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A Mamlūk-Andalusi Holograph Manuscript of the Former Marīnid Chancellor Muḥammad Ibn Ḥizb Allāh al-Wādī Āshī (d. 788 H/1386 CE)

A large corpus of manuscripts created by Andalusis living in Mamlūk lands have survived, tracing the new lives that they built far away from their birthplaces. These documents illustrate interests, scholarly and professional activities, and, in those cases where a scholar had not attracted the attention of Mamlūk authors, also provide exceptional sources for reconstructing their fate, as well their own expression, and perception, of themselves. It is clear that the Andalusis used these manuscripts for private study, for the education of their children, as a means of transmission of their own knowledge, as well as a source of income. In some cases, the manuscripts enable readers to clearly establish the context in which they were created. How a specific volume was used over time and how its meaning changed through the generations can also often be ascertained. Thus, these manuscripts allow one to look beyond the factual depiction of the presence of the Maghrib in the Mashriq, as it was shaped by Mamlūk authors, and offer a unique opportunity to assess their author's identity and cultural acts of expression.¹ Biographical sketches in Western sources often end at the moment of their departure from the Maghrib, while Eastern ones start with their arrival in the East.

1 In this paper the words Maghrib/Maghribi and West and Western are used to denote the Islamic West as a whole. For the specific regions terms such as al-Andalus, Granada, Fez, and Tunis or their dynastic equivalents are used. The terms Mashriq and the East are used to denote everything eastwards of Ḥaḥṣid Tripolis.

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Their previously acquired identity and skills clearly helped these scholars to adapt to this new Mashriq life, and this ‘dual reality’ is worthy of exploration.

In such a context, and within the framework of this volume, this paper aims to analyze three holograph *ijāzas* (permission for transmission), with a fragment of a previously unknown *Riḥla*, given by Muḥammad Ibn Ḥizb Allāh al-Ṭāʾi al-Wādī Āshī (712–788 H/1312–3–1386 CE), a former Marīnid chancellor, to Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī (753–841 H/1352–1438 CE), a *muḥaddith* (scholar of *ḥadīth*) from Aleppo. These *ijāzas* were given in Damascus in 784 H/1382 CE and provide evidence of how an Andalusī scholar living in Mamlūk lands created and passed on an ego-document to a local scholar, as well as how this document transformed in meaning over the next 55 years of Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī’s life.² This change in meaning of the manuscript suggests that the understanding and reception of an ego-document depends on the “symbolic universe” current in the society at that particular moment in time, and how it can be enhanced by the presence of other scholars, in this case from the West.³ Specifically, it points to the personal contacts Andalusis made between themselves in Mamlūk territory and the use of a certain Mamlūk-Andalusī manuscript among Mamlūk scholars.

Available evidence permits an analysis of the use to which this particular manuscript was put on various occasions, from its creation until the death of its owner, Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī. It forms part of his extensive *Thabat* (a scholar’s study diary) that accompanied him his whole life.⁴ The *ijāzas* were written in either the handwriting of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh or that of his and Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī’s friend, Abū al-Ḥasan/Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī, who was also Andalusī. They are Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s expressions of his personal cultural identity and are part poetry and part travelogue. In composition they differ from the rest of Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī’s *Thabat*, rather, reflecting the form similar to other *ijāzas* given in al-Andalus at that time. To consider them as ego-documents, and not just another sample of his wider works, we must look “at not what is represented but how this representation has been interpreted and perceived”.⁵ As Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s texts

² On “ego-documents” see Frenkel 2018, 29–31; on holograph manuscripts see Bauden/Franssen 2019, 1–37.

³ Confino 1997, 1391.

⁴ Kristina Richardson translates the word *thabat* as a scholarly autobiography (Richardson 2016, 31). Although *thabat* represents a type of autobiographical expression, it is not a coherent narrative of its author’s life. Thus, I opted for the term a ‘scholar’s study diary’ since that is more related to one’s everyday activities than to the expression of self. Likewise, Reynolds *et al.* translate *thabat* as a catalog of teachers, which clearly does not apply to the *Thabat* of Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī. See Reynolds 2001, 42.

⁵ Confino 1997, 1392.

can only be understood through intermediaries who interacted with them, it is their relationship to Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī’s *Thabat*, its readers and users, which is crucial for the confirmation of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s presence in Mamlūk territory after he met Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī.

1 The *Thabat* of Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī and his History with the Andalusis

The manuscript of Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī’s *Thabat* is now held in the Jafet Library of the American University of Beirut.⁶ It is part of a large, dispersed, corpus of surviving manuscripts produced, owned, or used by Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī throughout his life. Although one of many *thabats* from Aleppo, it is certainly the most famous. It comprises 722 pages, of which 721 are paginated, and 361 folios. However, it appears to be incomplete at the end.⁷ It spans the period from 776 H/1375 CE to 810 H/1408 CE and is composed of *samā’āt* and *qirā’āt* (listening and reading certificates), *ijāzas*, excerpts of poetry, historical records, an autobiographical sketch of Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī, travel and study notes, the birth dates of his sons, and other information he considered worthy of recording. It was Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī’s constant companion on the travels he undertook in the pursuit of knowledge, journeys that took him from Aleppo to Damascus, Cairo, Alexandria and other Mamlūk cities. In addition, Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī was assiduous in collecting autographs of his teachers. Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s text fits into this category, although his is only one of three Andalusī/Maghribī scholars collected by Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī.

It was Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī’s previous experience and interaction with Andalusis that ultimately led to his encounter with Ibn Ḥizb Allāh. During his early years in Aleppo, he studied with two close friends, Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad Ibn Mālik al-Ru‘aynī (708 or 709–779 H/1308–10–1378 CE) and Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Jābir al-Hawwārī (698–780 H/1298–9–1378 CE).⁸ A part of what looks like a

⁶ For Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī see Wādī‘ al-Thabīṭī 1418/1997–8.

⁷ Ibn Ḥajar’s biography of a *kātib* of Granada, Sahl b. Mālik (d. after 821 H/1418–9 CE), suggests that Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī continued to collect similar material well after the year 810 H/1407 CE. See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Majma‘* (1994), 3: 119.

⁸ Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī also noted their dates of birth and death (Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī, “*Thabat*”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 184). Both of them are mentioned as his teachers but Ibn Mālik is more prevalent. Interestingly, they wrote together another currently lost *Rihla* produced by Mamlūk-Andalusis. Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī’s son Abū Dharr mentions that it was a one-volume work. See Sibṭ Ibn

barnāmaj of Ibn Mālīk al-Ruʿaynī was even copied into his *Thabat*.⁹ We can but speculate if their influence played any role in his future interest in meeting Ibn Ḥizb Allāh. However, we do know that another Andalusī, Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī (ca. 750–792 H/ca. 1350–1389-90 CE) did play a major role in his life, and also in his *Thabat*.

In all likelihood Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī and Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī were introduced sometime in Ramaḍān 776 (February 1375), when Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī came to Aleppo to read *ḥadīth* in the *madrasa* al-Sharafiyya.¹⁰ In 780 H/1378 CE they met again in Jabal Qāsiyūn next to Damascus.¹¹ From Muḥarram to Rabīʿ al-Thānī 780 (Apr.-Aug. 1378), they studied together in Damascus, and later in Cairo in 780–782 H/1379-80 CE.¹² Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī copied the *samāʿāt* and *qirāʾāt* certificates from Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī's *Thabat* and penned some of the certificates in his own handwriting, including two *ijāzas*.¹³ Likewise, Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī copied some of the thoughts of Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī.¹⁴ After a break of several years, their paths crossed again, in Damascus in 784 H/1382 CE during an encounter with Ibn Ḥizb Allāh. In 785 H/1383 CE, in Cairo, Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī took some classes with Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī, and he finally included him on the list of his teachers at the beginning of his *Thabat*.¹⁵ They parted ways in 785 H/1383 CE, when Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī left for Mecca, and never saw each other again.¹⁶

There is no other scholar from this period with whom Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī shared his *Thabat* so extensively, nor any other with whom he interacted so

al-ʿAjāmī, *Kunūz al-dhahab* (1996), 1: 473. For Ibn Mālīk al-Ruʿaynī, see Navarro i Ortiz/Lirola Delgado 2012; for Ibn Jābir al-Hawwārī, Lirola Delgado/Ferrando 2009.

⁹ Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, “*Thabat*”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 557–560. It consists of a long list of Mālīkī works with *isnāds* copied before Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī's second trip to Cairo from Ibn Mālīk's own handwritten notes.

¹⁰ Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī, “*Ijāza*”, Dār al-Kutub MS majmūʿa 135, fols. 98v and 103v. There are two manuscripts that Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī created during his journey to Aleppo. One is an excerpt of al-Būnī's work (Berlin MS Mq 123, fols. 76r–81v) and the other is his 20 page long holograph *ijāza* to transmit Qurʾānic readings on his authority (Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī, “*Ijāza*”, Dār al-Kutub MS majmūʿa 135, fols. 94r–103v). The latter text I prepared for an edition with an introductory study.

¹¹ Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, “*Thabat*”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 189.

¹² Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, “*Thabat*”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 186, 206, 226, 246, 266, 286, 324, 404, 470.

