the exception of the *Hidāya*.

Its theory is explained in a text inserted in Beruni 9767 but which is well-known from other contexts. On fol. 134b, scribe B starts a text he calls a *risāla*, a treatise, on the categories of Hanafi authorities. It features a short colophon, without the name of the copyist, dated 1294 AH / 1877 CE, on fol. 135b. The treatise is ascribed to Kemalpaşazade (who is indeed the author), but the writer

<sup>78</sup> Beruni 9767, fols 268b and 304 (inside back cover); twice on fol. 1a.

<sup>79</sup> Wael Hallaq has repeatedly treated the question of 'independent legal reasoning' (*iḡtihād*). His main argument is directed against older thinking that Islamic law 'froze' in tradition or 'declined' after a relatively short formative 'classical' period. Hallaq 1994 and already 1984. Paolo Sartori has analysed the *iḡtihād* and *taqlid* problem in two fundamental articles: Sartori 2016b and 2020b.

<sup>80</sup> Sartori 2016a, 262.



adds that in some manuscripts, Tātārḥān is the named author.<sup>81</sup> The treatise describes how individual capacity and legal authority declined generation after generation, over seven levels with the contemporaries clearly representing the seventh level, the lowest point of decline. The point being that while at the sixth level, in which many authors of the authoritative fatwa collections are located, legal scholars were still able to distinguish between a solid opinion and a weak one, the seventh no longer have this capacity:

The seventh level are the imitators/followers who are not able to do what has been described just now, and do not distinguish between cheat and treasure, and do not know the right from the left hand, but bring together whatever comes to their mind, like someone who is gathering firewood at night. Woe upon them and upon those who follow them, woe and nothing but woe.<sup>82</sup>

The contemporaries therefore have no option but to humbly follow the earlier generations, any direct comment on or use of the basic texts, the founding fathers of the school, is out of the question, let alone generating their own legal teaching from the revealed texts of the Qur'an and the prophetic tradition. If they do not possess, at the very least, a good compilation of quotes and excerpts, compiled in a *ḡung* manuscript, they would indeed be seventh generation, blindly seeking a good solution and finding it solely by chance, like those fumbling for firewood at night.<sup>83</sup> It is noteworthy that this text was written in the sixteenth century by a leading legal authority in the Ottoman Empire which may have seen 'decline' later, but certainly not at that time.

As a consequence, I think *ḡung* manuscripts were deemed a necessary albeit slightly objectionable tool for legal practitioners in nineteenth-century Central Asia. They were not archives – the anonymization of documents is counter-productive for an archive, particularly regarding dates. Moreover, in the two

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**81** Kemalpaşazade was an Ottoman writer, d. 1534. For a while he held the position of *şeyhülislâm*; his fatwas are present in his own collection. For Tātārḥān, see above note 52. It is interesting that the author gives the impression here of having seen this text in a number of manuscripts, meaning it must have been widespread in nineteenth-century Central Asia.

**82** Beruni 9767, fol. 134b. See Laknawī 1322/1904, the same text as in Beruni 9767, correctly attributed to Kemalpaşazade (the *waīla* at the end is missing, however). My translation.

**83** This treatise by Kemalpaşazade is famous. Kazembek who organized the Kazan' edition of the *Muhtaşar al-wiqāya* constructed large parts of his introduction on Kemalpaşazade: 'Ubaidallāh Ibn Mas'ūd Ibn Täğ aš-Şarī'a, *Miukhtaseriul-Vigkaet ili sokrashchemyi vigkaet*, ed. Kazembek 1845. In modern scholarship, Guy Burak has devoted an appendix to a summary of this treatise, 'Appendix A, The Classification of the Authorities of the Ḥanafi School', Burak 2015, 225–228. Burak gives the title as *Risāla fi ṭabaqāt al-muḡtahidīn*.

manuscripts presented here, there is no retrieval system at all, not even a table of contents. Regarding Beruni 9767, the two writers scrutinized must have completely relied on their memory for retrieval as well as Sayyid Qamar in his own *ḡung*. Nor were *ḡung* manuscripts produced for teaching purposes, at least not the ones under study here. Some other works may have been used in teaching, particularly those purporting to follow the *Muḥtaṣar al-wiqāya* – this requires further research. The explanation I feel compelled to offer here is that perhaps both writers of Beruni 9767 had no other notebooks, and the *ḡung* they were producing and using at the same time was their daily companion, and their entering personal and financial notes became second nature to them.

As for the non-legal aspects, some observations have been made above: on the same level as the legal components, non-legal entries in *ḡung* manuscripts could be linked to the mufti's daily work. A *ḡung* manuscript therefore not only reflects the compiler's personal interests in non-legal spheres, but is also a tool, a repository of what he is supposed to know. He should be able to come up with a prayer for healing, a speech for marriage, a paper protecting people and their homes from nefarious influences and so forth. Moreover, many passages related to the social life of muftis e.g. texts emanating from and transmitting knowledge about the Naqshbandi Sufi brotherhood and other luminaries from 'classical' Sufism, above all 'Abd al-Qādir Gilāni and Mawlānā Rūmī.<sup>84</sup> One supposes that such knowledge was essential in the social life of the muftis, but may also point to a role some of them may have had in Sufi circles.

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**84** Some of the great ancestors of the Naqshbandi current are quoted in Beruni 9767: Ḥwāḡa Pārsā (d. 1420) with a statement about fatal days transmitted from the Prophet through him (fol. 14b), and Ḥwāḡa Aḥrār (d. 1490) with a quatrain (fol. 267a). Sayyid Qamar's *ḡung* has a fragment of a treatise on Naqshbandi practices attributed to Ḡāmī (d. 1492) (fol. 92b), and a version of the official chain of authorities for the Naqshbandi way (*silsila*) (fol. 156a). Sayyid Qamar also declares himself to be a follower of the Dahbidiya branch of the Naqshbandiyya (Dahbid is the place where the sixteenth-century shaykh Maḥdūm-i A'zam is buried) (fol. 376b), see Gulomov 2012. Both manuscripts have a commentary on the 'Forty *kāf*' poem attributed to 'Abd al-Qādir Gilāni (d. 1066) (Beruni 2588, fol. 393b; Beruni 9767, fol. 11a, in which we also learn what rewards go with which quantities of reciting the poem). The '*Čihil kāf*' is called an 'incantation' in Canfield 2011, 220; Canfield has an informant describe the way the incantation is used in present-day Afghanistan.

## 9 Conclusion

*Ġung* manuscripts of the type discussed here were not simply notebooks confined to legal cases. Pickett describes Sayyid Qamar's *ġung* as an illustration of 'the eclectic world of the high Persianate intellectual, with attestations of shrine pilgrimage, enchantments, astronomical/astrological essays, and a wide variety of juridical notes.'<sup>85</sup> Present-day readers will gain the impression *ġung* manuscripts did indeed offer a hodgepodge of variegated writings, not only texts, but diagrams, graphic representations, drawings, glued-in documents and so forth, in no discernible order. They are not 'miscellanies' in terms of a small or large number of more or less related texts in a manuscript that could, albeit in many cases not without considerable effort, be counted and described separately. Their most salient feature may be declared to be their heterogeneity.

Collecting and compiling is one of the standard activities in the Islamicate scholarly tradition alongside condensing and abridging, commenting and glossing. This formed a network of writings, intimately intertwined, which made up the body of knowledge in the legal sphere.

In conclusion, it must be repeated that manuscripts catalogued as *ġung* offer a wide variety of formats, visual organization (or its absence), and content, ranging from albums featuring hundreds of original documents and no other text to legal handbooks and notebooks; they may be multiple-text manuscripts or composite manuscripts or both and by one writer or several. The two specimens presented here were certainly notebooks, made by a compiler or several compilers over their lifetime for their personal use.

### Acknowledgements

The research for this article was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – EXC 2176 'Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures', project no. 390893796. The research was conducted within the scope of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at Universität Hamburg.

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<sup>85</sup> Pickett 2020, 227, n. 40.

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# Legal Consultants in the Time of the Severan Dynasty: Papyri and the Emperor's Law

**Abstract:** It is well known that jurisprudence was strongly promoted under the Severan emperors (193–235 CE). The papyrological evidence alone allows an intimate insight into the local and practical implications of the emperors' legislative activity. Most impressive is papyrus P.Col. VI 123, a transcript of thirteen imperial rulings, the so-called *apokrimata* (ἀποκρίματα). There are good reasons to assume the papyrus to be a memorandum made by a legal consultant for his own use. The paper here aims to situate this memorandum within the larger circle of manuscript parallels. It invites a social and legal historical evaluation of these manuscripts, leading to questions on why collections such as P.Col. VI 123 existed and who was behind their preparation.

## 1 Introduction

Jurisprudence was greatly encouraged by the rule of the Severan emperors (193–235 CE).<sup>1</sup> Septimius Severus, the first emperor of the Severan dynasty, was deeply involved in judging cases, a quality praised by Cassius Dio.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, many of his constitutions are documented under his name in the *Corpus iuris civilis* – a collective designation of the six-century emperor Justinian's codification of the Roman law.<sup>3</sup> Papyrological evidence provides us with a much more intimate insight into the emperor's legislative activity in Severan times. The origins of such a fortunate circumstance stem from the time Septimius Severus and his son Caracalla resided in Alexandria from December 199 until April 200.<sup>4</sup> In the wake of this 'event', many documents bear vivid witness to the emperor's efforts

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<sup>1</sup> For jurisdiction of the Severan emperors in general see Oliver 1989 and Coriat 1997.

<sup>2</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 77.17.1–2, tr. Cary: 'Then he [Septimius Severus] would hold court, unless there were some great festival. Moreover, he used to do this most excellently; for he allowed the litigants plenty of time and he gave us, his advisers, full liberty to speak. He used to hear cases until noon'.

<sup>3</sup> See the statistical analysis in Coriat 1997, 35–37.

<sup>4</sup> See Halfmann 1986, 218 and PSI Com XII 6 (Oxy., 199), where reference is made to the visit.

in jurisdiction<sup>5</sup> but perhaps most impressive is the papyrus P.Col. VI 123, to whose comprehensive edition the entire volume P.Col. VI, published in 1954, is dedicated.<sup>6</sup> P.Col. VI 123 is a transcript of thirteen imperial rulings, the so-called *apokrimata* (ἀποκρίματα). The papyrus is most likely a memorandum made by a legal consultant by his own hand and for his own use.<sup>7</sup> The paper aims at contextualizing this memorandum in the wider circle of manuscript parallels. By discussing the legal and social implications of these documents, a nuanced light can be shed on the consequence of the availability of collections like P.Col. VI 123 and the work of legal consultants. This will allow us to directly understand how legal collections were composed and processed for everyday use. Such insights are unique for the ancient world and owed solely to the papyrus evidence from the Severan period.

## 2 The *apokrimata* in P.Col. VI 123

The place of origin of the papyrus P.Col. VI 123 is associated with the village Tebtynis in the Arsinoite nome, an administrative district in Egypt equivalent to the Fayum oasis region. The papyrus has sixty lines and reproduces thirteen rescripts that Septimius Severus and Caracalla issued in Alexandria, the capital of the province of Egypt, on three consecutive days, more precisely from the 14 until the 16 March 200 CE (18, 19, and 20 Phamenoth in ll. 3, 22 and 41) (Fig. 1).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See Haensch 2007, 214; Sängner 2011, 82–83 and the following.

<sup>6</sup> See also Youtie and Schiller 1959 and the reedition in SB VI 9526.

<sup>7</sup> For thoughts on the scribe's intention, see A. Arthur Schiller, P.Col. VI, pp. 99–101 and Youtie and Schiller 1959, 345. A. Arthur Schiller (P.Col. VI, p. 101; cf. Youtie and Schiller 1959, 345) favoured the hypothesis that 'the papyrus was a memorandum prepared by a notary for his own use'. My own interpretation, which will be presented in more detail below, also goes in the direction of a private copy, but without thinking of a notary as the author of the text. Due to the manuscript parallels, it is more likely that the copyist was a person who compiled the text out of legal interests than someone who wanted to draw linguistic benefit from it – as a form sheet – for 'the drafting of documents for the strategus or for some other local official' (101). On the assumption that P.Col. VI 123 served someone like a legal consultant, see already William L. Westermann, P.Col. VI, p. 5 (cf. also p. 100).

<sup>8</sup> On other legal decisions that belong to the *apokrimata* see J. R. Rea, P.Oxy. LI, comment on text no. 3614, p. 35; U. Wartenberg, P.Oxy. LXIV 4435, comment on line 1 and J. D. Thomas, P.Oxy. LXVII, comment on text no. 4593, pp. 170–171. Also compare Williams 1974, 89–90; Papatomas 2000, 130–131 and especially the published compilation of all known *apokrimata* by Haensch 2007, 226–233.

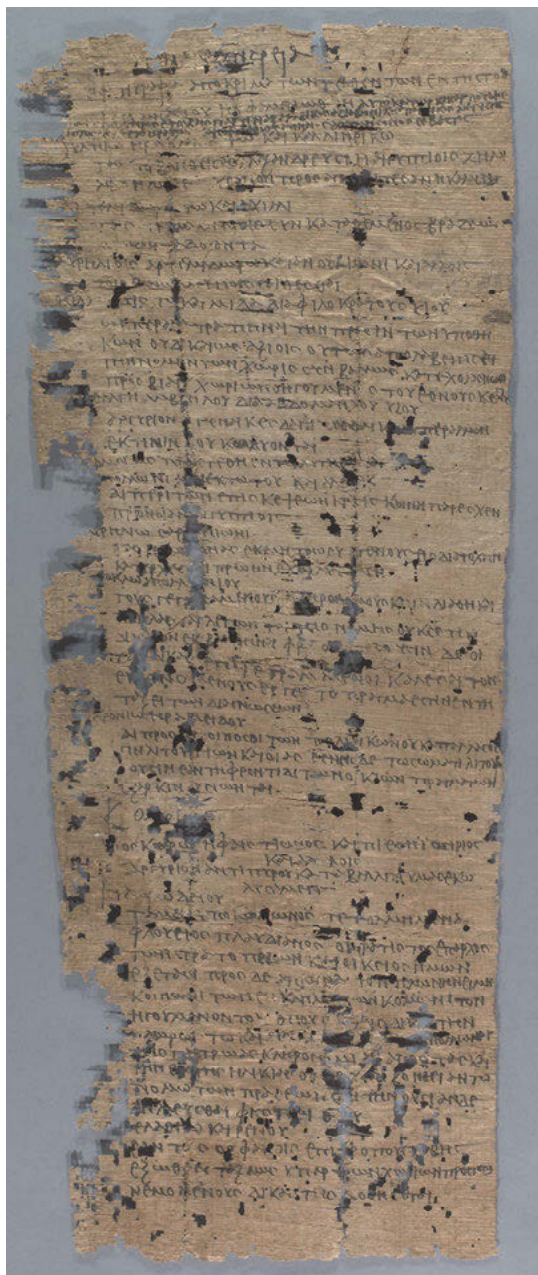


Fig. 1: P.Col. VI 123; courtesy of Columbia University.



The original rescripts were posted in the Stoa of the Gymnasium in Alexandria as is stated in line 2–3 of the papyrus and were freely accessible to the public for reading and drafting. The first thirteen lines including three rescripts read as follows:

1 ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ  
ἀντίγραφα ἀποκριμάτων τεθέντων ἐν τῇ στοᾷ  
τοῦ γυμνασίου η (ἔτους) Φαμενώθ ιη Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος  
[Σεπ]τίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικὸς Παρθικὸς μέγιστος

5 Σεβαστὸς καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἄντωνεῖνος Σεβαστὸς  
Οὐλίπῳ Ἡρακλάνῳ τῷ καὶ Καλλινείκῳ.  
τὰς ἐπιβληθείσας Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι ἢ Αἰγυπτίοις ζημί-  
ας τῇ δωρεᾷ χρόνον προσαγα[γόν]τες ἀνήκαμεν.  
Ἄρτεμιδώρ[φ] τῷ καὶ Ἀχιλλί.

10 τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις συνκαταθέμενος βραδέως  
μέμφη τὰ δόξαντα.  
Αὐρήλιος Ἄρτεμιδώρῳ καὶ Ἄνουβίῳ καὶ ἄλλοις.  
τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις πίθεσθαι.

2. l. <προ>τεθέντων 5. l. Ἄντωνεῖνος 6. l. Καλλινείκῳ 9. l. Ἀχιλλεῖ 13 l. πείθεσθαι

In Alexandria. Copies of *apokrimata* posted in the Stoa of the Gymnasium. Year 8, Phamenoth 18. Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus Augustus and Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus (ll. 1–5). To Ulpius Heraclanos, also called Kallinikos. We revoked penalties imposed upon Alexandrians or Egyptians when we assigned a definite time (of remission) (ll. 6–8). To Artemidoros, also called Achilles. Having placed yourself in agreement with the decisions (rendered), too late you take umbrage at the judgments (given) (ll. 9–11). To the Aurelii Artemidoros and Anoubion and others. Comply with the opinions rendered (ll. 12–13).<sup>9</sup>

Accordingly, the textual example testifies to a pardon (ll. 6–8), a belated appeal (ll. 9–11) and a request to comply with a court order (ll. 12–13). The arrangement of the entries shows that the thirteen rescripts are not linked to each other in terms of content.

To refer to the copied rescripts as *apokrimata* ‘answers’ (Latin *responsa*), is based on the heading of the text, where it says in line 2: ἀντίγραφα ἀποκριμάτων ‘copies of the answers’. The rulings in question are classified by modern research as *subscriptiones* (literally ‘signatures’), a term taken from judicial terminology, as they all display the formal characteristics of this type of decision

<sup>9</sup> For the translation cf. William L. Westermann, P.Col. VI, p. 9.

made by the emperor. In these short notices placed below a submitted petition,<sup>10</sup> the name of the emperor is immediately followed by the name of the addressee, followed by a succinctly formulated decision and the annotation *rescripsi* ‘I have signed’ or *recognovi* ‘I have verified’; except for the latter, all mentioned elements are included in the conception of P.Col. VI 123, where they are supplemented – as is usual for citations of *subscriptiones* – by reference to the public display of the notices in question.

That the papyrus labels these *subscriptiones* as *apokrimata* apparently served to ideally valorise the (judicial) verdict received from the emperor; normally the term *subscriptiones* would be translated into Greek as *hypographai* (ὑπογραφαί) or *antigraphai* (ἀντιγραφαί). At least this is the argument put forward by Rudolf Haensch in his study of the *apokrimata*.<sup>11</sup> According to the latter, the intention was to transform the standardized and almost anonymous handling of the petition into a personal face-to-face ‘conversation’. This would mean that the word *apokrima* (ἀπόκριμα) could not be regarded as a technical judicial term.<sup>12</sup>

P.Col. VI 123 was written by a professional scribe, who used many ligatures.<sup>13</sup> The names and titles of the two emperors seem to have been added later by the same copyist in a cramped style with smaller letters in the free space after the date in line 3 and before the first *apokrima* (ll. 6–8).<sup>14</sup> The ductus in this passage also stands out as it appears to be thicker than in the rest of the document. The writing in line 1 shares this characteristic, so the heading ‘In Alexandria’ could also have been added later in the upper margin of the sheet. The additions indicated tend to argue against classifying P.Col. VI 123 as an official copy for public use in archives; in this case, one would also expect the docu-

**10** Petitions were addressed by individuals or groups of people to Roman officials or the emperor to ask for help in a legal case.

**11** Haensch 2007, 213–225, especially 224.

**12** For a contrasting perspective, see Nörr 1981, who argued for *responsa de plano* with reservations; Lewis 1978 is in favour of *responsa* as certain category of imperial decisions; Turpin 1981 interpreted the *apokrimata* as *decreta*; Plisecka 2017 considered the *apokrimata* to be a *sui generis* phenomenon comprising constitutions issued in Greek by Septimius Severus and Caracalla during their stay in Egypt. For the same rescripts from Severus’s and Caracalla’s stay in Egypt the use of the word διάταξις (‘constitution’) is also attested in the papyri; cf. P.Oxy. XLIII 3105, 23 (Oxy., 229–235) and LXXVII 5114, 1 (Oxy., after 217). See also P.Oxy. LXVII 4593, 8 (Oxy., 206–211) and Papatthomas 2000, 131.

**13** For an image see <<https://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.col;6;Apokrimata/images>> (last accessed on 16 December 2022).

**14** Contrary to William L. Westermann, P.Col. VI, p. 5, there is no discernible reason to assume that the names and titles of Septimius Severus and Caracalla would have been added by another scribe.

ment to be designed as a scroll, as this was the usual form in which data or information was archived for longer periods at that time. However, the format of P.Col. VI 123 suggests a single sheet (which is in fact what we see), and there is no indication of the existence of other columns. Thus, P.Col. VI 123 is most likely the product of a professional scribe who made a copy for his own use on a single sheet, including revisions to complete the draft.

Apart from P.Col. VI 123, the judicial activity by the Severans is demonstrated by a significant number of other pertinent documents.<sup>15</sup> The texts were mainly produced during the reign of the Severans and demonstrate, as does P.Col. VI 123, a towering interest in collecting and processing the Severan emperor's law. A brief discussion of the relevant manuscripts will give an idea of their function and the craft of legal consultants. The material can roughly be classified into two text groups, which will be described in more detail below in Sections 3 and 4.

### 3 Copies of judicial decisions

This group consists, firstly, like P.Col. VI 123, of copies of single *apokrimata*, whereby the extent of the respective copied *apokrimata* is much smaller containing a maximum of three per papyrus.<sup>16</sup> Secondly, a further category is repre-

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<sup>15</sup> Excluded from the following discussion are reports of proceedings (see Kelly 2011, 368–380 for the full evidence from Roman Egypt) and those Severan rules that were quoted in Post-Severan times alongside constitutions of other emperors; see P.Oxy.Hels. 25 = Pap.Agon. 4 = Oliver 1989, nos 96C, 212C (Oxy., 264): edict of Hadrian, letter of Septimius Severus; BGU IV 1074 = SB I 5225 = Pap.Agon. 1 = SB XVI 13034 = Oliver 1989, nos 24B, 96B, 212B, 225A, 277B (Oxy., 273/4): letter of Claudius, edict of Hadrian, letter of Septimius Severus, letter of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, letter of Severus Alexander (corresponds largely to P.Oxy. XXVII 2476 = Pap.Agon. 3 = Oliver 1989, nos 24A, 96A, 212A, 277A [Oxy., 288]); P.Oxy. XXVII 2476 = Pap.Agon. 3 = Oliver 1989, nos 24A, 96A, 212A, 277A (Oxy., 288): letter of Claudius, edict of Hadrian, letter of Septimius Severus, letter of Severus Alexander (corresponds largely to BGU IV 1074 = SB I 5225 = Pap.Agon. 1 = SB XVI 13034 = Oliver 1989, nos 24B, 96B, 212B, 225A, 277B [Oxy., 273]); P.Harr. II 202 (origin unknown, second half of third century): one edict each from Septimius Severus and from soldier emperors (?); P.Oxy. XLII 3018 = Oliver 1989, nos 105, 241, 242 (Oxy., third century): *apokrima* of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, legal decision of an unidentified emperor, letter of Hadrian (for interpretation compare also Haensch 2007, 230 and 233).

<sup>16</sup> BGU I 267 = Oliver 1989, no. 223A (Alex., 199): *apokrima* of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (corresponds to P.Stras. I 22 = Oliver 1989, no. 223B [Herm., after 217]); P.Oxy. LX 4068 (Oxy., 200 [?]): three *apokrimata* of Septimius Severus and Caracalla; P.Amh. II 63 = Oliver 1989, nos 227B and 239 (Herm., after 200): two *apokrimata* of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (lines 1–6

sented by compilations of decisions on specific legal questions, in the context of which, in addition to *apokrimata*, recourse was also made to other legal decisions. Accordingly, the papyrus P.Oxy. LXIV 4435<sup>17</sup> (Oxy., early third century) contains a collection of at least six responses concerning the topic *in integrum restitutio*, a reinstatement into the former legal position, issued in various forms: alongside an excerpt from the so-called *gnomon* of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (ll. 1–6) and a source named as ἐξ αἰτημάτων Ἀλεξανδρέων, meaning ‘from the petitions of the Alexandrians’ (ll. 7–12), a chapter from the *lex Laetoria* [the Laetorian law] (ll. 13–14), a *subscriptio* that cannot be clearly identified (ll. 15–16[?]), and two *apokrimata* (ll. 17–20 and 21–22) are cited. Another compilation can be found in the papyrus P.Stras. I 22<sup>18</sup> (Herm., after 217), in which legal rules concerning the topic *longi temporis praescriptio*, an institution applied to provincial land which could not be usucapted under the civil law, are documented. They contain one *apokrima* (ll. 1–9) and two decisions of the prefects (or governors) of Egypt: one of Subatianus Aquila from the year 207 (ll. 10–24) and the other of Mettius Rufus from the year 90 (ll. 25–33). In this context P.Vindob. G 23027, a newly discovered papyrus from the Vienna collection, is also of interest (see Fig. 2).<sup>19</sup> A paratextual remark in line 1, consisting only of the indication of the number 5 (ε), tells the reader that the following text, which transmits a ruling by Septimius Severus and Caracalla, is the fifth column, apparently of a larger scroll. Before the ruling is quoted, the writer or compiler indicates with the note κεφάλαιον μᾶ ‘chapter 41’ that the following passage has been taken from a forty-first chapter of an unspecified work. Thus, P.Vindob. G 23027 provides the first indication of a compilation of Severan rulings, in which they were indexed in the form of individual numbered chapters or κεφάλαια. This compilation of rulings, which was used as a template for the drafting of P.Vindob. G 23027 may have been more elaborate and systematic than P.Col. VI 123.

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correspond to SB VI 9526 = P.Col. VI 123, 8–10 = Oliver 1989, no. 227 [Ars., 200]); see also the compilation by Haensch 2007, 226–233.

<sup>17</sup> = P.Oxy. VII 1020 (ll. 15–22) = Jur.Pap. 17 (ll. 15–22) = Oliver 1989, nos 220–222.

<sup>18</sup> = Oliver 1989, no. 223B (corresponds to BGU I 267 = Oliver 1989, no. 223A [Alex., 199]).

<sup>19</sup> The papyrus will soon be published in my contribution to the *Festschrift* for Bernhard Palme.

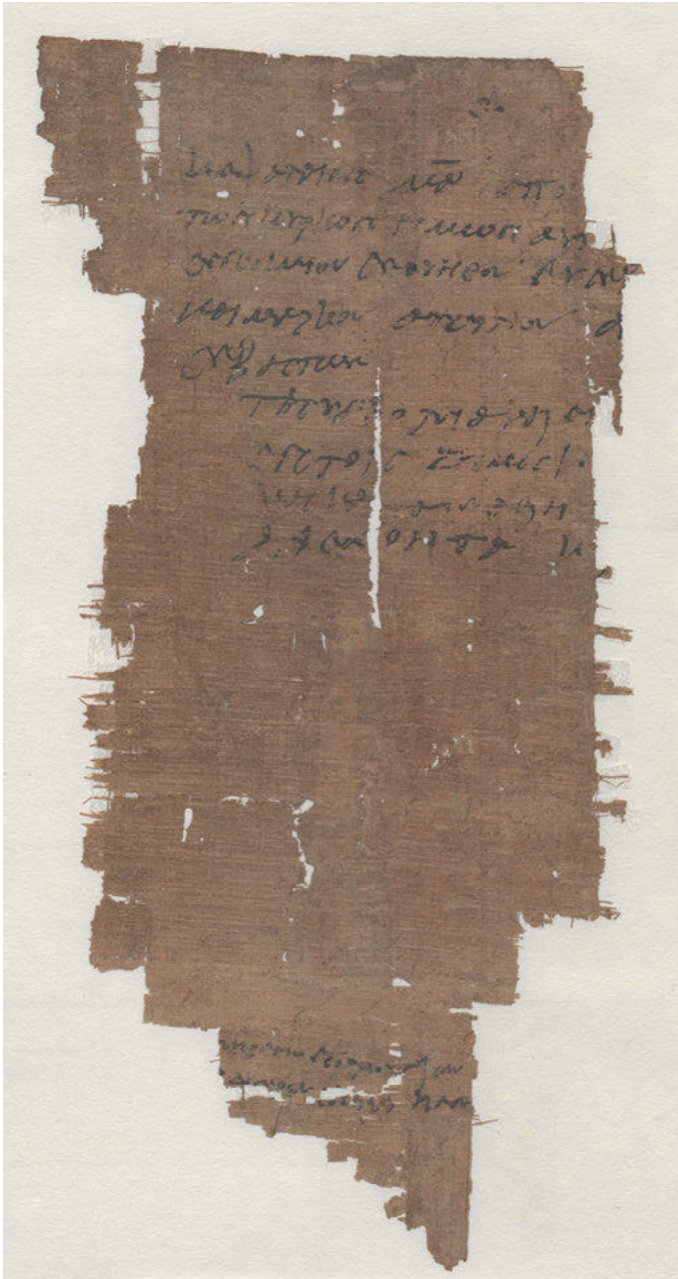


Fig. 2: P.Vindob, G 23027;  sterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung.

A third category of copies of Severian rulings are pieces without any connection to the *apokrimata*. Some of them are related to the stay of the emperors in Egypt (Septimius Severus and Caracalla in 199/200 and Caracalla in 215),<sup>20</sup> while others have a different context.<sup>21</sup>

## 4 Petitions

The second group of texts contains petitions which are all prefaced with quotations from Severan rulings. As far as can be ascertained, these rulings seem to be consistently related to the stay of Septimius Severus and Caracalla in Egypt and mostly represent quotations from *apokrimata*.<sup>22</sup> Here, then, the direct and

**20** For examples see P.Mich. IX 529 verso, 39–53 = SB XIV 11863 (Ars., after 237), an edict of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (probably also cited in P.Flor. III 382, 17–23 [Herm. before 222]) and SB IV 7366 = Oliver 1989, no. 243 (origin unknown, 200), an ἀπόφασις – ‘decision’ – of Septimius Severus and Caracalla. P.Mich. IX 529 verso, 25–38 = SB XIV 11875 (Ars., after 237) is related to the second stay of Caracalla in Alexandria, in which a decision of the emperor at a court trial is preserved (cf. also Haensch 2007, 216–217). P.Oxy. LXXVII 5114 (Oxy., after 217) contains at least one fragmentary rescript of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, that could easily be associated with their joint stay in Egypt; this also applies for P.Eirene IV 34 (Oxy., third century), another fragmentary rescript of Septimius Severus and Caracalla. The exact content of the legal rule quoted in the papyrus MS 244/2 verso (origin unknown, third century) published by Strassi 2010, 59–60 is unclear (l. 17 refers to τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν κυρίων ἀποκρίμα[τα] [‘sacred answers of the emperors’]; the document is probably a draft.

**21** P.Aberd. 15 = Oliver 1989, no. 216 (origin unknown, 198): edict (?) of Septimius Severus and Caracalla; P.Oxy. LI 3614 (Oxy., after 200): legal decision of Septimius Severus; P.Oxy. IV 705 = W.Chr. 153 (ll. 1–53) = W.Chr. 407 (ll. 54–79) = C.Pap.Jud. II 450 = Oliver 1989, nos 246, 247 (Alex., after 202): two petitions to Septimius Severus and Caracalla with the corresponding rescripts of the two emperors; P.Oxy. XII 1406 = Oliver 1989, no. 269 (Heliopol. [?], 213–217): edict of Caracalla; P.Giss. I 40 = M.Chr. 377 (col. I, ll. 1–16) = 378 (col. II, ll. 1–15) = W.Chr. 22 (col. II, ll. 16–29) = Jur.Pap. 1 = Oliver 1989, nos 260–262 (Apollon. Hepta., c.215): three constitutions of Caracalla, including the Constitutio Antoniniana; P.Bon. 15 = Oliver 1989, no. 270 (Alex. [?], c.218–220 [?]): edict (?) of Caracalla; P.Fay. 20 = SB XIV 11648 = Oliver 1989, no. 275 (Ars., 222): edict of Severus Alexander; P.Oxy. XVII 2104 = Oliver 1989, no. 276A (origin unknown, after 222): letter of Severus Alexander; P.Oxy. XXXI 2610 = Oliver 1989, no. 212D (Oxy., late third century): letter of Septimius Severus; P.Oxy. XLIII 3106 = Oliver 1989, no. 276B (Oxy., third century): letter of Severus Alexander; P.Oxy. XXXVI 2755 = Oliver 1989, no. 261B (Oxy., third century): edict of Caracalla.

**22** It is by all means feasible that some fragmented pieces belonging to the aforementioned text group were the broken fragments of such a petition. The relevant petitions can be divided into three categories: (1) petitions to the governor: P.Oxy. XLVII 3364 (Oxy., 209), P.Oxy. LXVII 4593 (Oxy., 206–211), PSI IX 1052 = P.Vet.Aelii 2 (Herakl., 206–211), SB X 10537 (origin un-

practical application of the Severan emperor's law (issued in Egypt) is demonstrated.

Imperial constitutions were also referred to in several second century documents to strengthen legal claims,<sup>23</sup> but the Severan material documents a much greater quantity and variety. The practice of citing the relevant legal rules at the beginning of a petition even constitutes a new development. The years 199/200, when Septimius Severus and Caracalla unfolded their legislation in Alexandria, are the most likely *terminus post quem* for its wider use; none of our petitions pre-dates the year 199/200 (which also applies to the thematically arranged collections of different types of legal sentences dealt with above). The most recent petition, dated with certainty, stems from the year 236/237 (P.Oxy. XII 1405), so it was written no more than two years after the assassination of the last emperor of the Severan dynasty.<sup>24</sup> In any case, it is certain that these specially fashioned petitions went out of style quite quickly after the Severan dynasty.

In addition to petitions featuring quotations of legal rules at their beginning, there were, of course, petitions that were drawn up differently. These latter were actually in the majority: in consulting Benjamin Kelly's compilation of imperial petitions involving disputes,<sup>25</sup> one immediately sees that among the thirty-six petitions listed there, dated to the Severan era or the early third century (from 199/200) and addressed to the *praefectus Aegypti* (the governor of

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known, 214/5[?]), P.Flor. III 382 (Herm., before 222), P.Oxy. LXXIII 4961 (Oxy., 223) and ChLA III 201 = Doc.Eser.Rom. 106 = P.Vet.Aelii 10 (Herakl., between 222/223 and c.250–255); (2) petitions to the *strategos* (the highest-ranking official of an administrative district or nome): BGU II 473 = M.Chr. 375 = Oliver 1989, no. 224 (Ars., c.215), P.Oxy. LXIV 4437 (Oxy., 229–235), P.Oxy. XLIII 3105 = Oliver 1989, no. 240B (Oxy., 229–235) and P.Oxy. XII 1405 = Oliver 1989, no. 240A (Oxy., 236/7); (3) addressee uncertain: P.Stras. IV 254 (origin unknown, after 200 [?]).

**23** P.Harr. I 67 = Oliver 1989, no. 154 (origin unknown, c.150 [?]) shows that imperial rescripts were already quoted before the reign of the Severans, but in the middle and not at the beginning of the petition (ll. 11–22). In P.Würzb. 9 = W.Chr.26 = Oliver 1989, nos 164–166 (Ars., 161–169) legal sentences were attached to the petition.

**24** If ChLA III 201 = Doc.Eser.Rom. 106 = P.Vet.Aelii 10 (Herakl., between 222/223 and c.250–255) belongs to the Severan period, then the practice of introducing petitions by quoting legal sentences would be attested only once more in a testimony that cannot be dated exactly, namely in P.Berl.Möller 13 = SB IV 7350 (Herm., end of third or beginning of fourth century): one or more imperial legal sentences that cannot be determined in more detail are quoted at the beginning of a petition to the governor (cf. Haensch 2007, 232), whereby the entire document is interpreted as a draft or writing exercise.

**25** See Kelly 2011, 335–364.

Egypt) or the *strategos* (the highest-ranking official of an administrative district or nome), only seven show the characteristics focused on here unequivocally.<sup>26</sup>

If each addressee is considered separately, the following result emerges: of eleven petitions to the governor five have clearly been specially drafted,<sup>27</sup> and of the twenty-five petitions to the *strategos*, only two share these particular characteristics.<sup>28</sup> This makes clear, first of all, that the use of our specifically fashioned petitions was a marginal phenomenon, usually documented in petitions to the governor.

Moreover, it should be noted that the quotation of legal decisions was not systematic, i.e. it is not to be expected that a quotation will be given if an appropriate decision exists for the case. This is shown by PSI XII 1243 (Ars., 208). This petition is addressed to the *strategos* and complains the unjust nomination to two compulsory public services simultaneously. There existed an *apokrīma* to deal with this issue,<sup>29</sup> but it is not quoted in PSI XII 1243. As a result, the quoting of legal rules at the head of a petition to strengthen its legal claim was certainly not obligatory.

