

# I THE MATERIAL

## 1. Introduction

Ignaz Goldziher, in his review of Spitta's well-known *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten*, provides a valuable note on the oldest collection of Proverbs "in purem ägyptischen Vulgärarabisch" in al-Ibšihī's *Kitāb al-mustaṭraf fī kull ḡann mustaṭraf*, a collection which he believes to be "in literatur-historischer Beziehung vielleicht nicht ganz überflüssige Bemerkung" and in any case, "the oldest known language specimen of the Egyptian spoken dialect (Vulgärdialekt)"<sup>1</sup>. However, Goldziher—who bases his observation on the lithographic edition of al-Mustaṭraf—does not elaborate further on linguistic details of the book. Goldziher's review is later used as a reference in the articles on AL-IBŠHĪHĪ in EI<sup>1</sup> and EI<sup>2</sup> [...], where al-Mustaṭraf<sup>2</sup> is mentioned as having provided valuable information on the state of the spoken language in Egypt in the 9th/15th century<sup>3</sup>. In practice, however, al-Mustaṭraf has been used only very rarely as a linguistic source<sup>4</sup>. This is undoubtedly due partly to the fact that the section of the spoken proverbs of the popular printed editions reflects only in a very limited way the vernacular features of the earlier manuscripts and partly because no critical edition has been published to date<sup>5</sup>. As this study focuses specifically on the written speech-based proverbs inspired by Goldziher's remark, it seems justified in this context to publish separately the proverbs of chapter 66.

## 2. The Author

### 2.1 His name and *nisba*

2.1.1 Our information on the author of al-Mustaṭraf is based on as-Saḥāwī's *aḍ-Ḍau' al-lāmi'* and biographical notes by al-Ibšihī himself in the text of al-Mustaṭraf. This

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<sup>1</sup> ZDMG, Band 35, 1881, p. 528.

<sup>2</sup> See Brockelmann under "Unterhaltungsschriften usw." in GAL II, p. 56-57; GAL Suppl., II, 54-55; *Ḥaḡḡi Ḥalīfa*, II, p. 1673.

<sup>3</sup> EI<sup>2</sup> p. 1005; EI<sup>1</sup> 471.

<sup>4</sup> A rare exception to the rule is Blanc's note on [fronted *jīm*] "attested in Egypt since the 15th century" basing his evidence on al-Mustaṭraf's printed edition [Cairo, 1330-1331 A. H.], Blanc, *Egyptian Arabic* [Darce No'am], p. 190, note 9; further quoted by Davies, p. 69. The example in question, الوش pro CA الوجه, is one of the few vernacular words which have survived in the printed edition(s) and it represents more precisely Egyptian Arabic spoken in the 17th-18th century.

<sup>5</sup> Marzolph, *Arabia Ridens* 1, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> Chapter V which contains *ḥikam* was studied in detail during the preliminary phase of the present work but was later excluded as it represents basically the same linguistic and scribal features as the classical proverbs of Chapter VI.

information has been presented in articles on al-Ibšihī by J.-C. Vadet and C. van Arendonk in EI<sup>1</sup> and EI<sup>2</sup>. It seems, however, appropriate to review here some essential points.

2.1.2 Al-Ibšihī's *nisba* is given in EI<sup>2</sup> and EI<sup>1</sup> as Al-IBSHĪHĪ, (AL-IBSHAIHĪ<sup>2</sup> or AL-ABŠĪHĪ), Bahā' ad-Dīn Abū'l-Faḥ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Maṣūr. As-Saḥāwī presents a longer version and a different spelling<sup>3</sup>. The manuscripts and various printed editions show expected variation regarding al-Ibšihī's name<sup>4</sup>, possibly due to confusing the author of al-Mustaṭraf with several other people with the same *nisba*<sup>5</sup>. A curious *kunya* Abū Ḥaḡla is used in the MSS. Cairo Adab Ṭal'at 4842 ("F"), Cairo 11655 and John Rylands, Manchester 57.

2.1.2.1 The origin and pronunciation of al-Ibšihī's *nisba* has remained to some extent uncertain. As-Saḥāwī gives ابشويه as al-Ibšihī's place of birth, 'Abšūyah, a village in the Fayyūm [Vadet] or al-Ġarbīya [van Arendonk]<sup>6</sup>. This would support a pronunciation al-Abšihī with *fatha* which would also be in line with manuscripts where the *nisba* is written mostly with a *hamza* on *alif*. At least two of the manuscripts write the *nisba* without medial *yā*<sup>7</sup>. The pattern 'Vf'il, which as such is rare in Egyptian Arabic, has both 'if'il and 'af'il readings<sup>8</sup>. For the sake of

<sup>1</sup> See Al-IBSHĪHĪ, EI<sup>1</sup>, III, pp. 1005-6 and EI<sup>2</sup>, II, pp. 471-2; cf. further prefaces of the two recent Arabic editions of al-Mustaṭraf, namely 'A.A. aṭ-Ṭabbā', Bairūt 1401/1981 and M. Qumayha, Bairūt 1403/1983.

<sup>2</sup> Or al-Ubšayhī (?); cf. al-Saḥāwī, IV, 7, 98, 196.

<sup>3</sup> Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Maṣūr b. Aḥmad b. 'Isā al-Bahā' Abu 'l-Faḥ b. aš-Šihāb Abī 'l-'Abbās al-'Abšihī, Bairūt ed., Vol. 7, p. 109, No. 237.

<sup>4</sup> However, the basic elements of the name follow *basically* more often than not as-Saḥāwī's version, e.g., Muḥ. b. A. al-Ḥatīb al-Abšihī, Leiden Or. 279. The value of later manuscripts of al-Mustaṭraf to establish a possibly more correct spelling—other than has been suggested by al-Saḥāwī—is obviously very limited. My information is based on the printed edition of al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'—Beirūt, Vol. VII, sine anno—which makes no reference to its source. van Arendonk refers to a MS. of aḍ-Ḍaw al-lāmi', Hs. Warn. 369a, p. 589.

<sup>5</sup> In this connection especially the Šāfi'ī scholar Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad [...] who died in 892/1486 (van Arendonk, EI<sup>1</sup>; Hs. Warn. 396b, S. 518 f.) should be mentioned; for others see op. cit.; also al-Saḥāwī, IV, 7, 98/196; IV, 8, 167/398; V, 9, 47/123.

<sup>6</sup> Mu'ḡam al-Buldān, Bairūt 1955, I, 73: ابشوي "with *fath* then *sukūn* and *šin* dotted, *alif* and *yā* both with *sukūn*", villages of lower ('adnā) aṣ-Ṣa'id in Egypt; ابشويه "also one of the villages of Egypt from al-Ġarbīyah"; ابشوية "known as ابشوية: "of the villages of al-Fayyūm in Egypt". van Arendonk mentions as his sources to Yāqūṭ, Mu'ḡam, ed. Wüstenfeld, I, 92; de Sacy, Relation de l'Egypte par Abd-Allatif, p. 631, No. 7; Ibn Duqmāq, al-Intiṣār, Cairo 1310, V, 82 u.; cf. further article on ابشويه by Fu'ād Al-Bustānī in Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif, II, p. 247 (Bairūt 1958) who mentions also the spellings ابشوي and ابشوي. The spelling with *fatha* is given by Ḥair ad-Dīn az-Ziriklī in al-A'lām, 2. ed., Vol. 6, p. 229 based on ابشويه.

<sup>7</sup> ابشوي; see Casiri, Escorial, I, p. 214. c. 2. and the ms. Paris 3373.

<sup>8</sup> Thus e.g. /'ablīz/'iblīz/; /'iblīs/'ablīs/; cf. loanwords 'amšīr (Copt.), 'ingīl; 'ikzīma/'akzīma, see Hinds & Badawi.

convenience, I use in this study the form al-Ibšihī which seems already established in Western literature, although there is no conclusive evidence to support this spelling.

## 2.2 Al-Ibšihī's life and period

2.2.1 According to as-Saḥāwī, al-Ibšihī was born in 790 H./1388 A.D. in Abšūyah. He received education in *fiqh* and grammar and he knew (حفظ) al-Qur'ān by heart at the age of ten. He made his pilgrimage to Mecca in 815/1412 at the age of 24. He spent most of his life in Maḥallat al-Kubrā or in an-Nahrārīya but visited Cairo more than once and attended lectures by al-Ġalāl al-Bulqīnī<sup>1</sup>. His father was a *ḥatīb* of his village [balad; Abšūyah?] from whom he took over this post. Al-Ibšihī was for fifteen years a student of Abū Bakr b. 'Umar aṭ-Ṭarīnī 'l-Mālikī [died in 827/1423] who was "like a father" to him<sup>2</sup>. In 1425 he met a man and his wife in Maḥallat Masīr; both were said to be 140 years old<sup>3</sup>. He was met by Ibn Fahd and al-Buqā'ī in al-Maḥalla in 838/1434. He died after 850/1446 "around the time of the murder (qatl) of انخي استادار"<sup>4</sup> i.e. at the age of approximately 56<sup>5</sup>. Although it is quite natural that al-Ibšihī spent most of his life in the neighbourhood of his birthplace, it is worth mentioning that in the 15th century Egypt suffered from severe plague epidemics which led to urban depopulation<sup>6</sup>. Thus in al-Ibšihī's time Cairo did not necessarily represent any special appeal even for a person eager to learn, which he undoubtedly was. It seems plausible, albeit not directly indicated, that as al-Ibšihī spent considerable time as a student of aṭ-Ṭarīnī that he may have lived periods of his life in a *zāwiya*, which was common even for laymen<sup>7</sup>.

