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Bibliophilia in Ottoman Aleppo: Muḥammad al-Taqawī and his Medical Library

Abstract: Recent research has shown that book collecting by private individuals and institutions was a widespread phenomenon in Bilād al-Shām. At least from the Ayyubid period onwards, countless volumes were produced, changed hands in the book market, and lay around in libraries. To this day, Damascus occupies a central position in our knowledge about libraries and book culture in general, while other cities and regions lag behind. In this article, the inventory of an Aleppine book collector is used to take a glimpse at the book culture of Aleppo in the first decades of the seventeenth century. Although most probably not reflecting the sum total of his library, the inventory still allows to ascertain the specific taste of its compiler, an otherwise unknown Aleppine bibliophile. The inventory also provides evidence for the early distribution of Arabic print and pushes the door open for investigating the role of local agents in the early days of attempts by Orientalists to acquire Arabic manuscripts for European libraries.

Keywords: Library history, book culture, Ottoman Aleppo, medical literature, seventeenth century, Orientalists' quest for books

Bilād al-Shām looms large in the field of Middle Eastern library history for the Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman periods.[1] It even outshines Egypt which in many

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areas of research has attracted much more scholarly attention.[2] Studies about private and public libraries based on ownership notes and library inventories demonstrate the keenness of many people in reading and owning books. Already the earliest surviving library catalogue from the Middle East, the catalogue of the Ashrafiyya library in Damascus, attests that run-of-the-mill libraries in the thirteenth century could hold nearly two thousand books.[3] It stands to reason that this penchant for the written word was not confined to Damascus, the undisputed political and cultural centre of Bilād al-Shām, but also pertained to other towns.

However, libraries and the book culture outside of Damascus received much less scholarly attention. This holds true for the second largest city of Bilād al-Shām, Aleppo, though its cultural and scholarly importance for the larger region is beyond doubt. Aleppo was an important mercantile city bridging the Mediterranean Basin and the Middle East, a hub for traders and scholars with diverse interests and linguistic backgrounds such as Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Syriac, Armenian, and more. We even have a dubious edition of a (allegedly) late-thirteenth-century list providing some nine hundred titles of books in different Aleppine libraries. We have a promising but hard-to-interpret list of three hundred books from the Citadel of Aleppo, compiled shortly after the Ottomans toppled the Mamluks and a notebook by a weaver from the later part of the sixteenth century which shows that literacy was not confined to the scholarly elite but artisans had a share in it too. It was in Aleppo where Hājjī Khalīfa (Kātib Čelebi) (d. 1067/1657) hit upon the idea of compiling his large-scale bibliography *Kashf al-ẓunūn* of some 14,500 books after frequenting the city's book markets. A bit later, Aleppo also became an important centre in the early days of printing in the Middle East.[4]

To be sure, the book culture of Aleppo has not gone unnoticed. In the twentieth century, some articles about a choice of libraries in the city were published. But most of these works do not go beyond a general overview based on narrative accounts, covering only some of the most prominent libraries and mention only

2 For book culture in Egypt, see HANNA 2003; EL SHAMSY 2016; VESELÝ 1996.

3 For the Ashrafiyya, see HIRSCHLER 2016; for the private library of a fifteenth-century Damascene scholar, see HIRSCHLER 2019; for an eighteenth-century Damascene library, see LIEBRENZ 2016; for another eighteenth-century library of an Aleppine who most probably lived in Damascus most of his adult life, see LIEBRENZ 2013.

4 For the inventory, see SBATH 1946; for doubts about its authenticity, see HIRSCHLER 2016, 138–140; for the citadel list, see D'HULSTER 2021. For the weaver's notebook, see LIEBRENZ and RICHARDSON 2021; for Hājjī Khalīfa, see BEVILACQUA 2018, 22; for early print, see WALBINER 2002.

their most noteworthy holdings.[5] This gap in research is slowly being remedied. In recent years, the book culture of Aleppo attracted some more in-depth attention. Said ALJOUMANI edited the renewed register of the Madrasa al-ʿUthmāniyya library, one of the biggest Syrian educational facilities in its days, endowed by the governor ʿUthmān Bāshā al-Dūrikī in 1142/1729–30. He matched roughly forty percent of the 1,248 books that once lay on the shelves of the school library with manuscripts which are today housed in the National al-Asad Library in Damascus. Boris LIEBRENZ briefly discussed the second leading public library of Aleppo in the eighteenth century, the Aḥmadiyya.[6] Based on ownership notes on manuscripts in the Research Library Gotha, Feras KRIMSTI has studied the private library of the Maronite physician Ḥannā al-Ṭabīb (d. 1775) and the meaning of book ownership for Aleppine Christians in the eighteenth century.[7]

In this article, I present the library of a gentleman who lived in Aleppo during the first half of the seventeenth century. The snapshot is based on a library inventory he compiled in 1039/1629 and although most probably fragmentary, the two-and-a-half-page inventory reflects the specific taste and expertise of a man who is not known to have left any writings himself. The inventory is today part of a notebook which not only allows tracing his reading habits, but which also contains further material regarding the book culture of seventeenth-century Aleppo – a period which witnessed a rising interest in acquiring oriental manuscripts for European libraries, in which our protagonist was actively involved. At the same time, the first Arabic books printed in Europe found their way to the eastern Mediterranean. On the source level, this article is the first to utilise an inventory of a private library from a notebook, and argues for the importance of notebooks for the broader field(s) of the history of books, history of libraries, and history of reading.[8] The library discussed here contributes to the filling of a chronological gap: both the history of Aleppo (and Ottoman period Arabic cultural history in general) and the history of libraries in the seventeenth century are two insufficiently covered fields, greatly overshadowed by the following eighteenth century. Long seen as a period of decline, the seventeenth century is only slowly getting its due attention.[9]

This contribution consists of four parts. First, we will take a look at the source container, the notebook of our book collector. Next, we will introduce the man

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5 al-GHAZZĪ 1923, 1, 168–176; AL-ṬABBĀKH 1928; AL-ṬABBĀKH 1937; ṬALAS 1955; QAṬĀYA 1976; AL-ʿĪSH 1991, 270–274.

6 ALJOUMANI 2019; For the Aḥmadiyya, see LIEBRENZ 2016, 154–159.

7 KRIMSTI 2018.

8 For library inventories, see ALJOUMANI 2009; and idem. 2015.

9 See first and foremost EL-ROUAYHEB 2015.

himself and bring his collection to life. Third, we will turn to the library itself and discuss his role on the book market of Aleppo. The last part is an edition of the inventory itself.

The Source

The library inventory of our Aleppine book collector is today part of a notebook. Notebooks are not meant to be read by a broad readership. Their primary function today – and arguably back then – is that of a memory aid for its author, a place to record collectanea, strange events, poetic verses, and so forth. Notebooks were also used for more mundane stuff such as everyday calculations, accounts of sales, and all sorts of lists. This makes notebooks an intriguing and intricate source for historians. They can reveal what people read, what they considered noteworthy, maybe even what they thought, how they worked – yet only bit by bit and often scribbled in hands not meant to be read by others. Notebooks thus oscillate between purely practical and polished pieces. This makes them a thrilling source in fields as broad as history of reading, intellectual history, social history, to name but a few. Increasingly, notebooks are attracting the attention of Middle East historians who are starting to explore the potential of these sources.[10] Most recently, Kristina RICHARDSON pointed towards the cultural function of notebook keeping practices and provided an up-to-date list of unearthed books of this kind from the Syrian lands.[11] For the history of books, history of libraries, and history of reading, they have been utterly underutilized.

The manuscript orient. A 98 of the Research Library Gotha is such a notebook. What is hidden under this shelf mark is a volume of 195 folia, mostly filled with excerpts from history books. The notebook neither has a title page, a colophon, nor any other manuscript notes that could help reveal its originator ('author'). It is written mostly in one single hand, but also contains pages in at least two other hands.[12] Browsing the manuscript, one can clearly see that not all pages were originally envisaged to be part of the book: some are left blank while others have

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10 On notebooks, see for example Frédéric BAUDEN's Maqriziana series, for example BAUDEN 2006; See also SCHWARZ 2008; KRSTIĆ 2011; RICHARDSON 2020; LIEBRENZ and RICHARDSON 2021; for a general introduction to notebooks from a mostly European perspective, see BLAIR 2010, chapter 2.

11 RICHARDSON 2020, 263–265.

12 There is an excerpt on fols. 73v–74v with a colophon of Muḥammad b. al-Sayyid Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī al-Riyāḍī, who also left a note in Forschungsbibliothek Gotha MS Orient a. 1429 and owned Leiden University Library Or. 680, maybe a relative of the 'main author'?

a much smaller size than the larger part. Its main author filled most fascicles with notes he took while reading chronicles and biographical dictionaries but not exclusively; amongst others, he also started writing a diary/proto-chronicle, copied a book commendation (*taqrīẓ*) he found on a Mamluk chronicle, and wrote down lexicographical matters.[13] At some point, these papers and a bunch of additional pages were bound together. From this original first binding an imprint of the flap remains on folio 1r. After being brought to Gotha, it was rebound – the binding today has no flap. It was probably also in this endeavour when some pages were lost, and others mixed up.

Contrary to many Arabic manuscripts in Gotha, there is no note on the first folio of the manuscript indicating where the manuscript was bought. It is thus highly likely that this page was lost when the manuscript was rebound after it arrived in Gotha. This took place probably between the late nineteenth century and today because when Wilhelm PERTSCH published the first volume of the oriental manuscripts of the duke's library in 1878 he was still able to determine the place of purchase: PERTSCH added the note 'Hal. 146.' to the entry of the manuscript in question, indicating that is was bought in Aleppo (Hal. standing for *Ḥalab,* Aleppo).[14]

On two and a half pages of the notebook (fols. 91v–92v), we can find an inventory of a library, written in the hand that also wrote most of the notebook's other items. Its first line reads, 'The books in the possession of its writer, the poor[15] Muḥammad b. Taqī al-Dīn b. Abī Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, and this in the end of Rabīʿ al-thānī in the year 1039 [November/December 1629]'. What follows is a more or less systematic inventory of 115 entries listing 131 titles (for pictures, see Figures 2–4; see Appendix for an edition). The fact that we have more titles than entries results from his way of listing: whenever more than one title was bound in one codicological unit, he listed them in one entry. Following this logic, the number of entries matches the number of books lying on his shelves. We should add to this number some titles for which he owned more than one copy, to which he added the note 'number x/y' (*ʿidda*) to the entry (Nos. 42, 50, 53, 61, 69, 97, 104).[16] Totalled up, the inventory has some 123 books in al-Taqawī's library. Some entries carry further bibliographical notes, for example 'in print' (*bi-l-ṭabʿi*) which may be the earliest evidence we have for a printed book in

13 Forschungsbibliothek Gotha MS Orient a. 98, diary fols. 75v–88v and 166r–166v, *taqrīẓ* fol. 150v, lexicographical notes fols. 182v–184v.
14 PERTSCH 1878, 1:177.
15 *Al-Faqīr*, a common self-depreciating address in manuscript notes with no social implications, see LIEBRENZ 2016, 31, fn 82.
16 In the following, numbers in brackets refer to the entries in the inventory in the Appendix.

a Syrian private library and to which we will return below (41), or specifying the manuscript by indicating a transmission note on the respective title page in his possession (67). The most common bibliographical note is a specification of the part he owned whenever it was not a complete copy of a given title. The second page of the inventory bears the heading *Kulliyyāt minhā: al-kutub al-ṭibbiyya*. *Kulliyyāt* may either denote the complete oeuvre of an author or, in the case of Islamicate medical books, it denotes the first of the five books of Ibn Sīnā's monumental *Qānūn*. In the inventory, it most probably stands as a placeholder for medical books in general as what follows are one and a half pages of predominantly medical books.

The inventory as presented in this article comes with a significant caveat. What remains from it today is most probably fragmentary. There are two further pages in the notebook, each containing three titles in three separate entries. These two stray pages are in the same layout as the rest of the inventory, but they are, at least in the manuscript's present binding, elsewhere in the notebook.[17] On the first stray page, we find one book of hadith, one in philology, and one in mental health. That books of different disciplines were more or less listed together on the two and a half main pages of the inventory may indicate that the two stray pages were not thought to be part of it, as the inventory is more or less thematically ordered. Still, what are we to make out of these two stray pages? Were they the end of another part of his inventory which is not extant? Was he interrupted, or lost interest, and never returned to take stock of his library? This might indeed be the case: the stray page on fol. 150r was repurposed by him for historical notes after he initially started the inventory here. The two stray pages may also be part of something entirely different than his library inventory (see entries 116–121 in the Appendix. In the following calculations, I have not numbered these titles among the titles in his possession).[18] The last entries of the inventory proper (Figure 4) do not stretch to the end of the page, which may suggest that the last entry in the inventory was indeed the last book in his possession at the time of compiling the inventory. From the heading on folio 91v, we know at least that this is indeed the first page of the inventory and not a fragment somewhere in the middle.