Thus, the citation practice in question was more likely due to the personal initiative of the petitioner, writer, or legal consultant in the writing office. P.Oxy. XII 1405, XLIII 3105 and LXIV 4437 point in this direction. These petitions have been addressed to the same *strategos* of the Oxyrhynchites, deal with the same issue and begin with the citation of the same ruling. In view of this, it is perhaps fair to assume that the petitions were written in one and the same writ-

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**26** See above n. 22 without considering BGU II 473, P.Oxy. XII 1405 and LXXIII 4961 as well as PSI IX 1052 = P.Vet.Aelii 2, because these petitions are not included in Kelly's Appendix 'Petitions Involving Disputes'.

**27** The following petitions remain: P.Oxy. XVII 2131 (Oxy., 207); BGU XI 2061 (Alex., 210); SB V 7517 = P.Berl.Frisk 3 (Ars., 211/2 [?]); BGU VII 1578 (Ars., after 212); P.Leit. 7 = SB VIII 10199 (origin unknown, after 219/20 or 223/4 [?]); SB XX 14335 (origin unknown, early third century). P.Oxy. LXXIII 4961 and PSI IX 1052 = P.Vet.Aelii 2 are excluded from this calculation; see above n. 26.

**28** The following petitions remain: BGU I 45 (Ars., 203); P.Aberd. 176 descr. (Ars., 204/5); SB XX 14679 (Ars., 205–214); PSI XII 1245 = SB XIV 11980 (Ars., 207); SB I 4284 (Ars., 207); PSI XII 1243 (Ars., 208); BGU I 2 = M.Chr. 113 (Ars., 209); P.Col. X 276 (Oxy., c.212–225); SB XIV 11707 (origin unknown, c.212); P.Oxy.Hels. 23 (Memph., 213); P.Oxy. XLI 2997 (Oxy., 214); BGU I 321 = M.Chr. 114 (Ars., 216); P.Leit. 6 = SB VIII 10198 (Ars., 216/7); BGU II 614 (Ars., 217); SB XXIV 16251 (Oxy., after 217); P.Oxy. XXXIII 2672 (Oxy., 218); PSI III 249 (Ars., 218); P.Ant. II 88 (Herm., 221); SB XVI 12505 (Lykop., 221); BGU I 35 (Ars., 222); P.Fouad 29 (Ars., 224); SB I 5676 (Herm., 232 [?]); P.Flor. I 56 = M.Chr. 241 = Jur.Pap. 49 (Herm., 233–234). BGU II 473 and P.Oxy. XII 1405 are excluded from this calculation; see above n. 26.

**29** See P.Oxy. LXVII 4593 (Oxy., 206–211), 1–4.



ing office or under the guidance of one and the same legal consultant. It would be obvious, then, if the petitions had been drafted in a writing office in Oxyrhynchos, the nome capital of the Oxyrhynchites and the official residence of the *strategos*.

By placing the emperor's decision at the head (of the petition), the intention was indubitably to emphasize its legal claim and impress the addressee, preferably the governor of course. The fact that judgements in other cases were referred to in this way in order to serve a reference for the decision-making of the addressee, can only be demonstrated based on the petitions preserved on papyrus.<sup>30</sup>

## 5 Legal consultants at work

Founded on the diversity of the papyrological evidence, the reception of imperial legal rules seems to be a characteristic of the Severan era. Although research has dealt with the *apokrimata* of Septimius Severus and Caracalla in terms of terminological and legal issues, far less attention has been paid to the practical contexts of other compilations and petitions or the place of these documents in legal history. It is precisely in this regard that the investigation undertaken here is highly informative, for it suggests that legal decisions were used in a standardized way. Indeed, the material allows us to discern three levels in the processing of the emperor's law.

The first is the collecting and summarizing of the imperial rulings in one manuscript. This level is represented by P.Col. VI 123, where, as already demonstrated, the *apokrimata* of Septimius Severus and Caracalla were copied chronologically by date but not thematically.

The second is the compilation of documents collected according to topics, with individual legal rulings on definite legal queries. Examples are P.Oxy. LXIV 4435, a collection of responses concerning the topic *integrum restitutio*, P.Stras. I 22, a collection concerning the topic *longi temporis praescriptio*, and probably P.Vindob. G 23027. These compilations require direct access to collections such as P.Col. VI 123 from which the relevant opinions could be copied. However, the compilation of rulings used as a template for the drafting of P.Vindob. G 23027 was probably more elaborate than P.Col. VI 123.

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<sup>30</sup> See also Haensch 2007, 221–223.

The third level concerns the manipulation of legal rulings in petitions. Here the petitioner relies on the practical application of the emperor's law to serve as support for his own legal claim and thus positively influence the decision making of the official addressed. It is distinctly feasible that some of the compilations according to topics were produced to support a petitioner's case.

The clear categorization of the types of documents combined with the quantity of material, very strongly suggests that the almost casual handling of compilations of constitutions was common practice in the Severan period. Based on P.Col. VI 123, this practice does not seem to be the result of the efforts of a systematic bureaucracy seeking to facilitate the consultation of legal sources for the inhabitants of the provinces, but that of the initiative of legal consultants. They are arguably behind the group of people, who produced and used compilations such as P.Col. VI 123, P.Oxy. LXIV 4435, P.Stras. I 22 or P.Vindob. G 23027. In view of this, it is fair to say these individuals were skilled in writing and had a great interest in legal issues, and may well have been educated in the law. They may be identified with professional scribes who also acted as legal consultants and in this role collected imperial rulings and arranged legal sentences by subject (in doing so, they also possibly made use of official legal compilations publicly accessible in archives). Just as they draw up all kinds of contracts for their clients in everyday legal life, they also offered legal assistance to petitioners which involved collecting the relevant quotes of judgements needed to improve the argumentative force of their petitions. Thus by investigating these documents from the Severan period, the wide-ranging activities of early legal practitioners can be traced, who appear to have acted in a manner similar to local jurists<sup>31</sup> and recorded and compiled the applicable law by their own hand and for their own use.

## 6 Concluding remarks

Precise references to the emperor's law are a discontinued model in the papyri of the Post-Severan era. One reason for this may have been that there was no direct point of contact between Egypt and the emperor's legislation under the subsequent soldier emperors. Moreover, the regimes changed several times until Diocletian's takeover in 284, and the emperor's role as a judge was certainly diminished to some extent by the crisis of the third century. In the end, ap-

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<sup>31</sup> Cf. also Coriat 1997, 624–627; Strassi 2010, 60; Kelly 2011, 40–41; and Plisecka 2017, 183.

pealing to Severan law will have lost its attraction during the period of the soldier emperors, if only because there was no ideological connection to the regime in power.

Thus, with the *apokrimata* of the Severans and their various attestations in the papyri a unique insight is gained into the individual preparation of judicial sources for a broad circle of users. In this context, the work of our legal consultants reflects a development which had become increasingly important for second century jurisprudence: namely, the sorting and collecting of the emperor's law, which had been compiled from *mandata*,<sup>32</sup> edicts and epistles to magistrates as well as rescripts on matters pertaining to trials. Through their practical treatment of the law, the legal consultants permit a tracing at the local or individual level of what became a general necessity, above all, during the third century. For when the abundant communication and scholarly treatment of the constitutions died out with the judicial literature of the late classical period (Papinian, Ulpian, Paulus, Modestin), the need for independent documentation of the emperor's law was bound to become even more urgent. In Late Antiquity, this desideratum was finally met on a broad scale with attempts at codification culminating most prominently in the *Codex Theodosianus* and *Justinianus*.

## Abbreviations

For the abbreviations of papyrus editions see John F. Oates and William H. Willis (eds), *The Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets*, <<https://papyri.info/docs/checklist>> (last accessed on 31 May 2021).

The abbreviated indications of origin attached to the cited papyri are to be resolved as follows: Alex. = Alexandria; Apollo. Hepta. = Apollonopolite Heptakomias; Ars. = Arsinoite; Heliopol. = Heliopolite; Herakl. = Herakleopolite; Herm. = Hermopolite; Lykop. = Lykopolis; Memph. = Memphis; Oxy. = Oxyrhynchite.

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<sup>32</sup> *Mandata* are judicial or administrative rules or general instructions issued by the emperors to high officials of the empire, primarily to provincial governors to be applied by them in the exercise of their official functions.

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# Autographic Manuscripts of the Arabic Speaking World created for the Scribe's Own Use

**Abstract:** The present article focuses on the study of the phenomenon, quite often met with in the area of Arabic manuscript culture, of artefacts produced for private use by the scribe, and without any primary intention of achieving a wider circulation. The terminology used by the scribes to denote manuscripts created for private use will be examined, while attempting to arrive at a useful classification of the manuscripts under scrutiny. Aside from manuscripts stated unequivocally to have been produced for private use (*katabahu li-nafsihi*), there are manuscripts of no such designation that nonetheless appear to belong to this category by virtue of certain characteristics such as specific layout features and writing style, bad ink, untidy corrections and so on.

## 1 Introduction

The present article sets out to study the phenomenon, quite often met with in the realm of Arabic manuscript culture, of artefacts produced for private use by the scribe (*katabahu li-nafsihi*), and not with the primary intention of achieving a wider circulation (but not, however, excluding it). The subject, to my knowledge, has not been studied so far – aside from some short references to it in the codicological handbooks – and for that reason it will be covered in some detail in the following pages, by drawing on the Arabic manuscripts in some German collections.

The material on which this research project is based is composed of approximately twenty Arabic manuscripts belonging to state libraries located in Munich (BSB), Berlin (SBB) and Göttingen (SUBG). Eight manuscripts from the Bavarian state library form a separate group as they share a Yemeni origin. Other provenances are Syria, Egypt, Iraq and the Maghrib.

With a view to the visual appearance of Arabic manuscripts, François Déroche<sup>1</sup> and Adam Gacek<sup>2</sup> distinguish between commissioned copies<sup>3</sup> and those

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1 Déroche 2002, 202.

the scribe made for himself; the copies of the former category require a certain degree of legibility while the latter, one may reasonably presume, were produced by a scribe who would be capable of reading his own handwritten copy at a later date. Certain external criteria such as page-layout or presentation of script can give helpful indications that, in each case, Déroche recommends be carefully analysed. Déroche adds that though the *katabahu li-nafsihi*-formula, often found in colophons, clarifies the scribe's motivation, it must not be assumed that every manuscript a scribe has copied for his own use was executed neglectfully.<sup>4</sup>

By way of introduction, a short overview of some major Arabic manuscript cultures, i.e. those of the eastern Arab countries, the Maghrib and Yemen, indicating a few basic facts and textual characteristics will be given. This will be followed by an examination of the terminology scribes used to denote manuscripts intended for private use, such as *katabahu li-nafsihi* ('he wrote it for himself') in particular, and an attempt to obtain a useful classification of the manuscripts under scrutiny.

Aside from those manuscripts explicitly said to have been intended for private use, are artefacts without such designation that may be thought of pertaining to this category due to characteristics appearing to indicate they were not commissioned or intended to serve transmission to posterity. These characteristics contain specific features of layout and style of writing (as Déroche indicated). Manuscripts that declare the scribe as their owner may be considered as intended for private purposes too and such artefacts also show traces of carelessness. Artefacts the scribe produced for himself may include audition notes providing information on how such a codex (or unbound quires) was used in a teaching environment. The article closes with a short discussion on the possibil-

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2 Gacek 2009, 197–198 [s.v. patronage].

3 The involvement of a patron (*muhtamm*, *mu'tanin*), usually a rich individual or someone of significant authority, would be made explicit via expressions such as *istaktabahu* and *istan-sakhahu*, mentioned in the colophon or at the front of the text block in medallions, panels, etc. (Gacek 2009, 197). According to Gacek, manuscripts made for private use were the rule, not the exception, and this – he intimates – applies also to the numerous cases in which the *katabahu li-nafsihi*-note is absent. Déroche, by contrast, seems not to claim the majority of extant Arabic manuscripts to be intended for the scribe himself.

4 '[L']apparence finale du manuscrit peut être fort différente: c'est en effet tout autre chose de travailler pour un tiers, qui exige un certain degré de lisibilité, que de copier pour soi, en sachant qu'on sera capable de se relire. Certains critères externes, comme la disposition de l'écriture ou la mise en page, peuvent le cas échéant donner des indications à ce propos – qu'il conviendra d'analyser avec prudence...' (Déroche 2002, 202).

ity to identify any formal characteristics that these autograph manuscripts have in common or whether or not the ‘*apparence finale du manuscrit*’ (Déroche) really can be considered proof of the *katabahu li-nafsihi*-motivation. By way of anticipating the conclusion, it may be said that the visual appearance of the manuscript, be it neat and handsome, even flawless, or neglectfully executed, is probably overinterpreted.<sup>5</sup> It will also be asked if the *katabahu li-nafsihi*-note or its equivalents do indeed mean what they appear to signify, i.e. the intention to produce a manuscript exclusively for private use.<sup>6</sup>

## 2 A brief overview of Arabic manuscript culture

The culture of Arabic manuscripts extends from the Maghrib at the western periphery of the medieval Islamic world to Central Asia, with some centres in Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia and Iran (Ḥurāsān and Fārs in particular). It may be possible, within the scope of this culture, to include non-Arab variations which, for their acceptance of Islam, use Arabic as the sacred language, constituting an ‘Islamicate’ manuscript culture that cannot be easily separated from the former.<sup>7</sup> At the advent of Islam, papyrus and parchment were used as the main writing support, but from the ninth-century paper became the preferred surface for writing manuscripts. The hand written culture declined with the introduction of printing technology at the end of the eighteenth century (in Egypt) but manuscripts continued to be produced in the Arab countries well into the twentieth century.<sup>8</sup> As there

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<sup>5</sup> An alternative explanation for the tidy/untidy appearance dichotomy is one that distinguishes between scholarly manuscripts and display manuscripts (as suggested by this paper’s anonymous reviewer). The former category would be more prone to sloppiness of layout, absence of pricking, minimally dotted scripts, etc.

<sup>6</sup> This also seems to be implied by Gacek.

<sup>7</sup> Iran and the Ottoman Empire in particular and, to a lesser degree, the Indian subcontinent (cf. Qutbuddin 2007), South East Asia (cf. van Bruinessen 1990, 228–229, 235, 237, *et saepe*) and parts of sub-Saharan Africa (cf. Bondarev 2014) as well as north-western China (cf. Sobieroj 2014, 96–110). The Arabic language culture was also promoted in the Balkans, particularly in Bosnia – this is evidenced by the numerous names of local scholars producing literary works in Arabic (cf. Trako and Gazić 1997, 14) entered in the catalogue of the manuscripts of the Institute for Oriental Studies in Sarajevo (all of which were burnt in one day during the conflagrations of the 1990s Balkan wars; cf. Trako and Gazić 1997, 15).

<sup>8</sup> Some of the manuscripts to be examined were produced in the nineteenth and even twentieth centuries (BSB, Cod.arab. 2623: 1843; SBB, Hs. or. 1890: 1875; SBB, Ms. or. oct. 3488: 1931); however, most date from the ‘medieval’ period.



was a dependence on oral transmission for checking the manuscript texts, a certification of text transmission via hearing certificates (audition notes) and chains of authorized transmitters existed; likewise, elaborate commentaries between the lines and in the margins may also be mentioned in this context.

Of the devices developed by the Arabic manuscript tradition to help the user orient himself within the text(s), the tables of contents take pride of place. The author and title of the work(s) may be found inscribed on a title page or in a headpiece at the opening of the manuscript or copied text. Chapter headings marking the beginning of a *bāb* (literally: ‘gate’) or *faṣl* (‘part’, ‘section’) highlighted in red are very common. Ideally, the Arabic manuscript text ends with the copyist’s colophon, recognizable for its triangular shape. The interface between the end of the author’s text and the scribe’s colophon is introduced by words such as *tamma naṣṣuhu* (‘his copy has been completed’) with the scribe’s name often preceded by the formula *‘alā yad* (‘written by the hand of [so-and-so]’). The scribe may give additional information here (referring, for instance, to his copying work process – i.e. how long it took to copy – or how he was serving someone who employed him to produce the copy or he acted on his own initiative). Remarks may also be found on either the rough (*taswīd*, *musauwada*) or/and fair copy (*tabyīḍ*, *mubaiyada*) made of his exemplar (*aṣl*). The colophon often includes prayers of forgiveness, requests to the reader to pray for the copyist and – perhaps the most essential component of the colophon – the date of copying (less frequently there is mention of the place where all of this occurred).

Arabic manuscripts produced in peripheral areas of the Islamic world may be covered here extremely briefly. The manuscripts from the Maḡrib, comprising North Africa and parts of the Iberian Peninsula, show peculiarities such as the continued use of parchment long after paper had replaced its use in the East. The Maḡribī script is more angular than the Eastern styles (Nashī, Ruq‘a, etc.) and the pointing of certain letters (diacritics) differs.<sup>9</sup> The majority of Yemeni manuscripts, generally speaking, treat issues of law according to the school of the Zaidiya, a moderate Shii sect rooted almost exclusively in the Yemen. Of particular importance for the present study is the group of about 150 manuscripts acquired by Eduard Glaser<sup>10</sup> and sold in 1902 to what was then the Royal Library in Munich that also includes a few texts on poetry and dogma. The own-

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<sup>9</sup> Aside from the graphic peculiarities, coloured inks were used more generously in Maḡribī manuscripts (cf. Sobieroj 2014, 89–91).

<sup>10</sup> For Glaser’s vita, including his travels, cf. Dostal 1990; for the acquisition, from Glaser, of this group of manuscripts by the Munich library cf. Sobieroj 2007, XXII.

ers' notes show many of the Yemeni manuscripts belonged to members of the ruling Zaydi Imams.<sup>11</sup>

In the following sections, the subject of manuscripts created for private use will be discussed regarding the terminology used by the scribes, i.e. explicit expressions indicating personal use (a sub-category are the manuscripts declared to have been copied by the scribe for himself and those who come after or whoever God wills [section 2.4]), as well as expressions indicating ownership. Manuscripts created for personal use lacking explicit expressions may perhaps be identified as belonging to this category on the basis of internal evidence (section 4) and audition notes (section 5); however, as will be shown, artefacts said to be explicitly created for private use may not display any of the features identified (and listed in the final section of this paper) as characteristic of this group's manuscripts.

### 3 Explicit expressions indicating personal use

The scribes have used specific expressions to denote manuscripts created for private use. I will present some manuscripts under the relevant headings highlighting the characteristics of one or several manuscripts of each category. The most commonly used phrase is the expression *katabahu li-nafsihi*. Aside from which, other near-synonymous formulations such as *'allaqahu* ('he glossed it') or *nasahahu* ('he copied it') etc. are also frequently encountered.

#### 3.1 *Tamma [...]* *'alā yad mu'alliqihi li-nafsihi* ('it has been completed ... by the hand of one who glossed it for himself')

To illustrate this category, two examples are given.

Example 1. A Göttingen copy of a commentary of Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-'Ainī al-Ḥalabī (d. 855 AH / 1451 CE) on a compendium of Ḥanafī law, which the scribe copied for himself, in 1084 AH / 1674 CE, includes the formulation *kāna l-farāğ min ta'liqihī li-nafsihi bi-yadihi l-fāniya afqar al-'ibād ... Yaḥyā* ('the completion of copying it [literally: 'glossing'] for himself occurred through the

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<sup>11</sup> Some of the Yemeni manuscripts include *iğāzas*, 'highly individualised certificates authorising the recipient to teach a specific text' (cf. Sobieroj 2014, 94). These and other types of paratexts seem to have been noted on the beginning pages more regularly than in manuscripts from the central Arab lands.

ephemeral hand of the poorest of servants, Yaḥyā etc.’). The text, extant in two parts (ḡuz’ [SUBG, Cod. arab. 493:1, 493:2]), mentions the name of the scribe in the colophon of the second ḡuz’ only, the date of copying however is given at the end of both parts. His name, Yaḥyā b. Farḥāt b. Yaḥyā b. Fā’ida (?) as-Sunbāwī,<sup>12</sup> indicates the scribe was of Egyptian origin.

The script has been provided with full diacritical pointing and red has been used to highlight the quotations from the foundation text upon which it comments. However, the script is far from elegant, displaying a tendency to a *ruq’ā* ‘shorthand’ and, for no apparent reason, a number of expressions have been written with a greater concentration of ink.

The text frame is not very straight and the image (fol. 245b) may serve to illustrate a page with a slightly ragged text face – the ‘Flatterrand’ may be considered one of the characteristics of a copy the scribe made for himself, unlike those a patron commissioned. The manuscript has suffered severe paper damage caused by insects (worm-eating) and its preservation state is deplorable (see Fig. 1).



Fig. 1: Severe paper damage; ragged text face; excessive blackening of individual letters and words; 1084/1674. SUBG, Cod. arab. 493:1, fols 245b–246a.

12 Sunbaw (سنبو) was situated within the administrative district of Asyūt, near Manfalūt.

However, the marginal notes written beside the colophon (fol. 519a) show the scribe held the text he copied in the highest regard. The notes include a discussion on the dating of the work copied, based on a copy by the scribe's grandfather, a Ḥanafī muftī, and somebody else's copy based on the author's autograph to which the muftī referred. It seems the scribe saw himself situated within a family lineage dedicated to transmitting al-'Ainī's text on Ḥanafī law. That sense of respect for the legal tradition also motivated the scribe to make detailed remarks, in the colophon, relating to the dating of the commentary's composition, including the date of completion of both the rough (*taswīd*) and fair copy (*tabyīd*).

Example 2. The Yemeni manuscript BSB, Cod.arab. 1264 is a copy of the second volume (*al-ğild at-tānī*) of Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Maqrīzī's (d. 845 AH / 1442 CE)<sup>13</sup> geography and history of Egypt titled *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār fī dīkr al-ḥiṭaṭ wa-l-āṭār*. It was made by one Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Bahā' ad-Dīn al-Anṣārī aš-Šāfi'ī maḍhaban al-Hūṭī baladan ('Šāfi'ī by law-school and Hūṭī by country'), whence it may be understood the scribe originated from the Hūṭī clan in Yemen. The scribe made the copy for himself as appears from the formula employed, viz. *tamma al-ğuz' al-auwal 'alā yad mu'alliqihi li-nafsihi faqīr raḥmat rabbihi Muḥammad ilḥ* ('the first part has been completed by the hand of one who copied it for himself, the needy of God's mercy etc.'). The use of the term *mu'alliq* to denote the scribe is, as we have seen, not specific to the Yemen.<sup>14</sup> The scribe mentions, subsequently to the explicit, that there will be another volume (*ğuz'*) covering the subject of the quarters (*al-ḥārāt*) of Cairo city which presumably means he intended to copy the next *ğuz'* as well.

Contrary to what one may expect of a manuscript copied neither by commission nor with a view to posterity, there seem to be no discernible traces of carelessness in this manuscript. The copy is no less aesthetically appealing than manuscripts lacking the *kataba li-nafsihi* note or any of its variants. Here it may be argued the copyist perhaps altered his original intention of producing a private copy creating a display manuscript instead, or simply maintained high scribal standards even when copying purely for himself.

<sup>13</sup> GAL, vol. 2, 47; GAL S, 36; Kaḥḥāla 1376–1381/1957–1961, vol. 2, 11–12.

<sup>14</sup> While the noun *ta'liq*, generally speaking, conveys the meaning of [producing] 'notes', 'glosses' [on a commentary or other reference work], in our context *mu'alliq* [a present participle] denotes the scribe who copies an exemplar, whether it is a foundation work, a commentary, or glosses on the latter (Gacek 2008, 55, adds the term *ta'liqah* which he translates as 'notebook').

### 3.2 *Nasaḥahu li-nafsihi* ('he copied it for himself')

Example 1. This is a Yemeni manuscript (BSB, Cod.arab. 1188) containing a compendium of the 'branches' (*furū'*) of Zaidī law,<sup>15</sup> copied in 717 AH / 1317 CE by a scribe called Ḥusām ad-Dīn Ḥamīd b. Aḥmad b. Ḥamīd (fols 3a, 202b). According to a note he inscribed on the title-page (fol. 3a), he copied the book for himself (*nasaḥahu li-nafsihi l-faḥīr ilḥ.*). He uses the verb *nasaḥa* in place of the more common expressions *kataba* and '*allaqa*'; the established meaning of *nasaḥa* is 'to copy', 'transcribe',<sup>16</sup> rather than merely 'write' (*kataba*).

An owner's mark dated Rabī' I. 1186 AH / June–July 1772 CE on fol. 1a by one Yaḥyā etc. (the name has been erased, probably by a subsequent user) indicates the manuscript had long not been in the scribe's possession before being acquired, after 1885, by the Italian merchant Giuseppe Caprotti who passed it on, as part of a collection of Yemeni manuscripts, to Glaser who then offered to sell it to the Bavarian state library, in 1901.

The scribe's copy is fairly regular. The measurements are generally consistent, with the lines amounting to twenty-five per page throughout the manuscript, with a small number of corrections written in the margins according to scribal conventions, with the word *ṣaḥḥa* ('it is correct') added. However, it tends to disregard text body straightness (e.g. fols 24b–25a).

No colours were used in highlighting; instead, a broader *qalam* is used to add emphasis (headings, key words etc.) and the text face has no framing. The clearest graphic indication the manuscript was produced by the scribe for himself – and was not some patron's commission – seems to be that the consonantal skeleton (*rasm*) of the copied text has been provided with diacritical points extremely sparingly. There is a great deal of damage to the paper but this is naturally not the scribe's fault (see Fig. 2).

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<sup>15</sup> The composition of the copied text was started by the author 'Alī Ḥalīl al-Ġīlī az-Zaidī (Waḡīḥ 1420/1999, 710–711, no. 762) – hence the title *Maḡmū'* 'Alī Ḥalīl' ('collection of 'A. Ḥ.')

was given to it – in Iraq in the early fifth AH / eleventh CE century and it was completed the subsequent century in the Yemen by al-Qāḍī Ġa'far b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd as-Salām (d. 573 AH / 1177 CE). On the last page of his manuscript the scribe mentions a second volume will follow starting with *kitāb al-ḥaḡḡ* on the pilgrimage to Mecca indicating that he planned to continue copying the remaining parts of the law-book. Beneath this note the scribe emphasizes how he copied the volume from beginning to end in his own hand and adds prayers for himself.

<sup>16</sup> For the different significations of this verb, cf. Gacek 2001, 139–140.

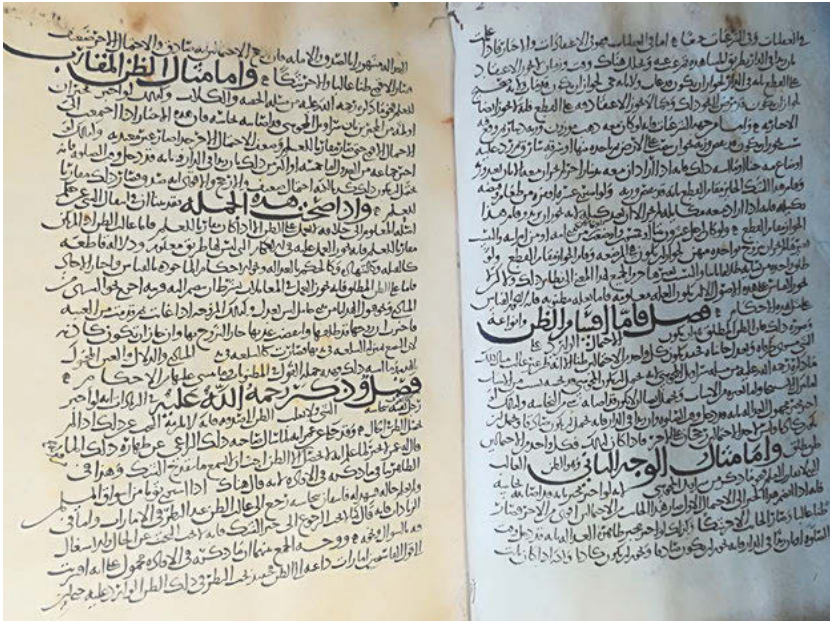


Fig. 2: Sparing use of diacritical signs; no colours; no framing of text face. Munich, BSB, Cod.arab. 1188, fols 24b–25a.

### 3.3 *Istansaḥa* (‘he dictated [it]?’)

This Yemeni copy of a text on the principles of Zaidi law (*K. al-Fuṣūl al-lu’lu’iyya fi uṣūl fiqh al-‘itra an-nabawiyya*) by al-Hādawī al-Wazīr (d. 914 AH / 1508 CE)<sup>17</sup> (BSB, Cod.arab. 1181)<sup>18</sup> was transcribed about one-and-a-half centuries after the author’s death by the copyist for his own use. This is written in a note on one of the first leaves (fol. 4a) but crossings out and blackening has made it partly illegible.

Accordingly, he appears to say he completed the copying of the law-book of 109 folios in Ṣafar 188 (sic.) in Ṣan‘ā’ and uses the Arabic phrase *istansaḥa*<sup>19</sup> *hādā l-kitāb al-ḡalīl li-nafsihi* (*wa-li-man šā’a llāhu wa-ba’dahu ‘Abdallāh*) etc. to express

17 Cf. Waḡīḥ 1420/1999, 69–71, no. 30; Kaḥḥāla 1376–1381/1957–1961, 1, 102.

18 There are three copies of this text in the Glaser collection of the BSB (cf. Sobieroj 2007, nos 122, 123, 124/1).

19 Gacek 2008, 76 explains the present participle form of *istansaḥa* (*mustansih*) as signifying ‘patron’ (person who commissioned a copy), while *istinsāḥ* is explained as synonymous with *istikṭāb* (‘dictate’, ‘make someone write or copy’).



this. A note on a loan of this manuscript (*'āriya li-Saiyidī* etc.), by a Yemeni user of Kaukabān entered on fol. 1a and dated Muḥarram 1163 AH / 1749–1750 CE indicates the above dating 188 has to be read as 1088 AH / 1677 CE for logical reasons.<sup>20</sup> The *'āriya*-note also proves the manuscript left the scribe's private domain fairly soon after he completed the copy for himself, i.e. about eighty years later. There are also several buyers' notes.<sup>21</sup> The phrase *wa-li-man šā'a llāhu* etc. could be interpreted as signifying that in spite of the scribe producing the copy for himself he is well aware the future destiny of his manuscript is not possible to predict (see Fig. 3).



Fig. 3: Title page; owners' notes; *istansaha* [...] *li-nafsihi*-phrase. Munich, BSB, Cod.arab. 1181, fol. 4a.

<sup>20</sup> The dating in my catalogue entry (Sobieroj 2007, no. 123) needs correcting.

<sup>21</sup> Although mostly written without diacritical pointing on fol. 4a, some of the names can be deciphered.

The pages subsequent to the explicit featuring a text relating to Prophetic tradition, written by another hand, shows that the manuscript was worked on afterwards, i.e. used subsequent to being in the scribe's possession, and not only with a view to issues pertaining to Zaidī law.

As for the layout of this manuscript, the text face has not been framed rendering the manuscript the look of having been produced somewhat rashly.<sup>22</sup> Incorrect words have been crossed out untidily in some places (e.g. fol. 5a). The marginal glosses, written by the scribe, have been placed anywhere in the margins even invading the interlinear space.<sup>23</sup> The script is provided with diacritical points but sparingly and the same applies to the marginal notes to an even higher degree. In contradistinction to other manuscripts written for the scribe's private use this copy is enriched by different colours, red and yellow in particular, that highlight chapter headings and key words. Again a possible indication of the copyist's unwillingness to abandon cherished scribal practices.

### 3.4 Manuscripts 'copied for oneself and for those who come after / for whoever God wills'

A special category of manuscripts copied for the scribe's own use are those that mention 'those who come after him'. Three manuscripts (two of which treat issues of law, one eschatology) are to serve as examples for discussion.

Example 1. One of this group of artefacts is a Yemeni manuscript on Zaidī law, BSB, Cod.arab. 2625, text authored by Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Ibn Ḥābis aṣ-Ṣa'dī (d. 1061 AH / 1651 CE),<sup>24</sup> which the scribe copied 'for himself and for whoever God wills after him'. According to this formulation, the scribe foresaw the manuscript being used by persons other than himself and perhaps he was thinking of his descendants, his 'extended self', so to speak.<sup>25</sup> He mentions the date of copying in the colophon written in lines of decreasing length, whereas his name and the above formula is to be found in the last five lines written as a block of even lines beneath the tip of the triangle. In the last lines of this block, he praises God and Muḥammad and solicits a prayer from the persons from among his believing brethren who are to come across the book (while he is still alive or already

<sup>22</sup> The number of lines however is thirteen consistently throughout the text.

<sup>23</sup> Sometimes they are written in two columns or rows (e.g. fol. 51b).

<sup>24</sup> *GAL*, vol. 2, 239; *GAL S*, vol. 2, 559; Waḡīh 1420/1999, 199–201. This is a commentary on the *K. al-Azhār fī fiqh* by Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Murtaqā (d. 840 AH / 1436–1437 CE), see *GAL*, vol. 2, 238–240; Rauch 2015, 205, n. 5, 206; Sobieroj 2018, no. 692.

<sup>25</sup> For this notion, see the editors' introduction.



dead [*wa-huwa mustauşin li-d-du‘ā’ mimman waqafa ‘alaihi min ihwānihi l-mu’minīna fī l-ḥayāt wa-ba‘d ...*]).<sup>26</sup>

The writing style the scribe has chosen is unpretentious. The numerous corrections in the text make the copy appear to have been executed rather carelessly. There are many black and red ink stains; on some pages, they have been placed on the paper as a means to carry out a correction; in the margin of fol. 365a a marginal correction has been deleted by wiping out the black ink of the script.

The corrections have also been entered in the main text by crossing out mistakes (even interlinear corrections have been crossed out again); however, there are also corrections in the margins marked with the conventional sign *ṣahḥa* which tells of the effort to produce a handsome copy – a contradiction which may be resolved by remembering the scribe made the copy both for himself and posterity.<sup>27</sup>

By contrast with many other Yemeni manuscripts there are no owners’ notes or stamps to be found in the book indicating the scribe’s hopes for some future use of the manuscript may not have become fulfilled. The work-title (*al-ğuz’ al-auwal min at-Takmil* [‘the first part of *at-T.*’]), written on the top edge of the book reveals that the book was stored horizontally in a (possibly private) library, or a bookseller’s shop.

Example 2. The copyist of a text on Arabic grammar contained in the thin booklet of twenty-two folios only, SBB, Hs. or. 1902, i.e. a commentary by Ḥālid b. ‘Abdallāh al-Azharī (d. 905 AH / 1499 CE)<sup>28</sup> on Ibn Hišām’s (d. 1046 AH / 1636 CE)<sup>29</sup> *Qawā‘id al-i‘rāb*, states in the colophon (dated 1046 AH / 1636 CE) that he produced this manuscript both for himself and for those who will come after him contingent on God’s decree (*‘allaqahu li-nafsihi wa-li-man šā’a llāhu ba‘dahū*).<sup>30</sup> Expecting his manuscript to fall into the hands of posterity and his text would be studied by later generations follows from addresses to potential readers in scribal verses (‘Schreiberverse’) written in his hand on the first and last folio pages.

In the first line of a poem of two *basīṭ*-verses (fol. 1a) the scribe asks the reader to be forbearing and not too severe in judging his work (*Yā nāẓiran fī kitābi ḥina taqra’uhū / anşif hudīta bi-lā ‘anfin wa-lā şaṭaṭi*). Next to the colo-

<sup>26</sup> The left edge of the leaf has been torn off (with resulting loss of text).

<sup>27</sup> Perhaps however only a conventional pious addition, indicative of the scribe’s resignation to divine will rather than any allusion to specific motivation.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *GAL*, vol. 2, 34; *GAL S*, vol. 2, 22–23; *Kaḥḥāla* 1376–1381/1957–1961, vol. 4, 96–97.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *GAL*, vol. 2, 27–31; *GAL S*, vol. 2, 16–20; *Kaḥḥāla* 1376–1381/1957–1961, vol. 6, 163–166.

