CHAPTER 8

Copy on demand. Abū Šubbāk in Mecca, 1303/1886

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Abstract

When Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936) was exiled from Mecca and Arabia in August 1885, he had not even begun to think about what he would do with the research materials that he had been collecting. Back at his home base in Leiden he decided to write the book that would bring him instant fame, Mekka. It appeared in two volumes between 1888 and 1889. Snouck Hurgronje’s abrupt departure from Western Arabia made it necessary for him to maintain lines of information on Mecca. When he was chased away by the Turkish authorities he had been on the point of acquiring copies of two major sources for a history of Mecca, the Manāʾiḥ al-Karam by al-Sīnǧārī and the Ḫulāṣat al-Kalām by Ahmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān. Following his involuntary departure he managed to acquire handwritten copies of these two key sources about the history of Mecca. Through a recently discovered letter from his friend and companion Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat, which was addressed to the Dutch vice-consul in Jeddah, P. N. van der Chijs, we now know more about scribal practices in Mecca in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Not only can these practices be gleaned from the letter, but the two manuscript copies of historical texts that Snouck Hurgronje ordered from Mecca have also been preserved. This gives us unique insights into the theory and practice of text copying in Mecca in 1885–1889. Through an analysis of the content of this letter, which is here edited, translated and commented upon, it is now possible to understand what exactly was meant with the term ‘Abū Šubbāk’.

1 Introduction

The history of European laid paper with watermarks in the world of Islam can be written from two different angles. One is that of the paper at its point of production in the paper mill. The sources for this part of paper history are not only the archives of paper manufacturers and the relevant rules and regulations of the countries in which they operated, but also accounts by the users of these papers. This research is part of the social and economic history of the paper industry. The other perspective is from the destination of the paper, from the place of arrival on the other side of the Mediterranean, to the Middle East,
North and Sub-Saharan Africa, and beyond. The sources for our research on that side are books, documents and manuscripts, the ready products for which paper is the raw material. The most conspicuous feature in the paper on that other end of the line are the watermarks. With some good luck one can relate watermarks to data that are available on the production side and then draw conclusions. In theory the determination by the watermark of the origin and the age of paper becomes possible. In practice this is not so easy. Even with the numerous albums with watermarks that we have on the bookshelf, with the databases of watermarks that are now available, an individual identification of a watermark in the field to one in an album remains a rare event, if it happens at all. There are simply too many watermarks and variants of watermarks, especially in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. To compound the difficulty, the mere presence of a certain watermark in the paper of a book or document is only an implicit message; it does not tell a story. At the end of the line there is usually no source available that is in any way comparable to the explicit stories told on the production end.

2 Introducing the Protagonists

Bits and pieces of such a story can be gleaned from the document that is the object of the present research. It is a letter in Arabic dated 10 Jumādā I 1303 (14 February 1886) that was sent by Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat (1854–1914), a Bantenese employee of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah,\(^1\) to Pieter Nicolaas van der Chijs (d. 1889) [Fig. 8.1].\(^2\) The latter, a Dutchman, was both consul of Sweden and the acting vice-consul in the Dutch consulate in Jeddah. He was also the agent of a number of shipping companies that were active in the Red Sea and beyond. Van der Chijs was the permanent Dutch consular representative in Jeddah. The Dutch consulate in Jeddah was administered from Batavia (Jakarta) and ultimately was the responsibility of the Dutch Ministry of Colonial Affairs, not that of Foreign Affairs. The consulate had been founded in

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\(^2\) Hardly any research has been conducted on this interesting personality. The few materials in the Snouck Hurgronje archive in the Library of the University of Leiden that concern Van der Chijs only give fragmentary moments in a life that would deserve a well-documented biography.
and primarily served the Dutch-Indian government vis-à-vis its Muslim pilgrims. Pilgrims were monitored on pan-Islamic leanings and anti-Dutch activities, and at the same time they were protected against the exactions of the...
pilgrim guides. The often desperate health situation of the Hijaz was another point of concern for the consular representatives. In the 1920s and 1930s the Dutch consulate even had a branch office in Mecca itself. After the Dutch had signed for Indonesia’s independence, on 27 December 1949, the consulate building at that time was transferred to Indonesia. The Dutch consuls were usually only en poste in Jeddah during the pilgrimage season. Out of season they might go on long holidays to healthier places than Jeddah. Because of the unpleasant climate they never took their wives and families there.

