

THE ARABIST
BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 48

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THE INTRICACIES OF MEDIAEVAL ARABIC GOSPEL QUOTATIONS: A CASE STUDY OF THE *KITĀB AL-MAĞDAL*

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Abstract:

This article examines the Mediaeval Christian Arabic compendium *Kitāb al-Mağdal* from a new perspective. While its theology and language have previously been studied, its hundreds of biblical quotations have not yet been analysed. Scholars working on Mediaeval Christian Arabic texts are aware that these often quote the Bible freely, however, no study has yet undertaken a thorough linguistic examination of Arabic biblical quotations or compared them systematically with the various versions of the Bible (though a few comparable studies will be referenced in the Conclusions). One difficulty in pursuing such an endeavour lies in the fact that numerous Arabic Bible translations circulated in the Mediaeval Middle East, and not all have yet been mapped. This article seeks to identify the possible source(s) of the quotations found in one chapter of the *Mağdal*, while also shedding further light on the complexity of Mediaeval Arabic Bible translations.

Keywords:

Mağdal, *Maṣābīḥ*, Arabic Bible, Syriac Bible, Arabic Gospels, Bible translations

1 Introduction

The *Kitāb al-Mağdal* (*The Book of the Tower*)¹ is a monumental East Syrian work, originally composed in the early eleventh century,² which addresses a range of topics

¹ According to the most comprehensive dictionaries, the Arabic مجدل should be read *miğdal* in this sense, however, for the sake of simplicity, I employ the form prevalent in scholarly literature.

² It was previously dated to the twelfth century, but Holmberg has convincingly argued for an early eleventh-century dating (Holmberg 1993).

central to Christians: theology, apologetics, and church history.³ Its complete and oldest surviving version, the thirteenth-century BNF Arabe 190, extends to over a thousand pages. In total, twenty-four manuscript witnesses are known today, although many transmit only parts of the work (Holmberg 1993:269). The present analysis is based on the seventeenth-century manuscript BL Or. 4240.

The *Mağdal* attracted the attention of scholars already in the eighteenth century, but for a long time, only its fifth, historical chapter was in their focus. Most notably, Gismondi published a portion of this historical chapter with a Latin translation in 1899 (Holmberg 1993:259). In 1975, Gewarges Putrus prepared a critical edition of the second chapter as his PhD thesis in French, although it remains unpublished. Gianmaria Gianazza has published most chapters of the *Mağdal* with an Italian translation (Gianazza 2022, 2023–2024);⁴ however, this edition exhibits several weaknesses. Although presented as a “critical edition”, it contains only a restored Arabic text,⁵ a very literal Italian translation and an index of names and biblical citations. Ayşe İçöz wrote her PhD thesis on the fourth chapter of the *Mağdal* (İçöz 2016), and she also published an article focusing on the stylistic features and number symbolism in this work (İçöz 2024). However, none of these scholars conducted any, or any serious inquiry into the immense number of biblical quotations found in this work.

The present article examines the biblical quotations of the fourth chapter of the *Mağdal*, titled *al-Maşābīḥ* (*The Lamps*). This chapter is essentially a guideline on Christian virtues, accompanied by hundreds of quotations from the Bible. The practice of frequent biblical citation (sometimes referred to as ‘prooftexting’) is common in Mediaeval Christian Arabic works, yet the *Mağdal* is exceptional in that it constitutes an extensive collection of biblical quotations and recollections of biblical events. The *Maşābīḥ* chapter alone contains approximately 200 biblical citations, which together make up nearly half of the text. This feature represents one of the chapter’s most distinctive characteristics and therefore warrants close examination. This article focuses solely on the Gospel quotations of the *Maşābīḥ* chapter: These represent the majority, as their number is about one hundred.⁶

³ Its authorship, as Holmberg also observed, is rather problematic and will not be discussed here (Holmberg 1993:257). Suffice it to note that, following Holmberg, the work is now generally attributed to ‘Amr ibn Mattā, who is otherwise unknown.

⁴ Departing from the prevalent use of ‘*mağdal*’, he uses ‘*miğdal*’.

⁵ Although he provides variant readings from the manuscripts he consulted, those from Or. 4240 are frequently omitted, and the criteria for selecting particular readings remain unclear.

⁶ Other books of the New Testament – Acts of the Apostles and some Epistles – are also quoted, but only about two dozen times. These are usually short and/or loose citations and are not valuable for such an examination. The Old Testament quotations would require separate research.

The central question is whether it is possible to identify which version of the Bible the author used? First, I compared the citations found in the *Maṣābīḥ* chapter with the known and extant Arabic Bible traditions and then examined their correspondences in the Syriac versions of the Bible.

Research on Arabic Christianity and the Arabic versions of the Bible has gained increasing attention in the twenty-first century. However, beyond specialist in the field, the wider community of Arabists remains, in my experience, largely unaware of the remarkable plurality of these translations. Thus, before turning to the Gospel quotations of the *Maṣābīḥ* chapter, it is necessary to outline the most important features of the Arabic versions of the Bible. When presenting the Arabic quotations, they are always preceded by the corresponding English text from the King James Bible, unless otherwise stated.

2 The Bible in Arabic

As noted above, numerous Arabic Bible translations existed in the Middle Ages. Their most prominent features are as follows:

- *Translations from various Vorlagen*⁷: Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, Coptic, and Latin. More importantly, many Arabic translations are eclectic: They do not follow a single *Vorlage* but incorporate readings from multiple sources. Newly emerging translations often drew on existing Arabic translations in addition to their non-Arabic *Vorlage(n)*, further complicating textual criticism (Kashouh 2012:262). Within the same manuscript, the different Gospels sometimes follow different traditions (Kashouh 2012:198, 298).
- *Linguistic diversity*: This refers to the fact that virtually any verse from the Bible can be rendered differently across various traditions. The meaning is generally consistent, but it may be expressed using synonyms and different grammatical constructions, even within manuscripts belonging to the same translation tradition. Such diversity leads to inconsistencies in translation choices: Even technical terms, such as the “Pharisees”, are often rendered differently within the same manuscript. For example, in B.O. Or. 432 the term معترلة (“Pharisees”) and الفريسيين (“the Pharisees”) appear on the same page (f. 22v, lines 5 and 17; corresponding to Matthew, 15:1 and 15:12).
- *Textual deviations*: Some do not appear to be supported by any known *Vorlage* (see, for example, 5.1.2 and 5.2).
- *Omissions*: Many translations omit words or phrases from their *Vorlage(n)*, often to avoid the pleonasm that are particularly characteristic of the Old Testament (Vollandt 2015:211–212).
- *Expansions*: Translators often employ chains of synonyms, typically when a single Arabic word does not fully capture the meaning of the *Vorlage*. Other

⁷ *Vorlage*: the source text from which a translation is made.

additions serve to clarify ambiguous passages, while some are exegetical in nature (Vollandt 2015:53–54, 207–211; Kashouh 2012:154).

- *Harmonisation*: Although not a prominent feature, occasional tendencies to harmonise parallel passages in the Gospels can be observed (Kashouh 2012: 144, fn. 45; 158).⁸ This phenomenon holds some significance from our perspective (see Conclusions).

The presence of omissions and expansions indicate that many of these Arabic translations were reader oriented. At the same time, numerous translations are extremely literal, following the syntax of their *Vorlage* awkwardly (Vollandt 2015: 77, 88) and, according to Blau (2002:19), “they are hardly worthy of being called A[rabic] at all.”

As Vollandt (2015:IX) sums it up: “Arabic versions far outnumber all other known translation traditions.” Consequently, it is necessary to examine all known traditions and compare them with as many biblical citations from the *Maṣābīḥ* as possible, even though the different Arabic versions of the Bible are still not fully mapped.

This article does not discuss the history of scholarly research on these translations. Suffice it to say that by the nineteenth century, European scholars had recognised the remarkable plurality of Arabic translations, but they considered these versions unimportant and largely disregarded them (Vollandt 2015:3–4). Between 1944 and 1953, Graf published the monumental, five-volume *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, which aimed to encompass the entire literature of Christian Arabs, naturally including Bible translations, and provided some insight into the *Vorlagen* they used (Graf 1944: I, 142–170). Other scholars have attempted to identify the *Vorlagen* used by specific Arabic translations or have focused on particular books or versions of the Bible.⁹ However, comprehensive research in this complex field was limited, as manuscripts could only be consulted *in situ*. With the digitisation of manuscripts, research on Arabic Bible translations has accelerated in the twenty-first century.

In 2012, Hikmat Kashouh published his monumental work *The Arabic Versions of the Gospels. The Manuscripts and Their Families*, which remains the most extensive study in this field. He examined over 200 Arabic Gospel manuscripts, grouping them to twenty-four families, with some further divided into subfamilies. His work provides the principal foundation for my research in identifying the

⁸ Additional cases may likewise be observed. For example, in Luke, 12:4–5, BNF, Ar. 57 reads (161r, last-162v, 1) : لا تخافوا ممن يقتل الجسد خافوا ممن يقتل النفس والجسد ويلقيهم في نار الجحيم : 1) which is harmonised with Matthew, 10:28. The same parallel accounts are also combined in the *Maṣābīḥ*; see below.

⁹ Cf. Kashouh 2012:25–27. An early example is J.F. Rhode’s PhD thesis (1921). More recently, Sidney Griffith has made substantial contributions to the field (Griffith 2013).

possible source(s) of the biblical quotations found in the *Maṣābīḥ* chapter of the *Maḡdal* (see 4.1).

3 The characteristics of the Bible quotations in the *Maṣābīḥ* chapter

The *Maṣābīḥ* chapter is further divided into subchapters, each opening with the author's reflections on Christian values, followed by biblical quotations. Without detailed examination or collation, we can assume the following possibilities for how the Arabic authors quoted the Bible: they may have memorised an Arabic translation; consulted an Arabic Bible and quoted directly from it; memorised a Syriac, Greek, or other version and translated it into Arabic themselves; consulted a Syriac, Greek, or other version and translated it into Arabic; or employed a combination of these methods.

Turning to the focus of this article, we may now summarise the characteristics of the citations in the *Maṣābīḥ*:

- *Combination of verses*: Different verses are often combined into one saying.¹⁰
- *Gospel harmonisation*: Parallel accounts (the same narrative in multiple Gospels with varying details) are sometimes amalgamated.
- *Loose quotations*: Many citations are rendered very freely.
- *Textual deviations*: Some deviations do not appear to be supported by any known *Vorlage*.
- *Repetition*: The author occasionally quotes the same verse(s) multiple times throughout the text, but with varying wording.
- *Omissions and additions*: The author often omits certain words from a verse, or, when quoting several verses, omits entire passages; these omissions are sometimes clearly deliberate, serving to make the quotation fit the narrative better (for example, omitting the words of the disciples who ask Jesus to clarify a parable). Conversely, words are occasionally added, sometimes as clarifications when the quotation is taken out of context.
- *Combination of categories*: In many cases, multiple types of variation occur simultaneously. For example, when quoting Matthew, 10:28, "... fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." In the *Maṣābīḥ* (103v, 5): خافوا الله الذي يقدر يهلك النفس والجسد جميعاً ويليقا في نار جهنم. The verb "cast", present in the *Maṣābīḥ*, occurs only in the parallel account of Luke, 12:5, which is otherwise worded quite differently: "Fear him, which after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell..." The *Maṣābīḥ* also adds الله, which is absent from both original verses, likely serving as a clarification.

Another example is Matthew, 19:21: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and

¹⁰ This has also been observed by Putrus (1975:623) and Holmberg (2003:175) in the second chapter of the *Maḡdal*.

come and follow me.” In the *Maṣābīḥ* (128v, 17–18): ان كنت تشا ان تكون كاملاً لتستحق الدخول الي ملكوت السما امضي بع ساير ما تملك وتصدق به علي المساكين واتبعني. Since the quotation is taken out of context, the addition of ملكوت السما appears deliberate: in the preceding verses, Jesus is asked by a young man what he must do to attain eternal life, so this insertion substitutes those verses. Conversely, the quotation omits “and thou shalt have treasure in heaven.” This omission may reflect reliance on memory, but it could also be deliberate, as it might seem redundant given the addition of ملكوت السما.

Other cases, however, can only be explained by the author’s reliance on memory. For instance, a free mixture of the parallel accounts of Matthew, 10:37 and Luke, 14:26 (137v, 10–11): ان من لم يترك اخاه واخته واباه وامه لا يستحقني ومن يحب اخاه واخته واباه وامه اكثر مني لا يستحقني

- *Misattributions and unidentifiable quotations*: The quotations are usually introduced by the formula *qāla*, such as *qāla Mūsā* or *qāla sayyidunā l-Masīḥ*, but in a few cases the attribution is incorrect. For example, on one occasion, the author states that a quotation is from the Prophet Daniel, although it appears in the Epistle to the Romans (102v, 7–9). These instances suggest that, at least occasionally, the author was quoting Scripture from memory. A few unidentifiable quotations also point in this direction, although it is possible that he drew on apocryphal sources—he extensively references *The Cave of Treasures* and may have used other apocryphal sources as well. Nevertheless, misattributed and unidentifiable quotations constitute the minority.

Regarding the different editions of the *Maḡdal* mentioned in the Introduction, only Putrus (1975) attempted to provide explanations for these complex citations, a discussion to which I will return to at the end of this article.

4 The research method

As noted above, the *Maṣābīḥ* chapter contains approximately one hundred Gospel quotations. For this study, I selected twenty test passages for collation with the sources outlined below. Three types of sources were employed in this collation of the selected quotations:

4.1 Arabic Gospels

Despite the *Maḡdal*’s East Syrian background, I sought to collate the quotations with all Arabic translation traditions described by Kashouh, regardless of their *Vorlage*. This approach is motivated by the fact that Arabic Bible translations were not only numerous but also highly mobile. As Vollandt observes regarding the Pentateuch: “... Saadiah’s originally Judaeo-Arabic Tafsīr [i.e. translation] was adopted by Samaritan, Syriac-Orthodox, and Coptic communities. A translation of East-Syriac provenance [...] was borrowed by the Syriac-Orthodox Church but also circulated

among the Mozarabs of Spain.” (Vollandt 2015:IX). The Gospels were similarly mobile; see, for example, “family K” below.

The approach to the families established by Kashouh is straightforward: every family for which microfilmed versions exist was examined, irrespective of their *Vorlage*, dating, or linguistic characteristic. Thus, even if the witnesses of a family postdate the *Mağdal*, they were still considered, as in many cases it cannot be ruled out that they derive from much earlier exemplars. “Family F” and “family O” are rhymed translations, the latter also employing obscure language (unlike the biblical quotations in the *Maṣābiḥ* chapter), yet both were examined, and—as we shall see—this was not done in vain (see 5.2).

The collated families established by Kashouh are:

1. **Family A:** Of Greek origin; represented by **Sinai, Ar. 74**.
2. **Family B:** Of Greek origin with some Syriac influence; represented by **Sinai, Ar. NF M 8**.
3. **Family C:** Of Greek origin with some Syriac influence; represented by **Sinai, Ar. 75**.
4. **Family D:** Of Peshitta origin; represented by **Sinai, Ar. 70**.
5. **Family F:** Of Peshitta origin; represented by **Leiden, University Library, Or. 561**.
6. **Family G:** Of Peshitta origin; represented by **Bibliothèque orientale, Or. 430**.
7. **Family H:** Of Peshitta origin; represented by **Vatican, Ar. 13**, which contains many lacunae.
8. **Family J:** Of Syriac origin; showing some Greek influence, divided to three subgroups:
 - **Family J^A:** Kashouh’s representative ms is not microfilmed, therefore another ms from this family, **Sinai, Ar. 115**, was used as the collated base
 - **Family J^B:** Represented by **Sinai, Ar. 106**
 - **Family J^C:** Represented by **Sinai, Ar. 76**
9. **Family K:** This is the most complex Arabic translation tradition. Previously referred to as the “Alexandrian Vulgate” or “Egyptian Vulgate”, it was once believed to have been translated from the Coptic Bohairic. Kashouh rejects this theory, arguing instead that it was translated “either from Syriac and Greek with some of its witnesses later corrected against the Coptic version, or from Syriac and then corrected on some occasions against the Greek and on other occasions against the Coptic.” (Kashouh 2012:205). He further notes that this tradition circulated widely outside Egypt, including in Syriac churches (Kashouh 2012:206). Kashouh assigns ninety-nine manuscripts to this group, with additional manuscripts likely belonging here based on Graf’s work, though he could not consult them (Kashouh 2012:250). Due to their

complexity, no definite subgroups are outlined. Kashouh selects Sinai, Ar. 101 as the representative manuscript; since I could not consult it, **Vatican, Copt. 9** was instead chosen. A long test passage from Sinai, Ar. 101 presented by Kashouh is almost identical to that of Vat., Copt. 9, justifying this substitution.¹¹ To increase diversity, **Sinai, Ar. 112** was also examined; this ms will be referenced only in 5.3, footnote.

10. **Family L:** This tradition was produced by the Coptic Ibn al-‘Assāl in the mid-thirteenth century. He relied mostly on the Coptic version but also drew on existing Arabic translations (Kashouh 2012:262). As this version postdates the *Maḡdal*, it could not have served as the source for our author; nevertheless, it was briefly consulted to determine whether the *Maṣābīḥ* readings show any congruence with it or a shared source. Kashouh outlines three subgroups within this family, but only one microfilmed manuscript, **Leiden, University Library, Cod. 223** was examined.
11. **Family M:** Of Latin origin; collated base: **Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Ar. 238**.¹²
12. **Family N:** A mixture of *Vorlagen*: Old Latin, Peshitta, and Greek (Kashouh 2012:280). Its sole witness is **Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Do. 162**. As it begins with Matthew, 10:28, many test passages could not be verified.
13. **Family O:** Edited from an Arabic lectionary; collated base: **Bibliothèque orientale, Or. 432**
14. **Family P^J:** Its only witness is **Sinai, Ar. NF M 6, 5 and 63**, originally a single codex. The texts of Matthew, Mark, and Luke appear to belong to Family C, while John represents a distinct tradition (hence the sigla P^J), originally translated from the Peshitta and subsequently corrected against either the Harklean or a Greek version, though not consistently (Kashouh 2012:288–291).¹³
15. **Family R:** Matthew and John appear to be independent translations, while Mark and Luke are offshoots of Family C (Kashouh 2012:298). Collated base: **Leipzig, University Library, Cod. Tischend. XII**.¹⁴ Due to numerous lacunae, not all test passages could be verified.

¹¹ His selection of Sinai, Ar. 101 appears to be aleatory, given the overwhelming number of witnesses and their tangled textual nature, and not the result of textual criticism, as in other cases.

¹² As Kashouh’s representative manuscript was unavailable, an alternative from this family was selected using the same method as for Family K.

¹³ On p. 289, there is a typographical error: it states that the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke “contain the same family as *b*”, but it should read *c* (see p. 114).

¹⁴ This is the only undigitised manuscript that was examined.

16. **Family S^A**: According to Kashouh, Matthew belongs to Family L, while Mark, Luke, and John belong to Family K. Its only witness is **BNF, Ar. 57** (Kashouh 2012:298).

17. **Family T**: A mixture of families A, J, and K. Its only witness is **Sinai, Ar. 102** (Kashouh 2012:298).

Other traditions were not considered, either because they are inaccessible¹⁵ or too fragmentary.¹⁶

4.2 Syriac Gospels:¹⁷

- Old Syriac type: The Sinaiticus (S) and Curetonian (C) versions.
- Peshitta (P).
- Harklean (H) version.

4.3 The Arabic Diatessaron

The *Diatessaron* is a Gospel-harmony, i.e. a single, non-repetitive narrative of the four Gospels. It is attributed to Tatian, who composed it around 180 A.D., although the original has not survived (Monier & Taylor 2021:193). Its Arabic translation, attributed to Ibn at-Ṭayyib (d. 1043), survives in several manuscript versions and constitutes the most significant witness (Monier & Taylor 2021:203–208). Marmadji's 1935 edition of the Arabic version is regarded as the reference edition, though he introduced numerous "corrections" to the text. The situation is further complicated by the existence of other Gospel harmonies beyond the *Diatessaron* (Monier & Taylor 2021:212). Consequently, the examination of Marmadji's edition provides only limited value.

Other relevant sources include lectionaries, Gospels interspersed with commentaries, Karšuni Bibles, and non-Diatessaronic Gospel harmonies. However, scholarly research on these is almost non-existent (except for one specific lectionary, the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary), and they fall beyond the scope of this study, as do the Ethiopic and Armenian versions of the Bible.

In this article, not all twenty test passages of the *Maṣābīḥ* are discussed; instead, five types are presented:

1. Two examples demonstrating how even a "precise" quotation cannot be linked to any of the examined Arabic versions. The term "precise" is used

¹⁵ Families E, I, and Q; according to Kashouh, E and I follow the Syriac literally (Kashouh 2012:126, 172), so examining them would likely be unnecessary, since the Syriac versions have already been studied.

¹⁶ Families S^B, U, V, W, and X.

¹⁷ Consulted in the standard reference editions: Pusey & Gwilliam (1901); Kiraz (2004).

cautiously here, meaning that the quotation contains no omissions, additions, or textual deviations compared with the main known versions.

2. An example illustrating a textual deviation.
3. An example of a pericope in which the sequence of verses is altered, yet the verses remain “precise” (in the sense defined above), highlighting the issue of translating a single word from the Syriac.
4. An example in which the author presents an alternative reading.
5. Four examples indicating the author’s use of a Syriac Bible.

5 Examples

5.1 “Precise” quotations with no known Arabic source

5.1.1 Luke, 12:35: “Let your loins be girded about, and your light burning.”

Maṣābīḥ (117r, 20–21): تكون اوساطكم مشدوده وسرجكم ملهيه

Sinai, Ar. 74 (151v, 7–8): تكون احقاكم متنتقه (!) وسرجكم توقد
 Sinai, Ar. NF M 8 (85r, 15): يكون حقوكم متنتقه وسرجكم واقده
 Sinai, Ar. 75 (64v, last–65r, 1): تكن حقايكم مشدوده وسرجكم نيره
 Sinai, Ar. 70 (74r, 14): لتكن جفويكم مشدوده وسرجكم منيره
 Leiden, Or. 561 (96v, 4): شدوا اوساطكم وانتدبوا لانواركم مشتعلين
 B.O., Or. 430 (227, 3): لتكن ظهوركم مشدوده ومصايحكم نيره
 Sinai, Ar. 115 (166r, 3–4): لتكن اوساطكم (!) مزنره ومصايحكم منيره
 Sinai, Ar. 106 (117r, 12–13): لتكونن اوساطكم مشدوده ومصايحكم منيره
 Sinai, Ar. 76 (199v 8–9): لتكن اوساطكم مشدوده ومصايحكم موقوده
 Vat., Copt. 9 (316r, 21–22–316v, 1): لتكن اوساطكم مشدوده وسرجكم موقده
 Leiden, Cod. 223 (118r, 6): لتكن اوساطكم مشدوده ومصايحكم موقده
 Munich, Staatsb., Ar. 238 (59v, 15): لتكون (!) اصلايكم مشدوده وسراجاكنم موقوده
 Berlin, Staatsb., Do. 162 (96r, 17): لتكن اوساطكم مشدوده وسرجكم نيره موقوده
 B.O., Or. 432 (84v, 15): لتكن احقاوكم مشدوده ومصايحكم متقده
 Leipzig, Cod. Tischend. XII (89v, 1–2): لتكن ظهوركم مشدوده وسرجكم نيره
 BNF, Ar. 57 (163r, 4–5): كونوا (!) اوساطكم مشدوده وسرجكم موقده
 Sinai, Ar. 102 (136v, 3–4): لتكن اوساطكم مشدوده وسرجكم موقده
Diatessaron (Marmardji 1935: 414): تكون اوساطكم مشدوده وسرجكم مسرجة

Although the *Maṣābīḥ*’s version is close to several traditions, none of them render ‘burning’ as ملهيه. Consequently, the verse was either memorised (from any language); translated directly from a non-Arabic *Vorlage*; or drawn from a source not examined in this study.

5.1.2 Luke, 14:13–14: “But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind: and you will be blessed, because they cannot repay you. For you will be repaid at the resurrection of the just.”

Maṣābīḥ (128v, 6–7): اذا اتخذت وليمه فادعوا المساكين والزماني والمقدين والاضرا وطوباك اذ ليس لهم ما يقضوك فتكون مكافاتك في موقف الاتقيا

Sinai, Ar. 74 (157r, 1–4):

اذا صنعت نزل لا تدعوا الا مساكين كسح عرج عماء وطوبا لك يكون لانه ليس لهم ما يكافوك فتجزا في قيامه الصديقين

Sinai, Ar. NF M 8 (87v, 17–20):

اذا ما صنعت نزل فاعدي المساكين الضعفا المقدين العمى فطوباك حينئذ لان ليس لهم ما يكافوك فيكون جزاك في قيامه الصديقين

Sinai, Ar. 75 (67r, 8–10):

اذا ما انت صنعت غذا فادعوا المساكين والمكتعين والمكسرين والعمى فطوبي لك لانهم لا يستطيعون ان يجازوك بحق لتكونن جزاك في قيامه الابرار

Sinai, Ar. 70 (75v, 10–12):

اذا صنعت صنعيا فادع المساكين والزمنا العرج العمى وطوباك ان ليس لهم يكافوك فتكون مكافاتك في موقف الصديقين

Leiden, Or. 561 (100r, 11):

متي ما عملت الوليم فادع المساكين من عمي واولي عرج وذوي عسمة يجمعون وطوبي لك اذا ليس لهم ما به يجزون الا فليك جزاوك بمقام امين لبارين صديقين

B.O., Or. 430 (235, 3–5):

اذا ما صنعت مايده فادع المساكين والعسم والمقدين والعميان وطوباك لانه ليس لهم ان يكافوك لان مكافاتك تكون في مقام الصديقين

Sinai, Ar. 115 (171r, 11–14):

اذا صنعت وليمه فادع مساكين اصحاب مخال عرجانا عميانا مساكين فتصير مغبوطاً اذ ليس لهم ان يجازوك ولكن لك ان تكافا في قيامه الصديقين

Sinai, Ar. 106 (121r, 7–10):

اذا صنعت مايده فادعوا المساكين والعرج والعميان اصحاب مخالي لتصير مغبوطاً اذ ليس لهم ان يجازوك ولكن لك ان تكافي في قيامه الصديقين

Sinai, Ar. 76 (206r, 9–12):

اذا صنعت وليمه فادع المساكين والزمنا والعرج والعميان فتصير مغبوطاً اذ ليس لهم ما يجازونك ولكن يكون لك المكافا في قيامه الصديقين

Vat., Copt. 9 (326v, 10–19):

اذا صنعت طعماً ادع المساكين المعوزين والمقدين والعميان وطوباك لانه ليس لهم ما يكافونك ومجازاتك تكون في قيامه الصديقين

Leiden, Cod. 223 (121r, 13–15):

اذا ما صنعت وليمه فادع مساكين وضعفاء وعرجاً وعمياناً فتصير مغبوطاً لانه ليس لهم هناك ما يكافونك وانك ستكافا في قيامه الابرار

Munich, Staatsb., Ar. 238 (62r, 1–2)¹⁸:

إذا اعددت صنيعاً فادع اليه الفقراء والضعفا والعرج والعمي فطوباك اذا عجزوا عن مكافأتك فتكافأ عند مكافاة الصالحين

Berlin, Staatsb., Do. 162 (99v, 16...18–100r, 2):

إذا هيات غذا او عشا ... ادعي الي طعامك المساكين البائسين والعميان والعرج والزمان حينئذ تكون مغبوطاً اذا ليس لهم ما يكافوك وتبقا مجازاتك مذخوره لك تاخذها في قيامه الصديقين

B.O., Or. 432 (87r, 12–14):

متى ما عملت الوليم فادع المساكين وذوي العلل والمقعدين والعمي وطوباك اذا ليس لهم ما يكافونك فان مكافأتك تكون في قيمة الصديقين

Leipzig, Cod. Tischend. XII (93r, 8–12):

إذا صنعت طعاماً فادع المساكين والزمنى والعرج والعميان وطوبى لك انه ليس عندهم ما يجازوك به بحق ليكون جزاوك في مقام الابرار

BNF, Ar. 57 (167r, last–168v, 2):

إذا صنعت طعاماً ادع المساكين والضعفاء والمقعدين والعميان فطوباك لان ليس لهم ما يكافونك ومجازاتك في قيامه الصديقين

Sinai, Ar. 102 (140v, 12–15):

إذا صنعت وليمه فادع المساكين والمعورين والمقعدين والعميان فمغبوطاً تكون لان ليس لهم ما يكافونك لان مجازاتك تكون في قيامه الصديقين

Diatessaron (Marmardji 1935:284–286):

إذا ما عملت دعوة فادع المساكين والشل والعرج والعمي وطوباك حيث ليس لهم ان يجازوك ليكون جزاوك في قيام الابرار

This quotation in the *Maṣābīḥ* differs markedly from all known Arabic Bible traditions. For instance, none of these traditions render ‘thou makest’ as ‘اتخذت’, ‘the blind’ as ‘الاضرا’, or ‘the resurrection of the just’ as ‘موقف الاتقيا’, as found in the *Maṣābīḥ*.

5.2 A puzzling textual deviation

Matthew, 5:9: “Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.”

Maṣābīḥ (quoted twice, 102r, 19 & 116r, 15):

الطوبي لفاعلي الخير فان ابنا الله يدعون / الطوبي لعامللي الخير فان ابنا الله يدعون

One might initially suggest that the author relied on memory, accounting for the two renderings of ‘makers’ and the textual deviation *ḥayr*. However, the latter does appear in one Arabic tradition, Leiden, Or. 561, albeit in the plural:

¹⁸ Note the textual deviation مكافاة الصالحين (“the recompense of the just”) instead of “the resurrection of the just.”

Sinai, Ar. 74 (7r, 8): طوبا لصانعي الصلح لانهم ابنا الله يدعوا
Sinai, Ar. NF M 8 (10v, 14–15): طوبا للذين يصنعون الصلح لانهم ابنا الله يدعون
Sinai, Ar. 75 (5v, 4): طوبي للمصلحين فانهم ابنا الله يدعون
Sinai, Ar. 70 (7r, 6–7): طوبا لصانعي السلام انهم يدعون ابنا الله
Leiden, Or. 561 (5v, 2–3): الطوبي للذين يفعلون الخيرات فانهم يدعون لله ابناء
B.O., Or. 430 (10, 12–13): طوبا للفاعلي السلامة فانهم بنو الله يدعون
Vat., Ar. 13 (4r, 11–12): طوبا للمصلحين بين الناس لانهم يدعون ابنا الله
Sinai, Ar. 115 (9v, 7): طوبي لصنعة السلم لانهم يدعون ابنا الله
Sinai, Ar. 106 (6r, 14–15): طوبا لصانعي السلامة فانهم ابنا الله يدعون
Sinai, Ar. 76 (22v, 6): مغبوطون مبدعوا السلامة فانهم يدعون بنينا (!) لله
Vat., Copt. 9 (34r, 13–15): طوبي لفاعلي السلامة فانهم بني الله يدعون
Leiden, Cod. 223 (22r, 4–5): طوبى لصانعي السلامة لانهم سيدعون ابناء الله
Munich, Staatsb., Ar. 238 (5r, 3–4): سعد المصلحون فانهم يدعون اولاد الله
B.O., Or. 432 (8v, last): الطوبي لصانعي السلامة انهم يدعون ابناء الله
BNF, Ar. 57 (23r, 11–12): طوبى لصانعي الصلح والسلامة فانهم بني الله يدعون
Sinai, Ar. 102 (9r, 3–4): مغبوطون صانعي السلامة فانهم ابنا الله يدعون
S & C: طوبى لصانعي الصلح والسلامة لانهم يدعون ابنا الله
P: طوبى لصانعي الصلح والسلامة لانهم يدعون ابنا الله
H: طوبى لصانعي الصلح والسلامة لانهم يدعون ابنا الله
The Arabic *Diatessaron* reads السلام and السلامة (Marmardji 1935:74).

Although Leiden, Or. 561 (Family F) is the only manuscript containing this reading variant, it could not have served as a significant source for our author, since the other quotations in the *Maṣābīḥ* bear no resemblance to this tradition. It is possible, however, that our author was aware of this tradition and recalled this particular variant. Alternatively, could this be an accidental congruence? In any case, although Leiden Or. 561 is a rhymed translation that frequently paraphrases rather than translating literally (Kashouh 2012:128), it remains puzzling why it reads *al-ḥayrāt* where the Peshitta—its *Vorlage* according to Kashouh—reads *šlāmā*. It is also possible that the reading *ḥayr/ḥayrāt* derives from a source currently unknown.

5.3 Altered verse order: issues in translating a Syriac term

There are numerous instances of combining different verses from the same book—or even from different books—as well as of amalgamating parallel Gospel passages. More intricate, however, are quotations in which the sequence of verses is altered within the same narrative. The following example illustrates this, combining five verses from the sixth chapter of Matthew: it begins with verses 20–21, followed by verse 1, and concludes with verses 3–4:

“... [6:20–21] lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal: For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also. [6:1] Take heed that ye do not your alms

Maṣābīḥ (128r, 10–14):

מסכת אבות מסכתא דאורייתא דאורייתא דאורייתא דאורייתא דאורייתא

[illegible][illegible]

¹⁹ Sinai, Ar. 112 of Family K reads ارضه and سوس, whereas Vat., Copt 9 of the same family reads اكل (“corroding”) and سوس.

vocalisation: *āklā*, meaning ‘moth’ or ‘woodworm’, which is listed in Brockelmann (1928), Payne Smith (1957), and Costaz (2002).

Given that eight Syriac-related Arabic Gospel traditions, as well as the Arabic *Diatessaron*, use two words for ‘moth’ (or ‘moth’ and ‘worm’) without reference to ‘rust’, it seems clear that the translators interpreted ܪܚܠ as ‘moth’ or ‘worm’, and not as ‘rust’. This reading is likewise reflected in the *Maḡdal*. One might therefore suggest that the Arabic translators misinterpreted the skeleton ܪܚܠ as *āklā* and took it to be a synonym of the preceding ܪܚܠ.

Yet a difficulty remains. If, as Pusey and Gwilliam (1901) propose, ܪܚܠ should indeed be read *aklā*, meaning ‘rust’, why do the major Syriac dictionaries, mentioned above, not record this meaning? It is true that the Semitic root *’-k-l* generally means ‘to eat’ or ‘eat away’ in both Syriac and Arabic, and both ‘moth’ and ‘rust’ share this semantic field. Moreover, the root also carries the sense ‘to corrode’ in both languages; in Arabic, the feminine active participle *آكلة* denotes ‘rust’, so it is conceivable that a Syriac derivative (regardless of vocalisation) bore the same signification. The absence of this gloss in the lexica, however, remains perplexing.

In any case, the evidence shows that the Arabic translators of the Syriac Bible understood ܪܚܠ as ‘moth’ (or, in one case, ‘worm’), and the *Maḡdal* reflects the same reading. It therefore remains inconclusive whether our author was drawing directly on the Peshitta or Harklean, or on an Arabic version ultimately dependent upon them.

5.4 An alternative reading offered by the author

When quoting Matthew, 5:37 (123r, 2), the author concludes the verse by explicitly noting that there is an alternative reading of the final word.

“«Let your communication be yes, yes or no, no; anything more than this is corruption» (M.5:37), or, according to another version: «anything more than this comes from evil.»”²⁰

وليكن قولكم نعم نعم ولا لا الزايد علي هذا فساد ويقال الزايد علي هذا من الشر

This verse occurs as part of a much longer quotation; therefore, the Arabic translation traditions are not presented here, as the passage does not correspond to any of them. The principal concern lies with the final word of the verse. Six Arabic traditions read الشرير (A, J^B, K, L, O, S^A, T), five read الخبيث (B, C, D, G, J^C), F reads زعيم الغرور, H reads من الشيطان, and M reads لا خير فيه. Only one tradition, J^A, has الشر, which corresponds to the second word given by our author. By contrast, فساد does not appear in any of the examined Arabic Bibles.

All Syriac versions read ܪܚܠ, which may be rendered into Arabic as شرير or even شيطان. The source of the *Maṣābīḥ*’s reading فساد is unclear. In any case, this example

²⁰ Translated by the author (Á.G.-T.).

demonstrates that the author was aware of different variants, though their exact origin cannot be determined. It is particularly striking that he considered it important to draw attention to this variant, since the two words are semantically very close, and in no other instance does he present alternative readings in the *Maṣābīḥ*.

5.5 Quotations suggesting the use of a Syriac Bible

5.5.1 The three quotations below all display the same pattern in the *Maṣābīḥ*. As they cannot be linked to any of the Arabic Bible translations, they are not presented here.

Luke, 11:28 (103r, 10): “... blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it.”

والطوبى للذين سمعوا وصية الله وتقواه وحفظوها²¹

John, 8:31 (102r, 17): “Jesus said [...]: If you abide in my word [you will know the truth and the truth] will set you free.” Although the rendering in the *Maṣābīḥ* is very free, the quotation is identifiable:

قال سيدنا المسيح من تمسك بالوصية حررته من العبودية

John, 8:51 (105r, 5): “... If a man keep my saying, he shall never see death.”

من يحفظ وصاياي لا يري الموت ابداً

None of the Arabic versions examined employ the word *waṣiyya* in these verses; instead, they use *kalām*, *kalima*, *kalimāt*, *kalim*, *qawl* or *aqwāl*. In all three verses, the Greek reads *logos*, and all three Syriac versions read *mellā*. In the *Maṣābīḥ* chapter, the use of *waṣiyya* probably derives from one of the Syriac versions. The primary meaning of *mellā* (ܡܠܠܐ) is ‘word’, but according to Payne Smith (1957) and Costaz (2002), it can also mean ‘command’, and in these verses, this is clearly the intended sense (the word of God as command). The author was probably not familiar with the Greek²² and thought *waṣiyya* renders *mellā* more precisely, whether he was translating from memory or from a written copy.²³

²¹ The expression *وتقواه* appears only in manuscript Or. 4240; the other manuscripts omit it.

²² The Greek term *logos* has, of course, been interpreted in various ways in philosophy and theology. As noted above, even Greek-based Arabic Bibles render it using the roots *k-l-m* and *q-w-l*.

²³ In Christian Arabic texts, *kalima* is sometimes used in the sense of ‘commandment’, but this is attested only in the expression “the Ten Commandments” (Blau 1967:380/§264.2), which is also recorded in Hava’s dictionary (1899). In any case, even if *kalima* were occasionally used more broadly in this sense, this does not undermine the discussion above. *Waṣiyya* is a stronger term, traceable only to the Syriac. Had *kalima* been widely used in the

5.5.2 A probable Syriac mirror-translation

John, 14:21 (109v, 2): “He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: and he [that loveth me]²⁴ shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him...”

من حفظ وصيتي وعمل بها هو المحب لي والاب يحبه وانا احبه

Most Arabic Bibles do not render “he it is that loveth me” as هو المحب لي; instead, they predominantly employ verbal sentences, usually هو الذي يحبني.²⁵ Although the former is not foreign to Arabic, it is noteworthy that even Syriac-based Arabic Bibles did not adopt it. I would argue, once again, that the author translated a Syriac Bible himself—specifically the Peshitta or the Harklean—where we find ܐܡܪ ܡܫܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ (the Old Syriac reads ܐܡܪ ܡܫܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ), of which the *Maṣābīḥ*’s version appears to be a mirror translation.

6 Conclusions

1. The author did not directly quote any of the seventeen Arabic translation traditions examined. Only sporadic similarities appear—most notably the textual deviation *ḥayr* in Matthew 5:9, which agrees with Family F—but these are most probably accidental or may derive from a yet unknown source.

2. The author did not make use of the Arabic *Diatessaron* (as known from Marmardji’s edition). The harmonised verses in the *Maṣābīḥ* do not necessarily derive from another Gospel harmony either. Since harmonising tendencies are observable in traditional four-part Gospel translations, the combination of parallel accounts in the *Maṣābīḥ* chapter could be independent of any actual Gospel harmony, instead reflecting a general tendency to bring these accounts into closer proximity.

3. In certain cases, the author most definitely relied on memory. The harmonised verses, as well as the misattributed and unidentifiable quotations, also point in this direction.

4. The most likely scenario is that the Peshitta or Harklean version served as the author’s principal source. He may have been quoting it from memory in Arabic, or he may have been consulting the Syriac text while composing his work and translating the verses himself, without aiming for a rigid, word for word translation—or he may

sense ‘commandment’ by Christians, the author would presumably have employed it, following the pattern of Syriac-based Arabic Bible translations.

²⁴ The omission of “that loveth me” in the *Maṣābīḥ* poses no difficulty: whether the author was quoting from memory or from a physical Bible, this can be explained as an effort to avoid repetition.

²⁵ There is only one exception containing محب here, B.O. Or. 432, a rhymed tradition using obscure language, which is cited here for reference (f. 120r, 12–13): هو الذي محبني والذي هو لي محب فيكون محبوباً من ابي.

have employed both methods. It is also possible that he was aware of certain Arabic translations, and we cannot rule out the possibility that he knew the Bible in other languages besides Arabic and Syriac.

5. It is conceivable that the author used an Arabic translation not documented by Kashouh,²⁶ or not examined in this study. Furthermore, as noted above, other relevant literature—such as lectionaries, Gospels with commentaries, Karšuni Bibles, or a non-Diatessaronic Gospel harmony—might have served as sources, and these could yield further correspondences in readings; however, such works still require substantial research. We must also consider the possibility that non-biblical works containing Bible quotations influenced one another.

Gewarges Putrus, in his PhD thesis on another chapter of the *Maḡdal*, reached a conclusion like that described in (4). He states: “... les citations qu’il a tiré de la Bible, il les a certainement traduites de lui-même, directement du syriaque en arabe. Il n’est donc pas étrange que sa source principale soit la Bible en langue syriaque et non arabe, et tout particulièrement la bible Peshitta, puisqu’il existe de nombreuses différences entre le style et la langue des citations bibliques qu’il a traduit [sic] en arabe et entre son style et sa langue propres en arabe” (Putrus 1975:19–20). However, he provides no detailed analysis or comparison of these quotations, and his methodology was partially limited and partly flawed: although he correctly consulted the Peshitta, he did not examine other Syriac versions, and he was evidently unaware of the plurality of Mediaeval Arabic Bible translations (unsurprisingly at that time), having examined only one modern Arabic Bible (Putrus 1975:626). This approach is misleading, as modern Arabic versions share little with their medieval counterparts.

