

Stefanie Brinkmann

Marginal Commentaries in Ḥadīṭ Manuscripts

In his article »Upgrading Dioscorides Alphabeticus in Eleventh-Century Monte Cassino«, Erik Kwakkel points out: »A notable feature of the marginal space in medieval manuscripts is that there is so much of it.«¹ He goes on to show that the marginal space in the 353 dated manuscripts he chose for his analysis ranges between 47 % and 50 % of the full page. In many so-called Islamic manuscripts we find similar features. A copied text in a manuscript was not necessarily ready after being copied – it was collated, corrected, lacunae were marked, and text variants given – in short, many steps of a critical editing process followed the copying of the main text. And many of the manuscript texts were then further explained, for private studies and reading, for teaching sessions, and the like. It is these explanatory texts – the marginal commentaries (for terminology, see below) – and specifically those found in Ḥadīṭ collection manuscripts, that are the focus of this article.

Ḥadīṭ (pl. *aḥādīṭ*) are the collected traditions, sayings, actions, and reactions attributed to the Islamic prophet Muhammad (d. 11 / 632)², his companions (*ṣaḥāba*), and their successors (*tābi'ūn*). They are the second important source for Islamic law – after the Qur'ān – and provide a normative guide for believers, in matters beyond legal issues. Sunnī canonical collections date from the 9th century, and Twelver-Šī'ī canonical collections from the 10th to the 11th centuries; there are also some earlier collections, and plenty of non-canonical and later collections. Numerous adaptations of these collections were composed, including new collections based on selected traditions from the already existing compilations, abridgements, and versifications. On these Ḥadīṭ collections a great many commentaries were written, with early all-encompassing texts appearing

¹ Eric Kwakkel, »Upgrading Dioscorides Alphabeticus in Eleventh-Century Monte Cassino«, in: Mariken Teeuwen and Irene van Renswoude (eds.), *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages: Practices of Reading and Writing*, Turnhout 2017, pp. 323–341, here p. 323.

² The first year refers to the Hīgra calendar (AH), the second year to the Common Era (CE). The romanisation of the Arabic adheres to the system of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (DMG). The term *ḥadīṭ* will be written with capital letters and not in italics (Ḥadīṭ) due to its frequent occurrence in the article. Arabic technical terms and translations will be set in italics.

in the 10th century³, and commentary production peaking from the 14th and 15th century on. The most important centre was Mamluk Egypt. While Ḥadīṭ commentary activity in other regions, such as Iran and India, has been thus far neglected in research, Ḥadīṭ commentaries there and elsewhere continue to be written up until today.⁴

This article aims at presenting a first approach to marginal commentaries as part of the production, transmission, and reception of the Islamic Prophetic traditions. After a review of the state of research, it will address the issues of terminology, general scribal practices, and layout, and will offer a preliminary typology, followed by a closer examination of one commentary type, namely the practice of quoting excerpts from already existing stand-alone commentaries in the margins.

1) Why Studying Marginal Commentaries?

Why study marginal commentaries in manuscripts at all? In fact, these entries, oftentimes scribbled and difficult (and sometimes tiresome) to read, offer a wealth of information: The study of scholia is a crucial part of reflecting on the development, transmission, and reception of different genres. They can give evidence of the distribution and possibly the popularity of texts at a given time and in a given region. This includes the many texts that have been lost otherwise and that have been transmitted – most likely only in bits and pieces – exclusively in the margins of manuscripts.⁵ In view of not only the limited number of catalogued manuscripts, but also the paucity of edited works (or texts), the margin of a manuscript can turn into a treasure trove, yielding unknown or neglected texts that might have been once popular and widespread within a specific community. Marginal commentaries can reveal both professional and personal thoughts. They can allow us to partly reconstruct an author's work, based on his revision annotations, and to reconstruct a reader's attitude towards a text by critical remarks or citations in the margin. Especially if marginal commentaries

3 An earlier genre of Ḥadīṭ commentary was developed from the 8th century on, dedicated to lexicography, that is the explanation or translation of foreign or ambiguous words: *garīb al-ḥadīṭ*.

4 For an overview over the genre of Ḥadīṭ commentary see Joel Blecher, »Ḥadīṭ Commentary«, in: Kate Fleet et al. (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd ed., Vol. 4, Leiden and Boston 2018, pp. 61-68; Jonathan A. C. Brown, *Hadith: Muhammad's Legacy in the Medieval and Modern World*, Oxford 2009, p. 52-54.

5 Any manuscript evidence of this kind has to be contextualised within the methodological framework of *Überlieferungsgeschichte*, above all *Überlieferungschance* and *Überlieferungszufall*, the survival of texts by chance (partly to be reconstructed through certain parameters) or accident (no reconstruction possible).

have been added not by an individual but by a community, possibly over a longer period of time, these entries reflect knowledge transmitted within specific social groups and intellectual discourses within this community. For many fields of knowledge, these annotations are part of a larger learning and teaching context. Which texts possibly belonged to a curriculum (at a given time, within a given community)? *How* were the main texts studied? What was considered (and by whom?) important for the understanding, or at least the correct transmission, of the main text? In the field of science, they can reveal the state of knowledge of a given person, time, and/or region.

An important question that always has to be asked is: For whom were these annotations written? For and by oneself, for the revision of one's own text, to assist in the study of a foreign text, and/or as an aid in memorisation? For students studying the main text (to indirectly guide their approach)? For a scholarly community? For the transmission of texts? As a means to improve the main text? Personal pleasure?

2) A Marginal Topic:

Commentary Literature and Marginal Commentaries in Manuscripts

The commentary genre in general has recently received more attention, directed at challenging the concept of its »not being original«. As in many other cases, the disciplines of Arabic and Islamic Studies lag behind other philologies when it comes to the study of commentary literature.⁶ An important contribution, and, as far as I know, so far the only volume dedicated to commentary *manuscripts* (with a few texts referring also to the practice of marginal commentaries) is the edited volume *Commentary Manuscripts* by Youssef Ziedan, published in 2006.⁷ For the field of Ḥadīṭ, it might be telling that the first monograph in English on the genre of Ḥadīṭ commentary was published in 2017 by Joel Blecher⁸, with a first edited volume on the genre to be published by 2020⁹.

6 See the special issue on commentary literature in *Oriens* 41 (2013), and here especially for the »gloss« / ḥāṣiyya: Walid A. Saleh, »The Gloss as Intellectual History: The Ḥāshiyahs on al-Kashshāf«, in: *Oriens* 41 (2013), pp. 217-259; see the issue *Qu'est-ce que commenter en Islam?*, in: *Mélanges de l'Institut dominicain d'études orientales*, MIDÉO 32 (2017) pp. IX-170. – Also compare the article by Walid A. Saleh in this volume.

7 Yūsuf Zīdan (ed.), *al-Maḥṭūṭāt aš-šāriḥa: A'mal al-mu'tamar ad-duwali at-tālī li-markaz al-maḥṭūṭāt* (Maris 2006), al-Iskandariyya 2009; Youssef Ziedan (ed.), *Commentary Manuscripts. Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference of the Manuscript Center (March 2006)*, Alexandria 2009. (Most articles are in Arabic, except those of Jan Just Witkam and Constantin Canavas.)

8 Joel Blecher, *Said the Prophet of God: Hadith Commentary Across a Millennium*, Oakland 2018.

9 Joel Blecher, Stefanie Brinkmann, and Ali Zaherinezhad (eds.), *Hadith Commentary: Continuity and Change*, Edinburgh 2020 [forthcoming].

On a more theoretical level, the increasing interest in these texts is embedded in a forceful critique of the so-called narrative of decline: Until recently, the histories of Arabic literature viewed the 6th to the 12th – 13th centuries as a period of literary blossom, where ›original‹ texts were composed in a cultural milieu of genuine expression, or by absorbing and incorporating ideas from surrounding cultures, integrating them in a fruitful way and developing thereby new cultural expressions. Even the pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, said by some to be atomistic and repetitive in terms of structure and motifs, would still count as an original, distinct cultural expression. These dynamic, creative centuries are said to have come slowly to a halt during the 12th to the 13th centuries, with the end of the Abbasid dynasty in 1258 as a political caesura. Stagnation and imitation are attributes ascribed to the centuries thereafter, with a reinvigoration occurring only under European influence from the 18th and 19th centuries and beyond: Print was introduced on a larger scale, journalism developed, and European literary genres inspired new genres or modified existing ones in the Islamicate world, such as the novel, or certain types of theatre. It is only recently that these ›dark centuries‹ from the Middle Ages to the early-modern period have started to receive the attention they deserve.¹⁰ A key genre that flourished in the Mamluk (13th – early 16th century) and Ottoman periods (14th century to 1922, the foundation of the Republic of Turkey) was the commentary – in the narrative of decline perhaps the symbol par excellence for the lack of invention and originality.

But while research on the genre of commentary has increased in the past years, the practice of adding commentaries, or commentarial notes in the margin of a manuscript, or partly between the lines, has until today been a neglected field of study in Arabic and Islamic Studies. Other academic disciplines have come much further in this respect, discussing and systematising possible origins of this practice, some examples of which date to Late Antiquity, some to the Middle Ages, or, more specifically, the Mid-Byzantine age.¹¹ These studies are clearly

¹⁰ A detailed critique of the division in classical and post-classical literature is given by Thomas Bauer, ›In Search of ›Post-Classical Literature‹: A Review Article‹, in: *Mamluk Studies Review* 11 (2007), pp. 137–167; see the Academy research project *Bibliotheca Arabica*, dedicated to Arabic literatures from 1150 to 1850 (www.saw-leipzig.de/bibliotheca-arabica [last accessed 15 October 2019]); the research cooperation and the publication series *Mamluk Studies*, edited by Stephan Conermann and Bethany Joelle Walker, Bonn University (www.mamluk.uni-bonn.de/publications/mamluk-studies [last accessed 15 October 2019]); the *ALEA* research project (Arabische Literatur und Rhetorik, Elfhundert bis Achtzehnhundert), dedicated to literatures from 1100 to 1800, principal investigator Thomas Bauer, University of Münster (www.uni-muenster.de/imperia/md/content/alea/alea_flyer_2015.pdf [last accessed 15 October 2019]).

¹¹ See the volume of Franco Montanari and Antonios Rengakos (eds.), *Trends in Classics* 6 (2014), and particularly Antonietta Porro, ›The birth of Scholiography: Some Conclusions and Perspectives‹, in: *ibid.*, pp. 192–205.

dominated by the European literatures. The potential of these marginalia for the reconstruction of the transfer of knowledge, book production and use, teaching and studying, textual criticism and text versions, and the intellectual discourse of a certain time and region can be seen in a number of publications.¹² For the cultures of the Islamic world, from al-Andalus to India, there exists neither a comparative volume on annotation practices nor a volume on the practices and the impact of marginal commentaries within the boundaries of the literature of one language – such as the Arabic. The latter is the approach taken by the Academy project *Bibliotheca Arabica – Towards a New History of Literature*, with a planned volume on marginal commentaries in Arabic manuscripts, comparing these practices in different genres and regions, and at different times.¹³ Despite the lack of such a systematic, broad study, the analysis of marginal commentaries has been conducted in the scope of some research projects and case studies.¹⁴

As early as 1947, Franz Rosenthal attempted to give a systematic overview of manuscript evidence for Muslim scholarship, appealing for a larger, in-depth study of these paratexts.¹⁵ Spread over the various chapters, Rosenthal addresses marginal commentaries as a means for the transmission of other texts, or for expressing critical opinions.¹⁶

Since the turn of the millennium, more attention has been dedicated to marginalia in general, not only to marginal commentaries. This attention given to scribes and authors writing on the margins reflects a shift away from the concept of earlier philological and editorial ideas (and ideals) of texts as static, completed works and instead turns towards the mechanisms of drafting and revising – in short, towards the development of an author's ideas, of a genre, or a text, and the development of ideas in a specific intellectual milieu with its manifold actors.

