The place of Kamāl al-Dīn's work in the tradition of diaristic and historical writings in Arabic and the region

The center of chronical and biographical writing shifted from Egypt to Syria in the Ottoman period. Aleppo, however, has produced much less of these writings than Damascus and some of the most important among them have not come down to us. This is especially deplorable for our purpose with regard to two highly important historical works contemporaneous to Kamāl al-Dīn that were composed by scholars from the same local elite family: ʿUmar al-ʿUrḍī (950/1543-1024/1615) and Abū l-Wafāʾ al-ʿUrḍī (993/1585-1071/1660). They produced, respectively, an unedited chronicle seen in some fragments (*awrāq*) that treats only the years 981/1573 to 986/1578[53] by Ṭabbākh at the beginning of the 20th century, and the extant fragment of the biographical dictionary *Maʾādin al-dhahab*, which covers no more than the names Abū Bakr to Khalīl. Based on the available sources, the major historians of Aleppo's history from the early 20th century, al-Ghazzī and al-Ṭabbākh, were not even able to establish an accurate line of governors for the later 10th / 16th century, being completely unaware of the tenure of ʿAlī b. Alwand Bik[54] as described by Kamāl

(53) See Ṭabbākh: *Iʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, vol. III, 174.

(54) Ghazzī: *Nahr al-dhahab*, vol. III, 264 is vaguely aware of the governor ʿAlī b. Alwand but places him ten years earlier in 987 based on an inscription found at the northern =

> *dukhkhal* bird does. Of their singing, one can know the metre, but not understand its meaning, unless you are from among them. Praise to the great Creator.(52)

Kamāl al-Dīn's friends and business associates were Arab, Kurdish, Armenian, Turkish, and Iranian, and he recorded his observations about Turkmen and *ghurabā' /* Gypsies. Thus, the notebook is in itself a rich illustration of the actual ethnic and linguistic diversity of Kamāl al-Dīn's living area.

(52) Gotha MS orient. A114, fol. 42v. For more on this passage and the language of the *ghurabā'*/Gypsies, see Richardson: "Tracing a Gypsy Mixed Language," esp. 147-148.

Quarter. In 933/1526, officials recorded 91 Muslim households. A decade later in 943/1536, the number climbed to 96. In 957/1550 and 978/1570, the number of Muslim households held steady at 105. In 992/1584, there were a total of 114 Muslim households.(49) It is difficult to reconcile this data with Sauvaget's report that in the year 978/1570, Ottoman censuses show a total of 69 households in the Brokers' Quarter, and by 1094/1683, the number had climbed to 167.(50) Further clarification of the census may be necessary, but we may still confidently assert sustained, if modest, growth of this quarter in the 16th and 17th centuries. This was likely spurred by the *dallāl*s, or small-scale merchants, who lived and operated there. The phenomenon of merchants driving urban expansion has also been documented in 16th-century Cairo, Venice and Antwerp.(51) This developing space was Kamāl's home, and his notebook forms a unique testimony of a non-elite existence. Living in proximity to so many different kinds of people probably enabled him to distinguish between the seven languages in which a street musician was singing, even if he could not comprehend the sense of the lyrics.

> I saw an easterner (*mashriqiyyan*) singing in seven languages with his tambourine in his hand. First, he sang in Arabic, then in Turkish, then in Farsi, then in Kurdish, then in Gorani, then in the language of the 'Gypsies,' then in Hindi (*bi-lisān al-ghurabāʾ thumma bi-l-hindī*). One year, I have seen Indians (*hunūd*) with a dancing boy. They were playing a long-necked stringed instrument (*ṭanbūr*), a tambourine, a vertical flute (*māṣūl*), and two copper bowls that were in the hand of the boy. They wander from one musical act to another, just as the

(49) Şener / Dutoğlu: *397 Numaralı Haleb Livâsı Mufassal Tahrîr Defteri*, 13.

(50) Sauvaget: *Alep*, 230, fn. 861.

(51) Hanna: *Making Big Money*, 122-127.

According to the 20th-century historian Kāmil al-Ghazzī, Maḥallat al-Dallālīn was bounded to the south by al-Farrā'īn al-Taḥtānī (The Lower Furriers), to the east by Qārliq, to the north by wilderness (*barriyya*), and to the west by al-Mashāṭiyya (The Comb-Makers).(47) This identification of the deserted northern boundary is corroborated by an obituary in the notebook:

> Muḥammad b. ʿAffān died on Tuesday, 3 Jumādā II 997 [18 April 1589]. The deceased was rather aged. He had a shop in our quarter at al-Dallālīn in Aleppo. … His shop was desolate to the north and had a view of the wilderness. (fol. 14v)

This area had struggled to develop since the invading Mongol armies lay siege to the city in 658/1260. Heghnar Watenpaugh captures the desolation of the northeastern settlements thus:

> In the late 16th century, it was one of the least prestigious areas of the city. It was covered in ruins—dilapidated, unused structures. Its inhabitants during the first two Ottoman centuries were primarily Muslim immigrants from the countryside, some squatters, mainly of Turkic and Kurdish origins—as opposed to the Arab origins of most of the elite city dwellers. Unlike the manicured orchards to the Northwest of the city, where one went out for picnics, this northeastern part of Aleppo was surrounded by decayed cemeteries that housed the forgotten dead. … Here, one feared thieves or wild dogs. Thus this part of the city was peripheral both physically and socially. This area was sparsely urbanized until the early 17th century.(48)

The 924/1518 census contains no population data for the Brokers'

(47) Ghazzī: *Nahr al-dhahab*, vol. II, 326-328.