It is important to keep in mind that libraries have lives of their own. Books may enter or be taken out of the collection. Hence, every inventory or catalogue can only provide a snapshot reflecting the library's stock at a specific point in time. This certainly holds true for our case. There is some hard evidence that the

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17 95r and 150r.
18 Though in a completely different layout than the inventory, he also produced a list of books about the different Koranic readings, see Forschungsbibliothek Gotha MS Orient a. 98, fol. 140v.

inventory does not reflect the sum total of the books of its compiler: the owner-ship notes he left with his name, Muḥammad al-Taqawī al-Ḥusaynī (I will refer to him in the following as al-Taqawī), and his seal (see Figure 1).
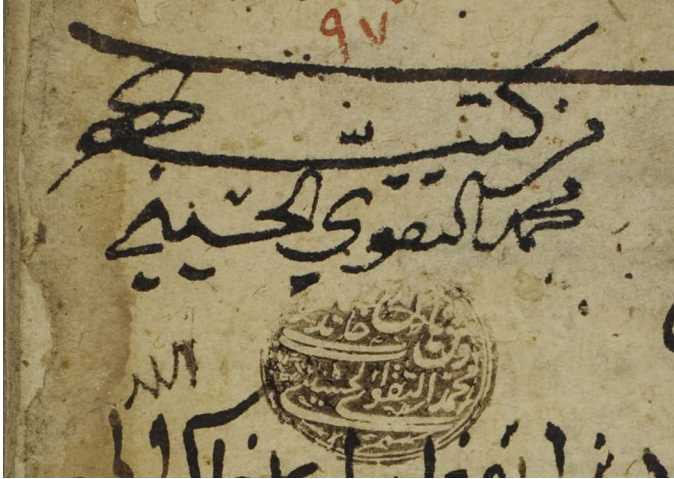

Fig. 1: Ownership note and seal by al-Taqawī. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preußischer Kultur-besitz, Orientabteilung, MS Landberg 56, fol. 2r.

The practice of adding ownership notes on his books enables us to identify actual copies he once owned, some of which match with titles in the inventory. Others do not appear in his inventory, either because he bought them after or sold them before he compiled it, or they were listed in a part of the inventory that is now lost. The databases of the Research Library Gotha and the State Library Berlin by Boris LIEBRENZ, for example, reveal that al-Taqawī indeed owned more books during his life and remind us that the inventory allows only a cursory and incomplete glance at his library. To provide a more complete picture of the library, I have added 21 additional titles owned by him to the Appendix, separated in Roman numerals.

To make things even more complicated, the notebook contains a second inventory in another hand. It comes right after the last page of al-Taqawī's inven-tory and was compiled by a certain Muḥammad ʿAlī b. al-Shaykh ʿUthmān, the medical practitioner (*al-mutaṭabbib*), known as Ibn Ḥamza in 1076/1665–6. It contains 112 entries with 116 titles, most of which are concerned with medicine (Figure 5). What is the link between the two inventories? It stands to reason that the compilers of the two inventories knew each other, both were heavily into med-icine. After the death of al-Taqawī, Ibn Ḥamza might have come into possession of the former's notebook and used the empty page following the first inventory

to add his own inventory of books. Reasons of space unfortunately do not allow a thorough presentation or discussion of this inventory here.

After al-Taqawī's death in 1061/1650–1, the notebook was owned by at least three different persons before it arrived in Gotha. This is evident from manuscript notes, one of which is unfortunately scratched out and illegible – maybe it was the above mentioned Ibn Ḥamza.[19] The two legible owners were both members of the famous Kawākibī family. One of them was Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Kawākibī-zādah, who (probably) lived in the second part of the eighteenth century and was an important landowner, scholar, and book collector.[20] The second owner was Niʿmat Allāh al-Kawākibī, about whom so far nothing is known. Sometime between November 1803 to April 1805, the notebook was bought by Ulrich Jasper Seetzen (1767–1811) on his journey through the Orient in search of manuscripts and other mirabilia for his patron, Herzog Ernst II of Saxony-Gotha-Altenburg (1745–1804).[21]

The Library Owner

The compiler of the inventory, writer of the majority of the notebook, and owner of the library at the heart of this article emerges under different names in different sources. In the heading to the inventory itself, he calls himself Muḥammad b. Taqī al-Dīn b. Abī Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī. In the ownership notes of his books, by necessity rather short, he subscribed mostly with Muḥammad al-Taqawī al-Ḥusaynī. His seal reads ' ... Muḥammad al-Taqawī al-Ḥusaynī' (see Figure 1). His biographer Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Muḥibbī (d. 1111/1699), the earliest extant narrative source on his life, records him under the name Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Taqawī al-Ḥirākī, al-Sayyid Muḥammad known as al-Taqawī al-Ḥalabī. How do we know that this is indeed one and the same individual? Boris LIEBRENZ already suggested this,[22] but this inventory provides further evidence: the matches between his inventory and manuscripts in different libraries around the globe.[23] To give but one example, entry 103 in the inventory is the *Sharḥ*

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19 There are some overlapping titles in al-Taqawī's and Ibn Ḥamza's inventories which might suggest that the latter indeed owned some of the former's books after his death, probably including his notebook.

20 On him, see (most probably) MARCUS 1989, Index, 409; about his library, QAṬĀYA 1976, 182.

21 HASENMÜLLER 2019; for a broader overview, see also SEIDENSTICKER 2017.

22 See al-Taqawī's entry in the orientdigital-Datenbank.

23 For matches, see Appendix entries 8, 17, 31, 59, 68.1, 81, 92, 103, 106. For further books in his possession, see I–XXII.

al-Mūjaz by Muḥammad al-Kāzarūnī al-Sadīdī (d. 745/1357). A copy of this book in the Bodleian Library carries al-Taqawī's ownership notes and seal[24] – compiler of the inventory and owner of the manuscript thus dovetail. That he is the same person we find in al-Muḥibbī's biographical dictionary, though his family name al-Ḥusaynī is substituted with al-Sayyid here and further elements of his name are given which are not found elsewhere, is supported by the fields we find overly represented in both his biography and his library: medicine, history, and *adab*. To bring the otherwise dull and dry inventory to life, in the following we will take a closer look at the man behind it.

Al-Taqawī was a man of some renown in Aleppo in his lifetime, though not among the famous figures in the wider landscape of the Ottoman empire. There are five narrative sources on his life: the entry on him in al-Muḥibbī's biographical dictionary contains a brief report by al-Muḥibbī himself and two additional informants, the poet and man of letters Yūsuf al-Badīʿī (d. 1073/1662–3) and ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥijāzī (d. 1096/1685), a student of al-Taqawī.[25] The twentieth-century historian of Aleppo al-Tabbākh added two additional sources on his life, a certain Yūsuf al-Jamālī and Muḥammad al-ʿUrḍī (d. 1071/1660–1).[26]

The sources do not reveal much about al-Taqawī's background. His grandfather migrated to Aleppo from Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān in 953/1546–47 and settled close to the *ḥammām al-dhahab* at the Nayrab Gate.[27] It is probably in this part of the city where al-Taqawī spent his childhood. He felt so attached to it that later in life he built his house there, which most probably sheltered his library.[28] We do not know when exactly al-Taqawī was born, the earliest sign of life is a copy of a commentary by Ibn Kamāl Bāshā (d. 940/1533) on the Wine Ode by Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235) he produced in Jumādā I 1004/January 1596.[29] Probably some years later, he wrote a panegyric in praise of the Ottoman grand vizier Naṣūḥ Pasha. The latter was governor of Aleppo between 1011/1603 and 1013/1605 and remained an important person in the Ottoman empire until his death by strangulation in 1023/1614. Al-Taqawī certainly composed his panegyric before Naṣūḥ Pasha's death, probably to gain his favour, looking for a source of income. For the sake of

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24 For a picture of Bodleian Library MS Huntington 35, see Savage-Smith 2011, 283.
25 About al-Badīʿī and al-Ḥijāzī, see al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat*, 4, 510–511 and 3, 70–80.
26 For al-ʿUrḍī, see al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat*, 4, 89–103; unfortunately, the extant biographical dictionary of the latter is today only fragmentary and what has survived does not contain the biography of al-Taqawī, see al-ʿUrḍī, *Maʿādin* (1987); for more on al-ʿUrḍī, see also Al-Ghazali 1982.
27 Al-Ṭabbākh 1923, 6, 5–6.
28 Al-Ṭabbākh 1923, 6, 303.
29 The manuscript is Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin MS Petermann I 350. The colophon is on fol. 9a. I thank Boris Liebrenz for pointing out this manuscript to me. See Ahlwardt 1887, 7, 20.

convenience, let's say this was in his early twenties and he was thus born around 1580 CE. A historical note in his notebook has him participating in a banquet with Naṣūḥ Pasha in 1021/1612.[30] Young al-Taqawī's early education was taken care of by his father, before he set out for Egypt where he studied shāfiʿī jurisprudence. However, he mostly read history (we will return to this later), *adab*, and medicine. He also studied astronomy and related subjects in his hometown and in Anatolia (*al-Rūm*) and was furthermore known for his expertise in mathematics.

Al-Taqawī was a *sayyid*, that is an offspring of a family who claimed descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad. He thus belonged to the social group of the *ashrāf* which occupied a distinct position in Muslim societies through their noble descent and enjoyed some privileges. Owing to certain tax exemptions, some *ashrāf* families were economically in a favourable position and some even able to gain substantial wealth. In Aleppo, their role was even more special than in other cities. Here, they formed a well-organised group with military capabilities and as such a rival to the Ottoman Janissaries.[31] That al-Taqawī preferred to invest his time and effort in other affairs than those of the *ashrāf* can be seen by his reluctance to be their leader: according to Yūsuf al-Jamālī, he was offered the position when the then *naqīb al-ashrāf* was about to die, but declined.[32] We should, however, not take this seemingly indifferent relation to the *ashrāf* too far. The status was purchasable, and in Aleppo their number was exorbitantly high. To consider them a tight network with strong cohesion is misleading.

Being from among the *ashrāf* in Aleppo was thus nothing extraordinary and no token for wealth in and of itself. How, then, did al-Taqawī become prosperous enough to build up his library? None of the names under which he appears in the sources reveals a professional money-spinning identity. And although as a *sharīf* he certainly enjoyed some tax exemptions, he had to earn money for a living. Like probably many of his peers in Aleppo, he was a merchant. The geographical position of the city has made it a prosperous hub for long-distance and regional trade ever since. Lying on the 'Silk Road', it benefited greatly from trade currents between Asia and Europe. From the sixteenth century onwards, it was also one of the major cities attracting the interest of European merchants. Dealing with silk from Iran and soap manufacture in the city itself was a lucrative business. After studying in Egypt, al-Taqawī got involved in trade between Aleppo, Egypt, and Yemen. He took a cell (*ḥujra*) in the Khan of the Lathe Operators (*khān al-kharāṭīn)* (later called the Khan of the Coppersmiths (*khān al-naḥḥāsīn*)).[33]

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30 'Forschungsbibliothek Gotha MS Orient a. 98', fol. 166v.
31 Winter 2012, esp. 151–153; and Bodman 1963, chapters four and five.
32 al-Ṭabbākh 1923, 6, 303.
33 al-Ṭabbākh 1923, 6, 303; for Aleppo as city of trade, see Master 1988.

Whatever he exactly traded in is unknown, but he made enough to have 'spent all of his money in acquiring amenities and delightful books',[34] as his contemporary al-ʿUrḍī observed.

The world of books mesmerised al-Taqawī. He is repeatedly described as a learned man, though he seems to have been mostly on the consumer rather than the producer side of the equation. He composed some poetry and samples of this can be found in his biography. Al-ʿUrḍī writes that he was known as the Kushājim of his age, comparing him to the poet and man-about-town Kushājim (d. ca. 350/961), who was active at the Ḥamdanid court in Aleppo and known for his interest in quite similar fields as al-Taqawī.[35] But overall, his role in the contemporary literary scene seems to have been limited: no biographer of him mentions any title he has written and he did not make it into the anthologies of al-Khafājī and al-Muḥibbī about noteworthy poets from the seventeenth century. Al-Taqawī's sphere of activity was rather local. Here, he appears not only as the usual occasional poet but also as a man approached by his contemporaries for evaluating and pushing their work for 'publication'. When Yūsuf al-Badīʿī, later the informant on al-Taqawī's biography for al-Muhibbī, finished writing his book on the famous poet al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965), he asked, among others, al-Taqawī for a commendation (*taqrīẓ*) to set the stone rolling.[36]

Al-Taqawī's relation to medicine is interesting but obscure. In his biography he is described with the notoriously ambiguous term *ḥakīm* which translates as sage, physician, or philosopher and reflects the Galenic ideal of the physician as philosopher. What, then, it actually meant that al-Taqawī adopted the habitus of a *ḥakīm* (*jāra ʿala uslūb al-ḥakīm*) remains vague. Certainly, the descriptions in his biography, paired with the great number of medical books in his library, leave no room for doubt that al-Taqawī was deeply interested in medicine. But there is no report about him actually treating patients. Not much is known about the transmission of theoretical and practical medical knowledge in that period. Medical training did not follow a fixed curriculum but could take many forms: a theoretical study with a medical expert, training with a practicing physician in an apprentice-like relationship, or autodidactic training. One biographer explicitly

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34 'ṣarafa naqd ʿumrihi ʿala iqtināʾ al-kamālāt wa-l-kutub al-mumattiʿa', see AL-ṬABBĀKH 1923, 6, 303.

