

various marginal notes he added in different places.⁶² The verb used by al-Maqrīzī is of particular significance for our purpose. By using “*intaqá*,” he clearly indicated that he prepared a summary, probably not of the whole work, but rather selecting from among the multiple volumes.⁶³ This interpretation is corroborated by the evidence provided by the notebook: instead of a unique summary, more or less, equal to the mass of the original source, it is established that, among the 71 items inventoried, 3 correspond to summaries made on the basis of this source (VII, XVII, XIX), although al-Maqrīzī never mentioned Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umārī’s name in any of these summaries.⁶⁴ Moreover, these three epitomes involve passages located in different volumes in the original source. The first of these covers quires XV–XVI, starting at the beginning of the first quire. From this, it can be inferred that al-Maqrīzī started the summary of the relevant section in the original source with a new quire and continued with another quire in order to complete it. The remaining part of quire XVI was left blank and filled with notes at a later date (items LXII–LXIII). The other two summaries are found in quires XVII–XVIII. The first starts on the last folio of quire XVII and ends on the verso of the first folio of the next quire. It therefore shows that al-Maqrīzī added quire XVIII in order to be able to finish this summary. However, the second summary based on *Masālik al-Abṣār* does not follow immediately, but rather is separated from the preceding one by another summary made on the basis of a different source (Ibn al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾihī). From this, it may be deduced that al-Maqrīzī consulted and summarized a manuscript of this source during the period in which he had access to the whole set of *Masālik al-Abṣār*, i.e., in 831! It helps to date the references to this section of Ibn al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾihī’s work in al-Maqrīzī’s books. This reasoning can also be applied to the references to the *Masālik al-Abṣār*, but additionally the related parts in the notebook can be dated accordingly.⁶⁵ Finally, the notes added by

⁶²Reference is made here to the facsimile edition by Fuat Sezgin et al. (Frankfurt am Main, 1988–89), 4:72, 110; 5:8–9, 135, 143, 149, 165, 170, 218, 235, 300; 6:129, 192, 208, 297; 14:2, 152; 15:89, 252, 314; 17:2, 9, 34, 98; 19:234. Making marginal notes in a borrowed manuscript was not considered a reprehensible act, since it did not pertain to the content of the work. On this subject, see Rosenthal, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship*, 17.

⁶³As was the case with other multi-volume works like al-Ṣafadī’s *Al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafāyāt* (resumé II) or Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah’s *Uyūn al-Anbāʾ* (resumé I), or even his *Al-Muntaqá min Akhbār Miṣr* of Ibn Muyassar (completed in 814). On the contrary, his *Mukhtaṣar al-Kāmil fi al-Ḍu‘afā’ li-Ibn ‘Adī* (completed in 795), is considered an independent resumé. For the analysis of the verbs used by al-Maqrīzī to describe his summarizing activity, see the next section below.

⁶⁴For the identification, see “Maqriziana I/1,” 63 and “Maqriziana I/2,” 135. On the other hand, it should be noted that other resúmes from this source must have been made by al-Maqrīzī, although they are not found in this notebook. This is evidenced by quotations from this source in al-Maqrīzī’s works which are not the subject of the resúmes present in the notebook.

⁶⁵I.e., summaries VII, XVII–XIX.



al-Maqrīzī at a later date to fill up the blanks left at the end of these summaries can also be situated temporally: they were jotted down after 831. It must be added that this dating has an impact on other autograph manuscripts too, like the notebook preserved in Alexandria, and gives a hint as to the exact period when part of it was written and the related section in the final version of his books, like *Al-Khiṭaṭ*.⁶⁶

Nevertheless, this kind of analysis must be applied with caution as regards the scattered brief notes, as illustrated by the following. Thanks to a note of consultation added to two volumes of Ibn Saʿīd's *Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulā al-Maghrib*, we know that al-Maqrīzī read both volumes and made excerpts (*istafāda*) from it in 803. Considering this dating together with the notes found in the notebook and identified as originating in this source (items XXXIII, LVI/1–2, LVII, LXI), the logical conclusion would lead to dating these notes to 803, which is quite early in comparison with the other datings suggested for several parts of the notebook. If we scrutinize one of these notes, for example item LXI, we notice that this note consists of just two lines which al-Maqrīzī utilized in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* where, however, the two lines became several.⁶⁷ A comparison with the original source reveals that the passage that appears in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* tallies with it, thus implying that al-Maqrīzī went back to the source to enlarge the quotation.

⁶⁶Summary XIX in the notebook, which deals with Chingiz Khān from Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmārī's *Masālik al-Absār*, was partly reused by al-Maqrīzī for the section he devoted to the *yāsā* in *Al-Khiṭaṭ*. A first draft of this section meant for *Al-Khiṭaṭ* is to be found in the notebook kept in Alexandria. Hence, the intellectual process which drove al-Maqrīzī to distort Ibn Faḍl Allāh's words can be followed quite precisely from the original source to the final result through his summarizing and redrafting. Thanks to the reading note al-Maqrīzī put on the manuscript of this source, it is finally possible to determine exactly when in his lifetime it took place. See Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana VII: Al-Maqrīzī and the Yāsa: New Evidence of His Intellectual Dishonesty," in *Proceedings of the Conference "The Mamluk Sultanate: Political, Military, Social and Cultural Aspects," University of Haifa and Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 3–6 April 2006*, ed. Amalia Levanoni and Reuven Amitai (forthcoming).

⁶⁷See "Maqriziana I/2," 122.



المقريري (مخ. لياج، ١٣٠٠ب).
 المقريري، الخطط.⁶⁸
 ابن سعيد، المغرب.⁷⁰
 وقال علي بن موسى بن محمد بن سعيد في
 كتاب المغرب في أخبار المغرب:
 وهي في وبث ليالي كثيرة بقراءة الفسطاط وهي في
 شرقها بها منازل لأعيان الفسطاط والقاهرة
 وقبور عليها مبان معتنى بها وفيها القبة العالية
 العظيمة المزخرفة التي فيها قبر الإمام الشافعي
 رضي الله عنه وبها مسجد جامع وترب كثيرة
 عليها أوقاف للقراء ومدرسة كبيرة للشافعية ولا
 تكاد تخلو من طرب ولا سيما في الليالي القمرية
 وهي معظم مجتمعات أهل مصر وأشهر منتزهاتهم
 وفيها أقول . . .
 وبث ليالي كثيرة بقراءة الفسطاط وهي في
 شرقها بها منازل لأعيان الفسطاط والقاهرة
 وقبور عليها مبان معتنى بها وفيها القبة العالية
 العظيمة المزخرفة التي فيها قبر الإمام الشافعي
 رضي الله عنه وبها مسجد جامع وترب كثيرة
 عليها أوقاف للقراء ومدرسة كبيرة للشافعية ولا
 تكاد تخلو من طرب ولا سيما في الليالي القمرية
 وهي معظم مجتمعات أهل مصر وأشهر منتزهاتهم
 وفيها أقول . . .

In this case, the manuscript must have been at his disposal during the composition of his opus magnum, though it will be established, as already mentioned,⁷¹ that this work was not begun before or only shortly before 811. Given that the manuscript of *Al-Mughrib* belonged to someone else, as indicated by al-Maqrīzī himself,⁷² how then could he gain access to it later on? The inscription indicates that he utilized it⁷³ in 803, but the word used (*istafāda*) refers here to more than this, as it was also used by al-Maqrīzī on several volumes of Ibn ‘Adī’s *Al-Kāmil lil-Ḍu‘afā’*⁷⁴ of which he produced a *mukhtaṣar* dated to 795. If this term implies that he made a summary of *Al-Kāmil*, then it is clear that the same conclusion can be drawn for *Al-Mughrib*. This summary, however, is now lost and the very brief notes traceable to this source which are scattered in the notebook conspicuously do not represent

⁶⁸Būlāq ed., 2:444; Sayyid ed., 4:849.

⁶⁹This reading may be questioned, as both the extract in the notebook and the autograph of Ibn Sa‘īd used by al-Maqrīzī give a common reading. The editor of the new edition probably followed the Būlāq edition. See also, for a similar conclusion, p. 53.

⁷⁰Ed. Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan et al. (Cairo, 1953), 10.

⁷¹See “Maqriziana IX.”

⁷²In his note of consultation, he invoked God’s favor on the lender. See Appendix II.

⁷³Al-Maqrīzī was preceded in this by several of his colleagues, some of whom were his contemporaries, such as al-Awḥadī in 802 (*ṭāla‘ahu Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn [al-Ḥasan] ibn al-Awḥadī sanah 8[0]2*), and Ibn Duqmāq (*istafāda minhu dā‘īyan li-mālikihī Ibrāhīm ibn Duqmāq ‘afā Allāh ‘anhu wa-rahimahu āmin*). Al-Ṣafadī also benefitted from the text which he owned (*ṭāla‘ahu wa-intaqā minhu mālikuhu Khalīl ibn Aybak ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṣafadī ‘afā Allāh ‘anhu*). See reproduction of fol. 1a of *Al-Mughrib* (vol. 4, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS 103 Tārīkh Mīm) in B. Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography: A Collection of Arabic Texts from the First Century of the Hidjra till the Year 1000* (Cairo, 1905), 167.

⁷⁴See Appendix II.



the result of the summarizing process. Rather, they must be regarded as extracts selected from the résumé in order to be reused afterwards. The fact that two of these notes found their way into *Al-Khiṭaṭ* corroborates this hypothesis.⁷⁵ In doing so, al-Maqrīzī probably went back either to his summary or to the original source⁷⁶ in order to be able to quote the given paragraph completely. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the notes taken from *Al-Mughrib* are not datable to 803, but to a later date.

Owing to an internal and external analysis of the notebook, together with the notes of consultation found on the manuscripts of the sources al-Maqrīzī had in hand, the dating of several parts can be proposed. The summaries written on the recycled paper were surely not jotted down before 816, while the others on blank paper must have been added later. In one case (the summaries based on Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmari's *Masālik al-Abṣār*), a note of consultation even allows us to date them precisely to 831. As for the scattered notes, their position in the quire and on the leaf may reveal when they were jotted down.

WHAT FOR?

The question might seem ingenuous. However, it raises many problems that will be dealt with and, together with the answers given, it will show that the question is far from being self-explanatory.

Since antiquity, notebooks have been produced by scholars who wished to preserve what their memory could not necessarily retain with the passing of time. Notes, summaries, and excerpts were written during the reading of sources or lectures. When referring to these notes/notebooks, classical authors used a great variety of terms, but the most frequently encountered term is *pugillares*.⁷⁷ The aim of these was twofold. First and foremost, they constituted an aid to the memory (hence the use of the term *hypomnēmata*/ὑπομνήματα).⁷⁸ Secondly, they represented the raw material from which the author could extract a given quotation or an idea. The following passage, in Aulus Gellius' *Attic Nights* (*præf.* 2–3), illustrates

⁷⁵The remaining two must have been reused in *Al-Muqaffá* in the parts unfortunately now lost.

⁷⁶The manuscript of *Al-Mughrib* entered, at some time, into al-Muʿayyad Shaykh's ownership, who then bequeathed it as *waqf* to the library annexed to his mosque. See Shawqī Ḍayf in Ibn Saʿīd, *Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib [Washy al-Ṭurus fī Ḥulá Jazīrat al-Andalus]*, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1964), 1:22. Al-Maqrīzī could have had access to the original as often as he needed once it entered the library of al-Muʿayyad Shaykh's mosque.

⁷⁷In certain circumstances, the term also refers to the draft of an author. See on *pugillares* Dorandi, *Le Stylet*, 17–25.

⁷⁸This border between personal notes and summaries is sometimes subtle. As a consequence, the term is also used to describe the preparatory notes intended for a personal work and even the draft version of this work. It is then opposed to the *syngammata*/συγγράμματα. See *ibid.*, 77–101.



this perfectly: “For whenever I had taken in hand any Greek or Latin book, or had heard anything worth remembering, I used to jot down whatever took my fancy, of any and every kind, without any definite plan or order; and such notes I would lay away as *an aid to my memory*, like a kind of literary storehouse, so that when the need arose of a word or a subject which I chanced for the moment to have forgotten, and *the books from which I had taken it were not at hand*, I could readily find it and produce it.”⁷⁹

As for the milieu of traditional Islam, there is no reason to believe that things were different. Given the very prolific activity of Muslim scholars in ancient times, it is no surprise to remark that the *ars excerpendi*, “the art of condensing a book or treatise came to be considered one of the accomplishments of true scholarship,”⁸⁰ to such an extent that authors such as Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi considered that “condensing a work is more complicated than writing it.”⁸¹ The particularity of its educational system based on the oral, or more correctly aural,⁸² transmission of texts gave birth to a great variety of notes: those prepared by a teacher for his lectures, those jotted down by a student during these lectures, and finally those taken by any one of them during their readings for their personal use. The first category corresponded, somewhat, to the first stage of an authorial work: the teacher had selected and organized the material and commented on it. It could eventually give birth to the publication of a book, either by the author himself, or, after his death, by a disciple who then put his master’s notes in order or, when these were no longer available, his personal notes (second category).⁸³ The third category consisted of the personal notes resulting from reading of sources or any other kind of information gleaned by other means. The result of the three categories of activity could be found, either separately or altogether, in what was, in fact, a notebook. The evidence provided by al-Maqrīzī’s specimen combined with the indirect tradition⁸⁴ shows that they contained summarized texts, short excerpts, personal testimonies, comments, and first sketches of small parts to be included in drafts later on, but the group of summaries by far surpasses the other categories. If notes played a mnemonic role in ancient Greece and Rome, they served the same purpose in Islamic civilization. Consequently, summaries were not only meant for

⁷⁹*The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*, trans. John C. Rolfe (London and Cambridge [MA], 1954), xxvii. The French translation is quoted in *ibid.*, 40. The italics are mine.

⁸⁰Rosenthal, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship*, 45.

⁸¹Aḥmad ibn Muhammad Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *Al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, ed. Muḥammad Sa‘īd al-‘Aryān (Cairo, 1372/1953), 1:2 (واختيار الكلام أصعب من تأليفه).

⁸²For the distinction, see Günther, “Assessing the Sources of Classical Arabic Compilations,” 78 n. 10.

⁸³See *ibid.*, 78–79, and more particularly for the authorial question.

