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REVIEW

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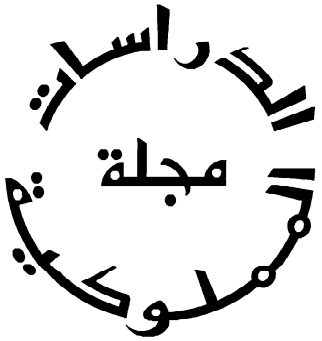

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Mamlūk Studies Review is an annual, Open Access, refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648–922/1250–1517). The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal includes both articles and reviews of recent books.

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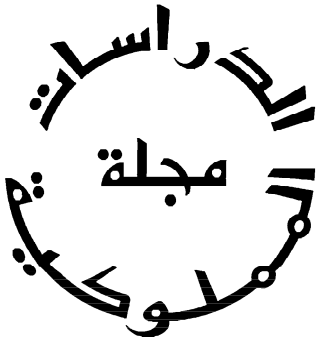

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BOOK REVIEWS

Acknowledgments

The papers collected in this issue of the *Mamlūk Studies Review* were originally presented at the symposium ″Medieval Arabic Historiography: The Legacy of al-Maqrīzī (1364–1442),″ which was held at the University of Notre Dame, September 28–29, 2001, under the auspices of the Program of Arabic Studies, University of Notre Dame. I would like to thank the Henkels Lecture Series Grant, the Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts, the Medieval Institute, the Graduate School, and the Department of Classics, all at the University of Notre Dame, for their financial support. For their encouragement and support in the difficult and unsettling time shortly after the tragic events of September 11, 2001, I would like to thank all the friends and colleagues who participated in the symposium. All those present were keenly aware of the regretful absence of prospective participants whose travel, from the Middle East or elsewhere, was canceled due to the circumstances. My thanks also to Bruce Craig and Marlis Saleh for their diligent work in the preparation of this volume.

Li Guo, January 17, 2003

Nasser Rabbat
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Who Was al-Maqrīzī? A Biographical Sketch

Today, it is all too common to view any text in light of its author′s psychological, emotional, and intellectual proclivities. Background, character, upbringing, education, successes and failures, and all other experiences are seen as fundamental factors in shaping the scope and orientation of one′s literary and artistic output. So established has this mode of inquiry become that it has spread from its original application in creative writing to permeate the study of all literary forms, even those that have traditionally claimed to be governed by rules of objectivity, methodology, and scholarly detachment. This development is a direct outcome of modern culture′s mania for memory and the memorial, which translates into society′s effort to preserve every shred of memory of those deemed worthy of remembrance, if not of everybody.[1]

Medieval culture had different and less pronounced attitudes toward individuality, authorship, and remembrance, all concerns that underwent a phenomenal shift in significance in modern times.[2] This observation pertains both

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[1]The outburst of biographies in our times is proof enough of our culture′s belief in the individual and the individual psyche as historical agents. A recent development, obituaries collections from newspapers, shows how far this fascination has gone; see Marvin Siegel, ed., *The Last Word: The New York Times Book of Obituaries and Farewells: A Celebration of Unusual Lives* (New York, 1997, reprt. 1999), or the ongoing series of *The Daily Telegraph* obituaries books, collected and edited by Hugh Massingberd: *A Celebration of Eccentric Lives* (London, 1995); *Heroes and Adventurers* (London, 1996); *Entertainers* (London, 1997). In the same vein, genealogical research is fast becoming a major pursuit in the US with specialized magazines, companies, websites, and web search engines all serving the large number of Americans engaged in family history research (see the genealogytoday site, http://www.genealogytoday.com/topics/obits.htm). An editorial in *Ancestry* magazine (July–August 2001) cites a recent poll that put their number at 60 percent of the population. This mostly web-based occupation gained the scholarly cachet of approval in 2001 through the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH)′s production of ″My History Is America′s History″ guidebook and its sponsorship of many related scholarly conferences and meetings. For references to NEH activities in this domain, see NEH′s family history website (http://www.myhistory.org).

[2]On the slow process of change from a muffled to a clear voice of the individual in Western literature, cf. Danielle Régnier-Bohler, ″Imagining the Self: Exploring Literature,″ and Philippe Braunstein, ″Toward Intimacy: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,″ in *A History of Private Life: Revelations of the Medieval World*, ed. Philippe Ariés and Georges Duby, tr. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass, 1988), 373–82, 536–56, respectively.

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to the Western and the Islamic worlds. Medieval Muslim scholars, like their Western peers, maintained a relatively inconspicuous presence in their writings. They followed established scholarly and literary conventions that tended to conceal personal touches behind ready-made narrative structures and elaborate prose techniques. Their authorial persona, however, came with distinct sensibilities since they functioned in an environment different from their Western counterparts and had their own textual strategies and restrictive religious and sociocultural values.[3]

This is not to say that medieval Muslim scholars did not see any relationship between an author´s intellectual and emotional disposition and his oeuvre. Quite the opposite: but they saw that relationship less in terms of the author´s character, feelings, and choices, and more in terms of his family background, religious and scholarly affiliations, teachers, and professional positions and patrons. In other words, the work of an author was believed to be influenced more by his social and intellectual circle than by his personality, preferences, or eccentricities. His good reputation, and therefore subsequent commemoration in *kutub al-tarājim* (biographical dictionaries)—the most extensive source we have on distinguished individuals in pre-modern Islamic societies—depended fundamentally on how closely he adhered to, and rose within, the established norms of his social class or professional group.

A typical biographical entry presents a more or less consistent set of facts depending on the category of the biographee—his (or, very rarely, her) full name, titles, and lineage, dates of death and birth (if known), family connections, education and teachers/masters *(shuyūkh)* from whom he acquired *ijāzah*s (licenses to transmit their texts), books read and memorized, employment history, quotations from poetry if he had composed any, reputation among peers, and, in conclusion, a doxology. With few exceptions, medieval biographers tended to leave out personal or anecdotal details about the biographee, not because they were uninteresting, but because they did not help define the individual within his scholarly, military, or social milieu, which is what the biographical genre was intended to do in the first place.[4] The few biographers who routinely included anecdotes, both real and

[3]See the analysis of a number of these literary devices and cultural tendencies in the Arabic autobiographical tradition in Dwight Reynolds et al., *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition* (Berkeley, 2001), 72–99.

[4]Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (New York, 1994), argues that prosopographies should be seen more as registers of the practices by which the influential social classes manipulated power. Fedwa Malti-Douglas, ″*Mentalités* and Marginality: Blindness and Mamluk Civilization,″ in C. E. Bosworth et al., *Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis: The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times* (Princeton, 1989), 211–37, makes an interesting and innovative use of a subset of the medieval biographical dictionaries, but stresses nonetheless their usefulness to understanding the mentality of an entire category rather

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invented, seem to have used them as encoded messages about the moral standards of their subject—another defining aspect of the individual scholar in medieval Islamic etiquette.[5] Anecdotes, it appears, provided a free space within the codified structure of the genre for praise and criticism, which allow us to know more not only about the subject but also about the biographer himself.

