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SOME NOTEWORTHY MANUSCRIPTS OF THE POEMS OF ABU'L-'ALĀ' AL-MA'ARRĪ

by

S. M. Stern

A particular feature in the philological teaching of al-Tibrizī (for an account of whom see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v., and Brockelmann, i, 331, S., i, 492) was the great role allotted to the poetical works of his teacher, Abu'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī. This predilection for Abu'l-'Alā's work became traditional in the Baghdad school of philologists in the 6th/12th century, who were mostly al-Tibrizī's pupils, or pupils of al-Tibrizī's pupils. It is therefore, no coincidence that the most important manuscripts of al-Ma'arrī's poems come from members of this school.

The legend runs that al-Tibrizī wanted to study al-Azhari's dictionary, *al-Tahdhīb fi'l-Lughā*, under the guidance of a teacher. He put the bulky volumes in a sack and carried them — so poor was he — from his native town of Tabriz to Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, where Abu'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, in his retreat, attracted pupils from distant countries by his fame as a poet and grammarian. That curious copy of al-Azhari's book could still be seen in the 13th century, or at least so people said, in one of the libraries of Baghdad. It looked as if it had long been in water. That was the effect of the sweat that penetrated through the sack during the long journey and made the leaves of the book wet. (Ibn al-Qiftī, *Inbāh al-Ruwāt fi Anbāh al-Nuḥāt*, quoted by Ibn Khallikān (Wüstenfeld, no. 810.)

This copy of the *Tahdhīb al-Lughā* belonging to al-Tibrizī, which he studied with Abu'l-'Alā', has not come down to us, and we are thus unable to test the truth of the story chemically. We have, however, other surviving documents to bear witness of al-Tibrizī's years of study with Abu'l-'Alā' and his veneration for the memory and the works of his master. We have several manuscripts of Abu'l-'Alā's main poetical compositions, the *Siqt al-Zand* and the *Luzūm mā lā yalzam*, which are material evidence of courses given by al-Tibrizī on the works of Abu'l-'Alā', and at least one of them also of al-Tibrizī's studies under Abu'l-'Alā'.

In the year 475/1082 al-Tibrizī lectured on the *Siqt al-Zand* and his

own commentary on the book. We have in Cambridge the copy written by a pupil of al-Tibrīzī, a certain Abu'l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qunbā’ī (if this is the correct reading) al-Wāsiṭī, which the latter used during the lecture — al-Tibrīzī writing a testimonial in it, at the end of the course. Another manuscript of the same work, written by another pupil of al-Tibrīzī, Sa‘d al-Khayr al-Anṣārī of Valencia, dates from 489/1096 and also bears an autograph testimonial by al-Tibrīzī. Finally, a copy of the *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* is preserved in Leiden, which was used by another, much more eminent, pupil of al-Tibrīzī, Ibn al-Jawāliqī, at a lecture course of al-Tibrīzī on that book, held in the year 496/1102, and also signed by the master. In the manuscript of the *Luzūm* it is expressly stated that it was copied from al-Tibrīzī’s own manuscript prepared by him in Ma‘arrat al-Nu‘mān while studying with Abu'l-‘Alā’, and also in the case of the two manuscripts of the *Siqf* we can assume that they were copied from al-Tibrīzī’s autograph of his commentary and that the text goes back to the poet’s own copy. Thus the manuscript are as authoritative witnesses for the text of the poems of Abu'l-‘Alā’ as one can wish, and can undoubtedly be counted among the most precious documents of Arabic literature.

The first manuscript, hitherto known only by a short notice hidden away in a bulky paleographical collection, has never been adequately described. Even worse is the case of the second manuscript, of which only a short description of a few lines existed, merely indicating its date. The third volume has received better treatment in the catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts of the Leiden University Library, but there are still many particulars to be added. I have thought it useful to give a detailed description of these manuscripts, adding three other manuscripts of the *Siqf* of an early date (one of which is in any case closely connected with that at Cambridge). The following chapters are, as a matter of fact, specimens of a larger work on *Manuscripts of Baghdad Philologists of the XIIth century, from the Leiden University Library and other libraries*, which I am preparing and in which a number of manuscripts emanating from the school of al-Tibrīzī and that of his pupils will be described and illustrated by plates. It is to be hoped that this work will be published soon by the De Goeje-Stichting in Leiden. I reserve for that book the details about the various scholars mentioned in the course of this article.

I. THE “SIQF AL-ZAND”: AL-QUNBĀ’Ī’S COPY (CAMBRIDGE QQ 115)

The manuscript, bearing the press-mark Qq 115, came into the possession of the Cambridge University Library together with the other

manuscripts of the collection of the famous traveller J. L. Burckhardt (1784-1817). A short description is to be found in the album of the Paleographical Society, *Facsimiles of Manuscripts and inscriptions (Oriental Series)*, London 1875-1883, plate xxxv. The author of the notice, W. Wright, recognized the value of the manuscript and described it correctly, although very briefly. This knowledge was, however, all but lost subsequently, mainly, no doubt, because in the catalogue of the Library (E. G. Browne, *A Handlist of Muhammedan manuscripts in the University Library*, Cambridge 1900, p. 19) both the importance of the manuscript and the relevant passage in the album of the Paleographical Society are completely overlooked.

The manuscript bears the following title: كتاب الايضاح في سقط الزند وضوءه من شعر ابي العلاء احمد بن عبد الله بن سليمان التنوخى المعرى * تصنيف شيخ الاجل الامام ابي زكريا يحيى بن علي الخطيب التبريزى اطال الله بقاءه [...] جد علي بن الحسين بن علي الفساي يسئل [...]

... وبالله التوفيق . وكتب
 علي بن الحسين بن علي الفساي ثم الواسطي لنفسه بيده اليسرى من اصل الشيخ الاجل الامام ابي زكريا يحيى بن علي الخطيب التبريزى مفسره بمدينة السلم سنة خمس وسعين واربع مائة . قال شيخنا انشد علي قبر ابي العلاء رحمه الله بعد موته اربعة وثنين قصيدة من جملتها ايات لعلي بن همام من قصيدة طويلة والايات (fol. 251r)
 ان كنت لم ترق الدماء زهادة فلقد ارقت اليوم من جنفي دما
 وهذه من الكامل الاول والقافية من المتدارك
 سيرت ذكرك في البلاد كانه مسك فسامعة يضحج او فما
 وتسرى الحجيج اذا ارادوا ليلته ذكراك اوجب فدية من احراما
 ونحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وسلم تسليما كثيرا
 قابلت به على حسب الطافة والقدرة والله الحمد كثيرا وصلى
 الله على رسوله محمد وآله وسلم صح

We learn from this that al-Qunbā'ī (a pupil of al-Tibrizī about whom I have found no further information; nor have I found anything about

the *nisba* al-Qunbā'ī — if this is the correct form, copied the book in 475/1082 for his own use from the manuscript of al-Tibrizī. We see from al-Tibrizī's certificate (cf. below) that the course took place in the same year, 475; al-Qunbā'ī evidently prepared the copy expressly for it. It was a common practice for a pupil, before attending a course on a given book, to copy the text from the manuscript belonging to his master. Al-Qunbā'ī gives no precise information about al-Tibrizī's manuscript and the sentence: "(copied) from the original (*aṣl*) of al-Tibrizī, its commentator" is not quite unambiguous. Nevertheless, the most probable assumption is that al-Qunbā'ī made his copy from the autograph manuscript of the commentary of al-Tibrizī, and that al-Tibrizī, in writing his commentary, used for the text a copy he made in al-Ma'arra while studying the text with Abu'l-'Alā'. (For this last assumption we can adduce the analogy of his manuscript of the *Luzūm mā lā yalzam*, written in al-Ma'arra; see below.)

After the colophon, al-Qunbā'ī reproduces a few lines from a poem by 'Alī b. Hammām, which is one of the eighty-four *qaṣīdas* recited at the tomb of Abu'l-'Alā'. Was this poem to be found in a note in the copy of al-Tibrizī, or was it written down by al-Qunbā'ī after the dictation of al-Tibrizī, during the course? Probably the latter alternative is nearer to the truth. At any rate it seems to be through a copy of al-Tibrizī's commentary that the lines have found their way into later biographical tradition. Yāqūt writes (*Irshād*, i, 171): "Abū Zakariyyā" (al-Tibrizī) related: When Abu'l-'Alā' died, dirges were recited on his tomb by eighty-four poets. The following are lines by 'Alī b. al-Hammām, taken from a long *qaṣīda*: *In kunta*, etc. By the last lines he means: Your name is perfume and perfume is not allowed for one in a state of *iḥrām* — therefore he must pay the fine prescribed for one breaking the *iḥrām*." The verses are also quoted, without the additional details, by Ibn Khalikān in his biography of Abu'l-'Alā' (ed. Wüstenfeld, no. 46).