2.2.2 Al-Ibšihī was a writer in the late Mamlūk period in Egypt (1250-1517)<sup>8</sup>. He was born during the first reign of aṣ-Ṣāḥir Sayf ad-Dīn Barqūq, a Burġī mamlūk who reigned 784/1382-790/1388 and died probably during the reign of aṣ-Ṣāḥir Sayf ad-Dīn Ġaḥmaq, 842/1438-856/1453<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Vadet; for al-Bulqīnī's father, see GAL Suppl. II, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Mustaṭraf, vol. I, 162-3; ed. aṭ-Ṭabbā'; his other teachers included al-Biqā'ī (GAL, Suppl. II, p. 177), Ibn al-Farīd and Ibn Fahd (Suppl. II, p. 225).

<sup>3</sup> See al-Mustaṭraf, vol. II, end of Chapter 48.

<sup>4</sup> I have not found any further information on this person in my sources.

<sup>5</sup> aḍ-Ḍaw', VII, p. 109, No. 237. The ms. Cairo Adab Taimūr mentions the year 843/1439 after the name of the author in the introduction.

<sup>6</sup> See Dols, The Black Death, p. 172f. According to Ibn Taġrī Birdī in February-March 1430, there were 12,300 (?) coffins carried out of the gates of Cairo in a single day, op. cit., p. 182.

<sup>7</sup> See Aro, Arabialainen kulttuuri, p. 111.

<sup>8</sup> 1250-1517; This is the era of Ibn Ḥallikān (1211-1282), Ibn Ḥaldūn (1332-1406), Taqīy ad-Dīn al-Maqrīzī (1364-1442), Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn b. Taġrībirdī (d. 1469), Ġalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī (1445-1505) and Firūzābādī (d. 1414), but it is usually associated with the decline of Arabic literature, especially as regards poetry. It also gave the final shape to *Alf laila wa-laila*. See Nicholson, pp. 447-456, who does not mention al-Ibšihī.

<sup>9</sup> See Bosworth, p. 64. Barqūq raised the *ġarkas* to power which also meant a racial change; see further Ayalon, Studies on the Mamlūks of Egypt (1250-1517), IV: The Circassians in the Mamlūk Kingdom, p. 135.

## 2.3 Al-Ibšihī's *maḍhab*

2.3.1 According to as-Saḥāwī al-Ibšihī was a *šāfi'ī*. However, for example in the MS. Paris 3373 his attribute is *mālikī*. Again we may say that the copyist simply confused him with somebody else, but the question is interesting because we know from al-Ibšihī himself that he was a pupil of aṭ-Ṭarīnī<sup>1</sup>, who was a *mālikī*. Although it is not impossible, not necessarily even unusual, that he could have followed a different *maḍhab* than his beloved teacher who was "like a father to him", we cannot leave unnoticed that al-Ibšihī often refers to well-known *mālikī* *šuyūḥ* in his text and that *Muwaṭṭa'* is among his many sources. Rat draws attention to the poem written by al-Ibšihī in honour of the Prophet and in particular to the line "yā mālikī kun šāfi'ī" "Oh *malikī*, be a *šāfi'ī*" or, "My *possessor*, be my *curer*"<sup>2</sup>. Although al-Mustaṭraf contains puns of this kind, it seems unlikely that al-Ibšihī would have used one accidentally. Rat suggests that al-Ibšihī was most likely a *šāfi'ī*, although he must have felt interest and sympathy towards the *maḍhab* of his teacher.

2.3.2 Al-Mustaṭraf's internal evidence i.e. al-Ibšihī's own biographical notes and his scholarly life, has been dealt with to some extent by Dr. 'Abdallah aṭ-Ṭabbā' in the preface to his edition<sup>3</sup> of al-Mustaṭraf. Aṭ-Ṭabbā' is convinced that al-Ibšihī was a member (*mutaṣawwif*) of a *šūfī* community<sup>4</sup>. His conclusion receives support in particular from the details of al-Ibšihī's own life (see above), perhaps less from *šūfī* ideas which al-Mustaṭraf promotes more or less openly. Despite its religious overtone al-Mustaṭraf can hardly be considered a *šūfī* manual as it has only one subsection, the third *faṣl* of chapter 18, which is explicitly dedicated to *šūfis*. This is a tiny fraction of all other material in the book, which encompasses all aspects of life—including explicitly sexual anecdotes for sheer earthly entertainment<sup>5</sup>. It is

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<sup>1</sup> Sīdī [...] Abu Bakr b. 'Umar aṭ-Ṭarīnī al-Mālikī, al-Ibšihī's teacher, d. 11th *ḍū* I-*ḥiḡḡa* in 827/1423, al-M. I, ed. Rat, Chapter XXX, pp. 454-458.

<sup>2</sup> See ed. Rat, I, p. 702; al-M ed. Ṭ p. 234/line 16.

<sup>3</sup> But which is, in fact, based *verbatim* on the previously printed Cairene editions.

<sup>4</sup> See Al-M., I, p. 25; ed. aṭ-Ṭabbā', *Dār al-Qalam*, I, preface, pp. 19-27, where a list of al-Ibšihī's teachers is presented. Aṭ-Ṭabbā' draws attention to the laqab *sīdī* used by al-Ibšihī — frequently but not in all cases — in connection with *šūfī* saints. Accordingly, al-Ṭabbā' suggests that al-Ibšihī is referring by *sīdī* to "many of his contemporaries (*min mu'āṣirihī*) although he stresses that he is not claiming that all of these persons were his teachers (*'ustāḍan lahu*)". However, most of the 22 *šūfī* saints mentioned by al-Ibšihī in Chapter XXX of al-Mustaṭraf belong to an entirely different, much earlier era and are mentioned in Farīd ad-Dīn 'Aṭṭār's *Taḍkirat al-'awliyā'*, transl. by A.J.Arberry; see Arberry's interesting preface, comparative chart of *šūfī* biographies and an excellent bibliography. Al-Ibšihī also refers by the words *sayyidnā wa-mawlānā* to Šams ad-Dīn Muḥ. aṭ-Ṭarīnī and by *sīdī* to šayḥ Sulaymān ad-Dawāḥilī who led the funeral prayer (al-M., ed. Rat, pp. 454-458; see al-M., I, p. 163, ed. aṭ-Ṭabbā'. For the term *sīdī*, see further notes in Goldziher, *Veneration of Saints in Islam*, p. 287 and p. 289 in *Muslim Studies*, II, 1971; the same in *Muhammedanische Studien*, pp. 315 and 317.

<sup>5</sup> I refer here in particular to the story in the second volume in which a *šaiḥ* is caught with a young boy while he is — as he says — just checking if his young companion has reached puberty. I have found this *nukta* in the mss. of type I which do not contain the proverbs of men and women (see further in this study) which may indicate that the story was

definite, however, that al-Ibšihī felt great sympathy towards sufism; the final chapters of al-Mustaṭraf, which stress the importance of patience and giving up earthly pleasures as consistent with *ṣūfī* ideals.

## 2.4 Al-Ibšihī's literary work

2.4.1 As-Saḥāwī establishes al-Ibšihī as the definite author of al-Mustaṭraf fī kull fann al-mustaṭraf "in two big volumes" and of Aṭwāf al-'azhār 'alā ṣudūr al-'anhār. Al-Ibšihī also started (شرع) a book on epistolography (صنعة الترسل والكتابة). According to Vadet, he is possibly also the author of Taḍkirat al-'arīfīn wa-tabšīrat al-mustabšīrīn<sup>1</sup>.

2.4.2 As-Saḥāwī makes an interesting note on al-Ibšihī's corrupted language. For a modern reader al-Mustaṭraf is almost too well organized to be the work of a man who, in as-Saḥāwī's words, never learned to speak or to write the *fuṣḥā* correctly<sup>2</sup>. This claim is *prima facie* amazing, keeping in mind as-Saḥāwī's own testimony that al-Ibšihī knew already al-Qur'ān by heart at the age of ten and that he also studied *fiqh* and grammar from an early age. His father was a *ḥaṭīb*, from whom al-Ibšihī took over the position. It is therefore beyond any doubt that our writer already received a thorough religious and grammatical education at home. Later on he attended lectures by some of the most famous teachers of his time, including Ġalāl ad-Dīn al-Bulqīnī. Against this background it is difficult to accept that al-Ibšihī should have been unable to learn CA but also why especially he should be singled out for his corrupt language. The most logical explanation to me is that although al-Ibšihī knew CA—or written Arabic of his time, he probably used vernacular language *verbally* in contexts where it was resented by purists. Al-Mustaṭraf itself gives no clear evidence of al-Ibšihī's corrupt language: he presents some examples of popular poetry separately in Chapter 72 which indicates that he was perfectly aware of different poetical styles<sup>3</sup>. Although as-Saḥāwī's view may be biased, it suggests that for one reason or another al-Ibšihī had gained during his lifetime a reputation for using the vernacular in contexts where CA might have been more appropriate. If this is true, it may be assumed that there was no linguistic reason for al-Ibšihī *not* to include speech-based vernacular proverbs in al-Mustaṭraf, had he chosen to do so. On the other hand, as-Saḥāwī's note indicates that rather strict linguistic norms were applied in late medieval Egypt. This seems somewhat unexpected, as so-called Middle Arabic features occur frequently even in Muslim texts of this period<sup>4</sup>.

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originally inserted by al-Ibšihī himself.

<sup>1</sup> See EI<sup>2</sup>, Vadet's ref. h. al-Zayyāt, ḥazā'in al-kutub fī Dimašq, 80, no. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Saḥāwī, op. cit.: "lākinnaḥu li-'adami 'ilmāmihi bi-šay'in mina n-naḥwi yaqa'u fḥi wa-fī kalāmihi l-laḥnu kaṭīran". For the term *laḥn* (al-'amma), see EI<sup>2</sup>, Vol. V, p. 605.

<sup>3</sup> The proper evaluation of al-Ibšihī's linguistic skills implies, in my view, that such a judgement should be based on the autograph of al-Mustaṭraf.

<sup>4</sup> As can be seen, e.g., from the Analysis part of this study.

