

Lists of books in Arabic manuscripts

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Topics: 1. Introduction; 2. al-Ṭālib Aḥmad's travelogue; 3. Jacobus Golius's booklists; 4. *Iḡāzāt* and autobibliography; 5. The library of *ṣayk* Kālid al-Naqšbandī; 6. Lists from Medina; 7. A list from the Sahara; 8. Concluding remark.

1. INTRODUCTION

At first sight it is a bit of an odd bunch: catalogues of libraries that no longer exist, travelogues with accounts on manuscripts, diplomas with teaching authorisations, sales lists and inventories of books and manuscripts made under a variety of circumstances but all reflecting changes in ownership and possession. They have in common that they document, inconspicuous as their outward appearance often is, the movements and vicissitudes of the numerous loose manuscripts that either floated around before settling down in a public or private collection or that became lost forever. These movements have often left their traces in the books concerned and the study of such remnants occasionally enables us to reconstruct aspects of the history of collections and of educational practice. Under favourable circumstances, when additional information is available, they also may shed light on the history of their owners.

One category of such traces consists of lists of books, which can reveal, when interpreted within their historical context, more details of how the owners treated their possessions, and how authors treated the manuscripts of their own works. Such lists may be incorporated in a text and have, therefore, already an informative context. But quite often they are not part of a composition and remain isolated. Then they merely consist of hasty jottings on a fly-leaf or of simple enumerations in a notebook or in a letter.

It should be added, however, that lists of books are by no means the only sources that document manuscripts and texts on the move. Other informative features on the 'life of manuscripts' consist of owners' marks, elaborate colophons, copyists' verses and also all sorts of notes on the blank pages outside the text proper. Except for the book lists, they all fall outside the scope of the present discussion, but this is only for the sake of brevity and convenience and certainly not because they are unimportant or irrelevant. Such notes and ephemera are often of prime importance for our knowledge of how manuscripts and texts fared at the hands of their authors and owners.

My study of Arabic manuscripts during the past decade has made me recognize this particular category of bibliographical information as a useful source. I wish to demonstrate by means of a study of a more or less personal selection of a number of lists of books encountered in Arabic manuscripts and texts that much additional information on the movements of manuscripts and the reception of texts can be obtained. It is obvious that there cannot be a general rule in this and often it is even impossible to provide the lists with any intellectual background at all because of the total lack of references or of any other circumstantial evidence. The examples I have chosen to present here, however, are unrepresentative in that they can indeed be supplied with such a background and can be fitted into a story.

Manuscripts have always been a coveted possession, and they still are. They were and are eagerly collected and jealously kept. Because of the relatively high literacy of Muslims, Arabic manuscript texts were, until the beginning of this century, produced in great numbers and were hardly ever out of supply. Specific titles may have become rare or unavailable, or were even lost forever, but generally speaking, it can be maintained that Arabic manuscripts were always abundantly produced and that they were available wherever they were needed and used. Handling them involved not only the acts of buying and selling, teaching and copying, but also that of passing them down to the next generation through inheritance, or by immobilizing them by making them part of a pious foundation or scholarly institution. The lists which I propose to discuss here illustrate some of the vicissitudes of transfer of Arabic manuscripts in a number of areas and periods, and, by implication, are relevant to the history of the transmission of texts as well. At the end of my survey I will make a general observation on this rather neglected genre: notes of a bibliographical nature, but first I will describe the lists which I have selected in order to give an idea of what sort of material falls into this category.

2. AL-ṬĀLIB AḤMAD'S TRAVELOGUE

When the Mauritanian *faqīh* from Tīšīt, al-Ṭālib Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Ibn Uṭṭayr al-Ġanna ('Ahmad, son of Little Bird of Paradise'), went to the East for the *ḥaġġ*, he took his time. His journey was to last

more than five years, from 1829 till 1834. His pilgrimage was not the hurried affair which it is nowadays, but was, as for other scholars in the Maghrib, in many ways comparable with the *grand tour* of European intellectuals: scholars in foreign countries were visited for their learning and books, and holy places, usually graves of holy men, were visited for their *baraka*, their power of blessing. Books are a recurrent theme in al-Ṭālib Aḥmad's *Riḥlat al-Munā wa-al-Minna*¹. Already on his way East, his passing through the Strait of Gibraltar and seeing the shores of the Iberian peninsula from a distance, gives the author the opportunity to mention collections of manuscripts in al-Andalus, more specifically in Madrid and Cordoba. 'These collections are still there,' he says, 'and not one book has been lost from them all that time [that is, since 1492, JJW], because the Christians kept those libraries well (...). No Muslim who visits those libraries and wishes to read the books is hindered by them. He can enter whenever he wishes to do so, and read whatever he likes, but he is not allowed to take the book outside the building.' Al-Ṭālib Aḥmad also mentions a group of readers of these Arabic books who is believed to be made up of a sort of crypto-Muslims, living amongst the Christians. That part of the story could be a distant echo of the Moriscos, or al-Ṭālib Aḥmad's informant might have heard of Spanish Arabists². When he visited Tunis several years later, now on his way back from the East, al-Ṭālib Aḥmad mentions how he received books from Tunisian scholars. 'From the people in Tunis we received much affability and numerous benefactions in the shape of books and other objects. Sayyid 'Allāl Rabīb [who was the chief-muftī of the Ḥanafīyya in Tunis] gave us more than sixty books, without any particular reason and without our having asked for them.' Among these books is a beautiful Qur'ān and an exquisite copy of al-Ġazūlī's prayer-book *Dalā'il al-Ḳayrāt*. Also two volumes of al-Qaṣṭallānī's commentary on al-Buḳārī's canonical collection of traditions and a commentary on the *Ḥikam*, the mystical maxims of Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, were presented on that occasion. All of the books were rebound for that occasion. Al-Ṭālib Aḥmad's bibliophily is recognized and rewarded by the Tunisians, and eventually he departs with more than one hundred books that were given to him. The brother-in-law of the Bey of Tunis presented al-Ṭālib Aḥmad with fourteen books, and a certain Sayyid Muḥammad b. Salāma gave him seven volumes as a welcome present when al-Ṭālib Aḥmad accepted his invitation to share his meal. This host is particularly gratefully remembered, as among those volumes was a copy of the *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī. On the same occasion a copy of al-Ša'rānī's biographical dictionary of holy men changed hands, and al-Ṭālib Aḥmad's travel companion received a volume of al-Buḳārī's canonical work on Muslim tradition (see figure 1). These were, one may assume, not simply gifts of

charity, but were probably offered for a purpose. What the Tunisians were expecting to gain or did in fact receive in return is not clear from the text. Then, too, there was no such thing as a free lunch. I have already proposed that an analysis of al-Ṭālib Aḥmad's *ḥaġġ* could be more fruitful if put in the perspective of a *ṭarīqa*- or *zāwiya*-network³ and also within the context of Mauritania's history.

