

# Ownership statements and seals in Arabic manuscripts

by Adam Gacek

Throughout the centuries Arabic manuscripts were written and copied for different purposes. The author who prepared a draft (*musawwadah*) or a fair copy (*mubayyadah*) of his work was naturally its first owner (*mālik*, *ṣāhib*). The same applies to a scholar or a student who transcribed a manuscript for his personal use. *ʿAlā yad kātibih wa-ṣāhibih* or *katabahu li-nafsih wa-li-man shāʿa Allāh Taʿāla min baʿdih* are common expressions used by copyists in colophons<sup>1</sup>. Works commissioned by wealthy patrons also fall into the category of first ownership. Statements of this kind are not only to be found in colophons but also on the recto of the first folio. In well-executed manuscripts they are incorporated in medallions and roundels<sup>2</sup>. They usually begin with such words as *li*, *tuhfatan li*, *li-ajl*, *bi-rasm*, *bi-ishārah*, *ḥasba ishārah*, *bi-ʿināyah*, *bi-himmah*, *ḥasba al-amr*, as well as (in manuscripts of Persian provenance) *ḥasba al-khwāhish* and *ḥasba al-farmūdah*<sup>3</sup>. To this category belong also statements which begin with the verb *istaktaba*, i.e. to ask someone to copy, to have a copy made by someone (fig. 17). Another possible source for the establishment of early ownership is certificates of transmission (*samāʿāt*, *ijzāt*), as well as, in many cases, collation notes (*muqābalāt*, *muʿaradāt*, *balāghāt*)<sup>4</sup>.

One of the features of early Arabic codices is the lack of what would correspond in printed books to a title-page. Even when later the title of the manuscript and the author's name were inscribed on the recto of the first folio, or what in classical Arabic is often referred to as *zahr al-kitāb*, there still remained a lot of unused space (*bayāḍ*)<sup>5</sup>. The same applies to the area around a colophon and the inner sides of the covers (*ghāshiyah*). This unused space and particularly *zahr al-kitāb* quickly became an ideal place for all kinds of notes, including and perhaps primarily ownership statements (*tamlīkāt*, *tamallukāt*) and seal or stamp impressions (*khawātim*, *ṭawābiʿ*).

The importance of ownership statements lies not only in the fact that they can be used as *termini ante quem* for approximate dating, but also because they tell us more about the history of a given copy. Here we may find the autograph of a famous scholar; and the fact that a manuscript was in the possession of a known writer may give it more authenticity, since its text is more likely to have been corrected by him.

Ownership notes may also contain some information about the title of the work, its author and the exemplar (*aṣl*). They can serve, therefore, as a possible source for the identification of a given work. For example: «*Bism Allāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm || laqad intaqala ilayya hādihā al-jild al-hādī ʿashar min Biḥār al-anwār || wa-hādihā kitāb nuskhat al-aṣl wa-fī aghlab ṣafahātih || khaṭṭ al-muṣannif al-ʿAllāmah al-Majlisī rh [= raḥimahu Allāh] fa-ṣāra || min ʿawārī al-zamān ladayya fī sanah 1362 || al-afqar Muṣṭafā [...?] al-Ḥusaynī || al-Khwān-sārī*» || [seal]<sup>6</sup>.

Ownership statements vary from very simple *ex libris* (*min kutub*) to miniature compositions containing such formulae as the *basmalah* (*Bism Allāh*, *Bismika Taʿālā*), *ḥamdalah* (*al-ḥamd lil-Lāh*), *taṣliyah* (*ṣallā Allāh ʿalayhi wa-sallam*) and *baʿdiyah* (*ammā baʿdu* or *wa-baʿdu*). For example (fig. 1):

ʿBism Ilāh khayr al-asmāʿ al-Ḥamd lil-Lāh wāhib al-ʿaṭayā wa-al-ṣalāh ʿalā rasūlihi sayyid al-barāyā wa-ālihi siyyamā ʿAlī ṭallāʿ al-ṭhanāyā || wa-baʿdu fa-hādhihi min jumlat mawāhib Allāh Taʿālā ʿalayya bi-luṭfihi al-ʿamīm wa-karamihi al-ʿazīm anā aqall al-khalīqah || bal al-lāshayʿ fī al-ḥaqīqah Ibn Muḥammad Taqī Muḥammad Jaʿfar Muḥammad Bāqir ghafara Allāh subḥānahu lahu wa-li-wālidayhi wa-li-jamīʿ man dakhala fī baytihi wa-adkhalahum fī jannat al-naʿīm wa-lā aqūl hādihā mimmā atamallak li-ʿadam kawna māli lahu (sic) || wa-qābilan iyyāhu bal min ʿawār (sic) al-zamān ladā al-ʿabd al-ghariq fī baḥr al-ʿiṣyān al-rājī min Allāh || dhī al-imtinnān an yusattir ʿuyūbahu bi-dhayl al-ghufrān atamma Allāh al-istifādah minhu lī || wa-li-jamīʿ al-ikhwān waman (?) ṣallā ʿalā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa-ālihi allā dhīna hum li-shajarat al-shafāʿah aghṣān || katabahu ṣāhibuhu Bāqir (seal erased)ʿ.

ʿIn the name of God, the best of names.

