

by heart. If you complain of its length, you have reason to cry over your (wasted) life(time).

45. If it is not enough for you, use it as a ladder: when you speak about the books of this art (of grammar), you speak about a sea!

46. Do not forget ʿAbdallāh (ash-Shubrāwī) from your righteous prayers, because everyone whose heart has been broken has need of restoring (it).

47. May the purest blessings be upon the Prophet and his family and companions, the people of honour and pride.

### 3. ʿAlī Nidā and his Asnā l-maṭālib

#### 3.1. ʿAlī Nidā

##### 3.1.1. ʿAlī Nidā and Wallin

The Finnish explorer of the Orient and Orientalist Georg August Wallin<sup>20</sup> arrived in Cairo for the first time on 28th January 1844<sup>21</sup> and rented a house in an area inhabited mainly by Christians. His servant, Sayyid ʿAlī, recommended ʿAlī Nidā — whom Wallin usually calls 'shaykh ʿAlī' or 'my shaykh' later in his diaries — to Wallin as a teacher, and Wallin met him for the first time on 27th April 1844<sup>22</sup>. Wallin liked ʿAlī Nidā, and it was agreed that he would come to Wallin's house every day to teach him the *Alfiya* of Ibn Mālik. Due to a case of illness in his family, ʿAlī Nidā was not in fact able to begin with his lectures until 18th May<sup>23</sup>; the *Alfiya* lectures continued with only minor breaks until 7th April 1845 when the text was finished<sup>24</sup>. ʿAlī Nidā also lectured to Wallin on other subjects (ʿilm aṣ-ṣarf, taḡwīd; for details, see below).

On 5th July 1844, before their trip to Barrānīya and Ṭanṭā, Wallin moved to ʿAlī Nidā's house<sup>25</sup>. Wallin lived there until 22nd January 1845 when he moved to his first house mainly in order to have more privacy and to be able to neglect the Islamic prayer

<sup>20</sup> For his full biography, see Wallin, *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. ix-xxxii (in Swedish by Elmgren), Wallin, *Dagboksanteckningar*, p. i-cxxxiv (in Swedish by Tallqvist), and H. Holma, Wallin. The diaries and the letters of Wallin have been edited in their original Swedish (*Reseanteckningar* and *Dagboksanteckningar*; the edition is somewhat expurgated). Selections mainly from the sections dealing with Wallin's travels in the Arabian Peninsula have been translated into Finnish (G.A. Wallin, *Tutkimusmatkoilla arabien parissa*, 1966), and Arabic (Ṣuwar min shimālī Ġazīrat al-ʿArab fī muntaṣaf al-qarn at-tāsi ʿashar, 1971). There also exists an English book (Wallin, *Travels*, 1979), which consists of the two articles originally published by Wallin in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (see Bibliography). — The notes written by Wallin in Arabic or in Swedish but in Arabic script have hitherto been unpublished, but they will be edited in the near future by Mr. Kaj Öhrnberg, Phil. lic., in a future volume of *Studia Orientalia*. Mr. Öhrnberg is also planning to publish the diaries and letters of Wallin in English.

<sup>21</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. 249.

<sup>22</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. 350-351.

<sup>23</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. 376-377.

<sup>24</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 94.

<sup>25</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. 405. — ʿAlī Nidā had already suggested on May 20th, that Wallin should move to his house after a friend of his, who then lived there had left, see *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. 378.

&c. rituals<sup>26</sup>. On 11th April 1845, Wallin left Cairo for his first desert exploration during which he visited Mecca — a pilgrimage as his Muslim friends later took it<sup>27</sup>. On returning to Cairo on 14th March 1846 Wallin — now called ḥāğğ Wāli — moved once again to °Alī Nidā's<sup>28</sup>, who, as Wallin puts it, "always receives me with open arms"<sup>29</sup>. There he stayed until his second desert journey which was to Palestine and began on 7th December 1846<sup>30</sup>.

He returned to Cairo on 14th June 1847<sup>31</sup>, and lived six months there, probably at °Alī Nidā's house, before leaving for his third, and as it was to be, last desert expedition on 14th December 1847<sup>32</sup>. This journey, which took him to Iraq and Persia, ended on 1st June 1849<sup>33</sup>, and on 9th August 1849 Wallin left Cairo — and the Orient — for the last time<sup>34</sup>.

Besides the desert expeditions, Wallin made two lengthy journeys in Egypt, both in the company of °Alī Nidā. The first was a journey to Ṭantā via Barrāniya — the home village of °Alī Nidā — and other villages. The journey began on 6th July 1844 and ended on 6th August 1844<sup>35</sup>. The second trip was to Upper Egypt, where Wallin was originally to go in the company of two Europeans — the German Dr. Schlederhaus and the Austrian artist Sattler<sup>36</sup> — but it occurred to him to take °Alī Nidā with them<sup>37</sup>. °Alī Nidā was pleased to come even though later he was somewhat embarrassed to appear in the company of non-Muslims<sup>38</sup>. The journey was made by boat, and it started on 31st October 1844 and lasted until 14th January 1845. It was during this time that °Alī Nidā wrote the commentary *Asnā l-maṭālib* which is published here, see below, Chapter 3.1.7.

### 3.1.2. The life of °Alī Nidā

°Alī Nidā al-Barrānī is known almost exclusively from the diaries and letters of Wallin; in addition to these, we have only two — from the point of view of his life rather uninformative — letters written by him to Wallin (edited below, Chapters 3.2.3. and 3.2.6.), the *Asnā l-maṭālib*, which gives some information about the character of °Alī

<sup>26</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 9-11 and 49.

<sup>27</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 100.

<sup>28</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 252-253, and *Dagboksanteckningar*, p. 72.

<sup>29</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 342.

<sup>30</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 343.

<sup>31</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 509.

<sup>32</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 4, p. 12.

<sup>33</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 4, p. 337.

<sup>34</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 4, p. 339. From Alexandria, Wallin first travelled to London where he stayed for some months, and returned to Finland where he died on 23rd October 1852 in the middle of planning a new exploration of the Orient.

<sup>35</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 1, and 67.

<sup>36</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 269.

<sup>37</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 266.

<sup>38</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 336-337. — Wallin, it should be noted, lived as a Muslim, and it appears that at this time also °Alī Nidā held him to be one, see below.

Nidā as a scholar, and lastly a short passage by I. Kračkovskij mentioning that in November 1851 the Russian Orientalist N.I. Il'minskij (1822-1891) lived in the house of ʿAlī Nidā, whom Kračkovskij calls "ʿAlī al-Barrānī, the teacher of Wallin"<sup>39</sup>.

Thus we know something of his life from 1844 to 1849 — especially the years 1844 and 1845, when Wallin was in his company almost every day, often, it seems, 24 hours per day. Some meagre information about his earlier life can be gleaned from a few remarks of Wallin, and of his subsequent years we only have the remark of Kračkovskij, quoted above, which confirms that he was alive in 1851. It is not known when he died, and what happened to him after 1851<sup>40</sup>. This being so, I have tried to collect the maximum amount of information on him, his life, character and scholarly activities from the diaries of Wallin, supplementing it, whenever possible, with information from the two letters and, especially, from the *Asnā l-maṭālib*.

ʿAlī Nidā appears to have been of approximately the same age as Wallin, who was born in 1811; this seems to be confirmed by a passage in which Wallin mentions that a certain shaykh ʿAbdallāh — who is also mentioned in Letter B — is "older than we others", meaning himself, ʿAlī Nidā, and a third shaykh<sup>41</sup>.

In his youth ʿAlī Nidā had studied at the Azhar, and he often talked about these times to Wallin, though the latter did not repeat much of this in his diaries. Only in two passages does Wallin mention what ʿAlī Nidā had told him: In one passage he talks of a waī who used, during ʿAlī Nidā's student days, to sit at the gate of the Azhar collecting money from those coming in<sup>42</sup>, and in another Wallin simply sums up the impression of Azharian studies which he had got from listening to ʿAlī Nidā<sup>43</sup>:

"He told me much about his student days at the Azhar. This, as well as many other things, convinced me that their studies and most of their wisdom are mere quibbles and trifles."

The Azharian tradition is very clear in *Asnā l-maṭālib*, see below, Chapter 3.3. — For ʿAlī Nidā as a scholar, see below, Chapters 3.1.6. and 3.1.7.

### 3.1.3. The home and family of ʿAlī Nidā

ʿAlī Nidā was born in the village — or town — of Barrānīya<sup>44</sup>, which is about one day's journey from Cairo. In Barrānīya he had a second house — he mainly lived in Cairo —, which Wallin describes in the following way<sup>45</sup>:

"(...) we rode on donkeys to Barrānīya, the village from which my shaykh comes.

He has here his own house and his second wife, as also a third whom he has lately

<sup>39</sup> I. Ju. Kračkovskij, *Očerki po istorii russoj arabistiki*, Moskva - Leningrad, 1950, p. 179 = *Izbrannye sočinenija V*, Moskva - Leningrad 1958, p. 126. — I am indebted to Mr. Kaj Öhrnberg for pointing out this passage to me.

<sup>40</sup> None of the European travellers seem to mention him, and it is quite probable that not even the libraries and archives of Cairo could shed further light on his life.

<sup>41</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 31.

<sup>42</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 71.

<sup>43</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 83.

<sup>44</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 2, and 109.

<sup>45</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 109-110. Cf. also the description in vol. 2, p. 2-3.

divorced (...). His house here in the countryside is built, like almost all houses in the fallāḥs' land, of grey unfired bricks, and it had two so-called ovens, i.e. rooms with a dome-shaped ceiling, without windows or any openings other than a small rectangular hole high up in the dome, and a door. On the floor there is a big furnace, which has no smoke flue, so that the smoke blackens the walls while seeking an outlet either from the door or from the hole in the roof. These rooms are almost identical to our Finnish "pöörte's"<sup>46</sup>, and they should be comfortable during the winter, when they are used properly, but now in the summer they were unbearably hot, full of flies and other insects. Still, even now they are used only as storage rooms for provisions, straw and such things. The part of the house that was now used exclusively was a small veranda which was raised about an ell from the ground, and usually called 'maṣṭaba', shaded by a roof of reeds, the stems of which hung down a long way."

In this village °Alī Nidā had, in addition to his second wife, other relatives. According to Wallin<sup>47</sup>, °Alī Nidā did not actually live with this wife, but only with his wife in Cairo. Until recently (i.e. in a letter dated on September 3rd 1844<sup>48</sup>) °Alī Nidā had had a third wife, a daughter of "the richest man in Barrānīya", but he had divorced her. Later he accused her of having stolen, despite her own personal wealth, money and victuals from him<sup>49</sup>. A fourth lady, a widow in Barrānīya, had, at the time of Wallin's visit to the village, shown great interest in °Alī Nidā, but no marriage seems to have been concluded<sup>50</sup>.

The relatives in Barrānīya included a brother-in-law ("shaykh and imam Muḥammad"), whose son studied at the Azhar<sup>51</sup>, another nephew<sup>52</sup> and an unspecified relative from Manūf<sup>53</sup>.

The actual home — Barrānīya, we are told, °Alī Nidā visited only a couple of times a year<sup>54</sup> — of °Alī Nidā was in Cairo. The house had a wonderful qā'a<sup>55</sup>, and it was situated corner-to-corner with the Ghamrī mosque<sup>56</sup>. The house seems to have been relatively large, as °Alī Nidā was able to put up, e.g. his Barrānīan friends at the same time that Wallin was living there<sup>57</sup>, although it had its limits; when there were about

<sup>46</sup> Swedish pöörte, Finnish pirtti, living-room of a Finnish farmhouse.

<sup>47</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 109.

<sup>48</sup> l.c.

<sup>49</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 154-155; had the version of the wife been preserved for us, it certainly would have been rather different.

<sup>50</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 24.

<sup>51</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 153.

<sup>52</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 13.

<sup>53</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 34, and 124-125.

<sup>54</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 110. — It was fairly common for the nineteenth-century (and earlier) Cairene °ulamā' to visit their home villages a couple of times a year, cf. G. Baer, *Fellah*, p. 5 (with further references).

<sup>55</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 1, p. 378, and vol. 2, p. 262.

<sup>56</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 1, p. 389, and vol. 2, p. 281.

<sup>57</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 70.

twelve guests at dinner, the host, as Wallin reports, had no place for himself at table<sup>58</sup>.

°Alī Nidā, as it has already been mentioned, lived mostly with his Cairene wife, about whom Wallin says that "his wife, who like all middle-class women here, is not much more than a servant in his house"<sup>59</sup>. All we learn about her is that she also served Wallin who never even saw her face<sup>60</sup>.