That others, too, observed the bibliophily of the Mauritians is clear from an account in the *Gibraltar Chronicle* of 14 January 1833 in which their visit earlier that month is described: 'Sidi Ahmed is of small stature, has a good humoured expression of countenance with much acuteness and intelligence, reads much, and has brought 400 volumes from the sacred city of the Prophet.'⁴ If the information in the *Gibraltar Chronicle* is correct, the lists in al-Ṭālib Aḥmad's travelogue contain only a small portion of all the books he acquired. One only wonders what has become of all those volumes after the *ḥaġġīs* returned home and how they have been used. Even if one accepts the fact that many texts were already available in the cultural and scholarly centres of Northern Mauritania, the influx of so many new manuscripts as a result of al-Ṭālib Aḥmad's collecting activities must have been considerable. More detailed information on the effects of this influx is simply not available⁵, but it is certain that a sizeable collection of important Arabic works was acquired in the East and in Tunis and was brought back to Wādān (where al-Ṭālib Aḥmad lived and died after his pilgrimage, and where he is now buried). The occasional enumerations of titles in al-Ṭālib Aḥmad's travelogue give at least some idea which books were then available, thought to be of interest and were brought home by him⁶.

3. JACOBUS GOLIUS' BOOKLISTS

The many-sided and versatile Dutch scholar Jacobus Golius (1596-1667) was from 1625 till his death Professor of Arabic at the University of Leiden. At the same time he occupied the chair of mathematics. He has acquired lasting fame through his Arabic-Latin dictionary, published in 1653 by the publishing house of Elsevier in Leiden and only superseded in the course of the 19th century, and by the two important collections of manuscripts he brought together⁷. Golius had traveled in different capacities in several Islamic countries, first from 1622-1624 in Morocco as an engineer, and then to the Levant where he was sent by the University of Leiden to expand the University library's holdings with a significant purchase of manuscripts. From 1625-1627 he was in Syria with the Aleppo consulate as his home base, and from 1627-1629 he stayed in Istanbul, where he also acted as secretary to the first Dutch ambassador to the Sublime Porte, Cornelis Haga. He acquitted himself of his task by purchasing close to two hundred manuscripts for

ويرى ذلك الراتب النور في الحجاب فكلاهما من الله ان طار ذلك الحجاب جامع الترتيب
 وكذا صومعة ذلك الدرس الذي كان يحضر فيه ذلك الراتب فطارت من رسة تونس موضع
 العلم الكثير وموال النور المتفرغ ذكره وقال في شيخنا اهل رسة النصارى يرون كثيرا هو
 اربعة عادات استمررا جدا ووجها ما مثل تونس محبة محفمة وخيرات كثير من انواع الكتب
 والاموال وفرا يمكننا سير علالا ريبا اكثر من ستر كتابا في وقت بلا سببا ولا كلب وذلك بحر
 ارسل اليه مع كتابه الحاج حمود فالعلاء موريا الكتاب فلتاه وا محمدا بل لا يسهل احب اليه
 من هذا مفعال كم ثوب وقت ما لا يضره مفعال ان لا يضره شيء فبعث عمر الكثر من ستر كتابا
 ونعم الرجل سير علالا يقول في الاثر في ذلك الدنيا الملائمة في ذلك الاثر في ذلك الاثر في ذلك الاثر
 ولبس مملو صهر من تونس اعطاه اربعة عشر كتابا وسير محمد بن سلامة سبعة وما
 نفسه في الرعاء ايضا وسيد الخايف فودتيا في ستر لا تحمر الا بالمتن محروثا يوم
 جماعة فيها الحاج حمود مفعال في يوان اهل الكيف عندنا اه حثت الي داره واستركت
 مع الكعاط وبعثه له مفعال له نع فيمنه في دار الاضياف التي ان لنا في سلكه تونس
 اذ بعثنا بخله وافنار افركت البخله وسار رسوله بلغنا فدا منا انا وسير محمد القا
 بن علماء خلتنا الدار فدم لنا كعاطا نفيسا واستركت في رمة علماء انقض الكعاط فاع
 الي بيت الكتاب وجاءنا يوروا اهل الكيف وجزء من كنفات الشرايف واعلم سير محمد
 الصابير جزاء البخاري واعلم سير علالا مصعبا محمدا وذلك الخيرات محمدا واد
 نفس الشيخ يرم ومونا سرفعة الجمعية اذ بعث اليه فن لعلان بل في الي بعثني مع
 اعلمه سياتر الكتاب ويعلم علماء انقض الكعاط فاد في ولد مفعال الشيخ يرم مس
 الفسكلان في رجمها اليه ونزلنا ان ستر واعلم ان ايضا الفكراني شرح حرم عكار
 الله فيعرا اعلم في ستر في تسعير حيرا وبل الجملة محمدا من الكتب الكثر من ستر

Fig. 1. Al-Ṭālib Aḥmad's enumeration of the manuscripts he was presented with by his Tunisian friends. MS Leiden, Or. 14.050, f. 50a.

the University library, and, at the same time, acquired a much greater number for his private collection. The former is still kept in Leiden, the latter is now dispersed. The greater part of it is preserved in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, and a few single items have ended up in Hamburg, Paris and possibly other places, or have remained in Dutch collections. Manuscripts which Golius could not purchase, e.g. when the owners did not wish to part with them, he had copied. When he returned to Holland he brought back with him what was, at the time, one of the most important collections of Islamic manuscripts available for European scholarship.

It is obvious that he must have had many dealings with Levantine scholars, princes and officials owning manuscript collections and, of course, with booksellers, especially those in Istanbul, the dazzling metropolis of the Ottoman Empire to where the spoils from the conquered territories were brought in a steady stream. One of the spin-offs of the rich scholarly and cultural life of *Istanbul* must have been an antiquarian booktrade of stunning proportions.

Next to nothing is known about Golius' travels in the Orient. He does not seem to have written a travelogue or kept a diary, although he must at least have made some notes. But even those were not among his private papers when they were auctioned. This is one important difference between al-Ṭālib Aḥmad — who wrote a captivating travelogue — and Jacobus Golius. The other is that there is an abundance of information available on the influence of Golius' collections on European scholarship, whereas similar information is almost entirely absent in the Mauritanian case, or at least hard to get by.

The influence which the presence of such a unique collection of Islamic texts exerted on European scholars from the 17th century onwards can be seen from the numerous philological activities based on these manuscripts, resulting in the publication of dictionaries, grammars, studies on general Semitic linguistics, editions of texts, and, more generally speaking, in a deeper appreciation of Middle Eastern culture. The reader can see for himself how important it was for European scholarship to have such materials available when he takes a look at the chronological list at the end of de Schnurrer's *Bibliotheca Arabica*⁸. Of course, the progress of Arabic scholarship in the whole of Europe was not achieved by Golius' collecting efforts alone, but his University collection, which was publicly available from 1630 onwards, was in fact one of the first, and set the pace for other institutions.

In a few of Golius' manuscripts one can still find traces of his dealings with booksellers. Interestingly enough, many still bear the prices Golius paid on their title-pages, but to this study it is particularly relevant that a few volumes also contain short lists of books, usually just containing an indication of author, title and number of volumes, which were written on fly-

leaves or blank pages of a manuscript. The works mentioned in those lists were apparently offered to Golius for sale and he sometimes did buy them, as can be seen from the following example.