Praise be to Allāh the provider of gifts, and prayer for His messenger, the first among the creatures, and his family, especially ʿAlī who aspired along the narrow path. This is a gift which Allāh the Sublime bestowed upon me in His boundless benevolence and immense generosity; me the smallest of His creatures, in truth the nothing, Ibn Muḥammad Taqī Muḥammad Jaʿfar Muḥammad Bāqir, may Allāh — glory be to Him — forgive him, his parents and all who belong to his house, and may He bring them to His paradise. I do not say this is what I own, since I am in no position to

possess, but say I, this is what time lent me, His servant foundering in the sea of disobedience, begging of Allāh who is full of benevolence, that He may remit his sins through His forgiveness. May Allāh make me and all the brethren and those who pray for our Master Muḥammad and his family, who are the branches of the tree of intercession, profit from this gift. Written by its owner, Bāqir'.

The conciseness of an ownership statement often demands that these formulae are shortened. And thus the *ḥamdalah*, *taṣliyah*, *ḥasbalah* (*ḥasbunā Allāh wa-ni'ma al-wakīl*), *ḥawqalah* (*la-ḥawla wa-la quwwata illā bi-Allāh*) and *istighfār* (*astaghfiru Allāh*) when found at the end of the statement they often appear in the following forms: *ḥāmidan muṣalliyan musalliman muḥasbilan muḥawqilan mustaghfiran* or *ḥāmidan lil-Lāh muṣalliyan 'alā nabīyih mustaghfiran li-dhunūbih*.

The *basmalah* is often replaced by *ḥamdalah* or the word *Huwa* (i.e. *Allāh*), the latter frequently and appropriately qualified by *al-Mannān*, *al-Wahhāb*, *al-Mālik*<sup>7</sup>. Other expressions encountered are *Huwa al-Bāqī*, *Huwa al-Qahhār*, *Huwa ḥasbī*, *Huwa Allāh wa-lā siwāh* and the like. The main statement consists of a variety of expressions very often indicating the transient or temporal state and nature of ownership, and thus clearly reflecting the Islamic idea of trusteeship (*amānah*). Not infrequently the humbleness of the owner comes through very clearly. We find, for example, such phrases as: *kayfa aqūlu ḥādhā fī mulkī (!) wa-al-mulk lil-Lāh al-Wāḥid al-Qahhār* (fig. 11), *kayfa aqūlu ḥādhā milkī wa-lil-Lāh mulk al-samawāt wa-al-arḍ bal min 'awārī al-zamān* (fig. 21), *kayfa aqūlu ḥādhā milkī wa-kuntu mamlūk Allāh Ta'ālā* (fig. 15), *mālik ḥādhā al-mamlūk mamlūk Mālik al-mulūk* (fig. 20)<sup>8</sup>.

Among other expressions are:

1. *li, ṣāra li, ṣāra ilā, kāna li*
2. *fī milk, fī milk wa-taṣarruf, dakhala fī milk, āla fī milk, ṣāra fī milk, intazama (insalaka) fī milk, fī silk milk, ṣāra milkan li, istaqarra fī milk, su'ida (istas'ada) bi-milkīh*
3. *malakahu, mālikuhu, tamallakahu bi-al-istikṭāb, fāza bi-tamallukih, min tamallukāt, min mutamallikāt, min jumlat mutamallikāt, shurrifa (tasharrafā) bi-tamallukihi, tamallaktuhu bi-al-shirā' al-sharī, mimma tabarrakahu bi-tamallukih, min mumtala-kāt, istamlakahu*
4. *fī ḥawzah, fī ḥiyāzah, ṣāhibuhu, istaṣhabahu, tasharrafā bi-istiṣhābih, aḥrazahu, ijtānāhu, iqtanāhu, iqtanāhu min mālihi li-nafsih, min qinyah, ishtarāhu, ishtaraytuhu, min mutahaṣṣilāt*
5. *min kutub, min jumlat kutub, ṣāra min kutub, fī nawbah, āla (dakhala, ṣāra) fī nawbah, sāqathu al-nawbah ilā, fī dawḥ, (thumma) ṣāra fī dawḥ, (thumma) intaqala ilā, intaqala ibtiyā'an ilā, intaqala bi-al-irth ilā, warathahu*

6. *a'ārāhu al-zamān li, min 'awārī al-zamān (dahr) ilā ('inda), intaqala min 'awārī al-zamān ilā, ista'artuhu min al-dahr wa-ṣāra bi-raghmī milkī, mimma adārahu al-dawrān wa-awda'ahu al-awān li, min wadā'i al-dahr ilā (ladā) thumma istawda'ahu Allāh fī yad, mimma istawda'ahu al-zamān ilā, min mustawda'āt al-dahr 'alā (ladā), thumma sāqahu al-zamān al-khawwān ladā, mimma sāqahu al-qadar ilā, mimma sāqahu yad al-quḍrah (al-taqḍir) ilā*
7. *mimma an'ama Allāh 'alā, min ni'am Allāh 'alā, min (fayḍ) faḍl Allāh 'alā, min tafaddulāt Allāh 'alā, mimma manaḥahu Ta'ālā 'alā, mimma ḥabāhu Allāh 'alā, min mawāhib Subḥānahu wa-Ta'ālā, mimma manna Allāh 'alā, min minan al-Mannān 'alā, mannun min mannin man manna min manninhi 'alā, mannun min mannin manna 'alayya bi-mannih, min karam Allā wa-amānihi 'alā.*

The name of the owner is almost invariably followed by a *du'ā'*, such as *'afā Allāh anhu, ghafara Allāh lahu, laṭafa Allāh bihi, tāba Allāh 'alayhi, fassaḥa Allāh fī ajalīhi, afāda Allāh 'alayhi, ayyadahu Allāh*. When the statement is dated, the date is given more often in digits than in words. The figures are usually inscribed above (but sometimes below) the word *sanah* or a curved stroke which represents it. In the 13th and early 14th century hijrah it was common to shorten the date to three or two digits. Thus ٢١٤ = ١٢١٤, but ١٤ could be interpreted as ١٢١٤ or ١٣١٤<sup>9</sup>.