THE BACKGROUND OF A SINGULAR HISTORIAN

Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī lived at a time when history writing flourished in an unprecedented way in Egypt.[6] More annals, biographical compendia, manuals for the chancery, geographical treatises *(masālik),* and topographical tracts *(khiṭaṭ)* were written in Cairo in the first half of the fifteenth century than in any other half-century period until the onset of modernity in the late nineteenth century. But, unlike an earlier Mamluk generation of universal historians—such as al-'Umarī and al-Nuwayrī in Cairo and Ibn Kathīr and al-Dhahabī in Damascus—who covered the entire Islamic world, al-Maqrīzī and his contemporaries tended to focus on local events in the present or recent past. Most of them composed cosmocentric and regional histories and prosopographies. They busied themselves with minutely chronicling the events of Mamluk Egypt during the fifteenth century, and to a lesser extent Syria, sometimes beginning with a cursory run-down of Islamic history from the Prophet to their own time, and sometimes adding the biographies of their contemporaries or immediate predecessors. This resulted in the formation of an endogenous and insular school of historiography, in which every member was linked in more than one way to the others, and every member's work was inevitably and immediately measured against the works of others, who essentially covered the same terrain.[7] This situation encouraged intense scholarly and social

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than individuals.

[5]See Nimrud Hurvitz, "Biographies and Mild Asceticism: A Study of Islamic Moral Imagination," *Studia Islamica* 85 (Feb 1997): 41–65, for a discussion of these issues in the context of an analysis of the biography of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.

[6]On Mamluk historiography, see Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden, 2nd ed., 1968), passim; Shākir Muṣṭafá, *Al-Tārīkh al-'Arabī wa-al-Mu'arrikhūn: Dirāsah fī Taṭawwur 'Ilm al-Tārīkh wa-Rijāluhu fī al-Islām* (Beirut, 1978–93), 2:139–304, all of vol. 3, 4:7–227; Ulrich Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Freiburg, 1969); Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (New York, 1994), 182–231; Li Guo, "Mamluk Historiographic Studies: The State of the Art," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 15–43.

[7]Donald Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: an Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn* (Wiesbaden, 1970), is a pioneering comparative examination of the annals of six of these historians which shows their complicated patterns of interdependence. See also the two detailed studies of the sources of two lesser-known Mamluk historians, al-Yūnīnī and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah: Li Guo, *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography: Al-Yūnīnī's Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān* (Leiden, 1998); David Reisman,

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competition, especially among the most prominent such as al-ʻAynī and al-Maqrīzī or al-Sakhāwī and al-Suyūṭī. These rivalries at times escalated into bitter factionalism among supporters and disciples which found its way into the biographies they penned of each other and each others′ masters.[8]

Thus, many of al-Maqrīzī′s biographers not only knew him personally, but held an opinion about him that depended on which side they belonged to in the historians′ ″club.″[9] Some, like Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, regarded themselves as his friends and colleagues. Others, like Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Sakhāwī, al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, were his students or disciples of his students, but

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″A Holograph MS of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s Dhayl,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 19–49. As for al-Maqrīzī himself, see the article by Frederic Baudin in this issue of *MSR*.

[8]Anne F. Broadbridge, ″Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: al-ʻAynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 85–107, analyzes the triangular relationship between these three paragons of history writing.

[9]A partial list of his Mamluk biographers includes Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1930–56), 15:490–91; idem, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʻda al-Wāfī,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn et al. (Cairo, 1956), 1:394–99; idem, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Kamāl ʻIzz al-Dīn (Beirut, 1990), 1:63–68; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Al-Majmaʻ al-Muʼassis lil-Muʻjam al-Mufahris,* ed. Yūsuf ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Marʻashlī (Beirut, 1994), 3:58–60; idem, *Inbāʼ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʼ al-ʻUmr* (Hyderabad, 1967), 9:170–72, which al-Maqrīzī seems to have read before his death; Badr al-Dīn al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān: Ḥawādith wa-Tarājim,* selections by ʻAbd al-Rāziq al-Ṭanṭāwī Qarmūṭ (Cairo, 1989), 574; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʼ al-Lāmiʻ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʻ* (Cairo, 1935), 2:21–25; idem, *Kitāb al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk* (Būlāq, Cairo, 1896), 21–24, same as *Ḍawʼ;* Najm al-Dīn ʻUmar ibn Muḥammad Ibn Fahd, *Muʻjam al-Shuyūkh,* ed. Muḥammad al-Zāhī and Ḥamad al-Jāsir (Riyadh, 1982), 63; al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī-Tawārīkh al-Zamān,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970–89), 4:242–44; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʼiʻ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden, 1960–75), 2: 231–32; Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī al-Shawkānī, *Al-Badr al-Ṭāliʻ bi-Maḥāsin Man baʻda al-Qarn al-Sābiʻ* (Cairo, 1930), 1:79–81, adapts most of his information from al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Ḥajar, but questions the motivation of the former to attack al-Maqrīzī. See also article ″al-Maḳrīzī,″ by Franz Rosenthal, *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 3:177–78; Fuat Sezgin et al., *Studies on Taqiyaddin al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442): Collected and Reprinted* (Frankfurt am Main, 1992). Modern Arabic biographical studies include: Muṣṭafá Ziyādah, ″Tārīkh Ḥayāt al-Maqrīzī,″ in Muḥammad Ziyādah, ed., *Dirāsāt ʻan al-Maqrīzī* (Cairo, 1971), 13–22; Saʻīd ʻAbd al-Fattāḥ ʻĀshūr, ″Aḍwāʼ Jadīdah ʻalá al-Muʼarrikh Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Maqrīzī wa-Kitābātihi,″ *ʻAlam al-Fikr* 14 (1983): 453–98; Shākir Muṣṭafá, *Tārīkh,* 2:140–51; Zuhayr Ḥumaydān, ″Introduction,″ *Min Kitāb al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār lil-Maqrīzī* (Damascus, 1987), 1:5–47; Ḥusayn ʻĀṣī, *Al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī ibn ʻAbd al-Qādir al-ʻUbaydī, 766–845 H/1366–1441 M: Muʼarrikh al-Duwal al-Islāmīyah fī Miṣr* (Beirut, 1992); Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʻIzz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī: Muʼarrikhan* (Beirut, 1990); idem, *Al-Maqrīzī wa-Kitābuhu ″Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-Aʻyan al-Mufīdah″* (Beirut, 1992); Ayman Fuʼād Sayyid, ″Introduction,″ in *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (London, 1995), 6–22.