°Alī Nidā's children are mentioned only twice; once Wallin tells us that °Alī Nidā had not been able to visit him since "a girl in his family had been ill", meaning presumably a daughter of his<sup>61</sup>. In the letter B of °Alī Nidā to Wallin, the death of a son is mentioned, see below Chapter 3.2.6. We are somewhat better informed about his other relatives: he had a brother-in-law ḥāğğ Khaḥīl, who was about 70 years old, and who was able to tell him about the times of French occupation<sup>62</sup>, and a sister of his wife's is sometimes mentioned. She had divorced during the time of °Alī Nidā's and Wallin's trip to Barrāniya, and °Alī Nidā persuaded a friend of his to divorce his wife and marry his sister-in-law instead<sup>63</sup>. So it happened, and the newly-weds moved into °Alī Nidā's house<sup>64</sup>; the whole story gave occasion for some gossiping in the neighbourhood<sup>65</sup>. This sister-in-law probably was the same person whom °Alī Nidā later tried to marry to Wallin after she had been divorced again<sup>66</sup>.

From Wallin's diaries we can get an impression of the nature and character of °Alī Nidā. In general, Wallin liked him very much. °Alī Nidā does not seem to have been too loquacious<sup>67</sup>. He was moved to laughter and tears by the stories of the Thousand and One Nights<sup>68</sup> and was afraid of robbers and highwaymen<sup>69</sup> and, to some extent, of travelling by boat<sup>70</sup>, though this did not prevent him from taking part in the boat trip to Upper Egypt with Wallin and others. He had mild attacks of rheumatism which made him complain of his pains to Wallin<sup>71</sup>. Financial problems often put him in a bad temper<sup>72</sup>, and he does not seem to have minded begging a little now and then from Wallin<sup>73</sup> — see also letter A, Chapter 3.2.3. °Alī Nidā, says Wallin<sup>74</sup>, was also "ready to use his ḥāt alma°lūm (payment, please)" when acting as a judge for the quarrels and legal transactions of the villagers in Barrāniya.

<sup>58</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 69.

<sup>59</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 150.

<sup>60</sup> I.c.

<sup>61</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 1, p. 376-377.

<sup>62</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 249.

<sup>63</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 3, p. 60.

<sup>64</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 3, p. 64.

<sup>65</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 3, p. 70.

<sup>66</sup> Dagsboksanteckningar, p. 72 (letter dated April 12th 1846).

<sup>67</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 207 ("... the otherwise so quiet shaykh °Alī...").

<sup>68</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 3, p. 30-31.

<sup>69</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 435.

<sup>70</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 65.

<sup>71</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 151-152, and vol. 3, p. 26.

<sup>72</sup> Reseanteckningar, e.g. vol.2, p. 212.

<sup>73</sup> Reseanteckningar, e.g. vol. 3, p. 25-26 (a pair of Wallin's old shoes), and vol. 2, p. 212.

<sup>74</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 3.

### 3.1.4. The relationship between ʿAlī Nidā and Wallin

From the first time they met, ʿAlī Nidā and Wallin got along well with each other. Wallin states repeatedly his liking for him in his diaries: "I have at last found in shaykh ʿAlī a man with whom I can really get along"<sup>75</sup>; "the best man I have met"<sup>76</sup> &c. Later in his diaries, Wallin calls ʿAlī Nidā simply "my shaykh"<sup>77</sup>, and once he describes his life in the house of ʿAlī Nidā as "(I) eat and live with him as a brother and a member of his family"<sup>78</sup>. This intimate contact occasionally became oppressive to Wallin<sup>79</sup>, who longed for more privacy and on 22nd January 1845, moved back to his first house temporarily, cf. above Chapter 3.1.1. This somewhat irritated ʿAlī Nidā<sup>80</sup>, but their relationship soon became as cordial as it had been<sup>81</sup>.

During the time he knew ʿAlī Nidā, Wallin behaved as a Muslim, though he never explicitly claimed to be one. ʿAlī Nidā seems in the beginning to have believed he was a Muslim — at least according to a diary note of Wallin's on 14th September 1844<sup>82</sup> — though sometimes Wallin thought that ʿAlī Nidā doubted his Islam (so in a note on 17th September 1844)<sup>83</sup>. Up to January 1845 ʿAlī Nidā seems to have refused to believe the bad reports spread by Wallin's former servant Sayyid ʿAlī<sup>84</sup>, but in March 1845 Wallin thinks that ʿAlī Nidā had become certain about him being a Christian<sup>85</sup>. Be that as it may, ʿAlī Nidā never touched upon this subject — which would have been very embarrassing to Wallin. ʿAlī Nidā even assured some Bedouin shaykhs before Wallin's first exploration that he was a Muslim<sup>86</sup>.

One feature in their relationship which disturbed Wallin was that the shaykh ʿAlī Nidā seemed sometimes, without Wallin wanting it, nearly to have become his servant. Wallin notes this several times in his diaries<sup>87</sup>, and it becomes clear that sometimes ʿAlī Nidā and his family almost lived on Wallin's resources<sup>88</sup>.

ʿAlī Nidā also assisted Wallin in other, less embarrassing ways: he several times helped him to trace and acquire manuscripts and printed books<sup>89</sup>, and Wallin seems to

<sup>75</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. 392.

<sup>76</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 104.

<sup>77</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 95 and often.

<sup>78</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 150.

<sup>79</sup> So already on August 25th 1844, see *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 91: "I am afraid I have become too close to him without actually having had to, so that I cannot escape from him for a single moment either by day or by night".

<sup>80</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 9-10.

<sup>81</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 15-16 (January 28th 1845), and p. 49.

<sup>82</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 167.

<sup>83</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 177.

<sup>84</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 7 (January 20th 1845).

<sup>85</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 76, and p. 81-82.

<sup>86</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 82-83 (March 22nd 1845).

<sup>87</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, e.g. vol. 2, p. 39, and p. 90.

<sup>88</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 234. Cf. also both letters of ʿAlī Nidā, especially letter A.

<sup>89</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 149, and vol. 3, p. 38.

have hoped to keep ʿAlī Nidā as his book agent in Cairo after his departure back to Finland; at least, this seems to be strongly implied in letter B, Chapter 3.2.6. Also in other transactions ʿAlī Nidā acted as a middleman; he, e.g. arranged the Bedouin guides up to ʿAqaba for Wallin's first desert journey: the document, which is mentioned in *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 91-92, and 94-95 is preserved among Wallin's other papers in Helsinki University Library, and it bears the signature of ʿAlī Nidā himself as one of the witnesses<sup>90</sup>. He also later arranged another travel contract<sup>91</sup>.

### 3.1.5. The religiosity of ʿAlī Nidā

The shaykh ʿAlī Nidā was a religious man. He was very reluctant to neglect his prayers, even during illness when he quite lawfully could have done so<sup>92</sup>; according to Wallin, ʿAlī Nidā said to him sincerely that it was difficult for him to neglect the prayers<sup>93</sup>. He was also strict in following the sunna of the Prophet to break the fast of Ramaḍān immediately after maghrib<sup>94</sup>.

During Ramaḍān he ate relatively little and explained to Wallin that God nourishes the believers with non-material food in Ramaḍān, and that a firm inner decision and the knowledge of the excellency of fasting make a believer satiated and happy<sup>95</sup>.

He was also very particular about the ritual purity of meat, and he once refused to eat the wild pigeons which Wallin had shot and which had not been correctly slaughtered<sup>96</sup>. In a word, according to Wallin "Islam is all in all for them (i.e. ʿAlī Nidā and his friend Shihāb), the only thing that can and should make a man or a nation do something"<sup>97</sup> — no wonder then that ʿAlī Nidā was a "shaykh shaʿīf" in the eyes of other people<sup>98</sup>.

Still, it must be kept in mind that ʿAlī Nidā was by no means a fanatic. He seems to have agreed when his brother-in-law, who had lived during the French occupation, praised French rule<sup>99</sup>. He also seems to have been aware of or at least have suspicions of Wallin's 'Frankishness' at the time of his first exploration (see above, Chapter 3.1.4.), but he did not in any way oppose Wallin's plans to go to the Arabian Peninsula — and eventually to Mecca —, and even helped him in the preparations for the journey.

ʿAlī Nidā was as much influenced by late popular Islam as most other shaykhs in his times; he, e.g. had a firm belief in dreams<sup>100</sup>. The dreams may come uninvited — as

<sup>90</sup> It might be added that the guide on whom ʿAlī Nidā had placed so much trusted proved unreliable from the first, see *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 101-102.

<sup>91</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 343.

<sup>92</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 256-257.

<sup>93</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 79.

<sup>94</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 205. Cf. e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol 2, p. 241 (*Kitāb aṣ-Ṣawm*, *Bāb taʿḡīl al-ʿifṭār*).

<sup>95</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 170.

<sup>96</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 294.

<sup>97</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 206.

<sup>98</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 344 and elsewhere.

<sup>99</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 249.

<sup>100</sup> It may be mentioned in passing that even orthodox Islam fully approved of oneiromancy, see e.g. Malti-Douglas, *Dreams*, p. 142.

when he says a sickness was an explanation of a dream he had had<sup>101</sup> —, or he may himself provoke them. Thus, says Wallin, "shaykh °Alī told me that whenever he had problems or he was in difficulties, and he recited al-Fātiḥa and some prayer for advice and help, he saw in his dream thereafter either Sayyid (Aḥmad) al-Badawī or Sayyida Zaynab who gave him advice"<sup>102</sup>. Three of °Alī Nidā's dreams and one of his wife, and °Alī Nidā's explanations of them are briefly related by Wallin in his diaries, and as they are of some interest in understanding the character of °Alī Nidā, they are quoted below in extenso in the order in which they appear in Wallin's diaries:

1. "He began by asking me whether I used to have dreams, and when I gave a negative answer, he went on to say that he used to have them and that they were normally fulfilled, even though sometimes only after a year or more after he had had the dream. Then he told me that he had dreamt last night how a great party of riders rode before and after him in a solemn procession. He understood this as a good and auspicious message, bushrā."<sup>103</sup>
2. "He also told me that he had suffered last year from the same fever: after he had lain ill for a fortnight, he had seen Sayyida Zaynab approaching him in dream and taking a seat in the front of his bed saying: 'Go to the shaykh ash-Sha°rāwī('s tomb) and read the surah Yā-Sīn (surah 36) before him, and all ills will be gone'. Next morning he had dragged himself up, got dressed and gone to the mosque, read the surah in the qubba of the saint, and had totally recovered from his illness."<sup>104</sup>
3. "The shaykh had had a dream which he interpreted favourably: in it he had seen that the shaykh of the Mālikite school of law had passed away and was carried to his grave, and that he himself was asked to read the prayers over the dead shaykh. — The head of my unpretentious shaykh is haunted by dreams of a future success and place of honour; he believes firmly in dreams."<sup>105</sup>
4. "The shaykh told how his wife had seen me in a dream riding a beautiful, white donkey with the shaykh riding another. This, he said, was a very good presage, which promised luck for the journey."<sup>106</sup>

°Alī Nidā also used istikhāra (the opening of the Qur'ān at random and explaining the passage which happens to come up as an omen)<sup>107</sup>, and once we even meet him as an exorcist:

"Late in the evening when we already had gone to bed, we heard sounds of kicking and writhing on the roof of our cabin which raised our curiosity and astonished us. The shaykh soon said that it was a '°afrīt wa-lā budd' ('a demon, no doubt'), and his eyes shone as always when something has to do with booklore. As the noise

<sup>101</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 257.

<sup>102</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol.2, p. 74.

<sup>103</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 96.

<sup>104</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 152.

<sup>105</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 347.

<sup>106</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 3, p. 93. — It might be mentioned in passing that all these dreams are theomatic, or direct, i.e. they do not need much interpretation, cf. Malti-Douglas, *Dreams*, especially p. 145.

<sup>107</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 3, p. 92.



went on, the shaykh wrapped himself in his *diffīya*, crawled out from the window, and found, as he had guessed, the steersman lying on his back on the deck shivering and kicking, though still holding the helm. I listened to the scene through the open window: First the shaykh read a passage from the beginning of the *surah aṣ-Ṣāffāt* (*surah* 37) and uttered a formula three times one after another, and then a long dialogue began between him and the steersman — or as he thought, the *ʿafṛīta*, which had taken the possession of the steersman. In the end, the shaykh read *al-Fātiḥa* (*surah* 1), and the *ʿafṛīta* — for it was a lady demon — left the steersman and hurried away. Then the shaykh came back and told the whole story, which gave us a subject for discussion until late into the night. It was amusing to see how pleased the shaykh was with the case and with his power over the *ʿafṛīta*, which had in no way dared to oppose him, but had meekly read one *Fātiḥa* for *Sayyida Zaynab* and left the roof. From this we concluded that it must have been a Muslim *ʿafṛīta* — there namely are also Christian and Jewish *ʿafṛītas*. The crew of the ship laughed at the whole story and *Ismāʿīn* confirmed that the steersman often had similar fits at home (...)"<sup>108</sup>.

