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# The Chamberlain's Sessions

*Audience Certificates in a Baghdad Manuscript of al-Ḥarāʾiṭī's Iʿtilāl al-qulūb (Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Ms. Orient. A 627)*

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## Abstract

This article is devoted to thirteen Arabic audience certificates (*samāʿāt*) that originate in Baghdad in the time from Rabīʿ I 486/April 1093 to Šafar 501/September–October 1107. The analysis presents the attending master, the chamberlain Ibn al-ʿAllāf (died 505/1111), and provides an overview of the heterogenous composition of the seven reading circles represented in the certificates. It scrutinizes the change of seating position in pairs of sessions and examines the three certificates that were copied to the Gotha manuscript from another manuscript of the same work by the 4th/10th century author al-Ḥarāʾiṭī. Furthermore, the identity and social position of the readers and writers are clarified as far as possible using external sources, and the way that partial attendance is dealt with by the writer and the attending master is elucidated. An index of names makes the persons mentioned in the texts as well as the biographical information presented in the article accessible. The edition of the Arabic text of all thirteen certificates attempts to make their structure visible by means of layout (indentation, coloured script).

## Keywords

audience/audition certificates – *samāʿ* – Arabic reading culture 5th/11th century – Baghdad reading culture

## 1 Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The so-called audience certificates (Arabic *samā'āt*) are a phenomenon that is peculiar to Arabic manuscript culture. In a script that, at times, is barely legible, these certificates minutely document place, time, authorizing scholar, and auditory of text readings. The aim of these paratexts is primarily to attest: 1) the participation of either auditors, which entitles them to further transmission, or non-scholars to record their presence as a pious work; and 2) the correctness of the text transmitted in the manuscript.<sup>2</sup>

This article exploits the certificates in the manuscript Ms. orient. A 627 from the Gotha Research Library and edits them critically.<sup>3</sup> A previous article was devoted to the intricate sequence of these certificates—in fact, two errors occurred in this regard when the manuscript was rebound at an unknown place and unknown time—and to identifying the scribes' hands of the pairs of certificates belonging to part 6 and part 8 of the *I'tilāl al-qulūb*.<sup>4</sup> Facsimile copies of the six pages (fol. 13b to 15b and fol. 37b) have been included.<sup>5</sup>

To date, only a small number of audience certificates have been edited, mostly as padding in text editions from the Arab world. A notable exception is the edition of the certificates contained in the manuscript Or. 580 of Leiden University Library by Jan Just Witkam;<sup>6</sup> another deviation is an edition of eight certificates from a copy of a work by al-Saḥāwī (d. 643/1245).<sup>7</sup> A number of transferred certificates (see below) have recently been edited by Saïd Aljoumani.<sup>8</sup> The edition presented here is an attempt to make the characteristics of the certificates' content visible by means of layout, i.e. by marking the different functions (attending master, reader, writer, date) using coloured script and by separating the single auditors using indents. While, as a general practice for editing larger corpora of *samā'āt*, this may result in higher printing costs

1 Submitted on September 8, 2018. Accepted for publication on November 18, 2019.

2 In an earlier article, I outlined the history of research on the audience certificates and their most important characteristics; cf. Seidensticker 2015, first part.

3 My thanks to Konrad Hirschler for his assistance in deciphering certificate #7 and for some other helpful advice. I am also obliged to Florian Sobieroj for his comments on a draft of this article.

4 Seidensticker 2015, second part.

5 These have already been published in Seidensticker 2015 [https://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/MC/manuscript\\_cultures\\_no\\_8.pdf](https://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/MC/manuscript_cultures_no_8.pdf).

6 Witkam 2003.

7 Ducène 2006.

8 Aljoumani 2018.

due to the need for more space and for colour print, such interventions in the original layout will not impact the expense of future online editions.

The analysis of the certificates dating from 5th/6th-century Baghdad (11th/12th century CE) exemplifies the role of a chamberlain (*ḥājib*) at the Caliph's court in the transmission of knowledge. A number of questions are addressed: What exactly was put on record? What was the social composition of the different reading communities that he presided over? How does the sequence of attendants mentioned change? How many attendants only attended one session and how common was partial attendance? What is the possible role of the three certificates that were transferred from another manuscript?

As for the transmitted work, *I'tilāl al-qulūb*, by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Ḥarā'īṭī (d. 327/938), I take the liberty of quoting from my prior article:

His work [...] 'The Sickness of Hearts' contains love stories, love poetry and Prophetic traditions as well as sayings of pious early Muslims, grouped in more than 50 unnumbered chapters; the author tries to give guidance to Muslims on how to cope with the temptations of passionate love. There are just three manuscripts extant now besides the Gotha codex. Two of them (at the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo and Ulu Cami in Bursa) are fragmentary or abridged versions; only the Rabat manuscript (The National Library of the Kingdom of Morocco, al-Khizāna al-ʿamma) seems to be complete. Such a small number of surviving manuscripts implies that the work, once important, fell into oblivion at some point. But as a source of major thematic inspiration, it became of primary importance for Ibn al-Jawzī's famous work 'The Censure of Passion' (*Dhamm al-hawā*). Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1201) has the same chapter headings as al-Kharā'īṭī in 15 cases, but does not mention him as his model, and he quotes much of the latter's material as well.

## 2 The Attending Master Ibn al-ʿAllāf

Ibn al-ʿAllāf's full name is Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb al-Baġdādī b. al-ʿAllāf. Exactly what functions he had as caliphal chamberlain<sup>9</sup> are unknown. The title had become a military rank long before Ibn al-ʿAllāf's lifetime,<sup>10</sup> but given that he left no traces beyond his

9 *Mīn ḥujjāb al-ḥilāfa*: al-Ḍahabī *Siyar* XIX 242.

10 Morris 2018, 60f.

capacity as transmitter of pious knowledge, it can be assumed that his role was confined to regulating access to the caliph and organizing ceremonies. Perhaps he was only a minor official among a greater number of chamberlains; he may even have retained his title after serving only for a brief period. There are some shorter notes on him in the biographical literature.<sup>11</sup> From these, we learn the following facts: He was born in Muḥarram 406<sup>12</sup> the son of a preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) and reciter (*muqriʿ*), and died on 23 Muḥarram 505/1 August 1111. There are seventeen pupils mentioned in al-Ḍahabī's *Sīyar*, but only two of them align with persons mentioned in our certificates.<sup>13</sup> In al-Ṣafadī's monumental biographical dictionary, he is mentioned as a transmitter on almost two dozen occasions.<sup>14</sup> This implies that a good part of his almost century-long life was spent transmitting pious knowledge.

What was the political situation in Baghdad during the chamberlain's activity, as documented in the Gotha certificates? The sessions presided over by him span from III (= Rabīʿ I) 486 until I (= Muḥarram) 501; they thus coincide, more or less, with the first fourteen years of the quarter-century reign of caliph al-Mustazhir (r. I [= Muḥarram] 487 until IV [= Rabīʿ II] 512). The period until 498 was tumultuous: "Throughout the years after the rise of Barkyaruq [i. e. after 487, T.S.], Baghdad had become a beacon of sorts for would-be sultans. Although the opportunity had arisen for the caliph to play a role in these negotiations, it is clear from the sources that al-Mustazhir was unable to make good use of this opportunity. The majority of the time the caliph acted as a spectator to the battles going on around him."<sup>15</sup> After 498, Muḥammad b. Malikšāh finally managed to establish himself as sultan of the Great Saljuqs and the situation in Baghdad calmed down:

For his part, al-Mustazhir settled in his role as caliph in Baghdad, apparently at ease with Muhammad [b. Malikšāh, T.S.]. Both rulers went through a series of wazirs, often appointing them, removing them from office, and then reappointing them when a better candidate could not be

11 al-Ḍahabī *Sīyar* XIX 242f. no. 150; Ibn al-ʿImād *Šaḍarāt* VI 18; Ibn al-Jawzī *Muntaẓam* XVII 124 no. 3797.

12 In what follows, I generally provide only Muslim months and years, because doubling the numbers would create more confusion than insight.

13 al-Ḍahabī *Sīyar* XIX 243: 'Abdalḥaqq al-Yūsufi must be 'Abdalḥaqq b. 'Abdalḥāliq b. Aḥmad ... b. Yūsuf from 7/2; al-Mubārak b. 'Alī al-Ḥayyāt may be Abū Sa'd al-Mubārak b. 'Alī al-Muḥarrimī from 6/7 and 11/7.

14 al-Ṣafadī *Wāfi* Index I (= vol. XXXI) 840 and 841 (in two places).

15 Hanne 2007, 139.

found. There were occasional riots between the Sunni and Shi'ite confessions throughout the final years of Muhammad and al-Mustazhir's reigns [i.e. until 511, T.S.], but [...] these *fitnas* had become part of the urban landscape; as quickly as they would appear, the fighting would settle down with little intervention of others needed to quell the disturbance. The scenario in Baghdad and its environs, although far from idyllic, was a vast improvement over the previous years in terms of tensions over control over the city.<sup>16</sup>

Considering especially the unrest in the period until 498, it is surprising that the sessions were generally held at regular intervals, as the following section will show.

### 3 Dates and Venues

As shown in the aforementioned previous article (Seidensticker 2015), it is possible to reconstruct the original sequence of certificates. Table 1 provides the dates as detailed in the certificates.

The table shows that our manuscript bears witness to seven different reading circles supervised by the chamberlain. In one instance, the certificate for part 6 (as counterpart to #7) was either never transferred to the Gotha manuscript or is now lost. While the interval of one month between the reading of #11 and #6 does not necessarily indicate a reduced reading rate (part 7 had to be read between them), the two-month span between #9 and #3 indicates an interruption; that is to say, it is not compatible with the assumption of a rhythm of one session per week.<sup>17</sup>

A closer look reveals that the pair 11 & 6 could be more complicated. In the last two lines of #11 we read: "The writer of the auditors' names, 'Umar b. Zūfar b. Aḥmad, heard it [i.e. part 8] *at another date than this*."<sup>18</sup> Does this mean that 'Umar wrote down the certificate at some point after the session took place? Andreas Görke has adduced one such example from Baghdad.<sup>19</sup> In the last line of #6 it is stated that "the writer of the auditors' names, 'Umar b. Zūfar b.

16 Ibid., 141.

17 See Görke 2011, 103 on month-long interruptions within series of weekly sessions in the certificates from Baghdad analysed by him.

18 *sami'ahu muṭbit al-asmā' bi-ḡayr hādā al-ta'rīḡ 'Umar b. Zūfar b. Aḥmad fi Muḥarram sanat ihdā wa-ḡamsim'a.*

19 Görke 2011, 108, lower half with footnote 58.

TABLE 1 The certificates' chronological sequence

Referring to part 6	Referring to part 8
#13: Rabī' 1 486	#1: Rabī' 1 486
#8: Rabī' 1 487	#2: Rabī' 1 487
#9: Rajab 487	#3: Wednesday 6 Ramaḍān 487
#10: Tuesday 19 Šawwāl 490	#4: Wednesday xx <sup>20</sup> Šawwāl 490
#11: Muḥarram 501	#6: Šafar 501
#12: Dū l-ḥijja 488 (transferred after 505)	#5: Dū l-ḥijja 488 (transferred after 505)
	#7: Rajab 499 (transferred after 505)

Aḥmad, heard it [i.e. part 8] *with another group than this*.<sup>21</sup> This suggests that he recorded the names but did not attend the actual reading session. I see no easy solution that combines these two remarks but they probably have their origin in one and the same irregularity in the two sessions.

The venues of the reading sessions are mentioned in just two pairs. Pair 10 & 4 took place in the eastern side of Baghdad/Madīnat al-salām, “The Glory of the Caliphate”, “[in?] the Mosque of the Most Exalted al-Muẓaffar—may God assist him”.<sup>22</sup> Something like *fī* or *bi-* “in” has to be inserted before *masjid*. I was unable to find a mention of a mosque named after some notable al-Muẓaffar in Baghdad.

In pair 11 & 6, the *majlis* of ‘Alī b. Hibatallāh b. Muḥammad is mentioned as a venue. As the long title shows, he was a man of some prominence, son of an even more eminent man who held the position of a *wazīr*. ‘Izzaldawla Abū l-Ma‘ālī ‘Alī held important offices in the caliphal administration a long time after the sessions’ date and died in Rajab 523 (on him, cf. section 6 below). Where exactly the sessions were held is as unclear as is the case for all the other certificates.

We can put on record that the venues are indicated in a minority of cases and that the dates are mentioned in a rather vague fashion. Dates and weekdays are only given in #3, #4, and #10. This is in accordance with observations made by Görke and Hirschler. With reference to certificates from Baghdad from

20 Difficult to read; either the 20th or, more probably, the 27th Šawwāl is meant.

21 *wa-qaḍ sami‘ahu ma‘a ġayr ḥāḍihi al-tabaqa muṭbit al-asmā’ ‘Umar b. Zūfar b. Aḥmad.*

22 *bi-Madīnat al-salām/Baġdād jānibihā al-šarqī faḥr al-ḥilāfa masjid al-aḡall al-Muẓaffar ayyadahū Allāh.*

the period between 472 and 491, Görke states that “[t]he certificates of audition usually record the month and the year in which the lecture took place. In about a fourth of the certificates, exact dates appear including the day of the week.”<sup>23</sup> Only four certificates among the 100 he has analysed mention a place.<sup>24</sup> Konrad Hirschler states that only since the mid-6th/12th century and the shift of *samāʿ* activity to Syria, did the certificates start “to include more detailed information on the exact place of the reading, the day of the week and occasionally even the time. By contrast, earlier certificates, such as those for a fifth/eleventh-century reading under al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī in Tyre (Ṣūr), had been inchoate.”<sup>25</sup>

#### 4 The Readers

The readers' names are given in all the certificates. In most cases, they are mentioned immediately after the attending master, Ibn al-ʿAllāf. #5 and #13, however, mention them towards the end, before the date; #12 is an exception insofar as the reader is mentioned towards the end but is separated from the date by names of persons with partial attendance or supplementary information on persons who heard “the whole text” (*al-jamīʿ*).

