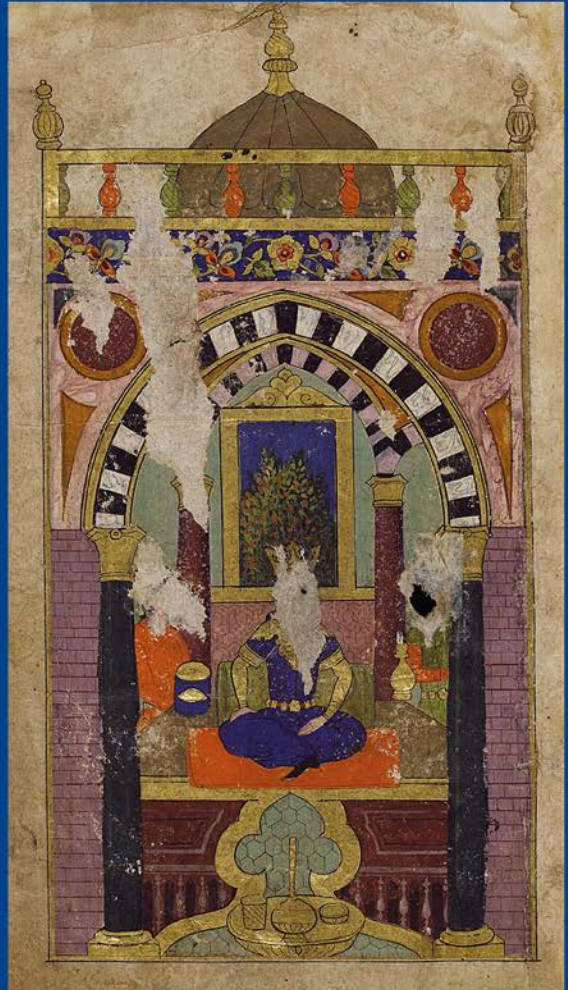


Kristof D'hulster

Browsing through the Sultan's Bookshelves

Towards a Reconstruction of the Library of the Mamluk
Sultan Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī (r. 906–922/1501–1516)

Bonn University Press



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With 84 figures

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Browse, transitive verb

1. To look over casually (as a book): skim
2. To skim through a book reading at random pages that catch the eye
3. To look over books (as in a store or library) especially in order to decide what one wants to buy, borrow, or read
4. To casually inspect goods offered for sale usually without prior or serious intention of buying
5. To make an examination without real knowledge or purpose

Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language

People find valuable information on subject B when searching for subject A, a phenomenon often called serendipity. The very act of browsing allows a user to recognize information of value in other contexts than that in mind when the search was started.

Boyce, Meadow & Kraft, *Measurement in information science*

The *fortuitous fallacy* is committed by any scholar who abdicates his arduous responsibility of rational selection and allows the task to be performed for him by time and accident. There is madness in this method, for it would reduce scholarship to mere sciolism – a smattering of superficial nuggets of knowledge without point or plan or purpose.

Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies. Toward a Logic of Historical Thought*

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Acknowledgements

Over the last two years, since I first developed the idea of turning a bunch of desk notes into a readable format that might find an audience beyond myself, I have accumulated debts great and small with a number of people. I can only hope that they will consider my *not forgetting* a modest first instalment of my outstanding debts.

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Whereas I had initially concluded this list of acknowledgements with the grande dame of Mamluk-Kipchak studies, Barbara Flemming, fate has decided otherwise, as she passed away on March 22, 2020... As a token of my gratitude for her warm support throughout the years, I dedicate this book to her memory.

Blame, unlike fame, is not something to be shared. As such, for whatever unfortunate typo or deplorable error, gross misinterpretation or unwarranted leap of faith that may remain in this book, I alone take full credit.

As for the pics of the Ghawriya, these were kindly shared by Iman Abdulfattah (New York School of Professional Studies) and Bernard O'Kane (American University in Cairo). I am also grateful to the various libraries I worked with, and for their generous permission to include illustrations wherever relevant. In particular, the hospitality of Topkapı Library and the cooperation of the Süleymaniye staff should not go unmentioned. Concluding, this research would not have been possible without the financial support of the Research Foundation – Flanders (FWO-Vlaanderen).

When working on a corpus that is, in all practicality, an open-ended one, it is tempting to continue looking into ever more catalogues or handlists, or to go after ever more manuscripts, the description of which is often vague enough to pique curiosity, yet too indistinct to allow for any immediate assessment. However, sometime last year, my children pointed out to me that “to have a library of 135 books is more than good enough”. As they assured me that “that king probably never came around to reading all of them”, I have decided to close this corpus (or, at least, its first instalment).

1. A Library Imagined. On Qāniṣawh's Cairo and How to Return There

Cairo Anno 917/1512, An Exercise in Imagination

Imagine yourself for a moment visiting Cairo in the 1510s. Walking through the *qaṣaba* that leads from the Bāb al-Naṣr in the north to Bāb Zuwayla in the south, close to the Azhar Mosque, you come across the Ghawrīya complex, built by Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī (r. 906–922/1501–1516). With its towering four-story minaret, its blue tiles glittering in the sun, and its two wings, which are intersected by the very thoroughfare that you are following, you simply cannot miss it.¹

On the east side of the street, imagine entering the sultan's *qubba*, the mausoleum designated for himself, his wives and his children. At the far end of the tomb, on the wall facing the *qibla*, you find the *miḥrāb* flanked by two small cupboards or *khazā'in* (→ fig. 1). If, in your imagination, you are not related to Qāniṣawh, you are not permitted to take a look inside. So please, reimagine yourself, now being one of his relatives. Upon request, a eunuch, the *khādim al-ḥarīm*, opens the *khazā'in*'s gold-coloured doors, and you are allowed to see its stunning interior decoration: medallions with arabesques, enclosed by a delicate floral spray in vivid red, green, yellow, white, black and grey (→ fig. 61).² Yet, the real treasure is what is safely stored away inside the cupboards: in the left *khi-zāna*, the Prophet's Relics, and in the right one, the *Muṣḥaf 'Uthmān*, together with some other books of the sultan's own choosing.

You then move on to the *khānqāh*, adjacent to the mausoleum. Here, on one of its eight bookshelves, you find a 30-volume set of the Qur'ān, a splendid Ilkhanid copy of some 200 years old. Next, you retrace your steps back to the busy *qaṣaba*.

1 D. Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks* (London, 2007), pp. 295–302; M. Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien* (Glückstadt, 1992), I: 167; B. O'Kane, *The Mosques of Egypt* (Cairo/New York, 2016), pp. 230–235.

2 Kh. A. Alhamzeh, "Late Mamluk Patronage: Qānṣūh al-Ghūrīs *waqf* and his foundations in Cairo", PhD thesis (Ohio State University, 1993), p. 153. Whereas O'Kane (*The Mosques of Egypt*, p. 234) was not sure whether the Prophet's Relics were actually kept in the cupboards flanking the mausoleum's *miḥrāb*, the Dublin ms. (→ 17) removes all doubt.

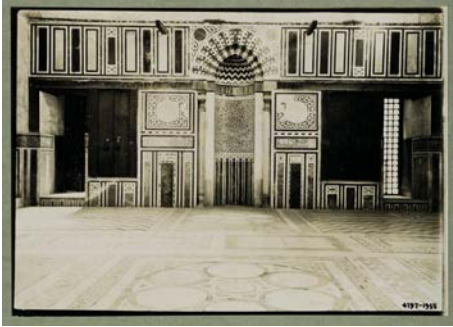


Fig. 1: The *mihrāb* with its flanking cupboards

No need to watch out when crossing the street. Remember, you are important now. Errand boys of the textile shops nearby shriek with excitement as you pass by, a pensive student of Islamic law is pushed aside, while a couple of less pensive *mamlūks* on leave have already made themselves scarce, the dust still swirling. You think, the *rashshāsh* should do a better job, given his wage of 480 dirhams...

You climb the stairs and then enter Qāniṣawh's mosque-madrasa in the west wing of the Ghawriya complex (→ fig. 3), happy to recognize the voice of the *qāri*' reciting the Qur'ān. With the *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* just concluded, he has started *al-Nabā*'. Of the three designated *qāris*, he is your favourite, his *ghunna* in '*Ani n-nabā*'i l-*ʿazīm* being unsurpassed.³ If qualified, the *khāzin al-kutub* grants you access to another *khizāna*, not a small cupboard this time, but a 100-square foot walk-in room, with shelves on the right, on the left and at the back.⁴ Imported wood, you can tell. If not put on display on its specifically commissioned *dikka*, you find on one shelf, amidst numerous other volumes, another Qur'ān copy, crisply new now, commissioned by the sultan in 908/1503 only. On another shelf, you might recognize al-Kirmānī's *al-Kawākib al-Darārī*, his *sharḥ* of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

You leave the *khizāna* and, on your way outside, you halt for a moment, marvelling at the beautiful Qur'anic Kufic inscriptions that decorate the interior. As a last step, I need you to be the sultan himself, for this is the only way to enter where we are now heading: those designated areas in the mosque that are reserved for him alone. It isn't 919/1513 yet, so you are not yet afflicted with an eye

3 For the sounds of Cairo, see Y. Frenkel, *Mamluk Soundscape. A Chapter in Sensory History* (Bonn, 2018); Ahmad Awaad Mohamed Hussein, "The Development of Acoustics in the Religious Architecture of Cairo from the Arab Conquest through the Ottoman Period 640–1914", MA thesis (American University in Cairo, 2016), especially pp. 91–92.

4 D. Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria (1250–1517). Scribes, Libraries and Market* (Leiden/Boston, 2019), pp. 62–63, 67. Admittedly, while these books were definitely kept at the madrasa, they may rather have been stored at one of the smaller built-in cupboards (→ 13).

disease. Still, you might be happy to rest your eyes for a moment on two special inscriptions⁵, one in the south *sidilla* of the *qibla iwān* – remember, you are a Mamluk sultan with an interest in architecture, you know what a *sidilla* is – and one beneath the ceiling of a room connected to the *dikka*. These inscriptions always fill you with joy and pride, for not only are they beautiful but also excitingly innovative (→ fig. 2).⁶ Fortunately, there is no need for you to actually read the cypher-like inscriptions. Handpicked by you personally, you know the texts by heart: verses from the eighth and tenth section of *al-Kawākib al-Durriya fī Madh Khayr al-Bariya*, al-Būṣīrī’s (d. 695/1295) celebrated *Mantle Ode*. One of these verses reads⁷:



Fig. 2: Lintel in the south *sidilla* of the *qibla iwān*

Wa man takun bi rasūli llāhi nuṣratuhu ❁ *In talqahu l-usdu fī ājāmihā tajimi*

Whosoever is succored by God’s Messenger, ❁ If lions were to find him in their lair, they’d fall silent.

5 I.R. Abdulfattah, “Relics of the Prophet and Practices of His veneration in Medieval Cairo”, *Journal of Islamic Archaeology* 1/1 (2014): 75–104, here pp. 95–96. For the sultan’s eye disease (→ 5).

6 Abdulfattah (*ibid.*) points out that these inscriptions of *Burda* verses were unprecedented in Cairo. The only other Mamluk attestation is indeed a few years later: the mausoleum of Qurqumās, dated 911–913/1506–07 (personal communication by Carine Juvin), for which see *The Monumental Inscriptions of Historic Cairo*, ed. B. O’Kane, index nr. 162 (<https://islamicinscriptions.culnpat.org/Index>). As demonstrated by various Cairene Ottoman houses, such as the Bayt ‘Alī Katkhudā and the Bayt al-Razzāz, the usage of inscribing *Burda* verses caught on in Ottoman Cairo (see N. Abou-Khatwa, “An Ode to Remember: The *Burda* of al-Busiri in Cairene Ottoman Houses”, in B. O’Kane (ed.), *Creswell Photographs Re-Examined: New Perspectives on Islamic Architecture* (Cairo, 2009), pp. 43–69).

7 S.P. Stetkevych, *The Mantle Odes. Arabic Praise Poems to the Prophet Muḥammad* (Bloomington/ Indianapolis, 2010), pp. 133, 250 (especially → 117).

Reciting the verse out loud, you can't help but think of your *kunya*, Abū l-Naṣr, and of those many lions ready to venture inside your lair. If only they would fall silent too...⁸ Following a short supplicatory prayer, you return, not to the *qaṣaba* this time, but to reality.

How to Return to Cairo Anno 917/1512? Or: How to Move From Books to a Library?

In reality, you can still visit Qāniṣawh's mosque-madrasa and contemplate over its innovative *Burda* inscriptions (→ 117), and you can still cross the street, more bristled with traffic than ever, and marvel at the decorated *khazā'in* that flank the *mihrāb* in the *qubba*. Yet, what you will no longer find there are the *Muṣḥaf* 'Uthmān or al-Kirmānī's *Kawākib*. Rest assured, these manuscripts are very real and their location for the year 917/1512 is accurate to the metre. The fact is that they have moved long since: the *Muṣḥaf* has stayed close by and is still in Cairo, while the *Kawākib* will be found only in Istanbul's Süleymaniye Library (→ 12, 58).

Of course, when it comes to books owned by Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, be these kept at the Ghawrīya or elsewhere, the *Muṣḥaf* and the *Kawākib* can only be the tip of the iceberg. Among the good qualities of Qāniṣawh enumerated by Ibn Iyās (d. after 928/1522) in the sultan's obituary, was the fact that the sultan *kāna yafham al-shi'r, wa yuḥibb samā' al-ālāt wa l-ghinā', wa lahu nazm 'alā l-lughat al-Turkīya, wa kāna muḡhraman bi qirā'at al-tawārīkh wa l-siyar wa dawāwīn al-ash'ār*, that he “appreciated poetry, loved listening to instrumental and vocal music, composed poetry himself in Turkic, and was very fond of reading historical works, biographies and poetry collections.”⁹ The Turkic *Shāh-Nāma* translation (→ 107), commissioned by Qāniṣawh himself, confirms the ruler's *adab*:

<i>Okımağ dinlemekdür işi dāyim</i>	☼	<i>Hüner ehli kapusunda mülāzim</i>
<i>Kitābı dün ü gün kımaz elinden</i>	☼	<i>Yaman söz kimse işitmez dilinden</i>
<i>Gıce gündüz hikāyetler deberdür</i>	☼	<i>Görür tārīh bir zibā ḡaberdür</i>

Always is he reading and listening,	☼	The skilful flocking at his gate.
Day nor night does he put down his book,	☼	Not a soul will hear him utter evil words.
Both day and night is he investigating stories,	☼	[Long] chronicles, for him but elegant reports. ¹⁰

8 According to Abdulfattah, the location of the inscriptions suggests that the verses were recited by the sultan himself (“Relics of the Prophet”, p. 95).

9 Ibn Iyās, *Badā' i al-Zuhūr fī Waqā' i al-Duhūr*, eds. P. Kahle et al. (Istanbul, 1931), V: 89.

10 Z. Kültürel & L. Beyreli, *Şer'fī Şehnāme çevirisi*, 4 vols. (Ankara, 1999), I: 17 (vv. 432, 434, 436).

These lines, together with much scattered evidence, suggest that the sultan owned, consumed and produced books, and that he did so in large quantities, in various languages, and on a variety of topics, and these are the books that constitute the subject of this book.

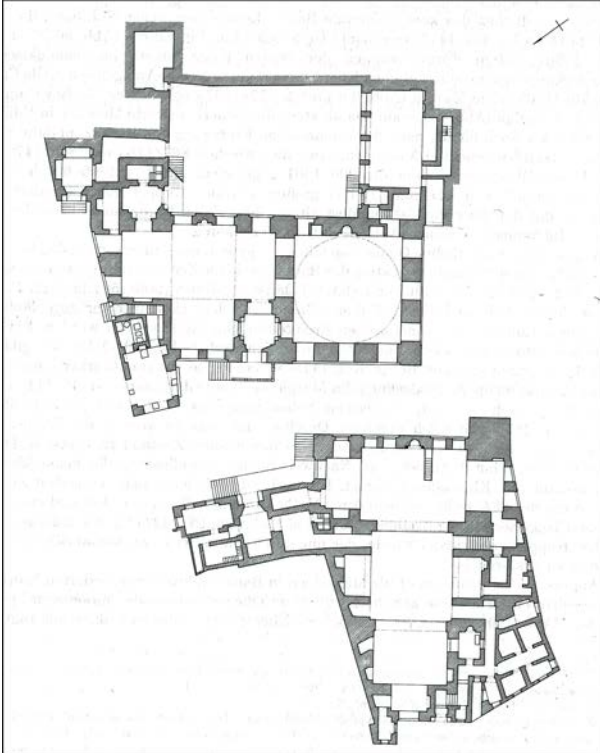


Fig. 3: The Ghawriya Complex, with the *qubba* above and the mosque-madrassa below

Exactly how many books and which books we are talking about is hard to tell. The Ghawriya library, to name but one (potentially several) of Qāniṣawh' manuscript collections, has long been emptied. Suffering the same fate as many other libraries, its books have been scattered over a plethora of manuscript repositories or private collections worldwide. Unfortunately, no catalogue has come to light that could, at least partially, make up for this library's dissolution. Catalogues of pre-Ottoman libraries in the Arab world are exceedingly rare, and – *waylanā!* – the Ghawriya library catalogue is not one of these. The 1505 *waqfiya* of Qāniṣawh – one of the sultan's approximately 300 endowment deeds – stipulated that the *khāzin al-kutub*, in charge of the books to the sultan's madrasa, was to “prepare a

list of the books in his care"¹¹ (→ 13), but so far no such list has surfaced. We do have an undated Ottoman document that gives us a count of mss. found inside the Ghawrīya (→ Ch. 5): 469 vols. in 7 chests and 2 boxes... For now, this frustratingly short, one-page document is as close as we can get to a catalogue of the Ghawrīya library, which is, admittedly, not very close... As such, until further notice, we cannot exhaustively know how many and which books were deposited in the *khazā'in* of the madrasa, next to the Qur'ān copy and al-Kirmānī's commentary. Neither can we know what books Qāniṣawh deemed worthy of sharing the same *khizāna* as the revered *Muṣḥaf* inside his *qubba*. An unpublished history of Qāniṣawh that is kept at the Chester Beatty Library (→ 17) only speaks of *al-kutub al-mashhūra kamā aḥabba wa khtāra*...¹²

In short, Qāniṣawh's librari(es) and the mss. that constituted these remain hard to fathom: how many books are we talking about, authored by whom, on what topic, and in which language? Who copied them, when and where? Where were these copies deposited, and how were they organized? And what about their functionality and performative context? However, disheartening as this may be, I believe that we are still able to address at least some of these questions, and the way to do so is to turn back the clock, that is, to retrace as many mss. as possible from their current far-off locations back to Qāniṣawh's Cairo anno 917/1512. The first exercise taken up in this book is precisely this: to identify and discuss as many mss. as possible that once belonged to Qāniṣawh. In all, the following four types of relationship are recognized as "ownership" by the sultan: (→ Chapter Three, Index 9):

- Mss. that were explicitly owned by Qāniṣawh (based on the *bi rasm* section).
- Works that have Qāniṣawh as their dedicatee or commissioner (on the assumption that his library would hold a copy of these).
- Works that were authored by Qāniṣawh (for the same reason).
- Works that show no explicit trace of Qāniṣawh's ownership, commissioning or dedication, yet circumstantial evidence strongly suggests ownership nonetheless.

Thus far, this exercise has yielded 135 items¹³, retrieved from the more focused studies of Vlad Atanasiu, Barbara Flemming, and Alison Ohta¹⁴, and from a

11 Alhamzeh, "Late Mamluk Patronage", p. 146.

12 (f. 253v) *al-muṣḥaf al-sharīf al-'Uthmānī wa l-āthār al-sharīf al-nabawī* (sic) *wa ghayr dhālika min maṣāḥif wa raba'āt wa kutub wa mā sayujaddiduhu llāh ta'ālā min al-khayrāt wa l-birr bi-ḥasanāt*, (f. 270r) *wa waḍa'a fiḥā'azza naṣruhu l-maṣāḥif al-sharīfa al-madhkūra wa l-kutub al-mashhūra kamā aḥabba wa khtāra* (→ 17).

13 The number "135" is retained here, as this is the actual number of entries of Chapter Two. In reality, for reasons that will be detailed below, it needs to be adjusted to anything between 126 and 133.

broad range of manuscript catalogues, bio-bibliographical surveys and critical editions. Given the on-going (re)cataloguing of tens of thousands of manuscripts¹⁵ and documents, as well as various new developments in digital humanities, we have every reason to believe that this first instalment of Qānişawhiana will soon be followed by a second one. Yet, until that happens, we have to make do with what has been retrieved: a list of 135 items.¹⁶

As these items are what this book is all about, strictly speaking, this book is *a book about books*. Of course, it does not deal with all books: willy-nilly, it jumps from the *ghayn* section of the bookshelves, with al-Ghazālī and al-Ghiṭrīf b. Qudāma al-Ghassānī, to the *fā* ' section, with al-Fayyūmī and Firdawsī, and thus remains blind to the other authors that may have been found on these same shelves...¹⁷ As such, I found no better way to capture what this book essentially does than by the concept of “browsing”, *taşaffuḥ*¹⁸, and hence this book's first epigraph, taken from *Webster's Dictionary of the English Language*, as well as its main title: *Browsing Through the Sultan's Bookshelves*. Yet, at the same time, this is also a book that consciously aspires to be more than what it essentially is. As reflected in its subtitle, *Towards a Reconstruction of the Library of Qānişawh al-Ghawrī*, it aspires to be *a book about a library* as well. Obviously, as will readily be observed, a considerable gap separates the main title and the subtitle, the *act of browsing* and the *act of reconstructing*. In fact, to bridge the gaping divide between books and library involves taking a daunting epistemological leap that is

14 V. Atanasiu, “Le phénomène calligraphique à l'époque du sultanat mamlūk. Moyen-Orient, XIIIe–XVIe siècle”, PhD thesis (École pratique des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences historiques et philologiques, Paris, 2003); B. Flemming, “Literary Activities in Mamluk Halls and Barracks”, in M. Rosen-Ayalon (ed.), *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet* (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 249–260; A. Ohta, “Covering the Book: Bindings of the Mamluk Period, 1250–1516 CE”, PhD thesis (SOAS, London, 2012). For a general introduction to Mamluk books and libraries, see Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book*; ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, *al-Maktabat al-Mamlūkīya* (Cairo, 1962) (*non vidi*); al-Sayyid al-Nashshār, *Tārīkh al-Maktabāt fī Mişr al-‘Aşr al-Mamlūkī* (Cairo, 1414/1993).

15 Including the work by B. Açı (Istanbul), İ. Erünsal (Istanbul), É. Franssen (Liège), B. Liebrecht (Leipzig), and, last but not least, bibliothecophile (sic?) par excellence, K. Hirschler (Berlin).

16 As a rule, documentary evidence, such as diplomatic correspondence and decrees, are excluded from the list, for there is no apparent reason to assume that these were stocked in royal libraries. Only one exception to this rule is granted, in light of its immediate relevance for the present study: one of the approximately 300 *waqfiyāt* of Qānişawh (→ 13). For some more details on diplomatic correspondence, see (→ 18).

17 Obviously, this arrangement of the materials, strictly and exclusively based on the alphabetical sorting of the authors' names, is only a figure of speech.

18 The concept of “browsing” appears to be rare in Arabic book titles. Is there any other example besides Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Başrī's (d. 436/1044) *Taşaffuḥ al-Adilla*? For the extant parts of the work, see al-Başrī, Abū l-Ḥusayn, *Taşaffuḥ al-Adilla*, eds. W. Madelung and S. Schmidtke (Wiesbaden, 2006). The literature that deals with the concept of “browsing” is considerable. A good starting point is offered by D.O. Case, *Looking for Information. A Survey of Research on Information Seeking, Needs, and Behavior* (San Diego, 2002), pp. 84–88 (“Browsing, Etc.”).

prone to fallacious generalizations, most in particular the “fortuitous fallacy”, as condemned so eloquently by David Fischer in this book’s third epigraph:

“The *fortuitous fallacy* is committed by any scholar who abdicates his arduous responsibility of rational selection and allows the task to be performed for him by time and accident. There is madness in this method, for it would reduce scholarship to mere sciolism – a smattering of superficial nuggets of knowledge without point or plan or purpose.”¹⁹

Particularly problematic is the fact that we don’t know just how wide this divide between books and library might be. How representative is the selection (i. e., the present list of 135 items) of the whole (i. e., the library), in quantitative terms and, *mutatis mutandis*, in qualitative terms? While we know a great deal about the books that Mamluks produced and copied, owned and read, glossed and summarized, plagiarized and emulated, we know astonishingly little about their libraries, be it of the institutional or of the private type. Some yardsticks are available, such as the catalogue libraries of the Ashrafiya, of Ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī, or of Bāyezīd II, but neither of these is readily applicable: the first one is much earlier, the second one is presumably highly idiosyncratic, and the third one is not even Mamluk... In light of this, to take the epistemological leap from “browsing” to “reconstructing” requires nothing less than switching from the indicative to the subjunctive mood. In relation to the numerous Shakespeare biographies, Alastair Fowler once observed that “the urge to switch from subjunctive to indicative is always a powerful one”²⁰, and I leave it to the reader whether I have been careful enough not to mistake Qāniṣawh’s books for his library.

In a nutshell, this book moves from discussing “Qāniṣawh’s books” in the indicative mood towards discussing “Qāniṣawh’s library” in the subjunctive mood, and this is as far as the ambition of this book reaches. It could have aimed higher, for example, by aspiring to be a book about *the* “Islamic library of the late medieval period”, or a book about *the* “Mamluk royal court library”, or a book that covers also other or even all aspects of the sultan’s biography²¹, to name but

19 For the “fallacy of composition” and others, see D.H. Fischer, *Historians’ Fallacies. Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York, 1970), as well as Chapter Three, *A Library Profiled*, and the *Excursus*.

20 Quoted in B. Bryson, *Shakespeare. The World as Stage* (New York, 2007), e-book, p. 26 (“Even the most careful biographers sometimes take a supposition (...) and convert it within a page or two to something like a certainty. The urge to switch from subjunctive to indicative is, to paraphrase Alastair Fowler, always a powerful one.”).

21 In fact, Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī is one of the relatively few medieval Islamic rulers to have received a monograph-length treatment (albeit one shared with Qāyṭbāy): C. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt’s Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994).

three, but it doesn't do so. In case this book proves its value as a next step in those directions, it already will have done more than what it aimed at.

Before summarizing the structure of this study, a brief word regarding Qāniṣawh's "library" and his "ownership" of books. The present list should by no means be understood as the (partial) reconstruction of one particular physical library, *i. e.*, as a collection of books that Qāniṣawh owned *at one particular time in one particular place*. In case we would limit ourselves to a discussion of such an actual "library", the present study would have been slim indeed. Instead, we are dealing with items that Qāniṣawh owned *at one time or another* and deposited *at one place or another*. Thus, when reference will be made to Qāniṣawh's library in the following pages, what is meant by this is a library not in the first, but in the second meaning: as the conglomerate of Qāniṣawh's variegated *khazā'in*, from the portable book chest and the modest pocket prayer book from his amiral days to the 100-square foot walk-in library and the hefty and priceless tomes displayed on custom-made *dikkas* inside his sultanic madrasa. Also, it is worth repeating that this "library" is by no means to be understood as a "mental library", *i. e.*, as a list of books that Qāniṣawh must have read or have been familiar with. As observed by Ahmed El Shamsy, "the contents of someone's library are not an accurate reflection of what that person actually read." Indeed, El Shamsy undoubtedly speaks for all of us when he continues, "I certainly have read many books I do not own, and I also own many books that I have not read".²² What is presented in the next chapter of this book is first and foremost a *documentary list of manuscripts that Qāniṣawh owned*, thus not necessarily a list of books that he has read, enjoyed or discussed during his *majālis*. Whether Qāniṣawh has actually perused or browsed through the books that he owned is impossible to say: the mss. are first and foremost *khazā'inī* or display mss. that lack Mamluk-dated paratextual elements, and they certainly show no paratextual trace to Qāniṣawh himself (→ Ch. 3). In a similar vein, books endowed by Qāniṣawh are referred to as "his", even though, strictly speaking, they aren't "his" anymore.

A Phased Progression: From the Indicative to the Subjective and Back

Qāniṣawh's library, evoked a first time in the historicizing prelude to this first chapter, is brought back to life in four subsequent chapters. The one hundred and thirty-five items identified thus far are the focus of attention of this book's second and longest chapter, *A Library Browsed*, where each item is dealt with

22 "Islamic Book Culture through the Lens of Two Private Libraries, 1850–1940", *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 4 (2016): 61–83, here p. 63.

independently. It goes without saying that each single item has its story to tell, but not all these stories are taken up in the same detail. Indeed, it will be observed that my treatment of the items is highly uneven, ranging between a few lines and several pages. Three factors account for this. First, there is the fact that the treatment of *non vidi* mss. is only as exhaustive (and as correct) as the catalogues allow. Second, for obvious reasons, non-published material and lesser known authors and titles have been prioritized, and are summarized and referenced in much more detail than the more familiar material. In relation to this, it should be pointed out that quite some items were virtually *terra incognita*. As their catalogue entries were commonly generic and succinct at best (e.g., items 83 and 111), frustratingly defective and downright wrong at worst (e.g., item 85), their description had to start almost from scratch. Third and final, the uneven treatment of items reflects my – equally uneven – personal interests and capacities. In his celebrated commentary of the *Lāmīyat al-‘Ajam, al-Ghayth al-Musajjam*, al-Şafadī stated *Fa mahmā stadrat al-kalām ilayhi waffaytuhu ḥaqqahu*, “No matter how much digression the subject requires, you will see that I gave it its full due.”²³ While I, unlike al-Şafadī, did not give every subject “its full due”, I did allow myself to follow a particular line of interest whenever I saw fit, thus digressing considerably from the immediate topic at hand. These digressions (*istiḍrātāt*) range widely, from the bio- and bibliography of an all-but-forgotten author such as Ṭūghān Shaykh al-Ashrafī to Mamluk imamophilia, from the precursors to Qānişawh’s literary soirees to penmanship exercises of his more advanced *mamlūk* students in calligraphy, from Qānişawh’s written *Nachlass* to his biological *Nachlass* that connects him to the 20th-century Mardam Bak family of Damascus, and from his reasons to write a poem on so mundane a topic as clipping one’s nails to an unpublished treatise by al-Suyūṭī. It can only be hoped that the reader will think of these serendipitous digressions as *durar mutanāthira* rather than as *istiḍrādāt fī ghayr waqtihā*...

In the third chapter, *A Library Profiled*, I present a number of more focused discussions, by bringing together various threads that run through the items detailed in the previous chapter. Among others, I deal with the manuscripts’ date and place of copying, identifying Qānişawh’s library as a newly established and local library first and foremost. Next, I dwell on three related, yet distinct stages in any manuscript’s life: the concepts of *kitāba*, *khidma* and *bi rasm*. Turning my attention from the manuscripts to the works these contain, I try and capture the list in terms of a clustered diversity, by highlighting some of its most favoured titles and authors. Next, I consciously and cautiously switch from the indicative to the subjunctive mood, and identify those titles and topical clusters that I find

23 Translated by Adam Talib, “Al-Şafadī, His Critics, and the Drag of Philological Time”, *Philological Encounters* 4 (2019): 109–134, here p. 117, with ref. to several studies on *istiḍrādāt*.

suspiciously absent or underrepresented. Building on this, I also deal with the particularly vexed issue of representativeness: how representative is the list – both in quantitative and in qualitative terms – of Qāniṣawh’s library? In particular, I contemplate the epistemic leap that separates the main title of this book from its subtitle: a leap from “browsing” through an undetermined number of bookshelves, towards the “reconstruction” of the library that these bookshelves constituted. Returning to the safety of the indicative mood, I conclude this chapter by identifying some particularly promising lines of future inquiry.

The fourth chapter, *A Library Identified*, picks up where the library profiling of the previous chapter has left off. By taking an even broader and different perspective, the focus is changed *from the library of the man to the man behind the library*, from Qāniṣawh’s mss. to Qāniṣawh himself. Starting from the manuscript evidence, as itemized in the second chapter and as profiled in the third chapter, I recognize Qāniṣawh as an early modern ruler who helped shape the novel monarchic script of the *Turkic Sufistic poet-sultan*, and I rethink the late Mamluk Sultanate as an important hub in a burgeoning *Turkic literary ecumene*. As pointed out earlier, this book by no means aspires to present Qāniṣawh’s biography. As such, only those aspects of his person and his personality that transpire directly from his library are dealt with.

Instead of burdening an already lengthy second chapter with the fascinating afterlife of Qāniṣawh’s manuscripts, I have decided to assemble some of the evidence in a separate chapter, *A Library Shattered*. While thus far I have tried and *bring the books back to where they were*, I now change focus to *the way that they got where they are now*, and I follow the trail of some manuscripts from Cairo up to their present locations, with particular focus on the various manuscript holdings in Istanbul. Added to this chapter is an *Excursus* on a list of books retrieved by the Ottomans from the Citadel of Aleppo in the immediate aftermath of the Battle of Marj Dābiq in 922/1516. Both the reasons for its inclusion in the present study and for its separate treatment as an excursus will be dealt with there.

At the end of the book, I provide eleven *Indices*, thus allowing easy access to the scores of authors, titles, copyists, keywords, manuscripts, etc., that are referenced in this volume (yet excluding the text edition provided in the *Excursus*).

Technical Preliminaries, Especially Regarding Chapter Two

Before moving over to Chapter Two, *A Library Reconstructed*, and delving into its first item, a *majmūʿ* kept at the Milli Kütüphane, Ankara, a few words are in order regarding the structure of the items and the symbols used, the numbering of

items, the transcription system, and, most importantly, the arrangement of items.

Each item of Chapter Two aims at providing at least the following information:

- City, manuscript repository, shelf mark, *vidi/non vidi*, catalogue reference.
- Author and date of death, title, topic.
- Copyist, date and place of copying, number of folios.
- Relation to Qāniṣawh (authored by him, commissioned by him, dedicated to him, ...)

In order not to burden this already hefty chapter, various measures have been taken:

- Cross-references to other items or to the following chapters are added, but not in an exhaustive way. For the full web of connectivities, the reader is directed to the following chapters and the detailed indices.
- Parallels with mss. owned by other (mostly Mamluk) rulers are given only in the most relevant cases.
- As we are dealing with a large number of authors, titles, topics and genres, the number of bibliographical references could easily be multiplied *ad infinitum* or, indeed, *ad nauseam*. As already stated, I have tried and referenced lesser known authors, literary works and editions first and foremost, and I trust that the reader will know *misk* from *mühür*, *riq'a* from *risāla*, and *takhalluṣ* from *takhmīs*. While I don't expect the reader to be particularly well read in al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* or in Ibn Ḥijja's *Badī'iya*, I do expect him/her to know where to look if need be.
- The items are approached first and foremost *as texts* and not *as material objects*. As such, their paleographical and codicological features are only dealt with every now and then.²⁴
- The “afterlife” of the mss. was found fascinating enough to merit a separate chapter, *A Library Shattered*.

In the items discussed in Chapter Two, the following additional symbols are used:

24 This is an admission of weakness on my behalf more than anything else, since a more holistic approach would certainly prove most useful for some items. For a detailed holistic analysis of a single ms., see, e.g., É. Franssen, “What was there in a Mamluk Amir's Library? Evidence from a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript”, in Y. Ben-Bassat (ed.), *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History. Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni* (Leiden/Boston, 2017), pp. 311–332. For a codicological description of some items presented in the present volume, see, e.g., A. Ohta, “The Bindings of Qansuh al-Ghawri”, in A. Ohta, J.M. Rogers & R.W. Haddon (eds.), *Art, Trade and Culture in the Islamic World and Beyond. From the Fatimids to the Mughals. Studies Presented to Doris Behrens-Abouseif* (London, 2016), pp. 215–224.

- (?) A question mark in round brackets following the item number indicates that Qāniṣawh's ownership is conjectural rather than established (e.g., item 2/1).
- (/) A slash in round brackets following the item number indicates that we are dealing with a work that was definitely not Qāniṣawh's yet bound with one that definitely was his (only item 49/3), or considered for sake of comparison (only in item 71).
- (X) A capital X in round brackets following the item number indicates that Qāniṣawh's ownership, while first assumed, is now renounced (only item 115).
- (P) Capital P in round brackets following the item number indicates that we are dealing with a proxy, *i.e.*, the copy of a ms. that definitely not Qāniṣawh's but that has not been found yet (e.g., item 5)
- ▶ The black arrowhead following a numbered item gives a mechanical or hand-written copy of the ms. dealt with in the preceding item. As these copies are post-Qāniṣawh, they are not counted (e.g., the uncounted item following item 9).
- The arrow is used for cross-referencing to other items inside Chapter Two or to other chapters.
- <> Tentative readings or illegible words in transcribed texts.

Regarding the numbering of items, the following:

- In the case of convolutes, its constitutive titles are given a dual number separated by a slash. For example, item (2) is a convolute, consisting of 2 titles, (2/1) and (2/2).
- In the case of single titles that consist of various sections (*bāb, majlis, faṣl, ...*), the various sections are given a dual number separated by a hyphen. For example, item (3) is a single title, yet consists of sections (3-1) to (3-11).

Straightforward as this procedure may seem, the caveats are as plenty as the proverbial eels are slippery, and the issue of counting will require a few more words in Chapter Three, *A Library Profiled*.

Regarding transcription, it has been decided not to follow one system, but instead to transcribe Arabic, Persian and Turkic according to their most commonly used system. The Arabic *jīm* and *khā'* thus correspond to Turkic *cīm* and *ḫā'*, etc. As a rule, Middle-Arabic features and/or orthographical or grammatical flaws (*hamza* elision, grammatical incongruence, ...) are left unemended, and only particularly noteworthy or significant cases are marked by *sic*.

Unless indicated otherwise, all translations are mine. For the Qur'ān, I have followed the translation of Sahih International.

A particularly vexed issue, and one over which more than one sympathetic colleague has expressed his/her concern, is the arrangement of items in the second chapter. Various options come to mind, such as an arrangement by author, title, language, date of composition, relation to Qāniṣawh, genre or topic. However, especially the first five options I found wanting. First, there is the fact that authors can be anonymous, titles can be in flux, composition dates can be estimates at best, etc. Second, quite some of these options would result in either over-classification (such as an arrangement by title, which would yield some 100 categories) or in under-classification (such as an arrangement by language, which would yield an unwieldy Arabic category), neither of which are particularly helpful. Third, and more troublesome even, there is the fact that any particular classification would prioritize one specific line of research to the detriment of all others. An author-focused classification is convenient for the Suyūṭī scholar, but much less for the *ḥadīth* scholar. Equally, a Qāniṣawh-focused classification would be welcomed by those who want to list authors who sought his patronage, but less so by those who are looking into calligraphic activities in early 16th-century Cairo.

It would seem that a genre- or topic-based organization is our best option, since this would unlikely result in over- or under-classification, and would probably meet the expectations of more scholars than any of the other classifications. In the end, however, I decided not to settle even with this. As an easy argument in favour of this decision, I could bring in the *majmū'*, as these convolutes often defy a straightforward genre- or topic-based classification (or a classification on other grounds, for that matter), but, admittedly, this is not my main reason for taking another course. Cumbersome as it may be, *majmū'*s remain classifiable. My main reason for organizing the material differently is the fact that I find a topical or genre-based organization often reductionist rather than elucidating, and sometimes reflecting current, ill-informed and ahistorical institutionalized divides (read: my own understanding of *what a text is*) rather than contemporaneous approaches to the material. As a *takhmīṣ* to al-Būṣīrī's *Mantle Ode* is both a rhetorical tour de force and an act of pious devotion, should it go with the *qaṣīda* by al-Ṭuḡhrā'ī or rather with an anonymous *dhikr*? Should an *arba'ūna* on *'adl* resort under "Sunna", or under "Fürstenspiegel"? Didn't Firdawsī's *Shāh-Nāma* function both as a historical source and as a mirror for princes? What should prevail? Topic or (formal) genre, or perhaps functionality and performative context?

In the end, I asked myself: how to organize the material in Chapter Two in such a way that it *prioritizes my own line of research and explicates my own methodology*, that is, a conscious and explicated move from "browsing through a number of books" to "reconstructing the library of which these were part",

hereby gradually switching from the indicative to the subjunctive mood? I found that the most apt way to arrange the material was simply by their present location:

city > institution > shelf mark number

Obviously, this particular classification comes with considerable losses, yet these are compensated by ample cross-referencing, focused discussions in chapters three to four, and detailed indices at the end of the book (especially → Index 5). More important, however, is the fact that in my view, these losses do not outweigh the merits. First, unlike a genre- or topic-based classification, this is a classification that, in itself, *does not yet speak*. Second, this idiosyncratic classification invites – or even compels – any reader who pursues a different line of research to browse through the items him- or herself. In doing so, it can only be hoped that he or she will also derive benefit from its wholesome, serendipitous effects, as described by Boyce, Meadow and Kraft in this book's second epitaph:

“People find valuable information on subject B when searching for subject A, a phenomenon often called *serendipity*. The very act of browsing allows a user to recognize information of value in other contexts than that in mind when the search was started”²⁵

The word serendipity, coined by Horace Walpole (1717–1797), has a fascinating history, going back to Arabic *Sarandīb*, Sri Lanka, but exploring this any further would perhaps be one *durra mutanāthira* too many...²⁶

25 B. Boyce, C. Meadow & D. Kraft, *Measurement in information science* (San Diego, 1994), p. 177, quoted in Case, *Looking for Information*, p. 85.

26 See Th.G. Remer (ed.), *Serendipity and the Three Princes, from the Peregrinaggio of 1557* (Norman, OK, 1965).

2. A Library Browsed. A First Instalment of One Hundred and Thirty-Five Items

- (1) (?) Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, Elazığ İl Halk Kütüphanesi 23 Hk 3380 (*non vidi*)²⁷

A convolute of 3 parts:

(1/1) Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. al-Ṭūlūnī, *al-Nuzhat al-Sanīya* (ff. 1v–35r) (→ 17, 83/2).

(1/2) Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, *Shajarat al-Nasab al-Sharīf al-Nabawī* (ff. 37v–43r) (→ 83/1).

(1/3) Ibn Aḥmad al-Mu‘tadhīr ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (d. ?), *al-Shajara fī Waṣf al-Nabī wa l-‘Ashara* (ff. 44v–87v).

Given the strong parallels of (1/1) and (1/2) to Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 2798 (→ 83), this manuscript may have been part of Qāniṣawh’s library, but this remains to be established. Moreover, as detailed in item (83), Qāniṣawh’s authorship of (1/2) is dubious at best (see Add. 13).

- (2) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Hs. or. 9865 (*vidi*)²⁸

A worm-eaten convolute of 2 parts:

(2/1) (?) Abū l-‘Alā’ Ṣā‘id b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ustuwā’ī’s (d. 432/1041)²⁹ *Aqīda*.

27 See http://yazmalar.gov.tr/pbl/katalog_tarama_sonuc?page=1&arsiv_no=3380.

28 See R. Quiring-Zoche, *Arabische Handschriften. Reihe B: Teil 6: Die Handschriften der Sammlung Oskar Rescher in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz* [VOHD 17, B, 7] (Stuttgart, 2015), nrs. 86, 407.

29 For the author and his work, see S. Bahçivan, “Al-Qāḍī Abū al-‘Alā’ Ṣā‘id b. Muḥammad al-Ustuwā’ī (343–432 H) wa l-bayt al-Ṣā‘idī ba’ dahu, wa kitābuhu l-‘I‘tiqād”, *Selçuk Üniversitesi İlahiyât Fakültesi Dergisi* 10 (2000): 217–250.

This work, also known as the *Kitāb al-ʿItiqād*³⁰, is a collection of *aḥādīth* on Islamic faith, all handed down by Abū Ḥanīfa:

Hādhihi ‘aqīda marwīya ‘an al-īmān al-a‘zam wa l-ḥabr al-a‘lam al-aqdam, sirāj al-umma kāshif al-ghumma, al-makhṣūṣ bi ‘ināyat al-karīm al-mannān, Abī Ḥanīfat al-Nu‘mān raḍīya llāh ‘anhu wa arḍāhu wa ja‘ala l-janna mathwāhu, taghammadahu llāh bi ghufrānihi wa aḥallahu buḥbūhat jinānihi (...)

This is a creed transmitted on the authority of the great imam, the learned and foremost authority, the lamp of the Ummah and the remover of grief, upon whom are bestowed the cares of the Beneficent Benefactor, Abū Ḥanīfat al-Nu‘mān, may God be pleased with him, may He gratify him and may He make Paradise his abode, may He cover him with his pardon, and may He settle him amidst the affluences of His gardens (...)

Following a prologue, the work consists of 14 *fuṣūl*: on *al-īmān, al-qaḍā’ wa l-qadr, al-istiṭā‘a, al-Qur’ān, adhāb al-qabr, al-shafā‘a, al-nahy ‘an al-khurūj ‘alā l-sultān, ...* The work was copied by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Azraqī in 876/1471 (ff. 1r–28v), whose penmanship is further illustrated by two more items in the list (→ 27, 28)³¹ Its colophon reads:

Wāfaqa l-farāgh min kitābat sādīs shahr Muḥarram al-ḥarām ‘ām iftītāḥ sanat sitt wa sab‘īn wa thamān miya, ‘alā yad al-‘abd al-faqīr ilā rabbihi l-qadīr al-mu‘ammil bi l-jinān an yadkhulahā wa l-muslimīn wa yartaqī (sic) Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Azraqī ḥāmidan llāh ta‘ālā wa muṣallīyan ‘alā nabīhi Muḥammad ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa sallama, wa ḥasbunā llāh wa ni‘ma l-wakīl!

The copy was finished on the sixth of the Sacred Muḥarram, in the beginning of the year 876, by the servant who is in need of his Lord, the Almighty, and who hopes, both for himself and for the Muslims, to enter Paradise and to advance, [that is], Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Azraqī, praising God, exalted is He above all, and praying for His Prophet, Muḥammad, God bless Him and grant Him salvation. God suffices us, how excellent a protector He is!

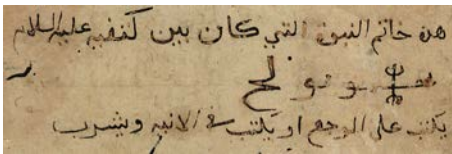


Fig. 4: The Prophetic Seal (detail of f. 28v)

30 For an edition, see Abū l-‘Alā’ Ṣā‘id b. Muḥammad al-Ustuwā‘ī, *Kitāb al-ʿItiqād*, ed. Sayyid Bāghjivān (Beirut, 2005).

31 Al-Azraqī also copied a treatise on chess by Ibn Abī Ḥajala (d. 776/1375), the *Unmūdhaj al-Qitāl fī Naql al-ʿAwāl*, dated 850/1446–47 (Manchester, John Rylands Library, Arabic MS 59), and — in light of its ubiquity in this list, little surprise — al-Būṣīrī’s *Kawākib* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Hs. or. 13547).

Underneath the colophon, a later addition depicts the prophetic seal that Muḥammad had between His shoulders, (*khātam al-nubūwa*, → fig. 4), and that could be used for talismanic purposes (*yuktab ‘alā l-waja’...*).

(2/2) *Qiṣṣat ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shādān*³² *al-Balkhī*.

This anonymous story was copied (*katabahu*) by *mamlūk* Māmāy min Ṭabaqat al-Ḥawsh al-Malikī al-Ashrafi for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm al-maqām al-sharīf malik al-barrayn wa l-baḥrayn mawlānā l-sultān al-Ashraf Abī l-Naṣr Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī ‘azza naṣruhu*) in 23 ff. (ff. 30r–53v), and concludes with a poem of 7 vv. As the cataloger has identified another copy of the story in Princeton, this is certainly not a unicum.

The story relates tells the story of some ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, who had cursed his mother and killed his sister. These deadly sins notwithstanding, a *ḥadīth* scholar succeeded in reconciling ‘Abd al-Raḥmān with both his mother and with God. Following the *basmala* etc., the story opens as follows:

Ruwiya ‘an Mālik b. Dīnār raḍīya llāh ‘anhu annahu qāla: “Ḥajajtu sanatan min al-sinīn ilā Bayt Allāh al-ḥarām wa ziyārat qabr al-Nabīy ‘alayhi aḍḍal al-ṣalāt wa l-salām, fa lammā ataytu ilā Makkat al-musharrafa, ṭuftu bi l-bayt usbū’an. Thumma innī ataytu ‘inda l-Ḥajar al-Aswad, fa nimtu ilā jānibihi, fa lammā staghraqtu fī l-karā, idhā anā bi ḥatīf, qad atānī fī l-manām, wa huwa yaqūl lī, ‘Qum, yā Mālik b. Dīnār, fa bashshir al-ḥujjāj bi anna llāh ‘azza wa jalla qad ghafara li ahl Minā wa ‘Arafāt wa kull man ḥajja wa ‘tamara wa ramā l-jamarāt mā khalā rajulan wāḥīdan yuqāl lahu ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shādān al-Balkhī, fa inna llāh ‘azza wa jalla ghaḍbān ‘alayī min fawq ‘arshihi!” Qāla Mālik b. Dīnār raḍīya llāh ‘anhu, “Fa ntabahū min manāmī fazi’an mar’ūban fa qultu, ‘Wā ḥasratāh! (...)”

The following is related on the authority of Mālik b. Dīnār, may God be pleased with him: “One year, I made the Hajj to the Sacred House of God and visited the Grave of the Prophet, upon Him be the best of peace and salvation, and when I came to Mecca, the Honoured One, I circumambulated the House for a week. I then came to the Black Stone and slept at its side. As I fell asleep, all of a sudden, there was this caller, who had come to me in my sleep, saying, ‘Rise, O Mālik b. Dīnār, and bring the good news to the pilgrims that God, the Glorified and Sublime, has granted pardon to the people of Minā and ‘Arafāt, to everybody who has performed the Greater Hajj or the Lesser Hajj and has stoned the Devil, [all] with the exception of one man, called ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shādān al-Balkhī, with whom God, the Glorified and Sublime, is angry with from atop His throne!” Mālik b. Dīnār, may God be pleased with him, continued, “I woke up, frightened and terrified, and I said, ‘What a pity! (...)”

Perhaps thorough codicological analysis could establish whether (2/1) and (2/2) were bound already in Qāniṣawh’s times or only later on. Until that happens, the inclusion of (2/1) in this list remains an open question.

32 Or rather *Shādhān*, as read by the cataloger?

- (3) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. or. oct. 3744
(*vidi*)³³

This royal “pocket library”³⁴ of 236ff. is undoubtedly one of the most prized items of Qāniṣawh’s *khazā’inīya*. Not only does it provide us with (most of) Qāniṣawh’s Turkic poetry, it also reveals Qāniṣawh’s Turkic literary horizons — horizons quite wider than all other manuscript evidence combined would suggest! — and gives us an excellent idea of what non-Mamluk Turkic authors were circulating in Mamluk circles. Some way or another, this “pocket library” resonated deeply with many other items of the list: prosody and music (compare to the *anghām* of Qāniṣawh’s Arabic *muwashshahāt* and his *badī’iya* poem, → 18, 19, Chapter 4), the literary involvement of Sherīf (→ 107), and the role of Yashbak min Mahdī (→ 83, 115). Unfortunately, dating the ms. is difficult. While in the *‘Uqūd al-Jawharīya* (→ 47, 48), Qāniṣawh claims to have assembled a divan already in his pre-sultanic days, it is hard to think of the Berlin divan as anything else than a royal volume. While the catalogue entry by Manfred Götz offers a good starting point, much more can and should be said about this manuscript. For now, however, only a first next step will be taken.

The work opens with a unique miniature (f. 2r, → fig. 5) that probably depicts Qāniṣawh himself:³⁵

33 M. Götz, *Türkische Handschriften Teil 2* [VOHD 13, 2] (Wiesbaden, 1968), nr. 304. The ms. is online available through <http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/content/index.xml>.

34 I borrow this phrase from Barbara Flemming (*Essays on Turkish Literature and History* (Leiden/Boston, 2018), p. 294), who, in her turn, borrowed it from J.T.P. de Bruijn.

35 See E. Atıl, “Mamluk Painting in the Late Fifteenth Century”, *Muqarnas* 2 (1982): 159–171. On the miniature, Qāniṣawh does not seem to be wearing his so-called *nā’ūra* (“water wheel”): a particular type of headgear known for its protruding “horns” that became en vogue by the end of the 15th century and that must be linked to Alexander/Iskandar/Dhū l-Qarnayn, a major prototype of Muslim rulership (→ 3-3, 106, 107). Compare to the celebrated late 16th-century picture of Qāniṣawh wearing his *nā’ūra* found in Jean Jacques Boissard’s *Abbildungen der Türkischen Kayser und Persischen Fürsten*, discussed and reproduced in A. Fuess, “Sultans with Horns: The Political Significance of Headgear in the Mamluk Empire”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 12/2 (2008): 71–94, here pp. 78–81, fig. 9. For more “sultans with horns”, see M. Milwright, “An Ayyubid in Mamluk Guise: The Portrait of Saladin in Paolo Giovio’s *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (1575)”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 18 (2014–15), pp. 187–217. On the whole, “indigenous” pictures of Mamluk sultans appear to be very rare. The Baptistière of Saint Louis comes to mind, as does another brass bowl made by the same artist, but the Mamluk sultans depicted on these remain unnamed. When it comes to non-Mamluk depictions, somewhat earlier than Boissard’s *Abbildungen*, there are of course the celebrated portraits of Qāytbāy, Qāniṣawh and Tūmānbāy in the *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* of Paolo Giovio (d. 1552). Much more anachronistic but perhaps less “exotic” from a Mamluk perspective is the splendid depiction of al-Ẓāḥir Barqūq’s accession ceremony that is found in a copy of Erzurumlu ʿĀrif’s *Siretū’n-Nebī* that was commissioned by the Ottoman sultan Murād III in 1003/1594–95 (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, H 1221, f. 12r). As ʿĀrif had dedicated his translation to Barqūq (r. 784–792/1382–1389, 793–802/1390–139), the identity of the depicted ruler stands beyond doubt (see E. Esin, “Prof. Necati Lugal’in Tedsris

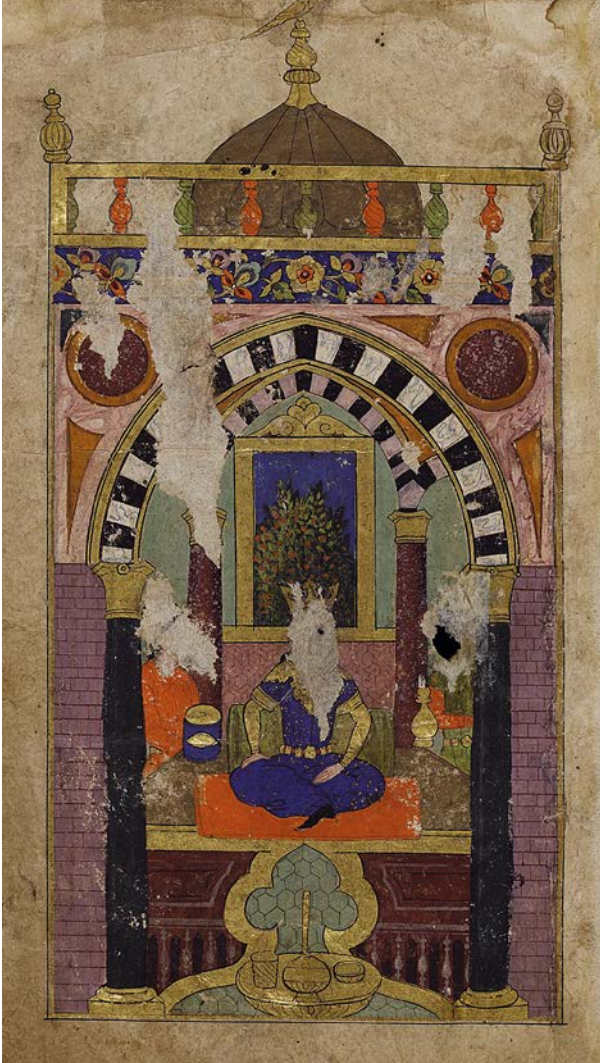


Fig. 5: Qānişawh sitting cross-legged (f. 2r)

Following this miniature, the “pocket library” consists of the following 11 sections³⁶:

Ettiği *Terceme-i Darîrî* ve Bu Eser İçin Yapılan Resimler”, in *Necati Lugal Armağanı* (Ankara, 1968), pp. 248–263, especially pp. 254–255, ill. 1) (see Add. 1).

³⁶ The original number of sections might have been higher, since at least on 7 places 1 or more ff. are missing (not by any chance removed because these had miniatures?): following ff. 70, 74, 87, 145, 189, 234 and 235.

(3-1) Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, *Divān-i mevlānā s-sultān el-melikū'l-eṣref Kāni-ṣawh Ğavrī*, 'azze naṣruhu va ḥullide mülkühu (ff. 2v–143v).

Included are some 70 poems of various types (*qaṣīda*, *ghazal* and *rubā'ī*) by Qāniṣawh, all in Turkic, apart from two in mixed Arabic-Turkic and one in mixed Persian-Turkic. Clearly, this Turkic divan is not exhaustive, since Qāniṣawh's Arabic divans contain a limited number of Turkic or mixed Arabic-Turkic poems that are absent from the Berlin divan (→ 5, 14, 19, 43, 82, 100, 125). The sultan's Turkic poems recorded in this section have been edited twice, once in Turkish and once in English.³⁷ It should be clear, however, that these editions have far from exhausted the subject of the sultan's poetry, let alone that of the sultan's pocket library as a whole.

Much work, for example, remains to be done on Qāniṣawh's *naẓā'ir*, i. e., his *imitatio* poems to model poems that are also included in the divan (next to *naẓā'ir* by other poets) (→ 18, 19). Let it be clear that— much like *takhmīs* and *badī'iya* poetry (→ 19, 23, 36, 49, 50, 80, 98, etc.) — these *naẓā'ir* were so much more than mere literary *Spielerei* or rhetorical *tour de force*. *Naẓā'ir* were, in fact, multi-functional. First, they provided “an arena in which (amateur poets) could practice and develop their skill”³⁸. Second, through their imitation poems, poets inscribed themselves into a literary network, such as the one carefully mapped by Benedek Péri, which centered on imitations of a particular poem by the 16th-century Ottoman poet Enverī with *beklerüz* (“we are waiting”) as its *redif*.³⁹ Indeed, they inscribed themselves into a vast and burgeoning literary ecumene, since, to quote Sheldon Pollock's seminal work, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, “it is in part from acts of reading, hearing, performing, reproducing, and circulating literary and political texts that social groups come to produce themselves and understand themselves as groups.”⁴⁰ And last but not least, imitation poems often constituted acts of pious devotion, or, in the words of Marc Toutant, cases of “pious hermeneutics”.⁴¹ These three functions of the *naẓā'ira* are clearly recognizable in Qāniṣawh's literary output, and will be returned to later on (especially → 48, Ch. 3, Ch. 4).

37 O. Yavuz, *Kansu Gavri'nin Türkçe Divanı (Metin-İnceleme-Tıpkıbasım)* (Konya, 2002); M. Yalçın, *The Divān of Qānsūh al-Ghūrī* (Istanbul 2002). See the informative review of both works by R. Dankoff in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8/1 (2004): 303–307.

38 B. Péri, “... *beklerüz*': An Ottoman Paraphrase (*naẓīre*) Network from the 16th Century”, in Ch. Czygan & S. Conermann (eds.), *An Irisdescent Device: Premodern Ottoman Poetry* (Göttingen, 2018), pp. 147–180, here p. 151.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 150.

40 Sh. Pollock, *The Language of the God in the World of Men. Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 2006), p. 28.

41 “Imitational Poetry as Pious Hermeneutics? Jami and Nava'i/Fani's Rewritings of Hafez's Opening Ghazal”, in Ch. Melville (ed.), *The Timurid Century* (London-New York, 2020), pp. 97–120.

Unfortunately, the authors of the model poems that Qāniṣawh chose to emulate are referred to by their *takhalluṣ* or pen name only and cannot always be identified:

- Poets who can be identified with certainty include: the ill-fated Ottoman prince Cem, Aḥmed Paşa (→ 3-2, 3-8), Şīrāzī (i. e. Şeyḥ Elvān-i Şīrāzī, famous for his translation of the *Gülşen-i Rāz*), Nizāmī (i. e., Ḳaramānlı Nizāmī), Nesīmī⁴², Ḥasan Ođlı (the elusive Pūr-i Ḥasan, who probably appears also in Seyf-i Sarāyī's *Gülistān bi't-Türkī*)⁴³, Yashbak min Maḥdī (→ 83, 115), and Şerīf (who translated the *Shāh-Nāma*, → 107).
- A second group can be identified only tentatively, as a positive match with their respective divans appears to be lacking: Aḥmedī (the same as the Aḥmedī of 3-3 and 3-9?), Kātib Ođlı (i. e., Yazıcı Ođlı Aḥmed Bīcān?), Şeyḥī (the Germaniyid?), Naşībī (the 15th-century author of a *Mevlid-Nāme*?) and Şeyḥ Ođlı (who authored a *Marzūbān-Nāme*?).
- For a third group of poets, not even a tentative identification is feasible: Nāşir, Ḥalāşī, Kāđī, Şalāḥī, and Zārīfī (see Add. 2).

As observed by Robert Dankoff, the model poem not always precedes Qāniṣawh's emulating poem. A malevolent reader would suspect Qāniṣawh to have played a prestige-boosting trick here: by having his emulating poems precede their respective model poems, the *imitatio* relation could very well be mistaken in favour of Qāniṣawh (→ 18, 19)!⁴⁴

Unique as it may be, Qāniṣawh's divan should still be compared to four other Mamluk collections of Turkic poetry:

- When it comes to single poet-divans, to date, only one other Mamluk-Turkic divan has turned up. This divan, dated 886/1482, is authored by Qarājā min Ṭabaqat al-Arba'īn, *mutakhallaṣ* Rūḥī, and is dedicated to Qāyṭbāy.⁴⁵

42 Cfr. Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-Zuhūr*, V: 88: *Wa rubbamā kāna yamīl ilā madhhab al-Nasīmīya min maylihi ilā mu'āsharat al-A'ājim*. Norris has dealt with Nesīmī's influence on Qāniṣawh's poetry (H.T. Norris, "Aspects of the influence of Nesimi's Hurufi verse, and his martyrdom, in the Arab East between the 16th and 18th centuries", in G. Veinstein (ed.), *Syncretismes et hérésies dans l'Orient Seldjoukide et Ottoman (XIVe–XVIIIe siècle)* (Leuven/Paris, 2005), pp. 163–182).

43 See B. Flemming, "Ein Gazel von Hasan ođlu (Unbekannte Gedicht im Divan von Sultan Gavri)", in *I. Türk Dili Bilimsel Kurultayına Sunulan Bildiriler 1972* (Ankara, 1975), pp. 331–341. See also the discussion of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, supplément turc 361 (→ 18).

44 Especially in the case of unidentified poets, there is the possibility that Qāniṣawh indeed provided the model for the unidentified poet to emulate.

45 Unicum in British Library, Or. 4128; ed. and analysis: H. Kara, "15. Yüzyıl Memluk Sahası Şairlerinden Rūḥī'nin Dīvānı (İnceleme-Metin)", MA thesis (T.C. Marmara Üniversitesi, 2014).

- There is no trace of this Rūhī in Qānişawh’s “pocket library”, an observation that may sound odd at first, yet in fact tallies well with broader observations regarding the corpus of Mamluk-Turkic literature. This issue will be returned to in the next chapter, *A Library Profiled*.
- When it comes to multiple poets-*majmū’āt*, there are two items to consider. First, there is Seyf-i Sarāyī’s translation of the Persian (or even Islamicate) classic par excellence, Sa’ dī’s *Gulistān*. His *Gulistān bi’t-Türkī*, dated 793/1391, has an addendum with a selection of Turkic poetry by a variety of authors.⁴⁶
- Next, there is the *Mecmū’a-i Laṭif* that was once part of Qāyrbāy’s library (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, K 950).⁴⁷ This collection is somewhat similar to Qānişawh’s collection of Turkic poetry, albeit of a much smaller scale and not including poetry by Qāyrbāy himself. Instead, it contains poetry of, among others, Kağğusuz Abdāl, Gülşehrī, and ‘Aşık Paşa. The work was penned by ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Amīr ‘Alī <al-Hā’i/al-Hāyī> al-Mukattib, and this is worth pointing, since we can identify at least one of his pupils: Tamur al-Sharīfī (→ 90, Chapter Three).
- Oddly enough — or, again, rather in line with expectations — the poetry collections of Qāyrbāy and Qānişawh do not share a single poet. Also the fact that the three authors referred to were all important pioneers in the development of a Western-Turkic literary tradition and — in close tandem therewith — in the “formation of distinct modes of piety”⁴⁸ is surely not a coincidence, and will be returned to later on (→ 115, Ch. 3, Ch. 4).
- Concluding, Qānişawh’s divan shows a small yet remarkable congruence with an anonymous collection of Turkic poetry, which will be dealt with elsewhere (→ 18).

46 Suffice to refer to A.J.E. Bodrogligeti, “A Collection of Turkish Poems from the 14th Century”, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 16 (1963): 245–311.

47 M. Demirel, *‘Alī bin Aḥmed bin Emīr ‘Alī, Mecmū’a-i Laṭife ve Dili. Giriş-İnceleme-Metin-Sözlük-Tıpkıbasım* (İstanbul, 2005). *Kātib al-sirr* Maḥmūd b. Ajā, who figures in, among others the *majālīs* recorded in *al-Uqūd al-Jawharīya* (→ 47, 48), owned a copy of Gülşehrī’s *Mantıku’l-Ṭayr*. His father, Muḥammad b. Ajā, was equally important (protégé of Yashbak min Mahdī, *qāḍī’askar* and ambassador to the Ottoman court, author of the *Rihlat Yashbak*), and was a Turkic litterateur in his own right, translating into Turkic the *Futūḥ al-Shām*, a pseudo-Wāqidi (→ Chapter Five, *A Library Shattered*) (see Add. 13).

48 Z. Oktay Uslu, “The *Şaṭhiyye* of Yūnus Emre and Kağğusuz Abdāl: The Creation of a Vernacular Islamic Tradition in Turkish”, *Turcica* 50 (2019): 9–52, here p. 15. In the words of Karamustafa, these poets were “instrumental in the development of a distinctly “provincial” and “latitudinarian” religious discourse in Turkish that explicitly and consciously situated itself *against* the perceived “metropolitan” and “authoritarian” discourses and practices of the Muslim scholars and Şūfis (...) who operated largely within the orbit of the learned traditions couched in classical Arabic as well as Persian” (“Kaygusuz Abdal: A Medieval Turkish Saint and the Formation of Vernacular Islam in Anatolia”, in O. Mir-Kasimov (ed.), *Mysticism, Messianism and the Construction of Religious Authority in Islam* (Leiden/Boston, 2014), pp. 329–342, here p. 331).

(3-2) Aḥmed Paşa (d. 902/1497), an untitled selection of poetry (ff. 88r-143v).

Of the celebrated “sultan of poets” and vizier to Meḥmed II, included are 4 *qaşīdas*, 36 *ghazals*, and another 9 *qaşīdas*. All these are included in his *divan*, and show only minor textual variants.⁴⁹ Poetry of his is also included in the *divan*’s first and eighth part (3-1 and 3-8).

(3-3) Aḥmedî (d. around 812/1410), *Risāle fî l-ʿArūz* (ff. 144v-147r).

This *risāle* seems to be a unicum and is absent from the bibliography of Aḥmedî. This poet is known first and foremost as the author of the famous *Iskender-Nāme*⁵⁰, which was read also in Mamluk circles, as testified by the facts that two copies of it were found at the Citadel of Aleppo in 1518 (→ Excursus) and that thus far 3 Mamluk(-owned) mss. have been identified⁵¹ (see Add. 3):

- Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W.664 (*vidi*) (→ Excursus, Fig. 81)
- Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Adab Turkî 316 (*vidi*) (→ Excursus, Fig. 82)
- İstanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, TY 6044 (a beautiful copy with exquisite miniatures, which was owned by Khushqadam, a *khāzindār* of *dawādār* ‘Alî Bāy, under the reign of sultan Timurbughā)⁵²

Nonetheless, Aḥmedî’s authorship can safely be assumed, in light of the following three arguments. First, all verses analysed in the *risāle* are Aḥmedî’s, being included in his *divan*⁵³. Second, Aḥmedî is known to have authored (at least) one other treatise on poetry, the Persian *Badāyī al-Siḥr fî Şanāyī al-Shiʿr*. Third, Aḥmedî’s work appears elsewhere in the *divan* (→ 3-9 and perhaps 3-1). In this short treatise, several meters are illustrated by a verse of Aḥmedî’s *divān*, followed by its *taqṭī* using the *faʿala* verb paradigm.

(3-4) Anon., *Risāle-i ʿArūz ez Güftār-i Muṭahhar* (ff. 147r-153r).

Another *risāle* on *ʿarūḍ*, anonymous now. Following a versified introduction on the *buhūr-i şīrī* (*Āğāz-i risāle-i mezkūr*, ff. 147r-149r), there are 13 brief versified sections on the various *buhūr* and *furūʿ* (*mutaqārib*, *basīṭ*, *ramal*, ...).

(3-5) Kāzî ‘Abd Allāh, *Risāle fî l-ʿArūz* (153v-181r).

This is a Turkic *meşnevî* of 210 vv., treating the technical terms of Arabo-Persian prosody, the metrical feet, the 16 traditional meters, etc. The work was

49 Ahmet Paşa Divanı, ed. A.N. Tarlan (İstanbul, 2005).

50 For another important source on Alexander for the Mamluk imagination, see Firdawsî’s *Shāh-Nāma* (→ 106, 107). Intimately related to Alexander is, obviously, al-Khiḍr (→ 17-4, 84).

51 In spite of Qānişawh’s two-horned *nā ʿūra* turban mentioned earlier, so far, no copy linked to Qānişawh has been identified.

52 And thus not to be identified as sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Khushqadam, who immediately preceded sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Yilbāy, as was done by the editors of the splendid 2019 edition of the *Iskender-Nāme*. See Ahmedî, *İskendernāme*, eds. Akdoğan Y. et al. (İstanbul, 2019), pp 50–51; illustrations 1012 (frontispiece), 1013–1015, 1021, 1023, 1024, 1026, 1027, 1041, 1042 (miniatures).

53 Ed. Y. Akdoğan (Ankara, 1988).

authored in 849/1445 by 'Abd Allāh, who originated from Divriği and was active in Cairo as a *munshī* and *qādī*. Predating Nevā'ī's *Mizānū'l-Evzān* some 80 years, 'Abd Allāh's work could very well be the oldest of its kind in any Turkic language. A second copy of the work is available in Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, 473. This copy, dated between 872/1468 and 885/1480, belonged to Yashbak min Mahdī (→ 83, 115), and has been edited by Tourkhan Gandjei.⁵⁴

Next to some minor variants, a few additional lines and the renaming of 1 section, there is one crucial difference between the two copies, hitherto unnoticed: the Berlin copy has an additional section of 9 vv. (*fī bayān-i medḥ-i Šāh Maṣṣūr-i Šehrī*) that is lacking in the Chester Beatty Library ms.⁵⁵ As it happens, this crucial addition allows us to identify the original work's dedicatee: Maṣṣūr Shahrī of Divriği. Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī record several members of the Banū Shahrī in the northern lands of the Mamluk Sultanate, such as Ibrāhīm (*nā'ib* of Divriği, d. 790/1388), Khalīl (*nā'ib* of Ja'bar in 820/1417), Maṣṣūr himself (*nā'ib* of Karkar, NW of Hama, Syria, in 855/1451, and of Jerusalem in 863/1458), Muḥammad (*nā'ib* of Malatya in 793/1391, and, if not a different member of the family, *nā'ib* of Divriği in 820/1417)⁵⁶, and 'Umar (*nā'ib* of Rahba in 820/1417).⁵⁷ As such, it would appear that the Banū Shahrī were a local family of Turkmen or Kurdish nobility, centred on Divriği in the Mamluk northern border lands, and co-opted by the Mamluk sultanate later on (see Add. 4).

(3-6) An anonymous and untitled *risāle* (ff. 181v–189v).

Of this treatise, written, as observed by cataloger Manfred Götz “in defence of music”, so far no other copy has been found. Yet, we might still be able trace its origins. Compare, e. g., two versions of an anecdote in relation to the divine origin

54 T. Gandjei, “The Bahr-i dūrer: an early Turkish treatise on prosody”, in *Studia Turcologica Memoriae Alexii Bombaci Dicata* (Napoli, 1982), pp. 237–249. Gandjei's statement that this copy was offered by Yashbak to Qāyṭbāy's library is unwarranted and seems to derive from a misunderstanding of the *bi rasm* section (*bi rasm khizānat al-maḥarr al-ashraf al-karīm al-ālī al-mawlawī al-amīrī al-kabīrī al-sayfī Yashbak min Mahdī amīr dawādār wa ustādār al-ālīya wa mudabbir al-mamlakat al-islāmīyat al-malikī al-ashraf Qāyṭbāy 'azza našruhu*). See also Flemming, *Essays on Turkish Literature and History*, pp. 310–311 (repr. of *id.*, “Notes on 'Aruz in Turkish Collections”, in B. Utas & L. Johanson (eds.), *Arabic Prosody and its Applications in Muslim Poetry* (Uppsala, 1994), pp. 61–80); and V. Minorsky, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures* (Dublin, 1958), pp. 110–111.

55 This addition implies that the Berlin copy is not based on the Dublin ms.

56 It was at the latter's request that one of the Ibn al-Shihnas, Muḥibb al-Dīn (d. 815/1412), authored a history of Aleppo, the *Rawḍ al-Manāzir fī 'Ilm al-Awā'il wa l-Awākhir*. In his edition (Beirut, 1417/1997), the editor Sayyid Muḥammad Muhannā misread the patron's name as “Ibn Shahdī”. For the correct reading, see A. Mingana, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Manchester* (Manchester, 1934), columns 392–395.

57 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-Šāfī wa l-Mustawfī ba'da l-Wāfī*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1984–1993), I: 196–197; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li Ma'rīfat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Sa'id 'Abd al-Fattāh 'Ashūr (Cairo, 1972), IV: 406, 410, 517; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawāḍith al-Duhūr*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Cairo, 1990), I: 283.

(and hence) permissibility of *mūsīqī*, the first one taken from a Turkic work that is dated 873/1469 and the second taken from the present *divan*.

In order to refute the *'ulamā*'s claim that music is *ḥarām*, the famous Abbasid musician and music theoretician Şūfī/Şafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mun'im (al-Urmawī) suggests the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad/the ruler of Egypt to bereave a camel of water for 40 days. On the fortieth day, at last, the camel is granted access to water, but just as he is about to quench his thirst, al-Urmawī starts a *zangūle*, which mesmerizes the camel to the extent that he completely forgets about the coveted water.⁵⁸ In all, three times the power of music over the strength of thirst is thus demonstrated, and it is proven that the *'ilm mūsīqī* is an *'ilm sharīf* indeed.

The 1469 Text

(p. 44) (...) *tā kendüyi şuya irişdüre şudan içe, şeyh Şafī ed-Dīn 'Abd'l-Mü'min ağāz eyledi, eyitdi "Kıf yā camel!" didi, bir nevbet-i müretteb zengüle maqāmında bünyād eyledi eyitdi. Deve gördü ki bir laṭīf āvāz kulağına girdü, hayrān kaldı, gözlerin şeyhden yaña dikdi, ağladı, gözlerinden yaşlar aqtı.*

Şöyle ki mecmū-i ḥalāyık anı gördüler vaqtā ki şeyh nevbetin temām itdi, deve daḥi yine şudan yaña revān oldı ve 'azm itdi ki vara şu içe, şeyh yine bir nevbet daḥi bünyād eyledi, deve kendüzin yine şudan girü çekdi, gözlerin yine şeyhden yaña dikdi, yine gözlerinden yaş revān oldı (...)

El-ḥāşıl-i kelām üç nevbet böyle eyledi bu aḥvāli temāmet ḥalāyık gördiler, eyitdiler bu 'ilm şerīf 'ilimidir didiler (...) andan soḥra ^(p. 45) *ḥoşhvānendeler ve güyendeler (...)*

Bilesin kim bu 'ilm-i mūsīkīniḡ aḥvāli iken çokdur (...) pes muḥtaşar kılduḡ ki 'arıflere bu kadar işāret yiter, vallāh a'lem bi's-sevāb.

Qānişawh's *dīvān*

(f. 184v) *Çün kim şuya erişdi, daḥi şeyh Şūfī ed-Dīn ağāz etdi, ayıtdı, "Yā camal, isma!" Daḥi bir nevbet-i müretteb zengüle bünyād etdi, daḥi deve(-i) miskīn gördi kim kulağına bir laṭīf āvāz eşitdi, kendü özin düşürdi, iki gözünü şeyh Şūfī ed-Dīn yaña dikdi daḥi* ^(f. 185r) *kaldı şeyh nevbetini tamām edince iki gözünden seyl gibi yaş aqtı.*

Çün ki şeyh nevbetin tamām etdi, deve fi l-ḥāl şuya erişdi, şeyh yine ağāz etdi, deve yine kendüyi çekdi gözlerinden yaş revān oldı.

Üç defa ḥāl böyle oldı. Gördiler kim bu 'ilm şerīf 'ilimmiş daḥi vardılar bu 'ilme meşḡul oldılar ḥoşhvānendeler ve güyendeler.

Bu 'ilm-i mūsīkīnāt (sic) aḥvāli çokdur, ve likin bir muḥtaşar kılduḡ kim ^(f. 185v) *oḡrıyalar üşenmeyenler 'arıflere bu kadar yeter. İmdi bu 'ilmi dilerseḡ kim ḥāşıl edesen bir üstāda ḥidmet eyle kim tā sen daḥi üstād olasin. Dībāce tamām oldı.*

58 Al-Urmawī's choice for the *zangūle* is not coincidental, since this particular mode is associated with the grunting of the camel (*rāst* being associated with the elephant, *eşfahān* with sheep, ...). See E. Neubauer, "Affe, Laute, Nachtigall. Tiere und Musik im Islam", in A. Vrolijk & J.P. Hogendijk (eds.), *O ye Gentlemen: Arabic Studies on Science and Literary Culture in Honour of Remke Kruk* (Leiden/Boston, 2007), pp. 438–452, here p. 441.

Emmā bundan soñra bilgil kim ol üstâdlar kim bu 'ilm-i müsîkîyi bünyâd eylediler 'ilm-i hikmetden ve 'ilm-i hey'etden ve 'ilm-i nücûmdan ve 'ilm-i tîbdan çıkarmışlardur oniki burüc ve yidi yılduz ve dört 'anâşır ve gece gündüz ki yigirmidört sâ'atdür terkîb eylediler, şöyle ki âdem oğlanınñ aşlı dört 'anâşır dandur.

(...) in order to reach the water and to drink [from it], sheikh Şüfi ed-Dîn 'Abdi'l-Mü'min commenced [speaking]. Saying, "Halt, O camel!" he performed a multisectional suite in the *zangûle maqâm*. As the camel noticed that a sweet voice entered its ear, it was perplexed, fixed its eyes on the sheik again. It cried, tears flowoing from its eyes.

[The camel's crying was so clear] that all people saw it. When the sheikh had finished the suite, the camel anew ran towards the water, in order to reach it and drink from it. [Yet, as] the sheikh again performed a suite, the camel held itself back from the water anew. Fixing its eyes on the sheikh, again tears flew from its eyes.

In short, he thus performed three suites. [As] the people had seen all what had happened, they said, "This science is a noble science!" (...) After that, singers and performers (...)

Know that, while the conditions of this science of music are plenty (...) we have made a summary that suffices for those familiar [with it]. God truly knows best!

Ol üstâdlar kim bu 'ilmi bünyâd etmişler 'ilm-i hey'et ve 'ilm-i hikmet ve 'ilm-i tîbb ve 'ilmi nücûmdan istihrâc eylemişler, on iki burçe yedi yılduza dört 'anâşıra geçeniñ gündüzüñ yigirme dört sâ'atına terkîb etmişlerdi, nitekim âdemüñ aşlı dört dur.

As it reached the water, sheikh Şüfi ed-Dîn commenced [speaking]. Saying, "O camel! Listen!" he performed a multi-sectional suite *zangûle*. As the wretched camel noticed that a sweet voice reached its ear, it dropped, fixed its eyes on sheikh Şüfi ed-Dîn and stayed [still]. By the time the sheikh had finished his suite, tears were flowing from its eyes like a current.

When the sheikh had finished the suite, the camel immediately reached [out] for the water, [yet, as] the sheikh started [singing] again, the camel held itself back [from the much-coveted water], with tears rolling down from its eyes.

Thus happened three times. [As now the people] had seen that this science was clearly a noble science, they set out and occupied themselves with this science, [thus becoming] singers and performers.

The conditions of this science of music are plenty, but we have made a summary that does not frighten the readers, [yet] still suffices for those familiar [with it]. Now, if you want to master this science, you must take an apprenticeship with a master, in order to become a master yourself. End of the preface.

But, following this, know that those masters who have developed this science of music have extracted it from the science of philosophy, the science of astronomy, the science of astrology, and the science of medicine, and they have modelled it [after] the twelve zodiacal signs, the seven planets, the four elements, and day and night, which [comprise] twenty-four hours, just as the basis of mankind consists of four elements.

Those masters who have developed this science have derived it from the science of astronomy, the science of philosophy, the science of medicine, and the science of astrology, and they have modelled it after the twelve zodiacal signs, the seven planets, the four elements, and the twenty-four hours of day and night, just as the elements of man are four.

The first column is taken from a Turkic translation (made by Ḥarīrī b. Muḥammed in 873/1469)⁵⁹ of a *risāle* that was authored in Persian by Kırşehirli Yūsuf b. Nizām ed-Dīn el-Mevlevī, probably in 813/1411. The fact that Yūsuf’s Persian original has not been located so far is unfortunate, but quite irrelevant here. Relevant here is the fact that Ḥarīrī’s transl. and the present treatise display a strong congruence, not verbatim but strong nonetheless. The most obvious solution is to understand the present treatise as another (yet very partial) translation of Kırşehirli Yūsuf’s Persian source text.⁶⁰

(3-7) ‘Adnī (d. 878/1474), an untitled selection of poetry (ff. 190r–207v).

‘Adnī is the *takhalluṣ* of the well-known Ottoman grand vizier Maḥmūd Paşa Angelović (d. 878/1474). Included are 1 Persian *qaṣīda* in *rā’* (*radīf mulk*), followed by 19 Turkic *ghazals*. While all the *ghazals* are available in his *divan* with minor textual variants⁶¹, the Persian *qaṣīda* seems to remain unpublished. According to the editor of his *divan*, Osman Kufacı, there should be a particularly old copy of ‘Adnī’s *divan* in Egypt.⁶² Could this have been Qāniṣawh’s?

(3-8) Aḥmed Paşa (d. 902/1497), 1 *qaṣīda* (ff. 207v–219r).

Another poem of Aḥmed Paşa (→ 1-2), this time a long *qaṣīda* in *-ā*, also available in his *divan*.⁶³

59 Text ed.: U. Sezikli, “Kırşehirli Nizāmeddin İbn Yūsuf’un Risāle-i Mūsikī Adlı Eseri”, MA thesis (T.C. Marmara Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 2000) (based on 3 mss.); Turkish transl.: *id.*, *Risāle-i Mūsikī. Kırşehirli Yusuf bin Nizameddin* (Ankara, 2014) (with ref. to two more mss.). An earlier thesis by Ramazan Kamiloğlu should no longer be consulted, as it is based on one ms. only: “Şehrī Kırşehir el-Mevlevī Yusuf İbn Nizameddin İbn Yusuf Rumi’nin Risale-i Mūsikisi’nin Transkribe ve Değerlendirilmesi”, MA thesis (T.C. İnönü Üniversitesi, Malatya, 1998).

60 For a survey of other Turkic works that drew on Kırşehirli Yūsuf’s work, such as Hızır bin ‘Abdullah’s *Kitābü’l-Edvār*, and Bedr-i Dilşād’s *Murād-Nāme*, see R. Uslu, “Yusuf Kırşehirli Mevlevi’nin Türk Müzik Tarihindeki Yeri: Yeni Sistemcilerin Kurucusu Müzik Teorisyonu”, *Researcher: Social Science Studies* 5/4 (2017): 655–679.

61 O. Kufacı, “Adni Divanı ve Adni Divanında Benzetmeler”, MA thesis (T.C. İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2006).

62 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

63 *Ahmet Paşa Divanı*, no. 12 (pp. 30–40).

(3-9) Aḥmedī (d. around 812/1410), untitled selection of poetry (ff. 219r–234r).

A total of 17 *qaṣīdas* and 2 *ghazals*, all included in his published divan and showing only minor textual variants (→ 3-3 and perhaps 3-1).

(3-10) Qāḍī Burhān ed-Dīn (d. 800/1398), 2 poems (f. 235).

Two poems of the celebrated poet and Eretnid statesman. As the first one starts *in medias res*, at least 1 f. is missing. Both poems are included in his divan, with minor textual variants.⁶⁴

(3-11) End of a poem & two *mu‘ammayāt* (f. 236).

The concluding lines of a poem, followed by unidentified specimens of the poetic riddle, a genre that blossomed particularly under the Timurids and that figures prominently in the recordings of the sultan’s *majālis* as well (→ 17, 47, 48, 66, ...).⁶⁵ On riddle is on the name of Mūsā, the other one is on the name of ‘Umar. As these lines seem absent from Burhān ed-Dīn’s divan, at least one folio must be missing between ff. 235 and 236.

In all, Qāniṣawh’s Turkic divan is a veritable “pocket library” that is worthy of a ruler. More importantly even, it is a “transregional”⁶⁶ pocket library, which unmistakably reflects the interconnectedness of the late Mamluk Sultanate with the wider Turkic literary ecumene, an aspect that will be returned to in Chapter Four. It appears that the divan was assembled with great care, as it contains a copy of the oldest (?) Turkic treatise on prosody and part of one of the oldest Turkic treatises on music.

(4) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. or. quart 1817
(*vidī*)⁶⁷

Anon., *Kitāb fi Tartīb Mamlakat al-Diyār al-Miṣriya wa Umarā’ihā wa Arkānihā wa Arbāb al-Wazā’if*.

This is a work on Mamluk administration, probably taken — with few *Erweiterungen*, according to the cataloger — from al-Qalqashandī’s *Daw’ al-Ṣubḥ*

64 *Kadı Burhaneddin Divanı*, ed. M. Ergin (İstanbul, 1980), nos. 268 and 269.

65 For the place of riddles in the context of literary gatherings, see Elias G. Saba, *Harmonizing Similarities. A History of Distinctions Literature in Islamic Law* (Berlin/Boston, 2019), pp. 119–156.

66 Compare this to Kevin Schwartz’s framing of Persian *tadhkiras* as “transregional libraries” (“A transregional Persianate library: The production and circulation of *tadhkiras* of Persian poets in the 18th and 19th centuries”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 52 (2020): 109–135).

67 G. Schoeler, *Arabische Handschriften. Teil II* [VOHD 17, B, 2] (Stuttgart, 1990), nr. 161. The ms. is online available through <http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/content/index.xml>.

al-Musfir wa Janā l-Dawḥ al-Muthmir, itself an abridgment of his massive *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'*. The opening line runs as follows:

Ilam ayyadaka llāh anna aṣl tartīb mamlakat al-diyār al-Miṣriya ma 'khūdh 'an tartīb al-khilāfa bi Baghdād wa 'an tartīb al-Fāṭimiyīn bi Miṣr wa 'an al-mulūk al-Ayyūbiya. Dhakara ba'd l-mulūk man tashā' wa tanzī' al-mulūk mimman tashā' wa tu'izz man tashā' wa tudhill man tashā' bi yadika l-khayr, innaka 'alā kull shay' qadīr'." (...)

May you, God help you, know that the basis of the organisation of the country of the Egyptian domains is take from the organisation of the caliphate in Baghdad, from the organisation of the Fatimids in Egypt, and from (that of) the Ayyubid rulers. Regarding the occasion of the revelation of the Word of God, exalted is He above all, "Say, 'O Allah, Owner of Sovereignty, You give sovereignty to whom You will and You take sovereignty away from whom You will. You honour whom You will and You humble whom You will. Your hand is (all) good. Indeed, You are over all things competent.'"⁶⁸ (...)

In relation to its contents, no further discussion is warranted, as the whole work has been edited by Muḥammad al-Zāhī⁶⁹, and its contents conveniently tabulated by Gregor Schoeler.

It was copied (*khidmat*) in 51 ff. for the library of Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm khizānat*) by *mamlūk* Kasbāy min Aqbirdī min Ṭabaqat al-Rafraf bi l-Maydān al-Malikī al-Ashrafi.

Until further notice, it would thus seem that Qāniṣawh did not own a copy of the *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* itself, but merely a reworked summary thereof. The same holds for that other massive work, al-Maqrīzī's *Khīṭat*: for this too, so far only a derivative, shortened version can be linked to Qāniṣawh (→ 127). This could be compared, e.g., to the *Kitāb al-Ṣafwa fī Waṣf al-Mamlakat al-Miṣriya*, an abridgment of Khalīl b. Shāhīn's (d. 873/1468–1469) *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, authored by Muḥammad b. Abī l-Faṭḥ al-Ṣūfi al-Shāfi'ī (d. 950/1543) at the request of the Mamluk sultan al-Zāhīr Qāniṣawh (r. 903–905/1498–1500) (→ 115).⁷⁰ This begs the question: why would sultans settle with derivative works (→ Ch. 3)?⁷¹

As argued in the next chapter, it is assumed that the terms of *kitāba* and *khidma* — essentially signifying two distinct acts — each had come to subsume

68 Qur'ān, 3: 26.

69 Muḥammad al-Zāhī, "Risāla fī Tartīb Mamlakat al-Diyār al-Miṣriya wa Umarā'ihā wa Arkānihi wa Arbāb al-Wazā'if li Mu'allif Majhūl", *Āfāq al-Thaqāfa wa l-Turāth* 24/95 (1437/2016): 149–195.

70 For an ed., based on the two available mss. (London, British Library, Or. 3392; Sarajevo, Gazi Husrev Beg Library, shelfmark?), see Hibah Muḥammad Yāsīn, "al-Ṣafwa fī Waṣf al-Mamlakat al-Miṣriya. Ta'lif: Muḥammad b. Abī l-Faṭḥ al-Ṣūfi al-Shāfi'ī al-mutawaffī sanat 950 H/1543 M", MA thesis (Nābulus, Jāmi'at al-Najāh al-Waṭaniya, 2014).

71 However, Qāytbāy owned a copy of the *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik* itself (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ar. 1724) (*vidi*), which he had endowed (→ Ch. 3).

both meanings. Hence, while Kasbāy is referred to as the *khādīm* of the ms. only, it is assumed that he was both its *kātib* and its subsequent *khādīm*. Also, while it is quite likely that Qāniṣawh had commissioned this particular copy to be made, evidence thereof is circumstantial. Strictly speaking, the *bi rasm* alone does not warrant such a conclusion.

(5) (P) Cairo, Azhar, Abāza 7219, ff. 12r–28v (*vidi*)⁷²

Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, *Hādhihi al-Qaṣā'id wa Ba'd al-Abyāt min Nazm al-sultān al-a'zam wa l-malādh al-mufakkkham sultān Miṣr wa l-Shām wa l-'Irāqayn khādīm al-Haramayn al-sharīfayn sayyid mulūk al-'Arab wa l-'Ajam mālik riqāb al-umam ṣāhib al-sayf wa l-qalam man fataha llāh 'alā yadayhi arḍ al-Ḥijāz ba'da l-'adam al-malik al-ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī ṭāba tharāhu.*

This collection of 45 *qaṣā'id* and *muwashshahāt* of Qāniṣawh, 44 in Arabic and 1 in Turkic, was edited by Sha'bān Muḥammad Mursī.⁷³

As the Azhar ms. is definitely a fair deal later than Qāniṣawh's reign, it cannot have been part of Qāniṣawh's library. However, while quite some poems are available in other mss. (→ 14, 18, 19, 43, 100), it also contains some unique poems. As such, the Azhar ms. is taken as a proxy for an original ms. that is presumed lost.

Among its original poems is, e.g., the following “didactic” poem *fī tartīb qaṣṣ al-azfār*, i.e., on the proper order to pare one's nails (→ fig. 6):

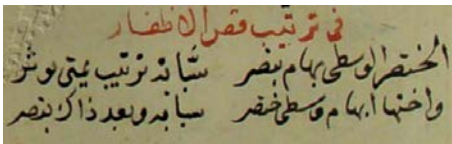


Fig. 6: A poem on paring the nails (detail of f. 28v)

Al-khiṣir al-wuṣṭā bihām binṣir ❁ *Sabbāba tartīb yumnā yu'thar*
Wa ukhtuhā ibhām wuṣṭā khiṣir ❁ *Sabbāba wa ba'da dhāka binṣir*

Little finger, middle finger, thumb, ring ❁ Index finger, [such] is the preferred order
 finger on the right hand.
 As for its sister (i.e., the other hand), ❁ Index finger, and only then ring finger.
 thumb, middle finger, little finger,

72 *Fihris al-Kutub al-Mawjūda bi l-Maktabat al-Azharīya ilā 1368/1949. Al-Juz' al-Khāmis wa Yashtamil 'alā l-Funūn al-Ātiya: al-Adab – al-Tārīkh – Taqwīm al-Buldān (al-Jughrāfiyā)* (Cairo, 1949), p. 206.

73 “*Dīwān al-Sultān al-Ghawrī*”, *Majallat Ma'had al-Makhtūṭāt al-'Arabīya* (1980): 96–176.

The fact that this collection has 2 poems on the clipping of the nails might not be a coincidence. Both in the *ṭibb al-nabawī* and in the *ṭibb al-a'imma*, the medicine attributed to the Prophet and to the Twelve Imams, clipping the nails is prescribed as a remedy for eye diseases, and this was precisely what Qāniṣawh was afflicted with from 919/1513 onwards, and what may have caused him, as suggested in Chapter One, some difficulty in appreciating the *Burda* inscriptions in the Ghawriya.⁷⁴

► Washington D.C., Library of Congress, PJ7760.Q26. A6 1925 (*vidi*)

This ms. is part of the Mansuri Collection, which was purchased by the Library of Congress from shaykh Maḥmūd al-Manṣūrī, professor of religion at the Azhar University, in 1945. Manṣūrī had the Azhar ms. copied in 21 ff. in 1343/1925. The colophon (f. 21v) reads:

Bi 'awn allāh qad tamma naskh hādhihi l-qaṣā'id 'an al-aṣl al-mawjūd bi Dār al-Kutub al-Azharīya bi qalam al-faqīr Muṣṭafā b. 'Uthmān b. Aḥmad (...) wa dhālika fī yawm al-ithnayn 25 Shawwāl 1343 min hijratihī ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa sallama 'alā dhimmat faḍīlat al-shaykh Maḥmūd al-imām min 'ulamā' al-Azhar al-Sharīf.

By God's aid, the copy of these qasidas from the original [manuscript] that is kept at the Azhar Library, by the poor Muṣṭafā b. 'Uthmān b. Aḥmad (...), was finished on Monday, the twenty-fifth of Shawwāl of the year 1343 of the Hegira of (the Prophet), God bless Him and grant Him salvation, for the benefit of His Excellency, imam Sheikh Maḥmūd, a scholar at the Noble Azhar.

(6) Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Maṣāḥif Raṣīd 72 (*non vidi*)

Qur'ān, a complete set in 30 vols.

This Qur'ān was originally copied for the Ilkhanid sultan Öljeytü at the charitable foundation of his well-known vizier, Rashīd al-Dīn, in Hamadān in

74 As for the *ṭibb al-nabawī*, see, e.g., C. Elgood, "Tibb-ul-Nabbi or Medicine of the Prophet. Being a Translation of Two Works of the Same Name. I. – The Ṭibb-ul-Nabbi of Al-Suyūṭī II. – The Ṭibb-ul-Nabbi of Maḥmūd bin Mohamed al-Chaghghayni, together with introduction, notes & a glossary", *Osiris* 14 (1962): 33–192, here p. 175 (quoting al-Suyūṭī's *al-Ṭibb al-Nabī*). As for the *ṭibb al-a'imma*, compare to a similar poem found in the margins of a manuscript on astronomy and datable to the early sixteenth century. Here, it is explicitly stated that clipping the nails in the proper order "gives you protection, if you should wish it, against eye disease [*ramad al-ayn*], so do not scorn it". See E. Savage-Smith, "Between Reader & Text: Some Medieval Arabic Marginalia", in *Scientia in margine. Études sur les marginalia dans les manuscrits scientifiques du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, eds. D. Jacquart & Ch. Burnett (Droz, 2005), pp. 75–101, here p. 79. Next to paring the nails, we might add another treatment that is recommended by *al-ṭibb al-nabawī*: dropping cold water in the afflicted eye (see I. Perho, *The Prophet's Medicine. A Creation of the Muslim Traditionalist Scholars* (Helsinki, 1995), p. 122).

713/1313, and subsequently sent to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn, either by Öljeytü himself or by his son, Abū l-Sa‘īd. The Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad then probably donated the set to his *atābak al-jaysh* and brother-in-law, Baktamur al-Sāqī al-Malikī al-Nāṣirī, in 747/1326, who put it in *waqf* at his mausoleum.⁷⁵ As was evoked already in Chapter One, Qāniṣawh relocated the full set to his own complex, which already housed the *Muṣḥaf ‘Uthmānī* and various Prophetic Relics. Whereas the *Muṣḥaf* and the Relics were stored in the sultan’s mausoleum, the Hamadān Qur’ān was deposited in the adjacent *khānqāh*.⁷⁶ On that occasion, the name of Öljeytu as the commissioner of the copy was replaced with that of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and each of its 30 *ajzā’* was inscribed with a *waqf* note in Qāniṣawh’s name.⁷⁷

It is not unlikely that Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 82 was part of the same diplomatic gift exchange as the Hamadān Qur’ān (→ 90).

(7) Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Maṣāḥif Raṣīd 73 (*non vidi*)

Another complete copy of the Qur’ān, in 290ff.

The copy was made by Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Fayyūmī, who had been active as a scribe already under Qāyṭbāy’s rule⁷⁸, and who also penned al-Suyūṭī’s *al-Maqāla al-Wardīya fi l-Rayāḥin al-Zahrīya* for Qāniṣawh (→ 130).

Dated shortly following his accession in 908/1503, it was commissioned by Qāniṣawh himself and given in *waqf* to his *madrasa* in the Ghawrīya complex. As observed by Alison Ohta, this is the only large-volume Qur’ān thus far identified that was commissioned by Qāniṣawh himself.⁷⁹

Both its specific *dikka* in the *madrasa* and its *ṣandūq* have been preserved, and have been described in great detail by Fāyiza Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-Khālīq al-Wakīl, in her monograph of Mamluk *Muṣḥaf*-related furniture.⁸⁰

75 See especially N. Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme. Calligraphes et bibliophiles au temps des dynasties mongoles (Les Ilkhanides et les Djalayirides, 656–814/1258–1411)* (Leiden/Boston 2018), pp. 262–278 (including plates of several frontispieces and colophons, and with further references); S. Blair, “Calligraphers, Illuminators, and Painters in the Ilkhanid Scriptorium”, in L. Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden/Boston, 2006); pp. 167–182, here p. 175; Ohta, “The Bindings of Qansuh al-Ghawri” p. 215.

76 Ibn Iyās, *Badā‘ī al-Zuhūr*, IV: 69. Compare to Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, 5479 (→ 17).

77 For its *ṣandūq*, see Fāyiza Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-Khālīq al-Wakīl, *Athāth al-Muṣḥaf fi Miṣr fi ‘Aṣr al-Mamālīk* (Cairo, 2004), pp. 228–229, figs. 91–92 (parts of the *ṣandūq*); pp. 217–219, figs. 81–82 (the *ṣandūq* itself?). The author located this Qur’ān in the sultan’s *qubba*, but this is probably a lapsus.

78 For two more copies by his hand, see Flemming, “Literary activities”, p. 254.

79 Ohta, “The Bindings of Qansuh al-Ghawri”, p. 216.

80 ‘Abd al-Khālīq al-Wakīl, *Athāth al-Muṣḥaf*, pp. 202–204, figs. 61–62 (*dikka*); pp. 231–234, fig. 94 (*ṣandūq*); Ohta, “The Bindings of Qansuh al-Ghawri”, p. 220, figs. 8, 9.

(8) Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Maṣāḥif Raṣīd 151 (*non vidi*)

A third complete Qur'ān copy. Said to have been made a waqf by Qāniṣawh, this item may very well be identical to the 30-volume Qur'ān set, (at least) 8 *ajzā'* of which were offered for sale in the past (→ 134, fig. 7).



Fig. 7: Frontispiece of one of the *ajzā'* auctioned in the past

(9) Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Tafsīr 1117 (*non vidi*)

An anonymous *majālis* text of 134ff., entitled *al-Kawkab al-Durrī Fī Ajwibat al-Ghawrī*. Referred to as a *nuskha aṣliya* and not a *nuskha muṣawwara*, this should be a second ms. of the same text covered in Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 1377 (→ 66), and not a modern copy thereof. However, *prima facie*, this is rather unlikely...

► Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Tafsīr 258 (*non vidi*)

Anon., *al-Kawkab al-Durrī Fī Masā'il al-Ghawrī*; 228ff.

Unlike the previous item, this one is referred to as a *nuskha muṣawwara*, and is thus clearly a modern copy, either of the previous item (→ 9), or of Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 1377 (→ 66).

(10) Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Ta'riḫ Khalīl Aghā 29 (*non vidi*)

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sharaf al-Dīn al-Madanī al-Shāfi'ī (d. after 904/1498), *Mawāhib al-Laṭīf fī Faḍl al-Maqām al-Sharīf (fī Manāqib al-Sulṭān Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī)*.

This unique ms. is a *Fürstenspiegel*-cum-hagiography in 52 ff. and dedicated to Qāniṣawh. It consists of an introduction, 5 chapters and a conclusion. Chapters 1 to 4 each cover the *faḍl al-imām al-'ādil*, the *faḍl al-jihād*, *al-shafaqa 'alā l-khalq*, and the *faḍl al-'ilm wa ikrām al-'ulamā'*, by listing a number of Qur'anic verses and 20 or 40 hadiths. All these virtues are said to combine in the person of Qāniṣawh. Chapter 5 elaborates on the letters of Qāniṣawh's name, with the *qāf* for *quwwa*, the *ṣād* for *ṣabr*, the *hā'* for *hidāya*, ...

Regarding the author, all the editor could share with us was his name, the observation that he had been active under Qāniṣawh's rule (likely as a *faqīh*, a *muḥaddith* or *mufassir*), and (on the basis of which sources?) his approximate year of death (905, 906 or 910/1499–1504).⁸¹ At least for now, two more elements can be added to this succinct biography. First, we can most likely identify the author with Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Shushtarī al-Madanī al-Shāfi'ī, known as Ibn Sharaf al-Dīn and born in 872/1468 in Medina.⁸² Second, he authored at least one more work, based on a work of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī: *'Umdat al-Udabā' li Daf al-Ṭā'ūn wa l-Wabā'*, found as a unicum in Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France 3019/1 (ff. 1–95) (*vidi*).

(11) Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 11857 zā' (*non vidi*)

Anon., *al-Ḥikāyāt al-Mustaṭāba min Dīwān al-Ṣabāba li Ibn Abī Ḥajala*.

This is a selection of stories taken from Ibn Abī Ḥajala's (d. 776/1375) well-known anthology of stories and poetry on ardent love and its practitioners, the *Dīwān al-Ṣabāba*.⁸³ Following the *basmala* etc., the opening line runs as follows:

Ḥakā Abū l-Faraj b. al-Jawzī, qāla: dhakara lī shaykhunā Abū l-Khayr Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh anna rajulan 'ashiqa jāriyat naṣrāniya fa afḍā bihi l-ḥāl ilā l-junūn fa rufī'a ilā l-bīmāristān (...)

81 Ed. Madiḥa al-Sharqāwī (Būr Sa'īd 2000). See the short notice, focusing on the work's preface, in Chr. Mauder, "Herrschaftsbegründung durch Handlung. 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭīs (st. 1514 in Kairo), *al-Maḡmū' al-bustān an-nawrī'* („Die erblühenden Gartensammlung“)", *Das Mittelalter* 20/1 (2015): 29–46, here pp. 43–44.

82 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi* (Beirut, 1992), VII: 82.

83 See N. Papoutsakis & S. von Hees (eds.), *The Sultan's Anthologist: Ibn Abī Ḥaḡalah and His Work* (Baden-Baden, 2017).

Abū l-Faraj b. al-Jawzī has told, “My teacher, Abū l-Khayr Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh has told me that a man had fallen in love with a Christian slave girl. As this condition was driving him mad, he was taken to the hospital (...)”

The work was copied for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm khizānat*) in 24ff., apparently by a *mamlūk* called Ṭuḡtamish min Uzdampur min al-Rafraf.⁸⁴

► Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 12144 zā’ (*non vidī*)

Anon., *al-Ḥikāyāt al-Mustaṭāba min Dīwān al-Ṣabāba li Ibn Abī Ḥajala*; 25ff.

This is undoubtedly a modern copy of the previous item (→ 11).

(12) Cairo, Jāmi‘ al-Sayyida Zaynab (*vidī*)⁸⁵

This vast *Muṣḥaf* ‘*Uthmānī* – 1087ff., 57 x 68 cms, 80 kgs, 99 % complete – is one of the eight copies commonly attributed to caliph ‘Uthmān.⁸⁶ There is a certain irony in the fact that this is one of the very few items in the list for which the location in Qāniṣawh’s days is known exactly, while its present location is somewhat unclear: is it still at the Sayyida Zaynab Mosque, to which it was transferred in 2006 for digitization and restoration, or has it returned to its previous location, the Mashhad Ḥusaynī?⁸⁷

By order of Qāniṣawh, the *Muṣḥaf* was restored and relocated to the newly built *qubba* opposite his madrasa, in the northern wing of the Ghawriya complex. The *qubba*’s *mīhrāb* was flanked by two *khizānas* with “gold-coloured doors from imported wood”, one for the *Muṣḥaf* and one for the Prophet’s Relics⁸⁸. Plenty of details regarding the transfer of the *Muṣḥaf* and the Relics and regarding their destination, the *qubba*, can be found in Ibn Iyās’ chronicle⁸⁹, in one of Qāniṣawh’s *waqfiyāt* (→ 13), and in the Turkic *Shāh-Nāma* (→ 107). Following its restoration and relocation, the *Muṣḥaf* continues to appear in the *Badā’i’ al-Zuhūr* on those occasions where solemn oaths were to be pledged. In 919/1513, e.g.,

84 For a brief ref. to the work, see ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī, “Majālis al-Sultān al-Ghawri”, *Majallat al-Majma’ al-‘Ilmī al-‘Arabī* 17 (1361/1942): 366–368, here pp. 367–368.

85 No shelf mark available.

86 See the introduction and facsimile by T. Altıkulaç, *al-Mushaf al-Sharif. Attributed to Uthman bin Affan (The copy at al-Mashhad al-Husayni in Cairo)*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1430/2009).

87 According to Ohta (“The Bindings of Qansuh al-Ghawri”, n. 8, p. 223), the Sayyida Zaynab Mosque has been its final location.

88 For the *Āthār*, see Abdulfattah, “Relics of the Prophet”; Aḥmad Taymūr Bāshā, *al-Āthār al-Nabawiya* (Cairo, 1370/1951), pp. 38–42.

89 Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’ al-Zuhūr*, especially IV: 58–59, 68–69.

Rasama l-sultān bi iḥḍār al-Muṣḥaf al-‘Uthmānī, fa tawajjaha li iḥḍārihi Ulmās Dawādār Sikkīn, fa lammā aḥḍarūhu bayna yaday al-sultān taqaddama l-qāḍī kātib al-sirr Maḥmūd b. Ajā wa ḥallafa ‘alayhi l-umarā’ al-muqaddamīn qāṭibatān, thumma l-umarā’ al-tablkhānāt thumma jamā’a min al-umarā’ al-‘asharāt, fa ḥalafū ‘alā l-Muṣḥaf al-‘Uthmānī bi annahum lā yukhāmīrū ‘alā l-sultān wa lā yarkabū ‘alayhi wa lā yuthīrū fitna bayna l-mamālik wa bayna l-sultān, fa lammā ḥalafū ḥalafa lahum al-sultān ayḍan ‘alā l-‘Uthmānī bi annahu lā yaḡhdiruhum wa lā yakhūnuhum wa lā yamsik aḥadan minhum lā kabīr wa lā ṣaḡhīr.⁹⁰

The sultan ordered for the Uthmani Codex to be brought, and Ulmās Dawādār Sikkīn went to fetch it. When it was brought before the sultan, the qāḍī and *kātib al-sirr*, Maḥmūd b. Ajā, came forward and had all amirs of hundred take an oath on it, followed by the amirs of forty and some of the amirs of ten. They swore on the Uthmani Codex that they would not overcome the sultan, that they would not mount against him, and that they would not stir up discord between the mamlūks and the sultan. When all had taken their oath, the sultan swore them on the Uthmani [Codex] that he would not betray them, that he would not act treacherously toward them, and that he would not seize any of them, neither great nor small.

The *ṣandūq* that was commissioned by Qāniṣawh to store the *Muṣḥaf* has been identified and is dealt with by ‘Abd al-Khāliq al-Wakīl, Alison Ohta, and Carine Juvin.⁹¹ Significantly, the inscription on its central panel is most explicit regarding oaths taken over the *Muṣḥaf ‘Uthmānī*:

Jaddada hādhā l-muṣḥaf al-sharīf al-mu‘azzam, alladhī man idhā ḥalafa bihi ṣādiqan najā wa kāna lahu min kull ḍayq makhrajān, wa man ḥalafa bihi fajiran kuffa wa hāna wa aṣbaḥa fī dhull wa maqt wa khidhlān (...)

He [i. e., Qāniṣawh] has restored this noble and glorified codex, a codex, whoever swears on it sincerely is saved and escapes from any dire strait, and whoever swears on it insincerely is restrained, becomes despicable and reaches a state of disgrace, detestation and disappointment (...)

As we have already learnt from our visit to Cairo anno 917/1512 (→ Chapter One, *A Library Imagined*), access to the *Muṣḥaf* was restricted. The 911/1505 *waqfiya* (→ 13) stipulates the function of the *khādīm al-ḥarīm*, the eunuch in charge of the sultan’s tomb:

⁹⁰ IV: 318. More solemn oaths in IV: 18, 41, 98, 180, ...

⁹¹ See ‘Abd al-Khāliq al-Wakīl, *Athāth al-Muṣḥaf*, pp. 229–231, fig. 93; Ohta, “The Bindings of Qansuh al-Ghawri”, pp. 215, 220–222 and figs. 10–13; C. Juvin, “Recherches sur la calligraphie sous les derniers Mamlouks : inscriptions monumentales et mobilières”, PhD thesis (EPHE, Paris, 2017), p. 222, footnote 22; E. Kühnel, *Islamische Schriftkunst* (Graz, repr. 1972), p. 48, fig. 50a (only a picture).

“One thousand dirhams should be paid monthly to a eunuch known for his good deeds and appointed by the *nāzīr* to serve the members of the sultan’s harem, day or night, when they visit the tomb, the Relics of the Prophet and the *Qur’ān* of ‘Uthmān.”⁹²

It would be worthwhile to compare the details of these various sources with the newly discovered Chester Beatty Library 5479 (→ 17). To illustrate its richness, some excerpts from the latter source that are relevant for the present item:

- *Wa qad jaddada mawlānā l-sulṭān ‘azza naṣruhu l-muṣḥaf al-sharīf al-‘Uthmānī lladhī bi Miṣr al-maḥrūsa bi khaṭṭ Mashhad <al-Ḥasan wa l-Ḥusayn> raḍīya llāh ‘anhum jildan ba’da an āla jilduhu l-wāqī ilā l-talaf li makhtihī min zaman al-sayyid ‘Uthmān ilā yawminā hādhā (...) wa rasama bi ‘amal hādhā l-jild al-mu‘azzam al-mutanāhī fi ‘amalihi li ktisāb ajrihi wa thawābihi wa an yu‘mal lahu waqqāya min al-khashab al-manqūsh bi l-dhabab wa l-fiḍḍa wa anwā’ al-taḥsīn (...) wa ‘adad awrāqīhi al-raqq alf wa mīya wa thamānīn waraqa raqqan wa li llāh al-ḥamd wa ‘iddat suṭūrihi ithnā ‘ashar saṭran wa baraza amruhu l-sharīf sharrafahu llāh ta‘ālā wa ‘azzamahu bi ‘imārat qubba mu‘azzama tujāh al-madrasa al-sharīfa allatī an-shāhā (...) wa ‘adda lahā min al-khayrāt mā yashtamil ‘alā maṣāḥif sharīfa wa raba‘āt sharīfa li yakūn thawāb dhālika fi ṣahāyifihi al-sharīfa adāmahā llāh ta‘ālā wa taqaballa minhu bi Muḥammadīn wa ālihi; wa an takūn al-qubba al-mu‘azzama <...> bi ‘amalihā in shā ‘a llāh ta‘ālā munāzaratan fi l-ḥusn wa l-itqān li mā sabaqa kamā rattabahā bi nazarihi l-sa‘īd li yakūn fihā mā akhaṣṣahā (sic) llāh ta‘ālā bihi min ta‘zīmihā bi l-muṣḥaf al-sharīf al-‘Uthmānī wa l-āthār al-sharīf al-nabawī (sic) wa ḡhayr dhālika min maṣāḥif wa raba‘āt wa kutub wa mā sayujaddiduhu llāh ta‘ālā min al-khayrāt wa l-birr bi l-ḥasanāt. (ff. 251r.)*

Our lord, the sultan, may his victory be strong, has restored the noble Uthmānī Codex, which is kept in Miṣr, the Well-Protected, in the quarter of the Shrine of <Ḥasan and Ḥusayn>, may God be pleased with Them, [giving it a new] book cover, after its [earlier] protective book cover was all but lost, as it dated back to the time of lord ‘Uthmān (...) He ordered this glorified book cover to be made of the greatest craftsmanship, in order for him to earn its recompense and its reward, and for the production of a protective covering of wood, painted gold and silver, and (with all) kinds of embellishment (...) the number of its parchment leaves is one thousand one hundred and eighty — praise be to God! — and the number of its lines (per leaf) is twelve. It was ordered by [the sultan] — may God, exalted is He above all, make him honoured and mighty — to construct a glorified copula facing the noble madrasa that he had built (...) He set aside [for stocking in this copula] some excellent things, including noble Qur’ān codices and noble multi-volume Qur’ān copies, in order for the reward for [those noble deeds] to be [written down] in his noble pages — may God, exalted is He above all, make [this dome] last — and in order for the glorified copula (...) — God, exalted is He above all, willing — [once] constructed, to rival in beauty and perfection that what came before, just as he, in his felicitous discernment, had arranged [the copula] in order for it to store that through which God, exalted is

92 See Alhamzeh, “Late Mamluk Patronage”, p. 153, see also pp. 93–94.

He above all, has singled it out, thus exalting [the copula] with the noble Uthmani Codex, the noble Prophetic Relics and other Qur'ān codex copies, multi-volume copies and books, and whatever good, charitable and beautiful things God, exalted is He above all, will have [the sultan] produce.

- *Wa waḍa'a fihā 'azza naṣruhu l-maṣāḥif al-sharīfa al-madhkūra wa l-kutub al-mashhūra kamā aḥabba wa khtāra taqabbala allāh ta'ālā dhālika.* (f. 270r)

In it, [the sultan], may his victory be strong, deposited the aforesaid noble codices and the famous books, according to his liking and his choosing. May God, exalted is He above all, accept it!

- *Wa na'ūdhu in shā'a llāh ta'ālā li mā dhakarnāhu fī bayān mā rasama bihi bi binā' al-qubba al-mu'azzama fa ṭuluhā min qiblihā li baḥrihā sab'at 'ashar dhirā'an (...) wa fī hādihā l-hadd al-mubārak al-qibli mihrāban wa khizānatayn (sic) yamīnuhu wa shamāluhu (sic) al-marsūm bi 'amalihimā bi rasm al-muṣḥaf al-sharīf al-'Uthmānī al-mu'azzam wa l-yasrā min al-mihrāb bi rasm al-āthār al-nabawī al-mukarram wa bi jānibayhimā shubbākāni aḥaduhumā wa huwa l-yamīn yudkhal minhu ilā l-maq'ad al-ātī dhikruhu wa ṣifatuhu wa l-ākhar wa huwa l-yasrā l-muṭill 'alā l-ḥawsh min qibli l-qubba wa min tujāh dhālika min al-wajh al-baḥrī thalāth shabābik muṭillāt 'alā l-shāri' tujāh al-madrasa al-sultāniya.* (ff. 284v-285r)

Now, God willing, we return to our discussion in explanation of what [the sultan] had ordered, the building of the glorified copula, the length of which from its south side to its north side being seventeen cubits (...) On the blessed southern side there are a mihrab and two cupboards, [one on] its right side and one on its northern side. [The one right of the mihrab] was commissioned to be constructed (in order to house) the noble and glorified Uthmani Codex, while the one left of the mihrab [was designated to house] the revered Prophetic Relics. Flanking the[se cupboards], there are two windows, the right one of which faces the loggia that will be discussed and described later on, while the other one, the one on the left side, overlooks the courtyard south of the copula. On their opposite side, the northern side, there are three windows that overlook the street facing the sultan's madrasa.

(13) Cairo, Wizārat al-Awqāf, waqfiya 883 (*non vidi*)⁹³

The *waqfiya* that relates to Qāniṣawh's major foundation, the Ghawriya complex at al-Jarābshīn (including his *madrasa*, *khānqāh*, mausoleum, ...), dated 911/1505. Strictly speaking, this item is *fī ghayr maḥallīhi*, as it had been decided to exclude documentary evidence from the list. Nonetheless, I thought it wise to include a single document for two main reasons. First, this may serve as a re-

93 M.M. Amīn, *Fihrist Wathā'iq al-Qāhira Ḥattā Nihāyat 'Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālik (239–922/853–1516)* (Cairo, 1981), p. 246.

minder of the numerous documents linked to Qāniṣawh: the approximately 300 *waqfiyāt*, his diplomatic correspondence, ... Surely, at least some documents must have been part of Qāniṣawh's library! Second, this particular *waqfiya*⁹⁴ has been chosen as it resonates deeply with two other items in the list (→ 12, 17), and sheds some light on the library in Qāniṣawh's madrasa, which housed at least "ten chests containing 469 volumes" (→ Chapter Four), of which so far only 3 items (= at least 33 vols.) have been identified (→ 7, 58, 134). The madrasa library is described as a

"large room for the storage of books, with shelves on the right, left and at the back made of imported wood. [These shelves] are made and prepared to hold books used in the madrasa dealing with the Noble Sciences. There is also a bookcase to store Qur'āns, and noble *rab'as*, the sides of which are decorated with geometric ornament. In this southeastern *īwān* there is also a great Noble Qur'ān on a large wooden reading stand with inlaid geometric decoration. It is used by the Qur'ān readers appointed to read in the madrasa."⁹⁵

It should be observed that, next to the walk-in *khizāna*, the one which you have entered already in this book's opening chapter, there were at least 3 smaller, built-in *khazā'in*, one of which has the following Kufic inscription: *Innahu li Qur'ān Karīm fī Kitāb Maknūn lā yamassuhu ilā l-muṭahharīn*.⁹⁶ Regarding its librarian or *khāzin al-kutub*, the following:

"One thousand five hundred dirhams are to be paid monthly for a knowledgeable, trusted, honest, just, orderly and chaste man to be appointed by the *nāzir* as librarian for the books bequeathed to the madrasa. He should be charged with the care of all the books dealing with Commentary, Tradition, jurisprudence, the Arabic language, rhetoric, metaphor, the principles of religion, logic, grammar and morphology. He should prepare a list of the books in his care and present the *nāzir* with a copy of it."⁹⁷

As you have already learned, to date, no such list has turned up...

94 Dealt with in great detail by Alhamzeh, "Late Mamluk Patronage". See also M.M. Amīn, *al-Awqāf wa l-Ḥayāt al-Ijtimā'iya fī Miṣr 648–923 H/1250–1517 M* (Cairo, 1980), *passim*.

95 Alhamzeh, "Late Mamluk Patronage", p. 87. See also Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book*, pp. 62–63, 67.

96 For a detailed description and some pictures of the built-in cupboards, see 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Wakīl, *Athāth al-Muṣḥaf*, pp. 244–246, figs. 121–124.

97 Alhamzeh, "Late Mamluk Patronage", pp. 148–149.

(14) Copenhagen, Royal Danish Library, Cod. Arab. 280 (*vidi*)⁹⁸

Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, *Min nazm al-maqām al-sharīf mawlānā l-sulṭān al-malik al-ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī*.

In the words of the 19th-century Latin catalogue, this is a collection of 42 “poëmata clarissimi Sultāni Qānsūh el-Ghaurī”. Included are both *qaṣīdas* and *muwashshaḥāt*, quite some of which do not seem to be attested elsewhere (→ 5, 18, 19, 43, 100). Apart from one Turkic and one mixed Arabic-Turkic poem, all poems are in Arabic. Clearly, the sultan’s poems were to be performed orally, since the *muwashshaḥāt*’s *naghm* (musical mode) is often indicated: *al-māhūr*, *al-nashāwarak*, *al-ḥusaynī*, *al-nīrīz*, *al-banjāh*, *nawrūz al-‘Arab*, *al-zāwulī*, ... Among the few poems that are unique to this ms. and currently unpublished, the following composition, competent yet pedestrian (→ fig. 8)⁹⁹:

<i>Jalla rabbunā l-ḥannān</i> <i>Ṣāhibu l-‘aṭā l-mannān</i> <i>Mālikun ‘aẓīmu l-shān</i> <i>‘Aẓīmūhu jalla llāh</i>	Sublime is our compassionate Lord, Most munificent Beneficent One, The King of lofty rank, Glorify God, sublime is He!
<i>Yā karīmu qad a‘ṭayt</i> <i>Khidmat al-ḥaram wa l-bayt</i> <i>Mulka Miṣra qad wallayt</i> <i>Man khaṣaṣta yassir lah</i>	O Noble One, You have given The service of the Haram and the House, [And] You have entrusted the rule of Egypt To whom You have singled out, make it easy for him!
<i>Yā muzawwila l-karbi</i> <i>Yā raḥīmu yā rabbi</i> <i>Bi l-nabiyyi wa l-ṣaḥbi</i> <i>Dabbir amranā kullah</i>	O Remover of grief, O Merciful One, O my Lord! By the Prophet and the Companions, Arrange all of our affairs!
<i>Yā musabbiba l-asbāb</i> <i>Anta rabbunā l-wahhāb</i> <i>Yā samī‘u yā tawwāb</i> <i>Yā ‘aẓīmu yā allāh</i>	O Causer of Causes, You are our Lord, the Bestower O All-Hearing One, O Acceptor of Repentance, O Magnificent One, O God!
<i>Ghawrī kun lahu nāṣir</i> <i>‘Alā diddihī ṣāfir</i> <i>Fa huwa ḥāmid shākir</i> <i>Dāyiman li faḍli llāh</i>	Grant Ghawrī victory [Make him] victorious over his adversary, For he is praising and thanking Incessantly for God’s grace.

98 *Codices Orientales Bibliothecae Regiae Hafniensis (...) Pars II: Codices Hebraicos et Arabicos Continens* (Hafniae [Copenhagen], 1851), p. 157. The ms. is online available through <http://www.kb.dk/en/nb/samling/os/naeroest/arabdigi.html>.

99 Poem 41, ff. 35r–35v.

The ms. presently consists of 37 ff. ms. and is probably defective, lacking an elaborate frontispiece and a colophon. Its general condition is fairly poor, and especially the headings have hardly stood the test of time.¹⁰⁰



Fig. 8: A *muwashshah*, its *naghm* illegible (f. 35v)

(15) Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, 3936 (*vidi*)¹⁰¹

A convolute of 2 parts:

(15/1) Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. between 373/983 and 393/1003) (→ 23), *Tuhfat al-Anām fī Manāqib al-A'immat al-Arba'at al-A'lām*, a collection of biographies of the founders of the four *madhāhib* (ff. 1–91r). A sample taken from the *bāb* on Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs b. al-'Abbās b. 'Uthmān b. Shāfi' b. al-Sāyib b. 'Ubayd b. Yazid b. Hāshim b. 'Abd al-Muṭallib b. 'Abd Manāf al-Shāfi'ī:

(f. 19v) *Laqiyahu Muslim b. Khālid al-Zinjī, fa qāla, "Min ayna anta?" Fa qāla, "Min ahl Makka."* *Qāla:* (f. 20r) "Ayna manziluka?" *Qāla, "Shi'b al-Khayf."* *Qāla, "Min ayy qabīla*

100 For the headings of the poems, see M.Yu. Ilyushina, "‘Bodzestvenniye Kasīdī...’ Sultana al'-Guri", *Vestnik Sankt-Peterburgskogo Universiteta Vostokovedeniye i Afrikanistika* 94/2 (2012): 68–75; for a translation of some specimens, see Norris, "Aspects of the influence of Nesimi's Hurufi verse".