⁸⁴See below the section entitled *Referring to the Notebook?*



didactic use or for the sake of offering quicker access to a voluminous work.⁸⁵ Here, a clear distinction must be made between two purposes. The first is represented by the summary intended as a handbook, an abridged manual, sometimes itself the object of commentaries, or a condensed version of a comprehensive work. This genre can easily be differentiated as the condenser produces what he considers an authorial work as confirmed by several common features: introduction where the condenser mentions his name and explains why he contemplated doing this work, cross- and internal references in the body of the text, and an epilogue. Generally speaking, all these characteristics indicate the condenser's intention to see his work published. Summaries may have another objective, however. Instead of being intended to serve others, they may be produced by a scholar who wants to take note of things he considers seminal for his reflection and useful for his own book production, since "he who condenses gets ideas."⁸⁶ In case of need, he would be able to go back to a passage of his summary he wants to quote or refresh his memory on a particular subject. It does not mean that this kind of summary will not be copied by someone else, after the author's death, and thus published, but then it goes beyond the author's initial intention. To illustrate this theoretical passage, the circumstances in which Ibn al-Athīr composed his *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* may be detailed. As Ibn al-Athīr explains in his introduction, he initially wanted to produce a book dealing with history where all the facts that could otherwise only be read in several books would be available. In that way, the result would have served him "as a *memorandum* which I could have consulted for fear of forgetting."⁸⁷ He started condensing al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh*, and then added what he found in other books, inserting them at the right place in his resumé. He proceeded this way, adding more and more material, making of his resumé a personal work, until a friend of his asked him to transmit it to him. After some hesitancy, he agreed. In this way, what started as a memorandum for his personal use became a work ready to be published to the world.⁸⁸

The study of al-Maqrīzī's summarizing activity reveals that he produced both kinds of resúms. Considering first the three examples preserved outside the notebook,⁸⁹ we notice that two of them deal with hadith, while the third has to do with history. The first is a resumé (*mukhtaṣar*) of Ibn 'Adī's *Al-Kāmil fī al-Du'afā'*, a book which criticizes transmitters and emphasizes the weaknesses of the traditions they transmitted. The text features the characteristics of a resumé

⁸⁵A. Arazi and H. Ben-Shammy, "Mukhtaṣar," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd. ed., 7:536–39. This article is by far too restrictive, as it only considers the first purpose listed here.

⁸⁶Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, 1:2 (وقد قالوا: اختيار الرجل وافد عقله).

⁸⁷Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil* (Beirut, 1965–66), 1:5 (*li-yakūn tadhkirah li urājī'uhu khawf al-nisyān*).

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 6.

⁸⁹See Appendix I (nos. 8, 18, and 22).



produced to be published: the title, together with his full name, is written in his own hand on the title-page which consists of the recto;⁹⁰ it starts with a preface in which al-Maqrīzī states that he wanted to condense (*ulakhiṣṣ*) Ibn ‘Adī’s work, focusing his attention on its substance. His main goal is to eliminate the superfluous chains of transmitters (*isnād*) as well as his criticism of the traditions, except those he thought it necessary to include.⁹¹ Finally, it ends with a colophon where he repeats his goal and his name, and gives the date of completion.⁹² The same characteristics are observed in the second resumé, once again entitled *mukhtaṣar*, which he made on the basis of three works ascribed to al-Marwazī,⁹³ though in this case he focused on deleting the traditions repeated by the author with a different chain of transmitters. But unlike what he did with Ibn ‘Adī’s book, he quoted the traditions with their full *isnād*, omitting, on the other hand, the non-Prophetic traditions (*āthār*).⁹⁴ As for the third, it consists of a resumé (*muntaqá*) of Ibn Muyassar’s *Akhbār Miṣr*. Unfortunately, only the second volume of it has been preserved.⁹⁵ While the two aforementioned resúmes represent the holograph copy in al-Maqrīzī’s handwriting, the *Muntaqá* is a copy made by a later scribe on

⁹⁰Istanbul, Murat Molla Kütüphanesi MS 569, fol. 1r:

كتاب مختصر الكامل لابن عدي اختصار فقير عفو الله احمد بن علي بن عبد القادر بن محمد بن ابراهيم بن محمد بن تميم [بن عبد الصمد بن أبي الحسن بن عبد الصمد بن تميم الشهير بالمقريري الشافعي] سامحه الله يغفرانه وبوأه دار أمانة بمنه أمين.

⁹¹Ibid., fol. 1v = Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Kāmil fī al-Ḍu‘afā’ wa-‘Ilal al-Ḥadīth li-Ibn ‘Adī*, ed. Ayman ibn ‘Arif al-Dimashqī (Cairo, 1415/1994), 39:

وبعد فإن الحافظ أبا أحمد عبد الله بن عدي سقى الله جدته وصيب الغفران وبوأه بحبوة دار الأمان قد أملى كتابة الكامل في علل الحديث وأسماء المجروحين من الرواة وأشخه بكثرة الأسانيد فأحببت أن أخص منه ما قيل في الرواة على سبيل الإنجاز وحذفت علل الحديث إلا إذا احتج إليها وأضربت عن ذكر الأسانيد إلا أن تدعو الضرورة إليها والله تعالى [أسأل] أن يجعله عوناً على امتثال أمره وسبباً لإتباع السنة وبالله أعصم.

⁹²Murat Molla Kütüphanesi MS 569, fol. 215r-v = Dimashqī ed., 844:

انتهى وكمل ما دل راند الاختيار عليه وقاد دليل الفكر إليه من الكامل في أسماء المجروحين من الرواة وعلل الحديث للحافظ أبي أحمد بن عدي على يد كاتبه أحمد بن علي بن عبد القادر بن محمد بن ابراهيم بن محمد بن تميم المقريري بلغه الله أماله وأحسن في الدارين ماله بمنه وذلك عند غروب الشمس من يوم الاحد المبارك مفتح عام ٧٩٥.

⁹³These are: *Kitāb Qiyām al-Layl*; *Kitāb Qiyām Ramaḍān*; *Kitāb al-Witr*.

⁹⁴*Mukhtaṣar Kitāb Qiyām al-Layl lil-Marwazī* (Lahore, 1320 H.), 2:

أما بعد فإني اختصرت في هذا الجزء كتاب قيام الليل تأليف أبي عبد الله محمد بن نصر المروزي رحمه الله على أي أحذف المكرر من الأحاديث المسندة والآثار وأورد جميع ما فيه من الأحاديث المسندة بأسانيدها وجميع الآثار مع حذف أسانيدها والله أسأل الإعانة على إتمامه والتوفيق للعمل به إنه قريب مجيب.

The colophon (p. 144) is placed at the end of the third resumé, where he indicated that he made the whole on a manuscript dated to 287:

وبآخر النسخة التي اختصرت منها ما مثاله وذلك في شهر ربيع الآخر لنصف منه من سنة سبع وثمانين ومائتين [...] وتم هذا المختصر على يد كاتبه أحمد بن علي بن عبد القادر بن محمد المقريري في نصف يوم الخميس لثمان أن بقين من جمادى الآخرة سنة سبع وثمانمائة والله الحمد أولاً وآخرًا.

⁹⁵The preface is thus lost. The second volume bears a less indicative title:

الجزء الثاني من أخبار مصر تأليف محمد بن ميسر بن يوسف بن جلب عفا الله عنه.

See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá min Akhbār Miṣr li-Ibn Muyassar*, ed. Ayman Fu‘ād Sayyid (Cairo, 1981), 1.



the basis of the autograph and its contents demonstrate that he had at his disposal what looks like a fragment of the notebooks. Evidence of this assumption lies in the fact that some portions are not part of Ibn Muyassar's *Tārīkh*, but are rather excerpts from two other sources al-Maqrīzī often relied on (Ibn Zūlāq and al-Musabbiḥī).⁹⁶ An interesting bit of information the copyist did not fail to mention is the colophon al-Maqrīzī added at the end of his resumé.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, this resumé is not of great help for our concern given that the features dealt with here (title page, preface) have been lost.

On the basis of the first two resúmes, called *mukhtaṣar*, it is nonetheless possible to consider them as answering the first of the purposes mentioned earlier. The aim is to provide the reader with a less voluminous work, unburdened of all its repetitions and inconsequential elements. Their obvious function is to be useful to the condenser who also has in mind a potential general readership. The presence of the whole variety of characteristics typical of a work meant to be published reinforces this view, which is further strengthened by an examination of the other summaries in the notebook.

Among the numerous summaries found in the notebook, only three are introduced by a short preface, preceded by the *basmalah*, where al-Maqrīzī explained what motivated him to summarize them. The more complete one concerns Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's *Kitāb Futūḥ Miṣr*.⁹⁸ The condenser explains that his present aim (*fa-innī qāṣid*) is to summarize (*talkhiṣ*) the book, selecting the reports (*al-akhbār*) he needs and omitting what is unnecessary *at the moment* (*al-ān*), such as mention of houses and mosques which have fallen into oblivion and the chain of transmitters of the non-Prophetic traditions, and the like.⁹⁹ Of particular concern is the reference to "at the moment." Al-Maqrīzī's intention is clearly revealed: the summary is meant for his personal use only, and even limited in time, as he skipped over what he deemed unnecessary for his purpose *at that moment*. As already noted, the end of this summary is missing, or rather was never finished,¹⁰⁰ which is perfectly understandable given the introductory words. Be that as it may, al-Maqrīzī never intended to publish it, at least as it appears in the

⁹⁶See "Maqriziana I/2," 100 (no. 62).

⁹⁷See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá*, 157:

آخر المنتقى من الجزء الثاني من تاريخ مصر لابن ميسر. تم على يد أحمد بن علي المقرئ في مساء يوم السبت لست بقين من شهر ربيع الآخر سنة أربع عشرة وثمانمائة.

⁹⁸See "Maqriziana I/1," no. II.

⁹⁹Liège MS 2232, fol. 37v:

وبعد فإني قاصد تلخيص كتاب فتوح مصر وأخبارها من تأليف عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن عبد الحكم رحمه الله مع الاجتهاد في سرد ما حواه من الأخبار التي تدعو الحاجة إليها وترك ما لا يحتاج إليه الآن من ذلك كنعو ذكر الدور والمساجد التي دثرت وكذكر الأسانيد في الأخبار غير النبوية وشبه هذا والله أسأل تسيير ذلك بمنه وكرمه.

¹⁰⁰See "Maqriziana I/1," 34–35, and "Maqriziana V" (forthcoming).



notebook.

The same conclusion may be applied to another summary, the one based on al-Ṣafadī's *Al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafāyāt*.¹⁰¹ Here, the introductory section is even shorter: al-Maqrīzī is content with mentioning that the following are “useful notes” (*fawā'id*) he selected (*iltaqaṭṭuhā*) from al-Ṣafadī's book.¹⁰² No reference is made to the elements looked for or omitted. This may be due to the fact that, contrary to all the previous resumé already studied, the contents of this source are not primarily based on hadith. As with the previous example quoted, the end of this summary is missing in the notebook as it has come down to us, but in this case it is highly probable that al-Maqrīzī went further than what is preserved.¹⁰³ Though it is unknown if he condensed the whole of *Al-Wāfi*, there is no reason to believe that the present summary was ever to be published: even though there is a preface, it is too concise to play that role, and furthermore his name never appears throughout the text. Whether he wrote a colophon or not, given that the end is wanting, is purely conjectural. Yet a hint may be found in the last example to be considered.

The summary he prepared of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's *Uyūn al-Anbā'* shares the same features with the previous one. The introductory words are once more striking in their brevity—he uses two verbs to describe his summarizing activity (*ikhtartu* and *intaqaytu*) and speaks of the result as “something” (*shay'*) and “words” (*kalim*),¹⁰⁴ but contrary to what we have for *Al-Wāfi*, al-Maqrīzī indicated, in a colophon, that he had reached the goal he had intended.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, the collation of this summary with the original source indicates that he did not condense the whole work, but stopped at an early stage in the book. In a way, al-Maqrīzī applied the same principle developed in his summary of *Al-Wāfi*: to condense what he needs at the moment of the reading. Compared with the other examples quoted above, this colophon does not offer any information about the authorship or the date when the summary was completed.

If we take account of another meaningful detail, the physical appearance of these epitomes, we will find another confirmation of their utility. Nos. II and V start on the verso of the first leaf of a quire, while no. I begins on the recto. The disposition of the first two is not problematic: a copyist will usually start writing

¹⁰¹See “Maqriziana I/1,” no. V.

¹⁰²Liège MS 2232, fol. 101v:

وبعد فهذه فوائد النقطتها من كتاب الوافي بالوفيات تأليف العلامة صلاح الدين خليل بن أبيك الصفدي صرف الله وجهه عن النار وحشره مع الصفوة الأبرار.

¹⁰³See “Maqriziana I/1,” 46.

¹⁰⁴Liège MS 2232, fol. 4r:

هذا شيء اخترته وكلم انتقيته من كتاب عيون الأنبياء في طبقات الأطباء جمع أحمد بن أبي القاسم بن خليفة الخزرجي المتطبب رحمه الله.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., fol. 31v: انتهى الغرض المطلوب من تاريخ الأطباء والله الموفق.



this way in order to protect the first page of the text from future damage. The recto is thus reserved for the title page.¹⁰⁶ No. I, on the other hand, constitutes an exception: al-Maqrīzī wrote his summary on the recto. This last example allows us to establish that it was meant to be part of a notebook; hence the reason why al-Maqrīzī did not deem it necessary to “protect” it. For the others, he must have felt that it was better to start on the verso because these resumés were perhaps considered as independent elements, given their volume (five quires for the first, four for the second). The analysis of the constitution of the notebook now held in Liège has revealed that these independent elements were gathered together at a given date, notes being scattered later in the spaces left blank, thus joining the whole.

As for the numerous other texts contained in the notebook, besides the scattered notes, their major characteristic mainly lies in their brevity (generally less than one quire). Additionally, none of them is preceded by a preface, except, in one case, by a *ḥamdalah*; the name of the author and the title of the work is given at the beginning or at the end, in some cases. They usually start on the recto of the first leaf of a quire and al-Maqrīzī rarely stated in a colophon that he had finished his work, except in two cases.¹⁰⁷ Another common feature regards the term used by al-Maqrīzī to describe his work: in five cases, he described the text as a *mukhtār*, to be understood as a selection made from a greater work, and definitely not as a complete resumé.¹⁰⁸ The remainder is sometimes preceded by the word *faṣl*.