(48) Watenpaugh: "The City's Edge," 135.

walls, but at one end of a critical trade route that connected Aleppo with eastern and northern principalities.(42) (The other main artery into the city was in the southwest.) The more privileged communities lived within the city walls, but in the 16th century Aleppo witnessed considerable expansion beyond them. André Raymond argued that shortly before 1574, the city's tanneries had been moved from a location in the intramural northwest quadrant to a location west of the wall.(43) Economic activities in the northeast spurred residential development there, creating a second market scene to rival or supplement the market at the Grand Mosque.(44) The mechanisms of growth seem to have paralleled developments in 16th-century Cairo, where merchants built homes in al-Azbakiyya. Commerce, and its attendant wealth, transformed early Ottoman Arab social and physical landscapes. Nelly Hanna, in her complex biography of a Cairene merchant who lived at the turn of the 16th century, links intensified commercial activities to the physical expansion of the city. The centrality of the mercantile class to urban sustenance is belied by their near-total absence in chronicles.(45)

In Kamāl al-Dīn's time, his was a transitioning neighborhood that, like other eastern suburbs, attracted migrating tribespeople, like Kurds, Tatars, Bedouin, Turkmen, and Romani and Domari (Gypsies).(46)

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(42) Contra Jean Sauvaget, who understood *dallālīn* to mean 'guides.' Also, the quarter's proximity to the camel markets led him to imagine the quarter as predominantly inhabited by 'caravan guides.' However, the word for 'guide' is *dalīl*, pl. *adillā'*. A *dallāl* (pl. *dallālūn*) is a broker. See Sauvaget: *Alep*, 230, fn. 859; Marcus: *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 318. On *dallāl*s in 17th-century Aleppo, see Masters: *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance*, 129-131.

(43) Raymond: "Le déplacement des tanneries," 35-36.

(44) Gangler: *Ein traditionelles Wohnviertel*, 54.

(45) Hanna: *Making Big Money in 1600*, 121, 133-137.

(46) Masters: *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance*, 42.

find reflections on and graphic depictions of language patterns (8v) and the art of poetry, specifically on the *zajal* (fol. 5r), and a reference to his reading of Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī's work on the rhetorical figure of paronomasia, *Jinān al-jinās* (fol. 2v).

With all his visible efforts to master the rules of grammar and poetry, Kamāl's own language is not easy to evaluate. Much of the prose sections are syntactically simple, to say the least. It seems beyond a doubt, however, that the learned weaver was capable of playing several registers. Thus, he sometimes uses rhymed prose, most notably when describing episodes that he attached some importance to such as the *majlis* with the Baylūnīs (fol. 12v). Then again, when the personnel of his story might be less learned he would color his narrative with a hint of colloquial language (اعطيطكها, fol. 7r), certainly a conscious stylistic device rather than a mistake.

Local Topographies

Putting the author on the physical map of his city may give us yet another glimpse into his life. Kamāl al-Dīn provides us with the name of his quarter and several places he visits in Aleppo.(41) In the 18 months covered in the notebook, the author never mentions leaving the city. Kamāl al-Dīn lived in a northeastern suburb of Aleppo called Maḥallat al-Dallālīn (14v, 16v), or the Brokers' Quarter, a predominantly Muslim area that lay on the very edge of the city, far beyond the city

(41) Aleppine sites that Kamāl al-Dīn visited besides his home quarter al-Dallālīn are: al-Dabbāgha al-'atīqa (3r); Citadel (3v), Bānqūsā mosque (15v), Takiyya Bābā Bayram (24v), Āq Yūl (24v, 62v), Sūq al-Dhirāʿ. < Sūq al-Ṭawīl < Sūq al-Saramiyīn (32r), Jāmiʿ al-Ḥayyāt (54r), al-Jāmiʿ al-Kabīr (33v), Jāmiʿ al-ḥājj Sālim al-Ballāṭ (50r), Sūq al-khashab (52v), Maḥallat al-Jubayl (56r).
Aleppine sites that Kamāl al-Dīn mentioned are: al-Takiyya al-'Ādiliyya (23r), Ḥamza Bāk quarter (25v), al-Jallūm quarter south of the central market (44r), Sūq al-Sakākīniyya (48v), Dār al-Sa'āda (19r), Khān Khā'ir Bāk (19v).

to read up on the topic was nonetheless keen and a list of books he asks God to obtain consists exclusively of works on Sufism (54v). But among his readings were also more straightforwardly religious and pious works. Such were the collections of traditions of the Prophet, the *Daqā'iq al-akhbār wa-ḥadā'iq al-i'tibār* (52r) which is most likely the work by Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Quḍāʿī (d. 454 / 1062),[40] an historian under the Fatimids, and Abū Aḥmad ʿAbdallāh Ibn ʿAdī al-Jurjānī's *al-Kāmil fī ḍu'afā' al-rijāl* (fol. 40r). A work he probably cites at least twice (the second time, fol. 23r, without naming his source) was Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb al-Baṣrī al-Māwardī's *Adab al-dunyā wa-l-dīn*, which Kamāl al-Dīn erroneously calls *Ādāb al-dunyā wa-l-dīn* (6r).

Kamāl al-Dīn's love for language shines through on nearly every page. There is an abundance of poetry by several authors and found in several collections. Besides his own verse, Kamāl al-Dīn quotes extensively from classics such as ʿUmāra al-Yamanī (fol. 4v) or Ibn Nubāta (8r), without always acknowledging or maybe precisely knowing his sources. These citations, anonymous or not, might not always indicate the reading of a *dīwān* or other collection. It is entirely possible that our author could have cited some lines of poetry from memory, after hearing them in a *majlis*, or seeing them isolated and anonymous on the flyleaves of a book, without having read the original source. Among the authors of poems we also find contemporaries of far-reaching fame such as Māmayya al-Rūmī as well as local acquaintances of Kamāl al-Dīn. Among the latter was one Aḥmad al-Rammāl whom we have been unable to identify. He left one *mawāliyyā* poem in his own handwriting (43v) and Kamāl later also seems to answer one of his verses (45r). Beyond the poems, we

(40) Ziriklī: *A'lām*, vol. VI, 146.

penned, the years 997 and 998, Kamāl al-Dīn had ended his studies to work exclusively as an artisan, but he would later return to them.

Notes on his readings permeate the text as Kamāl al-Dīn uses his notebook to store interesting excerpts and he provides their sources. Among those identified excerpts we find a good number of well-known historians. In this, Kamāl al-Dīn's notebook is not unlike the slightly later fragment *Nuzhat al-khāṭir* of the Damascene judge and historian Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā Ibn Ayyūb al-Anṣārī (d. after 1002/1594) who filled this daily chronicle of the years 999/1591 – 1002/1594, besides many other digressions, with completely unrelated long excerpts from his readings of Ibn Khallikān's biographies *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* or al-Ṣafadī's *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*.(38) The Aleppine weaver's excerpts attest to his readings of such fundamental historical texts as al-Maqrīzī's *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār* (fols. 21r, 22r), Ibn al-Jawzī's *al-Muntaẓam* (*fī tārīkh al-mulūk wa-l-umam*, fol. 21r), Ibn al-ʿAdīm's history (*Zubdat al-ḥalab min tārīkh Ḥalab*, fol. 26v), the *Tārīkh* of Ibn Kathīr (*al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, fol. 29v), and books on the Egyptian pyramids (46r).(39) Interestingly, if not surprising, Kamāl al-Dīn also cites *Sīrat al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh*, the popular epic about the infamous Fatimid caliph of the 11th century, as an historical source (46r).

We have already remarked on the important role Sufis play among Kamāl al-Dīn's acquaintances. The same does not seem to be true when looking at the literature he cites where the sole Sufi treatise mentioned pales next to the abundance of chronicles. But his desire

(38) A long register of cited books is appended to the edition Ibn Ayyūb al-Anṣārī: *Nuzhat al-khāṭir*, 303-310. But as Ibn Ayyūb does not always cite the title of the work he takes from this list is far from complete.

(39) See on this literature Haarmann: *Das Pyramidenbuch*, 42-94; Franke: "Orte verborgenen Wissens".

wa-ʾiddat ʿulūm) within the biography of his teacher. This man, Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Yaḥmūlī (d. 6 Rabīʿ II 998/1590), was a student of the weaver-scholar ʿInāyat Allāh and worked in Aleppo's Jubayl quarter, located inside the northeast corner of the walled city, where he also served as imam and was later to be buried (31v, 55v).(35) Although according to this biography al-Yaḥmūlī was a very productive scholar and published in a wide variety of sciences, this note is the only reference to his existence yet found besides an undated poem under the colophon of an unidentified law manuscript.(36) The omission of his contemporaries as well as his position as imam in an obscure part of Aleppo without any prestigious institutions of learning and worship make it clear that Kamāl al-Dīn studied with a rather minor figure in the intellectual world of 16th-century Aleppo. Still, he professes that this man was his most influential teacher ("*wa-ntifāʾī minhu akthar min ghayrihī*"). A later marginal addition specifies that at this point he had also been the last one: "Curiously, after having studied with him I was not afforded the time to read a course with anyone else, be it out of courtesy for him or out of fear to offend him. But after his death this poor one managed to do so [i.e. read with other teachers]."(37) Therefore, at the time most of our text was

(35) This neighborhood and its graveyard are mentioned on fol. 56r-v; see also Ghazzī: *Lutf al-samar*, vol. I, 292.

(36) Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, majāmīʿ 769. The catalogue identifies him as the copyist of a legal treatise within this collective volume, but an examination of the handwriting makes us doubt this assessment. The text of the treatise is written in an extremely right-leaning hand with very pointy letters. Yaḥmūlī, on the other hand, subscribes his name to some verses appended to the main text which are written in a round *naskh*. He is more likely the writer and composer of these verses than the copyist of the whole volume which is also supported by the fact that he describes his work with the verb *ḥarrara*, an unusual choice for the copyist of a book but quite common for writing notes and composing poetry.

(37) Fol. 55v: العجب انني بعد قراتي عليه لم يتيسر وقت قراة درس على غيره تادبا معه او خوفا على خاطره فبعد موته تيسر الفقير.

manuscripts themselves. The Syrian cities were major sources for the great collections of Oriental manuscripts of early modern Europe. Of the great German collectors of the 19th century operating in Damascus, none brought home significant numbers of Turkish or Persian texts. Only Ulrich Jasper Seetzen, the original buyer of Kamāl al-Dīn's text who lived and bought books in Aleppo for two years, acquired them in large numbers. Even earlier, powerful patrons such as Mazarin and Colbert dispatched agents to the Levant to acquire manuscripts. It was in Aleppo that some, among them Pierre Diyāb, sent in 1669, and François Pétis de la Croix (1653-1713), found not only Arabic, but many Hebrew, Persian, and Turkish books. Examples are Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's *Nuṣretnāme* (BL Add. 22011), copied here contemporaneously to our text in 990/1582-83, or Aḥmedī's lavishly illustrated *Iskendernāme* (BNF ms turc 309), purchased in the city for Colbert's library in 1673.(33) Perhaps significantly, Kamāl al-Dīn lived in a part of the town that was especially populated by new migrant groups, not in the city center where the old elite families resided but in the northeastern quarters outside the city walls, many of which bear Turkish names themselves.(34) Could he have been of Turkish ancestry himself?

Kamāl al-Dīn reports on his formal studies in "rational sciences, jurisprudence, and a number of (other) subjects" (*maʿqūlāt wa-fiqh*

(33) Barrucand: "A propos des étapes de la décoration de l'*Iskender-Nāme* d'Ahmedé». Unfortunately, Blochet's catalogues of the BNF's Turkish manuscripts do not register the provenance of these texts and thus no systematic survey is available. For a general overview of Aleppo as origin and production site of books in many different languages, see Rogers: "Safavids versus Ottomans," 127. While Aleppo appears, thus, as a place of cosmopolitan multilingualism, the Damascene scholar Amīn al-Muḥibbī decries that in 17th-century Damascus no copyist could be found to produce Persian or Turkish works, see Muḥibbī: *Khulāṣat al-athar*, vol. I, 197.

(34) See Masters: "Aleppo's Janissaries," on the settlement patterns and names of these suburbs, 161.

(fol. 57v), or the description of the plights suffered by horse and mule owners due to requisitions made by the army during the Safavid wars (fol. 25v-26r) are individual expressions of Kamāl al-Dīn's general conviction, spelled out on fol. 50r, that "no reed suffices" to describe the *ẓulm* prevalent in Aleppo. But this *ẓulm* appears to be the product of corrupted individuals and morals, something the authorities work to overcome, and not the outcome of any misguided policies.

Where exactly Kamāl al-Dīn would be situated on the imagined line between commoner and elite is never quite clear. It seems that with all his academic and poetic aspirations he could not devote his time to learning. And the wish-list of books found on fol. 54v, consisting mostly of well-known tracts by popular Sufi scholars, might indicate that he was not able to afford them all at a time rather than that they would have been unavailable on the market. But Kamāl al-Dīn, at this point, was very likely still a young man and the cloth business could have afforded more affluence later in his life.

Another way to approach Kamāl al-Dīn is through references to his education and readings. One immediately striking observation in this domain is his knowledge of Turkish, not a common feature among Arab scholars of the time. And this knowledge was neither only passive nor restricted to the necessities of the marketplace, where some experience with foreign languages can be a prerequisite to success, especially with a product as widely traded as cloth. Kamāl al-Din, rather, cites Ottoman Turkish official documents (13v, 54r), is interested in refined Ottoman expressions (6v), translates a Turkish note (*'ibāra turkiyya*; fol. 34v), and even composes verses in Turkish (51v, 54r). Aleppo, unlike Damascus, seems to have been more profoundly influenced by the Turkish and Persian literature and arts that defined Ottoman culture of the imperial center. This is not the least visible in the surviving

text on account of her advanced age of 103 years (47v). The scarcity of women in the literature of this time was certainly not a coincidence. Indeed, some of the sayings Kamāl al-Dīn chose to incorporate into his notebook convey a clear sense of misogyny, a general distrust of women's character and capabilities: those who sit with women are characterized with ignorance and lust (fol. 11v), the reader is admonished to "never trust a female ever, even when she says 'I came down from heaven'" (31r), and God's secret name should never be told to women, children, and the feeble-minded (fol. 40r).

The people surrounding the social persona Kamāl al-Dīn also reflect the interests of the author Kamāl al-Dīn. Besides his acute and diverse observations of the daily affairs around him, two topics loom large among what this weaver deems worthy to be put to paper: Sufism and poetry.

These acquaintances could also have helped to shape the outlook of the text in terms of social and political stands. While the root *ẓ-l-m* does appear seven times throughout the text, we do not hear all too many complaints about tyranny and corruption. And implicated are usually the officials on the local level, not any political decisions on the imperial level. Generally, Kamāl al-Dīn has a very positive relation with the powerful and claims friends and acquaintances among the military and learned elite. This level of satisfaction stands in stark contrast to the constant complaints we read about two centuries later with the Damascene chronicler Ibn Budair. That does not mean, of course, that Kamāl al-Dīn was blind to the sufferings inflicted on the common people just as he was attentive to their biographies, anecdotes, and sayings in his text. The haunting depiction of a man punished by being chained in the freezing cold who tried to save his limbs by burying them in dirt but ultimately had one of his legs eaten by dogs

Timur's conquest of the city in October 1400/803), and he even takes Kamāl al-Dīn to show him a Hebrew inscription still visible on the structure (fol. 54v). In light of our sparse knowledge about Aleppo's Jewish communities during the late Mamluk and early Ottoman period, this little glimpse becomes important information.(31)

What is remarkable about our author when compared to the Muslim Arabic literature of this period is Kamāl al-Dīn's willingness to talk about these relationships and even devote much room to express his affection for and praise of these men. Still, his conviction of Islam's moral, social, and political superiority as the divinely ordained rule is not in doubt. The Jews of Anatolia allegedly having the right to ride horses is clearly an abomination in Kamāl al-Dīn's eyes and serves to show their moral corruption as they trade this right for the shameful obligation to let their women walk unveiled (fol. 26r). And the highest praise of the Christian merchant Safar's character and lifestyle is that nothing but uttering the *shahāda* separated him from being a Muslim (fol. 18v).

In the spirit of other contemporary chronicles and biographical collections, named women are most rarely found in this book. There appear to be only two exceptions. The first was the wife of Khusraw, commander of the citadel, whom Kamāl calls Khunjī-lī Khātūn (fol. 3v).(32) The second, Āmina bint Abī Bakr, was the mother of one of Kamāl al-Dīn's acquaintances, the Dervish Ramaḍān al-ʿAzāzī al-Ḥalabī (33r). Besides her piety, she probably earned her place in this

(31) A recently published conference proceedings features several essays on the Jews of Ottoman Aleppo. *Erets u-melo'ah: meḥḳarim be-toldot ḳehilat Aram Tsovah (Ḥaleb) ṿe-ṭarbuṭah*, 2 vols., eds. Yom Tov Assis, Miriam Frenkel, and Yaron Harel, Jerusalem 2009 and 2013.

(32) This could mean that her name was Khātūn from the Khunjī-family, yet *khātūn* could also simply be her address as "lady" or "wife".

or affiliation, Safar's family would seem to have been extremely influential in the city, as can be glimpsed from the description of the visits they receive after a wedding party, showing a long line of people of all descriptions (Christians, Muslims, Jews, and Franks) queuing to give their regards and receive presents with our author among them. Even the governor himself used the opportunity to ask the family for money and favors. Another work-related Christian acquaintance might be the *mu'allim* Ibrāhīm al-Shāmī, who, according to this report, introduced to Aleppo a new technique of stamping satin without the help of an apprentice (fol. 33r). While he is not called a Christian, the technique according to this note was invented by Damascene monks and Ibrāhīm worked in Aleppo "with the Christians" (ʿinda al-naṣārā).(30)

A man only identified as Niqūlā al-naṣrānī (30v) relates the story of a contemporary patriarch and his powers to curse an unruly community, noteworthy without any objection from Kamāl al-Dīn. The story would even imply that Niqūlā himself had quite an influential position within his own Christian community as the people turn to him to plead with the patriarch. As the story is situated in Khartpert, a city in the core Armenian settlement region, he and the patriarch of his story, too, were likely Armenian.

Interactions with Jews, on the other hand, are restricted to one, albeit most remarkable, historical exchange with an unnamed Jew about the history of the Mosque of the Snakes (*Jāmi' al-Ḥayyāt*), which is located in the Farāfira quarter north of the Citadel. This Jewish acquaintance had learned from "their works of history" that the mosque used to be a synagogue before Timur Lenk (that is before

= et de grandes affaires ; il tient en ferme les douanes et les coins de monnaies d'Alep, et il est fort estimé des officiers du Turc."

(30) On textiles produced in Aleppo for Armenian Christian consumers, see *Armenia: Art, Religion, and Trade in the Middle Ages*, 230-1.

In this world an otherwise unknown Zayn is recognized as the foremost poet of Aleppo (*qayyim udabā' Ḥalab*, fol. 41r). Boundaries between these worlds existed, but they were not impenetrable: Kamāl al-Dīn, apparently, lived in both of them.

Normative boundaries existed especially between the Muslim population and the city's many Christians and Jews, but these boundaries were selective and did not preclude a multitude of contacts on many levels. The marketplace and his profession in the cloth business in particular provided Kamāl al-Dīn with many possibilities to forge these contacts across sectarian lines. Armenian Christian merchants, at this time most probably from Julfa on the Ottoman-Safavid border, which was soon to be transferred to New Julfa next to Iṣfahān, played a highly important role in the textile trade and it is, thus, not remarkable to find them possibly among our author's acquaintances. Kamāl al-Dīn attended the lavish wedding of Nūrī, son of a Christian merchant named Khwāja Safar al-Masīḥī (fol. 18v), writes a lavish praise poem for his brother Niʿma (fol. 17r-18r), and more verses for the father (fol. 19r). The name Safar being typically used by Armenians and his profession as a merchant suggests that he was an Armenian Christian from Iran. Yet the name was also used by the Jacobites, another monophysite Christian sect in the region, and Léonard Abel (d. 1605), a Malta-born bishop of Sidon on his way through the region in 986/1578, mentions one Jacobite Safar in his report on Aleppo. This man's description as a rich and powerful man with ties to the Muslim elite of the city would fit perfectly well the man we encounter in Kamāl al-Dīn's text.(29) Whatever their origin

(29) Abel's report is found in Salmon: *Alep dans la littérature de voyage européenne*, vol. II, 741: „Ce Safar est des premiers de la nation jacobite et encore des autres nations chrétiennes d'Alep, diacre et vicaire de son patriarche ; homme de cinquante-cinq ans =

posts, and the boundaries are sometimes vague. Such was the case with Kamāl al-Dīn's *ustādh* (master) ʿInāyat Allāh who was both the inventor of a new type of cloth and the scholarly teacher of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Yaḥmūlī (fol. 55v), and the same might have been true for Ḥusayn al-Fattāl (died in Rabīʾ II 997/1589) (fol. 3r, 5v), whose name suggests that he was a twister of fibers, most likely raw silk.(28) The anecdotes Kamāl al-Dīn relates are sometimes taken directly from the marketplace, as the tall-tales of extremely old age – the narrator's father is a healthy 157 year old – he hears from an Egyptian merchant residing in Aleppo (fol. 28r). They might even come directly from his own business experience, such as when he talks about a stingy merchant who sends a slave to Kamāl al-Dīn's shop to redeem some good coins he accidentally gave (fol. 11r). Additionally, it is from a porter in the wood market (*sūq al-khashab*) that the author hears the adventurous and probably embellished story of this man's former glory in India (fol. 52v). One of the longest, most detailed and interesting obituaries in this text is devoted to one otherwise unknown grocer Muḥammad b. ʿAffān known locally as al-Qāḍī. A resident of Kamāl al-Dīn's own neighborhood, he died in Jumādā II 997 / 1589 at the age of 80 (fol. 14v-15r). These friends of Kamāl al-Dīn would rarely have been recognized in the writings of the men who dominated the other circles he inhabited, those of power and higher learning. But this world was characterized by its own forms of knowledge, transmitted and praised by a different audience. In this world, Muḥammad b. ʿAffān, the modest shopkeeper, was not only more trusted in weighing and calculations than the market inspector (*muḥtasib*) but also a learned authority on calendar conversions, who was constantly surrounded by people who asked him to perform calculations for them (fol. 14v-15r).

(28) See for al-Fattāl ʿUrḍī: *Maʿādin al-dhahab*, 54.

topics discussed, or the things he saw there, such as an impressive Qur'ān copy in the style of Imam ʿAlī, the prophet's cousin and son in law (fol. 60v). Both Baylūnī brothers, who were probably roughly the same age as Kamāl al-Dīn, he calls "our spiritual brother" (fol. 12v: *akhī fī Allāh*; fol. 59v: *al-akh fī Allāh*) while Fatḥ Allāh in turn calls Kamāl al-Dīn in his *ijāza* "*al-akh al-kamālī*" (fol. 60r). The shaykh Aḥmad al-Ḥamawī whom Kamāl al-Dīn meets in al-Dabbāgha quarter, located in the western section of the inner city, in Rabīʿ II 997/1589, is most likely another prominent Sufi, namely Aḥmad al-Ḥamawī al-ʿAlwānī (d. 1017 / 1608-09 in Aleppo).(27) As he had to traverse the whole city to get from his own northeastern quarter to this place, the shaykh must have had some attraction for Kamāl al-Dīn. While Aḥmad al-Ḥamawī seems like an ordinary name, this theoretical identification is corroborated by the fact that Kamāl al-Dīn meets this Aleppine scholar of Ḥamawī origin in the Dabbāgha quarter. According to al-ʿUrḍī, Aḥmad al-Ḥamawī, after initially working in Kamāl al-Dīn's own profession as a weaver, started teaching grammar in the Masjid Shamʿūn in Suwayqat Ḥātim, and this mosque is found directly next to the Mosque of the Old Tannery (Jāmiʿ al-Dabbāgha al-ʿatīqa). Sufism, of course, was a common practice in Ottoman Aleppo, and Kamāl al-Dīn likely did not stand out in his family. It would even seem that a brother of the author (*al-shaqīq akhūnā*), Muḥammad, actually took the Sufi path and was set to go to Baghdad but settled in Edirne instead (fol. 35r).

Fellow artisans must have constituted much of Kamāl al-Dīn's daily contacts. As with the weaver Aḥmad al-Ḥamawī who would make a scholarly career, the ranks of artisans were permeated by learned people who either voluntarily or by failure did not take up scholarly

(27) Fol. 3r; ʿUrḍī: *Maʿādin al-dhahab*, 47, 124-131.

appears as a customer, tells stories, and composes a chronogram. A long biography is reserved for Aḥmad Bak b. Yazīdī Ḥusayn al-Ḥalabī (fol. 23v-24r), a courageous and learned, presumably Kurdish, emir who loved to produce breathtaking wax models. We find two couplets Kamāl al-Dīn wrote for Ḥasan, the head of the Damascene Janissaries, a group claiming much influence in Aleppo at the time (fol. 22r), as well as a praise poem for Pervane the Janissary and his son Hāshim (35v). And Kamāl al-Dīn hears the news of the Ottomans' second conquest of Tabrīz from the mouth of Qāsim Bāshā, the Aleppine Janissary from the citadel (fol. 49v).(23)

Most prominent next to the military are the learned and religious authorities of the city. Their worlds, of course, often intertwine and Kamāl al-Dīn could meet a *daftardār* or Janissary commander in the salon (*majlis*) of a scholar. The circles of learned Sufis play an important role in the social life of Kamāl al-Dīn. He was particularly attached to the Baylūnī family, namely Maḥmūd (d. 1006/1598)(24) and his two sons Aḥmad (d. at age 60 in 1022/1613-14)(25) and Muḥammad Fatḥ Allāh (977/1569-1042/1632).(26) He visits their salons and sessions on several occasions and reports on the people he met, the

(23) This note is of some significance since the existence of a Janissary garrison in Aleppo is securely confirmed in scholarship only for the beginning of the 17th century; cf. Masters: "Aleppo's Janissaries," 160-161. Another reference to Ḫudāwardī, the head of the Aleppine Janissaries, by Ghazzī: *Lutf al-samar*, vol. II, 438 (سردار طائفة الينكجرية بحلب) might be misleading, as the Aleppine historian al-ʿUrḍī: *Maʿādin al-dhahab*, 231 identifies him as head of the Damascene Janissaries (سردارالينكجرية الدمشقية) but operating in Aleppo.

(24) Badr al-Dīn Abū l-Thanā' Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī al-Shāfiʿī was born in 933/1526 in Aleppo and died along the pilgrimage route. Sellheim: "Die Gelehrtenfamilie Ibn al-Bailūnī," 570-574.

(25) ʿUrdī: *Maʿādin al-dhahab*, 153-155; Sellheim: *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte,* 193.

(26) Schwarz: "Ich erzähle nichts als die Wahrheit!"

preserved part of his notebook and in his eighties at the time of the latest additions, it is rather more likely that he was younger.

Although this is not an autobiographical text, bits and pieces of a character and behavior description might slip into the author's narrative. Among those is his suspiciously broad interest in drugs, an interest that ranges from the amusing and indeed rather cautioning anecdote (fol. 7r, 22v, 33r, 58r), to warnings (35r), to recipes (32v) that would seem to indicate a real interest in consumption. Other such passages that help understand the person Kamāl al-Dīn reveal his Sufi leanings, his interest in language and poetry, his love for gatherings and festivities, or his distrust of women.

In the absence of other biographical information, a lot can be gleaned about a person from the people he or she has contact with, in other words their social networks. The most intimate part of this network, the family, does barely appear on the pages. We do not know whether the author was married or had children at this point. The father appears in one anecdote, barely escaping a falling ceiling in the family residence (fol. 15r). But it is not clear whether he still lives with Kamāl al-Dīn at the time of writing or whether this was a childhood memory. One brother (*al-shaqīq akhūnā*), called Muḥammad, is attested but was not living in Aleppo, settling instead in Edirne while originally on his way to Baghdad (fol. 35r).

Beyond the family, Kamāl al-Dīn's friends and acquaintances come from all walks of life and represent the different spaces he inhabits in his professional and intellectual dealings. Among them we find a good number of men from the military and administrative personnel of the city. Those could even be of the highest rank, such as the commander (*dizdār*) of the citadel of Aleppo, Khusraw Aghā (fol. 3v, 5v), who

Maʿādin al-dhahab, a fragment itself and not covering the letters *kāf* or *mīm* (Muḥammad is the *ism* most frequently associated with Kamāl al-Dīn), this dearth of information is not completely surprising. For now, the notebook remains the only source for the life of its author.(21)

While the text in its present shape covers only the years 997/1588 and 998/1589, some marginal additions widen the chronological scope considerably. They are testimony to the fact that this work was very likely a lot more voluminous and its author's life a lot longer. Thus, a report on coffee on fol. 38r is supplemented by an encircled marginal note stating that a tax on coffee beans was renewed in Jumādā I 1008/1599.(22) Another note on fol. 18v apprises us of the fate of the protagonist of an anecdote, who died 15 years later in Ramaḍān 1013/1605. By far the longest marginal extension of the narrative's timeline can be found on fol. 11v with a report on newly issued coins that were to abolish a set of counterfeit coins then in circulation, penned in the year 1041/1631-2. It was probably meant to continue a note on money forgery found on the previous page and thus makes it entirely plausible that Kamāl al-Dīn worked on his notebook until no less than four decades after his last dated entry in the main text of our fragment. This makes it very unlikely that an overly large part of the text is missing at the beginning, and while it is entirely possible that Kamāl al-Dīn was already a man in his forties when writing the

(21) The one possible exception is ʿUrḍī: *Maʿādin al-dhahab*, 231. Here, ʿUrḍī cites one Muḥammad efendī al-Kamālī as a source for the biography of Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar al-Marʿashī (d. 1017/1630-31 at around 40 years of age). The latter was a *daftardār* of Aleppo, a group of people Kamāl al-Dīn repeatedly has contact with, was about the same age as Kamāl al-Dīn and a student of ʿUmar al-ʿUrḍī. Our Kamāl al-Dīn was called "*al-akh al-Kamālī*" by Fatḥ Allāh al-Baylūnī (fol. 60r).

(22) Cf. Masters: *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance,* 134, where he finds scant evidence that after 1591 Ottoman officials had made real efforts to expand the ban on coffee and coffeehouses from Damascus to Aleppo.

the remnants of its rich cultural heritage are to be studied to this day in many museums and libraries. One outstanding example that especially connects to the world of our notebook is the Aleppo Room in Berlin's Museum für Islamische Kunst. The interior walls of this reception room are of outstanding quality, bearing splendid decoration and inscriptions dated 1009/1600-1 and Jumādā I 1012/September-October 1603 and forming part of the home of a Christian broker (*simsār*) named ʿĪsā b. Buṭrus. A commercial broker such as ʿĪsā would have had clear social connections to a weaver. The home was originally situated in Bayt al-Wakīl in the Judayda quarter, which was predominantly Armenian Christian in this period. As the notebook testifies in many instances, Kamāl al-Dīn had many sociable contacts with and even frequented the homes of rich Christian merchants, many of whom would have been Armenian, so we can easily imagine him attending a *majlis* or reception or discussing business in a similar setting. And the room might give us even more visual insight into the world of our author as Atasoy links the decoration of the Aleppo Room to the ornament and designs of silk in Aleppo.(20)

Biographical sketch of the author

The author of this fragment calls himself Kamāl al-Dīn and several instances in his work point to the fact that he was a weaver. But beyond his bare name, frustratingly little is known with certainty about a man who chronicled life in the foremost economic center of early Ottoman Syria and had ties to some of the highest echelons of its intellectual, economic, and political elite, attending their salons, writing chronograms for them, or simply tailoring their clothes. With the major biographical reference work of the period, al-ʿUrḍī's

(20) Atasoy: "The Decorations of the Aleppo Room," 118.

notebook fills many of the gaps in our knowledge of the city in the late 16th century, if only for a short period.

These years saw crucial developments for the province of Aleppo and the Empire as a whole. The wars with the Safavids on the eastern imperial front were still raging and drained the resources of the state's treasury. Kamāl al-Dīn takes note of some military events like the sack of Tabrīz, but mostly it is the local effects which were felt and described in many instances by him, most notably when he gives a history of horse-breeding in Aleppo that came to an end with war requisitioning by the Ottoman troops, or in the efforts to reform the coinage and exchange rates that are noted on several occasions. On the other hand, when Kamāl al-Dīn describes the horrors of two unprecedented harsh winters in a row he might be one of the early witnesses of what some scholars regard as the "Little Ice Age" which, in a recent interpretation, challenged the Ottoman agriculture and economy in the 1590s.(19) Soon, the wars with the Safavids in the east were to make way for renewed conflicts with the Habsburgs in the west. These political, military, and economic challenges would soon lead to one of the most severe disruptions of the Ottoman order with the Celali revolts that started in 1596.

Yet with all the dark episodes that an historian has to notice on the horizon of Kamāl al-Dīn's world, Aleppo still appears as one of the most prosperous and cosmopolitan cities of the Ottoman realm, and

(19) On fol. 10v he composes a chronogram for the endless snows of 997/1588-89, reportedly also the harshest in three decades in Anatolia (Rūm). Then on fol. 57v he reports a harrowing anecdote of frozen wayfarers in Rabīʿ II 998 / February 1590. This pattern of extreme winters is extended further backwards with a note in MS Paris, BnF Arabe 1652, fol. 207v, where a "severe winter" (*al-thalj al-ʿaẓīm*) in Aleppo is dated with a chronogram to 993AH. Sam White dates the onset of the Little Ice Age in the Ottoman realm to the winter of 1591/92; cf. White: *The Climate of Rebellion*, 140.

contemporary in Kamāl al-Dīn's Aleppo, but quite possibly also one of his acquaintances if we are to identify him with the Shaykh Aḥmad al-Ḥamawī whom our author met on 7 Rabīʿ II 997/22 February 1589 (fol. 3r).(14) Another man mentioned in the text, the Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Fattāl, was connected to Abū Bakr,(15) and it is not impossible that Kamāl al-Dīn himself would have known the man who dies only six years before our fragment commences. This connection to the Sufi circle around the Aleppine mystic's grave, a grave that also hosted a library,(16) may have played its role for the notebook to be transmitted among its members. Ulrich Jasper Seetzen, too, had connections to a Sufi Shaykh to purchase manuscripts,(17) but does not speak of a member of the Wafā'ī order. Unfortunately, we have not recovered other traces of the text's history.

Aleppo at the turn of the 11th/17th century

This text fills a void in the historiography of early Ottoman Aleppo. One modern historian has even complained that in the absence of contemporary chronicles of Aleppo between the years 968/1560 and 998/1590, he had to resort to quoting from the 19th-century Ottoman almanac *Sālnāme-i Vilāyet-i Halep*, in spite of its errors.(18) Kamāl's

(14) Our strong arguments for this identification are listed below, p. 22.

(15) Abū l-Wafā' al-ʿUrḍī mentions the Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Fattāl as a one-time adviser to his father ʿUmar al-ʿUrḍī together with the antinomian Sufi Abū Bakr b. Abī l-Wafā', see ʿUrḍī: *Maʿādin al-dhahab*, 54. This same Shaykh may be the man for whom the Masjid Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Fattāl, located far north of Aleppo's walls, beyond Turāb al-Ghurabā', was named. The mosque's construction date is not known to us, but it is mentioned in 18th-century city archives and on a French military map dated 1941. Its current state is unknown. See Marcus: *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, 309; Knost: *Die Organisation des religiösen Raums in Aleppo*, 350.

(16) Ṭalas: *al-Āthār al-islāmiyya*, 160.

(17) Seetzen: *Tagebuch des Aufenthalts in Aleppo*, 332.

(18) Ghazzī: *Nahr al-dhahab,* vol. III, 264.

110 years between that last date and the year 1151/1738-39, when an Aleppine Sufi inscribed his ownership statement on what is now the first page of the book. This entry is written by one Ḥusayn al-Wafā', known from a number of other ownership entries[10] and to be identified with Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Wafā'ī al-Ḥanafī al-Ḥalabī (1112/1700-01 – 1156/1743).[11] Here and in other instances he identifies himself as "*khādim fuqarā' Takiyyat al-shaykh Abī Bakr al-Wafā'*", a humble formulation to express that he was the head of the Sufi lodge at the grave of one of Aleppo's most celebrated Sufis of the 10th/16th century, the erratic and antinomian Abū Bakr al-Wafā'ī (909/1503 – 991/1583).[12] Ḥusayn al-Wafā' had assumed leadership of the *takiyya* upon the death of his father in 1135/1722-23. This role connects him with the manuscript and its author in two ways and might thus help to explain how it ultimately ended up in his hands. Firstly, the grave of Abū Bakr al-Wafā'ī is located in what was then considered the wilderness due north of the Dallālīn neighborhood where Kamāl al-Dīn lived, meaning that the pages might never have left this area of the northern suburbs for more than a century. Furthermore, one of the important early biographies of Abū Bakr al-Wafā'ī was written by Aḥmad al-Ḥammāmī al-Ḥamawī al-ʿAlwānī (d. 1017/1608-09 in Aleppo),[13] himself not only a fellow weaver and

(10) Owner of Berlin Ms.or.oct. 1448; Berlin Wetzstein II 1768 (1150); Cambridge Qq 70 (undated); Gotha MS orient. A 114 (1151), 1841 (1150), 2701 (1150), 2803 (1151); Princeton Garrett 75H (1150), 424Y (1147); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. Mixt. 1553 (1150). Reader of Gotha orient. T 222. Muḥammad Alṭūnjī, the editor of ʾUrḍī: *Maʾādin al-dhahab*, cites on pp. 26-27 Ṭabbākh describing an unidentified manuscript of Abū l-Wafā' al-ʾUrḍī's *Fatḥ al-māniḥ al-badīʿ*: واطلعت عليها ... وعليها خط حسين الوفائي الحلبي المتوفى سنة 1156.

(11) Murādī: *Silk al-durar*, vol. II, 57-58; Ṭabbākh: *I'lām al-nubalā'*, vol. VI, 484-486.

(12) ʾUrḍī: *Maʾādin al-dhahab*, 43-54; Ṭabbākh: *I'lām al-nubalā'*, vol. VI, 110-129; Watenpaugh: "Deviant Dervishes".

(13) ʾUrḍī: *Maʾādin al-dhahab*, 47, 124-131.

[Ill. VI]; a certain Muḥammad al-Nāyirān transcribing another poem on fol. 46v; and the scholar Muḥammad Fatḥ Allāh al-Baylūnī writing an *ijāza* for the author on fol. 60r. [Ill. VII] In other instances, does the varying handwriting point to a different set of writers or simply differing sets of reeds, different writing circumstances, varying levels of concentration, the mastery of several levels of script, and in the case of much later additions a style developing with age? The text does not seem to make any allusion to different authors, never clarifying that anyone other than the Kamāl al-Dīn identifying himself several times throughout the volume was meant as the first-person narrator.

The fragment as it has reached us might be merely a small part of what once, if our following explanations prove correct, must have been a substantial collection. There are two clues suggesting the original volume of Kamāl al-Dīn's notes. First, we can be sure that at least four folios are missing at the beginning from a reference Kamāl al-Dīn makes to "the story found on the fourth leaf" (fol. 22r: *li-qiṣṣa dhukirat fī rābi' waraqa a'lāhu*). Since no such "*qiṣṣa*" is found in our text, these folios were once in a part of the collection now lost. The chronological lacuna of about four months in our fragment has already been mentioned and would, again, considerably inflate the volume of our text. Secondly, and more importantly, many later comments on and additions to the main text by what is in our estimation the same hand are dated considerably after the events covered by that main text. The latest such note is found on fol. 11v and dated 21 Rajab 1041/12 February 1632, thus 43 years after the fragment breaks off. We can imagine the volume of what is lost when considering that Kamāl al-Dīn filled more than 60 folia to cover the events and thoughts of little more than one year.

At least the beginning of the text must have been lost during the

aid in the recovery of leaves that once formed part of this notebook and on the other hand will serve as an addition to our knowledge of the paper used in Aleppo in the period. Due to the uniform way of folding the original leaves in order to produce a quire, the marks or rather fragments of them always ended up on the same place on a page. We have identified four distinct types of watermark fragments: two isosceles triangles (fol. 18), bull's head with eyes on the upper right side of the recto page (e.g. fol. 36), corresponding bull's horns on the lower right side of the recto page (e.g. fol. 20), and three lobes on the upper right side of a recto page (e.g. fol. 41). The head and horns both measure one centimeter across and can be digitally combined to show their likely original orientation, but it is difficult to determine whether all four watermarks are fragments of a single motif. The three lobes very likely represent a flower atop a stem protruding from the bull's head, considering that there are 15th- and 16th-century watermarks of bull's heads with floral finials on a stem [Ills. II-IV].(8) The triangles resemble two brims of a hat, such as have been identified in a Bavarian manuscript from 1510.(9)

The text consists of a series of unconnected notes. On most pages the text layout is not straightforward and regular. In some instances, the boldness, cursiveness, and size of the script differ from one note to another so remarkably that the question may arise whether there were different hands involved in writing the notebook. [Ill. VI] This is especially visible in the later additions, often marginally, which could mean that the text was annotated by a later possessor or the author's children. There were definitely other people inscribing themselves on the pages: namely one Aḥmad al-Rammāl with a poem on fol. 43v

(8) See a similar motif in Wiesmüller: "Die Wasserzeichen der Refaiya-Bibliothek," 459, pl. 6.

(9) Briquet: *Les Filigranes*, vol. I, 199, no. 2827 (classified as *bonnet*).

whose rightful place is at the end of the diary, after fol. 62v, because the date Shaʿbān 998 (July 1590) appears in the main text on fol. 2r while the main entries of folios 3r-62v are dated Rabīʿ I 997 to Rabīʿ II 998 (February 1589 to February-March 1590) testifying to a loss of about four months in between those two fragments. The second possible misplacement concerns the last folio 62. It is glued to the preceding quaternion and relates on its verso side a story from Dhū l-Qaʿda 997 while the preceding folio 61v contains a story related to Kamāl al-Dīn in Rabīʿ II 998. The reasons for this discrepancy are uncertain, however, and besides a misbinding it might be that the story had only reached Kamāl al-Dīn at a later date. In any event, the misplacement of today's first folios and the loss of what came before them must have happened long before the remaining leaves found their way to the Ducal library of Gotha after being purchased in Aleppo by the German traveler Ulrich Jasper Seetzen (1767-1811) in 1803. This is because fol. 1r received an ownership note, usually reserved to the first page of a manuscript, already in 1151/1738-9.

The text is written on watermarked European paper with some faint traces of yellowish coloring on some of the pages. [Ill. I-IV] Watermarks on European paper are useful for dating a manuscript, sometimes even ascertaining with some precision its area of production. Systematic collection and analysis of the watermarks in Islamic manuscripts, however, is still in its infancy at this stage, especially concerning the time and area we are treating here.(7) In the case of Gotha MS orient. A 114, the manuscript is securely dated, but because of its fragmentary state, documenting the watermarks may

(7) A systematic survey of a Syrian collection, namely the Rifāʿiyya purchased in Damascus, can be found in Wiesmüller: "Die Wasserzeichen der Refaiya-Bibliothek," specifically the watermarks in dated books of the 15th and 16th century are treated 457-463.