One of the books purchased by Golius was a copy of al-Ġazarī's 'Automata', *Fī Ma'rīfat al-Ḥiyāl al-Handasiyya*⁹. With the numerous other works of scientific content in Golius' collections it reflects his interest in the exact sciences. On the fly-leaf at the end of the manuscript (f. 178a) containing al-Ġazarī's text on automata, is added in a recent hand a list of book titles with a heading *Tafṣīl al-Kutub*, 'enumeration of the books'. The fifth title, the last one on the first line, is of immediate interest. It concerns the *Masā'il* of al-Qaṣrānī, a large work of astrological content which is quite rare (see figure 2). Golius eventually did buy the manuscript, although not on behalf of the Leiden library. He took it for himself and kept it at home. Only after his death, in 1667, did it become clear that he had purchased many more manuscripts than the 211 volumes described in the Leiden library catalogues from 1630 onwards. Almost double that number, completely unknown to European scholarship, surfaced in 1667 and were auctioned off by Golius' children in 1696, after a bitter court case between them about the possession of their father's estate. The first text mentioned on the first page of the auction catalogue of 1696, lists that very same work, al-Qaṣrānī's *Masā'il*, that had been offered for sale to Golius about seventy years earlier¹⁰. This makes it likely that the list in the automata MS was made for Golius by an Istanbul bookseller, and one can assume that the *Masā'il al-Qaṣrānī* which was auctioned in 1696, and which is now kept in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, is identical to the book whose title is found on the list in the automata MS¹¹. Several other titles in this list, succinct and defective as they are, may be identified as manuscripts which ended up in either of Golius' collections. It shows the relevance of the information contained in inconspicuously looking lists of books hidden, in the case of the Leiden manuscript, somewhere at the end of a volume.

4. IĠĀZĀT AND AUTOBIBLIOGRAPHY

The *iġāza* in Muslim scholarship is a declaration by an author or teacher given to a pupil, or any other reader or hearer, by which the former grants the latter the right to transmit or teach a certain text, or number of texts. One often finds these documents, or copies thereof, added to the text, or on the title-page preceding the text for which this authorisation is granted. Sometimes they consist of only a few lines, but they may be quite elaborate as well. They may be combined with readers' certificates and, along with other information about the chain of transmission of a text, they are a recurrent feature in Arabic manuscripts. To add such information to a text is an old practice, which has remained in use for a number of centuries.

تفصیل کتاب

کتاب ۱۲ جلد نام طایف جوهری جلد مفرد ابی سطر الجلد شرح قدوی جلد مسایل نصرانی جلد
 شروع جوینی جلد افندیس بخاری جلد حیدری موسی الجلد صور صوفی جلد سیرت نبوی جلد
 ترکی هفت سکر جلد مطهر جلد فضول نفی جلد متن مجمع جلد سر مکتم جلد
 منطقی الطبر جلد فصوص الحکم جلد شرح خطیب البیان جلد دوح اغانی جلد قرانات ابو العشر
 کتاب مجموع ملبع شرح زین شاهل بارع طالب مولود سر اهرار مبادی و اخبار جلد
 کتاب رمل مدظکر کوشیار شرح بطلمیوس شرح سفند جنک من ایاب و الوقف وغیرهم
 زین شاهل رساله صغریا رساله الاحکام ملهم البیاض رساله الاحکام کهنه
 حاشیه تجرید شرح تجرید سید علی طالع جنک من الویتا اسکندریه حاشیه کوبک استیعاب
 جنک من رساله الاسطرلاب حدایح السحر جنک من رساله البریم کهنه نقیوم مجلد طوقه مردن اجزاء

Fig. 2. A Turkish bookseller's list, *Tafṣīl al-Kutub*, probably made for Jacobus Golius sometime between 1627 and 1629. The fifth title is *Masā'il al-Qaṣrānī*, which was apparently purchased by Golius between 1627 and 1629 and which only surfaced in the auction of his estate which was held in 1696. MS Leiden, Or. 117, f. 178a.

The word *iğāza* is sometimes translated as 'diploma conferring the right to teach', but that translation is somewhat misleading as it seems to imply that it concerns a separate document. That is not always the case, and certainly not in the older period. There does not exist a large corpus of *iğāza* texts nor has much systematical attention been given to this subject¹². Certainly, the attention that has been given to this subject does not make it feasible to try to describe and date the various stages in the development of this phenomenon and to document its extremely diverse appearances, let alone to propound a complete and detailed typology of the *iğāza*.

Here, attention will be given to a special type of *iğāza* which may be characterised as the autobiographical type.

The *iğāza* is often encountered as a sort of appendix to a text in which the status of the transmitter(s) of that text is confirmed. For the present-day scholar it provides information on the use and proliferation of a certain text since, because details are provided on the author and his audience, it offers insight into the educational circumstances in which a text functioned. The fact that the *iğāza* is added to a text serves an obvious purpose. The manuscript on which such a declaration by the author himself, or by a declared pupil of his, is written — be it in autograph or as a later copy — is, of course, significantly more authoritative than a manuscript which lacks such an addition.

The *iğāza* may also convey an extended or multiple authorisation. When there exists a bond of friendship or trust between an author/teacher and his pupil (and in the view of the Muslim educationalists of the classical period this should, in fact, always be the case) the authorisation may be given, as can be seen from the following example, not only for the text in question, but for other texts by the same author as well, even if it is likely that those texts have never been read between the author and his pupil. In such cases the *iğāza* may grow into a list of books, which thereby attains the value of an author's autobiographical bibliography. Such an *iğāza* can be the earliest survey of the works of a particular author, and not seldom does it contain titles which have not survived and which are not known from other sources¹³.

By way of example of such an autobiographical notice I would like to draw attention to the works of the Egyptian ophthalmologist and encyclopedian Ibn al-Akfānī (died 749/1348)¹⁴. Our knowledge of his scholarly output would have been much more limited had we not possessed an autobiographical *iğāza* issued by the author, whose survival is, however, precarious. Only the text of a second-generation copy of that *iğāza* is preserved in a single manuscript of Ibn al-Akfānī's encyclopedia *Iršād al-Qāsid ilā Asnā al-Maqāsid*. The original manuscript does not seem to be available anymore. It was kept in the Dār al-Ḳaṭīb, a private library in Old-Jerusalem which reportedly was

dispersed by its owners after the Israeli occupation of the town in 1967. Luckily, a microfilm of the manuscript was made before 1967 on behalf of the Manuscript Institute of the Arab League in Cairo and it is by that fragile thread of transmission that we still possess the contents of the manuscript and the text of the *iğāza*. On ff. 57b-58a of the Jerusalem manuscript, immediately following the colophon, it is stated that the original manuscript, the present manuscript's oldest exemplar, contained a collation note (*muqābala*), a reader's certificate (*qirā'a*) with the author, and an *iğāza* written by the author himself and conferred to someone (*li-šaḳs*) for all of the author's works (see figure 3). The texts of those three notes are not given in the Jerusalem manuscript, but there does follow a list of twenty-one works by Ibn al-Akfānī for which the *iğāza* is validated¹⁵. This autobiographical notice supplements the information on the author's works which is known from the biographical literature and from the modern catalogues of manuscript collections. In the case of Ibn al-Akfānī's works, however, it is not the oldest available bibliographical information since Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī, his younger contemporary and friend, included him in three of his biographical works. Though it is not the oldest bibliographical information, the *iğāza* in the Jerusalem manuscript does constitute the most complete single list of works by the author, and for a number of Ibn al-Akfānī's works it is the only mention by which they are now known.