During the course, al-Qunbā'ī made in his copy the usual notes of *balāgh*, marking the places reached during a single lecture¹. The formulae vary

¹ In addition there is another set of *balāgh* notes, occurring regularly at close intervals: بلغت قراءة (with slight variations). I do not know what the sign كز — sometimes also vocalized: كز — stands for, or who was the reader who made these notes. (He could be identified with Ibn al-Karīm, but the sign seems to be *kaz*, not *kar*, which could stand for Ibn al-Karīm.) In addition, on fol. 33v there is a note: [بلغات القراءة والمعارضه [...] النسخه الى هنا] and on fol. 115v: أول المقابلة. A curious feature: on fol. 86v there is a note in Syriac characters: *ākhīr al-juz' al-'āshir*; similarly 95v (*ākhīr al-juz' al-hādī 'ashar*) 115v (*ākhīr al-juz' al-thālith 'ashar*), 126r (*ākhīr al-juz' al-rābi' 'ashar*) and 135 (*ākhīr al-juz' al-khāmis 'ashar*). There are also other marginal notes, referring to spellings of words, etc., by readers who could not be easily identified.

slightly: بلغت قراءة ومقابلة مع شيخنا ابي زكريا بجي بن علي ايد الله (fol. 7v); بلغت قراءة ومقابلة وتصحيحا مع شيخنا [ايد]ه الله واختبرت العروض والنافية والضرب صح (fol. 10v, 20v, 30v and so on after each ten folios).

After the course, al-Tibrizī signed the copy on the titlepage, stating that al-Qunbā'ī attended his course, acting as 'reader' up to a certain *qaṣīda* (which is to be found on fol. 229-233 of the manuscript = *qaṣīda* no. 96 in the Cairo edition, p. 1969), and listening for the rest (fols. 233-251) to the reading of a fellow-disciple. The note reads as follows: فرا على

شيخ الاديب ابو القاسم على بن الحسين بن علي الفنباي هذا الكتاب الى اخر نصيدة التي اولها ما نخلت جارتنا وسمع البقية بقرأة غيره قراءة تصحيح وتفهم وكتب بجي بن علي الخطيب التبريزي سنة خمس وسبعين واربعائة حامدا لله ومصليا (A later possessor, probably the Abū Bakr b. Rustam b. Aḥmad al-Shirwānī who also inscribed his name on the titlepage, added the note "this is the handwriting of the commentator, may God have mercy upon him".)

Finally, two interesting features have to be pointed out in addition. As has already been noted by Wright, "between foll. 151 and 152 is inserted a slip of paper as shown on the right half of the plate, on the recto of which al-Qunbā'ī has written: تحنة الشيخ الامام ابي زكرياء بجي بن علي الخطيب التبريزي ويحظه ادم الله نمكيته في وصف جلق لتلحق في تفسير جلق، that is to say, "present from al-Tibrizī in his own handwriting, in explanation of the word Jilīq, to be appended to the commentary in the verse beginning, 'O brethren of ours between the Euphrates and Jilīq' [fol. 151 v. = Cairo ed., p. 1204]. The text of the note, which al-Qunbā'ī evidently treasured as a souvenir, concerns in effect the geographical term Jilīq, and it is superfluous to reproduce it here; it can be read in the album of the Paleographical Society.

Secondly, there is a curious note in the text (fol. 163r) reading:

فمت بهذه القصيدة نسخة الاصل التي نفذها الشيخ ابو العلاء الى ولدى المرثي ودرت في الحاشية ما جاء من زيادة ونقصان صح

The note refers to no. 60 in the Cairo edition (p. 1264): a dirge on the death of al-Sharīf al-Ṭāhir and consolation for his two sons, the famous

sharīfs al-Raḍī and al-Murtaḍā. Al-Qunbā’ī (I assume that the note is by al-Qunbā’ī, although I forgot in my notes taken in Cambridge to say in whose hand it is written, and cannot check this point at present) had access to the original sheet, no doubt written by an amanuensis of the blind Abu'l-‘Alā’, and sent by the poet to Baghdad, to al-Raḍī and al-Murtaḍā, which contained the dirge composed on the occasion of their father’s death. Al-Qunbā’ī noted one variant from the original text. In line 38 (p. 129 v) instead of the text of al-Tibrīzī (which is also the reading adopted by all the other authorities):

وَنَمِيتَ رَبِّكَ وَأَسْتَرْدَ لَكَ الْهُدَى مَا نَالَتْ الْإَيَّامُ بِالْإِتْلَافِ

“You will meet your Lord and your righteous life will cause you to receive back — viz. in Paradise — what Time has affected and destroyed (viz.: your youth)” — the original read: غَالَتْ الْإَيَّامُ “Time has raped”. (The note reads: فِي أَصْلِ أَبِي الْعَلَاءِ وَغَالَتْ الْإَيَّامُ).

We must now turn to the later history of the manuscript.

In the year 5.5 (the decade cannot be ascertained) it was read by ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥasan al-Sulamī, known as Ibn al-‘Aṣṣār, a pupil of several of the pupils of al-Tibrīzī, including Ibn al-Jawālīqī and Sa’d al-Khayr. Ibn al-‘Aṣṣār collated it with a copy he had made and read with Sa’d al-Khayr. Wherever he found that his copy was faulty, he corrected it in accordance with the present codex; if both the reading of Sa’d al-Khayr and that of al-Qunbā’ī’s codex were defensible, he noted the variants of the latter in his copy. The note in the hand of Ibn al-‘Aṣṣār reads as follows (fol. 250v on the margin): عَارِضَ بِهَذَا الدِّيْوَانِ وَالنَّسْرَ نَسَخْتَهُ بَعْدَ أَنْ قَرَأَهُ عَلَى شَيْخِهِ أَبِي الْحَسَنِ سَعْدِ الْخَيْرِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ سَهْلِ الْإِنصَارِيِّ فَمَا خَالَفَهُ وَكَانَ خَطًّا أَصْلَحَ وَمَا كَانَ فِيهِ وَجْهَانٌ كَتَبْنَا لِتَكْمُلَ الْفَائِدَةُ عَلَى بْنِ عَبْدِ الرَّحِيمِ بْنِ الْحَسَنِ السُّلَمِيِّ فِي سَنَةِ خَمْسٍ [وخمسة] . By a curious chance, also Sa’d al-Khayr’s copy of the *Siqṭ al-Zand*, which he read also with al-Tibrīzī, has come down to us; it is described below in paragraph ii.

About the middle of the 6th/12th century the codex came into the possession of an aristocratic lover of literature in Baghdad, the *amīr* Abu'l-Murhaf Naṣr b. al-Manṣūr al-Numayrī, for whom also the Leiden copy (no. 396) of the commentary of al-Tibrīzī on the *Ḥamāsa* was

written. It is likely in fact that when Ibn al-‘Aṣṣār was using the codex, he had borrowed it from the *amīr* Abu'l-Murhaf.