In a 2005 article, Emilie Savage-Smith concentrates exclusively on marginalia, ranging from those without any relation to the main text, such as birth certificates, poems, legal texts, and certificates (*iğāzāt*), to marginal commentaries of diffe-

12 See as points of reference Franco Montanari and Lara Pagani (eds.), *From Scholars to Scholia: Chapters in the History of Ancient Greek Scholarship*, Berlin and Boston 2013; Mariken Teeuwen and Irene van Renswoude (as note 1). Lied, Liv I., Maniaci, and Marilena (eds.): *Bible as Notepad. Tracing Annotations and Annotation Practices in Late Antique and Medieval Biblical Manuscripts*, Series: Manuscripta Biblica, Vol. 3, Boston and Berlin 2018.

13 www.saw-leipzig.de/de/projekte/bibliotheca-arabica/intro/macro [last accessed 3 January 2020].

14 The following overview does not claim to be exhaustive, but highlights important fields of research.

15 Franz Rosenthal, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship* (Analecta Orientalia 24), Rome 1974.

16 A much shorter, descriptive overview of important paratexts has been given by Florian Sobieroj, »Paratexte in arabischen Handschriften«, in: Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen (ed.), *Wege zum geistigen Erbe der Menschheit. Die Katalogisierung der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Göttingen 2013, pp. 37–47.

rent types.¹⁷ While she covers a range of genres as main texts and their possible marginalia (as did F. Rosenthal, taking a different approach), later case studies often focus on a specific community, one genre, or one author and/or one title.

The potential of the analysis of marginal commentaries for (partly) reconstructing the intellectual discourses within a scholarly community for a certain period of time has been demonstrated clearly by Florian Schwarz. By studying an array of manuscripts and the paratexts therein authored by members of one family, he could trace networks of scholars, centres of learning and teaching, students, and topics and texts studied in the otherwise comparatively unknown 17th to 18th-century border region of the Ottoman lands, Kurdistan, and the Safawid Empire.¹⁸ Concentrating on one manuscript and its marginal commentaries (*ḥawāṣī*), Gregor Schwarb offers insight into theological studies (*kalām*) in the Šīʿī Zaidī community in mid-15th to early-18th-century Yemen.¹⁹ And Dmitry Bondarev examines the familiarity and popularity of certain Qurʾān commentaries (*tafsīr*) in the early sub-Saharan Borno Sultanate (15th – 17th centuries) by analysing the marginal commentaries in Qurʾān manuscripts of that community.²⁰

In the special issue of *Oriens* of 2013 dedicated to commentary literature, it is Walid A. Saleh's article above all that specifically addresses glosses (in the sense of scholia) as a crucial element of the genre of Qurʾān commentary. He points out that only by including the study of glosses a better understanding of the development of the *tafsīr* genre and its place within Muslim intellectual history can be achieved.²¹ Analysing marginal annotations as evidence for the development of an author's work, Frédéric Bauden, Joel Blecher, and others have set a benchmark for further studies.²² Youssef Ziedan's edition on commentary

17 Emilie Savage-Smith, »Between Reader & Text: Some Medieval Arabic Marginalia«, in: Danielle Jacquart and Charles Burnett (eds.), *Scientia in Margine: Études Sur Les Marginalia Dans Les Manuscrits Scientifiques Du Moyen Âge à La Renaissance*, Geneva 2005, pp. 75-101.

18 Florian Schwarz, »Writing in the Margins of Empires – The Ḥusaynābādī Family of Scholiasts in the Ottoman-Safawid Borderlands«, in: Tobias Heinzlmann and Henning Sievert (eds.), *Buchkultur im Nahen Osten des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Bern 2010, pp. 151-198.

19 Gregor Schwarb, »MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. Arab. 1294: A Guide to Zaydī *kalām*-Studies During the Tāhirid and Early Qāsimite Periods (mid-15th to early 18th centuries)«, in: David Hollenberg et al. (eds.), *The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition*, Leiden and Boston 2015, pp. 155-202.

20 Dmitry Bondarev, »Tafsīr Sources in Four Annotated Qurʾānic Manuscripts From Early Borno«, in: Zulfikar Hirji (ed.), *Approaches to the Qurʾān in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Oxford 2019, pp. 25-64.

21 Saleh (as note 6), pp. 217-259.

22 Frederic Bauden, »Maqriziana II: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method, Analysis«, in: *Mamluk Studies Review* 12 (2008), pp. 51-118; Sami G. Massoud, »Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbā's 'al-Dhayl al-Muṭawwal': The Making of an All-Mamluk Chronicle«, in: *Quaderni Di Studi Arabi* 4 (2009), pp. 61-79; Li

manuscripts (see above) has one article by ‘Abd al-Latīf b. Muḥammad al-Ġilānī dedicated to marginal commentaries, in this case related to the Maghreb.

In larger research clusters, some attention has been given to marginalia (in general): In the project cluster at the Center for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, Hamburg University, which is dedicated to paratexts, some projects specifically include studies on marginal commentaries.²³ Within the academic disciplines related to the Islamic world, it is the projects dedicated to West African manuscript cultures that bring these studies to centre stage, partly for the reconstruction of teaching and learning contexts and the transmission of knowledge, partly in order to understand the reception of Arabic texts within the multilingual context of West Africa.²⁴ Beyond the Islamic world, the project *Textual Practices in the Pre-Modern World: Texts and Ideas between Aksum, Constantinople, and Baghdad* takes a comparative view of textual practices from late Antiquity on.²⁵

But even though there is a lack of studies on marginal commentaries in Arabic manuscripts, manuscript evidence can give us a first impression: There are certain texts and genres with oftentimes richly annotated margins (and partly interlinear annotations), while others seem usually to be less annotated. The phenomenon of marginal commentaries in manuscripts seems to reflect, at least to a certain degree, the intensity of general commentarial activity within a

Guo, »Ibn Dāniyāl’s »Dīwān«: In Light of MS Ayasofia 4880«, in: *Quaderni Di Studi Arabi* 5 (2011), pp. 163-176; Joel Blecher, »Revision in the Manuscript Age: New Evidence of Early Versions of Ibn Ḥajar’s Faṭḥ al-Bārī«, in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 76 (2017), pp. 39-51.

23 Project Area A, first phase 2011-2015: www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/Projekte_e.html, project area A, second phase 2015-2019: www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/Projekte_p2_e.html [last accessed 5 October 2019].

24 See the project *African Voices in the Islamic Manuscripts from Mali: Documenting and Exploring African Languages Written in Arabic Script (Ajami)* (2017-2029), principal investigator: Dmitry Bondarev, www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/ajami/project_e.html [last accessed 5 October 2019]. For a case study, see for example: Dmitry Bondarev, »Qur’anic Exegesis in Old Kanembu: Linguistic Precision for Better Interpretation«, in: *Journal of Qur’anic Studies* 15 (2013), pp. 56-83.; Dmitry Bondarev, »Islamic Education and Ample Space Layout in West African Islamic Manuscripts«, in: Andrea Brigaglia and Mauro Nobili (eds.), *The Arts and Crafts of Literacy: Islamic Manuscript Cultures in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Vol. 12, Berlin and Boston 2017, pp. 105-142; Susana Molins-Llitas, »A Preliminary Appraisal of Marginalia in West African Manuscripts from the Mamma Haïdara Memorial Library Collection (Timbuktu)«, in: *ibid.*, pp. 143-178; Darya Ogorodnikova, »I Heard It from My Teacher: Reflexions on Transmission of Knowledge in Islamic Manuscripts from Senegambia and Mali«, in: Stefanie Brinkmann, Giovanni Ciotti et al. (eds.), *Education Materialized: Reconstructing Teaching and Learning Contexts through Manuscripts*, 2020 [forthcoming].

25 Center for Advanced Studies, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, *Textual Practices in the Pre-Modern World: Texts and Ideas between Aksum, Constantinople, and Baghdad*, speakers: Theresa Bernheimer, Ronny Vollandt.

given genre. Works of Ḥadīṭ, Qur'ān commentary, law, grammar, and theology, but also philosophy and sciences, such as medicine and astronomy, were the object of numerous commentaries throughout the centuries. Other genres, or text types, were much less the focus of commentators, such as works on geography or texts on material culture. But here, the lack of research leads to an undifferentiated picture. While it seems that many manuscripts, for example, those on techniques of book production and cook books, have comparatively few marginal annotations, other treatises seem to have more.²⁶ In short, we still lack a clear picture of the distribution of marginal commentaries in manuscripts of different genres or fields of knowledge. Prosimetric works of belles-lettres and poetry seem to represent a middle position between the richly annotated genres and the less annotated ones. Last but by far not least is the central book of the Islamic creed, the Qur'ān. An independent study taking into account local scribal and teaching traditions in the different regions of the Islamicate would be needed to have a systematic overview of marginal and interlinear annotations in Qur'ān manuscripts. In the multilingual context of the Islamicate world, interlinear glosses, for example, in Persian, or a local African language, are a known phenomenon, as are corrections, signs for recitation, or different readings. But many Qur'ān manuscripts from the Middle East do not show a rich apparatus of marginal annotations. This might be for aesthetic reasons, but there is also the connection to the fact that the text is sacred. Marginal annotations often refer to a tradition of ›scholasticism‹ with respect to texts written by authorities, the human endeavour to exploit a text, and the intellectual ›sobriety‹ of commenting on and/or interpreting the text. But the Qur'ān manuscript represents God's word, and even though the text on the physical manuscript has been written in time and space (and is therefore created), God's word is considered by the majority of Muslims as un-created and eternal. A reason for the absence of rich marginal annotations in many Middle Eastern Qur'ān manuscripts might be that the reader is supposed to encounter the text ›unveiled‹ – that is, directly

²⁶ In her article on manuscripts of works on book production, and especially the parts on ink, C. Colini points out that only a few marginal remarks relate to the practical work of craftsmanship within the relevant manuscript: An alternative ink recipe, a note indicating a functional check, or a fingerprint with the type of ink for which the recipe is given on the opposite page (Claudia Colini, »Ink Making by the Book: Learning a Craft in the Arabic World«, in: Stefanie Brinkmann et al. [eds.; as note 24]). C. Canavas, on the other hand, has examined four manuscripts of a technical treatise that was written in the 3rd to 9th century (the dates the manuscripts were copied are not mentioned). The marginal commentaries in these manuscripts not only refer to other copies and the commentaries contained therein, but they also include notes on functional checks of devices, give constructive suggestions and amendments, and comment on illustrations (Constantin Canavas, »Commenting Arabic Technological Treatises in Illustrated Manuscripts: A Typology in the Case of Banū Mūsā's Kitāb al-Ḥiyal«, in: Yūsuf Zīdan [ed.; as note 7], pp. 1–11).

in order to meet its pure presence, without too much human intervention on the page, and without an all-too-strong intermediary. The human is, though, not entirely absent from such Qur'ān manuscripts (apart, obviously, from the scribe): Different readings (*qirā'āt*) could be added, recitation signs (*tağwīd*), corrections, and, in the end, (ornamental) markers dividing the Qur'ān text into recitation units. Manuscripts with works on Qur'ānic sciences are often heavily annotated. But these works embody already human efforts, fallible, and bound in time and space. They are a human intellectual endeavour to approach God's eternal speech. From here, a tradition, and with it authorities of this tradition could develop and leave their traces in the margins of manuscripts.

Ḥadīṭ manuscripts are often heavily annotated. But scholia in Ḥadīṭ manuscripts do not show a stage of authority comparable to the *Glossa ordinaria*. Even if the annotations are quotations from authoritative scholars, the sources vary from region to region, time to time, school to school, religious affiliation to religious affiliation, family to family, reflecting the many-voiced religious and intellectual debates in the Muslim world that were so characteristic of the formative period up to the Middle Period, as compared to the institutionally much more centralised religious scene in Europe at that time. (The relative openness to discussion characteristic of that earlier period also stands in contrast to the modern period in the Islamic world, which is frequently marked by a lack of openness and intolerance toward ambiguity.)

Since marginal annotations reflect scholarly tradition and authority, a future question to be investigated would be to what extent did commentary activity support the process of canonisation of certain works, or to what extent was it a result of such canonisation (or was it a dynamic process of both).