101 A.J. Arberry, *A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts Volume IV. MSS. 3751 to 4000* (Dublin, 1959), p. 65.

anta?” Qāla, “Min walad ‘Abd Manāf.” Fa qāla, “Bakh bakh! Laqad sharrafaka llāh fi l-dunyā wal-ākhirā!”

Qadimtu ‘alā Mālik wa qad hafiztu l-Muwaṭṭa’, fa qāla lī, “Aḥḍir man yaqra’ laka!” Qāla, “Fa qultu, ‘Anā qārī,’ fa qara’ tu ‘alayhi.” Fa qāla inna “Yakun aḥad yufliḥ fa hādihā l-gḥulām!” Wa qāla, “Mā nazartu fi Muwaṭṭa’ Mālik illā zdadtu fahman, wa kuntu bnu ithnā ‘ashar sanat ḥīna qadimtu ‘alā Mālik li qirā’at al-Muwaṭṭa’. Law lā Mālik wa Ibn ‘Uyayna la dhahaba ‘ilm al-Ḥijāz. Qadimtu al-Riqqa ‘alā Hārūn wa Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan wa ma’i khamsūn dīnār, fa anfaqtuhā fi ṭalab al-kutub wa taḥṣīlihā kathīran (...)”

Muslim b. Khālid al-Zinjī came across [al-Shāfi’ī], and asked him, “Where are you from?” [Al-Shāfi’ī] replied, “I’m from Mecca.” Muslim then asked, “Of what house?” He replied, “Of Shi’b al-Khayf’s.” Muslim continued, “Of what tribe are you?” He replied, “Of the offspring of ‘Abd Manāf.” Muslim then said, “Excellent! God has truly exalted you, both in this world and in the hereafter!”

I came to Mālik, having memorized [his] *Muwaṭṭa’*, and he said to me, “Fetch someone to read it to you!” I said, “I can read it!” and I read it to him. Mālik then said, “If someone will prosper, then surely this youngster!”

He said, “I have not seen [anything] in Mālik’s *Muwaṭṭa’* that has not enhanced my understanding, and I was twelve years old when I came to him in order to read the *Muwaṭṭa’*. If it had not been for Mālik and Ibn ‘Unayna, knowledge would have left the Hijaz. I arrived at Raqqa, joining Hārūn and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. I had 50 dinars, much of it I spent in search and acquisition of books. (...)”

(15/2) Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Bakr al-Multānī (8th/14th cent.)¹⁰², *Khulāṣat al-Sharā’i wa l-Sha’ā’ir wa Ma’rifat al-Ṣaghā’ir wa l-Kabā’ir*, a short treatise on various points of Islamic Hanafite law (ff. 91v–135). Its meandering opening lines run as follows:

(f.91v) *Bi smi llāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm! l’lamū ikhwānī as’adakum allāhu anna awwala mā awjaba llāhu ta’ālā ‘alā l-salaf wa ‘alā jamī khalqihī ma’rifat dhātihi wa ṣifātihi, kamā huwa bi asmāyihī wa ṣifātihi, wa l-īmān bi annahu wāḥid qādīr qāḥir, mawṣūf al-kalām munazzah ‘an awṣāf l-naqṣ wa l-zalal, lā sharik lahu wa lā* ^(f.92r) *shabih lahu wa lā ḍidd lahu wa lā nidd lahu, kamā waṣafa dhātahu subḥānahu wa ta’ālā wa qāla ta’ālā, “Qul huwa llāhu aḥadun, allāhu l-ṣamad, lam yalid wa lam yūlad, wa lam yakun lahu kufū ‘an aḥadun,” wa qāla, “Laysa ka mithlihi shay ‘un wa huwa l-samī‘u l-baṣīru,” “Huwa l-awwalu wa l-ākhiru wa l-zāhiru wa l-bāṭinu wa huwa bi kulli shay ‘in ‘alīmun,” thumma ma’rifat awāmīrihi wa nawāḥīhi ma’a luzūm ma’ mūrātihi wa tark man-hiyātihi wa aḥkāmihi min ḥalālihi aw ḥarāmīhi ma’a lawāzīm al-sunna wa l-jamā’āt wa qabḥ al-bida’ wa l-ḍalālāt, kamā khalaqa l-jinn wa l-ins illā li l-‘ibādāt, wa ahammu l-ṭā’āt wa aṣamuhā wa afḍaluhā ba’da taḥqīq ḥaqāyiq al-īmān wa sharāyīṭ al-islām bi l-itqān luzūm farāyīḍ al-raḥmān wa hiya sharāyī al-īmān wa sharāyī al-islām minhā l-khams allatī buniya ‘alayhā l-islām: al-shahāda wa l-ṣalāt wa l-zakāt wa l-ṣiyām wa ḥajjat al-islām, thumma sāyir al-aḥkām min al-ḥalāl wa l-ḥarām. Fa ‘lamū yā ikhwān*

102 For more on the author, see C.A. Storey, *Persian Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical Survey. Section I: Qur’ānic Literature* (London, 1927), p. 36.

anna l-īmān lahu arkān wa sharāyit wa sharāyī wa sha'āyir wa aḥkām wa l-aṣl l-kitāb wa l-sunna (...)

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! My brothers, know that God has helped you in that the first thing that He, exalted is He above all, has made incumbent on the forefathers and on the whole of His creation is the knowledge of His Essence and His Attributes, just as He is in His names and His attributes, and the belief that He is the One, the Able, the All-Powerful, the Omnipotent, that He is <described by speech> yet deemed above the attributes of want and error, that He has no associate, no one like Him, no adversary and no peer, just as [He Himself], praised and exalted is He above all, has described His essence and has said, “Say, ‘He is Allah, [who is] One, Allah, the Eternal Refuge. He neither begets nor is born, Nor is there to Him any equivalent’”¹⁰³, “There is nothing like unto Him, and He is the Hearing, the Seeing”¹⁰⁴, [and] “He is the First and the Last, the Ascendant and the Intimate, and He is, of all things, Knowing”¹⁰⁵. Next, [He also made incumbent on us] the knowledge of His commands and His prohibitions, as well as the observation of what has been ordered by Him and the relinquishment of what has been forbidden by Him, His verdicts on what is declared lawful by Him or what is declared unlawful by Him, together with the requirements of the Sunna and the communities (*sic*), the ignominy of *bid'a* and errors. As He has created the jinn and mankind [save] for acts of worship, the most important of pious deeds, their grandest and their best, following the confirmation of the true meanings of the faith and the conditions of Islam with thoroughness is the observation of the divine precepts of the Lord, that is, the laws of the faith and the laws of Islam, such as the five upon which the Islam is built: the profession of faith, the prayer, the alms-giving and the pilgrimage, followed by the other judgments regarding the lawful and the unlawful. O brothers! Know that faith has pillars, conditions, laws, rites, judgments, the Original Copy of the Book, the Sunna (...)

The tailpiece details that the work was copied (*khidmat*) by *mamlūk* Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Manṣūrī for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm khizānat*) in 135ff. Under the tailpiece, there is a revealing second *khidma* note, undoubtedly a later addition: *khidmat al-mamlūk Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Manjak* <... ..>. This is another piece of evidence that *khidma* does not necessarily subsume both *kitāba* and *khidma*. In the case of Muḥammad, it may well have done so; in the case of Aḥmad, it can't have (for another case → 33/1).

Whereas Arberry suspected both works to be unique copies, at least of (15/2) there appears to be a second copy: Basra, al-Maktabat al-‘Abbāsīya, 73/2/hā’ (*non vidi*).

103 Qur’ān, 112: 1–4.

104 Qur’ān, 42: 11.

105 Qur’ān, 57: 3.

(16) Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, 4205 (*vidi*)¹⁰⁶

Al-Suyūṭī's *al-Hay'at al-Sanīya fī l-Hay'at al-Sunnīya*, copied (*katabahu*) by *mamlūk* Bardabak min <Yilbāy> min Ṭabaqat al-Rafraf al-Malikī al-Ashrafī for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm al-maqām...*) in 70ff., and with a charming doodle on the opening page (→ Chapter Five).

This widely copied treatise, the first of seven works by al-Suyūṭī in the present list and also known as *Asrār al-Kawn*, brings together a number of extracts from the Qur'ān and *Ḥadīth* relating to cosmology and natural phenomena, such as the movement of celestial bodies, the origin of the various winds, and the number of heavens, topics not unlike those discussed at the sultan's *majālis*. Included are chapters on *al-'arsh wa l-kursī wa l-lawḥ wa l-qalam wa l-samawāt wa l-araḍūna, al-shams wa l-qamar wa l-nujūm, al-layl wa l-nahār, al-sā'āt, ...* In short, a "sacred cosmology" offered as an alternative to the astronomers'.

The Dublin copy was unknown to the editor of *al-Hay'a*, Anton Heinen, which is a great pity, since it appears to be one of the oldest, if not the oldest copy available. Of the 9 mss. that Heinen collated, the oldest one dates from 963/1556, some 52 years after al-Suyūṭī's death, and at least 40 years younger than the Dublin ms.¹⁰⁷

(17) Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, 5479 (*vidi*)¹⁰⁸

In spite of Arberry's nondescript "historical miscellany to the beginning of the 10th/16th century", this unique ms. of 339ff. offers a unique contribution to our growing Qāniṣawhiana. While that other important unpublished text, *al-'Uqūd al-Jawhariya* (→ 47, 48) is revealing first and foremost in terms of Qāniṣawh's pre-sultanic career, the Dublin manuscript focuses squarely on the first 7 years of the sultan's reign, with particular attention to his socio-cultural activities.

Unfortunately, both title and author are unknown to us, since the title page (→ fig. 9) is heavily damaged. Its central panel seems to have carried the title *al-Majālis <al-Marḍīya>*¹⁰⁹, while the initial inscription of this lower panel, written

106 A.J. Arberry, *A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts Volume V. MSS. 4001–4500* (Dublin, 1962), p. 65.

107 A.M. Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology. A Study of as-Suyūṭī's al-Hay'a as-sanīya fī l-hay'a as-sunnīya with critical edition, translation, and commentary* (Beirut, 1982), here pp. 121–127 (with over 60 mss. being referenced!).

108 A.J. Arberry, *A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts Volume VII. MSS. 4501 to 5000* (Dublin, 1964), p. 139.

109 Both Frédéric Bauden (Liège) and Boris Liebrez (Leipzig) proved of invaluable help in deciphering the frontispiece.

in a silver-based ink, may have recorded the work's dedicatee, Qāniṣawh, but this has been washed away, and is replaced by a commonplace *waqf* note¹¹⁰:



Fig. 9: Frontispiece (f. 1r)

Waqqafa wa ḥabbasa <... *al-mu'azzama*...> *wa 'alā ṭalabat al-'ilm bi Jāmi' al-Azhar wa qad* <...> *an lā yubā' wa lā yūḥab wa lā yurhan fa man baddalahu fa 'alayhi la'nat Allāh wa l-malā'ika wa l-nās ajma'īna.*

Has endowed and bequested <... the glorified...> and upon the students at the Azhar Mosque and <...> that is should not be sold, nor donate or pawned, and whoever would change it [for another book], upon him be the curse of God, the angels and all of mankind.

110 Repeated in shortened form on top of several ff.: *waqf li llāh subḥānahu wa ta'ālā 'alā ṭalabat al-'ilm bi l-jāmi al-Azhar.*

Tentatively, one could argue for the authorship of Ḥasan b. al-Ṭūlūnī — or, considering his advanced age of 75 at that time, perhaps rather of his son Aḥmad?¹¹¹ — based on five arguments. First, the long section (17-4) is, for the most part, a quasi-verbatim quotation of Ḥasan Ibn al-Ṭūlūnī's *al-Nuzhat al-Saniya* (→ 83/2).¹¹² Second, among the various *Nuzha* mss. consulted, the version included here stands out for its elaborate section on the Ṭūlūnid dynasty (251–292/865–905). If not an idiosyncratic whim of Qāniṣawh¹¹³, this foregrounding of the Ṭūlūnids might have been a subtle means for the author to foreground his name.¹¹⁴ Third, in section (17-5), quite some space is devoted to the building activities of Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, which would make sense given Ibn al-Ṭūlūnī's background: a family with a history of involvement in royal construction works from 1377 up to 1517¹¹⁵. In fact, Ḥasan is nowadays remembered first and foremost not as an author but as a “royal architect”, responsible for, among others, al-Zāhir Khushqadam's funerary complex. Fourth, Qāniṣawh clearly appreciated the *Nuzha*, and hence its author, since his library held at least one stand-alone copy (→83/2 and perhaps 1/2). Fifth and final, the connection between Qāniṣawh and the Ibn al-Ṭūlūnīs went well beyond the *Nuzha*, as the sultan's library also had a copy of the *Nuzhat al-Abṣār*, another work written by father Ḥasan (→ 54), and a copy of al-Ghazālī's *'Ajā'ib al-Qalb*, penned by Ḥasan's son, Aḥmad (→ 69).

The ms. itself is not dated but the last event recorded dates Shawwāl 914/February 1508. In all, 5 main sections are discernable:

(17-1) Preface (ff. 1v–2r).

Following the *basmala* etc., the opening line of this brief preface runs as follows:

Wa ba'du, <hādhihi> majālis marḍīya manqūla min al-tafāsīr al-sharīfa wa l-qīṣaṣ al-nabawīya wa tawārīkh al-khulafā al-rāshidīn wa l-a'imma min khilāfat al-sayyid Abī Bakr wa 'Umar wa 'Uthmān wa 'Alī wa l-Ḥasan (...), min ba'dihim al-dawlat al-Uma-

111 Unfortunately, the death date of Ḥasan b. al-Ṭūlūnī seems unascertained. All we know is that he was still alive in 909/1503.

112 With the caliphs' list updated up to al-Mustamsik bi llāh (first caliphate, 903–914/1497–1508) and the ruler's list up to Qāniṣawh.

113 Perhaps they had a certain appeal to him, due to their lavish gardening projects? See D. Behrens-Abouseif, “Gardens in Islamic Egypt”, *Der Islam* 69/2 (1992): 302–312, here pp. 303–304.

114 There seems to be no indication that the Ibn al-Ṭūlūnīs considered themselves of Ṭūlūnid pedigree, so at best the author played out the similarity of their names.

115 See D. Behrens-Abouseif, “*Muhandis, Shād, Mu'allim* – Note on the Building Craft in the Mamluk Period”, *Der Islam* 72 (1995): 293–309; N. Rabbat, “Architects and Artists in Mamluk Society: The Perspective of the Sources”, *Journal of Architectural Education* 52/1 (1998): 30–37.

wīya wa l-‘Abbāsīya wa l-Fāṭimīya wa l-dawlat al-Turkiya raḥīma llāhu mu ‘allifihā wa ḥasharahum fi l-zumrat al-nabawīya.

Now, these are pleasant *majālis* [i. e., topics suitable for/dealt with previously at the literary gatherings, see below], copied from the noble Qur’ān commentaries, the prophetic stories, the histories of the Rightly Guided Caliphs and the imams, from the caliphate of Lord Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, ‘Alī and Ḥasan (...), following them, the reign of the Umayyads, the Abbasids, the Fatimids and the Turks, may God have mercy on its authors and may He gather them in the group of the prophets.

(17-2) Eighteen *majālis* (ff. 2r–99r).

Ever since ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ‘Azzām’s seminal partial edition of two *majālis* texts in 1941 (→ 66, 82), we know that Qāniṣawh regularly convened literary soirees. While recently a third *majālis* text was added to these first two (→ 47, 48), it would seem that the sultan’s soirees left an even bigger paper trail (→ 68). This second section of the Dublin ms. is either a new recording of the sultan’s scholarly gatherings, or a collection of topics that the author found suitable for discussion during those gatherings. Whatever the case may be, unfortunately, the lively Q&A format and the surprisingly strong authorial voice that makes *al-Nafā’is* such a pleasant read is absent. Equally missing are the recordings of the 5th and 6th *majlis*, as one or more ff. are lacking between ff. 11 and 12. By way of example, the beginning of the short first *majlis*, which offers a terse, scholastic discussion on the meaning of *qaḍā* in Qur’ān, 17:23. In all, 10 *awjuh* of *qaḍā* in the Qur’ān are enumerated:

Qawluhu ta’ālā “Wa qaḍā rabbukā allā ta’budū illā iyyāhu wa bi l-wālidayni iḥsānan”, wa ma’nā “qaḍā rabbuka” ay <asarra> rabbuka, wa l-qaḍā fi l-Qur’ān ‘alā ‘asharat awjuh: aḥaduhā bi ma’nā l-farāgh, wa l-thāni bi ma’nā l-tamām wa minhu qawluhu ta’ālā “li yuqḍā ajalun musamman”, wa l-thālith bi ma’nā l-faṣl wa minhu qawluhu ta’ālā “quḍīya baynahum bi l-qist”, wa l-rābi’ bi ma’nā wujūb al-‘adhāb wa minhu qawluhu ta’ālā “wa quḍīya l-amr”, wa l-khāmis bi l-ma’nā l-khatm wa minhu qawluhu ta’ālā “quḍīya l-amr alladhī fihi tastaftiyān”, wa l-sādis bi ma’nā l-khabar wa minhu qawluhu ta’ālā “wa qaḍaynā ilā Banī Isrā’īl fi l-Kitāb”, wa l-sābi’ bi ma’nā al-amr wa minhu qawluhu ta’ālā “wa qaḍā rabbuka allā ta’budū illā iyyāhu wa bi l-wālidayni iḥsānan”, wa l-thāmin ma’nā <al-fi’l> wa minhu qawluhu ta’ālā “Fa qḍi mā anta qaḍīn”, wa l-tāsi’ bi ma’nā l-khalq wa minhu qawluhu ta’ālā “Fa qaḍāhunna sab’a samāwātīn fi yawmayni”, wa l-āshir bi ma’nā al-mawt wa minhu qawluhu ta’ālā “li yaqḍi ‘alaynā rabbuka” al-āya.

Regarding the meaning of “Your Lord has decreed”, that is, “Your lord has <confided>” [in] the Word of God, exalted is He above all, “And your Lord has decreed that not worship except Him, and to parents, good treatment”¹¹⁶, “decreeing” in the Qur’ān has the following ten aspects:

116 Qur’ān, 17: 23.

- (1) meaning “finishing”;
- (2) meaning “completeness”, as in the Word [of God], exalted is He above all, “That a specified term may be fulfilled”¹¹⁷;
- (3) meaning “rendering of judgment”, as in the Word [of God], exalted is He above all, “It will be judged between them in justice”¹¹⁸;
- (4) meaning “the necessity of the punishment”, as in the Word [of God], exalted is He above all, “And the matter was accomplished”¹¹⁹;
- (5) meaning “concluding”, as in the Word [of God], exalted is He above all, “The matter has been decreed about which you both inquire”¹²⁰;
- (6) meaning “message”, as in the Word [of God], exalted is He above all, “And We conveyed to the Children of Israel”¹²¹;
- (7) meaning “commanding”, as in the word [of God], exalted is He above all, “And your Lord has decreed that you do not worship except Him, and to parents, good treatment”¹²²;
- (8) meaning “<action>”, as in the word [of God], exalted is He above all, “So decree whatever you are to decree”¹²³;
- (9) meaning “creating”, as in the word [of God], exalted is He above all, “And He completed them as seven heavens within two days”¹²⁴;
- (10) meaning “death”, as in the word [of God], exalted is He above all, “Let your Lord put an end to us!”¹²⁵.

Follows a *ḥadīth*:

Wa qāla rasūlu llāh ṣallā llāhu ‘alayhi wa sallama “Raḡhima anfuḡu raḡhim anfuḡu marratayn” (...)

The God’s Envoy, God bless Him and grant Him salvation, has said, “Let him be humbled, let him be humbled” (...)

(17-3) A detailed biography of the Prophet (ff. 99r–136v).

A discussion of the *dalā’il* of His *nubūwa*, His genealogy, birth, marriages, children, Hijra, 24 razzias, and physical appearance (with a quotation of al-Būṣīrī’s *Burda*, → Chapter One, 23/5). Then follows a detailed interlude on the Qur’ān, including a discussion of *al-Lawḡ al-Maḡfūz*, the 7 *aḡruf*, the previous 7 prophets who received the Qur’ān, the language of the Qur’ān, the number of *āyāt* and *sūras*, and the *Muṣḡaf* of ‘Uthmān, which was restored by Qāniṣawh (→

117 Qur’ān, 6: 60.

118 Qur’ān, 10: 47.

119 Qur’ān, 11: 44.

120 Qur’ān, 12: 41.

121 Qur’ān, 17: 4.

122 Qur’ān, 17: 23.

123 Qur’ān, 20: 72.

124 Qur’ān, 41: 12.

125 Qur’ān, 43: 77.

12, 17-5). This third section concludes with the conquest of Mecca, and the Prophet's illness, death and burial.

(17-4) A reworking of *al-Nuzhat al-Sanīya* (ff. 136v–239r).

Whereas Ibn al-Ṭūlūnī's *al-Nuzhat al-Sanīya* (→ 83/2) conventionally opens with an entry on Muḥammad, here it starts with the first Rightly Guided caliph, Abū Bakr. In this light, one could equally consider the previous section (17-3) as nothing but a greatly expanded version of the commonly rather short opening entry on Muḥammad in the *Nuzha*.¹²⁶ Section (17-4) consists of the following 3 subsections (for a brief analysis of its overall structural features, → 47):

(17-4a) History of the caliphs (ff. 137–161).

The Rightly Guided Caliphs, the Umayyads, the Abbasids, and the Abbasids in Cairo up to al-Mustamsik bi llāh Ya 'qūb (first reign, 903–914/1497–1508). In all, over 60 caliphs are recorded, with only a few omissions (undoubtedly a lapsus). This subsection concludes with a general count of the caliphs and an explicit ref. to *al-Nuzhat al-Sanīya* on f. 161r!

(17-4b) History of pre-Islamic Egypt (ff. 161v–172v).

This section changes the focus from the Umma in general to Egypt in particular. Dealt with are, among others, the attestations of Miṣr in the Qur'ān, prophets associated with Miṣr (Ibrāhīm, Ismā'īl, Ya 'qūb, Mūsā, ...), and Khiḍr. This transitional section is absent from most *Nuzha* mss. but is included also in Berlin, Ms. or. fol. 3398 Berlin (→ 83/2).

(17-4c) History of the *mulūk* of Egypt (ff. 173r–239v).

As a number of ff. is missing, this third subsection starts with the Umayyad governor of Egypt, Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā (r. 108/726–727). In succession almost 150 rulers are given: the Umayyad governors, the Abbasid governors, the Ṭūlūnids, the governors during the Abbasid Restoration, the Ikshīdids, the Fāṭimids, the Ayyubids, and, concluding, the *Dawlat al-Turkīya*. What catches the attention in comparison with other *Nuzha* mss.¹²⁷ is the vastly expanded discussion of the Ṭūlūnids, already hinted at. Detailed are, among others, the twelve years of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn's rulership, and his various building activities. The discussion of the Ṭūlūnids ends with an oddly placed long encomium of Qāniṣawh, perhaps as a means to draw Qāniṣawh's attention to the Ṭūlūnids (and hence, to the author's name?). Also noteworthy is, again in comparison with the other mss., the extended discussion of Qāyṭbāy. Clearly, it would seem that Qāyṭbāy was a model for Qāniṣawh to be emulated. On f. 193r-v, e. g., Qāniṣawh is referred to *Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī nasaban al-Qāyṭbāyī ḥasaban wa l-Ḥanafī madhhaban wa l-Jarkasī jinsan*, with the interesting pair *nasab/ḥasab*, which suggests that Qāniṣawh put

126 For another possible reworking of the first entry of the *Nuzhat*, now in a “visual” rather than a “textual” format, see the *Shajarat al-Nasab al-Sharif al-Nabawī* (→ 83/1).

127 These variables will be returned to in the discussion of the *Nuzha* itself (→ 83/2).

himself on a par with Qāyṭbāy in terms of personal achievements (for more examples → 107).¹²⁸

As *Nuzha* mss. commonly end with the ruling sultan at the time of copying, section (17-4) moves over to Qāniṣawh, as to be expected. Yet, what constitutes merely another brief entry in post-1517 copies of the *Nuzha* is here greatly expanded. Hence, it might be better to consider the concluding part of the work as an independent section and not as the last entry of *al-Nuzhat al-Saniya*.

(17-5) The rule of Qāniṣawh (ff. 239v–339v).

The last section of the work deals with the first 7 years Qāniṣawh's reign. Particular attention is devoted to Qāniṣawh's socio-religious and cultural-religious practices and policy. By way of illustration, only a few issues that relate directly to the composition of the sultan's library, and to his literary activities (for which, see Chapter Four in particular):

- On the sultan's engagement in *adkhār* and *tafsīr* (f. 243r, 267r; → 43, 91, 100, 128);
- On his restoration of the *Muṣḥaf* and its festive relocation, together with *al-Āthār al-Nabawiya*, to a newly built *qubba* opposite his madrasa (ff. 250r–257r, 262r–, 270r–, 284v–; → Chapter One, 12);
- On his *mamlūks*' recitation of the Qur'ān and his own *muwashshaḥāt*, and the two teachers specifically in charge of training these selected *mamlūks* (f. 258r, 277r, 283v–; → 100);
- On his manumission of *mamlūks* (including names and barracks, ff. 260r–);
- A poem by court musician Ibn Qijīq on the intoxicating effect of the sultan's poetry (ff. 302–; *Ya 'tī fī kull muwashshaḥ fī naghmatin – Fa yakād yuskirūna min al-alḥān!*; → 46, 107).

As said before, there is a great deal of attention for Qāniṣawh's architectural policy: the Ghawriya complex (*madrasa, kuttāb, sabīl, qubba, ...*), his *bustān, maydān, maq'ad, ...* By way of example, part of the description of the minbar and minaret (f. 254v):

Fa baraza amruhu al-sharīf an yuzād fī maḥāsinihi bi naqsh <asāṭīmihi> bi l-dhabab wa anwā' al-nuqūshāt wa ka dhālika darābazīnāt al-manār al-'azīm (...) wa li yarkab kull darābazīn 'alā dawr wa hiya arba'at adwār ya'lūhum arba'at khuwad fī arba'at adwār wa 'ulū kull khūda thalāth ṣawārī fa ṣārat ithnā 'ashar ṣārīyan li yukthar fihā l-anwār (...)

128 Whereas *nasab* is common in such identification strings, the use of *ḥasab* seems rare. Are there any other attestations? For the dichotomy *nasab/ḥasab* (with the former normally relating to honour derived from one's lineage, and the latter relating to honour derived from one's deeds), see K. D'hulster, "All over One's Face. Mamluk Honour and the Linguistics of Politeness" (paper presented at the 5th Conference of the Society for the Medieval Mediterranean, Ghent University, 2017).

[The sultan] ordered for its charms to be increased by having its round beams painted in gold and [by adding] all sorts of drawing, as well as the balustrades of the great minaret (...) and to place a complete balustrade on [each?] storey, there being four storeys. On top of these [storeys], there [should] come four helmet[-type minaret tops, that is, one each] on the four storeys. The height of each helmet would be three masts, thus yielding [a total height] of twelve masts, thus [making it possible] to increase [the number of] lights [that could be attached] to the minaret (...)

It would be interesting to compare these details with the descriptions in Ibn Iyās's chronicle, in the sultan's *waqfiyāt*, and in the epilogue to the Turkic *Shāh-Nāma* translation (→ 13, 107).

(18) (?) (P) Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Ms. orient. A 56/4 (*vidi*)¹²⁹

Al-Munaqqaḥ al-Zarīf fī l-Muwashshaḥ al-Sharīf, one of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's unpublished *opera minora*, written as a *ta'līq* to two Sufistic *muwashshaḥāt* of Qāniṣawh, shortly following the sultan's accession in 906/1501.

How the sultan's poetry caught the imam's attention is not specified, since the text simply reads *ḥadara ilayya min nazmihi muwashshaḥāni*. Equally unclear is whether the imam's *ta'līq* ever found its way to the sultan's court. On the one hand, it would be hard to imagine Qāniṣawh not to have coveted al-Suyūṭī's "feedback" on his poetry, especially since the text seems to suggest that the sultan himself had solicited al-Suyūṭī to write a response. On the other hand, there is the message of the *ta'līq* itself to take into consideration, especially in light of al-Suyūṭī's vexed relationship with sultanic power¹³⁰. Whatever the case may be, the fact remains that, until now, no *khazā'inī* copy of the *Munaqqaḥ* has turned up. As a consequence, this item can only be included in the list with a proviso.

So far, three copies, with minor textual variants, have been located:

- Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek Ms. orient. A 56/4, ff. 7v–10r, undated and taken as the proxy for the (hypothetical) *khazā'inī* copy (→ fig. 11):
- Tunis, Dār al-Kutub al-Waṭaniya, old shelfmark Khizānat Jāmi' al-Zaytūna adab 4763, ff. 150v–152v, undated (*vidi*) (→ fig. 10);
- Sohag, Maktabat al-Ṭaḥṭawī (no shelfmark), pp. 45–55, copied 967/1559 (*vidi*).

129 W. Pertsch, *Die Orientalische Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha, Theil III: Die arabischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha, vol. 1* (Gotha, 1881), 104–106.

130 Not to mention their conflicting claims to *tajdid*. In the preamble of the 1505 *waqfiya* (→ 13), Qāniṣawh is lauded by reference to the *ḥadīth* that states that every century comes with its own *mujaddid* (Alhamzeh, "Late Mamluk Patronage," p. 77). Unfortunately, we don't know whether Qāniṣawh already played with this idea while that other self-proclaimed *mujaddid*, al-Suyūṭī, was still alive...

The *Munaqqah* is a very Suyūṭī text in the sense that there is very little Suyūṭī in it, that is, his authorial voice is very much hiding between the numerous textual cracks. Leaving out all direct quotations and the ubiquitous *basmala*, *ḥamdala*, etc. leaves us with less than 300 words out of a total of 1,600 that are al-Suyūṭī's.... Indeed, next to the Qur'ān, an impressive number of authorities is quoted: Abū Nu'aym's *Dalā'il al-Nubūwa*, his *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, and his *Ma'rifat al-Ṣaḥāba wa Faḍā'ilihim*; al-Bayhaqī's *Dalā'il al-Nubūwa*, and his *Shu'ab al-Īmān*; al-Bukhārī's *al-Ta'rīkh*¹³¹; al-Daylamī's *Musnad al-Firdaws*; al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī's *al-Mustadrak 'alā l-Ṣaḥīḥayn*; Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*; Ibn Ḥayyān's *Kitāb al-Thawāb*; Ibn al-Najjār's *Tārīkh Baghdād*; Ibn Shāhīn's *al-Targhīb fī Faḍā'il al-A'māl*; al-Iṣbahānī's *al-Targhīb wa l-Tarhīb*; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Tārīkh Baghdād*; al-Rūyānī's *Musnad*; and al-Ṭayālīsī's *Musnad*.

As the text remains unedited, the following summary might be useful. The treatise opens by alluding to the sultan's accession:

Wa ba'du fa inna iqāmat al-sulṭān 'alā l-ra'īya min a'zam ni'am allāh al-jalīya. Bihi tanfudhu l-aḥkām, wa tuqāmu sharāyī'u l-islām, wa yuḥajju l-baytu l-ḥarām, wa ta'manu l-subul li l-khāṣṣ wa l-'amm.

Now, the appointment of the sultan over the subjects is one of the greatest manifest benefactions [displayed by] God. It is by virtue of him that orders are executed, that the laws of Islam are upheld, that the Kaaba is circumambulated, and that the roads are kept safe for all people.

Following a long list of mostly well-known *aḥādīth* in relation to the *faḍl al-salṭana*, al-Suyūṭī relates how he obtained the sultan's poetry and decided to write a *ta'līq* to these:

Wa qad manna llāhu ta'ālā 'alā l-muslimīn bi iqāmat mani khtārahu li l-qiyām 'alayhim, wa huwa malik al-'aṣr wa l-zamān, sulṭān al-islām wa l-muslimīn, ḥāmī ḥawzat al-dīn, qāmī al-mulḥidīn, rādī al-mufsidīn, khādīm al-ḥurum al-thalātha, Makka wa l-Madīna wa Bayt al-Maqdis, al-sulṭān al-ashraf, abū l-naṣr Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, a'azza llāhu naṣrahu, wa shaddada azrahu, wa saddadahu dāyirat mulk jamī' al-maḥāsīn, wa rtawā fahmuhu wa 'ilmuhu min ghayr asan, bi ḥaythu lam taraqqā l-mulūk ashadd minhu fī l-'ilm raghbatan. Lammā 'alima anna qurbata l-'ilm 'inda llāh 'azza wa jalla afḍal qurbatin, wa qad ḥaḍara ilayya min nazmihi l-sharīf muwashshaḥānī, bi aṣnāf al-durr wa l-jawāhir muwashshaḥānī, wa bi anwā' al-ḥukm wa l-adab muwashshaḥānī, wa qad katabtu 'alayhimā ḥādhā l-ta'līq, wa sammaytuhu l-Munaqqah al-Zarīf fī l-Muwashshaḥ al-Sharīf.

God, exalted is He above all, has blessed the Muslims by appointing the one whom He has chosen to be in charge of them, that person being the ruler of his age and his time, the sultan of Islam and of the Muslims, the protector of the territory of the [true]

131 Which one remains unclear, as neither his *al-Ta'rīkh al-Kabīr* nor his *al-Ta'rīkh al-Awsaṭ* appear to record this *ḥadīth*.

religion, the subduer of heretics and the curber of corruptors, the servant of the Sacred Precinct – [all] three, [that is], Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem – the most noble sultan, father of victory, Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, whose victory God has strengthened and whose power [God] has made most strong, for whom [God] had corked the circle of dominion with all good things, and whose [thirst for] understanding and knowledge has been quenched with [water] that is not brackish, inasmuch as no [other] rulers outdid him in [their] desire for knowledge. When he had learnt that, in the eyes of God, may He be honoured and glorified, nearness to knowledge is the noblest of nearnesses, [he saw to it that] two *muwashshahs* of his noble poetry were brought to my attention, both adorned with all kinds of pearls and jewels, and twice embellished with wisdom and refinement, and I have written this commentary on them, called *al-Munaqqah al-Zarif fi l-Muwashshah al-Sharif*.

Qāniṣawh's two *muwashshahāt* are then quoted in full. Both these so-called "bald" (*aqra'*) *muwashshahāt* are well-attested elsewhere (→ 14, 43, 100) and are published¹³². Reproducing the first three *adwār* ("stanzas") of the first poem's total of six (→ fig. 10):

<i>Yā musayyira l-qalbi</i>	O You who makes the heart travel
<i>Fī manāzili l-qurbi</i>	Through the stations of nearness [to You]!
<i>Anta rāfi' u l-hujbi</i>	It is You who lifts the veils
<i>ʿAn qulūbi ahli llāh</i>	From the hearts of the pious!
<i>Fī l-jalāli qad qāmū</i>	In [Your] loftiness they have stayed up
<i>Laylahum wa mā nāmū</i>	During the night, without sleeping.
<i>Fī l-jamāli qad hāmū</i>	In [Your] beauty they have been bewildered
<i>Ladhhatan bi ḥubbi llāh</i>	By rapture in [their] love of [You,] God.
<i>Ayqanū wa mā rtābū</i>	They are certain and have no doubt,
<i>Ammalū wa mā khābū</i>	They have hope, without [their hopes] being disappointed.
<i>ʿAn wujūhihim ghābū</i>	They have lost their senses
<i>Fī sanā wujūdi llāh</i>	In the sparkle of the presence of [You,] God!

Next, al-Suyūṭī comments briefly on these two poems:

Fa aṣl hādihā nazm, mā dallat ʿalayhi l-āyāt al-qurʿāniya wa l-aḥādīth al-nabawīya wa nʿaqada ʿalayhi al-ijmāʿ, wa huwa anna iqbāla l-qalb ʿalā llāhi taʿālā wa irāḍahu ʿammā siwāhu wa taqallubahu fī manāzil al-sāyirīn min manzil ilā manzil ḥattā yašila ilā l-ḥaḍra wa tartafī ʿanhu l-hujub innamā huwa bi ṣanʿi llāh taʿālā wa tawfiqīhi wa luṭfihi wa khtiyārīhi wa jtibā ʿihi wa ṣṭifā ʿihi wa irādatīhi wa rtiḍā ʿihi, wa lā bi ḥawli l-ʿabd wa lā bi quwwatīhi.

[At] the root of this poetry [lies] something that is pointed out by the Qurʿanic verses and the prophetic hadiths and that is generally agreed upon, [that is] that the heart's turning towards God, exalted is He above all, its turning away from everything except Him, and its movement through the stations of the travellers, station by station, until it

132 Mursī, "Dīwān al-Sulṭān al-Ghawrī", pp. 162, 169.

reaches [His] presence and the veils are lifted therefrom [happen] but through God's making, His accommodation, His kindness, His choosing, His electing, His picking, His volition and His sanction, and [thus] not through [His] servant's might nor power.

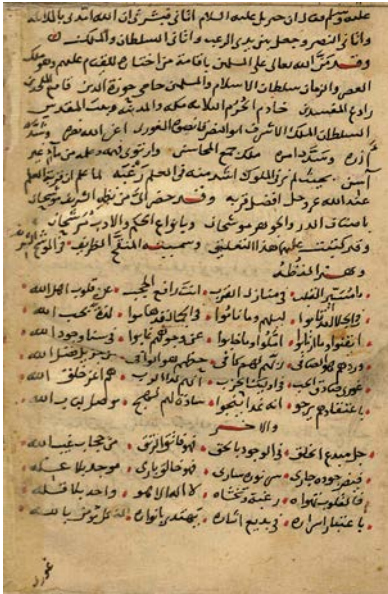


Fig. 10: Qāniṣawh's *muwashshahāt* (Tunis, Fig. 11: Al-Suyūṭī's *dūbayts* (Gotha, f. 10r f. 151v)

Following even more quotations, this time from the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth qudsī*, al-Suyūṭī concludes by offering two *dūbayts* of his own hand, including the following (→ fig. 11):

Yā rabbu bi ḥurmati l-nabīyi l-arāf Ra` s al-ḥukamā
Man jā` a bi dīnika l-qawīmi l-aḥnaf Yajlū l-zulamā
Unzur li faqirika l-maliki l-ashraf Waffiqhu li mā
Tardā `amalan wa kullu sū`in yuṣraf Anhu karamā

O Lord! By the sanctity of the most gracious Leader of the philosophers,
Prophet, While ousting the tyrants.
Who brought Your religion correct and most true, Guide him towards those deed[s]
Behold the one who is in need of You, the noblest king!
That You are pleased with, with all things evil Out of kindness, turned away from him.

From this short presentation, it should be clear that the *Munaqqah* definitely deserves further exploration, as it offers us some precious glimpses of Qāniṣawh's spiritual development, as he moved through "the stations of nearness [to God]",

“through the stations of the travellers, station by station, until his [heart] reaches [His] presence” (→ 100). A second fruitful venue would be to read the *Munaqqah* against the backdrop of conflicts over secular vs. religious authority. However, such explorations will require an explicit inter-textual approach. As stated before, a strictly textual approach won’t do when it comes to retrieving al-Suyūṭī’s authorial voice from the numerous textual cracks. A major help in this respect could be found in the abundant marginal notes to the Gotha ms. (→ 20). At the very least, these annotations offer us a glimpse of what the anonymous annotator made of the *Munaqqah*: an argument over delineating authority. In this light, Qāniṣawh was perhaps not too keen on having a copy of the *Munaqqah* after all...

As was hinted at already before (→ 3-6, 14, 17) and as will be returned to later on (→ 19, 43, 100, 120, Chapter Four), the sultan’s poetry was often sung to a certain musical mode (*naghma*) by his own *mamlūks*, and let it be clear that al-Suyūṭī was not averse to this. At least for him, listening to singing was part and parcel of *al-ṭibb al-nabawī* (→ 5). Some of its wholesome effects, as quoted in al-Suyūṭī’s *Ṭibb al-Nabī*, are the following:

“Listening to music is the scent of souls, the calmer of hearts, the food of the spirit (...) Pleasure in moderation purifies the Innate Heat, strengthens the functioning of the Faculties, slows down senile decay by driving out its diseases, renders the complexion clearer, and refreshes the whole body (...) [Singing] is the transporter of Truth and the Driver of hearts towards Truth (...) It is words and accents to which Almighty God has added perfume (...) On the legality of listening to songs, some doctors of the Law permit this pleasure, others do not. According to Ibn Qataba songs and harmonious chants clarify the brain, sweeten the character, animate the soul, clear the blood, improve and help persons with thick diseases, and develop all the natural qualities of a man.”¹³³

By way of digression, it should be noted that the *Munaqqah* proves that Qāniṣawh’s poetry had moved beyond the walls of the Mamluk citadel. This in itself is remarkable enough. As can be learned from various items of this list (→ 5, 14, 19, 43, 100), the sultan’s verses are well attested, yet, crucially, almost exclusively within the narrow confines of courtly Mamluk literature: the sultan’s Arabic and Turkic *divans*, the records of his *majālis* and his history-cum-hagiographies... As such, as far as I know, al-Suyūṭī’s *Munaqqah* is the only instance of Qāniṣawh’s

133 Translation by Cyril Elgood (“*Tibb-ul-Nabbi or Medicine of the Prophet*”, pp. 175–176). For al-Suyūṭī’s own Sufi background, and his participation in singing and dancing, see A. Spevack, “Al-Suyūṭī, the Intolerant Ecumenist: Law and Theology in *Ta’yīd al-ḥaqīqa al-‘aliyya wa-tashyīd al-ṭarīqa al-Shādhiliyya*”, in A. Ghersetti (ed.), *Al-Suyūṭī, a Polymath of the Mamlūk Period. Proceedings of the themed day of the First Conference of the School of Mamlūk Studies (Ca’ Foscari University, Venice, June 23, 2014)* (Leiden/Boston, 2017), pp. 15–46 (with ref. to another work of al-Suyūṭī in which he defends *samā’* in note 9.)

poetry being read outside of the court/being quoted in non-courtly literature in Mamluk times.¹³⁴ In post-Mamluk times, Qāniṣawh's poetry fared better, but only slightly. Thus far five post-Mamluk sources have been identified that quote Qāniṣawh's verses¹³⁵:

- Nazmī, *Mecma'ū'n-Nezā'ir*;
- Pervāne Bey, untitled *naẓīre mecmū'ası* (→ fig. 12);
- anon., untitled *mecmū'a* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, supplément turc 361) (→ fig. 13);
- Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzī's *al-Kawākib al-Sā'ira fī A'yān al-Mi'at al-Āshira* & Ibn al-Īmād al-Ḥanbalī's *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab*.

While the works of al-Ghazzī and Ibn al-Īmād will be dealt with later on (→ 125), a few more words regarding the first three sources are not uncalled for. Beginning with the first two sources, both Ottoman, these are so-called *naẓā'ir* collections, *i. e.*, collections of “model poems” followed by their respective *naẓā'ir* or emulating poems (→ 3). Nazmī's massive *Mecma'ū'n-Nezā'ir*, *e. g.*, finished in 930/1522, gives an impressive total of 357 model poems and 5,527 emulating poems. The main poet emulated is Aḥmed Paşa, nicknamed the “Sultan of Poets” and undoubtedly the most celebrated poet under Meḥmed II and Bāyezīd II (→ 3-1, 3-2, 3-8). Nazmī's work contains 51 poems of his hand, as well as 1,035 (!) *naẓā'ir* written in emulation thereof. One of these 51 poems is a 9-vv. ghazal by Aḥmed Paşa. Its *maṭla'* reads as follows¹³⁶:

134 Qāniṣawh's diplomatic correspondence contains the occasional vv., but, even though written in the 1st person, Qāniṣawh's authorship should not be accepted at face value... Consider, *e. g.*, some Arabic vv. sent by Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī to sultan Selīm that are included in a late 17th-century Ottoman *münşe'āt* volume (Birnbau Collection of Turkish Manuscripts, T108, f. 138v) (E. Birnbaum, *Ottoman Turkish and Çağatay MSS in Canada. A Union Catalogue of the Four Collections* (Leiden/Boston, 2015), p. 191). More such vv. can undoubtedly be culled from the archival documents, from the numerous *Selīm-Nāmes* and from the other *münşe'āt* volumes. For more on Qāniṣawh's correspondence with sultan Selīm, see C. Kerslake, “The Correspondence between Selīm I and Ḳānṣūh al-Ġawrī”, *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 30 (1980): 219–234.

135 In his edition of Qāniṣawh's Turkic divan, Yavuz includes 5 poems that are taken from the *Hikāyāt-i Aṣḥāb-i Kehf* (Süleymaniye, Tarlan 94/2) (*vidi*) and that are signed by Ġavrī, but he explicitly states that we are dealing with another poet with the same *takhalluṣ* (*Kansu Gavri'nin Türkçe Divanı*, pp. 52, 145–152).

136 M.F. Köksal, *Edirneli Nazmī, Mecma'ū'n-Nezā'ir (İnceleme – Tenkitli Metin)* (Ankara, 2012), pp. 1168–1670 (poems 3048 and 3052) (numerous mss., including Nuruosmaniye 4222 (*vidi*), Nuruosmaniye 4915 (*vidi*), Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 2644 (*vidi*)); K.A. Gıynaş, *Pervāne Bey Mecmuası, Pervāne B. Abdullah. Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 406* (Ankara, 2017), pp. 1791, 1797 (poems 4910 and 4925) (unique ms.: Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 406) (*vidi*).

Çāk olupdur dest-i haşretten giribānum ❀ *Ben kuluña şefkat it devletlü sulṭānum*
benüm *benüm*

My clothes rent by the hand of [my] ❀ My fortunate sultan, pity me, your slave!
 longing [for you],

This particular poem was emulated by an impressive list of poets, including Necātī, Lāmi'ī, Zātī, Nizāmī, Muḥibbī (i. e., sultan Süleymān the Magnificent), Kemāl Paşa-Zāde (i. e., Süleymān's sheikh al-islām), the Ottoman prince ƆorƆud (son of Bāyezīd II and brother of sultan Selīm), and, last but not least, Qānişawh. Using the same rhyme (-ān) and *redīf* (*benüm*), the sultan's poem runs as follows:

Müstedām olğil hemişe ey güzel hānum ❀ *Gözleri nergis yüzi gül zülfi reyhānum*
benüm *benüm*
Ay yüzün gördükçe vallāhi hasta göñlüm ❀ *Hağ seni var eylesün devletlü sulṭānum*
şād olur *benüm*
Sen ferāğat şād u hurrem ben kıuram ❀ *Hoş mı gelür saña yā rab zār u giryānum*
nāleler *benüm*
Haşretün den hasta oldum derdümi bilmez ❀ *Dil-berā vaşluñdadur var ise dermānum*
tabīb *benüm*
Ey habībüm uşta Ğavrī medhünjı tekrār ❀ *Bülbül-i şürıdeyem sensin gülistānum*
ider *benüm*

May you last forever and ever, O my ❀ My narcissus-eyed, rose-faced and sweet
 handsome khān, basil-tressed [one]!
 Whenever as I see your moon[-shaped] ❀ May God bring you near me, my fortunate
 face, by God, my sick heart becomes sultan!
 merry [again],
 You at ease, merry and joyful, [while] I ❀ Do they please you, my lord, my bitter
 moan and groan? weeping and affliction?
 My longing for you has made me ill, and ❀ If there is a remedy for me, then [surely, it
 no doctor knows [how to cure] my illness, is found] in [my] union with the one who
 captivated my heart!
 O beloved one! This Ghawrī sings your ❀ I am a nightingale, desperately in love, you
 praise anew, my rose garden.

The question as to why Qānişawh's poem was included by Nazmī is one easily answered. Indeed, given the huge number of poems included, there is no need to beat around the bush: Qānişawh's prestige or excellence as a poet had very little to do with it. *Nazā'ir* collections simply collected as much *nazā'ir* as possible. A question that is more difficult to answer yet far more interesting is how Qānişawh's *nazīre* found its way to Nazmī's collection.¹³⁷

137 I am not considering Pervāne Bey's collection, which was finished in 968/1560–61.

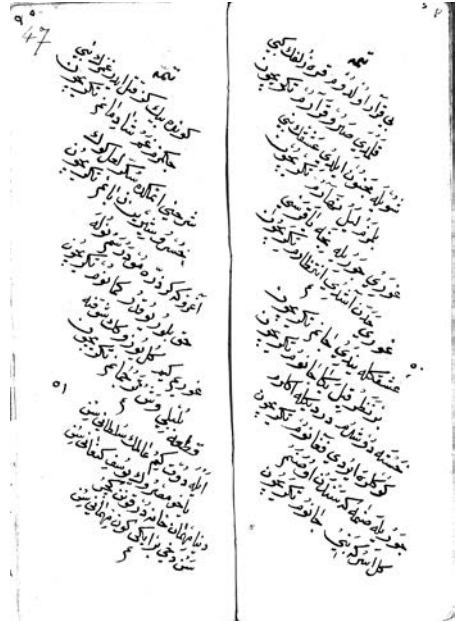
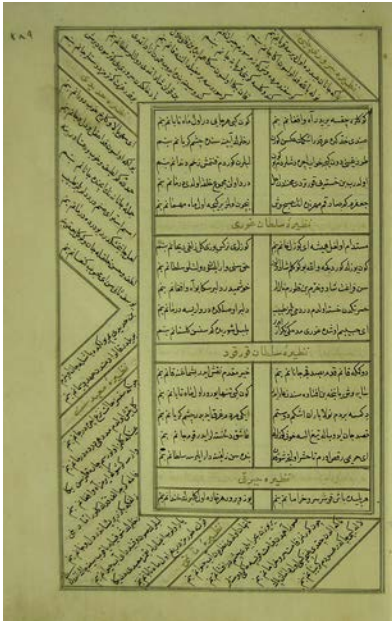


Fig. 12: Pervâne Bey, *mecmû'a* (f. 289r), with Fig. 13: The Paris Anonymus (ff. 46v–47r) Qānişawh’s *nazîre* in the central panel

The most obvious answer to this question would be, through Qānişawh’s Turkic *divan* (→ 3). This, however, is impossible: while Qānişawh’s Turkic *divan* contains dozens of poems by Aḥmed (> 3-1, 3-3 and 3-8) and one emulating poem by Qānişawh (→ 3-1), Qānişawh’s *nazîre* that is reproduced by Naẓmî and Pervâne is not included herein. As it happens, the *nazîre* by Qānişawh is included in one of Qānişawh’s Arabic *divans* (→ 19)¹³⁸, but this work too is an unlikely source for Naẓmî: not only does this *divan* present Qānişawh’s poem not a *nazîre* to Aḥmed Paşa’s poetry but as an independent *ghazal*, this Arabic *divan* appears to have found its way into Istanbul in 1907 only. So, if not through one of Qānişawh’s *divans*, the question remains how Qānişawh’s *nazîre* ended up in 16th-century Ottoman *nazîre* collections. Venturing a guess, the Ottoman prince *Çorçud* (d. 919/1513) comes to mind. Not only did he emulate the same model poem of Aḥmed Paşa as Qānişawh had done, he is also recorded in *al-Kawkab al-Durrî* (→ 66) as attending a number of the sultan’s *majâlis*! Perhaps on one such occasion, he was presented Qānişawh’s *nazîre*?¹³⁹

138 O. Yavuz & M. Kafes, “Kansu Gavri’nin Arapça Divanı”, *Selçuk Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 28 (2012): 63–158, here pp. 81–83 (poem 3).

139 For *Çorçud*’s stay in Egypt, see N. al-Tikriti, “The Hâjj as Justifiable Self-Exile: Şehzade Korkud’s *Wasilat al-aḥbâb* (915–916/1509–1510)”, *al-Masâq* 17/1 (2005): 125–146. For another transfer of Turkic poetry that was perhaps facilitated by an earlier ill-fated Ottoman

In his review of Adam Talib's 2018 monograph, *How Do You Say "Epigram" in Arabic. Literary History at the Limits of Comparison*, Matthew Keegan argues against Talib's posit of a "post-court era", in which courts were increasingly marginalized in the field of *adab*. That is, whereas Talib has noted that "the princely and caliphal courts, which had been the pole of Arabic poetic production and performance, diminished in importance to the point of irrelevance during the Mamluk period", Keegan contends that "we simply know too little about the transformations in the role of poetry at court (...) to assert that courts were becoming irrelevant". Continuing, Keegan rightfully warns against "medieval anthologizers' curatorial biases, coupled with the broader decline narrative that haunts modern scholarship on the Mamluks."¹⁴⁰ Indeed, Qāniṣawh's *naẓā'ir*, and, more broadly, this whole chapter suggests a late Mamluk courtly literature that is richer, more vibrant and more cosmopolitan than the overwhelmingly Arabic, Arabic-centred and Arabic-oriented chronicles, *divans* and *tadhkiras* suggest. An excellent case in point would be Ibn Qāniṣawh (see Add. 13), an anthologizer and poet in his own right, and a contemporary of Qāniṣawh (yet, to be clear, unrelated to him). For Ibn Qāniṣawh — and this in spite of being one of the *awlād al-nās* — poetry clearly meant Arabic poetry. In his *adab* anthology, *al-Rawḍ al-Bahīj*, e. g., scores of poems are included, yet, it would seem, not a single v. in Turkic!¹⁴¹ So much for Qāniṣawh and Ibn Qāniṣawh being near-namesakes...

Let us now turn our attention to the anon. *mecmū'a* of Turkic poetry that is preserved as a unicum in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de Paris, supplément turc 361) (*vidi*) (→ fig. 13). Unfortunately, the work, in oblong format, is undated, but we may safely assume it to be post-Mamluk. The work is intriguing, not only as it contains poetry of Qāniṣawh, but also as it displays some further congruence with Qāniṣawh's Turkic *divan* (→ 3-1). Consider the following:

prince, now from without to within the Mamluk sultanate, consider the more famous case of the Ottoman prince Cem: he stayed in Cairo for some time, and some of his poems are included in Qāniṣawh's Turkic *divan* (→ 3-1).

140 *Middle Eastern Literatures* 21/2–3 (2018): 251–252, here p. 252.

141 See G. Schubert & R. Würsch, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Arabische Handschriften* (Basel, 2001), pp. 66–86). For the poet, see A. Talib, *How Do You Say "Epigram" in Arabic. Literary History at the Limits of Comparison* (Leiden/Boston, 2018), pp. 251–252.

	Paris	Berlin
Poem by Şirāzī	ff. 44v–45r	ff. 48v–49r
Poem by Ḥasan Oĝlu + <i>naẓīre</i> by Ğavrī	ff. 45r–45v ff. 45v–46r	ff. 46r–47r ff. 47r–48r
Poem by Ğavrī	ff. 46r–46v	ff. 49r–50r
Poem either by Ğavrī (Paris) or Kātib Oĝlu (Berlin)	ff. 46v–47r	ff. 50v–51r
<i>Qiṭ'a</i> (no author indicated)	f. 47r	/
Poem by Ğavrī	f. 47v	/
Poem <i>lahu</i> (i. e., unless a f. is missing, Ğavrī)	f. 48r	/

Prima facie, there is more overlap than mere coincidence could account for, especially since poems by Qānişawh are fairly rare, and those of Ḥasan Oĝlu even rarer.¹⁴² While Ersen Ersoy, the first one to draw attention to this work, has tabulated its contents, the Paris ms. definitely deserves more in-depth research.¹⁴³ What is already clear, however, is the fact that the Paris anon. represents a fifth non-Mamluk source that includes Qānişawh's poetry, and that it may even yield some exclusive materials.¹⁴⁴

(19) (P) Istanbul, Millet Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri Arabî 4639 (*vidi*)

Another collection of Qānişawh's poetry (→ 5, 14, 27, 83), later given the title *Mışır Meliki-i Merḥûm Sultân-i Eşref Kānişavh-i Ğavriniş Baẓ-ı Eş'ârı*.

23 ff. in all, this collection consists of 23 *qaşidas* and *muwashshahât*, of which two in Turkic and one in mixed (*mulamma'*) Arabic-Turkic. Just as in the case of the Azhar ms. (→ 5), this ms. is a later copy: in 1907, the great late Ottoman bibliophile, 'Alî Emîrî Efendi commissioned it to be made from an original ms. found in Aleppo. As to date the source ms. has not resurfaced, 'Alî Emîrî's copy must serve as its proxy. As a facs. and Modern Turkish translation was made by Yavuz and Kafes in 2012¹⁴⁵, the following three remarks should suffice.

142 While many vv. have a word for word congruence, others display considerable textual variants. In all fairness, it should be added that, in their other sections, the Paris and the Berlin mss. show no immediately apparent relation.

143 See E. Ersoy, "XIV.-XVI. Yüzyıllar Arasında Yazılmış Bazı Şiirleri İhtiva Eden bir Mecmua ve İbn-i Ömer'in Şiirleri", *Turkish Studies* 8/1 (2013): 249–266.

144 Recently, a sixth source came to my attention: another Ottoman *mecmû'a*, now one collated by Muḥammed ez-Zihni b. Ferrâş 'Alî in 1262/1864, and including three Turkic poems that thus far have been found only, and in the same order, in Qānişawh's Turkic divan (2 by himself, and one by Zārifi) (→ 3-1). As already observed by Kavaklıyazı, however, at least the second and third poem show considerable textual variants in comparison with the Berlin divan, which prompts the question: what source did ez-Zihni use? It would seem that the afterlife of Qānişawh's poetry is still richer than expected... See A. Kavaklıyazı, "Koyunoĝlu Müzesi Kütüphanesindeki 13450 Numaralı Mecmuanın İncelenmesi ve MESTAP'a Göre Tasnifi", *Divan Edebiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 23 (2019): 807–924, especially pp. 813, 910.

145 Yavuz & Kafes, "Kansu Gavri'nin Arapça Divanı".

First, while the other collections of the sultan's poetry often indicate the *nagħm* of the *muwashshah*, this ms. stands out for its detailed instructions. In the performance of poem 17, e. g., five musical modes are involved: *muwashshah min nagħmat al-Rawḍa yu 'khadh 'Irāq ya 'lū Ḥijāz yuḥsan Iṣfahān yahbuṭ 'alā Hijāz*. For Qāniṣawh's interest in music, see his court musician Muḥammad b. Qijiq and the treatise on music in his Turkic *divan* (→ 3-6, 17, 47, 48).

As for the poems themselves, especially the 3rd and the 18th stand out. As detailed in the previous item (→ 18), poem nr. 3, a Turkic *ghazal* with *benūm* as its *redīf*, is one of the very few poems of Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī that are attested in post-Mamluk sources. However, it should be observed that, while these latter sources present this poem as a *naẓīre* to a *ghazal* of Aḥmed Paṣa, the Ali Emiri ms. presents it as an independent composition (→ 3-1, 18). Poem nr. 18 is remarkable as well, but for different reasons: not only is this the only poem that is unique to this particular *divan*, it is also the only one in which Qāniṣawh (allegedly) tried his hand at a *badī'ya*. The *badī'ya*, it will be recalled, was very much a Mamluk invention that originated in the enormous prestige of al-Būṣīrī's *Burda qaṣīda*, a prestige that clearly shows throughout this chapter (→ 23/5, 49, 50/1, 81, 98, 113, 117, 132). Al-Ḥillī (d. 749 or 750/1348 or 1349) was the first to write a *mu'araḍa* or contrafaction of the *Burda* that employs a different rhetorical figure in each verse, *al-Kāfiyat al-Badī'ya*. Later on, al-Mawṣilī (d. 789/1387) added another prerequisite, which was to include in each verse a *tawriya* or pun on the name of the rhetorical device employed therein: *jinās, isti'āna, tanzīh, luzūm mā lā yalzam, istidrāk, iltifāt, ...*¹⁴⁶ Qāniṣawh's *badī'ya* follows al-Mawṣilī's rhetorical tour de force and, as such, resonates deeply with the various sections on prosody in his Turkic *divan* and with Ibn Ḥijja's *Badī'ya* (→ 3-3, 3-4, 3-5, 3-6, 80). Whether Qāniṣawh really authored this particular *badī'ya* or not, we will never know, but, admittedly, two elements suggest that his alleged authorship should not always be accepted at face value. First, there is the second poem of this *divan* (ff. 7r–7v, in mixed Arabic-Turkic, called a *muwashshah wa mustazād*¹⁴⁷), which shows a remarkable resemblance to a poem that is included in Qāyṭbāy's *muwashshah* collection and thus is supposedly authored by the latter (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, R 1727, ff. 60r–61r, called a *muwashshah mulamma' min nagħmat al-Iṣbahān*; → 43). Perhaps a preceding f. that indicates Qāyṭbāy's authorship had gone missing in the Aleppo source ms.? Or was Qāniṣawh shamelessly plagiarizing/respectfully emulating Qāyṭbāy? Second, there is the *Shajarat al-Nasab*, a visual genealogy of the Prophet, for which Qāniṣawh's authorship remains du-

146 See S.P. Stetkevych, "Rhetoric, Hybridity, and Performance in Medieval Arabic-Devotional Poetry: *Al-Kāfiya al-Badī'iyya* of Ṣafī ad-Dīn al-Ḥillī", in S. Dorpmüller et al. (eds.), *Religion and Aesthetic Experience. Drama – Sermons – Literature* (Heidelberg, 2019), pp. 207–231.

147 This dual appellation is a clear reminder of the fact that the meaning of technical terms could be quite fluid.

bious as well (→ 83/1). On a more general note, this brings to mind Qāniṣawh's *majālis* recordings. As the discussions recorded therein are sometimes scholastic to the extent that the active participation of non-*'ulamā'* can be questioned, one is left to wonder whether Qāniṣawh's interventions are always his...

Our last remark relates to the provenance of the Aleppo source ms. As stated by 'Alī Emīrī, this was owned by Emīrī-Zāde Bahā' al-Dīn Efendi, one of the notables (*eṣrāf*) of Aleppo and former deputy (*meb'ūs-i sābık*) of Aleppo to the Ottoman *Meclis*. This Emīrī-Zāde was related to Qāniṣawh through his mother's side, and it was through this lineage that the divan had been handed down generation through generation (*ecdādından müntakıl 'an'ane*) up to the 20th century.¹⁴⁸ As already noted by 'Alī Emīrī and as confirmed by comparison with the other collections, the source text was already incomplete and in disarray by the 1900s.

It would seem that the memory of Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī was kept alive particularly in Syria. In fact, at least two Syrian families claim to be descendants of Qāniṣawh. First, there is the prominent Damascene Mardam Bak family, intimately connected to much of Syria's 19th and 20th-century history. We are particularly well-informed of the family's history thanks to the "biographical dictionary" authored by Tamīm Ma'mūn Mardam Bak, himself a 15th-generation descendant of Qāniṣawh.¹⁴⁹ The family traces its origins back to the high society marriage of Lālā Muṣṭafā Paşa (Ottoman acting governor of Egypt, then governor of Damascus and later grand vizier under sultan Süleyman) and Fāṭima, herself a daughter of Muḥammad, Qāniṣawh's elder son (→ 51)¹⁵⁰, and Shaqrā', a daughter of Sibāy (the last Mamluk governor of Damascus).¹⁵¹ Second, there is the Āl al-

148 Yavuz & Kafes, "Kansu Gavri'nin Arapça Divanı", p. 73.

149 The math was done by Daisuke Igarashi in his review (*Mamlūk Studies Review*, 13/2 (2009): 169–170, here p. 169) of Tamīm Ma'mūn Mardam Bak, *al-Malik Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī al-Ashraf wa l-Wazīr Lālā Muṣṭafā Bāshā Dhī l-Sayf al-Aḥnaf* (Dimashq, 2007).

150 Al-Ṭabbākh's entry on "Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Qāniṣawh" must be a lapsus for "Muḥammad b. Qāniṣawh" (*Ilām al-Nubalā' bi Tārīkh Ḥalab al-Shahbā'*, ed. Muḥammad Kamāl (Ḥalab, 2nd ed. 1408/1988), V: 485).

151 See Tamīm Ma'mūn Mardam Bak, *Tarājīm Āl Mardam Bak fī Khamsat Qurūn 1500 M – 2009 M – 905 H – 1430 H* (Damascus, 2nd ed. 1419/1998), pp. 119–121 (Fāṭima Khātūn al-Ghawrī), 136–138 (Muḥammad b. Qāniṣawh); *id.*, *al-Malik Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī al-Ashraf wa l-Wazīr Lālā Muṣṭafā Bāshā*, especially chapters 3 (Muḥammad b. Qāniṣawh) and 4 (Fāṭima b. Muḥammad b. Qāniṣawh). As for the impressive literary output of the many other members of the Mardam Bak family, suffice to refer to Khalil b. Aḥmad Mardam Bak, *Kitāb Waqf al-Wazīr Lālā Muṣṭafā Bāshā wa yalihi Kitāb Waqf Fāṭima Khātūn b. Muḥammad Bak b. al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ashraf Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī* (Damascus, 1343/1925). Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad b. Qāniṣawh's mosque in Jenin, West Bank, still stands. For the family, see also A. Meier, "Patterns of Family Formation in Early Ottoman Damascus: Three Military Households in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", in P. Sluglett & St. Weber (eds.), *Syria and Bilad al-Sham under Ottoman Rule. Essays in Honour of Abdul-Karim Rafeq* (Leiden/Boston, 2010), pp. 347–369.

Ghawrī family, which is centred on Aleppo. Unlike with the Mardam Bak family, it remains unclear how this family traces its lineage to Qānişawh. Whatever relation there may have been, it seems true enough, as the family owns a number of documents that relate to Qānişawh.¹⁵² According to Mardam Bak, the 20th-century Aleppan historian Khayr al-Dīn al-Asadī¹⁵³ was shown the following documents by “Rā’if al-Ghawrī (Abū Qānşūh)”, in the latter’s residence in al-Anşārī (a suburb of Aleppo):

- “A genealogy (*shajarat al-nasab*) of Qānişawh up to the present time”.
- “A waqf document, dated 1302[/1884–1885], in relation to the *takiya* of Bāyrām Bābā, [located on] Aqyūl [or] Aghyūr. According to this document, the sultan’s mother is buried in this *tekke*”.

It should be noted that the *tekke*¹⁵⁴, close to Aleppo on al-Darb al-Abyaḍ/ Aghyūr (< Ott. Aḳ Yol), is no more, and that the claim regarding the grave is not uncontested. In fact, al-Ṭabbākh identifies the grave as that of Qānişawh’s wife¹⁵⁵, while a 19th-cent. Ottoman official document even identifies it as no other than Qānişawh’s!¹⁵⁶ During excavation works close to the *tekke* in 1290/ 1873, a stone grave was found, filled with bones and with an inscription identifying the remains as those of Qānişawh! İstanbul was notified, and asked for instructions: either move the archaeological find to İstanbul, or store it safely in site?

Ḥaleb Vilāyet-i celīesine:

Ḥaleb’de Bābā Bayram Tekkesi civārında bir kuyu hafr olunur iken taşdan ma’mūl ve kemik memlū bir mezār zuhūr edib hurūf-i mahkūkesine nazaran Sultān Ğavrī’niñ mezārı idüğü anlaşılmış olduğu (...) Müze-i ‘Osmanī’ye vaz’ olunmak üzere Dersa’adet’e hüsni-ı işālī yāhūd orada münāsib bir mahalde hıfzıyla keyfiyetiniñ iş’ar-i ‘ālisi bābında

152 *Tarājim Āl Mardam Bak fī Khamsat Qurūn*, p. 127.

153 Himself the author of a topography of Aleppo: *Ahyā’ Ḥalab wa Aswāquhā*, ed. ‘Abd al-Fattāh Rawwās Qal’ajī (Dimashq, 1984). This work (pp. 286–287), includes the following fanciful etymology of Qānişawh al-Ghawrī: Circassian *qān* < Persian *khān*, “commander”; *şawh* < Circassian *shāw*, “son”; *Ghūrī* < *Gori*, a city in Georgia; hence, Qānshāw al-Ghūrī, “Son of the commander of Ghūr”.

154 See al-Ghazzī, *Kitāb Nahr al-Dhahab fī Tārikh Ḥalab. Al-Bāb al-Awwal ba’da l-Muqaddima: Fī l-Āthār al-Dīniya wa l-İlmīya wa l-Khayriya fī Madīnat Ḥalab* (Aleppo, 1342/1923), pp. 408–413; J. Gonnella, *Islamische Heiligenverehrung im urbanen Kontext am Beispiel von Aleppo (Syrien)* (Berlin, 1995), pp. 239–241; H.Z. Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City. Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Leiden/Boston, 2004), pp. 128–130.

155 Al-Ṭabbākh, *İlām al-Nubalā’*, VII: 388–389.

156 C. Eroğlu *et al.* (eds.), *Osmanlı Vilayet Salnamelerinde Halep* (Ankara, 2012), p. 610 (based on which *sāl-nāme?*); N. Koltuk *et al.*, *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Halep* (İstanbul, 2018), pp. 98–99 (facs. and transcription of Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Maarif Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi 20/142 29 Rajab 1290/10 Eylül 1874).

emr u irāde ḥazret-i men leh 'ül-emrindir.

Fī 29 Receb sene [12]91 Fī 29 Ağustos sene [12]90.

While digging a well in the vicinity of the Bābā Bayram Tekke in Aleppo, a stone grave filled with bones was unearthed. As it was understood from inspecting the engraved letters that this was the grave of sultan Ghawrī (...) [the decision whether] to gracefully send it to the Dersa'ādet, in order for it to be deposited at the Ottoman Museum, or to preserve it in situ, in an appropriate place, lies with the gate of sublime dispatch [of command].

To command and to will belongs unto him to whom all commanding belongs!

Dated Receb 29 of the year [12]91, dated August 29 of the year [12]90.

- “The lithograph edition, Cairo 1278, of Ibn Zunbul al-Rammāl’s *Tārīkh al-Sulṭān Salīm ma’a Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī*”.
 - Clearly, we are dealing with the first ed., which appeared in Cairo in 1278/1861–1862.
 - “A waqf document of Mustadām Bak, a *mamlūk* of Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, dated 1022/[1613]”.
- This seems to be confirmed by al-Ghazzī (the early 20th-century historian, not to be confused with the 16th-17th-century historian al-Ghazzī).¹⁵⁷
- “The divan of Qāniṣawh, a ms., undated, in a good and neat hand”.
 - A number of Ottoman sultanic firmans in relation to Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī.

In light of the 5th item of this “living” family archive, it is tempting to identify Bahā’ ed-Dīn Efendi Emīr(i)-Zāde as a member of the Aleppan Āl al-Ghawrī family, but for now this remains to be confirmed.¹⁵⁸ Perhaps the precious first item of the list, Qāniṣawh’s lineage *ḥattā yawminā* (!), could shed more light on this....¹⁵⁹

(20) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 393 (*vidi*)¹⁶⁰

Shaykh al-Islām Ibrāhīm Ibn Abī Sharīf al-Maqdisī (d. 923/1517 in Cairo), *Tafsīr al-Āyatayn wa l-Ḥadīth*. Instead of *bi rasm khizānat*, the frontispiece reads *li khizānat al-maqām al-sharīf*... Opposite the frontispiece, a more detailed con-

157 Al-Ghazzī, *Kitāb Nahr al-Dhahab*, II: 384–387.

158 Al-Ṭabbākh also quotes some poetry by Qāniṣawh (none of which unique), saying “that some notables of Aleppo provided him with 10 pages of the sultan’s poetry, containing *qaṣīdas* and *muwashshaḥs*” (*Ṭlām al-Nubalā*, III: 132–134). Perhaps his source was the same as ‘Alī Emīr?

159 Bahā’ ed-Dīn is not by any chance related to the 20th-cent. Syrian poet and diplomat, ‘Umar Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Amīrī, son of Muḥammad Bahā’ al-Dīn Amīr-Zāda?

160 H. Ritter, “Ayasofya Kütüphanesinde Tefsir İlmini Āit Arapça Yazmalar”, *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 8 (1945): 1–93, here p. 70.

tents is given in an attractive layout, a most welcome innovation indeed (→ fig. 14):

Al-ḥamdu li llāh.

Fī tafsīr qawlihi ta'ālā "Allāh waliyu lladhīna āmanū, yukhrijuhum min al-zulumāt ilā l-nūr, wa lladhīna kafarū awliyāhum (sic) al-ṭaghūt, yukhrijūnuhum min al-nūr ilā l-zulumāt, ulā 'ika aṣḥāb al-nār, hum fihā khālidūna."

Wa fī tafsīr qawlihi ta'ālā "Qul yā 'ibādī lladhīna asrafū 'alā anfusihim, lā taqnaṭū min raḥmat Allāh, inna llāh yaḡfiru l-dhunūb jamā'an, innahu huwa l-ḡhafūr al-raḡīm." *Wa fī tafsīr al-ḡadīth al-sharīf fī qawl al-qā' il li rasūli llāh ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama, "Aḡ'al laka min ṣalātī thulthahā", qāla, "Wa in zidta fa huwa khayrun laka ilayya", in qāla "Aḡ'al laka ṣalātī kullahā", qāla lahu ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama, "Idhan tukfā hammuka wa yuḡfhar dhanbuka", mā l-murād bi l-ṣalāt.*

Praise be to God!

On the interpretation of the Word [of God], exalted is He above all, "Allah is the ally of those who believe. He brings them out from darknesses into the light. And those who disbelieve – their allies are Taghut. They take them out of the light into darknesses. Those are the companions of the fire; they will abide eternally therein."¹⁶¹

And on the interpretation of the Word [of God], exalted is He above all, "Say, 'O my servants who have transgressed against themselves [by sinning], do not despair of the mercy of Allah. Indeed, Allah forgives all sins. Indeed, it is He who is the Forgiving, the Merciful."¹⁶²

And on the interpretation of the Noble Hadith on the words addressed by somebody to the Envoy of God, God bless Him and grant Him salvation, "I devote a third of my supplications to You." [The Prophet] said, "If you increase it, it will be better for you." When [the other] said, "I shall devote all my supplications to You!" [The Prophet], God bless Him and grant Him salvation, answered, "Then you will be freed from your worries and your sins will be forgiven."

The copyist is not given, as the tailpiece simply reads *Tammat al-tafsīr al-mubārak bi ḡamd li llāh wa tawfīqīhi wa 'awnīhi*. The work, 66 ff. in all, consists of three parts, each with a small, independent heading:

(20-1) Untitled *tafsīr* of Qur'ān 2: 257 (ff. 2v–37v);

(20-2) *Tafsīr qawlihi ta'ālā* "Qul yā 'ibādī" (Qur'ān 39: 53) (ff. 38r–49r);

(20-3) *Tafsīr ḡadīth* "Ja'altu laka ṣalātī kullahā"¹⁶³ (ff. 50r–65v). Following the *basmala* etc., the rather blurred opening lines of this short *tafsīr* run as follows:

Wa ba'du faḡad su 'iltu 'an ma'nā l-ṣalāt al-wāqī'a fī l-ḡadīth al-sharīf fī qawl al-qāyil li rasūli llāh (...) wa yuḡfhar dhanbuka." Mā l-murād bi l-ṣalāt al-mas'ul, bayān ḡaḡīḡat dhālīka? Fa ajabtu, "Lā khafā (sic) anna fī su 'āla l-'abd li l-rabb immā li amr ma'āshin

161 Qur'ān, 2: 257.

162 Qur'ān, 39: 53.

163 Found with slight variants in al-Tirmidhī's *Jāmi'* (*Kitāb Qiyāma*, bāb 23).



Fig. 14: Table of contents facing the frontispiece

aw ma'ād, wa anna sha'na l-'abdi l-faqr fa du'ā mukarrar mu'ād, fa man ja'ala du'ā 'ahu lladhī ṭalabun min al-mawlā laysa illā l-du'ā bi l-ṣalāt li l-Muṣṭafā kāna awlā (...)

Now, I was asked about the meaning of the [word] *ṣalāt* that occurs in the “Noble Hadith on the words addressed by somebody to the Envoy of God (...) and your sins will be forgiven.” What is the meaning of th[is] *ṣalāt* that is asked about, what is the explanation of [its] true sense?

I replied, “As everybody knows, there is either the matter of life or the matter of resurrection in the question of the servant to the Lord, and the state of the servant is [one of] poverty. A plea that is repeated is reciprocated, and who makes his plea — which is a request addressed to the Lord — is nothing (*sic*) but a request for supplication to Muṣṭafā. It is more deserving (*sic*) (...)”

Ibn Abī Sharīf, given the title of *shaykh al-islām* on the frontispiece, authored at least seven works, many of which (including the present one) preserved in one copy only.¹⁶⁴ He was a regular attendant of the sultan’s *majālis* (both the *Nafa’is* and the *Kawkab*, → 66, 82), and also figures prominently in a well-researched incident with Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, which ultimately led to his dismissal by the

¹⁶⁴ For another *tafsīr* work of Ibn Abī Sharīf, see his *al-Mawāhib al-Mudhakhkhara fī Tafsīr Khawātim Sūrat al-Baqara* (Princeton, Princeton University Library, Garrett Collection 680 H) (*non vidi*).

sultan as sheikh at the latter's madrasa.¹⁶⁵ Interestingly, this very incident is also recorded in the margins of f. 8v of the Gotha ms. of al-Suyūṭī's *al-Munaqqaḥ al-Zarīf* (→ 18), excerpted there from Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī's *al-Fatāwā al-Ḥadīthīya*¹⁶⁶.

(21) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 461 (*vidi*)

Al-Armayūnī's *Kitāb al-Badr al-Munīr fī l-Ṣalāt 'alā l-Bashīr al-Nadhīr* (sic, not *fī Faḍl al-Ṣalāt...*), which deals with the prayer for the Bringer of Good Tidings and the One Who Warns, Muḥammad.

It was copied (*katabahu*) by *mamlūk* Qāniṣawh min Anasbāy min Ṭabaqat al-Zimāmīyat al-Malikī al-Ashrafī in 40ff. for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm*). The opening lines following the *basmala* run as follows:

Ammā ba'du fa hādhihi arba'ūna ḥadīthan fī faḍl al-ṣalāt wa l-salām 'alā sayyid walad 'Ādam Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama, jama'tuhā min 'iddat kutub 'adīdatin, rajā'an an adkhula fī qawlihi "Naḍḍara llāhu amran" wa fī "Man ḥafīza 'alā ummatī arba'īna ḥadīthan" (...)

Now, these are forty hadiths on the merit of praying for the Lord of Adam's offspring, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, God bless Him and grant Him salvation, which I have collected from a large number of books, in the hope of entering [the party of those] referred to in [the hadiths] "God brighten a man" and "If anyone preserves for my people forty hadiths" (...)

The second hadith quoted here is quite rare, not included, e.g., in the Six Canonical Books. It is found, however, and together with the more widely attested first hadith, in a particular chapter of the *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ* of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Khaṭīb al-Ṭabrīzī (d. 741/1341), the *kitāb al-'ilm*. As such, it is quite plausible that al-Ṭabrīzī's work was one of al-Armayūnī's sources.

The work itself seems to be unpublished but not unique. Another copy, e.g., is found in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de Paris, Arabe 744, ff. 51v–60r (a convolute that includes, among others, two more titles by al-Armayūnī). Another work of the same author is included in this chapter (→ 62), and some more information on him is given there.

On the frontispiece, there is a waqf note by the Ottoman sultan Maḥmūd I and his inspector of waqfs of the Holy Cities, Aḥmad Shaykh-Zāda, as well as both their seal. The significance of these paratextual elements (found in a great deal of

165 See C. Bori, "The many Roads to Justice: A Case of Adultery in Sixteenth-Century Cairo", in C. Ginzburg & L. Bionioni (eds.), *A Historical Approach to Casuistry. Norms and Exceptions in a Comparative Perspective* (New York, 2019), pp. 113–131, with reference to other studies.

166 Ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām Shāhīn (Beirut, 2013), pp. 93–94.

mss. kept at the Süleymaniye and elsewhere) in tracing the ms.'s afterlife will be taken up only in Chapter Five, *A Library Shattered*.

(22) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 513 (*vidi*)

According to the frontispiece, we are dealing with the *Kitāb al-Arbaʿin Ḥadīth al-Sharīf al-Nabawī, taʿlīf al-imām al-ʿallāmat Abī Zakariyā Yaḥyā al-Nawawī*, copied for (*bi rasm*) Qāniṣawh by (*khidmat*) *al-mamlūk* Jānqilij al-Zāhirī min Ṭabaqat al-Rafrāf min inīyāt al-amīr Jānbulāt al-Malikī al-Ashrafī. In reality, however, two works are included, clearly both copied by Jānqiliq and both *bi rasm* Qāniṣawh:

(22-1) the *Kitāb al-Arbaʿin Ḥadīth al-Sharīf al-Nabawī*.

The celebrated hadith collection, read across *madhhab* fault lines, of al-Nawawī (631–676/1234–1277), the Damascene Shafiite jurist and polymath who settled in Mecca, and who is remembered for his conflict with sultan Baybars. Widely available in various eds., the work needs no further introduction. As is the case with quite some other mss., the preface is abbreviated, and the work actually contains 42 instead of 40 traditions (ff. 1r–32v).

(22-2) *Masāʿil Ḥātim al-Aṣamm raḥimahu llāh*.

The “recording” of a conversation between Ḥātim al-Aṣamm (d. 237/851–852) of Balkh, an early spiritual master of Khurasan, and his master, Shaqīq al-Balkhī, on the things that Ḥātim had learnt from him during the past 33 years under his tutelage. When it turns out that Ḥātim had learnt only eight things, Shaqīq’s reaction is that of any honest instructor: dismay. *Dhahaba ʿumrī maʿaka wa lam tataʿallam illā hādhihi!* In all, eight questions are dealt with. The conversation is well known and widely available, included, e.g., in al-Ghazālī’s *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* (ff. 33r–38r).

As both sultan Qāyṭbāy and his son, sultan Muḥammad owned very similar copies, a few words regarding these are not out of place:

– Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 511 (*vidi*): copied for (*bi rasm*) Qāyṭbāy by (*kitābat*) *al-mamlūk* Urkmās min Yilbāy min Ṭabaqat al-Rafrāf bi l-Maydān al-Malikī al-Ashrafī in 72ff. As announced by its title on the front page, *Kitāb al-Arbaʿina Ḥadīth al-Sharīf al-Nabawī li l-Nawawī wa Kitāb Muqaddimat Abī l-Layth wa Masāʿil Ḥātim al-Aṣmam* (sic), three texts are included:

(1): *Kitāb al-Arbaʿin Ḥadīth al-Sharīf al-Nabawī* (f. 1v–32r). This copy has the abbreviated preface and 42 hadiths.

(2) *Kitāb al-Muqaddima fī l-Fiqh ʿalā Madhhab al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfa, taʿlīf al-imām al-ʿālim al-ʿallāmat Abī l-Layth al-Samarqandī* (ff. 33r–67r), the well-known *Muqaddima* that was translated even into Mamluk-Kipchak Turkic (→ 34);

(3) *Masāʿil Ḥātim al-Aṣamm raḥmat allāh ʿalayhi* (ff. 67v–72r).

- Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 510 (*vidi*): copied for (*bi rasm*) Muḥammad b. Qāyṭbāy by (*katabahu*) *al-mamlūk* Abā Yazīd b. ‘Abd Allāh min ‘Abd al-Karīm min Ṭabaqat al-Ṭāzīya, tilmīdh al-shaykh Mūsā faqīh Ṭabaqat al-Ashrafīyat al-Kubrā, in 47ff. Another copy of the *al-Arba‘in Ḥadīth al-Sharīf al-Nabawī*, now with the unabbreviated preface and 40 hadiths only.

It should be noted that two of these three mss. stand out for their particular colophon, which distinguishes them from the scores of other “barrack copies” dealt with in this chapter. Whereas, as a rule, the *mamlūk* scribe identifies himself merely by name and barrack affiliation (e.g., Bardabak min Tānī Bak, min Ṭabaqat al-Qaṣr), the scribe of Ayasofya 513 adds an *agha-inī* relationship for further identification (*min inīyāt al-amīr Jānbulāṭ*), while the scribe of Ayasofya 510 adds *tilmīdh al-shaykh Mūsā faqīh Ṭabaqat al-Ashrafīyat al-Kubrā* (→ Fig. 57), thus identifying himself as a pupil of the *faqīh* not of his own barracks, but of another (→ 47, 48, 87, 108, 114, especially Ch. 3).

(23) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 516 (*vidi*)

A convolute of 5 parts, each with a separate frontis- and tailpiece:

(23/1) al-Mundhiri (d. 656/1258), *Kitāb al-Arba‘īna Ḥadīthan fi Ṣṭinā‘ al-Ma‘rūf li l-Muslimīn wa Qadā‘ Ḥawā’ij al-Mahlūfīna*.

This is this chapter’s first example of the widely popular *Arba‘ūna Ḥadīthan* genre (→ 23/3, 41-2, 62, 122), this time lifted from the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*. This copy, the first of three (→ 24, 25), was made (*katabahu*) by *mamlūk* Māmāy al-Muḥammadī min Ṭabaqat al-Zimāmīya al-Malikī al-Ashrafī for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm al-maqām*) in 26ff. (ff. 2r–27r).

(23/2) *Bulūgh al-Murād fi Takhmīs Bānat Su‘ād*.

An anonymous (?) quination or *takhmīs* (→ 49/3) of Ka‘b b. Zuhayr’s famous Mantle Ode, the *Bānat Su‘ād* (→ 50/2). It was copied (*katabahu*) by *mamlūk* Tānī Bak min Dawlāt Bāy min Ṭabaqat al-Qaṣr al-Malikī al-Ashrafī in 10ff. for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm khizānat*) in 920/1514 (ff. 28r–38r). By far not as popular as al-Būṣīrī’s Mantle Ode, Ka‘b b. Zuhayr’s ode stood its ground as well. Qāyṭbāy, e.g., had his own, beautifully executed copy.¹⁶⁷

(23/3) (?) al-Suyūṭī, *Arba‘ūna Ḥadīthan fi Faḍl al-Jihād*.

This is the second specime of the “Forty Traditions” genre (→ 23/1, 41/2, 62, 122) with its quite Suyūṭian concluding lines:

167 Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Archeology and Anthropology, NEP 26, part 2 of a convolute (pp. 15–33), with the first 7 vv. missing. The ms. is available on <http://openn.library.upenn.edu/Data/0016/html/NEP26.html>.

Fa hādhihi arba'ūna ḥadīthan 'allaqtuhā 'alā stī'jāl bayna l-zuhr wa l-'aṣr yawm al-sabt tāsi' rabī' al-awwal sanat ithnayn wa thamānīn wa thamānmiya, wa qāṣid mawlānā l-sultān 'alā janāḥ al-safar li yakūna ṣuḥbatahu wa l-aḥādīth al-muta'allaqa bi l-jihād lā tuḥṣā wa sa-ajma' muṣannafan fīhi alf ḥadīth min aḥādīth al-jihād murattabatan 'alā l-abwāb in shā' a llāh ta'ālā.

These are forty traditions that I have speedily jotted down between the midday and the afternoon prayer, on Saturday, the ninth of Rabī' al-Awwal of the year 882, intended for our lord the sultan [who is currently?] on the wing of travel, in order for [this collection] to be with him. Hadiths in relation to *jihad* being innumerable, God willing, I will put together a[nother] composition that contains a thousand of the hadiths on *jihad*, organized in chapters.

Even though this section lacks a *bi rasm Qāniṣawh* and a colophon (ff. 39r–52v), there is little need for the question mark following the item number, given al-Suyūṭī's ubiquity in the list (→ 16, 18, 29, 63, 123, 130).

(23/4) *al-Munfarīja wa al-Istighfār wa l-Ad'īya*.

Itself a composite work, copied (*katabahu*) by *mamlūk* <Maks> min Qānī min Ṭabaqat al-Qā' al-Malikī al-Ashrafī for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm mawlānā*) in 15 ff. (ff. 52r–67r). In all, there are 4 sections:

(23/4a) Untitled *qāṣida*, to be identified as Ibn al-Naḥwī's (d. 513/1119) *al-Munfarīja*, a well-know *qāṣida* in *jīm*, famous for its ability to relieve difficulties and grant the wishes of both reciter and listener (ff. 52v–59r). Its opening lines run as follows:

<i>Ishtaddī azmatu tanfarajī</i>	✽	<i>Qad ādhana layluka bi l-balajī</i>
<i>Wa zalāmu l-layli lahu surujun</i>	✽	<i>Ḥattā yaghshāhu abū l-suruji</i>
<i>Wa saḥābu l-khayri lahā maṭarun</i>	✽	<i>Fa idhā jā 'a l-ibbānu tajī</i>
<i>Wa fawā 'idu mawlānā jumalun</i>	✽	<i>Li surūḥi l-anfusi wa --muhajī</i>
<i>Wa lahā arajun muḥyi' abadan</i>	✽	<i>Fa qṣid maḥyā dhāka l-arajī</i>
<i>Fa la rubbatamā fāda l-maḥyā</i>	✽	<i>Bi buḥūri l-mawji min al-lujajī</i>
<i>Wa l-khalqu jamī'an fī yadihi</i>	✽	<i>Fa dhawū sa'atin wa dhawū ḥarajī</i>
<i>Wa nuzūluhum wa ṭulū'uhum</i>	✽	<i>Fa 'alā darakin wa 'alā darajī</i>
<i>Wa ma'ā 'ishuhum wa 'awāqibuhum</i>	✽	<i>Laysat fī l-maḥyi 'alā 'iwajī</i>
<i>Ḥikamun nusijat bi yadin ḥakamat</i>	✽	<i>Thumma intasajat bi l-muntasajī</i>
<i>Fa idhā qtaṣadat thumma n'arajat</i>	✽	<i>Fa bi muqtaṣidin wa bi mun'arajī</i>

Become bigger, o trouble, and then be dispelled, ✽ Your night has announced the break of dawn.

[Even] night's darkness has its lights, ✽ Until the father of lights overcomes it.

The clouds of bounty carry rain, ✽ [That] comes down when the time has come.

The advantages of our Lord are many, ✽ [Allowing] the souls and the spirits to roam freely.

They always have a sweet, life-giving smell, ✽ So aim for that place where that smell is!

Sometimes, that place overflows ✽ With seas surging from the depths.

All of creation is in His hand,	☸	Some [blessed with] affluence, some [tested with] distress.
Their moving down and their moving up	☸	On either levels or steps,
Their lives and their ends	☸	Do not proceed in a deviating way.
The reasons [why things are what they are] is that they are	☸	Knitted by a hand that rules, and then woven by the weaver.
If [something first] keeps straight and then becomes crooked,	☸	Then [that's what it is, first] straight and [then] crooked.

(23/4b) Untitled *qaṣīda*, to be identified as the Andalusian Abū Madyan Shu‘ayb al-Ghawth’s (d. after 598/1193) *al-Istighfār*, another well-known *qaṣīda*, now in *mīm* and to be used when asking Allāh for forgiveness (ff. 59v–65r) (→ 38, 88, 104/1). Its opening verses:

<i>Astaghfiru llāha mujrī l-fulki fī l-ḡulami</i>	☸	<i>‘Alā ‘ubābin min al-tayyāri multaṭimi</i>
<i>Astaghfiru llāha munjī l-mustajiri bihi</i>	☸	<i>Idhā alamma bihi ḡurrun min al-alamī</i>
<i>Astaghfiru llāha ghaffāra l-dhunūbi li man</i>	☸	<i>Bi l-inkisāri atā wa l-dhulli wa l-nadami</i>
<i>Astaghfiru llāha sattāra l-‘uyūbi ‘alā</i>	☸	<i>Ahli l-‘uyūbi wa munjīhim min al-niqami</i>
<i>Astaghfiru llāha min nuṭqī wa min khuluqī</i>	☸	<i>Wa shayni sha‘nī wa min shughlī wa min sha‘amī</i>

I ask forgiveness from God, who runs ships in the darknesses,	☸	On waves of colliding currents.
I ask forgiveness from God, who delivers the one who seeks refuge with Him	☸	When the harms of pain cause him suffering.
I ask forgiveness from God, who much forgives the sins of he	☸	Who has come [to Him] broken, humiliated and repentant.
I ask forgiveness from God, who veils the flaws	☸	Of those who have them, and who delivers them from trials.
I ask forgiveness from God for my words and for my temper	☸	And for the disgracing of my character, for my distractions and for my habits.

(23/4c) *Min kalām al-sayyid Tāj al-Dīn b. ‘Aṭā Allāh*, an unidentified text of the Egyptian Sufi Tāj al-Dīn b. ‘Aṭā Allāh, third *murshid* of the *Shādhilīya* (d. 709/1309) (ff. 65r–65v), that opens as follows:

A‘āda llāhu ‘alaynā min barakātihi min ‘alāmāti l-ītimād ‘alā l-‘amal nuṣṣān al-rajā’ ‘inda wujūd al-zalal.

God has returned unto us, [as one] of His blessings, signs of trust in the action, in the absence of hope over the presence of lapse.

(23/4d) *Du‘ā Abī Dardā’*, a prayer ascribed to Abū Dardā’ (d. 32/652), a Companion of the Prophet Muḥammad and governor in Syria under ‘Uthmān (ff. 65v–67r).

(23/5) *al-Kawākib al-Durriya fī Madḥ Khayr al-Barīya*, the first of a long list of copies of al-Būṣīrī’s *Mantle Ode* (→ 49, 81, 98, ...), this time copied (*katabahu*) by

mamlūk Qāyrbāy min Uzdamur min al-Qā' al-Malikī al-Ashrafī in 17ff. for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm al-maqām*) in 919/1513 (ff. 68r–95r).

Perhaps, thorough codicological research could establish whether these 5 parts were bound already in the days of Qāniṣawh, or only later on. Being undecided for now, (23/3) remains linked to Qāniṣawh only circumstantially.

(24) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 517 (*vidi*)

A convolute of 2 parts:

(24/1) *Kitāb al-Arba'ina Ḥadīthan fī Ṣṭinā' al-Ma'rūf li l-Mundhirī*, copied for (*bi rasm*) Qāniṣawh by (*katabahu*) *al-mamlūk* Qāyrbāy min Qāniṣawh min Ṭabaqat al-Ṣandalīya al-Malikī al-Ashrafī in 32ff. This is the famous *arba'una* collection of al-Mundhirī that we have just met (→ 23/1, 25, 95).

(24/2) (*l*) *Kitāb al-Durr al-Munazzam fī l-Sirr al-A'zam, fī 'ilm al-jafr*, a copy owned by (*ṣāhibuhu*) the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd II, who ruled from 1481 to 1512. The author is not given, yet easily identified as Ibn Ṭalḥa (→ 31, 40, 66) (d. 652/1254)¹⁶⁸.

While, strictly speaking, it is possible that Bāyezīd II gave (24/2) as a gift to Qāniṣawh, who subsequently had it bound together with (24/1), an altogether much more likely scenario is that we are in dealing with a post-1517 Ottoman convolute of a Mamluk work and an Ottoman work (→ 49).

(25) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 518 (*vidi*)

Another copy of al-Mundhirī's *Kitāb al-Arba'ina Ḥadīth fī Ṣṭinā' al-Ma'rūf ilā l-Muslimīn wa Qaḍā' Ḥawāyij al-Mahlūfīn*, copied (*bi rasm*) Qāniṣawh by (*katabahu*) *al-mamlūk* Uzbardī min Iyās min Ṭabaqat al-Rafrāf in 44ff. Unlike the previous copies (→ 23/1, 24/1), however, here we are dealing with the commented and supplemented "edition" by al-Sulamī (d. 803/1400), also known as, so it seems, the *Hidāyat al-Insān fī Faḍl Ṭā'at al-Imām wa l-'Adl wa l-Iḥsān* (→ 95).

(26) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 522 (*vidi*)

The *Kitāb Ḥisn al-Ḥaṣīn min Kalām Sayyid al-Mursalīn*, copied for (*bi rasm*) Qāniṣawh by (*katabahu*) *al-mamlūk* Muḡhulbāy min <Tanam> min Ṭabaqat al-Rafrāf al-Malikī al-Ashrafī in 48ff. In spite of its title page, this is not the *Ḥisn* itself, but the far more popular abridgment in ten chapters by the author himself,

168 And thus not al-Būnī, to whom the work is sometimes misattributed.

Ibn al-Jazarī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 833/1429), which is called the *‘Uddat al-Ḥiṣn al-Ḥaṣīn*.¹⁶⁹

A peripatetic scholar, the author first changed Mamluk Damascus for Ottoman Edirne and then for Timur’s Samarqand, before finally settling in Shiraz, following Timur’s death.¹⁷⁰ Inspired in a dream by the Prophet, Ibn al-Jazarī has collected in this work a number of hadiths that can be used for prayer. It enjoyed quite some popularity, and was translated into a number of languages.

(27) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 888 (*vidi*)

Chapters 14 to 37 of Abū l-Mu‘ayyad Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Khwārizmī’s (d. 665/1266) *Jāmi‘ al-Masānīd al-Imām al-A‘zam*. This work, also known as *al-Musnad*, provides a synthesis of fifteen earlier compilations of hadith related from Abū Ḥanīfa by an author whose succinct bibliography seems to revolve entirely around *al-imām al-a‘zam*...¹⁷¹

This volume in 172 ff., owned by (*bi rasm*) Qāniṣawh, was copied in 855–856/1451–1452 by (*alā yad*) al-Azraqī, whose penmanship we have already encountered (→ 2/1, 28). The careful reader will observe that here, unlike in the previous entries (→ 21, 25, 26, etc.), *bi rasm* is understood to imply ownership of the copy only (“owned by”), and not the act of previously commissioning it (“copied for”), an alternative interpretation that is motivated — obviously— by the copying date. Other examples of this alternative interpretation are found in some of the next entries (→ 28, 55, 90, 123) and are assessed more generally in Chapter Three.

The colophon reads:

intahā l-juz‘ al-thālith min Masānīd al-imām al-a‘zam wa l-mujtahid al-aqdam Abī Ḥanīfat al-Nu‘mān b. Thābit al-Kūfī taghammada llāhu bi l-raḥmat wa l-riḍwān fī l-yawm al-mubārak al-ishrīn min shahr Ramadān al-mu‘azzam qadruhu sanat khams wa khamsīn wa thamān mīyat ‘alā yad al-‘abd al-faqīr ilā rabbihī al-qadīr al-mu‘ammil bi l-jannāt an yadkhalahā wa l-muslimīna wa yartaqiya Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Azraqī ‘afā llāh ta‘ālā ‘anhu wa wālidayhī wa ‘an jamī‘ al-muslimīna amīn (...)

End of the third volume of the *Masānīd* of the greatest imam and the foremost *mujtahid*, Abū Ḥanīfat al-Nu‘mān b. Thābit al-Kūfī, may God cover him with His grace and His favour, on the blessed day of Ramadān 20 855, by the hand of the servant who is in

169 Cfr. Ibn al-Jazarī, *‘Uddat al-Ḥiṣn al-Ḥaṣīn min Kalām Sayyid al-Mursalīn bi sharḥ faḍīlat al-ustādḥ al-shaykh Ḥasanayn Muḥammad Makhluḥ* (n.p., n.d.).

170 See Z. Tanındı, “An Illuminated Manuscript of the Wandering Scholar Ibn al-Jazari and the Wandering Illuminators between Tabriz, Shiraz, Hera, Burse, Edirne, Istanbul in the 15th Century”, in F. Déroche (ed.), *Tenth International Congress of Turkish Art* (Geneva, 1999), pp. 647–655 (with further refs.).

171 Available in a 1913 Hyderabad edition.

need of His powerful Lord and who hopes to enter and ascend Paradise with the Muslims, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Azraqī, may God, exalted is He above all, forgive him, his parents, and all Muslims! Amen!

The concluding volume of this multi-volume set has also been identified (→ 28).

(28) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 889 (*vidi*)

Chapters 38 to 40 of the preceding title, al-Khwārizmī's *Musnad*, again owned by (*bi rasm*) Qāniṣawh and copied by (*alā yad*) al-Azraqī (→ 2/1, 27) in 189ff. The colophon runs almost completely parallel to that of Ayasofya 888 (→ 27), and thus needs no further comments.

According to the Ḥamīdian catalogue of the Ayasofya collection, Ayasofya 887–889 constitutes a complete three-volume set.¹⁷² While these three volumes may indeed cover the whole work, there is a fair chance that two incomplete sets have been recombined, as Ayasofya 887 has 23 lines per page, while both Ayasofya 888 and 889 have 17 lines per page. Moreover, a note on the cover of Ayasofya 888 and Ayasofya 889 identifies these as a “third” and a “fourth” volume...

(29) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 1149 (*vidi*)

The *Kitāb fī Khaṣāyīṣ Yawm al-Jumʿa li l-imām al-ʿallāmat Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, already the fourth of seven (!) works by al-Suyūṭī that are included in this chapter (→ 16, 18, 23/3, 63, 123, 130).

The work was copied for (*bi rasm*) Qāniṣawh by (*katabahu*) al-mamlūk Jānim min Ṭuḡtamish min Ṭabaqat al-Ḥawsh al-Malikī al-Ashrafi in 65ff. As Suyūṭian the concluding lines of his *Arbaʿūna Ḥadīthan fī Faḍl al-Jihād* (→ 23/3) were, as Suyūṭian are the opening lines of the present work, which is available — what to expect — in numerous mss. and various eds.:

Faqad dhakara l-ustādh al-muftī Shams al-Dīn b. al-Qayyim fī kitāb al-Hudā li yawm al-jumʿa khuṣūṣiyātin biḍʿan wa ʿishrīn khuṣūṣiyatan, wa fātahu aḍʿafu mā dhakara, wa qad raʿaytu stīʾbahā fī hādhihi l-kurrāsa munabbihan ʿalā adillatihā ʿalā sabīl al-ʿijāz, wa tatabbaʿtuhā fa taḥaṣṣaltu minhā ʿalā miʿat khuṣūṣiyatin wa llāh al-muwaffiq.

Ustādh mufti Shams al-Dīn b. al-Qayyim has recorded in [his] book *al-Hudā* twenty-odd particularities for the day of Friday, thus failing to give more than that. I have managed to include in this quire [much more particularities than that], indicating their proof and concisely. Tracing these, I have been able to come up with a hundred particularities. Succes is granted by God!

172 *Defter-i Kütübhâne-i Āyāşüfiyâ* (Der-i Saʿadet, 1304 AH), p. 55.

(30) (?) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 1186 (*vidi*)

The *Kitāb al-Rawḍat al-Sanīya fī Fiqh al-Ḥanaḥīya, taʿlīf al-ʿallāmat al-Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Fārisī*, copied for (*bi rasm*) Qāniṣawh by (*khidmat*) *al-mamlūk ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Dayṣaṭī* (< Daysaṭ in the Nile Delta?) al-Muqri in 104ff.

Qāniṣawh's ownership is somewhat tentative, for we could be dealing with Qāniṣawh Khamsmi'a instead (→ 4, 115). As for a scribe such as the present one (undoubtedly Qāniṣawh's *mamlūk* in a figurative sense rather than in the technical sense), it is always hard to identify more specimens of his penmanship. Yet, quite exceptionally, in this case this has been possible: also in al-Dayṣaṭī's hand is a copy of al-ʿAynī's (d. 855/1451) *al-Maqāṣid al-Naḥwīya fī Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Alfīya* (Süleymaniye, Yeni Cami 1074) (*vidi*), penned for (*mimma ʿumila bi rasm*) *sīdī ʿUthmān*, son of the late sultan Jaqmaq, in 886/1481. In this particular copy, he identifies himself as ʿAbd al-Qādir b. <Aḥmad> al-Dayṣaṭī *baladan* al-Shāfiʿī *madhhaban*.

The author, whom we will meet again (→ 33/1), is perhaps better known by Ibn Balabān. This hadith scholar-cum-grammarians-cum-jurist-cum-poet enjoyed the favours of Baybars II for some time and is known first and foremost for *al-Iḥsān fī Taqrīb Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Ḥibbān*. The present work, which has been published at least one¹⁷³, opens as follows:

Qāla l-shaykh al-imām al-ʿālim (...) Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Sayf al-Dīn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Fārisī, taghammada llāhu bi raḥmatihī, ʿilam ayyadaka llāhu taʿālā anna awwal mā yajibu ʿalā l-ʿabd al-mukallaf an yaʿrifā rabbahu ʿazza wa jalla wa yuwahḥidahu wa yunazzihahu ʿan al-sharīk wa l-walad wa l-wālid, wa yuʿmina bihi wa bi malāʾikatihī wa kutubihī wa rusulihī wa l-yawm al-ākhir, wa yuʿmina bi l-qadar khayrihi wa sharrihi ḥulwihi wa murrihi min allāh taʿālā (...)

The learned sheikh and imam (...) Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Sayf al-Dīn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Fārisī, may God cover him with His grace, said, “Know that God, exalted is He above all, has confirmed to you that the first things that the servant who is *compos mentis* must do is to know his Lord, raised and exalted is He above all; to declare Him one; to declare Him above partner, child and parent; to believe in Him, in His angels, in His books, in His envoys and in the Day of Judgment; to believe in the predestination of both the good and the bad, both the bitter and the sweet [that one encounters in] one's life; (...)”

The work, or at least, the present ms., is poorly structured, opening with a *bāb* (on the *aḥkām al-islām min al-ṣalāt wa l-ṣiyām wa l-zakāt wa l-ḥajj wa ḡhayr dhālika min al-aḥkām*), then moving over to a *faṣl* (on *ṣalāt*), continuing with various *kutub* (on the *zakāt*, the Hajj, hunting, ...), and finally settling with a wide range of topics (*istikhdām al-khaṣīy, al-laʿb bi l-shaṭranj wa l-nard*, wedding banquets, the rules of greeting, ...).

173 Ed. Muḥammad Wāʿil al-Ḥanbalī (Istanbul, 2019) (*non vidi*).

(31) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 1432 (*vidi*)

The *Kitāb Masā'il fi l-Fiqh wa Ajwibatihā min al-'Iqd al-Farīd li l-Malik al-Sa'id*, copied for (*bi rasm*) Qānişawh by (*katabahu*) *al-mamlūk* Māmāy min Bardibak min Ṭabaqat al-Ḥawsh al-Malikī al-Ashrafi in 25 ff.

The author of this digest is not named, but his source and its author are easily identified: Ibn Ṭalḥa's (d. 652/1254) *Fürstenspiegel*, written for the Artuqid prince of Mardin (→ 24/2, 40, 66). More specifically, the *Kitāb Masā'il* draws on its fourth *qā'ida*, dealing with various questions in relation to *'ibādāt*, *mu'āmalāt*, *munākahāt* and *jināyāt*, that is, ritual, transaction, marriage law and crimes. While Ibn Ṭalḥa's *qā'ida* concludes with mathematical questions (→ 51), none of these are included in the present work.

(32) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 1433 (*vidi*)

The *Kitāb Masā'il Abā (sic) Ḥāzim*, copied for (*bi rasm*) Qānişawh by (*katabahu*) *al-mamlūk* Jāntamur min Urkmās min Ṭabaqat al-Zimāmīya al-Malikī al-Ashrafi in 20 ff.

As can be gleaned from its opening line, *kitāb mukhtaşş bi masā'il Abā (sic) Ḥāzim raḍīya llāhu 'anhu fi l-dīn wa l-wuḍū' wa l-şalāt wa 'adad al-rukū' wa l-sujūd fi l-şalāt al-khams wa l-ḥajj wa l-zakāt (...)*, this work deals with a number of questions posed to Abū Ḥāzim Salama b. Dīnār al-A'raj (d. 140/757 or 164/781), a Persian hadith transmitter of the *tābi'in* generation, who lived in Medina and was famous for his encounter in that same city with the Umayyad caliph Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik.

Half of the ff. of the ms. are heavily deteriorated and are no longer legible, but, fortunately, Abū Ḥāzim's answers are secured: the Bibliothèque nationale de France alone already houses 9 mss. (such as Ar. 945, copied in 872/1468).

(33) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 1446 (*vidi*)¹⁷⁴

A convolute of 3 parts:

(33/1) (?) *Kitāb fihi Muqaddimat fi l-Fiqh 'alā Madhhab al-Imām al-A'zam Abī Ḥanīfa raḍīya llāh 'anhu*, a work authored by the Egyptian Hanafite *faqīh*, Amīr 'Alī Ibn Balabān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Fārisī, (d. 731/1339) (→ 30).¹⁷⁵ It was copied

174 F. Sobieroj, *Variance in Arabic Manuscripts. Arabic Didactic Poems from the Eleventh to the Seventeenth Centuries. Analysis of Textual Variance and Its Control in the Manuscripts* (Berlin/Boston, 2016), passim, especially pp. 160–162. Here the *khādīm* of (33/1) is misread as “Ḥamza al-Malakī al-Zāhirī”.

175 For the authorship, see F. Dinler, “Ebu'l-Leys es-Semerkindi ve Mukaddimetü's-Salat İsimli Eserinin Tahkiki”, MA thesis, T.C. Sakarya Üniversitesi (Sakarya, 2006), p. 44; *id.*, “Ebu'l-

(*khidmat*) by *mamlūk* Yashbak min Ḥamza al-Malikī al-Zāhirī for Jaqmaq (*bi rasm al-maqām*) in 49ff. (ff. 1r–49r). On f. 49v, there is a second *khidmat* note: *khidmat Damurdāsh al-Nāsirī Ṭabaqat al-Ashrafiya* (sic). This again confirms the fact that *khidmat* can still go without *kitāba* (→ 15, Chapter Three).

(33/2) *Kitāb Yaqūl al-‘Abd fī ‘ilm al-Tawhīd*, easily identifiable as the highly popular versification on Islamic creed by Sirāj al-Dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Uthmān al-Ūshī (d. after 569/1173), the *Bad’ al-Amālī* (→ 73)¹⁷⁶. In 64 vv. (at least originally), this didactic poem deals with the attributes of God, the uncreatedness of the Qur’ān, Paradise and Hell, ... Its opening verses:

<i>Yaqūlu l-‘abdu fī bad’i l-amālī</i>	☉ <i>Li tawhīdin bi naẓmin ka l-la’ālī</i>
<i>Ilāhu khalqī mawlānā qadīmun</i>	☉ <i>Wa mauṣūfun bi awṣāfi l-kamālī</i>
<i>Huwa l-hayyu l-mudabbiru kulla amrin</i>	☉ <i>Huwa l-ḥaqqu l-muqaddiru dhū l-jalālī</i>
<i>Murīdu l-khayri wa l-sharri l-qabīḥi</i>	☉ <i>Wa lākin laysa yardā bi l-muḥālī</i>
<i>Şifātu llāhi laysat ‘aynu</i> (sic) <i>dhāthin</i>	☉ <i>Wa lā ghayran siwāhu dhā nfiṣālī</i>

The servant says in the beginning of [his] dictation	☉ On <i>tawhīd</i> , [a composition] ordered like pearls.
The God of Creation, our Lord, is eternally pre-existent,	☉ Attributed with attributes of perfection [only].
He is the Living, the Arranger of everything,	☉ The Truth, the One who Decrees, the Glorious One.
He wills [both] the good and the ugly evil,	☉ Yet is not content with the inconceivable ¹⁷⁷ .
Neither are God’s attributes Himself,	☉ Nor are they different from Him or dissociated.

It was copied (*katabahu*) by *mamlūk* Bardabak min Tānī Bak min Ṭabaqat al-Qaṣr al-Malikī al-Ashrafi in 10ff. for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm al-maqām*) (ff. 50r–60r). The work has been the object of dozens of *shurūḥ*, in Arabic, Persian, and Turkic,¹⁷⁸ and has been translated into Turkic at least seven times. So far, however, no Mamluk-Turkic translation has surfaced.

Leys es-Semerkindi’nin (V. 373/983) Mukaddimetü’s-Salat İsimli Eserinin Tahkikli Neşri”, *İslam Hukuku Araştırmaları Dergisi* 28 (2016): 519–563, here p. 523.

176 F.-W. Daub, “Standards and Specifics – the Layout of Arabic Didactic Poems in Manuscripts”, *Manuscript Cultures* 5 (2012–2013): 52–67 (especially pp. 52–53 for the author and his work, and pp. 54–55 for this particular ms.); Sobieroj, *Variance in Arabic Manuscripts*. pp. 126–183, 303–321.

177 I.e., transgression.

178 For an exhaustive survey, see D. Özbek, “El-Ūşī ve ‘Kasidetü’l-Emalī”, *Selçuk Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 5 (1994): 261–308. An earlier Mamluk sultan, probably al-Malik al-Ashraf Barsbāy (r. 825–841/1422–1437), owned a copy of the *Hidāyat min al-Ḥtiqād*, a still unpublished and quite extensive Arabic commentary on the *Bad’ al-Amālī* by Muḥammad b. Abi Bakr al-Rāzī al-Ḥanafī (7th or 8th/13th or 14th cent.?) (London, British Library, Or. 2795) (*non vidi*).

(33/3) (?) *al-Qaṣīdat al-Mawsūma bi Lāmīyat al-ʿAjam wa Ghurar al-Mathānī wa Durar al-Maʿānī* <.....> *Muʿayyad al-Dīn Ismāʿīl al-Ṭuḡhrāʾī*, i. e., al-Ṭuḡhrāʾī's famous ode composed in 505/1111–1112, followed by a hitherto unidentified work. The colophon does not allow for any positive identification of the previous owner: *bi rasm al-maqarr al-sharīf al-ʿālī al-amīrī al-kabīrī al-muʿazzamī al-makhdūmī al-murābiṭī al-mujāhidī al-Zaynī ʿazza naṣrahu wa madda ʿaṣrahu*. The work was copied by Sharaf b. al-Amīr in Shām in 835/1432 (ff. 61r–81v).

Items (33/1) and (33/3) could be two of the few items in the list that predate Qāyṭbāy's reign (→ Chapter Three, Index 6.8). However, as was the case for the previous convolute (→ 23), it remains unclear whether the three parts had been bound already in Qāniṣawh's days.¹⁷⁹

(34) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 1451 (*vidi*)

Abū l-Layth Naṣr b. Muḥammad al-Samarqandī (d. between 373 and 393/983 and 1003), *Kitāb Muqaddima-i Abū Layth al-Samarqandī ʿalā madhhab al-imām Abī Ḥanīfa*, his widely copied and highly acclaimed Ḥanafī fiqh book on prayer¹⁸⁰ (for the Arabic original → 22, for another work of the same author → 15).

The work has received considerable attention, including three editions¹⁸¹, since it comes with an interlinear translation into Mamluk-Kipchak Turkic. It was copied (*katabahu*) by *mamlūk* Asanbāy min Sūdūn min Ṭabaqat al-Ashrafiya al-Kubrā for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm khizānat mawlānā*) in 47 ff.

Given the popularity of al-Samarqandī's work in the 15th century, both in the Mamluk world and beyond,¹⁸² little surprise to find numerous copies, trans-

179 Daub ("Standards and Specifics", p. 54) states that Ayasofya 1446 was made into *waqf* by Qāniṣawh, which would imply that the volume was bound in his days already. However, there is no trace of such a *waqf* note in my personal notes, and also Sobieroj (*Variance in Arabic Manuscripts*, pp. 161–162) makes mention only of an Ottoman *waqf* seal on the frontispieces of (33/1) and (33/2).

180 For the Arabic source text, see Dinler, "Ebu'l-Leys es-Semerqandi ve Mukaddimetü's-Salat İsimli Eserinin Tahkiki"; *id.*, "Ebu'l-Leys es-Semerqandi'nin (v. 373/983) Mukaddimetü's-Salat İsimli Eserinin Tahkikli Neşri".

181 A. Özkan, *Kitab-ı Mukaddime-i Ebu'l-Leysi's-Semerqand (Giriş – İnceleme – Metin – Dizimler – Tıpkıbasım)* (Konya, 2018); R. Toparlı, *Kitab-ı Mukaddime-i Ebu'l-Leysi's-Semerqandî (Giriş – İnceleme – Metin – Dizimler – Tıpkıbasım)* (Erzurum, 1987); A. Zajczkowski, "Mamelucko-kipczacki przekład arabskiego traktatu *Muqaddima* Abū-l-Laiṭ as-Samarqandī", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 23/1 (1959): 73–99; *id.*, *Le traité arabe Muqaddima d'Abou-l-Laiṭ as-Samarqandî en version mamelouk-kiptchak (Ms. Istanbul, Aya Sofya, Nr. 1451)* (Warszawa, 1962).

182 See S. Gunasti, "Political patronage and the writing of Qur'an commentaries among the Ottoman Turks", *Journal of Islamic Studies* 24/3 (2013): 335–357.

lations¹⁸³ and commentaries. For two more Mamluk copies with the same (?)¹⁸⁴ interlinear Turkic translation for Qāyṭbāy, see Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. or. fol. 1624 (*vidi*); and Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 1448 (*non vidi*). As for Mamluk *shurūḥ*, there are, among others, Ḥasan b. al-Ṭūlūnī's rare commentary (→ 83), and Ibn Aydughmish (d. 809/1406 in Cairo)'s much more popular *al-Tawḍīḥ fi Sharḥ al-Muqaddima*¹⁸⁵.

Thus far, the name of the translator of the *Muqaddima* had eluded its various editors, as not a single ms. records his name. Yet, perhaps 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī (→ 51) finally allows us to put a name to it: Ismā'īl b. Yūsuf al-Samarqandī al-'Ajamī al-Ḥanafī. According to the latter's entry in al-Malaṭī's *al-Majma' al-Mufannan*, Ismā'īl, having left his home country in the East, finally settled and studied in Cairo. There, he held a number of positions, teaching, among others, *al-rasā'il al-fiqhīya* to the *mamlūks* in the *Ṭabaqat al-Qal'a*, and finally passed away in 884/1479. More to the point, according to al-Malaṭī, Ismā'īl

*huwa lladhī tarjama al-Muqaddima li Abī l-Layth wa ghayrihā bi lisān al-Turk, wa hādhihi l-muqaddimāt al-mawjūda bi aydī l-Turk, allatī fussirat alfāzuhā l-'Arabīya bi l-lughat al-Turkīya, wa kutibat bi l-ḥumra taḥta l-alfāz. Huwa lladhī khtarā 'ahā, lākin kāna yatarjim dhālika 'alā uslub 'ajīb, ḥattā annahu kāna yatarjim al-lafẓat al-'Arabīya bi lafẓat 'Arabīya, hiya hiya bi 'aynihā, lākin iştālaha Turk hādhihi l-balda 'alayhā. Wa tarjama "Muqaddimat al-Ghaznawī" wa ghayrihā 'alā hādihā l-namaṭ, fa kāna min tarjamatihi l-kathīr min al-takhlīṣ bal wa l-takhbīṭ, wa ma'a dhālika fa kāna mujtahidan fi dhālika.*¹⁸⁶

is the one who has translated the *Muqaddima* of Abū l-Layth and other [works] into Turkic. [In] these introductions that are available in Turkic, the Arabic words are rendered into Turkic, written in red underneath [the Arabic] words. It is who has invented this [method], but he translated in a peculiar style, even translating one Arabic word into the very same Arabic word, but the Turks of this region have adopted this [method]. He [also] translated the *Muqaddima* of al-Ghaznawī and other [works] in this way, and

183 For Turkish translations of al-Samarqandī's *tafsīr*, see A. Çetin, "Ebu'l-Leys Semerkandī Tefsirinin Türkçe Tercümesi Üzerine", *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 22 (2007): 53–101.

184 *Prima facie*, it appears that the Turkic translations found in the various mss. are not identical. Yet, what remains to be established is whether we are dealing with different translations altogether, or merely with "transposed" versions of a common source translation (i. e., with the source translation in Mamluk-Kipchak being de-Kipchakicized and thus "transposed" to an Oghuz-Turkic target translation while copying).

185 See, e. g., Chester Beatty Library, 3616 (*vidi*) (copied for Barsbāy's library); Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Arab 296 (*non vidi*); and University of Michigan, Special Collections Library, Isl. Ms. 529 (*vidi*).

186 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl al-Malaṭī, *al-Majma' al-Mufannan bi l-Mu'jam al-Ma'nūn*, ed. 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Kandarī (Bayrūt, 1432/2011), I: 550. Ismā'īl also received a brief entry in al-Sakhāwī's biographical dictionary (*al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmī*, II: 310) and in another work of al-Malaṭī (*Nayl al-Amal fi Dhayl al-Duwal*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Bayrūt, 1322/2002), VII: 246), but, exceedingly short, these entries have nothing to add.

much of his translations are shortened, not to say corrupt. That said, he exerted himself in translating.

Al-Malaṭī's claim that Ismā'īl "invented" this interlinear translation system is clearly ill-informed, since historical precedents reach far back, but that should not detain us here. What matters here is that the timeframe matches, and that many of the details fit: Ismā'īl's translation was a word for word instead of a paraphrasal translation added in red interlinearly, just as the present translation! However, there is one detail that doesn't fit. I am not referring to al-Malaṭī's statement that Ismā'īl's translations were short to the extent that they became "corrupt" (*min al-talkhīṣ bal min wa l-takhbīt*), as such a judgment is hard to assess. What I am referring to is the fact that al-Malaṭī seems to blame Ismā'īl for producing a translation that is all too Arabicizing (*hiya hiya bi 'aynihā!*). This claim is hard to reconcile with the present translation, which — as detailed by Zajāczkowski — stands out for its "pure Turkic". Not only words such as *al-rajīm* (*taşlanmış*) and *faşl* (*söz kesildi*) are translated, so are the names of the Interrogating Angels, Nakīr and Munkar (*İnkār Ēdici* and *Ḳaytarcı*). Indeed, we find duly rendered into Turkic even the *basmala* (*başlarım ulu teñri adı birle*) and the author's name (*Layṣ Atası*)! In short, while Ismā'īl fits the profile of the *Muqaddima* translator quite well, a nagging doubt remains... Could a personal feud have played here? Or did al-Malaṭī, himself in command of literary Turkic, perhaps think that he could have done a better job (→ 51)?¹⁸⁷

(35) (X) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 1470 (*vidi*)

An anonymous work, probably a unicum and currently unpublished, called *Manāsik al-Ḥajj li l-Ḥanaḫīya*, in 49ff. and lacking a colophon. While the frontispiece (*bi rasm al-maqarr al-ashraf al-'ālī al-amīrī al-kabīrī al-sayfī Qāniṣawh 'ayn muqaddamī al-ulūf*) allowed us to keep various options open (i. e., an ownership by Qāniṣawh in his pre-sultanic days), the preface leaves no doubt about it:

Wa ba'du (...) mawlānā l-maqarr al-ashraf al-karīm al-'ālī al-mawlawī al-amīrī al-kabīrī al-sayyidī al-mujāhidī al-murābiṭī (...) *sayf al-dīn khulāṣat al-mulūk wa l-salāṭīn 'ayn a'yān al-umarā' al-ajillā l-mu'tabarīn Qāniṣawh [thus vocalized!] b. 'Abd Allāh min Tamīr Bāy 'umdat al-sādat al-umarā l-muqaddamīn bi l-diyār al-Miṣriya (...)* iltamasa min al-'ajiz al-faqīr al-mu'tarif bi qillat l-bidā'a (...) *an yajma' waraqāt yadhkur fihā mā yahtāj ilayhi mithluhu min al-umūr al-dīniya wa muhimmāt al-ṭariqat al-nabawiya min farā'id al-ḥajj wa wājibātihi wa sunanihi (...)* fa ajabtu ilā dhālika musta'nan bi llāh al-kabīr al-muta'al'alā mā hunā lika min al-ḥāja ilā l-kasb wa kathrat al-iyāl (...)

187 Another solution, altogether much more simple, would be to emend the text, by replacing *yatarjim al-lafẓat al-'Arabiya bi lafẓat 'Arabiya* with *kāna yatarjim al-lafẓat al-'Arabiya bi lafẓat al-Turkiya...*

fa jama'tuhā min al-Ṣaḥīḥayn al-Bukhārī wa Muslim wa ghālib al-kutub al-sitta wa ghayrihim wa l-Muḥīṭ wa l-Mabsūṭ wa l-Nawāzil wa Qāḍī Khān wa l-Khulāṣa wa Tuḥfat al-Fuqahā' wa l-Badāyī wa sharḥihā li l-Walwālījī wa sharḥ al-Ṭahāwī wa l-Kāfī wa ghayr dhālika min al-kutub al-mu'tabira (...) wa sammaytuha Tuḥfat al-Rafīq wa Miskat al-Ṭarīq.

Now (...) our Lord, His Noble Excellency (...) Qāniṣawh b. 'Abd Allāh min Tamir Bāy, the support of the lords amirs of one hundred in the Egyptian domains, requested this weak and wretched one, who is known for the little that he has to offer (...) to collect some leaves, in which to record what [someone] like him [i. e., Qāniṣawh] ought [to know] in terms of religious matters and important aspects of the Prophet's way, in relation to the duties of the Pilgrimage, its obligations and its customs (...) I have collated these from the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, as well as most of the [rest of the] *Six Books* and others, the *Muḥīṭ*, the *Mabsūṭ*, the *Nawāzil*, [the work of] Qāḍī Khān, the *Khulāṣa*, the *Tuḥfat al-Fuqahā'*, the *Badāyī* and its *sharḥ* by al-Walwālījī and the *sharḥ* of al-Ṭahāwī, the *Kāfī*, and other reputed books (...) and I have called it the *Tuḥfat al-Rafīq wa Miskat al-Ṭarīq*.