That made the intrepid P. N. van der Chijs the permanent caretaker of Dutch interests in Jeddah. Raden Aboe Bakar was working under his orders and responsibility. This, however, was not their relationship in what concerns the document that is analysed hereunder. The third interested party was Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), who in 1886 and while in Leiden was writing the first volume of his book on Mecca. He is mentioned in the letter by his Muslim name, ‘Abd al-Ǧaffār Efendi. He had been expelled from Mecca by the Turkish authorities in the early days of August 1885 after a stay of slightly over five months in the Holy City. Because of his sudden departure he had been unable to bring back his notes and study materials. It is doubtful whether at that moment he already had in mind to write a monograph on Mecca, but while he was writing it later on, new documentary needs arose and developed. His contact in Jeddah was Van der Chijs, whom he had befriended while he lived in Jeddah in 1884 and 1885. For materials that had to be provided directly from Mecca, Van der Chijs had to rely on his local informants, of whom Raden Aboe Bakar was probably the best. He was no stranger. He had been Snouck Hurgronje’s companion on his journey from Jeddah to Mecca on 21 February 1885, and initially Snouck Hurgronje had lived in Raden Aboe Bakar’s house in Mecca. The letter that is introduced hereunder must be placed within the context of Snouck Hurgronje’s endeavours to obtain historical sources for the book that he was writing after his return to the Netherlands.

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4 A. Patah, De medische zijde van de bedevaart naar Mekka, 1935, 55, gives a photograph of the pharmacy and the outpatients’ clinic attached to this Meccan branch office, where all employees were Indonesian Muslims. The author worked there in 1926–1933. His book is his PhD thesis, which he defended in Leiden in 1935.
7 For a full account of the genesis of Snouck Hurgronje’s Mekka, see my introduction in: Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, Mekka in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw. Schetsen uit het dagelijks leven, 2007, 1–184, which makes abundant use of the correspondence between Snouck Hurgronje and Van der Chijs.
An Overview of the Source Material

Snouck Hurgronje was particularly in need of recent histories of Mecca, and more in particular of what he saw as the two most important sources, the *Manāʾih al-Karam* by al-Sinǧārī, written in 1095/1684, and the *Ḫulāṣat al-Kalām* by Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān, which remained unfinished in 1303/1885. He knew of the existence of important copies in private hands in Mecca and he had asked Van der Chijs to procure for him copies of these. This implied that local copyists had to be employed for the speedy production of these texts that were later sent by Van der Chijs to Leiden and that were used by Snouck Hurgronje. After Snouck Hurgronje's death in 1936 these materials were part of the huge Snouck Hurgronje bequest that entered Leiden's University Library and where they are still kept today.

a. *Manāʾih al-Karam bi-ʾAḥbār Makka wa-al-Ḥaram* by al-Sinǧārī (wrote in 1095/1684; Brockelmann, *GAL* G II, 383–384, gives no more names than the *nisba*).

The author, who at Snouck Hurgronje's time was virtually unknown in Europe, came from a family which had established itself in Mecca over several generations and who had had friendly relations with the ruling Šarīfs. Presently two manuscripts of al-Sinǧārī’s *Manāʾih al-Karam* are preserved in the Leiden library. One is a ‘very bad copy’ of Sayyid Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān’s copy. It is now registered in the Leiden library as Or. 7019.10 This manuscript has no colophon and contains no details about the copying. On the basis of the letter from Raden Aboe Bakar to Van der Chijs we may assume that it was copied in 1303 or 1304 (1886 or 1887) by Šayḫ Ǧād Allāh and that the collations and corrections were made by Muḥammad Šāliḥ Ḫalīfa. The volume is made of European laid paper. It has 456 pp. of a large format (c. 34 × 24 cm, text area c. 24 × 13 cm), with 37 lines of text in *Naskh* script in black ink to the page. It is evidently the ‘large copy’ that is mentioned by Raden Aboe Bakar in his letter. Because of the large format, the sheets show the watermarks and countermarks in the central part of the page. The paper contains the watermark with the faced crescent in a shield (p. 456, which is a blank page and which therefore shows a clear image of the watermark). This watermark is what was commonly known in the Middle East as the Abū Šubbāk (‘the man in the window’)

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8  He mentions these extensively in the preface to the first vol. of *Mekka*, 1888.
logo, and that is what it shows, hence its name [Fig. 8.2]. Sometimes the image of Abū Šubbāk is combined with the text Abū Šubbāk.11 In an unnumbered leaf between the flyleaf and the first leaf with text of this volume is the countermark, written twice, first as ‘AG’, then as ‘Andrea Galvani | Pordenone’ [Fig. 8.3]. The volume is bound in a half-leather European binding with pasted boards, and it has gilded ornaments and text on the spine. The volume consists of quires of five sheets (= 10 leaves = 20 pages), as is usual. According to the letter of Raden Aboe Bakar the copyist was not a learned person, and therefore a learned corrector was employed to indicate a better reading. For example, on p. 60, where man qatalahu in the text gets a marginal conjecture (la’allaahu) in a different hand: man qātalahu, which in the context is more suitable. The corrector has also written collation notes in the margin, e.g. on p. 58 balāga.

