Variations in the Manuscripts of *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh*: A Comparative Study

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Abstract

This study investigates variations in the Manuscripts of *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh*. It compares linguistic data from ten manuscripts focusing on the registerial differences between Al-Suyūṭī' and Ibn Mammātī, and on Middle Arabic forms employed in their texts. Each manuscript is analyzed from the perspectives of textual criticism and sociolinguistics. Adopting a philological approach, this study has also made use of other fields, such as codicology, paleography, and corpus linguistics. Manuscripts have been compared to classify, date, and trace their origins. The study traces the anecdotal chain of transmission down through the generations to understand the development of this unique humorous folk narrative. The findings of this study reveal significant differences between Ibn Mammātī's manuscript and Al-Suyūṭī's manuscripts. However, they demonstrate similarities, too. The multidisciplinary approach used in this study has been influential in identifying many of the scribes examined and in highlighting some facts related to the manuscripts' intricate history of authorship. This study postulates that MS 59 Majāmīʿ Raṣīd is the oldest manuscript in the corpus. It is more faithful to the original and rifer with Middle Arabic than Al-Suyūṭī's manuscripts.

Keywords

Philology, textual criticism, sociolinguistics, variations, manuscripts, Kitāb al-Fāshūsh, Ibn Mammātī, Al-Suyūṭī.

الاختلافات اللغوية في مخطوطات كتاب الفاشوش في أحكام قراقوش: دراسة مقارنة

المستخلص:

تبحث هذه الدراسة الاختلافات والتباينات اللغوية في مخطوطات كتاب الفاشوش في احكام قراقوش وذلك لرصد أوجه التشابه والاختلاف بينها. فهي تقارن الأشكال اللفظية المختلفة في عشر مخطوطات واضعة نصب اهتمامها على الفروق النحوية بين مخطوطة ابن مماتي ومخطوطات السيوطي وخصوصا اللغة العربية الدارجة في ذلك العصر. يتم تحليل كل مخطوطة من منظور النقد النصي وعلم اللغة الاجتماعي. ومع ارتكاز هذه الدراسة على المنهج الفيلولوجى (فقه اللغة)، الا انها استفادت من مجالات اخرى مثل علم المخطوطات، علم دراسة أنظمة الكتابة القديمة، والدراسات اللغوية للمتون. تمت مقارنة المخطوطات في هذه الدراسة لتصنيفها وتأريخها وتعقب أصولها. تتعقب هذه الدراسة السلسلة القصصية التي تنتقل وتسري عبر الأجيال بغية فهم تطور هذا السرد الشعبي الفكاهي الفريد. تكشف نتائج هذه الدراسة عن وجود فروق ذات دلالات إحصائية ولغوية واضحة بين مخطوطة ابن مماتي ومخطوطات السيوطي. ومع ذلك، فإنهم يظهرون بعضا من أوجه التشابه أيضًا. كان للنهج المتعدد التخصصات المستخدم في هذه الدراسة تأثير في تحديد العديد من الكتبة الذين كتبوا هذه المخطوطات بأيديهم وفي إبراز بعض الحقائق المتعلقة بتاريخ تأليف المخطوطات المعقد. هذه الدراسة تثبت بأن المخطوطة ٥٩ مجاميع رصيد هي في الأغلب أقدم مخطوطة في مخطوطات هذه الدراسة على الاطلاق. والدليل على ذلك هو ما تزخر به هذه المخطوطة من لغة عربية دارجة وعامية تعكس طبيعة هذا العصر أكثر من كافة مخطوطات السيوطي.

الكلمات المفتاحية:

فيلولوجى، النقد النصي للخطاب، علم اللغة الاجتماعي، الاختلافات، مخطوطات، كتاب الفاشوش، ابن مماتي، السيوطي

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1. Introduction: textual criticism

Textual criticism has been established for over two thousand years (Saussure 1916:1-3). Its origins are deeply rooted in the tradition of classical philology, which focuses on analyzing Greek and Latin texts[1]. However, it must be acknowledged that there are crucial differences between classical Greek and Latin texts and the literary output of early Islam (Vrolijk 1998:106). Since the advent of Islam, Muslims have developed their own distinct and classical tradition of textual analysis and criticism in sciences such as *Tafsīr*[2], *Ḥadīth*[3], *Fīqh*[4], and *Qirāʾāt*[5], and terminologies, such as *Sanad*[6], *Mutūn,*[7] *Shurūḥ*[8], and *Ḥawāshi*[9]. However, rather than calling it philology or textual criticism, they have dubbed it *Sharīʿah*[10] sciences. The authenticity of a text belongs to a field of study conventionally known as textual criticism. This discipline attempts to determine the origin or authorship of a text, its authenticity, and its original form in case there is a multiplicity of text forms (Cuddon 1991: 691). Muslim scholars have tackled this subject in different disciplines under a topic known as *Thubūt Al-Nuṣūṣ*. Karcic (2006: 210) points out,

> The Muslim classical term for verifying the authenticity of the written text was *ḍabṭ*. The term was initially used for verification of oral *Riwāyah* in the *Ḥadīth* sciences and was applied later to the verification of written texts as well. A synonym for *ḍabṭ* is *Taḥrīr* which, in modern usage, means "editing." Other important classical technical terms are *Muqābalah* or *Muʿāraḍah* which refer to a comparison of different copies with the original copy or among themselves in order to determine the original work. Muslim classical scholars also paid attention to the identification of errors in the written text, pointing out that either some dots had been missed or added (*Taṣḥīf)* or alteration of letters in a word (*Taḥrīf*).

[1] Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique applicable to Greek and Latin texts By Martin L. West, 1973.
[2] It refers to meaning of a word or its interpretation, usually of the Qur'ān. Ibn Manẓūr, vol.5, p. 55.
[3] *Ḥadīth* is "prophetic tradition". Al-Tahanounī, vol.1, p.627.
[4] Islamic jurisprudence. Al-Tahanounī, vol.2, p.1282.
[5] "Different linguistic, lexical, phonetic, morphological and syntactical forms permitted with reciting". "Hafīz/Tahfīz/Hifz/Muhaffīz". In Leaman, p. 233.
[6] Literally "the act of making something rest upon something else". A technical term used in the Islamic tradition of *Ḥadīth*.
[7] Texts.
[8] Glosses.
[9] They are Commentaries, additions, and clarifications, which are associated with the text. ʿUmar, vol. 1, p. 503.
[10] Related to the Islamic law.

All of these concerns have been covered in works about narrators, such as Al-Suyūtī's (1994) *Tadrīb ar-Rāwī*, errors like Al-ʿAskarī's (1963) *Sharḥ mā Yaqaʿ f'īh al-Taṣḥīf waʾl- taḥrīf*, the etiquette of scribes like Al-Ṣawlī's (1923) *Adab Al-Kuttāb*, the etiquette of teachers and students like An-Nawawi's (1987) *A dab Al-ʿālim wa 'l-Muta'allim*. Among the well-known scholars who have published on this topic are Ḥamzah Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Isfahānī (d. 360/970), al-Hasan Ibn 'Umar al-Dārquṭnī (d. 385/995), Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Manṣūr al-Sam'āwī (d. 562/1166), Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Abī Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Jamā'ah (d. 733/1333), 'Abd al-Bāṣiṭ Ibn Mūsā Ibn Muḥammad al-'Almawī (d. 981/1573), and others.

With the decline of Muslim civilization, the tradition of active meticulous scholarship, that long preceded European textual criticism by centuries, began to dwindle. Muslim scholars, for instance, developed a high level of expertise, particularly in the delicate and sensitive process of copying and transmitting the texts of the *Qur'ān* and the *Ḥadīth*. However, when the printing press was brought into the Muslim world, the old scribal tradition was transferred in an unorganized fashion, and it also failed to adapt to the new techniques. At that time, the situation was chaotic, as editors and printers were not drawn from the ranks of scribes. As a result, they were unfamiliar with both the old tradition and the modern European art of textual criticism, which inevitably resulted in the predominance of printed books of dubious quality (Mahdi 1995: 4).

Orientalists viewed the ideas of classical philology as universal and applied them to the editing of works of Arabic literature in the nineteenth century (Vrolijk 1998:106). They began by applying European methods of textual criticism to the different texts of Islamic heritage. Orientalists have used textual criticism to study Islam as a religion and civilization. During that time, textual studies were primarily based on philology and the analysis of religious, literary, and historical texts. They studied *the Qur'ān* using the same old classical Biblical methods adopted in nineteenth-century Europe. The European technique of textual criticism was conveyed to generations of modern educated Muslim intellectuals in the early twentieth century through Orientalist publications and modern education. For example, Gotthelt Bergstrasser (1886-1933) taught the first regular university course in the Muslim world on the critical edition of Islamic manuscripts during the academic year 1931-1932 to post-graduate students in the Department of Arabic language at the Faculty of Arts, University of Cairo. His lectures were later published and

contributed to the growing body of Muslim literature on *taḥqīq* in the second half of the 20th century (Al-Fuḍūlī 1982: 27).

The new European methods of textual criticism had a profound effect on the younger generations of Arab scholars. They were eager to rediscover their *turāth*[11], which was an essential element of their national identity and history. This massive *turāth*, buried in millions of manuscripts and distributed in libraries worldwide, could represent an original and abundant source of knowledge for all humanity (Al-Sarḥān 1984: 173-74). It was also a source of inspiration and national pride for its people, who faced a grim present and uncertain future. The new methodology had an impact on the procedure of *taḥqīq al-makhṭūtāt*, which began in 1911 with Aḥmad Zakī Pasha (1867–1934), a notable Egyptian scholar and statesman, when he used the Arabic technical term *taḥqīq*, for the first time, with the meaning of "textual editing" rather than "verification"[12] (Dayeh 2019:246). Many Arab scholars followed Zakī's footsteps in attempting to establish specific guidelines for editing the Arabic manuscripts, including Muḥammad Mandūr (1944), Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn al-Munjid (1955), Shukrī Fayṣal (1955), Shawqi Ḍaif (1965), Maḥmūd Qāsīm (1966), Bashār Ma'rūf (1968), and many others.

Many Arab scholars use a contemporary Muslim approach that combines the age-old Muslim practice of analyzing texts, writing commentaries, and glosses with the modern scholarly tradition of textual criticism. For instance, to interpret the texts of their heritage today, Muslim scholars ask questions about the author, the contexts in which the text was produced, the purpose of writing, the audience, the means employed to convey the message, and so forth. These questions are already used in textual analyses of literary works. Muslim scholars can benefit from positive developments in this field. Similarly, insights into textual criticism given by other European scholars such as Paul Maas (1880-1964), R. Blachere (d. 1973), and J. Sauvaget (d. 1950) were translated into Arabic. They were used by contemporary Muslim scholars to provide a synthesis of Muslim traditional scholarship and modern European authorship on textual criticism. Textual criticism applied by Orientalists to Islamic texts includes the following steps (al-Bikrī 1969: 11-12; al-Sarḥān 1984: 180):

[11] Arabic-Islamic tradition (*turāth*) stands for and how and which of its components (religious and philosophical) are to be accorded relevance in the present (Lahoud 2004: 313).
[12] . Ibn Manẓūr, vol.10, p. 49.

1- Making a list of available manuscripts.
2. Collecting and organizing sources related to the manuscripts, authors, and
topics chronologically.
3. Comparing variant manuscripts, and separating the primary sources from the
secondary ones and, the text of the author from the text of the commentator or copyist.
4. Examining the author's, commentators', and copyists' characters in order to
detect possible textual interventions.
5. Examining the text's content.
6. Identifying the original text and noting possible variants and their explanations.
7. Writing an introduction, and preparing the indices and documentation (notes, etc.).

Most of these methodological rules were adopted later by modern Muslim scholars. According to the contemporary scholar 'Abd al-Hādī al-Fuḍūlī, textual criticism, applied to Islamic heritage, includes the following steps (Karcic 2006:211-12):

1- Collection of available manuscripts of a particular work.
2- Preliminary comparison of the collected manuscripts and choice of a copy that will form a basis for verification.
3- Verification of authorship.
4- Verification of the title of the manuscript.
5- Verification of the name of the author.
6- Comparison of manuscripts and determination of the text in its original or near-original form.
7- Finalizing the verification, source of citations within the text identification, explanation of difficult words, technical terms, personal names, toponyms, vocalization of difficult words, pagination, documentation and index preparation, among other things; and
8- Writing an introduction and identifying relevant sources and references.

This study sets out to investigate variations in the manuscripts of *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh*. It compares and contrasts ten versions of the manuscripts to empirically classify, date, and trace their origins. Scribal behavior has been used to trace linguistic and cultural variations in the manuscripts. Adopting a philological approach, the paper, however, has made use of other complementary fields such as textual criticism, codicology, paleography, sociolinguistics, and corpus linguistics. Electronic aids, such as analytical tools, software programs, textual databases, multivariate factor analysis (recognition of repeated events and statements), collocation (words that often co-occur), word length, frequency, and context, have been used. The application of new methods in linguistics and textual criticism is why I selected a hybrid approach in my analysis. However, I think we cannot blindly apply Western textual criticism principles without considering two important factors. As Vrolijk (1998:106) puts it, the first one is that Arabic literature is so much younger than Greek or Latin literature. According to statistics, any work of literature has a much better chance of surviving five hundred years than two millennia. The second factor, I believe, is that the Arabs and Muslims have developed their specific system of textual criticism, which needs to be updated and developed and not be ignored or discarded.

2. An overview

2.1 Questions of authorship

Kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh (*stupidity, or the decisions of Qarāqūsh)* is believed to be authored by three writers (Casanova, 1893; Ḍaif, 1999; Shaʿlān, 2012). The original author is al-Asʻad Ibn Mammātī, who wrote the book as a pamphlet to be submitted to Salāḥ ad-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Ayyūb, known as Saladin (1137 – March 1193) against his deputy in Egypt Qarāqūsh Ibn ʻAbd Allāh al-Asadī, surnamed Bahāʾad-Dīn (splendor of religion) (n.d. - April 1201). It contained funny anecdotes designed after the model of Juḥā's stories about Emir Qarāqūsh and his queer judgments. The second pamphlet, on the other hand, was named after Ibn Mammātī's version *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh* by Al-Suyūṭī. Shawqi Ḍaif (1999:97) asserted that this book was authored by Al-Suyūṭī or at least by the generations that followed Ibn Mammātī. Shaʿlān (2012:188), on the other hand, pointed out that Al-Suyūṭī should be viewed as the compiler of the anecdotes, not their author. Al-Suyūṭī himself verifies this claim in the introduction to his manuscript, as we shall see later. A third version of the book reappeared under the title *"Al-*

ṭarz al-Manqūsh fī Ḥukm al Sulṭān Qarāqūsh" by ʿAbd al-Salām Al-Mālki (971 – 1078 AH; 1564 – 1668 AD). This version does not fall within the scope of this study.

Scholars are unanimous that *al-Fāshūsh* is originally authored by Ibn Mammātī (Ibn Khalikan 1842: 520). However, there are many assumptions that the original manuscript has been written by Ibn Mammātī, the real author. Some Arab scholars believe that such a copy has never existed (Alshāl 2000: 12-13). Other scholars, on the other hand, believe that the original manuscript has been lost (Ḥamzah 2000: 142-3). However, there is an extract from this manuscript quoted by Paul Casanova (1893:468-472) in his pioneering study on *Qarāqūsh* under the title of "*extraits d' un manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Khédiviale du Caire*". Without looking for the original manuscript, ʿAbd-al-Laṭif Ḥamzah has quoted and used all the anecdotes in this study in his books (Ḥamzah, 1945, 1951, 2000). This practice has made other writers like ʿAzzām (1999) and Shaʿlān (2012) doubtful about the existence of the manuscript. In *Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah* (The Egyptian National Library), originally called (Khedivial Books House) in 1870, I have found almost the same manuscript, amid some collected epistles under the title 59 Majāmīʿ Raṣīd, as it contains all the anecdotes quoted before by Casanova himself.

The mere existence of this historical manuscript today refutes the claims of the previous authors and authenticates Paul Casanova's narrative. One of the most important goals of this study is to compare MS. 59 Majāmīʿ Raṣīd with Al-Suyūṭī's nine manuscripts. One more goal is to explore variations in Al-Suyūṭī's manuscripts to trace the anecdotes' origins, identify Al-Suyūṭī's style and discover whether the anecdotes belong to him or at least to his era or not, to identify the landmarks of his age and the ages that have followed him, and most importantly, to understand the unique development of these humorous folkloric narratives.

2.2 Background

Kitāb al-Fāshūsh is a critique of the social and economic absurdities of life during the reign of both the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks. If we put the bits and pieces together, we will be able to have a clear image of life from the perspective of the oppressed people, who historians have intentionally ignored, because they are simply not rich (ʿĀshūr 1992: 13). Therefore, the book delineates the complicated relationship between the two poles of Egyptian society *Al-ḥākim* (Qarāqūsh) and *Al-Maḥkūmīn* (the Egyptian people). Ibn Mammātī's manuscript was written during the

Ayyūbid period (1170-1260). Al-Suyūṭī's manuscript, on the other hand, was written during the Mamlūk era (1250-1517), at the end of Muḥarram 899 AH / October 1493 AD. Ibn Mammātī's original manuscript appeared during the rise of the Ayyūbid state and the downfall of the Fatimid empire. It was a period of turmoil and instability marked by internal and regional problems (Petry 2008: 216). Many social, economic, and political changes happened during that period due to the sudden rise of the Turkish and Kurdish elements in Egyptian society, the war with the crusaders, and the epidemics which occurred during the reign of Sulṭan al–ʿAdil the Ayyūbid in 596-99/1200-1203 (Rabie 1968: 135).

The Mamlūk era was an extension of the Ayyūbid period and was also marked by tension and instability. It began in 656/1258 with the destruction of Islam's imperial stronghold capital in Baghdad and the execution of the Abbasid caliph al-Musta'ṣim (r. 640-56/1242-58), at the hands of Mongols, a catastrophe that shocked all Muslims for a long time. After the Mongols had destroyed Baghdad in 1258, the Abbasid caliphate was restored in Cairo and became under the supervision of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns of Egypt and Syria (1250-1517). Therefore, modern scholars tend to believe that the so-called Abbasid "shadow" caliphate merely legitimizes Mamlūk rulers (Banister 2015: abstract). Victory at ʿAyn Jālūt 658 AH/ 1260 AD furnished the Mamlūks with prestige as valiant warriors, strengthening their hold in Egypt while aiding their consolidation of Syria (Banister 2015: 38). With this victory, and the transfer of the ʿAbbāsid caliph's seat to Cairo, Egypt had become the center of cultural and academic activity in the Middle East. (Sartain 1975: 117).

One of the most prominent features of the Mamlūk political history was the continual struggle for power among different factions. Therefore, the general situation was marked by instability and unrest that often resulted in the frequent changes of Sulṭans (Sartain 1975: 6-7). The Mamlūks showed little sympathy towards the native Egyptians. This was expected from "a military aristocracy of foreigners who never became assimilated with the native population but remained a distinct, select class, their numbers being renewed by continual imports from abroad" (Sartain 1975: 9). The ordinary citizens of Cairo, for instance, suffered from the Sulṭān's mamlūks, who knocked off their turbans to insult them, seized women and young boys, carried off goods from shops and markets without paying, stole riding animals and the camels used for bringing water from the Nile, plundered and burned townspeople's houses and shops (Sartain 1975: 9). Many examples of such behavior can be found in *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh*.

Al-Suyūṭī's era was marked by the breakdown of the Mamlūk regime. It was also characterized by tension among the different sects of Mamlūks in their fervent pursuit of power, especially between the Turkish and the Circassian Mamlūks. The plague struck Egypt three times during the reign of Sulṭān Qāytbāy in 873, 881, and 897 AH. In addition to the spread of plagues, that period was marked by heavy taxes and fund-raising for wars. Like the Ayyūbid period, the structure of the society was based on the military *iqṭāʿ* system. In addition to inciting mutinies, political upheavals, and seditions, the Mamlūks sometimes obtained their finances through looting and stealing from the Egyptian people. All these disturbances indicated the corruption of the ruling military establishment and foreshadowed the end of the entire Mamlūk state (Ḥamouda 1989: 20, 22, 24, 25, 30, 34, 35, 36).

2.3 Ibn Mammātī and al-Suyūṭī

Al-Qāḍī al-ʾAsʿad Abū ʾAl-Makārim ʾAsʿad Ibn al-Khaṭīr Abī Saʿid Muhadhab Ibn Mīnā Ibn Zakarīya Ibn Abī Qūdāma Ibn Abī Malīḥ Mammātī al-Miṣrī (native of Egypt) (Ibn Khallikān 1972: 210)[13] was born in Cairo at the turn of the sixth century 544 AH – 606 AH (1149-1209 AD) to a famous Coptic dynasty from Asyūṭ under the later Fatimids and the early Ayyūbids. He was a prolific writer, a distinguished poet, and a historian. Ibn Mammātī was the author of one of the earliest Egyptian administrative manuals at that time, entitled, *Kitāb qawānīn al-dawāwīn* 'Statutes of the councils of the state'. Despite the highly technical nature of the book, it circulated and was nearly continuously recopied during the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods. Marina Rustow pointed out that Ibn Mammātī's work was circulated and copied several times because of "its highly technical nature, like the *Old Farmer's Almanac*, which has been published annually in the United States since 1792" (Rustow 2020: 286). As'ad Ibn Mammātī inherited his father's position, and he made use of his friendship with influential men like Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, who described Ibn Mammātī as "*bulbul al-majlis*" (the nightingale of the council), because of his wit and eloquence (Cooper 1974: 10).

During the reign of Salāḥ ad-Dīn (1169–1193) and his son al-Malik al-ʿAziz (1193–1198), Ibn Mammātī was in charge of *Dīwān al-māl* 'the state treasury' in addition to *Dīwān al-jaysh* 'the Army Bureau.' His influence and power were consolidated when he held the position of *Nāẓir al-dawāwīn*, an inspector of all the Diwāns who had the authority

[13] Volume 1.

to supervise, observe, and audit all the actions of all the Dīwāns or ministries. Ibn Mammātī's new position qualified him to challenge and oppose the appointment of Qarāqūsh as regent to al-Malik Al-Manṣūr. Some scholars believed that *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh* was a pamphlet written by Ibn Mammātī to ruin Qarāqūsh's reputation (Cooper 1974: 9-11). However, when his colleague and rival, Ṣafī al-Dīn Ibn Shukr, was elevated to the vizierate during the reign of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (1200-1218), he confiscated all of his property and forced him to flee to Aleppo. On the way, he received from Ibn Shukr the following little note:

> Don’t think that your disappearance from me was such that I did not know where you were. News of you was brought to me daily, informing me that you were at the tomb of al-Mādharāʾī since such-and-such a day. When you fled, I knew all about it and could have brought you back if I had wanted. If I knew you had any money left, I would not have left you alone. I don’t consider your offense such that I should destroy you for it. My only wish is for you to be eking out a living, fearful, poor, exiled, and banished. Don’t think you have escaped my stratagems (Rustow 2020: 290).

Ibn Mammātī remained in Aleppo until he died on Sunday the 30th of the first Jumādā, A. H. 606 (November, A. D. 1209), aged 62 (Ibn Khallikan 1842: 195).

Abū al-Faḍl ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Bakr Ibn Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Khuḍayrī al-Suyūṭī, on the other hand, was an Egyptian scholar, jurist, and historian. He was born in 849/1445 as he lived through the closing years of the Mamlūk kingdom and died twelve years before its collapse in 1517 at the hands of the Ottoman Turks who invaded Egypt (Sartain 1975: 13). Of a mixed origin, he was known as one of the most prolific Islamic writers of the Middle Ages (al-Ṭabāʿ 1996:7; Meri 2005:784; Leaman 2006: 618). He was an expert in many fields like Philology, *Shāfiʿī* jurisprudence ‘*fiqh*,’ Qura'nic sciences ‘*Ulūm al-Qurʾān*,’ traditions ‘*Ḥadīth*,’ exegesis ‘*Tafsīr*,’ theology, rhetoric, history…etc. He wrote works on 600 subjects (Al-Zirikli 2002: 301), over 700 (Leaman 2006: 618), approximately one thousand (Meri 2005: 785), and over one thousand (al-Ṭabāʿ 1996:405). However, these included short pamphlets and legal opinions.