35 'his surname Kushādjim is said to be an acrostic formed out of the initial letters of the subjects in which he excelled, or out of various adjectives – a kāf for kitāba/kātib, shīn for shiʿr/shaʿir, alif for adab/adīb or for inshāʾ, djīm for djadal/djawād, mīm for manṭiḳ/munadjdjim. It is even said that, after having studied medicine, he added a ṭāʾ (for ṭibb) to his name, which became Ṭakushādjim, but had hardly any success.' PELLAT 1986, 5, 525.

36 al-Badīʿī, *al-Subḥ,* 466–467; for the function of *taqrīẓ*, see KERN forthcoming.

mentions that al-Taqawī took up his medical studies without a teacher and he would not be the first case of a man well-read in medicine but with no practical experience and ambitions whatsoever.[37] If he practiced besides his business in trading or was only interested in medical literature – either due to his personal intellectual curiosity or due to the market values of medical books – remains an unanswered question.

In terms of history of medicine, al-Taqawī's lifetime were exciting times. His contemporary and fellow Aleppine physician Ibn Sallūm (d. 1080/1669) rose to be the head of the physicians first in Aleppo and then at the Ottoman court in Istanbul (*ḥekīmbaşı* or *raʾīs al-aṭibbāʾ*). He also promoted the translation and reception of iatrochemist ideas around Paracelsism, heralding a paradigm shift away from Galenic humorism towards medication with chemical substance. This shift has for a long time been seen as closely linked to the person of Ibn Sallūm, but recent research imbeds these ideas in broader trends.[38] In the inventory of Ibn Ḥamza, we can see that interest in these ideas were quickly taken up. It contains the *Kīmiyya al-ṭibb* here ascribed to Paracelsus (*Barākalsūs*) himself (Figure 5, penultimate line, third from last entry).

In 1061/1650–1, al-Taqawī passed away in Isḥaqlī, a village near Konya, on his way back from Istanbul.

Al-Taqawī's Library and its Habitat

The library of al-Taqawī was in and of itself nothing outstanding. Research in the last decade has proven that bibliophilia in Middle Eastern societies was widespread. Scholars like Said Aljoumani, Konrad Hirschler, and Boris Liebrenz have greatly enhanced our knowledge about libraries in Bilād al-Shām from the Ayyubid to the Ottoman period. For centuries, the Syrian lands were well saturated with books. They were kept either in endowed institutional libraries, more or less open to the public in schools, mosques, and Sufi convents, or in private libraries of affluent bibliophiles who not only belonged to the upper echelon of the scholarly world.

Al-Taqawī's library inventory falls into two sections. The first section is not kept apart by its own heading but by what kinds of books are listed here in terms

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37 al-Ṭabbākh 1923, 6, 304. For the self-conceptions of physicians and their others in an earlier period, see Pormann 2005; for medical education in the Ottoman time, see Shefer-Mossensohn 2009, 141–143.

38 See Bachour 2012; Shefer-Mossensohn 2011; Boyar 2018.

of genre. It comprises 41 titles in 39 entries, stretched over one page (see Figure 2). The titles in this section belong for the most part to the genres of *adab* (15 titles) and history (13 titles),[39] although books on other topics such as demonology, a mirror for princes, and one book on hadith among others are to be found here too. As the different genres here are not scrupulously kept apart, we can assume that al-Taqawī conceptualised it as sort of a catchall section. What was lying on his shelves? In terms of *adab*, among the 15 titles al-Taqawī owned we can find some classics of Arabic literature, such as the *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī (6), including the first part of a commentary on that book by al-Wāḥidī (34), or *Saqṭ al-zand* by al-Maʿarrī (2), who came from the same town as al-Taqawī's own ancestors. Here, we also find books from the Middle Period, such as the *Dīwān* of al-Ṣafī al-Ḥillī (5), al-Nawājī's *Ḥalbat al-kumayt* (16) on wine, and famous *adab* commentarial literature on poetry such as al-Ṣafadī's *Sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-ʿajam* (4) and Ibn Nubāta's *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn* (24). Overall, one gets the impression that al-Taqawī had an interest in literature produced in the Mamluk period.

His fondness for Mamluk literature becomes much clearer when we turn to his 14 history books. Here, we can find only one book from the ninth century (29) and one from the tenth century (38). Most of his history books are from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century and from the Mamluk lands. He owned history books such as the *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh al-bashar* by the Ayyubid prince of Hama Abū al-Fidāʾ (1), the fifth volume of al-Maqrīzī's famous *Sulūk (*18*)*, or Mujīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī's history of Jerusalem and Hebron, *al-Uns al-jalīl* (7).

Noticeably, he owned much fewer biographical dictionaries than chronicles. The lack of biographical dictionaries in his library has not gone unnoticed by him. The notebook contains a wish list of books which he compiled at an unknown date. It is titled *Names of Wanted Books* (*asmā al-kutub al-maṭlūba*) and consists of 24 history books, primarily biographical dictionaries (Figure 6).[40] The translation of this caption is not straightforward. It could potentially also denote sought-after books on the book market. As al-Taqawī was apparently also selling some of his books (more below), it could also be a list of books required by one of his customers, or more generally books on demand. But due to his known love for history and since none of the books that appear here was part of his library, I interpret it as his very own wish list. The list further shows that he was not done collecting books; both his head and the book market were filled with so many

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39 Al-Taqawī added one historical title (100.1), a biographical dictionary of physicians, to the following medical section.

40 Forschungsbibliothek Gotha MS Orient a. 98, fol. 71r; writing book wish lists in notebooks was apparently not unique to al-Taqawī, the notebook of the Allepine weaver also contains one, see Liebrenz and Richardson 2021, 28.

book titles he desired to own that he had to write down his wishes to keep track of them.

Leafing through his notebook it becomes clear that Mamluk period historiography was his chief interest. It was especially regional history of Aleppo and history books written by men from Aleppo that caught his attention. His library, as reflected in the inventory, was by no means enough to quench his thirst and al-Taqawī read many more books than we can find in his inventory. For example, he read and took notes from Aleppo-related books such as the draft of Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī's *Kunūz al-dhahab fī taʾrīkh Ḥalab*,[41] Ibn Ḥabīb's *Durrat al-aslāk fī dawlat al-atrāk*,[42] and Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya's *al-Durr al-muntakhab fī takmilat Taʾrīkh Ḥalab.*[43]

The bulk of his library consisted of medical books. This was obviously related to his keen interest in the field. In terms of its size, this part of his library is nothing to sneeze at. According to the inventory, he owned some 79 medical titles at the time of compiling the inventory, in some cases two or even three copies.[44] In comparison, the library of sultan Bayezid II in the Topkapı palace in Istanbul contained 380 medical titles (in 319 volumes) at the turn of the sixteenth century.[45] Sure, this is a much higher number, but the sultan certainly had much better preconditions in accumulating and acquiring books. Around the same time, only 15 medical books can be found in the endowment deed of the physician Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Qūṣūnī, offspring of a famous family of doctors from Cairo and brother of the late-Mamluk chief physician ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Qūṣūnī.[46] In Aleppo itself, there were certainly other physicians collecting books, although not much is known about them so far. A century after al-Taqawī, the ʿUthmāniyya library only counted 13 titles in its medical section, and the Aḥmadiyya not a single one.[47] From the books of the eighteenth-century Aleppine physician Ḥannā al-Ṭabīb that ended up in Gotha, 20 are medical titles.[48] The bottom line is that for a private person al-Taqawī owned a considerable number of medical books.

One entry in the medical section is especially interesting for the early distribution of printed Arabic books in the Middle East. In entry 40, al-Taqawī listed a copy of the *Qānūn* by Ibn Sīnā, maybe the most prominent Islamicate medical book and a no-brainer in any serious medical library. Al-Taqawī added the bibli-

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41 Forschungsbibliothek Gotha MS Orient a. 98, fol. 3r.

42 Forschungsbibliothek Gotha MS Orient a. 98, fol. 4r.

43 Forschungsbibliothek Gotha MS Orient a. 98, fols. 72a–72b.

44 For additional medical books he owned at some point of his life, see Appendix, I–III.

45 Varlik 2019, 1, 527–555.

46 Veselý 1996, 623–624.

47 Aljoumani 2019, 49; for the Aḥmadiyya, see Liebrenz 2016, 157–158.

48 Krimsti 2018, 203–204.

ographical note 'in print' (*bi-l-ṭabʿi*), making it the earliest reference of a printed book in an Arabic library inventory known to me. The *Qānūn* arose the interest of scholars in Europe early on and its twelfth-century Latin translation was used as a manual for medical training in Europe well into the eighteenth-century. It is thus no surprise that the *Qānūn* was one of the earliest books to be printed in Arabic letters, once in Rome by the Medici Press in 1593 and a second edition on 1609 by Petrus Kirstenius in Breslau. Which edition ended up in Taqawī's library cannot be said for certain. I consider it most likely that it was the Roman edition, coming to Aleppo maybe via Venetian merchants or accompanying medical staff, keeping in mind that his trading post was in the Khan of the Lathe Operators which was also used by Venetian traders.[49] Roughly forty years later, Ibn Ḥamza also owned a printed copy of the *Qānūn* (Figure 5, second title. Was this al-Taqawī's copy?). In the second part of the eighteenth century, the *Qānūn* in print was a common feature of physicians' libraries, as the Scottish Russell brothers noted.[50]

If we look at al-Taqawī's library as a whole, not only the sharp focus on history, *adab*, and medicine is remarkable but also the absence of other books. The list contains hardly any title in the religious Islamic sciences; only one book on hadith, nothing in jurisprudence, not even a single Qurʾān is listed, which often comes first in library inventories. Can this be linked to the al-Taqawi's preferred fields of interest? Al-Muḥibbī relates that due to al-Taqawī's penchant for drinking alcohol, his belief was doubted – he was even accused of heresy (*ilḥād*).[51] Due to the likely fragmentary nature of the inventory, we should not develop this line of thought any further, tempting as it may be. Indeed, it would be fatal to take the absence of evidence for evidence of absence. Al-Taqawī himself includes a hint to the contrary in his notebook, a copy of a bequest statement (*waqfiyya*) for the *tafsīr* of al-Bayḍāwī (d. 719/1319), the *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-taʾwīl*.[52] Unfortunately, he omitted the date, so we do not know if the endowment took place shortly before his passing or when he was still full of vigour and eager to tidy out his shelves. What the statement reveals is that he endowed this book to his family and, should his progeny go extinct, he envisioned the *tafsīr* migrating to the shelves of the oldest library of Aleppo and its central religious institution, the Umayyad Mosque.[53]

49 Lamprakos 2017, 141–146.

50 Jones 1994, esp. 98–100; for the availability of the Medici Press *Qānūn* in 18th-century Aleppo, see Russell and Russell, *The Natural History of Aleppo* (1794), 2, 121.

51 al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat,* 4, 305.

52 Forschungsbibliothek Gotha MS Orient a. 98, 91a.

53 About the library of the Umayyad mosque, see al-Ṭabbākh 1937, 12–15.

Another near-absence in the inventory is striking and more telling—there is only one book (108) in the tradition of Prophetic medicine (*ṭibb al-nabawī*). In order to combat diseases, the early Islamic medical literature developed a double-barrelled approach. This pluralism consists on the one hand of literature based on Prophetic hadith with few if any practical utility. It was, in the end, mostly written by hadith scholars and not by medical practitioners. On the other hand, the translation, reception, and progression of the Hellenistic medical tradition developed an ever-increasing body of literature. It is this latter body of literature that we find in al-Taqawī's inventory.[54]

The first part of the seventeenth century also witnessed an increase of European diplomats, traders, and scholars visiting the Ottoman empire. Aleppo was frequented by men from Venice, England, Holland, and elsewhere. Some of them put considerable pressure on the book market, posing serious threats to the local book collectors by boosting prices. The Dutchman Jacob Golius (d. 1667), chair for oriental languages at the University of Leiden, served as *cancellarius* of the Dutch consul in Aleppo between 1625 and 1627. Besides improving his language skills during his stay in the city, he was acquiring manuscripts for the university library in Leiden and his private collection. He enjoyed the help of at least two local agents, al-Urḍī, the biographer of al-Taqawī,[55] and a certain al-Darwīsh Aḥmad, who also worked as a copyist for Golius. The two men stayed in touch and in one letter to Golius, after his return to Holland, al-Darwīsh Aḥmad informed the Dutchman that he was 'residing in the house of our master (*mawlā*), as-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Taqawī'.[56] Two bibliophiles living together, as we will see shortly, brought along some potential for conflict.[57]

Al-Darwīsh Aḥmad also played a crucial role in the quest for oriental manuscripts by other European orientalists. He was recently identified by Simon MILLS as Aḥmad al-Qāmisīḥī al-Gulshanī.[58] Aḥmad also acted as the agent of another European scholar residing in Aleppo, the English biblical scholar and orientalist Edward Pococke (d. 1691). Pococke travelled to Aleppo in 1630 to work as a chaplain to the merchants of the Levant Company and stayed for five years during which he 'moved furtively through book markets, lingered on the edge of crowds at auctions, or wrote polite letters to scholars, dealers, and clerical librarians'[59].