2.4.2.1 As-Saḥāwī made his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1449 and died in 1497 in Medina. Thus he was rather young during al-Ibšihī's life-time and probably did not meet the author personally. For this reason as-Saḥāwī's reliability as a witness may be questionable. However, as the biographical note about the corrupted language exists, it seems to indicate that al-Ibšihī had already built up a somewhat controversial reputation during his lifetime, probably before he had finished writing al-Mustaṭraf.

## 2.5 Al-Mustaṭraf fī kull fann mustazraf

2.5.1 Based on dates mentioned in the text of al-Mustaṭraf, it may be concluded that the work must have been written *not before* 838/1434 and *not later* than 850/1446.

2.5.2 Al-Mustaṭraf is a fully-fledged representative of Arabic encyclopædic literature containing 84 chapters along the lines of az-Zamaḥṣarī's *Rabī' al-abrār*<sup>1</sup> and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's *al-'Iqd*<sup>2</sup>. A general description of al-Mustaṭraf has been presented in many contexts based on its list of contents as it was first presented by Hammer-Purgstall<sup>3</sup>. In brief, it may be said that the book deals with all elegant (mustazraf) subjects following the example of Zamaḥṣarī and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih. Although al-Mustaṭraf is basically a compilation, al-Ibšihī's personal editorial role is further enhanced by his many textual contributions. Despite the complexity of the many subjects, the book holds remarkably well together due to its strong internal logic, which starts with the principles of Islam and ends up with diseases, death, patience and resignation. Although al-Mustaṭraf owes many of its qualities to its predecessors, it definitely has literary value as an independent work.

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<sup>1</sup> Rabī' al-abrār, e.g., the British Library ms. Add. 7521 has 98 chapters and as far as its compact form is concerned, most closely resembles al-Mustaṭraf. See further BL MSS. Or. 6511 (vol. I) and Add. 16,699.

<sup>2</sup> A detailed presentation of al-Ibšihī's many sources would require a separate study, as it is difficult to indicate off-hand which sources he has used directly. Al-Ibšihī uses his sources to a varying degree and mentions them sometimes by naming the author and the work or one of them or by leaving them anonymous. As a large proportion of the text is based on individual quotations, it is virtually impossible to trace their original and secondary sources, until all Arabic proverbial and wisdom literature has been put on a data base. Rat has identified the main individual works and given valuable comments on some of them. I list here the works named by Rat for easy reference: 1. Al-Qur'ān (Qāla 'allāhu ta'ālā), 2. *Ṣaḥīḥ* Muslim, 3. an-Nasā'ī, 4. Mālik's *Muwatta'*, 5. *Ṣaḥīḥ* al-Buḥārī, 6. az-Zamaḥṣarī's *Rabī' al-abrār*, 7. an-Nawawī's *al-Iḍkār*, 8. Abū M. ad-Dārimī's *Musnad*, 9. Murūḡ ad-ḡahab, 10. b. al-Ḡauzī's *al-Muntaẓim*, 11. Al-Ḡāḥiz, 12. Abū Dāwūd, 13. Abū Bakr aṭ-Ṭurtūsī, *Flambeau des Rois* [Rat p. 328 etc.], 14. aš-Šāfi'ī's *al-Umm*, 15. at-Tirmidī, 16. Ibn Māḡah, 17. Abū Bakr al-Karaitī's *Makārim al-aḥlāq*, 18. Abū Manšūr ad-Dailamī's *Musnad al-Firdaus*, 19. b. al-Muqannah's *al-Yatīma*, 20. Abū 'Alī al-Qālī's *Les dictées* [Rat p. 494], 21. *Aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥān* [i.e. nrs 2 and 5 supra], 22. Ar-Rašīd b. az-Zubair's *al-Aḡā'ib wa-t-Turaṭ*, 23. Abū l-Walīd's *Chroniques de la Mecque*, 24. The Pentateuch, 25. al-Wāḥidī's *al-Wasīt*, 26. Ḥāfiẓ an-Nasafī's *at-Ta'rīf wa-l-l'ām*, 27. Ṣaiḥ 'Abdallāh's *Présent des Coeurs*, 28. Maḡāḥiḡ al-fikar wa-manāḡiḡ al-'ibar, 29. Mir'at az-Zamān, 30. aš-Ša'bī's *Siyal al-Mulūk*, 30. b. al-Ḡauzī's *Le Pollen pour l'intelligence des faits mémorables*, 31. Al-Manṭūr.

<sup>3</sup> See EI<sup>1</sup> and EI<sup>2</sup>. The most recent presentation is included in Marzolph, Arabia Ridens.

2.5.3 As-Saḥāwī's note that the book was written in two large (kibār) volumes<sup>1</sup> from the very start is important as it excludes at least some speculation about the original form of the book. As-Saḥāwī gives no further information about the contents of the book. It seems also that the book was originally written in 84 chapters (bāb) which were subdivided into numerous subsections (faṣl). The present printed editions have 600-650 pages, Rat's translation in two volumes has a total of 1629 pages, which indicates that al-Mustaṭraf is also quantitatively a major achievement.

## 2.6 Al-Ibšihī's personal contribution to the text of al-Mustaṭraf

2.6.1 As-Saḥāwī's severe comment about al-Ibšihī's linguistic skills is best to be evaluated on the basis of al-Ibšihī's personal contribution to the text of al-Mustaṭraf. However, such an evaluation goes clearly beyond the scope of the present study and is limited here to a brief comment and further references.

2.6.2 Like his famous literary predecessors, al-Ibšihī relies heavily on borrowed material. However, al-Mustaṭraf contains his personal insertions<sup>2</sup> which may be classified under the following categories:

1. Brief comments and requests addressed to the reader concerning the subject in hand.<sup>3</sup>
2. Summaries at the beginning or the end of chapters and in short remarks serving as transitional material.<sup>4</sup>
3. Descriptions of events based on al-Ibšihī's personal experience.<sup>5</sup>
4. Insertions of his own verses and poems in the text.<sup>6</sup>

A proper evaluation of the above material, e.g., to verify as-Saḥāwī's comment on corrupted language, would imply the use of al-Ibšihī's autograph, which has not been located to date.

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<sup>1</sup> It seems that Rabī' al-'abrār was edited in the same way.

<sup>2</sup> As mentioned above, a literary and linguistic analysis of these insertions should be based on the autograph. Based on unvocalised printed editions and the MSS. of al-Mustaṭraf, most of them copied fairly late after al-Ibšihī's death, it is difficult to find evidence which would justify al-Saḥāwī's criticism.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. p. 93:18 ed. Ṭ; Rat 217; p. 213:17 ed. Ṭ; Rat, p. 631f.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. p. 212:18, ed. Ṭ; Rat p. 628; p. 193:15; Rat, p. 562; p. 284/10a; Rat II, p. 34; p. 296/1a; Rat II, p. 68; p. 306/11; Rat II, p. 99; further examples [in Rat] LXXII/588, LXXIV/631 (vine), LXXX/739 (summary), LXXVII/700 (long prayer), LXVIII/702 (invitation to study nature and the world), LXXIX/721, LXXXII.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. p. 280:1 supra, ed. Ṭ; Rat II, 19-20; p. 323:11 ed. Ṭ; Rat II, 157; p. 162:19 ed. Ṭ; Rat I/454f.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. p. 93 ed. Ṭ; Rat p. 218; p. 98 ed. Ṭ; Rat p. 231f; p. 233, ed. Ṭ, Chapter 42/Rat p. 699, Chapter 84, ḥadīṭ 12 and 5; p. 283:verso 9 supra; Rat II, p. 31; p. 283:4 supra; Rat II, p. 31; p. 288:10 supra, Rat p. 42; poems dedicated to women, p. 411, ed. Ṭ, Rat p. 468.

### 3. The printed editions and translations of al-Mustaṭraf

#### 3.1 The printed editions

3.1.1 Būlāq 1268, 1272, 1285, 1292/1875\*<sup>1</sup>, Cairo 1277, 1279, 1300, 1302, 1304, 1305, 1306/1888\*, 1308, 1320/1, 1348, 1361/1942\*; Calcutta sine anno, [see GAL II, p. 56; Suppl. II, s. 56]; Rat refers to a lithographic edition of 1275 (1858-1859 A.D.) which is not mentioned by Brockelmann; a new edition, vols 1-2 in a single binding, by Dār al-Fikr, Bairūt [wa-bi-hāmišihā ṭamrāt al-'awrāq fī l-muḥāḍarāt], on page 301 of Vol. II the year of printing is 1379 (H.), 1959, but it is possible that this edition has been reprinted several times; 'A. A. aṭ-Ṭabbā', Bairūt, 1401/1981\*<sup>2</sup>; vols 1-2 in separate binding, M. Qumaiḥa, Bairūt, 1403/1983\*.

#### 3.2 Translations of al-Mustaṭraf

3.2.1 Translation into Turkish by As'ad Ef. Istanbul 1263.<sup>3</sup>

3.61 Translation into French by G. Rat, Volume 1, Paris-Toulon 1899 and volume 2, Paris-Toulon 1902. Rat's translation is an incredible *tour de force* with helpful comments on al-Ibšīhī's [Šihāb-ad-dīn 'Aḥmad al-'Ibšīhī] sources. Rat has also indicated Quranic quotations and poetic metres which I have mentioned in the Texts<sup>4</sup>. Rat has based his translation on two Cairo editions, the 1272 (1855-1856 A.D.) printed edition, revised and corrected by šaiḥ Naṣr Abū'l-Wafā, and the lithographic edition of 1275 (1858-1859 A.D.)<sup>5</sup>.

