

Mobile Manuscripts

In this essential new work, Christopher D. Bahl departs from the established historiography on trade, shipping, and pilgrimage to argue for the emergence of Arabic learning as a crucial form of transoceanic mobility from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. From Egypt to the Hijaz, Yemen and further on to Gujarat and the Deccan, networks of manuscript circulation created shared social and cultural spaces across the early modern western Indian Ocean, in which South Asia was a key node of connection. Largely unstudied Arabic manuscripts from collections in eight different archives offer a new source base to explore the region as a hub of Arabic scholarly culture, while marginalia and notes provide an empirical treasure trove for the study of social spaces and cultural practices. This is the first book to trace these truly transoceanic encounters between scholars, sultans, scribes, readers, and librarians.

Christopher D. Bahl is Assistant Professor in South Asian History at Durham University.



Cambridge Oceanic Histories

Edited by

David Armitage Renisa Mawani Sujit Sivasundaram

Across the world, historians have taken an oceanic turn. New maritime histories offer fresh approaches to the study of global regions, and to long-distance and long-term connections. Cambridge Oceanic Histories includes studies across whole oceans (the Pacific, the Indian, the Atlantic) and particular seas (among them, the Mediterranean, the Caribbean, the North Sea, the Black Sea). The series is global in geography, ecumenical in historical method, and wide in temporal coverage, intended as a key repository for the most innovative transnational and world histories over the longue durée. It brings maritime history into productive conversation with other strands of historical research, including environmental history, legal history, intellectual history, labour history, cultural history, economic history, and the history of science and technology. The editors invite studies that analyse the human and natural history of the world's oceans and seas from anywhere on the globe and from any and all historical periods.

A full list of titles in the series can be found at: www.cambridge.org/cambridgeoceanichistories



Mobile Manuscripts

Arabic Learning across the Early Modern Western Indian Ocean

Christopher D. Bahl

Durham University







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009359726

DOI: 10.1017/9781009359719

© Christopher D. Bahl 2025

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

When citing this work, please include a reference to the DOI 10.1017/9781009359719

First published 2025

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

A Cataloging-in-Publication data record for this book is available from the Library of Congress

ISBN 978-1-009-35972-6 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



To my wonderful Bahl family



Contents

	List of Figures	page viii
	List of Maps	X
	List of Tables	xi
	Acknowledgements	xiii
	Note on Dates, Places, and Transliteration	xvi
	Introduction	1
1	The Prosopographical World of Maritime Mobilities	39
2	The Royal Library of Bijapur: The Emergence of a	
	Textual Entrepôt	69
3	Arabic Philology in Early Modern South Asia	126
4	Mobile Arabic Learning from Egypt to the Deccan	177
5	From the Deccan to Istanbul: A Transoceanic Community	
	of Readers	213
	Conclusion: Arabic Learning across the Early Modern	
	Western Indian Ocean World	260
	Appendix	267
	Bibliography	287
	Index	317

vii



Figures

2.1	Scribal notation on flyleaf of al-Falī, al-Lubāb,	
	MS IO Bijapur 12, British Library, London.	page 78
2.2	Picture of Maḥmūd Gāwān's madrasa at Bidar.	80
2.3	Note referring to the sale of the book on MS IO	
	Bijapur 223, British Library, London, fol. 1r.	85
2.4	Note referring to the plundering of this book after	
	the conquest of Bidar in 1619 on flyleaf of MS IO	
	Bijapur 38, British Library, London.	86
2.5	Colophon and acquisition note on MS IO Bijapur	
	330A, British Library, London, fol. 341v.	91
2.6	Scribal notation on MS IO Bijapur 330A, British Library,	
	London.	92
2.7	Colophon on MS IO Bijapur 254, British Library, London	n,
	fol. 568v.	95
2.8	Qif notes (reading notes) on MS IO Bijapur 8,	
	British Library, London.	100
2.9	Picture of the Asar Mahal, Bijapur, Deccan.	104
2.10	Reading enactment of al-Astarābādhī, Sharḥ Raḍī,	
	MS IO Bijapur 17, British Library, London.	108
2.11	Studying enactment of Ibn al-Ḥājib, al-Kāfiya,	
	MS IO Bijapur 14, British Library, London.	109
2.12	Scribal notation on flyleaf of MS IO Bijapur 3,	
	British Library, London.	111
2.13	Scribal notation on flyleaf of MS IO Bijapur 2,	
	British Library, London.	112
2.14	Folio of MS IO Bijapur 3, British Library, London.	113
2.15	List of commentaries used to study the matn of	
	MS IO Bijapur 3, British Library, London.	114
2.16	Colophon stating the completion of this transcription	
	in Bāghnagar (Hyderabad) in 1073/1663 by Zayn.	122