Not only do we learn the actual title of the work, *Tuḥfat al-Rafīq wa Miskat al-Ṭarīq*, we also learn that its patron was not Qāniṣawh min Baybardī (i. e., sultan Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī), but Qāniṣawh min Tamurbāy (also recorded is min Ṭarābāy), *al-ma'rūf bi Kurt*, an amir 100 and *khāzindār*, who was active before and under Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī's reign and who served as an envoy to the Ottomans in 905/1499.¹⁸⁸

In eight chapters, the work deals with various aspects of the Pilgrimage, such as the *farāyid al-ḥajj wa wājibātuhu wa sunanuhu*, the *al-iḥrām wa mā jā fihi*, the *kayfiyat dukhūl Makka wa mā jā fihi*, the *faḍl al-Ka'ba wa l-Ḥaram*, and the *ziyārat qabr al-Nabīy 'alayhi l-salām wa mā jā fihi*.

(36) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 1651 (*vidi*)

The *Kitāb Asmā' Allāh al-Ḥusnā manzūma wa thalāthūna maw'iza ḥasana*, copied for (*bi rasm*) Qāniṣawh by (*khidmat*) *mamlūk* Jānim min 'Allān min Ṭabaqat al-Rafraf bi l-Duhaysha al-Sharīfa al-Malīkī al-Ashrafī in 62ff. As announced on the title page, Jānim copied two works:

(36-1): a *takhmīs* of a *qaṣīda* in *hā'* on God's beautiful names (ff. 1v–18r) (→ 41-1). The *takhmīs* (→ 49/3), still read today, opens as follows:

*Aladhdhu kalāmi l-mar'ī fī ṭūli mahyāhu
Wa aḥsanu mā yalqāhu min ajri ukhrāhu
Idhā mā da'ā rabba l-samawāti mawlāhu*

Ayā tayyiba l-asmā'ī yā man huwa llāhu ❁ *Wa man lā yusammā dhālika l-isma ilā hu*

188 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-Zuhūr*, IV: 30, V: 4.

The sweetest word man [may utter] throughout his life,
 And what gives him the best recompense in the Hereafter
 Is when he invokes the Lord of the Heavens, his Lord:
 O best of names! O He who is God! ❁ O He Who is the only One given that name!

In a published *sharḥ mamzūj* or text-commentary amalgam, the authors of the *takhmīs* and of the original *qaṣīda* are identified as Rustam al-Ḥalabī al-Shāfi‘ī and Sa‘d al-Junaydī or al-Juwaynī, but no more information seems to be available on either of them.¹⁸⁹

(36-2) The second text (f. 19r-62r), introduced by a separate title page (*Wa hādhihi l-thalāthūna maw‘iza al-madhkūra, nafa‘nā llāh bihā*), actually contains 31 (not 30) *ḥadīth qudsī*, most of which opening with *Yā bna Ādam*. The first *maw‘iza* opens as follows:

Yaqūl Allāh tabāraka wa ta‘ālā, “‘Ajibtu li man ayqana bi l-mawt, kayfa yafrah; wa ‘ajibtu li man ayqana bi l-ḥisāb, kayfa yajma‘u; wa ‘ajibtu li man ayqana bi l-qabr, kayfa yaḍḥak; wa ‘ajibtu li man ayqana bi l-ākhirā; kayfa yastariḥ (...)”

God, blessed and exalted is He above all, says: “I am amazed by the person who is certain of death, how happy he is [in spite of that]; I am amazed by the person who is certain of the reckoning, how [much worldly goods] he amasses [in spite of that]; I am amazed by the person who is certain of the grave, how much he laughs [in spite of that]; I am amazed by the person who is certain of the Afterlife; how much at ease he is [in spite of that] (...)”

As for the following 30 traditions, these are all part of an *arba‘ūna* collection that is sometimes referred to as the *Arba‘ūna Ṣaḥīfa*, revealed to Moses. A close parallel to the present item appears to be *Mizāb (M‘zab), al-Khizānat al-‘Āmma*, 420 (*Kitāb al-Maw‘iza Thalāthūna Maw‘iza*, 8 ff.).¹⁹⁰

(37) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 1666 (*vidi*)

Quite exceptionally, the frontispiece lacks both title and author, yet includes the *khidma* section, which normally comes at the end of the ms. It reads:

Bi rasm khizānat al-maqām a-sharīf malik al-barrayn wa l-baḥrayn khādīm al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn mawlānā l-sultān al-mālik al-malik al-ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qāniṣah al-Ghawrī ‘azza naṣruhu

Khidmat al-mamlūk Yashbak al-Faqīh min Muṣṭafā laṭafa llāh bihi

189 Muḥammad al-Amīn b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Ḥasan al-Urmī al-‘Alawī al-Athyūbī al-Hararī al-Karri al-Buwayṭī, *Hadīyat al-Adhkiyā ‘alā Ṭayyibat al-Asmā’. Fī Tawḥīd al-Asmā’i wa l-Ṣifāt wa l-Istighātha wa l-Du‘ā’*. *Sharḥ ‘alā Manzūmat Ṭayyibat al-Asmā’* (Beirut, 2011), pp. 7, 19–43 (edition of the *takhmīs*), 217.

190 See <https://elibrary.mara.gov.om/en/mzab-library/general-treasury-library/book/?id=3287>.

Following the frontispiece, in lieu of a preface, we find the following table of contents (f. 1v–2r):

*Hādhā namūdhaj laṭīf wa majmū' zarīf yaḥtawī 'alā abwāb sab'a "tabṣīratan wa dhikrā li"*¹⁹¹ *ūlā l-albāb:*

al-bāb al-awwal: fī akhdh al-mīthāq 'alā banī Ādam min jamī' al-anbiyā' wa sā'ir al-umam;

*al-bāb al-thānī: fī arḍ "al-amāna 'alā l-samawāt wa l-arḍ wa l-jibāl" wa sā'ir al-a'yān "fa abayna an yaḥmilnahā wa ashfaqna minhā wa ḥamalahā l-insān"*¹⁹²;

al-bāb al-thālith: fī ḥāl ahl al-fatra wa aḥkāmihim fī l-dunyā wa l-ākhirā yawma l-ḥasrati;

al-bāb al-rābi': fī tawḥīd allāh wa dhātihi wa ṣifātihi l-muqaddas (sic) al-muta'ālī 'an ṣifāt jamī' makhlūqātihi;

al-bāb al-khāmis: fī l-islām wa l-īmān, hal humā bi ma'nā wāḥid aw mutaghāyirān;

al-bāb al-sādis: fī faḍl Rasūl Allāh 'alayhi aḍḍal al-ṣalāt wa l-salām wa mā khaṣṣahu llāh bihi min al-faḍā'il;

al-bāb al-sābi': fī munājāt al-Rabb ma'a 'abdihi wa mulāṭafātihi bihi fī qurbīhi wa bu'dīhi.

This is a subtle model and a delicate collection that comprises seven chapters “To be observed and commemorated by” the people of reason:

Chapter one: on making the Covenant with the Children of Adam;

Chapter two: on “Offer[ing] the Trust to the Heavens and the Earth and the Mountains” and all of the nobles; “But they refused to undertake it, being afraid thereof: but man undertook it”;

Chapter three: on the condition of the “people of the interval”¹⁹³, and on their judgment in this world and in the Hereafter on the Day of Regret;

Chapter four: on the profession of the unity of God, on His essence and His sacrosanct attributes, which are high above the attributes of all of His creatures;

Chapter five: on *islām* and *īmān*, and on [the question whether] these mean the same thing or something different;

Chapter six: on the superiority of the Envoy of God, upon Him be the best of prayer and peace, and on the virtues with which God has distinguished Him;

Chapter seven: on the Lord's secret conversations with His servant, and on His benevolence towards the latter, [both the one] close to Him and [the one] far from Him.

Next to the unusual frontispiece, this anonymous and untitled work stands out for two more noteworthy features: at least for a *mamlūk khidma* it is unusually long (134ff.), and it adds some omitted passages in the margins.

In the concluding lines, where both God and sultan al-Ghawrī are praised most lavishly (f. 131v–134r), there is the following elaborated plea for twenty-nine

191 Cfr. Qur'ān, 50:8: “To be observed and commemorated by”.

192 Cfr. Qur'ān, 33: 72.

193 I.e., an interval of time between two envoys sent by God.

blessings, arranged alphabetically from *alif* up to *yā*. Unfortunately, I failed at a translation arranged to the English alphabet:

Allāhumma anā as'aluka bi alif ālā'ika wa bi bā' bahā'ika wa bi tā' tawhīdika wa bi thā' thanā'ika wa bi jīm jamālika wa bi hā' hilmika wa bi khā' khayrika wa bi dāl dawāmika wa bi dhāl dhikrika wa bi rā' rubūbiyatika wa bi zā' azaliyatika wa bi sin sultānika wa bi shīn shukrika wa bi šād šamadiyatika (sic) wa bi ḍād ḍiyā' nūr wajhika wa bi ṭā' ṭā'atika wa bi zā' zill' arshika wa bi 'ayn' afwika wa bi ghayn ghanā'ika wa bi fā' faḍlika wa bi qāf qudratika wa bi kāf kifāyatika wa bi lām luṭfika wa bi mīm mulkika wa bi nūn nūrika wa bi hā' hidāyatika wa bi wāw waḥdāniyatika wa bi lām alif lā ilā illā anta wa bi yā yā ḥayy ya qayyūm (...)

O God! I ask You for the F of Your favours, the S of Your splendour, the P of professing Your unity, the L of lauding You, the C of Your comeliness, the W of Your wisdom, the G of Your goodness, the P of Your perpetuity, the I of invoking You, the D of Your dominion, the S of Your sempiternity, the M of Your might, the T of thanking You, the E of Your eternity, the B of the brightness of Your face, the O of obeying You, the S of the shadow of Your throne, the P of Your pardon, the A of Your affluence, the P of Your precedence, the O of Your omnipotence, the S of Your sufficiency, the K of Your kindness, the R of Your reign, the L of Your light, the G of Your guidance, the U of Your unity, the T of “There is no god but You!”, and the O of “O Eternal One!” (...)

As a rule, the *kātib* or *khādim* of such exercises in *mamlūk* penmanship (→ Ch. 3) elude further identification, and the present *khādim*, Yashbak al-Faqīh, proves no exception. His name may ring a bell, because of a fairly well-known namesake: Yashbak al-Faqīh, who made it *dawādār kabīr* under al-Malik al-Zāhir Khush-qadam. However, the two Yashbaks are definitely not identical: the latter passed away in 878/1473 and was called *min Salmān/Sulaymān Shāh*, not *min Muṣṭafā*.

(38) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 1810 (*vidi*)

The *Kitāb Risālat Abū Madyan fi l-Taṣawwuf*, copied (*katabahu*) for (*bi rasm*) Qāniṣawh by *mamlūk* Iskandar min Abrak min Ṭabaqat al-Ḥawsh al-Sharīf al-Malik al-Ashrafi in 22 ff.

In spite of its generic title, the work is easily identified as the *Uns al-Wahīd wa Nuzhat al-Murīd* by “Sidi Bou-Medienne”, the 12th-century Maghribī Sufi, whose *Qaṣīdat al-Istighfār* we have dealt with before (→ 23/4b, 88, 104/1)¹⁹⁴. Available in numerous mss. and various eds., this popular collection of aphorisms needs no further introduction.¹⁹⁵

194 For further refs., see V.J. Cornell, *Realm of the Saint. Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism* (Austin, Texas, 1998), esp. chapter 5 (“Moroccan Sufism in the Marinid Period”).

195 For an ed. and a selection of mss., see *Unwān al-Tawfiq fi Ādāb al-Ṭarīq, ta'lif Tāj al-Dīn Abī l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Sikandarī. Wa Yalihi Uns al-Wahīd wa Nuzhat al-Murīd, ta'lif Abī Madyan Shu'ayb b. al-Ḥusayn*, ed. Khālid Zahri

(39) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 1825 (*vidi*)

The *Kitāb Rawḍ al-Rayyāhīn fī Akhbār al-Şālihīn*, copied (*katabahu*) for (*bi rasm*) Qānişawh by *mamlūk* Tūmānbāy min Qānbardī min Ṭabaqat al-Rafrāf al-Kubrā al-Malikī al-Ashrafi in 27ff.

This short, anonymous work is a compilation — seemingly original an sich — of non-original edifying anecdotes. Following the *basmala* and an unrevealing *Wa ba'du* section, the work opens with a *qasida* that is still popular today:

Aṭma'tumūnī fī l-wiṣāl wa l-liqā' ❀ *Wa hajartumūnī fa ltahabtu taḥarruqan*

You have made me desirous of uniting ❀ But You have parted from me, and I burn
and meeting [with You], in the fire of [separation].

(40) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 1854 (*vidi*)

Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī's (d. 878/1473–74) (*Tahrīr*) *al-Sulūk fī Tadbīr al-Mulūk*¹⁹⁶, copied (*katabahu*) by the prolific copyist Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-A'raj (→ 72, 75, 79, 132) for Qānişawh (*bi rasm khizānat*) in 112ff.

What prompted the author to write this work on *ḥisba* and *siyāsa shar'īya*, based on al-Māwardī's (→ 44) *al-Aḥkām al-Sultāniya* and Ibn Ṭalḥa's (d. 652/1254) *al-'Iqd al-Farīd li l-Malik al-Sa'īd* (which in itself also draws on al-Māwardī's work) (→ 24/2, 31, 66)¹⁹⁷, was the fact that he found other works on governance either too long or too short.

Misled by the colophon (*katabahu Abū l-Faḍl al-A'raj ghafara llāh lahu wa li wālidayhi wa li kāffat al-muslimīn ajma'in*), the editor of the 1982 edition mistook the copyist for the author, a lapsus dealt with in considerable detail by Özgür Kavak and returned to in Chapter Three, *A Library Profiled*.¹⁹⁸

(Bayrūt, 2004), pp. 71sqq. (the first title being a *sharḥ* of Abū Madyan's *Mā Ladhdat al-'Aysh*, still widely sung during *samā'* ceremonies).

196 Whereas the title page reads *al-Sulūk fī Tadbīr al-Mulūk*, the work is referred to as *Tahrīr al-Sulūk fī Tadbīr al-Mulūk* in the concluding page.

197 For the latter, see now A.C. Peacock, "Politics, Religion and the Occult in the Works of Kamal al-Din Ibn Talha, a Vizier, 'Alim and Author in Thirteenth-century Syria", in C. Hillenbrand (ed.), *Syria in Crusader Times: Conflict and Co-Existence* (Edinburgh, 2019), pp. 34–60.

198 Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. al-A'raj (sic!), *Tahrīr al-Sulūk fī Tadbīr al-Mulūk*, ed. Fu'ād 'Abd al-Mun'im (al-Iskandarīya, 1982); Ö. Kavak, "XV. Yüzyılda Kahire'de Siyaset, Hukuk ve Ahlakı Birlikte Düşünmek: Ali Gazzalī'nin *Tahrīrü'l-Sülük fī tedbiri'l-mülük İsimli Risalesi*", *Divân. Disiplinlerarası Çalışmalar Dergisi* 20/ 39 (2015/2): 103–140 (including al-Ghazzālī's bibliography and refs. to two other mss., one in the Süleymaniye library and one in Rabat). For a brief discussion of the work, which unfortunately perpetuates the mistaken authorship, see Y. Rapoport, "Royal Justice and Religious Law: *Siyāsaḥ* and *Shari'ah* under the Mamluks", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2012): 71–102, here pp. 96–97.

While in Cairo around 858/1454, al-Ghazzālī appears to have dedicated a work to the Ottoman sultan, Meḥmed II, *al-Durraṭ al-Manzūm fī Khulāṣat al-‘Ulūm*, after which he seems to have spent several years in Istanbul, before finally returning to Cairo. Admittedly, all this is quite conjectural... For another work of the same author in this list, see his *‘Aqd al-Durar min Khulāṣat ‘Aqd al-Ghurar* (→ 128).

(41) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 1860 (*vidi*)

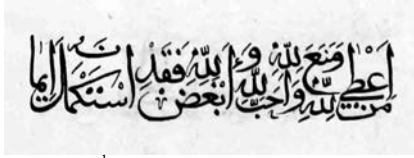
Şirvānlı Ḥaṭīb Ođlu Ḥabīb Allāh, *Sultān Ḥiṭābı Hacc Kitābı*, an autograph in Ottoman Turkish, finished in 918/1512 and dedicated to Qāniṣawh. Following a *sebeb-i te’lif* and an elaborate encomium of the sultan (ff. 1r–11r), we find three parts, all exquisitely executed:

(41-1) *Esmā-i Ḥusnā Şerhi*, a versified commentary of God’s 99 names, 2 couplets per name (ff. 11r–44r).

For other Mamluk presentations of *al-Asmā al-Ḥusnā*, apart from Ayasofya 1651 (→ 36-1), see, e. g.:

- Bibliothèque nationale de France, arabe 6071 (*vidi*): *bi rasm* Muḥammad b. Qāyṭbāy?
- Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Special Collections Library; Isl. Ms. 248, pp. 7–12 (*vidi*): copied in 828/1424–25, perhaps for vizier Ibn Kātib al-Manākh (d. 852/1448). Interestingly, this ms. lists not only the 99 names, but also their respective numerical value (excluding the article, e. g., *al-bāṭin* = 62) (for the next part of this ms., → 50/1).

(41-2) *Ḳırķ Ḥadīs Tercümesi*, a versified translation of Jāmī’s Persian *Ḥadīs-i Arba‘in* (for more *Arba‘ūna* → 23/1, 23/3, 122) (ff. 44r–63v) (→ figs. 15, 16):

Fig. 15: 2nd *ḥadīth* (f. 50v)

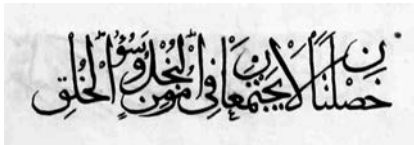
Man a'tā li llāh wa mana'a li llāh wa aḥabba li llāh wa abghaḍa li llāh faqad istakmala imānahu

Whosoever gives for God's sake, withholds for God's sake, loves for Gods sake and hates for God's sake has perfected his faith.

Her kişi kim ḥubda vü buğz u 'aṭā vü men'a hem

Ḥaḳ için var naḳd-i imānu mükemmel lâ cerem imānuhu

Whosoever's love and hate, giving and withholding is for God's sake, Undoubtedly, the coin of his faith is perfected.

Fig. 16: 4th *ḥadīth* (f. 51r)

Khaṣlatāni lā yajtami'āni fi mu'minin: al-bukhl wa sū' al-khulq

There are two characteristics that are not combined in a believer: miserliness and bad morals.

Cem' olmaz mü'mine buhl ü yaman 'ādet yakīn

Bezl-i māl ed (sic) yaḥşı hū dut kim buyırmış şāh-i dīn

It is certain that miserliness and bad morals are not combined in a believer

Hand out (your) money freely and be good-natured, for the ruler of religion has (thus) ordered.

(41-3) *Yüz Söz Tercümesi*, a versified translation of 'Alī's 100 sayings, not directly from al-Jāhiz's collection in Arabic, but rather from its Persian translation, made in 889/1484 by 'Ādil b. 'Ādil Ḥāfiẓ, the *Şad Kalima-i 'Alī* (ff. 63v–95r). For another translation of 'Alī's sayings into Turkic — out of a total of over fifty¹⁹⁹ — see Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 122 (→ 97).

Âdem Ceyhan, who discovered the ms., has published the three main sections in three separate articles²⁰⁰, while the prologue (ff. 2v–10r), an intersecting fragment (ff. 60v–67v), and the epilogue (ff. 94r–100r) remain unpublished.

199 Â. Ceyhan, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda Hazret-i Ali Vecizeleri* (Ankara, 2006).

200 Â. Ceyhan, "Şirvanlı Hatiboğlu Habibullāh'ın Hz. Ali'den Yüz Söz Tercümesi", *Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 3 (2015): 323–354 (= ed. of part 3); *id.*, "Şirvanlı Hatiboğlu Habibullāh'ın Kırk Hadis Tercümesi", *Erdem* 69 (2015): 53–72 (= ed. of part 2); *id.*,

(42) (P) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 1994 (*vidi* of preface)²⁰¹

İdrīs al-Bidlīsī's (d. 926/1520) *Asrār 'Ibādat al-Şiyām*, an Arabic text on fasting, presented by the author in person to Qānişawh.

Shortly before being received in audience by Qānişawh in 917/1511, İdrīs-i Bidlīsī had left the Ottoman realm for the Hijaz, thus answering God's call to perform the Hajj and/or escaping an increasingly volatile Istanbul. Arriving from Istanbul in Alexandria by boat, he made his way into Cairo, where he spent the last months of 1511. He then joined the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan, which set out in Shawwāl 917/January 1512, never to return. As the caravan that year was supervised by Ṭūmānbāy, Qānişawh's nephew and future sultan, İdrīs must certainly have made his acquaintance. Interestingly, less than two years following the Hajj, Ṭūmānbāy commissioned al-Malaṭī to translate an Ottoman Turkish work into Arabic (→ 51), but there is no compelling reason to assume İdrīs to have been involved in this cultural transfer.

İdrīs did not spend his autumn months in Cairo idle: he was received by Qānişawh, supposedly participated in the latter's *majālis*²⁰², and reciprocated his beneficences with his own compositions. One of these works must have been the present item. As the actual presentation copy has not been identified, the present ms. serves as its proxy: a unicum that was probably in İdrīs' possession during his lifetime, and that has been corrected by him in his own hand.²⁰³

The *Asrār*, one of İdrīs's few Arabic works, is in a style no less exuberant than his more numerous Persian works, and clearly reflects the author's chancellery background. As the work remains unedited — and as opportunities to indulge in veritable *inshā'* are less frequent than I would hope for — a more detailed discussion of the preface seems not uncalled for. The work opens with the *basmala*:

“Şirvanlı Habıbullāh'ın Esmā-i Hüsnā Şerhi”, *Divan Edebiyatı Araştırmaları Dergisi* 17 (2016): 13–54 (= ed. of part 1).

201 Christopher Markiewicz (University of Birmingham) kindly shared with me the facs. of the preface.

202 While it is quite possible that İdrīs attended the sultan's *majālis*, just like, e.g., İbrāhīm-i Gülşenī (→ 120, Chapter Three), the available proceedings (→ 66, 68, 82, as well as 17-2 and 47, 48) seem to have left this unrecorded.

203 For İdrīs' Cairo period, see Ch. Markiewicz, “The Crisis of Rule in Late Medieval Islam. A Study of İdrīs Bidlīsī (861–926/1457–120) and Kingship at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century”, PhD (University of Chicago, 2015), pp. 163–180; *id.*, *The Crisis of Kingship in Late Medieval Islam. Persian Emigres and the Making of Ottoman Sovereignty* (Cambridge, 2019), pp. 106–107 (with ref. to two other works of İdrīs, in which he mentions his stay in Cairo). It should be added that, according to Törehan Serdar, İdrīs might have authored this work while already in the Hijaz (*Mevlāna Hakīmüddin İdrīs-i Bitlisi* (İstanbul, 2008), p. 375).

Allāh, lā ilāha illā huwa, al-ḥayy al-qayyūm, iyyāka naʿbudu, fa laka nuṣallī, wa ʿan ghayrika naṣūm, wa nabtahil ilayka murākīʿan khāshīʿan mutaṣaddīʿan ladā l-qiyām bi l-istighfār ʿan āthām sawābiq al-ayyām, wa natawassal bi lutfika sājidan mutakhash-shīʿan mutaḍarriʿan fī tlizām al-ṣalawāt bi l-layālī wa nuhur al-ʿwām wa itmām shahr Ramaḍān bi l-ṣiyām (...)

God, there is no god but Him, the Alive, the Eternal! It is You whom we worship, it is to You whom we pray, it is for no other than You that we fast! It is You whom we supplicate, kneeling down, humbling ourselves, separating ourselves from the sins of days past, and busying ourselves with asking forgiveness. It is Your kindness that we seek, prostrating ourselves, displaying humility, and abasing ourselves in persistent prayer throughout the years' days and nights, and in completing the month of Ramaḍān in fasting (...)

What follows is somewhat of a topos in Idrīs's writings: his self-imposed exile from his homeland in ʿAjam and the subsequent feeling of loss and alienation²⁰⁴:

Ammā baʿdu, fa yaqūl al-faqīr ilā llāh al-ʿabd al-awwāh, al-muʿriḍ ʿammā siwāhu, al-murāghib fī iṭāʿat allāh, al-mutaraṣṣid li l-fayḍ al-quḍsī, Idrīs b. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Bidlīsī, hadāhu llāh sabīl hadāhu, wa awlāhu bimā huwa awlāhu fī ukhrāhi wa ūlāhu, innahu lammā ʿaraḍa lī fī burhatin min al-zamān furqat firqat rifqatin min al-aḥibba wa l-ikhwān, wa ubtulītu bi baʿḍ l-aḥyān bi l-tagharrub ʿan buldān al-awṭān wa ghurba ʿan qurbat al-aqārib wa l-wildān ḥattā alqatnī ʿawāṣif al-fitan (wa jund min al-ẓulm alladhī ʿamma wa hajama)²⁰⁵ ilā l-hijra min masālikī bi Diyār al-ʿAjam wa alja ʿatnī nawāyib al-miḥan ilā l-quḍūm bi tukhūm al-Rūm, fa basata qayṣar al-islām lā zāla ẓill khilāfatihī yadūm janāḥ al-raḥma ʿalā hādḥā l-marḥūm al-gharīb al-maḥrūm.

Now, he who is destitute of God, the moaning servant, who turns away from anything but Him, desirous in his obedience to God, and who contemplates the holy bounty, [that is], Idrīs b. Ḥusām al-Bidlīsī, may God lead him on whatever path He chooses and may He bring upon him whatever He chooses to bring, both in his hereafter and in his earlier [life], says [the following]. When the separation from part of the company of friends and brothers befell me at some moment in time, and when I was afflicted at some point by the estrangement from the regions of the homeland and the separation from the being close to [my] dear ones and children, at a time when the violent winds of disorders (and a tyrannical army that spread and assailed) cast me into separation from my country in the lands of Persia, and the adversities of ordeals had me seek refuge in coming to the boundaries of Rūm, then the Caesar of Islam [i. e., Bāyezīd II] — may the shadow of his caliphate not cease and may it last! — has spread out [his] wing of mercy over this pitied and deprived stranger.

All the same, Idrīs has an undying wish to visit the Holy Cities (and/or, as already said, considered changing master), which is another favoured topos in his writings:

204 Markiewicz, *The Crisis of Kingship in Late Medieval Islam*, p. 66.

205 *Wa jund (...)* hajama, added vertically in the right margin with a small signe-de-renvoi following *al-fitan*.

Lākin juddidat fihā sābiqat al-ighrām ilā l-ighrām li ziyārat Bayt Allāh al-ḥarām, wa wajadtu nāyirat al-tashawwuq wa l-gharām <...> li l-maqām fi ḥarīm al-ḥaram muqabbilan al-rukn muqbilan ilā l-maqām, idh kuntu mash'ūfan bi an amsaḥ wajhī l-mughabbār, wa umiss khaddī l-muṣfarr ilā turāb aqdām al-khuddām matyabat al-Ṭība, wa ukahḥil nāziray l-marmūd min ghabarat mawāṭī nī'āl al-ṣaḥb wa l-āl^(f. 2v) bi l-Madīna al-muṭayyaba, wa wadadtu an alḥaq bi ahl al-ḥaqq al-mujāwirīn bi tilka al-amākin al-sharīfa li zawrihi (sic) al-qubūr wa taṭwāf al-qulūb. Wa atūb ilā llāh 'allām al-ghuyūb li takfīr al-dhunūb min sawālif al-'uyūb wa aṣqal ṣada' al-fuwād bi ramād nār al-ta'awwuh wa miyāh al-dumū', wa atadhallal ka mu'tād al-'ibād, jāthī l-rukba li 'uqūd al-sujūd, mukibb al-wajh li khuḍū' al-rukū', la'alla llāh ta'ālā yudhhib 'annī al-khaṭī'āt (...)

But in those [days], [my] earlier ardent desire was revived for assuming the state of *ighrām*, in order to visit the Sacrosanct House of God, and I felt [burning inside me] the fire of longing and ardent desire (...) for standing at the Sacrosanct Sanctuary, kissing the Black Stone and facing the *Maqām [Ibrāhīm]*, since I was desperately longing to anoint my dust-covered face with the dust at the feet of the eunuchs [who are in charge of] the cause of pleasure that is Zamzam, to lay my pale cheek onto [that dust], and to smear onto [my] inflamed eyes [as kohl] the dust of the places in Medina the Perfumed that have been trodden by the sandals of the [Prophet's] Companions and [His] family, and I desired to join those people of Truth, who were residing in those noble places, in order to visit the graves and to circumambulate the hearts. In repentance I turn to God, Knower of Things Unseen, doing penance for the misdeeds that ensue from [my] earlier weaknesses, and I polish the rust of the heart with the ashes of the fire of [my] sighing and the water of [my] tears, and, as is the worshippers' wont, I humble myself, kneeling down for the acts of *sajda*, and bowing down [my] face for the submissive [act that is] the *rak'a*. Maybe God, exalted is He above all, will free me from my sins (...)

Interestingly, Idrīs concludes this plea with a quotation from al-Būṣīrī's *Mantle Ode*: "I hope that my share of my Lord's mercy, when He apportions it, Will be in equal portion to my disobedience and sins."²⁰⁶ Perhaps he had been informed how highly Qāniṣawh thought of the *Kawākib* (→ 23/5, 49, 50/1, 81, ...)?

La'alla raḥmat rabbī ḥīna yaqsimuhā ❀ *Ta'tī 'alā ḥasb al-'iṣyān fi l-qism*

The author then describes his arrival in Miṣr, the *sayyid al-amṣār*, and the favourable impression the land left on him. However, as he is quick to point out in a short poem, Egypt can only be such a *rawd' aysh wa bahja*, a garden bristling with life and joy, *illā an tawallā li nazmihā malik yuqīm al-'adl fihā bi raḥmatin...* Such a ruler, of course, is easily identified: Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, or, in the words of Idrīs:

aḥaqq al-salātīn al-muqṣītīn, masnad al-khilāfa wa arfaq al-khulafā' al-munṣifīn al-muttaṣifīn bi shumūl al-raḥma wa l-ra'fa, awfar al-mulūk 'ilman wa ḥikman, wa aq-

206 Stetkevych, *The Mantle Odes*, pp. 144, 251.

daruhum sakīnatan wa ḥilman, akhlaṣuhum bi llāh tawakkulan wa 'timādan, wa akhaṣṣahum bi faḍl allāh tabattulan wa 'tidādan, amaddahum yadan fī baṣṭ al-nawāl, wa awsa'ahum kaffan fī nashr al-afḍāl, malik malk malāk al-mulk (...) sultān al-Ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn, ka'bat āmāl al-muslimīn al-khāfiqayn, amīr al-mu'minīn fī basīṭ al-arḍ al-muqaddasiya, khalīfat Rasūl Allāh fī ḥimāyat ḥimā Makkat al-mubāraka wa l-Madīnat al-mu'assasa, fātīh abwāb Bayt Allāh bi banān al-sinān wa mafātīh al-suyūf, rāfi' mawānī' al-dukhūl 'alā Madīnat al-Rasūl li kull mash'ūf wa malhūf, al-nāshir ma'āthir saṭwatīhi fī l-Mashāriq wa l-Maghārib, ka'bat āmāl arbāb al-ma'ārib (sic) al-ḥukm al-'adl alladhī lā yajrī fī mulkihi ḥukm jawrī (sic), al-sultān al-mālik al-malik al-Ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī.

the most deserving of just sultans and the support of the caliphate, the mildest of caliphs equitable and all-merciful and all-compassionate, the ruler most knowledgeable and wise, most tranquil and patient, the one most sincere in [his] trust and confidence in God and the one singled out by God's grace in terms of chastity and in terms of being taking under [His] arm, the one whose hands extends favours more [than any other's] and whose palms are widest in terms of diffusing graces, the sovereign of ownership of the foundation of rule, the sultan of the Two Noble Sanctuaries and the Kaaba of hope of Muslims of both East and West, the commander of the faithful on the expanse of the Earth Sanctified and the Caliph of the Prophet of God in protecting the sanctuaries of Mecca the Blessed and Medina the Well-Founded, the one who opens the gates of the House of God, [using] the spearhead [as his fingertips] and the swords [as its keys], who raises obstacles to enter the City of the Prophet for each crazed and afflicted one, and who announces the glorious deeds of his strength in the lands of East and West, the Kaaba of hopes of those who long for just rule and the one in whose realm oppressive rule has no place, the sultan and sovereign, al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī.

At its best, *inshā'* prose is exuberant and profuse; in the next section, however, it leans to obscurity and opacity. It would seem that Idrīs explains that he had been thinking about writing a larger work *fī sharḥ asrār al-'ibādāt*, and that, now he has arrived in Cairo, he has finished the chapter on the *asrār 'ibādāt al-ṣiyām*, an event that — happy coincidence — occurred during the month of Ramaḍān. Prefacing it with well-wishes for the sultan, Idrīs now offers this chapter as an independent title to the sultan, as “a means to ascend the peak of the threshold of his Noble Excellency”:

Wa lammā <ḥtalaḥa> (sic: khtalaja?) bi bālī an urattib bi qadr biḍā'atī (...) kitāban fī sharḥ asrār al-'ibādāt, wa uḥarrir fīhi ba'ḍ fawāyid al-salaf, <fa ūjiz> al-'ibārāt, wa ulḥiq bihi mā sanaḥa li ḥātīrī (sic: khātīrī) l-fātīr ladā l-istifāda 'an 'ālam al-ghayb, wa u'rīd (sic: u'arriḍ?) 'alā maḥāfil <mukhārīn> (sic: mukhtārīn?) al-'ulamā' wa l-'urafā' ragħbat fī iṣlāḥ^(f.4r) mā wujida fīhi min al-shayn wa l-'ayb, wa ḥaythu ntahatu nawbat al-naqla wa l-irtihāl fī dhālika l-ḥaṭṭ wa l-tarḥāl ilā an waqa'a ḥaṭṭ al-riḥāl qarīban min ḥarīm ka'bat al-iqbāl, a'nī zilāl al-sultān al-'amīm al-nawāl, wa <anjara> (sic: anjaza?) taḥrīr al-kalām fī dhālika l-marām ilā asrār 'ibādāt al-ṣiyām wa ttafaqa dhālika fī shahr Ramaḍān li sanat sab' 'ashar wa tis'mīya, fa ja'altu dhālika l-bāb dharrī'a li l-'urūj ilā

dhurwat a'tāb al-maqām al-'ālī, wa ṣayyartuhu ṣahīfat mu'anwan bi du'ā' dawām ayyāmihī 'alā l-tatābu' wa l-tawālī (...)

When [the idea] stirred my mind to compose — to the best of what I have to offer [in return for patronage] — a book of commentary on the secrets of the acts of worship, recording therein some of the useful lessons [taught by] the forebears in a succinct way, and supplementing this with that which came to my feeble mind, when facing the plenty [details that come forth] from the world of the unseen, [doing so in order to] inspire among the assemblies of the elect *fuqahā'* and *'ulamā'* the desire to rectify whatever disgrace and fault that may have [crept] in the [execution of these acts of worship], it so happened that, in [my incessant] setting up and breaking up camp, this time's turn of [me] doing so landed [me] close to the sanctuary of the Kaaba of felicity, I mean, the shade-affording cloud of the sultan of universal bounty, and that [I] accomplished to compose the discourse along the aforesaid desire, on the secrets of the act of worship of fasting. This occurred in the month of Ramaḍān of the year 917. I have made that chapter a means to ascend the peak of the threshold of His Noble Excellency, and I have made [it] a writing that opens with a prayer for the perpetuity of his days consecutively and continuously (...)

The author concludes his preface by detailing its structure:

Wa rattabtu l-bāb 'alā aṣṣayn, wa qasamtu kull aṣl bi fuṣūl. Al-bāb al-thālith min Asrār Arkān al-Islām fī mā yata'allaq bi 'ibādat al-ṣiyām wa fīhi aṣlān: al-awwal fī bayān ḥudūd al-ṣiyām (...) wa l-thānī fī ḥaqīqat al-ṣiyām (...)

I have organized [the present] chapter in two subchapters, each of which I have separated in [a number of] sections. The third chapter of *Asrār Arkān al-Islām* deals with matters related to the acts of worship of fasting, and consists of two sections: the first, in explanation of the divine statutes of the fast (...) and the second on the true nature of fasting (...)

Clearly, this text was originally conceived as the third chapter of a larger project, titled *Asrār Arkān al-Islām*, which never seems to have materialized...

(43) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2047 (*vidi*)

A collection of Sufistic *adhkār* and *muwashshaḥāt* by Qāyṭbāy and Qāniṣawh, with the winding title *Majmū' Mubārak fīhi Adhkār wa Muwashshaḥāt li l-Sultān al-Marḥūm al-Malik al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy raḥmat allāh 'alayhi wa li Mawlānā l-Maqām al-Sharīf Abū (sic) l-Naṣr Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī 'azza llāh anṣārahu wa khutima bi l-ṣāliḥāt a'mālahu (sic) bi Muḥammad wa ālihi wa ṣahḥbihi wa sallama taslīman kathīran.*

A colophon is lacking, but as the title reveals that the poetry was collected after Qāyṭbāy's death and while Qāniṣawh was alive, we may assume this collection to be an initiative of Qāniṣawh... It should be noted that the frontispiece (→ fig. 17) is quite unlike that of all other mss. related to Qāniṣawh that have been examined

thus far. The ms. consists of 2 parts, to which are added 3 unconnected fragments:

(43-1) Part 1 (ff. 1v–67r) contains Qāyṭbāy's *adhkār* and *muwashshaḥāt*. The introduction runs as follows:

(...) *raghiba fi mulāzamatihī mawlānā l-maqām al-sa'īd al-shahīd al-ashraf Qāyṭbāy saqā llāh tharāhu wa ja'ala l-jannata ma' wāhu, fa allafa hādhihi l-adhkār al-'azīma wa aḏāfa ilayhā hādhihi l-muwashshaḥāt al-karīma tadhkiratan li l-ṣāliḥīn wa raghbatan li l-muflīḥīn mutawakkilan 'alā l-samī' al-'alīm (...)*

(...) of those whom God has given success in achieving love and whose close attachment He has desired is our lord, his felicitous excellency and martyr al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy, may God water his ground and make Paradise his resting place. [It is] he who has composed these magnificent *dhikrs*, supplementing these with noble *muwashshaḥs*, as a remembrance of the Virtuous Ones and as a longing for the Prosperous Ones, trusting in the All-Hearing and All-Knowing One (...)



Fig. 17: Title page (f. 1r)



Fig. 18: *Adhkār* of Qāyṭbāy (f. 6r)

Follows a number of short *adhkār* (→ fig. 18), sometimes with an indication of their *naghma*:

Fa awwal dhālika: A'ūdhu bi llāh min al-shayṭān al-rajīm laqad jā'akum rasūl min anfusikum (...) *Ākhar: yā hū yā hū yā tawwāb 'abduka wāqif 'alā l-bāb yaṭlub tawban qabla l-mawt wa l-ghufrān ba'da l-mawt. Ākhar: rabbunā narjū riḏāka mā lanā mawlā siwāka, hab lanā minka l-riḏā wa 'fu 'annā mā maḏā.*

The first one: "I seek refuge with God from the Devil, the Cursed One. There has come to you an envoy from among your midst (...)"

Another one: "O He! O He! O Acceptor of Penance! Your servant is standing at [Your] gate, asking for penitence before death and for forgiveness after death."

Another one: “Our Lord! We ask for Your acceptance, we have no lord but You. Grant us acceptance on Your behalf, and exempt us from what has come gone before!”

Clearly, *dhikr* as the path to salvation par excellence was wholly embraced by Qāyṭbāy. Among the numerous formulas he employed in his invocations are the *tahlīl* (i. e., the phrase *Lā ilāha illā llāh*, the first part of the *Shahāda*, considered to be the “best invocation” by Muḥammad), and, obviously, *Allāh* (the two-syllable four-letter Supreme Name of God). From f. 10v onwards we find Qāyṭbāy’s *muwashshaḥāt*²⁰⁷, mostly with an indication of their musical mode: *al-sīkāh*, *al-ḥijāz*, *al-ḥusaynī*, *al-ṣa’īd*, *al-‘Irāq*, *al-nashāwarak*, *al-iṣbahānī*, *al-nuhuft*, *al-ramal*, *al-raṣad*, *al-jirkāh*, *al-mūsalik*, *al-buzurk*, *al-ushshāq*, *al-rakbī*, *al-māhūr*, *al-zankulā*, *al-kardānīya*, *al-banjākāh*, ... Apart from 3 *muwashshaḥāt* in Turkic (ff. 47v, 48v, 49v), all are in Arabic. Unlike that of Qāniṣawh, Qāyṭbāy’s literary output is virtually terra incognita, with only one informative yet succinct treatment by Abdülkadir İnan²⁰⁸. Next to the present item, any future research into this neglected corpus should look into the following two (or three?) collections of Qāyṭbāy’s poetry: his *Kitāb min al-Da’wāt* in the Topkapı library²⁰⁹, and his *Dīwān al-Ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qāyṭbāy* (sic?) in the Egyptian Dār al-Kutub²¹⁰.

(43-2) Part 2 (ff. 68r–81r) is considerable shorter than (43-1) and comes with its own title: *Muwashshaḥāt li l-malik al-ashraf Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī ‘azza llāh anṣārahu wa khatama bi l-ṣāliḥāt a’mālahu bi Muḥammad wa ālihi wa ṣaḥbihi wa sallama taslīman kathīran dāyiman ilā yawm al-dīn*.

Included in the collection are 27 of Qāniṣawh’s *muwashshaḥāt*, with their *naghma* indicated each time: *al-banjākāh*, *al-nuhuft*, *al-kardānīya*, *būsalik*, *al-‘uzzal*, *al-nashāwarak*, *al-ḥusaynī*, *al-mubarqa*, *al-salmak*, *nayrūz al-‘Arab*, *nawrūz al-‘Ajam*, *al-nayrīz*, *al-‘Irāq*, *al-Qāhira*, *al-Miṣrī*, *al-ushshāq*, *<al-sukkarīya>*, *al-muḥayyar*, *al-rawḍa*, *al-rakbī*... Apart from 4 pieces in Turkic and 1 in mixed Arabic-Turkic, all poems are in Arabic. With the exception of two poems, which, unlike the others, are unique to this manuscript, all poems have been edited by Mursī and by Yavuz & Kafes, yet with slight variants since their eds. are based on other mss.²¹¹ By way of example, one of the two unique Turkic *muwashshaḥāt* (ff. 79v–80r), to be performed *min naghm al-‘ushshāq*:

207 Next to one by Abū l-Mawāhib and one by Ibn Ghānim al-Maqdisī, so it seems.

208 “Kayıtbay’ın Türkçe Duaları”, in *Jean Dery Armağanı* (Ankara, 1958), pp. 91–94.

209 Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, R 1727 (*vidi*), a collection of 105 ff. of Qāyṭbāy’s *muwashshaḥāt* in Arabic and Turkic, including some *mulamma’āt* (→ 19).

210 Taşawwuf 1697 (100 ff.) and Taşawwuf 1698 (101 ff., copied in 899/1494–95 by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Khānakī (sic?) al-Muqri’).

211 Yavuz & Kafes, “Kansu Gavri’nin Arapça Divanı”; Mursī, “Dīwān al-Sultān al-Ghawrī”.

<i>Ḥabībī rūḥī revān</i>	My beloved one, my soul, [my] spirit
<i>Sen Muḥammed-i l-'Arabī</i>	Is You, Muhammad, the Arab!
<i>Ṭabībī cismile cān</i>	Doctor to [both my] body and soul
<i>Sen Muḥammed-i l-'Arabī</i>	Is You, Muhammad the Arab!
<i>Ümīdi iki cihānuḡ</i>	Hope of the two worlds,
<i>Cināni gülşeninüḡ</i>	[In] the gardens of [world's] bed of roses,
<i>Bağında serv-i revān</i>	The cypress with the graceful gait
<i>Sen Muḥammed-i l-'Arabī</i>	Is You, Muhammad the Arab!
<i>Ölende yevme yünādī</i>	As for the dying, on the day when summoned
<i>Cenāb-i 'izzetden</i>	by the Majesty of Greatness,
<i>Gözine kevn i mekān</i>	In their eyes, world and space [i. e., all to observe]
<i>Sen Muḥammed-i l-'Arabī</i>	Is You, Muhammad the Arab!
<i>Vücüde geldüḡi demde</i>	The moment when it (sic: You) came into existence,
<i>Yıkıldı deyr-i şalīb</i>	The monastery of the cross collapsed.
<i>Kāfire qahr-i imān</i>	Faith's wrath over unbelief
<i>Sen Muḥammed-i l-'Arabī</i>	Is You, Muhammad the Arab!
<i>Şefā'at eyle ey şāfi'</i>	O Intercessor! Intercede
<i>Bu Ğavrī kuluḡa</i>	On behalf of this servant of yours, Ghavrī,
<i>Kim şefi'-u her dü cihān</i>	For each of the two worlds' intercessor
<i>Sen Muḥammed-i l-'Arabī</i>	Is You, Muhammad the Arab!
<i>Kimesne kılmaya maḥrūm</i>	May nobody be excluded [from Your intercession],
<i><Yapışsa> dāmenüḡe</i>	As long as he clings to Your skirt!
<i>Ümem ḥaḡkında hemān</i>	Solely [busied?] over the people
<i>Sen Muḥammed-i l-'Arabī</i>	Is You, Muhammad the Arab!
<i>Şallü yā ülä l-ebşār</i>	O people of discernment, pray
<i>'Alā l-Muştafā l-Muḡtār</i>	For Muştafā, the Chosen One,
<i>Tencü min 'azābi l-nār</i>	To be delivered from the punishment of the fire
<i>Bi Muḥammedi l-'Arabī</i>	Through Muhammad the Arab!

At the end of the ms., 3 seemingly unconnected fragments are added, in the same hand as the previous parts:

- An untitled and unidentified poem in mixed Persian-Turkic: (...) *Ḥūblara zevāl gelmesün – Dünyada* (sic) *'aşık ölmesün – Cānum yüreḡümde od yanar* (f. 83r);
- Part of a poem by *li l-Ḥājirī*, identified as an Arabic *qaşida* in *rā'* taken from the *Dīwān Masāriḡ al-'Azlān al-Ḥājirīya* of 'Isā b. Sanjar al-Ḥājirī (d. 632/1235) (f. 84r);
- An untitled poem, identified as an Arabic *qaşida* in *bā'* by the well-known early 8th/early-14th century poet Şafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī: *Qad adḡaka l-rawḡ madma' al-suḡub...* (f. 84v).

(44) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2870 (*vidi* of frontispiece)

Al-Māwardī's (d. 450/1058) *Durar al-Sulūk fī Siyāsāt al-Mulūk*, owned by (*bi rasm khizānat*) Qānişawh and consisting of 43 ff.

Available in one (?) copy only, this *Fürstenspiegel* was clearly much less copied and/or popular than al-Māwardī's other specimens of advice literature, such as his *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīya* (→ 40). The work, which covers familiar ground in two chapters (*fī akhlāq al-malik*, *fī siyāsāt al-malik*), has been edited twice.²¹²

- (45) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2875 bis (*vidi of frontispiece*)²¹³

Kitāb fī 'Ilm al-Ḥurūb wa Fath al-Durūb, one of two works in the list on warfare (→ 53), copied (*katabahu*) by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad for Qāni-ṣawh (*bi rasm khizānat*) in 911/1506 in 123ff. The colophon reads:

Fa qad kāna l-farāgh min kitābatihī fī yawm al-khamīs al-sādis 'ishrīn min shahr Sha'bān al-mukarram qadruhu wa ḥurmatuhu sanat ihdā 'ashar wa tis'mīya wa katabahu l-faqīr ilā llāh ta'ālā Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ghafara llāh lahu wa li wālidayhi wa li jamī' al-muslimīn āmin wa l-ḥamdu li llāh rabb al-'ālamīn.

The copying was finished on Thursday, Sha'bān 26, 911, and it was copied by the one needy of God, exalted is He above all, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, may God have mercy upon him, upon his parents and upon all Muslims. Amen. Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds.

In spite of the different title, the work is easily identifiable as the *Kitāb al-Ḥiyāl fī l-Ḥurūb wa Fath al-Madā'in wa Ḥifẓ al-Durūr* (or, alternatively, *Kitāb al-Ḥiyāl fī l-Ḥurūb*), a manual on warfare (dealing with weapons, inflammable substances, and hydraulic and siege machines) that was supposedly authored by Alexander or his teacher, Aristotle, and that, following its discovery in Alexander's tomb at Alexandria, was translated from Greek into Arabic. As stated in the introduction (f. 2r):

Wa hādihā kitāb al-Ḥiyāl fī l-Ḥurūb wa Fath al-Durūb min ḥukm Dhī l-Qarnayn al-Iskandar b. Filīs (sic) al-Yūnānī, wujida fī dīmās bi l-Iskandariya bayna ḥajarayn muṭbaqayni aḥadihimā 'alā l-ākhar, maktūban bi l-Yūnānīya fa turjima bi l-'Arabīya. Wa hādihā l-kitāb fī jamī' abwābihi tahtāj ilayhi fī anwā' al-ḥarb min al-ḥiyāl wa l-makr wa l-khadī'a wa mukhādā'at al-'adūw wa l-ihtirās min makr al-'adūw wa 'amal al-'ālāt wa l-silāh.

212 Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ḥabīb al-Māwardī, *Kitāb Durar al-Sulūk fī Siyāsāt al-Mulūk*, ed. Fu'ād 'Abd al-Mun'im Aḥmad (al-Riyād, 1417/1997) (text edition); *Dürerü's-Sülük Fi Siyāseti'l-Mülük. Māverdi'nin Siyasetnāmesi*, ed. A. Arı (İstanbul, 2019) (facsimile & Turkish translation).

213 The author thanks Boris Liebreuz (Leipzig) for bringing this ms. to his attention. The work is discussed in some detail in L. Raggetti, "Rolling Stones Do Gather: MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610 and Its Collection of Mineralogical Texts", in A. Bausi, M. Friedrich & M. Maniaci (eds.), *The Emergence of Multiple-Text Manuscripts* (Berlin/Boston, 2019), pp. 215–245, here pp. 235–237.

This is the *Kitāb al-Ḥiyāl fī l-Ḥurūb wa Faṭḥ al-Durūb*, [authored] on the command of the Two-Horned Alexander the Greek, son of Filis (*sic*), which was found inside a vault in Alexandria, between two compressed stones, one on top of the other. [Originally] written in Greek, it was translated into Arabic.

This book, in all its chapters, is what one requires regarding the kinds of warfare, in terms of stratagems, deception, deceit and double-crossing the enemy, protection against the enemy's deception, and the use of tools and weapons.

In the 2000 edition, based on three mss., the work is ascribed to the Mamluk author Ibn Mankalī (or: Manjalī, i. e., Turkic Menli) (d. 784/1382).²¹⁴ However, Shihab al-Sarraf has denounced this ascription, and states that we are dealing with a late third/ninth or early fourth/tenth century anonymous Abbasid treatise.²¹⁵

(46) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 3144 (*vidi*)

Tadhkirat al-Mulūk ilā Aḥsan al-Sulūk, an anonymous *Fürstenspiegel* in 4 chapters on the ruler, the vizier, the judges and the army. It was copied (*katabahu*) by *mamlūk* Jān Tamur min Urkmās min Ṭabaqat al-Zimāmiya al-Maliki al-Ashrafi for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm al-maqām al-sharīf*) in 49 ff.

The *Tadhkira* consists of a prologue and 4 chapters: *fī mā yalzam al-malik min al-nazar li nafsīhi wa ṣalāh ra'iyatihi*, *fī mā yalzam al-wazīr min naṣīhat al-malik*, *fī mā yata'allaq bi l-qaḍā wa l-aḥkām*, and *fī ḥifz al-jund wa murā'āt aḥwālihim*.

As the ms., in all likelihood a unicum, was recently edited, no further discussion is warranted.²¹⁶

► Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Ta' rīkh 2398 (*non vidi*)

Anon., *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk ilā Aḥsan al-Sulūk*, 98 ff.

This must be a copy of the previous item.

214 Muḥammad Ibn Manklī, *al-Ḥiyāl fī l-Ḥurūb wa Faṭḥ al-Madā'in wa Ḥifz al-Durūb*, ed. Nabil Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz Aḥmad (Cairo, 2000).

215 "Mamluk *Furūsiyah* Literature and Its Antecedents", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8/1 (2004): 141–2000, here p. 178, n. 132. The 8 mss. referenced by al-Sarraf can be supplemented with: Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi 1884 (*non vidi*); Oxford, St John's College Ms. 83 (see E. Savage-Smith *et. al.*, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts at St John's College, Oxford* (Oxford, 2004), p. 59–63) (*non vidi*); Rabat, al-Maktabat al-Waṭaniya li l-Mamlakat al-Maghribiyya, 43, 285 (both *non vidi*; both used in the 2000 edition).

216 *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk ilā Aḥsan al-Sulūk*, li Mu'allif Majhūl, ed. Turkī b. Fahd b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Āl Su'ūd (Riyād, 1346/2015).

(47)–(48) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 3312–3313
(*vidi*)

Anon., *al-‘Uqūd al-Jawhariya fī l-Nawādir al-Ghawriya* (or: *al-‘Uqūd al-Jawhariya fī l-Mahāsīn al-Dawlat al-Ashrafiyat al-Ghawriya*), described as a brief universal history from Adam up to Qāniṣawh. Finished in 921/1515, it consists of 2 vols. (111 + 113ff.).

Referred to for a first time already in 1963 by János Eckmann²¹⁷, the work was reintroduced to its main, Mamlukologist audience in 2016 only by Christopher Markiewicz and Christian Mauder.²¹⁸ Following up on their presentation, the following observations may be of some interest.

First, the two volumes (especially the first) open with a small number of *masā’il sharīfa* that were discussed during the sultan’s literary gatherings (→ 9, 17, 66, 68, 82). Unlike the Dublin ms. (→ 17-2), but like the *Nafā’is* (→ 682), the lively Q&A format is preserved.²¹⁹

Second, unlike the Dublin ms., which focuses on Qāniṣawh’s first regnal years (→ 17-5), the work is surprisingly rich in terms of details on Qāniṣawh’s pre-sultanic career. Indeed, the hagio-biography of *al-‘Uqūd al-Jawhariya* may be as close as we can get to memoirs dictated²²⁰ by a Mamluk sultan.²²¹ By way of sample, consider the following excerpt on Qāniṣawh’s early years in Cairo, when he still went by the name of Qāniṣawh al-Ṣaghīr (for his *nisba*, al-Ghawrī, → Chapter Four, *A Library Identified*):

(f. 65r) *Thumma anzalahu fī Ṭabaqat al-Ghawr wa sammūhu Qāniṣawh al-Ṣaghīr. Wa kāna fī hādhihi l-ṭabaqat al-sharīfa sufratān wa aghawān. (f. 65v) Aḥaduhumā smuhu Baybardī, wa kāna rajul min ahl al-khayr wa l-dīn wa kāna mushiddan ‘alā l-simāt wa kāna mutamahhīran fī ramy al-nushshāb wa lākinna waqt rukūbihi ‘alā l-khayl laysa lahu qudra ‘alā shay. Wa l-ākharu smuhu Yashbak al-Jund min Ṭughuj, wa huwa mu-*

217 “The Mamluk-Kipchak Literature”, *Central Asiatic Journal* 8/4 (1963): 304–319, here pp. 310–311.

218 Markiewicz, “The Crisis of Rule in Late Medieval Islam. A Study of Idrīs Bidlīsī (861–926/1457–120) and Kingship at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century”, pp. 175–180; *id.*, *The Crisis of Kingship in Late Medieval Islam*, pp. 109–110; Ch. Mauder & Ch. Markiewicz, “A New Source on the Social Gatherings (*majālis*) of the Mamluk Sultan Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī”, *al-‘Uṣūr al-Wuṣṭā* 24 (2016): 145–148.

219 The ‘*Uqūd* itself consists of 4 *majālis*, but here, the term is used for “chapter” and not for a “literary soiree”.

220 Both in the anecdote dealt with here and in similar anecdotes, there are frequent switches between the first and third person, which suggest that these were taken down from oral dictation.

221 Another example of sultanic “autobiography” would include that of al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh (r. 1412–1421), as written down by al-‘Aynī (see Y. Frenkel, “Some notes concerning the trade and education of slave-soldiers during the Mamluk era”, in R. Amitai & C. Cluse (eds.), *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000–1500 CE)* (Turnhout, 2017), pp. 187–212, here p. 200).

tahattik al-aḥwāl al-mu'wajj, wa kāna mutamahhīran fī la'b al-rumḥ, wa lammā yarkab lam yaqḍir aḥadan (sic) 'alā muqābalatihi, wa lākin lammā yanzulu lam yaqḍir 'alā shay lā min al-ramy wa lā min ghayrihi.

Wa kāna faqīh al-ṭabaqat al-sharīfa shakḥ min ahl al-khayr wa l-'ilm wa l-dīn yusammā l-shaykh Sirāj al-Dīn Mālikī l-madhhab faqīh muntakhab wa l-mashhūr 'anhu annahu muddat iqāmatihī fī l-ṭabaqat al-sharīfa lam yakun abadan ḥaḍara 'alā simāt wa lā 'alā ṭārī wa lā min al-shūrba (sic) allatī tuḥaḍḍaru li l-mamālīk fī l-ṭabaqa muddat 'umrihi, wa kāna ya 'khudhu jāmakīyat al-qa'a, fa ya 'khudh bihā 'aliq al-bahīma allatī yarkabuhā ḥattā lā yadkhuluhā 'alā nafsihi wa lā ya 'kul minhā shayan wa māta raḥmat allāh 'alayhi fī sanat aḥad wa tis'mīya.

Wa kāna id (sic) dhāka fī kull sufrat majlis 'alayhā sab'in aw thamānīn mamlūkan. Wa kāna 'azza naṣruhu ra's sufratin, (f. 66r) wa Jān Bulāt al-Ghawrī ra's sufrat ukhrā.

They then lodged him in the Ghawr Barracks, and they called him Little Qāniṣawh. In these noble barracks, there were two *sufra*s²²² and two *aghas*. One of these *aghas* was called Baybardī, a good and devout man. He <ate like a horse> and he was a master archer, yet helpless when mounted. The other one was called Yashbak al-Jund min Ṭughuj, <a shameless man of crooked condition> and a master lancer. When mounted, nobody could stand up to him, but when dismounted, he was helpless, both with the lance and with anything else.

The *faqīh* (→ 22, Ch. 3) of the noble barracks was a good, learned and devout person, called sheikh Sirāj al-Dīn, a Malikite and a choice *faqīh*. As long as he had stayed in the barracks, he was known to have never attended the *simāt*, *ṭārī* or *shūrba*²²³ that were prepared for the *mamlūks* in the barracks. [Instead,] he received [his] salary from the citadel, using it to buy fodder for the animal that he rode, until he [could] no longer go [to the citadel] in person. Of [the food offered in the barracks], he didn't eat anything, until he passed away, God have mercy upon his soul, in the year 901.

At that time, seventy to eighty *mamlūk* could sit at one *sufra*. [Qāniṣawh], may his victory be strong, was the head of one *sufra*, while Jān Bulāt al-Ghawrī was the head of the other one.

Then a devastating disease swept clean the Ghawr barracks:

Thumma ba'da arba' jawāmik waqa'a ṭā'ūn kabīr wa mawt kathīr. Fa māta min hādhihi l-ṭabaqa aktharuhum. Wu huwa, 'azza naṣruhu, yusā'id al-ḍu'afā' wa yarūḥ ma'a l-tawābīt ilā turbatihim wa yuṣallā 'alayhim. Wa kāna fī l-ṭabaqa mamlūk ismuhu Kurtbāy, yaqūl, "Yā ilāhī law kāna ajalī qad qaruba fa lā tumawwitnī ba'da Qāniṣawh li annahu rajul yuḥibb al-ghurabā wa yakhdīmuhum!", ḥattā waqa'a fī l-nizā' mamlūk ṣaghīr ismuhu Barsbāy, wa yaqūl bi l-lisān al-Jarkasī, "Mā baqiya aḥad illā ithnayn, wa yatasalṭanu!" Fa qāla lahu 'azza naṣruhu, "Yā Barsbāy, man alladhī yatasalṭan?" Fa qāla, "Anta anta!", wa huwa muḥtaḍar. Fa māta raḥimahu llāh waqt al-ṣubḥ. Fa ṭa-

222 Presumably, the men of one barrack were divided into two groups, each with their own *sufra* (commonly translated as “dining table”, but in the time rather a ground-cover or tray that was placed onto the ground), headed by an *agha*.

223 Litt. “table cloth”, “fresh/moist” and “soup”. Could this perhaps refer to three daily meals offered in the barracks?

labnā (sic) *al-ghāsil*. *Wa qāma ḥattā yarūḥ, yuṣallī ‘alayhi, fa ra ‘ā anna warkahu yuḥikk.*

Then, after four salaries²²⁴, there was a sweeping plague, and many people died. Most men of [Qāniṣawh’s] barracks passed away, while he, may his victory be strong, attended to the weak ones, carried the coffins to their graves, and prayed over [the deceased]. In the barracks, there was this *mamlūk* called Kurtbāy, who said, “O God! If my time has come, then [at least] do not let Qāniṣawh die after me, for he is a man who loves strangers and cares for them.” Another *mamlūk* in his death struggle, called Barsbāy, even said in Circassian, “Nobody remains but two, and [one of these two] will become sultan!” [Qāniṣawh], may his victory be strong, asked him, “O Barsbāy! Who is it, who will become sultan?” He replied, as he was dying, “You! You!” He passed away by morning, may God have mercy upon him. [Qāniṣawh then] called for someone to wash [the deceased’s body], and began to pray for him, [continuing to do so] until the washer came, and he noticed that his own thigh started to itch.

While nursing his fellows, Qāniṣawh himself fell ill, and had a dream rich in symbolism:

Wa fī layla kāna ‘azza naṣruhu qā‘idan ‘alā ḍa‘if fa aḥsana ‘azza naṣruhu annahu ḍaraba fī warkihi bi shay mithla l-nushab fa waqa‘a min ṭūlihi wa stalqā ‘alā l-firāsh muddat thalāthat ayyām wa lā ya‘rif al-sharq min al-gharb. Thumma ba‘da dhālika ra ‘ā fī l-manām anna l-sultān Qāyṭbāy qā‘idan ‘alā maṣṭaba^(f.66v) wa l-mamālīk fī khidmatihī ṣufūfan, wa kāna baynahum shakḥṣ ‘uryān bi sha‘ra (sic) *wa huwā lābis sarāwīl min al-jīld wa yamsik wāḥidan wāḥidan wa yas‘al minhum, “Mā l-imān wa mā l-islām?” thumma yamsikuhum wa yuḥayyiruhum ‘alā ṭarīq, wa huwa, ‘azza naṣrahu, wāqif bayna yadayhi, fa sāla minhu fa ajābahu ‘azza naṣruhu bi an qāla: “Mā a‘rif anā? Jītu jadīd ilā Miṣr, wa anā rajul gharīb, wa lākin arūḥ wa ata‘allam mimmā ‘taraḍanī bi shay.”*

During the night, [Qāniṣawh], may his victory be strong, was sitting with a weak person, and he did well in piercing [the latter’s] thigh with something like an arrow. [Yet, all of a sudden] he himself collapsed and was bedridden for three days, not knowing East from West. Following, he saw in a dream sultan Qāyṭbāy sitting on the *maṣṭaba* [platform], with the *mamlūks* in his service lined up [before him]. Among them was a <bald> person²²⁵, wearing leather trousers, who was grabbing [these *mamlūks*], one after the other, asking them, “What is *imān* and what is *islām*?” He then began to grab them and confuse them on a road. When [he] came face to face with Qāniṣawh, he also asked him, and [Qāniṣawh], may his victory be strong, answered, “What do I know? I just arrived in Egypt, I’m a stranger! But I will learn somewhat from what has befallen me!”

Thanks to tender care of his few remaining fellows and a gruesome medical “treatment”, Qāniṣawh recovered:

224 I.e., four months (*jāmakīya*, “monthly salary”).

225 ‘*Uryān bi sha‘ra*, “naked to the single hair”, i.e., “completely hairless or bald?”

Wa idhā stayqaztu fa samī tu annahum yaqūlūnu anna, “Māta hādhā! Qaffalnā bāb al-ṭabaqa.” Fa fataḥtu ‘aynāya fa ra ‘aytu Baybardī aghāt al-ṭabaqa jālis ‘alā yamīnī wa l-ākhar ‘alā yasārī. Fa qāla lī: “Yā Qāniṣawh aghā, lā takhuf, mā yamūt aḥad illā bi ajalīhi.” Thumma asqawnī sultānīyatan (sic) min al-sukkar. Fa ra ‘aytu anna taḥta warkī shay mithla l-hajar, fa rubīṭa ‘alayhi liṣāqāt wa mulayyināt. Fa ba‘da ayyām aḥḍarū ilayhi bi muzayyin li ajl fathīhi. Qāla l-muzayyin, “Lā bud min ḥudūr al-jamā‘a!” Fa qāla ‘azza naṣruhu, “Limādhā?” Qāla, “Ḥattā yamsikūka!”, fa qāla, “Lā takhuf! <Satajidunī> in shā‘a llāh ṣābiran.” Thumma akhadha l-rīsha, wa ḍaraba ‘alā qalb <adwi> l-sultān, ^(f. 67r) fa nazā minhu qalīl min al-dam, wa ‘amala fīhi <fatīla> wa rabatahā. Fa fariḥat aṣḥābuhu wa ḥaḍarū fī layl ma‘a Jān Bulāṭ al-Ghawrī wa raqadū ‘indahu wa hum fī faraḥ shadīd, li anna llāh ta‘ālā a‘āhu ‘umar jadīd. Fa wajī‘a warkuhu fī l-layl wajān shadīdan, wa aḍarra bihi dhālika, wa ṣāra yaqūl lahum, “Iftaḥū warkī wa khudhū minhu hādhīhi l-fatīla!” Fa yaqūlūna, “Lā naqdir nafal dhālika bi ḡhayr idhn al-muzayyin.” Fa qāla, “Iftaḥū warkī, wa anā ākhudh minhu al-fatīla bi yaḍī!” Fa fa‘alū dhālika wa fataḥū warkahu wa akhraja minhu l-fatīla. Fa kharaja minhā qayḥ kathīr. Fa qāla lahum, “Tṣīrūhu!” Wa ba‘da dhālika shtahat nafsuhu l-ṭa‘ām wa khalaṣa min al-maraḍ wa l-ālām.

[Continuing his story, Qāniṣawh said], When I woke up [from my dream], I heard them saying, ‘This one has died [as well]. We have closed the gate of the barracks.’ When I opened my eyes, I saw Baybardī, [one of the two] aghās of the barracks, sitting at my right side, and the other one sitting at my left side. He said to me, ‘O Qāniṣawh Aghā, don’t be afraid! Nobody dies before his time has come!’ Then they made me drink a *sultānīya* [bowl] of “sugar”²²⁶. I then saw that under my thigh there was a something, [a swelling the size] of a stone, which was dressed with bandages and emollient [ointments].” Some days later, they fetched him a barber [surgeon], in order to prick [the swelling]. The barber [surgeon] said, “We need some people here!” [Qāniṣawh], may his victory be everlasting, said, “What for?” He replied, “In order to hold you down!” He continued, “Don’t be afraid, God willing, you will find me steadfast [of hand].” He then took the lancet and pierced the centre of the <swelling> of the sultan, and a little bit of blood gushed out of it. He put a wick into [the open wound] and dressed it. His companions delighted and they stayed [with him] during the night, together with Jān Bulāṭ al-Ghawrī. They rested by his side in utmost delight, for God, exalted is He above all, had granted him a new life. Throughout the night, his thigh was most painful, and that wore him down [so much even] that he started asking his [companions], “Open my thigh and take that wick out!” But they said, “We cannot do that without the permission of the barber [surgeon]!” [Yet, Qāniṣawh] insisted, “Open my thigh, let me take out the wick with my own hand!” Thus they did: they opened his thigh and he removed the wick [from inside the wound], with much pus coming out of it. Then he said to them, “Squeeze!” After that, he felt like eating something, and, [before long] he was freed of illness and pain.

226 Undoubtedly to be read as *sukkar*, “sugar” and not as *sakar*, “intoxicant, wine”. See P. Lewicka, *Food and Foodways in of Medieval Cairenes. Aspects of Life in an Islamic Metropolis of the Eastern Mediterranean* (Leiden/Boston, 2011), p. 472.

In her excellent discussion of the dreams of the Safavid ruler, Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, recorded by himself in his *Memoir*, Kathryn Babayan observed that “all sorts of authority figures from sultans to mystics and theologians come to cite dreams as a means of legitimizing their power. Each dream narrative reveals the particularity of the dreamer’s relationship with God as well as their related roles on earth”.²²⁷ For us, strangers to the time-honoured discipline of oneiromancy²²⁸, Qāniṣawh’s dream may be hard to decipher; yet, when it comes to Qāniṣawh’s “related role on earth”, its overall message seems clear enough: Qāniṣawh was destined to greatness... Moreover, Qāniṣawh’s dream reminds somewhat of the famous *Ḥadīth of Gabriel*. While Qāniṣawh did not think of himself as a prophet, he may have seen parallels nonetheless... At least, the epigraphic programme of the Ghawrīya suggests that Qāniṣawh thought of himself as an *ummī* who had turned ‘*ālim*, a *yatīm* who had turned *muta’addib*, just as Muḥammad had done (→ Ch. 1, 117, Ch. 4).

Our third observation follows up on this. *The ‘Uqūd* makes it clear that, in fact, the future sultan’s destiny was fixed in the cradle already. How else to explain Qāniṣawh’s claims to Circassian fame? Qāniṣawh is explicitly said to be of Kabardinian stock, the Kabardinians considered to be the “Quraysh Jarkas”, i. e., the most prestigious of the twelve Circassian tribes. *Prima facie*, the Circassian dimension of Qāniṣawh’s identity sits uncomfortably with that other important dimension: Turkic identity. Now, the question begs itself, how can Qāniṣawh be both Circassian (i. e., non-Turkic) and Turkic? Aren’t these two conflicting or mutually exclusive claims? As I see it, they are not, and my understanding hinges on two points. First, by the 15th century, it makes sense to consider Circassian an *ethnonym* (i. e., an ethnic claim), and Turkic a *socionym* (i. e. a social claim). Put otherwise, by the 15th century Circassian was (still) *something that one could only be*, while Turkic had (already) evolved into *something that one could become* through discursive acts²²⁹. In short, the (ethnic) Circassian Qāniṣawh became a (social) Turk by assuming a Turkic name, by speaking Turkic and by writing Turkic. Yet, while this first point explains *how* Qāniṣawh could be both Circassian and Turkic, it falls short of explaining *why* he would find this useful. As my second point, I maintain that this was useful because both claims were validated

227 K. Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs. Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran* (Cambridge, MA, 2002), p. 315.

228 Of the wealth of Mamluk oneiromantic mss., suffice to refer to Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Ghannām’s (6th or 7th cent./13th or 14th cent.) *Kitāb Ta’bīr al-Ru’yā*, an extensive dream encyclopaedia, a copy of which was made in 833/1430 for the library of a daughter (!) of sultan al-Manṣūr ‘Uthmān (r. 857/1453), son of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (r. 842–857/1438–1453): Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ar. 2751 (*vidi*).

229 Masterfully captured as “turcité professionnelle” and “ethnisation du pouvoir” by Julien Loiseau (*Les Mamelouks. XIIIe–XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 2014), *passim*).

differently. Circassian served as a *strategy of distinction* within the *mamlūk* class, a card that the ethnically Circassian Qāniṣawh could play to trump his non-Circassian *mamlūk* opponents. Yet, while Circassian was meaningful *within* the sultanate, it made little sense *without* it.²³⁰ Turkic, on the other hand, could serve a double purpose, as it was meaningful *not only within but also without* the sultanate. *Within*, it served as a secondary *strategy of distinction*, now distinguishing the powerful/*mamlūk* from the powerless/*non-mamlūk*. *Without*, it served as a *strategy of inclusion*, now within a burgeoning Turkic literary ecumene that was defined first and foremost by the rise of a new type of ruler: the Turkic Sufistic poet-sultan, that had become the new standard of rulership. This is an important issue that will be returned to when in Chapter Four, *A Library Identified*.

Our next observation relates to the *ʿUqūd*’s structural features. Let us briefly compare the broad historical development as portrayed in the Dublin ms. (→ 17–2) with that as portrayed in the *ʿUqūd*. The first follows a rigid partition: first, the *akhbār al-khulafāʾ*: a history of all caliphs, up to the Cairo caliphate in Qāniṣawh’s time; second, the *akhbār al-mulūk*: a history of all rulers of Egypt, starting with the Umayyad governors and up to, and including, Qāniṣawh himself. This double-track structure suggests a bi-partition of power, *khalīfa-malik*, that was maintained and continued to be relevant up to Qāniṣawh’s time. The *ʿUqūd*, on the other hand, lists the caliphs only up to the fall of Baghdad, and then moves over — within the same chapter — to the Mamluk sultans of Egypt, up to Qāniṣawh, thus leaving out the Cairo caliphate. We thus find a one-track structure that suggests a single power, exercised first by the caliphs up to 656/1258, and then passed on to the Mamluk sultans. Moreover, the *ʿUqūd* deals with the five Rightly Guided Caliphs (Ḥasan is counted in) in the first chapter, called *fī dhikr al-anbiyāʾ wa l-mursalīn*, while it deals with the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs in the second chapter, called *fī dhikr al-mulūk wa l-salāṭīn*. Is the *ʿUqūd*’s anonymous author trying to make a claim here? Did he consider only the Rightly Guided Caliphs as true caliphs? Or did he perhaps want to “turn” the Mamluk sultans into caliphs as well, by putting them on a par with the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs? Unless these structural features are the result of sloppy editorial work, these authorial choices definitely deserve further attention.

Before taking leave of *al-ʿUqūd al-Jawhariya*, allow me to point of some more details in relation to literature. Consider, e.g., the following highlights, all taken from its second volume:

230 That is, however much the Circassians were appreciated as fierce warriors on the international arena, Circassian never became a legitimizing strand of a newly developed Islamicate monarchic script.

- On the translation of the *Shāh-Nāma* (f. 28v);
- On Qāniṣawh’s court musician, Muḥammad b. Qijīq, a *shaykh fī ‘ilm al-an-ghām*, who stars in Qāniṣawh’s *Shāh-Nāma* translation as well (ff. 53r, 76r-v, including Arabic and Turkic vv. by him!) (→ 17, 107);
- On the *takfīr* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (f. 60v);
- While still a *khāṣṣakī*, Qāniṣawh twice read the *Sīrat Baybars*, in six *ajzā’* (f. 75r);
- On Qāniṣawh’s explicit international lookout, giving a unique possibility to date his poetic output (*Qāla ‘azza naṣruhu kāna maqṣūdī ba’da Ṭarsūs taw-līyat al-Bīra ḥattā ya’rifā* (sic) *aḥwāl al-‘Ajam aydan, li annahu* (sic) *ḥaṣala lahu ma’rifat al-‘Arab min al-Ṣa’īd wa ma’rifat al-Rūm min Ṭarsūs. Wa qad kāna mulāzim ‘indahū l-shu’arā’ wa l-zurafā’ fa nshadda dīwān al-shīr wa jama’ahu fī Malaṭīya*) (f. 88v)
[The sultan,] may his victory be strong said, “My objective after [the governorate of] Ṭarṣūs was to be appointed as governor of al-Bīra.” [Thus he wished] in order for him to get to know the conditions of Persia as well, since he had already familiarized himself with the Arabs through [his time in] al-Ṣa’īd, and with Rūm through [his time] in Ṭarsūs. Poets and *zurafā’* were his regular guests, and he has composed a *divan* of poetry, which he had collected in Malaṭīya
- Some Turkic poetry (f. 89r-v, 93r);
- Qāyṭbāy advising Qāniṣawh to develop his signature skills (*awṣāhu bi tajwīd al-khaṭṭ, wa hādhihi ishāra fī l-ḥaqīqa ilā l-salṭana, li annahu lā yumkin al-salṭana illā bi kitābat al-‘alāma*) (f. 190r)
- He advised him to improve his handwriting, and this, in reality, is a hint at the sultanate, for the sultanate requires (the capability) of writing a signature.

Just like the *Nafā’is Majālis al-Sulṭānīya* (→ 82)²³¹, the *‘Uqūd* includes a number of humorous anecdotes on Nasreddin Hoca, thus making it one of the oldest known sources for Nasreddiniana.²³² As an example, the *Tale of the One-Legged Goose*, found in both the *Nafā’is* and the *‘Uqūd*:

Qāla ‘azza naṣruhu (i. e. Qāniṣawh): *Kāna fī khidmat malik al-Rūm shakhṣ ismuḥu al-shaykh Nāṣir al-Dīn wa huwa min al-‘ulamā’ al-kibār fa yamzaḥ ma’a l-malik fī ba’ḍ al-awqāt. Fa yawman min al-ayyām a’ṭāhu ṭayran min al-iwazz ḥattā yashwiyahu lahu. Fa akhadha Nāṣir al-Dīn rijl al-iwazz wa akalahu. Fa lammā suyila ‘anhu qāla, “Lā yakūn li l-iwazz illā rijl wāḥida,” wa kābara fī dhālika. Wa ba’da hādḥā, yawman min al-ayyām,*

231 ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ‘Azzām, *Majālis al-Sulṭān al-Ghawrī. Ṣafahāt min Tārīkh Miṣr fī l-Qarn al-‘Āshir al-Hijrī* (Cairo, 1941), pp. 67 (including the same tale of the one-legged goose), 71.

232 If not the second oldest one, following the *Saltuk-Nāma* dedicated to the Ottoman prince Cem.

kharajū li l-ṣayd, fa ra 'ā Nāṣir al-Dīn ṭuyūr al-iwazz wāqifīn 'alā fard rijl wa lammū l-rijl al-ukhrā li l-istirāḥa. Fa qāla Nāṣir al-Dīn, "Yā khunkār, unzur ilā l-iwazz annahum 'alā fard rijl," fa 'inda dhālīka daqqa l-khunkār ṭabl bāzihi, fa maddū l-iwazz arjulahum. Thumma qāla Nāṣir al-Dīn, "Li ayy shay mā ḍarabta fī tilka l-layla ṭabl bāzika, ḥattā yamudda l-iwazz al-mashwīy rijlahu?"²³²³³

(His Excellency), may his triumph be strong, said, "In the service of the ruler of Rūm, there was a person called Nāṣir al-Dīn, who was a great scholar and every now and then made fun with the ruler. One day, (the ruler) gave him a goose that he should roast for him. Nāṣir al-Dīn took one of its legs and ate it. When asked about it, he stubbornly insisted that a goose has one leg only. One of the following days, they went out hunting, and Nāṣir al-Dīn saw some geese standing on one leg, with their other leg pulled in for resting. He said, 'O ruler! Look at the geese, how they (stand) on one leg!' But at that moment the ruler beat the drum of the hunt, and the geese stretched their (second) leg. Nāṣir al-Dīn then said, 'Why didn't you beat your hunting drum that night, so that the goose that I roasted would have stretched (its second leg as well)?'"

Scattered throughout are found some more pearls of profound wisdom, and it would be a pity not to share at least one: *Kāna fī l-dunyā rāḥatān (...) wa hiya al-ṣalāt bilā wuḍū wa l-thānī l-baw wāqifan.*

(49) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 3393 (*vidi*)

A convolute that focuses almost exclusively on al-Būṣīrī's *Mantle Ode*, containing the *Ode* itself 3 times and 6 *takhmīs* amplifications of it. While so far the *Kawākib* has made a modest appearance in this chapter (three times), as will become evident, there is plenty more to come... In all, the convolute consists of the following three parts, each with their own frontis- and tailpiece:

(49/1) al-Būṣīrī, *al-Kawākib al-Durriya fī Madḥ Khayr al-Barīya*, copied (*katabahu*) for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm khizānat al-maqām*) by mamlūk Qarākuz al-Ashrafī in 29ff. (ff. 1v–29r). This part actually consists of 2 sections:

(49/1a) al-Fayyūmī, *Takhmīs Qaṣīdat al-Burda li l-Būṣīrī*, with the common prose preface found also in Ayasofya 4168 (→50/1). The opening line of its prose preface reads: *Qāla l-shaykh al-imām al-'ālim al-'allāma Sharaf al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Abūṣīrī raḥimahū llāh: sabab inshā' ī li hādhihi l-qaṣīda annahu kāna...* The amplification itself is in 4 different inks²³⁴ (ff. 1v–29r).

(49/1b) Part 1 concludes with the famous *ḥadīth* on the 7 classes of men to whom God will give shadow on the day there is no shadow (*Ruwiya 'an al-Nabīy ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama, annahu qāla: "Sab'at yuzilluhum allāh taḥta zill*

233 II: 79v.

234 For the layout of *Burda takhmīs*, see F.-W. Daub, *Formen und Funktionen des Layouts in arabischen Manuskripten anhand von Abschriften religiöser Texte. Al-Būṣīrīs Burda, al-Ġazūlīs Dalā'il und die Šifā' von Qāḍī 'Iyād* (Wiesbaden, 2016).

'arshihi yawma lā zill illā zilluhu..."; the tradition is said to be *ṣaḥīḥ*, being transmitted (*akhraja*) by the "two shaykhs" (i. e. al-Bukhārī and Muslim), al-Nasā'ī, al-Tirmidhī, and Mālik). This is followed by the *ḥadīth* commentary of al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū l-Faḍl (i. e., Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's (→ 121) *Fatḥ al-Bārī*) and another *ḥadīth* on the authority of Abū Umāma as transmitted by Abū Nu'aym (f. 29v–30r).

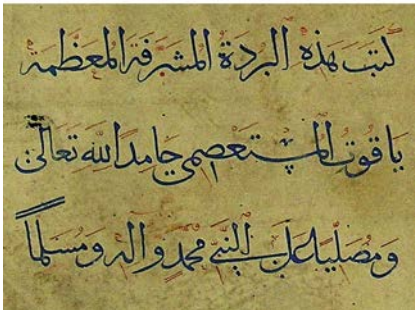


Fig. 19: Detail on the frontispiece: *Kataba hādhihi l-Burda al-musharrafa al-mu'azzama Yāqūt al-Musta'simī ḥāmidan li llāh ta'ālā wa muṣalliyān 'alā l-nabīy Muḥammad wa ālihi* (f. 31r)



Fig. 20: Addendum on the last page: *Kammala hādhihi l-Burda al-mubāraka allatī hiya bi khaṭṭ Yāqūt al-Musta'simī al-faqīr ilā llāh ta'ālā Muḥammad b. Su'ūd al-Kātib al-Dimashqī al-Ṣāliḥi 'afā llāh ta'ālā 'anhu* (f. 40r)

(49/2) (?) Part 2 (ff. 31r–40r) gives another copy of al-Būṣīrī's *al-Kawākib al-Durrīya*. This copy stands out for having some of the section titles added in the left margins, and for involving two different scribes: vv. 1–136 are said to have been penned by the famous Yāqūt al-Musta'simī (d. 698/1298) (→ fig. 19)²³⁵,

235 For another copy of the *Burda* poem allegedly penned by the master of "Six Pens" (or one of his pupils), see R. Veit, "A Copy of the *Qaṣīdat al-burda* Ascribed to the Famous Calligrapher

while the following vv. are written by Muḥammad b. Su‘ūd al-Kātib al-Dimashqī (→ fig. 20):

The ms. (allegedly) penned by the celebrated Yāqūt was incomplete, and, given his high reputation, considered valuable enough for Muḥammad b. Su‘ūd to complete in his own, less competent hand.²³⁶ On ff. 40v–41r, vv. 114 and 159 of the Mantle Ode are repeated.

(49/3) (I) Part three, ff. 42r–69r, contains 5 *takhāmīs li Qaṣīdat al-Burda li l-Būṣīrī*, that is, five amplifications to al-Būṣīrī’s *qaṣīda*, by al-Fayyūmī, Ibn Ḥijja, Ibn ‘Abīd, Ibn al-Ṣā’igh, ‘Alī al-Ḥalabī.

In order to illustrate the literary technique/genre of *takhmīs* or quiniation of a poem, consider Ibn Ḥijja’s amplification of the *maṭla‘* of al-Būṣīrī’s poem. The two *maṣārī‘* of one Būṣīrīan v. (in bold) are preceded by 3 new vv. of Ibn Ḥijja, thus amplifying 1 v. into 5 vv. (and thus, hopefully, multiplying its *baraka* proportionally):²³⁷

Lammā mazajtu damī bi l-dam‘i min alamī
Wa ‘untu fī lujajī l-dam‘aynī min saqamī
Qālū bi ‘ayshīn maḍā ma‘ jīrati l-‘alamī
A min tadhakkuri jīrānīn bi Dhī Salami ❁ ***Mazajta dam‘an jarā min muqlatin bi***
dami

When I mixed my teas with blood due to my agony,
 And I swam in the depths of the two tear[ful eyes] due to my ailment,
 They said, <may he go on living close to the signpost>.
Was it the memory of those you loved at ❁ **That made you weep so hard your tears**
Dhū Salam **were mixed with blood?**

We learn from the frontispiece and the colophon that (49/3) was copied for the Ottoman sultan Selīm I in 917/1511:

- *Bi rasm muṭāla‘at zayn al-salāṭīn afkham al-salāṭīn al-sulṭān b. al-sulṭān al-sulṭān Salīm <Shāh> b. al-sulṭān Bāyazīd hafīzahumā llāh ta‘ālā...* (with two Arabic verses on Selīm are added underneath the medallion) (f. 42r)
- *Wa kutibat bi rasm al-sulṭān al-a‘zam mālīk rīqāb al-umam afḍal salāṭīn al-‘Arab wa l-‘Ajam al-sulṭān b. al-sulṭān al-sulṭān Salīm Shāh Khān adāma llāh*

Yāqūt al-Musta‘īmī”, *Oriens* 37 (2009): 53–64. For mss. attributed to Yāqūt in general, see N. Ben Azzouna, “Manuscripts attributed to Yāqūt al-Musta‘īmī (d. 698/1298) in Ottoman Collections”, in G. Dávid & I. Gerelyes (eds.), *Thirteenth International Congress of Turkish Art. Proceedings* (Budapest, 2009), pp. 113–123.

236 Perhaps this copyist is to be identified with Muḥammad b. Su‘ūd, who copied an undated Qur‘ān for Qāyrbāy (*Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi*, 533; for which see S. Şahin (ed.), *The 1400th Anniversary of the Qur‘an* (Istanbul, 2010), p. 264–265) (personal communication by Carine Juvin).

237 M. Küçüksarı, *İbn Hicce el-Hamevî ve Dîvânı (Edisyon-Kritik)* (Konya, 2018), pp. 120–150, here p. 120.

*ta'ālā dawlatahu wa khallada mamlakatahu bi tārīkh sābi' 'ishrīn min Rama-
dān sanat sab'at 'ashar wa tis' miya* ^(f. 69r)

Unless (49/3) was an Ottoman gift to the Mamluks — an altogether unlikely scenario — this convolute offers evidence that, after 1517, the Ottomans bound Mamluk and Ottoman works in one volume (→ 24). Whether (49/2) is Mamluk or Ottoman can only be established if Muḥammad b. Su'ūd is identified.

Let me conclude this item by referring to a close parallel: Istanbul, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, 2015, a large-sized convolute of 69 ff. of 3 parts:²³⁸

(1) al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb Buzūgh al-Hilāl fī l-Khiṣāl al-Mūjibat li l-Zīlāl* and *Kitāb Maṭla' al-Badrayn fī Man Yu'tā Ajrahu Marratayn*, copied by *mamlūk* Mughulbāy b. Birdibak for al-Ashraf Qāyrbāy (ff. 1v–22r);

(2) 'Alī's *Aphorisms*, copied by the 15th-cent. scribe Yūsufshāh al-Harawī in *thuluth*, *naskh* and *muḥaqqaq* scripts (ff. 23r–35);

(3) Salāma b. Jandal, *Dīwān*, copied by 'Alī b. Hilal (sic) in 408/1017 (ff. 37r–69r).

As was the case for (49/1) and (49/2), here also we find the penmanship of a *mamlūk* (1) bound in one volume with that of a master of calligraphy (3), 'Alī b. Hilāl. The latter is the celebrated 11th-century Baghdadi perfectionist of Ibn Muqla's *khatt al-mansūb* or “proportioned script”. Better known as Ibn al-Bawwāb, he is more famous even than Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī.

Unfortunately, it remains unclear whether these items were brought together by the Mamluks or by the Ottomans later on. What has been established, however, is the fact that we are dealing with a forgery. Still, this pseudo-Ibn al-Bawwāb is no less a sight for sore eyes...

(50) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 4168 (*vidi*)

A convolute of 2 parts:

(50/1) Part 1 (ff. 1v–30r) has no title page, but is easily identifiable as al-Būṣīrī's *al-Kawākib al-Durriya fī Madḥ Khayr al-Bariya*, including the prose preface also found in Süleymaniye Ayasofya 3393, (→ 49), and interwoven with al-Fayyūmī's *takhmīs* (→ 49, 98, 132) and with a versified Turkic translation.

According to the colophon, the ms. was finished *'alā yaday* Aḥmad b. Khwāja Yaḥyā — merely as the scribe or also as the Turkic translator? — in 909/1504:

238 See D.S. Rice, *The Unique Ibn al-Bawwāb Manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library* (Dublin, 1955), pp. 22–24, fig. xii (f. 69r-v); Z. Tanındı, “Arts of the Book: The Illustrated and Illuminated Manuscripts Listed in 'Atufi's Inventory”, in G. Necipoğlu, C. Kafadar & C.H. Fleischer (eds.), *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2019), I: 213–239, here pp. 217, 235.

Tammat al-Kawākib al-Durriya fī Madh Khayr al-Bariya ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa ‘alā ālihi yusallam ‘alā yaday al-‘abd al-faqr ilā llāh ta‘ālā Aḥmad b. Khawāja Yahyā ‘afā llāh ‘anhumā muntaṣif Dhī l-Qa‘da al-ḥarām sanat tis’ wa tis’miya.

What makes this particular copy stand out among the many others in this list is the fact that it includes a Turkic translation²³⁹ of the *qaṣīda* in *ta’līq* script in the right column. The translation’s first line reads (→ fig. 21):

<i>Añduñ mı Zī Selemdeki ehl-i cireti</i>	☞	<i>Kim kan yaş ağlamak gözünüñ oldı ‘ādeti?</i>
<i>Yā yel mi esdi Kāzımeden yoḥsa berķ mı</i>	☞	<i>Ildıradı İzam dağı men’ etdi zulmeti?</i>
<i>Ağlama dedikçe gözünüñ noldı yaş döker</i>	☞	<i>Ayıl dedikçe gönlüñe arturdi ḥayreti?</i>

[Is it because] you were thinking of [your] neighbours in Zī Selem, ☞ That your eyes have grown accustomed to shedding blood tears?
 Or was it the wind that blew from Kāzıme, ☞ That flashed and pushed back the or the lightning darkness in İzam?
 While you say, “Don’t cry!” how come ☞ [And,] while you say, “Recover!” your your eyes [still] shed tears? eyes’ bewilderment keeps increasing?

The translation of the original runs as follows²⁴⁰:

Was it the memory of those you loved at Dhū Salam	☞	That made you weep so hard your tears were mixed with blood?
Or was it the wind that stirred from the direction of Kāzımah	☞	And the lightning that flashed in the darkness of İdam?
What ails your eyes? If you say, “Cease!” they flows with tears;	☞	What ails your heart? If you say, “Be still!” its passion flares once more.

This versified translation is available in various mss. and has been edited by Bahattin Kahraman, based on an undated ms. in private possession²⁴¹. As this translation is commonly attributed to Lālī (or Le’ālī) Seyyid Aḥmed b. Muṣṭafā Şarukhānī (d. 971/1563–64?)²⁴², the Ayasofya copy, dated 909/1503, would have to be a particularly early one indeed. Apart from Ayasofya 4168, I have identified two more Mamluk *Burda* copies with the same translation added in the margins,

239 It would seem that the present (pseudo-)Le’ālī translation was not the only translation available to the Mamluks. A word for word Turkic glossing of the Arabic original (rather than a paraphrasal translation) can be found in a ms. that is dated 828/1424–25: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Special Collections Library, Isl. Ms. 248, pp. 13–67 (*vidi*) (also → 41/1). It could be worthwhile to juxtapose these two translations.

240 Stetkevych, *The Mantle Odes*, p. 92.

241 B. Kahraman, “Le’ālī ve Abdurrahīm Karahisārī’nin Manzum Kasıde-i Bürde Tercümeleri”, *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4 (1997): 57–107, here pp. 65–105. For more mss., see H. Cankurt, *Seyyid Hasan Rızâyî el-Aksarâyî* (Aksaray, 2015), pp. 360–361, n. 316.

242 B. Kahraman, “Büsiri’nin Kasıde-i Bürde’si Etrâfına Yazılmış Türkçe Eserler”, *Selçuk Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 6 (1991): 167–174, here p. 171; E.S. Şahin, “Kasıde-i Bürde’nin Türkçe Şerh ve Tercümeleri”, MA thesis (T.C. Gazi Üniversitesi, Ankara, 1997), pp. 72–76, 112. For a general overview of other Turkic *Burda* translations and commentaries, see Cankurt, *Seyyid Hasan Rızâyî el-Aksarâyî*, pp. 359–369.

now with a much clearer ductus: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Special Collections Library, Isl. Ms. 446 (*vidi*) (→ fig. 22), and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. arab. d. 180 (*vidi*) (→ *Excursus*, figs. 76, 77).²⁴³



Fig. 21: *Maṭla'* of (50/1) (f. 2v)



Fig. 22: *Maṭla'* of Isl. Ms. 446 (f. 2v)

(50/2) The second part (ff. 31r–54r) was copied (*khidmat*) for Qāniṣawh (<*bi rasm*> *mawlānā*) by *mamlūk* Baybirdī min <Qilij> min al-Mustajadda (→ fig. 23). Whereas the frontispiece announces the *Qaṣīdat Ka'b b. Zuhayr bi Madh al-Nabīy*, we are, in fact, dealing with a composite work. The ff. are in utter disarray, but in all three sections can be discerned:

(50/2a) An anonymous *takhmīs* to an unidentified *qaṣīda* in *qāf*, with as its *maṭla'*: *Yā rabb innī min dhunūbī fī qalaq wa 'alayya min awzārī...* (ff. 31v–33v).

(50/2b) An anonymous *takhmīs* to Ka'b b. Zuhayr's *qaṣīda* (→ 21/2), complete but in disarray, with as its *maṭla'*: *Dam al-muḥibb bi sayf al-hajr maṭlūl...* (ff. 34r–36v, 38r–38v, 37r–37v, 39r–39v, 44r–44v, 43r–43v, 42r–42v, 41r–41v).

(50/2c) Three poems identified as al-Lakhmī al-Qurtubī's (d. 1281). These are taken from his *al-Witrīyāt wa Ma'dīn al-Anwārāt*, which is a collection of *takhmīs*es to *qaṣīdas* of Muḥammad al-Witrī al-Baghdādī's (d. 662/1264) *Bustān*

243 While the Michigan ms. is undated, the Oxford ms. is dated 802/1400. Unfortunately, there is no way of telling when the Turkic marginal translation was added.

al-‘Ārifīn fī Ma‘rifat al-Dunyā wa l-Dīn, a collection better known as *al-Qaṣā‘id al-Witriya*. Three items are included:

(50/2c1) *takhmīs* to *al-Qaṣīdat al-Baghdādīya*, *ḥarf al-alif*, complete but in disarray (ff. 41v, 40r–40v, 49r–49v, 48r–48v, 47r top);

(50/2c2) *takhmīs* to *al-Qaṣīdat al-Baghdādīya*, *ḥarf al-bā‘*, complete but in disarray (ff. 47r middle–47v, 46r–46v, 45r–45v, 50r–50v);

(50/2c3) *takhmīs* to *al-Qaṣīdat al-Baghdādīya*, *ḥarf al-tā‘*, complete and in order (ff. 50v–54r).

By way of example, al-Qurtūbī’s amplification of the *maṭla‘* of al-Baghdādī’s *tā‘īya* (in bold):

*Madīḥu Rasūli llāhi ashrafu maqṣidi
Wa aḥsanu lā yutlā wa a‘dhabu mawridi
Wa muddāḥuhu yarjūna na‘māhu fī ghadi*
Takātharati l-muddāḥu fī madḥi Aḥmadi ❁ ***‘Asā huwa yunajjihim idhā l-na‘lu zallati***

The praise of the Envoy of God is the noblest of goals,
The best of [words] to recite, and the sweetest of destinations.
Those who praise Him hope for His future favour.

Numerous are those who praise Aḥmad, ❁ Perhaps He may save them when the sandal slips²⁴⁴.

Whereas (50/1) is not explicitly linked to Qāniṣawh, in light of its copying date, it certainly could be.



Fig. 23: The tailpiece of (50/2) (f. 53r)

(51) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 4793 (*vidi*)

‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī (d. 920/1514), *al-Majmū‘ al-Bustān al-Nawrī li Ḥaḍrat Mawlānā l-Sulṭān al-Ghawrī*.

This ms., both autograph and unicum, was finished in 919/1513–1514 and consists of 218 ff. The work opens with a preface (ff. 2v–13v), unedited but dealt with in some detail by Christian Mauder²⁴⁵. This preface contains an elaborate

²⁴⁴ I.e., when falling on hard times.

²⁴⁵ Mauder, “Herrschaftsbegründung durch Handlung”.

table of contents, which is worth reproducing in full as it demonstrates the work's rich and variegated contents (ff. 11v–13r) (see Add. 5):

Wa fahrastu hādhihi 'arba'at 'ashar kitāb alladhī htawā 'alayhā hādihā l-daftar:

(51-1) *Al-kitāb al-awwal: Al-Nafḥat al-Fāyiḥa fī Tafsīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥa, tafsīran mukhtaṣaran sahl al-ma' khadh yuzḥir li kull aḥad ma'nāhu, li kull aḥad fihī fawāyid wa jumlat 'awāyid.*

(51-2) *Al-kitāb al-thānī: al-Qawl al-Khāṣṣ fī Tafsīr Sūrat al-Iklās, bi l-sharḥ.*

(51-3) *Al-kitāb al-thālith: Ghāyat al-Sūl fī Sīrat al-Rasūl, tashṭamil 'alā siyarihi wa aḥwālīhi min yawm mawlidīhi ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama wa ilā yawm wafātīhi, jama'tuhu min al-sīrat al-kubrā li Sayyid al-Nās, 'alā mā yurā min al-ikhtisār wa l-iqtisār 'alā mā huwa l-maṣṣūd bi 'awn al-malik al-ma'būd (→ 69).*

(51-4) *Al-kitāb al-rābi': al-Qawl al-Ḥazm (or Jazm?) fī l-Kalām 'alā l-Anbiyā Ūlā l-'Azm, wa ghayr min al-anbiyā alladhīna dhakarāhum Allāh fī l-Qur'an wa mā baynahum min al-mudad wa l-azmān bi kalām fī ghāyat al-ikhtisār wa nihāyat al-iqtisār.*

(51-5) *Al-kitāb al-khāmis: al-Rawḍat al-Murabba'a fī Sīrat al-Khulafā al-Arba'a, dhawī l-qadr al-'alī wa l-fakhr al-jalīy, Abū Bakr wa 'Umar wa 'Uthmān wa 'Alī.*

(51-6) *Al-kitāb al-sādis: Nuzhat al-Asāṭīn fī Man Waliya Mulḥ Miṣr min al-Salāṭīn.*

(51-7) *Al-kitāb al-sābi': Mā l-Sirr wa l-Ḥikma fī Kawn al-Khams Ṣalawāt, makhṣūṣa bi hādhihi l-awqāt wa 'adad al-raka'āt.*

(51-8) *Al-kitāb al-thāmin: Nuzhat al-Albāb Mukhtaṣar A'jab al-'Ujāb, jama'ahu rajul min 'ulamā' al-Rūm li l-sulṭān b. al-sulṭān Murād b. Abā (sic) Yazīd b. 'Uthmān. Arā-nihu l-maqqar al-ashraf al-karīm al-'alī al-amīr Ṭumān Bāy Abū l-Ma'ālī b. akhī mawlānā l-sulṭān wa l-dawādār al-kabīr, wa amaranī an anqul min lughat al-Turk ilā lughat al-'Arab li yakūn sahl al-ma' khadh li kull aḥad wa tark (sic) mā fī l-aṣl min alladhī lā yufham illā bi 'usr, fa ajabtuhu ilā dhālika, wa ḥaṣala l-yusr a'azza llāh anṣārahu wa ḍā'afa qtidārahu.*

(51-9) *Al-kitāb al-tāsi': al-Adhkār al-Muhimmāt fī Mawāḍi' wa Awqāt yaẓhar 'inda l-murūr 'alayhi wa l-naẓar ilayhi.*

(51-10) *Al-kitāb al-'āshir: al-Qawl al-Mashhūd fī Tarjīḥ Tashahhud Ibn Ma'sūd, awlāhā wa afḍaluhā wa a'lāhā. Fa inna l-tashahhudāt a'nī l-taḥīyāt khamsa: hādihā wa Ibn 'Umar wa Ibn 'Abbās wa ākharayn lam yu'mal bihimā. Wa 'inda Abī Ḥanīfa wa Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal raḍiya llāh 'anhumā hādihā huwa l-afḍal wa l-awlā wa l-ma'mūl bihi 'indahumā bi khilāf al-Shāfi'i wa Mālik raḍiya llāh 'anhumā, fa inna aḥadahumā akhadha tashahhud Ibn 'Abbās wa l-ākhar tashahhad Ibn 'Umar, wa l-ḥāl 'alā dhālika stamarra.*

(51-11) *Al-kitāb al-ḥādī 'ashar: al-Manfa'a fī (Sirr)²⁴⁶ Kawn al-Wuḍū', makhṣūṣa bi hādhihi al-a'dā' al-arba'a.*

(51-12) *Al-kitāb al-thānī 'ashar: al-Zahr al-Maqtūf fī Makhārij al-Ḥuruf.*

(51-13) *Al-kitāb al-thālith 'ashar: Najm al-Shukr, wa huwa kitāb jalīl, waqafu minhu 'alā 'iddat nusakh yaḥtāj man ya'rifuhā ilā naẓar wa taḥqīq wa takalluf wa tawqīq (sic), fa ja'altuhu mafhūman li kull aḥad min ghayr taṭwīl bal bi yusr wa sur'a wa tashīl.*

(51-14) *Al-kitāb al-rābi' 'ashar: al-Wuṣla fī Mas'alat al-Qibla, wa hādihā ayḍan waqafu*

246 *Sirr* is absent in the title as given in the table of contents, yet added in the separate frontispiece.

lahu 'alā 'iddat rasā'il min kalām al-qawm fihā kalimāt kathīra ṭawīla wa dawā'ir wa takhāṭiṭ yaṣīr l-'aql fihā ḥayīr (sic), fa ja'altuhā mafhūma li kull aḥad kamā tarāhu.

I have indexed the following fourteen books that this book comprises:

(51-1) The first book: *al-Nafḥat al-Fāyiḥa fī Tafṣīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥa*, a commentary both succinct and easy to understand for everybody, to everybody's benefit and gain.

(51-2) The second book: *al-Qawl al-Khāṣṣ fī Tafṣīr Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*, with commentary.

(51-3) The third book: *Ghāyat al-Sūl fī Sīrat al-Rasūl*, comprising His biography and His conditions from the day of His birth up to the day of His death, which I have collected from the great biography by Sayyid al-Nās, as can be seen, shortened and abbreviated as was the objective, with the aid of the Worshipped Ruler.

(51-4) The fourth book: *al-Qawl al-Ḥazm [or Jazm?] fī l-Kalām 'alā l-Anbiyā*, [both] Those endowed with a resolution to obey the commands of God [i. e., Noah, Abraham, Moses and Muḥammad] and other prophets whom God has mentioned in the Qur'ān, and the times and periods that separate them, in words intended to be most succinct and brief.

(51-5) The fifth book: *al-Rawḍat al-Murabba'a fī Sīrat al-Khulafā al-Arba'a*, [that is,] those of sublime rank and manifest honour, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, and 'Alī.

(51-6) The sixth book: *Nuzhat al-Asāṭīn fī Man Waliya Mulḥ Miṣr min al-Salāṭīn*.

(51-7) The seventh book: *Mā l-Sirr wa l-Ḥikma fī Kawn al-Khams Ṣalawāt*, with particular focus on the times [of prayer] and the number of *rak'as*.

(51-8) The eighth book: *Nuzhat al-Albāb*, a summary of the *A'jab al-'Ujāb*, compiled by a Rūmī scholar for the sultan, son of the sultan, Murād, son of Bāyazīd, son of 'Uthmān. His Noble and Esteemed Excellency, amir Ṭumān Bay Abū l-Ma'ālī, the nephew of the sultan and the *dawādār kabīr*, had shown this to me and had ordered me to translate it from Turkic to Arabic, in order for it to be easy to understand for everybody, and to leave out from the original what can only be grasped with difficulty, a request that I have taken up. May He obtain prosperity, and may God reinforce His victories and multiply His might!

(51-9) The ninth book: *Al-Adhkār al-Muhimmāt fī Mawāḍi' wa Awqāt*, [the contents of which] will become clear when [this book] is went through and looked at.

(51-10) The tenth book: *al-Qawl al-Mashhūd fī Tarjih Tashahhud Ibn Mas'ūd*, [the latter being] the worthiest [of all], the best, and the most exalted. The *tashahhudāt*, I mean, the *taḥiyāt*, are five: Ibn Mas'ūd's, Ibn 'Umar's, Ibn 'Abbās's, and two others that are not in force. For Abū Ḥanīfa and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, may God be pleased with them, Ibn Mas'ūd's is the best, the worthiest and in force. This is contrary to al-Shāfi'ī and Mālik, may God be pleased with them. One of these has adopted the *tashahhud* of Ibn 'Abbās, while the other has adopted that of Ibn 'Umar, and the situation has remained so ever since.

(51-11) The eleventh book: *al-Manfa'a fī (Sirr) Kawn al-Wuḍū'*, with particular focus on the four limbs.

(51-12) The twelfth book: *al-Zahr al-Maqtūf fī Makhārij al-Ḥurūf*.

(51-13) The thirteenth book: *Najm al-Shukr*, an important book, for which I have perused a number of manuscripts, which those who know them must observe, verify, take upon themselves and <adapt>. I have made it understandable to everyone, without any prolixity, but rather with easiness, quickness and facility.

(51-14) The fourteenth book: *al-Wuṣṣla fī Masʿalat al-Qibla*, for this too I have perused a number of treatises by people that were prolix and lengthy, and that [contained] diagrams and tables that leave the mind confused. I have made it understandable for everyone, as you will see.

Interestingly, al-Malaṭī concludes his prologue with well-wishes not only for the reigning sultan, Qāniṣawh, but also for his nephew, the future (and last) Mamluk sultan, Ṭūmānbāy (r. 922/1517):

an yudīm baqāʾ mawlānā l-sultān (...) wa ka-dhālika adāma baqāʾ walad akhīhi ṣinw abīhi al-maḡarr al-ashraf al-karīm al-ālī al-amīr Ṭūmān Bāy (...) wa asʿalahu min faḍlihi an <yubqīya> lahu kull man ʿazza ʿalayhi min umarāʾihi mamālikīhi l-kibār wa l-ṣiḡhār wa jundihi wa ka-dhālika khāṣṣakīyatihi wa ka-dhā jamī jamdārīyatihi lla-dhīna hum ladayhi bi manzilat al-awlād wa l-aḥfād (...)

(...) may [God] cause Our Lord, the sultan, to last (...) and, likewise, may He cause to last the son of [the sultan's] brother, <one of two of his father> [i. e., his only brother?], His Noble, Esteemed and Exalted Excellency, amir Ṭūmān Bāy (...) and I ask [God], by His favour, to make last for him, [the sultan, also], all those who are dear to him, of his amirs, his senior and junior *mamlūks*, his *jund*, as well as his *khāṣṣakīya*, and likewise all of his *jamdārs*, who are to the sultan like children and grandchildren.

From this, we learn that Qāniṣawh's nephew was increasingly coming to the fore. Interestingly, no mention is made of Qāniṣawh's second son, Muḥammad, the ancestor of the Syrian Mardam Bak family (→ 19). This is somewhat odd, since evidence suggests that, at least from 1513 onwards, Qāniṣawh was grooming him for the sultanate, among others, by appointing him as *amīr ākhūr kabīr* and by having him no longer addressed by his royal title, *sīdī*.²⁴⁷

The work concludes with a selection of al-Malaṭī's poetry (ff. 209r-216r), entitled *faṣl fī shay min shīrī al-rakīk alladhī huwa fī l-ḍaʿf li jismī sharīk yata-ḍamman baʿḍ fawāyid tanfaʿ wa tudhkar*, which is interesting since al-Malaṭī often contextualizes his verses by providing some background on the circumstances. Included are a *marthīya* for Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, which is reproduced by Ibn Iyās in his chronicle as well²⁴⁸; a poem in relation to two verses found in a letter of the Safavid shah Ismāʿīl to Qāniṣawh; and a Turkic poem. Even though

247 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʾ al-Zuhūr*, IV: 453, 457 (*rasama l-sultān anna aḥadan lā yaqūl lahu ʿsīdīʾ bal yaqūlūna lahu ʿamīr ākhūr kabīrʾ*). For such de-royalizing/“mamlūkizing” strategy as a means for a sultan to enhance the chances of his son to succeed him, see K. D’hulster, “The Road to the Citadel as a Chain of Opportunity. Mamluks’ Careers between Contingency and Institutionalization”, in J. Van Steenberg (ed.), *The Flux and Reflux of Late Medieval State Formations. Integration, Negotiation and Political Order Across Fifteenth-Century Eurasia. Parallels, Connections, Divergences* (Leiden, 2020), pp. 259–200. For the possible relevance in this context of Muḥammad’s marriage to the daughter of the governor of Damascus (→ 19), see K. D’hulster & J. Van Steenberg, “Family Matters. The “Family-In-Law” Impulse in Mamluk Marriage Policy”, *Annales islamologiques* 47 (2013): 61–82.

248 *Badāʾiʾ al-Zuhūr*, IV: 83.

the tailpiece reads *khitāmuhu misk* (→ fig. 24), the scent from the Garden of Paradise no longer drifts from the page, alas!²⁴⁹

As for manuscripts and editions, the following. While the collection itself is a unicum, some of its treatises are found elsewhere. For example, the Topkapı Palace Library houses two more collected volumes of al-Malaṭī's writings: A 2803 (treatises 51-3, 51-14, 51-11, and 51-6, plus a unicum: *Tārīkh al-Anbiyā' al-Akābir Mā Bayna Ūlā' Azm Minhum*) (*non vidi*) and A 527 (treatises 51-5, 51-3, 51-4, 51-14, and 51-6) (*non vidi*). Treatises 51-1, 51-2, 51-7, 51-8, 51-9, 51-10, 51-12 (and perhaps 51-13), on the other hand, appear to be unique to the *al-Majmū' al-Bustān*. At present, only sections (51-1), (51-2), (51-3), (51-6) and (51-12) have been published or dealt with in detail.²⁵⁰



Fig. 24: A musky finispiece (f. 218r)

In my view, a first unpublished item that definitely deserves to be looked into is (51-13). This section, based on a Turkic source, deals with the astrological significance of a — so far elusive — celestial body that goes by the name of

249 See A. Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition. A Glossary of Technical Terms & Bibliography. Supplement* (Leiden, 2008), p. 73 (“misk”).

250 Al-Malaṭī, *Ghāyat al-Sūl fī Sirat al-Rasūl*, ed. ‘Alī ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Alūsī (Istanbul, 1328/1910–11), 2nd ed. (Beirut, 1408/1988); ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Malaṭī, *Nuzhat al-Asāṭīn fī Man Waliya Miṣr min al-Salāṭīn*, ed. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Alī (Cairo, 1407/1987); M.S. Çöllüoğlu, “Abdūlbāsīt b. Halīl b. Şāhīn el-Malaṭī (Ö. 920/1514)’nin Fātiha Süresi Tefsiri”, in *I. Uluslararası İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Araştırmaları Kongresi: Bildiri Kitabı 23–25 Kasım/November 2018*, ed. M. Yiğitoğlu (Karabük, 2018), pp. 612–626; *id.*, “Memlükler Döneminde Bir Âlim: Abdūlbāsīt b. Halīl b. Şāhīn el-Malaṭī (v. 920/1514) ve İhlās Süresi Tefsiri”, *İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Araştırmaları Dergisi* 7/1 (2018): 309–329; K. Özmen & L. Bedir, “Abdūlbāsīt b. Halīl b. Şāhīn el-Malaṭī ve “ez-Zehru’l-Maktūf fī Me-hārici’l-Hurūf” İsimli Tecvid Risalesi”, *Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 6 (2017): 289–308.

Najm al-Shukur al-musammā bi l-Turkiya Shukur Yıldızı. *Waqafu ‘alayhā fi juz’ bi lughat al-Turk fa ghayyartuhā ilā lughat al-Arab (...)* wa hiya tuḥfat yanbaghi an takūn fi dakhīrat al-mulūk (...)
 wa qad waqafu ‘alā ‘iddat nusakh (...)
 Qāla l-ḥukamā’ min ahl al-Mashriq wa hum ḥukamā’ Khiṭā wa Khutan wa Samarqand wa Bukhārā wa bilād Mā Warā’ a l-Nahr min ahl al-ma’rifa wa l-‘ilm al-‘arifin bi aḥkām al-nujūm, “Raṣadnā hādihā l-najm al-musammā bi najm al-Shukur, fa idhā hiya sab’at fi l-‘adad, wa summiyat al-sab’a Najm al-Shukur kamā summiyat al-Thurayyā bi l-najm wa hiya sab’at anjum aw akthar.” (...)
 Qāla hā’ulā’i l-ḥukamā’ inna “Hādhihi l-nujūm al-sab’a fihā najm minhā kabīr, huwa ra’s hādhihi l-nujūm al-sab’a wa kabīruhā (...)
 Wa khalaqa llāh ta’ālā hādhihi l-nujūm ‘alā ṣūrat al-jamal al-Bukhtī al-hāyij wa huwa fātih fāh kāshir ‘an anyābihi yakhruj min famihi zabad wa lu’āb sākib ‘alā l-‘ālam (...)
 wa hiya su’ūd wa nuḥūs fa kull shay’ min ḥayawān nātiq aw ghayrihi min al-ashyā’ idhā qā-balahā yakhuṣṣuhu min muqābalat dhālika ‘aks wa shūm (...)
 Ḥarakat hādihā l-najm min nawādir ḥarakāt ghayrihi min al-nujūm wa gharā’ibuhā, fa hiya taḥarraka dāyima min al-mashriq ilā l-maghrib ma’kūsa fa tārat takūn ḥarakātuhā bayna l-mashriq wa l-janūb wa tāratan takūn bi l-janūb faqat wa tārat bayna l-janūb wa l-shimāl wa tārat bi l-shamāl faqat wa tārat bayna l-shimāl wa l-mashriq wa tāratan taḥta l-ard’ wa tārat fawqa l-ard’ fi wasaṭ al-samā’ (...)”

Najm Shukur, which is called in Turkic *Şükür Yıldızı*. I read about it in a work in Turkic, and I translated this into Arabic (...) [as] a present that befits inclusion in the rulers’ treasury (...) I consulted a number of manuscripts (...) The wise men of the East, that is, of China, Khutan, Samarqand, Bukhara and the lands of Transoxiana, people of wisdom and knowledge of the rules of the stars, have said, “We have observed the *najm* called *Shukur*, and we have found it to consist of seven [celestial bodies], which we have called *Najm al-Shukur*, just as the Pleiades are called a *najm*, even though the latter consists of seven stars or more. (...) God, exalted is He above all, has created these stars in the shape of a Bactrian camel that is rutting, with its mouth open and its teeth showing, and with foam and saliva spilling into the world (...) It [spells] fortunes and misfortunes, and all creatures —both rational and otherwise — that oppose it are allotted reversal and calamity [by it] (...) The movement of this *najm* is a most rare and peculiar one: it moves constantly from West to East, in retrograde. At times it moves between the West and the South, at times in the South only, at times between the South and the North, at times in the North only, at times between the North and the West, at times under the Earth[’s horizon], and at times above the Earth[’s horizon] in the middle of the sky (...)

Following more details on *Shukur*’s movement in 10-day cycles, its astrological significance and interpretation is addressed: success is assured, so it seems, as long as one keeps *Shukur* behind one’s back. Indeed, celebrated warlords, such as Alexander, Altun Khan, Genghis Khan, Hulegu Khan, Tamerlane and Shahrukh, all saw to it that they had *Shukur* on their side. Yet, as the text points out, also travellers and merchants are well advised to keep their eyes on *Shukur*.

When it comes to identifying *Shukur*, what clues does the text offer? On the one hand, there is the name, *Najm Shukur*, which suggests a singular celestial

object. The most obvious candidate — especially given the Turkic provenance of the text — would then be Venus, since this is attested in an early 13th-century Uyghur text as *Şükür* (< Sanskrit *Śukra*).²⁵¹ On the other hand, the text is quick to point out that *Najm Shukur* is not one object but a group of seven, which suggests a constellation or an asterism. Moreover, this group is said to be shaped like a “rutting Bactrian camel”, a surprisingly detailed image to be extracted from a mere seven objects indeed! In the famous *Kitāb Şuwar al-Kawākib* of the 10th-century astronomer al-Şūfī, either Cassiopeia or a partially overlapping asterism is depicted as a camel, but, unfortunately, this camel is not of the Bactrian, two-humped type.²⁵² As our third and final clue, there is *Shukur*’s movement, which is said to be most rare: “always from West to East”, that is, *ma’kūsa* (retrograde?). However, there appears to be no celestial body that is constantly in retrograde... In short, it seems impossible to put together all these clues in a meaningful way. As such, until further notice, *Shukur* must remain an Unidentified Flying Object...²⁵³

Another section that deserves some attention is the equally unpublished treatise (51-8), which is also of Turkic provenance. This particular title was commissioned by ʿTūmānbāy, whom we have already met as the leader of the 917/1512 Egyptian Pilgrimage caravan of which Idrīs-i Bidlisī was part (→ 42). As can be learnt from its preface, there is an interesting Ottoman connection:

Qad awqafanī sayyidunā l-maḡarr al-ashraf al-karīm (...) al-amīr ʿTūmānbāy b. akhī l-maḡām al-sharīf wa amīr dawādār kabīr wa ustādār al-‘ālīya (...) *risālatan bi lughat al-Turk sammāhā jāmi‘uhā bi A‘jab al-‘Ujāb wa fī tasmīyatihī ajāda wa aṣāba wa mu‘al-lifuhā insān min ‘ulamā’ al-Rūm yuqāl lahu Maḡmūd b. Qādī Manyās, jama‘a bihā masāyil wa laṭāyif (...)* ja‘alahā li malik al-Rūm al-sultān b. al-sultān Murād b. Bāyazīd b. ʿUthmān.

Our master, His Noble and Esteemed Excellency (...) amir ʿTūmānbāy, the nephew of His Noble Excellency [the sultan], the *dawādār kabīr* and *ustādār* (...) called my attention to a treatise in Turkic, called by his author *A‘jab al-‘Ujāb*, a title well-picked and

251 R.R. Arat, *Türkische Turfan-Texte VII. Mit sinologische Anmerkungen von Dr. W. Eberhard* (Berlin, 1937), 1/74.

252 E. Savage-Smith, “The Most Authoritative Copy of ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Sufi’s Tenth-century *Guide to the Constellations*”, in Sh. Blair & J. Bloom (eds.), *God is Beautiful; He Loves Beauty. The Object in Islamic Art and Culture* (New Haven, 2013), pp. 123–155, here p. 146.

253 For two more refs. to *Shukur*, one in a 16th- and one in an 18th-century Ottoman work, see A.T. Şen, “Astrology in the Service of the Empire: Knowledge, Prognostication, and Politics at the Ottoman Court, 1450s–1550s”, PhD thesis (The University of Chicago, 2016), p. 206; and H. Söylemez, “Mukaddimetü’-s-Sefer (1736–1739 Seferi Hakkında Bir Eser). Metin – Değerlendirme”, MA thesis (T.C. Marmara Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, İstanbul, 2018), p. 45. While the latter source confirms that the *aḡkām-i Şükr Yıldızı* “are very much used by the Uyghurs, the Mongols, Turks, etc.”, neither of them allows for any further identification of *Shukur*.

apropos. In this [treatise], its author, a Rümī scholar named Maḥmūd b. Qāḍī Manyās, has collected questions and niceties (...) he composed it for the ruler of Rüm, the sultan, son of the sultan, Murād, son of Bāyezīd, son of ‘Uthmān.

What we are dealing with is al-Malaṭī’s highly selective Arabic translation of the *A‘cebū’l-‘Ucāb*, a Turkic work authored by Maḥmūd b. Qāḍī-i Mānyās al-Uskūbī al-Rümī al-‘Uthmānī, better known as Manyasoğlu, and known first and foremost for authoring the oldest translation of Sa‘dī’s *Gulistān* in Anatolia²⁵⁴. The *A‘cebū’l-‘Ucāb*, dedicated to the Ottoman sultan Murād II (824–855/1421–1451), is a fascinating work that deals with a variety of topics: demons and angels, arithmetic, marvels of science and secrets of magic, the virtues of the Qur’ān, prayers, the names of God and letters. While this encyclopaedic work is celebrated as the oldest Turkic treatise that deals with arithmetic, oddly enough, it appears to have been edited in full only in 2017.²⁵⁵ Unfortunately, al-Malaṭī’s selective translation is rather light on math, instead drawing upon the work’s latter sections first and foremost, including the *khawāṣṣ* of Qur’anic verses and of various prayers.²⁵⁶ Perhaps neither al-Malaṭī nor Ṭümānbāy had a penchant for figures?

(52) İstanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Fatih 3465 (*vidi*)

Tuhfat al-Mamlūk wa ‘Umdat al-Mulūk, an anonymous *Fürstenspiegel*, copied (*katabahu*) by *mamlūk* Jānim min Qānī min Ṭabaqat al-Mustajadda al-Ashrafī in 61 ff., and part of Qānişawh’s library (*bi rasm khizānat*). The work was published in Turkish translation and facsimile.²⁵⁷

Fürstenspiegels, when broadly defined, figure prominently in this chapter, but what makes this particular copy stand out is the fact that it has a sinister twin, so to speak. Doris Behrens-Abouseif has recognized Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 2892 as a very close parallel. This latter work, with the slightly different title *Kitāb ‘Umdat al-Mulūk wa Tuhfat al-Mamlūk*, was copied by (*katabahu*) by Muḥammad b.

254 Maḥmūd b. Kādi-i Manyās, *Gulistān Tercümesi. Giriş – İnceleme – Metin – Sözlük*, haz. M. Özkan (Ankara, 1993).

255 Z. Buçukcu, “Maḥmūd bin Kādi-i Manyās’ın ‘Acebū’l-‘Üccab Adlı Eserinin Transkripsiyon ve Dizini”, MA thesis (Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Ankara, 2017). For more detailed studies on Manyasoğlu’s sections on mathematics and on folk medicine, see Ş. Kalafat, “Anadolu (Osmanlı) Sahasında Yazılmış En Eski Tarihi Türkçe Matematik Risâlesi: Maḥmūd b. Kādi-i Manyās’ın A‘cebū’l-‘Üccāb’ı”, *Turkish Studies* 12/30 (2017): 243–298; and Z. Buçukcu, “Manyaslı Maḥmūd ve Acebū’l-‘Üccāb’ının Halk Hekimliği Bölümü”, *Akademik Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 6/68 (2018): 467–531.