At the age of 18, he inherited his father's former position of teaching *Shāfiʿī* jurisprudence at the *Shaykhū* mosque (Leaman 2006: 618; Dhanani 2007: 1112). Soon afterward, on Friday, 872 AH (1467), Suyūṭī reinitiated the study of *Ḥadīth* at the mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn after the

death of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (al-Ṭabāʿ 1996:428). He was also appointed to teach *Ḥadīth* at the prestigious Shaykhūniyya madrasa 'religious college' in 1472. He then was given a royal appointment by the Mamlūk Sulṭān Qāʾit Bāy (reigned: 1468–1495) to the directorship of the Baybarsiyya *khānqāh* 'Ṣūfī lodge' in 891 AH (1486) (Dhanani 2007: 1112). Al-Suyūṭī announced himself as the *mujaddid* 'renewer of Islam' for the ninth century of the *hijra*, two or three years before the year 900/1494. He withdrew from public life to his house on the island of *Rawḍa*, in Cairo. He died in 911 AH on October 18, 1505 CE, at 62.

Al-Suyūṭī had a controversial character, and many writers of his contemporaries disagreed with him. For instance, al-Sakhāwī, Ibn al-Karakī, al-Jawjarī, and al-Bānī disliked him for many reasons. First is his impoliteness toward his colleagues. Second, his arrogance and lack of modesty. Thirdly, his audacity in claiming to be a *mujtahid* and a *mujaddid*. They accused him of lying, slandering other scholars, making mistakes and errors in his works, as well as plagiarism and ingratitude. However, al-Suyūṭī's supporters admired him for his tenacity, fearlessness in the face of adversity, persistence in what he considered right, and indifference to what others thought of him. Many modern writers regarded al-Suyūṭī as a mere compiler without originality. Dr. Ziyādah, for example, argued that al-Suyūṭī collected, compiled, and abridged, and his contribution was limited to preserving valuable works that had been lost through quoting them in his pamphlets, books, and compilations. Similar views were expressed by other modern writers like ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAbd al-Laṭīf and Ibrahim Salama (Sartain 1975: 114). Six decades ago, E.M. Sartain called for a reassessment and reevaluation of al-Suyūṭī's production by specialists, focusing on originality in his works. In response to her invitation, scholars changed their attitudes and started to appreciate al-Suyūṭī's scrupulousness, honesty, and creativity (Ghersetti 2017: 2).

There was a great deal of similarity between the two principal authors of the manuscripts, Ibn Mammātī, and al-Suyūṭī. First, the two authors were related to the city of Asyūṭ by origin; however, they were born in Cairo. Then, they inherited their father's positions in the Egyptian state, which were prestigious. Next, they were great scholars and men of letters. Then, they were engaged in politics. For instance, Ibn Mammātī's new position made him oppose the appointment of Qarāqūsh as regent to al-Malik Al-Manṣūr, and many scholars believed that Ibn Mammātī wrote *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh* to ruin Qarāqūsh's reputation. On the other hand, al-Suyūṭī's political stand was evident in his history as a

man who consistently represented Sunni piety 'at odds with Mamlūk usurpation of classical caliphal rights' (Banister 2015: 363). Ibn Mammātī was persecuted by Ibn Shukr, while al-Suyūṭī was persecuted by Ṭūmān Bāy I. Finally, they were born and died at the turn of the sixth (544 AH/1149 AD – 606 AH/1209 AD) and the ninth (849 AH/1445 AD – 911 AH/ 1505 AD) centuries at the age of 62.

3. Data and methods

3.1 Data

The total corpus of the manuscripts consists of 149 anecdotes (11226 words) gathered from ten manuscripts. Five of these manuscripts are in *Dār al-Kutub wa-al-Wathā'iq al-Qawmīyah* (Egyptian National Library and Archives), under the titles of 25 Majāmīʿ Qawalah, 59 Majāmīʿ Raṣīd, 194 Majāmīʿ Raṣīd, 416 Majāmīʿ, and 546 Majāmīʿ Ṭal'at. The other five manuscripts are in different locations, like manuscript Arabe 3552 by al-Suyūṭī in the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, manuscript Landberg MS 258 in Yale University Library, manuscript 13697-14 in Riyadh at King Faisal Library, manuscript 5491 in Dublin at Chester Beatty Library, and finally the lithographic version of Al-Ṭabʿa al-Khuṣūṣiya in Cairo. There are two important issues regarding the data in this corpus. First, the anecdotes are numbered according to their order in each manuscript. The second issue relates to the representativeness of data; therefore, I can say that this is the largest corpus conceived from the perspectives of both textual criticism and sociolinguistics on the manuscripts of *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh*.

3.2 Methods

Modern textual criticism is a methodology that has developed over the centuries. It reached maturity in the middle of the nineteenth century and was associated with Karl Lachmann. This methodology can be roughly summarized into three major steps as follows: a complete survey of all the direct and indirect witnesses of the work to be edited (manuscripts, printed editions, quotations, allusions, translations, etc.), a definition of mutual relationships between the witnesses; and the reconstruction of an archetypal text (Bausi 2015: 321). Like classical philologists, I have been guided by the principle of human fallibility (West 1973: 31-32). That is why I have paid so much attention to the scribe's linguistic behavior in all the manuscripts. The influence of scribes is eminent because they repeat the mistakes of their predecessors. When they try to interfere in the text, as we will observe in most of the manuscripts at hand, to rectify a few mistakes or to clarify or add more information to their readers, they add more mistakes to the text, sometimes because they are not qualified to do this job. With time, the

result is an inevitable process of decay, and with each new generation of copies part of the original text is lost. By carefully examining the discrepancies between the different manuscripts, I have tried to retrace the ways of transmission of the text to establish the *genealogical* relation between the extant manuscripts and the archetype. Textual criticism, sociolinguistics, and corpus linguistics are critically employed to determine which copies are closest to the author's original.

Two main methodologies have developed from two prominent schools of textual criticism. The first school is the traditional "Anglo-American" school of textual criticism. In their view, the author remains the absolute master of his text, and it develops with him during his lifetime. The text tends to be corrupted, but only because of the interference of all those involved in the production process, be they typesetters, publishers, or even helpful secretaries, mistresses, or wives. The role of the critical editor is to eliminate the role of the "others" and establish the author's intentions. As Tanselle puts it:

> "Scholarly editors may disagree about many things, but they are in general agreement that their goal is to discover exactly what an author wrote and to determine what form of his work he wished the public to have" (Tanselle 1990: 27).

The second school of textual criticism emerged during the seventies of the previous century among the textual critics of the German-speaking world. Modern German textual criticism favors historical documentation over the reconstruction of a hypothetical text that has never seen the daylight. What the author planned to write is irrelevant; what counts is what the author actually wrote (the so-called "active authorization") (Martens 1971: 56, 59-60). This is, of course, anathema to the Anglo-American editor, who is preoccupied with weighing each word of the text and determining whether or not it can be reasonably credited to the author himself. If not, the editor takes it upon himself to amend the passage. However, according to Zeller, it is preferable to accept the authorized and historical text with all of its flaws than to lose historical ground by attempting to reconstruct the "best text" (Martens 1971: 73). If the editor wants to exercise his critical acumen, he may do so in the critical apparatus.

Dealing with ten different versions of the same manuscript is really a very hard task. In my analysis, I have followed the new methods of modern textual criticism without ignoring the cultural specificity of texts and their different historical and cultural backgrounds. In this study, I have encountered three important questions regarding the date, the methods, and the cultural specificity of the manuscripts. The first one is: is it empirically valid to apply modern textual criticism methodologies to medieval manuscripts? Lachmann showed that the rules of classical philology could be applied to modern printed texts because they share a number of essential characteristics. In that case, it can also be argued that the opposite is equally true (Vrolijk 1998:111). As for the choice between the "Anglo-American" and the "German" schools, I have opted for the latter. The methods of textual criticism have undergone a great change over time. The focus of the classical philologist, for instance, has been on the *genealogy* of a text and the hypothetical reconstruction of a lost original of great antiquity. The modern textual critic, on the other hand, has found himself in a new era where he has to deal effectively and efficiently with a tremendous amount of information. As a result, he must dwell more on the *genetic* aspects of the text: the gradual development of a text from the first draft to the last edition, the role of all those collaborating in the production process, and the changing intentions of the author.

In modern times, textual criticism has developed into a miscellaneous field that brings together linguists, philologists, and historians who work on manuscripts. The increased interest in the empirical study of manuscripts, not only as a mine of data but also as a subject of study in its own right, was engendered by the drive to make the 'best use of bad data' (Labov 1994: 11; Bondarev 2019:5). Manuscripts are physical witnesses produced in real places by real people. Therefore, a close investigation of the codicological evidence and scribal behavior can suggest a great deal about the scribe, or scribes, who wrote it, their places of origin, their training, and their motivation for writing. It enables us to know more about the scribe's sociolinguistic circumstances, analyze and explain linguistic variations, identify differences in textual transmission, infer provenance, and, to some extent, the intended audience (Gilbert 2013: 131). One of the most important facts about textual criticism is that it shares approximation as an operative limit with the humanities. In textual criticism, methods vary according to the objective that editors strive to achieve and the objects/products they wish to approximate to. In other words, there is no one method or ready-made recipe for textual criticism. Therefore, critical choices and different methodological

approaches derive from the academic backgrounds of scholars and the presumed expectations of their readership (Bausi 2015: 322-323). Accordingly, this study aims to examine variations and trace the transmission chain in the manuscripts of *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh*.

Therefore, adopting a multidisciplinary approach to the empirical analysis of these 'bad data' is essential, because "the material, size, form, and layout of manuscripts are common fields of investigation for codicologists, script type and style are in the scope of paleography, and orthography and language are treated by philology and (socio)linguistics" (Bondarev 2019: 3). Textual Criticism, in my opinion, functions as an interdisciplinary method that combines all the previous fields together. Therefore, the main procedure in this analysis is to compare and contrast as many versions of the text as possible in an attempt to survey and reconstruct the history of the text's use and transmission.

This study begins with *collation* and codicological description. In textual criticism, *collation* is the process of comparing differing manuscripts or editions of the same work in order to establish a corrected text[14]. Codicological description, on the other hand, involves the manuscript's heading, contents, physical description, and provenance. The process of sociolinguistic analysis then begins with examining numerous sociolinguistic factors, such as questions of authenticity, dating a text, identifying the author, scribal behavior, sources, language, and style. I have transcribed all the manuscripts in Microsoft word to make them accessible to automatic analysis and computational algorithms, which involve calculations, data processing, and sometimes automatic reasoning. Then, I have compared all these data using online comparing tools and software[15]. Thus, I had to organize and classify my data into groups according to the degree of similarity or difference among the manuscripts. Such groups were then ordered according to resemblance into classes and families derived in one way or another from the archetype. The family relationship is called *filiation* (Bak 2012: 22).

I organized my data into two main classes. **Class 1** is Al-Suyūṭī's manuscripts which contain: *25 Majāmīʿ Qawalah, 416 Majāmīʿ Khuṣuṣiya, 194 Majāmīʿ, 546 Majāmīʿ Ṭal'at, 13697-14, Landberg MS*

[14] (https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095623868).
[15] I have used spreadsheets and online tools such as: https://www.dcode.fr/duplicates-detector, and https://countwordsfree.com/comparetexts.

258, Arabe 3552, MS. 5491, and the lithographic version of *al-Ṭabʿa al-Khuṣūṣiya*. **Class 2** is Ibn Mammātī's manuscript which contains manuscript *59 Majāmīʿ Raṣīd*. **Class 1** is divided into four subclasses. **Class A** involves manuscripts: *25 Majāmīʿ Qawalah and 416 Majāmīʿ Khuṣuṣiya*. **Class B** involves manuscripts: *194 Majāmīʿ, 546 Majāmīʿ Ṭal'at,* and *13697-14*. **Class C** involves manuscripts: *Landberg MS. 258, Arabe 3552*, and *MS. 5491*. **Class D** involves the lithographic version of *al-Ṭabʿa al-Khuṣūṣiya*. This classification is shown in the following figure:

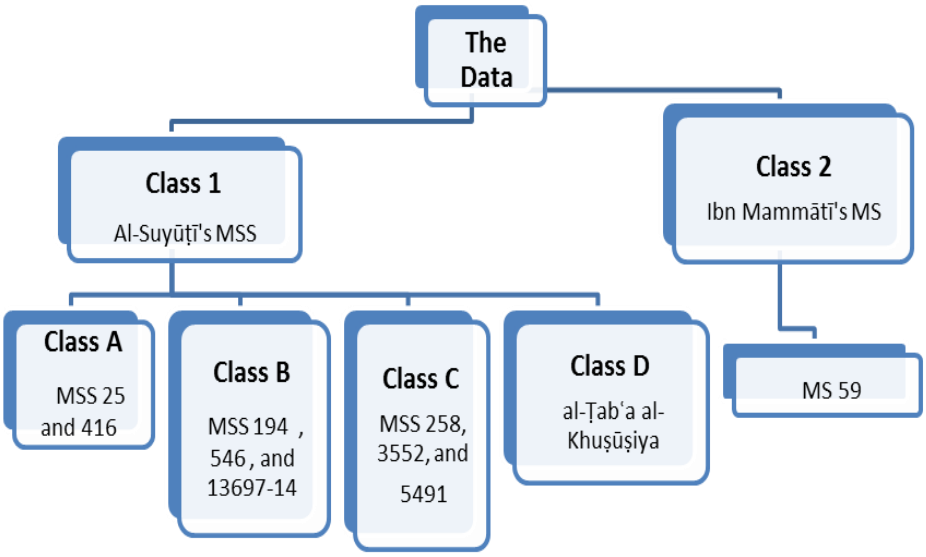

Figure 1. Classification of Data into Classes and Subclasses

In evaluating the variants, I have made use of grammatical correctness, lexicographical evidence, sources used by the author, metrics, stylistics, possible repetitions of the same ideas or sentences in the same text or in several texts by the same author, and historical evidence. I have encountered some challenges during the classification of data in the corpus of this study, such as what is called contamination. It happens when one witness is copied using more than one source. Another challenge is the use of several exemplars to copy a text. This implies that several exemplars existed at the same time in the same place, or that the manuscript copied on one exemplar was later annotated or corrected using another model. In this latter case, the corrections, which are visible in the corrected manuscript, will possibly be undetectable in its copy. A further challenge is corrections and scholarly interventions by the copyist or a reader of the manuscript. Finally, the copyist may be influenced by an external text, such as quotations from a well-known text like the *Qur'ān* or a literary monument. (Bausi 2015: 339- 40).

I have made use of material evidence in the manuscripts, such as the approximate date of the manuscripts and traces of the places where the manuscripts were copied or kept. Another important piece of evidence is the contents of the manuscripts themselves. For instance, manuscripts with the same or similar contents in the same or similar order are likely to be related. The layout and other codicological features may be an additional element to bring the manuscripts together. It must also be noted that a manuscript is not a static object; as it evolves with time: the parchment or the paper can deteriorate with time, the book can be damaged more or less heavily due to natural or human factors, leaves can be lost or misplaced, especially in the process of rebinding, and readers may add their own comments, or make their own corrections. One single manuscript can therefore have several 'states' in the course of time, and it can be copied several times at different stages of its evolution (Bausi 2015: 341).

I have made use of a useful technique in textual criticism called "the use of indirect witnesses". It may provide some insights into the lost parts of these manuscripts or shed light on essential events in the evolution of these manuscripts that we cannot trace through direct witnesses. Examples of indirect witnesses include citations of the manuscripts in later works, recensions of the manuscripts, and ancient translations of the manuscripts in other languages (Bausi 2015: 340). In the corpus of this study, traces of the text kept in a medium different than codices have also been considered indirect witnesses, and they generally have a different path of transmission from the codices. Another type of 'indirect evidence' is any element that does not appear in the text itself. This evidence is related in one way or another to the history of another text inside the manuscript under investigation, either kept in the text itself (e.g., citation, interpolation, etc) or in multi-text manuscripts (e.g., the history of the textual tradition of other works preserved in the same manuscripts) (Bausi 2015: 341).

4. Data analysis and discussion

This section can be divided into three major parts. The first part investigates variations in Al-Suyūṭī's manuscripts. The second part compares and contrasts the manuscripts attributed to Al-Suyūṭī and the manuscript 59 Majāmīʿ Raṣīd which is attributed to Ibn Mammātī. The third and final part of the study examines the registerial differences between Al-Suyūṭī and Ibn Mammātī, with a particular emphasis on the Middle Arabic forms employed in their texts.

4.1 Al-Suyūṭī's manuscripts (class 1)

Manuscript transmission often implies that the same work can be attributed to various authors or transmitted anonymously. Conversely, manuscripts can preserve very different texts, which may or may not be related to one another, under the same name and title. Therefore, it is important to understand and define how different 'versions' of the same work relate to one another. In oriental texts, identifying a given work properly in manuscript catalogues and classifying it under one title are important issues in studies on pre-modern texts. The results of this process should be presented with reference not only to its author and title but also to its *incipit* (i.e., the beginning of the work) and its *desinit* (i.e., its final words), in order to avoid any ambiguity (Bausi 2015: 328). In this paper, I argue that all manuscripts under this category can be attributed to Al-Suyūṭī as they bear his name, style of writing, the footprints of his age, and even the decorations used by calligraphers during that era.

Quoting, summarizing, compiling, and editing are four important linguistic features of Al-Suyūṭī's style. He quoted, summarized, compiled, and edited other books like *Tārīkh Dimashq li-Ibn 'Asākir* and *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ lil- Sakhāwī* and our book *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh* (Al-Ṭabāʿ 1996: 308-9; 373). For instance, in his introduction to *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh*, Al-Suyūṭī quoted from other books like *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* by *Al-Naṣrī Moḥammad Ibn Taghrī-Birdī* to support his argument. As a writer, al-Suyūṭī was renowned for his consistency and honesty (Al-Ṭabāʿ 1996: 308-9). Class 1 in the corpus of this study, for instance, contains 9 different manuscripts. However, Al-Suyūṭī's message has not been distorted or disturbed, especially in his introduction to all his manuscripts under investigation.

Naskh was the main text script in the Mamlūk period, used for copying various subjects like law, Ḥadīth, grammar, and literary works with illustrations. It was so popular in the Mamlūk period that calligraphers developed several variants (Blair 2006: 316-29). The manuscripts under investigation were written in *Khaṭ al-Naskh,* a round script of Islamic calligraphy that was one of the first Islamic scripts to be used in writing administrative documents and transcribing books due to its legibility. It was standardized as one of the six primary scripts of Islamic calligraphy by *Ibn Muqla* in the 10th century CE. It became popular in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries as scribes used it (Blair 2006: 165-167). Only one manuscript in this corpus, MS 13697-14, was written in *Maghrebi* script, an Arabic script developed in the

Maghreb (North Africa) and al-Andalus (Iberia). It was influenced by Kufic letters and used for centuries to write Arabic manuscripts and record Andalusi and Moroccan literature (Blair 2006: 221). Maghribī round scripts were produced "from the 4th/10th century onwards in the western Islamic world, and more specifically in the Iberian Peninsula, North-West Africa, and the Balearic Islands" (Bongianino 2017: Abstract).

The simplicity of decorations in the manuscripts of this study reflects the true spirit of calligraphy in the Mamlūk period (Blair 2006: 165-167). In MS. 25, for instance, some words and phrases are written in red ink, like the title *Kālām fī Qarāqūsh* (Talk on Qarāqūsh), *wa-baʿd* (and then), *ʾaṣl wujūdih* (its origin), and *mīnhā* (from it). In MS 416, on the other hand, the title, in addition to *wa-baʿd* (and then) are written in red ink. In MS 194, the following words and expressions are written in red ink: *wa-baʿd* (and then), *naqal al-naṣrī Moḥammad Ibn Taghrī-Birdī* (Ibn Taghrī-Birdī narrated), *dhkar mā yuʿzā ilayhi* (he mentioned what was attributable to him), and *mīnhā* (from it). In MS 546, the title *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh by Jalāl ad-Dīn Al-Suyūṭī* is written in orange ink, while the rest of the manuscript is written in light-brown ink. The paragraph headers in MS 13697-14 are written in red ink or blue. MS 258 is copied in red and black. Some significant words and phrases are written in red ink like the title, the name of the author, *Al- ḥamdu lillāh* (Praise be to God) in the introduction, *wa-baʿd* (and then) to introduce the main topic of the epistle, the verb *Naqal* (reported) to refer to the historian *al-Naṣrī Moḥammad Ibn Taghrī-Birdī*, and *mīnhā* (from it) functioning as a paragraph header that introduces each anecdote. In MSS 3552 and 5491, the microfilm is black and white, and the scanning is done from a replacement document. However, some traces of colorful decoration can be discerned, especially in the titles and paragraph headers.

Many important factors link Al-*Suyūṭī's* manuscripts together, like the name of the author, the titles, the introductions, the paragraph headers, the conclusions, the number of anecdotes, the order of anecdotes, the number of words in each manuscript, the topics of the anecdotes, and decorations that will be explained in more detail in the following sections. Consequently, I disagree with the common belief that the following manuscripts and anecdotes were originally written by Ibn Mammātī and they were wrongly ascribed to Al-Suyūṭī as mentioned by some libraries like The Catalogue of the Private Collections of Manuscripts in the Egyptian National Library (ʿAbdulbaset 2015:415), King Faisal Library

in MS 13697-14, and Yale University Library in MS 258 page 1. In his introduction which is almost the same in all the manuscripts, Al-Suyūṭī, clearly writes:

> During my sermon in Ibn Ṭūlūn Mosque at the end of Muḥarram 899 AH, I have been interrogated about Qarāqūsh and whether he has a historical origin or not, and about all the funny anecdotes which are attributed to him, whether they have an origin or not. So, that night, I gathered these papers and wrote them in a few hours. *Its origin*, according to Al-Naṣrī Moḥammad Ibn Taghrī-Birdī, when he mentioned Al-Sulṭan *Salāḥ ad-Dīn Ibn Ayyūb* in his book *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*, I read that his deputy in Egypt was *Bahāʾad-Dīn Qarāqūsh*, whose name was perpetuated for *Hārat Qarāqūsh* in *Sūwiyyaqat al-ṣāḥib* near *al-Ḥākimi* mosque. He was a righteous man more inclined to goodness. The Sulṭān knew that he lacked acumen and shrewdness. So, when he traveled from Egypt to the Levant in spring as he used to do every year, he appointed him as his deputy in Egypt, with the participation of some of his sons as he was not sure that he could bear this responsibility alone. In 561 AH, Qarāqūsh became the sole ruler of the country following the death of his co-ruler, the crowned prince, but things did not go well, and strange and funny anecdotes were written about him (Al-Suyūṭī 25 Majāmīʿ Qawalah: 167 a; 416 Majāmīʿ Khuṣuṣiya: 107 a; 194 Majāmīʿ: 33 b- 34 a; 546 Majāmīʿ Ṭal'at: 11b-12a; 13697-14: 54 w; MS 258: 103 verso; Arabe 3552: 2-3; MS. 5491: 70; al-Ṭabʿa al-Khuṣūṣiya: 2-3).[16]

The previous introduction contained important and specific information about the author. First, at the end of Muḥarram 899 AH, the author expressed his desire to answer some questions posed by his students in Ibn Ṭūlūn mosque about Qarāqūsh, his origin, and his anecdotes. In fact, at the beginning of 872/1467, Al-Suyūṭī started to dictate Ḥadīth at the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, where his father preached, and where he had a room. Sartain (1975: 41) used the previous introduction as proof that al-Suyūṭī also taught other subjects at the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn. She pointed out that he was teaching al-Nawawī's *Minhāj al-ṭālībīn* on Shāfʿite *fīqh* in 879/1475 there, and in one of his pamphlets, there was a reference to a lesson which he gave in this mosque in 899/1493. Sartain (1975: 82) assured that Al-Suyūṭī could not have been confined himself entirely to his house on al-Rawḍah, and he must have been doing some private teaching, for he mentioned that he wrote a work entitled *al-*

[16] My translation.

Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh after a question raised to him in a lesson, he gave in the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn in 899/1493. Therefore, there was no doubt that Al-Suyūṭī spent much of his time in his room at Ibn Ṭūlūn's mosque, and this would explain why al-Sakhāwī described him as al-Ṭūlūnī, or the 'Ṭūlūnīte' (Sakhāwī 1966: ٦٥)[17].