1. A major role was played by ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Funūn,<sup>26</sup> who read no less than sessions 8 & 2, 10 & 4, and 12 & 5. A short biography in Ibn al-Najjār's *Dayl Taʾrīḥ Baġdād* tells us that he was learned in belles-lettres (*adab*), heard some logic and philosophy, travelled to Damascus in 484 where he heard law with a member of the Maqdisī family, and then travelled to Egypt where he died as a young man.<sup>27</sup> A date for his death is not given, but, of course, it must have been after Ṣafar 501, the date of the latest session he read.

The remaining readers only read one pair or, in the case of #7, one session:

2. Hibatallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan, who read 13 & 1, could be the father of ʿAlī b. Hibatallāh, who was mentioned at the end of the preceding section as the host of pair 11 & 6. His full name is Abū l-Maʿālī

23 Görke 2011, 101.

24 Ibid., 103.

25 Hirschler 2012, 63.

26 His full name is Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥ. b. Funūn al-Baġlī al-Baġdādī; Ibn al-Najjār adds “b. ʿAlī” before “b. Funūn” and gives a *nisba* al-Ṭaʿlabī.

27 Ibn al-Najjār *Dayl* III 143f. In Ibn Nāṣīr al-Dīn's *Tawdīḥ* VII 42, footnote 3 a biography of ʿAlī in Ibn Nuqṭa's *Istidrāk*, ch. *Futūn wa-Funūn* is mentioned, to which I had no access.

Hibatallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Muṭṭalib. Born in 440 (Ibn al-Jawzī *Muntaẓam* xvii 119 no. 3790), he became vizier for the caliph al-Mustaẓhir (r. 487–512) for more than two years from 500 onwards (and obviously already before that from Ramaḍān 495 until Rajab 496, cf. Ibn al-Jawzī *Muntaẓam* xvii 76). He died in 503 (not in 509, as al-Ḍahabī puts it). Al-Ḍahabī calls him *al-faqīh al-šāfi‘ī*.<sup>28</sup> It is surprising, however, that a man of his rank should be mentioned without any honorary titles, such as those bestowed on him in #11/2f. and #6/2f., and thus the identification is only tentative.<sup>29</sup>

3. Pair 9 & 3 was read by Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Kādiš al-‘Ukbarī, who featured prominently in the Baghdad-related certificates in the manuscript of Abū ‘Ubayd’s *K. al-Amwāl* analysed by Andreas Görke. As Görke writes, “He was a Ḥanbalī *muḥaddiṭ* and had a loud or strong voice, which of course made him ideally suited for working as a *qārī*”. In the biographical literature he is mentioned as being *qārī*’ *ahl Baḡhdād* and *mustamlī* “tradition transmitter’s clerk”, as well as *mufīd* [i.e. teaching assistant, T.S.] *Baḡhdād*” (Görke 2011, 109). He died in 4 Šafar 496.<sup>30</sup>
4. The man who read 11 & 6, al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusraw al-Balḥī, was called “the Teacher of Baghdad” (*mufīd ahl Baḡdād*) as a result of his teaching to strangers, students, and juveniles. He was a Ḥanafite who collected a *musnad* of Abū Ḥanīfa, had Mu‘tazilite inclinations, and died in 526.<sup>31</sup>
5. Abū Naṣr al-Iṣbahānī<sup>32</sup> plays a double role as reader of #7 and owner of the manuscript of al-Ḥarā‘iṭī’s *Iṭilāl al-qulūb* from which #12, #7, and #5 were transferred to the Gotha manuscript. He was born in 448 in Isfāhan, travelled and taught much, copied and collected many works and died on 3 Ramaḍān 532. Al-Šafadī mentions that he did not distinguish between

28 Cf. al-Ḍahabī *Sīyar* xix 384 no. 225; al-Šafadī *Wāfi* xxvii 320f. no. 270.

29 Two persons who bear similar names: 1. Abū Naṣr Hibatallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Šabbāḡ (Ibn al-Dubayṭī *Ḍayl* v 95 no. 2755); 2. Abū l-Barakāt Hibatallāh b. ‘Alī b. al-Buḥārī (Ibn al-Jawzī *Muntaẓam* xvii 230 no. 3938, died in 519). In both cases, the great-grandfather’s name al-Ḥasan is not mentioned, and there is no other evidence indicating that they are the same as the reader of 13 & 1.

30 For the day of his death, see Ibn Rajab *Ḍayl* i 217–219 no. 45. His full name is Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Kādiš al-‘Ukbarī, see *ibid.* and Ibn al-Jawzī *Muntaẓam* xvii 82 no. 3733.

31 al-Šafadī *Wāfi* xiii 38f. no. 37; al-Ḍahabī *Sīyar* xix 592f. no. 342. The latter adduces a quite negative judgement by Ibn ‘Asākir (*mā kāna ya‘rifu šay‘an*).

32 His full name is Aḥmad b. ‘Umar b. Muḥ. b. ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ishāq al-Ġazī, al-Šafadī *Wāfi* vii 262f. no. 3226; al-Ḍahabī *Sīyar* xx 8f. no. 4.

*samā'* and *ijāza*. This seems to point to a principal distinction between simply having heard a text and being formally authorized to further transmit, which he apparently ignored. A short *Amālī* book is preserved in the Assad National Library in Damascus.<sup>33</sup>

In sum, the chamberlain had a favourite reader (no. 1) who was learned in a wider range of subjects. Among the remaining readers, no. 2 cannot be identified in the bibliographical literature with certainty, but it is possible that he was of high social rank. No. 3 was a famous reader of Ḥanbalite affiliation, no. 4 was well-known as the "Teacher of Baghdad" and a Ḥanafī with Mu'tazilite inclinations; no. 5 was a famous learned man and collector of books. We can conclude that besides a talent for clear and audible reading, an above-average status played a role in being selected as reader.

## 5 The Writers

Writers are mentioned in four pairs (8 & 2, 9 & 3, 10 & 4, and 11 & 6). They are called *kātib al-samā'* "writer of certificate" in the first two pairs and *mutbit al-asmā'* "the person who puts down the names" in the second two pairs. As a difference in function is not discernible, I consider these two designations synonymous. The writers are always mentioned at the end of the certificates, in close proximity to the dates: immediately before them in #2, #9, #10, #4, and #11, separated from it by persons with only partial attendance in #8 and #3, and immediately after the date in #6.

Two different persons were entrusted with this duty within pair 9 & 3. The first (of #9), Abū l-Qāsim 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Alī l-Muḥarrimī, is probably identical to a person bearing this name who is mentioned in two biographical works. He was a Ḥanbalite preacher in a mosque on the Farāšā road<sup>34</sup> in Baghdad and died 27 Rajab 527.<sup>35</sup> The reader of #3 is Sa'dallāh b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bazzāz. This man was born prior to 420, came to Baghdad in 464, and died in Rajab 514. He was a transmitter of whom nothing more than the names of five of his teachers are known.<sup>36</sup> As both persons were present at both sessions, the change of

33 Cf. Yāsīn Muḥammad al-Sawwās, *Fihris Maḥṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriyya, al-Majāmi'*, vol. 1, Damascus 1983, 307 no. 9 = Muḥ. Nāṣiraldīn al-Albānī, *Fihris Maḥṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriyya, al-muntaḥab min maḥṭūṭāt al-ḥadīth*, Damascus 1970, 210 no. 377.

34 On Darb Farāšā see Ibn al-Dubayṭī *Ḍayl* v 440.

35 Ibn Nāṣiraldīn *Tawḍīḥ* VIII 81; Ibn al-Najjār *Ḍayl* II 88f.

36 Ibn al-Jawzī *Muntaẓam* XVII 189 no. 3892; al-Ṣafādī *Wāfi* XXIV 63.

the writer's role shows that this function was not allotted to one and the same person in every listening community.<sup>37</sup>

The writer of 8 & 2 is Ibn al-'Ukbarī (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Wāsiṭī). He was born in al-Wāsiṭ, came to Baghdad for the first time in 474, died in his hometown in 497 and was famous as a reciter of the Qur'an (*muqri'*).<sup>38</sup>

The writer of pair 10 & 4, al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamīs al-Mawṣilī, is the author of a Ṣūfī work titled *Manāqib al-abrār wa-maḥāsīn al-aḥyār fi ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya*.<sup>39</sup> He died in 552.<sup>40</sup>

Umar b. Zūfar b. Aḥmad is the notary in pair 11 & 6. He was born in 461, died in 542, and was a *muqri'* "reciter of the Qur'an".<sup>41</sup>

A Ḥanbalī preacher, a transmitter of pious knowledge, a Ṣūfī author, and two reciters of the Qur'an: Clearly, the role of the writer was allotted to religiously educated or even prominent persons.

## 6 The Attendants' Social Rank

Among the six pairs of sessions and the single session referring to part 8 (#7), there are some differences discernible with respect to the social composition of the audience. The honorary titles that accompany many of the attendants' names in the certificates do not assist us greatly in determining their social rank. Frequent titles in pair 11 & 6 in fact correspond to an unusually large number of worldly dignitaries, but this class is more or less absent in the rest. A more important question is who has left traces in the historico-bibliographical literature; in what follows, this group is called "scholarly prominent". This kind of prominence can vary between a single mention as transmitter of religious knowledge and a highly prominent status held by such persons as the famous author al-Sarrāj (d. 500/1106). To detect them, we must look further than the honorary titles in the certificates. For example, in pair 9 & 3, everybody is called *ṣayḥ*, although several individuals clearly had no scholarly ambitions. Pair 10 & 4 differs within itself: Although in both certificates the reader is called *ṣayḥ* and the person following him bears the title *ṣarīf*, in #10 the remaining persons are enumerated without titles while in #4 all persons following the *ṣarīf* are

37 This has also been observed by Andreas Görke, see Görke 2011, 107, end of 3rd paragraph.

38 Ibn al-Dubayṭī *Dayl* II 337f. no. 811.

39 Ed. Sa'īd 'Abdalfattāḥ, 2 vols., Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya 2006.

40 Brockelmann GAL I 559f. S I 776; cf. also al-Ṣafadī *Wāfi* VI 154.

41 Ibn al-Jawzī *Muntaẓam* XVIII 60 no. 4140; al-Ṣafadī *Wāfi* XXII 490.

summarily called *mašāyih sāda*. In pair 12 & 5 and in #7, titles are completely missing with the exception of the first person of #12. This is not necessarily surprising in transferred certificates where the usual considerations of politeness did not work. Thus, in order to determine who was an 'ordinary' person without scholarly merit and who had higher ambitions, we must consult the corpus of historico-bibliographical literature.

The most important difference within the certificates concerns the presence of worldly dignitaries: While generally such mentions are unusual, we encounter five of them in 11 & 6. The main difference between the remaining pairs and certificate #7 is the share of scholarly prominent attendants, which varies between 30.8 per cent and 66.6 per cent.

Starting with worldly dignitaries: Their number is surprisingly low, taking the chamberlain's office into consideration. The only mentions are of a higher official and son of a vizier; his brother, son of the same vizier and a pious donator; a deputy judge; one other chamberlain; one judge, and a later vizier. Five of these six<sup>42</sup> are part of the audience of **pair 11 & 6**.

1. 'Izzaldawla Abū l-Makārim 'Alī b. Hibatallāh b. Muḥammad was born in 483, the son of a later vizier.<sup>43</sup> He was entrusted with high positions almost two decades after the readings' date (501): In Rajab 519, under the reign of the caliph al-Mustaršid (r. 512–529), he became chief of the caliph's palace (*tawallā ustādīyyat dār al-ḥilāfa al-mu'azzama*), and in Dū l-qa'da, in the same year, he became the deputy of the person responsible for the Mesopotamian rural area and estates (?) of the caliphal chancellery (*ustunība bi-l-dīwān al-'azīz li-īslāh al-sawād wa-l-'imārāt*). He died in Friday 9 Rajab 523.<sup>44</sup>
2. At some point in his long life, this man's brother, Faḥraldawla Abū l-Muẓaffar al-Ḥasan b. Hibatallāh, was offered the vizier's office. He declined the position, preferring instead a life detached from the world and the outward habits and clothing of the Šūfis. He became famous as a great donor and built a *madrasa* for the Šāfi'ite jurists in East Baghdad, a Šūfi *ribāṭ*, a Friday mosque in West Baghdad and a *ribāṭ* for women. Al-Dahabī tells us that he was born "after 490"; if this is correct, he was about ten

42 The sixth, a *qādī*, is mentioned in pair 8 & 2, 'Alī b. Salāma b. 'Ubaydallāh about whom no additional information can be found in external sources.

43 See above section 4, reader 2.

44 Ibn al-Dubayṭī *Dayl* IV 554 no. 2467. A largely identical biography of him also features in Ibn al-Najjār's *Dayl Ta'riḥ Baǧdād*, part of Muṣṭafā 'Abdalqādir 'Aṭā's ed. of *Ta'riḥ Baǧdād wa-duyūluhu*, 24 vols., Beirut 1417 h., vol. XIX, 178 no. 1019. I took the date of 'Alī's death (9 Rajab) from this source; Ibn al-Dubayṭī gives 7 Rajab.

years old when the sessions 11 & 6 took place. Most biographers mention that he listened to Ibn al-Allāf's lessons. He died in 20 Šawwāl 578. A large funeral prayer was held in the palace mosque and he was buried in the Friday mosque that he founded.<sup>45</sup>

3. Abū Sa'd al-Mubārak b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Muḥarrimī was born in Rajab 446. He became a successful teacher of Ḥanbalite *fiqh* and had his own *madrasa* built at Bāb al-Azaj in Baghdad. His library was famous. He became a deputy judge (*nāba fī l-qadā'*) but was convinced to resign from this office in 511; Ibn Kaṭīr implies that this was done with the help of much money (*wa-šūdira bi-amwāl jazīla*). His *madrasa* was later enlarged by and named after his famous pupil 'Abdalqādir al-Jīlī/al-Jīlānī. When he died in 12 Muḥarram 513, there were many prayers held for him, two of them in the palace mosque. His eminent rank of Ḥanbalī jurist is evidenced by the fact that he was buried near the grave of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal.<sup>46</sup>
4. Bātākīn<sup>47</sup> b. Bādir<sup>48</sup> is called *al-ḥājib* in the certificates, which means that Ibn al-'Allāf had a colleague as his guest. This man is not mentioned in the historical sources.
5. Abū l-Riḍā Jalālaldīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Šadaqa was born into a politically prominent family in 478 (al-Ḍahabī gives the less plausible date of 498). He was appointed vizier by the caliph al-Rāšid (r. 529–530). Under al-Muqtafi (r. 530–555) he was employed with other offices. His *samā'* from Ibn al-'Allāf is mentioned in the sources, also as transmitter. He died 14 Ša'bān 556.<sup>49</sup>

The "scholarly prominent" persons from 11 & 6 are:

6. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusraw al-Balḥī, treated in section 4 as a reader.