256 For comparison, I consulted Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. turc 203.

257 Eds. Y. Kara & Ö. Kavak, *Tuhfetü’l-Memlūk. Siyâsetnâme (İnceleme – Çeviri – Tıpkıbasım)* (İstanbul, 2016).

Sūdūn al-Qaṣrawī in 896/1491.²⁵⁸ In fact, apart from the differently worded title, the *ʿUmda* is identical with the *Tuḥfa*, with one important exception: wherever the *ʿUmda* has Qāyṭbāy, the *Tuḥfa* has Qāniṣawh! As keenly observed by Behrens-Abouseif, the *Tuḥfa* ms. has been tampered with: in all three instances where Qāyṭbāy’s name occurs in the *ʿUmda*, the *Tuḥfa* ms. initially had Qāyṭbāy’s name as well; yet his name was partially erased and replaced with Qāniṣawh’s, thus resulting in a malign palimpsest:

- The *bi rasm* section on the frontispiece: *bi rasm Qāyṭbāy* → *Qāniṣawh*²⁵⁹
- The work’s dedicatee: *nāshir al-ʿadl wa l-iḥsān al-sulṭān al-malik al-Ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qāyṭbāy* → *Qāniṣawh* (f. 3r-v)
- The epilogue: *Tamma l-kitāb bi dawlat al-malik alladhī qad ṣakka tāj ʿulāhu farq al-Farqad al-Ashraf al-sulṭān Qāyṭbāy Abī l-Naṣr* → *Qāniṣawh Abī l-Naṣr* (f. 60v)

What happened? It would seem that the anonymous *Fürstenspiegel* was originally dedicated to Qāyṭbāy, and that he owned two copies of the work with a slightly different title, one copied (*katabahu*) by Muḥammad b. Sūdūn in 896/1491, and one copied (*katabahu*) by Jānim min Qānī. Following Qāyṭbāy’s death, this second copy was manipulated in two ways: first, it was manipulated in order for his work to look like it was originally dedicated not to Qāyṭbāy but to Qāniṣawh (ff. 3, 60); second, it was manipulated in order for his particular copy to change owner, from Qāyṭbāy to Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm* section). Who is the culprit? Venturing a guess, it would make sense for Jānim, the copyist of the second copy, to have concocted this changeover, as it provided him with a most appropriate gift for Qāniṣawh’s library at very little cost! Suspense in the Mamluk scriptorium...

Turning our attention from the copyist to the author of the *ʿUmda/Tuḥfa*, two suggestions have been made so far. While Doris Behrens-Abouseif seems to ascribe the authorship to Jānim min Qānī²⁶⁰, the authors of the online *İslam Siyaset Düşüncesi Kataloğu* have made another suggestion: Ṭūghān Shaykh al-Aḥmadī.²⁶¹ In light of Ṭūghān Shaykh’s bibliography, this second suggestion is tentative, yet not necessarily probable... As the bio- and bibliography of Ṭūghān Shaykh remains to be written, the following first draft may be of some use.

258 *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria*, pp. 98–101.

259 For scraping and overwriting the name of the original patron, see F. Déroche *et al.*, *Islamic Codicology. An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script*, transl. D. Dusinberre & D. Radzinowicz, ed. M.I. Waley (London, 2005), p. 317.

260 Working from her keen observation, Behrens-Abouseif seems to have reached the conclusion that the *Tuḥfa* predates the *ʿUmda* and that the work was in fact authored by Jānim min Qānī, the copyist of the *Tuḥfa*. Her assessment is somewhat puzzling, and appears to hinge on an interpretation of *katabahu* that, in my view, is wrong (→ Chapter Three).

261 <http://isd.ilem.org.tr/detay/586>, where the similarity of the *ʿUmda* and the *Tuḥfa* is also pointed out.

My preliminary culling of Egyptian and Hijazi sources allows us to reconstruct his biography piecemeal only. As Ṭūghān Shaykh spent much of his active life in the Hijaz, as to be expected, the Cairo-centred chroniclers Ibn Taghrībirdī and Ibn Iyās record next to nothing, while al-Sakhāwī is somewhat better informed, and the Hijazi authors al-Samhūdī²⁶² and, somewhat later, Ibn Fahd provide the bulk of data.²⁶³ Apart from these, some crucial details can be culled from Ṭūghān Shaykh's own prefaces.

A first issue relates to his name, which appears to have been particularly unstable, thus making it even harder to keep track of him as he moved to and fro between Cairo and the Hijaz... Collating the various forms found in the mss., we end up with something like Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Muḥammadi al-Miṣrī al-Ḥanafī al-Mālīkī al-Zāhiri²⁶⁴, known as (*mashhūr bi*) Ṭūghān Shaykh al-Aḥmadi al-Ashrafi (or al-Ashrafiya, or al-Ashrafiya Barsbāy), or, at least in the time of Ibn Fahd, Ṭūghān al-Ṣūfi al-Zāhid.²⁶⁵

In the *Safīnat al-Najāh* (= item 1 of his bibliography below), which may be his oldest work, Ṭūghān Shaykh refers to himself as *al-mashhūr bi Ṭūghān Shaykh al-Ashrafiya Barsbāy*, so he may initially have been the *shaykh* of the Ashrafiya Barsbāy complex in Cairo. Whatever his earlier occupation, it would seem that Ṭūghān Shaykh makes his first appearance in the sources in 857/1453, when he arrived from Cairo in Mecca to assume the offices of *nāzir al-Masjid al-Ḥarām* and *amīr al-rākizīn*.²⁶⁶ Sometime before 861/1457, he was dismissed from (at

262 Al-Samhūdī can gradually be considered a well-researched author. See, e.g., B. Adrees, “A Critical Edition of Al-Lu’lu’ al-Manthūr fī Naṣīhat Wulāt al-Umūr by Nūr al-Dīn al-Samhūdī (d.911H)”, PhD thesis (University of Durham, 2007); H. Munt, “Mamluk Historiography outside of Egypt and Syria: ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Samhūdī and His Histories of Medina”, *Der Islam* 92/2 (2015): 413–441; and Ī. Barca, *Es-Semhūdī ve Medīne Tarihi* (Siirt, 2016).

263 Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-Warā bi Akhbār Umm al-Qurā*, vol. 4, ed. ‘Abd al-Karīm ‘Alī Bāz (Makka, 1408–1988), pp. 331, 338, 340, 350, 417, 479, 485, 495, 509, 532; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, VII: 172; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-Lāmi*, IV: 10; *id.*, *al-Tuḥfat al-Laṭīf fī Tārikh al-Madinat al-Sharīfa*, ed. As‘ad Ṭarābzūnī al-Ḥusaynī (Cairo, 1979–1980), II: 267; *al-Samhūdī; Wafā’ al-Wafā’ bi Akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafā*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (Beirut, 1984), II: 683. Ṭūghān Shaykh makes his sporadic appearance in other sources, such as Ibn Fahd, *Ghāyat al-Marām bi Akhbār Saṭṭanat al-Balad al-Ḥarām; id.*, *Nukhbat Bahjat al-Zamān bi ‘Imārat Makka li Mulūk Banī ‘Uthmān*; and al-Sakhāwī, *Wajiz al-Kalām fī l-Dhayl ‘alā Duwal a-Islām*, but these add nothing new. Undoubtedly, more is to be found, especially in the many other titles authored by al-Samhūdī.

264 Suspiciously, the appellation *al-Mālīkī al-Zāhiri* is found only in two of his own works dedicated to al-Zāhir Khushqadam, items (2) and (3) in his bibliography.

265 For no apparent reason, the editor of *al-Burhān fī Faḍl al-Sulṭān* has settled with Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ṭūghān al-Muḥammadi, which is certainly wrong.

266 In the sources, this office is referred to as *bāsh al-mamālik*, *bāsh al-jund*, *bāshā l-Atrāk*, and *amīr al-rākizīn*, presumably all identical. To these two offices, Ibn Fahd (*Ithāf al-Warā*, IV: 331) adds the *ḥisba* as a third one, but the author must have mixed up Ṭūghān Shaykh with another Ṭūghān (*wa yuqāl Dūghān*), who was appointed as *muḥtasib* in 904/1498–99 (Ibn

least) this first office and got caught up in a first conflict, when he advocated the construction of a new *miḥrāb* in the Masjid al-Nabawī in Medina specifically designated for the Hanafites. This *bid'a* was supported by the Hanafite al-Amīn al-Aqsarā'ī²⁶⁷, yet vehemently opposed by the Shafiites. In the end, the Hanafites prevailed and by 861/1457, the *miḥrāb* was constructed.²⁶⁸ We then lose track of Ṭūghān Shaykh for some six years. Again from his own *Safīna*, we learn that Ṭūghān Shaykh had been residing back in Cairo at least in 867/1463, before returning to Mecca in 868/1464. There, he authored the *Sayf al-Mulūk* (= 2), and continued in (or resumed?) the office of *amīr al-rākizīn*. In 872/1468, he was dismissed from his Meccan office and moved to Medina, where he was appointed as the *bāshā l-Atrāk*. His days in Medina, however, were short-lived, as he got caught up in two more conflicts in Islam's second city: one over the legitimacy of inscriptions on floor carpets, and one over the planting of additional date palm trees in the courtyard of the Prophet's Mosque²⁶⁹. Being reappointed as the *amīr al-rākiz* in Mecca, he returned to Mecca, where he dealt with the "carpet conflict" in a new work, the *Fath al-Ra'uf* (= 5)²⁷⁰. In 874/1470, his days in the Hijaz were finally over: dismissed from office once more, he left for Cairo, never to return. In Cairo, it would seem that he authored at least *al-Muqaddimat al-Sultāniya* (= 7) in 878/1474. Aged around 80, he died of the plague in Cairo in 881/1477.²⁷¹

Perhaps Ṭūghān Shaykh was never looking for trouble himself, trouble certainly found him. In all, he seems to have been involved in at least three conflicts, all three in Medina: over the *miḥrāb*, over the date palms, and over the inscribed carpets. It would be interesting to verify the exact chronological and/or causal order of these conflicts, Ṭūghān Shaykh's dismissals and the works he dedicated to a Mamluk sultan (= 2, 3, 4, 6, 7). As a major opponent of Ṭūghān Shaykh in the

Fahd, *Ghāyat al-Marām bi Akhbār Salṭanat al-Balad al-Ḥarām*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Jadda, 1406/1986), III: 98).

267 Undoubtedly to be identified as Amīn al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. al-Aqsarā'ī, a *shaykh al-Ashrafiya* himself (see, e.g., al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, IV: 831–832).

268 The *Miḥrāb al-Ḥanafiya* is now known better as the *al-Miḥrāb al-Sulaymānī*, since it was finished under the Ottoman sultan Süleymān (r. 926–974/1520–1566). See al-Barzanji, *Nuzhat al-Nāzīrīn fī Masjid Sayyid al-Awwalīn wa l-Ākhirīn* (Beirut, n.d.), pp. 54–55. For more refs., see Muḥammad Hizā' al-Shahrī, *Imārat al-Masjid al-Nabawī fī l-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī 648–963* (Makka, 1406/1986), pp. 302–304; *id.*, *al-Masjid al-Nabawī al-Sharīf fī l-'Aṣr al-'Uthmānī 923–1344 H. Dirāsāt Mi'māriya Ḥadāriya* (Cairo, 2003), pp. 27–30.

269 See Sh. Marmon, *Eunuchs & Sacred Boundaries in Islamic Society* (New York/Oxford, 1995), pp. 82–84.

270 It would seem that the "carpet conflict" left a considerable paper trail. Apart from Ṭūghān Shaykh's *Fath* (= 5), see, e.g., 4 (!) independent titles authored on the subject by al-Samhūdi alone (Barca, *Es-Semhūdi ve Medine Tarihi*, pp. 81–82).

271 And thus not around 880/1475, as Carl Brockelmann has it (*History of the Arabic Written Tradition*, transl. J. Lameer (Leiden/Boston, 2016–2019), II: 144), or even earlier in 875/1440, according to the ed. of the *Burhān* (= 3).

last two conflicts was the Shafiite chronicler-cum-*faqīh* al-Samhūdī, another fruitful venue for exploring these conflicts would be the inter-*madhhab* factional strife in the Holy Cities.

While al-Malaṭī's short obituary is already far from flattering, describing Ṭūghān Shaykh as "a man not devoid of some virtue" (*lam yakun khālin min faḍīlatin mā*), little surprise, al-Sakhāwī is even more vitriolic, stating that Ṭūghān Shaykh engaged in *fiqh*, "in spite of being stupid and lacking knowledge."²⁷² Al-Malaṭī somewhat disparagingly suggests that Ṭūghān "may have authored a thing or two" (*wa la'allahu ṣannaḥa shay'an*), while al-Sakhāwī mentions only one work that was directed against al-Samhūdī and in relation to the "carpet conflict" (undoubtedly = 5). Aiming below the waist, al-Sakhāwī added that Ṭūghān could accomplish his book only with the assistance of a ghostwriter...

In reality, it would seem that Ṭūghān Shaykh was far more prolific. Supplementing the three titles referenced by Brockelmann (3, 6 and 7) with five more, we end up with a bibliography of 7 titles and one ms. copy:

First, under the reign of al-Zāḥir Khushqadam (r. 865–872/1461–1467):

(1) *Safīnat al-Najāh wa l-Shifā li Man Irtajāh*:

Unicum in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Landberg 686 (*vidi*). The work was authored in 868/1464, but the Berlin ms. should be a later copy. Not a particularly original work, yet its preface has some interesting biographical details, from which we learn, among others, that Ṭūghān Shaykh was residing in Cairo in 867/1463, where he was summoned by al-Zāḥir Khushqadam to escort some Ashrafiya Ināl Mamluks (as well as the corpse of a deceased Moroccan Sufi) to Mecca:

(f.1v) *Wa ba'du. Yaḡūl al-faqīr ilā llāh ta'ālā Aḡmad al-Muḡammadī al-shaḡīr bi Ṭūghān* (f. 2v) *Shaykh al-Ashrafiya Barsbāy raḡimahumā llāh ta'ālā wa man yaḡūl "Amīn", lammā kāna fī awākhir sanat sab' wa sittīn wa thamān miya kāna lanā jār mubārak faqīr Maḡribī, wa kāna yad'ū lanā wa yaḡūl fī du'āyihī, "Ḥamalaka llāh 'alā safīnat al-najāh!", fa mā kāna 'an qalīl illā <wa tuwuffiya> ilā raḡmat Allāh ta'ālā. Thumma inna mawlānā l-sultān al-malik al-Zāḡhir Khushqadam, aṣṡaḡa llāh ta'ālā ayyāmahu wa aḡwālahu wa adāma nafahu 'alā l-Muslimīn wa <suddida> aḡwālahu wa af'alahu, rasama bi an <yujahhaz> ilā Makkat al-Musharrafa ṡuḡbat <mu'allifihī> (...) wa ālihi wa ṡaḡbihi min al-mamālik al-sultānīyat al-Ashrafiyat al-Īnālīya (...) wa <wasā'a> (sic?) li Jidda khamsūn mamlūkan li l-mujāwira bi Makkat al-Musharrafa, wa kāna dhālika fī awāyil shahr Ṣafar al-khayr 'ām thamānīya wa sittīn wa thamān miya. Wa kāna dhālika muwāfiqan awwal al-arba'īniyāt²⁷³ al-mutawaqqī fihā rukūb al-baḡr min aḡl al-riyāḡ al-awāṡif, wa lā yumkin mukhālafat amr al-sultān, fa yassara llāh ta'ālā safaranā wa safara l-mamālik ma'anā, fa kāna jumlat al-safar fī l-baḡr 'ishrīn yawman min (f.2v) al-Ṭūr al-mubārak ilā bandar Jiddat al-ma'mūra bi l-'adl wa l-inṡāf in shā llāh*

272 Al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal*, VII: 172; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi*, IV: 10.

273 *Al-arba'īniya* are "the 40 coldest days of winter".

ta'ālā wa fataḥa llāh ta'ālā bi dukhūl Makkat al-Musharrafa. Fa tadhakkartu du'ā al-Maghribī al-madhkūr wa taḥaqqaqtu ijābat du'āyihī wa innahu kāna ishārat li l-safar al-mubāarak qabla wuqu'ihī.

Now, says he who is in need of God, exalted is He above all, Aḥmad al-Muḥammadi, known as Ṭūghān Shaykh al-Ashrafiya Barsbāy — may God, exalted is He above all, have mercy on them both! — and he who says “Amen!”: by the end of the year 867, I had as my neighbour a blessed Maghribi Sufi, who used to pray on my behalf, saying, “May God carry you on the ship of deliverance!”. Before long, he passed away, he was taken into the mercy of God, exalted is He above all. Following, our Lord, sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Khushqadam — may God, exalted is He above all, make his days and his conditions prosperous, may He make his beneficence vis-à-vis the Muslims last, and may he be guided in his words and in his deeds — ordered for [the Maghribi's corpse] to <be taken> to Meccca, the Exalted, together with the author of these [lines] (...), his family, and his companions of the al-Ashraf Īnāl's Royal Mamluks (...) He <sent> fifty *mamlūks* to Jedda, in order for them to take up residence in Mecca, the Exalted. This took place in the beginning of the month of Ṣafar, the Good, of the year 868, in the beginning of the cold season, during which navigation [had to be done] cautiously, due to the violent winds. [Yet, as] it was not possible to disobey the sultan's order, [we set sail for Jedda]. God — exalted is He above all — made my journey and that of the *mamlūks* who travelled with me easy, and the whole of our sea voyage from al-Ṭūr, the Blessed, up to the harbour of Jedda — [may it] be made prosperous through justice and equity, God willing! — took twenty days. God — exalted is He above all — then opened [the gates of] Mecca, the Exalted, for us to enter. I thought of the aforesaid prayer of the Maghribi, and I was convinced that this had been granted [by God], and that it had been a sign of the blessed[ness of] the voyage [by the Sufi], before he had met [his death].

What follows is a stock presentation of the *arkān* in 5 chapters, *muttabi'an qawlahu 'alayhi l-salām*, “*Buniya l-islām 'alā khams*”. Less common, perhaps, is the fact that the work is somewhat geared towards the traveling Muslim: *idhā aradta al-safar fa 's ul' an al-ṭariq wa l-rafiq wa l-dār allatī hiya l-maqṣūd fa nī'ma l-ṭariq al-mustaqīm wa nī'ma l-rafiq al-Qur'ān al-'azīm wa nī'ma l-dār al-ākhirā!* The *kitāb al-ṣalāt*, e. g., has a special section on how to perform the *ṣalāt* aboard a ship.

(2) *Kitāb Sayf al-Mulūk wa l-Salāṭīn 'alā l-Bughāt wa l-Muḥāribīn*:

A first *Fürstenspiegel* dedicated to al-Zāhir Khushqadam and authored in Mecca around 870/1466. The splendid autograph of 68ff., presumably a unicum, was offered for sale by Sotheby's at least two times.²⁷⁴ Surprisingly few mss. have come down to us that were produced in Mecca at the time...

274 *Arts of the Islamic World. Sotheby's, London Thursday 22 April 1999 (Sale L09304)* (London, 1999), p. 24 (lot 26, including a picture of the frontispiece and 1 p.); *A Princely Collection: Treasures from the Islamic World. Sotheby's, London 5 October 2010 (Sale L10225)* (London, 2010), pp. 80–81 (lot 49, including a picture of frontispiece and colophon).

(3) *Al-Burhān fī Faḍl al-Sulṭān:*

A second *Fürstenspiegel* dedicated to Khushqadam. Written in Mecca at an unspecified date, it deals with *siyāsa sharʿiyya* in 10 chapters. The two mss. that were used in the edition of 2012²⁷⁵ can be supplemented with at least two more: İstanbul, Beyazit Devlet Kütüphanesi, Nâdir Eserler 5200 (*non vidi*); Riyadh, Markaz al-Malik Fayṣal 3777 FH (*non vidi*). The work is discussed in some more detail by Otfried Weintritt²⁷⁶.

(4) *Zahr al-Basātīn bayna Yaday al-Mulūk wa l-Salāṭīn:*

A third *Fürstenspiegel* dedicated to Khushqadam. The text is preserved in a unique copy that dates from 1134/1722: İstanbul, Esʿad Efendi 1414, ff. 1v–55r (*non vidi*).

Second, under al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy’s reign (872–901/1468–1496), we find the following three works, all internally dated:

(5) *Faḥ al-Raʿūf fī Taʿzīm Asmāʾ Allāh wa l-Ḥurūf:*

A “letterist work” (→ 66) authored in Mecca in 874/1470, yet in relation to the “carpet conflict” a year earlier in Mecca. The work is preserved as a splendid unicum that was once part of Qāyṭbāy’s library: Kayseri, Raṣīt Efendi Eski Eserler Kütüphanesi, Eki 202, 60 ff. *bi rasm* Qāyṭbāy (*vidi*).²⁷⁷ The table of contents (→ fig. 25) reads as follows:

Yashtamil ʿalā khamsat abwāb wa tatimmat mubāraka kamā sayaʿtī bayānuhu in shāʿa llāh taʿālā:

Al-bāb al-awwal fī taʿzīm asmāʾ allāh wa l-ḥurūf wa bayānihā min tafāsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm

Al-bāb al-thānī fīmā naqala ʿulamāʾ al-ḥurūf fī ḥurmat al-ḥurūf wa nafihā wa nuzūlihā wa bayānihā

Al-bāb al-thālith fīmā warada min fatāwā l-ʿulamāʾ fī l-radd ʿalā man yunkir ḥurmat al-ḥurūf wa man <yujawwiz> imtihānahā

Al-bāb al-rābiʿ fīmā naqala ʿulamāʾ uṣūl al-dīn fī bayān al-ḥurūf wa l-qurʾān al-mubīn

Al-bāb al-khāmis fīmā nuqila fī wasm ibil al-ṣadaqa wa bi ayy lafẓ kāna l-wasm fī l-ibil

Tatimmat mubāraka muttaṣila bimā qablahā wa mā ḥukm al-Tawrīya wa l-Injīl wa mā dhakara l-Bukhārī fihimā

Wa fihi mithāl al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn Makka wa l-Madīna wa mithāl qadamay al-Nabīy ʿalayhi l-salām bi isnād ṣaḥīḥ wa ṣallā llāh ʿalā sayyidihā Muḥammad wa ālihī wa

275 Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ṭūghān (sic) al-Muḥammadī, *al-Burhān fī Faḍl al-Sulṭān*, ed. Aḥmad al-Jaʿīd (Beirut, 1433/2012).

276 O. Weintritt, *Das Faḍl ʿilgenre im islamisch-arabischen Schrifttum vom späten Mittelalter bis zum 18. Jahrhundert – Bestandsaufnahmen der physischen und der menschlichen/sozialen Natur* (Berlin, 2016), pp. 143–148. In one of his articles, Ulrich Haarmann referred to it most succinctly (“Rather the Injustice of the Turks than the Righteousness of the Arabs – Changing ʿUlamāʾ Attitudes towards Mamluk Rule in the Late Fifteenth Century”, *Studia Islamica* 68 (1988): 61–77, here p. 63).

277 Z.V. Togan, “Türkiye Kütüphanelerindeki Bazı Yazmalar”, *İslâm Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi* 2/1 (1956–57): 59–88, here p. 66.

aṣhābihi wa azwājihi wa dhurriyātihi wa anṣārihi ajma'ina wa sallama taslīman kathīran, āmīn.

This [book] consists of [the following] five chapters and a blessed supplement, as will be explained, God willing:

Chapter One: On the exaltation of the Names of God and the letters, and an explanation thereof drawn from the commentaries of the Noble Qur'ān;

Chapter Two: On what the letrists [*'ulamā' al-ḥurūf*] have transmitted regarding the sanctity of the letters, their advantages, and their revelation, and an explanation thereof;

Chapter Three: On those fatwas by *'ulamā'* in refutation of those who deny the sanctity of the letters and those who allow their improper treatment;

Chapter Four: On what the scholars of the *uṣūl al-dīn* have transmitted in explanation of the letters and of the Clear Qur'ān;

Chapter Five: On what has been transmitted regarding the branding of the camels collected as tax²⁷⁸ and regarding [the question with] which word [exactly] the camels were branded;

Blessed supplement that is attached to the preceding: [On] what is the ruling of the Torah and the Gospel, and on what al-Bukhārī has recorded in relation thereto;

In it, there are also images [*mithāl*]²⁷⁹ of the Two Noble Sanctuaries, Mecca and Medina, and an image of the foot[prints] of the Prophet, upon Him be peace, [all based] on a sound *isnād*. God bless Our Lord Muḥammad and all of His Family, His Companions, His wives, His progeny, and His helpers, and God grant Them much salvation. Amen.

Following the *basmala*, the work opens with a lengthy introduction (ff. 2v–13v), in which Ṭūghhān Shaykh vividly relates how the “carpet incident” unfolded. Alas, the author does not name his major opponent, so it remains unclear whether this was al-Samhūdī...

(f.3r) *Wa innanī lammā kuntu bi l-Madīnat al-sharīfat al-nabawīya mujāwiran li l-rasūl al-karīm zā'iran sanat thalāth wa sab'in wa thamānmi'at ra'aytu maktūban 'alā busuṭ bi l-rawḍat al-sharīfa mafrūsha lafza "Waqf" bi l-nasj manqūsha, fa ankartu dhālika li ḥurmat al-ḥurūf wa sharafihā wa 'izām sha'nihā limā warada fihā min al-aḥādīth al-ṣaḥīḥat al-mashhūra wa l-adillat al-ma'thūra 'an al-ayimmat al-mujtahidīn wa l-'ulamā' al-rāsīḥīn (sic) li anna kull ḥarf miftāḥ li ism min allāh ta'ālā.*

Fa qultu li ahl al-Madīnat al-sharīfa, "Yā llāh, al-'ajab, kayfa tudās hādhihi l-ḥurūf wa tuhān (sic), wa hiya min ḥurūf al-hijā' al-mu'aẓẓamat al-sha'n al-muntaẓim minhā l-Qur'ān?" Fa ajāba ba'd al-nās min al-mujāwirīn muta'aṣṣiban bi anna, "Hādihā jāyiz 'alā madhhab al-Shāfi'ī raḥimahu llāh." Fa qultu, "Bi ayy dalīl taqūl hādihā?" Fa qāla, "Bi wasm ibil al-ṣadaqa bi lafz "Li llāh", ma'a annahu lā yumkin al-iḥtirāz fīhi min arwāthihā wa abwālihā." Fa qultu lahu, "Arwāthuhā wa abwāluhā laysat bi najisa bi l-ijmā', bal fihā khilāf bayna l-'ulamā' wa akhtharuhum 'alā ṭahāratihā bi dalīl ḥadīth al-'Urnayīn, wa mā dhakarahu l-Bukhārī fī Ṣaḥīḥihī annahu 'alayhi l-salām ṣallā fī marābiḍ al-ibil wa l-ghanam?"

278 The *ibil al-ṣadaqa* were camels that were paid as a contribution to the public treasure at the time of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, to be used as mounts for those engaged in the *jihād*.

279 Both these two images and that of the Prophet's footprints are absent from the ms.

Fa qāla, “Hādhihi lafẓa “Waqf” li l-tamyīz, kamā anna wasm ibil al-ṣadaqa li l-tamyīz.” (f. 3v) *Fa qultu lahu, “Hādihā l-qiyās laysa bi ṣahīḥ, fa inna l-busuṭ li l-imtihān wa l-kitāba ‘alayhā taṣīr mumtahana bilā ashkāl, wa wasm al-ibil li l-tamyīz ṣahīḥ fa innahu ṭāhir al-aṣl bi yaqīn, wa maẓinnat al-najāsa wa lā yuqās al-yaqīn bi l-zann min wujūh muta‘addida, wa kadhālika qiyāsuka ‘alā ibil al-ṣadaqa bi qawlīka “Li llāh” mamnū’ min wujūh, minhā anna ibil al-ṣadaqa in kānat tūsam bi llāh ‘alā mā za‘amta li ajl al-tamyīz wa hiya tataḍammakh bi arwāthihā wa abwālihā wa hiya najīsa ‘alā qawlīka ma‘a annahu yaḥṣul al-tamyīz bi ghayr hādihā l-ism al-mu‘aẓẓam, kamā saya‘tī bayānuhu in shā‘a llāh ta‘ālā, annahu kutiba fihā ghayr hādihā, wa law kutiba ‘alayhā “Ṣadaqa” aw “Zakāt”, yaḥṣul al-tamyīz fa hal yajūz fī l-busuṭ mithla dhālika wa yuktab ‘alayhā “Li llāh” li l-tamyīz wa in kānat tudās kamā kutiba fī ibil al-ṣadaqa wa hiya tataḍammakh bi arwāthihā wa abwālihā l-najāsa kamā za‘amta ma‘a anna dhālika lā yajūz bi ijma‘ al-muslimin fa kayfa yaṣaḥḥ hādihā l-qiyās al-fāsid?”*

Thumma qāla inna “Daws hādhihi l-ḥurūf <jā‘iz> ḥattā innahu yajūz al-istinjā’ bi awrāq al-Tawrīya bilā khilāf li annahā lā ḥurma lihā li tabdīlihā.” *Fa qultu lahu, “Hādihā aṣad min qiyāsika l-awwal wa anā <abra> mimma taqūl wa ḥisāb hādhihi l-kalīma ‘alayka ‘inda llāh ta‘ālā!”* *Wa qumtu min al-makān* (f. 4r) *wa ḥaṣala ‘alayhi min ba‘ḍ al-nās inkār shadīd wa qīla lahu, “Waq‘ta fī maḥdhūr!”* *Wa kāna awwal al-nahr bi l-rawḍat al-sharīfa.”*

When I was in the Prophet’s Noble City, living closely to the Noble Envoy and visiting [His city], in the year 873, [one day,] I noticed that something was written on the carpets that covered the Noble Garden: the word “Waqf” inscribed into the textile. I disapproved of this, because of the sanctity of the letters, their dignity and the greatness of their prestige, [all aspects] that are mentioned in the well-known sound hadiths and the pieces of evidence that are related on the authority of the *mujtahid imāms* and the learned ‘*ulamā’*, for every letter is a key to [one of] the names of God, exalted is He above all.

I addressed the people of Medina, the Noble One, “By God! How can you step on these letters and treat [these] with disdain, while these are letters of the alphabet, of glorified prestige and [the same as those] of which the Qur’ān is made up?!” One of the inhabitants [of Medina] fanatically replied, “This is lawful by the *madhhab* of al-Shāfi‘ī, may God have mercy upon him!” I said, “On what ground do you say this?” He said, “On [the ground of] the branding of the camels collected as tax with the phrase ‘For God’. [After all, these animals are branded with God’s name], even though it is not possible to keep [them] clean from their droppings and their urine.” I replied, “Their droppings and their urine are not unanimously [considered] impure. Rather, there is disagreement over this among the ‘*ulamā’*, and, [in fact], the majority of them consider these as pure, on the ground of the Hadith of the People of ‘Urayna²⁸⁰. And didn’t al-Bukhārī state in his *Ṣahīḥ* that [the Prophet], upon Him be peace, performed the prayer in the stables of the camels and the sheep?”

280 According to a well-attested and sound hadith, some people from Urayna had arrived in Medina and settled there. Yet, as Medina’s climate did not suit them, they were increasingly uncomfortable. The Prophet then sent them some camels, and ordered them to drink their milk and urine as a medicine. Ever since then, the consumption of camel urine has been a staple treatment in Prophetic Medicine.

[Bringing in another argument,] he said, “This word ‘Waqf’ is [merely] for distinguishing it [from other carpets], just as the branding of the camels collected as tax is [merely] for distinguishing [these from the other camels, and thus have nothing to do per se with the objects on which these are inscribed.]” I replied, “This analogy is not correct. [As] the carpets are [meant to be] improperly treated [by being stepped on], their inscription unambiguously becomes something that is improperly treated [as well]. Now, [while] the branding of the camels for distinguishing them is a sound [tradition] and the essential purity [of the camels] is a certain [fact, you thinking of these animals] as impure is a suspicion [only], and, for a variety of reasons, one cannot be compare by analogy what is certain with that what is suspected [only]. Likewise, your deduction by analogy with the camels collected for tax, based on you saying [that there were branded with the phrase] ‘For God’, is prohibited for [even more] reasons, including [the following].²⁸¹ Provided that the camels collected for tax were indeed branded with ‘For God’, as you claim they were, for the purpose of distinguishing them [from the other camels], while [these animals] were rubbed with their droppings and their urine, something that is impure according to you — although these animals obtain that distinction through something else than this exalted name, for [I] will expound later on, God willing, that something else than that was inscribed on them — if ‘Ṣadaqa’ or ‘Zakāt’ had been inscribed on them, they would also have acquired distinction [i. e., the exact phrase is not what matters here?]. Is it permitted for carpets such as those [in the Noble Garden] to have ‘For God’ inscribed on them for distinction, and for you to step on them, [only] because that [phrase] is inscribed [as well] on the camels collected for tax, animals rubbed with droppings and urine, which, so you claim, [render them] impure, although that is not permitted by the consensus of Muslims? How could this wrong analogy be correct?”²⁸²

He then said, “It is lawful to step on these letters! It is even unanimously agreed upon that it is permitted to wipe one’s buttocks [after easing nature] with the pages of the Torah, since these have no sanctity as they have been changed.” In response, I said, “This is even more false than your previous analogy! I take no responsibility for what you are saying! It is you who will be called to account for these words by God, exalted is He above all!” I then rose to my feet, some of the people severely criticized him, and someone said to him, “You have got yourself in trouble!” This happened early in the day at the Noble Garden.

Thumma jtama'nā ba'da ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr bihā fi ākhir al-nahār min yawmihi, fa qultu lahu, “Mā kāna yanbaghī laka an taqūl bi jawāz al-istinjā’ bi awraq al-Tawriya bi ḥadrat al-awāmm wa l-juhāl, fa mā kull mā yu’lam yuqāl.” Fa ajāba bi, “Innī mā talaqqaytu l-ilm bi l-kamm, wa innamā akhadhtuhu <bi l-fam>”. Thumma qāla lī, “Mā taqūl fi lafzat “Waqf?” Fa qultu, “Hādhihi min jumlat hurūf al-hijā’ wa hiya min hurūf al-Qur’ān wa minhā yantazim.” Fa qāla, “Kull man yaqūl hādhihi l-hurūf min al-Qur’ān yakfur, wa l-iyādhi bi llāh ta’ālā. Ishhadū ‘alayhi wa <...> bi dhālika an yūqīnī fmā waqa’a fīhi wa ya’bi allāh dhālika!” Fa <tra’ajtu> (sic: rta’ajtu?) min kalāmīhi wa tashawwush al-khātirihi (sic), wa lā ḥawla wa lā quwwa illā bi llāh wa ni’mā l-nāṣir!

281 The section from here up to the next note is syntactically extremely blurred.

282 End of the blurred section.



Fig. 25: Table of contents and *bi rasm* section of Ṭūghān Shaykh's *Faṭḥ al-Ra'uf* (Kayseri, Raṣīt Efendi Eski Eserler Kütüphanesi, Eki 202, ff. 1v–2r)

Wa qad warada 'anhu 'alayhi l-salām annahu qāla, "Man ḥafara li akhihi qalīban waqa'a fīhi qarīban", aw kalām hādḥā ma'nāhu. Wa nfaḍḍa l-majlis 'alā hādḥā wa kathura l-qil wa l-qāl. Fa da'awtu llāh ta'ālā 'alā bāb ḥujrat al-Nabiy 'alayhi l-salām an yaftaḥ 'alayya bi dalīl a'tamid 'alayhi wa mustanad astanid ilayhi min kalām al-'ulamā' riḍwān allāh 'alayhim aḥma'ina, fa aqūl, "Wa bi llāh al-tawfiq. Wa ammā qawl al-muta'aṣṣib bi anna ibl (sic) ^(f.4v) al-ṣadaqa kānat tūsam bi llāh fa lam yathbut dhālika 'an al-nabiy ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama wa lā 'an aṣḥābihi wa lā 'an al-tābi'in wa lā warada fī l-Ṣaḥīḥayn (...)

Then, following the afternoon prayer, by the end of the day, we gathered in the Noble Garden, and I said to him, "You should not have said that it is permissible to wipe one's buttocks with the pages of the Torah in the presence of the common and ignorant people. One should not express everything that one knows!" He answered, "I have not acquired knowledge in [any significant] quantity, and what I have [in terms of knowledge] is <based on hearsay only>." He then asked me, "What do you think of the word 'Waqf'?" I replied, "This [word] is made up from the letters of the alphabet, [its letters] are part the letters of the Qur'ān, it is of these that [the Qur'ān] is made up." He said, "Everybody who said that these letters come from the Qur'ān is an infidel! God save me from that!" [Addressing the bystanders, he continued,] "Testify against him and <...> lest he makes me fall into [the error] that he himself had fallen in, [which is something] that God rejects!" I grew agitated over his words and his mental derangement. There is no power and no strength safe with God! How excellent a Protector He is! It has been said on the authority [of the Prophet], upon Him be peace, that "Whoever

digs a pit for his brother, [however?] small, will fall into it [himself] before long,” or some words to the same effect. Then the company broke up, and there was much talking. I prayed to God, at the gate of the Chamber of the Prophet, upon Him be peace, for disclosing to me a proof for me to rely on and a prop for me to lean against, [retrieved] from the words of the ‘*ulamā*’ — may God be pleased with all of them — while saying, “Divine guidance lies with God!” As for the bigot’s statement that the camels collected as tax were branded “For God”, that has not been established as [something sanctioned] by the Prophet, God bless Him and grant Him salvation, His Companions or the Followers, nor is it stated in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* (...)

In chapter two, authorities quoted include al-Suhaylī, al-Biṣṭāmī and al-Būnī. Alas, as digressing from an initial digression may unsettle even the most patient reader, I refrain from going into details. The author finished his work on Ramaḍān 28 874/March 31 1470, *bi l-Ḥaram al-Sharīf al-Makkī tujāh al-Bayt al-Ḥarām bayna l-Rukn wa l-Maqām*. On the last page, an interesting addition gives a key to Suhrawardī’s “secret alphabet” (*shakl ḥurūf al-tahajjī min waḍ’ al-shaykh al-ilāhī al-Suhrawardī*). Surely, this cannot possibly be the much-coveted key to unlock the symbols found in Suhrawardī’s *al-Mashārī’ wa l-Muṭārahāt*, can it?²⁸³

(6) *Manhaj* (or: *Minhāj?*) *al-Sulūk fī Sirat al-Mulūk*: a first *Fürstenspiegel* dedicated to Qāyṭbāy, written (while still in Mecca or already in Cairo?) in 875/1470 and consisting of 5 chapters. The text is preserved as a unicum: İstanbul, Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 2905 (75ff., *non vidi*).

(7) *Al-Muqaddima al-Sulṭāniyya fī l-Siyāsa al-Sharīya*: a second *Fürstenspiegel* dedicated to Qāyṭbāy, written in in 878/1473 and now consisting of 19 chapters. This seems to be Ṭūghān Shaykh’s most widely copied work. To the two mss. used in the 1997 ed.²⁸⁴, one could add at least 4 more: Berlin, Wetzstein 428, ff. 1–33 (an incomplete copy, *non vidi*)²⁸⁵; Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Fiḥḥ Ḥanafī 1726 (*non vidi*); and Riyadh, Markaz al-Malik Fayṣal 1559 F (*non vidi*). Particularly interesting is İstanbul, Süleymaniye, Fatih 3519 (*non vidi*), as this was made a waqf by Qāyṭbāy in 895/1490.

It would seem that Ṭūghān Shaykh was active not only as an author but as a copyist too:

(8) *Bānat Su‘ād*: purportedly a copy of Ka‘b b. Zuhayr’s *Ode* made by Ṭūghān Shaykh. The work was auctioned by Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge in 1923 (Oriental Manuscripts, Miniatures and Works of Art, lot 196) (*non vidi*).

To conclude this long digression and return to the ms. at hand, we have to conclude that Ṭūghān Shaykh’s authorship of the ‘*Umda/Tuḥfa* is possible, yet little more than that. *Prima facie*, authors such as al-Samhūdī (think, e.g., of his

283 L.W.C. van Lit, *Among Digitized Manuscripts. Philology, Codicology, Paleography in a Digital World* (Leiden/Boston, 2020), pp. 123–131.

284 Ed. ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh (Cairo, 1997) (*non vidi*).

285 Ahlwardt 9839 and not 9838 as given in Brockelmann’s *Geschichte*.

work on *siyāsa sharʿiyya*, the *al-Luʿluʿ al-Manthūr fī Naṣīhat Wulāt al-Umūr*) and Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudṣī²⁸⁶ are equally plausible candidates...

Whatever the case may be, Tūghān Shaykh definitely deserves some more scholarly attention. The chances that he turns out to be a key figure for late Mamluk lettrism are, in my view, rather slim, but a more founded judgment will have to be made by the specialists at hand. In relation to this, it should be observed that, “largely occultophilic (as the) learned elites of Mamluk Cairo”²⁸⁷ may have been, the “occult” is hardly represented in the list. When it comes to Qāniṣawh’s books retrieved thus far, we have one poem by Nesīmī and a *naẓīre* to this by Qāniṣawh (→ 3-1, ff. 57r-58v), and a brief astrological treatise (→ 51). Admittedly — at least when defined sufficiently broadly — throughout this chapter more occult elements are discussed, such as the poetry of Ḳayḡusuz Abdāl (found in a collection owned by Qāyṭbāy, → 3-1), Ibn Ṭalḥa’s work (included in a *Fürstenspiegel* for Barqūq, → 66), a work on *al-Asmāʿ al-Ḥusnā* that includes their numerical value (→ 41-1), a book on oneiromancy (owned by a granddaughter of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq, → 47, 48), and Qāniṣawh Khamṣmī’a’s horoscope (→ 115). Yet, even when added up, the list remains slim indeed. Where are the works on geomancy, bibliomancy, chiromancy, and scapilumancy? For now, it would seem that the occult in this chapter remain true to its etymological meaning...

(53) Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Fatih 3513 (*non vidi*)²⁸⁸

Kitāb al-Kamāl fī l-Furūsiyya wa Anwāʾ al-Silāḥ wa ʿĀdāb al-ʿAmal bi Dhālika wa Ṣifāt al-Suyūf wa l-Rimāḥ, the second and last work on *furūsiyya* (→ 45), copied (*khidmat*) by *mamlūk* Jānim min Uzbek min Ṭabaqat al-Rafrāf al-Malikī al-Ashrafi for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm khizānat al-maqām*) in 108ff.

The treatise is known by various titles and was one of two works authored by the famous Arab veterinarian and son of al-Mutawakkil’s chief veterinary surgeon, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb b. Ishāq b. Akhī Ḥizām al-Khuttalī (d. late 3rd/late 9th cent.). It deals with horse mastery, the arts of the sword, lance, javelin and bow, and concludes with a famous contribution on polo and a unique

286 See Haarmann, “Rather the Injustice of the Turks than the Righteousness of the Arabs”.

287 N. Gardiner, “Books on Occult Sciences”, in G. Necipoğlu, C. Kafadar & C.H. Fleischer (eds.), *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2019), I: 735–765, here p. 737.

288 H., Ritter, “La Parure des cavaliers’ und die Literatur über die ritterlichen Künste”, *Der Islam* 18 (1929): 116–154, here p. 124.

discourse on hunting lions.²⁸⁹ Rising to considerable prominence, the Abbasid *Kamāl* became the Mamluks' most important military manual. Is it possible that this remains unpublished?

Just like Ibn Abī Ḥizām's other treatise (the *Kitāb al-Furūsiya wa l-Bayṭara*), the *Kamāl* was translated into Mamluk-Kipchak under the title of *Mūnyetü'l-Ğuzāt*.²⁹⁰

(54) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Fatih 4516²⁹¹ (*vidi*)

Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. al-Ṭūlūnī al-Ḥanafī (d. after 909/1503), *Nuzhat al-Abṣār fī Manāqib al-A'immat al-Arba'at al-Akhyār wa Mazīd min Mu'jizāt al-Nabīy al-Mukhtār ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama 'alayhi wa 'alā ālihi wa aṣḥābihi mā dāma l-layl wa l-nahār*. The *rasm* section of the frontispiece, in poor condition, reads: *Bi rasm al-khazāyin al-<...> al-sulṭānīya al-malikīyat al-ashrafiyat al-Ghawri khallada llāh <mulk> Muḥammad ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama sayyida l-anbiyā'*.

The ms. (a unicum?) was copied in 74ff. in 911/1506–7 by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī (*Tamma dhālika 'alā yad kātibihi Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī għafara llāh lahu wa li wāli-dayhi wa li jamī' al-muslimīn fī sābi' ishri'n shahr Sha'bān al-Murakkar sanat aḥad 'ashar wa tismīya*), who has been identified as a scribe of Qāniṣawh.²⁹² The author, to whom I already tentatively ascribed the Dublin ms. (→ 17), must have been close to Qāniṣawh and will be returned to later on (→ 83/2).

As the work is unpublished, I reproduce the introduction in full. Following the *basmala* etc.:

Wa ba'du faqad jama'a l-'abd al-ḍa'if al-rāji 'afw rabbihi al-laṭif Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. al-Ṭūlūnī al-Ḥanafī al-Mī'mār, 'āmalahu llāh bi luṭfihi, al-khafī min kitāb Tanwīr al-Mawā'id, ta'lif al-shaykh al-imām al-'ālim al-allāmat al-ḥabr al-fahhāma

289 Al-Sarraf, "Mamluk *Furūsiyah* Literature", p. 192–193 (including a ref. to 5 more mss.); M. Şen, "Baytarnameler", in E. Gürsoy-Naskali (ed.), *Türk Kültüründe At ve Çağdaş Atçılık*, (İstanbul, 1995), pp. 177–264, here p. 196.

290 The 14th-century translation survives as a single copy that is dated 850/1446–1447 (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 3468) (*vidi*), and has received considerable attention. For an excellent state of the art, edition, translation and facsimile, see K. Öztöçü, *Munyatü'l-Ghuzāt. A 14th-Century Mamluk-Kipchak Military Treatise* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989). As for the translation of the *Kitāb al-Furūsiya wa l-Bayṭara*, see K. Öztöçü, "Memlûk Kıpçakçasıyla Yazılmış Bir Atçılık Risâlesi: Kitāb Bayṭaratu'l-Vāziḥ (Paris Nüshası)", *Journal of Turkish Studies* 24/2 (2000): 189–229 (including refs. to earlier research).

291 Apparently not Fatih 4517, as given in Brockelmann's *Geschichte* and as recorded on f. 1r.

292 Flemming, "Literary Activities", p. 254.

‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm al-Zawlī²⁹³, wa min al-kutub al-mash-hūra al-ṣaḥīḥat al-asānīd, ‘afā llāh ta’ālā ‘an mu’allichā.

Yashtamil dhālika ‘alā nubadh min faḍl al-‘ilm wa ahlihi wa manāqib al-a’immat al-arba’a raḍiya llāh ‘anhum, wa faḍl al-Qur’ān al-‘Azīm wa ahlihi, wa faḍl al-ḥadīth al-sharīf wa ahlihi. Nafa’nā llāh bi barakāt ‘ilmihī al-jalīl fa-hwa ḥasbī wa ni’ma al-wakīl!

Now, the weak servant, who hopes for the forgiveness of his kind lord, Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Ṭūlūnī al-Ḥanafī al-Mi’ mār, may God treat him kindly, has assembled [in this book] what has remained hidden from the book *Tanwīr al-Mawā’id*, authored by sheikh, the most learned imam and most understanding learned man, ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm al-Zawlī, as well as from the other famous books of sound transmission, may God, exalted is He above all, have mercy upon their respective authors. That [book] comprises small pieces on the virtue of knowledge and its practitioners, on the deeds of the Four Imams, may God be pleased with Them, on the virtue of the Noble Qur’ān and its people, and on the virtue of the Noble Hadith and its people. May God help us with the blessings of His exalted knowledge. God suffices me, how excellent a disposer of affairs He is!

Ibn al-Ṭūlūnī, however, immediately deviates from this structure, by starting with Muḥammad:

Fa shawwaqanī dhikr manāqibihim wa ḥusn akhbārihim an usharrifuhu (sic) bi dhikr man kāna sababan fī l-madad wa man khaṣṣahu llāh ta’ālā bi l-karāma min sābiq al-azal ilā l-abad, wa bashshara bi smihī l-sharīf bi qawlihi ta’ālā “Wa mubashshiran bi rasūlin ya’tī min ba’dī smuhu Aḥmad”, wa wa’ada man āmana bihi wa ttaba’ahu bi l-na’im al-muqīm al-mukhallad fa qāla ta’ālā “Wa lladhīna āmanū wa ‘amilū l-ṣāliḥāt wa āmanū bi mā nuzzila ‘alā Muḥammad”. Rawaytu bi ḥaqq riwāyatay (sic) li Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī raḥmatu llāh ‘alayhi samā’an li aktharihi wa ijāzatan li sāyirihī min al-shaykhayn al-imāmayn al-‘ālimayn al-‘āmilayn Sīdī l-Shaykh Amīn al-Dīn al-Aqṣurā’ī (sic) al-Ḥanafī wa Sīdī l-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Qāsim al-Ḥanafī taghammadahumā llāh ta’ālā bi raḥmatihī bi ḥaqq riwāyatayhimā li l-Ṣaḥīḥ al-madhkūr wa l-kutub al-madhkūra fī nasab al-Nabīy ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa sallama: huwa Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Muṭallib b. Hishām b. ‘Abd Manāf (...)

The discussion of their deeds and the beauty of their reports has aroused my longing to exalt [this book first] with a discussion of He who is a cause for help, whom God, exalted is He above all, has endowed with the mark of honour from times immemorial to eternity, whose Noble Name He has brought as a good tiding in His Word, “And bringing good tidings of an Apostle to come after me, whose name is Ahmad”²⁹⁴, and those who believe in Him and who follow Him He has promised lasting and perpetual felicity, [Him, of which] God, exalted is He above all, has said, “And those who believe and do righteous deeds and believe in what has been sent down upon Muhammad.”²⁹⁵ I have rightfully transmitted of the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī, God’s mercy be upon Him,

293 I have not been able to identify this source.

294 Qur’ān, 61:6.

295 Qur’ān, 47:2.

[being authorized to do so] by a *samā'* for most of it and an *ijāza* for the rest of it, [granted] by the two leadings sheikhs, our master, sheikh Amīn al-Dīn al-Aqṣurā'ī al-Ḥanafī, and our master, sheikh Zayn al-Dīn Qāsim al-Ḥanafī, may God, exalted is He above all, cover them with His mercy. [These granted me] the right to transmit from them the aforesaid *Ṣaḥīḥ* and the aforesaid books on the genealogy of the Prophet, God bless Him and grant Him salvation, the following:

He is Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Muṭallib b. Hishām b. 'Abd Manāf (...)

The opening lines from the 3rd and final section (ff. 69v.-):

Bāb fī faḍl 'ilm al-ḥadīth wa ahlihi.

Rawā l-Bukhārī 'an 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar raḍiya llāh 'anhumā qāla: 'Qāla rasūl allāh ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama, "Ballighū 'annī wa law āyatan, wa ḥaddīthū 'an Banī Isrā'īl wa lā ḥaraj, wa man kadhaba 'alayya mut'amidan fa la yatabawwa' maq'adahu min al-nār". Wa 'an 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd raḍiya llāh 'anu anna rasūla llāh ṣalā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama qāla, "Naḍḍara llāh 'abdan samī'a maqālatī fa ḥafīzahā wa wa'āhā wa addāhā kamā samī'ahā fa rubba ḥāmīl fiqh ilā ḡhayr faqīh, wa rubba ḥāmīl fiqh ilā man huwa afqah minhu."

A chapter on the virtue of the science of Hadith and its practitioners.

Al-Bukhārī has related on the authority of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, may God be pleased with Them, that the Envoy of God, God bless Him and grant Him salvation, has said, "Convey on my authority if but one verse, and relate traditions on the authority of the Banū Isrā'īl without restriction. But whosoever lies against me, surely, Hell will be his abode." And (it is related) on the authority of 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, may God be pleased with Him, that the Envoy of God, God bless Him and grant Him salvation, has said, "May God beautify the slave who hears a saying of Mine, remembers it, understands it, and carries it out as he has heard it. Many are those who carry the fiqh to one without fiqh, and many are those who carry the fiqh to one who has more fiqh than himself."

(55) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa 54
(*non vidi*)

'Alā' al-Dawla Simnānī's (d. 736/1336)²⁹⁶ *Najm al-Qur'ān*, one of several continuations of the 'Ayn al-Ḥayāt, *i. e.*, the *tafsīr* that was (supposedly) commenced by Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, founding father of the Kubrāwīya (d. 618/1221). The *Najm al-Qur'ān* opens with an introduction and a *tafsīr* of the *Fātiḥa*, and then picks up where al-Kubrā's 'Ayn al-Ḥayāt had left off, sura 52. Is it possible that this work was published in 2009 only?²⁹⁷

296 His *wāṣīya* is quoted at least once in the *Nafā'is al-Majālis* ('Azzām, *Majālis al-Sultān al-Ghawrī*, p. 35).

297 'Ayn al-Ḥayāt, in Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā & 'Alā al-Dawla al-Simnānī, *al-Ta'wīlāt al-Najmīya fī l-Tafsīr al-Ishārī al-Ṣūfī wa Yalihu Tatimmatuhu 'Ayn al-Ḥayāt*, ed. Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī, 6 vols. (Beirut, 1430/2009).

The ms. was copied by an anonymous (student of Simnānī?) in the Jāmi‘ al-Nūr in Qal‘at Šūfi-Ābād (i. e., the *khānqāh* that Simnānī built close to his home town in northern Iran), in 758/1357 in 103 ff. As this particular copy was the oldest one that was consulted by Jamal Elias in his study of al-Simnānī, it must be either the oldest or one of the oldest mss. available.²⁹⁸

The *bi rasm* section (*bi rasm khizānat al-maqām al-sharīf malik al-barrayn wa l-bahrayn mawlānā l-sultān al-mālik al-malik al-ashraf Abi l-Naṣr Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī*)²⁹⁹ leaves no room for doubt: *bi rasm* alone does not imply the commissioning of a particular ms., but merely its ownership. This crucial correction to current understanding has been highlighted before and will be returned to later on as well (→ 27, 28, 90, 123, Chapter Three).

It is tempting to link the ms.’s current location, as part of the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa collection, to the fact that Ali Paşa served twice as governor of Egypt (1739–41, 1754–56).

(56) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Mesih Paşa 60 (*vidi*)

Ādāb al-Mulūk, an anonymous *Fürstenspiegel* in 19 ff., copied by a *mamlūk* for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm mawlānā...*). The name of the copyist, given in the finispiece, is illegible (<*katabahu min Ṭūmān Bāy min Ṭabaqat al-Mustajadda*>).

In spite of the common title, this is not the same work as Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 91 (→ 94). This should not surprise us, as *Ādāb al-Mulūk* is a common title for *Fürstenspiegels*. Next to the present ms. and the Topkapı ms., think of, e.g. the Arabic *Ādāb al-Mulūks* authored by al-Māwardī and al-Tha‘ālibī, and the more recent Persian *Ādāb al-Mulūk* authored by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Hādī al-Ḥusaynī (d. 1118/1706).

What becomes immediately clear is that the present work is heavily indebted first and foremost to (pseudo-)al-Ghazālī’s well-known *al-Tibr al-Masbūk fi Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*³⁰⁰. Following the *basmla*, the work opens with a first anecdote (f. 1v) that is taken from *al-Tibr al-Masbūk*’s first chapter of part 2, *fi dhikr al-‘adl wa l-siyāsa wa dhikr al-mulūk wa siyarihim*:

298 J.J. Elias, *The Throne Carrier of God: The Life and Thought of ‘Ala ad-dawla as-Simnani* (New York, 1995), pp. 203–212.

299 See F. Meier, “Stambuler Handschriften dreier persischer Mystiker”, *Der Islam* 24/1 (1937): 1–42, here p. 15; O.G. Özgüdenli, “İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde Bulunan Farsça Yazmaların Öyküsü: Bir Giriş”, *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 27 (2008): 1–75, here p. 30, n. 167.

300 Al-Ghazālī, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk fi Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*, *‘Arrabahu ‘an al-Fārisiyya ilā l-‘Arabiyya Aḥad Talāmīdhatihī*, ed. Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 1409/1988). As pointed out to me by Gowaart Van Den Bossche (Agha Khan University), the authorship of *al-Tibr* is contested (see P. Crone, “Did al-Ghazālī Write a Mirror for Princes? On the Authorship of *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*”, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 9 (1987): 167–191).

Qāla Sufyan (sic): “*Khayr al-mulūk man jālasa ahl al-‘ilm*”. *Wa yuqāl anna jamī‘a al-ashyā‘ tatajammal bi l-nās wa l-nās yatajammalūna bi l-‘ilm wa fī l-‘ilm baqā‘ li l-‘izz wa dawāmuhu, fī l-‘aql baqā‘ al-surūr wa nizāmuhu. Wa man ijta‘a fīhi al-‘ilm wa l-‘aql faqad ijta‘a fīhi ithnā‘ashar khiṣla* (sic): *al-fiqh wa l-adab wa l-baqā‘ wa l-amāna wa l-nuṣṣa*³⁰¹ *wa l-ḥayā‘ wa l-raḥma wa ḥusn al-khuluq wa l-wafā‘ wa l-ṣabr wa l-ḥilm wa l-mudārā, wa hādhihi min khawāṣṣ ādāb al-mulūk.*

Sufyan (sic) said, “The best of kings is he who sits with scholars.” It is said that all things acquire value through the people and that the people acquire value through the knowledge, and that knowledge leads to the duration of glory and its continuance, and that intelligence leads to the duration of happiness and its proper arrangement. Whosoever has combined in himself knowledge and intelligence has combined in himself the following twelve qualities: discernment, courtesy, <...>, honesty, <...>, modesty, compassion, kind-heartedness, fidelity, patience, tact, and equanimity. These are qualities of the *ādāb* of the rulers.

Also other sections of the *Tibr* have been culled. The following anecdote (ff. 4r–4v), e. g., is taken from *al-Tibr*’s second chapter of part 1, *fī dhikr furū‘ shajarat al-īmān*:

Ruwiya inna Dāwūd ‘alayhi l-salām kāna yakhruj mutanakkiran fa idhā wajada aḥadan sa ‘ala ‘an Dāwūd, “Wa mā ḥāluhu wa mā sīratuhu?” Fa jā (sic) *Jibrīl ‘alayhi l-salām fī ṣūrat rajul, fa qāla lahu Dāwūd, “Mā taqūl fī Dāwūd?” Qāla, “Nīma l-‘abd illā annahu ya ‘kul min bayt al-māl wa lā ya ‘kul min kadd yadayhi wa lā tā‘iba badanihi.” Fa ‘āda Dāwūd ilā miḥrābihi wa qāla, “Ilāhī, ‘allimnī ṣan‘at ākul minhā min kadd yamīnī!” Fa ‘allamahu llāh ‘amal al-zarad.*

It is related that David, upon Him be peace, used to go out in disguise, and when he met someone, he then asked him about David, “What is he like?” Gabriel, upon Him be peace, came [to David] in the form of a man and David said to Him, “What do you think of David?” [Gabriel] replied, “An excellent servant He is, except that he lives off the treasury, not off the toil of his hands, and that he does not tire his body.” David returned to his prayer niche and said, “O God. Teach me a craft that allows me to live off the toil of my right hand!” Thus God taught him to make chain mails.

However, it would seem that the present work is more than a mere compilation of reshuffled excerpts taken from *al-Tibr*, and that it contains additional material, either original or culled from yet another source.

301 *Baqā‘* and *nuṣṣa* should probably be emended as *taqā* and *ṣiḥḥa*, but, on the whole, the list seems to be not very stable.

(57) Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Reisülküttap 402 (*vidi*)³⁰²

Masā'il Munyat al-Muṣallī fi l-Fiqh 'alā Madhhab al-Imām al-A'zam Abī Ḥanīfat al-Nu'mān, an Arabic work in 107 ff. that was copied for the library of Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm khizānat mawlānā l-maqām al-sharīf al-sultān al-Malik al-Ashraf Abī l-Naṣr Qāniṣawh al-Ghawri*). Neither author nor scribe is given. We could be dealing with a work based on Sadīd al-Dīn al-Kāshgharī's (d. 705/1305) popular treatise on the rules and rites of prayer according to the Hanafite *madhhab*, the *Munyat al-Muṣallī wa Ghunyat al-Mubtadi*, but this remains to be verified. At least one more Mamluk sultan owned a copy of al-Kāshgharī's work, so this identification is quite plausible.³⁰³

The opening lines following the *basmala*:

Wa ba'du fa innī jama'tu masā'il Munyat al-Muṣallī fi hādihā l-kitāb. Wa llāhu a'lam li l-sawāb, wa ilayhi l-marjī' wa l-ma'āb.

Kitāb al-Ṭahāra:

Qāla raḥimahu llāh li kull shay' 'ilm (sic) wa 'alam al-īmān al-ṣalāt. Mas'ala: Mā l-farq bayna l-īmān wa l-kufr? Jawābuhā: Tark al-ṣalāt.

Mas'ala: Kam sharā'it al-ṣalāt? Jawābuhā: Sittat al-ṭahāra min al-ḥadath wa l-ṭahāra min al-najāsa wa satr al-awra wa stiqbāl al-qibla wa l-waqt wa l-nīya.

Mas'ala: (...)

Now, in this book I have collated the questions [that are dealt with] in the *Munyat al-Muṣallī*. God truly knows best! Onto Him is the refuge and the return!

The Chapter on Ritual Purity:

Everything has a sign, and the sign of belief is the prayer.

Question: What is the difference between belief and unbelief? Answer: Neglect of the prayer.

Question: How many pre-conditions are there to the prayer? Answer: Six: purity of *ḥadath*; purity of impurity; covering the *'awra*; facing the Qibla; timing; and intention.
(...)

Following this *kitāb* are a number of *fuṣūl*, all with hands-on advice on ritual purity first and foremost (on *mā yanquḍ al-tayammum*, *miyāh*, *ḥiyāḍ*, *mash' alā l-khuffayn*, the *farā'id al-wuḍū'*, *ansāj*, the *sharā'it al-ṣalāt*, the *awqāt al-mus-tahabb fihā l-ṣalāt*, *nawāfil*, *ṣalāt al-witr*, *mā yufsid al-ṣalāt*, etc.).

302 Özgüdenli, "İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde Bulunan Farsça Yazmaların Öyküsü," p. 30, n. 167; *Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Koleksiyonlarından Seçilmiş Yazma Eserler Türk Cilt Sanati Sergisi 25 Kasım - 1 Aralık 1968*, (Ankara, 1968), p. 8.

303 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ar. 8302 (*vidi*), a copy owned by (al-malik) al-Zāhir, who is not further identified.

- (58) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Süleymaniye 227 bis
(*vidi*)³⁰⁴

Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Kirmānī al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 786/1384), *al-Awwal min al-Kawākib al-Darārī fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. This is the first volume of al-Kirmānī’s well-known commentary of al-Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*, the *baraka* of which he hoped would cure the Mamluk sultan who had fallen ill.

The work was copied in Mecca in 859/1455 (*wa kāna l-farāgh minhu bi Makkat al-Musharrafa, zādahā llāh sharafan wa ta’zīman, fī khāmis ‘ishrīn rabī al-awwal sanat tis’ wa khamsīn wa thamānmīya*) in 278ff. Qāniṣawh then acquired it, and put it in *waqf* at his madrasa, as recorded on top of the frontispiece.

The cataloger’s description of the ms. (“*nuskha kutibat bi rasm Qāniṣawh al-rāfiḍī*”) is problematic in two respects. First, this would imply that Qāniṣawh ordered this copy to be made in Mecca while still in his teens! Second, and much more troubling, there is the puzzling cognomen *al-rāfiḍī*. As the frontispiece (→ fig. 26) shows no trace of this or of anything else that could easily be mistaken for that, we can only (?) conclude that this is a slur added by the cataloger... If so, one wonders, for what reason?

- (59) Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Turhan Sultan 264 (*non vidi*)

The third volume of Abū Bakr b. Waḥshīya (late 3rd-early 4th/10th cent.), *Kitāb al-Filāḥat al-Nabaṭīya*.

According to Aleksandar Shopov, this ms. carries an ex libris of Qāniṣawh that is similar to those found on three other vols. of the same work.³⁰⁵ As such, we must be dealing with an 8-volume set, of which 4 vols. are presently identified: vols. 1 and 4 in Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi (→ 76, 77), vol. 8 in Leiden (→ 119), and vol. 3, the present item. The most likely scenario is that the *Kitāb al-Filāḥat* first made it as a set to the Ottoman palace, and only then got dispersed (→ Chapter Five).

- (60) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 137 (*non vidi*)³⁰⁶

Khawāṣṣ Kitāb al-‘Azīz, an anonymous work on the *khawāṣṣ shifā’īya* of Qur’anic verses, as related by ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Mālik b. Anas etc. It was copied by Qanmur min Janmur (*sic?*)³⁰⁷ for the library of Qāniṣawh in 76ff.

304 *Fihris al-Makhṭūṭāt al-‘Arabīya wa l-Turkiya wa l-Fārisīya fī l-Maktabat al-Sulaymāniya* (Jidda, 1431/2010), I: 330. Next to the old shelf mark, 227 bis, also 297.2(077) is used.

305 Personal communication.

306 F.E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu, I-IV* (Istanbul, 1962–1969), nr. 5651.



Fig. 26: Frontispiece, with no trace of al-Rāfiḍi...

307 Thus read by Ohta ("The Bindings of Qansuh al-Ghawri", p. 218).

(61) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 169 (*vidi*)³⁰⁸

Yünus b. Taghrībirdī, *Faḍl al-Bārī fī mā Yaḥtāju ilayhi l-Muqrī wa l-Qārī*, a work on *qirā'a*. Following the *basmala* etc. the opening line:

Wa ba'du fa innahu lammā balagha l-'abd al-faqīr al-mu'tarif bi l-'ajz wa l-taqṣīr man qallat fī ṭā'at mawlāhu (...) Yünus b. Taghrībirdī amīr ākhūr lammā balaghanī mā waqa'a bayna yaday mawlānā sultān (...) min al-mufāwaḍa fī l-qirā'āt al-'ashara wa mā fawqa dhālika min al-a'immat al-barara (...) wa hal warada 'an ghayrihim qirā'at ṣaḥīḥa murāda fa sa'alanī fī jam' taraf min dhālika (...) li yakūn bi rasm mawlānā l-sultān (...) fa ajabtuhu li dhālika wa mā kuntu qaṭṭ lahu ahlan wa qultu lahu marḥaban bi marsūmika wa ahlan wa sahlan fa shammartu 'an sā'id al-jidd li l-murād.

Now, when reached the poor slave, who recognizes his own weakness and inferiority, who falls short in obedience to his lord (...) Yünus b. Taghrībirdī, the amīr akhūr, what had happened in the presence of his lord the sultan (...) of discussing the 10 readings and those others from the righteous imams (...) [and the question whether] there is a sound reading that is based on another authority than theirs, and he asked me to bring together the views on this (...) [into a book] intended for our lord, the sultan (...) I replied, even though I was not qualified for that, "I receive your order graciously and I welcome it!", and got to work.

Commissioned by Qāniṣawh and his unnamed son (his eldest son, who passed away in the early 910s/1505? → 78), it was written (*jama'a*) in 76ff. by Yünus b. Taghrībirdī, the amīr ākhūr, and eventually ended up in father's *khizāna* (*bi rasm khizānat al-maḡām al-sharīf (...) Qāniṣawh*).³⁰⁹ There is a peculiar *shamsa* on top of the *basmala* (→ fig. 27).

In light of the step-by-step procedure followed in producing these, my initial idea was that this *shamsa* was *in medias res*, i. e., that it had been left un-

308 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 1678.

309 Perhaps due to the untimely death of the prince? In the *Nafā'is* (→ 82), the date of his death is rendered in a Turkic chronogram by the author ('Azzām, *Majālis al-Sultān al-Ghawri*, p. 21):

Söylemen kim oğlu öldi ḥāzret-i sultān-i Mısr ☪ *Bir mü'min ölmedi fī küll-i arz-i 'āmire*
Mālik oldi küll-i dünyā (sic) bi l-'adālet atası ☪ *Kitdi oğlu tā ki dutsun mülk-i dār-i l-*
āḥire
'Akıl mendin şordı tārīḥ-i vefātın söyledim ☪ *Yetişir tārīḥuhu a'lā l-kuşūr al-fāḥire*

Do no say that the son of His Excellency, the ☪ [For] nowhere in this inhabited world
sultan of Egypt, has died, ☪ does a believer ever die!
While his father has come to rule all of the ☪ His son has departed to assume the
world in justice, ☪ reign of the Hereafter.
[When] reason asked me for the date of his ☪ "Its date reaches the highest of
death, I replied, ☪ sumptuous castles!"

El-fāḥire yields 917, which, according to 'Azzām, is one year off, as the son passed away in 916.



Fig. 27: The *basmala* (f. 1v)

finished.³¹⁰ However, as the frontispiece of the *Nafā'is al-Majālis* (→ 82) shows exactly the same plain gold roundel, this may well have been the end product that the illustrator had in mind.

(62) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 363 (*non vidi*)³¹¹

Another *arba'ūna* collection, now the *Kitāb Arba'ūna Ḥadīthan fī Faḍl Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ* by Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Armayūnī (or: al-Urmayūnī, al-Urmiyūnī) (d. 958/1551?), the pupil (*tilmīdh*) of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī and sheikh at the Azhar whom we have met before (→ 21). The work was copied for Qāniṣawh by *mamlūk* Tuḡtamish min Marjānbardī in 30ff.

Other copies of the same work potentially amount to over 10, but their exact number is hard to establish, as both title and contents seem rather in flux. In fact, a cursory reading of three mss. suggests that al-Armayūnī authored not one but two *arba'ūna* collections in relation to the *Ikhlāṣ*, one called *Arba'ūna Ḥadīthan fī Faḍl* (or: *Faḍā'il*) *Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*, and the second one called *Arba'ūna al-Muta'allaqa* (or: *Tata'allaq*) *bi Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*. However, more work is required to decide whether we are truly dealing with two different works altogether or merely with two alternative versions of the same work... At least for now, it would appear that the following mss. are identical to the present item: Damascus, Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhirīya, 3866 (*vidi*); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, arabe 744/3 (*vidi*); Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 515 (*non vidi*). The third ms. that I consulted (Tokyo, Insitute of Oriental Culture, Daiber ms. 130) seems rather different, and would thus represent the second of al-Armayūnī's two *arba'ūna* collections.

310 Compare to the division of labour in the production of *āya* dividers, as detailed by N. Baydar ("Newly Identified Techniques in the Production of Islamic Manuscripts", *Studies in Conservation* 55 (2010), Supplement 2, pp. 69–73).

311 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 3141.

The work has been edited twice: by ʿĀrif al-Ṭanṭāwī (*non vidi*) and by Rıdvan Kalaç (based on Ayasofya 515).³¹²

Whereas al-Armayūnī's bibliography in Brockelmann's *Geschichte* amounted to 8 titles³¹³, it would seem that al-Armayūnī has been rather more prolific. At least the following titles could be added to Brockelmann's bibliography, mostly available in ms.:

- *Ad'ya wa Aḥādīth fī Faḍl Rajab wa Sha'bān wa Ramaḍān wa Āyat al-Kursī*
- *Aḥādīth Majmū'a min al-Kutub al-Sitta wa Ghayrihā*
- *Arba'ūna Ḥadīthan fī Faḍilat al-Ṣamt*
- *Arba'ūna Ḥadīthan fī Faḍl al-Ṣalāt wa l-Salām 'alā Rasūl Allāh Ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa Sallam a*
- *al-Badr al-Munīr fī Faḍl al-Ṣalāt 'alā l-Bashīr al-Nadhīr* (→ 21)
- *Al-Faḍl wa l-Minna al-Dāll ilā Ṭarīq al-Janna*
- *Al-Itḥāf bi Tamyīz Mā Tabā'a Fīhi l-Bayḍāwī Ṣāhib al-Kashshāf*
- *Jadhḥāb al-Qulūb ilā Ṭarīq al-Maḥbūb*
- *Labāb al-Aḥādīth*
- *Sharḥ Gharīb Mā fī l-Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr* (= *Tafsīr al-Gharīb fī l-Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr*)
- *Tafsīr Qawlihi Ta'ālā "Inna Llāh wa Malā 'ikatahu Yuṣallūn 'ala l-Nabīy, "Yā ayyuhā lladhīna āmanū ṣallū 'alayhi wa sallimā taslīman"*
- *Tuḥfat al-Asāṭīn fī Akhbār Ba'd al-Khulafā' wa l-Salāṭīn*

Also for these other works of al-Armayūnī, an important first step will be to distinguish alternative titles from different works...

Concluding, al-Armayūnī was also active as a copyist, penning, e.g., his teacher al-Suyūṭī's *Ziyāda 'alā Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr* (Princeton, Islamic Manuscripts, Garrett no. 449 Y, completed in 913/1507) (*non vidi*).

(63) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 523 (*vidi*)³¹⁴

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb al-Araḥ fī l-Faraj*. Already the fifth work of al-Suyūṭī in the list (→ 16, 18, 23/3, 29, yet more is to come), now a work on prayers that was composed as an *ilāwa* and a *talkhīṣ* to Abū Bakr b. Abī l-Dunyā's *al-Faraj ba'da l-Shidda*:

312 Cairo, n.d. (*non vidi*); "El-Ermeyūnī (ö. 958/1551?) ve İhlās Sûresi'nin Faziletine Dair Kırk Hadis", *e-Şarkiyat İlmi Araştırmalar Dergisi* 10/4 (2018): 1276–1305.

313 Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition*, II: 374, Suppl. II: 468. Of the titles listed by Brockelmann, at least the following two have been edited: (*al-Qawl/Kitāb*) *al-Mu'tamad fī Tafsīr "Qul huwa llāhu aḥad"*, ed. Muḥammad Khayr Ramaḍān Yūsuf (Beirut, 1418/1997); *Arba'ūna Ḥadīthan fī Faḍl/Tata'allaq bi Āyat al-Kursī sayyidat āy al-Qur'ān*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Ashūr (Gizah, 1407/1987).

314 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 5557.

Hādhā ta'lif laṭīf lakhkhaṣṭuhu fīhi Kitāb al-Faraj Ba'da l-Shidda li Abī Bakr b. Abī l-Dunyā ma'a ziyādāt ḥasana wa sammaytuhu al-Araj fī l-Faraj.

This is a delicate composition, in which I have summarized the *Kitāb al-Faraj ba'da l-Shidda* of Abū Bakr b. Abī Dunyā with beautiful additions, and I have called it *al-Araj fī l-Faraj*.

It was copied (*katabahu*) by *mamlūk* Yakhshibāy al-Muḥammadī min Ṭabaqat al-Zimāmiya al-Malikī al-Ashrafī in 59ff. for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm*).

(64) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 1068 (*non vidi*)³¹⁵

The *Tuḥfat al-Mulūk* ('*alā Madhhab Abī Ḥanīfa*'), a *mukhtaṣar* of Hanafite *fiqh* in 10 chapters (*ṭahāra, ṣalāt, ṣawm, jihād, ...*), authored by Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abd al-Muḥsin Ḥasan al-Rāzī (d. 666/1268), and copied for Qāniṣawh's library in 18ff.

While al-Rāzī is known first and foremost as the *Ṣāḥib Mukhtār al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, after his celebrated abridgement of al-Jawharī's dictionary, it would seem that his *Tuḥfa* enjoyed quite some popularity as well. In fact, Topkapı library alone holds fifteen copies. For other mss. and the work's various *shurūḥ*, see the 1997 edition.³¹⁶

The *Tuḥfa* is quite small, but still, one wonders whether the present item (18ff., 8 ll. only) could cover the whole work...

(65) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 1172 (*non vidi*)³¹⁷

Masā'il al-Ihtimām bi Mā Warada fī l-Aḥkām, a work on some *fiqh*-related questions copied for Qāniṣawh al-Gahwrī in 108ff.

According to Karatay, this item bears some resemblance to another ms. kept in the palace library, Ibn Abī l-'Izz al-Ḥanafī's (d. 792/1390) *al-Tahdhīb li Dhīhn al-Labīb* (A 871, 50ff.). Indeed, following the *basmala*, their opening lines are identical:

Al-ḥamdu li llāh, al-muḥīṭ binā afdāluhu, al-mabsūṭ lanā aqwāluhu, lladhī tafaddala 'alaynā bi l-hidāya.

Praise be to God, whose graces encompass us, and whose words are laid out before us, the One who favoured us with divine guidance!

315 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 3897.

316 *Tuḥfat al-Mulūk fī Fiqh Madhhab al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfat al-Nu'mān*, ed. 'Abd Allāh Nadhīr Aḥmad (Beirut, 1417/1997).

317 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 4075.

It should be observed, however, that the present item appears to be considerably longer than various other mss. of the (unpublished?) *Tahdhīb*: A 871: 50ff.; Süleymaniye, Fatih 5398: 22ff. (*non vidi*); Süleymaniye, Feyzullah Efendi 921: 13ff. (*non vidi*). Hence, while the two titles may well be connected, it remains to be established whether they are truly identical.

(66) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 1377 (*vidi*)³¹⁸

Anon., *al-Kawkab al-Durrī fī Awjibat Masā'il al-Ghawrī*³¹⁹, a collection of “two thousand” questions that were discussed during the *majālis* of Qānişawh. Only the first of 2 volumes remains. Presumably an autograph, its first volume was written in 919/1513 and consists of 175ff.

Published together with the *Nafā'is al-Majālis* (→ 82) already in 1941 by ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ‘Azzām³²⁰, the work itself hardly needs further introduction. Also the performative context of literary gatherings in general — as sites for knowledge production, arenas for competition over patronage, venues for the movement of scholars, books and ideas, or, in the words of Shahab Ahmed, “private-public spaces of meaning” — has been dealt with in some excellent studies and needs no further comments.³²¹

What is worth reiterating, however, is the fact that ‘Azzām published only a selection of the two texts, being perhaps even more selective in the case of *al-Kawkab* than he was in the case of the *Nafā'is*. On the whole, *al-Kawkab* appears to be less wide-ranging than the *Nafā'is*, and somewhat heavier on *tafsīr*. Moreover, the lively *majālis* setting and the strong authorial voice that make the *Nafā'is* such a pleasant read are much less prominent here. Nonetheless, *al-Kawkab al-Durrī* remains a treasure trove in its own right. An enlightening episode, e.g., is the author’s accounts of his discussions with Şārū Kurz, *i. e.*, Şarı Görez (d. 1522), a chief Ottoman jurist under the reigns of Bāyezīd II and Selīm I, who is remembered nowadays first and foremost for his devastating fatwa against the Safavids (heretical unbelievers, the fighting of which is a religious duty of all Muslims!).³²² Unless Şarı Görez spent some time in Cairo (?), this account would

318 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 5184.

319 There seems to be some confusion over the title. A modern copy of the work (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, *Tafsīr* 258) is called *al-Kawkab al-Durrī Fī Masā'il al-Ghawrī* (→ 9).

320 In 2014, a most welcome reprint was published by the al-Hindāwī Foundation in Cairo.

321 See Saba, *Harmonizing Similarities. A History of Distinctions Literature in Islamic Law*, pp. 119–156 (with further refs. to studies by, among others, Samer Ali, Dominic Brookshaw, and Judith Pfeifer), and Sh. Ahmed, *What is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic* (Princeton/Oxford, 2016), here p. 423.

322 See mainly A. Atçıl, “The Safavid Threat and Juristic Authority in the Ottoman Empire during the 16th Century”, *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 49 (2017): 295–314, here pp. 298–301.

imply that the author of the *Kawkab* came from the Ottoman lands, or at least had spent some time there...

More *majālis* texts have turned up since ‘Azzām’s seminal edition: *al-Majālis <al-Marḍīya>* (→ 17-2), *al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīya* (→ 68), and *al-‘Uqūd al-Jawharīya* (but only the opening pages of the two volumes, → 47, 48). Perhaps a collated index to these texts may prove more useful than a full edition?³²³ As detailed above, while *al-Kawkab al-Durrī Fī Ajwibat al-Ghawrī* (→ 9) is catalogued as a *nuskha aṣlīya*, this is probably nothing but a modern copy of the Istanbul ms.

As the partial edition is readily available and as more than one scholar have already engaged with its specific contents³²⁴, rather than detailing its structure and its contents, it is perhaps more useful to briefly consider two of the immediate antecedents of Qāniṣawh’s *majālis*. Obviously, Qāniṣawh was not breaking new ground, neither in convening *majālis* nor in having their “proceedings” recorded. Still, what is perhaps less appreciated is just how recent and close by a historical antecedent may have been available to him: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-‘Abbāsī’s (alive in 901/1496) *Tuḥfat al-Sā’il fī Ajwibat al-Masā’il*, which purportedly contains three hundred questions that sultan Qāyrbāy submitted to the ‘*ulamā*’, as well as the answers as given by al-‘Abbāsī.³²⁵ As pointed out already in our discussion of the Chester Beatty ms. (→ 17), Qāniṣawh thought highly of Qāyrbāy, and even considered himself the latter’s equal in terms of accomplishments (*Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī nasaban al-Qāyrbāyī ḥasaban wa l-Ḥanafī madhhaban wa l-Jarkasī jinsan*) (for more items examples of Qāyrbāy’s exemplary role, among others → 17-4c, 19, 43, 47, 107). In this light, we could appreciate both Qāniṣawh’s literary output (→ 43, etc.) and his *majālis* as the con-

323 Undoubtedly, Christian Mauder’s forthcoming monograph, *In the Sultan’s Salon: Learning, Religion and Rulership at the Mamluk Court of Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī (r. 1501–1516)*, will offer an excellent step forwards.

324 See also B. Flemming, “Aus den Nachtgesprächen Sultan Ḡaurīs”, in H. Franke et al. (eds.), *Folia rara Wolfgang Voigt LXV. diem natalem celebranti (...) dedicata* (Wiesbaden, 1976), pp. 22–28; R. Irwin, “The Political Thinking of the “Virtuous Ruler,” Qānsūh al-Ghawrī”, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 12 (2008): 37–49; and Mauder & Markiewicz, “A New Source on the Social Gatherings”.

325 Whereas C. Brockelmann references only one title for al-‘Abbāsī (*History of the Arabic Written Tradition*, II: 85, S II: 98), it appears that we should add at least one more title to his bibliography: *al-‘Uqūd al-Mufaṣṣala fī l-Jam’ bayna l-Qudūrī wa l-Takmila*, for which we have a unicum (?) in Medina, University Library, ‘Arif Ḥikmet, al-fiqh al-ḥanafī 190 (*non vidī*). As for the *Tuḥfa*, Brockelmann’s list of 7 mss. (*ibid.*) can easily be augmented. To mention only 4 additional ones: Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, 4214/1 (58ff. dated 1140 AH) (*vidī*); Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, Cod. Ms. arab. 393–04 (*non vidī*); Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Reisülküttāb Mustafa Efendi 523 (*vidī* of 2ff.); Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Ms. Yah. Ar. 842 (*non vidī*). Could it be that the old Būlāq ed. (1277/1860) (*non vidī*), referred to by Brockelmann, is still the only one available?

tinuations of two royal practices that were initiated or reinvigorated by Qāyṭbāy, and not as early 16th-century novelties introduced by Qāniṣawh himself.

While a full discussion of the *Tuḥfa* is hardly warranted here, it is worth pointing out that the questions dealt with are as wide-ranging and as diverse as those dealt with in Qāniṣawh's *majālis*. By way of illustration, a random selection of some questions dealt with in the *Tuḥfa*:

- *Ayy aḥjār al-Ka'ba, min ayy jabal?*
- *Lima kānat abwāb al-janna thamāniya wa abwāb al-nīrān sab'a?*
- *Mā ḥikma fī 'adhāb al-qabr?*
- *Lima ja'ala llāh ta'ālā l-kuffār akhthar min al-mu'minīn?*
- *Mā awwal ṭa'ām ya 'kuluhu ahl al-janna?*
- *Lima khaṣṣa llāh al-sayyid Ibrāhīm 'alayhi l-ṣalāt wa l-salām min bayna sāyir al-anbiyā' bi dhikrihi fī l-ṣalāt?*
- *Mā ma'nā qawlihi ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama, "Al-mu'min ya 'kul fī mi'an wāḥid, wa l-kāfir ya 'kul fī sab' am'ā"?*
- *Lima amāta llāh ta'ālā Muḥammadan ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama wa abqā Iblīs?*
- *Mā l-ḥikma fī anna ḡill al-nabīy ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama lam yaqa' 'alā l-arḍ?*
- *Mā l-ḥikma fī ihlāk Fir'awn bi l-mā' wa ihlāk al-Nimrūd bi l-ba'ūda?*
- What stones is the Kaaba [made of], of which mountain?
- Why are the gates of Paradise eight, while the gates of the fires [i. e., Hell] seven?
- What is the rationale for the punishment of the grave?
- Why did God, exalted is He above all, make the unbelievers more numerous than the believers?
- What is the first food that the people of Paradise will eat?
- Why did God single out Lord Abraham, upon Him be peace and salvation, from the other prophets, by [having] Him mentioned in the prayer?
- What is the meaning of the saying [of the Prophet], God bless Him and grant Him salvation, "The believer eats in one intestine, while the unbeliever eats in seven"?
- Why did God, exalted is He above all, allow Muḥammad, God bless Him and grant Him salvation, to die, while He allowed Iblīs to continue [to live]?
- Why is it that the shadow of the Prophet, upon Him be peace and Salvation, did not fall on the ground?
- Why is it that Pharaoh was destroyed by means of water, while Nimrod was destroyed by means of a mosquito?

For those familiar with the Qāniṣawh's literary soirees, several questions dealt with in the *Tuḥfa* must sound a familiar bell. Consider, e.g., the question in the *Tuḥfa* on how to determine prayer times in the lands of the (Turkic) Bulgar:

Wa sa'ala l-shaykh Abū Ḥāmid 'an bilād Bulghār wa hiya aqṣā bilād al-Turk, kayfa yuṣallūna fa innahu dhukiran anna l-shams lā taghrub 'indahum illā miqdār mā bayna l-maghrib wa l-'ashā, thumma taṭlu?'³²⁶

Sheikh Abū Ḥāmid asked about the lands of the Bulghār, which is the most remote of the lands of the Turks, "How do they pray, as there, allegedly, between sunset and evening the sun sets only briefly, before rising again?"

In *al-Kawkab al-Durrī*, the exact same issue is dealt with:

Qāla ḥaḍrat mawlānā l-sulṭān: Fī bilād Bulghār kayfa yuṣallūna l-'ishā, li-anna l-shams lā taghrub 'indahum illā mā bayna l-maghrib wa l-'ishā', thumma taṭlu?'³²⁷

His Excellency, the Lord Sultan, said, "How do they perform the evening prayer in the lands of the Bulghār, as the sun sets only between sunset and the evening, before rising again?"

Of course, identifying a single question that is common to the *Tuḥfa* and Qāniṣawh's *majālis* texts hardly allows for any conclusive statement, but still, it invites us to look more closely into al-'Abbāsī's *Tuḥfa*, and to explore this work as another, potentially fruitful venue for exploring the commonalities of Qāytbāy and Qāniṣawh.

Concluding our search for antecedents to Qāniṣawh's *majālis*, let me push back the date a little further, and introduce another work, *al-Durr al-Naḍīd fī Manāqib al-Malik al-Zāhir Abī Sa'īd*, which is preserved as a unicum in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Wetzstein 133) (*vidi*).³²⁸ The *Durr* is a literary offering to the Mamluk sultan, al-malik al-Zāhir Barqūq (first rule 784–791/1382–1389) that was copied (and authored?) by *al-mamlūk* Muḥammad b. 'Aqīl in 785/1383. Relevant here is the fact that *al-Durr al-Naḍīd*'s second chapter deals with *fiqh*-related questions and their respective answers. Admittedly, reminiscent of a *majlis* context as this may be, to find such a chapter in the *Durr* does not require Barqūq to have actually convened *majālis*, as did Qāniṣawh later on. However, there is more to this. As noted by Andrew Peacock, the questions and answers found in *al-Durr al-Naḍīd* are taken verbatim from the

326 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ar. 4431/2, f. 129r.

327 Abd al-Wahhāb 'Azzām, *Majālis al-Sulṭān al-Ghawrī*, part 2 *al-Kawkab al-Durrī*, pp. 26–27.

328 Still unpublished, but A.-M. Eddé and A. Cheikh-Moussa are preparing an edition, translation, and commentary (*al-Durr al-naḍīd fī manāqib al-Malik al-Zāhir Abī Sa'īd* (*Les perles enfilées des vertus d'al-Malik al-Zāhir Abū Sa'īd*). A detailed analysis is provided already by A.-M. Eddé, "Les perles ordonnées: un traité des vertus en hommage à un sultan mamelouk du XIV^e siècle", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (January-March 2017): 127–147.

4th *qā'ida* of *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, a literary offering by the Damascene early *hurūfi*/lettrist Ibn Ṭalḥa (d. 652/1254) (→ 24/2, 31, 40) to the Artuqid ruler of Mardin, Najm al-Dīn Ghāzī (r. 637–658/1239–1260).³²⁹ In Ibn Ṭalḥa's work, the performative context of these questions stands beyond doubt: *majālis* convened by Najm al-Dīn al-Ghāzī. In the words of Ibn Ṭalḥa:

*Wa hādihā l-naw' alā l-khuṣūṣ kāna l-sulṭān (...) qad ja'ala isti'māl lahu wa 'tinā'ahu bihi min jumlat al-awrād idhā warada 'alayhi fuḍalā' al-bilād wa ḥaḍara ladayhi fi ayyām al-mawāsim wa l-a'yād wa jumū' al-mahāfil 'uzamā' al-wurrād. Fa yas'aluhum min hādhihi l-masā'il mā yakhtabir bihi miqdār faḍlihim, li yar'āhum bi qadrihi wa yunzil kull minhum fi rutbat istiḥqāqihi min ikrāmihi wa birrihi (...) fa 'athbattu lum'a fi hādihā l-kitāb al-mubārak min hādihā l-naw' min tilka l-masā'il, li yakūn fi l-khidmat al-sulṭāniya bi ḥaythu yaqif 'alayhā wa ya'alalahā dharī'a ilā l-ikhtibār wa in kāna ma'a nazarihi l-sharif lā yaḥtāj ilayhā.*³³⁰

[The sultan] used to make particular use of it and devote his attention to it on occasions when the most excellent men of the land came to him, and when great man came to him on days of [great] occasions, festivals and gatherings of the pilgrimage caravan. He would ask them these questions which would inform him of their level of virtue so that he would look after them to his [best] ability, and he would settle each one according to the station he deserved in his generosity and charity (...) Therefore, I include a glimpse of this type of problem in this book so that it may serve the sultan and he can use it as a pretext for testing [people], even if, with his noble gaze, he has no need of it.³³¹

In light of its Artuqid precursor, it makes sense to understand the Q&A format of the second chapter of *al-Durr al-Naḍīd* also within the performative context of courtly *majālis*. As such, it prompts us to push back the genealogy of Qāniṣawh's *majālis* beyond Qāytbāy, up to Barqūq and even further back...³³²

329 Peacock, "Politics, Religion and the Occult in the Works of Kamal al-Din Ibn Talha". An interesting ms. of *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* is Gotha, Landesbibliothek, MS orient A. 1882. Dated 856/1452, this is clearly a *khazā'ini* ms., but unfortunately the inscription inside the *shamsa* on the frontispiece is erased. Could this have been Mamluk by any chance? For other lettrist authors whose works were read at Barqūq's court, see N. Gardiner, "The Occultist Encyclopedism of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Biṣṭāmī", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 20 (2017): 3–38.

330 Abū Sālīm Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa, *Kitāb al-'Iqd al-Farīd li l-Malik al-Sa'īd* (Cairo, 1283/1866), pp. 193–194.

331 As translated by Peacock ("Politics, Religion and the Occult in the Works of Kamal al-Din Ibn Talha", pp. 50–51).

332 Moving forward in time instead of backward, what comes to mind are two little-explored works by the late 17th-century Shāfi'ite *faqīh* and teacher at the Azhar, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Bishbīshī (d. 1096/1684). He authored two works, the first of which (or perhaps both) consisting of answers to questions posed by the *beylerbey* of Egypt, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Bāshā al-Ṭuwayshī (r. 1061–1062/1651–1652). The first work I am referring to is *al-Tuḥfat al-Saniya fi l-Ajwibat al-Saniya 'an al-As'ilat al-Marḍiyya* (or: *al-Tuḥfat al-Saniya bi Ajwibat al-Masā'il* (or: *al-As'ilat*) *al-Murḍiyya*): multiple copies to be added to Brockelmann's *Geschichte*, including London, British Library, Or. 12605 (*non vidi*); and Birmingham, University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library Islamic Arabic 306 (*non vidi*); eds.: Muṣṭafā al-

(67) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 1396 (*non vidi*)³³³

Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Ṭurṭūshī (also known as Ibn Abī Randaqa)'s (d. 520/1126) *Sirāj al-Mulūk wa l-Khulafā' wa Minhāj al-Wulāt wa l-Umarā'*. This well-known *Fürstenspiegel* was copied by 'Abd al-Qādir b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Dimashqī al-Shāfi'ī in 393 ff. in Aleppo in 896/1491 for Qāniṣawh, where he had been appointed *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb* in 894/1489.

(68) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 1401 (*vidi*)³³⁴

Al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīya fī l-Masā' il al-Sultāniya, the second (or, depending on our definition, the fourth) *majālis* text of the list (→ 9, 17, 47, 48, 66, 82), an anonymous work of 154 ff. Following the *basmala* etc. the opening line:

Mimmā yustafādu bihi min masāyil mawlānā l-maqām al-sharīf al-ghawth li kull miskīn ḍa'if zill allāh fī arḍihi al-qāyim bi sunnat nabīy allāh (...) fa huwa l-sultān al-mālik al-malik al-ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī (...).

Of the profitable questions (posed) by our lord, His Noble Excellency, the succour to every poor and weak man, the shadow of God on earth, who follows the Sunna of God's prophet (...) that is the reigning sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī (...)

Among the questions dealt with, the following two:

- *Fa qāla li man ḥaḍara min fuḍalā julasāyihī: hal al-arwāḥ khuliqat qabla al-ashbāḥ am al-ashbāḥ qabla l-arwāḥ?*
- *Hal wulida l-nabīy ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama makhtūnan?*
- He said to the distinguished ones that sat [with him], “Were the souls created prior to the apparitions, or were the apparitions created prior to the souls?”
- Has the Prophet, God bless Him and grant Him salvation, been born circumcised?

The title page gives only the title “*al-mālik al-malik al-ashraf Qāniṣawh...*”, thus lacking a *bi rasm*. A colophon with scribe and date is also absent, the concluding

Ṣabāḥī (Cairo 1278/1862) (*non vidi*); and Rashā 'Aṭīya Khāṭir Wahdān, “Al-Tuḥfat al-Saniya bi Ajwibat al-As'ilat al-Murḍīya li l-Bishbīshī Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf (t 1096 H). Taḥqīq wa Dirāsa”, MA thesis (Jāmi'at al-Iskandariya, 1436/2015) (*non vidi*). His second work is *al-Uqūd al-Jawhariya bi l-Juyūd al-Mashrafiya*: various copies to be added to Brockelmann's *Geschichte*, including New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library, Landberg MSS 261 (*non vidi*). For literary gathering in Ottoman Egypt in general, see Ḥannā, *Thaqāfat al-Ṭabaqat al-Wuṣṭā fī Miṣr al-Uthmāniya* (Q. 16 M – Q. 18 M) (Cairo, 2003), pp. 108–121.

333 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 6948. See also Ohta, “The Bindings of Qansuh al-Ghawri”, pp. 215–216.

334 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 5192.

line merely praising Qāniṣawh as a master of Q&A, *man zaharat masāyiluhu ka baḥr ṣāfi ḥāza l-makārim wa l-'ulūm bi 'aqlihi*.

As with *al-Kawkab al-Durrī* (→ 66), this *majālis* text appears to be heavy on *tafsīr* first and foremost, including a lengthy discussion of various Qur'anic suras, such as *al-Baqara*, *Āl Imrān*, *al-Nisā'*, *al-Mā'ida*, *al-An'ām*, *al-A'rāf*, *al-Tawba*, *Yūnus*, *Yūsuf*, and *al-Ra'k*. While a full edition would perhaps be superfluous, a good index could be most useful. So far, no work whatsoever appears to have been done on this unicum.

(69) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 1452 (*non vidi*)³³⁵

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), *'Ajā'ib al-Qalb wa Mā Ma'ahu*, i. e., a section of his celebrated *Iḥyā' al-'Ulūm*. It was copied for the library of Qāniṣawh by Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Ṭūlūnī al-Mi'mār in 221 ff.

By far the most interesting aspect of this ms. is its copyist, Aḥmad, the son of Ḥasan b. al-Ṭūlūnī who figures so prominently in this list (→ 1/1, 17, 54, 83/2).³³⁶ Aḥmad, referred to by Ibn Iyās as one of the *awlād al-nās*, was among those who accompanied Selīm to Istanbul following the fall of the Mamluk Sultanate. Clearly, Aḥmad was not only active in the building trade, as his father Ḥasan and several previous generations had been, but also as a copyist. Another ms. copied by him is Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ar. 1615 (*vidi*).³³⁷ Being a convolute of poetry by al-Bā'ūnī and al-Sakhāwī in praise of Qāytbāy that is dated 894/1489, Aḥmad must have copied this for the library of Qāytbāy.

As discussed in some detail before, it is tempting to ascribe the Dublin ms. if not to father Ḥasan, then to son Aḥmad (→ 17).

(70) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 1575 (*non vidi*)³³⁸

The *'Ujālat al-Waqt fī Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, a commentary on Ibn 'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, by Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar al-Dīn al-Ṣiddīqī al-Makkī (d. around 925/1518), an author more commonly known as Şeyh Mekkī Efendi. Al-Makkī, allegedly a student of the great Persian mystical poet Jāmī (→ 41) later became one of Selīm I's sheikhs, and, on the latter's request, wrote another treatise in defence of the teachings of al-Shaykh al-Akbar against the accusations of the *Zāhirīya*.

335 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 4718.

336 Behrens-Abouseif, "Muhandis, Shād, Mu'allim"; Rabbat, "Architects and Artists".

337 In its colophon, Aḥmad spelled his name as Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Tulūnī (*sic*).

338 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 5110.

The *‘Ujālat*, dedicated to Qānişawh, is preserved as a unicum only, an autograph of 72 ff. The work commissioned by Selīm, on the other hand, the Persian *al-Jānib al-Gharbī fī Ḥall Mushkilāt al-Shaykh Muhyī al-Dīn Ibn al-‘Arabī*, seems to have enjoyed quite some popularity, even being translated into Arabic and Ottoman Turkish.

This is quite an important find. While Halil Baltacı, who edited the Ottoman transl. of *al-Jānib*, was already aware of the fact that al-Makkī had also authored a *sharḥ* of Ibn ‘Arabī, he could provide neither title nor ms.³³⁹

(71) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 1608 (*non vidi*)³⁴⁰

Al-Ṭarīq al-Maslūk fī Siyāsāt al-Mulūk, described by Karatay as an anonymous *Fürstenspiegel* in 100 ff. that was copied in 915/1510 for Qānişawh. According to Ramazan Şeşen, on the other hand, we are dealing with a convolute of three parts, 69 ff. in total:³⁴¹

(71/1) *Al-Ṭarīq al-Maslūk fī Siyāsāt al-Mulūk*, an anonymous *Fürstenspiegel*, copied by <Janmard> min Uzdamur min Ṭabaqat al-Ashrafīya³⁴² in 915/1510 for Qānişawh (*bi rasm khizānat*) (ff. 1r–47v);

(71/2) *Masā’il Sa’alahā Hārūn al-Rashīd li l-Imām al-Shāfi’ī* (ff. 48v–55v);

(71/3) *Masā’il wa Jawābāt fī l-Siyāsa wa l-Ḥarb wa l-Akhlāq* (ff. 56v–69v).

While the Topkapı ms. itself was not available for consultation, another ms. has been identified that allows us to shed more light on the title of this work and its contents:

(/) Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Fatih 3502 (*vidi*)

Al-Ṭarīq al-Maslūk fī Siyāsāt al-Mulūk, a 14th-century *Fürstenspiegel* of 116 heavily annotated ff. (→ fig. 28). The frontispiece reads *bi rasm khidmat al-faqīr ilā llāh al-rāji’afw allāh al-maqarr al-<kabīr ... ḥājib al-ḥujjāb bi Dimashq>*. In all, the following 7 (?) parts are discernable:

(1) A collection of gnomic sayings of Muḥammad, (ff. 1v–37v).

While neither author nor title is given, this part is easily identifiable as al-Quḍā’ī’s (d. 454/1062) (→ 68, 80) most famous work, the *Kitāb al-Shihāb fī l-*

339 H. Baltacı, *Şeyh Mekkī/Ahmed Neyli. Yavuz Sultan Selim’in Emriyle Hazırlanan İbn Arabī Müdafası* (Istanbul, 2011), pp. 31–35 (bio- and bibliography).

340 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 6982.

341 R. Shashan, *Mukhtārāt min al-Makhtūṭāt al-‘Arabīyat al-Nādira fī Maktabāt Turkiyā* (Istanbul, 1997), p. 889.

342 Atanasiu, “Le phénomène calligraphique”, p. 258.

Amthāl wa l-Mawā'iz wa l-Ādāb.³⁴³ This is a collection of 1,200 aphorisms of the Prophet grouped in various chapters: *bāb* “*Man ṣamata najā*”, *bāb* “*Juft al-janna bi l-makārih wa juft al-nār bi l-shahawāt*”, *bāb* “*Ishfā'ū*”, *bāb* “*Mā 'āla man iqtāṣada*”, *bāb* “*Lā yuldagh al-mu 'min min ḥajar marratayn*”, *bāb* “*Inna min al-bayān siḥran* (sic)”, *bāb* “*Laysa l-khabar ka l-mu'āyana*”, *bāb* “*Khayr al-dhikr al-khafī wa khayr l-rizq mā yakfī*”, *bāb* “*Ba 'isa maṭiyat al-rajul*”, ... Following a *bāb yataḍamman kalimāt ruwiyat 'an Rasūli llāh* (on the *ḥadīth qudsī* “*Anā 'inda ḡann 'abdī bī...*”, f. 35v), the work concludes with a prayer (*Hādḥā bāb al-du'ā alladhī khutima bihi al-kitāb*).

Whereas the ms. as a whole lacks a colophon, this first section concludes with one that is fairly difficult to understand and that will be returned to later on:

Tamma l-kitāb (...) mimḡā 'allaḡahu 'Ubayd Allāh Maḡmūd b. Muḡammad b. Maḡmūd (...)
wa naqalahu min ta'līḡihi Muḡammad b. al-Khiḡr al-Nāsikh bi Dimashq (...)
wa dhālika li l-maḡarr al-sayfī nizāmī amīr ḡājb al-ḡujjāb <... ..> wa dhālika fī shahr
Jumādā l-Awwal sanat arba' wa sittīn wa sab'[mīya]).

The book has been completed (...) [consisting] of what 'Ubayd Allāh Maḡmūd b. Muḡammad b. Maḡmūd has added (...) Muḡammad b. al-Khiḡr al-Nāsikh has transmitted/copied it from his *ta'līḡ* (...) on behalf of His Excellency the *ḡājb al-ḡujjāb* (...) in the month *Jumādā l-Awwal* in the year 764/1363.

(2) A section entitled *Masā'il sa'alahā Hārūn al-Rashīd li l-imām al-Shāfi'ī Muḡammad b. Idrīs*. This reflects the well-known “interview” of al-Shāfi'ī by the Abbasid caliph (ff. 38r–44r), based on a list of 20 questions that was prepared by, among others, Hārūn al-Rashīd's *qāḡī l-quḡāt*, Abū Yūsuf b. Ibrāḡīm al-Anṣārī, a student of Abū Ḥanīfa.

(3) A brief section called *Du'a 'Aḡīmat al-Sha'n* (ff. 44r–44v).

(4) A brief section called *Min mu'jizāt al-nabīy ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama* (ff. 44v–45r).

(5) An untitled section on questions of rulers answered by the local *ḡukamā'* (ff. 45r–54v). It opens as follows:

Qīla: Sa'ala ba'd mulūk al-zamān al-mutaḡaddim li wuzarāyihī wa kānū fuḡalā' 'aṣ-rihim ḡukamā' dahrihim, “Bi mā l-sa'āda fī l-dunyā wa l-ākḡira wa l-ḡuzwa bi l-fawz min al-nufūs al-fāhira (sic)?” *Qāla ḡakīm al-Furs, “Bi l-taslīm li amri llāh!” Qāla ḡakīm al-Hind, “Bi l-riḡā bi qaḡā' i llāh!” Qāla ḡakīm al-Rūm, “Bi l-tawakkul 'alā llāh!” Wa qāla ḡakīm al-'Arab, “Bi l-khashya min khawfi llāh!” (...)*

It has been said: One of the kings of earlier times asked his viziers, who were the learned ones of their age and the wise ones of their era, “Where does happiness in this life and the Hereafter lie, and the obtainment of escape from the boastful souls?” The wise man

343 Al-Quḡā'ī, *Light in the Heavens. Sayings of the Prophet Muhammad*, ed. and transl. T. Qutbuddin (New York, 2016).

of Persia said, "In submitting to God's command!" The wise man of India said, "In contentment with God's ruling!" The wise man of Rūm said, "In trust in God!" The wise man of the Arabs said, "In fear of God's dread!" (...)



Fig. 28: A heavily annotated page (f. 58r)

(6) A section entitled *Faṣl fi mā yajib ‘alā l-sultān*. Included are *fuṣūl* on *al-wizāra*, *al-hujjāb*, *amr al-quḍāt*, *amr al-wulāt*, *amr al-‘ummāl* wa *akābir al-dīwān*, *fi man yujālis al-sultān*, *fi l-mashwara*, *fi kashf bawāṭin*, *fi kitmān al-sirr*, *fi ḥāl al-jawāsīs*, *fi jam‘ al-māl wa l-dhakhāyir*, *fi liqā’ al-‘adūw*, ... (ff. 54v–78r)

(7) A section entitled *Min Kitāb al-Ādāb, ta’līf Ja’far b. Shams al-Khilāfa* (ff. 78v–115r). Included are a number of excerpts taken from the first chapter (*min al-ḥikma min al-nathr wa mā jā’ fi faḍlihā*) of Ibn Shams al-Khilāfa’s (d. 622/1225) *Kitāb al-Ādāb*.³⁴⁴ This is the only section for which both author and title are given. As the order of excerpts is suspiciously different from that in the edition, the ff. may be in disarray. *Kabīkaḥ*, evoked a modest three times on the concluding page, is reproduced here, if only to protect this book against any bookworm (→ fig. 29)!

344 The ms. has been compared to the 1349/1931 Cairo ed. (ms. ff. 79r–83r = ed. pp. 3–8, ms. ff. 83–83v = ed. pp. 25–27, ms. ff. 84v–95r = 39–61, ff. 95v–105 = ?, ms. ff. 106r–109r = ed. pp.10–18, ms. ff. 110r–112r = pp. 28–31).

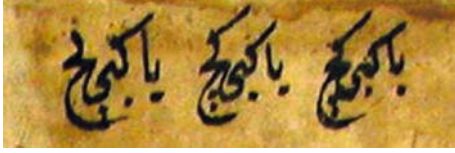


Fig. 29: *Yā kabikaj!* (f. 116v)

As the Topkapı ms. A 160 is clearly identical to (at least the first sections of) Fatih 3502 and as their common first part is easily identifiable as al-Quḍā'ī's *Shihāb*, it makes more sense to understand *al-Ṭarīq al-Maslūk* not as the title of the first section only, as suggested by Ramazan Şeşen, but as the title of the compilation as a whole.

Given this, let us now return to the colophon of part (1) of the Süleymaniye ms. quoted above. As this part consists solely of al-Quḍā'ī's *Kitāb al-Shihāb*, one wonders what to make of the *ta'liqāt* referred to in its colophon. As said, the Süleymaniye ms. is heavily annotated, but by no means can these *ta'liqāt* have referred to these marginal annotations: as these refer to Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, these annotations simply cannot date from the 14th century. Then perhaps what is meant by these *ta'liqāt* are the following parts of the volume, parts (2) to (7)? If so, we could understand *al-Ṭarīq* as the title of a compilation that was “authored” by 'Ubayd Allāh Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad and “transmitted” by Muḥammad b. al-Khiḍr for the *ḥājjib al-ḥujjāb*³⁴⁵ of Damascus in 764/1363, and that consists of al-Quḍā'ī's *Kitāb al-Shihāb* as its first part (1), and a *ta'liq* by 'Ubayd Allāh as parts (2) to (7)...

Whether the Süleymaniye ms. served as the basis for Qānişawh's Topkapı copy remains to be established, but is not unlikely.

(72) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 1621 (*non vidi*)³⁴⁶

Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Imād al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Aqfahsī b. al-'Imād al-Miṣrī (d. 808/1405), *Kashf al-Asrār 'ammā Khafiya 'an al-Afkār*, probably the prolific Shāfi'ī jurist's most popular work, on difficult issues of *fiqh*, creed, *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*. It was copied for the library of Qānişawh by Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-A'raj in 911/1505 in 233 ff.

This is the second of five works in this list that were copied by head-calligrapher al-A'raj, who was famous enough to merit an entry in the biographical dictionaries of al-Sakhāwī and al-Ghazzī (→ 40, 75, 79, 132).

345 To be identified with Qumarī (in office 762–765/1361–1364).

346 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 5256.

(73) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 1767 (*non vidi*)³⁴⁷

Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Alī b. ‘Uthmān al-Ūshī (d. after 569/1173), *Qaṣīdat Yaqūlu l-‘Abd*, a second copy of al-Ūshī’s *qaṣīda* on *tawḥīd*, the *Bad’ al-Amālī*, now copied for Qāniṣawh by *mamlūk* Jānī Bak min Tanmur al-Khāṣṣakī³⁴⁸ in 14 ff. (→ 33/2).

(74) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 1940 (*non vidi*)³⁴⁹

Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Tifāshī (d. 651/1253)’s (in)famous *Rujū’ al-Shaykh ilā Şībāh fī l-Quwwa ‘alā l-Bāh*, some “adult reading” on sexual intercourse, remedies for sexual disorders, barrenness, etc., copied for Qāniṣawh in 327 ff. Not available for consultation, allegedly due to its poor condition.

Given the sultan’s age at accession — already a sexagenarian by 906/1501 — it makes sense to own a copy of the *Rujū’ al-Shaykh*, especially if one also owns a copy of Ibn Abī Ḥajala’s aphrodisiac anthology (→ 11)...

(75) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 1952 (*vidi*)³⁵⁰

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Qūṣūnī³⁵¹ (or: Qayṣūnī-Zāda) (d. 931/1524), *Kamāl al-Farḥa fī Daf’ al-Sumūm wa Ḥafz al-Şihḥa*.

This is one of the list’s two works on health and medicine (→ 60), now authored by Shams al-Dīn, a member of a family of practitioners of medicine. Shams al-Dīn was part of Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī’s train to Marj Dābiq. Following the Ottoman take-over, he first stayed in Aleppo together with Selīm and then joined the latter back to Istanbul. His son, Badr al-Dīn, rose to considerable prominence as well, becoming the chief physician of the Ottoman sultans Süleymān and Selīm II. Following the *basmala* etc., the present work of 10 chapters in total opens as follows:

Wa ba’du fa yaqūl al-‘abd al-ḍa’if al-muḍṭarr li ‘ināyat rabbihi l-laṭif mamlūk al-abwāb al-sharīfa wa khādīm al-ḥaḍrat al-munīfa al-dā’i bi dawām dawlatihi l-rabb al-samī al-mujīb Muḥammad al-Qūṣūnī al-ṭabīb (...) ‘anna ilayya an akhdum al-ḥaḍrat al-sharīfa ... bi ta’līf mukhtaṣar laṭif (...) adhkur fī muqaddimatihī ta’rīf ‘ilm al-ṭibb wa rasmihī (...)

347 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 4772.

348 Thus according to Ohta (“The Bindings of Qansuh al-Ghawrī”, p. 216).

349 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 7312.

350 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 7380.

351 For a detailed discussion of the family and its name, see R. Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte. Teil 1* [VOHD 17 A, 1] (Wiesbaden, 1976), pp. 201–213; updated now by C. Bonmariage, “Un nouvel élément à propos des Qūṣūnī”, *Arabica* 56 (2009): 269–273.

Now, the weak servant who is in need of the kind favour of his lord, the slave at the noble gates and servant of His lofty excellency, who prays to the Lord, the All-Hearing and the Answerer, for the continuation of his reign, Muḥammad al-Qūṣūnī, the doctor (...) it occurred to me that I could serve His Noble Excellency (...) with the composition of a delicate summary (...) in the introduction to which I will give a description of the science of medicine and its design (...)

The ms., one of (at least) three known³⁵², was copied by the celebrated calligrapher Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-A'raj, whom we've met just three items back. He made this copy for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm khizānat al-maqām al-sharif...*) in 912/1506 in 123 ff.

► Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Ṭibb 779 (*non vidi*)

Catalogued as a *nuskha muṣawwara*, this is probably a copy of the previous item.

(76) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 1989/1 (*non vidi*)³⁵³

Abū Bakr b. Waḥshīya (late 3rd-early 4th/10th cent.), *Kitāb al-Filāḥat al-Nabaṭīya*. This is the first volume of Ibn Waḥshīya's famous work on agriculture etc., copied for Qāniṣawh in 213 ff. The palace library also holds vol. 4 of the same set (→ 77), while vols. 3 and 8 are found in the Leiden University Library (→ 119) and the Süleymaniye library (→ 59).³⁵⁴

Fehmi Karatay also lists some other volumes (nrs. 7160, 7162–5), but these are definitely not part of the same set.³⁵⁵

(77) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 1989/4 (*non vidi*)³⁵⁶

Abū Bakr b. Waḥshīya, *Kitāb al-Filāḥat al-Nabaṭīya*, the fourth volume of Ibn Waḥshīya's work, copied for Qāniṣawh in 195 ff. Volumes 1, 3 and 8 are available as well (→ 59, 76, 119).

352 Apart from the Mosul ms. referenced by Brockelmann (*History of the Arabic Written Tradition*, S II: 693), there is a third one: London, Wellcome Historical Medical Library, MS Arabic 42, copied in 32 ff. (?) in 971/1563 (*non vidi*) (see A.Z. Iskander, *A Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts on Science and Medicine in the Wellcome Historical Medical Library* (London, 1967) p. 118, plate 14).

353 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 7159.

354 A. Shopov, "Books on Agriculture (*al-Filāḥa*) Pertaining to Medical Science' and Ottoman Agricultural Science and Practice Around 1500", in G. Necipoğlu, C. Kafadar & C.H. Fleischer (eds.), *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2019), I: 557–568, here pp. 558, 567.

355 *Ibid.*

356 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 7161.

(78) (?) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 2016 (*non vidi*)³⁵⁷

Ṭibb al-Ṭuyūr, a detailed work on the most noble of sports, the art of hunting with birds of prey (*bayzara*), and on their medical diagnosis and treatment, copied by ‘Uthmān Mullā l-Ḥalabī for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm amīr kabīr Qāniṣawh*) in 880/1475 in 126 (or 192?) ff.

The identification of Qāniṣawh is somewhat uncertain: while cataloger Muḥaddis identifies him as Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī³⁵⁸, falconry specialist Möller leaves the identification open³⁵⁹. To complicate matters even more, according to Karatay, the work was copied not for Qāniṣawh himself, but for a son of his (→ 19, 51, 61). The work opens as follows:

Qāla l-Ḥajjāj b. Khaytham (or: Khaythama?), “*Istakhrajnā min khizānat al-Rashīd hādihā l-kitāb wa ‘araḍnāhu ‘alā l-Ghiṭrīf b. Qudāma al-Ghassānī (...)*”

Al-Ḥajjāj b. Khaytham said, “We took this book from the library of al-Rashīd and we showed it to al-Ghiṭrīf b. Qudāma al-Ghassānī (...)”

Based on this opening line, the work can be identified as the so-called Ḥajjāj recension of the famous work on falconry co-authored by al-Ghiṭrīf b. Qudāma al-Ghassānī, *Raubtiermeister* under the Abbasid caliphs Hishām and al-Walīd II, and Adham b. Muḥriz al-Bāhili. The work’s title seems to have been quite unstable, including, apart from *Ṭibb al-Ṭuyūr*, also *Kitāb Manāfi’ al-Ṭayr wa ‘Ilājāt dā’ihim*.

Whereas Karatay still suspected A 2016 to be a unicum, Möller has identified quite some other mss.³⁶⁰, and it would seem that the work has also been edited.³⁶¹ Among the various other copies of *Ṭibb al-Ṭuyūr*, one is to be found in a convolute kept at Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 2099 (*non vidi*), which includes both the Ḥajjāj recension (ff. 77v–156r, *i. e.*, the *Ṭibb al-Ṭuyūr*), and the Iskandar recension (ff. 1v–75r), which represents a later Abbasid modified version that is apparently ascribed to al-Ghiṭrīf alone. The latter work has been published in facsimile by Fuat Sezgin.³⁶²

357 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 7399.

358 A. Muḥaddis, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Hellmut Ritter Microfilm Collection of Uppsala University Library* (Uppsala, 2016), pp. 46–47 (entries no. 77, 78).

359 D. Möller, *Studien zur mittelalterlichen arabischen Falknereiliteratur* (Berlin, 1965), p. 28. Unfortunately, al-Sarraf failed to consult Möller’s careful study (“Mamluk *Furūsiyah* Literature”, pp. 184–185).

360 Möller, *Studien zur mittelalterlichen arabischen Falknereiliteratur*, pp. 26–29.

361 Adham b. Muḥriz al-Bāhili, *Kitāb Manāfi’ al-Ṭayr wa ‘Ilājāt dā’ihā*, ed. Sa‘īd Salmān Abu ‘Ādhira (Abu Dhabi, 1983). However, given the great deal of confusion over the various works’ titles, this edition’s positive identification as the *Ṭibb al-Ṭuyūr* remains conjectural.

362 Al-Ghiṭrīf b. Qudāma al-Ghassānī, *The Book on Birds of Prey – Kitāb Ḍawārī l-Ṭayr*, ed. F. Sezgin (Frankfurt, 1986). It would seem that the work has also been published in Baghdad in 1990, edited by Nūrī Ḥammūdī al-Qaysī & Muḥammad Nayīf al-Daylamī, but, again, this

- Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Ṭibb 741 (*non vidi*)

A photostat copy of the previous item.

- Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Taymūrīya Furūsīya Ms. 2 (*non vidi*)

A transcript of the previous item, Dār al-Kutub, Ṭibb 741, dated 1323/1915.

- (79) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 2340 (*non vidi*)³⁶³

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Zafar al-Şiqillī (d. 565/1169), *Sulwān al-Muṭā‘ fī ‘Udwān al-’Atbā‘*, the Sicilian author’s well-known *Fürstenspiegel* that deals with various aspects, such as fortitude, patience and contentment. It was copied in 890/1485–1486 by Muḥammad al-A‘raj, a familiar name by now, in 178 ff. Whether it was copied for Qānişawh or merely acquired by him later on remains to be established.

- (80) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 2341 (*non vidi*)³⁶⁴

Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Arab al-Qurashī al-Ṭanbadhī al-Shāfi‘ī, *Talīq al-Badī‘ya li Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī*. This is evidently a *talīq* to Ibn Ḥijja’s *al-Badī‘ya*³⁶⁵ (for a *takhmis* of him, → 49/3) by an unknown (?) author, who must have been active in the 15th or early 16th century. The work was copied for the library of Qānişawh in 187 ff.

As demonstrated by the ‘Alī Emīrī ms., Qānişawh himself also tried his hand at the daunting challenge that is the *badī‘ya* (→ 19).

reference comes with a proviso. For a modern French translation and further refs., see *Traité des oiseaux de vol (VIIIe siècle), Le plus ancien traité de fauconnerie arabe*, transl., introd. and annot. F. Viré & D. Möller, ed. B. Van den Abeele (Nogent-le-Roi, 2002). The work has been translated into Latin, perhaps on the order of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (13th. cent.), and then from Latin into French by Daniel of Cremona, who dedicated it to Frederick’s son Enzo. Nonetheless, it would seem that Frederick II did not utilize this translation for his own renowned *De Arte Venandi Cum Avibus*. See, among others, Ch. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge, 1924), p. 319–320; *The Art of Falconry being the De Arte Venandi Cum Avibus of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*, transl. and ed. C.A. Wood & F.M. Fyfe (repr. Boston/London, 1955), p. lxxix.

363 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 8280.

364 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 8595.

365 Küçükşarı, *İbn Hicce el-Hamevî ve Divânı*, pp. 209–216.

(81) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 2413 (*non vidi*)³⁶⁶

Yet another copy of al-Būṣīrī's *al-Kawākib al-Durriya fī Madḥ Khayr al-Bariya* for the library of Qānişawh, now in 22 ff. After all, the last copy was 30 items back...

(82) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 2680 (*vidi*) (→ fig. 30)³⁶⁷

Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī's *Nafā'is Majālis al-Sultāniya fī Ḥaqā'iq Asrār al-Qur'āniya* (*sic*), which records in 136 ff. Qānişawh's literary soirees from Ramaḍān 910 to Rajab 911/February-December 1505.



Fig. 30: Opening page (f. 1v)

As stated in the item on the *al-Faḍl al-Bārī* (→ 61), the frontispiece (*bi rasm al-maqām*) is topped by a large golden roundel, while a colophon is lacking. The work concludes with a lengthy Arabic-Turkic poem by Qānişawh's hand³⁶⁸, which

366 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 8522.

367 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 5285.

368 For an Arabic v. of Qānişawh, in which he prefers the beauty of Circassians over those of Abyssinians, see Azzām, *Majālis al-Sultān al-Ghawrī*, p. 63.

is particularly well-attested elsewhere (→ 14, 43, 100, etc.). Its opening lines run as follow:

Yā ilāhī ben günāhkār <i>anta ghaffār al-dhunüb</i>	☞ 'Aybumı yüzüme urma <i>anta sattār al-'uyüb</i>
Ƙamu işler saña ma'lüm <i>anta 'allām al-ghuyüb</i>	☞ Ben fakıre Ƙıl 'ināyet <i>innanī arjü ghināka</i>
Yā ilāhī geçdi 'ömrüm <i>bi l-ħaṭāyā wa l-zalal</i>	☞ Dünyāya meşğül oldum <i>gharranī ṭül al-amal</i>
Dün u gün şer işlemekte <i>mā ktasab khayr al-'amal</i>	☞ Senden özge yok ümidüm <i>lā wa lā mawlā siwāka</i>
O God, I am a sinner, <i>You are the Pardoner of Sins,</i>	☞ Do not reproach me for my failing, <i>You are the Veiler of Failings</i>
All deeds are known to You, <i>You are the Knower of Invisible Things,</i>	☞ Aid this poor one, <i>I hope for Your wealth</i>
O God! My life has passed <i>in slips and in lapses,</i>	☞ Occupying myself with world(ly affairs), <i>the hope for a long (life) has deceived me</i>
Doing wickedness day and night, <i>not acquiring good deeds,</i>	☞ I have no other hope than You, <i>there is no lord save You!</i>

Published together with *al-Kawkab al-Durrī* (→ 66) already in 1941 by 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Azzām, there is no need for any detailed discussion, and further references can be found under that item. As already said, while 'Azzām seems to have been less selective in his edition of the *Nafā'is* as compared to that of *al-Kawkab*, it is worth repeating that his edition is partial only.

Of the various *majālis* texts (→ 9, 17, 47, 48, 66, 68), the *Nafā'is* is arguably the most pleasant read, not only as it has retained the lively Q&A format, but also as it is the only *majālis* text in which the authorial voice (→ 107) is easily discernable. Indeed, Ḥusayn is far from the silent scribe who keeps himself aloof, but is an active participant in the lively debates. He even sees himself showered with the sultan's beneficence, being appointed to the *wazīfat al-taşawwuf* in the sultan's madrasa.³⁶⁹ It would seem that Ḥusayn comes to the fore especially towards the end of the *Nafā'is*. Did he and the sultan have a falling out of some sorts?

The importance of the *Nafā'is* as one of the oldest sources for anecdotes of Nasreddin Hoca has also been pointed to already (→ 47, 48).

► Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Ma'ārif 'Āmma 417 (*non vidi*)

Anon., *Nafā'is al-Majālis al-Sultāniya fī Ḥaqā'iq al-Asrār al-Qur'āniya*; 272ff.

This is merely a modern copy of the Topkapı ms. (→ 82).

369 'Azzām, *Majālis al-Sultān al-Ghawrī*, p. 36

(83) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 2798 (*vidi*)³⁷⁰

Whereas Fehmi Karatay references only the *Shajarat al-Nasab*, this volume is, in fact, a convolute of 2 parts:

(83/1) Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, *Kitāb Shajarat al-Nasab al-Sharīf al-Nabawī* (ff. 1v–7r);

(83/2) *al-Nuzhat al-Sanīya fī Akhbār al-Khulafāʾ wa l-Mulūk al-Miṣriya*, copied for the library of Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm al-khizānat al-sharīfa*) in 909/1503 (ff. 8r–58v).

As both titles come with their issues, a more detailed discussion is not out of order.