### 3.1.6. ʿAlī Nidā as a scholar

Wallin appreciated ʿAlī Nidā as a learned shaykh whose Oriental learning was higher than that of the average mid-nineteenth century Egyptian shaykh. Soon after the beginning of their friendship Wallin writes in his diary about ʿAlī Nidā: "he seems to be very good in Oriental scholarship, especially *fiqh* and *naḥw*"<sup>109</sup>. Later he corroborates his first impression of ʿAlī Nidā<sup>110</sup>. It was not only Wallin who held him in great esteem; he was especially respected in his home village *Barrānīya*<sup>111</sup>, but also by his Cairene acquaintances<sup>112</sup> and even on the trip to Upper Egypt, his opinion, as that of a shaykh *sharīf*<sup>113</sup>, was nearly regarded as a *fatwā*<sup>114</sup>.

It seems that ʿAlī Nidā taught some *fiqh* to Wallin<sup>115</sup>. In *Barrānīya* and to some extent in its vicinity ʿAlī Nidā often acted as a judge having mainly to judge in cases of divorce and domestic quarrels<sup>116</sup>. We also meet him in Cairo sometimes engaged in the same activity. Perhaps the most interesting among these rather commonplace cases related by Wallin is a case of divorce *bi-th-thalātha* (i.e. irrevocable divorce), when the husband repented his rashness and wished to remarry. This was achieved by the help of a *muḥallil*; the ex-wife was married to a slave who was afterwards given to her so that the marriage

<sup>108</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 438-439.

<sup>109</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. 379. About ʿAlī Nidā's grammatical knowledge and achievements, see the next chapter.

<sup>110</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 104: "a very skilled man in Oriental wisdom and learning".

<sup>111</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 110-111, and *passim* in the first 120 pages of vol. 2.

<sup>112</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 70 and often.

<sup>113</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 344.

<sup>114</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 395, and cf. vol. 3, p. 31.

<sup>115</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 104.

<sup>116</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, *passim* in pp. 1-120.

became invalid, and the ex-husband was able to remarry her<sup>117</sup>.

°Alī Nidā seems also to have had a basic knowledge in other Islamic sciences; he was very fond of Qur'ānic legends<sup>118</sup>, knew at least some amount of ḥadīths<sup>119</sup> — which he is able to cite to prove his theory of the causes the Nile's rising<sup>120</sup> —, and the legends around one of Egypt's most famous saints, Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī<sup>121</sup>. He once recommended the study of tafsīr and other Qur'ānic sciences to Wallin, presumably to be taught by himself<sup>122</sup>. Wallin seems never to have taken up these studies, but instead he later began studying Qur'ān recitation (taḡwīd) under °Alī Nidā<sup>123</sup> whose recitation was, according to Wallin, "really masterly"<sup>124</sup>. Of his other religious activities we learn that he held khuṭbas in a village in the neighbourhood of Barrānīya<sup>125</sup> — and presumably also in Barrānīya itself — and read the prayers over a deceased friend of his in Cairo in the Mosque of al-Ḥasanayn<sup>126</sup>.

°Alī Nidā was also able to read without difficulties an Arabic commentary on the surah wa'ḍ-Ḍuḥā (surah 93) written in Persian hand — which probably means either ta'ḥīq or nasta'ḥīq — which was, according to Wallin, "somewhat difficult" and with which another shaykh had had problems<sup>127</sup>. His vocabulary was large, though it is not clear whether Wallin refers to the classical language or dialect<sup>128</sup>. °Alī Nidā also cited, as any Arab would do, proverbs, one of which is quoted by Wallin: "mā ya'raf il-gamra min it-tamra (he can not distinguish a firebrand from a date)"<sup>129</sup>.

°Alī Nidā's knowledge of and interest in natural sciences was minimal. When retelling to his friends facts told to him by Wallin about his exotic homeland, Finland — such as the midsummer night sun —, he relates in the same instance and with equal seriousness Classical °Aḡā'ib al-makhlūqāt stories such as of a people whose women are in human form but men are in the form of dogs<sup>130</sup>. The rising of the Nile is explained by him as being caused by the flood of the fountainheads of Paradise<sup>131</sup>. Contemporary

<sup>117</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 3, p. 21-22. For the term muḥallil ("legitimizer"), see e.g. F.A. Klein, *The Religion of Islam*. London 1906 (repr. 1979), p. 186.

<sup>118</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 206-207, and p. 234.

<sup>119</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 234.

<sup>120</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 1, p. 402.

<sup>121</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 1, p. 388.

<sup>122</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 207.

<sup>123</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 3, p. 39.

<sup>124</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 3, p. 54.

<sup>125</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 12.

<sup>126</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 196.

<sup>127</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 27.

<sup>128</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 208.

<sup>129</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 206-207, thus in Cairene dialect. I have not been able to find exactly this form of the proverb, but similar ones are known in both Classical and Modern collections, cf. e.g. al-Maydānī, *Maḡma° al-amthāl*, vol. 3, p. 253: "mā ya'rifu qabīlan min dabīr", and "mā ya'rifu hirran min birr"; S. °Abbūd, *5000 arabische Sprichwörter*, p. 185 "mā bya'rifsh il-ḥabbe min il-'ubbe" (no. 3945), and "mā bya'rif il-khamse min iṭ-ṭamse" (no. 3947); and Mahgoub, *Proverbs*, p. 112: mā yi'rafshī l-'alif mi-l-madna (no. 720; Cairene proverb).

<sup>130</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 3-4.

events, too, seem to have interested him only when directly related to the success of the Islam: he and his friends took a lively interest in the war between Russians and Circassians (or rather, Caucasians), but only from a religious point of view, as a case of *ḡihād*<sup>132</sup>.

°Alī Nidā gave lectures — apart from those to Wallin — to both Arabs and Europeans. We learn that at the beginning of their friendship °Alī Nidā gave private lectures on the *Alfiya* of Ibn Mālik also to a certain Muḥammad °Aṭṭār and °Abdallāh<sup>133</sup>. During the journey to Upper Egypt °Alī Nidā taught Wallin and Dr. Schlederhaus, and continued giving lectures to the latter even after the journey<sup>134</sup>. To the Englishman Nūrī he originally decided not to give lectures<sup>135</sup>, but as he mentions him four years later in his letter to Wallin, we may safely assume that at some time he had changed his mind<sup>136</sup>. It is perhaps because of this career as a teacher that he shows some interest in pedagogical matters in the *Asnā l-maḡālib*<sup>137</sup>.

Although °Alī Nidā was, as was mentioned above, respected in his own environment, he seems to have felt that he had not been as successful as he should have been. Twice we are told of dreams which he had had and which he interpreted as promising a deserved future success (see above, Chapter 3.1.5.). Once he tried to get a job in the printing house of Būlāq, though he probably never got it<sup>138</sup>.

Among °Alī Nidā's friends is one who is worth mentioning: the famous poet and the Corrector *bāshā* of Būlāq, Shihāb-ad-dīn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl (d. 1857) whose main works are his *Dīwān* and a collection of *muwashshahāt* and other poems from late authors including himself<sup>139</sup>. The poet retired in 1849 from his office in Būlāq<sup>140</sup>. It was he who in 1844 had encouraged °Alī Nidā to apply for a post in Būlāq (see above). °Alī Nidā told Wallin many stories about Shihāb-ad-dīn's life, but unfortunately all that Wallin has reported in his diaries is that Shihāb-ad-dīn, the greatest poet in Cairo and a very learned man had the habit of drinking °araq and getting drunk, and that he loved boys<sup>141</sup>. In other

<sup>131</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. 402. — Although he disputed with °Alī Nidā on this question (*loc. cit.*), Wallin later, in his letter to °Alī Nidā (ed. Tallqvist, ZA 27, p. 110), himself admitted that "the blessed river Nile comes from Paradise"!

<sup>132</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 206, and p. 260-261.

<sup>133</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. 384, and p. 385.

<sup>134</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 448.

<sup>135</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 92. — Wallin gives the name as "Nori", which seems to be an arabicized form of some English name, perhaps Norris. This Nūrī is otherwise unidentified.

<sup>136</sup> See letter B, Chapter 3.2.6.

<sup>137</sup> See fol. 4a: "He (ash-Shubrāwī) preferred it (verse form) because it is easier to be memorized"; fol. 21a-b: "So he (ash-Shubrāwī) answered with a detailed exposition after a summary exposition, so that it would take firm roots in the mind (of the student)"; cf. also fol. 22b and fol. 37a.

<sup>138</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 185.

<sup>139</sup> See GAL, vol. 2, p. 624-625, and GAL S, vol. 2, p. 721. — Shihāb-ad-dīn, it might be mentioned in passing, also followed shaykh al-°Aṭṭār as the editor-in-chief of the official Egyptian newspaper *al-Waqā'ī'*, see e.g. *Riḍwān*, *Ta'riḫ*, p. 269.

<sup>140</sup> See GAL, vol. 2, p. 624, and letter B, Chapter 3.2.6.

<sup>141</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 174. — In the original diaries, as Mr. Öhrnberg kindly informed me, Wallin tells us more about Shihāb-ad-dīn's relations with his amant, but the passage has been expurgated by Elmgren from his edition of the diaries.

passages he is mentioned only sporadically<sup>142</sup>. — Had Wallin written down all that he had heard from °Alī Nidā, it would surely have been a valuable contribution to the rather sketchy biography which we have of the poet.

### 3.1.7. °Alī Nidā as a grammarian

°Alī Nidā's and Wallin's friendship began when the latter was searching for a learned shaykh to give him lectures on the *Alfiya* of Ibn Mālik. Already when in Alexandria, before coming to Cairo, Wallin had begun to study the *Alfiya* with native teachers<sup>143</sup>, but these lectures did not continue for long. In Cairo Wallin met °Alī Nidā on 27th April 1844, and °Alī Nidā agreed to give him lectures daily on the *Alfiya*, even though he was first opposed to this and said that the *Alfiya* was too difficult for Wallin<sup>144</sup>. The lectures began on 18th May<sup>145</sup>, and they continued daily — with negligible pauses<sup>146</sup> — up to 7th April 1845<sup>147</sup>. °Alī Nidā used the commentaries of al-Ushmūnī and Ibn °Aqīl in the lectures<sup>148</sup>. Now and then Wallin grew tired of the exhaustive commentaries<sup>149</sup>, and the lectures often caused grammatical disputes between him and °Alī Nidā<sup>150</sup>. During these disputes Wallin, who himself was one of the earliest Western Arabists interested in the living language and the dialects, was exasperated with °Alī Nidā's — and, for that matter, other Arab mid-nineteenth century Cairene shaykh's — blind respect for old authorities. As Wallin puts it,

"I had a somewhat heated grammatical argument with my shaykh, kindled by a passage in our morning lesson. It went on the whole day — except for minor breaks — and especially in the afternoon. Here I had a new proof of the Arab reluctance to question the authority of the Ancients; what they have written and thought is sacred and gives no scope for opposite opinions, additions or deletions. All that there remains is to repeat what they have said without inventing anything new."<sup>151</sup>

In any case, Wallin was well aware of the importance of native grammatical works; he bought several books and manuscripts on this subject<sup>152</sup>, and later when back in Finland himself gave lectures on Ibn Mālik and even edited the *Lāmīyat al-af°āl* of Ibn Mālik, both in 1851<sup>153</sup>.

<sup>142</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 167, and p. 185, probably also p. 230. He is not to be confused with another of °Alī Nidā's friends, also called Shihāb(-ad-ḍīn), who is mentioned, e.g. in vol. 2, p. 206, and p. 234.

<sup>143</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. 211-212.

<sup>144</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. 350-351.

<sup>145</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. 376-377.

<sup>146</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, e.g. vol. 2, p. 256.

<sup>147</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 94.

<sup>148</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 104.

<sup>149</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 187.

<sup>150</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 38, and p. 68; vol. 2, p. 440.

<sup>151</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 303.

<sup>152</sup> For a list of these, see Aro, *Handschriften*, p. 15-17.