To conclude, none of the resumés appearing in the notebook was intended for publication. They all correspond to the second type defined earlier: their function was primarily mnemonic, allowing al-Maqrīzī to use these notes in case he could not get access to the original source, or as a memorandum before returning to the source. Finally, their incomplete character reinforces this hypothesis. As a matter of fact, while the resumé of Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam’s *Futūḥ Miṣr* ends abruptly in the middle of the story of the virgin thrown into the Nile by the Copts to encourage its flooding, the complete version of this anecdote can be read in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (1:58),

¹⁰⁶This convention is generally followed in Islamic manuscripts and al-Maqrīzī’s fair copies respect it. The Leiden volume made of his many opuscles (MS Or. 560), copied by a scribe he presumably hired for this specific purpose, illustrates it: each opuscle starts on the verso, the recto being reserved for the title page on which al-Maqrīzī himself, in most of the cases, added the title later (sometimes the word *kitāb* has been written by the copyist, the real title being written by al-Maqrīzī afterwards). See, for instance, fol. 66r.

¹⁰⁷At the end of nos. XIII (in the margin: انتهى المختار) and XV (لخصت ما قيل في الدرهم والدينار من مختار من كتاب الدينانير والدرهم تأليف أبي بكر محمد بن خلف بن حيان المعروف بوكيع ولم أقف على الأصل).

¹⁰⁸See nos. XII, XIII, XVIII, XXIII, and XXVIII. No. XV is rather a *talkhiṣ* of a *mukhtār* made by someone else and al-Maqrīzī’s words establish that he made the best of a bad job (*wa-lam aqif ‘alā al-aṣl*).



where the text tallies exactly with the *Futūḥ Miṣr!*

Likewise, the study of the terminology might enlighten our understanding of al-Maqrīzī's intentions. Though it is hazardous to draw conclusions solely on the basis of the small sample under study, the consideration of other elements will support the following remarks. We have seen that al-Maqrīzī's notes of consultation placed on the manuscripts he had access to prove without a doubt that he made use of them (*istafāda*), meaning by this that he had made a resumé.¹⁰⁹ In some cases, he alludes to his summarizing activity in more direct terms: the term *intaqá* (to pick out) leaves no doubt that he took what he reckoned useful for his purposes.¹¹⁰ While the term *mukhtaṣar* was probably reserved for a resumé meant to be published, in al-Maqrīzī's mind, the other terms might have referred to generally incomplete, summarized texts not fit for publication: hence the use of *talkhīṣ* for books composed of traditions,¹¹¹ and *muntaqá/mukhtār* for all the other kinds of books, simply differentiated one from the other by the extent of the selection. Such a classification can only be temporary, and if confirmed by other evidence, applicable to al-Maqrīzī alone. Nevertheless, the testimonies provided by the direct and indirect traditions tend to show that some of the preceding remarks are somewhat general for a given period and that these technical terms were not idiolects. Several examples may indeed be invoked regarding historians/traditionists.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹See previous section.

¹¹⁰See Appendix II. He uses the same term regarding his selections in al-Musabbiḥī's *Tāriḫ*. See "Maqriziana I/2," 96–97 and 117.

¹¹¹*Talkhīṣ* is applied twice to such works, both of them made up of traditions (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's *Futūḥ Miṣr* and Wakī's *Kitāb al-Danānir wa-al-Darāhim*).

¹¹²These are only some examples: Rashīd al-Dīn al-Mundhirī (d. 643 or 644/1245–47), *Muntaqá Tāriḫ al-Musabbiḥī* (see "Maqriziana I/2," 97); al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), an *Intiqā'* of Ibn Sa'īd's *Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib* (see n. 73); Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (d. 851/1448), *Muntaqā' Tāriḫ Ibn al-Furāt*, *Muntaqā' Tāriḫ Ibn Duqmāq*, *Muntaqá Tāriḫ al-Dhahabī*, *Muntaqá Tāriḫ Madīnat Dimashq*, *Muntaqá Nihāyat al-Arab* (see David C. Reisman, "A Holograph MS of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's 'Dhayl'," *MSR* 2 (1998): 45), *Muntaqá al-'Ibar lil-Dhahabī* (MS British Library Suppl. Ar. 460); al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) (see the list provided by Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf in *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'* [Beirut, 1996], 1:85–87). The connection with the traditionists is not innocent: most historians of the period considered still passed through the traditional education system and were first and foremost traditionists. The term *muntaqá* is found profusely in répertoires of texts based on hadith where it means that a disciple made a selection of the traditions transmitted by a master. See particularly *Al-Fihris al-Shāmil lil-Turāth al-'Arabī al-Makhtūṭ: al-Ḥadīth al-Nabawī al-Sharīf wa-'Ulūmuhu wa-Rijāluhu* (Amman, 1991–92), s.v. *muntaqá*. In light of what has been said, the following words sound somewhat misplaced: "Furthermore, there appeared a new kind of writer who devoted his talents to compiling *mukhtaṣars*; al-Dhahabī constitutes an apt example: the majority of his output comprises abridgments of works by other authors" (Arazi and Ben-Shammai, "Mukhtaṣar," 537). Al-Dhahabī's numerous abridgments are of course linked to his authorial activity, and were



Finally, the analysis of the distribution of some scattered notes in the quires reveals that al-Maqrīzī did not prepare a résumé of all the sources he consulted. Some of these were less relevant for his purpose, such as the histories written by Eastern authors, who were less well informed of the events that happened in Egypt, al-Maqrīzī's main subject of study. In the notebook, several scattered notes have been identified as coming from Ibn al-Jawzī's *Al-Muntaẓam* and Ibn 'Asākir's *Tāriḫ Madīnat Dimashq*, two works belonging to this category. Al-Maqrīzī was obviously not interested in summarizing these multi-volume books and took note, during his readings, of only the most relevant information. If we first consider Ibn 'Asākir, we notice that the material selected can be traced back in this source and that its placement in the published volumes reveals the progression of al-Maqrīzī's reading process in this work (excerpts LVI/36–37: vol. 62; LXIII: vols. 52, 69, 70, 74; LXVII: vols. 64, 67). Thanks to this arrangement of the data, we know precisely which parts he read and in which order. The same conclusion applies to Ibn al-Jawzī (excerpts LII: vol. 17; LV: vols. 16, 17; LVIII: vol. 16). These excerpts were clearly written backwards in the notebook, utilizing the spaces left blank. The volumes correspond to the end of the work, i.e., al-Maqrīzī consulted the parts contemporary with the author. This was another aspect of his working method: to consider works relating contemporary events to be the most reliable ones.¹¹³

SUMMARIZING, EPITOMIZING, EXCERPTING VS. QUOTING, PARAPHRASING, INTERPRETING

Now that we can take for granted that the résumés and the scattered notes found in the notebook had a mnemonic role, that both occasionally functioned as a first sketch representing the redactional process, and that the whole served as raw material al-Maqrīzī could pick from when he needed it, we have to scrutinize several issues connected with the summarizing and writing processes: the psychological conditions of these activities, and the connection between summarizing the text and exploiting the summarized material.

The process of copying, in all its complexity, can be divided into four different tasks, which are not reducible to consecutive steps since they are all concomitant. Nonetheless, each operation can be differentiated from the others thanks to a series of alterations that affect the copied text and that are attributable to the given operation. These four operations are: the reading of the text, the comprehension of the text, the silent dictation, and finally the act of copying.¹¹⁴ The first operation generally requires from the copyist various abilities like the decipherment of the

essentially made for his personal use.

¹¹³See also the forthcoming study Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana XI: al-Maqrīzī et al-Ṣafadī: Analyse de la (re)construction d'un récit biographique," in a forthcoming monographic volume of *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* devoted to the working method of classical Islamic historians.

¹¹⁴Dain, *Les Manuscrits*, 41.



text (in the case of Arabic, everyone knows the difficulties connected with the cursive script, the potential lack of diacritics and vowels), and the understanding of the meaning of the text, which requires knowledge in a great variety of fields, particularly of technical or archaic vocabulary. Thus, one cannot be content with just reproducing what he sees, though in some cases, this cannot be avoided. These four operations are characteristic of the act of copying. However, in the case of al-Maqrizī, another operation, necessitated by the desire to summarize the text, must sometimes be added, then emphasizing, more than ever, the difficulties of the copyist's work. The study of the notebook reveals that al-Maqrizī did not escape the vicissitudes inherent in the act of copying and found in every manuscript which was copied from another. One of the most interesting features imputable to the third operation listed above (the silent dictation) regards the idiosyncratic phonetic peculiarities of the copyist. While it is established that a Latin copyist of German origin will tend to write *suafis* instead of *suavis*,¹¹⁵ in the case of Arabic, a copyist will probably be less influenced by his mispronunciation than by phonetic and grammatical traits of Middle Arabic. This is even more to be expected when the copyist is a scholar engaged in a summarizing activity, during which his main focus is the rendering of the meaning of the text. Of course, the more the text is condensed, the more he will make mistakes characteristic of the language he speaks daily. The question has been considered regarding al-Maqrizī and his notebook, where such features are observed more than anywhere else. The preliminary results confirm that the notebook presents several peculiarities that can be characterized as pertaining to Middle Arabic (orthographical aberrations, morphological and syntactical mistakes), such as the doubling of *lām* in the word *allaḥa*, the presence of a *wāw* in the aorist (3rd sg.) in *verba tertiæ radicalis* ء, and the use of a plural verb preceding the subject (*akalūni al-barāghith*).¹¹⁶ Such features will doubtless be identified in the autograph manuscripts of his books, once they have been scrutinized in that way.

Mistakes affecting numbers (ciphers and dates) are common in most manuscripts. In the notebook, these are written both in letters or with figures. Figures are less a source of mistakes than letters and their presence in the notebook, on several occasions, might be interpreted as a conscious effort to avoid mistakes in their writing. However, we shall see, in the next section, an example due to the lack of attention where al-Maqrizī modified a date three times (513, 512, 515). Although the second date is presumably the result of absentmindedness, as it was written on a note-card, the third must rather be seen as an a posteriori correction made on the basis of another source. Other errors, or better, inaccuracies, are not always easily

¹¹⁵Ibid., 44–45.

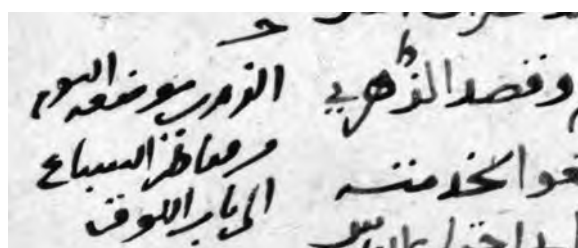
¹¹⁶See “Maqriziana VIII.”



identifiable as such given that they could be imputed to the source rather than to al-Maqrīzī's lack of attention. Consequently, caution is always recommended when noticing such errors.¹¹⁷

The ability of the copyist to understand the text is also of particular importance. "Of concern as well is the intention of al-Maqrīzī. Is he quoting or paraphrasing? If he paraphrases material, it might contain a hint as to how he understands what he reports. One may presume in many cases that he knew best what his source was trying to say. A quotation indicates only what the actual words convey but the paraphrase may reveal more, particularly about what al-Maqrīzī perceived as the implication of the material he reported."¹¹⁸ This quotation highlights the problem of understanding reused material, but we have seen that, prior to this phase, al-Maqrīzī summarized in most of the cases. Before considering this second phase, we should analyze al-Maqrīzī's understanding of the source on the basis of the résumé he prepared. Several examples could be chosen for this purpose, but a text dealing with an earlier era such as the Fatimid period represents an excellent starting point, as words, facts, and events pertaining to this period were not necessarily understood in the fifteenth century in the way they were expressed in a text written by a person who lived in the earlier period. The notebook containing a summary of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History* (no. XVIII) will serve as the basis of our analysis.

Although this summary is short, covering only four folios, a particular symbol is displayed in it more than anywhere else in the notebook. In each occurrence, al-Maqrīzī wrote it in red ink, as an additional means to attract his attention, over a word. Looking like a small *kāf* (probably standing for *kadhā*, i.e., *sic*), its function was to signify that al-Maqrīzī did not understand what the word meant. The following example will explain how it functioned.



MS 2232, fol. 159a (Courtesy Université de Liège)

The symbol is visible over a word which al-Maqrīzī obviously did not understand. It is only at a later date, as confirmed by the color of the ink and the character of

¹¹⁷See for instance item LII ("Maqriziana I/2," 109).

¹¹⁸Paul E. Walker, *Exploring an Islamic Empire: Fatimid History and its Sources* (London and New York, 2002), 222 n. 3.

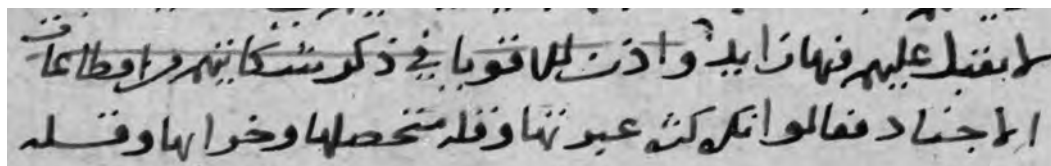


the script, that he discovered what the word meant and added, in the margin, a gloss preceded by the letter *ḥā* (for *ḥāshiyah*, “gloss”). The text thus reads:

وقصد الذهري [حاشية] الذهري موضعه اليوم من قناطر السباع إلى باب اللوق

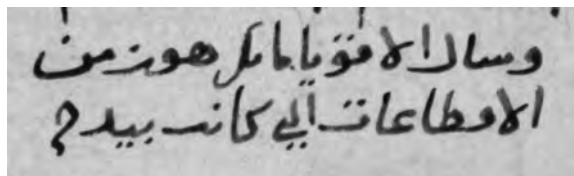
Other instances found in the same summary¹¹⁹ allow us to confirm the meaning of the symbol used together with al-Maqrīzī’s perplexity over several words appearing in this text. Consequently, it can be established that, for al-Maqrīzī, Ibn al-Ma’mūn’s *History* represented a difficult source, due to the presence of several unknown words. It also shows that a text composed three centuries earlier could contain words which were no longer used and understood by a historian of the fifteenth century.