Then, in the introduction, it was mentioned that Al-Suyūṭī decided to write his pamphlet in a few hours. In fact, Al-Suyūṭī was famous for his speed in writing. Al-Shādhilī said that he used to compose three *kurrāsahs*[18] in one day and Al-Dāwūdī also reported that he wrote three *kurrāsahs* in one day, both composing and writing down (Sartain 1975: 107). Al-Sakhāwī (1966: ٦٩) commented, "He was swift at writing. "[19] Moreover, in his introduction to *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh,* al-Suyūṭī quoted from Al-Naṣrī Moḥammad Ibn Taghrī-Birdī's book *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* to support his argument. In fact, in his introductory passage in small works, such as *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh*, al-Suyūṭī used to state whether the work was based upon another author or was an abridgment of one of his own. His works were full of quotations attributed to their authors, and usually, the title of the book from which the quote came was given too (Sartain 1975: 76). The previous introduction was repeated in all manuscripts without change. However, the original text which was written by Al-Suyūṭī himself on the last of *Muḥarram* 899 AH as he stated in all his manuscripts, was not available in this corpus, and all the manuscripts within this study were written later by other copiers and scribes. In fact, Al-Suyūṭī himself was employing many copyists such as al-Shādhilī[20], al-Dāwūdī[21], and apparently others.

Al-Shādhilī stated that the Syrians used to send Ibn al-Ṭabbākh, and Shaykh Muḥammad al-Shāmī, large sums of money to buy copies of al-Suyūṭī's works. Al-Shādhilī himself was among the copyists, and the Syrians were so impressed with his accuracy that they sent him a present and requested that he alone should copy al-Suyūṭī's works for them. The interest of Syrian scholars grew so keen that we find one Syrian, Nūr al-dīn b. al-Bayṭār spent more than a year in Cairo to copy al-Suyūṭī's works. He stayed in al-Suyūṭī's room in Shaykhūniyyah and worked until he had copies of more than thirty books, which he took back to Syria with him. Then he came again to Cairo and copied more than twenty works,

[17] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi' li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'*, IV, 65.
[18] "A quire or parcel of paper generally consisting of 5 sheets, forming 10 leaves, of a book."
[19] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi' li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'*, IV, 69.
[20] In *Bahjat al-'ābidīn*, al-Shādhilī gives some information about himself: he was with al-Suyūṭī for about forty years, both as a student and as a copyist and secretary (Sartain 1975: 146).
[21] He was the most distinguished of al-Suyūṭī's students. He copied many of al-Suyūṭī's works and had them put with al-Suyūṭī's books in al-Azhar (Sartain 1975: 148).

which he also took home with him. Al-Suyūṭī's fame as a scholar was greater abroad than in Egypt. This was due to his rivals and enemies who worked to blacken his reputation (Sartain 1975: 49, 52).

Al-Suyūṭī was well-known as a man who tried hard to preserve the old classical works in various disciplines such as Philology, jurisprudence, Quranic sciences, traditions, exegesis, theology, rhetoric, and history. He did so by reproducing them in elegant new shapes that preserved them from being lost (Al-Ṭabāʿ 1996: 308). Short pamphlets like *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh* were not an exception. In fact, al-Suyūṭī had "an extraordinary memory", and "a remarkable spirit of synthesis". He believed that he had a mission to gather and transmit the Islamic cultural inheritance to future generations. He quoted, summarized, compiled, and edited many old texts now lost (Meri 2005: 785). The next sections will be an attempt to prove that all manuscripts under this category can be attributed to Al-Suyūṭī and the generations that followed him.

4.1.1 A comparison of Class A manuscripts (25 and 416)

Manuscripts 25 *Majāmīʿ Qawalah* and 416 *Majāmīʿ Khuṣuṣiya* are chosen to be analyzed together because they demonstrate a great deal of similarity in language, the order, and the number of anecdotes. I postulate that the similarities between these two manuscripts are the result of a common ancestor; however, their word variants might be due to the damage of some parts and the disappearance of some letters from MS. 416 *Majāmīʿ Khuṣuṣiya*, in addition to the behavior of the scribes.

Manuscript 25 Majāmīʿ Qawalah *Kālām fī Qarāqūsh (Talk on Qarāqūsh) by Jalāl ad-Dīn Al-Suyūṭī*, is cataloged as epistle no. 38. The manuscript, which is very neatly and scrupulously written, consists of one leaf (167A-167B), 27 lines (22×12 cm), and begins with a preface by Al-Suyūṭī. Some significant words and phrases are written in red ink like the title *Kālām fī Qarāqūsh* (Talk on Qarāqūsh), and *wa-baʿd* (and then) to introduce the main topic of the epistle, *ʾaṣl wujūdih* 'its origin' to trace the origin of *Qarāqūsh*, and *mīnhā* (from it) functioning as a transitional word or a paragraph header that introduces each anecdote. Al-Suyūṭī begins his epistle as usual with *Bismillāh al-Raḥman al-Raḥim* (In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful), *Al-ḥamdu lillāh wa-salāmun ʿala ʿibādihi Iladhina ṣṭafā* 'Praise be to God, and peace upon His servants whom He has chosen'. Like the introduction, the manuscript is concluded with praising God and his Prophet Mohamed (PBUH), the signature of the copier, El-Sayed Maḥmūd, and the date of copying, on Wednesday, *Shahr Rabīʿ al-awwal* 'March' 1105 AH. The manuscript contains 13 anecdotes, however, Maḥmūd has stated in his conclusion that they are just a selection, and he has not mentioned more

stories to avoid boredom. El-Sayed Maḥmūd has added the following footnote to the manuscript,

> "In *Tārīkh al-Khulafā* by Imam Al-Suyūṭī in 572 AH, Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn ordered the construction of the Great Wall surrounding Egypt and Cairo and assigned for its construction Prince Bahāʾad-Dīn Qarāqūsh. Ibn al-Athīr said its height was twenty-nine thousand cubits or three hundred Hashemi cubits." (Al-Suyūṭī 25 Majāmīʿ Qawalah: 167 b; my translation).

Manuscript 416 Majāmīʿ Khuṣuṣiya, on the other hand, is entitled *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh by the Sheikh, the Imam, and the scholar, sir Jalāl al-Dīn Al-Suyūṭī, my God benefit us and all Muslims from it, amen*. The epistle is cataloged as no. 14. It consists of two leaves (107-108), 30 lines, 21×15 cm, and it is owned by its scribe ʿAbdullāh bin ʿAli bin Abi Al-Qāsim AL-Ḥussaini al-Ṭahṭawi. The title, and *wa-baʿd* 'and then' are written in red ink. On the one hand, the first leaf 107 has been damaged at the top and on the bottom-left side, leading to the disappearance of some line ends on the lower left side of the manuscript. The back of leaf 107, on the other hand, has been damaged from the top, upper left margin, and lower right margin, causing some line ends at the upper left margin and the beginning of some lines at the lower right margin to disappear. The manuscript has been partly destroyed by termites, moisture, and is full of holes and signs of repair.

The manuscript begins with *Bismillāh al-Raḥman al-Raḥim* (In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful), *Al-ḥamdu lillāh wakafā wa-salāmun ʿala ʿibādihi Iladhina ṣṭafā* 'Praise be to God and peace upon His servants whom He has chosen.' Like the introduction, the manuscript is concluded by praising God and his Prophet Mohamed (PBUH), the signature of the copier, ʿAbdullāh bin ʿAli bin Abi Al-Qāsim AL-Ḥussaini al-Ṭahṭawi, and the date of copying, on Tuesday 13th of *Rabīʿ al-thānī* 'April' 1077 AH. The manuscript contains 13 anecdotes each of which is separated by the word *mīnhā* (from it). However, in his conclusion, al-Ṭahṭawi has stated that they are just a selection, and he has not mentioned more stories to avoid boredom.

The Analysis of Class A manuscripts has proved that they are very similar in terms of narrative length and vocabulary. For example, in terms of word count, MS. 25 Majāmīʿ Qawalah contains 855 words, while 416 Majāmīʿ Khuṣuṣiya contains 828 words. The two manuscripts exhibit a great deal of consistency regarding the number and order of anecdotes

which are the same. The same transition words are used, like the word *mīnhā*, which acts as a paragraph header that separates each anecdote. According to Table 1, cases of similarity are about 74.46 %, difference 25.54 %, common symbols 3740, and differential symbols 1283.

Table 1. Cases of difference and similarity between Class A MSS

Common (%)	**74.46**	**Difference (%)**	**25.54**	**Common (symbols)**	**3740**	**Difference (symbols)**	**1283**

I can argue that the percentage of similarity can be higher than the previous percentage and the differences that arise between Class A manuscripts might be due to both the damage and the disappearance of some parts and letters from MS. 416 Majāmīʿ Khuṣuṣiya, in addition to the behavior of the scribes. All the previous elements and the limited time between the two manuscripts, which is almost 28 years (1077–1105 AH), support my claim that the two manuscripts might result from a common ancestor.

4.1.2 A comparison of Class B manuscripts (194, 546, 13697-14)

Manuscript 194 Majāmīʿ, is entitled *al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh* by *al-ʿallāma* 'the great scholar', *alʿumda* 'the chief', *al-fahhāma* 'intelligent' *Jalāl Al-Suyūṭī*, *my God bring us together in heaven, amen*. The epistle is cataloged as no. 7. It is owned by Moḥammad Ibn Moheyi-el-Dine al-Namara. There is no trace of the copier's name or the date of copying. It consists of 3 leaves (33-35), 23 lines, 21×14 cm. I have been able to identify the name 'Moḥammad Ibn Moheyi-el-Dine al-Namara,' the owner of the manuscript, and to find almost the same name Moḥammad Ibn Moheyi-el-Dine al-Namara in *al-Fīhris al-shāmil lil-turāth al-ʿArabī al-Islāmī al-makhṭūṭ: al-Maṣāḥif al-makhṭūṭah,* a man who lived in the 11th century AH (1987: 42). His name was written on manuscripts like: *Tuḥafat al-Nubalāʾ fi Qirāʾt Abi ʿamr Ibn alʿalāʾ*, and *alʿIqd al-farīd fī Taḥrim Qirāʾt al-Qu'rān min ghir Tajwīd*.

The following words and expressions are written in red ink: *wa-baʿd* 'and then', *naqal al-naṣrī Moḥammad Ibn Taghrī-Birdī* (Ibn Taghrī-Birdī [22] narrated), *dhkar mā yuʿzā ilayhi* (he mentioned what was attributable to him), and *mīnhā* (from it). The manuscript begins with *Bismillāh al-Raḥman al-Raḥim* (In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful), *Al-ḥamdu lillāh wakafā wa-salāmun ʿala ʿibādihi*

[22] Author of *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*. (Chronicle of period from the Islamic conquest of Egypt in 641 to 1468. in 641 to 1468.)

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Iladhina ṣṭafā (Praise be to God, and peace upon His servants whom He has chosen). The manuscript contains 13 anecdotes and concludes with a brief prayer *nas'alullāh as-salāmah wal ʿāfīyah* (We ask God's pardon and wellness), *tam wakamal* (finished and completed) without either the signature of the copier or the date of copying.

Manuscript 546 Majāmīʿ Ṭalʿat, on the other hand, is entitled *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh by Jalāl ad-Dīn Al-Suyūṭī, May God have mercy on him*. The epistle is cataloged as no. 3, microfilm: 10247. The manuscript consists of 4 leaves (11-14); 19 lines, 21×15 cm. There is no trace of the copier's name or the date of copying. The name of Gabriel Makhlaʿ[23], however, is written on the cover page of codex 546 Majāmīʿ Ṭal'at (from the books of the humble to his lord Gabriel Makhlaʿ) as the one who might have been the owner of the codex. Only the title *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh by Jalāl ad-Dīn Al-Suyūṭī* is written in orange ink, while the rest of the manuscript is written in light-brown ink. The manuscript begins with *Bismillāh al-Raḥman al-Raḥim* (In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful), *Al-ḥamdu lillāh wakafā wa-salāmun ʿala ʿibādihi Iladhina 'aṣṭafaa* (Praise be to God, and peace upon His servants whom He has chosen). The manuscript contains 13 anecdotes, concluding with "…is done by God's grace, His help, and His good success". According to the catalogue of the private collections of manuscripts in the Egyptian National Library, "Manuscript 546 Majāmīʿ Ṭal'at is wrongly ascribed to *Jalāl ad-Dīn Al-Suyūṭī,* and there is more than one copy with this mistake, which has happened due to the misleading introduction in some manuscripts, like the manuscript in our hands" (ʿAbdulbaset 2015:415).

According to King Faisal Library, Manuscript 13697-14 is entitled *al-Fāshūsh fī Ḥūkm Qarāqūsh* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Bakr Ibn Muḥammad al-Sūyūṭī (died in 911 AH, 1505 AD), tenth century Hijri AH - sixteenth's century AD. However, there is no indication of either the author's name or the pamphlet's title in the body of the manuscript itself. According to the King Faisal Library, the original author is Ibn Mammātī, and it is incorrectly ascribed to al-Sūyūṭī. The paragraph headers are written in red ink or blue, are partly destroyed by termites, moisture, and are full of many holes. The manuscript consists of two leaves (54 w - 55 ẓ) and 22 lines. There is no trace of the owner's name, the scribe, or even the date of copying. The manuscript begins with *Bismillāh al-Raḥman al-*

[23] A Catholic translator who converted to orthodoxy, he had a library containing rare manuscripts and books, which were sold at an auction in Alexandria in 1920 (Al-Zirikli 2002: 110).

Raḥim (In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful), *Al-ḥamdu lillāh wakafā wa-salāmun ʿala ʿibādihi Iladhina ṣṭafā* (Praise be to God, and peace upon His servants whom He has chosen). The manuscript contains 13 anecdotes and is concluded with *aintahaa Al-kitāb beʿizat al-Malik al-Wahhāb* (done by God's grace, the King, and the Giver of all).

Class B manuscripts share the same introduction, paragraph headers, numbers, and order of anecdotes. They are very close in narrative length (846, 820, 838) according to word count. Table 2 shows that instances of similarity among Class B manuscripts might range between (86.57% and 90.04%). This percentage is higher than that of Class A manuscripts.

Table 2. Instances of difference and similarity among Class B MSS

Common (%)	**90.04**	**Difference (%)**	**9.96**	**Common (symbols)**	**4075**	**Difference (symbols)**	**457**
194 and 546							
Common (%)	**89.39**	**Difference (%)**	**10.61**	**Common (symbols)**	**4042**	**Difference (symbols)**	**480**
546 and 13697-14							
Common (%)	**86.57**	**Difference (%)**	**13.43**	**Common (symbols)**	**4042**	**Difference (symbols)**	**627**
13697-14 and 194							

Instances of difference, on the other hand, might range between (9.96% and 13.43%). This percentage is lower than that of Class A manuscripts. Although there is no trace of either the name of the scribe or the date of scribing in Class B manuscripts, this paper postulates that they share the same roots or that they have come from a common ancestor. Comparing Class B and Class A manuscripts can prove that they are similar in terms of narrative length, paragraph headers, and the number of anecdotes. However, there are minor differences in the order and subject of anecdotes. For instance, two new anecdotes (10 and 12) are inserted into the narrative of Class B without appearing in Class A manuscripts. On the other hand, anecdotes 8 and 9 in Class A are missing from the body of Class B manuscripts. I think this happened due to the behavior of the scribes, who were in a position to select the anecdotes that suited the commercial standards of their time.

4.1.3 A comparison of Class C manuscripts

Manuscript Landberg MS 258 is entitled *al-Fāshūsh fī Ḥūkm Qarāqūsh*, by Al-Ḥafiz al-Suyūṭī. According to Yale University Library,

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the text was originally written by Ibn Mammātī. However, the title was wrongly attributed to *Jalāl ad-Dīn Al-Suyūṭī*. The manuscript was copied in red and black about 1736 AD (1149 AH), and there was no trace of the scribe's name. It consists of leaves 103 verso-106; 18 x 12 cm; 23 lines and is followed by 2 leaves of notes. The entire volume is preceded by one leaf of notes, and a leaf is incorrectly included in the volume's foliation, making counts for all eleven titles off by one leaf. Some significant words and phrases are written in red ink like the title, the name of the author, *Al-ḥamdu lillāh* (Praise be to God) in the introduction, *wa-baʿd* (and then) to introduce the main topic of the epistle, the verb *Naqal* (reported) to refer to the historian *al-Naṣrī Moḥammad Ibn Taghrī-Birdī*, and *mīnhā* (from it) functioning as a paragraph header that introduces each anecdote. The manuscript begins with *Bismillāh al-Raḥman al-Raḥim wābihi thiqati* (In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful, the most trustful), *Al-ḥamdu lillāh wa-salāmun ʿala ʿibādihi Iladhīna ṣṭafā* (Praise be to God, and peace upon His servants whom He has chosen). The manuscript contains 18 anecdotes, and concludes with the scribe's words, "This is all that I have found in *Kitāb ākhbār Qarāqūsh*, Praise is to God alone and blessings and peace are to (the Prophet Muḥammad) after whom there is no prophet, done".

Manuscript Arabe 3552, on the other hand, is entitled *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh*, by *Sheikh Jalāl ad-Dīn Al-Suyūṭī*, *May God have mercy on him*. According to *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, the text is written by As'ad Ibn Mammātī and Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (Jalāl al-Dīn). It states that the manuscript has been written in 1876 AD (26 Janvier 1876), approximately 1292 AH. It has ten sheets, a height of 15 centimeters, a width of 10 centimeters, and 11 lines per page. The microfilm is black and white, the scanning is taken from a replacement document, and no trace of the scribe's name can be found. The manuscript begins with *Bismillāh al-Raḥman al-Raḥim* (In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful), *Al-ḥamdu lillāh wakafā wa-salāmun ʿala ʿibādihi Iladhīna ṣṭafā* (Praise be to God, and peace upon His servants whom He has chosen). The manuscript contains 15 anecdotes, and concludes with, "I ask the Almighty God, to forgive us and give us His mercy with His generosity; He is the Ever-Near and the Responsive; may the blessing of God be bestowed upon our master Muḥammad, his family, and his companions."

Manuscript 5491 M.K. Majāmīʿ 12 is entitled *al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh* by Jalāl al-Dīn Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Bakr al-Shāfiʿī who died in 911 AH. According to Chester Beatty Library, the manuscript is copied in the 12th century AH (1688-1784) AD. It consists of two leaves 70-71; 27 lines, 5 cm. The epistle is cataloged as no. 12 in Chester Beatty Library and begins with *Bismillāh al-Raḥman al-Raḥim* (In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful) and *Al-ḥamdu lillāh wakafā wa-salāmun ʿala ʿibādihi Iladhīna ṣṭafā* (Praise be to God, and peace upon His servants whom He has chosen). It contains 17 anecdotes and concludes with *wa Allāhu Taʿāla aʿlam bilṣawāb* (God knows best). This expression is commonly used in Arabic when the writer is uncertain of the truth. However, the scribe does not finish his epistle and instead continues to narrate another story from other books, such as *al-Mujālasah*[24] and *Tarikh Ibn ʿAsākir*[25]; consider the following instance:

> "On the authority of Muḥammad Ibn Kaʿb, a man came to Sulaymān Ibn Dāwūd, peace and blessings be upon them both, and he said, 'O Prophet of God, I have neighbors who steal my geese.' Sulaymān called the people to prayer, and in his sermon, he said, 'One of you steals the geese of his neighbor and then enters the mosque with feathers on his head.' Then, a man wiped his head with his hand, and Sulaymān said, 'Take him! For he is the man you are looking for.' "[26]

The scribe stated that the previous anecdote was a quote from *Kitāb Dīwān al-ḥayawān* by al-Suyūṭī[27]. Then, he added the following lines:

> In his biography of al-Mūhadhab Ibn Mīnā Abī'l-Malīḥ[28] in *Mu'jam al-Udabā*[29], Yāqūt[30] said, that his origin was from Asyūṭ. He died in Aleppo in 606 AH and was buried there in a Maqām (shrine) near

[24] I have found that the scribe refers to the anecdote in Kitāb al-Mujālasah wa-jawāhir al-ʿilm, volume 7 page 204 (al-Mālikī, 1998).
[25] The scribe refers to *Tārikh Dimashiq* by Ibn ʻAsākir's (1105–1175). He is a Sunni Islamic scholar, a historian and a disciple of the Sufī mystic Abu al-Najib Suhrawardi. However, I have not found the anecdote in this book.
[26] My translation.
[27] Suyūṭī, Jalāl-ad-Dīn ʿAbd-ar-Raḥmān Ibn-Abī-Bakr: Kitāb Dīwān al-ḥayawān. MS. Orient. fol. 3103.
[28] Mentioned in *Mu'jam al-Udabā* volume 2 (pages 635-644).
[29] *Mu'jam al-Udabā* (=*Irshād al-Arīb ilā Ma'rifat al-Adīb*): 1993.
[30] Yāqūt Shihāb al-Dīn ibn-'Abdullāh al-Rūmī al-Hamawī (1179–1229).

Abi Bakr al-Harawi. Yāqūt mentioned that he was a famous writer, and he wrote many works like *al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh*.[31]

The scribe interfered more than once in this manuscript. On the one hand, he directly quoted an anecdote from Al-Suyūṭī's *Kitāb Dīwān al-ḥayawān* and he added it to his corpus. On the other hand, he presumed that Al-Suyūṭī was unaware of the existence of a writer like Ibn Mammātī and attempted to provide the readers with authentic information about this character from *Mu'jam al-Udabā*. There is a little variation in the header *wa ḥaka* in the final anecdote on Qarāqūsh, which differs from *wa minhā* at the beginning of the other 15 anecdotes. This variation, I believe, may give the reader the impression that this anecdote has been added later to the corpus, possibly from another manuscript with a different language and narration style. This claim can be supported by the number of references intentionally added by the scribe, such as *Kitāb al-Mujālasah wa-jawāhir al-ʻilm*, *Tārikh Ibn ʿAsākir*, *Kitāb Dīwān al-ḥayawān*, and *Mu'jam al-Udabā*.

Unlike the previous manuscripts, I believe that MS 5491 was not written by an ordinary scribe but was more likely written by a scholar like Al-Suyūṭī himself. This renders this manuscript simultaneously unique and revealing. I have found that a blank leaf followed the manuscript except for a quote by the Prophet Muḥammad PBUH at the bottom of the page (Be in this world as if you were a stranger or a traveler and count yourself among the inhabitants of the grave)[32] and (read by the poor servant of God Marʿashi Zādah) at the top. Typically, all the names written on the manuscripts are associated or linked in some way to the owner of the book, the scribe, the reader, or the reviser.

The name at the top of the manuscript referred to Muḥammad Ibn Abi Bakr al-Marʿashi Sājaqli Zādah, who died in 1145 AH (1732 AD). He was a Ḥanafī faqīh scholar who came from the city of Marʿash. He contributed to the existing body of knowledge during his lifetime. He went on a study trip to Damascus, where he met Sheikh ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulsi, who influenced him to mysticize. When he returned to Marʿash, he continued to teach and write, completing approximately 30 volumes and epistles. (Al-Zirikli 2002: 60). The mere proximity between the manuscript's copying date, (which is believed to be in the 12th century

[31] My translation.
[32] Reference: Jami` at-Tirmidhi 2333. In-book reference: Book 36, Hadith 30. English translation : Vol.4, Book 10, Hadith 2333.

AH, according to the Chester Beatty Library) and his death date, which was in 1145 AH, might support my hypothesis that this manuscript was scribed in the early 12th century AH.

Table 3 demonstrates instances of similarity and difference among MSS 258, Arabe 3552, and 5491:

Table 3. Instances of difference and similarity among MSS 258, Arabe 3552, and 5491

Common (%)	**33.97**	**Difference (%)**	**66.03**	**Common (symbols)**	**2790**	**Difference (symbols)**	**5423**

MSS 258 and Arabe 3552

Common (%)	**42.81**	**Difference (%)**	**57.19**	**Common (symbols)**	**3517**	**Difference (symbols)**	**4698**

MSS 258 and 5491

Common (%)	**53.29**	**Difference (%)**	**46.71**	**Common (symbols)**	**3795**	**Difference (symbols)**	**3327**

MSS Arabe 3552 and 5491

According to Table 3, instances of similarity range between (33.97% and 53.29 %), whereas instances of difference are between (46.71% and 66.03%). Table 3 proves that MS. 5491 is closer in language and style to Arabe 3552 than MS 258. Figure 2 shows the distribution of the number of words in Al-Suyūṭī's manuscripts. Figure 3, on the other hand, demonstrates the distribution of the number of anecdotes in Al-Suyūṭī's manuscripts.