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54 For Prophetic medicine, see PERHO 1995.

55 For some of their correspondence, see HOUTSMA 1887, 107–115.

56 John Rylands Library MS. Per. 913, fol. 157b.; Jan Schmidt, who unearthed this set of important letters, read al-Taqwā instead of the correct al-Taqawī in SCHMIDT 2002, 32.

57 For Golius in Aleppo, see also SCHMIDT 2004, 32–33; for the roll of local informants in the formation of manuscript collection in Europe, see GHOBRIAL 2016.

58 MILLS 2020, 74–89. Idem. Forthcoming.

59 MILLS 2020, 73.

Like Golius, he studied various oriental languages, acquired manuscripts that ended up in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, and established contact with al-Darwīsh Aḥmad, which allowed him to ask for further purchases once he was back in England.[60]

It is in the correspondence of Pococke with al-Darwīsh Aḥmad where al-Taqawī appears again in connection with the Aleppine book market. Al-Darwīsh Aḥmad was looking for a copy of the famous tenth-century classic but apparently hard-to-get *Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ* for Pococke, who repeatedly urged him to be on the look-out for this specific book. When a copy of the *Rasāʾil* was finally up for sale, al-Darwīsh Aḥmad writes apologetically, al-Taqawī was quick to snatch it – only to reoffer it to an unnamed judge to impress him. The whole affair ended in a squabbling only to be appeased by the preacher of the Umayyad Mosque of Aleppo. In the end at least one volume of the *Rasāʾil ikhwān* previously owned by al-Taqawī ended up in Oxford.[61] In another case where the two were after the same book, al-Darwīsh Aḥmad was successful. Both were trying to get hold of al-Qalqashandī's chancery manual *Subḥ al-aʿshā*, and in the event of this book chase, al-Darwīsh Aḥmad was quicker. Al-Taqawī, al-Darwīsh Aḥmad gossips, only planned to reoffer it to some government officials to gain their favour.[62]

The image emerging here is that of fierce competition on the book market of Aleppo in the first part of the seventeenth century. Foreigners looking for manuscripts were increasingly competing with local book collectors. Two of them, al-Taqawī and al-Darwīsh Aḥmad, were living at least for some time in the same compound. One can only imagine the domestic bliss being rather short and jealousy about books a daily fare. Apparently, al-Darwīsh Aḥmad was also eager to get a printed copy of Ibn Sīnā's *Qānūn*. When Golius was back in Holland in the 1630s, al-Darwīsh Aḥmad asked him to send, amongst other things, 'a printed Qānūn'.[63] In the correspondences of al-Darwīsh Aḥmad with his European contacts, al-Taqawī is portrayed as an unpleasant competitor, 'truly a werewolf, and

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60 For Pococke's time in Aleppo, see MILLS 2020, 71–95; See also TOOMER 1996, 120–125.

61 The manuscript in question is Bodleian MS Laud Or. 255. Al-Taqawī left an ownership note and his seal on the title page's upper left corner. I cordially thank Simon Mills for sharing a picture of this manuscript with me. For the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ episode, see MILLS 2020, 77–78.; and KILPATRICK 2010, 22.

62 MILLS 2020, Chapter two; for the correspondence, see KILPATRICK 2010, esp. 22 and 27.; See also HOLT 1991, esp. 124; and idem. 1957.

63 John Rylands Library, MS Per. 913, fol. 157b; the passage is not entirely clear. Jan Schmidt translated it as 'a printed law code' in SCHMIDT 2002, 32. Based on the co-residence of the two and the printed *Qānūn* on al-Taqawī's shelf, I agree with Boris Liebrenz' reading as the *Qānūn* of Ibn Sīnā in LIEBRENZ 2019, 331, fn. 29.

a fraud' as Golius' brother Celestin remarked.[64] Celestin for his part was in Aleppo in the 1630s and became acquainted with al-Taqawī probably through his brother. Later, he served as mediator between the French scholar Peiresc (d. 1637), who had heard about al-Taqawī and his penchant for mathematics, astronomy, and books. In order to know more about al-Taqawī's books, he asked Celestin in 1635 to produce a catalogue of his library and of any interesting men of the town.[65] I was not able to find out if Celestin actually complied. Should he have done it and these catalogues survive somewhere, they would not only be a crucial complementary source on al-Taqawī's library but Aleppine library history in the first part of the seventeenth century as a whole.

The role of al-Taqawī in the acquisition efforts (or the obstruction thereof) of orientalists might be a lead worth pursuing. Was he himself actively selling books, or buying them to sell them at a higher price to other collectors? Having his cell in the aforementioned khan, he was certainly in constant proximity to European traders and scholars.[66] The most promising lead for such a project are the correspondences between European scholars and their local informants.

What happened to al-Taqawī's library after his death in 1061/1650–1? Did his son[67] (or sons) inherit his library? Economically, it were juicy times to sell books as we have just seen and, indeed, we can find books, previously owned by him, outside Aleppo shortly after his death. His copy of Ibn al-ʿAdīm's *Zubdat al-Ḥalab* (8), for example, is today in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. With some effort, his erased ownership note can still be seen on the top left corner of the title page.[68] In 1680, only thirty years after al-Taqawī's death, the manuscript was in the possession of the French Minister of Finances and book collector Jean-Baptiste Colbert (d. 1683), in whose private library it was read by Buṭrus b. Dīb (aka Pierry Dippy, d. 1709), the Maronite professor of the Collège Royal, librarian, and native of Aleppo. The tracing of the afterlife of al-Taqawī's library, thrilling as it might be, cannot be dealt with in this article. Suffice it to say here that the books he once owned are today dispersed over at least France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Germany, Turkey, and the United States.

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64 Cited after MILLER 2015, 137.

65 MILLER 2015, 130.

66 For the Venetians' activities in this *khān*, see LAMPRAKOS 2017, 141–146.

67 From a manuscript note on Bodleian Library MS Huntington 35, we know that he had a son called Jaʿfar, see SAVAGE-SMITH 2011, 283.

68 BnF MS arabe 1666, fol. 1r. The top left corner was the preferred spot for al-Taqawī to write his ownership notes, with his seal below. The first word in the second line, 'in' (*fī*), providing the date of the ownership, is still fairly visible. Admittedly, one should not determine a hand with such a common two-letter word, but based on this word and the overall graphic impression I am pretty confident that this was a statement by al-Taqawī, crossed out by a later owner.

Conclusion

The most striking trait of al-Taqawī's library is the abundance of medical titles. As a medical enthusiast, he had every reason to have a well-stocked library. On his shelves lay some of the classics of the Hellenistic tradition, translated into Arabic, and many titles of the rich Islamicate medical tradition, foundational books and their subsequent commentaries. But it seems he was not only collecting medical books for his own consumption. It is reasonable to assume that whenever he owned more than one copy of a complete book, he saw it as barter good or planned to sell it to prospective customers. The one title standing out is Ibn Sīnā's famous *Qānūn* in print, providing us with most probably the earliest evidence yet of an Arabic title printed in Europe finding its way to the bookshelves of a Syrian private library.

The first section of his library, *adab* and history, had a distinct periodical focus. His interest lay largely on the period after ca. 1100 CE, with only a few earlier exceptions. In terms of history, he clearly favoured Mamluk-period authors, which is not only visible in the inventory but even more so in his wish list. On the same note, the library also had a limit when it comes to the later period. There is only one book (7) by an author who witnessed the Ottomans taking over the Mamluk lands. But this author, Mujīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī, also wrote in the Mamluk period. Most of al-Taqawī's books were written between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century. Books from the Ottoman-period proper were apparently less interesting for al-Taqawī. Was this apparent veneration of penultimate-century-authors and dislike of previous century books linked to his personal taste or rather to the books available on the market? The lack of more recent books, it seems, is nothing unusual. The Damascene Rifāʿiyya library too was to a large extent a library of old books with only few recent titles in-between.[69] Based on the inventory and the 20 additional manuscripts, al-Taqawī's also emerges as a library limited to Arabic books, contradicting what Western travellers related about it.[70]

This article feeds into a small but potentially growing pool of studies on medical libraries. Next to the recent essay by Feras KRIMSTI on the eighteenth century Aleppine Maronite physician and an earlier article by the late Rudolf VESELÝ,[71] this is the third article (as far as I know) about a medical library. There is potential to add more, based on the different sources at hand: the libraries of different members of the famous family of physicians al-Qawṣūnī might be a

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69 LIEBRENZ 2016, 371.

70 MILLER 2015, 130.

71 KRIMSTI 2018; VESELÝ 1996.

promising first target, as they have left their marks on many manuscripts. One may also broaden the source basis for such an endeavour and include inventory-like lists in manuscripts.[72] In terms of library history, physicians may constitute a promising professional group for which one day a more specific history of libraries may be written. They were, it seems, keen book collectors and writers of ownership notes. Given that the meticulous collection of these notes continues, we may soon be able to zoom into many more libraries and write the history of medical libraries more specifically.

Appendix

To make al-Taqawī's inventory useful for future research, I have added some information which does not appear in the inventory itself. The edition provides first the titles as given by al-Taqawī and, in addition, more complete or more commonly known titles in brackets.[73] I have underlined the parts of the authors names given by al-Taqawī. The rest is added to make them easier to recognise.

Further bibliographical detail is given as provided by al-Taqawī, such as indicating the specific volume he owned or the numbers of copies. Next, I have indicated the genre of the book. Whenever I could determine if al-Taqawī made an abstract from a book from his inventory in the notebook, I have added a note like: Q: fol. X, indicating the beginning of his quote in the notebook. I then added references to one or more of the well-known reference books: I have used, BROCKELMANN's *History of the Arabic Written Tradition* (*GAL*)[74] and Ḥājjī Khalīfa's *Kashf al-ẓunūn (Kashf)* and its supplement *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn (Īḍāḥ)* by al-Baghdādī.[75] When these proved insufficient, I have consulted Fuat SEZGIN's *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums* (*GAS*),[76] Ibn Abī ʿUṣaybiʿa's *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭṭibāʾ* (*IAU*),[77] and in some cases specialised literature.

Whenever the actual manuscript he owned could be located, I provide the shelf number. Limited resources have not allowed me to systematically search

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72 See, for example, BnF MS arabe 5778, fol. 2r; British Library MS Or. 5860, fol. 2r.

73 The intricacies of abbreviated book titles in library catalogues have been discussed by Konrad Hirschler and do not need to be repeated here, see HIRSCHLER 2019, 171–194; idem 2016, 133–142.

74 I used the recently published English translation due to the better availability and ease of navigation.

75 BROCKELMANN 2016–2019, Khalīfa *Kashf (*n.d.), al-BAGHDĀDĪ 1993.

76 SEZGIN 1970.

77 Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn* (2020).

any collection. I thus mostly tapped into Boris LIEBRENZ' pioneering databases, private correspondence with him, and have further benefited from the digitalisation of manuscripts of some libraries, which allowed me to identify some more manuscripts once owned by al-Taqawī.
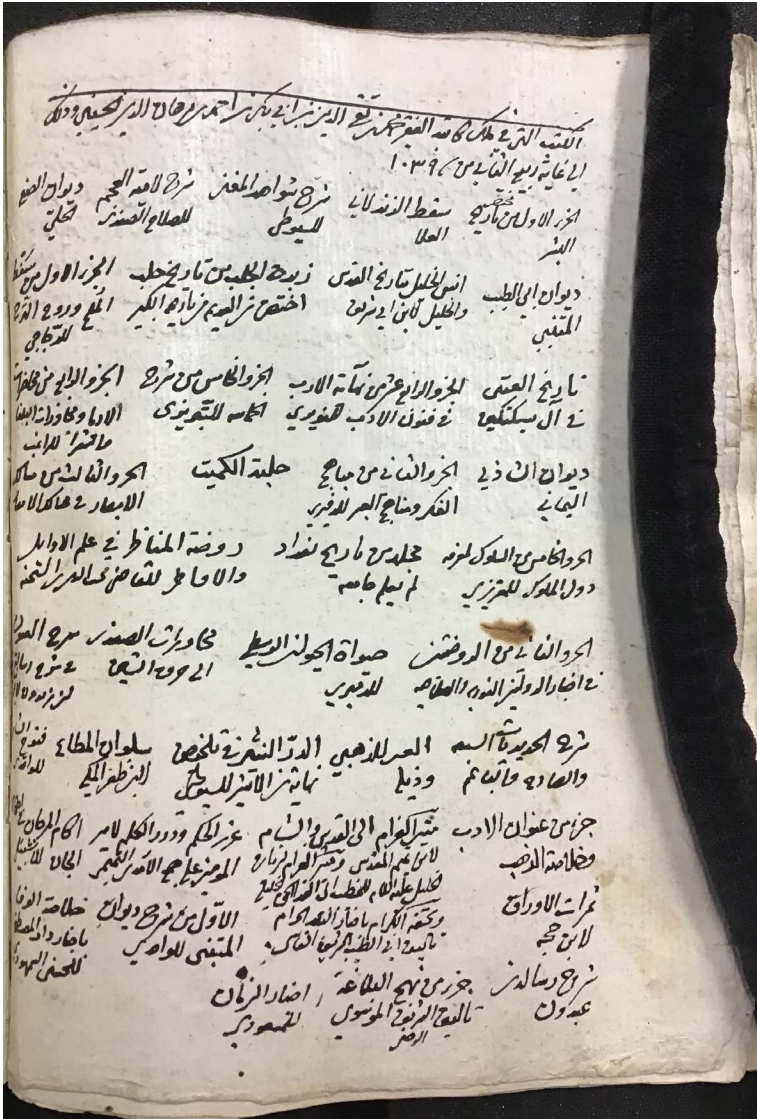

