

THE MARGINS AT THE CENTRE:
NEW LIGHT ON
PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, ARABE 2967*

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Abstract

Marginal elements within manuscripts, especially when unsystematic, disorganised, and heterogenous, are often ignored by scholars who intentionally decide to prioritise the centre over the margins. Accordingly, the lion's share of printed and online catalogues addresses the margins *en passant*. But to what extent is this approach fruitful to a comprehensive study of manuscripts? By focusing exclusively on margins, this article proposes to demonstrate that marginal annotations are instrumental in providing an exhaustive study of manuscripts in terms of historical reconstruction, and with regard to the annotators' life, interests, and expertise. The interdisciplinarity of the study of margins stands out inasmuch as it mixes first-hand palaeographical and codicological examinations with a scrutinization of the sources. Specifically, the history of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 2967 will be unveiled with regard to the major events and people connected to it.

Key Words

Arabe 2967; Marginal annotations; Palaeography;
Codicology; *Typographia Medicea*



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I. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 2967¹

Composed of 200 leaves, the manuscript is a paper codex measuring 21×16 cm. It is a deliberate assemblage of medical texts ordered as follows:

- fol. 2v–135v: *Taqwīm al-adwiya* by Ibn Abī Sa‘īd al-‘Alā‘ī.²
- fol. 136r: medical remedy.
- fol. 138r: incipit of an unidentified text which is stopped *in medias res*.
- fol. 138v–149r: blank leaves presumably arranged for the copying of the text started at fol. 138r.
- fol. 149v: table of contents of *al-Qarābādīn* by Najīb al-Dīn al-Samarqandī³ (which starts at fol. 151r).
- fol. 150r: excerpt from the *Shifā’* by Ḥājī Pasha,⁴ « On the Preparation of Potions ».

¹ <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11002406s/f2.item.r=arabe%202967.zoom#>> (Accessed December 2022). See GEORGES VAJDA, *Notices de manuscrits arabes rédigées par Georges Vajda, Notices des manuscrits Arabe 2760 à 3184*, ed. HERMANN LEHMANN <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8470424s>> (Accessed January 2023), p. 73; and WILLIAM MAC GUCKIN DE SLANE, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, Imprimerie nationale, Paris 1883–1895, p. 530.

² The *Taqwīm al-adwiya al-mufrada* (« Organization of Simple Remedies ») by Ibrāhīm b. Abī Sa‘īd b. Ibrāhīm al-Maghribī al-‘Alā‘ī (fl. sixth/twelfth c.) is a treatise on medicinal substances organised into synoptical tables. It is also known as *Kitāb al-munjih fī al-ṭibb wa-l-tadāwī min ṣunūf al-amrād wa-l-shakāwā* (« Success in Medicine and in Therapy among the Categories of Diseases and Complaints »). Simple remedies are mentioned following the *abjad* order, and they are described according to 16 categories: name (*al-adwiya*), quality (*al-māhiyya*), type (*al-naw’*), preferred state (*al-ikhtiyār*), temperament (*al-mizāj*), strength (*al-quwwa*), usefulness for parts of the head (*manfa’a fī a’ḍā’ al-ra’s*), usefulness for respiratory ailments (*manfa’a fī ālāt al-naḥs*), usefulness for digestive organs (*manfa’a fī a’ḍā’ al-ghidhā*), usefulness for the body in general (*manfa’a fī jamī’ al-badan*), manner of production (*kayfiyya isti’māli-hi*), how much is to be used (*kamiyya isti’māli-hi*), harmful properties (*muḍarratu-hu*), antidote (*islāhu-hu*), substitute (*badalu-hu*), and the number of the simple [assigned to it in the treatise] (*‘adad al-adwiya*). See CARL BROCKELMANN, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur. Supplementband I-II*, Brill, Leiden 1937–1938, vol. I, p. 890–891; MANFRED ULLMANN, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Brill, Leiden 1970 (Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 1 The Near and Middle East, 9/6/1), p. 275–276; HENRI-PAUL-JOSEPH RENAUD, « Une problématique de bibliographie arabe: Le *Taqwīm al-Adwiya* d’al-‘Alā‘ī », *Hespéris*, 16 (1933), p. 79–81.

³ The *Kitāb al-qarābādīn ‘alā tartīb al-‘ilal* (« Pharmacopeia Arranged according to Illnesses ») is a pharmacopeia on composed drugs. For an uncritical edition of the work, see GEORGES TOHMÉ (ed.), *Pharmacopée sur la classification des causes par Néjibeddine Assamarkandi*, Maktabat Lubnān Nāshirūn, Beirut 1994. On Najīb al-Dīn al-Samarqandī, see JULIANE MÜLLER, « Najīb al-Dīn al-Samarqandī », in KATE FLEET, GUDRUN KRÄMER, DENIS MATRINGE, JOHN NAWAS, DEVIN J. STEWART (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE* [henceforth, EI3] <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_36695> (Accessed May 2023).

⁴ On the *Shifā’ al-asqām wa-dawā’ al-ālām* (« Recovery from Illnesses and Remedy for Pains »), see BROCKELMANN, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. II, p. 326. On Ḥājī Pasha, see MIRI SHEFER-

- fol. 150v: « On Weights and Measures » (*Fī al-awzān wa-l-makāyīl*).
- fol. 151r–196v: excerpt from *al-Qarābādīn* by Najīb al-Dīn al-Samarqandī. The text presents major lacunae at fol. 164v, 165r–166v, 170, 175, 180v–182v.
- fol. 197r: excerpt from the *Shifā* by Ḥājī Pasha, « On the Cure of the Plague » (*Ilāj al-ṭā'ūn*).
- fol. 197v: medical remedy in *garshūnī*.
- fol. 198r–200v: list of drugs.

At fol. 135r, the colophon of al-'Alā'ī's *Taqwīm* provides us with a chronological reference: the text is said to have been completed on 1 *Rabī al-ākhir* 953 (12 June 1546).

II. Arabe 2967 and France:

Eusèbe Renaudot and the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Près

As far as the French history of Arabe 2967 is concerned, fol. 1r gathers all the information we need. Apart from the *ex-libris* of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, we should focus on the label at the leaf's centre as it provides safe evidence regarding the manuscript's whereabouts prior to its relocation at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The label reads as follows:

Ex Bibliotheca V. CL. Eusebii RENAUDOT
quam Monasterio sancti Germani à Pratis
legavit anno Domini 1720.⁵

The manuscript belonged to Eusèbe Renaudot (1648–1720), French theologian and Orientalist, who « holds a relevant place among the scholars who, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, illustrated the religious science and the Church of France ». ⁶ He came from a prestigious family. His grandfather

MOSENHORN, « Ḥājī Pasha », in EI3 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_30206> (Accessed May 2023).

⁵ This *ex-libris* was added to every single volume donated by Renaudot to the monastery (ALFRED FRANKLIN, *Les anciennes bibliothèques des Paris. Églises, monastères, collèges, etc.*, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris 1867, vol. I, p. 117).

⁶ ANTOINE VILLIEN, *L'abbé Eusèbe Renaudot. Essai sur sa vie et sur son oeuvre liturgique*, Librairie Victor Lecoffre, Paris 1904, p. VIII: « L'abbé Renaudot tient une place considérable parmi les érudites qui ont illustré, à la fin du XVII et au commencement du XVIII siècle, la science religieuse et l'Église de France ». The first section of this work provides a detailed biography of Renaudot (ibid, p. 1–148).

Théophraste (1586–1653) had been the court physician of the king of France, Louis XIII (1601–1643); also, he had created the famous magazine *Gazette de France*. Such a high-profile pedigree enabled Renaudot to pursue his studies. While he was primarily focused on Christian theology, he also studied a number of Oriental languages, including Arabic.⁷ Apparently, he managed to master them quite quickly; indeed, in the preface to the third volume of the *Perpétuité de la foi de l'Église catholique sur l'Eucharistie* published in 1674, Antoine Arnauld (1612–1694) praises Renaudot's thorough knowledge of the Oriental languages:

But the variety of these acts, and of the books from which these excerpts were taken, which are written some in common Greek, some in Arabic, some in Syriac, some in Coptic, some in Ethiopian, show the extraordinary understanding which he [Renaudot] has of all these languages.⁸

In 1700, Renaudot travelled to Italy for the conclave which elected Pope Clement XI (1649–1721). The period he spent in Florence interests us closely, for he was asked by the Grand Duke of Tuscany Cosimo III de' Medici (1642–1723) to redact a catalogue of the Oriental manuscripts preserved at the Biblioteca Palatina Medicea.⁹ Upon Renaudot's departure, Cosimo III donated to him a couple of Syriac manuscripts as a personal gift as well as loaning some other material.¹⁰ Two documents preserved at the National Library in Florence – Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Cl.X.66, and Palatino 1002 – prove this; the annotations recorded on the covers mention Renaudot as the addressee of the material sent on loan to Paris.¹¹ It is possible that manuscripts were involved.¹² One

⁷ VILLIEN, *L'abbé Eusèbe Renaudot*, p. 18: « Il joignit à l'étude déjà si ample du dogme catholique une connaissance plus approfondie des langues orientales. Il possédait déjà les éléments de plusieurs de ces langues avant d'entrer à l'Oratoire ».