The third point is corroborated by the findings of other scholars as well. Samir (1983) briefly discusses that Abū Qurra, the influential Christian Arabic theologian, often relied on memory when quoting the Gospels. His analysis, however, is limited to cases in which the same biblical verse is cited more than once but with different wording.²⁷ Abū Qurra himself admits his reliance on memory in connection with Old Testament quotations, when he writes: هذا ما رأينا ان نضعه مما حضرنا من شهادات الكتب (Bāšā, *Mayāmir* 104). Tarras likewise discusses Abū Qurra’s use of Scripture, though purely from a theological perspective, and demonstrates how this approach reflects the “Pauline antithesis between *gramma*

²⁶ While Kashouh’s work is commendable, it relies on relatively few test passages, and he acknowledges that selecting different passages might yield different conclusions (Kashouh 2012:249). In the case of families K and M, significant differences were observed between Kashouh’s representative manuscript and other manuscripts assigned to the same family.

²⁷ For related research, the reader may consult Vööbus (1947), who examined Rabbula of Edessa’s New Testament quotations in Syriac; Toenies Keating (2006), particularly the chapter *Witnesses from the Words of the Torah, the Prophets and the Saints*, which discusses some of Abū Rā’iṭa’s Old Testament quotations; and Padwick (1939), which addresses the manner in which Muslim authors quote the Bible.

['letter'] and *pneuma* ['spirit']", with the latter—"the spiritual meaning of the Scripture"—being regarded as superior to the former. (Tarras 2017:82, 90).

A striking hypothesis is advanced by Kashouh, who suggests that even the Gospel manuscript Vat., Ar. 13 (~800 A.D.) may have been, at least in part, translated not from a written source but from memory (Kashouh 2012:156). The quotations preserved in the *Kitāb al-Mağdal* provide further evidence that, in the Mediaeval Arabic-speaking world, the Bible was not treated as a rigidly fixed corpus—whether in the case of the eighth- to ninth-century Abū Qurra, at a time when Christian Arabs had only just begun to produce Arabic Bible translations, or in the eleventh-century *Mağdal*, when such translations were already numerous. Nonetheless, many more Arabic versions await systematic study, and further analysis of biblical quotations in non-biblical works is necessary to have a clearer picture of this complex and multifaceted tradition.

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TRAVELING SCHOLARS AND THEIR AUDITION CERTIFICATES: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE STATUS OF LATE AYYUBID ALEPPO (624–658/1227–1260) AS A CENTER OF KNOWLEDGE

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The scholarly environments outside the main centers of knowledge of the early thirteenth century—Damascus, Cairo and Baghdad—are understudied areas in the scholarship on the intellectual history on this period. The study of audition certificates can give detailed information on many known and unknown scholars. However, these sources were scattered across the many manuscript collections all over the world. With the launch of the Audition Certificate Platform, many audition certificates have been made accessible. This makes it possible to survey large numbers of audition certificates. With these sources available, it is possible to reconstruct the scholarly networks of the less studied centers of knowledge. Aleppo is one of these centers, and many audition certificates from the Ayyubid period of this city have survived. This study will use these sources to get insights in the role that Aleppo played in the transmission of *ḥadīth* sciences in the late Ayyubid period (624–658/1227–1260).

Keywords: Aleppo, audition certificates, travel, patronage, Ayyubids, transmission of knowledge, scholarly networks, Audition Certificate Platform

1 Introduction

The study of manuscript notes can shed light on the intellectual lives and movements of forgotten scholars who participated in knowledge production in the premodern Middle East. Premodern biographical dictionaries that have survived provide valuable insights into the lives of scholars, but only the lives of the most prestigious scholars were recorded in them. However, the absence of less prominent scholars from these dictionaries does not mean they left no trace of their scholarly activities. Numerous scholars who attended study sessions got their names recorded in audition certificates in the manuscripts they studied.

This article¹ will use such audition records to study the role of Aleppo in the transmission of Sunnī knowledge during the Ayyubid rule over the city (579–658/1183–1260). The specific focus of this article is the late Ayyubid period, from 624/1227 until 658/1260. The reason for this focus is that during this time Aleppo is most visible in the audition certificates.

The Islamic tradition or *ḥadīṭ* is, after the Quran, the most important source for Islamic science. These pieces of *ḥadīṭ* are transmitted from person to person. The human aspect in this *isnād*, or chain of transmission, is as important as the message itself. In other words, even though the *ḥadīṭ* eventually got written down, a written text only got value after it was studied in person with a teacher with an authentic and trustworthy *isnād* that goes back to the source of the text. By attending sessions taught by a teacher who had permission to teach a book through an *isnād*, students could obtain permission to transmit the text (Witkam 2012:150).

To study *ḥadīṭ* and get permission to transmit these texts were important motivations to travel for scholars. Besides travel in search of knowledge, or *ar-riḥla fī ṭalab al-ʿilm*, Shawkat M. Toorawa states that the search for patrons also gave an important impulse to the travel of scholars. The governors, officials and wealthy notables of the urban centers of the Muslim world patronized scholars to increase their own prestige. In search of a patron, scholars traveled considerable distances. In addition to these motivations, many scholars performed the Hajj (Toorawa 2004:53–56). Surprisingly, with regard to the scholars of Aleppo, only one connection to the Hajj could be established through certificates.

By studying at various intellectual centers of the Islamic world, scholars could attain a status that enabled them to attract students of their own and continue the chain of transmission. The paths of these transmissions—from the original transmitters to the teachers of Aleppo, and then to the students of Aleppo, some of whom later became teachers themselves—can be traced through audition certificates. Since many of these certificates include names, dates, and locations, the routes taken by these scholars can be followed closely.

1.1 State of the field and research question

Thousands of audition certificates have survived as part of the manuscripts in which they were written. Although it is well known amongst scholars that these certificates allow for a deeper exploration of social history than is possible through biographical dictionaries, a lot of scholarly work on these sources remains to be done (Görke & Hirschler 2011:10,13,73). Pioneering work on audition certificates was carried out by Georges Vajda (1956)—who mentioned some certificates from Aleppo, though these date to the Mamluk period and Stefan Leder, as-Sawwās and aṣ-Ṣāgarǧī (1996). Further impetus for research on manuscript notes was provided by Andreas Görke

¹ This article is an adaptation of my Master's thesis: Janssen 2024.

and Konrad Hirschler, who published an edited volume on the subject (Görke & Hirschler 2011). A new boost to the study of these materials was given by the launch of the *Audition Certificates Platform* (ACP). This website has been online since November 2023.²

Most studies on manuscript notes from the Ayyubid period focus on Damascus (Görke & Hirschler 2011:73–92). The era of Ayyubid rule—when they governed large parts of Egypt, Syria, the Hijaz, and other regions—coincides with what modern scholars refer to as the “Syrian Century.” This period, which lasted roughly from the early sixth/twelfth century until the mid-seventh/thirteenth century, was marked by the growing wealth of Syrian cities. These cities also became attractive destinations for scholars, increasingly at the expense of Baghdad, which had traditionally been the intellectual center of the Islamic world, but, as we will discuss, began to attract fewer students during this time (Hirschler 2012:59,63; Humphreys 2004:727). Not only do studies of manuscript notes from this period tend to focus on Damascus, but works on the broader social and intellectual history of the era also concentrate primarily on that city.³ Besides that, research on the intellectual history of the Ayyubid realm often centers on its other major city, Cairo (Lapidus 1972; Talmon-Heller 2009; Souad & Ramdane 2017). Moreover, there are also studies that focus on the Ayyubid realm as a whole.⁴ However, the intellectual histories of other cities under Ayyubid rule have received little scholarly attention.

Looking beyond Cairo and Damascus, Aleppo seems like a logical city to focus on. Several studies point out that Aleppo was one of the wealthiest and most important cities in the Ayyubid Period. Scholarly consensus holds that Cairo was the most prosperous city of the Ayyubids. As for the second city, some argue that Ayyubid Aleppo was surpassed by Damascus (Tabbaa 1997:2). While other studies claim Aleppo even surpassed Damascus in this period (Murray 1994:3). Stephen Humphreys even called Aleppo the crown jewel of the Ayyubid realm (Humphreys 2004:738).

There are studies that give insights into the intellectual activities of Ayyubid Aleppo. First there is *Iʿlām an-nubalāʾ bi-tārīḥ Ḥalab aš-šahbāʾ* by Muḥammad Rāḡib aṭ-Ṭabbāḥ al-Ḥalabī, first published in 1923, in which the Ayyubid era is discussed in the fourth part. A more recent publication is *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo* by Yasser Tabbaa (1997). Although the primary focus of this work is the architectural history of the city, it offers valuable insights into the patronizing activities of the rulers and the leading families. In addition, it discusses the infrastructure in Aleppo that supported scholarly activities. Another study on the intellectual history is *An Ayyubid Notable and His World: Ibn al-ʿAdīm and Aleppo*

² “Unlocking the transmission archive in Arabic manuscript cultures,” *Audition Certificates Platform*, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/cms/project-aims>.

³ See, for example, Gilbert 1980 and Griffel 2008.

⁴ Among others: Brentjes 2011, Mallett 2012, and Talmon-Heller 2002.

as Portrayed in His Biographical Dictionary of People Associated with the City by David Morray (1994). As the title suggests, this is a study of the scholarly elite of Aleppo based on the work of Ibn al-ʿAdīm. As with other biographical dictionaries, this work portrays only the scholarly elites. This article compares the findings from the study of audition certificates with those of previous studies. Most other research on Ayyubid Aleppo has focused primarily on its political history (Tabbaa 2006; el-Azhari 2000; Nielsen 1991).

A second scholarly discussion that this article engages with is the recent effort to challenge the so-called *Decline Paradigm*. The thirteenth century is often placed in the *post-classical* period.⁵ In the edited volume *Inḥiṭāt – the Decline Paradigm: Its Influence and Persistence in the Writing of Arab Cultural History*, Syrinx von Hees says this period is still too often perceived as a time of intellectual decline in the Arab world. In the book, she argues that this notion is unjust and calls for a reexamination of the period (Von Hees 2017:7–9). Joosse and Pormann (2010) challenge the same notion in their article *Decline and Decadence in Iraq and Syria after the Age of Avicenna?*.

The limited research on the intellectual history of Ayyubid Aleppo, and the thousands of understudied audition certificates from this period, will be addressed in this article through the lens of mobility. Mohamad El-Merheb and Mehdi Berriah argue in their edited volume *Professional Mobility in Islamic Societies (700–1750)* that mobility is one of the key characteristics of the premodern Muslim world. However, despite this, mobility is rarely at the center of research. Approaching the premodern history of the Muslim world through this focus, they argue, will lead to new insights (El-Merheb & Berriah 2021:1). The same observation is made by Shawkat Toorawa. According to him, the “fascinating and complex subject of travel” in the medieval Islamic world has been disproportionately focused on a handful of travelers. He notes that while the search for knowledge is acknowledged as a motivation for travel, the search for patronage as a motive is largely absent from existing scholarship on travel in the Muslim world (Toorawa 2004:53).

Based on the existing scholarship and scholarly debates on knowledge production in Ayyubid lands, this article will analyze audition certificates to answer the question: To what extent can the study of audition certificates through the lens of mobility give insights into the status of late Ayyubid Aleppo as a center of knowledge?

To answer this question, chapter 2 will place late Ayyubid Aleppo into its historical context and describe the social structure of the city, to gain an understanding of the factors that attracted scholars to it. In chapter 3, the travels of the scholars of Ayyubid Aleppo, as recorded in the audition certificates, will be examined. This part is exploratory and interpretative in nature. Exploring what the

⁵ See, for example, Brockelmann, “Einteilung der arabischen Literaturgeschichte,” *Brockelmann Online* by Carl Brockelmann; Van Lit, L.W.C. (Eric), 2017. “Commentary and Commentary Tradition”, *MIDÉO*, 32, §1, <http://journals.openedition.org/mideo/1580>.

audition certificates imply about the motivations for traveling to the city—in particular the search for knowledge and the search for patronage—will help in getting a better understanding of what the city had to offer traveling scholars. The findings will be used to assess the status of Aleppo as a center for the transmission of knowledge.

The information on the scholarly lives of most Aleppine scholars is scattered and fragmented across the certificates. The picture that arises by combining this fragmentary information will be interpreted to gain an understanding of the role of Aleppo in the transmission of knowledge in the first half of the thirteenth century—from the flow of knowledge towards Aleppo to its spread from Aleppo to other centers of the Islamic world. Focusing first on the teachers of Aleppo and then on the students will provide a clearer picture of the differences between two generations of transmission. This will highlight the changes that took place in the scholarly activities of this period.

1.2 Sources and methodology

The sources this article will build on are audition certificates. There are two kinds of audition certificates: listening certificates (*iğāzat as-samāʿ*) and reading certificates (*iğāzat al-qirāʾa*). An *iğāzat as-samāʿ* was issued after a session during which a teacher, or *musmiʿ*, read or recited a text to a group of students. An *iğāzat al-qirāʾa* was issued after a student read a text to his teacher. The teacher could be the author of the book that was studied, or someone who could claim a trustworthy chain of transmission of the text. These reading sessions were mostly not private; other people attended them, and their names are also recorded in the *iğāza*. By obtaining an *iğāza*, the participant received the licence to transmit the text. Not only scholars attended these sessions—non-scholars such as military personnel, traders, craftsmen, children, and slaves are also recorded in the certificates. Audition certificates are mostly written on the last pages of a manuscript, or at the end of a section or part of a book, and sometimes at the beginning or in the middle of a chapter. The oldest audition certificates date back to the fifth/eleventh century (Gacek 2009:52; Witkam 2012:149; Görke & Hirschler 2011:80–1; Hirschler 2012: 41–43).

The information these certificates provide varies, but they always include names: those of the *musmiʿ*, the transmitter(s), the auditors who attended the session, the reader, the person recording the session, the copyist, or the owner of the manuscript. Not every certificate provides all this information. Some mention only a single person. However, most certificates mention a teacher and one or more auditors (Gacek 2009:53).

Beyond the role of each person in the session, further information can be extracted from their names and how they are addressed. An Arabic name consists of up to five components. It begins with a *laqab*, an honorific title or nickname. This

can provide clues about religious professions (e.g., when it contains *ad-dīn*) or a role in the military or government (e.g., when it includes *ad-dawla*). This is followed by a *kunya*, or patronym. This typically takes the form of *abū* (father of) or *umm* (mother of) followed in most cases by the name of the eldest son—or in rare cases, the eldest daughter. However, a *kunya* can also be an expression of hope for a future child or reflect a personal characteristic. The next component is the *ism*, or personal name. This is followed by the *nasab*, or genealogy, mostly *ibn* (son of) followed by the father's name. Less commonly, it may be *bint* (daughter of) or *sibt* (grandson of), followed by the relevant ancestor's name, and it can go back several generations. Finally, the *nisba*, or relational name, can refer to a place of origin (not necessarily the place of birth), family lineage, profession, or religious school affiliation. Not every Arabic name includes all five components, and not all are always recorded in the certificates (Hirschler 2022:34; Wensinck 1981).

The name and form of address reveal information about the person. First, the titles—and their number—help indicate social status. If a person belonged to or descended from an influential family, this is often mentioned. Second, professions can be inferred from the name or the way a person is addressed. Military personnel are often referred to by formal titles, such as *amīr*, or have a *nisba* with a military reference. A Turkic name—if the person cannot be linked to scholars, traders, or craftsmen—can also suggest a military background. The same applies to administrative officials, who are often referred to by their official titles or whose *nisba* reflects their function. Family relationships can be derived from the *nisab*. Often, family members attended sessions together, and these connections are recorded in the certificates. In some cases, household slaves, present at a session are also mentioned (Hirschler 2022:36).

In addition to names, certificates may also state the date and location of the session. The date is usually specific, often including the day of the week, the day of the month, and the year. Some even mention the time of the day. The location is recorded in approximately half of the certificates. Sometimes it gives the exact building or institution; other times, only the city is recorded. Occasionally, the certificate notes a location between two cities, suggesting that the book was studied while the owner was traveling (Gacek 2009:53).

Despite the potential richness of the information, the certificates pose several challenges for the kind of historical research this article aims to conduct. To trace the movement of and contacts between scholars, more than a single mention of a name is required. Yet, since individuals are not always recorded with their full names, identifying them can be difficult. Rare names—or rare combinations of name components—are easier to trace. Circumstantial information, such as date, location, and combination of attendees can help identify individuals when names alone are insufficient. When name variations occur in certificates within the same manuscript, especially when accompanied by ownership notes, it can be safely assumed that they refer to the same person. Finally, although most individuals mentioned in the certifi-

cates do not appear in biographical dictionaries, some do. Therefore, comparing information from narrative sources with that in the certificates can also aid identification.

A distinction must also be made between original and copied certificates. This research found that copied certificates tend to be less reliable. In some cases, individuals appear in certificates dated long before they were born, or they are placed in locations they could not plausibly have reached based on their presence in other original certificates or narrative sources. This may result from careless copying or deliberate falsification. Regardless, copied certificates were treated with more caution than originals.

The study of audition certificates has been significantly advanced by the launch of the online ACP database. At the time of writing, the database contained 4,643 certificates. Of these, 1,722 date from the Ayyubid period. More than half (985) mention a location. Among the thirty-three cities recorded in these Ayyubid-period certificates, Aleppo is the fourth most frequently mentioned, with forty-two certificates, after Damascus (598), Cairo (87) and Baghdad (81).

A closer look shows that all Aleppine certificates are dated between 612/1215 and 648/1250. Based on ACP data, Aleppo is better represented than Baghdad (37) during this timeframe, slightly behind Cairo (51), and far behind Damascus (397). Another survey found a slightly different distribution, though it reached the same conclusion regarding the relative prominence of Damascus, Cairo, Aleppo, and Baghdad. That survey also placed Mecca among the cities with the most certificates. While ACP contains ten certificates from Mecca in the Ayyubid period, it is surpassed by other cities (Witkam 2012:157).

The differences between the survey and the ACP stem from the fact that there is not yet a complete database of audition certificates. The ACP is still at an early stage of collecting and editing. Version 3.0 contains certificates from manuscripts housed in four libraries: the Staatsbibliothek Berlin, the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and the Syrian National Library. Not all certificates in these libraries have yet been identified. Additionally, since the ACP project began with work on Damascus certificates, it is not surprising that most of the certificates come from there.⁶ Many other libraries contain manuscripts with certificates, so only a small fraction of all the surviving certificates has been edited and digitized. Still, the ACP provides a solid sample for beginning research on scholars in Ayyubid Aleppo.

To expand the Aleppine dataset, I searched for certificates outside the ACP. This search highlighted the value the ACP brings to the field. Manuscripts taught in Ayyubid Aleppo have spread to libraries around the world. Each library has its own method of cataloging manuscripts, and certificates are not always cataloged. As for

⁶ ACP³, “Unlocking the transmission archive in Arabic manuscript cultures,” *Audition Certificates Platform*, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/cms/project-aims>.

dating these manuscripts, different methods are used. Carl Brockelmann (2023) dates texts by the year they were written by the author. For finding manuscript notes this is not very helpful, since the article deals with a period where texts were copied over centuries. Witkam's inventory (2002–2011), by contrast, uses the copying date, which can indicate whether a manuscript was likely in use during the Ayyubid period. Searching by place can also help, though using "Aleppo" as a search term is not foolproof in a period of high scholarly mobility. Despite these challenges, I found manuscripts in the Leiden University Library, İl Halk Library in Manisa, and the Köprülü Library in Istanbul that contained valuable certificates.⁷ Editions of these certificates are included in the Appendix, except those from the Köprülü Library manuscript, which are already part of an edition of the text it contains (al-İsfahānī, *Faḍā'il* 85, 100–101, 107–108). This provided an adequate number of certificates to enable a robust analysis.

2 Ayyubid Aleppo

"Oh, city of wonder!" Twelfth-century traveler Ibn Ḡubayr (d. 614/1217) seemed to have been blown away by the beauty of Aleppo when he visited the city in 580/1184. In his enthusiasm he claims that it is "one of the cities of the world that have no like," and that the city is worthy of a seat of the caliph (Ibn Ḡubayr, *Travels*, 260–263). However, although Aleppo is among the oldest cities in the world, when Ibn Ḡubayr visited this city, the wealth and splendor observed by him was relatively recent. In the centuries after the Abbasids moved their capital to Baghdad, the Syrian cities were far away from the political, economic and cultural center of the Islamic world. This changed after the arrival of the Crusaders. Although the Crusader states posed a military threat to the Syrian cities, their arrival on the eastern Mediterranean lands also attracted trade. This trade passed through the Syrian cities and gave them an enormous economic boost. For Aleppo, situated on the crossroad of trade routes, this period was one of economic prosperity (Humphreys 2004:727–728; Tabbāa 1997: 15). The city of Aleppo played a key role in the Venetian trade with China. In the first half of the thirteenth century the rulers of Aleppo signed four trade treaties with Venice (Murray 1994:126; Tabbāa 1997:28). This new prosperity led to population growth. To house the expanding population, new suburbs were built outside the city walls (Eddé 2010:192–193). When 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī (d. 629/1231) visited the city for the second time in 626/1229, after an absence of almost twenty years, he writes that the city had "grown immensely and that its prosperity and security had increased." He contributes this to the "good deeds" of atabeg Šihāb ad-Dīn Tūġrūl

⁷ MS Istanbul, Köprülü Kütüphanesi, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, 00040-002, 359527, 236v, 251r and 251v; MS Leiden, University Library Or.621, 258v; MS Manisa, İl Halk Kütüphanesi / 1781/8, 120r, 151v.

(d. 631/1233). However, it is important to keep in mind that this atabeg was his patron (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *Physicians*, §15.40.6–7).

Although nominally part of the Ayyubid confederation, Aleppo acted with considerable autonomy within this confederation. The city was the only one within the Ayyubid lands that was ruled by the direct descendants of Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn (d. 589/1193), whereas the other parts of the realm were mostly ruled by his brother al-ʿĀdil (d. 615/1218) and his descendants (Eddé 2010:187). Al-ʿĀdil tried to exert influence over Aleppo by marrying his daughter ʿĀyfa Ḥātūn (d. 640/1242) to Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn's son az-Zāhir Ġāzī (r. 582–613/1186–1216). The only influence al-ʿĀdil gained with this move seemed to be symbolic. Politically, Aleppo was a stable and centralized city-state. Until the city was conquered by the Mongols in 658/1260, no major political crises occurred. Twice, its rulers tried to seize power in Damascus, first in 597/1201, and later in 648/1250. Only the latter attempt was successful. Besides this, Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn's descendants interfered little in Ayyubid affairs. After al-ʿĀdil died, Aleppo's rulers turned their attention towards Konya, where the Seljuks of Rum were at the height of their power. Perhaps a sign of this relation between two powerful states, the Seljuks of Rum attacked Aleppo in the same year (Humphreys 2004:747–750). The political enmity with Damascus did not stop scholars from traveling between the two cities, as will be discussed below.

After az-Zāhir Ġāzī died in 613/1216, his son al-ʿAzīz Muḥammad (d. 634/1236) became the ruler of Aleppo—at least in name, since he was four years old at the time. He ruled until 634/1236, when he died at the age of twenty-four. During his rule, the most powerful figure in Aleppo was his atabeg Ṣihāb ad-Dīn Tūgrūl. Al-ʿAzīz Muḥammad was succeeded by his infant son, an-Nāṣir Yūsuf (d. 658/1260). It was during the rule of an-Nāṣir Yūsuf that his grandmother, ʿĀyfa Ḥātūn took up effective rule over the city until her death in 640/1242 (Murray 1994:4; Tabbāa 1997:29).

In 642/1244, the threat of the Mongols was felt in Aleppo for the first time. The Mongols seemed to have come as close as twelve kilometers, but they did not advance on the city. Through diplomatic means, an-Nāṣir Yūsuf tried to ward off the Mongols. In 648/1250, a coup by the *mamlūks* ended Ayyubid rule in Egypt. The same year, the Ayyubids of Aleppo seized power in Damascus, and for a short period, Aleppo seemed at the peak of its might. However, in 658/1260, the Mongol armies under Hülegü (d. 633/1265) swept over Syria and conquered Aleppo. These events marked the end of the political power of the Ayyubids. After the Mamluks defeated the Mongols on the 19th of Ramaḍān/3rd of September that same year, Syria came under their control, and Cairo would become their undisputed capital (Eddé 2010:194).

2.1 The educational infrastructure of Ayyubid Aleppo

To understand what drew scholars to Aleppo, it is important to dive deeper into the social structure and patronaging activities of the political and economic elites of the city. In Ayyubid Aleppo, support for scholars came mainly from two groups: first, from the court, and second, from the patrician families.

The social structure of the court in Aleppo did not differ much from other contemporary Islamic courts. It was, at least in name, headed by the sultan, who was a descendant of the Ayyubid family. This family had Kurdish origins. However, during the time when they ruled over Aleppo, they were highly Arabized. They exercised power through their army, which was composed mainly of men with no roots in Syria. Furthermore, the princes and the women were part of the court. The Ayyubid women at the court were enthusiastic patrons of religious institutions (Tabbaa 1997: 27–28, 31).

The Ayyubid army consisted mostly of Kurdish and Turkish horsemen, Turcoman and Arab infantry, and elite *mamlūks* or slave soldiers. The size of the cavalry was estimated at 3,000 to 5,000 horsemen. This force was similar to the army of Damascus. Egypt's army seems to have been significantly larger in this period, with estimates ranging between 8,500 and 12,000 horsemen. In the early Ayyubid period, this military class did not play any role in the cultural life of the city. In the late Ayyubid period, the military began to participate in cultural life (Tabbaa 1997:30–31; Eddé 2010:190). Judging by the names and titles, persons with a military background appear several times in the Ayyubid-era certificates. The earliest one is dated 612/1215. The *musmi'* of this certificate is addressed as *al-amīr al-kabīr* ("the great emir"). This shows active involvement by members of the military class in scholarly life.⁸ Other certificates show the *kunya* at-Turkī or a Turkish name (Aybak) as participants in a *mağlis*, or study session, in Aleppo in the first half of the thirteenth century.⁹

Besides the members of the Ayyubid family, the court consisted of people close to and trusted by the rulers. These were eunuchs, slaves, freed slaves, and Muslims from other parts of the Islamic world. They worked at the court as viziers, governors, supervisors, or scribes. They were cut off from all family bonds and owed everything they had to the court (Tabbaa 1997:30). They were part of the scholarly life of Aleppo, and occasionally someone who seemed to have belonged to the court appears in a certificate. One certificate mentions Muḥammad ibn Šālīḥ ibn Ibrāhīm al-Āmidī al-Kātib. The *nisba* al-Āmidī suggests roots in Āmid, present-day Diyar-

⁸ ACP³, Berlin State Library, Landberg 47, 32v, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2694>.

⁹ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3748/5, 140v, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1424>; ACP³, Berlin State Library, Petermann II 30, 54v, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2998>.

bakir—meaning outside Aleppo. However, a *nisba* can be misleading, as it could also refer to distant ancestry. The *nisba* al-Kātib suggests a function as a civil servant or administrator (van Berkel 2022). And even though it is not specified in which institution this person worked as a scribe, analyzing his name paints a picture consistent with the description of people at the court.¹⁰ Another courtier who appears in the certificates is *al-ḥāzin* (the treasurer) Abū l-Faḍl Ǧaʿfar ibn Abī Ḥāmid ibn Salmān.¹¹ His name is also found in another certificate with the *nisba* al-Ḥalabī.¹² Members of the court were active in patronizing religious institutions. The *de facto* ruler, atabeg Šihāb ad-Dīn Tūǧrūl was the most active in this regard. He completed al-ʿAzīz Muḥammad’s *madrasa*. On top of that, he commissioned the construction of at least two Ḥanafī *madrasas* and a *ḥānqāh* (Tabbaa 1997:37–38).

2.2 Notable Families

The other group that was deeply involved in patronizing scholars and religious institutions in Ayyubid Aleppo were the *aʿyān*, or the notables. These were the wealthy families who made their fortunes with trade and agriculture. What makes these notables stand out, compared to contemporary families in other cities, is their deep historical roots in the city. These families—prominent long before the Ayyubids seized power in Aleppo—were: Banū l-Ḥaššāb, Banū l-ʿAǧamī, Banū l-ʿAdīm (also known as: Banū Abī Ǧarāda), Banū l-Muqaddam, Banū Šaddād, Banū ʿUšrūn, Banū ʿAlwān l-Asadī (Tabbaa 1997:31–33; Morray 1994:40).¹³

The Banū l-Ḥaššāb were present in the city since the middle of the tenth century. This was a Šīʿī family (Tabbaa 1997:40). In the certificates, the *nisba* al-Ḥaššāb appears a couple of times, although none of these certificates could be linked to Aleppo.

Most of the Sunnī families of Ayyubid Aleppo followed the Šāfiʿī or the Ḥanafī school of thought. When Šalāḥ ad-Dīn came to power in Aleppo, he strongly supported the Šāfiʿīs and removed everyone who followed other schools of thought from

¹⁰ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3747/6, 95v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1413>.

¹¹ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3747/6, 95r, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1411>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3748/5, 140v, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1424>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3750/6, 78v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1546>.

¹² al-Iṣfahānī, *Faḍāʾil* 100–101. The original certificates from this edition come from MS. Köprülü Kütüphanesi, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, 00040-002, 359527. The certificate of this manuscript related to Ibn Ḥalīl can be found on 236v, 251r, and 251v.

¹³ The Banū l-ʿAdīm is the only of these Ayyubid-era families mentioned in aṭ-Ṭabbāḥ’s *fiḥrist* of aṭ-Ṭabbāḥ’s *Iʿlām an-nubalāʾ* (aṭ-Ṭabbāḥ 1992: VIII, 186). Members of Banū l-ʿAǧamī (IV, e.g. 333, 355, 410) Banū Šaddād (IV, 483), Banū ʿUšrūn (IV, 484), and Banū ʿAlwān al-Asadī (IV, 373, 476) are mentioned separately.

official positions. As a result, Šāfi'ī families flourished during the Ayyubid period, at the cost of the Hanafī families (Murray 1994:123).

The most prominent family in Ayyubid Aleppo was the Banū l-ʿAğamī. They built palaces that could compete with the palaces of the Ayyubids in the citadel, in both size and sophistication. They were the “leaders of the Šāfi'ī community” (Tabbaa 1997:41). Their influence went beyond Aleppo, and they had connections with the Abbasid court in Baghdad (Murray 1994:122; Tabbaa 1997:78). As their *nisba* suggests¹⁴ they had Persian roots. In the middle of the eleventh century, the family moved from Nishapur to Aleppo. Many of its members played important roles in the intellectual life of the city. The members of the family were enthusiastic builders, and they provided many facilities for religious education in the city. Four *madrasas* were built in their name. Among them is the first Sunnī *madrasa* in Aleppo, the *Zağğāgiyya madrasa*. Another prominent institution is the *Šarafīyya madrasa*. This was one of the largest Ayyubid *madrasas* and was built on the main road between the citadel and the Umayyad Mosque. Furthermore, two mosques and one *ḥānqāh* were built by the family. Their construction projects of scholarly institutions show their deep involvement in the scholarly activity of Aleppo. Moreover, it is said that the family produced some of the city's leading scholars (Tabbaa 1997:41, 123, 125, 130–137). However, so far, I have not found any certificate where an al-ʿAğamī was mentioned as a *musmi*. Furthermore, only one certificate mentions a person with the *nisba* al-ʿAğamī as a reader during a session in Aleppo.¹⁵ The institutions they built are visible in the certificates. The *Šarafīyya madrasa* is mentioned multiple times, albeit all in certificates from the Mamluk Period (658–922/1260–1517). The same goes for a session in the *Zağğāgiyya madrasa*, dated 794/1392 and a certificate that records a session in the abode of the Banū l-ʿAğamī, dated 730/1330.¹⁶ This is not to say that no sessions took place in one of their institutions in the Ayyubid period, as many of the Ayyubid-era certificates just mention the city name, or no location at all. Moreover, as mentioned in the introduction, only a fraction of certificates from Ayyubid Aleppo have been studied so far—a lot might still be hidden in unstudied texts.

Other prominent Šāfi'ī families are the Banū Šaddād, the Banū ʿUṣrūn, and the Banū ʿAlwān al-Asadī. The Banū Šaddād is famous for the two historians that come from the family: Bahā' ad-Dīn ibn Šaddād (d. 632/1234) and ʿIzz ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Šaddād (d. 684/1285). A *madrasa* and the *dār al-ḥadīṭ* are attributed to the family. So far, I have not found any Ayyubid-era certificate that mentions a member

¹⁴ *ʿAğam* meaning ‘foreigner’ or ‘non-Arabs’, mostly referring to Persians (Lane 1968: V, 1967).

¹⁵ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3744/6, 48v, N. 3, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1224>.

¹⁶ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3749/7, 196v, N. 3, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1466>.

of this house. Also, no certificate that records a session in one of their institutions is found. The next family, the Banū 'Uṣrūn, built at least one *madrasa* that carried their name (Murray 1994:134). However, their names are absent from the Ayyubid certificates issued in Aleppo. From all Šāfi'ī families, the Banū 'Alwān al-Asadī is the most visible in the certificates. In an early Ayyubid certificate, dating to 589/1193, a member from the house leads a session as *musmi* (Appendix, A). In the late Ayyubid period, this role was no longer practiced by the family, but there is a certificate that lists a member of the family as reader.¹⁷

One of the few prominent Hanafī houses in Ayyubid Aleppo was the Banū l-'Adīm, also known as Banū Abī Ġarāda. The heyday of the family's status was during the Zangid rule (522–579/1128–1183). Their status declined, as a result of Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn's policies of favoring the Šāfi'ī school of thought. The most famous scholar from this house is the historian Kamāl ad-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim 'Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn Hibat Allāh, known as Ibn al-'Adīm (d. 660/1262) (Murray 1994:125; Tabbaa 1997:42). One of the Aleppine certificates recorded his name as participant, in a session dated 625/1228.¹⁸ The same manuscript also contains a certificate that he copied.¹⁹ Other members of the Banū l-'Adīm also appear in several certificates. Similar to other Aleppine families, no certificate mentions them as *musmi*, but there is a certificate where a member, 'Abd al-Wāḥib ibn Abī Ġarāda al-Ḥalabī, participated as reader.²⁰ This name is also found as copier of several older certificates.²¹ The family built at least one *madrasa*. No certificate mentions a session that took place there. In Gotha Research Library Ms. orient. A 1751 224r N. 3 members of the family were mentioned. They are addressed as the 'noble children' (*al-awlād annuḡabā'*) of the grand chief, the benefactor (*aṣ-ṣadr al-kabīr al-mun'im*) Muḥyī d-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad from the Banū Abī Ġarāda. They were accompanied by their *mu'addib*, who was an elementary teacher or tutor for studying the Quran.²² The way they are addressed confirms their status. Their role in the session seems to do that less so.

¹⁷ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3739/2, 21r, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/993>.

¹⁸ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3765/9, 48r, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/4019>.

¹⁹ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3765/9, 54v, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/4024>.

²⁰ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3750/6, 77v, N. 4, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1540>.

²¹ ACP³, Berlin State Library, Ms. or. Quart 1060, 48v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2843>; ACP³, Berlin State Library, Ms. or. Quart 1060, 48v, N. 4, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2846>; ACP³, Berlin State Library, Ms. or. Quart 1060, 49r, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2848>.

²² ACP³, Gotha Research Library, Ms. orient. A 1751, 224r, N. 3, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/759>; On the *mu'addib*, see Shatzmiller 1994:163.

It is noteworthy that the Ayyubid certificates from Aleppo suggest an intellectual climate unlike that portrayed in the works of Tabbāa and Morray. The leading families are not prominently represented in the certificates, as might be expected given their position in the intellectual and cultural landscape of the city. Most strikingly, members of these families appear only a few times as *musmi*²³. Finally, no Ayyubid certificate mentions any of the institutions built by these families. This does not mean that no session took place there, since in more than half of the certificates only *Ḥalab* (Aleppo) is mentioned as the location of the session.

2.3 Institutions for education

While discussing the leading families of Aleppo, some educational institutions of Aleppo have already been mentioned. Elaborating on this topic provides a deeper understanding of Aleppo's educational infrastructure.

At the heart of the city's cultural and religious life lies the Great Mosque, or the Umayyad Mosque. Although the Umayyads were the first to construct a mosque that continues to bear their name, by the Ayyubid period hardly anything remained of the original structure. The mosque was totally rebuilt in the twelfth century (Tabbāa 1997:16). It was a popular location for teaching sessions. It is mentioned eight times in the Ayyubid certificates, making it the most frequently mentioned location in these documents from Ayyubid Aleppo. In the certificates, the Umayyad Mosque is referred to as *ḡāmi' Ḥalab* (the congregational mosque of Aleppo). Other mosques mentioned in the Ayyubid certificates include the Artāḥī mosque (one certificate²³), the mosque of the Banū l-Qaysarānī (one certificate²⁴), and the Qabāt mosque (two certificates²⁵).

Another religious institution that hosted teaching sessions was the *madrasa*. The *madrasa* was primarily devoted to teaching Islamic law, according to one or more of the (Sunnī) *madḥabs* (schools of law). Physically, the building provided both teaching space and rooms for student accommodation. The *madḥab* a *madrasa* served depended on the wishes of its patron (Makdisi 1981:27–28). The rise of the *madrasa* in the second half of the fifth/eleventh century is often attributed to the Seljuk vizier Nizām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092). Although similar institutions existed before he founded the famous Nizāmiyya *madrasa* in Baghdad, Nizām al-Mulk made the *madrasa* a tool of the state. Through the *madrasa*, rulers could spread and control their

²³ ACP³, BNF Paris, Suppl Turc 984, 98r, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/569>.

²⁴ ACP³, Berlin State Library, Petermann II 30, 54v, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2998>.

²⁵ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3757/8, 115v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2135>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3765/9, 48r, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/4019>.

Sunnī policy. Early *madrasas* also served to counter Šīʿī institutions built by the Fatimids. In Aleppo, where there was a considerable Šīʿī population, the construction of the first *madrasa*—the Zağğāgiyya *madrasa* in 560/1116—was met with violent opposition. A second function of the *madrasa* was to train loyal officials (Tabbaa 1997:123–128). The number of *madrasas* in Aleppo increased rapidly under Ayyubid rule. Ibn Ġubayr mentions that there were five or six of these institutions when he visited the city in 580/1184 (Ibn Ġubayr, *Travels* 263). At the end of the Ayyubid rule there must have been forty-five *madrasas* (Eddé 2010:193).

The *mudarris*, or professor of law, held the highest position in a *madrasa*. The *mudarris* belonged to one of the Sunnī *madhabs* (Makdisi 1981:34, 153). In Aleppo, this position was mostly reserved for members of the leading families (Murray 1994:134). The term appears only rarely in certificates from the Ayyubid period. It is found in one certificate from Mecca dated 644/1247. In the same period, though outside the Ayyubid realm, it appears in a certificate from Baghdad dated 600/1203.²⁶ However, in the Aleppine certificates, no one is addressed with this title.

The Šarafiyya *madrasa* was among the most prominent *madrasas* in the city. Other notable institutions included the Šāḍbaḥtiyya *madrasa* (Murray 1994:133) and the Firdaws *madrasa*, built by ʿDayfa Ḥātūn (Tabbaa 1997:168–182). The Ḥallāwiyya *madrasa* was the leading Ḥanafī *madrasa*. Ibn al-ʿAdīm referred to it as *al-madrasa al-kabīra* (the great school) (Murray 1994:1).

Despite being the principal site of education during this period, and the significant number of *madrasas* built in Aleppo, they are rarely mentioned in the certificates. Only two certificates mention the *madrasa* where they were issued. In contrast, in the ACP collection, eighty certificates state that they were issued in a *madrasa* in Damascus.

The first Aleppine *madrasa* mentioned in a certificate is the Ibn Rawāḥa *madrasa*,²⁷ one of the institutions built by the wealthy merchant Zakī ad-Dīn ibn Rawāḥa (d. 622/1225). The Banū ʿAlwān al-Asadī were connected to it and provided its *mudarris* (aṭ-Ṭabbāḥ 1992: IV, 45; Murray 1994:126, 135). This certificate, dated two years after the patron's death, mentions many names from the Banū ʿAlwān al-Asadī.

Another *madrasa* that appears in the certificates is the *madrasa* of Ifṭihār ad-Dīn.²⁸ This refers to the scholar Ifṭihār ad-Dīn Abū Hāšim ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib ibn al-Faḍl ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib al-Hāšimī (al-Hāšimī, d. 616/1219–1220), who was the

²⁶ Mecca: ACP³, BNF Paris, Arabe 722, 95v, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/304>; Baghdad: ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3759/4, 54r, N. 3, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2391>.

²⁷ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3765/9, 55r, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/4026>.

²⁸ ACP³, Berlin State Library, Landberg 47, 32v, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2694>.

musmi‘ of the session. He was a leading Ḥanafī scholar at that time, and the *mudarris* of the Ḥallāwiyya *madrasa*. Since the *madrasa* of Iftihār ad-Dīn is absent from the literature, it is likely that this session took place in the *madrasa* where he was the *mudarris* (Murray 1994:35, 42, 175). He was also recorded as a *musmi*‘ in a certificate dated a few months earlier, though that certificate does not specify the location. Therefore, that session could also have taken place in the Ḥallāwiyya *madrasa*.²⁹

In addition to sessions held in religious institutions, some certificates record sessions held in secular buildings. For example, some sessions were conducted in a *ḥān*—an inn that accommodated travelers and included warehouses and shops. Besides merchants, traveling scholars also stayed in *ḥāns*, and it was not uncommon for them to hold teaching sessions there (Makdisi 1981: 23–24). One such certificate records a session held at *ḥān* as-Sultān Zāhir in Dū l-Qa‘da 634/July 1237.³⁰ The *musmi*‘ was Abū l-Munaḡḡā ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Umar al-Lattī (al-Lattī, fl. 634/1237), a scholar from Baghdad (aḍ-Ḍahabī, *Ta’rīḥ* XLVI, 240). The certificates show that he traveled to al-Karak and Damascus before arriving in Aleppo. In the Karak certificate, he is referred to simply as al-Lattī, but since the role and manuscript context are consistent, it seems safe to assume he is the same person.³¹ A month later, he led a session at the Qabāt mosque,³² suggesting the *ḥān* session may have been one of his first in the city, while by the following month he was more established. Another certificate from the *ḥān* as-Sultān Zāhir records a session by Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Mas‘ūd ibn al-Qumayra al-Mu’tamin (d. 650/1252–1253). This *musmi*‘ does not appear in other certificates, and knowledge of his travels comes only from narrative sources. According to aḍ-Ḍahabī, he was a traveling merchant from Iraq who journeyed to Syria and Egypt.³³

As for royal institutions, the citadel of Aleppo is not mentioned in the surveyed certificates, so there is no evidence of education at the court—unlike Damascus, whose citadel is mentioned in several certificates.³⁴ A royal institution that is mentioned is the *dār al-‘adl*.³⁵ The *dār al-‘adl*, loosely translated as “palace of justice,”

²⁹ ACP³, Berlin State Library, Landberg 47, 32r, N. 3, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2693>.

