The Chamberlain’s Sessions

Audience Certificates in a Baghdad Manuscript of al-ḪarāʾiTī’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 Rabi’ I 486/April 1093 to Ṣafar 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-ḪarāʾiTī. 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

The so-called audience certificates (Arabic samāʿāt) 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.\(^2\)

This article exploits the certificates in the manuscript Ms. orient. A 627 from the Gotha Research Library and edits them critically.\(^3\) 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 Iʿtilāl al-qulūb.\(^4\) Facsimile copies of the six pages (fol. 13b to 15b and fol. 37b) have been included.\(^5\)

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;\(^6\) another deviation is an edition of eight certificates from a copy of a work by al-Saḥāwī (d. 643/1245).\(^7\) A number of transferred certificates (see below) have recently been edited by Said Aljoumani.\(^8\) 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 samāʿāt, this may result in higher printing costs

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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.
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,*Iʿtilāl al-qulūb*, by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Ḥarāʾiṭī (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-ʿāmma) 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-Kharāʾiṭī 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. Yaʿqūb al-Baġdādī b. al-ʿAllāf. Exactly what functions he had as caliphal chamberlain⁹ are unknown. The title had become a military rank long before Ibn al-ʿAllāf’s lifetime,¹⁰ but given that he left no traces beyond his

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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.\textsuperscript{11} From these, we learn the following facts: He was born in Muḥarram 406\textsuperscript{12} the son of a preacher (\textit{wāʿiẓ}) and reciter (\textit{muqriʾ}), and died on 23 Muḥarram 505/1 August 1111. There are seventeen pupils mentioned in al-Ẓahābī’s \textit{Siyar}, but only two of them align with persons mentioned in our certificates.\textsuperscript{13} In al-Ṣafadī’s monumental biographical dictionary, he is mentioned as a transmitter on almost two dozen occasions.\textsuperscript{14} 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 (= Muharram) 501; they thus coincide, more or less, with the first fourteen years of the quarter-century reign of caliph al-Mustaẓhir (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.”\textsuperscript{15} After 498, Muḥammad b. Malikšāḥ 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. Malikšāḥ, 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

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{11}] al-Ẓahābī \textit{Siyar} XIX 242f. no. 150; Ibn al-‘Imād \textit{Ṣaḍarāt} VI 18; Ibn al-Jawzī \textit{Muntaẓam} XVII 124 no. 3797.
\item[\textsuperscript{12}] In what follows, I generally provide only Muslim months and years, because doubling the numbers would create more confusion than insight.
\item[\textsuperscript{14}] al-Ṣafadī \textit{Wāfī} Index I (= vol. XXXI) 840 and 841 (in two places).
\item[\textsuperscript{15}] Hanne 2007, 139.
\end{itemize}
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.\footnote{16}

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.\footnote{17}

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, ʿUmar b. Ẓufar b. Aḥmad, heard it [i.e. part 8] \textit{at another date than this}.“\footnote{18} Does this mean that ʿUmar wrote down the certificate at some point after the session took place? Andreas Görke has adduced one such example from Baghdad.\footnote{19} In the last line of #6 it is stated that “the writer of the auditors’ names, ʿUmar b. Ẓufar b.
Ahmad, heard it [i.e. part 8] with another group than this”. 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/Madinat al-salam, “The Glory of the Caliphate”, “[in?] the Mosque of the Most Exalted al-Muẓaffar—may God assist him”. Something like fi 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 ‘Ali b. Hibatallah 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 wazir. ‘Izzaldawla Abū l-Ma’āli ‘Ali 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

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20 Difficult to read; either the 20th or, more probably, the 27th Šawwāl is meant.
21 wa-qad samiʿahu maʿa ġayr hāḏihi al-ṭabaqa muṣḥīt al-asmāʾ Umar b. Ţufar b. Ahmad.
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.”

Only four certificates among the 100 he has analysed mention a place.

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.”

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, who read no less than sessions 8 & 2, 10 & 4, and 12 & 5. A short biography in Ibn al-Najjār’s Ḑayl Taʿrīḫ 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. 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-Maʿāli
Hibatallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Āli 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-Jawzi Muntaẓam xvii 76). He died in 503 (not in 509, as al-Ḏahabī puts it). Al-Ḏahabī calls him al-faqīḥ al-šāfiʿī. 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.

3. Pair 9 & 3 was read by Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Kādiš al-ʿUkbarī, 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 muḥaddit and had a loud or strong voice, which of course made him ideally suited for working as a qāriʾ. In the biographical literature he is mentioned as being qāriʾ ahl Baghdād and mustamlī “tradition transmitter’s clerk”, as well as mufīd [i.e. teaching assistant, T.S.] Baghdād’ (Görke 2011, 109). He died in 4 Ṣafar 496.

4. The man who read 11 & 6, al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḫusraw al-Balḥī, was called “the Teacher of Baghdad” (mufīd ahl Baġdād) as a result of his teaching to strangers, students, and juveniles. He was a Ḥanafite who collected a musnad of Abū Ḥanīfa, had Muʿtazilite inclinations, and died in 526.

5. Abū Naṣr al-Iṣbahānī plays a double role as reader of #7 and owner of the manuscript of al-Ḥarāʾiṭī’s Iʿtilāl al-qulūb from which #12, #7, and #5 were transferred to the Gotha manuscript. He was born in 448 in Isfahan, travelled and taught much, copied and collected many works and died on 3 Ramaḍān 532. Al-Ṣafadī mentions that he did not distinguish between

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28 Cf. al-Ḏahabī Siyar xix 384 no. 225; al-Ṣafadī Wāfi xxvii 327f. no. 270.
29 Two persons who bear similar names: 1. Abū Naṣr Hibatallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Āli b. al-Ṣabbāġ (Ibn al-Dubayṭī Dayl v 95 no. 2755); 2. Abū l-Barakāt Hibatallāh b. ‘Āli b. al-Buḥārī (Ibn al-Jawzi 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 Dayl 1 217–219 no. 45. His full name is Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Kādiš al-ʿUkbarī, see ibid. and Ibn al-Jawzī Muntaẓam xvii 82 no. 3733.
31 al-Ṣafadī Wāfi xiii 38f. no. 37; al-Ḏahabī Siyar xix 592f. no. 342. The latter adduces a quite negative judgement by Ibn ʿAsākir (mā kāna yaʿrifu šayʾan).
32 His full name is Ahmad b. ʿUmar b. Muh. b. Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Āli b. Ḥishāq al-Ḡāzī, al-Ṣafadī Wāfi vii 262f. no. 3226; al-Ḏahabī Siyar 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.33