⁸ ANTOINE ARNAULD, *Perpétuité de la Foi de l'Église catholique touchant l'Eucharistie, défendue contre les livres du sieur Claude, Ministre de Charenton*, Sigismond D'Arnay & Compagnie, Paris 1781, vol. III, p. 14: « Mais la diversité de ces actes et des livres dont ces extraits ont été tirés, qui sont écrites les uns en grec vulgaire, les autres en arabe, les autres en syriaque, les autres en copte, les autres en éthiopien, font connaître l'intelligence extraordinaire qu'il a de toutes ces langues ».

⁹ VILLIEN, *L'abbé Eusèbe Renaudot*, p. 119–120. Renaudot's catalogue is conserved in Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Magl. Cl.X.66.

¹⁰ ANGELO MICHELE PIEMONTESE, « G.B. Vecchietti e la letteratura giudeo-persiana », *Materia giudaica*, 35–36 (2010–2011), p. 493.

¹¹ « A. di 7. Febb: 1702. ab Inc: 1703 / Notisi che le altre scritture d'Inventario di Libri che mancano qui, si enno date in due volte al Si:r Magnolfi, perche le mandi a Parigi al Sig. Ab: Renaudot, dal quale à suo tempo hanno da essere rimandate à Fiorenza » (quoted in PIEMONTESE, « G.B. Vecchietti », p. 493–494, note 53).

¹² See the case of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Syr.334; according to Borbone and Farina, the codex reached France either with Barthélemy D'Herbelot (1625–1695) or Renaudot (PIERGIORGIO BORBONE, MARGHERITA FARINA, « New Documents Concerning Patriarch Ignatius Na'matallah (Mardin, ca. 1515 – Bracciano, near Rome, 1587) », *Egitto e Vicino Oriente*, 37 (2014), p. 187).

might wonder whether Arabe 2967 was part of that loan as the codex does not present particular stylistic features or decorations nor contains famous or frequently used texts at the time. However, in the absence of direct proofs, we can only speculate. Be that as it may, the codex moved to France. According to the label, in 1720 it entered the collection of the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Près as, upon Renaudot's death, his manuscripts were deposited there.¹³ In 1794, a terrible fire broke out in the library, and the bulk of the material was lost for good. Some items were saved thanks to the courageous intervention of the librarian Poirier (1724–1803);¹⁴ these were moved to the Bibliothèque impériale – now the Bibliothèque nationale de France – between December 1795 and January–February 1796.¹⁵ The two *ex-libris* at fol. 1r, 200v, which read « Bibliothèque impériale », testify to that.

III. Arabe 2967 and Italy: Giovanni Battista Raimondi

All in all, the 'modern' history of Arabe 2967 can be reconstructed easily inasmuch as it does not present particular ambiguities. But what about its earlier history? In this regard, the margins are key as the annotations at fol. 20v, 22v suggest that, at some point, the codex was in Italy, where the Orientalist Giovanni Battista Raimondi (1536–1614) was active.¹⁶ He is in fact the author of these annotations

¹³ LÉOPOLD DELISLE, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, Imprimerie impériale, Paris 1868, vol. I, p. 45–46: « En 1720, Eusèbe Renaudot lui laissa plus de trois cents manuscrits, dont les plus importants contenaient des textes orientaux ». This library was particularly prestigious; indeed, it was considered as « l'une des plus nombreuses & des plus riches de Royaume, après celle du Roi », LUC-VINCENT THIÉRY, *Guide des amateurs et des étrangers voyageurs à Paris, ou description raisonnée de cette Ville, de sa Banlieue, & de tout ce qu'elles contiennent de remarquable*, Hardouin & Gattey, Paris 1788, vol. II, p. 514. For the history of the library, see FRANKLIN, *Anciennes bibliothèques des Paris*, p. 107–134.

¹⁴ FRANKLIN, *Anciennes bibliothèques des Paris*, p. 124: « Pendant plusieurs mois, Don Poirier, aidé par Van Praet, passèrent leurs journées dans les caves humides où l'on avait jeté pêle-mêle tout ce qu'il avait été possible d'arracher aux flammes. Ils parvinrent ainsi à exhumer près de dix mille manuscrits que l'eau des pompes n'avait que faiblement endommagés. Ces précieux volumes furent déposés dans une des salles de l'abbaye, sous la garde de Dom Poirier, qui devint plus tard bibliothécaire à l'Arsenal. Il les y conserva jusqu'à l'année suivante, et ils furent alors transportés à la Bibliothèque nationale ».

¹⁵ DELISLE, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, p. 49.

¹⁶ I have followed Görke-Hirschler's definition of 'manuscript notes' as « any written material that is found on a manuscript that does not belong to the main text(s), irrespective of whether it refers to the main text and the legal status of the manuscript or is entirely unrelated to text and manuscript itself » (ANDREAS GÖRKE, KONRAD HIRSCHLER, « Introduction: Manuscript Notes as Documentary Sources », in EAD. (eds.), *Manuscript Notes as Documentary Sources*, Orient-Institut, Beirut 2020 [Beiruter Texte und Studien, 129], p. 9–10). For the biography of Giovanni Battista

which record the Latin synonyms of the simples mentioned in the text of the *Taqwīm* [Tab. 1]. Raimondi's authorship can be established on palaeographical grounds; his handwriting can be compared, for instance, with the glosses within the diagram at fol. 3v in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Syr.244.¹⁷ More compelling evidence is the note he left at the top left corner of the front doublure of Arabe 2967, which almost certainly reads « Da Monsig. Pat.ca ». Raimondi used to annotate likewise all the manuscripts formerly owned by Patriarch (« Pat[riar]ca ») Ignatios Ni'matallāh (c. 1505–1587), which had been acquired by the *Typographia Medicea* upon Ni'matallāh's death (see *infra*, section IV). Plenty of manuscripts from the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence display this note in the exact same position.¹⁸ Although the note has been cancelled, the marked descender of the 'g' as well as the 'ca' of « Pat.ca » written above the x-line can be identified easily.¹⁹ As far as the contents of the annotations are concerned, perhaps Raimondi's source was the *De materia medica* by Dioscorides (first c.). Let us compare, for instance, the passage on citron as found in the *De materia medica*: « Medica mala, persicaue, aut cedromela, quae Latini citria vocant, nemini non cognita ». ²⁰ As in Raimondi's annotation, both *citria* and *cedromela* (*citromala* in Raimondi's annotation) are mentioned. The latter are paralleled with the *medica mala* which is the Latin translation of the Arabic *al-tuffāḥ al-mā'ī*; a synonym of this latter is *utruj*, which is the simple mentioned in al-'Alā'ī's *Taqwīm*.²¹ The case of the

Raimondi, see MARIO CASARI, « Raimondi, Giovanni Battista », *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani Treccani*, 86 (2016) <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-battista-raimondi_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> (Accessed April 2023). See also JOHN ROBERT JONES, *The Arabic and Persian Studies of Giovan Battista Raimondi (c. 1536–1614)*, University of London, London 1981; and ANGELO MICHELE PIEMONTESE, « Per la biografia di Giovanni Battista Raimondi », in ECKHARD LEUSCHNER, GERHARD WOLF (eds.), *The Medici Oriental Press: Knowledge and Cultural Transfer Around 1600*, Leo S. Olschki, Firenze 2022 (Biblioteca di bibliografia. Documents and Studies in Book and Library History, 216), p. 3–16. Raimondi is known for his contributions to the enterprise of the *Typographia Medicea*. The literature on the *Typographia Medicea* is enormously vast; in this regard, see ALBERTO TINTO, *La Tipografia medicea orientale*, Pacini Fazzi, Lucca 1987; SARA FANI, MARGHERITA FARINA, *La via delle lettere: la Tipografia Medicea tra Roma e l'Oriente*, Mandragora, Firenze 2012 (Cataloghi, Studi e Classici); LEUSCHNER, WOLF, *The Medici Oriental Press*.