45 al-Šafadī *Wāfi* xii 291 no. 262; Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī *Mir'āt* xxi 288; al-Ḍahabī *Siyar* xxi 97f. no. 45; Ibn al-Dubayṭī *Dayl* iii 143f. no. 1254.

46 Ibn Abī Ya'lā *Ṭabaqāt* iii 481f. no. 705; Ibn al-'Imād *Šaḍarāt* vi 66f.; al-Ḍahabī *Siyar* xi 428 no. 249; al-Ḍahabī *Ta'riḥ* xxxv 359 no. 59 (an erroneous birth year 449 and an erroneous death day 18 is given here); Ibn Kaṭīr *Bidāya* xvi 243; Ibn Rajab *Dayl* i 362–366 no. 68; Ibn al-Jawzī *Muntaẓam* xvii 183f. no. 3886.

47 There is one Bātākīn stemming from Armenia mentioned in Ibn Ḥallikān *Wafayāt* iii 504 who was deputy of the caliph al-Mustanshir (r. 623–640) in Irbil. Al-Ḍahabī *Siyar* xxi 356f. no. 221 mentions a certain Ibn Bātākīn who had a pure Arab lineage and died in 631.

48 Instead of Bādir, also Nādir, etc. could be read. Jens Peter Laut informs me that Turkish *batır* means "hero, courageous man" and draws my attention to Volker Rybatzki, *Die Personennamen und Titel der mittelmongolischen Dokumente. Eine lexikalische Untersuchung*. Helsinki 2006, 209 (the book is available online only).

49 Ibn al-Dubayṭī *Dayl* i 168–170 no. 17; al-Ḍahabī *Ta'riḥ* xxxviii 208 no. 216.

7. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Muḥawwalī is mentioned by Ibn al-Dubayṭī as “a well-educated man with a fine knowledge in grammar and Arabic language”.<sup>50</sup>
8. 'Umar b. Zūfar b. Aḥmad, mentioned in section 5 above as a writer.
9. Abū l-Faraj Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayr al-Qaṣrī, mentioned in the sources as a transmitter of knowledge and Baghdadi *muqri'* “reciter”. He was born in 465 and died in 540.<sup>51</sup>

This analysis conveys the impression that Ibn al-'Allāf carefully composed this circle from members of political high society and some scholarly experts (two readers and one expert on grammar and language), putting a Ḥanafī reader side by side with a Ḥanbalī judge. The other six persons (40 per cent) remain socially anonymous, except for the fact that al-Mubārak b. 'Abdalwahhāb b. Maṣṣūr was a silk trader (*qazzāz*).

Among the remaining certificates, which almost completely lack mention of prominent persons, pair 13 & 1 contains the least important scholarly names: four out of thirteen.

1. Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. Dalāl al-Šaybānī is only mentioned by al-Ḍahabī as a former inhabitant of the village Bājisrā; he gives the names of two persons from whom he transmitted and of one of his pupils. He died in Ša'bān 541, aged 81 years.<sup>52</sup>
2. Abū Sa'd Sa'd b. Muḥammad b. Hibatallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib is again only mentioned as transmitter of knowledge; one teacher and one pupil are named, and no date of his death or birth is given.<sup>53</sup>
3. Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. al-Faraj al-Dīnawarī al-Ib(a)rī is mentioned not for his own achievements, but rather as the father of his famous daughter Šahda/Šuhda (d. 574), the *musnidat al-'Irāq*.<sup>54</sup> He died in 507.<sup>55</sup>
4. Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan al-Iskāf is briefly mentioned as *muqri' ḥanafī*, transmitter and an inhabitant of the Ma'mūniyya quarter<sup>56</sup> in Baghdad; again, no death date is given.<sup>57</sup>

This circle comprises a majority of scholarly laymen, with just four persons (30.7 per cent) with a limited scholarly reputation. Among the non-scholars,

50 Ibn al-Dubayṭī *Ḍayl* III 102 no. 1198.

51 Ibn Nāṣiraldīn *Tawḍīḥ* VI 17; Muḥ. b. Muḥ. b. Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayr al-Ṭayrī al-Qaṣrī al-*qadarī*; al-Sam'ānī *Ansāb* IV 96; b. 'Asākīr *Ta'riḥ* II 317.

52 al-Ḍahabī *Ta'riḥ* XXXVII 87f. no. 52.

53 Ibn al-Dubayṭī *Ḍayl* III 324 no. 1480.

54 On her, see Kahḥāla 1959 II 309–312; Görke 2003, 52f.

55 al-Ḍahabī *Siyar* XX 542f. no. 344; Ibn al-Aṭīr *Kāmil* IX 148.

56 In the eastern side of the city, cf. Ibn al-Dubayṭī *Ḍayl* V 445.

57 Ibn al-Najjār *Ḍayl* III 355 no. 803.

we find a secretary (*kātib*, ‘Alī b. al-Mu’ammil b. Muslim) and a tailor (*ḥayyāt*, Aḥmad b. Fāris), while the remaining persons are socially anonymous.

Pair 12 & 5 is placed on the opposite side of the continuum. Ten of the fifteen persons mentioned (66.6 per cent) can be considered as (somehow) scholarly important as they can be identified in external sources:

1. Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. ‘Abdalqādir b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf is called “the ascetic traditionalist” (*al-muḥaddiṭ al-zāhid*) and is said to have travelled extensively, making it as far as the Maghreb. Ibn al-Jawzī gives the names of two of his teachers. He was born in 412 and died in 492.<sup>58</sup>
2. His son Abū l-Faraj ‘Abdallḥāliq b. Aḥmad accompanied his father in session #12. Al-Ḍahabī calls him “the Traditionalist of Baghdad” (*muḥaddiṭ Baġdād*) together with a certain Ibn Nāṣir. Ibn al-Jawzī remarks that he was highly productive in transmitting knowledge *samā’an wa-kitābatan*. He adds: *huwa min bayt al-naql*, which probably means that he was member of a family famous for transmitting religious knowledge. This is confirmed in our certificates: Not only is his father mentioned in #12, but also his son ‘Abdalḥaqq in #7. He was born in 464 and died 13 or 14 Muḥarram 548.<sup>59</sup>
3. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abdalbāqī al-Daqqāq “Ibn al-Ḥāḍiba”, born in the 430s, was so important in the eyes of al-Ḍahabī that he devoted several pages to him in two of his works, the *Tadkirat al-ḥuffāz* and the *Siyar a’lām al-nubalā’*. He, too, was called the “Teacher of Baghdad” (*mufīd Baġdād*), as was the fourth reader mentioned above in section 4, and he travelled to Damascus and Jerusalem. His superb recitation of Prophetic tradition is particularly famous and, as a result, al-Ḍahabī calls him *muqrī’ al-muḥaddiṭin bi-Baġdād*. He also mentions an anecdote, related by one Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Aṭṭāf, about Ibn al-Ḥāḍiba being a sort of miracle healer. The personal acquaintance between this Ibn ‘Aṭṭāf and Ibn al-Ḥāḍiba is confirmed by the fact that they appear together in our pair 12 & 5. (On Ibn ‘Aṭṭāf, who also had a scholarly reputation, see below.) Ibn al-Ḥāḍiba died in 2 Rabī’ 1 489, which is three months after the two sessions took place.<sup>60</sup>

58 Ibn al-Jawzī *Muntaẓam* xvii 48f. no. 3683; Ibn al-‘Imād *Šadarāt* v 401; al-Šafadī *Wāfi* xii 316, xv 255, xxvii 61.

59 al-Ḍahabī *Siyar* xx 279f. no. 187; Ibn al-Jawzī *Muntaẓam* xviii 92 no. 4185; al-Šafadī *Wāfi* xx 292, xxvi 459, vii 86, xxii 135.

60 al-Ḍahabī *Tadkira* 1224–1227 no. 1044; al-Ḍahabī *Siyar* xix 109–113 no. 61; Ibn al-Jawzī *Muntaẓam* xvii 35f. no. 3664.

4. Three teachers and three pupils of Zāhir b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bazzāz al-Masāmīri<sup>61</sup> are mentioned by al-Ḍahabī. Zāhir died in Dū l-qa'da 541.<sup>62</sup>
5. Yaltakīn b. al-Sadīd Ṭāyūq is clearly of Turkish lineage.<sup>63</sup> We only know of him as a transmitter from a short note in a manuscript of the first part of al-Madā'inī's *K. al-Ta'āzī*.<sup>64</sup>
6. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Funūn was already introduced in section 4 above as reader no. 1.
7. Abū Muḥammad Hibatallāh b. Abī Ġālib Muḥammad b. Abī Yāsir al-Ḥayyāṭ was secretary (*kātib*) in Baghdad. Al-Ṣafadī mentions three of his teachers; he died in Ramaḍān 531.<sup>65</sup>
8. Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Aṭṭāf al-Mawṣilī is said to have written two books, *al-Mu'jam* and *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī* that are unknown to modern bibliographers. He immigrated to Baghdad and later made trips to Kufa, Āmul, and Hamaḍān. Al-Ḍahabī mentions three of his teachers and three of his pupils. He died in Ṣawwāl 534 at the age of seventy.<sup>66</sup>
9. Abū l-Qāsim (or Abū l-Faḍl) Barakāt b. al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad al-Fāriqī, stemming from Mayyāfāriqīn, came to Baghdad twice. Six of his teachers are mentioned by Ibn al-Dubayṭī. He also taught in Damascus. Born in 427, he died in Ṣūr on Tuesday 16 Dū l-qa'da 505.<sup>67</sup>
10. Abū l-Faḍā'il 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdalbāqī al-Daqqāq (son of person 3 above and also called "Ibn al-Ḥāḍiba") is credited with a good knowledge of *ḥadīth* and *adab*, and several of his teachers are mentioned by al-Ṣafadī, who adds that, according to some people, 'Abdallāh conducted his life in a less than laudable manner. He died in 526.<sup>68</sup>

Of the fifteen persons who are united in this pair, ten somehow made their way into the biographical literature. One of them is called a "pious transmit-

61 The *nisba* al-Masāmīri is neither mentioned by al-Sam'ānī in his *K. al-Ansāb* nor by Ibn al-Aṭīr in his *al-Lubāb fi taḥḍīb al-Ansāb*.

62 al-Ḍahabī *Siyar* xx 171 no. 106; *Ta'riḥ* xxxvii 68 no. 19.

63 Cf. al-Ṣafadī *Wāfi* xxix 51, where a certain Yaltakīn al-Turkī is mentioned who died in 373.

64 Cf. *K. al-Ta'āzī li-abī l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī*, ed. Ibtisām Marhūn al-Ṣaffār and Badrī Muḥammad Fahd, Najaf 1971, first facsimile page, line 7: *samā' Yaltakīn b. al-Sadīd Ṭāyūq al-Turkī*.

65 al-Ṣafadī *Wāfi* xxvii 317 no. 263.

66 al-Ḍahabī *Siyar* xx 54 no. 32.

67 Ibn al-Dubayṭī *Dayl* iii 9 no. 1088.

68 al-Ṣafadī *Wāfi* xvii 428 no. 368.

ter of ḥadīṭ”, two are famous as readers, one was a secretary, and the younger Ibn al-Ḥajābība was credited with a good knowledge of ḥadīṭ and *adab*, although his behaviour was called into question. In contrast with pair 13 & 1 with just 30.8 per cent of scholarly participation, this pair consists of an impressive two thirds majority of “lower middle-class scholars”, while the rest remains socially anonymous.

A final pair that deserves more detailed presentation is pair 8 & 2. In this case, a number of the “scholarly prominent” persons go beyond the level of simply being mentioned as a transmitter and teacher of others in external sources:

1. Ja‘far b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn, widely known as al-Sarrāj, was a Ḥanbalī traditionist and author of the famous *Maṣāri‘ al-‘uṣṣāq* “The Battlegrounds of the Lovers”. He lived from 417/1027 to 500/1106 and was born and based in Baghdad. This means that he was already 70 (*qamarī*) years old when the sessions took place. “He travelled to Mecca, Egypt, and, a number of times, the coastal towns of Syria. [...] Titles of two kinds of his writings are mentioned in the sources, one being the versifications of works on *fiqh* and religious matters [...]. Other titles apparently concern works of a moralising *adab* type [...]”<sup>69</sup>
2. ‘Alī b. Hibatallāh b. ‘Abdalsalām is given the surname al-Kātib al-Baġdādī and lived from 452 to 6 Rajab 539. He taught in Baghdad and al-Wāsiṭ. His elevated rank is implied by Ibn al-Jawzī’s mention of the presence of many prominent persons at his funeral and by the fact that he is frequently recorded as a pupil or teacher in al-Ṣafadī.<sup>70</sup>
3. Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Mubārak was commonly called Ibn al-Fā‘ūs. He was famous as a Ḥanbalite ascetic (*zāhid*), reciter of the Qur’an (*muqrī‘*) and reciter of ḥadīṭ. When he died on 19 Šawwāl 521 in Baghdad, the city fell into disarray (*inqalabat Baġdād bi-mawtihi*). The funeral prayer was held in the palace mosque, all the markets in Baghdad were closed, and he was buried near the grave of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (as was al-Mubārak b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn from the certificates 11 & 6, mentioned above).<sup>71</sup>
4. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibatallāh Ibn al-‘Ālima (458–530), a reciter of the Qur’an, was not as prominent as these men but at least deemed worthy of short biographical entries by Ibn al-Jawzī and al-Ṣafadī.<sup>72</sup>

69 Leder 1995.

70 Ibn al-Jawzī *Muntaẓam* XVIII 42 no. 4111; al-Ṣafadī *Wāfi* I 132; I 152; I 170; IX 224; X 127; XIV 159; XX 500; XXVI 745; XXVII 286; XXVIII 345; XXIX 315; XXX 100.

