

# علوم المخطوطات

دورية علمية سنوية محكمة

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(العدد الأول ٢٠١٨)

# 'Ulūm Al-Makhtūt

Annual peer-reviewed journal

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An annual peer-reviewed journal, published by the Manuscripts Center at the Bibliotheca Alexandrina, dedicated to publishing original research in Arabic manuscripts studies, history of philosophy and sciences, and heritage studies. Translations, commentaries, critiques and critical editions sections are featured in every issue.

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- This journal provides a platform for the publication of original and novel academic research in the areas of codicology, history and philosophy of science and Arabic/ Islamic heritage studies. The journal welcomes the submission of critical editions, translations, critiques, book reviews of Arabic heritage studies and manuscripts, in Arabic, English and French.
- Submitted papers should not have been published before, as whole or in part, derived substantially from the author's thesis or dissertation, or under consideration for publication elsewhere.
- Submitted papers are typically between 5,000 to 10,000 words in length (for researches, studies and critical editions), and should not be less than 2,000 words (for critical essays, book reviews and translations).
- A brief abstract (150 words maximum), in both Arabic and English, is required.
- Papers are submitted electronically via the journal email along with an adequate bio of the author.
- The journal adopts a blind scholarly peer-review process. Authors shall be informed of the reviewing process' outcome. The editors reserve the right to make modifications and changes to accepted papers as necessary. The decision of acceptance or rejection of papers is final.
- Upon acceptance of a paper, the author must make timely and effective modifications and corrections if required by the reviewers. The editors may opt not to disclose the reason for rejection of a submitted paper.
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# Editorial

The ranking of any given academic establishment is determined by its ability to serve as an authoritative repository for scholars to refer to on current scholarly issues. This is best manifested in the publishing of peer-reviewed academic journals concerned with up-to-date scholarly topics and findings, in addition to critiques of latest research in related fields. The crucial role of this type of scholarly production is building a collective knowledge base underpinned by the continuum of investigation and study to further the progress of science.

The missions and goals of the Manuscripts Center (MsC), affiliated to the Cultural Outreach Sector, at the Bibliotheca Alexandrina, are set to contribute rigorously to work on Arabic/Islamic heritage, in order to highlight its pivotal role in the intellectual human experience. Thus, the MsC regularly holds specialized international conferences and seminars, where eminent world experts in the fields of Arabic/Islamic heritage and manuscript studies meet to shed light on the untrodden aspects of heritage, and introduce its written rarities scattered all over the collections of world libraries. Its cultural and training programs are tailored to meet the increasing demand in the Arab world for specialized lectures and workshops in cataloging, manuscript studies and codicology. Moreover, the MsC dedicates considerable effort to academic publishing, including heritage books, translated scholarly papers related to manuscripts, as well as conference and seminar proceedings. During the past years, it released manuscript catalogs and directories of manuscript rarities of its collections.





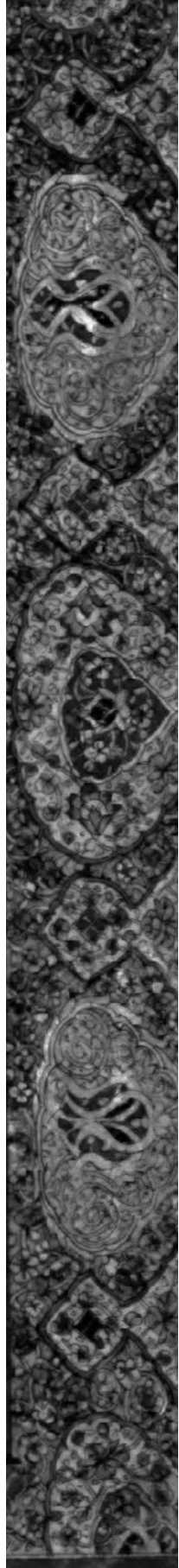
It is well-known that understanding heritage to generate knowledge requires a scrutinizing process of theorization of its input and output. This process should start from revisiting the epistemological theory adopted by early Arab scholars, and end by constructing a different conception of Arabic/Islamic heritage founded on unprejudiced and systematic methodology. To this end, we have to contemplate the contextual inquiries of scientific research on heritage. Whereas some scholars regard heritage as lumbering and others attribute to it many contemporary intellectual disillusionments of our Arab societies, it is deemed necessary to contribute to its scrutinizing and objective research that is not limited to textual analysis, but also to the deduction of its underpinning epistemological premises and functions as well as future perspectives.

For all the foregoing, the MsC became determined to publish a peer-reviewed journal entirely devoted to Arabic manuscript studies. Within the last two years, it held extensive meetings with codicology and manuscript experts as well as university professors specialized in related field of heritage to decide on the journal's scope and publishing guidelines. Different Arabic journals on manuscripts were also consulted to settle on the added value of the new journal. It was decided to pay more attention to textual research in addition to standard studies of the manuscripts. Moreover, the journal language is not limited to Arabic only, as the first issue comprises an English paper, and we welcome more languages in the future. Finally, we have chosen the title to be Manuscript Studies to match the journal scope that encompasses traditional research on Arabic manuscripts to include papers on critical editing, codicology, etc.

The first issue of the journal comes in fulfillment of our aspirations. The papers included are variegated in topics, methodologies and approaches. They cover varied topics on Arabic manuscripts including codicology, cataloging, critical editing, bibliographies, critiques and commentaries. They are written in either Arabic or English, with bilingual abstracts to highlight their content to non-Arabic/English readers. In conclusion, we would like to express our gratitude to all who contributed to the issuing of this journal, above all our international advisory committee for their unrelenting guidance and overall support.

**Dr. Medhat Issa**  
Director, Manuscripts Center  
Editor-in-Chief





# **Non-Arabic Studies**

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# History before Islam: A Manuscript of Ibn Ḥaldūn<sup>(1)</sup>

Dr. Werner Schwartz

Senior Researcher in Islamic Studies

## Abstract

Whenever manuscripts of a work exist that the author worked on himself over a certain time this may shed light on the way he created his work. This is the case with three manuscripts of Ibn Ḥaldūn's history of the ancient world. We follow the history of one manuscript and study its relation to the other two by drawing on a few examples chosen to illustrate how this manuscript can mirror the author's development of his theme. One question we try to answer is timing. Is it possible to follow the dates connected with the manuscripts and arrange them in chronological order? Will it be possible to speak of the author's draft as the source from which some of the manuscripts have been copied or is it conceivable that he worked on several copies from time to time? Our aim is to show that manuscript studies must not be limited to codicology alone.

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(1) It has been possible to prepare this paper only with the generous help of colleagues and friends who gave access to the manuscripts in their possession and lent their support in many ways. My thanks are due to colleagues in Topkapı Sarayı, al-izāna al-asaniya, al-Maktaba al-Waaniya li-'l-Mamlaka al-Mağribiya and the British Library. Last but not least, I have to thank my friend professor Ibrāhīm Šabbū for his inspiration and support which have kept me on the trail of Ibn aldūn for more than two decades.



# التاريخ قبل الإسلام: مخطوط لابن خلدون

د. فيرنر شفارتس

باحث متخصص في الدراسات الإسلامية

## ملخص البحث

متى وجدت نسخٌ خطية لعملٍ تراثي ما، عكف مؤلفه على فترات زمنية متلاحقة على تطوير أفكاره من خلال نسخه المتعاقبة، فقد تلقي تلك النسخ الضوء على منهج نشوء ذلك المؤلف. وهذا هو الحال مع نسخ خطية ثلاث لكتاب (العبر) لابن خلدون الذي يتناول فيه تاريخ العالم القديم. ومن ثم عملنا على تتبع تاريخ إحدى هذه المخطوطات ودراسة علاقتها بالنسختين الأخرتين من خلال الوقوف على بعض النماذج المختارة منها لتبيان انعكاس تطور فكر المؤلف في ثناياها. كما عملنا على الإجابة على التساؤلات المتعلقة بزمن التأليف: هل يمكن تتبع التواريخ المرتبطة بالمخطوطات الثلاث وترتيبها ترتيباً زمنياً؟ وهل يمكن الحديث عن مسودة المؤلف بوصفها الأصل الذي تم النقل عنها، أم أنه من الوارد أن ابن خلدون عمل على عدة نسخ من وقت لآخر؟ إن غاية هذا البحث هو بيان ضرورة عدم قصر دراسات المخطوطات على الجوانب الكودوكولوجية وحدها.





Kitāb al-‘Ibar<sup>(2)</sup>, the world history of ‘Abd ar-Rahmān Ibn Ḥaldūn (732-808/1332-1406) has long been regarded as disappointing when compared to the famous Muqaddima where the same author gives an elaborate introduction to history<sup>(3)</sup>. Indeed, only after he had written al-‘Ibar others seem to have applied in their works what Ibn Ḥaldūn is describing in the Muqaddima as the social and economic factors underlying the development of society and kingdoms<sup>(4)</sup>. Why did Ibn Ḥaldūn himself restrict his Kitāb al-‘Ibar to political and military history mainly and to the general description of dynasties and peoples? I would say that in his lifetime, when his work as a historian was only one among many facets, he simply did not have the intention or the time to do much more than to list what he regarded as historical facts. This alone meant to search for and read a great number of sources many of which he could consult only after moving from Tūnis to Egypt in 784/1383. To collect historical data in al-Qāhira (Cairo) was an opportunity for him to learn about history on a scale much broader than what was known to him before.

With the exception of the parts where Ibn Ḥaldūn wrote as a historian of his own time, the importance of *Kitāb al-‘Ibar* as a whole lies in the possibility to follow its

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(2) See the recent critical edition: ‘Abd ar-Rahmān Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Kitāb al-‘Ibar wa-dīwān al-mubtada’ wa-l-ḥabar fī ayyām al-‘Arab wa-l-‘aḡam wa-l-barbar wa-man ‘āṣarahum min dawī š-sulṭān al-akbar*, ed. by Ibrāhīm Šabbūh *et al.* 14 vols., Tūnis 2006-2014. <http://gso.gbv.de/DB=2.1/PPNSET?PPN=599628391>

(3) See Talbi, Mohamed, “Ibn Ḥaldūn”, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, second edition*, vol. 3, Leiden 1971.