¹³ See especially Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, “*Thabat*”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 9, 12, 212–213, 593–596.

¹⁴ Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, “*Thabat*”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 286.

¹⁵ Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, “*Thabat*”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 40, 599–600.

¹⁶ Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī died in Yemen in 792 H/1389-90 CE. See Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya* (1933), 2: 255; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar* (1993), 4: 232; al-Burayhī, *Ṭabaqāt* (1994), 253; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʾrīkh* (1988), 3: 413.

closely over such a long period of time. Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī was probably around the same age as Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī. They also had similar interests in reading *ḥadīth* which, no doubt, brought them closer to each other and allowed them to pursue their studies together. Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī arrived in Damascus in 772 H/1370-1 CE from Tunis, after having left Granada a year earlier.¹⁷ He had never met Ibn Ḥizb Allāh but on the list of his Granada teachers are found scholars who certainly had.¹⁸ For about 13 years he wandered between Damascus, Aleppo and Cairo, studying and teaching *ḥadīth* and *qirā’āt*. Similarly to Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, he carried with him a holograph *ijāzas*, from his Andalusi teachers, which he showed to his Mamlūk colleagues.¹⁹ It would be more speculation to suggest that this might have played any role in Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī’s desire to have a similar holograph *ijāza* by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh. However, what is more certain is that it had to have been Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī who introduced him to Ibn Ḥizb Allāh in 784 H/1382 CE, when the two old friends ran into each other in Damascus.

2 Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s meeting with Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī and Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī in Damascus

Despite Ibn Ḥizb Allāh being a relatively unknown scholar, he is arguably one of the most curious Andalusis one could have encountered in Damascus.²⁰ He was a former member of the chancery of the Marīnid sultans, a veteran of one of the largest battles of the 14th century, the Battle of Tarifa (741 H/1340 CE), and he is known to have participated in the Marīnid conquest of Qusanṭīna in 758 H/1357 CE. He was probably born in Wādī Āsh (Guadix) in 712 H/1312-3 CE where his father worked as an *‘adl* (notary).²¹ After a long period of service in al-Andalus and Maghrib, he left on pilgrimage and settled in Jerusalem for almost 30 years.

17 Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya* (1933), 2: 29, 210

18 Namely Aḥmad Ibn Khātima, Abū al-Barakāt al-Balafīqī or Faraj Ibn Lubb.

19 It is Ibn al-Jazarī who mentioned that al-Balawī had brought the *ijāzas* of some scholars with him, such as Ibn Lubb or Ibn Qāsim al-Ghassānī. These *ijāzas* were clearly his cultural capital in the Mamlūk territory. See Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya* (1933), 1: 97; 2: 8

20 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Awṣāf al-nās* (2002), 143; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāta* (2001), 2: 367–370. For corrections see Ibn Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī 1979, 343–344; al-Bishtakī, “Markaz al-Iḥāta”, BnF Arabe 3347, fol. 27r–27v; al-‘Ulaymī, *al-Uns* (1999), 2: 362–363; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* (1972), 1: 328; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar* (1993), 4: 199–200; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Fayḍ al-‘ubāb* (1990), 322; Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Nathir al-jumān* (1987), 426; Damaj 2004, 160.

21 Espinar Moreno 2019, 87–88.

He died in Damascus in 788 H/1386 CE. History has largely forgotten him now but during the three days of Sha‘bān 784/October 1382 in Damascus he created an extraordinary document when he met Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī and Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī.

The story of how these three men met can be reconstructed based on seven pages of Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī’s *Thabat* (pages 568–574) written either in the handwriting of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh or at his request by Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī.²² The whole sojourn of Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī in Damascus covers 16 pages (pages 564–579), which means that Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s text occupies half of this *juz’*. Page 564 is the front-page of his arrival in Damascus in which Ibn Ḥizb Allāh is listed as a teacher. Pages 565 to 567 contain *samā’āt*, *qirā’āt* and *inshādāt* from 28 Rajab 784/7 October 1382 (page 565), the end of Rajab 784/October 1382 (from pages 565–567) and the first day of Sha‘bān 784/10 October 1382 (page 567). One folio follows up with an excerpt from Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s *Rihla*, written in the handwriting of Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī (pages 568–569), confirmed at the bottom of the second page (page 569) by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh with an *ijāza* dated on 5 Sha‘bān 784/14 October 1382. The paper of this folio appears to be a bit smaller than the rest of this section of the *Thabat* and the ink and pen seems to be different from the ones used for the *ijāzas* on pages 570 to 573, granted by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh one day earlier on Sha‘bān 4, 784/October 13, 1382.²³ On page 574 there is a third *ijāza* given by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh to Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī’s friend, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī Ibn Bahrām al-Ḥalabī, dated 6 Sha‘bān 784/15 October 1382. The pen used by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh differs from the one used in the main body of the text of the first *ijāza*. Page 575 is blank. The following three folios (pages 576 to 579) contain *samā’āt* and *qirā’āt* dated 4 Sha‘bān 784/13 October 1382 (page 576) or 6 Sha‘bān 784/15 October 1382 (pages 577–578), as well as the list of works included in this *juz’* along with two long notes.

Ibn Ḥizb Allāh informs us that he came to Damascus, most likely from Jerusalem (*nazīl Bayt al-Muqaddas*) where he lived.²⁴ In the span of three days, he met with Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī at least three times. He does not mention where in Damascus the meetings occurred, nor can it be inferred from Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī’s sessions with other scholars in the same period. On 4 Sha‘bān Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī had

²² Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 568–574. For the edition see Appendix I.

²³ Ibn Ḥizb Allāh used the same pen and ink to correct the first *ijāza*.

²⁴ See Appendix I.

a session in the private house of one of his teachers in Darb al-Sharīf at the great market and on 6 Sha‘bān he is found at the *madrasa* al-Iqbāliyya.²⁵

In the introduction to the first *ijāza* (on 4 Sha‘bān), Ibn Ḥizb Allāh discussed the reasons why he was not able to fulfill Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī’s wish to obtain some of his work written in his handwriting. He implies that he did not have his papers with him, and there was not enough time, therefore, he could not satisfy the wishes of the Aleppan scholar. Instead, he recited from memory some of his poetry included in his *Riḥla*, covering his travels from the Maghrib to Damascus. Then he asked his companion in God, Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī, to collect something from his writings for Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, thus revealing that there was a previous relationship of some kind between the two Andalusī scholars. In this *ijāza*, Ibn Ḥizb Allāh gave Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī permission to transmit, on his authority, his *Riḥla*.

The following day, he granted Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī another *ijāza* written at the bottom of the folio along with a chapter from Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s *Riḥla* on Cairo. Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī copied it from some papers but it is unclear whether they were his own or belonging to Ibn Ḥizb Allāh. He used his typical “adapted” Andalusī handwriting with *fā’* with one dot above the letter and the *qāf* with two as in the eastern scripts, and reveals its title: *al-Rawḍa al-arīḍa al-ḥizbiyya wa-l-riḥla al-gharbiyya al-ghariba wa-tatlūhā al-ḥijāziyya wa-l-shāmiyya*. The introduction is full of praise for its author and there had to be a session in which Ibn Ḥizb Allāh read some of the *Riḥla* since the author made addenda to the first *ijāza* in his own handwriting on the second day.²⁶

After the second day, Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī showed two *ijāzas*, or at least mentioned them to his Aleppan companion on this journey, one Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn Bahrām al-Ḥalabī. On the following, third, day, Ibn Ḥizb Allāh granted another *ijāza* to this Abū al-Ḥasan and gave him permission to transmit the chapter in the description of Miṣr²⁷ taken from *al-Riḥla al-ḥizbiyya*. However, he was silent about reading the work with Abū al-Ḥasan or even meeting him in person.²⁸

This chance encounter of these three men resulted in a lively interaction between Andalusī and Mamlūk scholars and led to the creation of an extraordinary historical source. Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī knew both of them and it was he who

25 Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 576 (Darb al-Sharīf; for its location see Ibn Ḥijjī, *Ta’rīkh* [2003], 1: 105); 577 (*al-madrasa al-Iqbāliyya*; see Miura 2016, Table I-9, 40).

26 See Appendix I for the emendations.

27 Ibn Ḥizb Allāh distinguishes between al-Qāhira (Cairo) and Miṣr (the city founded by ‘Amr). He did not mention al-Qāhira in this *ijāza* (nor in his confirmation at the bottom of the chapter copied by Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī).

28 Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 574.

was responsible for introducing them to each other. This is clear from some addenda to Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī's name by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh later on the second day, demonstrating his unfamiliarity with his first name.²⁹ Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī seems to be very proud of his much older and (once) much more important compatriot. Granting Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī's request for an *ijāza* provided the opportunity to pass on some Western culture to him and Ibn Ḥizb Allāh took his chance to show to Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī who he once was before he had come to the East.