The problem of quotation and paraphrase, bearing in mind that we are dealing here only with a source and its summary, is obviously linked to the question of understanding, as already shown. In this case too, the notebook provides an answer as to whether al-Maqrīzī summarized a source without modifying the wording or whether he paraphrased it. In fact, he did both and both are attested even within the same summary. On this matter, the source considered above, Ibn al-Ma’mūn’s *History*, provides another example. Though the original text is lost, it is possible to arrive at this conclusion through the following extract.



MS 2232, fol. 157a (Courtesy Université de Liège)

As can be observed, al-Maqrīzī cancelled almost a complete sentence with a red line, leaving only the last word (*al-ajnad*) untouched. To replace it, he wrote another sentence, vertically in the margin, indicating, through a sign (–) that it had to be substituted for the cancelled one.



MS 2232, fol. 157a (Courtesy Université de Liège)

The whole can be illustrated thus:

لا يقبل عليهم فيها زائد – وأذن للأقرباء في ذكر شكائهم من إقطاعات الأجناد

¹¹⁹See next section.



وسأل الأقباء ما يكرهون من الإقطاعات التي كانت بيد صح.

Thanks to this modification, we can safely infer that what al-Maqrīzī wrote corresponded to the words he read in the source, which implies that he is not paraphrasing it, but rather quoting it. The modified sentence does not say something different (the *aqwiyā'* could express their displeasure towards the land grants, *iqṭā'āt*, of the soldiers), but is simplified. Nevertheless, al-Maqrīzī, of course, understood the ins and outs of the affair, and felt the need to modify the sentence in order to interpret it: instead of considering, as the source related, that they were allowed to complain about the *iqṭā'āt* of the army, he preferred to let the text imply that they were asked what their complaint was.

In other circumstances, we already noted that al-Maqrīzī was able to get the most out of his source, paraphrasing, for example, a sentence of 50 words in just 15.¹²⁰ In each case, it has been established that this takes place during the reading of the source. Owing to the psychological conditions attendant to the copying process referred to earlier, it can be said that he could not read more than a limited number of words in order to be able to paraphrase or to quote, hence the modifications intervening in the margins or directly in the text.

Once the text had been summarized, faithfully or in paraphrase, it served al-Maqrīzī either as raw material which could be reused as such, or as a mnemonic support before returning to the source. In the latter case, it implies that he had at his disposal a copy of the work or that he could once again gain access to the manuscript he had consulted months or years before. An answer to the crucial question of whether he owned or had permanent access to a copy of the work cannot be given with certainty, but the evidence provided by the notebook suggests that there is no other solution. For instance, the notebook contains a biography of a physician taken from a so-far unidentified source.¹²¹ Al-Maqrīzī devoted some space to him in *Al-Muqaffá*, where he quotes Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah among his sources for information about this person. However, al-Maqrīzī did not include him in the resumé he prepared of *'Uyūn al-Anbā'*, and we have seen that he indicated at the end of this resumé that he had extracted all that he needed. How then could he quote Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah if the original text was not available to him, given that he had not taken note of the biography in his resumé? Beside that, it demonstrates that the mnemonic function of the resumé sometimes had limits.

Be that as it may, this leads us to consider how al-Maqrīzī reused the material found in the notebook: did he quote or paraphrase the resumé or the original source? Before the discovery of the notebook, a partial answer could be arrived at through a comparison between the assumed source used by al-Maqrīzī, particularly

¹²⁰See above, p. 14.

¹²¹No. 21 of LVI.



this gap. Examples of note-cards, implying that card indexes must have existed, have been tentatively identified as such in *Al-Muqaffá*¹³¹ and *Al-Khiṭat*,¹³² where biographies or details have been added on slips of paper inserted in the quires. In these particular cases, the note-cards seem to result from the necessity to add a biography or information at an already advanced stage of the work, hence the organization in quires, and in this sense these should be considered more as a technical solution, not necessarily implying the existence of a card index. Be that as it may, they correspond to what one can call note-cards: they were produced once a new source was discovered, read, and perhaps summarized; then the data was selected, organized, and quoted or paraphrased, and finally written on a slip of paper appended at the right place in the work in progress. In some cases, the material read could be directly transferred on a slip of paper. At the end, once the fair copy was made, the note-cards were intended to be discarded together with the draft. Nonetheless, an instance illustrating the whole process (summary, note-card, draft, fair copy), therefore confirming the status of the card, had never previously been discovered. It is only by chance that such a witness has survived in the notebook, given that it represents a *hapax*.¹³³

¹³¹Witkam, “Les Autographes,” 94.

¹³²See Sayyid, “Remarques sur la composition des *Ḥiṭat* de Maqrīzī.”

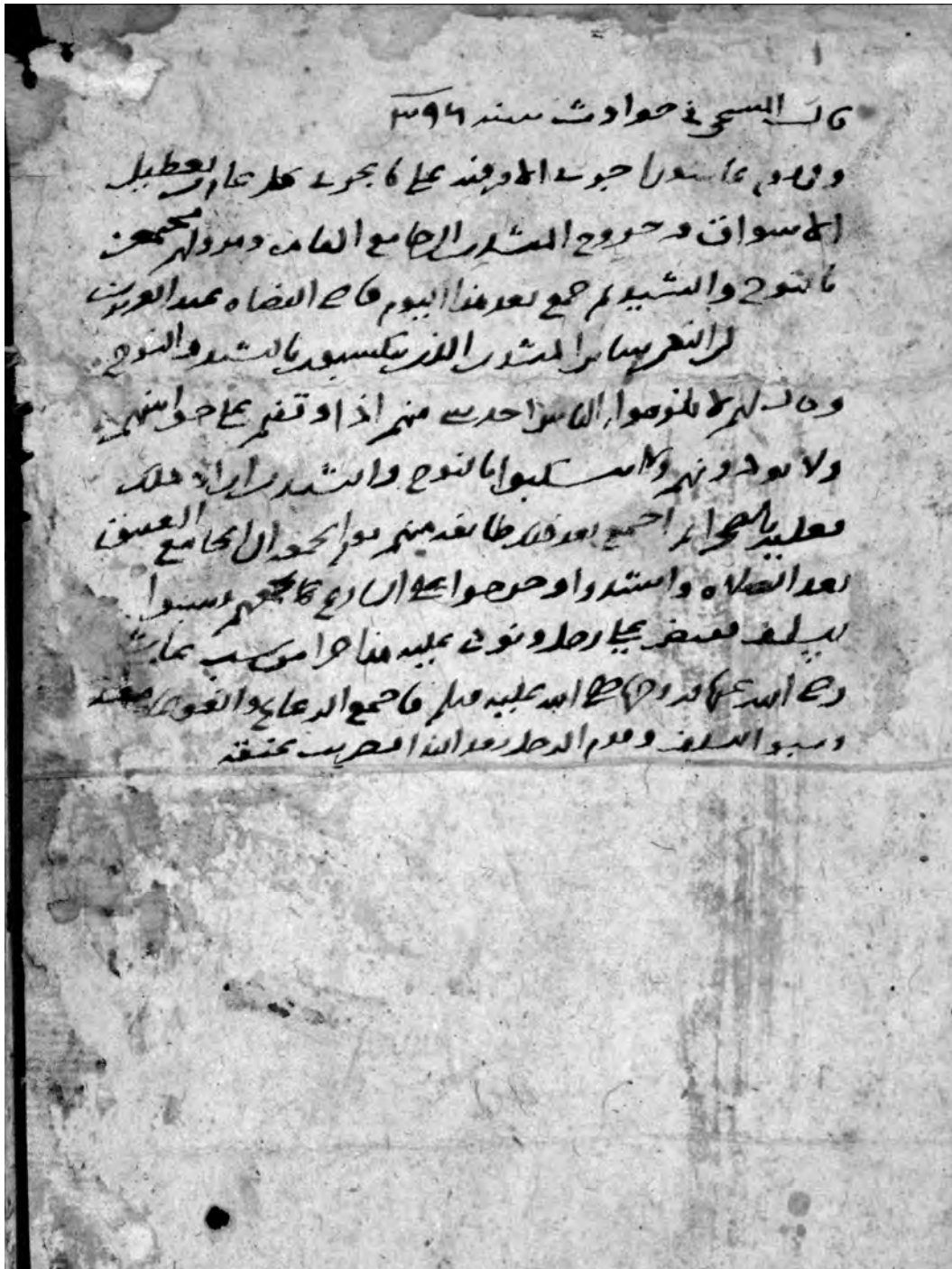
¹³³Item XXXVIII must have played the same role, but unfortunately one stage of the process (summary) is missing now.



145
 انقل للمعنى الطارىء ما ذكره في نسخة اخرى من كتاب
 وفيه عاشر اعيان السهام لحسن العطايا بعين وادار الاصل
 ايجوب و هو السهام المحتوية عاشر اوموعى بعين في الكتاب
 اكارها بها خاله في اعياد دولة تعلم مرفق شمس مرفق كيمية
 ادم والسهام بلو ما وعز مرفق نحاس وجمع النواحي احبان
 وسلايق ونبيلات وجمع الجيتيو وشرح الافضل ما في قوله
 حلسر عليا واصوف واستغنى العزوي واسيد عنت الاشراف
 في طقايه وجمع السهام لم وورد في الادب من الذي سبق اليه الا
 في السهام عدس ليوه في عدة على مصفا ان في السهام
 وورد في جمعها على كل حال ولا كان نوم عاشر اعيان
 بعين في نسخة اخرى ولله في حلسر اعلى في كتاب الباد مع
 على في خبره في نسخة اخرى وجمع حاسنة علم عليه الورود
 وجمع الاواني الكبار والاصغار بالفتا مبرز في النواحي والاراضي
 والاراضي والاراضي ايام عليه في ما يدعى موشن جمعها في
 السهام في موضع العباد وجمعها في اللقوا والحوار على ما كان في الامام
 الاصلية في مقدم ان في مصر والعامه مان لا تكنا احد من جمع
 ولا في ارض مصر وصور الرسم المطلق في تصدير الراجح
 والاعطاء والواو على كل حال في نسخة اخرى

MS 2232, fol. 145r (Courtesy Université de Liège)





MS 2232, fol. 145v (Courtesy Université de Liège)



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DOI: 10.6082/M18C9TDT. (<https://doi.org/10.6082/M18C9TDT>)

DOI of Vol. XII, no. 1: [10.6082/M1571937](https://doi.org/10.6082/M1571937). See <https://doi.org/10.6082/C8X5-T517> to download the full volume or individual articles. This work is made available under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license (CC-BY). See <http://mamluk.uchicago.edu/msr.html> for more information about copyright and open access.

Originally, fol. 145 (items LXIV–LXV) was a loose piece of paper which had been attached to the notebook by a narrow strip of paper by a later owner. It consists of two quotations from Fatimid sources, each one lying on one side of the leaf: al-Musabbiḥī on the recto and Ibn al-Maʿmūn on the verso.¹³⁴ Both deal with a similar subject (the etiquette observed at the Fatimid court on the occasion of the feast of ʿĀshūrāʾ), and together with the layout as well as the size of the slip (9.5 x 16 cm), it must be identified as a note-card. The following demonstration will corroborate this statement. In Ibn al-Maʿmūn’s text found on the note-card, two quotations may be identified: the first one which, erroneously as we shall see, refers to the year 512 (read 513), and the other one, placed just at the end of the latter from which it is separated by “*wa-qāla*,” which deals with a similar event that took place, once again mistakenly, in 416 (read 516). Physically, both quotations were rendered jointly as al-Maqrīzī did not indent a new line for the second quotation. It can only be differentiated thanks to the extended form of the introductory word “*wa-qāla*.” Turning to what was considered by al-Maqrīzī as the recto, it can be observed that the quotation from al-Musabbiḥī is smaller and that it does not fill the whole space. From this, it can be deduced that al-Maqrīzī obviously wanted to separate the two sources although they spoke of a similar event. The result is a note-card with different sources on each side, but all dealing with the same event. If this interpretation is confirmed, it should mean that al-Maqrīzī made it while consulting the original sources or the resumés he made from them, at different intervals. Fortunately, the notebook preserves a short résumé of Ibn al-Maʿmūn’s *Tārīkh*, now lost (no. XVIII). It specifically touches on events which took place between 501 and 515. On fols. 158v–159r, under the year 513, the text of the first quotation found on the note-card appears in almost exactly the same words. The comparison proves concretely that the aim of fol. 145 was to provide al-Maqrīzī with a tool to be used in one of his works, and this tool could only be a card. It remains that if it was really a card, we should find its text in one of al-Maqrīzī’s works, and, why not, in an autograph copy of it. In this way, the demonstration would be complete and unquestionable. It happens that the text of the card found its way into his *Al-Khiṭaṭ* and, by chance, it appears in the preserved part of the autograph draft of this work too.

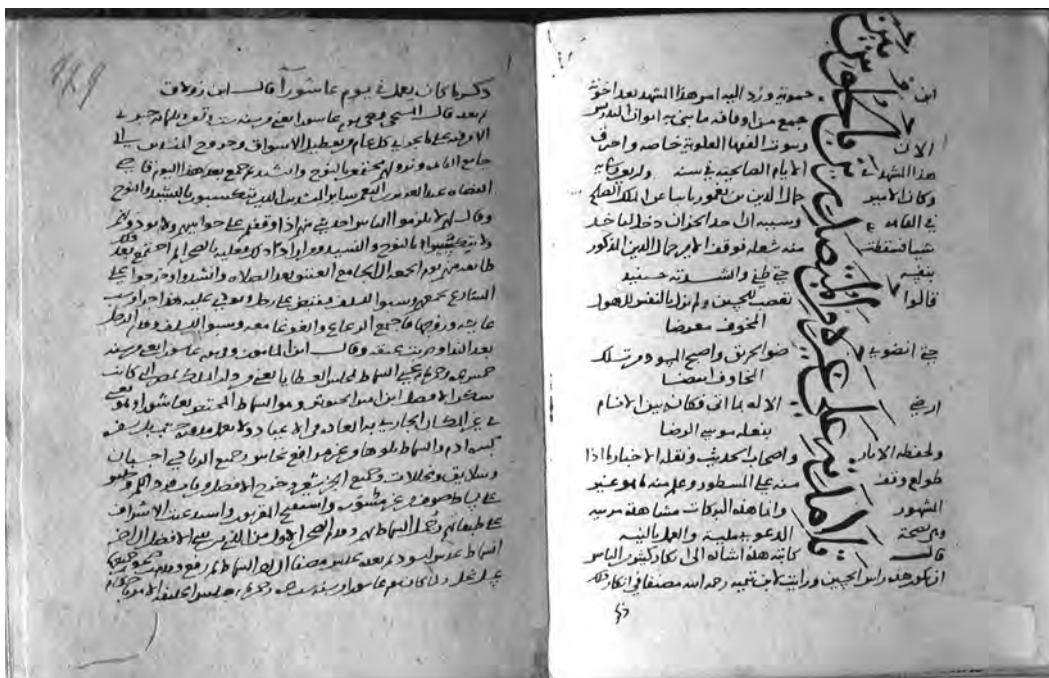
A thorough study of the autograph draft reveals a striking feature on fol. 130r. The title (*dhikr mā kāna yuʿmal fī yawm ʿāshūrāʾ*), written in red ink, was cancelled by al-Maqrīzī, while the text following it was maintained.