Figure 2. Distribution of number of words in Al-Suyūṭī's manuscripts

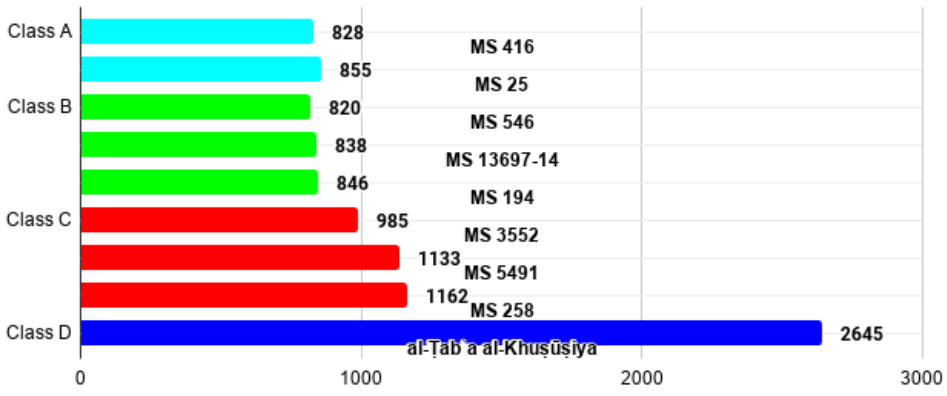

Figure 2. Distribution of the number of words in Al-Suyūṭī's manuscripts

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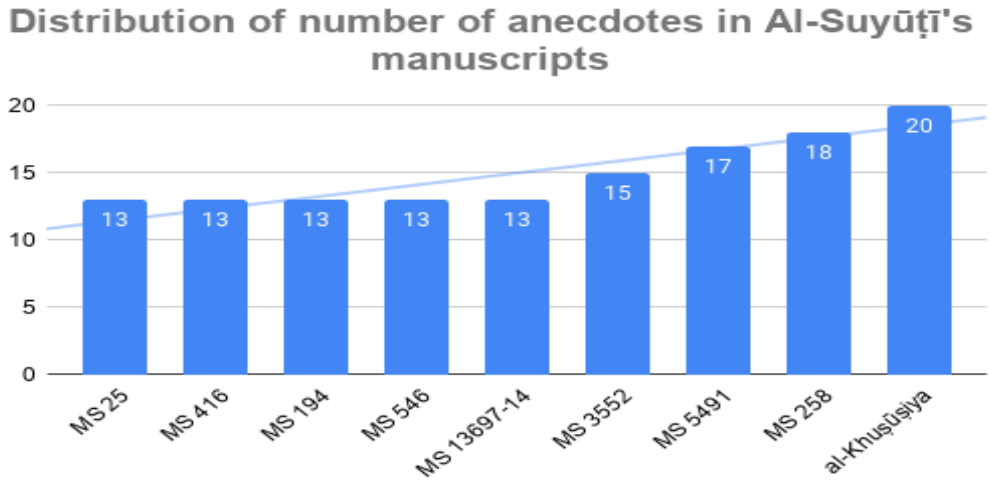

Figure 3. Distribution of the number of anecdotes in Al-Suyūṭī's manuscripts

Table 4. Distribution of the no. of words, no. of anecdotes, and dates of Al-Suyūṭī's manuscripts

Class	MSS	No. words	No. anecdotes	Date AH
Class A	MS 416	828	13	1077
	MS 25	855	13	1105
Class B	MS 546	820	13	
	MS 13697-14	838	13	
	MS 194	846	13	
Class C	MS 3552	985	15	1292
	MS 5491	1133	17	12th century
	MS 258	1162	18	1149
Class D	Al-Ṭabʿa al-Khuṣūṣiya	2645	20	1311

Table 4 compares the number of words, the number of anecdotes, and the dates of Al-Suyūṭī's manuscripts under investigation. The data analysis in the previous figures and tables may prove a relationship between the increased number of words and anecdotes in the texts of the manuscripts and the progression of time. For instance, in five manuscripts (25, 416, 194, 546, and 13697-14), the number of anecdotes is 13, while the number of words is between 817 and 855. Accordingly, I might suggest that the five manuscripts are chronologically close, and the manuscripts of Class B date back to the same historical period of Class A,

which spans between 1077 and 1149 AH (1666- 1736 AD). On the other hand, variations in the manuscripts of Class C is much higher than that of Classes A and B because they relate to later periods. This paper claims that the manuscripts of this class, or at least two of them (MS 5491 and MS 258) belong to the 12th century AH. The close textual proximity of MS 3552 to the two preceding manuscripts, particularly MS 5491, encouraged the author of this study to add it to Class C MSS.

However, the manuscripts in Class C exhibit some kind of affinity with those in Classes A and B. For instance, MS 258 shares 13 anecdotes with Class B MSS and preserves the same order of the first seven anecdotes, whereas it shares the 13 anecdotes of Class A without preserving the same order. In this way, MS 258 functions as a combiner of all five manuscripts, containing a total of 15 anecdotes. MS 258 added three new anecdotes 15, 16, and 18 to the corpus, bringing the total to 18 in this manuscript. Manuscript Arabe 3552, on the other hand, shares 13 anecdotes with Class B MSS and preserves the same order of the first eight anecdotes. It shares 12 anecdotes with Class A MSS without preserving the same order. In MS Arabe 3552, the total number of recurrent anecdotes from the previous manuscripts, including Landberg MS 258, is 14. Anecdote 13 is a new anecdote introduced by MS Arabe 3552, bringing the total to 15 in this manuscript. MS. 5491, which is closer in terms of language and narration to Arabe 3552 than 258, shares 13 anecdotes with Class B MSS and preserves the same order of the first 12 anecdotes, but it shares 13 anecdotes with Class A manuscripts without preserving the same order. Anecdote 16 in MS 5491 is found as number 15 in MS 258. Eventually, the scribe of MS 5491 introduces a new anecdote which is anecdote number 17, to the corpus.

4.1.4 Al-Ṭabʿa al-Khuṣūṣiya

Finally, in 1311 AH (1893–1894 AD), al-Ṭabʿa al-Khuṣūṣiya or El-Amiriya Press published the first lithographic version of anecdotes by Jalāl ad-Dīn Al-Suyūṭī under the title *al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām wa ḥikāyāt Qarāqūsh (Decisions and Anecdotes of Qarāqūsh)*. It begins with *Bismillāh al-Raḥman al-Raḥim* (In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful), and *Al-ḥamdu lillāh wakafā wa-salāmun ʿala ʿibādihi Iladhina ṣṭafā* (Praise be to God, and peace upon His servants whom He has chosen). It concludes with *the end of ḥikāyāt Qarāqūsh and they are twenty anecdotes*. This booklet has 2645 words and is made up of 16 pages, including the cover page.

I have preferred to put the lithographic version of Al-Ṭabʿa al-Khuṣūṣiya in a separate class for some reasons. First, we cannot consider it a manuscript because it is widely regarded as the earliest printed collection of anecdotes in the world. Second, there is a 200-year or more gap between this booklet and the prior manuscripts. Third, there is a great difference between the lithographic version of anecdotes and all manuscripts in almost everything as in the title, the introduction, the language of narration, the length of narration, the number, and the order of anecdotes. However, the lithographic version of Al-Ṭabʿa al-Khuṣūṣiya shares some anecdotes with all the previous manuscripts. For instance, it shares 11 anecdotes with Class A manuscripts, 13 anecdotes with Class B manuscripts, 14 anecdotes with MS 258, 13 anecdotes with MS 3552, and 13 anecdotes with MS 5491. The lithographic version of Al-Ṭabʿa al-Khuṣūṣiya has added 6 fresh anecdotes to Al-Suyūṭī's corpus. These new anecdotes are roughly related to Ibn Mammātī's manuscript. This is the topic of the next section.

4.2 Ibn Mammātī's manuscript (Class 2):

Manuscript 59 Majāmīʿ Raṣīd is entitled *al-Mukhtār mimā ūlafa fī kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Ḥūkm Qarāqūsh* (Selections from *kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Ḥūkm Qarāqūsh*) by al-Qāḍi al-ʾajal al-kabir al-fāḍil al-ʾadīb al-Saʿid bin Mammātī. The manuscript is about 1114 words, cataloged as epistle number 5, copied in red and black, in Khaṭ al-Nashk. There is no trace of either the copier's name or the date of copying. The manuscript consists of four leaves (169 verso-174), (21×14 cm), 15 lines per page, and 14 anecdotes. It begins with an introduction in the form of a complaint to Salāḥ ad-Din against his deputy in Egypt, Bahāʾad-Dīn Qarāqūsh. Ibn Mammātī states,

> When I saw that Bahāʾad-Dīn Qarāqūsh's mind was a bundle of lunacy, and destroyed the nation, I implored God to relieve it from all oppression. He never followed a scholar, nor did he know the oppressed from the oppressor. His heart was full of evil, and he only responded to the preceder's complaint, not knowing who was sincerer. Because of his high position, nobody can ever disobey him. As furious as the devil, he ruled without justice. I wrote this pamphlet to Salāḥ ad-Din, hoping that he would relieve all Muslims of him. Qarāqūsh was a Sicilian man who favored whites and despised blacks. God is our helper, and in Him, we trust (Ibn Mammātī MS. 59 Majāmīʿ Raṣīd: 169 verso; my translation).

Then, the writer introduces 14 anecdotes as examples of the rule of Qarāqūsh. Each anecdote begins with the word *Ḥikaya* which acts as a paragraph header that separates the anecdotes from each other. The manuscript ends with "the end of the selections from *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh*, all praise and gratitude be to God."

This study argues that this manuscript cannot be attributed directly to Ibn Mammātī. Both the introduction and the conclusion reveal that it is simply a collection of anecdotes penned by an anonymous scribe. There are crucial differences between this manuscript and all manuscripts of Al-Suyūṭī in almost everything like, for instance, the name of the author, the introduction, the paragraph headers, the number, and the order of anecdotes. The style of writing in Ibn Mammātī's introduction is personal, high, poetic, and eloquent, unlike Al-Suyūṭī's introduction, which is objective, cold, normal, and scholastic. The following table demonstrates instances of difference and similarity between Ibn Mammātī's 59 Majāmīʿ Raṣīd and Al-Suyūṭī's manuscripts:

Al-Suyūṭī's MS	Common (%)	Difference (%)	Common (symbols)	Difference (symbols)
MS 25	**0.01**	**99.99**	**1**	**10308**
MS 416	**1.31**	**98.69**	**132**	**9961**
MS 194	**1.16**	**98.84**	**118**	**10024**
MS 546	**1.61**	**98.39**	**160**	**9789**
MS 13697-14	**1.78**	**98.22**	**179**	**9862**
MS 3552	**1.51**	**98.49**	**163**	**10654**
MS 5491	**1.67**	**98.33**	**192**	**11325**
MS 258	**1.23**	**98.77**	**143**	**11509**
Al-Ṭabʿa al-Khuṣūṣiya	**0.02**	**99.98**	**3**	**19633**

Table 5. Instances of difference and similarity between Ibn Mammātī's 59 Majāmīʿ Raṣīd and Al-Suyūṭī's manuscripts

The previous table shows that Class 1 is completely different from Class 2 as the percentage of similarity ranges between (0.01-1.78) and difference (98.22-99.99). However, there are some crucial similarities between the two classes. For instance, in the introduction of Al-Suyūṭī's lithographic version, there is an echo or a trace of Ibn Mammātī's style in his introduction, which appears for the first time in this pamphlet. The writer borrows some lines from Ibn Mammātī's pamphlet like "he never followed a scholar, nor he knew the oppressed from the oppressor", "he destroyed the nation and brought them oppression", and " Because of his high position, nobody can ever disobey him" (Al-Suyūṭī 1311 AH: 2-3; Ibn Mammātī, MS. 59 Majāmīʿ Raṣīd: 169 verso). Moreover, Ibn Mammātī's pamphlet shares 10 anecdotes with Al-Suyūṭī's manuscripts

only in the theme and not in the language of narration, which is quite different as has been demonstrated in the previous table. The next sections examine variations in register with a particular focus on the delicate interaction between the social and linguistic registers in the fiber of this corpus.

4.3 Variations in register

4.3.1 Register and social class

Ibn Khaldūn has a well-known classification, which states that the rule of Egypt during the Mamlūk period depends basically on two important factors, "the Sulṭan and the subjects" (Ibn Khaldūn 1988:207-8). In other words, the Egyptian society during the reign of the Mamlūks can be divided into two major classes. The first one is the ruling and controlling class which is represented by the Mamlūk masters and their followers. The other class, on the other hand, is represented by all the oppressed Egyptian people. Lane Poole (2008: 252-53) has a similar classification. He points out that, during the Mamlūk period, the population of Egypt is sharply divided into two classes. The first one is the Mamlūks or military oligarchy; the other is the mass of the Egyptians. ʿĀshūr (1992: 16) extends the previous classifications to include 8 categories: Mamlūks, Muʿamamūn, Tujār, population and the craftsmen in cities, ʾAhl al-Dhimma, peasants, Bedouins, and foreign minorities. I have designed the following chart to delineate the previous categories and classifications.

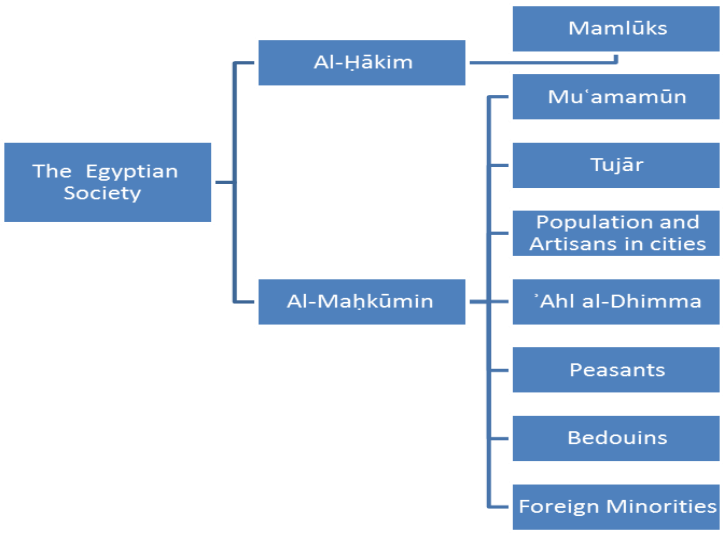

Figure 4. The structure of Egyptian society during the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks

Ibn Mammātī was a former Copt, technocrat, nightingale of the chamber. Administrative posts, especially financial ones, were held by Copts during that time (Sartain 1975: 11). It was an acknowledged fact

that he occupied many prestigious positions in the Egyptian state in *Dīwān al-jaysh* in addition to *Dīwān al-māl* until he occupied the position of *Nāẓir al-dawāwīn*. He wrote his famous book "*Kitāb qawānīn al-dawāwīn*"('Statutes of the councils of state') while he was in charge of *Dīwān al-jaysh* in 1182. In choosing the title *Qawānīn al-dawāwīn*, he echoed the title of Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Qānūn dīwān al-rasāʾil*. It also suggested that Ibn Mammātī was ambitious enough to think he could do Ibn al-Ṣayrafī one better—or that he had something to prove (Rustow 2020: 284). His book was packed with descriptions of the land tax, the criteria for its assessment, crop rotation, the solar ("Coptic") calendar, canals and dikes, seed advance and its quantities, sowing, harvesting, and yields. Rustow (2020:285) believed that agrarian administration was the largest part of finance in that period for the Ayyūbids. So, Ibn Mammātī must have focused on agrarian finance because the Ayyūbid administration itself concentrated on it.

I believe that Ibn Mammātī is not only a skilled technocrat and a renowned writer, but he is an ambitious politician who estimates himself at the highest possible rate as well. The intricate relationship between *Al-ḥākim* (Qarāqūsh) and *Al-Maḥkūmin* (the Egyptian people) has been comically and cunningly presented in Ibn Mammātī's *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh*. The writer has made use of his resourceful knowledge of the social and economic conditions of Egypt during that era to faithfully demonstrate the sharp discrimination between the upper and lower classes in Egyptian society. Seven out of eight categories from ʿĀshūr's (1992: 16) classification have been represented in the corpus of this study. The Mamlūks, or the ruling military oligarchy or the upper classes, are represented by some words such as:سلطان *sulṭān*, وزير *wazīr*, ولى العهد *walī al-'ahd* 'crown prince', أمير *ʾamīr* 'prince', خوند *khawand* 'prince', جندي *Jundi* 'soldier', الجنادرة *Al-Janādra* 'Sulṭan's guards' and حاشية *ḥāshia* 'entourage'.

Classes	Class 1									Class 2	Total
	Class A		Class B			Class C			Class D		
Titles	25	416	194	546	13697-14	3552	5491	258	al-Khuṣūṣiya	59	
sulṭān	2	3	4	4	4	2	0	2	7	1	29
wazīr	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	0	20
Walī al-ʿahd	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	9
ʾamīr	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	2	1	2	40
khawand	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	5	0	0	9
Jundi	3	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	4	0	23
ḥāshia	0	0	4	4	4	4	0	0	0	0	16
Janādra	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1

Table 6. Frequency of upper-class titles in all manuscripts

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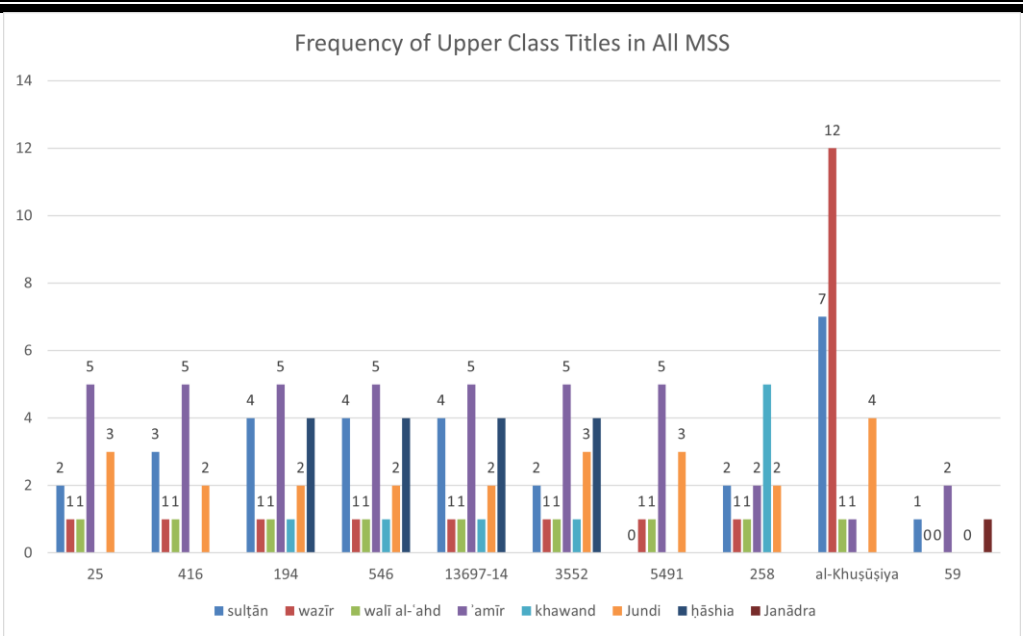

Figure 5. Frequency of upper-class titles in all manuscripts

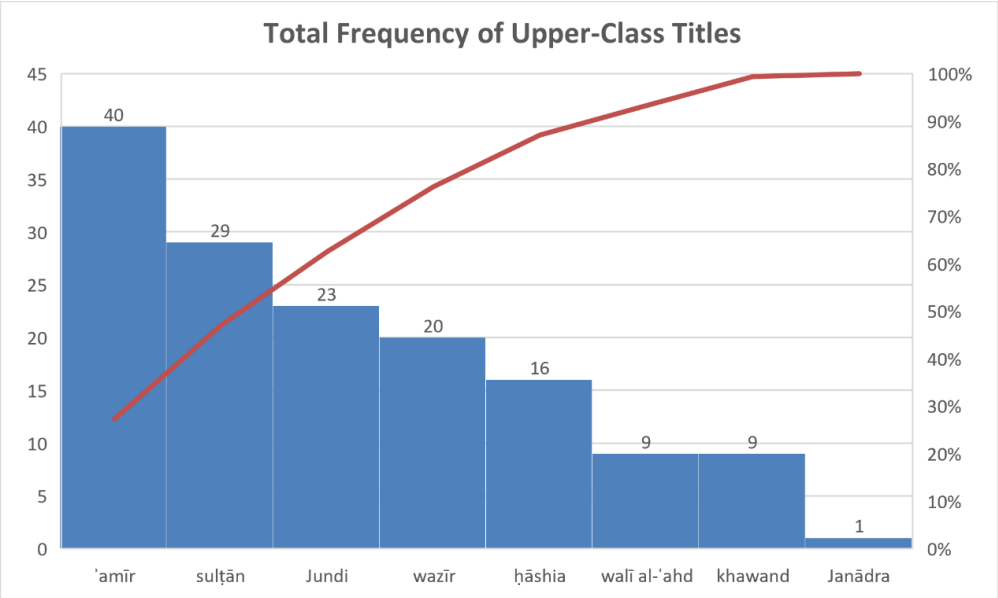

Figure 6. Total Frequencies of Upper-Class Titles in all manuscripts

The Mamlūk rule is composed of a military aristocracy formed of slaves. The Sulṭan is at the top of the hierarchy, followed by officers of various ranks, who are given the title of the emir, and then comes the rank and file of the army, the mamlūks in the service of the Sulṭan and the emirs (Sartain 1975: 1). The title *ʾAmīr* 'lord' or 'commander' is one of the most important titles in the corpus of this study as it has been frequently used 40 times. It is derived from the Arabic root *amr* "command." It is used as a title for governors, leaders, and rulers of small

states. The word is synonymous in modern Arabic with the royal title of "Prince." *Sulṭān* is another important title that is used almost in all manuscripts about 29 times to refer to either Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn (21 times) or Qarāqūsh (8 times). The term *Jundi* appears 23 times in the text. In Arabic, the term *Jund* is derived from the root (*jnd*) with the plural (*ajnād*), which means a group of supporters. It is used in the Qurʾān to designate an armed troop (Ibn Manẓūr[33] 1993: 132). The term *wazīr* appears 20 times in the manuscripts, and it is usually attached to Egypt, such as his wazīr in Egypt, and it refers directly to Qarāqūsh.

The term *ḥashia* "entourage" appears 16 times in all manuscripts. In Arabic Linguistics, the previous term originally meant "a footnote" or "annotation." It was a form of writing that flourished during the tenth century AH. In Politics, the term is associated with the men surrounding Sulṭāns, ʾAmīrs, leaders, and rulers (Hallāq 1999: 72). *Khawand* is another title that has been used nine times to refer to Qarāqūsh as well. It is derived from *khudawand*, a word of Persian origin meaning "prince" or "master," and is used as an honorific title, which is assigned to both men as well as women (Al-Bāsha 1989: 280). The title *Walī al-'ahd* (crown prince) has been used 9 times in the corpus of this study to refer to Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn's son. The last term *al-janādra,* has been used only in Class 2 MS. It is a Persian plural form of the word *jandar*, which is derived from *jan* with the meaning of soul and *dar* with the meaning of "companion and protector," it was used during the Mamlūk period to refer to the Sulṭān's guards (Hallāq 1999:60; Dahmān 1990: 51; Taimour 2002: 34). It is also used to refer to "a guardian, preserver of life, an executioner, or a sword-bearer" (Steingass 1963:353).

The lower classes, on the other hand, are represented by peasants, population, artisans in cities, *Tujār*, *Muʿamamūn*, and *ʾAhl al-dhimma*. The peasants are represented by words such as فلاح *fallāḥ* 'peasant'[34] or فلاحين *fallāḥin* 'peasants.'[35] The population and the craftsmen in cities are represented by words such as غلام*Ghulām* 'boy or servant';جارية *jāria* 'slave-girl'; المشاعلى *El–Mashāʿily* 'torchbearer';ركبدار *rikāb dār* 'stirrup-holder';بيطار *bayṭār* 'a veterinarian';البابا *al-Bābā* 'title for all the workers in *ṭasht-khāna*'; بوابين *bawwābīn* 'a porter, warder, or door-keeper';قفاص *qafāṣ* 'cage maker or cage seller';السقا *al-Saqqā* or السقايين *al-Saqāyin* 'waterers'; and الحداد *al-ḥaddād* 'smith'.The *Tujār* are represented by words such as المباشر *al-Mubāshir* 'employee', and تاجر *tājir* 'merchant'. The *Muʿamamūn* are represented by words such as ذاكرين *dhākarin*[36]

[33] Volume 3.
[34] Three times In MSS 25, 416, 194, ٥٤٦, 13697-14, 5491, 258; four times in MSS 3552, *al-Khuṣūṣiya*.
[35] Twice in MSS 25, 416, 5491, 258; once in MSS 3552, *al-Khuṣūṣiya*.
[36] In MSS 194, 3552.