³⁰ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3757/8, 116r, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2137>.

³¹ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3757/8, 113v, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2127>.

³² ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3757/8, 115v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2135>.

³³ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3757/9, 150r, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2187>; aḍ-Ḍahabī, *Ibar* III, 266.

³⁴ For example, ACP³, Gotha Research Library, Ms. orient. A 590, 99v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/837>; ACP³, Berlin State Library, Wetzstein II 1326, 246r, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/3417>.

³⁵ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3763/5, 48v, N. 5, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/3778>.

was a building symbolizing the bond between ruler and populace. Such buildings were only constructed in capital cities, and the presence of one in Aleppo already suggests the city's political status. The *dār al-ʿadl* in Aleppo was built in 585/1189. There, the ruler of Aleppo held public hearings once or twice a week (Rabbat 1995:3–10).

Teaching sessions were also held at the private residences of scholars. This practice was common in the so-called *pre-madrasa* period (Osti 2013:192). The introduction of the *madrasa* did not end this tradition in Aleppo, as evidenced by three certificates issued at the home of the *musmi*.³⁶ Sessions in a teacher's private home were generally less accessible to a non-scholarly audience, although some teachers held popular sessions at their residences (Hirschler 2022:37, 45).

3 The scholarly environment of Ayyubid Aleppo

To understand the role Aleppo played in the transmission of knowledge during the late Ayyubid period, this chapter examines certificates of scholars associated with the city. By studying these certificates, it is possible to trace where Aleppo's teachers acquired their knowledge and where their students later spread it. The certificates also offer hints of patronage, as suggested by the mention of prominent families or court members. In the certificates from Ayyubid Aleppo, the role of *musmi* is performed by seventeen different individuals. Several of these certificates provide valuable insights into patterns of scholarly mobility in the city.

3.1 Travels in search of knowledge

This section discusses the scholarly travels of Aleppo's teachers. Analyzing these travels helps establish which centers of knowledge influenced the scholarly environment of Ayyubid Aleppo. The Aleppine scholar most visible in the certificates is Šams ad-Dīn Abū l-Ḥağğāğ Yūsuf ibn Ḥalīl ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ādamī ad-Dimašqī³⁷ (Ibn Ḥalīl, d. 648/1250). Therefore, his certificates form the core of this analysis. For other scholars, the certificates provide only scattered information. However, when combined, they offer a solid picture of Aleppo's scholarly network.

Based on the audition certificates, Ibn Ḥalīl was one of the most well-traveled teachers in Ayyubid Aleppo. He was born in Damascus in 555/1160–1161, where he

³⁶ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3765/9, 55v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/4028>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3765/9, 55v, N. 3, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/4030>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3763/18, 216r, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/4144>.

³⁷ at-Ṭabbāḥ (1992: IV, 399) records his *nasab* as ʿibn Ḥalīl ibn Qarāğā ʿAbd Allāh, whereas in all audition certificates ʿibn Qarāğā appears to be omitted.

also attended his first study sessions.³⁸ His biographers mention that he undertook journey in search of knowledge, but they provide only the names of the places he visited and a few of his teachers (aḍ-Ḍahabī, *Taḍkira* 1410–1411; as-Suyūṭī, *Tabaqāt* 489, aṭ-Ṭabbāḥ 1992: IV, 399–401). The certificates allow us to follow his journey in greater detail.

The earliest attestation of Ibn Ḥalīl in Damascus is in a copied certificate dated 586/1190.³⁹ After that, he began his *riḥla*. In 587/1191 he arrived in Baghdad. Between Ġumādā al-Āḥira 587/July 1191 and Rabīʿ al-Awwal 588/March 1192, his name appears in three certificates from Baghdad. In 589/1193, he attended sessions by Ibn Kulayb and Ḍākir ibn Kāmil.⁴⁰ While the certificates do not mention the location of these sessions, aḍ-Ḍahabī states that Ibn Ḥalīl studied with these scholars in Baghdad (*Taḍkira* 1410).

At the time, Baghdad was under the rule of caliph an-Nāṣir (r. 575–622/1180–1225), who revitalized Abbasid political authority. According to El-Hibri, his court attracted scholars from Syria, Iraq and Anatolia (El-Hibri 2021:225–226, 239–240). However, contemporary scholars do not seem to be charmed by the state of the city. The geographer Ibn Ḡubayr described it as a “statue of a ghost” when he visited in 580/1184—seven years before Ibn Ḥalīl (Ibn Ḡubayr, *Travels* 226). ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baḡdādī wrote in his autobiography that after 585/1189 “there was none left in Baghdad who was able to win my heart, satisfy me completely and help me to resolve the difficulties which I felt” (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, *Physicians* §15.40.3). He eventually left for Mosul, then Damascus, where he found “a great number of notables from Baghdad and elsewhere” attracted by Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn’s “generous patronage” (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, *Physicians* §15.40.3). Thus, it is notable that Ibn Ḥalīl still chose to study in Baghdad despite these criticisms.

After Baghdad, Ibn Ḥalīl, like ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baḡdādī, traveled to Mosul. Though not mentioned in his biography, a certificate records that he studied the work of Ismā‘īl ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Umar as-Samarqandī there—a text he had also studied in Baghdad.⁴¹ After Mosul, like ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baḡdādī, he returned to Damascus,⁴²

³⁸ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3753/2, 35v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1634>.

³⁹ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3753/2, 35v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1634>.

⁴⁰ ACP³, Gotha Research Library, Ms. orient. A 1751, 128r, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/754>; ACP³, Gotha Research Library, Ms. orient. A 1751, 224r, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/756>; ACP³, Gotha Research Library, Ms. orient. A 1751, 224r, N.1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/757>.

⁴¹ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3747/6, 94r, N. 3, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1407>.

⁴² ACP³, Gotha Research Library, Ms. orient. A 1775, 111v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/773>; ACP², Gotha Research Library, Ms. orient. A 1775, 76v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/787>.

although the certificates do not clarify his motivation for this move. Unlike ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī, he did not appear disillusioned with the scholars of Baghdad, as he returned there after about a year in Damascus, attending a session in a *ribāṭ*.⁴³

From Baghdad, he traveled further east to Isfahan, where he studied with Abū Ġa‘far Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Naṣr aṣ-Ṣaydalānī.⁴⁴ The Khwarazmian conquest of Isfahan the year before did not deter his visit (Lambton 1997:102). Aḍ-Ḍahabī does not mention aṣ-Ṣaydalānī among Ibn Ḥalīl’s teachers but does list Abū Ġa‘far Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl aṭ-Ṭarsūsī and Mas‘ūd al-Ġamāl in Isfahan (*Taḍkira* 1410). Their transmission to Ibn Ḥalīl appears in a certificate from a session Ibn Ḥalīl led thirty-three years later (al-Iṣfahānī, *Faḍā’il* 107).

He then returned to Damascus.⁴⁵ In 595/1199, he embarked on one final study journey, this time to Egypt,⁴⁶ where he stayed for about a year before again settling in Damascus,⁴⁷ where he remained until at least 604/1207.⁴⁸

In 605/1209 Ibn Ḥalīl went on the *ḥaġġ*. During the pilgrimage, he attended a study session in Mina near Mecca.⁴⁹ This is, so far, the only documented case I could find of a scholar who would later settle in Ayyubid Aleppo performing the *ḥaġġ*. As discussed in the introduction, many Meccan certificates remain unpublished in ACP. Therefore, it is likely that further research on Meccan certificates will uncover more scholars from Ayyubid Aleppo.

It is unclear when Ibn Ḥalīl arrived in Aleppo. His biographers do not provide a date, and no audition certificate mentions him between the Mina study session and 624/1227. From that year, a certificate from Aleppo names him for the first time (al-Iṣfahānī, *Faḍā’il* 107), by which time he was sixty-nine years old. For the first time he is listed as *musmi*, a role he continued to hold in all twenty-four surviving certificates from this period. He remained in Aleppo for the rest of his life.

⁴³ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3760/1, 8v, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2549>.

⁴⁴ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3764/12, 178v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/3840>.

⁴⁵ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3753/2, 35r, N. 4, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1633>.

⁴⁶ ACP³, BNF Paris, Suppl Turc 984, 83v, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/557>.

⁴⁷ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3761/4, 28v, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/3629>.

⁴⁸ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3747/10, 136v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1298>.

⁴⁹ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3758/6, 134v, N. 3, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2226>.

The easternmost city Ibn Ḥalīl visited was Isfahan.⁵⁰ Only one Aleppine teacher traveled further east: al-Hāsimī, who traveled to Samarqand in 550/1156.⁵¹ This places him in an earlier generation of scholars. Besides Ibn Ḥalīl and al-Hāsimī, no other teachers from Ayyubid Aleppo are found in certificates beyond Baghdad.

Like Ibn Ḥalīl, most teachers from Aleppo visited the three major centers of learning: Baghdad, Damascus, and Cairo. While some contemporary scholars regarded Baghdad as in decline, not all shared that view. Ibn Ḥalīl studied there between 587/1191 and 589/1193 and returned in 591/1195. The famous historian Sibṭ Ibn al-Ġawzī, born in Baghdad, led a teaching session in Aleppo in 643/1245.⁵² He remained in Baghdad until 597/1201, when he moved to Damascus (Cahen 1968). Even later, Baghdad was visited by al-Lattī. He is mentioned in a Baghdadi certificate from 633/1236, the year before his arrival in Aleppo.⁵³ Furthermore, ACP records fifty-eight certificates from Baghdad issued between 585/1189 and the Mongol siege in 656/1258—forty-seven of which were issued before 635/1238. Only Cairo and Damascus surpass this number in the same period, indicating Baghdad's continued vitality as a productive center of knowledge, in contrary to 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī's pessimistic assessment of the scholarly value of Baghdad.

The most visited city by Aleppine teachers was Damascus. Ibn Ḥalīl was born there and attended many study sessions in that city. Al-Baġdādī, al-Lattī, and Sibṭ Ibn al-Ġawzī visited Damascus, as did Ibn Rawāḥa.⁵⁴ This is unsurprising. Damascus was the leading center of learning at the time, as evidenced by 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī's observation that many prominent scholars from Baghdad moved to Damascus (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *Physicians* §15.40.3). This is also confirmed by the sheer volume of certificates issued there, and its geographic proximity to Aleppo. Based on Ibn Ġubayr's account, the journey from Aleppo to Damascus took about a week. On the road between the two cities there were various facilities for travelers (Ibn Ġubayr, *The Travels* 265–270). Political tension did not hinder intellectual exchange between the two.

Besides Ibn Ḥalīl, four Aleppine teachers are linked to Egypt. In the cases of 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī and al-Mu'tamin, this is known only from narrative sources (Uṣaybi'a, *Physicians* §15.40.1; aḍ-Ḍahabī, *Ibar* III, 266). Based on certificates, Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Abī Bakr ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Rūzba aṣ-Ṣūfī al-Baġdādī (Ibn

⁵⁰ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3764/12, 178v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/3840>.

⁵¹ ACP³, Landberg 47, 31r, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2689>.

⁵² ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3747/6, 84v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1394>.

⁵³ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3757/8, 114r, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2129>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3757/8, 116r, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2137>.

⁵⁴ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3755/22, 289v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1912>.

Rūzba, fl. 626/1229) is linked to Cairo,⁵⁵ and Ibn Rawāḥa to Alexandria.⁵⁶ Fewer certificates connect Aleppine scholars to Cairo than to Damascus, suggesting a lesser impact of Cairo on Aleppine intellectual life.

Mosul was also a destination for Aleppine teachers. Ibn Ḥalīl visited the city in 589/1193.⁵⁷ Mosul was also visited by ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī. Both scholars visited Mosul from Baghdad before moving on to Damascus, despite Mosul not being the most direct route. This implies the city’s scholarly appeal. Other Aleppine scholars likely to have visited Mosul include Šams ad-Dīn Abū l-Muẓaffar Ḥāmid ibn Abī l-‘Amīd ibn Amīrī al-Qazwīnī (al-Qazwīnī, fl. 624/1227) and Muwaffaq ad-Dīn Abī l-Baqā’ Ya‘īš ibn ‘Alī ibn Ya‘īš an-Naḥwī (Ibn Ya‘īš, fl. 643/1246). Their visit will be discussed below. Jerusalem⁵⁸ and al-Karak⁵⁹ are each associated with only one teacher from Ayyubid Aleppo.

So far, ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī is the only Aleppine teacher appearing on a certificate from the Seljuk realm—two certificates from Erzincan (Appendix, B1 and B2). Ibn Rawāḥa was the only Aleppine teacher born west from Egypt, in Sicily in 560/1165, during the time when the Normans intensified the suppression of Arabs on the island, which caused many Muslims to flee (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* IV, 392; Metcalfe 2021). He studied in Alexandria in 573/1177,⁶⁰ became a *musmi* in Aleppo in 614/1217,⁶¹ then taught in Damascus in 627/1230⁶² and 628/1230⁶³. He returned to Aleppo in 644/1246⁶⁴ and remained there at least until 646/1248.⁶⁵ Since most of

⁵⁵ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3747/12, 159v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1322>.

⁵⁶ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3765/22, 243r, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/4007>.

⁵⁷ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3747/6, 94r, N. 3, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1407>.

⁵⁸ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3761/7, 70r, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/3673>.

⁵⁹ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3765/13, 127v, N. 6, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/3972>.

⁶⁰ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3765/22, 243r, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/4007>.

⁶¹ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3753/6, 62v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1658>.

⁶² ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3755/22, 289v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1912>.

⁶³ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3755/22, 289v, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1913>.

⁶⁴ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3765/22, 243r, N. 4, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/4010>.

⁶⁵ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3759/13, 171v, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2332>.

the certificates from these regions have not yet been edited, future research may uncover further connections.

With ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī and Sibṭ Ibn al-Ġawzī Aleppo attracted two of the most famous scholars of their time. Al-Lattī was another scholar with an impressive resume. Before he came to Aleppo he taught at the citadel in Damascus,⁶⁶ and he was *musmi* ‘ in some of the largest Ayyubid-era sessions. One of his certificates from Damascus lists 409 participants.⁶⁷ However, unlike Ibn Ḥalīl, who stayed in Aleppo for more than two decades, these three scholars appear in only one or two local certificates—indicating shorter stays.

3.2 Students of Aleppo

The first thing that is noticeable when comparing the Aleppine certificates with those of the other major centers of the late Ayyubid period is that there are no large public study sessions. The most crowded Aleppine session recorded in the certificates is a session with over forty participants.⁶⁸ From Cairo, there is also a certificate with forty names.⁶⁹ However, slightly later—six years after the fall of the Ayyubids—there is a certificate with 109 names.⁷⁰ From Baghdad, a certificate has survived that records a session with over eighty participants.⁷¹ From Damascus, there are certificates with over one hundred names.⁷² Interestingly, from Baalbek, there is also a certificate from a session with seventy-eight participants.⁷³

A closer look at the paths of the students who came from outside of Aleppo provides deeper insight into the city’s status as a center of knowledge. By looking at the

⁶⁶ ACP³, Gotha Research Library, Ms. orient. A 590, 99v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/837>.

⁶⁷ ACP³, Gotha Research Library, Ms. orient. A 590, 101r, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/828>.

⁶⁸ ACP³, Berlin State Library, Wetzstein I 140, 167v, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/3384>. This certificate is not geo-located, however based on other certificates around the same time of the *musmi* ‘ of that session, Ibn Ḥalīl, and on the names mentioned on the certificate, this session must have taken place in Aleppo.

⁶⁹ ACP³, BNF Paris, Arabe 706, 301r, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/196>.

⁷⁰ ACP³, Berlin State Library, Sprenger 515, 25r, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/3202>.

⁷¹ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 1063, 178v, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/4060>.

⁷² ACP³, Berlin State Library, Sprenger 96b, 76r, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/3356>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3757/8, 110r, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2125>; ACP³, Gotha Research Library, Ms. orient. A 590, 101r, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/828>.

⁷³ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3739/7, 76r, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1039>.

students of Aleppo, we can also notice changes in the status of the city, as they represent the next generation of scholars. Some of the students studied in other cities before they traveled to Aleppo. Most notably, Šaraf ad-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Mu’min ibn Ḥalaf ibn Abī l-Ḥasan ad-Dimyāṭī (ad-Dimyāṭī, 613–705/1217–1306). He came from Egypt, and then traveled to various cities in Syria, the Ġazīra, Iraq and the Hijaz (Sayeed 2021). However, the case of ad-Dimyāṭī was an exception. Most people who attended a teaching session in Ayyubid Aleppo are mentioned only once and are found only in certificates from Aleppo or in certificates that do not mention a location. Only a small number of students in the Aleppine certificates can be traced in other cities.

Some trends can be observed from the movements of the students of Aleppo. In contrast to ad-Dimyāṭī, most participants only visited cities close to Aleppo. Among those who are found in certificates from before they visited Aleppo, all were mentioned in Damascus at least once. Most of the participants in teaching sessions in Ayyubid Aleppo seem to have come from the surrounding cities in Syria. Besides ad-Dimyāṭī, only two other participants are identified in more distant places. A student called aš-Šarīfīnī went to Khorasan in 608/1211, before arriving in Aleppo in 624/1227.⁷⁴ Ibn Hāmil and ad-Dimyāṭī are the only Aleppine students found in Baghdad. Ibn Hāmil went there in 625/1228, before he came to Aleppo. Ad-Dimyāṭī went there as late as 648/1250, after his stay in Aleppo. The copied certificate in which he is mentioned is the last certificate in the ACP located in Baghdad before the Mongol siege.⁷⁵

Moreover, it stands out that among these traveling scholars in Aleppo, there is only one student from whom we have multiple certificates from Aleppo over a longer period. This is az-Zāhirī, who was present as a listener or reader in five certificates between 634/1237 and 646/1248.⁷⁶ Still, several students in Aleppo later became a *musmi* in other cities, where they transmitted texts they had studied with teachers there. Many of the students went to Cairo after the fall of the Ayyubid dynasty in

⁷⁴ ACP³, BNF Paris, Suppl Turc 983, 8v, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/432>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3765/9, 55r, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/4026>.

⁷⁵ ACP³, Berlin State Library, Wetzstein II 1751, 37r, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/3485>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3765/18, 200v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/3998>.

⁷⁶ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3757/8, 115v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2135>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3763/5, 48v, N. 5, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/3778>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3757/9, 150r, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2187>; ACP², Syrian National Library, 3765/22, 243r, N. 4, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/4010>; ACP², Syrian National Library, 3747/6, 84v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1394>.

658/1260.⁷⁷ Others became a *musmi*‘ in Damascus.⁷⁸ However, the already mentioned Ibn Hāmil, a scholar named aṣ-Ṣābūnī, and a scholar named al-Kinǧī only visited Aleppo once, while most of their sessions took place in Damascus.⁷⁹ Other cities where students from Ayyubid Aleppo held teaching sessions were Bursa, Baalbek, Zar‘, Jerusalem, and Hebron.⁸⁰

3.3 *Isnād*

In some cases, we can follow the transmission of a text over three generations. From the transmitter to the *musmi*‘, and then from one of the participants in Aleppo to their students elsewhere. Eighteen certificates mention the teacher who transmitted the text to the *musmi*‘ of that session. In these eighteen certificates, eight different transmitters are linked to the scholars of Aleppo. The transmitters in these certificates are sometimes mentioned only by a shortened name, a sign that they were already famous in the scholarly circles of Aleppo—likely known beyond Aleppo as well. As discussed, scholars were highly mobile in this period, and a certificate with an unknown transmitter would not have much value. The eight transmitters are: Abū l-Waqt ‘Abd al-Awwal ibn ‘Īsā ibn Ša‘īb as-Saǧazī (Abū l-Waqt, fl. Baghdad, 553/1158⁸¹), al-Kindī, Abū Muḥammad ibn aṣ-Ṣābūnī, Abū Makārim al-Labbān, as-Silaḥī (478–576/1085–1180), Šahda, aṭ-Ṭūsī (fl. 567–605/1172–1208⁸²), Abū l-Ḥasan Mas‘ūd ibn Abī Maṣṣūr ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥayāt, known as al-Ġamāl and Abū Ġa‘far Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl aṭ-Ṭarsūsī.

⁷⁷ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3757/8, 124v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2146>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3757/8, 124r, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2144>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3739/2, 21v, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/996>; ACP³, BNF Paris, Suppl Turc 984, 91v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/562>; A ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3753/6, 64r, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1674>.

⁷⁸ ACP³, Berlin State Library, Wetzstein II 1751, 42v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/3501>.

⁷⁹ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3764/10, 157v, N. 4, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/3812>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3753/6, 78v, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1681>.

⁸⁰ Bursa: ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3759/2, 23v, N. 3, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2373>; Baalbek: ACP³, Berlin State Library, Wetzstein II 1751, 42r, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/3500>; Zar‘: ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3753/6, 79r, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1683>; Jerusalem: ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3753/6, 79r, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1684>; Hebron: ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3746/2, 119v, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1273>.

⁸¹ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3759/2, 21v, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2360>.

⁸² ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3747/6, 94r, N. 3, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1407>.

Aṭ-Ṭūsī was the most popular transmitter in Aleppo. He is transmitted by three different teachers. The earliest transmission of aṭ-Ṭūsī's *isnād* in Aleppo dates to 624/1227, when it was transmitted by a *musmi* ' called al-Qazwīnī.⁸³ Between 631/1234 and 633/1236, his *isnād* was transmitted by three different teachers in Aleppo. In 631/1234, al-Qazwīnī transmitted aṭ-Ṭūsī's *isnād* a second time. Ibn Yaʿīsh transmitted it in 633/1236.⁸⁴ In 632/1235 and 633/1236, Ibn Ḥalīl transmitted a text from Ismāʿīl ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar as-Samarqandī.⁸⁵ The certificates of these sessions do not specify who transmitted the text to Ibn Ḥalīl. However, the same manuscript contains a certificate issued forty-three years earlier in Mosul. That certificate states that Ibn Ḥalīl read this text to aṭ-Ṭūsī.⁸⁶ The four certificates that survived where aṭ-Ṭūsī is listed as *musmi* ' were all issued in Mosul between 567/1172 and 605/1208.⁸⁷ It can therefore be assumed that al-Qazwīnī and Ibn Yaʿīsh also visited Mosul to study with aṭ-Ṭūsī.

Two scholars in Ayyubid Aleppo traced their transmission back to Abū l-Waqt. In 626/1229, Ibn Rūzba cited Abū l-Waqt as his transmitter of a text of al-Buḥārī. One of the listeners at that session was Umm al-Karam.⁸⁸ She later transmitted the text in Cairo.⁸⁹ Abū l-Waqt had also transmitted a text of al-Anṣārī to al-Lattī, another teacher who taught in Aleppo. Two listeners at the teaching session of this text by al-Lattī in Aleppo later transmitted this text in Cairo. ʿAbd al-Malik ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn aṭ-Ṭūsī did so in 661/1263.⁹⁰ Two years later, the same text was transmitted by aṣ-Ṣāḥirī.⁹¹

⁸³ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3765/9, 55v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/4028>.

⁸⁴ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3765/9, 55v, N. 3, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/4030>.

⁸⁵ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3747/6, 95r, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1411>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3747/6, 95v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1413>.

⁸⁶ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3747/6, 94r, N. 3, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1407>.

⁸⁷ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3760/15, 177v, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/3540>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3765/9, 54v, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/4024>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3747/6, 94r, N. 3, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1407>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3754/3, 25v, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1773>.

⁸⁸ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3739/2, 21r, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/993>.

⁸⁹ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3739/2, 21v, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/996>.

⁹⁰ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3757/8, 124r, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2144>.

⁹¹ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3757/8, 124v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2146>.

Another transmission by az-Zāhirī can be followed over three generations. His other teacher in Aleppo, Ibn Rawāḥa, had attended as a young student a teaching session in Alexandria in 573/1177 by Abū Ṭāhir as-Silafī to study a text by ad-Dīnūrī. At this session Ibn Rawāḥa is listed as a listener. Seventy years later, in 644/1246 az-Zāhirī read the text to Ibn Rawāḥa in Aleppo. Another four decades later, az-Zāhirī in turn transmitted the text in Cairo.⁹²

Several other Aleppine students later transmitted texts they studied there. Ad-Dimyāṭī transmitted a text from aš-Šaybānī in Cairo in the year 679/1281.⁹³ He had read this text to Ibn Ḥalīl in 646/1248. Both the certificates from Aleppo and Cairo are original, and both are written in the same manuscript. The note from Aleppo states that the manuscript was owned and copied by Nāṣiḥ ad-Dīn Abu Bakr ibn Yusūf ibn Abī l-Faraġ al-Ḥarrānī al-Muqri'.⁹⁴ Therefore, ad-Dimyāṭī must have purchased the manuscript when he left Aleppo.

One of the texts Ibn Ḥalīl transmitted in Aleppo was *Musnad Abī Hurayra* by Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥarb al-ʿAskarī as-Simsār. He transmitted the text on two occasions, first in 638/1240⁹⁵ and later in 643/1245.⁹⁶ In the first session, the text was read to him by Šams ad-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim ibn ʿUmar ibn Hāmil al-Ḥarrānī (Ibn Hāmil). Ibn Hāmil had studied the text before. A year earlier he had read the text to Abū ṭ-Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl ibn Zafar ibn Aḥmad an-Nābulusī (an-Nābulusī) in Damascus.⁹⁷ It could be that an-Nābulusī referred Ibn Hāmil to Ibn Ḥalīl in Aleppo. Although there are no certificates showing that Ibn Ḥalīl and an-Nābulusī studied together, it seems likely that they were acquainted. In 601/1205, an-Nābulusī attended sessions by Ibn Ṭabarzad (516–607/1123–1210).⁹⁸ There are no certificates from Ibn Ḥalīl from that year, but in 603/1206 and 604/1207 Ibn Ḥalīl studied intensively with Ibn Ṭabarzad, as will be discussed below. Another teacher attended by both Ibn Ḥalīl and an-Nābulusī was aš-Šaydalānī. An-Nābulusī

⁹² ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3765/22, 243r, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/4007>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3765/22, 243r, N. 4, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/4010>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3765/22, 233r, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/4006>.

⁹³ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3752/7, 78r, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1601>.

⁹⁴ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3752/7, 102r, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1592>.

⁹⁵ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3750/6, 78v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1546>.

⁹⁶ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3750/6, 78v, N. 3, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1548>.

⁹⁷ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3750/6, 77v, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1538>.

⁹⁸ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3739/1, 11r, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/970>.

cites him as the source of a transmission.⁹⁹ Ibn Ḥalīl also studied with aṣ-Ṣaydalānī.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, it appears that Ibn Ḥalīl and an-Nābalusī moved in the same scholarly circles.

After Ibn Hāmil read the text to Ibn Ḥalīl, he transmitted the text himself. In 667/1269, he transmitted it in a village near Damascus.¹⁰¹ In 708/1308, the text was transmitted by another student of Ibn Ḥalīl, Iṣḥāq ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ibrāhīm ibn an-Naḥḥās (an-Naḥḥās).¹⁰² No certificate is found that states that an-Naḥḥās read the text to Ibn Ḥalīl. However, he attended a session in 643/1245 that was attended by four people, where someone else read the text. An-Naḥḥās is only listed as a listener.¹⁰³

There is also a certificate showing that the *isnāds* from Ibn Ḥalīl were already being transmitted further during his lifetime. In 634/1236, Aḥmad ibn Ḥamdān ibn Šabīb read *Faḍā'il al-ḥulafā' al-arba'a wa-ḡayrihim* by Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038) to him. He then transmitted the text in Ḥarrān, in 638/1241 (al-Iṣfahānī, *Faḍā'il* 85). The timing of the Ibn Ḥalīl's session coincides with the occupation of Ḥarrān by the Khwarazmians (Fehérvári 1986). Therefore, it could be that Aḥmad ibn Ḥamdān ibn Šabīb visited Aleppo to flee from the siege.

3.4 Pull factors of Aleppo

Audition certificates never explicitly mention what motivated the participants to join the teaching session, let alone why scholars traveled to the city where the session took place. However, certain names give some indication of these motivations.

An important figure who attracted scholars to Aleppo was al-Malik al-Muḥsin (d. 634/1236). Al-Malik al-Muḥsin was the eleventh son of Šalāḥ ad-Dīn and the brother of aṣ-Ṣāḥib Ḡāzī, who ruled Aleppo at that time. Al-Malik al-Muḥsin was an influential scholar. Later, when he moved to Aleppo, Ibn al-'Adīm credited him with attracting the celebrated scholar Ibn Ṭabarzad to the city (Murray 1994:46–47). Although undocumented, he may also have played a role in Ibn Ḥalīl's move to Aleppo. Al-Malik al-Muḥsin had studied with Ibn Ṭabarzad in Damascus. Ibn Ḥalīl was also present at six of these sessions, and in the last two, he served as the reader.¹⁰⁴ This

⁹⁹ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3750/6, 77v, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1538>.

¹⁰⁰ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3764/12, 178v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/3840>.

¹⁰¹ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3750/6, 78r, N. 5, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1545>.

¹⁰² ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3750/6, 66r, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1535>.

¹⁰³ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3750/6, 78v, N. 3, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1548>.

¹⁰⁴ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3739/12, 95r, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/955>; ACP², Syrian National Library, 3764/15, 210r, N. 4, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/210r>.

indicates that he had already achieved considerable status as a scholar. At least one of these sessions took place at the house of al-Malik al-Muḥsin.¹⁰⁵ When al-Malik al-Muḥsin performed the Hajj in 605/1209, Ibn Ḥalīl joined him.¹⁰⁶

As discussed in the introduction, Toorawa (2004:53–56) argued that the search for patrons was an important incentive for scholars to travel. Implications of patronage can be found in certificates when members of notable families or the court were present at a study session.

Ibn Ḥalīl appears to have been in contact with members of the Ayyubid court. This impression comes from the fact that his certificates list names with a *nisba* bearing political connotations, like *al-ḥāzin* (the treasurer)¹⁰⁷ and *al-kātib*¹⁰⁸ (often referring to a secretary, administrator, or civil servant in the state administration) (Berkel, van 2022). Moreover, one attendee had the *laqab* ‘Ayn ad-Dawla, and another was called Amīn ad-Dawla.¹⁰⁹ As discussed in the introduction, these honorific titles were used for people in the military. Likewise, the presence of someone addressed as *al-amīr* suggests that members of the military participated.¹¹⁰ Since members of the court were known to patronize scholars, the presence of such individuals implies that Ibn Ḥalīl enjoyed court patronage. In the certificates of other teachers, members of the court seem largely absent. One certificate from a study session led by al-Mu’tamin mentions only a great grandson of Amīn ad-Dawla.¹¹¹

www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/3861; ACP³, BNF Paris, Suppl Turc 984, 188v, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/496>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3755/12, 171v, N. 4, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1828>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3755/12, 172r, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1830>; AljACP³, Syrian National Library, 3759/9, 123r, N. 3, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2433>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3747/10, 136v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1298>.

¹⁰⁵ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3739/12, 95r, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/955>.

¹⁰⁶ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3758/6, 134v, N. 3, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2226>.

¹⁰⁷ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3747/6, 95r, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1411>.

¹⁰⁸ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3747/6, 95v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1413>.

¹⁰⁹ ACP³, Berlin State Library, Ms. or. Quart 1060, 48v, N. 3, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2845>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3750/6, 78v, N. 3, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1548>.

¹¹⁰ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3750/6, 78v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1546>.

¹¹¹ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3757/9, 150r, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2187>.

Another certificate mentions someone who appears to have been part of the ruling Ayyub family.¹¹²

Notable families appear more frequently in the Aleppine certificates. The Banū l-‘Ağamī family appears in several certificates. Members of this family are mentioned in ten certificates issued at sessions where Ibn Ḥalīl was the *musmi*‘. Three of these sessions took place in the Umayyad Mosque, even though this family had constructed several *madrasas*.¹¹³ The other five certificates do not mention a specific location in Aleppo. These could have taken place at one of the family’s *madrasas*, though this is not certain. A prominent member of the family, judging by the titles used to address him, attended a session by Ibn Ḥalīl. This was ‘Awn ad-Dīn, who was addressed as *aṣ-ṣadr al-imām al-‘ālim al-fāḍil al-kāmil* (the eminent Imam, distinguished and consummate scholar).¹¹⁴ Other prominent members of the family also visited other scholars. An al-‘Ağamī, addressed as *al-imām*, attended a session by Ibn Rawāḥa.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, several members of the family were present at a session by al-Lattī.¹¹⁶

From the Banū ‘Alwān al-Asadī family, several prominent members are visible in the certificates. In 624/1227, three sons of the high Qaḍī Zayn ad-Dīn Ra’īs al-Aṣḥāb Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn al-Asadī, together with their cousin, came to the Umayyad Mosque to study with Ibn Ḥalīl (al-Iṣfahānī, *Faḍā’il* 100–101). More than two decades later, one of the sons, Bahā’ ad-Dīn Abū l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, returned to Ibn Ḥalīl. By that time, Bahā’ ad-Dīn had become a Qaḍī himself. He was accompanied by his two uncles, who also got addressed as

¹¹² ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3757/8, 115v, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2136>.

¹¹³ al-Iṣfahānī, *Faḍā’il* 100–101; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3747/6, 95r, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1411>; ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3748/5, 140v, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1424>.

¹¹⁴ ACP³, Berlin State Library, Wetzstein I 140, 167v, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/3384>.

¹¹⁵ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3753/6, 78v, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1681>.

¹¹⁶ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3757/8, 116r, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2137>.

qāḍī.¹¹⁷ Members of the Banū ‘Alwān al-Asadī also studied with Ibn Rūzba,¹¹⁸ al-Lattī¹¹⁹, Ibn Yaʿīš,¹²⁰ and al-Qazwīnī.¹²¹

The Ḥanafī family of Abī Ġarāda can be linked to two teachers: Kamāl ad-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Abī l-Faṭḥ ibn Yaḥyā al-Kanārī (fl. 625/1228)¹²² and Ibn Ḥalīl.¹²³ Similar to the Banū ‘Alwān al-Asadī, the sons of a prominent member of the Abī Ġarāda family attended a session together.¹²⁴ However, unlike the Banū ‘Alwān al-Asadī, members of the Abī Ġarāda family are listed not only as listeners but also as readers—they read texts to Ibn Ḥalīl on two occasions.¹²⁵

The image that emerges from the audition certificates is that notable families were more involved in patronizing scholarly activities than the court. Three notable families are especially prominent in the certificates.

3.5 *The status of Ayyubid Aleppo as a center of knowledge*

In the late Ayyubid period, Aleppo attracted several established scholars, such as ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī and Sibṭ Ibn al-Ġawzī. Although it is unknown how Ibn Ḥalīl was received when he first arrived in the city, he eventually gained considerable status. This can be seen in the locations of his sessions and the attendance of local notables and officials. He also attracted students from outside Aleppo. A scholar for whom we have a clearer understanding of his status upon arriving in Aleppo is al-Lattī. Before coming to Aleppo, he taught in Damascus, where, as we discussed, he was *musmi* ‘ at one of the largest teaching sessions of the time, with an audience of over four hundred people. He also led a session in the citadel there.

¹¹⁷ ACP³, Berlin State Library, Wetzstein I 140, 167v, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/3384>.

¹¹⁸ ACP³, National Library, 3739/2, 21r, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/993>.

¹¹⁹ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3757/8, 116r, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2137>.

¹²⁰ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3765/9, 55r, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/4026>.

¹²¹ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3765/9, 55v, N. 1, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/4028>.

¹²² ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3765/9, 48r, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/4019>.

¹²³ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3750/6, 77v, N. 4, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1540>.

¹²⁴ ACP³, Gotha Research Library, Ms. orient. A 1751, 224r, N. 3, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/759>.

¹²⁵ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3750/6, 77v, N. 4, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/1540>; ACP³, Berlin State Library, Ms. or. Quart 1060, 49r, N. 4, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/2850>.

Teachers in Aleppo attracted students from outside the city who were traveling in search of knowledge. These teachers were deemed trustworthy transmitters, as evidenced by the fact that their students went on to pass these transmissions to their own students when they later became teachers themselves.

The possibility of patronage is indicated by the presence of notables and officials at the teaching sessions. One certificate even records a session in the *dār al-‘adl*.¹²⁶ That a teaching session was held there shows the involvement of the highest city authority with the scholarly milieu, given that this building was closely linked to the rulers. However, the names of ruling family members are not found in the certificates.

From the works of Morray (1994) and Tabbaa (1997, 2006), discussed in chapter one, we know that both notable families and members of the Ayyubid court were involved in constructing many *madrasas*. This scholarly infrastructure likely contributed to Aleppo’s elevated status. However, these institutions rarely appear in the audition certificates. This does not necessarily mean that no sessions were held there, since many certificates mention only the city or give no location at all.

A comparison of the travel patterns of teachers and students shows that Aleppine students traveled less than their teachers. Although there are some exceptions, most students only traveled within Syria. Travels to cities east of Baghdad may have been discouraged by the advancing Mongol armies, which threatened Isfahan from 623/1226 onward (Lambton 1997). However, the last recorded journey to that region by a scholar linked to Aleppo took place in 608/1211, suggesting that such distant travels had already declined before the Mongol threat.

Baghdad, which was visited by many teachers, could not be linked to the next generation of scholars through the certificates, except for Ibn Hāmil and ad-Dimyātī—the latter visited Baghdad after his stay in Aleppo. This suggests that Baghdad had lost the interest of Syrian scholars by that time. The period from roughly 630/1232 to 650/1252 appears to represent the height of the so-called “Syrian Century”. During this time, many traveling Syrian scholars seem to have preferred visiting Aleppo over Baghdad. Although the intellectual life in the Syrian cities was already thriving in earlier decades, by this point, scholarly activity in Syria appears unmatched by the activities by neighboring regions.

From the certificates, we can conclude that Aleppo’s scholarly activity peaked between 624/1227 and 648/1250. However, an alternative explanation is that Aleppo may have served primarily as a regional center of knowledge, which would explain why students from Aleppo are mostly found in certificates from surrounding cities. A similar study on the scholarly mobility of Damascus is needed for comparison. Notably, there are no certificates from the ten years leading up to the Mongol siege of Aleppo in 658/1260. This could indicate that Aleppo had already lost its status as

¹²⁶ ACP³, Syrian National Library, 3763/5, 48v, N. 5, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/3778>.

an intellectual center. Alternatively, the Mongol conquest may have led to the destruction of manuscripts containing these certificates. It is also possible that certificates from this period remain hidden in unstudied manuscripts. After the Mongol conquest, Aleppo lost its status as a center of knowledge. I have not yet found a certificate issued in Aleppo between the Mongol siege and 704/1304.

These general trends are observed in earlier studies (Hirschler 2012:59, 63; Humphreys 2004:727). What the study of the audition certificates adds is the ability to trace the individual paths of scholars more closely. Moreover, the focus on Aleppo helps us better understand the scholarly activities in Syria beyond Damascus.

4 Conclusion

The aim of this article was to examine to what extent an analysis of audition certificates from the late sixth/twelfth century until the middle of the seventh/ thirteenth century through the lens of mobility provides insights into the status of Ayyubid Aleppo in the so-called “Syrian century.” By conducting this kind of historical research, the article addressed the limited amount of research on the intellectual history of Ayyubid Aleppo. Furthermore, it explored the opportunities that the study of the audition certificates provides for understanding geographical and social mobility. With regard to what Von Hees (2017:7–9) coined as the decline paradigm, it reaffirms that, instead of a decline in scholarly activities, a movement of intellectual centers took place. Although this article did not focus on the quality of knowledge production, mapping the deeper pattern of change contributes to the scholarship on knowledge production in the seventh/thirteenth century.

The ACP brought thousands of audition certificates from various places in the premodern Muslim world together in one database. This allowed for a detailed reconstruction of the travels of well-documented scholars, as well as an analysis of the mobility of groups at large. This contributes to the understanding of the patterns of travel by scholars of the Ayyubid period on a more detailed and deeper level than was possible through narrative sources.

The focus on mobility reaffirms the impact that the growing importance of the Syrian cities as centers of knowledge had on intellectual centers of the surrounding regions. Furthermore, this focus highlights the patterns of change in this period called the “Syrian Century.”

The study of audition certificates not only helps us to understand these patterns of change but also offers insights into the motivations for scholarly travel. When a certain scholar can be found attending sessions of several teachers in different cities, it clearly suggests that the search for knowledge was a motivation for that scholar to travel. Moreover, the search for patronage as a motivation is implied in cases where a scholar is frequently associated with members of the court or wealthy families. This is further implied when a scholar held a teaching session in an institution linked to the state. Patronage attracted scholars to the city, who in turn attracted students.

The focus on Aleppine scholars provides insights into the status of Aleppo and its role in the transmission of knowledge during this period. To fully understand Aleppo's role as a center of knowledge, a comparative study of the mobility associated with Damascus or other intellectual centers of the time is needed.

However, there are some limitations to the study of audition certificates. One limitation relates to the nature of the certificates themselves. Since these sources provide only limited information—and that information is, in the case of most scholars, very fragmented—there is room for interpretation. With regard to the locations where the certificates were issued, we observed that the exact place is not always mentioned. When a scholar is linked to a certain institution associated with a notable family or court members, implications of patronage arise. However, since such institutions are largely absent from the Aleppine certificates, only a few of these links could be established. Moreover, some caution is needed regarding copied certificates. In some cases, these copies contradict findings from other original certificates or narrative sources. In other cases, copied certificates are to some extent in agreement with these other sources but show inconsistencies in the dates or in how people are addressed.

A second limitation is the fact that, up until this point, only a small percentage of the existing certificates have been published on the ACP. The search for certificates outside the ACP is a time-consuming process, due to the fact that Arabic manuscripts are spread across libraries worldwide, and not all manuscript libraries catalogue audition certificates. Furthermore, most certificates on the ACP come from manuscripts in the Syrian National Library. The ACP contains only one certificate from the Ayyubid period from a location west of Egypt, and no Ayyubid-era certificates from Anatolia.¹²⁷ This makes it difficult to establish scholarly links between Aleppo and these regions. These results, therefore, need to be interpreted with caution.

Notwithstanding these limitations, the more than four thousand certificates on the ACP—together with some certificates found elsewhere—offer valuable insights into the scholarly environment of the Ayyubid world and beyond. As more certificates will be added to the ACP, our understanding of the movement of people and ideas will only grow in the future.