Fig. 2: First page of al-Taqawī's library inventory. Forschungsbibliothek Gotha MS orient a 98, fol. 91v. (Photo: B. Reier)

Fig. 3: Second page of al-Taqawī's library inventory. Forschungsbibliothek Gotha MS orient a 98, fol. 92r. (Photo: B. Reier)
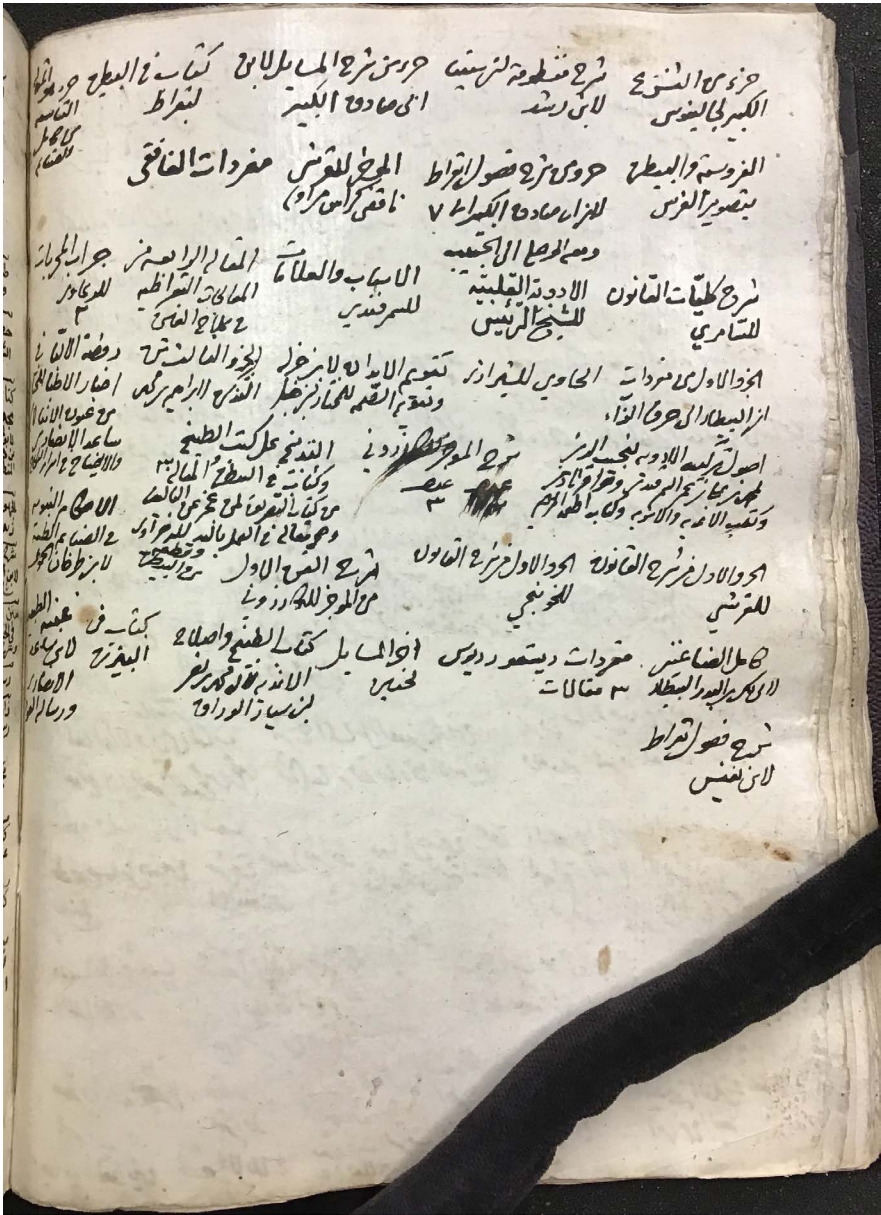
Fig. 4: Third page of al-Taqawī's library inventory. Forschungsbibliothek Gotha MS orient a 98, fol. 92v. (Photo: B. Reier)
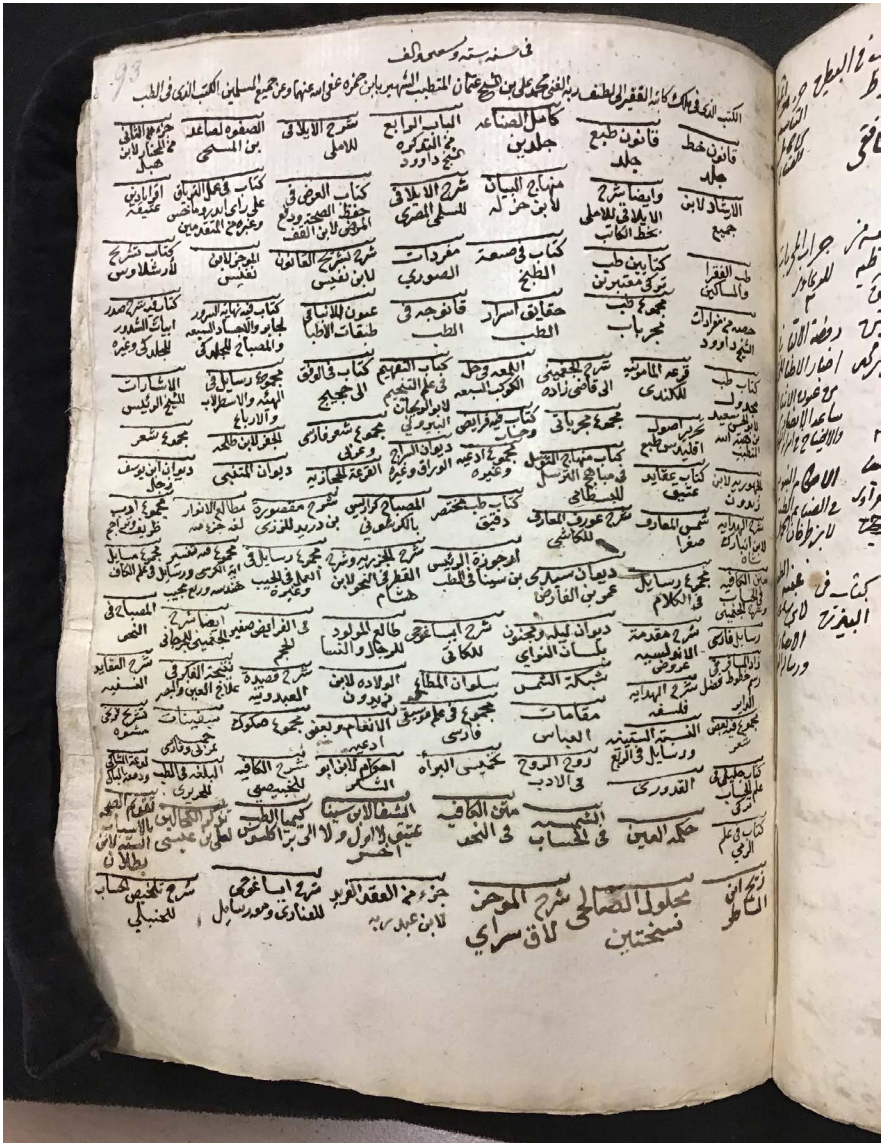
Fig. 5: Library inventory of Ibn Ḥamza. Forschungsbibliothek Gotha MS orient a 98, fol. 93r. (Photo: B. Reier)
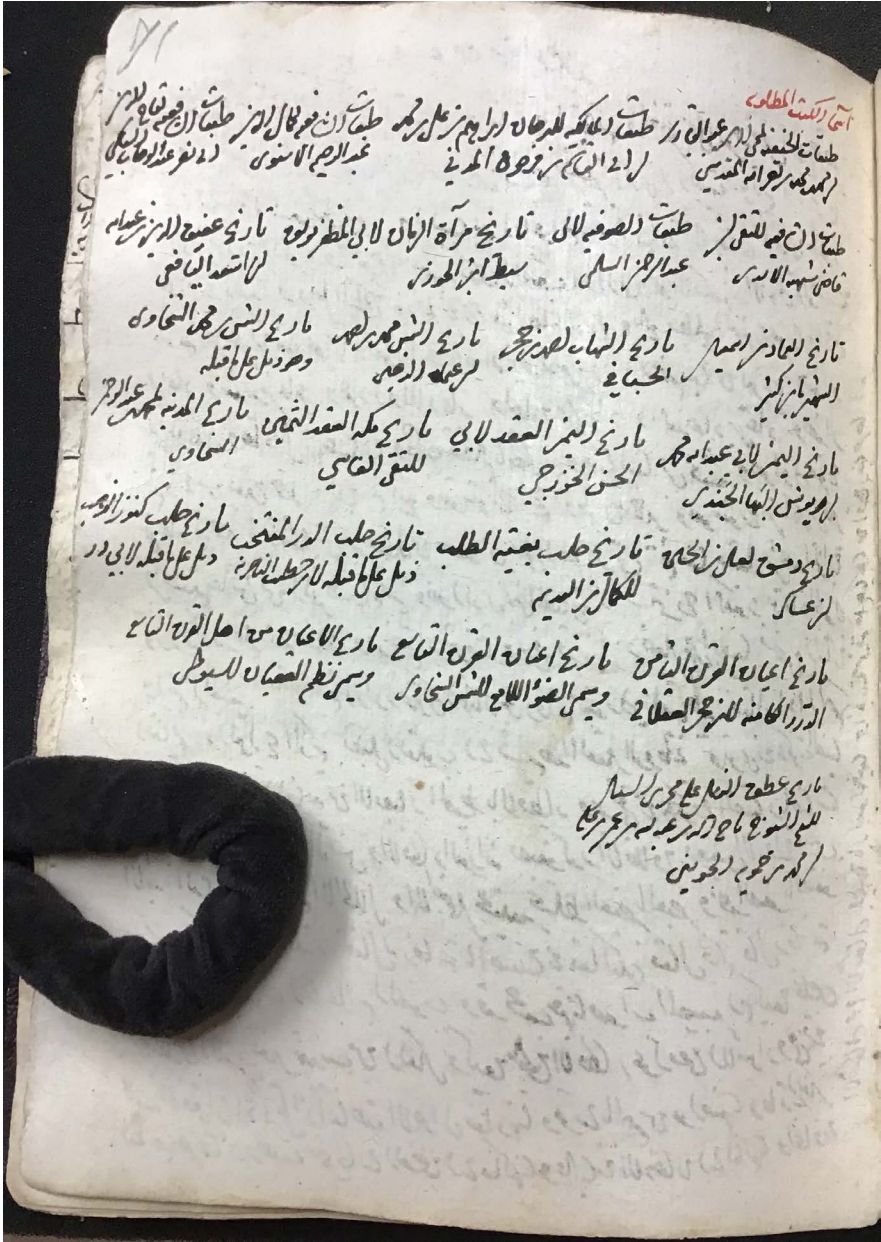
Fig. 6: List of wanted history books by al-Taqawī. Forschungsbibliothek Gotha MS orient a 98, fol. 71r. (Photo: B. Reier)

Edition of al-Taqawī's Library Inventory

The books that are in the possession of its writer, the poor Muḥammad b. Taqī al-Dīn b. Abī Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, and this in the end of Rabīʿ al-Thānī in the year 1039 [November/December 1629].