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or ذكارين *dhakārin*[37] or even الفقهاء *al-fuqahāʾ*[38] 'a group of people who are absorbed in prayer, meditation, and supplication to God'; قاضى *Qāḍi* 'judge'; الشاعر *al-shāʿir* 'poet'; كاتب *kātib* 'writer'; and مقرىء *muqriʾ* 'reader/reciter'. *ʾAhl al-dhimma* are represented within the corpus of this study with words such as ريس اليهود *Rayes al-Yahūd* 'chief of Jews'; and نصرانى *naṣrāni* 'a Christian'. Some minorities are represented by some words such as كردى *Kurdi* 'a Kurdish man'; حجازية *Ḥijāziya* 'a woman from *al-Ḥijāz*'; and تركية *Turkiya* 'a Turkish woman'.

Classes	**Class 1 MSS**									**Class 2 MS**	**Total**
	Class A		**Class B**			**Class C**			**Class D**		
Titles	**25**	**416**	**194**	**546**	**13697-14**	**3552**	**5491**	**258**	**al-Khuṣūṣiya**	**59**	
Ghulām	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3	7
jāria	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	18	6	30
Mashāʿily	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	6
rikāb dār	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	2	14
bayṭār	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Bābā	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	3
Bawābīn	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	3
qafāṣ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	6
fallāḥin	5	5	٣	٣	3	5	5	5	5	0	39
dhākarin	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	8
fuqahāʾ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Mubāshir	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	0	7
tājir	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	9
Qāḍi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	7
Al-Saqqā	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Al-ḥaddād	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	5
Al-shāʿir	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
kātib	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
muqriʾ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
rayes al-Yahūd	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
naṣrāni	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
Ḥijāziya	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	8
Kurdi	3	٣	٣	٣	٣	٣	٣	٣	٣	0	27
Turkiya	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	٥	13

Table 7. Frequency of lower-class titles in all manuscripts

[37] In MSS 25, 416, 346,13697-14, 5491.
[38] Used only in *Al-Ṭabʿa al-Khuṣūṣiya.*

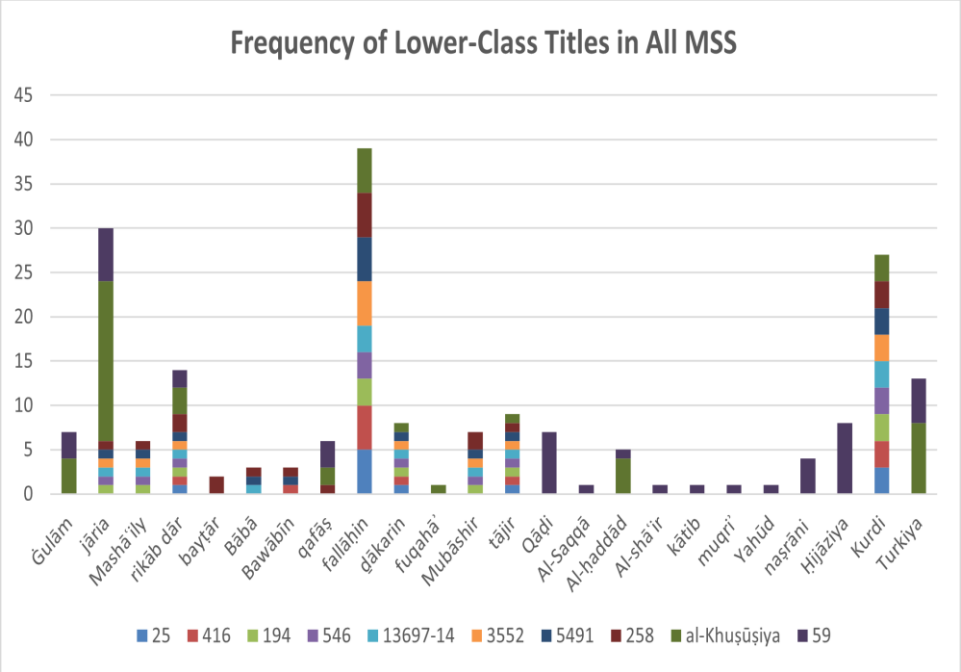

Figure 7. Total Frequencies of Lower-Class Titles in all manuscripts

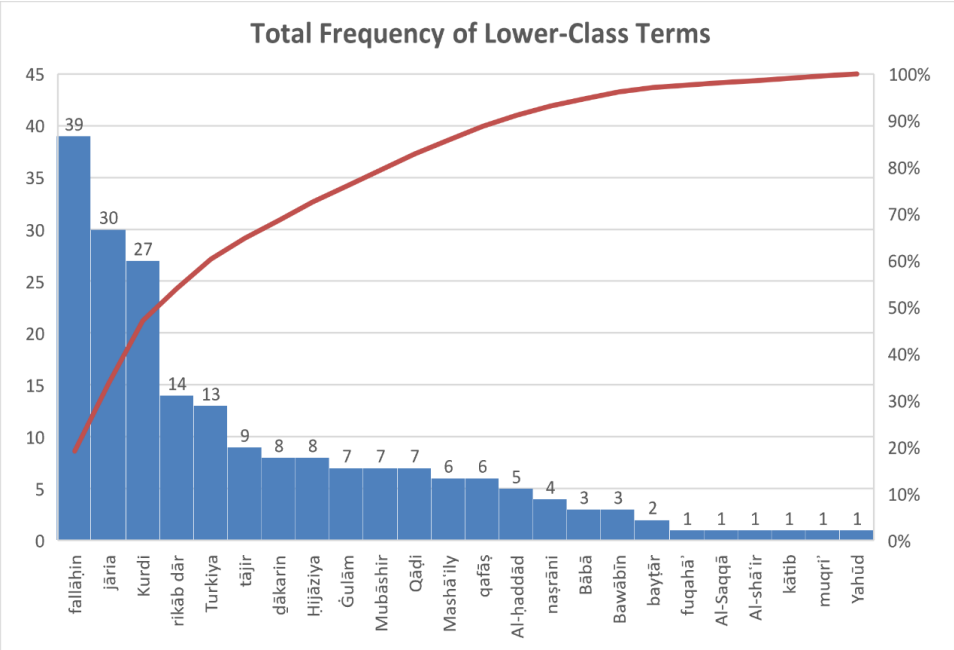

Figure 8. Total Frequencies of Lower-Class Terms in all manuscripts

Some lower-class terms and titles are used to refer to the different categories of the Egyptian working class at that time. The words *fallāḥ* 'peasant' and *fallāḥin* 'peasants', for instance, appeared 39 times in the corpus of this study. During the Islamic era, the preceding terms were used in the Middle East to refer to indigenous villagers and farmers (Mahdi 2007: 209). In Egypt, they led a humble life, and they continued

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to live in mud-brick houses like their ancient ancestors (Pateman 2003:54). They suffered much at the hands of the Sulṭān's Mamlūks. They were the serfs of their lords, unable to leave their villages without permission. They paid *kharāj* 'rents of cultivated lands' to their masters and lords annually. They were always in debt, and it was usual for their lords to give them loans, at interest, of grains for seed and food until harvest time (Sartain 1975: 10). During the Mamlūk era, the term *ghulām* was associated with horse service. It was originally used to describe little children and Mamlūks 'Arabic designation of slaves', then associated with servants (Dahmān 1990:116). The term *jāria* 'slave-girl' referred to female slaves enslaved by pillaging or looting in wars or those born from a slave man or a slave woman. The term *el–mashāʿily* 'torchbearer' is used six times. Originally, this term was used to describe the bearer of the Amīr's torch at night. Then, it was used to designate the executioner who executed the death sentence (Hallāq 1999:205; Taimour 2002:5).

The term *rikāb dār* 'stirrup-holder' is used 14 times. It is a compound word derived from the Arabic *rikab* 'stirrup' and the Persian *dar* 'holder. It was used in the Mamlūk era to refer to one of the carriers of the Sulṭān's golden saddles. During the Ottoman Period, the term was used to designate a person whose job was to take care of the Sulṭān's shoes, hold the reins of his horse, and accompany him in all his processions and parties (Hallāq 1999:102; Taimour 2002:83). The term *bayṭār* 'a veterinarian', on the other hand, is used only twice in manuscript Landberg MSS 258. It was derived from a Greek origin to refer to a person who gave medical treatment to animals in the form of veterinary medicine (Hallāq 1999:48). Furthermore, the term *al-bābā* is used 3 times. It is a Latin word designating the Pope of Rome. It was used during the Mamlūk dynasty as a general title for all the workers in *ṭasht-khāna* (Hallāq 1999:31; Dahmān 1990: 28; Al-Bāsha 1989: 220; Taimour 2002:4). That is "a place where bowls and basons are kept, a scullery; bed-clothes, sheets; a wardrobe; a privy" (Steingass 1963:302). *Bawāb 'a porter, warder, or door-keeper'* is another term that appears once in its plural form *bawābīn* in the corpus of this study with the meaning of "a porter, warder, or door-keeper" (Steingass 1963:204).

The term *qafāṣ* 'cage maker or cage seller' is derived from the Arabic *qafaṣ* with the meaning of cage, coop, prison, and it usually refers to a place where an animal or a human is detained. It refers to a person responsible for building, making, and selling cages (ʿUmar 2008: 1845). The term *dhākarin* has been employed in the manuscripts 8 times to refer to a group of people absorbed in prayer, meditation, and supplication to

God. Those people are usually called upon during funerals and weddings. They were associated with popular religious ceremonies, especially in Egyptian villages during the Fatimid, Ayyūbid, Mamlūk dynasties. They are, however, still common in some Egyptian cities and villages today. These practices can often be ascribed to Sufists and Sufism. The word *al-mubāshir* 'employee,' is an Arabic word usually assigned to an administrative employee during the Mamlūk period, whose job was to organize and calculate the income of the endowments on a yearly basis. It is also used to refer to the usher of the court (Hallāq 1999:198; Dahmān 1990:134). The term *tajir* 'merchant' is used nine times in the corpus of this study.

The term *qāḍi* 'judge' is used seven times. It is an Arabic word that means a Muslim judge who renders decisions based on the *Sharīʿah* 'Islamic law'. It was used as an honorary title during the Fatimid, Ayyūbid, and Mamlūk eras. The span of the title was expanded to include all writers, scholars, and even civilian employees (Al-Bāsha 1989:114,424). *Al-saqqāyin* 'water carriers' (ʿUmar 2008: 1082)[39] is mentioned only once in Class 2 MS. It refers to the persons responsible for transporting water from reservoirs or rivers to mosques, schools, and public drinking fountains. Other professions are mentioned like *al-ḥaddād* 'smith'; *al-shāʿir* 'poet'; *kātib* 'writer'; *muqriʾ* 'reader/reciter'; *rayes al-yahūd* 'chief of the Jews' and people from different regions such as *Ḥijāziya* 'a woman from al-Ḥijāz'; *Turkiya* 'a woman from Turkey'; *Kurdi* 'a Kurdish man' and religions such as 'the Christian writer' and 'the chief of the Jews.'

The previous tables and figures point out that almost all the classes of the Egyptian society during the reign of both the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks are genuinely and faithfully represented in the corpus of this study. Statistical analysis shows that the two words *ʾamīr* and *fallāḥin* are mentioned almost 40 times. Therefore, they represent the two poles of the Egyptian society at that time, namely the Mamlūks, or military oligarchy, versus the mass of the Egyptians, or *al-ḥākim* (Qarāqūsh) versus *al-maḥkūmin* (the Egyptian people). I have found some patterns that support my classification of the data in this corpus. For instance, the terms and titles in the previous tables and diagrams, exhibit a great deal of consistency and proximity, especially among the first three classes. Words such as *sulṭān* is used 4 times in each manuscript of Class B; *wazīr and walī al-ʿahd* are used only once in each MS of Classes A, B, and C; *ʾAmīr* is used 5 times in each MS of Classes A, B, and two MSS of class

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C; *khawand* is mentioned once in each MS of Class B and once in one MS of Class C; *jundi* is used twice in each MS of Class B; and *ḥāshia* is used 4 times in each MS of Class B; *jāria* and *mashāʿily* are used once in each MS of Classes B and C; *rikāb dār* is used once in each MS of Classes A, B, and two MSS of Class C; *fallāḥin* appears 5 times in each MS of Classes A, C, D, and 3 times in Class B; *dhākarin* is used one time in each MS of Classes A,B, 2 MSS of Class C, and Class D MS; *mubāshir* is mentioned one time in each MS of Class B and in two MSS of Class C; *tājir* is used once in each MS of Classes A,B,C, and D; *Kurdi* is used 3 times in each MS of Classes A,B,C, and D. Some terms are mentioned only in Class 2 MS 59, such as *qāḍi*, *al-saqqā*, *al-shāʿir*, *kātib*, *muqriʾ*, *rayes al-yahūd*, *naṣrānī*, and *Ḥijāziya*.

4.3.2 Register and Middle Arabic

The Arabic language has always been classified as *diglossic*[40] throughout its history, with two major variations. The H ('high') variety is known as Classical Arabic, and is employed in religion, politics, literature, and sciences. The L ('low') variety, on the other hand, is Spoken or Colloquial Arabic, which varies from region to region and is often referred to by the term 'Arabic Dialects.' One of the most important facts is that the H-L dichotomy has existed for at least 1300[41] years. Naturally, the scholarly study of the Arabic language has focused on the H variety exclusively since it is the language of the Qur'ān and Islamic sciences, whose influence and prestige transcend the boundaries of the Arab world. The L variety of Arabic has received only limited attention from either the native scholars of the Arabic language or Europeans and other non-native linguists and philologists (Schippers 2012:1-2).

In addition to the study of Classical or Standard language, on the one hand, and colloquial Arabic, on the other, a new sub-discipline within Arabic studies has emerged due to the need for understanding what happens between the H and L varieties of Arabic. The structural differences between the H and L varieties have resulted in the creation and development of intermediate and mixed varieties written and probably spoken in the past as much as they are often used in an oral speech today. Specialists have used the term 'Middle Arabic' for these varieties. The study of Middle Arabic has evolved into a research field, primarily due to the work of Joshua Blau, that has been published over the last six decades. Since the late 1950s, sociolinguistic analysis has

[40] It means the co-existence of two distinct varieties of one and the same language, each with its own specific domains.
[41] The issue of whether it existed before that is one of the great debates in Arabic studies.

been used most successfully in the circumstances involving mixed varieties in modern times (Schippers 2012: 2).

One of the most important linguistic features of the manuscripts in this study is the use of Middle Arabic. Blau (1981:187) defines it as "the mixed language of medieval texts, containing Standard Arabic, Neo-Arabic, and …pseudo-correct features". Pseudocorrections (broken down into hypocorrections and hypercorrections) are hybrid forms that are proper to neither the H nor the L registers. Benjamin Hary (1989: 20) uses Middle Arabic to refer to,

> '… both to the historical phase from its beginning in the early Islamic period until the 18th century, and to the sociolinguistic level in which a mixed variety of literary and colloquial Arabic was used. Middle Arabic encompasses both literary written material and spoken dialects and these two varieties are placed on a continuum.'

The next sections discuss the main features of Middle Arabic in the corpus of this study, specifically orthographical, phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical features. Being a lithographic version rather than a manuscript, I thought it would be more appropriate to trace the features of Middle Arabic in *al-Ṭabʿa al-Khuṣūṣiya* in a separate section in 4.3.2.4.

4.3.2.1 Orthographical and phonological features

One of the most important linguistic features of Middle Arabic is that the glottal stop '*hamza*' has weakened and nearly completely disappeared so that it may be omitted in every position (Blau 1966:83–105, 2002:32–33; Knutsson 1974:60–76; Versteegh 1997:99).

In Class A MSS, for instance,ثمانماية *thamānumāya* is used instead of ثمانمائة *thamānumā'at* 'eight hundred';خمسماية *khumsumāya* instead of خمسمائة*khumsumā'at 'five hundred';*دايمة *dāyamat* instead of دائمة *dāʾamat* 'permanent';خرسا *kharṣā* instead of خرساء *kharṣā' 'dumb';*الغرما *al-ghuramā* instead of الغرماء *al-ghuramā' '*the debtors';سالوه *sālūh* instead of سألوه *saʾālūh* 'requested him'; جات *jāat* instead of جائت *jāʾat* 'she came';فسالا *fasālā* instead of فسألا *fasaʾālā;*هولا *haulā* instead of هؤلاء*haʾulāʾ* 'those';لا تطمع *lā taṭmʿ* instead of لئلا تطمع *liʾala taṭmʿ* 'not to encourage'; in addition to جانى *jāni and* جأنى *jāʾni* instead of جائنى *jāʾani* 'came to me'. One variation in Arabic spelling conventions concerns the presence vs. the absence of twin dots on the final *ḥāʾ* when used as *tāʾ marbūṭa* (Schippers 2012:162). Words without dots in MS 25 are, e.g., حماره *ḥimāra* 'ass, donkey'; الزناه *al-zunāh* 'fornicators, adulterers'; كبيره *kabira* 'long'; and لحيه *liḥiya* 'beard'.

Many examples in Class B MSS demonstrate the weakening, total and partial loss of the glottal stop, as in سالت *sālat* instead of سألت *saʾālat* 'requested'; ان شاا لله *inshallah* instead of ان شاء الله *inshaʾallah*[42] 'by God's will';لا تطمع *lā taṭmʿ* instead of لئلا تطمع *liʾala taṭmʿ* 'not to encourage';فسالا *fasālā* instead of فسئلا *fasʾāla* 'requested';شيا *shayā* instead of شيئا *shayʾā*[43] 'something';جا وطالبنى *jā wa ṭālabanī* instead of جاء وطالبنى *jāʾ wa ṭālabanī*[44] 'he came and asked me to pay to him'; فجات *fa jaāt* instead of فجائت *fa jaāʾt* 'she came'; جاوا *jāwa* instead of جاؤا *jāʾū* 'they came';[45] جانى *jāni* instead of جاءنى *jāʾanī* 'came to me'; ثمانماية *thamānumāya* instead of ثمانمائة *thamānumāʾat* 'eight hundred'; خمسماية *khumsumāya* instead of خمسمائة *khumsumāʾat* 'five hundred'; خرسا *kharṣā* instead of خرساء *kharṣāʾ* 'dumb'; الغرما *al-ghuramā* instead of الغرماء *al-ghuramāʾ* 'the debtors'; وهولا *wahaulā* instead of هؤلاء *haʾulāʾ* 'those';[46] بتسعماية تسعة وتسعين *bitusʿum āya tisʿat wa tisʿiyn* instead of بتسعمائة تسعة وتسعين *bitusʿumāʾa tisʿat wa tisʿiyn* 'nine hundred ninety nine'; جزا *jizā* instead of جزاء *jizāʾ* 'reward';[47] ليلا *liyala* instead of لئلا *lʾala* 'lest' and بهاى *Bahāy* instead of بهاء *Bahāʾ* in MS. 194 and بها *Bahā* instead of بهاء *Bahāʾ* 'Bahāʾad-Din' in MS. 546. Words without dots in Class B MSS are, e.g., حماره *ḥimāra* 'ass, donkey';[48] الزناه *al-zunāh* 'fornicators, adulterers';[49] and بالحياه *bil-ḥayā* 'alive'.[50]

In Class C MSS, instances of the weakening, total and partial loss of the glottal stop include the use of سيلت *suiylt* and سئيلت *suʾiyltu* instead of سئلت *suʾiltu*[51]; سالت *sālat* instead of سألت *saʾālat* 'requested';[52] فسالا *fasālā* instead of فسئلا *fasʾalā* 'requested'; سالوه *sālūh* instead of سألوه *saʾālūh* 'asked or requested him';[53] ان شاا لله *inshāllah* instead of ان شاء الله *inshāʾallah*[54] 'by God's will';لا تطمع *lā taṭmʿ* instead of لئلا تطمع *liʾalā taṭmʿ* 'not to encourage';[55] شيا *shayā* instead of شيئا *shayʾā* 'something'; لاى شى lay *shay* instead of لأى شيء *liʾay shayʾ* 'why?'; راسه *rāsuh* instead of رأسه *rāʾsuhu* 'his head'; راى *rāiy* instead of رأى *raʾa* 'saw' in MS. 258; فراه *farāh* instead of فرأه *faraʾāh* 'he saw him'; امراة *imrāa* instead

[42] Only used in MSS. 194 and 546.
[43] Only used in MSS. 194 and 546.
[44] Only used in MSS. 194 and 546.
[45] Only used in MSS. 194 and 546.
[46] Only used in MSS. 194 and 546.MS13697-14 has used وهاولاء *wahāulʾ*.
[47] Only used in MSS. 194 and 546.
[48] Only used in MSS. 194 and 546.
[49] Only used in MS. 194.
[50] Only used in MSS. 194 and 546.
[51] سيلت *suiylt* in MS. 5491, while سئيلت *suʾiyltu* in MSS 258 and 3552.
[52] Only used in MSS. ٢٥٨ and 5491.
[53] Only used in MSS. ٢٥٨ and 5491.
[54] Only used in MS. 3552.
[55] Only used in MSS. 3552 and 5491.

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of امرأة *imrāʾa* ‘woman’; قراها *qarāhā* instead of قرأها *qaraʾahā* ‘read it’[56]; قراته *qaratuh* instead of قرأته *qaraʾtuh* ‘I read it’[57];وطالبنى جا *jā wa ṭālabanī* instead of جاء وطالبنى *jāʾa wa ṭālabanī*[58] ‘he came and asked me to pay him’;فجات *fa jaāt* instead of فجائت *fa jaāʾt* 'she came'[59];فجاته *fa jaātuh* instead of فجائته *fa jaāʾthu* 'she came to him' in MS.258; جاوا *jāwa* instead of جاؤا *jāʾwu* ‘they came’ in MS. 3552; ثمانماية *thamānumāya* instead of ثمانمائة *thamānumā'at* 'eight hundred'; *khumsumāya* خمسماية instead of خمسمائة *khumsumā'at 'five hundred'*;خرسا *kharṣā* instead of خرساء *kharṣāʾ* 'dumb'[60]; الغرما *al-ghuramā* instead of الغرماء *al-ghuramāʾ*'the debtors';وهولا *wahaulā* instead of هؤلاء *haʾulāʾ* ‘those’[61]; بتسعماية تسعة وتسعين *bitusʿum āya tisʿat wa tisʿiyn* instead of بتسعمائة تسعة وتسعين *bitusʿumāʾa tisʿat wa tisʿiyn* ‘nine hundred ninety nine’;جزا *jizā* instead of جزاء *jizāʾ* ‘reward’[62];ليلا *liyala* instead of لئلا *lʾala* ‘lest’ in MS.3552; ابراته *abrātuhu* instead of ابرأته *abraʾātahu* ‘I exempted him!’ in MS. 258;اوز *awiz* instead of أوز *ʾawiz* ‘geese’ in MS. 5491;لابيه *liābiyh* instead of لأبيه *liʾābiyh* ‘to his father’; and بهاى *Bahāy* instead of بهاء *Bahāʾ* in MS. 3552 and بها *Bahā* instead of بهاء *Bahāʾ* ‘Bahāʾad-Din’ in MS. ٥٤٩١. Words without dots in Class C MSS are, e.g., الزاهره *al-zāhara* ‘blossom’;[63]القاهره *al-Qāhara* ‘Cairo’;[64] المعروفه *al-maʿrūfa* ‘well-known’;[65] القديمه *al-qadima* ‘old’[66]; الفطنه *al-faṭna* ‘acumen’;[67] مشاركه *mushāraka* ‘paricipation’;[68] الزناه *al-zunāh* ‘fornicators, adulterers’;[69]خلعه *khulʿa* ‘cloth’;[70]جاريه *jāria* ‘odalisque’;[71]سنه *sana* ‘one year’;[72]للحاشيه *lilḥāshia* ‘entourage’;[73]قصه *qiṣa* ‘story’;[74]السنه *al-sana* ‘this year’;[75]خاصه *khāṣa* ‘this particular’;[76] الحاره *al-ḥāra* ‘lane’;[77] العمله *al ʿumala* ‘coin’;[78]ريشه *risha* ‘feather’;[79] بالحياه *bil-ḥayā* ‘alive’;[80]and جامعه *jāmiʿa* ‘for all the people’[81].

