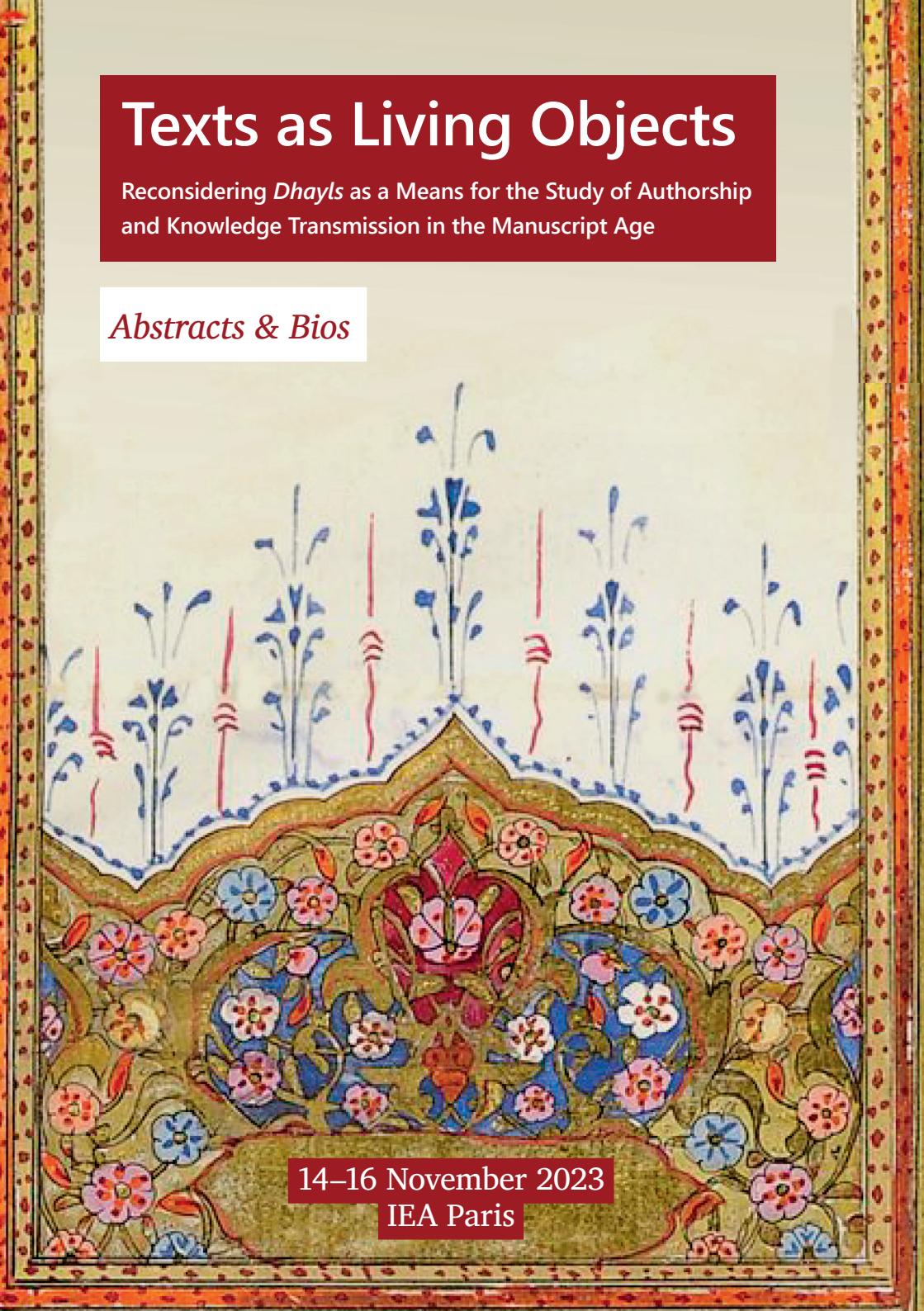


# Texts as Living Objects

Reconsidering *Dhayls* as a Means for the Study of Authorship  
and Knowledge Transmission in the Manuscript Age

*Abstracts & Bios*



14–16 November 2023

IEA Paris



# Texts as Living Objects

## Reconsidering *Dhayls* as a Means for the Study of Authorship and Knowledge Transmission in the Manuscript Age

*Conference*

14–16 November 2023

Institut d'études avancées de Paris

The conference endeavours to study the ways in which texts remained relevant throughout the pre-modern and modern periods in the Islamic world, focusing on the phenomenon of *dhayl* (pl. *dhuyūl*) in Arabic, or *zayl/zeyl* in Persian and Turkish. As a prominent feature of Islamic manuscript transmission, the term *dhayl* refers to the act of continuing the narrative of a given text, usually a historical chronicle, up to the time of the amendment. Whereas generally considered by authors and readers as independent works, supplements usually adhered to the approach and style of the main work they were appended to. Nevertheless, the processes of adaptation according to certain cultural contexts, political necessities and professional choices in the pre-modern Islamic world took many different forms. This leads us to further explore the pre-modern understanding of authorship as a collective and dynamic process and the status of the text as a living object.

As becomes clear from copies of works pertaining to various genres and manuscript collections, there is a vast corpus of sometimes renowned, other times little-studied *dhayls*

representing different periods and languages of the Islamic world. In this framework, the conference aims to bring together scholars from various fields, working on Arabic, Persian, or Turkish texts. In particular, contributions are expected to focus on questions such as: Why were *dhayls* produced? Which agents were involved in the production, transmission, and reception of these amendments? What meaning does the phenomenon of *dhayl* have for the understanding of the transmission of knowledge during the manuscript age? And, more generally, what can *dhayls* tell us about authorship as a dynamic and collective process, and the status of texts as living objects in pre-modern times?

The variety of languages, methods, and disciplines that will converge on the subject of *dhayls* and textual transmission promises to enhance research on Islamic book and manuscript culture. Furthermore, the conference structure, featuring a keynote lecture and seven panels comprising a total of sixteen speakers, will provide ample opportunities for participants to cultivate concepts and engage in meaningful scholarly exchanges.