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 muṯbit 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 ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAlī al-Muḫarrīmī, 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 road34 in Baghdad and died 27 Rajab 527.35 The reader of #3 is Saʿdallāh b. ʿAlī 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.36 As both persons were present at both sessions, the change of

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34 On Darb Farāšā see Ibn al-Dubayṯī Dayl v 440.
36 Ibn al-Jawzī Muntaẓam XVII 189 no. 3892; al-Ṣafadī Wāfī XXIV 63.
the writer's role shows that this function was not allotted to one and the same person in every listening community.\textsuperscript{37}

The writer of 8 & 2 is Ibn al-ʿUkbarī (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 Qurʾan (\textit{muqriʿ}).\textsuperscript{38}

The writer of pair 10 & 4, al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamīs al-Mawsīlī, is the author of a Ṣūfī work titled \textit{Manāqib al-abrār wa-maḥāsin al-āhīr fi tabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya}.\textsuperscript{39} He died in 552.\textsuperscript{40}

ʿUmar b. Ẓufar b. Aḥmad is the notary in pair 11 & 6. He was born in 461, died in 542, and was a \textit{muqriʿ} “reciter of the Qurʾan”.\textsuperscript{41}

A Ḥanbalī preacher, a transmitter of pious knowledge, a Ṣūfī author, and two reciters of the Qurʾan: 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 \textit{šayḥ}, although several individuals clearly had no scholarly ambitions. Pair 10 & 4 differs within itself: Although in both certificates the reader is called \textit{šayḥ} and the person following him bears the title \textit{šarīf}, in #10 the remaining persons are enumerated without titles while in #4 all persons following the \textit{šarīf} are

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

\textsuperscript{38} Ibn al-Dubayṭī \textit{Ḍayl} II 337f. no. 811.


\textsuperscript{40} Brockelmann \textit{GAL} I 1559f. S 1 776; cf. also al-Ṣafadī \textit{Wāfī} VI 154.

\textsuperscript{41} Ibn al-Jawzī \textit{Muntaẓam} XVIII 60 no. 4140; al-Ṣafadī \textit{Wāfī} XXII 490.
summarily called *mašāyiḫ 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\(^42\) 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.\(^43\) 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 ustādiyyat dār al-ḫilāfa al-muʾaẓẓama*), and in Dū l qa’dā, in the same year, he became the deputy of the person responsible for the Mesopotamian rural area and estates (?) of the caliphal chancellery (*ustu-nība bi-l-dīwān al-ʿazīz li-iṣlāḥ al-sawād wa-l-ʾimārāt*). He died in Friday 9 Rajab 523.\(^44\)

2. At some point in his long life, this man’s brother, Faḫraldawla 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 Ṣūfīs. He became famous as a great donor and built a *madrasa* for the Šāfiʿite jurists in East Baghdad, a Ṣūfī *ribāṭ*, a Friday mosque in West Baghdad and a *ribāṭ* for women. Al-Dahabi tells us that he was born “after 490”; if this is correct, he was about ten

\(^42\) The sixth, a *qāḍī*, is mentioned in pair 8 & 2, ‘Ali 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 Taʾrīḫ Baġdād*, part of Muṣṭafā ʿAbdalqādir ʿAṭā’s ed. of *Taʾrīḫ Baġdād wa-duʿyūluhu*, 24 vols., Beirut 1417 h., vol. XIX, 178 no. 1019. I took the date of ‘Ali’s death (9 Rajab) from this source; Ibn al-Dubayṭī gives 7 Rajab.

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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.  

3. Abū Sa’d al-Mubārak b. ‘Ali b. al-Ḥusayn al-Muḫarrimī 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-qaḍā’) but was convinced to resign from this office in 511; Ibn Katīr implies that this was done with the help of much money (wa-ṣūdira 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 Ḥanbali jurist is evidenced by the fact that he was buried near the grave of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal.  

4. Bātakīn b. Bādir is called al-hājib in the certificates, which means that Ibn al-ʿAllāf had a colleague as his guest. This man is not mentioned in the historical sources.  

5. Abū l-Riḍā Jalālaldīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣadaqa was born into a politically prominent family in 478 (al-Ḏahabī gives the less plausible date of 498). He was appointed vizier by the caliph al-Rāšid (r. 529–530). Under al-Muqtafī (r. 530–555) he was employed with other offices. His samāʿ from Ibn al-ʿAllāf is mentioned in the sources, also as transmitter. He died 14 Šaʿbān 556.  

The “scholarly prominent” persons from 11 & 6 are:  

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

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45. al-Šafādī Wāfī XII 291 no. 262; Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī Mīrāt XXI 288; al-Ḍahabī Sīyār XXI 97f. no. 45; Ibn al-Dubayṭī Daylī I 143f. no. 1254.  
46. Ibn Abī Yaʿlā Ṭabāqāt 111 481f. no. 705; Ibn al-ʿImād Šaḏarāt VI 66f.; al-Ḍahabī Sīyār XIX 428 no. 249; al-Ḍahabī Taʿrīḥ XXXV 359 no. 59 (an erroneous birth year 449 and an erroneous death day 18 is given here); Ibn Katīr Bidāya XVI 243; Ibn Rajab Dayl 1 362–366 no. 68; Ibn al-Jawzī Muntaẓam XVII 183f. no. 3886.  
47. There is one Bātakīn stemming from Armenia mentioned in Ibn Hallikān Wafayāt 111 504 who was deputy of the caliph al-Mustanṣir (r. 623–640) in Irbil. Al-Ḏahabī Sīyār XXII 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 Daylī I 168–170 no. 17; al-Ḍahabī Taʿrīḥ 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”.

8. ‘Umar b. Zufar b. ʿAlī, mentioned in section 5 above as a writer.