(4) Foremost among them are his contemporary and student Abū-l-‘Abbās Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī (766-845/1364-1442) and perhaps the Syrian historian Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥalīl al-Asadī (d. after 854/1450). On al-Asadī see Muḥammad Kurd ‘Alī, “at-Taisīr wa-l-‘Iṭtibār wa-ṭ-Taḥrīr wa-l-ihṭibār fīmā Yaḡību min Husn at-Tadbīr wa-ṭ-Taṣarruf wa-l-ihṭiyār”, *Maḡallat al-Maḡma ‘al-‘Ilmī al-‘Arabī* 11, 3 (Dimašq, November 1923): 321-25 and the edition of this work by ‘Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad Ṭulaimāt (al-Qāhira 1968). For a useful summary of the reaction, negative as well as positive, of Arab authors to Ibn Ḥaldūn see Cengiz Tomar “Between Myth and Reality: Approaches to Ibn Khaldun in the Arab World”, *Asian Journal of Social Science* 36, 3 (2008) p. 590-611. Tomar’s article is the (imperfect) translation of his paper presented at a symposium in Istanbul in June 2006: Recep Şentürk (ed.), *Geçmişten Geleceğe İbn Haldun: Vefatının 600. Yılında İbn Haldun’u Yeniden Okumak*, İstanbul: İslām Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2006, p. 29-47.

famous author on his way of figuring out a comprehensive picture of history for himself. By comparing some of the sources of Ibn Ḥaldūn that are extant today to what the author gleaned from them, the modern reader can imagine the way he worked; at the same time we begin to understand the difficulty he faced in his attempt to arrive at a consistent sequence of events and to identify historic persons with variant names written in several differing ways even in one and the same text. His sources provided much detail and gave information often contradictory within themselves or conflicting with the narrative of other sources. What added to these difficulties was the often-poor quality of the copies of such sources that he had to rely on.

In this paper, we will concentrate mainly on a manuscript containing part 3 of *al-‘Ibar*. This part is the first following the *Muqaddima* and deals with history before Islam<sup>(5)</sup>. The manuscript in question is one of three known to us today that the author has worked on himself<sup>(6)</sup>. Any papers that could be regarded as the author’s notebook or draft for *al-‘Ibar* 3 have not come down to us.

Ibn Ḥaldūn had been writing the *Muqaddima* and a first version of the ‘*Ibar* while living in Qal‘at Ibn Salāma<sup>(7)</sup> (from 776/1375 to 780/1379) and added to it when in Tūnis (until 784/1382). He obviously was proud enough of what he had achieved with this work that he thought it worthy to be presented to the Ḥafṣid ruler in Tūnis Abu ‘I-‘Abbās Aḥmad (reigned 771-796/1370-1394) in recognition of the latter’s kind reception<sup>(8)</sup>. The

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(5) See Ğuz’ 3 (Tūnis 2013) of the 14 volume edition (note 2 above). The page references to “*al-‘Ibar* 3” given in what follows relate to this edition.

(6) The manuscripts of the entire work that were used for the critical edition have been presented by Ibrāhīm Šabbūh in his prefaces to *al-‘Ibar* 1, 31\*-129\* and *al-‘Ibar* 3, 19\*-72\*.

(7) Located south of Faranda (Frenda), province of Tiyyarat (Tiaret), in modern Algeria.

(8) See his autobiography, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān Ibn Ḥaldūn, *at-Ta’rīf bi-Ibn-Ḥaldūn wa-riḥlatuhū ġarban wa-šarqan*, ed. by Muḥammad Ibn Tawīt at-Ṭanġī, in the revised edition published by Ibrāhīm Šabbūh (Tūnis 2006), p. 240. The *Ta’rīf* is part as well of *al-‘Ibar* 14 (Tūnis 2010); see the 14 volume edition (note 2 above) on p. 533-825.



manuscript volumes of this work are not known today. However, Naṣr al-Hūrīnī, the editor of the first complete Arabic printing of *al-Ibar*, saw a copy of it in al-Qāhira around the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>(9)</sup>.

After moving to Egypt Ibn Ḥaldūn won the favour of the first in the line of the Circassian sultans (al-Ġarākisa), al-Malik az-Zāhir Saif ad-Dīn Barqūq (reigned 784-791/1382-1389 and 792-801/1390-1399), who supported him in many ways. He continued to work on his history and broadened its scope considerably. To honor his benefactor and retain his goodwill Ibn Ḥaldūn produced a new copy of *al-Ibar* in 14 parts and seven volumes and gave it the title *al-Kitāb az-Zāhirī fi 'l-Ibar bi-Aḥbār al-'Arab wa-'l-'Aġam wa-'l-Barbar*. This copy, which we designate by the letter Z was completed in 797/1395 and is preserved intact in two libraries in Istanbul<sup>(10)</sup>. It has many additions and entries in the author's own hand<sup>(11)</sup>.

In 799/1396 sultan Barqūq sent a delegation to the Maġrib equipped with presents for the rulers of Tūnis, Tilimsān (Tlemcen) and Fās<sup>(12)</sup>. Ibn Ḥaldūn as a native of North Africa

(9) This is understood from his citation of a lengthy dedication to Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad (on the margins of p. 6-8 of vol. 1 of al-Hūrīnī's edition, Būlāq 1867) which he says, is taken from a manuscript written by a maġribī copyist (p. 6, note 8). Toward the end of the lengthy note (p. 8) al-Hūrīnī says, *النسخة المذكورة مختصرة، عن هذه النسخة المنقولة من خزانة الكتب الفاسية*. This means that he understood the copy containing the dedication to Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad to give an abbreviated version of the copy he relied on, one that was copied from one kept at the "Fās library". The same note had been published before in al-Hūrīnī's separate edition of the *Muqaddima*, Būlāq 1858; reproduced in *al-Ibar 1*, 13\*.

(10) The two parts of the *Muqaddima* are held by the *Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi* (number 863 of the *Damat İbrahim Paşa koleksiyonu*). The remaining 12 parts, bound in 6 volumes are found in *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi* (number A. 2924).

(11) See the description of ms. Z by İbrāhīm Şabbūh in *al-Ibar 1*, 96\*-113\*. According to Şabbūh (p. 102\*) it is rather likely that Z was never given to al-Malik az-Zāhir.

(12) The aim was to be supplied with horses that could be used to defend areas under Mamlūk control against invading Mongol armies. Their leader Tīmūr (reigned 772-807/1370-1405) who had led campaigns in Persia and neighbouring countries already threatened to invade to Syria.



had advised Barqūq on details of this mission and he took it as an opportunity to add his own gift to those of the sultan. He had another copy made of *al-‘Ibar* to be presented to the Marīnid ruler in Fās, Abū Fāris ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Aḥmad<sup>(13)</sup>. This is manuscript Q, of which we will speak in more detail in the main part of the present paper.

Finally there is a third manuscript copy of *al-‘Ibar*, of which only one volume survives. It is kept in the British Library and designated by letter B here and in the edition of 2013<sup>(14)</sup>. This volume contains parts 3 and 4 of the ‘Ibar. It is likely that other volumes existed along with this one, but no trace of them has been found so far. B carries no date but in view of many entries by the author in his own hand it must have been copied before the latter’s death (808/1406). Judging from the completeness of the text it is very likely that it is the youngest of the three manuscripts. Just like the mss. Z and Q it has been written in the East but its script lacks the elegance of the other two. In contrast to them B uses diacritical points in most cases where this is necessary and adds vowel signs here and there, and especially with non-Arab names. Whether this means that the copyist of B was more faithful in following the author’s papers or whether he added diacritics and vowels on his own account can only tentatively be decided when looking at each case individually.

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(13) He reigned 796-799/1393-1396 and died before the delegation could reach him. It was welcomed instead by his successor Abū ‘Āmir ‘Abdallāh b. Abi ‘l-‘Abbās Aḥmad (r. 799-800/1396-1397).

(14) Cf. a short description by Šabbūḥ, *al-‘Ibar* 3, 32\*. *It is filed in the BL under number Add. 23,271 without any indication of its origin. But there is provenance information in the manuscript itself. A stamp on the back of the first of two folios bound before fol. 1 of the original ms. says, “Purchased of Mrs Taylor April 1860”. This indicates that B is one of the Arabic manuscripts of Robert Taylor (1788-1852), British resident in Bagdad, which were sold to the British Museum by his son-in-law T. K. Lynch in 1860; there are 246 mss. according to <https://www.qdl.qa/en/arabic-manuscripts-collection-british-library> (last seen 8 Nov. 2017). Taylor, with a pencil, made a lot of notes on the margins and added numbers to folios 1 through to 215. The first note on fol. 1a is name, “R. Taylor”, the second just beneath reads as follows: “Second part of the Kitab ul Arab or Book of the Arabs, Bagdad 22 February 1842”. It is likely that there was more provenance information on the upper half of fol. 2a but this was obscured by black ink. Two identical seals on fol. 2b are unidentified; they are different from “Robert Taylor’s seal. Add MS 23570, f. 62r” as shown on the web page cite above and where Taylor’s name is given as عبدالله تيلر.*



\* \*

When in 799/1396 Ibn Ḥaldūn prepared a seven volume copy of *al-ʿIbar* for the Marīnid sultan, copying must have started a few months before the delegation departed<sup>(15)</sup>. He expressly demanded that his work be kept indefinitely in the Ḥizānat al-Qarawīyīn, the library of the great Friday mosque in Fās. To ensure this he had a document of endowment (*taḥbīs* or *waqfiya*) inscribed on the first page of each of the seven volumes, dated 21. Šafar 799/23. November 1396, signed by two witnesses and by himself<sup>(16)</sup>. In it, he set the rules for the use of the volume. While it was understood that it was meant to be read in the mosque or its library usually, a trustworthy person could be allowed to take it out on condition of leaving a dependable deposit (*rahn waṭīq*) to ensure adherence to the rule, namely to return it after a maximum delay of two months, this being enough to read or copy it.

A fine building had been erected to house the library's books by sultan Abū ʿInān in 750/1349<sup>(17)</sup>. Ibn Ḥaldūn himself had spent some time studying at the Ġāmiʿ al-Qarawīyīn and was well acquainted with the learned society frequenting this important centre<sup>(18)</sup>. It must have been his aim to share his work with the scholars and students there, some

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(15) One of the scribes whom Ibn Ḥaldūn employed for several parts of *al-ʿIbar* left a date at the end of volume 5 of ms. Q giving his name as ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan Walad al-Faḥūrī (otherwise called Ibn al-Faḥḥār; cf. *al-ʿIbar* 1, p. 122\*) with a date not fully intelligible anymore but giving the month of Ramaḍān 798 which is equal to the interval of June 8<sup>th</sup> to July 7<sup>th</sup>, 1396. Cf. Lévi-Provençal, p. 163 (see note 16). This would leave about half a year for the remaining two volumes before the date of the endowment; see the following.