## Relics or Revival? On *Zayls* of Bidlīsī's *Sharafnāma* Produced in the Ardalān Emirate

The *Sharafnāma*, authored by Sharaf Khān, emir of Bidlis (d. ca. 1008–9/1599–1601), holds the distinction of being the first comprehensive history of the Kurdish people. This historical account gained widespread popularity among Kurdish emirates on both sides of the Ottoman-Safavid border. It meticulously chronicled the histories of 47 Kurdish dynasties, up to its composition date in 1597.

One noteworthy feature of the *Sharafnāma* was its adaptability to incorporate *zayls* or supplementary sections. These *zayls* were added upon the request of emirs who wanted to extend their dynasty's narrative to include their own rule. Consequently, numerous such extensions were created over the course of the text's circulation, including in the early 19th century within the Ardalān emirate. During that period, the emirs of Ardalān played pivotal roles in the emerging Qajar state. Khusraw Khān II (reigned 1754–62 and 1766–90) played a crucial part in Āghā Muḥammad Shāh's rise to power, while his son, Amānullāh Khān I (reigned 1799–1825), spent a decade as a companion to Fath 'Alī Shāh Qājār (reigned 1797–1831) in the Golestan Palace before becoming the governor of Ardalān.

Under Amānullāh Khān's leadership, Sinna, the capital of Ardalān, transformed into a vibrant center of court culture. It was during this period that a school of Ardalān historiography emerged, resulting in the creation of nine works from 1800 to 1901. In this study, I will examine the role played by two *zayls* of the *Sharafnāma* in the development of this historiographical

tradition. These two texts are Ibrahim b. Mullā Ḥusayn Ardalāni's *Zikr-i ḥukūmat-i Ardalān* (On the government of Ardalān, 1810), and the anonymous *Tārīkh-i Sanandaj* (History of Sanandaj, 1813). I aim to demonstrate how the authors of these works, while firmly situating their contributions within the *Sharafnāma*'s tradition, present unique socio-political and historiographical perspectives that diverge from both Sharaf Khān's original text and contemporary Qajar historiography in significant ways.

**Sacha Alsancaklı** is a cultural historian specializing in the Islamic world. His research focuses on historiography and the history of books, with an emphasis on understanding the individuals and processes involved in the creation, transmission, and reception of manuscript texts in the Turco-Iranian world during the early modern era. He earned his PhD in Iranian Studies and Modern History from Sorbonne Nouvelle University, Paris, in 2018. His doctoral dissertation explored "Sharaf Khān Bidlīsī's *Sharafnāma* (c. 1005/1597): Composition, Transmission, and Reception of a Chronicle of Kurdish Dynasties between Safavids and Ottomans". Currently, he serves as a lecturer at the Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (Inalco, Paris) and is affiliated with the Centre de recherche sur le monde iranien (CeRMI). He has published articles in various academic journals, including *Eurasian Studies*, *Kurdish Studies*, and *Die Welt des Islams*.

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## Dhayl-Literature in Islamic Law: Supplements to al-Marghinānīs (d. 1196) *al-Hidāya fī Sharh al- Bidāya* as a Case Study

In the realm of Islamic legal literature, a continuous production of supplementary works is evident, which serve either as the culmination of an unfinished piece or as an expansion and continuation of a completed work. While sporadic instances of supplements can be traced back as early as the third century, a notable increase in their production is observed from the fifth century onwards. Depending on the context and content, these supplements are referred to using various terms such as *dhayl*, *tatimma*, *takmila*, *zawā'id*, or *ziyādāt*. Unfortunately, much like other literary genres, supplements have been somewhat overlooked in academic research. Generally, supplements, alongside commentaries, super-commentaries, and glosses, constitute another layer of literary discourse where legal discussions are further refined and debated. Given that supplements are considered a distinct literary genre, questions arise regarding how they differ in form and function from other literary genres. Why did scholars choose to write supplements instead of commentaries, glosses, or treatises? What role did supplements play in legal discourse, and where were they applied? To address these inquiries, this study focuses on the supplements written within the Hanafi tradition for the *furū'* *al-fiqh* work *al-Hidāya fī Sharh al-Bidāya*.

*al-Hidāya* by al-Marghinānī (d. 1196) holds a prominent position within the Hanafi jurisprudential tradition. Alongside numerous commentaries, super-commentaries, glosses, and summaries, there exist at least 11 texts categorized as supplements (*dhayl*) that were composed between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. Many of these supplements are preserved in manuscript form within libraries. This paper specifically examines three of these fourteenth-century supplements. By analyzing the introductions to these works, the motivations and rationales behind their creation can be discerned. These supplements serve as a basis for

drawing conclusions about the form and function of supplements within the realm of Islamic legal literature.

**Hakki Arslan** currently holds a postdoctoral research position at the collaborative research center for Law and Literature at the University of Münster, where he also teaches Islamic law at the Institute of Arabic and Islamic Studies. Prior to this role, he worked as a postdoctoral researcher at the Institute for Islamic Theology at the University of Osnabrück from 2014 to 2019. He completed his PhD in 2015 in the field of Islamic legal hermeneutics, with a study on Mullā Khusraw's (d. 1480) *uṣūl al-fiqh* work *Mirqāt al-wuṣūl*. His current research project focuses on the relationship between *fatwā* and *rasā'il* literature in the 14th to 19th centuries. More broadly, Hakki Arslan is exploring the interrelationship between different genres of Islamic law in the postclassical period. Currently, he is preparing an edited volume on Islamic legal genres, encompassing 26 different genres of Islamic legal literature.

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## A Total Flop after a Bestseller: the *Zayl-i Ḥabīb al-Siyar* by Amīr Maḥmūd

Despite two published editions of Amīr Maḥmūd's *Zayl* on the universal history *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* of his father Khvāndamīr, the text has hardly been researched to date. Apart from valuable but cursory commentaries on the work in publications by Maria Szuppe and Sholeh A. Quinn, there has been no serious attempt to locate the work in the tradition of historiography in sixteenth-century Khurasan or Iran and Central Asia. The paper will approach the *Zayl*, which recounts the history of Iran at the time of Shah Ṭahmāsp until about 1550, in two ways:

First, the text will be analysed as a historiographical narrative in its own right, focusing on the elements of the Shi'ite tradition of Islam that were central to the legitimization of the dynasty. In a second step, with a view to the enormous dissemination of his father's much larger world history, the question of why Amīr Maḥmūd's work was hardly disseminated will be discussed. Manuscripts preserved in various collections will be considered in order to highlight the *Zayl*'s limited readership. This will shed light on why Amīr Maḥmūd's supplement to the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* was never as successful as the original work, and can use the example of this work to help understand the transmission of works designated as "zayl" in general.