¹³⁴Actually, this piece of paper is bound on the wrong side given that al-Musabbiḥī’s quotation pertains to the year 396 while Ibn al-Maʿmūn’s deals with the year 512 (to be corrected to 513).





MS 1472, fols. 129v-130r (Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi)



MS 1472, fols. 128v-129r (Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi)

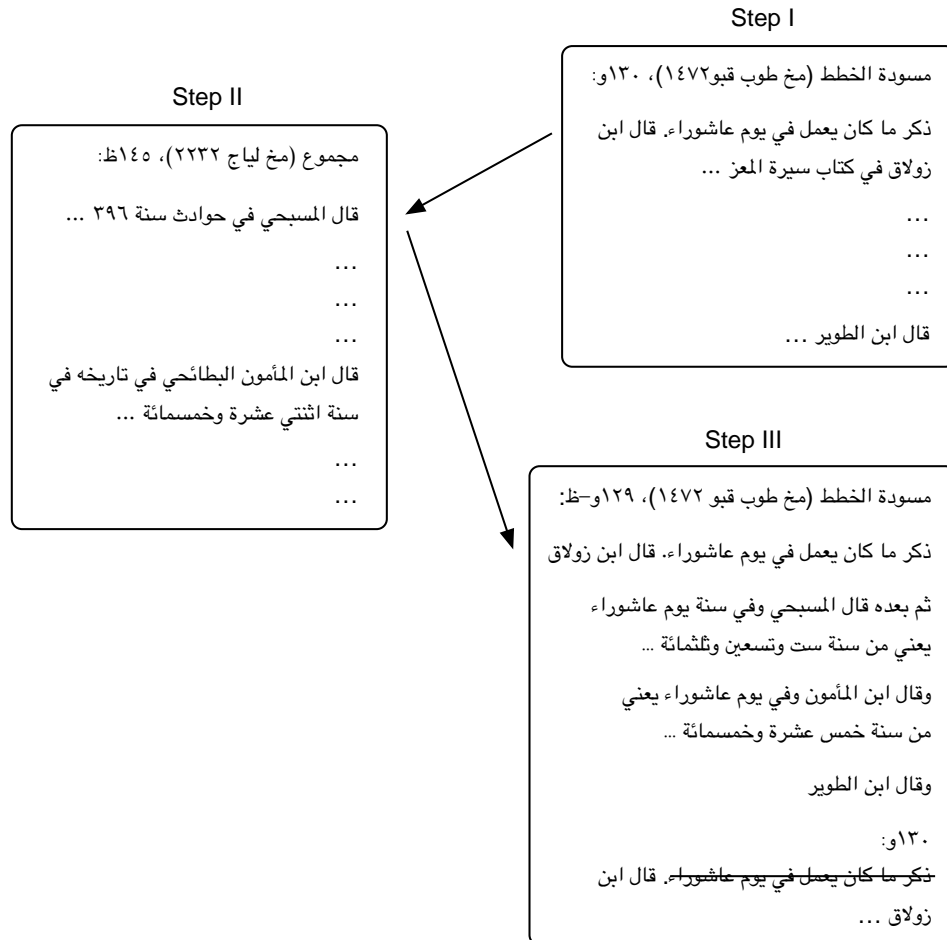


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Turning to the immediately preceding folio (129r), one notices that it starts with the same title crossed out on fol. 130r and, even more strikingly, the title is followed by the introductory words of the first quotation found on fol. 130r (*qāla Ibn Zūlāq*), although the quotation is not found on fol. 129r. Instead, one reads “*thumma ba‘dahu qāla al-Musabbiḥi*.” From this, it can be inferred that al-Maqrīzī wanted the text written on fol. 129 to be inserted after the quotation from Ibn Zūlāq found on fol. 130r. This is confirmed by the words added at the end of fol. 129v: “*wa-qāla Ibn al-Ṭuwayr*,” after which there follows a blank representing one third of the folio. Here again, al-Maqrīzī clearly indicated that, after this addition contained in fol. 129, the text had to proceed with the next quotation on fol. 130r, just after Ibn Zūlāq’s text. In summary, the various steps may be represented in the following scheme.



First, al-Maqrīzī wrote a section dealing with the events that took place on the occasion of the feast of *‘āshūrā* during the Fatimid period. At that time, he only had access to two sources which addressed this event: Ibn Zūlāq and Ibn al-Ṭuwayr. Later on, he gained access to two other sources (al-Musabbiḥī and Ibn al-Maʿmūn), from which he made resumés¹³⁵ and, a second time, a note-card for this particular subject. The note-card was not inserted in the draft already prepared, although the additional text was meant to be inserted between the texts of Ibn Zūlāq and Ibn al-Ṭuwayr. Indeed, the chronological order had to be observed and, while Ibn Zūlāq spoke of an event that took place in 363, al-Musabbiḥī and Ibn al-Maʿmūn’s texts dealt with the same event that happened later, but before Ibn al-Ṭuwayr’s quotation. Instead of rewriting the whole quire, which represented a waste of time and paper, he preferred to add a leaf to the quire and indicate where the text had to be placed in the fair copy. He could not indicate it better than by cancelling the original title and rewriting it at the beginning of the additional text leaf. The question remains why al-Maqrīzī did not simply paste the note-card between fols. 128 and 130, as he did in many cases in several of his works. The answer is provided by the comparison of the text of the note-card with fol. 129 in the draft of *Al-Khiṭaṭ*: it reveals that both texts are identical, save some irrelevant discrepancies. However, this time, all the quotations follow each other, without physical separation. And more importantly, there is one additional quotation from Ibn al-Maʿmūn’s *Tārīkh*, regarding the year 517, which was placed at the end of fol. 129v, before shifting to Ibn al-Ṭuwayr’s text: it indicates that another note-card made for the same purpose existed and was copied here. Al-Maqrīzī probably felt uncomfortable pasting two note-cards in the same place, fearing that both could inadvertently be taken off or worked loose during the manipulation of the draft. Copying them anew seemed less risky to him. It is clear that al-Maqrīzī definitely worked with note-cards with the purpose of adding material to his books in embryo or already at an advanced stage and that he could organize them, in this particular case, according to chronological criteria.

There is more to say. We have come to the conclusion that the résumé of Ibn al-Maʿmūn’s *Tārīkh* (no. XVIII) in the notebook could be dated through a *terminus post quem* to after 831.¹³⁶ On this basis, the note-card, and consequently fol. 129 in the draft of *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, must have been copied after that date. Thanks to this dating, it is now possible to postulate that a fair copy of that work was not produced before 831!

Of concern too is the comparison of the various versions. The source is

¹³⁵This is now confirmed for al-Musabbiḥī, thanks to the reading note al-Maqrīzī added on the title page of vol. 40 (see Appendix II) and a note ascribable to him in the notebook (see “Maqriziana I/2,” 96–97, 117–18 (last page, line 3, read “al-Mundhiri” instead of “al-Maqrīzī”).

¹³⁶See above, p. 23.



unfortunately lost, but no less than four different versions of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's two quotations have been preserved as shown by the following collation.¹³⁷ It offers a unique opportunity to scrutinize al-Maqrizī at work in different circumstances: summarizing and excerpting in the notebook; quoting in the draft and the final version of his book. It will bring us closer to his uncertainties, his misunderstandings, his misapprehensions, and sometimes his ignorance. The analysis will also highlight some of the deficiencies of ecodotics nowadays.

المقريري، مختار من سيرة المأمون البطاحي (مخ. لياج، ١٥٨ب-١٥٩).
 المقريري، رقيعة (مخ. لياج، ١٤٥).
 ... سنة ٥١٣ ...
 وفي يوم عاشوراء عبئ السمات بمجلس العطايا
 وهو السمات المختص بيوم عاشوراء ويعبأ بغير
 المكان الجاري به العادة في الأعياد ولا يعمل مدورة خشب بل سفرة كبيرة
 أدم والسمات تلوها بغير مرافع نحاس وجميع الزبادي أجبان وسلانق¹³⁸
 ومخللات وجميع الخبز شعير وخرج الأفضل من باب فرد الكم فجلس
 على بساط صوف من غير مسورة¹³⁹ واستفتح المقرنون واستدعت
 الأشراف على طبقاتهم فجمل بهم السمات وقدم الصحن الأول من الذي
 بين يدي الأفضل إلى آخر السمات عدس أسود ثم بعده عدس مصفى¹⁴⁰ إلى
 آخر السمات ثم رفع وقدمت صحن جميعها عسل نحل.

¹³⁷For the sake of space, only the first of these is studied here.

¹³⁸Al-Maqrizī put a symbol over the word that looks like a ك [i.e., *kadhā?*, sic], indicating that it required an explanation of its meaning.

¹³⁹Same remark as above.

¹⁴⁰Written مصفا.



المقريزي، مسودة الخطط (مخ. طوب قبو سراي ١٤٧٢، ١٢٩).
 وقال ابن المأمون: وفي يوم عاشوراء يعني من سنة خمس عشرة وخمسمائة
 عبي السماط بمجلس العطايا يعني من دار الملك بمصر التي كانت سكن
 الأفضل بن أمير الجيوش وهو السماط المختص بعاشوراء وهو يعياً في غير
 المكان الجاري به العادة في الأعياد ولا يعمل مدورة خشب بل سفرة كبيرة
 آدم والسماط تلوها¹⁴¹ من غير مرافع نحاس وجميع الزبادي أجبان وسلانق
 ومخللات وجميع الخبز شعير وخرج الأفضل من باب فرد الكم وجلس
 على بساط صوف من غير مسورة¹⁴² واستفتح المقرنون واستدعيت
 الأشراف على طبقاتهم وُجمل¹⁴³ السماط بهم¹⁴⁴ وقدم الصحن الأول من
 الذي بين يدي الأفضل إلى آخر السماط عدس أسود ثم بعده عدس مصفى
 إلى آخر السماط ثم رفع وقدمت صحن جميعها¹⁴⁵ عسل نحل.

المقريزي، الخطط (تحقيق أ. ف. سيد)، ٤١٩:٢.¹⁴⁶
 وقال ابن المأمون: وفي يوم عاشوراء يعني من سنة خمس عشرة وخمسمائة
 عبي السماط بمجلس العطايا من دار الملك بمصر التي كان يسكنها
 الأفضل بن أمير الجيوش وهو السماط المختص بعاشوراء وهو يعياً في غير
 المكان الجاري به العادة في الأعياد ولا يعمل مدورة خشب بل سفرة كبيرة
 من آدم والسماط يعطوها من غير مرافع نحاس وجميع الزبادي أجبان وسلانق
 ومخللات وجميع الخبز من شعير وخرج الأفضل من باب فرد الكم وجلس
 على بساط صوف من غير مسورة¹⁴⁷ واستفتح المقرنون واستدعيت
 الأشراف على طبقاتهم وحمل السماط لهم وقد عمل في الصحن الأول الذي
 بين يدي الأفضل إلى آخر السماط عدس أسود ثم بعده عدس مصفى إلى
 آخر السماط ثم رفع وقدمت صحن جميعها عسل نحل.

As stated earlier, the first quotation of Ibn al-Ma'mūn on the note-card was selected by al-Maqrizī in the summary he prepared of this source. At a later stage, the text of the note-card was transferred into the draft of the *Khitaṭ* and later on to the fair copy which was produced on this basis. The quotation deals with the events that took place during the feast of 'āshūrā' during the second decade of the sixth/twelfth century. According to Ibn al-Ma'mūn, on that day, a tablecloth (*simāt*), reserved for that purpose only, was laid in the council of the gifts (*majlis al-ṭāyā*).¹⁴⁸ He then proceeds to give details on the characteristics of this tablecloth, the dishes, and the etiquette followed on this occasion. The source being lost, it is obviously difficult to say whether al-Maqrizī paraphrased the original text or not. The general impression is that he was summarizing without significantly modifying the source. A confirmation of this may be seen in the fact that the text is very descriptive and that al-Maqrizī did not omit words he clearly did not understand. Two instances occur in the text. In both cases,

¹⁴¹Not يعلها as in al-Maqrizī, *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa-al-Itibār*, 316.

¹⁴²Not مشورة as in *ibid*. Over the word, al-Maqrizī put a ك as in the resumé, indicating his perplexity towards this word and the necessity to explain it. See note 138 and p. 36 above.

¹⁴³Not وحمل as in *ibid*.

¹⁴⁴Not لهم as in *ibid*.

¹⁴⁵جميعها is lacking in *ibid*.

¹⁴⁶Būlāq ed., 1:431 = Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī, *Nuṣūṣ min Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (Cairo, 1983), 15. The discrepancies between the Būlāq edition and Ibn al-Ma'mūn's text with Sayyid's edition of the *Khitaṭ* are not indicated here.

¹⁴⁷The editor added a footnote on the basis of a marginal note found by the copyist in al-Maqrizī's handwriting: المسور والمسورة بكسر الميم متكا من آدم وهي التي يقال لها في زمننا المدورة.