3) A Minefield: Terminology

Terminology seems to be a minefield, and maybe this is the reason why so many scholars have avoided offering a clear definition when using gloss, scholium, marginal commentary, or marginal annotation in their publications. Within a number of academic disciplines, such as the Classics, Byzantine Studies, and medieval philology, there is, at least, some kind of basic agreement on how to approach these texts, some kind of definition, despite some grey areas between gloss and scholium. Within the field of Arabic and Islamic Studies, there is no such methodological common ground.

In many publications in the field of Arabic and Islamic Studies, the terms glosses, marginal commentaries, and scholia are used interchangeably, with glosses often bearing the meaning of marginal commentaries or some kind of

marginal annotation. The entry on *glosses and scholia* in Adam Gacek's *Arabic Manuscripts. A Vademecum for Readers* states at the very beginning: »A gloss or scholium (pl. scholia) is a marginal comment and/or interlinear annotation referring to and explaining a word or group of words in the main text.«²⁷ Such a wider connotation is also stated in the Oxford English Dictionary, where »to gloss« means: »I. a. *trans.* To insert glosses or comments on; to comment upon, explain, interpret [...]; b. *intr.* To introduce a gloss, comment, or explanation upon a word or passage in a text [...].«²⁸

But in its primary sense, a gloss translates or explains foreign (or obscure) words.²⁹ Different from such a gloss, which usually refers to a lexical unit, are longer, explanatory, complementing, and partly interpretative passages in the margin (and, due to the space they require on the manuscript page, such longer passages are less often encountered between the lines than are glosses). Such a marginal annotation, which could be an authorial voice or chosen excerpts from already existing texts, can be termed scholium, pl. scholia.³⁰ In this article, scholia and marginal commentaries are used synonymously; marginal annotation is used interchangeably with these terms only in such cases when clear reference is made to a scholium-type entry.³¹

There is a grey zone, though: A number of marginal annotations in Ḥadīṭ manuscripts can consist of more than one functional element: Since the Arabic script is consonantal, it had to be made clear how to vocalise the word correctly. In a manuscript with al-Buḥārī's (d. 256 / 870) Ḥadīṭ collection *al-Ġāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* as the main text³², we find, for example, on fol. 2r the note in the right corner that the word *al-kursī* has to be vocalised with *u* (*ḍamma*) above the *k* (*kāf*), or that the verb *fa-ru'ibtu* has to be vocalised with *u* (*ḍamma*) above the *r* (*ra'*), and the letter *'ain* gets *i* (*kasra*). The scribe adds that, according to the reading of al-Aṣīlī³³, the *ra'* would be read with *a* (*fatha*), and the *'ain* with *u* (*ḍamma*).

27 Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers*, Leiden et al. 2012, p. 114. See also gloss in the sense of scholium in Saleh (as note 6), or Blecher (as note 22).

28 Oxford English Dictionary Online <https://www.oed.com> [last accessed 5 October 2019]

29 For the Old High German see: G. Kreutzer, »Glossen und Glossare«, in: Heinrich Beck and Heiko Steuer (eds.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, Vol. 12, Berlin and New York 1998, pp. 218-234.

30 On the development of the term see Fausto Montana, »The Making of Greek Scholiastic Corpora«, in: Franco Montanari and Lara Pagani (eds.; as note 12), pp. 105-161.

31 Teeuwen and Renswoude, in considering glosses, scholia, and also other types of annotation, decided for their edited volume to »avoid the terms gloss and scholia altogether; instead, we chose to use the neutral term »annotation« for anything that was inserted in the space around the main text«; see Teeuwen and Renswoude (as note 1), p. 19.

32 Austrian National Library, shelfmark Glaser 30. On this manuscript see more below.

33 Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Aṣīlī (d. 392 / 1001-02).

In short: vocalisation is given and, with it, a variant reading.³⁴ In addition to such elements, a synonym or a short explanation of the meaning of the relevant word in its specific context can be given. One might argue that such an entry could be labelled as a gloss (if gloss is not taken as the translation of a lexical unit, since we are faced here exclusively with Arabic); but since most of these entries include more than one ›function‹ (vocalisation, possibly an alternative reading, and the explanation of the word), I will subsume such entries under the term ›marginal commentary‹, or scholium, as well.

Ḥadīṭ manuscripts contain a variety of different marginalia, from text variants to collation and corrections marks, and these are, together with the scholia, often-times subsumed under the rubric ›marginal annotations‹. In Arabic, the wider term of marginal annotations can be translated as *hāmīš* (pl. *hawāmīš*), while the marginal commentary is usually translated as *ḥāšiya* (pl. *ḥawāšī*). Since marginal commentaries in Ḥadīṭ manuscripts consist of texts, they are part of the larger body of paratexts; it is not necessary to apply the wider concept of paracontent at this point, which would include marginal illustrations, diagrams, graphics, etc.

The 13th-century classical Arabic dictionary *Lisān al-ʿArab* by Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711 / 1311 in Cairo)³⁵ states: »[...] and the *ḥāšiya* of anything is: its adjacent part or its margin«³⁶ (*wa-ḥāšiyatu kulli šaiʿin: ḡānibuhu wa-ṭarafuhu*).³⁷ This basic meaning could be transferred to a number of contexts, ranging from the fringe of a garment to a place at the periphery of anything. It may be interesting to note, though, that neither the *Lisān al-ʿArab* nor a number of other classical dictionaries specifically point to the *ḥāšiya* as the margin of a book, or as a marginal commentary within the manuscript tradition. The notion of *ḥāšiya* as making notes or comments in the margin of a book seems mainly a post-classical notion with respect to dictionary definitions, and appears as such, for example, in the 18th-century dictionary *Tāğ al-ʿArūs* by al-Murtaḍā al-Ḥusainī az-Zabīdī (d. 1205 / 1791).³⁸ The act of adding scholia to the margin can be called *taḥšīyya*, the glossator or commentator would be the *ḥāšīn*, and a margin provided with glosses *muḥaššaš*.³⁹ While *ḥāšiya* (pl. *ḥawāšīn*, *ḥawāšīn*) is the most common term for

34 The text in the upper margin on the left side of fol. 2r in Glaser 30 has also notes on vocalisation, but discusses more in detail different readings and recension lines.

35 ʿUmar ar-Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿḡam al-muʿallifin*, ed. Maktabat al-Muʿannā, 15 vols., Beirut 2010, Vol. 12, p. 46 f.; Hair-ad-Dīn Ibn-Maḥmūd Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām: Qāmūs tarāḡim li-ašḥar ar-rigāl wa-n-nisāʾ min al-ʿArab wa-l-mustaʿribīn wa-l-mustaʿriqīn*, Beirut 2002, Vol. 7, p. 108.

36 Or: its side.

37 Muḥammad b. al-Mukarram al-Anṣārī al-Ifriqī al-Miṣrī al-Ḥazraḡī Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, abridged version, Beirut 1997, Vol. 2, p. 93.

38 Kaḥḥāla (as note 35), Vol. 11, p. 282.

39 Adam Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography*, Leiden et al. 2001, p. 33.

marginal commentaries, other terms have been used, too, and abbreviations for them can be found in the manuscripts. Even *ṣarḥ*, often understood as a more exhaustive, line-by-line commentary, could be applied to a marginal commentary and marked accordingly (see table below). Other terms could be *ta'liq* (something attached), or *fā'ida*, in the sense of »something useful to know, or add«. Semantically closer to *ḥāšiya* is the term *ṭurra* (pl. *ṭurar*). It can, among other meanings, designate both the margin and marginalia.⁴⁰ This term was supposedly more in use in the Maghreb, as 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Muḥammad al-Ġilānī points out: »People in the Maghreb call the *ḥawāšī* in books *ṭurra*, and the *ḥāšiya* is what is written in the empty space in the margins of a page.«⁴¹ I would disagree, though, with al-Ġilānī's differentiation with regard to content: namely in that a *ḥāšiya* applies (mainly) to a *ṣarḥ*-commentary and covers at best the whole primary text, while *ṭurar* can be added as (scattered) single notes throughout the text.⁴² Compare, for example, Walid A. Saleh's remark on »glosses« (*ḥāwāšī*) on az-Zamaḥṣarī's Qur'ān commentary *al-Kaššāf*: »The nature of many of the glosses is more in the manner of *ta'liqāt*, that is, they are not a running commentary, or a gloss on every aspect of al-Kašshāf, but rather they tackle certain specific points.«⁴³ Despite the academic eagerness for systematisation, historical realities were usually much more complex.

Just as a work titled *ḥāšiya* could be both a collection (and a revised and edited version) of previous commentarial notes from the margin of a manuscript, and a marginal commentary in a manuscript, so can a work termed *ṭurra* designate both a collection of earlier annotations from the margins of a manuscript, or a marginal commentary. The collecting and editing of earlier marginal commentaries into an independent text could be done by the author of the marginal notes, or another person, possibly a student, a reader, or another scholar.⁴⁴

Marginal commentaries in manuscripts could be marked with the full term, or with an abbreviation (often above the entry), but this is by no means the rule;

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 90. *muṭarrar* would be »glossed, annotated«.

⁴¹ *Ammā l-maġāribatu fa-yulṭiqūna 'alā l-ḥawāšī l-kutubī aṭ-ṭurara, fa-l-ḥāšiyatu hiya mā yuktabu fī l-firāġi l-mauġūdi 'alā ḡawānibī l-waraqā [...]*. al-Ġilānī, 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Muḥammad: »Zāhirat aṭ-ṭurar fī l-maḥṭūṭ al-maġribī«, in: Yūsuf Zidan (ed.; as note 7), pp. 391-417, quotation p. 391.

⁴² Ibid., 398 f.

⁴³ Saleh (as note 6), p. 248.

⁴⁴ One example from the field of Qur'ān sciences is the marginal commentary (*ḥāšiya*) by Sa'dī Čelebī, Sa'd Allāh b. 'Isā Amirhān, known as Sa'dī Čelebī or Sa'dī Efendī (d. 945 / 1539), a Ḥanafī *qādī* from Turkey, on the Qur'ān commentary by al-Baiḍāwī (d. 685 / 1286-87, or 691 / 1291-92, or 692 / 1292-93). One of his students ('Abd ar-Raḥmān) extracted these marginal commentary notes and made it a stand-alone commentarial text.

actually, many Ḥadīṭ manuscripts (and others) do not show the full term, or the abbreviation. The most common abbreviations are the following:

Romanised term	Arabic term	Abbreviation(s)
ḥāšiya	حاشية	حش. ح
ṭurra	طرة	ط
ṣarḥ	شرح	ش. س
ta'liq	تعليق	ت. ع
fā'ida	فائدة	ف. فيه
hāmiš	هامش	ه

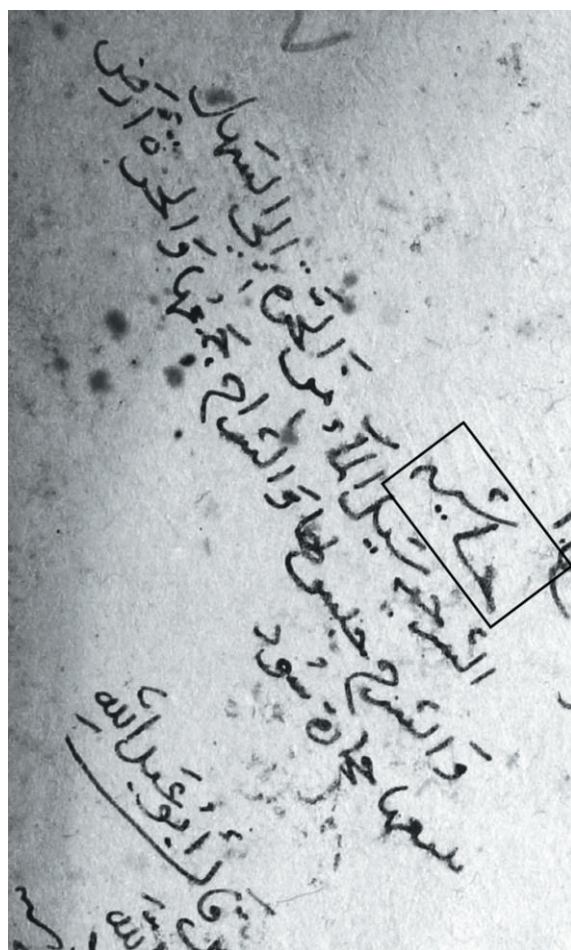


Image 1: The word ḥāšiya written above the entry, B. or. 356, fol. 2r © Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig

In the field of Ḥadīṭ studies, it has remained an open question as to what extent stand-alone commentaries carrying the title *ḥāshiya* really started in the margin of manuscripts. There are numerous types of Ḥadīṭ commentaries: As an ideal scenario, a *ṣarḥ* is an extensive line-by-line commentary, while a commentary called *ḥāshiya* was originally drafted in the margin of a manuscript and became a stand-alone commentary at a later stage. Beside these two formats, we have a number of other types and names, such as treatises (*risāla*, pl. *rasā'il*) on particular Ḥadīṭ, question-and-answer-based commentaries on particular Ḥadīṭ, and lecture notes (*amālī*). One should be careful at this point, though, to restrict the term *ḥāshiya* exclusively to a commentary that started in the margin of a manuscript. It might also refer to smaller commentaries, and/or serve as an expression of modesty, as compared to the weighty *ṣarḥ*. Joel Blecher assumes with some caution the origin of the *ḥāshiya* in the margin of a manuscript, while the *ṣarḥ* is seen as a line-by-line commentary:

Gumbrecht's archetypical commentators are driven to fill them to the brim, even exceeding them at times – spilling over into the headers and footers and, sometimes, between the lines of the base text. While this may have been true for the inclusion of marginalia and glosses (*ḥawāshī*) in compilations of hadith, it was not true for the line-by-line commentary (*ṣarḥ*) under discussion here. The commentaries of Ibn Ḥajar and his predecessors, going back at least to the early Córdoba commentator Ibn Baṭṭāl, were laid out in the center of the page. Commentators would include only lemmata, the fragmentary phrases from the base text that were relevant for explication. Ibn Ḥajar toyed with the idea of including the base text but decided against it, reasoning that it would make his commentary too long.⁴⁵

Systematic research on this question is a desideratum.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Blecher (as note 8), pp. 51 f.

⁴⁶ Dimitri Gutas has outlined the different terms used for commentaries for the Arabic works on logic. With regard to *ṣarḥ*, he points out that it can have variable length, be detailed or general (in the form of a paraphrase), it can consist of scattered notes on the text, or be a »continuous and running commentary«, see Dimitri Gutas, »Aspects of Literary Form and Genre in Arabic Logical Works«, in: Charles Burnett (ed.), *Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts. The Syriac, Arabic, and Medieval Latin Traditions*, London 1993, pp. 29-76, quotation p. 36; on the terminology of commentary in the field of logic, see pp. 31-43.

4) Scribal Practices

Who were the scribes of the marginal commentaries in Ḥadīṭ manuscripts? The vast majority of marginal commentaries are anonymous. This is especially true for marginal commentaries that are quotations or excerpts. However, the moment we have an original, authorial voice, the mention of a name becomes more likely, whether the person be a reader adding his remarks or a teacher whose remarks are noted in the margin. The individual person who writes the scholium can have different functions: He can be the one who makes his comments, or the one who has chosen the quotations from already existing stand-alone works, or he could be identical with the copyist of the main text (a sign that the main text and the scholia are the result of a common, coordinated work process). He could also be a later copyist of marginal commentaries found in an earlier manuscript (his Vorlage), or the collator of the scholia, or he could be identical with the author and scribe of the main text. That marginal commentaries and glosses could be commissioned assignments is illustrated in an example given by Gacek: Here, the scribe has not only marked the end of the marginal commentary with »intahā at-taḥṣīyya [...] bi-ḥaṭṭ [...]« (»here ends the marginal commentation [...] in the hand of [...]«), but has also given a date (1114 AH) and his name, a certain Aḥmad b. Muḥammad aḍ-Ḍabwī.⁴⁷

The following image shows the signature of the person who wrote the *ḥawāṣṣ*, Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. Iṣḥāq, who introduces himself as »its [that is, the entry's] scribe« (*kātibuhu*)⁴⁸.

Admittedly, this example is taken from a Qur'ān commentary, better described as »glosses« (in the sense of scholia), written by the Yemeni author al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Yamanī b. al-Ġabal (d. 1079 / 1668) on another Qur'ān commentary, the *Kaṣṣāf* by Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. 'Umar az-Zamaḥṣarī (d. 538 / 1144)⁴⁹. It carries the title *Ḥāṣiyat as-Sayyid al-'Allāma al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ġalāl 'alā l-Kaṣṣāf*. His scholia, which have been edited in this manuscript as a stand-alone commentary, are introduced with the word *qauluhu* (his word[s]), referring to the word(s) of the main text (here the *Kaṣṣāf*) that are commented upon; to better orient, *qauluhu* is written in red ink. This manuscript might serve as a »typical« example of a formerly marginal commentary that has become an independent, stand-alone text, carrying the title *ḥāṣiya*. But in the end, we do not have al-Ḥasan's

47 Gacek (as note 27), pp. 115 f.; an image of the entry can be found on p. 116.

48 State Library Berlin / Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Glaser 181, part 1, fol. 2r, and elsewhere; al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Yamanī b. al-Ġabal: *Ḥāṣiyat as-Sayyid al-'Allāma al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ġalāl 'alā l-Kaṣṣāf*. For the digitised image see <http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de> under the given shelf mark.

49 Kaḥḥāla (as note 35), Vol. 12, pp. 186 f.

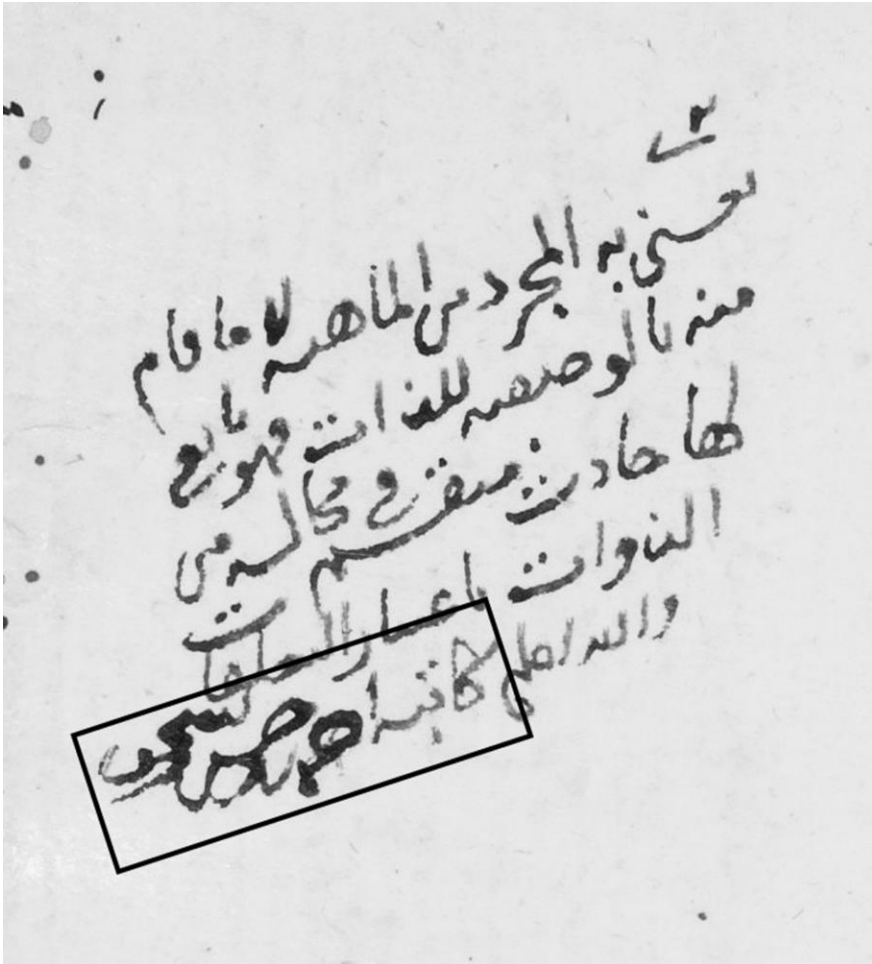


Image 2: Signature of the scribe, Glaser 181, part 1, fol. 2r, copy dated ca. 1100 / 1688
 © Courtesy of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung

scholia (as commentaries in the margin of a manuscript), so we do not know what they looked like, and thus this assumption has to be taken as preliminary. The reason why the scribe, Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. Ishāq, signs his marginal commentaries might be because he is signing as the copyist for texts from other text sources. (According to the Ahlwardt catalogue, there are citations in the margin from the rare *Ḥaṣīya ‘alā l-Kaṣṣāf* by Sa’d ad-Dīn at-Taftazānī [d. 792 / 1390].⁵⁰)

⁵⁰ Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Arabische Handschriften*, 10 vols., Berlin 1887-1899, Vol. 9, No. 10239,1, pp. 577 f.

Joel Blecher gives an example for a scribe acting as the collator and corrector for auditions: A manuscript dated to the year 822 / 1419 at the Süleymaniye Library with the commentary by Ibn Ḥağar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852 / 1449), *Fath al-Bārī*, on the Ḥadīṭ collection by al-Buḥārī, shows a ›first layer‹ of this work, an early version that became subject to several revisions in the following years and decades by its author, Ibn Ḥağar. The person who wrote this early manuscript version, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥiḍr b. Dāwūd Ibn al-Miṣrī Šams ad-Dīn (d. 841 / 1437 – 1438), has also stated in an audition statement that he, Šaiḥ Šams ad-Dīn, collated the copy (with annotations: *katabahu muʿallifuhu*, that is, in the sense of »signed«).⁵¹

In principle, an anonymous scribe can sometimes be identified by comparing scripts, either within the same manuscript or with other manuscripts. I assume that the hand that wrote the marginal commentaries in a manuscript of a text on Ḥadīṭ sciences, *al-Ḥulāṣa fī maʿrifat al-Ḥadīṭ* by al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭībī (d. 743 / 1342)⁵² (see also below) is identical with the one that wrote the added folios 18a-b, which the scribe dates 1245 AH, and where he gives his name as al-Ḥāğğ al-Ḥaramain [al-Fardī ?] on fol. 18b.⁵³

In general, we can expect the commenting hand in Ḥadīṭ manuscripts up to the modern period to belong to a male person. This does not mean that a female scribe is impossible. In the field of Islamic sciences, Ḥadīṭ was perhaps the discipline most open to women, compared to Qurʾānic studies or Islamic law. We know that women attended Ḥadīṭ lectures, received certificates, and acted as teachers issuing certificates. But their influence and the range of their studies is contested (and surely differed from time to time, region to region, school to school).⁵⁴ Women appear very rarely as owners or readers in Islamic manuscripts (compared to their role as donors to various institutions, such as madrasas) – this does not mean that they did not read or own manuscripts, but we have too little evidence to deduce a clear picture. We cannot rule out the possibility that a woman could have added annotations to a Ḥadīṭ manuscript – but we cannot prove it without factual evidence. The anonymity of marginal commentaries makes it difficult to reconstruct such concrete social contexts.

⁵¹ Blecher (as note 22), pp. 40–43, with an image of the audition statement on p. 43.

⁵² Kaḥḥāla (as note 35), Vol. 4, p. 53.

⁵³ Leipzig University Library, Ms or 339; compare, for example, the scholia on fol. 17v with the text on fol. 18a-b. For the digitised images see: www.islamic-manuscripts.net under the respective shelf mark.