### 4. The Manuscripts of al-Mustaṭraf

For practical reasons, it is useful first to divide the MSS. into suitable subgroups or "types" as with the content of the proverbial Chapter 6 (see appendix 1). Somewhat surprisingly, the criterion which divides the manuscripts into two clear main groups of MSS. is whether their Chapter 6 contains or does not contain the Proverbs of Men and Women. All printed editions which represent one original ms. and subsequent reprinting contain the proverbs of Men and Women as the 5th *faṣl* of

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<sup>1</sup> The printed editions marked with (\*) that I have studied seem to be based on the same original. At the end of volume II the older Cairene editions give information on the people involved in the *taṣḥīḥ*, printing and inspection of the book. No reference is made to any manuscripts. The 1292/1875 edition continues the usual list of various *aḥādīṭ* with a lengthy *qaṣīda* inserted by the printers. In the printed editions of al-Mustaṭraf chapter 6 is always arranged as (1) Q. and Ḥ., (2) 'A., (3) W., (4) Mina l-manẓūm and (5) of Men and Women.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Ṭabbā' says on the title page that his edition is based on several MSS. but mentions none of them.

<sup>3</sup> See Hammer-Purgstall, J., Über die letzten vier Jahren 1845, 46, 47 und 48 zu Constantinopel erschienenen Werke, in Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften 3,2 (1849).

<sup>4</sup> The poetical proverbs not included in Rat's and the various printed editions are: Nos. 276P, 277P, 278P, 280P, 281P, 282P, 283P, 284P, 285P, 286P, 319P, 322P, 329P, 336P, 339P, 360P, 371P, 391P, 444P, 448P, 450P.

<sup>5</sup> See, Rat I, Préface, p. x.



Chapter 6. However, the overwhelming majority of the MSS. — including the oldest dated MSS. I have seen so far — do *not* contain such a subsection.

#### 4.1 Manuscripts containing the Proverbs of Men and Women

**4.1.1 BN, Paris 3371, our "H":** Fonds arabes, p. 589: MS. *du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*; page size 15.5 x 21 cm, 23 lines per page, [Supplément 1768]. Further notes: the last chapter is 83 and starts at 402a; the last folio 407a ends with "anā raḡul min Banī l-'Abbās wa-kunt 'askun al-Bašra"; 34a: al-bāb as-sādis fī l-'amṭāl wa-fīh fuṣūl; (1) Q. and H., (2) 'A., (3) mina š-ši'r al-manẓūm, [sic!] al-'amṭāl min kalām al-'amma wa-l-muwalladīn, (4) fī l-'amṭāl as-sāyira; then al-bāb as-sābi' fī l-bayān [...]; Chapter 76 is missing.

**4.1.2 BN, Paris 3372, our "A":** Fonds arabes, p. 589: MS. *du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, page size 15 x 21 cm, 21 to 23 lines per page, [Ancien fonds 411]. Volume I, folios 1-271; chapters 1-50; the text ends on f. 266 with "tamma l-ḡuz' al-'awwal mina l-Mustazraf [sic!] yuḡmadu 'llāhu wa-'aunuhu wa-ḡusnu taufīqih wa-ḡayyan li-llāhi wa-ni'ma l-wakīl".

**4.1.3 BN, Paris 3373, our "E":** Fonds arabes, p. 589: MS. dated 1030 H. (1621 A.D.); a recent hand has added 7 chapters of vol. II; 263 *feuilles*, page size 15 x 21 cm, 15 to 17 lines per page, (Ancien fonds 1599). Volume I, folios 1-363, very elegant *nashī*, red and green ink used for key words; first page with black ink with decorations in red, green and yellow.

**4.1.4 Dār al-Kutub, Cairo A. Ṭal'at 4842, our "F":** [Dār al-Kutub: 314 q ḡ, dated incorrectly 1067 H. (1656 A.D. pro A.H. 1069, A.D. 1658; Remark at the bottom: waḡ' al-'umm "status of the original (text)"<sup>1</sup>]; Title of the work: [315a] Kitāb al-mustazraf 'alā kull fann mustazraf. Author: Šihāb ad-Dīn A. 'Abū Haḡla<sup>t</sup>. Date: wa-waḡa'a l-farāḡ min hāḡihi n-nuṣḡati l-mubāarakati fī yaumi l-'āširi min muḡarrami l-ḡarāmi yauma l-'āšūri yaumi l-'ahadi min tāriḡi sanati tis'in wa-sittīna wa-'alfin. Copyist: Ḥalīl b. al-Ḥāḡḡ Darwiš b. Mu'min al-'Anṡākī; Cover: Leather, worm-holes, size 18.7 x 28.8 cm, Parts: I-II, Chapters: 1-84, pages: 1a-314b and final page without number, size 19.5 x 28.9 cm, lines per page 29, length of line 11.5-11.6 cm [a later remark at the end: waraq 314, *musattara* 29 waḡ' al-'umm]; Condition: 1a partly patched, first pages until 4b water-damaged in the margin. Handwriting: very beautiful, neat, partly vocalized 'Qur'ānic' *nashī*, by the same hand, except for some notes by different hands in the margin. Decoration: Key words, titles written with red, blue and orange color ink, a double red line framing used for text and verses.

**4.1.5 British Library, London Add. 9566, our "M":** Vol. I of al-M.; Codices Syriacos et Cashunicos Amplectens, Pars Secunda Codices Arabices Amplectens II Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur o sat I-II, 1838, p. 335: DCCXXXIII, Codex chartaceus in 4to. ff. 471:

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<sup>1</sup> It seems, however, that this MS. cannot represent al-Ibšihī's autograph. Cf. my further comments below.

exaratus [*in fine* kāna l-farāg min yaum al-ğum'at al-mubāarakat ḥāmis yaum rabī' al-awwal] A.H. 1091, A.D. 1680, Shihāb al-Dīn M. b. A. al-Khatīb al-Abshīhī [...].

**4.1.6 British Library, London Add. 7306, Rich.:** Al-Mostathref Tom I Mus. Brit, Bibl. Rich. 7306, Plut. CCXXXVIII. B. Chapter 6 starting from folio 3 recto; Cat. p. 335: "DCXXXIV, Codex chartaceus in 4 to. ff. 247: exaratus sæc. forte XVII Tomi ejusdem exemplar aliud [Add. 7306, Rich.]; Chapter 6 starting from fol. 3a [al-bāb as-sādis fī l-amṭāl as-sāyirah wa-fīh fuṣūl]. Chapters 1-42: I al-Qur'ān (33b) and al-ḥadīṭ (34b), II al-ḥukamā (35a), min kalām al-'Arab (38a), min aš-ši'r al-manẓūm (39a), min kalām al-'amma... (43a), IV fī' l-amṭāl as-sāyira (43b), amṭāl an-nisā (47a). The chapter numbering is thus related most closely to "M".

**4.1.7 British Library, London Or. 21:** [Codices, p. 754; MDCLXXXII; Codex chartaceus in 4to. min. ff. 484 (...): presse exaratus, vocalibus passim adscriptio, sæculo, ut videtur, XVII]. Chapters 1-84: I al-Qur'ān (23b) and al-ḥadīṭ (24a), II al-ḥukamā (24b), min kalām al-'Arab (26b), III min aš-ši'r al-manẓūm (27a), min kalām al-'amma (31a), IV fī' l-amṭāl as-sāyira (31b), amṭāl an-nisā (33b). The chapter numbering thus has common features with both "E" and "M". Certain proverbial features (cf. 26b:13 and 31a:20) indicate that it cannot be the original ms. of E, M and BL 7306.

## 4.2. Manuscripts *not* containing the Proverbs of Men and Women

**4.2.1 Dār al-Kutub, Cairo Adab M 101:** [Dār al-Kutub: 594 q ḥṭ 977 H. (1569 A.D.)]; Title of the work: [2a] Kitāb al-mustaṭraf min kull fann mustaṭraf. Author not mentioned, except at the beginning "alā yadi l-'abd al-faqīr", which can hardly refer to the copyist. Date: wa kāna al-farāg min ḥādā l-kitāb l-mubāarak yaum as-sabt sābi' min šahr rabī' al-'awwal sana<sup>h</sup> sab'in wa-sab'ina wa-tis'imiya<sup>t</sup>. Owner [on cover prior to page 1(b): mulk al-wazīr Muṣṭafā Fāḍil Bāšā fī 9 ramaḍān 1283 (1866). Cover: Leather, gold decoration, Parts: I-II, Chapters: 1-84, Folios: 2a-594b number on left upper corner, size 12 x 18 cm, Lines per page 21, length of line 6.7-6.9 cm. Condition: excellent. Handwriting: Neat *nashī* by the same hand. Decoration: Key words, titles with red ink, key words occasionally also with gold and green. Chapter 6 32a-36; [32a] (1) Q. and [33a] H., [33a] (2) 'A., [34a] (3) W., [35a] (4) Mina l-manẓūm.

**4.2.2 Dār al-Kutub, Cairo Adab Ḥalīl Aḡā 52:** [Dār al-Kutub: 353 q ḥa 964 H. (1556 A.D.)]; Title of the work: [on front page] Kitāb al-mustaṭraf min kull fann mustaṭraf, Author: li-š-šaiḥ al-'imām al-'ālim al-'allāma<sup>h</sup> Aḥmad Muḥ. al-Ḥaṭīb. Date: wa-kāna l-farāg min nuṣṣatihā fī yaumi l-'iṭnain sādis muḥarram 964 (1556 A.D.). Copyist, volume I: Abū'l-Ḥair b. Muḥ. b. 'A. b. Nāṣir ad-Dīn az-Zayyād, in volume II written as Abū'l-Ḥair b. Muḥ. az-Zayyādī al-Muwaḍḍin. Cover: Leather, binding undamaged, Parts: I-II, Chapters in total: 1-84, Pages of volume I, chapters 1-50: Cover page + 2b-130a, volume II, pages: 131b-252b, size 18 x 26.2-26.3 cm. Lines per page 33, length of line 11.5 cm. Condition: good, except for some stains. Handwriting: Small, partly vocalized, clear *nashī* by the same hand, on cover page clumsy *nashī* in the margin and around the decoration. Decoration: Gold and blue ink decorations on front and end pages, key words with red ink. Remarks in the margin: in many places waqf Allāh ta'ālā with large letters, some remarks by

different hands. Ff. 13a-16b: [al-bāb as-sādis fī l-'amṭāl as-sāyirah wa-fih fuṣūl al-faṣl [13a] (1) Q. and [14a] H., [14a] (2) 'A., [14b] (3) W., [14b] (4) Mina l-manzūm].