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they were also the students of his competitors and opponents. Still others were his rivals and even enemies, because al-Maqrīzī—besides being a solitary, proud, and competitive man—was arguably the most famous historian of them all.[10] These qualities induced deference, envy, disdain, and perhaps misunderstanding.

Al-Maqrīzī's admirers particularly emphasized his scholarly qualities. They differed, however, when it came to judging his prominence as a historian, with Ibn Taghrībirdī repeatedly asserting that he was "hands down the dean of all historians."[11] They also stressed his religious virtues and *zuhd* (mild asceticism),[12] which formed the solid moral and intellectual framework that defined the conception and orientation of his whole historical oeuvre.

Hostile biographers, notably the formidable al-Sakhāwī and al-'Aynī, questioned his accuracy and rigor as a historian, with al-'Aynī derogatorily claiming that he was a man given to divination and numerology.[13] Al-Sakhāwī, furthermore, raised a number of skeptical questions about al-Maqrīzī's lineage, education, clientage, and authorial integrity.[14] The gravest of his allegations is that al-Maqrīzī stole a draft of a book on *khiṭaṭ* after the death of its author, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Awḥadī, who was his neighbor and friend, and incorporated it into his own *Khiṭaṭ* without mentioning Awḥadī. Less fanatical biographers kept their criticism at the level of insinuation.[15] These accusations and innuendoes, inconclusive in themselves for lack of evidence, still allow us to add nuance to the otherwise drab portrait of the

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[10]This is demonstrated, for example, by the envoy of the Timurid Shāh Rūkh who asked for a copy of al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk* in 833/1430. Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah et al. (Cairo, 1934–72), 4:2:818, shows commendable restraint in reporting that request in three words with no comment. See also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 14:336; al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat,* 3:178.

[11]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 14:150, 15:189; idem, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr,* 1:25–26, where the author tells us that he intended to continue al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk* in his book because it was the best chronicle of its time.

[12]For a discussion of the meaning and implications of mild asceticism, see Hurvitz, "Biographies and Mild Asceticism," *passim.* For an intimation of al-Maqrīzī's spirited views on *zuhd,* cf. al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:2:757–58, for the obituary for *zāhid al-waqt* Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm, known as Ibn 'Arab, which contains all the elements of *zuhd* enumerated by Hurvitz.

[13]Examples abound in his reports on his relations with many of his biographees. He reveals his deep belief in divination in *Al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Būlāq, Cairo, 1853), 1:49, where he offers an environmental explanation for its prevalence in Egypt, and in a riddle he wrote in 823/1420, entitled "Al-Ishārah wa-al-Imā' ilá Ḥall Lughz al-Mā'," which is still in manuscript; see 'Izz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī: Mu'arrikhan,* 52–54.

[14]Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 2:22–24.

[15]This is especially true of Ibn Taghrībirdī, who was al-Maqrīzī's pupil and who displays mixed feelings towards his teacher. Besides the remarks in his biographies see *Nujūm,* 13:151–53; 14:109–10, 200–1, 236–37, 310–11; 15:189.

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common biography with the information they divulge about some of the more ambiguous aspects of al-Maqrīzī′s character, scholarship, and career.

Al-Maqrīzī himself—whether inadvertently or deliberately—provides some tantalizing hints about himself every now and then in his historical narrative by giving his reaction to the event he is reporting or his whereabouts when it occurred. He adopts a more revelatory tone in the concise biographical dictionary *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-A'yān al-Mufīdah,* in which he collected the biographies of people who died after his own birth, most of whom were family members, teachers, colleagues, competitors, or simply friends and acquaintances. In these entries, he reports on his interactions with them, including casual conversations he had with them, didactic anecdotes and poetry they recited to him, and meditations about the misfortunes that befell some of them.[16] Through these recollections, al-Maqrīzī displays the quintessential autobiographical qualities of first-person narrative—intimacy, immediacy, and the inevitable hint of vanity—without having to incur the reputation for vainglory that sometimes attached to serious scholars who wrote autobiographies.[17] For us, he actually provides glimpses of his experiences, feelings, and reflections which are invaluable for assessing who he was and how his life affected his scholarly output.

In this article, I will confine my discussion to four aspects of al-Maqrīzī′s biography: his lineage, education, *madhhab,* and *zuhd,* for I believe them to be crucial in understanding al-Maqrīzī′s choice of topics, the development of his method of inquiry, and the unusually strong critical voice that transpires in all of his historical writing, especially the *Khiṭaṭ, Itti'āẓ,* and the *Sulūk*. A fuller biography will appear in my forthcoming book on al-Maqrīzī and his *Khiṭaṭ*.

Lineage: Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī was born around 766/1364 in his family home in the Ḥārat al-Barjawān at the heart of Fatimid Cairo. His lineage is a bit obscure, ostensibly at his own hand. In the preface of most of his books, he in fact stops short at the tenth forefather when he introduces himself as was the custom at the time,[18] although he could have extended

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[16]A single, incomplete manuscript of the book (Gotha MS 270 Arab) was inexplicably published twice within five years. It contains around 330 entries of the reported 556. See 'Izz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī wa-Kitābuhu "Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah";* al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-A'yān al-Mufīdah,* ed. Aḥmad Darwīsh and Muḥammad al-Maṣrī (Damascus, 1995).

[17]For a discussion of medieval autobiographers′ uneasiness in speaking of themselves, cf. my ″My Life with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn: The Memoirs of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī,″ *Edebiyât* 7 (Fall 1996): 61–81.

[18]For al-Maqrīzī′s own presentation of his genealogy in the preface of his books see *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:4, where he stops at his great grandfather; *Sulūk,* 1:1:22; and *Durar,* 1:47, with the ten names stopping at the name of Tamīm, the father of 'Abd al-Ṣamad, who is in fact the grandson of the Caliph al-Mu'izz according to al-Sakhāwī′s longer chain. The same line appears in al-Maqrīzī′s

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it to a very glorious ancestor, al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh (r. 953–75), the first Fatimid caliph in Egypt and the founder of al-Qāhirah, or to an even more illustrious forebear, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.[19]

Yet al-Maqrīzī seems to have admitted his Fatimid ancestry to at least some of his close friends.[20] He was apparently very proud of his caliphal Fatimid pedigree. He even approvingly volunteers a number of panegyric stanzas written by his neighbor, colleague, and posthumously-turned competitor, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Awḥadī, in which Awḥadī candidly and unapologetically calls al-Maqrīzī *"ibn al-khalā'if"* [scion of the caliphs] and a descendant of al-Mu'izz and al-Ḥākim.[21] In one stanza, Awḥadī bluntly proclaims, ″Be proud, Taqī al-Dīn, among the people of your noble Fatimid lineage. And if you cited a report on their generosity and you encountered a contestant, then trace your ancestry back to the Ḥākimī [al-Ḥākim].″ These laudatory lines appear nowhere else in either Awḥadī's or al-Maqrīzī's various biographies.[22] In fact, al-Maqrīzī is the only one who speaks of a *dīwān* of poetry by Awḥadī that he claims to have read and critiqued, and he lists many examples from it in his *Durar,* including those laudatory verses. Their citing can only be explained as an implicit admission of al-Maqrīzī's purported Fatimid pedigree, even though it is couched in someone else's words.