3 Ibn Ḥizb Allāh as pictured by himself and by Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī

The earliest fragment of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh, given to Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī on 4 Shaʿbān 784/13 October 1382 should be considered above all as an ego-document in which he was given a forum to present a picture of himself to his student, Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī, and in front of a scholar, Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī, who was familiar with the environment in which he had acquired and practiced his skills. Its importance is as much visual as textual since Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī wished to have it written in Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's own handwriting. After all, he was a former Marīnid *kātib*. In this profession, the form, the expression, and the visual aspect went hand in hand. Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's handwriting had already acquired great fame in the West, as attested by Ibn al-Khaṭīb in his biographical sketch of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh. Certainly, the Granadan polymath and *raʾīs al-kuttāb* (chief of the royal chancellery) could easily evaluate this particular skill of his friend as his familiarity with the contemporary hands of the Western chancery scribes was immense.³⁰ The introduction to the first two verses in which Ibn Ḥizb Allāh made a claim to be the *kātib al-sirr* (the personal chancellor) to the Marīnid sultan, Abū ʿInān Fāris (r. 749–759 H/1348–1358 CE), clearly points to this group identity of the Maghribi *kātib*s.

Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's self-designation as an important member of the sultan's chancery forms one of the two main recurring themes introduced in his texts.³¹ The second is the reason why, and how, he left this office and established himself in the East. While the former is not confirmed by any other source, he is only one of many *kātib*s of the Marīnid court, this latter point is proven by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's

²⁹ Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī, "Thabat", AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 570.

³⁰ I have already discussed this issue in my previous article. See Ženka 2018, 352–353. For Ibn al-Khaṭīb see Lirola Delgado *et al.* 2004.

³¹ Megill 2007, 44–46.

life in the East, as well as by Ibn al-Khaṭīb.³² In these two subjects Ibn Ḥizb Allāh defines what he was, and still is, and how it happened that he found himself where he was, using his past to describe his present by means Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī would certainly expect from a scholar of his training and experience.

Regarding the first theme, the four poems (out of a total of seven), with their introductions, tackle his intimate relationship with sultan Abū 'Inān Fāris. The first is Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's statement about his motives in leaving the sultan's services. He elaborates on his role at the court in the fifth, sixth, and seventh poems. The fifth poem narrates the story of Abū 'Inān Fāris killing a lion and how other poets composed verses in praise of the sultan. Ibn Ḥizb Allāh recited his only after the sultan asked him to do so. The story in the two following is intertwined. Ibn Ḥizb Allāh starts with two verses recited by another Marīnid *kātib*, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-'Azafī (699–768 H/1300–1366 CE).³³ He describes how he told Abū 'Abd Allāh al-'Azafī that the recitation of the two verses in the presence of the sultan was inappropriate and that they had omitted important topics. He was asked to recite better ones, which he did, and all who heard him, including the sultan, were pleased. By quoting conversations between the sultan and himself, Ibn Ḥizb Allāh shows the intimate nature of his relationship with the ruler and his importance at the court. Indeed, Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numayrī (712–*ca.* 785 H/1312–3–*ca.* 1383 CE) places Ibn Ḥizb Allāh among other members of the chancery who also were involved in the recitation of poetry after the conquest of Qusanṭīna, not long before Ibn Ḥizb Allāh left for the East.³⁴

The second theme is his travel to, and establishment in, Jerusalem. In the first poem he alludes to the desire to devote his life to God as the reason why he had left. However, the introduction to the third poem is the only place where he mentions *hajj* (pilgrimage) and *ziyāra* (visit to Medina) as the excuse for leaving Maḡrib. Other Marīnid and Naṣrid officials, such as Ibn Marzūq (710 or 711–781 H/1310–2–1379–80 CE),³⁵ Ibn Kumāsha (d. after 787 H/1385 CE),³⁶ Ibn al-Khaṭīb (713–776 H/1313–1374 CE),³⁷ and Ibn Khaldūn (732–808 H/1332–1406 CE)³⁸ used the same rationale for removing themselves from the dangers of political life in Maḡribi courts. In a fragment of the *Riḥla*, Ibn Ḥizb Allāh dated his arrival in Cairo and Egypt as 15 Shawwāl 760/9 September 1359. This and his quotation of a very

³² Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība* (1983), 274–275.

³³ For Abū 'Abd Allāh al-'Azafī see Rodríguez Figueroa 2012.

³⁴ Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Fayḍ al-'ubāb* (1990), 322; Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Nathīr al-jumān* (1987), 426.

³⁵ For Ibn Marzūq see Peláez Rovira 2006.

³⁶ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāta* (2001), 4: 75–76.

³⁷ Calero Secall/Roser Nebot 2001, 422–423.

³⁸ Manzano Rodríguez 2004, 584–585.

specific Qur'ānic verse (12.99) in *Rihla* provide a hint that his withdrawal from the Marīnid court and the Maghrib might have been caused by the political turbulence that followed the death of sultan Abū 'Inān Fāris in 759 H/1358 CE.³⁹ Like Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn Marzūq, he never returned.

Ibn Ḥizb Allāh, however, remains silent about his situation after the murder of the sultan. Nor does he give much detail about his life in the East, his prior education or teachers. He states that he settled in Jerusalem (*naẓil Bayt al-Muqaddas*) and was only on a visit to Damascus (called here Jilliḡ). In the early 770s H/1370s CE, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, then exiled in Fez, knew that he lived peacefully in the Mashriq but at a distance from politics and without any connection to the ruling dynasty. This means that someone from the West had to have visited Ibn Ḥizb Allāh and brought the news back to the Marīnid court.⁴⁰ His relationship with Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī, referred to previously, also suggests that he did maintain ties with some scholars from the West.

Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī's involvement in the *ijāzas*, as well as in selecting a specific fragment of the *Rihla*, emphasizes the Andalusi connection, the meaning of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's texts, and demonstrates his reception of this text. By giving the full title of the work, Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī confirms that the travelogue covered Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's journeys not only in the East, but also in the West. Ibn Ḥizb Allāh himself pointed this out in his first *ijāza*, saying that it ends in Damascus and contains all the fragments recited by him to Sibṭ Ibn al-'Ajamī and is comprised of poetry, stories, and quotations of other works. Thus, its contents resemble the travelogue of his contemporary, Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numayrī⁴¹, or another younger colleague, Ibn Khaldūn, yet its literary form is closer to that of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Khaṭrat al-ṭayf*.⁴² Again, the language used by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh demonstrates his excellent qualities as a *kātib* and his mastery of ornate vocabulary and rhyming prose.

In his introduction to the selected chapter of *Rihla*, Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī attributes the name Ibn Ḥizb Allāh al-Andalusī al-Wādī Āshī al-Ṭā'ī, in contrast to Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's own self-designation as Ibn Ḥizb Allāh al-Wādī Āshī al-Ṭā'ī

39 Sibṭ Ibn al-'Ajamī, "Thabat", AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 568. Either Ibn Ḥizb Allāh or Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī corrected in the manuscript the Qur'ānic quotation from a verse 2.61 (*ihbiṭū miṣran* - Get you down to Egypt; translations follow A. J. Arberry) to 12.99 (*idkhlū miṣr* - Enter you into Egypt). I would argue that there might be some parallels between the story developed around the latter and Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's own.

40 "He established himself in the Mashriq, unpledged to anyone, not bounded to the power nor tied to the ruling dynasty" (Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katiba* [1983], 274–275).

41 On Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numayrī see Lirola Delgado/López y López 2004.

42 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Khaṭrat al-ṭayf* (2016).

only.⁴³ Clearly, Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī was aware that this text belonging to the Mamlūk scholar, Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī, would travel with him. By adding ‘al-Andalusī’ he clarified for other readers that Wādī Āsh (Guadix) was in al-Andalus. The selection of the chapter on Cairo and Miṣr was also not a coincidence. Both Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī and Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī were on their way to this city and one might reasonably assume that Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī hoped that, as with his previous browsing and use of Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī’s *Thabat*, other local Mamlūk scholars would benefit from it. This would also explain the use of so many honorific titles by Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī to describe Ibn Ḥizb Allāh; to help the Mamlūk audience truly appreciate his qualities as a scholar and literary figure. The request of Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī can be seen as the reason why Ibn Ḥizb Allāh added his date of birth (712 H/1312-3 CE) at the end of the first *ijāza*. This type of information was often requested by Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī from his teachers and, later, in some cases but not in Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s, amended with the date of their death.

In short, Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī not only understood Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s past but he also connected it to the present. On the other hand, Ibn Ḥizb Allāh used his skills to write exclusively about his past that he saw as defining him. He created an image of himself for Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī by employing another strategy, used by many Maghribi *kātib*s, in writing history and deciding how people should be remembered and viewed. In the second half of the 8th/14th century, it was *kātib*s at different Maghribi courts who authored chronicles and biographical dictionaries. They played a key role in creating and shaping an image of their contemporaries for the future. Ibn Ḥizb Allāh grew up and worked with many of them, and clearly he was capable of doing the same.⁴⁴ The resulting work circulated in the Mashriq, and it was Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī who played such a major role in how Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s reception and understanding changed over the remaining part of his life.

⁴³ Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 568 and 570.

⁴⁴ For instance, he served with Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Juzayy (721–757 H/1321–1356 CE) who started to write a history of al-Andalus (Velázquez Basanta 2009a; Molina 2015), or with Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numayrī who narrated the history of the Marinid conquest of North Africa during the reign of sultan Abū ‘Inān Fāris. See Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numayrī, *Fayḍ al-‘ubāb* (1990).