With regard to this quite exhaustive list one may doubt whether all twenty-one works were indeed read to their author before the *iğāza* was issued. It seems improbable. As already said, in a relation of trust and friendship between teacher and pupil, it must have happened quite often that authorisation for the transmission of a text was given for more works than those actually read with the author. Ibn al-Akfānī seems to have become at a certain stage of his career a sort of society scholar. He is known to have issued other multiple, though more limited, *iğāzāt*. The massive authorisation of such an enormously varied nature as that mentioned in the Jerusalem manuscript may have been a social event falling entirely outside the scope of the traditional practices of the scholarly transmission of texts. It is in any case clear that Ibn al-Akfānī had a reference library of his own works for which he issued multiple *iğāzāt*. The list surviving in the Jerusalem manuscript illustrates this practice. Because of lack of further biographical corroboration, Ibn al-Akfānī's case is not more fully documented and adding to it here would be merely speculative. Recognition and analysis of other analogous autobiographical *iğāzāt*, together with a maximum of reference to their educational and social contexts, are needed for a better understanding of this rarely documented genre of lists of book-titles.

In the cases of al-Ṭālib Aḥmad and Jacobus Golius,

the booklists illustrate the physical transfer of manuscripts at some stage in their existence. In Ibn al-Akfānī's case, not the books themselves were moved from one place to another, but authorisations for teaching and further transmission were issued by him. The unusually comprehensive way in which this took place, as shown by the *iğāza* in the Jerusalem manuscript, is extraordinary. In all three cases the additional knowledge of the historical and social circumstances gleaned from the lists adds to our appreciation of the function of books in the manuscript age. Lists of books are our concrete lead in this respect.

5. THE LIBRARY OF ŠAYKĀ KĀLID AL-NAQŠBANDĪ¹⁶

When the founder of the Kālidiyya branch of the Naqšbandiyya order, šayk Kālīd al-Šahrazūrī, died of the plague in Damascus in 1242/1827, he left behind a sizeable collection of books. An inventory of that collection has been preserved, though the collection itself seems to have been dispersed. That an inventory was preserved at all was due to the fact that the collection had become the object of a court case between two of the deceased šayk's female descendants. The core of the dispute was whether or not a *waqf*-note found on the fly-leaf of one of the šayk's books, in which the management of the library *waqf* was regulated, was legally valid. For the purpose of the lawsuit, of course, it was necessary for the disputed library to be described. Its inventory lists 959 items: 1175 volumes containing 872 different titles¹⁷. Care was taken to describe the size of the volumes, an additional means of identification. In the end, the *waqfiyya* concerning the library was considered legally valid, and the library could continue to exist as such. Not that this, in the long run, made any difference. The library must have ceased to exist soon afterwards, as did the Kālidiyya branch of the Naqšbandiyya order, which fragmented within a short period after its founder's demise. In later literature there does not seem to be any manuscript or cluster of manuscripts mentioned or identified as having originated from šayk Kālīd's collection, although it could be maintained that such a large number of books must somehow have left its trace in manuscript collections in Syria or in Naqšbandiyya-connected collections elsewhere.

The contents of the library are interesting and occasionally even exciting. In my commentary on the edition of the inventory, I have already pointed out the occurrence of a copy of al-Buḥturī's *Hamāsa*, of which at present only the Leiden manuscript, which is not identical to šayk Kālīd's copy, is known¹⁸. But more interesting than single items, notwithstanding their importance, is the general picture one gets from the inventory of this book collection. It enables us, now, to have a look at the cultural archive that was at the disposal of the Naqšbandiyya-Muğaddidiyya

order in Damascus about two centuries ago. One notices the diversity of the holdings, most sciences being represented in varying degrees. Not surprisingly, the works on *taṣawwuf* constitute the largest single section with all major works — also a number of Persian ones¹⁹ — represented; in general, the religious sciences are clearly in the majority. It should be borne in mind that the exact sciences, in addition to being important for their own sake, were considered to serve a practical religious purpose. Astronomy, e.g., was useful for finding the orientation for prayer and establishing time and the calendar, arithmetic was indispensable as a tool for calculating the distributive shares in an estate — to name but two obvious examples of the application of exact sciences in the field of religious observances.

In numbers, too, the collection is formidable. Although manuscripts were never really a scarce commodity in Islamic history²⁰, even then, the numbers are impressive: almost 1200 volumes containing 872 different titles. In historical descriptions of the size of ancient libraries, we are given either an idea of the quality of a certain collection when just a few titles of the most outstanding works are mentioned, or we are impressed by the mention of unbelievably enormous numbers of manuscripts which are reported to have constituted a certain collection, but in general not much is known. The fact that the manuscripts of šayk Kālīd were properly inventoried makes it possible to assess their importance both quantitatively and qualitatively²¹. It is, in fact, very much an average collection, which illustrates well its public function. The impression of the intellectual storehouse which we gain from the inventory gives an extra dimension to the information we already possess from šayk Kālīd's letters about his thought and teachings²².

The formal difference between the list of books in the estate of šayk Kālīd and the other lists previously described in this article is evident. The list of šayk Kālīd's books was made purposefully and has the appearance of an ordinary register in book-form, whereas the lists by al-Ṭālib Aḥmad, the ones made for Jacobus Golius and the autobiographical originating from Ibn al-Akfānī are all of a rather casual nature, hidden as they are inside a travelogue, on a fly-leaf or tucked away behind a text²³. Although the Naqšbandiyya collection itself has apparently been dispersed, most texts mentioned in the inventory of šayk Kālīd's are known, and the scattering of the collection does not, therefore, entirely prevent us from knowing what sort of books the Naqšbandīs in Damascus had in their library.