71 Ibn al-‘Imād *Šaḍarāt* VI 105f.; Ibn al-Jawzī *Muntaẓam* XVII 247 no. 3945.

72 Ibn al-Jawzī *Muntaẓam* XVII 315 no. 4011; al-Ṣafadī *Wāfi* VI 322 no. 2829.

Leaving aside the judge 'Alī b. Salāma b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Karḥī, this circle encompassed a number of personalities of slightly higher scholarly distinction than those previously discussed and those remaining.

In the remaining pairs 9 & 3 and 10 & 4 and the solitary certificate #7, the share of "scholars" is 62.5 per cent (5 of 8), 61.5 per cent (8 of 13), and 35 per cent (7 of 20) respectively. The documentation based on short biographies will not be continued here; the reader is pointed towards short references in the index that will allow the above results to be checked.<sup>73</sup>

That women and slaves attended reading sessions is a well-known phenomenon. Interestingly, in the certificates studied here, we only encounter them in #7. The first female attendant mentioned is Zaynab bt. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Maymūn al-Dabbās; her father is briefly mentioned by Ibn al-Dubayṭī and he died in Jumādā II 520.<sup>74</sup> The second woman seems to bear the name Mustazīd, although I was unable to find this as a proper name anywhere. She was set free by a certain Abū l-Bahā' al-Mawṣilī as she is called his *'atāqa*, which is probably a misspelling of *'atīqa* "freedwoman". In line with common practice, both women are mentioned almost at the end of the certificate.<sup>75</sup>

As for the slaves, two of them are mentioned as *fatā* of 'Abdalḥaqq b. 'Abdalḥāliq b. Aḥmad, who was only five years old when the session took place.<sup>76</sup> Perhaps these two, Rayḥān<sup>77</sup> al-Miṣrī and Mas'ūd al-Bijāwī, had to accompany him to the session's venue. They took with them their friend (*ṣāḥib*) Karam. As previously mentioned, the presence of slaves in reading sessions is widely documented.<sup>78</sup>

Konrad Hirschler has proposed a fruitful distinction between scholarly and popular sessions. The percentage of scholars in his examples of scholarly sessions is between 50 and 60; in the popular sessions the share of scholars is

73 "Scholarly distinguished" persons, in the above-mentioned sense, in order of mention (omitting the attending master and the readers and writers who have already been dealt with) are, in 9&3: #9 person 2 = #3 person 5, #9 person 5 = #3 person 6, #9 person 7 = #3 person 3. In 10&4: #10 person 3 = #4 person 3, #10 person 6 = #4 person 6, #10 person 7 = #4 person 8, #10 person 12 = #4 person 9. In #7: persons 2, 7, 8, 12, 13 and 20.

74 Ibn al-Dubayṭī *Dayl* I 477f. no. 332.

75 Hirschler 2012, 50.

76 al-Ḍahabī *Siyar* XX 552f. no. 353; Ibn al-Dubayṭī *Dayl* IV 219–221. 'Abdalḥaqq was born 494 and died in Jumādā I 575, *dufina bi-maqbarat Aḥmad*. Both sources mention that he learnt from Ibn al-'Allāf.

77 Rayḥān is a common name among slaves, cf. Leder 1996, 308b (four out of six persons called Rayḥān are designated as *fatā* or *'atīq*).

78 Cf., e.g. Hirschler 2012, 43f.

between 25–30 per cent.<sup>79</sup> Taking this distinction as a basis, we can consider the chamberlain's sessions 9 & 3 (62.5 per cent), 10 & 4 (61.5 per cent), 11 & 6 (53.3 per cent), and 12 & 5 (66.6 per cent) as being scholarly and sessions 13 & 1 (30.8 per cent), 8 & 2 (35.3 per cent), and #7 (35 per cent) as sessions with a more popular audience.

## 7 The Sequence of Mentioning and Social Rank

Konrad Hirschler has argued that, in general, the sequence in the certificates of the names of attendants' of greater audiences seems to be related to their actual seating positions during the reading sessions.<sup>80</sup> A clear hint that this is, in fact, the case is given in pair 10 & 4, where the chamberlain's son Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad is not mentioned next to his father but in position 10 (from 13) and in position 11 (from 12), respectively. In this section, two phenomena will be examined: 1) the change of position within the pairs; and 2) the interdependence between social rank and position in the certificates.

In the following figures 1 to 6, a change of position is indicated by lines connecting all persons who attended both sessions of a pair; they are marked additionally in bold. The readers and writers are marked by (R) and (W). In general, there is a tendency to analogous sequence in the pairs, but this is more visible in pairs 8 & 2, 11 & 6 and 10 & 4 than in the remaining ones.

The first five persons in figure 1 are in identical positions; person 11 in #2 is mentioned later in #8 because of his partial attendance; consequently, only person 10 in #8 moves upwards in #2 to become person 6.

The first six persons in figure 2 are in identical positions; person 7 in #11 has moved downwards to become person 12 in #6; person 13 has moved upwards to become person 7.

The first three persons in figure 3 are in identical positions; the fact that persons 7 and 9 from #4 are mentioned at the end of #10 is due to their partial attendance. Consequently, for no obvious reason, only person 4 of #10 has moved downwards to become person 10 in #4; and person 8 has moved upwards to become person 5.

While the number of seemingly unmotivated place changes in these certificates does not exceed two and cases of partial attendance are mentioned at the end (of #8 and #10), things are less well-structured in the remaining certificates, as shown below in figures 4 to 6.

<sup>79</sup> Hirschler 2012, ch. 2.

<sup>80</sup> Hirschler 2011, 78–82; Hirschler 2012, 48–51.

#8 (part 6)

(the whole part 6)

- 1 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. M. (R)
- 2 Ja'far b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn
- 3 'Alī b. Hibatallāh b. 'Abdalsalām
- 4 'Alī b. al-Mubārak
- 5 'Alī b. Salāma b. 'Ubaydallāh
- 6 Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibatallāh
- 7 al-Mubārak b. 'Alī b. al-Manāṭiqī
- 8 'Abdallāh b. M. b. Maḥdī
- 9 'Uṭmān b. a. [? ?] al-Wāsiṭī
- 10 M. b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan
- 11 Aḥmad b. M. b. al-Ḥasan (W)

(something of it)

- 12 al-Faḍl b. Nāfi' b. Muḥriz
- 13 Ja'far b. Nāṣir b. al-Furāt

#2 (part 8)

(the whole part)

- 1 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. M. (R)
- 2 Ja'far b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn
- 3 'Alī b. Hibatallāh b. 'Abdalsalām
- 4 'Alī b. al-Mubārak
- 5 'Alī b. Salāma b. 'Ubaydallāh
- 6 M. b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan
- 7 M. b. M. b. Ṣāliḥ
- 8 Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibatallāh
- 9 al-Mubārak b. 'Alī b. al-Manāṭiqī
- 10 'Abdalbāqī b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad
- 11 al-Faḍl b. Nāfi' b. Muḥriz
- 12 'Uṭmān b. a. [? ?] al-Wāsiṭī
- 13 Aḥmad b. M. b. 'Uṣfūr
- 14 Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak b. M.
- 15 Aḥmad b. M. b. al-Ḥasan (W)

FIGURE 1 Seating order in pair 8 & 2

#11 (part 6)

(the whole part)

- 1 'Alī b. Hibatallāh b. M.
- 2 al-Ḥasan, brother of 1
- 3 al-Ḥusayn b. M. b. Ḥusraw (R)
- 4 Yaḥyā, son of 3
- 5 al-Mubārak b. 'Alī al-Muḥarrimī
- 6 M., son of 5
- 7 Bātākīn b. Bādīr
- 8 al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf
- 9 Yūsuf, son of 8
- 10 al-Mubārak b. 'Abdalwahhāb b. Maṣṣūr
- 11 [nameless son of 10]
- 12 'Umar b. Ḍufar b. Aḥmad (W)
- 13 M. b. Aḥmad b. Ṣadaqa

#6 (part 8)

(the whole part)

- 1 'Alī b. Hibatallāh b. M.
- 2 al-Ḥasan, brother of 1
- 3 al-Ḥusayn b. M. b. Ḥusraw (R)
- 4 Yaḥyā, son of 3
- 5 al-Mubārak b. 'Alī al-Muḥarrimī
- 6 M., son of 5
- 7 M. b. Aḥmad b. Ṣadaqa
- 8 Yaḥyā b. 'Alī b. Ismā'īl
- 9 al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf
- 10 Yūsuf, son of 9
- 11 M. b. M. b. al-Ṭayr
- 12 Bātākīn b. Bādīr
- 13 al-Mubārak b. 'Abdalwahhāb b. Maṣṣūr
- 14 'Umar b. Ḍufar b. Aḥmad (W)

FIGURE 2 Seating order in pair 11 & 6

Leaving the unusual position of the reader in #13 aside (figure 4), just one person (#13: 1 = #1: 2) is mentioned in the same position in both certificates. As can be seen from the (more or less) parallel lines, three pairs of attendants are mentioned in the same internal order: 3 and 4 (in #13) = 10 and 11 (in #1), who are father and son; 5 and 6 (in #13) = 7 and 8 (in #1), who are brothers; and 9 and 10 (in #13) = 5 and 6 (in #1). Nonetheless, the high degree of irregularity can only be partly explained by partial attendance: just once (#13 person 11) is partial atten-

## #10 (part 6)

*(the whole part and the preceding ones)*

- 1 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Funūn (R)
- 2 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd b. al-Muḥassin
- 3 Sa'īd b. M. b. al-Razzāz
- 4 M. b. a. l-Faṭḥ al-Hakkārī
- 5 Fayrūz b. 'Abdallāh al-Mawṣilī
- 6 M. b. M. b. al-Ṭayyib
- 7 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥayyāṭ
- 8 Ṣadiq (?) b. 'Uṭmān ...
- 9 [illegible] b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan
- 10 M., son of b. al-'Allāf
- 11 al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr b. M. (W)

*(10 leaves from the end)*

- 12 Hazārasb b. 'Iwaḍ b. al-Ḥasan
- 13 Aḥmad, son of 6

## #4 (part 8)

*(the whole part and the preceding ones)*

- 1 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Funūn (R)
- 2 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd b. al-Muḥassin
- 3 Sa'īd b. M. b. al-Razzāz
- 4 Fayrūz b. 'Abdallāh al-Mawṣilī
- 5 Ṣadiq (?) b. 'Uṭmān ...
- 6 M. b. M. b. al-Ṭayyib
- 7 Aḥmad, son of 6
- 8 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥayyāṭ
- 9 Hazārasb b. 'Iwaḍ b. al-Ḥasan
- 10 M. b. a. l-Faṭḥ al-Hakkārī
- 11 M., son of b. al-'Allāf
- 12 al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr b. M. (W)

FIGURE 3 Seating order in pair 10 &amp; 4

dance noted at the end, which explains the shift of person 12 in #13 downwards from position 1 in #1. In the two other cases of partial attendance (#13 person 9, #1 person 9), this cannot have led to a shift because these persons' position is clearly not at the end. The pair shows more change than stability.

In figure 5, only persons 1 and 4 are in the same seating positions in both certificates. Person 5 in #9 moved to the end of #3 for obvious reasons (i.e. partial attendance). The movement of person 2 in #9 (downwards to 5 in #3) and of persons 7 and 8 (upwards to 3 and 2) seems to be arbitrary. But seating order probably became less important in small circles like this one that only had 8 and 6 attendants.

We find persons 2 and 7 in identical positions in figure 6, and person 6 of #12 is found in an analogous position in #5. In #12, four persons move upwards (9, 10, 11, 12) while just one person moves downwards (8). This reveals more change than stability in this pair.

Hirschler states that the sequences in these certificates reflect seating order, and seating order is closely related to social hierarchy.<sup>81</sup> It is worth examining whether social graduation of single reading communities was a reason for more stability in the sequences in the pairs. Apparently, this was not always the case: two of the three pairs with a quite stable sequence, 10&4 and 11&6, show a mixed audience with respect to scholarly or other social prominence. Only in

81 See the passages quoted above, footnote 80.

#13 (part 6)

(from beginning to end)

- 1 M. b. al-Faḍl b. M.
- 2 M., son of 1
- 3 Hibatallāh b. M. b. al-Ṭayyib
- 4 M., son of 3
- 5 M., son of 4
- 6 Sa'īd, son of 4
- 7 al-Ḥusayn b. M. b. Aḥmad
- 8 'Alī b. al-Mu'ammil b. Muslim

-----  
(only from Bāb al-Idlāl)

- 9 Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. al-Faraj

-----  
(everything)

- 10 Jāmi' b. a. Sa'd al-Naqīb

-----  
(also from Bāb al-Idlāl)

- 11 Aḥmad b. Fāris al-Ḥayyāṭ

- 12 Hibatallāh b. M. b. 'Alī (R)

#1 (part 8)

(this part)

- 1 Hibatallāh b. M. b. 'Alī (R)
- 2 M. b. al-Faḍl b. M.
- 3 'Alī b. al-Mu'ammil b. Muslim
- 4 al-Ḥusayn b. M. b. Aḥmad
- 5 Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. al-Faraj
- 6 Jāmi' b. a. Sa'd al-Naqīb
- 7 M., son of 11
- 8 Sa'īd, son of 11

-----  
(only a part from it?)