(16) Évariste Lévi-Provençal was the first to publish one of these *taḥbīs* documents (from vol. 5) in photographic reproduction, to transcribe and translate it ("Note sur l'exemplaire du Kitāb al-ʿibar offert par Ibn Haldun à la bibliothèque d'al-Karawīyīn à Fès", *Journal Asiatique* 203, 1923, p. 161-168). The same *taḥbīs* from volume 5 has been printed from a more recent photograph in *al-ʿIbar* 1, p. 17 and repeated in *al-ʿIbar* 3, p. 45\*. The *taḥbīs* from volume 7 has been reproduced on the following page, *al-ʿIbar* 3, p. 46\*.

(17) This building was last refurbished in 2004 along with the larger library building built right next to it after World War I.

(18) *at-Taʿrīf* p. 313.

of whom he knew personally. Indeed, the seven volumes were received into the library and became popular among those who visited al-Qarawīyīn, as may be judged from the numerous manuscript copies of *al-‘Ibar* which may be traced back to them<sup>(19)</sup>.

However, the seven volumes of the work shared the fate of many books that were declared to be religious endowments and designated to be kept indefinitely in the institution where they were placed. Abu ‘l-‘Abbās al-Maqqarī, who was imām and muftī at al-Qarawīyīn between 1613 and 1617 is the last who confirms that he saw the eight (!) volumes of *al-‘Ibar* there<sup>(20)</sup>. When renewed interest in Ibn Ḥaldūn in the 19<sup>th</sup> century prompted the search for reliable manuscripts there was no news anymore of the full set of volumes being kept in Fās<sup>(21)</sup>. A list of Arabic books kept in al-Qarawīyīn, which was printed with a preface by Alfred Bel in 1917, can be read as recording only two volumes<sup>(22)</sup>. When Lévi-Provençal visited the library (in 1920?) he briefly saw two volumes only, the third and the fifth<sup>(23)</sup>. In 1961 only Muḥammad al-Fāsī is the first to

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(19) See ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān Badawī, *Mu‘allafāt Ibn Ḥaldūn, al-Qāhira 1962*.

(20) The last volume according to him contains the author’s autobiography (وقد عرف في آخره بنفسه). Abu‘-l-‘Abbās Aḥmad al-Maqqarī, *an-Naḥḥ at-ṭīb min ḡuṣn al-Andalus ar-raṭīb*, ed. by Iḥsān ‘Abbās, Bairūt 1968, vol. 6, p. 191. But the autobiography is bound with volume 7 in Q as in other mss. So, if “eight volumes” is no error, the only explanation would be that one of the other volumes had been split into two.

(21) Jacob Gräberg de Hemsö, consul for Sweden and Norway in Tanḡa (Tangier) since 1816, was told that the only reliable and complete copy and containing the dedication by the author himself could be found in Fās. We cannot take this as confirming the existence of all volumes since no number is given and he did not visit Fās himself. When Gräberg demanded that a copy of this ms. should be made for him, he did not receive it before he had to leave for Tripoli in 1822. He reported this to the Asiatic Society in London in its session held on January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1832 (“An Account of the Great Historical Work of the African Philosopher Ibn Khaldūn”, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 3, 1834, p. 389).

(22) This list was drafted by two local scholars; *Barnāmaḡ yaštamil ‘alā bayān al-kutub al-‘arabīya al-mauḡūda bi-ḥizānat ḡāmi‘ al-Qarawīyīn bi ‘āšimat Fās, Fās 1917*, p. 100 under number 1266. The French title gives 1918 as the date of printing; *Catalogue des livres arabes de la Bibliothèque de la Mosquée d’El-Qarouiyine à Fès*.

(23) Lévi-Provençal, p. 163 (see note 16). His description of vol. 5 seems to indicate that this one was still =



report that there remain three volumes of the work in the library, all of them displaying the document of endowment signed by the author<sup>(24)</sup>. He fails to mention which of the volumes he saw and whether he inspected them himself.

After visiting the library in 2008 I can confirm that of seven only three volumes are left, all of them in a deplorable state. Volume 1, 2, 4 and 6 are missing. Vol. 3 (numbered 73) is incomplete at the end<sup>(25)</sup>.

Some fifty years ago, in a misguided attempt at preservation it was laminated, meaning that all folios are now covered in plastic sheets. This did more harm to the manuscript than contribute to its stability. It will take many months and a lot of patience for a skilled conservator to save and preserve what is left. Table 1 (photograph taken in 2008) shows vol. 3 bloated after laminating.

Volume 5 (numbered 72) has received the same treatment and is laminated from start to end. Just as in vol. 3 huge page numbers have been stamped throughout (Table 3).

In comparison vol. 7 looks the worst at first glance. However, it has escaped lamination and has no apparent loss of pages<sup>(26)</sup>. The holes and tears visible here are quite common in Moroccan manuscripts, the climate favouring the spread of insects in all organic material that is left unattended.

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= complete when he saw it. Concerning the other volume (vol. 3) he writes: “Commençant à la dynastie omaïade : il s’arrêterait au chapitre intitulé : وصول السلطان محمد إلى بغداد.” (Referring to p. 492 of vol. 3 in al-Hürīnī’s edition. Būlāq 1867). This is correct, or to be most precise: the last page of vol. 3 of ms. Q is numbered 478 and its bottom line corresponds to the last line of p. 493 in the al- Būlāq edition: وكان شجاعا .. Here the text breaks off, lacking the next from p. 494 to p. 543 (Būlāq) corresponding to pp. 501-610 of part 6 of the critical edition (2010).

(24) Mohammed al-Fasī, “Les bibliothèques au Maroc et quelques-uns de leurs manuscrits rares”, *Hespéris-Tamuda* 2, 1, 1961, p. 143.

(25) See note 23.

(26) This remains to be verified, since this volume was not available to the editors of parts 13 (2012) and 14 (2010) for their work on the critical edition. Note: What has been said of the three volumes is true for the time of my last visit to Fās in 2008. The conservation department of the library may have started work on one or more of the volumes since.





Figure 1: Volume 3 of ms. Q

So of the seven volumes sent by Ibn Ḥaldūn in 799/1396 only three remain in Fās. Contrary to the author’s will and the laws governing Islamic endowment all the others have been taken or have vanished somehow after al-Maqqarī wrote about them in the second decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

\* \*

There remained another volume, of which Ibrāhīm Šabbūḥ had obtained a microfilm from Morocco to be used in his great project of publishing the first critical edition of *al-‘Ibar*. He had given me a paper print made from the microfilm to work on the part of *al-‘Ibar* dealing with history before Islam. But what I had before my eyes at that time was almost impossible to read. However if anything it proved that this volume must exist somewhere.

If the manuscript itself was not at Fās anymore it must be possible to locate it in another library. Information found on the first frame of the microfilm led the way. It had a number, “9684 II” and the name of a library, “al-Ḥizāna al-Ḥasanīya” which is the name of the king’s library located in the royal domain Agdāl in the capital ar-Ribāṭ (Rabat).



Figure 2: The last page in volume 3 of ms. Q

اخيار الفرج فيما ملكوه من سوا حل الشام وثغوره  
وكف تغلبوا عليها وبداية امرهم في ذلك وصايرة  
وربما لنا الكلام اول الكتاب في اسباب هذه الامه عند ذكر اسباب الامم وامم  
واريافت بن بوح بن من ولد ريفات بن كوز بن يافناحق الصقالبه والمخند والمرك  
وقال من بنو سوس اعم من عظمائهم في موز واملواظنهم من بلاد المعور فانهم في شمالي  
الحجر الرومي من صلح رومه الاما وراه عزبا وشيخا لا وكانوا اولاد سوسيون وان الروم  
بالطاهه عند استيصال امرهم فلما اعضت دول اولئك اسفل هولاء الفرجه ملكهم  
وامر قواد ولا حاشد وله القوط بالاندرلس والطلاقة بعد هدمه وملك اللاتين شيخ الام  
في جزين انكطرت بالحل المحط العزلي الشمالي وما تقالبه ومخاديه من المعور ومن ملك  
افرنسه وهو عند كاسم افرنجه بعينه من قونيه وسينا وهو ما والبلخ رومه عزبا  
الى التنايا المغصه من جزين الاندرلس الحل المحط بها من سرها وسى ملك السابا  
البروت وكان دوله هولاء الافرنسيين منهم من اعطرو ولهم واستيصال امرهم بعد الروم  
وعمر صدر من ولها الاسلام العربيه سمو الى ملك بلاد المشرق من ناحيتهم وعلبوا  
عبيد الروم في اخر المائه الحاسه وكان ملكهم لذلك العهد يرد ويل معش  
زخارا من ملوتم الاصفليه وملكها من بلاد المسلمين سنة ثمان مائة وبعثهم سمو الى ملك ما  
مراهام افرنقيه وبلاد الشام والاسلا على بنت المقدس وطال ترددهم في ذلك سمر  
استخفهم له وحرصهم عليه فمما يقال جلفا العديس مصر لا اسفل ملك السلجوقيه  
وامر عوا الشام من ايدهم وحاصروهم مصر فيقال ان المستنصر منهم دس الى الفرج الحروج  
الى الشام وسهل امرهم لحوالوا من السلجوقيه ومن مر امم فتح الفرج لذلك وحوالوا  
طوقهم في العمل المصطنع ونعم ملك الروم العور عليه من الخرج حتى شرط عليهم ان  
سلاوا انطاجه لكون المسلمين كانوا الحدودها من ملكه فعلوا سرجه وسهل لهم العيو  
في حياجه فحاصروا منه سبعين مائة في العبد والعهه واسهوا الى بلاد طنجار سلان  
وجم القاهم جمهوره وروا بلاد الروم الاذني وصلوا بطالته وبها نغي ساس من  
امر السلجوقيه محاصره بها وخذلوا صاحبها ووسوعن صرخه بالان تصدع  
الطايكه فاسلع حتى ضاوه الحصار فغديه بعض الحاميه ملك الفرج البلاد وهرب  
باغي سبان معتل وحمل اليهم راسه وكان ملكهم الماصرون لذلك حسمه يرد على  
ضجيل وكندفركي والتفري وتمند وهو معدم العسكر مردو اليه من انطا

Figure 3: Page 177 in volume 5 of ms. Q



Figure 4: Volume 7 of ms. Q viewed from top left corner

I was granted permission in 2007 to work in the library and was able to inspect what had been volume 2 of *al-ʿIbar*, now being a heap of loose folios carrying the number 9684 II. That those papers stemmed from the same manuscript Q of which three volumes were identified in the library of al-Qarawīyīn was easy to see. The text written in the elegant style of Ibn al-Faḥḥār dealt with pre-Islamic history and the history of the Arabs, the Prophet and the first four ḥulafāʾ. The paper was of the same kind and format and there were 27 lines per page as in the other volumes. There is no doubt that this was part of ms. Q. at al-Ḥasanīya library high quality scans of a first series of folios were made. With the support from the departments for conservation and for reproduction of the national library this job was completed the following year by scanning all that remained of the manuscript. Differing contrast and colours in the examples shown on the next pages are due to the scans having been made under varying conditions with at least three different scanners or cameras.