⁵⁴ Asma Sayeed, »Women and Ḥadīth Transmission: Two Case Studies from Mamluk Damascus«, in: *Studia Islamica* 95 (2002), pp. 71–94; Asma Sayeed, *Women and the Transmission of Religious Knowledge in Islam*, Cambridge 2013; Muḥammad Akram Nadwī, *Al-Muḥaddithāt: The Women Scholars in Islam*, Oxford 2007; Garrett Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition: A Social and Intellectual History of Hadith Transmission Across a Thousand Years*, Leiden et al. 2019.

A special category of marginal commentaries are those that can be traced back to the author himself and which have been written by him. Such entries are called *minhiyyāt*, and are usually signed with *minhu* (»from him«).⁵⁵

5) The Layout

While glosses could be added to the interlinear space or the margin, marginal commentaries in Ḥadīṭ manuscripts (as in other genres) were usually written in the margin because of the length of many of these entries. As the following examples make clear, there is a general ambition to have the note close to the relevant word or text passage of the primary text. Even in lithographs and early prints – print was not widely introduced before the 19th century – there was an attempt to maintain this tradition of marginal notes, while later on the footnote became the common mode for annotation. What might this convention show? Lipkin and Tribble have pointed out that the shift from the marginal note to the footnote in early 18th-century Europe meant a change in hierarchization: Glosses in the margins began to decline by the late 17th century, »associated as they are with residual medieval notions of authorization (in which the author is authorized by others, by his place in a relatively undifferentiated tradition). In the later seventeenth and the eighteenth century the footnote begins to dominate, a form that promises – but does not necessarily deliver – a hierarchization of knowledge, a firm subordination of text to subtext«.⁵⁶ (And if we agree that the footnote system clearly indicates that the primary text presides over the annotations, modern endnotes remove the tradition of annotating a text even further.)⁵⁷

Keeping the marginal annotations in lithographs and early print might reflect the wish to follow aesthetic concepts (that is, keeping the manuscript tradition), but also the wish to maintain a scholarly tradition and the authority connected with it. Printed Ḥadīṭ collections, with possibly a few footnotes about text vari-

⁵⁵ Rosemarie Quiring-Zoche, »Minhiyāt – Marginalien des Verfassers in arabischen Manuskripten«, in: *Asiatische Studien* (=Études asiatiques, Suisse) 60 (2006), pp. 987-1019.

⁵⁶ Evelyn B. Tribble, »Like a Looking-Glass in the Frame«: From the Marginal Note to the Footnote«, in: D. C. Greetham (ed.), *The Margins of the Text*, 4th ed., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor 2000, pp. 229-244, quotation p. 231; Lawrence Lipking, »The Marginal Gloss«, in: *Critical Inquiry* 3 (1977), pp. 609-655.

⁵⁷ Already in 1947, F. Rosenthal addressed the issue of marginal note and footnote. He, though, does not broach the issue of intellectual implications of this shift from the margin to the bottom of the page; instead, he stresses the disadvantage of the limited space in the margin and favours the footnote: »A footnote, on the other hand, can be as long as it is necessary, and its place, in the bottom of the page, is clearly defined. Therefore, only a footnote is a satisfactory vehicle for the conveyance of additional material« (as note 15, p. 39).

ants, are in this sense stripped of a centuries-old tradition of scholarly interaction with the primary text.

In most cases, marginal commentaries would be added on the upper margin, the outer margin, and the bottom of the page. We encounter scholia in the inner



Image 3: al-Buḥārī, al-Ġāmi' as-Ṣaḥiḥ, B.or.227, copy dated 800 / 1398, fol. 165v

© Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig

margin, too, but in general, this is less common, most probably because of the awareness that these notes might (partly) disappear in the fold with the process of a rebinding. The position of these entries is often oblique, sometimes at a right angle to the primary text, or even upside down with respect to the main text area, in order to avoid any confusion between primary text and *ḥāšiya*.

In principle, marginal commentaries could be added systematically in a planned undertaking over a limited time period, with one or a limited number of hands, or they could grow organically over long periods of time. An organised and planned working process is most likely reflected in a manuscript of al-Buḥārī's Ḥadīṭ collection al-Ġāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ held at the Leipzig University Library, with the shelf mark B.or.227. With the main text being al-Buḥārī's Ṣaḥīḥ, it shows excerpts from two Ṣaḥīḥ commentaries distributed over the margins. The analysis of these marginal commentaries by Ali Zaherinezhad shows that there must have been a conscious selection of the relevant passages prior to the even distribution of these texts in the margins. Even though there are two main hands, and maybe two less dominant ones, this is most likely evidence for a common workshop, or a commissioned work in a limited period of time, at one place (see image 3).⁵⁸

In other instances, it seems that the main marginal commentator prepared his annotations, leaving space for others to add, such as in a manuscript of the Ḥadīṭ collection by al-Ḥaṭīb at-Ṭabrīzī (d. 741 / 1340 – 1341), *Miškāt al-Maṣābiḥ*:

At other times, a completely crowded margin with many different hands, showing no signs of a common planning process, seems to indicate a more organic growth of notes over a longer period of time.

It becomes obvious that, especially in some cases suggesting a planned layout, marginal commentaries could have an aesthetic value in and of themselves. The annotation text could be fashioned in a way that it formed an image, either a geometrical design, a tree, or, in the case of Ṣī'ī manuscripts, a stylised sword, representing 'Alī's sword, *Ḍū l-fiqār*.⁵⁹

The layout of marginal commentaries could already be part of the manuscript production process: In order to mark the lines, the paper was prepared with a ruling board, or ruling frame (*miṣṭara*). Threads or cords were attached to it corresponding to the desired pattern of the text on the page. The leaf or bifolium was put on it and by pressing the paper on the ruling board, the threads created

58 Ali Zaherinezhad, »The Marginalization of Commentaries in Manuscripts«, in: Joel Blecher et al. (eds., as note 9).

59 For an image of a marginal note in the shape of 'Alī's sword, see Gacek (as note 27), p. 115. For images illustrating the aesthetic and the less organised marginal annotations see Ziedan (as note 7), pp. 15 ff. (The book can be accessed on Jan Just Witkam's professional website: <http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/reference/books/Ziedan-2009-Commentary/Ziedan-2009-Commentary-1-009-046-Ziedan.pdf> [last accessed 8 October 2019]).



Image 4: al-Ḥaṭīb al-Tabrizī, Miškāt al-Maṣābīh, Ms 0999, copy dated 829 / 1426, fol. 5r
© Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig

a pattern of blind lines in the paper. The *miṣṭara* could not only define the space of the margin, it could also create the pattern for marginal commentaries.⁶⁰

The script of marginal annotations was as a rule smaller than that of the main text. Mamluk calligraphers differentiated, according to Gacek, between a *qalam al-matn* (script of the main text) and the *qalam al-hawāṣī* (script of the marginal commentaries, or annotations).⁶¹ While some marginal annotations are written in a clear script, in most cases the script of marginal commentaries is difficult to read, of poor quality, and lacking vowel signs and often diacritics.⁶² Whether this is a sign of negligence, simply an accepted tradition among scholars, and/or

60 For such an example see Gacek (as note 27), p. 232, or the power point presentation by Jan Just Witkam on layout and scripts, which is accessible via his website: <http://www.islamic-manuscripts.info/files/Codicology-Layout-scripts-2010.pdf> [last accessed 8 October 2019].

61 Gacek (as note 27), p. 115.

62 As a consonantal script, the Arabic needs vowel signs above or below the consonants. In addition, some Arabic letters can be read as up to five different characters, if the letters are not distinguished by diacritical marks.

some kind of code for the trained, scholarly community can be debated (with these possibilities being, of course, not mutually exclusive). The difficulty of reading many marginal commentaries with regard to script and position makes it likely that they were not meant as a point of reference for live sessions and oral teachings, but instead intended for private study.

Especially if the marginal commentary was a quotation, it was usually introduced by *qauluhu* (his word[s]), referring either to the word(s) of the main text that is commented upon, or to the *qauluhu* mentioned already in the source, that is, the stand-alone commentary. Explanations of the meaning of a word could be introduced by *ayy* (»that is«, »that means«). The end of a marginal commentary is often marked with the word *tammāt* (finished), or different symbols for the word *intahā* (finished), versions of the letter *hā'*, a circle, or an inverted heart (see on image 4 the marginal annotation with the number 1 in the right corner of the page).⁶³

6) Offering Orientation for the Reader: Advice for the Scribe of Ḥadīṭ Texts

There are two main approaches to dealing with *signes de renvoi*, annotation symbols, and practices of adding marginal commentaries: Texts written about such practices, which would need to be studied as texts (philology), and the actual practice of annotating a manuscript (codicology).⁶⁴ These two approaches do not run necessarily in accordance, as texts might suggest certain practices that were rarely used in reality. And even though there were certain traditions with regard to adding marginal commentaries, practices were manifold and surely less consistent than in an ideal case scenario.

There is no in-depth study of different texts presenting guidelines and best practices for the addition of marginal commentaries at this point, and this would be a question too large for this article. But one genre dedicated to the terminology and transmission of Ḥadīṭ could be seen as a potential source for scribal practices: the works on *'ulūm al-ḥadīṭ* (sciences of Ḥadīṭ). In the course of the formation and systematisation of Ḥadīṭ, scholars engaged with this genre tried to develop a more consistent terminology (therefor, *'ulūm al-ḥadīṭ* is sometimes used synonymously with *muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīṭ*, that is, Ḥadīṭ terminology), systematised variations of names for the study of the chain of transmitters (*isnād*), and discussed abrogation and patterns of and guidelines for distinguishing proper

63 For other abbreviations of a more regional character see Gacek (as note 27), p. 117.

64 Evina Steinová, *Notam Superponere Studui: The Use of Annotation Symbols in the Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout 2019, pp. 23-25.

or weak transmission.⁶⁵ Some of the works of this genre, which began appearing in the 10th century CE, contain information about scribal practices, either in chapters on the transmission of Ḥadīṭ or in chapters specifically dedicated to scribal practice (*adab al-kātib*). For this article, four influential works have been consulted: *al-Muḥaddiṭ al-Fāsil* by al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān ar-Rām[a] hurmuzī, also known as Ibn al-Ḥallād (d. before 360/971)⁶⁶; the *Kifāya fī ‘ilm ar-riwāya* by al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī (d. 463 / 1071)⁶⁷; the *Kitāb ‘Ulūm al-Ḥadīṭ*, known as the *Muqaddima*, by Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ aṣ-Ṣāhrazūrī (d. 643 / 1245)⁶⁸, and finally the *Ḥulāsa fī ma’rifat al-Ḥadīṭ* by al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭibī (d. 743 / 1342).⁶⁹ A reading of these works reveals the following: While Rāmhumuzī (10th c.) and al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī (11th c.) dedicate comparatively little attention to scribal problems for the writing of Ḥadīṭ, by Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ’s time (13th c.) this topic has become much more prominent, and later works sometimes include a separate chapter on scribal practices (*adab al-kātib*), as in aṭ-Ṭibī’s book from the 14th century. Here, we find, in a rather systematic order, chapters on the conduct of the Ṣāliḥ, the teaching master (*fī adab aṣ-ṣāliḥ*, pp. 167 ff.), the conduct of the student (*fī adab aṭ-ṭālib*, pp. 171 ff.), and finally the conduct of the scribe (*fī adab al-kātib*, pp. 174 ff.). This might be an indication of the increase in the writing of Ḥadīṭ that took place from the 10th to the 14th century and the growing awareness of the role of the scribe.

Another observation is that in all these works advice and instructions for the scribe (student or professional) for how to write Ḥadīṭ are given; but the advice and instructions refer nearly exclusively to the main text, that is, the copied Ḥadīṭ collection. When text in the margin is addressed in more detail, those notes usually refer to how to mark lacunae in the primary text. Only in passing does Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ address the issue of commentary, errors, and text variants – these he considers as »not part of the original text«. ⁷⁰ For the main text, the scribe is advised to write clearly and »exactly as the transmitters related it,

65 See Mohammad Gharaibeh, *Einführung in die Wissenschaften des Hadith, seine Überlieferungsgeschichte und Literatur*, Vol. 4, Freiburg i. Br. 2016, pp. 96–99.