4 Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's *ijāzas* in Aleppo

After a significant stay in Cairo, Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī returned to Aleppo on 26 Shawwāl 786/11 December 1384.⁴⁵ Over the years, his *Thabat* had become very well-known. As one of the most renowned *muḥaddith* of his times, and certainly as the most pursued *ḥadīth* teacher of Aleppo, he used his manuscript constantly during his classes and allowed his students to copy its contents directly. A closer inspection of the *thabats* of four of his disciples reveals that he taught and transmitted Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's work, or parts of it, at least twice: once to Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn al-Shiḥna (804–890 H/1402–1485 CE) in 828 H/1425 CE, and another time to Ibn al-Naṣībī's brothers, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar (823–873 H/1420–1–1469 CE) and Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh (824–893 H/1421–1488 CE), in 839 H/1436 CE.⁴⁶ The detailed information noted by his disciples in their manuscripts facilitates a reconstruction of the ways in which his work was transmitted in its horizontal context. This, consequently, enables the exploration of the changing perceptions and meanings of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's text and the possible reasons that led Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī to transmit the work at that particular moment.

The earliest recorded transmission of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's texts occurred on 24 Ramaḍān 828/9 August 1425 in the *madrasa* al-Sharafiyya of Aleppo.⁴⁷ The session consisted of several parts, and Ibn al-Shiḥna gives full details of the group of students meeting with Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī. Besides Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī and Ibn al-Shiḥna, there were local judges, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar al-ʿAjamī (775–857 H/1373–1457 CE) and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ibn al-Naṣībī (781–857 H/1380–1453 CE), the latter accompanied by his son, Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad, a certain Saʿd al-Dīn Saʿīd and a scholar from Tunis, Abū al-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAzūz al-Anṣārī al-Tūnisī al-Maghribī (d. 873 H/1468–9 CE).⁴⁸ In the first part, Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī informed his students about Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's *Riḥla*.⁴⁹ In the next, he recited poetical fragments by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh.⁵⁰ Ibn al-Shiḥna introduced the first poem with the words *anshadanā shaykhunā*, whereas the remaining ones only had *wa-biḥi qāla*, making it impossible to distinguish whether Sibṭ Ibn al-

45 Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 612.

46 The other two *thabats* examined for this study belonged to Muḥammad al-Salāmī (Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig MS Völlers 721) and Ibn Zurayq (Princeton Garrett MS 178B). For the latter see Richardson 2016.

47 Ibn al-Shiḥna, “Thabat”, Jāmiʿat al-imām MS 7235, fols. 87r, 88r, 88v and 89v.

48 Ibn al-Shiḥna, “Thabat”, Jāmiʿat al-imām MS 7235, fol. 87r–v.

49 Ibn al-Shiḥna, “Thabat”, Jāmiʿat al-imām MS 7235, fols. 86r–87v.

50 Ibn al-Shiḥna, “Thabat”, Jāmiʿat al-imām MS 7235, fols. 87v–88r

‘Ajami recited everything, or just the first poem and then let Ibn al-Shiḥna copy the rest from his *Thabat*. A note in the bottom left margin (fol. 88r), right after the conclusion of this part of the session, gives the following testimony to the copying process: “I transcribed everything from the handwriting of the aforementioned Ibn Ḥizb Allāh except the part describing Miṣr. I copied it from the handwriting of al-Balawī”.⁵¹ Further evidence for the process of transmission of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s text appears in the penultimate line in folio 88r when Ibn al-Shiḥna started to copy the concluding remarks of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh (*fa-sarra al-jamī‘u bi-dhālika fa-nqaṭi‘u*) before crossing it out after writing *fa-sarra al-j* only.⁵² Likewise, he ignored all three of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s confirmations and his introduction that described the circumstances of his meeting with Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami.

Apparently only the literary texts, the fragment of *Riḥla*, and the poetry, with its introductions, had any importance for Ibn al-Shiḥna, thus changing considerably not only the length of the text but also the ego-expression of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh. His access to the holograph text of this *Thabat* points to the possibility of Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami recounting to his audience details about the encounter with Ibn Ḥizb Allāh many years previously. However, in the text copied by Ibn al-Shiḥna, the Andalusī *kātib* loses the sense of being a real person with a story behind him, including that of the transmission of his work in Damascus, thus, becoming only an author of poetry and *riḥla* in rhymed prose. This was the only part valued by the students and, as might be implied, was the subject of this scholarly session.

In addition, further contents of this *majlis* (session) reveals a certain pattern in which Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami taught Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s work in conjunction with other Andalusī material. This can be confirmed by several other poetical fragments recited by Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami during other parts of the same session, transmitted to him by another Andalusī scholar, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Abī Maḥdī ‘Īsā b. Muḥammad al-Fihri al-Basṭī al-Yumnālī (d. 819 H/1416-7 CE).⁵³ Six of them were composed by this scholar himself and two separate poetical fragments by Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Juzayy (731–810 H/1331–1407 CE).⁵⁴ Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami

51 Ibn al-Shiḥna, “Thabat”, Jāmi‘at al-imām MS 7235, fol. 88r.

52 Ibn al-Shiḥna, “Thabat”, Jāmi‘at al-imām MS 7235, fol. 88r.

53 Ibn al-Shiḥna, “Thabat”, Jāmi‘at al-imām MS 7235, fols. 88v–89v.

54 I quote the word al-Yumnālī as given by Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami. See Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 626 (for the name) and 627 (for Ibn Juzayy). For al-Fihri al-Basṭī see Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 626-627; Ibn Ḥajar, *Dhayl al-Durar* (1992), 247; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar* (1993), 3: 92–93; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* (1972), 3: 112; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’* (1992), 5: 283–284; Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāshiriyya, “Al-Durr al-muntakhab”, BnF Arabe 2139, fols. 44b-45a; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu‘āt* (1979), 2: 182. Al-Fihri al-Basṭī authored a work named *Zahrāt al-ādāb wa-tuḥfat ulā al-albāb* (Bibliotheca Alexandrina MS 892.7). As far as I know, only

met al-Fihri al-Basṭi in 790 H/1388 CE and learned these verses and several others by his Andalusī teachers Abū al-Barakāt al-Balaḥqī (680–771 H/1281–2–1370 CE) and Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Jayyāb (673–749 H/1274–1349 CE).⁵⁵ Ibn al-Shiḥna had already heard of al-Fihri al-Basṭi when on 27 Dhū al-Ḥijja 826/1 December 1423, Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī recited to him a poem by the *raʿīs al-kuttāb* of Granada Ibn al-Jayyāb.⁵⁶ The question is why Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī decided to teach and recite from Ibn Ḥizb Allāh and al-Fihri al-Basṭi in Ramaḍān 828/August 1425. The answer seems to lie in the presence of a Maghribi scholar, Abū al-Barakāt Ibn ʿAzūz al-Anṣārī al-Tūnisī.⁵⁷

In a page inserted between the tenth and eleventh parts of the *Thabat* that has a sample of Ibn ʿAzūz's handwriting, alongside a long accompanying note, Ibn al-Shiḥna demonstrated how the distinctive handwriting of a Western traveler appealed to an Aleppan scholar and how the presence of a strange guest led to intellectual exchanges between him and local scholars.⁵⁸ Ibn ʿAzūz clearly came to the city at the beginning of Ramaḍān to study with local scholars such as Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī and Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya (774–843 H/1372–1440 CE). Ibn al-Shiḥna narrates how they attended various sessions together and how Ibn ʿAzūz asked for some of his father's works,⁵⁹ as well as other texts, to be written in Ibn al-Shiḥna's own handwriting into his *Thabat*.⁶⁰ In exchange, the Tunisian scholar reciprocated with three verses by Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Daqīq al-ʿId (625–702 H/1228–1302 CE) accompanied with *isnād* (chain of transmitters). Furthermore, Ibn al-Shiḥna supplies two important pieces to the puzzle; he records Ibn ʿAzūz's lodging as being in the *madrasa* al-Sharafiyya and provides the date of his departure from Aleppo as 26 Ramaḍān 828/11 August 1425, two days after Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's and al-Fihri al-Basṭi's texts/transmission were discussed in the same *madrasa*. In

Thomas Bauer used it in one of his articles. See Bauer 2007, 303–304. See also Brockelmann 2017, 13. For Ibn Juzayy see Velázquez Basanta 2009b.

55 Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 626–627.

56 Ibn al-Shiḥna, “Thabat”, Jāmiʿat al-imām MS 7235, fols. 25v and 26r. On Ibn al-Jayyāb see Rubiera Mata/Kalaitzidou 2009.

57 Al-Sakhāwī wrote several biographical sketches of Ibn ʿAzūz. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ* (1992), 10: 16; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dhayl* (1992), 2: 224; al-Sakhāwī, *Wajiz al-kalām* (1995), 2: 804.

58 Ibn al-Shiḥna, “Thabat”, Jāmiʿat al-imām MS 7235, fol. 83v. Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī followed the same practice, although without including a specimen of handwriting, when al-Fihri al-Basṭi came to Aleppo. In the page with his transmission he added a long note detailing his visit to Aleppo, later wanderings, and fate in the East until the year 817 H/1414–5 CE. See Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 626–627.

59 Ibn al-Shiḥna's father, Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad (749–815 H/1348–1412 CE), was an important local scholar and author.