Having seen volume 7 before (Table 4 above), the remnants of volume 2 looked worse still. The 206 folios were numbered using pencil, but the numbers were given just as the folios were found, that is in total disorder. After establishing the correct sequence no new numbering was introduced yet because it is hoped that more folios might still be found in Fās or ar-Ribāṭ and will be added.



Establishing the correct order was not difficult because the text could be compared to manuscripts Z and B and to the Būlāq edition. But it was necessary to determine exactly how many folios were missing and at which places. After putting the folios into correct order, a close inspection of those instances where the folios provided uninterrupted text revealed that every tenth leave had a number written in the upper left corner, except in cases where the paper's corner had been torn off. For an example look at Table 5 above where الخامس والعشرون (the twenty-fifth) can be discerned in the upper left corner of fol. 58a. As there is no exception to this it can be concluded that each quire (kurrās) thus counted<sup>(27)</sup> contained five double folios. When folded every quire had 10 folios or 20 pages as shown in the sketch. The last quire in this manuscript is numbered twenty-eighth on fol. 200a. Based on this and checking against the amount of text known from the other manuscripts it is possible to say that the 28 quires equalled 280 pages; see the list at the end of this paper<sup>(28)</sup>. Today there exist not more than 206 folios of the original. Of the first part relating the history before Islam only 65 folios are extant of previously 95. The second part, devoted to the first Islamic era still has 141 folios of previously 154.

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(27) For a systematic examination of dated manuscripts held by the French national library see Marie-Geneviève Guesdon, "La numérotation des cahiers et la foliotation dans les manuscrits arabes datés jusqu'à 1450", *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, 99-100 (Novembre 2002), p. 101-15.

(28) The number of pages in the original may have differed slightly of course, if we imagine that quires at the beginning and the end of the ms. may have had fewer than 10 folios each.





وكان يرضى المسلمون ويعتبه ان عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه عن الرسول عن امور الناس حتى احدهم بالسيف  
 مضى وامره فوجي في عنقه وقال استرح قبل ان يعزق الناس ليمسه سلمه  
 فهم ماعه سلمه وفيه في الناس الصخره درهم وميمه - ممرزوا، الفساح  
 مقتل عمر وامر الشوري وسيفه عثمان ،  
 كان لعنه من شعبه مولان بنصارى الحجر اسمه ابو لولوع وكان يمد عليه في الخرج  
 فلع لولوع في السور في السه وقال امدى على المعينه فانه سقل على في المراج ذكر  
 في كل يوم قال وما صنعناك قال بخا اذاد نقاش فقال ليس ذلك بكبر على  
 هذه الصابغ وقد لعني انك تقول اصنع كما تطبخ بالرخ فاصنع لي رجا والـ  
 اصنع لك رجا كحطب رجا اهل المشرف والمغرب وانصرف فقال عمر لموعدي  
 العجب فلما اصبح خرج عمر الى الصلاة واستوت الصعوف ودخل ابولولوع في  
 الناس وسيد خجور براسه صابه في وسطه فضرب عمر ست ضربات احداهما تحت  
 ضربه ، مثل كلبين اى النكبر اللبى سقط عمر واستخلف عبد الرحمن بن عوف في  
 الصلاة واحتمل الى بيته ثم دعا عبد الرحمن وقال اريد ان اعهد اليك قال فقتل  
 على رجا قال لا قال الله لا افعل قال فحسني صمتا حتى اعهد الى المنقر الذي توفي  
 رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وهو عنهم راض بسمر دعا عليا وعثمان والزبير  
 وسعد وعبد الرحمن معهم وقال تنظروا طلحه ثلاثا فان جا والافا فذوا امرهم  
 بنشد الله من بعضي الله الامر منهم ان يحمل اثاره على الناس واوصاهم بالانصار  
 الذين شقوه والذوار والامان الحسب المحسنهم وبعضهم منهم واوصى بالعرب  
 فانهم ماده الاثلام ان تؤخذ ضد فانهم يحفظها فوضع في حفرة ام واوصى بدمه  
 رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ان توفي لهم فعهدهم ثم قال الفصح هبل لغت لقد ترك  
 للطبقه من بعدك على انقى من الراحم دعا انا طلحه الانصارى فقال ثم على باب  
 هو لا يلدع احد اذ يدخل اليهم حتى يعضوا امرهم ثم قال يا عبد الله من عمر اخرج فانظر  
 من قتلني قال يا امير المؤمنين ابولولوع غلام المغربم قال الحمد لله الذي لم يجعل  
 بيتي بيد رجل سجد لله سجده واحده من عبيته الى عائشه بسنادها في فنه مع النبي  
 صلى الله عليه وسلم والى بكر فادنت له ثم قال يا عبد الله ان اختلف القوم فك من الاكثر  
 فان ساواوا فك ملح عند الرحمن بن عوف ثم ادخل للناس ودخل المهاجروا والاصهار  
 معانهم اهدا عن ملاء منكم فعاو امعاد الله وجاهلي و ابن عباس فغدا عند

58

صيته من  
نصارى حمير  
عنه وعنه

Figure 5: Volume 2 of ms. Q, fol. 58a



We are familiar with seeing the first and last folios in manuscripts being damaged more than the rest because of being exposed to mechanical rubbing and dirt. In this case where all but a few folios had the chance to be turned on the outer side such damage is noticeable in many places. However the worst damage is due to the larvae of insects eating their way through the paper. This has resulted in the loss of text on the margins, especially on the bottom margin and in the fold. Not only entire folios became loose but snippets of paper detached from their original location can often be found. To relocate those that have writing on them is no difficult puzzle since the text can be compared to other sources. The fragments seen in Table 6 have all been related to their folio of origin.

The paper is of non-European type and has no watermarks. The format of one page when new will have been similar to mss. Z and B, about 27 x 19 cm. The margins, in spite of being frequently filled with additions, are narrower than in the other two mss. Thus the size of the text is quite different. With 27 lines per page it is half way between Z (22 lines) and B (35 lines)<sup>(29)</sup>. The script is Eastern of course and follows Nash style (See Table 7 displaying a double page).

The last line of the left page (Table 7; fol. 169a) ends with the words, wa-'staqarrat firaq an-našārā 'alā hādīhi 't-ṭalāṭa. This is the end of a chapter about Jesus and the Christians (al-ḥabar 'an šān 'Īsā b. Maryam ..., see *al-'Ibar* 3, p. 358). The wording in this sentence is identical with Z from which Q is said to have been copied<sup>(30)</sup>. However in ms. Q the next chapter titled al-ḥabar 'an al-Furs follows immediately<sup>(31)</sup>. In Z the text ends with the same words and the lower part of the page is left free by the scribe for Ibn Ḥaldūn to insert the genealogy of Jesus in his own hand. In ms. B we read at the

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(29) Although consistent mostly throughout the pages of the same ms. no standard number of lines is discernible in the copies Ibn Ḥaldūn had made from *al-'Ibar*. Even when Ibn al-Faḥḥār, the same scribe as in Q, was employed (as for instance in ms. Ğ of *al-Muqaddima* written only slightly later than Q in 799/1397 with 29 lines, see *al-'Ibar* 1, p. 127\*; or ms. 'A of *al-Muqaddima*, copies by him with 25 lines, *al-'Ibar* 1, p. 32\*).

(30) See below.

(31) This is the same as in Būlāq 2 (1), p. 153.



Figure 6: Volume 2 of ms. Q, fragments





Figure 7: Volume 2 of ms. Q, fol. 168b/169a



end of the chapter, wa-ʿstaqarrat firaq an-naṣārā ʿala ʿl-firaq aṭ-talāṭa al-malikīya wa-ʿl-ya ʿqūbīya wa-ʿn-naṣūrīya which is more precise. Following this B gives a full page for the author to insert a genealogical table with slight variants as against Z.

This example gives an idea of the importance of ms. Q for illustrating how Ibn Ḥaldūn was continuously working on several copies of *al-ʿIbar*. In this case he had worked on his draft to arrive at the wording cited from Q. When Q was sent off to Fās the author made a change by adding the genealogy in a first version. This was inserted at the usual place which is the end of a chapter, summing up the genealogical information in graphic form that has been discussed in the preceding pages. The genealogical table was then copied to ms. Z where appropriate space had been left. We may speculate that the scribe Ibn al-Faḥḥār simply failed to leave this space open when copying from Z to Q or that he relied on the author’s draft himself before this was amended. Finally more changes were made, which were then copied to ms. B.

There are several instances in the same chapter (al-Ḥabar ʿan Šān ʿĪsā, *al-ʿIbar* 3, p. 333-358) which illustrate how the author continued his work and made amendments in one or more manuscripts. See Table 8 for the chapter’s first two pages. Some of the changes he made here were due to the fact that he discovered a new source called by him Kitāb Ya ʿqūb b. Yūsuf an-Naḡḡār<sup>(32)</sup>.

We find additional text of considerable length added on the margins of Q, and in one instance on a slip of paper which has been inserted because the margins did not offer enough space (Table 8 on the lower part of fol. 165a and Table 9). These additions are absent from Z while B has them in much the same wording within the running text.

When working on the critical edition of the *Muqaddima* Ibrahīm Šabbūḥ compared Z to the Būlāq edition by al-Hūrīnī and concluded that Q must have been copied from Z because of similarities found between Z and Būlāq, since he believed that al-Hūrīnī

(32) Published by Gérard Garitte, “Protoevangelii Iacobi uersio arabica antiquior“, *Le Muséon* 86, 1973, p. 377-396.