66 al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān ar-Rāmhumuzī (or: Rāmahurmuzī), *al-Muḥaddiṭ al-fāsil baina r-rāwī wa-l-wā’i*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Ağğāğ al-Ḥaṭīb, Damascus 1404 / 1984.

67 Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *al-Kifāya fī [ma’rifat uṣūl] ‘ilm ar-riwāya*, ed. Dā’irāt al-Mā’arif al-‘Uṣmāniyya, no place, no date.

68 For references and the citations in this article, the English translation has been used: Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ aṣ-Ṣāhrazūrī, *An Introduction to the Science of the Hadith/ Kitāb ma’rifat anwā’ ‘ilm al-ḥadīth*, trans. Eerik Dickinson, Reading 2005; the Arabic edition: Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ aṣ-Ṣāhrazūrī and Abū ‘Amr ‘Uṣmān b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān, *‘Ulūm al-ḥadīṭ*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn al-‘Atr, Damascus 1407 / 1986.

69 al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad Ṣaraf ad-Dīn ad-Dimaṣqī aṭ-Ṭibī, *al-Ḥulāsa fī ma’rifat al-ḥadīṭ*, ed. Abū ‘Āṣim aṣ-Ṣawāmī al-Aṭarī, Cairo 1430 / 2009.

70 Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ (as note 68), p. 137.

using the vowel signs and diacritical points necessary to eliminate ambiguity». ⁷¹ The individual traditions should be separated by hollow circles, and, after collation, a dot could be placed in the centre of the circle. ⁷² The scholar should use symbols and signs that are part of the known tradition. ⁷³ Described much more in detail, and illustrating the connection between the main text and marginal annotation, are the remarks on textual omissions (*laḥaq*, addendum). Part of this passage is quoted here:

The preferred method of supplying a textual omission in the margins – and it is called an ›addendum‹ (*laḥaq*) – is for the student to make a line going up from the spot of the omission in the line of text and then curve it for a short distance between the two lines of text in the direction of the spot in the margin where he will write the addendum. He should begin writing the addendum in the margin opposite the curved line. Let that be in the right margin. If it is near the middle of the page, let the addendum be written – if there is room for it – going up toward the top of the page, and not down toward the bottom. When the addendum is two or more lines long, the student should not begin the lines going from the bottom to the top, but rather begin them going from the top to the bottom, so that the end of the lines is in the direction of the center of the page, when the insertion is on the right margin; and when it is on the left margin, their end is toward the edge of the page. ›It is correct‹ (*ṣaḥḥa*) should be written at the end of the addendum. Some people write ›It returned‹ (*rajaʿa*) with ›It is correct‹. ⁷⁴

In what follows, Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ points to some regional differences. He also mentions another scholar's recommendation to extend the curve from the spot of omission in the main text to the beginning of the marginal addendum. Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ himself rejects this practice: »While it does more clearly indicate where the addendum belongs, it blackens the book and marks it up, especially if there are many addenda. God knows best.« ⁷⁵ Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ then adds a long paragraph on how to distribute the addenda in the margin. In general, the scribe should take

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 130. Another possibility for clearly identifying the consonant was to mark those that had to remain unpointed. Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ also mentions the possibility of writing an ambiguous word in unconnected letters in the margin, that is the letters in their isolated form, since in this way some consonants are more easily identified than in the connected *rasm*, p. 131.

⁷² Ibid., p. 132; ar-Rāmahurmūzī (as note 66), p. 606; at-Ṭibī (as note 69), p. 175.

⁷³ Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ (as note 68), p. 132.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 136. This advice is repeated in at-Ṭibī's 14th-century *al-Ḥulāṣa*, which strongly builds on Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ. The curved line is described as: »[...] *fa-la-yahūṭta min mauḍiʿi suqūṭihī fī s-saṭri ḥaṭṭan ṣāʿidan qalīlan maʾtūfan baina s-saṭrain ʿaṭfatan yasīratan ilā ġihati l-laḥaq, tumma yaktuba l-laḥaqa qibālata l-ʿaṭfati fī l-ḥāṣiya* [...]«. (p. 176)

⁷⁵ Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ (as note 68), pp. 136 f.

care to start with the upper part of the margin for his annotations, so that, if many further addenda have to be written, he does not encounter problems with the space in the margin. If there are more addenda, the student can distribute the annotations on the right and left margins in order to avoid confusion. The left margin should especially be used if the omission in the main text is at the end of the line »because of the proximity of the omission to the margin«.⁷⁶

The interesting issue here is that these detailed descriptions refer to omissions in the main text and how to annotate them; that is, the focus is on the correct transmission of the main text. Marginal commentaries and any additional remarks explaining foreign words, providing biographical information on transmitters, and clarifying content are not addressed in the cited recommendation.

Nevertheless, we can find the tradition in Ḥadīṭ manuscripts of connecting parts of the main text with marginal commentaries by a line to indicate where the insertion belongs. But in general, this practice was not widespread. In fact, most Ḥadīṭ manuscripts from the Middle East do not show such lines. The reason might be – as already pointed out by Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ himself – the aesthetics of the page: Alongside the main text and the often numerous marginal annotations, lines connecting these annotations to the relevant places in the main text would »blacken the page« and maybe lead to a more confusing impression than the text without lines. It seems, though, that certain manuscript cultures in the Islamicate world are known to have used such lines of insertion more frequently, such as West African manuscripts, and manuscripts from the Šīʿī community of the Zaidiyya from the Caspian region of Northern Iran.⁷⁷

The clearest reference from a marginal annotation to a place in the main text is done by means of a *signe de renvoi*. But these are not discussed in the *ʿulūm al-ḥadīṭ* works at all – even though they were used. That marginal commentaries were not considered part of a scribe's training, as is evident from the books on Ḥadīṭ sciences, and the fact that the instructions therein refer to the correct written transmission of the *main* text is reflected in the following statement of Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ:

Commentary, the notation of errors and variant readings from different transmissions or different copies of the text or similar material not part of the original text which is to be supplied in the margins: The expert Qāḍī ʿIyād (God bless him) held the view that a line of insertion should not be used for

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 137.

⁷⁷ Personal communication, Dmitry Bondarev (Hamburg University) and Hassan Ansari (Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton). Since only a few manuscripts from the Northern Zaidi community have survived, this remains a preliminary observation with no concluding statement. Comparative research on this issue will be carried out in the Bibliotheca Arabica Project at the Saxon Academy for Sciences and Humanities in Leipzig, Germany.

this kind of material. This way ambiguity does not arise with this foreign material being considered part of the original text itself. However, to mark the word for which the additional material was intended, a sign like the ›latch‹ (ḡabba) or the one indicating that the word is correct (taṣḥīḥ) is something placed over it. I say: the line of insertion is better and clearer. The character of this supplementary material inherently eliminates any ambiguity. This supplement differs from the other kind belonging to the original text in that the line of the latter comes between the two words, bracketing the omission, and the line of the former occurs over the actual word for the sake of which the supplementary material in the margin is cited. God knows best.⁷⁸

7) Offering Orientation for the Reader: Manuscript Evidence

Moving from texts that treat adding marginal annotation to codicological evidence: How is the reader guided between primary text and marginal commentaries? In his work on marginalia in English books from 1700 to 2000, H. J. Jackson points out:

Marking, copying out, inserting glosses, selecting heads, adding bits from other books, and writing one's own observations are all traditional devices, on a rising scale of readerly activity, for remembering and assimilating text. Psychologically, these techniques seem to function by forcing the reader to slow down (or stop) and go back over the material, and by driving a wedge between the author and the reader.⁷⁹

Even though marginal commentaries in Ḥadīṭ manuscripts suggest by a large majority the scribe's ambition to place them in relative proximity to the word or passage of the main text they refer to, there are also indicators that many of these entries were meant to be read privately, and slowly: One reason is the *mise en page* that forces the reader to move and turn the book in order to read the sloped marginal annotations or those that are written upside down. In addition, the small and often sketchy and casual script, many times without diacritics, was not easily read (at least not by most readers).

Two scribal practices could better orient the reader: In the discussion of texts for scribes of Ḥadīṭ texts, we have already mentioned the advice to use a line of insertion. Another possibility were *signes de renvoi*, as can be seen the following

⁷⁸ Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ (as note 68), pp. 137 f.

⁷⁹ Heather J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books*, New Haven and London 2001, p. 87.

example from a 14th-century Ḥadīṭ collection by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥaṭīb at-Tabrīzī (d. 741 / 1340 – 1341), called *Miškāt al-Maṣābiḥ* (the copy is dated 829 / 1426):



Image 5: Signes de renvoi in al-Ḥaṭīb at-Tabrīzī, *Miškāt al-Maṣābiḥ*, Ms 0999, copy dated 829 / 1426, fol. 3r © Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig

Here it is numbers that establish the relation between the word of the main text and the marginal annotation, and in this case the numbers are even written in red.

But in most Ḥadīṭ manuscripts, there are neither lines of insertion nor *signes de renvoi*. The connection between marginal commentary and main text has to be made by the reader himself, a further indicator for private study and slow reading. As an example, see the following image from a manuscript of al-Buḥārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, copied in 804 / 1402, most likely in Shiraz, in Timurid Iran:



Image 6: al-Buḥārī, al-Ġāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ, Glaser 30, copy dated 804 / 1402, fol. 1v

© Courtesy of Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

On fol. 1v, line 4 in the main text, 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb (d. 23 / 644) is supposed to have said something »in the pulpit« (‘*alā l-minbar*). The commentary on the upper margin explains that this pulpit is the one »of the Prophetic mosque« (*minbar al-masğid an-nabawī*), that is, in Medina. The commentary specifies the location of the pulpit mentioned in the Ḥadīṭ of the main text. But neither is there a *signe de renvoi* at *minbar* in the main text, nor before or above the marginal commentary.

8) Identifying the Source of a Quotation in the Margin

Given that marginal commentaries in Ḥadīṭ manuscripts were used to a large extent for study purposes, it is interesting to note that in many cases the source of a quotation in the margin is not necessarily mentioned. This can lead to a number of assumptions, namely that the sources quoted were well known within the scholarly community in which they circulated, or known by the private user of the manuscript.⁸⁰ On the other hand, not mentioning the source might point to the rather crucial role of the marginal commentator, in that he consciously guides the reader on how to study the main text, leaving his own sources unnamed. On these possible roles and sources, see below.

9) Main Types of Marginal Commentaries

In general, and for the sake of a systematic approach, we can distinguish four main types of marginal commentaries referring to the origin and completeness of the texts. The first two types are authorial voices, while the last two are quotations.

The first type would ideally be a complete commentary drafted in the margin – a proper *ḥāšiya*, as discussed above. Further research would be needed to identify such texts, and to reconstruct the pathway from the margin to a stand-alone text. In general, we can expect, though, that an author mainly wrote single notes in the margin, his own exegetical notes, and possibly some quotations from other scholars, and that the subsequent revision and edition took place on new sheets of paper as an independent coherent text.

The second type of marginal commentary includes single marginal notes by an authorial voice. Basically, these could be notes written by the author himself (*minhiyyāt*), or his notes copied by another hand, or somebody writing the remarks of a teacher in the context of a live session. Joel Blecher has illustrated the revisions made by Ibn Ḥağar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852 / 1449) on his own commentary, as traceable in marginal notes, written by a student during an audition.⁸¹ A manuscript to be studied in line with this would be an autograph by Muḥammad Badr ad-Dīn az-Zarkašī aš-Šāfi‘ī (794 / 1392) of his work *Tanqīḥ al-fāz al-Ġāmi‘*

80 For the Qur’ān commentary (*tafsīr*), Dmitry Bondarev points out that, due to the popularity of the *Tafsīr al-Ġalalain* by Ġalāl ad-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864 / 1459) and Ġalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī (d. 911 / 1505) among scholars (‘*ulamā*’) of the Borno Sultanate in Sub-Saharan Africa, marginal quotations of this commentary often did not mention the source. Bondarev (as note 20), pp. 32 f.