**Philip Bockholt** is Junior Professor for the History of the Turco-Persian world at the Institute of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the University of Münster (since October 2022). From 2022 to 2028, he will head the Emmy Noether Junior Research Group, "Inner-Islamic knowledge transfer in Arabic-Persian-Ottoman translation processes

in the Eastern Mediterranean (1400–1750)".

He was formerly a research associate at the Institute of Oriental Studies at the University of Leipzig and received his PhD in Islamic Studies from Freie Universität Berlin in 2018. His PhD dissertation examined historiography in Iran in the early Safavid period (16th century) and provided an analysis of Khvāndamīr's *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* (*Beloved of Careers*) and its readership. It was published in two volumes by Brill (Leiden/Boston) as *Weltgeschichtsschreibung zwischen Schia und Sunna* and Austrian Academy of Sciences Press (Vienna) as *Ein Bestseller der islamischen Vormoderne* in 2021–2. A series of research fellowships took him to Istanbul, Jerusalem, Madrid, Paris and Saint Petersburg.

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## A Tale of Two *Zayls*: Hāfiẓ-i Abrū’s Continuations of Rashīd al-Dīn

In preparing a new version of world history for his Timurid patron Shāhrukh, Hāfiẓ-i Abrū (d. 1430) created a series of *zayls* of previous works, filling the gaps between them to create a seamless historical fabric. Among these several continuations, his *zayl* of Rashīd al-Dīn’s *Blessed History of Ghāzān* survives in two slightly different forms. This paper explores the differences between them to try to recover Hāfiẓ-i Abrū’s process in producing his interstitial texts. Previously, I have assumed that the version edited by Khānbābā Bayānī in 1938 represents Hāfiẓ-i Abrū’s finished text, and that an alternate version found in four manuscripts of the *Blessed History* was a preliminary study leading to it. However, it now seems that the alternate was exactly that—a separate historical vision. As such, the two *zayls* should not be considered as draft and finished copy, but as separate strands of thought drawing on the same body of ideas. My goal is to situate these two *zayl* within Hāfiẓ-i Abrū’s larger intellectual program.

**Stefan Kamola** is a historian of the Mongol world, with a research focus on Persian-language historical writing produced in the centuries after the Mongol conquests. He holds a research fellowship at the Institute for Iranian Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FwF) to study how texts were edited and revised by their authors and scribes in the years immediately after their initial production. He has also recently joined the ongoing Nomads’ Manuscripts Landscape project (also funded by the FwF), which aims to identify extant Persian and Arabic manuscripts produced during the Seljuk and Ilkhanid period to better understand scholarly practices, knowledge transfer, and book culture under nomadic rule. In his book, *Making Mongol History* (Edinburgh, 2019), he proposed a systematic model for the early manuscript production of Rashīd al-Dīn’s *Jāmi‘ al-Tavārikh*. He is now writing a series of articles

exploring case studies that demonstrate the methodological possibilities of that model, as well as a collaborative book project on a previously unstudied Zoroastrian astrological apocalypse from Fars during the Salghurid period. He lives in Vienna with his spouse and their blind dog.

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## Acknowledging the Addition? The *Dhayl* in Arabic Lexicography

### Acknowledging the Addition? The *Dhayl* in Arabic Lexicography

Arabic lexicography is a field not only documented through dictionaries but also enriched by a diverse tradition of abridgements, commentaries, refutations, topical treatises, and more. Among the various ways in which scholars engaged with the Arabic lexicon, the use of supplements (referred to as *dhayl*, *takmila*, or *sīla*) played a significant role in shaping the canon.

Starting from the seventh/thirteenth century onwards, al-Jawharī's renowned dictionary, *al-Ṣīhāh*, was rarely discussed without mentioning the *Ḩawāshī* by Ibn Barrī and the *Takmila* by al-Ṣaghānī. al-Ṣaghānī, in particular, extensively interacted with *al-Ṣīhāh* in multiple works and even fused his own *takmila* and *ḥawāshi* into a new dictionary. al-Jawharī's *al-Ṣīhāh* underwent various adaptations, including abridgments, versifications, commentaries, disputes, and defenses. Ibn Manzūr, in his *Lisān al-‘Arab*, regarded the *Ḩawāshī* of Ibn Barrī as indispensable companions to the master text, incorporating them into his compilation as exemplary lexicographical works. Furthermore, al-Jawharī's dictionary served as a model for the creation of bilingual dictionaries, such as *al-Şurāh min al-Ṣīhāh* by Jamāl Qarshī and *Liġgat-i Vankulu* by Vankulu Mehmed, which was one of the earliest books printed by Ibrāhīm Müteferrika in 1729.

This study explores the role of glosses and supplements in the reception history of *al-Ṣīhāh*. It investigates how individual additions were

acknowledged and treated, and whether these supplements became an integral part of the dictionary's alphabetical arrangement to the extent that they could no longer be distinguished from the master text. By examining the example of *al-Ṣīhāh* and its reception, this research sheds light on how the form and reception of supplements, such as *dhayl* or *takmila*, were employed in Arabic and bilingual lexicography from the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries.

**Colinda Lindermann** pursued her studies in Classical Philology at Leiden University (MA 2005) and Arabic Studies at Freie Universität Berlin (MA 2016). She successfully defended her PhD dissertation in March 2023 and is currently preparing it for publication under the working title “Between *al-Qāmūs* and *Tāj al-‘Arūs*: Arabic lexicography in the postformative period”. From 2015 to 2019, she worked as a research associate in the DFG-funded research group “Arabic Philology and Textual Practices in the Early Modern Period” at Freie Universität Berlin, under the direction of Islam Dayeh. From 2020 to 2023, she contributed as a research associate to the DFG-funded project *Orient-Digital* at Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, where she played a role in establishing an online database of Islamic manuscripts in German and international collections. Since 2019, Colinda has served as the managing editor of the journal *Philological Encounters*, edited by Islam Dayeh and published by Brill in Leiden. Her research interests encompass the history of Arabic language scholarship, the commentary tradition, book history, and pre-Islamic poetry.