6. LISTS FROM MEDINA

There are, of course, more lists of manuscripts that were made for an express purpose. In fact, throughout history scholars and librarians have been making all

وذكر المصنف بعد ذلك خاتمة تشمل على تريف
 الفاظ وقعت في الحجاب وهي العلم والجد والرسم والكلمات
 الحجة النوع والجنس والفصل والخاصة والعرض العام
 والمقول منه العنبر الكوه والروض وامراضه المسفة
 الكيم والكيف والاضايم والابن والمتى والوضع والملوك
 وان يفعل وان تفعل فخذ فتعوارها من هنا للاختصار
 من ارادكم فعليه كتب المنطق والحكمة الطبيعية بانها مشحونة
 بذلك واعلم ان جملة العلوم قبل التفصيل
 المذكور في هذه الرسالة ستون علما منها عشرة اصلية
 سبعة نظرية وهي المنطق والطبيع والرياض وملكته
 عملية وهي السياسة والارطلاق وتدير المنزل ووسيلة
 في جملة العلوم اربعة مصنف وفي المقدمة نحو عشر مصنفين
 والله الموفق للصواب ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي
 العظيم اجمع الفراغ من نسخة يوم الخميس المبارك
 بالذمة شهر رجب الفرد سنة ثمان مائة وثمانين
 بمسوا الحروسه بظاهرها ما رض المرز من نسخة فلها من نسخة مكتون

عليها

عليها بالمعالم والقرائة على المصنف وعليها خط
 المصنف بالاجازة لخصية جمع مصنفاته وهذا
 هديت كت مصنفه لمصنفه كذا الرسالة
 كتاب تحفة المحييا علم الطب متوسط وكتاب
 الحلاصه في الطب مختصر وكتاب كذا الزينة احوال
 العيون متوسط ومختصره وكتاب نهانه القصد في صناعت
 الفلذ متوسط وكتاب بغية الناخذ السابرة اخصا
 المسايك وكتاب في علم النبى مختصر شرح على حصول
 بقراط متوسط فبايه التيسير في ماعده علم النفس كذا
 ارتداد الفاصد الى اسنة المتماجد رز ماسم العلوم كتاب
 اكمال السياسة في علم الفرائض وكتاب بالخص الاطاب
 في علم الاسطرلاب التحلن على كشف الحكما بقى للابهرى
 مختصر الاربعين للامام في الدين كتاب غنية اللبيب عند
 عشر الطبيب كتاب روضة الالباب في اشارة الالجاب
 كتاب كفاية الحجاب في علم الحجاب منتخب الذخائر
 في علوم الجواهر الانوار في ما يخص الاذكار ورسالة في الوصايا
 الملوكية واداب محبتها نخبة الطابور في التفسير
 اربعة اسفار وهذه المصنفات قلته ايضا من قلمه

Fig. 3. Ibn al-Akfānī's autobiographical *iğāza*. Second-generation copy from 13 Rağab 788/1386. MS formerly Jerusalem, Dār al-Ḳaṭīb, ff. 57b-58a. Film in Leiden University Library: A 881.

sorts of smaller lists of titles of books, be it bibliographies or inventories, or both at the same time. *Ṣayk* Kālid's manuscripts were registered because of an impending lawsuit, but usually the circumstances under which lists of books were made were less controversial. The lists in question served their obvious and primary purpose as sources of bibliographical information. Many such lists are preserved, but as they are often inconspicuously produced registers or exercise-books without an obvious title, they are not always given the attention they deserve. The fact that the works mentioned in these lists are often thought to be no longer available, or that the institutions in which they used to be preserved often no longer exist does not particularly encourage further research. With a combination of perseverance and good luck, however, it is sometimes possible to look straight through the pages of such book-lists, get an idea of the old collections they describe, learn something of the circumstances under which they were made and, occasionally, unearth a few of the texts that are mentioned.

In the following, lists of two different origins will be mentioned: a pair of lists from Medina, and a short list from Southern Algeria. Their common denominator is that they were both ordered for a scholarly purpose. The difference between them is that the works mentioned in the lists from Medina are occasionally found again, in contrast to the works mentioned in the Algerian list.

It cannot be maintained that the two holy cities of Islam, Mecca and Medina, contained many famous repositories for manuscripts. In any case, this is not borne out by catalogues of such collections. It is true that the two cities attract an ever increasing number of visitors, also in months other than that of the yearly pilgrimage. Many go to Mecca for the *'umra* and numerous visitors make an additional visit to Medina, but this seems to be mainly a pious affair and does not necessarily involve the collecting of books or the search for learning in the academic sense. Both cities in the course of history have had their libraries and institutions of learning (and still have), but these were usually small in number, modest in size and often quite recent of date. Would it be too far-fetched to maintain that a dichotomy between the emotional importance of Mecca and Medina for Muslims, and their scholarly importance can be observed? In Islamic history, scholarly preponderance has, for whatever reason, always been preserved for the cities where political authority was established, Damascus, Baghdad, Cairo, Istanbul — followed by a great number of provincial centres. The two holy cities of Islam belong in the present context to the latter category. Although the role of Mecca and Medina as a transfer point for the exchange of ideas and ideologies cannot be underestimated, they have somehow never attained the status enjoyed by the capital cities where famous universities were founded, great libraries were established

and where manuscripts were copied and amassed in growing quantities.

Nevertheless, there were, and probably always have been, educational establishments and libraries, both private and public, in Mecca and Medina²⁴. A glimpse of this can be caught from two lists that were made in Medina earlier in this century and that are now preserved in the library of the University of Leiden. They were made at the request of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), who at the beginning of his astonishing career, in 1885, had performed the *'umra* himself. To this visit we owe the first, and what also seems to be the last, scholarly monograph on Mecca²⁵. Snouck Hurgronje was obliged to leave Mecca, and the Ḥiǧāz, under rather unfavourable circumstances and he never had the opportunity to visit Medina, nor to make a second visit to Mecca for that matter. He maintained contact with some of his informants in Mecca, at least for some years after his departure. Some of his informants were the Meccans he had come to know in the course of 1885, such as the physician 'Abd al-Ġaffār, whom Snouck Hurgronje taught to photograph, and who himself is prominently present in Snouck Hurgronje's photographs and whose personal belongings seem to have found their way into Snouck Hurgronje's ethnographical collection²⁶. Other informants are members of the Indonesian community in Mecca, the Ġāwa. This group is the object of a detailed description in the second volume of Snouck Hurgronje's work on Mecca²⁷.

Quite a while later, in about 1906, Snouck Hurgronje requested *ṣayk* Tāǧ al-Dīn (spelt in the Dutch-Indian context as Tadjoeddin), an Indonesian resident of Mecca and an employee of the Dutch consulate in Jeddah, to visit Medina and conduct bibliographical research there. Some aspects of that research have been treated by me in another place, and I would like to limit myself here to the more technical points of the two Medinan booklists which were the result of Snouck Hurgronje's request²⁸. Both are part of the Snouck Hurgronje bequest which was received in 1936 by the University of Leiden and which now forms part of the Oriental collections of the University Library.

MS Or. 7128 is the inventory which *ṣayk* Tāǧ al-Dīn made in 1907 of the holdings of al-Madrasa al-Maḥmūdiyya in Medina. It is an unbound *safīna*-shaped note-book in three quires, made of European paper with watermarks: a niche; two crescents with star on both sides of a double circle; letters *B N A*. It measures 22 × 17.5 cm. It consists of a title-page, 49 pages of text and 6 blank pages. On the cover is a label with Arabic text by the compiler: 'This is the sheaf with the names of the books made in the year 1325.' Snouck Hurgronje has written on the same label that he received this list from Tadjoeddin from Mecca on 16 May 1907. On p. 1 the compiler writes, in Arabic: '(...) This is the highly useful register in which are