81 Blecher (as note 22).

aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ, a commentary on al-Buḥārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, with many of his marginal and interlinear annotations, held at the State Library of Berlin.⁸²



Image 7: Autograph Badr ad-Dīn az-Zarkašī, Tanqīḥ al-fāz al-Ġāmi' *aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ*, Sprenger 499 (Ahlwardt 1195), fol. 71r © Courtesy of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung

Reflecting a teaching context are annotations that are often introduced by »our master said« (*qāla šaiḥunā*), or »from the mouth of our teacher« (*min fammi ustādīnā*), and similar expressions. As Darya Ogorodnikova has pointed out, though, one has to take care not to interpret such entries as being written directly in the margin during the live teaching session. She stresses that many times the layout and the careful script might indicate a later addition to the margin⁸³, maybe copied from notes taken on a piece of scrap paper during the session, and then later added to the proper manuscript. The availability of paper and the value of a manuscript are surely aspects to be considered here.

The following two types are quotations. Analogous to the two authorial types mentioned above, there is either the possibility of a fully quoted commentary in the margin, or of single notes – in this case excerpts from stand-alone texts. For type three, the complete quote of a commentary, the limited space of the margin automatically brings in the constraint of a shorter commentary.⁸⁴

82 Ahlwardt (as note 50), Vol. 2, no. 1195 (Sprenger 499), p. 61.

83 Ogorodnikova (as note 24).

84 See Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *The Powers of Philology: Dynamics of Textual Scholarship*, Urbana 2003, p. 44.

But in fact, the most frequently encountered type of marginal commentary in Ḥadīṭ manuscripts is type four, namely selected excerpts from independent, stand-alone commentaries, or other sources. The choice of sources tells us not only something about texts known and possibly popular in a given scholarly environment, they also can tell us something about the methods applied to study the main text and ideological attitudes or agendas reflected in the choice of texts. Let's assume that the scribe of the marginal commentaries is identical with the one who chose the sources to be quoted (something which surely was not always the case): This makes him a rather influential figure. It is he who determines how the reader approaches the text, he who might have an ideological influence on the reader. Given this important role, the usual anonymity of the scribe of marginal annotations seems noteworthy.

Even beyond the selection of text passages considered important, the scribe, or marginal commentator, can also choose from within these passages what to quote. An example from the Glaser 30 manuscript, a copy of the Ḥadīṭ collection *al-Ġāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* by al-Buḥārī (which will be dealt with more in detail below): On fol. iv Arabic foliation/fol. 5v European foliation, one can see the shortened title of as-Suyūṭī's commentary *at-Tawṣīḥ* at the end of the annotation (which appears sporadically). The marginal text in Glaser 30 is as follows:

قوله فغطني بغين
معجمة وطاء مهملة
اي ضمني وعصرني
وفي مسند الطيالسي
فاخذ بحلقي تمت توشيح

In the edited version of as-Suyūṭī's *Tawṣīḥ*⁸⁵, the text is as follows:

(فغطني) بغين معجمة وطاء مهملة. وفي رواية الطبري: بقاء مثناة فوقية بمعنى: أي: ضمني وعصرني. وفي "مسند الطيالسي": فاخذ بحلقي.

The scribe of the annotation in Glaser 30 has obviously left out the reference to an alternative reading in the recension of aṭ-Ṭabarī, which is marked bold in the quotation above. Another explanation, other than intentional omission, would be that this part was not included in his *Vorlage*.

Summing up: On the one hand, the usually anonymous scribe of marginal commentaries of the quotation type is part of a tradition: He does not invent something new, but adds useful information for himself or contemporary and future readers. And since he might be only one of many scribes present in the margin, there is not necessarily a »single strong subject«.⁸⁶ On the other hand,

85 Ġalāl ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Suyūṭī, *at-Tawṣīḥ šarḥ al-ġāmi' aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Riḍwān Ġāmi' Riḍwān, Riyad 1419 / 1998, p. 138.

86 See also Gumbrecht (as note 84), p. 48.

copyists often add their names to the colophon, and what they do is also simply an act of copying, similar to the scribe who adds the chosen excerpts of commentaries in the margin of a manuscript. Even more: The scribe of marginal commentaries is not merely copying – he is choosing his material, and acts as a mediator between the primary text and the reader. As a mediator, he seems more active than the copyist of the primary text. He can guide the reader and choose what the reader should have in mind when reading the main text. His role in that respect has more impact than that of the copyist – but still, the individuality of the scribes of marginal commentaries often remains in the shadows.

10) Two Examples of the Quotation Type of Marginal Commentary

To illustrate type four, two examples of manuscripts with al-Buḥārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* can be compared. Both were written in late 14th-early 15th-century Timurid Iran, one surely in Shiraz, the other one presumably in Shiraz. The first manuscript with the shelf mark B.or.227 is today held at the Leipzig University Library. It was copied in 800 / 1398 in Shiraz, contains the complete *Ṣaḥīḥ* by al-Buḥārī, and is covered from beginning (except of fol. 1-23 where the main text area was inserted in a new paper frame) to end with marginal annotations. The other manuscript is today held at the Austrian National Library, with the shelf mark Glaser 30. The colophon dates the manuscript to 804 / 1402, but gives no place of copy. An analysis of codicological features such as format, layout, ornamentation, and a comparison of the nearly identical tables of content in B.or.227 and Glaser 30 makes its provenance from Shiraz more than likely.⁸⁷

B.or.227 has extensive quotations from two commentaries on al-Buḥārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (see image 3): One is from the Egyptian scholar Badr ad-Dīn [Ibn] ad-Damāmīnī (d. 827 / 1424), called *Maṣābiḥ al-Ġāmi'*. Damāmīnī came from Egypt, but apparently wrote this commentary during his stay in Yemen, maybe finishing it after moving on to the Sultanate of Gujarat. He died in the Deccan, India, in 827 / 1424. The other commentary that gets quoted in the margin was written by the Persian scholar Sa'īd b. Muḥammad 'Afīf ad-Dīn al-Kāzarūnī (d. most likely 758 / 1357⁸⁸), called *Maqāṣid at-tanqīḥ fi šarḥ al-Ġāmi' as-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Kāzarūnī is a city west of Shiraz, and Kāzarūnī was an active scholar in the Shirazi scholarly milieu, known as a Ḥadīṭ specialist, and with some ties to the local Sufi milieu.⁸⁹

87 See Stefanie Brinkmann, »From Iran to Kawkabān: The Transfer of Sunnī Texts to Zaydī Yemen – A Case Study on Glaser 30«, in: Sabine Schmidtke and Hassan Ansari (eds.), *Yemeni Manuscripts in Peril*, Piscataway (NJ) 2020 [forthcoming].

88 Kaḥḥāla (as note 35), Vol. 4, p. 231.

89 Zaherinezhad (as note 58).

While Damāmīnī's commentary has been edited⁹⁰, Kāzarūnī's commentary is known to us only due to a few mainly fragmentary manuscripts identified by Ali Zaherinezhad so far, and the marginal quotations in B.or.227.⁹¹ The Kāzarūnī commentary was a local commentary, while Damāmīnī's commentary might have reached Shiraz from India via East Iran – but this has to remain a hypothesis. As Zaherinezhad argues, the marginal commentaries were added as a planned undertaking and most likely were done close in time to the production of the manuscript, that is, 15th-century Shiraz. While Kāzarūnī was a Ḥadīṭ scholar, Damāmīnī was known above all as a specialist in the Arabic language – maybe this made his commentary valuable in a non-Arabic Persian milieu in Shiraz. But the most important impact of Damāmīnī's commentary are the many quotations from contemporary or earlier, mainly Egyptian, commentaries, which apparently were still rare in early 15th-century Shiraz. By the Mamluk period, a Ḥadīṭ scholar was at best well trained in the Arabic language and literature, not only for the sake of memorising the traditions properly (a key competence from the very beginning), but as part of the ›adabisation‹ of scholars (›*ulamā*›).⁹²

Both, the Kāzarūnī and the Damāmīnī commentary encompass a wide range of topics, from language and legal issues to theology. It seems that the scribes often tried to add as much as they could from these two commentaries in the margin, choosing the excerpts carefully for their content. A different image arises when looking at the Glaser 30 manuscript (see image 6).⁹³

Here, only the beginning of the manuscript is densely annotated, a quite typical phenomenon in Ḥadīṭ manuscripts (and those of other genres). Marginal commentaries cover the margins until fol. 8r, becoming less on fol. 8v-9r, and after this, they appear only sporadically. While the marginal commentaries in B.or.227 were added relatively close in time to the production of the manuscript, and most likely in the same city, the marginal annotations in Glaser 30 were added centuries later and far away from Shiraz. By the 16th century, this manuscript must have reached Yemen and come into the possession of the Zaidī Imām al-Mutawakkil ›alā llāh Šaraf ad-Dīn b. Šams ad-Dīn Yaḥyā (b. 877/1473, d. 965 / 1558).⁹⁴ Henceforth it remained in the Šaraf ad-Dīn family until the

90 Badr ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr ad-Damāmīnī, *Maṣābiḥ al-Ġāmi'*, ed. Nūr ad-Dīn Ṭālib, 10 vols., Qatar 1430 / 2009.

91 Zaherinezhad (as note 58).

92 Thomas Bauer, »Literarische Anthologien der Mamlūkenzeit«, in: Stephan Conermann and Anja Pistor-Hatam (eds.), *Die Mamlūken: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur: Zum Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann (1942 – 1999)*, Schenefeld 2003, pp. 71-122, especially pp. 79-85.

93 On Glaser 30, see Brinkmann (as note 87).

94 ›Abd as-Salām b. ›Abbās al-Waḡīh, *A'lām al-Mu'allifin al-Zaidiyya*, Mu'assasa al-Imām Zaid ibn ›Alī al-Ṭaqāfiyya / Imām Zaid ibn Ali Cultural Foundation, Amman 1420/1999, no. 1197,

19th century, when it was taken by Eduard Glaser to Austria. A marginal note on fol. 2r mentions water damage in this manuscript, apparently dating from some time at the end of the 17th century. The scribe reports on the damaged marginal annotations (as compared to the main text, which had survived slightly better). In fact, the often-repaired paper and the typical Yemenī script in the margins suggest that these were added after the water damage. Based on the reconstruction of ownership (manuscript notes), its scholarly network, and a *qirāʾa* entry beside the colophon on fol. 516r/520r dated to the year 1211 / 1796 – 1797, it seems reasonable that the marginal commentaries were added sometime between the 18th or early 19th century in the region of Kaukabān in Yemen, within the Šīʿī Zaidī milieu.

While B.or.227 is part of a Sunnī milieu – the Timurid dynasty – with marginal commentaries taken from ›Sunnī‹ commentaries on Buḥārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Glaser 30 was kept and used in a Šīʿī Zaidī environment, even though the main text and the marginal commentaries contain ›Sunnī‹ texts. In addition, the marginal commentaries in Glaser 30 quote from more than two commentaries.

The dominant commentary in Glaser 30 is the *Tawṣīḥ* written by the Egyptian scholar Ḡalāl ad-Dīn ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān as-Suyūṭī (d. 911 / 1505).⁹⁵ (Abbreviated as *Tawṣīḥ* under some of the quotations.) The *Tawṣīḥ* is a concise commentary, a format that had become popular in the Mamluk period (and beyond) and that is, obviously, convenient for the margin because of its brevity. The second commentary quoted in excerpts in the margin is the famous and extensive *Faṭḥ al-Bārī* by the Egyptian scholar Ibn Ḥaḡar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852 / 1449). (Abbreviated as *Faṭḥ* under some of the quotations.) Quotes from the *Faṭḥ al-Bārī* were apparently added where the *Tawṣīḥ* was too short or silent on a particular topic, and due to the extensive information given in the *Faṭḥ al-Bārī*, the selection of these passages required attention. Besides the quotations from these two proper Ḥadīṭ commentaries, there are two more sources to be identified: One dictionary, and one work situated between Ḥadīṭ sciences and lexicography, the *ḡarīb al-ḥadīṭ*. *Ḡarīb al-ḥadīṭ* works are dedicated to difficult, foreign, or ambiguous words found in Ḥadīṭ, and they were written as early as the 8th century – mainly by philologists who used the Prophetic traditions for the compilation of Arabic lexis and to ensure that these important religious texts were read and understood properly.