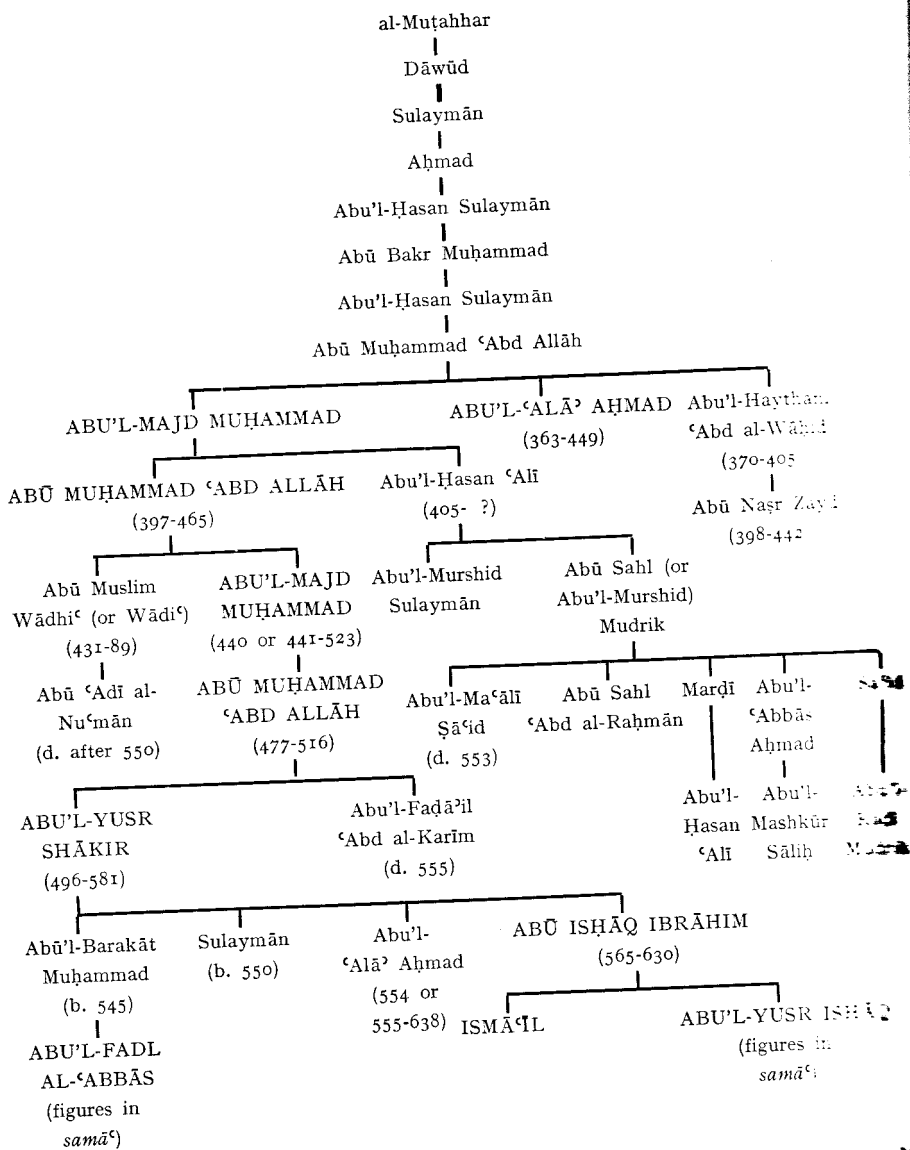
Abu'l-Murhaf studied the book with another disciple of al-Tibrizi, the *sharīf* Abu'l-Mu‘ammar al-Mubārak b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī. (I have identified him as the scribe of the Cairo manuscript of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*, which was used in a lecture course of al-Ḥarīrī and bears a certificate in his hand; see B. Moritz, *Arabic Paleography*, plate 165. His name occurs also in entries in other manuscripts, but I have found no details about him in the biographical works.) This course of lectures by Abu'l-Mu‘ammar was attended by several eminent scholars. There were present, in addition to Abu'l-Murhaf, Abū Ghālib Muḥammad b. al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maymūn, the author of a bulky anthology on Arabic poetry (cf. Brockelmann, S., i, 494; S. M. Ḥusain, in *JRAS.* 1937, 433 ff.; in Leiden there exists a copy of the *Muḥmal fi'l-Luḡah* written in his hand), Ibn al-Khashshāb, the famous philologist, who acted as 'prelector', read out the work to be interpreted by the lecturer, while the others present were 'listening' (*samā'*). The certificate of the *samā'* was written by a certain 'Alī b. Yūsuf b. al-Muḥawwalī, and signed by the lecturer. The whole note reads as follows (fol. 250v on the margin :

[مجمع] الكتاب الموسوم بسقط الزند لابي العلاء المعرى على الشريف الاوحد العالم ابي المعمر
المبارك بن احمد بن عبد العزيز بن المعمر الانصارى بحقي روايته عن ابي زكرياء مجي بن
عوى الخطيب التبريزى عن ابي العلاء بقرائة الشيخ الاجل الامام الاوحد السيد العالم
ابى محمد عبد الله بن احمد بن احمد بن احمد الخشاب النحوى اولى الله عزه صاحبه
الامير الاجل العالم ابو المرهف نصر بن المنصور بن الحسن بن جوشن التبريزى نفعه
الله ناعم والرئيس الاجل ابو غالب محمد بن المبارك ابن محمد بن محمد بن ميسون
وضبت السماع على بن يوسف بن الحسن بن على بن يوسف بن المحولى وذلك فى مجالس
الحد السبب خامس عشر ذى القعدة من سنة اثنتين واربعين وخمسمائة والحمد لله
وصونه على سيدنا محمد النبي واله وسلامه
هذا صحيح وكتب المبارك بن احمد بن عبد العزيز بن المعمر الانصارى فى التاريخ

Some time later the copy came, curiously enough, into the possession of the family of Abu'l-‘Alā'. At the beginning of the 7th/13th century its owner was Bahā' al-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm, son of Abu'l-Yūsuf Shākir, a great-nephew of the poet in the fifth generation.

It will be convenient to give a genealogical tree of Bahā' al-Dīn. About him, as well as about his ancestors, we are informed by Ibn al-'Adīm, the historian of Aleppo. Ibn al-'Adīm wrote a special booklet to defend the memory of Abu'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī against people who accused him of irreligion; a somewhat mutilated manuscript of this work, which bears the title *al-Inṣāḡ wa'l-Taḥarrī fī Daḡ' al-Zulm wa'l-Taḡarrī 'an Abi'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī*, was discovered in Aleppo, and from it the major part of the book was printed by Muḥammad Rāghib al-Ṭabbākh in his history of Aleppo, *I'lām al-Nubalā' fī Ta'rīkh Ḥalab al-Shahbā'*, vol. iv, 77 ff. The text was also printed, from a copy taken apparently from the same manuscript from Aleppo in the collection of texts referring to Abu'l-'Alā': *Ta'rīf al-Qudamā' bi-Abi'l-'Alā'*, ed. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, Cairo 1944, 483 ff. I have compiled the genealogical table (see p. 330) from Ibn al-'Amīd's treatise, and from Yāqūt, *Irshād*, i, 162-9; it may prove useful, especially as the repetition of some names among Bahā' al-Dīn's ancestors, and the textual errors in our sources, are apt to lead students astray. The various mistakes in the texts of Ibn al-'Adīm and Yāqūt can be detected and corrected in accordance with the table; I have not thought it necessary to point them out in detail.

Bahā' al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (see Ibn al-'Amīd, ed. al-Ṭabbākh, 96-7 = *Ta'rīf*, 506-7) was born in 565/1169. He received the education of a *faqīh* according to the Shāfi'ite rite. Among his teachers in the various branches of knowledge were, in addition to his father, the famous grammarian and Qur'ān-reader Abu'l-Yumn al-Kindī and the even more famous Usāma b. Murshid. Ibrāhīm was appointed as preacher, *khaṭīb*, in the *muṣallā* of Damascus. He was also employed on various occasions by the Ayyūbid ruler of Damascus, al-'Ādil, brother of Saladin (540-615/1145-1218; see *Enc. of Islam*, s.v. al-'Ādil) as envoy to Aleppo, Mosul, etc. Ibrāhīm was one of the masters of Ibn al-'Adīm himself, who on several occasions quotes information received from him (p. 86, 87, 88, 96, 99, 144 = *Ta'rīf*, 493, 494, 495, 505, 509, 566). He died according to Ibn al-'Adīm on Sunday 15 Muḥarram 630; but according to Abū Shāma, *Dhayl al-Rawḡatayn*, Cairo 1366/1947 (under the title of *Tarājim Rijāl al-Qarnayn al-Sādis wa'l-Sābi'*), 161, on 15 Muḥarram 631. Taqī al-Dīn Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm b. Abi'l-Yusr (al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, Cairo 1299, i, 12-4; al-Suyūṭi, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz* (Wüstenfeld) xxi, 3; the form of the name is occasionally corrupt), author of a *qaṣīda* on the destruction of Baghdad by the Mongols, quoted by al-Dhahabī (see J. Somogyi, *BSOS*, 1933-5, 41 ff.) was no doubt a son of Bahā' al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (cf. the words of al-Kutubī: "His grandfather was a secretary of Nūr al-Dīn" — Abū Yusr Shākir was a secretary first of Zangī, then



Note. Persons whose names are in capital letters are mentioned in the text of the present article.

of Nūr al-Dīn, see Ibn al-'Adīm, ed. al-Ṭabbākh, 95 = *Ta'riḥ*, 505 "while he himself was a secretary of al-Nāṣir Dāwūd" (603-56 1206 1258, see *Enc. of Islam*, s.v. al-Nāṣir).