¹⁴⁸On this council, instituted by the vizier al-Afḍal, see al-Maqrizī, *Al-Khitaṭ* (Būlāq ed., 1:483 = Sayyid ed., 2:573–74).



al-Maqrīzī wrote the words as he read them, but indicated, through a symbol (*kāf?* for *kadhā?*), his perplexity and the need to provide an explanation of both terms, something he was able to do at a later stage, as we shall see. A collation of the summarized text with the excerpt found on the note-card reveals several discrepancies. First of all, the handwriting is noticeably different in the sense that the note-card is the result of haste: it appears as if al-Maqrīzī is just copying the text in a hurry and that is understandable as he is preparing a note-card. It is clearly visible in the less numerous diacritics and also in the modification he brings to the text while reading and writing it: while the summary gave *bi-ghayr* (l. 3), he changed it to *fi ghayr* directly after he wrote the words in accordance with the source, deleting them with a stroke.¹⁴⁹ On the other hand, his haste might be the reason why he made a mistake in copying the date. In the summary, the date was indicated in ciphers, while on the note-card, he wrote it in letters. But instead of 513, he wrote 512. Another interesting feature lies in the exegesis supplied in the note-card. The quotation, taken out of context, required some explanation. The council of the gifts, which was mentioned and explained in the summary under the year 512 (fol. 158r),¹⁵⁰ now lacked clarity and al-Maqrīzī added the required data just after its mention (*ya'ni min dār al-afḍal ibn amīr al-juyūsh*). More interestingly, one of the two terms al-Maqrīzī marked as requiring further clarification is missing completely in the note-card (*min ghayr miswarah*). Did he feel that he could not find the meaning and thus preferred to skip over it? In any case, he reconsidered his decision later on, given that it appears in the draft. Moving to the draft version, the changes made to the summary in the note-card all remain untouched. Nonetheless, other differences emerge: the date, mistaken in the note-card, here became 515 and this is the version to which al-Maqrīzī ultimately adhered since it is the one that is provided in the final version. The basis on which this modification in the dating was made is unclear, since the summary, presumably made on the basis of the source, indicates the year 513. If he changed it to the year 515, this means that he found a corroborative indication of this in another source. This happened between the time when he produced the note-card and when he inserted it in the draft. As for the portion he skipped in the note-card (*min ghayr miswarah*), it surfaces here again with the typical symbol¹⁵¹ and a vowel.¹⁵² Al-Maqrīzī thus returned to the summary and did not just copy the text of the note-card in this particular case. He probably remembered that he

¹⁴⁹On l. 5, *bi-ghayr* is once again changed to *min ghayr*, this time directly during the writing process.

¹⁵⁰In the margin: من جملة ما قرر من تعظيم المملكة وتقدير أمر السلطنة أن المجلس الذي يجلس فيه الأفضل يسمى مجلس العطايا.

¹⁵¹This symbol did not attract the editor's attention and he neglected to mention it in a footnote. See the Arabic text above, note 142.

¹⁵²*Fathah* on the *wāw* thus implying that the word had to be read *miswarah*.



passed over this passage and felt it necessary to insert it despite his ignorance at the moment. The symbol is there, however, to remind him that the term needed an explanation. The definition was found later by al-Maqrīzī, at a time when the fair copy had already been made. So he added it in the margin. Fortunately, the copyist who relied on the fair copy did not neglect to transcribe the marginal additions in the author's handwriting and we can now find the solution in the edition of Sayyid who provides it in a footnote: the *miswarah* was a round cushion made of leather on which one could lean. The equivalent given by al-Maqrīzī for his time (*mudawwarah*) indicates that the word was no longer understood in its technical meaning, hence his initial perplexity visible in all three stages.

Incidentally, the analysis of the four versions highlights the shortcomings of modern ecdotics. Each of the following examples selected in this very short excerpt will show that an editor should trust his text, especially if it is an autograph manuscript. The first one deals with the tablecloth. Ibn al-Ma'mūn explains that this cloth (*simāt*) was laid out on this special occasion and that a large dining table (*sufrah*) of leather was prepared for this, rather than a round table (*mudawwarah*) of wood. The text then specifies where the tablecloth was laid: the three autograph versions clearly supply the word *tilwahā* (upon it).¹⁵³ The editor of the draft of *Al-Khiṭaṭ* however relied heavily, it would seem, on the Būlāq edition and preferred the reading *ya'lūhā*, which does not change the meaning, but in the end the word is not al-Maqrīzī's. Again, in the new edition of *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, the same reading is provided, without referring to the correct reading in the draft. The same applies to the second example. In the three versions, one can read, thanks to a diacritic and a vowel, the whole in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting: *wa-jummila al-simāt bihim* (and the tablecloth was embellished by their [presence, i.e., the *ashraf*]).¹⁵⁴ Both in the edition of the draft and of the final version, the editor has followed the Būlāq reading: *wa-ḥumila al-simāt lahum* (and the tablecloth was brought to them), which, this time, profoundly changes the meaning of the sentence. Last but not least, at the end of the quotation, the reader is confronted with a confusing phrase in the three autograph versions, which only becomes clear in the final version. The original text reads: *wa-quddima al-ṣaḥn al-awwal min alladhī bayna yaday al-Afḍal ilá ākhir al-simāt 'adas aswad thumma ba'dahu 'adas muṣaffan ilá ākhir al-simāt thumma rufi'a wa-quddimat ṣuḥūn jamī'uhā 'asal naḥl*. One understands that, once everybody was seated around the tablecloth, the first dish, containing black lentils, was passed around starting from the one [the *sharīf*] who was facing al-Afḍal until the end of the tablecloth; then, it was followed by pureed lentils

¹⁵³The text adds: "without brass stands" (*bi-ghayr/min ghayr marāfi' nuḥās*), i.e., the dining table, with the tablecloth upon it, was laid on the ground.

¹⁵⁴The place of the *ḍammah* is unquestionable and can not be considered as being over the *mim*, in which case the translation would have been: "and the tablecloth befitted them."



passed around until the end of the tablecloth. Thereupon, it was cleared and other dishes containing bee-honey were passed around. The problem lies in the structure of the sentence which is partly ungrammatical: ‘*adas aswad* is governed by nothing. Clearly, something is missing, although al-Maqrizī apparently did not wince as he copied it thrice! The examination of the final version reveals that the meaning of the sentence has been completely modified through a subterfuge: the beginning has become *wa-qad ‘umila fī*, meaning that black lentils had been made in the first dish. Of course, ‘*adas aswad* is now the subject of the sentence, but does it tally with the manuscripts of the final version or the Būlāq edition? Unfortunately, the present writer did not have access to the manuscript used by the editor for his edition of the second volume of *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, but there is no reason to believe that, for the three cases studied, al-Maqrizī wrote a word or a sentence three times and that he misread it in the final version of his book. Even though the third case presents a grammatical mistake, an editor should give the actual reading, especially if he is dealing with an autograph manuscript.

REFERRING TO THE NOTEBOOK?

As it is now established that notebooks were produced by al-Maqrizī and that this was not peculiar to him, but that almost every scholar followed this practice, we may wonder whether or not he ever referred to his notebooks and if other scholars also made such references to his personal notebooks. The answer proposed to the first of these questions will help us to understand how al-Maqrizī considered them, as we have seen that various terms were used by the scholars when they referred to their notes. At the present stage of this research, three unequivocal testimonies have been detected in al-Maqrizī’s preserved oeuvre.

The first one has been known since 1797, when the treatise on numismatics (*Shudhūr al-‘Uqūd*) was published for the first time.¹⁵⁵ In this opuscle composed at the request of Sultan al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh, after 818/1415,¹⁵⁶ al-Maqrizī, while dealing with an aspect of metrology, added a very personal statement: *wa-qad dhakartu ṭuruq hādhā al-ḥadith wa-al-kalām ‘alayhi fī majāmī’i* (“I mentioned the ways of transmission of this tradition and the discussion of it in my miscellanies”). De Sacy thought, on the sole basis of this statement, that those miscellanies

¹⁵⁵ Antoine I. Silvestre de Sacy, *Traité des monnoies musulmanes* (Paris, 1797); *Historia monetæ Arabicæ*, ed. and trans O. G. Tychsen (Rostock, 1797).

¹⁵⁶ The author mentions the *dirham mu’ayyadī* that appeared during that year. See Daniel Eustache, “Études de numismatique et de métrologie musulmanes II,” *Hespéris Tamuda* 10 (1969): 132 (trans.) and 133 (Ar. text); John L. Meloy, “The Merits of Economic History: Re-Reading al-Maqrizī’s *Ighāthah* and *Shudhūr*,” *MSR* 7, no. 2 (2003): 197.



contained legal judgements.¹⁵⁷ He was followed in his interpretation by Eustache,¹⁵⁸ who went further, conjecturing that al-Maqrīzī collected in these volumes the quotations of the traditions dealing with matters he treated in his writings. He consequently could skip quoting some of these traditions in his opusculum, arguing that they were all available in those miscellanies. Eustache was not far from having solved the problem. The *majāmī*^c are undoubtedly to be identified with the notebooks where al-Maqrīzī summarized numerous sources he utilized in his writings. As already emphasized,¹⁵⁹ the *codex leodiensis* contains a resumé of Wakī's *Kitāb al-Danānīr wa-al-Darāhim*. On fol. 155r, the traditions quoted by al-Maqrīzī in his treaty can be read and the temptation to link the reference to the notebooks with this passage is great. However, the chains of transmitters are not provided in the resumé and, of course, no discussion of the question takes place, as it is not a personal work. Thus, the reference is obviously to another notebook. Yet it demonstrates that the notebooks were referred to as "miscellanies" by al-Maqrīzī and that they not only contained resúmes, but also personal statements on certain matters.

The second reference also confirms the mnemonic function of the notebooks. At the end of the first volume of *Al-Sulūk*,¹⁶⁰ al-Maqrīzī jotted down some preparatory notes. On fol. 261r, he relates a story about 'Alī's grandson through Ḥusayn, named 'Alī, and the poem al-Farazdaq composed on that occasion. The first verse is quoted by al-Maqrīzī, who added just after it: *al-abyāt wa-'iddatuhā thamāniyah wa-'ishrūn bayt qad dhakartuhā fī majāmī'i* ("the number of verses is twenty-eight which I mentioned in my miscellanies"). This example further establishes that the notebook contained resúmes based on his reading, to which he referred in his personal notes. In this case, the story found at the end of the first volume of *Al-Sulūk* was read by al-Maqrīzī in a given source. He noted the story, but remembered that he had already taken note of al-Farazdaq's poetry on another occasion. It is likely that al-Maqrīzī had read the poetry in a different source, possibly out of context, and that he was satisfied with indicating the first verse only and referring to his notebooks for further reading.

Finally, the third attestation helps to clarify the contents of the notebooks. It appears in his *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Faridah*, the biographical dictionary devoted to his contemporaries. Expounding on the merits of his colleague Ibn Duqmāq, he stated, with some rudeness, that: "Among this [negligence], there is the fact that

¹⁵⁷Silvestre de Sacy, *Traité des monnoies musulmanes*, 11 n. 16.

¹⁵⁸Eustache, "Études de numismatique et de métrologie musulmanes II," 152 n. 42.

¹⁵⁹"Maqriziana I/2," 58–60.

¹⁶⁰Istanbul MS Yeni Cami 887.



he borrowed my personal notebooks (*majāmīʿī*).¹⁶¹ When he died, my eyes fell on what he had written about the story of Tīmūrlank the Tyrant, and lo there he had copied a section on Tīmūr's seizing of Ḥalab that I had written in which I said: 'A trustworthy witness informed me that he saw . . .' He copied as he saw: 'A trustworthy witness informed me . . .,' making the reader believe that he was the author of this section. By God! He did not find this section except in my handwriting."¹⁶² Besides the anecdotal side of this report, which has to deal with the concept of intellectual property and the question of plagiarism,¹⁶³ another reference to the notebooks is clearly made: they even could be lent to a colleague who could read them and benefit from them, provided, as al-Maqrīzī suggests, that he indicated his source for that information. It furthermore allows us to conclude that the notebooks also included pieces of personal redaction and that these presumably short pieces were called by al-Maqrīzī himself *juz'* (a section, but more likely a single-quire section).¹⁶⁴

The use of the term *majmūʿ* as meaning notebook, miscellany of notes, personal or not, is attested in the literature and was even used by al-Maqrīzī, when he spoke of his colleague and friend al-Awḥadī (d. 811/1408): *wa-jamaʿa majāmīʿ* ("He compiled notebooks").¹⁶⁵ When describing al-Maqrīzī's activity in the field of history, his biographers had recourse to the same word: *wa-tawallaʿa bi-al-tārīkh fa-ḥafīza minhu kathīran wa-jamaʿa fihi shayʿan kathīran wa-ṣannafa fihi kutub ḥasanah mufīdah khuṣūṣan fī tārīkh al-Qāhīrah* ("He was passionately fond of history. He memorized a lot of it, compiled a lot in [this field], and composed in it good and useful books, especially regarding the history of Cairo").¹⁶⁶ This quotation is of particular importance, because the word *jamaʿa* is used in context with the term *ṣannafa*, thus clarifying the meaning of the first: he did not compile a work, but rather notes taken from other sources.

¹⁶¹The text says "my notebooks in my own handwriting." Al-Maqrīzī surely wants to differentiate them in order to state clearly to the reader that those were his personal notebooks and not those of others. This statement is important in view of the words that follow.

¹⁶²Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājīm al-Aʿyān al-Mufīdah*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī (Beirut, 2002), 1:102:

فمن ذلك أنه كان يستعير مجاميعي التي بخطي فلما مات وقتت على أخبار الطاغية تيمورلنك من خطه فإذا هو قد كتب فصلا في أخذ تيمور لحلب من خطي قد قلت فيه : أخبرني من لا أتهم أنه شاهد، فكتب هو كما رأى أخبرني من لا أتهم فصار يومه الناظر أنه هو الراوي للجزء ولا والله وقف على ذلك الجزء إلا من خطي.

¹⁶³See, for further investigation, "Maqriziana IX."

¹⁶⁴For this meaning, see Adam Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography* (Leiden, 2001), 23 ("independent, small piece of writing, usually not more than a quire").

¹⁶⁵Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad Al-Yaʿlāwī (Beirut, 1411/1991), 1:513–14.

¹⁶⁶Ibn Fahd al-Hāshimī al-Makkī, *Muʿjam al-Shuyūkh*, 66.