The other manuscript of the Manāʾiḥ al-Karam is registered in the Leiden library as Or. 7018.12 This manuscript was also copied for Snouck Hurgronje from an exemplar in Mecca, possibly the same copy of the text in Daḥlān’s possession. According to the colophon on f. 595a it was copied on Friday 20 Rabīʿ 11 1307 (14 December 1889) by al-Ṭibbǝḡī Muḥammad Saʿīd b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, the same scribe who also copied MS Leiden Or. 6797. It has 595 ff. plus 4 unnumbered leaves (24.8 × 17.3 cm, text area 19 × 9.5 cm) with 23 lines in Naskh script in black ink with rubrication to the page. Near the end of the volume the script becomes larger and the pages are filled more easily (e.g. ff. 581b–582a). As the copyist was paid per quire, this was to his advantage. The quires consist of five sheets (= 10 leaves = 20 pages). On the first recto page of the quires is a quire mark consisting of the letter Kāf with a figure, e.g. Kāf 2 (f. 11a), for Kurrāsa 2, etc. The volume consists of European laid paper with a faced crescent in a shield as watermark, the Abū Šubbāk watermark. As the paper size is smaller than that of Or. 7019, the watermark and the countermark can only partly be seen in the inner margins of the pages (watermark upper half on f. 1a, lower half on f. 3a; countermark upper half on f. 2a, lower half on f. 4a, etc.). A countermark in the outer margin occurs as well (f. 529). The volume has a half-parchment European binding, with author and title written in Latin script in black ink on the spine.

b. Ḫulāṣat al-Kalām fī Bayān Umarāʾ al-Balad al-Ḥarām, a history of the rulers of Mecca by Sayyid Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān (d. 1304/1886, Brockelmann, GAL G II, 499; S II, 810–811). This work, on a permanent update of which the

11 See the illustration in A. Regourd, “Introduction to the Codicology of the Collection”, 2014, li.
author worked till almost the end of his life, treats the history of Mecca’s rulers up to 1303/1885. The older period of Mecca’s history in it is largely modelled after and based on al-Sinǧārī’s Manāʾiḥ al-Karam. The Leiden manuscript of the Ḥulāṣat al-Kalām is a copy of the author’s own copy. The text in the Leiden MS is, apart from the colophon, identical to that of the edition published in
Cairo in 1305/1888. It is now registered as MS Leiden Or. 6977. It is a volume on European laid paper of 608 pp. of c. 24.3 × 17 cm and with a text area of c. 18.7 × 9.3 cm. According to the colophon on p. 608 it was copied on Tuesday 15 Ǧumādā I 1304 (9 February 1887) by al-Ṭibbǝǧī Muḥammad Saʿīd b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, who later also copied Or. 7018, one of the two copies of Manāʾiḥ al-Karam by al-Sinǧārī in the Leiden library.

Several watermarks can be observed in the paper on which this text was copied: a shield with a crescent with face (e.g. pp. 604–605, 607), which because of the size (and number of foldings of the paper) can only be seen in halves in the inner margins (e.g. pp. 583, 585: lower half; pp. 597, 595: upper half [Figs. 8.4, 8.5]). The countermark is ‘Andrea Galvani | Pordenone’ (e.g. pp. 509, 539 [Fig. 8.6]), or one can see the watermark together with the countermark (e.g. in p. 8). Another paper, with a double-headed eagle as watermark, is also

Figure 8.4 Watermark ‘Abū Šubbāk’ (upper half), in paper used for Dāhlān’s Ḥulāṣat al-Kalām, a manuscript copied in Mecca, Tuesday 15 Ǧumādā I 1304 (9 February 1887). MS Leiden, Or. 6977, p. 605

Figure 8.5 Watermark ‘Abū Šubbāk’ (lower half), in paper used for Dāhlān’s Ḥulāṣat al-Kalām, a manuscript copied in Mecca, Tuesday 15 Ǧumādā I 1304 (9 February 1887). MS Leiden, Or. 6977, p. 607
used (e.g. pp. 585/586–596/595 and pp. 587/588–598/597 [Fig. 8.7]), but most watermarks show the faced crescent in the shield, ‘Abū Šubbāk’, ‘the man in the window’. The quires consist, as usual, of five sheets (= 10 leaves = 20 pages).