Figure 8: Volume 2 of ms. Q, fol. 164b/165a



وقيل بعقوب بن يوسف الحجازي ان امها حنة نوت ثمانين سنين من عمر مريم كان  
 من سنتهم ثمان ليرقبيل الروح بعرض لها من ارق الهيكلي يا عقيمها فعرضوا عليها  
 الروح حين بلغت سنه وذكرا بوسد كمنوت فارحى الله بان حنه اولاد اود  
 الهم فمطلوب في عصاه ائمة تدفعها اليه تكون له شبهه زوجة ولا يقربها وحضر  
 الجمع يوسف الحجازي من عصاه حمامه سواد وقت على راسه فقال لو ذكرها هذه  
 عدد الرب يكون لك شبهه زوجة ولا ردها فاحتلمت كرهات نبي عشر سنه  
 الى بلده فامت معه الى اخر حوت يوم استغنى من العين بعرضها الملك اولا  
 اركمها ثم باودها وبشرها بولاده عيسى كما قص القرآن فحلت وزهبت الى زكريا  
 بنت المقدس نوح ربه صل المون وهو يحود سيفه فوجعت في ناله به ورأى يوسف  
 الحمل فلطم رجته جسي العضمه مع الكينه فما شرطوا عليه فاخذته نغورا للملك  
 فلم يصدوا رضى الملك في نومه واخبره ان الذي بها من روح القدس فاسقط  
 في البحر ثم سجد لها ودها الى ستمها وقال ان زكريا حضر لذلك واقام فيها سنه  
 ثم ان الذي اعجب به عيسى فلطم سبها شي ورواها الله ووقع لي بحبل مني ان نوت  
 خطب مريم وحده املا فقال ان يحمها فاعتم على فراشها نوت فامن العصبه  
 فاسرى يومه انس لها واخبره الملك  
 صدوقا وولد على انه ابشور  
 وقال الطبري

Figure 9: Volume 2 of ms. Q, slip of paper inserted between fols. 164b/165a



based his text mainly on a manuscript copy deriving from Q (*al-ʿIbar* 1, 105\*)<sup>(33)</sup>. As the *al-Muqaddima* has not survived in Q, there is no chance to check this assumption. Comparing all three manuscripts of part three, however, we cannot confirm that Q had been copied from Z. When checking some ninety relevant instances where Q either has additional text or is lacking such in comparison to Z and B, there is no statistically significant indication that Q is closer to Z<sup>(34)</sup>. From this and the general impression gleaned from working on the critical edition we must conclude that convergence and divergence among the three mss. cannot be taken to prove a direct dependence of one of them on one of the other two<sup>(35)</sup>. Even though Z had been completed first (797/1395) and Q had been dispatched to Fās a little more than two years later (799/1396), Ibn Ḥaldūn seems to have continued to make amendments on both of them and on B, which must have been completed not long after Q.

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(33) The Būlāq edition it seems was based on mss. of North African origin mainly deriving from Q. This can be concluded from the dedication to the Marinid ruler in Fās, Abū Fāris ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Aḥmad printed in Būlāq 1, p. 6 and is true certainly for the first half of *al-Muqaddima* (see *al-ʿIbar* 1). When comparing the first half of volume 2 of ms. Q to Būlāq 2 (1) some convergence can be observed, the most notable being the absence of a number of genealogical and dynastic tables (*muṣaḡḡarāt*) in both: The genealogy of Jesus (compare *al-ʿIbar* 3, p. 395-360), the ancestry of Dārā b. Sanaḡšār in the table for the Furs of the second *ṭabaqa* (*al-ʿIbar* 3, p. 390) and the tables for the Roman emperors before and after the adoption of Christianity (*al-ʿIbar* 3, p. 502-503 and 530). Part of this information but not all is lacking in Z, as well. I hope to deal with this in more detail in a critical edition of genealogical and dynastic tables contained in part 3 of *al-ʿIbar*:

*Būlāq* 2 (2) which deals with the first phase of Islamic history (cf. *al-ʿIbar* 4, 2007) has no such tables at all, the reason being that this section had to be based on a rather deficient ms. of Eastern provenance (see *Būlāq* 2 (2), p. 190). In contrast to *Būlāq* 2 (2) the second half of volume 2 of ms. Q has 11 such tables but has lost the last one which is the genealogy of the Prophet and the colophon preceding it. Compare *al-ʿIbar* 4, p. 665-666.

(34) It may suffice to give only the basic figures. 57 instances where Q has text, Z has the same in 27 cases and in 30 Z has none; B: 30 with text, 27 without. In 31 instances text is missing in Q; Z: 14 without, 17 with text. B: 9 without, 24 with text. If we compare Z and B alone we can look at 170 instances. Here we notice that B has 79 cases with added text missing in Z. This may indicate that against the 62 cases with added text in Z and not given in B, there is a basis perhaps to conclude, that work continued on B longer than on Z.

(35) See above for examples.



The detailed analysis of the three manuscripts of *al-ʿIbar* that recount history before Islam and in particular the study of ms. Q sheds some light on the way Ibn Ḥaldūn was working. He gathered information from a multitude of sources all of whom he used as testimony for historical constellations and events. His sources were of very diverse origin and included texts that had primarily religious meaning for his contemporaries such as the Qurʾān, the Ḥadīth, the Torah, the Gospels and related texts. He relied on Arab historians as well as on historians of Iranian, Sabian, Jewish and Christian background. As may be expected, most important for him were the great historians at-Ṭabarī (224-310/839-923) and al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956). He was particularly fond of the latter's broad interest and knowledge of both the Muslim world and of countries beyond its boundaries<sup>(36)</sup>. When faced with confusing information about Ancient Egypt he regretted the bad state of al-Masʿūdī's books which he had to work with<sup>(37)</sup>. He continued to search for additional sources and gleaned information from them to be inserted in *al-ʿIbar* until only a year before his death.

In writing about peoples and kingdoms before Islam or outside the Muslim realm Ibn Ḥaldūn was limited in his use of sources to what was available in his own language, Arabic. He was well aware that writing foreign names in Arabic script would not be adequate. He tried to use a spelling close to what he thought was their native pronunciations. He even devised special diacritics to be used for a kind of phonetic transcription. In part 1 of *al-ʿIbar*, the *Muqaddima* he gives a brief introduction to the problem and his attempt to solve it. From this it can be realized how he got the idea<sup>(38)</sup>. In his North African environment he had become used to hear Berber names pronounced by Berbers; so he could spell them with letters modified to adequately represent the native pronunciation. Later on in Egypt he may have met Iranians, Jews or Turks who gave a pronunciation for names in their languages that he could only try to represent with special letters. This had its limitations especially where names of far-gone times were

(36) *al-ʿIbar* 1, 50. For an overview of sources for history before Islam see *al-ʿIbar* 3, p. 73 ff.

(37) *al-ʿIbar* 3, p. 174: ثم عد [المسعودي] ملوكاً بأسماء أعجمية بعيدة عن الضبط لعجمتها وفساد الأصول التي بين أيدينا من كتبه.

(38) *al-ʿIbar* 1, p. 52-54.



found written in the sources. In Ibn Ḥaldūn's perception they were more often distorted than not. While he is well aware that other languages are using their own scripts, the idea of transcribing from a foreign script without dealing with pronunciation does not seem to have occurred to him, most likely perhaps because of his ignorance of foreign languages<sup>(39)</sup>.

As a historian of pre-Islamic times he was not the first to be constantly confronted with the task of identifying historical figures whose names came in several spellings or even in forms completely different one from the other. He could not simply rely on what his sources said, but had to figure out which narrative essentially matched the narrative in another source and to extract what he judged to be the factual sequence of events. This in turn could lead to identifying one and the same historic person with several names coming with their distinct narrative in multiple sources. Part three of *al-ʿIbar* documents his permanent struggle of dealing with sources difficult to reconcile.

Historic persons could be defined by their position in a chain of rulers or their dynastic relationship with their ancestors. This he laid out chapter after chapter in the description of ancient kingdoms, citing parallel narratives only if they were found to be incompatible with each other. For himself and for his readers it was important to sum up the result at a chapter's end in order to offer easy access to this kind of basic information for every historic era, without having to read the lengthy chapters relating to it.

To achieve this Ibn Ḥaldūn listed foreign as well as Arabic names in the form of trees (*mušağğarāt*) denoting genealogical as well as dynastic relationship<sup>(40)</sup>. In most cases he took care to write these himself, adding diacritical punctuation, vowel signs and numbers in red ink to establish the actual sequence of rulers.

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(39) *al-ʿIbar* 2, p. 440-441 he speaks about scripts and peoples using them.

(40) He gives good description of this in *al-ʿIbar* 3, p. 35. His words indicate that this method was something unfamiliar to his readers and needed explanation.

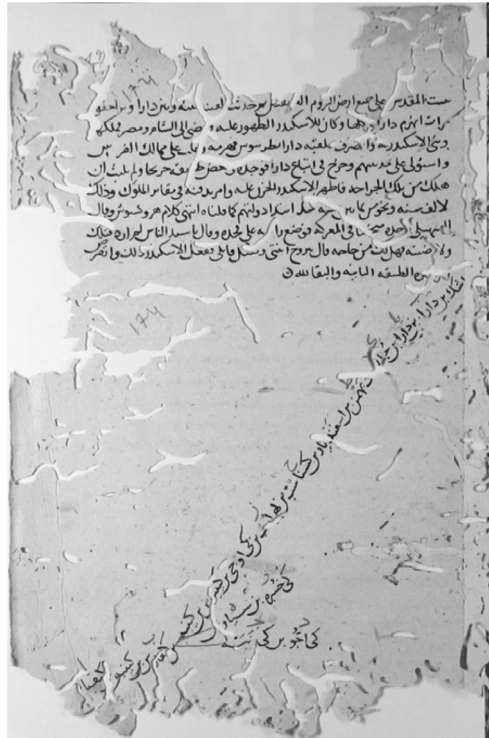


Figure 10: Volume 2 of ms. Q, fol. 174a

The genealogy of the Kayānid rulers of Iran (Table 10)<sup>(41)</sup> may serve as an example here. Q does not agree with all detail that we find in Z or B but has a *mušaḡḡar* with some distinct variants. Descendancy from Manūšahr is left unmentioned and two names, Kai Aḡḡū son of Kai Nabah are added, counted third and fourth king of the dynasty. This is the small branch to the right, branching off from Kaiqāwus counted second king<sup>(42)</sup>.

(41) The history of this mythical dynasty is described in the chapter titled *الطبقة الثانية من الفرس وهم الكينية* in *al-ʿIbar* 3, p. 374 ff.

(42) *Būlāq* 2 (1), p. 165 has a tree that can be understood to reflect what we read in Q. Some names have been distorted and are far from what the author wrote.





The other two branches are identical to mss. Z and B except for numbers 3 and 4 given to Kainabah and Kai Ūġī b. Kainiyūs which Q has used in the branch described above. It is likely that Q offers the earliest attempt by Ibn Ḥaldūn to give a graphic presentation of this dynasty which he then changed to the form seen in Z and B<sup>(43)</sup>.