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## Continued Pasts: Samaritan Toleda Extensions and Self- reflections on History

The Toleda is the oldest, and most respected, historical record of the Samaritan people, one of the world's oldest and smallest surviving religious communities. Second only to the Samaritan Pentateuch in holiness, the Toleda contains the genealogy and historical memory of many Samaritan lineages, communities and luminaries. The Toleda is written in a mix of Arabic, Samaritan Hebrew, and Aramaic in the Samaritan and Arabic scripts. However, in contrast to the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Toleda is not a single work with a fixed text and established recitation. Rather, it is the coalesced collection of competing and contradictory traditions, and the product of numerous redactions and intertwined transmission paths through over a millennium of Samaritan scholastic work under Muslim rule.

Using scientific editions and newly digitised copies made available online, the proposed paper seeks to trace, present and explore the differing endings of surviving Toleda manuscripts, mainly commissioned during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These recent manuscript extensions offer a unique window into socio-political change, and insights into the life and thought of a surviving class of scribes in a world increasingly dominated by the mass press, and later by the digital age. In the context of the conference, the Samaritan extensions of the Toleda challenge the perceived dichotomy between the manuscript-age and the age of print. The ongoing process of textual transmission of the Toleda, made many attempts to produce a definite, scientific edition, mute. Nonetheless, the continued production, circulation and reception of these texts attest to the open-handed, dynamic

and collective notion of knowledge. Lastly, Samaritan Toleda Extensions are a written testament to the agency of scribes propagating their perceptions of communal and private history between the sacred and the secular.

**Roy Marom** is a Dan David Postdoctoral

Fellow at Tel Aviv University, specializing in the history and historical geography of Palestine's countryside. Previously, Marom served as a Fulbright Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of California, Berkeley. Marom has completed his doctoral dissertation, winner of the Middle East & Islamic Studies Association of Israel (MEISAI)'s best dissertation award, at the University of Haifa's Department of Middle Eastern Studies (2022). Marom's M.A. thesis on the Laws of Homicide and Bodily Harm in Antiquity and in Early Islamic Law (Tel Aviv University, Summa cum Laude, 2017) has won the M.A. outstanding awards of MEISAI and the Center for the Study of Relations between Jews, Christians, Muslims of the Open University of Israel. Marom is the curator of the Palestinian Rural History Project (PRHP) and President of Baladi: Palestine and Holy Land Studies (a US non-profit). He currently utilises Samaritan historical and genealogical texts as part of a broader program to recover and reassess inter-confessional relations in Palestine's countryside during the Ottoman and British Mandate period.

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## Co-Writing Tales: An Appendix to an Eighteenth-century *Kalila wa-Dimna* Manuscript

Manuscripts of the *Book of Kalila wa-Dimna* display a remarkable diversity in terms of linguistic attributes and content. Some of these copies are multi-text manuscripts that incorporate thematically related material, such as other frame narratives and advice literature. However, in one particular copy housed in the British Library, which is likely of Syrian origin and dates back to the 1760s, a distinct type of text is appended. At first glance, this additional material does not appear to have any direct connection to the content of *Kalila wa-Dimna*. This intriguing text is the subject of my ongoing research.

The British Library manuscript contains an appendix consisting of 60 pages of predominantly very brief narratives, titled *shawāhid*, characterized by a unique Middle Arabic style. The content is diverse, featuring curious tales that involve legendary figures like Ibn Sīrīn or Hārūn al-Rashīd. This supplement to a *Kalila-wa-Dimna* manuscript goes beyond being a mere collection of stories, as it was written by multiple hands, suggesting the involvement of a storytelling circle or a collaborative writing process.

In my presentation, I will provide a preliminary analysis of this collection of tales and explore what such textual production reveals about the use of manuscripts during the early modern period. I will also examine how we can make sense of phenomena involving multifaceted intertextuality. Specifically, I will begin by presenting a few examples, emphasizing their linguistic and narrative aspects. Next, I will introduce the various contributors to the *shawāhid*

in terms of their styles and content. Lastly, I will delve into the concept of co-writing tales and supplementing manuscripts.

**Johannes Stephan** is a scholar specialising in Arabic literature with a particular focus on understanding notions of narrative and literature in pre-modern and early modern contexts. He pursued his studies in Arabic and Islamic Studies, as well as Middle Eastern Studies, in Halle (Germany), Damascus (Syria), and Bern (Switzerland), where he also obtained his Ph.D. and taught various subjects. Currently, he serves as a postdoctoral researcher in the *Arabic Literature Cosmopolitan* project at Freie Universität Berlin, which is funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and awarded the Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Prize in 2017 to Beatrice Gruendler. In his current role, Johannes is working on a monograph that explores the early reception of the *Book of Kalila wa-Dimna* in Arabic literary, encyclopedic, philosophical, and historiographical texts spanning from the second/eighth to the seventh/thirteenth centuries. His research also delves into the concepts of fictionality, intertextuality, and narrative framing. He has served as the editor of *The Book of Travels* by Ḥannā Diyāb, the Storyteller of the *Thousand and One Nights*, published by the Library of Arabic Literature (New York University Press, 2021), and is a co-editor of the keyword *framing narratives* in the *Living Handbook of Temporal Communities* at Freie Universität Berlin (forthcoming).

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The recent scholarly discourse on the early modern period in Islamicate area studies has extensively explored the topic of pilgrimage to local and regional shrines. This exploration delves not only into spiritual aspects but also considers the economic, social, and political dimensions of pilgrimage. In the context of Persian historiography concerning local pilgrimage, historical sources exhibit a wide range of diversity. Starting from the Timurid period and onwards, these sources increasingly incorporate “pilgrimage” or “topographical” guides to local shrines located around significant cities like Bukhara, Samarcand, Balkh, and others. The paper at hand focuses on *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl* by ‘Abdallāh Dashtaki Haravī, a significant source of information regarding the sacred topography of Herat, located in Afghanistan. This work, written in Persian around the mid-fifteenth century, is followed by two continuations (*zayl*): one from the Durrānī period (approximately 1783–84) and the other from the early twentieth century. By cross-analyzing these texts, the paper aims to shed light on the evolution and functioning of Herat shrines over several centuries, providing historical insights within their respective contexts.