- 9 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan

-----  
(everything)

- 10 Hibatallāh b. M. b. al-Ṭayyib
- 11 M., son of 10

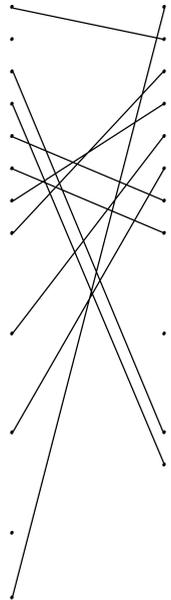


FIGURE 4 Seating order in pair 13 & 1

#9 (part 6)

(the whole part)

- 1 M. b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Kādīš (R)
- 2 Sa'dallāh b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn
- 3 Hibatallāh, brother of 2
- 4 'Alī b. M. b. al-Ḥasan
- 5 Aḥmad, son of 4
- 6 al-Mubārak b. Aḥmad b. M.
- 7 al-Mubārak b. Ja'far b. Muslim
- 8 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Alī al-Muḥarrimī (W)

#3 (part 8)

(the whole part)

- 1 M. b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Kādīš (R)
  - 2 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Alī al-Muḥarrimī
  - 3 al-Mubārak b. Ja'far b. Muslim
  - 4 'Alī b. M. b. al-Ḥasan
  - 5 Sa'dallāh b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (W)
- (just 15 leaves from the beginning)
- 6 Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. M.

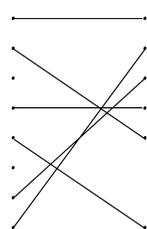


FIGURE 5 Seating order in pair 9 & 3

pair 8 & 2 are prominent personalities clearly mentioned at the beginning. For example, this distribution of people in #2 is evidenced by external sources (++) , with prominence visible in the certificate (+) and without any known distinction (-) (leaving aside the notary who is as usual mentioned in the last position): 1: ++ / 2: ++ / 3: ++ / 4: ++ / 5: + (qādī) / 6: - / 7: - / 8: ++ / 9: - / 10: - / 11: - / 12: -

## #12 (part 6)

*(the whole part)*

- 1 Aḥmad b. ‘Abdalqādir b. M.
- 2 ‘Abdalḥāliq, son of 1
- 3 Hibatalāh b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdalbāqī
- 4 ‘Abdallāh b. a. Bakr b. a. Bakr
- 5 M. b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abdalbāqī
- 6 a. l-Qāsim b. a. Ġālib al-Masāmīrī
- 7 Yaltakīn b. al-Sadīd Ṭayūq
- 8 ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. M. (R)

*(from Bāb lḥtiyāl ahl al-hawā)*

- 9 Hibatalāh b. M. b. a. Yāsir

*(everything)*

- 10 M. b. M. b. ‘Aṭṭāf
- 11 Barakāt b. al-Faḍl b. M.
- 12 Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥamza

## #5 (part 8)

*(the whole part)*

- 1 ‘Abdallāh b. M. b. Aḥmad
- 2 ‘Abdalḥāliq b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abdalqādir
- 3 Barakāt b. al-Faḍl b. M.
- 4 M. b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn
- 5 a. l-Qāsim b. a. Ġālib al-Masāmīrī
- 6 Hibatalāh b. M. b. a. Yāsir
- 7 Yaltakīn b. al-Sadīd Ṭayūq
- 8 Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥamza
- 9 a. Sa‘īd ...
- 10 M. b. M. b. ‘Aṭṭāf
- 11 ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. M. (R)

FIGURE 6 Seating order in pair 12 &amp; 5

/ 13: - / 14: - (a blind baker, *ḥabbāz ḍarīr*). This means that the widely differing degrees of stability in the sequence of mentioning or seating can be explained only in the case of one pair.

Besides pair 8 & 2, social graduation as a factor determining seating order becomes manifest only in the solitary certificate #7. Here, the distribution is as follows: 1: ++ / 2: ++ / 3: slave of 2 / 4: slave of 2 / 5: friend of 4 / 6: - (merchant) / 7: ++ / 8: ++ / 9: - / 10: - / 11: - / 12: ++ / 13: ++ / 14: - (a bee-keeper or honey-trader, *‘assāl*) / 15: - (a cane-trader, *qaṣabānī*) / 16: - / 17: - (female) / 18: - / 19: - (a freedwoman) / 20: ++. The surprising position of a quite prominent man, al-As‘ad b. Yalदारak al-Jibrīlī,<sup>82</sup> at the very end may be due to the fact that, originally, he was the writer and this information was omitted when the certificate was transferred from another manuscript.

In sum, social considerations played no notable role in the certificates or in seating order except for pair 8 & 2 and #7.

82 Ibn al-Dubayṭī *Dayl* II 525–527: al-As‘ad was a gatekeeper at the caliphal palace and respected transmitter of religious knowledge. Born in 470, he died at a very old age in Rabī‘ I or Rabī‘ II 574. The source mentions his hearing from Ibn al-‘Allāf.

## 8 Who Heard How Much?

As can be seen in the figures in the previous section, the number of participants who did not attend both sessions is limited, i.e. usually between one and two, with the exception of #2, where four persons had not attended the first session. Another exception is pair 12 & 5 where four (out of 12) and three (out of 11) attendants were absent at the counterpiece session. We cannot know whether this had any consequences for the absentees, although it is likely, as can be seen from the two instances of partial attendance within one session.

Partial attendance was recorded meticulously: sometimes by giving the chapters (*bāb*) within the larger units (*juz'*) that were heard (#13 twice, #12); sometimes by giving the number of leaves that were heard (#3, #10); sometimes in a vague manner (#8: something, *ba'dahu*); and in one instance (#1) the indication of the section heard is illegible. Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. al-Faraj missed some text in #13, but an additional note in the margin (#13a) states that this was repeated for him<sup>83</sup>—obviously to entitle him to further transmission. Al-Faḍl b. Nāfi' b. Muḥriz and Ja'far b. Nāṣir b. al-Furāt missed something in #8, but it is added that the chamberlain gave dispensation for what had escaped them<sup>84</sup>—again, for further transmission. In this case, we do not know what the grounds for this dispensation were.

## 9 The Certificates Transferred from the Copy of Abū Naṣr al-Iṣbahānī (#12, 7 and 5)

At the beginning of certificate #7, it is stated that it refers to the session read from Abū Naṣr al-Iṣbahānī's copy (on him, cf. section 4 above, reader no. 5). At the end of the certificate, 'Abdalḥāliq b. Aḥmad b. 'Umar states that he transferred this certificate, clearly from that copy. At the end of certificate #12, written in the same handwriting, he calls himself "Ibn Yūsuf". Certificate #5 is written in the same handwriting as #7 and 12;<sup>85</sup> although there is no indication of a transfer, this certificate might also have been transferred by 'Abdalḥāliq.

As argued earlier on the basis of the eulogy *raḥimahu llāhu* following the chamberlain's name, all three certificates were transferred after the latter's

83 The names of his father and his grandfather were exchanged here mistakenly.

84 *Wa-ajāza lahumā mā fātahumā al-ḥājib al-ajall a. l-Ḥasan.*

85 On the comparison of the three hands, cf. Seidensticker 2015, 82.

death in 505;<sup>86</sup> clearly, this must have happened before ‘Abdalḥāliq’s death in 548. He attended #12 together with his father Aḥmad (died 492); he attended #5 alone, and his son ‘Abdalḥaqq attended #7 alone.

What was the purpose of these transfers? Said Aljoumani has recently shed some light on transferred certificates in general and presented a taxonomy of them.<sup>87</sup> ‘Abdalḥāliq’s transfers can be subsumed under his categories 2.a and 2.b: later users or owners of a manuscript who thus recorded their right of further transmission. Whether ‘Abdalḥāliq simply used or actually owned the manuscript now in the possession of Gotha Research Library is unclear. In any case, he or his later quite famous son ‘Abdalḥaqq were the beneficiaries. The transferred certificates also provide additional information on the chamberlain’s activity in teaching the *I’tilāl al-qulūb*, which may be a purpose in its own right.

In the two editions based on the Rabat manuscript of the *I’tilāl al-qulūb*, the chain of transmitters for the first and second part mentions ‘Abdalḥāliq as a pupil of the chamberlain, but dates the session on which the transmission of al-Ḥarāʾiṭī’s book is based to Rabīʿ 1 489.<sup>88</sup> This shows that ‘Abdalḥāliq heard the book at least three times: in 488 (12 & 7); in 489 (attested to in the Rabat manuscript); and in 499 (#7).

## 10 Conclusion

Ibn al-‘Allāf was more a scholar than a political figure—nothing is known about his activity as a chamberlain from external sources. Three shorter biographies and countless single mentions bear witness to an above-average importance as transmitter of religious knowledge. The certificates reveal what this activity actually looked like, i.e. how he composed his reading communities. Persons of worldly importance were not his favourite clientele, but when, as in the case of pair 11 & 6, he made up his mind to teach such people, he managed to put some scholars of elevated rank at their side. The average size of the groups he gathered around him was twelve. In comparison with the Baghdad certificates analysed by Andreas Görke, where numbers of ten to 25 were the rule,<sup>89</sup> the chamberlain seems to have preferred smaller communities. As certificates 13

86 Seidensticker 2015, 83.

87 Aljoumani 2018.

88 Cf. al-Dimirdāš 2000, 13 and 57; al-Šayḥ 2001, 35 and 77.

89 Görke 2011, 107.

& 1, 8 & 2, and #7 show, he was also engaged in teaching non-scholarly parts of society, but his heart beat for persons with scholarly ambitions. How ethical his decisions were to allow absentees to transmit a text is not wholly clear but the additional note #13a shows that absence normally implied follow-up sessions. Social hierarchy may have been of minor importance for him; social graduation in seating order becomes visible in only two certificates (8 & 2 and #7). Female attendants and slaves, on the other hand, appear in only one certificate (#7). Although I was unable to find out the affiliations to the Sunnī law schools of more than roughly ten per cent of the attendants, the Ḥanbalī *madhab* seems to have dominated. I was able to identify six of them, while there were only two Ḥanafī and two Šāfi'i attendants. The dominance of Ḥanbalism confirms Görke's results (which, nota bene, refer to readings of a juridical text without direct *madhab* affiliation).<sup>90</sup> Remarkably, in pair 11 & 6, one Ḥanbalite, one Ḥanafite, and one Šāfi'ite attendant listened side by side,<sup>91</sup> although "the lines of conflict in Baghdad were [...] between Ḥanbalīs on the one side and Šāfi'īs and Ḥanafīs on the other side".<sup>92</sup> However, the text read under the chamberlain's supervision was not part of the juridical curriculum. We must bear in mind that all observations made in this article refer to readings of al-Ḥarā'iṭī's *I'tilāl al-qulūb*, a work of importance for what has been called love theory and which will have been read not least for his entertainment value.

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90 Ibid., 112.

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92 Görke 2011, 113.

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## 12 Index of Persons

Name elements in square brackets are supplemented from external sources. *Nisbas* or designations of profession have not been indexed. In those cases where a person is mentioned in the article, I indicate the footnote(s) with the biographical references. The numbers before and after the slash give the number of the certificate and the line.

- ‘Abdalbāqī b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Baṣrī, Abū Muḥammad 2/7
- ‘Abdalḥāliq b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abdalqādir b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, [Abū l-Faraj] 5/2, 7/10, 12/3, 12/11, footnote 59
- ‘Abdalḥaqq b. ‘Abdalḥāliq b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abdalqādir b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, Abū l-Ḥusayn 7/2, footnote 76
- ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Abī Bakr, Abū l-Faḍā’il 12/4
- ‘Abdallāh b. Mas’ūd b. al-Muḥassin al-Bayāḍī, Abū l-Faḍl 4/2, 10/2
- Only his father is mentioned in external sources, see Muḥammad Šādiq Muḥammad (al-Karbāsī): *Muḥjam al-šū‘arā’ al-nāzimīn fī l-Ḥusayn*, vol. III, London 2011, 110 footnote 1: al-Šarīf al-Bayāḍī: *huwa Mas’ūd b. ‘Abdal‘azīz b. al-Muḥassin b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abdalrazzāq, Abū Ja’far (399–468h), šā’ir ḥāšimī min ahl Baġdād, wulīda wa-tuwuffīya fihā, wa-summiya al-Bayāḍ[ī] nisbatan ilā libs al-bayād, atāruhū: dīwān šī’rihi*. Cf. also al-Šafādī *Wāfi* xxv 501–506.
- ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abdalbāqī al-Daqqāq [Ibn al-Ḥāḍiba], Abū l-Faḍā’il 5/1, footnote 68
- ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Maḥdī, Abū Ġālib 8/6
- ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥayyāṭ, Abū l-Muzaḥḥār 7/8
- ‘Abdalraḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Bunān al-Za’farānī, Abū l-Qāsim 7/3.
- Educator (*mu‘addib*) and transmitter, died 15 Rabī’ II 518, cf. Ibn al-Dubayṭī *Dayl* IV 5 no. 1777.
- ‘Abdalraḥmān b. al-Mubārak b. al-Mubārak al-Jaššās, Abū l-Ġanā’im 7/4