60 Ibn al-Shiḥna, “Thabat”, Jāmiʿat al-imām MS 7235, fol. 83v.

other words, Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī presented his knowledge of some Maghribi poetry and, in a moment reminiscent of what Ibn Ḥizb Allāh did for him many years previously, passed on the work to Ibn ʿAzūz.

The argument for Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's works being used by Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī when Maghribi scholars visited him in Aleppo is strengthened by the second case, the only surviving *juzʿ* (*al-juzʿ al-thālith min masmūʿ Ḥalab*) of the *Thabat* written in the handwriting of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar Ibn al-Naṣībī, who makes the point perfectly clear.⁶¹ It covers the end of Shawwāl and the month of Dhū al-Qaʿda 839/May-June 1436, when the incumbent Mālīkī chief judge of Ḥamā, Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī (806–840 H/1403–4–1437 CE),⁶² paid a visit to Aleppo to read *ḥadīth* with Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī.⁶³ Al-Ḥakamī was originally from Labasa (La Peza) in al-Andalus, a castle lying very close to the city of Wādī Āsh (Guadix), the native city of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh.⁶⁴ Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī's son, Abū Dharr Aḥmad (818–884 H/1415–1480 CE), accommodated him in his house in the *madrassa* al-Sharafiyya. Later, he authored a large biographical sketch of this Andalusī scholar, providing the necessary background material for an understanding of the third documented transmission of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's work.⁶⁵

In the *Masmūʿ* of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar Ibn al-Naṣībī, a poem of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh is found among other Andalusī poetry recited by Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī.⁶⁶ He says that the Shaykh Ibrāhīm (i.e. Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī) recited a poem to him, later adding his full name above the word. He then wrote down the fifth poem of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's fragment and stated that this recitation occurred on 8 Dhū al-Qaʿda

⁶¹ This *Thabat* was penned by Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar Ibn al-Naṣībī, but the listening and reading certificates also belonged to his brother, Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh. Both of them were sons of the judge, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ibn al-Naṣībī, who attended Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī's session in 828 H/1424 CE where he transmitted the works of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh.

⁶² Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī, *Kunūz al-dhahab* (1996), 1: 484–486; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ* (1992), 10: 26–27 (biography), see also 4: 205–206 and 7: 235; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dhayl* (1992), 1: 603.

⁶³ Ibn al-Naṣībī, “Masmūʿ Ḥalab”, Bibliotheca Alexandrina MS 297.124. The earliest *majlis* included in this *juzʿ* dates to the last ten days of Shawwāl 839/May 1436 (fol. 1v). Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī was the reader. The last one dates from 20 Dhū al-Qaʿda 839/5 June 1436 (fol. 12v). The listening and reading certificates are not bound by chronological order.

⁶⁴ According to Abū Dharr Aḥmad, al-Ḥakamī stayed in Aleppo from 16 Shawwāl to 17 Dhū al-Qaʿda 839/3 May–2 June 1436 (Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī, *Kunūz al-dhahab* [1996], 1: 484, 486). Ibn al-Naṣībī's *Masmūʿ Ḥalab*, however, situate him in Aleppo until at least the 20th of that month. See Ibn al-Naṣībī, “Masmūʿ Ḥalab”, Bibliotheca Alexandrina MS 297.124, fol. 12v.

⁶⁵ Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī, *Kunūz al-dhahab* (1996), 1: 484–486.

⁶⁶ Ibn al-Naṣībī, “Masmūʿ Ḥalab”, Bibliotheca Alexandrina MS 297.124, fols. 7b–8r. See Appendix II.

839/24 May 1436.⁶⁷ Later, he added below this text and to the facing page some other Andalusī poems recited to him by Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī with the following note:⁶⁸

He recited all the poetry quoted here during his travel to Aleppo in my very presence. The motive of his mentioned travel from Hama was to study with *al-imām al-ḥāfiẓ* Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī.⁶⁹

It is clear that the recitation of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's poem formed part of the poetical exchanges in which Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī and Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī were involved in the presence of their students, Ibn al-Naṣībī and Abū Dharr Aḥmad.⁷⁰ Secondly, the corrigenda of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's name in *Masmūʿ*, where Ibn al-Naṣībī corrected it from Shams al-Dīn b. Ḥizb Allāh al-Wādī Āshī to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥizb Allāh al-Wādī Āshī by writing the missing *nasab* above the word "*al-dīn*", indicates that the *Thabat* with the original version was present during the sessions and was at the disposal of the participants. Thirdly, by omitting the introduction to the poem, opting for a simple "*wa-anshadanā al-shaykh Ibrāhīm al-madhkūr qāla anshadanā al-shaykh Shams al-Dīn / Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥizb Allāh al-Wādī Āshī li-nafsihi*" (the mentioned *shaykh* Ibrāhīm said: Ibn Ḥizb Allāh recited us by himself), Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's ego-identity disappeared, and for Ibn al-Naṣībī he remained only a name introducing two verses of poetry. This brevity is similar to that employed by Abū Dharr Aḥmad Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī in *Kunūz al-dhahab* for the introduction to other poems recited by Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī during his visit to Aleppo.⁷¹

On the other hand, for Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī the importance and identity of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh had to be perfectly clear, even at first glance. Given that he was trained in al-Andalus by the most renowned teachers of the time, he must have known that he was looking at a handwriting of a scholar trained in *ḍiḡwān al-in-shāʿ* with close ties to the palace. In contrast to his Mashriqī friends, Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī was the only person present in Aleppo in a position to be able to fully

67 Ibn al-Naṣībī, "Masmūʿ Ḥalab", Bibliotheca Alexandrina MS 297.124, fol. 8r.

68 Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī recited a verse attributed by Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar Ibn al-Naṣībī to Abū ʿAlī al-Thaʿlabī (in fact, it was written by Abū Bakr Yaḥyā Ibn Hudhayl) and one verse of the reply by Ibn al-Qūṭīyya. There are also two verses by an unknown author (Ibn al-Naṣībī, "Masmūʿ Ḥalab", Bibliotheca Alexandrina MS 297.124, fol. 7v). Below Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's verses, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar Ibn al-Naṣībī wrote down a poetical exchange, recited to him by Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī, between a man and a judge of Loja. See Appendix II.

69 Ibn al-Naṣībī, "Masmūʿ Ḥalab", Bibliotheca Alexandrina MS 297.124, fol. 7v.

70 Ibn al-Naṣībī, "Masmūʿ Ḥalab", Bibliotheca Alexandrina MS 297.124, fol. 7v.

71 Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī, *Kunūz al-dhahab* (1996), 1: 485–486.

recognize and understand who Ibn Ḥizb Allāh was and what his life and position in Maghrib, as described in the *Thabat*, really meant. It should also not be forgotten that Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī was born in a town not far from the birthplace of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh and this certainly had to have invoked curious feelings from encountering someone from his native land.⁷²

Other Mamlūk scholars browsed the *Thabat* and studied Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's fragment but without any Andalusī or Maghribī scholars being present. One who left traces of this use was the well-known scholar, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (773–852 H/1372–1449 CE) who stayed in Aleppo in Ramaḍān and Dhū al-Ḥijja 836 (Apr.–May and July–Aug. 1433) while accompanying sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy (r. 825–841 H/1422–1437 CE) on his northern campaign.⁷³ Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī allowed him to copy from his *Thabat* and the entry on Ibn Ḥizb Allāh in *al-Durar al-kāmina* is proof that Ibn Ḥajar read Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's holograph.⁷⁴ The biographical sketch is composed of a shortened version of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's biography, taken from Ibn al-Khaṭīb's Egyptian copy of *al-Iḥāta fī taʾrīkh Gharnāṭa*, which ends at the point Ibn Ḥizb Allāh leaves service in the Marinid chancery, and the data taken from *Thabat*.⁷⁵ Ibn Ḥajar's "addenda" says that Ibn Ḥizb Allāh traveled to the Mashriq, performed the pilgrimage, visited Jerusalem, and established himself there. He then adds that Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī met him and transmitted his work in verse and prose.⁷⁶ While in previous cases the Andalusī/Maghribī context was added by a scholar visiting Aleppo, Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Iḥāta* served the same purpose and helped Ibn Ḥajar understand who Ibn Ḥizb Allāh was.

This can be corroborated by a second biographical sketch that Ibn Ḥajar included in his chronicle *Inbāʾ al-ghumr*. Radically differing from the first, this illustrates how a Mamlūk author could understand an Andalusī scholar without

72 In the 15th century, members of Ḥizb Allāh family still lived in Wādī Āsh (Guadix). Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza, Cenete, box 330, doc. 14, 15 and 16; Osuna, box 1890, doc. 3, fol. 11v.

73 See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir* (1999), 183–190. Another Mamlūk author who worked extensively with the *Thabat* was Ibn Fahd al-Makkī but he did not mention Ibn Ḥizb Allāh in any of his surviving works. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ* (1992), 1: 140; see also Ibn Fahd, *Muʿjam al-shuyūkh* (1982), 48; Ibn Ṭūlūn, "Kitāb al-arbaʿīn ʿan arbaʿīn shaykh", Damascus Asad Library MS 958, fol. 22v. In 838 H/1434–5 CE, he left a reading note in *Thabat*. See Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, "Thabat", AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 2.