9. Abū l-Faraj Muhammad b. Muhammad b. al-Ṭayr al-Qaṣrī, mentioned in the sources as a transmitter of knowledge and Baghdadi muqriʾ “reciter”. He was born in 465 and died in 540.

This analysis conveys the impression that Ibn al-ʿAllāf 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 Ḥanbali judge. The other six persons (40 per cent) remain socially anonymous, except for the fact that al-Mubārak b. ‘Abdalwahhāb b. Maṣʿūr 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 Maṣʿūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. Dal-lāl al-Šaybānī is only mentioned by al-Ḏahabī 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 Saʾbān 541, aged 81 years.

2. Abū Saʿd Saʿīd 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.

3. Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. ʿUmar 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-ʿIrāq. He died in 507.

4. Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan al-Iskāf is briefly mentioned as muqriʾ Ḥanafī, transmitter and an inhabitant of the Maʾmūniyya quarter in Baghdad; again, no death date is given.

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,
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-muḥaddīṭ 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 492.58

2. His son Abū l-Faraj ‘Abdalḫāliq b. Aḥmad accompanied his father in session #12. Al-Ḏahabī calls him “the Traditionalist of Baghdad” (muhaddīṭ Baġdād) together with a certain Ibn Nāṣir. Ibn al-Jawzī remarks that he was highly productive in transmitting knowledge samāʿan wa-kitābatan. He adds: huwa min bayt al-naqīl, which probably means that he was a 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 549.59

3. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abdalbāqī al-Daqqāq “Ibn al-Ḫāḍiba”, born in the 430s, was so important in the eyes of al-Ḏahabī that he devoted several pages to him in two of his works, the Taḏkirat al-ḥuffāẓ 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-Ḏahabī calls him muqriʾ al-muḥaddīṭīn bi-Baġdād. He also mentions an anecdote, related by one Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAṭṭāf, about Ibn al-Ḫāḍiba being a sort of miracle healer. The personal acquaintance between this Ibn ʿAṭṭāf and Ibn al-Ḫāḍiba is confirmed by the fact that they appear together in our pair 12 & 5. (On Ibn ʿAṭṭāf, who also had a scholarly reputation, see below.) Ibn al-Ḫāḍiba died in 2 Rabīʿ I 489, which is three months after the two sessions took place.60

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58 Ibn al-Jawzī Montażam XVII 48f. no. 3683; Ibn al-ʿImād Šaḍarāt V 401; al-Šafadī Wāfī XII 316, XV 255, XXVII 61.
59 al-Ḏahabī Siyar XX 279f. no. 187; Ibn al-Jawzī Montażam XVIII 92 no. 4185; al-Šafadī Wāfī XX 292, XXV1 459, VII 86, XXII 135.
60 al-Ḏahabī Taḏkira 1224–1227 no. 1044; al-Ḏahabī Siyar XIX 109–113 no. 61; Ibn al-Jawzī Montażam XVII 35f. no. 3664.

5. Yaltakin b. al-Sadid Ṭayūq is clearly of Turkish lineage. We only know of him as a transmitter from a short note in a manuscript of the first part of al-Madāʾinī’s K. al-Taʿāzī.

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-Ḥayyāt was secretary (kātib) in Baghdad. Al-Ṣafadī mentions three of his teachers; he died in Ramaḍān 531.

8. Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Aṭṭāf al-Mawṣili is said to have written two books, al-Muʿjam and al-Ṭibb al-nabawī that are unknown to modern bibliographers. He immigrated to Baghdad and later made trips to Kufa, Āmul, and Hamadān. Al-Ḏahabī mentions three of his teachers and three of his pupils. He died in Šawwāl 534 at the age of seventy.

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 Ḏū l-qaʿda 505.

10. Abū l-Faḍāʾil ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdalbāqī al-Daqqāq (son of person 3 above and also called “Ibn al-Ḫāḍiba”) is credited with a good knowledge of ḥadīṯ and adab, and several of his teachers are mentioned by al-Ṣafadī, who adds that, according to some people, ‘Abdallāḥ conducted his life in a less than laudable manner. He died in 526.

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-
ter of ḥadīṯ", two are famous as readers, one was a secretary, and the younger Ibn al-Ḫāḍiba was credited with a good knowledge of ḥadīṯ 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. Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn, widely known as al-Sarrāj, was a Ḥanbalī traditionist and author of the famous Maṣāriʿ al-ʿuššāq "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 fīkh and religious matters [...]. Other titles apparently concern works of a moralising adab type [...]"

2. ʿAlī b. Hibatallāh b. ʿAbdalsalām 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.

3. Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Mubārak was commonly called Ibn al-Fāʿūs. He was famous as a Ḥanbalite ascetic (zāhid), reciter of the Qurʾan (muqriʾ) and reciter of ḥadīṯ. 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. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn from the certificates 11 & 6, mentioned above).

4. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibatallāh Ibn al-ʿĀlima (458–539), a reciter of the Qurʾan, was not as prominent as these men but at least deemed worthy of short biographical entries by Ibn al-Jawzī and al-Ṣafadī.

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69 Leder 1995.
70 Ibn al-Jawzī Muntazam XVII 42 no. 4111; al-Ṣafadī Wāfi I 1132; 1152; 1170; 1X 224; X 127; XIV 159; XX 500; XXVI 745; XXVII 286; XXVIII 345; XXIX 315; XXX 100.
72 Ibn al-Jawzī Muntazam XVII 315 no. 4011; al-Ṣafadī Wāfi VI 322 no. 2829.
Leaving aside the judge ‘Alī b. Salāma b. ‘Ubaydallāh al-Kaḥī, 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.

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. ʿAlī b. Maymūn al-Dabbās; her father is briefly mentioned by Ibn al-Dubaytī and he died in Jumādā 1 520. 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-Bahāʾ al-Mawṣili as she is called his ʿatāqa, which is probably a misspelling of ʿatīqa “freedwoman”. In line with common practice, both women are mentioned almost at the end of the certificate.

As for the slaves, two of them are mentioned as fatā of ‘Abdalḥaqq b. ‘Abdalḥāliq b. Ahmad, who was only five years old when the session took place. Perhaps these two, Rayḥān al-Miṣrī and Masʿūd 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.