<sup>153</sup> Wallin had had it in mind to give lectures on the *Alfiya* (see *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 45), but he actually seems to have lectured on Ibn Mālik's *Lāmīyat al-af°āl* (see Elmgren's Introduction to

°Alī Nidā also taught Wallin the "vulgar tongue"<sup>154</sup>, i.e. the Cairene dialect, and later on they read together an unspecified work on °ilm aṣ-ṣarf<sup>155</sup>.

As was previously mentioned, °Alī Nidā wrote the *Asnā l-maṭālib* during the journey to Upper Egypt. In a letter, Wallin relates how the manuscript came about and how it was received:

"Among the unbound manuscripts which belong to me you will find one titled *Asnā l-maṭālib &c.*, which was written by my shaykh during our journey to Upper Egypt. It was I in the first place who incited him to write it, and we had several lively discussions on many problems in our little cabin aboard. Afterwards he introduced the work to the shaykhs of the Azhar, and it has been well received and become very famous, as you can see from the title page, which one of his friends has written and put his seal under. Perhaps you would like to look through it"<sup>156</sup>

°Alī Nidā wrote very diligently during the trip, and when the others were ashore, he kept on writing in the cabin<sup>157</sup>. According to Wallin the commentary was completed on 13th December 1844<sup>158</sup>, i.e. during the journey. — Interestingly enough, both manuscripts state in their colophons that the work was finished on the first of Muḥarram (= 10th January 1845), i.e. a few days before their arrival back in Cairo; it may be that the earlier date is the date when °Alī Nidā had written the commentary, and that he afterwards revised his work, probably correcting or re-writing some passages, and finished this work on the latter date when the commentary had received its (almost<sup>159</sup>) final form.

Back in Cairo °Alī Nidā left the autograph with a professional scribe to be copied. The first copy, that which is now in Helsinki (manuscript A), was completed on 8th March 1845<sup>160</sup>, and during the next few days °Alī Nidā read the proofs — he was busy doing this on March 10th when Wallin visited him<sup>161</sup> — and made the necessary additions in the margins, as we can see from manuscript A.

When he had finished his commentary, °Alī Nidā was very pleased with it (and with himself)<sup>162</sup>. It was well received, too, among his friends, who bade him to give lectures on it<sup>163</sup>. Wallin was less impressed<sup>164</sup>; the exhaustive treatment of the basmala (fol. 2a-

*Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. xxiii; *Dagboksanteckningar*, p. 331). — In *Dagboksanteckningar*, p. 331-332, draft of a letter to H.L. Fleischer, Wallin describes the problems involved in the printing of an Arabic text in Helsinki, and at the same time corrects the misunderstanding that he would have printed the *Alfiya* instead of the *Lāmīya*.

<sup>154</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 104.

<sup>155</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 253, and p. 338. Perhaps the book in question was the *Ġumlat aṣ-ṣarf*, which Wallin bought for Helsinki University Library; see Aro, *Handschriften*, p. 15.

<sup>156</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 68 (letter to Geitlin).

<sup>157</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 319.

<sup>158</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 376.

<sup>159</sup> There are some later additions and corrections in the manuscripts by °Alī Nidā himself, which were not in the autograph, see below Chapter 3.4.

<sup>160</sup> See manuscript A, fol. 48a.

<sup>161</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 62.

<sup>162</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 376, and vol. 3, p. 5-6.

<sup>163</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 5. Cf. also the passage quoted above.

<sup>164</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 360 ("his commonplace commentary"); note also his attitude in the letter to Geitlin, quoted above.

3a) must have bored Wallin, who had already found a year earlier °Alī Nidā's explanations on this subject tedious<sup>165</sup>.

### 3.1.8. Summary

All things considered, we can say that °Alī Nidā was a very typical minor scholar of his time, more interested in repeating and rearranging what was already known and codified in the authoritative books, commentaries and supracommentaries of his predecessors than in producing anything new. In this he was following the main stream of nineteenth century Azharian scholarship<sup>166</sup>.

°Alī Nidā's knowledge of grammar seems, in the light of *Asnā l-maṭālib*, to have been satisfactory though not profound: aside from the common confusion in the use of *alif otiosum* and other slight orthographical errors, he made relatively few other mistakes (for particulars, see the text and my notes thereto). The information which he gives in his commentary is often irrelevant<sup>167</sup>, but it is often also so in the commentaries written by much more famous and respected authors<sup>168</sup>. When compared, e.g. with such a famous work as *al-Kafrāwī's* commentary on *al-Āḡurrūmiya*, we can say that *Asnā l-maṭālib* is less repetitive, almost as informative and much easier to digest.

On the other hand, it is precisely the mediocrity and conformity of °Alī Nidā that make him an interesting object of study as an example of mid-nineteenth century minor scholars who abounded in Cairo, and about whose lives and achievements we have but meagre information. As a member of this group °Alī Nidā is, thanks to Wallin, exceptionally well known.

## 3.2. The letters of °Alī Nidā

### 3.2.1. Introduction

In addition to the grammatical commentary *Asnā l-maṭālib*, there exist two letters written by °Alī Nidā to Wallin, which now belong to Helsinki University Library. One of the letters (letter A) is a short note sent by °Alī Nidā to Wallin when the latter was in Egypt (for an attempt to date the letter, see below Chapter 3.2.5.). The other letter, B, is much longer and it includes a repetition of a former letter, which presumably never reached Wallin. Letter B mainly discusses books which °Alī Nidā was to buy for Wallin — he seems to have been his book agent in Cairo —, and it is dated 25th Sha'bān 1266 (= 6th July 1850), and sent via the Russian consulate<sup>169</sup>.

<sup>165</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. 377.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. e.g. *Khafāḡī*, *al-Azhar*, p. 78.

<sup>167</sup> Note, e.g. the words *min* (from the root MYN) and *'ilan* (sg. of *'ālā*), both mentioned in a passage dealing with prepositions *min* and *'ilā* (fol. 7a-7b)!

<sup>168</sup> Cf. e.g. *Ibn Hishām*, *Mughnī*, vol. 1, p. 39 (for details, see my commentary on fol. 6b-7a).

<sup>169</sup> It should perhaps be mentioned that at that time Finland was an autonomous grand-duchy directly under the rule of the Czar.

I have edited and translated both letters here; they are also being independently edited by Mr. Kaj Öhrnberg, who is working on an edition of Wallin's Arabic papers, which will appear in the near future in *Studia Orientalia*. — In the translation I have tried to preserve the flowery style of the letters.

The language used by °Alī Nidā in these letters is typical late Classical Arabic with some vernacular features; e.g. °Alī Nidā twice uses the Cairene dialectal form of pl. 2. masc. perfect (letter B, line 16: °arraftūnā; vertical line 6 'akhbartūnā). From the point of view of orthography, it may be mentioned that he uses — as also in the manuscripts of the *Asnā l-maṭālib* — the normal alif instead of alif maqṣūra (letter B, line 17, in intahā), and alif otiosum where strictly speaking it should not be used (e.g. Letter B, line 14, nargū, written as nrġw').

The handwriting of °Alī Nidā has been preserved in these letters and in some additional documents written by him for Wallin (such as the contract between Wallin and a Bedouin, who was to guide him to °Aqaba<sup>170</sup>): it is unattractive, rather large and robust, and it can easily be recognized in some of the marginal notes in both manuscripts of the *Asnā l-maṭālib* (cf. Chapter 3.4., and facsimiles of fol. 9a, 28b, and 32b).

### 3.2.2. Wallin's letter to °Alī Nidā

One draft of Wallin's letter to °Alī Nidā has been preserved, and it has been published by the Finnish Assyriologist Kn. Tallqvist in *ZA* 27 (1912), p. 103-111 (*Ein arabischer Reisebericht von G.A. Wallin*). The letter was written in London and it dates from 14th November 1849<sup>171</sup>.

The letter is a description of Wallin's voyage beginning with a mention of the departure from al-Maḥmūdiyya (cf. letter B) and concluding with a description of London. The letter does not shed any light on °Alī Nidā as the main part of it consists of pure description of places through which Wallin travelled; the only thing perhaps worth mentioning is the polite beginning of the letter where Wallin greets °Alī Nidā as his revered teacher.

The draft has been written on a paper which had earlier been used by Wallin for a couple of calligraphic exercises and for recording a ḥadīth. The first few lines of the letter — the polite greeting to °Alī Nidā — have been written five times with slightly differing wording. In the text there are several corrections, re-writings, over-rulings &c. by Wallin, which sometimes make it difficult to know what exactly the final version was.

There are some inaccuracies in the inadequate edition of Tallqvist. As the text will be edited by Mr. Öhrnberg among other Arabic papers of Wallin (cf. above, Chapter 3.2.1.), I shall confine myself to the following notes and corrections<sup>172</sup>.

In several cases Tallqvist has corrected Wallin's grammatical mistakes — which are partly Middle Arabic features, partly pure errors — without any note.

<sup>170</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 91-92, p. 101, and p. 102 — see also Chapter 3.1.4. above.

<sup>171</sup> See *Dagboksanteckningar*, p. 295. — This is the date when Wallin actually mailed the letter which he had already begun writing two days earlier, *op. cit.*, p. 293-294.

<sup>172</sup> In the following the page-numbers refer, of course, to the edition of Tallqvist. The line numbers refer to the lines of the Arabic text as published by Tallqvist.

Thus e.g.

		Edition:	Original:
p. 107,	line 5	nāwūn	nāwiyūn
	line 14	yawman	yawm
	line 15	al-'ayyām	'ayyām
p. 108,	line 6	nafaran	nafar
	line 6	māshūn	māshiyūn
	line 8	yafutna	yafūtna
	line 20	riḡāl	riḡāl alladhīna
p. 109,	line 5	aḡ-ḡafādi <sup>c</sup>	ḡafādi <sup>c</sup>
	line 12	°ashr	°ashara
p. 110,	line 2	nishāṭan	nishāṭ
	line 7	ḡiha	ḡihāt
	line 14	°udhūba	°adhāba
	line 17	kurūman	kurūm

In addition to these, several orthographical mistakes have also been corrected by Tallqvist (e.g. in the use of alif maqṣūra).

Tallqvist has also systematically changed Wallin's al-īṭāliyā (īṭāliyānī) to al-īṭāliyā (p. 108, lines 2 and 24; p. 109, line 20). More surprising is that he has altered Wallin's markab dukhān (p. 107, line 16; dukhānīya, p. 109, line 15; dukhānī, p. 110, line 16) to markab nār without any comment.

Note also the following mistakes or inaccuracies in the edition:

- p. 106, line 1: None of the five versions of the beginning has exactly this wording. What seems to be the main version reads: "...mā yuṭālu (unclear) sharḡuhu bi-taṭwīl al-kalām..."
- p. 107, line 19: Read "(wa)-fī ḡawānib wa-shawāhiq (written sawāhiq) tilka l-ḡibāl..." and delete wa-sawāhiq from the following line.
- p. 107, line 20: Read ḡamī<sup>c</sup> for kull.
- p. 108, line 4: Insert tabtadi' after wa-min hunā.
- p. 108, line 4: yasta'nif, read tasta'nif.
- p. 108, line 12: kināya min, read kināya °an.
- p. 108, line 17: Insert wa-'iḡrār after taḡrīk.
- p. 109, line 7: yaḡḡubna, read yaḡḡīna.
- p. 109, line 17: lam 'ara hunā, read lam ('ara) 'arḡan.
- p. 110, line 23: ḡhayrihā, read ḡhayrihim.
- p. 110, line 24: rakibtu is missing from the original.
- p. 111, line 7: mithlahā, read mathīlahunna.
- p. 111, line 8: Insert baḡr before ath-thams.
- p. 111, line 13: tara, read yara.

The text of the letter continues for a few lines more than the edition of Tallqvist. The missing part reads:



"wa-musaddada ʿalā kayfiyat qanāṭir fam al-maḥmūdīya wa-tursā fihinna ḥattā yakhlūṣna min ḥumūlatihinna wa-yasiqna<sup>173</sup> wasqan ḡadīdan thumma yaksaʿna<sup>174</sup> wa-yamshīna ʿilā ḡihāt mutafarriqa (...)<sup>175</sup>."

### 3.2.3. The text of letter A

محبنا العزيز حاضرة الأفندي.

بلِّغك الله ما تريد.

نعرفكم أنه حاصل لنا غاية الضيق من حيث أن الناظر طالب منا ٣٠٠ <قرش> والشيخ إبراهيم طالب منا ٢٠٠ كانت أمانة عندنا صرفت في جهتنا. ومطلوب منا دراهم لجهة البلد ومعنا دراهم لا تفي بذلك. وقد قصدناكم في ٣٠٠ <قرش> مساعدة منكم لنا في بناية الدار كما هو شأنكم معنا من عدم التقصير وعدم الفرق بيننا وبينكم بلا تكليف. جبرنا وإياكم على الله. علي ندا

<sup>173</sup> Better would be yūsaqna.