The names of the months are either given in their full versions, sometimes accompanied with honorifics<sup>10</sup>, or, particularly from the late 12/18th century onwards, are abbreviated. The date is thus represented by the year (above the stroke) followed by (below the stroke) the day and the abbreviated form of a given month, e.g.  $\frac{١٢٤٣}{٢}$  = 2 Rajab 1243<sup>11</sup>. The abbreviations which one encounters are:

Muḥarram — م

Ṣafar — ص

Rabī' al-Awwal — ر ا ب ع ل ع ١

Rabī' al-Thānī — ر ر ٢ ع ٢

Jumādā al-Ūlā — ج ا ج ١

Jumādā al-Ākhirah — ج ج ٢

Rajab — ر ب

Sha'bān — ش ب

Ramaḍān — ر م ص

Shawwāl — ش ل

Dhū al-Qa'dah — ذ ا ق ع

Dhū al-Ḥijjah — ذ ١٢

Apart from the date, ownership statements can carry a place name and like the colophons they may end with

م, هـ or هـ, and ام or لم, being abbreviations of *tamma*, *intahā* and *āmīn* respectively.

Closely related to ownership notes are study- or reading-records (*muṭāla'āt*). These are usually very short statements to the effect that such and such a person read a given book or a part thereof. The study-notes begin with the words *ṭāla'a*, *ṭāla'a fī*, *naẓara fī*, and less frequently, *waqafa 'alā*, *ta'ammalahu*, *istanāra minhu*. The verb *ṭāla'a* sometimes appears with the verb *malaka*, thus clearly ascribing the reading to the owner of a copy. For example: *ṭāla'ahu mālikuhu* or *malakahu wa-ṭāla'ahu fulān ibn fulān al-fulānī*<sup>13</sup>.

Ownership notes are often accompanied with impressions of private rings and stamps of different shapes and sizes: circular, oval, rectangular, square, hexagonal, octagonal and the like<sup>14</sup>. According to whether the legend on the seal is in intaglio (i.e. having an incised design) or in relief, the inscription (*naqsh*) on the impression can either be black or white. The majority of seal impressions that one can see in Arabic manuscripts have the inscriptions in white on a black background. Signet rings were usually made of silver or copper, as the wearing of gold by men was prohibited and brass and iron rings were disapproved of in Islam<sup>15</sup>.

Inscriptions on Arabic seals are usually simple. They can consist of the name of the owner (shortened version, without titles), the name and motto or a motto itself (*'alāmah*). Like the ownership note, the legend on the seal very often expresses the owner's humility in relation to Allāh. Names are frequently preceded by the simple *'abduhu*, i.e. 'his servant', that is the servant of Allāh. Other preliminary phrases are *al-mutawakkil 'alā Allāh*, *al-mu'taṣim bi-Allāh*, *ufawwiḍu amrī ilā Allāh* and the like<sup>16</sup>. If the owner bears a name, which can be traced back to the Qur'ān, the relevant phrase is often chosen for the motto. For example, *'idhā jā'a naṣr Allāh*' (Sūrat al-Naṣr, v. 1) would be suitable for a person called Naṣr Allāh<sup>17</sup>. Sayings and invocations are also selected for this purpose, for example: *al-mu'min ḥayy fī al-dārayn*, *'abduhu al-rājī luṭf 'Alī*, *Muḥammad wa-al-ṭirah al-tāhirah shafī' Yahyā fī al-ākhirah*, *adriknī 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, *yarjū ḥusn al-khitām al-Sayyid 'Abd al-Salām*<sup>18</sup>. The date is also often part of the legend of a seal.

Quite a separate category of ownership statements — separate because of their nature and function — is endowment attestations or deeds (*waqfīyāt*, *taḥbīsāt*)<sup>19</sup>. *Waqf*-statements vary from simple notes, often without indicating the benefactor, to full legal documents<sup>20</sup>. Manuscripts which were made *waqfs* can easily be spotted since they invariably carry the word *waqf* or the phrase *waqf li-* (or *'alā*) *Allāh* either in the head margin or, particularly in the former case, across the face of the page (fig. 4). A fully developed *waqf*-statement consists of the following parts:

1. *basmalah* or *ḥamdalah* or both
2. *waqf*-formula (namely, *waqafa wa-ḥabbasa wa-sabbala wa-ḥarrama wa-abbada wa-taṣaddaqa*)<sup>21</sup>.
3. founder's name (*al-wāqif*)
4. object of the endowment (*al-nawqūf*), namely, number of volumes and title(s) of the book(s)
5. beneficiary or usufructuary (*al-mawqūf 'alayhi*), i.e. usually the name of the library
6. condition(s) of the founder (*sharṭ al-wāqif*)
7. date (*ta'riḫ al-waqf*)
8. attestation proper (*ishhād*), giving names of witnesses<sup>22</sup>.

Examples:

*Waqafa hādihā al-kitāb al-sharīf Sulṭān Muḥammad ibn Quṭb al-Dīn || waqfan 'amman taqrīban ilā Allāh Ta'ālā wa-iltamasa lil-nāẓirīn fīhi || an yad'ū lahu wa-li-wāli-dayhi qurbatan ilā Allāh taḥrīran || fī Jumādā al-Ūlā sanah 1083* (plus a small oval seal reading *'Abduhu Sulṭān Muḥammad 1063?*)<sup>23</sup>.