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

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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-Dubaytī Dayl 1 477f. no. 332.

75 Hirschler 2012, 50.

76 al-Dahabi Siyar XX 552f. no. 353; Ibn al-Dubaytī Dayl IV 219–221. ʿAbdalhaqq was born 494 and died in Jumādā 1 575, dufina bi-maqbarat Ahmad. Both sources mention that he learnt from Ibn al-ʿAllāf.

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

78 Cf., e.g. Hirschler 2012, 43f.
between 25–30 per cent. 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 (39.8 per cent), 8 & 2 (35.3 per cent), and #7 (35 per cent) as sessions with a more popular audience.

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. A clear hint that this is, in fact, the case is given in pair 10 & 4, where the chamberlain’s son Abū Ṭāhir Muhammad 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.

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79 Hirschler 2012, ch. 2.
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-
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. 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

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81 See the passages quoted above, footnote 80.
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):

Figure 6  Seating order in pair 12 & 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>#12 (part 6)</th>
<th></th>
<th>#5 (part 8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the whole part)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(the whole part)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ahmad b. ‘Abdalqādir b. M.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 ‘Abdallāh b. M. b. Ahmad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>‘Abdalḥāliq, son of 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 ‘Abdalḥaliq b. Ahmad b. ‘Abdalqādir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Hibatallāh b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdalbāği</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 Barakāt b. al-Fadl b. M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>M. b. Ahmad b. ‘Abdalbāği</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 a. l-Qāsim b. a. Ġālīb al-Masāmīrī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Yaltakīn b. al-Sādīd Ṭāyūq</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 Yaltakīn b. al-Sādīd Ṭāyūq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>‘Alī b. Ahmad b. M. (R)</td>
<td></td>
<td>8 Ahmad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥamza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(from Bāb Iḥtiyāl ahl al-hawā)</td>
<td></td>
<td>9 a. Saʿīd ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Ahmad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥamza</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6  Seating order in pair 12 & 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‘ād b. Yalda’ar al-Jibrili,82 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.

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82 Ibn al-Dubayṭī Ḍayl 11 525–527: al-As‘ād 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‘ 1 or Rabī‘ 11 574. 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 (juzʾ) 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, baʿḍahu); and in one instance (#1) the indication of the section heard is illegible. Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. al-Faraj missed some text in #13, but an additional note in the margin (#13a) states that this was repeated for him—obviously to entitle him to further transmission. Al-Faḍl b. Nāfīʿ b. Muḥriz and Jaʿfar b. Nāṣir b. al-Furāt missed something in #8, but it is added that the chamberlain gave dispensation for what had escaped them—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, ʿAbdalḫāliq b. Aḥmad b. ʿUmar 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; although there is no indication of a transfer, this certificate might also have been transferred by ʿAbdalḫāliq.

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

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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,\textsuperscript{86} clearly, this must have happened before ʿAbdalḥāliq’s death in 548. He attended #12 together with his father Aḥmad (died 492); he attended #5 alone, and his son ʿAbdalḥaq 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.\textsuperscript{87} ʿAbdalḥāliq’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 ʿAbdalḥāliq 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 ʿAbdalḥaq were the beneficiaries. The transferred certificates also provide additional information on the chamberlain’s activity in teaching the \textit{Iʿtilāl al-qulūb}, which may be a purpose in its own right.

In the two editions based on the Rabat manuscript of the \textit{Iʿtilāl al-qulūb}, the chain of transmitters for the first and second part mentions ʿAbdalḥāliq as a pupil of the chamberlain, but dates the session on which the transmission of al-Ḫarāʾiṭī’s book is based to Rabīʿ I 489.\textsuperscript{88} This shows that ʿAbdalḥāliq heard the book at least three times: in 488 (12 & 7); in 489 (attested to in the Rabat manuscript); and in 499 (#7).

\textbf{10 Conclusion}

Ibn al-ʿAllāf 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,\textsuperscript{89} the chamberlain seems to have preferred smaller communities. As certificates 13

\bibliography{references}
\end{document}
& 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 Šāfiʿī attendants. The dominance of Ḥanbalism confirms Görke’s results (which, nota bene, refer to readings of a juridical text without direct madhab affiliation).90 Remarkably, in pair 11 & 6, one Ḥanbalite, one Ḥanafite, and one Šāfiʿite attendant listened side by side,91 although “the lines of conflict in Baghdad were [...] between Ḥanbalis on the one side and Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanafis on the other side”.92 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-Ḥarāʾīṭi’s Iʿtilāl 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.

Bibliography

Arabic Source Texts

90 Ibid., 112.
92 Görke 2011, 113.


Secondary Literature


Hirschler 2011: Konrad Hirschler, “Reading certificates (samāʿāt) as a prosopographical source: Cultural and social practices of an elite family in Zangid and Ayyubid Damascus”. In: Görke/Hirschler 2011, 73–92.


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.

ʿAbdalbāqī b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Baṣrī, Abū Muḥammad 2/7
ʿAbdalḥāliq b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdalqādir b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, [Abū l-Faraj] 5/2, 7/10, 12/3, 12/11, footnote 59
ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḫayyāṭ, Abū l-Muẓaffar 7/8


ʿAbdalbāqī al-Daqqāq [Ibn al-Ḫāḍiba], Abū l-Faḍāʾil 5/1, footnote 68
ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abdalbāqī al-Daqqāq [Ibn al-Ḫāḍiba], Abū l-Faḍāʾil 5/1, footnote 68
ʿAbdallāḥ b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAli b. al-Ḫayyāṭ, Abū l-Muẓaffar 7/8