viii



List of Figures	1X
Transcribed manuscript of a sailor as noted in a manuscript note by Zayn al-Muqaybil on MS IO Bijapur 399, British Library, London	123
Seventeenth-century increase in Arabic manuscript circulation based on dateable manuscripts from three	123
major South Asian collections.	131
Colophon of MS Nahw 4, TSGOML, Hyderabad, last	
folios.	150
	157
·	
TSGOML, Hyderabad, fol. 7r.	167
Flyleaves filled with textual snippets, of al-Taftāzānī,	
al-Muṭawwal, MS Balāghat 9, TSGOML, Hyderabad.	170
Small sheets of paper attached to MS Kitāb al-Muwashshaḥ	
ʻalā l-Kāfiya Ibn al-Ḥājib, Naḥw 125, TSGOML,	
Hyderabad.	172
Folio in al-Damāmīnī, al-Manhal al-ṣāfiy fī sharḥ al-wāfiy,	
MS IO Bijapur 4, British Library, London, folio 4r.	217
Waqf notation on MS Fatih 4910, Süleymaniye Library,	
Istanbul, flyleaf.	224
Title page of MS Hekimoglu 888, Süleymaniye Library,	
Istanbul, fol. 1r.	239
Colophon of MS Hekimoglu 888, Süleymaniye	
Library, Istanbul, fol. 445r.	247
Fihrist on MS Hekimoglu 888, Süleymaniye Library,	
	249
Fihrist on MS IO Bijapur 3, British Library, London,	
flyleaf.	253
	note by Zayn al-Muqaybil on MS IO Bijapur 399, British Library, London. Seventeenth-century increase in Arabic manuscript circulation based on dateable manuscripts from three major South Asian collections. Colophon of MS Nahw 4, TSGOML, Hyderabad, last folios. Title page of Ibn Ḥishām, Mughnī al-labīb, MS Naḥw 2, TSGOML, Hyderabad, fol. 1re. Title page of al-Taftāzānī, al-Muṭawwal, MS Balāghat 9, TSGOML, Hyderabad, fol. 7r. Flyleaves filled with textual snippets, of al-Taftāzānī, al-Muṭawwal, MS Balāghat 9, TSGOML, Hyderabad. Small sheets of paper attached to MS Kitāb al-Muwashshaḥ 'alā l-Kāfiya Ibn al-Ḥājib, Naḥw 125, TSGOML, Hyderabad. Folio in al-Damāmīnī, al-Manhal al-ṣāfiy fī sharḥ al-wāfiy, MS IO Bijapur 4, British Library, London, folio 4r. Waqf notation on MS Fatih 4910, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, flyleaf. Title page of MS Hekimoglu 888, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, fol. 1r. Colophon of MS Hekimoglu 888, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, fol. 445r. Fihrist on MS Hekimoglu 888, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, flyleaf. Fihrist on MS Hekimoglu 888, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, flyleaf. Fihrist on MS IO Bijapur 3, British Library, London,



Maps

I.1	The early modern western Indian Ocean.	page 2
1.1	The fourteenth-century western Indian Ocean.	44
1.2	The fifteenth-century western Indian Ocean.	44
1.3	The sixteenth-century western Indian Ocean.	50
1.4	The seventeenth-century western Indian Ocean.	64
2.1	The travels of Sayyid Zayn b. 'Abdallāh al-Muqaybil	
	(d. 1130/1718) from Yemen to the Deccan in the	
	seventeenth century.	120
3.1	Places of Arabic manuscript production in early modern	
	South Asia, based on data from the Deccan corpus.	147
3.2	Environment of Lasur in the Deccan.	152
4.1	Al-Damāmīnī's probable fifteenth-century route of travels	
	from Egypt to the Deccan.	178
Ma	ps by Olaf Nelson, Chinook Design, Inc. (chinooktype.com)	