A public assertion of his Fatimid, i. e., Isma'ili ancestry, could have ruined his carefully constructed career as a Shafi'i *'ālim,* and even as a private citizen. Even without any solid confirmation of al-Maqrīzī's Fatimid pedigree, al-Sakhāwī, in his maliciously and underhandedly disparaging biography, uses the derogatory patronymic al-'Ubaydī, i.e., descendant of 'Ubayd Allāh, the first in the Fatimid line to claim descent from the Prophet's daughter Fāṭimah in 906.[23] Al-'Ubaydīyūn was indeed the spiteful title adopted by all Sunni commentators in Mamluk Egypt

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obituary of his grandfather 'Abd al-Qādir in *Sulūk,* 2:2:365, and of his father 'Alī in ibid., 3:1:326.

[19]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 15:490 and Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Majma' al-Mu'assis,* 3:59, enumerate the forefathers of al-Maqrīzī back to the eighth ancestor, 'Abd al-Ṣamad, and say that they have copied it from al-Maqrīzī himself. Ibn Taghrībirdī then adds that al-Maqrīzī's nephew, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, dictated his uncle's genealogy after his death and brought it up to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib through the Fatimid caliphs. The same report appears in al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat,* 4:244.

[20]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 9:172, idem, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī-A'yān al-Mi'ah al-Thāminah* (Hyderabad, 1929–32), 3:5; copied with an indignant remark in al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 2:23.

[21]Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar,* 1:249–50; 'Izz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī wa-Kitābuhu "Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah,"* 1:234.

[22]See Awḥadī's biographies in Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 6:112–13; idem, *Al-Majma' al-Mu'assis,* 3:38–39; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 1:358–59; Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab,* (Cairo, 1931–33), 7:89–90

[23]Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 2:21, idem, *Dhayl al-Sulūk,* 21, where he lists all the ancestors up to Caliph al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh.

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who rejected the Fatimids′ claim of Prophetic lineage, and ascribed them instead to Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ ibn Daysān, the Manichean.″[24]

It is thus very plausible that al-Maqrīzī′s flattering portrayal of the Fatimids and their achievements in his *Khiṭaṭ* and his *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā'* was partly animated by his belief of being their scion.[25] He even mounts a fervent defense of the authenticity of their lineage back to Fāṭimah in the introduction of his *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā'*.[26] He approvingly records Ibn Khaldūn′s long discussion defending the authenticity of the Fatimids′ genealogy, an opinion that has earned Ibn Khaldūn many curses from his contemporary biographers.[27] Finally, al-Maqrīzī asks his readers to ″examine the facts fairly and not be deceived by the fabrications of the Fatimids′ detractors,″ at a time when the learned consensus in Sunni Egypt was that the Fatimids were impostors with a suspect lineage.

Al-Maqrīzī′s plea to his reader to accept the Fatimids′ genealogy did not go unnoticed. On the margin of the page in which he reports Imami traditions on the rise of the Fatimids, a remark states that ″al-Maqrīzī—God′s forgiveness be upon him—is not to blame for mounting this defense of the Fatimids because his lineage goes back to them.″[28] This comment must have been added by either the copyist or the owner of the manuscript, both of whom were fifteenth-century scholars who might have known al-Maqrīzī personally.[29] Ibn Ḥajar too almost confirms al-Maqrīzī′s Fatimid ancestry, by calling him al-Tamīmī (the descendant

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[24]Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā' bi-Akhbār al-A'immah al-Fāṭimīyīn al-Khulafā',* ed. Jamāl al-Dīn Shayyāl (Cairo, 1967), 1:52–54. The Maymunid genealogy is discussed in the same section.

[25]Shākir Muṣṭafá, *Tārīkh,* 2:148, raises this possibility as well, but Sayyid, *Musawwadat,* ″Introduction,″ 45, does not seem to think that it was the case.

[26]Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āẓ,* 1:15–54, where he logically argues the truth of their lineage and lists prominent scholars, such as Ibn Khaldūn, who accepted it. Idem, *Khiṭaṭ*, 1:348–49, is a summary of the *Itti'āẓ*′s discussion. Another Mamluk historian who accepts their claim is Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍah al-Bahīyah fī Khiṭaṭ al-Qāhirah al-Mu'izzīyah,* ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (Cairo, 1996), 6–7. Other Mamluk historians who deny their lineage: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 4:69–112; Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī, *Kitāb Duwal al-Islām al-Sharīfah al-Bahīyah: wa-Dhikr Mā Ẓaḥara lī min Ḥikam Allāh al-Khafīyah fī Jalb Ṭā'ifat al-Atrāk ilá al-Diyār al-Miṣrīyah,* ed. Ulrich Haarmann and Ṣubḥī Labīb (Beirut, 1997), 12–15.

[27]Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āẓ,* 1:44–52. On the cursing of Ibn Khaldūn, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 5:331, though not in his entry in *Al-Majma' al-Mu'assis,* 3:157–60; similar reports in al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 4:147–48.

[28]Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āẓ,* 1:54, no. 2.

[29]Ibid., 1:31. The copyist, who copied his text from an autograph version in 884/1479, is an Azharite, as his *nisbah* indicates: Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Gīzī al-Shāfi'ī al-Azharī. The owner seems to have been Yūsuf ibn ʻAbd al-Hādī, a famous Damascene scholar of the fifteenth century (840/1437–909/1504); on his bio, see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 10:308; Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib al-Sā'irah fī A'yān al-Mi'ah al-'Āshirah,* ed. Khalīl Manṣūr (Beirut, 1997), 1:317; Ibn ʻAbd al-Hādī, *Rasā'il Dimashqīyah,* ed. Ṣalāḥ Muḥammad al-Khiyamī (Damascus, 1988), 13–17.