¹²⁷ ACP³, BNF Paris, Arabe 709, 268v, N. 2, <https://www.audition-certificates-platform.org/ac/270>.

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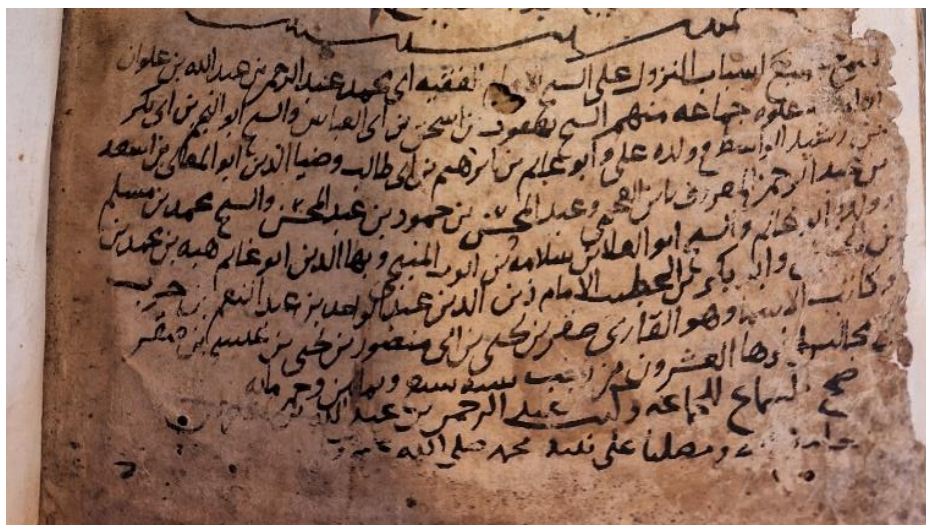
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APPENDIX

Appendix A

Manuscript: Leiden MS OR. 621 (Witkam 2002–2011:261)



Note: 258v N.3

Author: Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Wāḥidī an-Naysābūrī
(d. 468/1076) (Sellheim 2002)

Title: *Asbāb an-nuzūl*

Date: 20 Raḡab 589/July 28, 1193.

Place: Unknown

Musmi': Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alwān

Participants: aš-šayḥ Ya‘qūb ibn Ishāq ibn Abī l-‘Abbās

Abū n-Naḡm ibn Abī Bakr ibn Rašīd al-Wāsiṭī

His son ‘Alī

Abū Ḡānim ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Ṭālib

Ḍiyā’ ad-Dīn Abū l-Ma‘ālī ibn As‘ad ibn ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān, known as

Ibn al-‘Aḡamī

‘Abd al-Muḥsin ibn Ḥamūd ibn ‘Abd al-Muḥsin

Muḥammad ibn al-Muslim and his son Abū Ḡānim

Abū l-‘Alā’ ibn Salāma ibn Ayyūb al-Manīhī

Bahā’ ad-Dīn Abū Ḡānim Hiba ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan Abū

Bakr ibn al-Ḥaṭīb

Zayn ad-Dīn ‘Abd al-Wāḥid ibn ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ibn Ḥarb

Writer of the names: Ṣaqr ibn Yahyā ibn Abī Manṣūr ibn Yahyā ibn ‘Isā ibn Ṣaqr

سمع جميع أسباب النزول على الشيخ الإمام الفقيه أبي محمد عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن علوان| أدام الله علوه جماعة منهم الشيخ يعقوب بن إسحق بن أبي العباس والشيخ أبو النجم بن أبي بكر| بن رشيد الواسطي وولده علي وأبو غانم بن إبراهيم بن أبي طالب وضياء الدين أبو المعالي بن أسعد| بن عبد الرحمن المعروف بابن العجمي وعبد المحسن بن حمود بن عبد المحسن والشيخ محمد بن مسلم| وولده أبو غانم والشيخ أبو العلاء بن سلامة بن أيوب المنجي وبهاء الدين أبو غانم هبة بن محمد بن الحسن وأبو بكر بن الخطيب والإمام زين الدين عبد الواحد بن عبد المنعم بن حرب| وكاتب الأسماء وهو القارئ صقر بن يحيى بن أبي منصور بن يحيى بن عيسى بن صقر في مجالس آخرها العشرون من رجب سنة تسع وثمانين وخمس مائة صح السماع للجماعة وكتب عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن ... حامداً الله ومصلياً على نبيه محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم

Appendix B

Manuscript: Manisa, İl Halk Kütüphanesi /1781/8

B1

Note: 120r N.1¹²⁸

Text: Commentary on the Hippocratic 'Prognostic' (*Kitāb Taqdimat al-ma'rifa li-l-Fāḍil al-Buqrāṭ*) (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *Physicians*:§15.40.9).

Date: Late Raḡab 617/September 1220

Place: Arzinkān (Erzincan)

Reader: Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā ibn as-Sa'īd aš-Šayḥ Bilāl ibn Yusūf ibn al-Amīrī al-Marāḡī

Musmī': 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yusūf ibn Muḥammad al-Baḡdādī

قرأ عليّ كتاب تقدمة المعرفة للفاضل البقراط عظيم الحكماء السيد الأجل الكامل نور الدين تاج العلماء والفضلاء أبو زكرياء يحيى بن السعيد الشيخ بلال بن يوسف بن اميرى المراغي نفعه الله بالعلم وكتب عبد اللطيف بن يوسف بن محمد البغدادي وذلك بارزنان في أواخر رجب من سنة سبع عشرة وستمائة والحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وسلم

B2

Note: 151v N.1¹²⁹

Text: *Kunnāš muḥtaṣar* (Abbreviated Compendium)

Date: Raḡab 617/September 1220

¹²⁸ Image: Tâcuddîn Ebû Muhammed Alî b. el-Hüseyin el-Bulgarî, *Muhtasar fî Ma'rifeti'l-Edviye ve Mahiyetuhu. Musul ve Konya: 619 (1222)*, Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 125, <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/97951>.

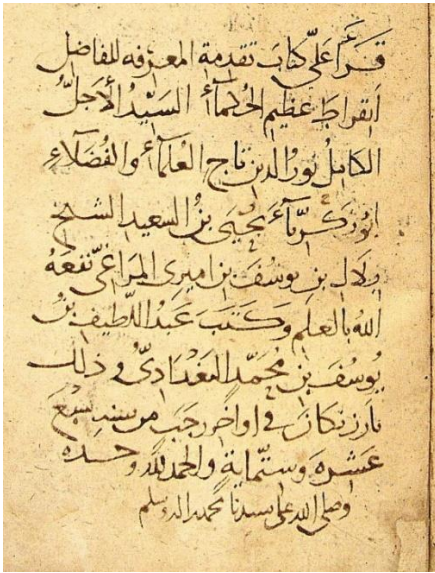
¹²⁹ Image: Tâcuddîn Ebû Muhammed Alî b. el-Hüseyin el-Bulgarî, *Muhtasar fî Ma'rifeti'l-Edviye ve Mahiyetuhu. Musul ve Konya: 619 (1222)*, Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 159, <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/97951>.

Place: Arzinkān (Erzincan)

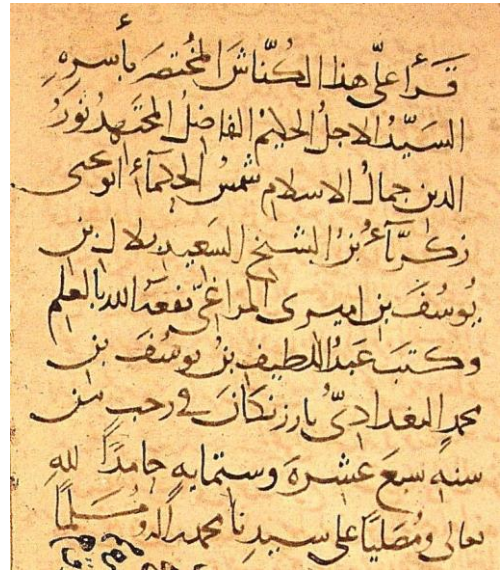
Reader: Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn aš-Šayḥ as-Saʿīd Bilāl ibn Yusūf ibn al-Amīrī al-Marāḡī

Musmiʿ: ʿAbd al-Laṭīf ibn Yusūf ibn Muḥammad al-Baḡdādī

قرأ عليّ هذا الكناش المختصر بأسره السيد الأجل الحكيم الفاضل المجتهد نور الدين جمال الإسلام شمس الحكماء أبو يحيى زكرياء بن الشيخ السعيد بلال بن يوسف بن اميري المراغي نفعه الله بالعلم وكتب عبد اللطيف بن يوسف بن محمد البغدادي بارز نكان في رجب من سنة سبع عشرة وستمائة حامدا لله تعالى ومصليا على سيدنا محمد وآله ومسلما



App. B1, f. 120r



App. B2, f. 151v

ABRAHAM SHALOM YAHUDA'S GERMAN ASSISTANTS: THE CASES OF HANS KINDERMANN AND HANS L. GOTTSCHALK

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Abstract:

Over the past decade or two, the formation, provenance, and history of manuscript collections around the world have become a focus of scholarly attention. This trend has prompted numerous studies of the Jerusalem-born cosmopolitan Abraham Shalom Yahuda (1877–1951), arguably the most important seller of Islamic manuscripts to Western collectors and libraries during the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century. One area that has not been studied is Yahuda's assistants, whom he employed to write descriptions of the manuscripts in his possession. No attempt has been made to identify the individuals who worked for Yahuda at different times or to distinguish between the various languages (Arabic, German, English, French) and hands in which the extant catalog slips were written. It appears that over the years Yahuda employed a number of Egyptian and German scholars, some of whom worked for him longer than others. Among them were Hans Kindermann (1902–1979) and Hans Ludwig Gottschalk (1904–1981). This study discusses the surviving evidence of their work for Yahuda, as well as the unsuccessful attempt of Hedwig Klein (1911–1942) to enter Yahuda's service in 1938.

Keywords: Abraham Shalom Yahuda; Hans Ludwig Gottschalk; Hans Kindermann; Hedwig Klein; Princeton University Library; Alfred Chester Beatty manuscript collection

Introduction

Over the past decade or two, the formation, provenance, and history of manuscript collections around the world have become a focus of scholarly attention. This trend has prompted numerous studies of the Jerusalem-born cosmopolitan Abraham Shalom Yahuda (1877–1951), arguably the most important seller of Islamic manuscripts to Western collectors and libraries during the third and fourth decades

of the twentieth century.¹ Yahuda's involvement in the manuscript trade can be traced back to the beginning of the twentieth century. Until the mid-1920s, he worked closely with his older brother, the Cairo-based book dealer Isaac Benjamin Shlomo Ezekiel Yahuda (1863–1941), for whom Abraham acted as an agent.² When Isaac's engagement in the trade began to wane after World War I and following his subsequent relocation from Cairo to Jerusalem in 1920, Abraham began to gradually take over the business, and by 1930, when Abraham settled in London, his business relations with his brother had ceased entirely.³

Between 1904 and 1911, when he lived in Germany and taught Semitic philology and Bible exegesis at the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin,⁴

¹ Besides his activities as a collector and merchant of manuscripts, other aspects of his biography have also come to the forefront; see, e.g., the contributions to the thematic forum entitled "Orientalism Between Empires: Abraham Shalom Yahuda at the Intersection of Sepharad, Zionism, and Imperialism" that was published as volume 109, no. 3 of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (2019), namely Behar and Evri, "From Saadia"; Friedman, "Orientalism"; Gonzalez, "Abraham S. Yahuda"; Hussein, "The Integration"; Schorch, "Abraham Shalom Yahuda's Contribution"; further Gonzalez, "A History of Histories"; Gonzalez, "Finding a Place for the Past" (non vidi); and Yazaki, "Muslim-Jewish Relations." See also the contributions to Luescher, Rustow, and Thrope (eds.), *A. S. Yahuda as Cultural Broker*, which brings together revised presentations delivered at a 2023 conference with the same title at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin.

[Owing to the complexity of the references, they do not conform to the journal's required style. Furthermore, maintaining a consistent citation style helps ensure unity across the researcher's body of work.]

² For the relations between the two brothers during those years and their *modus operandi* in business, see El Shamsy, "Fitting In/Passing As"; Gonzalez and Hussein, "The Yahuda Brothers"; Kropf, "Agent and Architect." In 1906 Isaac moved his bookstore from Darmstadt to Cairo, where he remained until he retired from the business and moved to Jerusalem in 1920. For Isaac's *Proverbia Arabica*, a Hebrew translation of some 2,500 proverbs from the Arabic tradition, which is arguably one of his most significant scholarly achievements, see Evri, "Partitions and Translations." He began the work in the 1880s and published it in two volumes in 1932 and 1934. For Isaac's scholarly work, see also Hussein, "An Arab Jew Reads the Quran."

³ See Gonzalez, "A History of Histories." On 10 February 1926, Isaac formally signed his stock of manuscripts and books over to Abraham Shalom. The relevant document in the name of Isaac Benjamin Yahuda is preserved in the Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive at the National Library of Israel (NLI), ARC. Ms. Var. Yah 38 01 3064.

⁴ Yahuda delivered his inaugural lecture (*Antrittsvorlesung*), "Die biblische Exegese in ihren Beziehungen zur semitischen Philologie," on 2 May 1905. See *Vierundzwanzigster Bericht der Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin*, part I; *Der Gemeindebote: Beilage zur "Allgemeinen Zeitung des Judentums"* 69, no. 19 (12 May 1905), 1. For his appointment, see also *Dreiundzwanzigster Bericht der Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin*, 4. Yahuda's personal file containing primarily administrative papers relating to the Hochschule is preserved as NLI, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah 38 01 287.3 and ARC. Ms. Var. Yah 38 04 179.

Abraham sold fifty-two Samaritan, Judeo-Arabic, Syriac, Persian, and Arabic manuscripts to the Berlin Royal Library (now Berlin State Library).⁵ In 1913, Isaac sold a further group of sixty-nine manuscripts to the Berlin Royal Library, and it is likely that Abraham was in some way involved in this transaction, too.⁶ In 1904, Abraham also sold thirty-two Samaritan manuscripts to the Oriental Institute in St. Petersburg, apparently on behalf of his brother,⁷ and another Judeo-Persian manuscript to the Asian Museum in the same city.⁸ In 1912, Abraham, again acting in conjunction with his brother, sold forty-four Samaritan manuscripts to Dropsie College in Philadelphia.⁹ After a period at the University of Madrid from 1915 to 1920,¹⁰ Abraham returned to Germany and settled in Heidelberg.¹¹ During the second half of the 1920s, he sold some 120 manuscripts to Heidelberg University Library.

As early as 1920, Abraham established contact with the British authorities and proposed the recovery of Assyrian antiquities held in Lisbon from the Portuguese government. Soon afterward, he also began to help the British Museum acquire Oriental manuscripts. He mediated the sale of 114 manuscripts to the museum in 1921, sold thirty manuscripts to Cambridge University in September 1922, and sold

⁵ The transactions took place in 1904, 1906, 1907, 1909, and 1911, and they are recorded in the relevant *Akzessionsjournale der Handschriftenabteilung der Staatsbibliothek Berlin*. See also Wollina, "The Yahuda Collections in German Libraries." Earlier, on 24 February 1903, Abraham had offered some manuscripts to the library of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (DMG) in Halle; see letter Georg Kampffmeyer to A. S. Yahuda, 6 March 1903, NLI, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 633.2. The DMG did not have the funds to purchase any of these manuscripts, but Kampffmeyer suggested that the libraries of Straßburg, Berlin, London, and Leipzig might be interested in purchasing some of them. For additional correspondence between Kampffmeyer and Yahuda in 1903, see ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 1339. That Yahuda took up Kampffmeyer's suggestion to approach the Straßburg library is confirmed by an undated letter from Yahuda to Robert Garrett (1875–1961), tentatively dated to "no later than 1906." In it, Yahuda states that "my [honoured] teachers, Prof. Nöldeke and Prof. Euting in Strassburg, were very interested in these collections, but they were sorry that there could be found no ~~Maccenas~~ patron who would spend the sum necessary to buy them for the Strasbourg.-U." For a transcription of the letter and its tentative date, see El Shamsy, "Fitting In/Passing As." El Shamsy suggests that this letter to Garrett is the earliest evidence of Yahuda's business activities as a dealer in manuscripts, but Kampffmeyer's 1903 letter to Yahuda predates it.

⁶ In 1933, the Berlin State Library purchased another manuscript from Isaac Yahuda and three additional ones from an unspecified "Yahuda"; see Wollina, "The Yahuda Collections."

⁷ Schorch, "Abraham Shalom Yahuda's Contribution," 455.

⁸ Belkina, "From Samarkand to St. Petersburg."

⁹ Schorch, "Abraham Shalom Yahuda's Contribution," 456; Schorch, "An Ocidental with a Good Scientific Education."

¹⁰ For Yahuda's time in Madrid, see Gonzalez, "Abraham S. Yahuda"; Friedman, "Orientalism."

¹¹ For Yahuda's time in Heidelberg, see Wollina, "The Yahuda Collections."

thirty-five additional manuscripts to the British Museum in 1925.¹² In response to a hint from Edward Edwards (1870–1944) of the British Museum, the Yahuda brothers also successfully sold 265 manuscripts to the Michigan University Library in 1926.¹³ In 1927, Abraham Yahuda was introduced to Alfred Chester Beatty (1875–1968), who purchased about 1,110 manuscripts from Yahuda between 1927 and 1932 and again in 1935; these are today housed in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin.¹⁴

In 1941, after Abraham had left London and settled in New York,¹⁵ the National Library of Medicine in Bethesda, Maryland, purchased a collection of 129 codices from him.¹⁶ In 1942, Robert S. Garrett (1875–1961) acquired more than 5,300 codices from Yahuda and bequeathed them to Princeton University along with the rest of his collection—another 5,000 Islamic manuscripts obtained from a variety of other sources. His gift made the Princeton collection the largest set of Yahuda manuscripts in the world.¹⁷ Finally, the National Library of Israel (NLI) in Jerusalem holds 1,186 manuscripts bequeathed to the library by Yahuda in 1951, shortly before

¹² See Gonzalez, “A History of Histories.” For the Lisbon collection and Yahuda’s involvement in it, see also BL, Asian and African Studies, File 4368/1919. For Yahuda’s dealings with the British Museum, see also Kropf, “Agent and Architect.”

¹³ See Kropf, “The Yemeni Manuscripts; Kropf, “Agent and Architect.” See also Evyn Kropf’s lecture, “Agent and Architect: Abraham Shalom Yahuda’s Role in Developing the Islamic Manuscripts Collection at the University of Michigan,” delivered on 19 April 2023 under the auspices of the Gotha Manuscript Talks. A recording of the lecture is available at <https://www.uni-erfurt.de/forschungsbibliothek-gotha/bibliothek/angebote/mediathek/videos/gespraechsreihe-gotha-manuscript-talks>. See further Evyn Kropf and Thorsten Wollina, “Yahuda’s Role in Developing the Islamic MSS. Coll. at the University of Michigan,” a talk presented at a conference at the Berlin State Library on 1 July 2022. A recording of the lecture is accessible at <https://youtu.be/7Lu4-NkbGic?si=bQU6YX1LzWqgNxsC>.

¹⁴ For the Arabic manuscripts of the A. Chester Beatty Collection, see Arberry, *A Handlist*. For Paul Kahle’s far more detailed but still unpublished partial catalog of the collection (primarily covering manuscripts that Beatty had purchased from the Cairo-based dealer Aslan Sarkissian), see Sagaria Rossi, “Paul Kahle’s Catalogue.” For the Yahuda manuscripts, Arberry consulted the catalog slips and notebooks that reflect the period of bulk acquisitions, 1927 through 1935 (“Arabic Rare Texts” = A.R.T., “A” through “JM”) that had been prepared by Abraham Shalom Yahuda. For Yahuda’s dealings with Beatty and Yahuda’s cataloging work, see Carey, ““A Real Mine for All Kinds of Research.””

¹⁵ Friedman, “Orientalism,” 447–451.

¹⁶ *A Shelflist of Islamic Medical Manuscripts at the National Library of Medicine*, Bethesda, Maryland: US Department of Health and Human Services, National Institutes of Health History of Medicine Division, National Library of Medicine 1996, available at <https://www.nlm.nih.gov/hmd/pdf/shelflist.pdf>. See also Thrope, “Islamic Medical Manuscripts”; Greenberg, “Life during Wartime.”

¹⁷ Mach, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts*; Blair, Faghfoory, and Schaefer, “Preliminary Checklist”; Āyish, *Fihris al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya*, III–VIII (*mağmū‘a Yahūdā*). For the Yahuda collection in Princeton, see Yazaki, “The Islamic Manuscript Collection”; Davidson, “On the History.”

his death on 13 August 1951.¹⁸ Along with the manuscripts, the NLI also received the Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, consisting of Yahuda's papers and correspondence. This is the richest single corpus of documentary material on Yahuda's biography as a scholar and on his career as a collector and dealer in manuscripts.¹⁹

The provenance of Yahuda's manuscripts and his strategy in assembling them are among the topics that scholars have begun to address. The task is not an easy one, since Yahuda made a point of presenting his own version of the story behind his manuscript collection.²⁰ Moreover, libraries typically record only the sellers or brokers of manuscripts in their accession lists, with no attention to the material's provenance. One of the most important recent findings in this area has been Garrett Davidson's discovery of Yahuda's close relationship with the Cairene publisher and bookseller Muḥammad Amīn al-Ḥānḡī (1282–1358/1865–1938). Davidson was able to show that it was al-Ḥānḡī who, at Yahuda's behest, assembled most of the collections that Yahuda then sold to various buyers, beginning in 1925.²¹ The recent purchase of the al-Ḥānḡī archive by a consortium of North American academic institutions is particularly significant for future studies of the history of the Yahuda manuscripts. The archive, now housed at the American University of Cairo, contains detailed information on al-Ḥānḡī's manuscript acquisitions throughout the Middle East, as well as extensive correspondence between him and Yahuda.²² Letters among members of the al-Ḥānḡī family shed additional light on al-Ḥānḡī's business dealings and his relationship with Yahuda.²³

¹⁸ Wust, *Catalogue*.

¹⁹ ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38; see https://www.nli.org.il/en/archives/NNL_ARCHIVE_AL990026172010205171/NLI. The NLI also holds a considerable corpus of Newton manuscripts that had been purchased by Yahuda in 1936 in London; see <https://www.nli.org.il/en/discover/humanities/newton-manuscripts>; see also Dry, *The Newton Papers*. For the history of the Yahuda collection in Jerusalem, see Ukeles, "Abraham Shalom Yahuda." An analysis of significant parts of the Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive forms the basis of Lina Jabali's ongoing dissertation, "The Trade in Islamic Manuscripts in the Twentieth Century: The Legacy of Abraham Shalom Yahuda (d. 1951)"; see <https://theses.fr/s374562?domain=theses>. See also Jabali, "Collecting, Conflict and Preservation."

²⁰ See, for example, Siddiqui, "Abraham Yahuda's Indian Acquisitions."

²¹ Davidson, "A Preliminary Reading." Davidson's findings evoke a similar case: the Landberg collections in Berlin, Leiden, Princeton, and Yale, which are named after Carlo Landberg (1848–1924) but were mostly assembled by the Medinan scholar and bookseller Amīn b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥuluwānī (al-Ḥalwānī) al-Madanī (d. 1898).

²² Davidson, Mikati, and Schmidtke, "A Window." A series of workshops on the contents of the al-Ḥānḡī archive, scheduled for September 2025 and April 2026, will be funded by the Jonathan M. Nelson Center for Collaborative Research.

²³ Garrett Davidson and Rana Mikati are currently preparing a study and annotated edition of the correspondence between Muḥammad Amīn al-Ḥānḡī and his son Sāmī. See also Davidson and Mikati's forthcoming biography of Muḥammad Amīn al-Ḥānḡī, *Ṣayḥ al-kutubiyyīn*.

An area that has not been systematically studied thus far is Yahuda's assistants, whom he employed over the years to write descriptions of the manuscripts in his possession. More than 5,000 of the catalog slips produced by these assistants on individual codices are preserved in the Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive at the NLI, and these presumably constitute the largest corpus of extant slips of the Yahuda collection(s). Another collection of several hundred slips pertaining to manuscripts purchased by Beatty, written by different hands partly in Arabic, partly in English, and occasionally in both languages, is preserved in the Fondo Paul Kahle in Turin; Paul E. Kahle (1875–1964) had received them while preparing a catalog of Beatty's Islamic manuscripts.²⁴ The catalog slips and a series of notebooks (the Arabic Rare Texts notebooks) containing catalog entries prepared for Beatty by Abraham Shalom Yahuda between 1929 and 1939 are kept in the Beatty archive in Dublin. Some slips for manuscripts that Beatty had rejected are also preserved in the archive, but the manuscripts themselves were sold in 1942 to Robert Garrett and are today part of the Princeton collections.²⁵ Further surviving slips are glued into or kept with the codices that Abraham sold to the various libraries, as is the case with the Yahuda collection in Princeton where the slips that exist are typically stored with the relevant codices. But no attempt has been made to identify the individuals who worked for Yahuda over time, to distinguish the various languages (Arabic, Hebrew, German, English, French) and hands (or typewriters) in which the catalog slips were written, or to classify the slips according to the periods in which they were produced.

An early body of descriptive slips in German, partly typewritten and partly written by hand, was produced by Abraham Yahuda on the basis of slips prepared by his brother Isaac in Arabic (with some Hebrew), roughly between 1904 and the mid-1920s, when the two brothers still worked closely together. These slips describe manuscripts such as Ms. Berlin, State Library, or. oct. 1495, a copy of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar al-Dabūsī's (d. 430/1039) *al-Amad al-aqṣā* produced in 565/1169–70 by Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Salamī,²⁶ and Ms. Berlin, State Library, or. oct. 1434, a partial copy of al-Ġazālī's (d. 505/1111) *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* produced in 608/1211.²⁷ Both codices were part of Isaac's 1913 bulk sale of Arabic manuscripts to the Royal Library in Berlin (Ms. or. oct. 1433–1475, 1495; Ms. quart. 1182–1207). The slips for these codices, held at the Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive at the NLI, are typed (on two different typewriters). The *al-Amad al-aqṣā* slip (no. 1.23) also contains a brief handwritten comment, "743 Jahre

²⁴ UniTo, Fondo Paul Kahle, ARC 870 and 871. See Sagaria Rossi, "Paul Kahle's Catalogue," 248 n. 26. Most if not all slips included in ARC 870 seem to have been written by Muḥammad Amīn al-Ḥānḡī (I thank Garrett Davidson for this observation). The slips included in ARC 871 are more diverse in origin. Some are in al-Ḥānḡī's hand, whereas others, in English, may have been written by Beatty's secretary.

²⁵ Carey, "A Real Mine for All Kinds of Research."

²⁶ See https://www.qalamos.net/receive/DE1Book_manuscript_00017914.

²⁷ See https://www.qalamos.net/receive/DE1Book_manuscript_00017853.

alt,” which indicates that the slip was produced in 1912 or 1913 (**fig. 1**); the slip for the *Iḥyāʾ* (no. 1.71) is undated (**fig. 2**).²⁸ Although the handwritten comment is short, the handwriting bears some resemblance to that seen on Abraham Yahuda's letters to Carl Bezold (1859–1922) between 1905 and 1913.²⁹ Similar slips have been preserved for several Yahuda manuscripts in the Heidelberg and Michigan collections that likewise date to the period in which Abraham was acting as a broker for his brother.³⁰ Descriptive slips written by one of the Yahuda brothers in the early twentieth century are also found among the manuscripts of the Princeton Yahuda collection. Ms. Princeton, Garrett, 4340Y, containing at-Taftazānī's (d. 790/1390) *Šarḥ al-ʿAqāʾid an-nasafiyya*, copied in 816/1455, includes two descriptive slips (**fig. 3a**).³¹ The first (written by Isaac) quotes the beginning and end of the text, including the dated colophon, and provides some basic details about the codex, all in Arabic. It also carries a few notes in Hebrew, mentioning additional copies of the work in Berlin and elsewhere and noting that the book was published in Calcutta in 1244 [1828] (1244 ברלין ועוד ונדפס כלכותא), as well as a comment in German (“K.B.”³² nicht vorhanden”). The bottom of the slip has a date, 22 August 1906. The second slip (prepared by Abraham) contains a typewritten identification of the text and its author, followed by the date of the copy and a brief description, all in German. Below this text is the title and author's name in Arabic, and above it is a handwritten note stating “457 Jahre alt | III.1913 [i.e., March 1913].” In the upper left corner, the copy is identified as “ELS N° 4340,” a reference to Yahuda's London residence at 25 Elsworthy Road from 1930 until 1939. The date “III.1913” is also found on a descriptive slip in the Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive at the NLI (no. 1.77), which contains a description of a *Kitāb al-Iḡāzāt* by various members of the al-Ḥiṣnī family (**fig. 4**). Ms. Princeton, Garrett, 4104Y, a collective manuscript, has two descriptive slips, one in Arabic and Hebrew, and another one in Latin characters (**fig. 3b**). Both are in the hand of Isaac. Notably, Isaac records on the first slip that he purchased the copy from al-Ḥānḡī on 30 November 1909, indicating that the business relations between al-Ḥānḡī and the Yahudas began with Isaac at an early stage.

²⁸ I thank Lina Jabali for having shared images of these slips with me.

²⁹ These are accessible at https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/heidhs1501_223.

³⁰ For the six descriptive slips that were found in Heidelberg (with sample images), see Wollina, “The Yahuda Collections.” For the catalog slips of the Yahuda collection in Michigan, see Kropf, “The Yemeni Manuscripts”; and Kropf, “Agent and Architect.” see also the examples presented by Kropf in her 2023 lecture (see above, n. 13). Some of the slips for manuscripts that were eventually purchased by Heidelberg University are held in Michigan. In neither library are the bibliographical slips kept with the codices to which they pertain; instead, they are preserved among the collections' administrative files.

³¹ I thank Garrett Davidson for having drawn my attention to these two slips and Dror Weil for making sense of the Hebrew note on the first slip.

³² K.B. being an abbreviation for Königliche Bibliothek, today's State Library Berlin.

It appears that later in his career Abraham Yahuda employed a number of Egyptian and German scholars who prepared descriptive slips for the manuscripts that he offered to his clients or kept in his personal collection.³³ Some assistants worked for him longer than others did. In a letter to Beatty dated 31 January 1939, Yahuda mentions in passing an unnamed “German assistant” who had produced some catalog slips, noting that the slips needed to be edited because they “contain some Germanisms.”³⁴ Moreover, in a letter to Johann Fück (1894–1974) dated 20 October 1936 (document 20), Paul Kahle reports that several scholars had assisted Yahuda in preparing a catalog of his manuscript collection. He specifically mentions his former student Hans Kindermann (1902–1979), who worked for Yahuda in London from 1930 until 1932, as well as Hans Ludwig Gottschalk (1904–1981). Al-Ḥāngī also provided descriptive slips to Yahuda. For this purpose, from about 1929 onward, al-Ḥāngī employed his close friend Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawṭarī (1879–1952), the last deputy Ṣayḥ al-Islām of the Ottoman Empire, who found himself unemployed after the empire’s collapse,³⁵ as well as ‘Uṭmān Ḥalīl during the 1930s. In 1931, Yahuda employed his nephew, Joseph (1900–1995), who had previously helped his father Isaac run his bookstore in Cairo, as a cataloger,³⁶ and in 1934 and again in 1936, al-Ḥāngī’s son Sāmī (1904–1966 or 1967), who had moved to Paris, spent several summer months in London working for Yahuda at the latter’s Elsworthy Road residence, preparing descriptive slips for thousands of manuscripts. Sāmī had previously worked as a librarian for Aḥmad Zakī Pāšā (1867–1934), the renowned collector of books and manuscripts,³⁷ and he was an experienced connoisseur of Arabic manuscripts when he started working for Yahuda. During this time, Yahuda apparently also employed other assistants for the same purpose, but their identities are currently unknown.³⁸

A comprehensive study of the thousands of descriptive slips that are preserved in the relevant libraries and archives has yet to be attempted.³⁹ The present paper

³³ During the preparation of his *Sprache des Pentateuch* (published in 1929), Yahuda had also employed the Egyptologist Henni von Halle (1878–1964) from December 1922 until July 1925, and she apparently worked again for Yahuda in 1935 in London for some time. Yahuda’s correspondence with von Halle between 1923 and 1935 is preserved at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen. On her see Cappel, “Etwas wirklich Nützliches leisten”.

³⁴ Letter A. S. Yahuda to Alfred Chester Beatty, 31 January 1939 (NLI, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 217); see also Davidson, “On the History,” 460 n. 176.

³⁵ Davidson, “A Preliminary Reading.”

³⁶ Carey, ““A Real Mine for All Kinds of Research.””

³⁷ Davidson, “A Preliminary Reading.”

³⁸ Davidson, “A Preliminary Reading.” Mikati and Davidson’s forthcoming edition and study of Sāmī’s correspondence with his father (see above, n. 23) includes Sāmī’s accounts of his experiences with Yahuda in this period.

³⁹ See, however, above, n. 19.

contributes to addressing this lacuna by focusing on Yahuda's two German assistants, Hans Kindermann and Hans L. Gottschalk, and discussing some of the material that they prepared for Yahuda. Their respective terms, 1930–1932 (Kindermann) and 1930–1935 (Gottschalk), correspond with the period of Yahuda's salaried position as manuscript cataloger for Chester Beatty (1929 through 1939).⁴⁰ The overlap suggests that Yahuda hired them specifically to help him with this material, as he had done with Joseph and Sāmī.

Hans Kindermann

Hans Kindermann⁴¹ was born on 26 July 1902 in Ronsdorf as the son of Hugo Kindermann, district master chimney sweep, and his wife Christine, *née* Keller, both Protestants. From 1912 to 1916 he attended the Höhere Stadtschule in Ronsdorf and from 1916 to 1918 the Realschule in Lennep. He then moved on to the Realgymnasium in Lennep, where he obtained his high school diploma on 1 March 1921. In the winter semester of 1923/4, he enrolled at Bonn University to study Semitic languages and Chinese; Paul Kahle was his principal teacher.⁴² His other teachers in Bonn included the Islamicists and Semitists Anton Baumstark (1872–1948), Max Horten (1874–1945), Willi Heffening (1894–1944), and Otto Spies (1901–1981); the Sinologists Erich Schmitt (1893–1955) and Li Fong Hok (1900–?); the Protestant theologian Johannes Meinhold (1861–1937); the Assyriologist Albert Schott (1901–1945); and the philosopher and psychologist Gustav Wilhelm Störing (1860–1946). In 1926, Kindermann took a leave of absence to work on the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* and the *ḥadīṭ* concordance project of Arent Jan Wensinck (1882–1939) in Leiden.⁴³

⁴⁰ Carey, “‘A Real Mine for All Kinds of Research.’”

⁴¹ At the end of his dissertation, “‘Schiff’ im Arabischen,” Kindermann provides his curriculum vitae until 1934 with a list of his academic teachers. See also his personnel files at UAK: Zugang 197, Bestellnummer 62; Zugang 17, Bestellnummer 2763; and Zugang 9, Bestellnummer 2610. These include two further curricula vitae, dated 1947 and 1958. See also <https://professorenkatalog.uni-koeln.de/person/show/1166>.

⁴² Letters exchanged between Kindermann and Kahle between 1934 and 1962 are preserved in UniTo, Fondo Paul Kahle, COR_1278. Kindermann's fellow students in Bonn included Fritz Paul (later Frederick Perez) Bargebuhr (1904–1978), who submitted and defended his doctoral dissertation, “Ibn Mammati: Über das Beamtentum unter Saladin,” prepared under the supervision of Gotthold Bergsträsser, to the University of Munich in 1933 but then left Germany for Palestine; see StAHH, 351-11_28861, Bl. 14. For Bargebuhr, see Spuler, “Frederick P. Bargebuhr.”

⁴³ The monumental multivolume project *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane* was conceived and initiated by Wensinck in 1916. The first volume appeared in 1936, and the project was brought to conclusion with the publication of the eighth volume (Raven and Witkam, *Concordance*), which includes an introduction by Jan Just Witkam on the history of the enterprise. The list of collaborators that follows Wensinck's foreword

During his time in Leiden, Kindermann was also closely connected to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), whom he considered his teacher. Although it is unknown how long Kindermann sojourned in Leiden, he continued contributing to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* until the outbreak of World War II, by which time he had returned to Germany.⁴⁴ On 19 May 1931, Kindermann passed his oral doctoral exam in Bonn (major: Semitic languages; minors: Islamic studies and Chinese), and he earned his doctoral degree in 1934 for a dissertation on Arabic lexicography entitled “‘Schiff’ im Arabischen: Untersuchung über Vorkommen und Bedeutung der Termini.”⁴⁵ In a 1947 curriculum vitae, Kindermann relates succinctly that he worked in London in 1931 and 1932 cataloging Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian manuscripts of the Chester Beatty Collection for Abraham Shalom Yahuda.⁴⁶

Between 1 October 1932 and September 1935, Kindermann served as an assistant for ordinarius Hans Bauer (1878–1937) at the Oriental Seminar in Halle.⁴⁷ In this capacity, he also assisted Wilhelm Printz (1887–1941), the librarian of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft in Halle.⁴⁸ Because of his critical attitude toward the Nazi regime, Kindermann gave up his position in Halle on 1 October 1935 and returned to Leiden, where he again worked with Wensinck, now also on the abbreviated edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.⁴⁹ From 1 September 1937 onward

surveying the beginnings and early history of the project in volume 1 includes “Kindermann, H.”

⁴⁴ Kindermann contributed the following entries to the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (*EI*¹), some of which were also included in the second edition (*EI*²): al-Sūk, Ruwala, Rabi‘a and Muḍar (*EI*^{1/2}), ‘Ukail, ‘Utaiba, ‘Ukayl (*EI*²), Tanūkh, Taghlib, al-Safina (*EI*^{1/2}), Kelek (*EI*^{1/2}), al-Asad (*EI*^{1/2}).

⁴⁵ An Arabic translation of Kindermann’s doctoral dissertation was published as Kindermann, *Muṣṭalah “as-safina” ‘inda l-‘arab*.

⁴⁶ UAK, Zugang 197, Bestellnummer 62, Bl. 96, Lebens- und Bildungsgang H. Kindermann [1947]: “In den Jahren 1931 und 1932 war ich in London, wo ich bei Prof. A. S. Yahuda hebräische, arabische und persische Handschriften der Chester-Beatty-Collection katalogisierte; in der Zwischenzeit bestand ich das Dr.-Examen mit dem Hauptfach “Semitische Sprachen” und den beiden Nebenfächern “Islamkunde” und “Chinesisch.” See also Bl. 68, Lebenslauf H. Kindermann, Köln, Weissenburgerstr. 61 [1958]: “Nach Katalogisierung orientalischer Handschriften der “Chester-Beatty-Collection” in London (1931–1932) wurde ich am 1. X. 1932 Assistent am Orientalischen Seminar der Universität Halle/S. unter Prof. Hans Bauer.”

⁴⁷ See above, n. 46. For Bauer, see the obituary by Hans Wehr, Kindermann’s successor as Bauer’s assistant in Halle (Wehr, “Hans Bauer”), as well as Gzella, “Hans Bauer”; see also <https://www.catalogus-professorum-halensis.de/bauerhans.html>.

⁴⁸ See Printz, “Bibliotheksbericht für 1932 und 1933,” 7; Printz, “Bibliotheksbericht für 1934 und 1935,” 12. For Printz, see https://www.indologie.uni-halle.de/institutsgeschichte/wilhelm_printz/.

⁴⁹ “Lebens- und Bildungsgang H. Kindermann [1947],” (UAK, Zugang 197, Bestellnummer 62, Bl. 96): “Am 1. Oktober 1935 gab ich dem Drängen des Seminarleiters Prof. H. Bauer nach, der mir schon länger nahegelegt, wegen meiner nazi-feindlichen Einstellung

Kindermann was back in Bonn, working with Heffening to complete the index for the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Around the same time, Kindermann also provided assistance to other scholars, presumably to make a living. For example, he helped Sigmund Feist (1865–1943) prepare the third edition of the latter's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache* (published in 1939).⁵⁰

On 1 February 1940, Kindermann was conscripted to the Foreign Letter Examination Office in Cologne-Riehl to scrutinize documents written in Semitic and Islamic languages and later also in Chinese. He was dismissed on 1 October 1944 for “political unreliability” (*politische Unzuverlässigkeit*).⁵¹ In parallel, Kindermann re-enrolled at Bonn University in 1940 to qualify as a high school teacher of English, French, and history. He passed his state exams on 17 and 18 September 1942. After the war, he served as a high school teacher (*Referendar* from 1944, *Studienassessor* from 1946, and *Studienrat* from 1948) at the Humanistic Gymnasium Köln-Mühlheim.⁵²

At the same time, Kindermann also continued to pursue an academic career. During 1941 and perhaps beyond, Kindermann contributed to the Harrassowitz project to compile a dictionary of modern Arabic, which was eventually published in 1952 as Hans Wehr's *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*.⁵³ On 9 November 1944, he contacted Enno Littmann (1875–1958) in Tübingen with the goal of securing a teaching job in Tübingen while writing his Habilitation under Littmann's tutelage. His Habilitation project, which he had begun already before approaching Littmann, was an annotated translation of book 11 of al-Ġazālī's *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*.⁵⁴ Although Kindermann was not able to secure a job in

meinen Posten niederzulegen. Ich kehrte daraufhin nach Leiden zurück, um meine frühere Arbeit wiederaufzunehmen.”

⁵⁰ Feist, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*, ix: “Als Neuerung bringt die dritte Auflage ferner ein kurzes Sachregister. Die Anfertigung der Wortverzeichnisse hat Dr. Hans Kindermann übernommen, der sich auch durch seine verständnisvolle Maschinenabschrift des schwer lesbaren Manuskripts um das Buch verdient gemacht hat.” For Feist, see Maas, *Verfolgung*, vol. 1, 189–193.

⁵¹ “Lebens- und Bildungsgang H. Kindermann [1947]”: “Am 15. Februar 1940 wurde ich von der Auslandsbriefprüfstelle Köln als Prüfer für orientalische Sprachen verpflichtet. . . . Am 1. Oktober 1944 wurde ich wegen ‘politischer Unzuverlässigkeit’ entlassen.” Kindermann's reservations about the Nazi regime are confirmed by his autograph caption beneath his photograph, dated August 1941; see below, fig. 5.