- ‘Abdalrahmān b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. al-Uḥuwwa al-Bayyī’, Abū l-Faṭḥ  
7/3
- Aḥmad b. ‘Abdalqādir b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, Abū l-Ḥusayn 12/3, footnote  
58
- Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥamza b. Ṣadaqa (?) 5/3, 12/9
- Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abdūn al-Bazzāz, Abū Sa‘d 3/5, 9/6  
*Muqrī’*, died Rabī‘ II 514; Ibn al-Dubayṭī *Dayl* II 299 no. 766; Ibn al-Jawzī *Muntaẓam*  
XVII 188 no. 3888.
- Aḥmad b. Fāris al-Ḥayyāṭ 13/8
- Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibatallāh b. al-‘Ālima al-Iskāf, [Abū l-Faḍl] 2/6, 8/5, footnote  
72
- Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad al-Ḥabbāz al-Ḍarīr, Abū Ḥarb 2/9
- Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Wāsiṭī b. al-‘Ukbarī, [Abū l-  
Ḥasan] 2/9, 8/7, footnote 38
- Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Baġdādī, Abū l-Ḥusayn 4/4,  
10/6
- Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Uṣfūr al-Wāsiṭī, Abū Sa‘d 2/8  
[Aḥmad b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abdallāh] al-Iṣbahānī, Abū Naṣr 7/1, footnotes 32 and  
33
- Aḥmad b. ‘Umar b. al-Faraj al-Dīnawarī al-Ibrī, Abū Naṣr 1/5, 13/6, 13a/1, footnote  
55
- ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥayyāṭ al-Baġdādī, Abū l-Ḥasan 4/4, 10/4  
Mentioned in al-Ṣafādī *Wāfi* XXVIII 167 as father of two teachers of Ibn al-Najjār al-  
Wā‘iz (died 597).
- ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Funūn al-Baġlī al-Baġdādī, Abū l-Ḥasan 2/2, 4/2,  
5/4, 8/2, 10/2, 12/6, footnotes 26 and 27
- ‘Alī b. Hibatallāh b. ‘Abdalsalām, Abū l-Ḥasan 2/3, 8/3, footnote 70
- ‘Alī b. Hibatallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Muṭṭalib, Abū l-Makārim 6/2, 11/1, foot-  
note 44
- ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan al-Iskāf, Abū l-Ḥasan 1/7, footnote 57
- ‘Alī b. al-Mu‘ammil b. Muslim al-Kātib, Abū l-Qāsim 1/3, 13/5
- ‘Alī b. al-Mubārak, Abū l-Ḥasan 2/4, 8/4, footnote 71
- ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī [b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Ya‘qūb al-Baġdādī] b. al-‘Allāf,  
Abū l-Ḥasan 1/1, 2/1, 3/1, 4/1, 5/1, 6/5, 7/1, 8/1, 8/9, 9/2, 10/1, 11/5, 12/1, 13/1, 13b/5,  
footnotes 11 and 14
- ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abdūn al-Bazzāz, Abū l-Ḥasan 9/5
- ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Abī ‘Umar al-Bazzāz, Abū l-Ḥasan 3/3  
According to Ibn al-Jawzī *Muntaẓam* XVIII 99 no. 4194, he was born in [4]70 and  
died Ša‘bān 549. He was a respected transmitter, *wa-kāna min ahl al-sunna wa-l-ṣidq*  
*‘alā ṭariq al-salaf*.

‘Alī b. Salāma b. ‘Ubaydallāh al-Karḥī, Abū l-Ḥasan 2/4, 8/4  
 b. al-‘Ālima → Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibatallāh  
 b. al-‘Allāf → ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī  
 al-As‘ad b. Yaldarak b. Abī l-Liqā’ al-Jibrīlī, [Abū Aḥmad] 7/9, footnote 82  
 b. ‘Aṭṭāf → Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Aṭṭāf al-Mawṣilī

Abū l-Bahā’ al-Mawṣilī, manumitter 7/8  
 Bahā’ al-Šaraf b. Ja‘far b. ‘Abdalšamad b. al-Mutawakkil ‘alā Allāh → [al-Ḥasan] b.  
 Ja‘far b. ‘Abdalšamad  
 Abū Bakr b. Sinān b. Maṣṣūr b. Abī l-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Qaṣabānī 7/7  
 Barakāt b. al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad al-Fāriqī, [Abū l-Qāsim or Abū l-Faḍl] 5/2, 12/9,  
 footnote 67  
 Bātakīn b. Bādir 6/10, 11/8, footnotes 47 and 48

al-Faḍl b. Nāfi‘ b. Muḥriz al-Šajārī 2/7, 8/8  
 Faraj b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥurāsānī, Abū ‘Alī 7/6  
 Transmitter and poet, died 14 Jumādā II 546: al-Šafadī *Wāfi* XXIII 744 no. 510; al-  
 Ḍahābī *Ta’rīḥ* XXXVII 253 no. 340. Both sources mention that he learned from Ibn  
 al-‘Allāf. In Ibn ‘Imādaldīn *Ḥarīda* II 186–194 a lot of his poetry is presented (*Ḥarīdat  
 al-qaṣr wa-jarīdat al-‘aṣr ta’līf ‘Imādaldīn al-Iṣbahānī al-Kātib*, vol. 2, ed. Muḥammad  
 Bahjat al-Aṭārī, Baghdad 1964).  
 Fayrūz b. ‘Abdallāh al-Mawṣilī, Abū l-Barakāt 4/3, 10/3

al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Yūsuf al-Muḥawwalī, Abū ‘Alī 6/9, 11/9, footnote 50  
 al-Ḥasan b. Hibatallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Muṭṭalib, Abū l-Muẓaffar 6/4, 11/5,  
 footnote 45

[al-Ḥasan] b. Ja‘far b. ‘Abdalšamad b. al-Mutawakkil ‘alā Allāh, [Abū ‘Alī] Bahā’ al-  
 Šaraf 7/5  
 Descendent of the Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 232–247/847–861), born 477,  
 died Jumādā II 554. Described as *muqrī’* and *adīb*, he composed a book *Sur‘at  
 al-jawāb wa-mudā‘abat al-aḥbāb* and collected biographical information on the  
 caliphs al-Mustaršid (r. 512–529/118–1135) and al-Muqtafi (r. 530–555/1136–1160): al-  
 Ḍahābī *Ta’rīḥ* XXXVIII 145 no. 127; Ibn al-Jawzī *Muntaẓam* XVIII 137 no. 4231; Ibn  
 Rajab *Dayl* II 71–76 no. 130 (all sources mention his hearing from Ibn al-‘Allāf).

Ibn al-Haybā → al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad  
 Hazārasb b. ‘Iwaḍ b. al-Ḥasan al-Harawī, [Abū l-Ḥayr] 4/5, 10/6  
 Diligent traditionarian who took up residence in Baghdad and supported needy  
 scholars, died Rabī‘ I 515; Ibn al-Jawzī *Muntaẓam* XVII 202 no. 3908; Ibn al-‘Imād  
*Šadarāt* VI 78; Ibn al-Aṭīr *Kāmil* IX 212; al-Šafadī *Wāfi* XXVII 342 no. 307.

Hibatallāh b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdalbāqī 12/4

- Hibatallāh b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ayyūb al-Bazzāz, Abū l-Ma'ālī 9/4  
 Hibatallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan 1/2, 13/8, footnote 28  
 Hibatallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib, Abū l-Qāsim 1/9, 13/3  
 Hibatallāh b. (Abī Ġālib) Muḥammad b. Abī Yāsir al-Ḥayyāt, Abū Muḥammad 5/3,  
 12/7, 12/10, footnote 65  
 al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥaybā, Abū 'Abdallāh 1/4, 13/4  
 al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusraw al-Balḥī, Abū 'Abdallāh 6/6, 11/6, footnote  
 31  
 al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamīs al-Mawṣilī, [Abū 'Abdallāh] 4/5, 10/5,  
 footnote 40

al-Iṣbahānī, Abū Naṣr → [Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. 'Abdallāh al-Iṣbahānī]

- Ja'far b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sarrāj, Abū Muḥammad 2/2, 8/3, footnote 69  
 Ja'far b. Nāṣir b. al-Furāt 8/8  
 Jāmi' b. Abī Sa'd al-Naqīb, Abū l-'Izz 1/6, 13/7

Karam 7/3

- Abū Manṣūr b. Sinān [Šaybān?] b. Manṣūr b. Abī l-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Qaṣabānī 7/6  
 Mas'ūd al-Bijāwī [?] 7/2  
 Mas'ūd b. Ḥamīs al-'Assāl 7/6  
 al-Mubārak b. 'Abdalwahrāb b. Manṣūr al-Qazzāz, Abū Naṣr 6/11, 11/10  
 al-Mubārak b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Qaṣabānī, Abū Naṣr 9/6  
 al-Mubārak b. 'Alī b. al-Manāṭiqī al-Faraḍī [?], Abū Ġālib 2/6, 8/5  
 al-Mubārak b. 'Alī [b. al-Ḥusayn] al-Muḥarrimī, Abū Sa'd 6/7, 11/7, footnote  
 46

al-Mubārak b. Ja'far b. Muslim al-Hāšimī, Abū l-Karam 3/3, 9/7  
 Traditionarian and *faqīh*, died Ḍū l-ḥijja 518 aged 40: Ibn al-Jawzī *Muntaẓam*  
 XVII 227 no. 3935.

al-Mubārak b. al-Mubārak al-Jaṣṣās, Abū l-Karam 7/4, 7/6  
 Ibn al-Dubayṭī *Day'* v 31 Nr. 2610 mentions a certain al-Mubārak b. al-Mubārak b.  
 Zayd, Abū l-Karam b. al-Ṭabaqī *al-muqri'* al-Kūfī who settled in Baghdad. As he says  
 that he heard from [Ibn] al-'Allāf he is probably the man mentioned in the certifi-  
 cate. Died Rabī' II 563.

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdalbāqī al-Daqqāq, [Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥāḍiba] 12/5, foot-  
 note 60

- Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, Abū al-Ṣalt [?] 7/5  
 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣadaqa, Abū l-Riḍā 6/8, footnote 49  
 Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdalmalik, Abū l-Barakāt 2/4, 8/7

- Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Raba‘ī 5/2  
 al-Šafadī *Wāfi* xx 510: Šaraf al-Dawla b. Šadaqa al-Kātib (died 552!) heard from Muḥammad’s father ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Raba‘ī and from Ibn al-‘Allāf.
- Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-‘Allāf, Abū Ṭāhir 4/5, 10/5  
 A son of the chamberlain, who, according to al-Ḍahabī *Sīyar* XIX 243 (in Ibn al-‘Allāf’s biography), later transmitted from his father.
- Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. Dallāl al-Šaybānī, Abū Bakr 1/3, 13/2  
 Cf. his son Muḥammad in 13/2.
- Muḥammad b. Abī l-Faṭḥ al-Hakkārī, Abū ‘Abdallāh 4/5, 10/3
- Muḥammad b. Hibatallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib, Abū l-Ġanā‘im 1/10, 13/3
- Muḥammad b. al-Mubārak b. ‘Alī al-Muḥarrimī, Abū l-Ma‘ālī 6/7, 11/7
- Muḥammad b. Muḥammad [b. Muḥammad] b. ‘Aṭṭāf al-Mawšilī, [Abū l-Faḍl] 5/4, 12/9, footnote 66
- Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. Dallāl al-Šaybānī, Abū Maṣṣūr 13/2, footnote 52
- Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Hibatallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib, Abū l-Faṭḥ 1/6, 13/4
- Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Šāliḥ, Abū ‘Abdallāh 2/5
- Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayr al-Qaṣrī, Abū l-Faraj 6/10, footnote 51
- Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib, Abū l-Faḍl 4/4, 10/4  
 Ibn al-Jawzī *Muntaẓam* xvii 98 no. 3761: al-Šabbāg, born Ḍū l-ḥijja 420, died 1. Rabī‘ 1 499, short mention as transmitter.
- Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaydallāh [b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad] b. Kādiš al-‘Ukbarī, Abū Yāsir 3/2, 9/2, footnote 30
- Mustazīd [?] bint ‘Abdallāh (‘*atūqat* [?] Abī l-Bahā’ al-Mawšilī) 7/8
- Abū Naṣr al-Iṣbahānī → [Aḥmad b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abdallāh]
- Abū l-Qāsim b. Abī Ġālib al-Masāmīrī → [Zāhir b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad]
- Rayḥān al-Miṣrī [?] 7/2
- Sa‘d b. ‘Abdallāh (*mawlā* al-Ḥummī) 7/4
- Sa‘dallāh b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ayyūb al-Bazzāz, Abū Muḥammad 3/4, 9/4, footnote 36
- Sa‘īd b. Muḥammad b. Hibatallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib, [Abū Sa‘d] 1/6, 13/4, footnote 53
- Sa‘īd b. Muḥammad b. al-Razzāz al-Baġdādī, Abū Maṣṣūr 4/3, 10/3  
 Ibn al-Jawzī *Muntaẓam* xviii 40 no. 4106: Sa‘īd b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Maṣṣūr b. al-Razzāz, Šāfi‘ite *faqīh*, born [4]62, learned *fiqh* with Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī and

others, taught at the Nizāmiyya *madrasa* and became head of the Šāfi'ite school in the capital. He died 11 Dū l-qa'da 539.

al-Sarrāj → Ja'far b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan

Šadiq [?] b. 'Utmān al-Barbarī [?] al-Dībājī 4/3, 10/4

'Ubaydallāh b. 'Alī al-Muḥarrimī, Abū l-Qāsim 3/2, 9/8, footnote 35

b. al-'Ukbarī → Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad

'Umar b. Zūfar b. Aḥmad, [Abū Ḥafš] 6/12, 11/11, footnote 41

'Utmān b. Abī ??? al-??? al-Wāsiṭī, Abū 'Amr 2/8, 8/6

Yaḥyā b. 'Alī b. Ismā'īl, Abū l-Qāsim 6/8

Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusraw al-Balḥī, Abū l-Qāsim 6/6, 11/7

Yaltakīn b. al-Sadīd Ṭayyūq 5/3, 12/6, footnote 64

Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Muḥawwalī 6/10, 11/9

[Zāhir b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad,] Abū l-Qāsim b. Abī Ġālib al-Masāmīrī [al-Bazzāz]

5/2, 12/5, footnote 62

Zaynab bint Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Maymūn al-Dabbās 7/7

On her father, see footnote 74

### 13 Arabic Text

This is not an attempt to produce a diplomatic edition that seeks to reproduce the original orthography. Its purpose is to clarify the ambiguities of the certificates that often omit diacritical points and, at times, are almost or completely illegible. Habits of individual scribes are not regarded as pertinent for this; for these, the reader is referred to the pictures of the manuscript. Nevertheless, defective writings, such as *المبرك* or *القاض* have been left unchanged. On the other hand, in addition to the dots on *tā' marbūṭa* and to medial *hamzas* as in *الرئيس* I also added *hamzas* without a carrying letter as in *قراءة* or *الجزء* as a careful approximation to modern orthography. The rare vowel signs, *sukūns*, and *šaddas* of the original were ignored as they are sometimes difficult to relate to the letters and are normally used with names that are easy to vocalise anyway.