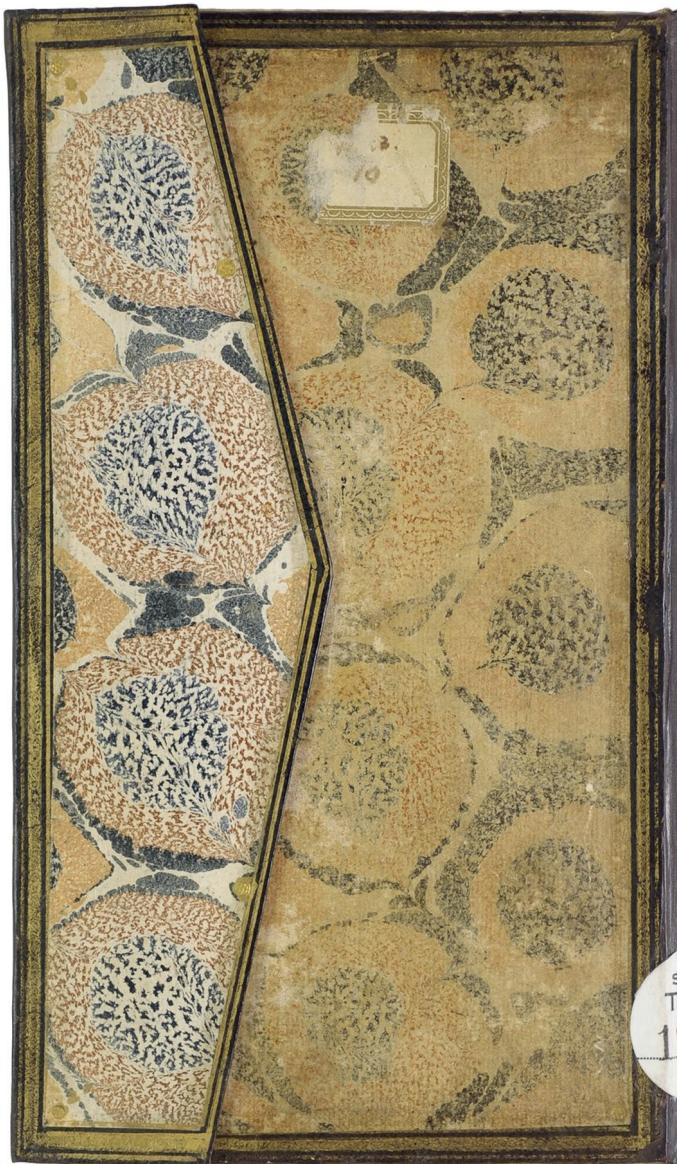
**Maria Szuppe**, holding a Ph.D. from Sorbonne Nouvelle, serves as a Senior Researcher (*directrice de recherche*) at the French National Centre for Research (CNRS) and is a member of the research unit Centre de recherche sur le monde iranien (CeRMI, UMR 8041). She also imparts knowledge on the medieval history of Iran and the Persianate world at the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (Inalco) in Paris. Her academic engagements have included roles as the scientific secretary of the Institut Français d’Etudes sur l’Asie Centrale (IFEAC) in Tashkent, Visiting Professorships at the Tokyo University for Foreign Studies (2009) and the University of Leiden (2019).

November 15, 10:30–11:30 | Panel I

## Two *Zayls* to a Topographic Guide of Holy Places in Timurid Herat

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MS BnF, Supplément turc 1268, binding and fol. 1v

Beginning of the *(Zeyl-i) Zeyl-i Siyar en-Nebi*, by Nazmizâde Murtazâ (Baghdad, d. ca. 1720), a supplement to Yûsuf Nabi's (d. 1712) supplement for the *Durrat al-Tâj fi Sirat Sâhib al-Mîrâj*, which is the biography of Muhammad authored by Veysi (d. 1627).

بارب دلیمی لوحه هنر فایلیه مرآت تجلیات ر حما ۵۱۱۰

سیاهی دم و ناطق نک بلبلی  
او فتا حسیله که چوشش که ایله

اسد اکبر بونه هیله موز و پر بنا بوند که صحایف طایف سیاهی  
سیاهی هر کی دیو اقتیت گئیشنه لمحه غربی و در علطانه لمحه در مید ۵  
مرکب او لووب حسینیاری نیشنه اسراییه متقدره و مسلک نیک کار رکر  
لکار خانه مخیز را بله مصنوعه مرضع کاری هر حلقه اینقه در پیمیدر که  
قیمت داناین عالم تقدیر قدر نده چیز ای و مدهوش و مصنوعه بجهودیان  
جهان ای کا نسبت دلکا کچه حرف فروشند که ای اسد بونه صد مجھ  
کمک کو اینهای صندر کار عمان دلده هم در کش و چار سوی عالمه غاییش  
و پر مکله فروع جهان افزون زدن چشمته آفتاب آب در دیده و فرق  
ما هر تاب دل ببرشیده در لقای اسد اوی عین المحبه بلا غدر که جل  
سوخته ایش شوق احمدی و شنده لبان زال کنایش محظی ای  
کلاب اف ایش حقایق و حکم در کش رشحات طایف قدم ایدر  
یا خود برو طویل قافیه آموز و سمع آرایی سخندر که محفل شن کلشن  
شورش او لووب نغه سرای نعمت کید الور اعلیه ای ای اولد فجه  
مرغافی ای و ای بروانه و شوامن قلوب قاسیه ای او ازه کنور رنضم

بر سیمه به

## Recontextualizing Sokolluzāde Hasan Paşa’s Universal History

This paper focuses on a universal history written in the late sixteenth century for the Ottoman governor of Baghdad Sokolluzāde Hasan Paşa (d. 1602) to consider questions of textual transmission, compilation, and authorship. The presentation copy—preserved in two manuscript volumes (TPML, H. 1230 and H. 1369), the second of which is dedicated to the Abbasids and Ilkanids, and which announces itself as *müzeyyen* and *müzeyyel*—of this illustrated universal history is incomplete, likely due to the death of the patron at the hands of the Celâli rebels. The introduction, however, notes that there was supposed to be a concluding section that would continue the history until the present day, particularly focusing on the tenure of the governor.