Snouck Hurgronje’s study notes on Daḥlān’s Ḥulāṣat al-Kalām are preserved in the form of six exercise books in the Leiden library, where they are registered as Or. 7110. Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān, the author of the Ḥulāṣat al-Kalām, was the mufti of the Shāfiʿī Maḏhab in Mecca, and he is mentioned at several instances in the book Mekka and in the relevant correspondence. Snouck Hurgronje knew him personally, had visited him in Mecca on several occasions, and upon Daḥlān’s demise in 1886 he wrote a long obituary.14

A loose insert of one leaf of paper (26 × 21 cm) in MS Leiden Or. 6977 with Arabic text on one side only is the letter from Raden Aboe Bakar to Van der Chijs of 10 Ḟumādā I 1303 (14 February 1886), which is treated hereafter. It is now registered in the Leiden library as Or. 6977 A.

Also added to the volume are some loose sheets, which Snouck Hurgronje received in the course of 1913 and which contain a survey of the history of Mecca over the period of 1301–1331 (1883–1913).

4 The letter from Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat to Pieter Nicolaas van der Chijs

In the following a transcript of the letter of Aboe Bakar (MS Leiden Or. 6977 A) is given. The Arabic, which shows some features of the spoken language and several orthographical irregularities, has been copied as found in the document. Twice a letter which was evidently forgotten by the writer of the letter has been added between < >.

Transcription of the Arabic

-genan al-‘alai al-mi‘alat huṣrata al-muṣi‘at al-khawajafandī fandar shāys dam mujahu
-mun bi‘al al-‘aṣfesār waḥdī al-ahżarāt al-wajibāt la kha‘ifu jantābik sa‘ibā‘a‘a dhārātim
-from khushū‘ul dhari‘īn yiridin al-‘aṣlūhu fi al-mi‘alihum al-mīribī ‘alayhim | ymikhu ‘an sa‘īd dhālīk
لا يحتاج الي نقلهما فقد حققنا انّ الذي ينطبع هو تاريخ فتوحة الاسلاميه دون
مطلوب المحب الشيخ عبد الغفار الأفندى | فن ثم تمّيّنا على نقل النسختين
الموارد بواسطة العالم الفاضل حضررة الشيخ محمد صالح خليفه فتأريخ اموراء
مكة نقل بيد العالم الشيخ | محمد سعيد الطبّجى واجرة الكراس ٢٠ قروش وكبر
الصحفيه نصف فرخ الورق ويكتب في كلّ كراس ثلاثة أيام وجميلة الكراريس
من هذا تأريخ الاومراء | تقريبا نمسة وثلاثين كراس على اختلاف الخطب من
المنقول والمنقول اليه والسنجاري نقل بيد الشيخ جاد الله واجرة الكراس
٣٦ قروش لكن كبير | الصحفيه نحو وسعة فرخ الورق فالكراس كتابه عن كراسين
على حساب الكراريس المعادة وينصل في هذا السنجاري حضررة الشيخ الموهي
اليه | اما ناقل تأريخ الاومراء المذكوره لا يحتاج الي مصلح لأن الكاتب عالم
وصيورة هذا الأمر بحضور الفاضل السابق ذكره وينظر الغطاء | الذي مر عليه
امر النقل وقد اعتناه ٥ ريال للأربون ولاشتراء الاوراق ابو شباك فأجده
هذا يقتضي الي أخذ الكراريس من عند المكرم | الشيخ عمر البغدادي فهل يلزم
بورقه الحواله من حضرموت أم اكتسب تعريف الجناب السابق للمكرم | المذكور
فتروم من حضررة جنايبه الافاده | ودمتم فرق ما رتيم ولبيان المعلوميه بادرنا
بتحريره في ٠١ جماد الأوّل سنه ٣٠٣
محسوبكم
رادي أبو بكر

Translation

To the Right Honorable, the Man of Sublime Position, His Excellency, Monsieur Ḫawāǧa Efendi Van der Chijs, may his glory be permanent.