- Letters in square brackets indicate letters or words that have been added by me;
- ... marks (three) illegible letters;
- \_\_\_ marks (three) illegible words;
- ~~crossed-out~~ text is crossed out in the ms.;

- text<sup>2</sup> marks doubtful readings.
- Red colour of script marks the attending master, green colour the reader, blue colour the writer, and brown colour the date.

1

(1) قرأ هذا الجزء على الحاجب الجليل ابى الحسن على بن محمد بن على بن العلاف (2) رضى الله عنه هبة الله بن محمد بن على بن الحسن فسمعه

- الرئيس الاجل (3) ابو بكر محمد بن الفضل بن محمد بن دلال الشيباني
- وابو القسم علي بن المؤمل بن مسلم الكاتب (4)
- والشيخ ابو عبد الله الحسين بن محمد بن احمد المعروف بابن الهبيي
- والشيخ ابو نصر (5) احمد بن عمر بن الفرج الابرى
- وابو العز جامع بن ابى سعد النقيب (6)
- وابو الفتح محمد
- وسعيد ابنا ابى الغنائم محمد بن هبة الله بن محمد بن الطيب (7)
- وسمع من ..... ابو الحسن على بن الحسين بن الحسن الاسكاف (8) الى آخر الجزء وذلك في ربيع الاول سنة ست وثمانين واربعمائة (9)
- وسمع جميعه ايضا الشيخ الجليل السيد ابو القسم هبة الله بن (10) محمد بن الطيب
- وولده ابو الغنائم محمد في التاريخ المذكور

2

- (1) سمع جميع الجزء على الحاجب الاجل السيد ابى الحسن على بن محمد بن على بن العلاف المقرئ رضى الله عنه (2) بقراءة الشيخ ابى الحسن على بن احمد بن محمد بن فنون نفعه الله بالعلم
- الشيخ الامام السيد ابو محمد جعفر بن احمد بن (3) الحسين السراج القارى
  - والرئيس الأجل ابو الحسن على بن هبة الله بن عبد السلم
  - والشيخ الجليل المقرئ (4) ابو الحسن على بن المبارك
  - والقاض ابو الحسن على بن سلامة بن عبيد الله الكرخي
  - والرئيس الجليل ابو (5) البركات محمد بن على بن الحسن بن عبد الملك
  - والرئيس ابو عبد الله محمد بن محمد بن صالح

- والشيوخ (6) ابو الفضل احمد بن الحسن بن هبة الله بن العالمة الاسكاف
  - وابو غالب المبرك بن علي بن المناطقى (7) القرضى
  - وابو محمد عبد الباقي بن الحسن بن احمد البصرى
  - والشريف الفضل بن نافع بن محرز الشجرى (8)
  - وابو عمرو عثمان بن أبي النحاش؟ العزيز؟ الواسطى
  - والشيخ ابو سعد احمد بن محمد بن عصفور الواسطى (9)
  - وابو حرب احمد بن المبرك بن محمد الخباز الضير
- وكتب السماع احمد بن محمد بن الحسن بن محمد (10) الواسطى المعروف بابن العكبى  
وذلك في ربيع الاول من سنة سبع وثمانين واربع مائة

3

- (1) سمع جميع الجزء على الحاجب الاجل ابى الحسن على بن محمد بن علي بن العلاف رضى الله عنه
  - (2) بقراءة الشيخ ابى ياسر محمد بن عبيد الله بن كادش العكبى
  - والشيوخ الشيخ ابو القسم عبيد الله (3) بن علي المخرمى
  - وابو الكرم المبارك بن جعفر بن مسلم الهاشمى
  - وابو الحسن على (4) بن محمد بن ابى عمر البزاز
- وكتب السماع سعد الله بن علي بن الحسين بن ايوب البزاز (5)
- وسمع من اوله خمسة عشر ورقة ابو سعد احمد بن علي بن محمد بن الحسن بن عبدون البزاز (6)
- وذلك يوم الاربعاء سادس شهر رمضان من سنة سبع وثمانين واربع مائة

4

- (1) سمع جميعه مع ما قبله من الاجزاء على الحاجب الجليل ابى الحسن على بن محمد بن علي بن العلاف
- المقرى ايدى الله (2) بقراءة الشيخ ابى الحسن على بن احمد بن فنون البغلى البغدادى
- المشايخ السادة الشريف ابو الفضل عبد الله بن مسعود بن المحسن البياضى (3)
- وابو منصور سعيد بن محمد بن الرزاز البغدادى
- وابو البركات فيروز بن عبد الله الموصلى
- وابو بكر صديق؟ بن عثمان البربرى؟ الديباجى (4)

- و ابو الفضل محمد بن محمد بن الطيب
- وولده ابو الحسين احمد
- و ابو الحسن على بن احمد الخياط البغداديون
- و هزارسب بن عوض بن الحسن الهروي (5)
- و ابو عبد الله محمد بن ابي الفتح الهكاري
- و ولد الحاجب ابو طاهر محمد
- و مثبت الاسماء الحسين بن نصر بن محمد بن نحيس الموصلی (6)
- و ذلك في يوم الاربعاء --- شوال سنة تسعين واربعة مائة
- بمدينة السلام جانبها الشرقي نقر اخلافة مسجد الاجل المظفر ايداه [الله]

5

- (1) سمع جميعه على الحاجب ابي الحسن على بن محمد بن علي بن العلاف
- ابو الفضائل عبد الله بن محمد بن احمد بن عبد الباقي الدقاق (2)
- و عبد الخالق بن احمد بن عبد القادر بن محمد بن يوسف
- و بركات بن الفضل الفارقي
- و محمد بن علي بن الحسين الربيعي
- و ابو القسم بن ابي (3) غالب المساميري
- و هبة الله بن ابي غالب بن ابي ياسر الخياط
- و يلتكين بن السديد طايوق
- و احمد بن علي بن حمزة بن صدقة؟
- و أبو سعيد (4) -----
- و محمد بن محمد بن عطف الموصلی
- بقرأة على بن احمد بن محمد بن فنون
- في ذى الحجة سنة ثمان وثمانين واربعة مائة

- (1) سمع جميع هذا الجزء بمجلس
- مولانا السيد الاجل عز الدولة سيد (2) الرؤساء ابى المكارم على بن مولانا مجد الدين شرف الاسلام نصير الامام (3) ظهير الدولة بهاء الملة زعيم الامة نخر الوزراء ابى المعالى هبة الله بن محمد بن على (4) بن المطلب ادام الله سلطانه
- وسمع معه اخوه المولى ابو المظفر الحسن (5)
- على الحاجب الاجل ابى الحسن على بن محمد بن على بن العلاف المقرئ (6) بقراءة الشيخ ابى عبد الله الحسين بن محمد بن خسرو البلخي
- وسمع ولده ابو القسم يحيى (7)
- والقاضى الاجل جمال القضاة ابو سعد المبرك بن على الخرمى
- وولده ابو المعالي (8) محمد
- والاجل زعيم الرؤساء ابو الرضا محمد بن احمد بن صدقة
- والرئيس الاجل ابو القسم (9) يحيى بن على بن اسمعيل
- والشيخ الاديب ابو على الحسن بن على بن يوسف الخولى
- وولده (10) يوسف
- وابو الفرج محمد بن محمد بن الطير القصرى
- والحاجب باتكين بن بادر؟ (11)
- وابو نصر المبارك بن عبد الوهاب بن منصور القزاز
- وذلك في صفر (12) من سنة احدى وخمسمائة
- وقد سمعه مع غير هذه الطبقة مثبت الاسماء عمر بن ظفر بن احمد

- (1) سمع جميعه من نسخة ابى نصر الاصبهاني على الحاجب ابى الحسن على بن محمد بن على بن العلاف
- رحمهما الله بقراءة ابى نصر (2)
- ابو الحسين عبد الحق بن عبد الخالق بن احمد بن عبد القادر بن محمد بن يوسف
- وفتياه ريجان المصرى؟
- ومسعود البجاوى؟ (3)

- وصاحبه كرم
- وابو الفتح عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن احمد بن علي بن الاخوة البيع
- وابو القسم عبد الرحمن بن احمد بن محمد بن بنان (4) الزعفراني
- وابو الكرم المبارك بن المبارك الجصاص
- وابنه ابو الغنائم عبد الرحمن
- وسعد بن عبد الله (5) مولى الخمي؟
- والر... ان ابو الصلت؟ محمد بن احمد بن محمد
- وبهاء الشرف بن جعفر بن عبد الصمد بن المتوكل على الله (6)
- وابو علي فرج بن احمد بن علي الخراساني
- وابو الكرم المبارك
- ومسعود بن خميس العسال
- وابو منصور بن (7) سنان؟ بن منصور بن ابي الحسن بن علي القصباني
- واخوه ابو بكر
- وزينب بنت محمد بن علي بن ميمون الدباس (8)
- وابو المظفر عبد الله بن طاهر بن علي بن الخياط
- ومستزيد؟ بنت عبد الله عتاقة ابي البهاء (9) الموصلی
- والاسعد بن يلدرك بن ابي اللقاء الجبريلي
- في رجب سنة تسع وتسعين واربع مائة (10)
- نقله عبد الخالق بن احمد بن عبد القادر بن محمد بن يوسف صلاة؟ الله \_ علي رسوله سيدنا؟ محمد النبي؟
- وسلم؟ تسليما؟ ه

8

(1) سمع جميع الجزء السادس من كتاب اعتلال القلوب على الحاجب الاجل السيد ابي الحسن على بن محمد بن (2) علي بن العلاف رضی الله عنه بقراءة الشيخ ابي الحسن على بن احمد بن محمد بن فنون نفعه الله بالعلم

- الشيخ (3) الامام العالم ابو محمد جعفر بن احمد بن الحسين السراج المقرئ
- والرئيس الاجل ابو الحسن على بن هبة الله بن (4) عبد السلم

- والشيخ الجليل المقرئ ابو الحسن على بن المبارك
- والقاضي ابو الحسن على بن سلامة بن عبيد الله (5) الكرخي
- والشيخ ابو الفضل احمد بن الحسن بن هبة الله بن العالمة
- وابو غالب المبارك بن علي بن المناطقي الفرضي؟ (6)
- وابو غالب عبد الله بن محمد بن مهدي
- وابو عمرو عثمان بن ابي النحاش؟ العزيز؟ الواسطي
- والرئيس الجليل (7) ابو البركات محمد بن علي بن الحسن بن عبد الملك
- وكتب السماع احمد بن محمد بن الحسن بن محمد الواسطي (8) المعروف بابن العكبري
- وسمع بعضه الشريف الفضل بن نافع الشجري
- وجعفر بن ناصر بن الفرات (9) واجاز لهما ما فاتهما الحاجب الاجل ابو الحسن
- وذلك في ربيع الاول من سنة سبع وثمانين واربعمائة

## 9

- (1) سمع جميع الجزء السادس من كتاب اعتلال القلوب على الحاجب الاجل السيد (2) ابي الحسن علي بن محمد بن علي بن العلاف رضى الله عنه بقراءة الشيخ ابي ياسر (3) محمد بن عبيد الله بن كادش العكبري
- الشيخوخ ولدا الشيخ ابي (4) الحسن على بن الحسين ابن ايوب البزاز ابو محمد سعد الله
  - وابو المعالي (5) هبة الله بن علي بن ايوب
  - وابو الحسن على بن محمد بن الحسن بن (6) عبدون البزاز
  - وولده ابو سعد احمد
  - وابو نصر المبارك بن احمد (7) بن محمد بن القصباني
  - وابو الكرم المبارك بن جعفر بن مسلم الهاشمي (8)
  - وكتب السماع ابو القسم عبيد الله بن علي الخرمي
  - وذلك (9) في رجب من سنة سبع وثمانين واربعمائة

(1) سمع جميع هذا الجزء مع ما قبله من الاجزاء على **الحاجب الجليل ابى الحسن على بن محمد بن على بن العلاف المقرئ** ايده الله (2) بقراءة الشيخ ابى الحسن على بن احمد بن فنون البغلي البغدادي المشايخ

السادة

- الشريف ابو الفضل عبد الله بن مسعود بن المحسن البياضى (3)
- وابو منصور سعيد بن محمد بن الرزاز البغدادي
- وابو عبد الله محمد بن ابى الفتح الهكاري
- وابو البركات فيروز بن عبد الله الموصلى (4)
- وابو الفضل محمد بن محمد بن الطيب
- وابو الحسن على بن احمد انلياط البغدادي -
- وابو بكر صديق؟ بن عثمان البربري؟ الديباجي
- و- بن على بن الحسن (5)
- وولد الحاجب ابو طاهر محمد

ومثبت الاسماء الحسين بن نصر بن محمد بن خميس الموصلى

وذلك في يوم الثلاثاء تاسع عشر شوال سنة تسعين واربعة مائة (6)

- سمع من آخره خمسة اوراق هزارسب بن عوض بن الحسن الهروي
- وكذلك سمع ابو الحسين احمد بن محمد بن الطيب البغدادي (7)
- في تاريخ السماع ببغداد جانبها الشرقي نقرأ لخلافة مسجد الاجل المظفر ايده الله ه

