

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 Uṣaybī'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 Ḍayfa 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 Tūġrūl. 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, Ḍayfa 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 an-nuḡabā'*) 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 *ḡāmiʿ 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 Zağğāğīyya *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 ʿĠubayr mentions that there were five or six of these institutions when he visited the city in 580/1184 (Ibn ʿĠubayr, *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 Šārafiyya *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 ʿĠayfa 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-Baġdādī 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-Baġdādī, 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-Baġdādī, 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-Ğawzī, 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-Ğawzī 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 Ğubayr'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 Ğubayr, *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 Ṣa‘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), Ṣahda, 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 az-Zāhirī.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-ʿAğamī family appears in several certificates. Members of this family are mentioned in ten certificates issued at sessions where Ibn Ḥalīl was the *musmiʿ*. 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 ʿAwn ad-Dīn, who was addressed as *aṣ-ṣadr al-imām al-ʿālim al-fāḍil al-kāmil* (the eminent Imam, distinguished and consummate scholar).¹¹⁴ Other prominent members of the family also visited other scholars. An al-ʿAğamī, 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 ʿAlwān al-Asadī family, several prominent members are visible in the certificates. In 624/1227, three sons of the high Qaḍī Zayn ad-Dīn Raʾīs al-Aṣḥāb Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn al-Asadī, together with their cousin, came to the Umayyad Mosque to study with Ibn Ḥalīl (al-Iṣfahānī, *Faḍāʾil* 100–101). More than two decades later, one of the sons, Bahāʾ ad-Dīn Abū l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, returned to Ibn Ḥalīl. By that time, Bahāʾ 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, *Faḍāʾil* 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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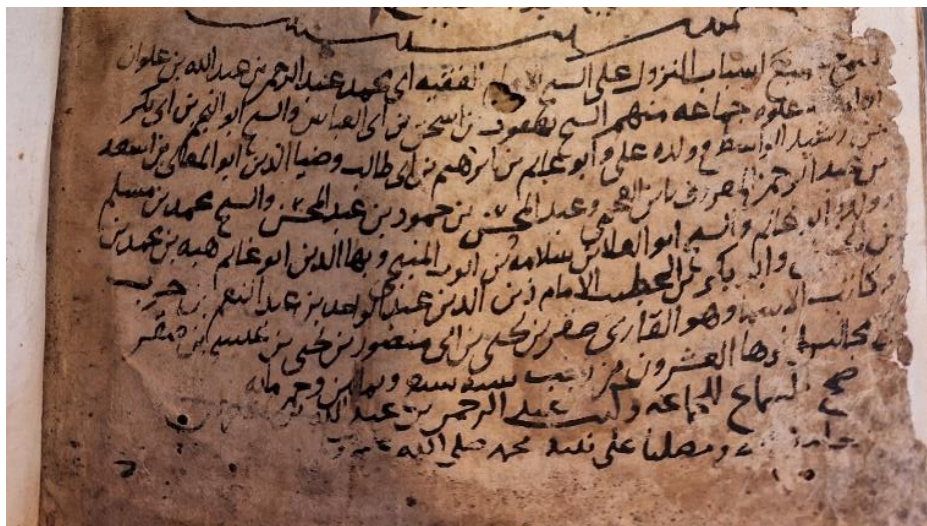
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APPENDIX

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>.

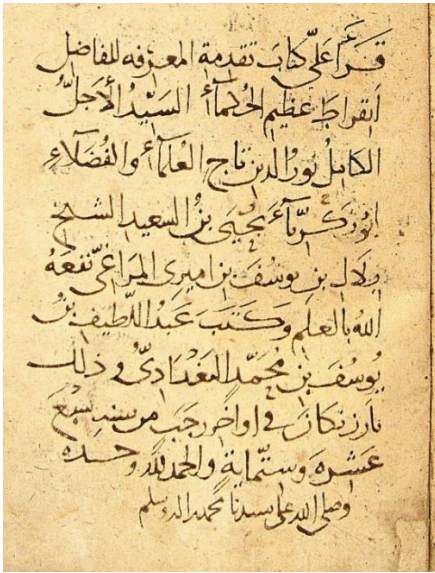
¹²⁹ Image: Tâcuddîn Ebû Muhammed Alî b. el-Hüseyin el-Bulgarî, *Muhtasar fî Ma'rifeti'l-Edviye ve Mahiyetuhu. Musul ve Konya: 619 (1222)*, Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 159, <https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/97951>.

Place: Arzinkān (Erzincan)

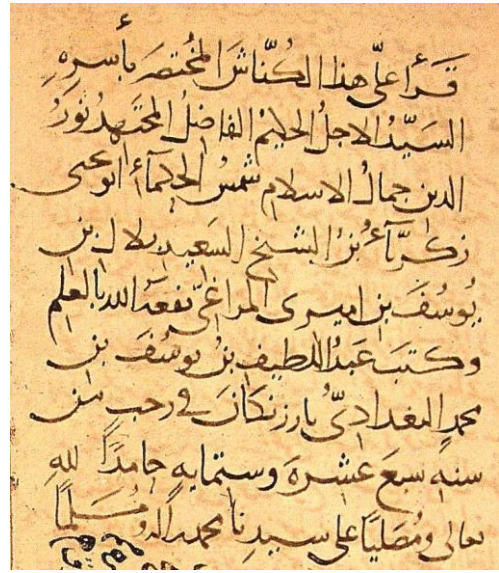
Reader: Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn aš-Šayḥ as-Saʿīd Bilāl ibn Yusūf ibn al-Amīrī al-Marāḡī

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