After having enquired [after your health] and after [having paid] the most proper obligatory respect, which does not remain hidden for Your Honour. Earlier you have told [me] concerning the [two volumes on] history that they wish to print at the Governmental Printing Press in Mecca, [that] if this is true, it is not necessary to copy these two texts. We have found out that the book that is printed is the 'History of the Islamic Conquests', which is not desired by our friend Šayḥ ʿAbd al-Ḡaffār
Efendi. Therefore we have completed [the procedure] of the [preparation of the] copying of the two specified texts through the intermediary of the Excellent Scholar, His Excellency Shayh Muhammad Salih Halifa. The ‘History of the Rulers of Mecca’ is copied by the scholar Shayh Muhammad Sa’id al-Tibbaga. The remuneration is twenty piaster per quire, and the size of the page is half a leaf. He writes one quire in three days. The total of the quires of this ‘History of the Rulers’ is approximately thirty-five quires, taking into account the difference in script between the original and the copy. The [‘History’ by] al-Sinjari is copied by Shayh Gad Allah. The remuneration per quire is 26 piaster, but the size of the page is about a full leaf, and then a quire [of his work] is the same as two quires as counted in the case of normal quires. This [‘History’ of] al-Sinjari must be corrected by the above-mentioned Excellency the Shayh. As to the copyist of the above-mentioned ‘History of the Rulers’, he does not need a corrector because the copyist is a scholar, and the procedure in this case [will be] in the presence of the Excellent [Shayh] aforementioned, and under the supervision of intelligent people, who have seen the request for copying passing by them. We have given them five riyal as a payment up-front and in order to buy sheets of paper, Abu Subbak. For that purpose it is necessary to make a withdrawal of money from the Noble Shayh ‘Umar al-Bagdadi. So, is it necessary to do this with a cheque that can be drawn on Your Excellency or is it sufficient that Your Excellency brings this to the attention of the Noble Shayh? We ask instructions from Your Excellency.

May you have a long life, above what you wish for. As soon as we had the [above] information [from you], we have without delay [written this letter] on 10 Gumlada I of the year [1]303.

Your obedient Raden Aboe Bakar.

A few remarks on the language of the document are in place. The letter is written in Arabic, a language that both the writer and the addressee were apparently familiar with, but which is not the first language of either one of them. The Arabic of the letter shows all sorts of peculiarities. First, it is far from perfect in the orthography of written Arabic and the reader of the Arabic text can easily recognize instances of this. I leave these for what they are as they do not impair the understanding of the text. The writer’s use of the Arabic article shows that he is not familiar with its intricacies. Sundanese, his mother tongue spoken in Banten, Western Java, does not have the article. An example of colloquial Arabic is the verbal form tammēnā (تمّينا) in line 4, which would have been tamamnā in the literary language. A word that baffled me at first was
li-al-urbūn (للأربون) in line 9. Urbūn should probably be read as ‘Urbūn, ‘advance payment’.15 On the other hand, Raden Aboe Bakar is truly proficient in the use of epistolary titles. The latter half of his letter is incomprehensible if one has not carefully studied the titles that the writer uses in the first half.

5 Conclusions

Raden Aboe Bakar must have written this letter in Mecca and had it taken from there to P. N. van der Chijs in Jeddah. He was organizing the copying of manuscripts in Mecca on behalf of ‘our friend Šayḥ ‘Abd al-Ġaffār Efendi’, that is: Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. In his letter, Raden Aboe Bakar reports on the developments of the preparation of the copying job and he asks for further instructions. He may have purposely omitted the mention of Mecca while dating and signing his letter for reasons of security. He was, after all, actively involved in the gathering of useful knowledge on behalf of the Dutch consular authorities, who as non-Muslims could not enter Mecca. Security may also have been the reason why he did not mention the name of the author and owner of one of the texts to be copied, the mufti of the Shāfiʿiyya and the Šayḥ al-ʿUlamāʿ in Mecca, Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān. In 1886, shortly before his death (in Muḥarram 1304/October 1886), in the conflict between the Grand-Šarīf of Mecca and the Turkish governor, Daḥlān chose the side of the Šarīf and followed him in exile to Medina.16 Either manuscript to be copied was in the library of Daḥlān in Mecca. In that tense political situation, mentioning Daḥlān’s name in writing may not have been a wise thing to do. Finally, if Raden Aboe Bakar had not been in Mecca, but in Jeddah, there would have been no need to write a letter, he could simply have told Van der Chijs personally.