[56] Only used in MSS. 3552 and 5491.
[57] Only used in MSS. 3552 and 5491.
[58] Only used in MSS. 3552 and 5491.
[59] Only used in MSS. 3552 and 5491.
[60] Only used in MSS. 3552 and 5491.
[61] Only used in MSS 3552 and 5491.
[62] Only used in MSS 3552 and 5491.
[63] Only used in MSS 3552 and 5491.
[64] Only used in MSS 3552 and 5491.
[65] Only used in MSS 3552 and 5491.
[66] Only used in MS 3552.
[67] Only used in MS 3552.
[68] Only used in MS 3552.
[69] Only used in MS 3552.
[70] Only used in MS 3552.
[71] Only used in MS 3552.
[72] Only used in MS 3552.
[73] Only used in MS 3552.
[74] Only used in MSS 3552 and 5491.
[75] Only used in MSS 3552 and 5491.
[76] Only used in MS 3552.
[77] Only used in MS 3552.
[78] Only used in MS 3552.
[79] Only used in MS 3552.
[80] Only used in MS 3552.
[81] Only used in 5491.

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One typical feature of Middle Arabic in Class 2 MS is the omission of hamza, which implies the loss of the glottal stop (ʾ). The omission of hamza on *alif*, *wāw*, and *yā*ʾ and only the letters (ا), (و), and (ى) remain as in الاجل *alājal* instead of الأجل *al*ʾ*ājal* 'the venerable'; الاديب *alādib* instead of الأديب *al*ʾ*ādib* 'great author';الاسباب *alasbāb* instead of الأسباب *al*ʾ*asbāb* 'reasons';مقرى *muqri* instead of مقرىء *muqri*ʾ 'reader of Qura ʾn';رايت *rāyt* instead of رأيت *ra*ʾ*āyt* 'I saw';راى *rāi* instead of رأى *ra*ʾ*āi* 'judgement';قرات *qarāt* instead of قرأت *qar*ʾ*āt* 'read';هولا *haulā* instead of هؤلاء *ha*ʾ*ulā*ʾ 'those' ;فاول *faāwal* instead of فأول *fa*ʾ*āwal* 'the first';مايـة *māyat* instead of مائـة *mā*ʾ*at* 'one hundred'; جايعا *jāy*ʿ*ā* instead of جائعا *jā*ʾ*i*ʿ*ā* 'hungry'; and ريس *rayis* instead of رئيس *ra*ʾ*is* 'chief'. Many hamzas may have been lost either in the initial position, such as سماهم *samahum* instead of أسماهم *ʾasmahum* 'named them,' or in the final position, which is more common, such as سودا *sawdā* instead of سوداء *sawdā*ʾ 'black'; الاهرا *Alāhrā* instead of الأهراء *Al*ʾ*āhrā*ʾ 'granaries';جا *jā* instead of جاء *jā*ʾ'came';هولا *haulā* instead of هؤلاء *ha*ʾ*ulā*ʾ 'those'.

Other hamzas are omitted in medial positions such as:اسات *asāat* instead of اساءت *asā*ʾ*at* 'mistreated';جاتـه *jātuh* instead of جائتـه *jā*ʾ*thu* 'she came to him'; and جيتم *jitum* instead of جيئتم *ji*ʾ*tum* 'you came.'Sometimes there is a spelling change from 'alif+hamza' (اء) to 'alif+ yāʾ' in the final position, such as بهاى *Bahāy* instead of بهاء *Bahā*ʾ 'Bahāʾad-Din.' An additional yāʾ is added for the second feminine singular pronominal suffix -*ki* as well. For instance,تعتتقكى *tu*ʿ*tiquki* instead of تعتقك *tu*ʿ*tiquk* 'to set you free';بيعكى *bai*ʿ*aki* instead of بيعك *bai*ʿ*ak* 'selling you';تبيعكى *tabi*ʿ*aki* instead of تبيعك *tabi*ʿ*ak* 'to sell you';معكى *ma*ʿ*aki* instead of معك *ma*ʿ*ak* 'with you'. In Middle Arabic, there are cases in which *alif maqṣūra*, spelled in Classical Arabic with *yā*, is spelled with alif in nouns, verbs, and particles (Hopkins 1984: 14-15). In MS. 59, there is a nominal with three verbal examples:اللحا *al-luḥā* instead of اللحى *al-luḥa* 'beards';بقا *baqā* instead of بقى *baqa* 'became';اوفا *awfā* instead of أوفى *ʾawfa* 'fulfiled'; and رما *ramā* instead of رمى *rama* 'threw.' Words without dots in Class 2 MS are, e.g., المقله *al-muqala*, and جريده *jarida* 'sheet of paper'.

4.3.2.2 Morphology and Syntax

There have been some grammatical deviations from Classical Arabic in Class A MSS. For instance, the use of a masculine pronoun before a feminine adjective as in كما هو وظيفة الامام *kama huwa waẓifat al*ʾ*imām* instead of كما هي وظيفة الامام *kama hiya waẓifat al*ʾ*imām* 'as the job

of *ʾimām*[82] necessitates.' The previous usage is grammatically incorrect according to the rules of Classical Arabic, which necessitates an agreement between the pronoun and its antecedent in gender. In MS 25, there is another grammatical mistake in the use of the plural instead of the dual in Arabic, such as لحاها *liḥāhā* instead of لحيتيهما *liḥiyatiyhimā*; 'the beards of the two persons'. Another spelling mistake in MS 25 occurs when the scribe uses لا تدفع *la tadfaʿ* instead of لا ينفع *la yanfaʿ* 'I can not.' This practice in Arabic is called *taḥrīf* which means the alteration of letters in a word (Gacek 2007:222). One more example of this mistake in Class A MSS is the use of جبل *jabal* 'mountain' instead of حبل *ḥabl* 'rope' where the difference is only in the alteration between the two letters ج *j* and *ḥ* ح [83]. The last example is the use of بمكارين *bimakārīn* instead of بذكارين *bidhakārīn*[84] 'religious reciters',[85] where the alteration occurs between the two letters ذ '*dh*' and م '*m*'.

Class B MSS abounds in many grammatical mistakes and errors, such as the lack of agreement between the masculine pronoun هو *hūwa* and its noun عادته *ʿĀdathu* 'his habit' to become كما هو عادته *kama hūwa ʿĀdathu* instead of using the grammatically correct feminine pronoun, هي *hiya* in كما هي عادته *kama hiya ʿĀdathu.* Also, the alternation between س 's' and ص 'ṣ' as in رفسته *rafasathu* and رفصته *rafaṣathu* 'kicked him' in MS 194. In MS 13697-14, another similar mistake is the use of the word جبل*jabal* 'mountain' instead of حبل *ḥabl* 'rope,' where the difference is in the alteration between the two letters ج and ح. The previous two mistakes are very common in Arabic manuscripts and are called *taḥrīf*. Many colloquial expressions and vocabulary are derived from Classical Arabic, such as جاء *jāʾa,* with its other variants like (جيت, جا,جوا, جاوا) *jāʾa bi* 'to bring' (Blau 1966:180). MS.194, for instance, uses انا جيت اصدقك وحدك *ana jiyyt aṣadqak waḥdak* 'shall I believe you only! Alone!'.

Class C MSS is replete with many grammatical mistakes and errors as in the alternation between س 's' and ص 'ṣ' as in رفسته *rafasathu* and رفصته *rafaṣathu* 'kicked him'; the alternation between د 'd' and ذ 'dh' in دقن *daqan* and ذقن *dhaqan* 'beard'[86]; the alternation between ف *fāʾ* and ق *qāf* in دقن *daqan* and دفن *dafan*[87];the insertion of an additional و *wāw* letter in مووته *mawuthu* instead of موته *mawtuhu* 'his death'[88]; the deletion of the و wāw letter in رح *ruḥ* instead of روح *rawḥ*[89]; the use of ع '' instead of

[82] an Islamic leadership position.
[83] In MS 25 جبل *jabal*, while in MS 416 حبل *ḥabl*.
[84] In MS 25 بذكارين *bidhakārin*, while in MS 416 بمكارين *bimakārin*.
[85] Those people are usually called upon during funerals and weddings. Look at page 32.
[86] دقن *daqan* is used in MS. 3552 while ذقن *dhaqan* is used in MS.5491.
[87] دقن *daqan* is used in MS 3552 while دفن *dafan* is used in MS.258.
[88] Only used in MS 3552.
[89] Only used in MS 258.

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غ 'gh' in 'المستعربة' *al-mustaʿraba* instead of 'المستغربة' *al-mustaghraba* 'strange'; the alternation between *tāʾ marbūṭa* and *tāʾ* in the use of وفات *wafāt* instead of وفاة *wafāh* 'death' in MS. 5491.

There have been some grammatical deviations from Classical Arabic in Ibn Mammātī's MS. 59. For instance, the plural form is used for the dual antecedent:الاتنين كبار اللحا *alʾithnain kibar al-luḥā* instead of الاثنان كبيرا اللحى *alʾithnan kabirā al-luḥa* 'the two men with long beards'; والكم *wālakum* instead of ويلكما *wailakumā* 'he prays for them to perish';نتفتم *nataftum* instead of نتفتما *nataftumā* 'pluck';جيتم *jitum* instead of جيئتما *jiʾtuma* 'you came'; and تشكوه *tashkūh* instead of تشكوانه *tashkūwānah* 'complain.' One more grammatical problem is using the masculine plural form for inanimate plurals. According to the rules of Classical Arabic, inanimate plural nouns should be treated as feminine singular (Cadora 1992: 115). In Ibn Mammātī's MS. 59, inanimate plural nouns take the agreement as if they were masculine plurals such as فكتبهم *fakatabhum* 'he wrote them' instead of فكتبها *fakatabhā* to refer to *al-Qamḥ* 'wheat,' *al-Shaʿyr* 'barley,' *al-Fūl* 'beans,' *al-Ḥummuṣ* 'chickpeas'; and تلحسهم *talḥashum* 'you lick them' instead of تلحسها *talḥasahā* to refer to *dafātir* 'notebooks.' Other grammatical deviations are evident in the misuse of numerals and cases. For instance, there is an example of a 'feminine' numeral referring to a 'masculine' noun:خمسة رجال *khamsat rijal* instead of خمس رجال *khams rijal* 'five men.' For cases, on the other hand, there are many deviations such as الاثنين *alithnain* instead of الاثنان *alithnan* 'the two men' in which the dual subject demonstrates the oblique case instead of the nominative;نضايق لص غريب *nuḍaiq liṣ gharib* instead of نضايق لصا غريبا *nuḍaiq liṣā gharibā* 'to disturb a strange thief', in which the direct object lacks *alif tanwin*; من سوى امس واغدا *min sawa ams wa ghadā* instead of من سوى أمس وغد *min sawa ams wa ghadi* 'except for yesterday and tomorrow', in which *alif tanwin* is maintained in the noun governed by a preposition (Nakamichi 2014:321). Also, there is an alternation between the Arabic letters 'ذ' *dh* and 'د' *d* as in دقن *daqan* instead of ذقن *dhaqan* 'beard'; دقونهما *duqunahamā* instead of ذقونهما *dhuqunahamā* 'their beards'; دقوننا *duqunanā* instead of ذقوننا *dhuqunanā* 'our beards', and دراعى *dirāʿiy* instead of ذراعى *dhirāʿiy* 'my arm.'

4.3.2.3 Lexicon

Examples of colloquial vocabulary and expressions are found in **Class A MSS**, such as رح اندفن بلا صقاعة دقن *ruḥ īndīfīn bilā ṣaqāʿat daqan* 'go and be buried without stubbornness!'. One more colloquial adjective is used in **Class A MSS** which is كوسجا *kawsajā* 'without beard' (Dozy

1979: 164). In terms of grammatical problems and inaccuracies in writing, I have discovered that MSS. 25 and 416 are remarkably similar. From a codicological perspective, MS 25 is very neatly and scrupulously written, while MS 416 is full of holes and signs of repair and has terribly been damaged by termites and moisture. Moreover, a close textual investigation proves that MS 25 appears to be more accurate, precise, and neater in language.

In MS 25, I think the scribe has tried very hard to correct the mistakes of MS 416 as evidenced by his use of الفاشوش *al-Fāshūsh* instead of الفشوش *al-Fshūsh*; بذكارين *bidhakārīn* instead of بمكارين *bimakārīn*; شيئا *shayʾā* instead of شيا *shayā* 'something'; وصالحاه *wa ṣālaḥāh* instead of وقالاه *wa qālāh* in MS 25 to correct a faulty repetition made by the scribe in MS 416 under the influence of the verb *qālāh* that is written near to the margin[90]; MS 25 addsوقال *wa qāl* 'then he said' in order to keep the coherence and logic of the Arabic sentence وتصدق بالف درهم وقال لو كنت فيه لتكسرت *wa taṣadqa biālf dirham wa qāl law kūnt fīhī lataksart* instead of فتصدق بالف درهم لوكنت فيه لتكسرت *fa taṣadqa biālf dirham law kūnt fihi lataksart*; MS 25 corrects the colloquial expression جا الفرج *jā al-faraj* 'I am saved!' in MS 416 by sticking to the classical Arabic expression جاء الفرج *jāʾa al-faraj* and restoring the omitted glottal stop to the verb *jā* which became *jāʾa*. The previous corrections are called hypercorrections, in which the scribe overcorrects the mistakes, and it is called 'pseudocorrection' (Blau 1970: 12-13). The scribes adopt this style when they try to write a more prestigious variety and avoid stigmatized forms. However, the scribe has made fresh new mistakes of his own, such as لحاها*liḥāhā* instead of لحيتيهما *liḥiyatiyhimā*;لا تدفع *la tadfaʿ* instead of لا ينفع *la yanfaʿ*; جبل *jabal* instead of حبل *ḥabl*; and صالحا *ṣalaḥā* instead of صالحاه *ṣālaḥāh*. According to the rules of textual criticism, traces of corrections in MS 25 provide substantial evidence that MS 416 is prior to MS 25. This, in fact, is in accordance with the dates written on the manuscripts, 1077 AH for MS 416 and 1105 AH for MS 25.

Many foreign words are used in **Class B MSS** such as كوسجا *kawsajā* 'without beard';ركبدار *rikāb dār* 'stirrup-holder';خوند *khawand* 'prince'; and البابا *al-Bābā*[91] 'title for all the workers in *Tasht-khāna*'. The colloquial expression قال الحمدلله جانى الفرج *qāl Al-ḥamdu lillāh jāni al-faraj* "he said 'Thank God I am saved!' " is used both in MSS 194 and 546. Another example of colloquial expressions in Class B MSS is روح اندفن بلا صقاعة دقن *rawḥ indīfīn bilā ṣaqāʿat daqan* 'go and be buried without stubbornness!'. Many important remarks from the perspective of textual

[90] This mistake is called metathesis or transpositions errors in Arabic (Gack 2007: 222).
[91] Used only in MS. 13697-14.

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criticism can be noticed about Class B MSS. First, Class B MSS share many mistakes as in سلت *salat*; سالت *sālat*;فسالا *fasālā*; لا تطمع *lā taṭmʿ*; فجات *fa jaāt*; ثمانماية *thamānumāya*; خمسماية *khumsumāya*; خرسا *kharṣā*; and الغرما *al-ghuramā*. Second, MSS 194 and 546 are very close to each other in terms of the mistakes and errors they share without MS 13697-14, such as ان شاا لله *inshallah*; شيا *shaya*; جا وطالبنى *jā wa ṭālabani*; وهولا *wahaulā*; بتسعماية تسعة وتسعين *bitus ʿum āya tis ʿat wa tis ʿiyn*; and جزا *jizā*.

The previous remark is in accordance with the statistical analysis in Table 2 above. It has been proved that the proximity between MSS 194 and 546 (about 90.04) is higher than that between MSS 546 and 13697-14 (about 89.39) and between MSS 194 and 13697-14 (about 86.57).The third remark is that all the previous mistakes shared by MSS 194, 546 are corrected in MS 13697-14, as in the use of ان شاء الله *inshaʾallah* instead of ان شاا لله *inshallah* ;شيئا *shayʾa* instead of شيا *shaya*;جاء وطالبنى *jāʾ wa ṭālabani* instead of جا وطالبنى *jā wa ṭālabani*; هؤلاء *haʾulāʾ* instead وهولا *wahaulā*; بتسعمائة تسعة وتسعين *bitus ʿumāʾa tis ʿat wa tis ʿiyn* instead of بتسعماية تسعة وتسعين *bitus ʿum āya tis ʿat wa tis ʿiyn* ‘nine hundred ninety nine’;جزاء *jizāʾ* instead of جزا *jizā* ‘reward’; قال الحمدلله جاءنى الفرج *qāl al-ḥamdu lilāh jāʾani al-faraj* instead of قال الحمدلله جانى الفرج *qāl al-ḥamdu lilāh jāni al-faraj* ;رفسته *rafasathu instead of* رفصته *rafaṣathu*;جاؤا *jāʾwu* instead of جاوا *jāwa* and بهاء *Bahāʾ* instead of بهاى *Bahāy* in MS. 194, and بها *Bahā* in MS. 546. From the perspective of textual criticism, all the previous corrections are called hypercorrections.

Not only are indications of hypercorrections seen in MS 13697–14, but also of what is known as hypocorrections (Versteegh 2006: 275), in which the mistakes are only ‘halfway corrected’ or ‘not corrected enough’ as in the use of وهاولاء *wahāwlaʾ* as a correction for وهولا *wahaulā.* The scribe has made other mistakes in MS 13697–14, like his use of اليقظة *al-Yaqaẓa* ‘vigilance’ instead of الفطنة *al-fīṭna* ‘acumen’ and يعزا *yū ʿzā* instead of يعزى *yū ʿza* ‘attributed’. Traces of hypercorrection and hypocorrection in MS 13697-14, as well as the handwriting in *Maghrebi* script, unlike all the other manuscripts written in *Khaṭ al-Naskh*, might be a good proof that MS 13697-14 is the latest version in Class B MSS.

Many foreign words are used in Class C MSS (258, 3552, 5491), such as المشاعلى *Al–Mashaʿly* ‘torchbearer’[92]; راكبدار *rikāb dār* ‘stirrup-holder’, خوند *khawand* ‘prince’[93] , البابا *al-Bābā* ‘title for all the workers in

[92]Only used in MSS 258 and 5491.
[93] Only used in MSS. ٢٥٨ and 3552.

Tasht-khāna'[94], كوسجا *kawsajā* 'without beard'[95]. Many colloquial expressions are used, as in the possessive particle بتاع *bitaʿ*, which typically appears only in late Judaeo-Arabic (Wagner 2020: 7). The previous Egyptian colloquial expression is originally derived from the classical Arabic متاع *mataʿ* 'belongings' (Dozy 1979: 238)[96] and can be found in MS 3552 in الحارة بتاعكم لها درب[97] *al-ḥarat bitaʿkam laha darb* 'do you have a gate to your lane?'[98], الصدقة بتاع هذه السنة al-*ṣadaqa bitaʿ hadhihi al-sana* 'charity of this year'. Another colloquial expression is روح اندفن بلا صقاعة دقن *rawḥ indifīn bilā ṣaqāʿat daqan* 'go and be buried without stubbornness!'. One more colloquial expression is جانى الفرج *jāni al-faraj* instead of *jāʾani al-faraj* in MS. 3552. It appears as جا الفرج *jā al-faraj* in MS. 5491, جينا نصدقك وحدك *jiyna nuṣdaqak waḥdak* in MS.5491, and اجيبه له *ajiybu lahu* 'bring it to him'[99] in MS. 5491.

From the perspective of textual criticism, many significant points can be inferred from the previous analysis. First, Class C MSS share many mistakes, such as فسالا *fasālā*, شيا *shayā*, لاى شى lay *shay*, راسه *rāsuh*, فراه *farāh*, امراة *imrāa*, ثمانماية *thamānumāya*, خمسماية *khumsumāya*, الغرما *al-ghuramā*,بتسعماية تسعة وتسعين *bitsʿum āya tisʿat wa tisʿiyn*, and لابيه *liābiyh*. Second, MSS 3552 and 5491 are very close to each other in terms of the mistakes and errors they share without MS 258 such as:لا تطمع *lā taṭmʿ*, قراها *qarāhā*, قراته *qarātuh*, جا وطالبنى *jā wa ṭālabani*, فجات *fa jaāt*, خرسا *kharṣā*, وهولا *wahaulā*, and جزا *jizā*. The preceding point is consistent with the statistical analysis in Table 3 above. It has been proved that the textual proximity between MSS 3552 and 5491 (about 53.29) is higher than that between MSS 258 and 5491 (about 42.81) and between MSS 258 and 3552 (about 33.97). Moreover, many mistakes shared by MSS 258 and 5491 are hypercorrected in MS 258 such as لئلا تطمع *liʾala taṭmʿ* instead of لا تطمع *lā taṭmʿ*, لحيتيهما *liḥiyatiyhimā* instead of لحاهما *liḥāhāmā*, قرأها *qaraʾaha* instead of قراها *qaraha*,قرأته *qarʾātuh* instead of قراته *qarātuh*, جاء وطالبنى *jāʾa wa ṭālabani* instead of جا وطالبنى *jā wa ṭālabani*, قال قد اتانى الفرج *qāl qad ʾatani al-faraj* instead of جانى الفرج *jāni al-faraj* in MS. 3552 and جا الفرج *jā al-faraj* in MS. 5491.

Not only are traces of hypercorrections seen in MS 258, but also traces of what is called hypocorrections, in which the scribe makes a new mistake in his attempt to correct the original mistake, as in his use of هؤلا *hāʾwla* instead of هؤلاء *hāʾwlaʾ;* سئيلت *suʾiyltu* instead of سئلت *suʾiltu*; لئيلا *liʾyalā* instead of لئلا *lʾalā*; رح *ruḥ* instead of روح *rawḥ*; دفن *dafan*

[94] Only used in MSS. ٢٥٨ and 54٩١.
[95] Only used in MSS. 3552 and 5491.
[96] Vol.1.
[97] بتاعكم *bitaʿkam* 'that you own or you live in' Taimur, vol.2, p.109.
[98] *darb* درب means 'gate' Ibn Manẓūr, vol.1, p. 374.
[99] Taimur, vol.3, p.65.

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instead of دقن *daqan*; and قراء *qarāʾ* instead of قرأ *qaraʾā*. I have noticed that the bull's anecdote, the last anecdote in MS 258, has been handwritten in different ink and handwriting, indicating that it has been added later to the corpus. From the perspectives of textual criticism and Middle Arabic, traces of pseudo-corrections in MS. 258 might be good proof that MS 258 is the latest manuscript in Class C MSS.

Many examples of colloquial vocabulary and expressions are found in Ibn Mammātī's MS 59, such as the use of the interrogative pronoun ايش *āysh* 'what', the contraction of اى شيء *āyy shayʾ* 'which thing.' As Hopkins (1984:67) explains, this usage is a sign of Middle Arabic, as the contraction ايش *āysh* is a typically vernacular feature (see also Schen 1972:234). The verb جاب *jāb* 'brought' is frequently used in both Middle Arabic and modern dialects. The oldest example dates back to 800 A.D (Hopkins 1984: 81). The colloquial idiomatic expression هاتى حلاوتنا[100] *hātī ḥalawatinā* 'give us our sweets!' is usually associated with bribes and bribery. There are other colloquial verbs in the text such as راح *rāḥ* 'go,' which appears in many variant forms as in راحت *rāḥt* 'she went' and روحى *rwḥi* 'go!'; ودى *wadi* 'take' in forms like ودوا *wadu* 'take!' ودوهما *waduhuma* 'take them!'; ساب *sāb* 'set free' in the form of سيبوا *siybu* 'set free!'; حط *ḥaṭṭ* 'put,' in فحط *faḥaṭṭ* 'then he put'; قتل *qatal* 'hit' in قتلنى 'he hit me'; In addition to pronouns and verbs, there is also an adjective like اجرود *ājrūd* 'bare' and an adverb like اغدا *aghdan* 'tomorrow.'