¹⁷ <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10087546s/f7.item>> (Accessed April 2023).

¹⁸ MARGHERITA FARINA, « La nascita della Tipografia Medicea: personaggi e idee », in SARA FANI, MARGHERITA FARINA (eds.), *La via delle lettere: la Tipografia Medicea tra Roma e l'Oriente*, Mandragora, Firenze 2012 (Cataloghi, Studi e Classici), p. 59.

¹⁹ Cf., for instance, the front doublure of Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Or. 298 <<http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOS4NhQI1A4r7GxMdeB&c=Raccolta%20di%20testi#/oro/4>> (Accessed May 2023).

²⁰ PIETRO ANDREA MATTIOLI, *Commentarii in sex libros Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei de Medica materia*, Ex Officina Valgrisia, Venetiis 1565, p. 238.50–51.

²¹ MARWĀN IBN JANĀH, *On the Nomenclature of Medicinal Drugs (Kitāb al-Talkhīṣ)*, ed. GERRIT BOS, FABIAN KĀS, MAILYN LÜBKE, GUIDO MENSCHING, Brill, Leiden – Boston 2020 (Studies and Texts, 170/1), p. 1128 (entry 1011).

meliloto (Ar. *iklīl al-malik*) is intriguing too.²² As regards Raimondi's drawing on Dioscorides's work, the posthumous inventory of Raimondi's assets provides us with an interesting information; the mention of a « Pedacii Dioscoridis De medica materia greco et latino »²³ testifies that the Italian Orientalist owned a copy of the *De materia medica*. This comes as no surprise as Raimondi was deeply interested in botany and pharmacology²⁴ – the genre of al-'Alā'ī's *Taqwīm* as well. His approach was primarily lexicographic inasmuch as it was oriented primarily to the study of Avicenna's *Canon* (Ar. *al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*).²⁵ All in all, his annotations contained in Arabe 2967 can be categorised likewise.

fol. 20v				fol. 22v				
<i>uttruj</i>	<i>ās</i>	<i>ushna</i>	<i>iklīl al-malik</i>	<i>īrisā</i>	<i>isqīl</i>	<i>asārūn</i>	<i>abhul</i>	<i>al-uḡhuwān</i>
<i>citria</i>	<i>mirtus</i>	<i>musco</i>	<i>meliloto sertula</i>	<i>iris</i>	<i>scilla</i>	<i>asaro</i>	<i>sabina</i>	<i>parthenio</i>
<i>citromala</i>	<i>mirtilla</i>		<i>campāa [sic]</i>		<i>squilla</i>			

Tab. 1: Line one: simple from the *Taqwīm al-adwiya*. Line two: Raimondi's annotations.

IV. Arabe 2967 and Italy: Ignatios Ni'matallāh

Raimondi's allusion to « Monsig. Pat.ca » allows us to identify another major individual linked to the history of Arabe 2967, that is, Ignatios Ni'matallāh syro-orthodox Patriarch in Ṭūr 'Abdin. Forced to flee from his homeland due to

²² Raimondi annotates *sertula campāa* (i.e., *campana*) beneath *meliloto*. The passage on the *meliloto* in the *De materia medica* reads: « Nascitur & in Campania circa Nolam, colore in luteum languescente, odore infirmo » (MATTIOLI, *Commentarii*, p. 728.31–32).

²³ ECKHARD LEUSCHNER, « Posthumous Inventory of Raimondi's House and the Medici Press », in LEUSCHNER, WOLF (eds.), *The Medici Oriental Press*, p. 438.

²⁴ FARINA, « Nascita della Tipografia Medicea », p. 55. Raimondi's epistolary correspondence with the Neapolitan physician Mario Schepani proves this (MARGHERITA FARINA, « Uno scambio epistolare fra Mario Schepani e Giovan Battista Raimondi. Lo studio della lingua araba nel tardo Rinascimento, interesse scientifico e curiosità », *Egitto e Vicino Oriente*, 36 (2013), p. 63–72).

²⁵ MARGHERITA FARINA, SARA FANI, « The Typographia Medicea and the Humanistic Perspective of Renaissance Rome », in MAURIZIO ARFAIOLI, MARTA CAROSCIO (eds.), *The Grand Ducal Medici and the Levant. Material Culture, Diplomacy, and Imagery in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Harvey Miller, Turnhout 2016 (The Medici Archive Project, 3), p. 172: « With regard to the study of the Canon, Raimondi's approach was firstly lexicographic, as testified by the number of glossaries and lexical apparati he produced. These glossaries include lemmata in alphabetical order, in Arabic with the Latin or Italian translation or vice versa ».

dangerous conditions, Ni‘matallāh reached Italy in 1577.²⁶ After a period spent in Venice, in 1578, he travelled to Rome where he became deeply involved with the *Typographia Medicea*.²⁷ He stipulated a contract with cardinal Ferdinand I de’ Medici (1549–1609), Gran Duke of Tuscany since 1587 and financial promoter of the *Typographia*, according to which he would have sold his entire collection of manuscripts in exchange for an annual pension of 25 *scudi d’oro*.²⁸ Upon Ni‘matallāh’s death, all his manuscripts came into the possession of the *Typographia*. As far as Ni‘matallāh’s ownership of Arabe 2967 is concerned, apart from Raimondi’s note, evidence from the bookbinding must be considered as well. It is well-known that Ni‘matallāh reordered and rebounded his manuscripts so that they would appear more attractive in the Western market.²⁹ These secondary bindings present standardised features, such as floral motifs inscribed into a central mandorla, floral decorations at the four corners, decorations with tools in the outer margins, and the use of marbled paper for the doublures.³⁰ These features can be observed on Arabe 2967 as well [Fig. 1]. Evidence of a secondary binding carried out on Arabe 2967 is provided by fol. 136r, which was ploughed so as to have all leaves equal in size. Consequently, part of the text at the top and left-hand margins is lost.

²⁶ Recently, the idea that Ni‘matallāh’s journey was totally disorganised (maintained by PIER GIORGIO BORBONE, « From Tur ‘Abdin to Rome: The Syro-Orthodox Presence in Sixteenth-century Rome », in HERMAN TEULE, ELIF KESER-KAYAALP, KUTLU AKALIN, NESIM DORU, M. SAIT TOPRAK (eds.), *Syriac in its Multi-Cultural Context*, Peeters, Leuven – Paris – Walpole 2017, p. 284) has been challenged by ALABDULLAH. See HAZIM ALABDULLAH, « The Road to Rome: Patriarch Ignatios Ni‘matullah between Faith and Profit », in LEUSCHNER, WOLF (eds.), *The Medici Oriental Press*, p. 23. On Ni‘matallāh’s Roman period, see GIORGIO LEVI DELLA VIDA, *Documenti intorno alle relazioni delle chiese orientali con la S. Sede durante il pontificato di Gregorio XIII*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 1948 (Studi e Testi, 92), p. 1–44.

²⁷ The centrality of Ni‘matallāh in the project of the *Typographia* is stated in the foundational *Instrumento* (FARINA, « Nascita della Tipografia Medicea », p. 59).

²⁸ The terms of the agreement are contained in a document preserved in the State Archive in Florence (Firenze, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Misc. Med. 719, doc. 40).

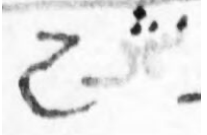
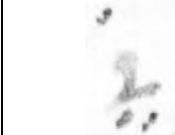

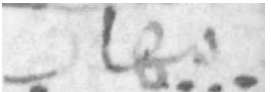
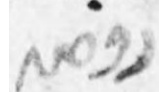

²⁹ MARGHERITA FARINA, « La circulation de manuscrits syriaques en Orient et entre Orient et Occident entre la fin du XVe et le XVIe siècle », in BERNARD HEYBERGER (ed.), *Les chrétiens de tradition syriaque à l’époque ottomane*, Geuthner, Paris 2020 (Études syriaques, 17), p. 101.