<sup>174</sup> Clearly so here. Read also with the original (p. 110, line 20) kasaʿtu for Tallqvist's kashaʿtu.

<sup>175</sup> After this there are a few odd words.

### 3.2.4. Translation of letter A

My dear friend, His Excellency the Efendi!

May God grant You Your wishes!

I am informing you that I am in utmost need because the Inspector(1)<sup>176</sup> demands 300 piasters from me and shaykh Ibrāhīm(2) demands 200 (piasters) which were deposited with me and which I have used for our expenses. On the behalf of the village(3) some money is also demanded from me, but I have not enough. So I have turned to you wishing (to receive) 300 piasters from you as assistance to build the house, as I know that it is your habit with me not to fail to fulfill wishes and that you are quite informal and do not make any difference between yourself and me.

May God help us and you also.

‘Alī Nidā

### 3.2.5. Notes to letter A

1. Unidentified, as are also the other particulars and references in this letter. The date of the letter is uncertain, but it seems to have been written when Wallin was in Cairo — it is not the kind of letter to be sent to a far-off friend, but rather looks like a casual note scribbled to a friend in the same city —, and we may perhaps assume that it was written when Wallin was living in his own house rather than in ‘Alī Nidā’s. If this is so, it leaves us two possible periods for the date of the letter: either before 5th July 1844, or between 22nd January 1845 and 11th April 1845<sup>177</sup>. On the other hand, before 5th July 1844 their relationship was not very intimate, so it is not very probable that the letter could be from this period. This speaks for the later date, which is also made probable by the frequent complaints about money made by ‘Alī Nidā to Wallin at that period<sup>178</sup>. Thus, I would tentatively suggest early 1845 as the date for letter A.

2. The eccentric shaykh Ibrāhīm, whom Wallin had got to know as early as in March 1844<sup>179</sup>, seems to be meant here, not the servant Ibrāhīm, whom Wallin had hired. Shaykh Ibrāhīm was an odd bird, who, according to Wallin, was not a very sincere Muslim<sup>180</sup>. He was full of travellers' stories<sup>181</sup> and verses<sup>182</sup>, and was a target for many local gossips<sup>183</sup>, and was not a very much liked person in the neighbourhood<sup>184</sup>.

3. *li-ḡihat al-balad* may refer to *Barrānīya*<sup>185</sup>.

<sup>176</sup> For the notes, see the next Chapter.

<sup>177</sup> For these dates, see above Chapter 3.1.1.

<sup>178</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 58 (dated on 8th March 1845); vol. 3, p. 92-93 (dated on 4th April 1845).

<sup>179</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. 300, and perhaps already on p. 283.

<sup>180</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. 348.

<sup>181</sup> e.g. *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. 315.

<sup>182</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. 331.

<sup>183</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. 373, and p. 381-382.

<sup>184</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. 378, and vol. 2, p. 186.

<sup>185</sup> For the meaning of the word *balad*, see Baer, *Fellah*, p. 7.

### 3.2.6. The text of letter B

يصل إلى فينلندا ويسلم ليد حضرة الحاج والي المسكوبي المحترم.

حضرة الجناب الفاضل حاوي الكمالات والفضائل أخانا العزيز  
الحاج ولي أفندي زيد قدره، أمين.

نعرف جنابكم المكرم أنه حضر لنا جواب منكم طويل عريض من  
مدة أشهر. وقد أرسلنا لكم نرده بجواب على يدي حضرة الخواجا  
كيكلر. وصورة ذلك الجواب:

سلام تضيء (١) به شمس الأنوار \* وتتكامل من بهاء طلعتة  
بدور الأقمار \* تتبسم لتبسمه رياح الأفكار \* وتتشرح بسماعه قلوب  
الأحبة الأخيار \* وناقذ إلى السلامة من ورطة الأخطار \* يهدي إلى  
سيد الأفاضل في دقائق اللغات (٢) والفنون \* الجامع لأسرار الحكم  
في المعقول والمنقول \* حضرة قرة العين \* وضياء المقلتين \* من كلت  
الألسن عن تعداد محاسنه \* وعجزت الأقلام عن إحصاء مكارمه \* إلى  
أخيذا العزيز الحاج ولي أفندي بلغ الله جنابكم السعيد ما يريد وزان  
جيد الزمان بعقد محاسنكم الفريد.

وبعد، فإنه لما قدم علينا جوابكم الذي احتوى على غرر  
الفواضل واشتمل على درر المعارف والفضائل انشرفت له النفس (٣)  
وكادت الروح لقدمه فرحا أن تطير وطرب اللب والفؤاد وتطيب

لنشر طيبه الوافي القرير حيث أنبأ عن حياة تلك الحضرة العلية  
وأخبر عن سلامة هذه البهجة السنية.

وإن يا عزيزنا بعد ما توجهتم من المحمودية مصحوبين بالسلامة  
ورجعنا لفواتكم بالحسرة والندامة ووصلنا إلى مدينة مصر المحروسة  
اجتمعنا بحضرة الخواجا ملر(٤) المانوسة فوجدناه أكرم إنسان وأطف  
الموجودين في هذا الزمان فتلقانا بالترحيب والتعظيم وأتحفنا بزيادة  
التبجيل والتكريم ، بلغه الله كل ما يتمناه ورزقه الحظ والسرور في محياه.  
وأما مصر فإنها الآن في حظ وسرور وقد باعد الله عنها الهم  
والغم والشورور حيث أن حضرة الباشا سامحها من الفردة بالكلية  
وأصبحت في أرغد عيش ونعم وفية.

والمطبعة قد كانت مضطربة الحال ولكنها انصلحت في الحال وحالنا  
فيها كما كنت تراه و نرجو(٥) من الله بلوغه منتهاه. هذا.  
ونسأل الله أن يمن علينا بالاجتماع في أقرب زمان ونعقد حبل  
الأنس والصفاء ونشاهد الحسان.

هذه صورة الجواب الذي أرسلناه لكم من مدة أشهر. وأما  
جوابكم الذي عرفتونا(٦) فيه عن القاموس فنفيدكم ، يا سيدي ،  
أنه موجود قواميس لكنها تختلف من جهة الصحة والغلط وتختلف  
أيضا في الثمن. ومنها الذي ثمنه كيسان ونصف.

وعندنا المقامات قد انتهى(٧) طبعتها في غاية الجمالة. وعندنا كتاب

المواقف المحتوي (٨) على سائر العلوم قد تم طبعه أيضا. والذي حاصل تشغيله الآن بالمطبعة كتاب البخاري وشرحه القسطلاني، خمسة أجزاء. وحاشية في مذهب أبي حنيفة تضاهي حاشية الطحطاوي (٩) يقال لها حاشية عابدين (١٠).

وتشغيل المطبعة الآن كثير وسبب ذلك أن باش مصححها تغير بأخر عنده همة واجتهاد ونحن صحبتته كحالنا مع الأول، بل أحسن. وستكثر الكتب والرغبة فيها فإذا تحسن عندكم أن نأخذ لكم قاموسا ومقامات ومواقف وترسلوا لنا علما (١١) بالكتب التي تريدونها لا بأس بذلك فإننا نحب ذلك ونريد أن الود يكون دائما متصلا بيننا. وإذا أرسلتم لنا جانب دراهم نحو خمسة آلاف قرش نرسل لكم منها الكتب الحاضرة وما بقي منها يصير محفوظا وكلما (١٢) لاح لنا كتاب ينال (١٣) لكم أخذناه. فإن الدراهم إذا كانت حاضرة تعين على تحصيل المطلوب (١٤).

ومن عندنا بهذا الطرف حضرة الخواجا نوري يسلم عليكم وجاريتته أم إبراهيم اللطيفة والشيخ عبد الله وأهل منزلنا. ونسأل الله أن يمن علينا براياكم (١٥). ودمتم.

محكم الفقير علي ندا

٦٦ [١٢] ٢٥ شعبان

ومصر الآن في خير عظيم وحظ وسرور وخصب ورخاء من حين  
أفندينا عباس وهي في راحة والأزبكية في أمان وشاءها تشبه الغزلان  
والنيل في غاية الزيادة، وبالجملة فهي تستأهلك (١٦).

ونحن بحمد الله في خير حتى أننا مكثنا المدة الطويلة ونحن  
نتنظر قدومكم علينا بناء على ما أخبرتونا (١٧) به من رجوعكم بعد نحو  
خمسة أشهر حتى ورد علينا كتابكم الأخير حتى أننا صلحنا البيت  
وسقفنا الطاحونة وفتحنا الباب الكبير وبنيناه وبيضناه وعملنا فيه  
دككا (١٨). إلا أن ولدنا السيد توفي إلى رحمة الله تعالى.

ونعرفكم أنكم تأكدوا (١٩) على الخواجا كيكلر باستلام الجوابات  
من عندنا وإرسالها لطرفكم بلا إهمال وإن شاء الله يحصل غرضكم  
وزيادة. ودمتم.

(١) «تضيئ» في الأصل.

(٢) «اللغة» في الأصل.

(٣) «النفسي» في الأصل.

(٤) كذا أي بالكسرة في الأصل.

(٥) «نرجوا» في الأصل.

(٦) كذا في الأصل والصواب: عرفتمونا.

(٧) «انتها» في الأصل.

- (٨) «محتوي» في الأصل .
- (٩) كذا في الأصل ، والصواب : الطهطاوي .
- (١٠) «عبدین» في الأصل .
- (١١) «علم» في الأصل .
- (١٢) «كل ما» في الأصل .
- (١٣) غير واضحة في الأصل .
- (١٤) «المطوب» في الأصل .
- (١٥) كذا في الأصل .
- (١٦) غير واضحة في الأصل ولعلها «تستأهلكم» .
- (١٧) كذا في الأصل .
- (١٨) كذا في الأصل .
- (١٩) كذا في الأصل .

### 3.2.7. Translation of letter B

Address: To Finland, to be given to the hand of His Excellency, the revered ḥāğğ Wālī, living in Moscow(1)<sup>186</sup>.

To His Eminent Excellency, perfect in virtues, my dear brother ḥāğğ Wālī (Wallin) Efendi, may God increase his status. Amen.

I am informing Your noble Excellency that I received a long and extensive letter from You several months ago and that I have sent You an answer to it through His Excellency Khwāğha Köhler(2).

The contents of that letter were the following:

(Upon You be) peace, by which the suns of the (heavenly) lights radiate and from the beautiful appearance of which the full moons are perfected and by the smiling of which the winds of the mind smile and by the hearing of which the hearts of excellent friends are

<sup>186</sup> For the notes, see the next Chapter.

gladdened, which saves us from the difficulties of perils, leads us to safety and guides us to the lord of the noble in the matter of intricacies of grammatical questions and arts, who unites the secrets of both theoretical and traditional wisdom, the delight of the eye and the glow of the pupils, in the listing of whose merits the tongue is fatigued and whose noble features the reed pen is unable to enumerate. To my dear brother ḥāğğ Walī Efendi, may God grant to Your auspicious excellency what You wish, and may He adorn the neck of this age with the unique necklace of Your virtues!

After (the salutation): When Your letter which contained the noblest of eminent words and pearls of knowledge and virtue, arrived, I was glad and my soul nearly took wings and my mind and heart rejoiced because of the joy of receiving the letter. My mind and heart were as if they were perfumed as it diffused the ample and joyful perfume of giving news of the life of this supreme excellency, and of letting me know the safety of this brilliant and radiant magnificence.

After You, dear friend, had left al-Maḥmūdīya(3) being accompanied by safety, I returned full of grief and regret because of losing Your company and arrived in the protected city of Cairo, I met His Excellency Khwāğā Milr al-mānūsa(4) and found him to be the most noble and kind person of our age. He received me with a warm welcome and most politely, and was very generous and liberal towards me, may God grant him what he wishes, and may He give him happiness and joy in his life.

As for Cairo, it is now affluent and happy, since God has removed all worries and sorries from it; His Excellency the Pasha has granted it a total exemption from firda(5), so Cairo has become a most opulent and prosperous city.

The printing house(6) was somewhat disordered, but it soon began improving. My relation to it is such as you know. I hope by God that it will achieve its ends.

I pray to God that He would bestow upon me the favour of meeting You in the near future, and that I could bind the rope of happiness and intimacy with You and that we may be in the company of good people.