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وب يسر وأمن الكريم
 الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلوة والسلام على أشرف المرسلين
 سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه أجمعين وبعد فهذه دفتر مبارك
 عظيم النفع والفايدة استأثر الله تعالى في فهرست أسماء
 الكتب الكائنة الموجودة بالمدينة المنورة على منشر فيها
 الصلاة والسلام في المدرسة المحمدية بها بقرب باب السلام
 أحد أبواب المسجد النبوي نقلته منها وتصرفت في ذلك
 بحذف المكرر وما كان بخير اللسان العربي ولم أذكر
 شهرة الكتاب والرقم الذي عليه لأنه لم يحجر الدفتر هنا
 على ما ينبغي بل هو مختلط غير منقح إلا مع مزيد التأمل
 والحقاق الكتاب بما يتبعه مما تمتته وكثروا وحواشيته
 فقد بذلت الجهد في ذلك والحقت كل كتاب بما يتعلق به غالباً
 إلا ما شذ من ذلك وذكرت عدد مجلداته وذكرت مرة ما
 كان مجهولاً هناك بعد الاطلاع عليه حسب الأمانة ولا شك
 أن ذلك من الأمانة على نشر العلم استأثر الله جعلنا الله من أهله العالمين
 وأخلص لنا النية قيم وبالله المستعين مؤسلاً بنيه الأئمة
 علم التفسير

Fig. 4. *Šayḡ* Tāḡ al-Dīn's introduction to his inventory of the library of al-Madrasa al-Maḥmūdiyya in Medina. MS Leiden, Or. 7128, p. 1.

mentioned the names of the books that are found in al-Madīna al-Munawwara, in al-Madrasa al-Maḥmūdiyya there, which is near the Bāb al-Salām, one of the gates of the mosque of the Prophet. I have taken this down from there, and I have skipped what was repetitive in it or what was not in Arabic. I do not mention the numbers of the books because the register there is not made as it should be. It is rather confused and one cannot revise it except with a lot of reflection, and by joining the supplements, commentaries and super-commentaries to the original works. I started to do

this, joining them to each book, unless it was really too difficult. I have wherever possible mentioned the number of volumes, and the number of what was unknown there after I had studied the inventory. It is undoubtedly a help for the diffusion of knowledge (...)' (see figure 4). On p. 49 is a short epilogue by the compiler in Arabic: 'This is the end of what was found (...) in al-Madrasa al-Maḥmūdiyya, except for the leaves on which mention is made of the convolute manuscripts. These are not properly written and we will conduct a further investigation into this matter

(...) and add our findings to this list. We have also written (...) a draft copy with some titles of books in the great library of the *Šayḵ al-Islām* 'Ārif Hikmet, and when we return to Medina (...) we will transcribe a fair copy of what is possible, and send it to you.' In the Leiden library is preserved a typewritten transcript of this inventory (Or. 6959) made by the curator at that time, C. van Arendonk (1881-1946)²⁹. The transcript lists some 1241 titles, in many more volumes. The inventory is classified according to the contents of the manuscripts, probably as the books were arranged on the shelves. The subject headings in the inventory are as follows: *tafsīr*, *'ilm al-qirā'āt wa-al-taġwīd*, *hadīṭ*, *kutub uṣūl al-ḥadīṭ wa-kutub al-'ilal wa-asmā' al-rigāl*, *fann al-taṣawwuf*, *al-aḥzāb wa-al-awrād wa-al-adkār wa-al-ṣalawāt*, *kutub al-fiqh al-šāfi'i*, *kutub fiqh al-Ḥanafīyya*, *al-'aqā'id al-ḥanafīyya wa-ma'ahā ġayruḥā*, *uṣūl fiqh al-Ḥanafīyya wa-ġayruḥā*, *uṣūl fiqh al-Šāfi'iyya*, *al-fiqh al-mālikī*, *fiqh al-Ḥanābila*, *al-'aqā'id al-ḥanbaliyya*, *'ilm al-farā'id*, *'ilm al-naḥw ma'a al-ṣarf wa-al-ma'ānī wa-al-bayān*, *'ilm al-tarīḳ*. It is very much a collection of the Islamic sciences, with a special accent on works from the ḥanafī *madhab*. Though in size even larger than the collection of *šayḵ Kālid al-Šahrazūrī*, it is evidently much less universal in composition than the library of the Naqšbandiyya in Damascus.

MS Or. 7069 is the list promised in the note at the end of Or. 7128. It is a cashbook measuring 16.5 × 10.5 cm in one quire. It contains 35 folios with text followed by 15 blank folios. On the title-page is written in ink the name of the compiler, *al-šayḵ Ġamāl Tāġ*, by whom Tāġ al-Dīn must have been meant. It was received by Snouck Hurgronje in May 1911, as is clear from a note written by him in pencil on the title-page. The list contains information on books found in al-Madrasa al-Maḥmūdiyya and the 'Ārif Hikmet Library in Medina. The titles in both lists are given in much the same way as in the inventory of *šayḵ Kālid*'s book, i.e., small blocks of texts of often a somewhat conical shape, usually only containing one or two words per line and written in two, occasionally three columns per page. The descriptions are very basic, hardly ever more than the title and the name of the author. In a few instances the description contains extra elements of information, such as that the manuscript in question is an autograph (*bi-kaṭṭih*), that it consists of a number of volumes, or that a certain text has been published in print (*tubi'a*). On each page of the list there is an average of ten titles, which makes a total of around 700 titles.

7. A LIST FROM THE SAHARA

In the collection of manuscripts of René Basset (1855-1924) which is now kept in the Leiden University library³⁰, there are many materials which originate from Southern Algeria, from Ouargla or from

other places. Basset lived from 1880 till his death in Algiers, made a number of scholarly trips to unexplored territories and, in a general way, collected materials on the history of the Maghreb. The bibliography of his scholarly work in the *Mélanges René Basset*³¹ convincingly bears witness to this. In this Basset collection there are several texts of historical and genealogical content, several of which were made at the request of Frenchmen: colonial civil servants or scholars. Alfred Le Chatelier, one of Basset's sources and himself the author of a number of works on the tribal history of the Maghreb and Islam in West Africa, is mentioned in several of the manuscripts as the person by whom the manuscripts were commissioned. There are some texts from the Ibādiyya from the Mzab, and there are several genealogies or surveys of tribal history (Or. 14.012-14.021). In Basset's scholarly notes there is a considerable number of loose papers (Or. 14.048 D) of a most varied nature³².

One of these papers is a short list of books (Or. 14.048 D 97, see figure 5). The list dates from the 1880's and possibly originates from Southern Algeria, as so many materials in Basset's collection do. It is a simple piece of paper, measuring 20 × 15 cm, with text on one side only. The title, *Ġarīdat Asmā' al-Kutub*, translates as: 'List of the names of the books.' In all, 18 titles are given. Arabic is written in an inexpert orthography mixed with elements of the spoken language. See, e.g., in the title, line 2 *kutūb*, in line 3 *tarīkuh* (repeated in line 7), also in line 3 *bi-tarīkihim*. Remark also upon the use of the numeral two, *zūġ* (or rather *zūž*, in lines 3 and 14). Several of the manuscripts are dated: 1244, 1258, 1236; from others it is said in the list that they are undated (*bilā tarīḳ*), while some are said to be old (*qadīm*). The list actually consists of two parts: first the textbooks, and then the Qur'āns are enumerated. Line 14 mentions three manuscript Qur'āns and two printed copies (*istamba*, apparently from the Italian *stampa* or its plural *stampe*). Several other Saharan libraries of that period or slightly later were known to contain printed books, both those produced for the Egyptian market and the lithographs printed in Fes³³. Then come several incomplete sets of the Qur'ān. The last two lines mention Qur'ān copies executed in parts (*mufarraḡ*), which are also divided into bindings (*sifr*) which contain the parts (*aġzā'*).

Because of the absence of any information on the provenance of the list it is hard to tell which collection is described here. To judge by its modest size of 18 entries and its contents of a few basic textbooks only, it cannot have been more than a small collection, either in private hands or kept in a small mosque or *zāwiya*. What this particular list has in common with many other similar lists is its inconspicuous outward appearance.

المجلد

جدید کتابوں کی فہرست

۱۲۴۴

احسن ترجمہ

۱۲۵۱

ثلاثہ ارباع من الشيخ الحازر زوج منقبتنا ترجمہ

کتاب الشیخ الحاجب قدیم بلاتاریخ

کتاب خلیفہ قدیم بلاتاریخ

کتاب حدیث الشیخ السنوس بلاتاریخ

کتاب السمرقندی تاریخ ۱۲۳۶

کتاب الشیخ داود دبر احمد قدیم بلاتاریخ

کتاب السمرقندی

کتاب الرسالہ مخصوص

کتاب الشیخ التتوخی

کتاب هیارۃ برعاشتر

کتاب الغنیہ حدیث

خمسة مصاحف قرآنية بخط اليد و زوج اسطواناته

و کتاب قرآن مجید ثلاثہ ارباع

و کتاب فیہ نص القرآن

و کتاب باجیہ نص القرآن

و کتاب فیہ روح القرآن

مصحف معروف فیہ ثلاثہ احزاب لكل سبع

مصحف معروف فیہ خمسة احزاب لكل سبع

Or.
14.048
D 97

Fig. 5. The Saharan booklist. MS Leiden, Or. 14048 D 97.

8. CONCLUDING REMARK

The unpretentious outward appearance of many such lists of books, together with the absence — at least at first sight — of any historical background or cultural context, make them a rather underresearched genre of texts. It is important to consider them as a *genre*, so that they are not just studied occasionally as isolated phenomena. By presenting here a varied quantity of lists of books I have tried — with the help of what I think is more or less a cross-section of the material — to show that an added value can be given to them if it proves possible to reconstruct their origin and shed light on the circumstances which caused them to come into being. I, for one, am convinced that more often than not an analysis of the content of booklists together with a reconstruction can somehow be achieved. If this proves indeed to be possible with more lists, then this may result in an increased awareness of the importance of this type of bibliographical source-material, and — in the longer run — in a wider knowledge of the history of the Islamic book.

* Originally read in 1988 at the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, under the title 'Lists of Books as a Source of Knowledge'. The present article is a slightly updated and considerably reworked expansion of that text.

NOTES

¹ Quoted here from MS Leiden, Or. 14.050, which is described in fascicule 1 of my *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands* (Leiden 1983), pp. 90-95. Reference is also made to the partial translation by H.T. Norris, *The Pilgrimage of Ahmad Son of Little Bird of Paradise* (Warminster 1977). The translations in this article of fragments of the text are mine. Other references to manuscripts of this attractive text can be found in Ulrich Rebstock, *Sammlung arabischer Handschriften aus Mauretania* (Wiesbaden 1989), Nos. 89 and 1018.

² MS Leiden, Or. 14.050, f. 13a; Arabic text edited in my catalogue, p. 92; translation by H.T. Norris, p. 21.

³ See my catalogue of the Leiden manuscript collection (note 1), pp. 91-92.

⁴ Quoted from the reproductions of pages from that newspaper in the translation by H.T. Norris, pp. 101-2.

⁵ Reconstructing the effects of the presence of manuscripts on scholarly and cultural life has rarely been undertaken. One starting point could be to try to unravel scholarly networks on the basis of works of *Fahrassa*, scholarly autobiographies. For al-Ṭālib Aḥmad and two of his brothers I have also found references in Mohamed El Mokhtar Ould Bah, *La littérature juridique et l'évolution du Malikisme en Mauritanie* (Tunis 1981), p. 183.

⁶ The catalogues by Ulrich Rebstock (note 1) provide information on the availability of specific texts in certain parts of Mauritania.

⁷ Golius really deserves a biography of his own. He was one of the most famous scholars of his time whose influence was deeply felt in many fields. That such a work has not

appeared, nor has even been undertaken yet, can be explained by the fact that it would require from the biographer (or rather, biographers) such diverse expertise as a thorough knowledge of Middle Eastern languages, and some other Oriental languages as well, in addition to a deep insight into the history of the exact sciences both in the Middle East and in Europe and the ability to reconstruct scholarly and political networks in 17th-century Europe. Last but not least, the historiographer should assess Golius' role in Dutch and foreign university life during the 38 years of his professorship in Leiden. The most extensive biobibliographical information about Golius to date is still the doctoral thesis of W.M.C. Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwse beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland* (Utrecht 1931), the chapter on Golius occupying pp. 119-183. On Golius' book-collecting activities and the catalogues connected to these, see my lecture *Jacobus Golius (1596-1667) en zijn handschriften* (Leiden, Oosters Genootschap in Nederland, 1980). In a forthcoming study, entitled *Jacobus Golius (1596-1667) and his Collections of Books and Manuscripts*, I try, among other things, to make a reconstruction of the present whereabouts of all Oriental manuscripts which were at one time acquired by Golius.

⁸ *Bibliotheca Arabica. Auctam nunc atque integram edidit D. Christianus Fridericus de Schnurrer [...]* (Halle 1811), pp. 515-529. See on the subject also Rijk Smitskamp, *Philologia Orientalis. A Description of Books Illustrating the Study and Printing of Oriental Languages in 16th- and 17th-Century Europe*. Titelaufage augmented with cumulative indexes. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992).

⁹ Now MS Leiden, Or. 117. Cf. Voorhoeve, *Handlist*, p. 194.

¹⁰ See the auction catalogue of 1696, kept in the University Library Leiden, class-mark 835 C 15, p. 1, No. 1. For more details the reader is referred to my above-mentioned essay on Golius and his collections (note 7).

¹¹ I have tentatively identified this manuscript as the volume kept in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Marsh 211, described in Uri's catalogue, p. 217. In MS Marsh 211 there are, unfortunately, no traces of Golius' ownership such as prices and auctioneer's marks.

¹² See the article by R.Y. Ebied & M.J.L. Young, 'New Light on the Origin of the Term "Baccalaureate"', in: *The Islamic Quarterly* 18 (1974), 3-7, and the literature mentioned therein. The authors convincingly propose as the etymology of the word 'baccalaureate' the Arabic term *bi-ḥaqq al-riwāya* (= 'with the right to teach on the authority of another'), which one encounters in *igāzāt*.

An example of the functioning of the *igāza* in a present-day environment is the collection of 61 *igāzāt* entitled *Nahg al-Salāma fī Igāzat al-Ṣafī Aḥmad Aḥmad Salāma* compiled by Muḥammad Yāsīn al-Fādānī (Beirut [Dār al-Baṣā'ir al-Islāmiyya], 1409/1989). — With thanks to Muṣṭafā Nāgī of Rabat who brought the work to my attention.