This “missing” concluding section is preserved in a manuscript dated 1670 (BnF, Suppl. turc 1322). This manuscript adds sections from Zakariyā’ al-Qazwini’s (d. 1283) *‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt* before the concluding section, which itself does not fully deliver what it set out to do—it still lacks an account of the governor’s tenure. This concluding part borrows extensively from the works of Ramażānzāde Mehmed Paşa (d. 1571) and Hoca Sa’ddeddin (d. 1599), along with “original” content to continue the history until and including the reign of Sultan Süleymān I (d. 1566).

Culling sections (on the Abbasids and Ilkhanids) from the universal history written for Sokolluzāde Hasan Paşa, juxtaposing them with sections from the *‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt*, and ending with the “missing” concluding section that was to complete the universal history of

Sokolluzāde Hasan Paşa, the 1670 manuscript is rather more akin to a compilation. Copied nearly seven decades after the presentation copies, the Paris manuscript, thus, recontextualises the universal history and takes a different life of its own. These three manuscripts allow us to think about questions of writing of dhayls, the creation of compilations, authorship and the lives of texts.

**Melis Taner** obtained her B.A. from Sabancı University, Department of Social and Political Science in 2006. After her B.A. degree, she studied Medieval History at Central European University (2007). She completed a second M.A. in History at Sabancı University in 2009. She received her Ph.D. from Harvard University (History of Art and Architecture). Since the completion of her Ph.D. she has been working as an Assistant Professor at Özyegin University in the Department of Architecture and Design. Her main areas of research is Islamic art, specifically early modern Ottoman and Safavid painting. Her first book *Caught in a Whirlwind: A Cultural History of Ottoman Baghdad as Reflected in its Illustrated Manuscripts* was published by Brill in 2020. Her new research focuses on Mediterranean-wide networks of epistemic exchange, particularly about medicinal plants. To support her research, she was awarded a postdoctoral research fellowship at Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz’s 4A\_Labs research group that focuses on plants and plant humanities. She is currently working on her second monograph on a group of illustrated botanical manuscripts and is spending her sabbatical year at Harvard University’s Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture.

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In 1634, the Ottoman litterateur Nev‘izâde ‘Atâ’î (d. 1635) completed a *zeyl* to Taşköprizâde’s (d. 1561) Arabic biographical compendium known as *eş-Şekâ’iķu’n-Nu’mâniyye* (*The Wild Red Anemone*). ‘Atâ’î supplemented this work with entries about the lives of Ottoman scholars who were active between 965 and 1044 (1558–1634). Initially, the positive contemporary reception of this *zeyl*, known as *Hadâ’iķu'l-Hâkâ'îk fi Tekmîleti's-Şekâ'îk* (*Gardens of Truth in Completion of The Wild Red Anemone*), puzzled some scholars, who deemed it too descriptive. Even though other scholars highlighted ‘Atâ’î’s attention to detail and delicate stylistic interventions (Kortantamer 1997), only a few specialists have recently begun excavating the rich material contained in the *Hadâ’iķ*, e.g., the dream narratives (Niyazioğlu 2017).

My paper analyzes another underexamined feature of the *Hadâ’iķ*: the author’s approach to genre conventions and his attempts at relaxing these limitations by cross-referencing. A close reading of the *Hadâ’iķ* reveals that ‘Atâ’î self-integrated his further works, such as *Nefhatîi'l-Ezâhîr* (*The Fragrance of Flowers*), a part of his Meşnevî poem *Hamse*. Such footnotes typically lead to anecdotes of a personal nature about the scholar in question, which ‘Atâ’î seems to have deemed inappropriate to relate in a biographical compendium. By contrast, ‘Atâ’î’s lyric works, such as the *Hamse*, were versified stories featuring anecdotes about jesters, lovers and heroes. Thus, they were not primarily concerned with praising scholarly erudition or genteel etiquette and could accommodate personal, witty, or even obscene details.

Through examples of biographical entries in the *Hadâ’iķ* containing referencing to ‘Atâ’î’s further works, my paper discusses the intertextual dimensions of ‘Atâ’î’s work. While the concept of a *zeyl* suggests the idea of a linear continuation and repetitive transmission of knowledge, my paper argues that the Ottoman litterateurs had

November 16, 10:30–11:30 | Panel IV

## Genre-Specificity and Cross-Referencing in Nev‘izâde ‘Atâ’î’s *Hadâ’iķu'l-Hâkâ'îk fi Tekmîleti's-Şekâ'îk*

creative methods to transcend the genre-specific limitations of the *zeyl*.

**Zeynep Tezer** is a Max-Weber Postdoctoral Fellow at the European University Institute in Florence. Her research focuses on social exclusion, dissent, and the culture of critique in the early-modern Ottoman Empire. Her dissertation, completed in Summer 2023 at the University of Chicago, and her current book project investigate the criticisms and transgressive actions of socially disadvantaged individuals and groups. By unearthing new critical voices from the margins, she calls into question the assumptions about the widespread conformism and political detachment among Ottoman imperial subjects. As a study on the intersection of social and cultural history, her dissertation centers on both written critique and dissent through action. It aims to redirect the scholarly focus from collectives of political action to individuals’ critiques. As such, it strives to contribute to the discussion about subjecthood and the individual space of action in premodern societies. Prior to Chicago, Zeynep Tezer studied in Bonn and Bamberg in Germany, where she earned a B.Sc. in Mathematics, a B.A. in History, and a M.A. in Turkish Studies.