To conclude this section, it may be stated that al-Maqrīzī referred to his own notebooks with the word *majmūʿ*,¹⁶⁷ while other scholars preferred the term *tadhkirah* (memorandum) or *taʿlīq* (notebook). Though *taʿlīq* could also be applied to these kinds of texts,¹⁶⁸ it must still be demonstrated whether *tadhkirah* was also used by al-Maqrīzī to refer to his notebooks. A work of his is so titled.¹⁶⁹ It is unfortunately lost, but a later author could still consult it and make use of it.¹⁷⁰ The content of his introduction seems to indicate that *Al-Tadhkirah* is an independent work and not a notebook. Furthermore, a summary, prepared by the author himself (*Muntakhab al-Tadhkirah*), which has been partially preserved,¹⁷¹ establishes that *Al-Tadhkirah* was considered by al-Maqrīzī as a work and not a notebook: *fa-hādhā kitāb . . . intakhabtuhu min kitābi al-musammā bi-al-Tadhkirah* (“This is a book . . . that I condensed from my book entitled *Al-Tadhkirah*”).¹⁷² The introduction clearly indicates that *Al-Tadhkirah* was a book on history, organized chronologically, starting from the pre-Islamic period, and that it was meant, in al-

¹⁶⁷When speaking of his master, Ibn Ḥajar, al-Sakhāwī explains that on one occasion he asked the latter for a copy of one of his many small treatises of traditions he heard and took note of. Ibn Ḥajar tore the requested piece from one of his notebooks (*majmūʿ min majāmīʿihi*). See Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar fī Tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar*, ed. Ibrāhīm Bājas ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Beirut, 1419/1999), 3:1018.

¹⁶⁸The following quotation shows that Ibn Fahd was also authorized to consult al-Maqrīzī’s notebooks, during al-Maqrīzī’s last stay in Mecca that ended in 839. There, the word used to describe the notebooks is *taʿlīq*. It also means that they accompanied al-Maqrīzī in this travel to the Holy City. See Najm al-Dīn ʿUmar [Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad] Ibn Fahd al-Hāshimī al-Makkī, *Ithāf al-Warāʾ bi-Akhhār Umm al-Qurāʾ*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt et al. (Mecca and Cairo, 1404–10/1983–90), 1:4:

وقد رأيت بخط شيخنا الإمام العلامة المؤرخ الكبير تقي الدين أبي العباس أحمد بن علي بن عبد القادر المقرئ المصري نغمته الله برحمته في بعض تعاليقه ما نصه

“I have read in the hand of our master, the leader, the well-versed scholar, the great historian Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī—may God protect him with his grace—in one of his notebooks (*taʿlīq*) what follows . . .”).

¹⁶⁹Izz al-Dīn ʿAlī, *Arbaʿat Muʿarrikhīn*, 191 (no. 13). It consisted of about eighty volumes, according to Yūsuf Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Sāfi wa-al-Mustawfā baʿd al-Wāfi* (Cairo, 1985–2005), 1:419, who, however, did not consider giving more detail about it.

¹⁷⁰Abū al-Fidāʾ Qāsim Ibn Quṭlūbughā al-Sūdūnī, *Tāj al-Tarājim*, ed. Muḥammad Khayr Ramaḍān Yūsuf (Damascus, 1413/1992), 85:

وبعد فيقول العبد الضعيف قاسم بن قطلوبغا الحنفي: لما وقعت على تذكرة شيخنا . . . المقرئ . . . رأيت فيها ما كتبه من تراجم الأئمة الحنفية، فأحببت أن ألحق بكل اسم ما تيسر لي من تراجم من تسمى به منهم على نحو ما قصد من الاقتصار على ذكر من له تصنيف

“Now then, the modest servant [of God], Qāsim ibn Quṭlūbughā al-Ḥanafī said: When I fell on the *Tadhkirah* of our master . . . al-Maqrīzī . . . , I saw in it the biographies of the Hanafite imams he had written and I wanted to add to each name the biographies that I could of those who were named with it [this name], aiming, as he did, to concisely mention those who have composed a book”).

¹⁷¹Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Ar. 1514. It corresponds to the first volume. The end is missing.

¹⁷²Ibid., fol. 2v.

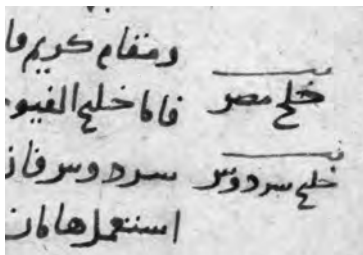


Maqrīzī's mind, as a memorandum.¹⁷³ Thus, it is impossible that al-Maqrīzī used the term *tadhkirah* for his notebooks.

FINDING HIS WAY IN THE NOTEBOOK?

Now that it has been established that several volumes consisting of notebooks and independent summaries were prepared by al-Maqrīzī, the question arises as to how he managed all the data collected in this voluminous compilation. Note-cards, as demonstrated, played an important role in this respect. It nevertheless remains that the vast number of sources which he summarized and from which he made quotations raises the problem of finding his way in the notebooks, of taking advantage of the data and of avoiding repetitions. Al-Maqrīzī must have developed and used several systems to minimize the potential confusion arising from his tremendous reading and summarizing activities. The *codex leodiensis*, together with the evidence provided by other autograph manuscripts, suggests several answers to these questions.

In one particular case,¹⁷⁴ al-Maqrīzī added in the margins, in front of the description of a given event, a heading indicating the content, the whole highlighted by a cipher in red ink, probably signifying *qif* ("pay attention").



MS. 2232, fol. 39v (Courtesy Université de Liège)¹⁷⁵

Such a system was intended to attract his attention when he was searching for a particular passage he wanted to quote from this source. Thanks to it, he could get a general idea of the content of the page and proceed quickly through the whole résumé. The use of headings was limited however: besides the summary made on the basis of Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam’s work,¹⁷⁶ they appear in summary XX (from fol. 173b to 174b). Apart from these examples, the only case where a heading is used pertains to scattered notes all connected with secretaries who worked within the

¹⁷³See, for a short analysis, ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Alī, *Arba‘at Mu‘arrikhīn*, 211–13. Cf Ibn al-Athīr’s words, in his introduction to *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, 1:5:

فلما رأيت الأمر كذلك شرعت في تأليف تاريخ جامع لأخبار ملوك الشرق والغرب وما بينهما ليكون تذكرة لي أراجعه خوف النسيان.

¹⁷⁴No. II: *Talkhiṣ Kitāb Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Akhhārīhā* of Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam.

¹⁷⁵The headlines read: *khuluj Miṣr* and *khalij Sarḍūs*.

¹⁷⁶Even in this case, the headlines disappear after fol. 54r, although the résumé ends on fol. 81v.



Egyptian chancery (fol. 130b: *من الكتاب في الإنشاء*, in red ink). On the basis of the scarcity of these headings, it can be concluded that headings were not usually used by al-Maqrīzī to orientate himself in the notebook.

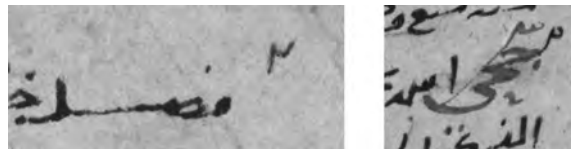
Red ink, without doubt, played a role similar, although less useful, to headings. It is found throughout the notebook in various situations: it is employed for the symbol *ف* put over a given passage or at the beginning of a new sentence. The role of this symbol is to catch the eye and lead it to the starting words of a sentence in the course of a summary covering several pages. In this way, al-Maqrīzī could concentrate on only some points on the page and did not need to read, even quickly, the whole page. Red ink is also featured in keywords, where a stroke, in black ink, is overwritten in red.



MS 2232, fol. 167v (Courtesy Université de Liège)¹⁷⁷

The titles of chapters and sections and the first name of a person given a biographical entry were generally indicated in the same way.

All that has been said has to do with the necessity of quickly finding something. Once a particular passage had been found and quoted, al-Maqrīzī had to avoid wasting time in reading, once again, the same passage, and more importantly to avoid repetitions. The best way to know whether he had already used something was to clearly indicate it in the notebook. Throughout the manuscript, usually in the margin, in front of a biography, or over the first word of a passage, a cipher looking like the numerals ۳ or ۲ has been added, indifferently in red or brown ink.



MS 2232, fol. 32v and fol. 122r¹⁷⁸
(Courtesy Université de Liège)

¹⁷⁷In this case, the horizontal stroke of the *lām* has been overwritten in red. The word (*qāla*) represents a break in the text that introduced another discourse, hence the necessity to indicate it with this system.

¹⁷⁸In this case, both ciphers have been used.

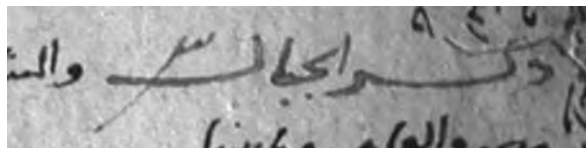


These ciphers must have indicated that al-Maqrīzī had already used the data noted in this way. In order to know until what point he quoted the text, he needed to add another mark. It is regularly observed together with the previous cipher, but of course at the end of the portion of text quoted. This mark looks like a small *إلى*.



MS 2232, fol. 96v (Courtesy Université de Liège)

Whereas the latter can easily be interpreted as meaning “up to here,” the first is more difficult to decipher. The solution is offered by some of the remaining autograph manuscripts. In the two volumes of the draft of *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, for instance, the same mark regularly appears:



MS 1472, fol. 13r (Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi)

However, in some rare cases, other words have been appended to it:



MS 1472, fol. 9r; MS 1405, fol. 21r; MS 1405, fol. 111r;¹⁷⁹
and MS 1405, fol. 104v
(Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi)

In each of these cases, the additional words read respectively: *jamī'uhu*, *illā yasīran*, *illā qalīlan*, and finally *min hunā*. Thanks to these words, it is clear that the cipher probably means that “the whole has been copied,” or that “it has been copied nearly completely,” or that “it has been copied from here.” In this respect, it is very tempting to interpret the cipher as an abbreviation of the verb *nusikha*, which tallies exactly with the assumed meaning. In that case, the cipher would be a *sīn*. However, this hypothesis must be rejected because if this is supposed to be a *sīn* and a cipher, why would al-Maqrīzī take such care to trace the strokes that are clearly visible in each occurrence instead of a more cursive form? What might have remained a mystery was finally solved thanks to an almost unique witness.

¹⁷⁹In this example, the greatest part of the cipher disappeared due to the trimming.



In an article published in 1986, Geoffrey Khan studied a copy of a decree dated to the Fatimid period.¹⁸⁰ This document is of particular importance given that it is not the original which was released to the beneficiary, but the copy that was filed in one of the registers held in the archives. One of the most interesting features of this document lies in the mark that crosses the whole text on the first page. This mark looks like a big three in Arabic¹⁸¹ and it tallies exactly with the cipher used by al-Maqrīzī in his notebook and his drafts, confirming that this could not be a *sīn*. Instead, it clearly stands for the word *nuqīla* (“it has been transcribed”).¹⁸² It is no surprise to see that al-Maqrīzī utilized a mark for which evidence is found on archival material. Part of his official career took place in the chancery, where he was employed for several years.¹⁸³ Consequently, he was knowledgeable in all the nuances of this practice. On the other hand, the fact that this mark was still in use in the Mamluk period demonstrates the durability of the conventions of the chancery bureaux. While this cipher worked as a check mark in al-Maqrīzī’s notebook, indicating that a passage had been transcribed in one of his works, it meant, when used in his drafts, that a passage had been recopied in the new, either intermediary or final, version. As for the other mark, which looks like the Arabic numeral for 2, it is unlikely that it corresponds to a more cursive form of the preceding mark, because it is sometimes used together with the latter.¹⁸⁴ It could be interpreted as an indication that al-Maqrīzī had to quote the passage characterized in that way; hence the sporadic presence of an *ilá*, at the end of the text, and of the check mark as indicated above. If such was the case, this system

¹⁸⁰Geoffrey Khan, “A Copy of a Decree from the Archives of the Fāṭimid Chancery in Egypt,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 49 (1986): 439–53.

¹⁸¹See the reproduction in *ibid.*

¹⁸²On this meaning, see Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition*, 144. This interpretation is confirmed by other evidence studied below (see p. 62). The mark was tentatively interpreted by Khan as being the word *ṣahḥa*, a reading he was not happy with as he proposed later to rather consider it as “a checking mark that is not derived from any Arabic word.” See Geoffrey Khan, *Arabic Legal and Administrative Documents in the Cambridge Genizah Collections* (Cambridge, 1993), 444. Another document bearing the same mark is studied by the same author (*ibid.*, 491–92). The fact that a document had been registered or filed in the archives of the various bureaux was indicated on the original documents delivered to the beneficiaries by other words corresponding to an instruction: *athbata*, *nazzala*, *nasakha* (“to register”) or *khallada* (“to file”). See, for the Fatimid period, Samuel Miklos Stern, *Fāṭimid Decrees: Original Documents from the Fāṭimid Chancery* (London, 1964), 166–69.

¹⁸³Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī’s conclusions (al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah*, 4:51–52), based on the data found in *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah*, according to which al-Maqrīzī worked in the chancery well after that date, and even almost until his death, totaling 50 years of service, must be taken with caution and require further investigation.

¹⁸⁴See the instance given for fol. 122r above (it is in brown ink while the mark for *nuqīla* stands in red ink).

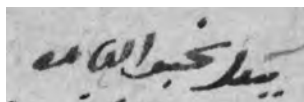


did not indicate precisely where the quotation had to be transcribed. In some cases, al-Maqrizī must have been aware of the place where he wished to use a given text, but this was probably not generally true. Evidence of this is provided by the existence of unambiguous references to the need to copy some parts in his books in embryo. At least two such references are found in the notebook. The first (fol. 122r)¹⁸⁵ was placed at the end of a biography and reads: *yudhkar fī Khīṭat Miṣr* (“let it be mentioned¹⁸⁶ in the topography of Egypt”).



MS 2232, fol. 122r (Courtesy Université de Liège)

The data is indeed found in *Al-Khiṭat*¹⁸⁷ and the cipher (*nuqila*) is to show that the data had already been transferred, thus confirming its function. The second example (fol. 156v) shows that the indication could be quite elusive. The phrase must be deciphered as: *yunqal bi-khabar al-Qāhirah* (“let it be transcribed with the story of Cairo”).



MS 2232, fol. 156v (Courtesy Université de Liège)

Given that the text deals with several historical facts spanning a period of thirty years, the passage could not logically have found its way *en bloc* into one of al-Maqrizī’s books. The mention of Cairo might be misleading, since one might expect to read this information in *Al-Khiṭat*. Instead, it ended up in the history of Egypt under the Fatimid dynasty (*Itti’āz al-Ḥunafā’*).¹⁸⁸ In this case, however, al-Maqrizī did not use the check mark, showing that the system was not routine. On the other hand, the verb used by al-Maqrizī in this example corroborates the decipherment of the check mark (*nuqila*). In the end, all the systems dealt with in this section validate, once again, the identification of the *codex leodiensis* as a notebook.