The letter of Raden Aboe Bakar can be placed in a context. This becomes clear from Snouck Hurgronje’s own publications on the sources which he used for the first volume of his book Mekka. Particular details on these sources and the circumstances under which they were copied can also be found in documents in the Snouck Hurgronje Archive in Leiden University Library. This is particularly the case with the correspondence between Snouck Hurgronje and Van der Chijs,17 and with a letter from Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Ḥalifa, a professor

15 Muʿǧam al-Rāʾid al-Luḡawī, an on line dictionary, s.v.
17 Significant parts of this correspondence, which is almost entirely written in Dutch, have been edited by me in my introduction to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, Mekka in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw, 2007.
in Mecca's Great Mosque, to Snouck Hurgronje. That letter will be referred to hereafter. Raden Aboe Bakar's letter is special insofar as it was never deposited in the Snouck Hurgronje Archive. It remained unknown because it was kept as a loosely inserted leaf in one of the manuscripts it directly concerned, now Or. 6977 in the Leiden library, which is Snouck Hurgronje's copy of Daḥlān's autograph of *Hulāsat al-Kalām*.

The two originals to be copied were kept in the library of Mecca's Šayḫ al-ʿUlamāʾ Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān. Their owner may still have been in Mecca when Raden Aboe Bakar wrote his letter to Van der Chijs on 10 Ġumādā I 1303 (14 February 1886). If so, it cannot have been for long, as he was to join the Grand-Šarīf in Medina very soon. The following situation becomes clear from the letter. Raden Aboe Bakar had asked for assistance from a Meccan scholar, Šayḫ Muḥammad Šāliḥ Ḧalīfa, in finding copyists for the copying job. The letter mentions the task of copying of two historical works. The first work is referred to as *Tārīḫ Umarāʾ Makka*, the 'History of the Rulers of Mecca'. This must be Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān's work *Hulāsat al-Kalām*. As prospective copyistŠayḫ Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Ṭibbǝḡī is mentioned, and he is indeed the copyist of MS Leiden Or. 6977 (colophon on p. 608). This copyist was also a scholar, according to Raden Aboe Bakar's letter, and therefore there was no need for a corrector who would inspect and correct this copyist's work. The second work to be copied is referred to in the letter as 'al-Sinǧārī', who is the author of *Manāʾiḥ al-Karam*. As prospective copyist a certain Šayḫ Ġād Allāh is mentioned. He was not a scholar, Raden Aboe Bakr tells Van der Chijs, so after the copying a corrector had to go through his work. That was to be Šayḫ Muḥammad Šāliḥ Ḧalīfa himself, who acted as the intermediary for the two copying jobs. Šayḫ Ġād Allāh would write on large format paper. This cannot but refer to the manuscript that is now MS Leiden Or. 7019. That manuscript is indeed written on large format. It seems to be incomplete at the end. There is no colophon, and neither copyist, nor collator is mentioned. It contains an almost negligible amount of marginal corrections. The copies should be written on high quality paper, which Raden Aboe Bakar indicates as 'Abū Šubbāk'. If we look in

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18 Muḥammad Šāliḥ Khalīfa signs as *al-Mudarris bi-al-Masǧid al-Ḥarām*, 'Professor in the Great Mosque of Mecca', under a letter to al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Gaffār al-Hūlanda (= Snouck Hurgronje) of 17 Q[aʿda] 1302 (28 August 1885), Snouck Hurgronje Archive, University Library of Leiden, Or. 8952 A: 510 (available online through the library's general catalogue). At the time Snouck Hurgronje was still in Jeddah. He left Jeddah by ship, possibly on 18 or 19 September 1885, since he arrived in Suez on 21 September. In the letter of Muḥammad Šāliḥ Khalīfa mention is made of Snouck Hurgronje's wishes to copy the 'History of the Rulers of Mecca' by Daḥlān and the 'History' by al-Sinǧārī (line 8).
the manuscripts themselves, we see the watermark of the faced crescent in a shield and the countermark of Andrea Galvani of Pordenone, the well-known Italian paper makers. That is, therefore, what the name ‘Abū Šubbāk’ refers to in the present context. Mentioning the watermark is necessary, because it identifies the paper that should be used. As the price of the paper (five riyāl) was already given, mention of the watermark would prevent the copyist from purchasing a cheaper brand of paper.

The ‘History of the Islamic Conquests’, which is also mentioned in the letter, is yet another work by Daḥlān. This work was not on the list of Snouck Hurgronje’s desiderata from Van der Chijs as he had probably already obtained a copy of the printed edition, which had just appeared in two volumes.