74 For instance, he mentioned in Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar* (1993), 1: 127–128 that he copied a poem written in the handwriting of Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī. This is found in Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, "Thabat", AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 177–178. See also al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ* (1992), 1: 143.

75 For the presence of Ibn al-Khaṭīb in the Mashriq see Castro León (in press).

76 Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar* (1993), 4: 200.

having access to any source produced by him, or anyone that had actual experience of Western reality. The source for this second biography was the former chief Shāfi'ī judge, Burhān al-Dīn Ibn Jamā'a (725–790 H/1324–5–1388 CE), who became acquainted with Ibn Ḥizb Allāh in Damascus. Later, Ibn Ḥizb Allāh dedicated a work called *'Arf al-ṭīb fī waṣf al-khaṭīb* to him ("A fragrant perfume about the description of the *khaṭīb*").⁷⁷ Whether Ibn Ḥajar knew this work or based his own work only on notes is not clear. However, he adds a verse from a *qaṣīda* not found in any other source. It is very likely that Ibn Ḥajar accessed this information through some of the manuscripts belonging to the famous library of Burhān al-Dīn Ibn Jamā'a, which was accessible thanks to Maḥmūd al-Ustādār (d. 799 H/1396 CE), the majordomo of Sultān Barqūq, who bought and endowed it to his funerary *madrasa*.⁷⁸ Burhān al-Dīn Ibn Jamā'a considered Ibn Ḥizb Allāh to be an excellent *kātib* and ordinary poet who authored a number of works on the religious merits of specific individuals.⁷⁹ It is also striking that the only *nisba* of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh mentioned in the biography is al-Maghribī. Clearly, this points to the perception of the group's cultural identity from a Mamlūk author's perspective.

This third-hand understanding of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh is also attested in al-'Ulaymī's (860–928 H/1456–1522 CE) chronicle of Jerusalem.⁸⁰ He included Ibn Ḥizb Allāh in the section on the Mālikī judges of Jerusalem after he came across notary documents verified by him in Ṣafar 781/May–June 1379.⁸¹ Only the word *'allāma* suggests that he had any idea of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's skills and knowledge as only two other Mālikīs are introduced using the same honorific title.⁸² Unlike in the cases of other Mālikī scholars mentioned in that chapter, al-'Ulaymī omits his Western origins (al-Maghribī) giving him another *nisba*, al-Mālikī, applied frequently to Maghribī scholars by Mamlūk authors.

Indeed, the evidence of al-'Ulaymī and Ibn Ḥajar's *Inbā' al-ghumr* indicates how difficult it was to interpret a Mamlūk-Andalusi scholar without having access to Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's holograph. On the other hand, the existence of Sibṭ Ibn

77 My thanks go to Teresa Garulo for helping me to understand the correct rhyme in the title of this work.

78 Behrens Abouseif 2019, 25. The story is mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar in the obituary of Burhān al-Dīn Ibn Jamā'a. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* (1972), 1: 355.

79 Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-ghumr* (1972), 1: 328.

80 Al-'Ulaymī, *al-Uns* (1999), 2: 362–363.

81 Little 1995, 245.

82 The other two being a Mālikī chief judge of Jerusalem, Ibn 'Awjān (763–838 H/1361–2–1434 CE) and Yaḥyā al-Anṣārī al-Andalusī (856–895 H/1451–2–1490 CE) who was of Andalusī origin and served as the Mālikī chief judge of the city (al-'Ulaymī, *al-Uns* [1999], 2: 366 and 374).

al-‘Ajami’s *Thabat* reveals not only the process of transmission, but also the further use of this material and confirms Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s intent to have it studied and copied by others in the future. One other example of this same approach is that of another Andalusī scholar, Abū ‘Amr Muḥammad Ibn al-Murābiṭ (680–752 H/1281–1351 CE), who lived in Damascus in the first half of the 8th/14th century. This son of *kātib al-sirr* (private chancellor) to the Naṣrid sultan Muḥammad II (r. 672–702 H/1273–1302 CE) became famous in Damascus for his teaching of *Sunan al-Nasā’i* and his *ijāza* granted in 743 H/1342 CE passed into the manuscript tradition of this work.⁸³ Likewise, the holograph *samā’āt* with Ibn al-Murābiṭ’s chain of transmission to this work was circulated in the *Thabat* of Ibn al-Faṣīḥ al-Hamadhānī (d. 795 H/1392 CE), which was read by Ibn Ḥajar.⁸⁴ Abū al-Hasan Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī’s exceptionally long holograph *ijāza* circulated in Mamlūk territory but I have not found any evidence for it being copied or used for writing his biography by Mamlūk authors.⁸⁵

5 Conclusions

Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s holograph *ijāzas* are not the only surviving Andalusī manuscripts created in Mamlūk territory. There are many others. However, it is the unique traceable creation and the history of use by their owner, Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami, which illuminates the different levels of understanding and reception of this one particular Andalusī scholar. Ibn Ḥizb Allāh wanted to be known, and remembered, as a *kātib* with close ties to the “King of the Maghrib”, the Marīnid sultan Abū ‘Inān Fāris. His friend, a much younger Andalusī scholar, Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī, helped him to adapt his image to be more comprehensible to Mamlūk scholars and, indeed, for Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami himself. However, in the absence of the direct involvement of its two creators, and their familiarity with the

⁸³ Al-Nasā’i, *Sunan al-kubrā* (1991), 1: 61; al-Nasā’i, *Sunan al-kubrā* (2001), 1: 64 and 67. Ibn al-Murābiṭ transmitted the work on the authority of Ibn al-Zubayr al-Thaqafi. Ibn al-Zubayr and his works were well known in Damascus. At least one other Andalusī scholar, Abū al-Qāsim Ibn Sahl, brought to the city his holograph *ijāza*. See al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkira al-ḥuffāz* (1955), 4: 1484. Abū ‘Amr Muḥammad Ibn al-Murābiṭ authored several works that circulated in holograph manuscripts in the Mashriq. See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar* (1993), 4: 45.

⁸⁴ Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* (1972), 1: 461 (biog. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Faṣīḥ). See also the biography of his son Aḥmad (d. 828 H/1424 CE). Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* (1972), 1: 352. Another student of Ibn al-Murābiṭ with whom Ibn Ḥajar studied was Ibn Kuwayk (737–821 H/1337–1418 CE). See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Majma’* (1994), 2: 477.

⁸⁵ Dār al-Kutub MS majmū’a 135, fol. 98v.

symbolic world of the profession of the Maghribi chancellors, this image inevitably changed with the passage of time and, as such, so, too, did the identity of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh.

Two later cases of the interpretation of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh demonstrate that after many years, in the absence of any first-hand personal contact, Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's texts as an ego-document became incomprehensible to Mamlūk scholars. Exactly as Assmann pointed out, later readers were only able to reconstruct the text within their own contemporary frames of reference.⁸⁶ While they had the skills to evaluate literary texts, they were ignorant of the role of a Maghribi *kātib*. On the other hand, Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī used Ibn Ḥizb Allāh in the presence of other Western scholars. This distant connection between Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's literary works collected in the past and other Maghribi scholars in the present revealed how a Mamlūk scholar could use texts to link himself to them. Although these scholars might have been unfamiliar with Ibn Ḥizb Allāh, they were able to recognize his importance and his use of symbolic language at the court of Marinid sultans.

Ibn Ḥajar and al-ʿUlaymī were the only later biographers to mention Ibn Ḥizb Allāh, and were unaware of who he was. He existed only as a name in texts they came upon. In the case of Ibn Ḥajar, the reading of an Andalusī biographical dictionary and browsing the *ijāzas* given to Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī enabled him to recreate a biographical sketch of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh. However, after one studies it, it is hard to recognize in its depiction an important *kātib*. It is a very different Ibn Ḥizb Allāh who is being presented here. In this regard, the holograph manuscript illustrates how our understanding of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's presence in the Mashriq could be more elaborated, or change completely, if we use this type of material. It also shows the simplistic interpretations of his life in the East that would result if researchers based themselves only on the available material produced by Mamlūk scholars. However, no generalization should be based on one isolated case, even if it is as detailed as Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's. Other manuscripts can clarify details about those who produced them, even if very few are accompanied by details relating to their history.

Finally, Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's manuscript is one of very few texts where an Andalusī scholar mentioned his ties and contacts with other Andalusī scholars living in Mamlūk lands.⁸⁷ The relationship between Andalusis is, for Ibn Ḥizb Allāh, also attested to by Ibn al-Khaṭīb in Fez, who knew that his former colleague and friend was living quietly in the East. Ibn al-Khaṭīb articulated this information in his final biographical dictionary when he sought to follow a similar path, to save

⁸⁶ Assmann/Czaplicka 1995, 130.

⁸⁷ In this case, Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī.

his life by fleeing East. Could Ibn Ḥizb Allāh have set the example for future Maḡribi exiles such as Ibn Marzūq and Ibn Khaldūn, and could he have been the one to have shown them that it was possible to distance themselves from the dangerous political situations they faced and, instead, be able to live peacefully in the Mashriq? Regardless of whether a conclusive answer is possible or not, the question itself is evidence of the importance of the study of the manuscripts of Mamlūk-Andalusis.