⁵² “Lebenslauf H. Kindermann, Köln, Weissenburgerstr. 61 [1958]” (UAK, Zugang 197, Bestellnummer 62, Bl. 68).

⁵³ See Schmidtko, *The Hungarian-German Jewish Arabist Hedwig Klein*, chp.1.6 passim.

⁵⁴ The topic for the *Habilitation* may have been suggested to Kindermann by Hans Bauer, who himself had produced annotated translations of books 12, 14, and 37 of the *Ihyā'* (published in 1917, 1922, and 1916, respectively). Bauer's engagement with al-Ġazālī's *Ihyā'* first manifested itself in his 1912 monograph, which contained a translation of book 2 of the *Ihyā'*, a dogmatic text.

Tübingen, Littmann agreed to support his studies, and the two corresponded regularly at least until 1949.⁵⁵ This endeavor eventually resulted in Kindermann's 1964 publication *Über die guten Sitten beim Essen und Trinken; das ist, das 11. Buch von al-Ghazzālī's Hauptwerk: Übersetzung und Bearbeitung, als ein Beitrag zur Geschichte unserer Tischsitten*. In addition, Kindermann taught Hebrew and Arabic at Cologne University beginning in 1947,⁵⁶ and he was promoted to honorary professor in 1959.⁵⁷ He retired from both his high school teaching position and his honorary professorship in 1967 but continued to teach at Cologne University until 1975. He died on 29 December 1979.⁵⁸

Most of what we know about the nature and scope of Kindermann's work for Yahuda comes from the brief mention of his cataloging work in his curricula vitae of 1947 and 1958, Kahle's aforementioned remark to Fück in his letter of 20 October 1936, and Kahle's letter to Yahuda of 19 May 1930, written shortly after Kahle had introduced Kindermann to Yahuda during the latter's visit to Bonn (document 1).⁵⁹

⁵⁵ The correspondence is preserved in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, NL 245 [E. Littmann], Box 18.

⁵⁶ The students who studied Hebrew with Kindermann include Wolfhart Heinrichs (1941–2014); see Gruendler and Cooperson, "Preface," xiii, xiv. Teaching Hebrew after World War II was particularly difficult since there were next to no Hebrew publications within reach; see letter Kindermann to Julian Joël Obermann, Cologne, 30 October 1947 (Yale University Library, Archives and Manuscripts, Julian Joël Obermann Papers [MS 330], box 2, folder 8.

⁵⁷ UAK, Zugang 197, Bestellnummer 62, Bl. 64, 65. See also "Personalien," 273.

⁵⁸ He was survived by his wife, Paula Kindermann *née* Barth (whom he had married on 15 November 1933), his son Rotger (b. 23 March 1943) and the latter's wife Regina, and two grandsons, Gero and Felix. See UAK, Zugang 197, Bestellnummer 62, Traueranzeige. Kindermann's personal library was donated to the University of Cologne; Rotger Kindermann, personal email communication, 16 February 2025.

⁵⁹ Correspondence between Yahuda and Kahle during the years 1928 through 1933 is preserved in the Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive at the NLI (ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 374, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 1331.2, and ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 633.2). Particularly remarkable are the letters Yahuda sent from London on 6 June and 19 June 1933 in which he renounced his membership in the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft and laid out his reasons. The letter of 6 June 1933, addressed to the board of the DMG, reads as follows: "Sehr geehrte Herren, Hiermit ersuche ich Sie, meinen Namen aus Ihrer Mitgliederliste zu streichen. Ich und viele andere haben angenommen, dass die wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Deutschlands es fuer ihre erste Pflicht erachten wuerden ihre Stimmen gegen die Unterdrückung der Freiheit der Wissenschaft und der Lehre zu erheben und erst recht gegen die barbarischen Verfolgungen von Männern der Wissenschaft und der freien Berufe, bloss weil sie dem jüdischen Stamme angehören, in vielen Fällen aber viel mehr für die Wissenschaft und Kultur geleistet haben, als die gegenwärtigen Knebler und Vergifter des Deutschen Volkes. Die Vernachlässigung dieser selbstverständlichen Pflicht seitens der DMG macht er mir unmöglich ihr weiter anzugehören. Hochachtungsvoll A.S. Yahuda." The letter of 19 June 1933, addressed to Paul Kahle, reads as follows: "Sehr geehrter Herr Professor, Besten Dank für Ihr Schreiben betreffs der D.M.G. [this letter, dated 8 June 1933, is preserved in ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 633.2]. Wir sind hier ganz genau über alle

Some additional information can be gleaned from Kindermann's letter of 21 July 1967 to Richard J. Hayes (1902–1976), who had served as the director of the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin from November 1957:⁶⁰ in the letter, Kindermann asks Hayes to confirm that he, Kindermann, had worked as Yahuda's assistant in London from 1 April 1930 through 31 March 1932. Hayes had never heard about Kindermann and was unable to issue such a confirmation,⁶¹ but the letter provides some insights into Kindermann's work for Yahuda. It also gives more precise dates for his employment than do the *curricula vitae* of 1947 and 1958, which refer simply to the years 1931–1932. The letter reads:⁶²

After my years of study I was engaged by Prof. Dr. A.S. Yahuda (who came for this reason to Prof. Dr. Paul Kahle, my teacher, in the Oriental Department ['Seminar'] of Bonn University) to work in the Library of Chester Beatty in London. There I was assistant for two years: from April 1st, 1930⁶³ till March 31st, 1932. My work there was of great value for me: in the first place it enlarged my knowledge of reading the different kinds of Oriental handwriting, especially Arabic, Persian, and now and then

Vorgänge in Deutschland unterrichtet und wissen viel mehr als es der Nazi Regierung angenehm ist; was aber die wissenschaftlichen Kreise in Deutschland nicht zu wissen scheinen, ist der vernichtende Eindruck, den ihre Haltung gegenüber den unqualifizierten Verfolgungsmassregeln der Regierung in der ganzen Welt gemacht hat. Deutsche Gelehrte, Professoren, Akademiker und Schriftsteller haben in anderen, nicht weniger schwierigen und gefährlichen Zeiten, einen ganz anderen Mut und viel mehr Verantwortlichkeitsgefühl gezeigt als die heutigen geistigen Führer und Vertreter der Wissenschaft. Die Stille Aktion mag vielleicht in dem einen oder anderen Falle eine Ausnahme veranlassen. Diese steht aber durchaus nicht im Verhältnis zum ungeheuren moralischen und materiellen Schaden, der durch die Massenverfolgung von wissenschaftlichen Arbeitern und Intellektuellen verursacht worden ist. So lange also ein Teil der besseren Elemente in Deutschland ihrer garantierten Bürgerrechte beraubt ist und durch moralisch und geistig minderwertigere Usurpatoren, Demagogen und Sadisten auf die Stufe von Parias herabgedrückt werden, werden die deutschen, ganz besonders die wissenschaftlichen Kreise Deutschlands nicht nur auf die Sympathie der Juden, sondern auf die der ganzen zivilisierten Welt, verzichten müssen. Dies tut mir ganz besonders leid, da ich stets für die Deutschen Rechte, sogar in Zeitschriften eingetreten bin, wo man hier in England wenig Verständnis dafür hatte und es alles andere als angenehm war für 'pro-German' zu gelten. Sie werden begreifen, dass ich unter solchen Umständen meinen Austritt aus der D.M.G. aufrecht erhalten muss, und Sie wollen sich nicht wundern, wenn auch andere Mitglieder dasselbe tun werden. Mit ausgezeichnete Hochachtung Ihr sehr ergebener [AS Yahuda]."

⁶⁰ For Hayes, see Sagaria Rossi, "Paul Kahle's Catalogue," 259ff.

⁶¹ Letter Hayes to Kindermann, 26 July 1967 (Chester Beatty Archive, CBP/C/07/3/08).

⁶² Chester Beatty Archive, CBP/C/07/3/08. I thank Hyder Abbas for having alerted me to Kindermann's correspondence with Hayes and for having provided me with digital images of their letters.

⁶³ Kahle's letter to Yahuda of 19 May 1930 (document 1) suggests that Kindermann moved to London only at the end of May or the beginning of June 1930. See also above, n. 59.

Turkish. Generally I had to control the manuscripts, to state their completeness, to describe their contents, to compare them with other copies by means of catalogues, or, in matters of doubt, to consult the originals, e.g. in the Brit. Museum, Bodleian Library, or even Cambridge University, in order to find out their special, perhaps unique character. It is a pity that I lost nearly all my documents by air-raids in the last war . . .

Since Kindermann worked for Yahuda for almost two years, it is reasonable to expect that he left a fair number of traces in the extant archival material. The challenge, however, lies in the fact that very little of Kindermann's legacy has been preserved. His personnel file at the historical archive of the University of Cologne (UAK) consists exclusively of typewritten material. A few items have been preserved by his family, and these include his autograph caption on a photograph from August 1941 (**fig. 5**).⁶⁴ A comparison of this caption with a descriptive slip (**figs. 6a&b**) found in Ms. Princeton, Garrett 3956Y, containing *Radd al-āyāt al-mutašābihāt li-l-āyāt al-muḥkamāt* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Labbān (679–749/1286–1348), leaves no doubt that the slip originated with Kindermann. In particular, it is obvious that the note at the bottom of the page, which reads “Es muss untersucht werden, ob es nicht | mit einem dieser Werke identisch,” is written in Kindermann's hand. It is harder to determine whether the rest of the page, written in English and in a more formal, careful hand, also originated with Kindermann, but similarities in the shapes of individual letters used in the text and in the autograph snippet suggest so. The same hand is found on two handwritten slips in Ms. Princeton, Garrett 3388Y, a multitext volume that includes *ʿIẓat al-albāb wa-ḍaḥīrat al-iktisāb*.⁶⁵ One of the slips is in German (**fig. 7**), listing two manuscripts, in Paris and in Gotha, mentioned in Carl Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*. The other slip, handwritten in English, describes the codex (**fig. 8**). Following Brockelmann, the slip's author records Muḥyī d-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī as the author of *ʿIẓat al-albāb*, but this identification has been corrected by Yahuda in a margin note, signed “Y.,” which states that “it is not by Ibn ʿArabī but by al-Būnī”—that is, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Būnī (d. 622/1225).⁶⁶

Additional materials written in the same hand are preserved in Fondo Paul Kahle, ARC_871. They include a table (**fig. 9**) outlining a transcription system that is used in all descriptive slips that seem to have been compiled by Kindermann. An example is the description of a multitext volume comprising *Sulwān al-muṭāʿ fī ʿudwān al-atbāʿ* by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Zafar aṣ-Ṣiqillī (497–565/1104–1172) and

⁶⁴ I thank Rotger Kindermann for providing me with a digital surrogate of the photograph and for his permission to publish it in this study. Other handwritten materials consist of notes for Kindermann's 1964 study, *Über die guten Sitten*, which are mostly in shorthand and perhaps written in the 1950s or early 1960s.

⁶⁵ See <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9962646993506421>.

⁶⁶ For al-Būnī, see Gardiner, “Forbidden Knowledge?”

al-Asad wa-l-ġawwāṣ by Abū 'Uṭmān al-Ġāhiz̧ (d. 255/869) (**fig. 10**). It is likely that a systematic search of the various archives pertinent to the Yahuda collections would bring to light further materials produced by Kindermann.

Hans L. Gottschalk

Another German scholar who worked on the catalog of Yahuda's manuscript collection, albeit for only three months, was Hans Ludwig Gottschalk (1904–1981).⁶⁷ Gottschalk was born in 1904 in Freiburg as Hans Ludwig Cohn, the only son of the prominent German Jewish philosopher Jonas Cohn (1869–1947) and Elise Cohn *née* Ebstein (1872–1953), who was a Protestant.⁶⁸ He was educated at the Pfeifer'sche Privatschule and the Badische Berthold Gymnasium⁶⁹ in Freiburg, where he passed his high school exam at Easter 1922. Between Easter 1922 and 1928 Gottschalk studied at the universities of Freiburg (summer semester 1922 and winter semester 1923/24),⁷⁰ Tübingen (summer semester 1924),⁷¹ Berlin (winter semester 1922/23 and summer semester 1923, winter semester 1924/25 through summer semester 1926),⁷² and Munich (winter semester 1926/27 through winter semester

⁶⁷ For Gottschalk, see Ambros, "Hans L. Gottschalk"; Eisenstein, "Nachruf"; Weil, "Hans Ludwig Gottschalk"; Dostal, "Hans Ludwig Gottschalk"; Schmidtke, "The Library," *passim*.

⁶⁸ Elise was the daughter of Paul and Mathilde Ebstein *née* Haussmann (1843–1909), and she hailed from Murów in Upper Silesia (today in Poland). She had a brother, Conrad Otto Ebstein, who was six years younger than her. Jonas Cohn was born in Görlitz, Saxony, as the oldest of the six children of Philipp Cohn (1829–1879) and Anna Cohn *née* Gottschalk (1846–1907). In 1939 Jonas and Elise Cohn left Germany for Birmingham, where they joined their son Hans and his family. After Jonas passed away in Birmingham on 12 January 1947, Elise returned to Freiburg, where she lived until her death on 13 February 1953. For Jonas Gottschalk's Nachlass, see the Jonas Cohn-Archiv at the Salomon Ludwig Steinheim-Institut für deutsch-jüdische Geschichte an der Universität Duisburg-Essen, <http://steinheim-institut.de/jonas-cohn-archiv/index2580.html?id=43>; see also Heitmann, "Jonas Cohn und seine Zeitgenossen."

⁶⁹ For the school, see Günter, "Das Berthold-Gymnasium."

⁷⁰ Freiburg University Archive holds Gottschalk's leaving certificates for these semesters (UFA, B 44/146 and B 44/147), each with a list of courses attended. The relevant course catalogs are accessible via "Freiburger historische Bestände—digital," https://dl.ub.uni-freiburg.de/diglit/vvuf_1920-1930 (Ankündigung der Vorlesungen der Badischen Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg im Breisgau [WS 1920/21–SS1930]).

⁷¹ The Tübingen university matriculation register (*Universitätsmatrikel*) with Gottschalk's entry (no. 813) is held as UAT 5/46 ("Einschreibebuch SS 1923–SS 1925"), 269. The UAT holds Gottschalk's student file under the shelfmark UAT 364/8297.

⁷² UAT 5/46 no. 813 suggests that Gottschalk spent winter semester 1922/23 and summer semester 1923 in Berlin, but there is no archival record in Berlin to confirm this. According to the student registers (*Studierendenverzeichnis*) at Humboldt University Archive, Gottschalk studied ancient history (*Alte Geschichte*) in Berlin from 30 October 1924 until 26 October 1926 (Matrikelnummer 1185/115). The Humboldt University Archive also holds

1927/28). He prepared his doctoral dissertation, entitled “Die Māḍarā’ijjūn, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte im Mittelalter,” under the guidance of Gotthelf Bergsträsser (1886–1933) and submitted it to the University of Munich in July 1928.⁷³ He passed his oral doctoral exam on 16 November 1928 with the grade “cum laude.” In May and June 1930, he briefly served as a replacement assistant at the Institute for Semitics and Islamic Studies in Berlin. In a letter written on 26 May 1934, Gottschalk describes his academic formation and scholarly trajectory as follows:⁷⁴

Mein bisheriger Studienverlauf war kurz folgender: Nach Abschluss meiner Gymnasialzeit durch das Abitur Ostern 1922 studierte ich zuerst Alte Geschichte unter Eduard Mayer [1855–1930] in Berlin und Ernst Fabricius [1857–1942] in Freiburg, sowie klassische Philologie und Semitistik, um mich nach 7 Semestern ganz der Semitistik und Islamwissenschaft zuzuwenden, und zwar zuerst in Berlin unter C[arl] H[einrich] Becker [1876–1933] und E[ugen] Mittwoch [1876–1942] und danach in München unter G[otthelf] Bergsträsser und F[ritz] Hommel [1854–1936]. In München machte ich auch mein Doktorexamen in den Fächern Islamwissenschaft, Semitistik und Alte Geschichte mit einer Arbeit “Die Māḍarā’ijjūn, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte im Mittelalter,” erschienen 1932 als Beiheft der Zeitschrift *Der Islam* [*Die Māḍarā’ijjūn: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islām*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1931].

In the curriculum vitae that he submitted with his dissertation to Munich University, Gottschalk provides a comprehensive list of his teachers, arranged according to the universities at which he studied with them (Freiburg, Tübingen, Berlin, and Munich):⁷⁵

Meine akademischen Lehrer waren die Herrn Professoren [the classical philologist Wolfgang] Aly [1881–1962], Jonas Cohn,⁷⁶ [the classicist and archaeologist Ludwig August] Deubner [1877–1946], [the classical archaeologist Hans] Dragendorff [1870–1941], [Ernst] Fabricius, [the classicist Otto] Immisch [1862–1936], [the Orientalist Hermann] Reckendorf [1863–1924], [the Old Testament scholar Arthur] Allgeier [1882–1952], [the geographer] Norbert Krebs [1876–1947] und [professor of Roman and German law Ernst] Lewy [1881–1968] in Freiburg; [the ancient historian] Wilhelm Weber [1882–1948] und Enno Littmann in Tübingen; [the classicist] Werner Jäger [1888–1961], Eduard Meyer, [the classical archeologist Ferdinand] Noack

his leaving certificate (Rektor und Senat, Abgangszeugnis, Gottschalk, Hans vom 26.10.1926 [R/S, AZ Gottschalk, Hans vom 26.10.1926]), but it does not list the courses Gottschalk attended.

⁷³ UAM, O-Npr-1928/29 (“Promotionsakte Hans Ludwig Gottschalk”).

⁷⁴ “Letters to an unknown correspondent from Hans Gottschalk and Annelise Gottschalk-Baur,” CRL, Mingana Collection, DA66/2/3/5/2.

⁷⁵ UAM, O-Npr-1928/29.

⁷⁶ Gottschalk’s father; see above n. 68.

[1865–1931], [the classical philologist Rudolf] Pfeiffer [1889–1979], [the classical philologist Otto] Regenbogen [1891–1966], [the classical philologist Ulrich] von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff [1848–1931], [the ancient historian and papyrologist Ulrich] Wilcken [1862–1944], C[arl] H[einrich] Becker, [the Assyriologist Bruno] Meissner [1868–1947], [and Eugen] Mittwoch in Berlin; [Gothelf] Bergsträsser, [the ancient Orientalist Theo] Bauer [1896–1957], [the philosopher Adolf] Dyroff [1866–1943], [Fritz] Hommel, [the ancient historian Walter] Otto [1878–1941], [the Egyptologist and Demotist Wilhelm] Spiegelberg [1870–1930], [and the Orientalist and Turcologist Karl] Süssheim [1878–1947] in München.

These two descriptions show, first of all, that Gottschalk got into Semitica and Islamica at a fairly late stage. In his first semester (summer semester 1922, in Freiburg), the focus of his studies was ancient and classical studies, in addition to “Hebrew for Beginners” taught by Allgeier. We do not know whether Gottschalk studied Semitic languages during the next two semesters (in Berlin), but in winter semester 1923/24 in Freiburg he took only one pertinent course, “Arabisch,” taught by Reckendorff; this could have been either “Arabic for Beginners” or “Arabic Texts,” both of which Reckendorff offered in that semester. During his semester in Tübingen, Gottschalk attended Littmann’s courses on Ibn Ḥaldūn, Syriac, and Ethiopic. But according to his shorter curriculum vitae, it was only from the seventh semester onward that Gottschalk began to focus on Semitica and Islamica. All of this suggests that Gottschalk’s philological training was less thorough than that received by most of his peers in Oriental studies, and that he was mostly trained as an ancient historian. Moreover, the long list of teachers, the many courses he attended, and the multiple areas of study he attempted to cover during these years indicate that he may have spread himself too thin. At the same time, the frequent moves from one university to another suggest that Gottschalk enjoyed the financial support of his father, which enabled him to pursue his academic interests over a period of more than six years.

After completing his dissertation, Gottschalk received a stipend from the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft for eighteen months, served for a few months as an assistant for Carl Heinrich Becker, and was then appointed the assistant of Rudolf Strothmann (1877–1960) in Hamburg. He kept this position from 1930 until April 1933,⁷⁷ when he was dismissed because of his Jewish descent⁷⁸ even though he had been baptized and had formally adopted the maiden name of his paternal grandmother, Anna Cohn *née* Gottschalk (1846–1907), in 1922.⁷⁹ After some years of unemployment, which he spent in Freiburg living with his parents, Gottschalk obtained in July 1938 a research fellowship at the Selly Oak Colleges

⁷⁷ StAHH, 361-6_IV 1168 and 361-6_IV 2440.

⁷⁸ StAHH, 131-11_1361.

⁷⁹ For Anna Cohn *née* Gottschalk, see above, n. 68.

Library in Birmingham, where he was entrusted with the Islamic manuscripts.⁸⁰ His principal task was to catalog the Arabic manuscripts of the Mingana collection. When Gottschalk left Birmingham in 1948 to take up an appointment as ordinarius at Vienna University, the catalog was only partially completed, to the dissatisfaction of his employers. The task was continued by Alfred F. L. Beeston (1911–1995) and John Spencer Trimingham (1904–1987) and completed by Derek Hopwood (1933–2020).⁸¹ After the war, from 1948 until his retirement in 1974, Gottschalk taught Arabic and Islamic studies at Vienna University.

⁸⁰ See “Selly Oak Colleges Library. Mingana Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, Report, 1937/8” (CRL, Mingana Collection, Annual Reports, DA62), 1.

⁸¹ See Derek Hopwood’s preface to Gottschalk, Trimingham, Beeston, and Hopwood, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection*, v–vi. See also the comment in the finding aid issued by the CRL, “Papers of Alphonse Mingana. Reference: DA66,” 4: “Hans Gottschalk, who succeeded Mingana as Curator of the Collection in 1938, worked on the fourth volume of the catalogue of the Mingana Collection, using descriptions left by Mingana. Progress, however, was slow, and the catalogue was nowhere near completion when Gottschalk left the Selly Oak Colleges for a post in Vienna in 1947. Manuscripts were lent for cataloguing to AF Beeston and J Trimingham and the catalogue was finally published in 1963, edited by Derek Hopwood. A revised edition was published in 1985.” See also Kahle’s negative assessment of Gottschalk’s performance during his time in Birmingham in his letter to Enno Littmann, dated 28 July 1946: “Von Gottschalk habe ich natürlich oft Nachricht, er will in der nächsten Woche nach Oxford kommen. Er und seine Frau sind öfters bei uns in London gewesen. Wie ich hörte hat man Gottschalk seine Stelle in Birmingham auf ein weiteres Jahr verlängert, aber er tut nicht viel, man möchte ihn los werden. Ich fürchte er hat in den 12 Jahren, die er von Hamburg fort ist, nicht viel wissenschaftliche Leistungen aufzuweisen. Ich habe ihm geraten eine Habilitationsschrift fertig zu machen. Man kann einen ja nicht bloss deshalb in Deutschland zum Professor—oder Dozenten—machen, weil er seiner Abstammung nach Anti Nazi sein musste. Aber er kann einem natürlich leid tun.” Kahle had been living in England since April 1939 and was in regular contact with Gottschalk during the war. He had also presumably heard from others about Gottschalk’s work in Birmingham (Schmidtke, *German Orientalism in Turmoil*, 130 n. 400). Gottschalk explained his approach in his preface to fascicle 1 of the *Catalogue* (Birmingham: Selly Oak Colleges Library, 1948), which covered “Qur’ān,” “Hadīth,” and “Fiqh”: “‘Catalogues of Arabic Manuscripts should form a Supplement to C. Brockelmann’s *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*’ (GAL); these words of R. Strothmann, written in 1933, and holding good, even more now after the publication of the three Supplement volumes, were in my mind throughout the years when I compiled the catalogue, the arrangement of which was left entirely to me. I therefore cut out everything which was not fully consistent with such an aim.” For Gottschalk’s methodology and that of his successors, see also Hopwood, “The Islamic Arabic Manuscripts.” Between 1939 and 1947, when Gottschalk’s father Jonas Cohn and his wife arrived in England, Cohn donated parts of his personal library to the Selly Oak Colleges. The donation included a number of precious sixteenth- and seventeenth-century prints and manuscripts, some of which are today owned by the Museum of the Bible in Washington, DC; see <https://collections.museumofthebible.org/search?q=%22Jonas+Cohn%22> and <http://steinheim-institut.de/jonas-cohn-archiv/indexadbc.html?id=56>. The Cadbury Research Library

Gottschalk worked for Yahuda for three months, from early January until the end of March 1935. Although Gottschalk himself apparently avoided mentioning this episode in later years,⁸² it can be reconstructed, at least in part, from his correspondence with Yahuda between the summer of 1934 and March 1935, and some additional information can be gleaned from other pertinent letters.⁸³ Negotiations between Gottschalk and Yahuda began in June 1934, when the latter contacted Gottschalk to inquire whether he would be interested in cataloging Yahuda's manuscripts in London (document 3). Yahuda had evidently asked Fritz Saxl (1890–1948) at the Warburg Library for possible candidates, and Saxl had suggested Gottschalk. That Yahuda had by this point received Strothmann's letter of recommendation for Gottschalk, dated 30 May 1934 (document 2), indicates that he had made inquiries about Gottschalk before approaching him. To ascertain Gottschalk's abilities, Yahuda asked Gottschalk to produce scholarly catalog entries on the basis of some sample slips that he sent to Gottschalk with his first letter. Gottschalk's response to Yahuda's invitation (document 4) was positive. He also sent to Yahuda his catalog entries, which were written in German rather than English as requested by Yahuda, but with the assurance that he would be able to compile the catalog in English. Gottschalk further noted some methodological considerations for the compilation of the catalog, stated how much he would like to be paid, and warned Yahuda that he would be unable to start working for him before 1 October 1934. Yahuda replied on 10 July 1934 (document 5), evidently satisfied with Gottschalk's sample work (although insisting again that the catalog be done in English) but not accepting Gottschalk's suggested monthly payment. He also asked whether

also holds thirty-five volumes that originated in Cohn's library; I thank Mark William and his team at the CRL for providing me with details of those volumes.

⁸² See, for example, Gottschalk's 1961 review of Arthur J. Arberry's *Handlist* of the Arabic manuscripts of the Chester Beatty Library, in which he mentions (p. 190) witnessing Kahle's work on the Beatty collection but says nothing about his own personal encounter with this collection, even though he must have seen some of its codices during the three months he worked for Yahuda: "Bis 1953 befand sich diese Sammlung in London, und Ref. erinnert sich noch des großen Eindrucks, den ihre Schätze an arabischen Hdss auf ihn machten, als ihm P. Kahle, damals mit der Katalogisierungsarbeit arabischer Hdss beschäftigt, einige Stücke zeigte."

⁸³ The relevant documents are transcribed and annotated below. Spelling conventions have been maintained, and typographical errors have been corrected. I thank Lina Jabali, Garrett Davidson, Valentina Sagaria Rossi, and Torsten Wollina for helping me access relevant materials from the Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, the Fondo Paul Kahle, and other sources. The Warburg Institute kindly granted me access to the correspondence of Fritz Saxl and Gertrud Bing with Hans L. Gottschalk and Abraham Shalom Yahuda on 10 December 2024. Additional correspondence between Saxl, Bing, and Yahuda is preserved in the Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, held at the NLI in Jerusalem, under the shelf marks ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 1600 and 38 01 2945, but these letters are not relevant to Gottschalk or Yahuda's other assistants.

Gottschalk's wife, Anneliese, would join him in working on the catalog and replied to Gottschalk's earlier question about the total number of manuscripts to be cataloged (one thousand). Yahuda further suggested a meeting in Basel in late July or early August and raised the prospect of additional scholarly work for Gottschalk and his wife after the catalog project. In his reply of 15 July 1934 (document 6), Gottschalk agreed to the proposed meeting and noted that it would be important to have a small bibliographical reference library available in Yahuda's library to allow for uninterrupted work on the manuscripts. Yahuda and the Gottschalks did, in fact, meet in Basel as planned, but the negotiations about remuneration, work hours, and starting date continued (Anneliese had evidently decided against joining her husband in this venture). During this time, Gottschalk also consulted Saxl and Gertrud Bing (1892–1964) at the Warburg Institute about these issues (documents 8 and 9). An additional hurdle that was eventually overcome was the need to secure a work permit for Gottschalk in the United Kingdom. Gottschalk eventually began his work for Yahuda on 2 January 1935. Less than three months later, on 28 March 1935, Yahuda informed Gottschalk that he wished to discontinue the latter's employment (document 16). Gottschalk's contract with Yahuda formally ended on 15 April 1935 (document 17).

It is unclear what prompted Yahuda to fire Gottschalk after only three months. According to Gottschalk's letter of 28 March, Yahuda had mentioned economic reasons in their conversation on the preceding day, specifically that the "co-owners" of the manuscripts that Gottschalk was to catalog were no longer willing to pay for his work. Although Yahuda provided no further details about his partners, he may have meant al-Ḥānḡī, from whom he regularly received manuscripts for evaluation. Alternatively, he may have been referring to Beatty, who had already purchased some of the manuscripts that were still in Yahuda's home waiting to be identified and described. However, it is unlikely that Yahuda had introduced Gottschalk or his other assistants to al-Ḥānḡī, Beatty, or any other business partners or clients.

Moreover, Yahuda was certainly not an easy person to work for. By 28 March 1938, Gottschalk reports having cataloged some 350 manuscripts, but only on the basis of the catalog slips given to him (perhaps prepared by al-Kawṭarī, al-Ḥānḡī, or one of the Yahuda brothers), without consulting the physical codices. Whether Gottschalk was denied access to the codices or whether he intended to consult them in a subsequent round of cataloging remains unclear. However, the correspondence between Johann Fück and Paul Kahle during the second half of October 1936 (documents 18 and 19) suggests that Yahuda was indeed reluctant to allow his assistants access to the actual codices. Kahle mentions in this context Hans Kindermann, who had encountered similar difficulties while working for Yahuda.

Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that Kindermann worked for Yahuda for a period of two years whereas Gottschalk was laid off after only three months. The most likely explanation is that the quality of Gottschalk's work did not satisfy Yahuda. As already noted, Gottschalk's philological training had been less rigorous than that

received by most of his Arabist peers, including Kindermann. Yahuda had originally envisaged a long-term working relationship with Gottschalk, and it is likely that he realized the latter's philological weakness only after the work had begun.

This theory about the reasons for Gottschalk's termination is supported by the fact that Gottschalk's former teachers and colleagues offered uneven, and for the most part less than favorable evaluations of his abilities as an Arabist. Eugen Mittwoch, Gottschalk's main teacher in Berlin, offered the following assessment of Gottschalk's abilities as a philologist in a letter to Carl Heinrich Becker on 30 July 1926, when Gottschalk had just left Berlin for Munich:⁸⁴

Daß Gottschalk nach München geht und dort promovieren will, ist mir sehr sympathisch. Er hätte hier kein gutes Examen machen können. Für sprachliche Dinge ist er nicht begabt; die arabische und die assyrische Grammatik sind ihm Bücher mit sieben Siegeln. Wenn er interpretiert, muß man dort, wo er den Text versteht, jedes dritte Wort verbessern. Sehr oft ist ihm aber das Verständnis des Textes wegen seiner mangelhaften Kenntnisse überhaupt nicht möglich. In München wird er sich im wesentlichen auf das Arabische beschränken können. So wird er hoffentlich die empfindlichen Lücken, die er darin besitzt, ausfüllen können.

That Mittwoch's view of Gottschalk was shared by Gotthelf Bergsträsser is suggested by a report the latter gave to Becker on 25 September 1927, about a year after Gottschalk had begun to study in Munich:⁸⁵

Hochverehrter Herr Becker, mein letzter Besuch bei Ihnen, bei dem ich es so günstig traf und der mir deshalb immer noch in besonders erfreulicher Erinnerung ist, liegt über ein Jahr zurück, und es ist an der Zeit, dass ich wieder von mir hören lasse, um so mehr, als auch seit unserem Zusammentreffen in Hamburg fast ein Jahr verflossen ist, und als Sie vermutlich einen Bericht über Herrn Gottschalk erwarten, dessen Kommen nach München Sie mir damals in Berlin ankündigten. Um damit zu beginnen, so ist das gerade ein Stoff, der mich nicht sehr zum Schreiben verlockte; denn meine Erfahrungen sind nicht sehr günstig. Bei aller Aufgewecktheit, Interessiertheit, geistigen Regsamkeit und Findigkeit, bei all seiner über seine Jahre hinausgehenden Reife in manchen Richtungen und seiner offensichtlichen wissenschaftlichen Begabung im allgemeinen hat Herr Gottschalk in den zwei Semestern, die er nun hier ist, noch nicht vermocht, seine Vorbildung besonders in arabistischer Beziehung in der unbedingt notwendigen Weise zu ergänzen. Er liest immer wieder mit entsetzlicher Vokalisation und macht schlimme Uebersetzungsfehler. Das mangelhafte Lesen allein würde ich nicht so stark betonen, weil da zu seiner Entschuldigung seine Nervosität in Rechnung gestellt werden muss, die überhaupt seine mündlichen Leistungen, so weit sie über Diskussion hinausliegen, beeinträchtigt; die Uebersetzungsfehler aber fanden sich ebenso in der Probe seiner

⁸⁴ Schmidtke, *Eugen Mittwoch's Biography*.

⁸⁵ HstAM, 340 Ritter b, 346.

Dissertation, die er mir gegen Ende des letzten Semesters vorlegte und die auch sonst einen bedenklichen Mangel an Sorgfalt und manche verwunderliche Lücken in bezug auf Realien aufwies. Er entschuldigte sich damit, dass er diese Probe, um mir einmal etwas vorlegen zu können, übereilt fertiggemacht habe; ganz reicht diese Entschuldigung nicht aus. Die Ursachen seines Zurückbleibens sind, scheint mir, einmal, dass es ihm sehr schwer wird, für einen ihn nicht unmittelbar interessierenden, anregenden und gedanklich leicht bearbeitbaren Stoff, wie etwa arabische Grammatik, eine einigermaßen ausdauernde Arbeitsenergie aufzubringen; und das wieder ist wohl körperlich bedingt—er scheint irgendwie herzleidend zu sein. Andererseits aber bin ich zu dem Ergebnis gelangt, dass überhaupt seine sprachlich-philologische Begabung nicht ausreicht. Ich hatte erst, obgleich Befürchtungen in beiden Richtungen bald sich regten, einige Zeit zugesehen, habe dann aber im Anschluss an seine Dissertationsprobe eine längere Aussprache (oder vielmehr mehrere) mit ihm gehabt; er wird nun wohl versuchen, die Arbeit fertig zu machen, dann aber sich stärker der Geschichte zuwenden. Wenn es ihm gelingt, dieses Ziel zu erreichen, so wird er das wesentlich seiner Braut zu danken haben, mit der ich mich—auf ihre und seine Veranlassung—ebenfalls ausgesprochen habe. Sie werden es wahrscheinlich nicht wissen, und es soll auch noch nicht veröffentlicht werden, dass er sich hier schleunigst mit einer Schülerin von mir verlobt hat, die bereits in Heidelberg bei mir studiert hatte, einer sehr sympathischen, ausgezeichnet begabten, energischen und verständigen jungen Dame. Dieses Erlebnis wird seine Arbeitsleistung auch nicht erhöht haben, zumal es zu Verwicklungen führte, da ihre Familie, streng katholisch, sich energisch der Verlobung widersetzte und wohl noch widersetzt. . . .

Bergsträsser's low opinion of Gottschalk is also reflected in the relatively low grade he gave to the latter's dissertation. He justified the grade with reference to the considerable assistance that he had extended to Gottschalk with respect to the Arabic primary material—an indication of Gottschalk's persistent philological weakness:⁸⁶

Die Arbeit hat mir in mehreren früheren Fassungen vorgelegen, deren Durchsicht mir Anlaß zu zahlreichen allgemeinen Anregungen und Einzelausstellungen gegeben hat. Das zweite Kapitel—nach der Zählung des Verfassers—, dem diese Beihilfe am wenigstens zu gute gekommen ist, weist noch jetzt häufigere Mängel vor allem in bezug auf das Verständnis der Quellen auf; ihre Beseitigung kann um so eher der Drucklegung vorbehalten werden, als ich eine Korrektur mitzulesen beabsichtige. Ich empfehle die Arbeit zur Annahme; für das Prädikat möchte ich, zumal im Hinblick auf meine ziemlich erhebliche Mitarbeit, über *cum laude* nicht hinausgehen.

Gottschalk's subsequent revision of the dissertation, in the course of which he sent regular reports to Becker, was apparently a similarly difficult process that

⁸⁶ UAM, O-Npr-1928/29. The relevant correspondence between Becker and Gottschalk is preserved in HStAM, 340 Ritter b, 302.

stretched over several years. The dissertation was eventually published in 1931 in the series *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients*.⁸⁷

Following the completion and publication of his revised doctoral dissertation, Gottschalk began to work toward his Habilitation. For this purpose, he intended to prepare, in close coordination with Bergsträsser, a critical edition of the *K. al-Amwāl*, or *The Book of Revenue*, by Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām al-Harawī or al-Baġdādī (154–224/770–838), which deals with financial and tax law. He hoped to publish the edition in Hellmut Ritter's (1892–1971) *Bibliotheca Islamica* series so as to prove his abilities as a philologist and then to prepare a study of some of the material contained in the *K. al-Amwāl* as his Habilitation. His work was based on photographs taken in 1928 of two witnesses of the work held at the time at the Zāhiriyya library in Damascus; the photographs were housed at the Berlin State Library (Mss. simulata orientalia 31 a and 32 a).⁸⁸ Gottschalk's work on this project was supported by the aforementioned eighteen-month stipend from the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft and then by his assistantships under Becker in Berlin and Strothmann in Hamburg.

Gottschalk completed his study on the *K. al-Amwāl* at the end of 1931 or early 1932, but in November 1932 Bergsträsser informed him that what he had submitted was insufficient as a Habilitation.⁸⁹ Gottschalk eventually (in 1936) published some of his findings in *Der Islam* as "Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām: Studie zur Geschichte der arabischen Biographie." Although he failed to obtain a *venia legendi* on the basis of this study, at the time of the article's publication he still intended to complete his edition of the *K. al-Amwāl*.⁹⁰ However, in November 1936 or shortly before that, Gottschalk was informed that the *K. al-Amwāl* had already been published in Cairo in 1934–35 by the Azhar scholar Muḥammad Ḥamid al-Fiḳī,⁹¹

⁸⁷ See Björkman, "Review of Hans Gottschalk, *Die Māḍarā 'ijjūn*."

⁸⁸ For the two Damascus copies, see Sezgin, *Geschichte*, 71. The original codices, Z 1096 and Z 1101, are nowadays held in the National Library of Syria. For the surrogates, see https://www.qalamos.net/receive/DE1Book_manuscript_00012120 and https://www.qalamos.net/receive/DE1Book_manuscript_00012121. See also below, n. 91.

⁸⁹ See the relevant correspondence between Bergsträsser and Becker and between Gottschalk and Becker: HstAM, 340 Ritter b, 346.

⁹⁰ Gottschalk, "Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām," 245, 283–284 n. 6.

⁹¹ According to the colophon at the end (p. 616), al-Fiḳī completed his edition in the last days of Dū l-Qa'da 1353/March 1935. Al-Fiḳī had two witnesses at his disposal: a copy of one of the two Damascus manuscripts and a witness that had belonged to the library of 'Abd al-Mu'ī al-Saqqā and was later purchased by the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya (*ḥadīṭ* 2558); see the editor's introduction at 21–31 (separate pagination). The *K. al-Amwāl* and its author have been the subject of a number of studies by later authors; see especially Görke, *Das Kitāb al-Amwāl*, which includes detailed descriptions and analysis of the three extant witnesses of the book and an overview of the various editions from al-Fiḳī's onward, though Gottschalk's failed attempt to edit the work remains unmentioned. See also Scheiner, "Steuern und Gelehrsamkeit."

and he discontinued his own edition as a result.⁹² Instead, he began to work on the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Kāmil, and this project yielded his 1958 monograph *al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit*.

There are several factors that hinder the identification of Gottschalk's catalog slips among the extant papers of Abraham Shalom Yahuda. Despite Gottschalk's claim that he cataloged some 350 manuscripts, the term of his employment with Yahuda was considerably shorter than that of Kindermann, and it is thus likely that he produced fewer slips than Kindermann did. Moreover, Yahuda apparently insisted that Gottschalk use a typewriter, which reduces the chances of finding Gottschalk's handwriting on the slips he compiled. Nonetheless, some of the codices in the Yahuda manuscript collection at Princeton University contain documents that can tentatively be attributed to Gottschalk.⁹³ Ms. Princeton, Garrett 3199Y, a copy of the *K. 'Ibrat ūlī l-abṣār min mulūk al-amṣār* by Ibn al-Aṭīr (652–699/1254–1299),⁹⁴ includes a one-page typewritten and annotated description of the work's contents and author along with a list of additional witnesses and bibliographical references, all in German (**fig. 11**). In the upper left corner, in pencil, a shelf mark, "Els 3199," has been added ("Els" again referring to Yahuda's home address in London, 25 Elsworthy Road), evidently in Yahuda's hand. It is followed by the work's title in Arabic characters, in blue pencil, possibly also inserted by Yahuda. The typewritten German text has a few corrections that have been made by hand, and the handwriting of these corrections is similar to that found in surviving samples of Gottschalk's hand. In addition, one such penciled addition ends with the initials "H.G.," which indicates that the addition, and perhaps the entire catalog slip, originated with Gottschalk. It is likely that this page is one of the three sample descriptions that Gottschalk prepared for Yahuda and sent to him on 15 June 1934 (document 4).

Postscriptum: Hedwig Klein

On 14 November 1938, the Jewish Arabist Hedwig Klein (1911–1942), who had passed her oral doctoral exams on 18 December 1937 but was denied the *imprimatur* and hence the doctoral degree in November 1938, approached Yahuda in writing to apply for a position as a cataloger, attaching letters of recommendation from her former teachers, Rudolf Strothmann (1877–1960) and Arthur Schaade (1883–1952). At the same time, on 14 and 29 November 1938, Klein also applied to Fritz Saxl for work at the Warburg Library in London. Saxl forwarded her letter to Yahuda, encouraging the latter to employ her. On 23 December 1938, Saxl asked Klein, on behalf of Yahuda, to provide sample descriptions of manuscripts in Hamburg.

⁹² Letter Gottschalk to Becker, 28 November 1936 (HStAM, 340 Ritter b, 302).

⁹³ Both documents were discovered by Garrett Davidson in January and February 2025, and I am grateful that he shared them with me.

⁹⁴ See <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9948617933506421>.