Raden Aboe Bakar’s letter gives us some insight into the speed of copying and the costs involved. Copyist Šayḥ Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Ṭibbaǧī would write three days for each quire of Daḥlān’s Ḥulāṣat al-Kalām. The quires in MS Leiden Or. 6977 consist of five sheets (= 10 leaves = 20 pages). The pages in this manuscript have a text area of 18.7 × 9.3 cm = 173.91 cm² per page. The average number of words per line is 14, with 23 lines to the page. This gives an estimated number of 14 × 23 × 20 words = 6440 words per quire. To realize one such quire in three days on the surface available seems feasible, I would say. The copyist of Or. 6977 has maintained from the beginning (p. 1) till the end (p. 608) the same size of script, so that we can assume that he had 30 quires to copy, which he would do in 90 days, three months. The estimate of thirty-five quires that Raden Aboe Bakar mentioned in his letter was too high. The copyist would receive 20 piasters per quire, which sum did not include the cost of paper and the advance payment. For this the sum of five riyāl was available.

If, in Mecca at the time, a riyāl is the equivalent of twenty piasters, we can make the following tentative calculation for the total cost of the paper and other requisites, and the cost of the copying. There is one uncertainty: it is not clear from Raden Aboe Bakar’s letter how much ‘Abū Šubbāk’ paper could be purchased with five riyāl. If I understand the text well, the sum of five riyāl

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20 C. Snouck Hurgronje, in “Een Rector der Mekkaansche Universiteit”, 1887, 353–370, gives a survey of the content of and extensive quotations from Al-futūḥāt al-islāmiyya baʿda muḍīʾ al-futūḥāt al-nabawīyya, which was published in two vols. in Mecca in 1302/1884.
21 The rate of twenty piaster to the riyal is not certain. A contemporary document (MS Leiden, Or. 7111, map 12), also from Raden Aboe Bakar, which contains a pricelist of books ordered by Snouck Hurgronje in the course of December 1885, gives the impression of a rate of 28 piaster to the riyal being used.
concerns the paper for both Or. 6977 and Or. 7019. These two manuscripts are of different size. The sheets of Or. 6977 are half the size of those of Or. 7019. I assume that the sheets of paper sold for Or. 7019 were folded once, and that these same sheets, when used for Or. 6977, were folded twice. This means that for the sum of five riyāl (= one hundred piasters) some 76 sheets (for Or. 6977 of 608 pp. half-size) + 114 sheets (for Or. 7019 of 455 pp. full-size) = 190 sheets in total, plus writing implements, could be purchased. If 35 quires of paper were purchased, according to the estimate in the letter, there would be a surplus of paper for five quires, which would probably go to the copyist as a remuneration in kind.

The copying of Or. 6977 would cost, according to the estimate of Raden Aboe Bakar, the sum of 35 quires @ 20 piasters = 700 piasters. According to Aboe Bakar’s estimate, the copying of Or. 7019 would cost 26 piaster per quire. The expected number of quires of Or. 7019 is not given by Aboe Bakar, but Or. 7019 actually consists of 23 quires. That would bring the expense for the copying of Or. 7019 to 23 quires @ 26 piaster = 598 piaster. The labour would cost a total of 700 + 598 = 1298 piasters, whereas the material including the (non-recoverable?) advance would cost 100 piasters. This gives a ratio of labour/material of roughly 13:1.

Financial arrangements for the making of the copies are mentioned by Raden Aboe Bakar as well. Already in his letter to Snouck Hurgronje of 17 Dū al-Qaʿda 1302 (18 August 1885), Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Ḫalīfa, who later coordinated the copying job, had mentioned the financial implications, but that was during the pilgrimage season: ‘Even if we would give them [the copyists] one riyāl per quire, they would not even consider such a weak offer, and they would only begin to copy the books after the tenth of Muḥarram [1303 (19 October 1885)].’

Ultimately, the copying of Or. 6977 would indeed cost one riyāl (20 piaster) per quire. That arrangements with ‘Umar al-Baġdādī should be made for coming up with the necessary cash was also clear to Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Ḫalīfa. ‘Umar al-Baġdādī in Mecca would provide the cash money for the copying, which