Bahā' al-Dīn showed a special interest in the poetry of his distinguished relative. No wonder, as this cult of Abu'l-'Alā' was hereditary in his family. It is necessary to recapitulate in a few words, from this po

of view, the history of Bahā’ al-Dīn’s family, on the basis of the information given by Ibn al-‘Adīm. Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh, a nephew of Abu'l-‘Alā’ (son of his brother Abu'l-Majd Muḥammad I., was a faithful famulus of his uncle, and prepared numerous copies of his poems. His son, Abu'l-Majd Muḥammad II, was the *qāḍī* of al-Ma‘arra until, on the conquest of his native town by the Crusaders (492/1098), he emigrated first to Shayzar, then to Ḥamāt. As ‘Imād al-Dīn says in the *Kharīda* (quoted by Yāqūt, *Irshād*, i, 164) “he was born while Abu'l-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī, the uncle of his father, was still alive, and handed on his works and poems directly from him”. (Cf. also Ibn al-‘Adīm, ed. al-Ṭabbākh, p. 93, 106, 145 = *Ta‘rīf*, 501, 517, 566.) This is confirmed by the statement of Bahā’ al-Dīn (see below), who says that Abu'l-Majd received the *Siqt* both from his father and from Abu'l-‘Alā’ himself; according to Abu'l-Majd’s own confession, he understood more of the poetry when he was taught by his father, than when he was taught by Abu'l-‘Alā’. Small wonder—since Abu'l-Majd was born in 440/1048 or 441/1049 and Abu'l-‘Alā’ died in 449/1057, Abu'l-Majd must have been brought to a lecture by Abu'l-‘Alā’ on the *Siqt* as a mere child.—The next link in the chain of transmission of the *Siqt* is from Abu'l-Majd to his grandson, Abu'l-Yusr Shākīr, the father of Bahā’ al-Dīn. The circumstances become clear from the story of Ibn al-‘Adīm, ed. al-Ṭabbākh, 94 = *Ta‘rīf*, 502. ‘Abd Allāh, son of Abu'l-Majd left for Egypt, where he became a secretary of the vizier al-Afḍal (487-515/1094-1121, see *Enc. of Islam*, s.v.) and died comparatively young in 516/1122. His son, Abu'l-Yusr Shākīr (Ibn al-‘Adīm, ed. al-Ṭabbākh, p. 95-6 = *Ta‘rīf*, 504-5; and *passim*), was educated at Ḥamāt in the house of his grandfather, Majd al-Dīn, by whom he was taught the *Siqt*. Bahā’ al-Dīn in his turn studied the *Siqt* with his father. These data will help us to understand the statements in the notes in the Cambridge manuscript, which became the property of Bahā’ al-Dīn.

Bahā’ al-Dīn gave lectures on the *Siqt* on repeated occasions, our manuscript preserving the memory of three courses, held in the years 617/1220, 622/1225, and 625/1228, respectively.

The first *samā‘* is written (fol. 251r) by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muhammad b. ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm *al-kātib* al-Baghdādī, called Ibn al-Karīm. The course at which he was present ended on 12th Shawwāl 617. He also collated his own copy with the present one, making an entry to this effect (fol. 250v, margin). As the very copy of Ibn al-Karīm mentioned in this entry has come down to us (Lâleli 1765), and I deal with it in the excursus following this paragraph, a detailed description of Ibn al-Karīm’s entries in our manuscript also is better postponed to that excursus.

The second course was held in the house of Bahā' al-Dīn in Damascus, ending on Tuesday, 17th Shawwāl 622. There were present Abu'l-Faḍl 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Tanūkhī (for this man, secretary to the Ayyūbid prince 'Izz al-Dīn of Sarkhad, and an author, see Brockelmann, i, 257 no. 9, S i, 457; also al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi'l-Wafayāt*, xvii, 259, in the Oxford MS; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ii, 10; he was born in 570/1174 and died either in 643/1245 or 634/1236), who functioned as 'reader', Faṣīḥ al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-'Ijlī al-Mawṣilī, Najīb al-Dīn Abu'l-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh al-Ṣaffār, Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Tanūkhī and his two sons, Naṣr Allāh and Muḥammad, the son of the lecturer, Ishāq, and Jamāl al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Mūqānī al-Maqdisī; the certificate is written by Aḥmad b. Abīl-Faḍā'il, and reads as follows (fol. 251v):

مع جميع كتاب سقط الزند بأسره فقط على سيدنا وشيخنا القاضي الامام الفقيه العالم
نصر الكبير الكامل جمال الاسلام بها الدين ابي اسحق ابراهيم بن القاضي ابي اليسر
شكر بن عبد الله بن سليمان التنوخي بسماعه له من والده المذكور عن جده القاضي ابي
محمد بن عبد الله بن محمد بن عبد الله بن سليمان التنوخي عن ابي العلاء وعن
والده عن ابي العلاء وكان يقول انا افهم لروايتي عن والدي عن ابي العلاء من
روايتي عن ابي العلاء لاني كنت كبيرا بقرآه الامام العالم الفاضل امين الدين ابي
نصير عبد المحسن محمود بن الحسن بن علي التنوخي الحلبي الكاتب الامام العلامة
محمد بن عرب ولسان اهل الادب شيخنا فصيح الدين ابو بكر محمد بن ابي النجم بن
تسرى العجلي الموصلي والفقيه الامام نجيب الدين ابو الفتح نصر الله بن [ابي]
تشرين ابي طالب النهابي الصفار والامام شرف الدين ابو محمد عبد المنعم بن نصر
الله بن احمد بن حواشي (?) التنوخي وابناه نصر الله ومحمد وابن شيخنا المسبح الولد
نجيب الاعويل بدر الدين اسحق حبه الله والفقيه جمال الدين ابو عبد الله محمد
بن عبد الجليل بن عبد الكرم الموقاني المقدسي واحمد بن ابي الفضائل بن ابي المجد
بن بي المعالي بن الدحماسي وهذا خطه عنا الله عنه وصح السماع وذلك في مجالس
اخرها يوم الثلاثاء سابع عشر شوال من سنة اثنتين وعشرين وستائة بمثل المسبح
محنة دمشق وسمع من اول الكتاب الى موضع ايسه (?)

The third course, also held in Bahā' al-Dīn's house in Damascus and ending on 14th Ṣafar 626, was attended by the following: Wajih al-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā' Yahyā b. Waththāb al-Kinānī al-Miṣrī, acting as

'reader', 'Izz al-Dīn Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ma'qil al-Muhalabī (see al-Ṣaiadī, *al-Wāfi bi'l-Wafayāt*, vi, 108 f.; he came from Ḥimṣ, and lived 567-644/1171-1246), the *qādī* Rukn al-Dīn Abu'l-Manṣūr Zāfir, son of the *amīr* Sa'd al-Dawla Yūsuf, son of Mu'izz al-Dawla Asad, son of Rukn al-Dawla Ismā'īl b. al-'Amid, Najīb al-Dīn Abu'l-Faḥ Naṣr Allāh al-Ṣaffār, the son of the lecturer, Ishāq (both al-Ṣaffār and Ishāq had been present also in the course held in 622), the nephew of the lecturer, Shihāb al-Dīn Abu'l-Faḍl al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. al-Shākir and Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Qurashī, the writer of the present *samā'*. From the poem *ما يوم وصلك وهو أقصر من نس* to the end, the lecture was also attended by Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ishāq b. Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Anṣārī al-Irbilī, from the beginning of the *dir'iyyāt* to the end by Sharaf al-Dīn Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd al-Muḥsin b. Abi'l-Qāsim al-Ṣūrī. The text of the *samā'* runs as follows: *سمع جميع كتاب سقط الزند بأسره على صاحبه الشيخ الفقيه الامام العالم الاوحد بها الدين جمال الاسلام فخر العلماء ابي اسحق ابراهيم بن القاضي ابي اليسر شاکر بن عبد الله بن سليمان التنوخي المعري ابقاه الله بماعه عن والده عن جده القاضي ابي المجد عن ابي العلاء بقرأة الاديب العالم الفاضل وجيه الدين ابي زكريا نجحي بن وثاب بن عبد الاعلى الكنانى المصرى شيخنا الامام العالم حجة العرب عز الدين ابو العباس احمد بن على بن معقل المهلبى والقاضى المعتمد ركن الدين ابو المنصور ظافر بن الامير حسام الملك سعد الدولة يوسف بن معز الدولة اسد بن ركن الدولة اسمعيل بن العميد القرشى الزهرى والحافظ نجيب الدين ابو الفتح نصر الله بن ابي العز بن ابي طالب الشيبانى الصفار و بدر الدين ابو اليسر اسحق بن المسمع وابن اخيه شهاب الدين ابو الفضل العباس بن محمد بن شاکر وکاتب السماع ابراهيم بن عمر بن عبد العزيز بن المحسن القرشى وسمع من بعضه وهو ما يوم وصلك وهو اقصر من نفس الى اخره الفقيه الامام شرف الدين ابو محمد اسحق بن اسمعيل بن عبد الصمد الانصارى الاربلی وسمع من اول الدرعبات الى اخره الامام شرف الدين ابو القاسم عيد الكرم بن عيد المحسن بن ابي القسم بن الصورى وذلك فى ثلاثة مجالس اخرها رابع عشر صفر سنة ست وعشرين وستائة بمنزل المسمع بمدينة دمشق .*

There are several signatures of later owners in the manuscript, but they are of no special interest.