Appendix I: Edition of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's *ijāzas*

The current order of the three *ijāzas* in the manuscript, including the fragment of *Rihla*, reflects Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī's thematic approach towards the texts. I re-ordered them in chronological order as they were produced by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh and Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī. I have adapted the text to some modern standard Arabic orthographic conventions, adding dots, and medial and final *hamzas*, when necessary. The edition follows the use of the vocalization marks and initial *hamza* by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh and Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī as much as possible.⁸⁸

1. *Ijāza* given by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh to Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, 4 Shaʿbān 784/13 October 1382 (Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 570–573)

[570] الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ يَقُولُ الْعَبْدُ الرَّاجِي مَغْفَرَةً مَوْلَاهُ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ حَزْبِ اللَّهِ الْوَادِي أَشْيَى نَزِيلِ بَيْتِ الْمُقَدَّسِ زَادَهُ اللَّهُ شَرَفًا لَطْفَ اللَّهِ بِهِ.

لما حللت بجلق حرسها الله تعالى ورد عليها الفقيه الجليل المحدث الأصيل الراوية المجتهد الحسيب الرحال بزهان الدين [ابراهيم بن]⁸⁹ محمد بن خليل سليل الأمجاد البلغاء وملازم ذوى الاداب والذكاء سيبط بن العجمي أعزه الله تعالى فسأل مني بعض ما نظمته من المقطعات الشعرية مكتوبة بخطي فوجدني تاركا لذلك ومعرضا عما هنالك لآكن وجه علي استعافه فيما تيسر في الوقت ولله الفضل في قبول العذر وعدم النسبة الى البخل والمقت ولو طالت اقامته لحبزت في لقائه برؤدا سابعة ولأجريت من تلقائه بحورا عذبة سائغة فأشرت على رفيقي في الله تعالى الفقيه الجليل المقرئ ابي عبد الله بن ميمون اعزه الله ان يجمع له من رخلتي بغض مقطعات شعرية كان الوقت سمح بها

⁸⁸ My thanks to Luis Molina for helping me to fully understand Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's language and his figurative forms of expression.

⁸⁹ The words in brackets are inserted above the words “al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khalil” and with a different, thicker, pen.

ارتجالا في كوائن شتى. منها ما قلته حين تركت ملك المغرب قدس الله روحه ابا عنان ببلاد الجريد وقررت من كتابته سره⁹⁰ الى الله وقد اغفات اغفاء فافقت وانا انشد:

فررت من الدنيا وحيا بلائها فشرقت في ذات الإله وغربوا
قأبوا للأحوال وبوت بتوبة فلم يك إلا أن ظفرت وخيَّبوا
[571] ومنها ما قلته في الرخاء بغد الشدة:

إذا شدة جاءت فكُنْ صابرا لها ففي أثرها يأتي الأهلك بالفرج
فكم معضل امسى على المرء فادح فاصبح بالله العظيم قد انفرج
ومما قلته بمدينة نفطة وأنا قاصدا الحج والزيارة من قصيدة:
ولم لا واني قد رحلت الى الذي به اوضح الله السبيل الى الهدى
ويممت ذات السرور والحجب التي غدا حبها للخلق فرضنا موكدا
فهمي ارى اني مقيم ببلده تأجج ناري والغرام تجندا
ومهمي زمني منزل نحو منزل وجدث على نور السرور به هدى
وقلت وقد ادركني الندم على ما سلف:

الا هي علمت الباب رَحْبًا واني أسير الخطايا فالتمسك بك الأفا
فلا تطردني من خبائك خائبًا ولا تفصحني يوم حشير الورى غدا
وقتل ملك المغرب ابو عنان رحمه الله اسدا بارض المغرب فجاء الشعراء بهنونه بذلك ويصفون شجاعته
[572] وكأني غفلت عن ذلك وقد حضرت المؤن فلما انهيت الى مقعد ملكه قال لي: ما صنعت انت في الأسد؟
فادركني الخجل وقلت: صنعت بيتين. فقال لي: كيف هي؟ فشرعت ان⁹¹ أقيدها فانطقني الوقت المستعجل بين يديه
فقلت في الفور:

ايا ليث الملوك صرعت ليثا تصدى في طريقك للجيش
سلاطين الانام لديك ذلت فكيف يعز سلطان الوخوش
فشكر بها.

وفي حضرته ارتجل بعض الكتاب وهو ابو عبد الله العزفي عند الفجر اثباتا يصف انفصال الليل وأقبال النهار فقال:

كان الجو في خلل من الأزهار مؤشبة
كان الصبح مولود ربي في حجر زنجية

فأحسن في ابتكاره هذا المعنى وحسنه له الشعراء وانا ساكت فقال لي: ما لك لم تحسنه؟
فقلت: فيه عيوب منها انك انشدته في محل الملك ولم تصف المحل وانك لم تعطف الاول على الثاني بواو العطف
وانك لم ترشح للمولود [573] بما يصح له التشبيه انه مولود وانك لم تفرق بينه وبين التي رتبته في اللون والسن
فقال لي: فكننت اصنع اذا قصيدة فوف انت هذا المعنى في بيتين فقلت ارتجالا:

حللنا برؤضات المصادي وجوها كحلة وشي طرر لها رونق الغيش
فحلنا عمود الصبح طفلا بدا لنا من الترك ربتة عجور من الحبش
فسر الجميع بذلك فانقطع.

فقد اجزت الفقيه الجليل ان يروي غني هذا الابيات وما يصح لديه انه من نظمي ونثري واجزت له ان يروي غني
الرحلة بكمالها حيثما انتهت بحول الله تعالى [وقد انتهت الى دمشق المحروسة وسمع خطبتها بكمالها وسمع هذه
الابيات من لفظي]⁹² وبكل ما جمعت من الفوائد العلمية والاخبار النفلية وما ذكرت فيها من التواليف التي سميتها

⁹⁰ Tashdid written with a different, thicker, pen.

⁹¹ After the word ان, Ibn Hizb Allāh crossed out another ان.

⁹² Written in the right margin with a different, thicker, pen.

على شتى أنواعها واختلاف فنونها اجازة صحيحة على الشرط المعروف والمنحى المألوف والله تعالى يُوفقه ويطلعه على ما يرشده بمن الله وفضله وكتب ذلك في الرابع لشهر شعبان المعظم من عام اربعة وثمانين وسبعمائة قال ذلك وكتبه محمد بن محمد بن علي بن حزب الله الطائي الوادي اشى نزيل بيت المقدس لطف الله به ومولدي سنة اثني عشر وسبعمائة [فيه ملحق وقد انتهت الى دمشق المحروسة وسمع خطبتها بكمالها وسمع هذه الابيات من لفظي فيه مصلح في الصيغة السر ان وفي التاريخ المذكور].

2. The Chapter on Cairo from Ibn Hizb Allāh's *Rihla* entitled *al-Rawḍa al-arīḍa al-ḥizbiyya wa-l-riḥla al-gharbiyya al-gharība wa-tatlūhā al-ḥijāziyya wa-l-shāmiyya* by Ibn Hizb Allāh with an *ijāza* dated on 5 Sha‘bān 784/14 October 1382 (Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 568–569)

[568] الحمد لله⁹³

فصل [في ذكر القاهرة ومصر]⁹⁴ من كتاب الرحلة المسماة بالروضة الأريضة الجزيّة والرحلة الغريبة الغريّة وتتلوها الحجازيّة والشاميّة.

جمع الشيخ الإمام العالم العلامة الخبر الفهامة فخر أهل الأدب ترجمان العرب جامع أشات الفضائل المزي بانشاءاته وأدبياته على الاوائل فريد دهره وحيد عصره أبي عبد الله محمد بن محمد بن علي بن محمد بن حزب الله الطائي الأندلسي الوادي اشى نزيل بيت المقدس ادام الله النفع به وأبقى بركته بمنه وكرمه.

قال أبقى الله بركته: دخلنا القاهرة في ظهر يوم الثلاثاء الخامس عشر لشهر شوال من عام ستين وسبعمائة ومصر في اليوم التالي وقلت:

أيا مصر كم حاز الأنام بك الفخرأ وكم حاز الزمان بك النصرا

لقد خربت أمصار البلاد وفقتها ومن أجل ذا سميت من بينهم مصرا

ومصر وما أدريك ما مصر المتوجة بالآلى في المفروق الممنطقة بالسندس في الجصر ° المحجلة الرجلين بنهر من لجين حيث ظهرت للابياء عليهم السلام الأيات القاطعة ° ونهت الأيات الساطعة ° وقعد الصديق على سرير ملكه ° وصارت لحفظه وعلمه خزائن الأرض في ملكه ° وأظهر الله للكلیم الأيات بالقاء عصاة ° فهلك بأمر الله كل من خالف وعصاة ° خيرها يغم القاصي والذان وقد سلمت من علل البلدان ° وغنيث عن الأنواء والمواطر وغنيث بالعزف العاطر ليست ذات بحر مالح ولا هواء غير صالح ° قد حلت عن موارد العذبة الكرب والإصر ومألت ساحتها اليمن واليسر ° بركة قوله تعالى أدخلوا مصر⁹⁵ تدفقت على اللؤلؤ والمزجان أمواجها ° وطويت على الذهب والفضة ابارها وأسباجها ° ولأمر ما عسر علاجها ° دار كل علم وعالم ° وحضره المشاهد العر والمعال ° وبخر الأوقاف والأريات ° وفخر رفع الزايات لأهل الإمارات والزايات ° ربه الأهرام والهياكل ° ومراح الشارب والأكل ° ومقر الواهب والبازل ومقر الواسي والغازل ° حيث [569] أناخ الأمان بكليلة ° وحيث فوض الزمان في خلع العذار لموكله ° وابن انتعش التاجر والفلاح ° والقانص والملاح ° وجالد السيد والسود ° واستانسد الرعاغ والأسود ° وعرف من رفع الهمة وخفضها ° واستطرفت من لازم العمة ورفضها ° ليست فيها

⁹³ Written above the word فصل.