This is what I wrote to You several months ago. As for Your letter in which You mentioned the Qāmūs, I can inform You, Sir, that several Qāmūs's are to be found but that they differ in accuracy, and they differ also in price(7). Among them is one that costs two and a half kīs(8).

I also have the maqāmāt (of al-Ḥarīrī), the printing of which has been carried out(9) most beautifully, and I have also a Kitāb al-mawāqif(10) which contains all sciences. Its printing has been concluded, too, and now they are working in the printing house on the Kitāb of al-Bukhārī with a commentary of al-Qaṣṭallānī(11) — five volumes —, and a marginal commentary of a work of Ḥanafite school(12) which resembles the marginal commentary of aṭ-Ṭaḥṭāwī(13), and is called Ḥāshiyat ‘Ābidīn.

The printing is now very active and the reason for this is that its Chief Corrector has changed, and the new one is a man of great concern and diligence; I know him as well as — if not better than — his predecessor(14). Books and the craving for them will be increasing.

If it suits You that I buy You Qāmūs and Maqāmāt and Mawāqif, please let me know



what books You want. It will be no problem, and I shall be obliged and wish that our mutual friendship would continue forever.

Now, if You will send me some money — let us say 5 000 piasters — I shall send You those books which are available, and what money is left over will be kept in safe and when a book which can be obtained for You, appears, I shall buy it. — When money is ready, it will help to achieve the goal.

His Excellency Khwāḡa Nūrī(15) sends his greetings to You and so does his maid, the beautiful Umm Ibrāhīm(16) and shaykh ʿAbdallāh(17) and my family. We pray to God that He would bestow it upon us to see You.

May You stay alive and well.

Your most humble friend ʿAlī Nidā.

Shaʿbān, 25th (12)66(18)

(Postscript, written horizontally:)

Cairo is now very well off, opulent, cheerful, plentiful and at ease since (the accession of) ʿAbbās Efendi. Cairo is peaceful and the Ezbekīya is safe, the sheep are like gazelles, and the water of the Nile has increased very much(19). In a word, Cairo is quite suitable for You. I am quite well, praise be to God. I waited for a long time for You to come to Cairo, because of what You had said about Your coming back in some five months — this was before Your latest letter reached me. I even had the house repaired and the mill roofed, and I had the main gate opened, rebuilt and whitewashed, and benches made for it.

But, sad to say, my son as-Sayyid(20) has passed away to God's mercy.

I remind You that You authorized Khwāḡa Köhler to take over my letters to You and to send them to You without delay. If God will, You will attain Your goal and more.

May You stay alive and well.

### 3.2.8. Notes to letter B

1. The adress is written by another hand which uses the form Wālī for Wallin whereas ʿAlī Nidā always writes Walī. — Note the attribution of Wallin to Moscow; for the writer, every subject of the Czar was Moscovite.

2. Köhler (sometimes written Koehler in Wallin's diaries) was a secretary at the Russian consulate. He was of German origin, but had been brought up in Cairo and Alexandria and did not even — according to Wallin<sup>187</sup> — speak German fluently. Wallin got along well with him and often enjoyed his company. He describes him as "a really pleasant young man"<sup>188</sup>. — Wallin's correspondence was arranged via the Russian consulate, and especially Köhler<sup>189</sup>. Wallin had introduced Köhler and ʿAlī Nidā to each other in 8th

<sup>187</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 1, p. 260.

<sup>188</sup> I.c.

<sup>189</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 286: "all my letters come via the consulate".

April 1845, so that he could use °Alī Nidā as a link between him and Köhler and vice versa<sup>190</sup>. — Note the curious orthography °Alī Nidā uses (kyklr).

3. Wallin embarked on 9th August 1849<sup>191</sup>. The scene is also mentioned by Wallin in his letter to °Alī Nidā<sup>192</sup>

4. Unidentified. Perhaps the name should be understood as "the German Müller" or something like that — note that the kasra under m in Milr is in the original. The only person with this or any similar name mentioned in Wallin's diaries who might be in question is the Baron von Müller whom Wallin once mentions in his *Dagboksanteckningar* (p. 157).

5. The Pasha, °Abbās Ḥilmī I "succeeded to his uncle Ibrāhīm, who died 10 Nov. 1848 (...). From his very accession he showed great hostility to foreigners. The reforms undertaken during the preceding period he chose to consider as dangerous and blame-worthy innovations that were best abandoned. Most of the schools opened by Muḥammad °Alī were closed, as well as the factories, workshops and sanitary institutions (...). Distrustful, brutal, hard, and sometimes cruel, by nature, °Abbās quickly became unpopular. It must be noted, however, that at least in the first year of his reign<sup>193</sup>, his aversion to the reforms inspired by the West, helped, by a considerable decrease of the expenses, to relieve the poorest classes of the population. They were granted some remission of taxes (...). He was strangled there<sup>194</sup> by two of his servants on 13 July 1854"<sup>195</sup>. — For a more detailed exposition of °Abbās Ḥilmī's reign, see Sammarco, *Précis*, vol. 4, p. 1-17 (*Le regne de °Abbas Ier*).

The *firda* (= *furḍa*) was, at this time, a kind of income tax of about eight per cent, and a major cause of discontent among government employees<sup>196</sup>. — The unpopularity of the *firda* can also be seen from several passages in Wallin's diaries, who twice uses the phrase "the *firda* which is commonly complained of"<sup>197</sup>, and who tells us that certain palm groves on the way from Cairo to Ṭanṭā had been cut down because of the 60 *faḍḍa firda* imposed per tree<sup>198</sup>.

6. The "printing house" is of course that of Būlāq, with which °Alī Nidā had some connections (see above Chapter 3.1.6.). The printing house was founded in 1821, and it was government property until 1862 when it was transferred to private ownership. It was taken over by state again in 1880<sup>199</sup>.

7. Wallin had during his sojourn in Cairo tried, in vain, to buy the Arabic Qāmūs of al-Fīrūzābādī. As early as in a letter dated 13th April 1844<sup>200</sup>, he mentions that he had tried

<sup>190</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 94.

<sup>191</sup> *Dagboksanteckningar*, p. 157.

<sup>192</sup> Tallqvist, ZA 27, p. 106.

<sup>193</sup> i.e. in the year of the letter of °Alī Nidā.

<sup>194</sup> i.e. in his palace in Bencha.

<sup>195</sup> M. Colombe, article °Abbās Ḥilmī I, EI2.

<sup>196</sup> See J. Jomier, article *furḍa*, EI2.

<sup>197</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. 278, and p. 362.

<sup>198</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 2, p. 33. — Cf. also vol. 3, p. 23.

<sup>199</sup> see J. Jomier, article Būlāq, EI2. For a detailed exposition of the history of Būlāq, see Riḍwān, Ta'riḫh.

<sup>200</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. 340.

to find a manuscript copy of Qāmūs but that the prices (2 000-3 000 piasters) were far too high for him. In a letter dated 3rd September 1844<sup>201</sup>, he calls the price "enormous", but, as he had mentioned in the letter dated 13th April 1844, he thought that the work was a must for Helsinki University Library. In late 1846<sup>202</sup> he mentions that the Būlāq was going to start the printing of the Arabic Qāmūs. This is repeated in a letter dated 8th October 1847<sup>203</sup>, but according to GAL S, vol. 2, p. 234, the first Būlāq edition did not appear until 1272 (= 1855). In any case, Wallin was unable to acquire either a manuscript or a printed copy of this work. — Wallin eventually bought the Turkish Qāmūs, al-'uqiyānūs (al-basīṭ) fī tarġamat al-Qāmūs (al-muḥīṭ) <sup>204</sup>, which he mentions in the letter dated 13th April 1844, a few days later for 260 piasters<sup>205</sup>, and later sent to Finland<sup>206</sup>.

8. The kīs 'purse' was 500 piasters; see e.g. E.W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 580.

9. The maqāmāt of al-Ḥarīrī were printed in Būlāq in 1266<sup>207</sup>.

10. Unidentified. None of the books mentioned in GAL and GAL S bearing this title seem to fit the description of °Alī Nidā.

11. The printing of this commentary of al-Qaṣṭallānī on al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ (Irshād as-sārī fī Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī) was completed in Būlāq the following year (1267)<sup>208</sup>.

12. Unidentified. The book must be a Ḥanafite Ḥāshiya to some standard work.

13. °Alī Nidā probably here refers to Shihāb-ad-dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭaḥṭāwī (d. 1232 = 1818<sup>209</sup>), who wrote a Ḥāshiya on al-Ḥaṣḥafī's commentary on at-Timirtāshī's Tanwīr al-abṣār<sup>210</sup>. The book was printed in Būlāq in 1254 (four volumes).

— The Ḥāshiyat °Ābidīn seems to refer to Muḥammad Amīn ibn °Ābidīn ash-Sha'mī's (d. 1252 = 1836) Radd al-mukhtār, another Ḥāshiya on the above mentioned commentary of al-Ḥaṣḥafī. This work was actually not printed in the Būlāq until 1271; in Cairo it had already been printed in 1263<sup>211</sup>.

14. The former — and first — Chief Corrector (muṣaḥḥiḥ bāshā) of the Būlāq was the famous poet Shihāb-ad-dīn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl (d. 1274 = 1857), whom Wallin mentions in his diaries as a friend of °Alī Nidā, see Chapter 3.1.6.

15. This seems to be the person mentioned by Wallin in his diaries as "the Englishman Nori", who had asked °Alī Nidā to give him lectures<sup>212</sup>. For a week, °Alī Nidā had

<sup>201</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 2, p. 149.

<sup>202</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 3, p. 340; a letter dated 4th December 1846.

<sup>203</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 3, p. 510.

<sup>204</sup> See GAL vol. 2, p. 231-234, and GAL S, vol. 2, p. 234.

<sup>205</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 1, p. 346, and Aro, *Handschriften*, p. 15.

<sup>206</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 3, p. 67 (a letter dated 14th March 1845). — This impressive three-volume folio printed in Būlāq 1250 is now preserved at Helsinki University Library.

<sup>207</sup> GAL S, vol. 1, p. 487.

<sup>208</sup> See GAL, vol. 1, p. 165, and the addition in GAL S, vol. 1, p. 262.

<sup>209</sup> Thus according to GAL S, vol. 2, p. 428; according to GAL, vol. 2, p. 406 two years earlier (1231 = 1816).

<sup>210</sup> Which is called by Brockelmann a "Kompendium der ḥanaf(itischen) furū'" (GAL, vol. 2, p. 404).

<sup>211</sup> For this book, see GAL S, vol. 2, p. 428.

<sup>212</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 3, p. 92 (April 4th 1845).

taught him, but as Nūrī did not understand Arabic well, °Alī Nidā was not going to teach him any more. This amazed Wallin, as he knew that °Alī Nidā could easily have earned a living by teaching Nūrī. — In any case °Alī Nidā seems to have changed his mind later, as Nūrī is mentioned here.

16. Unidentified.

17. Shaykh °Abdallāh was an older friend of °Alī Nidā and Wallin<sup>213</sup>, who lived in the same Ghamrī area as °Alī Nidā<sup>214</sup>. Wallin describes him as a pleasant man whose company he enjoyed very much<sup>215</sup>. °Alī Nidā, °Abdallāh and a third shaykh were Wallin's closest friends during his stays in Cairo<sup>216</sup>.

18. = 6th July 1850.

19. Lane, in his *Manners and Customs*, p. 1-2, and p. 495-505, gives a good description of the importance of the rising of the Nile and the festivities connected with it. — Cf. also the diaries of Wallin<sup>217</sup>.

20. Not mentioned in the diaries of Wallin.

### 3.3. The sources used by °Alī Nidā for the *Asnā l-maṭālib*

#### 3.3.1. The main sources

Clearly the main sources used by °Alī Nidā for his *Asnā l-maṭālib* are the commentaries of al-Ushmūnī and Ibn °Aqīl on the *Alfiya* (or al-Khulāṣa, the name by which it is also known and by which it is cited in the *Asnā l-maṭālib*) of Ibn Mālik and the *Alfiya* itself. Ibn Mālik is mentioned in °Alī Nidā's commentary five times (fol. 22b, 27a, 30b, 32b, and 42a), the *Alfiya* twice (under the title al-Khulāṣa; fol. 34b, and 43b), and Ibn °Aqīl once (fol. 19a). Apart from explicit mentions — note, by the way, that al-Ushmūnī is not directly mentioned in the *Asnā l-maṭālib* — the importance of the above-mentioned commentaries of al-Ushmūnī and Ibn °Aqīl can be seen from the shāhid verses that °Alī Nidā quotes: out of the 25 shawāhid of the *Asnā l-maṭālib*, 21 (84 %) <sup>218</sup> are to be found in al-Ushmūnī's *Sharḥ*, and 16 (64 %) in Ibn °Aqīl's *Sharḥ* <sup>219</sup>.