<sup>30</sup> This formulation has also been used by the copyist of SBB, Hs. or. 1753, dated 1009 AH / 1601 CE. Two lines above this note, however, the copyist refers to the process of producing his copy by employing the verb *ḥarrara* (*ḥarrarahu l-mu‘tarif bi-d-ḍanb* etc.).

phon (fol. 22a), he has inscribed three more scribal verses (*rağāz*; the third may be from an alien hand) giving a reason why the reader should be lenient and abstain from criticism, namely that – notwithstanding the unavoidable mistakes – he had made the best effort in producing his artefact: *Qābaltuhū muğtahidan / wa-laisa yaħlū min ġalaṭ* [‘I collated it and strained myself / but it (the copy) is not free of mistakes’; v. 1). He adds that he who blames him should ask himself if anybody is free from wrongdoing (*fa-qul li-man yalūmunī / man dāllaḍī mā sā’a qaṭṭ*; v. 2) and he himself or a reader who joins into the conversation concludes the short poem with the answer that only the prophet Muḥammad on whom angel Ġibrīl once descended (*allaḍī ‘alaihi Ġibrīl habaṭ*) is immune to sinning.<sup>31</sup>

The scribe has produced a nice manuscript copy although his writing style lacks skill and is certainly not scholarly. From the series of names he inscribed in the colophon we learn that he belonged to the people of Gaza on the Mediterranean Sea and was a member of the Šāfi‘ī school of law. Contradicting traditional scribal practice, the single red line framing the text face is interrupted where any of the extensive glosses reach out from the margins into the text. Likewise, the presence of numerous *balağ*-notes<sup>32</sup> in the margins is not usually a feature of prestigious, i.e. display manuscripts but is evidence the scribe made a great effort to produce an accurate text on grammar with as few mistakes as possible (see Fig. 4).

Example 3. The copyist of SBB, Hs. or. 1766-1 transcribed the manuscript for himself (*‘allaqahu li-nafsihi*) and for ‘whoever may come after him as God wills’. The manuscript carries the first of two parts of an eschatological work for the moral edification of believers titled *at-Taḍkira bi-aḥwāl al-mautā wa-aḥwāl al-āḥira* etc. authored by the Andalusian scholar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qurṭubī (d. 671 AH / 1273 CE).<sup>33</sup> The copyist’s efforts were good and produced a handsome copy. He used red ink to highlight the headings and other features, and the text panel size is consistent throughout the manuscript. Furthermore, the composition of marginalia inscribed by his hand conforms with the conventions of Arabic manuscript tradition. However, the script is highly deficient; the pointing of the consonants is only partly given and some letters (such as *kāf*, with the hori-

<sup>31</sup> Fittingly, on the reverse of this leaf there is a prophetic tradition inscribed with Muḥammad declaring three reasons for loving the Arabs, first the fact that he is an Arab (the other two are that the Qur’an is in Arabic and that the language of the inhabitants of paradise is Arabic).

<sup>32</sup> i.e. notes (and signs) testifying to the performance of a collation (cf. Gacek 2009, 65–69; Sobieroj 2016, 50).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *GAL*, vol. 1, 529; *GAL S*, vol. 1, 737.

zontal line above the vertical stroke wanting in many instances) are even written incompletely (see Fig. 5).

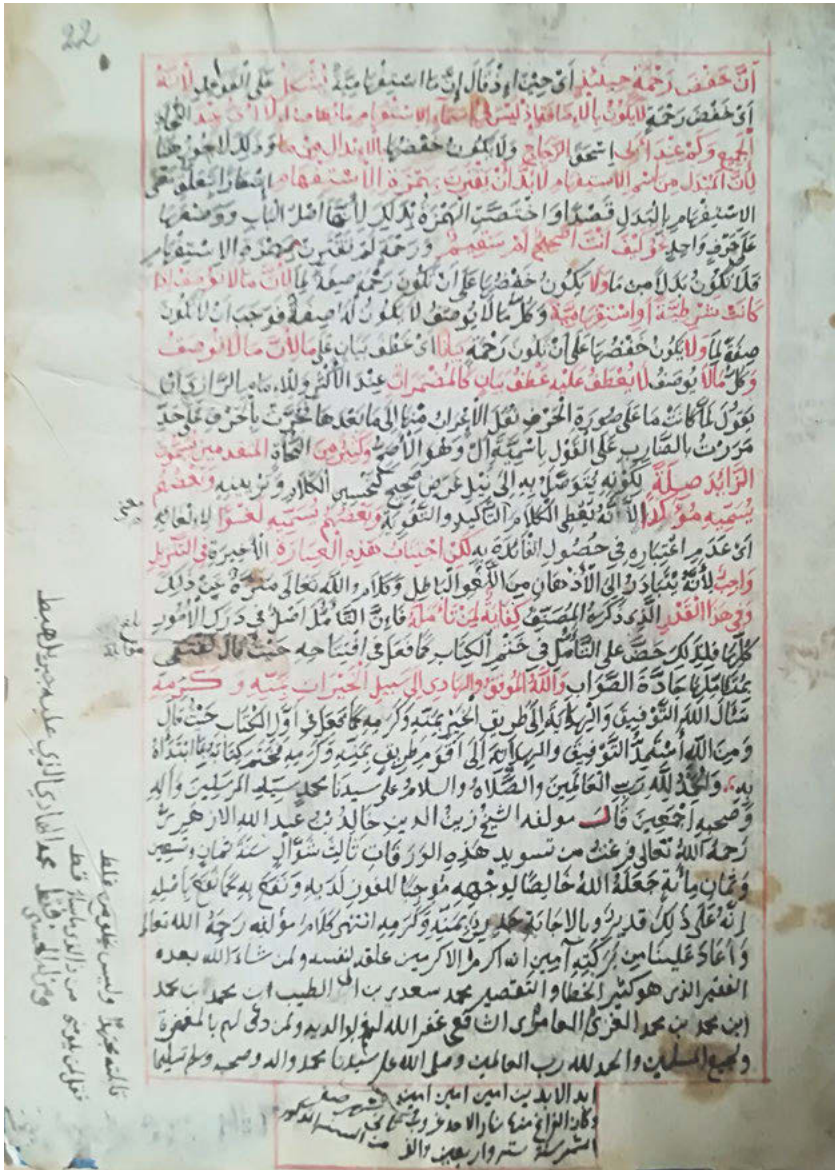


Fig. 4: Katabahu li-nafsihi-note; colophon; scribal verses. 1046 AH / 1636 CE. SBB, Hs. or. 1902, fol. 22a.

166

مالك وحمل يقول لا غير في قلبه فيه القآن وكان وعالامان  
 فاذا بالزباية فلجا وبالخير ليضوه في بطونهم من حورهم  
 مالك فيقول لا يدخلوا الجنة بطونا اخصها رمضان ولا تحرق  
 النار جباها سجدت لله تعالى فعودون فيها جباها لافاسق  
 المحلولك والامان بتلا في القلوب وسبابي لهذا من يوسان  
 في اخر ابواب النار انشا الله تعالى نجانا الله منها ولا  
 جعلنا ممن يدخلها يحرق فيها يلزمه وفضله **فصل**  
 قوله حتى اذا فرغ الله مشكل وفي التنزيل سنفرغ  
 للبرايها الغلان ومعناه البالغه في التهديد والوعيد  
 من الله تعالى لعباده وتقول القائل سافرغ لك ان  
 بلن مشغولا عمك لشغل وليس بالله عن وجل شغل تعاني  
 عن ذلك **وقيل** المعنى سيقصد الحجاز انهم وعمونتك  
 كما تقول القائل بلن يريد تهديدك اذا الفرغ للذي  
 اقصد قصدك وفرغ معني قصد واحكم **وقال**  
**حديث** الان ووز فرغت الى عمر فهذا حين كتب له اعداها  
 يريد وقد قصدت حوه معني فرغ الله من العضايق العباد  
 اى صمم عليهم حسابهم وقصل بينهم الا انه لا يشغله  
 شان عن شان سبحانه وتعالى عما يشركون

**اختر الخرز والاول** من كتاب الذكر باحوال  
 الموتي وامور الاخرع والحمد لله رب العالمين  
 وصل الله على سيدنا محمد واله ومحهم اجمعين  
 وسلاما كثيرا اذ لما ذكره الرازي  
 وعمل عن ذكره انما قلوب  
 يتلوه الخرز والتاني انشا الله تعالى ما

**ما حش** مررجه الله تعالى  
 شلو نشه العبد العبد الى حشر من علة في حشره الله واليه واليه  
 من علة عوليله ولو الله وحده العبد

Fig. 5: Colophon; *katabahu li-nafsihi*-note; deficient script. SBB, Hs. or. 1766-1, fol. 166a.

Due to the scripts' said deficiencies, the scribe's name is largely illegible,<sup>34</sup> while a date of copying is completely absent (perhaps another indication of a personal use copy). Thus, regarding this manuscript the most apparent sign, aside from his avowal, of the scribe copying it for himself, is the script. It should be added that what appears illegible to the non-initiate may have been perfectly legible for his contemporary target group reader.<sup>35</sup>

In the colophon on fol. 166a the scribe announces the second part of the *Taḍkira* is to follow (i.e. he may have intended to copy it himself) and cites the first chapter heading of *al-ğuz' at-tānī*, namely, *bāb mā yurğā min raḥmat Allāh* ('chapter on hoping for God's mercy'). Notwithstanding certain differences in the style of writing and page layout (e.g. number of lines), the second volume (SBB, Hs. or. 1766-2) seems to be in the hand of the same scribe.

## 4 Explicit expressions indicating ownership (*bi-ḥaṭṭ mālikihī*)

There is a group of codices designating the scribe himself as owner of the manuscript thus seeming to demonstrate he copied the relevant text for himself. Six manuscripts will be discussed by way of example, the first four sharing a Yemeni origin while the last two contain texts on law composed in the Ḥanafī tradition.

Example 1. The Yemeni manuscript on Zaidī law (BSB, Cod.arab. 1312) entitled *Šarḥ al-Faṭḥ al-Ğaffār*, including both foundational text and author's own commentary, by a tenth / sixteenth century author called Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Muqrānī aṣ-Šan'ānī az-Zaidī<sup>36</sup> (d. after 972 AH / 1564 CE or 990 AH / 1582 CE) was produced only about eighty years later (in 1061 AH / 1651 CE) by a Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Aḥfaš al-Hādawī az-Zaidī. In the colophon on the text's last page, the scribe reveals implicitly, through use of the formula *wa-kāna l-farāğ min raqm hādā l-kitāb (al-mubāarak yaum al-ḥamis) ... bi-ḥaṭṭ mālikihī al-'abd al-faqīr al-mu'tarif bi-l-'ağz wa-t-taqšīr M.* etc. ('the copying of this blessed book has been completed on Thursday etc. in the script / writing of its owner, the poor servant etc. M. b. al-Ḥasan') that, as its owner, he copied the manuscript primarily for himself.

<sup>34</sup> I could decipher only 'Alī b.... aš-Šāfī'ī al-Hādī.

<sup>35</sup> For this point, see the editors' Introduction.

<sup>36</sup> Wağih 1420/1999, 1147–1150, no. 1211.

The text copy is followed by notes on the production of the foundational text (completed in 966 AH / 1559 CE) and the commentary (completed in 972 AH / 1564 CE) as well as the exemplar of the present manuscript (completed 986 AH / 1578 CE); the scribe also mentions the name of the copyist of the exemplar who like the scribe of 'our' manuscript is designated 'its owner' (*'alā yad mālikihī* ['by the hand of its owner']; fol. 231b).

After the mention of the exemplar scribe, the copyist turns to the readers of his manuscript, 'from among his brethren who study it and all Muslims who look at it' (*mimman iṭṭala'a 'alaihi min al-iḥwān wa-ḡamī'i man naẓara fīhi*) asking them to be gracious to him (*an yabirrūnī*) by saying a *du'ā'* ('supplication') or reading the Qur'an or asking God for forgiveness for him.

The scribe's implicit statement that, as its owner, he produced the manuscript for himself, does not mean, as is seen, that he did not expect the manuscript to be studied by other readers whose prayers he solicited (*wa-l-mas'ūl mimman iṭṭala'a 'alaihi*) for him to be granted forgiveness by God [and be admitted to paradise]. Appropriately, on the title page, there are numerous owners' notes (*tumma ṣāra ilā etc.*) as well as one *ex libris* (*min kutub etc.*) and a borrower's note.

In accordance with the inference that the copy was produced by the scribe for himself and not under a patron's commission, the manuscript shows clear signs of carelessness: the text face is ragged: e.g. on one page (fol. 225b) where the first lines of the page are shorter than those in the middle. Likewise, the lines have not been written exactly horizontally but with a slight upward slant – indicating the lines of the pages had not been prepared with a ruler – and narrow spacing. Erroneous writing has been corrected by smearing ink over the relevant places (e.g. fols 219b, 220a) or wiping over groups of words with a hand while the ink remained wet<sup>37</sup> – although at many places, corrections have been entered in the narrow margins provided with *ṣahḥa* and insertion marker (e.g. fols 216a–b, 218b), following traditional scribal practice (see Fig. 6).<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Nearly a whole line on fol. 99a, or by crossing out mistakes in the text body (e.g. fols 212a, 217b).

<sup>38</sup> The text face has been framed with double lines in the beginning pages only (until fol. 26b) but this too has been done irregularly; distance between the lines changes from 3 mm to zero (e.g. fol. 17b).





Example 2. A case in point is also the Yemeni manuscript BSB, Cod.arab. 1272 containing a text entitled *Miṣbāḥ aš-šarī‘a al-Muḥammadīya* on the Zaidī *furū‘* by the Judge ‘Afif ad-Dīn an-Nağrānī (d. before 759 AH / 1358 CE)<sup>39</sup> who composed his compendium shortly before the date of copying mentioned in the colophon, i.e. eighth / fourteenth century. On the title page in the scribe’s hand, is the title of the work, author’s name, prayers for the latter and all Muslims, as well as his own name (*mālīkuhu l-faqīr ilā raḥmat rabbihi asīr ḡanbihi* etc. [‘its owner, the one needy of the mercy of his lord etc., Aḥmad b. Sulaimān al-Wārī’]).

The scribe’s name also appears in the colophon on the penultimate page where he says: *nusiḥa bi-rasm al-Faqīh ... al-Wārī* (‘the copying in the handwriting of the jurisconsult ... has been completed etc.’)<sup>40</sup>. He concludes the colophon with a prayer requesting forgiveness from God for himself while designating himself the owner, viz. ‘forgive the [manuscript’s] scribe and owner’ (*iğfar li-kātibihi wa-ṣāḥibihi*).

Corresponding to these designations, the copy has been executed carelessly. This shows itself most clearly in the script written with few diacritical points making it difficult for anyone else other than himself to read the text. However, the above-mentioned caveat should not be forgotten.<sup>41</sup> Another sign of rashness is avoidance of use of colours; moreover, writing mistakes have been deleted by wiping the wet ink (fol. 28a) or crossing out; even marginalia have been crossed out which is seldom encountered in Arabic manuscripts (fol. 68a). In a rare instance red colour was used to draw a line, untidily, around a piece of text (fol. 103a: three lines), to indicate the section had been copied twice erroneously because of homoioteleuton (and inattentiveness) (see Fig. 7).<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *GAL*, vol. 2, 238; *GAL S*, vol. 2, 243; *Kaḥḥāla 1376–1381/1957–1961*, vol. 7, 103; *Wağīh 1420/1999*, 684, no. 725.

<sup>40</sup> On a Friday in the month of Ša‘bān of the year 759 AH / 1358 CE.

<sup>41</sup> It seems that the text has been copied by two hands, but this impression may be incorrect and due mainly to the varying number of lines before and after the page where a possible change of hands took place; both parts of the text – roughly two halves – display the same signs of carelessness.

<sup>42</sup> The script in itself, i.e. the style of writing, lacks any aesthetical appeal.





Fig. 7: Script with few diacritical points; avoidance of colours; smearing ink over mistakes; drawing (red) lines around text copied erroneously. Munich, BSB, Cod.arab. 1272, fol. 103a.

Example 3. This is a Yemeni manuscript on Mu‘tazili theology titled *Ta‘līq Šarḥ al-uṣūl al-ḥamsa* (BSB, Cod.arab. 1287)<sup>43</sup> produced in 810 AH / 1407 CE by the scribe ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Muṭaḥhar b. Ḥasan an-Naḡrī for himself. The scribal note indicating the copy was produced in the handwriting of its owner (*bi-ḥaṭṭ mālikihī*) has been included in the text’s colophon. Another note the scribe wrote on this page contains the names of the twelve Shii Imams indicative of the proximity of the Zaidiya to Twelver-Shiism. Next to the colophon there is also an owner’s note (*ex libris: min ḥizānat* etc.) of Saiyidī Faḥr ad-Dīn ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Muṭaḥhar b. Ḥasan an-Naḡrī, i.e. the scribe; this, of course, corroborates the notion that the scribe copied the manuscript for himself.

43 The author, as-Saiyid Mānkdim Qiwām ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Abi l-Ḥusain Šešdiw al-Qazwīnī, died in 425 AH / 1034 CE (cf. GAL S, vol. 1, 315; Waḡīh 1420/1999, 104, no. 74; Sobieroj 2007, 434, no. 227).

The text copy is unpretentious, and the small script is only sparingly furnished with diacritics.<sup>44</sup> The number of lines is variable, ranging from thirty-three to thirty-nine. Red colour has been used to highlight chapter headings and key words etc. but more often black ink and a broader pen have been used to this end appearing to underline the copy's unpretentious character, made to be worked with and not created for display. The impression of carelessness and irregularity is reinforced by the tendency, on many pages (e.g. fol. 106a), to write the last line of the main text inclining to the left, i.e. slanted against the last horizontal line (see Fig. 8).

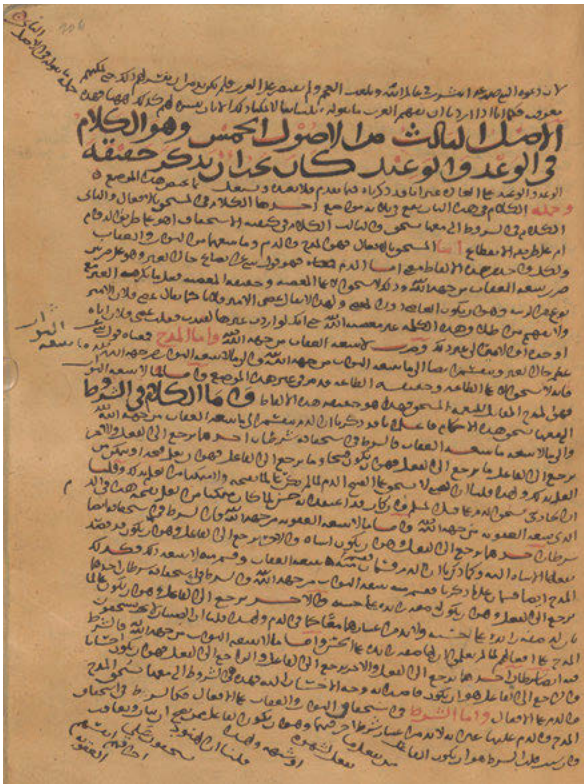


Fig. 8: Variable number of lines throughout the pages; last line of the main text slanted. BSB, Cod.arab. 1287, fol. 106a.

<sup>44</sup> There seems to be a change of hands in the second half of the manuscript (after fol. 85) but may only be an alteration of the script style changing from an angular to a more rounded, cursive form with even fewer diacritics (for a similar case, see above, n. 41).

Example 4. Another Yemeni codex may be thought of as belonging to this group of manuscripts a scribe wrote for himself as he was the owner. With BSB, Cod.arab. 1239, a copy of the ninth volume of Abu l-Farağ al-Iṣbahānī's (d. 356 AH / 967 CE)<sup>45</sup> famous encyclopaedia of Arabic poetry, *K. al-Ağānī*, i.e. 'Book of Songs', the scribe's ownership claim is made both implicitly and explicitly.

On one of the first folios (fol. 1b) the scribe has written the note that he, 'Abd al-Wāsi' az-Zaidī, lent this book to one Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭahhar who borrowed it from him. It may be assumed that had the scribe copied the book under a patron's commission he would not have given the book away to a third person as a loan.

The scribe, as the colophon states, copied the text in a place called Ġirās in Yemen (on 17 Ramaḍān 1085 AH / 15 December 1674 CE). This is where his claim of ownership is explicit: he adds, referring to himself, that the text was copied in its owner's writing (*tamma lī naql hādā as-sifr bi-ḥaṭṭ yadaiya ... bi-ḥaṭṭ mālikihī al-faqīr ilā maulāhu 'Abd al-Wāsi'* etc. ['the transcription of this book has been completed by me in the writing of my hands, the writing of its owner who is needy of his lord, 'Abd al-Wāsi' etc.']).

The manuscript layout appears to confirm the scribe copied the manuscript for his private use: the title page was designed in an extremely primitive way with no use of colours or other emphases;<sup>46</sup> the text face lacks framing; the script is written inelegantly and largely lacks the pointing – the same applies to the glosses in the margins (e.g. fol. 188b); the sides are not straight and last lines have occasionally been written at a right angle (e.g. fol. 160b) indicating the measurements were wrongly calculated (see Fig. 9).

In the beginning of the copy, numerous owners' notes and a further loan entry indicate that after its production the book was sold, passed on as an inheritance and lent to various users. There are also readers' notes including one stating that the last of the sessions in which this user read the present text – a class-room situation – took place at the end of Ġumādā II. 1270 AH / March 1854 CE. All such notes prove that Iṣbahānī's anthology was highly esteemed in Yemen and enjoyed a near-canonical status. As the scribe could not predict his manuscript's destiny, the numerous notes inscribed in his copy, of course, do not contradict his original design.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *GAL*, vol. 1, 152–153; *GAL S*, vol. 1, 225–226; *Kaḥḥāla 1376–1381/1957–1961*, vol. 7, 78–79.

<sup>46</sup> However, on the following pages colour was used for headings, key words, overlining and verse markers.



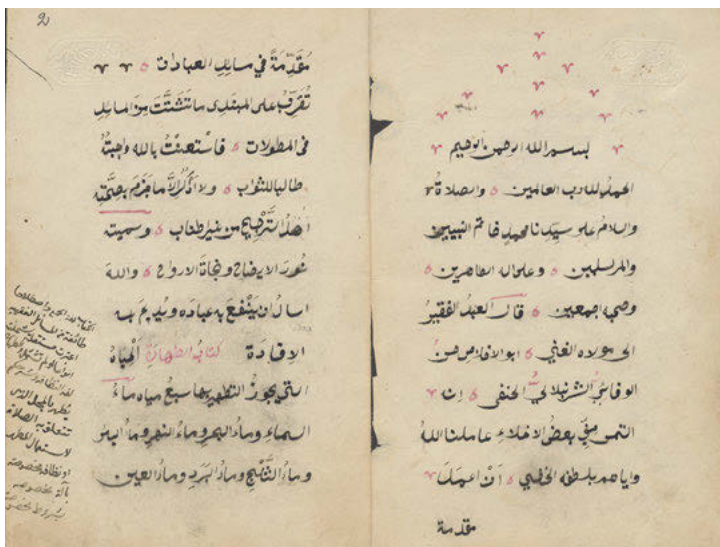
Fig. 9: Inelegant script; last lines written at a right angle to the text face. BSB, Cod.arab. 1239, fol. 160b.

Example 5. SBB, Hs. or. 1890, a dated copy (1292 AH / 1875 CE) of a tract on matters (*furūʿ*) of Ḥanafī law, *Nūr al-īdāh wa-naḡāt al-arwāh* of Abu l-Iḥlās Ḥasan b. ‘Ammār aš-Šurunbulālī (d. 1069 AH / 1658–1659 CE),<sup>47</sup> is one of the manuscripts that was once a part of their scribe’s possessions, that is to say, produced by the scribes for themselves, which would continue to their families or ‘extended selves’, even if not explicitly stated. In this manuscript, Muḥammad Salīm as-Sukkārī has entered his name as owner which is also the case with a few other manuscripts of the Berlin state library ‘Hs. or.’ series.<sup>48</sup> Among the said owners’

47 Cf. GAL, vol. 2, 406–407; GAL S, vol. 2, 430–431; Kaḥḥāla 1376–1381/1957–1961, vol. 3, 265–266.

48 The ‘Hs. or.’ series includes Oriental manuscripts acquired by the state library of Berlin (West) after World War II. Unlike the ‘Ms. or.’ series of the state library of Berlin (East) no distinction has been made between the octavo and quarto formats.

marks are some stating a manuscript had been acquired by a son from his father,<sup>49</sup> either by sale or as a gift (the mode of acquisition is usually not indicated in this group of notes). The manuscript's overall appearance appears to confirm its *katabahu li-nafsihi*-quality. The text face lacks framing; the script Muḥammad Salim uses is quite idiosyncratic,<sup>50</sup> but perhaps characteristic of a specific region, era or social milieu. The script is also uneven: while on the first folios the size is regular, the script becomes ever larger towards the end of the text of 126 folios betraying a lack of design; corrections were carried out within the text panel, and at times quite unaesthetically (e.g. fol. 83b; see Fig. 10).



**Fig. 10:** Idiosyncratic script (unusual ligatures) of variable size; corrections made unaesthetically within the text body. SBB, Hs. or. 1890, fol. 1b–2a.

**49** Two examples: Maḥmūd as-Sukkarī, from his father Muḥammad as-Sukkarī in Ḍu l-Ḥiġġa 1292 AH / December 1875–January 1876 CE (Hs. or. 1852); Muḥammad Salim, from his father Muḥammad as-Sukkarī, i.e. the scribe of this manuscript (Ḍu l-Ḥiġġa 1292 AH / December 1875–January 1876 CE); thereafter purchased by Muḥammad Sa‘īd as-Sukkarī (Rabī‘ I. 1305 AH / November–December 1887 CE), and finally by Maḥmūd as-Sukkarī (Ḍu l-Ḥiġġa 1309 AH / 1891–1892 CE [Hs. or. 1758, fol. 1a]).

**50** ‘Unorthodox’ ligatures; final letter *hā’* with a minuscule head (e.g. fol. 1b; slightly reminiscent of *ḥaṭṭ-i šinī* as was employed in writing the nineteenth-century Naqšbandī hagiography *Kitāb al-Ġahrī* of Ma Xuezhī 马学智, d. 1923).

Example 6. The first of three quires (*kurrāsa*) of which SBB, Hs. or. 1881 is composed<sup>51</sup> contains a copy of the *Urġūza ar-Raḥbiya* by Ibn al-Mutaqqina ar-Raḥbī (d. 577 or 579 AH / 1182 or 1184 CE)<sup>52</sup> on the law of inheritance dated 1302 AH / 1884–1885 CE which the scribe made for himself. The owner's note inscribed on fol. 1a, states so explicitly, as follows: *māliku hādīhi n-nuṣṣa aš-šarīfa al-mubāraka (!) kātibuhu li-nafsihi Musallam ... Kitāb ar-Raḥbiyya* ('owner of this noble and blessed manuscript copy, Musallam ... who copied it for himself, the *K. ar-R.*'). However, in the colophon of only two lines, in large letters written in black ink beneath the explicit (fol. 9a), the scribe enters his name as (*kātibuhū*) Aḥmad b. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Maġīd adding the words *li-š-Šaiḥ Musallam* which apparently means that he copied the didactic poem in the *raġaz* metre for Musallam b. 'Uṭmān al-Ḥaṭīb, the owner – clearly contradicting the note on fol. 1a; this may however indicate a possible change in the original plan whereby the scribe changed to become a commissioner of the production of the manuscript (see Fig. 11).

At any rate, the copy contains some of the distinguishing features of a manuscript produced for the scribe's private use: the text face format changes; the script is uneven (in size), carelessly executed and does not stem from a scholar's hand; the headings are written mostly in red, in the first opening, however, (fols 1b–2a) they are black (the reverse applies to standard manuscripts produced under economic stress), as is the case with the verse markers. The coloured inks used in highlighting headings etc. alternate between pink and the shade of red used ordinarily. Corrections have been made within the text panel and at times erasures have been made by scratching out mistakes and damaging the paper's surface (e.g. fol. 6a). Elsewhere (last page, fol. 9a) errors have been deleted by smearing the ink over them before it dries (see Fig. 12).

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<sup>51</sup> The other two quires contain two texts authored by the Naqšbandī Sufi and Ḥanafī juriconsult Muḥammad Amin, Ibn 'Ābidīn (d. 1252 or 1258 AH / 1836 or 1842 CE; *GAL S*, vol. 2, 773) and are not in any way related to the text of the first quire (and were written by a different scribe).

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *GAL*, vol. 1, 490–491; *GAL S*, vol. 1, 675; *Kaḥḥāla* 1376–1381/1957–1961, vol. 11, 47.



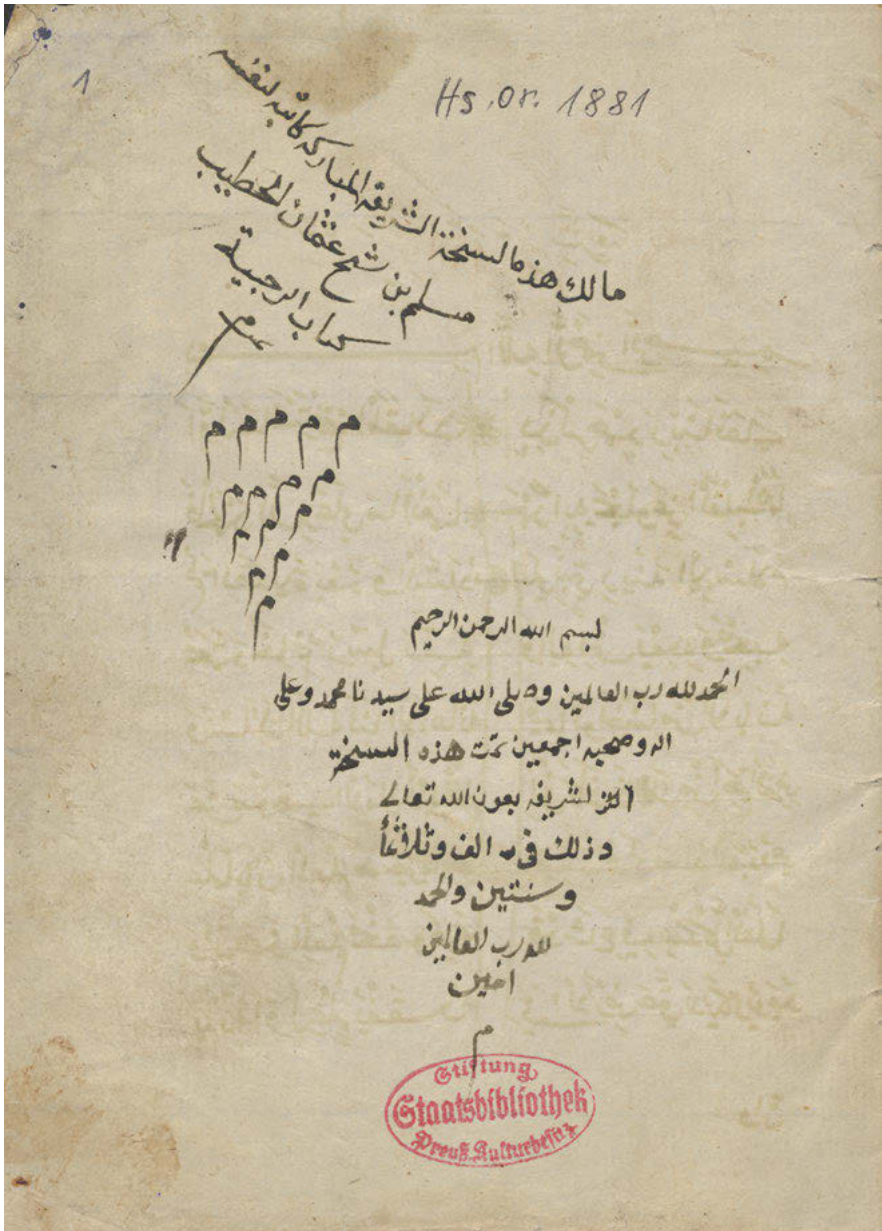


Fig. 11: Title page; scribes' notes with contradictory content; deletion of errors by smearing ink over mistakes. 1302 AH / 1884–1885 CE. SBB, Hs. or. 1881, fol. 1a.

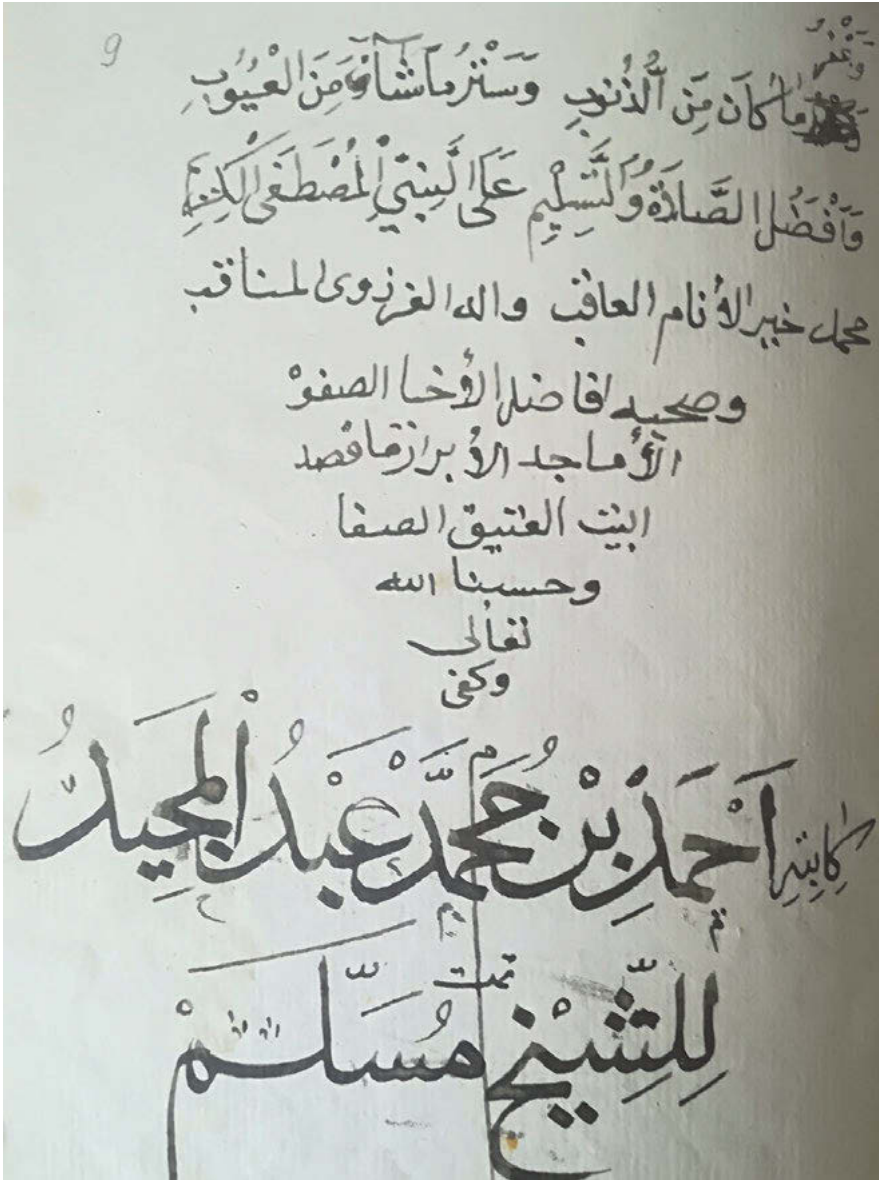


Fig. 12: End page; scribes' notes with contradictory content; deletion of errors by smearing ink over mistakes. 1302 AH / 1884–1885 CE. SBB, Hs. or. 1881, fol. 9a.



## 5 Internal evidence to infer a personal copy

Some manuscripts lack the explicit expressions listed above. Only implicit evidence can prove the scribe made them for his own use. Nonetheless, one example may suffice to round off this section, with a counter-example adduced.

A copy of a rare history book about nineteenth-century Iraq, produced in Baghdad in 1349 AH / 1931 CE by the scribe Šāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm, is a case in point. A note in the colophon (fol. 48a) indicates the present manuscript (SBB, MS. or. oct. 3488) to have been copied from an artefact based on the author's autograph (*'an an-nuṣṣa al-mustansaḥa min an-nuṣṣa al-aṣliya*).

Specific characteristics (detailed below) – while lacking the *katabahu li-naḥsihi*-note or any of its variants – indicate that the manuscript belongs to a group of codices ruling it out as a commissioned work and make it highly unlikely to have been produced with a view to its transmission to posterity.

As for the layout of the present manuscript, the text has been written, on the thin paper of an exercise booklet, in horizontal lines often slanting to the left. The number of lines is unstable. The text face often extends to the edge of the page leaving little space for marginal notes. Instead of a foliation, pagination numbers have been entered in the upper margins; the pagination, from the scribe's hand, may be the result of European influence (another indication of Western influence is the use of orthographical signs such as colons, e.g. fol. 39a). No colours have been used and the chapter headings (*faṣl*) are not highlighted.

The style of writing is not the elegant *nashī* of a prestigious manuscript of display but a swift *ruq'a* shorthand, perhaps standardized, where letters *sīn* and *šīn* lack the teeth – indicating the copyist's negligence in producing his copy (see Fig. 13).