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of Tamīm, either the son of al-Mu'izz, i.e., al-'Azīz, or his great grandson), perhaps another way to ascribe him to the Fatimids without having to state it openly.[30] Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Fahd, the Meccan scholar who accompanied al-Maqrīzī during his *mujāwarāt* in Mecca, traces his teacher's ancestry to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib via al-Ḥusayn, through the Fatimid line.[31]

Moreover, al-Maqrīzī's choice of wording for the title of his *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā' bi-Akhbār al-A'immah al-Fāṭimīyīn al-Khulafā'* itself amounts to another bold public declaration of his belief in their genuineness. He invites his readers, whom he calls *ḥunafā'* (sing. *ḥanīf)*, to draw lessons *(mawā'iẓ,* same as the title of the *Khiṭaṭ)* from the history of the Fatimids. His use of the term *ḥunafā'* is due to more than the necessity of rhyme. A *ḥanīf* in the sense accepted in the medieval period is the true Muslim, the believer in the original and true religion, i.e., someone who transcends the sectarian division that prompted the Sunnis to vehemently denigrate both the Isma'ili doctrine and the genealogical claim of the Fatimids.[32] In the second clause, al-Maqrīzī strongly emphasizes the Fatimids' privilege as both *khulafā'* (caliphs) and *a'immah* (imams) of the Islamic community, that is, the supreme leaders of the community in both the theological/judicial and institutional senses.[33]

This is not the same as saying that al-Maqrīzī believed in the Isma'ili doctrine of the Fatimids, for he most certainly did not. He was by all accounts a solid Sunni Shafi'i. The remark that he tacks onto his exposé of the Fatimids' dogma in his *Musawaddah* of the *Khiṭaṭ* is critical in understanding the difference between believing in the Fatimids' glorious pedigree and accepting their dogma. In it, al-Maqrīzī distances himself *(yatabarra',* takes *barā'ah)* from the Isma'ili doctrine he is about to explain, as he did in reporting the accounts denigrating the Fatimids' genealogy in the *Itti'āẓ.*[34] It is curious that the same remark does not appear in the published copy of the *Khiṭaṭ,* although the *da'wah* section is copied in its entirety from the text of the *Musawaddah.*[35] This is probably due to the transformation that al-Maqrīzī underwent in the period between the draft and the final redaction of the *Khiṭaṭ*. By the latter date, which was toward the end of his life, al-Maqrīzī did

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[30]Ibn Ḥajar, *Raf' al-Iṣr 'an Quḍāt Miṣr,* ed. Ḥāmid 'Abd al-Majīd and Muḥammad Abū Sunnah (Cairo, 1957), 1:2, in a complimentary remark on his friend al-Maqrīzī in his introduction.

[31]Ibn Fahd, *Mu'jam al-Shuyūkh,* 63.

[32]On the meaning and development of the term, see article "Ḥanīf," by W. Montgomery Watt, *EI²,* 3:165–66.

[33]On the meaning and development of the imamate, see article "Imāma," by W. Madelung, *EI²,* 3:1163–69; on the caliphate, see article "Khilāfa, the History of the Institution" and "Khilāfa, In Political Theory," by D. Sourdel and A. K. S. Lambton respectively, *EI²,* 4:937–50.

[34]Sayyid, *Musawwadat,* "Introduction," 45, and p. 94 of the text.

[35]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:348–49, 393–95, in which the same exposé is presented.

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not feel the need to assert the solidity of his Shafi'i Sunni creed since he no longer was interested in competing for public positions or patronage. The defense of the Fatimid genealogy, however, appears in both *Musawaddah* and *Khiṭaṭ* as well as in the *Itti'āẓ,* underscoring al-Maqrīzī's strong conviction in its truthfulness throughout his life.

Education: Al-Maqrīzī grew up in the house of his maternal grandfather Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Ibn al-Ṣā'igh al-Ḥanafī (ca. 710/1310–11 Sha'bān 776/15 January 1375), who was one of the most famous Hanafi *faqīh*s in Cairo, having held a series of prestigious judicial posts and composed a number of philological, grammatical, and exegetical books.[36] Almost everybody in his family was involved in some form of *'ilm,* despite the difference in *madhhab* between his paternal and maternal sides. His father 'Alī was a Hanbali *kātib* who worked and lived in Damascus before moving to Cairo, where he occupied a few minor positions in the judiciary and the viceregency. He died on 25 Ramaḍān 779/25 January 1378 when he was fifty-years old and al-Maqrīzī was less than fourteen years old.[37] His paternal grandfather 'Abd al-Qādir, who died before his birth (732/1331), was born in Ba'labek, in today's Lebanon. He settled down in Damascus, where he became a rather well-known Hanbali scholar and *muḥaddith,* heading a premier Damascene institution, Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Bahā'īyah (of al-Bahā' Ibn 'Asākir).[38]

But the most influential figure in al-Maqrīzī's early education, and his first tutor, was his maternal grandfather. Under his tutelage, al-Maqrīzī received the traditional education available to boys of his background with its focus on Quranic studies, hadith, Arabic grammar, literature, and *fiqh*.

Al-Maqrīzī claimed to have studied with or received *ijāzah*s (licenses) from more than six hundred shaykhs (tutors) in Cairo, Damascus, and Mecca, a number that evidently includes all those he had heard lecturing, even if only once, or those from whom he received an *ijāzah* without ever meeting them.[39] The extant roll of

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[36]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 1:95–96; idem, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:499–500; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:1:92, 198, 245, and 4:1107, chronicles the last stages of the career of his grandfather; 'Izz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī: Mu'arrikhan,* 27–32.

[37]On the father, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:1:326; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 1:166; 'Izz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī wa-Kitābuhu "Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah,"* 1:18. Al-Maqrīzī's brothers are Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (772/1371–822/1419) (see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:1:514) and Ḥasan. Broadbridge, "Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt," 86, mistakenly puts the father's death in 1384 and makes him a Shafi'i.

[38]On the grandfather, see Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* ed. Riḍwān al-Sayyid (Leipzig, 1993), 19:42–43; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:391; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:1:365; 'Izz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī: Mu'arrikhan,* 25–27; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 7:324.

[39]Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 2:23, questions some of al-Maqrīzī's teachers.

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his shaykhs is an impressive collection of thirty-nine names of scholars, some of whom, like the ascetic and *muḥaddith* al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, or al-Sirāj ibn al-Mulaqqin, or the chief judges al-Sirāj al-Balqīnī and al-Burhān ibn Jamā'ah, or the towering Ibn Khaldūn, were the leading figures of their profession.[40] Al-Maqrīzī became a regular at the circle of Ibn Khaldūn, who taught in Cairo after 1382. The passages directly copied from the master's dictation and the discussions he had with him or with others in his circle, dispersed throughout his oeuvre and bearing dates spanning more than ten years, show that he accompanied him for a long time and benefited from his knowledge on many topics.[41] His high esteem for his teacher and admiration for his ideas, especially those expounded in the *Muqaddimah,* come across very clearly in the extensive biography he wrote of Ibn Khaldūn in the still-unpublished section of his biographical dictionary *Durar*.[42]