**4.2.3 Dār al-Kutub, Cairo Adab 284:** Title of the work: [on cover page] Kitāb al-mustaṭraf fī kull fann mustaṭraf, [1st text page:] wa-sammaituḥu al-Mustaṭraf [...], Author: [ta'lif] al-'ālim al-'allāmah al-ḥibr al-baḥr al-fahhāmat Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ibšihī. Date: 1076 H., 1665 A.D.; at the end of volume II: tamma l-kitāb al-mubāarak bi-ḥamdi 'llāh wa-'aunih wa-taufīqih yauma l-'iṭnain al-mubāarak ḥamīs 'išrīn šahr dī l-qa'dati al-ḥarāmi llaḍi hwa min šuhūr sana<sup>h</sup> sitta<sup>h</sup> wa-sab'in wa-'alf mina l-ḥigrati n-nabawiyati [...]. Cover: Red leather, poor binding. Vols. I and II; Vol. I, Chapters 1-44, 260 folios; Vol. II, 282 folios, size 15 x 20.5 cm, Lines per page 23, length of line 9.5 cm, no folio numbering. Condition: good, Handwriting: Clear, clumsy, non-vocalized *ruq'a* by the same hand, Decoration: Titles and key words with red ink, text framed with red double line, golden color ornament at the beginning of the text on 2a; Chapter 6 on 29a-33a; Proverbial subsections (fuṣūl) of Chapter 6 without numbering: fa-min 'amṭāli l-Qur'ān [...], [min] 'amṭāl al-ḥadīṭ qauluhu, wa-min 'amṭāli l-'arab, wa-min 'amṭāli [word missing, possibly l-muwalladīn] 'iḥlis [pro 'iḡlis] ḥaiṭu, wa-mina l-'amṭāli l-manzūmi.

**4.2.4 Dār al-Kutub, Cairo d 11655:** [Dār al-Kutub: 293 q]; Title of the work: [Verso] al-Mustaṭraf min kull fann mustaṭraf, Author: [293b] li-š-šaiḥ al-'imām al-'ālim al-'allāma farīd 'aṣriḥ wa-'awānih Šihāb ad-Dīn b. 'Abī'l-'Abbās A. b. 'Abī Ḥaḡla<sup>t</sup>. Cover: Black leather, good binding. Chapters: 1-84, folios: 1a-5b+6+actual text in 7a-293b, size 18.5 x 29.2 cm, Lines per page 25, length of line 12 cm. Condition: good. Handwriting: Elegant, clear, partly vocalized *nashī*, list of contents by a different hand as well as last page [resembling remotely Persian style], 293b; Decoration: Red hearts upside down, key words and titles with red ink, black and red lines above key words. Chapter 5 20a-22b and Chapter 6 22b-25a; (1) Q. and H., (2) 'A., (3) W., (3) Mina l-manzūm.

**4.2.5 Dār al-Kutub, Cairo al-Zakīya 31:** [Dār al-Kutub: 302 ṣ ḥṭ 1244 H. (1828 A.D.)]; Title of the work: Kitāb al-mustaṭraf fī kull fann mustaṭraf, [in 1a] the name is given without kitāb. Author: Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ibšihī. Date at the end 1244? H.. Chapters: until 58?, page size 18 x 26.5 cm. Condition: very bad and worm-eaten, Handwriting: various hands, clumsy *nashī*. Further notes: Chapter 5 12b-14a and Chapter 6 14a-17b; (1) Q. and H., (2) 'A., (3) W.; (15b-16b): šī'r fī l-'amṭāl mina l-manzūm; different handwriting on 15b-20a.

**4.2.6 Dār al-Kutub, Cairo Al-Zakīya 829:** [Dār al-Kutub: 539 ṣ]; Title of the work: [3a] al-Mustaṭraf min kull fann mustaṭraf, author not mentioned. Chapters: 1-47, Pages: 3a-540a, lines per page 23, length of line 9.8 cm, folio numbering with pencil 3a-539+540a, Condition: very good but slightly worm-eaten at upper border. Handwriting: Clear, sharp-cornered *nashī*, which somehow reminds one of cufic style. Decoration: Red titles, text framed with red double line, single yellow line [on 3a-b]. The volume I ends with 'tamma al-ḡuz' al-'awwal bi-'auni llāh ta'ālā wa-ḥusni tawfiqih ṭumma yalī ḥadā l-bāb bāb at-ṭāmin wa-l-'arba'un fī š-šabāb wa-š-šaiḥ [...]' Chapter 5 on 53b-61a and Chapter 6 on 61a-69b; (1) Q. and H., (2) 'A., (3) W., (4) Mina l-manzūm.

**4.2.7 Dār al-Kutub, Cairo Adab Ṭal‘at 4590:** [Dār al-Kutub: al-‘awwal 220 q ḥṭ, 1065 H. (1654 A.D.)]; Title of the work: [2a] Kitāb al-mustaṭraf fī kull fann mustaṭraf, author not mentioned. Date: wa-kāna l-farāğ min nash̄ hādā l-kitāb al-mubārak al-musammā bi-l-mustaṭraf nahār al-ḥamīs waqt al-‘aṣr fī ḡurra<sup>t</sup> šahr ḡumāda l-āḥira min šhūr sana<sup>h</sup> ḥamsa<sup>h</sup> wa-sittīn wa-alf [1065]. Copyist: kutiba bi-rasm ‘Asad b. aš-Šaiḥ ‘Alwān b. A. al-Kamāl, [on 221: ‘alā yad [...] as-sayyid Ibrāhīm b. aš-Šaiḥ Farzāt b. ‘Alwān b. aš-Šaiḥ A. al-Kamāl aš-šāfi‘ī maḏhaban al-qādirī ṭarīqatan as-salmānī manša’an, ḡafara llāhu li-kitābihi. Cover: Leather back, artificial leather cover. Volume I, Chapters: 1-45. Folios: 2b-221a, size 16 x 23.2 cm, lines per page 25, length of line 10.8 cm. Condition: mediocre, worm-holes, water stains, no front page. Handwriting: Clear, partly vocalized *nashī*, by the same hand. Decoration: Red dots, occasional key words with red ink. Chapter 5 on 26a-29a and Chapter 6 on 29a-33a; [29a] (1) Q. and [30a] H., [30a] (2) ‘A., [31a] (3) W., [31b] (4) Mīna l-manzūm.

**4.2.8 Dār al-Kutub, Cairo Adab Taimūr 338:** [Dār al-Kutub: 288 q]; Title of the work: [2a] al-Mustaṭraf min kull fann mustaṭraf, author not mentioned, no date. Cover: Leather covered with green cloth with holes, good binding, Volumes I-II, Chapters: 1-84, Volume I, folios: 1a-151b, volume II, folios 152a-289b, size 21 x 31.5 cm, Lines per page 27, length of line 13.8 cm, Condition: very good except ff. 273-289 slightly damaged by water. Handwriting: Elegant, occasionally vocalized *nashī* with *hamzas* and *tašdīd*. The list of contents on the first 5 pages before front page, in a different hand. Decoration: Titles and dots with red ink. Chapter 5 on 14a-16a and Chapter 6 on 16a-18b; (1) Q. and H., (2) ‘A., (3) W., (4) Mīna l-manzūm.

**4.2.9 Dār al-Kutub, Cairo Adab Taimūr 8163:** Chapter 6 starts from fol. 31: [as-sādis fī l-amṭāl as-sāyirah wa-fīh fuṣūl: (Q., H., ‘A., W., Mīna l-manzūm)].

**4.2.10 Dār al-Kutub, Cairo Adab Ṭal‘at 4857:** [Dār al-Kutub: 295 q ḥṭ, 1138 H. (1725 A.D.)]; no proverbs of Men and Women.

**4.2.11 Dār al-Kutub, Cairo Adab Q[wlh] 11:** [Dār al-Kutub: 335 q ḥṭ, 1104 H. (1692 A.D.)]; Title of the work: [on the cover page] al-Mustaṭraf min kull fann mustaṭraf, in 1a with fī. Author: [li-š-šaiḥ al-‘imām] Muḥ. b. A. al-Ḥaṭīb al-Ibšīhī. Parts I-II: Chapters 1-84, folios 1-3 without numbering, ff. 4-335b numbered. Size 15.5 x 28 cm, lines per page 31, length of line 9.5 cm. Condition: very good. Handwriting: Clear, partly vocalized *nashī*. Decoration: Key words, titles with red ink, text framed with a double red line. Chapter 5 on 16a-18a and Chapter 6 on 18a-20b; (1) Q. and H., (2) ‘A., (3) W., (4) [al-faṣl ar-rābi‘ fī l-amṭāl] mīna l-manzūm.