CONCLUSION

¹⁸⁵It is in regard to the first biography of the scattered notes found on this folio (no. L).

¹⁸⁶It must be noted that what corresponds here to an order should be introduced by a *lām al-amr* (Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 2:35). The documents where registration orders were written display a great majority of these orders beginning with this *lām*. In some cases, it has been omitted. See, for instance, Stern, *Fātimid Decrees*, 36–37. Other instances are mentioned for classical Arabic, but Wright (*Grammar*) considered the phenomenon rare.

¹⁸⁷Būlāq ed., 2:85 = Sayyid ed., 3:282. See also “Maqriziana I/2,” 108.

¹⁸⁸See “Maqriziana I/2,” 127.



The aim of this study was to present the preliminary results obtained through a thorough analysis of al-Maqrīzī's notebook pertaining to his working method. As shown in the first part of the study ("Maqriziana I"), the notebook is a heterogeneous manuscript reflecting al-Maqrīzī's complex *modus operandi*. The following conclusions may be drawn, although they still must be corroborated and clarified by further studies on the notebook and the other autograph manuscripts of this author. The richness of the surviving corpus of writings by al-Maqrīzī, as has been stressed, is of particular importance and represents an opportunity that cannot be overlooked. It is hoped that, in the future, these conclusions will be applicable to other scholars thanks to corroborating analyses.

This study has allowed us to establish that:

- the *codex leodiensis* corresponds to a notebook, a place where a scholar stored the raw material he selected during his readings;
- the notebook contains abstracts, scattered notes, and first drafts of al-Maqrīzī's personal production;
- the abstracts, excerpts, and notes were all produced during the reading process;
- the notebook, in its actual presentation, is the result of the evolution of al-Maqrīzī's reading process: quires were taken out of a pile made of recycled or blank paper; some voluminous abstracts covering more than a quire were considered as independent units which were gathered at a later date to form a volume; the blank spaces left at the end of the abstracts were covered with scattered notes which jointly fixed the order of the quires and their succession in the volume;
- thanks to several notes of consultation written by al-Maqrīzī on the manuscripts of the sources he consulted, it is possible to precisely date several abstracts, and consequently others through the analysis of their position in relation to the latter, and finally the parts in al-Maqrīzī's own works where the data originating from these sources are found;
- the function of the notebook was mainly mnemonic: the abstracts and the notes served al-Maqrīzī as a memorandum for the composition of his works;
- the abstracts might be faithful to the source, or consist of a paraphrase, but they did not necessarily imply that al-Maqrīzī quoted directly from them: sometimes he did; in other circumstances, he went back to the original source to make a faithful quotation;
- the notebook also features a unique example of a note-card, proving that this system was used by al-Maqrīzī in composing his books;
- the notebook allows a comparison of several versions of the same excerpt, in the best cases as many as four, from the source from which it was selected up to the fair copy of one of his books, passing through the resumé and the draft copy: it thus provides a unique opportunity to study al-Maqrīzī's intellectual process;



- al-Maqrīzī's notebooks were referred to by him as *majāmi'* (miscellanies);
- in order to find his way in the notebook, al-Maqrīzī utilized a series of techniques, one of which was characteristic of chancery practice.



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DOI: [10.6082/M18C9TDT](https://doi.org/10.6082/M18C9TDT). (<https://doi.org/10.6082/M18C9TDT>)

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APPENDIX I: AL-MAQRĪZĪ'S AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPTS

No.	CITY	LIBRARY	SHELF-MARK	TITLE	NO. OF LVS. ¹⁸⁹
1	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Aya Sofya 3362	"Al-Khabar 'an al-Bashar" (vol. 1)	245 (2)
2	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Fatih 4338	"Al-Khabar 'an al-Bashar" (vol. 3, dated 844)	254 (0)
3	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Fatih 4339	"Al-Khabar 'an al-Bashar" (vol. 4)	163 (0)
4	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Fatih 4340	"Al-Khabar 'an al-Bashar" (vol. 5)	265 (15)
5	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Fatih 4341	"Al-Khabar 'an al-Bashar" (vol. 6)	276 (0)
6	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Şehit Ali P. 1847	"İmtā' al-Asmā' bi-mā lil-Rasūl . . . (vol. 1)	211 (2)
7	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Yeni Cami 887	"Al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk" (vol. 1)	257 (0)
8	Istanbul	Murat Molla Kütüphanesi	569	"Mukhtaşar al-Kāmil li-Ibn 'Adī" (dated 795)	215 (0)
9	Istanbul	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	Ahmet III, Hazine 1472	"Musawwadat al-Mawā'iz wa-al-I'tibār" (vol. 1)	179 (158)
10	Istanbul	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	Ahmet III, Emanet Hazinesi 1405	"Musawwadat al-Mawā'iz wa-al-I'tibār" (vol. 2)	182 (177)
11	Leiden	Universiteitsbibliotheek	Or. 1366/a	"Al-Muqaffā"	226 (9)
12	Leiden	Universiteitsbibliotheek	Or. 1366/b	"Al-Muqaffā"	287 (5)
13	Leiden	Universiteitsbibliotheek	Or. 3075	"Al-Muqaffā"	252 (12)
14	Leiden	Universiteitsbibliotheek	Or. 14533	"Al-Muqaffā"	550 (25)
15	Leiden	Universiteitsbibliotheek	Or. 560	"Majmū'ah" (opuscles) ¹⁹⁰ (dated 841–42)	214 (0)

¹⁸⁹ The number in parentheses refers to the number of leaves consisting of recycled paper (chancery documents).

¹⁹⁰ Mostly the work of a copyist hired by al-Maqrīzī, it nonetheless contains autograph additions and corrections. Fols. 1–14, 29–30, and 204–14 are completely in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting.



16	Gotha	Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek	Ar. 1771	“Durar al-‘Uqūd al-Farīdah”	185 (3)
17	Gotha	Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek	Ar. 1652	“Itti‘āz al-Ḥunafā”	58 (0)
18	Paris	Bibliothèque nationale	Ar. 1688	“Al-Muntaqá min Akhbār Miṣr li-Ibn Muyassar” ¹⁹¹ (dated 814)	94 (0)
19	Paris	Bibliothèque nationale	Ar. 2144	“Al-Muqaffá”	260 (14)
20	Alexandria	Bibliotheca Alexandrina ¹⁹²	<i>Tārīkh</i> 2125/d	Notebook	52 (0)
21	Damascus	Maktabat al-Asad	4805	“Dhikr Binā’ al-Ka‘bah al-Bayt al-Ḥarām” + various notes	78 (2)
22	Hyderabad	Oriental Manuscripts Library and Research Institute	937	“Mukhtaṣar Qiyām al-Layl wa-Qiyām Ramaḍān wa-Kitāb al-Witr lil-Marwazī” (dated 807)	??? (?)
23	Liège	Bibliothèque universitaire	2232	Notebook	209 (85)
	Total		23 MSS		4714 (509)

¹⁹¹ The manuscript is not, strictly speaking, an autograph, but a copy of the autograph which was dated 814. However, it remains useful as it faithfully mirrors the result of al-Maqrizī’s summarizing activity.

¹⁹² Previously in al-Maktabah al-Baladiyah, Alexandria. See ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Alī, *Arba‘at Mu’arrikhūn*, 214 (no. 39), who was the first to mention it.



APPENDIX II: AL-MAQRĪZĪ'S NOTES OF CONSULTATION ON MANUSCRIPTS

CITY	LIBRARY	SHELF-MARK	AUTHOR	TITLE	DATE
Cairo	Dār al-Kutub	Muṣṭalaḥ ḥadīth 94	Ibn 'Adī	"Al-Kāmil lil-Ḍu'afā'"	[795] ¹⁹³
Cairo	Dār al-Kutub	Muṣṭalaḥ ḥadīth 95–96	Ibn 'Adī	"Al-Kāmil lil-Ḍu'afā'"	[795] ¹⁹⁴
Manchester	J. Rylands Library	344	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al- 'Umarī	"Masālik al-Abṣār" (vol. 20)	831 ¹⁹⁵
Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofiya 3418, 3428, 3432, 3437	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al- 'Umarī	"Masālik al-Abṣār" (vols. 5, 15, 19, 25)	831 ¹⁹⁶
Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Laleli 1037	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al- 'Umarī	"Masālik al-Abṣār" (vol. 6)	831
Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Yazma bağışlar 1917	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al- 'Umarī	"Masālik al-Abṣār" (vol. 26)	831
London	British Library	Add. 9589	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al- 'Umarī	"Masālik al-Abṣār" (vol. 14)	831
Paris	Bibliothèque nationale	Ar. 2327	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al- 'Umarī	"Masālik al-Abṣār" (vol. 17)	831
Rabat	al-Khizānah al-'Ammah	240-241 qāf	Ibn al-Furāt	"Al-Tārīkh" (vol. 5)	818 ¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ Two volumes. The note, on two lines (fol. 1a), reads in each volume as follows: استفاد منه داعيا: إمامه أحمد بن علي لطفه الله. See *Fihrist al-Makhtūṭāt: Al-Mujallad al-Awwal: Muṣṭalaḥ al-Ḥadīth* (Cairo, 1375/1956), 279. The date appears in the resumé he made of this text (Istanbul, Murat Molla Kütüphanesi MS 569, autograph, fol. 215b. See also al-Maqrīzī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Kāmil*, 844).

¹⁹⁴ Five volumes. The note, on two lines (fol. 1a), reads in each volume as follows: استفاد منه داعيا لملكه: أحمد بن علي لطفه الله. See *Fihrist al-Makhtūṭāt (al-Ḥadīth)*, 279. For the date, see the preceding note.

¹⁹⁵ Part of the same partial set composed of ten volumes now scattered in various European libraries. The inscription, placed on the title page of each volume, reads: انتقاء داعيا لمعيره أحمد بن علي: المقرئ سنة ٨٣١. See also al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khitāṭ*, Sayyid ed., 1:198 n. 2.

¹⁹⁶ The inscription is equivalent to the one found in vol. 20. See preceding note. This is valid for all the other volumes of this set listed below.

¹⁹⁷ Part of the same set now scattered between Vienna, Rabat, and the Vatican (autograph manuscripts of Ibn al-Furāt). See *ibid.*, 1:64 (of the introduction); Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Al-Kitāb al-'Arabī al-Makhtūṭ wa-'Ilm al-Makhtūṭāt* (Cairo, 1997), 2:341, where only the date is provided. The note must be similar to the one found on the volume in the Vatican Library (see next footnote).



Vatican	Biblioteca apostolica vaticana	Ar. 726	Ibn al-Furāt	“Al-Tāriḫ”	818 ¹⁹⁸
Vienna	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	AF 123	Ibn al-Furāt	“Al-Tāriḫ” (vol. 7)	819 ¹⁹⁹
Dublin	Chester Beatty Library	Ar. 3315	Ibn al-Nadīm	“Al-Fihrist” (vol. 1)	824 ²⁰⁰
Cairo	Dār al-Kutub	Tāriḫ 103 mīm	Ibn Sa‘īd	“Al-Mughrib”	803 ²⁰¹
Balaşfūra (Sūhāj)	Private library	--	Ibn Sa‘īd	“Al-Mughrib”	803 ²⁰²
Escorial	Library	534 (fols. 132–289)	al-Musabbiḥi	“Akhbār Mişr” (vol. 40)	807 ²⁰³
Lost?			Ibn al-Khaṭīb	“Al-Iḥāṭah”	808 ²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁸ The note appears on fol. 291b and is almost illegible today: انتقاه داعيا لمالكه أحمد بن علي المقريري في شهر ربيع الاول سنة ٨١٨. The month and the date are illegible, but were read, almost a century ago, by Eugenius Tisserant, *Specimina codicum orientalium* (Bonnae, 1914), p. XXXIII, who, however, was unable to read the second and the third words. See also Claude Cahen, “Quelques chroniques anciennes relatives aux derniers Fatimides,” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 37 (1937): 15 n. 6.

¹⁹⁹ On fol. 95b: انتقاه داعيا لمالكه احمد بن علي المقريري ففرغ منه في صفر سنة ٨١٩.

²⁰⁰ Part of the same set in two volumes, the second being in Istanbul (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi MS Şehid Ali Paşa 1934). The note, which appears on fol. 1a of volume 1 only, is difficult to read today: انتقاه . . . أحمد بن علي المقريري سنة ٨٢٤. See Muḥammad ibn Işhāq al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, ed. Riḍā Tajaddud (Tehran, 1971), *bā’* and pl. 1. The reading given by the editor in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, Sayyid ed., 1:89* (انتقاه منه داعيا لمعيره أحمد بن علي المقريري ٨١٣), is partly erroneous and conjectural given the actual state of this reading note.

²⁰¹ On fol. 132a of vol. 4: استفاد منه داعيا لمالكه أحمد بن علي المقريري سنة ٨٠٣. See ‘Alī ibn Mūsā Ibn Sa‘īd al-Andalusī, *Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulā al-Maghrib: al-Juz’ al-Awwal min al-Qism al-Khāṣṣ bi-Miṣr [al-Ighṭibāt fī Ḥulā Madīnat al-Fuṣṭāṭ]*, ed. Zaki Muḥammad Ḥasan et al. (Cairo, 1953), 59 (of the introduction); and Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography*, 167.

²⁰² Part of the same set as the preceding one (autograph manuscript of Ibn Sa‘īd), same note as above. A microfilm of this manuscript is held at the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah, Cairo (Tāriḫ 103 mīm; see Fu‘ād Sayyid, *Fihrist al-Makhṭūṭāt: Nashrah bi-al-Makhṭūṭāt allatī Iqtanathā al-Dār min Sanah 1936–1955* [Cairo, 1380–83/1961–63], 3:81).

²⁰³ On fol. 132a: استفاد منه داعيا له أحمد بن علي المقريري في سنة ٨٠٧.

²⁰⁴ The reading note was noticed by al-Maqqarī, during a stay in Cairo, on the autograph copy sent by Ibn al-Khaṭīb. It read: انتقى منه داعيا لمؤلفه أحمد بن علي المقريري في شهر ربيع [كذا] سنة ثمان وثمانمائة. See Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb min Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo, 1369/1949), 9:312.