The influence of Ibn Khaldūn's interpretive framework is evident in a number of short thematic books by al-Maqrīzī, such as his treatise on the calamity of the early fifteenth century, *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah,* and his analysis of the rivalry between the Umayyads and the Abbasids, *Al-Nizā' wa-al-Takhāṣum fimā bayna Banī Umayyah wa-Banī Hāshim.* But it is most clearly apparent in the structure and aim of the *Khiṭaṭ*. The overarching cycle of the rise and fall of dynasties that formed the basis of Ibn Khaldūn's hermeneutical framework in explaining historical process seems to have informed al-Maqrīzī's thinking and structuring of his *Khiṭaṭ,* albeit in a roundabout way.[43] He seems to have subsumed the Khaldunian structure as a way of classifying and understanding the vast amount of historical, topographic, and architectural material he collected over the years.[44]

A QUESTION OF MADHHAB? Several years after his father's death, al-Maqrīzī decided in 786/1384 to switch to the Shafi'i *madhhab* and to abandon the Hanbali *madhhab* of his forefathers or the Hanafi one of his maternal grandfather in which

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[40]For the full roster see 'Izz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī wa-Kitābuhu "Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah,"* 1:20–28; idem, *Al-Maqrīzī: Mu'arrikhan,* 34–42.

[41]Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar,* 1:143, 152, 2:63, 193; idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:50, 2:76.

[42]The biography, which is not included in the recently published portion of the book, was published by Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, "Tarjamat Ibn Khaldūn lil-Maqrīzī," *Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Irāqī* 13 (1965): 215–42.

[43]See Ziyādah, "Tārīkh Ḥayāt al-Maqrīzī," 13–22. See also Adel Allouche, *Mamluk Economics: A Study and Translation of al-Maqrīzī's Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah* (Salt Lake City, 1994), 4–7.

[44]I have found only one explicit reference to Ibn Khaldūn's historical theory in al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* (2:190), which actually suggests that he was thoroughly familiar with the *Muqaddimah.* Another mention in al-Maqrīzī's biography of Ibn Khaldūn straightforwardly states that the *Muqaddimah* "unveils the cause of events and informs on the essence of things," al-Jalīlī, "Tarjamat Ibn Khaldūn," 235.

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he had been instructed. This decision, though not unusual in itself, could not have been casual either. It may be interpreted in two ways, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive. It may be a sign of a self-righteous and individualistic personality in the making, perhaps even a bit rebellious against authority figures (father and/or grandfather), albeit meekly and after their passing. Changing his *madhhab* may have represented to al-Maqrīzī a rejection of his forebears´ teaching and authority, and therefore a liberating act on the way to self-fulfillment as an independently minded scholar. This is indeed the meaning that one can read from Ibn Ḥajar´s comment on al-Maqrīzī´s change of *madhhab*, that ″when he became aware and competent *(tayaqqaẓa wa-nabuha),* he switched to Shafi'ism.″[45] But the change could also be seen as a calculated move of a young and pragmatic scholar in his early twenties trying to establish a career in the Shafi'i-dominated scholarly milieu of Cairo.[46]

An intriguing detail mentioned by many of his biographers, however, favors the former interpretation: al-Maqrīzī was known later in life for his bias against, even antipathy toward, the Hanafis, ostensibly because of his unconfirmed leaning toward the by-then uncommon Zahiri *madhhab*.[47] The Zahiri *madhhab,* named after its founder´s insistence on admitting only the apparent *(ẓāhir)* meaning of the Quran and hadith, upheld a strict, literalist approach to interpretation and to legal speculation and opposed all other *madhāhib,* but especially the Malikis and Hanafis, on basic interpretive issues.[48] The *madhhab,* codified by the Andalusian polymath Ibn Ḥazm (994–1064), never attained the same kind of theological synthesis achieved by other Sunni *madhāhib*. Furthermore, it never took root in Egypt and Syria, although the enmity displayed by Mamluk ulama toward its adherents shows that the fundamentalist challenges it posed were still felt by the established theological and jurisprudential *madhāhib*.

Al-Maqrīzī himself does not mention his knowledge of or adherence to the Zahiri *madhhab,* although he seems to have been close to many Zahiris, or at least individuals who are identified in the Mamluk sources as Zahiris because of their bias toward the writing of Ibn Ḥazm.[49] Moreover, he is full of praise for them as

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[45]Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Majma' al-Mu'assis,* 59.

[46]Sayyid, *Musawwadat,* ″Introduction,″ 39, favors this interpretation.

[47]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 1:396, where he says that there is nothing wrong in admiring the writing of Ibn Ḥazm; also ibid., 2:88, where he accuses his revered teacher al-Maqrīzī of favoring al-Burhān simply because he was a Zahiri.

[48]On Zahirism see ″al-Ẓāhiriyya,″ by R. Strothmann in *EI*[1], 8:1192–93; ″Dāwūd b. 'Alī b. Khālaf,″ by P. Voorhoeve in *EI*[2], 2:182–83; and ″Ibn Ḥazm,″ by R. Arnaldez in *EI*[2], 3:790–99.

[49]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 2:113, reports that al-Maqrīzī said of a Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ashmūnī al-Naḥawī (749/1348–809/1407), ″that he was a Zahiri then turned against them,″ and then al-Maqrīzī said ″I accompanied him for some years,″ implying that that was when al-Ashmūnī was still a

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righteous individuals. He admires their fervent struggle for justice and truth, equanimity, self-restraint, and chastity, as is apparent from their biographical entries in his *Durar* and *Sulūk*.[50] These same qualities will be attached to al-Maqrīzī later in life after his withdrawal from the competition for public posts.

But what seems to have truly attracted him to Zahirism was not only the moral rectitude of its founders and followers, nor was it its theological puritanism, an intellectual stance that had lost most of its potency by the end of the fourteenth century.[51] It was probably what can nowadays be termed the ″militant″ spirit that some of its last organized groups deployed in the face of the religiously corrupt Mamluk regime. This spirit rose to the surface in the so-called ″Zahiri Revolt″ of 788/1386, an event that greatly impressed al-Maqrīzī, at least if we judge from the glowing image he paints in his *Durar* of its leader, the rather obscure Zahiri shaykh al-Burhān Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl (754/1353–808/1406).[52] Al-Burhān foolishly and tenaciously organized this doomed uprising against Sultan Barqūq and the Mamluks because they did not satisfy the strict Islamic prerequisites to rule: they were not descendants of Quraysh, the tribe of the Prophet, and they instituted some un-Islamic practices, chief among them the levying of tariffs *(mukūs)*. Al-Burhān seems to have had supporters among the Mamluk ruling class and the Arab Bedouins of Syria as well. But the uprising failed nonetheless; many of its organizers were caught, tortured, imprisoned, and their lives ruined as a consequence. Al-Burhān, impoverished and emotionally broken in al-Maqrīzī′s words, maintained his integrity throughout his imprisonment and questioning by the sultan and after his release to a life of obscurity until his death.