**4.2.12 Dār al-Kutub, Cairo Adab 5111:** [Dār al-Kutub: 210, 285 q]; Title of the work: [hādā l-ḡuz’ al-‘awwal mīna] al-Mustaṭraf fī kull fann mustaṭraf, Author: [ta’lif] aš-Šaiḥ Ramaḏān al-‘Azharī [copyist?]. Date not mentioned. Cover: Hard green cloth cover, good binding. Parts I and II in one binding, vol. I contains the chapters 1-49 and vol. II chapters 43[sic]-84, no folio numbering. Size 15.6 x ? cm, lines per page 21, length of line 8.3-8.4 cm. Condition: excellent. Handwriting: "hurried" *nashī*. Decoration: Titles in red ink, key words marked with a red line above, occasional words written with red ink, text framed with a dark red line

tinged with violet. Chapter 5 on 32a-35b [the 1st page with text would be 2a]. Chapter 6 36a-42b; (1) Q. and H., (2) 'A., (3) W., (4) Mina l-amṭāl mina l-mnāymūn [sic!]. Vol. I; folios 1-165 the same "hurried" *nashī* 21 lines per page, length 8.2-8.3 cm. In ff. 166-295 the paper quality is more porous, coarser with a margin slightly tinged with violet, with a more beautiful *nashī* script. Vol. II in a handwriting which is different from the previous but somehow close to the one on ff. 1-165 of vol. I; 285 ff., 21 lines per page; no copyist or date; after a cover page + 2 empty pages, the text starts with "bismi 'llāhi r-rahmāni r-rahīm al-bāb aṭ-ṭālīṭ wa-l-'arba'in followed with the contents of volume II; folios 1-37a the same (?) handwriting as I:1-165; 37b-232a in a new hand, 21 lines per page, length 10.4-10.5 cm; on 105b a slit of 4.5 cm x 0.5 cm; 232b-234a same (?) handwriting as I:1-165; 234b-235a the same handwriting as in II/37b-232a; 235b-237a as I:1-165; 237b-275a ending vol. II.

**4.2.13 Leiden Or. 52, our "N":** Bibl. Univ. Leidensii, Cod. manuscr. VII, Hand list of Arabic manuscripts by P. Voorhoeve, p. 243, ff. 356, CCA 501; Golius manuscript (before 1667).

**4.2.14 Leiden Or. 279, our "O":** Bibl. Univ. Leidensii, Cod. manuscr. VII, Hand list of Arabic manuscripts by P. Voorhoeve, p. 243, ff. 306, CCA 500; H. 999 [1590 A.D.].

**4.2.15 Leiden Or. 1439, our "P":** Bibl. Univ. Leidensii, Cod. manuscr. VII, Hand list of Arabic manuscripts by P. Voorhoeve, p. 243, ff. 304, CCA 502; H. 1250 [1834 A.D.].

**4.2.16 BN, Paris 3369:** Fonds arabes, p. 589 [in BN, Départ. des manuscrits, Catalogue des manuscrits arabes par [...] de Slane, Paris 1883-1895]: MS. du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, page size 18 x 27 cm, 25 lines per page, [Supplément 1766]: Vol. I, 1-234 in ordinary *nashī*, 236a-274a by a different hand which has also written ff. 304b-366a. Ff. 274b-304a in an elegant, clear *nashī* by a different hand. Ff. 366b?-443 possibly not written by an oriental hand; clumsy *nashī*, occasionally shaking, the quality of the paper is different, espec. folios 366b-367, 371, 373, 379.

**4.2.17 BN, Paris 3370:** Fonds arabes, p. 589: 339 *feuilles*, page size 20 x 29 cm, 25 lines per page, (Supplément 1767) -. First folio very stained, folios 1-339 written in clear *nashī*, dated 1052 (1642 A.D.), ends with a *qaṣīda*.

**4.2.18 BN, Paris 3384:** Chapter 6 starts from 26b: (1) Q. and ḥad., (2) 'A., (3) 'Āmma and Muw., (4) *الا كل شيء ما خلا الله باطل وكل نعيم لا محالة زائل*.

**4.2.19 BN, Paris 6236-6239:** E. Blochet, Bibliothèque nationale, Catalogue des manuscrits arabes des Nouvelles Acquisitions (1884-1924), Paris, 1925, pp. 217-218: Exemplaires en quatre volumes [...], le second ouvrage, le *Kitab al-kawakib al-mouziyya fi djam al-nawadir al-bahiyya* (folio 77 verso), est un recueil d'extraits de plusieurs ouvrages [...] qui a été formé par Yohanna ibn Yousouf Varsi al-Fransisi, qui avait copié, pour son usage personnel, le Mostathraf [...]. Neskhī des XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles [...] (Decourdemanche); Our short note on Chapter 6 of al-Mustaṭraf: al-bāb as-sādis fī l-'amṭāl wa-fīh 'arba'a wa-ṭalātūn faṣṣan; (1) Q. [...] (3) W., (4) Mina l-manzūm and then al-bāb as-sābi' fī l-bayān.

**4.2.20 John Rylands Library, Manchester 57, our "D":** A. Mingana, Catalogue of the Manuscripts [...], cols. 913-914; 671 [57], 280 x 160 mm. 246 leaves, 31 lines to the page. Title: al-Mustaṭraf min [...], the present MS. attributes it to Ibn Abi Ḥajalāḥ (fol. 243b) [li-š-šaiḥ al-'imām...Šihāb ad-Dīn b. Abī l-'Abbās A. b. Abī Ḥaḡalaḥ<sup>t</sup>], ownership about A.D. 1660 [as-sayyid Yūsuf b. as-Sayyid Ḥusain al-Ḥusainī nasaban al-ḥanafī al-mātrīdī 'itiqādan an-niqšabandī ṭarīqatan ad-dimašqī maulidan], another owner al-Ḥusain al-Kātib. The manuscript is dated 1065/1654: [wa-kāna l-farāḡ min ta'līqih yauma l-'aḡadi l-mubāraki rābi' 'iṣrīna šahr raḡab al-fard min šuhūr sanat ḥamsat wa-sittīn wa-'alf 'alā yad [the copyist:] 'Alī b. 'Abī Bakr at-Tāwī, written in clear Egyptian Naskhi. Red rulings. Profusely rubricated. [Bland.]

**4.2.21 Princeton Univ. Library, Hitti cat. no. 211, our "C":** Date 12/11/78 Arabic Manuscripts [volume no. 107B] from the Garrett Collection of Arabic Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library. Hitti Catalogue No. 211 in Philip K. Hitti, *et al.*, Descriptive Catalog of the Garrett Collection of Arabic Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938. [Note by Hitti: "Probably from XVIth century."]

**4.2.22 BL, Or 1355 (Vol. I), 1356 (Vol. II):** vols I: (Chapter 6: 36a, (1) Q. and Ḥ., (2) 'A., (3) W., (4) Min al-manzūm; [Sir Charles A. Murray:], The Supplement to the Catalogue of Arabic Mss. Rieu 2. 1114-15, [...] Two uniform volumes consisting respectively of 350 and 327 foll.; [...] written by the same hand in rude *nashī*; dated 21 Dulḥijjah, A.H. 1262 (1846). Copyist Muḥ. Ḥasan as-Samānī.

**4.2.23 BL Add. 23,446:** [Codices II, p. 654, MCCCXXI, (Perfectus est die decimo mensis Jumāda prioris anno 1236), A.D. 1820); [26 verso-30 recto; al-faṣl al-'awwal (1) Q. and Ḥ., (2) mṭāl [sic!] al-'A., (3) 'Āmma and Muw., (4) Mina l-manzūm].

**4.2.24 Escorial 2 718:** [as written on the photocopy of the first page]: 3/Casiri:I, s. 150 DXV, I.p.214.c.2: dated "die Sabbati 12. Gemadi prioris anno Egirae 996 (1587 A.D.), LXXXVIII capitibus comprehendum (88 (?) chapters); [ta'rif] Muḥ. b. A. al-Ḥaṭīb al-Abšahī [sic!]; [...] Hoc opus laudat Pococius in suo Historiæ Arabum Specimine, pag. 370; ex Regia Bibliotheca Marochana; Michaelis Casiri, Tomus Prior & Tomus Posterior, Matriti Anno M.DCC.LX; written in neat, small *nashī*. Due to a misunderstanding I received photocopies of only the first three and the last 2 pages of this manuscript. However, as the list of contents on 3b says "al-bāb as-sādis fī l-'amṭāl wa-fih 'arba' fuṣūl" i.e. four *fuṣūl*", I assume that this manuscript is of type I.

### 4.3. Manuscripts consisting only of Volume II

4.3.1 BL Add. 9567, 1103 H. [1691 A.D.]; [written in *magribī* handwriting].

4.3.2 Cairo Adab 1721 [aṭ-ṭānī 395 q. ḥt, 1263 H.]; starting from Chapter 43.

4.3.3 Cairo Adab Taimūr 631 (or 231?); [Dār al-Kutub: aṭ-ṭānī 414 ṣ]; folios 1b-414, chapters 58-84?, the text starts from Chapter 58 with "innamā 'aḡulu mā ḥasan [pro mā 'aḡsanu ?] ṣ-ṣabru fī d-dunyā", and finishes with "tamma l-kitāb fī dī l-ḥiḡḡa sanat sab' wa-tis'imiya li-l-ḥiḡra", the year 927 H. crossed over at the end.

4.3.4 Cairo Adab Ṭal'at 4591 [372 q].

#### 4.4. Further manuscripts and fragments of al-Mustaṭraf

4.4.1 Dār al-Kutub, Cairo Adab Taimūr 773 [346 q]: [mu'allif ḥādā l-kitāb Zain ad-Dīn M. b. A. al-Ḥaṭīb al-Ibšīhī al-mutawaffa fī sanah 843 (1439 A.D.); al-bāb as-sādis [sāqi fī l-ḥazm].

4.4.2 BN, Paris 3374: Last Chapter 50 starts from 280a; al-bāb as-sādis fī l-'amṭāl wa-l-'aḡwiba and part of Chapter 7 are missing.

4.4.3 BN, Paris 6235: Al-mostáthraf [...], neskhi copié par Molla Ahmad al-Baghdadi, en 1235 [1819 A.D.], 419 feuillets, 22 sur 16 centimètres. -(Decourdemanche); E. Blochet, Bibliothèque nationale, Catalogue des manuscrits arabes des Nouvelles Acquisitions (1884-1924), Paris, 1925, p. 217. The manuscript consists of folios 3-420 and starts from 49b; its first chapter is part of Chapter 8 with "bismillāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm qāla faqīr 'afwi rabbih ar-rāḡī l-maḡfiratihi", Muḥ. al-Ḥaṭīb al-Ibšīhī [...]; folios 363b-419a in a different hand with some further remarks in the margin; last date and copyist (see above) mentioned on folio 420.