³⁰ For a codicological comparison see, for instance, Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Or. 230 <<http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOS4NLkI1A4r7GxMddx&c=Horreum%20mysterioru%20oro/3>> (Accessed May 2023). More interestingly, see Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Or. 208, which is quite similar to Arabe 2967; it also presents Raimondi’s note in the front doublure <<http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOS4NCI1A4r7GxMddt&c=Vita%20Gregori%20Barhebraei%20Orientis%20Maphriani#/oro/3>> (Accessed May 2023).



Fig. 1: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 2967: front cover.

On palaeographical grounds, it can be established that Ni‘matallāh annotated the manuscript. A comparison can be done with his marginal annotations in Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Or. 27, Or. 231, and Or. 458.³¹ As regards the *ductus* of the letters, Ni‘matallāh’s Arabic handwriting is characteristic. The most interesting graphic traits are [Tab. 2]:

Isolated <i>hā</i> with a horizontal top stroke and an unsteady loop	<i>fī</i> with a subscribed <i>fā</i> and a <i>yā</i> traced horizontally	Sharp-cornered <i>lam</i> , usually traced at an angle of 90°
		
<i>sharḥ</i>	<i>fī</i>	<i>al-mahmūl</i>
Medial <i>hā</i> in the form of an ‘8’	Final <i>hā</i> with no counter and oriented downwards	waw with a ‘flattened’ descender
		
<i>bihār</i>	<i>rawḍa</i>	<i>al-makhlūqāt</i>

Tab. 2: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 2967, fol. 1r, 30v: characteristic graphic traits of Ni‘matallāh’s handwriting.

V. Ni‘matallāh’s annotations

The annotations by Ni‘matallāh scattered throughout Arabe 2967 will be analysed thoroughly in this section. In particular, I will attempt to demonstrate how an in-depth study of *marginalia* can help shedding some light upon the annotator’s expertise and intellectual interests.

Let us start with the annotations to the *Taqwīm al-adwiya* [see the Appendix].³² They are on the *verso* at fol. 20–34, 36–39, 48, 52, 53, 55, 65, 83, 84, 93, 101, 102, 105, 107, 114, 118, 122, 125, 127, 130. Initially, red and black inks are alternated; then, starting with fol. 29v, he uses red ink exclusively. These annotations are undoubtedly the most interesting. Let us take a look at how they are ordered:

³¹ For an analysis of the annotations of Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Or. 27, which records fascinating details regarding Ni‘matallāh’s journey to Italy, see ALABDULLAH, « Road to Rome », p. 24–28.

³² Vajda attributes these annotations to a « Européen » (VAJDA, *Notices*, p. 73).

- At the top, the name of a simple in Arabic.
- In the middle, a kind of *scriptio plena* transliteration of the simple in Arabic characters.
- At the bottom, the Latin translation of the simple.

The term in the middle is by far the most riveting. It is fully vocalized; often times, it disregards the orthographical rules of Arabic. At fol. 25v, for instance, *ammūniyākū*, which corresponds to Latin *Ammoniacum*, is written with a double *mīm* instead of the usual spelling *mīm* with a *shadda* on top. Likewise at fol. 55v, *al-kānnā*, which corresponds to Latin *Alcanna*, is written with a double *nūn*. All things considered, the term in the middle arguably can be interpreted as a ‘phonetic’ transliteration; it probably had some kind of auxiliary role linked to the Latin term, to which it bears a close resemblance in terms of pronunciation. The fact that these annotations were authored by Ni‘matallāh, who was certainly unfamiliar with Latin, would strengthen this interpretation. Ni‘matallāh’s unfamiliarity with Latin can be proved also by means of a palaeographical examination of his annotations’ script. The proportions in the forms of the letters are extremely heterogeneous, even within the same word. Likewise, the script is quite ‘wavy’ as he is unable to maintain a firm baseline. Specific features can be identified, such as:

- A widespread confusion between ‘s’ and ‘f’ – e.g., fol. 23v: *Atratusis* instead of *Atratus*; or fol. 25v, 28v: *Ardisrigi* instead of *Ardifrigi*.
- The use of the modern graphic form for the ‘s’ within words, while earlier this was used exclusively at the end of words – e.g., fol. 23v: *Atratusis*. Also, the ‘s’ is always slanted rightwards – e.g., fol. 31v: *Balsamus*.
- The ‘k’ has two oblique strokes hooked inwards – e.g., fol. 30v: *Baheke*.
- The ‘g’ is written in the form of an ‘8’ – e.g., fol. 23v: *Alguasen*; or fol. 27v: *Abugilise*.
- The ‘l’ is written within the x-line – e.g., fol. 24v: *Amgailem*.

The feeling is that Ni‘matallāh was copying mechanically from his source which was the *tractatus secundus* of Book II of Avicenna’s *Canon*. This would point to the fact that he annotated the manuscript in Rome, where he probably had easier access to the book.³³ Furthermore, it seems that the version of the *Canon* available

³³ The contract stipulated with Ferdinand I de’ Medici established that Ni‘matallāh remained in possession of his manuscripts until his death; consequently, he could use them once settled in Rome. See GUGLIELMO ENRICO SALTINI, «Della Stamperia Orientale Medicea e Giovan Battista Raimondi: Memoria compilata sui documenti dell’Archivio Centrale di Stato», *Archivio Storico*

to Ni‘matallāh was the one translated by Andrea Alpago (1450–1521).³⁴ Two annotations in particular seem to reveal this:

- 1) At fol. 21v, the Latin *Anisum* is rendered as *Nisum*, even though the first letter of the term in the middle is an *alif waṣla*. In the Alpago-Rinio edition, the initial ‘A’ is oversized and decorated [Fig. 2]; perhaps, to an unfamiliar eye, it might have appeared extraneous to the word it actually belongs.³⁵ Indeed, Ni‘matallāh annotated *Nisum* instead of *Anisum*. Furthermore, the ‘n’ is majuscule as in the printed edition.
- 2) At fol. 38v, the Arabic *bayḍ* (‘egg’) mentioned in the *Taqwīm* is rendered as *Ouanota* instead of the correct *Oua*. While the *nota* refers to the ‘quality’ (Ar. *māhiyya*) of the simple, Ni‘matallāh interpreted it as part of the name of the simple [Fig. 3].

Italiano, 12/2 (1860), p. 262. The hypothesis that he annotated the manuscript earlier is highly unlikely. It is improbable that Ni‘matallāh might have had access to a Latin version of Avicenna’s *Canon* in his homeland. The possibility that he annotated the manuscript during his journey to Italy is problematic as well; the bulk of the material was carried by some associates of his who travelled independently, until they finally re-joined with Ni‘matallāh in Venice in 1577 (ALABDULLAH, « Road to Rome », p. 35–37).

³⁴ It might be useful to emphasise that Raimondi owned a copy of the *Canonis Avicennae* in the version of Andrea Alpago (JONES, *Arabic and Persian*, p. 126). An « Avicenna latino grande vecchio bene » is mentioned in the posthumous inventory of his assets (LEUSCHNER, « Posthumous Inventory », p. 477). Alpago’s translation is based on the translation made by Gerard of Cremona (d. 1187). The 1555 edition published by Giunta and edited by Benedetto Rinio (1485–1565) had the widest diffusion – it was also reproduced in the Basel edition published in 1556. See *Avicennae liber canonis, de medicinis cordialibus, et cantica*, trans. ANDREA ALPAGO, ed. BENEDETTO RINIO, Giunta, Venetiis 1555. According to Siraisi, « the most important features of the Alpago-Rinio version were the insertion of Alpago’s emendations into the body of the text and the provision of innumerable cross-references keying the *Canon* to passages in Greek and other medical authors » (NANCY G. SIRAIISI, *Avicenna and Renaissance Italy: the Canon and Medical Teaching in Italian Universities after 1500*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1987 [Princeton Legacy Library], p. 140). Interestingly, the College of Philosophers and Physicians endorsed Alpago’s translation as « it appears likely that the members believed his glossary of Arabic technical terms would help to unravel the confusions in botanical and pharmacological nomenclature for which the *Canon* had so often been criticized over the last thirty years » (SIRAIISI, *Avicenna and Renaissance*, p. 96). On the issue of the endorsement, see FRANCESCA LUCCHETTA, *Il medico e filosofo bellunese Andrea Alpago († 1522), traduttore di Avicenna*, Antenore, Padova 1964 (Contributi alla Storia dell’Università di Padova, 2), p. 35–56.