A manuscript written in a Maḡribī script, BSB, Cod.arab. 1643,<sup>53</sup> may serve as the counter-example, i.e. a 'category' of manuscripts the scribe copied for himself that do not display any signs of carelessness in the copy's execution. The colophon includes the scribal formula, often met with, *'alā yad kātibihi wa-mālikihī*, signifying that the scribe, as the manuscript's owner, wrote it for himself, and not by anybody's order.

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<sup>53</sup> See Sobieroj 2010, 443, no. 309.

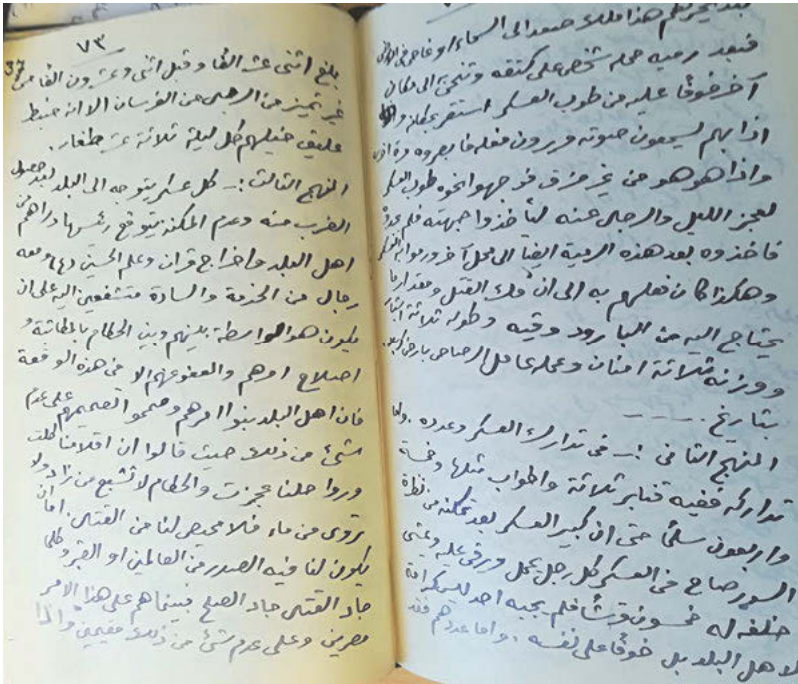


Fig. 13: *Ruq'ā* shorthand with letters *sīn* and *šīn* lacking teeth; text face extending almost to the edges; pagination numbers. 1349 AH / 1931 CE. SBB, MS. or. oct. 3488, fols 36b–37a.

The page layout of the text is aesthetically appealing, the script has been executed nicely in terms of both *rasm* and pointing – the latter is distinctively Maġribī (the scribe, active in 1797 CE, was a Tunisian from Qairawān). The text is a commentary by ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥiġāzī aš-Šarqāwī al-Ḥalwatī al-Azharī (d. 1227 AH / 1812 CE)<sup>54</sup> on the popular Sufi litany titled *Wird as-sattār* of the Ḥalwatiya šaiḥ Yaḥyā aš-Šīrwānī al-Bākū’ī (d. 869 AH / 1464 CE).<sup>55</sup> It has been written in compliance with the general conventions of Arabic manuscripts (see above): the text panel framed by two red lines (until fol. 22), and a few glosses in the margins are

<sup>54</sup> GAL, vol. 2, 631–632; GAL S, vol. 2, 729; Kaḥḥāla 1376–1381/1957–1961, vol. 6, 41–42 and vol. 13, 400.

<sup>55</sup> See Quiring-Zoche 2019, 88, no. 377. The *Wird as-sattār* has also been attributed to the authorship of Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī al-Ḥalwatī (d. 1162 AH / 1749 CE), see GAL, vol. 2, 460; GAL S, vol. 2, 477–478. Cf. SBB, Hs. or. 1898, fol. 36b.

in the scribe's own hand.<sup>56</sup> It shows little signs of use but throughout the book the paper shows signs of worm damage. Thus, it seems that notwithstanding its flawless execution, the manuscript did not leave the scribe's own private domain.

## 6 Audition notes in manuscripts copied for private use

Manuscripts written by the scribe for himself may include audition notes (*samā'āt*) in the margins or written as stand-alone paratexts. These may provide information on how such a manuscript was used in a teaching environment while also demonstrating that private manuscripts, in contrast to display copies, often fulfilled the function of being worked with.

A case in point is SBB, MS. or. quart. 1936 containing a rarely copied work on the culture of learning, titled *Taḍkirat as-sāmi' wa-l-mutakallim fī adab al-'ilm wa-l-muta'allim* ('Memoir for the hearer and the orator concerning the manners of scholarship'), composed by Badr ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Burhān ad-Dīn Ibn Ġamā'a of Ḥamā (d. 733 AH / 1333 CE)<sup>57</sup> which was copied by the scribe less than thirty years after the author's death, on 25 Ramaḍān 761 AH / 9 August 1360 CE, in the Ṣāliḥiyya madrasa of Cairo. The paratexts seem to reveal the manuscript was checked for correctness in the presence of the scribe's teacher.

On the title page the scribe designates himself to be the manuscript's owner and mentions that he received the text in the transmission (*riwāyat waladihi*) of the author's son 'Abd al-'Aziz. The margins contain notes that indicate how far the readings proceeded in each session<sup>58</sup> presided by a teacher called Burhān ad-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm. Accordingly, the scribe brought the manuscript along to the venue of the lecture delivered at a place (*dār*) opposite to Ġāmi' al-ġadīd an-Nāṣiri mosque in Cairo, to have the copy, which was made eighteen years earlier in the madrasa aṣ-Ṣāliḥiyya, checked and corrected (in 779 AH / 1378 CE; cf. fol. 43a, in the margin; see Fig. 14).

<sup>56</sup> Fols 13a, 27b, 28a, 30a; one correction on fol. 10a; a few instances of the imperative *qif* ('stop') in order to reflect on the relevant passage.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. *GAL*, vol. 2, 89–90; *GAL S*, vol. 2, 80–81.

<sup>58</sup> For the context, and a case study, see Seidensticker 2020, 75–91.

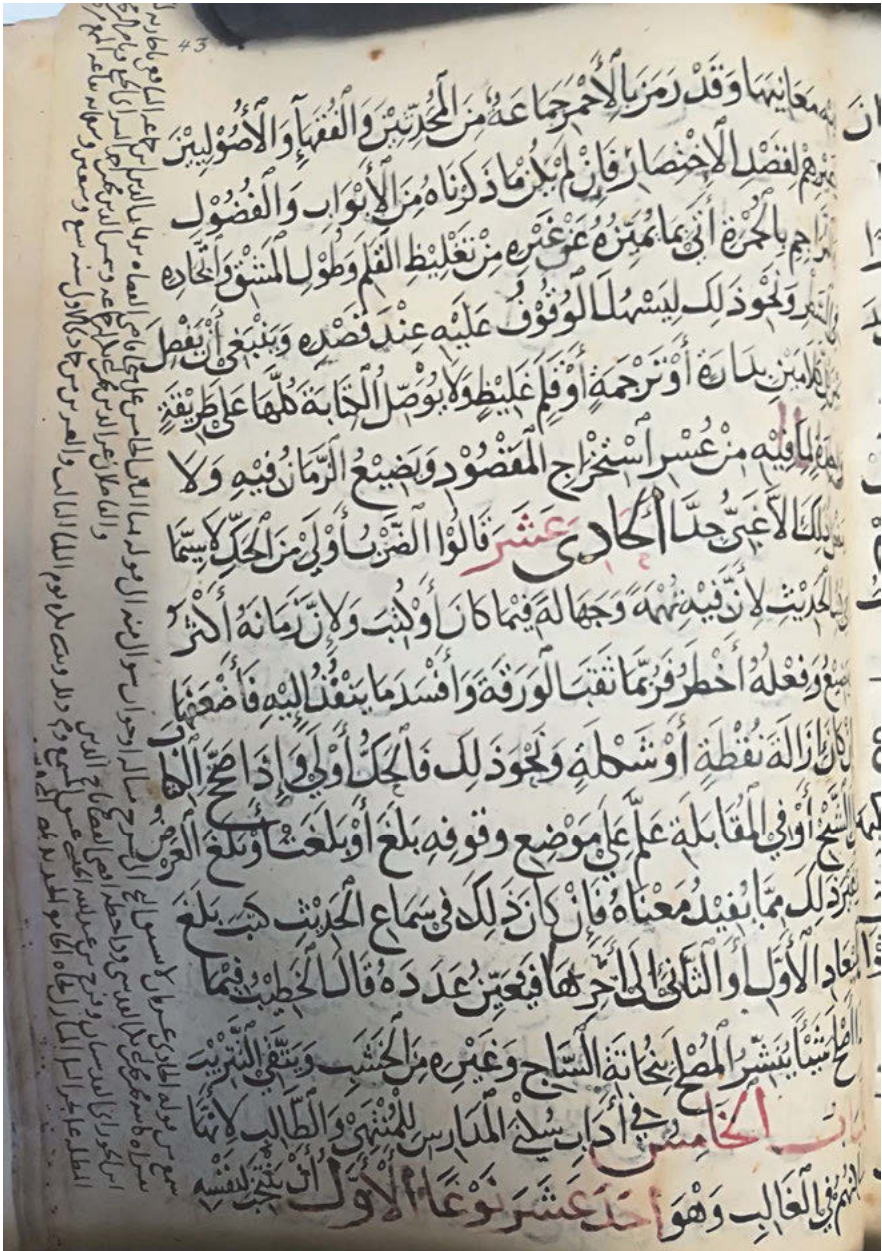


Fig. 14: Marginal notes on reading sessions, written without diacritical points and hardly legible, with statement of venue of lecture. 761 AH / 1360 CE. Şalihiya madrasa of Cairo. SBB, MS. or. quart. 1936, fol. 43a.

## 7 Composite manuscripts

Texts copied for the scribe's own use have been found integrated into composite manuscripts<sup>59</sup> that also include texts specifically copied with a view to publication.

The *K. I'rāb 'iddat suwar min al-Qur'ān al-mağīd* of Ḥalīd b. 'Abdallāh al-Waqqād al-Azharī (d. 905 AH / 1499 CE),<sup>60</sup> a philological commentary of only six pages (BSB, Cod.arab. 2623, fols 157b–160a) on a few chapters of the Qur'an, has been copied by the scribe for his private use as is revealed by a note written top down on the inner margin (!) of the last page (fol. 160a).<sup>61</sup> The commentary constitutes the sixth part of a composite volume of seven, all on grammar (and exegesis).

Accordingly, the scribe called Šaraf ad-Dīn b. Zakarīyā' al-'Urḏī aš-Šāfi'ī al-Qādirī copied (*'allaqa*; in the same sentence he also uses the verb *nasaḥa* synonymously) the text (at the end of the month of Ḍu l-Ḥiğğā of an unspecified year) on the basis of a manuscript of his teacher Nāšir ad-Dīn of Beirut who was both a legal scholar (Šāfi'ī juriconsult) and a Sufi of the Qādirīya order like himself; Šaraf ad-Dīn was also the owner of the preceding fifth part of the manuscript.<sup>62</sup>

The volume is a composite manuscript which owes its existence to the choice of a bookbinder or commissioner to have the disparate parts bound together. It is made up of parts containing texts from at least three different hands stretching over the period from 1580 to 1843 CE.<sup>63</sup>

The text copy has been executed in a rather unattractive fashion and written unskilfully. The paratextual note on the history of the text (*supra*; fol. 160a) has

<sup>59</sup> For the terms 'composite manuscript' and 'multiple text manuscript', the latter constituting production units that were originally planned to contain more than one text, see the introductory chapter ('Introduction – manuscripts as evolving entities') in Friedrich and Schwarke 2016, 1–26.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. *GAL*, vol. 2, 34; *GAL S*, vol. 2, 22–23.

<sup>61</sup> *Nasaḥahā lailat al-aḥad min āḥir Ḍi l-Ḥiğğā al-ḥarām – 'allaqahā bi-yadihi li-nafsihi al-faqīr Šaraf ad-Dīn b. Zakarīyā' ... wa-nuqilat min nuṣṣa li-Šaiḥinā ... az-Zāhid aš-Šaiḥ Nāšir ad-Dīn ... al-Bairūtī aš-Šāfi'ī al-Qādirī.*

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Sobieroj 2018, no. 975.

<sup>63</sup> Another composite manuscript including texts copied by scribes for their own use is SBB, Hs. or. 1768 (part 4 and 5). A multiple-text manuscript one of whose texts is explicitly said to have been written by the scribe for himself (*'allaqahu li-nafsihi*) is SBB, MS. or. oct. 3540; since all three texts composing this manuscript are visibly written by the same hand, the aforementioned statement in the colophon of the third text (fol. 152a) must also apply to the first two.

been written without any discernible logic on the margins of the subsequent text in the composite manuscript.

## 8 Conclusion

In concluding it may be said that manuscripts the scribe has copied for his own private purposes, a design referred to by verbal phrases such as *katabahu li-nafsihi*, *'allaqahu [li-n.]*, *nasaḥahu [li-n.]*, *istansaḥa [li-n.]*, *bi-ḥaṭṭ mālikihi*, in particular, often – but not always – display a carelessness that manifests itself in a number of areas. In terms of the layout, this is revealed by the alternation of the number of lines per page and changes in the spacing between them; a ragged text face ('Flatterrand') and the absence of a text frame; lines written horizontally ending with an upward slant; the last lines of a page written vertically against the final horizontal line. The writing style may also be inelegant and show a tendency to a *ruq'a* 'shorthand'; the script employed may be idiosyncratic, displaying strange ligatures and letter shapes (*kāf* and final *hā'*, in particular); the pointing of the *rasm* of the main text and marginal glosses may be deficient. The ink and paper may be of poor quality. An absence (or limited use) of colours for highlighting and a preference for black ink written with a broader reed-pen may reveal itself. Corrections in the text or the margins may have been executed untidily (mistakes are crossed or scratched out, damaging the paper surface or have been deleted by wiping over the ink before it dries).

Of course, not all of these traces of carelessness occur in one single manuscript of this group of artefacts. Perhaps the ragged text face, alternation of number of lines and sparing use of colours are the characteristics that most commonly recur in these manuscripts. At the other end of the spectrum, manuscripts copied for private use exist that do not show features of any such careless execution. These 'display manuscripts' constitute the 'public face'<sup>64</sup> of the artefacts made for private use and indicate that the *katabahu li-nafsihi*-motivation cannot easily be determined from their visual appearance. Professional scribes did not always abandon their traditional practices when writing for themselves and produced copies of handsome appearance. The scribes may also have had their families in mind – their extended selves – as future users of their manuscripts and thus copied more carefully. What appears to be a manuscript displaying seemingly characteristic features of a *katabahu li-nafsihi*-artefact, may

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<sup>64</sup> For this notion, see the editors' Introduction.

in fact be a copy produced by a scholar, not only for himself but also for his colleagues who were perfectly capable of deciphering a largely undotted, deficient script, within an untidy manuscript. Although the uncouth strategies of correction mentioned in this article may be helpful in determining whether or not a manuscript has been produced for private purposes, one has to conclude that the identification of the motivation for producing a manuscript cannot always be attained with certainty but often remains an unsolved question.

### Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to the above-mentioned libraries for supplying the digital photographs of the manuscripts and granting the right to publish the images; and to the editors, Jürgen Paul and David Durand-Guédy, for their corrections and suggestions on how to improve the present paper (last but not least, thanks also go to the article's anonymous reviewer for her/his constructive criticism, to Caroline Macé for her support and suggestions, and to James Rumball for refining the English expression).

## Abbreviations

BSB = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

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

GAL S = Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. Supplementbände I–III, Leiden: Brill, 1937–1942.

SBB = Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

SUBG = Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen.

VOHD = Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland.

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Szilvia Sövegjártó

# A Collector's Edition of the Past: Personal Collections of Mesopotamian Royal Inscriptions from the Old Babylonian Period

**Abstract:** The present study focuses on multiple-text manuscripts compiled by scribes for their own use, based on royal monuments set up in temples and thus collectible, in this way, only for ancient scholars. However, these collections were more than mere copies of ancient relics: scribes studied these inscriptions in terms, not only of their contents, but also their palaeography, orthography, grammar and visual organization. All these interests can be discerned based on the collections preserved up to the present day on clay tablets.

## 1 Introduction

The collecting of antiquities is surely among the oldest human hobbies and obsessions. Whether intended for study, cultural preservation, aesthetic pleasure or a combination of these and other factors, it is difficult not to be fascinated by an object speaking out from the past. These insights and obsessions were already perceptible in ancient Mesopotamia.<sup>1</sup>

During the 1880s Ernest de Sarzec<sup>2</sup> conducted excavations in the site of Telloh<sup>3</sup> and unearthed over twenty statues of Gudea, a ruler of ancient Lagash in the twenty-second century BCE. Ten of these statues were found in the palace of Adad-nādin-aḥḥē, governor of the city in the second century BCE. The monuments of Gudea who reigned two thousand years before the lifetime of Adad-nādin-aḥḥē had been reassembled and set up in the main courtyard of the governor's palace, the colossal statue of Gudea was placed in a niche of the building's exterior wall. The statues were grouped into sitting and standing images of

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<sup>1</sup> Detailed studies on the phenomenon of Mesopotamian antiquarianism include Winter 2000; Rubio 2009; and Beaulieu 2013.

<sup>2</sup> Ernest Choquin de Sarzec (1832–1901), a French diplomat and archaeologist. He excavated the site of Telloh between 1877 and 1901.

<sup>3</sup> Ancient Girsu, located midway between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers in south-eastern Iraq, some 25 km north-west of the site of modern Tell Telloh in the Dhi Qar Governorate.

the ruler.<sup>4</sup> The Hellenistic governor of the city thus was surely obsessed with antiquities. However, when setting up his collection, his purpose may have been more than simply admiring and preserving ancient art. It is quite likely he revered Gudea as his ancestor and such a gesture amplified his own royal cult.<sup>5</sup>

Today Adad-nādin-aḫḫē is probably the best-known antiquities collector of ancient Mesopotamia, but he was certainly not the first. The collectors whose legacy is the focus of this paper lived in the first half of the second millennium BCE. As apprentice scribes they were in no position to collect royal statues, so they compiled royal inscriptions, the intangible and immaterial components of royal statuary as well as of other votive objects which served as writing support. They did so of course by their own hand, and for their own use, perhaps as a calligraphic or historiographic exercise, out of respect for the ancient models, or a wish to have those copies as collectibles.

This paper is based on a survey of existing collections of royal inscriptions produced as copies in the Old Babylonian period, preserving texts related to earlier rulers and dynasties. It will be argued here that both the form and content of these collections reflect the compiler's personal interests and individual taste and should therefore be regarded as the scribes' personal collections.

## 2 The early history of the cuneiform manuscript culture

At the beginning of the Old Babylonian period (2000–1600 BCE) – the period in which the manuscripts focused on in this study were produced – cuneiform manuscript culture could already look back on a long history. Cuneiform script was invented in ancient Mesopotamia, in the south of modern Iraq. The first manuscripts date back to the second half of the fourth millennium BCE and come from the southern Mesopotamian city of Uruk. Proto-cuneiform script of the Late Uruk period (3500–3100 BCE) and its successor, cuneiform script of the Uruk III period (3100–2900 BCE) was mainly used for administrative purposes<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Suter 2012, 68–70 provides detailed information on the unusual secondary contexts of these finds.

<sup>5</sup> See Bonatz 2002, 197–202 and Radner 2005, 233–234 on this proposition.

<sup>6</sup> Beyond administrative documents, there are also lexical lists preserved from these periods whose purpose was most likely to record a sign inventory thus documenting as well as transmitting a newly invented administrative tool – the writing system.

and bore an ideographic character. More extended use of the cuneiform script began in the mid-third millennium BCE. Some important developments occurred in the writing system and this process led to the expansion of the script much beyond administration. The first known corpus of literary compositions dates from the Early Dynastic IIIa period (2600–2450 BCE).<sup>7</sup> Even royal inscriptions and letters have been preserved from the subsequent Early Dynastic IIIb period (2450–2334 BCE).<sup>8</sup> Though the Early Dynastic material known from the Mesopotamian heartland was mainly Sumerian, a few pieces of Akkadian literature are also attested, together with a higher variety of Semitic material – lexical, administrative as well as literary compositions – known from the city of Ebla.<sup>9</sup>

The last third of the third millennium BCE is marked by three dynasties, the Dynasty of Agade (2334–2154 BCE), the Lagash II Dynasty (2200–2100 BCE), and the Ur III Dynasty (2112–2004 BCE). Cuneiform manuscripts became increasingly diverse in genre in the late third millennium. The textual genres included administrative and legal documents, letters, magical-therapeutical texts, lists and literary texts, however, of all these manuscripts, royal inscriptions are the most elaborate and best attested written corpus in this period.

By the Old Babylonian period (2000–1600 BCE), the balance between the Sumerian and the Akkadian languages changed significantly. The Akkadian language obtained an important position: royal, legal and administrative documents, law codes, personal and official correspondence were all carried out in Akkadian. The language was also used occasionally to convey cultic and literary contents. Sumerian, in contrast, had died out as a vernacular at the beginning of the Old Babylonian period. It had become restricted to cult and literature and its prestige increased being deemed the suitable language for communicating with the gods.

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7 The two key provenances in this period are Fāra, the ancient city of Šuruppak as well as Tell Abū Šalābīḥ. The tablets found in Fāra were published in Deimel 1923 and Jestin 1937 and 1957. The incantations have been edited in Krebernik 1984. The manuscripts from Tell Abū Šalābīḥ were published by Biggs 1974.

8 The main provenance of Early Dynastic IIIb material is the city of Ebla in Syria, in the Mesopotamian periphery. The city's inhabitants spoke Eblaite, a Semitic language, but studied cuneiform script in Sumerian texts and adapted that script to their own language. For an overview and an edition of written material from the Ebla archives and an additional bibliography see Ebla Digital Archives, <<http://ebda.cnr.it/>> (accessed on 13 February 2023).

9 Literary compositions in Akkadian have been attested among the tablets from Tell Abū Šalābīḥ and Ebla. For an edition of the compositions see Krebernik 1992. For Akkadian language in general see Vita 2021.

The Old Babylonian period yielded the most extensive corpus of Sumerian literature, amounting to hundreds of compositions written down or even composed by non-native speakers of the language.<sup>10</sup> Sumerian literary tradition was in no way dead by the Old Babylonian period. The era brought forth, not only new compositions, but also new genres, literary techniques and styles.<sup>11</sup> This extensive literary production was closely linked to an academic institution, the Edubba,<sup>12</sup> where the literate elite of Mesopotamia was trained.<sup>13</sup>

Scribal and scholarly education in the Old Babylonian period was centred on mastering the cuneiform script and Sumerian language, as well as studying and enhancing Sumerian cultural heritage.<sup>14</sup> As a result studying inscriptions of past rulers in the period was of great interest and was most likely part of the scribal curriculum. Many of the extant copies of royal inscriptions come from buildings identified as schoolhouses, like No. 7, Quiet Street in Ur.<sup>15</sup>

In spite of the fact that the reproduction of royal inscriptions and the production of collections may have been a school assignment, no two of the extant multiple-text manuscripts<sup>16</sup> share form and content. It appears that apprentice

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**10** Just when the Sumerian language ceased to have native speakers is under debate, and dated approximately between 2000 and 1600 BCE, see Cooper 1973; Sallaberger 1999, 129–131; Michalowski 2004; Sallaberger 2004; Woods 2006; and Michalowski 2020. Also under debate is to what extent Old Babylonian Sumerian literary manuscripts were based on ancient models or an oral tradition originating from the third millennium BCE.

**11** For instance, Brisch 2007 outlined the innovative aspects of the royal hymnody related to the kings of Larsa. This dynasty reigned in the Old Babylonian period, thus its court poetry is indeed rooted in this period.

**12** The Sumerian term for the institution is usually translated as school or scribal school.

**13** The role of this institution in the intellectual life of the Old Babylonian period was subject to many studies, some key studies are Sjöberg 1975; Vanstiphout 1979; Tinney 1999; Charpin 2010; Delnero 2012 and Proust 2017. On the archaeological remains of an Old Babylonian school in Nippur, see Robson 2001.

**14** Though during the Old Babylonian period no native speakers of Sumerian existed, scholars continued contributing to the Sumerian literary corpus. The extent of this activity cannot be ascertained since older compositions were also copied and redacted in this era. However, Sumerian hymns praising rulers of the Old Babylonian period are clear evidence of literary activity in Sumerian.

**15** For more information on this building and the manuscripts found within, see Charpin 1986, 27–93.

**16** Multiple-text manuscripts ‘are made up of more than one text and have been planned and realized for a single project with one consistent intention; as a result, they are usually made of a single production unit’ (Bausi, Friedrich and Maniaci 2002, vii). Sumerian collections of royal inscriptions are multiple-text manuscripts according to this definition which is founded on the

scribes enjoyed great freedom in performing this task. This variance in the form and content of royal inscription collections indicates the students were not working from master copies on hand in the schoolhouse and shared by other pupils but from the originals, likely chosen freely from the many written artefacts accessible in local temples. Furthermore, the diversity of the multiple-text manuscripts implies the copies were intended for personal use.

### 3 The corpus: Old Babylonian collections of royal inscriptions – and their originals

In Mesopotamia, the two most important materials used as writing support were stone and clay. Inscriptions were also common on metal objects, however, only few have survived to the present day. Wooden boards covered with wax were also used, as a portable writing device in particular, and thus intended for drafts and notices, rarely used in southern Mesopotamia, but more widespread in the north.<sup>17</sup>

In the Mesopotamian lowlands stone was expensive and therefore reserved for high-quality artefacts intended for long-term preservation. Inscriptions on stone are mostly official and display texts, i.e. law codes, votive or royal inscriptions. Metals also appear to have been reserved for such purposes. Clay, however, was in abundance and easy to write on and reuseable. Clay tablets were usually sun-dried, but even oven-dried when intended for longer preservation such as library copies.<sup>18</sup> Thus, clay suited all other purposes; from ephemeral school exercises to sales contracts kept for future reference for several generations. Clay was, therefore, used for all forms of practical texts (letters, contracts, inventories, accounts, notices, drawings and plans or maps, etc.), scholarly and literary texts and even to some extent for official and display texts (annals, votive texts, treaties etc.).<sup>19</sup>

Inscriptions of rulers were written not only on stelae and statues, but also on parts of buildings, for example on bricks or door sockets, foundation tablets

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thematic coherence of the collections and the brief time span in which it is possible to inscribe a clay tablet. Clay tablets are usually made of a single production unit.

**17** To the sporadic use of wooden boards as writing support from the third millennium BCE on see Cammarosano et al. 2019 and Michalowski 2021.

**18** On the durability of clay as writing support see Michel 2021, 94–95.

**19** For more details on this text typology see [https://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/doku.php?id=text\\_](https://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/doku.php?id=text_typologies)typologies.

and pegs buried in the course of the actual building processes. The material used is also multifaceted, containing stone, clay and metal objects. Various votive objects, such as vessels, mace-heads and other cultic objects, were deposited or set up in temples. Most copies are based on inscriptions that belonged to a temple context. Although inscriptions can be found on boundary stones as well as cylinder seals, they were not included in collections of copies. Votive or dedicatory inscriptions buried during building activities were rarely copied as they were inaccessible, save when unearthed during renovations. Such objects gain sporadic mention in the inscriptions of later rulers but are not accurately reproduced. Inscriptions subject to reproduction and thus entering collections were, by contrast, visible: they were set up in temples and they were accessible to visitors, or at least to members of the temple household.<sup>20</sup>

Stone had to be imported from the mountains, making it a precious building material and therefore was often reused – unless it bore inscriptions. The destruction of any predecessors' inscribed artefacts was forbidden<sup>21</sup> and as the continuity of a building had some form of guarantee, inscriptions and inscribed votive objects could be accumulated for longer periods. This was certainly the case in the temples of some Mesopotamian centres.

The most important centre for the present study is the city of Nippur where the Ekur was located, the temple of Enlil, head of the Sumerian pantheon. Though most of the extant copies of royal inscriptions come from Nippur, other centres like Ur and Sippar also yielded some important manuscripts. Votive

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**20** Beyond inscriptions, also letters of rulers of the Ur III Dynasty were copied and collected by Old Babylonian scribes, however, it cannot be ascertained whether or not all these letters date back to the originals of an Ur III date, Michalowski 2011 argues for, and Huber 2001 against this proposal. Nevertheless, manuscript Vatican City, BAV, Vat. 8515 (VS 17 41) is a multiple-text manuscript from Larsa containing a royal inscription (RIME 4.2.9.1) copied from a statue as well as two letters written to that statue, this material is certainly authentic, though all the contents date to the Old Babylonian period, the *terminus post quem* is the reign of Sin-iddinam in the eighteenth century BCE.

**21** Longer inscriptions even contained curses against a destroyer or usurper of a royal monument. An example of such a curse formula from a bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian inscription of Sargon is as follows: 'Whoever obliterates this inscription, may Šamaš tear out his foundation and may he pluck out his seed' (RIME 2.01.01.01, ll. 95–101). However, the practice was also extended to written artefacts without any curse formulae, the written name of a former ruler had to be protected in most circumstances. One exception would be when a ruler had presumably lost the support of the gods if, for instance, he had died in battle, his name would then be wiped out and usually remained unmentioned by his successors.

offerings containing shorter or longer inscriptions<sup>22</sup> were deposited there by rulers of various city-states from the third millennium on. Apparently, during the first half of the second millennium, some of these votive offerings were still in situ and thus they could be viewed, read and copied by apprentice scribes who had access to these public or semi-public places.<sup>23</sup>

The practice of copying royal inscriptions is not an Old Babylonian invention: seven manuscripts dated earlier have been verified thus far. However, the Old Babylonian period yielded not only a significantly larger number of copies, numbering ninety-three published manuscripts to date, but this is the first in which several original inscriptions were collected and copied to a multiple-text manuscript. Twenty-five such collections are known today. In the following, the focus will be solely on multiple-text manuscripts.

Royal inscriptions included in these collections have been edited by several scholars,<sup>24</sup> however, all these editions have a philological focus for which reason in most cases the materials contained in multiple-text manuscripts have not been kept together. Clay tablets featuring royal inscriptions are a marginal phenomenon and as copies were considered secondary to their originals, they are usually arranged in the editions as duplicates. Moreover, Sumerian royal inscriptions were rarely studied beyond their relevance to philological concerns.

Dietz Otto Edzard (1980) briefly discusses copies of royal inscriptions in his article 'Königsinschriften' (royal inscriptions) in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* that includes a list of some relevant tablets.<sup>25</sup> He comments both on the potential use of copies and their formal characteristics in relation to the originals in a very concise form. Edzard concludes that copies of royal inscriptions may well be inventories of public or stored monuments, but also forwards that the number of such manuscripts is not sufficient

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**22** At least the name of the donor was inscribed on the votive offering. As an example, a votive mace head (Ki 765, P212432) from Kish dated to the twenty-fourth–twenty-third century BCE bears the following inscription: *ĝeš-ḫum, a-na <sup>d</sup>en-ki, i<sub>3</sub>-li<sub>2</sub>-sa-liq, dumu ku-ku, a mu-ru*, 'Mace head for Enki. Ili-šāliq, son of Kuku dedicated it'.

**23** Temples in ancient Mesopotamia were not open to the public, however, certain areas such as the courts that had royal statues erected, permitted at least during important festivals. Other parts of the temple, especially the site for the deposit of royal votive offerings, were inaccessible to the general public, though probably accessible to apprentice scribes trained by temple household professionals.

**24** The most comprehensive edition of Sumerian royal inscriptions is to be found in the volumes of *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Early Periods* (Toronto, 1990–2008) by Douglas R. Frayne. Most of the relevant material is contained in *The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Royal Inscriptions* (2008–) by Gábor Zólyomi.

**25** Edzard 1980, 64–65 in §6. Abschriften (copies).



to postulate any systematic activity carried out at regular intervals. Edzard suggests scribal education as a potential setting. However, collections of royal inscriptions, were not treated separately by Edzard nor in the *Sammeltafel* entry (collective tablet) written by Martin Worthington.<sup>26</sup> Most recently Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum and Jochem Kahl discussed copies and collections of royal inscriptions regarding the contents preserved in the colophons as indices of ancient epigraphic practices.<sup>27</sup>

The reasons why these collections are particularly interesting for the present study are threefold. Firstly, while single-text manuscripts featuring inscriptions of Old Babylonian rulers may also be drafts, multiple-text manuscripts certainly contain copies of inscriptions, thus a methodological problem can be eliminated. Secondly, these multiple-text manuscripts contain copies of at least two to more than twenty inscriptions. Those containing a higher number of compositions are especially innovative for their visual organization, as collections with so many compositions are exceptional even in the contemporary literary corpus and thus no formatting rules for such tablets were established. As a result, scribal practices can be examined in their formative phase (see below).

The intended use of a copy may be manifold and in most cases its precise use cannot be decided.<sup>28</sup> Antiquarian interest in the original written artefact, may have played a role in the emergence of a certain number of these multiple-text manuscripts, with its content revealing the ancient rulers' deeds, or perhaps the orthographic and grammatical peculiarities of those more ancient cuneiform inscriptions. But these collections may also have been of practical use as reference works for scholars working on assignments related to royal inscriptions, e.g. composing or reading them. Collections compiled by an individual reflect the individual's needs or skills and reveal more about the function and use of these manuscripts than tablets containing only a single text. The

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**26** Worthington 2006.

**27** See Cancik-Kirschbaum and Kahl 2018, 269–275. Further to the Old Babylonian practice of copying royal inscriptions, they also refer to later practices, e.g. clay imprints of stone monuments as well as rulers collecting ancient inscriptions. Cancik-Kirschbaum and Kahl 2018, 151–157 is devoted to series and multiple-text manuscripts, but does not focus in particular on copies of royal inscriptions.

**28** On the practice of copying in ancient Mesopotamia see Cancik-Kirschbaum and Kahl 2018, 180–192 (on the practice in general) and 269–271 (copies of inscriptions). This practice is, however, not restricted to ancient Mesopotamia, for an interdisciplinary volume on copying see Brita et al. 2020.

praxeology of collections of royal inscriptions will be discussed in the next section.

## 4 By one's own hand, for one's own use

Of the ninety-three manuscripts mentioned above twenty-five are collections of royal inscriptions. Most, that is to say, nineteen tablets, come from Nippur, three from Ur, one from Isin and one from Sippar each with one's origins remaining unknown.<sup>29</sup> Old Babylonian scribes were either mainly interested in copying inscriptions from the late third millennium, particularly from monuments of the Agade (twelve manuscripts) and Ur III dynasties (eleven manuscripts), or the inscriptions of earlier rulers from the Early Dynastic period (c. 2900–2350 BCE) were not accessible or preserved any longer once the copies had been made. As to more recent dynasties, a mere five from the twenty-five manuscripts contain inscriptions of an Old Babylonian date, all referring to rulers of the Isin Dynasty (1953–1717 BCE), the direct successors of the Ur III empire. Copies of later rulers' inscriptions also exist, but as single-text manuscripts only.

Scribes produced multiple-text manuscripts featuring collections of inscriptions for their private use. This may well be one reason accounting for the preservation of so few of these manuscripts: in the cuneiform manuscript culture, tablets intended for personal rather than institutional use usually had a shorter life-cycle and were disposed of either by the owner or his successors once their function had been fulfilled. Personal libraries and archives were occasionally sorted out to make room for new documents and those manuscripts in better condition.<sup>30</sup>

In the following, the arguments will be assessed regarding the private production and use of collections of royal inscriptions based on the structure of the

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**29** A detailed overview of the multiple-text manuscripts is provided in Appendix 1. The provenances of all ninety-three manuscripts are more diverse: up to forty-three come from Nippur, eighteen from Ur, one from Isin, up to five from Larsa, up to seven from Sippar, two from Babylon, six from Mari, one probably from Buzuran near Mari, one from Alalah, one from Tell Harmal, and at least eight of unknown provenance.

**30** This activity can be ascertained on the basis of the archaeological context of cuneiform manuscripts. A substantial number of related documents and thematically coherent manuscripts come from a single find spot, though certainly from a secondary context, e.g. from a rubbish heap or a filling in a building floor. Documents of an administrative nature bearing a date testify quite clearly that tablets were discarded on a regular basis. This practice is perceptible from the archaic period on, see Nissen, Damerow and Englund 1993, 6.

collections, the formal aspects of the manuscripts and the paratextual additions in some manuscripts. Following which the attempt will be made to determine what use these collections had for their producers, that is to say their scribes, or, more likely, apprentice scribes of second millennium BCE Mesopotamia.

## 4.1 Structure

Collections in Mesopotamia are always organized according to one or more principles deduced from certain characteristics of the cuneiform script. In the early second millennium BCE, however, collections were by no means standardized.<sup>31</sup> In producing collections, such as thematic lexical lists or sign lists, scribes were free to choose from a set of elements and combine them according to organizing principles suiting their preferences or needs. Manuscripts fabricated from this production process resemble each other closely, although they also exhibit variations reflecting the interests, skills and the compiler's level of knowledge.