4.4.5 Joseph Aumer: Die arabischen Handschriften der k. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in Muenchen, München, 1866, p. 265: 606 Cod. or. Prunneri 241, *magribī* handwriting. I studied this MS. in München only to find out that it does not contain the proverbial section, i.e. chapter 6.

4.4.6 I have not been able to use the following MSS. for the present study.

4.4.6.1 BDMG 117: Topkapı Nr. 8324 which is undoubtedly the most interesting manuscript of al-Mustaṭraf that I have so far been unable to study. Due to its fragile condition it could not be microfilmed and should therefore be studied in Istanbul. Further notes: AS 4264/8: Defteri Kütübḥāne'i Aya Sofia, Stambul 1304.

4.4.7 The bibliographic literature mentions a plethora of MSS. of al-Mustaṭraf. I mention here only the most important sources.

4.4.6.2 [GAL, II, S. 69:] Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse des Koeniglichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Neunzehnter Band, Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften von W. Ahlwardt, Siebenter Band, Berlin 1895. The manuscripts consist mainly of shorter fragments of al-Mustaṭraf but some of them deserve closer study], see p. 243 where several f.

4.4.6.3 Wilhelm, Pertsch: Die arabischen Handschriften des herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha, 1-5, Gotha 1892; Vierter Band, see p. 170.

4.4.6.4 Bibl. Ar.-Hispan. Escorialensis: I. p. 214. c. 2.

4.4.6.5 E. Fagnan: Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Département - Tome XVIII, Alger, Paris 1893, p. 538, especially 1878

(1327.-R. 1025) (Volume I until Chapter 42; good oriental hand; X<sup>e</sup> (?) siècle.

4.4.6.6 Vatican 952 (Volume I, chapters 1-49); Studi i testi 67, Giorgio Levi della Vida *Elenco dei manoscritti arabi islamici della biblioteca Vaticana, MCMXXXV* (1935), p. 96.

4.4.6.7 [Die arabischen Handschriften des herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha 1-5, von Dr. W. Pertsch, Gotha 1892; 22, 1. 2142-2151]; *Vierter Band*, s. 170: 2142 (arab. 475; Stz. Kah. 855) Handschriften finden sich [...]; Oxford (Uri 362, 363 u. 383, und Nicoll 101); *Bibl. des Tippû* p. 47, Nr. 104; *Franck* Nr. 264].

4.4.6.8 Gustav Flügel: *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der kaiserlich-königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien, Erster Band*, 1865, p. 374.

4.4.6.9 Ewald Wagner, *Arabische Handschriften, Teil I*, p. 344 [in *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, ed. by W. Voigt, Band XVII, Reihe B], Wiesbaden 1976: Nr. 416: MS. or. oct. 3852 [located in Staatsbibliothek Preussischen Kulturbesitz, Berlin]; 365 pages, 14.5 x 20.5 cm, 8.5 x 16.5 cm, medium-size unvocalized *nashî*, keywords etc. in red ink; dated 11. šawwāl 1179/23th Mars 1766. *Daḥdāḥ* 247; [1b] starts with Chapter 43, last page [365a]; Wagner has listed several missing parts in the manuscript (see p.345); Other MSS. listed by E. Wagner: Baghdad, Auqāf nos. 2195-97; Baghdad, Maḥaf nos. 235-236 (vgl. *Auwād in Sumer* 14 [1958] S. 44-45); Bengal no. 256, 14; Liban 1/159 = No. 166; Mašhad 3/195; Sofia 116 = No. Or. 772; Teheran, Maḡl. aš-šūrā al-wa . (ḥā'irī) 7/353 = No. 198.

4.4.6.10 Further in GAL II, p. 56: [...] *Qawala* II, 215, *Patna* I, 206, 1835; GAL, Suppl. II, p. 56: *Pet. Ros.* 109; *Mōṣul* 145,79; 172,14; *Mešh.* XV, 39,29.

## 4.5 Conclusion

I have been able to view for this study a total of 31 MSS. listed appendix 1 and a number of fragments. Although the missing autograph may leave some questions unanswered, the present material represents definitely the oldest stock of *dared* MSS. For this reason, I am convinced that they are not only sufficient for the purpose of this study but also cover the most relevant points of a tentative family-tree, the interlinkage of the main types of MSS. and their eventual textual development.

## 5. Analysis of the textual relationship between the manuscripts

### 5.1 Preliminary considerations

Although *al-Mustaṭraf* was written fairly recently, the bibliographical literature and my own research have so far given no clue as to where the autograph could be found. For this reason it seems appropriate to take a closer look at the relationship between the various MSS. As stated earlier, the main feature which divides the MSS. into two separate groups is whether or not they contain the *Proverbs of Men and Women*. This question seems vital, not only for dating the said proverbs, but



eventually raises the question whether they should be considered as having *originally* reflected al-Ibšīhī's scribal and linguistic features or whether they should be seen as a later insertion, a separate textual fragment. From the perspective of the present work the latter alternative does not necessarily imply drastic consequences, as it is evident that subsequent copyists treat the text as a unit. However, it is important to keep this hypothesis in mind because it may ultimately explain why, e.g., the classical proverbs differ from the Proverbs of Men and Women in the first place.<sup>1</sup>

### 5.1.1 MSS. without the Proverbs of Men and Women; type I

5.1.1.1. The manuscripts which I have had the opportunity to study at least cursorily are 24 in total. Twelve of the manuscripts in Dār al-Kutub do *not* contain the Proverbs of Men and Women vs. only one MS. having them, i.e., Adab Ṭal'at 4842 dated 1658 A.D. In other collections the oldest dated MSS. — written a century earlier — seem *prima facie* not to have them either. I call these versions of al-Mustaṭraf type I. All dated manuscripts of this type which I have found so far were written approximately a century after al-Ibšīhī's death.

### 5.1.2 MSS. with the Proverbs of Men and Women; type II

5.1.2.1 Of all of the manuscripts which I have studied only seven contained the Proverbs of Men and Women, or eight if we include the printed editions. These manuscripts were *prima facie* all written in the 17th century (or later). The MS. Paris 3372 ("A") is undated but, based on its overall style and physical appearance, from an older stock, if we believe de Slane, from the 16th century. Curiously, it shares some individual features<sup>2</sup> with the printed edition. A closer look at the textual history of al-Mustaṭraf is needed before giving preference either to type I or II of the manuscripts. In what follows I shall compare the organisation of Chapter 6 in the MSS. of type I and type II, the printed version, Paris 3371 ("H"), Paris 3372 ("A"), Paris 3373 ("E"), Cairo Adab Ṭal'at 4842 ("F") and BL Add. 9566 ("M").

## 5.2. Proverbial subsections of Chapter 6

5.2.1 In all manuscripts of type I, Chapter 6 is arranged in four *fuṣūl*, numbered from one to four. All manuscripts have the same numbering (See Appendix 1).

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<sup>1</sup> If the proverbs of men and women are a separate fragment, it could be said that their scribal and linguistic treatment has followed, so to speak, a separate track from the very beginning. However, this does not exclude the possibility, which I think is very likely, that even al-Ibšīhī would have treated literary proverbs linguistically differently from speech-based proverbs, which normally contain, e.g., clearly vernacular elements. But the possibility exists that he might have tried to classicize these proverbs more than would an outside compiler who would not have to worry about the overall linguistic standard of al-Mustaṭraf. It seems necessary to mention this, although it would be equally possible to refer to as-Saḥāwī, who separately mentions al-Ibšīhī as a user of corrupted language [كنه لعدم إلمامه بشيء من النحو يقع] see ad-Ḍau', vol. 7, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, MS. A also has many *lacunae*.

- (1) Proverbs from al-Qur'ān followed by the proverbs of al-Ḥadīṭ
- (2) Proverbs of al-'Arab
- (3) Proverbs of al-'Āmma wa-l-muwalladīn
- (4) Proverbs from Poetry (Mina l-manzūm)

These *proverbial* categories belong to the *classical* stock of knowledge every *kātib* should master<sup>1</sup>.

5.2.2 The MSS. of type II which have been selected for the present study represent 5 different combinations and numbering for the *fuṣūl* of Chapter 6. The printed version and the MS. H follow basically the internal order of subsections of type I with the exception of the Proverbs of Men and Women which are included as the 5th *faṣl*, which seems their natural place *after* the Classical Proverbs.

5.2.3 The Proverbs of Men and Women are in the *last* place also in the 4 other manuscripts but with a different *numbering*. In the MSS. F, M and E they are the 4th *faṣl* but in A, curiously, the 6th. In M and E a new category of proverbs has been added, i.e., the '*amṭāl al-ḥukamā*', "proverbs of wise men" [who are, in fact, *ḥikam* as the whole Chapter 5] but which are numbered *differently* in M and E, (2) and (3), respectively. The numbering is all *confused* as can be seen from appendix 1. The most logical numbering and arrangement is in the printed edition and in MS. A, further supported by the MSS. of type I. The confusion in numbering and arrangement of the *fuṣūl* in the other manuscripts seems to be best explained by a copyist's decision to place the *poetical* proverbs between the *amṭāl al-'Arab* and *amṭāl al-'Āmma wa-l-Muwalladīn*, which is the order maintained in the rest of the MSS. of type II. The insertion of '*amṭāl al-ḥukamā*' after the proverbs of al-Qur'ān and al-Ḥadīṭ in M and E is definitely of a later date. However, the numbering and arrangement of Chapter 6, as such, brings us nowhere nearer to explaining the *origin* of the Proverbs of Men and Women.