Zahiri; see al-Maqrīzī, *Durar*, 2:174; 'Izz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī wa-Kitābuhu "Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah,"* 2:431.

[50]Cf. al-Maqrīzī, *Durar*, 1:191, 203; 'Izz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī wa-Kitābuhu "Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah,"* 1:204–205 for the biographies of his teacher al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, and the *sharīf* and *muḥaddith* Abū Bakr al-Hāshimī; idem, *Sulūk,* 4:2:761, in the biographical notice on Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Bashtākī (d. 830/1427), who was a follower of Ibn Ḥazm′s *madhhab,* al-Maqrīzī says, ″I have been chagrined by his loss, he has left no one like him.″ Al-Maqrīzī admired moral rectitude wherever he encountered it; see for instance his report in *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:279–80, where he praises the steadfastness of the Shafi'i judge al-Mināwwī, who betrays Zahiri leanings in his discourse, in upholding what he considers right.

[51]See the discussion on the confusion about Zahirism in Mamluk sources in Lutz Wiederhold, ″Legal-Religious Elite, Temporal Authority, and the Caliphate in Mamluk Society: Conclusions Drawn from the Examination of a Zahiri Revolt in Damascus,″ *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31 (May 1999): 203–35, esp. 204–6.

[52]Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar,* 2:44–55; 'Izz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī wa-Kitābuhu "Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah,"* 2:342–47. Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:2:554, offers a compact report on the revolt and in *Sulūk,* 4:1:23, produces a brief obituary of al-Burhān which carries the same positive assessment.

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Al-Maqrīzī´s impassioned and detailed description of the ″Zahiri″ revolt substantially differs from other Mamluk historians´ reports.[53] His is the only one that goes deep into the theological roots of the revolt to justify it rather than just passing them over to speak of the intrigues that led to its failure as does Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, the other main source for the revolt. Al-Maqrīzī seems to have heard the full story from al-Burhān himself, for he speaks of a very intimate relationship with the man and his family and of many sessions spent studying with him. In a cryptic sentence at the end of his entry, al-Maqrīzī calls al-Burhān one of three men by whom God has benefited him, and states that he hoped to gain *barakah (*grace) from that benefit. This sentence may be pointing toward a disciple/master relationship in a sufi sense, that is, al-Burhān leading al-Maqrīzī on the way of true knowledge. But it is probably more an admission that al-Burhān, along with two unnamed individuals, offered al-Maqrīzī a model which he consciously was trying to follow in his own life. His reported leaning towards the Zahiris, and al-Burhān in particular, may thus have been motivated by his respect for their fortitude as committed individuals and his approval of their firm opposition to the Mamluks on religious ground rather than his adherence to their religious interpretations.

Another possible explanation for al-Maqrīzī´s passionate support of the ″Zahiri″ revolt may be found in his complex set of religious beliefs, which, though not uncommon at the time, may appear a bit paradoxical to our modern eyes accustomed to a visible Sunni-Shi'i sectarian division. As illustrated by his acceptance of the imamate of the Fatimids because they were the progeny of the Prophet, al-Maqrīzī, the pious and strict Sunni alim, seems nonetheless to have harbored 'Alid sympathies throughout his life. What his defense of the Fatimids hints at comes across more clearly in other tractates focusing on the *Āl al-Bayt* (the family of the Prophet), especially his *Al-Nizā' wa-al-Takhāṣum fimā bayna Banī Umayyah wa-Banī Hāshim* (Book of contention and strife concerning the relations between the Umayyads and the Hashimites).[54] In this undated short work, which seems to belong to his

[53]For other historians´ reports see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal, 2*:87–89, who says that al-Maqrīzī exaggerated in his praise of al-Burhān because he was a Zahiri; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā'*, 2:232–34; idem, *Al-Majma' al-Mu'assis,* 3:73–75; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 2:96–98; a reconstruction of the revolt based mostly on Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* ed. 'Adnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977), 1:89–91, 186–89, 269, is Wiederhold, ″Zahiri Revolt,″ 209–16. It is revealing that al-Maqrīzī, unlike Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, never uses the word *fitnah* (sedition) in his description.

[54]First edited and translated in 1888 as al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Nizā' wa-al-Takhāṣum fīmā bayna Banī Umayyah wa-Banī Hāshim: Kampfe und Streitigkeiten zwischen den Banu Umajja und den Banu Hasim; eine Abhandlung von Takijj ad-Din al-Makrizijj,* ed. Geerhardus Vos (Vienna and Strasbourg, 1888). Several Arabic re-editions followed but they did not add much. For an English translation and commentary, see *Al-Maqrīzī´s ´Book of Contention and Strife Concerning the*

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early career, al-Maqrīzī was trying to make metahistorical sense of the apparent failure of the ʻAlids, the Banī Ḥāshim of his title, to keep what was their divinely-ordained birthright, namely the caliphate. After analyzing the circumstances of the conflict between the Umayyads and the Hashimites (both Abbasids and ʻAlids), he comes down squarely on the side of the ʻAlids. He assumes the same stance in other similar treatises where the ʻAlids are unambiguously identified as the God-appointed rulers and guides of the Islamic community.[55]

But it is quite revealing that neither his explicit ʻAlid leanings nor his excited verbal empathy with the Zahiri revolt prevented al-Maqrīzī from pursuing his career in the religious and administrative branches of the Mamluk regime. This has never been picked up on by his biographers, simply because his collaboration with and seeking patronage within the Mamluk system, though only up to his middle age, were very ordinary at the time. Almost every other scholar eagerly pursued Mamluk patronage, despite the collectively-held intellectual and religious resentment of the mamluks themselves.[56] What distinguishes al-Maqrīzī from the average Sunni alim of his ilk is his anxious and manifest sympathy for militant movements, such as the ʻAlid cause and the Zahiri revolt, aimed at redressing the wrong they perceived at the top of the ruling system in the Islamic world. Never mind that both causes were ultimately doomed to failure. What matters is that al-Maqrīzī, in his reporting and his analysis, displayed an honest sense of justice and objection to deviation from the proper Islamic way as he saw it.

WITHDRAWAL: Al-Maqrīzī did not withdraw from the treacherous milieu of sultans and courtiers until midway in the reign of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (1412–21), although he manifested the first signs of weariness during the reign of Faraj ibn

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Relations between the Banū Umayya and the Banū Hāshim,′ ed. and trans. Clifford Edmund Bosworth (Manchester, 1983).