³⁵ Regarding the display scripts of Insular manuscripts, Tilghman argues that: « Making sense of that writing is one of the great maddening joys of Insular manuscripts, and to the untrained eye it can be difficult even to determine what is a letter and what is not » (BENJAMIN C. TILGHMAN, « Writing in Tongues: Mixed Scripts and Style in Insular Art », in COLUMN HOURIHANE (ed.), *Insular and Anglo-Saxon: Art and Thought in the Early Middle Ages*, Penn State University Press, University Park, PA 2011, p. 93).



Fig. 2: *Avicennae liber canonis*, trans. ALPAGO, ed. RINIO, liber II, tractatus II, p. 98, Cap. 1: *Anisum*.

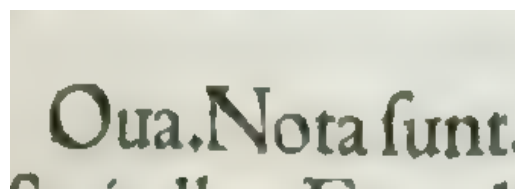


Fig. 3: *Avicennae liber canonis*, trans. ALPAGO, ed. RINIO, liber II, tractatus II, p. 151, Cap. 527: *Oua. Nota sunt.*

Apart from the anomalies of Ni'matallāh's Latin, these annotations testify to his interest in pharmacology. The comments to the text of the *Taqwīm* at fol. 39r, 82r, 128r, 151r point to the same direction. Not by chance, Ni'matallāh was considered an expert in medicine;³⁶ probably due to that, he was appointed as the head of the committee responsible for producing an Arabic-Latin edition of the *Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*.³⁷ It would be tempting to contextualise his work on the *Taqwīm* within this assignment.

At fol. 1v, Ni'matallāh annotated brief excerpts from the *Kitāb al-thamara* by Ps.-Ptolemy, an astrological treatise composed of one hundred aphorisms on varied matters which circulated through the commentaries by Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Yūsuf (d. 299/912) and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274)³⁸ [Tab. 3]. The three annotated aphorisms, which belong to the field of medical astrology (or iatromathematics), are not that significant in themselves; rather, they refer to Ni'matallāh's primary intellectual interest, i.e., astronomy. During his stay in Rome, his profound

³⁶ LEVI DELLA VIDA, *Documenti intorno alle relazioni*, p. 5.

³⁷ The committee included « un Giovan Battista lucchese, medico del cardinal Savello, un turco fatto cristiano di nome Paulo Orsino, e Giovan Battista Raimondi » (SALTINI, « Stamperia Orientale Medicea », p. 263, note 1). The Arabic text was printed in 1593 with the title *Avicenna Canonis Medicinae*; the Latin version was never completed.

³⁸ The *Kitāb al-thamara* is mentioned in the *Fihrist* by Ibn al-Nadīm as among Ptolemy's original works (IBN AL-NADĪM, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, ed. GUSTAV FLÜGEL, F. C. W. Vogel, Leipzig 1871, vol. I, p. 268). For an overview of the treatise with regard to its contents and origin, integrated with an exhaustive bibliography, see EMANUELE ROVATI, « 'Pseudo-Ptolemy, Kitāb al-Thamara' (update: 15.03.2023), Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus. Works » <<http://ptolemaeus.badw.de/work/190>> (Accessed May 2023).

expertise in the field had granted him a place on the committee of experts designated by Pope Gregory XIII (1501–1585) to reform the calendar.³⁹

<p><i>thamara 21</i> <i>idhā tanāwala al-insān</i> <i>mushilan wa-l-qamar fī qirān</i> <i>al-mushtarī qaṣara ‘amal al-</i> <i>mushil wa-qalla fī‘lu-hu.</i></p>	<p><i>thamara 22</i> <i>mass al-‘udw bi-l-ḥadīd wa-l-</i> <i>qamar fī burj dhālika al-‘udw</i> <i>makrūh.</i></p>	<p><i>thamara 23</i> <i>tanāwul al-dawā’ al-mushil wa-</i> <i>l-qamar fī al-‘aqrab aw al-</i> <i>saraṭān aw al-ḥūt wa-ṣāhib al-</i> <i>ṭāli’ mutṭaṣil bi-kawkab taḥta</i> <i>al-arḍ maḥmūd, wa-in ittaṣala</i> <i>bi-kawkab fī wasaṭ al-samā’</i> <i>qadhafa al-dawā’ wa-lam</i> <i>yastaqirr fī al-ma’ida.</i></p>
<p>Aphorism 21 If a laxative is taken when the Moon is in conjunction with Jupiter its efficacy is limited.⁴⁰</p>	<p>Aphorism 22 To perform surgery (lit. ‘to touch the part of the body with iron’) on a part of the body when the Moon is in the sign of that part is dreadful.⁴¹</p>	<p>Aphorism 23 To take a laxative when the Moon is in Scorpio, or Cancer, or Pisces and the owner of the ascendent (i.e., the patient) is connected to a planet beneath the Earth is commendable. If he is connected to a planet at the centre of the sky, the substance is puked as it does not settle in the stomach.</p>

Tab. 3: Excerpts from the *Kitāb al-thamara* by Ps.-Ptolemy annotated by Ni‘matallāh.

Other unsystematic annotations by Ni‘matallāh are scattered throughout Arabe 2967. The aforementioned work of the reorganisation of his material assets might provide a plausible explanation for their presence. At fol. 159r, 197r, he added titles to the excerpts from Ḥājji Pasha’s *Shifā’*. Likewise, at fol. 149v, he annotated the title and table of contents of al-Samarqandī’s *Qarābādīn*. As for the latter, he also annotated the beginning of the chapters as well as relevant sections in the outer margins.⁴² The annotation at the bottom of fol. 1r is much more interesting

³⁹ FARINA, « Nascita della Tipografia Medicea », p. 60. We do not know to what extent Ni‘matallāh contributed to this reform. Based on vibrant complaints addressed to the scholars of the Curia preserved in Ni‘matallāh’s letters, Levi Della Vida argues that his contribution was limited (LEVI DELLA VIDA, *Documenti intorno alle relazioni*, p. 21).

⁴⁰ MARIA PAPATHANASSIOU, « Iatromathematica (Medical Astrology) in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Period », *Medicina nei Secoli Arte e Scienza*, 11/2 (1999), p. 371.

⁴¹ This is the first condition described in the *Apotelesmatica* by Hephaestion of Thebes (fl. fourth/fifth c.) (ibid, p. 370).

⁴² Sijpesteijn advocates that within utilitarian texts, visual markers were meant to « facilitate the text’s navigation for quick reference » (PETRA SIJPESTEIJN, « Arabic Medical-Magical Manuscripts: A Living Tradition », in MARCELA A. GARCIA PROBERT, PETRA SIJPESTEIJN (eds.), *Amulets and Talismans of*

inasmuch as it probably preserves a catalogue (*jumla kutub*) of manuscripts on the topic of medicinal simples (*al-mufradāt*) owned by Ni‘matallāh:⁴³

*jumla kutub al-naẓar (?) fī al-mufradāt awwalan hādhā al-maḥmūl ‘Alī al-Iyādī
wa-ghayru-hu / mufradāt al-Qānūn⁴⁴ / al-Mūjaz sharḥ⁴⁵ / ‘Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt⁴⁶
wa-qalīl fī Shifā’ Ḥajjī [sic] Bāshā Turki⁴⁷ / wa-qalīl fī al-Qānūnča⁴⁸ / wa-qalīl fī Rawḍat al-‘iṭr⁴⁹
wa-Manāfi’ al-[...]wān fī Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’ / wa-fī ‘Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt*

Documentary evidence might seem to support the hypothesis of the catalogue of manuscripts. Indeed, none of these works is mentioned in the list of scientific manuscripts drafted by Ni‘matallāh himself which had to be purchased on behalf

the Middle East and North Africa in Context, Brill, Leiden 2022 [Leiden Studies in Islam and Society, 13], p. 96).

⁴³ For an interesting case of a catalogue of manuscripts contained in a note, see ARIANNA D’OTTONE, « La bibliothèque d’un savant yéménite du XIIIe siècle d’après une note manuscrite autographe », in CHRISTIAN MÜLLER, MURIEL ROILAND-ROUBAH (eds.), *Les non-dits du nom. Onomastique et documents en terres d’Islam*, Institut Français du Proche-Orient, Damascus – Beirut 2013, p. 67–84.