(1) سمع جميع هذا الجزء بمجلس

- المولى السيد الاجل عز الدولة (2) سيد الرؤساء ابى المكارم على بن مولانا مجد الدين شرف الاسلام (3) نصير الامام ظهير الدولة بهاء الملة زعيم الامة نقرأ الوزراء ابى المعالى (4) هبة الله بن محمد بن على بن المطلب صفى امير المؤمنين ادام الله ايامه

- وسمع (5) معه اخوه المولى ابو المظفر الحسن على **الحاجب ابى الحسن على بن محمد** (6) **بن على بن**

**العلاف المقرئ** بقراءة الشيخ ابى عبد الله الحسين بن محمد بن خسرو (7) البلخي

- وسمع ولده ابو القسم يحيى

- والقاضي الاجل جمال القضاة ابو سعد (8) المبارك بن علي المخرمي
- وولده ابو المعالي محمد
- والحاجب باتكين بن بادر؟ (9)
- والشيخ الاديب ابو علي الحسن بن علي بن يوسف المحولي
- وولده يوسف (10)
- وابو نصر المبارك بن عبد الوهاب بن منصور القزاز
- وولده سمعه (11)

مثبت الاسماء بغير هذا التاريخ عمر بن ظفر بن احمد

في محرم سنة (12) احدى وخمسمائة

- (written vertically in the right margin) والاجل زعيم الرؤساء ابو الرضا محمد بن احمد بن صدقة

12

(1) سمع جميع هذا الجزء وهو السادس من اعتلال القلوب (2) علي الحاجب ابي الحسن علي بن محمد بن علي بن العلاف رحمه الله

- الشيخ (3) ابو الحسين احمد بن عبد القادر بن محمد بن يوسف
- وولده عبد الخالق
- و... (4) هبة الله بن علي بن عبد الباقي
- وابو الفضائل عبد الله ولد الشيخ ابي بكر بن (5) ابي بكر
- [و] محمد بن احمد بن عبد الباقي الدقاق
- وصاحبه ابو القسم بن ابي غالب (6) المساميري
- ويلتكين بن السديد طايوق
- بقراءة ابي الخير علي (7) بن احمد بن محمد بن فنون
- وسمع من باب احتيال اهل الهوى ابو محمد (8) هبة الله بن محمد الفارقي ابي غالب بن ابي ياسر الخياط
- وسمع الجميع (9) محمد بن محمد بن عطف
- وبركات بن الفضل بن محمد الفارقي

- وابو محمد احمد بن (10) على بن حمزة بن صدقة
- وكل سماع ابى محمد هبة الله بن ابى غالب (11)
- وذلك فى ذى الحجة سنة ثمان وثمانين واربع مائة نقله ابن يوسف

13

- (1) بلغ سماعا من اوله الى اخره على الحاجب الجليل ابى الحسن على بن محمد بن على بن العلاف رضى الله عنه (2) وسمع ابى السادة
- ابو بكر محمد بن الفضل بن محمد بن دلال الشيبانى
  - وولده ابو منصور (3) محمد
  - والشيخ الجليل ابو القسم هبة الله بن محمد بن الطيب
  - وولده ابو الغنائم محمد (4)
  - وولده محمد
  - وسعيد
  - والشيخ ابو عبد الله الحسين بن محمد بن احمد المعروف (5) بابن الهيبى
  - وابو القسم على بن المؤمل بن مسلم الكاتب
  - وسمع من (6) باب الادلال والتجنى - ابو نصر احمد بن عمر بن الفرج الابرى
  - وسمع جميعه (7) ابو العز جامع بن ابى سعد النقيب
  - وسمع ايضا - من باب التجنى والادلال (8) احمد بن فارس الخياط
  - بقراءة هبة الله بن محمد بن على بن الحسن
  - وذلك (9) فى ربيع الاول من سنة ست وثمانين واربع مائة

13a

- (1) واعيد لابى نصر احمد بن الفرج بن عمر (2) الدينورى الابرى ما فاته (3) وعمل له جميع الكتاب
- سماعا (4) وللجماعة -

قَالِدًا مُحَمَّدًا بِنَ كَثِيرِ الْمُصَنِّعِ عَنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ الْحُسَيْنِ عَنِ هِشَامِ  
 بْنِ حَسَّانَ عَنِ مَهْرٍ سَبْرِيٍّ عَنِ عَمْرِو بْنِ الْخَطَّابِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ  
 عَنْهُ وَمَا كَانَ مِنْ قِصَّةِ نَضْرَةَ حِجَّاجٍ وَإِنَّا إِذَا كَرِهْنَا  
 الْحَدِيثَ بِطَوِيلِهِ وَذَكَرْنَا أَنَّ اللَّهَ حَالِ نَضْرَةَ حِجَّاجِ  
 فِي مَوْضِعِهِ إِنْ سَأَلَ اللَّهُ الْآتِي بِإِلَى قِرَاسِهِ عَمْرُو بْنُ حَمَةَ  
 اللَّهُ مَا أَوْصَحَهَا وَالِي ظَنَّهُ مَا أَصْدَقَهُ وَالِي قَبِيحٍ مَا  
 أَرْتَكِبُهُ نَضْرَةَ مَا أَفْطَحَهُ حَدِيثًا مُحَمَّدًا وَكَأَنَّهَا  
 صَلِحَ بْنِ أَحْمَدَ فِي الْحَدِيثِ ابْنِ قَالِدِ أَحْمَدَ عَبْدِ الصَّمَدِ عِنْدَ  
 الْوَارِثِ قَالِدِ أَحْمَدَ أَوْ دُرَّابِي الْفَرَاتِ قَالِدِ أَحْمَدَ  
 عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بَرِيدٍ عَنِ عَمْرِو بْنِ الْخَطَّابِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ  
 بِحَوَاهِ ٦ يَتْلُوهُ إِنْ شَاكَ اللَّهُ بِهِ الْقَوَائِدَ الَّتِي بَطِئَتْ  
 حَدِيثًا مُحَمَّدًا صَلِحَ أَحْمَدَ قَالِدِ أَحْمَدَ ابْنِ الْخَطَّابِ  
 عَبْدِ الصَّمَدِ عِنْدَ الْوَارِثِ قَالِدِ أَحْمَدَ أَوْ دُرَّابِي  
 أَبِي الْفَرَاتِ قَالِدِ أَحْمَدَ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بَرِيدٍ  
 قَالِدِ أَحْمَدَ عَنِ عَمْرِو بْنِ الْخَطَّابِ بِطَوِيلِ ذَاتِ  
 لَيْلَةٍ بِالْمَيْسَةِ ٧  
 وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ حَقِّ حَمْدِهِ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ تَائِبَةً وَتَحِيَّةً وَالرِّسْمُ  
 تَسْلِيمًا دَائِمًا لِلدَّائِمِينَ وَعَسَى اللَّهُ يَخْتَارُ  
 قَرَأَ هَذِهِ الْحَرْفَةَ عَلَى الْمَلِكِ الْعَلِيِّ بْنِ الْحُسَيْنِ عَلِيِّ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ عَلِيِّ بْنِ الْعَلَاءِ  
 رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ هَبَّ اللَّهُ بِرَحْمَةِ مُحَمَّدٍ عَنِ الْحُسَيْنِ عَنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ الْحُسَيْنِ عَنِ الْحُسَيْنِ عَنِ الْحُسَيْنِ  
 لَوْ بَدَأَ مُحَمَّدٌ الْعَصَلُ مُحَمَّدٌ وَاللَّسَانُ وَاللُّغَةُ وَاللُّغَةُ وَاللُّغَةُ وَاللُّغَةُ وَاللُّغَةُ وَاللُّغَةُ وَاللُّغَةُ  
 وَاللُّغَةُ وَاللُّغَةُ وَاللُّغَةُ وَاللُّغَةُ وَاللُّغَةُ وَاللُّغَةُ وَاللُّغَةُ وَاللُّغَةُ وَاللُّغَةُ وَاللُّغَةُ وَاللُّغَةُ وَاللُّغَةُ

FIGURE 7    Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Ms. orient. A 627, fol. 13b. This page shows the end of the text of part 8 of al-Ḥarāʾiṭī's *I'tilāl al-qulūb* in lines 1–11. In lines 12–15, the beginning of the following part (part 9) is given to ensure correct connection; the text is indented. Two lines with religious formulae follow. The five last lines contain the beginning of certificate #1.





15

سمع جمع الخبز السادس من ذوات اعيال القلوب على الحاجب الاصل السيد  
 ابن الحسن علي بن محمد بن علي بن العلاف رضي الله عنه بقره السخ ابي ناصر  
 محمد بن عبد الله بن كادش العكبري الشيبوخ ولدا السخ ابي  
 الحسن علي بن الحسن ابي ابوب الرار ابو محمد سعد الله وعلمه العالي  
 هبة الله بن علي بن اربوب واو الحسن علي بن محمد بن الحسن بن  
 عبد مور الزراز ومولده ابو سعد احمد واو نصر المارك بن احمد  
 بن محمد بن الفضل بن واو الكرم المارك بن جعفر بن مسعود الهاشمي  
 وكانت الساع ابو الصم عبد الله بن علي المكنى ودك  
 من محمد بن سنان وسبع ومانر واربعه

سمع جميع هذا الخبز مع ما قبله من اجزاء اهل الكوفة على الحاجب الاصل السيد  
 لعنه الله ابي الحسن علي بن محمد بن علي بن العلاف المكنى ابي ناصر  
 محمد بن عبد الله بن كادش العكبري الشيبوخ ولدا السخ ابي  
 الحسن علي بن الحسن ابي ابوب الرار ابو محمد سعد الله وعلمه العالي  
 هبة الله بن علي بن اربوب واو الحسن علي بن محمد بن الحسن بن  
 عبد مور الزراز ومولده ابو سعد احمد واو نصر المارك بن احمد  
 بن محمد بن الفضل بن واو الكرم المارك بن جعفر بن مسعود الهاشمي  
 وكانت الساع ابو الصم عبد الله بن علي المكنى ودك  
 من محمد بن سنان وسبع ومانر واربعه

FIGURE 10 Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Ms. orient. A 627, fol. 15a. This page contains certificates #8 to #10.

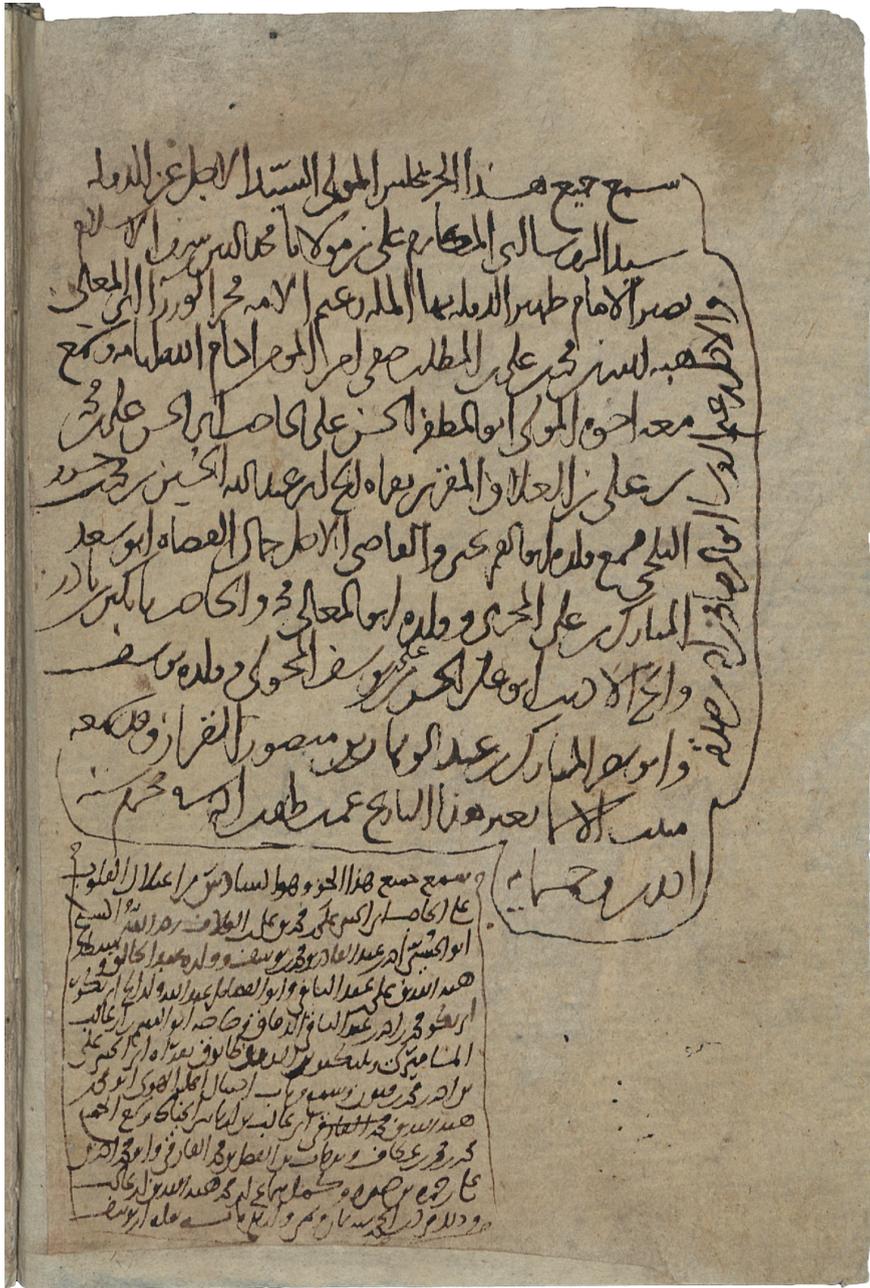


FIGURE 11 Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Ms. orient. A 627, fol. 15b. This page contains certificates #11 and #12. The lower one, #12, was again transferred from another manuscript.