<sup>213</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 31; see also Chapter 3.1.2.

<sup>214</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 13.

<sup>215</sup> *l.c.*

<sup>216</sup> See e.g. *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 100 ("the three shaykhs in whose company I have been almost exclusively").

<sup>217</sup> *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 1, p. 393-395, and vol. 2, p. 77-79.

<sup>218</sup> or, if we also count the two partly identical verses, 92 %.

<sup>219</sup> For details, see Table I, and my commentary on the *Asnā l-maṭālib*. Note that out of the 32 verses quoted by °Alī Nidā, six (Index numbers 9., 10., 17., 22., 23., 32.; 22. and 23. are actually excerpts of each two verses) are not quoted as shawāhid, and one (no. 4. = Index number 21.) is a mnemotechnic verse, not a shāhid.

Table I: Shāhid verses cited by °Alī Nidā in his Asnā l-maṭālib compared with some other grammatical works

Preliminary note: The shāhid verses are numbered in the order of their appearance in the text of the Asnā l-maṭālib. For identification, the number of the verse in the Index of verses (Chapter 6.2.1.) is given in brackets. Only the beginning of each verse is given in this Table; for the rest of the verse, see the Index of verses and my Commentary to the text (Chapter 4.). The first four and the last two verses cited in the Asnā l-maṭālib (Index numbers 9., 10., 17., 22., 23., and 32.) are not actual shāhid verses and as such they are not included in this Table. Neither is verse 6. of the Index included since it is not taken as a verse in the Asnā l-maṭālib. Verse 4. (Index 21.) is included though it is strictly speaking a mnemotechnic verse, not a shāhid verse.

The verses (Index number in brackets)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. wa-laḡad 'arānī... (26.)	x	x		x	x				
2. ḡhadat min °alayhi... (19.)	x	x		x	x				x
3. wa-baldatin laysa... (12.)			x		x	x			x
4. mur wa-nha wa-d°u... (21.)							x		
5. wa-lubsu °abā'atin... (14.)	x	x	x	x	x	x			x
6. kay taḡnaḡūna... (25.)			x	x					
7. wa-mahmā yakun... (27.)			x	x	x				
8. 'ayna taṣrif binā... (15.)			x						x
9. ḡaythumā tastaḡim... (29.)	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	
10. matā 'aḡa°i l-°imāmata... (28.)			o	x	x	o		x	x
11. 'ayyāna nu'minka... (8.)	x	x				x			
12. fa-'aṣbaḡta 'annā... (5.)			o	x				x	x
13. wa-'idhā tuṣibka... (18.)			x	x				x	x
14. (fa-)nadlan zurayqu... (1.)	x	x			x				x
15. ḡīkat °alā nīrayni... (16.)	x	x			x				
16. layta wa-hal yanfa°u... (4.)	x	x		x	x				
17. 'aḡsama bi-llāhi... (7.)	x	x			x	x			
18. 'atāka 'atāka... (11.)	x	x	x		x				
19. 'inna °alayya llāha... (13.)	x	x						x	x
20. la°alla 'abī l-miḡhwāri... (2.)	x	x		x					
21. ḡhayru lāhin °idāka... (24.)	x	x		x					
22. ḡhayru ma'sūfin... (30.)	x	x		x					
23. fa-khayrun naḡnu... (20.)	x			x					
24. khabīrun banū lihbin... (3.)	x	x	x		x				
25. yā rubba ḡhābiṭinā... (31.)			x	x	x				x
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Amount of verses in common with the Asnā l-maṭālib	16	23	7	14	12	5	5	5	9
				(21)		(11)			(8)

- 1 = Ibn ʿAqīl, Sharḥ  
 2 = al-Ushmūnī, Sharḥ  
 3 = Ibn Hishām, Qaṭr  
 4 = Ibn Hishām, Mughnī  
 5 = Ibn Hishām, Awḍaḥ  
 6 = Ibn Hishām, Shudhūr  
 7 = al-Kafrāwī, Sharḥ  
 8 = Khālīd al-Azharī, Sharḥ  
 9 = Sībawayhi, Kitāb

Notes to the Table:

- verse 4: This is a mnemotechnic verse, not a shāhid verse. I have found it only in al-Kafrāwī's Sharḥ (p. 59) where the order of the imperatives is slightly different (wa-dʿu comes before wa-nha), and in aṣ-Ṣabbān's Ḥāshiya (vol. 3, p. 302) where the order is the same as in the Asnā l-maṭālib. This need not mean that ʿAlī Nidā took the verse from aṣ-Ṣabbān's Ḥāshiya (or from al-Kafrāwī's Sharḥ); it is more probable that he had learnt it orally when attending the lectures at the Azhar.
- verse 6: Only the first two words of this verse are quoted in the Asnā l-maṭālib.
- verse 8: This seldom used shāhid originally comes from Sībawayhi's Kitāb (vol. 1, p. 384) where it is cited in a somewhat different form. — The word ʿindahā in the end of the verse is not found in the other sources (which have naḥwahā instead), and it seems to be simply a mistake on ʿAlī Nidā's part.
- verse 10: ʿAlī Nidā gives only the second hemistich, whereas the printed edition of Ibn Hishām's Awḍaḥ, and al-Ushmūnī's Sharḥ give only the first hemistich, but it is quite possible that, e.g. the (manuscript?) copy of al-Ushmūnī's Sharḥ, which ʿAlī Nidā used, had the whole verse, as the incomplete shāhid verses were often completed in the margins of the text by the copyist or the user of the book.
- verse 12: This verse is a contamination of two verses cited by Sībawayhi (Kitāb, vol. 1, p. 384 and p. 396). Al-Ushmūnī, Sharḥ (vol. 2, p. 133) cites the verse Sībawayhi, Kitāb, vol. 1, p. 396 correctly.
- verse 13: ʿAlī Nidā gives only the second hemistich of this verse.
- verse 14: ʿAlī Nidā gives only the second hemistich of this verse. For the missing fa-, see my Commentary on the text, fol. 27b, Chapter 4.
- verse 15: Apart from the Asnā l-maṭālib, only Ibn ʿAqīl, Sharḥ, p. 130, gives the first word as ḥīkat. Other sources — al-Ushmūnī, Sharḥ, vol. 1, p. 323, and Ibn Hishām, Awḍaḥ, p. 232 — give ḥukat.
- verse 17: ʿAlī Nidā gives only the first hemistich of this verse.
- verse 18: ʿAlī Nidā gives only the first hemistich of this verse. The printed edition of al-Ushmūnī, Sharḥ, vol. 1, p. 350, has only 'atāka 'atāka l-lāḥiqūna.
- verse 20: ʿAlī Nidā gives only the second hemistich of this verse.

The two commentaries on the *Alfīya* were very popular in mid-nineteenth century Cairo, and both were used at the Azhar as textbooks<sup>220</sup>, so it is not surprising to see ʿAlī Nidā relying heavily on them. That he had actually perused these works a short time before writing the *Asnā l-maṭālib*, is made clear by the diaries of Wallin, who mentions that ʿAlī Nidā used these two commentaries when giving him lectures on the *Alfīya*<sup>221</sup>.

Having these commentaries fresh in his mind, ʿAlī Nidā — who, it should be remembered, wrote the *Asnā l-maṭālib* during a voyage, i.e. with few if any written sources at hand — quoted almost verbatim from them. From Ibn ʿAqīl he quotes two lengthy passages (fol. 32b-33a<sup>222</sup>, and fol. 39b). To illustrate the dependence of ʿAlī Nidā on his sources, and to show how he quotes and abbreviates his sources, the passage on fol. 39b of the *Asnā l-maṭālib*, and the corresponding passage from Ibn ʿAqīl's *Sharḥ*<sup>223</sup>, are given below:

#### 1. *Asnā l-maṭālib*:

wa-'ammā ḡumlatun mushtamilatun ʿalā rābiṭin yarbiṭuhā bi-l-mubtada'i zāhiran naḥwa "Zaydun qāma 'abūhu" 'aw muqaddaran naḥwa "as-samnu manawāni bi-dirhamin" 'ay "manawāni minhu bi-dirhamin", wa-qad yakūnu r-rābiṭu 'ishāratan 'ilā l-mubtada'i ka-qawlihi taʿālā "wa-libāsu t-taqwā dhālika khayrun" fī qirā'ati man rafaʿa "libāsu", 'aw takrāra l-mubtada'i bi-lafzihi wa-'aktharu mā yakūnu dhālika fī mawāḍiʿi t-tafkhīmi ka-qawlihi taʿālā "al-ḥāqqah mā l-ḥāqqah" wa-"l-qāriʿah mā l-qāriʿah" wa-qad yakūnu fī ghayrihi naḥwa "Zaydun mā Zaydun"

Now in a sentence containing a binder (referential pronoun, *rābiṭ*) which links it to the subject (of the nominal sentence) and is either overt as in "Zayd — his father rose", or implicit as in "Clarified butter — two manns for a dirham", i.e. "two manns of it for a dirham", the binder may be a demonstrative pronoun referring to the subject as in the Qurʾān<sup>224</sup> "And the garment of godfearing — that is better"<sup>225</sup>, in the version of those who put the word *libās* in nominative. The binder may also be the repetition of the subject itself, and this is mainly used for emphasis, as in the Qurʾān<sup>226</sup> "The Indubitable! What is the Indubitable?" and "The Clatterer! What is the Clatterer?", but it may also occur in other cases, e.g. "Zayd — what is Zayd?"

#### 2. Ibn ʿAqīl, *Sharḥ*:

wa-r-rābiṭu 'immā ḡamīrun yarḡīʿu 'ilā l-mubtada'i naḥwa "Zaydun qāma 'abūhu" wa-qad yakūnu ḡ-ḡamīru muqaddaran naḥwa "as-samnu manawāni bi-dirhamin", at-taqḍīru "manawāni minhu bi-dirhamin" 'aw 'ishāratan 'ilā l-mubtada'i ka-qawlihi

<sup>220</sup> See Vollers, article Azhar, EI1, p. 559.

<sup>221</sup> Cf. above Chapter 3.1.7.

<sup>222</sup> This is rather a mnemotechnic list, so he might have memorized it during his Azharian times also from another source.

<sup>223</sup> p. 55.

<sup>224</sup> Literally: as His word, He is exalted.

<sup>225</sup> The translations of the Qurʾānic quotations are from Arberry, Koran.

<sup>226</sup> Literally: as His word, He is exalted.

ta<sup>°</sup>ālā "wa-libāsu t-taqwā dhālika khayrun" fi qirā'ati man rafa<sup>°</sup>a l-libāsa 'aw takrāra l-mubtada'i bi-lafzihi wa-'aktharu mā yakūnu fi mawāḍi'ī t-tafkhīmi ka-qawlihi ta<sup>°</sup>ālā "al-hāqqah mā l-hāqqah" wa-"l-qāri'ah mā l-qāri'ah" wa-qad yusta<sup>°</sup>malu fi ghayrihi ka-qawlika "Zaydun mā Zaydun"

The binder (referential pronoun, *rābiṭ*) is either a personal pronoun referring back to the subject (of the nominal sentence) as in "Zayd — his father rose" — this pronoun may also be implicit as in "Clarified butter — two manns for a dirham" implying "two manns of it for a dirham" — or it may be a demonstrative pronoun referring to the subject as in the Qur'ān<sup>227</sup> "And the garment of godfearing — that is better", in the version of those who put the word *libās* in nominative. The binder may also be the repetition of the subject itself, and this is mainly used for emphasis, as in the Qur'ān<sup>228</sup> "The Indubitable! What is the Indubitable?" and "The Clatterer! What is the Clatterer?", but it may also be used in other cases, e.g. "Zayd — what is Zayd?".

### 3.3.2. Other possible sources

As all the *shāhid* verses in the *Asnā l-maṭālib*, except for verses 10 and 12 (cf. above, Table I), and the mnemotechnic verse 4 — for the last one, see below — are to be found in either of the two commentaries on Ibn Mālik's *Alfiya*, the attestations of these verses in other grammatical works can of course not be taken as indicating that <sup>°</sup>Alī Nidā had read or used them. In any case, it may be fruitful to compare the *shāhid* verses in the *Asnā l-maṭālib* with some major works of the late Arabic grammatical tradition; of the 25 *shawāhid* of the *Asnā l-maṭālib*, 14 (56 %) are found in Ibn Hishām's *Mughnī l-labīb*, 11 (44 %; or<sup>229</sup> 12 = 48 %) in his *Awḍaḥ al-masālik*, and 7 (28 %) in his *Qaṭr an-nadā*<sup>230</sup>.