⁴⁴ Probably Book II of the *Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*, which provides a list of simples ordered alphabetically. It might have been part of the one-volume *Qānūn* owned by Ni‘matallāh, mentioned in Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, Cl.III.102, fol. 11r: « Un volume con cartone coperto di pelle negra, li Canoni di Avicenna » (SARA FANI, MARGHERITA FARINA, « An Inventory of Manuscripts and Typographic Materials in the Typographia Medicea Drafted during Raimondi’s Lifetime », in LEUSCHNER, WOLF (eds.), *The Medici Oriental Press*, p. 381). This has been identified with Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Or. 44 (FARINA, FANI, « Typographia Medicea and the Humanist Perspective », p. 173).

⁴⁵ *Al-Mūjaz* (« The Epitome ») by Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 687/1288), « the most widely read (and commented upon) abridgment of the *Qānūn* » (NAYHAN FANCY, « Ibn al-Nafīs », in EI3 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_30903> [Accessed May 2023]).

⁴⁶ The second *maqāla* of the famous *Cosmography* by Zakariyyā’ al-Qazwīnī (600–682/1203–1283), devoted to terrestrial things (*al-suflīyyāt*), contains a section on plants (*al-nabāt*). See CHEDLY BOUYAHIA, « Al-Ḳazwīnī, Zakariyyā’ », in CLIFFORD EDMUND BOSWORTH, EMERI VAN DONZEL, BERNARD LEWIS, CHARLES PELLAT (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, Brill, Leiden 1997, vol. IV, p. 865.

⁴⁷ The reference might be specifically to Book II which deals with simple and compound remedies. See SHEFER-MOSSENSOHN, « Ḥājji Pasha ».

⁴⁸ The *Qānūnča* (« The ‘little *Qānūn*’ ») is an abridgment of Avicenna’s *Qānūn*, authored by the polymath Sharaf al-Dīn Abū ‘Alī Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Jaghmīnī (d. c. 618/1221–1222). The work had a wide circulation, and it was translated into many languages. See SALLY P. RAGEP, « al-Jaghmīnī », in EI3 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_32689> (Accessed May 2023).

⁴⁹ Arguably the *Rawḍat al-‘iṭr* (« The Garden of Drugs ») by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Shirwānī. See MUḤAMMAD B. MAḤMŪD AL-SHIRWĀNĪ, *Rawḍat al-‘iṭr. A 15th-Century Arabic Pharmaceutical Encyclopedia. Critical Edition and Arabic-English Translation*, ed. AYMAN YASIN ATAT, De Gruyter, Berlin (forthcoming, August 2024).

of the *Typographia Medicea*.⁵⁰ On the contrary, some of them seem to be mentioned in Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Cl.III.102; at fol. 11r–18v, this document preserves a list of manuscripts formerly owned by Ni‘matallāh which had been inherited by the *Typographia*.⁵¹ Ibn al-Nafīs’s *Mūjaz*, for instance, might be « 20:-: Un volume con cartone coperto di pelle negra, l’Abbreviatione delle cose di Medicina d’Avicenna fatta da Abu Hassa Alcorascij con l’espositione di Deu Napbisi ». ⁵² The *Shifā’* by Ḥājjī Pasha might be « 68:-: Un volume legato con carta pecora, contiene la medicina di Haggi Bassa ». ⁵³ But there is more, as this document seems to contain a reference to Arabe 2967 as well. Let us examine the description of manuscript no. 22: « 22:-: Un volume con cartone coperto di pelle verde, si chiama Tacuin delli medicamenti di Haggi Bascia vi è ancora un trattato de medicamentis compositis experimentati di Nagibidin Gamaz Cadi ». ⁵⁴ The « Tacuin delli medicamenti » might be the *Taqwīm al-adwiya*. It is ascribed to Ḥājjī Pasha (« Haggi Bascia »), which is not that surprising if we consider that al-‘Alāī was not as famous as Ḥājjī Pasha – whose works are preserved in the manuscript as well, though in the form of excerpts. Then, the reference to Nagīb al-Dīn al-Samarqandī (« Nagibidin ») seems unequivocal.⁵⁵ The description of the binding corresponds, too. A green leather cover (« coperto di pelle verde ») still envelopes the textblock of Arabe 2967 – although as times goes by, it is gradually turning brown. A reference to Arabe 2967 might be contained in the posthumous inventory of Raimondi’s assets, too.⁵⁶

Finally, at fol. 198r–200v, annotations relating to drugs which are categorised according to various typologies are preserved. They include:

⁵⁰ The list is contained in Firenze, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Misc. Med. 719, ins. 51, fol. 3. For an edition, see HAZIM ALABDULLAH, « List of ‘Religious’ and ‘Scientific’ Books in Arabic and Persian Requested for the *Typographia Medicea* by Patriarch Ignatios Ni‘matullah and Giovanni Battista Raimondi », in LEUSCHNER, WOLF (eds.), *The Medici Oriental Press*, p. 187–189.

⁵¹ The document has been edited by FANI, FARINA, « Inventory of Manuscripts », p. 379–400.

⁵² FANI, FARINA, « Inventory of Manuscripts », p. 382.

⁵³ FANI, FARINA, « Inventory of Manuscripts », p. 387.

⁵⁴ FANI, FARINA, « Inventory of Manuscripts », p. 382.

⁵⁵ The only puzzling element in this account is the integration of « Gamaz Cadi » within al-Samarqandī’s name. Perhaps, the copyist’s little knowledge of Arabic might explain this. Fani and Farina note that « in certain cases, [the copyist] misunderstood the script in the antigraph he had in front of him; the transliterations are certainly not scientific and not always consistent » (FANI, FARINA, « Inventory of Manuscripts », p. 380).

⁵⁶ « tacuin di medicina arabo numero 124 » (LEUSCHNER, « Posthumous Inventory », p. 462). At note 359, Leuschner parallels this manuscript with manuscript no. 22 in Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Cl.III.102 as well; however, at note 358 he identifies the « tacuin » with the much more famous *Taqwīm al-sihha* (« Tacuinum Sanitatis ») authored by Ibn Buṭlān (d. 458/1066), without elaborating on that.

- fol. 198r: pills (*ḥubūb*), hieras (*iyārjāt*), purgatives (*faraghāt*), perfumes (*lakhlakhāt*), bandages (*kimādāt*).
- fol. 198v: pastilles (*aqrāṣ*), drops (*qaṭarāt*, written *quṭūrāt*).
- fol. 199r: liniments (*ṭulāwāt*), sternutatories (*sa'ūṭāt*), fumigations (*bakhūrāt*).
- fol. 199v: fumigations/decoctions (*naṭūlāt*), electuaries (*ma'ājīm*), poultices (*ḍimādāt*).
- fol. 200r: stomachics (*jawārishnāt* [sic]), decoctions (*maṭbūkhāt*), syrups, juices and collyria (*sharābāt*, *rubūb*, *jilā'āt*), clysters (*ḥuqan*), oils (*adhān*).
- fol. 200v: different compound remedies (*al-adwiya al-murakkaba al-mukhtalifa*).

It is a mere list of medications with no remedy attached. Sometimes, the part of the body which would benefit from the use of a specific drug is provided.

VI. Conclusions

After having proceeded backwards, let us retrace the history of Arabe 2967 chronologically. The manuscript as a deliberate assemblage of medical texts was originally part of the collection of Ignatios Nímatallāh, syro-orthodox Patriarch in Ṭūr 'Abdin. In 1755, it reached Italy, namely Venice, then Rome in 1578. It is plausible that Nímatallāh annotated it there. Upon Nímatallāh's death in 1587, the manuscript entered the collection of the *Typographia Medicea*. Contextually, the note « Da Monsig. Pat.ca » was added by Giovanni Battista Raimondi on the front doublure. The latter annotated a couple of leaves as well. When, in 1610, Cosimo II de' Medici (1590–1621) took the property of the *Typographia* back from Raimondi in order to save it from the financial bankruptcy, the manuscripts were moved to Florence, after a brief period in Pisa. It is plausible that Renaudot saw it there when, in 1700, he was working on the catalogue of the Oriental collection of the *Typographia*.⁵⁷ Then, the manuscript reached Paris.⁵⁸ Supposedly, it was part of

⁵⁷ Apparently, the manuscript is not mentioned in D'Herbelot's catalogue, the *Registro di Libri Orientali del Serenissimo Gran Duca con una succinta esplicitazione del contenuto de' medesimi fatta dal Sig.r Bartolomeo D'Herbelot, insigne Letterato Francese in Firenze l'Anno 1666* (see Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Italien 480, fol. 40v–49v). On the catalogue redacted by D'Herbelot, see MARGHERITA FARINA, « Stefano Evodio Assemani e la collezione orientale della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze », *Parole de l'Orient*, 47 (2021), p. 323.