(83/1) Part 1 is a genealogical tree (i. e., a “graphic” instead of a “textual” genealogy) of the Prophet, prefaced by a brief prose introduction and supposedly authored (*taʿlif*) by Qāniṣawh (→ fig. 31). If so, this would be the only known prose text by his hand. However, a remarkably similar convolute sheds considerable doubt on his authorship. This second convolute, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. or.fol. 3398 (*vidi*)³⁷¹, shows neither author nor owner nor dedicatee, and was copied by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Munāwī al-Ḥanafī in 900/1495. At first, the prologue of the Topkapı ms. and the Berlin ms. run completely parallel:

Al-ḥamdu li llāh alladhī wajaba wujūduhu wa ʿamma l-anām faḍluhu wa jūduhu l-munazzah ʿan ṣāḥibatin wa ʿan walad l-munfarid fī mulkihi, fa huwa l-wāḥid al-aḥad alladhī ṣtafā Muḥammadan ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa sallama min khulūṣat al-ʿArab, fa kāna nasabuhu fihim ashraf nasab lammā ṣaḥḥa ʿanhu fī ṣiḥāḥ al-akhbār mim mā rawāhu l-tuqāt (sic) al-akhyār min qawlihi ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa sallama “Innā llāh ṣtafā min Kinānat Qurayshan, wa ṣtafā min Quraysh Banī Hāshim, wa ṣtafanī min Banī Hāshim, fa anā khiyār min khiyār min khiyār” ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa ʿalā ālihi wa aṣḥābihi al-sādat al-abrār ṣalātan wa salāman dā ʿimayni mā khtalafa l-layl wa l-nahār. Ammā baʿdu: fa hādhihi tuḥfat sharīfa wa ḥadiyat munīfa takhtaṣṣ bi l-manṣib al-muṭaḥhar al-nabawī wa l-nasab al-sharīf al-ʿalawī (...) shajara aṣluḥā l-nabīy al-muʿazzam (...) shajara tafarraʿat minhā ashjār wa aynaʿat kull shajara bi athmār fa athmara kull ghuṣn bi mā khuṣṣa bihi min al-asrār fa mā kānat fī makān illā wa ḥaṣala li ahlihi l-amān wa in kānat fī khizānat lam tunkab ʿalā mamarr al-zamān wa hiya l-amān min kull sharr al-jāmiʿa li kull khayr wa nāḥika bi shajarat yakūn aṣluḥā sayyid al-bashar ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa ʿalā ālihi wa aṣḥābihi mā dāra falak bi qamar wa tamattaʿat ʿayn bi naẓar wa udhun bi khabar wa raḍiya llāh taʿālā ʿan Abī Bakr wa ʿUmar wa ʿUthmān jāmiʿ al-Qurʿān wa ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib mubīd al-shajʿān (sic) wa mubaddid shaml ahl al-kufr wa l-

370 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 6039.

371 G. Schoeler, *Arabische Handschriften* [VOHD 17, B, 1] (Stuttgart, forthcoming), nr. 113. Schoeler identified Yashbak as the author, thus following Brockelmann’s *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, who, in his turn, followed the old khedival catalogue (*Fihris al-Kutub al-ʿArabiya al-Maḥfūza bi l-Kutubkhānah al-Khidiwiya al-Miṣriya* (Cairo, 1308/1891, V: 126).

ṭuḡhyān wa 'an al-sittat al-bāqiyīn wa l-tābī'in lahum bi ihsān ilā yawm al-dīn. Thumma lam ayyuhā l-nāzīr fī hādhihi l-shajara al-sharīfa: waffaqanī llāh wa iyyāka annahā mushtamila 'alā mi'at wa sab'at wa thamānīna sman, fa mā kāna maktūban bi l-dhahab fa hwa muslim wa mā 'adā dhālika fa ḡhayr muslim, wa 'amūd al-nasab huwa l-asmā` al-maktūba bi l-lāziward³⁷² min 'Adnān ilā 'Abd Allāh wa hum abā` (sic) al-nabīy ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama, wa kull khaṭṭ kharaja min dā'irat wa ttaṣala bi ukhrā fa man fihā walad li man qablahu, wa halumma jarran!

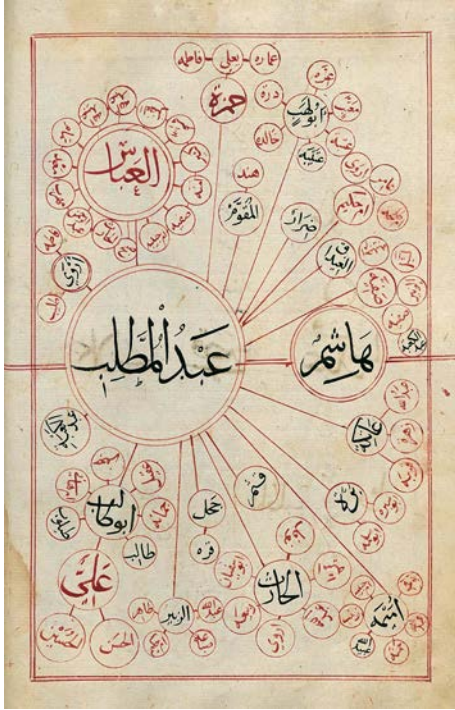


Fig. 31: The Prophet's grandfather (Berlin ms., f. 6v)

Praise be to God, Whose existence is necessary, Whose kindness and generosity extend over the whole of mankind, Who is free from female companion and descendant, and Who is alone in His supreme sovereignty, that is, the One, the Unique, who has chosen Muḡammad, God bless Him and grant Him salvation, from the quintessence of the Arabs, Whose descent among them is the noblest of descents. Verily, the [soundness] of this [appraisal] definitely follows from [the following] statement of [the Prophet], God bless Him and grant Him salvation, [which is one] of the sound reports, as being related by the choice <pious ones>: "God has chosen the Quraysh from Banū Kināna, and He

372 It should be noted that neither the Berlin ms. nor the Topkapı ms. have the Prophet's forefathers in lapis lazuli, instead recording these in plain black ink. This detail could prove crucial in identifying the original composition (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub 1637?).

has chosen Banū Hāshim from Banū Kināna, and He has chosen Me from Banū Hāshim. I am the best of the best of the best.” God bless Him, His Family and His Companions, the Pious Masters, with a blessing and a salvation that are last for all long as night and day [continue to] alternate.

Now, this is a noble gift and an exalted present that deals with the pure place of the Prophet’s origin, [His] noble and exalted lineage (...) [by presenting this as] a tree that is rooted in the Exalted Prophet (...), [that is,] a tree from which branches branch out, with each branch [bringing forth] ripe fruits, and each twig bearing as its fruit those secrets that He has been endowed with, and [these secrets] were nowhere to be found before safety had come over His family. Had they been [locked away] in a treasury, these would not have been <poured out>³⁷³ with the passing of time. [These secrets] are [what provide us] with safety from every evil, and that unites all that is good. How excellent a tree rooted in the Lord of Mankind, God bless Him, His Family, and His Companions, for as long as a firmament with a moon [in it?] revolve, and for as long as the eye enjoys looking [at it], and the ear enjoys [hearing] its report, and may God, exalted is He above all, be pleased with Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, collector of the Qur’ān, and ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, annihilator of the courageous [Bedouins, who turned down Islam] and scatterer of the union of the people of disbelief, as well as the remaining Six³⁷⁴, and the Followers, until the Day of Reckoning.

Now, know, O you who behold this [genealogical] tree, that God has granted me and you success [in this endeavour, for this work] consists of one hundred and eighty-seven names. Written in gold are [the names] Muslims, thus excluding the non-Muslims, [whose names are written in black], and the pillar of lineage [i. e., the genealogical tree] consists of the names that are written in lapis lazuli, from ‘Adnān up to ‘Abd Allāh, [the Prophet’s father], the forefathers of the Prophet, God bless Him and grant Him salvation. Each line that starts out from a circle and is connected to another one [indicates that] the person in the [latter circle] is a son of the person in the [former circle], and so on.

Whereas the prologue of the older Berlin ms. ends here, the later Topkapı ms. has a crucial addition, in which Qāniṣawh claims the authorship (→ fig. 32):

Waḍa‘ahā ‘alā hādihā l-waḍ‘ al-‘ajīb wa l-uslūb al-gharīb mawlānā l-maqām al-sharīf al-sultān al-a‘zam wa l-khāqān al-mukarram mālik riqāb al-umam mawlā mulūk al-Turk wa l-‘Ajam sultān al-barrayn wa l-baḥrayn khādīm al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn al-nāfidh amruhu al-mālik al-malik al-ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī ‘azza našruhu.

The one who has composed this [work] in this wonderful layout and extraordinary manner is our Lord, His Noble Excellency, the great sultan and honoured *khāqān*, the holder of the reigns of the nations, the lord of the rulers of the Turks and the Persians, the sultan of two lands and the two seas, the servant of the Two Noble Sanctuaries, the

373 *Tunkab*, “poured out”, or rather “deviated from”?

374 I.e., Ṭalḥa, Zubayr, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf, Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāṣ, Sa‘id b. Zayd and Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāh (see A.J. Wensinck, “al-‘Ashara al-Mubashshara”, H.A.R. Gibb et al. (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*, 12 vols. (Leiden, 1986), I: 693).

one whose order is executed, the ruler al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, may his victory be strong.

In light of the Berlin ms., Qāniṣawh's authorship of the Topkapı ms. is doubtful at best, and things become even more complicated when taking into account 5 other manuscripts, listed here in chronological order:³⁷⁵

- 1) Dār al-Kutub, Majmū' 88/7518, 50ff. (*non vidi*): copied in 873/1466, catalogued as Yashbak's work;
- 2) Dār al-Kutub 1637 (*non vidi*): copied in 883/1478, catalogued as Yashbak's work;
- 3) Alexandria, al-Maktabat al-Baladiya, 3754 (*non vidi*): copied before 1480, catalogued as an anonymous work *bi rasm al-maqarr al-ashraf al-amir al-sayfi Yashbak min Mahdi*³⁷⁶;
- 4) Azhariya, Kāmila 91259/9196 (*non vidi*): copied in 1116/1704, catalogued as Yashbak's work³⁷⁷;
- 5) Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, Elazığ İl Halk Kütüphanesi 23 Hk 3380n ff. 37v–43r (*non vidi*): undated, catalogued as Qāniṣawh's work (→ 1/2).

While a future examination of all mss. will perhaps shed more light on the authorship, for now this issue must remain undecided: Yashbak min Mahdī (→ 3, 115), Qāniṣawh, or — most likely perhaps — an anonymous author.

As for the anonymous author, an educated guess would be, again, Ḥasan Ibn al-Ṭūlūnī (→ 17). Arguments in favour of this identification are twofold. First, there is the fact that at least 5 out of the 7 known *Shajarat al-Nasab* mss. are bound in one volume with Ibn al-Ṭūlūnī's *al-Nuzhat al-Saniya*: the Topkapı ms. and the Berlin ms., as well as the Ankara ms. and the two Dār al-Kutub mss. (for which, see below). Building on this first argument, there is a second observation: if not preceded by the *Shajarat*, it appears that the *Nuzha* starts with an entry on Muḥammad, including his genealogy in "textual format"; if, however, preceded by the *Shajara*, it appears that the *Nuzha* leaves out the entry on Muḥammad altogether and opens with the caliphate of Abū Bakr. As such, it would make

375 Furthermore, the Dār al-Kutub houses three *muṣawwarāt*, and here too the catalogers remain undecided: Muṣawwarāt al-Zakiya 57 (anonymous, of unknown provenance), Muṣawwarāt 178 (Qāniṣawh, copied from "Istanbul"), and Muṣawwarāt 179 (Qāniṣawh, of unknown provenance). Finally, there are two lithograph editions of the *Shajarat al-Nasab* (together with the *Nuzha*, see below) that present the work as Yashbak's. For copies of the undated Cairo edition, see Azhar 391/Abāza 6684, 1977/Ḥalim 34031, 3042/46838, 4062/53595; Dār al-Kutub, Majmū' 64 (2763), Majmū' 65 (2764). For the 1292/1875–76 Bülāq edition, see Dār al-Kutub, 1021 ḥā' /22736 (*all non vidi*).

376 See Aḥmad Abū 'Alī, *al-Maktabat al-Baladiya. Fihris al-'Ulūm al-'Arabiya (Sira Nabawiya, Tārikh 'Amm wa Khāṣṣ, Jughrafiya, Tārikh Ṭabī'i)* (Iskandariya, 1343/1925).

377 This work is apparently catalogued as *al-Tuḥfat al-Sharifa wa l-Hadiya al-Munifa*, a phrase that is indeed found in the work's prologue, following *ba'du*.



Fig. 32: Addition by Qāniṣawh (f. 3r)

sense to think of the *Shajarat al-Nasab* as nothing but a “visual reworking” of the first entry of the *Nuzha* by the author himself (→ 17).³⁷⁸

Let it be forgotten, there is more of interest to the *Shajara* than its contested authorship. Following Qāniṣawh’s addition at the end of the prose prologue, the Topkapı and Berlin mss. start running parallel again. In line with the description found in the prologue, the following ff. give the genealogy of the Prophet, going back some 20 generations up to ‘Adnān, in a graphic format. As such, the *Shajarat al-Nasab* stands out not only because of Qāniṣawh’s alleged authorship, but also because of its graphic genealogy. Indeed, it would seem that the *mushajjar* or genealogical tree is rather rare in Mamluk literature. In his detailed survey, Evrim Binbaş could identify only two Mamluk works that include *mushajjars*: Ibn Khaldūn’s (d. 808/1406) *Kitāb al-Ibar*, and (a copy dated 801/1398–99) of al-Dīrīnī’s (d. 694/1294–95) *al-Shajara fī Sirat al-Nabī thumma l-‘Ashara*.³⁷⁹ Bin-

378 The long biography of the Prophet in the Dublin ms. (→ 17) would then be yet another reworking of the *Nuzha*’s first entry on Muḥammad...

379 İ.E. Binbaş, “Structure and Function of the Genealogical Tree in Islamic Historiography (1200–1500)”, in *id.* & N. Kılıç-Schubel (eds.), *Horizons of the World. Festschrift for İsenbeke Togan* (İstanbul, 2011), pp. 465–544, here pp. 504–509, 541–542 (figs. 4, 5). For us, the *mushajjar* (as against the genealogy in prose, *mabsūt*) is so obvious a format to present a genealogy that we tend to assume this to be an ancient practice. In fact, however, even within the wider Islamic world, the genealogical tree seems to have emerged only at the beginning of the 7th/13th cent.

baş's list is short indeed, even when supplemented with a third title: Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī's (d. 909/1503) *al-Shajarat al-Nabawīya*.³⁸⁰ Could the apparent rarity of the *mushajjar* format in Mamluk times perhaps explain Qāniṣawh's eagerness to claim authorship?

(83/2): Leaving the *Shajarat*, let us now turn our attention to the second part of the convolute, the *Nuzhat al-Sanīya*, the authorship of which stands beyond doubt: Ḥasan b. al-Ṭūlūnī. As Ibn al-Ṭūlūnī remains grossly understudied, a rather detailed excursus on the work, its author and the latter's bibliography is not uncalled for.

First, we still lack a sound critical edition of the complete *Nuzha*. An edition appeared in 1988, but this covers only the first part (the caliphs' list), and collates merely 2 mss., thus hardly addressing the *Nuzha*'s long and complicated textual history.³⁸¹ While working on the Ottoman-Turkish translation-cum-update of the *Nuzha* by al-Diyārbakrī, Benjamin Lellouch sheds more light on the work. Yet — this being an excursus in his monograph after all — he also considered only some of the mss.³⁸²

Second, when writing the *Nuzha*'s textual history³⁸³, a disheartening large number of mss. needs to be sorted out. Complicating factors are plenty: a faulty ascription to Ibn Fahd al-Makkī (a lapsus that is difficult to understand yet seems to originate in Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*), or to Ibn Taghrībirdī (a lapsus that is easier to understand, since Ibn al-Ṭūlūnī's *Nuzha* is in fact a reworking of Ibn Taghrībirdī's *Mawrid al-Laṭāfa fī Man Waliya l-Salṭana wa l-Khilāfa*³⁸⁴), or a confusion with another work with a similar title, *al-Nuzhat al-Zahīya fī Dhikr Wulāt Miṣr wa l-Qāhira* by the 17th-century prolific Ibn Abī l-Surūr (whose bibliography is challenging enough as it is...).

Apart from these authorial mix-ups, there is the fact that the *Nuzha* itself has gone through several "editions", updated first by the author himself up to his death in 1517, and then continued by others up to the 19th-century Ottoman

380 For mss. and eds., see K. Hirschler, *A Monument to Medieval Syrian Book Culture. The Library of Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī* (Edinburgh, 2019), pp. 45–46, 200. Tentatively, one could add as a fourth title an "illustrated" (*muṣawwar*) *Nasab al-Nabīy*, which is registered in the Ashrafiya library catalogue. In light of the catalogue's date (670s/1270s), this is a very early reference to an Arabic *mushajjar* indeed. See K. Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus. Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library. The Ashrafiya Library Catalogue* (Edinburgh, 2016), p. 382, nr. 1367.

381 Ed. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī (Beirut, 1408/1988).

382 See B. Lellouch, *Les Ottomans en Égypte. Historiens et conquérants au XVI^e siècle* (Leuven, 2006), pp. 127–131. To Lellouch's list of mss. of Diyārbekrī's translation, one should perhaps add Ankara, Milli Kütüphanesi, 06 Mil Yz B 676 (*non vidi*). For another Ottoman translation, now made in the 17th century, see Lellouch, *Les Ottomans*, p. 131.

383 An exercise much more rewarding and, ultimately, much more important than a critical edition.

384 Ed. N. Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz Aḥmad (Cairo, 1997). Qāyṭbāy owned (*bi rasm*) a copy of this text: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 3038.

sultan ‘Abdū’l-Mecīd I.³⁸⁵ These regular updates give testimony to a continued popularity of the work, a popularity that is confirmed by several early lithographs.³⁸⁶ As will be recalled, the 1988 edition was based on two mss., referenced by the editor as Topkapı Library, A 1092 and A 3055. As the first of these belonged to Yashbak min Mahdī³⁸⁷, this may very well be the oldest copy available. Unfortunately, however, the shelf mark as given by the editor is wrong. In reality, A 1092 is the *Kitāb al-Qawā'id min Majmū' al-Madhhab*, authored by Ṣalāh al-Dīn Khalīl al-‘Alā’ī, known as Ibn Kaykaldī. Whatever its correct location or shelf mark may be, it should be clear that the Yashbak copy is (one of) the oldest *Nuzha* copies and should thus be prioritized in any future research (see Add. 6).

Fourth, when mapping the *Nuzha*’s many instantiations — and especially in light of its “reworking” in the Dublin ms., as hypothesized by the present author (→ 17) — it seems wise to focus on the following variables: Muḥammad (dealt with in a separate *Shajarat al-Nasab* text or merely as a short first entry?); the last caliph recorded in the caliphs’ list (al-Mustanjid bi llāh, r. 859–884/1455–1479, or updated?); the presence of a transitional section on Egypt that links the caliphs’ list and the rulers’ list; the last ruler recorded in the rulers’ list (Qāyṭbāy, Qāni-ṣawh, or further updated?); and the length of the section on the Ṭūlūnids.

Finally, returning to the author, a few words on his bibliography. Whereas the 1988 edition and Lellouch mention only 2 works besides the *Nuzha*, Ibn al-Ṭūlūnī seems to have been more prolific. Besides the *Nuzha* and, possibly, the *Shajara* and the Dublin ms. (→ 17), he has authored at least the following works, of which especially the third and fifth merit further exploration:

- *Manāqib al-Imām al-A‘ẓam Abī Ḥanīfa* (1 ms. available);
- *al-Munqayāt* (sic?) *min al-Ḥadīth al-Nabawī* (1ms. available);
- *Nuzhat al-Abṣār fī Akhbār al-Akhyār*, a bulky universal history of 838ff. from Adam up to the year 1473/877 (1 ms., *bi rasm* Qāyṭbāy!);
- *Nuzhat al-Abṣār fī Manāqib al-A‘immat al-Arba‘at al-Akhyār wa Mazīd min Mu‘jizāt al-Nabīy al-Mukhtār* (1 ms. available, → 54);

385 As a preliminary list of *Nuzha* mss., excluding the relevant mss. and lithographs referred in the other notes and the special case of Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 5479 (→ 17): al-Azhariya, Kāmila 131445/12081; Berlin, Ahlwardt 9734/4 (extracted from Escorial 1766); Bibliothèque nationale de France, arabe 1814, 1815, 7108; Chester Beatty Library, 4683; Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrī: 128/2827, 760 (only partial), Tārīkh 115 mīm/7545, Tārīkh 2253; Escorial 1708/2, 1766 (an early one); Gotha, arab. 695 (only partial); Leiden UB Or. 740 (only partial); Ma‘had al-Makhtūṭāt al-‘Arabiya 75/215, 69ff.; Süleymaniye, Reşid Efendi 953/1, Reisülküttap 1185 (*vidi*); dated 1000/1592, and updated up to the accession of sultan Süleymān; and Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 3055, A 3056 (all *non vidi*).

386 The *Nuzha* was printed together with the *Shajarat al-Nasab* in the two lithographs referred to above, and also in *al-Tuhfat al-Bahīya wa l-Ṭarfāt al-Shahīya*, a collection of 17 titles *mukhtāra min ‘uyūn al-adab al-‘Arabī* (Istanbul, 1302/1885; repr. Beirut, 1401/1981).

387 This in itself cannot be a lapsus, as the frontispiece is reproduced in the ed.

- *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa l-Khawāṭir fī Mā Kutiba li l-Muḥibbīn Ghā'ib wa Ḥādīr*, a historical work in 2 vols. (1 ms. available);
- *Sharḥ al-Ājurrūmiya*, a grammatical treatise (no ms. found so far);
- *Sharḥ Muqaddimat al-Ṣalāt li Abī l-Layth al-Samarqandī* (1 ms. available).

Let us now leave the murky waters of the *Nuzha's* textual history and return to the more solid ground offered by the ms. at hand. Its concluding entry (on Qāniṣawh, as to be expected) and colophon read as follows:

Thumma ttafaqa ārā al-umarā al-akābir wa sā'ir al-'asākīr al-manṣūra wa sa'alū an takūna l-salṭana li mawlānā l-maqām al-sharīf, al-ghawth li kull miskīn wa ḍa'if zill allāh fī arḍihi al-qā'im bi sunnat nabīy allāh wa fardīhi man manna allāh 'alayhi wa ta'aṭṭafa wa jāda bi ayyāmihi 'alā 'ibādīhi wa talaṭṭafa wa atāhu mulkahu, fa huwa l-malik al-ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qāniṣawh (thus vocalized!) al-Ashraf Qāyitbāy (thus vocalized!), khallada llāh mulkahu fa nazara bi barakatīhi wa madadihi junūdahu wa jaddada lahum fī kull waqt naṣran wa adāma awāmirahu al-sharīfa barran wa baḥran wa a'azza bihi l-islām wa ja'alahu fī kanaf Muḥammad khayr al-anām wa aqāma bi nuṣratīhi al-dīn (...) zāla l-khawf wa l-faza' wa furrija kull dīq wa ttasa'a, fa huwa l-malik al-shujā' wa l-āmir al-muṭā' fa lā akhlā llāh minhu mamlakatan wa lā qilā' wa lā zālat bihi al-ayyām zāhira wa mulūkuhu bi nuṣratīhi mutafākhira (...) wa nasaba naṣahu l-sharīfa bi l-Ghawrī tabarrukan bi ṭabaqatīhi allatī bihā mabda' al-sa'āda (...) wa qad khaṣṣahu llāh al-'aẓīm bi mulkihi wa sammāhu sulṭānan 'alā l-khalq fī l-fawr, huwa l-ashraf al-sulṭān wa l-mālik alladhī ḥamāhu ilāh al-'arsh min zulmat al-jawr fa 'ish dā'imān yā (...) Wa kānat wilāyatuhu li l-salṭana al-sharīfa fī yawm 'id al-fitr wa huwa yawm al-ithnayn l-mubārak sanat sitt wa tis'mīya. Wa ṣallā llāh 'alā nabīhi sayyidinā Muḥammadin wa ālihi wa ṣaḥābihi wa 'itratīhi wa sallama. Tamma l-kitāb bi 'awn al-malik al-wahhāb sanat tis' wa tis'mīya.

Then the great amirs and the rest of the victorious troops reached an agreement, and asked for the sultanate to be [given] to our lord, His Noble Excellency, the succour of each wretched and poor one, God's shadow on earth, supporter of the Sunna of the Prophet of God and of His precept[s], the one upon whom God has bestowed blessing and toward whom He is favourably disposed, the one whose days He has liberally bestowed upon His servants, to whom He is affectionate and whom He has offered His sovereignty, that is, al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qāniṣawh al-Ashraf Qāyitbāy (*sic*), may God make his rule everlasting, may He consider his armies for His blessing and His aid, may He always grant them a new victory, may He make his orders lasting on land and on sea, may He strengthen Islam through him, may He put him under the protection of Muḥammad, the best of mankind, may He elevate the religion through [His] support of him, (...), may fear and fright leave him, and may each narrowness [that obstructs him] be breached and widened, that is, the brave ruler and the obeyed commander, may God deplete no country and no fortresses of him, may the days not cease to be radiant through him, and may his realms not cease to pride themselves upon his support (...) He traced his noble person, [by assuming the *nisba*] al-Ghawrī, with God's blessing, to his [former] barracks [i. e. the Ghawr Barracks], the starting point of [his] felicity (...) God, the Glorious One, has allotted him his power and has promptly

appointed him sultan over mankind, that is, the most noble sultan and the ruler, whom the God of the Heavenly Throne may protect again the gloom of tyranny. Live long, O Qāniṣawh! (...) He assumed the noble sultanate on the day of the Festival of Breaking the Fast, a Blessed Monday, [the first of Shawwāl], of the year 906. God bless His Prophet, Our Lord Muḥammad, His Family, His Companions and His Progeny, and grant Them salvation! The book has been completed with the aid of the Munificent Sovereign.

- Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Muṣawwarāt al-Zakīya 178 (*non vidi*)

Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, *Kitāb Shajarat al-Nasab al-Sharīf al-Nabawī*; 12 ff.
Undoubtedly a modern copy of the Topkapı ms. (→ 83/1).

- Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Muṣawwarāt al-Zakīya 179 (*non vidi*)

Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, *Kitāb Shajarat al-Nasab al-Sharīf al-Nabawī*; 12 ff.
Presumably a second modern copy of the Topkapı ms. (→ 83/1).

- (84) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 2823 (*non vidi*)³⁸⁸

‘Umar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanafī, *Manāqib al-Khulafā’ al-Arba’a*, copied for the library of Qāniṣawh in 206 ff. Supposedly an autograph, which would make the author a contemporary of Qāniṣawh. This is in all likelihood a unicum.

- (85) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 2984 (*non vidi*)³⁸⁹

Majmū’ fihi min al-Tārīkh min Awwal Ādam ‘Alayhi al-Salām ilā Ākhir Dawlat al-Malik al-Nāṣir Faraj b. Barqūq, a composite work of 334 ff. that was copied or written in 910/1505 for Qāniṣawh³⁹⁰. Karatay described the work as a universal history from Adam up to the early 15th century, authored by al-Rawḥī, a “9th/15th-century” author.

Karatay got the author right, yet put him squarely in a wrong century. For this, however, he is not to blame, since the ms. at hand does in fact run up to the 15th cent. and al-Rawḥī has proven to be a particularly elusive author. In fact, we had to wait until the 2003 ed. of his work for his bio- and bibliography to be sorted out, and for definitely assigning al-Rawḥī to the 7th/13th century.

388 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 6058.

389 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 6138.

390 Ohta, “Covering the Book”, p. 549.

Whereas one could now expect the present item to be an anonymous update of al-Rawhī's *Bulghat al-Zurafā'*, in reality, as shown by the title itself, we are dealing with a *majmū'*. Included are:

(85/1) Al-Rawhī (d. 660s–670s/1260s–1270s), *Bulghat al-Zurafā' fī Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*³⁹¹ (→ 127), a work based on the *al-Inbā'* 'an al-Anbiyā' by the 11th-century author al-Quḍā'ī, and itself an important source on Fatimid history for later chroniclers, such as al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī. Only the first half of the work is included, up to the year 403/1011 (ff. 1–45).

(85/2) Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Jawhar al-Thamīn fī Siyar al-Mulūk wa l-Salāṭīn*³⁹² (ff. 45–245v). This section consists of *al-Jawhar al-Thamīn* (years 1–797/622–1395, ff. 45–160), followed by an *idāfa* for the years 787–806/1385–1404 (ff. 160–222), and a second one for the years 806–813/1404–1410 (ff. 222–245). As Ibn Duqmāq died in 809/1407, at least for the second *idāfa* another author must have been involved.

(85/3) An unidentified excerpt from al-Maqrīzī (→ 122) on the years 801–805/1399–1404 (ff. 245–302).

(85/4) Anonymous annals for the years 808–816/1406–1414 (ff. 302–331).

(86) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 3032 (*vidi*)³⁹³

Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 734/1334 in Cairo), *Kitāb Nūr al-'Uyūn fī Talkhīṣ Siyar al-Amīn al-Ma'mūn*, his own *talkhīṣ* of his equally celebrated biography of the Prophet, the *'Uyūn al-Athar fī Funūn al-Maghāzī wa l-Shamā'il wa l-Siyar*. Following the *basmala*, it opens as follows:

391 Ibn Abī l-Surūr al-Rawhī, *Bulghat al-Zurafā' fī Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*, eds. 'Imād Aḥmad Hilāl, Muḥammad Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Su'ād Maḥmūd 'Abd al-Sattār (Cairo, 2003). This latest edition supersedes the older editions by Ṣāliḥ Shukrī (Cairo, 11327/1909) and Muḥammad Zaynahum Muḥammad 'Azab (Cairo, 2001), both called *Bulghat al-Zurafā' fī Dhikrā Tawārīkh al-Khulafā'*. Hilāl *et al.* have done a laudable job in disentangling the author's name, the century he lived in, his bibliography and the title of his only work that has come down to us, the *Bulgha*. Yet, unfortunately, the editors also add to the already profuse confusion, by claiming that the Topkapı ms. only contains al-Rawhī's *Bulgha*. Karatay's statement that the work runs up to the 15th century is dismissed as wrong, and is explained as an unfortunate mix-up by Karatay of al-Rawhī and the 15th-century Ottoman author al-Rūhī... To the three mss. identified by Hilāl, one should perhaps add Nuruosmaniye 3055 (272ff., up to the year 805, copied in 885) (*non vidī*).

392 Ibn Duqmāq, *al-Jawhar al-Thamīn fī Siyar al-Khulafā' wa l-Mulūk wa l-Salāṭīn*, eds. Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Ashūr & Aḥmad al-Sayyid Darrāj (Mecca, 1983). While the editors have used the present Topkapı ms. as one of their sources, they have only edited the *Jawhar* itself (ff. 45–160). Neither have they discussed the preceding item, al-Rawhī, nor have they edited the subsequent addenda.

393 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 6025.

Wa ba'du fa qad waḍa'tu kitābī l-musammā 'Uyūn al-Athar fī Funūn al-Maghāzī wa l-Shamā 'il wa l-Siyar mumtī'an fī bābīhi mughniyan 'ammā siwāhu li qāṣidī hādihā l-'ilm wa ṭullābīhi ra'aytu an ulakhhīṣa fī hādhihi l-awraq minhu mā qaruba ma'khadhuhu wa naqluhu wa sahula tanāwuluhu wa ḥamluhu mimma awda'tuhu dhālika l-kitāb li yakūna li l-mubtadī tabṣiratan wa li l-muntahī tadhkīratan wa sammaytuhu Nūr al-'Uyūn fī Talkhīṣ Siyar al-Amīn al-Ma'mūn.

Now, I had authored my book, called '*Uyūn al-Athar fī Funūn al-Maghāzī wa l-Shamā 'il wa l-Siyar*, making [it] a delicious [contribution] to its respective field, and [hereby] rendering all other works dispensable for those who engage with this science and those who study it. I decided to abridge from that [book] on these pages that which can be taken up and transmitted, comprehended and delivered more easily and more plainly than what I have put down in the [aforesaid] book, in order for [this abridgment] to be an instruction for the novice and a reminder for the accomplished one, and I have called this [abridgment] *Nūr al-'Uyūn fī Talkhīṣ Siyar al-Amīn al-Ma'mūn*.

It was copied (*katabahu*) for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm*) by *mamlūk* Baktamur al-Ramaḍānī min Ṭabaqat al-Ashrafiya al-Malikī al-Ashrafī in 37ff. As the work enjoys quite some popularity, it has gone through various editions.³⁹⁴

For another *talkhīṣ* of Ibn Sayyid al-Nās' '*Uyūn al-Athar*, this time by al-Malaṭī, see the latter's *al-Majmū' al-Bustān* (→ 51-3).

(87) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 41 (*vidi*)³⁹⁵

An anonymous *Qiṣṣat Mūsā ma'a l-Khiḍr*, the story of Moses and His spiritual guide as transmitted by Ibn 'Abbās. The opening line runs as follows:

Ruwiya 'an Ibn 'Abbās raḍiya llāh 'anhumā annahu tamarrā huwa wa l-Ḥurr b. Qays b. Ḥiṣn al-Fazārī fī ṣāhib Mūsā laylat al-salām, fa qāla Ibn 'Abbās (...)

It has been transmitted on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, may God be pleased with them both, that he and al-Ḥurr b. Qays b. Ḥiṣn al-Fazārī walked by His Excellency Moses on the Night of Salām, and Ibn 'Abbās said (...)

It was copied (*katabahu*) for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm al-maqām*) by *mamlūk* Barsbāy min Ṭūmān Bāy min Ṭabaqat al-Arba'in al-Malikī al-Amīrī in 20ff.

This would have been just another specimen of those works that are ubiquitous throughout this list, works of piety that are conveniently short for a *mamlūk* in training to be penned, were it not for a remarkable addendum that precedes the colophon (→ fig. 33). This addendum, almost identical to another one, found in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ar. 1947 (→ 126) reads as follows:

394 E. g., Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *Nūr al-'Uyūn fī Talkhīṣ Sīrat al-Amīn al-Ma'mūn*, eds. Muḥammad Sa'īd 'Adnān al-Abrash & Muḥammad Ghassān Naṣṭūḥ 'Azqūl (Jidda, repr. 2006).

395 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 5984.

Bi smi llāhi l-rahmāni l-rahīm.

Al-mamlūk

[blank line]

yuqabbil al-arḍ bayna yaday sayyidinā wa mawlānā, mālik riqābinā, al-imām al-a'zam wa l-humām al-muqaddam, sulṭān al-islām wa l-muslimīm, qātil al-kafara al-mushrikīn, muḥyī al-'adl fi l-'ālamīn, abū (sic) al-fuqarā' wa l-masākīn, qātil al-khawārij wa l-mutatamarridīn, mubīd al-ṭughāt wa l-māriqīn, kahf al-fuqarā' al-muhtājīn, munṣif al-mazlūmīn min al-zālimīn, malik al-barrayn wa l-baḥrayn, khādim al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn, al-sulṭān al-mālik al-malik al-ashraf, ṣāhib al-diyār al-Miṣriya wa l-bilād al-shāmīya wa l-aqtār al-Ḥijāziya wa l-thughūr al-Sakandariya, zill allāh ta'ālā fi l-arḍ, al-ḥakīm <fihā> bi l-ṭūl wa l-arḍ, al-malik al-Ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, adāma llāh <ta'ālā> ayyāmahu, <mallakahu> barran wa baḥran bi Muḥammadīn wa ālihi.

<Anhā dhālika>, <in shā'a llāh ta'ālā, wa l-ḥamd li llāh waḥdihī>, ḥasbunā llāh wa nī'ma l-wakīl.

Wa ṣallā llāhu 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa <ālihi> wa ṣahabihi wa sallama kathīran <dā'iman ilā yawm al-dīn>.

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!

Al-mamlūk

[blank line]

Kisses the ground before our lord and our master, the holder of our reins, the most exalted leader and leading hero, the ruler of Islam and of the Muslims, the slayer of polytheist infidels, the reviver of justice in the Universe, father of the poor ones and the wretched ones, the slayer of dissidents and rebels, annihilator of oppressors and defectors, [sheltering] cave of the needy poor ones, establisher of the rights of the oppressed ones in the face of [their] oppressors, lord of the two lands and the two seas, the servant of the Two Noble Sanctuaries, the reigning sultan and the most noble king, the master of the Egyptian domains and the Syrian regions, and of the lands of the Hejaz and the Alexandrian ports, God's shadow on earth, the sovereign in these domains lengthwise and widthwise, al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, may God, exalted is He above all, lengthen his days, and may He grant him power both and land and on sea, through Muḥammad and His Family.

He [i. e., the *mamlūk*] has reported that, if God, exalted is He above all, wills, praise be to God alone, God suffices us, how excellent a protector He is!

God bless our Lord Muḥammad, His Family, and His Companions, and grant them abundant salvation forever, until the Day of Judgment.

This addendum more or less follows the conventions of Mamluk petitions and reports³⁹⁶: it opens with the *basmala*, the *tarjama* (i. e., the sender, left blank here,

396 See G. Khan, "The historical development of the structure of medieval Arabic petitions", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 53/1 (1990): 8–30, here pp. 24–26 (with more refs.).

unlike in the Paris ms.)³⁹⁷, and the conventional obeisance formula (*yuqabbil al-arḍ*), and it concludes with *anhā dhālika* and various blessings. However, as the intervening complaint and request section are missing, we are clearly not dealing with a genuine petition. Most probably, the copyist included this “model petition” for the sole purpose of demonstrating that he not only mastered the basic *naskh* script of the main text, but also a more elaborate script. In order to do so, he must have copied this “model petition” from an existing full petition, leaving out the actual name in the original document (without replacing this with his own, unlike in the Paris ms.), the complaint and the request, yet retaining the superfluous *anhā dhālika* (unlike in the Paris ms., where this is left out). Copying model texts was a common calligraphic exercise, and will be dealt with in some more detail when discussing a calligraphic *majmūʿ*, the *Kitāb fihī Aḥādīth Sharīfa* (→ 114).

One question remains to be answered. The mastery of what second script Barsbāy min Ṭūmān Bāy was demonstrating here? Whereas I initially identified this second script as *tawqīʿ*, there is a fair chance that we should rather call it *taʿlīq*. Indeed, there is a remarkable similarity with one of the 19 scripts presented by al-Ṭayyibī in his calligraphy manual, the *Kitāb Jāmiʿ Maḥāsīn Kitābat al-Kuttāb wa Nuzhat Ūlī al-Baṣāʾir wa l-Albāb* (→ 108): the so-called *taʿlīq* script, “invented” by al-Ṭayyibī himself (*waḍʿ kātibihi*), and not to be confused with Persian *taʿlīq*.³⁹⁸ In fact, the specimen that al-Ṭayyibī used in his manual to illustrate this new script was, indeed, a petition by himself, in his capacity of *muʿaddib al-mamālīk bi Ṭabaqat al-Raḥraf al-Kubrā*, submitted to Qāniṣawh! In this petition, al-Ṭayyibī pleaded with Qāniṣawh to be appointed as the *mukattib* in the latter’s madrasa, a good deed *thawāb dhālika fī ṣaḥīfat al-wāqif*³⁹⁹

In light of all this, it is not unlikely that *mamlūk* Barsbāy had mastered the skill of *taʿlīq* script under al-Ṭayyibī’s tutelage... (→ 22, 47, 48, Ch. 3).

397 While one could suspect the sender’s name to have been blotted out, there is little reason to assume so, especially since the sender’s name (i. e., the name of the scribe of both the petition and the preceding text) is found untouched on the immediately following page.

398 See A. Gacek, “Arabic scripts and their characteristics as seen through the eyes of Mamluk authors”, *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 4 (1989), pp. 144–149, here p. 147, n. 8; Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria*, pp. 141–142.

399 Al-Ṭayyibī, ms. f. 21v, ed. p. 75 (→ 108). The editors of the 2013 Riyadh ed. were unable to read the highly stylised concluding formula *anhā dhālika* (for which, see P. Sijpesteijn, “Financial Troubles: A Mamluk Petition”, in *Jews, Christians and Muslims in Medieval and Early Modern Times. A Festschrift in Honor of Mark R. Cohen*, eds. A.E. Franklin et. al. (Leiden, 2014), pp. 352–366, here p. 359).



Fig. 33: Addendum and tailpiece (ff. 19v–20r)

(88) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 71 (*non vidī*)⁴⁰⁰

Abū Madyan Shu‘ayb b. al-Ḥasan al-Maghribī al-Tilimsānī al-Maqdisī (d. after 598/1193), *al-Qaṣīdat al-Istighfārīya*, the second of three copies of Abū Madyan’s *mīmīya* (→ 23/4b, 38, 104/1). It was copied for Qāniṣawh by *mamlūk* Ulmās Mazqānī in 19ff.

(89) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 80 (*vidī*)⁴⁰¹

An anonymous *Du‘ā al-Ṣabāḥ wa Ad‘īyat al-Ayyām al-Sab‘a*, consisting of an elaborate morning prayer (ff. 1v–22v!), followed by the 7 weekly prayers. The Sunday prayer, e. g., reads:

Al-du‘ā fī yawm al-aḥad: Bi smi llāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm. Al-ḥamdu li llāh al-wāḥid al-qahḥār al-malik al-jabbār alladhī lā yakhfā ‘alayhi l-asrār wa lā tudrikuhu l-abṣār wa kull shay’in ‘indahu bi miqdār ‘azīz ḥakīm malik qadīm ghaḥfūr allāhumma ghfir ḥawbatī wa kshif kurbatī wa rḥam ghurbatī (...)

400 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 5403.

401 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 5610.

The Sunday Prayer:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Praise be to God, the One, the Subduer, the Possessor, the Omnipotent, to Whom no secrets are unknown and Whom no glances can perceive, with Whom is the divine measure of everything, the Almighty, the Wise, the Possessor, the Eternal, the Forgiving. O God, forgive [me] my sin, remove my worry (...)

It was copied (*katabahu*) for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm khizānat mawlānā*) by *mamlūk* Mughulbāy min <Qabarduq> min Ṭabaqat al-Rafraf al-Kubrā al-Malikī l-Ashrafi in 38ff. In spite of its pocket size book (18 x 13 cm.), the ms. shows no traces of wear whatsoever. In fact, pretty much all items of this list were presentation volumes more than anything else...

As God has disclosed that He answers the prayer of every suppliant who calls on Him (Qur'ān, 2: 186), collections of supplicatory prayers are by no means rare. Apart from other copies for Qāniṣawh (→ 90, 93), see. e.g., Bibliothèque nationale de France, arabe 5890 (*bi rasm Qāyṭbāy*) (*vidi*), and Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Yahuda Collection Ms. Ar. 298 (*bi rasm Jaqmaq*) (*non vidi*).

(90) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 82 (*vidi*)⁴⁰²

An anonymous *Kitāb al-Ad'īya, bi rasm al-khizāna al-karīmīya ... Qāniṣawh*. As this work consists of two titles that were copied well before Qāniṣawh's time, it should be clear that *bi rasm Qāniṣawh* on a particular work by no means implies that Qāniṣawh had actually commissioned this particular copy to be made, but rather functions as a *ex libris*, or, at best, conveys the act of binding the two existing works in one volume (→ 27, 28, 55, 123, Chapter Three). As said, two works were bound in one vol.:

(90/1) Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Akhbārī al-Nīsābūrī al-Maqtūl's *Ḥīrz al-Yamānī* (also known as *Du'ā al-Sayfī*). This *ḥīrz*, often attributed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, is still very popular, especially in Sufi and Shiite circles, and is used for warding off evil. It opens with *Allāhumma anta l-malik al-ḥaqq alladhī lā ilāha illā anta....* The *ḥīrz* was copied in 851/1447 in 19ff. (ff. 1v–19r).

As for the *Du'ā al-Sayfī*, other Mamluk copies include Washington, Freer|Sackler, Vever Collection, S1986.29/2 (ff. 29–40: owned by sultan Barsbāy, written in *muḥaqqaq* and *naskh*, with a few Turkic additions) (*vidi*); Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 3486/7 (ff. 114v–125: al-Būṣīrī's *Burda* followed by the *Du'ā al-Sayfī*, copied by Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm in 855/1452) (*vidi*); Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Archeology and Anthropology, NEP 26 (third part of a convolute, pp. 35–60: preceded by a *Du'ā Jawshan* and a *takhmīs* of Ka'b b. Zuhayr's *Bānat Su'ād*, owned by sultan Qāyṭbāy, and copied by *mamlūk* 'Alī Bāy

402 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 5707.

b. Ḥaydar min Ṭabaqat al-Ghawr al-Malikī al-Ashrafī) (*vidi*)⁴⁰³; and an item presumably in a private collection (19ff., dedicated to sultan Qāyṭbāy).⁴⁰⁴

The fact that the *Asad Allāh* was a highly revered figure also within the Mamluk Sultanate and the medieval “Sunni” world at large should not surprise us. Indeed, the supra-confessional popularity of ‘Alī and his sayings was widespread enough to earn itself a variety of appellations, such as “imamophilia”, “Shi‘i-Sunnism” and “Twelver Sunnism”. Clear testimony thereof is the fact that the present list includes at least 5 more “imamophile” items (→ 41-3, 97, 101, 102, 104/2, 104/3).⁴⁰⁵ While it could be tempting to think that the ‘Alid connection of these texts is all but lost, or, put otherwise, that these exemplify a weak “imamophilia” at most, there is evidence to suggest otherwise. For example, consider another “imamophile” Mamluk ms.: a copy not of *Du‘ā al-Sayfī* but of another prayer commonly attributed to ‘Alī and thought to be as useful as a cuirass for warding off the enemy, *al-Jawshan al-Ṣaghīr*.⁴⁰⁶ The Dār al-Kutub (Taṣawwuf 1696, *vidi*) houses a splendid copy that was copied (*bi khaṭṭ*) by Tamur al-Sharifī (*min al-Raḫraf al-malikī al-ashrafī, tilmīdh ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Amīr ‘Alī*) (for Tamur’s *mukattib*, ‘Alī b. Aḥmad → 3-1, Chapter Three) for Qāyṭbāy (*Mimmā ‘umila bi rasm khizānat al-maqām al-sharīf mawlānā Qāyṭbāy al-sultān al-mālik al-malik al-Ashraf Abī l-Naṣr*). What makes this ms. stand out are not only its lavishly gilded frontispiece (→ fig. 34) and its exquisite fleur-de-lys, but also the fact that the prayer is introduced by a detailed *isnād* from the 5th/11th century Shi‘ite scholar Ja‘far al-Dawrabashtī (*sic*, for al-Dūryastī) all the way back to the first imam, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib⁴⁰⁷ (→ fig. 35):

(14) *al-imām al-sa‘īd sadīd al-dīn al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Dūrbastī* (*sic*) *taghamma-dahu llāh bi raḫmatihī qāla*, (13) *ḥaddathanī l-imām al-sa‘īd al-sayyid Abū al-Riḍā faḍlu llāh al-Ḥasanī al-Rāvandī qāla*, (12) *ḥaddathanī al-sayyid Abū Turāb al-Murtaḍā*

403 Available on <https://openn.library.upenn.edu/Data/0016/html/NEP26.html>.

404 Auctioned by Sotheby’s in 1987 (Fine Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures, lot. 264). This could be the same as the copy presently held at the University of Philadelphia.

405 See Konrad Hirschler’s discussion of the presence of Twelver Shi‘ite works in the Ashrafiya library (*Medieval Damascus*, pp. 123–128).

406 Not to be confused with *al-Jawshan al-Kabīr*. As for the contemporary Sunni world, *al-Jawshan al-Ṣaghīr* appears to be well known only in Turkey, where it was made popular by the famous Kurdish theologian, Bediüzzaman Said Nursi (1877–1960). Apart from *al-Jawshan al-Ṣaghīr* and *al-Jawshan al-Kabīr*, a third *Jawshan* circulated as well that was altogether different from the other two: Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Archeology and Anthropology, NEP 26 (first part of the convolute referred to a few notes above, pp. 4–14: followed by a *takhmīs* of Ka‘b b. Zuhayr’s *Bānat Su‘ād* and the *Du‘ā al-Sayfī*).

407 Unfortunately, as the ms. is defective in the beginning, it cannot be established up to what era the *isnād* ran. Perhaps all the way up to Qāyṭbāy’s reign? For an analysis of some other *asānīd* of this prayer and further refs., see A. Aydınlı, “The Prayer of Jawshan. A Study of Its Sources”, *Ilahiyat Studies* 2/1 (2011): 47–68.

b. al-Dā'ī al-Ḥusaynī qāla, (11) ḥaddathanī Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Wahbān al-Dubaylī qāla, (10) akhbaranā Harūn b. Mūsā qāla, (9) akhbaranā 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Madanī qāla, (8) akhbaranā Abū 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm qāla, (7) ḥaddathanā 'Amāra b. Yazīd qāla, (6) akhbaranā 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Ulā, (5) 'an Abī 'Abd Allāh Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Šādiq, (4) 'an abīhi Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Bāqir, (3) 'an abīhi 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayn al-'Ābidīn, (2) 'an abīhi sayyid al-shuhadā' al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, (1) 'an abīhi sayyid al-awšiyā amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib radiya llāh 'anhum ajma'in annahu qāla:

“Yā bunayya, alā u'allimuka sirran min asrār allāh ta'ālā wa min rasūlihi ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama, nazala bihi l-rūḥ al-amīn Jibrīl 'alayhi l-salām, wa hwa kanz min kunūz allāh ta'ālā, khaṣṣahu llāh ta'ālā bihi yataghawwathu bihi l-maẓlūmīn ilā llāh ta'ālā, wa hwa al-du'ā al-ma'rūf bi Jawshan ja'alahu llāh ḥirzan wa 'amānan li man yad'u bihi min āfāt al-dunyā wa 'āhātihā (...)”



Fig. 34: Frontispiece of Qāyrbāy's copy of *al-Jawshan al-Šaghīr*



Fig. 35: The 14th and 13th chain of the *isnād* of *al-Jawshan al-Šaghīr*

The felicitous imam Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Dūrbastī (*sic*) (...) on the authority of his father, the lord of tutors and commander of the faithful, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, may God be pleased with all of Them, said:

“O son! Perhaps I could teach you one of the secrets of God, exalted is He above all, and of His Envoy, God bless Him and grant Him salvation! It was revealed by the Faithful Holy Spirit, Gabriel, upon Him be peace, and it is one of the hidden treasures of God, exalted is He above all, with which God, exalted is He above all, had bestowed Him [i. e., the Prophet], and by which the oppressed can seek the aid of God, exalted is He above all. It is the prayer that is known as the *Jawshan*, which God has made a *ḥirz* and an *amān* for those who pray by it against the evils of the world and its blights (...)”

Clearly, these prayers were still very much connected to the revered figure of 'Alī...

(90/2) An anonymous collection of *awrād* for the seven days of the week in 42 ff. (ff. 20v–62r), in splendid calligraphy, combining larger *muḥaqqaq* and smaller *naskh*.

What makes this particular text stand out is not its contents. Admittedly, to date no exact textual parallel has been found, but strong parallels are plenty. Compare, e.g., the *wird yawm al-jum'a* of the present item (→ fig. 36) with the *du'ā yawm al-jum'a* as found in the *Kitāb Ad'iyat Ayyām Sab'a* (→ fig. 37), a splendid prayer book copied for Jānbulāt, who ruled briefly as sultan in 905–906/1500–1501 (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 70).



Fig. 36: The Friday *wird* in B 82 (f. 21v)



Fig. 37: The Friday *du'ā* in B 70 (f. 2v)

Rather than its contents, what merits our attention our two other features: first, it is one of the few items in the list that predates the 15th century (→ Index of Date of Copying); second, it includes quite some Persian, which is not that common in the list. Regarding the date, consider the revealing colophon on f. 62v (→ fig. 38):

Faragha min taḥrīrihi fī yawm al-arba'ā thāmin min shahr Ṣafar khutima bi l-khayr wa l-zafar li sanat thamān 'ashara wa sab' mīyat ḥamīdan li llāh muṣallīyan wa musallīman wa mus'ifan. Khadama bi kitābatihī khuwaydim al-masākīn Tuqtamur b. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Shihābī al-Sāwajī aṣlahā llāh ḥālahu fī dār al-mulk Kirmān ḥamāhā llāh ta'ālā.

The copy was finished on Wednesday, the eight of Şafar, may it conclude with good and with triumph, of the year 718 (...) Has rendered service by copying it is the most wretched servant Tuqtamur b. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Shihābī al-Sāwajī, may God improve his condition, in the capital Kirmān, may God, exalted is He above all, protect it!

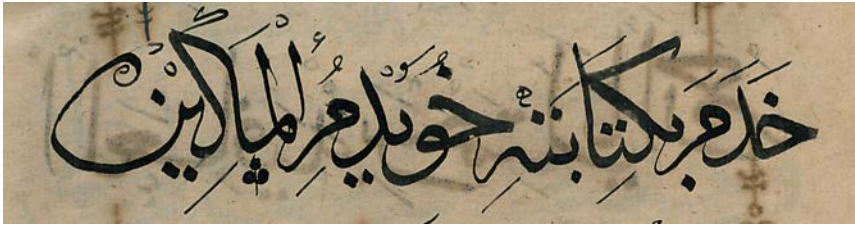


Fig. 38: Colophon of B 82 (f. 62v)

Based on Tuqtamur's *nisba* (referring to the town of Saveh)⁴⁰⁸ and the location and date of copying (Kirmān, 718/1318–1319), this ms. is clearly an Ilkhanid work. Now, it will be recalled that this is the second Ilkhanid work in the list, the first being Öljeytü's Hamadān Qur'ān (→ 6). Venturing a guess, it could very well be that the *Awrād* and the Hamadān Qur'ān were part of a same batch of mss.: arriving as a gift in Egypt before 747/1326, subsequently kept at the Baktamur mausoleum, and finally being appropriated by Qānişawh and relocated to the Ghawriya complex.

It should be added that the Ilkhanid origins of the text show not only in its colophon, but also in its layout. As pointed out by Simon Rettig, the layout follows a model used for Qur'anic copies since the late 12th cent. and mastered in the Ilkhanid period by master calligraphers such as 'Abd Allāh al-Şayrafi: the top, middle and bottom lines are written in large *muḥaqqaq*, and these three lines alternate with two blocks of three lines in smaller *naskh*.⁴⁰⁹

The second feature that makes this particular text stand out is the fact that it has quite some Persian. As Persian is scarcely represented in this list (→ 107, the

408 Scribe Tuqtamur may have been related to Abū l-Maḥāsīn Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Sāwajī and recorded by Ben Azzouna (*Aux origines du classicisme*, p. 582). The latter is known to have copied the divan of al-Mutanabbī (dated 714/1313–14, Khalilī Collections MSS 902), al-Zawzānī's *Kitāb al-Maṣādir* (dated 711/1311, Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, 4106), and a convolute (dated 730/1329, Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, 308) (*all non vidi*). Of this convolute, three parts ring a familiar bell, as they all feature in the present list: the *Nathr al-La'ālī*, the *Mi'a Kalīma*, and *Waṣīyat* (→ 89, 93, 94, 95), all by the Rightly Guided 'Alī. Is this merely a coincidence, or was the Ilkhanid connection instrumental in the diffusion of these "imamophile" texts in the Eastern Mediterranean?

409 Personal communication. For an early 14th century Qur'ān copied by al-Şayrafi in a similar layout, see M. Farhad, S. Rettig *et al.*, *The Art of the Qur'an. Treasures from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts* (Washington D.C., 2016), nr. 25 (pp. 208–213) (Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, 487, *non vidi*).

only item that is fully in Persian; 3-7, 97, 109, multi-lingual items that include Persian), I reproduce the Persian sections of part (90/2) in full:

(f. 20v) Bi smi llāhi l-raḥmāni l-raḥīm. Rabbi sahhil wa yassir wa lā tu‘ assir.

Chunīn rivāyat kunand ‘ālimān ‘ābidān va imāmān u buzurgān-i māzi rāziya llāh ‘anhum ki payghāambar šalāt allāh ‘alayhi va sallama farmūd ki har ān kasī ki īn avrād bar pāy dārad payvasta dar amān-i khudā-yi tabārak va ta‘ālā bāshad va hargiz <vām-zada> nashavad va bi hīch sakhti va balā‘ī va āfatī dar namānad va bi marg-i mufājāt namīrad va az jawr-i (f. 21r) sultān va sharr-i shaytān va az makr-i makkārān va az āfat-i dīv va parī īman bāshad, va dar safar va dar ḥazar tan u jān va māl-i u dar amān-i khudā-yi tabārak va ta‘ālā bāshad va hīch duzd barvay va māl-i vay zafar nayābad va az dunyā naravad tā jāy-i khvīsh dar bahasht nabīnad va šavāb-i payghāambarān-i mursal va farasthagān-i muqarrab yābad va bī ḥisāb dar bahasht dar-ravad. Asnād-i īn basyār-ast va šavāb-i khvānanda-yi (f. 21v) īn awrād kasī nadānad bi juz-i khudāyi ta‘ālā va bi llāh al-tawfīq.

(Arabic >) Wird-i yawm al-jum‘a: Bi smi llāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm. Allāhu akbar allāh akbar ahl al-kibriyā‘ wal-‘aẓama wa muntahā al-jabarūt wa l-‘izza wa walīy al-ghayth wa l-raḥma mālik al-dunyā wa l-ākhirā rabb al-arbāb (...)

(f. 28v) (...) (Persian >) *Va asnād-i īn awrād bisyār ast ki sharḥ bi kitābat rāst nayābad va har ān kas ki īn awrād az šafā-y dil va jān khvānda bāshad ham bi dunyā va ākhirat bi hīch ‘azābī garaftār nashavad va az bīm-i dīv u parī va dar safar va dar ḥazar īman bāshad va tan u jān va māl-i ū dar amān-i khudā-yi tabārak va ta‘ālā va hīch duzd barvay va māl-i vay (f. 29r) zafar nayābad va az dunyā naravad illā āmurzide ~~va min al-khilāf e ba‘da l-olfat allāhumma~~ [crossed out in the original] va faẓilat-i īn du‘ā bištar āz ān ast ki bi sharḥ va vaṣf-rāst āyad har ki tawfīq yāft bi khvānad īn du‘ā bi gūy <kī> ḥajat bi khvāhad ki man albatta ravā kunam, va agar kasī natavānad khvāndan bā khvud dārad (sic) va bā ḥurmat gūsh dārad kay az hama balāhā īman shavad. Va payghāambar ‘alayhi afzala l-šalā (f. 29v) va akmala l-taḥiya farmūda ast ki har ān kas īn du‘ā-rā khvār dāshta bāshad khvār <gardad> bi nazd-i khāliq u khalq, va chūn bā ḥurmat dāshta bāshad hamān šavāb yābad va llāh al-ghaffūr ar-raḥīm.*

Du‘ā īn-ast: (Arabic >) Bi smi llāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm. Lā ilāh illā anta mufarrij kull kurba, lā ilāh illā anta mu‘izz kull dalīl lā ilāh illā anta mughni kull faqīr lā ilāh illā (f. 30r) anta quwwat kull karb lā ilāh illā anta muntahā (sic) kull ḥāja (...). (f. 55r) Lā ilāh illā llāh al-ghanīy al-ḥamīd, lā ilāh illā llāh al-qāyim al-dāyim, lā ilāh illā llāh allāh al-ḥannān al-mannān, lā ilāh illā llāh al-ḥayy al-qayyūm, lā ilāh illā llāh al-barr al-raḥīm, lā ilāh illā llāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, lā ilāh illā llāh al-rabb al-ghaffār, lā ilāh illā llāh dhū l-‘arsh al-majīd, lā ilāh illā llāh l-fa‘‘āl li mā yurīd (...).

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! My Lord! Facilitate it and make it easy [for me] and do not make it difficult!

As was related by the ‘ulamā’, the devotees, the imams and the great men of the past, may God be pleased with Them, the Prophet, God bless Him and grant Him salvation, has declared that whosoever invokes these *avrād* will forever be under the protection of the Lord, blessed and exalted is He above all, will never be struck by debt, will never suffer any distress, affliction and calamity and won’t die a sudden death, he will be free from the injustice of the sultan and the wickedness of Satan, from swindlers’ tricks, and

from the misfortune [wrought] by demons and fairies, and will be under the protection of the Lord, blessed and exalted is He above all, both abroad and at home, both in body and soul, and [in terms of] his possessions. Furthermore, no thief will get the better of him or of his belongings, nor will he leave this world until he sees [i. e., has secured/is assured of] his own place in Paradise, he will obtain the reward of the Prophets Sent and the Angels Drawn Near, and will enter Paradise without reckoning. The credentials of these [*avrād*] are numerous and the recompense of those who recite these *avrād* nobody knows but the Lord, exalted is He above all. Success is granted by God!

[Arabic >] *The Friday wird:*

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!

God is great, God is great, majestic and exalted, most powerful and mighty, the patron of abundant rain and of mercy, ruler of this world and the Hereafter, lord of lords (...)

[Persian >] The credentials of these *avrād* are [too] numerous to write down, and whosoever reads these *avrād* with a pure heart and soul won't be meet any punishment, be it in this world or in the Hereafter. He will be free from the terror of both ghosts and fairies, both abroad and at home, and his body, his soul and his belongings will be under the protection of the Lord, blessed and exalted is He above all. No thief will get the better of him or of his belongings, and he will leave this world only in an absolved state (...) and the virtue of this prayer is greater than tho[se] that please in commentary and description. Whosoever has found divine guidance, let him recite this prayer and let [him] declare his need. Let him recite [this prayer], for I will certainly approve of it. And if someone cannot recite it himself, let him respectfully give ear, in order to be free from all afflictions! The Prophet, upon Him be the best prayer and the most perfect salutation, has declared that whosoever holds this prayer in contempt becomes contemptible [himself] in the eyes of the Creator and the eyes of the people, and that [whosoever] holds it in esteem will immediately be rewarded. God is the Most Forgiving, the Compassionate!

The prayer is the following: [Arabic >] *In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! There is no god but You, who drives away each sorrow, no god but You, who strengthens each sign, no god but You, who frees every poor person from want, no god but You, the power of each fear, no god but You, who makes short work of every need (...)* *There is no god but God, the One Who is Free of all Want, the Praiseworthy One, no god but God, the Constant, the Perpetual, no god but God, the Kind, the Benefactor, no god but God, the Living, the Everlasting, no god but God, the Good, the Compassionate, no god but God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, no god but God, the Lord, the Most Forgiving, no god but God, Occupier of the Exalted Throne, no god but God, Doer of What He Wishes (...)*

(91) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 84 (*non vidī*)⁴¹⁰

Abū l-Waqt 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Alī b. Mubārakshāh al-Bakrī al-Şiddiqī al-Makki Şirāzī (d. 896/1491)'s *Hadīyat al-Muḥibbīn fī l-Adhkār wa l-Awrād*, a collection of *adhkār* and *awrād*.

410 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 5675.

Apparently, Qānişawh owned two copies of the *Hadiyat*: this one, copied by *mamlūk* Timurbughā min Yūnus in 24ff., and a second one, currently in Paris (→ 129). For some more information on this work and its author, the reader is referred to this second copy.

(92) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 85 (*vidi*)⁴¹¹

Kitāb Natā'ij al-Anbiyā' 'alayhim al-Salām (and not *Tasābih al-Anbiyā'*, as given by Karatay), an anonymous collection of *tasābih* (→ 99) of prophets, angels and others venerated figures, such as Ādam, Shīt, Hābīl, Idrīs, Nūḥ, Şālih, Ibrāhīm, Ismā'īl, Ishāq, Mūsā, Dhū l-Qarnayn, 'Īsā, Jibrīl, Isrāfīl, Mīkā'īl, Khadīja, Yūsuf, etc. The opening line runs as follows:

Wa ba'du fa hādhā kitāb yashtamil 'alā tasābih al-anbiyā' 'alayhim al-şalāt wa l-salām mubāraka in shā'a llāh ta'ālā wa bi llāh al-musta'in wa 'alayhi l-tuklān.

Now, this is a book that includes the blessed *tasbih* prayers of the Prophets, upon Them be peace and salvation, if God wills, exalted is He above all, God, the one is resorted to, and the one in whom confidence is put!

It was copied (*katabahu*) for Qānişawh (*bi rasm*) by *mamlūk* Tuḡtabāy al-Muḥammadī min Ṭabaqat al-Zimāmiya al-Malikī al-Ashrafi in 28ff.

(93) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 88 (*vidi*)⁴¹²

Nuzhat al-Anām wa Mişbāḥ al-Zalām, an anonymous collection of prayers (→ 89, 90). Its opening line:

Wa ba'du fa hādhā kitāb mubārak mushtamil 'alā aḥādīth wa ad'iya mubāraka marwīya 'an al-nabī şallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama wa sammaytuhu Nuzhat al-Anām wa Mişbāḥ al-Zalām (...)

[E.g., a prayer to be uttered when leaving one's house:]

Qāla Anas: Qāla Rasūl Allāh şallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama: Qāla idhā kharaja min baytihi: Bi smi llāh tawakkaltu 'alā llāh, lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā bi llāh... Wa qāla Umm Salama: Mā kharaja Rasūl Allāh şallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama min bayti illā rafā'a ṭarfahu ilā l-samā fa qāla: Allāhumma innī a'ūdhu bika an aḍilla aw uḍalla aw azilla aw uzalla aw aẓlima aw uẓlama aw ajhala aw yujhala 'alayya (...)

Now, this blessed book consists of hadiths and blessed prayers that have been transmitted on the authority of the Prophet, God bless Him and grant Him salvation. This book I have called the *Nuzhat al-Anām wa Mişbāḥ al-Zalām (...)*

[E.g., a prayer to be uttered when leaving one's house:]

Anas has said: "When leaving His house, the Envoy of God, God bless Him and grant

411 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 5644.

412 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 5674.

Him salvation, has said, ‘In the name of God! In God I trust, there is no power and no strength save if God....’” Umm Salama has said, “The Envoy of God, God bless Him and grant Him salvation, never left a house unless He raised His gaze towards the sky and said, ‘O God! I take refuge with You, lest I go astray or am led astray, lest I make an error or am made to err, lest I do wrong or am made to do wrong, lest I am ignorant or am treated ignorantly (...)’”

It concludes with a section on *ṣiyāh al-diyaka wa nahīq al-ḥimār wa nibāḥ al-kalb*, “the crowing of the roosters, the braying of the donkey, and the barking of the dog”, a section that may seem odd, unless one knows that, according to the Sunna, these animals can see what man cannot see. According to al-Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*, e. g.:

Idhā sami’tum ṣiyāḥ al-diyaka fa s’alū llāh min faḍlihi, fa innahu ra’at malaka; wa idhā sami’tum nahīq al-ḥimār fa ta’awwadhū bi llāh min al-shayṭān, fa innahu ra’ā shayṭānan.

If you hear a rooster crowing, then ask God for His favour, for it has seen an angel; and if you hear a donkey braying, then seek refuge with God from the Devil, for it has seen a devil.

The ms. was copied (*katabahu*) for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm al-maqām*) by *mamlūk* Tamur min Qayt min Ṭabaqat al-Ṣandalīya⁴¹³ al-Malikī al-Ashrafī in 26ff.

(94) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 91 (*vidī*)⁴¹⁴

An anonymous *Ādāb al-Mulūk*, already the ninth *Fürstenspiegel* of the list, packed with the ubiquitous *aḥādīth* on the justice of the sultan. It was copied (*katabahu*) for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm khizānat*) by *mamlūk* Bardabak min Aṣanbāy min Ṭabaqat al-Mustajidda al-Malikī al-Ashrafī in 19ff. As the short work has been edited, no further comments are required.⁴¹⁵

Süleymaniye, Mesih Paşa 60 (→ 56) is a second *Fürstenspiegel* that is called *Ādāb al-Mulūk*, but this is a different work altogether.

413 Misread by Karatay as al-Sunbulīya.

414 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 6981. See also Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria*, p. 101; Flemming, “Literary Activities”, p. 257.

415 Muḥammad Naṣr Muhannā, “Ādāb al-Mulūk. Katabahu l-mamlūk Bardabak min Ṭabaqat al-Mustajidda al-Malikī al-Ashrafī. Dirāsa wa taḥqīq wa ta’liq”, *Annales Islamologiques* 22 (1986): 1–9.

(95) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 94 (*vidi*)⁴¹⁶

An anonymous work, entitled *Hidāyat al-Insān li Faḍl Ṭāʿat al-Imām wa l-ʿAdl wa l-Iḥsān*. A long introduction, with copious *allāhummas*, is followed by a collection of well-known traditions and sayings on the importance of justice and the circle of justice. The *baʿdu* section following the introduction reads:

(f.10r) *Wa baʿdu fa hādihā kitāb yusammā Hidāyat al-Insān fi Faḍl Ṭāʿat al-Imām wa l-ʿAdl wa l-Iḥsān. Ruwiya fi Ṣaḥīḥay al-Bukhārī wa Muslim min ḥadīth Abī Hurayra radiya llāh ʿanhu qāla, qāla Rasūl Allāh ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa sallama: Sabʿatun yuzilluhum allāh fi zillihī yawm lā zill illā zillihī: imām ʿādil wa shābb nashā fi ʿibādat allāh (...)* (f.14r) *inna fi l-janna qaṣra lahu khamsat ālaf bāb, lā yadkhul illā nabīy aw ṣiddīq aw shahīd aw imām ʿādil (...)* (f.17r) *min kalām Kistrā: lā mulk illā bi l-jund wa lā jund illā bi l-māl wa lā māl illā min al-bilād wa lā bilād illā bi l-raʿyā wa lā raʿyā illā bi l-adl wa l-salām (...)*

Now, this book is called the *Hidāyat al-Insān fi Faḍl Ṭāʿat al-Imām wa l-ʿAdl wa l-Iḥsān*. Transmitted in the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim of the hadith[s] of Abū Hurayra, may God be pleased with him, is that the Envoy of God, God bless Him and grant Him salvation, has said, “There are seven whom God will shelter under His shadow on the day when there will no shadow except His: a just leader, a youth reared in the worship of God (...) In Paradise, there is a castle with five thousand gates, which can be entered only by a prophet, a most righteous one, a martyr, a just leader (...) As said by Khosrow, “Power requires an army; an army requires money; money requires land; land requires subjects; subjects require justice and peace (...)

The work was copied (*katabahu*) for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm*) by *mamlūk* Jānbirdī min Dawlāt Bāy min Ṭabaqat al-Ḥawsh al-Sharīf al-Malikī al-Ashrafī in 27 ff.

In relation to the author of this work, the following thoughts may be of some interest. Al-Munāwī al-Sulamī (d. 803/1400) authored a work with the exact same title, *Hidāyat al-Insān li Faḍl Ṭāʿat al-Imām wa l-ʿAdl wa l-Iḥsān*, but since this is a *takhrīj* of al-Mundhirī’s *Arbaʿūna Ḥadīthan fi Faḍl Iṣṭināʿ al-Maʿrūf li l-Muslimīn* (→ 23/1), this cannot be the same work.⁴¹⁷ Al-Mundhirī himself supposedly authored an *Arbaʿūna Ḥadīthan fi Hidāyat al-Insān li Faḍl Ṭāʿat al-Imām wa l-Nadā* (or: *wa l-ʿAdl*) *wa l-Iḥsān*. Unless titles and authors got mixed up here, this could be valid candidate...⁴¹⁸

416 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 5286.

417 See *Arbaʿūna Ḥadīthan fi Ṣṭināʿ al-Maʿrūf, jamʿ Zakī al-Dīn Abī Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm b. ʿAbd al-Qawiy al-Mundhirī, sharḥ wa taʿlīq Abī ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Sulamī...*, ed. Muḥammad b. Tāwit al-Ṭanjī (n.p., 1405/1985).

418 *Jawāb al-Ḥāfiẓ Abī Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm al-Mundhirī al-Miṣrī ʿan Asʿila fi l-Jarḥ wa l-Taʿdīl*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda (Ḥalab, 1411/1991), p. 32. The Egyptian Dār al-Kutub should hold two copies.

(96) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 112 (*non vidi*)⁴¹⁹

Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān’s (d. 150/767) *Waṣīyat al-Imām al-A‘zam Abī Ḥanīfa*, the imam’s well-known *waṣīya* that defines Islamic orthodoxy in 27 articles. It was copied for Qāniṣawh after his accession in 1501 in 21 ff.

More specimens of the *waṣīya* genre can be found further down the list (→ 101, 102, 104/2, 121).

(97) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 122 (*vidi*)⁴²⁰

‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, *Mi‘at Kalima fī Ḥikam Mukhtalifa min Kalām ‘Alī*, a collection of 100 maxims of ‘Alī in Arabic⁴²¹, each with a versified Turkic translation and a diagonally arranged Persian paraphrase. The work was copied (*khidmat*) for the library of Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm khizānat mawlānā*) by *mamlūk* Manṣūr b. Yūsuf al-Malikī al-Ashrafī in 18 ff., and has been edited in an exemplary style by one of the founding fathers of Mamluk-Turkic studies, the Polish Turcologist Ananiasz Zajączkowski.⁴²²

This translation is quite different from the translation of the *Mi‘at Kalima* copy by Şirvānlı Ḥaṭīb Oğlu, referred to above (→ 41–3).

As stated before, ‘Alī’s wisdom was highly praised, not only by Qāniṣawh (→ 90/1), but also by other Mamluk sultans. Qāyṭbāy, e. g., owned a copy of *Kitāb fihī Nubadh min Kalām al-Imām ‘Alī*: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. or. fol. 1625; only Arabic (*vidi*). Moreover, both Qāyṭbāy and his son, sultan Muḥammad b. Qāyṭbāy, could enjoy the perusal of a lavish copy of the *Kitāb Nathr al-La‘ālī min Kalām al-Imām ‘Alī karrama llāh wajhahu*: Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, majmā‘ī‘ 397/1 (ff. 1–11) (*non vidi*)⁴²³; Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 123) (*vidi*).

The latter ms. records over 200 sayings that are *murattabatun ‘alā ḥurūf al-mu‘jam* (i. e., arranged in 29 chapters according to their first letter: *ḥarf al-alif*, *ḥarf al-bā*, etc.), both in the original Arabic and in interlinear Turkic trans-

419 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 4695.

420 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 6922.

421 Almost identical to the list attributed to al-Jāḥiẓ, for which see now *al-Qāḍī al-Quḍā‘ī, Dustūr Ma‘ālim al-Ḥikma wa Ma‘thūr Makārim al-Shiyam min Kalām Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, wa Yalīhi Mi‘at Kalima min Kalām Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, al-Mansūb ilā l-Jāḥiẓ*, ed. T. Qutbuddin (New York, 2013), pp. 109–114.

422 A. Zajączkowski, *Sto sentencyj i apoftegmatów arabskich kalifa ‘Alī’ego w parafrazie mamełucko-tureckiej* (Warszawa, 1968).

423 Interestingly, Qāyṭbāy’s copy is said to hail from sultan Jaqmaq’s *khizāna*. As such, this is one of the few works of which we are certain that it moved from one sultan’s library to another (→ Chapter Three).

lation.⁴²⁴ Quoting from B 123, currently still unpublished, one maxim that must have appealed to Qāniṣawh most strongly: *Majlis al-'ilm rawḍat al-janna*, translated as *‘İlim meclisi cennet gülistānidur* (f. 17v, → fig. 39).



Fig. 39: Maxims under *ḥarf al-mīm* (B 123, f. 17v)

(98) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 127 (*non vidī*)⁴²⁵

Al-Būṣīrī’s *Mantle Ode* once more, now in an anonymous collection of 10 (!) quiniations, *takhāmīs*, or, if you will, pentastichous amplifications, *al-Durrat al-Yatīma fī l-Madā’ih al-Karīma*. Included are the *takhāmīs* of al-Fayyūmī, Ibn ‘Ubāda, al-Ghazzī, al-Adhra’ī, al-Dimyāṭī, al-Miṣrī, Aḥmad al-Šāhib, al-Andalūsī, Ismā’īl al-Ḥanafī, and “al-Qurasi” (*sic*). The collection was copied for the library of Qāniṣawh in 890/1485 in 30 ff.

There should be a later copy of 43 ff., dated 1027/1618–1619, at the Azhar (shelf mark 131871/9389) (*non vidī*).

424 For an older, different translation of the *Nathr al-La’ālī* for the Ottoman sultan Murād II, see Ā. Ceyhan & T. Aydoğān, “Sultan II. Murad için dizilmiş incileri: Hâfız’ın Nesrū’l-Leālī tercümesi (Lü’lū’-i Mendūd)”, *Turkish Studies* 8/13 (2013): 37–73.

425 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 8584.

(99) (?) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 137 (*non vidi*)⁴²⁶

‘Abd Allāh al-Māzinī, *Tasābīḥ Nazm al-Māzinī*, a collection of versified *tasābīḥ* (→ 92), copied by *mamlūk* Bahrām in 17 ff.. While Alison Ohta dated the ms. to Qānişawh’s reign, it remains to be established whether Qānişawh actually owned this ms.⁴²⁷ For now, its inclusion in the list is tentative at best. On top of that, so far, the author al-Māzinī has eluded me.

(100) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 138 (*vidi*)⁴²⁸

Qānişawh al-Ghawrī’s *al-Qaṣā’id al-Rabbāniya wa l-Muwashshaḥāt al-Sultānīya*, the last collection of the sultan’s poetry in this list. Here, we are dealing with a smaller collection of 20 poems, of which 18 in Arabic and 2 in Turkic. In spite of its title, all poems included are *muwashshaḥāt*, none of which unique. As usual, the poems are introduced by their respective *naghm*: *al-nashāwurak*, *al-ḥusaynī*, *al-miṣriya*, *al-ushshāq al-‘Ajam*, *al-būsalīk*, *al-qāhirīya*, *al-‘Irāq*, The first poem opens with:

‘Abd allāh fī mulk allāh ☸ Zill allāh fī arḍ allāh,
‘Awn allāh fī khalq allāh ☸ Yartajī ghufrān allāh

God’s servant in God’s dominion, ☸ God’s shadow on God’s earth
God’s succour amidst God’s creatures, ☸ For God’s forgiveness he hopes.

The work was copied (*katabahu*) for Qānişawh (*bi rasm khizānat mawlānā*) by *mamlūk* Shādbak min Uzdamur min Ṭabaqat al-Ḥawsh in 30 ff.

The most significant aspect of this work may be the first half of its title: *al-Qaṣā’id al-Rabbāniya*, “The Lordly Qasidas”. Perhaps we should not gloss over the term *rabbānī* all too quickly, as this may well entail more than an innocent dictate by *saj’* or a shameless act of a self-conceit. Suffice to refer to one of the sultan’s poems and its discussion by al-Suyūṭī (→ 18), where explicit reference is made to the *manāzil al-qurb*, the *iqbāl al-qalb ‘alā llāh* and the *taqabbul fī manāzil al-sāyirīn min manzil ila manzil*. One of these *manāzil al-sāyirīn*, the “stations of the travellers”, is called precisely this, *rabbānī*. The *sāyir* first reaches the station that is *ḥaqqānī* and then the station that is *rabbānī*, in which he is transformed in a manner through which he is blessed with divine attributes. The

426 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 5643.

427 “Covering the Book”, p. 550.

428 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 8606.

sāyir himself becomes “lordly” and the divine enters his thoughts. Did Qāniṣawh think of his *qaṣā'id* as divine incoming thoughts?⁴²⁹

Highly relevant in this respect is the performative context of the sultan's poetry. As appears from the newly discovered Dublin ms. (→ 17), this was memorized and recited by the sultan's *mamlūks*, side by side with the Qur'ān and al-Būṣīrī's *Ode* (!)⁴³⁰:

- *Wa jā'at al-mamālīk al-sultānīya wa l-ṣiḡhār ma'a fuqahāyihim wa aghawā-tihim al-kibār, wa jalasū yaqra'ūna l-Qur'ān kamā ḥafizūhu min al-riwāyāt, wa shara'ū ba'da qirā'atihim bi qirā'at al-muwashshahāt allatī rattabahā mawlānā l-maqām al-sharīf 'alā anwā' al-naghāmāt* (f. 258r)

The royal *mamlūks* and the cadets came, together with their *fiqh* [instructors] and their older *āghās*. They sat down, reciting the Quran as they had memorized through their readings. Following their [Quran] recitation, they started to recite the *muwashshaḥs* that our lord, His Noble Excellency, had composed to [various] tunes.

- *Wa minhum man amarahu 'azza naṣruhu bi ta'līm al-adhān bi aḥsan al-alḥān minhum man ta'allama al-adhkār wa muwashshahātihī l-sharīfa wa l-wa'zīyāt* (f. 277r)

One of them had been charged [by the sultan,] may His victory be strong, to teach [the cadets] the call to prayer in the most melodious way, and [another] one taught [them the sultan's] noble *dhikr* prayers, *muwashshaḥs* and orations.

This brings to mind the ritualized performance of the Turkic poetry of Qāniṣawh's contemporary and founder of the Safavid state, Shāh Ismā'īl. After all, Ismā'īl's poetry, written under the nom de plume of Khaṭā'ī, “Sinner”, is also known to have been adapted as devotional poetry. Indeed, this was an age of Turkic Sufistic poet-sultans, as will be returned to in the concluding Chapter Four, *A Library Identified*.

429 See W.C. Chittick, *Ibn al-'Arabi's Metaphysics of Imagination. The Sufi Path of Knowledge* (New York, 1989), *passim*, especially pp. 282–283 (*takhalluq bi akhlāqi llāh, tashabbuh bi llāh*).

430 For the performative context of al-Būṣīrī's *Kawākib*, suffice to refer to Stetkevych, *The Mantle Odes*. A more recent contribution should not go unnoticed: I. Weinrich's “Between Poem and Ritual. The Burda by al-Būṣīrī (d. 1294–1297)”, in *id.* (ed.), *Performing Religion: Actors, Contexts, and Texts* (Würzburg, 2016), pp. 103–126.

(101) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 176 (*non vidi*)⁴³¹

Tuhfat al-Khawātir wa Nuzhat al-Nawāzir, following Abū Ḥanīfa's bequest (→ 96), a second specimen of the *waṣīya* genre, in this case some "fatherly advice" of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to His children, or, if you will, his ethico-political testament. It was copied for Qāniṣawh in the beginning of the 16th cent. in 20ff.

British Library, Add. 24363 (→ 121) has exactly the same title as this item, yet, according to the catalogers, deals with the last will not of the fourth but of the second Rightly Guided Caliph, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

Apart from the title, B 176 is identical to the next item, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 177 (→ 102).

(102) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 177 (*vidi*)⁴³²

Tuhfat al-Nāzir wa Nuzhat al-Khātir, in spite of the different title, identical to Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 176 (→ 101). Following the *basmala*, it opens as follows:

Wa ba'du fa hādihā kitāb yashtamil 'alā waṣīyat al-imām 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib li waladihi al-Ḥusayn raḍīya llāh 'anhumā. Awsā l-imām 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib waladahu l-Ḥasan (...)

Now, this book consists of the will of imam 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to his son, al-Ḥusayn, may God be pleased with them! 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib has enjoined on his son, al-Ḥasan, that (...)

The work was copied (*katabahu*) for Qāniṣawh by *mamlūk* Qānim min Qāyṭbāy min Ṭabaqāt al-Qā'a al-Malikī al-Ashrafī in 27ff.

For a third copy of 'Alī's will, see Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 398 (→ 104/2). For other writings attributed to the Prophet's son-in-law, see the references scattered throughout the list (→ 41/3, 90/1, 97, 104/3).

(103) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 178 (*vidi*)⁴³³

Nuzhat al-Nāzirin fī Akhbār al-Şāliḥīna, an anonymous short collection of stories of a Sufi vein, opening with the prototypical Sufi, Dhū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī:

Qāla Dhū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī raḥmat allāh 'alayhi nazala bī shābb fa aqāma 'indī thalāthat ayyām (...)

Dhū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, God's mercy be upon Him, has said, "A youth stayed with me for three days (...)"

431 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 6925.

432 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 6926.

433 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 5219.

The work was copied (*katabahu*) by *mamlūk* Uzdampur min Abrak min Ṭabaqat al-Ḥawsh al-Malikī al-Ashrafī in 27 ff. for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm*).

Karatay suggested identifying this work as the *Nuzhat al-Nāzirīn fī Akhbār wa l-Āthār al-Marwīya ‘an al-Anbiyā’ wa l-Ṣāliḥīn* by the 9th-century author ‘Abd al-Malik b. al-Munā l-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, preacher at the Great Mosque of Aleppo and known as al-Shaykh al-Ḍarīr. A comparison with the edited work, however, proves this suggestion wrong.⁴³⁴

(104) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 398 (*non vidi*)⁴³⁵

A convolute of 3 parts:

(104/1) Abū Madyan Shu‘ayb b. al-Ḥasan (d. after 598/1193), the third copy in the list of the celebrated *Istighfāra* qasidah of the Shādhilī Sufi (→ 23/4b, 38, 88) (ff. 1–7r).

(104/2) ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the third and final copy of his *waṣīya* (→ 101, 102) (ff. 7v–18r).

(104/3) ‘Alī, *Du‘ā’ Sharīf*, either a second prayer of the *Shīr-i Khudā* (→ 90/1), or one of his grandson and infallible fourth imam, Zayn al-‘Ābidīn (ff. 18v–22).

The work was copied for Qāniṣawh in the early 16th century in 22 ff.

(105) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, EH 90 (*non vidi*)⁴³⁶

A Qur’ān, copied for the library of Qāniṣawh by *mamlūk* Māmāy b. Tamur Bāy in 312 ff. Karatay describes this a *sancak mushafī*, but it is unclear whether this should be understood in the technical meaning it has acquired in the Ottoman sphere, *i. e.*, as an emblem Qur’ān to be affixed to the top of a military standard when going to battle. Perhaps all Karatay wanted to indicate was the manuscript’s relatively small size (35 x 25 cm.)?

(106) (P) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, H 1506 (*non vidi*)⁴³⁷

Firdawsī’s *Shāh-Nāma*, an Aqqoyunlu ms. that was copied in Shīrāz by Hibat Allāh b. Jalāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd in 891/1489 in 594 ff., including 52 miniatures.

If the catalogue is to be trusted, this ms. shows no trace of Qāniṣawh’s ownership. Yet, art historian Nurhan Atasoy has demonstrated beyond doubt that this particular copy must have served as a model for Qāniṣawh’s Turkic *Shāh-*

434 Ed. Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī (Beirut, 2008).

435 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 8761.

436 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 251.

437 F.E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, No. 1–940 (İstanbul, 1961), nr. 338.

Nāma translation (→ 107): a quarter of the latter’s illustrations are unmistakably copies of this particular *Aqqoyunlu* model.⁴³⁸

Admittedly, such a model-copy connection alone does not warrant the assumption that the model copy was also in Qāniṣawh’s possession. Yet, we know that Qāniṣawh owned several copies of the Persian *Shāh-Nāma*. Hence, even if the present ms. was never actually owned by Qāniṣawh, we may still use it as a proxy for one or more that were actually his. Apart from the present copy, valid candidates are plenty, including the (at least) 3 15th-century copies that are kept at the Egyptian Dār al-Kutub (Tārīkh Fārisī 59, Tārīkh Fārisī 60, Tārīkh Fārisī 73)⁴³⁹, and the (at least) 18 pre-1516 copies that can be found in the Topkapı Sarayı library (all *non vidi*).

This item begs an important observation. If this ms. was indeed owned by Qāniṣawh, this would imply that not all books in Qāniṣawh’s library were marked accordingly and — *mutatis mutandis* — that we will never be able to reconstruct Qāniṣawh’s library in full on the basis of ownership notes alone, not even in case that all manuscripts were to be catalogued in painstaking detail... Obviously, whereas a full reconstruction of the library has always been a theoretical possibility at best, it is good to identify this category of “unmarked” mss. as yet another impediment, next to the hoards of uncatalogued manuscripts and the insufficiently detailed catalogues.

(107) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, H 1519 (*vidi*)⁴⁴⁰

Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥanafī’s *Tercüme-i Şāhnāme*, the oldest known versified translation into Turkic⁴⁴¹ of Firdawsī’s *Shāh-Nāma*. Commissioned by Qāniṣawh, Ḥusayn began his gargantuan — or, more aptly perhaps, Sīmorghian — task in 906/1501. He brought it to an end in 916/1511, a feat important enough to be recorded in the *Nafā’is al-Majālis* (→ 82).⁴⁴²

438 N. Atasoy, “1510 Tarihli Memlûk Şehnamesinin Minyatürleri”, *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 1966–1968, pp. 49–69; *id.*, “Un manuscript mamlûk illustré de Şahnama”, *Revue des études islamiques* 37 (1969): 151–158. See, also, among others, Atıl, “Mamluk Painting in the Later Fifteenth Century”, pp. 163–169 (with further refs.).

439 *Fihris al-Makhtûât al-Fārisiyya allatī Taqtanihâ Dâr al-Kutub hattâ ‘âm* 1963 M, vol. I: *alif-shin* (Cairo, 1966), pp. 309–310. For the last ms., see B. O’Kane, “The Iconography of the *Shahnama*, Ms. Ta’rikh Farisi 73, Dar al-Kutub, Cairo (796/1393–4)”, *Pembroke Papers* 5 (2006): 171–188.

440 F.E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu, I–II* (İstanbul, 1961), nr. 2155.

441 However, as is often the case in Ottoman narrative poetry, the headings are in Persian.

442 ‘Azzām, *Majālis al-Sultān al-Ghawrī*, p. 81 (*wa kamala Shāh Nāma fī hādhihi l-ayyām. Qultu: min ‘ajā’ib dawlat mawlānā l-sultān itmām hādihā l-kitāb bi smihi l-sharif bi l-Turki*).

<p> عَبَّ اَوِيَادِي اَنُو كِيَلَه دَوَرَان اَوَل سُلْطَان حَوْش طَوْتَدِي بِلَادِي حَمِيد سِيَرَت وِرِي سَا حَصَابِل دِر لَوِي طَابُ سِيَه نَحْسُول وَاي كَنْدِي حَا يَنْتَه دَر لَوِي لَابِي بِر قَوِي اَز كِسْتَه تَا ح وَنَحْسِن هَمَا نَدَم حَا سَلَا ط اِي شَن بَشَرِي سَوَرِي اَو لَوِي كِجِي اِي لِي سَلَك اَو رِن سَو مَا دِي اَو لَوِي جَدَن طَلَابِن اَز اَدَل كِسْتَه سَو رِن اِي شَتِي بُو رَسْتَه كِسْتَه طَو تَرِي جِهَانِي دَشَرِي بَكَلَك قَلْبَه نَحْو خَلَابِن اَو لَوِي لَوِي سِر اِي حَا نَدَن اَن كَه كَلَوِي بَا شِيَه بُو رَكُون كَمَر اَز كَا يَر اَتَدِي بُو لَدِي اَي كِسْتَا نَك قَمَر حَقِي دَوَرَان حَقَا نَك شُو ر و سَر ك بِي سَا ي اَرَا دَه كَلَه تَلَر اَو يَهَادِي دَوَرَان كِه نَه اَو يَسْتَد اَو سَر جَمْع كَر دَان اَشَرِي اِبِل وَا كُون طَالِك سِيَا هَه كِه بَر كِسْتَه وِرَه حَق نَحْتَه لَابِن </p>	<p> اَو كَمَر دَر لَوِي اَكَا حَال سُلْطَان كَنْدِي نَحْت سُلْطَان حَا بِلَادِي كُرُل صَو رَت كُرُل سُكُل وِسْمَابِل اَشَرِي نَحْتَه حَكَم اَتَدِي بَدِي اَي اَكَا دَا خِي جِهَان اِنْدِي جِهَانِي دَكْتَدِي رُو ز كَا رِن دَر لَوِي خَتِن مَلِك عَا دِل كُوب نَحْتَه اَو تَرِي جَوَانِي دِي سَرِي وُو بُو ي كُو تَك وِي اِي ش اِي كَا دِي نَحْتَه لَابِن دَل وَا جَان دُو سْتِي نِي دُ شَمِن اَتَدِي جِهَان طَمَا نَجُون جَمْع اَتَدِي قَانِي بِر قَوِي دُو سْتَل حَا يَنْتَه قَر حُو اَمَا نَت كِسْتَه اَو سَمَر قَلَدِي اَنَدَن اَو رُو ب حَكَم اَتَدِي اَو لَه بُو رَكُون حَقَا يَلَه قَلْب كَنْدِي جِهَانِي جِهَان بِل اِي ش قَام اِي دَر اِي جَان اَرَا دَه اَو لَوِي دَوَرَان اِنْعَابِي بُو اَز مَدَن كَلَدِي جَو ق سُلْطَان بُو حَا يِي كِه كِه كُو رِي قَلَدِي جِهَان ك حَا يِي اَر مَشَدِي تَبَاهَه نَصْرَع اَتَدِي دَر دِيلَه خَلَابِن </p>
<p> اِي مَلَح مَوْلَا نَا اَلْمَقَام اَلشَّرِيفِي اَلسُّلْطَان مَالِك بَر قَابِلَا مَر سِيد مَلُو ك الْعَرَبِ وَالْعَجْم خَادِم اَلْحَرَمِيْنَ اَلشَّرِيفِيْنَ اَلسُّلْطَانِ اَلْمَالِكِ اَللَّيْثِ اَلْاَشْرَفِ اَبُو اَلنَّصْرِ قَانُصُوْلَه اَلغُورِي عَزِيْزَه وَخَلَا مَلِكَه </p>	
<p>اَر اَشَرِي نَحْت وَا وَا لَت نَاهْت اِي</p>	<p>اَو رَكُون نَحْت اَحْوَال جِهَانِي</p>

Fig. 40: Praise of Muḥammad b. Qāytbāy and of Qānişawh (I: f. 8r)

Stuart Cary Welch described the *Houghton Shāh-Nāma* as “a King’s Book of Kings”, and this description suits Qāniṣawh’s copy equally well: bound in two hefty volumes, the autograph consists of 56,505 vv., 1167 ff. in all. Including 62 miniatures, the work is as much a “portable art gallery”⁴⁴³ as the *Houghton Shāh-Nāma*. As such, it works in perfect tandem with Qāniṣawh’s “pocket library”, his Turkic divan (→ 3). Ḥusayn’s translation enjoyed quite some popularity, and even became the prototype for several later Ottoman copies⁴⁴⁴, which even repeated their model’s cycle of paintings⁴⁴⁵ (based in their own term on an older Aqqoyunlu prototype, → 106).

Apart from the translation itself⁴⁴⁶, there is a highly interesting prologue and epilogue (vv. 1–525, vv. 55,658–56,505) (→ fig. 40), which resonate deeply with many other items in the present list: the sultan’s poetry, his fondness of literature and the *majālis* he presided over (vv. 56,149–56,204), his court musician Ibn Qijiḡ (vv. 56,160–56,167), his madrasa complex (vv. 56,413–56,494, including the *qubba*, the *khānqāh*, the *sabīl*, the *maktab*, ...) and lavish gardens (vv. 56,243–56,344), ... In vv. 56097 and 56145, e.g., the sultan’s justice is compared to Iskandar’s wall against Gog and Magog (→ 3-3), and his very words to the Water of Life:

Sikender gibi sen kılduñ aña sed ☼ *İlüñ üstinden oldı zulm eli red*
Leṭāfetde sözüñdür āb-i ḥayyān ☼ *Ne idrāk eder anı degme nādān*

Like Alexander, you have put up a dam ☼ The hand of tyranny repelled from your
 against [mischief] people.
 In subtlety, your words are like the Water ☼ Incomprehensible for whatever
 of Life ignoramus!

Especially in light of the huge production cost, it should be clear that Qāniṣawh held the *Shāh-Nāma* in the highest esteem. But what did it mean to the sultan? While he undoubtedly appreciated its historical and literary values and shared

443 S.C. Welch, *A King’s Book of Kings. The Shah-Nameh of Shah Tahmasp* (New York, 1972), p. 15.

444 To those Ottoman copies referenced by Kültürel & Beyreli (*Şerifi Şehnâme çevirisi*, I: xxi–xxiv), we should perhaps add one more that used to be in the private library of Fahri Bilge (Togan, “Türkiye kütüphanelerindeki bazı yazmalar”, p. 85). However, as Fahri Bilge’s substantial collection was split up following his death, I have not been able to locate its present whereabouts.

445 S. Bağcı, “From Translated Word to Translated Image. The Illustrated *Şehnâme-i Türki* Copies”, *Muqarnas* 17/1 (2000): 162–176, here p. 166.

446 Dursun Ali Töksel has suggested that the *Tercüme-i Şāhnâme* is not a verbatim translation of the Persian *Shāh-Nāma*, but rather one that is adapted to its own, “non-Indo-European” milieu, where disobedience to one’s father was considered a much graver *faux pas* (“Fuzûli, Hâfız’ı Nasıl Çevirmiş idi?”, *Okur – Kitap Dergisi* 15/Eylül-Ekim-Kasım 2020: 60–61). As tantalizing as this suggestion may be, it is based on a single episode, and corroborating this will require much more research.

Maḥmūd of Ghazna's wish for eternal fame⁴⁴⁷, there can be little doubt that its primary function was that of a *Fürstenspiegel*.⁴⁴⁸ As such, it belongs to the ethico-political didactic genre that is so well represented in the present list (→ 10, 30, 35, 39, 47, ...).

Very little is known about the author/translator. Some of his vv. are probably included in Qāniṣawh's Turkic divan (→ 3-1), while Barbara Flemming has tentatively suggested that he was related to the author of *al-Nafā'is al-Majālis* (→ 82).⁴⁴⁹

(108) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, K 882 (*vidi*)⁴⁵⁰

Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Umar al-Ṭayyibī (*apud* al-Sakhāwī, and thus not: al-Ṭībī) al-Shāfi'ī al-Azharī's (active in 877–908/1473–1502) *Kitāb Jāmi' Maḥāsin Kitābat al-Kuttāb wa Nuzhat Ūlī al-Baṣā'ir wa l-Albāb*, a work on calligraphy written (*jama'a*) by the author for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm khizānat*) in 908/1502 in 47 ff. (→ fig. 43).⁴⁵¹ Included are, among others, samples of 19 different scripts, such as *al-ghubār*, *al-musalsal*, and *al-lu'lu'i* (→ figs. 41, 42). Of these 19 scripts, 2 were “invented” (*waḍa'a kātibuhu*) by al-Ṭayyibī himself: *al-talīq* and *al-'iqd al-manzūm*.

447 In the *Nafā'is* (→ 82), the well-known wish of Maḥmūd for the *baqā' ismihi ilā yawm al-qiyāma* is discussed in some detail ('Azzām, *Majālis al-Sultān al-Ghawrī*, pp. 81–82).

448 See N. Askari, *The Medieval Reception of the Shāhnāma as a Mirror for Princes* (Leiden/Boston, 2016).

449 While the pioneering work by A. Zajączkowski's *Turecka Wersja Šāh-nāme z Egiptu Mameluckiego. La version en turc du Šāh-Nāme de l'Égypte mamelouk* (Warszawa, 1965) remains indispensable, this must now be supplemented with the full ed., in 4 volumes, of Kültüral & Beyreli, *Şerifî Şehnâme çevirisi*. For a general state of the art and further refs., see K. D'hulster, “Sitting with Ottomans and Standing with Persians: The *Šāhnāme-yi Türkī* as a Highlight of Mamluk Court Culture”, in U. Vermeulen & K. D'hulster (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras VI* (Leuven, 2010), pp. 229–256. To my discussion of the translator's identity (pp. 235–240), one should now add some new insights provided by Mücahit Kaçar (“Türkçe te'lif edilmiş bir belâgat kitabı: Şerifî'nin *Hadikatü'l-Fünûn* isimli eseri”, *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 21 (2011): 211–237).

450 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 8197.

451 Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ṭayyibī, *Jāmi' Maḥāsin Kitābat al-Kuttāb wa Nuzhat Ūlī al-Baṣā'ir wa l-Albāb*, 1st ed. Şalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Beirut, 1962); 2nd ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Naṣīr al-Mānī' (Riyadh, 1434/2013); 3rd ed. Ra'ad al-Ḥusaynī (Cairo, 2013). For the calligrapher, see Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria*, pp. 141–142; Gacek, “Arabic scripts and their characteristics”, *passim*; N. Çetin & U. Derman, *İslam Kültür Mirasında Hat San'atı* (Istanbul, 1992), pp. 192–193, cat. 50–51.



Fig. 41: The *kāf* and its *anwā'* (f. 6v)



Fig. 42: Measurement of the letters *sīn* and *ṣād* (*mi'yār al-ḥurūf*) (f. 3r)⁴⁵²

Whereas the *Jāmi' Maḥāsīn* is a celebrated work, edited three times already, what appears to have remained unnoticed is that, in the very same year, al-Ṭayyibī authored a second calligraphic manual: Manchester, John Rylands Library, Arabic MS 97 (*vidi* 7 pp.) (→ fig. 44).⁴⁵³ This untitled manual, also dated 908/1502 and now consisting of 50 ff., includes a section of letter measurement and combination, a treatise by a scribe called 'Abd al-Ḥamīd with advice to other scribes, and specimens of *naskh*, *tawāqī'*, *riqā'*, *ghubār*, *riyāshī*, ... In spite of overlapping material, Alphonse Mingana's detailed description makes it clear that this is not merely a second copy of the *Jāmi' Maḥāsīn* but an independent work altogether.

A prime example of material that is common to both works yet used differently is the following. In the *Jāmi' al-Maḥāsīn*, the *riqā'* script is illustrated by way of an anonymous text (ff. 39v–41v, *Qalam al-riqā'*, *ṭarīqat al-ustādh Ibn Hilāl sāma-ḥahu dhu l-jalāl*, opening line: *Ammā ba'du, ḥafīzakum allāh yā ahl hādhihi l-ṣinā'a*). This text has been identified by the editor of the 2013 ed. of the *Jāmi' al-Maḥāsīn*, Ibn Nāṣir al-Mānī', as the first part of the well-known *Letter to the Secretaries*, authored by the proverbial father of Arabic *inshā'* and secretary to the late Umayyad caliphs, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā l-Kātib (d. 86/705). This *risāla* was widely available among the learned Mamluks, being included, among others,

452 The rombic points (*nuqt*) are used to show the correct proportional relation between the letters, while the strokes indicate the laterally organized correspondences. These aids are differentiated from the main text by using ink of another colour. As common in these specimens, the *shīn* is left out of the alphabetically arranged sequence, as it has the same shape as the *sīn*. See D.J. Roxburgh, “‘The Eye is Favored for Seeing the Writing’s Form’: On the Sensual and the Sensuous in Islamic Calligraphy”, *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 275–298, here p. 287.

453 Mingana, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library*, columns 1027–1030. As observed by Mingana, the Arabic pagination of its ff. (73–122) reveals that it was once part of a larger volume. For a reproduction of some selected pp., see <https://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/special-collections/>.

in al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* and Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddima*.⁴⁵⁴ As it happens, we find the same *risāla*, now in full⁴⁵⁵, in the untitled manual, where it is used not to illustrate one particular script, but as a genuine piece of advice literature that immediately follows the opening section of letter measurement and combination (ff. 3v–11v, *Risālat 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ja'alahā ka l-'ahd ilā sā'ir al-kuttāb*). Al-Ṭayyibī's second manual definitely deserves further attention.



Fig. 43: Colophon of K 882 (47v)



Fig. 44: Colophon of Arabic MS 97 (f. 50v)

454 For the Arabic text, see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'*, ed. M. 'A. al-R. Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1913–1919), I: 85–89. Situating it within the *Ṣubḥ*, the *risāla* is found in the *Muqaddima* (*Fī l-mabādī llatī yajib taqdīmuhā qabla l-khawḍ fī kitābat al-inshā'*), 3rd *bāb* (*Fī ṣifāt al-kuttāb wa ādābihim*), 2nd *faṣl* (*Fī ādāb al-kuttāb*), 2nd *naw'* (*Husn al-ishra*), 5th *ḍarb* (*Ādāb 'ishrat man yumatt bi ḥurmatihī, ka l-jār, wa l-qāṣid, wa l-āmil, wa l-mudill bi haqq al-mufāwaḍa, wa l-muṭama'a, wa l-muḥāḍara, wa l-salām wa l-ma'rifa fī l-ṣibā, wa l-sadāqa bayna l-ābā' wa ghayr dhālika min al-ḥuram allatī lā yaṭarriḥuhā ahl al-murū'āt*). For an English translation of the *risāla* as given by Ibn Khaldūn, see F. Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History* (Princeton, 1958), II: 29–35. For further analysis, see W. Kadi, "Identity Formation of the Bureaucracy of the Early Islamic State: 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's 'Letter to the Secretaries'", in J. Watkins & K.L. Reyerson (eds.), *Mediterranean Identities in the Premodern Era. Entrepôts, Islands, Empires* (London/New York, 2016), pp. 141–154.

455 The *Jāmi' al-Maḥāsin* includes only the first part of the *risāla* (*Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, I: 85–87), whereas the untitled manual includes it in full (I: 85–89).

Apart from these two manuals, somewhat surprisingly, thus far only two other volumes by al-Ṭayyibī's hand have been identified: a copy of al-Dimyāṭī (d. 814/1411)'s two-volume *ḥadīth* work, called *Mashārī' al-Ashwāq ilā Maṣārī' al-Ush-shāq*, dated 877/1473 and copied for sultan Qāyṭbāy (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 649/1-2) (*non vidi*). We may suspect to find more specimens of his penmanship to surface in the future.⁴⁵⁶ For two specimens in al-Ṭayyibī's "invented" *ta'liq* script that were penned not by himself but by *mamlūks*, see the *Qiṣṣat Mūsā ma'a l-Khiḍr*, and the *Qiṣṣat Idrīs 'an Ibn 'Abbās* (→ 87, 126).

(109) İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, K 989 (*vidi*)⁴⁵⁷

Kitābū'l-Mī'rāc, a versified account of Muḥammad's heavenly journey, with its common description of heavenly and hellish topography. According to Karatay, this Turkic *meşnevī* of at least some 500 vv. in *remel* is based on the popular work of Süleymān Çelebi (d. 1422), while Akar proposes Aksaraylı 'Īsā as its author⁴⁵⁸. The opening verses, in praise of God, run as follows:

<i>Evvel allāh adımı yād edelüm</i>	☸	<i>'Işkın gönülde bünyād edelüm</i>
<i>Evvel āhır oldur dāyim ebed</i>	☸	<i>Her bir işe Kādir ü küfüven ehad</i>
<i>Hîç yoğ-iken yaratdı âlemleri</i>	☸	<i>İns ü cân u âdem ü div ü perî</i>
<i>Hem yaratdı yer ü gök ins ü melek</i>	☸	<i>Ay u güneş müsterî çarḥ u felek</i>
<i>Kudretile ay u gün doğar batar</i>	☸	<i>Hükmin işler her biri buyruk tutar</i>
<i>Sun'ıla ay u gün bağlar şüret</i>	☸	<i>Verür aña 'aql u 'ışk u marifet</i>
Let us open with the name of God,	☸	Let us establish His love in [our heart].
First and last He is, everlasting and eternal,	☸	Master of everything, and [none is] "Equivalent to Him" ⁴⁵⁹
While there was nothing, He created the Universe,	☸	Mankind and soul, man, devil and fairy.
He created both heaven and earth, man and angel,	☸	Sun and moon, Jupiter, orbit and firmament.
Sun and Moon rise and set by His power,	☸	All do as He decreed and follow His command.
Sun and Moon owe their shape to His making,	☸	It is He who gives them reason, love and knowledge.

The concluding verse, in Persian, communicates a stock motif, dear to all authors:

456 Our Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ṭayyibī is not by any chance identical to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṭayyibī, who penned a copy of Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sīwāsī al-Iskandarī al-Ḥanafī's (d. 861/1457) *Kitāb al-Musāyara fi l-'Aqā'id al-Munjiya fi l-Akhira* in 883/1478 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ar. 6558) (*vidi*)?

457 Karatay, *Türkçe Yazmalar*, nr. 2303.

458 M. Akar, *Türk Edebiyatında Manzum Mī'rāc-nâmeler* (Ankara, 1987), p. 159.

459 Quran, 112: 4.

Īn navasthtam bi-mānad yādḡār ❀ *Man namānam īn <bi-mānadū zakār>*

I have written this, [in order for] the memory [of me] to remain, ❀ [While] I myself do not remain, through its recitation, <this [poem] will!>

The work was copied (*katabahu*) for Qāniṣawh by *mamlūk* <Qaḡābirdī> min Khāyir Bak min Ṭabaqat al-Zimāmīya in 23 ff. The *meṣnevī* has been edited twice.⁴⁶⁰ As a narrative *meṣnevī* allows for easy omission or inclusion of vv., there is a considerable difference between the various mss. that are available. The shortest counts some 400 vv., while the longest runs up to some 670 vv.

(110) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, M 79 (*non vidi*)⁴⁶¹

A Qur'ān in 377 ff. that was copied for Qāniṣawh around the 10th/16th cent.

(111) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, R 18 (*vidi*)⁴⁶²

Sūrat al-Fātiḡa & *Sūrat al-Faṡḡ*, two suras of the Qur'ān in exquisite Kufic script on lacquered paper, copied for Qāniṣawh in Istanbul in 909/1503–04 by Ḥamza al-Sharaḡī in 10 ff., a piece that is both exceptional in terms of its visual features and enigmatic given its colophon. As for its visual features, it is worthwhile to quote in full the technical description kindly shared with me by Simon Rettig of the Freer|Sackler⁴⁶³:

“The work stands out by two unprecedented features. First the Qur'anic text is entirely written in a form of script based on the ancient angular Kufic. By the early sixteenth century, the old script has long been relegated to the decorative sphere, sporadically used for minor inscriptions on architecture or on portable objects as well as for title headings in manuscripts. Here, it is further adorned with a stupendous repertoire of motifs which include elaborate flowers and leaves, stylized whirling clouds, and geometric forms with complex knots. Second the whole volume is made of lacquer on paper. Lacquer technique is thought to have originated from the Timurid realm in the late fifteenth century, not long before the completion of the manuscript in the Ottoman capital. The first three pages and the colophon on the last folio present large veneers in

460 S. Çimen, “15. Yüzyıla Ait Anonim bir Mi'râc-Nâme”, MA thesis (T.C. Marmara Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 2010) (based on the Topkapı ms. and Süleymaniye, Lâleli 3756); H. Develi, “Eski Türkiye Türkçesi Devresine Ait Manzum Bir Miracnâme”, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 28 (1998): 81–229 (identifying two more mss. in Istanbul).

461 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 480.

462 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 265.

463 “Announcing Ottoman Victory: An Early Sixteenth-Century Copy of Sura *al-Faṡḡ* Sent from Istanbul to Cairo” (paper presented at the International Congress of Turkish Art, Ankara 2019).



Fig. 45: Colophon (f. 9r)

painted lacquer whereas the rest of the copy shows the text of sura *al-Fath* made of cut out lacquer letters and diacritics pasted directly on to the paper leaves.”

Turning our attention to the colophon in *naskh* (→ fig. 45), this reads:

Hādhihi hadiyatun ilāhīyatun wa tuḥfatun bahīyatun. Aṣḥabtu mulhaman bi kitābat hātaynī l-sūratayn min ba'da <l-istikhāra> min allāh <bi-karratayn>, thumma kabtabtuhumā tatabbu'an li l-mutaqaddimīn, wa ḥarrartuhumā tadhakkuran li l-muta'akkkhīrīn, wa zayyantu bayāḍahā masarratan li l-nāzīrīn, wa <adrajtū> fihā uṣūlan wa qawānīn tamussukan(sic) bi qawlihi 'azza wa jalla, "Wa lā raḥbin wa lā yābisin illā fī kitāb mubīn", wa tayammunan 'alā sabīl al-tabarruk ilā ḥadrat zillī llāh fī l-arḍayn, khalīfati llāh 'alā l-'ālamīn, al-mu'ayyad bi l-naṣri l-'azīz wa l-faṭḥi l-mubīn, għiyāthi l-ḥaqq wa l-khilāfa wa l-dīn, sulṭānī l-maliki l-ashraf Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, allāhumma nṣuruhu nṣratan li l-dīn, wa ftaḥ 'alayhi abwāb al-ḥaqq wa l-yaqīn bi l-fātiḥa wa fāṭḥi l-mubīn, wa jāl tuḥfati hādhihi fī bābihi al-asnā miftāḥ li l-faṭḥi l-al-qarīb wa biḍā'ati hādhihi wasīla li qabūl khāṭirihi <l-labībi>. Wa khadama bi kitābat ruqūmihā wa taqarraba bi rtisām rusūmihā bi dār al-khilāfa Quṣṭantīniya al-faqīr Ḥamzat al-Sharafī, ajrā llāh ta'ālā qalama l-'afw 'alā zallātihi, <... > Muḥammad wa ālihi wa ṣaḥbihi al-<tābī'in> fī malakātihi, sanat tis' wa tis'mīya.

This is a divine gift and a splendid present. Having asked God for proper guidance two times, I was inspired to write these two suras, which I then penned in imitation of the earlier [masters], and which I indited as a reminder for those who follow. The blank space [of the folios] I have embellished for the delight of the beholder, and I have incorporated therein principles and rules by adhering to the Word of God, powerful and exalted is He above all, “And no moist or dry [thing] but that it is [written] in a clear record,”⁴⁶⁴ [thus] betaking myself upon the path of blessing to His Excellency, the Shadow of God on the Two Worlds, the Caliph of God over the Universe, he who is supported through the mighty triumph and the clear victory, the succour of God, the caliphate and the religion, the sultan, al-Malik al-Ashraf Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī. O God! Assist him in the religion, open for him the gates of truth and certainty in the *Fātiḥa*, and make this present of mine to his most sublime gate a key to shortly unlock [his gate to me] and this merchandise of mine a means for his intelligent mind to accept [my offer]. [The one who] rendered service by writing its characters and sought to gain access through the tracing of this inscription, in the House of the Caliphate, Constantinople, is the destitute Ḥamzat al-Sharafī, may God, exalted is He above all, move the pen of forgiveness over his lapses <...> Muḥammad, His family, His Companions, who follow His principles, in the year 909.

Karatay, followed in this by Uğur Derman⁴⁶⁵, considered Ḥamza to have been a *kātib* of Qāniṣawh. In their view, this is a work that was commissioned by the sultan in 909/1503. Yet, working first and foremost from the colophon, I consider

464 Qur'ān, 6: 59.

465 U. Derman, “Une sourate coranique calligraphiée au XVIe s. en caractères coufiques laqués”, in F. Déroche (ed.), *Les manuscrits du Moyen-Orient: essais de codicologie et paléographie. Actes du Colloque d'Istanbul* (Paris, 1989), pp. 113–114, plates 13–14.

this interpretation rather unlikely. Doesn't the colophon rather depict a calligrapher who aspired to become one of Qāniṣawh's *kuttāb*? After all, it would seem that Ḥamza was hoping for his *tuhfa* at Qāniṣawh's most sublime gate to become the *miftāḥ li l-fath al-qarīb*, and for his *biḍā'a* ("merchandise"⁴⁶⁶) to attain the *qabūl khātirihi*... Alas, so far no other trace of Ḥamza has been found, so there is no way of telling whether this labour-extensive and costly job application ever paid off.

As a second alternative to the Karatay/Derman reading, there is the on-going research of Simon Rettig, whose technical description of the ms. is quoted above. Working first and foremost from the work's stylistic features, he argues for yet another interpretation, hypothesizing that this "book of victory" was commissioned by Bāyezīd II (r. 886–918/1481–1512) and sent as a gift to the newly enthroned ruler, Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī. In a forthcoming study, Rettig will investigate the visual and symbolic meaning as well as the historical and religious significance of the manuscript in the context of the relations between the Ottoman and Mamluk sultanates at the turn of the 16th century. As it happens, the Ottomans have kept fairly itemized lists of the gifts exchanged between Bāyezīd II and Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, so one might hope to find conclusive evidence here.⁴⁶⁷ These lists, however, are unlikely to provide corroborative evidence: as diverse and rich the exchanged gifts may be (horses and hunting birds, robes and furs, spices and porcelains, slaves and decapitated heads, etc.), books are hardly ever mentioned.⁴⁶⁸

However, it should be added that none of the alternative interpretations detailed above easily accommodate a particularly vexing issue: the tailpiece's puzzling and seemingly anachronistic reference to Quṣṭanṭīniya as *dār al-khilāfa*. The easiest way out of this conundrum would be to simply treat Revān 18 as a post-1517 Ottoman forgery, in which the name of the original dedicatee has been overwritten with that of Qāniṣawh. Yet, while this elegant solution, suggested to me by Carine Juvin⁴⁶⁹, answers the question of the anachronistic reference to *dār al-khilāfa*, it also raises another: why Qāniṣawh? Assuming the ms. to have postdated Qāniṣawh (given the *dār al-khilāfa*), why antedate the ms. by reference

466 For the significance of this key term in the establishment of a patronage relation — ultimately one of tit for tat, *quid pro quo* — see K. D'hulster, "Caught Between Aspiration and Anxiety, Praise and Exhortation: An Arabic Literary Offering to the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I", *Journal of Arabic Literature* 44 (2013): 181–239, here pp. 199–205.

467 İ. Gök, "Atatürk Kitaplığı M.C. 0.71 Numaralı 909–933/1503–1527 Tarihli İn'âmât Defteri (Transkripsiyon-Değerlendirme)", PhD thesis (Marmara Üniversitesi, 2014). For refs. to the relevant ff., see C. Yüksel Muslu, *The Ottomans and the Mamluks. Imperial Diplomacy and Warfare in the Islamic World* (London/New York, 2014), pp. 262–275.

468 This, of course, does not mean that books were not exchanged, for there are many examples that prove otherwise...

469 Personal communication by Carine Juvin.

to Qānişawh of all people? Second, as anachronistic as *dār al-khilāfa* may sound for Bāyezīd II's reign, it remains to be verified whether this was really the case. According to Selâhattin Tansel, the Krim khan Mengli Giray Khan (d. 921/1515) already referred to Istanbul as *Dār al-Khilāfa*.⁴⁷⁰ Finally, returning to Simon Rettig's hypothesis once more, we could understand *dār al-khilāfa* as an anachronistic reference that was made by the Ottomans most deliberately, as an innocent yet ominous "slip of the pen".

In short, Revân 18 is a puzzling item that presently raises more questions than it answers...

(112) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, R 191 (*non vidi*)⁴⁷¹

Al-Fadā'il al-Jāmi'a fī Asrār al-Fātiḥa, an anonymous *tafsīr* of the *sūrat al-Fātiḥa*; the Qur'ān's "best verse", the *āyat al-Kursī*; the *sūrat Ikhilās*; etc., and a mention of their merits. Said to be an exquisite copy with a zigzag layout, written in the name of Qānişawh in 34ff.

(113) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, R 729 (*non vidi*)⁴⁷²

Al-Būşīrī's *al-Kawākib al-Durriya fī Madḥ Khayr al-Barīya* once more (→ 23, 49, 50/1, 81, 98, ...), now copied for Qānişawh by 'Alī Bāy min Uzdamur in 29ff.

(114) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, R 2057 (*non vidi*)⁴⁷³

A *majmū'* of calligraphy, entitled *Kitāb fīhi Aḥādīth Sharīfa wa Ḥukm wa Waşāyā wa Ghayr Dhālīka*. It was copied (*khidmat*) for Qānişawh (*bi rasm*) by *mamlūk* Tānī Bay min Jānim min Ṭabaqat al-Qā'at al-malikī al-ashrafī. This is by all means a precious item, which, for whatever reason, Karatay did not catalogue. One wonders what more uncatalogued volumes the Topkapı library has in store...

The work itself is undated but can probably be dated to Qānişawh's early regnal years. The work offers a selection of hadiths etc., each in a different calligraphic style. *Musalsal*, e. g., is illustrated by way of the following (→ fig. 46):

470 Yavuz Sultan Selim (Ankara, 1969), p. 213.

471 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 2078.

472 Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, nr. 8539.

473 The author owes this reference to Zeren Tanındı (Uludağ Üniversitesi, Bursa). See Z. Tanındı, *Harmony of Line and Colour. Illuminated Manuscripts, Documents and Calligraphy in the Sadberk Hanım Museum Collection*, 2 vols. (İstanbul, 2019), I: 73.



Fig. 46: *Qalam al-Musalsal* (f. 2v)

Qalam al-musalsal:

Allāhumma aẓillinī taḥta ‘arshika yawma lā ẓill illā ẓilluka wa lā bāqī illā wajhuka wa lā fānī illā khalquka, yā arḥam al-rāḥimīn, wa ṣallā llāh ‘alā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa ālihi wa ṣaḥābihi wa ‘ishratihī l-tāḥirīn wa sallama kathīran.

The *musalsal* style:

O God! Shelter me under Your Throne, on the day when there will be no shadow except Your shadow. Nothing is eternal, except Your countenance, and nothing is transitory except Your creation, O most merciful of the merciful ones! God, bless our Lord, Muḥammad, His Family, His Companions, and Pure Friends, and grant [them] much salvation!

One can only imagine how many hours *mamlūk* Tānī Bay had already spent while bent over choice models of calligraphy, thus learning by sensual perception (*ḥiss*) as the first stage of his training, and how many *mufradāt* and *murakkabāt* he had to see corrected by his demanding master as its second stage, before he ever attained the skills required for reaching the final stage of his training and completing this accomplished piece of writing...⁴⁷⁴ As such, the work resonates

474 For the training of calligraphers, see Roxburgh, “The Eye is Favored for Seeing the Writing’s Form”, *passim*. *Mufradāt* (“singulars”) and *murakkabāt* (“compounds”) were two vital stages during practice: the first involved mastering “the writing in isolated form of the individual graphemes used in the Arabic alphabet, followed by the joining of each letter in alphabetical sequence to the other letters of the alphabet”, while the latter tested the stu-

deeply with al-Ṭayyibī's two manuals (→ 108, especially his specimen of *musalsal*, K 882, ff. 29v–32r), the calligraphic manual-cum-Fürstenspiegel dealt with below (→ 131), and the two petitions in *ta'liq* script (→ 87, 126).

(115) (X) Istanbul, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, 508 (*vidi* of select ff.)⁴⁷⁵

A single-volume Qur'ān in 643 ff., copied by an unknown hand. As the commissioner of the ms. is referred to as “emir Qāniṣawh” (*bi rasm khizānat mawlānā al-maqarr al-ashraf al-karīm al-'ālī al-mawlawī al-sayyidī al-<...> al-makhdūmī al-sayfī*), Alison Ohta first identified this Qāniṣawh as the future sultan Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī.⁴⁷⁶ However, based on her later examination of the inscriptions on the binding's filigree doublures (referring to Qāniṣawh as the *amīr ākhūr kabīr*), she has now renounced this identification, and instead convincingly argues for the ownership of one of Qāniṣawh's numerous namesakes who, unlike Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, did hold the office of master of the stables: Qāniṣawh Khamsmī'a, the short-reigning sultan Abū Sa'īd Qāniṣawh (r. 903–905/1498–1500) (→ 4, 30).⁴⁷⁷ This Qur'ān must have been copied sometime following 886/1481, when he was appointed as *amīr ākhūr kabīr*.

What makes this Qur'ān stand out is the fact that it has an interlinear Turkic translation, angled diagonally or horizontally below the Arabic source text. Provided that this is not a later addition, this feature would make this Qur'ān the only interlinear Turkic Qur'ān translation that is definitely Mamluk. Unfortunately, as no work whatsoever appears to have been done on the translation, we cannot yet compare this to two other interlinear translations, for which a Mamluk provenance has been suggested:

- Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Hs. or. 6163 (*vidi* of vol. 1), a translation in 6 volumes and dated 863/1459. Whereas the cataloger tentatively identifies this as an Ottoman ms., Flemming suggests a Mamluk provenance.⁴⁷⁸

dent's “capacity to make compound forms from letters, to combine these words into lines, and to write lines in succession in satisfying visual array” (pp. 284–285).

475 M. Unustası (ed.), *The 1400th Anniversary of the Qur'an. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art Qur'an Collection* (Istanbul, 2010), pp. 99, 266–267 (including pictures of the outside and inside cover); Farhad & Rettig, *The Art of the Qur'an*, pp. 262–265. The ms. is also discussed in a forthcoming article of Alison Ohta, “Mamluk Qur'ans: Opulence and Splendor of the Islamic Book” (paper presented at the conference “The Word Illuminated: Form and Function of Qur'anic Manuscripts”, 1–3 December, 2016, Washington D.C.).

476 A. Ohta, “Filigree bindings of the Mamluk period”, *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): 267–276, here pp. 273–274.

477 Ohta, “Covering the Book”, pp. 317–321.

478 Flemming, “Zum Stand der mamluk-türkischen Forschung” in W. Voigt (ed.), *XIX. Deutscher Orientalistentag 1975* (Wiesbaden, 1977), pp. 1156–1164, here p. 1163; Quiring-Zoche, *Arabische Handschriften. Reihe B: Teil 6*, nrs. 15–20.

- Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, 06 Mil Yz A 2848 (*vidi*): while this has been identified as a Mamluk Qur’ān translation and commentary, this identification is tentative at best, since it is based on linguistic grounds only.⁴⁷⁹

The Qur’ān’s patron, Qānişawh Khamsmi’a, was an intimus of sultan Qāyrbāy and a brother-in-law of the latter’s *dawādār*, Yashbak min Mahdī, and, clearly, he shared their interest in Turkic literature: apart from the Qur’ān translation, he also commissioned a copy (*bi rasm khizānat ... Qānişawh amīr ākhūr kabīr*) of the *divan* of ‘Āşīq Paşa (→ 3-1), the so-called *Ġarīb-Nāme*, a long Turkic didactic *meşnevī*, written in 1330 (Süleymaniye Laleli 1752 M1) (*non vidi*).⁴⁸⁰ Significantly, the only other Mamluk copy that we know of was one commissioned by Yashbak min Mahdī (2 vols., Süleymaniye, Lâleli 1752 M, M 2) (*non vidi*). For completeness sake, I may supplement these two works owned by Qānişawh Khamsmi’a with five more:

- Muḥammad b. Abī l-Faṭḥ al-Şūfī al-Şāfi’ī, *Kitāb al-Şafwa fī Waşf al-Mamlakat al-Mişriya* (→ 4).
- Perhaps Ibn Balabān’s *Kitāb al-Rawḍat al-Saniya fī Fiqh al-Ḥanafiya* (→ 30).
- At least one vol. of Ibn Taghribirdī’s *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Mişr wa l-Qāhira*: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 2975 (*bi rasm*).
- al-Būşirī, *al-Kawākib al-Durrīya fī Madḥ Khayr al-Barīya*: the ubiquitous al-Būşirī copy, auctioned by Christie’s (*non vidi*). Interestingly, this ms. is said to have first belonged to the preceding sultan, Muḥammad b. Qāyrbāy (→ Chapter Three).⁴⁸¹
- Anon., *al-Izz wa l-Taşrīf fī Ṭālī’ al-Maqām al-Sharīf Mawlānā l-Mālik al-Malik al-Zāhir Abū Sa’id Qānişawh ‘Azza Naşruhu*⁴⁸²: the *zāyirja* or horoscope for the exact moment of the sultan’s accession: 41° 52’ before the Noon Prayer on the 18th of Rabi’ al-Awwal 904. In the first part, the astrologer identifies the *ṭālī’* or ascendant sign (21° in Sagittarius), positions the remaining eleven *Burūj*, seven *Kawākib*, and the *Ra’s* and *Dhanab al-Jawzahar* (i. e., the Moon’s ascending and descending node), and casts several *sihām* (lots). The typical 12-panel horoscope diagram is conveniently supplemented with two more

479 See F. Bakırcı, “Tefsirü’l-Kur’an (80b–120b). Giriş – Metin – Dizin – Tıpkıbasım”, MA thesis (T.C. Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2008); N. Güler Tumkaya, “Tefsirü’l-Kur’an (40b–80a). Giriş – Metin – Dizin – Tıpkıbasım”, MA thesis (T.C. Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2009); and D. Selçuk, “Tefsirü’l-Kur’an (1a–40a). Giriş – Metin – Dizin – Tıpkıbasım”, MA thesis (T.C. Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2009).

480 Z. Tanındı, “Two Bibliophile Mamluk Emirs: Qansuh the Master of the Stables and Yashbak the Secretary”, in D. Behrens-Abouseif (ed.), *The Arts of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria – Evolution and Impact* (Bonn, 2012), pp. 269–283, here pp. 273–276, figs. 4–9.

481 Unfortunately, I failed to take down the reference to the relevant auction catalogue.

482 See my forthcoming “Misreading the Stars at the Mamluk Court: The Horoscope (*Zāyirja*) of al-Malik al-Zāhir Qānişawh Khamsmi’a (r. 903–905/1498–1500)”.

tables that provide the essential and accidental qualities of the various *burūj* and *kawākib*.

In the second part, the astrologer provides an elaborate astrological interpretation of the data of the first part. Among the many forecasts in relation to Qāniṣawh's family and property, reputation, friends and enemies, and even death, the anonymous *‘ālim al-nujūm* foretells a *kathrat al-sa‘āda wa tarāduf al-khayrāt* for al-Zāhir Qāniṣawh, and the *istiqrār qadamihī l-sharīf fī l-mulk bi l-izza wa l-sa‘āda wa l-faraḥ wa l-surūr* (..) *wa l-ṭarab wa kathrat al-ḥubūr* (f. 8v). Yet, it will be recalled that the sultan's joy only lasted as long as it did. Either the stars had been wrong, or the astrologer had misread them... The ms. is preserved as a unicum in 18 ff. in the Qatar National Library (Maktabat Qaṭar al-Waṭaniya, HC.MS.01087) (*vidi*), and stands out for being the only (!) known horoscope for a Mamluk sultan.⁴⁸³ In recent years, various scholars such as Mamlukologist Noah Gardiner have increasingly questioned — and successfully combatted — the ahistorical dichotomy of astronomy and astrology and the marginalization of the latter. Undoubtedly, this unique ms. will contribute in finally putting these ill-informed notions to rest.

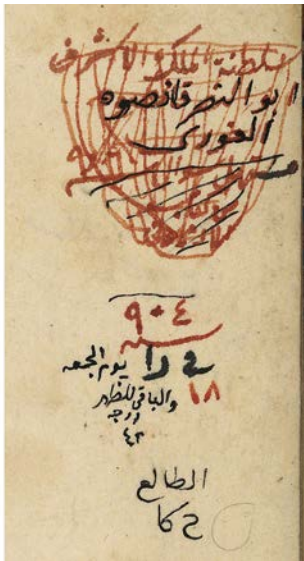


Fig. 47

483 In 1983, David King knew of only one Mamluk individual horoscope, this time for an amir ("The Astronomy of the Mamluks", *Isis* 74 (1983): pp. 531–555, here p. 550). At least by 2003, the count was still one single item (F. Charette, *Mathematical Instrumentation in Fourteenth-Century Egypt and Syria* (Leiden/Boston, 2003) p. 8, n. 30).

On f. 4v (→ fig. 47), there is a marginal addition that summarizes al-Zāhir Qāniṣawh's horoscope: *Sanat 904 fī R' (= Rabī al-Awwal) yawm al-jum'a 18, wa l-bāqī li l-zuhr 4<3> daraja, al-tāli' hā' (= al-Qaws) K' (= 21°)*. Interestingly, this addition is topped by another addition that records the date of accession of Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī: *Salṭanat al-malik al-Ashraf Abū l-Naṣr al-Ghawrī mustahall Shawwāl sanat 906 <min kitāb ...>*. Unfortunately, for this date no horoscope is cast.

(116) Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Yahuda Collection Ms. Ar. 294
(*vidī*)⁴⁸⁴

Majmū' Hikāyāt wa Nawādir, an anonymous collection of a variegated nature, including *munājāt* of Mūsā, the story of the well-known “drunken” Sufi Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī, the death of Mūsā, some fatwas, *tafsīr* of some *āyāt*, etc. Its opening line runs as follows:

Wa ruwiya 'an al-nabiy ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama annahu qāla: inna akhī Mūsā 'alayhi l-salām qāla fī munājātihi: yā rabb innī akhāf min arba'at ashyā': min al-faqr wa sakarāt al-mawt wa ḡulmat al-qabr wa ahwāl yawm al-qiyāma. Qāla llāh 'azza wa jalla: in khiṭta min al-qabr fa ṣalli ṣalāt al-ḡuḡā ḡattā ūminuka min l-faqr, wa in khiṭta min sakarāt al-mawt fa ṣalli ṣalāt al-zawāl ḡattā “Uḡawwinuḡā 'alayka”, wa in khiṭta min ḡulmat al-qabr wa ḡiqatihi fa ṣalli mā bayna l-maḡhrib wa l-'iṣhā' wa hiya ṣalāt al-awābīn, wa in khiṭta min ahwāl yawm al-qiyāma fa ṣalli ṣalāt al-layl tanjū min ahwāl yawm al-qiyāma. Qāla l-Nabiy ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama, “Ummatī 'alā thalāthat aṣnāf: ṣinf (sic) yashbahūna l-malā'ika, wa ṣinf yashbahūna l-anbiyā', wa ṣinf yashbahūna l-bahā'im. Fa ammā lladhīna yashbahūna l-malā'ika fa himmatuhum tasbīḡ wa ṭahmīd, wa ammā lladhīna yashbahūna l-anbiyā' fa himmatuhum al-ṣalāt wa l-ṣiyām, wa ammā lladhīna yashbahūna l-bahā'im fa himmatuhum al-akl wa l-shurb.”

It is related regarding the Prophet, God bless Him and grant Him salvation, that He has said, “My brother, Moses, upon Him be peace, said in [one of] His *munājāt*, ‘O Lord! I fear four things: poverty, the agony of death, the darkness of the grave, and the terrors of the Day of Resurrection.’ God, powerful and exalted is He above all, replied, ‘If you fear the grave, then pray the *Ṣalāt al-Ḍuḡā* up to “*Ūminuka min al-faqr*”; if you fear the agony of death, then pray the *Ṣalāt al-Zawāl* up to “*Uḡawwinuka 'alayka*”; if you fear the darkness of the grave and its narrow circumstances, then pray the (voluntary prayer for the time) between the Sunset and the Night Prayer, that is the *Ṣalāt al-Awābīn*; and if you fear the terrors of the Day of Resurrection, then pray the *Ṣalāt al-Layl*, (for) you to be delivered from the terrors of the Day of Resurrection.”’ The Prophet, God bless Him and grant Him salvation, has said, “My community is of three classes: a class that resembles the angels, a class that resembles the prophets, and a class that resembles the

484 E. Wust, *Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Manuscripts of the Yahuda Collection of the National Library of Israel* (Leiden, 2016), I: 448–450. The ms. is online available through <http://aleph.nli.org.il>.

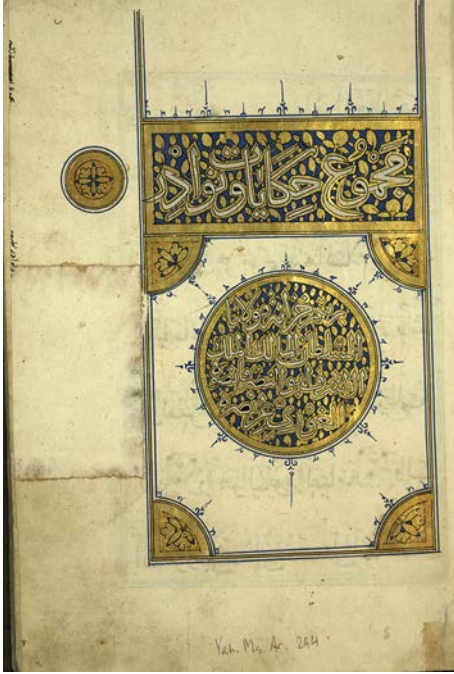


Fig. 48: Frontispiece of Ms. Ar. 294 (f. 2r)

animals. As for those who resemble the angels, their mind is set on glorifying and praising God; as for those who resemble prophets, their mind is set on praying and fasting; as for those who resemble animals, their mind is set on eating and drinking.”

The work was copied (*khidmat*) for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm khizānat*, → fig. 48) by Yūnus al-Muḥammadī min Ṭabaqat al-Ashrafiya al-Malikī al-Ashrafi in 61 ff., and appears to be a unicum.

(117) Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Yahuda Collection Ms. Ar. 295
(*vidi*)⁴⁸⁵

Al-Būṣīrī’s *al-Kawākib al-Durrīya fī Madḥ Khayr al-Barīya*, copied (*katabahu*) by *mamlūk* Uzbek b. Tānī Bak min Ṭabaqat al-Qaṣr al-sharīf al-malikī al-ashrafi (→ fig. 49) for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm khizānat mawlānā...*) in 28 ff.

Being the last *Burda* in this list in its non-amplified form, this item provides me with a final opportunity to return to the *Burda* verse that was evoked in the historicizing prelude to this book, as this verse, together with a second one, is

⁴⁸⁵ Wust, *Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Manuscripts*, I: 450. The ms. is online available through <http://aleph.nli.org.il>.



Fig. 49: The *kataba* finispiece of Ms. Ar. 295

inscribed inside Qāniṣawh’s mosque-madrasa. This verse is the first of the following five that conclude this celebrated *qaṣīda*’s eighth section, which is entitled “The Messenger’s Jihād and Campaigns” (vv. 135–139):⁴⁸⁶

<i>Wa man takun bi rasūli llāhi nuṣratuhu</i>	✽	<i>In talqahu l-usdu fī ājāmiḥā tajīmi</i>
<i>Wa lan tarā min walīyin ghayri muntaṣiri</i>	✽	<i>Bihi wa lā min ‘adūwin ghayri munqaṣīmi</i>
<i>Aḥalla ummatahu fī ḥirzi millatihi</i>	✽	<i>Ka l-laythi ḥalla ma’a l-ashbāli fī ajami</i>
<i>Kam jaddalat kalimātu llāhi min jadalīn</i>	✽	<i>Fīhi wa kam khaṣṣama l-burhānu min khaṣīmi</i>
<i>Kafāka bi l-‘ilmi fī l-ummīyi mu’jizatan</i>	✽	<i>Fī l-jāhiliyati wa l-ta’ḍibi fī l-yutumi</i>

Whosoever is succored by God’s Messenger	✽	If lions were to find him in their lair, they would fall silent.
You will find no friend of his who is not victorious;	✽	Nor any foe who is not broken.
He settled his community in the stronghold of his creed,	✽	Like a lion with its cubs in its lair.
How many an opponent did the Words of God refute,	✽	How many an adversary was vanquished by the Proof.
It is miracle enough for you that an illiterate should achieve such knowledge	✽	In the Age of Ignorance, that an orphan should acquire such refinement.

In Suzanne Stetkevych’s reading, the *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* is as much about the Prophet Muḥammad as it is about the Abbasid caliphs. As she argues,

“through a process of chronological and rhetorical retrojection, a mythic concordance (was) established between victorious ‘Abbāsīd caliphs such as al-Mu‘taṣim and their imperial armies and the Prophet and his Companions as warriors”.

Indeed, she continues,

“(t)he recasting of *Sīrah*-related materials into poetic structures (...) has the effect of downplaying the chronological or historical narrative aspect of these materials and foregrounding their cosmic dimensions and associations, in particular through estab-

486 Stetkevych, *The Mantle Odes*, p. 133 (translation), p. 250 (edition).

lishing a mythic concordance between the events of the Prophet's lifetime and the apex of Arab-Islamic hegemony in the High 'Abbasid Age."⁴⁸⁷

A similar retrojection must have taken place in the Ghawriya, now one that establishes a concordance not between the Abbasid caliphs and the Prophet, but between Qāniṣawh and the Prophet. How far exactly this mythic concordance went we couldn't tell, unfortunately... Did Qāniṣawh, himself of a *mamlūk* background, think of himself as an *ummī* who had turned 'ālim, a *yatīm* who had turned *muta'addib*, not unlike Muḥammad (v. 139)? Or was, for him, their concordance limited to Muḥammad's role as a military leader, thus excluding his spiritual leadership? This issue, already briefly touched upon previously (→ 47, 48), will be returned to in the fourth chapter, *A Library Identified*.

(118) Kayseri, Raṣīd Efendi 204 (*vidi*)

Al-Durrat al-Muḍīya fī l-Aḥādīth al-Nabawīya, copied (*khidmat*) by *al-mamlūk* 'Alī Bāy min Baktamur min Ṭabaqat al-Zimāmiya for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm khizānat*) in 31 ff. The sultan's name on the frontispiece is rather blurred, but seems to read Qāniṣawh rather than Qāyrbāy.

In the introduction following the *basmala* and *ḥamdala* (→ fig. 50), the author ('Alī Bāy himself?) clearly expresses the wish for his writing to be included in the sultan's *khizāna*:

(f. 2v) *Ammā ba'du, ayqazanā llāh (...)* wa 'aṣamanā min ghawā'il al-alsina. Fa hādihā majmū' muḥtawin 'alā tadhkīr wa adhkār wa riwāyāt wa akhbār wa aḥādīth wa athār, thamaratuhā li man tadabbarahā ṣalāḥ qalbihi wa lisānihi li mā yantazir min mujāzāt rabbihi wa iḥsānihi. Aḥbabbtu an an (sic) ahdiya dhālīka ilā l-khizānat al-sharīfat al-mawlawīyat al-malakīya (sic) al-mālikīyat al-'ālimīyat al-'āmilīyat (f. 2r) al-'ādiliyat al-ashrafiya, lā zālat in shā'a llāh ta'ālā ma'mūrat al-ribā' ma'hūlat al-intifā' khallada llāh ta'ālā mulk mālikihā wa thabbata qawā'id dawlatihā bi Muḥammad wa ālihi, lā ḥawla wa lā quwwat ilā bi llāh al-'alīy al-'azīm.
Qāla l-imām al-Ghazzālī raḥimahu llāh, "Ammā l-ḥikma fa innahā 'aṭā' min allāh 'azza wa jalla yu'tihā man yashā' min 'ibādihī."

Now, God has awakened us (...) and has safeguarded us from the dangers of the tongues. This is a collection that contains *tadhkīr*, *adhkār*, *riwāyāt*, *akhbār*, hadiths and *āthār*, the fruit of which, for those who consider these, is for their heart and their tongue to lend themselves for expecting the requital of their Lord and His benevolence. I was hoping to present this to the library of His Noble and Royal Excellency (...). If God, exalted is He above all, wills, may the inhabited world of the four quarters be suited for profit, and may God, exalted is He above all, make the rule of its ruler eternal and may He fix the foundations of his reign through Muḥammad and His Family. There is no

487 Stetkevych, *The Mantle Odes*, pp. 135, 141. For her analysis of the full section, see pp. 134–144.

power and no strength save in God! Imam al-Ghazzālī, God’s mercy be upon him, has said, “As for wisdom, this is a gift from God, exalted and elevated is He above all, which He bestows upon whomsoever He pleases of His servants.”



Fig. 50: The author’s preface

By way of an example, a question posed to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib:

^(f. 6r) *Wa su ‘ila ‘Alī raḍiya llāh ‘anhu, “Mā athqal min al-samā’ wa mā awsa’ min al-arḍ wa mā aghnā min al-baḥr wa mā ashadd min al-ḥajar wa mā aḥarr min al-nār wa mā abrad min al-zamharīr wa mā amarr min al-samm?” Wa qāla raḍiya llāh ‘anhu, “Al-buhtān ‘alā l-barī’ athqal min al-samā’ wa l-khawf awsa’ min al-arḍ wa qalb al-munāfiq ashadd min al-ḥajar ^(f. 6v) wa qalb al-qānī’ aghnā min al-baḥr wa l-sulṭān al-jāyir aḥarr min al-nār wa l-ḥāja ilā l-la’im abrad min al-zamharīr wa l-ṣabr amarr min al-samm wa qila l-namīma amarr.”*

‘Alī, may God be pleased with Him, was asked, “What is heavier than the sky, what is broader than the earth, what is richer than the sea, what is stronger than stone, what is hotter than fire, what is colder than severe frost, and what is bitterer than venom?” ‘Alī, may God be pleased with Him, replied, “Slandering the innocent is heavier than the sky, fear is broader than the earth, the hypocrite heart is stronger than stone, the heart that is content is richer than the sea, the unjust ruler is hotter than fire, the need for the vile is colder than the severe frost, and patience, or, according to others, defamation, is bitterer than venom.”

(119) Leiden, University Library, Or. 303 d (*vidi* of frontispiece)⁴⁸⁸

The eight volume of Ibn Waḥshīya's (late 3rd-early 4th/10th cent.) *al-Filāḥat al-Nabaṭīya*, in 221 ff., for which vols. 1, 3 and 4 have been identified as well (→ 59, 76, 77).

While Jan Just Witkam dated this manuscript to 1060/1650, he seems to have confused Or. 303 c and Or. 303 d. As stated in the *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium*, and as communicated by Boris Liebrecht (Leipzig, personal communication), Or. 303 c dates from Qāniṣaw's reign, as is suggested (yet not proven, see Chapter Three!) by the frontispiece⁴⁸⁹ (*bi rasm khizānat al-maqām ... Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī*). According to Lucia Raggetti, the ms. is incomplete at the end and thus lacks a colophon.⁴⁹⁰

As is confirmed by this particular ms., Orientalists certainly found their way into the Ottoman sultan's treasuries, as will be returned to in Chapter Five.

(120) Leiden, University Library, Or. 1390 (*vidi*)⁴⁹¹

Risāle-i Deste-i Gül fī Keyfiyet-i Ḥalket-i l-Cinnīn ve Tevlīdihī, an anonymous Turkic work in 32 ff. dedicated to Qāniṣawh, that deals with the birth and creation of men (rather than of jinn, as suggested by the cover title?). Following the *basmala* and an elaborate encomium of Qāniṣawh, the opening line:

(f. 5^r) *Ammā ba'du tūrāb-i bāb-i erbāb-i ūlā'l-elbāb faḳīr-i ḥaḳīr-i meksūrū'l-bāl mü-şevveşü'l-aḥvāl ma'a kıllet-i'l-bizā'at ve keşreti'l-baḫālet şöyle taḳrīr eder ki (...) tertīb-i bir risāle bel bir maḳāle dūr mutazammın-i fevāyid-i ferāyid-i keyfiyet-i tevellūd-i benī Ādem ki zübde-i 'ālemdür ki ne tavır erḫām-i ümmihātda beslenür ... ve ne ṭarīḳdan maḫābis-i menāḫis-i ademden ḳazā-i şaḫrā-i vücūda ḳadem başar ve ne tertīb birle medāric-i 'ömr-i ṭabī'ye çıkar ve ne yol birle nüzül eder tā nihāyet-i 'ömr-i ṭabī'ye yeter.*

Now, the dust at the gate of gates of the lords endowed with reason, the poor and wretched one, who is broken-hearted and in a confused state, and who is poor in merchandise [to offer, yet] rich in idleness, speaks as follows, that (...) the composition

488 P. de Jong & M.J. De Goeje, *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliotheca Academiae Lugduno Batavae* (Leiden, 1865), III: 214 (entry 1280); P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands. Second enlarged edition* (The Hague/Boston, 1980), p. 83; J.J. Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden. Volume 1 Manuscripts Or. 1 – Or. 1000* (Leiden, 2007), p. 153.

489 Reproduced in A. Vrolijk & R. van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands. A Short History in Portraits, 1580–1950* (Leiden/Boston, 2014), p. vi.

490 Raggetti, "Rolling Stones Do Gather", pp. 240–243.

491 De Jong & de Goeje, *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium*, III: 282–283; J.J. Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden. Volume 2. Manuscripts Or. 1001 – Or. 2000 registered in Leiden University Library in the period between 1665 and 1871* (Leiden, 2007), p. 136.

of a *risāle*, or rather, of a *maḳāle*, [which] comprises the incomparable tales of the circumstances of the genesis of the children of Adam, the cream of the earth, how they are being fed in the mother's womb (...) how they move from the prisons of the evil fortunes of non-existence to the fate of the plain of existence, in what order they proceed through the natural stages of live, and in what way they live until they have reached the end of the natural life.

It remains an open question whether we are dealing with an independent composition, or with a translation of one of various works in Arabic on the *khalq al-insān*.

One can image this *deste-i gül* ("bouquet of roses") to have pleased the sultan, if only because of its title, which resonates deeply with his Sufi poetry and — undoubtedly connected thereto — his vast "gardening project", described in such lofty terms both in his *Shāh-Nāma* translation and in the Dublin *majālis* text (→ 17, 107). In relation to the rose, consider the following anecdote, as recorded by Ibn Iyās⁴⁹²:

Fa lammā nfaḍḍa l-majlis qāma l-sulṭān wa dakhala ilā l-baḥra llatī ansha'ahā bi l-maydān wa 'azama 'alā l-umarā' wa ḥaḍara l-atābakī Qurqmās wa l-umarā' al-muqaddimīn. Fa lammā takāmala l-majlis aḥḍara l-sulṭān fūṭa fihā ward min bustān al-maydān. Fa akhadha min dhālika l-ward warda wa shammahā thumma dafa'ahā ilā l-atābakī Qurqmās, fa akhadhahā wa qāma wa qabbala l-arḍ. Thumma akhadha wardat ukhrā wa shammahā thumma dafa'ahā ilā Dawlāt Bāy amīr silāḥ, fa akhadhahā wa qāma wa qabbala l-arḍ. Thumma akhadha wardat ukhrā wa shammahā thumma dafa'ahā ilā Sūdūn al-'Ajamī amīr majlis, fa akhadhahā wa qāma wa qabbala l-arḍ. Thumma farraqa 'alā jamī' al-umarā' al-muqaddimīn li kull wāḥid warda fa ya 'khu-duhā wa yaqūm wa yuqabbil al-arḍ. Fa qabbalū lahu l-arḍ al-umarā' al-muqaddimīn jamī'uhum fi dhālika l-yawm li ajl al-ward, ḥattā 'udda dhālika min al-nawādir.

When the meeting was closed, the sultan stood up and went to the pond, which he had constructed at the hippodrome. He had invited the amirs [to come with him], and present were *atābak* Qurqmās and the amirs of one hundred. When all were present, the sultan had a napkin brought in, in which roses from the garden of the hippodrome were [wrapped]. He took one of the roses, smelled it and handed it over to *atābak* Qurqmās, who took it, stood up and kissed the ground. The sultan then took another rose, smelled it and handed it over to Dawlāt Bāy, the *amīr silāḥ*, who took it, stood up and kissed the ground. The sultan then took another rose, smelled it and handed it over to Sūdūn al-'Ajamī, the *amīr majlis*, who took it, stood up and kissed the ground. The sultan then distributed roses among all amirs of one hundred, one rose each. They took it, stood up and kissed the ground. That day, on account of the rose, all amirs of one hundred kissed the ground before the sultan; as such, this [ceremony] was considered a rare phenomenon.

492 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i al-Zuhūr*, IV: 176–177.

This immediately brings to mind the following painting by Naḳḳāş Sinān Bey of Meḥmed II smelling a rose (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, H 2153, f. 10r) (→ fig. 51), known first and foremost as a very early example of Western influence in Ottoman portraiture:



Fig. 51: Meḥmed II smelling a rose

Qānişawh's rose ceremony definitely deserves more attention, as does the rose as a time-honoured symbol of the Prophet (→ 130) and of the beloved in general.⁴⁹³ In light of this latter association, Ibn Iyās's anecdote resonates deeply with the novel temporal partition coined by Walter Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, the *Age of Beloveds*.⁴⁹⁴ Concluding, given Qānişawh's (alleged) interaction with Ibrāhīm-i Gülşeni, it is worth pointing out that the rose was a key concept within the Gülşeniye branch of the Khalwatīya, founded by this very Ibrāhīm. Indeed, the rose lent more to this *ṭarīqa* than part of its name. Among others, the acts of

493 For the rose in Ottoman culture, rich starting points are provided by B. Ayvazoğlu, "The Rose in Ottoman Aesthetics", in H.C. Güzel *et. al.* (eds.), *The Turks, III: Ottomans* (Ankara, 2002), pp. 956–973; and Ch. Gruber, "The Rose of the Prophet: Floral Metaphors in Late Ottoman Devotional Art", in D.J. Roxburgh (ed.), *Envisioning Islamic Art and Architecture. Essays in Honor of Renata Holod* (Leiden/Boston, 2014), pp. 223–249.

494 W.G. Andrews & M. Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds. Love and the Beloved in Early Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham/London, 2005).

the Sufis while performing *dhikr* has been likened to the opening and closing of a rosebud (for the sultan himself dancing, → Ch. 4):

“(…) when the tempo of the *zīkr* speeds up with the rhythm of musical instruments, such as the *kudum* (drum) and *mazhar* (tambourine), the dervishes hold each other’s hands, make a circle, and start walking from the right to the left, during which they extend their left legs towards the centre of the circle called *Kutubhâne* and right legs to the opposite side. Their bodies bend over on the left leg’s action and straighten on the right leg’s action. When the scene is seen from above it looks like a rosebud opening and closing.”⁴⁹⁵

(121) London, British Library, Add. 24363 (*non vidi*)⁴⁹⁶

Tuhfat al-Khawāṭir wa Nuzhat al-Nawāzīr, according to the catalogers, the last will of caliph ‘Umar (r. 13–23/634–644) to his son, copied (*katabahu*) for Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī by *al-mamlūk* Qarākuz min Sūdūn min Ṭabaqat al-Ṣandaliya⁴⁹⁷ al-malikī al-ashrafi in 21 ff. in 906/1501.

Could it be that, unlike those of, e.g., ‘Alī and Abū Ḥanīfa (→ 96, 101, 102, 104/2), ‘Umar’s *waṣīya* as an independent title is quite rare? Or are we in fact dealing not with ‘Umar’s last will, but with ‘Alī’s? It will be recalled that a previous item (→ 101) has exactly the same title as the present item, yet definitely deals with the testament of ‘Alī...

(122) London, British Library, Or. 5103 (*vidi*)⁴⁹⁸

The last collection of forty traditions of the list (→ 23/1, 23/3, 42-2, 62) is described by the catalogers as an anonymous work, entitled *Kitāb al-Arba‘ūna Ḥadīth*, and “written by the order of Qāniṣawh for Aqbulāt”.

In reality, we are dealing with an *arba‘ūna* collection authored by Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (→ 49/1b) in the year of his death (851/1447) and called *al-Arba‘ūna fī Rad‘ al-Mujrim ‘an Sabb al-Muslim*. As to be expected, rather than *written for*, the work was *copied by* (*katabahu*) *al-mamlūk* Aq Bulāt min Qānibak for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm al-maqa‘m al-sharīf*) in 26 ff. The preface and the first *ḥadīth* run as follows:

495 Ayvazoğlu, “The Rose”, p. 961.

496 W. Cureton & C. Rieu, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur. Pars secunda, codices arabicos amplectens Supplement catalogue* (London, 1846–1871), p. 657. I owe this reference to Carine Juvin (Louvre).

497 Misread by Cureton as al-Sunbulīya.

498 A.G. Ellis & E. Edwards, *A Descriptive List of the Arabic Manuscripts Acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum since 1894* (London, 1912), p. 20.

(f.1v) *Bi smi llāh al-rahmān al-rahīm. Al-ḥamdu li llāh rabb al-‘ālamīn. Ammā ba’d ḥamd allāh alladhī ‘azuma qadru man amana (sic) bihi wa aslama, wa l-ṣalāt wa l-salām ‘alā nabīhi lladhī shara’a li ummatihī sunan al-dīn (f. 2r) wa bayyana lahum sunan al-muhtadīn wa ‘allama, ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa ‘alā ālihi wa ṣaḥbihi, wa sallama lladhīna kānū yatalaqqawna amrahu bi l-qabūl, wa sallim yā dhā l-jalāl wa l-ikrām wa raḍiya llāh ‘an sādātīnā aṣḥāb rasūl allāh ajmā’īna. (f.2v) Wa ba’d ufa ḥādhihi arba’ūna ḥādīthan munaqqāt min kutub al-ṣiḥāḥ wa l-sunan fī ta’zīm al-muslim wa l-zajr ‘an sabbihī wa zann al-sū’ bihi wa ta’ammud zulmihi fī salmihi wa ḥarbihi, katabtuhā ‘izatan li man basaṭa lisānahu wa yadahu fī (f. 3r) l-muslimīna intihākan li a’rāḍihim wa stikhāran mim mā yaṣīr ilayhi min jawāhirihim wa a’rāḍihim (sic) ma’a qillat ‘ilmihi wa ‘wijājihī wa ta’arruḍ li sakhaṭ rabbihī wa ghtarra bi ḥilmihī wa stidrājihī, ‘asā llāh an yarzuqahu (f. 3v) l-tawba wa l-ināba, fa yaqtadi bi l-salaf al-ṣāliḥ min al-ṣaḥāba wa ittibā’ (sic) al-ṣaḥāba, wa llāh “Yuḍill man yashā’ wa yahdī man yashā’”.*

Al-ḥādīth al-awwal: ‘an Abī Hurayra raḍiya llāh ‘anhu, anna Rasūla llāh (f. 4r) ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa sallama qāla: “Al-muslim akhā (sic) l-muslim, lā yazlimuhu wa lā yakhdhiluhu (sic) wa lā yaḥqiruhu bi ḥasb mra’in min al-sharr an yaḥqir akhāhu l-muslim.” Rawāhu Muslim.

Al-ḥādīth al-thānī: (f. 4v) (...)

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Praise be to God, Lord of the Universe! Now, the praise of God, the rank of who believes in Him and submits [to Him] is exalted, and praise and peace be upon His Prophet, who has given to His community the *sunan* of the religion, who has clarified for them the sunan of the Rightly Guided Ones and who was instructed [them in their faith]. God bless Him, His Family and His Companions, and God grant salvation those who submit willingly to His command. Grant salvation, O Lofty and Honourable One, our masters, the Companions of the Envoy of God altogether.

Now, these are forty traditions that have been selected from the books of the sound [traditions] and *sunan*, in order to enhance the greatness of the Muslim, to prevent that he is being abused or thought ill of, [to block] the intention of doing him wrong, in [making] peace with him and in [waging] war with him. I have written this as an admonition for those who stretch out their tongue and their hand towards the Muslims, defiling their good repute, and considering the gems and fame that befalls them as too much —how little and crooked their sense! — risking the wrath of their lord, and misled by his discernment and being lured into destruction. Perhaps God will bestow upon him repentance and penitence, so that he will imitate the model of the pious forebears of the Companions and <follow> the Companions. God “does leave to astray whom He wills and guides whom He wills.”⁴⁹⁹

The first tradition:

[It is related] on the authority of Abū Hurayra, may God be pleased with him, that the Envoy of God, God bless Him and grant him salvation, has said, “[Every] Muslim is the other Muslim’s brother: he neither oppresses him, nor does he humiliate him or does he look down upon him. According to [all] men, for [a Muslim] to look down upon his

brother Muslim is evil.” Narrated by Muslim.

The second tradition: (...)

In the 1406/1986 edition⁵⁰⁰, based on a ms. that was copied by Ibn Ḥajar’s grandson, Yūsuf b. Shāhīn al-Jamāl (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub Taymūr Ḥadīth 428, 15ff.), the editor’s claim that his was an *editio princeps* is wrong, since the work (here entitled *Arba’ūna Ḥadīthan fī Ta’zīm al-Muslim wa l-Zajr ‘an Sabbihī*⁵⁰¹) is included in a work that was published already in 1329/1911: the *Majmū‘ al-Arba’īna Arba’īna min Aḥādīth Sayyid al-Mursalīna*, a 40 x 40 *ḥadīth* collection, authored by the late 19th-early 20th century prolific Palestinian scholar, Yūsuf b. Ismā‘īl al-Nabhānī (d. 1350/1932).⁵⁰²

Next to the copies of the British Library and the Dār al-Kutub, at least two more mss. should be available: Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Yah. Ar. 147, ff. 123r–126r (dated 998/1589) (*non vidi*); Riyadh, Maktabat Jāmi‘at al-Imām Muḥammad b. Sa‘ūd al-Islāmīya, Ms. 8410, 5ff. (*non vidi*).

(123) London, British Library, Or. 12012 (*vidi*)⁵⁰³

Al-Suyūṭī’s *Kitāb al-Wasā’il ilā Ma’rifat al-Awā’il*, a historical work on the *awā’il*, the origin of things, abridged from al-‘Askarī’s *Kitāb al-Awā’il*. Questions dealt with include: what was the first building erected on earth (a temple at Mecca by Adam), who invented taxation (Moses), who was the first to wear a turban (Alexander the Great), ... The work was copied (*katabahu*) for Qāniṣawḥ (*bi rasm al-maqām*) by *mamlūk* Qāniṣawḥ min Anasbāy min Ṭabaqat al-Rafraf bi l-Ḥawsh al-Sharīf al-Malikī al-Ashrafī in 55ff. The bright-coloured frontispiece has been preserved exceptionally well (→ fig. 52).

A later note at the bottom explicitly identifies the ms. as one of Qāniṣawḥ’s *khazā’inīya* (*hādihā l-kitāb kāna fī khizānat kutub al-sulṭān Qāniṣawḥ*), while a second *bi rasm* note⁵⁰⁴ at the top confirms once more that *bi rasm* implies ownership of a ms. and not the act of commissioning the ms. to be made (→ 27,

500 Ed. al-Shaykh al-Ḥuwaynī al-Salafī (Beirut, 1406/1986).

501 Apart from these two titles, it would seem that Ibn Ḥajar’s work is also referred to as *Rad’ al-Mujrim fī Dhabb ‘an Irḍ al-Muslim*.

502 Published already in Beirut, 1329/1911 (collection 39, pp. 355–360). For a more recent ed., see *Majmū‘ al-Arba’īna Arba’īna min Aḥādīth Sayyid al-Mursalīn, yashtamil ‘alā arba’īna kitāban kull minhā yashtamil ‘alā arba’īna ḥadīthan fī l-maḥāsin wa l-ḥikam wa l-aḥkām wa shamā’ ilīhi ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa sallama wa mujizātihi wa dalā’il nubuwātihi wa āyātihi wa khaṣā’iṣhi* (...), *ta’līf al-Shaykh al-‘Allāma Yūsuf b. Ismā‘īl al-Nabhānī*, ed. Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī (Beirut, 1431/2010), collection 39, pp. 419–427.

503 See A.S. Fulton, “A Mamlūk Arabic Manuscript”, *The British Museum Quarterly* 16/4 (1952): 93–95.

504 The name in this second note is illegible, but is clearly not Qāniṣawḥ’s (*bi resm- ḥizānet-i sīdī ve mevlāi ve devletli efendim <...> Paşa el-mu’azzam dāme sümüvuhu*).

28, 55, 90, Chapter Three). Muhammad Waley’s statement, hesitantly repeated by Emilie Savage-Smith, that this manuscript was penned by no other than sultan Qāniṣawh himself is clearly wrong.⁵⁰⁵



Fig. 52: Frontispiece with two ex libris

(124) Manchester, John Rylands Library, Arabic MS 704 (*vidi*)⁵⁰⁶

A Qur’ān in one volume of 470 ff. Contrary to previous statements, this ms. was not copied in Qāniṣawh’s mosque around 1500, and was not even commissioned by Qāniṣawh himself.⁵⁰⁷ In fact, according to Ohta, we are dealing with a late 14th-

505 M.I. Waley, “Illumination and its functions in Islamic manuscripts”, in F. Déroche & F. Richard (eds.), *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient* (Paris, 1997), pp. 87–112; E. Savage-Smith, *Arabic Treasures of the British Library: From Alexandria to Baghdad and beyond* (London, 2013), p. 13 (“At the end of the manuscript (...) there is an illuminated panel stating that the manuscript was transcribed by Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī himself. If so, then we have an example of a ruler who was concerned with learning the art of calligraphy”).

506 Mingana, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library*, columns 42–43.

century Qur'ān that only “obtained this association with the sultan through the presence of an ownership stamp in his name”⁵⁰⁸.

The entire work, fully digitized now⁵⁰⁹, made its appearance in popular media as “the world’s largest Qur’ān” (?), indeed, of the size of a “large flat screen TV”! The calligraphy is exemplary, and each heading constitutes a unique work of art (→ fig. 53).



Fig. 53: The concluding verse of *Sūrat al-Qamar* and the title of *Sūrat al-Rahmān*

(125) (P) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bruce 70 (*vidi*)

In an 1842 auction catalogue, the present ms. was described as follows:

“Kissat Beni, Ibrāhīm fi Assr Cansau el-Gauri Meliki Mesr, a treatise on the Duties and Performances of the Pilgrimage to Mecca and other Holy Places, as settled in the reign of Cansau el Gauri, the twenty-second and last Sultān of Egypt, who was slain by Selim Emperor of the Turks (...) This manuscript is on large paper, the writing of the most beautiful kind, gilded ornaments are introduced between the lines and the principal (*sic*) passages or sentences of the work, are in a most superb and elegant large character. The vowel points and diacritical marks are all inserted, as if it had been the Korān itself. This manuscript must have been written for the use of a prince; it is bound in an elegant matter, uniform with the other manuscripts, its size is 14 by 10 ½ inches, in thin folio.”⁵¹⁰

A grateful description of the splendour of the present manuscript, but, apart from that, quite off the mark. We are dealing with not one but two texts, and these are not merely “settled in the reign of Cansau el Gauri” but dedicated to him. Moreover, what we have here is not a — one out of a dozen — didactic “treatise on the Duties and Performances of the Pilgrimage”, but something that is more

507 For the location of some of the missing ff., see D. James, “Rylands Arabic MS. 42: Recent Discoveries”, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library* 59 (1976–1977): 249–253.

508 Ohta, “The Bindings of Qansuh al-Ghawri”, p. 215.

509 <https://luna.manchester.ac.uk/luna/servlet/detail/Man4MedievalVC~4~4~913667~137669?qvq=q%Aarabic+42+koran&xmi=0&trs=2>.

510 (A. Murray), *A catalogue of a valuable collection of Oriental literature, lollected by James Bruce of Kinnaird, consisting of from [sic] ninety to one hundred volumes in high preservation (...) which will be sold by auction, by Mr. George Robins on Monday, the 30th day of May, 1842* (London, 1842), no. 2.

rare and altogether much more exciting: two narrative poems on the power struggle in the Hejaz that followed upon the death of Muḥammad b. Barakāt, *sharīf* of Mecca in 903/1497. Muḥammad b. Barakāt had appointed one of his sons, Barakāt b. Muḥammad (indeed) as his successor, but his other sons soon rose to protest. After Qāniṣawh's accession to the throne in 906/1501, matters only worsened, as the newly appointed commanders in the Hejaz encouraged Barakāt's sibling rivals to seize power for themselves (appointing Hazzā' in 906/1501, Aḥmad al-Jāzānī in 907/1502, ...), and as the local Bedouin tribes got involved as well. Particularly savage, so it seems, were the protagonists of the two present poems, the Banū Ibrāhīm.⁵¹¹ Not being Mamluk, these were a most convenient scapegoat indeed! Allying themselves with the emir of al-Yanbu' and with one of rivals for the sharifate, al-Jazānī, they attacked and pillaged the Syrian and Egyptian pilgrimage caravans. In the wake of a large massacre in Mecca in 908/1502, Qāniṣawh saw no other option than to forbid the participation of women in the pilgrimage, and three years later, even nobody made the pilgrimage from Egypt, and the *kiswa* had to be dispatched to Mecca by sea.⁵¹² Of course, these were no small matters for Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī: as the *khādim al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn*, securing the pilgrimage routes to Mecca constituted one of his most fundamental duties, and any failure to do so offered a major blow to his prestige throughout the *Umma*. In light of the turmoil that afflicted the Hejaz under Qāniṣawh's early reign, it is perhaps not a coincidence that the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan of 917/1511 (the one in which Idrīs-i Bidlīsī participated, → 42) included some of the most distinguished members of Mamluk society, and was led by no one else but Qāniṣawh's own nephew, Ṭūmānbāy (→ 51).

This unsavoury chapter in the history of the Hajj — admittedly, one out of many — is dealt with in two texts, both written by Aḥmad b. 'Alī (al-)Marzūqī, whom I have not been able to identify thus far⁵¹³:

(125-1) *Qiṣṣat Banī Ibrāhīm wa 'Urbān al-Ḥijāz <'alā ḥusn al-ṭāqa fī l-ikhtiṣār wa l-ijāz> bi Muḥammadīn wa ālihi*, a splendid copy in 17 ff. that was *bi rasm* Qāniṣawh (f. 1r). On f. 17r, we find the name of the scribe-cum-author: *khidmat*

511 As it happens, these were also the source of a small cache of Prophetic relics that came from al-Yanbu' to Cairo's in earlier Mamluk times (see Abdulfattah, "Relics of the Prophet", p. 83).

512 See Markiewicz, "The Crisis of Rule in Late Medieval Islam", pp. 181–182; B. Martel-Thoumian, "Partir en pèlerinage à la fin de le période mamlouke (872/1469–923/1517)", *Journal Asiatique* 300/2 (2012): 691–707; J.L. Meloy, *Imperial Power and Maritime Trade. Mecca and Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago, 2010), p. 206–232; Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians*, p. 40.

513 Could there perhaps be a connection to a *sharḥ* of Ka'b b. Zuhayr's *Burda* authored by Ibn al-Marzūqī (or: Ibn Marzūqī) and copied by 'Alī b. Nāṣir b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Dimyāṭī al-Shāfi'ī in 890/1485 (Berlin, Hs. or. 14202) (*non vidi*)?

al-mamlūk al-marqūqī Aḥmad bin ‘Alī al-Marzūqī. This first poem is introduced by the following prose preface (ff. 1v–2r):

(...) *wa ayyada llāh ta’ālā dīna l-islām wa nushirat bi dhālika l-a’lām bi dawāmi l-dawlat al-sharīfat al-ashrafiya dawlat mawlānā l-malik al-ashraf Qāniṣawh (sic!) al-Ghawriya (sic!) adāma llāh ta’ālā ‘alā l-islām wa l-muslimīna mulk mālīkiḥā wa sahala (sic) lahu ṭurq al-khayrāt fī sāyir al-arḍ wa masālikihā, fa huwa lladī adalla (sic! adhalla) fī zamānihi farā’inat al-mulūk ḥattā ṣāra kull aḥadin minhum lahu ‘abd^(f.2r) wa khādīm wa mamlūk.*

Wa lammā zahara min ‘Urbān Banī Ibrāhīm al-fussād fī sāyir arḍ Makka wa aqtār al-Ḥijāz wa l-bilād, wa mtana’a ‘an al-ḥajj fī sanat ihdā ‘asharat wa tis’mīya ḥajj Miṣr wa l-Shām, wa fī dhālika min al-fasād al-ghāya, wa qad naṣarahu llāh ‘alayhim bi l-‘asākir wa l-junūd naṣran ‘azīzan wa tamayyaza bi dhālika ‘alā sāyir al-mulūk wa l-‘asākir tamayzan.

Wa qad aktharat al-fuṣaḥā wa l-shu’arā fī dhālika taṣānīf wa ash’ār ‘alā ḥasab ṭaqatihim fī l-taṭāwul wa l-ikhtiṣār, fa aḥbabbu an ajma’ mā sami’tuhu min qīṣāsihim ‘alā namaṭ al-takhmīs mukhālīfan lahum fī nazmihim makhāfatan min al-tadlīs, wa aḥbabbu an abdā fī dhālika bi l-asmā al-sharīfat al-ḥusnā li yaḥṣul bi dhālika ladhāda (sic! ladhādā) li l-sāmi’ fī l-qawāfi wa l-ma’nā, wa ja’altu dhālika bi rasm al-khizānat al-Ghawriyat al-sharīfa limā fī dhālika min al-tuḥaf wa l-ma’ānī al-zarīfa (...)

May God, exalted is He above all, support the religion of Islam, and may thus the flags be hoisted in the perpetuity of the noble, Ashrafiyan reign, (that is,) the reign of our Lord, al-Malik al-Ashraf Qāniṣawh al-Ghawriya (sic!). May God, exalted is He above all, make this ruler’s reign over Islam and over the Muslims last, and may the paths [that lead to] good deeds, in all of the world and on all of its roads, be smooth for him, [Qāniṣawh], who has subdued the pharaonic rulers of his day, so that each of these became a slave to him, a servant and a *mamlūk*.

When the Bedouin [tribe] of the immoral Banū Ibrāhīm broke out in all of the land of Mecca and the quarters and cities of the Hejaz, and the pilgrimage from Egypt and Syria was [hereby] made impossible in the year 911 — an act of utmost immorality! — through the armies and the troops, God had rendered him victorious over them — a mighty victory! — and thus [Qāniṣawh and his armies] were favoured over all [other] rulers and [all other] armies.

The eloquent ones have composed many compositions and the poets have versified many poems on this, [all] to their own ability, sometimes lengthy and sometimes succinct, and I favoured the idea of collating their stories as I have heard them in the format of a *takhmīs*, [thus setting it] apart from th[eir original] versification, for fear that [I would be accused of] fraud. [Moreover,] I wanted to open this with the noble Most Beautiful Names [of God], in order for the listener to take delight in the[ir] rhymes and the[ir] meaning. I have prepared this [copy] for [bi rasm] the noble Ghawriyan *khizāna*, as this [already] holds [so many] presents and [books of] delicate import.

What follows is, indeed, a *takhmīs* of over 400 lines that opens with God’s ninety-nine names and then switches to a praise of *al-asad al-ḍirghām*, Qāniṣawh al-Ghawri, and his dealings with the Banū Ibrāhīm. As we learn from the preface, the

author reworked other poets' materials into a *takhmīs* format, "for fear that [he would be accused of] *tadlīs*", that is, "fraud", or rather, in the present context, "plagiarism". It would be interesting to learn more from the author's cut-and-paste technique, but unfortunately I have not been able to identify his source(s).⁵¹⁴

Prima facie, this first poem seems to present the same material as the second poem (→ 125-2), highlighting, among others, the martial prowess of Qāniṣawh and his troops and the mischief wrought by the Banū Ibrāhīm (*Fī'ālu Banī Ibrāhīma fī kull jumlatin* ❁ *Fī'ālu ḥarāmin lā taḥillu bi millatin (...)* *Laqad uhlikū jam'an bi qatlin wa dhillatin* ❁ *Nakālan lahum idh fī l-taghābun nak-wāhu*). However, it should be said that the *takhmīs* — at least for me — offers some much more terse reading than the relatively straightforward narrative of the second poem does...

(125-2) The second poem comes with its own frontispiece (f. 18r):

Wa lahu ayḍan adāma llāhu ayyāmahu al-zāhira wa jama'a lahu bayna khayray al-dunyā wa l-ākhirā
Al-qīṣṣat al-thāniya <zuhayriya>⁵¹⁵ bi rasm al-khizānat al-sharīfa al-Ghawriya khal-lada llāh mulk <...> bi Muḥammad wa ālihi wa ṣaḥbihi

Follows (ff. 18v–30v) a more conventional *qaṣīda* in *r* of 174 vv. by the same author, who now refers to himself in the concluding lines as Aḥmad Marzūqī. The opening v. is as follows:

Al-ḥamdu li llāh najmān lanā zaharā ❁ *Min ba'd najm lahum thālith bihim dumirā*

Praise be to God, [for] two stars have ascended for us [again], ❁ After [first] having been ruined by them, for whom a third star [had ascended].

Even though the author has a hard time picking which of Qāniṣawh's many successes he should deal with (*Law rumtu adhkur man bi l-ḡulm dammarahu* ❁ *La ṭāla qawlī wa lam adhkur mukhtaṣiran*), before long he focuses squarely on the conditions in the Hejaz, which are quickly deteriorating as the 'Urbān prevent safe pilgrimage (*Alā l-fasād bi Makka wa l-qitāl bihā* ❁ *Wa mana'a ḥajj li Bayt Allāh wa l-umarā, Yā wayḥahum bi fī'āl al-sū' qad halakū*). As soon as Qāniṣawh was informed (*Lammā tabayyana fī l-arḍ al-fasād lahum* ❁ *Wa bāna mā qad khafā min fī'lihīm jaharā*), he swiftly moved, his reputation as *khādim al-Ḥaramayn* on the line (*Wa jahhaza l-jaysh wa l-fursān ajma'ahum* ❁ *Wa akkada l-*

514 The fifth line of each stanza rhymes in *-āhu*, which could imply that the author used only one model poem.

515 A "Zuhayrian" story (i. e., a poem of praise, as was Ka'b b. Zuhayr's *Ode*) and/or a "flowery story" (i. e., linked to *zahr* "flower", given the author's discussion of the sultan's flowers in the concluding vv.)?

amr ma'a bāsh wa ma'a umarā). As soon as he bade the troops farewell (*Sīrū bi 'awn allāh tantaṣīrū 'alā l-li'ām wa ahl al-baghy!*), they set out for al-Yanbu' and, before long, succeeded in restoring order. Now that the road to the Hijaz was again as safe as it was following the *Faṭḥ Makka* itself in 8/630, the victorious troops performed the Hajj and headed home. The poet seems to have been an eyewitness not only of the events in the Hejaz, but also of the troops' victorious return to Cairo (*Wa qad tazayyana min ajl al-quḍūm lahum* ❀ *Aswāq Miṣr wa amlāk wa muḥtakarā, Wa qad ra'aytu ru'ūs al-Urb ajma'ahā* ❀ *Fawqa l-jarīd (...)* *Wa fī Zuwayla kam ra's lahum 'uliqat* ❀ *Wa kull bāb bihi lā laysa yanḥa-ṣīrā*). From f. 27v onwards, the author devotes some more vv. on Qāniṣawh's building activities, both in the Hejaz and in Cairo. In particular, the sultan's lavish gardening project in the *maydān* is highlighted, with their *banafṣaj, rayḥān, ward, narjīs, yāsimīn, sūsān*, and *ās* in full bloom (f. 29r–29v).

In short, two interesting texts that deserve to be looked into more closely, the more so since narrative poetry is hardly the favoured medium of Arabic historiography...

Qāniṣawh must have been the object of a great deal of occasional praise poetry. While those *madā'ih* that are part of larger works dedicated to Qāniṣawh (→ 41, 107) undoubtedly found their way into the sultan's library, it remains to be ascertained whether more "independent" items, such as the Bodleian ms., also ended up on his bookshelves. As such, the present item may serve as a proxy for all other praise pieces (and the sultan's occasional return *madīh*) that are certainly still out there and that may or may not have been included in Qāniṣawh's collection. Two examples may suffice (see Add. 13):

In 908/1502–1503, Walīy al-Dīn Ibn al-Farfūr (d. 937/1531) composed a *madīh* in honour of Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī of 47 *bayts*, its *maṭla'* being:

Laka l-mulk bi l-faṭḥ al-mubīn mukhallad ❀ *Li annaka bi l-naṣr al-'azīz mu'ayyad*⁵¹⁶

Yours is the power, immortalized through
the clear victory, ❀ Because you are supported by the strong
aid!

Walīy al-Dīn, a member of the powerful Shāfi'ite Damascene Banū Farfūr family, had composed this poem on behalf of his father, the equally imposing Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn al-Farfūr (d. 911/1505), who stands out for being the only one who combined the offices of Shāfi'ite *qādī l-quḍāt* of both Damascus and Cairo (!). Following the Ottoman take-over, Walīy al-Dīn proved himself a master in

516 Al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-Sā'ira bi A'yān al-Mi'at al-'Ashira*, ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr (Beirut, 1418/1997), I: 143–146; Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā (Beirut, 1998), VIII: 85 (here, the poem is ascribed not to Walīy al-Dīn, but to his father, Shihāb al-Dīn). Al-Ghazzī quotes the poem from an unspecified *tārīkh* by Ibn Ṭūlūn, which, so far, I have been unable to identify.

bridging the Mamluk-Ottoman (and Shāfi'īte-Ḥanafīte) transition. Quickly doing away with his loyalty towards the Mamluk regime, he praised sultan Selīm during the *khutba* in the latter's presence, and performed a prayer according to the Ḥanafīte rite.⁵¹⁷

In this particular case, there can be no doubt that the poem was actually presented to Qāniṣawh, probably by the father, Shihāb al-Dīn, who was received by the sultan in Cairo in Rabi' al-Ākhir 908/1502.⁵¹⁸ According to the later authors al-Ghazzī (d. 1061/1651) and Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1089/1679), the sultan recited the poem in person to those present, and then reciprocated it with a return *madīḥ* in Arabic of 33 *bayts*. This poem, reproduced by al-Ghazzī in full and Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī in part, is not included in any of the sultan's poetry collections, which would suggest that the sultan's output is bigger even than his *divans* suggest. In al-Ghazzī's eyes, Qāniṣawh was clearly an accomplished poet: *Wa lā shakk anna l-qaṣīdat al-thānīya aqrab min al-ūlā ilā l-ḥusn wa l-riqqa, wa bayna l-qaṣīdatayn farq zāhir...*

As a second specimen, there is ʿAlī b. Nāṣir al-Makkī al-Ḥijāzī's (d. after 916/1510) *al-Maqāmat al-Ghūrīya wa l-Tuḥfat al-Makkīya* (Gotha, arab. 1447, 10ff., incipit: *Al-ḥamdu li llāh alladhī rafa'a manār al-islām bi mawlānā l-sultān Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, wa naṣaba a'lām al-īmān bi fāyiḍ faḍlihi al-ma'nawī wa l-ṣūrī...*) (*non vidi*).⁵¹⁹

The author was active as a *faqīh*, an *uṣūlī* and a *mufasssir* in Mecca, and is recorded in quite some detail in al-Sakhāwī's biographical dictionary.⁵²⁰ He authored a number of works, including *al-Nūr al-Ṭālī min Ufuq al-Ṭawālī*, *Madārik al-Uṣūl* (or: *Ma'ārik al-Wuṣūl?*) *fi Sharḥ Minhāj al-Wuṣūl li l-Bayḍāwī*, and the *Idrākāt al-Waraqāt fi l-Uṣūl*. This third work, a *sharḥ* of al-Juwaynī's *Waraqāt fi Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, is particularly interesting, since al-Ḥijāzī dedicated this work not to a Mamluk sultan, but to the Ottoman sultan, Bāyezid II (r. 886–918/1481–1512)! In all likelihood, he authored this work while briefly sojourning in al-Rūm in 898/1493.⁵²¹

517 M. Winter, *The Judiciary of late Mamluk and early Ottoman Damascus. The administrative, social and cultural transformation of the system* (Bonn, 2012), pp. 6–7.

518 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-Khilān fi Ḥawādīth al-Zamān*, ed. Khalīd al-Manṣūr (Beirut 1418/1998), p. 213.

519 W. Pertsch, *Die Orientalische Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha, Theil III: Die arabischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha, vol. 4* (Gotha, 1883), pp. 477–478 (nr. 2772).

520 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-Lāmi*, VI: 45–47.

521 Preserved as a unicum: Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 997 (*non vidi*). Himmet Taşkömür identified the author as the well-known Meccan *faqīh*-cum-chronicler al-Samhūdī (→ 51) an identification that is, in my view, wrong (“Books on Islamic Jurisprudence, Schools of Law, and Biographies of Imams from the Hanafī School”, in G. Necipoğlu, C. Kafadar & C.H. Fleischer (eds.), *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2019), I: 389–422, here pp. 396, 401).

Unlike Ibn al-Farfūr's *madīh*, it is unclear whether al-Ḥijāzī's *maqāma* ever caught Qāniṣawh's eye. However, this is not unlikely, since al-Ḥijāzī spent some time in Cairo as well.

(126) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ar. 1947 (*vidi*)⁵²²

Qiṣṣat Idrīs 'an Ibn 'Abbās, a succinct anonymous story of the prophet Idrīs, as transmitted by Ibn 'Abbās, copied (*khidmat*) for (*bi rasm*) Qāniṣawh by *mamlūk* <Jānbulāt min> in 18ff. Following the *basmala*:

Khalaqa llāh tabāraka wa ta'ālā malakan min al-malā'ika yuqāl lahu l-Rūḥ. Lahu sab'mīyat ra's, fī kull ra's sab'mīyat fam, fī kull fam sab'mīyat alf lisān, kull lisān yusabbih allāh ta'ālā bi sab'mīya alf lugha lā tushbih kull lugha li l-lughat al-ukhrā. Fa qāla l-Rūḥ, "Ilāhī wa sayyidī wa mawlāyā! Hal khalaqta khalqan akthar tasbīhan minnī mim mā usabbihuka bihi khāliṣan li wajhika al-karīm?" Fa awḥā llāh ta'ālā ilayhi, "Yā Rūḥ! Inna li 'abdan fī l-arḍ wa huwa min anbiyā' ī yusabbih fī kull sā'a wāḥida akthar mā tusabbih anta fī jamī' ḥayātika, wa huwa khayyāt ya'mal fī 'amal al-qumāsh." Qāla l-Rūḥ, "Ilāhī wa sayyidī wa mawlāyā, dullanī 'alayhi!" Fa awḥā llāh ta'ālā ilā l-Rūḥ an "Ihbiṭ ilā l-arḍ," fa habaṭa ilā Idrīs 'alayhi l-salām, wa huwa fī 'amal la-khiyāta wa huwa yamla' ibratahu thumma yaqif sā'atan wa yusabbih. Fa ta'ajjaba l-malak min Idrīs 'alayhi l-salām wa ṣabbarahu, fa taqaddama l-Rūḥ ilayhi wa huwa 'alā ṣifat rajul insī (...)

God, blessed and exalted is He above all, has created a particular angel, called al-Rūḥ. This angel has 700 heads, and each of its heads has 700 mouths. Each of its mouths has 700,000 tongues, and each of its tongues praises God, exalted is He above all, in 700,000 languages, none of which resembles the other. Al-Rūḥ spoke, "My God, my Lord, my Master! Have You created a creature that praises You more than I do, in terms of praising You merely for Your noble sake?" God, exalted is He above all, then revealed to the angel, "O Rūḥ! I have a servant on earth, one of the Prophets, who each single hour praises [Me] more than you praise [Me] in all Your life! He is a tailor, dealing in fabrics." Al-Rūḥ replied, "My God, my Lord, my Master! Point him out to me!" God, exalted is He above all, then revealed to al-Rūḥ, "Go down to earth!" and the angel went down to Idrīs, upon Him be peace, who was doing needlework [in the following manner: each time he had] threaded his needle, he stood up for an hour, praising [God]. The angel was amazed over Idrīs, upon Him be peace, and, [indeed] found him to be steadfast [in his praise]. Al-Rūḥ then approached Idrīs in the shape of a human man (...)

F. 18r has a 9-ll. addendum that is remarkably similar to the addendum in the elaborate *ta'līq* script found in Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B 41 (→ 87, 108). Unlike the scribe of the Topkapı ms., the present scribe has included his

522 W.M. de Slane, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes* (Paris, 1883–1895), p. 348; Vajda, *Notices de manuscrits arabes*, nr. 1947. The ms. is online available through <https://gallica.bnf.fr>.

own name in the *tarjama* and has left out the superfluous *anhā dhālika* phrase at the end:

Bi smi llāh al-rahmān al-rahīm.

Al-mamlūk Jānbulāt min <Ṭ..bāy min al-Arbaʿin>

yuqabbilu l-arḍ bayna yaday mawlānā l-maqām al-sharīf, al-imām al-aʿzam wa l-humām al-muqaddam, sultān al-islām wa l-muslimīn, qātil al-kafara wa l-mushrikīn, muhyī l-ʿadl fī l-ʿālamīn, malik al-barrayn wa l-baḥrayn, khādīm al-ḥaramany al-sharīfayn, al-⟨ghāzī⟩ l-mālik, al-malik <al-ashraf> Abū l-Naṣr Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, adāma llāh taʿālā lahu al-ʿizz wa l-tamkīn wa l-naṣr wa l-zaḥar wa l-faṭḥ l-mubīn, wa jaddada lahu fī kull yawm naṣran, wa mallakahu bisāt al-arḍ barran wa baḥran bi Muḥammadīn <wa ālihi wa ṣaḥbihi> wa sallama.

Wa ṣallā llāh <ʿalā> sayyidinā Muḥammad wa ālihi wa ṣuḥbatīhi <wa sallama taslīman> kathīran dā ʿīman abadan.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!

Al-mamlūk Jānbulāt min <Ṭ..bāy min al-Arbaʿin>

Kisses the ground before Our Lord, His Noble Excellency, the most exalted leader and leading hero, the ruler of Islam and of the Muslims, the slayer of infidels and polytheists, the reviver of justice in the Universe, the lord of the two lands and the two seas, the servant of the Two Noble Sanctuaries, the reigning ghazi, al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī. May God, exalted is He above all, prolong for him the power, the majesty, the support, the triumph and the clear victory; may He renew for him [His] support every day; may He grant him the possession of the expanse of the earth, both on land and at sea, through Muḥammad, His Family and His Companions; and may He grant Him salvation!

God bless Our Lord Muḥammad, His Family, and His Companions, and grant Them abundant salvation forever and ever.

(127) (?) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ar. 2265 (*vidi*)⁵²³

Aq Bughā al-Khāṣṣakī al-Malikī al-Sayfī *dawādār* al-sultān al-Malik al-Ashraf Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, *Kitāb al-Tuḥfat al-Fākhira fī Dhikr Rusūm Khuṭūṭ al-Qāhira*. This is apparently a topographical description of Cairo, based on al-Maqrīzī's (→ 85) *Khiṭaṭ*, by a *dawādār* of Qāniṣawh in 145 ff. Following the *basmala*, its opening lines:

Wa baʿdu, fa hādḥā kitāb jamaʿtu fīhi rusūm al-Qāhira wa mā ḥtawā ʿalayhi dākhilan wa khārijan min sāyir al-jihāt sammaytuhu l-Tuḥfat al-Fākhira bi Dhikr Rusūm Khuṭūṭ al-Qāhira, wa min allāh istamadda l-tawfīq wa huwa ḥasbī.

Nabda ʿawwalan bi dhikr al-ḥārāt li annahā aʿzam al-maḥallāt. Fa min dhālika ḥārat Bahā ʿ al-Dīn. Hādhihi l-ḥāra kānat qadīman khārij Bāb al-Futūḥ wa l-ān dākhil Bāb al-Futūḥ alladhī waḍaʿahā amīr al-juyūsh bi Darb al-Jamālī, wa huwa l-mawjūd al-ān, wa

523 Vajda, *Notices de manuscrits arabes*, nr. 2265; Slane, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes*, p. 397. The ms. is online available through <https://gallica.bnf.fr>.

ḥadd hādhihi l-ḥāra 'arḍan min Bāb al-Futūḥ ilā Khaṭṭ Khān al-Wirāqa wa ḥadduhā ṭūlan ilā Khaṭṭ Bāb al-Qanṭara wa kānat qadīman yusammā l-Rayḥāniya (...)

Now, this is a book in which I have collected the parts of Cairo and what it comprises, in- and outside in all directions. I have called it *al-Tuḥfat al-Fākhira fī Dhīkr Rusūm Khuṭūṭ al-Qāhira*. May success be granted by God, He who suffices me!

Let us first start with a discussion of the quarters [of the city], as these are the largest sites. One of these is the Bahā' al-Dīn Quarter. This quarter used to be outside the Bāb al-Futūḥ, but now it lies within the Bāb al-Futūḥ, which was constructed by the *amīr al-juyūsh*, at the Darb al-Jamālī, currently still there. Widthwise, the border of this quarter runs from the Bāb al-Futūḥ up to the Khaṭṭ Khān al-Wirāqa; lengthwise, it runs up to the Khaṭṭ Bāb al-Qanṭara. It used to be called al-Rayḥāniya (...)

The question was raised already before, in relation to al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* (→ 4): why a derivative work only, and not the original? As al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, i. e., his *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa l-Itibār bi Dhīkr al-Khiṭaṭ wa l-Āthār*, was finished shortly before the author's death in 845/1442, it might be worthwhile to verify whether Aq Bughā has updated the material or has engaged with it in some other way.

As indicated by the question mark following the item number, its inclusion in the list is somewhat tenuous: there is no dedication to Qāniṣawh, yet, being written by his *dawādār*, it may have been part of his library.

(128) (?) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ar. 4594 (*vidi*)⁵²⁴

Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī, *Kitāb Khālīṣat 'Aqd al-Durar min Khulūṣat 'Aqd al-Ghurar* (with *Khālīṣat* clearly added on top of the title later on). Al-Ghazzālī's second work (→ 40) in the list is a *Fürstenspiegel* of 103 ff. with a intricate structure of 16 chapters (3 sections each), in 8 sets of opposite pairs: *karam & lawm*, *'aql & ḥumq*, *faṣāḥa & 'iyy*, etc. The author based his work on *al-Ghurar al-Khaṣā'is al-Wāḍiḥa wa 'Urar al-Naqā'id al-Qābiḥa*, a literary anthology of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kutubī (d. 718/1318), better known as al-Waṭwāt⁵²⁵ (f. 4r).

The *Khālīṣat* is dedicated to *al-maqarr* Qāniṣawh (f. 3r) — probably to be identified with Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī — or, in the words of al-Ghazzālī, heavy on *saj'*:

mawlānā l-maqarr al-ashraf, al-ḥāyiz li mazīyatī l-ta'zīm wa l-tashrif, Qāniṣaw (sic) a'zam khāṣṣ al-maqām al-sharīf, a'azza llāh anṣārahu wa ḍā'afa qtidārahu, malik jazīl

524 Vajda, *Notices de manuscrits arabes*, nr. 4594; Slane, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes*, p. 730. The ms. is online available through <https://gallica.bnf.fr>.

525 A. Gherseti, "On Mamluk Anthologies Again: The Case of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Waṭwāt and His *Ghurar al-Khaṣā'is al-Wāḍiḥa wa 'Urar al-Naqā'id al-Qābiḥa*", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 17 (2013): 72–99. Al-Waṭwāt himself used al-Rawḥī's work as one of his sources (→ 85).

al-murūwa sharīf al-ubūwa, karīm al-nujār jalīl al-miqdār, ‘ālī l-himma wāfir al-ḥishma, zilluhu ‘alā l-ra’īya mamdūd (sic) wa faḍluhu li l-barīya mawjūd wa fanā’ uhu min al-āfāq maqṣūd wa bābuhu ‘an al-khāṣṣ wa l-‘amm ghayr mardūd (...)

Our Lord, His most noble Excellency, holder of the utmost exaltation and distinction, Qāniṣawh, the most supreme and distinguished, His Noble Excellency, may God strengthen his victories and multiply his strength, ruler of abundant valour and noble fatherhood, of distinguished stock and sublime scale, of high mind and abundant decorum, whose shadow extends over the flocks, whose favour [extends] towards the creatures, <whose perdition is sought after on the horizons>, and from whose gate neither high nor low are repelled (...)

By way of illustration, the opening lines of chapter 4, on *ḥumq*:

(f. 25r) *Al-bāb al-rābī fī l-ḥumq, wa fīhi thalāthat fuṣūl.*

Al-faṣl al-awwal min hādihā l-bāb fī <dhamm> al-jahāla wa l-junūn wa mā shtamalā ‘alayhi min al-funūn.

Qāla Rasūl Allāh ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa sallama, “Lā tazawwajū l-ḥamqā, fa inna ṣuḥ-batahā balā’ wa fī waladīhā ḍayā’ wa lā tastardī’ū l-ḥamqā fa inna labanahā yughayyir.”

Wa qāla ‘Umar raḍīya llāh ‘anhu, “Lam yaqum janīn fī baṭn ḥamqā tiṣ‘at ashhur illā kharaja māyiqan.”

Ḥadd al-ḥumq: Qālū huwa qillat al-iṣāba wa waḍ‘ al-shay fī ghayr al-mawqī‘ alladhī wuḍī‘a lahu.

Wa qāla, “Awhā llāh ‘azza wa jalla ilā Mūsā ‘alayhi l-salām, ‘A-tadrī lima razaqtu l-aḥmaq?’ Qāla, ‘Lā, yā rabb.’ Qāla, ‘Li ya‘lam al-‘āqil anna ṭalb al-rizq laysa bi l-ijtihād.’”(...)

Wa qāla l-Jāhīz, “Lā tujālis al-ḥamqā fa innahu yu‘allaq bika min mujālasatihim yawman min al-fasād (f. 25v) mā lā yu‘allaq bika min mujālasat al-‘uqalā dahran min al-ṣalāh, fa inna l-fasād ashadd iltihāman bi l-ṭabāyī’.”

Wa qāla Abū Yūsuf, “Al-nās thalātha: majnūn, niṣf majnūn wa ‘āqil, fa l-majnūn anta ma‘ahu fī rāḥa li tarkika l-ikhtilāṭ bihi, wa ammā l-niṣf majnūn fa anta ma‘ahu fī ta‘ab li ḍarūrat al-iḥtiyāj ilayhi, wa ammā l-‘āqil faqad kufiyat mu‘natuhu (sic?).”

Wa qāla l-Aṣma‘ī, “Qultu li ghulām min Abnā’ al-‘Arab, ‘Ayusirruka an yakūn laka miyyat alf dirham wa annaka aḥmaq?’ Qāla, ‘Lā wa llāh!’ Qultu, ‘Wa lima?’ Qāla, ‘Akhāf an yajniya ‘alayya ḥumqī jināyat, yudhhib māli wa yubqī ḥumqī.’”

The fourth chapter, on stupidity, in three sections.

The first section of this chapter, on the derogation of ignorance and foolishness and on the tricks included therein.

The Envoy of God, God bless Him and grant Him salvation, has said, “Do not marry a stupid woman, for her company is a scourge, and in her offspring there is perdition, and do not employ the stupid woman as a wet nurse, for her milk changes (the baby for worse).”

‘Umar, may God be pleased with him, has said, “No embryo has spent nine months in the womb of a stupid woman without leaving it sobbing.”

A definition of stupidity: It is said that stupidity is to lack in hitting the mark and to put a

thing on a different place than the one designated for it.

It is said, “God, exalted and elevated is He above all, has revealed to Moses, upon Him be peace, ‘Do You know why I provided the stupid with the means of existence?’ Moses replied, ‘No, O Lord!’ God said, ‘In order for the wise man to know that the search for a livelihood requires no diligence.’”

Al-Jāhīz has said, “Do not sit with stupid men, for what you get from sitting with them, [if only for] a single day, is corruption, [whereas] what you get from sitting with wise men for a long time is goodness, and corruption overtakes [men’s] character more strongly [than goodness does].”

Al-Aṣma’ī has said, “I said to a slave of the Sons of the Arabs, ‘Would it please you to own 100,000 dirhams, while you are stupid?’ He replied, ‘No, by God!’ I said, ‘Why?’ He answered, ‘I would be afraid that my stupidity would commit a crime against me, taking my money yet leaving my stupidity.’”

Unlike al-Ghazzālī’s other work in this list (→ 40), this one appears to be a unicum. According to Georges Vajda, the work was printed in Cairo in 1331/1913 (*non vidi*).

(129) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ar. 5892 (*vidi*)⁵²⁶

This is the list’s second copy of al-Ṣiddīqī’s *Kitāb Hadīyat al-Muḥibbīn fī l-Adhkār wa l-Ad’īya* (→ 91). In all, the work consists of seven chapters: on *al-ism al-a’zam*, prayers for specific times and for specific circumstances (when dressing, when leaving the house, when finishing one’s meal, when seeing the full moon, when mounting a horse, etc.), the *faḍā’il al-Qur’ān*, the *faḍl al-ṣalāt ‘alā l-nabīy*... As an example, taken from chapter 3, *fī mā yuqāl fī awqāt makhṣūṣa* (ff. 10v–11v):

Wa yaqra’ fī l-layl: “Āmana l-rasūlu bimā unzila ilayhi min rabbihi, wa l-mu’minūn kull āmana bi llāh wa malā’ikatihī wa kutubihī wa rusulihī, lā nufarriq bayna aḥad min rusulihī, wa qālū sami’nā wa ‘aṭa’nā ghufrānaka rabbanā wa ilayka l-maṣīr”, “Lā yukallif allāh nafsan illā wus’ahā lahā mā kasabat wa ‘alayhā mā ktasabat, rabbanā lā tu’akhdhnā in nasīnā aw akhta’nā, rabbanā wa lā taḥmil ‘alaynā iṣran kamā ḥa-maltahu ‘alā lladhīn min qablinā, rabbanā wa lā tuḥammilnā mā lā ṭāqat lanā bihi, wa ‘fu’annā wa ghfir lannā wa rḥamnā, anta mawlānā, fa nṣurnā ‘alā l-qawm al-kāfirīn” (...)

At night, one recites: “The Messenger has believed in what was revealed to him from his lord, and [so have] the believers. All of them have believed in Allah and His angels and His books and His messengers, [saying], “We make no distinction between any of His messengers.” And they say, “We hear and we obey. [We seek] Your forgiveness, our Lord, and to You is the [final] destination” [and] “Allah does not charge a soul except

526 See E. Blochet, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes des Nouvelles Acquisitions (1884–1924)* (Paris, 1925), p. 134. The ms. is online available through <https://gallica.bnf.fr>.

[that within] its capacity. It will have [the consequence] of what [good] it has gained, and it will bear [the consequence of] what [evil] it has earned. “Our Lord, do not impose blame upon us if we have forgotten or erred. Our Lord, and lay not upon us a burden like that which You laid upon those before us. Our Lord, and burden us not with that which we have no ability to bear. And pardon us; and forgive us; and have mercy upon us. You are our protector, so give us victory over the disbelieving people.”⁵²⁷ (...)

The Paris copy of the *Hadīyat* was copied (*katabahu*) by *mamlūk* Uzdamur min <Khāyir Bak> min Ṭabaqat <...> al-Malikī al-Ashrafī for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm*) in 31 ff.

As announced in the first item of al-Ṣiddīqī (→ 91), a few more words regarding the author. Hailing from Qazvīn, he spent time in the Mamluk lands, where he enjoyed the support of sultan Qāyṭbāy (*ba'da ihsān al-amīr Qāyṭbāy ilayhi*). He then returned to his home country and rose to some prominence with the Aqqoyunlu ruler, Ya'qūb b. Uzun Ḥasan.⁵²⁸ From the introduction to the *Hadīya*, we learn that al-Ṣiddīqī in fact based this work on another work of his (*Hādhā nubdha marghūb fī waṣliḥā muraghghiba fī aṣliḥā ntakhabtuhā min kitābi l-musammā bi l-Ḥabl al-Matīn fī al-Adhkār wa l-Ad'īya l-Ma'thūr 'an Sayyid al-Mursalīn*), which is preserved as a unicum (?) in Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi, 1385/1 (*non vidi*). Concluding, it would seem that al-Ṣiddīqī authored at least one more work, the third in total: *al-Arba'ūna Ḥadīthan fī l-Naṣḥ wa l-'Adl wa l-Amr bi l-Ma'rūf wa l-Nahy 'an al-Munkar*. Until 2003 at least, there used to be a copy in Baghdad (Dār al-Ṣaddām, 12516) (*non vidi*).

(130) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ar. 6895 (*vidi*)⁵²⁹

Al-Suyūṭī's *al-Maqāla al-Wardīya fī l-Rayāḥīn al-Zahrīya*. The work was copied (*khidmat*) in 30 ff. for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm*) by Aḥmad al-Fayyūmī, whose pen is represented in this list by a second item (→ 7).

The seventh and last work in this list (→ 16, 18, 23/3, 29, 63, 123) of the self-proclaimed *mujaddid* is a *munāzara*, the only one present in this chapter, and its protagonists are not sword and pen, or wine and hashish, but nine flowers: the rose, narcissus, jasmine, violet, myrtle, Rather than speaking on his own account, al-Suyūṭī — a *ḥadīth* specialist through and through — relates this florid debate on the authority of an impressive string of personified natural phenomena (f. 2v):

527 Qur'ān, 2: 285–286.

528 For the author, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, V: 86–87.

529 Vajda, *Notices de manuscrits arabes*, nr. 6895. The ms. is online available through <http://gallica.bnf.fr>.

Ḥaddathanī al-Rayyān ‘an Abī l-Rayḥān ‘an Abī l-Wardibān ‘an Bulbul al-Aghṣān ‘an Nāzīr al-Insān ‘an Kawkab al-Bustān ‘an Wābil al-Hattān, qāla, “Marartu yawman ‘alā ḥadiqatin (...)”

The Juicy One has related the following, on the authority of the Father of Sweet Basil, on the authority of the Father of the Rose-Grower, on the authority of the Nightingale of the Twigs, on the authority of the One Watching Over Man (?), on the authority of the Star of the Garden, on the Authority of Heavy Shower, the Incessantly Pouring Forth, “One day, I passed by a garden (...)”

Each flower speaks only once, denouncing its predecessor and boasting its own superior medical qualities.⁵³⁰ Even though the work has been available in print at least since 1298/1881⁵³¹, allow me to briefly give the floor to its first protagonist, “created from the perspiration of Muḥammad, Gabriel and Burāq on the Nightly Journey”, the rose (→ 120):

(f. 3v) *Fa hajama l-ward bi shawkatihī wa najama min bayna l-rayāhīn mu‘ajjiban bi ishrāq šūratihī wa ifrāq šawlatihī, wa qāla, “Bi smi llāh al-mu‘īn wa bihi nasta‘īn! Anā l-ward malik al-rayāhīn wa l-wārid mun‘īshan li l-arwāh wa matā‘an laḥā ilā ḥīn, wa nadīm al-khulafā’ wa l-salāṭīn (f.4r) wa l-marfū’ abadan ‘alā l-usra, lā ajlis ‘alā turab wa lā ṭīn, wa l-zāhir lawnī l-aḥmar ‘alā azhār al-basātīn wa l-ashraf min kull rayḥān, fakhran bi annī khuliqtu min ‘araq al-Muṣṭafā wa Jibrīl wa l-Burāq laylat al-isrā, wa l-muzaffar bi quwwat l-shawka wa l-ṣawla wa l-manṣūr ‘alā man nāwānī li annī ṣāhib al-dawla wa l-‘azīz ‘inda l-nās wa l-muwaddad (sic?) bayna l-jullās li l-īnās wa l-‘ādil fī l-mizāj wa l-ṣālīh fī l-‘ilāj. Usakkin ḥarārat al-ṣafrā wa uqawwī (f.4v) al-bāṭin min al-‘adā, wa uṭayyib rāyihata l-badan, wa man shamma mā‘ī wa bihi namash aw ṣudā’ ḥārr sakana, wa uqawwī l-mī‘ad, wa aftaḥ min al-kabd al-sudad, wa anfa’ al-aḥshā, wa uqawwī l-‘adā anā wa mā‘ī wa duhni kayfa shā‘a, wa ubarrid anwā’ al-laḥīb al-kā’ina fī l-ra’s, wa rubbamā stakhrijuhā minhu ayḍan bi l-‘uṭās, wa unbit al-laḥm fī l-qurūḥ al-‘amīqa, wa aqṭa’ al-tha’ālīl kullahā idhā stu‘milat azrārī (...)*

The rose charged with its thorn [or: bravura], stepped forwards from amidst the aromatic plants, stupefying [the other flowers] with the radiance of its shape and the terrifying nature (?) of its ferocity, and said, “In the name of God, the Supporter, whom we turn to for support! I am the rose, king of the aromatic plants, who comes as a reinvigoration of the souls and as an object of their delight for some time, the boon companion of caliphs and sultans, always exalted above [my] kinsfolk! I sit neither on dirt nor clay, my red colour outshines the flowers of the gardens and is nobler than [the colour] of every [other] aromatic plant, [I] take pride in the fact that I was created from the perspiration of the Chosen One, of Gabriel and of Burāq, on the night of the Night Journey. I am rendered victorious by the power of [my] thorn [or: bravura] and ferocity

530 See J.N. Mattock, “The Arabic Tradition: Origin and Developments”, in G.J. Reinink & H.L.J. Vanstiphout (eds.), *Dispute Poems and Dialogues in the Ancient and Mediaeval Near East* (Leuven, 1991), pp. 153–164, here pp. 160–161.

531 *Maqāmāt al-‘Allāmat al-Imām Khātīmat al-Ḥuffāz Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī al-Shāfī‘ī (wa hiya adība ṭayyiba)* (sic!) (Quṣṭantīniya, 1298/1881).

and am triumphant over he who declares me his enemy, for I am mighty and powerful in the eyes of the people, beloved among those who sit together in conviviality, fair in humouring and suitable as a medical treatment. I reduce choleric fever, strengthen the interior organs, and improve the bodily odour, and whosoever [afflicted] by freckles or a strong headache smells my water [i. e., rose water] recovers, I strengthen the stomachs and open obstructions in the liver, I am beneficial for the bowels and strengthen the organs, me, my water and my oil, in whatever way that pleases [the one who administers me], I temper [all] sorts of inflammations in the head and sometimes remove these from the head through sneezing, I cause the flesh to grow in deep wounds and, when my buds are applied, I cut off all warts (...).

(131) Private collection 1 (*vidi* frontispiece and colophon)⁵³²

A first item that was offered for auction in 2010: *Kitāb Yashtamil 'alā Ḥikam wa Ādāb*. This is a *Fürstenspiegel*-cum-textbook on calligraphy, quoting philosophers and revered figures from the early Islamic period, and using a different script for each chapter. Each chapter is headed by the description of the script used: *qalam thuluth*, *qalam al-riqā'i*, *qalam al-musalsal*, *qalam rafi' al-naskh*, ... The work was copied (*katabahu*) for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm al-maqām*) by *mamlūk* Kasbāy min Tanam min Ṭabaqat al-Mustajadda al-Malikī al-Ashrafi in 28 ff.

According to the catalogers, there is a *thuluth* inscription at the end, according to which “this manuscript was copied from the original autograph of Sultan Qaitbay”. This is a puzzling statement, to say the least! While many Islamic rulers, such as Bāyezīd II, were known to be accomplished calligraphers, this “original autograph” would be the only work to be penned by a Mamluk sultan himself...⁵³³ Unfortunately, unlike the colophon itself, this inscription is not reproduced in the catalogue and cannot be verified.

The ms. was formerly part of the Khalili Collection, but is now presumably in private hands, as it was sold at Sotheby's (A Princely Collection: Treasures from the Islamic World, London, 05 October 2010, lot 51) for an impressive 49,250 GBP.

532 G. Fehérvári & Y.H. Safadi, *1400 years of Islamic Art: A Descriptive Catalogue* (London, 1981), pp. 42–45 (including 3 plates).

533 Compare to Waley's statement regarding the penmanship of London, British Library, Or. 12012 (→ 123). Of course, the sultans' *'alāma* signatures are presumably in their own hand (→ 31, Chapter Three).

(132) Private collection 2 (*vidi* 3 ff.)

Al-Fayyūmī's *takhmīs* of al-Būṣīrī's *al-Kawākib al-Durriya fī Madḥ Khayr al-Barīya*⁵³⁴, a copy in 54ff. that belonged to Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm khizānat*). This particular *takhmīs* is by no means rare (→ 49/1a, 49/3, 50/1, 97).

The ms. was sold at Christie's, Art of the Islamic and Indian Worlds Including Oriental Rugs and Carpets, London, 26 October 2017, lot 62, sale 14218, for a whopping 122,500 GBP. Interesting is the fact that the manuscript concludes with "*min kitābat al-faqīr Abī l-Faḍl al-A'raj*" and a medallion "*khidmat al-mamlūk Yūnus b. al-marḥūm <Barsbāy al-Yūsufī min Ṭabaqat al-Qā'a al-Malikī al-Ash-rafi>*", thus confirming once more that *khidmat* and *kitābat* are two different acts and thus may involve two different actors (→ Chapter Three).

It is not hard to see why Yūnus would have considered this particular ms. a most suitable *khidma*, as al-A'raj enjoyed renown as a calligrapher. In fact, Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Kāfi al-Sunbāṭī al-Qāhirī al-Shāfi'i, known as (al-Kātib or al-Mukattib) al-A'raj (d. 925/1519)⁵³⁵, was celebrated enough to merit an entry in the biographical dictionaries of al-Sakhāwī and al-Ghazzī.⁵³⁶ Moreover, he is the only copyist in this list with 5 (or perhaps 6) items, only to be followed at some distance by Muḥammad al-Azraqī with 3 items and al-Fayyūmī with 2 items, and leaving behind all other copyists with merely one item (→ Ch. 3). In all, thus far I have been able to identify at least 16 mss. that were penned by al-A'raj, thus more than doubling the list of 8 mss. provided by Alison Ohta (see Adds. 7 and 13):⁵³⁷

(1) Cairo, Muṭḥaf al-Fann al-Islāmī, inv. no. 5676 (a copy dated 921/1515) (*non vidi*).⁵³⁸

(2) İstanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 1854 (Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī's *Tahrīr al-Sulūk fī Tadbīr al-Mulūk*) (→ 40).

(3) İstanbul, Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 1849 (al-Sakhāwī's *al-Sirr al-Maktūm*) (*non vidi*).

(4) İstanbul, Süleymaniye, Fatih 4381 (vol. 3 of al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk li Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, copied in 880/1475) (*non vidi*).

According to Frédéric Bauden, Fatih 4381–4390 are all vols. of a 13-volume set that was copied in 879–881/1474–76, with vols. 1 and 13 lacking.⁵³⁹ As such, item 10 of his list, K 905, should be the missing vol. 1 of this very set, and we may safely assume Fatih 4382–

534 And thus not al-Būṣīrī's *Mantle Ode* in its original, non-amplified form, as stated in Christie's catalogue.

535 As recorded by Ibn Iyās (*Badā'i al-Zuhūr*, V: 319), he passed away in Dhū l-Qa'da 925/November 1519, and not in 923/1517, as given by Ohta ("Covering the Book", p. 230).

536 See the refs. in Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria*, p. 141.

537 Ohta, "Covering the Book", p. 230.

538 Referenced by Ohta without further details ("Covering the Book", p. 230).

539 "Al-Maqrīzī", in D. Thomas & A. Mallett (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations, a Bibliographical History*, vol. 5 (1350–1500) (Leiden/Boston, 2013), pp. 380–395, here p. 385.

4390 to be al-A'raj's work as well...⁵⁴⁰

(5) İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 1564 ('Umar b. al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*, copied in 925/1519, the year of his death) (*non vidi*).

(6) İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 1621 (al-Aqfahsī's *Kashf al-Asrār 'ammā Khaḫfiya 'an al-Afkār*, copied in 911/1505) (→ 72).

(7) İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 1952 (al-Qūṣūnī's *Kamāl al-Farḥa fī Daf al-Sumūm wa Ḥafz al-Şiḫḫa*, copied in 912/1506) (→ 75).

(8) İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 2340 (Ibn Zafar al-Şiqillī's *Sulwān al-Muṭā' fī 'Udwān al-'Atbā'*, copied in 890/1485–1486) (→ 79).

(9) (?) İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 2798 (convolute of *Shajarat al-Nasab and Nuzhat al-Saniya*, dated 909/1503) (→ 83).⁵⁴¹

(10) İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, K 905 (vol. 1 of al-Maqrizī's *Sulūk*, copied in in 879/1474) (*non vidi*). This must be the missing first vol. of Fatih, 4381–4390.

(11) İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, K 1008 (a vol. of al-Sakhāwī's *al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk*, his continuation of al-Maqrizī's *Sulūk*, copied in 879/1475) (*non vidi*).

(12–13) İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, R 217 and R 219 (the 3rd and 4th volume of al-Bukhārī's *Şaḫīḫ*, 347 ff. and 348 ff.) (*non vidi*).

(14) İstanbul, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, 196 (a Qur'ān, dated 920/1514) (*non vidi*)⁵⁴²

(15) İstanbul, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, 436 (an undated Qur'ān) (*non vidi*).

(16) Manisa, Manisa İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 45 Hk 1356 (a vol. of a multi-volume set of al-Maqrizī's *Khiṭaṭ*) (*non vidi*).⁵⁴³

(17) Private collection (al-Fayyūmī's *takhmīs* of al-Būşīrī's ode) (→ 132).

(133) Private collection 3 (*vidi* of frontispiece)⁵⁴⁴

Al-Da'awāt al-Mukhtāra 'inda ziyāratihī ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama, an anonymous selection of prayers, ostensibly for the purpose of visiting the Prophet's grave in Medina, copied by *al-mamlūk* Kasbāy for Qānişawh al-Ghawrī (*bi rasm al-maqām...*).

The ms. was first offered for sale by Ader-Nordmann as part of a package of three mss., estimated value 1500 to 1800 € (Arts de l'İslam et de l'Inde, 26 June 2019, lot 83).⁵⁴⁵ One year later, it was already reaucted, now by Christie's, as a

540 The Ma'had al-Makhtūṭāt in Cairo holds copies of at least two volumes of al-Maqrizī's *Sulūk* (nrs. 34717, 34720), but it remains unclear what source manuscripts these were copied from. These source mss. are said to date from 862/1458 and 853/1450. Presuming these dates to be correct, they would make al-A'raj at least an octogenarian by the time of his death...

541 According to Ohta ("Covering the Book", p. 230), this was copied by al-A'raj, but my notes make no mention of this. This is probably a lapsus on my behalf rather than a mistake by Ohta.

542 Referenced by Ohta without further details ("Covering the Book", p. 230).

543 <https://ihodp.ugent.be/bah/mml01%3A000000818>.

544 *Arts de l'İslam et de l'Inde. Ader Nordmann & Dominique, Mercredi 26 juin 2019* (Paris, 2019), p. 40.

545 See <https://www.gazette-drouot.com/lots/10422872> (including a picture of the frontispiece).

single item, estimated value 8,000 to 12,000£. A quick turnover and a sound investment indeed...

(134) Private collection 4 (*vidi* of frontispiece)

At least 6 vols. of the same 30-volume Qurʾān set that Qāniṣawh put in waqf at his madrasa.

From the seal of the Khedival library and a note of transfer on the frontispieces of the various vols. (→ fig. 7), we learn that the Qurʾān set was transferred from the Ghawrīya to the Khedival library in the year “84”.⁵⁴⁶ Yet, somehow, at least eight out of its 30 *ajzāʾ* had found their way to the private market:

- In 1998, six volumes (4, 14, 15, 17, 20, 27) were offered for sale by Sotheby’s as the “property of a private collector”.⁵⁴⁷
- In 2000, vol. 26 was auctioned by Sam Fogg.⁵⁴⁸
- In 2019, vol. 16 was offered for sale by Chiswick Auctions.⁵⁴⁹

The present whereabouts of these volumes is unknown, except for parts 4 and 16, which met a different fate. When Sotheby’s reaucted part 4 in 2018 and when Chiswick auctioned part 16 in 2019, the Egyptian government officially protested and delivered proof to the auction houses that the mss. had been registered in the Dār al-Kutub. Consequently, the auctions were cancelled and the two volumes could return to Cairo in 2019.⁵⁵⁰ The remaining six volumes are presumably in private hands.

It is possible that these Qurʾān vols. actually belong to Maṣāḥif Raṣīd 151, a Qurʾān set kept at the Egyptian Dār al-Kutub and already entered in this list (→

546 (12)84 (AH) (= 1868 AD) or (18)84 (AD) (= 1301 AH)? Does the month recorded, *Nūfambar*, give us a clue whether this is AD or AH?

547 *Arts of the Islamic World. Sotheby’s, London, Thursday 15 October 1998 (Sale LN8627)* (London, 1998), p. 24. In the catalogue, it is stated “An Ottoman seal impression is also present, indicating that the manuscripts left the mosque (of Qāniṣawh), and probably Egypt, during the Ottoman period”. While this may be the case, aren’t they glossing over the seal of the Khedival Library all too easily?

548 C. Black & N. Saidi, *Islamic Manuscripts* (Sam Fogg Rare Books & Manuscripts, Catalogue 22), (London, 2000), no. 17.

549 <https://auctions.chiswickauctions.co.uk/past-auctions/srchis10647/lot-details/a30043d1-4e17-4dec-8453-aace00ef3e9e>.

550 See “PM reviews report on recovery of “Qansuh al Ghuri” manuscript”, January 20 2018. (<http://www.sis.gov.eg/Story/137120/PM-reviews-report-on-recovery-of-Qansuh-al-Ghuri-manuscript?lang=en-us>); “Egypt retrieves historical manuscript from London”, December 8 2019 (<https://www.egypttoday.com/Article/4/78484/Egypt-retrieves-historical-manuscript-from-London>).

8). While this remains to be established,⁵⁵¹ what stands beyond doubt is the eight vols. detailed here are part of one and the same set: their frontispieces all have an identical waqf note (putting the volumes in Qāniṣawh's madrasa at 909/1504–1505), an identical seal of the Khedival Library, an identical additional note of transfer (*Min khazīnat Masjid al-Ghawrī fī māh-i Nūfambar* (sic!) *sanat* 84), and what is probably the Khedival library's *numra 'umūmiya* (19214).

(135) Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, NF 251 (*vidi*)⁵⁵²

Makḥūl al-Nasafī (d. 318/930), *Kitāb fī Faḍl Subḥān Allāh*, a short treatise on the excellence of *tasbīḥ* (i. e., the phrase *Subḥānu llāh*) that was copied (*katabahu*) for Qāniṣawh (*bi rasm mawlānā*) by *mamlūk* Jānim min Uzdamur al-Malikī al-Ashrafi min Ṭabaqat al-Mustajadda al-Malikī al-Ashrafi in 25ff. While the ms. is carefully executed, the *ḥarakāt* are often off the mark.

What little we know of the author has been summarized first by Ulrich Rudolph and then by Sayyid Bāghjivān. Whereas Rudolph knew of only two of al-Nasafī's works that have come down to us, the latter author was already aware of the present, third title.⁵⁵³ The Vienna ms. appears to be a unicum and is still unpublished. Following the *basmala* etc., the treatise opens as follows:

Qāla l-shaykh al-imām Abū Muṭī Makḥūl b. al-Faḍl raḍiya llāh 'anhu wa arḍāhu, 'an Ibn 'Abbās raḍiya llāh 'anhu wa arḍāhu qāla, qāla Rasūl Allāh ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama, "Subḥān allāh, wa l-ḥamd li llāh, wa lā ilāha illā llāh, wa llāhu akbar, wa lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā bi llāh al-'aliy al-'azīm. 'Īlam anna hādihā afḍal al-kalām, wa fihī ajr 'azīm wa thawāb jasīm, wa man i'taqada ḥaqīqatahu fa huwa mahdī, li anna hādhihi khamas kalimāt kull kalima minhā rukn min arkān al-dīn, fa subḥān allāh kalimatan (sic) tanzīh (...)."

Wa 'an Bin 'Abbās raḍiya llāh 'anhu qāla, qāla Rasūl allāh ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa sallama: "Lammā khalaqa llāh al-'arsh khalaqa malikan (sic) min al-nūr wa malikan min al-raḥma wa malikan min al-riḥ wa malikan min al-mā', wa a'tāhum quwwatan quwwat jamī' khalqihī wa amarahum bi ḥaml 'arshihī, fa lam yuṭīqū, fa laqqanahum 'Subḥāna llāh', qāla, fa ḥamalūhu ilā l-ka'b, thumma laqqanahum 'Wa l-ḥamdu li llāh', fa qālū, fa ḥamalūhu ilā l-rukab, thumma laqqanahum 'Lā ilāh illā llāh wa llāh akbar wa lā ḥawla wa lā quwwat illā bi llāh al-'alī al-'azīm', fa qālū, fa ḥamalūhu 'alā aktāfihim aydan yaqūlūna hādhihi l-kalimāt (...)"

551 This would require to find a source that identifies *numra 'umūmiya* 19214 with Maṣāḥif Raṣīd 151.

552 See Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien* (Wien, 1867), III: 112–113; D. Duda, *Islamische Handschriften II, Teil 1: Die Handschriften in arabischer Sprache* (Wien, 1992), pp. 124–125, pl. 107–108.

553 U. Rudolph, *Al-Māturīdī and the Development of Sunnī Theology in Samarqand*, transl. R. Adem (Leiden/Boston, 2015), pp. 81–97; S. Bāghjivān, "Abū Muṭī Makḥūl b. al-Faḍl al-Nasafī wa Shakhsīyatuhu l-'ilmīya", *Mezhep Araştırmaları* 5/2 (2012): 31–59.

Wa qāla ‘alayhi l-ṣalāt wa l-salām, “Inna li llāh malikan (sic) fī l-samā shibh ṭayr ‘alā shafīr baḥr, fa idhā qāla l-‘abd ‘Subḥān allāh’, yaqūm dhālika l-ṭayr, wa idhā qāla ‘Al-ḥamdu li llāh’, iftaḥa (sic) ajniḥatahu, wa idhā qāla ‘Lā ilāh illā llāh’, dakhala dhālika l-ṭayr al-baḥr, wa idhā qāla ‘Allāh akbar’, yakhruj min al-baḥr, wa idhā qāla ‘Lā ḥawla wa lā quwwat illā bi llāh al-‘alīy al-‘azīm’, yunshur (sic) ajniḥatahu fa yaqa’u min kull riṣha sab’ūn alf qaṭra, yakhlūq allāh subḥānahu wa ta’ālā min kull qaṭra malikan yas-taghfirūna li qā’ilihā (...)”

Sheikh imam Abū Muṭī’ Makhūl b. al-Faḍl, may God be pleased with him and may He gratify him, related on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās, may God be pleased with him and may He gratify him, that the Envoy of God, God bless Him and grant Him salvation, has said, “Glorified be God, praised be God, there is no god but Him, God is the greatest, there is no power and no strength save in God, the Sublime, the Most Great. Know that [these five phrases] constitute the most noble of words and come with a great recompense and a vast reward, and that whoever believes in their true sense is rightly guided, for each of these five phrases constitute one of the pillars of faith. [The phrase] *Subḥāna llāh* is the phrase of declaring God free from anthropomorphic elements (...).”

It is related on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās, may God be pleased with him, that the Envoy of God, God bless Him and grant Him salvation, has said, “When God created the Throne, He [also] created an angel out of light, an angel out of mercy, an angel out of wind, and an angel out of water. He gave them the strength of the whole of His creation, and ordered them to carry the Throne. As they were unable to do so, He taught them [the phrase] ‘Glorified is God!’ The angels uttered this, and were able to lift the Throne up to their ankles. He then taught them [the phrase] ‘Praised is God!’ They uttered it, and were able to lift it up to their knees. He then taught them [the phrase] ‘There is no god save God, God is the greatest, there is no power and no strength save in God, the Exalted, the Lofty!’ They uttered it, and were able to lift it up to their shoulders, [drawing] strength (from) saying these words (...).”

(The Prophet,) upon Him be peace and salvation, has said, “God has an angel in Heaven that resembles a bird at the edge of a sea. When the servant says, ‘Glorified is God,’ that bird stands up; when he says, ‘Praised is God,’ it spreads its wings; when he says, ‘There is no god save God!’, that bird enters the water; when he says, ‘God is the greatest,’ it leaves the water; when he says, ‘There is no power and no strength save in God, the Exalted, the Lofty,’ it spreads its wings and from each feather 70,000 drops fall, of each of which God, glorified is He, creates an angel that asks [God] forgiveness on behalf of the one who has uttered these words (...).”

3. A Library Profiled. Observations on What's In There, and What's Not

Whereas Chapter Two delivered what this book's main title book announced, "Browsing through the Sultan's Bookshelves", this chapter makes a start in addressing its subtitle, "Towards a Reconstruction of the Library of Qāniṣawh al-Ghawri".

In doing so, we have to take leave of a great many authors, titles, manuscripts, histories, connectivities and genealogies that were all discussed in Chapter Two. Indeed, since the only factor that its 135 items shared was Qāniṣawh's ownership, a particularly wide net had to be cast, which, in its turn, gave rise to digressions long and short ... We have gone from the hills of Divriği, identifying the original dedicatee of the *Risāle fi l-'Arūz* (→ 3-5), to Cairo and the Hijaz, where the all-but-forgotten Aḥmad b. al-Ṭūlūnī (→ 83) and Ṭūghān Shaykh al-Ashrafī carved out their existence (→ 52). We have looked back, exploring the Artuqid precursors of Qāniṣawh's *majālis* (→ 66), and we have looked forward, following the traces of Qāniṣawh's literary and genetic *Nachlass* (→ 18, 19). Parallel to al-Suyūṭī's *Kitāb al-Wasā'il ilā Ma'rifat al-Awā'il* (→ 123), we have identified some *awā'il* of our own: the oldest known copy of al-Suyūṭī's *al-Ha'yat al-Sanīya* (→ 16), some of the earliest traces of Nasreddin Hoca (→ 47, 48, 82), and an early example of the rare *mushajjar* (→ 83) and we have pushed back the date of the oldest Turkic translation of al-Būṣīrī's *al-Kawākib* (→ 50), while we have tentatively identified the translator of the *Muqaddima* (→ 34). We have addressed topics as mundane as clipping one's nails (→ 5) and as spiritual as Mamluk imamophilia (→ 90). We have marvelled over the penmanship of *mamlūk* trainees (→ 87), and, together with master-calligrapher al-Ṭayyibī, measured the letter *sīn* (→ 108). We have unearthed texts hitherto unknown, such as *al-Majālis al-Marḍīya* and *al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīya* (→ 17, 68), texts hitherto known by title only, such as the *'Ujālat al-Waqt* (→ 70), and texts known already yet never studied, such as al-Suyūṭī's *al-Munaqqah al-Zarīf* and Makḥūl al-Nasafī's *Kitāb fi Faḍl Subḥān Allāh* (→ 18, 135). We have interpreted the epigraphic programme of the Ghawriya (→ Chapter One) in light of the ubiquity of al-Būṣīrī's Mantle Ode (→ 117), and, last but not

least, we have considered the performative context of Qāniṣawh's own poetry (→ 5, 14, 18, 19, 43, 100).

As stated in Chapter One, much more could and should be said about these items, but that will have to wait for some future occasion, for now the time has come for the itemized approach of the previous chapter to give way to a number of more focused discussions. How many items exactly are we talking about, and what does this number stand for? How certain are we of Qāniṣawh's ownership? When and where were these copies made, and where were they kept? Turning our attention to the copyists, especially the concepts of *kitāba*, *khidma* and *bi rasm* is given some attention. Moving over from the physical copies of the works to the works themselves, what books do we find on the sultan's library shelves, written when, by whom and on what topic? Following up on this last question, I change focus from the positive, factual evidence provided by Chapter Two, to its "negative" evidence. While "browsing" through Qāniṣawh's bookshelves, what might we have missed? Consciously switching from the indicative to the subjunctive mood, I try and identify those authors, titles or topics that I find suspiciously absent from the first instalment. Of course, this question immediately raises another, equally vexing one: just how representative is this list – in quantitative and, *mutatis mutandis*, in qualitative terms – of the library of Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī? Or, rephrasing this question: just how wide is the epistemic leap that separates our "browsing" through Qāniṣawh's bookshelves from our "profiling" the library that these shelves constituted?

As we are taking this epistemic leap one step at the time, gradually switching from the positive evidence, from *what is there*, to the negative evidence, to *what is not there*, in a way, this chapter moves from a discussion of Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī (and, more generally, of the Mamluks) to a reflection on the idiosyncratic authorial "I" (and, more generally, on Mamlukologists or late medieval Islamic historians).

"Catching the Eel": Juggling the Concepts of Item, Manuscript, Volume, Title, Copy, and Some More⁵⁵⁴

Let us begin on a firm, factual footing, by first crunching some numbers. In the preceding chapter, I have itemized 135 items, included as these match one or more of the selection criteria enumerated in Chapter One. What does this number stand for exactly?

554 I borrow the phrase from K. Hirschler, "'Catching the Eel' – Documentary Evidence for Concepts of the Arabic Book in the Middle Period", *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 12 (2012): 224–234.

A first way to crunch the number 135 is to consider the types of ownership that link the items to Qāniṣawh. As detailed in Chapter One, items are included in Chapter Two based on 4 types of ownership: explicit ownership; ownership through commissioning or dedication; ownership through authorship; and ownership through circumstantial evidence. Fine-tuning this a bit more, we end up with 9 types of ownership (→ index 9):

- ownership through *bi rasm + kitāba*: 42
- ownership through *bi rasm + khidma*: 15
- ownership through *bi rasm*: 9
- ownership through authorship: 6
- ownership through dedication: 9 to 10
- ownership through commissioning: 4
- ownership probably through dedication or authorship: 12
- ownership not further specified: 37 to 45
- no ownership: 4 (items (35) and (115), marked (X), since the initially assumed ownership has now been renounced; items 24/2 and 49/3), marked (/), sections of a *majmūʿ* that were most probably not Qāniṣawh’s but merely bound with Qāniṣawhiana later on).

However, not all of these ownerships relations are equally certain. Hence, as a second way to crunch this number, we can categorize the items in terms of certainty of ownership, as indicated for each item using the symbols explained in Chapter One:

- (no symbol): ownership is certain (the default category)
- (P): items 5, 19, 42, 106, 125 are somewhat exceptional: even though these are clearly post-Qāniṣawh, they serve as proxies for older mss. that Qāniṣawh must have owned.
- (?): sections of *majāmī* that lack explicit ownership yet are bound with copies that have explicit ownership (→ 2/1, 23/3, 33/1, 33/3, 49/2); the dedicatee or owner is not sufficiently identified (→ 30, 78, 127); titles written by somebody close to Qāniṣawh, yet lacking an explicit dedication or ownership note (→ 127, 128); *non vidi* manuscripts for which too little information is available (→ 1, 99); al-Suyūṭī’s *taʿlīq*, which remains elusive for its own specific reasons (→ 18)

When counting the numbers given above in the classification based on ownership relation, we end up with a number that is far higher than 135, and the reason for this is that items, it will be recalled, are essentially shelf mark numbers, and thus do not always overlap with other – often *more meaningful* – concepts. In the previous chapter, there was little harm in using “item” interchangeably with other concepts, such as “manuscript”, “book”, “title”, etc. Here, however, in order

for us to crunch the number 135 and still keep track of what it is that we are counting, we cannot do without a vocabulary that is more sophisticated than the bare “item”. Hence, the time has come to introduce the concepts of “manuscript”, “volume”, “title”, and “copy”:⁵⁵⁵

- item = shelf mark number, e. g., (107) = Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, H 1519
- manuscript = physical object that goes with a particular shelf mark number, e. g., (77) = the 4th vol. of Ibn Waḥshīya’s *Kitāb al-Filāḥa*
- volume = the number of volumes of the original and (assumedly) complete copy, e. g., (58) = the 1st volume of a multi-volume set of al-Kirmānī’s *al-Kawākib al-Darārī*
- title = an authored work, e. g., al-Būṣīrī’s *al-Kawākib*
- copy = a single specimen of a title, e. g., (23/5) and (49/2) are copies of the same title

As none of these concepts fully overlap, we need all five in order to accommodate all possibilities and to have both flexibility and accuracy in statistically assessing Chapter Two. A few examples will illustrate this:

- Consider, e. g., (16). Here, the concept of “item” alone does the trick. E. g., (16) = Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, 4205 – al-Suyūṭī’s *al-Hay’at al-Sanīya fī l-Hay’at al-Sunnīya*
- However, 1 item sometimes comes with more than one “physical object”, and in order to keep track of this, we need to bring in “ms.” as well. E. g., (107) = Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, H 1519 – al-Ḥusaynī’s *Tercüme-i Şāhnāme* – 2 mss.
- Yet, sometimes items are incomplete multi-volume sets, and thus it makes sense to differentiate “ms.” from “vol.”. E. g., (58) = Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Süleymaniye 227 bis – al-Kirmānī’s *al-Kawākib al-Darārī* – 1 ms. – 2 vols.
- As some items are *majmū’āt* or convolutes, we furthermore need to differentiate “item” from “title”. E. g., (43) = Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2047 – title 1: al-Ustuwā’ī’s *Aqīda* & title 2: the anonymous *Qiṣṣat ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shādān al-Balkhī*.
- As quite some titles are included in the list more than once, the concept of “copy” is required as well. E. g., (33/2) = Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi – copy 1 of al-Ūshī’s *Bad’ al-Amālī*; and (73) = Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi – copy 2 of al-Ūshī’s *Bad’ al-Amālī*.

555 This toolbox, sophisticated as it already may be, is not intended as a fit-all solution to the broad range of problems the manuscript scholar may encounter, but is merely made to fit the problems encountered here.

This five-fold differentiation allows us to count whatever we want: shelf mark numbers, titles, copies, vols. and mss. As such, we can explore the numerical dimension of the list as it is now (number of mss.) and as it (assumedly) was (number of vols.), as well as the numerical diversity of its contents (number of titles) and the popularity of each of these titles (number of copies).

While mss. are “single-text mss.” by default, there are some 20 *majmū‘āt* or convolute mss., commonly differentiated into two distinct types⁵⁵⁶:

- MTM (Multiple-text manuscript, that is, “a single-production unit, i.e. produced in one delimited time period”): e.g., (3), (22), (36), (51)
- CM (Composite manuscript, that is, “consist(ing) of distinct production units”): e.g., (24), (33), (49), (90)

Admittedly, however, it is not always easy to keep MTMs and single texts meaningfully separated from single texts. How to distinguish a “text” from a “chapter”? E.g., it makes sense for us to think of (51/1-14) as an MTM, since several of its texts are found elsewhere, either independently and or in different textual constellation. But what about item (20)? Does it make sense to think of this as an MTM, even if, thus far, none of its constituent texts has been found elsewhere? Can’t this simply be a single text that consists of three chapters?

Having thus fine-tuned our number-crunching tool-box, where does this leave us?

- items: 135
- manuscripts: 181 to 197 vols. (depending on whether items (8) and (134) involve the same copy or not)
- volumes: 197 to 228 vols. (depending on whether items (8) and (134) involve the same copy or not, and on the original number of volumes of (27)-(28))
- titles: 160 titles to 177 titles (depending on our assessment of MTMs/CMs)
- copies: 183 to 196 (depending on our assessment of MTMs/CMs)

Unlike the bare “item” count, these figures will provide us with a solid basis, when we try and identify the most prominent authors, titles and topics of the list. But we cannot turn our attention from manuscripts to titles just yet, for there is plenty more to discuss in relation to the manuscripts.

556 K. Hirschler, “The Development of Arabic Multiple-Text and Composite Manuscripts: The Case of *ḥadīth* Manuscripts in Damascus during the Late Medieval Period”, in A. Bausi, M. Friedrich & M. Maniaci (eds.), *The Emergence of Multiple-Text Manuscripts* (Berlin/Boston, 2019), pp. 275–301, here p. 278. Obviously, MTMs can be embedded into CMs, such as (23), (49), and (50).

A Newly-Established Library: Locating Manuscripts in Time

When were the mss. made (→ Index 8)? As mss. often lack a dated colophon, this question can often be answered through relative dating.⁵⁵⁷ To the extent that this exercise has allowed us to date the mss., it appears that, the list is strikingly shallow in chronological terms: at least 90 items do not predate Qāniṣawh's accession in 1501, while at least another 26 items are unlikely to predate 1468, the year of Qāytbāy's accession.⁵⁵⁸ This leaves us with only 4 to 6 older 15th-century copies, and only 5 to 6 items that are definitely older:

- Older 15th-century copies: for only 4 of these 4 to 6 items (27, 28, 58, 90/1), does Qāniṣawh's ownership stand beyond doubt, as items (33/1) and (33/3) may have been bound with copies of Qāniṣawh only in Ottoman times.
- Pre-15th-century copies: the *Muṣḥaf 'Uthmān* dates from the 8th cent., while the two Ilkhanid works, al-Simmānī's *tafsīr*, and the John Rylands Qur'ān date from the 14th century (12, 6, 90/2, 55, 124). If not a pseudo-Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī, item (49/2) would date from the 13th century.

It is also worth pointing out that there are only 1 to 3 items, for which we may assume that Qāniṣawh had them copied prior to his accession, and thus not merely acquired them once sultan:

- the *Sirāj al-Mulūk*, copied in Aleppo for Qāniṣawh, while he served there as *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb* (→ 67)
- the *Ṭibb al-Ṭuyūr*, said to have been copied for Qāniṣawh in 880/1475 (but the identification of Qāniṣawh is problematic) (→ 78)
- a *Burda* copy, said to have been copied for Qāniṣawh's library in 890/1485 (→ 98).

This chronological shallowness is quite striking, and calls for some consideration. Upon his death, sultan al-Zāhir Ṭaṭar (r. 824/1421) left a substantial

557 As will be argued in more detail below, a *bi rasm* (...) Qāniṣawh frontispiece is not enough to date the production of a ms. to Qāniṣawh's career (either pre- or post-accession). Strictly speaking, the *bi rasm* section can only be used for dating the ownership of a ms. and not for its production. Nonetheless, unless evidence to the contrary can be found, I tentatively date mss. that are copied (*kitāba* or *khidma*) by a *mamlūk* and that are *bi rasm* Qāniṣawh to Qāniṣawh's reign. A more detailed argumentation is given further down in this chapter. Even in case this assumption would be found wanting, the list would remain chronologically shallow. As *mamlūk* ms. production only caught on under Jaqmaq's reign (842–857/1438–1453), the majority of mss. would still not predate Jaqmaq.

558 Some more chronological fine-tuning in terms of pre- and post-accession mss. might be possible by exploring the differences in the *bi rasm* note, such as the inclusion or omission of *khizāna* and *mawlānā* (*bi rasm khizānat mawlānā al-maḥqām al-sharīf...*, *bi rasm al-maḥqām al-sharīf...*, *bi rasm khizānat mawlānā...*). This exercise, however, is not taken up here.

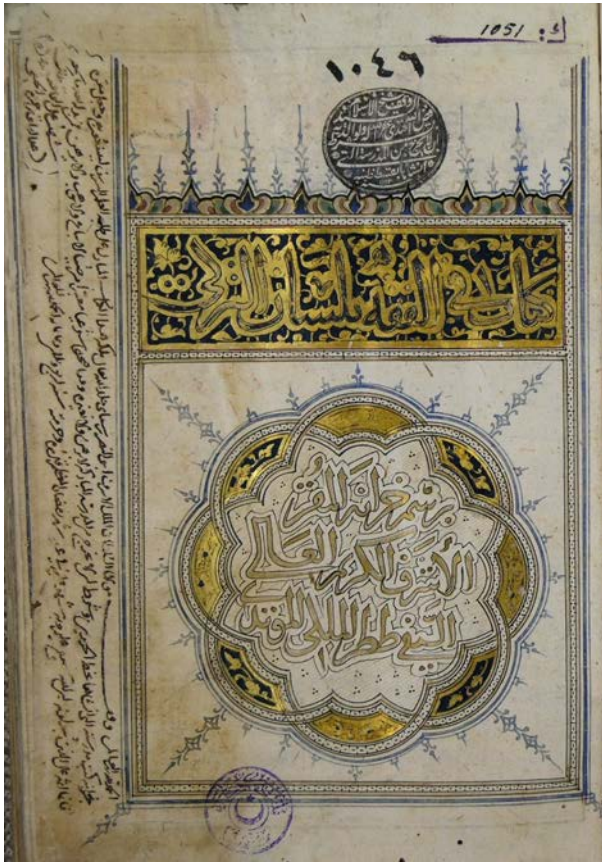


Fig. 54: Frontispiece of Ẓaṭar’s copy (f. 1r)

library, “most of which in the Turkic language” (!). He had also asked al-‘Aynī to translate (*sabk*, litt. “casting, molding”) a book by al-Qudūrī on Hanafite fiqh into Turkic, *min ghayr taḡyīr shay’ min ma’nāhu wa lā tabdīl min abwābihi*, but this translation remains to be found.⁵⁵⁹ In fact, of the many Turkic books that once belonged to Ẓaṭar, unfortunately, so far only one has surfaced: the *Kitāb fī l-Fiqh bi Lisān al-Turkī*, currently housed at the Millet Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi (Feyzullah, 1046) (*vidi*) (→ fig. 54). This exquisite unicum was *bi rasm* Ẓaṭar, yet put into *waqf* by his successor, sultan Barsbāy (r. 825–841/1422–1437). Now, while this case clearly proves that manuscripts could be transferred from one

559 Al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān*, ed. ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūṭī (Cairo, 1989), p. 157. For another early translation of Qudūrī’s work into Turkic, see Y. Karasoy, *Satıraltı Tercümesi Fıkıh Kitabı* (Ankara, 2017).

sultan to the next⁵⁶⁰, we may suspect this to have happened first and foremost in the case of short-ruling sultans, such as ʿAṭār: being deposed after three months, he simply may not have found the opportunity to endow books himself.

Long-reigning sultans, on the other hand, must have had ample opportunity to put books into *waqf*. Qāyṭbāy, e.g., put quite some of his copies into *waqf*⁵⁶¹. Consider, e.g., the following *waqf* notes on two mss. (*vidi*) endowed by him, which distinguish between items available for loan and items not available for loan (→ figs. 55, 56):

Waqqaḡa mawlānā l-maqām al-sharīf al-malik al-ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qāyṭbāy (...) ḥādḥā l-kitāb wa huwa Muqaddimat Abū (sic) l-Layth al-Samarqandī (...) wa ja'ala maqarrahu bi khizānat al-kutub bi madrasatihi llati anshāḥā bi l-Ṣaḥrā (...) wa sharaṭa an lā yukhraj min al-madrasat al-madhkūra bi rahn wa lā bi ḡayrihi.

Waqqaḡa mawlānā l-maqām al-sharīf al-malik al-ashraf Abi l-Naṣr Qāyṭbāy (...) ḥādḥā l-juz' (...) wa ja'ala maqarrahu bi madrasatihi llati anshāḥā bi l-Ṣaḥrā al-sharīf wa sharaṭa an lā yukhraj min al-madrasat al-madhkūra ilā bi rahn yūthaḡ bihi.

Our Lord, His Noble Excellency, al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qāyṭbāy (...) made this book, that is, the *Muqaddimat Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī*, a *waqf* (...), assigning it to the library in his madrasa, which he had built in al-Ṣaḥrā (...), and stipulating that it cannot be taken out of the aforesaid madrasa, neither with nor without a pawn.

Our Lord, His Noble Excellency al-Malik al-Ashraf Abi l-Naṣr Qāyṭbāy (...) made this volume a *waqf* (...), assigning it to his madrasa, which he had built in the noble Ṣaḥrā and stipulating that it cannot be taken out of the aforesaid madrasa, unless [one leaves] a reliable pawn.

In light of the evidence, a first reason for the chronological shallowness of Qāniṣawh's library may have been the fact that a considerable portion of the older manuscripts was simply hard to come by: being *mawqūf*, these were – as a rule – off limits. Of course, de-*waqf*ization was an option, but, surely, this stratagem must have been turned to only by the most eager bibliophile, and only for those few items, the *baraka* of which proved simply irresistible. The Ilkhanid Qur'ān set and the *Muṣḥaf 'Uthmān* (→ 6, 12) offer two excellent cases in point. In relation to this, it is worth pointing out that there are only four items in the list that have a *waqf* note by Qāniṣawh: the Ilkhanid Qur'ān set (→ 6), a Qur'ān copied by Aḡmad al-Fayyūmī shortly following Qāniṣawh's accession (→ 7),

560 Two more examples of (likely unendowed) mss. that changed sultans' hands are a copy of the *Nathr al-La'ālī*, in an attractive *muzkharifa* layout, that moved from Jaqmaq's *khizāna* to Qāyṭbāy's (→ 96), and a *Burda* copy that moved from the library of the briefly-reigning Muḡammad b. Qāyṭbāy to that of Qāniṣawh Khamsmi'a (→ 115).

561 Other examples include Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, K 883 (Ibn Ajā's translation of the *Futūḡ al-Shām*, → Chapter Five), and K 950 (*Mecmū'a-i Laṭīf, vidi*, → 3-1); Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ar. 1724 (Khalīl b. Shāḥīn's *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*) (*vidi*); and Dār al-Kutub, Tārīkh 178 (a vol. of al-Fāsī's *al-Iqd al-Thamīn fi Tārīkh al-Balad al-Amīn*) (*vidi* of frontispiece).

another 30-volume Qur'ān set (→ 8, 134), and the first volume of al-Kirmānī's *sharḥ* of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* that was copied under Jaqmaq's reign (→ 58). Of course, the fact that Qāniṣawh's *waqfiya* charged the *khāzin al-kutub* of the mosque-madrasa to make a list of all "bequeathed books" implies that Qāniṣawh donated more than just the four books included in the list (→ 13, Chapter One). In fact, we have every reason to believe that the list includes more mss. that were endowed yet not marked as such. The mss. of the libraries of the Ashrafiya and of Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī were both endowed, yet, as observed by Konrad Hirschler, more often than not, lack an endowment note that identifies them as such...⁵⁶²



Fig. 55: Frontispiece of Berlin. Ms. or. fol. 1624 (f. 1r)



Fig. 56: Frontispiece of Berlin. Ms. or. fol. 588 (f. 1r)⁵⁶³

As a second reason for the conspicuous absence of older mss., there is the fact that we may suspect our list to be not very representative in terms of chronological depth, even less so in these terms than in any other dimension, such as author, title or genre. To a large extent, the list has been generated from catalogues, and, until recently catalogers sought to take their description *ad fontes*, hereby neglecting the potentially rich "afterlife" of the mss. that they were cat-

562 Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus*, p. 46; *id.*, *A Monument to Medieval Syrian Book Culture*, p. 96.

563 For some reason, the *shamsa* or central medallion, where one would expect to find the *bi rasm*, was left blank. Perhaps the ms. was commissioned or purchased by Qāytbāy and then immediately made into a waqf, without first passing through his personal library?

aloguing. Whom they sought to identify first and foremost was the author of a manuscript and not its owner, let alone its second- or third-hand owner. Perhaps, future (re-)cataloguing will prove that Qāniṣawh's library was not that chronologically shallow after all (see Add. 5)...