Georges Vajda has compiled a survey of the contents of the readers' certificates in 72 Arabic manuscript volumes in his work *Les certificats de lecture et de transmission dans les manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* (Paris 1956).

¹³ Vajda, *o.c.*, describes mostly *samā'āt* and very few *igāzāt*, nor can any of the *igāzāt* he describes be said to be autobibliographical.

¹⁴ See my monograph on his life and work, which also

contains an edition of his work on the division of the sciences, *De Egyptische arts Ibn al-Akfānī (gest. 749/1348) en zijn Indeling van de wetenschappen* (Leiden 1989).

¹⁵ See my description of the Jerusalem MS, together with an edition of the bibliographical part of the *iğāza*, in my aforementioned study (note 14), pp. 137-9; a reproduction of the relevant pages in the Jerusalem MS in *id.*, p. 162, and here again, as figure 3; my analysis of the list in the *iğāza* in the Jerusalem MS in *id.*, pp. 47 ff.

¹⁶ After my lecture was given in Dublin in the summer of 1988, there appeared the article jointly written by Frederick de Jong and myself, 'The Library of al-*ṣayḡ* Kālid al-Šahrazūrī al-Naqšbandī (d. 1242/1827). A Facsimile of the Inventory of his Library (MS Damascus, Maktabat al-Asad, No. 259)', in: *MME* 2 (1987), pp. 68-87. Most results of the research done on this list of books were published in the article by Frederick de Jong and myself. In this respect mention must also be made of Butrus Abu-Manneh, 'The Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Ottoman Lands in the Early 19th Century', in: *Die Welt des Islams* 22 (1982), 1-36.

¹⁷ See for a full facsimile edition and analysis of the contents of the inventory of *ṣayḡ* Kālid's books, the article by de Jong and myself (note 16).

¹⁸ This is established by a simple chronological argument. The Leiden manuscript of al-Buḥturī's *Hamāsa* (Or. 889) arrived in Leiden around 1668 and has stayed there ever since.

¹⁹ The occurrence of Persian texts is, in fact, not all that surprising in view of the *ṣayḡ*'s Kurdish origins and — more importantly — his prolonged stay in India (see Butrus Abu-Manneh, *o.c.*, pp. 4-6).

²⁰ Franz Rosenthal, in *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship* (Rome 1947), p. 19 says about the abundant availability of manuscripts '... the fact that books as a rule were plentiful at all times, if not in all places.'

²¹ Just how scarce quantitative information about manuscript libraries is can be seen from the study by Youssef Eche, *Les bibliothèques arabes publiques et semi-publiques en Mésopotamie, en Syrie et en Égypte au Moyen Age* (Damascus 1967). No exact quantitative information on the size and richness of any of the libraries mentioned is given by Eche.

²² On his letters see Butrus Abu-Manneh, *o.c.*, pp. 12-13.

²³ Franz Rosenthal, *o.c.*, pp. 20-22 gives a survey of all sorts of incidental information gathered from manuscripts. One type of a booklist, which is not treated by me, is the purely bibliographical one which Rosenthal mentions in connection with the works of Ibn Bāḡḡa (in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Pocock 206, Catalogue by Uri, No. 499), and which can best be compared with the list of works by Ibn al-Akfānī as found in the autobiographical *iğāza* in the Jerusalem manuscript of his work *Iršād al-Qāṣid*.

²⁴ The library of Amīn al-Madanī, which was sold to the library of the University of Leiden in the course of 1883, bears witness to the fact that there were indeed collections of varied composition on the market. See Brill's catalogue by Carlo Landberg, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes provenant d'une bibliothèque privée à El-Medīna (...)*. Leiden 1883, which contains 664 titles, many of which are of literary and scientific content.

²⁵ C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka. I. Die Stadt und ihre Herren. II. Aus dem heutigen Leben*. (2 volumes and a portfolio with photographs and plates, The Hague 1888-9). The second volume is available in English, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, translated by J.H. Monahan (Leiden/London 1931). A summary survey of Snouck Hurgronje's scholarly and official career is given in my work entitled *Honderd jaar Mekka in Leiden. 1885-1985* (Leiden 1985), which is the catalogue of an exhibition celebrating the first centennial of Snouck Hurgronje's journey to Mecca.

²⁶ See my *Honderd jaar Mekka in Leiden. 1885-1985*, Nos. 20, 21, 33.

²⁷ *Mekka* II, pp. 295-393; English translation, pp. 213-292.

²⁸ See my article 'A Second Manuscript of al-Huṣrī's *Kitāb al-Maṣūn fī Sīr al-Hawā al-Maknūn*', in: *MME* 1 (1986) 115-117, where the Medinan lists in question are mentioned. To this can be added that since then two editions of al-Huṣrī's work have been published. The first edition is by Dr. Muḥammad 'Arif Maḥmūd Ḥusayn, who is mentioned in my article (Cairo, Maṭba'at al-Amāna, 1986). Both known manuscripts (Leiden, University Library, Or. 2593 and Medina, 'Arif Ḥikmet Library, without number) are used for that edition. Another edition of the text was produced by Dr. al-Nabawī 'Abd al-Wāhid Ša'lān (Cairo, Dār al-'Arab li-al-Bustānī, 1989). The latter editor used only the Medina manuscript and is, to judge from his preface, blissfully ignorant of any previous work done on this text.

²⁹ He apparently did this for O. Spies, who used the information in his article 'Die Bibliotheken des Hidschas', in: *ZDMG* 90 (1936), 83-120. Van Arendonk collated his transcript with another copy of the list contained in Or. 7128, namely MS Leiden Or. 7095. The latter is a probably a neat copy of Or. 7128 with some variant readings and entirely written in *ruq'a*-script. It is, therefore, improbable that that copy was written by an Indonesian informant.

³⁰ Described by me, with the inclusion of a detailed description of Basset's scholarly notes, in fascicules 1 and 2 of my *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in The Netherlands* (Leiden, 1983-4).

³¹ In: *Publications de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines*, vols. 10-11 (Paris 1923-5), second volume, pp. 465-503. A list of his twenty-six official missions and scholarly expeditions between 1881 and 1914 is *ibid.*, p. 464.

³² They are described in fasc. 1 of my catalogue of the Leiden collection (1983), on pp. 81-89. It is an amazingly varied collection of loose papers with texts on popular magic, poetical fragments, letters, sermons, and all sorts of other pieces. A first study of the magical fragments in the Basset papers has been undertaken by T.A.P. Lammers in her unpublished thesis on Islamic magic, 'Kitaba. Islami-tische magie die gebruik maakt van de kracht van geschreven en gesproken tekst' (Leiden, April 1991). The 'Saharan' booklist, which has no magical connotation, is described and illustrated on pp. 88-89 in fascicule 1 of my Leiden catalogue (Leiden, 1983).

³³ L. Massignon, 'Une Bibliothèque saharienne', in: *RMM* 8 (1909), 409-418.