## Conclusion

To find the traces documenting some of the steps taken by Ibn Ḥaldūn in writing about pre-Islamic history, a detailed reading of his manuscripts is necessary. Data derived from comparative scrutiny of the manuscripts when seen in the context of information derived from the author's biography can reveal how he developed his work step after step. Of course examples like those given here will never enable us to follow every single addition or correction made, but they can shed light on the way Ibn Ḥaldūn worked. Extending this analysis to other parts of *al-ʿIbar* may provide more findings that will lead to improve our understanding of the author. Volume 7 of the manuscript that is kept in al-Qarawīyīn in Fās may be of particular interest in this context. This is because it contains the author's autobiography in a version, perhaps the first, which he finished before 21. Šafar 799/23. November 1396, while continuing to amend it in other extant manuscripts.

There is a slight chance that parts of the first copy of *al-ʿIbar* which Ibn Ḥaldūn presented to the Ḥafšid ruler in Tūnis sometime between 780/1379 and 784/1382 will still be discovered in future, since it or a copy made from it was seen in al-Qāhira around the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Likewise the discovery of folios or even of another volume of manuscript Q remains a possibility. Such discoveries would certainly add to our knowledge of the history of textual development of *al-ʿIbar*.

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(43) The details of how the Kayānid history is described in the text is beyond the subject of the present paper. For general information see "Kayānids", *Encyclopaedia of Islam, second edition, Leiden 1978, vol. 4, p. 809* and "Kayāniān" with related articles in the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kayanian-parent>).

## List of folios in volume 2 of ms. Q

This relates to the text now edited as *al-‘Ibar* 3 and 4.

q numbers of the quires, with Arabic writing if present  
\*\* hypothetical numbering of folios in the once complete ms.  
F modern numbers found in 2008 written on the folios with pencil  
— separator between folios

Where no. F number is following after \*\* the original leave is lost. Where quire numbers are placed within square brackets either the leave is lost or no trace of the original numbering is visible.

(*al-‘Ibar* 3)

q[1] \*\*1 — \*\*2 — \*\*3 — \*\*4 — \*\*5 — \*\*6 — \*\*7 — \*\*8 — \*\*9 — \*\*10

q[2] \*\*11 — \*\*12 — \*\*13 — \*\*14 — \*\*15 — \*\*16 — \*\*17 — \*\*18 — \*\*19 —  
\*\*20

q[3] \*\*21 — \*\*22 — \*\*23 — \*\*24 — \*\*25 — \*\*26 — \*\*27 — \*\*28 empty folio  
of different paper {28 folios missing at the beginning} — \*\*29 F1 — \*\*30 F2

q[4] \*\*31 {1 folio missing} — \*\*32 F3 — \*\*33 F4 — \*\*34 F5 — \*\*35 F6 — \*\*36  
F150 — \*\*37 — \*\*38 — \*\*39 — \*\*40

q[5] \*\*41 — \*\*42 — \*\*43 — \*\*44 — \*\*45 — \*\*46 — \*\*47 — \*\*48 — \*\*49 —  
\*\*50

q[6] \*\*51 — \*\*52 — \*\*53 — \*\*54 — \*\*55 — \*\*56 — \*\*57 — \*\*58 — \*\*59 —  
\*\*60 {24 folios missing}

q[7] \*\*61 F151 — \*\*62 F152 — \*\*63 F153 — \*\*64 F154 — \*\*65 F155 — \*\*66  
F156 — \*\*67 F157 — \*\*68 F158 — \*\*69 F159 — \*\*70 F160

q8 (ثامنة) \*\*71 F161 — \*\*72 F162 — \*\*73 F163 — \*\*74 F164 — \*\*75 F165 —  
\*\*76 F166 — \*\*77 F167 — \*\*78 F168 — \*\*79 F169 — \*\*80 {1 folio missing}

q9 (تاسعة) \*\*81 F170 — \*\*82 F171 — \*\*83 F172 — \*\*84 F173 — \*\*85 F174 —  
\*\*86 F175 — \*\*87 F176 — \*\*88 F177 — \*\*89 F178 — \*\*90 F179

q10 (عاشرة) \*\*91 F197 — \*\*92 F180 — \*\*93 F181 — \*\*94 F182 — \*\*95 — \*\*96  
{2 folios missing} — \*\*97 F183 — \*\*98 F184 — \*\*99 F185 — \*\*100 F186

q11 (حادي عشرة) \*\*101 F187 — \*\*102 F188 — \*\*103 F189 — \*\*104 F190 — \*\*105  
F191 — \*\*106 F192 — \*\*107 F193 — \*\*108 F194 — \*\*109 F195 — \*\*110 F103

q12 (ثاني عشرة) \*\*111 F102 — \*\*112 F69 — \*\*113 F70 — \*\*114 F71 — \*\*115  
F72 — \*\*116 F73 — \*\*117 F74 — \*\*118 F75 — \*\*119 F76 — \*\*120

q[13]\*\*121 {2 folios missing} — \*\*122 F140 — \*\*123 F133 —

(*al-Ibar* 4) \*\*124 F134 — \*\*125 F135 — \*\*126 F136 — \*\*127 F137 — \*\*128  
F138 — \*\*129 F123 — \*\*130 {1 folio missing}

q14 (رابع عشرة) \*\*131 F77 — \*\*132 F78 — \*\*133 F79 — \*\*134 F80 — \*\*135 —  
\*\*136 {2 folios missing} — \*\*137 F81 — \*\*138 F82 — \*\*139 F83 — \*\*140 F84

q[15]\*\*141 F124 — \*\*142 F125 — \*\*143 F126 — \*\*144 F127 — \*\*145 F128 —  
\*\*146 F129 — \*\*147 F130 — \*\*148 F131 — \*\*149 F132 — \*\*150 F101

q[16]\*\*151 F122 — \*\*152 F141 — \*\*153 F142 — \*\*154 F143 — \*\*155 F144 —  
\*\*156 F145 — \*\*157 F146 — \*\*158 F147 — \*\*159 F148 — \*\*160 F104

q17 (سابع عشرة) \*\*161 F85 — \*\*162 F86 — \*\*163 F87 — \*\*164 F88 — \*\*165  
F89 — \*\*166 F90 — \*\*167 F91 — \*\*168 F92 — \*\*169 F93 — \*\*170 F94

q18 (ثامن عشرة) \*\*171 F139 — \*\*172 F106 — \*\*173 F107 — \*\*174 F108 — \*\*175  
F109 — \*\*176 F110 — \*\*177 F111 — \*\*178 F112 — \*\*179 F113 — \*\*180 F105

q19 (تاسع عشرة) \*\*181 F196 — \*\*182 F114 — \*\*183 F115 — \*\*184 F116 — \*\*185  
F117 — \*\*186 F118 — \*\*187 F119 — \*\*188 F120 — \*\*189 F121 — \*\*190 F7



q20 (العشرون) \*\*191 F8 — \*\*192 F9 — \*\*193 F10 — \*\*194 F11 — \*\*195 F12 —  
\*\*196 F13 — \*\*197 F14 — \*\*198 F15 — \*\*199 F16 — \*\*200 F17

q21 (الحادي والعشرون) \*\*201 F18 — \*\*202 F19 — \*\*203 F20 — \*\*204 F21 — \*\*205  
F22 — \*\*206 F23 — \*\*207 F24 — \*\*208 F25 — \*\*209 F26 — \*\*210 F27

q22 (الثاني والعشرون) \*\*211 F28 — \*\*212 F29 — \*\*213 F30 — \*\*214 F31 — \*\*215  
F32 — \*\*216 F33 — \*\*217 F34 — \*\*218 F35 — \*\*219 F36 — \*\*220 F37

q23 (الثالث والعشرون) \*\*221 F38 — \*\*222 F39 — \*\*223 F40 — \*\*224 F41 — \*\*225  
F42 — \*\*226 F43 — \*\*227 F44 — \*\*228 F45 — \*\*229 F46 — \*\*230 F47

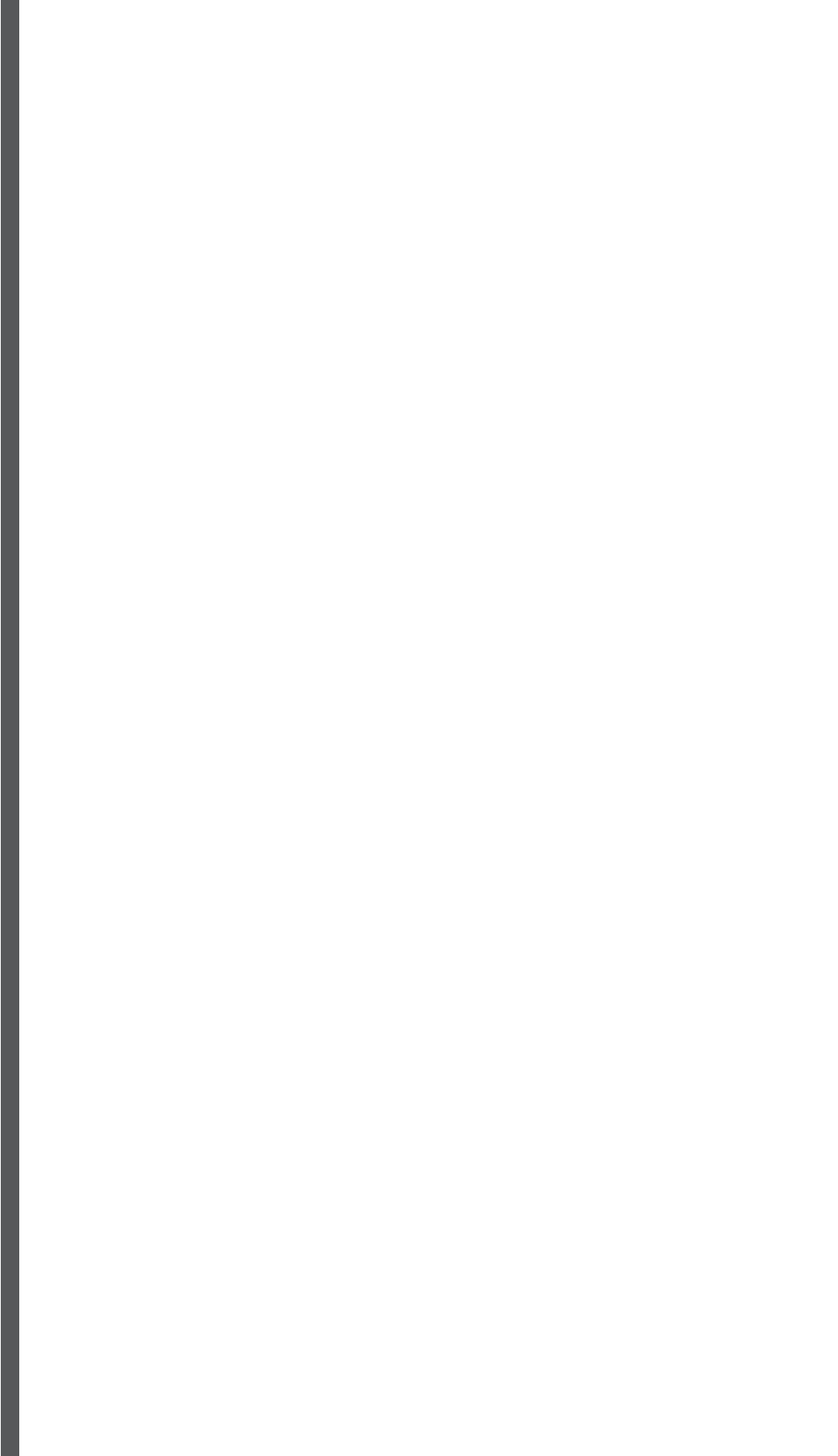
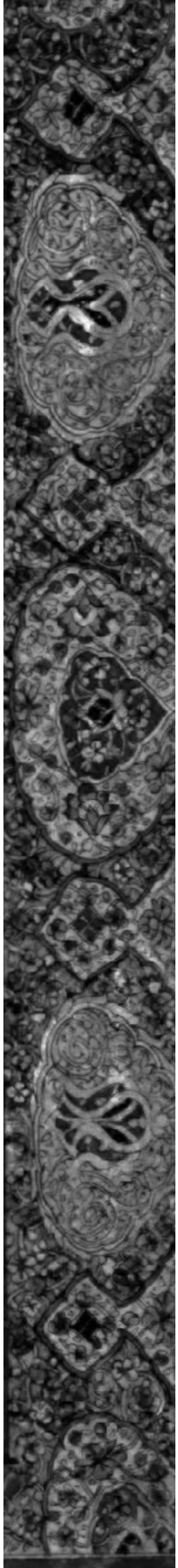
q24 (الرابع والعشرون) \*\*231 F48 — \*\*232 F49 — \*\*233 F50 — \*\*234 F51 — \*\*235  
F52 — \*\*236 F53 — \*\*237 F54 — \*\*238 F55 — \*\*239 F56 — \*\*240 F57