*Sībawayhi* is frequently referred to by name in the *Asnā l-maṭālib*, but <sup>°</sup>Alī Nidā most probably had not made use of his *Kitāb* directly, but consulted *al-Ushmūnī*, Ibn <sup>°</sup>Aqīl, or Ibn Hishām, as we know that the *Kitāb* of *Sībawayhi* was not much used in nineteenth/twentieth century Egypt<sup>231</sup>, and as *Sībawayhi*'s opinions were codified in the above cited (and many other) books.

Of the books of Ibn Hishām which were very much in use at the Azhar (*Qaṭr an-nadā wa-ball aṣ-ṣadā*, *Sharḥ Shudhūr adh-dhahab fi ma<sup>°</sup>rifat kalām al-<sup>°</sup>arab*, *Mughnī l-labīb* <sup>°</sup>an kutub al-'a<sup>°</sup>ārīb, and *Awḍaḥ al-masālik 'ilā 'Alfiyat Ibn Mālik*), <sup>°</sup>Alī Nidā has probably utilized at least *Awḍaḥ al-masālik*, which seems to be the origin of a lengthy passage in the *Asnā l-maṭālib* (fol. 25b - 26a = *Awḍaḥ*, vol. 1, p. 335-336). Some shorter passages in the *Asnā l-maṭālib* are also reminiscent of *Qaṭr an-nadā*, *Sharḥ Shudhūr* and

<sup>227</sup> Literally: as His word, He is exalted.

<sup>228</sup> Literally: as His word, He is exalted.

<sup>229</sup> For details, see Table 1.

<sup>230</sup> For other books of Azharian tradition and some other grammatical works, see Table 1.

<sup>231</sup> It was not among the text books of the Azhar, and not much in use at the beginning of the 20th century when Pedersen visited Cairo (see Pedersen, *Azhar*, p. 27).



Mughnī l-labīb, but these passages may also simply be seen as definitions, stock examples &c. belonging to the common grammatical tradition learnt by heart by the students of the Azhar (thus, e.g. *Asnā l-maṭālib*, fol. 16b, cf. *Mughnī l-labīb*, p. 463).

Apart from these works, there are some others which must have been known to °Alī Nidā as well as to any other shaykh of the Azhar. These include the *Āğurrūmīya* commentaries of Khālīd al-Azharī (*Sharḥ laṭīf li-'alfāz al-'Āğurrūmīya*) and al-Kafrāwī (*Sharḥ al-'Āğurrūmīya*), both of which were used at the Azhar<sup>232</sup>. Al-Kafrāwī's *Sharḥ* shares with °Alī Nidā's *Asnā l-maṭālib* a mnemotechnic verse (verse 4), which I have otherwise been able to find only in aṣ-Ṣabbān's *Ḥāshīya*<sup>233</sup>. Al-Kafrāwī's *Sharḥ* (p. 69-72) and Khālīd al-Azharī's *Sharḥ* (p. 18 below-19 above) have on a few successive pages four of the five shāhid verses quoted by °Alī Nidā on fol. 18a (verses 9-13), whereas no other source quotes more than three of them, except for al-Ushmūnī's *Sharḥ*, but in the latter book there are important variants in two of them (verse 10, and, especially, verse 12 — for details, see below, Table 1 and my Notes to it) which show that al-Ushmūnī's *Sharḥ* can not have been in this case the immediate source used by °Alī Nidā<sup>234</sup>. Thus it seems probable that °Alī Nidā quoted these verses either from Khālīd al-Azharī's *Sharḥ* or — what is more probable — from al-Kafrāwī's *Sharḥ*, not from al-Ushmūnī. — The parallelism of these shawāhid is all the more striking since both al-Kafrāwī and, especially, Khālīd al-Azharī quoted very few shawāhid in their *Sharḥ*'s.

°Alī Nidā has profited little or nothing from the books falling outside the tradition of the Azhar, and it is probable that he had not read (m)any grammatical works except for those mentioned above and perhaps a few other textbooks of the Azhar with their commentaries, supracommentaries and glosses. He cites by name ar-Raḍī (al-Astar-ābādī) on fol. 14b, and he may even have read his *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, but other grammarians cited in the *Asnā l-maṭālib* (al-Khaṭīb, Sībawayhi, Hishām, Tha'lab, al-Farrā', and al-Akhfash) are most probably indirectly quoted from the books mentioned above.

The force and importance of the Azharian tradition can clearly be seen when comparing the shawāhid of the *Asnā l-maṭālib* with the shawāhid in the works which were left outside this tradition; e.g. both the *Alfiya* commentary of Abū Ḥayyān (*Manḥağ as-sālik*) and the *Āğurrūmīya* commentary of ash-Shirbīnī (*Nūr as-sağīya*) have only four shawāhid in common with the *Asnā l-maṭālib* (= 16 % of the verses of the *Asnā l-maṭālib*), even though Abū Ḥayyān quotes several hundreds of verses, and even ash-Shirbīnī quotes 44, i.e. both many more than, e.g. Khālīd al-Azharī in his *Sharḥ al-Āğurrūmīya*.

Another probable source used by °Alī Nidā is the *Qāmūs* (see the *Asnā l-maṭālib*, fol. 48a) of al-Firūzābādī, which was a much used dictionary in 19th century Egypt<sup>235</sup>.

<sup>232</sup> See Vollers, article Azhar, EI1, p. 559.

<sup>233</sup> But see Notes to Table 1.

<sup>234</sup> Still, it must be remembered that the printed editions may differ from the (manuscript?) copy that °Alī Nidā used.

<sup>235</sup> See Vollers, article Azhar, EI1, p. 559. — Note also that Wallin tried to acquire a copy of the *Qāmūs* with the help of °Alī Nidā (see letter B, Chapter 3.2.6. with the notes thereto, Chapter 3.2.8.).

### 3.4. °Alī Nidā and manuscripts A and B

As was noted above, Chapter 3.1.7., °Alī Nidā wrote his commentary when travelling with Wallin to Upper Egypt by boat. The commentary was completed aboard, on 1st Muḥarram 1261, and both manuscripts were copied shortly afterwards (manuscript A on 28th Šafar 1261, manuscript B a month later, on 1st Rabī° II), from the — now missing — autograph of °Alī Nidā. In both manuscripts the copyist<sup>236</sup> made several mistakes, which were later corrected, mostly by the copyist himself. Later on, as we know from the diaries of Wallin<sup>237</sup>, °Alī Nidā went himself through the copies — first manuscript A and then, after an interval, as it seems, manuscript B — and corrected the remaining mistakes made by the scribe<sup>238</sup>. Besides, °Alī Nidā corrected or changed a few points, which were written in the same way in both manuscript A and B, which means that we have here mistakes in the original of °Alī Nidā — or, in a few cases, that °Alī Nidā changed his mind after having had his work already copied. Note the following cases:

1. fol. 2b, note 1: °alamīyatihimā, originally °alamīyatihā in both manuscripts, later corrected by °Alī Nidā in manuscript B.

2. fol. 4b, note 1: hādhihi added later by °Alī Nidā in both manuscripts.

3. fol. 12a, note 4: the second 'an(na) has been added later by °Alī Nidā in both manuscripts.

4. fol. 16a, note 2: the original zā'ida has been substituted by °Alī Nidā in the margin of manuscript B by ta°rīfiya.

5. fol. 17b, note 2: the word tašrifu, so in both manuscripts, has been corrected in A by erasing one of the dots of t, so as to give the correct našrifu.

6. fol. 24a, note 1, note 2, and fol. 25a, note 1: the missing yā' has been added by °Alī Nidā only in manuscript A.

7. fol. 25a, note 2: the word sa°y is unclear in both manuscripts. The last consonant is partly erased, and corrected to yā'.

8. fol. 26b, note 1: °alā is originally missing from both manuscripts, and added later to manuscript A.

9. fol. 32a, note 3: the word al-ğazā' is unclear in both manuscripts.

10. fol. 35b, note 1: originally correctly tağī', the hamza written without a bearer. Later "corrected" by adding a second yā' as a bearer for the hamza.

11. fol. 47b, note 2: originally ya°ishu in both manuscripts. Later corrected to ya°ish in manuscript A only.

It seems evident that in these cases — except perhaps for no. 3., which could easily have been a mistake made by the copyist independently in both manuscripts — there was a mistake in the original from which manuscripts A and B were copied. In some cases

<sup>236</sup> Who remains anonymous. It is of course possible that manuscripts A and B were copied by two different scribes — the handwriting of both is impersonal and professional, so although it seems similar it still could be by two different hands —, but as they have been copied in a short time and in the same place, Cairo, it is very probable that °Alī Nidā had the same scribe copy both of them.

<sup>237</sup> Reseanteckningar, vol. 3, p. 62; see also above, Chapter 3.1.7.

<sup>238</sup> Though, as can be seen from the notes to the present edition, even after his corrections there remained some obvious mistakes in both of the manuscripts.

(5., 6., 7., and 11.) °Alī Nidā corrected the mistake only in A, in others (1., and 4.) only in B.

#### 4. Commentary to the text of the Asnā l-maʿālib

fol. 1a:

The recommendation is found only in A. See also Chapter 3.1.7.

Muḥammad as-Sabḥarġī: A shaykh of the Azhar, see *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 68, and above Chapter 3.1.7.

fol. 1b:

°allama l-'insāna etc.: Qur. 96:5. This verse of the Qur'ān is often cited in the prologue to grammatical treatises, cf. e.g. Ibn Hishām, *Shudhūr*, p. 10.

sa'alanī ba'°du 'ikhwān aṣ-ṣafā': This may be taken as a reference to Wallin<sup>239</sup>, though the phrase is better taken as a mere conventional formula.

mabānīhā: for mabāniyahā. °Alī Nidā is not without famous predecessors in overlooking the accusative -a- of nouns *tertiaie infirmae* in saġ°, cf. e.g. Ibn Hishām, *Awḍaḥ*, vol. 1, p. 10 ('uḍiḥu ma'°ānīh).

fol. 2a - 2b:

For the analysis of the basmala, cf. e.g. al-Bayḍāwī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 8-21; al-'Ukbarī, *at-Tibyān*, vol. 1, p. 3-4, on the basmala in sūrat al-Fātiḥa, cf. al-Kafrāwī, *Sharḥ*, p. 3-4, and especially Ibn Hishām, *Mughnī*, p. 378-379.

fol. 2b:

wa'l-ismu...mushtaqqun...: Ibn Hishām, *Mughnī*, p. 11 criticizes the giving of these etymological digressions in i'ṣrāb works, because, as he puts it, they are not directly related to °ilm al-'i'ṣrāb, and they tend only to increase the size of grammatical works — though this does not prevent him from other kinds of digressions, see my *Commentary on the text*, fol. 6b-7a.

al-mustaḥiqqu li-ġamī° al-maḥāmid: Thus also al-Kafrāwī, *Sharḥ*, p. 4.

On the case of ar-Raḥmān in the basmala, see, e.g. Ibn Hishām, *Mughnī*, p. 461-462.

fol. 3a:

lam ya'ti bi'l-ḥamdala etc.: °Alī Nidā refers to the famous ḥadīth "kullu 'amrin dhī bālin lā yubda'u fīhi bi'l-ḥamdi li-llāhi 'abtar"<sup>240</sup>, frequently quoted in commentaries, see, e.g. al-Kafrāwī, *Sharḥ*, p. 3; ash-Shirbīnī, *Nūr*, p. 6. — The whole passage on the basmala and the ḥamdala (fol. 2a-2b) is reminiscent of al-Anṣārī's *ad-Daqā'iq*, p. 3-4, a booklet which °Alī Nidā may well have known.

fol. 3b:

wa-qabru ḥarbin etc.: Raġaz<sup>241</sup>, not sarī°, as erroneously in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūġ*, vol. 2, p. 296<sup>242</sup>. This is a famous tongue-twister quoted by several authors (e.g. al-

<sup>239</sup> See *Reseanteckningar*, vol. 3, p. 68, and above Chapter 3.1.7.

<sup>240</sup> There exist several minor variants of this ḥadīth.

<sup>241</sup> Fischer - Bräunlich, *Indices*, p. 93b.

<sup>242</sup> On the difficulties in distinguishing between raġaz and sarī°, see Ullmann, *Raġaz*, p. 11-17. — See