A Local Library: Locating Manuscripts in Place

Next to its "chronological shallowness", Qāniṣawh's library also appears to have been "geographically confined", *i. e.*, many of its copies were locally produced first and foremost (→ Index 7). At least 67 items must have been produced inside Cairo, while, for at least another 26 items, we may also assume a Cairene provenance. In fact, of only 9 or 10 items we are certain that they were produced outside Cairo:

- 3 copies were made elsewhere within Cairo's purview: Shām (→ 33/3), Mecca (→ 58), and Aleppo (→ 67).
- 6 or 7 were made without Cairo's purview: the *Muṣḥaf 'Uthmān*, the Hejaz (?) (→ 12); Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī's incomplete *Burda* copy, Baghdād (?) (→ 49/2); the two Ilkhanid copies, Hamadān and Kirmān (→ 6, 90/2); the Persian *Shāh-Nāma*, Shīrāz (→ 106); the lacquered Qur'ān, Istanbul (→ 111); and al-Simnānī *Najm al-Qur'ān*, Ṣūfi-Ābād (→ 55)

In line with Barbara Flemming's findings regarding the "Literary Activities in Mamluk Halls and Barracks", many items were copied by *mamlūks*, an observation that will be returned to below. As in 49 cases, the *mamlūk* copyist identified himself in the colophon also through his respective barracks (*ṭabaqa*), it is tempting to think that at least for these 49 mss., we can pinpoint even more exactly where they were made: all in their respective barracks, within the walls of the citadel. A very local book production, indeed! The barracks mentioned are al-Arba'īna, al-Ashrafiya, al-Ḥawsh, al-Mustajadda, al-Qā'a, al-Rafraf, al-Ṣanda-liya, and al-Zimāmiya. As such, these barracks may be the closest equivalent that fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Egypt had to the royal scriptoria of the Ottomans, the Safavids, etc.

Unfortunately, as for the place where Qāniṣawh's books were kept, the evidence is scanty indeed. In fact, there are only 5 items that we can safely locate⁵⁶⁴: first, 2 Qur'ān sets (→ 7, 8) and al-Kirmānī's *sharḥ* of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (→ 58), all three endowed to the mosque-madrasa in the Ghawriya complex; second, the

564 Contrary to Daub's assessment ("Standards and Specifics", p. 54), it would seem that Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 1451 was put in waqf in Ottoman times only (→ 33).

Muṣḥaf ʿUthmān (→ 12) and the Hamadān Qurʾān (→ 6), both deposited across the street, in the eastern wing of the Ghawrīya (one in the in the sultan’s *qubba*, and one in the adjacent *khānqāh*).⁵⁶⁵ Obviously, more mss. must have been kept there, but which? A unique document, currently at Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi (Evrak 6090, → Chapter Five) suggests that, following the Ottoman take-over, no less than 469 vols. were found inside the Ghawrīya. Our 5 items, equaling some 64 vols., don’t even come close, and leave us with some 400 mss. unaccounted for... Whether or not some of these are itemized in Chapter Two is a question that cannot be answered for now.

Apart from the Ghawrīya, the sultan undoubtedly kept books at the citadel as well, but which exactly can only be guessed at.⁵⁶⁶ Also, the question whether Qāniṣawh’s books may somehow have been functionally distributed between the Ghawrīya and the Citadel is one that is best left open for now. In relation to the Ashrafiya Library catalogue, Konrad Hirschler observed that “it is striking that the first documented library of an educational institution has its emphasis in fields of knowledge that have traditionally not been associated with the intellectual activities of madrasas”.⁵⁶⁷ Indeed, the evidence suggests that such a clear-cut library typology is an ahistorical modern construct. Tempting as a neat madrasa/court library distribution of *fiqh* vs. *Fürstenspiegel*, or Arabic vs. Persian & Turkic, e. g., may be, this is hardly founded.

Manuscripts Copied, Presented, Owned: *Kitāba, Khidma, Bi Rasm*

As has been demonstrated above, largely responsible for the chronological shallowness and geographical narrowness of the sultan’s library is the fact that many mss. were produced by his own *mamlūks*. When it comes to the scribes who were involved in the production of manuscripts, in all, three groups can be discerned (→ Index 6):

- First, there are the (presumed) autograph copies (→ 25, 51, 66, 70, 84, 107; and perhaps 10, 17, 20, 37, 47, 48, 61, 82, 120, and 125).

565 See Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria*, pp. 52–70, including a floor plan of the Ghawrīya complex, with the exact location of the walk-in *khizāna* in the madrasa marked in red. The floor plan also shows the exact location of the *mihrāb* in the *qubba* on the opposite side of the street, with its two flanking *khazāʿin* (unmarked on the floor plan). For the three smaller, built-in *khazāʿin* in the madrasa, see ʿAbd al-Khāliq al-Wakīl, *Athāth al-Muṣḥaf*, pp. 244–246, figs. 121–124.

566 According to its *waqfiya*, there was a library inside the al-Abyaḍ Mosque, built by Faraj b. Barqūq at the Qalʿat al-Jabal in 812/1409 (i.E. Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphanesi* (Ankara, 2008), p. 47).

567 Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus. Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library*, p. 105.

- Next, there are the professional scribes, such as al-A‘raj (5 or 6 items in the list, → 132); Muḥammad al-Azraqī (3 items in the list, → 2/1, 27, 28); Aḥmad al-Fayyūmī (2 items, → 7, 130); the celebrated Yāqūt al-Musta‘šimī (→ 49/2, if not a pseudo-Yāqūt, a partial copy continued by a later scribe); al-Ṭayyibī, who authored a manual on calligraphy (→ 108); Aḥmad b. al-Ṭūlūnī, copyist-cum-architect and son of Ḥasan b. al-Ṭūlūnī (→ 69); Ḥamza al-Sharafī, who might have aspired to become one of Qāniṣawh’s *kuttāb* (→ 111); and, perhaps, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Dayṣaṭī al-Muqrī (→ 30).
- The third and largest group are the *mamlūks*: of the 135 mss. discussed, at least 61 (!) were penned by *mamlūks*. Flemming’s pioneering and lucid observations regarding the “Literary activities in Mamluk Halls and Barracks”, dating back to 1977, were clearly on the mark...⁵⁶⁸ These *mamlūk* copyists mostly identify themselves as *mamlūk* + name part 1 + barracks affiliation + name part 2 (e. g., *mamlūk* + *Jānim min Uzdamur* + *min Ṭabaqat al-Mustajaddat* + *al-Malikī al-Ashrafī* → 135)⁵⁶⁹, with the fourth and especially the third part sometimes missing. Apart from these four default onomastic parts, additional information is rarely given. In fact, of all mss. discussed in Chapter Two, only three stand out, and none of these was owned by Qāniṣawh : one adds an *agha-īnī* relationship (*min inīyāt al-amīr Jānbulāt*, → 22), and two add a master-pupil relation (*tilmīdh al-shaykh Mūsā faqīh Ṭabaqat al-Ashrafiyat al-Kubrā*, and *tilmīdh ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Amīr ‘Alī*, → 3-1, 22, 90; fig. 57).

As to be expected, the *mamlūks*’ copies are in rather plain script, except for the frontispiece and the colophon. These are somewhat more elaborate, which could suggest a division of labour. To this general pattern, there are some notable exceptions. First, there are items 87 and 126: two *mamlūks* of the Arba‘īna Barracks, with clearly more advanced writing skills, conclude their writing exercise in *naskh* with a petition in a much more elaborate script. This script is probably to be identified as *ta‘līq*, a script that was newly “invented” by al-Ṭayyibī, himself the author of two calligraphy manuals and a *mu‘addib* at the Rafraf Barracks (→ 108). Second, there are the two “calligraphy sample books” (→ 114, 131): whoever their teacher may have been, these *mamlūk* copyists were ready to follow in his footsteps.

In fact, in two cases, the *mamlūk* copyist identified himself as a *tilmīdh*: once as the *tilmīdh* of a scribe, whose own pen is also attested (*Tamur al-Sharifi tilmīdh ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Amīr ‘Alī*; for the pupil’s work → 90, for the master’s work

⁵⁶⁸ Flemming, “Literary activities”.

⁵⁶⁹ For a detailed analysis of Mamluk names, see D. Ayalon, “Names, titles and ‘nisbas’ of the Mamlūks”, *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975): 189–232. In spite of their full name, as a rule, these *mamlūks* cannot be identified in the Mamluk historiographical and prosopographical sources. This is hardly surprising, given their junior status at the time.



Fig. 57: A *mamlūk* self-identifying as a *tilmīdh*

→ 3-1), and once explicitly as the *tilmīdh* of a *faqīh* of another barrack than his own (*tilmīdh al-shaykh Mūsā faqīh Ṭabaqat al-Ashrafiyat al-Kubrā*, → 22, fig. 57). In light of this, it is not unlikely that the two *mamlūks* of the Arbaʿīna Barracks have studied with al-Ṭayyibī, even though he was a *muʿaddib* at another barrack...⁵⁷⁰ It is tempting to link these *mamlūks*' exercises in penmanship to the so-called *kuttābiya*, a specific group of sultanīc *mamlūks*, who received special instruction in the barracks for their military and religious duties, and whose name is said to derive from the noun *kuttāb*, "school" (cfr. *kitāba*, "writing").⁵⁷¹ During the sultan's *majālis*, *mamālīk ṣiḡhār* are known to have been brought before the sultan in order to recite the Qurʾān or his own *muwashshahāt* (→ Chapter Four), and it is quite possible that their writing exercises were presented to him in the same performative context of *khidma* ("rendering service").⁵⁷²

570 For Qāniṣawh's *faqīh* in his barrack days, → 47. For the function of barracks *faqīh*, and the training of the *mamlūk* and his instructors in general, see D. Ayalon, *L'Esclavage du Mamlouk* (Jerusalem, 1951), pp. 12–22; H. Rabie, "The Training of the Mamlūk Fāris", in V.J. Parry & M.E. Yapp (eds.), *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East* (London, 1975), pp. 153–163.

571 However, as noted by David Ayalon, this etymology is not without its problems. Compare Ayalon, *L'Esclavage du Mamlouk*, p. 40, n. 35, and W. Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans 1382–1468 A.D. Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrī Birdī's Chronicles of Egypt* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1955), p. 88.

572 See, e.g., ʿAzzām, *Majālis al-Sulṭān al-Ghawrī*, pp. 61 (*wa ṭalaʿa l-shaykh ʿAbbās maʿa mamlūkayn, wāḥid minhumā ḥafīza ʿIbādāt Madhhab Abī Ḥanīfa (...)*) *wa l-ākhar ḥafīza l-Qurʾān*), 63 (*wa jāʿa ibn ʿifrit maʿa l-mamālīk al-ṣiḡhār wa ʿaradāhum ʿalā l-maqām al-*

In the previous chapter, I discussed one item against the backdrop of “suspense in the Mamluk scriptorium: the copy of a *Fürstenspiegel* for Qāniṣawh that clearly had been tampered with (→ 52), by its copyist, *mamlūk* Jānim min Qānī. Admittedly, this is little more than a case of authorial license on my behalf. In spite of the seeming institutionalization of *mamlūk* ms. production at the royal court, there is no reason to assume that the Mamluks ever developed a scriptorium in the medieval European sense of the word, or its Timurid or Aqqoyunlu (semi-)counterpart, the *kitāb-khāne* or *kutub-khāne*, which was both library and workshop for ms. production.

While Qāniṣawh’s reign is easily identified as the zenith of manuscript production by *mamālīk*, dating the beginning of this phenomenon proves more challenging. It would seem that examples are few and between up to the reign of sultan Jaqmaq (r. 842–857/1438–1453). In fact, Atanasiu lists merely 5 mss. that were copied by *mamlūks* and that predate Jaqmaq’s reign, with only one that is explicitly linked to a royal patron: a copy of al-Būṣīrī’s *Burda*, *bi rasm* al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn.⁵⁷³ However, from Jaqmaq’s reign onwards, we start witnessing a steady flow of *mamlūk*-copied mss., out of the *ṭibāq* (?) and into their respective sultans’ *khazā’in*. Indeed, the six mss. that Atanasiu referenced for Jaqmaq’s rule⁵⁷⁴ can easily be supplemented, with, e.g.:

- Amīr ‘Alī Ibn Balabān b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Fārisī (d. 731/1339), *Kitāb fīhi Muqaddimat fi l-Fiqh ‘alā Madhhab al-Imām al-A‘zam Abī Ḥanīfa raḍiya llāh ‘anhu, khidmat* of *mamlūk* Yashbak min Ḥamza al-Malikī al-Zāhirī. This item has been discussed previously, since it was bound in one *majmū’* with an item copied for Qāniṣawh (→ 33/1).
- al-Nasafī (d. 711/1310), *Kitāb Kanz al-Daqā’iq ‘alā Madhhab al-Imām al-A‘zam Abī Ḥanīfat al-Nu‘mān, khidmat* of *al-mamlūk* Tamur b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Jamālī al-Malikī al-Zāhirī (Washington D.C., Library of Congress, KBP300.N37) (*non vidi*).

Following up on this, it is worthwhile exploring three concepts that are related yet distinct (→ Index 9). When it comes to books, there are three acts to consider⁵⁷⁵: the act of “copying” or *kitāba*, the act of “rendering service” (offering a manu-

sharīf), 107 (*wa jā’a l-mamālīk al-ṣighār wa qara’ū quddāma mawlānā l-sultān jawqan ba’da jawqin*).

573 Atanasiu, “Le phénomène calligraphique”, pp. 255–256. More examples are bound to turn up, but probably not that many. Perhaps we could add *al-Durr al-Naḍīd*, dedicated to al-Zāhir Barqūq and copied (or authored?) by *al-mamlūk* Muḥammad b. ‘Aqīl (→ 66)?

574 Atanasiu, “Le phénomène calligraphique”, pp. 256–257.

575 The initial act of “authoring” books is not considered here. Suffice to state that in none of the items in the list “authoring” is referred to as *kitāba*. Used instead are *jam*, *ta’lif*, *taḥrīr*, *waḍ’*, ...

script) or *khidma*, and the act of “owning” or *bi rasm*. As for the first two acts, consider the following three types of evidence:

- First, a privately owned copy of a *Burda takhmīš* (→ 132) proves beyond doubt that *kitāba* and *khidma* need to be distinguished, as both potentially come with their own actor: *kitāba* by calligrapher al-ʿAʿraj, and *khidma* by *mamlūk* Yūnus b. al-marḥūm Barsbāy al-Yūsufi.
- Second, consider the tailpiece of a copy of the *Mantle Ode* that belonged to Yashbak min Mahdī (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, 4169) (*vidi*) (→ fig. 58), which reads *khidmat kātibihi* (...) ‘*Abd Allāh al-Shirwānī*. Here, even though performed by one and the same actor, the acts of *kitāba* and *khidma* are clearly distinguished.⁵⁷⁶
- Third, there are the colophons of items (15) and (33/1): as these manuscripts have more than one *khidma* note, only the older *khādīm* may (or may have not) copied the work that he subsequently donated, while the later *khādīm* can’t have.



Fig. 58: Colophon of Yashbak’s copy of the *Mantle Ode* (f. 29r) (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, 4169)

In brief, it should be clear that *kitāba* and *khidma* are essentially two different acts that potentially come with their own actor. Yet, in most other mss., there is mention of only one stage and one actor:

⁵⁷⁶ In the cases of (90/2) and (111) we find *khadama bi kitāba* (...), which seems less explicit than *khidmat kātibihi* yet more explicit than a mere *kitāba*...

- Mention of *kitāba* only: (2/2), (16), (21), (23/1), (23/2), (23/4), (23/5), (24/1), (25), (26), (29), (31), (32), (33/2), (34), (38), (39), (40), (45), (46), (49/1), (52), (56), (63), (86), (87), (89), (92), (93), (94), (95), (100), (102), (103), (109), (117), (121), (122), (123), (129), (131), (132), (135) (→ figs. 19, 33, 43, 44, 49)
- Mention of *khidma* only: (4), (15), (22), (30) (?), (33/1), (36), (37), (50/2), (53), (97), (114), (116), (118), (126), (130), (132) (→ fig. 23)

While, strictly speaking, an unmentioned second actor cannot be ruled out, it would seem that in all these cases both *kitāba* and *khidma* had turned into a *pars pro toto*, i. e., they had come to convey the combined action of *kitāba* + *khidma*. Such is the way in which these concepts have been understood in the present book: in absence of counter-evidence, *kitāba* is understood as the act of producing a copy by an actor, implicitly followed by his own presentation of this ms. to the sultan; and *khidma* is understood as the act of presenting a ms. to the sultan by an actor, implicitly preceded by his own copying of this ms.



Fig. 59: Frontispiece of the *Kitāb fī Tartīb* (→ 4) (f. 1r)

Turning our attention to the third act in relation to books: the act of owning books. In approximately half of the mss. under scrutiny, Qāniṣawh's ownership is explicated through a *bi rasm* section on the frontispiece: *bi rasm* (*khizānat/*

khazā'in) (*al-maqām/al-maqarr*) (...) *Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī* (→ figs. 26, 48, 52, 59, 73, Index 9).⁵⁷⁷ Often misunderstood, this concept merits some comments.⁵⁷⁸ While the expression *'umila bi rasm* (often found on objects of material culture and perhaps less often on mss.) clearly implies an act of production⁵⁷⁹, *bi rasm* by itself does not seem to do so. Consider items 27, 28, 55 and 90 (all *bi rasm Qāniṣawh*, yet predating *Qāniṣawh*) and items 123 (with not one but two *bi rasm notes*). These examples leave no doubt about it: at least within the present corpus, *bi rasm* by itself does not automatically subsume the initial act of commissioning a ms. to be made, next to the subsequent act of owning a ms. Instead, it carries the latter meaning only, and thus merely functions as an *ex libris*.⁵⁸⁰ Nonetheless, in the absence of evidence that suggests otherwise (that is, for the overwhelming number of cases), throughout this book, *bi rasm* is understood as short for *'umila bi rasm*, thus serving a double purpose.⁵⁸¹

577 Item (20) is a notable exception, as it reads *bi khizānat* instead of *bi rasm*.

578 In his vademecum, Adam Gacek dealt with *bi rasm* under the lemma “patronage” and not under the lemma “ownership statements” (*Arabic Manuscripts. A Vademecum for Readers* (Leiden/Boston, 2009), pp. 173, 197; see also *id.*, “Ownership statements and seals in Arabic manuscripts”, *Manuscripts of the Middle East 2* (1987): 88–95, here p. 88). For François Déroche, *bi rasm* “played a double role”, giving us “the name of the patron who commissioned the copy” and, at the same time, “serv(ing) as an *ex libris*” (Déroche *et al.*, *Islamic Codicology*, p. 316).

579 For objects of material culture, see, e. g., (12): *khizānatayn* (...) *al-marsūm bi 'amalihimā bi rasm al-Muṣḥaf* (...) *wa* (...) *bi rasm al-āthār al-nabawīya*. For mss., see, e. g. (90): *mimmā 'umila bi rasm khizānat al-maqām al-sharīf mawlānā Qāytbāy*.

580 Or, at best, involved the (re)binding the work as well. Carine Juvin (personal communication) pointed out that many examples of Mamluk metalwork bear 2 different *bi rasm* inscriptions, thus indicating that the object had passed from one individual to another, and that the *bi rasm* on some other examples (usually a discrete added graffito) merely indicates the location where the object was deposited (*bi rasm khizāna*, *bi rasm sharābkhāna*, ...). It should be added that two more usages of *rasm* are documented in Chapter Two, yet none in relation to *Qāniṣawh*: (49/3) *bi rasm muṭāla'at* and *kutibat bi rasm* (two mss. of the Ottoman sultan Selīm); and (71) *bi rasm khidmat al-faqīr ilā llāh* (14th cent.).

581 This assumption comes with important consequences, especially in terms of dating the mss. (see above). Strictly speaking, to find a ms. that is copied (*katabahu*) by a *mamlūk* and that is *bi rasm Qāniṣawh* does not require *Qāniṣawh* to have commissioned this ms. or to have been its first owner. *Mutatis mutandis*, again strictly speaking, this ms. can still predate his rule. Unfortunately, hardly any ms. that was copied by a *mamlūk* and that has a *bi rasm Qāniṣawh* frontispiece carries a date. There is one notable exception to this: the *Tuhfat al-Khawātir* (→ 121), copied (*katabahu*) by a *mamlūk* for *Qāniṣawh* and dated 906/1501. While this exception does not prove our assumption to be correct, at least, it does not prove the opposite.

From Manuscripts to Titles: A Clustered Diversity

Let us now move over from the manuscripts to the actual titles, starting with their (alleged) authoring date (→ Index 7). As to be expected, the earliest days of Islam are well represented, with 8 to 9 Qur'āns, two copies of Ka'b b. Zuhayr's *Bānat Su'ād*, and 'Alī's maxims, prayers and *waṣīya*. While the 8th to 9th centuries are hardly represented, numbers steadily start climbing from the 10th and especially the 13th century onwards, before peaking under Qāniṣawh's reign, with over 30 original titles written between 1501 and 1516. In other words, we are dealing with a library with a decisively "presentist" profile. Whatever the literary or scholarly value of these early 16th-century titles – and, by extension, all so-called "post-Classical" titles – may be, it should be clear that, at least in terms of output, the "decline paradigm" hardly stands scrutiny. In terms of contents, an assessment is much harder to make. Yet, here too, it would seem that the books of Qāniṣawh are more than a mere "synopsis-commentary-gloss" or *mukhtaṣar-sharḥ-ḥāshiya*⁵⁸² of Arabo-Islamic classics, and his literary *Umwelt* more than a mere "addendum" or *ta'līq* to what came before. As will be dealt with in more detail towards the end of this chapter and in the next, both in his literary taste and in his crafting of a tailor-made royal persona, Qāniṣawh was both *retro- and prospective, intro- and extrospective*: he looked back and he looked forth, and he tapped into indigenous traditions without losing sight from – indeed, while even co-inaugurating – novel developments across the Balkans-to-Bengal complex.

As a first good way to illustrate this, let us consider the items in terms of their languages. The compositional language remains, obviously, Arabic by default (→ Index 4). Yet, as to be expected for a self-proclaimed polyglot sultan – Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Kurdish, Armenian, Circassian, Abaza, Ubykh and Ossetic, anyone?⁵⁸³ – Persian and Turkic texts, and some mixed Arabic-Turkic and Persian-Turkic *mulamma'āt* (i.e., macaronic or mixed-language poems) are available as well.⁵⁸⁴ The presence of Persian is fairly rare and does not call for further explanation. Included in the list are, among others, a copy of the *Shāh-Nāma*, a *qaṣīda* by the Ottoman poet-statesman 'Adnī, and the trilingual edition of 'Alī's

582 I borrow this phrase from Walead Mohammed Mosaad, "The Transmission of the Islamic Tradition in the Early Modern Era: The Life and Writings of Aḥmad al-Dardīr", PhD thesis (University of Exeter, 2016).

583 D'hulster, "Sitting with Ottomans and Standing with Persians", p. 251, quoting from the *Nafā'is al-Majālis*, ed. 'Azzām, pp. 132–133. As much as the Caucasus was and, to some extent, still is a veritable *jabal al-alsun* (*apud* the 14th-century geographer and historian Abū l-Fidā') and, *mutatis mutandis*, monolingualism is the exception rather than the norm there, it goes without saying that Qāniṣawh's claim should not be accepted at face value.

584 While Circassian is well attested as a spoken language in the Mamluk Sultanate (→ 47), it hardly left a trace in the written corpus. For these few traces, see my forthcoming book, *Turkic Literature in the Mamluk Sultanate: A State of the Art*.

maxims (→ 106, 3-7, 97). When it comes to Turkic, some more detailed observations are in order. Much work has been done already, but as we are still a long way from an exhaustive history of Turkic within the Mamluk Sultanate, these observations can be preliminary only.⁵⁸⁵

- First, while Turkic in Egypt predates the inception of the Mamluk Sultanate by far, it appears that Turkic literature as a “royal project” reached its apogee under Qāniṣawh’s reign only, an evolution in which the sultan himself had his fair share. Whereas much of the earlier Mamluk-Turkic titles involve amirs as commissioners or owners, thus making Mamluk-Turkic literature a relatively broad-based “*mamlūk* project”, from Qāyṭbāy onwards, the sultan’s court became an important, if not the most important, Mamluk site for Turkic literary production and consumption.
- Second, from Qāyṭbāy onwards (→ 43), the sultan has shifted from the passive object of dedicational literature to an active *litterateur* in his own right (→ 3, 5, 14, 19, 43, 100), and his idiom of choice to do so was first and foremost Turkic. This evolution, which reflects a fundamental change in the “monarchic script” of the late medieval/early modern Islamic ruler, has been referred to already while discussing the *al-‘Uqūd al-Jawhariya* (→ 47, 48), and will be dealt with in more detail in the next chapter.
- Third, next to – and undoubtedly in tandem with – this spatial and authorial shift, there also appears to have been a topical shift. Some of the most favoured topics of the earlier stages of Mamluk-Turkic, such as grammars and lexicons, and works on *furūsīya* and veterinary sciences, gave way to *adab* and devotional texts, such as Sufistic poetry, the *Shāh-Nāma*, and the *Kitāb-i Mir‘ac* (→ 3-1, 5, 14, 18, 19, 43, 100, 107, 109).
- Fourth, there was a linguistic shift from Mamluk-Kipchak proper, over a mixed Kipchak-Oghuz Turkic, to Ottoman Turkic (or rather Medieval Literary Western Turkic). This evolution is in sync with the development of a Western Turkic literary tradition, especially from the 14th cent. onwards (‘Ajam Turkic in Azerbaijan and Iran, Old Anatolian Turkic in Asia Minor) (→ 3-1), which, in its turn, relates to larger geo-political shifts.
- Fifth, while remaining the target language for translations from Arabic or Persian (→ 34, 41/3, 97, 107, ...), Turkic grew in importance as a compositional language in its own right (→ 3, 109, 120, ...), both of prose and of poetry.
- Sixth, the Mamluk Sultanate grew in importance as a hub in the burgeoning Turkic literary ecumene (→ Chapter Four): the number of incoming, non-Mamluk Turkic authors and titles increased (→ 3), and Mamluk-Turkic literature assumed a somewhat more “international” allure.

585 For a more detailed presentation, see my forthcoming book, *Turkic Literature in the Mamluk Sultanate: A State of the Art*.

- Seventh, there is the fact that the Mamluk-Turkic corpus is “punctuated”. First, there appears to have been very little continuity in manuscript production, since we are mostly dealing with unique mss. Second, there is hardly any intertextual connectivity that would hold different titles of the corpus together and that would make this corpus more than the sum of its parts. Authors such as Erzurumlu Žarīr and Ibn Bālī, and titles such as the *Gūlistān bi’t-Tūrki* appear on the Mamluk-Turkic radar once, only to disappear and, at best, resurface elsewhere. Indeed, if Mamluk-Turkic titles made a career of some sorts, it appears to have been without rather than within the Mamluk Sultanate. Erzurumlu Žarīr’s *Sīretü’n-Nebī*, for example, is by far the most popular Mamluk-Turkic title, as he was widely copied. Yet, as far as we know, those who commissioned copies to be made were Ottomans, not Mamluks. Non-Mamluk Turkic authors that are included in Qāyrbāy’s anthology, Qayğusuz Abdāl, Gülşehrī, and ‘Aşık Paşa (→ 3-1), don’t appear in any other Mamluk source... The corpus of Mamluk-Turkic literature is like a handful of bright stars that are scattered across a clouded night sky. Whether and, if so, how much, stars are hiding behind the clouds remains hard to fathom...
- Eight and final, already while dealing with the *al-Uqūd al-Jawhariya* (→ 47, 48), I explained two seemingly contradictory claims of Qānişawh – how could one be both Turkic and Circassian? – by positing a shift of Turkic from ethnonym to socionym, i. e., from a social category of which *one could only be part*, through birth, to a social category of which *one could become part*, through socially constructive discursive acts.

Each of these observations applies to Qānişawh’s literary output, which, in more than one way, represents the apex of these diachronic shifts.⁵⁸⁶ As already said, much more could and should be said about this, but, apart from the few more words devoted to this in the next chapter, that will have to wait for some other occasion.

As argued extensively in Chapter One, I have refrained from organizing the items of Chapter Two in topical terms, and one of my main reasons for not doing so was the fact that I did not want to impose a classification system that is potentially blinding rather than elucidating. As I already expressed my discomfort over this, one more example to illustrate my point will suffice. In all probability, the main incentive for Qānişawh to read/listen to the *Shāh-Nāma* or those few historiographical texts that are found in the list was to draw moral lessons first and foremost (→ 106, 107; 83, 85, ...), either for himself or for his

586 For the intimate link between linguistic, authorial, topical and geographical shifts, see, among others, the excellent studies by Ahmet Karamustafa and Zeynep Oktay Uslu already referred to (→ 3-1).

courtiers. As such, these could both be amalgamated with the more typical *Fürstenspiegel* (→ 31, 40, 44, ...). Still, those readers who have made it this far will be happy to learn that, finally, I am willing to meet their justified yet frustrated expectations at least halfway. At the end of this book, I have provided a topical index (→ Index 5), including topics such as administration, cosmology, falconry, *Fürstenspiegel*, medicine, music, rhetoric, *tafsīr* and *furūsiya*, to name but a few less common and easily delineated ones. This index is to be used as a “smart guide” *made to fit the present needs*, and not to be thought of as an exhaustive Fārābian or Khaldūnian *taṣnīf al-‘ulūm* made to fit all needs...⁵⁸⁷ Ultimately, the present author followed the course of ‘Atūfī, the cataloger of Bāyezīd II’s library, who

“was acting as a librarian in compiling the inventory, attempting to lend some order to the rich variety of inherited knowledge that was the imperial library collection. As such, his goal was not the striking of a manifesto on *taṣnīf al-‘ulūm*, but rather an inventory, the ordering of which would have been intuitively sensible to the readers he served.”⁵⁸⁸

Based on this first profiling, it should be clear that the list of Chapter Two is, indeed, diverse, but is this diversity “clustered”? In order to answer this question, let us now try and assess the items of Chapter Two in terms of “popularity”: do we find titles, authors and topics that are more prominent than others? Especially when answering this question our detailed crunching of the number 135 proves its worth. First, in terms of number of “mss.” (and, *mutatis mutandis*, vols.), the most popular title by far is the Qur’ān, with well over 60 or even 90 mss. But of course, it is quite impossible for any other title to compete with the Qur’ān, with its two or three 30-volume sets (→ 6, 7, possibly 134), since titles are “one-volume” copies by default. Indeed, apart from the Qur’ān, multiple-volume copies are fairly rare: 2 two-volume sets (→ 47, 48, 107), 1 two (or more)-volume set (→ 58), 1 three (or four)-volume set (→ 27, 28) or and 1 eight (or more)-volume set (→ 59, 76, 77, 119). As a far more meaningful way to assess the “popularity” of titles, let us consider the number of “copies” rather than “mss.”:

- Here, the Qur’ān still holds the leading position with 8 to 9 copies, but the gap with the second most popular title is strongly reduced.
- Holding second place with 5 non-amplified copies is al-Būṣīrī’s *al-Kawākib al-Durrīya fī Madḥ Khayr al-Barīya* (→ 23/5, 49/2, 81, 113, 117). If we count the *badīya* (→ 19, 80) and the *takhāmīs* (→ 23/2, 49/1, 49/2, 50/1, 132), we even end up with 12 copies of the *Mantle Ode*, which thus outnumbered the Qur’ān. Most popular of the *takhāmīs* is clearly al-Fayyūmī’s, with 3 independent copies (→

587 As such, I had qualms neither about listing an item more than once, nor about over-differentiating in one respect (e.g., poetry) while under-differentiating in another (e.g., *Fürstenspiegel*).

588 Gardiner, “Books on Occult Sciences”, p. 738.

- 49/1, 50/1, 132) and with two more copies embedded into larger *takhāmīs* collections (→ 49/3, containing 5 *takhāmīs*; 98, containing 10 *takhāmīs*).⁵⁸⁹
- Included with 3 copies are Abū Madyan’s *Qaṣīdat al-Istighfār* (→ 23/4b, 88, 104/1), and the *waṣīya* of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (→ 101, 102, 104).
 - Al-Mundhirī’s *arba‘ūna* collectin fī *stinā‘* al-ma‘rūf is available twice in its original format (→ 23/1, 24/1) and twice in al-Sulamī’s amplified format (→ 25, 95).
 - Available in 2 copies each are al-Ūshī’s *Bad‘ al-Amālī* (→ 33/2, 73), al-Ṣiddīqī’s *Hadiyat al-Muḥibbīn* (→ 91, 129), Ka‘b b. Zuhayr’s *Bānat Su‘ād* (→ 23/2, 49/2; both *mukhammas*), and ‘Alī’s *Mi‘at Kalima* (→ 41-3, 97; both with Turkic transl.).
 - Concluding, as for Qāniṣawh’s (?) *Shajarat al-Nasab al-Sharīf al-Nabawī*, and Ibn al-Ṭūlūnī’s *al-Nuzhat al-Saniya*, included are 1 or perhaps 2 copies (→ 1, 83)⁵⁹⁰

While al-Būṣīrī might have been most popular in terms of copies, his fame rests on a single title only, the *Mantle Ode*. Hence, when ranking authors not according to the number of copies, but according to the number of titles included in the list, a wholly different picture emerges.⁵⁹¹ While authors in the list are, by default, “one-title authors”, the following figure more prominent:

- Qāniṣawh, with 6 to 7 titles (→ 3-1, 5, 14, 19, 43-2, 100, and possibly 83/1)⁵⁹²
- al-Suyūṭī, with 6 to 7 titles (→ 16, 23/3, 29, 63, 123, 130, possibly 18)
- ‘Alī, with 4 titles (the *Mi‘at Kalima*, → 41-3, 97; the *Du‘ā Sayfī*, → 90/1; the *Du‘ā Sharīf*, → 104/3; and the *waṣīya*, → 101, 102, 104/2)⁵⁹³
- Ibn al-Ṭūlūnī, with 2 or 3 titles (→ 54, 83/2, possibly 17)

589 As innovative as Qāniṣawh’s admiration of al-Būṣīrī’s poem may have been in quantitative terms, it certainly was not a novelty in kind. Indeed, the first Mamluk royal copies appeared already by the time al-Būṣīrī died (693/1294). Thus far I have identified *khazā‘inī* copies of al-Būṣīrī belonging to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, al-Ashraf Sha‘bān, al-Ashraf Barsbāy, al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq, al-Ashraf Īnāl, al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam, al-Ashraf Timurbughā, al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy and his son, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, al-Ẓāhir Qāniṣawh Khamsmī‘a, and al-Ashraf Ṭūmānbāy. In other words, we find an almost uninterrupted string of royal *Kawākib* copies from the early 1300s up to 1517!

590 Of the *Nuzha* even three copies, when counting the “reworked” copy embedded in the Dublin *majālīs* text (→ 17).

591 The Qur‘ān and the *arba‘ūnāt* are not considered here.

592 It should be observed that while each of these mss. come with their own title, they share most of their material and contain few, if any, unique material. A full collation of all available material will be offered in a forthcoming article, “Qāniṣawh’s Poetry at Home and Abroad: From a Strategy of Distinction with the Mamluk Sultanate to a Strategy of Inclusion within the Turkic Literary Ecumene”.

593 Perhaps rather to be ascribed to ‘Alī than authored by him, but this distinction has little bearing on the matter at hand.

- al-Ghazzālī (not the *mujaddid* of his age, but the 15th-century Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī), al-Samarqandī, and Abū Madyan Shu‘ayb al-Ghawth, each with 2 titles (→ 40, 128; 15/1, 34; 23/4b, 38)

Whereas we could now leave copies, titles and authors behind and try and identify the popular topics, instead, I suggest taking an even more sweeping view of the list, that is, through a functional lens rather than a strictly topic- or genre-based lens. Two clusters appear most prominent:

- A first cluster revolves around Qāniṣawh’s functioning as a Muslim subject, *i. e.*, as someone who submits to God and who follows Muḥammad: Qur’ān, devotional texts, doxy & praxy, *Burda*, Qāniṣawh’s own poetry, ...
- A second cluster revolves around Qāniṣawh’s functioning as a Muslim ruler, *i. e.*, as someone who rules subjects: *Fürstenspiegel*, *waṣīya*, administration, encyclopaedia, topography, warfare & *furūsiya*, ...

Sweeping as this view may be, I believe that it is safe to say that the list of 135 items spells “Muslim court library”. As such, this list is very much the list of Qāniṣawh, a Muslim ruler after all. As I will demonstrate later, a somewhat less sweeping view on the list will allow us to bring the image of Qāniṣawh into even sharper focus, and to identify him as a specific kind of “Muslim ruler” (that is, the novel type of the Turkic-Sufi-poet-sultan). Yet, before doing so, we need to take the daunting step, already announced, that lies between this book’s main title and its subtitle...

“Where Have All Those Books Gone?” On Arguments *ex silentio* and Some More Fallacies⁵⁹⁴

Thus far, we have been profiling Chapter Two based on its positive evidence, *i. e.*, what is included in the list. Now the time has come to consider its negative evidence, *i. e.*, what is not included in the list. Indeed, informed by his own scholarly background, each reader will browse through the list with idiosyncratic expectations *on what to find*. While some of his expectations will be met, undoubtedly, others will not. As idiosyncratic a scholar as any other, I too went through the list, and identified a number of lacunae that at least I found suspicious. First, following a topic-focused approach, what I find surprisingly absent are the following:

594 I borrow this phrase from a lecture given by Konrad Hirschler, “Where Have All Those Books Gone? Translocation and Provenance in Studying Medieval Middle Eastern Writerly Cultures” (paper presented at Leiden University, 16 May 2019).

- In terms of *tafsīr*, why do we only find al-Simnānī's Sufistic *Najm al-Qur'ān* (→ 55)? As the discussions conducted during the sultan's *majālis* were often scholastic to the extent that only *mufasssīrūn* might contribute (e. g., → 17-2), shouldn't we expect him be steeped in Islamic sciences, and his library to be particularly well stocked with *tafsīr*?
- Why do we find ample ethically oriented *Fürstenspiegels* (→ 40, 44, ...), yet almost no legally oriented *fiqh* works (→ 31, 35, 64, 65, 72, ...)?
- In terms of *ḥadīth*, why do we find plenty of *arba'ūnāt* (→ 21, 22-1, 23/1, 23/3, 24, 25, 41-2, 62, 95, 122, 129), but not any of *al-Kutub al-Sitta*? Indeed, not even the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* are included! If sultans such as al-Malik al-Zāḥir Khushqadam, could own a copy of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*⁵⁹⁵, and even amirs, such as Ṭurābāy al-Ashrafi could spend lavishly on a 10-volume set⁵⁹⁶, where is Qāniṣawh's copy? And when we find a commentary on al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, why only al-Kirmānī's *al-Kawākib al-Darārī* (→ 58) and not Ibn Ḥajar's celebrated *Fath al-Bārī*, which was sought after as far as India?
- Those with an interest in *tārīkh* may be puzzled to find authors such as al-Rawḥī (→ 85) and Ibn al-Ṭūlūnī (→ 1/1, 53, 82/2), both pretty much fallen to oblivion today, while finding those celebrated giants of Mamluk historiography represented only through Ibn Duqmāq's *al-Jawhar al-Thamīn* and an unidentified excerpt of al-Maqrīzī (→ 85). How come Yashbak min Mahdī owned a multi-volume set of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk li Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, and the grandson of sultan al-Ashraf Īnāl, Muḥammad, a 6-volume set of his *al-Khabar 'an al-Bashar*, but not Qāniṣawh?⁵⁹⁷
- Why do we hardly find a trace of the *corpus būnianum*, in spite of the rampant *occultophilia* of Mamluk Cairo's elites?⁵⁹⁸ Where are the books on oneiro-mancy, geomancy, physiognomy, and lettrism (→ 52)?

Second, looking at Chapter Two through the lens of particular authors and titles, the following catches my eye:

- Why do we merely find commentaries, digests or selections of Ibn 'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, and al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā' Ulūm al-Dīn*, but not the works themselves (→ 4, 69, 70, 127)?

595 Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 247; Türk ve İslâm Eserleri Müzesi, 1673.

596 At least 6 vols. are preserved: Kayseri, Râşid Efendi Kütüphanesi, Ms. 1486/3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10. From the colophons of vols. 4 and 9, we learn that the work was copied by Muḥammad b. al-Şayrafi, while a later addition in vol. 10 reads *'ām 834* (1431–32).

597 *Al-Sulūk*: Süleymaniye, Fatih 4380, 4382, 4383, 4384, 4386, 4388, 4389; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, K 905; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Marsh 260 (all of the same set!); *al-Khabar 'an al-Bashar*: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, A 2926, R 1561 (part of a 6-volume set).

598 Gardiner, "Books on Occult Sciences", p. 737.

Here too, it would seem that even the library of Īnāl’s grandson was better stocked, since he owned a multi-volume copy of al-Maqrīzī’s *Khīṭaṭ*...⁵⁹⁹

- Why is Ibn Abī Sharīf (→ 20), another victim to the cracks of history, included, while families closer to Qāniṣawh, such as the Ibn al-Shiḥnas, are not? Why do we find Ibn al-Farfūr (→ 125), but not Muḥammad b. Ajā?
- Why do we find Firdawsī’s *Shāh-Nāma*, both in the original Persian and in a versified Turkic translation (→ 106, 107), and not Sa’dī’s *Gulistān*, which is arguably the second most widely copied specimen of Islamic literature, and which even had been translated into Mamluk-Kipchak already in 793/1391? Where is al-Mutanabbī’s divan, al-Jawharī’s *Shiḥāh*, Ibn Mālik’s *Alfīya*?

Finally, as our third approach, we can compare Qāniṣawh’s “documentary book list” (i. e., the list of books he owned) and his “title list” (i. e., the list of titles he must have known).⁶⁰⁰ As pointed out already in Chapter One, however much items these two lists must have shared, they must still be kept apart. What strikes me is the following:

- Where are, e. g., the sultan’s copies of the *Sīrat al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars*, the *Aḥādīth fī Faḍl al-Muslim*, Ibn Mālik’s book on *naḥw*, *al-Mukhtār fī Madhhab Abī Ḥanīfa*, al-Tawḥīdī’s *al-Baṣā’ir wa l-Dakhā’ir*, Ibn Khallikān’s *Wafayāt al-A’yān*, and al-Ma’arri’s *Kitāb al-‘Aqā’iq fī Ishārāt al-Daqā’iq*, all of which were explicitly discussed or even presented to him during his *majālis*?⁶⁰¹
- Why do we find a plethora of Turkic poets quoted in Qāniṣawh’s Turkic divan, but neither any of their divans nor any anthological *tezkire* that served as its source (→ 3)? If even Ibn Iyās is aware of Qāniṣawh’s Nesīmīan orientation, and if the latter’s influence actually shows in the sultan’s poetry (→ 14), where is the sultan’s copy of Nesīmī?
- Following up on this, how to explain the fact that almost all of the Turkic material in Chapter Two are “new titles” in the Mamluk-Turkic corpus, and that “older titles” are absent? Why is there, e. g., no overlap whatsoever between the items of Chapter Two and the anthology owned by Qāytbāy, which includes poetry of Ḳayḡusuz Abdāl, Gülşehirī, and ‘Āṣiḳ Paṣa (→ 3-1)? Did Qāniṣawh have no access to these, was he unaware of them, or did he perhaps dislike them? Indeed, as said before, lack of continuity is one of the outstanding features of the Mamluk-Turkic corpus.

599 Süleymaniye, Fatih 4494, 4495, 4498.

600 For this crucial distinction, often overlooked, see Hirschler, “The Development of Arabic Multiple-Text and Composite Manuscripts”, p. 279. It should be noted that in Hirschler’s typology, “book” and “title” are used differently than they are here.

601 Familiarity with a title was not considered enough to assume Qāniṣawh’s ownership of this title. Hence, these are not included in Chapter Two, not even through a proxy ms.

Having laid out some of the more striking lacunae of Chapter Two, it is tempting to resort to arguments *ex silentio*, even for us historians, in spite of being trained to think historically... For example, when juxtaposing those few historiographical works that are included with those many that are not, one could argue for Qāniṣawh to be disinterested in the *taqabbulāt al-dahr* – the ups and downs of history’s “little” men”, so painstakingly recorded by Ibn Taghribirdī and co.– and rather to embrace a “Big Men Approach”: a history unfolding through *khulafāʾ* and *mulūk* only. Or we could explain the absence of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, the *sultān al-ʾāshiqīn*, through the latter’s *takfīr*, arguing that – unlike al-Būṣīrī’s “Sufism light” – Ibn al-Fāriḍ was found on the Mamluk equivalent of an *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*... How to understand the near-absence of *fiqh* literature? Doesn’t this make perfect sense against the backdrop of rising *siyāsa sharʿiyya*? As observed by Yossef Rapoport, the reigns of Qāyṭbāy and Qāniṣawh “s(aw) a concentration of all jurisdiction in the hands of the sultans, who present themselves as champions of the shariʿah and openly dispute the formalistic doctrines of the judiciary.”⁶⁰² As the sultan’s legal authority or *siyāsa* “did not come with an extensive body of literature”, but “was founded on popular notions of equity”⁶⁰³, what else to expect than a library that is light on *fiqh*? Did Qāniṣawh perhaps think he could do without, as Qurʾān and *Fürstenspiegel*, topped with some Sunna and *ilhām* (→ 19) provided him with all the guidance that he needed for being a good Muslim and, above all, a just ruler?

Such arguments are, of course, fraught with difficulties. Indeed, a wide range of biases and historians’ fallacies looms large. Undoubtedly most prominent is the “fallacy of negative proof”⁶⁰⁴. When it comes to *al-Kutub al-Sitta*, for example, we should be careful not to mistake *lack of evidence* for the inclusion of these in Qāniṣawh’s library for *proof* that their absence was, in fact, the case. The same goes for Ibn al-Fāriḍ: we find no trace of manuscript evidence of his inclusion in the list: *ergo*, he was absent from Qāniṣawh’s library? Before we know it, we might end up explaining away this lacuna by bringing in the numerous fatwas against his *qasidas* that were issued by ‘*ulamāʾ*’ such as the Shafiite Burhān al-Dīn al-Biqāʾī and the Hanafite Ibn al-Shiḥna.⁶⁰⁵ However, there are other facts that suggest that, in doing so, we might be mistaking *lack of evidence* for *proof of absence*. Didn’t scholars such as al-Suyūṭī write pamphlets in his favour, and isn’t al-Būṣīrī’s Mantle Ode itself a *muʾaraḍa* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s work?

Let us return to *al-Kutub al-Sitta* once more. Perhaps the sultan’s library did not hold a full set, but we must ask ourselves: why should it? In fact, it would seem

602 Y. Rapoport, “Royal Justice and Religious Law”, p. 76.

603 *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 88.

604 Fischer, *Historians’ Fallacies*, p. 47.

605 See, e.g., Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʾ al-Zuhūr*, III: 45–46; Muḥyi-i Gülşeni, *Menāḳib-i İbrāhīm-i Gülşeni*, ed. T. Yazıcı (Ankara, 1982), pp. 459–462.

that the absence of a full set wasn't quite as odd as our biased self would expect it to be. Canonical as all six may *currently* be, there is clear evidence that their *present* canon-like status did not translate itself in inclusion in whatever *historical* “Islamic” library. Bāyezid II's library, impressively stocked as it may have been, held multiple copies only of the *Şahîḥayn*, whereas only one copy each of the three *Sunans*, by Abū Dāwud, al-Nasā'ī, and Ibn Māja, and none of al-Tirmidhī's *Jāmi'*.⁶⁰⁶ Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī's personal library, described by Konrad Hirschler as “a large-scale library that is centred on the field of *ḥadīth* to such an extent that one can say that its *raison d'être* is nothing but this field”, does not seem to have included what is arguable the most authoritative of the *Six Books*, a copy of al-Bukhārī's *Şahîḥi'*.⁶⁰⁷ The fallacy that plays here is, obviously, a most common one: the “fallacy of presentism”, sometimes called the “fallacy of *nunc pro tunc*”, where

“the antecedent in a narrative series is falsified by being defined or interpreted in terms of the consequent (...) the mistaken idea that the proper way to do history is to prune away the dead branches of the past, and to preserve the green buds and twigs which have grown into the dark forest of our contemporary world.”⁶⁰⁸

The same topic, albeit framed differently, was addressed by Adam Talib in an excellent paper presented at the 2017 Conference of the School of Mamluk Studies in Beirut: “Emblematic or Exceptional? Al-Şafadī and ad-Damāmīnī”.⁶⁰⁹ Using al-Şafadī's (d. 764/1363) “exceptional” *al-Ghayth al-Musajjam fī Sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-'Ajam*, and al-Damāmīnī's (d. 827/1424) “emblematic” refutation thereof, the *Nuzūl al-Ghayth*, as a starting point, Talib raised a deceptively simple yet pertinent question in relation to our revisionist research into Mamluk literature: “Do we build our methodological approaches *up from ordinary works*, or *down from extraordinary ones*?” In answer to this, he calls for an awareness of the pressure that one's own bias exercises on the map of literary history. While we are entitled to find *al-Ghayth* “exceptional” and the *Nuzūl* “emblematic”, and thus to prefer the former over the latter – Fischer's green buds and twigs over his dead branches – we must try and prevent this presentist preference from distorting our understanding of the Mamluk literary field.

Adam Talib's call for awareness of our presentist bias is easily transposed from the research into the map of literary history to our discussion of Qānişawh's library, or, more broadly, of Mamluk libraries in general. After all, there can be

606 R.G. Gökteş, “On the Hadith Collection of Bayezid II's Palace Library”, in G. Necipoğlu, C. Kafadar & C.H. Fleischer (eds.), *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2019), I: 309–340, here pp. 314, 318.

607 *A Monument to Medieval Syrian Book Culture*, p. 77.

608 Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies*, p. 135.

609 Reworked in Talib, “Al-Şafadī, His Critics and the Drag of Philological Time”.

little doubt that our predilection for the “green twigs” of Mamluk literature over its “dead branches” has equally informed and continues to inform the Mamluk Library. What I mean to convey with this Mamluk Library, with capital L, is the corpus of Mamluk literature that we, Mamlukologists, consider valuable enough to edit, to analyse, and, indeed, to include in our private or institutional libraries. The Mamluk Library is what we find to be the green twigs of Mamluk literature, the exceptional, the Şafadīs, with its dead branches, the emblematic, the Dam-āmīnīs pruned away. As such – and it is important to stress this – this Mamluk Library is, to a large extent, a Mamlukologist library, that is, informed by Mamlukologists’ preferences and biases. Presentist by definition, it provides but a poor yardstick against which to measure any historical Mamluk library. The presentist fallacy consists of mistaking Fischer’s dead branches and the green twigs of the present for those of the past, and Talib’s exceptional for the emblematic. Unless taken for what it’s worth – just to be clear on this: a lot! – the Mamluk/ologist Library distorts our understanding of a Mamluk library. Such distortion is precisely what happens when we browse through Chapter Two, looking in vain for Ibn al-Fārid’s “exceptional” *al-Tā’iyat al-Kubrā* instead of the umpteenth “emblematic” quination of al-Būṣīrī’s *Mantle Ode*, for a full set of *al-Kutub al-Sitta* instead of the interchangeable *arba’ūna* collection, or for the *opera omnia* of al-Maqrīzī instead of an all but forgotten work of Ibn al-Ṭūlūnī.

Next to the fallacies of “negative proof” and of “presentism”, there are more fallacies against which we should be on our guard: the “fallacy of circular proof”⁶¹⁰, the “fallacy of possible proof”⁶¹¹, the “fallacy of the lonely fact”⁶¹², and, closely related to the latter, the “survivalship fallacy”⁶¹³. I will quickly gloss over the so-called “fortuitous fallacy”⁶¹⁴ – coming too close for comfort to the very concept of “browsing” that is so wholeheartedly embraced throughout this book – and spend a few more words on another fallacy. This last one, the “fallacy of composition”⁶¹⁵, captures best the epistemological leap that separates this book’s main title from its subtitle: when moving from “browsing” to “reconstructing”, from knowing (an undetermined) part of a whole to profiling, identifying and reconstructing that whole, it is tempting to mistake the “part” for the “whole”.

610 Especially pressing in Chapter Four, when we try and understand Qāniṣawh through his library. See Fischer, *Historians’ Fallacies*, p. 49.

611 I.e., X can be Y, hence X is Y. This fallacy looms large in the *Excursus*, when we try and identify titles. See Fischer, *Historians’ Fallacies*, p. 53.

612 I.e., undue generalizations. See Fischer, *Historians’ Fallacies*, p. 109.

613 I.e., X, part of Y, has survived, hence X is an important part of Y and perhaps even more important than other parts of Y that didn’t survive.

614 Compare to the third epigraph of this book: “The fortuitous fallacy is committed by any scholar who abdicates his arduous responsibility of rational selection and allows the task to be performed by him by time and accident” (Fischer, *Historians’ Fallacies*, p. 97).

615 I.e., part of X is Y, hence the whole of X is Y. See Fischer, *Historians’ Fallacies*, p. 219.

Ultimately, this all boils down to the issue of “representativeness”: how “representative” is the list of Chapter Two – in quantitative and, *mutatis mutandis*, in qualitative terms – of Qānişawh’s library? In case we would be looking at a library the size of the Mughal emperor Akbar – admittedly, a fantastic scenario – we would run 23,865 vols. short...⁶¹⁶ In the already more likely scenario that Qānişawh’s library were to match that of his Ottoman contemporary, Bāyezīd II, we would still be looking at close to another 5,700 items/7,200 titles or 98 % of Qānişawh’s library unaccounted for...⁶¹⁷ Undoubtedly, even this second match is an unlikely scenario, and we may assume Chapter Two to include more than a meagre 2 % of Qānişawh’s library, but, how many more? While Doris Behrens-Abouseif has done us a great service in collating Mamluk library sizes, both private and institutional,⁶¹⁸ what her list teaches us first and foremost is the fact that we simply cannot estimate just how large Qānişawh’s library was. What we do know, however, is the fact that his library was in fact bigger than Chapter Two suggests. A tantalizingly brief Ottoman *evrāk*, recently identified by Gülru Necipoğlu (→ Chapter Five), counts 469 vols. found in the Ghawriya alone,⁶¹⁹ so, at the very least, we are facing 241 vols. unaccounted for... In an unpublished paper, Konrad Hirschler raised the pertinent question “Where have all those books gone?” In the given context, it would seem that another question must take precedence: *how many books have gone?*

Next to the quantitative “representativeness” of Chapter Two, there is also its qualitative “representativeness”. *Prima facie*, one can think of at least two important issues that problematize the list in these terms of quality, and both these issues hark back to the chronological shallowness of the list that was dealt with before. First, as larger titles are more expensive to copy than smaller titles, it is not unreasonable to assume⁶²⁰ that copies of large items – think of multi-volume works in *tāriḫ*, *ṭabaqāt* and *ḥadīth* – changed hands much more often than copies of smaller items. Could their richer “afterlife” perhaps be an important reason why larger copies are underrepresented in the list? Smaller items may

616 G. Necipoğlu, “The Spatial Organization of Knowledge in the Ottoman Palace Library: An Encyclopedic Collection and Its Inventory”, in G. Necipoğlu, C. Kafadar & C.H. Fleischer (eds.), *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2019), I: 1–77 here p. 17.

617 *Ibid.*

618 *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria*, pp. 46–50.

619 For what it’s worth, the number “469” allows us to compare the Ghawriya library with the Fatih mosque library, which had grown from 838 mss. in the time of Meḥmed Fātiḫ, over 1241 mss. in the time of Bāyezīd II, up to 1770 mss. around 967/560. By 1155/1742 some 110 vols. had gone missing. See İ.E. Erünsal, “Fatih Sultan Mehmed: Entelektüel bir Sultanın Portresi, İlgi Duyduğu Konular, Kitaplar ve Kurduğu Kütüphaneler”, in F. Başar (ed.), *Fatih Sultan Mehmed Han* (İstanbul, 2018), pp. 63–94, here pp. 84–85.

620 At least, I found this “not unreasonable to assume”. Both Boris Liebrecht and Konrad Hirschler are rather sceptical in this regard.

often have been first-hand copies of Qāniṣawh, and thus easily identified as belonging to Qāniṣawh in the catalogues, while larger items may often have been second- or third-hand only, and thus identified as belonging to Qāniṣawh only in those catalogues that bother to trace the afterlife of mss. Earlier in this chapter, when locating the mss. of Chapter Two in time, we already suspected insufficiently detailed cataloguing to have distorted our list *in terms of copying dates*. Perhaps we may suspect this to have distorted our list also *in qualitative terms*, by ousting especially larger copies. Second, there is the fact that at least 61 items were penned by *mamlūks*. As these “barrack copies” are – as a rule – short, not long, and devotional, not technical, this is an important additional “distorting” factor.⁶²¹ In a way, the present list is perhaps more revealing in terms of the *mamlūks*’ religious curriculum than in terms of Qāniṣawh’s literary horizons.⁶²²

Fortunately, we have every reason to believe that before long this first instalment of 135 items will be followed by a second instalment. Elements that will certainly facilitate this second instalment are the on-going systematic cataloguing of manuscript notes (e.g., by Boris Liebrecht), as well as various new and exciting developments in digital humanities, such as the *Bibliography of 15th Century Arabic Historiography* in Ghent, the *Bibliotheca Arabica* in Leipzig, *Ex(-) Libris Ex Oriente* in Liège, and *KITAB* in London. Apart from that, there is the fact that both the positive and the negative evidence of the first instalment – Qāniṣawh’s pet authors, titles and copyists, as well as those who are suspiciously absent or underrepresented – will be helpful in conducting a more targeted search of catalogues and manuscript repositories. All the same, it should be stressed that, as long as no catalogue of Qāniṣawh’s books turns up, we will never be able to fully reconstruct his library on the basis of manuscripts alone. Just like endowed mss. often lack or “lo(o)se” a waqf note, so do mss. often lack or “loose” an ownership note.⁶²³

621 Konrad Hirschler (Freie Universität Berlin) rightfully questioned my calling this a “distorting factor”. Considering the fact that so many items of Chapter Two were penned by *mamlūks*, so he argues, we should rather think of this as a defining trait of Qāniṣawh’s library. While, essentially, I must agree with Hirschler’s critique, I still feel that there’s something to it. I wouldn’t be surprised to find that the list is, proportionally speaking, more representative in terms of “barrack copies” than it is in terms of copies not penned by *mamlūks*, for the simple reason that these are so easily identified (being, as a rule, first-hand copies with an explicit frontispiece). As such, while the strong presence of “barrack copies” in the list itself must indeed be considered a defining trait instead of a “distorting factor”, the proportional skewness that I hypothesize is a qualitatively “distorting factor” in its own right.

622 Compare to the Ottomanized Hanafite medrese curriculum profile of the *defter* dealt with in the *Excursus*.

623 For a good example, see the Persian *Shāh-Nāma* (→ 106). For what it’s worth, Bāyezīd II’s library catalogue might offer another parallel. Of the 5,700 mss. registered by *defterci* ‘Atūfi,

Having reached the end of our profiling of Qāniṣawh's library, it is worth reiterating that we must be careful to work from the positive evidence first and foremost, and that we must be on our guard for biases and fallacies, especially when spotting lacunae. All the same, already at this relatively early stage of research, we should allow this positive evidence at least to *speak for itself*. For me, what it speaks of first and foremost are the following two observations. First, while madrasa libraries were undoubtedly more diverse than one might readily assume, their most important focal point must have been *fiqh*, which was, after all, these libraries' *raison d'être*. As such, we can safely say that Qāniṣawh's library was certainly not a "madrasa library". But what was it then? Was it a "Mamluk court library"? Perhaps, but as we still lack the necessary comparative material to make this "Mamluk court library" a meaningful and valid analytical category, we cannot (yet) distinguish Qāniṣawh, the "Mamluk ruler" from Qāniṣawh, the idiosyncratic individual. By consequence, at least for now, Qāniṣawh's library must remain precisely that: Qāniṣawh's library.⁶²⁴ Second, while the positive evidence might not allow us to *re-centre* Qāniṣawh's royal court in the field of literary production and consumption, it at least invites us to *de-marginalize* it (→ 18). Whereas Adam Talib posited a "post-court era", in which courts were increasingly marginalized in the field of *adab*, we have to side with Matthew Keegan, who warned against "medieval anthologizers' curatorial biases, coupled with the broader decline narrative that haunts modern scholarship on the Mamluks"⁶²⁵. Qāniṣawh's court was not the literary barren field that much of the Arabic and Arabic-centred sources⁶²⁶, produced *extra muros*, would have us believe. Instead, it was a rich and vibrant literary site, and a cosmopolitan hub in a burgeoning Turkic literary ecumene. Within this court, we also need to *re-centre* the ruler himself, Qāniṣawh: no longer the passive object of panegyric or the coveted target of patronage alone, but having an authorial voice in his own right that is idiosyncratic yet in conversation with other voices. As for what he had to say, and what this says about himself, those questions are dealt with in the following chapter, *A Library Identified*.

Zeynep Atbaş and Zeren Tanındı have thus far been able to identify 1,186 (mostly on the basis of Bāyezīd II's seal: 1,010 currently still in the Topkapı Sarayı library, and 176 relocated to other libraries). As it is quite unlikely that all of the remaining 4,114 mss. simply have gone missing, this gives us an idea of the number of mss. that was owned by Bāyezīd II yet not marked accordingly (Necipoğlu, "The Spatial Organization of Knowledge in the Ottoman Palace Library", p. 21).

624 This issue is returned to in the concluding part of the *Excursus*.

625 *Middle Eastern Literatures* 21/2–3 (2018): 251–252, here p. 252.

626 To be supplemented at leisure with "male-centred", "city-centred", "normative Sunni-centred", ...

4. A Library Identified. From the Library of the Man to the Man Behind the Library

When it comes to “identifying” this library, a number of questions could be raised: how “Islamic” is this library, how “Egyptian”, how “Mamluk”, how “late-medieval”? Instead, I decided to raise another, altogether more modest question. In this chapter, I try and answer a simple question: who does the library, painstakingly reassembled in Chapter Two and tentatively profiled in Chapter Three, belong to? Obviously, on the surface, this is a non-question. As we used Qāniṣawh’s manuscript ownership an important criterion for reconstructing his library, little surprise to end up with a library that is unmistakably his and his alone. The overwhelming majority of mss. is explicitly labelled his, while a smaller portion is either authored or commissioned by himself, or dedicated to him. But of course, what I aim at with this question goes beyond its surface meaning: what is it — beyond Qāniṣawh’s immediate ownership — that makes this library *his library*? What is it in this library that could add to our understanding of Qāniṣawh or even invite us to reassess him? In short, this chapter focuses not on the library of the man, but on the man behind the library: the ruler who funded it, stocked it and owned it, Qāniṣawh al-Ghawri.

Before proceeding, a few general observations are in order. First, as was the case for the preceding chapter, this chapter would benefit greatly from a broader, comparative perspective. Indeed, no better way to answer the question formulated above than to compare Qāniṣawh’s library with *libraries that weren’t his yet probably not unlike his*: other court libraries, either those of his Mamluk predecessors or those of his contemporary, non-Mamluk rulers. Yet, here we bump into the very problem that sparked this study in the first place: a frustrating dearth of comparative material. As for the Mamluks, while we know a great deal of what they read, wrote and owned (a lot!), we are surprisingly uninformed regarding the stock of their court libraries. What yardsticks exactly are at our disposal? For now, it would seem that the Ashrafiya Library catalogue provides a first one. Over two centuries and a thousand kilometres off the mark, it is not the best yardstick, but a yardstick nonetheless. As an impressive second yardstick, there is the catalogue of Bāyezīd II’s library, which has recently been made

available in edition.⁶²⁷ So, yardsticks there certainly are, but they are still far and between and, moreover, not immediately applicable to the present case. As such, I have decided to try and answer the question raised in this chapter first and foremost by working from the manuscript evidence as itemized in Chapter Two and profiled in Chapter Three. Admittedly, when trying to understand Qāniṣawh solely through his personal library, there is always the risk of circular reasoning. However, as I have moved from browsing through the sultan's bookshelves to profiling his library with utmost care, this fallacy's risk should not be over-estimated. Having said this, let us now shift our attention from the library of the man to the man behind the library, and see what picture emerges, however blurred and coarse-grained this may be.

Qāniṣawh as a Turkic Sufistic Poet-Sultan

Perhaps no better way to capture this emerging picture than to juxtapose what are arguably the most prized items of the list, each of which stand out for their large size, splendid quality and correspondingly high production cost: the Rylands Qur'ān, the Turkic *Shāh-Nāma* Translation, and the Berlin *Dīvān* (→ 3, 107, 124)⁶²⁸. By themselves, these already capture much of the diversity found in Chapter Two:

	<i>Qur'ān</i>	<i>Shāh-Nāma</i>	<i>Dīvān</i>
Date of composition	7 th cent.	10 th –11 th	14 th –15 th
Single- or multiple text	Single-text item	Single-text item	Multiple-text item
Availability	Ubiquitous	Wide-spread	Rare materials
Date of copy	14 th -cent.	15 th cent.	15 th cent.
Original or translated?	Original language	Translated	Mostly original language
Language	Arabic	Turkic	Turkic (& Persian)
Relation to Qāniṣawh	Appropriated	Commissioned	Active involvement

When it comes to the ideological underpinnings of Qāniṣawh's royal persona, the linguistic registers in which these were produced, and the main discursive traditions tapped into, much of these are already captured by the first two items: a persona sanctioned by the Word and by the sword, discursively produced through Arabic and Turkic (here translated from Persian), and building on Is-

627 G. Necipoğlu, C. Kafadar & C.H. Fleischer (eds.), *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2019). Unfortunately, this publication appeared too late for me to exploit it to its fullest potential.

628 These three items are here taken as proxies for three larger groups of items and their discursive tradition.

lamic juristic orthodoxy and Iranian epic heroism.⁶²⁹ As observed by Burzine Waghmar, “a copy of Firdowsi’s *Shahnameh* (...) was so indispensable to a ruler’s library that it might almost be considered part of majestic regalia”. Indeed, Waghmar continues, it is “hard to imagine two more potent symbols of (...) ideology” than the Qur’ān and the *Shāh-Nāma*. Combined, “they exhibited (the ruler’s) twin language of Irano-Islamic authority.”⁶³⁰

However, I argue that the powerful diptych of Qur’ān & *Shāh-Nāma* alone does not capture the whole story of the library and of the man behind it. In order to do so, we need to add the Berlin *Divān* as a crucial third item. As will be demonstrated, not only does this allow us to better appreciate Qāniṣawh’s self-image, it also invites us to re-evaluate him: no longer merely as a late medieval Sunni ruler in the Arab world with some idiosyncratic quirks; but also as an early modern Sufistic ruler within a burgeoning Turkic literary ecumene, who was very much in tune with various transformative trends.

When approaching his *divan* as a micro-site of the sultan’s social agency, what royal persona do we discern Qāniṣawh discursively producing? The persona that we discern is one that I would like to coin that of the “Turkic Sufistic poet-sultan”, *i. e.*, a ruler who combined military and spiritual potency⁶³¹ and who himself discursively produced his persona through Turkic Sufistic poetry first and foremost (apart from the *Divān* → 5, 14, 18, 19, 43, 82, 100, 125). Perhaps nobody captured Qāniṣawh’s royal self-image in a single line better than the translator/author of the *Shāh-Nāma*. In the fascinating epilogue, he describes Qāniṣawh as:

629 Compare this to Tilmann Trausch’s investigation of the onomastics of the rulers of the Sultanate of Delhi (“Aibak, ‘Alī, Alexander. Namen als Beitrag zur Herrscherslegitimation im Sultanat von Delhi”, in M. Becher & H. Hess (eds.), *Machterhalt und Herrschaftssicherung. Namen als Legitimationsinstrument in transkultureller Perspektive* (Bonn, 2019), pp. 193–234).

630 B. Waghmar, “An Annotated Micro-History and Bibliography of the Houghton *Shahnama*”, in S. Sharma & B. Waghmar (eds.), *Firdawsii Millennium Indicum: Proceedings of the Shahnama Millenary Seminar, The KR Cama Oriental Institute, Mumbai, 8–9 January, 2011* (Mumbai, 2016), pp. 144–180, here p. 145. Waghmar himself is quoting Kathryn Babayan (*Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs*, p. 326) and David Roxburgh (*The Persian Album 1400–1600. From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven/London, 2005, repr. 2013, p. 317). Compare also to A. Soudavar, “The Early Safavids and Their Cultural Interactions with Surrounding States”, in N.R. Keddie & R. Matthee (eds.), *Iran and the Surrounding World. Interactions in Culture and Cultural Politics* (Seattle/London, 2002), pp. 89–120, here p. 92–93: “Since the Mongol period, the curriculum (*farhang-e shahaneh*) of Turko-Mongol rulers of Iran required royalty both to be educated in Persian literature and to patronize the sumptuous reproduction of its major works (...) as consolidation of dynastic rule took precedence over conquest, princely appearance and activities had to be emphasized more than ever before. In this context, the production of a royal illustrated *Shah-nameh* manuscript was de rigueur.”

631 A somewhat flippant interpretation of *ṣāhib al-sayf wa l-qalam*, one of the many titles in Qāniṣawh’s winding list of encomia. Whereas “sword” and “pen” are commonly related to the ruler’s chancellery and army, I would suggest not to gloss over this particular encomium all too quickly.

Ki sulṭān-i cihān cān-i cihāndur ❁ *Lisān-i ḡayba ḡöjli tercümāndur*

The sultan of the world is the soul of the world, ❁ His heart the interpreter of the language of the unseen.

This single verse⁶³², laden with meaning, can easily be supplemented with other evidence, both evidence culled from Chapter Two and some additional material:

- The descriptive heading of one of Qāniṣawh’s poems: *Wa lahu mim mā ‘al-hama llāh qalbahū* (→ 19, poem nr. 8).
- The title of one of Qāniṣawh’s poetry collections: *al-Qaṣā ‘id al-Rabbāniya*, which could indicate that Qāniṣawh’s poems were, in fact, divine incoming thoughts (→ 100).
- The “rose ceremony” recorded by Ibn Iyās (→ 120).
- Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī’s *Nafā ‘is al-Majālis* (→ 82), the only (?) source that has the sultan dancing (!) during the 911/1512 *Mawlid* ceremony. Apart from Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, involved also are the elusive *awlād al-rifā ‘al-riqā‘*. While the ms. clearly reads *awlād al-rifā‘*, ‘Azzām either misread this or silently emended it as *riqā‘*, “bits of cloth”, undoubtedly inspired in this by *khirqā* and *muraqqa‘* further down in the fragment. As *rifā‘* seems to lead us nowhere (apart from, obviously, the *Rifā‘iya*), at present, the only option is to follow ‘Azzām’s reading. Oddly enough, in the quoted passage, we find one of two instances only where the original text is blotted out (or highlighted?) in white (the other instance, on p. 60, being much smaller) (→ fig. 60).

Thumma ba‘da l-‘ishā amara ḥaḍrat mawlānā l-sulṭān awlād al-rifā‘⁶³³ bi l-samā‘. Fa labisū khirqat wāsi‘at al-akmām wa l-dhayl, wa raqaṣū ilā niṣf al-layl. Lammā waṣala (sic) ghulghulat al-raḡḡ bi masāmi‘ al-malik, fa raqaṣa ma‘ahum sukkān ṣawāmi‘ al-falak. Wa labisa shaykh al-falak bi ziyyihim khirqat al-muraqqa‘ al-azraq, wa tashaddada bi shadd al-aḥmar min al-shafaq, wa raqaṣa ma‘ahum wa dāra ḥawlahum ḥattā ṭala‘a l-nahār bi amr Fāṭir al-layl wa l-nahār.

Wa lammā faraghū min al-samā‘, qurba ṭulū‘ al-shams wa l-irtifā‘, ijtama‘at al-mashāyikh wa l-‘ulamā‘ wa l-fuqahā‘ wa l-zuhhād wa l-ibād wa l-fuqarā‘, wa qālū: “Al-lāhumma! Ayyid dawlat ḥādhā l-sulṭān al-a‘zam, wa shayyid arkān ma‘dilāt al-khāqān al-mu‘azzam, wa jāl rāyātahu marfū‘a fawḡa khaymat al-falak al-zarqā‘ wa aḥkāmahu nāfidha ilā aṣqā‘ biqā‘ al-ghabrā‘, bi ḥaqq Muḥammad ‘ayn a‘yān al-insān wa ālihi wa ṣaḥbihi aṣḥāb al-shuhūd wa l-‘iyān!”⁶³⁴

Then, following the evening prayer, His Excellency, Our Lord, the sultan, ordered the <Sufis> to perform a *samā‘*. They put on the wide-sleeved and wide-hemmed *khirqā*, and they danced until midnight. As the sounds of dancing reached the ruler’s ears, he started dancing with them, <[as] the dwellers of the hermitages of the firmament [i. e.,

632 Kültürel & Beyreli, *Şerifi Şehnâme çevirisi*, v. 56057.

633 ‘Azzām read *al-riqā‘*, which is contradicted by the ms. (p. 120).

634 ‘Azzām, *Majālis al-Sulṭān al-Ghawrī*, p. 50.

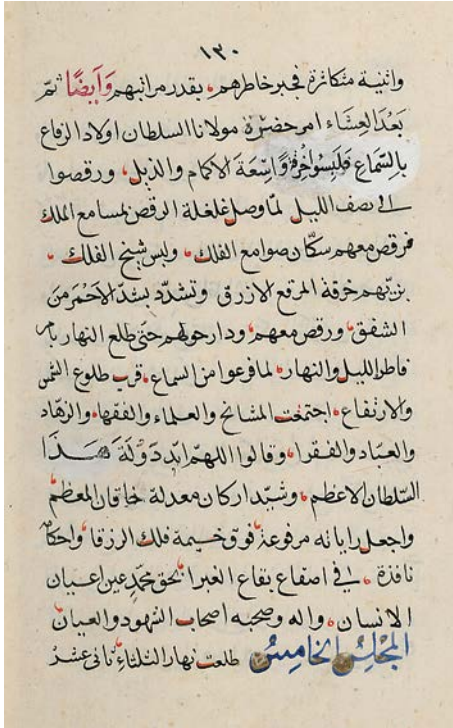


Fig. 60: A passage highlighted or tampered with?

as the celestial bodies in the firmament]>⁶³⁵. <The master of the circle [around which the dancers would turn] [i. e., the sultan?] put on his apparel>⁶³⁶, a patched blue *khirqa*, [which was] intensified by the power of the red of twilight. He danced together with them and he whirled around them, until day broke at the command of the Creator of Night and Day.

When they had finished the *samā* toward the rise of the sun and [its] ascent, the sheikhs, '*ulamā*', *fuqahā*', *zuhhād*, '*ibād* and *fuqarā*' flocked together, saying, "O God! Support the rule of this great sultan! Set up the pillars of justice of the exalted *khāqān*! Make his banners hoisted above the blue tent of the firmament, and make his orders reach [all] regions and places of the Earth, by the truth of Muḥammad, the Most Eminent of Men, His Family, and His Companions, those who were present and who have seen [the Prophet's mission].

635 Or rather "he started dancing with them, [that is, with] the dwellers of the hermitages of the firmament [i. e., Sufis]?"

636 Or, by reading *labbasa* instead of *labisa*, "The Master of the Firmament [i. e., God] clothed them with the patched blue *khirqa* [of the firmament]?"

A quotation heavy to unpack indeed! What is clear, however, is the fact that the sultan participated in a Sufi whirling ceremony, with himself and the other participants likened to the firmament's circling *kawākib* (→ 120).

- Various quotations from the Dublin Manuscript (→ 17), which indicates that the sultan's *mamlūks* not only learned how to recite the Qur'ān, but also how to sing (*'alā anwā' al-naghamāt*) their master's *muwashshahāt*:

- On the performance of the sultan's poetry: *Wa jā'at al-mamālik al-sultā-nīya wa l-ṣighār ma'a fuqahāyihim wa aghawātihim al-kibār, wa jalasū yaqra'ūna l-Qur'ān kamā hafizūhu min al-riwāyāt, wa shara'ū ba'da qir-ā'tihim bi qirā'at al-muwashshahāt allatī rattabahā mawlānā l-maqām al-sharīf 'alā anwā' al-naghamāt al-mufakkkhamāt li man huwa ahhalaha*⁶³⁷

The sultan's *mamlūks* and the novices came, together with their *fuqahā'* and their older *aghas*, and sat down to recite the Qur'ān, as they had memorized from the readings. Following their [Qur'ān] recitation, they began to recite the *muwashshaḥs*, which our lord, His Noble Excellency, had composed to a variety of honoured *naghamāt*, to the one who had made them possible [i. e., the sultan himself].

- Regarding the instructors of the *mamlūks*: *Wa minhum man amarahu 'azza naṣruhu bi ta'līm al-adhān bi aḥsan al-alḥān, minhum man ta'allama al-adhkār wa muwashshahātihi l-sharīfa*⁶³⁸

Among them, there was one whom [the sultan,] may his victory be strong, ordered to teach [to perform] the *adhān* to the very best tune, and one who had learnt the *dhikrs* and his noble *muwashshaḥs*

- More on the *muwashshahāt* instructors: *Wa mu'allimuhum al-shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn wa akhīhi l-shaykh Abū l-Faṭḥ al-mu'allimayni li adhkār mawlānā al-maqām al-sharīf al-musharraf bi aṭbāq al-qa'at al-maḥrūsa (...) wa jalasū ladayhi wa qara'ū l-qur'ān al-'azīm bi riwāyātihim 'alayhi wa shara'ū fī l-adhkār wa l-muwashshahāt (...) wa khutima l-qur'ān al-'azīm bi l-da'awāt fī ṣaḥāyifihī al-musharrafāt*⁶³⁹

Their instructor was sheikh Shihāb al-Dīn and his brother, sheikh Abū l-Faṭḥ, [both] teachers of the *dhikrs* of Our Lord, His Noble and Exalted Excellency, in the barracks of the well-protected citadel (...) They sat before him and they recited the Noble Qur'ān, and then they began with the *dhikrs* and the *muwashshaḥs* (...) and the Qur'ān recitation was completed with the invocations in its exalted pages.

- On the whole, the numerous specimens of penmanship of Qāniṣawh's *mamlūks* are of a devotional nature and involve fairly ubiquitous titles. However,

637 F. 248r.

638 Ff. 276v–277r.

639 Ff. 282r–v.

next to the various copies of ‘Alī’s aphorisms, Abū Madyan’s *Istighfārīya*, al-Būşīrī’s *Kawākib*, al-Ūshī’s *Bad’ al-Amālī*, etc., we also find one small divan of Qānişawh’s poetry that was copied by a *mamlūk*: *al-Qaşā’id al-Rabbāniya wa l-Muwashshahāt al-Sulṭāniya* (→ 100). Perhaps, not only reciting but also copying the sultan’s poems was an act of devotion in its own right?

- According to *al-‘Uqūd al-Jawhariya* (→ 46), Qānişawh pursued a deliberate literary policy already in his pre-sultanic days. Clearly, for him, owning a divan mattered a great deal:

*Qāla ‘azza naşruhu kāna maqşūdi ba’da ʿarsūs tawliyat al-Bira ḥattā ya’rifā (sic) aḥwāl al-‘Ajam aydan, li annahu ḥaşala lahu ma’rifat al-‘Arab min al-Şa’id wa ma’rifat al-Rūm min ʿarsūs. Wa qad kāna mulāzim ‘indahū l-shu’arā’ wa l-żurafā’ fa nshadda divān al-shī’r wa jama’ahu fī Malaṭīya.*⁶⁴⁰

[The sultan,] may his victory be strong said, “My objective after [the governorate of] ʿarsūs was to be appointed as governor of al-Bira.” [Thus he wished] in order for him to get to know the conditions of Persia as well, since he had already familiarized himself with the Arabs through [his time in] al-Şa’id, and with Rūm through [his time] in ʿarsūs. Poets and *żurafā’* were his regular guests, and he has composed a divan of poetry, which he had collected in Malaṭīya.

Of course, one could object that Qānişawh’s divan and the other sources referred to reflect the idiosyncrasies of a Turkophile and Sufism-crazed sultan more than anything else, and that, by consequence, his particular royal persona was of little currency. Such arguments, however, are easily discarded: rather than idiosyncratic quirks, we are dealing with ubiquitous phenomena.⁶⁴¹ By composing Sufistic poetry and assembling this in a divan in the early 1400s⁶⁴², Aḥmed Jalāyir had inaugurated a novel, self-authored monarchic script that clearly caught on anywhere between Istanbul and Agra, Cairo and Saray. In Aḥmed Jalāyir’s wake, the Ottoman Bāyezīd, the Timurid Ḥusayn Bayḳara, the Qaraqoyunlu Jahānshāh, the Uzbek Shaybānī Khān, the Krim khan Mengli Girāy, the Safavid Shāh Ismā’īl⁶⁴³ and the Mughal Bābur alike all broke free from their traditional role as

640 II: 88v.

641 As detailed in the discussion of *al-‘Uqūd al-Jawhariya* (→ 47, 48), Circassian remained meaningful next to Turkic, yet first and foremost within the Mamluk Sultanate.

642 S. Armutlu, “Sultan Ahmed Celāyir. Hayatı, Divanının Tenkitli Metni ve Tahlili”, PhD thesis (Atatürk Üniversitesi, Erzurum, 1990). For the earliest known copy, made in Baghdad in 809/1407, see Z. Tanındı, “The Arts of the Book: Patrons and Interactions in Erzincan between 1365 and 1410”, in *At the Crossroads of Empires: 14th-15th Century Eastern Anatolia. Proceedings of the International Symposium held in Istanbul, 4th-6th May 2007* (Istanbul, 2012), pp. 221–238, here pp. 225. Obviously, while he is the oldest example of a poet-sultan who assembled a divan that I know of, there might be older ones.

643 Somewhat surprising at first sight, shah Ismā’īl offers a particularly strong parallel to Qānişawh. While Ismā’īl was undoubtedly much more explicit as a self-proclaimed hero in

the object of legitimizing and royalty-producing texts. Indeed, not even within the Mamluk Sultanate did Qāniṣawh stand alone. Much of what Qāniṣawh championed was heralded already by sultan Qāyṭbāy, who himself, it will be recalled, authored Turkic Sufistic poetry (→ 3-1, 43)⁶⁴⁴.

Clearly, while poets and chroniclers continued to discursively bestow their royal persona on them, the rulers themselves assumed discursive agency. While Aḥmed Jalāyir's language of choice to do so was still mostly (but not exclusively Persian), their idiom of choice was the Turkic aristolect, a novel shared Islamic idiom of power, in which Arabic and Persian were amalgamated into a single medium of expression. This choice of language for self-expression can hardly be considered an innocent one.⁶⁴⁵ In the words of Sheldon Pollock, "Choosing a language for literary and political text production implies affiliating with an existing sociocultural community or summoning such a community into being."⁶⁴⁶ As for their medium of choice, this was Sufistic poetry (ghazals, *rubā'iyāt*, *muwashshahāt*, ...) that was assembled in a *divan*. Far from idiosyncratic, Qāniṣawh's conjuncture of Muslim kingship and Turkic poetry was thus very much in tune with larger transformative trends, which swept throughout the 15th to 16th-centuries and all across Shahab Ahmad's Balkans-to-Bengal complex.⁶⁴⁷

What "royal self" the rulers sought to produce in their Turkic ghazals is a question that cannot be dealt with here in much more detail. Suffice to say that, while this new "royal self" was both *Süleymān-i zamān* and *Dārā-i devlet*⁶⁴⁸ (thus hinging on the two prized items already referred to, Qur'ān and *Shāh-Nāma*), it

the Iranian epic style and divinely sanctioned ruler than Qāniṣawh ever was, as far as I can tell, it is the only poet-sultan apart from Qāniṣawh who had his poetry performed by his followers (→ 17) (see F. Csirkés, "Messianic Oeuvres in Interaction: Misattributed Poems by Shah Esmā'īl and Nesimi", *Journal of Persianate Studies* 8 (2015): 155–194). Coincidence or not, just like Qāniṣawh, Ismā'īl was a avid reader of the *Shāh-Nāma* (B. D. Wood, "Shah Ismā'īl and the *Shāhnāma*" (paper presented at the Second Edinburgh Shahnama Conference, 8–9 March, 2003).

644 In this respect, it can hardly be considered a coincidence that Qāyṭbāy owned a collection of poems by Kaygūsuz Abdāl, Gülşehrī, and 'Āşık Paşa, who pioneered the development of a vernacular mystical tradition in Turkic.

645 Obviously, both Arabic and Persian held their ground, but their functional distribution on the Islamic literary market was altered by Turkic as a relative newcomer.

646 Pollock, *The Language of the God in the World of Men*, p. 27. For a succinct yet excellent introduction to the emergence of literary Turkic in the Near East, and a discussion of the applicability of Sheldon Pollock's widely influential concept of a "vernacular millennium", see A.C. Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society in Mongol Anatolia* (Cambridge, UK, 2019), pp. 147–187. On p. 185, Peacock rightfully observed that the "study of Turkish literature in the Mamluk realm in still in its infancy."

647 Yet, there is no reason to assume that Qāniṣawh was ever the object of a sacralisation to the extent that the early modern period has witnessed. For an excellent discussion of such "exaggeration" (*ghulūw*), see Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs*.

648 Kültürel & Beyreli, *Şerifî Şehnâme çevirisi*, vv. 56079–56080.

was more than the sum of these two parts. It constituted a novel blend of Qur'anic and Firdawsian discourse, which had been fed into a "post-Abbasid blender" together with other ingredients such as the vernacularization of Turkic, the indigenization of (Alidist) Sufism⁶⁴⁹, and various other strands that would gain more momentum in the early modern age and that have been masterfully captured by Walters & Kalpaklı's "Age of Beloveds", Azfar Moin's "Millennial Sovereign", Hüseyin Yılmaz' "redefined caliphate", and Matthew Melvin-Koushki's newly coined "saint-philosopher-king".⁶⁵⁰ Admittedly, in this light, the absence of "occult books" is all the more remarkable. Yet, if this body of knowledge remains true to its etymological meaning (Latin *occulere/occultare*, "hide, cover, conceal"), the near-absence of the "occult" from Chapter Two may be a heuristic problem first and foremost...

Towards a Recalibration of Institutionalized Divides?

Whereas it has been suggested that Qānişawh was not a very religious man⁶⁵¹, this assessment strikes the present author as remarkably off the mark. When measured against the yardstick of normative Sunni religiosity (whatever that may be), then perhaps Qānişawh isn't the most pious ruler. But shouldn't we measure him against the yardstick of his own age?

Neither a coincidence nor a passing curiosity, I posit that Qānişawh's royal persona and the ways in which he articulated this was his way of "affiliating" himself with a novel sociocultural community: the community of the Turkic Sufistic poet-sultan. Qānişawh's poetry reflects an innovation in rulership, a rulership now moulded in the model of the Turkic Sufistic poet-sultan, and shared with rulers across the Balkans-to-Bengal complex. We could now contend ourselves with considering this a transversal phenomenon that straddled linguistic divides (Arabic, Persian and Turkic), spanned temporal partitions (late medieval and early modern), and crisscrossed areal boundaries (the Arabic,

649 The Mamluks' imamophilia has already been pointed at (→ 90/1).

650 W.G. Andrews & M. Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds. Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham/London, 2005); Melvin-Koushki, "Early Modern Islamic Empire: New Forms of Religiopolitical Legitimacy", in A. Salvatore et al. (eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell History of Islam* (Hoboken, NJ, 2018), pp. 353–375; A. Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign. Sacred Kingship & Sainthood in Islam* (New York, 2012); H. Yılmaz, *Caliphate Redefined. The Mystical Turn in Ottoman Political Thought* (Princeton, 2018). Unlike these and other post-Mongol forms of religio-political legitimacy (Chingizid lineage, *walāya*, astrology and auspicious conjunction, messianism, occultism, monism, ...), the phenomenon of the Turkic poet-sultan seems to remain understudied.

651 See, e.g., D. Behrens-Abouseif, "Sultan al-Ghawri and the Arts", *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 71–94, *passim*.

Turkic and Persianate spheres). However, rather than adding to the proliferation of transversal phenomena, I would like to argue that a conscious and well-informed re-calibration of prevalent institutionalized partitions might be more beneficial.

In my view, the novel type of the Turkic poet-king is a meaningful historical phenomenon that is areally ubiquitous and temporally in sync to such an extent that we can posit two viable alternatives for areal and temporal partition: a “Turkic literary ecumene” and an “age of poet-sultans”. Rather than framing Turkic literary mobilities and connectivities as a trans-regional phenomenon that spans the Arabic, Turkic and Persianate spheres, I posit a “Turkic literary ecumene” as a novel areal partition.⁶⁵² Instead of understanding the rise of the poet-sultan as a trans-temporal phenomenon that straddles the late medieval and the early modern, I posit an “age of poet-sultans” as an alternative temporal partition.⁶⁵³

Obviously, such bold posits require careful substantiation. Taking a reflexive turn, are the “age of poet-sultans” and the “Turkic literary ecumene” valid and viable categories, or rather mere descriptive stopgaps? Consider, for example, the category of “poet-sultans”: is this a *valid analytical category* or merely a *descriptive shortcut* for “sultans who write poetry in Turkic”? In order to save the analytical validity, it needs to be established that these “poet-sultans” share more than a — historically contingent — common Turkic aristolect, Sufi imagery and Persian tropes, and that their monarchic verses can be read as “textual instantiations” of a royal self that is both specific and shared by all. Put otherwise, can we discern a shared “monarchic script”, which might reflect changes in the nature of rulership? Moreover, is this “monarchic script” as a historical phenomenon sufficiently ubiquitous and sufficiently delineated in time as to warrant an “age of poet-sultans” as a novel and equally viable temporal partition, one that straddles the late medieval and the early modern?

Following up on this, another issue that needs further exploration is the interrelation of the “age of the poet-sultan” with other synchronicities referred to

652 Unlike the “Turkic literary ecumene”, the concepts of an “Arabic lingua franca”, a “Sanskrit ecumene” and a “Persianate cosmopolis” seem to have a considerable pedigree already, researched by scholars such as Evrim Binbaş, Robert Canfield, Sheldon Pollock, Brian Spooner & William Hanaway, and Audrey Truschke. Other similar terms used by, e.g., Benedict Anderson and Muhsin al-Musawi, are “imagined”, “textual” or “interpretive community” and “republic of letters”.

653 Its age straddles the late medieval and early modern and is tentatively set on the 15th and first half of the 16th century. Its beginning is demarcated by the production of Turkic poetry by sultan Aḥmad Jalāyir; its end by the regal years of the second- and third generation Safavid and Mughal rulers, under whose rule Turkic remained strong, yet, *prima facie*, lost its earlier, aristolectic momentum. These temporal demarcations should not be mistaken: they relate not to the Turkic ecumene as a whole, but merely to a specific era of it.

above. By way of illustration, let me return to Qāniṣawh's poetry once more. According to the Dublin Manuscript (→ 17), during night vigils, the sultan's *mamlūk* recruits not only recited the Qur'ān, al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* or al-Būṣīrī's *Burda* by heart, but also his very own *muwashshaḥ* poems! Thus putting one's poetry on a par with time-honoured sacral texts is a bold move that suggests great confidence. Indeed, such strong confidence on Qāniṣawh's behalf may well be reflected in the title of one of his poetry collections, *al-Qaṣā'id al-Rabbāniya*, which could be translated as "The Qasidas Manifesting God's Lordship". Clearly, the founder of the Safavid empire, Shāh Ismā'il — with as his nom de plume Khaṭā'i, "Sinner" — was not the first ruler to see his poetry adapted as devotional poetry! Hence, Qāniṣawh's work must be understood not only as an instantiation of the "poet-sultan"; it also resonates deeply with other synchronicities referred to above, such as Melvin-Koushki's "saint-philosopher-king". In short, not only must we reflect on the viability of the "poet-sultan" as an analytical category; we also need to ask whether it can — or should — be kept separated, *in any meaningful way*, from those other synchronicities, which it deeply resonated with.

The two novel partitions, suggested above, accommodate interregional connections and *longue durée* commonalities that are scarcely noticeable *as a single phenomenon* when working within the prevalent institutional partitions. Nonetheless, these posits should not be understood as a call to go *against*, but rather as an incentive to go *beyond* institutionalized divides, which often, as in the present case, blind rather than elucidate. Perhaps no better way to illustrate this than to compare these with a remarkably similar and equally challenging recalibration of existing areal and temporal divisions: the "Persianate". In 2016, Kia & Marashi argued that

"(...) the divisions that have compartmentalized area studies into the intellectual silos of Middle East, South Asian, Central Asian, East Asian and Southeast Asian studies, or — just as consequentially — the conventions of periodization that have traditionally separated the modern from the premodern, have worked to foreclose historical understandings of the Persianate that transgress these boundaries (...and) have prevented critical transregional and transtemporal historical readings of the Persianate (... and) continue to obscure our understanding of the common and connected histories of regions stretching from Anatolia to Xinjiang."⁶⁵⁴

654 "Introduction. After the Persianate", *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 36/3 (2016): 379–383. For two most recent studies into the Persianate, see A. Amanat & A. Ashraf (eds.), *The Persianate World. Rethinking a Shared Sphere* (Leiden/Boston, 2019); and N. Green (ed.), *The Persianate World. The Frontiers of a Eurasian Lingua Franca* (Oakland, CA, 2019).

Indeed, one could easily replace Kia & Marashi's "Persianate" with the "Turkic literary ecumene" and the "age of Turkic poet-sultans", for these novel partitions also

"blur the temporal boundary between the pre- and the early modern (...) take seriously the legacies of long, sustained cultural contacts (...and) self-consciously look across the artificial partitions of Middle East and Asian studies to highlight sources and themes that have traditionally – as described by Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi – been rendered "homeless" by 20th-century area studies paradigms".

It is only by recalibrating institutional divides that Qāniṣawh's poetry and, more general, the new type of the Turkic poet-sultans are no longer "homeless", and that these can finally be re-cognized and validated as meaningful historical phenomena waiting to be explored in novel and innovative ways.

Probing the Depths of al-Ghawrī...

In the preceding paragraphs, I used Qāniṣawh's library and his personal literary output of Turkic Sufistic poetry to build a case for recalibrating the prevalent institutionalized temporal partition of late medieval and early modern, a partition that I often find ill informed, ahistorical, and blinding rather than elucidating. More to the point, I argue that the study of Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī has always experienced a retrograde gravitational pull exercised by the Mamluk Sultanate's late medieval past. This pull has been strong enough to draw whatever early modern tendencies Qāniṣawh may have displayed back into the late medieval era, thus reducing these to temporally anomalous personal quirks more than anything else. In order to counter this gravitational pull, I have "re-cognized" Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī not (only) as a late "late medieval" ruler, but (also) as an early "early modern" ruler, by applying the concept of the "Turkic poet-sultan" as a novel temporal lens that straddles the late medieval and the early modern. At last, Qāniṣawh's consciously designed *divan* of Turkic Sufistic poetry with its opening miniature that depicts him seated on a throne, the devotional performative context of his poetry, and the "Rose Ceremony" no longer need to be reduced to aberrations to an age-old Mamluk standard, but can be "re-cognized" for what they are: excitingly innovative, fully in tune with wider developments across Shahab Ahmad's Balkans-to-Bengal complex, and heralding a new, early modern type of Islamic ruler.⁶⁵⁵

655 The same goes for various other strands of legitimation that were cultivated to some extent by Qāniṣawh, such as his claim to *tajdid* (→ 18), all too often glossed over as merely formulaic, and his vast gardening project (→ 107). While these may seem idiosyncratic when

Thus recognizing Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī not only as a late medieval Mamluk sultan, but also as an early modern Turkic poet-sultan allows us even to make (more) sense of Qāniṣawh's very *nisba*: al-Ghawrī.⁶⁵⁶ So far, it seems that only the *nisba*'s referentiality has received some attention, while its functionality was never questioned. In terms of referentiality, four suggestions have been made: Ibn Iyās related it to the Ghawr barracks in Cairo (where Qāniṣawh received his training), while others have sought its origins as far as Ghawr Filistīn in Palestine, Gori in Georgia (the birthplace of Stalin), and Ghor in Afghanistan.⁶⁵⁷ Obviously, the simplest solution is the correct one. In fact, Ibn Iyās's explanation is confirmed by the unpublished "memoirs" of Qāniṣawh (→ 47, 48). From the lengthy quotation from the second volume of *al-Uqūd al-Jawhariya* given earlier, we had already learnt that Qāniṣawh was trained in the Ghawr barracks (together with other *mamlūks*, including Jān Bulāṭ *al-Ghawrī*), and that in those early days Qāniṣawh was known as Qāniṣawh al-Ṣaghīr. Picking up the quotation where we had left, one day, Qāniṣawh was summoned by the then reigning sultan, Qāytbāy, to participate in a wrestling competition:

Wa kāna 'azza naṣruhu waḥdahu fī l-ṭabaqa ma'a shakhṣ shaykh kabīr, wa ba'da thalāthat ashhur akhrajū lahu farasan ma'a Jān Bulāṭ al-Ghawrī, wa kāna min mush-tawarāt al-sultān Khushqadam. Thumma ba'da dhālika jā 'inda l-sultān mamlūkān wa ṭalabā l-ṣirā', aḥaduhumā smuhu Tanam wa l-ākharu smuhu Ṭīmānbāy Samiz. Fa haraba Tanam wa lam yaḥḍur al-ṣirā'. Fa qāla l-sultān al-marḥūm, "Hātū Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, ḥattā yuṣārī ma'a hādḥā!" Wa hādḥā sabab tasmīyatihī 'azza naṣruhu bi l-Ghawrī.⁶⁵⁸

[Qāniṣawh,] may his victory be strong, was [left] alone in the barracks, together with some old sheikh. Three months later, he was issued a horse⁶⁵⁹, together with Jān Bulāṭ al-Ghawrī, one of the Royal *mamlūks* who were first trained by sultan Khushadam. Later, two *mamlūks*, one named Tanam and the other one named Ṭīmānbāy Samiz, came to sultan [Qāytbāy] and asked [him permission] for a wrestling match. Yet, Tanam fled and stytayed away from the wrestling match. The late sultan said, "Fetch Qāniṣawh al-

held against a Mamluk (i. e., a late medieval) yardstick, they are much less so when held against a contemporary (i. e., early modern) yardstick.

656 For the sultan's *ism*, Qāniṣawh, see D'hulster, "Sitting with Ottomans and Standing with Persians", pp. 242–246.

657 Alhamzeh, "Late Mamluk Patronage", pp. 35–36; D'hulster, "Sitting with Ottomans and Standing with Persians", pp. 245–246; Yavuz, *Kansu Gavri'nin Türkçe Divanı*, p. 46; → 19.

658 Ff. 67r-v.

659 Cfr. D. Ayalon, "Mamlūk", in H.A.R. Gibb *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*, 12 vols. (Leiden, 1986–2004), VI: 314–321, here p. 318, "Each single Mamlūk attending the school was manumitted on finishing his period of apprenticeship. The ceremony was a communal one, carried out in the presence of the sultan in a passing-out parade called *khardj*, in which 150 to 500 "graduates" took part. Each one of them received a manumission certificate, called *ḥātāka* (...)"

Ghawrī! Let him wrestle with this [Ṭūmānbāy Samiz!]" This [simple mix-up] is the reason why he called [Qāniṣawh,], may his victory be everlasting, al-Ghawrī.

Little surprise, Qāniṣawh emerged victorious from the wrestling competition, and was rewarded by Qāyṭbāy with a promotion to *jāmdār*, but that story will have to wait for some other occasion. What matters here is the fact that Qāniṣawh received his name because of simple mix-up of names by Qāyṭbāy, and that this *nisba* relates to the Ghawr barracks. An apt cognomen indeed, for this was the place where it all began for Qāniṣawh, or, in the words of Ibn al-Ṭūlūnī (→ 83/2), the place *fiḥā mabda' sa'āda[tihi]*. At last, the more exotic explanations of al-Ghawrī can be left to peace...

Much more interesting than the referentiality of the *nisba*, however, is its functionality. Why could sultans al-Malik al-Ashraf Baybars, al-Malik al-Zāhir Jaqmaq, and others do with a simple “*laqab + ism*”, whereas Qāniṣawh decided on al-Malik al-Ashraf Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī instead? Of course, there is the fact that Qāniṣawh was not the first sultan to go by this particular *ism*, as a few years before his accession, another Qāniṣawh ruled briefly: al-Malik al-Zāhir Qāniṣawh (r. 904–906/1498–1500) (→ 98). However, while this explains why Qāniṣawh would find it useful to add a *nisba* to his name, this still doesn't explain why he settled with al-Ghawrī, which is, after all, an agnomen that reflects his humble origins as a not yet franchised military slave being trained in a *ṭabaqa*. The answer to this puzzle is, in my view, surprisingly simple. What is (al-)Ghawrī? Well, as it looks like a *takhalluṣ*⁶⁶⁰ and is actually used as a *takhalluṣ* (both in his Turkic and his Arabic poetry!)⁶⁶¹, then surely it is a *takhalluṣ*!⁶⁶² By sheer coincidence, Qā-

660 In Classical Arabic poetry, *takhalluṣ* refers to the transition between various sections of the *qaṣīda*. In Persian and Turkic, on the other hand, *takhalluṣ* or *makhlaṣ* commonly refers to the signature verse of the ghazal, in which the poet refers to himself by his pen name, and hence to the poet's pen-name itself. *Prima facie*, the most common type of a *takhalluṣ* is “noun + ī”, e.g. ‘Adlī, ‘Ārifī, ‘Avnī, Ḥaqīqī, Khaṭā’ī, Muḥibbī, Murādī, Nesīmī, Shāhī, ... See P. E. Losensky, “Linguistic and Rhetorical Aspects of the Signature Verse (Takhalluṣ) in the Persian Ghazal”, *Edebiyat* 8 (1997): 249–271.

661 There is little surprise in the fact that many of Qāniṣawh's Turkic ghazals have Ghawrī in their penultimate verse, as this was highly conventional. More surprising, however, is the fact that we also encounter the sultan's *takhalluṣ* in many of his Arabic poems (see, e.g., Yavuz & Kafes, “Kansu Gavri'nin Arapça Divanı”, p. 129; Mursī, “Dīwān al-Sulṭān al-Ghawrī”, p. 152). As pointed out by Emil Homerin, such an extensive use of a signature verse in Arabic poetry is somewhat of a novelty, “a new trend”, heralded first and foremost by the late 15th-century Egyptian poet, Muḥammad al-Ṣūfī (“Arabic *takhalluṣ*, Persian Style in Muḥammad al-Ṣūfī's Poems to Muḥammad the Prophet”, *Journal of Arabic Literature* 51 (2020): 325–350). Homerin tentatively links al-Ṣūfī's extensive use of a signature verse to 15th-century Sufi chanting practices (especially Arabic *zajals*), and the poet's possible exposure to Persian and Turkic ghazals, two elements that resonate deeply with our evaluation of Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī.

nişawh didn't have to look far for a suitable *takhalluṣ*. The name of his barracks, that is, the name by which Qāyṭbāy had addressed him, proved a most suitable candidate, as is demonstrated by the following two verses of the *Shāh-Nāma* Translation, which pun on the meaning of *ghawr*, "depth, bottom"⁶⁶³:

Hikāyet diñle sultān-i cihāndan ❁ *Ne kıldı Şāh Ğavrī diñle andan*
Sözün ğavrine Ğavrī dūr erişen ❁ *Batuban fikre ma'niye dūrişen*

Listen to the story of the sultan of the world ❁ Hear what Shāh Ghawrī has done!
 Ghawrī is reaching for the depths of words, ❁ Plunged in thought and toiling over their meaning!

The fact that Qānişawh chose to be referred to as Qānişawh al-Ghawrī confirms, in my view, the quintessential role that (especially Turkic) poetry had come to play in crafting a royal persona. I have already quoted Burzine Waghmar, who referred to the *Shāh-Nāma* as "part of majestic regalia". In my view, Waghmar's observation, made in the context of Safavid-Ottoman diplomatic gift exchange, also holds true for Qānişawh. The sultan's royal regalia had come to include not just the royal dagger, parasol, and saddle-cloth; it had also come to include a divan and a *takhalluṣ*.⁶⁶⁴

As already stated, what this royal persona entailed and how this related to those other transformative trends referred to above are questions that will be answered in more detail in a future publication, that focuses squarely on the letter *ghayn* of the sultan's library shelves: al-Ghawrī's very own poetic output.⁶⁶⁵ For now, let me return to the exercise in imagination that opened this book. As detailed there, next to the *Muşḥaf 'Uthmān*, the *khizāna* in Qānişawh's mausoleum housed some other books as well (→ 75). Unfortunately, the author did not disclose its titles, merely referring to these as *al-kutub al-mashhūra kamā aḥabba wa khtāra* (→ fig. 61). As such, which titles the sultan deposited there we cannot

662 As far as I know, Barbara Flemming ("Ein Gazel von Hasan oğlu", p. 341) and Robert Dankoff (*Mamlūk Studies Review*, 8/1 (2004): 303–307, here p. 303) are the only ones who have referred to al-Ghawrī as a nom-de-plume, albeit without further elaboration.

663 Kültürāl & Beyreli, *Şerîfî Şehnâme çevirisi*, vv. 428–429. For obvious reasons, he clearly decided not to stick to Qānişawh al-Şaghîr. In relation to the odd reference to "Qānişawh al-Ghawrī al-Rāfiḍî" (→ 41), I had first hypothesised that this was an earlier choice of *takhalluṣ* (cf. the imamophile literature in Chapter Two), which Qānişawh later replaced with the safer al-Ghawrī, a case of adolescent rashness that is somewhat reminiscent of Ismā'îl's nom-de-plume of Khaṭā'î. Yet, later on I consulted the ms. itself and found no trace of *al-rāfiḍî*...

664 Apart from the Safavid ruler Ismā'îl (Khaṭā'î), (near-)contemporary examples include the Qara-Qoyunlu ruler Jahān-Şāh (Ḥaḳīqî), the Timurid Ḥuseyn Bayqara (Ḥuseynî), and the Ottoman Bāyezîd II ('Adlî).

665 "Qānişawh's poetry at Home and Abroad".

tell, but it is not hard to imagine that Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī deemed his own verses worthy...



Fig. 61: The interior decoration of one of the *qubba's khazā'in*

5. A Library Shattered. Tracing Manuscripts in Post-Mamluk Times

There is a certain irony in the fact that, thanks to the Dublin ms. (→ 17), we know the *Muṣḥaf*'s (→ 12) location in Qāniṣawh's days to within one metre — the cupboard to the right of the *mihrāb* in his *qubba* — while its current location remains somewhat shrouded in mystery: the Jāmi' Sayyidat Zaynab or the Mashhad Ḥusaynī? For all remaining 129 items (thus excluding the four privately owned items), the opposite holds true: while we find it hard to establish their location in Qāniṣawh's day, their current location stands beyond doubt, cemented as it is in a precise library shelf mark. In this brief chapter, I try and follow the traces of some of the 135 mss. that are detailed in Chapter Two, from their mostly undetermined location in Qāniṣawh's Cairo up to their current shelf mark numbers.

Before answering the question as to how Qāniṣawh's mss. ended up where they did, let us first briefly summarize their final destination. It is not at all surprising to find that, over the course of half a millennium, the sultan's books have been scattered over a wide array of institutions. Indeed, even single titles had a hard time escaping the centrifugal forces of conquest, art collecting and scholarly interests (pursuits hard to distinguish, often intertwined). After all, convolutes can be dismantled, and multi-volume sets can be split up. A good case in point is offered by Ibn Waḥshīya's *Kitāb al-Filāḥa*: once a complete 8-volume set, it is currently incomplete and distributed among (at least) three different institutions (→ 59, 86, 77, 119). Returning to the question where the mss. ended up, as to be expected — yet perhaps even more than anticipated — Istanbul holds first place with 95 mss., 55 of which in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi alone and another 40 in the Süleymaniye. Lagging far behind Istanbul is Cairo with 9 mss., 6 of which deposited in the *Dār al-Kutub*), followed by Berlin, Dublin, Jerusalem, Leiden, London and Paris, each with 2 to 5 mss. Concluding the list with 1 ms. each are Ankara, Copenhagen, Gotha, Kayseri, Manchester, Oxford, and Vienna.

In Chapter Three, the question was raised as to how much more mss. we may expect to be still out there. Another question relates to the possible locations of such new finds. While the uncatalogued calligraphy *majmū'* (→ 114) proves that

the Topkapı library might even be richer in Qānişawhiana than its current 55 mss., there is little reason to assume the number of such uncatalogued mss. to be significant.⁶⁶⁶ If more mss. are to turn up — a certain event — more likely candidates are the rich and still underexplored holdings at the Süleymaniye and other repositories in Istanbul.⁶⁶⁷ For now, the Egyptian *Dār al-Kutub* is represented in the list with 6 items only, a suspiciously low number indeed. In an internet blog, dated 2016, Muḥammad Jamāl Ḥāmīd al-Shūrbajī identified 15 works from the *khizāna* of al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy's mosque-madrassa complex that are now bound in a number of convolutes.⁶⁶⁸ None of these works, or any other title of their respective authors for that matter (mostly Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Kāfiyājī, Sibṭ al-Mārdinī, and al-Qudsī) appear in our list. Even more, our list does not include a single item that is bound in a *Dār al-Kutub* convolute... As such, we may expect the current number of Qānişawhiana in the *Dār al-Kutub* to be (much?) higher. Also suspicious, in my view, is the absence of Alexandria and the scores of Turkish provincial libraries, such as Kütayha or Manisa.

But then again, if the large number of institutions that hold a single or a mere handful of mss. and the remarkable provenance of 'Alī Emīrī's copy of one of Qānişawh's divans (→ 19) prove anything, it is that new manuscripts might turn up virtually anywhere, be it in institutional repositories or in cherished family archives.

“A Thousand Camel Loads of Books”...: The Aftermath of Marj Dāqib

Ultimately responsible for the high concentration of Qānişawhiana in Istanbul is obviously, sultan Selīm I (r. 918–926/1511–1520). As he toppled the Mamluk sultanate, he must have appropriated⁶⁶⁹ many of Qānişawh's books. That said, however, much remains unclear: how many books did Selīm take with him, and from where did he retrieve these?

666 In relation to this, Konrad Hirschler (Freie Universität Berlin) (personal communication) raised the question whether perhaps the Ottoman palace was inclined first and foremost to appropriate “sultanic” collections, rather than non-sultanic endowment collections. At least, this could explain the very different trajectories of the two library catalogues he has studied (compare his *Medieval Damascus. Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library* with his *A Monument to Medieval Syrian Book Culture*).

667 Even though in particular the Ayasofya collection has already yielded a fair number of Qānişawhiana, in light of the sheer number of its mss., as well as that of numerous others (Fatih, Nuruosmaniye, İstanbul Üniversitesi, ...), more mss. are bound to come up. Stating the obvious, the Ḥāmīdian catalogues offer little in the way of identifying Qānişawhiana...

668 “Khizānat Kutub Jāmi' al-Sulṭān Qāyṭbāy al-Muḥammadī”, *Majallat al-Muqataṭaf* (http://www.almoqtataf.tk/2016/02/blog-post_11.html).

669 After some deliberation, I have settled with the term “appropriation”, thus steering clear of the discussion whether this should be understood as plunder or not.

Especially this first question is one fraught with danger, as its alternative answers often coincide with nationalist fault lines. An Arab historian of Egyptian medieval libraries, e.g., claimed that Selīm took with him “a thousand camel loads”⁶⁷⁰ out of Cairo’s libraries (i.e., whatever item he may have coveted, be it *mawqūf* or not). Ideally, this claim could be corroborated or refuted simply by tallying all of Qāniṣawh’s mss. that show the personal seal of Selīm. Indeed, various mss. listed in Chapter Two, such as Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 1854 (→ 40, fig. 62), show Selīm’s *mühür* on its frontispiece.⁶⁷¹



Fig. 62: seal of Selīm I (Ayasofya 1854)

This seal, made of red carnelian, reads: *tawakkulī ‘alā khālīqī* (4 x around the centre), *sulṭān Salīm Shāh* (centre). Unfortunately, however, the math is not that simple. Quite exceptionally, Selīm’s seal continued to be in use well after the death of its owner. In fact, it was stamped in all the books that entered the *Ḥazīne-i Hümayyūn* (Imperial Treasury) until the eighteenth century.⁶⁷² Put otherwise, to find Selīm’s seal proves no clue whatsoever.

670 Al-Sayyid al-Nashshār claims that “a thousand camels” were required to carry everything plundered from the libraries (*Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh al-Kutub wa l-Maktabāt fī Miṣr al-Qadīma* (Alexandria, n.d.), pp. 330–331, quoted in İ.E. Erünsal, “Fethedilen Arap Ülkelerindeki Vakıf Kütüphaneleri Osmanlılar Tarafından Yağmalandı mı?”, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 43 (2014): 19–66, here p. 27).

671 G. Kut & N. Bayraktar, *Yazma Eserlerde Vakıf Mühürleri* (Ankara, 1984), pp. 22–23. Selīm had two seals: an oval imperial seal (*mühür-i hümayyūn*) and a round personal seal, here reproduced. As for Selīm’s oval seal, this can be found, among others, on the two Maqrīzī volumes penned by al-A’raj (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, K 905, f. 397r; K 1008 (ff. 1r, 288r) (→ 132).

672 F. Çağman & Z. Tanındı, “Remarks on some manuscripts from the Topkapı Palace Treasury in the context of Ottoman-Safavid relations”, *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 132–148, here p. 134. Selīm’s personal seal is still preserved in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, and was used until the palace was turned into a museum in 1924 for sealing the door of the treasury (*ḥazīne*). The fact that it was his seal that was used for this particular purpose demonstrates the unparalleled achievement of Selīm in filling the Ottoman treasury...

If not through Selīm's seal, how can we assess the (Arab nationalist) claim quoted above? A more feasible approach to the problem is by looking at the contemporary source evidence, and this is precisely what İsmail Erünsal has done: carefully tracing the genealogy of this and similar claims, he concluded that no contemporary sources refer to "100.000 manuscripts", or "most of the books found in the madrasas and mosques of Cairo".⁶⁷³ Long as Selīm's *qitār* (train of camels) leaving Cairo may have been, it certainly did not carry a "thousand loads of books"... So far, Egypt has yielded relatively few mss. of Qānişawh, not (only) because Selim took some or many with him, but (also) because their original number may never have been as high as imagined. Books share a most peculiar, topos-like tendency with troops and casualties of war: their numbers tend to inflate.

Interesting as these inflated numbers may be, a more crucial issue is whether Selīm appropriated only Qānişawh's private books, or also those books that the Mamluk sultan had previously endowed in a waqf. Erünsal assumed that Selīm only appropriated privately owned books, thus respecting the waqf's integrity.⁶⁷⁴ *Prima facie*, there is a lot to say for this. Without going into much detail, let me briefly point out three arguments in favour. A first one, plain and simple: if utterly undeterred by the waqf status of books, why would Selīm empty the Ghawrīya bookshelves, yet leave the Öljejtü Qur'ān (→ 6), a desirable object if there ever was one? Second, how to explain the fact that, of Qānişawh's 95 mss. in Istanbul, only one carries Qānişawh's waqf note (→ 58)? Significantly, there are three more items in Chapter Two that were put in waqf by him (→ 6, 7, 8)⁶⁷⁵, and these were all left *in situ* by the Ottomans. Third and final, there is the fact that we simply don't know how many of his books Qānişawh had put in waqf by 1516. When venturing a guess, the rampant waqfization of Mamluk society could easily misled us to believe that, surely, Qānişawh had endowed most, if not all of his books. However, an Ottoman parallel is quite telling in this respect: Mehmed II had endowed only 839 titles to his mosque complex, far fewer than those contained in this private palace library, while Bāyezīd II, who boasted a private library of thousands of volumes, endowed even less to his own complex: merely 42 titles!⁶⁷⁶ Of course, the Mamluk and the Ottoman sultanate may have known very different levels of waqfization, but the Ottoman figures are revealing nonetheless.

Admittedly, counter-arguments to Erünsal's statement are not hard to come by. First, there is the simple fact that the absence of a waqf note on the frontispiece

673 "Fethedilen Arap Ülkelerindeki Vakıf Kütüphaneleri Osmanlılar Tarafından Yağmalandı mı?", *passim*.

674 Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, pp. 129–131, 428–439. An interesting parallel is found in the *defter*, dealt with in the *Excursus*: of the 164 mss. dealt with in some detail, only one is explicitly stated to carry a waqf note.

675 Apart from those vols. that found their way out of Egypt into the private market (→ 134).

676 Necipoğlu, "The Spatial Organization of Knowledge in the Ottoman Palace Library", p. 17.

of a ms. does not exclude the possibility of a previous waqf status. It is for good reason that the full waqf note on the frontispiece is often repeated on a number of subsequent ff. in abbreviated form: frontispieces can be easily replaced, thus, quite literally, de-waqficing the ms. Second, there is the fact, referred to in Chapter Three, that endowed mss. were often not paratextually marked as such, neither on the frontispiece nor anywhere els. Hence, unless a list of Qāniṣawh's mss. turn up, there is simply no way of knowing whether, and if so, how many more items in Istanbul were *mawqūf*... As a third counter-argument, there is a unique *evrak* that was recently discovered by Gülru Necipoğlu and that will certainly fuel any future discussion. This document, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi E(vrak) 6090, consists of a single page and reads⁶⁷⁷:

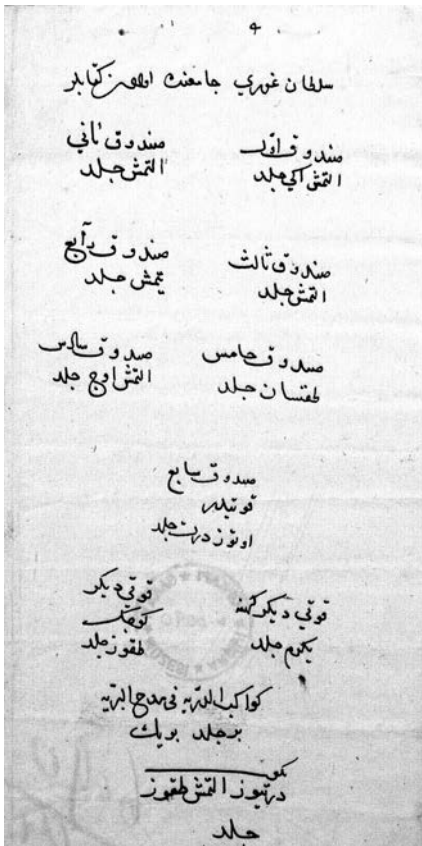


Fig. 63: E 6090

Sultān Ğavrī Cāmī'inde olan kitāblar:

Şandūq-i evvel: altmız iki cild
Şandūq-i şāni: altmış cild
Şandūq-i şālīs: altmış cild
Şandūq-i rābi: yetmiş cild
Şandūq-i hāmīs: toksan cild
Şandūq-i sādīs: altmış üç cild
Şandūq-i sābi: kutudur, otuz dört cild
Ķutı-i diğēr, köhne: yigirmi cild
Ķutı-i diğēr, küçük: toköz cild
Kevākibü'l-Dürriye fī Medħi'l-Beriye, bir cild, büyük

Yekūn dört yüz altmış toköz cild

Books found in the Mosque of Sultan Ghawri:

Chest 1: 62 volumes
 Chest 2: 60 volumes
 Chest 3: 60 volumes
 Chest 4: 70 volumes
 Chest 5: 90 volumes
 Chest 6: 63 volumes
 Chest 7: a box, 34 volumes
 Another box, old: 20 volumes
 Another box, small: 9 volumes
Kawākib al-Durriya fī Madħ al-Barīya,
 1 volume, large

In total 469 volumes

677 The author wishes to thank Professor Gülru Necipoğlu for kindly sharing her personal transcript of the document.

This undated document gives the number of (all or some?) books kept in the mosque of Qāniṣawh, a total of 7 chests, 2 boxes and one named volume, 469 vols. in total.⁶⁷⁸ One could easily present this document as counter-evidence to Erünsal's analysis, *i. e.*, that Selīm did appropriate *mawqūf* books. Yet, upon closer inspection, it must be concluded that this *evrak* is nothing more than a book count that does not even specify the legal status of the books, either *mawqūf* or private. Vague as it is, the document easily lends itself to (ab)use in any future discussion: for the one, it will present irrefutable proof that the Ottomans emptied the Ghawriya of its *mawqūf* books; for the other, it will be nothing more than what it essentially is: a book count. For the one, it will be a document drafted to facilitate the efficient packing of a camel train that is heading for Istanbul; for the other, it may very well be an inventory drafted to prevent looting of the Ghawriya and theft of its holdings. Returning to the question of how many of Qāniṣawh's books Selīm has taken to Istanbul, where does all this leave us? As all too often, truth must be sought midway: while "a thousand camel loads of books" is undoubtedly an exaggeration, the present count of 95 Qāniṣawhiana in Istanbul is probably on the low end (see Add. 8, Add. 10).⁶⁷⁹

Let us now turn our attention to the second question: where did sultan Selīm retrieve Qāniṣawh's books? While the obvious answer would be Cairo, it has been suggested that Selīm appropriated books not only in the Mamluk capital, but also at the citadel of Aleppo. Indeed, when Qāniṣawh left Cairo for Marj Dābiq, he emptied his *khazā'in* and the *dhakhā'ir* of much of its money, weapons and precious items, and deposited these in the citadel of Aleppo.⁶⁸⁰ However, apart from a large number of Qur'āns (40!), Qāniṣawh's camel loads are nowhere said to have included books.⁶⁸¹ As such, the claim that Selīm retrieved books of Qāniṣawh from Aleppo also is unwarranted.

In a way, it is a pity that Qāniṣawh did not store away part of his library at the citadel of Aleppo, since we are exceptionally well informed regarding the books kept in the Aleppo citadel in the immediate aftermath of Marj Dābiq. Already in

678 Necipoğlu, "The Spatial Organization of Knowledge in the Ottoman Palace Library", p. 69, n. 120.

679 Apart from that, there is the fact that, strictly speaking, not all of Istanbul's Qāniṣawhiana are necessarily war booty, since Mamluk mss. have always found their way into the Ottoman capital. For some examples of mss. that were once owned by Qāyrbāy and that had ended up in Istanbul already during the reign of Bāyezīd II, see Z. Tanındı, "Preliminary List of Manuscripts Stamped with Bayezid II's Seal and Transferred from the Topkapı Palace Inner Treasury to Other Library Collections", in G. Necipoğlu, C. Kafadar & C.H. Fleischer (eds.), *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2019), I: 983–1010 (items 125, 151, 153, 172).

680 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i*, V: 46, 75 (*al-tuḥaf akhrajahā l-Ghawri min al-khazā'in min dhakhā'ir al-mulūk al-sālifa min 'ahd mulūk Banī Ayyūb al-Akrād wa ghayrihā wa min mulūk al-Turk wa l-Jarākisa*).

681 Ohta, "The Bindings of Qansuh al-Ghawri", p. 222.

2008, İsmail Erünsal referred to an Ottoman *defter* that is dated *Jumādā l-Ākhira* 923/June-July 1517 (so less than a year following the battle of Marj Dābiq), and that records the books that were found in citadel of Aleppo.⁶⁸² In case Qānişawh had stashed some of his books in the Aleppo citadel, this *defter* would have provided us with a unique list of additional Qānişawhiana! However, while it may not provide us with some more Qānişawhiana, this *defter* still deserves our fullest attention, and this for two main reasons. First, this *defter* is still as close as we can get to a catalogue of a Mamluk court library. Admittedly, this is not that close: the *defter* is not really a catalogue, it is not Mamluk, and it might not even deal with a library per se. Still, it provides us with an additional yardstick against which to measure the current list of Qānişawhiana. Second, it is highly informative regarding the Ottoman appropriation of Mamluk books, and, as such, allows us to problematize the meaning of the *evrāk* referred to above, E 6090. For reasons of convenience, this *defter* is not dealt with here, but in a separate section (→ *Excursus*).

In conclusion, Istanbul definitely owes its status as current hotspot for Qānişawhiana to sultan Selīm I. For now, how many books exactly Selīm took from Egypt, and which ones exactly remain two questions that are difficult to answer. Yet, one wonders what more *evrak* and *defters* the Topkapı Palace archives have in store...

Seals, Waqf Notes and Signatures: Stocking Libraries in 18th-Century Istanbul

With its 55 mss., Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi has already been identified as the single richest repository when it comes to Qānişawhiana. Its predominance, however, used to be even greater. Of the 40 mss. that are currently kept at an Istanbul institution other than the Topkapı Sarayı, at least 29 were originally kept at the Topkapı.⁶⁸³ As can be learned from the frontispieces, when the Ottoman sultan Maḥmūd I (r. 1142–1168/1730–1754) added libraries to the Ayasofya and Fatih complexes, he stocked these with volumes taken from the palace grounds.⁶⁸⁴ In short, while the current Topkapı library⁶⁸⁵ with its current 55

682 İsmail E. Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries: A Survey of the History, Development and Organization of Ottoman Foundation Libraries* (Cambridge, MA, 2008), p. 30. The *defter* was recently published in transcription and facsimile by M. İnbaşı (“Yavuz Sultan Selim’in Mısır Seferi Sırasında Haleb Kalesinde Tespit Edilen Kitaplar”, in N. Alkan Günay (ed.), *Yavuz Sultan Selim Dönemi ve Bursa* (Bursa, 2018), pp. 508–525).