Educator (muʿaddib) and transmitter, died 15 Rabīʿ II 518, cf. Ibn al-Dubayṭī Ḍayl IV 5 no. 1777.
ʿAbdalraḥmān b. al-Mubārak b. al-Mubārak al-Jaṣṣās, Abū l-Ġanāʾim 7/4
ʿAbdalraḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Uḫuwwa al-Bayyī, Abū l-Fatḥ 7/3
Aḥmad b. ʿAbdalqādir b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, Abū l-Ḥusayn 12/3, footnote 58
Aḥmad b. ʿAli b. Ḥamza b. ʿAdłaqa (?), 5/3, 12/9
Muqriʾ, died Rabīʿ II 514: Ibn al-Dubayṭī Dayl II 299 no. 766; Ibn al-Jawzī Muntaẓam xvII 188 no. 3888.
Aḥmad b. Fāris al-Ḥayyāt 13/8
Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibatallāh b. ʿAlī al-Iskāf, [Abū l-Faḍl] 2/6, 8/5, footnote 72
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Wāsiṭī b. ʿAlī b. al-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. ʿUṣfūr al-Wāsiṭī, Abū Naṣr 2/8
[Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh] al-Iṣbahānī, Abū l-Ḥasan 4/4, 10/4
ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥayyāt al-Baġdādī, Abū l-Ḥasan 4/4, 10/4
ʿAlī 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
ʿAlī b. Hibatallāh b. Abdalsalām, Abū l-Ḥasan 2/3, 8/3, footnote 70
ʿAlī b. Hibatallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Muṭṭalib, Abū l-Makārim 6/2, 11/1, footnote 44
ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan al-Iskāf, Abū l-Ḥasan 1/7, footnote 57
ʿAlī b. al-Muʿammil b. Muslim al-Kātib, Abū l-Qāsim 1/3, 13/5
ʿAlī b. al-Mubārak, Abū l-Ḥasan 2/4, 8/4, footnote 71
ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī [b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb 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
ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdūn al-Bazzāz, Abū l-Ḥasan 9/5
According to Ibn al-Jawzī Muntaẓam xvIII 99 no. 494, he was born in [4]70 and died Šaʿbān 549. He was a respected transmitter, wa-kāna min ahl al-sunna wa-l-ṣidq ʿalā ṭarīq al-salaf.
ʿAlī b. Salāma b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Karḫī, Abū l-Ḥasan  2/4, 8/4
b. al-ʿĀlima → Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibatallāh
b. al-ʿAllāf → ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī
b. ʿAṭṭāf → Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAṭṭāf al-Mawṣili

Abū l-Bahāʾ al-Mawṣili, manumitter  7/8
Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdalṣamad
Barakāt b. al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. Fāriqī, [Abū l-Qāsim or Abū l-Faḏl]  5/2, 12/9,
footnote 67
Bātakīn b. Bādir  6/10, 11/8, footnotes 47 and 48
al-Faḍl b. Nāfiʿ b. Muḥriz al-Šajarī  2/7, 8/8
Faraj b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥurāsānī, Abū ʿAlī  7/6
Transmitter and poet, died 14 Jumādā II 546: al-Ṣafadī Wāfī XXIII 744 no. 510; al-
Ḏahābī Taʾrīḫ XXXVII 253 no. 340. Both sources mention that he learned from Ibn al-
ʿAllāf. In Ibn ʿImāmaldīn Ḥarīda II 186–194 a lot of his poetry is presented (Ḥarīdat
Fayrūz b. ʿAbdallāh al-Mawṣili, Abū l-Barakāt  4/3, 10/3
al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Muḥjawwali, Abū ʿAlī  6/9, 11/9, footnote 50
al-Ḥasan b. Hibatallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Muṭṭalib, Abū l-Muẓaffar  6/4, 11/5,
footnote 45
Ṣaraf  7/5
Descendent of the Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 232–247/847–861), born 477,
died Jumādā II 554. Described as muqriʾ and adīb, he composed a book Surʿat
al-jawāb wa-mudāʿabat al-aḥbāb and collected biographical information on the
caliphs al-Mustarṣid (r. 512–529/1118–1135) and al-Muqtafi (r. 530–555/1136–1160): al-
Ḏahābī Taʾrīḫ XXXVIII 145 no. 127; Ibn al-Jawzī Muntaẓam XVIII 137 no. 423; Ibn
Rajab Doṣṭ II 71–76 no. 130 (all sources mention his hearing from Ibn al-ʿAllāf).
Ibn al-Haybā → al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad
Hazārasb b. ʿIwaḍ 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 Rabīʿ I 515; Ibn al-Jawzī Muntaẓam XVII 202 no. 3908; Ibn al-ʿImād
Ṣaḍarūt VI 78; Ibn al-ʿĀṭir Kāmil IX 212; al-Ṣafadī Wāfī XXVII 342 no. 307.
Hibatallāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdalbaqī  12/4
Hibatallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ali 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 Gālib) Muḥammad b. Abī Yāsir al-Ḥayyāt, Abū Muḥammad 5/3, 12/7, 12/10, footnote 65
al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusraw al-Balḥī, Abū ‘Abdallāh 6/6, 11/6, footnote 31
Ja‘far b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sarrāj, Abū Muḥammad 2/2, 8/3, footnote 69
Ja‘far b. Naṣir b. al-Furāt 8/8
Jāmi‘ b. Abī Sa‘d al-Naqīb, Abū l-‘Izz 1/6, 13/7

Karam 7/3

Mas‘ūd al-Bijāwī (?) 7/2
Mas‘ūd b. Ḥamīs al-‘Assāl 7/6
al-Mubārak b. ‘Ali b. al-Manāṭiqī al-Faraḍī (?), Abū Gālib 2/6, 8/5

Traditionarian and faqīh, died Ḏū l-ḥijja 518 aged 40: Ibn al-Jawzī Muntazam XVII 227 no. 3935.

al-Mubārak b. al-Mubārak al-Jaḥṣās, Abū l-Karam 7/4, 7/6


Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, Abū al-Salt (?) 7/5
Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Saḍaqa, Abū l-Riḍā 6/8, footnote 49
Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abdalmalik, Abū l-Barakāt 2/4, 8/7
Muḥammad b. 'Ali b. al-Ḥusayn al-Rabaʾī 5/2

Muḥammad b. 'Ali b. Muḥammad b. 'Ali b. al-'Allāf, Abū Ṭāhir 4/5, 10/5
A son of the chamberlain, who, according to al-Dahabi Sýar 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-Ǧanāʿim 1/10, 13/3

Muḥammad b. al-Mubārak b. 'Alī al-Muḫarrīmī, Abū l-Maʿālī 6/7, 11/7


Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. Dallāl al-Šaybānī, Abū Mansūr 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