*Waqafa wa-ḥabbasa wa-sabbala jamī' hādihā al-kitāb || faqīr rahmat Rabbihi al-'Alī Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Awaḍ al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī 'alā 'ammat ṭalabat al-'ilm wa-ja'ala maqarrahu bi-Zāwīyat || al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Saḥīmī fa-man baddalahu ba'da mā samī'ahu fa-innamā ithmuhu || 'alā allādhīna yubaddilūnahu*<sup>24</sup>.

*Bism Allāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm waqafa wa-ḥabbasa wa-sabbala wa-abbada al-'abd al-faqīr ilā Allāh Ta'ālā || Abū Sa'īd Sayf al-Dīn Bukaym (?) al-Sāqī al-Malikī al-Nāṣirī a'āda Allāh 'alayhi min barakāt al-Qur'ān al-'Azīm || jamī' hādhihi al-rab'ah wa-'iddatuhā thalāthūn juz. an 'alā al-muslimīn kāffatan yantafī'ūn bihā fī al-qirā'ah wa-al-naql wa-al-muṭāla'ah wa-ja'ala mustaqarrahā bi-al-turbah allatī tu'raf bi-inshā'ihā bi-al-Qarā fah al-Ṣughrā al-mujāwirah || li-ḥawsh al-Malik al-Zāhir yajrī al-ḥāl fī dhālika kadhālika ilā an yarith Allāh al-arḍ wa-man 'alayhā wa-Huwa khayr al-wārithīn || wa-ja'ala al-wāqif al-madhkūr bi-a'ālīhi al-nazar fī dhālika li-nafsihi ṭūla ḥayātihi thumma man ba'dahu li-awlādihi al-arshad || fa-al-arshad fa-idhā inqaradat al-dhurriyah wa-lam yabqa minhum aḥadan yakūn al-nazar li-man yakūn Shaykhan bi-al-turbah al-madhkūrah || yajrī al-ḥāl fī dhālika kadhālika fa-ḥarām ḥarām 'alā man ghayyarah aw baddalahu fa-man baddalahu ba'ada mā samī'ahu fa-innamā ithmuhu 'alā || allādhīna yubaddilūnahu innā Allāh Samī' 'Alīm wa-sharṭ al-wāqif al-madhkūr bi-a'ālīhi anna hādhihi al-rab'ah bi-kamālihi yakūn mustaqarruhā || bi-al-qubbah al-madhkūrah wa-innahā lā tukhraj min al-turbah al-madhkūrah wa-lā tu'ar wa-lā tukhraj illā li-iṣlāḥ wa-waqqa'a al-ishhād bi-dhālika || fī al-sābi' wa-al-'ishrīn min shahr Jumādā al-Ākhirah sanata sitta wa-'ishrīn wa-sab'umi'ah*<sup>25</sup>.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. P.S. van Koningsveld and Q. al-Samarrai, *Localities and dates in Arabic manuscripts*. Descriptive cata-

logue of a collection of Arabic manuscripts in the possession of E. J. Brill (Leiden, 1978), p. 116 and R. Sellheim, *Materia-  
lien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte* (Wiesbaden, 1976),  
vol. 1, Taf. 16 (where the statement beginning with *katabahu  
li-nafsih* constitutes a separate note).

<sup>2</sup> Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Munajjid, *al-Kitāb al-ʿarabī al-makḥḥūṭ  
ilā al-qarn al-ʿāshir al-hijrī* (*Le manuscrit arabe...*) (Cairo,  
1960), vol. 1, pl. 64, 66, 67, 69, 70-79.

<sup>3</sup> A. Gacek, *Catalogue of Arabic manuscripts in the library  
of the Institute of Ismaili studies* (London, 1985), vol. 2,  
nos. 41, 87, 111, 133, 197, 239, 245. These statements are  
known in epistolography and diplomatic as *al-mustanad* (see  
Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Qalqashandī, d. 821/1418, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī  
ṣināʿat al-inshā*, Cairo, 1383/1963, vol. 6, pp. 264-265).

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, a list of owners extracted from the  
*samāʿāt* which are to be found on a copy of al-Shāfiʿī's  
*Risālah* (Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī, d. 204/820, *al-Risā-  
lah*, ed. by Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, Cairo, 1358/1940,  
pp. 25-27).

<sup>5</sup> A synonym of *zahr al-kitāb* is *wajh al-kitāb*. It is  
interesting to note here an apparent contradiction between  
this expression and *zahr al-waraqah* and *wajh al-waraqah*,  
which mean the verso and recto of the folio or leaf respec-  
tively. In modern usage the recto of the first folio is also  
referred to as *turrat al-kitāb* (see ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Amīn,  
ʿMulāḥazāt fī qawāʿid fahrasat al-makḥḥūṭ, *al-Mawrid*, 5,  
1976, p. 154 and al-Munajjid, *al-Kitāb al-ʿarabī*, vol. 1,  
pl. 59).

<sup>6</sup> Aḥmad Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i nuskhah'hā-i khatī-i Kitāb-  
khānah-i ʿUmūmī-i Āyat Allāh Najafī Mar'ashī* (Qum,  
1395 H), vol. 1, pl. 251. This catalogue, published in 10  
volumes, contains 1,690 black and white plates and is,  
therefore, an important source for the study of Arabic and  
Persian palaeography.