Collections of royal inscriptions contain a personal selection of monumental inscriptions. Even in Nippur, from which a relatively high number of comparable multiple-text manuscripts originate, there are no traces of a basic curricular collection.<sup>32</sup> Such freedom of choice is characteristic of the more advanced phases of scribal education in which pupils worked individually and independently, very probably in the framework of a more differentiated professional training.

The inscriptions included in a collection either centred on (1) a single ruler or (2) several rulers of a dynasty, or compared inscriptions of (3) two rulers of two different dynasties.<sup>33</sup> These collections were not random assemblages of inscriptions found in a given temple context but planned and well-structured compilations.

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**31** This quality holds true specifically for the Old Babylonian period. Lexical lists in the third millennium were highly standardized and the process of canonization and serialization gathered momentum after the Old Babylonian period resulting in series of various contents, from omens to pieces of literature.

**32** By contrast, in the literary corpus there is a set of fourteen compositions that probably served as the elementary curriculum.

**33** All three types are fairly common. Among the presently known collections thirteen contain inscriptions of a single ruler, seven of multiple rulers of a dynasty, and five compare inscriptions of two rulers of two different dynasties.

Chronology was certainly one of the most important organizing principles. Whereas collections with inscriptions of multiple dynasties may well include inscriptions of Agade and Ur III rulers as well as of Ur III and Isin rulers, no collections featuring Agade and Isin period inscriptions exist, nor have any collections featuring all three dynasties been attested.

Studying and compiling original royal inscriptions found in their primary setting, namely in diverse locations in temples, was certainly no exercise for beginners. Advanced apprentice scribes apparently enjoyed more freedom when selecting the material they engaged with, and the scribal practices applied in their work. Therefore, the collections of royal inscriptions may be regarded as the scribe's own individual achievement: they prepared the manuscripts for their personal use.

## 4.2 Formal aspects

The question therefore arises as to just exactly what scribes were able to learn from royal inscriptions aside from gaining information on the deeds of past rulers. One would assume royal inscriptions were useful education tools far beyond their actual content, for orthography, palaeography, layout and language use were also substantial knowledge gains for future scribes. As the formal features of the manuscripts show, scribes did indeed not simply focus on copying the text, but set out to mirror the original's other qualities.

Aside from keeping to the inscriptions' archaic orthography, scribes also tended to reflect the original's layout in the copy. Monumental inscriptions apply the short-line format, that is, they use rather narrow columns. Not only the multiple-column layout, but the short-line format was also kept in most of the copies resulting in an archaic visual appearance.<sup>34</sup> In rare cases, however, the scribe did not provide a line-to-line copy of the original inscription but brought syntactical units together in longer lines which were kept apart in the original. This adjustment reflects the Old Babylonian practice in which a text line contained a single sentence. Whenever a royal monument featured reliefs, captions were added to identify the persons depicted. Copies also included

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<sup>34</sup> The short-line format is rather unusual on clay in the Old Babylonian period, however, it was the standard format in the third millennium BCE regardless of the writing support. However, monumental inscriptions were still produced in this format during the second millennium BCE.

these captions, adding them at the end of the copies divided by rulings (see §4.3).

Other aspects of layout techniques, such as column breaks, were not reflected in the copies. Nor did scribes consider the palaeography of the inscriptions worth imitating applying standard Old Babylonian sign forms instead. It may come as a surprise that the originals' palaeography, i.e. the lapidary form of the cuneiform signs, was of no importance to the copyists, at least not to the extent of providing reproductions of stone monuments on clay. There is one exception, however, the manuscript N 202 + N 4007 + N 4930 which is a palaeographically correct copy of Narām-Sîn-inscriptions (see Fig. 1).<sup>35</sup>



**Fig. 1:** Obverse of the manuscript N 202 + N 4007 + N 4930 holding palaeographically correct copies of Narām-Sîn-inscriptions. Image courtesy of University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Archeology and Anthropology, Curators of the Near East Section.

<sup>35</sup> Michalowski refers to the palaeography of this manuscript as 'archaizing script', see Michalowski 1980, 239.

In most cases, however, lapidary cuneiform script intended for stone<sup>36</sup> was kept apart from the cuneiform script used on clay even in the advanced phase of scribal training. It is assumed that stone carvers of ancient Mesopotamia had a different education to scribes and had but limited literacy. Apprentice scribes, by contrast, only had to master the handwriting applied on clay but their reading skills included the lapidary sign forms.

### 4.3 Paratextual additions

In many cases, paratextual additions have also been preserved in the manuscripts. Glosses and translations, wherever added, are proof scribes studied and discussed the text, but this practice is only detectable in single not multiple-text manuscripts. Another unique manuscript exists, featuring a single composition, with the Sumerian text rendered in syllabic orthography facilitating the composition's pronunciation or memorization, but ignoring the orthographical conventions of the alleged original. The fact that such learning aids are restricted to manuscripts with a single text suggest that collections of royal inscriptions had a different function to single-text manuscripts of the same type of content.

Paratextual additions in collections of royal inscriptions are restricted to captions and colophons. Captions are scribal remarks recording the position of parts of the inscription on the original monument or provide information on the visual programme. Captions thus attempt to capture some physical features of the original artefact. These remarks always follow the part of the inscription they refer to and are usually demarcated by rulings. Here are a few examples from the collection of twenty-two royal inscriptions on the manuscript CBS 13972+ (see Fig. 2):

*mu-sar-ra ki-gal-ba*, 'inscription on its (= statue) base' (o. iv 44–45)

*mu-sar-ra murgu lugal-zag-ge-si*, 'inscription on Lugalzagesi's shoulder' (o. x 58–59)

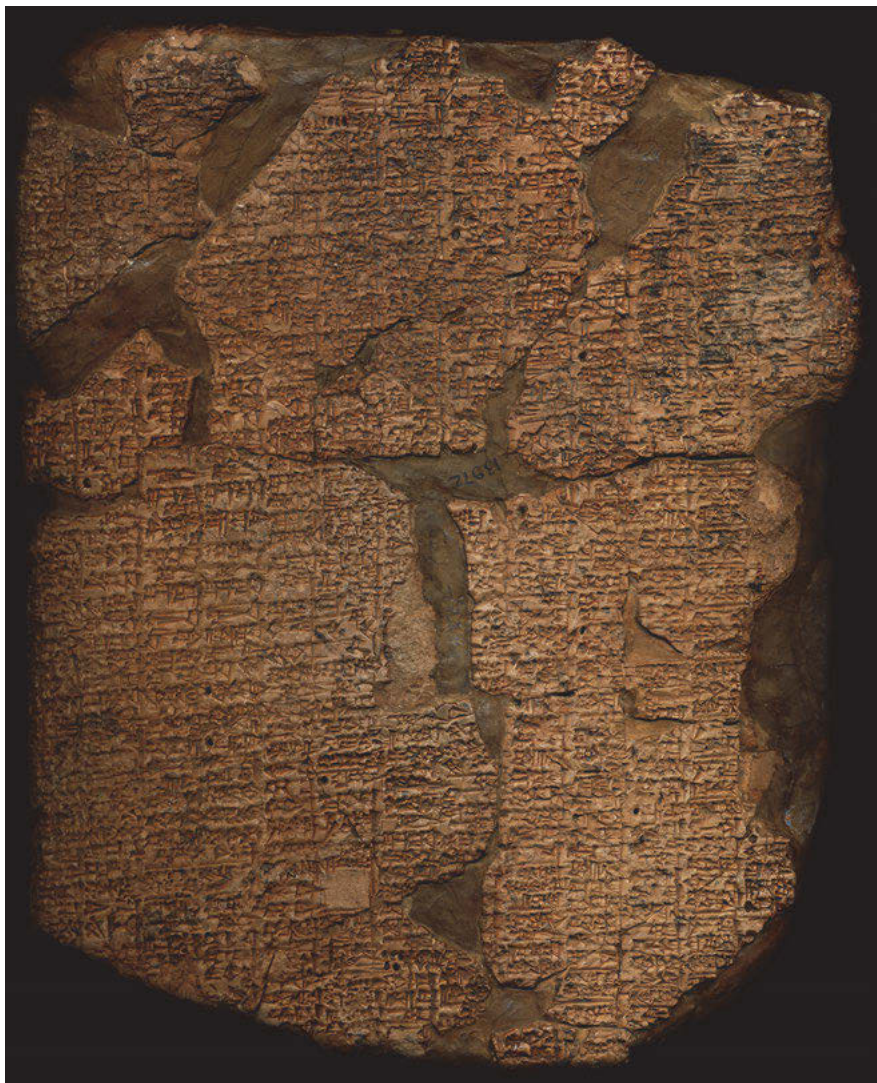
*mu-sar-ra alan-na ki-gal-bi nu-sar*, 'inscription of a statue; its base was uninscribed' (o. vi 48–49 *passim*)

*mu-sar-ra ki-gal-ba igi lugal-zag-ge-si-še; a-ab-sar*, 'inscription of its base; it was written in front of (the ruler) Lugalzagesi' (o. ix 48–49)

*mu-sar-ra* <sup>urudu</sup>*sen za-ħum-ma*, 'inscription on a copper cauldron' (r. xiv 29)

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<sup>36</sup> Preliminarily, inscriptions on metal objects could also serve as models for the collections, as the original artefacts could not be reconstructed in every case. The visual organization of royal inscriptions written on stone and clay is similar.



**Fig. 2:** Obverse of the manuscript CBS 13972 + CBS 14545, a multiple-text manuscript with inscriptions of various rulers of the Agade dynasty. Image courtesy of University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Archeology and Anthropology, Curators of the Near East Section.

In comparing these captions, it becomes clear that the wording was chosen freely by the scribe, but they are always quite laconic. As a royal inscription was not restricted to a single monument but could be applied to several statues or

other artefacts, these brief remarks are most likely mnemonic devices useful only to the copyist in recalling the original artefact he copied. However, for those with access to the monuments of past rulers, these brief remarks may have even been sufficient for identifying the monument with a degree of certainty.

Demarcated by double ruling, colophons always appear at the end of a manuscript, and convey information on the original artefacts. Here is an example from tablet BT 2+ illustrating how most of these colophons were formulated:

*dub mu-sar-ra 3 alan e-er-ri-du-pi-zi-ir*, 'inscribed tablet: 3 statues of Erridu-pizir' (r. vi 6–8)

The second example here contains a quite unique remark: a three-line colophon was added to the manuscript CBS 2344+ at the end of the last column, after double ruling referring to the inscriptions of Rimuš in the collection, probably copied from copper statues (Colophon 1). Thereafter, without visual separation, two lines follow (Colophon 2) which use the space after the last two columns in the tablet:

*šag<sub>4</sub> kisal-a-ka al-ġar*, 'set up within the courtyard' (r. vii'4')

*šag<sub>4</sub> kisal e<sub>2</sub>-kur-ra*, 'within the courtyard of the Ekur' (r. vii' 5')

Apparently, these two lines also contain two separate entries for the second line of the two repeats the content of the first line partially and because the second line was added later when the tablet was dry and less easy to write on. The content of the two entries is almost the same, but the second identifies the temple in which the original monument was located. Therefore, it is possible that at the time of copying the scribe felt it obvious to which temple the inscription belonged, but at a later moment considered it necessary to add the temple's name. The reason why such addendum was required remains hypothetical: this may be explained by the mobility of scribes as well as clay tablets, but may also result from the abundance of Nippur sanctuaries. Another possibility may have been the scribe's striving for completeness. Nevertheless, this case proves that not even colophons followed strict rules but were personal mnemonic devices, formulated and adjusted according to the scribes' preferences.

Another remarkable fact is that paratextual additions in these multiple-text manuscripts are always in Sumerian. Akkadian glosses and colophons are attested in a number of Sumerian manuscripts, mostly of literary content, both from educational as well as scholarly contexts. It should thus be noted that scribes compiling copies of royal inscriptions adhered to the Sumerian language even for paratextual additions. This may also reflect the context of advanced



scribal education in which the language was actually not chosen freely by the scribe, or, at the very least, Sumerian was the clear preference to Akkadian.<sup>37</sup>

#### 4.4 The use of the collections

In the previous sections the intention was to provide detailed information on the characteristics of multiple-text manuscripts containing royal inscriptions and show how these manuscripts were produced according to the individual needs and skills of the scribes, for they were intended for personal use. Now, in the following, just what this personal use may have been is to be specified.

The compilations prepared by apprentice scribes were most probably intended for independent learning, initially for learning about the past. The basic interest in the past during the Old Babylonian period is detectable through other sources such as collections of year names<sup>38</sup> enumerating past rulers and dynasties, or the transmission of literary compositions with a historical background such as the Sumerian King List, the Curse of Agade or laments over the destruction of some important cities.<sup>39</sup> When studying history, apprentice scribes in the Old Babylonian period were still able and indeed did rely on original sources, i.e. on the inscriptions of former rulers.

Aside from being reliable sources for the studying of the history of events, collections of royal inscriptions were sources for studies of style, language or royal propaganda. Collections centred on the inscriptions of a single ruler had the potential of enabling the study of palaeography, orthography and grammar, as well as royal propaganda characteristics in the lifetime of a specific ruler. By contrast, collections that featured the inscriptions of several rulers or even rulers of two subsequent dynasties enabled comparative studies between traditions with a focus on orthography, palaeography, grammar or content, including shifts in the self-representation and propaganda of past rulers.

Since the provenance of the collections suggests the manuscripts were produced by apprentice scribes trained in the Old Babylonian school, their production and use can be compared to other relevant manuscripts related to this institution and scribal education.

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<sup>37</sup> This fact is also reflected in Sumerian proverbs and short stories depicting the life of apprentice scribes. These stories report how scribes not only read and wrote Sumerian, but also communicated in the school using Sumerian. See Cohen and Kedar 2011, 230.

<sup>38</sup> For an overview of early Mesopotamian year names see Sigrist and Damerow 2001.

<sup>39</sup> For a publication of these compositions see Black et al. 1998– or Glassner 2004.

Steve Tinney suggested pupils in the Old Babylonian Edubba underwent two main phases of scribal and scholarly training.<sup>40</sup> In the elementary phase, they learned to write and count, copying and memorizing lexical lists and elementary literary compositions. Students were probably taught in groups in this phase. During the second, advanced phase, their apprenticeship training had a specific, professional focus. The materials copied and studied were similar with mathematical exercises and literary compositions probably still being core assignments. However, the compilation and study of the material took place more independently, guided by a professional's instructions. The second phase involved most probably the reproduction and compilation of monumental inscriptions. In several cases the manuscripts' features indicate an apprentice scribe had prepared them for his personal use.<sup>41</sup>

The apprentice scribes' antiquarian interest played an important role in the preservation of these manuscripts. Although multiple-text manuscripts were compiled as an advanced school exercise, the tablets were prepared skillfully and with great care. It was most certainly deemed a privilege to enter the innermost of a temple and consult the monuments of past rulers in person. Consequently, the manuscripts created by this sophisticated task were held in esteem by their producers and owners and were not to be discarded but in fact entered their personal library. The first tablets of a professional's personal library was probably made up of tablets accumulated during the advanced phase of his professional training.

Yet another question arises, namely why the task of studying and copying royal monuments was assigned to apprentice scribes and just what may have been the practical use of this exercise. First of all, apprentice scribes were probably required to acquire the skill of reading monumental inscriptions only, but not of producing – or reproducing – them. This skill, may well have been of some practical use in the course of a Mesopotamian scholar's career. Skill in reading more ancient cuneiform texts was vital in Mesopotamia for the identifying and deciphering of former rulers' foundation inscriptions unearthed, for instance during temple building renovations. Furthermore, scholars may have had the responsibility of composing inscriptions for contemporary rulers, and

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**40** Tinney 2011, 589–591.

**41** Of particular note is the contrast between copies of historical inscriptions and copies of elementary literary compositions. Elementary literary compositions are known from a higher number of duplicates and their reproduction by apprentice scribes are more standard in both form and content. This latter aspect was probably due to it being a part of the elementary phase of the scribal curriculum and not copies made as part of specialized individual training but by numbers of scribes instructed and trained together in groups.

knowledge of earlier inscriptions was probably not only advantageous but even necessary for their successful accomplishment. Thus, collections of inscriptions accessed in their personal libraries would have certainly been useful tools for consultation in carrying out such a task. Further to being a sophisticated practical exercise, the assignment of copying and compiling inscriptions from royal monuments was also a preparation for certain tasks qualified scholars would undertake later on in their career.

## 5 Conclusions

Comparing the literary and scholarly manuscript production of the third and second millennium BCE, the main peculiarity of the Old Babylonian period is the emergence of individual styles. The focus shifted from the collective to the individual which can be explicitly perceived from colophons and confirmed by many implicit features of the period's manuscript architecture. There is no other period in which variation was as common in the Sumerian manuscript tradition as the early second millennium BCE. These characteristics of Old Babylonian manuscript production are also reflected in the collections discussed in this paper.

When copying royal inscriptions, Old Babylonian scribes developed their own methods for reflecting certain features of the originals, i.e. those of importance for their professional development or which they chose to reflect based on their own personal choice, taste or individual skills. Apprentice scribes did not follow established patterns when producing these copies, they were probably not instructed as to what they had to include in the collection and how to carry out this task. This production process resulted in unique manuscripts in terms of both content and manuscript architecture.

Also, as is apparent from single-text manuscripts, scribes were free to add annotations and remarks and also applied such aids when studying an inscription, but did not do so when producing collections. In this case, paratextual additions were restricted to captions and colophons implying these collections had a different function to exercise tablets featuring a single inscription. The contents' interpretation was no longer a challenge for the scribes, they focused on more complex elements and patterns. Nonetheless, the manuscripts reflect the compiler's choices both in their form and content.

Copies of royal inscriptions emerged as learning tools and were thus ephemeral. However, multiple-text manuscripts in particular, were probably designed for a considerably longer life-cycle. Royal monuments were accessible in Nippur and other scribal training centres, and if required, could be consulted there.

Integration of the inscriptions of past rulers in the scribal curriculum was based on the copying of original monuments of relevance for the city in which the scribal school was located and in so doing apprentice scribes were familiarizing themselves with local traditions and local history. Moreover, apprentice scribes were free to compile their own personal collection of historical accounts while carrying out this task.

Aside from being useful study tools, clay copies increased the mobility of these unique objects enabling them to be included in scholars' libraries or sent to other centres of learning. Moreover, clay proved, in many instances, to be far more durable than copper or stone. It is quite exceptional that not only the copy of an inscription, but the original artefact also survives to enable direct comparison. The prominent models of these collections have perished, or have been destroyed and recycled, or perhaps not yet discovered, while their copies have been preserved and unearthed by chance. The collections, however, convey not only the rulers' fame, the inscriptions once honoured, but also the craftsmanship of scribes reproducing them on clay and including them in their personal collection, deeming them worthy enough to be preserved for eternity.

### **Acknowledgements**

The research for this article was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – EXC 2176 'Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures', project no. 390893796. The research was conducted within the scope of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at Universität Hamburg.

### **Abbreviations**

CDLI = Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative, <<https://cdli.ucla.edu/>> (accessed on 16 December 2022).

RIME = Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods (see Edzard 1997 and Frayne 1990–2008).

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## Appendix 1: Old Babylonian multiple-text manuscripts with copies of royal inscriptions

Museum No.	Prove-nance	RIME Corpus no.	Ruler(s)	Dynasty	No. of inscriptions on tablet	CDLI No.
AO 5474	Nippur	2.01.04.01 2.01.04.1001	Naram-Sîn	Agade	2	P216557
BT 1	Nippur	2.01.04.06 2.01.04.11 2.01.04.20 2.01.04.23 2.01.04.47–48	Naram-Sîn	Agade	6	P227520
BT 2 + BT 3	Nippur	2.02.01.01–03	Erridu-pizir	Gutium	3	P227536
BT 4 + HS 2009 + HS 2985	Nippur	3/2.01.04.03 3/2.01.04.05 3/2.01.04.07	Šu-Sîn	Ur III	3	P226527
CBS 2344 + N 3539 + CBS 14547	Nippur	2.01.02.07 2.01.02.18 2.01.04.03 2.01.04.06	Rīmuš Naram-Sîn	Agade	4	P227513
CBS 12694	Nippur	3/2.01.04.06 4.01.06.02	Šu-Sîn Ur-Ninurta	Ur III Isin	2	P227070
CBS 13972	Nippur	2.01.01.01–03 2.01.01.06–09 2.01.01.11–13 2.01.01.15 2.01.02.01–07 2.01.02.09 2.01.02.18 2.01.03.01–02	Sargon Rīmuš Man-ištušu	Agade	22	P227509
CBS 13996	Nippur	4.01.04.06	Išme-Dagan	Isin	uncertain	P268989
HS 1954 + HS 1955 + HS 2499 + HS 2506	Nippur	2.01.04.02 2.01.04.03	Naram-Sîn	Agade	2	P227517



Museum No.	Prove- nance	RIME Corpus no.	Ruler(s)	Dynasty	No. of inscrip- tions on tablet	CDLI No.
N 202 + N 4007 + N 4930	Nippur	2.01.04.12 2.01.04.50 2.01.04.1002 2.01.04.1003	Naram-Sîn	Agade	4	P227521
N 2230 + N 4006	Nippur	3/2.01.01.52 3/2.01.02.36 3/2.01.02.37 3/2.01.02.81 3/2.01.02.84 3/2.01.02.204 9–2059	Ur-Namma Šulgi	Ur III	16	P227135
N 3152 + N 3180 + N 4240 + N 4241 + N 5144 + N 6718 + Ni 4394 + UM 29-15- 556 + UM 29-16-611	Nippur	3/2.01.04.01 3/2.01.04.08 3/2.01.04.09	Šu-Sîn	Ur III	3	P227137
N 6266	Nippur	2.01.01.05 2.01.03.02 2.x00.00.1011 2.x00.00.1012	Sargon Man-ištūšu Uncertain	Agade	4	P227511
Ni 3200	Nippur	2.01.01.01–03 2.01.01.09 2.01.01.11–15 2.01.02.01–07 2.01.02.09 2.01.01.01–02	Sargon Rīmuš Man-ištūšu	Agade	19	P227510
Ni 4167	Nippur	2.13.06.04 2.13.06.05	Utu-ḫeḡal	Uruk	2	P227540
Ni 9654	Nippur	2.01.04.1004 3/2.01.04.01 3/2.01.04.02	Naram-Sîn Šu-Sîn	Agade Ur III	3	P227529
Ni 9662	Nippur	3/2.01.04.01 3/2.01.04.09	Šu-Sîn	Ur III	2	P226583

Museum No.	Prove-nance	RIME Corpus no.	Ruler(s)	Dynasty	No. of inscriptions on tablet	CDLI No.
UM 29-16-42	Nippur	3/2.01.04.04 4.01.10.08	Šu-Sîn Enlil-bāni	Ur III Isin	2	P227139
UM L-29-578	Nippur	4.01.03.03 4.01.10.11	Iddin- Dagan Enlil-bāni	Isin	2	P342802
IM 85670	Ur	2.01.04.05 2.01.04.26	Naram-Sîn	Agade	2	P223659
U 7725	Ur	2.01.03.01 2.01.04.25	Man-ištūšu Naram-Sîn	Agade	2	P227523
U 7737 (UET 1 210)	Ur	2.01.01.16 3/2.01.05.02 3/2.01.05.03	Sargon Ibbi- Sîn	Agade Ur III	3	P226450
IB 1537	Isin	3/2.01.01.29 4.01.04.09	Ur-Namma Išme- Dagan (?)	Ur III Isin (?)	2	P227419
BM 78681 + BM 139969	Sippar	3/2.01.02.25 3/2.01.02.26 3/2.01.02.35 3/2.01.02.64 3/2.01.02.204 3	Šulgi	Ur III	5	P226630
BM 110424	uncertain	3/2.01.04.33	Šu-Sîn	Ur III	Likely com- bines two inscrip- tions	P226726

## Appendix 2: Text sample

BT 4 + HS 2009 + HS 2985<sup>42</sup>

obverse

col. i–vii 16 (copy of a royal inscription of Šū-Suen)

col. vii

17–18 colophon:

mu-sar-ra ki-gal-ba

Inscription on its socle.

19–29 (copy of a royal inscription of Šū-Suen)

30

mu-sar-ra ġiri<sub>3</sub>-na

Inscription on his foot.

31–34 caption:

zi-ri<sub>2</sub>-in-gu, en[si<sub>2</sub>], ma-[da], za-ab-ša-l[i]<sup>ki</sup>

Ziringu, gover[nor] of the la[nd] of Zabšal[i].

35–37 colophon:

mu-sar-ra, zag zi-ri<sub>2</sub>-in-gu, lugal šaga

Inscription on the shoulder of Ziringu, the oppressed king.

col. viii (copy of a royal inscription of Šū-Suen)

reverse

col. i

1–30 (copy of a royal inscription of Šū-Suen, continuation of the obverse)

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<sup>42</sup> The present sample intends to illustrate the visual organization and function of captions, colophons and further scribal annotations in a multiple-text manuscript. A complete edition of the inscriptions considering all known sources is available in the RIME 3/2 volume (Frayne 1997) under the numbers RIME 3/2.01.04.03, RIME 3/2.01.04.05 and RIME 3/2.01.04.07.

31–33 colophon:

mu-sar-ra, ur<sub>2</sub> in-da-su, lugal šaga

Inscription on the limb of Indasu, the oppressed king.

34–36 caption:

in-da-su<sub>2</sub>, ensi<sub>2</sub>, za-ab-ša-li<sup>ki</sup>

Indasu, governor of Zabšali.

37–38 colophon:

mu-sar-ra, zag-ga-na

Inscription on his shoulder.

col. ii

1–8 caption:

<sup>d</sup>šu-<sup>d</sup>suen, ki-aĝ<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>, lugal <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-le,

ki-aĝ<sub>2</sub> šag<sub>4</sub>-ga-na, in-pad<sub>3</sub>, lugal kalag-ga, lugal uri<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>-ma,

lugal an-ub-da limmu<sub>2</sub>-ba

Šū-Suen, beloved of (the god) Enlil, the king whom Enlil lovingly chose in his heart, mighty king, king of Ur, king of the four quarters.

9–13 colophon:

mu-s[ar]-ra, murgu x-KI, lu<sub>2</sub> in-da-su<sub>2</sub>, lugal šaga, ĝiri<sub>3</sub> an-us<sub>2</sub>-sa

In[sc]ription on the shoulder of x-KI, man of Indasu, the oppressed king, with (Šū-Suen's) foot stepping upon him.

14–16 caption:

ti-ti, ensi<sub>2</sub>, nu-šu-uš-ma-ar<sup>ki</sup>

Titi, governor of Nušušmar.

17–18 colophon:

mu-sar-ra, zag zi-da-na

Inscription on his right shoulder.

19–21 caption:

s[a-a]m-ri, [en]si<sub>2</sub>, x-x-li-[x]<sup>ki</sup>

S[a]mri, [gove]rnor of [...]

22–23 colophon:

[mu-s]ar-ra, ĝi[r<sub>3</sub>-n]a

[Ins]cription on hi[s fo]ot.

24–26 caption:

nu-[x]-li, [en]si<sub>2</sub>, a-lu-m[i-i]d-d[a]-tim  
Nu[...]li, governor of Alum[i]d[a]tum.

27–28 colophon:

mu-sar-ra, gaba-[na]  
Inscription on [his] chest.

29–31 caption:

bu-ni-i[r]-ni, [en]si<sub>2</sub>, [s]i-ig-ri<sub>2</sub>-iš<sup>ki</sup>  
Buni[r]ni, [gov]ernor of [S]igriš.

32–34 colophon:

[m]u-sar-ra, zag gub<sub>3</sub>-bu, egir-ra-na  
[In]scription on the left shoulder, behind him.

col. iii

1–3 caption:

ba-ri-ḫi-za, ensi<sub>2</sub>, a-ra<sup>2</sup>-ḫi-ir<sup>ki</sup>  
Barihiza, governor of Arahir.

4–5 colophon:

mu-sar-ra, egir zag gub<sub>3</sub>-bu-na  
Inscription behind his left shoulder.

6–8 caption:

wa-bur-tum, [en]si<sub>2</sub>, [lu<sup>2</sup>]-lu-bi-im<sup>[ki]</sup>  
Waburtum, [gov]ernor of [Lu]llubum.

9–10 colophon:

m[u-sar-r]a, zag gub<sub>3</sub>-bu-n[a]  
In[scrip]tion on h[is] left shoulder.

11–12 annotation:

6 lu<sub>2</sub> šu-du<sub>8</sub>-a-me-eš a-ab-sar  
6 lu<sub>2</sub> en-nu-ug<sub>3</sub>-bi nu-ub-sar  
Six captive men which are inscribed.  
Their six watchmen which are not inscribed.

13–15 caption:

ne-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-zu, ensi<sub>2</sub>, zi-zi-ir-tum<sup>ki</sup>  
Nenibzu, governor of Zizirtum.

16–17 colophon:

mu-sar-ra, egir zi-da-na  
Inscription behind his right side.

18–20 caption:

ti-ru-b[i]-u<sub>2</sub>, ensi<sub>2</sub>, nu-uš-ga-ne-l[u]-um<sup>ki</sup>  
Tirub[i]'u, governor of Nušganel[u]m.

21–22 colophon:

m[u-s]ar-r[a], eg[ir] zag z[i]-da-ni  
In[sc]ripti[on] behi[nd] his r[i]ght shoulder.

23–25 caption:

x-am-ti, ensi<sub>2</sub>, ga-ar-ta<sup>ki</sup>  
x-amti, governor of Garta.

26–27 colophon:

mu-sar-ra, zag-si zi-da-ni  
Inscription on his right limb.

28–30 caption:

dun-ga<sub>2</sub>-at, [e]nsi<sub>2</sub>, ni-[bu-ul-m]a-[at<sup>ki</sup>]  
Dungat, [go]vornor of Ni[bulm]a[t].

31–32 colophon:

mu-sar-ra, za[g-s]i [zi]-da-ni  
Inscription on his [rig]ht l[im]b.

col. iv

1–10 annotation:

[4 lu<sub>2</sub> šu-du<sub>8</sub>-a-me]-eš [a-a]b-sar  
[4 lu<sub>2</sub> en-n]u-ug<sub>3</sub>-bi [nu-ub-sar]  
[igi-na] egir-ra-na, z[i-d]a gu[b<sub>3</sub>-b]u-na  
(broken)  
[Four captive me]n which [are] inscribed.

Their [four watchm]en [which are not inscribed].  
 [In front of him], behind him, on his r[ig]ht and l[ef]t [...]

11–15 concluding colophon:

m[u-sa]r-ra, lug[al ša]ga-me-eš, u<sub>3</sub> [dš]u-dsuen,  
 [lu<sub>2</sub>] in-da-su, [ġi]ri<sub>3</sub> an-us<sub>2</sub>-sa

In[scr]iption on the oppres[sed k]ings and on [Š]u-Suen [who st]epped on Indasu.

16–37 (copy of the socle inscription)

col. v

1–21 (copy of the socle inscription, continuation of the previous column)

22–24 colophon:

mu-sar-ra, ki-gal d[š]u-dsu]en, alan-na<sub>4</sub>-kam

Inscription on the socle of [Šu-Su]en's stone statue.

25–31 (copy of the shoulder inscription)

col. vi

1–3 (copy of the shoulder inscription, continuation of the previous column)

4–6 colophon:

mu-sar-ra, zag zi-da-ni, alan-na<sub>4</sub>

Inscription: right shoulder of a stone statue.

7–10 concluding colophon (after double ruling):

dub mu-sa[r-ra], 3 dub alan, dšu-dsuen, u<sub>3</sub> ki-gal 2-bi

Tablet of inscripti[ons]. Three statues of Šū-Suen and their two socles.

Ilona Steimann

# Jewish Exemplars and Hebraist Copies of Hebrew Manuscripts

**Abstract:** Paratexts of Hebrew manuscripts that German monastic scholars copied by their own hand for their own use around 1500 offer valuable insight into their methods of working. In these paratexts, Christian copyists not only commented on the Jewish texts they copied, but also provided information about their textual exemplars. The emphasis placed on the exemplars may have been caused by the copyists' growing awareness of each copy being different necessitating efforts to make the chain of succeeding copies retrievable. However, the practice of referring to Jewish manuscripts used as exemplars brings with it more diverse issues, such as the status of originals and the processes of authentication of the copies, as well as the question of the Christian copyist's own role in transmitting Jewish texts to the Christian audience.

## 1 Introduction

At a time when fluidity still marked the idea of authorship and the concept of plagiarism, as we understand it today, had not yet been established, authors, commentators, and scribes referred to divinely inspired or highly valued texts and authors, upon which the quotations rested, to enhance the prestige of their own arguments. The ancestors of the scholarly apparatus of footnotes – the premodern references – set up the succession of texts and ideas, mediating between the reader and older texts. As Anthony Grafton observed in his study on the footnote,

the margins of manuscripts and early printed texts in theology, law, and medicine swarm with glosses which, like the historian's footnote, enable the reader to work backward from the finished argument to the texts it rests on.<sup>1</sup>

In the fifteenth century a new practice emerged. In addition to referring to other texts, scribes and compilers began to refer to a specific copy of the manuscript they had copied the text from – the exemplar (*Vorlage*). This practice estab-

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1 Grafton 1999a, 30.



lished a chain of succeeding copies of the same text and enabled the scribes both to mediate between the readers and older physical books and define the scribes' own role in the history of books' transmission.

Although the actual beginnings and implementation of this practice are still largely unknown, this essay focuses on one of its manifestations in Hebrew manuscripts produced by German monks around 1500 for their own Hebraic studies. What follows does not pretend to be a thorough study of the Hebraist references to exemplars, but only some initial comments with a focus on the personal role of Christian copyists in the transmission of Hebrew texts to Christians. Among the questions to be addressed are, how did the Hebraist scholars select and copy Jewish texts? How did they perceive their own role in producing Hebrew manuscripts? What kind of relationship did they suggest between themselves and the Jewish texts? And finally, how did they integrate personal manuscripts into a larger bookish culture?

## 2 The Hebraist Hebrew manuscripts in context

Unlike their medieval predecessors who used the Hebrew language and Jewish texts for missionizing the Jews and forming anti-Jewish polemics, Renaissance Humanists were interested in the scientific study of Hebrew written sources. Initially, such study strove to access biblical truth through the original Hebrew text of the Bible, but early on led to a broader investigation of Jewish literature and traditions.<sup>2</sup> In this process manuscripts produced by Jews for Jewish use served as the main vehicle for deepening Christian insight into the Jewish culture. As a result, many lay and monastic Humanists began enthusiastically searching for and collecting Hebraica, thus integrating Jewish lore into the Humanist curriculum.<sup>3</sup>

Independent copying of Hebrew texts by Christians around 1500 was a new phenomenon, with but few medieval precedents. An outbreak in the production of Hebrew manuscripts by Christian scholars within a short approximately thirty-year period (c. 1490–c. 1520) in the German speaking Europe is of particular

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<sup>2</sup> Among the vast literature on the subject, see, for example, Friedman 1983; Kessler Mesguich 2008; Kristeller 1961; Vanderjagt 2008, 154–189.

<sup>3</sup> As a rule, Christian Hebraica libraries in this period were quite limited scope comprising no more than a dozen Hebrew volumes per library (Steimann 2014, 20–21). One of the largest Hebraica collections north of the Alps was that of Johannes Reuchlin with around fifty volumes of manuscripts and printed books (Abel and Leicht 2005).

pertinence. In the fifteenth and sixteenth century, Jews were being expelled from German territories and the authorities confiscated and destroyed Jewish books. Hebraists<sup>4</sup> could see that Hebrew sources were about to vanish from the German milieu as wrote the most prominent Hebraist of the time, Johannes Reuchlin (1450–1522).<sup>5</sup> The shortage of original Jewish manuscripts available for Christian study and the need to preserve and to disseminate Jewish texts among Christians contributed much to the spread of the practice of copying Hebrew manuscripts in the Hebraist's own hand. Monastic Hebraists, active on the periphery, had not always the kind of access to Jewish books like their counterparts in the urban centres of Hebraic scholarship. Each Hebrew manuscript entering a monastery was therefore treated as a precious acquisition, circulated, shared, and the monks repeatedly recopied them from one another.