However, Klein, being a Jew, was not allowed to enter any library in Hamburg at that point. She was consequently unable to comply with Yahuda's request, and the matter was not pursued further.⁹⁵

Document 1

Paul E. Kahle to Abraham Shalom Yahuda, Bonn, 19 May 1930
(NLI, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 1331.2)

Orientalisches Seminar der Universität
Bonn, den 19. Mai 1930.
Poppelsdorfer Allee 25 Tel. 3720 J.-Nr. 655/30.

Herrn Prof. Dr. A. S. Yahuda
38 Hollycroft Avenue
Hampstead
London—N.W.

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor!

Haben Sie besten Dank für Ihren Brief vom 14. ds. Mts. und die wieder beifolgenden Abschriften der Briefe an und von *Littmann*. Die Abschriften bestätigen ja in allem wesentlichen das, was Sie mir auch schon mündlich mitgeteilt haben. *Littmann* hat ja wohl recht, wenn er Bedenken trug, eine Erwiderung von dem Umfange der Ihren in die Zeitschrift aufzunehmen. Das gibt natürlich prinzipielle Schwierigkeiten. Ich hörte ja von der Sache erst, als *Littmann* schrieb, dass Sie sich mit seinem letzten Vorschlag über die Regelung einverstanden erklärt hatten. Damit schienen mir die Hauptschwierigkeiten aus der Welt geschafft zu sein. Ich sehe ja nun, dass Sie es mit um des lieben Friedens willen getan haben, halte es aber schliesslich für sehr dankenswert, dass Sie es getan haben. Ihre Erwiderung ist genau in Satz und Format der Zeitschrift erschienen. Ich habe gleich angeordnet, dass sie bei unserem Seminar-Exemplar mit gebunden werden soll und Sie können sicher sein, dass andere das auch tun werden.⁹⁶

Somit sind Sie eigentlich doch ganz genügend zu Worte gekommen und jedermann hat die Möglichkeit, Ihre eingehenden Darlegungen mit der Besprechung durch Spiegelberg zu vergleichen und sich ein Urteil zu bilden. Nachdem die Sache einmal so geregelt ist, würde ich, wie gesagt, an Ihrer Stelle nichts weiteres unternehmen.

Ihre Erwiderung⁹⁷ habe ich mit lebhaftem Interesse und in Gedanken an das, was Sie neulich schon hier mündlich ausführten, gelesen. Es ist ja für einen, der dem Ägyptischen

⁹⁵ For details, see Schmidtke, *The Hungarian-German Jewish Arabist Hedwig Klein*, chp. 1.5.

⁹⁶ For the context, see below, n. 120.

⁹⁷ Referring to Yahuda, *Erwiderung*.

fern steht, sehr schwierig, sich ein Urteil über die ägyptologischen Fragen zu bilden, die bei der Auseinandersetzung mit Spiegelberg jedoch im Mittelpunkt steht.

An Ihren Besuch hier in Bonn denken meine Frau und ich sehr gerne zurück und bedauern auch unsererseits nur, dass er so kurz gewesen ist. Herr *Kindermann* rüstet sich nun schon auf die Reise nach England. Er ist ein Mann, der gut orientiert ist und ich möchte annehmen, dass Sie von ihm viel haben könnten.

Mit verbindlichen Grüßen bin ich
Ihr sehr ergebener
PKahle

Document 2

Rudolf Strothmann, letter of recommendation for Hans Gottschalk, Hamburg, 30 May 1934

(NLI, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 1063)

Hamburgische Universität
Seminar für Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients
Hamburg 36, den 30. Mai 1934.
Klopstockstr. 33
Fernspr.: 44 28 34

Herr Dr. *Hans Gottschalk* hat seine erfolgreichen arabistischen Studien auf eine breite Basis gestellt, im besonderen auch durch handschriftliche Studien vertieft. In einer seiner Vorlesungen übernahm er die Aufgabe, in die Handschriftenkunde einzuführen; für unser Institut hat er eine Sammlung gerade von entlegenen unbekannten Handschriften aus Jemen identifiziert und geordnet.⁹⁸ Für wissenschaftliche Beschreibung und Bearbeitung auch schwieriger Handschriften kann er allerbestens empfohlen werden. Zugute kommt ihm für die Feststellung unbekannter oder bisher verlorener Werke seine ausgedehnte bibliographische Kenntnis, die ihn befähigte für die Zeitschrift "Der Islam" die Schriftleitung sowie die Hauptarbeit zu übernehmen am Bericht über die orientalistischen Neuererscheinungen und Editionen.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ It is unclear what Strothmann means here. Strothmann had spent some time in Yemen during the spring of 1930 and had apparently purchased some codices that he then brought back to Hamburg. Rathjens is also known to have acquired several hundred Muslim and Jewish manuscripts during his various trips to Yemen. Those codices were kept at the time either in the university library or in the library of the Seminar für Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients. Be that as it may, the entire Islamica holdings in Hamburg, books as well as manuscripts, were destroyed during a Royal Air Force air attack on the city in July 1943.

⁹⁹ See below, n. 108.

Der Direktor
Prof. Dr. R. Strothmann

Document 3

Abraham Shalom Yahuda to Hans L. Gottschalk, London, 5 June 1934
(NLI, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 982)

25, Elsworthy Road,
London N.W. 3.
5. Juni 1934.

Sehr geehrter Herr Doktor,

Auf Anregung des Herrn Dr. Saxl wende ich mich an Sie in folgender Angelegenheit. Ich habe eine ziemlich ansehnliche Sammlung von arabischen Handschriften, worunter sich sehr alte und wertvolle Codices befinden. Ich möchte einen sach- und fachkundigen Arabisten zunächst für einige Monate engagieren, der den bereits in Arbeit befindlichen Katalog weiter führt. Und da Herr Dr. Saxl Sie sehr empfohlen hat, so möchte ich Sie bitten, mir zu sagen, ob Sie bereit sind, eine solche Arbeit zu übernehmen. Ich muss gleich bemerken, dass ich nicht sehr viel für die Sache ausgeben kann, dass ich aber selbstverständlich bereit bin, Ihnen soviel anzubieten, dass Sie hier gut auskommen [k]önnen. Wollen Sie mir nun schreiben 1) wann Sie herüber kommen können, falls Sie die Arbeit übernehmen wollen? 2) Ob Sie der Arbeit täglich 6–7 Stunden widmen können und welche Remuneration Sie monatlich dafür beanspruchen? 3) Ob Ihre englischen Kenntnisse soweit reichen, dass Sie die Katalogisierung in englischer Sprache fortsetzen können?

Ich möchte noch bemerken, dass fast alle Handschriften arabische Zettel haben, die die Katalogisierung wesentlich erleichtern. Um einen Versuch zu machen, schicke ich Ihnen einige arabische Zettel von bekannten Handschriften sowie einen Musterzettel, wie die Handschriften vorerst bearbeitet werden sollen. Wollen Sie so gut sein und mir nach diesem Muster die arabischen Zettel provisorisch bearbeiten, sodass ich mir ein Urteil über Ihre Arbeit bilden kann. Ich möchte auch wissen, ob Sie in Schreibmaschine und deutscher Stenographie geübt sind.

Mit besten Grüßen
Ihr sehr ergebener

Document 4

Hans L. Gottschalk to A.S. Yahuda, Freiburg i. Br., 15 June 1934 (NLI, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 982)

Dr. H. Gottschalk
Freiburg i. Br.–Günterstal
Reutestr. 1

den 15.V. [sic] 1934.

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor,

besten Dank für Ihren freundlichen Brief vom 5.VI. und Ihr Angebot, die in Ihrem Besitz befindlichen arabischen Handschriften zu katalogisieren. Ich würde die Arbeit an und für sich gerne übernehmen und hoffe, sie auch zu Ihrer Zufriedenheit ausführen zu können, da ich von meiner Hamburger Tätigkeit her über gewisse Übung und Erfahrung im Katalogisieren von Handschriften und in anderen bibliographischen Arbeiten verfüge.

Zu Ihren einzelnen Fragen: 1) Da ich noch eine Reihe wichtiger Arbeiten hier zu vollenden habe, die teilweise an bestimmten Terminen abgeliefert werden müssen, könnte ich wohl erst um den 1.X. rüber kommen.

2) Wenn Sie mir die Arbeit übertragen, bin ich selbstverständlich bereit, bis zu ihrer Beendigung meine ganze Arbeitskraft darauf zu verwenden unter Hintansetzung meiner eigenen Arbeiten, so dass ich für sie die Zeit der Katalogisierungsarbeiten verliere.—Als Remuneration dachte ich an 25 £ monatlich, da ich verheiratet bin und nicht nur selbst davon in London leben, sondern auch meine Familie, die wahrscheinlich in Freiburg bleiben würde, unterhalten muss, ferner das Fahrgeld der Hin- und Rückreise II. Klasse.

3) Die 3 eingesandten Zettel habe ich der Einfachheit halber deutsch bearbeitet; ich würde aber natürlich auch gern bereit sein, die weitere Bearbeitung englisch zu machen und werde dazu, besonders wenn ich in England bin, auch imstande sein. Ich bin gewohnt, arabische und deutsche Schreibmaschine zu schreiben; dagegen kann ich keine deutsche Stenographie.

Ich nehme an, dass Sie, indem Sie mich mit der Herstellung des Kataloges Ih[r]er Sammlung beauftragen, nicht eine einfache Handliste wünschen, sondern vielmehr die Anfertigung eines wissenschaftlich brauchbaren Werkes, das den Wert jeder Handschrift genau bestimmt und durch Aufzählung der Parallelhandschriften, den Vergleich mit diesen usw., sofort jeden Benutzer auf ihre Bedeutung aufmerksam macht. Unter diesem Gesichtspunkt habe ich die mir vorgelegten Zettel bearbeitet, wobei ich zu berücksichtigen bitte, dass mir hier nur ungenügende bibliographische Hilfsmittel zur Verfügung standen, sodass ich weder alle im Brockelmann aufgezählten Hds. vergleichen noch die in ihm nicht verarbeiteten Kataloge benutzen konnte. Auch war es mir unmöglich, die neueren Drucke arabischer Texte und einige neuere abendländische Publikationen einzusehen. Ferner habe ich darauf verzichtet, eine Beschreibung der Hds. nach Grösse, Schrift, Erhaltungszustand usw. zu geben, da ich dies nur nach genauem eigenem Augenschein tun könnte. Aber ich hoffe doch, dass Sie aus meinen Proben sehen werden, in welcher Weise ich mir die Bearbeitung denke. Ich glaube, dass ein derartiger Katalog nicht nur den wissenschaftlichen Wert Ihrer Sammlung erheblich steigert, sondern auch darüber hinaus eine gewisse allgemeinbibliographische Bedeutung haben dürfte. Dass Sie eine Publikation wünschen, nehme ich als sicher an.

Um ungefähr die Zeit berechnen zu können, die die Arbeit an Ihrer Sammlung beanspruchen wird, und für die ich meine eigenen Arbeiten unterbrechen müsste, wäre ich Ihnen sehr dankbar, wenn Sie mir die Zahl der Hds. Ihrer Sammlung angeben würden. Sie

können versichert sein, dass ich mich bemühen werde, die Arbeit so rasch wie möglich auszuführen.

Ihr Ihnen sehr ergebener,
Hans Gottschalk.

Document 5

Abraham Shalom Yahuda to Hans L. Gottschalk, London, 10 July 1934
(NLI, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 982)

25, Elsworthy Road
London N.W.3.
10. Juli 1934.

Herrn
Dr. H. Gottschalk
Freiburg i. Br.
Günterstal
Reutestr. 1.

Sehr geehrter Herr Doktor,

Ich hoffe, dass Sie meine Karte erhalten haben.¹⁰⁰ Es würde mich sehr interessieren, von Ihnen zu erfahren, ob Sie nun allein oder mit Ihrer Frau¹⁰¹ nach London kommen würden für

¹⁰⁰ Presumably referring to Yahuda's postcard of 21 June (mentioned in document 6 below), which has not come down to us.

¹⁰¹ Anneliese (Anne-Luise) Gottschalk *née* Baur (1906–1973) received her education first in Heidelberg (1925–1926) and Berlin (1926) and then in Munich, where she enrolled in the winter semester of 1926/27, majoring in Islamic studies, with Semitic studies and musicology as minors; see *Studentenkartei* Anneliese Gottschalk-Baur (UAM, Stud-Kart I). During the summer semester of 1930 she was awarded the doctoral degree for a dissertation entitled “Muʿtazilitische Dogmatik nach dem *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*,” prepared under the supervision of Gotthold Bergsträsser. Baur intended to add a second part—an inventory of technical terms—to the study before its publication, but she does not seem to have done so; the dissertation was never published, and no copy of it is known to survive. All that remains is Bergsträsser's detailed report, included in “Promotionsakte Anna-Luise Gottschalk” (UAM, O-Npr-1930). In the years following her dissertation, Baur (or Gottschalk-Baur; she married Hans Gottschalk in 1929) also worked on another study, entitled “Aufbau und Bedeutung der *maqālāt al-islāmījīn* des Aṣḥʿarī,” of which she had completed about half in May 1934. As her next project, she planned “eine Arbeit über die Zusammenhänge der arabischen scholastischen Philosophie mit der frühen Scholastik des Abendlandes, im speziellen über al-Kindī und al-Fārābī”; see her letter of 26 May 1934 (“Letters to an unknown correspondent from Hans Gottschalk and Annelise Gottschalk-Baur,” CRL, Mingana Collection, DA66/2/3/5/2).

den Fall, dass Sie die Katalogisierungsarbeit übernehmen. Ich habe Ihre Zettel durchgesehen. Ich würde Ihnen gerne die Arbeit übergeben, nur muss der Katalog in englischer Sprache gemacht werden und ich würde gerne erfahren, ob Sie so weit sind, dass Sie es ohne meine Hilfe machen können, da ich keine Zeit habe, mich mit der Sache selbst viel zu befassen.

Was Ihre Remuneration betrifft, so ist sie allerdings viel höher, als ich gedacht habe, da ich nicht wusste, dass Sie Familie haben. Die Frage ist, wie viele Monate die Arbeit in Anspruch nehmen wird. Es sind 1000 Handschriften zu katalogisieren, und da der Katalog, wie Sie richtig sagen, nach wissenschaftlichen Gesichtspunkten bearbeitet werden soll, so nehme ich an, dass Sie mindestens vier bis fünf Monate dazu brauchen werden. Selbstverständlich würde mir eine mündliche Aussprache sehr erwünscht sein und ich würde gerne erfahren, ob Sie im Juli und August in Freiburg sind. Es ist sehr möglich, dass ich zwischen Ende Juli und Mitte August nach der Schweiz fahren werde, und da könnten wir uns vielleicht in Basel auf meiner Durchfahrt treffen.

Ich möchte bemerken, dass vielleicht auch ausser der Katalogisierung noch andere Arbeitsmöglichkeiten vorhanden sind, da ich eine ganze Menge Material auf verschiedenen arabistischen Gebieten liegen habe und ich sehr gerne Ihre Mithilfe in Anspruch nehmen würde, falls Ihnen die Arbeit zusagen würde.

Mit bestem Gruss

Ihr sehr ergebener

Document 6

Hans L. Gottschalk to A.S. Yahuda, Freiburg, 15 July 1934 (NLI, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 982)

Dr. H. Gottschalk

Freiburg i. Br.–Günterstal

Reutestr. 1

den 15.VII.1934.

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor,

besten Dank für Ihre Karte vom 21.VI. und den darin angekündigten Brief, der vor wenigen Tagen eintraf, mit den näheren Erläuterungen. Ich freue mich, aus Ihre[m] Schreiben entnehmen zu können, dass Sie sich entschlossen haben, mir die Weiterführung des Kataloges Ihrer Handschriftensammlung zu übertragen, und ich glaube auch darin nicht

Gottschalk-Baur intended to submit this study for publication in *Der Islam* (see letter Gottschalk-Baur to Rudolf Strothmann, Freiburg i. Br., 24 May 1935 [SFA-D-GottschalkBaur]), but this did not happen. See also letter Gottschalk-Baur to Hellmut Ritter, 23 November 1936 (HstAM, 340 Ritter b, 309).

fehlzugehen, dass Sie mit den Ihnen von mir mitgeteilten Bedingungen in allen wesentlichen Punkten einverstanden sind.

Was die von Ihnen angeregte Mitarbeit meiner Frau anbelangt, so ist sie prinzipiell nicht abgeneigt, auch ihrerseits an Ihrem Kataloge mitzuwirken. Allerdings könnte sie wohl kaum schon zum 1.X.34, sondern erst zum 1.I.35 mit mir nach London kommen, da sie bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt durch eigene wissenschaftliche Arbeiten gebunden ist und sich auch nicht entschliessen kann, unsere beiden kleinen Kinder so lange ohne Mutter zu lassen.

Dass es uns beiden möglich sein wird, die Katalogisierungsarbeit in englischer Sprache durchzuführen, dürfen Sie versichert sein.

Ich würde mich sehr freuen, Sie in Basel oder, was mir noch lieber wäre, hier in Freiburg begrüßen zu können, da es natürlich auch für uns sehr wichtig wäre, nähere Einzelheiten über die Arbeit zu erfahren. Ich bin sicher Juli und August hier und kann mich daher in dem Zeitpunkt ganz nach Ihnen richten.

Für die möglichst rasche Durchführung der Katalogisierung scheint es mir von grosser Bedeutung zu sein, dass das nötige Handwerkszeug an Nachschlagewerken möglichst von vornherein vollständig vorhanden ist, um die immer etwas umständliche Benutzung öffentlicher Bibliotheken weitmöglichst zu vermeiden. Daher wäre ich Ihnen sehr dankbar, wenn Sie mir mitteilen würden, was Sie besitzen.¹⁰² Falls Sie es wünschen, will ich Ihnen umgehend eine Liste dessen, was mir notwendig zu sein scheint, übermitteln. Im Notfall müsste man sehen, einiges von der D.M.G. zu bekommen.

Es freut mich sehr zu hören, dass Sie noch weiteres arabistisches Material besitzen, zu dessen Verwertung Sie mich auch heranziehen wollen; ich bin begierig zu erfahren, um was für Dinge es sich dabei handelt. Ich bin speziell an allem, was sich auf Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients [bezieht], (auch an Papyri) interessiert.

Mit bestem Gruss,
Ihr Ihnen sehr ergebener
Hans Gottschalk.

Document 7

Hans L. Gottschalk to A.S. Yahuda, Freiburg, n.d (NLI, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 982)

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor,

in Ihrem letzten Brief vom 10.VII.1934 teilten Sie mir mit, es wäre sehr möglich, dass Sie zwischen Ende Juli und Mitte August nach der Schweiz fahren würden, und wir uns dann

¹⁰² Yahuda had a good reference library at his disposal, consisting of manuscript catalogs and bio-bibliographical reference works, which he had purchased primarily through Harrassowitz over the decades. His correspondence with Harrassowitz (NLI, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah 01 1081) provides detailed insight into this part of his private library.

vielleicht in Basel treffen könnten, um alles nähere hinsichtlich der Katalogisierung Ihrer arabischen Handschriften zu vereinbaren. In meiner Antwort schrieb ich Ihnen unter anderem, dass ich zu dem von Ihnen angegebenen Termin in Freiburg sei und ich mich freuen würde, Sie auf diese Weise zu sehen. Auf diesen meinen Brief habe ich nichts mehr von Ihnen gehört und nehme daher an, dass Sie nicht nach der Schweiz oder wenigstens nicht nach Basel gekommen sind. Dürfte ich Sie nun bitten, mir bald möglichst mitzuteilen, zu welchem Zeitpunkt Sie mich in London erwarten, damit ich hier meine Arbeit noch vorher genau einteilen kann. Auch bitte ich Sie, mir die Aufenthaltserlaubnis in England für ein halbes Jahr zu verschaffen, damit meiner Einreise nichts im Wege steht; falls es nötig ist, werde ich Ihnen das "Certificate of Registration" meines letzten englischen Aufenthalts¹⁰³ zusenden, sodass das Home Office die nötigen Eintragungen hineinschreiben kann. Endlich möchte ich Sie bitten, mir die Reisespesen bis London zuzusenden, da eine Mitnahme von Devisen oder deutschem Geld nach den Vorschriften unserer Regierung strengstens verboten ist.

Ihr Ihnen sehr ergebener
Hans Gottschalk.

Document 8

Hans L. Gottschalk to Fritz Saxl, Freiburg, 29 September 1934 (WI, General Correspondence)

Dr. H. Gottschalk
Freiburg i. Br.–Günterstal
Reutestr. 1
den 29.IX.1934.

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor,

seit Anfang Juni stehe ich in Unterhandlungen mit Prof. Yahuda über die Katalogisierung seiner Hds.-Sammlung durch mich; heute nun schreibt mir Prof. Yahuda¹⁰⁴ auf meine Anfrage wegen der Aufenthaltserlaubnis in England, ich solle mich an Sie wenden und Sie bitten, mir die Aufenthaltserlaubnis für "Arbeiten in der Bibliothek Warburg" zu verschaffen. Ich möchte Ihnen hiermit diesen Vorschlag von Prof. Yahuda unterbreiten; mir erscheint er aus folgenden Gründen bedenklich: das Home Office fragt bei allen Aufenthaltsbewilligungen stets, woher der Antragsteller die Mittel zum Leben in England nimmt, und es ist ja bekannt, dass durch die Devisenverordnung der Deutschen Regierung

¹⁰³ Hans L. Gottschalk and his wife had spent a few months in England in the beginning of 1934 with the purpose of improving their proficiency in English; see his correspondence with Fritz Saxl (WI, General Correspondence)

¹⁰⁴ This is probably Yahuda's postcard of 26 September 1934, referred to in document 10 below, which has not come down to us.

ein Übersenden von Geld nach England ausgeschlossen ist. Also wird das Home Office misstrauisch werden, Rückfragen stellen, und dann müssen wir angeben, dass Prof. Yahuda mir eine Arbeit und Verdienst gegeben hat. Das Home Office wird aber unsere erste Angabe für eine Lüge halten, und wir können unabsehbare Schwierigkeiten bekommen. Ferner ist die Angabe auch insofern falsch, als ich neben der Arbeit für Prof. Yahuda kaum Zeit zur Arbeit in der Bibliothek Warburg finden werde, es sei denn, dass ein Teil der Arbeit von Prof. Yahuda in der Bibliothek Warburg ausgeführt werden kann und dadurch unsere Angaben wahrheitsgemässer werden. Die Frage des Verdienstes bleibe aber dadurch unbeführt. Ich wäre Ihnen sehr dankbar, wenn Sie mir Ihre Meinung darüber bald zukommen lassen würden.

Bei dieser Gelegenheit möchte ich Sie auch noch in zwei anderen Fragen, die mit meinem Verhältnis zu Prof. Yahuda zusammenhängen, um Ihren Rat bitten: 1) als Remuneration forderte ich 25 Pfund monatlich, indem ich davon ausging, dass die Stipendien des Academic Assistance Council 21 Pfund für Verheiratete betragen und eine gewisse Mehrforderung in meinem Falle am Platze sei, da es sich ja nicht um eine rein wissenschaftliche Stelle und einen Entgelt für meine eigene Arbeit handelt, sondern um eine Art von Expertenposten. Hiesige Freunde, wie Prof. Friedländer¹⁰⁵ u.a., mit denen ich sprach, hielten diese meine Forderung für angemessen, hingegen scheint sie Prof. Yahuda etwas hoch zu sein. Welches ist Ihre Ansicht?—2) Wie lange die Arbeitszeit eines wissenschaftlichen Bibliothekars in England? Prof. Yahuda wünscht genaue Abmachungen über die Arbeitszeit, womit ich ganz einverstanden bin; in Deutschland ist es 6 Stunden täglich. Und ich möchte eigentlich nicht über diese Zeit hinausgehen, da ich sonst überhaupt keine Zeit mehr für eigene Arbeiten habe, also sonst die ganze Zeit bei Prof. Yahuda für meine Arbeit verloren ist. Dies ist natürlich auch bei meiner Gehaltsforderung zu berücksichtigen.

Auf der anderen Seite würde ich mich sehr freuen, auf diese Weise die Möglichkeit zu bekommen, den Winter in England zu verbringen und vielleicht dadurch eine bessere Chance zu haben, im Ausland eine Stelle zu finden. Nur muss ich soviel verdienen, dass ich meiner Familie, die vorläufig in Deutschland bleiben würde, soviel schicken kann, dass sie im Hause meiner Eltern mit leben kann, d. h. etwa 10 Pfund monatlich.

Mit der Bitte, von uns beiden Fr. Dr. Bing, Prof. Wind¹⁰⁶ und Dr. Klibanski¹⁰⁷ grüssen zu wollen, und mit besten Grüßen von meiner Frau und mir und vielem Dank für all Ihre Bemühungen im voraus, Ihr Ihnen sehr ergebener Hans Gottschalk

Document 9

Gertrud Bing to Hans L. Gottschalk, London, 3 October 1934 (WI, General Correspondence)

¹⁰⁵ Perhaps referring to the art historian Walter Friedlaender (1873–1966), who from 1921 taught as professor extraordinarius at Freiburg University, until he was ousted from his position in 1933.

¹⁰⁶ Referring to the art historian Edgar Wind (1900–1971).

¹⁰⁷ For Raymond Klibansky (1905–2005) and the Warburg Library network, see Despoix, Tomm, Méchoulán, and Leroux (eds.), *Raymond Klibansky*.

3, Thames House
Millbank
London S.W. 1
3. Oktober 1934.

Lieber Herr Dr. Gottschalk,

Verzeihen Sie, dass ich statt Saxl Ihren Brief an ihn beantworte. Er ist noch in Venedig und kommt frühestens erst Mitte dieses Monats zurück.

Die Situation, in die uns Ihr Brief versetzt, ist auch so klar und ich kann ihn im selben Sinn beantworten wie Saxl es getan hätte. Es ist nämlich, wie Sie selbst schon andeuten, ganz unmöglich für die Bibliothek Warburg, Ihnen die gewünschte Aufenthaltserlaubnis zu beschaffen. Die Lage ist genau so, wie Sie sie darstellen. Die normalen Aufenthaltsbewilligungen werden immer unter der Voraussetzung gegeben, dass der Betreffende in England keine bezahlte Stellung annimmt. Wir müssten also entweder diese Zusicherung geben, resp. nachweisen oder andeuten, dass Sie von eigenen Mitteln hier leben oder wir müssten das ganze ungesagt sein lassen mit dem Bewusstsein, dass wir dann die Eingabe aus falschen Voraussetzungen heraus machen. Beides ist nicht nur allgemein unmöglich, sondern im Falle der Bibliothek Warburg noch besonders bedenklich, denn wir dürfen in unserer Lage auch nicht in den Schatten eines Verdachtes kommen, etwas Ungesetzliches probiert oder getan zu haben.

Ich schreibe Ihnen dieses so ausführlich, nicht damit Sie selbst es wissen, denn es geht ja aus Ihrem Brief hervor, dass Sie derselben Ansicht sind, sondern damit Sie Professor Yahuda diese Ansicht in aller Ausführlichkeit darstellen können.

Ihre anderen Fragen sind leichter zu beantworten:

1.) Ich finde 25 £ im Monat nicht zu viel, wenn man von Ihrer besonderen Lage ausgeht und bedenkt, dass Sie noch Geld nach Hause schicken müssen. Andererseits gibt nicht nur der Academic Assistance Council auch für Verheiratete mit Kindern nur 21 £, sondern, wie ich aus eigener Erfahrung weiss, werden Bibliothekarsposten mit ausgebildeten Bibliothekaren weit geringer bezahlt. Wir hatten z. B. gerade eine Bewerbung, allerdings einer Bibliothekarin, die 130 £ im Jahre forderte. Natürlich muss Ihre Arbeit entsprechend der höheren Qualifizierung auch höher bezahlt werden. Ich würde Ihnen aber doch raten, die Stellung nicht an der Differenz von 4 bis 5 £ scheitern zu lassen. Ich würde also, wenn Sie es irgend möglich machen können, mich auf die 21 £, die der Academic Assistance Council gibt, herunterlassen. Niedriger würde ich allerdings auch nicht gehen.

2.) Es ist natürlich immer unangenehm, sich in einem wissenschaftlichen Verhältnis auf irgendeine Stundenzahl festzulegen. Sie wissen ja selbst, dass z. B. in der Bibliothek Warburg an jeden Mitarbeiter der Anspruch gestellt wird, seine Arbeitsstundenzahl ohne weiteres zu verlängern, wenn es nötig ist. Auf dieser Basis würde ich auch mit Herrn Professor Yahuda handeln, d. h. dass sechs Stunden als Normalzeit festgelegt werden, wobei Sie ihm zugestehen könnten, in *Ausnahmefällen* ihm länger zur Verfügung zu stehen. Vielleicht können Sie Ihr Abgehen von Ihrer ersten Gehaltsforderung irgendwie mit dieser geringeren

Stundenzahl vereinigen. Ich würde Ihnen raten, die Sache mit Professor Yahuda, wenn möglich abzuschließen, allerdings ohne sich allzu sehr drücken zu lassen, denn ich glaube sicher, dass der Aufenthalt in England eine gute Chance für Sie bedeutet.

Mit den besten Grüßen auch für Ihre Frau
bin ich

Document 10

Hans L. Gottschalk to Abraham Shalom Yahuda, Freiburg, 7 October 1934 (NLI, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 982)

Dr. H. Gottschalk

Freiburg i. Br.–Günterstal Reutestr. 1
den 7.X.1934.

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor,

auf Ihre Karte vom 26.IX. hin habe ich sogleich an Prof. Saxl wegen der Aufenthaltserlaubnis in England geschrieben; die Antwort von Frh. Dr. G. Bing in Vertretung des verreisten Prof. Saxl lautet: "Es ist nämlich ... ganz unmöglich für die Bibliothek Warburg, Ihnen die gewünschte Aufenthaltserlaubnis zu beschaffen. ... Die normalen Aufenthaltsbewilligungen werden immer unter der Voraussetzung gegeben, dass der Betreffende in England keine bezahlte Stellung annimmt. Wir müssten also entweder die Zusicherung geben, (resp. es nachweisen) oder andeuten, dass Sie von eigenen Mitteln hier leben, oder wir müssten das ganze ungesagt sein lassen mit dem Bewusstsein, dass wir dann die Eingabe aus falschen Voraussetzungen heraus machen. Beides ist nicht nur allgemein unmöglich, sondern im Falle der Bibliothek Warburg noch besonders bedenklich, denn wir dürfen in unserer Lage auch nicht in den Schatten eines Verdachtes kommen, etwas Ungesetzliches probiert oder getan zu haben."

Bei dieser Sachlage bleibt also wohl der einzige Weg, dass Sie sich an das Home Office wenden und um Aufenthaltserlaubnis für mich mit folgenden Begründungen nachsuchen: 1) Sie bedürfen meiner zur Ausführung Ihrer Arbeiten unbedingt, 2) es gibt keinen Engländer, der Ihnen diese Arbeit leisten könnte, was ja voll und ganz der Wahrheit bei der geringen Zahl englischer Orientalisten entspricht, und 3) ich nehme infolgedessen keinem Engländer einen Platz weg. Falls das Home Office eine Bescheinigung über mich als Orientalisten braucht, würde Prof. H.A.R. Gibb, School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C. 2, London, gewiss bereit sein, sie Ihnen zu geben. Besonders können Sie ja auch darauf verweisen, dass ich als ehem. Assistent a. d. Univ. Hamburg und Herausgeber der "Kritischen Bibliographie des Islam"¹⁰⁸ Spezialist für bibliographische Arbeiten auf dem

¹⁰⁸ Referring to the "Kritische Bibliographie," a standard section in *Der Islam* since volume 4 (1913). See the announcement in *Der Islam* 3 (1912): "Bitte. Vom nächsten Bande ab soll der Versuch gemacht werden, die Bibliographie allmählich zu einer kritischen

Gebiet der Islamkunde und der Katalogisierung arab. Hds., also “expert” im Sinne des Home Office bin. Ich glaube, dass unter diesen Umständen das Home Office keine Schwierigkeiten machen wird.

Wie ich Ihnen schon in meinem ersten Briefe schrieb, bin ich entschlossen, die Katalogisierungsarbeiten mit grösster Energie und Beschleunigung unter Hintansetzung meiner eigenen Arbeiten durchzuführen, und ich erkläre mich gern bereit, die von Ihnen in Ihrem Briefe vom 5.VI.¹⁰⁹ als Höchstzahl vorgeschlagenen 7 Stunden täglich, d. h. von Montag bis Freitag, und Samstag 5 Stunden zu arbeiten, also im ganzen 40 Wochenstunden; dies ist erheblich mehr als die Arbeitszeit wissenschaftlicher Bibliothekare in Deutschland oder auch der Mitarbeiter an der Bibliothek Warburg. Aber da ich Ihr Interesse an einer raschen Durchführung der Katalogisierung, soweit dies in meinen Kräften steht, unterstützen

Bibliographie auszugestalten. Es sollen die nach bestimmten Gruppen zu ordnenden Neuerscheinungen nicht wie bisher nur genannt, sondern inhaltlich kurz skizziert und, wenn möglich, auch gleich beurteilt werden. Als Ideal schwebt der Redaktion dabei das in der *Byzantinischen Zeitschrift* beobachtete Verfahren vor. Wichtige Werke erhalten nach wie vor außerdem eine ausführliche Rezension. Da nun diese Neuerung, deren Nützlichkeit auf der Hand liegt, der Redaktion eine große, neue Arbeitslast auflädt, richtet sie an alle Interessenten die inständige Bitte, ihr durch Übersendung von Separatabzügen (am liebsten 2 Exemplare), Dissertationen usw. die Arbeit zu erleichtern. Namentlich islamkundlich wichtige Artikel außerhalb der Fachpresse, auch Notizen darüber, sind sehr willkommen. Wir bitten um Nachsicht, wenn sich dies Ziel nicht gleich in den ersten Heften erreichen läßt, aber viribus unitis läßt sich hier auf die Dauer etwas wirklich Wertvolles schaffen. Die Redaktion.” The idea of the “Kritische Bibliographie” was apparently first raised by Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921); see letter Goldziher to Becker, Budapest, 21 October 1912 (Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv, VI. HA, NI Becker, C.H., Nr. 449, Bl. 62): “Wäre es durchführbar, im ‘Islam’ eine bibliograph. Rubrik zu eröffnen, in welcher die im Orient erscheinenden Druckausgaben für die Islamkunde wichtiger Werke in Evidenz gehalten würden?” During Gottschalk’s term as assistant at the University of Hamburg, he compiled the section “Kritische Bibliographie” for volume 19 (1931) of *Der Islam*, 58–116, consisting of 654 entries. Besides Gottschalk’s own contributions, which are not signed, other scholars from Hamburg and beyond, notably Taher Khemiri, Walther Björkman, Walter Braune, Rudolf Strothmann, Willi Heffening, Necati Hüssni, Franz Taeschner, Josef Horovitz, H. A. Winkler, Joseph Schacht, R. Salomon, Max Krause, and Martin Plessner, also contributed entries, and these generally contain more detail than Gottschalk’s entries do. “Kritische Bibliographie” in *Der Islam* 20 (1932), 63–108 comprises 398 entries. Those written by Gottschalk are now, for the most part, signed “H. G.” Other contributors to this issue, in addition to those named above, include Hellmut Ritter, Rudi Paret, Kurt Levy, Ernst Kühnel, are Carl Rathjens. The bibliography also has a note (63 n. 1) stating that “Die Bearbeitung der Kr. B. liegt in der Hand von H. Gottschalk.” “Kritische Bibliographie” in *Der Islam* 21 (1933), 243–268 consists of 233 entries by Gottschalk and others. *Der Islam* 22 (1935), published after Gottschalk had been ousted from his position, contains no “Kritische Bibliographie.” Gottschalk contributed other papers, reviews, and short notices to *Der Islam*, notably Gottschalk, “Zu H. Ritter, Philologica VI.”; Gottschalk, “Review of Schacht, *Der Islām mit Ausschluß des Qor’āns*”; Gottschalk, “Abū ‘Ubad al-Qāsim b. Sallām”; and Gottschalk, “Gotthelf Bergsträsser †.”

¹⁰⁹ See above, document 3.

will, schlage ich Ihnen diesen Arbeitszeitmodus vor. Nochmals darf ich Sie vielleicht bei dieser Gelegenheit bitten, für die nötigen Hilfsmittel für die Katalogisierungsarbeiten Sorge zu tragen, weil dadurch erhebliche Zeitgewinne möglich sind. Eine Liste der von mir für wichtig erachteten Werke werde ich Ihnen auf Wunsch gerne zusammenstellen.

Hingegen scheint mir meine Remunerationsforderung von £ 25 monatlich nicht zu hoch. Ich bin dabei davon ausgegangen, dass die Stipendien des Academic Assistance Council für Verheiratete £ 21 monatlich betragen, wobei der Stipendiat sich aber ganz seiner eignen Arbeit widmen kann, also die Zeit seines Stipendiumsempfangs nur seiner Ausbildung und seinem Weiterkommen dient. Ich dagegen muss und werde bei Ihrer Arbeit, die mich in ganz andere Gebiete führen wird, meine eigenen Arbeiten völlig vernachlässigen müssen, diese Zeit also in vieler Hinsicht verlieren. Dafür scheint mir das Mehr von £ 4 monatlich, das meiner Familie zugute kommt, nicht zu hoch zu sein. Ferner dürfen Sie bei meiner Forderung auch nicht übersehen, dass ein von mir gearbeiteter und mit meinem Namen versehener Katalog eine wissenschaftliche Leistung darstellt, die auch den Wert Ihrer Sammlung erhöht, da ich durch meine bisherige Tätigkeit, wie schon oben gesagt, als Specialist für bibliographische Arbeiten gelte und durch kritische und in ihren Forderungen von den massgebenden Fachleuten anerkannte Rezensionen Einfluss auf das Gebiet der arab. Hds.-Verwertung gewonnen habe.

Ueber alle anderen Punkte werden wir uns gewiss leicht einigen. Zur genauen Fixierung unserer Abmachungen schlage ich vor, nachdem Sie die Aufenthaltserlaubnis für mich erhalten haben, dass wir unsere Abmachungen in für beide Teile verbindlicher Vertragsform festlegen.

Meine Frau, die noch eine grössere Arbeit vollenden muss, könnte erst Anfang 1935 nachkommen.

Ihr Ihnen sehr ergebener
Hans Gottschalk.

Document 11 Hans L. Gottschalk to Abraham Shalom Yahuda, Freiburg, 15 November 1934 (NLI, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 982)

Dr. H. Gottschalk
Freiburg i. Br.–Günterstal
Reedestr. 1
den 15.XI.1934.

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor,

von Tag zu Tag und Post zu Post warte ich auf einen Bescheid aus Oxford; aber er ist immer noch nicht eingetroffen.¹¹⁰ Und daher konnte ich Ihnen auch noch keine Nachricht zukommen lassen, so gerne ich auch schon jetzt fest zusagen würde. Denn ich glaube besonders nach unserer Unterredung in Basel, dass unsere Zusammenarbeit an Ihren Handschriften gewiss sehr fruchtbar sein würde, auch wenn die Remuneration nicht ganz meinen Erwartungen entspricht.

Ich muss Sie also bitten, sich noch etwas zu gedulden. Sobald ich die Einzelheiten und das feste Angebot von Oxford erhalten habe, werde ich meine Entscheidung treffen, und Sie Ihnen dann sogleich mitteilen. Ich bin noch in keiner Weise sicher, ob ich Oxford annehmen werde; Ihre Mitteilungen haben mir doch sehr zu denken gegeben. Nur halte ich mich für verpflichtet, zu warten, bis von dort ein Angebot erfolgt.

Mit besten Grüßen von meiner Frau und mir,

Ihr Ihnen sehr ergebener

Hans Gottschalk

Document 12

Hans L. Gottschalk to Abraham Shalom Yahuda, Freiburg, 19 November 1934 (NLI, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 982)

Dr. H. Gottschalk

Freiburg i. Br.–Günterstal

Reutestr. 1

den 19.XI.1934.

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor,

meine negativen Erwartungen, die ich Ihnen ja schon in Basel zum Ausdruck brachte, haben sich bestätigt: ich habe den Posten in Oxford nicht erhalten. Daher kann ich jetzt mit gutem Gewissen mich bei Ihnen für die Katalogisierungsarbeit verpflichten. Ich bitte Sie nun, mir die Einreiseerlaubnis erwirken zu wollen und danach das Reisegeld zu schicken, wie wir verabredet hatten. Die Nummer meines "Certificate of Registration" ist 528102, ausgestellt am 2.3.1934. Nationality: German. Born on 24/3/1904 in Freiburg. Previous Nationality (if any) none. Profession: Doctor of Languages. Married. Address or last Residence outside U.K.: Freiburg i. Br.–Günterstal, Reutestr. 1. Passport: German Passport No. 21 issued 12/2/34 at Freiburg.—

In der Angelegenheit von Heidelberg erwarte ich Ihren Bescheid; sobald Sie es mir mitteilen, werde ich dorthin fahren. Ich glaube sicher, dass sich ein Weg in der von uns vereinbarten Weise finden lassen wird.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ It is unclear for which position Gottschalk had applied.

¹¹¹ It is unclear what Gottschalk is referring to here. The matter was presumably mentioned in one of Yahuda's lost letters.

Mit besten Grüßen,
Ihr Ihnen sehr ergebener
Hans Gottschalk.

Document 13

Hans L. Gottschalk to Abraham Shalom Yahuda, Freiburg, 2 December 1934 (NLI, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 982)

Dr. H. Gottschalk
Freiburg i. Br.–Günterstal
Reedestr. 1
den 2.XII.1934.

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor,

es freut mich sehr, dass Sie so rasch die Einreise- und Arbeitserlaubnis in England für mich bekommen haben, wenn ich auch keinen Moment daran gezweifelt habe, dass Sie sie erhalten würden. Bitte senden Sie mir den vom Home Office oder der zuständigen Behörde unterzeichneten Schein hierher nach Freiburg, dass ich ihn mitnehmen und bei der Landung vorzeigen kann.

Das Reisegeld bitte ich, mir an die Filiale von Thomas COOK Ltd., Basel, Centralbahnplatz 6, zu übersenden und zwar mit dem ausdrücklichen Vermerk, dass es mir auf meinen Reisepass auszuhändigen sei. Die Summe, die ich für die Reise Freiburg-London benötige, ist 15 £ = 225 Schweizer Fr., da ich erhebliches Gepäck mitnehmen muss und ja infolge der deutschen Devisenvorschriften kein Geld aus Deutschland herausnehmen darf.