⁵⁸ Indeed, it is not mentioned in Stefano Evodio Assemani's (1707–1782) catalogue (STEFANO EVODIO ASSEMANI, *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae et Palatinae codicum mms. orientalium catalogus, sub auspiciis regiae celsitudinis Serenissimi Francisci III, Lotharingiae et Barri ducis Regis Hierusalem Mani*

the load of material destined to Renaudot which, eventually, never returned to Italy. Instead, we know for certain that, upon Renaudot's death, it was moved to the library of the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Près.⁵⁹ After the fire of 1794, the manuscript was finally moved to the Bibliothèque imperiale, now the Bibliothèque nationale de France, where it is still preserved.

It goes without saying that the reconstruction of the history of Arabe 2967 as provided in this article would not have been possible without its marginal annotations. The example of Arabe 2967 demonstrates unequivocally that a great deal of information may hide beneath marginal annotations. Their potential is crystal-clear insofar as they can help us retrace the history of manuscripts as well as investigate the life, interests, and expertise of the people behind them.

Ducis Etruriae, Stephanus Evodius Assemanus archiep. Apameae recensuit, digessit, notis illustravit, Antonio Francisco Gorio curante, Ex Typographio Albiziniano, Florentiae 1742, p. 342–378) which was published in 1743 – though the frontispiece indicates 1742 (FARINA, « Stefano Evodio Assemani », p. 319, note 3). Assemani laments the moving of some leaves of an Arabic manuscript over the Alps, i.e., to France (ASSEMANI, *Bibliothecae Mediceae*, p. 95: « impius nescio quis ab ipso Codice, proh dolor ! avulsit, & in aliquam Bibliothecam, ni fallor, Transalpinam, remotis arbitris, exportavit »). The information is reported by VILLIEN, *L'abbé Eusèbe Renaudot*, p. 121, note 1. Nonetheless, nothing compelling can be inferred from this. Assemani does not mention names, dates, or anything else. Moreover, he refers exclusively to the leaves of a particular manuscript; there is no mention whatsoever of a group of manuscripts that were moved to France.

⁵⁹ The shelf-mark « A. 404 » visible at fol. 1r can be referred to the cataloguing activity of Renaudot's collection carried out at the library of the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Près. Vajda mentions « St. Germ. 404 » in the *cote anciennes* (Vajda, *Notices*, p. 73).

Appendix

Here, I provide the edition of Ni‘matallāh’s annotations to al-‘Alāī’s *Taqwīm*. They have been cross-referenced with Avicenna’s *Qānūn* in the Arabic and Latin versions. Organised into synoptical tables, the edition is structured as follows:

- Line 1: Ni‘matallāh’s annotations: at the top, Arabic simple; in the middle, ‘phonetic’ transliteration; at the bottom, Latin simple.
- Line 2: Cross-reference with the *Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*, in the edition by Muḥammad Amīn al-Ḍanāwī – with the page reference to the correspondent simple between brackets.⁶⁰
- Line 3: Cross-reference with the *Canon*, in the Alpago-Rinio version – with the reference to the *Capitolo* of the correspondent simple between brackets.⁶¹
- Line 4 (where present): correspondent simple in the *Taqwīm al-adwiya*.

fol. 20v			
الشفاني اسيفيني Aisefeni		اكتمكت اتامارايت Atharaet	
(ألسفاني (٣٧٥)		اكتمكت (٣٧٥)	
Alsefeni (Cap. 25)		Athamaraet (Cap. 23)	
fol. 21v			
أومالي أموميلي Amumeli	أنيسو Nisum	أبسينثيو Absinthiu	اللبخ اللابوخ Allabuch
(أونومالي (٣٦٢)	(أنيسون (٣٤٢)	(أفسنتين (٣٤٣)	(اللبخ (٣٧٣)
Amumeli (Cap. 13)	Anisum (Cap. 1)	Absinthiu (Cap. 2)	Allabuch (Cap. 22)
	انيسون	افسنتين	
fol. 22v			
الابار وانك الاهبار والاونوك Alahabar at Alaunoch	أسارو Assarum	أبهيل Abhel	ارماك ارميك Armech
(الآبار والآتك (٣٦٠)	(أسارون (٣٥٠)	(أبهيل (٣٥١)	(أرماك (٣٧٣)
Alaunoch & alahabar (Cap. 12)	Assarum (Cap. 4)	Abhel (Cap. 5)	Armech (Cap. 21)
	اسارون	ابهيل	

⁶⁰ AVICENNA, *Al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*, ed. MUḤAMMAD AMĪN AL-ḌANĀWĪ, Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyya, Beirut 1999, vol. I.

⁶¹ *Avicennae liber canonis*, trans. ALPAGO, ed. RINIO, Giunta, Venetiis 1555.

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fol. 23v					
اطر اطيوقس اترا تيسوس Atratisus	أنثودين Aniuden	اذريميا Adrimia	أوريكولا Auricula	اناجاليس Anagallis	الوسن الجواسين Alguasen
اطر اطيوقس (٣٧٦)	انجدان (٣٥٨)	اذريون (٣٥٥)	اذان الفار (٣٧٠)	اناغلس (٣٧٨)	ألوسن (٣٧٦)
Atratifus (Cap. 27)	Aniuden (Cap. 9)	Adrimia (Cap. 6)	Auricula muris (Cap. 18)	Anagallys (Cap. 33)	Alguasen (Cap. 26)
	انجدان	اذريون	اذان الفار	اناغلس	
fol. 24v					
اشتر غار اشتير عار Astirgar	ازيداريح Azedaraeth	أمغليليم Amgailem	افسيون ابسيو Absius		
اشتر غار (٣٥٩)	ازاددرخت (٣٦٣)	أم غيلان (٣٦٢)			
Astirgar (Cap. 10)	Azedaraeth (Cap. 17)	Amgailem (Cap. 15)	Absius (Cap. 32)		
	ازاددرخت	ام غيلان			
fol. 25v					
ابوطولون ابوتيلون Abutilon	أكاتيا Acatia	أممونيكاكو Ammoniacum	اردياجي اردسريجي Ardisrigi		
أبوتيلون (٣٧٧)	أقافيا (٣٤٦)	أشق (٣٥٨)			
Abutilon (Cap. 29)	Acatia (Cap. 3)	Ammoniacum (Cap. 8)	Ardifrigi (Cap. 28)		
	أقافيا	أشق			
fol. 26v					
اطبوط أتيوت Athiuth	Abanus	اسيوس اسيو لا بيدى Asius			
اطبوط (٣٧٧)	أبنوس (٣٧٠)	أسيوسي (٣٧٧)			
Athiuth (Cap. 31)	Ebenus (Cap. 230)	Asius (Cap. 30)			
	ابنوس				
fol. 27v					
الماس ألْمِسُو Almesu	بلانتي دير انتي Blacte disantie	ابوجلسا ابوجيليسي Abugilise			
الماس (٣٧٢)	أظفار الطيب (٣٥٢)	أبو جلسا (٣٧١)			
Almesu (Cap. 20)	Blacte bizantie (Cap. 81)	Abugilise (Cap. 19)			
	أظفار				