The manuscripts produced by the Hebraist friars may, amongst many other things, contain Hebrew biblical texts, liturgical and halakhic material, and grammatical and philosophical treatises.<sup>6</sup> Their miscellaneous character, and small, handy, portable format and often draft-like appearance are highly reminiscent of late medieval scholarly codices. Personal notebooks created in the process of study by lay and monastic, Humanist and scholastic scholars and students of late medieval universities were often small anthologies bringing together various texts, extracts, and fragments in Latin and vernacular. Humanist compilations may also contain Greek and Hebrew excerpts, alphabets and short grammatical notes, integrated into a Latin grammatical, astrological, magical, or medical context.<sup>7</sup> Such personal notebooks were formed in stages and grew progressively over time. The piecemeal method of work resulted in these scholarly manuscripts' textual and material inconsistency, conveying the idea of an individual selection of texts. The compilation of texts in one volume may well have been governed by internal logic, but this is not always retrievable.<sup>8</sup>

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4 The term *Hebraists* denotes scholars that had mastered Hebrew as distinct from *Humanists* who were interested in Jewish sources and collected Hebrew books, but had no command of the Hebrew language (cf. Goldish 1998, 17–19).

5 Reuchlin 1506, 3; published in Dall'Asta and Dörner 2003, 37.

6 Hebraist production of Hebrew manuscripts is discussed in detail in Steimann 2020, 53–113.

7 Two fifteenth-century interrelated scholarly compilations from Heidelberg contain Hebrew and Greek grammatical extracts integrated into a Latin medical and grammatical context (BSB, Clm 641 and Clm 671; Halm, Laubmann and Meyer 1868, 166 and 186). For BSB, Clm 671, see also Wade-Sirabian 2007.

8 See, for example, Signore 2015, 142–143. For the overview of literature on 'miscellaneity' and a discussion of the related terminology, see Friedrich and Schwarke 2016b.

Following these scholarly patterns, Hebraist Hebrew manuscripts are often compilations of various texts that bring together independent codicological units,<sup>9</sup> blending freshly copied and older quires, as well as parts of printed books. Six Hebrew compilations Caspar Amman (1450–1524), the prior of the Augustinian monastery in Lauingen, copied for his Hebraic studies, for example, contain mainly grammatical and lexicographical material on the Hebrew language.<sup>10</sup> When the opportunity arose, Amman copied both Jewish texts and Hebrew-related works by his fellow Hebraists from different sources over the years. He preserved them unbound until the last years of his life, so he could constantly annotate the quires and recopy.<sup>11</sup> The similar size and format of the codicological units enabled Amman to decide later which texts to bind together in the same volume. This fluidity and flexibility of content suggests Amman perceived his working library as an integral whole and its separation into groups of texts that were eventually bound in individual volumes did not play a significant role. The works he assembled were used for compiling his own Hebrew grammar in Latin, whose autograph of 1519 is preserved in Bern.<sup>12</sup> According to his contemporaries, Amman sent one of its copies to be printed in Basel by Johann Froben, a plan that did not come to fruition.<sup>13</sup> Printing Hebrew texts to make them widely available to other Christians was one of the possible outcomes of this Hebraist copying enterprise.

Amman's Hebrew teacher, the wandering priest and Hebraist from Esslingen, Johannes Böschenstein (1472–1540), also regarded printing as the ultimate form for his endeavour in the field of Hebraic studies and had more Hebrew texts printed than any other Hebraist of this scholarly circle.<sup>14</sup> The line separat-

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**9** A codicological unit is 'a discrete number of quires, worked in a single operation, containing a complete text or set of texts (unless the work has for some reason been broken off in an unfinished state)' (Gumbert 2004, 23). Another term to be used in this context is a 'production unit', which designates structurally homogeneous books, or 'multiple-text monoblock codices' consisting of a single codicological unit (Maniaci 2016, 28–29).

**10** BSB, Chm 424 (= Clm 28233) (Hauke, Kudorfer and Remak-Honnef 1986, 209–211); Chm 425 (Roth, Striedl and Tetzner 1965, 235–237); Chm 426 (Roth, Striedl and Tetzner 1965, 237–241); Chm 427 (Roth, Striedl and Tetzner 1965, 241–242); LMU, 4° Cod. ms. 757 (Roth, Striedl and Tetzner 1965, 305–306); 4° Cod. ms. 759 (Roth, Striedl and Tetzner 1965, 306–307). On Amman and his library, see Kolde 1913; Seitz 2008, 45–111; Wagner 1895.

**11** Indeed, some of the texts appear twice in Amman's compilations, e.g. the same notes on Hebrew letters appear in BSB, Chm 426, fols 86<sup>r</sup>–89<sup>v</sup> and LMU, 4° Cod. ms. 757, fols 129<sup>r</sup>–126<sup>r</sup>.

**12** BBB, A 198; see Seitz 2008, 57–62.

**13** Münster 1524, fols a 3<sup>r</sup>–a 3<sup>v</sup>; published in Prijs 1964, 490–491.

**14** The Hebrew texts Böschenstein printed are mentioned in Frakes 2007, 14. On scholarly activities of Böschenstein, see also Geiger 1870, 48–55 and Wiedemann 1865, 70–88.

ing Hebraist autographs, texts copied by Hebraists or Jewish scribes, and printed works was not clearly defined in terms of the compiled units in a manuscript. This line was articulated by the references, to be discussed below. The same volume, thus, could contain all types of units, as in the case of Böschenstein's Hebrew–Yiddish compilation of 1515.<sup>15</sup> Along with medical recipes in Yiddish that he copied and possibly an autograph of his Hebrew–German vocabulary, in the same volume Böschenstein bound his printed Hebrew grammar *Elementale introductorium in hebreas litteras teutonice et hebraice legendas* ('Elementary introduction to reading German and Hebrew in Hebrew letters'; 1514). This hybrid compilation was obviously conceived as a personal collection of Hebrew-related material that Böschenstein assembled into one volume for his studies. Common at the time, merging the two media, the handwritten and the printed, in the same volume rendered manuscript and printed units complementary to each other.<sup>16</sup> Böschenstein's compilation, however, was not annotated, making it difficult to judge the specific use he had for it.

Other Hebrew texts Böschenstein copied (from that which has come down to us) were intended for his students of Hebrew. In 1517 he copied David ibn Yaḥya's grammatical treatise *Leshon limmudim* ('Language of erudition') for Amman, to which the latter added his annotations.<sup>17</sup> Around the same time, Böschenstein also prepared two quires, one a fragment of the ethical treatise *Sefer hamiddot* ('Book of ethical qualities') and the other of biblical accents, for Amman which the recipient bound in his own manuscript compilations, together with the quires Amman had copied himself and those other scribes had copied.<sup>18</sup> These Hebraists, thus, produced Hebrew manuscripts either for their own use or for one another's use. Both categories were thematically and materially similar to each other, so the Hebraist scribes could mix the quires they copied with the quires their colleagues copied in the same manuscript. The compiler was usually the mastermind of the compilation, which he would tailor to his own needs.

The individual nature of compiling different material in one volume is particularly evident in the manuscripts of another of Böschenstein's associates, Johannes of Grafing (d. after 1519), a convert from Judaism who became provost of the Benedictine monastery in Ebersberg.<sup>19</sup> If his first Hebrew manuscript (henceforth *MS A*) containing the Hebrew Bible was copied, proofread, and anno-

<sup>15</sup> BSB, Chm 259 (Steinschneider 1895, 123–124).

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, Nyström 2014, 112–133.

<sup>17</sup> BSB, Chm 72 (Steinschneider 1895, 47–48).

<sup>18</sup> BSB, Chm 425, fols 107<sup>r</sup>–116<sup>r</sup> and Chm 427, fols 132<sup>v</sup>–134<sup>v</sup> respectively.

<sup>19</sup> On Johannes of Grafing and his manuscripts, see Knauer 2012.

tated as a single production in 1496, his second manuscript (henceforth *MS B*) was a compilation of various texts and fragments in independent codicological units which Johannes copied gradually, sorting, revising, and storing its quires unbound. The entire production process lasted almost twenty years between 1496 and 1519.<sup>20</sup>

The exemplars of *MS B* were other manuscripts and printed books that he copied in or borrowed for copying from Jewish and Christian private book collections. While visiting other scholarly libraries, Johannes made drafts of Hebrew texts and fragments that caught his eye on loose leaves or in a notebook, which has not come down to us, and recopied them later into *MS B*. Among the fragments, are opening lines and fragmentary copies of Böschenstein's private letters that Johannes could copy in Böschenstein's library.<sup>21</sup> Not only books, but also epigraphic Hebrew inscriptions, which Johannes might have encountered in his surroundings, piqued his interest. Johannes also copied into *MS B* a Hebrew epitaph of Isaac ben Samson, he apparently saw on a Jewish tombstone.<sup>22</sup> Such material is evidence of how the growing impact of Humanist note-taking practices found expression in the Hebraist context.<sup>23</sup> Although no Hebraist collection of notes has survived, their reflection in the Hebraist compilations indicates the Hebraists produced notes while travelling and reading and copied them into their manuscripts. Ann M. Blair's study of European note-taking practices and Frédéric Bauden's on Mamluk scholarly activities (in this volume) indicate that note-taking was intended for managing the abundance of scholarly sources and information.<sup>24</sup> The Hebraists, however, did not experience information overload regarding Hebrew sources. On the contrary, it was the scarcity of Hebrew sources that necessitated the collecting, documenting, and preserve of everything available. Thus, Johannes's Hebrew working library assembled in one volume of *MS B* was not a systematic gathering of literary sources subordinated to a clearly defined purpose. Instead, it was a personal, inhomogeneous compilation of texts interwoven with fieldwork notes, made by a scholar interested in the Hebrew language and its speakers.

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**20** BSB, Chm 400 and Chm 401 (Steinschneider 1895, 220–224).

**21** e.g. BSB, Chm 401, fol. 225<sup>v</sup>. The letters were published in Perles 1884, 31, n. 1.

**22** BSB, Chm 401, fol. 206<sup>v</sup>. Copying ancient and exotic inscriptions was common at the time. See, for instance, the collection of ancient, medieval, and exotic epigraphic inscriptions from tombstones and other monuments, compiled by Hartmann Schedel around 1504 (BSB, Clm 716; Worstbrock 1998).

**23** Blair 2010a, 303–316.

**24** Blair 2010b, 64–74.

Hebraist friars therefore built their Hebraica collections from sources available to them in their surroundings, copying them, annotating, and adapting them for their own use. On the one hand, the manuscripts' content and annotations indicate they were implemented for private study of the Hebrew language and Jewish texts, suggesting that the Hebraists were recipients of knowledge. On the other, they produced knowledge as the copied or collected Hebrew texts formed a basis for composing their own works in Latin and German and for printing. Some Hebraist compilations reveal the Hebraists were not always driven by practical considerations of use but copied Hebrew-related material out of curiosity, collecting it on their manuscripts' pages and preserving Hebraic sources also for their variety. Although the ultimate goal of Hebraist manuscript production was to disseminate Hebraic knowledge in monastic circles and beyond, the manuscripts the Hebraists produced were conceived as personal objects and eventually served only a small group of scholars in Swabia and Bavaria.

### 3 The paratext as the means of reference to the exemplar

To keep track of the sources used, the Hebraists were highly attentive to the question of the sources' identification and attribution. They often mentioned the authors and titles of their works and referred to printers when copying texts from printed editions. If a quoted text could be referred to by its incipit, the title or the name of its author, referring to the specific exemplar from which the text was copied, it required other kinds of constants that would be unique to that exemplar. Such constants naturally did not belong to the main body of the text, which was the same in different copies. But the paratext that varied from one manuscript to another and from one printed edition to another could be a clear identifying mark of a specific exemplar. The paratext providing information about a particular time, place, and people involved in the production of the book was particularly useful as a form of reference to that book.<sup>25</sup>

Johannes Böschenstein's copy of the grammatical treatise *Leshon limmudim* he produced for Caspar Amman, for example, was based on its printed edition (Constantinople, 1506) and contains the colophon of the printers, David and

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. Ciotti and Hang Lin 2016, vii–xii.

Samuel ibn Naḥmia (Fig. 1).<sup>26</sup> No manuscripts of *Leshon limmudim* prior to its printing are known. Its author, David ibn Yaḥya (c. 1440–1524), was an exile from Portugal who eventually settled in Constantinople.<sup>27</sup> It is therefore possible the author himself brought the autograph of *Leshon limmudim* to the printers and the printed edition of 1506 reflects the original text, undistorted by scribal transmission. The copy of the printers' colophon in Böschenstein's manuscript was supposed to indicate this edition and make his copy traceable back to the exemplar.

Johannes of Grafing's Hebrew manuscripts provide further evidence that not only colophons but other paratextual elements could also serve as a reference. *MS A*, which contains the Hebrew Bible, preserves several references to the exemplar. The Pentateuch in the first part of *MS A* ends with the colophon of a vocalizer Eliakim ben Asher.<sup>28</sup> Johannes copied this colophon from his exemplar that has survived in the University Library in Uppsala (Fig. 2).<sup>29</sup> The manuscript in Uppsala is an Ashkenazi liturgical Pentateuch produced in the fourteenth century. Eliakim was not its original vocalizer, but one of its owners who reworked the vocalization. According to his colophon, since the Uppsala Pentateuch was not vocalized properly, he added the marks designating how to pronounce the Torah in accordance with other Pentateuchs and his knowledge of the tradition gained from his teachers. Given this clarification, Johannes could have copied Eliakim's colophon because it contained important information about the vocalization of the codex.

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<sup>26</sup> BSB, Chm 72, fol. 66<sup>r</sup>. For manuscripts that were copied from printed models instead of manuscript models, see, for example, Bühler 1960, 16.

<sup>27</sup> Heller 2004, 21; see also Martínez 2015, 3–19.

<sup>28</sup> BSB, Chm 400, fols 169<sup>v</sup>–170<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> UUB, O. Hebr. 1, fol. 524<sup>v</sup>.

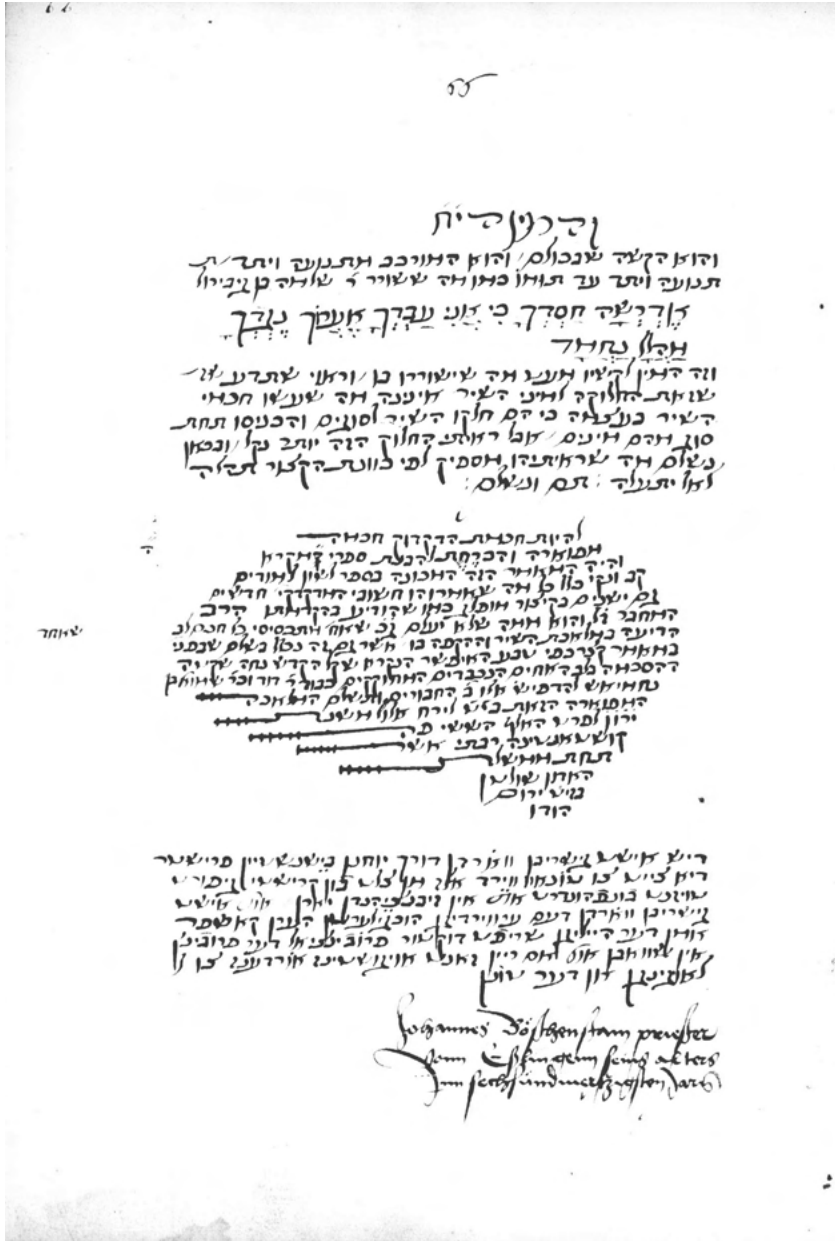


Fig. 1: BSB, Chm 72, fol. 66<sup>r</sup>; *Leshon limmudim*, copied by Johannes Böschenstein in 1515; courtesy of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München.



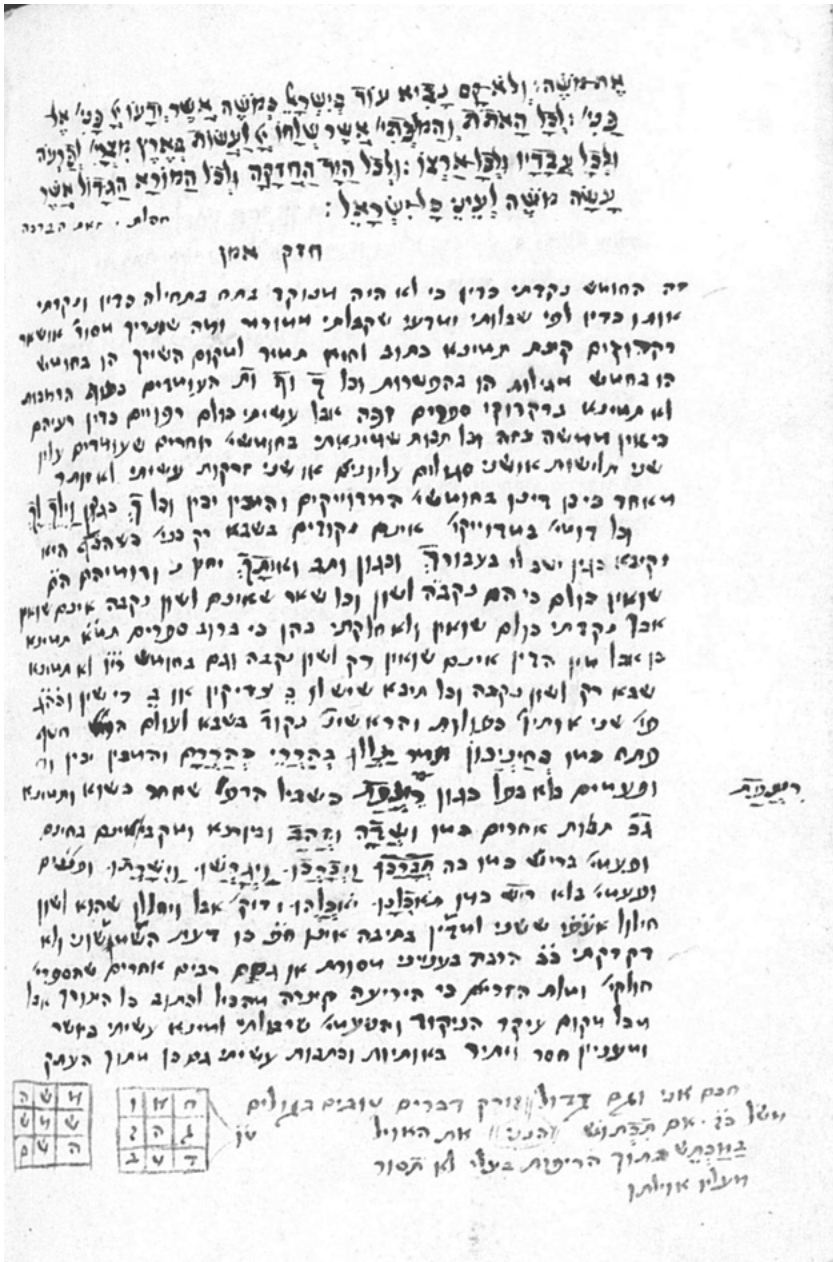


Fig. 2: BSB, Chm 400, fol. 169r; Hebrew Bible, copied by Johannes of Graefing in 1496; courtesy of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München.

More puzzling, however, is the fact that in addition to Eliakim's colophon Johannes also copied nearly all the owners' inscriptions that appear at the end of the Uppsala Pentateuch (Fig. 3).<sup>30</sup> As follows from the owners' inscriptions, between 1425 and 1433 the Uppsala Pentateuch was in Italy and was later brought back to Ashkenaz, where it was copied by Johannes.<sup>31</sup> Such inscriptions of Jewish owners were meant to protect the new owner against legal claims regarding ownership of the manuscript. Successive owners often erased the names of the former owners, thereby declaring the change of ownership.<sup>32</sup> The effort to preserve the notes of former ownership in Johannes's copy is in sharp contrast to the usual owners' practice and suggests Johannes attributed an entirely different meaning to this kind of paratext. By copying the owners' inscriptions into *MS A*, Johannes documented the provenance of his exemplar, thus creating a traceable chain of succeeding texts and their users from older versions down to his own manuscript. The very presence of the Uppsala Pentateuch's colophon and owners' inscriptions in Johannes's copy established a tangible connection between the exemplar and its copy in *MS A* – the connection preserved in the copy even when the exemplar is no longer available.

Viewed from this perspective, Johannes's second Hebrew manuscript (*MS B*) is particularly instructive. *MS B* was compiled of diverse codicological units and includes biblical texts, extracts on the Jewish liturgical calendar, primers of the Hebrew language, and a wide range of excerpts and fragments, largely copied by Johannes himself.<sup>33</sup> However, *MS B* opens with a vocalized Psalter not copied by Johannes.<sup>34</sup> According to its colophon, the Psalter was produced in 1463 as a self-standing codex by the Jewish scribe Jedaiah Senior (Fig. 4).<sup>35</sup> But Johannes did not think Jedaiah's rendering of the Psalter accurate. He therefore collated Jedaiah's Psalter to a fourteenth-century Ashkenazi manuscript of the Psalter, today in Dessau.<sup>36</sup> Entering corrections based on the Dessau Psalter Johannes brought Jedaiah's Psalter into line with that of Dessau.

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**30** BSB, Chm 400, fol. 170<sup>v</sup> copied from UUB, O. Hebr. 1, fol. 525<sup>v</sup>.

**31** UUB, O. Hebr. 1, fol. 525<sup>v</sup> (see Steimann 2020, 69–70).

**32** Especially in fifteenth-century Italy, the process of selling books attained a formal, juridical character. The owners' notes began to apply Talmudic formulas for selling property and were often written in the presence of witnesses who countersigned the transaction.

**33** For the content of BSB, Chm 401, see also Knauer 2012, 43–63.

**34** BSB, Chm 401, fols 1<sup>r</sup>–111<sup>r</sup>.

**35** BSB, Chm 401, fol. 111<sup>r</sup>. The date appears in the lower margin and was added by Johannes.

**36** DAL, Georg. Hs. 192.



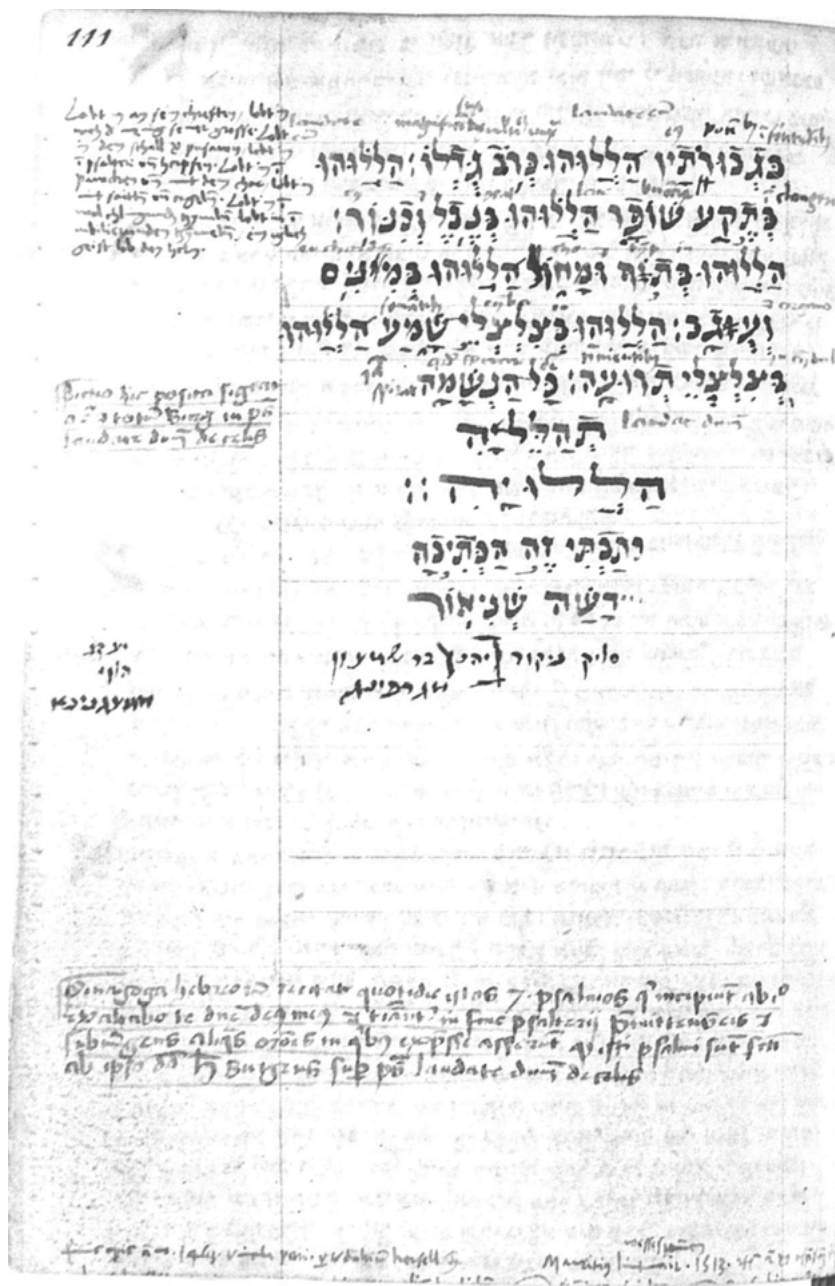


Fig. 4: BSB, Chm 401, fol. 111'; Hebrew Psalter, copied by Jedaiah Senior in 1463; courtesy of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München.

There was nothing unusual in proofreading and collating one's manuscripts. Systematic record of variant readings found in other versions of the text was a common Humanist practice.<sup>37</sup> The Hebraists, too, did not take the accuracy of Hebrew texts in their exemplars for granted, but applied empirical methods of text criticism based on the collation of the diverse copies of a text. What is unusual in this instance is that Johannes indicated his exemplar for collation by copying its paratext. In addition to variant readings, Johannes copied into Jedaiah's Psalter the names of the producers and owners of the Dessau Psalter. The Dessau Psalter does not have a scribe's colophon, but ends with the signature of its vocalizer, Jacob Halevi of Mainz.<sup>38</sup> Jacob's signature, which appears in the Dessau Psalter under the text, was added by Johannes in the outer margin of Jedaiah's Psalter, next to Jedaiah's colophon (Fig. 4).<sup>39</sup> At the beginning of Jedaiah's Psalter, Johannes also copied the names of the Dessau Psalter's former owners, Simeon bar Judah and Jacob bar Simeon (Fig. 5).<sup>40</sup> By inserting these names into Jedaiah's Psalter, Johannes was able to turn Jedaiah's Psalter into a joint undertaking of its scribe Jedaiah and the vocalizer and owners of the Dessau Psalter, whose efforts were reflected through Johannes's correction and additions to Jedaiah's Psalter.

These cases suggest that for the purpose of distinguishing between different kinds of exemplars used for copying i.e. older Jewish manuscripts, Christian copies of Jewish texts, and printed books – the Hebraist friars began to indicate the exemplars in their copies, so the exemplars could be identified on the basis of the copies. The scribal and vocalizers' colophons and owners' inscriptions appearing in the exemplars began to serve attributes of the exemplars and be a means of reference to the exemplars.

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37 Grafton 1991, 62–64.

38 DAL, Georg. Hs. 192, fol. 121<sup>r</sup>.

39 BSB, Chm 401, fol. 111<sup>r</sup>.

40 BSB, Chm 401, fol. 1<sup>r</sup> copied from DAL, Georg. Hs. 192, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>.



The Hebraist practice of referring to specific manuscripts finds parallels in the work of other Humanists. One of the first scholars to apply a new method of citing from genuine ancient manuscripts was the Florentine Humanist Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494) in his philological work *Miscellanea*, printed in Florence in 1489. Unlike his predecessors, who often failed to inform the readers about the nature of their sources, Poliziano was extremely revealing of the specific manuscripts he had used. Referring to his manuscript sources as remarkably old, he described their script and other features, mentioning their owners or the library where he consulted them.<sup>41</sup> The differences are, however, obvious. Poliziano did not integrate these notes in a copy of ancient texts, but in his own collection of essays on philology and criticism to elucidate his scientific methods. He also emphasized the great age of these manuscript sources and the value thereof by mentioning them in detail. The Hebraists referred to both older manuscripts and recent books in the texts they copied from these books and emphasized the nature of their exemplars (Jewish / Christian, manuscript / printed) rather than the age. Despite these differences, both practices reveal a similar tendency: older texts were no longer treated as abstract entities and their connection to the actual manuscripts / printed books that contained them was re-established.

## 4 The self-positioning of the Hebraist scribes

The rise of Humanist scholarship in Europe led to the growing individualization of the processes related to book production, in which anonymity was no more acceptable. More than ever before, Humanists began to use the margins and free spaces of the manuscripts to refer to personal information, circumstances of copying, and other parties involved in producing the manuscript. The information on the production anchored the Humanist manuscripts to a particular time, place, and circumstance. In contrast to medieval scholars who treated the copied text as an impersonal body of propositions, assigning themselves the humble role of a conduit, the Humanist strove to emphasize their own role in the history of texts' transmission.<sup>42</sup> The dichotomy between the drive for the individualization of scribal work, on the one hand, and the need to link this

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<sup>41</sup> Grafton 1991, 57–62.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Grafton 1999b, 181–182.

work to a larger tradition, on the other, found expression in the way the Hebraists referred to themselves in the manuscripts they copied.

To underline the fact that the manuscript had been copied by one's own hand, Humanist and Hebraist scribes not only frequently wrote detailed colophons but sometimes placed them at the beginning of the text and repeated them several times. Unlike medieval colophons, which conventionally appeared at the end of the text,<sup>43</sup> the Hebraists made scribal information central to the manuscript. Caspar Amman, for example, wrote at the beginning of his copy of a Hebrew–Latin vocabulary containing a short Hebrew grammar that this material had been compiled by his friend, the Hebraist priest from Esslingen Johannes Renhart (dates unknown) on the basis of the grammar of Johannes Reuchlin and the vernacular dictionary of a certain rabbi. He, Magister Caspar Amman, provincial and prior in Lauingen, copied it in 1510, when he was only a beginner in the study of the Hebrew language (Fig. 6).<sup>44</sup> In the beginning of the grammar, Amman also remarked that Renhart wrote its original and sent it to Amman in letters.<sup>45</sup> The practice of opening the manuscript with scribal information might have been related to the parallel phenomenon in early printed books and went hand in hand with the development of title pages.<sup>46</sup> During the incunabula period and the following decades, the information on printing and printer's marks began to shift from the back of the book to the title page as a sign of the printer's confidence in the quality of the book.<sup>47</sup> It was not only confidence, but also the individuality of each given copy, its exemplars, and the circumstances of its production that the Hebraists wanted to emphasize by opening the manuscripts with the scribal information.

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<sup>43</sup> Pollard 1905, xvii.

<sup>44</sup> LMU, 4° Cod. ms. 759, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>. Reuchlin's grammar referred here is his *Rudimenta linguae hebraicae* (Pforzheim: Anshelm, 1506). The vernacular dictionary of a certain rabbi is most probably the biblical lexicon, *Mahberet* ('Compendium') of Menaḥem ben Saruk, reworked for Reuchlin by his Jewish tutor, Calman, in 1486 (Abel and Leicht 2005, 177–182). The quires Calman copied for Reuchlin ended up bound in another of Amman's Hebrew compilations (BSB, Chm 425, fols 136<sup>r</sup>–167<sup>v</sup>). About Johannes Renhart, see Seitz 2008, 79.

<sup>45</sup> LMU, 4° Cod. ms. 759, fol. 171<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> Smith 2000, 25–47. For a parallel development in Hebrew books, see Heller 2004, 1.

<sup>47</sup> Smith 2000, 94–95.





ends with the colophon of the printer, both replicated by Böschenstein in his copy. In addition, Böschenstein wrote four colophons of his own, two at the beginning of the manuscript in Hebrew and Latin and two at its end in Yiddish and German (Fig. 1).<sup>49</sup> The two colophons at the beginning appear under the incipit, whereas the two at the end follow the colophon of the printer. The four colophons contain more or less the same information, stating that Böschenstein copied the manuscript in Donauwörth in 1517 for the prior of the Augustinian hermits in Lauingen, Caspar Amman. The repetition of the colophon in four languages enabled Böschenstein to include scribal conventions common to the given language, thereby turning the colophons themselves into a linguistic tool. Their split position can also be explained linguistically: the ancient sacred languages, Hebrew and Latin, at the beginning of the manuscript and the newer vernacular languages, German and Yiddish, at its end. The role of the colophons in Böschenstein's *Leshon limmudim*, however, went beyond linguistic goals. The incipit of the author, the colophon of the printer, and Böschenstein's scribal colophons established the multiplicity of actors responsible for his copy of *Leshon limmudim* and their hierarchy. Böschenstein's copy, thus, became a common product of its author, the printer of its exemplar, and its scribe – all unequivocally indicated in his copy.<sup>50</sup>

This ostensible transparency could, however, be misleading. It was ultimately up to the scribe what information to copy from his exemplar, where to insert himself in relation to it, and how to define his own role in the history of transmission of Hebrew texts. For instance, in contrast to the Greek manuscripts Johannes of Grafing copied around the same time as the Hebrew ones and signed with his colophons,<sup>51</sup> his Hebrew manuscripts do not contain a separate scribal colophon. Instead, Johannes inserted his own name among the names of producers and owners of his exemplars. In Johannes's copy of the Uppsala Pentateuch (*MS A*), he added his name to the oldest note of ownership that he copied from the Uppsala Pentateuch (Fig. 3).<sup>52</sup> The inscription opens with a standard formula of ownership ('One should always write his name in his book ...'), customarily written by Jewish owners in their books, and ends with the name of the Uppsala Pentateuch's owner, Asher ben Jekuthiel. Johannes did not copy this

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**49** BSB, Chm 72, fols 1<sup>r</sup> and 66<sup>r</sup>.

**50** It is also possible that pragmatically, too, since the first and the last leaves of manuscripts were particularly prone to damage and loss, numerous repetition of the colophon's variations increased the chances for scribal information's preservation.

**51** e.g. BSB, Cgrm 582a, fol. 207<sup>v</sup>.

**52** BSB, Chm 400, fol. 170<sup>v</sup>.

name in his *MS A*, but replaced it with his own name and the name of his father, 'Simeon, Johanan [Johannes] his son'. Instead of signing his copy with a colophon, which would be the usual scribal practice, Johannes, then, chose to mingle himself with the oldest owner of his exemplar.

The case of Johannes's *MS B* is even more complicated. Although Johannes was the scribe of most textual units in this compilation, he mentioned his own name only in Jedaiah's Psalter (the compilation's first unit), which he had not copied. At the end of the text of the Psalter, under the colophon of its scribe Jedaiah Senior, Johannes signed his own name, 'Johannes bar Simeon of Grafing' (Fig. 4).<sup>53</sup> Under the names of the owners of the Dessau Psalter that Johannes copied on the first folio of Jedaiah's Psalter, Johannes wrote his name again with the addition of the word 'anointed' indicating his conversion (Fig. 5).<sup>54</sup> Thus, the chain of producers and owners Johannes copied from the Dessau Psalter now included Johannes himself. By doing so, he apparently wished to underline the importance of his own role in adjusting the Psalter to scholarly needs.