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## Zeyl Works of Şeyhī Meḥmed b. Ḥasan in Ottoman Turkish and his *Cihānnūmā-i Avrūpā* on the Geography and Peoples of Europe and the New World

Şeyhī Meḥmed b. Ḥasan (1668–1731) is known with his voluminous supplement works in Ottoman Turkish written as the continuation and complement to some of the most prominent works in the genres of biographical dictionaries (*tażkira*), history (*tārīkh*) and geography (*jughrāfiyā*) produced in the Ottoman lands. His *zeyl* works include *Veḱāyi’ü'l-Fużalā* (*Episodes of the Superior Ones*), a three-volume supplement to Taşköprizāde's influential biographical dictionary *eş-Şekā’iku'n-Nu'māniyye* (*The Wild Red Anemone*), the *zeyl* to Kātib Çelebi's universal history *Takvīmū't-Tevārikh* (*Chronology of the Historical Events*), and *Cihānnūmā-i Avrūpā* (*Description of Europe*), a sequel to Kātib Çelebi's famous geography work *Cihānnūmā* (*Description of the World*).

In all these works, Şeyhī uses a large number of sources, presents fine details and demonstrates a deep knowledge of the subjects. The quantity and quality of his writings in the *zeyl* tradition, as a result, earn him an exceptional standing in the scholarship of the genre in question. Although Şeyhī's *Veḱāyi’ü'l-Fużalā* and *Zeyl* of *Takvīm* have already been published and studied to a certain degree, his *Cihānnūmā-i Avrūpā* has been neither published nor adequately studied so far. As it is one of the earliest detailed works on Europe and the New World in the Ottoman State, *Cihānnūmā-i Avrūpā* therefore demands a detailed analysis.

My purpose in this paper, for this reason, is to analyse the two extant manuscripts of the work that are currently kept in the Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul and present i) general textual features, ii) textual problems, iii) possible sources of information and accompanying maps, and iv) overall significance of the work within the context of Ottoman literary and intellectual history.

**Fikret Turan** is a professor of Turkish Language and Literature at the Faculty of Letters, Istanbul University. He completed his undergraduate studies at Uludağ University, Turkey, in 1984, earned his MA from New York University in 1991, and obtained his PhD from Harvard University in 1996, specializing in Turkology and Middle Eastern Languages and Cultures. Prior to joining Istanbul University, he taught and held administrative positions at the University of Manchester from 2004 to 2011. His research focuses on the history of the Turkish language, with a specific emphasis on the vernacularization of literary genres and text linguistics in Chagatay and Ottoman Turkish. Additionally, he has a keen interest in the emergence of new genres, narratives of modern concepts, and their linguistic strategies within the framework of the Ottoman language. Some of his more recent publications include *Genç Tanzimat Paşazadesi Avrupa'da: Seyahatname-i Avrupa ve Avrupa Lâyihası* (Istanbul 2022), and *The Mediators: Ottoman Turkish in Non-Arabic Scripts*, co-edited with Éva Ágnes Csató and Astrid Menz (Wiesbaden 2016).

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**Christoph U. Werner** holds the chair of Iranian Studies at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg (Germany). Prior to this, he has held positions at the Universities of Marburg (2007–2019) and Freiburg (2002–2007). Involved in several academic societies, he has been president of the Societas Iranologica Europaea 2019–2023. He has published widely on many aspects of Iranian history, historiography, diplomatics and vaqf studies, as well as on classical and modern Persian culture and literature. From 2016 to 2022 he directed the Persian section of the German Union Manuscript Cataloguing Project (KOHD). In the field of pre-modern history and diplomatics, publications include studies on the 14th century Kujuji endowments (*Die Kuğuçı-Stiftungen in Tabriz*, 2013) and the Razavi Sayyids of Mashhad (*Vestiges of the Razavi Shrine*, 2017). Ongoing work is focused on the [asnad.org](http://asnad.org) database of Persian documents.

*November 14, 17:30 | Keynote*

## **Adding Supplements to Tradition: Reflections on Persian Historiography**

**Christoph U. Werner**

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## Appetite for Construction: Recipe Supplements as Culinary *Dhayls*

**H**istorical cookbooks in Arabic have been preserved in over 35 manuscripts, which copy nine distinct texts originating from Iraq, Syria, Egypt, and al-Andalus. However, these manuscripts are not mere duplicates of the same texts; they often present elaborations or abridgments of the original content. These collections of manuscripts provide valuable insights into the development, transmission, and dissemination of culinary knowledge among the upper urban classes in the medieval Islamic world. While many of these copies contain similar recipes, some have taken on lives of their own and include additional sections that are not found in the archetype manuscript.

For example, in MS Gotha, Ms. orient. A 1344, there is a new supplement of stew recipes presented on folio 30r, following a chapter on preserving fresh fruits. Interestingly, the primary chapter on stews appears much earlier, in chapter four (*bāb al-āṭīma*). These supplementary recipes amount to 88 in total, comprising nearly one-third of the entire manuscript. The inclusion of such supplementary recipes is closely tied to the author-compiler of the manuscript. While most manuscripts are anonymous, those with addenda often have named authors. For instance, Mas‘ūd b. Mawdūd is credited as the creator of MS TSLM, A. 2143. He clearly modified the final chapters of the tenth-century *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* by adding some of his own chapters while omitting others.

This paper views these supplements as culinary “technical” *dhayls* and explores the following questions: Do these additions contain the author’s preferred dishes or their own recipes? Which texts received these “culinary *dhayls*”, and

what were the reasons behind these additions? Additionally, the paper delves into the content and authorship of these added sections, examining the relationship between the text and its contents to shed light on the production and broader transmission pathways of culinary knowledge in Arabic.

**Limor Yungman** is a social and cultural historian with a specialization in the culinary history of the medieval and early modern Islamic world. Currently, she holds a fellowship at the Martin Buber Society of Fellows at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Her research focuses on various aspects of culinary practices, gastronomic discourse, the social and political implications of food, and the evolution of taste within the Middle East. In her post-doctoral project, she explores the formation and dissemination of Arab cuisine by conducting a detailed codicological and prosopographical analysis of Arabic culinary manuscripts. Her doctoral dissertation, titled *Les livres de cuisine du Moyen-Orient médiéval (Xe-XVe siècles)*, was completed at l’École des hautes études en sciences sociales in Paris in 2020. This dissertation primarily examined cookery books as social and cultural objects, spanning from the Abbasid period to the Mamluk sultanate, and it is currently in the process of preparation for publication. Limor has contributed articles on various topics, including the Mamluk culinary preferences, the role of court cooks, and the earliest alcohol recipes in Arabic cuisine. Beyond her research, Limor serves as the curator of the exhibition titled *Tastes of Heaven: Tales of the Arab Kitchen* at the Museum for Islamic Art in Jerusalem.