X



Tables

2.1	List of transcriptions by Zayn al-Muqaybil from the Bijapu	ır
	collection, London, based on the descriptions in Loth,	
	A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of	
		page 119
A.1		268
A.2	Manuscript versions of al-Damāmīnī's Tuḥfat al-gharīb/	
	Sharḥ Mughnī/Sharḥ al-Mazj.	270
A.3	Manuscript versions of al-Damāmīnī's al-Manhal al-ṣāfiy.	273
A.4	Bijapur collection: Asar Mahal manuscripts of the	
	philological disciplines dateable to the fifteenth to	
	seventeenth centuries, British Library, London - based	
	on Loth, A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the	
	Library of the India Office.	275
A.5	Salar Jung Museum and Library collection, Hyderabad:	
	List of Arabic manuscripts of the philological disciplines,	
	dateable to the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries – based	
	on Ashraf, A Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic	
	Manuscripts in the Salar Jung Museum and Library. Vol. 7.	276
A.6	a TSGOML, Asafiya collection, Hyderabad – Naḥw	
	(grammar): List of manuscripts dateable to the fifteenth	
	to seventeenth centuries.	279
A.61	b TSGOML, Asafiya collection, Hyderabad – Ṣarf	
	(morphology): List of manuscripts dateable to the	
	fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.	281
A.6	c TSGOML, Asafiya collection, Hyderabad – Balāghat	
	(rhetoric): List of manuscripts dateable to the fifteenth	
	to seventeenth centuries.	282
A.6	d TSGOML, Asafiya collection, Hyderabad – Lughat	
	(lexicography): List of manuscripts dateable to the	
	fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.	283

хi



xii List of Tables

A.7a al-Jāmī – *Al-Fawā 'id al-D̄īyā 'īya*: Manuscripts of a 'definitive text' dateable to the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries collected at the al-Azhar Mosque Library – based on the online catalogue *in situ*.

284

A.7b al-Taftāzānī – *al-Muṭawwal*: Manuscripts dateable to the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries collected at the al-Azhar Mosque Library – based on the online catalogue *in situ*.

284



Acknowledgements

Just like the mobile manuscripts in this book accrued marginal notes during their circulations, I accrued many debts towards colleagues, institutions, friends, and loved ones over the course of writing this book. The book is based on my doctoral dissertation, which I submitted to SOAS, University of London, in 2018. That project could already only be completed with the help and support of many people and institutions across the world back then. Now, I need to thank many of them again, but I am also happy to add new names.

Among the 'old ones', I would like to thank my supervisors Konrad Hirschler and Roy Fischel, who out of sheer kindness kept talking to me about how to turn the initial research project into a book. At conferences, seminars, and contingent encounters I received helpful suggestions and ideas from many colleagues and friends. I am grateful to Olly Akkerman, Stefan Hanß, Nur Sobers-Khan, Francesca Orsini, Mohamed El-Merheb, Nir Shafir, Adam Talib, William Clarence-Smith, and Torsten Wollina.

Among the 'new ones', I am also grateful to Rosalind O'Hanlon and Jo van Steenbergen for their critical comments and suggestions on the PhD thesis. I am thankful to Feras Krimsti, Abdallah Soufan, Esther-Miriam Wagner, and James White for helpful conversations.

I am grateful to a variety of institutions which funded and supported me over the years of research and writing, namely to the Zempelin/Schoeneberg Programm for studies abroad and the Studienstiftung des Deutschen Volkes (German National Academic Foundation), to SOAS for fully funding my PhD research through a SOAS Research Scholarship and a SOAS Mobility Award for the fieldwork trips, as well as the Institute of Historical Research, Institute of Advanced Studies, University of London, for funding me during a writing-up period through a six-month Thornley Fellowship. A Bourse Doctorale of the IFAO (Institut français d'archéologie orientale), Cairo, generously supported my research in April 2017 at the Dār al-Kutub and the al-Azhar

xiii



xiv Acknowledgements

Mosque Library in Cairo. Here, I would especially like to thank Nicolas Michel at the IFAO in Cairo.