The choice of the Hebraist scribe as to how and where to insert himself in relation to other actors and in relation to different textual units if it was a compilation is linked to the manuscripts' content. Regarding Jewish texts belonging to the neutral domain, such as grammatical and scientific treatises, Hebraist copyists would separate their own colophons from the paratext they copied from the exemplars, to clarify who did what. But the Hebrew Bible presented something quite different and its treatment by Hebraists carried theological and ideological implications. The rivalry between Jews and Christians as to who were the true heirs of the Bible set in motion the process of appropriation of the Hebrew Bible as Christian. Driven by the apologetic need to substantiate their claims, early and medieval theologians developed multilayered apparatus of biblical exegesis.<sup>55</sup> The Humanists, opposed medieval dialectic methods and their scholastic practitioners, introduced their own philological and historical approach to biblical interpretation, based on actual Jewish manuscripts.<sup>56</sup> It was the use of these actual manuscripts they wanted to emphasize in their writings and contrast the results with scholastic theological speculations and abstract logical concepts. No less important than the use of Jewish biblical sources in

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<sup>53</sup> BSB, Chm 401, fol. 111<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> BSB, Chm 401, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> For instance, Smalley 1952, 196–373.

<sup>56</sup> For the conflict between Humanists and scholastics and related issues, see, for instance, Nauert 1973 and Overfield 1984, iv–xviii.

Hebrew was the individual role of the Humanists and Hebraists in transmission of biblical texts. To define this role, the Hebraists manipulated the paratext they copied from Jewish biblical codices. By mingling their own names among the producers and owners of Jewish exemplars, the Hebraists could integrate themselves into the history of textual transmission and readership of older biblical manuscripts. They thereby established the continuity of the ‘true’ biblical tradition and claimed for themselves the role of witnesses and transmitters from Jews to Christians.

## 5 The Jewish exemplars versus the Hebraist copies

The modern notion of the transparency of scientific processes suggests that the references would have implied precise transmission of the exemplars. However, the Hebraists never replicated Jewish texts as they appeared in Jewish exemplars. One of the main goals of copying was to make Jewish texts relevant to the Christian reader, which involved a certain amount of text redaction and adaptation to the new audience. Similar to other Renaissance scholars who annotated Classical texts, tailoring them to the needs of a contemporary readership, the Hebraists established the relevancy of Hebrew texts via interlinear translation, sometimes word for word, into Latin or German and marginal comments.<sup>57</sup> The comments usually included Latin or German explanations of the passages that summarized and translated the content into terms familiar to the Christian reader and references to other relevant Jewish and Christian texts and authors. The annotation and translation were part and parcel of the copying process and functioned as a bridge between Jewish texts and their Christian audience.

Taking into account the religious sensitivities involved, bridging between Hebrew biblical texts and Christians was a bigger challenge and required more essential changes. The Hebraist interaction with and intervention in the Hebrew biblical texts were called to produce interpretive effects and alter the texts’ initial character and meaning. The example of Johannes of Graefing may suffice to illustrate this phenomenon. To transfer the Hebrew Bible in his *MS A* from its primary Jewish context into a secondary context of the Christian scholarship, Johannes modified its format, structure, and appearance. Due to its liturgical format, the exemplar of *MS A*, the Uppsala Pentateuch, was structured in ac-

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<sup>57</sup> For the Humanist practices of annotation, see Grafton 1999b.

cordance with the annual liturgical readings of the Torah portions in the synagogue. It includes the Pentateuch, the five scrolls, and the selections from the Prophets (*haftarot*). The main text is surrounded by the Onkelos Aramaic translation and the commentary of Rabbi Shelomo Itzhaki (Rashi), which were intended for private recitation and study.<sup>58</sup> Johannes was well acquainted with Jewish scribal practices and was aware the large size of the Uppsala Pentateuch, its textual structure, and the formal square script in which it was copied were integral to its liturgical functions.<sup>59</sup> He copied its text in a more casual semi-square script into a small codex, intended for Christian private study, thus detaching the Pentateuch from its Jewish public liturgical connotations. As the Uppsala Pentateuch does not contain the entire Bible, Johannes copied the Pentateuch and the scrolls from the Uppsala Pentateuch and used another unidentified exemplar for the biblical books not to be found in the Uppsala Pentateuch. To make this Bible Christian, he rearranged the sequence of the biblical books for it to follow the order of the books in the Vulgate. In place of Rashi's marginal commentary, Johannes added a number of Latin annotations in his copy that imposed a Christian perspective on the Hebrew Bible, thus making it relevant to the new Christian setting. For instance, he interpreted the verse 'A voice cries out: "In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God"' (Isaiah 40:3) on the basis of Mark 1:3–4 and Jerome as referring to John the Baptist.<sup>60</sup> These kinds of Christian theological and typological interpretations that suggested a Christological prism for reading the biblical books reconciled the Hebrew text of the Bible with a Christian reading. Similar to their medieval predecessors, Johannes and his fellow Hebraists believed that Christological evidence was built into the Hebrew biblical text and the Jews had censored it to mislead Christians.<sup>61</sup> The Hebraists could re-establish what they thought was the original meaning of the biblical verses through annotations. The Bible Johannes produced was no longer a Jewish Bible, but a Christian Bible in Hebrew modelled on Jerome's Vulgate, accompanied by Christian interpretative apparatus.<sup>62</sup> Such heavy scribal interventions into the copied text suggest that Johannes was not merely a conduit of the Hebrew biblical text, but a redactor of the text he copied.

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<sup>58</sup> Liss 2016, 303–307.

<sup>59</sup> Beit-Arié 2003, 48–52.

<sup>60</sup> BSB, Chm 400, fol. 349<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> See, for example, Leib 1557, fol. LI<sup>v</sup> and Nigri 1477, fol. 33<sup>r</sup>; see also Rashkow 1990, 217.

<sup>62</sup> The subject of Christianization of Jewish texts in the Hebraist copies is discussed in length in Steimann 2020, 219–222.

The same holds true for Jedaiah's Psalter, whose margins Johannes abundantly annotated with Latin Patristic and Humanistic explanations. In Christian tradition, the Psalter has always been one of the most widely used texts for Christological interpretations.<sup>63</sup> In this case, too, Johannes transferred the Psalter from its Jewish devotional domain into the field of Christian Hebraic studies not only verbally by annotating, but also materially, by binding it at the beginning of his *MS B*. The position of Jedaiah's Psalter as the first codicological unit in *MS B* made the Psalter integral, even central to a Christian anthology for learning Hebrew and the Jewish tradition. The use of the Psalter for language study purposes was a long-standing tradition among Christians. The Latin Psalter not only played a central role in public worship and private prayer, but also served as a primer for Latin language, thus becoming the most studied text of the Middle Ages.<sup>64</sup> Applying the same educational mode to the field of Hebraic studies, the Hebraists often paired study of the Hebrew language with reading the Hebrew Psalter.<sup>65</sup> It is no accident that while most of *MS B* displays no other hands aside from that of Johannes, Jedaiah's Psalter was widely used by other monks in Johannes's monastery. In addition to Johannes's annotations, the Psalter contains Latin marginal comments in other hands, whereas some Hebrew Psalms, possibly copied from Jedaiah's Psalter, appear in other manuscripts from Ebersberg.<sup>66</sup>

The way the Hebraists dealt with their Jewish exemplars represents a well thought-out strategy based on careful selection of what to copy, add, and leave out. The paratext copied from Jewish exemplars was the result of such selection and is part of the redaction process applied to Jewish texts.

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<sup>63</sup> Shepherd 1995, 1–34.

<sup>64</sup> Blom 2017, 37–38.

<sup>65</sup> The reform theologian Wolfgang Capito, for example, appended his Hebrew grammar to Conrad Pellikan's *Hebraicum Psalterium* (Basel, 1516), suggesting starting with the Psalter as Hebrew reading material.

<sup>66</sup> Hebrew extracts copied by the prior of the Ebersberg monastery, Stephan Septemius include the beginning of the Hebrew Psalter that he might have copied directly from Jedaiah's Psalter (BSB, Clm 6046, fol. 44<sup>r</sup>).

## 6 The Hebraists and the ‘antiquity’ of the exemplars

The search for old manuscripts of the Latin and Greek classics was one of the greatest concerns of many Humanists. From Petrarch on, Humanists had sought out, copied, and collated old manuscripts, considering them more reliable than new ones as fewer stages of transmission had intervened between them and the original texts. Some Humanists had even studied the genealogy of old codices. Poliziano in his *Miscellanea*, for example, established the authority of his sources based on their age; the most authoritative source simply being the oldest.<sup>67</sup> These new methods of text criticism, based on the oldest manuscripts, formed the Hebraists’ approach to the exemplars. The Hebraists regarded the old Jewish manuscripts to be better and more precise versions, rendering a manuscript’s antiquity pivotal to its reliability. However, the lack of interest in grammatical, scientific, and philosophical issues among Ashkenazi Jews limited the scope of Jewish works available to German Hebraists.<sup>68</sup> Not only the scarcity of the manuscripts of ‘rationalistic’ genres prevented the Hebraists from being too choosy regarding exemplars, but sometimes there was no old manuscript version of a sought-after text.

By contrast, the Hebrew Bible was one of the most widely produced texts among the Jews and could be found in almost every Hebraist library. Both Jews and Christians believed Moses received the entire Torah orally on Mt Sinai. Although its transition from oral to written form is shrouded in darkness, the scroll was the most likely medium of its first written version.<sup>69</sup> However, the Bibles circulating among medieval Jews in the form of codex that were used by the Hebraists were the product of editing. They accumulated intentional emendations by earlier scribes and Masorettes, as well as scribal errors.<sup>70</sup> Hundreds of years of repeated copying resulted in multiple omissions and changes, and each manuscript copy of the Bible differed from one another. Using critical methods, collation of texts, and grammatical study to restore the texts, the Hebraists hoped to get closer to original versions.

The antiquity of biblical manuscript copies carried strong connotations of authenticity. The search for older Jewish biblical codices was aimed at estab-

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<sup>67</sup> Grafton 1991, 55.

<sup>68</sup> On the literary priorities of Ashkenazi Jewry, see, for example, Freudenthal 2009, 17–24.

<sup>69</sup> Stern 2017, 15–18.

<sup>70</sup> Tov 2001, 2–14; Van Seters 2006, 60–79.

lishing the most reliable text possible, one that would be less corrupted due to its proximity to the original revealed text. Once the Hebraists began to produce their own Hebrew Bibles, they sought to base them on old versions of Jewish Bibles. They were aware that a new manuscript would be taken seriously only if it had an old referent.<sup>71</sup> To indicate the referent-manuscript they copied the paratext from their older exemplars.

However, in the absence of any datable colophon in the exemplar, the speculative sense of temporal distance resulted in the Hebraists mistakenly linking more recent manuscripts to deepest antiquity.<sup>72</sup> This appears to be the case with the Uppsala Pentateuch and the Dessau Psalter. Although the Uppsala Pentateuch was produced in the fourteenth century, Johannes could not possibly have known its true age. Based on some of its features Johannes assumed it to be an old codex. One such feature was the outdated Gothic Hebrew script used for Rashi's commentary. Johannes could not read this script properly, but out of fascination with its 'old' appearance, copied the first lines of Rashi's commentary, with many misspellings, separately at the beginning of *MS A*.<sup>73</sup>

The same holds for the fourteenth-century Dessau Psalter, which has no datable colophon. Johannes may have considered it an old and therefore reliable codex for its poor material condition. Some of its quires were damaged and its binding was missing. Johannes reinforced its quires with parchment strips and bound the manuscript in 1508.<sup>74</sup> It is also possible the Dessau Psalter came from Johannes's own (Jewish) family, which may be assumed by the names of its owners. The first owner of the Dessau Psalter, Simeon bar Judah may have been the father of the second owner, Jacob bar Simeon, and of Johannes (ben Simeon) himself. If the Dessau Psalter had previously been preserved in Johannes's family, some sort of family story may have been attached to it – attesting to its importance or antiquity. Furthermore, the very fact the Psalter had originally been produced by Jews for Jews, and had been used by Jews for generations, as with the Uppsala Pentateuch, made both manuscripts suitable exemplars for Christian copies.

The provenance, thus, came to constitute a significant factor in the process of authentication of exemplars and establishing their reliability. Not only the scribes, but also Jewish users of manuscripts were supposed to safeguard the

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<sup>71</sup> Cf. Wood 2008, 109.

<sup>72</sup> Nagel and Wood 2009, 54–55.

<sup>73</sup> BSB, Chm 400, fol. 2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> The front cover of its red leather binding produced in Ebersberg was inscribed by Johannes with this date.



biblical tradition transmitted to Moses on Mt Sinai and bear witness to its accuracy. At a time when some Christian theologians still accused the pioneers of Hebraic studies in Judaization and criticized them for attempting to rival the divinely inspired Jerome's Vulgate,<sup>75</sup> the Hebraists could justify the use of the Hebrew Bible for theology via careful selection of old Hebrew biblical manuscripts, authenticated by their paratext. It is therefore conceivable that Johannes used the names of the producers and owners of the Uppsala Pentateuch and Dessau Psalter to authenticate the reliability of his copy of the Uppsala Pentateuch and of Jedaiah's Psalter, after the latter had been corrected accordingly.

## 7 Conclusions: From original to copy and the intermediacy of scribes

As a result of the new-found importance placed on the accuracy of texts, the Humanists began to pay much greater attention to precise documentation of the source material and its attribution than scribes of previous epochs. Also in the field of the Hebraic studies, regular references to other texts, authors, and specific manuscripts became part of the copying routine. To indicate the material exemplars used for copying, the Hebraists copied the texts together with the paratext of the exemplars, i.e. the colophons, signatures, and owners' inscriptions, thereby turning the paratext into a form of reference. If systematically used in each successive copy, such references could have allowed the scribes and readers to establish a chain of material copies leading back to the original texts. As a result, the Hebraist copies of Hebrew texts contain not only the names of the authors, scribes, and owners of the actual copy but also those who produced and used its exemplar. The self-positioning of the Hebraist scribe in this extended group of individuals attest to the scribe's personal role as intermediary of an older tradition.

Most of the discussed manuscripts were then produced by the Hebraists' own hand, primarily for their own scholarly use. However, when writing a colophon, they did not always wish to anchor the outcome to a specific time, place, and the individuals involved in its actual copying. Cases such as that of Johannes of Grafing, demonstrate that the historical role in the process of transmission of biblical texts from Jews to Christians was more important to the scribe than his individual input. As a result, the Hebraists produced a body of manu-

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<sup>75</sup> Dunkelgrün 2017, 327–328; Rummel 2002, viii.

scripts which they used as material proof of links to the distant past, and ultimately to the revelation as they understood it. The practices shown served as authentication of that link.

The subject of references and self-references opens a window on broader issues of the Renaissance book culture associated with the Humanist approaches to *originals* and *copies* and the intermediacy of scholars. Renaissance conceptions of originals were different from those we imply today by underlying the singularity and non-substitutability of the original and focusing on the moment of its making. Renaissance scholars understood originals rather as simply old artefacts and thereby established their plurality. In the field of Renaissance visual arts, Christopher Wood wrote,

Images and buildings were understood not as products of singular historical performances, but rather as links to an originary reference point. An artifact took its meaning from its membership within a chain of referential artifacts stretching back in time to a hidden origin, but not from its absolute place within a chain.<sup>76</sup>

In other words, it is not that the Renaissance scholars did not differentiate between genuine autographs, old manuscripts, and contemporary copies; rather the originals (in this case original texts written by authors' hands) did not really matter *per se*, as objects. Newer manuscripts could transmit their qualities through an old referent. As a result of this approach, two opposite principles governed the transmission of older texts. On the one hand, the Humanists did not strive to replicate ancient models entirely, but adapted and integrated them into a new framework that met the needs of the Renaissance readership. On the other, they wished to authenticate the copies they produced by referring to older manuscripts and through these older referents define the place of their copies within a chain of transmission.

As with many Humanist intellectuals the Hebraists shared a commitment to an intense conversation with ancient texts and sought out old Jewish texts. The indication of a referent-manuscript in a Hebraist copy was the choice of the referent's attributes to be reflected in a copy. The verbal paratext of the exemplar was one of the options. In other instances, the attributes could be scribal features of the exemplar, such as a peculiar form of script or other visual markers. Hebraists could also replicate these features in their copies to connect the copy to the exemplar. The copy was not expected to contain all paratextual features of the exemplar. It was sufficient to replicate some elements in a manner of 'citation'. Thus, any old Jewish manuscript (when available) was consid-

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<sup>76</sup> Wood 2008, 15.

ered an original artefact. Verbal and visual paratextual elements the Hebraists copied from such manuscripts were supposed to sustain the aura of originality and support the Hebraist claim for authenticity of their own copies.

The way Hebraists copied the exemplars, collated, changed them, and compiled various works under one cover, were undoubtedly the result of privately formed scholarly practices tailored to the immediate needs of each of the Hebraists. Inconsistent and individual as such, these practices, however, reveal recoverable patterns of their scholarly milieu, which revised the boundaries between old and new and between authorship and scribal work. The Hebraists were not just copyists of Jewish texts, but creators of a new kind of Hebrew book produced in a Humanist format and adapted to the needs of Humanist scholarship.

### Acknowledgements

The research for this essay was sponsored by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – EXC 2176 'Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures' at the University of Hamburg, project no. 390893796. I am deeply indebted to the editors of this volume, Paul Jürgen and David Durand-Guedy, for their remarks and suggestions on earlier drafts of this paper.

## Abbreviations

BBB: Bern, Burgerbibliothek

BSB: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

DAL: Dessau, Anhaltische Landesbücherei (Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek)

LMU: Munich, Universitätsbibliothek der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität

UUB: Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek

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Nazlı Vatansever

# The Types of Text Compiling as Practiced by Şahhâflarşeyhi-zâde Es'ad Efendi (1789–1848)

**Abstract:** This research focuses on Şahhâflarşeyhi-zâde Es'ad Efendi's personal *mecmû'as* and his ways of compiling texts into them. Es'ad Efendi was one of the closest courtiers to Sultan Maḥmūd II, poet, literary critic, book collector, public library owner, court-historiographer, director of the state publishing house, journalist, minister of education, ambassador, and translator, he made considerable contributions, in many fields, to the cultural and political life in the Ottoman Empire of the early nineteenth century. The breadth of his capacities makes Es'ad Efendi an outstanding case study: his personal *mecmû'as* lend themselves to examine his ways of text compilation and reading-writing activities. This article discusses Es'ad Efendi's compiling methods through two of his *mecmû'as* (Es'ad Efendi 3847 and Es'ad Efendi 3856).

## 1 Introduction

The term *mecmû'a* refers to a manuscript compilation made by one or several compilers.<sup>1</sup> Some such compilations were produced in a systematic and professional manner for a specific reason, such as anthologies. On the flip side of this methodical creation, some *mecmû'as* are distinguished by the dissimilarity, plurality, and variety of the texts they assemble. These disorderly compilations have been widely debated in recent years among scholars, with many inclined to consider this kind of manuscript a product of a given compiler, calling them 'personal *mecmû'as*' ('kişisel *mecmû'a*' in Turkish) because they were produced in a mixed format for personal use.<sup>2</sup>

The compiling of a personal *mecmû'a* implies its compiler is very much engaged in reading and writing. The compiling process includes selection, copying

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1 The word *mecmû'a* comes from the Arabic verb stem *ğama'a*, 'to gather or collect scattered things'; the past participle is *mecmû'* ('gathered, collected').

2 Schmidt 2016, 212.



or note-taking, and all this may be considered next in line to, a requirement of, or a natural consequence of reading and writing.

As for Es'ad Efendi, he was a great producer of personal *mecmū'as*. Furthermore, Es'ad Efendi and his *mecmū'as* are both tangible evidence and an exemplary specimen of individual and personal *mecmū'as* in the Ottoman manuscript culture. They were integrated into Es'ad Efendi's personal library, and, apparently, have been preserved until the present day without anyone interfering with the manuscripts afterwards. The foundation (*vaqıf*) Es'ad Efendi endowed has ensured his personal book collection is available today in the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library in Istanbul. As the collection has been preserved without major changes, we are able to follow some of his reading.<sup>3</sup>

Es'ad Efendi was not only a leading scholar of his time, but also, with a personal library of nearly four thousand manuscripts, one of the greatest Ottoman book collectors. His library and books make him an interesting figure both as collector and reader. Moreover, Es'ad Efendi did not restrict his literary activities to reading and collecting books: as the first director of the Imperial Printing House, he decided which books would be printed.<sup>4</sup> Since the Imperial Printing House was the first and for a long time only such endeavour after the Müteferrika Printing House,<sup>5</sup> Es'ad Efendi was the one who decided what the Ottoman reader would have to read. This makes Es'ad Efendi (the most) influential among all Ottoman readers of his time. In addition, Es'ad Efendi was appointed minister of education after handing over his duties as director of Imperial Printing House, and one of his tasks was to choose textbooks to be studied in schools. As schools were undergoing systematic changes at the time, Es'ad Efendi was influential in the reading choices of students.

This study aims to reveal the characteristics of Es'ad Efendi as a *mecmū'a* compiler by focusing on his compilation types and practices. The article also discusses the differences between these types and their visual organization in particular. I begin by introducing Es'ad Efendi's career, works and library collection. His personal *mecmū'as* are then detailed with a focus on two of his most prominent *mecmū'as* to study his compilation practices. These two *mecmū'as* will first be examined separately, then compared to one another.

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3 A catalogue of the Es'ad Efendi was published in 1845–1846, see *Defter* 1262/1845–1846.

4 Yilmazer 2000, xliii.

5 The first printing house in the Ottoman Empire to print Turkish books in Arabic letters was founded in Istanbul in 1727 by Ibrahim Müteferrika (1674–1745). See Beydilli 2019, 341–342.

## 2 Es'ad Efendi, a chronicler, an author and a bibliophile

Şaḥḥāflarseyhizāde Es'ad Efendi was born in 1789 in the Hagia Sophia district of Istanbul. Es'ad Efendi's father, Şaḥḥāflarseyhi Aḥmed Efendi, first served as *Şaḥḥāflarseyhi* in charge of the administration of the *şaḥḥāf* (book sellers) guild in Istanbul, and later assumed the role of *müderriş* (professor) and qadi of important centres such as Cairo, Jerusalem, and Mecca. The details of Es'ad Efendi's education have not been clarified so far. The sources do not identify the madrasas where he studied or the kind of education he received. Nor does he himself mention anything about his education in any of his own writings, although he occasionally gives some biographical information. In all, he mentions but once that his father was his teacher who encouraged him on the path of knowledge.

As a civil servant, Es'ad Efendi worked as a *müderriş* before being appointed judge of Adapazarı, Kütahya and Birgi.<sup>6</sup> In 1825, when he was clerk at the Istanbul Court,<sup>7</sup> he was appointed court chronicler (*vaḳ'a-nüvis*)<sup>8</sup>, a position he retained for the rest of his life.<sup>9</sup> This enabled him to gain significant repute and acquire proximity to Sultan Maḥmūd II (d. 1839). More important still, Es'ad Efendi was one of the most prominent figures, leading the empire's reforms. He occupied extremely high positions, he was both the judge of Istanbul (*Istanbul kāḏısı*)<sup>10</sup>, *naḳibü'l-eşrāf*<sup>11</sup> and chief military judge of Rumelia (*Rumeli kāz'askeri*).<sup>12</sup> He carried out the first census of the empire in 1831 and that year was appointed as director of the Imperial Printing House (*Ṭab'ḥāne-i 'Āmire*) and chief editor of the first official newspaper (*Taḳvīm-i Vekāyi*).<sup>13</sup> He became the first Ottoman

<sup>6</sup> Yılmaz 2000, xxxix–xl.

<sup>7</sup> The original term of this title is *İstanbul Maḥkemesi Vekāyi' Kātipliği*.

<sup>8</sup> Woodhead 2002.

<sup>9</sup> See for the list of names presented for the duty of chronicler upon the order to find another suitable person when Şanizāde 'Aṭā'ullāh was no longer suitable for this position: BOA-HAT, 639-31485, dated 29 December 1827.

<sup>10</sup> Es'ad Efendi was appointed as judge of Istanbul with a document dated 29 December 1834, see BOA-HAT, 464-22741.

<sup>11</sup> *Naḳibü'l-eşrāf*: head of the Prophet's descendants.

<sup>12</sup> Es'ad Efendi was appointed as judge of Rumelia with the document BOA-HAT, 695-33538.

<sup>13</sup> He stayed in this position until 1837. This appointment, like many other of his appointments, also appeared in the international press. For some coverage, see: *Münchener politische Zeitung* on Sunday 18 September 1831; *Nürnberg Friedens- und Kriegs-Kurier* on Monday 19 September 1831; *Bayreuther Zeitung* on Friday 23 September 1831; *Der Österreichische Beo-*

Ambassador to Iran in 1833<sup>14</sup> and member of the Quarantine Council in 1838.<sup>15</sup> He was also a member of the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*Meclis-i Aḥkām-ı ‘Adliyye*) in 1839 and then minister of education in 1846 – the first minister of education in the history of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey. Finally, just before his death, he acquired Presidency of the General Assembly of Education (*Meclis-i Ma‘ārif-i ‘Umūmiyye*) in 1848; however, his death on 11 January 1848 in his mansion on the Bosphorus in Kanlıca, Istanbul prevented Es‘ad Efendi reaching his lifelong goal of becoming *şeyḫülislām*.<sup>16</sup> After a grand funeral attended by scholars, state officials and the incumbent *şeyḫülislām*, he was laid to rest in his library garden.<sup>17</sup>

Es‘ad Efendi’s career as a writer cannot be separated from his official duties. Es‘ad Efendi’s written production is generally quite consistent with the work of a ‘classical’ Ottoman scholar and chronicler. Although he worked across diverse fields and disciplines, the topics he dealt with share several characteristics. His original works belong to the historical, literary and religious spheres, as well as translations. His magnum opus is his chronicle, generally known as *Tārīḫ-i Es‘ad*, detailing, in two volumes, the events between October 1821 and July 1826.<sup>18</sup> A staunch reformist, Es‘ad Efendi declared his support for Sultan Maḥmūd II’s reforms in his work *Üss-i Zafer* (‘The Foundations of Victory’), that through various Islamic texts explains the legal and religious basis for the abolition of the Janissaries.<sup>19</sup> As with many Ottoman scholars Es‘ad Efendi was interested in literature, and composed a *Dīvān* of poems and a *Tezkire* (biobibliographical dictionary of poets) named *Bāğçe-i şafā-endüz*.<sup>20</sup> He is also the author of *Şāhidü’l-Müverriḥin*<sup>21</sup> (‘The testimony of the chronographers’).<sup>22</sup>

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*bachter* on Wednesday 14 September 1831; *Regensburger Zeitung* on Monday 19 September 1831; *La voce verità* on Tuesday 27 September 1831; *Giornale Italiano* on Thursday 29 September 1831.

14 See: BOA-A, DVNSNMH. 11-43; 44-12; dated 10 March 1837. For documents on Es‘ad Efendi’s mission as ambassador in Iran, see: BOA-HAT, 835-37155, 37677, 37681; BOA-C.HR., 16-773; BOA-HAT, 804-37134, 37137; BOA-HAT, 637-31421; BOA-HAT, 805-37155; BOA-HAT, 785-36658.

15 BOA-HAT, 523-2555.

16 The *Şeyḫülislām* is the highest authority on Islamic law and the peak of scholarly hierarchy.

17 Rifat Efendi, *Osmanlı Toplumunda*, 122–123.

18 An addition (*zeyl*) to his chronicle was written by the clerk of the Ministry of the Interior (*dāḫiliyye nāzırı*) ‘Abdürrezzāk Bāhir Efendi (d. 1860) in one of the copies of Es‘ad Efendi’s chronicles, see Istanbul, Millet, Tarih, 50.

19 Heinzelmann 2000.

20 This *Tezkire* is an addendum (*zeyl*) to the *Tezkire* of the Ottoman poet and calligrapher Sâlim (d. 1743).

21 Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, 1034. *Müverriḥ* means chronographer, but the term can also indicate historiographer. A *chronogram* is a couplet, a line or phrase in which certain letters

Es'ad Efendi does not seem, in his treatises to doubt the tenets of Sunni Islam, the state religion of the empire. Translations occupied a large part of Es'ad Efendi's scholarly activities, as well as translation theory; his best-known translation (from Arabic to Turkish) is the translation of Muḥammed b. Aḥmed Ibšihî's (d. 1446) *el-Mustaṭraf min külli fennin mustaṭraf* ('A Quest for Attainment in Each Fine Art')<sup>23</sup> which earned Es'ad Efendi the title '*Mustaṭraf's* translator'. He also wrote treatises on various subjects that appear to be lost, mentioned by title in Es'ad Efendi's *mecmū'as* but no longer to be found in his own or other libraries.<sup>24</sup>

Es'ad Efendi was also one of the most distinguished figures in the history of Ottoman books. His personal library remains a vital source for numerous academic studies. The library lives up to his name *Şaḥḥāflarşeyhizāde* – 'son of the sheikh of the booksellers'; it is testament to him both as collector and reader. In 1845, Es'ad Efendi established the library next to his mansion in the Yerebatan neighbourhood donating the nearly four thousand books he had collected throughout his life. The library was provided with an endowment established on 4 July 1845.<sup>25</sup> It is evident from the endowment deed and other archival documents that Es'ad Efendi was financially and emotionally involved with his library and set up the working rules of the library, most meticulously.

In the first published catalogue of the Es'ad Efendi library, the number of books is given as 3943.<sup>26</sup>

Books on fiqh, literature, and history, form the majority together with his *mecmū'as*, followed by other Islamic sciences. The richness of Es'ad Efendi's library can clearly be seen in terms of sheer number, but primarily for the diversity of the books.

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express a date according to the *ebced* system (each letter in the Arabic script has a numerical value, and this value is given according to the position of the letter in the *ebced* order).

**22** Es'ad Efendi also contributed to a manuscript known as *Sürürî Mecmū'ası* ('*Sürürî's* miscellany'). This book was a collective effort and hence not solely the work of Es'ad Efendi. The poet Sürürî (d. 1814) collected chronograms for his *mecmū'a*; after his death the manuscript passed on to his student Keçecizāde 'İzzet Mollā (d. 1829), and later, following Keçecizāde's death, to Es'ad Efendi; all three of whom added chronograms.

**23** Vadet 1971; Marzolph 1992, vol. 1, 60; Marzolph 2013, 35.

**24** Yılmaz 2000, lxxxi–lxxxii.

**25** Çavdar 1995, 347.

**26** *Defter* 1262/1845–1846, 342. Es'ad Efendi died in 1264 AH / 1848 CE. However, the printing date of the catalogue is given as 1262 AH / 1846 CE, and Es'ad Efendi is mentioned as 'deceased' in the Preface of the catalogue. Possibly, this may be a typographical error and the publishing date of the catalogue is possibly 1855–1856.

### 3 General features of Es'ad Efendi's *mecmū'as*

The first study mentioning Es'ad Efendi's *mecmū'as* was Münir Aktepe's entry 'Es'ad Efendi' in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.<sup>27</sup> Later, Ziya Yılmazzer gave information on the content of the *mecmū'as*.<sup>28</sup> Neither study addresses the *mecmū'as*' codicological features nor their author's compilation practices.<sup>29</sup>

It is important to note that Es'ad Efendi not only compiled but also collected *mecmū'as*. Manuscripts, in his collection, with shelf numbers 3290–3900 are all *mecmū'as*. This amounts to 610 manuscripts. Thus approximately one sixth of his library, are *mecmū'as*. These *mecmū'as* include *münşe'ât* (correspondence), *mecmū'a-i müteferrika* (miscellaneous content), *mecmū'a-i fevā'id* (useful content, mostly short sayings), *mecmū'a-i kaşā'id* (sg. *kaşida*, a poetic form), *mecmū'a-i ebyāt* (verses), *mecmū'a-i eş'âr* (poems), *mecmū'a-i luğaz* (riddles), *mecmū'a-i ğazeliyyât* (*ğazel*, another poetic form), *mecmū'a-i hadîs* (hadiths), *mecmū'a-i fikh* (*fiqh*, jurisprudence), *mecmū'a-i resā'il* (treatises on various subjects; letters), *mecmū'a-i elķāb* (honorific titles), *mecmū'a-i şalavât* (prayers), *mecmū'a-i fetāvā* (legal opinions), *mecmū'a-i tevārîh* (chronograms, history) – in other words, almost all sub-branches of the *mecmū'a* genre are present in his collection.<sup>30</sup>

Among the 610 *mecmū'as* in Es'ad Efendi's collection, aside from his personal *mecmū'as*, are other types of *mecmū'as* he personally compiled, such as a *mecmū'a-i tevārîh*, a *mecmū'a-i kaşā'id*, a *mecmū'a-i ebyāt*, a *mecmū'a-i eş'âr*, and a *mecmū'a-i resā'il* (letters).<sup>31</sup> Unfortunately it is impossible to determine how many personal or other types of *mecmū'as* Es'ad Efendi compiled for himself in his lifetime. Naturally he cared very much about his books and recorded them (there seems to be a list or catalogue in the endowment deed). The existence

27 Aktepe 1964, 358–359.

28 Yılmazzer 2000, lxiv–lxix.

29 Subsequent studies on Es'ad Efendi's *mecmū'as* largely repeat what these two sources say on the subject.

30 *Defter* 1262/1845–1846, 192–224. One of these *mecmū'as*, Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi, 1932, is the subject of David Durand-Guédy's contribution in this volume.

31 See: Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi, 3508: *mecmū'a-i eş'âr*; Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi, 3624: *mecmū'a-i resā'il*; Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi, 3841: *mecmū'a-i eş'âr ve tevārîh* (this manuscript is recorded as a *mecmū'a* in the catalogue, but the secondary sources accept this manuscript as a copy of Es'ad Efendi's *Divân*; as a matter of fact, the work is also referred to as a *Divân* in the Preface, *dibāçe*, of this copy; for this reason, it is possible to accept the manuscript as an incomplete copy of his *Divân*); Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi, 3854: *mecmū'a-i ebyāt*; Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi, 3843: *mecmū'a-i kaşā'id*; Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi, 3851: *münşe'ât*.

today of a library with four thousand titles is clear indication. Nonetheless, to this day, the exact number of *mecmū'as* he compiled cannot be determined. Several factors indicated in the following may have played a role.

1) Some *mecmū'as* are incomplete: Es'ad Efendi has compiled many *mecmū'as* of many different types, and not all qualify as drafts of well-defined works with a marked beginning and end. Some of his *mecmū'as* contain many blank pages. Here it may be assumed the notebooks are unfinished. Many manuscripts of this type may have disappeared; he perhaps looked after them with less diligence simply because he did not consider them works of literature.

2) Some *mecmū'as* were not recorded under his name: Es'ad Efendi's collection also contains *mecmū'as* he himself compiled, but did not record under his name. Due to their anthological character, certain *mecmū'as* were titled according to their content and registered in the catalogue under that title, without the author's name. This cataloguing problem is not peculiar to Es'ad Efendi's *mecmū'as* or only his collection. The very nature of the *mecmū'a* makes it very difficult to determine the compiler.<sup>32</sup> Identification depends entirely on whether the compiler leaves traces such as a colophon, a seal impression, or other paratextual elements of a personal nature in the *mecmū'a*. In addition, at times, works with the character of a *mecmū'a* have been catalogued under the names of one of the *risāles* (treatises) included in them. In this instance, the only way to understand whether a manuscript has the character of a *mecmū'a* is to check all manuscripts containing more than one *risāle*.

3) *Mecmū'as* can be mobile: there are several libraries that possess Es'ad Efendi's *mecmū'as* which are not registered under his name, e.g. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Yazma Bağışlar, 201. This manuscript was a very personal compilation and probably one of Es'ad Efendi's most important personal *mecmū'as*. That a highly personal compilation can be found outside Es'ad Efendi's own library indicates that his *mecmū'as* were somehow circulating hand to hand. Several plausible reasons may explain why. First, handing over manuscripts to a scribe for making a fair copy was a recurring practice of Es'ad Efendi. Therefore, should he have given some of his manuscripts to a scribe for such a purpose, but did not take them back before his death, the manuscripts may well have been transferred to other collections. They could also have been lent out. Lending was extremely common practice among manuscript readers, and undoubtedly Es'ad Efendi lent his books to members of his close circle. Naturally, it is possible

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<sup>32</sup> Palaeography is of little help here: Es'ad Efendi used more or less standardized scripts like *nesḥ* and *ta'lik* rather than cultivating a personal style. In that case, researchers familiar with his personal handwriting would have little difficulty in identifying his autographs.

he also lent out *mecmū'as* he compiled himself – a suggestion more plausible for the 'anthological *mecmū'as*' or, in other words, *mecmū'as* compiled for the sole purpose of keeping similar texts together. However, the latter should be treated with some degree of suspicion for Es'ad Efendi's personal *mecmū'as* had no clear internal organization (for the most part) and it is unlikely other readers would have been able to make much use of them. The constant possibility of manuscripts being 'auctioned off' must also be taken into account. This may have happened to Es'ad Efendi's *mecmū'as*, most likely by his family members.<sup>33</sup> In other words, his family may have sold the manuscripts that belonged to Es'ad Efendi after his death or not taken enough care to preserve them.<sup>34</sup>

4) Notes assembled for the purpose of writing a chronicle have been scattered: before Es'ad Efendi, every court historian in the Ottoman Empire handed over the set of documents he kept to his successor.<sup>35</sup> However, this was not the cause after Es'ad Efendi's death. His documents, including his official records, notes, correspondence etc., were not transferred to Meḥmed Recā'î Efendi his successor as court historian.<sup>36</sup> It is not known precisely what happened to them and no one could access or use his documents until the appointment of Aḥmed Cevdet Pasha as court historian in 1855. The latter carried out a deliberate search for them and found at least some. He mentioned Es'ad Efendi's lost documents in a note he added to *Sürürî Mecmū'ası*. After giving some information on the *mecmū'a*, the recently appointed court historian stated: 'Although it contained extraordinary lines, it had been left to rot in a corner, with spiders nesting in it.' He added that the *mecmū'a* was among the documents he found as a result of his efforts to fulfil his duties as a chronicler.<sup>37</sup>

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**33** For example, one of his *risâles*, a translation of Ebū Ḥanife's advice to his student Abū Yūsuf, referred to as missing in the secondary sources, appeared at an auction. I am grateful to İsmail Erünsal for this information.