683 Maḥmūd I’s seal and/or waqf note can be found in Ayasofya 393, 516, 1451, 1854, 1860, 2047, 2875 bis, 3144, 3312–3313, 3393, ... ; Fatih 3465, 3502, 4516 (→ 20, 23, 34, 40, 41, 43, 45, ...).

684 For the Ayasofya library, see Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries*, pp. 54–58; S. Can & E. Yıldız Altunbaş, “Ayasofya I. Mahmud Kütüphanesi ve Geçirdiği Onarımlar”, *Atatürk Üniversitesi*

volumes, is still very much a hotspot for Qānişawhiana, its dominance used to be even larger, with at least 84 mss. in the past! We can retrace the relocation of these 29 mss. by way of two waqf seals and a waqf note on their frontispiece. First, there is the seal of Maḥmūd himself, which reads (→ fig. 64):⁶⁸⁶

Al-ḥamdu li llāhi lladhī hadānā li hādihā, wa mā kunnā li-nahtadiya law lā an hadānā llāhu.

Waqf Maḥmūd Khān b. Muṣṭafā Shāh al-muẓaffar dā'imā.

“Praise to Allah, who has guided us to this; and we would never have been guided if Allah had not guided us.”⁶⁸⁷

A waqf of Maḥmūd Khān b. Muṣṭafā Shāh, forever victorious.

Next, there is a seal and a waqf note of the official in charge of the waqf procedure. The waqf note on those mss. that were relocated to the Ayasofya library, presumably already in 1152/1740, reads (→ fig. 65):

Qad waqqafa hādhihi l-nuskhā sultānunā l-a'zam wa l-khāqān al-mu'azzam, mālik al-barrayn wa l-baḥrayn, khādīm al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn, al-sultān b. al-sultān, al-sultān al-ghāzī Maḥmūd Khān, waqfan ṣaḥīḥan sharīyan, ḥarrarahu l-faqīr Aḥmad Shaykh-Zāda al-mufattish⁶⁸⁸ bi awqāf al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn, ghufira lahumā.

Made this manuscript a sound and legal waqf our greatest sultan and our exalted khāqān, ruler of the two lands and the two seas, servant of the two noble sanctuaries, the sultan and son of a sultan, the sultan ghazi Maḥmūd Khān. Has written this the poor Aḥmad Shaykh-Zāda, inspector of the waqfs of the Two Noble Harams. May both of them be forgiven!

Güzel Sanatlar Enstitüsü Dergisi 35 (2015): 181–222; for the Fatih library, see T. Keleş Ocakcan, “Sultan I. Mahmut Kütüphanesi 2007–2012 Restorasyonu”, *Vakıf Restorasyon Yıllığı* 7 (2013): 127–143. Were books also taken from Topkapı’s main library at that time, i. e., the so-called Enderün or Aḥmed III’s library, or merely from the remaining smaller stocks on the palace grounds?

685 The current Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi was created in 1924, when the palace was turned into a museum, and holds all mss. from the various palace collections, such as H(azine), A(ḥmed III Library), and various other pavilions and dormitories, such as B(ağdat), E(manet) H(azine), K(oğuşlar), and R(evân). For a brief aperçu of its history, see Necipoğlu, “The Spatial Organization of Knowledge in the Ottoman Palace Library”, pp. 14–24.

686 Kut & Bayraktar, *Yazma Eserlerde Vakıf Mühürleri*, pp. 31–34. Not all seals found on the mss. are dealt with here. The calligraphy-cum-ḥadīth manual (→ 114), e. g., has the seal of Maḥmūd I’s successor, his younger brother ‘Osmān III (r. 1167–1170/1754–1757).

687 Qur’ān, 7: 43.

688 Diacritics lacking, one could also read *al-mu’ayyan*.



Fig. 64: Maḥmūd's I seal
(Ayasofya 3313, f. 1r)

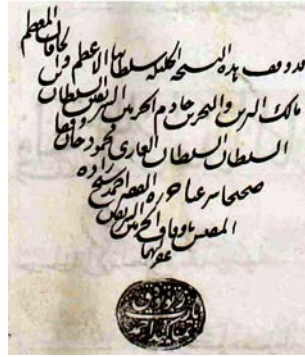


Fig. 65: Waqf note and seal of
Aḥmad Shaykh-Zāda
(Ayasofya 1860, f. 1r)

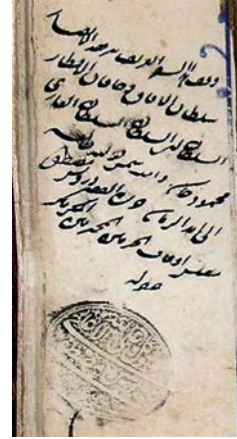


Fig. 66: Waqf note and
seal of Darwīsh Muṣṭafā
(Fatih 4516, f. 1r)

Underneath the note, Aḥmad Shaykh-Zāda has added his own seal, which reads (in Persian):

Yā rabb, az tu tawfiq tamannā kunad Aḥmad

O Lord! Aḥmad asks You for divine guidance!

Mss. were relocated to the Fatih library somewhat later, from 1155/1742 onwards. As shown by their different waqf note and seal, by that time, Aḥmad Shaykh-Zāda had been replaced with Darwīsh Muṣṭafā as inspector of the waqfs of the Holy Cities (→ fig. 66):

Ḥarrarahu l-faqīr Darwīsh Muṣṭafā mufattish awqāf al-Ḥaramayn al-muḥtaramayn al-mukarramayn.

Has written this the poor Darwīsh Muṣṭafā, inspector of the waqfs of the Two Honoured and Revered Ḥarāms.

For at least for 9 mss., it is possible to add another chapter to their afterlife, now between the reigns of Selīm and Maḥmūd I. It is worth pointing out that, apart from the seals and waqf notes discussed above, these 9 items⁶⁸⁹ have an identical signature on the frontispiece (→ figs. 67, 68, 69). As the first thing that these various mss. have in common is Qāniṣawh's previous ownership, I initially hypothesized that we might be dealing with Qāniṣawh's 'alāma signature.⁶⁹⁰ This

689 Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 1854, 2875 bis, 3144, 3312–3313, 3393; Süleymaniye, Fatih 3502, 4516; Topkapı Sarayı A 2680 (→ 40, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 54, 82).

690 I.e., his signature that he himself inscribed, unlike the *tuḡhrā*, i.e., his signature that was inscribed by a specialized clerk.

first hypothesis, however, quickly received two fatal blows.⁶⁹¹ First, there is the fact that this signature shows no resemblance whatsoever to a signature that is definitely Qānişawh's (see fig. 70). Second, before long I stumbled upon this signature on scores of mss. that are kept across various Istanbul manuscript holdings and that show no connection to Qānişawh whatsoever.⁶⁹² Now one must ask: apart from Qānişawh's previous ownership, what else do these mss. have in common? What they all share is the fact that they were all kept at the Topkapı library, sometime between the late 1510s (when Qānişawh's books arrived at the palace, be it piecemeal or en bloc), and the 1740s (when Maḥmūd I had some of these mss. relocated from the Topkapı palace to the Ayasofya library).



Fig. 67: Ayasofya 3312 Fig. 68: Fatih 4516

Fig. 69: Topkapı Sarayı, A 2680 Fig. 70: Qānişawh's signature on a scroll

Hence, this signature must have been inscribed by a Topkapı palace official who was involved in the palace book collections during those years, and, narrowing this time span further down, probably at a time when these various mss. were kept in one and the same repository. Unfortunately, we cannot establish whom exactly we are dealing with, as his cypher-like signature — a so-called *kuyruklu imzâ* or “tail-like signature”⁶⁹³ — remains undeciphered. Still, venturing a guess, perhaps the most valid candidate is the chief librarian (*ḥāfız-i kütüb* or *khāzin-i kütüb*) of the library of Aḥmed III (r. 1115–1143/1703–1730). In 1131/1719, it will be recalled, sultan Aḥmed III ordered a major reorganization of the palace book collections, both in order to keep the books safe from dust and moths and to make them more easily accessible for the servants of the *enderûn*.⁶⁹⁴ Whereas up

691 In this respect, Boris Liebreuz, İsmail Erünsal and Zeren Tanındı proved excellent catalysts.

692 E. g., Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 3186, 3187, 3341; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi A 3468. Plenty of other examples are available in Necipoğlu, Kafadar & Fleischer, *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library*. In Cemal Kafadar's chapter, e. g. “Between Amasya and Istanbul: Bayezid II, His Librarian and the Textual Turn of the Late Fifteenth Century” (pp. 79–153), the signature can be found on pp. 129, 130, 131, 132, 145, 150, 151.

693 M. S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerinin Dili (Diplomatik)* (İstanbul, 1994), pp. 79–83.

694 G. Bilecik & Ö. Türk, “Masraf Defterleri Işığında topkapı Sarayı III. Ahmed (Enderun) Kütüphanesi”, *Art-Sanat* 11 (2019): 1–12; Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries*, pp. 49–51, with ref. to the relevant archival materials; L. Uluç, “The Perusal of the Topkapı Albums: A Story of Connoisseurship”, in J. Gonnella, F. Weis & Ch. Rauch, *The Diez Albums. Contexts and Contents* (Leiden/Boston, 2017), pp. 121–162, here pp. 142–146.

to that time, books were “stored at that time as self-contained sub-collections in designated windowsills, alcoves, cupboards or chests in the Inner Treasury”⁶⁹⁵, the Tulip Sultan ordered the construction of a new, freestanding library building to centralize (part of) the collections, the Enderün Library. Did the chief librarian perhaps sign the books as these were brought into the new facility, or while checking the volumes, either for their physical condition or for updating the catalogue? If so, we could pinpoint the signature to the period 1131–1152/1719–1740.⁶⁹⁶ For now, however, this must remain a hypothesis. Particularly problematic is Zeynep Atbaş’s statement that the library collection of Aḥmed III is “preserved in its entirety today”.⁶⁹⁷ This would imply that the Ayasofya and Fatih mss. that show this particular signature were taken not from the Enderün Library but from the older “sub-collections”, and, hence, that the signature cannot be that of the chief librarian of the Enderün (see Add. 9)...

In relation to this, it is worthwhile repeating that not all books on the palace grounds were relocated to Aḥmed III’s newly established library. The Persian *Shāh-Nāma* and its Turkic translation (→ 106, 107), e.g., bear the shelf mark H 1506 and H 1519, which indicates that these have never been relocated from the H(azine) or Inner Treasury. To take another example, the unique volume of Ibn Ajā’s translation of the *Futūḥ al-Shām* (→ 3-1, figs. 71, 72)⁶⁹⁸, once put in waqf by Qāytbāy, has K 883 as its shelf mark, yet also carries the seal of the *Ḥazīne-i Hümāyūn*, dated 1135/1722. This teaches us that this particular ms. was first kept at the treasury and then, unlike many other mss., relocated not to Aḥmed’s library but to K(oğuşlar).

This particular library, equally situated on the palace grounds, once housed over 1000 volumes of predominantly religious contents, and served as a study facility for the palace students, who lived and studied in the *enderün* or inner courtyard.

695 Necipoğlu, “The Spatial Organization of Knowledge in the Ottoman Palace Library”, p. 23.

696 For the functions of the Ottoman librarian, see İ.E. Erünsal, “Personnel Employed in Ottoman Libraries”, *İslâm Araştırma Dergisi* 3 (1999): 91–123, esp. pp. 106–111.

697 “Artistic Aspects of Sultan Bayezid II’s Book Treasury Collection: Extant Volumes Preserved at the Topkapı Palace Museum Library”, in G. Necipoğlu, C. Kafadar & C.H. Fleischer (eds.), *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2019), I: 161–211, here p. 162.

698 The work was quite popular in Mamluk times. For an Arabic original owned by a Mamluk, see İstanbul, Süleymaniye, Reisülküttâb Muştafâ Efendi 684 (owned by the *mudabbir al-mamlakat al-sharifa amir ustādār* Ibn al-Baqrī, dated 879/1474).

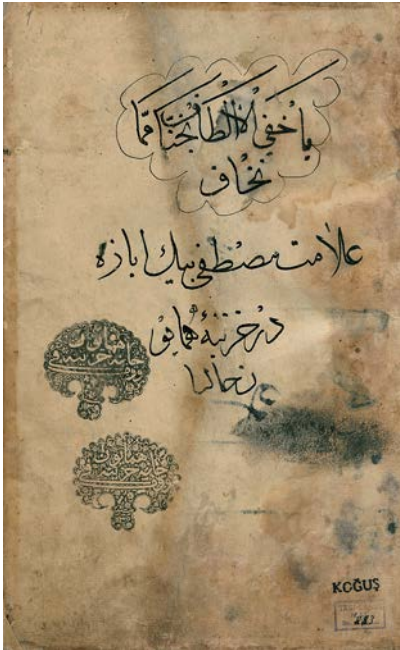


Fig. 71: The seal of the *Hazine-i Hümayün* and the Koğuşlar shelf mark on the inside cover of K 883

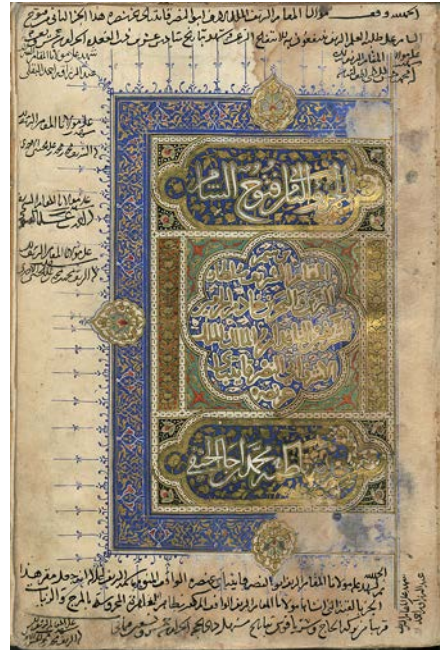


Fig. 72: Frontispiece of K 883, with Qäyrbäy's waqf note

No better way to conclude our discussion of the afterlife of Qāniṣawh's mss. in Istanbul than by considering a *zahrīya* or frontispiece of one such ms., e.g., Süleymaniye, Fatih 4516 (→ 54, fig. 73). Here, much of its afterlife unfolds in a single glance. Of the (at least) 8 stages that this ms. went through, 5 show on its frontispiece:

- (1) Qāniṣawh's ex libris in the lower central panel → location at Qāniṣawh's library in Cairo, 906–922/1501–1516 (which the colophon allows us to narrow down to 911–922/1506–1516)
- (2) Not showing on the frontispiece → relocation from Cairo to Istanbul
- (3) The signature of a Topkapı palace official at the left bottom → location at Topkapı Sarayı, 922–1152/1516–1740 (probably to be narrowed down to 1131–1155/1719–1742)
- (4) The seals of Maḥmūd I and of Dervīṣ Muṣṭafā and a waqf note at the left → relocation from Topkapı Sarayı to the Fātiḥ library around 1155/1742
- (5) The Fātiḥ library shelf mark 4517 at the left bottom → location at the Fātiḥ library, 1155–1375/1742–1956
- (6) Not showing on the frontispiece → relocation from Fātiḥ to Süleymaniye in 1374/1956
- (7) Not showing on the frontispiece → location at the Süleymaniye

(8) The electronic watermark of Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu (TÜYEK) → the institutional reorganization in 1431/2010

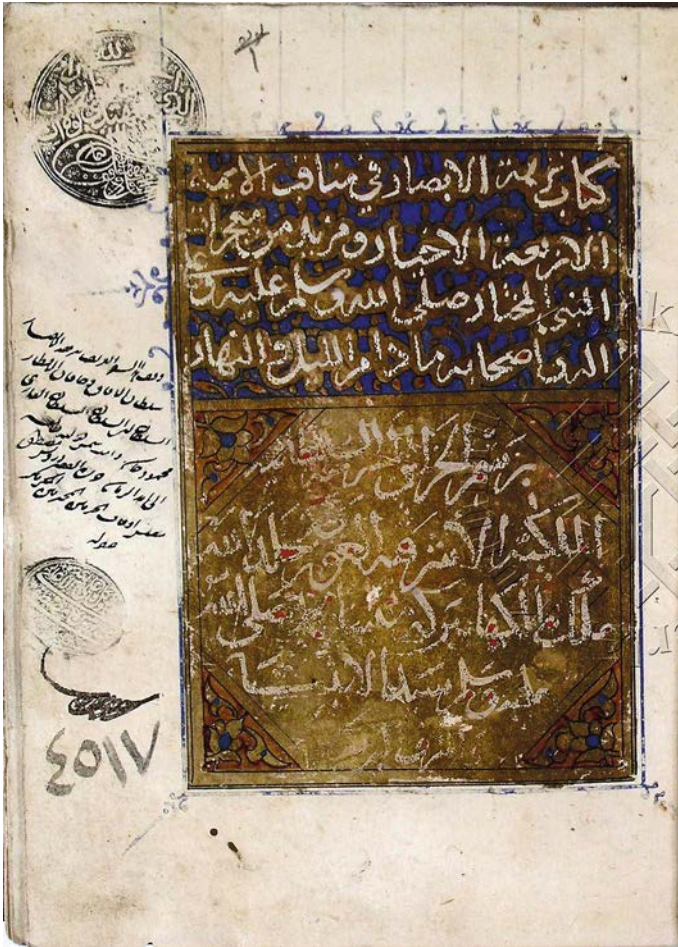


Fig. 73: The history of a manuscript in a glance

What's Beyond Istanbul? More Istanbul, and a Bit of Cairo

Turning out attention briefly to the Qānişawhiana currently in Western holdings, at least two mss. — and probably a great many more — were acquired in Istanbul. A first example is Leiden, University Library Ms. 303 d (→ 119), which was purchased by Levinus Warner (d. 1665) during his years in Istanbul (1645–

1665).⁶⁹⁹ This particular ms. was originally part of a eight-volume set, of which the Topkapı library currently holds two vols. (→ 59, 76, 77). Clearly, books from the Ottoman palace library — even if *mawqūf* — did find their way to the private market...⁷⁰⁰ As a second example, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, NF 251 (→ 135), leaves no doubt about its former whereabouts, as its frontispiece has the seals of both Selīm I and Maḥmūd I (see Add. 13).

Yet, however important a hub for Qānişawhiana Istanbul may have been, let it be clear that manuscripts could still be acquired elsewhere. Consider, e.g., the Bodleian ms. (→ 125), which is one of the rare items that has a reader's note at the end:

Sāqahu l-qadr ilā <...> aḏ'af al-bashar al-sayyid Ya'qūb b. al-sayyid 'Abd al-Qādir b. al-sayyid Ibrāhīm b. al-sayyid al-shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn al-Kilānī nasaban al-Ḥamawī mawliḏan wa l-Rūmī waṭanan.

<...> the weakest of men, al-sayyid Ya'qūb b. al-sayyid 'Abd al-Qādir b. al-sayyid Ibrāhīm b. al-sayyid al-shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn, Gilānī by descent, Ḥamawī by birth and Rūmī by residence.

The note itself is undated, but as Ya'qūb's elder brother, Iṣḥāq b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Ibrāhīm b. Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Ya'qūb, lived in 12th/18th-century Damascus,⁷⁰¹ we may assume this manuscript's history to have included an 18th-century Syrian stage. In fact, such a stage would lead us almost seamlessly to its final stage. From its present shelf mark, MS Bruce 70, we know that it was part of a collection of mss. that was purchased by the Oxford library in 1843 from the Scottish explorer James Bruce of Kinross (1730–1794), who had collected these during his stay in the East in the years 1763–1774 (one that does not seem to have brought him to Istanbul), in search of the source of the Nile. As such, the evidence

699 A convenient starting point is offered by Vrolijk & van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*, pp. 48–60. At least some of the mss. that Warner acquired in Istanbul may have reached him from Aleppo (see J. Schmidt, "An Ostrich Egg for Golius. The Heyman Papers in the Leiden and Manchester University Libraries and Early-Modern Contacts between the Netherlands and the Middle East", in *id.*, *The Joys of Philology. Studies in Ottoman Literature, History and Orientalism 1500–1923*). Volume II: *Orientalists, Travellers and Merchants in the Ottoman Empire, Political Relations Between Europe and the Porte* (Istanbul, 2002), pp. 9–74, here p. 41).

700 For the pilfering of the palace library at the behest of foreign embassies and visitors and other means of obtaining its books, see Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries*, p. 50, n. 33; *id.* (ed.), *Kütüphanecilikle ilgili Osmanlıca Metinler ve Belgeler*, 2 vols. (İstanbul, 1982–1989), II: 139; *id.*, *Osmanlılarda Sahhafılık ve Sahhafılar* (İstanbul, 2013), *passim*; Uluç, "The Perusal of the Topkapı Albums", pp. 143–44.

701 Al-Murādi, *Sulk al-Durar fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Thānī 'Ashar*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir Shāhīn, (Beirut, n.d.), I: 217). For another note of his, see S. Kenderova, "Une chronique de Zabid et du Yémen jusqu'en 1562: le manuscrit OR. 2545 de Sofia (Bulgarie)", *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 5 (2014): 170–197, here pp. 177, 187.

suggests that this particular ms. is one of the few items of Chapter Two that followed a trajectory that did not include Ottoman Istanbul.

An even better case in point is the *Kitāb al-Tuḥfat al-Fākhira fī Dhikr Rusūm Khuṭūṭ al-Qāhira* (→ 127), the inside cover of which reads: “Ce volume a été apporté du Caire par S. Munk en 1840”.⁷⁰² It was thus still possible to find Qāniṣawhiana offered for sale in nineteenth-century Cairo... Just as Ottoman palace volumes found their way out of the palace, volumes that were registered in the Egyptian royal library, the *Kutubkhāna-i Khidīwiya al-Miṣriya*, became available on the book market.

Finally, a particularly notorious case is offered by eight *azjāʾ* of a 30-volume Qurʾān set that once belonged to Qāniṣawh and that had been registered by the Egyptian Dār al-Kutub. In 1998 and 2000 — *in tempore non suspecto* — seven *juzʾ* could still be auctioned by Sotheby’s and Sam Fogg without causing much of a stir. By now, however, things have changed. When one of these volumes was reaucted in 2018 and another one auctioned for a first time in 2019, Egyptian officials protested and the two volumes were consequently returned to Cairo (→ 8, 134).

Khazāʾinī Manuscripts, a Doodle Notwithstanding...

Apart from the post-Mamluk seals, waqf notes, signatures and other annotations on the frontispiece that were just discussed, and with the exception of those few items that Qāniṣawh had endowed in waqf himself, the mss. are remarkably pristine. Indeed, paratextual features are few and between, as are indications of Mamluk usage or wear. Indeed, even for the smallest volume of the list, a pocket size prayer book (→ 89) has clearly never seen the inside of the sultan’s *qumāsh* pocket, as it is still crisp and clean. What we are dealing with are representation copies first and foremost, that is, quite literally, *khazāʾinī* volumes.

In relation to this, I might add that there is one item in the list that has a doodle (→ fig. 74). On a blank page preceding the frontispiece of al-Suyūṭī’s *al-Hayʾat al-Sanīya* (→ 16), we find a charming little picture of 10x10 cms. Given the strong parallels with Mamluk depictions of mamlūk *furūsīya* exercises (→ fig. 75)⁷⁰³,

702 Salomon Munk (1803–1867) was a German-born Jewish-French orientalist, who purchased a large number of manuscripts in Cairo on behalf of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Schwab, M., “Munk, Salomon”, in I. Singer *et al.* (eds.), *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols. (New York, 1901–1906), IX: 110–111).

703 This image is taken from Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭarābulusī’s *Kitāb al-Makhzūn li Arbāb al-Funūn*. This work, copied in 986/1578–79, is Ottoman but follows the Mamluk tradition. A later doodle in a Coptic manuscript, reproduced by Nelly Hanna, would suggest that horse rider

there is a fair chance that we are looking at a horse-borne *mamlūk* approaching a *birjās*, or, perhaps, at the sultan's *muḏḥik* (jester) posing as such.⁷⁰⁴ Ascribing this charming doodle to a naughty Muḥammad b. Qāniṣawh (→ 61, 78), who sneaked into his father's library well beyond bedtime is tempting, but, alas, cannot be corroborated!



Fig. 74: Detail of Chester Beatty Library, 4205



Fig. 75: A *mamlūk* practising (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ar. 2826, f. 45v)

doodles are not uncommon...(Nalli Ḥannā, *Thaqāfat al-Ṭabaqat al-Wuṣṭā fī Miṣr al-Uthmāniya* (Q. 16 M – Q. 18 M) (Cairo, 2003), p. 136).

704 An important part of the *furūsiya* training were the *bunūd* or “lance exercises”. One of these exercises consisted of hurling one’s spear at a *birjās*, “a wooden target consisting of seven fragments, one placed on the other with the seventh reaching the height of the horse, and topped by a metal ring fixed to a piece of wood” (Rabie, “The Training of the Mamlūk Fāris”, p. 156, and especially plate 1).

Excursus.

The Library of the Citadel of Aleppo, Anno 1518

On what Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, D 9101 Could Have Been Yet is Not...

Some time following *Jumādā l-Ākhira* 923/July 1517, a *defter* was presented at the Sublime Porte, and then probably forwarded to the chief palace librarian.⁷⁰⁵ This small document, a mere 4 pp. and currently kept at the Topkapı Sarayı Museum Archive, provides an inventory of over 300 mss. that the Ottomans had found inside the Citadel of Aleppo in the immediate aftermath of the pivotal Battle of Marj Dābiq, rating these in terms of desirability for inclusion in the palace library, with must-have items at the higher end and barely saleable remaindered books at the bottom. Just as was the case for the 1290/1873 *evrāk* on the alleged discovery of Qānişawh's grave close to Aleppo (→ 19), the *defter* concludes with a request for further instructions: *Ol bâbda her ne vehile emr olunur ise işâret buyurula*. The orders given by the Sublime Porte in response have not been retrieved thus far, but we may safely assume that at least some of the inventoried were deemed worthy of inclusion in the Ottoman *Ĥazîne*.

While the afterlife of these mss. is certainly not without interest, and will be returned to below, in the given context, another question is much more pressing: where do these mss. come from? In the best-case scenario — that is, the one that I would have preferred for plain reasons — Qānişawh would have taken these with him from Cairo, on his way to Marj Dābiq, and would have stored them safely inside the citadel of Aleppo⁷⁰⁶. In short, this *defter* would provide us with a lengthy list of additional titles that were once part of Qānişawh's library, and

705 The *editio princeps* by Mehmet İnbâşî has already been referred to (“Yavuz Sultan Selim’in Mısır Seferi Sırasında Haleb Kalesinde Tespit Edilen Kitaplar”). Serpil Bağcı (Hacettepe Üniversitesi) and Zeynep Yürekli Görkay (Oxford University) are currently preparing an article on the first category of books in the *defter* (“Book-Picking in a Conquered Citadel”, forthcoming in a *Festschrift* for Cemal Kafadar).

706 As it happens, Qānişawh knew the place well, since he had served as *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb* of Aleppo for some time. Moreover, he also had some construction works done at the Citadel.

would have allowed me to double (!) the number of items in Chapter Two, *A Library Browsed*. However, as already stated in the previous Chapter Three, there is no compelling reason for us to assume that this is what had actually happened. Books of Qāniṣawh's library the Ottomans certainly appropriated, but, for all we know, this they did in Cairo, not Aleppo.

In a second best-case scenario, we could think of the mss. inside the citadel as the private, amiral library of its main resident, the *nā'ib al-qa'ā* of Aleppo. *Prima facie*, this is possible, for the very simple reason that amirs owned books. In 808/1404–1406, e. g., the *nā'ib al-qa'ā* of Aleppo, *amīr* Jānim al-Sayfī, owned a splendid copy of Aḥmedi's Turkic *Iskender-Nāme* (see below, → fig. 82 and 3-1). *Secunda facie*, however, neither the size nor the profile of the ms. collection seem easily reconcilable with the status of an Aleppan *nā'ib al-qa'ā*, mostly a medium-ranking amir of 50 with a fairly short tenure. Of course, just like Damascus, next to a *nā'ib al-qa'ā*, Aleppo had a *nā'ib al-saltāna*, and it doesn't take long to find a one who owned books. Oxford, Bodleian Ms. arab. d. 180 (→ figs. 76, 77)(*vidi*), e. g., is a splendid copy of al-Būṣīrī's *Mantle Ode* that was owned by the *nā'ib al-saltāna* in 802/1400.⁷⁰⁷ But here again, and in spite his higher rank, it remains hard to imagine an Aleppan *nā'ib al-saltāna* to have owned a library as inventoried in the *deft̄er*.

As such, it would seem that we have to settle with a third and final scenario. All the *deft̄er* says is that the mss. are "located" (*vāḳī olan*) inside the citadel. As such, we cannot even know for a fact that these ever constituted a single library. Instead, we might as well be dealing with a number of mss. that hail from several institutional and/or personal libraries in Aleppo, and that, on the eve on the Ottoman conquest, were hastily stashed away inside the safety of the citadel (see Add. 10)...⁷⁰⁸

707 Interestingly, the frontispiece reads *bi rasm al-khizānat (... nāyib al-saltānat al-sharīfa bi Qal'at Ḥalab al-Mahrūsa*, which suggests that the dichotomy of *nā'ib al-qa'ā* in the citadel vs. *nā'ib al-saltāna* in the city is not as clear-cut as the administrative manuals would have it...

708 For Aleppo during the Mamluk-Ottoman transition, see T.J. Fitzgerald, "Rituals of Possession, Methods of Control, and the Monopoly of Violence: The Ottoman Conquest of Aleppo in Comparative Perspective", in S. Conermann & G. Şen (eds.), *The Mamluk-Ottoman Transition. Continuity and Change in Egypt and Bilād al-Shām in the Sixteenth Century* (Bonn, 2016), pp. 249–273. As to be expected for a city like Aleppo, the institutions that may have provided the mss. are numerous. Long lists are available in, e. g., al-Ghazzī, *Kitāb Nahr al-Dhahab* (with a ref. to Ottoman warehouses in the later citadel, p. 39); and Ibn al-Shihna, *al-Durr al-Muntakhab fī Tārīkh Mamlakat Ḥalab*, ed. 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Darwish (Dimashq, 1404/1984).

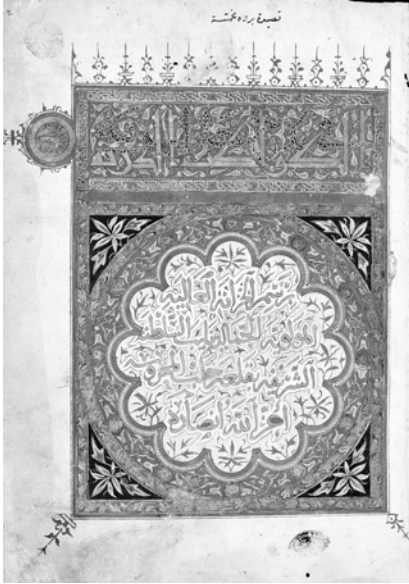


Fig. 76: Oxford, Bodleian Ms. arab. d. 180 (f. 1r) Fig. 77: Oxford, Bodleian Ms. arab. d. 180 (f. 30r)

This third scenario is by far the worst-case scenario, as, strictly speaking, we are now left with nothing but a list of titles that circulated in the northern parts of the Mamluk Sultanate by the early 16th century. Yet, such is the state of research that, *even while it is what it is*, this *defter* remains an important source. Admittedly, it does not come very close to a catalogue of Qāniṣawh's Mamluk court library, being an inventory rather than a catalogue, tenuously related to Qāniṣawh at best, Ottoman instead of Mamluk, and not even dealing with a library per se... But one must concede that both the Ashrafiya library catalogue and Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī's personal library catalogue are (much less but still quite) remote from the ideal Qāniṣawhiana catalogue. The Ashrafiya catalogue, e.g., predates Qāniṣawh's reign some two and a half centuries, while Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī's catalogue is the catalogue of what is presumably a fairly idiosyncratic collection. After all, Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī was by all means a *ḥadīth*-crazed scholar. In short, rather than *deploring what the defter is not*, we should *make do with what it is*: a crooked yardstick, yet a yardstick nonetheless.

Bibliography to the Rescue! From an *Editio Princeps* towards an *Editio Maior*⁷⁰⁹

While the document was referred to a first time by İsmail Erünsal in 2008⁷¹⁰ (if not earlier), we had to wait until 2018 for a first edition to appear, and Mehmet İnbaşı, the editor, is to be complimented for his full transcription.⁷¹¹ However, as the *defter* is written in the fairly demanding Ottoman cursive script (*riḳ'a*, → figs. 83, 84), İnbaşı's transcript is not without its flaws.⁷¹² These, however, become apparent first and foremost when one tries and identifies the various *defter* entries against the bibliographical literature.

Let me illustrate this with three examples.⁷¹³ While it is certainly possible that there may have been an author called "Ibn Peykâr", who has authored a work called *Müfredât*, the more likely reading for the author's name in entry (2/8) (→ fig. 78) is, obviously, the famous 13th-century Andalusian pharmacist Ibn al-Baytâr. Entry (1/8) (→ fig. 79) was read by İnbaşı as "Kitâbu Menâhici'l-fikr ve Mebâhici'l-ayn", and the *riḳ'a* graphemes could indeed be read as such. Yet, once you try and identify the actual work, it becomes apparent that we must be dealing with Jamâl al-Dîn al-Waṭwât al-Kutubî's famous encyclopaedia of natural sciences and geography, the *Mabâhij al-Fikar wa Manâhij al-'Ibar*, and, *mutatis mutandis*, that we should read *al-'ibar* instead of "al-'ayn". A slightly more troublesome example is entry (3/45) (→ fig. 80), which İnbaşı tentatively read as "Kitabu Te'nîs-i'n-Nazar li-Ebu'l-beyt?". Emendating "Te'nîs" as *Ta'sîs* leads us to *Ta'sîs al-Nazar*, a title that is found in the bibliographies of (at least) two authors, al-Dabbûsî and al-Samarqandî. Al-Dabbûsî is unlikely, since his *kunya*, Abû Zayd, is graphically too remote. Reading Abû l-Layth, the *kunya* of al-Samarqandî, however makes perfect sense, and merely requires emendating a single graph (<bayth > *layth*).

From these examples, it should be clear that an improved edition will be attained not by the display of stronger palaeographical skills, but first and foremost through rigorous bibliographical scrutiny. This procedure, however, is one that comes with its own challenges and pitfalls, which are inherently different

709 It has been decided not to index the full ed. of the *defter* at the end of this volume. Indexed only are those specific items that are dealt with in the analytical part.

710 *Ottoman Libraries*, p. 30.

711 "Yavuz Sultan Selim'in Mısır Seferi Sırasında Haleb Kalesinde Tespit Edilen Kitaplar", pp. 521–524.

712 Neither is İnbaşı's analytical section (pp. 512–517) flawless. Particularly deplorable is his interpretation of the author's identity of entry (1/10), *Ḥasan b. Ḥüseyn et-Ṭülünî* (→ 66/2), as Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn, hailing "from Toulon, in southern France" ...

713 Other examples include items (3/20) (reading "al-Nuṣra" instead of *al-Tabşira*), (3/26) (reading "Ibn Ḥajar" instead of Ibn Ḥijja), etc.

from those encountered in the remainder of this book. There, we have the physical mss. at our disposal and identifying their title is most often a smooth process. There, the challenge lies in moving from these physical mss. to the library of which these were once part, thus taking the daunting epistemological leap from “knowing (an undetermined) part of a whole to “profiling the whole”. Indeed, as was detailed especially towards the end of Chapter Three, the “fallacy of composition”⁷¹⁴ looms large. As for this excursus, the challenges and pitfalls encountered here are quite different, and perhaps the main fallacies to guard oneself against are those of “possible proof” and, closely related to that, of “circular reasoning” (for which, see below).⁷¹⁵

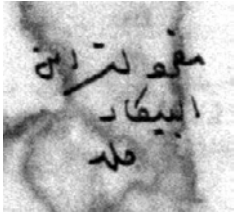


Fig. 78: Entry (2/8)

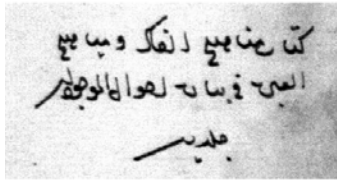


Fig. 79: Entry (1/8)

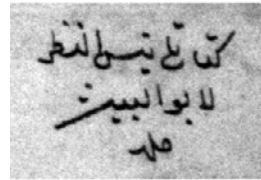


Fig. 80: Entry (3/45)

Luckily, when it comes to identifying titles from far-from-perfect catalogue entries (and, to a lesser extent, to matching these entries with physical mss.), we can turn for help to the seminal works of Konrad Hirschler. Not only has he detailed both the dangers and joys of processing lists not unlike the present *defter*, he has also developed a sophisticated critical apparatus that accommodates the most variegated types of catalogue entries.⁷¹⁶

Between the Palace and the Clearance Bin: Structure and Contents of the *Defter*

The register consists of 4 pp. in an oblong format, written in Ottoman cursive script (*riḳ'a*). Typically, the title and the subtitles are centred and written page-wide, while the entries are organized in two to four columns (but still to be read horizontally, not vertically). The end of a category is signalled by the use of display script, with the *nūn* of *yakūn* in the category's entry count significantly elongated.

714 I.e., “part of X is Y \Rightarrow the whole of X is Y”. See Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies*, pp. 219–221.

715 The “fallacy of possible proof” is “X can be Y \Rightarrow X must be Y”; the “fallacy of circular reasoning” is well known... See Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies*, pp. 49–55.

716 *Medieval Damascus*, pp. 133–142; *A Monument to Medieval Syrian Book Culture*, pp. 171–195.

The *defter*, titled *Defter-i Maḥrūse-i Ḥaleb Qal'asında Vāḳi' Olan Kitāblardır ki Esāmileri ile Zikr Olunur el-Vāḳi' fī Evā'il-i āḥiri l-cemādiye Sene 923*, "List of Books Found at the Citadel of Aleppo, the Well-Protected, with Mention of Their Name, Dated the Beginning of *Jumādā l-Ākhira* of the Year 923", lists a number of mss. that were found (*vāḳi' olan*) inside the citadel of Aleppo in *Jumādā l-Ākhira* 923/July 1517, and assigns these to 4 categories, depending on their desirability or suitability for inclusion in the Ottoman palace library⁷¹⁷:

(1) *Meşāḥif-i Kerimeniñ ve Kütüb-i Nefise ki Hızāne-i āmireye lāyḳdır anı beyān eder*, "Noble *Muşḥafs* and Valuable Books That Befit the Palace Library":

Listed are 25 works in 43 mss., 12 of which are easily identified and another 10 tentatively only. Only one works, (1/7), is rare enough and described in sufficient detail to warrant a positive identification of the physical mss.

Included are 6 items of poetry; 3 Qur'āns; 2 items each of *tafsīr*, history, fatwas, fiqh and *adab*; and one item each of hadith commentary, natural sciences and geography, oneiromancy, *furūsīya*, Islamic doctrine, and prosopography.

(2) *İğen nefis olmayub vasaṭ olanlar bunlar ki zikr olunur*, "[Books] Mediocre Rather than Very Valuable":

Clearly ranking below the must-haves of the first category, the inclusion of these mediocre (*vasaṭ*) items into the palace library was probably still sought after. Listed are 18 works in 27 mss., 7 of which are easily identified and another 5 at least tentatively. Again for one item only, (2/7), a positive match to a physical ms. seems feasible. Included are 4 works on history; 3 works on poetry; 2 hadith collections and one hadith commentary; 2 works on *adab*; and one work each on administration, medicine, *tafsīr* and Sufism.

(3) *Kütüb-i müteferriḳa-i diğēr*, "Other diverse books":

We may suppose that the mss. of this category were considered of even less quality than those of the second category, yet, unlike those of the fourth category, were still valid candidates for inclusion in the palace library. Listed are 68 works in 91 mss.,⁷¹⁸ 19 of which can be positively identified and another 20 tentatively. The description of the remaining 29 works is generic and/or defective to the extent that even an the most educated, statistically-informed guess would amount to little more than a long shot. When it comes to physical mss., for only one case, (3/16), the match between the *defter* entry and a particular ms. seems strong enough to suggest a positive match. Included are at least 18 titles on Hanafite fiqh, followed at considerable distance by *sīra* and history (up to 8

717 Compare to sultan Selīm's policy vis-à-vis the library of the late Mü'eyyed-Zāde 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān, a former intimate companion of Bāyezīd II: Selīm ordered an inventory to be made, and while some books were marked for inclusion into the palace library, others were marked for being sold to pay the debts of the late Mü'eyyed-Zāde (Necipoğlu, "The Spatial Organization of Knowledge in the Ottoman Palace Library", p. 17).

718 Against my own count, the *defter* itself reads "94".

items), hadith and its auxiliaries (6 to 7 items), fatwas (4 items), *tafsir* and poetry (3 items each), and Sufism and non-Hanafite fiqh (2 items each). Represented by one item are, among others, *adab*, grammar, lexicography, logic and medicine, and perhaps natural sciences, geography and astronomy.

(4) (4a) *Bu mezkûrlardan ğayrî otuz üz kıt'a vardır ki ba'zî Hatme-i Kerîme ve ba'zî nişif ve ba'zî rub' ve ba'zî cüz' ve ba'zî ed'iyedir, köhne olup şatılmaması vech görüldi.* (4b) *Ve yüz otuz mücellled kitâb dahî vardır ki ba'zî nâkıs ve ba'zî ğayr-i müsta'mel ve ba'zî tahte'l-minberiyâtdır, şatılmağdan ğayriye yaramaz şaklamağâ kâbil değildir,* “(4a) Apart from the aforesaid [books], there are thirty-three fragment[ary works], some of which Noble *Khatmas* [i.e., complete copies], some *Nişfs*, some *Rub's* and some *Juz's*, as well as prayer [books], [all] old and not suitable for being sold; (4b) There are another one hundred and thirty bound books, some of which are defective, some unused, and some “incomplete/dilapidated”, good enough only for being sold and not the kind for being kept”:

The fourth and final category includes 166 mss. that, in the eyes of the *defterci*, have no place in the court library. These items are divided into two subcategories, depending, so it seems, on their saleability.

(4a) First, there are 33 fragmentary Qur'ân mss. and prayer books that are labelled “old” and (hence?) “not suitable for being sold” (*köhne olup şatılmaması vech görüldi*).

(4b) Second, there are another 130 bound mss. that are “defective” (*nâkıs*), “unused” (*ğayr-i müsta'mel*) (> no longer in use, or rather unusable?), or “incomplete/dilapidated (?)” (*tahte'l-minberiyât*)⁷¹⁹, and hence “of no use except for being sold” (*şatılmağdan ğayriye yaramaz*).

The anonymous inspector concludes his account with the request for further orders: *Ol bâbda her ne vechile emr olunur ise işaret buyurula*, “Let be given whatever that is commanded in that regard.” How the Ottoman court responded

719 At first, I was inclined to understand this expression as “scattered”, “divided”, “very incomplete”, “cut up”, etc., given the so-called *Mas'ala Minbariyya*, an “inheritance puzzle” that was submitted to caliph 'Alî while preaching from the minbar (hence the name of the puzzle). This puzzle deals with a complicated inheritance division, in shares of 1/27, among a fixed set of heirs (the deceased husband's wife, his two daughters, and his father and mother). Later on, however, I located the same expression in a text edited by İsmail Erünsal (“Molla Lütî Zındıklık İthamıyla Mı Öldürüldü?”, *Marmara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Hukuk Araştırmaları Dergisi* 21 (2015): 21–37, here p. 34). Erünsal also struggled with it, tentatively reading: “ekser nefâyis kitâbların ki ekser mevâlî ve ğayr muttali'lerdir tahte'l-minber bât [?] ile tebdil ve tağyir idüp kıymet ve bahâda yüzbinlikden ziyâde meblağî bel'idüp”. Here, it would seem that books that are *tahte'l-minberiyât* are set against books that are *nefâyis* (“valuable”), *mevâlî* (“lords” > “fit for lords?”), and *ğayr muttali'* (“unused, not looked into?”). So, perhaps, what is meant by books *tahte'l-minberiyât* is, quite literally, books that were used “under the minbar”, that is, books that were used on a day to day basis during congregation or study (as opposed to *khazâ'inî* or “display books”), and that are, by consequence, considerably worn and of diminished value (see Add. 11).

to this plea for directions we cannot tell, but there is no reason to doubt that at least some of the mss. were taken to Istanbul.

Title Identification, Manuscript Matching, *Defter* Profiling

The *defter* gives us a total of 111 works in 161 to 164 mss. for categories 1 to 3 and a maximum of 163 works in 163 mss. for category 4. In total, the *defterci* processed up to 274 works (but probably a great deal less), covered in 324 to 327 mss.

His overall organization of the material is clear: the mss. are ranked in 4 categories, according to their suitability or attractiveness for inclusion in the Ottoman palace library. Beyond this four-tier organizational principle, little if any secondary organizational principle is recognizable. This is a major disadvantage that sets the *defter* apart from the Ashrafiya library catalogue, but is shared with Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī's personal library catalogue. Arguably, every now and then one might suspect a small topical or linguistic cluster⁷²⁰, but never to the extent that a title's relative position within the *defter* could be used for identification purposes.

Turning our attention from the general structure to the individual entries, this varies widely, but, on the whole, entries tend to grow less detailed/more generic as we proceed through the *defter*. In all, eight entry types can be discerned, which can roughly be ranked in terms of feasibility of title identification as follows:⁷²¹

- (a) Author & (short) title & topic

E.g., ***Şerhü'l-Buḥārī el-mevsūm bi'l-Fethi'l-Bārī li İbn-i l-Ḥacer* (1/6)

- (b) Author & (short) title

E.g., ***El-Aḥkām fī l-Evḳāf, li l-Khaṣṣāf* (3/43), **El-evvel ve l-ṣānī mine'n-Tabşira, li İbni'l-Cevzī* (3/20), *Divān-i Müferrih* (1/17)

- (c) Author & topic

E.g., ***Kitābu Şerhü'l-Kenz, li l-Zeyle'i, fī cild vāhid* (1/13), **Divān-i Nevāyī, fī l-ḳıṭ'ati'l-kebir* (1/16), *Ḳıṭ'a min Tāriḫ-i Şeyḫ İbn-i Ebī Zerr* (3/32)

- (d) Author alone

E.g., ***Buḥārī-i ṣānī, ṣelāse mücelledāt* (3/3)

- (e) (Short) title & topic

E.g., ***Kitābu Menāhici'l-Fiker ve Mebāhiji'l-İber* (1/8), **El-cüz'ü'l-evvel ve l-ṣānī mine'l-Taḫḳik fī l-Uşul* (3/21), *Şerhü'l-Vāfi mine'l-Kāfi* (3/51)

720 Qur'āns, *tafsir* and hadith tend to come first in categories 1 to 3, while non-Arabic works are often found in close proximity. For example, the 7 non-Arabic works of category 1 are found between (1/16) and (1/24), while the 4 of category 2 lie between (2/10) and (2/14).

721 The critical apparatus as developed by Konrad Hirschler is by all means superior to this one, but for the present purpose of processing a limited number of items, a more basic apparatus was found sufficient.

(f) (Short) title alone

E.g. ***Münyetü'l-Müftî, mücellled* (3/47), *İskender-Nâme* (1/11), *El-sâdis mine'l-Tezkire* (3/56)

(g) Topic alone

E.g., *risâle-i furûsiye, 'Arabî* (1/20)

(h) Physical description alone

E.g., *mecmû'a-i tavîl, cild* (3/64)

All of the (a) and most of the (b) type entries are positively identified (marked **), while all of the (g) and (h) type entries defy any title identification (unmarked). The identification of entries of types (b) to (f) can go either way, but often has to remain tentative only (marked *). Especially for these intervening types, I felt the “fallacy of possible proof” looming large, and this may have brought me to being unduly reticent about granting double asterisks. Consider, for example, my single-asterisk identification of the *şerhi'l-Buhârî, li Şeyh Burhāneddin*, (3/39) as Burhān al-Dīn Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī’s *al-Talqīh li Fahm al-Qārī l-Şaḥīh li l-Bukhārī*. A case of justified prudence or pathological vacillation?

Apart from author, (short) title and topic, all relevant for title identification, some entries provide additional information, such as: “old” (*köhne*, 2/2), “illustrated” (*muşavver*, 1/11), time of writing (*kāne te'lifühü fî zemān-i Ğavrî*, 1/10), the name of the copyist (*bi ḥaṭṭ-i Kādî Yūsuf Şāfî'î*, 3/2), the presence of a waqf note (*üzerine vakf kayd olunmuşdur*, 3/3), the binding (*tamāmına cild* 1/1, *nısfına cild*, 1/2), the paper and paper size (*dimeşki* (?), 1/1, *fî l-kıṭ'ati'l-<kebîre>*, 1/16), and book format (*hamāyil gibi tûmâr dürülmüşdür*, 1/3). In case of multi-volume sets, sometimes the total number of volumes and the numbers of the available vols. are given as well (*sitte mücellledât fî l-aşl seb'a mücellledât, noḫşân mücellled vâhid*, (2/7), *El-evvel ve l-sânî min*, 3/30, etc.).

This additional information leads us from the issue of title identification to a next one: the possibility of matching entries with physical mss. in Topkapı and elsewhere.⁷²² This exercise, however, is not taken up here. Given the ubiquity of many of the registered titles and the lack of additional description in the *defter* — two impediments that are aggravated still by the fact that mss. tend to lack a reference to the repository of which they were once part — little if anything may be expected to result from such a cumbersome exercise. Copies of al-Nasafî’s *Kanz*, al-Bayḍāwî’s *Anwār* and the *Şaḥīḥayn* run in the hundreds for Istanbul repositories alone... Admittedly, for a handful of entries, such as al-Maqrîzî’s *al-Khabar ‘an al-Başhar* and al-Qalqashandî’s *Şubḥ al-A’shā*,⁷²³ a positive match may lie within

722 See Chapter Four for other repositories (Fatih, Ayasofya, ...) where mss. recorded in the *defter* may have ended up.

723 These tentative matches are based on Karatay’s catalogue entries alone, and not on a physical examination of the mss. Shelf mark numbers are not given, in order not to burden the discussion with excessive detail.

reach, but even so, one must ask, what would be the added value of a positive match?

The vexed “fallacy of possible proof”, an awareness of which already cost the edition a fair deal of double asterisks, looms large here as well. Consider, for example, the *Iskender-Nāme* (→ 3-1) registered twice in (1/11) and (2/13). First, there is the issue of title identification. Statistically speaking, we may expect to be dealing with Aḥmedi’s *Iskender-Nāme*, but — fallacy alert! — other possibilities cannot be ruled out. Topkapi has various copies of Aḥmedi’s work, with at least one predating 1518, but also other versions, including a Turkic translation of Nizāmī’s Persian *Iskandar-Nāme*...

As such, we have to settle with a single-asterisked Aḥmedi’s **Iskender-Nāme*. Second, there is the issue of ms. matching: is it possible, e. g., to find a match for entry (2/13)? As it happens, there is a copy of Aḥmedi’s *Iskender-Nāme*, dated 891/1486 and made in Aleppo: Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W. 664 (→ fig. 81).⁷²⁴ A perfect match if there ever was one! But then again — second fallacy alert! — to find a potential match is one thing, to find a positive match is quite another. Suffice to bring to mind the copy of Aḥmedi’s Turkic *Iskender-Nāme* that was owned by the *nā’ib al-qa’ā* of Aleppo, *amīr* Jānim al-Sayfī (→ fig. 82) (see Add. 12).



Fig. 81: Walters Art Museum, W. 664, f. 245r



Fig. 82: Dār al-Kutub, Adab Turkī 316, f. 1r

724 <http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W664/description.html>.

Zooming out, let us now try and profile the *defter* as a whole. Before doing so, however, I should point out three considerable caveats. First, there is the fact that many entries remain tentatively identified only or not identified at all. Second, for over half of the mss. that were inspected by the anonymous *defterci* (category 4b), we have no information whatsoever. Ensuing from this second caveat, there is an important third one: whatever profile there may emerge from this *defter*, we must realize that this is first and foremost the profile of those mss. that the *defterci* chose to itemize in his inventory (less than half of the total). As such, we are perhaps profiling the *defterci* himself, rather than the 300 odd mss. that were found inside the Aleppo citadel...

When considering categories 1 to 3, the most prominent topic is clearly *fiqh*, with over 20 titles. Poetry, *ḥadīth* and its auxiliaries, and history take second place, with some 10 items each, followed by *tafsīr*, fatwa collections and works of *adab*, with some 5 items each. Following three Qur'ān mss., the list concludes with one to two works on medicine, natural sciences, oneiromancy, *furūsiya*, philology and logic, an administrative manual, and a biographical dictionary, when processing category (4a) as well, *fiqh* has to make room at the top of the list for the conglomerate of Qur'āns and prayer books, with at least 33 mss.

Of the 22 works on *fiqh* (both *uṣūl* or *furū' al-fiqh*), an impressive 18 are Hanafite, and this predilection spills over into the other topics as well. At least 30 works were authored by Hanafites, while the works authored by Malikites (*fiqh*) and Shafiites (*tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*, not *fiqh*) are less than a handful. Admittedly, Toru Miura has calculated that, by the 15th century, Hanafism had grown slightly stronger than Shafiism in Aleppo (unlike in Damascus), with 24 Hanafite madrasas against 22 Shafiite madrasas.⁷²⁵ That said, however, it is most unlikely that by the 16th century the tables had turned to the extent suggested by the *defter*, and that late Mamluk Aleppo witnessed a veritable boom of Hanafism. Rather than the city's factual *madhhab*-distribution, the *defter* may rather reflect the bias of the *defterci*, itself informed by the growing Hanafization of the Ottoman jurisprudential realm. For all we know, the unidentified works of category (4b) may have been overwhelmingly Shafiite, ... In light of all this, there is little surprise in the fact that there is a strong overlap between those books that the *defterci* bothered to itemize and those that were to become part and parcel of the standard curriculum of Ottoman imperial medreses under sultan Süleymān. Of the 39 titles that are enumerated in the officially sanctioned curriculum that was

725 Toru Miura, *Dynamism in the Urban Society of Damascus. The Ṣālihiyya Quarter from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Centuries* (Leiden/Boston, 2016), p. 45.

edited and analysed by Shahab Ahmed and Nenad Filipovic, for example, 10 titles are shared with the *defter*⁷²⁶:

	Curriculum ⁷²⁷	<i>Defter</i>
<i>tafsīr</i>	(5)	(3/1), (3/29) + (1/4)?
<i>Hadīth</i> and auxiliaries	(13), (16), (17), (23), (24)	(3/2), (3/3), (1/6), (2/2), (2/1), (3/4)
Hanafite <i>uṣūl al-fiqh</i>	(28), (29)	(3/33), (1/13)
Hanafite <i>furū' al-fiqh</i>	(31)	(3/34)
Lexicography	(33)	(3/23)

It goes without saying that the Ottoman-Hanafite imperial profile of the *defter(ci)* can be put to good use when it comes to title identification. While there is certainly more than one work that is called *al-Şiḡāḥ*, e. g., there is no reason to doubt that we are dealing with al-Jawharī's celebrated *Tāj al-Lughā wa Ṣiḡāḥ al-'Arabiya* (3/23), since that is the work referred to as such in the curriculum and other relevant sources.⁷²⁸ On the other hand, we should try and avoid circular reasoning, thus unduly inflating the *defter(ci)*'s Hanafite profile. Given this profile, it is very likely that *al-Kāfi* (3/38) is al-Nasafī's *Kāfi Sharḥ al-Wāfi*, a work of Hanafite fiqh. Yet, the fact remains that the Hanbalite al-Maqdisī and the Shafiite al-Isnawī also authored a work called *al-Kāfi*...

When it comes to “chronological profiling”, we may “safely”⁷²⁹ say that the *defter* reflects the “Post-Classical” stage, with authors such as Ibn Abī Ḥajala, Ibn

726 Sh. Ahmed & N. Filipovic, “The Sultan’s Syllabus: A Curriculum for the Ottoman Imperial *medreses* prescribed in a *fermān* of Qānūnī I Süleymān, dated 973 (1565)”, *Studia Islamica* 98/99 (2004): 183–218. As this curriculum represents the most advanced course only, it does not include preparatory subjects, which were taught at the lower levels. If we were to consider preparatory textbooks as well, undoubtedly, even more matches with the *defter* would appear, such as the standard textbook on logic, (3/67). For the establishment of an Ottoman imperial jurisprudential canon in general, see G. Burak, *The Second Formation of Islamic Law. The Hanafī School in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge, NY, 2015), especially chapter 4, “Books of High Repute”.

727 These numbers are taken from Ahmed & Filipovic, “The Sultan’s Syllabus”.

728 Consider, e. g., the list of books that were endowed by sultan Mehmed the Conqueror to the “Eight Medreses of the Yard” (M. İnbaşı & T. Hazırbulan, “Fatih Sultan Mehmed’in Sahn-i Semān Medreselerine Vakfettiği Kitaplar”, in F.M. Emecen, A. Akyıldız & E.S. Gürkan (eds.), *Osmanlı İstanbulu VI. Uluslararası Osmanlı Sempozyumu Bildirileri 11–13 Mayıs 2018, İstanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi* (İstanbul, 2019), pp. 61–104). Also revealing is the output of the professional scribe ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Tirmidhī, active in Timurid Central Asia during the reigns of Shāhrukh and Ulugh Beg. Of the 54 titles/categories that al-Tirmidhī repeated, 7 to 8 occur in the *defter* as well, and again the Hanafite profile is striking: al-‘Imādī’s *Fuṣūl*, al-Bukhārī’s *Khulāṣa*, etc. (M. Arıkan, “The Reproduction and Circulation of Knowledge in Islamic Civilization: An Example from Fifteenth-Century Samaqand”, *Nazariyat* 4/1 (2017): 115–137).

729 An adverb that, in my view, requires a considerable reflexive turn, but this will have to wait for some other occasion.

‘Arabshāh, Ibn Ḥijja, al-Nasafī, and al-Qalqashandī. Of *al-Kutub al-Sitta*, only the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* are included. (Near-)contemporary authors, on the other hand, are relatively few: Aḥmed Paşa, Ibn Abī Sharīf, Ibn al-Ṭūlūnī, Nevā’ī, and, perhaps, al-Suyūṭī.

In terms of language, as to be expected, Arabic is the language by default. Included nonetheless are at least 4 mss. in Persian⁷³⁰ and 3 to 7 mss. in Turkic.⁷³¹ Undoubtedly, this reflects Aleppo’s proximity to the Persianate and the (steadily) Turkicizing spheres to the north and east of the Mamluk Sultanate. In relation to the Turkic titles, of Aḥmed Paşa and the *Iskender-Nāme* we already knew that these were circulating among the Mamluks (→ 3). As for the *Baṭṭāl-Nāme*, the *Kitāb-i Güzide* and Nevā’ī, the *defter* provides us with the first proof that these were circulating within the Mamluk sultanate, or at least in its northern regions. Coincidence or not, non-Turkic books are found only in categories 1 to 2, while the third category is an all-Arabic one. Could this indicate that non-Arabic titles were particularly sought after by the Ottomans?

We have reached the end of our discussion on the Aleppo citadel *defter*. On the one hand, we could read this as the catalogue of an Aleppan Hanafite madrasa library: more diverse than often assumed, this kind of library could easily accommodate the *defter*’s topical and linguistic diversity. On the other hand, heedful of the tricks and trades of the “fallacy of the possible proof”, we have to admit that there is no compelling reason for us to understand the *defter* as such. Until further notice, the safest option for us is to allow the provenance of the mss. found inside the citadel to be as murky and as unsettled as the time in which the *defterci* browsed through them... By way of conclusion, let us briefly returning to the very reason that led us to discussing the *defter* in this monograph in the first place, that is, the possible connection between the mss. found inside the citadel of Aleppo and the library of Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī.⁷³² Admittedly, the *defter* includes one author, Ibn al-Ṭūlūnī (1/10), who must have been close to Qāniṣawh, but that doesn’t even come close to the kind of “possible proof” that could be mistaken for irrefutable evidence of such connection.

One final element to point out is the following. While a comprehensive comparison of their contents will not be offered here, it is safe to say that there is

730 To the three divans and one *tafsīr* that are explicitly labelled *Fārisī* (1/17, 1/19, 2/12, 2/14), we should probably add Sa’idī’s *Gulistān* (2/10), and perhaps even Nevā’ī’s unspecified divan (1/16).

731 To the *Kitāb-i Güzide* and the two *Baṭṭāl-Nāme* copies that are explicitly labelled *Türkī* (1/21, 1/22, 1/23), we should probably add Aḥmed Paşa’s divan (1/24), the two *Iskender-Nāme* copies (1/11, 2/13), and Nevā’ī’s divan (1/16).

732 In fact, there is *almost no overlap* between the *defter* and the sultan’s library, as this has been reconstructed so far in chapters 2 to 3. What figures prominently in the one is hardly present in the other, and vice versa (fiqh, mostly Hanafite vs. *Fürstenspiegels* and al-Būṣīrī’s *Mantle Ode*). See mainly Chapter Three, *A Library Profiled*, for more details.

hardly any overlap between the *defter* and the sultan's library, as this has been profiled so far in chapters. What figures prominently in the one is hardly present in the other, and vice versa (fiqh, mostly Hanafite vs. *Fürstenspiegels* and al-Būšīrī's *Mantle Ode*). While comparing the Ashrafiya Library catalogue and Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī's, Konrad Hirschler observed that

“we have two documented large-scale endowed book collections from the Mamluk period for a single city, which is as dense a documentation as we get for the pre-Ottoman period. Yet these two ‘Islamic’ or ‘Mamluk’ book collections shared few thematic fields and existed in very different intellectual universes.”⁷³³

This same observation holds when comparing the “intellectual universes” of the Aleppo *defter* and the list as generated in Chapter Two. This, in turn, begs the question: was there ever anything like a *Mamluk library*?⁷³⁴

Edition, Supplemented with Title Identification and Manuscript Matching⁷³⁵

^(p.1) *Defter-i Maḥrūse-i Haleb Kaḫ'asında Vāқи' Olan Kitāblardır ki Esāmileri ile Zıkr Olunur el-Vāқи' fī Evā'il-i āḫiri l-cemādiye Sene 923*

(1) *Meşāḫif-i Kerīmeniy ve Kütüb-i Nefise ki Hızāne-i āmireye lāyıkdır anı beyān eder:*

Ḥatme-i kerīme kıt'ası, dimeşķi, tamāmına cild

** (1/1) Section of the Qur'ān (Qur'ān).

= (1/2), (1/3), (4a)

> Over 1600 Qur'ān vols. in TSMK.

Diğer ḥatme-i kerīme kıt'ası, nisfına cild

** (1/2) = (1/1), (1/3), (4a)

Diğer ḥatme-i kerīme, ḥamāyil gibi tūmār dūrūlmüşdür, cild

** (1/3) = (1/1), (1/2), (4a)

Tefsīr-i Kāḫḫi, kāmīl, fī cild-i vāḫid

* (1/4) Most probably Qāḫi Bayḫāwī's (d. 716/1315) *Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Ta'wīl*, even though the works is referred to elsewhere in the list as *Tefsīru'l-Kāḫḫi el-Beyḫāwī (tafsīr)*.

= (3/1), (3/29)?

> Over 30 copies in TSMK.

733 *A Monument to Medieval Syrian Book Culture*, pp. 75–76.

734 See also the concluding part of Chapter Three for more discussion.

735 Double-asterisked items are positively identified, single-asterisked items are tentatively identified, and unmarked items are unidentified. Ms. shelf mark numbers are not given, in order not to burden the ed. with superfluous detail. Entries of the *defter* are not indexed at the end of this volume, unless they are dealt with in the analytical part.

Kitābū'l-Medārīkī't-Tenzīl, fī l-tefsīr, cild-i vāhid, kāmīl

** (1/15) al-Nasafī's (d. 711/1310) *Madārīk al-Tanzīl wa Ḥaqa'iq al-Ta'wīl (tafsīr)*.

> Numerous copies in TSMK.

Şerhü'l-Buḥārī el-mevsūm bi'l-Fethī'l-Bārī li İbn-i l-Ḥacer, isnā 'aşer mücelledāt

** (1/6) Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's (d. 852/1449) *Fath al-Bārī fī Sharḥ Şaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (hadith commentary).

> Some 60 vols. in TSMK.

Kitābū'l-Ḥaber 'anī'l-Beşer, fī'l-tevārīḥ, te'lifü'l-şeyḥ el-Maqrīzī, sitte mücelledāt

** (1/7) al-Maqrīzī's (845/1442) *al-Khabar 'an al-Başar* (history).

> Seven vols. in TSMK, of which 6 (A 2926/1–6) constitute a six-volume set.⁷³⁶

Kitābu Menāhici'l-Fiker ve Mebāhijī'l-İber fī beyān-i eḫvāl-i mevcūdāt, cildeyn

** (1/8) Jamāl al-Dīn al-Waṭwāt al-Kutubī's (d. 718/1318) *Mabāhij al-Fikar wa Manāhij al-Ibar* (natural sciences)

> Various copies in TSMK.

Kitābū'l-Ta'bīr

(1/9) An unidentified book on oneiromancy (oneiromancy).

Tevārīḫu Mısr, min te'lif-i Ḥasan b. Ḥüseyn et-Ṭülünī, fe kāne te'lifühü fī zemān-i Ğavrī, cild

* (1/10) A work by Ḥasan b. al-Ṭülünī (d. 923/1517) (Chapter Two, → 77), either his *al-Nuzhat al-Saniya fī Akhbār al-Khulafā' wa l-Mulūk al-Misriya*, or, less likely, his *Nuzhat al-Abşār fī Akhbār al-Akhyār*, or his *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa l-Khawāṭir fī mā Kutiba Li l-Muḥibbin Ghā'ib wa Ḥādīr* (history).

> Vols. of the first and third in TSMK, and a (unique?) copy of the second in Süleymaniye, Fātiḥ.

İskender-Nāme, muşavver, cild

* (1/11) Of the at least 8 different *İskender-Nāmes*, we are probably dealing with Ahmedī's (d. 812/1410) Turkic *İskender-Nāme* (Chapter Two, → 3). Its language is not detailed, but for such a popular work this addition may have been considered superfluous (poetry).

= (2/13)

> Various copies in TSMK.

Fetāvā-i Bezzāziye, kāmīl, fī cild vāhid

** (1/12) al-Bazzāz al-Kurdī's (d. 827/1424) *al-Fatāwā l-Bazzāziya* (Hanafite fatwa collection).

= (3/42)

> Three complete copies in TSMK.

Kitābu Şerhü'l-Kenz, li l-Zeyle'i, fī cild vāhid

** (1/13) Fakhr al-Dīn 'Uthmān al-Zayla'ī's (d. 743/1342) *Tabyīn al-Ḥaqa'iq*, his commentary of al-Nasafī's (d. 711/1310) *Kanz al-Daqa'iq* (Hanafite law).

> Various vols. in TSMK, and some 60 in Süleymaniye...

736 For mss. in Süleymaniye, see F. Bauden, "Al-Maqrīzī", in D. Thomas & A. Mallett (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations, a Bibliographical History, vol. 5 (1350–1500)* (Leiden/Boston, 2013), pp. 380–395, here pp. 392–395.

Fuṣūl-i 'Imādī

*(1/14) Zayn al-Dīn al-'Imādī's (d. 670/1271), *Fuṣūl al-Ihkām fī Uṣūl al-Ahkām* (Hanafite fatwa collection).

= (3/31)

> Various copies in TSMK.

Kitābū'l-Nāfi', fī l-fikh

*(1/15) Of the various books called *al-Nāfi'* etc., the most likely candidate is probably Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Samarqandī's (d. 656/1258) *al-Fiqh al-Nāfi' fī Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī*, his commentary of al-Qudūrī (d. 428/1037)'s *al-Mukhtaṣar* (Hanafite fiqh). Less likely perhaps is al-Asnawī's *al-Nāfi'*, which is commentary to al-Mawṣilī's (d. 671/1272) *al-Ta'jīz* (in its turn a *mukhtaṣar* of al-Ghazzālī's *al-Wajīz*).

= (3/35)?

> Copy in TSMK.

Dīvān-i Nevāyī, fī l-kıṭ'ati'l-kebīre

*(1/16) Either of one Nevā'ī's (d. 906/1500–01) four Turkic divans, or his Persian divan.

> Various copies of all five in TSMK.

Dīvān-i Müferrīḥ, Fārisī

(1/17) No poet called Mufarriḥ seems to fit... We are not simply dealing with a *dīvān-i müferrīḥ* by any chance? (poetry)

Dīvān-i Ebū Ṭayyib, 'Arabī

*(1/18) Undoubtedly al-Mutanabbī 's (d. 354/965) *Dīvān* (poetry).

> Various copies in TSMK.

Dīvān-i Mevlānā Rūkneddīn Mes'ūd, Fārisī

*(1/19) Venturing a guess, we might be dealing with Rukn al-Dīn Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān, a famous Ghaznavid poet of the 11th century (poetry).

> One copy in TSMK.

Risāle fī l-furūsiye, 'Arabī

(1/20) An unidentified Arabic treatise on horsemanship (military arts).

Kitāb-i Güzide, Türki

*(1/21) Rather than Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Şirvānī's (9th cent./15th cent.), *Kitāb-i Sulṭāniye* (or: *Kitāb-i Güzide*), we are probably dealing with Meḥmed b. Bālī's (8th cent./14th cent.) *Kitāb-i Güzide*, his translation of a work by Abū l-Naşr b. Ṭāhir al-Sarakhsī (11th-13th cent.?) on the tenets of Islam (Islamic principles).

> Various mss., but none in TSMK?

Ḳıṣṣa-i Seyyid Baṭṭāl Ğāzī, Türki, cild

*(1/22) The popular *Baṭṭāl-Nāme*, which celebrates the exploits of Sīdī Baṭṭāl Ghāzī. Most probably we are dealing with the prose version, which is apparently the oldest (biography).

= (1/23)

> No copies in TSMK?⁷³⁷

Diğer Seyyid Ğāzī, Türki, cild

*(1/23) = (1/22)

737 A survey of mss. is offered by H. Köksal, "Battalnâmelerde Tip ve Motif Yapısı", PhD thesis (Atatürk Üniversitesi Erzurum, 1983), pp. 8–12.

Dīvān-i Aḥmed Paşa b. Velîyüddîn, cild

** (1/24) Aḥmed Paşa's (d. 902/1496–97) (Chapter Two, → 3) *Dīvān* (poetry).

> At least 2 copies in TSMK.

Kitābu Fevāti'-Vefeyāt, li İbni'l-Şākîr, mücelledeyn

** (1/25) Şalāh al-Dîn Muḥammad al-Kutubî's (d. 764/1363), *Fawāt al-Wafāyāt*, a *dhayl* to Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-A'yān* (biographical dictionary)

> Various vols. in TSMK.

Yekūn 43 mücelledāt.

(p. 2) (2) *İğen nefis olmayub vasaṭ olanlar bunlar ki zıkr olunur:*

Şaḥîḥ-i Müslim, kāmîl, erba'a mücelledāt

** (2/1) Muslim b. Ḥajjāj's (d. 259/874) *Şaḥîḥ* (hadith collection).

> Multiple copies in TSMK.

Meşābiḥ, köhne mücelled, vāḥid

** (2/2) al-Ḥusayn b. Mas'ūd Ibn al-Farrā's (d. 516/1122) *Maşābiḥ al-Sunna* (hadith collection).

> Multiple copies in TSMK.

Kitābu Takhriçi'l-Eḥādîs, li İbni'l-Ḥacer, cild

*(2/3) Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānî (d. 852/1448) produced various *takhriç al-aḥādîth*, such as *al-Kāfi l-Shāfi fi Takhriç Aḥādîth al-Kashshāf*, *Hidāyat al-Ruwāḥ ilā Takhriç Aḥādîth al-Maşābiḥ wal-Mishkâh*, *al-Talkhîş al-Khabîr fi Takhriç Aḥādîth al-Rāfi'i l-Kabîr*, ...

> Copies of at least the first two in TSMK.

Tevārîḥ-i Selāṭîn-i Mışır, köhne cild

(2/4) An unidentified history of the rulers of Egypt (history).

Tevārîḥ-i Timūr, li İbn-i 'Arabşāḥ, 'Arabî, cild

** (2/5) Ibn 'Arabshāh's (d. 854/1450) *'Ajā'ib al-Maqdur fi Nawā'ib Taymūr* (biography).

> Various copies in TSMK.

Mücelled, muḥtaşar-i'<l-Mevsüm> Müheyyā

(2/6) An abridgement entitled *Muhayyā? Ibn Ḥājib's* (d. 646/1249) *Mukhtaşar Muntahā l-Sül wa l-Amal* might require too much emendation...

Kitābu Şubḥ-i'l-Aşā fi Kitābeti'l-İnşā, li l-Kalkaşandî, sitte mücelledāt, fi l-aşl seb'a mücelledāt, noḳşān mücelled vāḥid

** (2/7) al-Qalqashandî's (d. 821/1418) *Şubḥ al-A'shā fi Şinā'at al-Inshā'* (administrative manual).

> TSMK (A 2930, 1, 3, 5, 6, and 7) are 5 vols. of a 7-volumes set. Perhaps another vol. had gone missing in Istanbul?

Müfredāt-i İbnü'l-Bayṭār, cild

** (2/8) Ibn al-Bayṭār's (d. 646/1248) *Jāmi' Mufradāt* (medicine).

> Various copies in TSMK.

Kitābü'l-Sükkerdān, cild

*(2/9) Most probably Ibn Abî Ḥajala's (d. 776/1375) *Sukkardān al-Sultān*. Much less likely is Uways b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawî al-Dimashqî's (d. 910/1510) *Sukkardān al-*

'Ushshāq wa Manārat al-Asmā' wa l-Āmāq (adab).

> Copies of both in TSMK.

Gūlistān-i Şeyḥ Sa'dī, cild

** (2/10) Sa'dī's (d. 690/1291) *Gūlistān*, presumably in its Persian original (poetry).

> Multiple copies in TSMK.

Cild min al-tevārīḥ, 'Arabī

(2/11) An unidentified volume on history in Arabic (history).

Tefsīr, Fārisī, cild

(2/12) An unidentified volume of *tafsīr* in Persian (*tafsīr*).

İskender-Nāme, cild

*(2/13) = (1/11)

Dīvān-i Selmān, Fārisī

** (2/14) Salmān-i Sāvajī's (d. 778–779/1376–1377) *Dīvān* (poetry).

> Copy in TSMK.

Mecmū'a-i ensāb, 'Arabī

(2/15) A convolute on genealogies in Arabic (history).

Fütūḥü'l-Ġayb fī 'ilmi't-taşvīf (sic), cild

*(2/16) 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī's (d. 561/1166) *Fütūḥ al-Ghayb* (Sufism)?

> One copy in TSMK, copied in 837/1433 in Arabic *naskh*.

Kitābu Şerḥi Lāmiyeti'l-'Acem, mücelledeyn

*(2/17) As there is a 228 pp. monograph on commentaries to al-Ṭughrā'ī (d. 515/1121), *Lāmiyat al-'Ajam*, it should be clear that options are plenty.⁷³⁸ Statistically speaking, the most likely candidate is al-Şafadī's (d. 1363) *Kitāb al-Ghayth al-Musjam fī Sharḥ Lāmiyat al-'Ajam* (poetry).

> Various commentaries in TSMK, including a 2-volume set of al-Şafadī's *şarḥ*.

Kitābu Tev'iyyeti'l-Tullāb, mücelled vāḥid

(2/18) The reading is uncertain, but statistics suggest reading *tev'iyyet* rather than İnbāşī's "Ter'iyyet"...

Yekün vasaḥ 27 mücelledāt.

(3) *Kütüb-i müteferriḳa-i diğەر:*

Tefsīru'l-Ḳāḍi el-Beydāwī, selāşe mücelledāt

** (3/1) Qāḍi Bayḍāwī's (d. 716/1315) *Anwār al-Tanzil wa Asrār al-Ta'wīl (tafsīr)*.

= (3/29), = (1/4)?

> Over 30 copies in TSMK alone...

Buḥārī-i kāmīl, bi ḥaṭṭ-i Ḳāḍi Yūsuf Şāfi'i, erba'a mücelledāt

** (3/2) al-Buḥārī's (d. 256/870) *al-Jāmi' al-Şaḥīḥ* (hadith).

> Multiple copies in TSMK.

Buḥārī-i şāni, selāşe mücelledāt, nāḳış cild-i vāḥid, üzerine vaḳf olunmuşdur

** (3/3) = (3/2)

738 İbrāhīm Muḥammad Manşūr, *Şurūḥ Lāmiyat al-'Ajam: Dirāsa Taḥlīliya Naqḍiya* (Cairo, 1998).

Şerhü'l-Müslimi'l-Nevâvi (sic), rab' mücelledât

*(3/4) Yahyâ b. Sharaf al-Nawawî's (d. 676/1277) *al-Minhâj fî Sharh Şahîh Muslim*, his commentary of al-Muslim's *Şahîh* (Shafiite hadith commentary).

> Various copies in TSMK.

Şerhü'l-Kenz, li l-Mekkî, cild

*(3/5) Of the numerous authors who commented on al-Nasafî's *Kanz al-Daqâ'iq*, thus far I have identified only one with the appropriate *nisba*: Ibn al-Diyâ' al-Makkî (d. 858/1450), known first and foremost for his *Târîkh Makkat al-Musharrafa wa l-Masjid al-Ḥarâm wa l-Madînat al-Sharîfa wa l-Qabr al-Sharîf* and his *al-Diyâ' al-Ma'nawîya 'alâ l-Muqaddîmat al-Ghaznawîya* (Hanafite fiqh compendium).

> No copy located so far... In fact, the only ref. to this work appears to be Ḥâjjî Khalîfa's *İdâh al-Maknûn...*

Kitâbü'l-Kenz, cild

*(3/6) Ḥâfîz al-Dîn al-Nasafî's (d. 711/1310) *Kanz al-Daqâ'iq fî Furû' al-Ḥanafîya* (Hanafite fiqh).

> Multiple copies in TSMK.

Kitâbu Uşûl-i İbni'l-Ḥâcib ve ğayrihi, cild

*(3/7) A work by Ibn al-Ḥâjib (d. 646/1249), either his *Muntahâ al-Wuşûl* (or: *al-Su'l wa l-Amal fî l-May al-Uşûl wa l-Jadal*, or, more likely, his own abridgement of the latter, the *Mukhtaşar al-Muntahâ* (Malikite fiqh). This is bound together with another work.

> One (?) copy of the *Mukhtaşar* in TSMK.

Mücelledeyn min Şerhi'l-Kenz, li l-Râzî

*(3/8) Of the numerous authors who commented on al-Nasafî's *Kanz al-Daqâ'iq*, I have thus far identified only one with the appropriate *nisba*: 'Izz al-Dîn Yûsuf b. Maḥmûd al-Râzî al-Tihîrânî's (d. 794/1392) *Kashf al-Daqâ'iq fî Sharh Kanz al-Daqâ'iq*, (Hanafite fiqh compendium).

> No copy in TSMK?

Bidâyetü'l-Ḥilkat>, fî cildeyn

(3/9) An unidentified *Bidâyat al-Khilqat* (history or natural sciences?)

El-Terġîb ve l-Terhîb, fî cildeyn

*(3/10) Of the options, most likely is al-Mundhirî's (d. 656/1258) *al-Tarġîb wa l-Tarhîb (ḥadîth)*.

> Various copies in TSMK.

Ḥâşiye ve l-'Aqâ'id, li İbn-i Ebî Şerîf, cild

*(3/11) Of the various authors who went by the name Ibn Abî Sharîf, who first comes to mind is Muḥammad Ibn Abî Sharîf al-Maqdisî (d. 906/1500), as he authored a *ḥâshiya* to al-Taftâzânî's (d. 743/1343) *Sharh al-'Aqâ'id al-Nasafîya*, itself a commentary of Najm al-Dîn al-Nasafî's (d. 537/1142) *al-Aqâ'id* (Islamic tenets).

> Various copies in TSMK.

Mücelled-i laṭîf, fî l-siyer

(3/12) An unidentified work on *siyar* (biography).

Kitâb ve 'ilmü'l-ḥadîs, cild

(3/13) ?

Şir'etü'l-Muḥâl>, cild

(3/14) ?

Kitāb-i Tebyīn-i Reşşād, li İbn-i l-İmād, cild

(3/15) Following the title's (risky) lead, we should be dealing with the commentary of some Ibn al-İmād to a work called *al-Rashshād*, which — statistically speaking, that is — we may expect to be a commentary to one of the various work called *al-Irshād*...

El-cüz 'ü'l-şālīs min Tuḥfeti'l-İbād, cild

*(3/16) At least four different authors authored a title that starts with *Tuḥfat al-İbād*, three of which worked before 1518. Of these, perhaps most likely is Ibn Dāwud's (d. 856/1452) *Tuḥfat al-İbād fī Sharḥ Durr al-Muntaqā l-Marfū' fī Awrād al-Yawm wa l-Layla wa l-Uṣbū'*, his commentary of Abū Bakr Taqī al-Dīn Abū l-Şafā's (d. 806/1403) *al-Durr al-Muntaqā l-Marfū' fī Awrād al-Yawm wa l-Layl wa l-Uṣbū'* (Sufism).

> TSMK holds a copy in one volume and the third volume (!) of an incomplete set, copied in 851/1447.

El-nısf min Şerḥi'l-Bedīya, cild

*(3/17) As Şafi al-Dīn al-Ḥillī's work was widely commented, options are plenty. The most likely candidate perhaps is Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī's (d. 837/1433) *Sharḥ al-Badīya* (poetry).

= (3/26)?

> Various copies of Ibn Ḥijja's commentary in TSMK, including some incomplete sets.

El-cüz 'ü'l-şānī min <Tuḥafī'l-Mecālīs> (sic), cild

(3/18) As no work appears to be called *Tuḥaf al-Majālīs*, we are perhaps dealing with al-Suyūṭī's (d. 911/1505) *Tuḥfat al-Majālīs wa Nuzhat al-Jālīs*, or with Ibn al-Athīr's (d. 630/1233) *Tuḥfat al-Ajā'ib wa Ṭurfat al-Gharā'ib* (natural sciences).

> A copy of the latter in TSMK.

Şerḥü'l-Mecme', cildeyn

(3/19) Given the popularity of book titles starting with *Majma'*, identifying this *şarḥ* is quite impossible. Statistics suggest that we might be dealing with a commentary on Ibn al-Sā'ātī's (d. 696/1296) *Majma' al-Baḥrayn wa Multaqā l-Nayyirayn*, either the one written by himself or by the Aydinid scholar Ibn Malak (better known as Feriştioğlu) (d. 797/1395 or 830/1427?). Less likely candidates include Ibn al-Ḍiyā' al-Makkī (d. 858/1450) and al-Āyntābī (d. 767/1365).

= (3/63)?

> Copies of the first two works in TSMK.

^(p. 3) *El-evvel ve l-şānī mine'n-Tabşira, li İbni'l-Cevzī*

*(3/20) A work authored by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201), either his *Tabşirat al-Mubtadī wa Tadḥkirat al-Muntahī*, or, less likely perhaps, his *al-Tabşira fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtā wa l-Ākhira*.

> TSMK has the second vol. of an incomplete set of the *Tabşirat al-Mubtadī*.

El-cüz 'ü'l-evvel ve l-şānī mine'l-Taḥqīq fī l-Uşūl

*(3/21) Books called *al-Taḥqīq* are very numerous indeed, but an educated guess would be 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Bukhārī's (d. 730/1330) *al-Taḥqīq*, his commentary on Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Akhsikathī's (d. 644/1246) *al-Muntakhab fī Uşūl al-Madḥhab* (Hanafite fiqh).

> At least one copy in TSMK.

Mücelled muḥtelifu'd-devāyāt

(3/22) An unidentified work on various medicines (medicine).

Cüz' mine'l-Şihāh, cild

** (3/23) Undoubtedly al-Jawharī's (d. 393/1003) *Tāj al-Lughā wa Şihāh al-'Arabīya* (lexicography).

> Multiple copies in TSMK.

Şerhü'l-Menār fi Uşûli'l-Fıkh, cild

(3/24) Clearly a commentary on al-Nasafī's (d. 710/1310) *Manār al-Anwār fi Uşûl al-Fıqh*, but whose? The one written by himself, by al-Bābartī (d. 786/1384), by Ferişteoğlu (d. 797/1395 or 830/1427?), by Ibn al-'Aynī (982/1487), or by others still (Hanafite fiqh)?

El-Cāmi'ü'l-Şağır, cild

*(3/25) Probably Muḥammad al-Shaybānī's (d. 187/805) *al-Jāmi' al-Şaghīr*, or, less likely, al-Suyūtī's (911/1505) work with the same title.

= (3/53)

Şerhü'l-Bedī'a, li İbn-i <Hijja>, cild

** (3/26) Ibn Hıjja al-Ḥamawī's (d. 837/1433) commentary of Şafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī's *Badī'ya* (poetry).

= (3/17)?

> Various copies in TSMK

Kitāb min uşûli'l-Ḥanefiye

(3/27) An unidentified work (Hanafite fiqh).

Mücelledeyn, Şerhü'l-Hidāye

(3/28) One of the numerous commentaries to al-Marghinānī's (d. 593/1197) *al-Hidāya fi l-Furū'* (itself a commentary on his own *Bidāyat al-Mubtadi'*), without further identification (Hanafite law). Most likely candidates include al-Şighnāqī's (d. 711/1311) *al-Nihāya fi Furū' al-Fıqh al-Ḥanafī*, al-Itqānī's (d. 758/1356) *Ghāyat al-Bayān wa Nādīrat al-Aqrān*, and al-Bābartī's (d. 786/1384) *al-'Ināya fi Sharḥ al-Hidāya*.

= (3/33)?

Ḳıṭ'a min Tefsīri'l-Ḳāḍi el-Beydāvi

** (3/29) = (3/1)

El-evvel ve l-sānī min Me'ānī'l-Aşār

*(3/30) Probably al-Ṭahāwī's (d. 321/933) *Ma'ānī al-Āthār* (or: *Mushkil al-Āthār fi Aḥādīth al-Nabīy al-Mukhtār*) (Hanafite, ḥadīth).

> Various volumes in TSMK.

Fuşūlu'l-'İmād, cild

** (3/31) = (1/14)

Ḳıṭ'a min Tārīḥ-i Şeyḥ İbn-i Ebī Zerr

(3/32) Given the Aleppo connection, not by any chance a lapsus for Abū Dharr Sibṭ b. al-'Ajāmī's (d. 884/1470) (3/39) *Kunūz al-Dhahab fi Tārīḥ Ḥalab?*

> No copy in TSMK.

El-evvel min Şerḥi'l-Hidāye, li Ekmeleddīn

** (3/33) al-Bābartī's (d. 1384–85) *al-'Ināya fi sharḥ al-Hidāya*, his commentary on al-Marghinānī's (d. 593/1197) *Hidāya fi l-Furū'* (Hanafite fiqh).

= (3/28)?

> Various copies in TSMK, and some 50 in Süleymaniye...

El-sānī mine'l-Ḥülāsa, cild

** (3/34) Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī's (d. 543/1147) *Khulāşat al-Fatāwā* (Hanafite fatwa collection)

> Various copies in TSMK (including the second vol. of an incomplete set, copied around 850/1446), and some 50 in Süleymaniye.

El-Nāfi' fī'l-Fīqh, cild

*(3/35) = (1/15)

Cevāhirü'l-Ḳur'ān, cild

** (3/36) Undoubtedly al-Ghazālī's (d. 505/1111) *Jawāhir al-Ḳur'ān wa Duraruhu (tafsīr)*.

> One copy in TSMK.

El-Muhtaşar fī Aḥbārī'l-Beşer, li İbni'l-Verdī

** (3/37) Ibn al-Wardī's (d. 749/1394)'s *Tatimmat al-Mukhtaşar fī Akhbār al-Başar*, his continuation of Abū l-Fidā's *al-Mukhtaşar fī Akhbār al-Başar* (history).

> One copy in TSMK.

Mecmū'-i laṭifi'l-Kāfi, erba'a mücelledāt

*(3/38) Of the various options, most likely perhaps is al-Nasafī's (d. 710/1310) *al-Kāfi Sharḥ al-Wāfi*, his commentary on his own *al-Wāfi fī l-Furū'* (Hanafite fiqh). As for non-Hanafite works, there are, e.g., al-Isnawī's (d. 772/1370) *Kāfi l-Muhtāj ilā Sharḥ al-Minhāj*, his commentary on al-Nawawī's (d. 676/1277) *Minhāj al-Ṭālibīn* (Shafiite fiqh), and al-Maqdisī's (d. 620/1223) *al-Kāfi fī Fiqh al-Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal* (Hanbalite fiqh).

= (3/51)?

> Various copies in TSMK (including a four-volume set of the second, copied in 860/1456).

Ḳıṭ'a min şerḥi'l-Buḥārī, li Şeyḥ Burhāneddīn

*(3/39) Probably Burhān al-Dīn Sibṭ Ibn al-'Ajamī's (d. 841/1437) commentary on al-Bukhārī's *al-Jāmi' al-Şaḥīḥ, al-Talqīḥ li Fahm al-Qārī l-Şaḥīḥ li l-Bukhārī* (Hanafite hadith commentary)?

> Two vols. in TSMK.

El-şānī mine'l-Siyer

(3/40) The second volume of an unidentified work on *siyar* (biography).

İḥtilāfü'l-<E'imme, li l-Kāşī>, mücelledeyn

(3/41) Of the various authors called al-Kāşī, none appears to have authored an *Ikhtilāf al-A'imma...*

Fetāvā-i Bezzāzī, cildeyn

** (3/42) = (1/12)

El-Aḥkām fī l-Evkāf, li l-Khaşşāf, cild

** (3/43) al-Khaşşāf's (d. 261/875) *Aḥkām al-Awqāf* (or: *Aḥkām al-Waqf*) (Hanafite fiqh).

> Copy in TSMK.

Mücelled fī Tārīḥ-i İbn-i Cezerī

*(3/44) Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 739/1338)'s *Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa Anbā'ihī wa Wafayāt al-Akābir wa l-A'yān min Abnā'ihī*, or, less likely, his *Jawāhir al-Sulūk fī l-Khulafā' wa l-Mulūk* (history).

Kitāb <Te'nisi>l-Nazar, li Ebū l-<Beyt>, cild

*(3/45) To be emendated as Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī's (d. 393/1003), *Ta'sīs al-Nazar al-Mukhtalif bayna Aşḥāb al-Fiqh* (Hanafite fiqh)?

> Copy in TSMK.

Tārīḥ-i Mekke-i Belāzurī, cild

(3/46) The alternative title of one of al-Balādhurī's (d. 278–79/892) two multi-volume works, either his *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* or his *Futūḥ al-Buldān* (history)?

Mūnyetü'l-Müftī, mücellled

** (3/47) Al-Sijistānī's (7th/13th cent.) *Munyat al-Muftī* (Hanafite fiqh).

> Copy in TSMK.

Ḳam'u'l-Nüfūs, li l-<Ḥasīn>, cild

** (3/48) Undoubtedly al-Ḥiṣnī's (or: al-Ḥuṣnī) (d. 829/1426) *Qam' al-Nufūs wa Ruqyat al-Ma'yūs*.

> Copy in TSMK.

Şerḥü Elfiye, li İbn-i Mālik, cild

(3/49) One of numerous various commentaries on Ibn Mālik's (d. 672/1274) *al-Alfiya* (grammar).

Şerḥü Esmā 'i'l-Ḥusnā, cild

(3/50) If a proper title, we could be dealing with Bahā' al-Dīn Zāda's (d. 951/1544) *Sharḥ al-Asmā al-Ḥusnā*, or with al-Būnī's (d. 622/1225) *'Alam al-Hudā* (also known as *Sharḥ al-Asmā' Allāh al-Ḥusnā*). If a descriptive title, options run in the several dozens... (Sufism).

> Two copies of Bahā' al-Dīn-Zāda's work are included in TSMK, but al-Būnī's work is not (however, Süleymaniye holds several copies).

Şerḥü'l-Vāfi mine'l-Kāfi

(3/51) Jumbling up what might be three of the most popular words in medieval Arabic book titles, there is very little to go on... Perhaps the most obvious solution is the best: al-Nasafī's *al-Kāfi* (Hanafite fiqh).

= (3/38)?

> Various copies in TSMK.

Sirāciye ve şerḥuhā, cild

*(3/52) Sajāwandī's (d. 600/1203) *al-Farā'id al-Sirājiya* and an anonymous *şarḥ* (Hanafite inheritance law).

> Numerous copies in TSMK.

Cāmi'ül-Şağır, cild

*(3/53) = (3/25)

Ġāyetü'l-Taḥrīr fi uşul, cild

*(3/54) Most likely Yūsuf b. İbrāhīm al-Wānūghī al-Maghribī's (d. after 838/1434) *Ghāyat al-Taḥrīr al-Jāmi' wa Kifāyat al-Niḥrīr al-Māni' al-mukhtaşar min Fuşul al-Badā'i li Şams al-Dīn al-Fanārī*, his abridgment of al-Fanārī's (d. 834/1431) *Fuşul al-Badā'i fi Uşul al-Şarā'i* (Hanafite fiqh).

> One copy in TSMK.

Kitāb mücellled fi l-baştī'l-ekālīm

(3/55) An unidentified work (geography?)

El-sādis mine'l-Tezkire

(3/56) Clearly this short title was self-evident for Ottoman library officials in the early 16th cent., but less so for the present author. What comes to mind first is Nāşir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's (d. 672/1274) *al-Tadhkirat al-Naşiriya fi l-Hay'at*, as this would constitute some sort of topical cluster with the previous and the next item, and as this served as a standard textbook in Ottoman madrasas. However, as the *Tadhkira* itself is far too short

for constituting at least six volumes, we would be dealing with a copious commentary indeed... (written by al-Jurjānī, Faṭḥ Allāh al-Shirwānī, ...). In light of this, the most likely candidate might be Ibn Ḥamdūn's (d. 562/1168) *Tadhkira (fi l-Siyāsa wa l-Adab al-Malikīya)*.

> Various copies of al-Ṭūsī and vols. of Ibn Ḥamdūn in TSMK.

^(p. 4) *Kitāb fi 'ilmi'l-felek, cild*

(3/57) An unidentified work on astronomy (astronomy).

Kitābu Tārīḥ-i İbn-i <Şemne>, cild

(3/58) ? Not by any chance to be emendated as Ibn al-Shihna (d. 890/1485)?

Kitābü'l-Le'ālī ve'l-Dürer, cild

*(3/59) Likely to be al-Tha'ālibī's (d. 429/1039) *Aḥsan Mā Sami'tu* (or: *al-La'ālī wa l-Durar*) (*adab*).

Kitābü'l-Ferāyiz, cild

(3/60) An unidentified work, either on religious duties or on the laws of inheritance distribution (*fiqh*).

Kitābu Siyer Ömer b. 'Abdü'l-'Aziz, cild

(3/61) The most valid options are Ibn al-Jawzī's (d. 597/1201) *Sīrat wa Manāqib 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz*, and Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's (d. 214/871) *Sīrat 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz* (biography).

> Copies of both in TSMK.

Fetāvā'l-Kāḍihān, cild

** (3/62) Qāḍī Khān's (d. 592/1196) *Fatāwā Qāḍikhāniya* (Hanafite fatwa collection).

> Various copies in TSMK.

El-evvel min Şerḥi Mecme'i'l-Baḥreyn

(3/63) = (3/19)?

Mecmū'a-i ṭavil, cild

(3/64) A long convolute in one volume...

Kitābu Menāsiki'l-Ḥacc, cild

(3/65) An unidentified work on the Hajj rituals (Islamic ritual).

Divānu İbnü'l-Ḥicca'l-Ḥamāwī, cild

** (3/66) Ibn al-Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī's (d. 837/1434) divan, called *al-Thamarāt al-Shahīya fi l-Fawākih al-Ḥamawīya wa l-Zawā'id al-Miṣriya* (poetry).

> Copy in TSMK.

İsāğūcī ve şerḥuhu, cild

*(3/67) al-Abhari's (d. 663/1264) *İsāghūjī*, based on Porphyry's *Isagoge* and the standard introductory text for the study of logic in madrasas. The most popular *şarḥ* appears to have been the one written by Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Kātī (d. 760/1359) (logic).

> Various copies of al-İsāghūjī and of al-Kātī's *şarḥ* in TSMK.

Mücelled laṭīf fi'l-<ḥāl mustanad al>-istibdāl, cild

(3/68) ? (Grammar? Waqf management?)

Yekün 94 cild.

(4) (4a) *Bu mezḳürlardan ğayrī otuz üz kıt'a vardır ki ba'zı Ḥatme-i Kerime ve ba'zı nişif ve ba'zı rub' ve ba'zı cüz' ve ba'zı ed'iyedir, köhne olup şatılmaması vech görüldi.* (4b) *Ve yüz*

otuz mücelled kitâb daḥî vardır ki ba'zî nâkıs ve ba'zî ğayr-i müsta'mel ve ba'zî taḥte'l-minberîyâtdır, şatılmaḡdan ğayriye yaramaz şaklamaġa kâbil deġildir.

Ol bâbda her ne vechile emr olunur ise işaret buyurula.

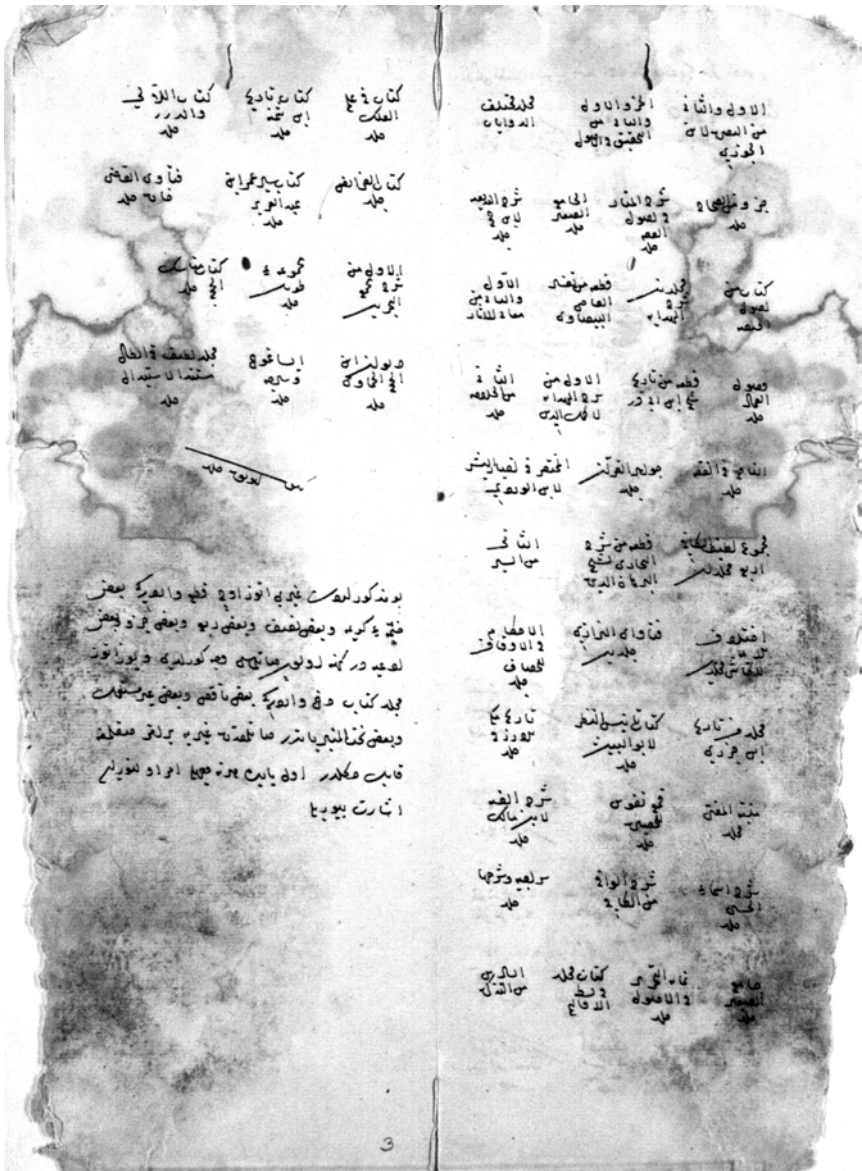


Fig. 84: Pp. 3-4 of Defter 9101

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Indices

Regarding the indices, the following remarks are in order.

Contents:

Not indexed is the ed. of the *defter* found in the *Excursus*. Indices 3–5 and 7–9 only cover the 135 items of Chapter Two, while the other indices cover the whole book.

Referencing:

Items of Chapter Two are referred to by simple numbers, while chapters are referred to by “Ch. + number”.

Alphabetical sorting:

Items are arranged according to the Latin alphabet.

Book titles beginning with *Kitāb*, *Majmūʿ*, etc., fall under “k”, “m”, ..., while *al-* is disregarded.

Well-known authors are listed by their most common appellation only, whether this is an *ism* (Qāniṣawh), a *kunya* (Abū Ḥanīfa), a *nasab* (Ibn Iyās), a *nisba* (al-Bukhārī), a *laqab* (Ṣafi al-Dīn al-Ḥillī), or a *takhalluṣ* (Aḥmedī). This system is far from satisfying, but consistency is perhaps even less, since a large number of authors would end up being indexed under a name by which they are not commonly known. For the lesser-known authors, fuller names are often given. *Ibn* and *al-* are disregarded.

Dates:

Dates can be one year off, especially given AH/AD conversions.

Index types:

Index 1: Authors

Index 2: Titles

Index 3: Dates of Composition

Index 4: Languages

Index 5: Subjects

Index 6: Copyists

Index 7: Places of Copying

Index 8: Dates of Copying

Index 9: Types of Qāniṣawh’s Involvement

Index 10: Other Individuals, Localities, and Keywords

Index 11: Manuscripts

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- ‘Abd Allāh al-Māzinī (?), (97)
- ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yahyā l-Kātib (d. 86/705), (108)
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- Abū l-‘Alā’ Şa‘īd b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ustuwā’ī (d. 431/1041), (2/1)
- Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Bakr al-Mul-tānī (14th cent.), (15/2)
- Abū Dardā’ (6th-7th cent.), (23/4d)
- Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī (d. 888/1483), (52)
- Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān (d. 150/767), (96)
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- Adham b. Muḥriz al-Bāhilī (8th cent.), (78)
- ‘Ādil b. ‘Alī b. ‘Ādil Ḥāfiẓ (fl. 889/1484), (41-3)
- ‘Adnī (d. 878/1474), (3-7)
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- al-Armayūnī (or: al-Urmayūnī, al-Ur-miyūnī), Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf (d. 958/1551?), (21), (62)
- ‘Āṣiḳ Paşa (d. 732/1332), (3/1), (115)
- al-‘Aynī (d. 855/1451), (30)
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- Ibn al-Ṭūlūnī, Aḥmad (d. after 923/1517) (17), (83/2)
- Ibn al-Ṭūlūnī, Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad (d. after 909/1503), (1/1), (17), (54), (83/1), (83/2), (Excursus)
- Ibn 'Ubāda, Shams al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr (14th or 15th cent.), (98)
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- Ibn Zafar al-Ṣiqillī (d. 565/1169), (79)
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- Jāmī (d. 897/1492), (41-2), (70)
- Jānim min Qānī min Ṭabaqat al-Mustajadda al-Ashrafī (late 15th-early 16th cent.), (52)
- al-Jawharī (d. 393/1003?), (Excursus)
- Ka'b b. Zuhayr (d. 41/662), (23/2), (50/2), (52), (125)
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- Ḳāḍī Burhān ed-Dīn (d. 800/1398), (3-10)
- Kātib Oĝlı (?), (3-1), (18)
- Ḳayḡusuz Abdāl (d. 847/1444), (3-1)
- Ḳāzī 'Abd Allāh (1st half 15th cent.), (3-5)
- al-Khwārizmī, Abū l-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 665/1266), (27), (28)
- Ḳırşehirli Yūsuf b. Nizām ed-Dīn el-Mevlevī (d. around 828/1425), (3-6)
- Ḳorḳud (d. 919/1513), (18)
- al-Lakhmī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Warrāq al-Qurtubī (d. 679/1281), (50/2c)
- Lālī (or Le'ālī) Seyyid Aḥmed b. Muṣṭafā Ṣarukhānī (d. 971/1563), (50/1)
- Maḥmūd b. Qāḍī-i Mānyās al-Uskūbī al-Rūmī al-'Uthmānī (active under Murād II), (51)
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- Muḥammad b. Abī l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad al-Ṣūfī al-Shāfī'ī (d. 950/1543), (4), (115)
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- Muḥammad b. al-Khiḍr al-Nāsikh (8th/14th cent.), (71)
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- Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Arab al-Qurashī al-Ṭanbadhī al-Shāfī'ī (15th to early 16th cent.), (80)
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- Naẓmī (d. 950s-960s/1540s-1550s), (18)
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Addenda

Addendum 1, to p. 33

The ruler depicted in one of the Mamluk copies of Aḥmedî's *İskender-Nâme* (İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, TY 6044, f. 1v) (→ 3-3) has been identified as sultan Khushqadam, but this is based on a misinterpretation of the *bi rasm* section on the frontispiece. See Ahmedî, *İskendernâme*, eds. Akdoğan Y. *et al.* (İstanbul, 2019), p. 1013.

Addendum 2, to p. 35

Venturing a guess, Zārîfî is not by any chance to be identified as *Mathnavî* commentator and poet Zārîfî Ḥasan Efendi (Serez 882/1477-Istanbul 984/1576)? Arguments in favour are the fact that he was associated to İbrâhîm-i Gülşenî, and even came to visit him in Cairo. For this Zārîfî, see İ. Kunt, *Hasan-ı Zarîfî'nin Mesnevî Şerhi Kâşif'l-Esrâr ve Matla`u'l-Envâr* (Konya, 2015). While our understanding of the relation between Qānişawh and İbrâhîm-i Gülşenî has grown considerably over the past few years — first and foremost by virtue of the excellent research of John Curry and Side Emre — much of this remains shrouded in mystery, and especially the extraordinary rich yet complicated source of Muḥyî-i Gülşenî's *Menâqib-i İbrâhîm-i Gülşenî* (with ample refs. to Zārîfî Ḥasan Efendi) still has not been exploited to its fullest potential. See my “Killed in Action or Died a Coward? The Death of Qānişawh al-Ghawrî according to the *Menâqib-i İbrâhîm-i Gülshenî*” (paper presented at CHESFAME, Ghent University, 2008).

Addendum 3, to p. 37

Serpil Bağcı and Zeynep Yürekli (personal communication) recently identified a fourth Mamluk *Iskender-Nāme* copy: Bratislava, University Library, Başagić Collection of Islamic Manuscripts, TC 20. The work was copied in 891/1468, in a place called Sab' 'Uyūn (near Damascus?), by a copyist called Zārifi for Khushkaldī, *dawādār* of Tānībak, and was bound by the son of a Khalvatī sheikh. As pointed out by Bağcı and Yürekli, it seems unlikely, though not impossible, that this is the same Zārifi (→ 3-1, Excursus, Addendum 2) whose poems are included in Qānişawh's *divan*.

Addendum 4, to p. 38

Most recently, another work by 'Abd Allāh has surfaced: a Turkish trsl. of an Arabic *qaşīda* by the Ghaznavid poet Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Bustī, dated 850/1446. Önder Yaşar discovered and edited the text, but failed to see its connection to the *Risāle*. Unfortunately, this newly found text hardly sheds more light on the author's identity. In the Arabic versified preface, 'Abd Allāh refers to himself as follows:

Anā l-musammā bi 'Abdi llāh wa l-qāḍī ❁ *Bi Divrikī munshīyan li man lahu l-shān*

See Ö. Yaşar, "Abdullāh el-Kādī ed-Divriği'nin *Kasîdetü'n-Nûniyye* tercümesi", *RumileDe Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 18 (2020): 417–434.

Addendum 5, to pp. 126, 260

In the preface to his *al-Majmū' al-Bustān* (→ 51, ff. 7v–8r), al-Malaṭī makes the following interesting observation regarding the provenance of some of Qānişawh's book:

(...) *khizānat al-kutub allatī ḥawat min al-kutub al-naḥḥa mā takhallafa 'an ithnayn* (added above the line: *bal thalātha*) *min ra'iyatihi min ghayr mā 'ilm minhu naşaruhu llāh, wa lā khuṭūra bi bāl wa lā takallaḥa bi shirā'ihā wa jam'ihā wa naskhihā, wa law <taṭāyala> min al-māl. Aḥaduhum māta wa khalafahā matawwafirat al-'adad nusakh gharība 'ajība nādira lā yumkin bi taḥşīlihā fī muddat madīda min al- al-mudad. Ḥumilat ilayhi min dār man khalafahā 'alā naḥw al-'ishrīn min al-ḥammālīn wa l-ḥimārīn (sic?) wa l-bighāl. Wa tarikat ukhrā ḥumilat ilayhi 'alā naḥw al-'ashara min al-ḥammālīn. Wa lam yakun bayna ḥamlihimā illā mudda yasīra wa azminat qaşīra* (added in the left margin: *wa l-thālitha bi kathrat ayḍan*).

A somewhat odd statement to be found in the preface to a book dedicated to Qāniṣawh, odd since it could easily be misunderstood... Was this perhaps the reason why al-Malaṭī felt the need to explicate that these “transfers of ownership” happened *min ghayr mā ‘ilm minhu*? For a paraphrased translation, see Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria*, p. 35.

Addendum 6, to p. 180

In the mean time, the correct shelf mark has been established: A 3056 (*non vidi*).
Courtesy of Zeynep Yürekli.

Addendum 7, to p. 246

At least in 1914, the Kevorkion Collection held a Qur’ān copy by al-A’raj that is dated 882/1477 and that concludes with a prayer on behalf of al-Ashraf (Qāyt-bāy). This date suggests that we are dealing with yet another copy by al-A’raj, but I haven’t been able to establish its present whereabouts. See *Exhibition of Muhammadan-Persian Art. Exhibition of the Kevorkian Collection, Including Objects excavated under his supervision, Exhibited at the galleries of Charles of London 718 Fifth Avenue New York, March-April, 1914* (n.p [New York], n.d [c. 1914]), item 268.

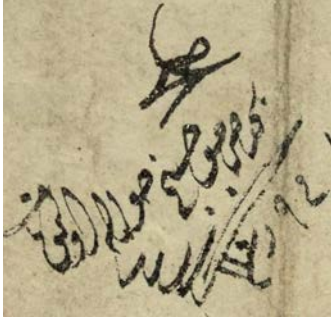
Addendum 8, to p. 304

Documents D 9101 (discussed here) and E 6090 (discussed in the Excursus), should be compared to D 9608 and D 10734, two other Ottoman documents that list the belongings of shah Ismā’īl that the Ottoman appropriated following the Battle of Chaldiran. See V. Genç, “From Tabriz to Istanbul: Goods and Treasures of Shāh Ismā’īl”, *Studia Iranica* 44 (2015): 227–276. Most interestingly, the second document (p. 272) also includes a brief list of books.

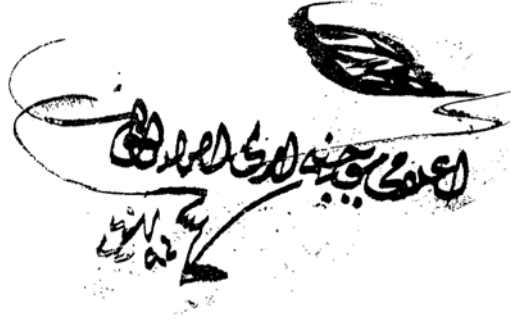
Addendum 9, to p. 309

In retrospect, I have come to believe that we are not even dealing with a signature, but instead with the far more plausible *ṣahḥa* or *ṣah(ī)ḥ*, albeit one of a much more intricate and cypher-like appearance than usual. Often used for confirming an addendum or correction to a text or, in administrative documents, for con-

firming an order, on the frontispieces, this check mark (✓) must have been added by a librarian, when, for example, checking catalogue entries against the actual works. For an example of still recognizable *şahîh* and a more elaborate version, compare, e. g., the following two (Z. Şık, *Âkifiyye yahud Risâle-i Kavâlib. Osmanlı Arşivlerinde En Çok Kullanılan Kalıplar* (n.p., [2021]), pp. 56–57):



Şahha
Telhîşi mücibince havâle olunmak
buyruldu fî 9 R sene 110



Şahha
İlâmı mücibince emri işdâr olunmak buyruldu fî 9 R sene
240

Addendum 10, to pp. 304, 316

Indeed, there is a fourth scenario: that the collection of mss. within the Aleppo Citadel was the Ottomans' responsibility. In fact, this much is suggested by Idrîs-i Bidlîsî's *Selîm-Nâme*. Numerous *Selîm-Nâmes* have been authored, and the Persian one authored by Idrîs-i Bidlîsî (started by him yet finished by his son) sheds some more light on the Ottoman appropriation of Mamluk property. See Idrîs-i Bidlîsî, *Selîm Şah-Nâme*, ed. H. Kırlangıç (Ankara, 2001) [Turkish trsl. of the Persian original, which seems to remain unedited]. Relevant sections include pp. 341, 353 (appropriation of goods in Egypt), 367 (ships laden with appropriated goods returning from Egypt, a Persian verse stating that "Istanbul was filled with Egypt's belongings, in description of which each tongue falls short"), 378 (goods stored away in the Citadel of Aleppo, with the knowledge of the first Ottoman governor of Aleppo, Karaca Paşa Ahmed Bey), 379. On p. 317, there is the following list of riches appropriated by the Ottomans in Aleppo following the fall of the city:

Summarizing, the treasures of the sultanate and defence ammunition were counted and registered in the accountancy books. Apart from the belongings left by the commanders and the soldiers who had fought, there was found money the amount of one million Maghrebi red dinars, three thousand silk pieces of clothing, royal garbs with fur, Cypriote wool, clothing of silk and linen, countless beautiful linen pieces of clothing and

colourful garbs, unstitched fabrics, tents painted like the firmament... (Also found were) some eighty tents filled with all kinds of food, innumerable, including Egyptian honey and sweets. The belongings that were left behind by commanders, governors and soldiers, whether dead or alive, were registered by the scribes of the sultan of warriors (i. e., Selīm) (...) In order to defend the country and the citadel, responsible governors and officials were summoned: the *sancak* of Aleppo was entrusted to Karaca Paşa Ahmed Bey, who had been sent previously as an envoy to sultan Ghavrī; the judicial affairs of Aleppo were given to Çölmekçizade Kemal Çelebi; while the appropriation of the property of the (Mamluk) sultanate to Abdullah Oğlu Abd Çelebi. One regiment of the troops was left (in Aleppo) to protect the villages and property. In the same way and at the same time did all of the districts and citadels of Aleppo this side from Malatya — including Bire Kale, Rum Kale, Kahta, Ayntab, Durki, etc. — rush to surrender. In accordance with the just Ottoman law governors, judges and officials were appointed over all these places. A poem:

Let him take, let him conquer, let him	✽	Let this be all that the auspicious
tie, let him give		sovereign ever does!
What he must conquer, the lands; what	✽	What he must tie, the enemies' hands;
he must give, the people's right;		what he must conquer, the citadels.

Addendum 11, to p. 321

It would seem that *tahte'l-minberiyāt* refers not to books that were “used” under the minbar, but rather to books that were “stashed away” under the minbar, as they were no longer used or usable. In his biographical dictionary of poets, the 16th century Ottoman author Laṭīfī describes the fate of works of forgotten authors as follows:

Zirā murūr-i rüzgār ve 'ubūr-i leyl ü nehār ile nice şā'ir-i fazīlet-iştihāruñ ebyāt u eş'arı ve 'alāmāt-i āsarı nesyen münsiyyen ferāmüş olup nām u nişānları cihān-i fānide nā-bedid ü nāyāb olmışdur ve ol efkārında leyl ü nehār fikār olup 'ömr-i rüzgār harc itdüklerli defter ü dīvānlar ve dāstān- dil-sitānlar besān evrāk-i ebter der zir-i minber meşābesinde künc-i ḥamül ü ḥafāda perişān u pāymāl olum ḳalmışdur.

With the passing of time and the succession of night and day, the verses of some poets who were famous for their virtue, their poems and the traces of their works have been forgotten, past recollection and consigned to oblivion; their names and traces have disappeared from this transitory world and are no longer found there; and their records, divans and heart-stealing stories — on the ideas expressed therein they had been thinking night and day and they have spent their lives on — are forever scattered and trodden under foot in the nook of obscurity and concealment, like useless papers [stashed away] under the minbar.

The expression *der zir-i minber* clearly corresponds to our *tahte'l-minberiyāt*, and its context suggest that “underneath the minbar” was the designated location

— not to say *genizah* — for books that were no longer considered useful. See Laṭīfī, *Tezkiretü’ş-Şu’arâ ve Tabsıratu’n-Nuzamâ (Tenkitli Metin)*, ed. R. Canım (Ankara, 2018), p. 69.

Addendum 12, to p. 324

As for the other *Iskender-Nâme* copy in the list dealt with in the Excursus, (1/11), Serpil Bacğı and Zeynep Yürekli (personal communication) argue for matching this with İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, TY 6044. Their arguments are not conclusive, but strong nonetheless: TY 6044 is the only *Iskender-Nâme* copy found so far that has a Mamluk connection and that is provided with miniatures, and it was originally kept at the Topkapı Palace Library.

Addendum 13, to pp. 29, 36, 73, 236, 246, 312

(2bis) (P) Baghdād, Maktabat al-Muṭḥaf al-‘Irāqī, 274 (*non vidi*)

Al-Nāşirī Muḥammad b. Qānişawh min Şādiq (d. after 928/1522), *al-Siḥr al-Ḥalāl min Ibdā’ al-Jalāl*, copied by Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-A‘raj in 915/1510 in 244ff. From the preface, we learn that this work is an *ikhtişār* made by Ibn Qānişawh of his own *dīwān*, called *Ibdā’ al-Jalāl fī l-Siḥr al-Ḥalāl*⁷³⁹. As the author refers to his teacher as “the late al-Suyūṭī”, the work must have been written between 1505 and 1510⁷⁴⁰. The work consists of five *muqaddimāt* and five *abwāb*. The five *muqaddimāt* are inscribed as follows:

- 1) *fī faḍl al-‘aql wa mā warada fī sharafihi min al-naql*
- 2) *fī ‘ulūm al-adab wa mā warada min al-qawl al-muntakhab*
- 3) *fī mā rawat fihi l-şahāba min al-ḥadīth wa kharajat minhu l-qadīm bi l-ḥadīth*
- 4) *fī nubdha mim mā ntakhabtuhu min ba’d al-qaşā’id wa l-maqāṭī’ al-ḥisān allatī hiya fī jayyid al-zamān ka farā’id al-durr wa qalā’id al-‘iqyān*
- 5) *fī ba’d qaşā’id mubdī’a wa mu’aradatī lahā bi qaşā’id badī’a mukhtari’a*

As for the subsequent five chapters, these deal with *qaşīdas*; *muwashshahāt* and *mukhammasāt*; *alghāz* and *muṭārahāt*; *marāthī*; and *maqāṭī’*.

In his description of the ms., Yousef Ghanīma refers to *qaşīdas* of the author in praise of Qānişawh al-Ghawrī, an elegy to *kātib al-sirr* Maḥmūd Ibn Ajā (→ 3), and another poem in relation to Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn al-Farfūr (→ 125). Apart from

739 An older or alternative title of Ibn Qānişawh’s *Marāṭī’ al-Albāb* or another, unidentified work altogether?

740 This, however, contradicts the alleged copying date of the Aleppo ms. that is listed below.

that, most significantly, *al-Siḥr al-Ḥalāl* is also said to include a *qaṣīda* of Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī himself.⁷⁴¹

While there is no compelling reason to assume this ms. to have been part of Qāniṣawh's library, it deserves mention, as it combines many of the threads that run through this volume. First, it allows us to add a 17th item to the output of copyist al-A'raj, detailed above (→ 132). Second, in the discussion of *al-Munaqqah al-Zarīf* by Ibn Qāniṣawh's teacher, al-Suyūṭī, I have already referred to Ibn Qāniṣawh as an excellent case in point for demonstrating the Arabic-centeredness of Mamluk literary production, as his anthology *al-Rawḍ al-Bahīj*, doesn't contain a single line of Turkic poetry. However, we must credit Ibn Qāniṣawh for having included at least some of the sultan's Arabic poetry in *al-Siḥr al-Ḥalāl*, a rare feat in itself. In fact, *al-Siḥr al-Ḥalāl* is the second example only — following al-Suyūṭī's *Munaqqah* — of a Mamluk work that was (presumably) produced outside of the court setting yet still quotes the sultan's poetry (→ 18). Third, the text offers a third example of occasional praise poetry that might have found its way, in some format or another, into the sultan's library (→ 125). Fourth and final, we learn from Yousef Ghanīma's description that the Baghdad ms., donated to the Maktabat al-Salām in Baghdād in 1920 by the family of Şevket Paşa (1856–1913), was originally purchased in Istanbul from the Sultan Mehmed Mosque in 1682. In other words, this ms. proves once more the importance of Istanbul as an intermediate stage for many of the Mamluk mss. that are currently scattered across the globe (→ Chapter Five).

Apart from the Baghdad ms., I have identified three more mss. and one “modern” copy of *al-Siḥr al-Ḥalāl*.⁷⁴²

- (1) Aleppo, Maktabat al-Aḥmadiya, 1162, 117ff., dated 909/1503 (?).
- (2) Damascus, Maktabat al-Asad, Awqāf Ḥalab, 14449: a modern copy of the Aleppo ms.
- (3) London, British Library, India Office, Islamic 2873: an incomplete and undated (18th- or 19th-cent.?) copy in 119ff., containing only the 5 *muqaddimāt*.⁷⁴³

741 Yūsuf Rizq Allāh Ghanīma, “Nuskhat Khaṭṭīyat Thamīna min Kitāb al-Siḥr al-Ḥalāl min Ibdā' al-Jalāl”, *al-Muqataṭaf* 72 (1928): 201–204 (<http://ima.bibalex.org/IMA/presentation/periodic/list.jsf>). A summary of this is provided by Kūrķīs 'Awwād, *al-Dhakhā'ir al-Sharqīya*, ed. Jalīl al-'Aṭīya (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1999), IV: 310–311 (ms. 147) (in a footnote, 'Awwād refers to a German ed. of the text (?) without giving any more details).

742 For reasons that are not entirely clear to me, the title page of an unidentified *al-Siḥr al-Ḥalāl* ms. is reproduced in Ḥasan Qāsim Ḥabash al-Bayātī, *Riḥlat al-Muṣḥaf al-Sharīf min al-Jarīd ilā l-Tajlīd* (Beirut: 1993), p. 109.

743 See O. Loth, *A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* (London, 1877), pp. 240–241.

- (4) London, British Museum, Or. 3189: an incomplete copy in 62ff. containing only the three first *muqaddimāt*.⁷⁴⁴

Ibn Qāniṣawh was a member of the *awlād al-nās* who successfully made the transition from Mamluk to Ottoman rule, changing the object of his praise poetry from Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī to the sultan Selīm and other Ottomans, such as sultan Suleiman and governor Khāyir Beg later on. The succinct descriptions by Carl Brockelmann, Nasser Ismail and Adam Talib⁷⁴⁵ are now finally supplemented with a much more thorough treatment by Muḥammad Fatḥī ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ al-A‘ṣar⁷⁴⁶.

744 See Ch. Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1894), pp. 624–625, nr. 989.

745 GAL II: 304, Suppl. II: 395; “Il Contributo Letterario di Awlād al-Nās”, *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 12 (2007): 69–86, here pp. 83–84; *How Do You Say “Epigram” in Arabic*, pp. 251–252, 280.

746 “Juhūd al-‘Allāmat Muḥammad b. Qāniṣawh al-Adabiya ma‘a Taḥqīq Muwashshahihi l-Makhṭūṭa”, *Kulliyat al-Lughat al-‘Arabīya bi Asyūṭ al-Majallat al-‘Ilmiya* 39 (2020): 222–261. Al-A‘ṣar is currently preparing an edition of *al-Siḥr al-Ḥalāl*, and also refers to another poem by Ibn Qāniṣawh, which certainly merits further exploration: *Kawākib al-Alfāz al-Saniya fi Samā‘ al-Nisbat al-Jarkasiya*, a *qaṣīda* in 4ff. on the genealogy of the Circassian rulers, linking them to the Banū Ghassān. The Maktabat Markaz Jum‘at al-Mājid li l-Thaqāfa wa l-Turāth in the UAE holds a copy (nr. 247374) of the original text, which is identified as Dublin, Chester Beatty, 4264 or 4246 (?). However, as the Chester Beatty catalogue makes no reference of the *Kawākib*, the exact location remains to be verified.