1. *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh al-bashar* (*Mukhtaṣar min taʾrīkh akhbār al-bashar*), Abū al-Fidāʾ (d. 732/1331).
   First part. History. *GAL* 2/47, *Kashf* 2/1629.
2. *Saqṭ al-zand*, <u>Abū ʿAlā</u> al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1057).
   Adab. *GAL* 1/257, *Kashf* 2/992.
3. *Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Mughī*, Jalāl al-Dīn <u>al-Suyūṭī</u> (d. 911/1505).
   Grammar. Q: fol. 181a. *GAL* 2/169, *Kashf* 2/1703.
4. *Sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-ʿajam* (*Ghayth al-musajjam fī sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-ʿajam*), <u>(al-)Ṣalāḥ</u> al-Dīn <u>al-Ṣafadī</u> (d. 764/1363).
   Adab. Q: fol. 181a. *GAL* 2/35, *Kashf* 2/1037.
5. *Dīwān*, <u>al-Ṣafī</u> al-Dīn Abu al-Faḍl ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz <u>al-Ḥillī</u> (d. 749/1349).
   Adab. *GAL* 2/174, *Kashf* 2/797.
6. *Dīwān*, <u>Abū Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī</u> (d. 354/965).
   Adab. Q: 96a. *GAL* 1/77, *Kashf* 1/809.
7. *al-Uns al-jalīl bi-taʾrīkh al-Quds wa-l-Khalīl*, <u>Ibn Abī Sharīf</u> Mujīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī (d. 927/1521).
   History. *GAL* 2/45, *Kashf* 1/177.
8. *Zubdat al-ḥalab min Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, <u>Ikhtaṣar Ibn al-ʿAdīm</u> (d. 660/1262) <u>min Taʾrīkhihi al-kabīr</u>.
   History. *GAL* 1/352, *Kashf* 1/292. BnF MS arabe 1666.
9. *Safaṭ al-mulaḥ wa zawḥ al-taraḥ*, Saʿd Allāh <u>al-Dajājī</u> (d. 564/1168–9).
   First part. Adab. Q: fol. 168a. *Īḍāḥ* 2/17.
10. *Taʾrīkh fī āl Sabuktigin* (*al-Kitāb al-Yamīnī*), Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār <u>al-ʿUtbī</u> (d. 427/1036).
    History. *GAL* 1/333 and S1/565, *Kashf* 1/282.
11. *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, Shihāb al-Dīn <u>al-Nuwayrī</u> (d. 732/1332).
    Fourteenth part. Encyclopedia. Q: fol. 135a. *GAL* 2/151, *Kashf* 2/1985.
12. *Sharḥ al-Ḥamāsa*, Abū (Bakr) Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī b. al-Khaṭīb <u>al-Tabrīzī</u> (d. 502/1109).
    Fifth part. Adab. *GAL* 1/289, *Kashf* 1/692.
13. *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ wa muḥāwarāt al-bulaghāʾ wa-l-shuʿarāʾ* (*Kitāb muḥā-ḍarāt al-udabāʾ al-shuʿarāʾ wa-l-bulaghāʾ*), Muḥammad <u>al-Rāghib</u> al-Iṣfahānī (d. 502/1108).
    Fourth Part. Adab. Q: fol. 138b. *GAL* 1/299, *Kashf* 1/1609.

14. *Dīwān*, <u>al-Shādhilī al-Yamānī</u>.
     Adab. Unidentified.
15. *Mabāhij al-fikar wa manāhij al-ʿibar*, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Waṭwāṭ <u>al-Difrī</u>
     (d. 718/1318).
     Second part. Encyclopedia. Q: fol. 12a. *GAL* 2/57, *Kashf* 2/1079.
16. *Ḥalbat al-kumayt*, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān al-Nawājī (d. 859/
     1455).
     Adab. *GAL* 2/59, *Kashf* 1/687.
17. *Masālik al-abṣār wa mamālik al-amṣār*, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Faḍlallāh al-
     ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349).
     Third part. Encyclopedia. *GAL* 2/152, *Kashf* 2/1882. MS BnF arabe 2325.
18. *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. <u>al-Maqrīzī</u> (d. 845/1442).
     Fifth part. History. Q: 159a. *GAL* 2/41, *Kashf* 2/1000.
19. *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, <u>unknown compiler</u> (*lam yaʿlam jāmiahu*).
     Unspecified volume. History. Unidentified. This is most probably not the
     famous history by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/10719), which was certainly
     identifiable for someone as well read in history as al-Taqawī. It is most likely
     one of the continuations or abbreviations of the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, see *GAL*
     1/348 and S1/580–1, *Kashf* 1/288. For more options, see Caesar FARAH, *The
     Dhayl in Medieval Arabic Historiography* (New Haven: American Oriental
     Society, 1967), 13–14.
20. *Rawḍat al-manāẓir fī ʿilm al-awāʾil wa-l-awākhir*, <u>al-Qāḍī Muḥibb al-Dīn Ibn
     Shiḥna</u> (d. 815/1412).
     History. *GAL* S2/183, *Īḍāḥ* 1/597.
21. *al-Rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn al-ṣalāḥiyya wa-l-nūriyya* (*Azhār
     al-rawḍatayn*), Abū Shāma (d. 665/1268).
     Second part. History. *GAL* 1/336, *Kashf* 1/72.
22. *Ḥaywāt al-ḥayawān al-wusṭā*, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad <u>al-Damīrī</u>
     (d. 808/1405).
     Zoology. *GAL* 2/148, *Kashf* 1/696. He also owned the longer version, see XVII.
23. *Muḥāwarā* (*al-Muḥāwara al-Ṣalāḥiyya fī al-muḥājāt (aḥājī) al-iṣṭilāḥiyya*),
     Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn <u>al-Ṣafadī</u> (d. 764/1363).
     Until letter *shīn*. Adab. *GAL* S2/33, *Īḍāḥ* 2/441.
24. *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn fī sharḥ al-ʿuyūn*, Ibn Nubāta (d. 768/1366).
     Adab. *GAL* 2/10, *Kashf* 1/841.
25. Multiple text manuscript/Composite manuscript.
     1. *Sharḥ al-ḥarīriyyāt al-sabaʿa (?)*.
         Adab. This is most probably one of the many commentaries on al-Ḥarīrī's
         famous *Maqāmāt*, covering a selection of seven *maqāmāt*.

2. *al-Ṣādiḥ wa-l-bāghim*, Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. al-Habbāriyya al-ʿAbbāsī (d. 504/1100).
   Adab. *GAL* 1/255, *Kashf* 2/1069.

26. *al-ʿIbar wa dhayluhu* (*al-ʿIbar fī akhbār al-bashar mimman ʿabar*), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348).
    History. *GAL* 2/49, *Kashf* 2/1123–4. The *dhayl* is most probably the one by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-ʿIrāqī (d. 806/1404).

27. *al-Durr al-nathīr fī talkhīṣ Nihāyat Ibn al-Athīr*, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505).
    Hadith. *GAL* 1/382, *Kashf* 2/1989.

28. *Sulwān al-muṭāʿa* (*Kitāb sulwān al-muṭāʿ fī ʿudwān al-atbāʿ*), Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ẓafar al-Makkī (d. 565/1169).[78]
    Mirror for princes. *GAL* 1/374, *Kashf* 2/998.

29. *Futūḥ al-Shām*, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823).
    History. *GAL* 1/123, *Kashf* 2/1237.

30. *ʿUnwān al-adab wa khulāṣat al-dhahab*.
    Unspecified part. Unidentified.

31. Multiple text manuscript. MS Paris, probably BnF arabe 1668.
    1. *Muthīr al-gharām ilā al-Quds wa-l-Shām* (*Muthīr al-gharām ilā ziyārat al-Quds wa-l-Shām*), Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Tamīm al-Maqdisī (d. 765/1364).
       Pilgrimage guide. *GAL* 2/139, *Kashf* 2/1589.
    2. *Muthīr al-gharām fī ziyārat al-Khalīl ʿalayhi salām*, Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Khaṭīb Abī Fidāʾ al-Khalīlī (d. 833/1429).
       Pilgrimage guide. *GAL* 2/139, *Kashf* 2/1589.
    3. *Tuḥfat al-kirām bi akhbār al-balad al-ḥaram*, Abū Ṭayyib al-Sharīf al-Fāsī (d. 832/1429).
       History. *GAL* 2/190, *Kashf* 1/372.

32. *Ghurar al-ḥikam fī durar al-kalim*, Amīr al-muʾminīn ʿAlī, jamiʿa ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī al-Āmidī (d. 436/1144).
    Pseudo-ʿAlid Literature. *GAL* 1/446 and S1/73, *Kashf* 2/1201.

33. *Ākām al-marjān fī aḥkām al-jānn*, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shiblī (d. 769/1367).
    Demonology. *GAL* 2/76, *Kashf* 1/141.

34. *Thamarāt al-awrāq*, Ibn Ḥijja (d. 837/1434).
    Adab. *GAL* 2/16, *Kashf* 1/524.

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78 The author is usually known as al-Ṣiqillī, not as al-Makkī.

35. *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Mutanabbī*, Abu al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad <u>al-Wāḥidī</u> (d. 468/
    1075).
    First part. Adab. *GAL* 1/457, *Kashf* 1/809.
36. *Khulāṣat al-wafā bi-akhbār dār al-muṣṭafā*, <u>al-Ḥasanī al-Samhūdī</u> (d. 911/
    1506).
    History. *GAL* 2/191, *Kashf* 2/2016.
37. *Sharḥ Risāla Ibn ʿAbdūn*.
    Unidentified. Maybe a commentary on the *ḥisba* handbook *Risāla* of Muḥam-
    mad b. Aḥmad (b. ʿAbdallāh) b. ʿAbdūn al-Nakhaʿī al-Tujībī, *GAL* S1/684.
38. *Nahj al-balāgha*, <u>al-Sharīf al-Mawsūʿī al-Raḍī</u> (d. 436/1044).
    Unspecified part. Rhetoric/Hadith. *GAL* 1/445, *Kashf* 2/1991.
39. *Akhbār al-zamān* (*Kitāb akhbār al-zamān wa-man abādahu al-ḥadathān
    min al-umam al-māḍiya wa-l-ajyāl al-khāliya wal-mamālik al-dāthira*), Abu
    al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn <u>al-Masʿūdī</u> (d. 345/956).
    History. *GAL* 1/130, *Kashf* 1/27.

Fol. 92r kulliyyāt minhā al-kutub al-ṭibbiyya
40. *al-Qānūn* (*al-Qānūn fī-l-ṭibb*), Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037).
    Fourth part. Medicine. *GAL* 1/521, *Kashf* 2/1311.
41. *al-Qānūn* (*al-Qānūn fī-l-ṭibb*), <u>al-Shaykh al-raʾis Ibn Sīnā</u> (d. 428/1037).
    Print.[79] Medicine. *GAL* 1/521, *Kashf* 2/1311.
42. *Sharḥ al-Qānūn*, <u>al-Quṭb al-Shīrāzī</u> (d. 710/1310).
    Unspecified volume. Three copies. Medicine. *GAL* 1/522, *Kashf* 2/1311.
43. *Sharḥ al-Kulliyyāt*, <u>Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sulamī wa huwa Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. Muḥam-
    mad al-Maṣrī</u> (d. 618/1221).
    Medicine. *GAL* S1/857, *Kashf* 2/1312.
44. *al-ʿUyūn tanqīḥ al-Qānūn* (*al-Maknūn fī tanqīḥ al-Qānūn*), <u>Hibatallāh b.
    Jumayʿ</u> (d. 594/1198).
    Medicine. *GAL* 1/563, *Kashf* 2/1313.
45. *al-Kulliyāt, al-awwal min al-Qānūn* (*al-Qānūn fī-l-ṭibb*), Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/
    1037).
    First part of the *Qānūn*, known as *Kulliyāt*. Medicine. *GAL* 1/521, *Kashf* 2/1311.
46. *al-Qānūn* (*al-Qānūn fī-l-ṭibb*), Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037).
    A part of the third book, from *fann* 10 to *fann* 15. Medicine. *GAL* 1/521, *Kashf*
    2/1311.
47. *al-Qānūn* (*al-Qānūn fī-l-ṭibb*), Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037).
    Part of book three, from *fann* 1 to 9. Medicine. *GAL* 1/521, *Kashf* 2/1311.

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79 Most probably the Medici Press edition, see above for a discussion.

48. *[al-Qānūn]* (*al-Qānūn fī-l-ṭibb*), Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037).[80]
    Part of *fann* 11 to [left empty] of book three. Medicine. *GAL* 1/521, *Kashf* 2/1311.

49. *Sharḥ al-Masāʾil*, Ibn Abī Ṣādiq al-Nīsabūrī (d. after 460/1068).
    Fourth Part. Medicine. *GAL* 1/195 and 558, *Kashf* 2/1668.

50. *al-Miʾa* (*al-Kitāb al-miʾa fī-l-ṣināʿa al-ṭibbiyya*), Abū Sahl ʿĪsā b. Yaḥyā al-Masīḥī (d. 401/1010).
    First part. Two copies. Medicine. *GAL* 1/238, *Kashf* 2/1076.

51. *al-Kāmil fī ṣināʿa, al-maʿrūf bi-l-malakī* (*Kāmil al-ṣināʿa al-ṭibbiyya*), ʿAlī b. ʿAbbās tilmīdh Abī Māhir Mūsā b. Siyyār al-Majūsī allafahu li-khizānat ʿAḍud al-Dawla (d. 384/994).
    Second part, in its beginning is *maqāla* nine [and it goes up] to *maqāla* ten. The second part [also contains] part of *maqāla* six.[81] Medicine. *GAL* 1/238, *Kashf* 2/1380.

52. *al-Kāmil fī ṣināʿa*, ʿAlī b. ʿAbbās tilmīdh Abū Māhir Mūsā b. Siyyār al-Majūsī (d. 384/994).
    Beginning of second part with unspecified *maqālāt*. Medicine. *GAL* 1/238, *Kashf* 2/1380.

53. *al-Kāmil fī ṣināʿa*, ʿAlī b. ʿAbbās tilmīdh Abū Māhir Mūsā b. Siyyār al-Majūsī (d. 384/994).
    Maqāla six to ten of first part, with this, the beginning (of the book) come to an end (*wa bihi tamma al-awwal*). Two copies. Medicine. *GAL* 1/238, *Kashf* 2/1380.

54. *Muʿallaf fī al-amrāḍ wa-l-asbābihā wa aʿrāḍihā wa-l-adāwwātihā,* Abu al-Ḥasan Saʿīd b. Hibatallāh b. al-Ḥasan (d. 495/1101).
    Medicine. Unidentified title. For the author, see *GAL* 1/560.