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Ever since Ibn al-Faraḍī (d. 1013) penned his history of Andalusi scholars and jurists, a succession of authors have enriched it with various continuations and revisions until the time of Granadan polymath Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 1374). His work, *Ā'īd al-Šīla*, is widely regarded as the final installment in this lineage, essentially culminating the tradition. However, in this discussion, I aim to explore the idea that continuing a specific work over time can also involve abandoning the original work and its supplements. Instead, authors may adapt the work's objectives to new circumstances and essentially start anew.

In the case of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, he brought the *šilas* up to date and then composed an entirely new archetype: his history of Granada, known as *al-İhāṭa fi Tārīkh Gharnāṭa*. Subsequently, Granadan scholars shifted their focus from amending the *Šilas* works to complementing *İhāṭa* or referencing it, employing similar strategies for preserving knowledge as their predecessors did with the *šilas* tradition. Ibn al-Khaṭīb's significance lies in his remodeling of the reference work's scope by adopting a more flourishing language and infusing it with literary elements. The transformation in biographical composition can be illustrated through a preliminary version of a biography from *İhāṭa*, which initially resembles a typical biography found in *Ā'īd al-Šīla*. However, the final version takes on a distinct Khaṭībian character. His successor, Abū Yaḥyā Ibn 'Āṣim (d. 1453), who held the positions of chancellor and supreme justice, followed this format in his continuation. By examining this process, I aim to emphasise that while a long tradition of works reached its conclusion, it simultaneously paved the way for something new, and to this day, we remain uncertain about the underlying reasons for this transformation.

**Josef Ženka**, who earned his PhD in 2012, holds the position of Assistant Professor specializing in Islamic History at Charles University in Prague.

## It is Time to let it Go and Start Again: Was Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *İhāṭa* the Final Blow to Andalusi *Šila* Histories?

In 2017–18, he served as a research fellow at the Annemarie-Schimmel-Kolleg *History and Society during the Mamluk Era (1250–1517)* at the University of Bonn. His primary research interests revolve around the manuscript and documentary culture of Naṣrid Granada, with a specific emphasis on examining the practices of notaries-scribes and the legal aspects within Granadan scholarship as it intersected with the Mamlūk sultanate. This research is exemplified by his work, *A Mamlük-Andalusi holograph manuscript of the former Marinid Chancellor Muḥammad Ibn Ḥizb Allāh al-Wādī Āshī*, featured in *The Maghrib in the Mashriq*, edited by Maribel Fierro and Mayte Penelas. Ženka's recent contributions also encompass topics such as *Women of Abencerrajes (Ibn Al-Sarrāj): Kinship Strategies in 15th-Century Granada*, published in *Medieval Encounters*, as well as *A Manuscript of the Last Sultan of al-Andalus*, featured in the *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*. Additionally, he is currently collaborating with Sébastien Garnier on editing a volume that delves into the diverse forms of history within the context of the Medieval Maghrib.

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## Knowledge Compiled, Knowledge Circulated: The Shifting Shapes of the *Majma‘ al-Gharā’ib*

Following Syrinx von Hees’s groundbreaking research on Zakarīyā<sup>2</sup> al-Qazwīnī (d. 1283), which was published in 2002 and 2006, it has become widely accepted that works like Qazwīnī’s *‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt* should be classified as encyclopedias. These encyclopedias are essentially structured compendiums that compile authoritative information across various subjects, all with the aim of facilitating easy access to knowledge for the reader. One such work fitting this description is the *Majma‘ al-Gharā’ib*, authored in Balkh by Sultān-Muhammad Balkhī (d. 1573–74). This expansive work covers a broad range of subjects, including geography, chronology, and humorous anecdotes. The *Majma‘ al-Gharā’ib* enjoyed enduring popularity in Central Asia and beyond, with copies being produced as late as 1912. In fact, I have identified more than 90 manuscripts of this work in my initial count, underlining its significance and widespread influence.

The extensive corpus of manuscripts of the *Majma‘ al-Gharā’ib*, spanning over three centuries, presents a highly intricate textual history characterised by a multitude of changes. Copyists added, omitted, merged, or divided chapters, frequently reordering them as well. Amidst this complexity, chapters related to chronology and history stand out in two notable ways. First, despite the fluidity in the number and sequence of chapters, their content seems to have remained remarkably consistent. In contrast, the chapter dedicated to important historical dates consistently exhibits signs of posthumous

extensions, with some copies extending well into the 18th century. Second, a *zayl* titled *Uzbek Kings*, appended by the Manghit historian Mu‘in, is unique among the additions to the *Majma‘ al-Gharā’ib* in that it claims authorship. In light of these intricate textual variations, this paper aims to explore the significance of later additions to the *Majma‘ al-Gharā’ib* that pertain to the subjects of history and chronology.

**Guglielmo Zucconi** is currently a PhD student at the University of Vienna, concurrently serving as a predoctoral researcher at the Institute of Iranian Studies within the Austrian Academy of Sciences (IFI – ÖAW). His doctoral research primarily delves into the cultural history of Central Asia during the 16th and 17th centuries, with a specific emphasis on the creation of comprehensive compendia supported by Abū'l-Khayrid and the Ashtarkhanid royal patrons. His academic interests extend to encompass a broader exploration of the early modern history of Central Asia, Turkic historical linguistics, as well as the nascent developments in Oriental studies and ethnography within the Russian Empire. He is set to publish an upcoming article in the *Journal of Central Asian History* titled ‘We Still Have no *Abū'l-Ghāzi*: Translations and Retranslations of the *Shajara-yi Turki* in 18th-Century Europe’. His academic journey began with a BA in Turkish and Economics earned at SOAS, University of London, and he further pursued an MA in Central Asian Studies at Humboldt University in Berlin.

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