**34** For instance, Yılmaz (2000, xcvi) mentions that Es'ad Efendi's son, Aḥmed, who took over the library management after his father's death, did not take care of the library well enough, and, thus, some books were lost (perhaps sold).

**35** Kütükoğlu 2012.

**36** Altınay 1937.

**37** Sürürî, *Sürürî Mecmū'ası*, 109.

## 4 The personal *mecmū'as* of Es'ad Efendi

As far as is possible to ascertain, eleven manuscripts can be considered Es'ad Efendi's personal *mecmū'as*. They are Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi, 3847, 3856, 3737, 3842, 3848, 3850, 3851, 3855 and 3857; Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Yazma Bağışlar, 201 and 203. The contents of the *mecmū'as* can be classified as follows: copies of official correspondence, excerpts from various books,<sup>38</sup> first drafts of essays, poem quotations and notes,<sup>39</sup> biographies of other authors. The *mecmū'as* moreover contain selections from Qur'anic verses and hadiths, drug recipes, date calculations and his financial sheets, much like other Ottoman personal *mecmū'as* – of mixed content.

Understanding the compilation practices of Es'ad Efendi is a challenge for he never stated his motivation explicitly.<sup>40</sup> Actually, Es'ad Efendi's compilations gain meaning especially when considered alongside the works he wrote for a larger audience, either in manuscript or print. Furthermore, Es'ad Efendi's habits in compiling *mecmū'as* evolved over the years, which makes it possible to observe the impact his *mecmū'as* had on his works.<sup>41</sup> In spite of all that, two basic practices reveal themselves in Es'ad Efendi's ways of compiling *mecmū'as*.

### 4.1 Detailed analysis of two *mecmū'as*

The major question persists regarding what criteria Es'ad Efendi used that makes it possible to identify the 'personal' among his *mecmū'as*? The following criteria have been identified in revealing his personal *mecmū'a*:

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**38** Es'ad Efendi provided references for most of the excerpts he included in his *mecmū'as*. The excerpted books are still in his library. For instance, it is possible to see some excerpts from chronicles by Ottoman court chroniclers like Peçevi, Na'imā, Rāşid, and 'Āsım Efendi in Es'ad Efendi's *mecmū'as* and all of these chronicles can still be found in his library. See: *Tārīḥ-i Peçevî*, in Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi, 2094; *Tārīḥ-i Na'imā* in Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi, 2187 and 2439; *Tārīḥ-i Rāşid* in Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi, 2130, 2132, 2133, 2134 and 2135; *Tārīḥ-i Çelebizāde 'Āsım Efendi* in Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi, 2105 and 2135.

**39** Today we already know some points regarding textual relationships between Es'ad Efendi's notes and other literary works: Özyıldırım 2002, 139–143; Özyıldırım 2007.

**40** Compare with what Nalini Balbir stated for similar manuscripts from India (Balbir 2019, 11).

**41** Bahr 2015, 188.



- Personal *mecmū'as* have no preface. Largely unobserved in studies thus far, it was possible for *mecmū'as* to have forewords.<sup>42</sup> The compiler would explain his guiding principles and inform potential readers about the compilation they were about to read.
- They have not been used by any other compiler. Some *mecmū'as* contain the joint selection of multiple compilers. This indicates a compilation becoming part of the public sphere, sometimes coincidentally.<sup>43</sup>
- They have not been made available to any other reader: as understood from some of Es'ad Efendi's notes, *fatwā mecmū'as* in particular were in circulation among colleagues who would loan or sell them.<sup>44</sup>

With these key aspects in mind, two of Es'ad Efendi's *mecmū'as* have been selected for detailed discussion. However, they were certainly compiled for different purposes. This shows that even *mecmū'as* for personal use occupied different categories in the minds of their compilers, and were designed to serve different needs of scholars in their reading and writing activities. Therefore, the present study does not focus on the content of the texts; instead, it attempts to uncover the intellectual activities motivating Es'ad Efendi's choice in collecting certain texts in the form of a *mecmū'a*. Two examples of personal *mecmū'as*, are used to discuss Es'ad Efendi's compiling practices. The analysis aims at identifying the place of these *mecmū'as* in Es'ad Efendi's writing. To this end, they will be compared to other *mecmū'as*, but also with each other.

Prior to a more detailed discussion with visual examples, a few preliminary remarks should be made: all of Es'ad Efendi's *mecmū'as* were firstly either purchased as a blank manuscript, or were used manuscripts he already had for some reason. The impression is not given that the folios or quires were first filled and then bound. However, Es'ad Efendi sometimes pasted one or more pages between folios (Es'ad Efendi 3856 discussed below). It is not possible to establish a clear chronology of the texts Es'ad Efendi copied into his *mecmū'as*. Although some copies are dated, one cannot determine when the additions were made. The many blank pages in the *mecmū'as* of type 2 below (partially ordered) make it difficult to follow the texts' chronology. Blank pages always invite a new entry, and it is not possible to determine the relative chronology of

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<sup>42</sup> Ömer bin Mezid, *Mecmuatu'n-Nezair*, 19–20.

<sup>43</sup> For instance, *Sürürî Mecmū'ası* was started by the poet Sürürî; for this manuscript as a pluri-generational undertaking, see above note 22.

<sup>44</sup> Es'ad Efendi made a note on the transfer / sale of *fatwā mecmū'as* in a book list in one of his *mecmū'as*: Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi, 3847, 140<sup>v</sup>–142<sup>r</sup>.

undated entries. On the other hand, it is possible to determine roughly when the main texts of each *mecmū'a* were compiled, thanks to the dated texts and the abundant chronograms found in almost every *mecmū'a* of Es'ad Efendi.

The two manuscripts stand here for two types of personal *mecmū'as* which I distinguish among the volumes Es'ad Efendi wrote: the first type is 'disordered' whereas the second is 'partially ordered'.

## 4.2 Es'ad Efendi 3847

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi, 3847 presents a disorderly compilation of texts Es'ad Efendi either created himself or copied from other books, but without any contextual link between the texts. The *mecmū'a* is of mixed content, featuring no special or systematic internal organization. Medium in size, 161 folios, 193 × 123 mm, containing no special design or frame and pages without any specific layout. The texts here may or may not contain titles. Red ink has not been used in the texts' titles. The manuscript is generally written in black ink. There is no colophon. Abundant scribbling and illegible marginal notes appear in the texts. The texts are in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, depending on the sources. No clear discipline in taking notes emerges. There are, for instance, many folios with different writing directions on the page. In addition, multiple entries may be encountered on one page, and sometimes the pages feature nothing but a single couplet. Marginal glosses are also difficult to follow: for example, notes on different pages are connected to each other by lines. The pages were not numbered by Es'ad Efendi himself. Although he did not create separate chapters for letters, quotations from other books and his own texts, he sometimes writes *temmet* ('finished') at the end of the texts or inserts a sign indicating that the text is finished.<sup>45</sup> Thus, it is possible to distinguish between texts with different content on the same page. However, these signs are not found at the end of each text. Particularly regarding notes that may have been added to the texts later, it is difficult to determine where they begin and end. There is no date at the end of copied texts, and they are scrawled sometimes on the edge of a page in sloppy handwriting.

Only letters are dated; other texts not. Es'ad Efendi regularly wrote *Hüve'l-Mu'in* ('He – God – is the Helper') at the beginning of his own texts. This habit often appears in this *mecmū'a* and in other *mecmū'as*.

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<sup>45</sup> *Temmet* is used usually for a colophon. However Es'ad Efendi used it for the end of entries.

Thus, this *mecmū'a* appears in the form of a scrapbook. The majority of copied texts are copies of letters, certificates and endowment deeds. These items may be thus considered drafts or copies of official documents related to Es'ad Efendi's government position. Es'ad Efendi began compiling these texts at the beginning of his government career, and the letters in particular are dated 1820–1821.

Another sizable portion of the manuscript consists of Es'ad Efendi's own prose. The inclusion of the Foreword (*dibāçe*) of Vaşşāf,<sup>46</sup> praised as the epitome of prose writing, and an excerpt from Vaşşāf's *Risāletü'ş-şekvā* in the *mecmū'a* indicates Es'ad Efendi's ambitions in prose.

As will be seen below (Fig. 1a–1b), the texts copied by Es'ad Efendi from other books appear relatively more organized, while texts of his own authorship are entirely in the form of scraps, with sentences crossed out or revised, and notes made in the margins. This demonstrates the relatively organized form of writing Es'ad Efendi used when copying texts.

The next illustration (Fig. 2) shows the beginning of Es'ad Efendi's translation of *Mir'ātü'l-edvār ve mirkātü'l-ahbār*, Muşliḥuddīn-i Lārī's (d. 979/1572) Persian-language general history, under the title *Zibā-yı Tevārīḥ*. The illustration shows drafts of the Foreword he intended to add to that translation.<sup>47</sup> Here the Foreword does not begin with *Hüve'l-Mu'in*, but with *Bi'smihi subḥānahu*, the more common formula to be written at the beginning of a new text.

Despite the wealth of writings Es'ad Efendi left behind, there is remarkably little data about Es'ad Efendi's feelings. However, this *mecmū'a* contains rare evidence of a traumatic personal experience: the chronogram Es'ad Efendi wrote about his father's death, which was later copied into other manuscripts. Es'ad Efendi's father tragically died (in 1810) during a sea voyage to Mecca, where he had been appointed qadi. Es'ad Efendi, who accompanied him on the voyage, survived the disaster and talks about it in his *mecmū'a*. Although the entry is purely factual (date, time, etc.), the mention of his father may be taken as a proof of his admiration for him and the sorrow he felt about his tragic loss.<sup>48</sup>

In addition to these texts, Es'ad Efendi drew a family tree (Fig. 3) in the *mecmū'a*, and provided data about his family's history. The entries, however, are concise merely containing names, places and dates. The *mecmū'a* was in no way taken by the author as a medium of self-expression.

<sup>46</sup> The Ilkhanid historian Vaşşāf (beg. fourteenth century) was especially famous for his complicated prose style. See Özgüdenli 2012.

<sup>47</sup> Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi, 3847, fols 30<sup>v</sup>–34<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi, 3847, fols 17<sup>v</sup>–18<sup>f</sup>.

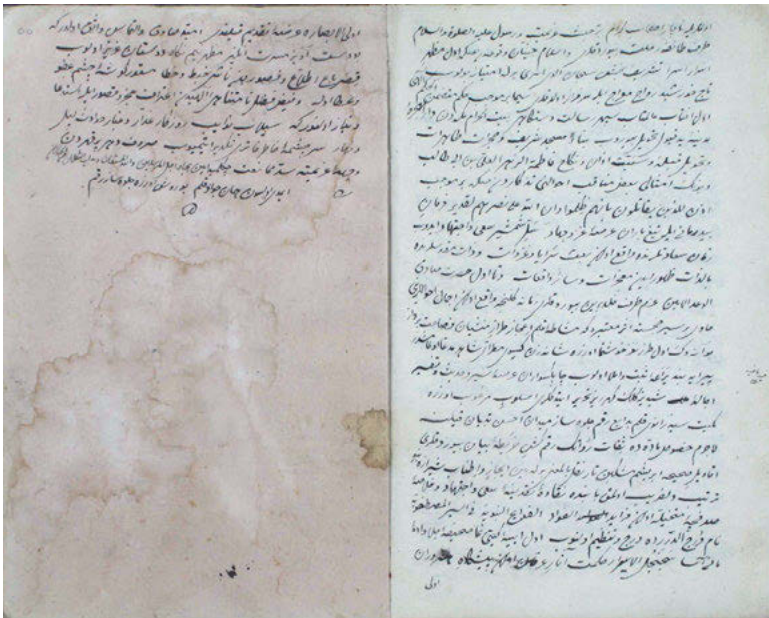
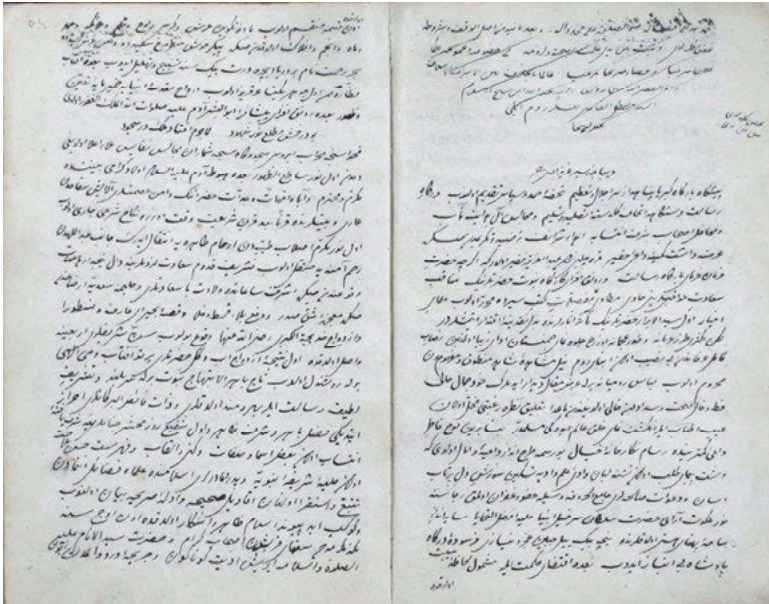


Fig. 1a–b: Es'ad Efendi 3847, fols 53<sup>v</sup>–55<sup>r</sup>. *Dibāçe-i Siyer-i 'Aziz Efendi* © Süleymaniye Manuscript Library.

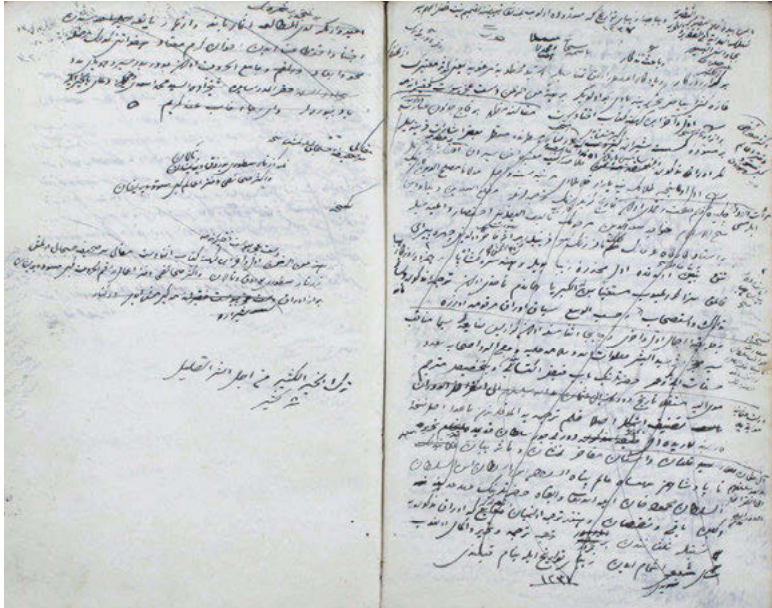


Fig. 2: Es'ad Efendi 3847, fols 21'-22'. *Dibâçe-i Zibâ-yı Tevârîh* © Süleymaniye Manuscript Library.

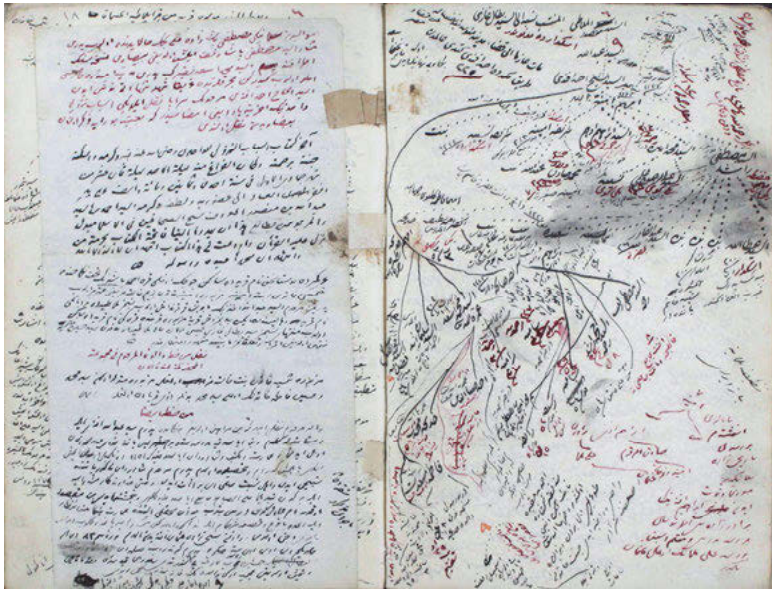


Fig. 3: Es'ad Efendi 3847, fol. 17'. Es'ad Efendi's family tree © Süleymaniye Manuscript Library.



Es'ad Efendi's *mecmū'as* contain many lists, as does this one. Lists include those of the books he possessed, the volumes he bought, the works he authored, works by other Ottoman intellectuals, and people with whom he had contact. Fig. 4, for instance, shows a list of 'contemporary poets with whom [Es'ad Efendi] has conversed' ('aşrını idrāk eylediğimiz hem-şoḫbet olduğumuz şu'aradır ki cem'ine taşmīm-i niyyet olundu).

Some lists were created in one go, while others were developed over time. Fig. 4 is an example of the lists updated as time went by. They feature different kinds of ink (red and black) and probably different pens while some entries are crossed out. It may be assumed Es'ad Efendi took this *mecmū'a* with him to poetry assemblies, to enable him to immediately record the poets he met in poetry reading and reciting sessions. Es'ad Efendi identified each poet's *nom de plume* with a note to prevent confusing the names. The numbers appearing below the names are the years of the poets' death. Es'ad Efendi wrote his *tezkiye* (the *Bāğçe-i şafā-endūz*) approximately fifteen years after compiling this *mecmū'a*. Thus, in this instance, it is possible the *mecmū'a* contained some of Es'ad Efendi's preliminary notes for his future works.

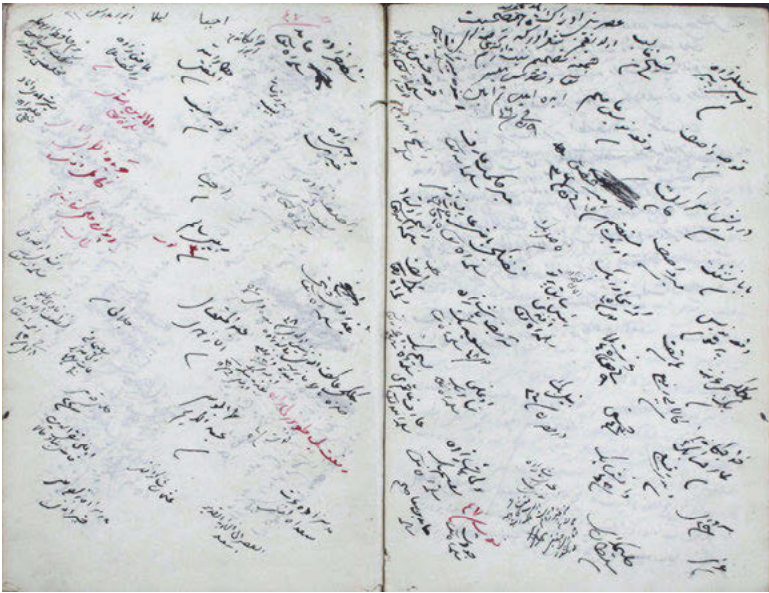


Fig. 4: Es'ad Efendi 3847, fols 20<sup>v</sup>-21<sup>r</sup>. List entitled 'Contemporary poets whom I have conversed with' © Süleymaniye Manuscript Library.

Taken together, we may consider this manuscript served as a notebook for Es'ad Efendi; a tool that guided him as his ideas and intellectual endeavours took shape.

### 4.3 Es'ad Efendi 3856

A partially orderly compilation of texts, mainly copied from other books, Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi, 3856 is an example of the second type, a *mecmū'a* featuring a partially ordered manuscript. The *mecmū'a* has mixed content with a specific layout and organization. It contains 194 folios in large size (352 × 139 mm) a leather cover and *ebrū* (marbled paper) on the inside cover. There is no frame on the pages. In the Süleymaniye Library catalogue, the manuscript is titled *Mecmū'a-i fevā'id-i'l-manzūme ve'l-menşūre* ('Collection of useful verses and prose sayings / quotes').<sup>49</sup> There is a table of contents. Texts are in Turkish, Arabic and Persian. The texts' titles are often written in red, and regarding texts copied from other books, notes in the margins indicate the book from which they were copied, and often when they were copied. Drafts of his own texts are rarely encountered in these *mecmū'as*; although it is possible to come across other texts of his own in these *mecmū'as*, the vast majority are text fragments copied from other books. As in the *mecmū'a* type discussed above, Es'ad Efendi did not organize the quotations or his own texts in separate chapters here either.

The majority of the texts copied into the *mecmū'a* are excerpts from the Qur'anic commentaries of Rāzī (d. 1210) and Beyzāvī (d. 1319); hadiths and annotations copied from works such as Münāvi's annotation on Şeybāni's handbook of Hanafi *fiḫh el-Cāmi'ü'ş-şāğīr*, popular in the Ottoman sphere and studied as a textbook in madrasas; quotes from the works of Ibn Ḥaldūn (d. 1406), Ğazālī (d. 1111); excerpts from Ḥaccī Ḥalifa's (d. 1657) *Muḥāḍarat*; selections from Ḥamdullāh Ḳazvīnī's (d. after 1340) chronicle; Es'ad Efendi's own chronograms; and chronograms written for his translation of *Mustatraf*.<sup>50</sup>

As seen on Fig. 5, the *mecmū'a* begins with a list. This list may be read as a table of contents, but with considerable caveats. First, it does not cover the entire content of the manuscript. Second, the titles of the texts, or of the books from which they were taken, are followed by the page numbers of the manuscript where the texts are to be found. However, the texts do not appear in the list in the same order as in the volume. Third, while the verso of the folio belongs to

<sup>49</sup> *Defter* 1262/1845–1846, 224. There is no title in / on the manuscript itself.

<sup>50</sup> Yılmaz 2000, lxvii.

the *mecmū'a*, the next two folios have been inserted at a later date, and are of a different type of paper. It may be assumed that Es'ad Efendi wanted to expand this list later on, deciding to glue new folios into the manuscript.

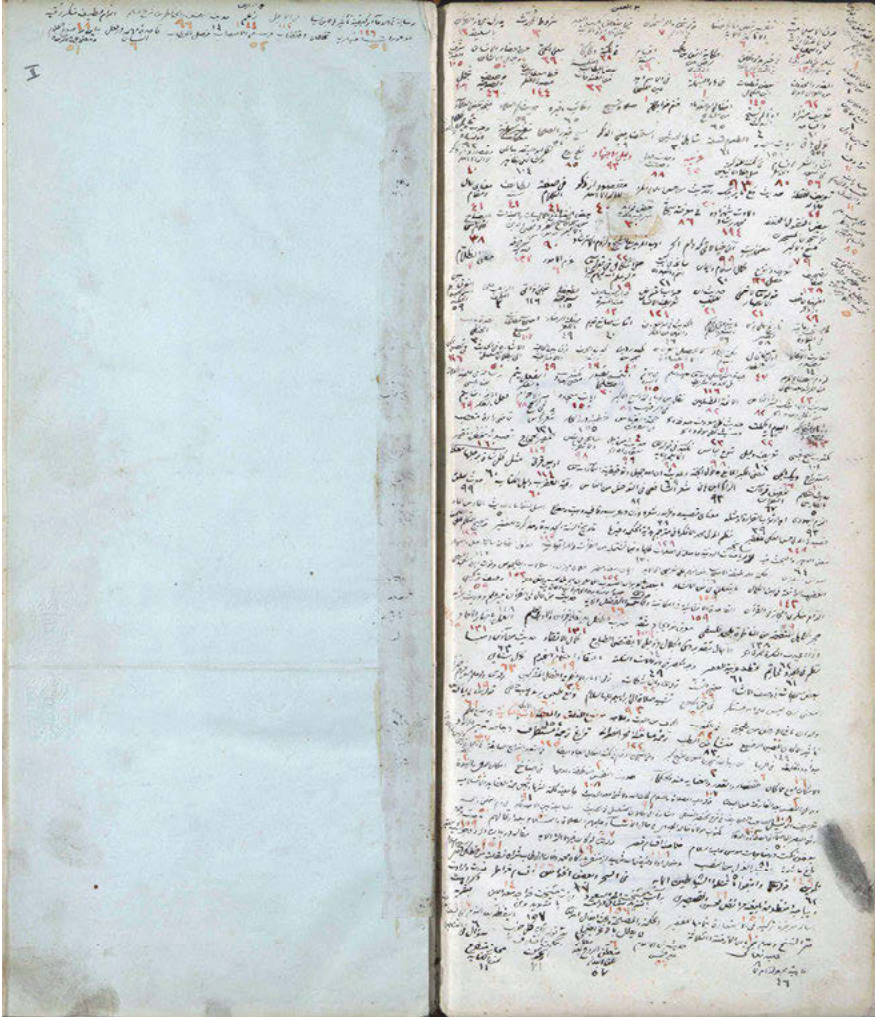


Fig. 5: Es'ad Efendi 3856, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>. List © Süleymaniye Manuscript Library.

Es'ad Efendi may have made the list after he compiled his *mecmū'a* to make it easier to find the text he was looking for. As it does not contain all of the texts,



he may have included only the titles he felt he would use again in future studies he had in mind when writing the list. Another possibility is that he first wrote down the titles of the texts he would compile, based on his first drafts, and copied the actual texts into the *mecmū'a* at a later date. This may be one reason why page numbers were added later, above the titles of the text, and why the texts do not appear in the list in the same order as they do in the volume.

The pages' layout generally follows the features of the folio shown in Fig. 6. Citations are usually written in red ink. Pages were clearly numbered by Es'ad Efendi (this is evidenced by the table-of-content-like entry in his hand, which refers to this foliation). As mentioned above, many texts are quotations from various sections of Qur'an, and the hadiths included in them are always overlined in red. Subsequent additions were placed in the margins as can be seen in the example page.<sup>51</sup> Also seen in the example (Fig. 6), when he copied a text from another book, he usually wrote a colophon with the source and the date of copying underneath. Most texts are copied from Qur'anic commentaries or hadith, but it is hard to identify a main topic that would have been of particular interest to Es'ad Efendi.

The dates indicate most of the texts were compiled circa 1844–1847. Es'ad Efendi occasionally wrote additional comments in the margins and signed them Es'ad *faķir* ('the humble one'). This manuscript stands out among Es'ad Efendi's *mecmū'as* as it shows reading practices of Es'ad Efendi (taking notes is an intense form of reading). Some pages have been left blank intentionally, probably because he had the idea to add something later.

As seen in the examples on Fig. 7, there are extra sheets originally not belonging to the *mecmū'a* inserted between folios. They contain hadiths quoted from Ḥafāci's (d. 1659) *es-Sevāniḥ* and Suyūṭi's (d. 1505) *el-Cāmi'ü's-ṣaġir* (a title identical to Şeybani's compendium of Hanafi *fiķh*). Here again, I have not been able to identify a theme common to these quotations.

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51 Es'ad Efendi added the words *ķāle Allāh te'ālā* ('God Most High says') to indicate that the quote is from the Qur'an.

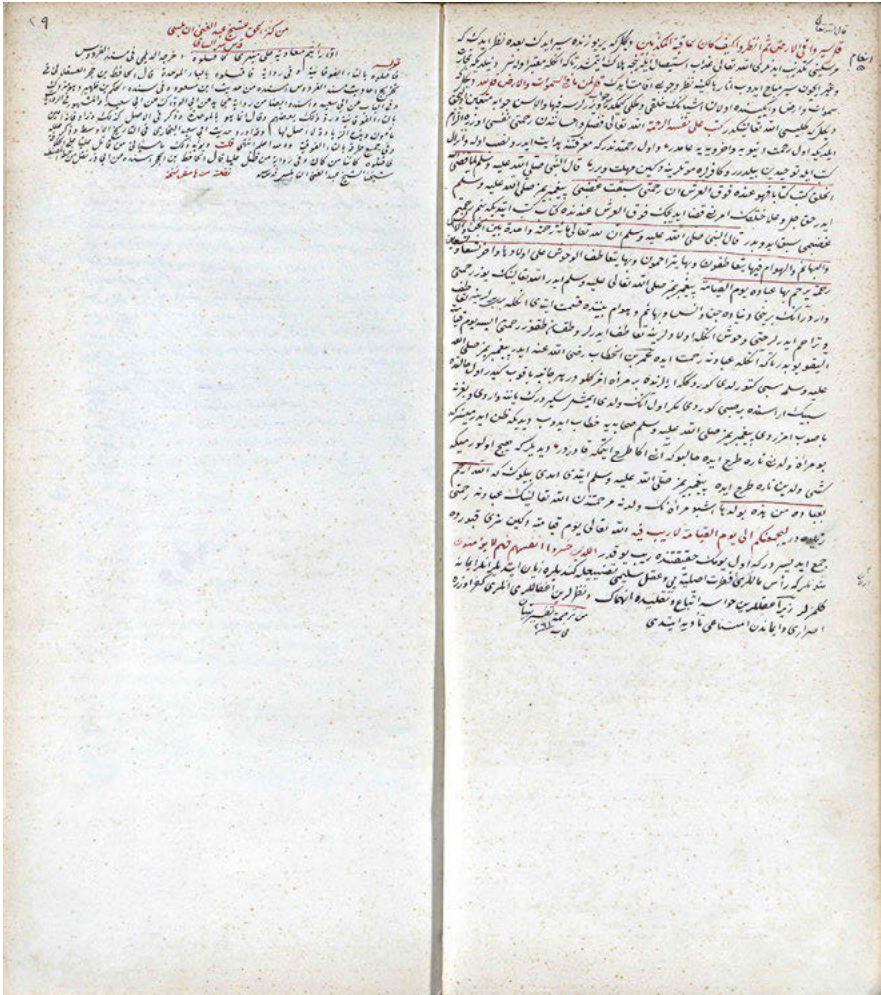


Fig. 6: Es'ad Efendi 3856, fol. 28'. A text from *Tefsir-i Tibyān* © Süleymaniye Manuscript Library.

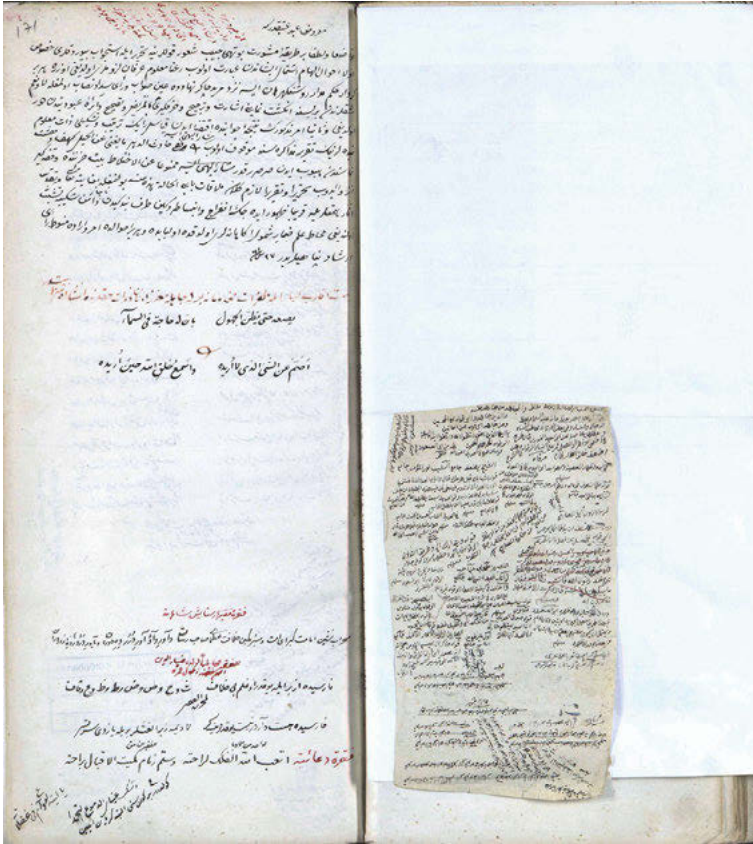


Fig. 7: Es'ad Efendi 3856, fol. 170<sup>v</sup>. Hadiths © Süleymaniye Manuscript Library.

## 5 Concluding remarks

Looking at the two example *mecmū'as* above, it is obvious different motives are behind their collection and use.

As a typical *velūd* (the Ottoman Turkish word for 'fertile scholar'), Es'ad Efendi was committed to continuous learning even though he had completed his formal education. The activity of copying, whether from original sources or scraps, gave Es'ad Efendi the opportunity to review and rethink the texts he had chosen. Es'ad Efendi may have hummed the texts to himself as he copied them,

and although he did not learn them by heart, they were more permanently recorded in his memory this way.<sup>52</sup> Compiling personal *mecmū'as* was a widespread habit among Ottoman scholars and literate people. Many *mecmū'as* in libraries around the world prove that Ottoman pashas, other state officials and ulema, in short, individuals who formed that society's intellectual portrait indulged in the habit.

As for Es'ad Efendi, as explained above, his *mecmū'as* were deliberately created for a specific purpose, and primarily for his own use. Yet, we do not know whether he intended to print or publish any of those *mecmū'as* in the form we have them today. In fact, none of his *mecmū'as* were ever printed, and it is not clear whether anyone considered and studied these compilations until myself. The fact that aside from his own writings, he owned many more *mecmū'as* authored by other compilers in his library demonstrates that he was well aware *mecmū'as* could be used by people other than their compilers. This may lead one to think he had subsequent users of his *mecmū'as* in mind even while he compiled them.

It is also clear Es'ad Efendi envisaged different types of *mecmū'as* for different occasions. While personal *mecmū'as* are an outcome of reading and writing activities, they also provide a blank slate to the compiler: the compiler is free to shape the manuscript according to his needs. As mentioned above, two systems draw attention to Es'ad Efendi's *mecmū'a* compilation practices. First, he used his *mecmū'as* to draft works he planned to write. Second, he used his *mecmū'as* to note excerpts from books he wanted to cite or use in his professional life. This also affected the physical appearance of the *mecmū'as*: while *mecmū'as* containing drafts of his works present a disorderly compilation format, the books in which he assembled quotes from other works show a more orderly format. Future comparative studies on *mecmū'as* may yield more definitive results; however, the purpose of this paper has been to study modes of reading and writing activity that can be associated with personal *mecmū'as* with Es'ad Efendi as an example, and to understand where this type of manuscript intersects with these activities.

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52 It is not possible to definitively prove whether Es'ad Efendi hummed while working. However, it is assumed that many literate writers had this habit in the manuscript age. See Chartier 2004, 57; Manguel 1997, 43; Sadoski and Paivio 2013, 14.

## Acknowledgements

This article is based on my dissertation research at the University of Vienna. I would like to thank Jürgen Paul and David Durand-Guédy for giving me the opportunity to publish my research and for their untiring support. Gisela Prochazka-Eisl has read my paper several times and made valuable contributions. I am grateful to her. I am also grateful to Sıla Okur for the patience and generosity he maintained throughout the writing process. And finally, I would like to thank Ali Emre Özyıldırım for answering all the many questions I asked during my research.

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# Indexes

This volume contains two indexes. The first is an index of the written artefacts that are mentioned in the book. Page numbers with an asterisk refer to illustrations.

The primary aim of the second index is to assist the reader in finding concepts and terms of interest, rather than creating a concordance. This is also why terms that appear too frequently and would therefore be impractical as index headings are omitted as well as personal and geographical names.

Jürgen Paul and Alexander Scheumann

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