55. *al-Manṣūrī* (*Kitāb al-ṭibb al-Manṣūrī*), Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī (d. 311/923).
    Second part, starting with the seventh *maqāla*; the second maqala [is] also [in this part, but it is] missing in the table of contents (*fihrist*); the first *maqāla* [is also in this part] and in its end is the sixth *maqāla*. Medicine. *GAL* 1/234, S 1/425, *Kashf* 2/1862.

56. *al-Mukhtār* (*al-Mukhtār fī-l-ṭibb*), Abū al-Ḥusayn [sic] ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Hubal (d. 610/1213).
    Third part. Medicine. *GAL* 1/565, *Kashf* 2/1622.

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80 Neither title nor author given here but I consider it most likely that this is another part of the preceding *Qānūn* by Ibn Sīnā.

81 In this entry, al-Taqawī later tried to specify the part of the book he owned, which led to some unclarity.

57. *al-Fākhir* (*al-Fākhir fī-l-ṭibb*), Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī (d. 311/923).
    First part. Medicine. *GAL* 1/235, *Kashf* 2/1215.

58. *al-Mughnī fī-l-ṭibb*.
    Medicine. Unidentified, probably *al-Mughnī fī tadbīr al-amrāḍ wa-maʿrifat al-ʿilal wa-l-aʿrāḍ* by Abu al-Ḥasan Saʿīd b. Hibatallāh b. al-Ḥasan (d. 495/1101). *GAL* 1/560, *Kashf* 2/1750.

59. *al-Rawḍa* (*Kitāb al-rawḍa fi-l-ṭibb*), <u>Thābit Ibn Qurra al-Ḥarrānī</u> (d. 288/901).
    Medicine. *GAL* 1/211, *GAS* 3/261. Bodleian Library MS Marsh 137.

60. *Mukhtaṣar*, Abū Bakr <u>Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī</u> (d. 311/923).
    Medicine. Multiple possibilities, see *IAU* 2/786, 2/789, 2/790.

61. *al-Ḥāwī* (*Al-Ḥāwī fī ʿilm al-tadāwī*), Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn <u>al-Shīrāzī</u> (d. 730/1330).
    Two copies. Medicine. *GAL* S2/310, *Kashf 1/628*.

62. *al-Qūlanj* (*Kitāb fī qūlanj wa-aṣnāfihi wa-mudāwātihi*), <u>Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-maʿrūf bi-Ibn Abī al-Ashʿath</u> (d. ca. 360/970).
    First and tenth *maqāla*. Medicine. *IAU* 2/630.

63. *Sharḥ al-Masāʾil al-sughrā li-Ḥunayn*, <u>Ibn Abī Ṣādiq al-?</u> al-Nīsābūrī (d. 428/1037).
    Medicine. *GAL* 1/195, *Kashf* 2/1668.

64. Multiple text manuscript/composite manuscript containing:
    1. *Sharḥ Masāʾil Ḥunayn*.
       Medicine. Multiple contenders, *GAL* 1/195, *GAS* 3/250–1.
    2. *Fuṣūl,* <u>Buqrāṭ</u> (d. ca. 375 BCE).
       Medicine. *GAS* 3:28, *IAU* 2/84.
    3. *Taqdimat al-maʿrifa*, <u>Ghirghūriyūs al-Mafriyān</u>, Barhebraeus (d. 685/1286).
       Medicine. *GAS* 3/33.[82]

65. *Talkhīṣ Masāʾil al-Ḥunayn*, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-<u>Muqbilī</u> (d.?).
    Medicine. *IAU* 2/644.

66. *Sharḥ Fuṣūl Buqrāṭ*, <u>al-Jālīnūs</u> (Galen) (d. ca. 216 CE).
    Medicine. Translated by Ḥunayn, *GAS* 3/29.

67. *Masāʾil (Masāʾil fī-l-ṭibb li-l-mutaʿallimīn)*, Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq (d. 260/873).
    With a *qirāʾa* note of al-Ḥasan Hibatallāh and Ibn Jazla. Medicine. *GAL* 1/195 *Kashf* 2/1668. See also entry 111.

68. Multiple text manuscript/composite manuscript.

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82 This title, the translation of the *Prognostica* by Hippocrates, is usually ascribed to the famous translator Ḥunayn, see *GAL* 1/196, *GAS* 3/32. This title might thus refer to a commentary thereof by Barhebraeus, *GAS* 3/33.

1. *al-Talwīḥ ilā asrār al-Tanqīḥ*, <u>Bahrām b. Bahmanyār al-Utrārī thumma al-Samarqandī wa-l-Bukhārī, talmīdh al-Shaykh al-Ra'is.</u>
   Two Copies. Medicine. Al-Taqawī provides the name of Bahrām b. Bahmayār, who seems to have furnished this book with a lesser-known commentary, for the original title, see *GAL* 1/523, *Kashf* 1/482. Probably BnF MS arabe 2941.[83]

2. *Maḥajjat al-ʿilāj (Īḍāḥ minhaj maḥajjat al-ʿilāj)*, <u>Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm al-Sinjarī</u> (d. ca. 500/1106).
   Medicine. *GAL* 1/560, *IAU* 3/863.[84]

69. *Masāʾil fī ʿilm al-kaḥḥala*, Ibn Shuʿayb (?).
    Medicine. Unidentified.

70. *Mukhtaṣar Sharḥ al-kabīr li-masāʾil Ḥunayn b. Isḥaq wa-ziyādāt Ḥunayn*, Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṣādiq (d. 428/1037).
    Medicine. *GAL* 1/195, *Kashf* 2/1668.

71. *Sharḥ Īsāghūjī li-Buqrāṭ*, <u>Abū Saʿīd b. Abī al-Surūr al-Sāmirī.</u>
    Unidentified. Logic (probably). For a medical book by al-Sāmirī, see *GAL* S1/859.

72. Multiple text manuscript/Composite manuscript containing
    1. *Kitāb al-raḥma fī-l-ṭibb wa-l-ḥikma*, <u>Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad al-Qayrawānī.</u>[85]
       Medicine.
    2. *al-Īḍāḥ fī asrār al-nikāḥ*, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Naṣr al-Shayzarī (d. 589/1093).
       Sexual hygiene. *GAL* S1/865, *Kashf* 1/209. See also entry 101.2.

73. *Mufradāt Mushajjar*, <u>unknown</u> (*majhūl*).
    Unidentified. Most probably a work on medical herbs with pictures or a genealogical tree-like visualisation.

74. *Fuṣūl*, <u>Buqrāṭ</u> (Hippocrates) (d. ca. 375 BCE).
    Medicine. *GAS* 3:28, *IAU* 2/84.

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83 Two facts make it likely that BnF MS arabe 2941 was once in the possession of al-Taqawī: first, this title is usually attributed to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Khujandī (*GAL* 1/523, *GAL* Sup. 2/227, *Kashf* 1/500). The name al-Taqawī provides in the entry, Bahrām the son of Ibn Sīnā's student Bahramyār b. al-Marzubān, is exactly the one found in a manuscript note on the title page of the Paris manuscript. Second, the manuscript was part bought in Aleppo and part of Colbert's library in 1663 which, as we have seen above, received at least one other book from al-Taqawī's library.

84 al-Taqawī later added a note stating that this title is also part of the previous book. It can only refer to one copy of the two.

85 The author of this book is most probably not Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad al-Qayrawānī (aka Aḥmad b. al-Jazzar [d. ca. 395/1004]) as indicated by al-Taqawī, but Muḥammad al-Mahdawī b. ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣanawbarī al-Yamanī al-Hindī, for whom a book with such a title is attested in *Kashf*, 1/836.

75. *Qānūnja (al-Qānūnja fī-l-ṭibb)*, <u>al-Qāḍī</u> Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar <u>al-Jaghmīnī</u> (d. 745/1344).
    Medicine. *GAL* 1/522, *Kashf* 2/1311.
76. *al-Bulghat* (*Bulghat al-ṭabīb wa-nuzhat al-fāḍil al-adīb*), Badr al-Dīn Muḥam-mad b. al-Qāsim <u>al-Harīrī</u> (d. 516/1122).
    Medicine. *GAL* S2/510, *Kashf* 1/252.
77. *Aqrābādhīn*, <u>al-Raʾīs</u> Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037).
    Medicine. *GAL* 1/234.
78. *Jāmiʿ al-qawānīn (Jāmiʿ qawānīn ʿilm al-hayʾa)*, ʿAlī b. Faḍlallāh Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Sālār (d. after 670/1271).
    Astronomy. *GAL* S1/905.
79. *Mukhtaṣar al-īlāj*.
    Unidentified. Sexual hygiene (probably).
80. *Mufradāt fī-l-ʿilāj*, <u>al-Sharīf al-Ṣaqallī</u>.
    Medicine. Unidentified.
81. *ʿAmal man ṭabba li-man ḥabba*, Abū ʿAbdallāh Ibn al-Khaṭīb Lisān al-Dīn (d. 776/1374).
    Medicine. *GAL* 2/294, *Īḍāḥ* 2/125. MS Paris, BnF arabe 3011.
82. *Natījat al-fikar fī ʿilāj amrāḍ al-baṣar*, Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān b. Hibat Allāh al-Qaysī (d. 657/1259).
    Medicine. *GAL* S1/932, *Kashf* 2/1926.

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83. *al-Tashrīḥ al-kabīr (al-Tashrīḥ al-ḥayawān al-ḥayy)*, <u>al-Jālīnūs</u> (Galen) (d. ca. 216 CE).
    Unspecified part. Medicine. *GAS* 3/100.
84. *Sharḥ manẓūma Ibn Sīnā*, <u>Ibn Rushd</u> (d. 595/1199).
    Medicine. *GAL* 1/521.
85. *Sharḥ al-Masāʾil*, <u>Ibn Abī Ṣādiq al-Kabīr</u> (d. after 460/1068).
    Unspecified part. Medicine. *GAL* 1/195, 1/558, *Kashf* 2/1668.
86. *Kitāb fī-l-bayṭara*, <u>Buqrāṭ</u> (Hippocrates) (d. ca. 375 BCE).
    Medicine (veterinary). Unidentified.
87. *Kāmil al-ṣināʿa*, ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās al-Majūsī (d. 384/994).
    Part of *maqāla* nine. Medicine. *GAL* 1/238, *Kashf* 2/1380.
88. *al-Furūsiyya wa-l-bayṭara*, <u>Manṣūr al-Fars</u> Ibn Akhī Ḥizām (flourished 3rd/9th century).
    Medicine (veterinary). *GAL* S1/220. *GAS* 3/375.
89. Multiple text manuscript/Composite manuscript containing
    1. *Sharḥ Fuṣūl Ibbuqrāṭ*, <u>Ibn Abī Ṣādiq al-Kabīr</u> (d. after 460/1068).
       Part of it, up to chapter seven. Medicine. *GAL* S1/922, *GAS* 3/30.

2. *Al-Wuṣla ilā al-ḥabīb* (*al-Wuṣla ilā al-ḥabīb fī waṣf al-ṭayyibāt wa-l-ṭīb*), Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 660/1262).
Cookery. *GAL* 1/352, *Kashf* 2/2014.

90. *al-Mūjaz*, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abu al-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Qurashī Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 687/1288).
First quire (*kurrās*) missing. Medicine. *GAL* 1/568, *Kashf* 2/1211.

91. *Mufradāt (al-Jāmiʿ fī-l-ṭibb fī-l-adwiya al-mufrada)*, Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b, Muḥammad al-Ghāfiqī (d. 560/1165).
Medicine. *GAL* 1/562 and 2/926.

92. *Sharḥ Kulliyyāt al-Qānūn*, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Yaʿqūb b. Abū Isḥāq al-Sāmirī (d. 681/1282).
Medicine. *GAL* S2/933 (title not mentioned). Bodleian Library MS Marsh 464.[86]

93. *al-Adwiyya al-qalbiyya* (*Fī aḥkām al-adwiya al-qalbiyya*), Shaykh al-raʾis Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037).
Medicine. *GAL* 1/523, *Kashf* 1/51.

94. *al-Asbāb wa-l-ʿalāmāt*, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Samarqandī (d. 619/1222).
Medicine. *GAL* 1/566, *Kashf* 1/77.

95. *Muʿālajāt al-Buqrāṭiyya*, Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 375/985).
Fourth *maqāla* about eye treatment. Medicine. *GAS* 3/307, *IAU* 3/792.

96. *Jirāb al-mujarrabāt (Jirāb al-mujarrabāt wa khizānat al-aṭṭibāʾ)*, al-Daʿāwī (?), transcript of unknown student of al-Rāzī.
Two copies. Medicine. *GAS* 3/289. For one contender, see *GAL* S2/1054.

97. *Mufradāt* (*Jāmiʿ mufradāt al-adwiya wal-aghdhiya* or *al-Jāmiʿ fī l-ṭibb*), Ibn al-Bayṭara (d. 646/1248).
First part up to letter *zāʾ*. Medicine. *GAL* 1/567, *Kashf* 2/1772.

98. *al-Ḥāwī* (*al-Ḥāwī fī ʿilm al-tadāwī*), Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Shīrāzī (d. 730/1330).
Medicine. *GAL* S2/310, *Kashf* 1/628.