\[\begin{align*}
\text{22} & \quad \text{In a totally different Islamic region the adagium is } \text{al-Faḍl li-al-Ṣannā‘ or al-Faḍla li-al-Ṣannā‘;} \quad \text{‘the surplus is for the maker’. See the anecdote in Ḥassāniyya Arabic from Senegal in MS Leiden Or. 14.055 E 4 (J. J. Witkam, Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other Collections in the Netherlands, fasc. 1, 1983, 108–109).}
\text{23} & \quad \text{Letter from Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Khalīfa to Snouck Hurgronje of 17 Q[āda] 1302 (28 August 1885), lines 10–11. Snouck Hurgronje Archive, University Library of Leiden, Or. 8952 A: 510.}
\text{24} & \quad \text{Letter from Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Khalīfa to Snouck Hurgronje of 17 Q[āda] 1302 (28 August 1885), line 14.}
\end{align*}\]
would be refunded by Van der Chijs—and then by Snouck Hurgronje, we may assume. ʿUmar al-Baġdādī apparently had some kind of banking arrangement with Van der Chijs, who, if only for his intelligence work in Mecca, would constantly be in need of cash to be paid out in the Holy City. In March 1885 it had also been ʿUmar al-Baġdādī who provided Snouck Hurgronje with the sum of 150 Maria Theresia dollars for the purchase of an Ethiopian slave girl.25

About obtaining a copy of Daḥlān’s as yet unpublished ‘History of the Rulers of Mecca’ Snouck Hurgronje wrote:

The most important work of the Shaykh has not appeared in print and is not yet entirely completed. Either circumstance has to do with the nature of the book. It is a history of the rulers of Mecca, from Muḥammad to our time. In it the author continuously registered the most important political events of the Hijaz, of which he himself was a witness. He would have completed his work if he had been able to foresee his approaching demise. This history has been written in order to be read, but in the final part it contains all sorts of details about people who are still alive, notably from the family of the Sharīfs, that should not immediately be divulged in print. The manuscript was therefore only given for reading to a few friends of the author. Very few received permission to copy it, and if so, they were not allowed to copy the two or three final quires. During my stay in Mecca I was fortunate to become so well acquainted with the Shaykh that he give me the text for reading. Very soon I understood which invaluable and unique contributions Daḥlān’s work contained to the history of the Holy City in the last two centuries. Immediately I tried to find learned and efficient copyists in order to have a copy made. Such copyists are very rare in Mecca, and when I was on the point of success, I suddenly had to leave the city for ever. Thanks above anything else to the friendly collaboration of our vice-consul, Mr. P. N. van der Chijs, I am now in the pleasant possession of a complete copy of the history of the rulers of Mecca.26


26 My translation from the Dutch passage in Snouck Hurgronje, “Een Rector der Mekkaansche Universiteit”, 1887, 370–371. The manuscript is now MS Leiden Or. 6977. In the same article Snouck Hurgronje gives a long survey and extensive excerpts of this text. A shorter
Since about mid-July 1885, when still in Mecca (though not for long as he was to be expelled about two weeks later), Snouck Hurgronje had been able to borrow Daḥlān’s ‘History of the Rulers of Mecca’, but for reading only. He decided to have a copy made secretly. On 26 July 1885 he wrote to Van der Chijs:

> Sometimes it is quite a job to get my desires here satisfied. At this moment I have in my house a large manuscript, which I borrowed from the Shaykh of the professors, for reading only. I would like to have a copy made of it in secret and quickly, but up till now I have not been able to find a Kātib, a ‘copyist’. Most of them are, now that the ‘season’ has started, either working as Muṭawwifs, ‘pilgrim guides’, or they prefer to use their time by writing short letters for pilgrims against excessive sums of money, rather than by copying day after day a long manuscript.²⁷

About his copy of al-Sinǧārī’s *Manāʾiḥ al-Karam* (now ms Leiden Or. 7019) Snouck Hurgronje wrote: ‘One of the best works on the more recent books of this nature, and that was highly appreciated by Daḥlān, is the History of a certain al-Sinǧārī, which was written in the year 1095/1684. It seems to be unknown in Europe. I own a very bad copy of Sayyid Aḥmad Daḥlān’s copy.’²⁸

It is clear that Snouck Hurgronje was not happy with the copy of al-Sinǧārī’s *Manāʾiḥ al-Karam* that he had ordered to be made from the text in Daḥlān’s library. The reason may have been the fact that its copyist, Šayḥ Ğād Allāh, was not a scholar and that the promised collation by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Ḫalīfa was next to non-existent. He must have decided that a new copy had to be made, and this time by the expert copyist Šayḥ Muhammad Saʿīd al-Ṭibbǝǧī, who had proven his value with the copying of Daḥlān’s *Ḫulāṣat al-Kalām*. It is not clear which exemplar was used, and it is possible that this was just a better version of the same text in Daḥlān’s library that was now more expertly

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copied. The copying of that copy (now MS Leiden Or. 7018) was completed on Friday 20 Rabī‘ II 1307 (14 December 1889), too late to play any role in the composition of the first volume of *Mekka* that had appeared in print more than a year earlier.

**Bibliography**