I started rewriting the doctoral research project during a two-year research associateship at the German Orient-Institut, Beirut, Lebanon (2018–20). I am grateful to Till Grallert, Caroline Kinj, and Abdallah Soufan for keeping me in good spirits during that time.

A workshop with colleagues from the Department of History at Durham University has helped me reshape, revise, and rethink some of my chapters and arguments further. I thank Tom Hamilton, Radha Kapuria, Joe Martin, and Justin Willis for their generous support and time.

I thank the Department of History at Durham University for their generous funding towards the production of maps, and the index, as well as the acquisition of permissions to use images. I am grateful to Olaf Nelson for producing the maps and to Tim Curnow for creating the index.

The research that went into this book could not have been completed without visiting many institutions and with the help and support of many people on those travels. I especially thank Suboor Bakht in Delhi, Tariq Azhar and his family in Rampur, Tania Chakravarty in Kolkata, and Danilo Marino and Sabina Läderach in Cairo. I thank the institutions and their staff that I visited on these trips for their support and help. Starting in South Asia, I thank the staff at both the Salar Jung Museum and Library and the Andhra Pradesh Oriental Manuscript Library (now the Telangana State Governmental Oriental Manuscript Library) for their hospitality and help in finding and reproducing many manuscripts for my research. I thank the staff at the Noor Microfilm Centre at the Culture House of the Islamic Iranian Republic in New Delhi, the librarians at the Pir Muhammad Shah Dargah Library, Ahmadabad, the Rampur Raza Library, Rampur, the Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, the Darul Uloom Nadwatul Ulama Library, Lucknow, the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental and Public Library, Patna, the National Library, Kolkata, and the Bengal Asiatic Society Library, Kolkata, for their support. Moving on to Egypt, I would like to thank the staff at the Dar al-Kutub and the al-Azhar Mosque Library for their help. In Turkey, I would like to thank the staff of the Süleymaniye Mosque Library in Istanbul for their great efficiency and help. Across Europe, I would like to thank the staff and librarians at SOAS Library, London, the British Library, London, the John Rylands Library, Manchester, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the University Library, Edinburgh, the Bavarian State Library, Munich, the Research Library



Acknowledgements

ΧV

of the University of Erfurt, Gotha, and the Austrian National Library, Vienna.

I am grateful to the British Library, London, the Telangana State Governmental Oriental Manuscript Library (TSGOML), and the Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, for allowing me to reproduce here some of the images I worked with. Due to technical issues in the wake of a cyber-attack on the British Library's IT system in late 2023, manuscripts from the Asar Mahal collection could not be reproduced in high resolution. I am grateful to the Licensing team for allowing me to use the images I made during my earlier visits to the reading rooms.

I thank the editorial board of the Oceanic Histories Series, in particular Sujit Sivasundaram, for their support with this book project. I thank Lucy Rhymer, Rosa Martin, and Lisa Carter at Cambridge University Press, as well as Titus Prathish for their support and guidance throughout the peer review and publication process, and the copy editor, Julene Knox, for her tremendous efforts and help in revising the final typescript. And last but not least I would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their critique, suggestions, and support in developing the argument of this book.

Family and friends have been wonderful partners in life over the last years. I thank both the Bahl and Williams families for their support in all the good and bad times.

Running through the countryside of County Durham with Joe Martin has provided me with a healthy distraction from the obsession one develops with one's own research. Matt Johnson made sure that I stayed caffeinated sipping Chai during our afternoon meetings.

Alice, as always, read the book, helped me revise the formalities, and together with our little daughter, Everlee, kept me sane over the last years. Thank you both!



Notes on Dates, Places, and Transliterations

Dates are given both according to the Hijrī Calendar and the Calendar of the Common Era (H/CE). Commonly occurring names and terms have been spelled according to their usage in the English-language secondary literature. The transliteration of names and terms in Arabic and Persian is generally based on the system used in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Three, published by Brill.

xvi