Mustazīd [?] bint 'Abdallāh (ʿatīqat [?] Abī l-Bahāʾ al-Mawṣili) 7/8

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


Rayḥān al-Miṣrī [?] 7/2

Saʿīd b. Muḥammad b. al-Razzāz al-Baġdādī, Abū Manṣūr 4/3, 10/3

others, taught at the Niẓāmiyya madrasa and became head of the Šāfiʿite school in the capital. He died 11 Ḏū l-qaʿda 539.

al-Sarrāj → Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan
Ṣadīq (?) b. ʿUṯmān al-Barbarī (?) al-Dībājī 4/3, 10/4

ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAlī al-Muḥarrīmī, Abū l-Qāsim 3/2, 9/8, footnote 35
b. al-ʿUkbarī → Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad
ʿUmar b. Ẓufar b. Aḥmad, [Abū Ḥafṣ] 6/12, 11/11, footnote 41
ʿUṯmān b. Abī ??? al-??? al-Wāsiṭī, Abū ʿAmr 2/8, 8/6

Yahyā b. ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl, Abū l-Qāsim 6/8
Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusraw al-Balḥī, Abū l-Qāsim 6/6, 11/7
Yaltakīn b. al-Sadīd Ṭāyūq 5/3, 12/6, footnote 64

Zaynab bint Muḥammad b. ʿAli 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 the نقاش or the مدرك have been left unchanged. On the other hand, in addition to the dots on the tāʾ marbūta and to medial hamzas as in the الجزر or the قراءة I also added hamzas without a carrying letter as in َب 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 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 أبي الحسن علي بن محمد بن علي بن العلاف (2) رضي الله عنه، هيئة الله بن محمد بن علي بن الحسن فسميته

الرئيس الأجل (3) أبو بكر محمد بن الفضل بن محمد بن دلال الشيباني

وابو القسم علي بن المؤمل بن مسلم الكاتب (4)

والشيخ أبو عبد الله الحسين بن محمد بن أحمد المعروف بابن الهبي

والشيخ أبو نصر (5) أحمد بن عمر بن الفرج الابرى

وابو العز جامع بن أبي سعد التقيب (6)

وابو الفتح محمد

(7) وصعف ابن أبي النجات محمد بن هبة الله بن محمد بن الطيب

(8) وجميع من اللئم فهم على بن الحسن بن الحسن الأسئف (8) إلى آخر الجزء، وذلك في ربيع الأول سنة ست وثمانين وأربع مائة

(9) وجميع ابن دبعنبنسحلنبيعيمجعمس

(10) وولد ابن النجات محمد في التاريخ المذكور

2

(1) جمع جميع الجزء على الحاجب الأجل السيد أبي الحسن علي بن محمد بن علي بن العلاف المقرى

رضي الله عنه (2) بقراءة الشيخ أبي الحسن علي بن أحمد بن محمد بن فنون طعه الله بالعلم

الشيخ الإمام السيد أبو محمد جعفر بن أحمد بن (3) الحسين السراج القراء

والرئيس الأجل أبو الحسن علي بن هبة الله بن عبد السلم

والشيخ الجليل المقرى (4) أبو الحسن على بن المرك

والقاضي أبو الحسن علي بن سلامة بن عبد الله الكرخي

والرئيس الجليل ابن (5) البركات محمد بن علي بن الحسن بن عبد الملك

والرئيس أبو عبد الله محمد بن محمد بن صالح
- والشيخ (6) أبو الفضل أحمد بن الحسن بن حية الله بن العالم الآصف
- وابن غازب المحترم بن علي بن المنطقة (7) الفرضي
- وابن محمد عبد الباق بن الحسن بن أحمد البصري
- والشيخ الفضل بن نائف بن محرم الشجري (8)
- وابن عمرو عثمان بن أبي النعيم العزيز الواسطى
- والشيخ أبو سعد أحمد بن محمد بن عصفور الواسطى (9)
- وابن حرب أحمد بن المبارك بن محمد الحبشي الضرير
- وكاتب السماع أحمد بن محمد بن الحسن بن محمد (10) الواسطي المعروف في العكبر
- وذلك في ربيع الأول من سنة سبع وثمانين واربع مائة

3

(1) سمع جميع الجزء على الحاجب الأجل أبو الحسن علي بن محمد بن علي بن العلاف رضي الله عنه
(2) بقراءة الشيخ أياس محمد بن عبد الله بن كاشش العكبر
- الشيخ الشهير أبو القاسم عبد الله (3) بن علي الخرافي
- وابن الكرم المبارك بن جعفر بن مسلم الحصمي
- وابن الحسن علي (4) بن محمد بن أبي عمر الباز
- وكاتب السماع سعد الله بن علي بن الحسن بن أبو الباز (5)
- وسمع من أوله خمسة عشر ورقة أبو سعد أحمد بن علي بن محمد بن الحسن بن عبدون الباز (6)
- وذلك يوم الاربعاء سادس شهر رمضان من سنة سبع وثمانين واربع مائة

4

(1) سمع جميعه مع ما قبله من الجزء على الحاجب الجليل أبو الحسن علي بن محمد بن علي بن العلاف المقرى إياه الله (2) بقراءة الشيخ أبي الحسن علي بن أحمد بن فنون البغدادي
- المشارك الشيخ السادة الشهير أبو الفضل عبد الله بن مسعود بن الحسن البياضي (3)
- وابن منصور سعيد بن محمد بن الرزاز البغدادي
- وابن البركات فيروز بن عبد الله الموصل
- وابن بكر صديق بن عثمان البردي؟ الدبياجي (4)
- وأبو الفضل محمد بن محمد بن الطيب
- وولده أبو الحسن احمد
- وأبو الحسن علي بن احمد الخياط البغداديون
- وهزاسب بن عوض بن الحسن البو höwی (5)
- وأبو عبد الله محمد بن ابي الفتح الهكاري
- وولده الحاجب ابو ظاهر محمد
- وثبتت الأسماء الحسين بن نصر بن محمد بن خمیس الموصلی (6)