<sup>7</sup> The word *Huwa* is often seen in Shiite manuscripts.  
Some Muslim theologians believe that this word is 'the  
greatest name of God' (*al-Ism al-Aẓam*) and is to be found  
in the Seal of Solomon (*al-Khātīm al-Sulaymānī*). See e.g.  
G. C. Anawati, 'Le nom supreme de Dieu', *Atti del Terzo  
Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamici*, Ravello, 1-6 settembre  
1966 (Napoli, 1967), pp. 10-11; J. McG. Dawkins, 'The seal  
of Solomon', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1944),  
pp. 145-150; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Būnī (d. 622/1225), 'Sharḥ al-  
Juljulūtīyah al-Kubrā', in *Manba' uṣūl al-ḥikmah lil-Būnī*  
(Beirut, n.d.), pp. 171-182.

<sup>8</sup> The attributes of humility used by Muslim authors,  
copyists, owners and the like are very numerous. Apart  
from such expressions as *aqall al-khalq*, *afqar al-khalq*,  
*aḥqar al-anām*, *aḍ'af al-ʿibād*, we find *al-ḍaʿīf*, *al-faqīr*, *al-  
ḥaqīr*, *al-lahīf*, *al-asīf*, *al-ʿāsī*, *al-mudhnīb*, *al-miskīn*, *al-naḥīf*,  
*al-dhalīl*, *al-jānī*, *al-athīm* and many others.

<sup>9</sup> It has to be remembered in this connection that from  
about 13/19th century the often used script was *Ruqʿah*  
(Turkish *Riqʿah*) in which the numbers two and three (C, ۳)  
differ from their *naskhī* versions (۲, ۳).

<sup>10</sup> The honorifics added to the Muslim months are: *al-  
Ḥarām* (for Muḥarram, Dhū al-Qaʿdah, Dhū al-ḥijjah and  
sometimes Rajab), *al-Khayr* or *al-Zafar* (for Ṣafar), *al-  
Murajjab*, *al-Aṣam*, *al-Aṣab*, *al-Fard* (for Rajab), *al-Muʿaz-  
zam* (for Shaʿbān and also Ramaḍān), *al-Mubārak* (for  
Ramaḍān and Shawwāl), *al-Mukarram* (for Shaʿbān or  
Shawwāl). See e.g. E. Littmann, 'Über die Ehrennamen und

Neubenennungen der islamischen Monate', *Der Islam*, 8  
(1918), pp. 228-236.

<sup>11</sup> Van Koningsveld/Samarrai, *Localities and dates*, p. 41.

<sup>12</sup> Ḥusayn ʿAlī Maḥfūz, 'al-ʿAlāmāt wa-al-rumūz ʿinda al-  
muʿallifīn al-ʿarab qadīman wa-ḥadīthan', *al-Turāth al-  
Shaʿbī*, 1, iv-v (1963-1964), pp. 33-37 (447-451); A. Zajac-  
kowski and J. Reychman, *Zarys dyplomatyki osmańsko-  
tureckiej* (Warszawa, 1955), p. 69.

<sup>13</sup> See e.g. A. J. Arberry, *A handlist of the Arabic manu-  
scripts* (The Chester Beatty Library) (Dublin, 1955-66),  
vol. 1, pl. 1, vol. 2, pl. 43 & 59, vol. 4, pl. 131; B. Moritz,  
*Arabic palaeography, a collection of Arabic texts from the  
first century of the Hijra till the year 1000* (Cairo, 1905),  
vol. 2, pl. 167; Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist*, vol. 4, no. 1548, vol. 5,  
no. 1704, vol. 9, no. 3486, vol. 10, no. 3773; Khayr al-Dīn al-  
Zirikī, *al-ʿAlām, qāmūs tarājīm li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-al-nisāʾ  
min al-ʿArab wa-al-Mustaʿribīn wa-al-Mustashriqīn*, 4th ed.  
(Beirut, 1979), vol. 5, p. 54.

<sup>14</sup> In classical Arabic the following words were used for a  
seal or its impression: *khātīm*, *khātām* (pl. *khawātīm*), *khā-  
tām* (pl. *khawātīm*), *khītām* (pl. *khayātīm*), *tābiʿ*, *tābaʿ* (pl.  
*ṭawābiʿ*), as well as *miṭbaʿ* and *mīfaq* (see ʿAbd Allāh ibn  
ʿAbd al-Azīz al-Baghdādī, fl. 3/9th cent., 'Kitāb al-kuttāb  
wa-ṣifāt al-dawāh wa-al-qalam wa-taṣrifuhā', ed. by Hilāl  
Nājī, *al-Mawrid*, 2, ii (1973), p. 54; Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā  
al-Ṣūlī, d. 335 946, *Adab al-kuttāb*, ed. by Muḥammad Bah-  
jah al-Atharī, Baghdad, 1341 H, pp. 139-143; ʿAbdallāh ibn  
Muḥammad ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī, d. 521 1127, *al-Iqtī-  
dāb fī sharḥ Adab al-kuttāb*, Beirut, 1973, pp. 96-98).

<sup>15</sup> *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1st ed.), s.v. 'Khātām', vol. 2,  
pp. 921-924; *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new ed.), s.v. 'Khātām',  
vol. 4, pp. 1102-1105. See also Freiherr Hammer-Purgstall,  
*Abhandlung über die Siegel der Araber, Perser und Türker*  
(Wien, 1849), containing a table of 72 seal impressions.