4.3.2.4 Features of Middle Arabic in al-Ṭabʿa al-Khuṣūṣiya

The first lithographic version of the anecdotes was produced in 1311 AH (1893-1894 AD) under the title of *al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām wa ḥikāyāt Qarāqūsh* (*Decisions and Anecdotes of Qarāqūsh*) by Jalāl ad-Dīn Al-Suyūṭī. This version of anecdotes was called *al-Ṭabʿa al-Khuṣūṣiya.* It was produced by El-Amiriya Press (Al-Maṭbaʿa al-Amirīya) or Būlāq Press, which was established by Muḥammad ʿAli in 1820 AD. This copy reflected the attitude that dominated Arabic and Islamic culture at the beginning of the 20th century, with a growing desire to rediscover the old and ancient Islamic manuscripts. Accordingly, only the best and brightest editors and correctors were assigned this noble job. The first Arabic copies, whether they were religious, linguistic, or literary, were neatly and elegantly produced. This could be witnessed in many editions of al-Amirīya or Būlāq Press of Cairo in Egypt and *Maṭbaʿa al-Jawānb* in Turkey (Al-Sarḥān 1984:183). However, the classical scribal tradition

[100] By *ḥalawa* 'sweets' the guards mean 'money as a bribe' (Ibn Manẓūr, vol.14, p. 194) to solve the woman's problem' and it is still used today.

which developed unique techniques and methods of dictation, collation, and illustration deteriorated with the advent of printing (Mahdi 1995: 4). For instance, printing during that time was conducted on only one neat copy. Even when the copiers used more than one copy, they did not refer to the variations in all the copies. Rather, they resorted to the technique of correction without any fixed rules or methodology (Al-Sarḥān 1984:183).

Al-Ṭabʿa al-Khuṣūṣiya is an example of all the previous practices and trends in printing. It looks neat, tidy, and carefully written. However, this edition bears Ibn Mammātī's and Al-Suyūṭī's styles, as can easily be inferred from the introduction and the topics of the anecdotes. Therefore, we can deduce that the copiers of Al-Maṭbaʿa al-Amirīya have used more than one manuscript in this edition. They, therefore, have not referred to any variations in all manuscripts, attributing their new volume directly to Al-Suyūṭī فأقول وأنا الجلال السيوطى *faʾqūl wʾana al-jalāl Al-Suyūṭī* 'I, al-jalāl Al-Suyūṭī, hereby say' (Al-Suyūṭī 1311 AH: 2) without mentioning anything about the original author- Ibn Mammātī - even though some lines, particularly in the introduction have directly been quoted from Ibn Mammātī's Manuscript 59 Majāmīʿ Raṣīd.

Unlike all the other manuscripts in this study, features of Middle Arabic are greatly diminished in *Al-Ṭabʿa al-Khuṣūṣiya*, and traces of hypercorrection are evident everywhere, especially in the use of ثمانمائة *thamānumā'at* instead of ثمانماية *thamānumāya*; خمسمائة *khumsumā'at* instead of خمسماية *khumsumāya*; بهاء *Bahāʾ* instead of بهاى *Bahāy* 'Bahāʾad-Din'; سئلت *suʾiltu* instead of سيلت *suiylt* or سئيلت *suʾiyltu*; بتسعمائة تسعة وتسعين *bitusʿumāʾa tisʿat wa tisʿiyn* 'nine hundred ninety-nine' instead of بتسعماية تسعة وتسعين *bitusʿum āya tisʿat wa tisʿiyn*; and الغرماء *al-ghuramāʾ* instead of الغرما *al-ghuramā*. However, some features of Middle Arabic can also be seen in the lithographic version as in the use of بماية *bimāyat* instead of بمائة *bimāʾat* 'one hundred'; شيا *shayā* instead of شيئا *shayʾā* 'something'; القضا *al-qaḍā* instead of القضاء *al-qaḍāʾ* 'judiciary'; القبايح *alqabāyḥ* instead of القبائح *alqabāʾḥ* 'ugly things'; and لابيه *lābiyh* instead of *liʾabiyh* 'to his father'. Traces of hypocorrection can be seen as well in the use of السود *al-sawd* instead ofالسوداء *al-sawdāʾ*; جزء *juzʾ* instead of جزاء *jazāʾ*; للعالب *lilʿālib* instead of للغالب *lilghālib*, and the omission of عشيا *ʿashiyā* from the Quraʾnic expression بكرة وعشيا *bukratan wa ʿashiyyā* 'day and night'.There are a number of colloquialisms, such as خليه *khalīyh* 'leave him' or خليتيه *khalīytih* 'left him'[101]; ريحتيه *rayaḥatih* 'make him rest'[102]; راكبدار *rikāb dār* 'stirrup-holder'; بلاليص

[101] Taimur, vol.3, p.200.
[102] Dozy, vol. 5, p.234.

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balāliṣ 'jugs'[103]; الطشوت *al- ṭishūt* 'basins'[104]; and أروح *ʾārūḥ* 'I will go'[105].

4.3.3 The interaction between the social and linguistic registers

Three levels of Middle Arabic can be identified in the corpus of this study: 'Classical Arabic with Middle Arabic admixture'; 'semi-classical Middle Arabic'; and 'classicized Middle Arabic' (Blau 1966:50–51). Middle Arabic typically has hybrid forms that belong to neither the H nor the L registers. These are the features that Joshua Blau and others call pseudocorrections (broken down into hypocorrections and hypercorrections). Moreover, when referring to Middle Arabic texts contained in manuscripts, Paolo La Spisa recalls that these three forms may well alternate and co-exist freely on the same folio. Fluctuation between the H (formal, classical) and L (colloquial) registers is known to occur in oral speech and written texts. It may even be argued that the boundaries between the written and the oral in any language are not as strict as they may seem (Den Heijer 2012:7).

Orality has played a crucial role in transmitting knowledge among Arabs and Muslims. This explains the fact that the Arabs have been endowed with an amazing ability to memorize. With the revelation of Qur'ān and the emergence of the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad PBUH, there was a gradual shift from the primitive oral culture of illiterate folks to the literate culture of letters. However, this shift has not diminished but rather strengthened and reinforced the significant role of orality in Arabic and Islamic culture. Therefore, writing has not replaced the old classical method of preserving the text, as in narration and memorization. The Qur'ān and the Prophet's Sunnah have continued to be transmitted orally, while writing is regarded as only a means of preservation and recording. During Al-Suyūṭī's era, it was not enough to read the tradition in a book. The oral method was still the only acceptable way of learning traditions and the authorized means for transmitting them to others in turn (Sartain 1975: 30).

My interdisciplinary approach investigates the interaction between the various registers in the manuscripts to reveal something about the textual history and transmission, literary aspects, and the cultural and ideological contexts of the authors, compilers, scribes, or even the characters in the anecdotes.

[103] Manufactured in Upper Egypt and used to store oil and other liquids. Dozy, vol. ١, p.٤٢٨.
[104] Of a persian origin. Taimur, vol.4, p.343.
[105] Taimur, vol.1, p.172 and vol.3, p.344.

5. Results and discussion

This study proves that there are a lot of variations among the MSS of *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh*. It also proves that they demonstrate many similarities. The study has attempted to answer several questions on the historical origins of these manuscripts. It has traced the changes and variations among the manuscripts in order to explore how the anecdotes are transmitted from one generation to the next and to examine the development of this unique humorous folk narrative. One of the most important goals of this research is to resolve the entanglements and confusions related to the authors, the origins, and the historical background of all these manuscripts. Some libraries, including the King Faisal Library, Yale University Library, and the Egyptian National Library, claim that the manuscripts and anecdotes in this study are originally written by Ibn Mammātī but are wrongly ascribed to Al-Suyūṭī. Also, there is an argument among the modern Arab scholars about the fate of Ibn Mammātī's original manuscript. Even though there is scholarly consensus that *al-Fāshūsh* is originally authored by Ibn Mammātī (Ibn Khalikan 1842: 520), some Arab scholars believe that such a copy has never existed (Alshāl 2000: 12-13). Some other scholars believe that the original manuscript has been lost (Ḥamzah 2000: 142-3).

However, in his seminal study on *Qarāqūsh* under the title of "*extraits d' un manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Khédiviale du Caire*", Casanova (1893:468-472) has quoted an extract from this manuscript. In his books, Ḥamzah (1945, 1951, 2000) quoted and used all the anecdotes in this study without looking for the original manuscript itself. This practice has caused other writers like ʿAzzām (1999) and Shaʿlān (2012) to doubt the manuscript's very existence. I found almost the same manuscript in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah (The Egyptian National Library), which was originally called (Khedivial Books House) in 1870, amid some collected epistles under the title 59 Majāmīʿ Raṣīd, as it contained all the anecdotes which had been quoted before by Casanova himself. The mere existence of this historical manuscript today refutes the claims of the previous authors and authenticates Paul Casanova's version of the stories.

This study postulates that the text is recollected and rewritten again by Al-Suyūṭī to suit his student's purposes at Ibn Tulun Mosque in Cairo, as he states in his introduction to his MSS. This means that Ibn Mammātī's stories are circulated so widely that they have aroused the curiosity of serious students and scholars in Egypt after 300 years. The colloquial nature of the text might support the idea that these stories are orally transmitted from one generation to the next and many stories might

have been added as well. As a serious scholar, Al-Suyūṭī collected these stories and codified them in the form of a pamphlet, but he did not expect that his small project would spread like wildfire in the form of so many pamphlets in the Arab and Muslim worlds. So far, the manuscripts have been ascribed to al-Suyūṭī, not to their original writer.

In this paper, I argue that all manuscripts under Class 1 could be attributed to Al-Suyūṭī as they bear his name, his style of writing, the footprints of his age, and even the decorations used by the calligraphers during that period. Class 2 which is only one manuscript, could not be directly attributed to Ibn Mammātī. I have found crucial differences between this manuscript and all manuscripts of Al-Suyūṭī in almost everything, including the author's name, the introduction, the paragraph headers, the number of anecdotes, the order of anecdotes, and the number of words. The style of writing in Ibn Mammātī's introduction is personal, high, poetic, and eloquent, whereas Al-Suyūṭī's introduction is objective, cold, normal, and scholastic.

The Analysis of Class A manuscripts proves that they are very similar in terms of narrative length and vocabulary. For example, according to word count, MS 25 Majāmīʿ Qawalah contains 855 words, while MS 416 Majāmīʿ Khuṣuṣiya contains 828 words. The two manuscripts exhibit a great deal of consistency regarding the number and order of anecdotes, which are the same. The same transition words are used, as in the word *mīnhā*, which acts as a paragraph header that separates each anecdote. According to Table 1, instances of similarity are about 74.46 %, instances of difference are 25.54 %, common symbols are 3740, and different symbols are 1283. I argue that the similarities between these two manuscripts are the result of a common ancestor; however, their word variants might be due to the damage of some parts and the disappearance of some letters from MS 416 *Majāmīʿ Khuṣuṣiya*, in addition to, the behavior of the scribes. All the previous elements together with the limited time between the two manuscripts, which is almost 28 years (1077-1105 AH), support my argument that the two manuscripts might be the result of a common ancestor.

Class B manuscripts share the same introduction, paragraph headers, and the number and order of anecdotes. They are very close in terms of narrative length, 846, 820, and 838 words. Table 2 shows that instances of similarity among Class B manuscripts might range between (86.57% and 90.04%), which is higher than the percentage of Class A manuscripts. Instances of difference, on the other hand, might range between (9.96% and 13.43%), which is lower than the percentage of

Class A manuscripts. Although there is no trace of either the name of the scribe or the date of scribing in Class B manuscripts, this paper postulates that they share the same roots, or that they descend from a common ancestor. A comparison of Class B and Class A manuscripts reveals that they are similar in terms of narrative length, paragraph headers, and the number of anecdotes. There are, however, minor differences in the order and subject matter of the anecdotes. For instance, two new anecdotes (Nos. 10 and 12) are added to the narrative of Class B without being mentioned in the Class A manuscripts. Anecdotes 8 and 9 in Class A, on the other hand, are not found in the body of Class B manuscripts. I think this is due to the behavior of the scribes, who have been in a position to select the anecdotes that suited the commercial standards of their time.

Table 3 demonstrates instances of similarity and difference among Class C manuscripts. According to it, instances of similarity range between (33.97% and 53.29 %) while instances of difference are between (46.71% and 66.03%). Table 3 proves that MS 5491 is more akin to Arabe 3552 in terms of language and style than MS 258. Figure 2 shows the distribution of the number of words in Al-Suyūṭī's manuscripts. Figure 3, on the other hand, demonstrates the distribution of the number of anecdotes in Al-Suyūṭī's manuscripts. Table 4 compares the number of words, the number of anecdotes, and the dates of Al-Suyūṭī's manuscripts under investigation. The analysis of data in the previous figures and tables proves that there is a relationship between the increased number of both words and anecdotes in the texts of the manuscripts and the progression of time. In five manuscripts (25, 416, 194, 546, and 13697-14), for instance, the number of anecdotes is 13, and the number of words is between 817 and 855 words. Accordingly, I would claim that the five manuscripts are chronologically close, and the manuscripts of Class B relate to the same historical period of Class A, which is between 1077 and 1149 AH (1666- 1736 AD). Variations in the manuscripts of Class C, on the other hand, are much higher than those of Classes A and B, because they relate to later periods. This paper claims that the manuscripts of this class belong to the 12th century AH or at least two of them (MS 5491 and MS 258). The close textual proximity between MS 3552 and the previous two manuscripts, especially MS 5491, has made the author of this study add it to Class C MSS.

Manuscripts in Class C exhibit affinity with their counterparts in classes A and B. For instance, MS 258 shares 13 anecdotes with Class B MSS, and preserves the same order of the first seven anecdotes, while it shares the 13 anecdotes of Class A without preserving the same order. In

this way, MS 258 acts as a combiner of all the five manuscripts, with a total number of 15 anecdotes. Three new anecdotes (15, 16, and 18) have been added by MS 258 to the corpus, making the total number of anecdotes 18 in this manuscript. On the other hand, MS Arabe 3552, shares 13 anecdotes with Class B MSS, and preserves the same order of the first eight anecdotes, while it shares 12 anecdotes with Class A manuscripts without preserving the same order. The total number of recurrent anecdotes from previous manuscripts, including Landberg MS 258, is 14 in MS Arabe 3552. Anecdote number 13 is a new anecdote, introduced by MS Arabe 3552, bringing the total number of anecdotes in this manuscript to 15. MS. 5491, which is closer in terms of language and narration to Arabe 3552 than MS 258, shares 13 anecdotes with Class B MSS and preserves the same order of the first 12 anecdotes, while it shares 13 anecdotes with Class A MSS without preserving the same order. Anecdote number 16 in MS 5491 has been found as number 15 in MS 258. Eventually, the scribe of MS 5491 introduces a new anecdote to the corpus, which is anecdote number 17.

There is a significant difference between the lithographic version of Al-Ṭabʿa al-Khuṣūṣiya or Class D MS and all manuscripts of Al-Suyūṭī in almost every aspect, including the title, the introduction, the language of narration, the length of narration, and the number, and order of anecdotes. However, the lithographic version of Al-Ṭabʿa al-Khuṣūṣiya shares some anecdotes with all the previous manuscripts. For instance, it shares 11 anecdotes with Class A MSS, 13 anecdotes with Class B MSS, 14 anecdotes with MS 258, 13 anecdotes with MS 3552, and 13 anecdotes with MS 5491. The lithographic version of Al-Ṭabʿa al-Khuṣūṣiya has added 6 fresh anecdotes to Al-Suyūṭī's corpus. These new anecdotes are somehow related to Ibn Mammātī's manuscript.

This study argues that MS 59 Majāmīʿ Raṣīd or Class 2 MS, can not be attributed directly to Ibn Mammātī. It is a mere selection of anecdotes, written by an anonymous scribe, as it can be inferred from both the introduction and the conclusion. However, the author of this study argues that it is the closest version to the original manuscript, written by Ibn Mammātī, in the corpus of this study. There are crucial differences between this manuscript and all the manuscripts of Al-Suyūṭī in almost every aspect like, for instance, the name of the author, the introduction, the paragraph headers, and the number and order of anecdotes. The style of writing in Ibn Mammātī's introduction is personal,

high, poetic, and eloquent, whereas Al-Suyūṭī's introduction is objective, cold, normal, and scholastic. Table 5. shows that Class 1 MSS are completely different from Class 2 ones as the percentage of similarities ranges between 0.01 and 1.78 and differences between 98.22 and 99.99. However, there are some crucial similarities between the two classes. For instance, there is an echo or a trace of Ibn Mammātī's style in the introduction of Al-Suyūṭī's lithographic version, which appears for the first time in this pamphlet. The writer borrows some lines from Ibn Mammātī's pamphlet like "he never followed a scholar, nor did he know the oppressed from the oppressor", "he destroyed the nation and brought them oppression", and "Nobody can ever disobey him because of his high position" (Al-Suyūṭī 1311 AH: 2-3; Ibn Mammātī 59 Majāmīʿ Raṣīd: 169 B). Moreover, Ibn Mammātī's pamphlet shares ten anecdotes with Al-Suyūṭī's manuscripts only in the theme and not in the language of narration, which is quite different, as shown in Table 5.

Variations in the social register show that almost all the classes of Egyptian society during the reign of both the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks are truly and faithfully represented in the corpus of this study. Figure 4 demonstrates the structure of Egyptian society during the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks. Seven out of eight categories from ʿĀshūr's (1992: 16) classification are represented in the corpus of this study. Table 6, in addition to figures 5 and 6, prove that the title *ʾAmīr* 'lord' or 'commander' is one of the most important titles in the corpus of this study as it is used 40 times. *Sulṭān* is another important title used 29 times in the manuscripts to refer to either Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn (21 times) or Qarāqūsh (8 times). Table 7, in addition to figures 7 and 8, show the words *fallāḥ* 'peasant' and *fallāḥin* 'peasants' are used 39 times in the corpus of this study. The words *ʾamīr* and *fallāḥīn* are mentioned almost 40 times. They, therefore, represent the two poles of the Egyptian society at that time, namely the Mamlūks or military oligarchy versus the mass of the Egyptians, or *Al-ḥākim* (Qarāqūsh) versus *Al-Maḥkūmīn* (the Egyptian people). I have also found that some patterns support my classification of the data in this corpus.

Variations in the linguistic register, on the other hand, prove that there are three levels of Middle Arabic in the corpus of this study: 'Classical Arabic with Middle Arabic admixture'; 'semi-classical Middle Arabic'; and 'classicized Middle Arabic'. I have found many examples of what Joshua Blau and others call "pseudocorrections". My approach, which is basically interdisciplinary, investigates the interaction between

the various registers in the manuscripts to reveal something about the textual history and transmission, literary aspects, and the cultural and ideological contexts of the authors, compilers, scribes, or even the characters in the anecdotes. The analysis of Middle Arabic in the corpus of this study reveals useful information about the manuscripts. For instance, traces of hypercorrection in MS 25 provide robust and substantial evidence that MS 416 is prior to MS 25 and this, in fact, is in accordance with the dates written on the manuscripts, which are 1077 AH for MS 416 and 1105 AH for MS 25. The traces of hypercorrection and hypocorrection in MS 13697-14, and the handwriting in *Maghrebi* script, unlike all other manuscripts written in *Khaṭ al-Naskh*, can be good evidence that MS 13697-14 is the latest version in Class B MSS.

I think Ibn Mammātī's use of Middle Arabic is intended to facilitate the oral transmission of the anecdotes among the illiterate Egyptian people at that time. The author of this paper (2020: 24) asserts that 'Ibn Mammātī spoke directly to the poor Egyptian people in their simple language, abandoning the sophisticated and elite language of hypocrite politicians and men of the court.' He adds,'

> …the writer was able to develop and build on an antique style of humorous writing in order to humiliate and poke fun at his opponent. Therefore, the book was written for the common Egyptian people as a sort of political propaganda against Qarāqūsh because of some kind of political rivalry between the two important and prestigious characters at that time. However, the text contains some timeless humorous elements that transcend the limitations of time and place and the target of humor is not only Qarāqūsh of the Ayyūbids but other ruthless Qarāqūshs as well. (Self-reference)

Finally, Ibn Mammātī's version of the anecdotes is richer in its employment of Middle Arabic, particularly the Egyptian vernacular, than any manuscripts of Al-Suyūṭī. That is to be expected from a politician who secretly and discreetly distributes pamphlets in the dark in order to incite the people to revolt against the ruling regime.

Conclusion

This study aims to examine variations in the Manuscripts of *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh*. It postulates that the narrative variations among the manuscripts could partially be attributed to the behavor of the scribes themselves. Throughout this study, the author has dealt with ten scribes in ten manuscripts. Some of them were identified as El-Sayed Maḥmūd, who copied MS 25 Majāmīʿ Qawalah on Wednesday, *Shahr Rabīʿ al-awwal* (March) 1105 AH. The other one wasʿAbdullāh bin ʿAli

bin Abi Al-Qāsim AL-Ḥussaini al-Ṭahṭawi, who copied MS 416 Majāmīʿ Khuṣuṣiya, on Tuesday the 13th of *Rabīʿ al-thānī (*April) 1077 AH. Close sociolinguistic, codicological, and computational analyses prove that MSS 416 Majāmīʿ Khuṣuṣiya, 25 Majāmīʿ Qawalah, 194 Majāmīʿ, 546 Majāmīʿ Ṭal'at, 13697-14, Landberg 258, and MS 5491 might have been related to the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th centuries AH, approximately between 1077 and 1149 AH (1666- 1736 AD).

The close textual proximity between MS 3552 and MSS 258 / 5491 has encouraged the author of this paper to add it to the Class C manuscripts. I have built this assumption upon the close textual proximity between MS 3552 and MS 5491, which occupy 53.29%, and between MS 3552 and MS 258, which occupy 33.97% (Table 3: p.21). I have noticed no textual clues within the manuscript itself that support the date "26 Janvier 1876" (1292 AH) that is written in French on the volume's front cover page of MS 3552. So, I think this manuscript is inclined more to the 12th century AH in both language and style than the 13th century (1292 AH), which I think is inaccurate. Since we have not been able to find Al-Suyūṭī's original manuscript, written at the end of Muḥarram 899 AH, I may argue that all the previous manuscripts might have been the result of a common ancestor. Finally, we have the lithographic version of *Al-Ṭabʿa al-Khuṣūṣiya*, which varies greatly from the previous manuscripts in almost everything like, for instance, the title, the introduction, the language of narration, the length of narration, and the number and order of anecdotes. However, the lithographic version shares some anecdotes with all the previous manuscripts and Ibn Mammātī's manuscript.

The scribes' characters are evident in their selection of anecdotes, their style of writing, and their footnotes, which are sometimes full of quotations and explanations, like El-Sayed Maḥmūd in MS 25 Majāmīʿ Qawalah and the scribe of MS 5491. Textual analysis proves that we have two types of scribes in the previous manuscripts. Some are professional scribes like El-Sayed Maḥmūd or even scholars like the scribe of MS 5491. For instance, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, who is mentioned by the scribe of MS 5491, earned his keep as a copyist, much like the philosopher Yaḥyā Ibn ʿAdī before him. Scholars and students alike were used to transcribe texts for monetary gain. Some of them had to copy manuscripts for study purposes. Besides solving the problem of obtaining the texts they needed, copies might also have become channels through which knowledge could be transmitted as shown by occasional reading or audition certificates appended to manuscripts like Marʿashi Zādah in MS. 5491 (Pedersen 1984: 32-33). The second type is the 'amateurs' who are sometimes illiterate, as we can see in the majority of the manuscripts. During

medieval times, the *warrāq* played a part similar to that of a modern publisher (Pedersen 1984: 43). However, it was not always easy to tell whether the term *warrāq* referred to copyists or booksellers during that time (Deroche 2005: 187-88).

Comparing and contrasting the ten manuscripts, the largest corpus has ever done on these manuscripts, investigating their variations, tracing their origins, and finding out patterns that might emerge during the process of comparing and contrasting, has been very useful in reaching some results. I have found a relationship between the increased number of words and anecdotes in the texts of the manuscripts and the progression of time. I claim this can be attributed to the development of this unique folkloric humorous narrative and the correlation between the oral and the written in the texture of these manuscripts. As Marzolph (1999: 165) asserts:

> Probably one of the most important steps in the development of folk narrative research in the twentieth century was the growing awareness of a continuous correlation between oral and written tradition. Oral tradition at the same time both draws from written sources as well as inspires further written production. Seen from the opposite perspective, written tradition exploits the oral while it also serves as a mine of material for reproduction in the oral. Written tradition appears to be the more durable partner of the reciprocally dependent twins, while oral tradition is the more spontaneous one.