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fol. 28v					
اسيوس أسيو Asius	انتيمونيوم Antimonium	ادريناچي ارديسريكي Ardisrigi	اوسند اوسيد Ausid		
(أسيوسي ٣٧٧)	أتمد (٣٥٦)		أوسيد (٣٧٨)		
<i>Asius (Cap. 30)</i>	<i>Antimonium (Cap. 7)</i>	<i>Ardifrigi (Cap. 28)</i>	<i>Ausid (Cap. 35)</i>		
	أتمد				
fol. 29v					
اذار اقي اتار اكيك <i>Atharachic</i>	اطا اتا <i>Ata</i>	اغالوجي أغالوجين <i>Agaluin</i>	ابرقه <i>Abrich</i>		
(إذار اقي ٣٦٣)		أغالوجي (٣٦٢)	أبرق (٣٧٨)		
<i>Atharachic (Cap. 16)</i>	<i>Ata (Cap. 40)</i>	<i>Agalugin (Cap. 14)</i>	<i>Abrich (Cap. 34)</i>		
fol. 30v					
بنقه باهقي <i>Baheke</i>	بيديرينزيجو <i>Bederenzegum</i>	بيدارونجي <i>Bedarungi</i>	بيهار <i>Bihar</i>	بيشجواشين <i>Besceguascen</i>	بنجنشت اجنوكاستو <i>Agnucastus</i>
(بنقه ٤٠٢)	بازرنجويه (٣٩٨)	بازروج (٤٠٣)	بهار (٤٠٠)	برشياوشان (٤٠٣)	بنجنشت (٤٠٦)
<i>Baheke (Cap. 102)</i>	<i>Bederenzegum (Cap. 95)</i>	<i>Bedarungi (Cap. 104)</i>	<i>Bihar (Cap. 100)</i>	<i>Besceguascen (Cap. 103)</i>	<i>Agnucastus (Cap. 44)</i>
	بازرنويه	بازروج	بهار	برشاوشان	
fol. 31v					
برنجاسف بيرنجاسيف <i>Berengesif</i>	بالسامو <i>Balsamus</i>	بيتار <i>Etnos (?)</i>	بين <i>Ben</i>	بل بولي <i>Bule</i>	
(برنجاسف ٣٨٧)	بلسان (٣٨٤)	بطباط (٤١٥)	بان (٣٨١)	بل (٣٩٧)	
<i>Berengesif (Cap. 86)</i>	<i>Balsamus (Cap. 84)</i>		<i>Ben (Cap. 82)</i>	<i>Bule (Cap. 93)</i>	
	بلسان	بطباط	بان		
fol. 32v					
بوقيصا بوقيدا <i>Buckida</i>	اناكردو <i>Anacardus</i>	بيليريكيس <i>Belliryçi</i>	أميربيريس <i>Amirberis</i>	بوس دربندي بيوسديربيرديو <i>Beusderbendium</i>	
(بوقيصا ٤٠٠)	بلاندر (٣٨٨)	بليلج (٣٩٨)	أثيرباريس (٣٥٩)		
<i>Buckida (Cap. 99)</i>	<i>Anacardus (Cap. 41)</i>	<i>Belliryçi (Cap. 94)</i>	<i>Amirberis (Cap. 11)</i>	<i>Beusderbendium (Cap. 111)</i>	
	بلاندر	بليلج	برباريس		

fol. 33v					
بهرامج بهرامجي Beheremigi	بَازواريد Bedoard	بوزيديم Buzeidem	بداسفان باداسيكان Bedasfan		
بهرامج (٣٩٩)	بازاورد (٣٨٣)	بوزيدان (٣٩٩)	بداسفان (٤١٤)		
Beheremigi (Cap. 97)	Bedoard (Cap. 83)	Buzeidem (Cap. 98)	Bedasfan (Cap. 109)		
	بازاورد	بوزيدان			
fol. 34v					
بين Been	أدريميا Adrimia	بونكو Bunchum			
بهمن (٣٨٧)		بنك (٣٩٤)			
Been (Cap. 85)	Adrimia (Cap. 6)	Bunchum (Cap. 91)			
بهمين	بخور مريم	بنك			
fol. 36v					
برطانيقي بيرتانيقي Bertaniki	أويلأنا Auellana	بوسورو وبالما Besser & Belha	كايبى Caepe	بولبو Bulbus	بقلة يهودية بديليو Bdellium
برطانيقي (٤٠٤)	بندق (٤٠٦)	بسر وبلح (٣٩٣)	بصل (٣٩٠)	بلبوس (٣٩٢)	بقلة يهودية (٤١٤)
Bertaniki (Cap. 105)	Auellana (Cap. 43)	Besser & Belha (Cap. 90)	Caepe (Cap. 122)	Bulbus (Cap. 88)	Bdellium iudaicum (Cap. 115)
[quoted at fol. 33v]	بندق	بسر وبلح	بصل	بلبوس	
fol. 37v					
بابليس ببيليسي Bebilisi		باتيخا Batecha		بيلمون بيلومون Bilomon	
بابليس (٤١٢)		بطيخ (٣٩٥)		بيلون (٤٠٤)	
Bebilisi (Cap. 107)		Batecha (Cap. 92)		Bilomon (Cap. 106)	
		بطيخ			
fol. 38v					
بوسير بوسيري Busiri	باوراك Baurach	اويس Oua nota	اناتى Anas	بينيگواريدين Benecguariden	برنك كابلى بوراك كابولى Baurachkebuli
بوسير (٤٠١)	بورق (٣٨٩)	بيض (٣٩٦)	بط (٤٠٢)	بنات وردان (٤١٤)	برنك الكابلى (٤٠٠)
Busiri (Cap. 101)	Baurach (Cap. 87)	Oua (Cap. 527)	Anas (Cap. 42)	Benec gauriden (Cap. 108)	Baurach kebuli (Cap. 96)
	بورق	بيض	بط	بنات وردان	

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fol. 39v		fol. 48v	
بويانس بوجانيس Bugenis	حناح ألاي Alae	Roza	اكأرو Acorus
بويانس (٣٩٣)	جناح (٣٢٦)	ورد (٤٥١)	وج (٤٥٣)
<i>Bugenis (Cap. 89)</i>	<i>Alae (Cap. 45)</i>	<i>Rosa (Cap. 575)</i>	<i>Acorus (Cap. 46)</i>
		ورد	وج
fol. 52v		fol. 53v	
أتريمينتو Atrimentum		أرسينيكو Arsenicum	
زاج (٤٥٩)		زرنبيخ (٤٦٠)	
<i>Atrimentum (Cap. 48)</i>		<i>Arsenicum (Cap. 49)</i>	
زاج		زرنبيخ	
fol. 55v			
حماص الما أكيثوسا Acetosa	أساء Assa	الكائنا Alcanna	حمار اسينو Asinus
	حلتيت (٤٧٩)	حناء (٤٧٤)	حمار (٤٩٥)
<i>Acetosa (Cap. 54)</i>	<i>Assa (Cap. 53)</i>	<i>Alcanna (Cap. 51)</i>	<i>Asinus (Cap. 55)</i>
	حلتيت	حناء	
fol. 65v		fol. 83v	fol. 84v
أبيو Apium		امبوس Ameos	أمولى Amylum
كرفس (٥٢٨)		نانخواه (٥٧٩)	نشا (٥٧٩)
<i>Apium (Cap. 56)</i>		<i>Ameos (Cap. 61)</i>	<i>Amylum (Cap. 60)</i>
كرفس		نانخواه	نشا
fol. 93v		fol. 101v	fol. 102v
أمبرا Ambra	عرتانيئا Artanita	ارزبننو - ارجيننو Argentum	ألوي Aloes
عنبر (٦١٣)	عرتانيئا (٦١٠)	فضة (٦٢٤)	صبر (٦٤٠)
<i>Ambra (Cap. 63)</i>	<i>Artanita (Cap. 62)</i>	<i>Argentum (Cap. 65)</i>	<i>Aloes (Cap. 66)</i>
عنبر		فضة	صبر

fol. 105v		fol. 107v		fol. 114v
اروماتيكو Aromaticum	ابروتانو Abrotanum	أرونديني Arundo	أنيثو Anethum	
قصب الذريرة (٦٤٤)	قيصوم (٦٥٥)	قصب (٦٤٤)	شيث (٦٧٨)	
Aromaticum (Cap. 79)	Abrotanum (Cap. 68)	Arundo (Cap. 67)	Anethum (Cap. 71)	
قصب الدريرة	قيصوم	قصب	شيث	
fol. 118v			fol. 122v	
شجرة البق اربوري كيميكوم Arborcimicum	ادبيي Adips	شجرة مريم اربوري مارييا Arbor mariae	الليو Allium	
شجرة البق (٦٨٤)	شحم (٦٨٢)	شجرة مريم (٦٧٥)	ثوم (٦٩٥)	
Arbor cimicum (Cap. 73)	Adeps (Cap. 72)	Arbor mariae (Cap. 69)	Allium (Cap. 74)	
	شحم		ثوم	
fol. 125v		fol. 127v		fol. 130v
ألتايا Althaea	أكيثو Acetum	خنثي أفوديلو Aphodilus	أورو Aurum	
خطمي (٧٠١)	خل (٧١٤)	خنثي (٧٠٨)	ذهب (٧١٩)	
Althaea (Cap. 75)	Acetum (Cap. 77)	Aphodilus (Cap. 76)	Aurum (Cap. 78)	
خطمي	خل		ذهب	

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