<sup>16</sup> These and other expressions such as *iʿtaṣantu bi-Allāh*,  
*iʿtimādī ʿalā Allāh*, *istaʿantu bi-Allāh*, *tawakkaltu ʿalā Allāh*,  
*iʿtadadu bi-Allāh waḥdahu*, *Allāh ḥashbī*, *Allāh amalī*, *Allāh  
walī*, *al-minnah lil-Lāh*, *Allāh mufattiḥ al-abwāb*, were used in  
the early period of the Islamic Empire as mottos/signatures  
of rulers, viziers and scribes (see S. M. Stern, *Fāṭimid decrees,  
original documents from the Fāṭimid chancery*, London,  
1964, pp. 123-165). For lists of other mottos see also al-  
Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, vol. 6, pp. 352-356 and Hammer-  
Purgstall, *Abhandlung*, passim.

<sup>17</sup> A. Gacek, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, no. 121.

<sup>18</sup> See fig. 8, 9, 15 and van Koningsveld/Samarrai, *Localities  
and dates*, p. 116.

<sup>19</sup> *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. 'Waḳf', pp. 624-  
628.

<sup>20</sup> al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, vol. 14, pp. 353-354;  
Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, d. 733/1333,  
*Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* (Cairo, n.d.), vol. 9, pp. 156-  
160.

<sup>21</sup> The verb *awqafa* was also used. For some of the  
earliest forms of *waqfīyāt* often found on the inside  
of discarded bookcovers see G. Marçais and L. Poinssot,  
*Objets kairouanais, IX<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Tunis; Paris, 1948),  
pp. 105, 106, 124, 128, 145, 175, 176, 180, 210 and F. Déro-  
che, 'Collections de manuscrits anciens du Coran à Istanbul,  
rapport préliminaire', *Études médiévales et patrimoine turc*,  
ed. by J. Sourdél-Thomine (Paris, 1983), pp. 145-165.

<sup>22</sup> Y. Eche, *Les bibliothèques arabes publiques et semi-*

publiques en Mesopotamie, en Syrie et en Égypte au moyen âge (Damas, 1967), in particular Chapter 3: 'modes de constitution du waqf des livres' (pp. 301-313).

<sup>23</sup> Husaynī, *Fihrist*, vol. 2, no. 407.

<sup>24</sup> al-Ziriklī, *al-Ālām*, vol. 4, p. 203.

<sup>25</sup> M. Lings and Y. H. Safadī, *The Qur'ān, catalogue of an exhibition of Qur'ān manuscripts at the British Library 3 April - 15 August 1976* (London, 1976), pl. xix. For other

examples of waqf notes see *al-Munajjid*, *al-Kitāb al-'arabī*, pls 53 and 86; van Koningsveld/Samarrai, *Localities and dates*, p. 108; Sellheim, *Materialien*, Taf. 28; S.A. Bonebakker, 'Notes on some old manuscripts of the Adab al-kātib of Ibn Qutayba ...' *Oriens* 13-14 (1960-61), p. 180 and Fu'ād Sayyid, 'Naṣṣān qadīmān fī i'ārat al-kutub', *Majallat Ma'hād al-Makhtū'āt al-'Arabīyah*, 4, i (1958), pl. 7, after p. 128.

ILLUSTRATIONS

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
الحمد لله والحمد لله والحمد لله والحمد لله والحمد لله  
و بعد فهدى من غلة مواهب الله فاعلى لطيفة العزم وكرمه العظيم  
بل الكاشف في الحفظة في الخلد في الخلد في الخلد في الخلد في الخلد  
من رفا في بيته وادخلهم حنة العظم وادخلهم حنة العظم  
وقد بلا في الخلد في الخلد في الخلد في الخلد في الخلد  
ذو اللسان ان يسر بخلق عبودته بل عفوان انتم لله الاستفاده منه كل  
بويجس ال عفوان واصل غايبه شامة والى البرق بم شجرة لصفاته العفوان



قد كتب هذا الكتاب المستطاب حسب الاشارة  
ذدة المدققين وزبدة المحققين شيخ الاسلام  
والسليين الشيخ محمد الشيرازي بن القا تون العاش  
الفقيه الفقير المحتاج الى الله العفي ابن عبد الحكيم  
محمد سعيد الحسيني غفره قوما وشرهين بلاد نزع من  
لكتابته يوم الاحد احد عشر شهر شعبان المعظم  
سنة تسع وعشرين والعم من الهجرة النبوية صلوة

Fig. 2. Ibid., no. 197, f. 385a (Muhammad known as Ibn Khātūn al-Āmilī. — Dated 11 Sha'bān 1029. — Seal of 'Alī ibn Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, dated 126?).

Fig. 1. Gacek, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, no. 146, f. 1a (Muḥammad Bāqir ibn Muḥammad Taqī ibn Muḥammad Ja'far. — N.d. — Seal erased).

و بعد ان قد انقل من  
بالسبع الصبح الاله ان افتر  
لا العبد على نون (البرق)  
البرق على الاله

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
الحمد لله والحمد لله والحمد لله والحمد لله والحمد لله  
والله اعلم بالصواب  
اننا نناشدك علينا  
فانظروا بعدنا الى الامانة  
المخلصين برحمتك يا رحيم الرحمن  
من مملكتك العوالي في  
المحتاج الى رحمتك يا رحيم الرحمن  
ابن شامة  
و سر عونا  
على النور  
والبرق  
البرق

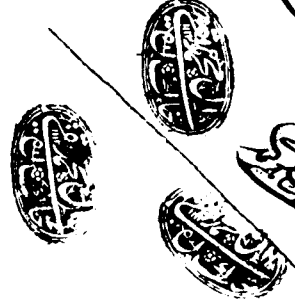


Fig. 3. Ibid., no. 116, f. 1a (Alī Naqī ibn 'Alī al-...). — Seal illegible).