وذلك في يوم الاربعاء ـ شوال سنة تسعين واربع مائة

بمدينة السلام جانبها الشرقي نفر الخلافة مسجد الامام المظفر ابده [الله]

5

(1) جمع جميعه على الحاجب أبي الحسن علي بن محمد بن علي بن اللاف
- أبو الفضائل عبد الله بن محمد بن احمد بن عبد الباقي الدقاچ (2)
- عبد الخلاص بن احمد بن عبد القادرين بن محمد بن يوسف
- وريقات بن الفضل الفارقی
- محمد بن علي بن الحسين الربيعي
- وابن القسم بن ابي (3) غالب المساءری
- وهبة الله بن ابي غالب بن ابي ياسر الخياط
- ويتلكين بن السيد طيارق
- واحد بن علي بن حمزة بن صدقة؟
- وأبو سعيد (4)

- واحد بن محمد بن عطاف الموصل
- بقراءة على بن احمد بن محمد بن فون

في ذى المجة سنة ثمان وثمانين واربع مائة
(1) سمع جميع هذا الجزء بحفل

- مولانا السيد الأجل عز الدولة سيد (2) الروساء ابي المكارم علي بن مولانا محمد الدين شرف

الإسلام نصير الامام (3) ظهير الدولة بهاء الملة زعيم الامام خلف الوزراء ابي المعاي هبة الله بن محمد

بن علي (4) بن المطلب ادام الله سلطانه

- وسمع معه اخوه الموالي ابو المظفر الحسن (5)

على الحاجب-labelled الأجل ابن الحسن علي بن محمد بن علي بن العلاف المقرى (6) بقراءة الشيخ ابي عيد

الله الحسن بن محمد بن خسرو البلخى

- وسمع ولهه ابو القسم بخيى (7)

والقاضى الحاجب اجمال القضاة ابو سعد المبارك بن علي الخرمنى

- ولهه ابو المعايلى (8) محمد

والاجل زعيم الروساء ابو رضا محمد بن احمد بن صدقة

والرئيس الأجل ابو القسم (9) بخيى بن علي احمد

والشيخ الأدبي ابي على الحسن بن علي بن يوسف المخلولي

- ولهه (10) يوسف

- واي أبو الفرج محمد بن محمد بن الطير القصيرى

- والحاجب باتكون بن بأدر (11)

- وابو نصر المبارك بن عبد الوهاب بن منصور الفرزاز

وذلك في صفر (12) من سنة احتدى وخمسة

- وقد سمعه مع غير هذه الطبقة مثبت الاسماء عربين ظفر بن احمد

(1) سمع جميع من نسخة ابن نصر الاصبعى على الحاجب ابن الحسن على بن محمد بن علي بن العلاف

رحمة الله بقراءة ابن نصر (2)

- ابن الحسن عبد الحق بن عبد الخلاط بن احمد بن عبد القادر بن محمد بن يوسف

- وفتيه ريجان المصرى؟

- ومسعد الباجوى؟ (3)
- وصاحبه كرم
- وابو الفتح عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن أحمد بن علي بابا الأخوة البع
- وابو القسم عبد الرحمن بن أحمد بن محمد بن بقان (4) الزعفراني
- وابو الكريم المبارك بن المبارك الجصاص
- وابنه أبو الغانم عبد الرحمن
- وسعده بن عبد الله (5) مولي الخفي
- وار.. ان أبو الصلاة محمد بن أحمد بن محمد
- وكفاء الشرف بن جعفر بن عبد الصمد بن المتوكل على الله (6)
- وابو علي فرج بن أحمد بن علي الخراساني
- وابو الكريم المبارك
- ومسعود بن تحيص العسال
- وابو منصور بن (7) سنان بن منصور بن ابن الحسن بن علي القضبان
- واحوه أبو بكر
- وزينب بنت محمد بن علي بن ميمون الدباس (8)
- وابو المظفر عبد الله بن طاهر بن علي الحياط
- ومستزيد؟ بنت عبد الله عناقه أبي البهاء (9) الموصل
- والاسعد بن يلدرم بن ابن اللقاء الجبريل
- في رجب سنة تسع وتسعم واربع مائة (10)

نقله عبد الحق بن أحمد بن عبد القادرين محمد بن يوسف صلالة؟ الله ـ على رسوله سيدنا؟ محمد النبي؟
 وسلم؟ تسلموا؟ ه

8

(1) حمع جميع الجزء السادس من كتاب اعتلال القلوب على الحاجب الأجل السيد ابن الحسن على
بن محمد بن (2) على بن العلاف رضي الله عنه بقراءة الشيخ ابن الحسن على ابن أحمد بن محمد بن فنون
نفعه الله بالعلم

الشيخ (3) الإمام العالم أبو محمد جعفر بن أحمد بن الحسن السراج المقرئ
والرئيس الأجل أبو الحسن على بن هبة الله بن (4) عبد السلم
والشيخ الجليل المرقى أبو الحسن علي بن المبارك
والقاضي أبو الحسن علي بن سلامة بن عبيد الله (5) الكرم
والشيخ أبو الفضل أحمد بن الحسن بن هبة الله بن العالم
وأبو غالب المبارك بن علي بن المناطقي الفرضي، (6)
وأبو غالب عبد الله بن محمد بن مهدي
وأبو عمرو عثمان بن أبي النهاي، العزيز الواسطي
والرئيس الجليل (7) أبو البركات محمد بن علي بن الحسن بن عبد الملك
وكاتب السماع أحمد بن محمد بن الحسن بن محمد الواسطي (8) المعروف بأبن العكبري
وجمع بعضه الشريف الفضل بن نافع الشجري
وجعفر بن ناصر من الفرات، (9) واجاز لهما ما فاتهما الحاجب الأجل أبو الحسن
وذلك في ربيع الأول من سنة ستين وثمانين وأربعمئة

(1) جمع جمع الجزء السادس من كتاب اعتلال القلوب على الحاجب الأجل السيد (7) أبي الحسن
على بن محمد بن علي بن العلاف رضي الله عنه بقراءة الشيخ إبراهيم سعد الله (3) محمد بن عبيد الله بن كادش العكبري

الشيخ ودا الشيخ أبي (4) الحسن علي بن الحسين ابن ليوب الباز، أبو محمد سعد الله
وأبو المعالي (5) هبة الله بن علي بن ليوب
وأبو الحسن علي بن محمد بن الحسن بن (6) عبيدون الباز
وولده أبو سعد أحمد
وأبو نصر المبارك بن أحمد (7) بن محمد بن القصياني
وأبو الكريم المبارك بن جعفر بن مسلم الهاشمي (8)
وكاتب السماع أبو القسم عبد الله بن علي الخري
وذلك (9) في رجب من سنة سبع وثمانين وأربعمئة
(1) سُمَّى جميع هذا الجزء مع ما قبله من الأجزاء على الحاجب الجليل أبي الحسن بن محمد بن على بن العلاف المقرئ إبٍدَ اللَّه َ(2) بقراءة الشيخ أبي الحسن بن أحمد بن فنون البغدادي المشايخ السادة

- الشهير أبو الفضل عبد الله بن مصطفى بن الحسن البياضي (3)
- وابن منصور سعيد بن محمد بن الرزاز البغدادي
- وابن عبد الله بن أبي الفتح المكارى
- وابن البقارات فيروز بن عبد الله الموصلي (4)
- وابن الفضل محمد بن محمد بن الطيب
- وابن الحسن على بن أحمد الخياط البغدادي
- وابن بكر صديق بن عثمان البربري، الذي بانج (5)
- وابن بكر، بن عبد الله السنح (6)
- وولد الحاجب أبو طاهر محمد

ولمثبت الأسماء الحسن بن نصر بن محمد بن خميس الموصلى ولي ذلك يوم الثلاثاء تاسع عشر شوال سنة تسعين وأربع مئات (6)

- سُمَّى من آخره خمسة أرواق هزارسب بن عوض بن الحسن الحروي
- وكذلك سُمَّى أبو الحسن أحمد بن محمد بن الطيب البغدادي (7)

وفي تاريخ السماع في بغداد جانبهما السهابي نفخ الخلافة مسجد الاغل المظفر إبٍدَ اللَّه َ

11

(1) سُمَّى جميع هذا الجزء بجلس
- المولى السيد الاغل في الدولة (2) سيد الرؤساء أبي المكارم على بن مولانا مجد الدين شرف الإسلام (3) نصيبي الأمام ظهير الدولة بهاء الملة زعيم الأمة نور الزرقاء أبي المعالي (4) هبة الله بن محمد بن علي بن المطلب صفي أمير المؤمنين ادام الله يائمه
- وجمع (5) معه أخوه المولى أبو المظفر الحسن في الحاجب أبي الحسن بن محمد بن محمد بن (6) بن علي بن العلاف المقرئ بقراءة الشيخ إبٍدَ عبد الله الحسن بن محمد بن خسرو (7) الباجي
- وجمع ولده أبو القاسم يحيى
- والقاضي الاجل جمال القضاة أبو سعد (8) المبارك بن علي المقرمي
  - ولده أبو المعايي محمد
  - والحاطب بن كوكين بن بادر (9)
  - والشيخ الديب أبو علي الحسن بن علي بن يوسف المحولي
  - ولده يوسيف (10)
- وأبو نصر المبارك بن عبد الوهاب بن منصور الفراز
  - ولده سمعه (11)

مثبت الأسماء بغير هذا التاريخ عمر بن ظفر بن أحمد
في محرم سنة (12) احدى وخمسين
(1) ملهم
(2) ملهم
(3) ملهم
(4) ملهم
(5) ملهم
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(7) ملهم
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(9) ملهم
(10) ملهم
(11) ملهم
(12) ملهم
وادي محمد أحمد بن (10) علي بن حمزة بن صدقة
وكل سماع ابن محمد هبة الله بن أبي غالب (11)
ولذلك في ذي الحجة سنة ثمان وثمانين واربع مائة نقله ابن يوسف

13

(1) بلغ سماعا من أوله إلى آخره على الحاجب الجليل ابن الحسن علي بن محمد بن علي بن العلاف رضي
الله عنه (2) وجمع أبي السادة
- أبو بكر محمد بن الفضل بن محمد بن دلال الشيباني
- ولده أبو منصور (3) محمد
- والشيخ الجليل ابن الفضل هبة الله بن محمد بن الطيب
- ولده أبو النجاح محمد (4)
- ولده محمد
- وسعيد
- والشيخ أبو عبد الله الحسن بن محمد بن أحمد المعروف (5) ابن الهبي
- وابو القسم علي بن المؤمل بن مسلم الكاتب
- وجمع من (6) باب الادل والتجني _ ابن نصر أحمد بن عمر الفرج الأبري
- وجمع جميعه (7) أبو العز جامع بن ابن سعد الدقيق
- وجمع أيضا _ من باب التجني والادل (8) أحمد بن فارس الخياط
- بقراءة هبة الله بن محمد بن علي بن الحسن
ولذلك (9) في ربع الأول من سنة ست وثمانين واربع مائة

13a

(1) واعيد لابن نصر أحمد بن الفرج بن عمر (2) الدينوري الابرى ما فاته (3) وعمل له جميع الكتاب
 سماعا (4) والجماعة _
This page shows the end of the text of part 8 of al-Ḫarāʾiṭī’s *Iṭilāl 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.
The first five lines contain the rest of certificate #1, followed by certificates #2 to #5 that are delimited against each other by lines or frames, as usual also on the following pages. The certificate at the bottom, #5, was transferred from another manuscript (see above, section 9).
This page contains certificates #6 and #7. The lower certificate, #7, was again transferred from another manuscript.
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.
This page shows the end of the text of part 6 of al-Ḫarāʾīṭī's *Iʿtilāl al-qulūb* in the first fourteen lines. In line 15 the following chapter (*Bāb Faḍīlat ḥifẓ al-sirr wa-ḍamm iḏāʿatihi*) is mentioned, again to ensure correct connection. Line 16 contains a religious formula. The five last lines contain certificate #13. In the outer (= right) margin, a follow-up session is mentioned (= certificate #13a). The remark in the inner (= left) margin is a collation note (a similar note can be found in the margin of fol. 23b).