q25 (الخامس والعشرون) \*\*241 F58 — \*\*242 F59 — \*\*243 F60 — \*\*244 F61 — \*\*245  
F62 — \*\*246 F63 — \*\*247 F64 — \*\*248 F65 — \*\*249 F66 — \*\*250 F67

q[26]\*\*251 — \*\*252 — \*\*253 — \*\*254 — \*\*255 — \*\*256 — \*\*257 — \*\*258 —  
\*\*259 — \*\*260 {10 folios missing}

q27 (السادس والعشرون) \*\*261 F68 — \*\*262 F149 — \*\*263 F95 — \*\*264 F96 — \*\*265  
F97 — \*\*266 F98 — \*\*267 F99 — \*\*268 F198 — \*\*269 F199 — \*\*270 F100

q28 (الثامن والعشرون) \*\*271 F200 — \*\*272 F201 — \*\*273 F202 — \*\*274 F203 —  
\*\*275 F204 — \*\*276 F205 — \*\*277 F206 — \*\*278 empty folio of different paper —  
\*\*279 — \*\*280 {3 folios missing}



# المخطوطات علمها وفنونها

دورية علمية سنوية محكمة

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مكتبة الإسكندرية بيانات الفهرسة-أثناء-النشر (فان)

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دورية علمية سنوية محكمة

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شكر خاص لأصحاب التكوينات الخطية المستخدمة في غلاف وترويسة الدورية:  
أ.د. نصار منصور

الفنان رعد الحسيني

## قواعد النشر

- ترحب الدورية بنشر البحوث الجيدة والجديدة في الحقول الآتية: الكوديكولوجيا، دراسات في التراث العربي الإسلامي، تحقيقات، ترجمات لنصوص تراثية أو لتحقيقات، تعقبات ونقد للتحقيقات والدراسات التراثية.
- أن يتسم البحث بالأصالة والابتكار والمنهجية، وأن يكون البحث غير منشور من قبل بأي صورة من صور النشر، وغير مستل من كتاب منشور أو رسالة جامعية (ماجستير، دكتوراه).
- ألا يزيد عدد كلمات البحث على ١٠ آلاف كلمة، ولا يقل عن ٥٠٠٠ كلمة (للبحوث، والدراسات، والنصوص المحققة)، ولا تقل عن ٢٠٠٠ كلمة (للقود، والمراجعات، وعرض الكتب، والترجمات).
- يُصدَّر كل بحث بملخص لا يزيد عن ١٥٠ كلمة، باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية.
- يُقدَّم البحث مكتوبًا إلكترونيًا، عبر البريد الإلكتروني للمجلة، مع سيرة ذاتية معبرة عن صاحبه. وتوضع الهوامش والإحالات في أسفل الصفحة إلكترونيًا، وتُفصل بخط عن (المتن). ويكون تسلسل أرقام الهوامش متتاليًا متسلسلاً في البحث كله. وتُثبت المصادر والمراجع في آخر البحث، ويراعى في ثبت المصادر والمراجع - وكذلك في الهامش السفلي للصفحات - أن يكتب اسم المصدر أو المرجع أولاً، فاسم المؤلف، يليه اسم المحقق أو المراجع أو المترجم في حال وجوده، ثم دار النشر.. إلخ.
- التحكيم سرّي، ومُعَدُّ على أنموذج يخضع للمعايير الأكاديمية، وقرار إجازة نشر البحث أو رفض نشره قرار نهائي. وفي حال الإجازة مع التعديل يلتزم الباحث بإجراء التعديلات المطلوبة - في مدة محددة - إذا كان قرار هيئة التحكيم بإجازة نشر البحث مشروطًا بذلك. أما في حال الرفض فإن هيئة التحرير تحتفظ بحقها في عدم إبداء الأسباب، واستثناءً يجوز لهيئة التحرير أن تزود الباحث بالملحوظات والمقترحات التي يمكن أن يفيد منها في إعادة النظر في بحثه.



- تلتزم الدورية بإخطار الباحث بنتيجة صلاحية بحثه للنشر، وهيئة التحرير إجراء أي تعديلات شكلية تراها مناسبة لطبيعة الدورية.
- المواد المنشورة في الدورية لا تعبر بالضرورة عن مركز المخطوطات أو مكتبة الإسكندرية، ويعد كاتب البحث مسؤولاً عما ورد في النص الذي قدّمه للنشر.

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- ٢٨٥ دراسات منجز الشخصيات التراثية
- ١- جُهُودُ الْإِمَامِ الْكُوْثَرِيِّ فِي تَحْقِيقِ التَّرَاثِ الْإِسْلَامِيِّ - د. عَمَادُ حَسَنِ مَرْزُوقِ
- ٣١١ ٢- آثَارُ شَمْسِ الدِّينِ الدِّيْلَمِيِّ الْمَخْطُوطَةِ - خَالِدُ مُحَمَّدُ عَبِيد
- ٣٥١ دراسات بلغات أجنبية
- ١- التَّارِيخُ قَبْلَ الْإِسْلَامِ: مَخْطُوطُ لَابِنِ خَلْدُونَ - د. فِيرْنَرُ شْفَارْتَسِ
- ١٩



# عُودٌ عَلَيَّ بِدْءٍ

تستكمل مكتبة الإسكندرية الجديدة رسالة المكتبة القديمة في صناعة ونشر المعرفة وكونها مركزًا للتميز، ومكانًا للتفاعل بين الشعوب والحضارات. ومن هذا المنطلق واستكمالًا لدور المكتبة القديمة يجي مركز المخطوطات بقطاع التواصل الثقافي تقليدًا رئيسًا كان متبعًا قديمًا، ففي القرن الثاني قبل الميلاد عُهد إلى علماء مكتبة الإسكندرية القديمة القيام بأول تحقيقٍ علميٍّ لنصوص ملحمتي هوميروس (الإلياذة والأوديسة) وحذف ما شابهما من إضافات وأناشيدٍ وشروح ليست منهما. وها هو مركز المخطوطات بالمكتبة الجديدة يُعيد مجددًا تليدًا بإصداره دوريةً متخصصة في علوم المخطوط تهتم بكل ما يتعلق بالتراث المخطوط فهرسةً وتحقيقًا وترجمةً، بالإضافة إلى التُّقود والتعقبات التي تتم ردًا على دراسات سابقة.

ولا شك أن هذا الإسهام العلمي لمركز المخطوطات محليًا وإقليميًا يجعله جديرًا بالاضطلاع بمهمة إصدار دورية محكمة تصدر بغير لغة، لتخاطب جميع المختصين بالمخطوطات في العالم كله.

أ.د. مصطفى الفقي

مدير مكتبة الإسكندرية

ورئيس مجلس إدارة الدورية



## تقديم

تصدر هذه الحولية التراثية تنويجاً لمجهود شاق، وعمل مضمّن لمركز المخطوطات استمر على مدار سنوات عدة في العمل بعلوم الكتاب المخطوط والحفاظ على التراث المخطوط، ولا يخفى على المتخصصين أنّ علوم المخطوط العربي لا تزال بحاجة إلى الدراسة والبحث الدقيق، وأن الحفاظ على المخطوطات به من الجهد والمشقة ما لا يُستهان به، وإننا لا ننكر أن الغرب قد خطا خطوات حثيثة وسابقة لنا في هذا المجال سواء على المستوى الكوديكيولوجي أو البيبليوغرافي، ولا ننكر بدءاً فضل المختصين العرب في محاولاتهم الجادة لتأسيس علم يتناسب مع طبيعة الكتاب المخطوط العربي، وكذلك إرساء مصطلحات موحّدة تتناسب وخصوصيته، ونقرُّ أيضاً دور كثير من المؤسسات العلمية العربية والغربية في عملية حفظ التراث وإعادة إحيائه.

والتراث العربي المخطوط يُعدّ واحداً من أعظم التراثيات الإنسانية، إذ يمتد بجذوره إلى ما قبل الإسلام، وصولاً إلى العصور الذهبية في كنف الإسلام الحنيف، وقد أنتج لنا هذا التراث صنوغاً شتى من التآليف والعلوم التي أثرت التراث الإنساني، ولا يخفى أن الوعاء الأشهر لهذا التراث العظيم كان الكتاب المخطوط بكل تنوعاته (رَق، كاغد، ورق، بردي)، وقد كُتِبَ على هذا التراث أن يتناثر بين جَنَبات العالم أجمع، فكان لا بد من أن تبذل المؤسسات الجهود لجمعه والحفاظ عليه ونشره؛ خاصةً مع ما لاحظناه من اهتمام كبير بمخطوطات العالم العربي والإسلامي.