Fig. 4. Ibid., no. 194, f. 329a (Muḥammad Taqī al-Husaynī, copyist and owner. — Dated 15 Jumādā I 1119. — Seal: khāk rah Āl Muḥammad Taqī, dated 1112).

ملک اقل خلایق اللہ تعالیٰ  
 حضرت محمد بن عبد الوہاب  
 فی شہر الحجاز ۱۲۵۶ھ

Fig. 5. Ibid., no. 116, f. 1a (Ja'far Raḍī (?) al-Dīn al-Baḥrānī. — Dated Muḥarram 1256(?). — Date written upside-down in the lower part of the page).

محمد بن عبد الوہاب  
 العبد المذنب  
 المذنب والذلیل  
 اصباح

Fig. 6. Ibid., no. 210A, f. 1a «Asad Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Hāshimī. — Dated Iṣbahān, 1184. — Seal illegible).

هو الله المالك  
 ومن عوار النان  
 قد نقل بالمعنى النسخية المتقدمة من حوزة دارالعلم  
 ودرت الصيغة بالفارسية والترجمة عند زور الالصار  
 العبد المذنب الرجزى بن محمد بن عبد الله  
 مع الأثر ۱۲۹

Fig. 7. Ibid., no. 130A, f. 1a (Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad Bāqir al-Jīlānī al-Raštū. — Dated Dār al-'Ilm al-Shīrāz, Rabī' I 1209. — Seal: Ḥusayn minnī wa-anā min Ḥusayn, n.d.).

فلان نقل العبد المذنب  
 محمد بن عبد الوہاب  
 العبد المذنب والذلیل  
 اصباح

Fig. 8. Ibid., no. 130A, f. 1a (Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad Shaḥīf al-Sharīf al-Iṣfahānī. — Dated Muḥarram 1316. — Two seals: al-mutawakkil 'alā Allāh Yaḥyā Muḥammad Shaḥīf and Muḥammad wa-al-'itrah al-ṭāhirah shaḥīf Yaḥyā fī al-ākhirah, date illegible).

هو الله المالك  
 ومن عوار النان  
 قد نقل بالمعنى النسخية المتقدمة من حوزة دارالعلم  
 ودرت الصيغة بالفارسية والترجمة عند زور الالصار  
 العبد المذنب الرجزى بن محمد بن عبد الله  
 مع الأثر ۱۲۹

Fig. 9. Ibid., no. 210A, f. 1a (Luṭf'alī ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad Ismā'īl ibn Maḥdī. — Dated 18 Jumādā I 1230. — Seal: 'abduhu al-rāji luṭf'alī, date illegible).

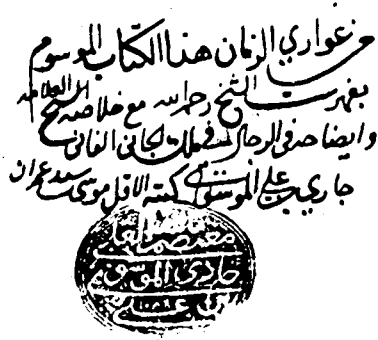


Fig. 10. Ibid., no. 29, f. 158a (Jārī ibn 'Alī al-Mūsawī. — N.d. — Seal: mu'taṣim bi-Allāh al-'Alī Jārī ibn 'Alī al-Mūsawī, dated 1085).

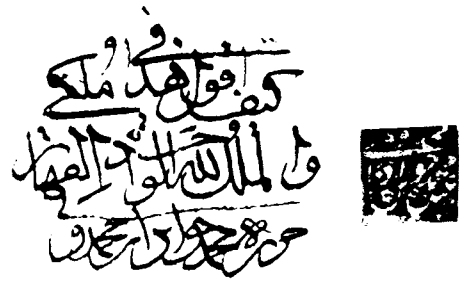


Fig. 11. Ibid., no. 207, inside lower cover (Muḥammad Jawwād ibn Muḥammad Walī. — N.d. — Seal (f. 94b): 'abduhu Muḥammad Jawwād ibn Muḥammad Walī, n.d.).

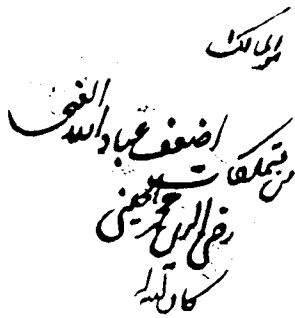


Fig. 12. Ibid., no. 220A, f. 39a (Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥīnī(?). — N.d.).

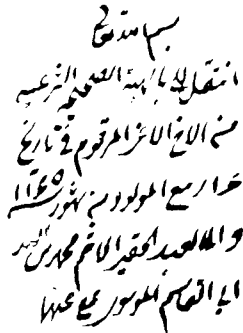


Fig. 13. Ibid., no. 122, f. 1a (Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Qāsim al-Mūsawī. — Dated 16 Rabī' al-Mawlūd, i.e. Rabī' I, 1165).