EXCURSUS: IBN AL-KARĪM'S COPY (LÂLELİ 1765)

It has been mentioned (above p. 331) that Ibn al-Karīm studied the *Siqf* with Bahā' al-Dīn Ibrāhīm in 617, that he made an entry in the Cambridge manuscript, and that his own manuscript is also preserved in the library of the Lâleli mosque at Istanbul, no. 1765. Before we turn to Ibn al-Karīm's study of the *Siqf*, it ought to be pointed out that he is also known to us in two other and quite different contexts.

(i) Ibn al-Karīm was a friend of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, who derived some of the information about physicians of 'Irāq, which he used in his *History of Physicians*, from oral communications of Ibn al-Karīm (we learn from Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a that his honorific title was Shams al-Dīn); cf. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*, I, 256, 258, 301, 302, 304. Twice (i, 115, 117) Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a quotes some *riwāyāt* (going back to Abu'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī) which Ibn al-Karīm has received from Abū Ghālib al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad b. Maymūn, who is the philologist whom I mentioned above (p. 328). We shall see presently that Ibn al-Karīm was in fact a pupil of Abū Ghālib. It is clear that Ibn al-Karīm was a native of Baghdad (as is also attested by his designation *al-kātib al-Baghdādī*), studied in his home town, and later went to Syria where he met Bahā' al-Dīn and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a.

(ii) Ibn al-Karīm was the author of a cookery-book, the text of which has been published, after an autograph manuscript of the author preserved in the Ayasofya in Istanbul, by D. Chelebi, Mosul 1934 (Brockelmann, i, 904)¹. The author has not been hitherto identified. I have not seen the edition of D. Chelebi, but A. J. Arberry, who has

¹ It has been overlooked that since 1897 the British Museum possesses a manuscript of the book which bears the number Or. 5099 and was duly registered in A. G. Ellis and E. Edwards, *A Descriptive list of the Arabic manuscripts acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum since 1894*, London 1912, 56. The manuscript, an elegant 8° volume, was written "for the perusal" of the sultan Muḥammad b. Murād and bears the following title in letters of gold:

موسم مصنعة السلطان الاعظم مولی ملوك العرب والعجم السلطان بن السلطان بن السلطان محمد خان
بن مراد خان خلد الله تعالى خلاته وابد مملكته كتاب الطبخ تالیف محمد بن الحسن بن محمد بن
الكرخي كتب البغدادی عن الله عنه

The sultan is no doubt Muḥammad II the Conqueror; cf. the very similar exlibris in a book belonging to him, described by A. Süheyl Ünver, *İlim ve Sanat Bakımından Fatih Devri*, Nispetiye 1948, 41 ff. (The booklet on Muḥammad II's library: *Istanbul Kütüphanelerinde Fatih Sultan Hususî Kütüphanesine ve Fatih Çağı Müelliflerine ait eserler*, Istanbul 1953, contains no description and is altogether not quite satisfactory. [See also Tahsin Öz, *Topkapı Sarayında Fatih Sultan Mehmet II. ye ait eserler*, Ankara 1953, 20 ff. The exlibris published there is also very similar.] The volume was subsequently in the Nuru Osmaniye.

translated the text into English (*A Baghdad Cookery-Book, Islamic Culture*, 1939, 21 ff., 189 ff.) writes (p. 30): "The author, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Karīm al-Kātib al-Baghdādī, is otherwise completely unknown". The name corresponds exactly to that of our scholar, and there can be no doubt that it was the friend of Ibn Abi Usaybiʿa and the disciple of Bahāʾ al-Dīn, who wrote the cookery-book. According to some biographical notes (see *Addenda*, he lived 580-637/1184-1239.—He copied the *Siqt* still in Baghdad, before 600/1203; he then moved to Damascus, where he studied the book with Bahāʾ al-Dīn in 617. If the autograph of the cookery-book is expressly dated from Baghdad (cf. Arberry, *Transl.* p. 30: "an autograph manuscript written at Baghdad in the year 623/1226") and the locality is not only deduced from the name al-Baghdādī, he must have returned to his native city between 617 and 632. If no locality is named in the autograph, one would rather assume that it was written in Damascus and that Ibn al-Karīm also died in that city.

Ibn al-Karīm had studied the *Siqt* in Baghdad with his master, Abū Ghālib; when years later, he read it in Damascus with Bahāʾ al-Dīn and had the opportunity to inspect Bahāʾ al-Dīn's copy, he found that that copy contained a testimonial by Abu'l-Muʿammar al-Anṣārī, attesting that Abū Ghālib, among others, read the poems with him (see above p. 328). This *samāʿ* was obviously of interest to Ibn al-Karīm, who himself had studied the *Siqt* with Abū Ghālib, and he did not miss the opportunity of copying it into his manuscript.

I reproduce first the note about the course of Bahāʾ al-Dīn followed by Ibn al-Karīm, made by Ibn al-Karīm in the copy of his master (Cambridge manuscript, fol. 251v).
 قرا جميع سقط الزند دون شرحه على
 القاضي الصدر الكبير العالم بهاء الدين ابي اسحق ابراهيم بن ابي اليسر شاکر بن عبد
 الله بن سليمان بن عبد الله التبوخي بساعه له من والده عن جده عن ابي العلاء
 وعن والده عن ابي العلاء وذكر انه روايته له عن والده عن ابي العلاء افهم من
 روايته له عن ابي العلاء لانه كان كبيرا يفهم ما يسمع وذلك في مجالس اخرها
 ثانی عشر شعبان سنة سبع عشرة وستائة وكتب محمد بن الحسن بن محمد بن علی بن
 ابرهیم الکاتب البغدادی حامدا لله علی نعمه ومصليا علی نبيه محمد واله ومسلما

On the margin of fol. 250v Ibn al-Karīm made the following entry, about his collation of the manuscript with his own copy:

عارضت بنسختي مع الامام بها الدين ابن ابي اليسر ابقاه الله مالكة وصحت وذلك
 دون الشرح وكتب محمد بن الكرم البغدادی

Ibn al-Karīm's copy (Lâleli 1765) has the following note:

کت [سم]ت سفظ الزند اجمع على شيخنا الامام العالم ظهير الدين [ابى غالب محمد]
 بن المبارك بن محمد بن محمد بن ميمون قديما من على هذه النسخة بقراءة [...] .
 من ابى القسم على بن محمد بن ابراهيم الكاتب فى شهر سنة [...] وخمس
 مائة بحق روايته عن الشريف ابى المعمر بن احمد بن عبد العزيز بن المعمر الانصارى
 [عن] ابى زكريا يحيى بن على التبريزى عن ابى العلاء احمد بن عبد الله بن سليمان
 معرى ونقلت طبقة سماع شيخنا ظهير الدين ابى غالب محمد بن مبارك بن محمد بن
 محمد بن ميمون من على نسخة القاضى بها الدين ابى ابراهيم بن ابى اليسر ما نسخته
 سمع جميع سفظ الزند على الشريف ابى المعمر المبارك بن احمد بن عبد العزيز بن
 المعمر الانصارى بحق روايته عن ابى زكريا يحيى بن على التبريزى بقراءة الاجل
 لامة ابى محمد عبد الله بن احمد بن احمد بن الخشاب الاجل ابو المرفه
 صر بن منصور بن الحسن بن جوشن النيميرى والاجل ابو غالب محمد بن محمد بن
 محمد بن ميمون ومثبت السماع على بن يوسف بن الحسن بن على بن يوسف المحولى
 فى عدة مجالس اخرها السبت خامس عشر ذى القعدة سنة اثنتين واربعين وخمسة
 كتب ذلك اجمع محمد بن الحسن بن محمد بن ابراهيم بن محمد الكاتب [صا]حب
 هذه النسخة المعروف بن الكريم البغدادى والحمد لله وحده وصلى الله [على] سيدنا
 به وعلى اله وسلم كثيرا

It may be noted that the merit of drawing the attention to this manuscript belongs to O. Rescher, a pioneer of research in the Istanbul libraries. He noted the manuscript in *ZDMG*, 1910, 519. He gave the name of the scribe correctly as Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad [b.] al-Karīm al-Kātib al-Baghdādī, though he was mistaken about the date: 469 (with a question-mark).

II. THE "SIQT AL-ZAND": SA'D AL-KHAYR'S COPY (FEYZULLAH 1052)

The Cambridge manuscript, by al-Qunbā'ī, has a counterpart in another manuscript of the *Siqt al-Zand*, copied by another disciple of al-Tibrīzī fourteen years later and also containing an autograph certificate by al-Tibrīzī himself. In contrast, however, to the Cambridge manuscript, I have had no opportunity of personally examining the

manuscript, which is preserved in the Feyzullah library, Istanbul (no. 1652), and cannot, therefore, give a description of the main body of it, but must confine myself to the evidence provided by the title-page and the colophon.

Abu'l-Ḥasan Saʿd al-Khayr b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī, the copyist of the manuscript, had, to judge by the biographical note preserved in al-Maqqarī (i, 895), a somewhat adventurous life. (The paragraphs devoted to him by J. Ribera, *Viajeros moros valencianos, Disertaciones y opúsculos*, ii, 208-10, are entirely based on al-Maqqarī.) Born in Valencia, he travelled widely, as far as China; for this reason he used to sign himself (read: *kān yaktub*, for *kān yuktab*): *al-Balansī al-Ṣīnī*. In Baghdad he studied *fiqh*, under al-Ghazālī among other masters — no doubt while the latter occupied the chair of *fiqh* in the Nizāmiyya madrasa (484-8/1091-5). In *adab*, says the biographical note, he was a pupil of al-Tibrizī; a statement amply borne out by the evidence of the extant manuscripts. Later he lived for a while in Iṣfahān, then settled in Baghdad, where he had as pupils, among others, Ibn ʿAsākir, Abu'l-Yumn al-Kindī and Ibn al-Jawzī. He died in Baghdad in 541/1146 and was buried near the grave of ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

His name occurs frequently in the Baghdad manuscripts; here it will be enough to mention that while according to the present manuscript he studied the *Siqṭ al-Zand* with al-Tibrizī in Rajab 489/1096, it appears from another manuscript copied by himself and signed by al-Tibrizī (Leiden 446) that seven years later (496/1103) he studied with al-Tibrizī Ibn al-Sikkīt's *Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq*.

In Rajab 489 he followed, with the present manuscript in his hand, the course given by al-Tibrizī. During part of the course he served as 'reader' ("up to the mark of the *balāgh*" — as I have not inspected the manuscript, I cannot state on which page the mark is to be found); the rest of the text he 'heard', while someone else acted as 'reader'. (The phrasing of al-Tibrizī's certificate could, however, be taken as suggesting that there were two courses; one in which Saʿd al-Khayr was 'reader' up to the mark of the *balāgh*, and another, during which he only listened "from the beginning of the book to its end". The point could only be decided with certainty by the examination of the marginal notes in the body of the manuscript).

The colophon reads as follows: وكان الفراغ منه بمدينة السلم بحمد الله
وعونه سلخ رجب سنة تسع وثمانين وأربع مائه وكتب سعد الخير بن محمد الانصاري
لنفسه متعه الله به وبلغه اماله في الدنيا والاخرة امين رب العالمين

The title-page reads: كتاب الايضاح في شرح سقظ الزند وضوه من شعر ابي العلاء احمد بن عبد الله بن سليمان التنوخي المعري عمل شرحه الشيخ الامام الواحد ابو زكريا مجي بن علي الخطيب التبريزي ادام الله مدته وحرس مهجته لسعد الخير بن محمد الانصاري متع به

The certificate of al-Tibrizī underneath the title is in the following terms: قرا على الشيخ الفقيه ابو الحسن سعد الخير بن محمد الانصاري نفعه الله بالعلم: هذا الكتاب الى موضع علامة البلاغ فيه وسمع بقراءة غيره على من اوله الى اخره قراءة ضبط وتصحيح معارضا بالاصل وكتب مجي بن علي الخطيب التبريزي حامدا لله تعالى ومصليا على رسوله محمد واله عام احدى وتسعين واربع مائة بمدينة السلام

Again, it was O. Rescher who published a short note of the manuscript, *ZDMG*, 1914, 382, giving the date: 489, without further particulars¹.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON TWO FURTHER MANUSCRIPTS OF THE "SIQT AL-ZAND"

(a) *The private copy of a student in the Nizāmiyya (Köprülü 1321)*

This volume was copied in 501/1108 in the Nizāmiyya-madrasa from the autograph of al-Tibrizī, by a certain Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh al-Wafrāwandī (from Wafrāwanda, see al-Iṣṭakhri, 197; Ibn Ḥawqal (Kramers), 361; al-Maqdisī, 401) about whom I have been able to find no further information. As no attestations appear on the manuscript, it was apparently never used in a lecture course, but was copied for private reading.

The colophon reads as follows: تم هذا الكتاب يوم الجمعة وقت الضحى في شهر شعبان سنة احدى وخمسمائة ونسخه محمد (words I cannot make sense of these) ابو اسحق ابراهيم بن عبد الله الوفراوندى في المدرسة النظامية من اجزاء نسخ الامام ابي زكريا مجي بن علي الخطيب التبريزي اطال الله بقاءه وادام علاه وكتب بالذل اعداه صح

¹ It may be mentioned that a copy of the *Siqt al-Zand* which was very similar to the copies of al-Qunbā'i and Sa'd al-Khayr, is quoted by Ibn al-'Adīm, ed. al-Ṭabbākh, 103 = *Ta'rif*, 513. It was copied by Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Faraj al-Janādī and bore a certificate in the name of al-Tibrizī.

The manuscript was described by O. Rescher, *Le Monde Oriental*, vii, 117, stating that it was copied on Friday morning, Sha‘bān 501, in the madrasa al-Nizāmiyya (“in Bagdad?”).

(b) *Another 6th/12th century copy (Fatih 3961)*

There is little to be said about this copy, written in 566 1170 by a certain Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-‘Alā’. The colophon reads:

كتب محمد بن محمد بن ابى ابرهيم بن العلاء فى اواخر ذى الحجة سنة ست وستين
وخمس مائة والسلام

The manuscript was described by O. Rescher, *Le Monde Oriental*, vii, 119, with the date and the name of the scribe.

III. THE “LUZŪM MĀ LĀ YALZAM”: IBN AL-JAWĀLĪQĪ’S COPY (LEIDEN 100)

The wonderful codex of the *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* in the Leiden University Library (no. 100), from the collection of Golius, is a worthy peer of the manuscripts of the *Siqt*, even excelling them by its splendid calligraphy and the eminence of its scribe. The manuscript is in the hand of Ibn al-Jawālīqī (for whom see *Enc. of Islam*, s.v. Al-Djawālīkī, and Brockelmann, i, 332, S., i, 492), who copied it from the manuscript of al-Tibrīzī from which the latter had read the poems with Abu'l-‘Alā’.

The title of the book reads as follows: كتاب لزوم ما لا يلزم قبل
حرف الروى من شعر ابى العلاء المعرى نظمه على حروف المعجم فى العظة والزهد
وذم الدنيا رواية الشيخ الاجل الامام ابى زكريا يحيى بن على الخطيب التبريزى اطال
الله بقاءه عنه لموهوب بن احمد بن محمد بن الخضر الجوالقى [منعه الله] بالعلم

The colophon is as follows: اخر لزوم ما لا يلزم من نظم ابى العلاء احمد
بن عبد الله بن سليمان التنوخى فى العظة وذم الدنيا والمحمد لله رب العالمين وصلواته
على سيدنا محمد وعلى اله وسلم تسليما

After copying the text from his master’s manuscript and collating the copy with the original, Ibn al-Jawālīqī read the book with al-Tibrīzī, using the opportunity to make a second collation during the lecture. The course was also attended by a fellow student of Ibn al-Jawālīqī, the

well known theologian Muḥammad b. Nāṣir (who became the principal teacher of Ibn al-Jawzī). One of the biographical notes on him (see G. Levi della Vida, *Le livre de chevaux de Hišām ibn al-Kalbī*, Leiden 1928, p. xvi, note 1) contains the information that Muḥammad b. Nāṣir used to attend the lectures of al-Tibrizī together with Ibn al-Jawālīqī — this is now confirmed in a striking way.

The notes about the reading of the text are as follows. On the margin next to the colophon is written: بلغت قراءة وعرضا بالاصل والله الحمد and¹ this is followed by the final note: بلغت قراءة على الشيخ [الامام] ابي [زكريا] وعارضت ثانيا معه² باصله الذي نقلته منه وسمع الشيخ ابو الفضل محمد بن ناصر وكان الفراغ منه في صدر سنة [.....]. The body of the book contains the usual notes of *balāgh*. The following formulas are used: بلغت قراءة على الشيخ (p. 14), or بلغت عرضا على الشيخ (p. 46), or simply بلغت عرضا (p. 57, 110, 200), or بلغت قراءة وعرضا (p. 53, 86, 106), or بلغت عرضا بالاصل على الشيخ الامام (p. 72) or بلغت قراءة على (p. 89), or بلغت عرضا بالاصل على الشيخ ابقاه الله (p. 105), or بلغت قراءة ابقاه الله (p. 94) or the same with the addition of ابقاه الله (p. 133); or بلغت قراءة وعرضا على الشيخ الامام ابي زكريا (p. 127); or بلغ العرض بالاصل (p. 130) or بلغت قراءة الى هنا بحمد الله (p. 135, 145, 152); or بلغت قراءة على الشيخ ايده الله (p. 139); or بلغت قراءة وعرضا بالاصل (p. 170); or بلغت قراءة [وعرضا] بالاصل على [الشيخ] ابقاه الله (p. 160); or بلغت قراءة وعرضا على الشيخ ابقاه الله (p. 183) or finally بلغت قراءة وعرضا على الشيخ ايده الله (p. 190).

Ibn al-Jawālīqī noted down a number of verses concerning Abu'l-'Alā', taking them either from al-Tibrizī's copy or from al-Tibrizī orally. On the title-page he wrote a short poem in praise of the book:

انشدنا الشيخ

مقال بصير بالامور حكيم	تمتع بها علقا نفيسا فانه
وسكانها من جاهل وعليم	اراك من الدنيا حقيقة حالها

In the colophon, immediately after the note reproduced above:
 قيل ان القاضي ابا محمد عبد الله بن اخيه كان يحسن بعهد في مرضه الذي توفي
 فيه فقال الشيخ رحمه الله

نظير جميل فعلك غير اى	عبد الله ما اسدى جيلا
تعوذف وتقرأ او تسمى	سفتى درها ودعت وبانت
وايسى ذمبت اتم ذم	حمدك في الحياة اتم حمد
ورمت وفايتى من كل هم	تحاول ان تجنبنى الرزايا
تعهد مفعد اعنى اصم	[اجدك ما] تركت وانت قاض
ابر بمعجز فى بر عم	جزاك البارى ابن اخ كريما

The same poem was quoted, according to a tradition going back to Abu'l-Yusr Shākir b. ‘Abd Allāh, by Ibn al-‘Adīm (*Tanbīh*, ed. al-Ṭabbākh = *al-Ta‘rīf*, 497; several variants in the text).

On the verso of the last page there are two poems, one by an unnamed author, the other by Ibn al-Rūmī, both noted down from the mouth of al-Tibrīzī: *انشدنا* and: *انشدنا الشيخ الامام ابو زكرياء امر الخ*
الشيخ الامام ابو زكريا لابن الرومى ما انس الخ

On the margin of p. 16 there is a note which sheds a curious light on the judgment of Abu'l-‘Alā’'s pupils on the more daring passages of the *Luzūm* concerning religion. It is a revealing piece of evidence for the manner in which unorthodox passages were saved by harmonizing interpretation. The marginal note is on the verse

يا عالم السوء ما علمنا ان مصليك اتقياء

and reads as follows: *اكثر ما انكر فى هذا الكتاب فى الخصوص والعموم فقول*
الذئبل عالم السوء ليس هو عاما لجميع بنى ادم وإنما يقصد به اهل الاساءة وفى الناس
من يدعى انه ولى الله على سبيل التخيل وفى اليمن جماعة كل رجل يدعى انه امام
يختال بذلك على الله ؟؟؟ وإما الذين هم اوليا الله فقليل كما قال الله تعالى فى الكتاب
الكريم [xxxviii, 24] الا الذين امنوا وعملوا الصالحات وقيل ما هم والناس كله يقع
على العام والخاص وفى الكتاب الكريم [iii, 173] الذين قال لهم الناس ان الناس
قد جمعوا لكم فاخشوهم فقد علم ان الناس كلمة تشمل جميع [.....] المراد بقوله

فإن لهم الناس رجل واحد وهو قول ابن مسعود والناس الذين جمعوا يعني به قریش
ومن تابعوا [م] من الاعراب

The line of defence is clear. "O evil world, we are not convinced that those of your people who say their prayers are in truth pious." This implies, on the face of it, a criticism of piety. It is however apt to be interpreted by the common tool of Islamic exegesis: *al-khāṣṣ wa'l-ʿāmm*, that is, the distinction between the general and particular use of words. If we take "O evil world" not in general, but in the restricted sense of "those people that are evil, the hypocrites", the edge of the criticism is lost. (For the Qur'ānic parallel quoted, see e.g. al-Ṭabarī on iii, 173.) The argument is sound, logically at least. It would be interesting to know whether it is al-Tibrīzī's own exegesis or whether, as is perhaps more probable, it goes back to Abu'l-'Alā' himself. If the explanation belongs to Abu'l-'Alā', we shall not for that reason accuse him of hypocrisy. He may have given the explanation with his tongue in his cheek; on the other hand he was certainly not a consistent enemy of Islam and had no dogmatic views of his own. The theologian, who, when asked his opinion of Abu'l-'Alā', answered: "he was a man in perplexity", was not far off the mark. If one day he expressed his scepticism in unambiguous words, the next day he would perhaps be in a more conciliatory mood. And at any time, if challenged, he would certainly not declare himself in so many words outside the pale of Islam. Be that as it may, the scholium gives us the lines on which his admirers justified to themselves his religious vagaries, so hotly discussed both during his lifetime and after his death. To be sure, according to the biographers, al-Tibrīzī was not a very saintly person, at least is so far as his habits were concerned; on the other hand, Ibn al-Jawālīqī was evidently of a strict orthodoxy, and even though Abu'l-'Alā's works were rich food for his philological palate, he would have thought twice before propagating them, had he no proper *ta'wīl* at hand to explain away the more doubtful passages.

A similar note is to be found on p. 19, on the line: "Wake up, wake up, o misguided people, your religion is a fraud from your ancestors": "ومكرو" (iii, 54) ای اهل الكتاب لقوله تعالى "i.e. the People of the Book (the Jews and Christians), as the Qur'ān says: "They used a fraud".

In the year 519/1125 Ibn al-Jawālīqī instructed his pupil Ibn al-Khashshāb (mentioned above) in the *Luzūm mā lā yalzam*. Ibn al-Khashshāb entered in the volume some marks of *balāgh*: عبد الله بن احمد قر [اة] على

قراها; (p. 127, 183) بلغ عبد الله بن احمد قراءة الى هنا بحمد الله; (p. 117) الشيخ
 (p. 199) عبد الله بن احمد على [الشيخ] ابقاه الله

Beneath the colophon he made the following entry: فرغ من قراءة
 لزوم ما لا يلزم لابي العلام الى اخره من هذه النسخة قراءة على الشيخ الامام الاوحد
 ابي منصور موهوب بن احمد بن محمد بن الخضر الجواليقي اطال الله بقاء عبد الله
 بن احمد بن احمد الخشاب في مدة اخرها منتصف جمادى الاولى من سنة تسع عشرة
 وخمس مائة والحمد لله وصلواته على محمد نبيه وآله وسلامه

On the title-page, Ibn al-Jawāliqī wrote the following testimonial
 (it is severely damaged): فرا على الشيخ الفاضل ابو محمد [عبد الله بن احمد
 بن احمد هذا الكتاب من] اوله الى اخره قراءة مرضية ورويته له عن الشيخ
 ابي زكريا [يجي بن علي الخطيب التبريزي] عن ابي [العلام] وكتب موهوب بن
 احمد بن [محمد بن الخضر في سنة [تسع عشر وخمس مائة....].

The next thing we know about the fate of the manuscript is that it
 belonged to the famous grammarian Bahāʾ al-Dīn b. al-Naḥḥās (637-98)
 who lived in Cairo (see for him Brockelmann, i, 363. S., i, 527). He fully
 appreciated its value, as is borne out by the story told by the next
 possessor (whose name is unfortunately not mentioned). According to
 this note, Ibn al-Naḥḥās would never lend it, saying: This book is a
 precious jewel, which ought not to be sold or lent. The next proprietor
 was, at the time of Ibn al-Naḥḥās' death, in prison, but the book was
 bought on his behalf from the estate of Ibn al-Naḥḥās, by Nāṣir
 al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Aʿraj al-Rūmī, for 300 *dirhams*. The note is to
 be found on the verso of the second fly-leaf. كلما نظرت في هذا الكتاب
 ترحمت على صاحبه فانه كان من كتب الشيخ بها الدين ابن النحاس النحوي افاض
 الله عليه مجال رضوانه واسكنه بجموحه جناه فقد كنت معتقدا في حسن اخلاقه اكثر
 من اعتقادي في علمه وكان يعد هذا الكتاب من نفائس اعلافة ويضن به مع كرمه
 واقد طلبته منه يوما على سبيل العارية مع كمال اتحاد كان بيننا فقال كلاما معناه ان

ابيت اللعن ان سكاب علق نفيس لا يسباع ولا يعمار

وبعد وفاته اشتراه لى المرحوم ناصر الدين محمد الاعرج الرومى رحمه الله تعالى بمبلغ
ثلاثمائة درهم وحمله الى وانا فى السجن بل فى الحب

Some verses follow.

The names of later owners also appear: 'Ali b. al-Hājj Muḥammad al-Dibs (from the year 9.9); Abū Tamīm b. Muḥammad العزلاى; Faraj Allāh b. Ghurbāl b. Faḍl Allāh b. Abi'l-Faraj. Some of these left their trace on the fly-leaf, in addition to entering their names, by jotting down some verses about the book, about lending books in general, etc. We do not know the circumstances in which Golius acquired the book — it is more probable that he bought it during his stay in Syria and Istanbul, 1625-9, rather than in Morocco (where he stayed in 1622-3).

APPENDIX:

ABU'L-'ALĀ' AL-MA'ARRĪ'S "ZAJR AL-NĀBIḤ"

The passage in this article on the "exegesis" of heretical verses in the *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* (above, p. 342) was written a few years ago. Since then I have found extremely important texts by Abu'l-'Alā' himself, which clarify the problem and shed some new light on the personality and thought of the poet.

I have found in the British Museum an old copy of the *Luzūm* (Or. 5319); as the title-page and the colophon are missing, its exact provenience cannot be ascertained, though I think it must belong to the 6th/12th century. The manuscript contains, here and there, some explanations written in the hand of the first copyist after the lines to which they belong. In addition, it contains a great number of marginal notes, which are extracts from Abu'l-'Alā's lost *Zajr al-NābiḤ*, "Driving away the barker". This book is mentioned by the biographers of the poet Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh al-Ruwāt*, in *Ta'rif al-Qudamā'*, 42; 49; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, i, 183; Ibn al-'Adīm, *al-Inṣāf*, in *Ta'rif*, 485, 537), who also state that this was written on the occasion of an attack against objectionable verses in the *Luzūm*. On the margin of Brit. Mus. Or. 5319, there are a great number of extracts from the *Zajr al-NābiḤ*, copied by someone who seems different from the first copyist. Though, presumably, we cannot recover from these marginal notes the whole of the lost book, the excerpts are so numerous that we do get a perfectly sufficient idea of the method of Abu'l-'Alā' in defending his unorthodox poems. I think that on the whole the new texts bear out the views put forward in the body of my article. I reserve for the future the full publication of these notes, and

hope to examine at the same time their relevance for the understanding of Abu'l-'Alā's "philosophy" as expressed in the *Luzūm*.

Here I wish to give the text of the note referring to the line discussed in this article and the preceding one: viz.

بـ عـمـ السـومـ ماـ علـمـا
انـ مـصـلـيـكـ اتـقـيـاء
ذـاـ يـكـذـبـنـ امـرؤـ جـهـول
ماـ فـيـكـ لـلـهـ اولـيـاء

The note reads as follows (fol. 4v): منذ محصة عالم السوم دون عالم
نخير ومعوم عند كل ذي لب انه ليس فيمن وصف بذلك خير ولا يلتبس عنده
مير ونو قال الفائل لمن هلك من ثمود او عاد ما فيكم ولي الله لكان صادقا برا وفي
هذه الامة معشر كفر كلهم يزعم انه لله ولي وان شيوخه الذين اخذ عنهم ابرار اتقياء
وكن فرقة مدعية على الاخرى ضد ذلك وفي الكتاب العزيز (24, xxxviii) "وان
كثير من المخطا لم يغبى بعضهم على بعض الا الذين امنوا وعملوا الصالحات وقابل
ما هم" وان هذا الصديق خالص ان الصالحين في البشر لاقل من الغراب الاعصر بين
الغربان وافقد من التمرة في غير الاوبان واما ذم المصلين الذين بنظوون على نية
ليست بجميلة فقد نطق به الكتاب الكريم في قوله تعالى (5-4, cvii) "قويل للمصلين
الذين هم عن صلاتهم ساهون" وقد كان بعض الناس من شاهده النبي صلح يحضر
الصلاة خلفه ثم تبين انه ضال مخالف بدليل قوله (II, lii) "واذا راوا تجارة او لهوا
انفضوا اليها وتركوك قائما قل ما عند الله خير من اللهو ومن التجارة والله خير
الرازقين" كان دحية بن خليفة الكلبي تقدم بالتجارة من الشام فاذا قرب من المدينة
ضرب له طبل ليخرج اليه من يرغب في الشراء واتفق انه قدم والنبي صلح في الصلاة
فلما سمع من خلفه صوت الطبل تركوه قائما وتبادروا الى التجارة فترلت هذه الاية هذا
كلام فيما [اعترض على البيت] يا عالم السوم والبيت بعده لا يكذب من زجر النابج

It can be seen that while this note is not identical with that found in Ibn al-Jawāliqī's copy, both have the same tendency. It can therefore be assumed with great probability that the note in Ibn al-Jawāliqī's manuscript also goes back to Abu'l-'Alā' and is based on oral explanation added by the poet during his lecture-course on the *Luzūm*, or on scholia dictated by him. This is fully borne out by the note on the other passage

(*Afīqū afīqū yā ghurwātu*) which reads in the British Museum manuscript as follows (fol. 9v): *معنى أن أهل الكتاب كانوا يكرهون باتباعهم وفي الكتاب تعزير (iii, 54) "ومكروا ومكر الله" وفيه (ii, 79) "فويل الذين يكتنون الكتاب باسمهم ثم يقولون هذا من عند الله ليشتروا به ثمنا قليلا" وهذا امر المكر*

This note is written by the first copyist after the line, and is in its substance identical with the note of Ibn al-Jawālīqī—both are evidently derived from the same source, i.e. probably to a remark of Abu'l-'Alā', not the *Zajr al-Nābiḥ*. In fact, we have in the *Zajr* the passage referring to this line; it is reproduced in a marginal note in the manuscript, reading: *وكثيرا ما يقول اليهود في الفاظهم وحديثهم ذكر قدماؤنا كذا وخبر: قدماؤنا ذلك فبنى الامر على هذا النحو هذا كلامه في هذا البيت من الزجر*

INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS DESCRIBED

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|----------------------------|--|
| 1. Cambridge Qq 115 | (i. The <i>Siqt al-Zand</i> : al-Qunbā'ī's copy; |
| 2. Lâleli 1765 | (Excursus: Ibn al-Karīm's copy) |
| 3. Feyzullah 1652 | (ii. The <i>Siqt al-Zand</i> : Sa'd al-Khayr's copy) |
| 4. Köprülü 1321 | (Additional Notes on two further manuscripts of the <i>Siqt al-Zand</i> (a)) |
| 5. Fatih 3961 | (Additional Notes (b)) |
| 6. Leiden 100 | (iii. The <i>Luzūm mā lā yalzam</i> ; Ibn al-Jawālīqī's copy) |
| 7. British Museum Or. 5319 | (Appendix: an old copy of the <i>Luzūm mā lā yalzam</i> , with excerpts from Abu'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī's <i>Zajr al-Nābiḥ</i>) |

ADDENDA

P. 335f.

I noticed only after the printing of the article that Kūrki's 'Awīd (*Mu'allif Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, in *Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī* 1943, 379-80) discovered two obituaries of Ibn al-Karīm, by Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, v, 185 and by Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nuḥd al-Zāhira*, Cairo, vi, 317. The second passage does not contain any date beyond the date of Ibn al-Karīm's death; the first reads as follo

وفيها [i.e. 637] ابن الكرم الكاتب شمس الدين محمد بن الحسن بن محمد بن علي
 البغدادي المحدث الاديب الماسح (بالناسخ) (the surveyor? or read) روى عن
 ابي بوش وابن كتيب وخائف وسكن دمشق وكتب الكثير بخطه توفي في رجب عن
 سبع وخمسين سنة

For the cookery-book of Ibn al-Karīm cf. also M. Rodinson, *Recherches sur les documents Arabes relatifs à la cuisine*, REI, 1950, 102 ff.

P. 34I.

The lines *A-‘Abda llāhi*, etc. are followed by two more lines:

اعبد الله خير من حياة وضول ذمائها موت يريح
 تعلني لتشفيني فدعني كيما استريح وتستريح

These lines, addressed to the same nephew, are also quoted in the authority of a pupil of Abu'l-‘Alā’ by Ibn al-Qiftī, *Inbāh al-Ruwāt* (in *Ta‘rīf*, 64-5), together with a story explaining the circumstances that gave rise to them. (The text is slightly different.)

Finally, I wish to thank Dr. R. Anhegger for his kindness in helping me to obtain microfilms of specimens from the Istanbul MSS described in the article.