5.2.4 Although I have not given an exact account of every manuscript I have studied, it seems initially that, despite minor differences in the total number of proverbs in the first three subsections, the *fuṣūl* (1) al-Qur'ān and al-Ḥadīṭ, (2) al-'Arab and (3) al-'Āmma and al-Muwalladīn, is approximately the same in the MSS. of type I and II. However, there are major differences in the *faṣl* of poetical proverbs [*faṣl* (4) of the printed edition] which is almost *three* times longer in the printed edition than in most manuscripts of type II, except for A, which has various

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<sup>1</sup> Cf., e.g., Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Al-maṭal as-sā'ir*, vol. I, Cairo, 1st ed. 1959, pp. 61f., 69f., 71f., 72f. For the concept of *maṭal* and various subcategories, see Sellheim, *Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörtersammlungen*, pp. 8-27. The names of the categories correspond, in most cases, to the actual source of the proverbs. However, it is uncommon that the virtually same proverb is in one collection a proverb of al-'Arab and in another of al-'Āmma. A proverb may be attributed to a certain poet, e.g., nr 120'A to an-Nābiḡa because he has used it in his *dīwān*, but is nevertheless categorised as a proverb of al-'Arab. A poetical proverb consists of a line of verse and can in many cases be attributed to more or less well-known poets: 398P al-Farazdaq, 414P Labīd, 451P al-Mutanabbī. However, a line of Abū l-'Atāhiya, nr 123a'A, has been written in the *faṣl* of proverbs of al-'Arab.

*lacunæ* and has, consequently, only 87 proverbs in this section. In comparison, the usual total number of poetical proverbs is about 68 in the MSS. of type I. A further important difference between the two types of MSS. is that in type II the poetical proverbs have been put into *alphabetical* order whereas they have been arranged arbitrarily in the MSS. of type I. As the possibility that the *amṭāl mina š-šī'r al-manzūm* would have been reordered in the MSS. of type I must be excluded, the alphabetical order of the poetical proverbs in type II including the printed edition *must* represent a later development. The MSS. of type I must, therefore, represent an older version and very likely the original version written by al-Ibšihī. Further evidence supporting this argument is obtained by taking a closer look at how the alphabetical order took shape in the manuscripts. For quantitative data see Table 1.1.

5.2.5. In the section of poetical proverbs of type I, where the proverbs are not in alphabetical order, the initial letters of the proverbs did not represent all the alphabet, with b, ġ, ḥ, d, ḍ, r, z, š, ṣ, ṭ, z, ġ and h missing. As a result, the "enlarged" version of type II has many alphabetical letters [in the printed edition proverbs beginning with ḥ, ḍ, z and ṣ] represented by only one proverb, which gives the impression that the new arrangement was to some extent artificial and was perhaps originally triggered by the fact that there were so many proverbs with initial *aliḥ*.

5.2.6. The Proverbs of Men and Women of type II follow alphabetical order in all five manuscripts of type II but with an interesting difference if compared with the printed edition. A detailed comparison of the MSS. indicates that under *ḥarf ad-dāl* [in A, E, F, M] the following sequence is represented by the initial words of the proverbs: (84R) *dār*, (85R) *dā* (pro CA *dā*), (86R) *dī* [with alternatives *dī*], (87R) *dā* [in A and E *dā*], (88R) *dī* [A and E *dī*], (89R) *dirham*, (90R) *dawā*. These proverbs which would begin with *d* (د) as in Classical Arabic have been transferred in the printed edition under *ḥarf ad-dāl al-mu'ğama*. This seems to suggest that the order of the Proverbs of Men and Women in the MSS. of type II represents an older version than the printed edition but it is possible that the above changes took place during *tashīḥ* and not before. For the same reason, the proper evaluation of the printed version is difficult because it is virtually impossible to 'extrapolate' some of the differences back to the MS. used by the printers. Some of the proverbs in the printed version lack elements which are in the MSS. and *vice versa*. The printed version has 27 Proverbs of Men and Women not occurring in the MSS., while the MSS. have 17 proverbs not found in the printed version<sup>1</sup>. The main problem in comparing such differences is that proverbs are occasionally in a different internal order in the printed version than in the MSS., partly for typographical but also for seemingly arbitrary reasons, possibly due to manual typesetting.

### 5.3 The family tree of al-Mustaṭraf's manuscripts

<sup>1</sup> Although such features are somewhat irrelevant to the present study, the proverbs of the printed edition which do not occur in the mss. have been included in the Index of the Proverbs. Also the proverbs found only in the mss. have been indicated separately.

5.3.1 Based on the above, the most likely development is that the Proverbs of Men and Women did not belong to the autograph by al-Ibšihī but were inserted later as part of the gradual development of the MSS. It may be assumed that after serving first the immediate *entourage* of al-Ibšihī, i.e. possibly religious circles, the copyists found a new wealthy clientele which appreciated both the *de luxe* outlook of carefully prepared decorative MSS. but also humorous material represented by the Proverbs of Men and Women<sup>1</sup>. However, if we wish to defend the alternative that the Proverbs of Men and Women were written by al-Ibšihī himself, they probably were not arranged alphabetically, which would be consistent with non-alphabetical order of the poetical proverbs of the MSS. of type I. In view of the present evidence it seems more likely to me that later copyists added gradually new material into their MSS., the same way early books of proverbs were transformed into large compilations prepared by al-Maidānī and others.

5.3.2 The following notes serve as comments on the family tree drawing, which is very sketchy for the reasons stated above. For the same reason I shall here enumerate features which establish close relationship of some manuscripts and their mutual copying order on the one hand and features which exclude the same on the other.

5.3.2.1 The autograph of al-Mustaṭraf was very likely of type I.

5.3.2.2 Among the manuscripts of type I we can identify several potential subtypes represented here by individual manuscripts which show common or mutually exclusive features with other manuscripts. Paris 3369 cannot represent the prototype of type II because it does not contain any of *an-nawādir an-nawāṭiya* in Chapter 76. Also its *fuṣūl* are not numbered which gives some reason to believe that the numbering of the *fuṣūl* of Chapter 6 might of a later date, too. Paris 3370 is written by several hands and ends with Chapter 73. Furthermore, my conclusion is that Leiden Or. 279, Princeton 211, Leiden Or. 52 and Rylands 57 do *not* represent ideally the prototype of type I. By the limitation "not ideally" I mean that genuine *mistakes* should have taken place, such as change in the order of individual proverbs to explain differences between these manuscripts and the subsequent MSS. of type I. It seems, however, rather pointless to elaborate these questions until a larger number of MSS. which have not been available to me are studied. For this reason, I shall present at this point only a preliminary family tree in which all manuscripts of type I are presented as a single group (See appendix 2).

## 6. Note on other chapters of al-Mustaṭraf

### 6.1 The *nawādir* of the sailors in Chapter 76

6.4.1 Goldziher draws attention to *an-nawādir an-nawāṭiya* (*faṣl* 9 of Chapter 76

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<sup>1</sup> However, it may very well be that the copyists simply added new material such as proverbs of men and women but also *amṭāl al-ḥukamā'* just to be able to charge for more pages and consequently to obtain more money.

in the printed edition), "ein höchst interessantes Stück" which he suggests is the prototype of the literary genre which is later represented by aš-Širbīnī's *Hazz al-Quḥūf*<sup>1</sup>. Based on the MSS. which I have studied, it is difficult to see an immediate parallel between the *faṣl* of *an-nawādir an-nawāṭīya* of Chapter 76 and Hazz al-Quḥūf's verses written in vernacular language<sup>2</sup>, mainly because this *faṣl* occurs in a very short form and its actual vernacular elements are very few indeed. On the basis of the manuscripts of type I it seems that the language of *an-nawāṭīya* is, in fact, not so vernacular after all but has been simply misread by later copyists. It is difficult to avoid the impression that *an-nawādir an-nawāṭīya* in their original form were written in the same language as other anecdotes of al-Mustaṭraf<sup>3</sup>. A preliminary reading suggests that the present MSS. of type II do provide sufficient research material even for occasional comparison which is further complicated by the fact that these anecdotes are in the second volume which is missing in some of the MSS. However, it is possible that some of the MSS. which have not been studied yet may contain a larger section of *an-nawādir an-nawāṭīya* worth publishing.

## 6.2 The mawālī poems of Chapter 72

6.2.1 The mawālī poems of Chapter 72 of the present MSS. exhibit some vernacular features but, as it seems, not to the extent that they would provide a meaningful textual basis for comparison. As these poems are also included in the manuscripts of type I which do not contain the Proverbs of Men and Women, they were probably written down by al-Ibšīhī himself although it is difficult to reach further conclusions without seeing the autograph. As Chapter 72 also belongs to the second volume of al-Mustaṭraf they have been excluded from the present study.

## 6.3 Manuscripts selected for the present study

6.3.1 The present study is based primarily on Chapter 6<sup>4</sup> of A, H, F, E and M because they all contain the Proverbs of Men and Women. In addition, the MSS. N, O, P, D, C, B and G are occasionally used for comparison. See Appendices 1 and 2.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Goldziher ZDMG 35, 1881, pp. 528-529.

<sup>2</sup> See Davies, pp. 7-11 on Širbīnī's aims.

<sup>3</sup> Even in later MSS. — which do not all contain this *faṣl* — this material serves no real basis even for making limited linguistic comparisons with the Proverbs of Men and Women. However, there may be MSS. in which this section has received ample scribal treatment. The main reason, however, for excluding this material from the present study is that some of the target MSS. lack the second volume and thus provide no basis for wider comparisons involving several MSS.

<sup>4</sup> Chapter 5 was initially studied but was later excluded from the present study as it seemed not to provide textual material which would have complemented essentially what is provided, both scribally and linguistically by the *fuṣūl* of the Classical Proverbs of Chapter 6 of the MSS. selected for this study.