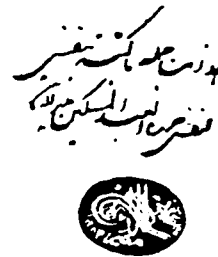


Fig. 14. Ibid., no. 253D, f. 1a (Munīr al-Dīn [ibn Jamāl al-Dīn, see f. 62a], copyist and owner. — N.d. — Seal dated 1284).

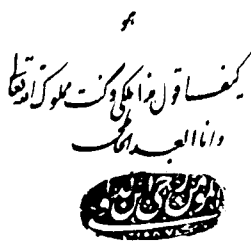


Fig. 15. Ibid., no. 91, f. 200a (S.n. — Seal: al-Mu'min ḥayy fī al-dārayn, dated 1087).

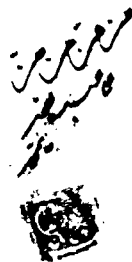


Fig. 16. Ibid., no. 50A, f. 1a «khān Muḥammad. — Seal illegible).

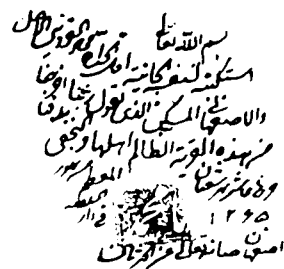


Fig. 17. Ibid., no. 100, f. 1a (Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī al-Isfahānī. — Dated Dār al-Saltānah Isfahān, Sha'bān 1265. — Seal: yā Muḥammad, dated 1263).

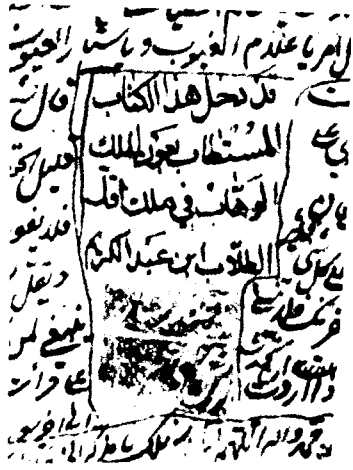


Fig. 18. Ibid., no. 192D, f. 1a (Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm. — N.d. — Seal illegible).

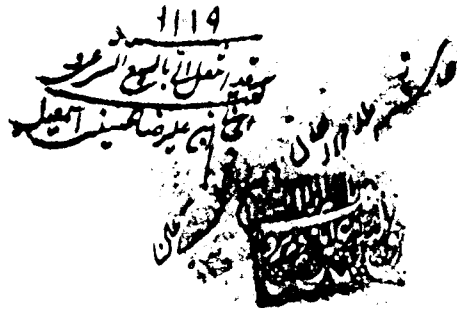


Fig. 19. Ibid., no. 50A, f. 1a (Ismā'īl ibn 'Alī Riḍā al-Ḥusaynī. — Dated 1119. — Seal: lā ilāha illā Allāh al-Malik al-Ḥaqq al-Mubīn 'abduhu...?, dated 1148).

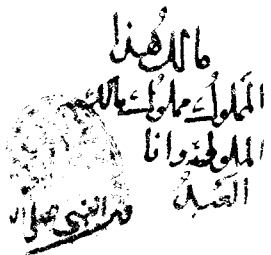


Fig. 20. Ibid., no. 187F, f. 1a (S.n. — Seal: 'Abd al-Ghaffār al-Ḥusaynī).



Fig. 21. Ibid., no. 187F, f. 1b (S.n. — Dated 1249. — Two seals of the above-mentioned 'Abd al-Ghaffār).



Fig. 22. Ibid., no. 210B, f. 1a (Alī Naḥī al-Mūsawī al-Zanjānī. — Dated 1213. — Seal: al-rājī 'Alīnaḥī al-Mūsawī).

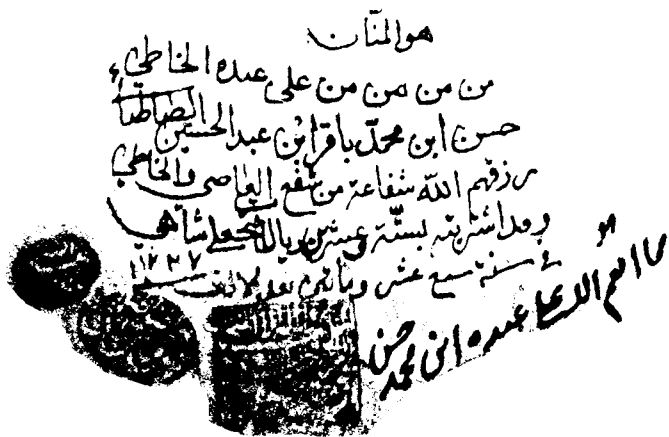


Fig. 23. Ibid., no. 210B, f. 1a (Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī. — Dated 1227. — Purchased from Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāhī for 26 riyals. — Two seals: 1. 'abduh Ḥasan al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2. lā ilāha illā Allāh al-Malik al-Ḥaqq al-Mubīn...?. — Underneath: another entry of Ibn Muḥammad Ḥasan, seal erased).

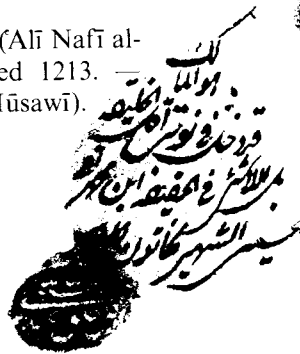


Fig. 24. Ibid., no. 43, f. 1a (Ibn Muḥammad Taqī al-Ḥusaynī al-shahīr bi-Khātūn al-...?. — N.d. — Seal: aqall khalq Allāh 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī).