

CONTENTS

<i>List of Figures and Tables</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xi
<i>Abbreviations, Transliteration, and Dates</i>	xiii
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE. Encyclopedism in the Mamluk Empire	5
Definitions	7
Encyclopedias and Encyclopedism	11
Al-Nuwayrī among His Contemporaries	13
The Age of Encyclopedias and the Mongol Conquests	16
Scribal Culture and Practice	19
The Deserts of Adab	23
Conclusion	27
CHAPTER TWO. Structures of Knowledge	29
The Shape of the <i>Ultimate Ambition</i>	30
Cross-References and Thematic Modularity	33
Mapping the Contents of the <i>Ultimate Ambition</i>	35
The Classical Adab Encyclopedia	38
Cosmography and Historiography	42
The Genesis of Encyclopedic Forms	49
CHAPTER THREE. Sources of Knowledge	56
The Scholarly Milieu	57
The Sources of the <i>Ultimate Ambition</i>	65
Adab and Antiquarianism	70
Copia and Contradiction	73
Conclusion	81
CHAPTER FOUR. Encyclopedism and Empire	83
Scholars and Bureaucrats	83
Knowledge and the State	86
The Perfect Scribe	91
Al-Nuwayrī at the Bureau of the Privy Purse	95

CONTENTS

Between the Chancery and the Financial Administration	98
Conclusion	103
CHAPTER FIVE. Working Methods	105
A Master Copyist	106
The Art of Copying	108
The <i>Ultimate Ambition's</i> Autograph Manuscripts	112
<i>Composition Schedule</i>	114
<i>Calligraphic Scripts</i>	118
An Important Ḥadīth Manuscript in al-Nuwayrī's Hand?	118
Conclusion	121
CHAPTER SIX. The Reception of the <i>Ultimate Ambition</i>	123
The Islamic Reception	124
The European Reception	126
Epilogue	140
<i>Appendix A. The Contents of the Ultimate Ambition</i>	145
<i>Appendix B. A Guide to the Ultimate Ambition's Editions and Chapter Word Counts</i>	153
<i>Notes</i>	159
<i>Bibliography</i>	187
<i>Index</i>	209

INTRODUCTION

THIS IS A SMALL BOOK about a very large book, composed in the early fourteenth century by an Egyptian bureaucrat and scholar named Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī. After a high-flying career in the financial administration of the Mamluk Empire, al-Nuwayrī retired to a quiet life of study in Cairo, devoting his remaining years to a project of literary self-edification. This took the form of a compendium of universal knowledge entitled *The Ultimate Ambition in the Arts of Erudition* (*Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*). Containing over two million words in thirty-one volumes, the *Ultimate Ambition* was a work of enormous scope, arranged into five principal divisions: (i) the cosmos, comprising the earth, heavens, stars, planets, and meteorological phenomena; (ii) the human being, containing material on hundreds of subjects including physiology, genealogy, poetry, women, music, wine, amusements and pastimes, political rule, and chancery affairs; (iii) the animal world; (iv) the plant world; and (v) a universal history, beginning with Adam and Eve, and continuing all the way through the events of al-Nuwayrī’s life. Perusing the *Ultimate Ambition*’s pages, one comes across such varied topics as the substance of clouds; the innate dispositions of the inhabitants of different climes; poetry about every part of the human body; descriptions of scores of animals, birds, flowers, and trees; qualities and characteristics of good rulers and their advisors; administrative minutiae concerning promissory notes, joint partnerships, commercial enterprises, loans, gifts, donations, charity, transfers of property, and much more.

Why did al-Nuwayrī compose this work? What disciplines did it encompass and what models, sources, and working methods informed its composition? How was it received by al-Nuwayrī’s contemporaries as well as by later readers in the Islamic world and Europe? These are the principal questions of this book. Through a study of al-Nuwayrī’s work, I aim to shed light on a tradition of Arabic encyclopedism—of which the *Ultimate Ambition* was one of the most ambitious exemplars—that witnessed its fullest flowering in Egypt and Syria during the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries. The contents, methods of cross-referencing and synthesis, and internal architecture exhibited in this book reveal much about the sources of authoritative knowledge available to al-Nuwayrī and to other large-scale compilers at this time, while the reconstruction of his social and professional environment offers us a glimpse into the world of the Mamluk civilian elite, an educated

INTRODUCTION

class of religious scholars, government bureaucrats, and litterateurs who were the main producers and consumers of this literature.

By virtue of its multifaceted character, al-Nuwayrī's compendium has been exploited by readers in different ways in the course of its history. The manuscript record shows that it was copied for several centuries after al-Nuwayrī's death; other compilers quoted liberally from it and historians used it as a source for their own chronicles. In Europe, the *Ultimate Ambition* became known as early as the seventeenth century, when several manuscripts found their way to Leiden and Paris. The first complete edition of the text was begun in Egypt in 1923 by Aḥmad Zakī Pasha and completed in the 1960s, but its final volumes were only published in 1997. In more recent times, historians of the Mamluk Empire have drawn upon the *Ultimate Ambition* because of al-Nuwayrī's extensive treatment of the events of his own lifetime. With few exceptions, the work has been approached instrumentally, as a source for other scholarly projects rather than an object of inquiry in and of itself.

My interest in the *Ultimate Ambition* has been motivated from the outset by a curiosity about why this time and place in Islamic history witnessed an explosion of compilatory texts: dictionaries, manuals, onomastica, anthologies, and compendia of all shapes and sizes. In earlier decades, such texts were generally seen as tokens of intellectual stultification and a lack of originality—the baroque sputterings of a civilization content to collect and compile the writings of earlier centuries. In recent years, the growth of scholarship on late medieval Islamic history has led to a recognition of the important role played by compilers like al-Nuwayrī, whose works served as the primary custodians of the Islamic tradition in the early modern period and remain among the most important interpreters of that tradition for modern scholarship and Islamic thought.

Still, the motivations and working methods underlying this movement remain little understood, as are the ways that the Mamluk compilers positioned themselves vis-à-vis the archive they were assembling. I take up this subject in chapter 1 in the course of situating al-Nuwayrī and his text within the landscape of encyclopedic production around the turn of the fourteenth century. As a bureaucrat, scholar, and aspiring litterateur who traveled all around the empire and held various administrative offices, al-Nuwayrī's biography reflects many of the forces that shaped cultural attitudes towards large-scale compilation at this time. What it does not seem to reflect at all is a fear of civilizational catastrophe brought on by the Mongol conquests, which was long thought to be a principal cause for encyclopedic production in the Mamluk Empire. While the trope of the encyclopedia as a defender and guarantor of civilizational heritage is certainly widely attested in Renaissance

INTRODUCTION

and Enlightenment intellectual history, I propose that it did not motivate the Mamluk compilers to write their books.

Rather, encyclopedists such as al-Nuwayrī were moved by other factors entirely, chief among them the feeling of an overcrowding of authoritative knowledge in Cairo and Damascus, the great school cities of the empire. The explosion of investment in higher education and the changing migration patterns of scholars in West and Central Asia had a transformative impact on the sociology of scholarship at this time, making new texts available for study and prompting the formation of new genres and knowledge practices. In chapter 2, I present a bird's-eye view of al-Nuwayrī's work—its internal arrangement, structural divisions, and overall composition—comparing it to other Mamluk encyclopedic texts as well as earlier exemplars within the *adab* tradition. What emerges from this panoramic view of the work is a sense of how dramatically it brought together compositional elements from different genres—the classical literary anthology, the chronicle, the cosmographical compendium, and the scribal manual—and fashioned something altogether new by combining them. This generic hybridity was not unique to the *Ultimate Ambition*; I argue that the processes of summary, concatenation, and expansion on display in al-Nuwayrī's work can be seen as productive of a diverse range of encyclopedic forms in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries.

In chapter 3, I explore the influence of the scholarly milieu on encyclopedic compilation. The cities of the Mamluk Empire were flourishing centers of learning: in the mid-fourteenth century, there were nearly one hundred colleges in Damascus, while, a century later, Cairo could boast of seventy colleges operating on its famous Bayn al-Qaṣrayn street alone. As scholars have shown, these institutions of learning produced and consumed an astonishing range and quantity of books. Again, al-Nuwayrī is an ideal guide to this world, as he was a resident overseer of two important scholarly institutions, the Naṣiriyya Madrasa and the Maṣṣūrī Hospital. I address the eclectic range of subjects being taught in this environment at this time and the challenges that this eclecticism posed for reconciling diverse authorities in all-encompassing encyclopedic works. After a discussion of al-Nuwayrī's principal sources, I conclude by discussing the epistemological ecumenism of the *Ultimate Ambition*: the ways in which al-Nuwayrī managed diverse and often contradictory truth claims.

Having explored the world of scholarly institutions, I turn to the parallel world of imperial institutions, chanceries, and financial bureaus in chapter 4. Insofar as many Mamluk compilers served as clerks in the administrative nervous system of the empire, they were particularly attuned to the processes

INTRODUCTION

of centralization and consolidation that transformed the politics of their time. Extensive portions of *Ultimate Ambition* were written with such an audience in mind, and serve as a kind of testament to the connections between encyclopedism and the imperial state, as observed in other historical contexts by scholars such as Trevor Murphy, Jason König, Greg Woolf, and Timothy Whitmarsh. I consider the differences between scholarly and administrative knowledge, which reflect not merely a distinction in subject matter but a different epistemological valence and standard of corroboration.

In chapter 5, I address the strategies of collation, edition, and source management used to produce large compilations in the Mamluk period. What working methods did copyists use to assemble multivolume manuscripts? How did one distinguish one's own copies of authoritative texts from those of other copyists? What kind of training was necessary to become a successful copyist? Al-Nuwayrī's *Ultimate Ambition* offers us an ideal opportunity to consider these questions, as several autograph volumes of the text have been preserved, which allow us to reconstruct its composition history, shedding light on the mechanics of encyclopedic compilation in a world before print. Furthermore, al-Nuwayrī addresses the education and practice of the copyist in his enormous discussion of secretaryship, which lies at the heart of the *Ultimate Ambition* and in certain ways is its *raison d'être*.

My book concludes with a discussion of the Islamic and European reception of al-Nuwayrī's compendium. Which of his contemporaries read this work and cited it? What portions of it were of greatest interest to European orientalist? Focusing primarily on the Dutch reception, I explore the engagements with the *Ultimate Ambition* by such figures as Jacobus Golius, Johannes Heyman, Albert Schultens, and others, which set the stage for the modern edition and publication of the book by Aḥmad Zakī Pāshā in the twentieth century.

INDEX

Note: Page numbers followed by f, n, or t indicate figures, endnotes, and tables, respectively.

- Abbasid Empire, 9, 16–17, 22, 39, 73, 92
‘Abd al-Ḥamīd II, 119
Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Majīd b. Abī al-Faḍl b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd, 120
Abū al-Fidā, 124
Abū Ḥatīm, 80
adab compendia: classical examples of, 38–42; defined, 8; multithematic, 8–9, 38–39; al-Nuwayrī on, 23, 25–26; organization of, 39, 40–41t, 41; popularity of, 71, 163n52; size of, 30–31; social ideal associated with, 8, 71–73; as source for *The Ultimate Ambition*, 49, 70–71, 77
adībs (litterateurs), 8, 26, 27
al-‘Ādil Kitbugha, 58
‘Adnān, 35
al-Afram, Jamāl al-Dīn Aqqūsh, 84
Ahmed, Shahab, 82
d’Alembert, Jean le Rond, *Encyclopédie*, 10, 16–17, 91
Alsted, Johann Heinrich, 160n14
Alṭunqush, 84
Amitai, Reuven, 19
animals, 64, 68. *See also* hippopotamus
antiqarianism, 72–73, 91
Antrim, Zayde, 67, 89
Arabic language, 130–33, 135, 138
Arab Renaissance (*Nahḍa*), 10–11
Aristotle, 76, 90
al-Ashraf Sha‘bān, Sultan, 94
Ashtor, E., 125
al-‘Askarī, Abū Hilāl, *Register of Motifs*, 70
authentication, of autograph manuscripts, 112, 118
authorities, 79–80
al-‘Aynī, Badr al-Dīn, 124
al-‘Aynūsī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, 83
Ayyubid period, 19, 71
badī‘iyya (poetry), 52
Baghdad, 16–17
al-Baghdādī, ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn ‘Umar, *Treasury of Literature*, 125
Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, 10
Battle of Marj al-Ṣuffar, 18
Bauer, Thomas, 22, 26, 27, 52, 72, 163n52
Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *The Quintessence of Thought on Islamic History*, 70
Beauvais, Vincent de, *Speculum maius*, 7, 10
Berkey, Jonathan, 57, 81–82, 176n100
Bibliothèque nationale de France, 112
al-Bimāristān al-Manṣūrī, 3, 63–65, 82, 161n28
biographical dictionaries, 55
al-Birzālī, ‘Alam al-Dīn, *The Preferred*, 70
Blachère, Régis, 42
Blair, Ann, 79, 160n14, 164n65
Bodin, Jean, *Theatrum Universae Naturae*, 164n65
Borges, Jorge Luis, 30
al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 105, 106, 107, 119–20, 122, 124
bureaucracy, 3–4, 86–104. *See also* scribal culture
Bureau of the Privy Purse, 95–97, 99–100
al-Bustānī, Buṭrus, *Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif*, 10–11
Cairo, 3, 6, 13–14, 26, 56, 63, 65, 86
Carey, Sorcha, 87
cartography, 77, 175n86
Cassiodorus, 10
Chambers, Ephraim, *Cyclopaedia*, 10
chancery, 92–95, 98–103, 100, 179n52
chancery writing, 50–51
Chapoutot-Remadi, Mounira, 161n28
colleges, 3, 6. *See also* madrasas
commentary-anthologies, 51–52
compilatory texts. *See* encyclopedism

INDEX

- Cooperson, Michael, 17
copyists, 105–11
cosmography, 45–47, 46t
cross-references, 34–35, 42
Cuper, Gisbertus, 135
- Damascus, 3, 13, 17, 18, 26, 56, 72, 85
al-Damirī, Muḥammad ibn Mūsā, 131; *The Life of Animals*, 126
Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 112, 115
decadence, literary, 15, 140–41
al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn, 108
dictionaries, 54–55
Diderot, Denis, *Encyclopédie*, 10, 16–17, 91
Dozy, Reinhart, 135; *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 138
- editing, 110–11
educational institutions, 56–57. *See also* colleges; madrasas
El Shamsy, Ahmed, 142, 160n18, 184n7, 186n51, 186n54
encyclopædism: bureaucracy and, 88, 91–104; character of, 3, 10, 12–13; compilers’ processes in, 108; concept of, 7, 9–13; cultural preservation as motivation for, 2–3, 6, 15–19; educational and vocational backgrounds of compilers, 87–88; encyclopædias in relation to, 11–12, 28; genres employed in, 50–52, 54–55; Islamic tradition of, 1, 2, 5–6; motivations behind, 2–3, 7, 15–23, 27–28; organizational issues of, 29–30; scholarship on, 7–11; scribal culture and, 93
Ephrat, Daphna, 169n8
Erpenius, Thomas, 130
Escovitz, Joseph, 92
- al-Fārābī, *The Enumeration of the Sciences*, 8
al-Farghānī, *Elements of Astronomy and Celestial Movement*, 131
al-Fāṣī, Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, 124
financial administration, 98–103
al-Firūzābādī, Ya’qūb, *The Encircling Ocean*, 54–55
Flinterman, Willem, 89
- Foucault, Michel, 87
French orientalism, 138
- genres: in encyclopædism, 50–52, 54–55; fluidity of, 12
geographical writing, 50–51, 67–68, 91
Gesner, Conrad, 16
al-Gharnāṭī, Abū Ḥayyān, 72
al-Ghazālī, 80
Ghāzān, 17–18, 84
Ghersetti, Antonella, 27
Gibb, Hamilton, 141
Giddens, Anthony, 88
Goldziher, Ignaz, 141
Golius, Jacobus, 4, 130–32, 142
Guo, Li, 54, 162n33, 168n72, 173n62, 175n96
- Haarmann, Ulrich, 52
ḥadīth, 79–80, 118–21, 175n96
al-Ḥāfiẓ, Abī Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ghani b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. ‘Alī b. Surūr al-Maqdisī, 120
Haga, Cornelis, 131
al-Ḥajjār, Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭālib, 119–20
al-Ḥalabī, Jirjis, 43, 45
Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph Freiherr von, 7–9, 141
handwriting. *See* script
d’Herbelot, Barthélemy, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, 138
Heyman, Johannes, 4, 132–33, 135, 138; *Nowairiana*, 135, 136–37f; *Oratio inauguralis de commendando studio Linguarum Orientalium*, 134f
hippopotamus, 74–77, 90
Hirschler, Konrad, 82, 159n2, 174n74, 176n101, historiography and historical chronicles, 48–49, 52, 54, 77, 89–90, 95, 140–41
Houtsma, M., 131
Hülegü, 16, 163n48
humanism, 9–10, 16
al-Ḥuṣṣrī, Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī, *The Flower of Literary Arts and the Fruit of Hearts*, 40t, 41–42, 70
Huygens, Constantijn, 130
hypotaxis, 39, 41–42, 45, 50–51

INDEX

- Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *The Beauty of Literary Gatherings, the Intimacy of the Litterateur, and the Sharpening of the Idea and the Nation*, 40t
- Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, 87, 167n44
- Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 70; *Unique Necklace*, 25, 30, 32, 40t, 70
- Ibn Abī al-Ash‘ath, 45
- Ibn Abī al-Ḥawāfir, *Rarities of Beings*, 46, 46t
- Ibn Abī Ḥulayqa, 64
- Ibn ‘Adlān, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, 83–85
- Ibn al-‘Adīm, 67
- Ibn al-Akfānī, 87, 171n31
- Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī, *Rarity of Wonders and Novelty of Marvels*, 46, 46t
- Ibn al-Baṣṣāl, *Book of Agriculture*, 68
- Ibn al-Furāt, 124–25
- Ibn al-Mukarram, 65
- Ibn al-Muqaffā’, 24, 96–97; *Adab al-Kabīr*, 97
- Ibn al-Nadīm, 131
- Ibn al-Qammāt, Tāj al-Dīn Ishāq, 97
- Ibn al-Qaysarānī, Abū l-Faḍl, 80
- Ibn al-Sukkarī, ‘Imād al-Dīn, 73–74
- Ibn al-Zabīdī, Sirāj al-Dīn Abī ‘Abd Allāh al-Husayn, 120
- Ibn ‘Asākir, *History of Damascus*, 54
- Ibn Daqīq al-‘Īd, 13, 72, 85, 160n25
- Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn, 98
- Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, Badr al-Dīn, 163n59
- Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, Muḥyi al-Dīn, 26, 91, 98, 125, 163n59
- Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, Sharaf al-Dīn, 26, 163n59
- Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, Shihāb al-Dīn, 5, 22, 50–51, 80–81, 87, 98, 126, 142, 164n59; *The Explanation of Noble Protocols*, 81, 93; *The Routes of Insight into the Civilized Realms*, 50, 80, 90–91, 125, 142
- Ibn Fahd al-Ḥalabī, 87, 177n31; *The Proper Means to Arrive at the Craft of Letter Writing*, 26, 92
- Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī, 107
- Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, 71, 87
- Ibn Ḥamdūn, *The Aide-Mémoire*, 41t
- Ibn Ḥazm, 34
- Ibn Hījja al-Ḥamawī, 87; *Badī‘iyya*, 52, 53; *The Treasury of Literature and the Heart’s Desire*, 52
- Ibn Jamā’a, Badr al-Dīn, *Reminding the Listener and Speaker on the Etiquette of the Teacher and Seeker*, 121–22
- Ibn Jubayr, 17
- Ibn Kammūna, 163n48
- Ibn Kathīr, 107
- Ibn Khalḍūn, 56, 80, 86, 124
- Ibn Khallikān, 131
- Ibn Khāqān, al-Faṭḥ, *The Golden Necklaces*, 34
- Ibn Makhḷūf, Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Nuwayrī al-Jazūlī, 58, 84–85, 160n25
- Ibn Manzūr, 87; *The Arab Tongue*, 54
- Ibn Naḥīr al-Jaysh, *The Cultivation of the Explanation*, 93–95
- Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī, 26–27, 87; *The Clear-Eyed Explication of Ibn Zaydūn’s Epistle*, 51–52; *Where Wisdom Appears and Amusement Is Gathered*, 26
- Ibn Qutayba, 24, 70; *Quintessential Reports*, 9, 25, 30–31, 40t, 165n22; *The Secretary’s Art*, 9, 21, 51, 81
- Ibn Sa‘īd al-Maghribī, *The Extraordinary [Book] on the Delights of the Maghrib*, 50
- Ibn Shaddād, ‘Izz al-Dīn, *Precious Things of Moment in the Account of the Princes of Syria and the Jazīra*, 67
- Ibn Sidā, *The Masterful*, 55
- Ibn Sinā, *Book of Simple Drugs*, 68, 69, 77–79
- Ibn Taghribirdī, 124
- Ibn Taymiyya, 83–85
- Ibn ‘Ubāda, 14, 58, 95–98
- Ibn Waḥshiyya, 45, 70; *The Moon’s Secrets*, 68, 78; *The Nabataean Agriculture*, 68
- Ibn Zaydūn, 51–52
- Ibrahim, Mahmood, 61, 169n5, 171n28
- al-Ibshīhī, *The Exquisite Elements from Every Art Considered Elegant*, 30–31, 41t
- Ilkhanids, 16–19, 84
- Irwin, Robert, 72
- al-Iṣfahānī, Abū al-Faraj, 70; *Book of Songs*, 54, 71
- Isidore of Seville, 10; *Etymologiae*, 7
- al-Jāhīz, 45, 70, 90; *The Book of Animals*, 9, 68, 76
- Jamāl al-Dīn, Amīna, 45, 114, 161n28
- Jamāl al-Kufāt, Ibrāhīm, 106, 124, 142, 184n1

INDEX

- Jawhariyya madrasa, 81–82
 al-Jazarī, Shams al-Dīn, 175n96; *Events of Time*, 70
 Joseph (prophet), 100
- Kalīla wa-Dimna* (collection of Indian fables), 71, 97
- Karīm al-Dīn al-Kabīr, 97–98
 Kâtip Çelebi, 125, 132, 166n32; *Resolving the Doubts Concerning the Names of Books and Disciplines*, 7–8
 Khalidi, Tarif, 89
 Khāwand Baraka, 94–95
 al-Khwārizmī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, *The Keys to the Sciences*, 8
 Kilito, Abd el-Fattah, 42
 Kilpatrick, Hilary, 159n3, 159n10, 165n25, 166n38
 knowledge: adab and history as discourses of, 77; approach to contradictions in, 73–81, 90–91; organization of, 29–30, 35–36; the state and, 86–91, 104
 Koca Ragıp Pasha, 125
 König, Jason, 4, 12, 87
 Köprülü Manuscript Library, Istanbul, 119
 Köprülü Mehmet Pasha, 125
 Krachkovskii, Ignatii, 45
 Larkin, Margaret, 71
 Laud, William, 131
 legal secretaryship, 92, 103
 Leiden University, 112, 126, 130–33, 135, 138
 lexicons, 54–55
 Little, Donald, 97
- madrasas, 56–58, 61–63, 81–82, 169n5
 Magdalino, Paul, 87
 Maḥmūd of Ghazna, 34
 Mamluk Empire: central role of, in Islamic world, 88; education in, 3, 6, 56–57; encyclopedic production in, 2–3, 4, 5, 15; geographies during, 67; Mongols vs., 16–19; poetry’s importance in, 71–72; role of scholars in, 85; scribal culture in, 92
 al-Manṣūr, Caliph, 97
 Manṣūrī hospital. *See* al-Bīmāristān al-Manṣūrī
 manuscript culture, 105–11
 map-making, 77, 175n86
 al-Maqrīzī, 62, 87, 95–96, 107, 124
 Martel-Thoumian, Bernadette, 91
 al-Mas‘ūdī, 45, 70
 al-Māwardī, 70
 al-Maydānī, *Proverbs*, 47
 Michaelis, Johann David, 138, 140; *Questions Directed to a Company of Scholars on a Journey to Arabia by Order of His Majesty the King of Denmark*, 140
 Mongols, 2–3, 6, 13, 16–19, 84, 163n48
 Mufaḍḍal b. Abi al-Faḍā‘il, 107, 124
 Muḥammad, Prophet, 52, 71, 100
 Munro, H., 12
 al-Muqrī, 124
 Murphy, Trevor, 4, 32, 87
 Murtaḍā al-Zabidī, *Bride’s Crown*, 55
al-muṣṭalah, (scribal practices), 93–95
- Nāṣiriyya madrasa, 3, 56–58, 59f, 60f, 61–63, 62t, 82, 83–84, 95, 98, 161n28, 169n11, 171n27
 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Sultan, 13–14, 57–58, 75, 85, 89, 91, 95–98, 124, 161n28
naskh al-‘ulūm (copying of scholarly manuscripts), 110–11, 180n16
 natural philosophy, 164n65
 Naudé, Gabriel, 16
 Netherlands. *See* Leiden University
 Nicholson, Reynold, 141
 Niebuhr, Carsten, 138
 Nizār, 35
 al-Nuwayrī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, 73; in battle, 18; at Bureau of the Privy Purse, 95–97; career of, 1, 6, 13–14, 26–27, 58, 61, 95–103, 106, 161n28; as copyist, 106–8, 118–21; death of, 106; early life of, 13; father of, 73, 160n25, 160n26; Manṣūrī Hospital overseen by, 63–65; name of, 160n24; in Nāṣiriyya madrasa, 57, 63, 83–84, 95, 169n11; personal character of, 106; relatives of, 160n26; tastes of, 73; teachers of, 161n27; al-Waṭwāt compared to, 43; working methods of, 105–11. *See also* *The Ultimate Ambition in the Arts of Erudition*

INDEX

- al-Nuwayrī, Tāj al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, 73, 160n25, 160n26
 al-Nuwayrī, Zakī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Dāyīm, 73
- parataxis, 39
 Pellat, Charles, 7–9, 15
 Petry, Carl, 57, 88, 169n2, 169n9, 171n27
 Pinto, Karen, 77
 plants, 68, 77–79, 172n44, 173n61
 Pliny the Elder, 16, 79; *Natural History*, 32, 34, 87
 poetry, 71–73
 political chronicles, 54
- al-Qadi, Wadad, 54
 Qalāwūn, Sultan, 13, 63, 65, 119
 Qalāwūnid dynasty, 89
 al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī, 5, 22, 50–51, 87, 179n52; *Dawn for the Night-Blind*, 19, 24, 50–51, 81, 93–95, 100, 111, 125, 171n31
 al-Qazwīnī, Zakariyyā’ b. Muḥammad, 126, 131; *The Wonders of Creation and the Peculiarities of Beings*, 46, 46f
 Quran, 20, 84, 100
 Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī, 171n28
- Radtke, Bernd, 52
 Ragab, Ahmed, 65
 al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Apt Quotables of the Literati and Conversations of Poets and Eloquent Men*, 25, 40t, 42, 166n35
 Raphaelengius, Franciscus, 130
 readers, navigational aids for, 47–49, 111
 Riedel, Dagmar, 166n35
 Rosenthal, Franz, 166n35
 Rowson, Everett, 72
 Royal Danish Arabia Expedition, 138, 140
- al-Ṣafadī, Ṣalāh al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak, 43, 54, 87, 106–8; *Completing the Texts in the Explication of Ibn Zaydūn’s Epistle*, 52; *Flowing Desert Rains in the Commentary upon the L-Poem of the Non-Arabs*, 52
 al-Ṣāghānī, *The Swollen Waves*, 55
 al-Sakhāwī, Shams al-Dīn, 63
 Salisbury, Edward Elbridge, 140–41
 Savage-Smith, Emilie, 175n86
- Scaliger, Joseph Justus, 130
 Schmidt, Jan, 130, 184n9, 184n15, 185n26
 scholarly milieu, 3, 57–65, 71
 scholars. *See* ‘ulamā’
 Schultens, Albert, 4, 135, 138, 140; *Historia imperii vetustissimi Joctanidarum in Arabia felice ex Abulfeda, Hamza Isphanensi, Nuweirio, Taberita, Mesoudio*, 139f
 scribal culture, 19–23; curriculum of, 20–22, 92; encyclopedism and, 93; genre appropriate to, 50–51; al-Nuwayrī on, 92, 96–97; practices in, 93–95
 scribes: administrative and educational worlds straddled by, 22; backgrounds of, 92; ideal, 21–22, 92–93; instructional manuals for, 20–21, 93; knowledge expected of, 9, 21, 110–11
 script, 118, 120–21
 secretaries. *See* scribes
 Sezgin, Fuat, 119
 al-Shantarīnī, Ibn Bassām, *Treasury of the Merits of the People of the Peninsula*, 34
 Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, 112
 the state, and knowledge, 86–91, 104. *See also* bureaucracy
 Sunni law schools, 58, 82, 84
 al-Suyūtī, Jalāl al-Dīn, 72
- al-Tamīmī, *The Bride’s Purse*, 69
 Ṭāshkopruzāde, *The Key to Happiness and the Lamp of Mastery with Regard to the Topics of the Sciences*, 11, 171n31
 al-Tha‘ālibī, *Law of the Lexicon*, 69
 Thomas, Stephanie, 25, 165n22
 al-Ṭūsī, 163n48
 al-Ṭuyūrī al-Ḥāṣīb, 171n28
- al-Udfuwī, Kamāl al-Dīn Ja‘far b. Tha‘lab, 106, 118
 ‘ulamā’ (scholars), 22, 54, 61, 72, 85–90, 92
The Ultimate Ambition in the Arts of Erudition:
 adab compendia compared to, 25–26, 38–43; autograph manuscripts of, 108, 112, 113t, 114–15, 116f, 117f, 125–26, 180n18; chapter sizes in, 38t, 47; character of, 5–6; composition schedule for, 114–15, 115t, 118; contents of, their organization, 35–38,

INDEX

- The Ultimate Ambition in the Arts of Erudition*
(continued)
49; cost of, 107, 142; divisions of, 1, 31;
genre characteristics of, 49; hierarchical
arrangement of, 31, 32t, 38, 41, 42; history
emphasized in, 36; horse chapter in, 33t;
institutional context of, 20; large-scale
manuscript copies of, 128–30f; models for,
38–55; modularity of, 33–35; motivations
for, 6–7, 18–19, 23–27, 70–71; organization
of, 30–33, 35, 39, 41–42, 47–49; origin of,
1, 13; reception and legacy of, 2, 4, 51, 121,
123–44; self-edification as motivation for
writing, 1, 24, 73; size of, 6, 30–31, 106, 121,
165n18; sources for, 25, 42, 45, 65–70, 66–
67t, 69t, 171n39, 174n64; table of contents
of, 32, 36; textual navigation of, 35, 47–49;
thematic consistency of, 33–34; title of,
107, 163n53; word counts in, 37t, 165n18
- al-‘Uqaylī, Raḍī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān,
73–74
- van Berkel, Maaïke, 51, 111
van Ess, Josef, 160n14
Van Steenberg, Jo, 89
vipers, 64
- Warner, Levinus, 126, 130, 131–32
- al-Waṭwāt, Jamāl al-Dīn, 5, 27, 43, 87, 166n40,
167n44; *The Blazes of Bright Qualities
and the Disgraces of Shameful Defects*, 43;
*Delightful Concepts and the Paths to Pre-
cepts*, 43, 44t, 45–47, 46t, 67–69, 77–79,
166n42, 172n44, 173n61
- Wazīra bt. ‘Umar Ibn al-Munajjā al-Tanūkhī,
Sitt al-Wuzarā’ Umm Muḥammad, 119–20,
175n96
- Whitmarsh, Timothy, 4, 87
- wine, 5, 32, 37, 80, 168n61
- Woolf, Greg, 4, 12
- al-Yamānī, Tāj al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Bāqī, 31
- al-Yāzījī, Ibrāhīm, 11
- Yuḥannā b. Mikhā’īl b. ‘Aṭīyya, 131
- al-Yūnīnī, Quṭb al-Dīn, 175n96; *Dhayl mir’āt
al-zamān*, 119; *Supplement to the Mirror
of Time*, 70
- al-Yūnīnī, Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad,
119, 120
- al-Yūnīnī, Taqī al-Dīn Abī ‘Abd Allāh Muḥam-
mad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh, 120
- Zakī, Aḥmad, 2, 4, 11, 112, 141–42, 143f
- al-Zamakhsharī, *Springtime of the Pious and
the Epitomes of Stories*, 41, 41t, 166n32
- Zwinger, Theodore, 16