⁹⁴ Inserted above the words من كتاب الرحلة.

⁹⁵ Q: 12.99. The word أدخلوا is written above the word اهبطوا which was crossed out. In the word مصر the final *alif* was crossed out. The original verse was from Q: 2.61.

الْكُرْبَات بِالْأُقْدَامِ ° وَنَفَقَتْ فِيهَا أَسْوَاقُ الْإِقْدَامِ ° فَانْتَعَشَ مِنْ دَبِّ وَدَرَجٍ ° وَكَثُرَتْ الْأَفْرَاحُ وَالْفُرَجُ ° وَكَمَلَ جَمَالُهَا ° وَفَاقَ ° وَادَّغَمَتْ فِي سَعَتِهَا الْجِيُوشَ وَالرَّفَاقَ وَأَمِنَتْ مِنَ الْخِلَافِ وَالْتِفَاقِ ° وَجُمِعَ فِيهَا كُلُّ مَا افْتَرَقَ فِي الْأَفَاقِ ° وَمَا مِثْلُ الْقَاهِرَةِ الَّتِي ارْغَمَتْ مُعَادِيهَا وَقَهَرَتْ ° وَبِفَسْخِهَا وَجَمَالِهَا بَهَرَتْ ° عَظُمَتْ عَنْ أَنْ تُقَاسَ بِفُطْرٍ ° وَكَثُرَتْ أَنْ تَكُونَ كُلُّ مَدِينَةٍ عِنْدَهَا بِخَطَرٍ ° وَلَمْ لَا وَمَلِكٌ قَلَعَتْهَا الْمَلِكُ النَّاصِرُ الَّذِي مَلَكَ الْحَرَمَيْنِ الشَّرِيفَيْنِ وَخَازَ الْقِبْلَتَيْنِ وَقَهَرَ الْعُجْمَ وَالْغُرَبَ ° وَمَلِكُ الشَّرْقِ وَالْغُرَبِ.⁹⁶

الحمد لله ° سمعت هذا الفصل المخرج من الرحلة الحزبية في وصف مصر حرسها الله تعالى للفقير الاجل الاكمل البليغ المحدث الرّحّال بڑهان الدين ابراهيم بن محمّد بن خليل سبط بن العجمي اعزه الله تعالى من لفظه واجزت له الفصل المذكور وسائر الرحلة بكمالها الى حين انتهائها من دمشق حرسها الله تعالى اجازة صحيحة جائزة بالمناولة المعروفة المشروطة وله ان يرويها عني وما تحقق عنده اني نظمته او نثرته او ألفته وكتب بذلك مؤثنها العبد الراجي مغفرة مولاه محمّد بن محمد بن علي بن حزب الله الوادي اشي نزيل بيت المقدس لطف الله به في الخامس لشهر شعبان المكرم من عام اربعة وثمانين وسبعمائة.

3. *Ijāza* given by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh to Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī Ibn Bahrām al-Ḥalabī, dated 6 Sha‘bān 784/15 October 1382 (Sibt Ibn al-‘Ajamī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 574)

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ. وَأَجَزْتُ أَيْضًا بِمِثْلِ الْاجَازَةِ الْمَكْتَنَةِ قَبْلَ الْفَقِيرِ الْأَجَلِ الْأَعَزِّ الْأَكْمَلِ الْخُسَيْبِ الْأَصِيلِ مَجْدَ الْقَضَاءِ وَالْأَعْلَامِ الْمُحْصُوصِينَ بِالْأَجْلَالِ وَالْأَكْرَامِ علاء الدين ابا الحسن علي بن شمس الدين محمد ابن احمد ابن قاضي القضاة الامام المقدس المرحوم شمس الدين محمد بن بهرام بن حسين الخَلْبِي وَفَقَهُ اللَّهُ لَطَاعَتَهُ وَاجْزَاهُ عَلَى مَرْضَاتِهِ عَنْهُ وَكَرَّمَهُ وَاجَزْتُ لَهُ أَنْ يَرْوِيَ عَنِّي أَيْضًا الْفَصْلَ الْمَكْتَنَبَ عَنْهُ فِي وَصْفِ مِصْرَ الْمُحْرُوسَةِ مُسْتَخْرَجًا مِنَ الرَّحْلَةِ الْحَزْبِيَّةِ اجَازَةً صَحِيحَةً تَامَةً عَلَى الشَّرْطِ الْمَالُوفِ وَالْقَصْدِ الْمَعْرُوفِ وَلَهُ أَنْ يَرْوِيَ عَنِّي ذَلِكَ بِمَا شَاءَ مِنْ وَجْهِهِ الرِّوَايَاتِ وَكَتَبَ بِذَلِكَ خَطَ يَدِهِ الْفَانِيَةِ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ بْنِ حَزْبِ اللَّهِ لَطَفَ اللَّهُ بِهِ مُسْتَعِينًا بِاللَّهِ الْعَظِيمِ وَمُسْتَغْفِرًا مِنْ ذُنُوبِهِ فِي السَّادِسِ لَشَهْرِ شَعْبَانَ الْمَكْرَمِ عَامِ أَرْبَعَةٍ وَثَمَانِينَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ فِيهِ مَصْلُحٌ وَصَفٌ وَعَنِّي صَحِيحٌ مِنْهُ وَفِي التَّارِيخِ.

96 The end of the handwriting of Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī.

Fig. 1: Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī, "Thabat", AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 568

Fig. 2: Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 569

Fig. 4: Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 571

Fig. 5: Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī, "Thabat", AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 572

Fig. 6: Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 573

Fig. 7: Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 574

Appendix II: Edition of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's poetry

Ibn al-Naṣībī, “Masmū‘ Ḥalab”, Bibliotheca Alexandrina MS 297.124 (*olim* 2115d), fols. 7v and 8r. The poetry recited by Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī and al-Ḥakamī in Dhū al-Qa‘da 839/May-June 1436. Since Ibn al-Naṣībī always starts with the *ḥamdala*, the poems in fol. 8r precedes the ones in fol. 7v. The edition follows the use of the vocalization marks by Ibn al-Naṣībī.

8r

الحمد لله وسلام على عباده الذين اصطفى
وانشدنا الشيخ ابراهيم المذكور قال انشدنا الشيخ شمس الدين [محمد بن محمد بن علي]⁹⁷ بن حزب الله الوادياشي[!]
لنفسه:

ايا ليث الملوك صرعت ليثا تصدى في طريقك للجيش
سلاطين الانام لديك ذلت فكيف يعز سلطان الوحوش
وذلك يوم الجمعة ثامن شهر ذي القعدة الحرام سنة 839.
وانشدني الشيخ الامام العالم العلامة قاضي قضاة المالكية بحماه المذكور وهو شمس الدين محمد بن شمس الدين
محمد المالكي الغرناطي نفع الله به ما لفظه من كلام شخص هجا قاضيا وزوجته وهو الحاكم بلوشة ما لفظه:
بلوشة قاضٍ له زوجة احكامها في الوري ماضيه
ويا ليثه لم يكن قاضيًا ولكنها كانت القاضيه
فكتب اليه جواب البيتين:

يا شيخ سوء مزدي في شبوب عاصيه
كلا لنن لم تنته لنسفن بالناصيه⁹⁸

7v

وانشدني الشيخ شمس الدين المالكي الغرناطي من لفظه وهو لابي علي القالي يخاطب به ابن القوطية:
من اين اقبلت يا من لا نظير له ومن هو الشمس والدنيا له فاك
واجابه بن القوطيه من ساعته:
من منزلي يغيب النساك خلوته وفيه سترٌ على الفتاك إن فتكوا.⁹⁹
وجميع الاشعار المذكورة هنا في رحلته الي حلب انشدها بحضرتي وسبب رحلته من حماة المذكورة ليقرا على
الامام الحافظ برهان الدين ابراهيم الحلبي سبط ابن العجمي.
وجدت في بعض الكتب هذا الشعر ولكنه ليس بجيد:

من طلب الصحة في جسمه وجاوز الستين فهو الخريف
هل تنبت الاشجار من بعدها اتي عليهن اوان الخريف

⁹⁷ صح. Inserted above the word *al-dīn*.

⁹⁸ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-tib* (1988), 4: 294. Al-Maqqarī offers a slightly different version.

⁹⁹ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-tib* (1988), 3: 74; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a‘yān* (1994), 4: 369. Again, it differs from the one recited by al-Ḥakamī.

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