The dictionary quoted in Glaser 30 is the famous and widespread *Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* by the Persian lexicographer Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Firūzābādī (d. 1414). (Abbreviated as *Qāmūs* under one relevant entry, see image 6.) Typical for

pp. 1134 ff.; J. Richard Blackburn, »al-Mutawakkil ʿalā llāh Sharaf al-Dīn«, in: P. Bearman et al. (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Vol. 7, Leiden and New York 1993, p. 779.

95 On as-Suyūṭī's *Tawṣīḥ* as a concise commentary see Blecher (as note 8), pp. 129-139.

a scholar of his time, al-Firūzābādī traveled in Iran, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, the Ḥiğāz, India (Dehli), and Yemen, where he passed away in 817 / 1414.

The fourth source has not been identified with certainty so far. It is an (unedited) abridgement of Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī's (555 – 630 / 1160 – 1233) *an-Nihāya fī ġarīb al-ḥadīṭ*, the abridgement being called *Muḥtaṣar an-Nihāya (li-Ibn al-Aṭīr)*. (Abbreviated as *Muḥtaṣar Nihāya* under some entries.) There are three possible authors, all from the 16th century, all originally from India, with more or less time spent in Mecca: A *Muḥtaṣar an-Nihāya* work written by the Indian scholar 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī al-Muttaqī al-Hindī from Gujarat (d. in Mecca 975 / 1567).⁹⁶ But it is only Hidayet Hosein who attributes a work with this title to al-Muttaqī.⁹⁷ The second scholar is 'Alī al-Hindī (lived around 952/1545) who wrote a *Muḥtaṣar an-Nihāya li-Ibn Aṭīr*.⁹⁸ (His name might have led to the attribution of the *Muḥtaṣar* work to al-Muttaqī by Hidayet Hosein.) And the third author in question is 'Īsā b. Muḥammad Qutb al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥair aṣ-Ṣafawī (900 – 953 / 1495 – 1546).⁹⁹

The two Buḥārī commentaries in Glaser 30 are famous 15th-century Mamluk works on Ḥadīṭ, the *Qāmūs* was a widespread 15th-century dictionary in the Islamic world from al-Andalus to India, and whoever the author of the *ġarīb al-ḥadīṭ* work was, he was a scholar active during the Ottoman period in the Ḥiğāz (Mecca). The marginal commentaries prove that they were used for the study of Buḥārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in 18th- or early 19th-century Zaidī Yemen. They illustrate the growing influence of Sunnī Islam in the Zaidī community in Yemen from the 17th – 18th centuries on.

Another important issue at hand is that the marginal annotations in Glaser 30 are clearly concentrated on lexical grammatical questions. The very few »historical« annotations, such as the identification of the »pulpit« (*minbar*) in a Ḥadīṭ as the pulpit of the mosque of the Prophet in Medina, are rare. The stress was put obviously on a correct reading and transmission, including noting some variant

96 Kaḥḥāla (as note 35), Vol. 7, p. 59 has 885-975/1480-1567; Ziriklī (as note 35), Vol. 4, p. 271, has as date of death »after 952 / 1545«.

97 Kaḥḥāla does not mention a *Muḥtaṣar* work under the entry on al-Muttaqī. His *Muḥtaṣar* is mentioned in EI²: M. Hidayet Hosein, »Al-Muttaqī al-Hindī«, in: P. Bearman et al. (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Vol. 7, Leiden and New York 1993, pp. 800 f.

98 Kaḥḥāla (as note 35), Vol. 7, p. 257.

99 Ibid., p. 32. His *Muḥtaṣar an-Nihāya li-Ibn al-Aṭīr* is also mentioned in al-Ḥibṣī's reference work on commentary literature ('Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibṣī, *Ġāmi' aṣ-ṣurūḥ wa-l-ḥawāṣī. Mu'ḡam ṣāmil li-asma' al-kutub al-maṣrūḥa fī t-turāṭ al-islāmī wa-bayān ṣurūḥihā*, Abu Dhabi 1425 / 2004, p. 2038), and in the Fihris aṣ-Ṣāmil (*al-Fihris aṣ-ṣāmil li-t-turāṭ al-'arabī al-islāmī al-maḥṭūṭ*, al-Ḥadīṭ an-nabawiyya aṣ-ṣarīfa wa-'ulūmuhu wa-riğāluḥu, ġuz' 2, p. 1416 [no. 468]). The Fihris also mentions an anonymous work of the same title (ibid., no. 469).

readings. This is a clear difference from the extensive marginal annotation in B.or.227, which covers philological issues, as well as legal and theological ones.

This leads us to the question of the exegetical nature of such entries, or the difference between interpretation and commentary. In terms of Ḥadīṭ studies in general, the reader was to learn about important text recensions (variants), the (different) meanings of words that were apparently considered to cause problems or to be ambiguous, and to understand syntactical relations. With regard to content, historical context information might be given and (usually brief) information that would allow for the clear identification of a person, usually one of the transmitters in the *isnād*. Legal rulings, or theological discussions are less prominent than those entries addressing the correct transmission of the Ḥadīṭ texts.

On a more theoretical level, we might conclude that the ›quotation type‹ of marginal commentaries is in many cases not an interpretation of the primary text. It usually does not attempt to identify and reconstruct the meaning of the primary text, but to provide tools close at hand that allow for possible subsequent interpretation. In this sense, it would reflect Gumbrecht's definition of what a commentary is:

As long as the interpreter thus understands the task at hand as the identification of a given meaning, the main problem he or she faces lies in the asymmetry between the range of general and specialized knowledge that the text presupposes – as a condition for the identification of its (›intended«, ›original«, ›historical«, ›adequate«, or ›authentic‹) meaning – and the knowledge that the interpreter has at his or her disposal. It has always been the task of the commentator and the function of the commentary to overcome such asymmetry and to thus mediate between different cultural contexts (between that which the text's author shared with a primary readership and that of readers who belong to later historical times or to different cultures). Seen from this angle, a commentary always provides supplementary knowledge; in doing so, it fulfills an ancillary function in relation to interpretation.¹⁰⁰

In his view, this does not make the commentary completely ›subordinate‹ to interpretation. Whereas an interpreter, according to Gumbrecht, basically wants to come to an end, to conclude with an interpretation, the commentator can give what he/she thinks is necessary information for his/her contemporaries for them to be able to work with the primary text. But since future audiences have to be thought of implicitly, commentary is a never-ending task.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Gumbrecht (as note 84), p. 41.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 42.

With regard to content, one might suggest for the scribes of the marginal entries in the manuscript B.or.227 the aim is one of interpretation through marginal commentaries, given the wide array of topics covered, the extensive annotation, and the planned addition of the texts in a limited time, and most probably at one place. The marginal commentaries in Glaser 30, in contrast, reflect much more Gumbrecht's characterization of commentary as an auxiliary science – they are intended to ensure that the main text is read properly, since only through this is a subsequent proper study (and interpretation) of it possible.

One might dare to say that the potentially never-ending interaction between reader and primary text is more impressively expressed in marginal commentaries in manuscripts than in stand-alone commentaries which, at a certain point in time, conclude, either because the commentator considered his work to be finished or because the author's lifetime came to an end. The limitation for the marginal commentaries is simple: space on the page.

II) Conclusion

As the research projects and case studies presented in this article have shown, the analysis of marginal commentaries in manuscripts can reveal a wealth of information on the history of Arabic literature: the genesis of texts and genres, the distribution and transmission of texts, contexts of learning and teaching, and personal and professional thoughts as part of intellectual discourses. The scribal practices that we can observe in a manuscript can indicate to what extent marginal commentaries were part of the production process of the manuscript, or at least a planned undertaking as compared to the organic growth of notes over longer periods of time. And sometimes, a work (or at least parts of it) only survived in the margins of a manuscript.

The four main types of marginal commentaries in Ḥadīṭ manuscripts that have been outlined in this article reflect this information value and illustrate at the same time the many research desiderata: With regard to the authorial drafting of a commentary in the margin which would become a stand-alone commentary at a later stage, research is needed for reconstructing the path (or the many paths) from the margin to the stand-alone-text. Connected to this need is a systematic analysis of the structures and contents of works called *ḥāṣhiya*, the terminology applied by the author in the preface and his possible motivations and objectives. The second type, the (scattered) authorial annotations, reveals revisions made by an author, and thereby gives an insight into the editing of his (or her) work. While such annotations could be written in the hand of the author (*minhiyyāt*), they also could be the result of teaching and dictation sessions, in

which a student added the teacher's remarks to the margin of the manuscript. Thus, they allow us a view into learning and teaching contexts, people involved, texts studied, and methods applied. While the third type, the complete copy of an otherwise stand-alone commentary in the margin, presupposes a concise, short text due to the limited space available, it can serve the study of an individual or a community (e.g., at a madrasa), or simply the transmission of a text. The fourth type, the quotation of selected parts of stand-alone-commentaries in the margin, is the most widespread in Ḥadīṭ manuscripts. It reflects known texts at a given time and place and is therefore crucial for our knowledge of the transmission and distribution of texts. In addition, these entries indicate how a Ḥadīṭ text was studied – was the focus on a correct reading and transmission of the traditions? Or was it on specific topics such as legal or theological questions? Were the annotations meant to be auxiliary tools for further interpretation, or was there an obvious attempt to interpret the traditions? It is noteworthy that the scribe of these marginal annotations, if he was identical with the one who selected the relevant passages, often remained anonymous despite his influential role in deciding what commentaries to quote from and what to choose from within these commentaries. His choice had an impact on how the Ḥadīṭ text was read and studied – nevertheless he rarely appears with a name, different from the many copyists of the main text.

The abovementioned examples and the illustrated examples of typical types of marginal commentaries in Ḥadīṭ manuscripts surely will have to be refined in the future: for the genre of Ḥadīṭ, for other genres that arose within the Islamicate cultures, and as part of a much larger tradition, or better still, manifold traditions in different cultures from Europe to China. The study of marginal commentaries in particular, and that of marginal annotations in general, is connected, though, to a number of challenges: On the level of methodology, it requires a set of academic disciplines, such as codicology, paleography, philology, book history, and cultural history – to name just a few. The entries, which usually do not bear a name, or a date, or a place, have to be given meaning in relation to the primary text, which can be done by trying to contextualize the additions in time and space, and/or by analyzing the content of the primary text and the annotation. On a very practical level, it seems difficult, if not at times rather impossible, to get a systematic overview of Ḥadīṭ manuscripts and their marginal annotations: Manuscript catalogues are either tacit when it comes to marginal commentaries, concentrating on the data of the primary text, such as author and title, or they mention the mere existence of marginal annotations without further specifying them.¹⁰² In this case, the only way of determining if

102 See also al-Ġilānī (as note 41), p. 393.

there are marginal commentaries to be studied in a given manuscript is either to travel to the relevant institution (or private owner), or to organise a digitised image. The growing number of digitised, accessible images online is a huge step forward in this respect. There are a few, exceptional catalogues that give more detail on marginal commentaries, such as the catalogue for Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts at the National Library of Israel¹⁰³, where the sources of the quoted marginal commentaries have been identified, and the catalogue of Arabic manuscripts at the Methodius National Library in Sofia, where quoted marginal commentaries are identified, even though not always entirely.¹⁰⁴ This is not meant as criticism of cataloguers – they usually simply do not have the occasion to invest the time-consuming efforts required to identify marginal commentaries, being faced, as they are, with the task of cataloguing as much as possible (in as little time as possible). But for the researcher, the lack of information given to marginal commentaries in catalogues remains an obstacle for research in this field.

¹⁰³ Efraim Wust, *The Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Manuscripts of the Yahuda Collection of the National Library of Israel*, Vol. 1 (Islamic Manuscripts and Books, Vol. 13), Leiden 2017.

¹⁰⁴ Stoyanka Kenderova, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in SS Cyril and Methodius National Library Sofia*, al-Furqān, London 1995.