Da ich noch ein Manuscript abschliessen und in Druck geben muss (die Bibliographie von Westasien für den *Ethnologischen Anzeiger*¹¹²), sowie noch andere Arbeiten wenigstens bis zu einem gewissen Abschluss bringen, mir auch noch von hier aus in London Quartier besorgen möchte, könnte ich frühestens Samstag, 15.XII., von hier abreisen. Nun fallen aber durch Weihnachten 6–7 zu bezahlende Feiertage für die Arbeit aus, während ich sie gerne mit meiner Familie verleben würde, und daher schlage ich Ihnen vor, dass ich erst Mittwoch, 2.I.1935, bei Ihnen mit der Arbeit beginne. Ich würde dann am 31.XII.34 hier abreisen, wäre den 1.I. in London und am nächsten Tag arbeitsbereit.

Lassen Sie mich endlich kurz noch einmal die von uns in Basel abgemachten Bedingungen zusammenfassen. Meine Remuneration beträgt vorläufig 20 £ monatlich; sollte es sich herausstellen, dass ich es nicht ermöglichen kann, von dieser Summe mindestens 5 £ monatlich an meine Familie in Deutschland zu senden, sind Sie bereit, meine Remuneration

¹¹² Heydrich (ed.), *Ethnologischer Anzeiger*. Gottschalk and the other contributors are mentioned by name on the title pages of issues 1 (1935) and 2 (1936); from issue 3 (1937) onward, the names are replaced by “unter Mitarbeit mehrerer Fachgenossen.”

zu erhöhen. Das Gehalt wäre im voraus zu zahlen. Meine Arbeitszeit beträgt 35 Wochenstunden. Ich verpflichte mich auf mindestens 3 Monate.

Nun nach all dem Geschäftlichen etwas Wissenschaftliches: vor ein paar Tagen sprach ich mit unserem Freiburger kath. Alttestamentler, Prof. Allgeier, meinem alten Lehrer, über Ihr Pentateuchwerk.¹¹³ Er war voll des Lobes dafür und meinte, die Grundlage Ihres Buches und seine leitenden Gedanken seien vollkommen überzeugend. Er trage Ihre Theorien unter Ausdrücken höchster Bewunderung für Ihre bahnbrechende Arbeit seinen Studenten stets vor. Sie sehen, Sie wirken in Deutschland trotz der vielen Angriffe von "Zunftseite."¹¹⁴ Es hat mich aufrichtig gefreut, dies zu hören; Professor Allgeier gab mir die Erlaubnis, Ihnen diese seine Ansicht mitzuteilen.—Ich lese Ihr Buch gerade mit grossem Interesse.

Ich freue mich schon sehr auf unsere Zusammenarbeit. Mit besten Grüßen bis dahin und auf Wiedersehen,

Ihr Ihnen sehr ergebener

Hans Gottschalk.

Document 14

Hans L. Gottschalk to Abraham Shalom Yahuda, Freiburg, 21 December 1934
[postcard]

(NLI, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 982)

Freiburg i. Br.—Günterstal

Reedestr. 1

d. 21.XII.34.

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor,

besten Dank für die Arbeits-Erlaubnis, Ihren letzten Brief und den S[onder] A[bdruck] aus Z[eitschrift] f[ür] Semitistik [und verwandte Gebiete].¹¹⁵ Wir können ja nun bald ausführlich über alles plaudern, worauf ich mich schon sehr freue. Bitte, vergessen Sie wegen der Fahrkarte usw. nicht, dass nächste Woche viele Feiertage sind. Ich werde am 2.I. morgens 9 Uhr in Ihrer Wohnung sein.

Mit besten Wünschen fürs neue Jahr und Grüßen

¹¹³ Yahuda, *Die Sprache des Pentateuch*. For Arthur Allgeier (1882–1952), see Deißler, "Allgeier, Arthur."

¹¹⁴ See below, n. 120.

¹¹⁵ This letter has not come down to us. Since Yahuda never published in this journal, he presumably sent Gottschalk an offprint of one or all of the three negative reviews of his book *Die Sprache des Pentateuch in ihren Beziehungen zum Aegyptischen*, written by Joachim Begrich (1900–1945), Wilhelm Spiegelberg (1870–1930), and Bergsträsser; see below, n. 120.

Ihr sehr ergebener H. Gottschalk.

Document 15

Abraham Shalom Yahuda to Hans L. Gottschalk, London, 22 January 1935 (NLI, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 982)

25 Elsworthy Road,
London N.W. 3
22. Januar 1935

Sehr geehrter Herr Gottschalk,

Bei der Durchsicht meiner Handschriften stosse ich auf die in meinem Besitz befindliche Hds. des Bustan-i hajjal von Muhammed Taqi al-Gafari, Bd. 14, über dessen Erwerbung durch die Preussische Staatsbibliothek Prof. Weil¹¹⁶ seinerzeit mit mir verhandelt hat und mir den Preis von Mk. 150,-- anbot. Ich zog es vor, den Katalog der arabischen Hss. von Ahlwardt als Austausch gegen meinen Band des Bustan-i hajjal vorzuschlagen, worauf Professor Weil gern einging.

Ich möchte Sie nun bitten zu ermitteln, ob der derzeitige Direktor der orientalischen Abteilung bereit ist, auf diesen Tausch einzugehen, der seinerseits unterblieb, weil ich auf lange Zeit nach dem Orient fuhr. In bejahendem Falle würde ich Ihnen das Ms. zugehen lassen.

Zu Ihrer Orientierung teile ich Ihnen mit, dass die Staatsbibliothek nur den ersten Band des Werkes inkomplet (Pertsch 1040) besitzt.¹¹⁷ Mein Band bildet den Schluss des Werkes, ist vorzüglich erhalten und wurde kurz nach dem Verfasser (sogar vielleicht zu seinen Lebzeiten) geschrieben. Das Werk ist nirgends vollständig zu finden und mehrere Bände scheinen verloren zu sein.

Mit bestem Gruss
Ihr sehr ergebener

Document 16

Hans L. Gottschalk to Abraham Shalom Yahuda, London, 28 March 1935 (NLI, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 982)

Dr. phil. H. L. Gottschalk,

¹¹⁶ Gotthold Weil (1882–1960) was the founding director of the Oriental department of the Prussian State Library in Berlin.

¹¹⁷ Ms. Sprenger 1628; for a description of the codex and a digital surrogate, see <https://stabikat.de/Record/177471082X>. Yahuda's letter refers to Pertsch, *Verzeichniss*, 993–994. Yahuda's copy of volume 14 of the work was never given to the Berlin State Library.

% Mrs. M. Warner,
10, Sheriff Road,
London N.W. 6
London, 28.III.1935.

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor,

im Anschluss an Ihre gestern Nachmittag mir gegenüber getanen Aeusserungen, dass die Mitbesitzer der von mir teilweise katalogisierten Handschriften wohl keine Lust mehr hätten, mich weiterhin zu bezahlen, da an eine materielle Verwertung der Hdss. unter den gegenwärtigen wirtschaftlichen Verhältnissen nicht zu denken sei, veranlassen mich folgende Forderungen an Sie zu stellen und Feststellungen über die Art und den Wert der von mir bisher geleisteten Arbeit zu machen:

I) Da der übliche Kündigungstermin vom 15. des Monats auf das Monatsende von Ihnen nicht eingehalten worden ist, könnte eine Kündigung erst wieder vom 15.IV. auf 30.IV. ausgesprochen werden. Da ich aber die Absicht habe, Ostern nicht in England zu sein, und Ihnen auch nicht zumuten will, die grosse Anzahl der Feiertage in der 2. Hälfte April mitzubezahlen, erkläre ich mich hierdurch bereit, eine Kündigung vom 1.IV. auf den 15.IV. ausnahmsweise anzuerkennen. Diese Kündigung aber müsste am 1.IV.1935 Mittag 12 Uhr *schriftlich* ausgesprochen sein unter Angabe des mir von Ihnen mitgeteilten wirtschaftlichen Grundes. Erfolgt bis zu diesem Termin keine schriftliche Kündigung, so ist der bestehende Vertrag unter den gegenwärtig gültigen Bedingungen verlängert und zwar bis 31.V.1935, da ich am 15.IV. nicht in der Lage bin eine Kündigung anzunehmen. Ich mache aber gleichzeitig darauf aufmerksam, dass Sie meiner Frau und mir gegenüber mündlich wie schriftlich die Versicherung gegeben haben, dass meine Stellung bei ihnen für eine *recht lange* Zeit sei, dass Sie nach Beendigung der Katalogisierungsarbeiten noch weitere Arbeit *für uns beide* hätten, usw.; die 3 Monate festen Vertrages waren als Schutz für Sie gedacht, dass *ich* Ihnen nicht vorher kündigen könnte, nicht aber als Begrenzung meiner Tätigkeit bei Ihnen. Diese Ihre Behauptungen stehen im Gegensatz zu den gestern getanen Äusserungen.—Erfolgt eine Kündigung durch Sie, so steht mir das Rückreisebillet London-Freiburg II. Kl. zu, dessen Kosten sich 6 £ stellen.

II) Erfolgt eine vorzeitige Kündigung, so ist der Wert der bisher von mir geleisteten Arbeit *völlig nichtig*. Denn die Beschreibung von c. 350 Hdss. aufgrund arabischer und englischer teilweise recht mangelhafter und fehlerhafter Zettel, die Herstellung wissenschaftlich brauchbarer, kurzer Leitblätter unter Vergleichung europäischer und arabischer Quellenwerke ist wertlos, solange sie nicht mit den arabischen Originalen, wie auch vorgesehen, verglichen sind, eine Ordnung aufgrund sachlicher und zeitlicher Einteilung erfolgt und kurze biographische Bemerkungen vorliegen. Die Fertigstellung eines brauchbaren Kataloges der von mir bisher bearbeiteten Stücke würde aber mehr als 3 Monate erfordern, woraus auch die nötige Zeit für Bearbeitung der noch nicht in Angriff genommenen Arbeiten zu erschen ist. Daher verbietet sich auch jede Beurteilung und Wertung der von mir bisher geleisteten Vorarbeit und ich *verbiete*, dass diese Vorarbeiten

unter Nennung meines Namens verwendet werden und ich lehne bewusst die Verantwortung für diese Vorarbeiten vor der Vollendung des Ganzen ab.

Indem ich Ihrer Antwort bis Montag 1.IV.1935 Mittags 12 Uhr entgegensehe, bin ich
Ihr Ihnen sehr ergebener
Hans L. Gottschalk.

Document 17

Abraham Shalom Yahuda to Hans L. Gottschalk, London, 29 March 1935 (NLI, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 982)
25 Elsworthy Rd.,
London N/W/3.
den 29. 3. 35.

Sehr geehrter Herr Dr. Gottschalk,

in Erwiderung Ihres Schreibens vom 28. d. M. muss ich Ihnen sagen, dass ich sowohl ueber seinen Inhalt, als auch ueber seinen Ton mehr als erstaunt bin. Da ich aber weder Zeit noch Lust habe, darauf ein[z]ugehen, beschraenke ich mich auf folgende Mitteilungen:

1) Obwohl die zwischen uns getroffene Abmachung keinerlei Kuendigung, noch weniger eine Kuendigungsfrist voraussieht, will ich Ihrem Wunsch nachkommen und die von Ihnen gewuenschte schriftliche Kuendigung Ihnen hiermit [z]ugehen lassen. Somit hoert Ihre Taetigkeit mit dem 15. April auf.

2) Ihrem Wunsch, dass Ihr Name nicht in Verbindung mit den von Ihnen geschriebenen Zetteln genannt werden soll, kann ohne Weiteres Folge geleistet werden.

3) Was Ihre Rueckreise Spesen betrifft, so werden sie selbstverstaendlich bedingungsgemaess geregelt werden.

Ich nehme an, dass die Angelegenheit damit erledigt ist, sodass sich eine weitere Korrespondenz eruebrigt.

Ihr sehr ergebener

Document 18

Johann Fück to Paul Kahle, 17 October 1936
(UniTo, Fondo Paul Kahle, COR_766)

Frankfurt a.M.
Friedrichstr. 60
d. 17. Oktober 1936

Lieber Herr Professor,

[...]

Von Dr. Hans Gottschalk, der sich auf Ihre Veranlassung auch bei mir nach etwaigen Aussichten für ihn an indischen Universitäten erkundigt hat, habe ich beiläufig erfahren, dass A. S. Yahuda, der zur Zeit in London lebt, im Besitz einer allerdings defekten Fihristhandschrift ist, die nach Gottschalks Angaben, der die Handschrift allerdings nur ganz flüchtig zu sehen bekam (Yahuda scheint mit seinen Schätzen sehr zu kargen) aus dem Besitz des Maqrīzī stammt.¹¹⁸ Ich habe Yahuda vor Jahren einmal in Frankfurt kennen gelernt, als er sich hier einige Zeit aufhielt, stehe aber mit ihm in keinerlei Verkehr und möchte mich deshalb nicht unmittelbar an ihn wenden. Dagegen kenne ich sehr gut den Gatten seiner Nichte, Dr. Josef Rivlin in Jerusalem.¹¹⁹ Ehe ich mich aber an Rivlin wende, möchte ich Ihnen davon Kenntnis geben und Sie um Ihre Meinung bitten.

[...]

Ihr dankbar ergebener
JFück.

Document 19

Paul Kahle to Johann Fück, 20 October 1936

(UniTo, Fondo Paul Kahle, COR_766)

20 Oktober 6.

J.-Nr. 1511/36.

Herrn

Prof. Dr. Joh. Fück,

Frankfurt a. Main

Friedrichstrasse 60

Lieber Herr Fück!

Haben Sie besten Dank für Ihren Brief. Yahuda ist ja, wie Sie wissen, ein sehr eigenartiger Mensch und es wird nicht ganz einfach sein, die Fihrist-Handschrift von ihm herauszubekommen. Dass wir von der DMG aus offiziell uns an ihn wenden, hat, glaube ich, nicht viel Zweck. Er ist durch die Besprechung seines Buches über die Genesis in der

¹¹⁸ Yahuda's copy of Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* was eventually purchased by Chester Beatty; see Arberry, *A Handlist*, vol. 2, 31 no. 3315. A digital surrogate of the codex is available at https://cbl01.intranda.com/viewer/mirador/?pi=Ar_3315.

¹¹⁹ Yosef Yoel Rivlin's (1889–1971) first wife was Rachel, born on 17 November 1895 and the daughter of Isaac Benjamin Yahuda, Abraham Shalom's older brother. Rachel died in 1935. Around that time, Rivlin published an article about Abraham Shalom Yahuda, covering his ancestors, academic background and scholarship. A typewritten English translation of the original Hebrew text is held at the NLI as ARC. Ms. Var. Yah 38 04 289.

Zeitschrift für Semitistik ziemlich verstimmt gewesen.¹²⁰ Er ist s. Zt. bei mir gewesen und hat sich darüber sehr beklagt. Aber was sollte man machen!

Ich würde es also für sehr zweckmäßig halten, wenn Sie durch Dr. Rivlin in Jerusalem versuchten, sich mit ihm in Verbindung zu setzen. Sie können ihm ja in Aussicht stellen, dass Sie in jeder Hinsicht, in der Einleitung und sonst, sich dafür dankbar erweisen werden.

An der Katalogisierung seiner Bibliothek haben verschiedene gearbeitet; so wie Dr. Gottschalk gelegentlich, so auch Dr. Kindermann. Auch der berichtete davon, dass Yahuda über seine Bibliothek ein gewisses Geheimnis verbreite, offenbar will er einmal ein gutes Geschäft mit seiner Bibliothek machen. Also schreiben Sie! Die Hauptsache ist für uns, dass wir Zugang zu seiner Handschrift bekommen, und wenn das durch Dr. Rivlin eine Möglichkeit sein sollte, wäre das sicher sehr erfreulich.

Mit herzlichen Grüßen von Haus zu Haus

Ihr sehr ergebener

Document 20

Paul Kahle, letter of recommendation for Hans L. Gottschalk in support of Gottschalk's application to the Moses Mendelsohn-Stiftung zur Förderung der Geisteswissenschaften, Bonn, September 1937
(UniTo, Fondo Paul Kahle, COR_858)

¹²⁰ *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, published by the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, was edited first by Enno Littmann and then by Carl Brockelmann. It appeared in ten volumes from 1922 until 1935 and featured three comprehensive reviews of Yahuda's *Die Sprache des Pentateuch in ihren Beziehungen zum Aegyptischen*, all negative. The first was written by the Bible scholar and Protestant theologian Joachim Begrich (Begrich, "Review"), who concludes his critique with the following statement: "Der Verfasser glaubt mit seinem Werke den Grundstein zu einer neuen Auffassung des Pentateuchs und des gesamten biblischen Altertums gelegt zu haben. Wir können auf Grund des Wenigen, das einer kritischen Durchsicht standhält, nur sagen, daß wir es für höchst gewagt halten müssen, auf diesem schwankenden Fundamente weiter zu bauen." The second review, by the Egyptologist Wilhelm Spiegelberg (Spiegelberg, "Ägyptologische Bemerkungen"), is likewise scathing: "Ich könnte ein ganzes Buch schreiben, wenn ich alle die falschen Gleichungen widerlegen wollte, die das Buch enthält. Allein diese wenigen Stichproben werden den Kreisen genügen, an die sich diese Zeitschrift wendet. Sie zeigen unwiderleglich, daß Y. sich zwar mit großem Fleiße in der ägyptologischen Literatur grobenteils mit der übrigens von ihm nicht verschwiegenen Hilfe Anderer umgesehen hat, daß er selbst aber nur über dilettantische Kenntnisse verfügt. Das merkt man auch sonst auf Schritt und Tritt, nicht nur im einzelnen, sondern auch in den allgemeinen Fragen" (115). The third reviewer, the Semitist Gotthold Bergsträßer (Bergsträßer, "Semitistisch-hebraistische Bemerkungen"), concludes his review in equally dismissive terms: "Die vorstehenden Ausführungen haben, hoffe ich, gezeigt, daß—innerhalb des Rahmens, den wir unserer Betrachtung gezogen hatten—Y.'s Ergebnisse abzulehnen sind. Die Fortsetzung des Unternehmens müßte in völlig anderem Geist und mit disziplinierterer Methode erfolgen; sonst ist im Interesse der Wissenschaft zu wünschen, daß sie unterbleibt." Yahuda responded to Spiegelberg's critique with Yahuda, *Erwiderung*.

Hans Ludwig Gottschalk, geboren in Freiburg i. Br. am 24. März 1904 als Sohn des Philosophen Jonas Cohn, jetzt Prof. emeritus in Freiburg. Seine Mutter ist Protestantin, so ist er protestantisch getauft worden und hat den Namen Gottschalk bekommen. Er hat auf der Universität Islamwissenschaft und Semiotik studiert. Seine beiden Hauptlehrer Becker und Bergsträsser sind gestorben. Bei Bergsträsser–München hat er zum Doktor promoviert mit einer Arbeit zur Geschichte des Handels in Aegypten im Mittelalter, die ihm Becker gegeben hatte. Er wurde dann wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter in Hamburg und Assistent für die Redaktion der Zeitschrift "Der Islam." Er verheiratete sich mit einer Dame, die auch bei Bergsträsser Orientalia trieb; sie stammt aus Speyer und ist gute Katholikin. Er trat selber zum Katholizismus über, die Ehe wurde katholisch getraut, die beiden Kinder sind katholisch getauft worden. Nach dem Arierparagraphen musste er in Hamburg abgebaut werden, und er lebt nun mit seiner Familie bei seinen Eltern in Günterstal b. Freiburg. Etwas zu verdienen ist für ihn schwer. Er war jetzt ein paar Monate in London und hat bei Herrn Yahuda Handschriften bestimmt oder Aufzeichnungen über schon bestimmte Handschriften gemacht. Die Arbeit hat ihn selber nicht gefördert und hat ihr Ende gefunden, da Herr Yahuda sein Geld [nicht] weiter auf die Bearbeitung verwenden wollte. Was Herr Dr. Gottschalk bräuchte, wären Mittel, um etwa zwei Jahre ohne zu grosse Schwierigkeiten leben zu können. Mit etwa RM 1500-- monatlich wäre ihm und seiner Familie schon etwas geholfen, da sie im Hause seiner Eltern leben. Jedenfalls müsste er die Gelegenheit haben, eine Zeitlang ungestört wissenschaftlich zu arbeiten und zu sehen, ob er dann eine Leistung aufweisen könnte, die es ihm ermöglichte, als Wissenschaftler vorwärts zu kommen, die also etwa einer Habilitation entspräche.

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FIGURES

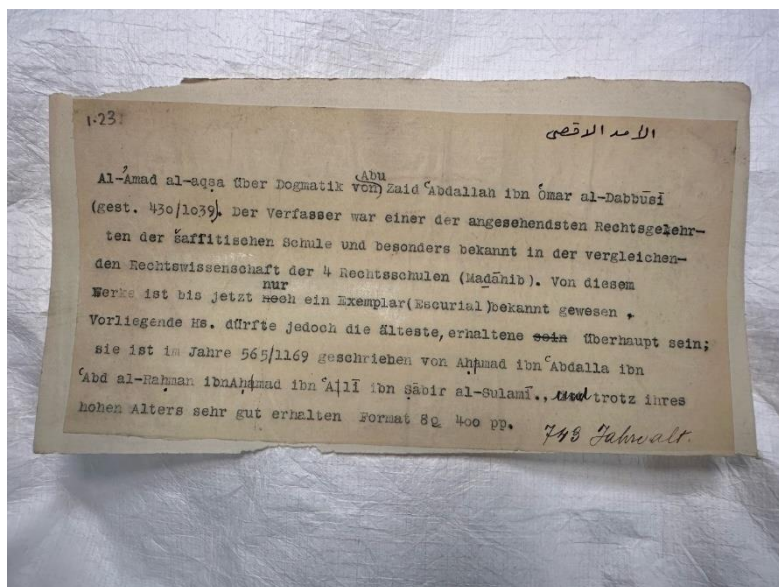


Fig. 1: NLI, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, catalog slip no. 1.23: Descriptive slip for a copy of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar ad-Dabūs's (d. 430/1039) *al-Amad al-aqṣā*, today preserved as Ms. Berlin, State Library, or. oct. 1495. Reproduced with the kind permission of the NLI.

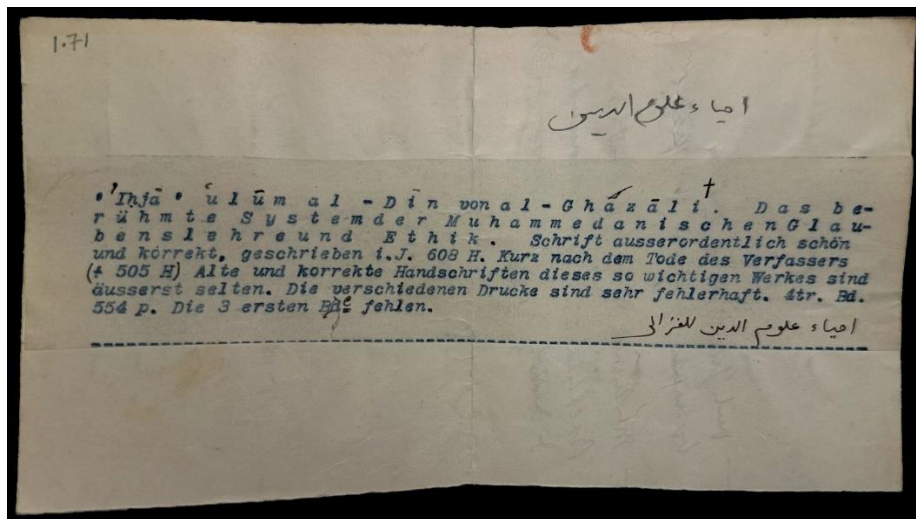


Fig. 2: NLI, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, catalog slip no. 1.71: Descriptive slip for Ms. Berlin, State Library, or. oct. 1434, a partial copy of al-Ġazālī's (d. 505/1111) *Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn*, dated 608/1211. Reproduced with the kind permission of the NLI.



Fig. 3a: Slips relating to Ms. Princeton, Garrett, 4340Y. Reproduced with the kind permission of Princeton University Library.

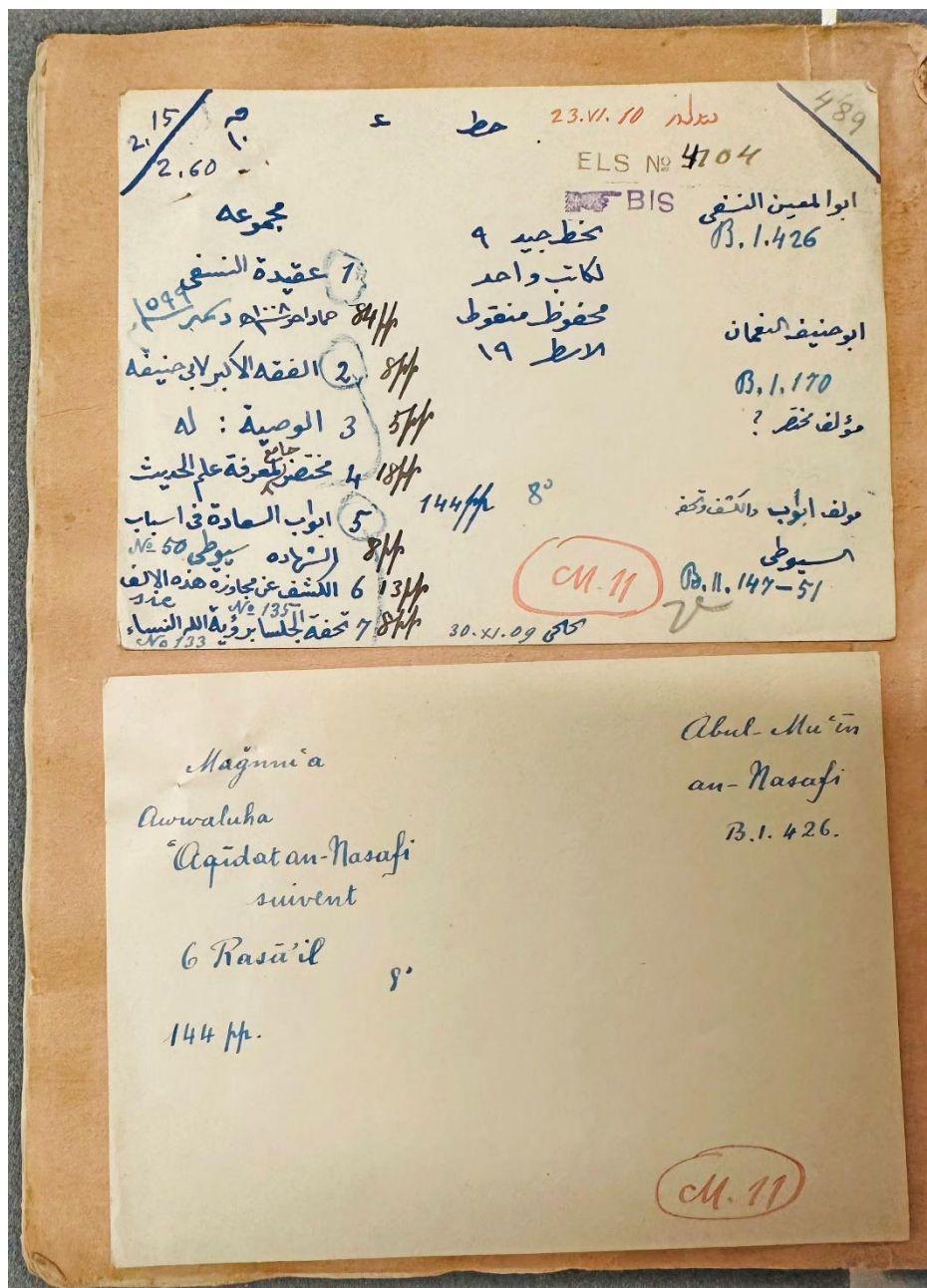


Fig. 3b: Slips relating to Ms. Princeton, Garrett, 4104Y. Reproduced with the kind permission of Princeton University Library.

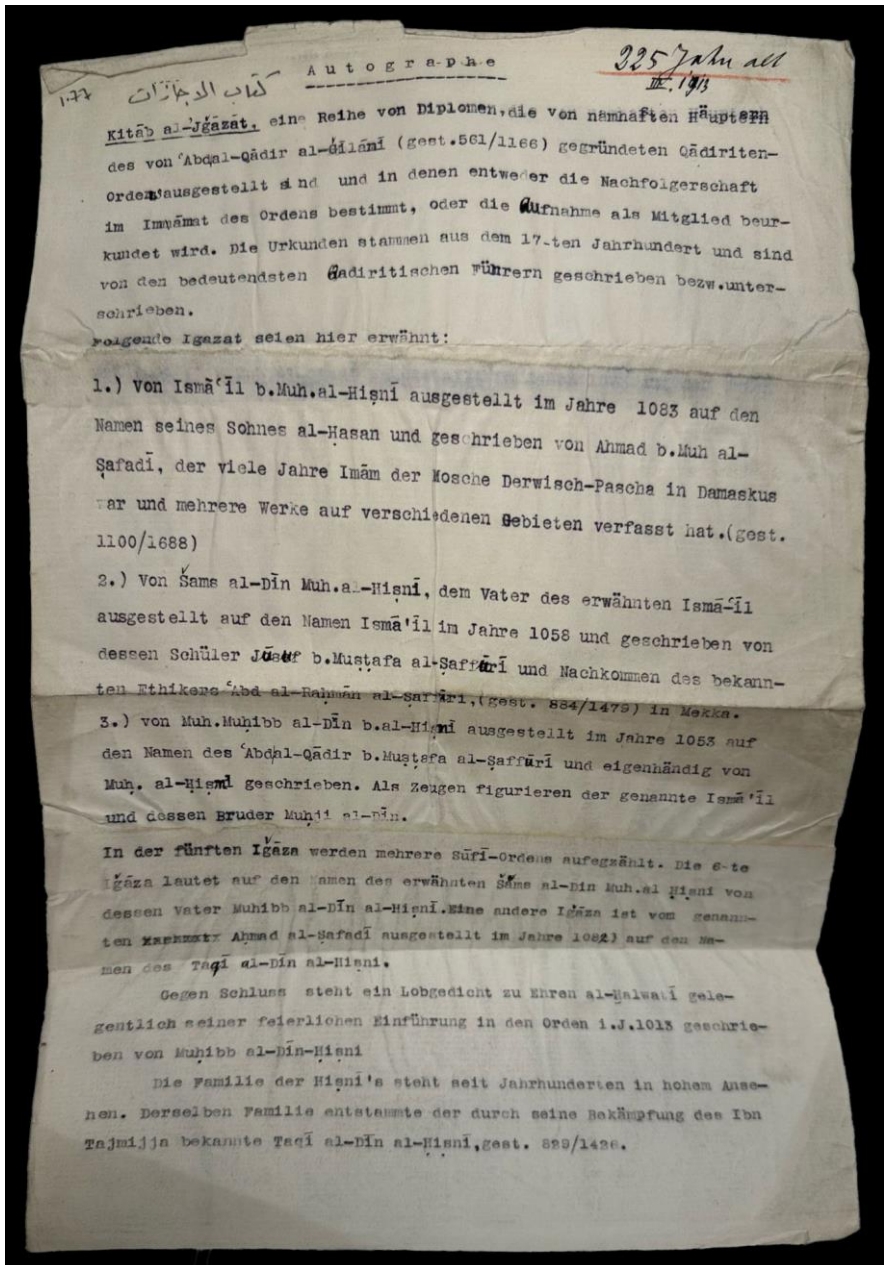


Fig. 4: NLI, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, catalog slip no. 1.77.
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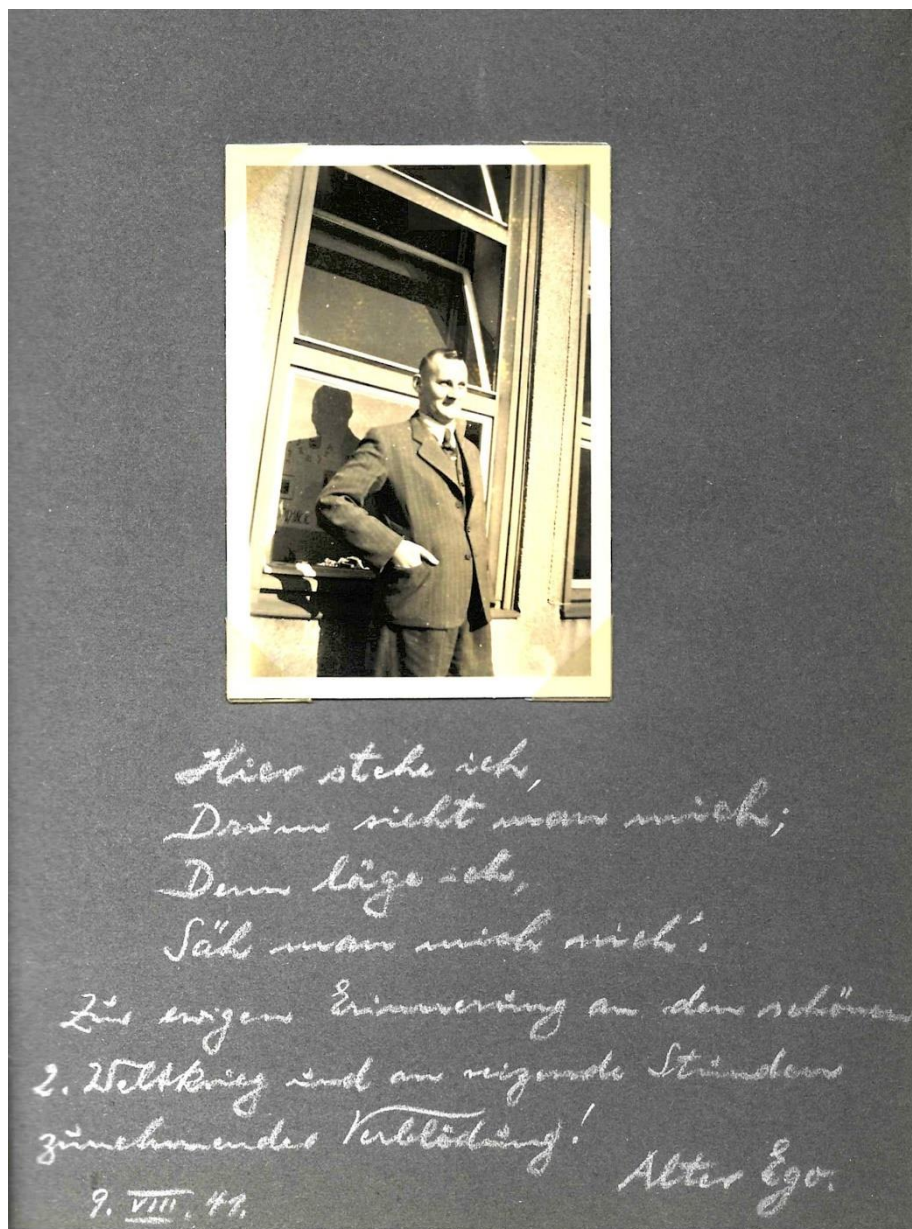


Fig. 5: Photo of Hans Kindermann (Rotger Kindermann Family Archive), with autograph: "Hier stehe ich, | Darum sieht man mich; | Denn läge ich, | Sähe man mich nich'. | Zur ewigen Erinnerung an den schönen | 2. Weltkrieg und an reizende Stunden | zunehmender Verblödung! | 9. VIII. 41. | Alter Ego." Reproduced with the kind permission of Rotger Kindermann.

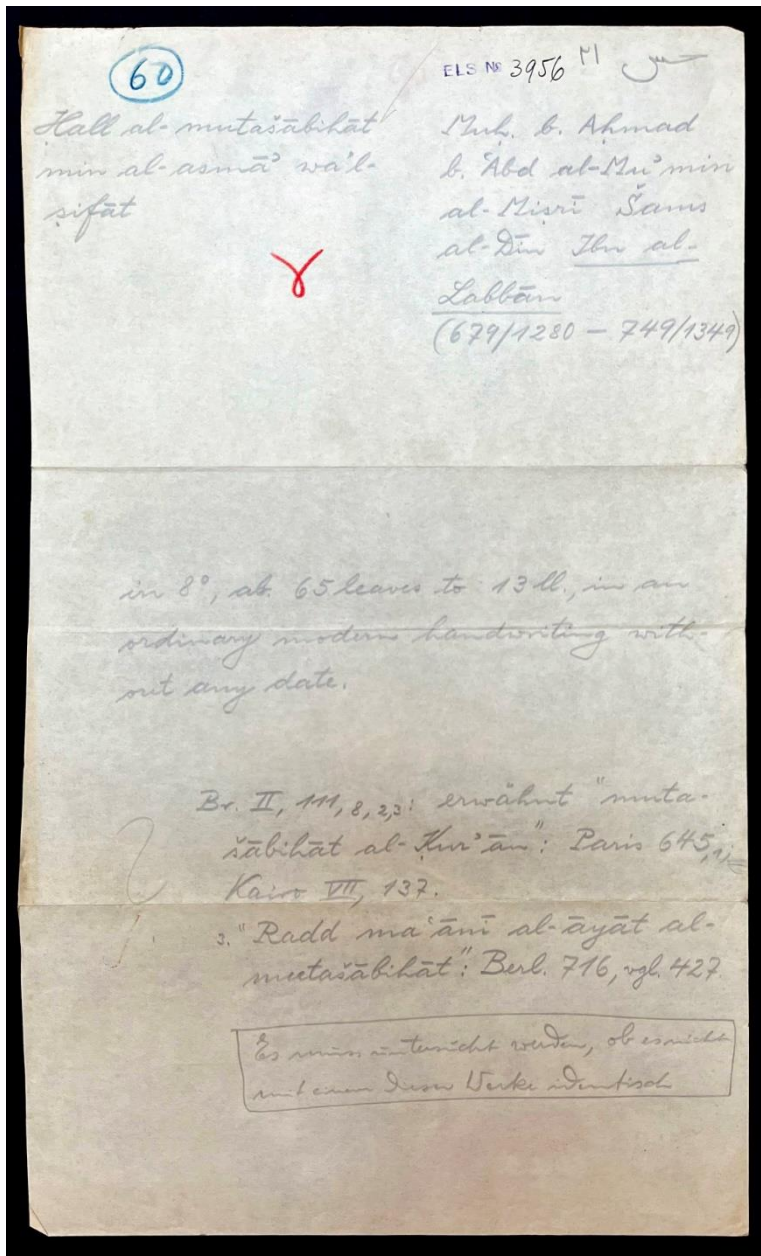


Fig. 6a: Slip relating to Ms. Princeton, Garrett, 3956Y.
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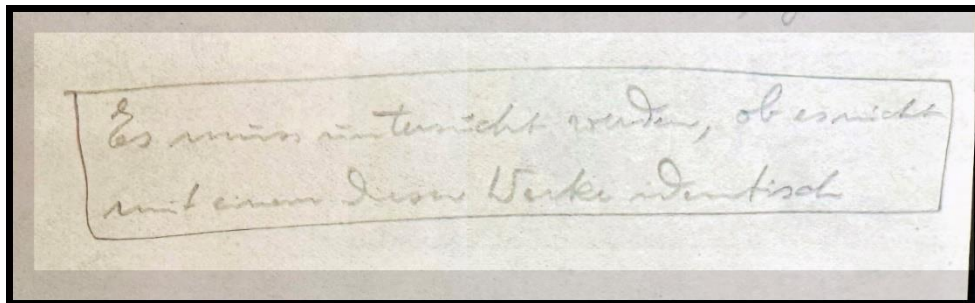


Fig. 6b: Detailed view of slip relating to Ms. Princeton, Garrett, 3956Y. Reproduced with the kind permission of Princeton University Library.

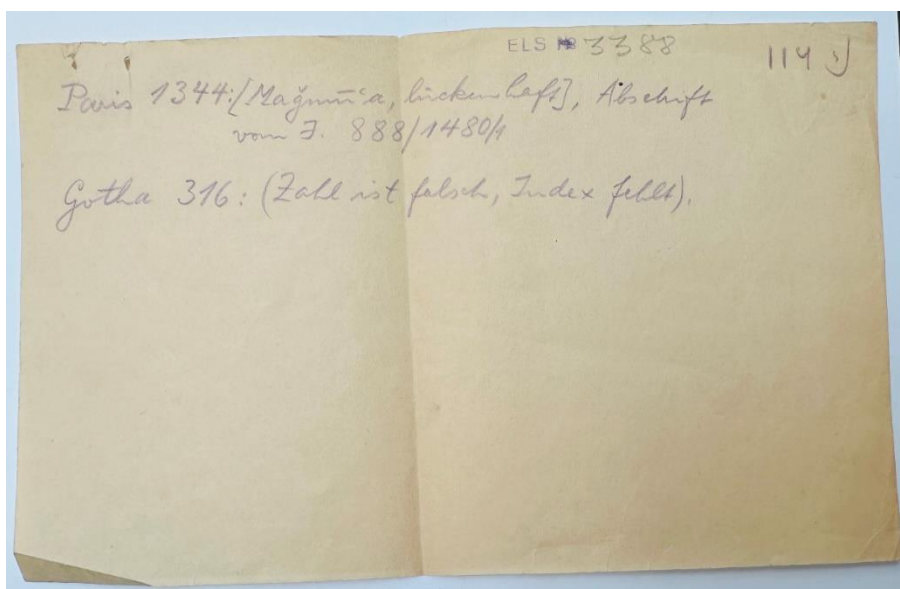


Fig. 7: Slip 1 relating to Ms. Princeton, Garrett, 3388Y. Reproduced with the kind permission of Princeton University Library.