وكان لمركز المخطوطات على المستوى الأكاديمي وتوأمة متحف المخطوطات جهد كبير في المساهمة في عملية الحفاظ على التراث المخطوط من خلال أعمال عديدة استمرت لسنواتٍ عدة؛ بدءاً بالفهرسة والتوثيق، ومروراً بالترجمة، والتحقيق، والترميم، والحفظ، والعرض المتحفي. ولعل مركز المخطوطات وباحثيه كان لهم باعٌ كبير في هذا المجال بحكم توافر مجموعة نادرة من المخطوطات الأصلية والتي يربو عدد عناوينها على ستة آلاف عنوان، هذا بالإضافة إلى مجموعة مصورات المخطوطات التي تزيد عن مائة ألف مخطوط.



ولا شك أن اضطلاع مكتبة الإسكندرية بإنتاج المعرفة ونشرها، هو أمرٌ طبيعيٌّ في إطار البيئة العلمية والثقافية المحيطة بباحثي المكتبة ومتخصصيها، إذ تعد المكتبة جامعة أكاديمية تشبه الموسيوق العلمي الملحق بمكتبة الإسكندرية القديمة، والذي كان يمثل منصةً لكل علماء ذلك العصر من كل التخصصات، يتناولون بالدرس والتحليل القضايا الفلسفية والعلمية.

ومثلما أدت المكتبة القديمة دورها في الحفاظ على العلوم الإنسانية ونقلها من المعين اليوناني والمصري القديم إلى الوافد العربي، تقوم المكتبة الجديدة بدورها المعاصر في ضمان جودة المعرفة التي تنشر ورقياً وإلكترونياً، ولا شك أن هذه الدورية التراثية المحكّمة بهيئتها الاستشارية المميزة وهيئة تحريرها ذات الخبرة، والأدوات التي تتيحها المكتبة؛ تضمن جودة البحوث المتناولة بين طياتها، لتكون نقلةً نوعيةً حقيقيةً في مجال الدوريات التراثية. وأظن أن القارئ سيستقبل هذا العدد استقبال العرب القدماء لميلاد شاعر جديد يفخر بهم ويدافع عنهم؛ خاصةً وأن الدورية ستصدر بأكثر من لغة، وهو ما تحتاجه البلدان العربية؛ ليكون نافذة للغرب على التراث العربي والإسلامي، فلا شك في أن تعدد سبل التواصل عبر لغات مختلفة يضمن نوعاً من التفاهم بين الحضارات المتنوعة.

وجديرٌ بالذكر أنه ما كان للدورية أن تشق طريقها لولا الدعم الكبير من مدير المكتبة المفكر المصري الأستاذ الدكتور مصطفى الفقي الذي يشجع كل ما من شأنه أن يخدم التراث والهوية العربية. والله نسأل أن يعين باحثي مركز المخطوطات على مواصلة المسيرة العلمية، بما يثري البحث العلمي ويضيف جديداً في حقل الدراسات التراثية، فهو الأكثر مشقةً والأقل شهرةً.

د. محمد سليمان

رئيس قطاع التواصل الثقافي

والمشرف العام على الدورية

## افتاحية العدد

الحمد لله مؤجِبِ الحمدِ بنعمه، ومُلزِمِ الشُّكرِ بَصُنْعِهِ، المعينِ على أداءِ شكرِهِ، ومُسِغِ التَّعْمَاءِ ومستحقِّ الشُّكرِ والثَّناء؛ حمدًا ينتهي إلى رضا.. والصلاة والسلامُ على خيرِته من خَلْقِهِ، ونجيبِهِ من بَرِيَّتِهِ، المختارِ من رسلِهِ أصدقَ صلاةٍ وتسليم.

وبعدُ، فإنَّ مكانة المؤسسة العلمية تُقاس بقدرتها على أن تكون مركزًا مرجعيًّا يعود إليه الباحثون في الأمور البحثية المعروضة على الساحة الأكاديمية، وهذا الأمر يتجلى في أفضل صورِهِ في أن يكون للمؤسسة دورية علمية محكمة، تعرض لأهم الإشكالات البحثية والاكتشافات الحديثة في مجالاتها المتخصصة، بالإضافة إلى عرض ما يجدرُّ من نقودٍ موجهة إلى بحوثٍ سابقة، ما يؤكد أن العلم ينبني على استمرار النظر والتدقيق؛ بعد إقامة الحجة والبرهان.

ولقد حُدِّدَت مهام مركز المخطوطات التابع لقطاع التواصل الثقافي بمكتبة الإسكندرية، ورُسِّخَت توجهاته بعد أن أصبح مركزًا أكاديميًّا يهدف إلى الإسهام في وضع قواعد ثابتة للعمل المنصبَّ على التراث العربي والإسلامي. وقد بدأ الاهتمام الأكاديمي داخل المركز بإقامة المؤتمرات الدولية المختصة بالمخطوطات والتراث الإسلامي، بمشاركة ثلَّةٍ من كبار المتخصصين الدوليين في التراث العربي الإسلامي وعلم المخطوط؛ لإلقاء الضوء على جوانب التراث المجهولة، والتعريف بالذخائر التراثية الأكثر ندرة الموزعة على مكتبات العالم، وتأكيد الحضور العربي الإسلامي في تاريخ الإنسانية، وكذلك الكشف عن الأصول العربية قبل الإسلام، وعوامل تكوين المنظومة الحضارية العربية الإسلامية.

ويؤلي مركز المخطوطات العملَ البحثيَّ والنشرَ الأكاديمي عنايةً خاصةً تتمثل في نشر الكتب ذات الصلة بالتراث العربي، وترجمة أبحاث من الإنجليزية والفرنسية في مجال علم المخطوط،

بالإضافة إلى كتب المؤتمرات العلمية، وكتب الندوات المتخصصة. وقد أصدر المركز خلال السنوات السابقة كثيراً من الفهارس المطبوعة لمجموعة بلدية الإسكندرية، بالإضافة إلى بعض الكتالوجات لنواد المخطوطات، وبدائع المخطوطات القرآنية، ومختارات من نوادر المقتنيات. أما اهتمام المركز بالثقافة التراثية والتدريب، فيتمثل فيما يقيمه المركز من ندوات ودورات متخصصة في الفهرسة والتحقيق وفنون المخطوط والكوديكولوجي، وقد نجحت هذه الدورات في استقطاب الباحثين المهتمين بالشأن التراثي؛ من كل أرجاء الوطن العربي.

ولا يخفى على المدقق أن استيعاب التراث في توليد المعرفة يتطلب تنظيراً لمقوماته ومقولاته، ووقفاً عند نظرية المعرفة عند علماء العرب؛ وصولاً إلى نظرة مختلفة للتراث تعتمد العلمية والموضوعية منهجاً لها. ولكي نصل إلى هذه المرحلة كان علينا التوقف ملياً عند التساؤلات التي تُتضمن داخل البحوث العلمية التي لا بُدَّ أن تنطلق من مجموعة تساؤلات منهجية. وفي الوقت الذي ينظر فيه البعض إلى التراث نظرة سقط المتاع، ويراه البعض الآخر سبباً لكثير من الإخفاقات الفكرية الحاضرة في مجتمعاتنا العربية؛ نرى من الواجب أن يكون لنا سُهْمَةٌ في النظر الدقيق والموضوعي إلى التراث، غير مكثفين بالدوران حول النص من دون الغوص إلى النظرية المعرفية القابعة من ورائه؛ وصولاً إلى الإفادة والتوظيف المستقبلي.

ولذا عقدنا العزم منذ عامين تقريباً على تأسيس دورية علمية محكمة تهتم بعلوم المخطوط العربي، فبدأنا إجراء مجموعة من الاجتماعات مع خبراء الكوديكولوجي وأساتذة الجامعات المختصين بالدراسات التراثية؛ تحقيقاً، وفهرسةً، وترجمةً. ووضعنا نصب أعيننا جميع الدوريات المتخصصة في التراث المخطوط التي تصدر في الوطن العربي، وأمعنا النظر في اهتماماتها وأقسامها، ومن ثم اخترنا أن نُولي الوعاء اهتماماً أكبر - إلى جانب اهتمامنا بالمتن - إذ وجدنا معظم الدوريات تهتم بالمتون وعرض الكتب والشخصيات التراثية، بالإضافة إلى نُدرة الدوريات التي تستخدم غير اللغة العربية لغةً للنشر، ما يضمن لدوريتنا اتصالاً بالدول الناطقة باللغتين الإنجليزية والفرنسية، ويمكننا لاحقاً إضافة لغات أخرى قد يكون للمجلة اتصالٌ بها مستقبلاً. وعملنا كثيراً على الاطلاع على قواعد النشر المتبعة في كثير من الدوريات المتخصصة في مصر

والوطن العربي وأوروبا، ثم ارتضينا لأنفسنا مجموعة من الإجراءات وقواعد النشر الدقيقة التي تضمن خروج الأبحاث في حلَّةٍ قَشِيْبَةٍ، وكان اختيار عنوان الدورية من الأمور التي تقتضي إعمالاً للعقل وبحثاً في عنوانات الدوريات الأخرى، وقد وفقنا الله إلى اختيار عنوان «علوم المخطوط» ليكون مناسباً لسياسة الدورية التي تضم غير علم من العلوم ذات الصلة بالتراث المخطوط؛ كالكوديكولوجي، والتحقيق، والفهرسة. ثم كان الاهتمام بتكوين هيئة استشارية دولية تغطي كل الاختصاصات والثقافات المختلفة.

وقد جاء العدد الأول مناصراً لآمالنا في أن تكون موضوعات العدد متنوعةً، وبلُغتين على الأقل (العربية، والإنجليزية)، وقد آثرنا أن تكون الملخّصات جميعها باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية؛ حتى يقف القارئ غير العربي على محتوى البحوث العربية. واتسم محتوى هذا العدد الذي بين أيديكم بالتنوع في غير أمر؛ إذ دارت البحوث في أفلاك: الكوديكولوجي، والتحقيق والفهرسة، ودراسة منجز الشخصيات التراثية. إضافةً إلى ما اتسمت به البحوث من تنوع في المناهج البحثية المستخدمة، وتنوع في طريقة العرض.

وهكذا تتصافر الجهود، وتتوالى الإصدارات العلمية لمركز المخطوطات؛ لتشكل في النهاية منظومةً علميةً تحقق الهدف من إنشاء المركز، وتضع أمام المهتمين بالشأن التراثي خلاصة تجارب الأساتذة واجتهادات الباحثين.

#### د. مدحت عيسى

مدير مركز المخطوطات

ورئيس تحرير الدورية