99. Multiple text manuscript/Composite manuscript containing

1. *Taqwīm al-abdān* (*Taqwīm al-abdān fī tadbīr al-insān*), Abū ʿAlī Yaḥyā b. ʿĪsā Ibn Jazla (d. 493/1100).
Medicine. *GAL* 1/559, *Kashf* 1/467.

2. *Taqwīm al-ṣiḥḥa*, Abū Ḥasan Mukhtār Ibn Jazla (sic).[87]
Medicine. *GAL* 1/557, *Kashf* 1/467.

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86 al-Taqawī's copy was bought by Golius for his private collection, see Savage-Smith 2011, 256–258.

87 This book was written by Abū Ḥasan Mukhtār Ibn Buṭlān (d. after 460/1086). While writing the name wrong here, al-Taqawī was most certainly mentally absorbed in the previous title, whose author was Ibn Jazla.

100. *al-Tadhkira* (*al-Tadhkira al-hādiya* (*mufrada*)), ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Isḥāq <u>Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad</u> al-Suwaydī al-Anṣārī (d. 690/1292).
     Third Part. Medicine. *GAL* 1/560, *Kashf* 1/386.

101. Multiple text manuscript/Composite manuscript containing
     1. *Rawḍat al-alibba fī akhbār al-aṭibbāʾ al-mukhtār min ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ* (*Rawḍat al-alibba fī ishārāt al-aṭibbāʾ*), <u>Ibn Sāʿid al-Anṣārī</u> Ibn al-Akfānī (d. 749/1348).
        History. Wɪᴛᴋᴀᴍ, Jan Just. *De Egyptische Art Ibn Al-Akfānī (Gest. 749/ 1348) En Zijn Indeling van de Wetenschappen*, Leiden: Ter Lugt Pers, 1989, 51.
     2. *Īḍāḥ fī asrār al-nikāḥ*, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Naṣr al-Shayzarī (d. 589/1093).
        Sexual hygiene. *GAL* S1/865, *Kashf* 1/209. See also entry 72.2.

102. Multiple text manuscript/Composite manuscript containing
     1. *Uṣūl tarkīb al-adwiya*, <u>Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Samarqandī</u> (d. 619/1222).
        Medicine. *GAL* 1/566, *Kashf* 1/113.
     2. *Qarā* (sic) *Qarābādhīn*, prob. <u>Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Samarqandī</u> (d. 619/1222).
        Medicine. *GAL* 1/566, *IAU* 3/883.
     3. *Kitāb al-Aghdiya wa-l-adwiyya*, <u>Ibn Yaʿqūb Isḥāq b. Sulaymān al-Isrāʾīlī</u> (d. ca. 320/932).
        Medicine. *GAL* 1/236, *Kashf* 2/1394.
     4. *Kitāb Aṭʿimat al-marḍa*, <u>Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Samarqandī</u> (d. 619/1222).
        Medicine. *GAL* 1/566, *IAU* 3/883.

103. *Sharḥ Mūjaz* (*Mughnī fī Sharḥ al-Mūjaz*), Muḥammad b. Masʿūd <u>al-Kāzarūnī</u> al-Sadīdī (d. 758/1357).
     Three copies. Medicine. *GAL* 1/522, *Kashf* 2/1313. See also entry 106. Bodleian Library MS Huntington 35.[88]

104. Multiple text manuscript/Composite manuscript containing
     1. *al-Badhīkh ʿalā kutub al-ṭabīkh*.
        Cookery. Neither al-Taqawī nor Ḥājjī Khalīfa provide an author, *Kashf* 1/237.
     2. *Kitāb al-Bayṭara*, Various contenders, for example Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq *IAU* 2/497 or Thābit b. Qurra, *GAS* 3/261.
        Medicine (veterinary).

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88 Sᴀᴠᴀɢᴇ-Sᴍɪᴛʜ 2011, 281–283.

3. *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf li-man ʿajiza ʿan al-taʾlīf*, Abu al-Qāsim Khalaf b. ʿAbbās al-Zahrāwī (d. ca. 400/1009).
   Maqāla 30, the *maqāla fī-l-ʿamal bi-l-yadd*. Medicine. *GAL* 1/240, *Kashf* 1/411.
4. *Kitāb al-Bayṭara*.
   Unspecified part. Medicine (veterinary). See above, 103.2.
105. *Sharḥ al-Qānūn*, Ibn al-Nafīs al-Qurashī (d. 687/1288).
   First part. Medicine. *GAL* 1/522, *Kashf* 2/1311.
106. *Sharḥ al-Qānūn*, Afḍal al-Dīn al-Khūnajī (d. 646/1249).
   First part. Medicine. *GAL* 1/530, *Kashf* 2/1312. BnF MS arabe 2948
107. *Sharḥ al-Mūjaz* (*Mughnī fī Sharḥ al-Mūjaz*), Muḥammad b. Masʿūd al-Kāzarūnī al-Sadīdī (d. 758/1357).
   First *fann*. Medicine. *GAL* 1/522, *Kashf* 2/1313. See also entry 103.
108. *al-Aḥkām al-nabawiyya fī-l-ṣināʿa al-ṭibbiyya*, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭarkhān al-Ḥamawī (d. 720/1320).
   Medicine/Hadith. Perho, Irmeli. *The Prophet's Medicine: A Creation of the Muslim Traditionalist Scholars*. Helsinki: Kokemäki, 1995, p. 57.
109. *Kāmil al-ṣināʿatayn*, Abū Bakr b. al-Mundhir al-Bayṭar (d. 741/1340).
   Medicine. GAL 2/146, *Kashf* 2/138.
110. *Mufradāt Dīsqūrīdīs*, ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 646/1248).
   Three *maqālāt*. Medicine. *GAS* 3/60, *Kashf* 1/1773.
111. *al-Masāʾil* (*Masāʾil fī-l-ṭibb lil-mutaʿallimīn*), Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq (d. 260/873).
   Last part. Medicine. *GAL* 1/195, *Kashf* 2/1668. See also entry 67.
112. *Kitāb al-ṭabīkh wa-l-iṣlāḥ al-aghdhiya*, Abū Muḥammad b. Naṣr Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq (fl. 10th century).
   Cookery. See Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq. *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens: Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq's Tenth-Century Baghdadi Cookbook*. Edited by Kaj Öhrnberg and Sahban Mroueh. Translated by Nawal Nasrallah. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
113. *Kitāb fī bayzara*, Abū al-Fatḥ Kushājim (ca. 350/961).
   Falconry. *GAL* 1/75.
114. Multiple text manuscript/Composite manuscript containing
   1. *Ghunyat al-Ṭabīb* (*Ghunyat al-labīb ʿinda ghaybat al-ṭabīb*), Ibn Sāʿid al-Anṣārī Ibn al-Akfānī (749/1348).
      Medicine. *GAL* 2/147, *Kashf* 2/1211.
   2. *Risāla al-?*
      Unidentified/unreadable.
115. *Sharḥ Fuṣūl Ibbuqrāt*, Ibn (al-)Nafīs (d. 687/1288).
   Medicine. *GAL* 1/568, *GAS* 3/31.

Stray page fol. 95r.

116. *Mabāriq al-azhār fī sharḥ mashāriq al-anwār*, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Fereshte (d. ca. 800/1397).
      Hadith. *GAL* 1/385, *Kashf* 2/1689.

117. *Īḍāḥ al-Maʿānī*.
      Unidentified. Probably a book by the physician Abū al-Futūḥ Aḥamd Ibn al-Salāḥ. *GAL* S1/752.

118. *al-Safīna al-nūḥiyya fi-l-sakīna al-rūḥiyya*, Aḥmad b. Khalīl al-Khūwayyī (d. 637/1240).
      Medicine/Mental health. *GAL* S1/962.

Stray page fol. 150r.

119. *Madhāhib al-ṣābiʿa hum al-kīmāriyūn*, Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī (d. 313/925 or 323/935).
      Unidentified.

120. *Kitāb al-Ulūf* (*Kitāb al-ulūf fī buyūt al-ʿibādāt*), Abū Maʿshar Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Balkhī (d. 272/886).
      Astronomy. *GAL* 1/218.

121. *Muntakhab min Kitāb al-Ulūf*, Ibn al-Māzirār tilmīdh Abī Maʿshar Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Balkhī.
      Astronomy. *GAL* S1/394.

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I. *Ḥall al-Mūjaz (Sharḥ Mūjaz al-Qānūn fī ʿilm al-ṭibb)*, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Aqsarāʾī (d. ca. 800/1397).
    Medicine. GAL 1/522. The National Library of Medicine MS a. 67.

II. *al-Mubāḥathāt*, Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037).
     Medicine/Correspondences. *GAL* 1/518. Leiden University Library MS Or. 864.[89]

III. *Sharḥ al-Asbāb wa-l-ʿalāmāt*, Nafīs b. ʿIwaḍ al-Kirmānī (d. 853/1449).
      Medicine. *GAL* 2/239. Süleymaniye MS Laleli 1631.

IV. *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭṭibāʾ*, Ibn Abī ʿUṣaybiʿa (d. 668/1270).
     History. *GAL* 1/346. BnF MS arabe 2117.

V. *ʿUyūn al-tawārīkh*, Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī (d. 763/1363).
    Defective part. History. *GAL* 2/51, *Kashf* 2/8815. Forschungsbibliothek Gotha MS Orient a. 1567.

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89 Wɪᴛᴋᴀᴍ 2007, 1, 364–365.

VI. *Ajāʾib al-maqdūr fī nawāʾib Tīmūr*, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿArabshā (d. 854/1450).
History. *GAL* 2/31. Leiden University Library MS Or. 826.

VII. *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-ṣafā*, Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ (fl. 10th century).
Encyclopedia. *GAL* 2/106, *Kashf* 1/902. Bodleian Library MS Laud Or. 255.

VIII. *Bulūgh al-ṭilāb ilā ḥaqāʾiq ʿilm al-ḥisāb*, Abū al-Ḥajjaj Yūsuf al-al-Nīsābūrī (d. 710/1311).
Mathematics. *GAL* S2/1307. Leiden University Library MS Or. 780.[90]

IX. *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm wa-aḥaqq al-natījatayn bi-l-taqdīm,* Abu al-Qāsim Maslama b. Aḥmad al-Majrīṭī (d. around 395/1004).
Occult sciences. *GAL* 1/244. Leiden University Library MS Or. 571.

X. Multiple text manuscript/Composite manuscript. Leiden University Library MS Or. 796.[91]
   1. *Kanz al-ḥikma*, Ibn Waḥshiyya (d. 318/930–1).
      Alchemy. *GAL* 1/244, *Kashf* 2/1514.
   2. *Uṣūl al-ḥikma*, Ibn Waḥshiyya (d. 318/930–1).
      Alchemy. *GAL* 1/244.

XI. *Kitāb al-Kāmil fī-l-asṭurlāb*, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Kathīr al-Farghānī (d. after 247/861).
Astronomy. *GAL* 1/217. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin MS Landberg 56.

XII. *Kitāb al-Mijisṭī*, Abu al-Wafāʾ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Būzajānī (d. 387/997).
Astronomy. *GAL* 1/222. BnF SM arabe 2494.

XIII. *al-Sirr al-maktūm fī muntakhab al-nujūm*, al-Rāzī (d. 311/923).
Astronomy. *GAL* 1/587. Leiden University Library MS Or. 986.

XIV. *Iṣlāḥ kitāb Menelaos fī-l-kuriyyāt*, Abū Naṣr Manṣūr b. ʿIrāq (d. 398/1008).
Mathematics. *GAL* 1/545. Leiden University Library MS Or. 930.

XV. *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Damīrī (d. 808/1405).
Zoology. *GAL* 2/148, *Kashf* 1/696. He also owned the middle version, see entry 22. BnF MS arabe 2786.

XVI. *Kitāb al-mashāriʿwa-l-muṭāraḥāt*, Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Ḥabash al-Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191).
Philosophy. *GAL* 1/494. Leiden University Library MS Or. 365.

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90 Witkam 2007, 1, 326–367.
91 Witkam 2007, 1, 335.

XVII. *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī (d. 710/1311).
Philosophy. *GAL* 2/237 *Kashf* 1/684. Leiden University Library MS Or. 606.[92]

XVIII. Anonymous commentary on *Talwīḥāt* of Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Ḥabash al-Suhrawardī.
Philosophy. For one possible contender, see *Kashf* 1/482. Leiden University Library MS Or. 578.

XIX. Multiple text manuscript. Leiden University Library MS Or. 1067.
   1. *Risāla al-aḍḥawiyya*, Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037).
Philosophy/Theology. *GAL* 1/517.
   2. *al-Risāla al-Amīniyya fī-l-tanbīh ʿala al-saʿāda al-ḥaqīqiyya*, Burhān al-Dīn Mubashshir b. Aḥmad al-Rāzī (d. 583/1187).
Philosophy. *GAL* 1/527.

XX. Multiple text manuscript/Composite manuscript with at least one title copied by al-Taqawī himself,[93] Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin MS Petermann I 350.

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92 Wɪᴛᴋᴀᴍ 2007, 1, 255–256.
93 Aʜʟᴡᴀʀᴅᴛ 1887, 7, 20.

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