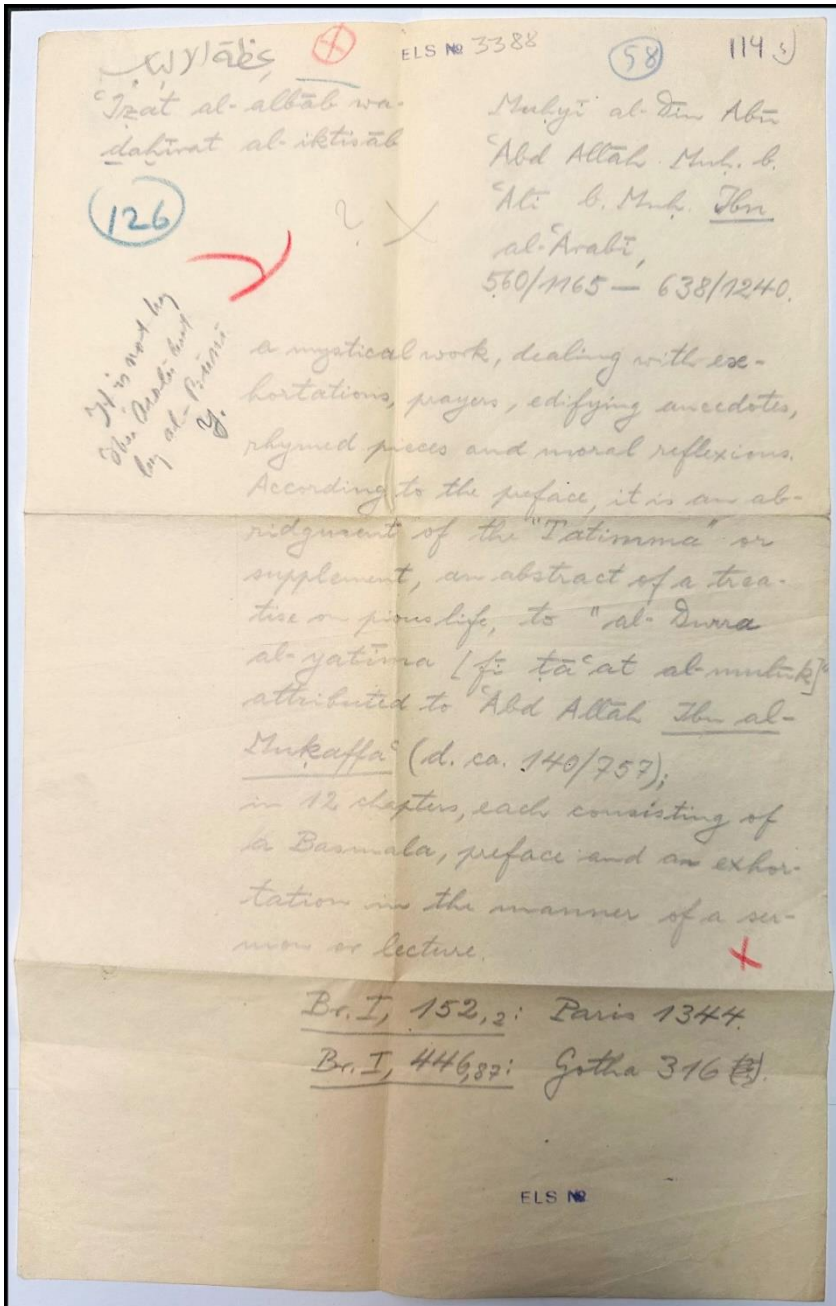


Fig. 8: Slip 2 relating to Ms. Princeton, Garrett, 3388Y. Reproduced with the kind permission of Princeton University Library.

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g	ו	ב	ב
h	ו	כ	כ
m	מ	ט	ט
n	נ	ד	ד
h	ה	ה	ה
w	ו	ה	ה
z	ז	ד	ד
		ד	ד
		ר	ר
		ז	ז
		ש	ש
		ש	ש
		א	א
		א	א
		ב	ב
		ב	ב
		ג	ג
		ג	ג

Fig. 9: Transcription table, UniTo, Fondo Paul Kahle, ARC 871. Reproduced with the kind permission of UniTo.

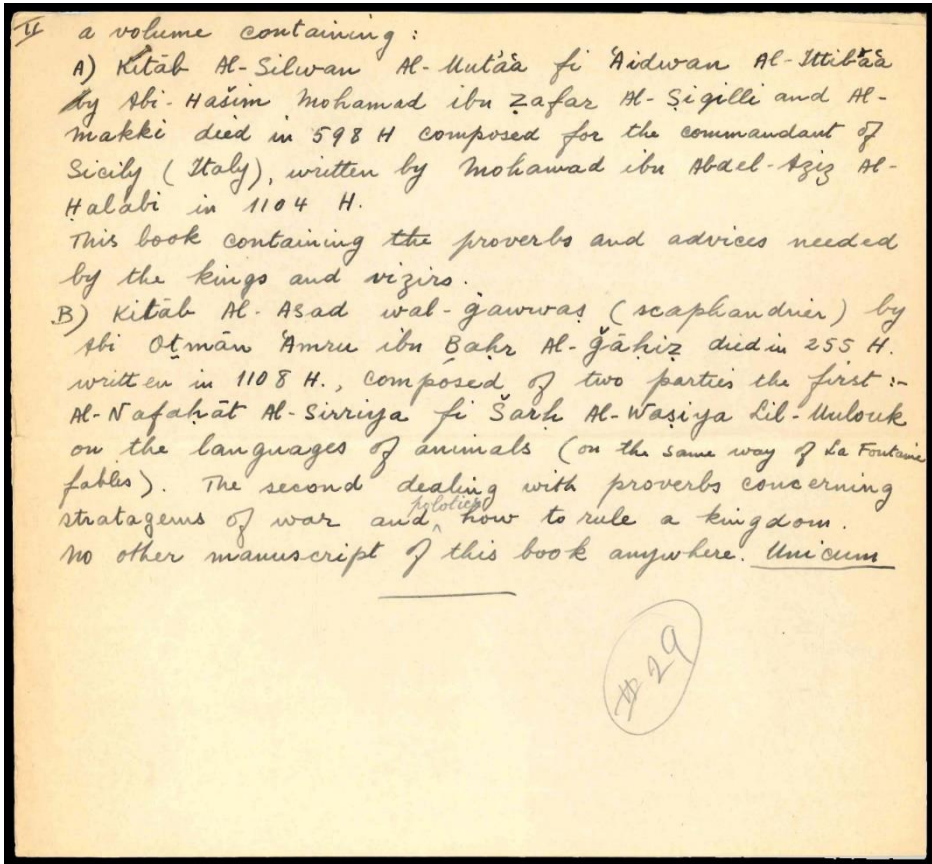


Fig. 10: Catalog slip for a collective manuscript, UniTo, Fondo Paul Kahle, ARC 871.
 Reproduced with the kind permission of UniTo.

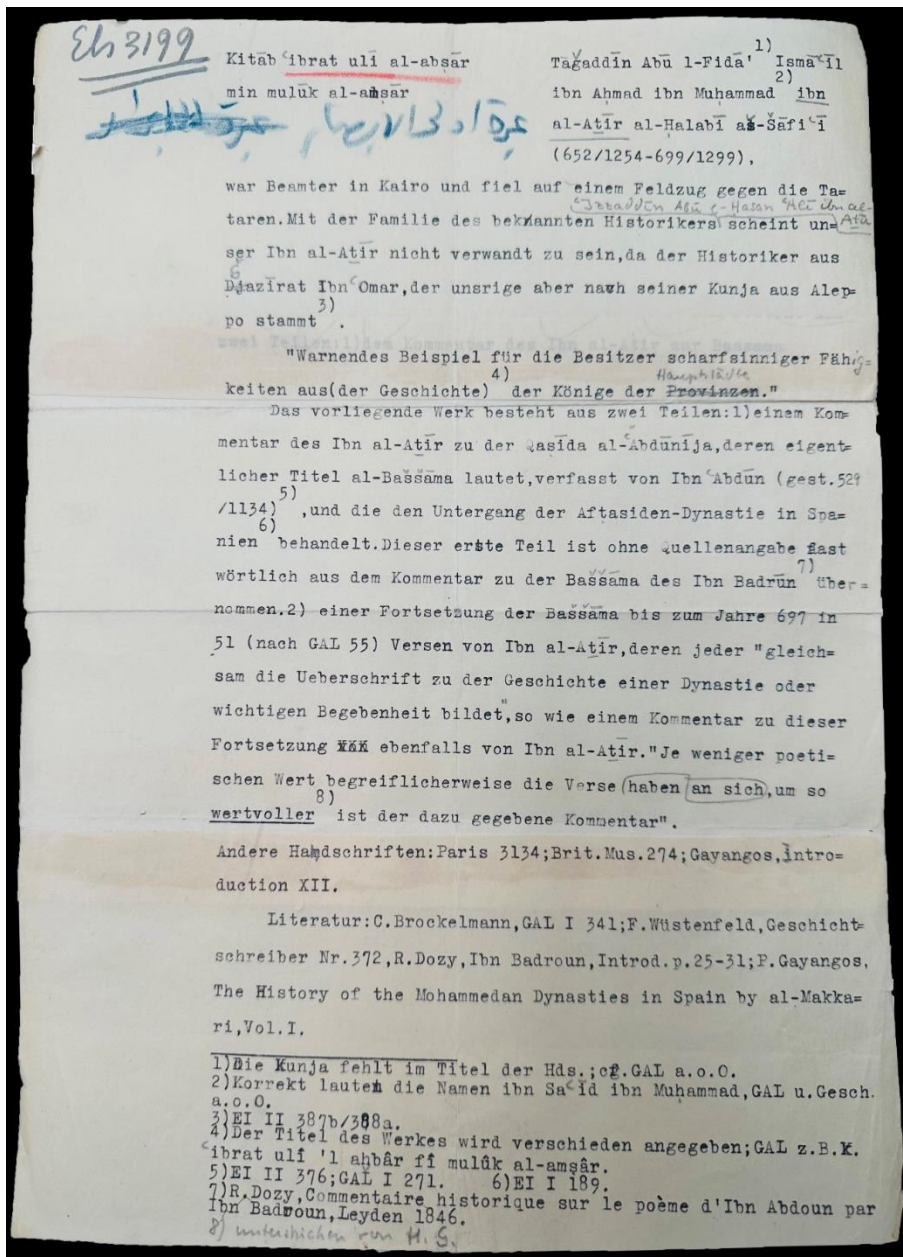


Fig. 11: Descriptive slip for Ms. Princeton, Garrett, 3199Y. Reproduced with the kind permission of Princeton University Library.

REVIEWS

Tēmōnit. The Jewish Varieties of Yemeni Arabic. By ORI SHACHMON. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2022. 250 p. ISBN 978-3-447-11912-2.

The book is an extensive documentation of Yemeni Jewish dialects, the result of approximately twenty-five years of fieldwork conducted in Israel with Yemeni immigrants. Prior to Shachmon's work, only a few Yemeni dialects, mostly that of the capital, Ṣan'ā', had been studied thoroughly. Her research offers insight into some Yemeni dialects that had never previously been described.

The book is divided into two main parts: the first part provides historical and geographic context, and a general overview of the most significant features of these dialects; the second part, which is the lion's share of the book, consists of forty specimen texts.

In the first part, the reader is given an interesting insight into the 20th-century history of the Jews in Yemen. During the second half of the century, the majority of Jews left Yemen, primarily for Israel. Today, there are practically no Jews left in the country. Due to their integration into Israeli society, the Jewish varieties of Yemeni Arabic are on the verge of extinction, making this documentation especially valuable. Shachmon then describes her methodology: the primary goal was to conduct open-ended interviews, in which the informants were encouraged to tell stories of their own choice. In a few cases, she used targeted elicitation, though this was only possible with a few informants.

After these introductory sections, Shachmon turns to a general linguistic description of the dialects. She first notes that they share many features with the Muslim varieties spoken in the given region. However, linguistic differences did exist, most notably in the cities, where Jewish-Muslim coexistence was marked by less cohesion. The differences are divided into two categories: the first involves the use of Hebrew and Aramaic elements. The second category of differences is found in the Arabic layer of a given variety: in these cases, the Arabic used by Yemeni Jews can be traced back to another Arabic dialect, a phenomenon known as "migrated dialectism", which has been observed in other Jewish languages as well. Another distinction within the Arabic layer lies in the frequency of the use of certain forms: for example, when the Muslim variety has two alternative patterns, the Jewish variety may use only one of them exclusively, even if that form is rarely used by Muslims. Shachmon then describes many interesting features of these varieties. Among these are gender-specific language use (as is well-known in other Arabic dialects); the preservation of diphthongs (*bayt*, *yawm*) in certain parts of Yemen; the

way *begadkefat* is used in these dialects (spirantization occurs in positions when it is not called for, or it does not occur when it would be called for); or the way stress patterns differ from most Arabic dialects. She also describes the secret language used by Jews in situations where they did not want Muslims to understand them, by using Hebrew and Aramaic words. Here, I would like to highlight one of her examples: “In cases where the Hebrew form sounds similar to its Arabic equivalent, an alternative Hebrew word may be chosen. This is presumably why the secret nickname for a Jew is not Hebrew יהודי *yahūdī* ‘Jew’, which is nearly identical to local Arabic *yihūdī/yahūdī*, but rather עברי *‘ibrī* ‘Israelite’.” (p. 21). This particular example is not convincing, since the word *‘ibrī* exists in Arabic as well, in the same sense. Of course, it would be possible that it is not used by Yemeni Arabs, but it is attested in Deboo’s Yemeni Arabic dictionary, also indicating ‘Jew’ (although apparently observed only in Ṣan‘ā’).¹ Shachmon does not seem entirely confident about this example either, as she begins by saying “presumably”.

At the end of the first part of the book, Shachmon provides the reader with verbal paradigms; tables of pronouns and suffixed pronouns; a description of the nominal feminine ending, gender neutral participles and adjectives; and some curious grammatical phenomena, for example, the use of *ḥaqq/ḥagg* to denote a fronted genitive exponent, among others.

The second part contains the specimen texts, stories told by Yemeni Jews now residing in Israel. The forty texts are drawn from a much larger archive of recordings and are divided into five sections based on geography: Central, Northern, Southern, Eastern, and Aden. Each section is preceded by general information on the respective community, as well as the informants, and some further description of the given dialect. For example, this is where it is noted that in Giblih, the definite article is assimilated to any following consonant, such as *ab-bēt* “the house”. Earlier in the book, she explains that Yemeni Jews settled in Israel in a dispersed way, which probably contributed to their rapid adoption of Israeli Hebrew, as they were no longer in their familiar environment. At the same time, “it has also increased the possibility of contact with, and influence by, other Yemeni dialects as well as Palestinian Arabic.” (p. 11). However, this does not seem to be taken into consideration when describing the linguistic nature of the specimen texts (except for text 32).

The recordings are transcribed exactly as they were spoken by the informants, reflecting everyday speech patterns: the sentences are often anacoluthic, and they frequently feature repetitions and mid-sentence restructuring. We are introduced to a variety of topics related to daily life, such as food preparation and the community’s relationship with Muslims (where we read both positive and negative accounts). However, the most recurring themes are child marriages, child mortality, and the

¹ Deboo, Jeffrey. 1989. *Jemenitisches Wörterbuch – Arabisch-Deutsch-Englisch*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

community's fear of a Jewish girl's conversion to Islam. One noteworthy story involves an alleged encounter with a demon.

As already mentioned, since the majority of Yemeni Jews immigrated to Israel and quickly adopted Israeli Hebrew, they are gradually losing their mother tongue. Shachmon notes that most second-generation immigrants from Yemen cannot speak their parents' language at all. Thus, this work is an invaluable source for preserving the Jewish dialects of Yemeni Arabic before they disappear entirely in the near future.

Ádám Gacsályi-Tóth

Arabische Kerzendichtung des 10.–15. Jahrhunderts. Eine Studie zur arabischen ekphrastischen Poesie. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 131).

By WERNER DIEM. Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2023. 300 p. ISSN 0567-4980. ISBN 978-3-447-12013-5.

In Classical Arabic poetry, description (*waṣf*) plays a significant role. Within poetical description, early literary theorists distinguished different themes (*ma'nā*; pl. *ma'ānī*). One must refer to Ibn Qutayba's (d. 889) monumental 1,500-page work, *Kitāb al-ma'ānī al-kabīr fī abyāt al-ma'ānī*. Later, some themes—mainly, but not exclusively, objects—became the focus of short poems. Werner Diem's excellent study deals with such a type: the poem describing the candle (*šam'a*). Diem uses the Greek literary term ekphrastic for works describing special objects and calls them ekphrastic ('descriptive') poems, although in contemporary literary criticism this term usually refers to a vivid verbal description of an object depicted in a visual work of art, such as a painting or sculpture, within a literary work, often a poem.

The dates in the volume may cause slight confusion. The title page gives the dates in the Common Era (poems between the tenth and fifteenth centuries), whereas inside the book the author uses only Hijri dates for the notation of poets' death years. Furthermore, none of the poets included lived into the fifteenth century CE: the last poet, Ṣafī ad-Dīn al-Ḥillī, died in 750 AH/1349 CE, i.e., in the mid-fourteenth century. It would have been more helpful to supply CE dates consistently as well.

After a detailed introduction discussing universal characteristics of the poems quoted, the book comprises ten chapters. The Introduction analyses the poems from a stylistic standpoint, emphasizing the significance of the candle and oil lamp in everyday life. These poems, like most Arabic verse, employ simile, metaphor, and personification. Personification is particularly abundant: the candle "sleeps" when unlit; its flame "struggles" against the darkness. Another characteristic is that the poems describe a generic candle rather than a particular specimen. Diem likens these poems to watercolour paintings that suggest expressive portraits with a few brushstrokes.

Concerning function, the author states that the poems are essentially descriptions (*waṣf*). This is largely correct, although certain pieces aim at more than simple description. For instance, al-Arṣānī's poem (B44) is clearly a *mağd*, glorifying the emir of Fārs by likening him to a candle that gives light to the people; incidentally, it is the longest poem in the book. The same applies to al-Ġazzī's verse B76. Love poems could also have been selected as independent types: B23 by Sulaymān al-Naṣībī (4th c. AH) likens the ends of the candle to the beloved woman. In other words, "description" is a general rubric comprising several sub-types.

Another theme of the Introduction is the set of "introductory formulas." First among them is the so-called *wāw rubba* in the form *wa-šam'atin*. The author maintains the traditional European view that this formula always refers to a non-specific event or description, supporting the opinion that medieval Arabic poetry relied on general patterns rather than individual experiences. Over the past fifty years, however, several studies—both in the Arab world and beyond—have pointed out that *wāw rubba* can, in some contexts, refer to a specific event or object observed by the poet.

The second most frequent introductory formula is the simple *šam'atun*; the third is an oath formula, *wa-šam'atin*, or *wa-* with another noun referring to the candle: *wa-ṣufrin*, *wa-bākiyatin*, etc.

At the end of the Introduction, Diem lists the sources of the candle verses. These are primarily poetic collections, though in some cases he uses individual poets' *dīwāns* as well.

Each poem is presented as follows: (i) biographical data for the poet; (ii) bibliographical data for the poem; (iii) the circumstances of composition, where known; (iv) a short summary; (v) the Arabic text with full vocalization; and (vi) a translation with footnotes.

Chapter Two contains the descriptive poems (93 in total), by far the largest group. Chapter Three presents 46 poems about the connection between the poet and the candle. Chapter Four describes the candle in specific situations (19 poems). Chapter Five gathers 10 verses about the young man and the candle, in my view somewhat arbitrarily. Chapter Six assembles five poems in which the candle serves as a gift (*hadiyyat šam'*). Chapter Seven contains eleven poetic riddles about the candle.

Chapter Eight synthesizes information on the candle poems: 8.1 discusses the introductory description of the candle; 8.2 collects lexical designations for "candle"; 8.3 summarizes attributes such as colour, form, state, surface, and actions (in personification). Chapter Nine deals with similes and metaphors used in connection with the candle; Chapter Ten treats personification: the candle has an origin, childhood, youth, lifespan, body and soul, body parts, clothing, and jewellery; it engages in relationships with humans and poets. Chapter Eleven discusses intertextuality in these verses, followed by the bibliography and indices.

Mention must be made of B31 (p. 61), attributed to al-Ma'arrī, although it is entirely unknown to scholars of the poet and is found in none of al-Ma'arrī's *dīwāns*,

as Diem himself notes. The poem's style does not fit al-Ma'arrī either; the rare *ḍarūra lim* instead of *lima* or *limā* is a clear example. Instead, Diem could have included one of the brilliant candle verses of the Syrian poet, such as the one in the *Luzūmiyyāt* titled after its first hemistich *دَوَلَاتُكُمْ شَمَعَاتٌ يُسْتَضَاءُ بِهَا*, where 'ayn is linked with mīm in the *qāfiya*; its second hemistich is:

فَبَادِرُوهَا إِلَى أَنْ تُطْفَأَ الشَّمْعُ

"Your states are candles by which light is sought;
so, hasten, before the candles are extinguished."

Here life's blessings, power, or opportunities (*دَوَلَاتُكُمْ*) are likened to candles that give light. Just as candles illuminate darkness only temporarily, fortunes are useful but short-lived. The counsel is to make use of these fleeting opportunities before they vanish.

Another fine candle poem that might have been included is al-Ġazzī's:

إِنِّي لِأَشْكُو خَطُوبًا لَا أَعِينُهَا لِيَبْرِيَ النَّاسُ مِنْ لُومِي وَمِنْ عَذْلِي
كَالشَّمْعِ يَبْكِي وَلَا يَدْرِي أَعْبَرْتَهُ مِنْ صَحْبَةِ النَّارِ أَمْ مِنْ فِرْقَةِ الْعَسَلِ

"I complain of hardships I cannot name,
to spare people my blame and reproach.

Like a candle that weeps without knowing

are its tears from the fire's company, or from parting with honeyed wax?"

Naturally, Diem does not claim to have included all candle poems. His work is an outstanding scholarly achievement and offers rewarding reading to anyone interested in Classical Arabic poetry.

Kinga Dévényi

Studien zu sabab in der arabischen Kunstprosa des 10.–15. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur arabischen Lexik, Phraseologie und Stilgeschichte. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 126). By WERNER DIEM. Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2022. 208 p. ISSN 0567-4980. ISBN 978-3-447-11828-6.

Werner Diem's work is an intriguing venture into the history of Arabic lexicography and style, conducted through the analysis of a single word—*sabab*—across a vast corpus from the later Middle Ages.

He writes at the beginning of the Introduction: "This study of *sabab* aims to explore the rich semantic nuances and associated phraseology of the term, based on texts of rhymed artistic prose from the 10th to the 15th centuries, with a few examples drawn from earlier periods. It thus contributes both to Arabic lexicography and phraseology, as well as to the history of Arabic artistic prose. The study demonstrates that numerous phraseological patterns and idiomatic expressions were

transmitted across the centuries. This is hardly surprising, given that stylists were known to hold the leading figures of their discipline in the highest esteem.”

The first difficulty for the reviewer is that Diem treats the notion of Arabic artistic prose (*Kunstprosa*) as accepted and self-evident, requiring neither definition nor delimitation. There is no equivalent term in medieval Arabic literature, except perhaps *adab*, which denotes a much wider field. A closer analogue to “artistic prose” might be *inšāʾ*, often translated as chancery prose, i.e., the prose of the *dīwāns*. The use of stylistics and stylist (terms without Arabic counterparts in this context) instead of rhetoric (*balāġa*) and eloquent (*balīġ*) is also unsettling, although this usage has become widespread in European studies of Arabic prose.

That the terms *Kunstprosa* and *Stilistik*, rather than the generally accepted *inšāʾ* and *balāġa*, represent a departure even in German-language scholarship is evident from the comprehensive German history of Arabic literature, the three-volume *Grundriß der arabischen Philologie*. In vol. II (1987), Ibn al-Aʿīr and his *al-Maṭal as-sāʾir* are treated in the chapter “Poetik und Rhetorik” (Wolfhart Heinrichs), while al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil and similar authors appear in vol. III (1992), ch. 2, “Die *inšāʾ*-Literatur.” This is unsurprising: all of them—except Ibn Nubāṭa—served in various *dīwāns*, and their task was not to write “artistic” literature but to compose official letters in the most polished Arabic.

The discipline of eloquence (*ʿilm al-balāġa*) deals with broad categories (Ḍiyāʾ ad-Dīn Ibn al-Aʿīr lists eight in *al-Maṭal as-sāʾir*). Examples serve these common aims; the discipline is not a method for analysing single works in the manner of European stylistics. For this reason, it is preferable to retain the Arabic terms rather than mapping them onto European models (e.g., “artistic prose”) that may mislead.

The Introduction (Chapter 1) lists the sources of the cited texts, primarily from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, with some exceptions. One quotation in al-Qalqasandī’s *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā* derives from al-Ġāḥiẓ: *fa-inna l-kalāma idā kāna ḥasanan ġaʿalathu l-udabāʾa adaban wa-ġaʿalati r-ruwātu ilā našrihi sababan ḥattā yaṣīra ... sullaman ilā l-ʿuṣamāʾ wa-sababan ilā ġillati l-kubarāʾ*. Diem translates: “For when the speech (of praise epistles) is fine, the literati regard them as literature, and the transmitters find in them a means for their diffusion, so that they become a stairway to the powerful and a means of access to the great and significant.”

It is misleading to translate *adab* simply as “literature” in the modern sense. The Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature notes that in modern Arabic *adab* (and *ādāb*) can mean “literature,” but classically it also connotes ‘good breeding,’ ‘manners,’ ‘culture,’ ‘refinement’; formally, many *adab* books are compilations exemplary in both style and meaning. Similarly, Francesco Gabrieli (*EF*, “*adab*”) defines *adab* as the sum of knowledge that makes a person urbane—profane culture (as distinct from religious learning)—based on poetry, oratory, historical and tribal traditions, and corresponding sciences (rhetoric, grammar, lexicography, metrics). In the modern age *adab* (and even more so *ādāb*) has become synonymous with literature in the strict sense.

Chapter 2 treats *sabab* in its physical meaning of ‘well-rope’ and ‘tent-cord.’ Chapter 3 presents *sabab* as a metaphorical binding between equivalent entities. Chapter 4 discusses the *nasab*–*sabab* connection.

In Chapter 5, *sabab* functions as a metaphorical bond linking one entity to another (*waṣala šay’un bi-šay’in*). The examples are well chosen and arranged, but a wider context is often lacking. For instance, in a *risāla* of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (no. 60): *‘ullīqat bi-dawlatinā asbābuhā*, rendered as “... and their ties have been bound to our authority.” The translation is accurate, but the exact sense of *sabab* would be clearer in a fuller contextual discussion.

Chapter 6 treats *sabab* as a link in metaphor expressed via a genitive construction. Chapter 7 assembles texts where *sabab* is a means to reach a place, fulfil God’s commands to obtain His benevolence. Chapter 8 presents *sabab* as mediation or intermediary. Chapter 9 shows *sabab* as a device. Chapter 10 takes *sabab* in its everyday sense of ‘cause’ or ‘ground.’ Chapter 11 discusses *sabab-bi* as a preposition. Chapter 12 treats *sabab* as a metrical term. Chapter 13 associates *sabab* with a person, a matter, or an abstract notion. Chapter 14 explores *sabab* as a stylistic device in the works of the great medieval stylist Ibn al-Aṭīr. Chapter 15, titled “Qur’ānic citations and innuendoes or allusions,” would be better labelled with the accepted term *iqtibās*.

The Appendix informs the reader about synonyms of *sabab*. A bibliography follows, then an index of cited authors and an index of verbs and adjectives occurring in the texts.

Werner Diem’s ambitious study illuminates a substantial chapter of Arabic lexicography and deepens our understanding of collocation in Classical Arabic.

Kinga Dévényi

Philologische Kommentarkulturen. Abū ‘Ubaydas Mağāz al-Qur’ān im Licht spätantiken Exegesewissens. (Diskurse der Arabistik, 23). By NORA SCHMIDT. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016. 257 p. ISSN 0949-6807. ISBN 978-3-447-10696-2.

This study investigates the Qur’ān work of the philologist Abū ‘Ubayda Ma‘mar b. al-Muṭannā (d. 825), an early Muslim scholar of Arabic philology and transmitter of ancient poetry. The expression “late antiquity” in the title is questionable, since this period is commonly dated from the end of the Roman Empire to the early Muslim conquests, i.e., up to c. 750, and Abū ‘Ubayda’s activity hardly began before that date.

It is also doubtful whether the *Mağāz al-Qur’ān* can be called a commentary. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn held that *al-Mağāz* is a book on language, in which Abū ‘Ubayda gathers words not used in their “literal” (*ḥaqīqī*) meanings. There is no indication

that he knew *‘ilm al-bayān*; indeed, Arabic rhetoric as an independent discipline developed later. For Abū ‘Ubayda, *mağāz* was a broad and not yet fixed term.

In light of such views, Mağāz al-Qur’ān should not be classified as *tafsīr* or *ta’wīl*: Abū ‘Ubayda does not deal with *asbāb an-nuzūl*, legal rulings, abrogation, and similar topics. He makes clear that his sole aim is to investigate modes of expression. He does not analyse the entire Qur’ānic text, but only verses with unusual structures, leaving many without comment.

Abū ‘Ubayda was controversial. Some, like al-Ġāḥiẓ, considered him the most learned man of his age; others were strongly critical. He viewed the Qur’ān as an Arabic text and believed that those who heard its recitation from the Prophet and the Companions needed no further inquiry to understand it, as long as the language reflected the speech habits of the Arabs—exhibiting addition, deletion, ellipsis, abbreviation, and inversion.

On this basis he interpreted the Qur’ān through his understanding of Arabic usage, rules, and modes of expression. To contemporaries this approach resembled “commentary by opinion,” since he did not draw on transmitted reports or *asbāb an-nuzūl*.

The meaning of *mağāz* in Abū ‘Ubayda’s exegesis corresponds to those of *tafsīr*, *ma’nā*, *ġarīb*, *taqdīr*, and *ta’wīl*, as he employs these terms interchangeably. That is, the term *mağāz* in his work denotes the various modes of expression in the Qur’ān. Naturally, he uses the term in a broader sense than that adopted in later rhetoric. Abū ‘Ubayda’s study of the Qur’ān was characterised by certain features to which the Mu’tazilites strictly adhered. Firstly, the assumption that language consists primarily of *mağāz* is essentially Mu’tazilite. Secondly, interpretation based on reason is also a Mu’tazilite principle.

Abū ‘Ubayda was able to determine his methods of linguistic analysis freely, as the grammatical schools of Baṣra and Kūfa—institutions that later entailed both support and commitment—had not yet been established. Nevertheless, he found support in early poetry, upon which he consistently relied when interpreting the verses of the Qur’ān.

aṭ-Ṭabarī’s view of Abū ‘Ubayda was mixed. Although he never mentions him by name, aṭ-Ṭabarī cites extensively from *Mağāz* in his commentary. His main criticism targets Abū ‘Ubayda’s method: privileging reason over tradition and, in his view, misunderstanding or mis-explaining verses. Expressions such as “One Baṣran, deemed well-versed in Arab speech, said ...” occur without naming authorities among the Companions.

The book is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 addresses philological exegesis and the meaning of *mağāz*. The author assesses various views on the origins of the concept in Abū ‘Ubayda’s work and ultimately rejects Wansbrough’s position, which seeks Greek and Latin origins, while still acknowledging antique influences. This explains the use of “late antiquity” in the title, though “early Islamic” might have been more apt. Chapter 2, on the “dialectic of allegorical and literal

interpretation,” draws on antique and Biblical analogues, but the Arabic concepts of *ramziyya* (allegory) and *išāra* (allusion) differ from *mağāz*. Chapter 3 asks, “What did the Qur’ān mean for eighth-century philologists?” and engages with notions from the Qur’ānic sciences. Chapter 4 analyses interpretive patterns in *Mağāz al-Qur’ān*. Chapter 5 surveys technical terms used by Abū ‘Ubayda—*aṣl*, *sabab*, *wağh*, and *maṭal*. Note that *wağh* (pl. *wuğūh*) is not confined to lexical interpretation but denotes possibilities in linguistic analysis more generally; such usage pervades al-Farrā’s *Ma’ānī al-Qur’ān*. Chapter 6 offers notes on literacy and book production in Abū ‘Ubayda’s age.

A bibliography, English summary, and indices of names and themes conclude the volume.

Overall, the book reflects substantial scholarly labour. It makes for stimulating reading, though some of its assertions are not entirely persuasive.

Kinga Dévényi

Creating an Islamic City. Beirut, Jihad and the Sacred. (Islamic History and Civilization: Studies and Texts, 210). By RANA MIKATI. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2024. x + 307 p. ISSN 0929-2403. ISBN 978-90-04-68254-2.

The author succinctly states her aim in the Introduction: “This book represents a methodological experiment that attempts to write a historical narrative for a place largely forgotten by the medieval and modern historical records.” She hastens to emphasize that she does not wish to examine how a medieval city emerged from late antique traces or how a Hellenized world transformed into the supposedly alien world of Islam. Instead, she seeks to restore Beirut’s Islamic past, a history she contends has been neglected by scholars.

The only disturbing feature of the introductory chapter is its overtly—and at times provocatively—political tenor, which may be understandable in light of Mikati’s acknowledgement that her family’s entanglements with the history of Islamic Beirut make the book personal. In addition to her political and religious commitments, however, she follows a trend in American scholarship that tends to categorize European scholars—past and present—collectively as “Orientalists,” rather than engaging them as individual cases, thereby questioning the objectivity of their research.

As the author explains, the book investigates how Beirut and its community participated in creating a provincial Islamic culture, given that Beirut and other Syrian coastal cities lay at the empire’s margins. Rejecting the older view—based largely on Janet Abu-Lughod’s brief and unconvincing article “The Islamic City”—that Islam is fundamentally urban and defined by its *ḡāmi’*, *sūq*, and *ḥammām*, Mikati emphasizes that she is not writing yet another Islamic city history of a capital

but rather of a provincial town. She argues that the existence of a flourishing provincial culture in Beirut from the seventh to the tenth century has never been fully discussed.

Chapter One addresses late antiquity and the situation in Beirut before the Muslim conquest. Chapter Two focuses on continuity and change after the conquest, including the impacts of a Muslim military presence. Chapter Three examines Beirut's role in the creation of an Islamic navy during the Umayyad period and considers the emergence of early asceticism as an extreme mode of piety. With Chapter Five we reach the book's core: manifestations of mystical sainthood in Beirut. Before that, however, Mikati treats the most famous religious figure of the region, Abū 'Amr 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Awzā'ī (d. 774), known not only as eponym of the Awzā'ī school of jurisprudence but also as an advocate of peaceful coexistence with Christian and Jewish communities in and around Beirut. What makes him truly significant for Beirut, she argues, is that through al-Awzā'ī the city was connected to other centres within the province of Damascus and beyond, via overlapping communal, scholarly, administrative, and political networks. Without him, Beirut would rarely, if ever, have appeared in Muslim sources. Not surprisingly, Chapter Six is titled "The Death of a Scholar: the Heirs of al-Awzā'ī in Beirut."

In short, Mikati considers the extraordinary influence of a single Muslim scholar to be one of the most important factors in Beirut's emergence as a significant Muslim city. The manifestations of his sainthood are, she suggests, still felt in Beirut today.

Overall, this excellent study sheds light on the formation of medieval Beirut and underscores that a Muslim scholar regarded as a saint—not only by Muslims across Syria but also by Christians and Jews, as suggested by their presence at his funeral—could shape a city's religious identity.

The book draws on an extensive range of primary and secondary sources, which enhances its reliability. All the same, a comprehensive history of Beirut that considers all religious communities in the city remains to be written.

Tamás Iványi

Four Essays on Semitic Grammar and Dialectology. Quatre Essais sur la grammaire et la dialectologie sémitique. By HANS LAGERQVIST. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2020. xv + 205 p. ISBN 978-3-447-11399-1.

Three of the four essays deal mainly with Arabic, while the fourth is of a more general linguistic character, addressing other language families as well.

The first essay, "Definite and Indefinite Relative Clauses in Literary Modern Standard Arabic: An Outline of a Structural Analysis," begins with a brief general linguistic introduction that seems unnecessary for the subsequent analysis of Arabic phenomena. The discussion of the difference between restrictive and non-restrictive

relative clauses is somewhat muddled, and, as others before him, the author assigns linguistic significance to the comma in Arabic texts—punctuation practices that are non-standard. In treating the relative pronoun *allaḏī* and the *ṣila*, he offers a very brief and inaccurate diachronic sketch: *allaḏī* is not merely historically composed with the definite article *-l-*; according to the native grammarians its sentence-initial function is analogous to that of the definite article on a noun. Not to mention that in some dialects lone *l-* can substitute for a relative pronoun. The author classifies definite relative clauses by their syntactic role and provides several examples but overlooks the temporal shift function of relative clauses: if the main clause is in the past, the verb in the relative clause need not be in the perfect (*māḏī*) to indicate past time; and if the relative clause does contain a verb in the perfect, it can indicate pluperfect without requiring *kāna*.

The second essay, in French, “Contribution à l’étude de l’inaccompli en b(i),” opens by speaking of a ‘collapse’ of the imperfect in ancient Arabic and the emergence of an unmarked imperfect, without adducing examples. It then turns to modern dialectal usage of preverbal *bi-*, classifying it as temporal, hypothetical, habitual/repetitive, or polite in the Levantine dialects.

The third essay, also in French, “La proposition nominale: une structure en quête de clarté,” addresses general linguistic problems with reference to Slavic languages (e.g., Polish and Serbo-Croatian), then briefly touches on Semitic languages (Biblical Hebrew, pre-Classical Arabic, Aramaic). Given the cursory treatment, these sections are of limited value.

The fourth essay, “A linguistic and sociolinguistic study of the triglossia in the novel *Yā Maryam* by Sinān Antūn,” examines the coexistence of three closely related codes in Baghdad. The narrated text uses Modern Standard Arabic; dialogues and some monologues employ Christian and Muslim Baghdadi dialects. Lagerqvist investigates whether the dialect spoken by the Muslim majority has significantly influenced Christian Baghdadi. He concludes that it has not: Christian and Muslim Baghdadi appear to coexist largely independently. Of the four essays, the last is the most substantial, offering relevant insight into a sociolinguistic situation in Iraq.

Tamás Iványi

South Arabia: Old Issues, New Perspectives. Proceedings of the Workshop at the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg on December 19, 2019. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 128). Ed. by GIULIANO CASAGNA and LUTZ EDZARD. Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2021. 237 p. ISSN 0567-4980. ISBN 978-3-447-11956-6.

This proceedings volume contains six articles based on presentations at the workshop “South Arabia: Old Issues, New Perspectives,” along with an additional contribution by Alessandra Serpone on a related subject.

The first article, by Sabrina Bendjaballah and Philippe Ségéral (University of Nantes), “Quadriliterals and ‘quineliterals’ in Omani Mehri,” describes sporadic verbs in Modern Mehri that have more than the usual Semitic three root consonants. Each type of non-triliteral verb is characterized in detail and tabulated.

The second article, by Alessandra Serpone (Rome), “Some Remarks on the South Semitic *k*-Suffix Conjugation,” treats the first singular and second person endings in *k*-, a distinctive feature of South Semitic (Modern South Arabian, Ethiopic, and even some Yemeni Arabic dialects). After synchronic preliminaries, she offers a historical overview.

Lutz Edzard (Erlangen-Nürnberg) writes on “The Functional Spectrum of the Jibbali *š*-Diatheses and the Concept of Potentiality/Feasibility in Semitic,” analysing a representative sample of *š*-diatheses in Jibbali within a framework of morphological and semantic oppositions. After a cross-Semitic survey, he asks whether Jibbali exhibits specific semantic traits in this context, focusing on the ‘be able to’ construction typical of the dialect.

The fourth article, by Fabio Gasparini (Berlin), “Semantically Unmarked Clause Linking in Mehri: The Use of *wə*-,” investigates a pervasive type of clause linking in Mehri—parataxis via the semantically bleached connective *wə*—and situates the phenomenon in a typological perspective.

Roger Blench (Cambridge), in “Semitic Upside-Down: A New Proposal for the Origins of Modern South Arabian Languages,” proposes a South Afroasiatic node comprising Semitic, Cushitic, and Chadic, coordinate with Egyptian and Berber, developing after the split from Omotic; the node is characterized by a complex phonology including lateral fricatives and an ejective series.

Letizia Cerqueglini (Tel Aviv University) also addresses diachrony in “On Egyptian and Semitic: The Modern South Arabian Perspective.”

Finally, Giuliano Casagna seeks the origin of a Modern South Arabian lexical item traditionally deemed uncertain in “The Proto-Malagasy term *kazo ‘tree, wood’ in the Modern South Arabian terms for ‘coconut’.”

This volume supports the view that focused workshops are a highly effective means of advancing a specialized field—here, Modern South Arabian studies.

Tamás Iványi

Arabische Kunstprosa im 14. Jahrhundert. Drei Einsetzungen für Oberrichter 'Imād ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭarasūsī in Lehrämter an Damaszener Hochschulen. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 123). By WERNER DIEM. Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2021. 237 p. ISSN 0567-4980. ISBN 978-3-447-11656-5.

This book examines three appointment texts for Chief Judge 'Imād ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭarasūsī to two different teaching offices at Damascene institutions of higher learning. Although Kunstprosa is often translated as literary prose or belles-lettres, the three texts here are chancellery documents (*inšā'*).

The Introduction (Chapter 1) first presents the biography of 'Imād ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭarasūsī, then turns to the four Damascene *madrasas* where he was appointed. The structure of the book is as follows: each text is introduced with a foreword, followed by the edition, translation, and commentary.

Chapter 2 contains aṭ-Ṭarasūsī's appointment to al-Qaymāziyya *madrasa*, written by the famous Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn aṣ-Ṣafadī. Chapter 3 presents his appointment to ar-Rayḥāniyya *madrasa* by the equally renowned Ibn Nubāta. Chapter 4 provides another appointment document to ar-Rayḥāniyya by an anonymous author; traditionally, three appointment documents could be required for a single post. Chapter 5 discusses rhetorical devices characteristic of such rhymed-prose (*sağ'*) chancellery documents, namely allusions and the mention of the appointee, predecessors, and the place of appointment.

Chapters 6–9 treat additional rhetorical features: *tağnīs* (paronomasia, i.e., employing two or more words sharing a consonantal root), the most frequent ornament in Arabic poetry and rhymed prose; and *tawriya*, a special kind of double entendre or concealed allusion. These are well-known devices described in the science of *badī'*, a branch of rhetoric (*balāḡa*). Chapters 7–8 address intertextuality: citations recur across the three texts. Identical expressions (*iqtibās*) in aṣ-Ṣafadī's and Ibn Nubāta's documents may indicate either that aṣ-Ṣafadī knew Ibn Nubāta's letter beforehand or that both drew from a common corpus—on the basis of these three texts, the question remains open. Chapter 9 summarizes the intertextual elements.

Chapter 10 asks why two letters of appointment were necessary for the Rayḥāniyya *madrasa*. Chapter 11 briefly discusses the function of such documents. An Appendix lists instances of *tağnīs* in the three texts. A bibliography and indices of persons, places, linguistic forms, and official titles conclude the volume.

Werner Diem's excellent work illuminates a relatively neglected field of Arabic writing. It is rare to find such a thorough analysis of documents of this type.

Kinga Dévényi