The first stage in the oral and written transmissions of the text appears in Ibn Mammātī's systematically and methodologically arranged plan to tarnish the reputation of a famous historical figure. The second stage, on the other hand, has been inaugurated by the famous scholar al-Suyūṭī', who re-examined the text in an objective attempt to search for the truth from a historical perspective. Finally, in the third stage, the text has gained momentum to be used as a way of entertainment in the form of a folkloric document, such as Bahlūl, Juhā, Abū Nuwās, and Ash'ab. For instance, during the Mamlūk period, people used to gather to narrate anecdotes of Juhā, Qarāqūsh and his judgments, Dhāt al-Hima, ʿAntara, Sira al-Ẓāhir or Abi Zeid, and other folkloric anecdotes of heroes, and they never got tired of their repetition (ʿĀshūr 1992: 120-121). Al-Suyūṭī's manuscript was copied, recopied, adapted, and readapted by many scribes during his age and the ages that followed, and many stories were added to Al-Suyūṭī's version. Therefore, new stories were generated

and adapted to suit the mood of the new generations and the environment of the new places and regions. The scribes certainly played a crucial role in the process of generating and adapting this kind of humorous narrative and preparing it for the people.

Finally, I think Ibn Mammātī's manuscript is probably the oldest available version of anecdotes. It was not written by Ibn Mammātī himself, but by a scribe who claimed to know something about him and his anecdotes in the introduction to his manuscript. He was copying from another manuscript with the same title, or maybe more than one manuscript. But it is clear that the anecdotes are circulated to some extent, and they are codified in written forms in pamphlets and scrolls, and they have been transformed from the written form to the oral form and vice versa. The anecdotes shared between Ibn Mammātī's version and Al-Suyūṭī's versions might be another proof that Al-Suyūṭī's versions of the anecdotes have been directly or indirectly influenced by Ibn Mammātī's version or versions, as this paper assumes. For I believe that there are other versions of Ibn Mammātī's anecdotes under the title of *Kitāb al-Fāshūsh fī Aḥkām Qarāqūsh,* and they may have been lost due to their movement and circulation in the dark, rather than in the light, as Al-Suyūṭī's versions. Finally, I think that Al-Suyūṭī's high position as a great scholar[106] has guaranteed a great deal of popularity and circularity for his pamphlets among the copiers, the scribes, and others in those businesses during that time.

[106] Al-Suyūṭī's fame as a scholar and teacher reached such countries as Syria, Rūm, the Ḥijāz, the Yemen, India and North and West Africa (Sartain 1975: 48).

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Appendix 1
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

MS	Manuscript
MSS	Manuscripts
Recto	Right or front side
Verso	Left or back side
Folio	Leaf of paper
Codex	Ancient manuscript books, with handwritten contents
Scroll	A roll of papyrus, parchment, or paper containing writing
No.	number
P.B.U.H	Peace be upon him
H	high
L	low

Appendix 2
Transliteration System for the Arabic Words used in the Paper

Consonants

ء	ʾ
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
ح	ḥ
خ	kh
د	D
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓ
ع	ʿ
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
ه	h
و	w
ي	y
ى	ā
ة	a

Vowels

Long ا or اى	ā
Long و	ū
Long ي	ī
Doubled ـِ ي kasrah	iyy (final form ī)
Doubled ـُ و ḍammah	uww (final form ū)

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Diphthongs وَ	au *or* aw
Diphthongs يَ	ai *or* ay
Short ـَ	a
Short ـُ	u
Short ـِ	i

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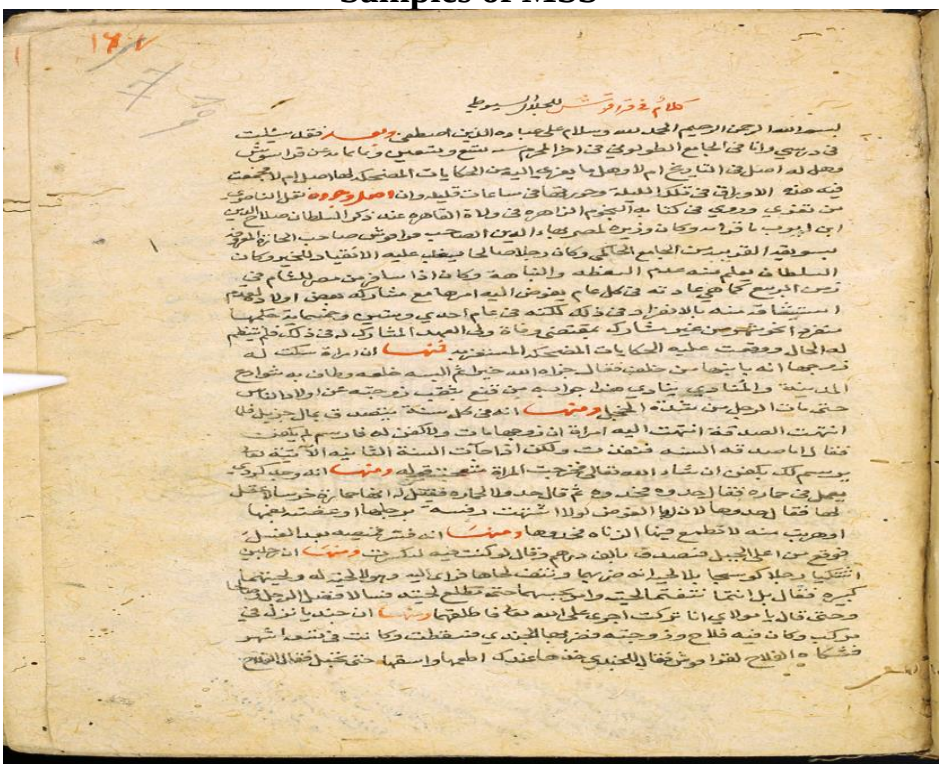
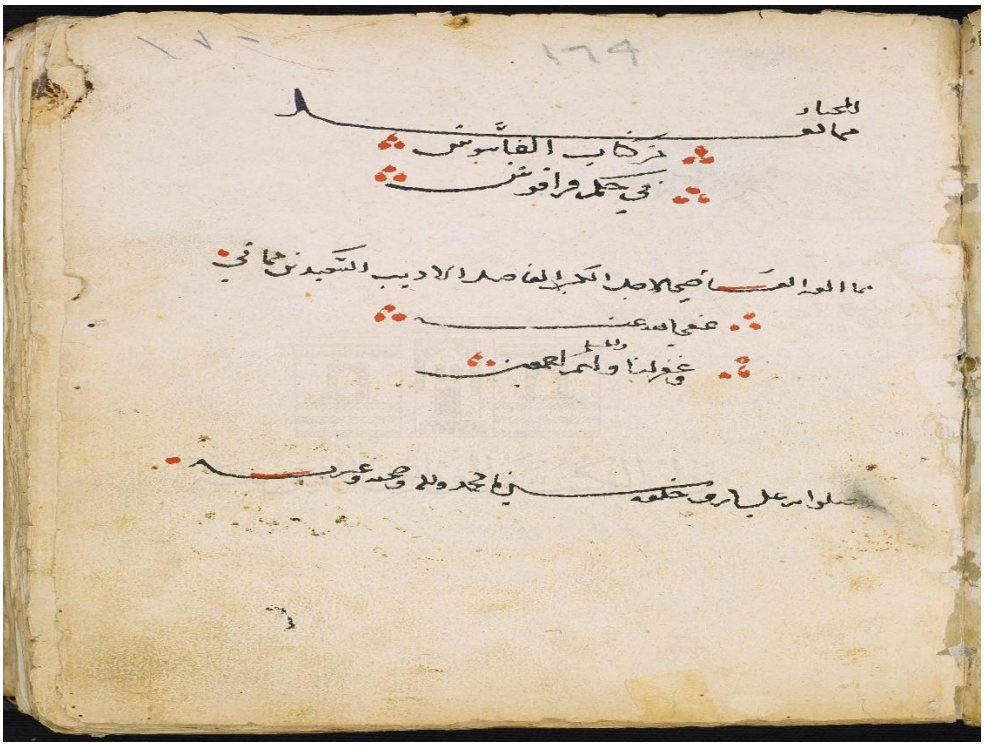
Appendix 3
Samples of MSS



25 Majāmīʿ Qawalah



59 Majāmīʿ Raṣīd

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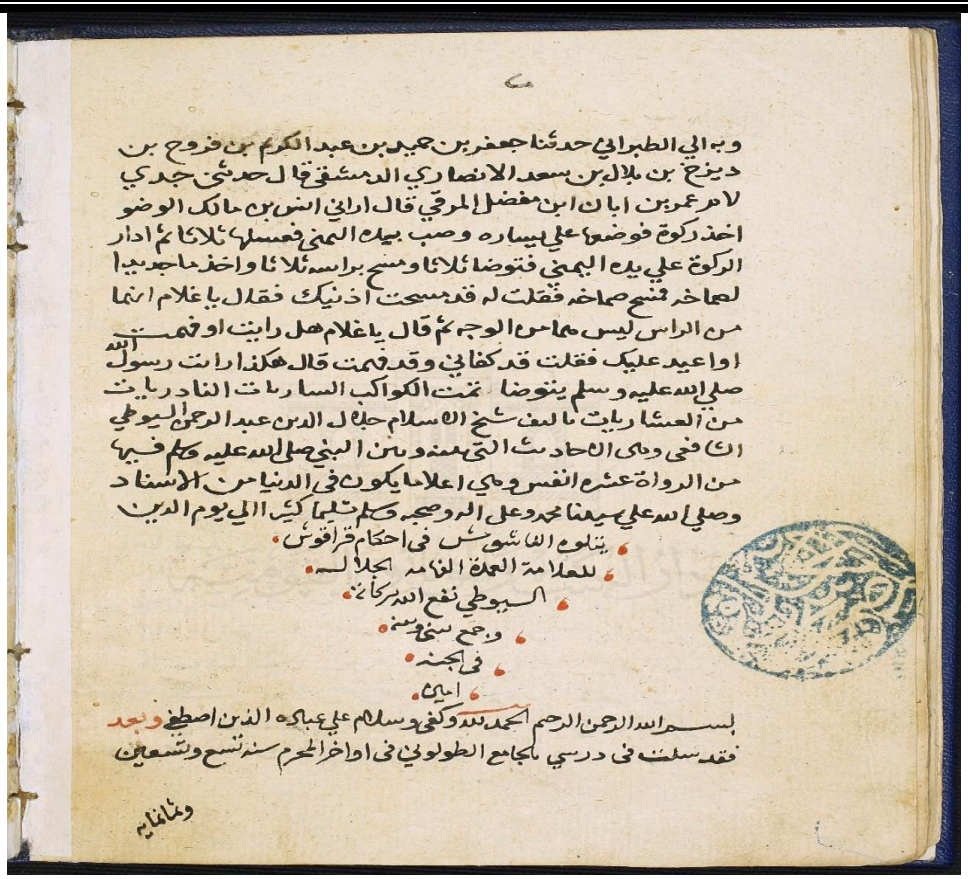

194 Majāmīʿ

416 Majāmīʿ Khuṣuṣiya

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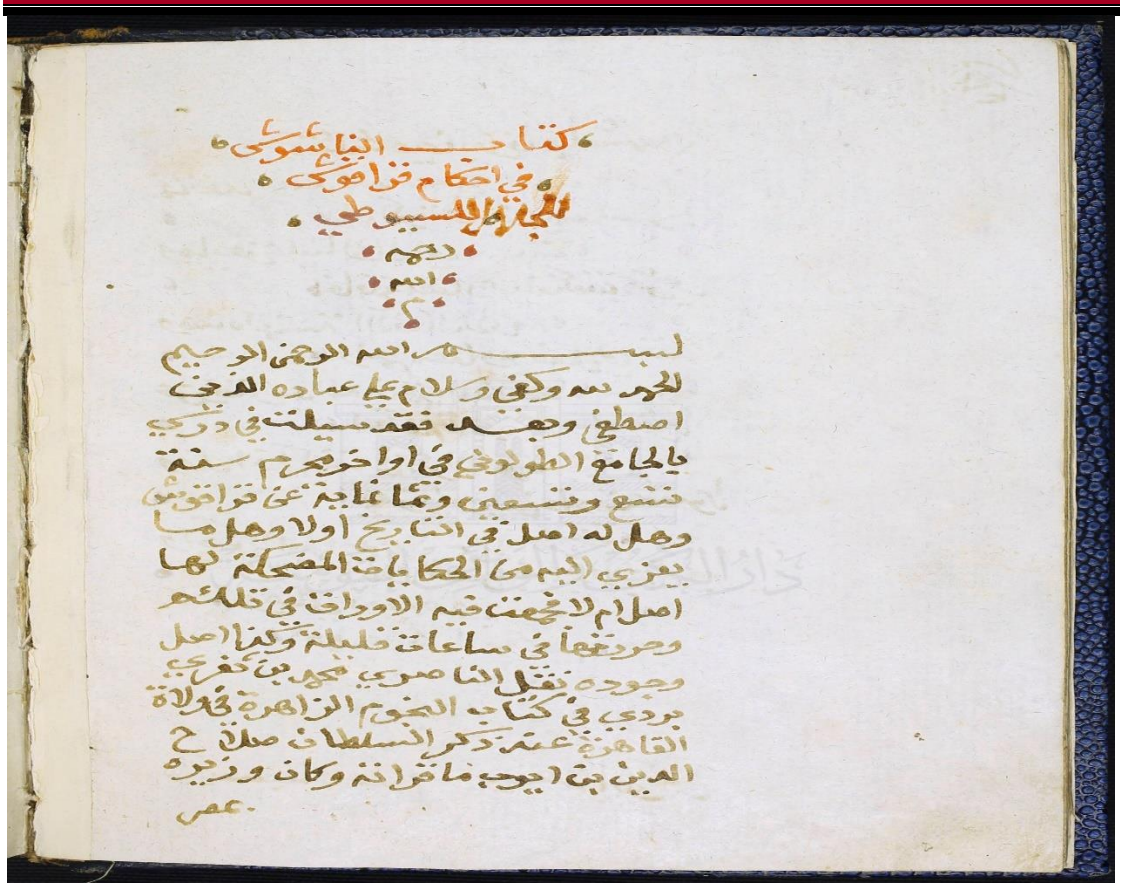
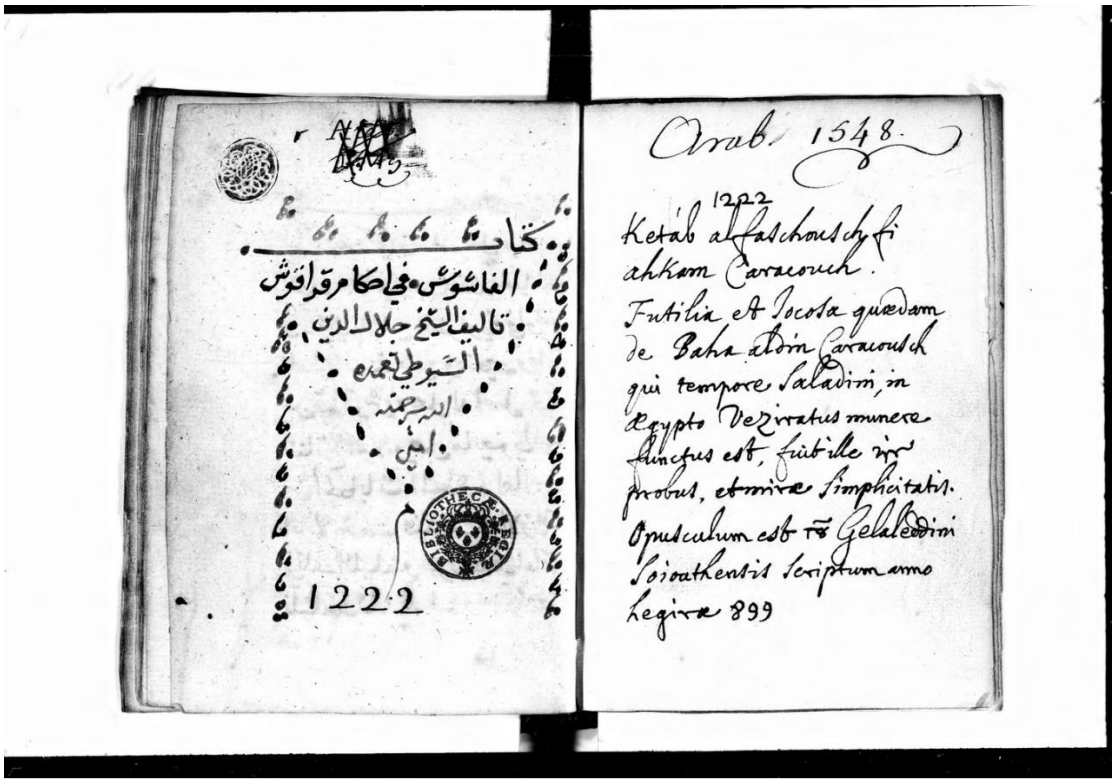


546 Majāmīʿ Ṭal'at



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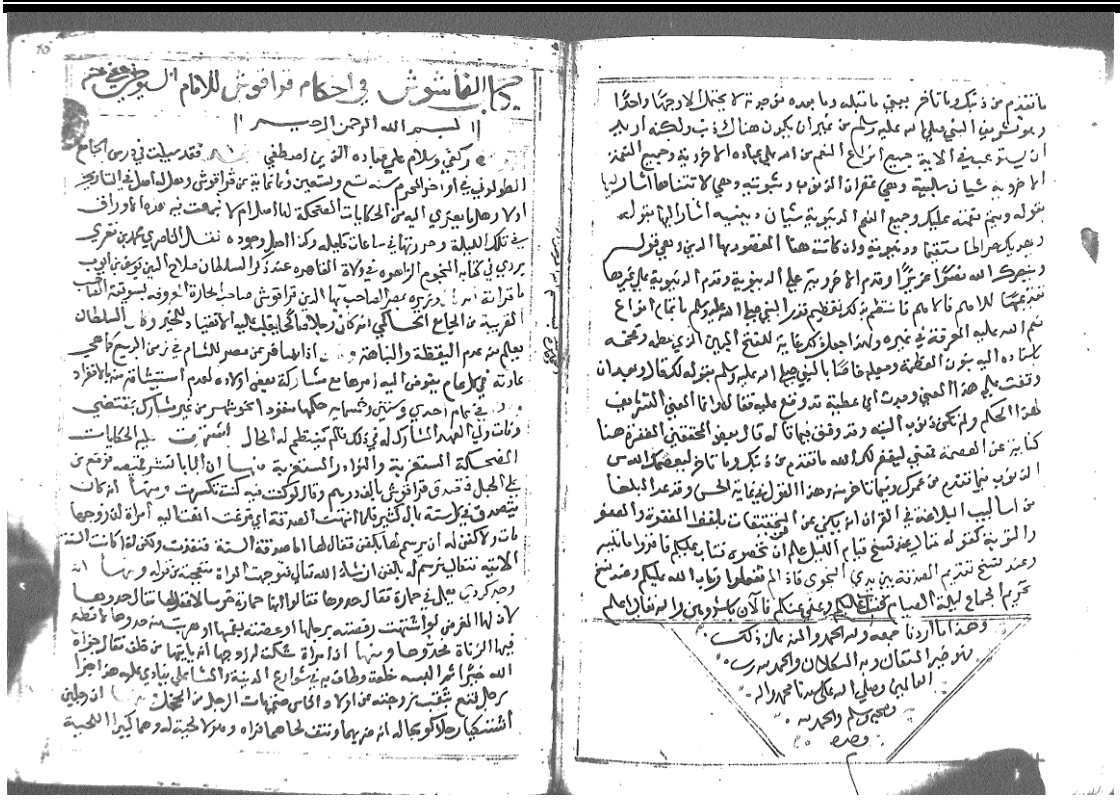

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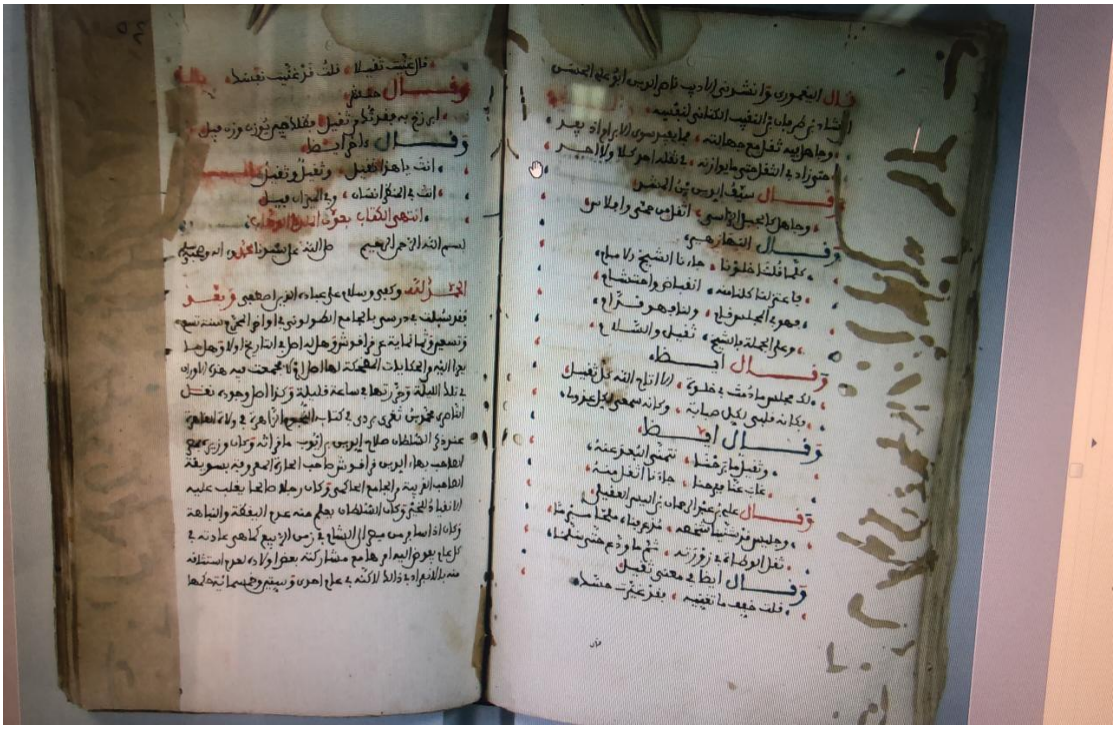

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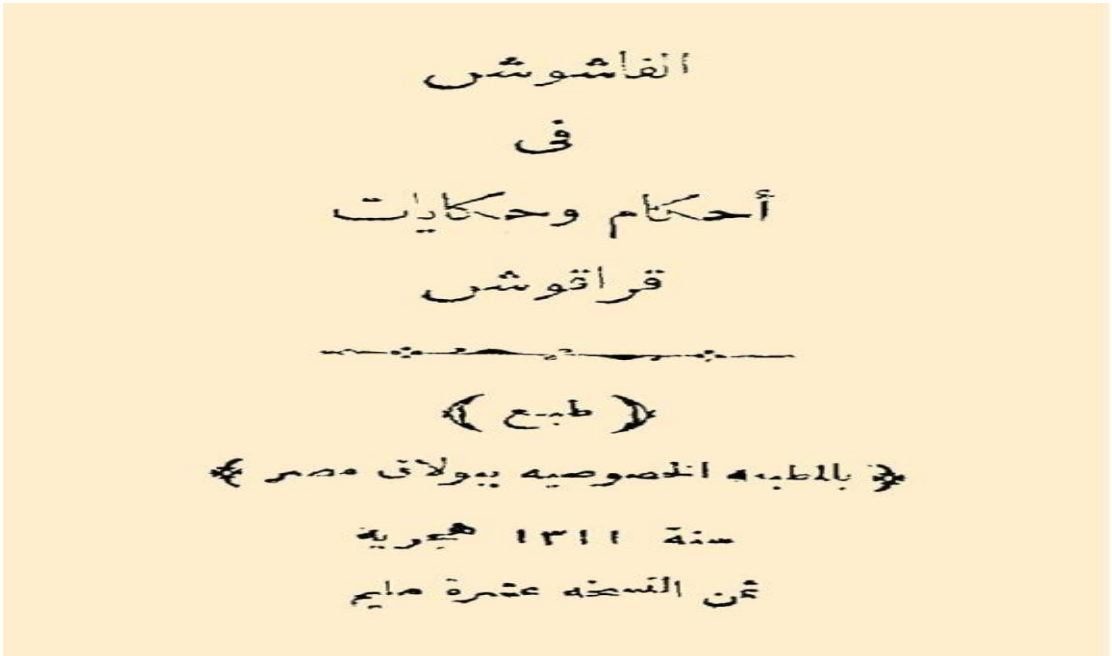
Landberg MS. 258


انفاشوشى
فى
أحكام وحكايات
قراقوش
﴿ طبع ﴾
﴿ بالطبعه الخصوصيه ببولاق مصر ﴾
سنة ١٣١١ هجرية
ثمن النسخه عشرة مليم

al-Ṭabʿa al-Khuṣūṣiya