[55]On al-Maqrīzī′s pro-ʻAlid sympathy, see C. E. Bosworth, ″Al-Maqrīzī′s Epistle ′Concerning What Has Come Down to Us About the Banu Umayya and the Banu l-ʻAbbas,′″ in *Studia Arabica and Islamica: Festschrift for Ihsan ʻAbbas*, ed. Wadad Kadi (Beirut, 1981), 39–45; idem, ″Al-Maqrīzī′s Exposition of the Formative Period in Islamic History and its Cosmic Significance: The *Kitāb al-Nizāʻ wa-al-Takhāṣum,*″ in *Islam: Past Influence and Present Challenge: In Honour of William Montgomery Watt,* ed. A. T. Welsh and P. Cachia (Edinburgh, 1979), 93–104. Reprinted in idem, *Medieval Arabic Culture and Administration* (London, 1982) as no. IX and XI respectively.

[56]On the subject of the ulama′s relationship with the mamluks see the two pioneering articles by Ulrich Haarmann, ″Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage: Mamluks and their Sons in the Intellectual Life of Fourteenth-Century Egypt and Syria,″ *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33 (1988): 81–114; idem, ″Rather the Injustice of the Turks than the Righteousness of the Arabs—Changing ʻUlama' Attitudes Towards Mamluk Rule in the Late Fifteenth Century,″ *Studia Islamica* 68 (1989): 61–79. Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus*, 37–54, 57–113, discusses the development of these practices among the ulama as a class in thirteenth to fourteenth-century Damascus.

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Barqūq when he turned down the coveted *manṣib* of the Shafi'i chief judge of Damascus which was offered to him more than once around the year 1410.[57] His refusal must be ascribed to the traditional pious alim's fear of inadvertently committing injustice while holding the position of judge, a fear that al-Maqrīzī explicitly exhibits when he singles out accepting the judgeship of the Hanbalis as the only sin of his friend and patron al-Muḥibb ibn Naṣr Allāh.[58] But this was not the only sign of the shift in his thinking. A passage in his *Durar* reveals his leaning toward *zuhd,* the "mild asceticism" professed by a number of ulama in the medieval period.[59] Al-Maqrīzī says that he tried to convince a judge and colleague in Damascus to "quit seeking favors of the amirs if he is really sincere about his renunciation of worldly gains."[60] The passage carries a tone of self-reflection that may indicate that al-Maqrīzī himself was going through that transformation at the time.

Al-Maqrīzī was gradually withdrawing from public life when he was suddenly jolted by the dismissal and then brutal killing of his last confirmed patron, Fatḥ Allāh the *kātib al-sirr,* which took place after a painful six-month imprisonment (Shawwāl 815–Rabī' al-Awwal 816/January–June 1413), in the first year of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's reign. This cold-blooded crime was not so unusual for the time, but it must have been especially painful for al-Maqrīzī because Fatḥ Allāh was both a dependable and resourceful patron and a faithful friend for more than twenty years.[61] It also deepened his disgust and despair.

This feeling of despondency is amply displayed in the introduction to the history of the Ayyubids and Mamluks, *Al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* which suggests that al-Maqrīzī started this book around that desperate moment in his life when he was still wavering between self-imposed isolation and another attempt at court life. On the first page of the autograph manuscript of the *Sulūk*, al-Maqrīzī unambiguously in two inscriptions poured out his heart to his reader. The first passage, which is written below the title, seems to be directed to himself as an incantation. It says:

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[57]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 1:396; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 2:22.

[58]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:3:1232.

[59]Hurvitz, "Biographies and Mild Asceticism," 48–52; L. Kinberg, "What is Meant by Zuhd?" *Studia Islamica* 61 (1985): 27.

[60]Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar,* 2:60. This may be contrasted with what Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 15:189, says about his master's forced withdrawal from court. The truth is probably a combination of both impulses.

[61]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:1:242, 248, 252, 256, 259, records in detail the ordeal of his patron, and 4:2:1012, recalls his great achievements thirty years after his killing. Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 7:104, 137–39.

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> May God save you from requesting the reimbursement for a good deed you have rendered and a payment for a favor you have offered, and may He not abase your hand below that for whom it was above, and may He protect you from a passing glory and an exigent living. May God keep you alive as long as life is beautiful by your presence and may He take you if death was better for you, after a long life and high eminence. May he close your deeds with kindness and allow you to reach in this life your hopes and guide your unsteady way, and may He rectify your predicament in the hereafter. He is the All-hearing, the Magnanimous, and the Granter [of wishes].[62]

This invocation is key to deciphering al-Maqrīzī´s psychological state at that late, and probably low, point in his life. It conveys contradictory feelings: hope and despair, pride and dejection, love of life and an admission of the inevitability of death. These feelings reflect the situation in which al-Maqrīzī found himself during and immediately after the reign of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh: banished from court, lonely after the death of Sūl, his beloved concubine, in 1421 and Fāṭimah, the last of his children, in 1423, yet still full of self-esteem and the will to contribute to public life.

At the bottom of the same cover page, there is another passage in al-Maqrīzī´s hand written longitudinally in the middle of the page between two other unrelated informational passages. This short passage must have been added at a later date, not only because of its odd position on the page, but also because of the strong feeling of resignation it bespeaks. In it, al-Maqrīzī declares

> I have been afflicted with such bad fortune, that whenever it goes up, it immediately comes down, and whenever it stands up, it inevitably falls down, and whenever it goes straight, it surely bows down again, and whenever it runs smoothly, it at once encounters obstacles, and whenever it becomes alert, it soon sleeps again. . . .
> [Then follows two verses]
> By your life, I do not lack a banner of glory
> Nor did the horse tire of competing
> Instead, I am afflicted with bad fortune
> Just like a beautiful woman is inflicted with divorce

[62] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:1:3 and facing page for a photographic reproduction of the autograph manuscript´s cover page (Istanbul, Yeni Cami, # 887).

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Here we find the extreme expression of melancholy that must have overtaken al-Maqrīzī after he realized the futility of his repeated attempts to gain the sultan´s favor. He thus reverts to his belief in the supernatural to explain his failure. The insertion of the *dūbayt* at the end, however, attests that the man did not lose his self-esteem: he still thinks of himself as able and worthy. He only resigns himself to his fate to concentrate fully on his scholarly and ascetic pursuits. To that point in time should be dated his final retreat to his family home in Ḥārat al-Barjawān. He was to spend the rest of his life studying, writing, and teaching in almost total seclusion, except for rare visits with his fellow ulama and students and for an unknown number of pilgrimages and *mujāwarāt* in Mecca between 1430 and 1435.[63] He wrote his *Khiṭaṭ* book and completed most of his long historical treatises during these thirty-plus years, but we have no fixed dates for any of them. The *Khiṭaṭ,* however, was the first book he tackled. As such, it was closely connected with this defining period in his life with its intense and painful soul-searching and reckoning. It marked his transformation from a client to one or the other among the Mamluk grandees, to an independent, even aloof, scholar and historian and a pessimistic observer recognizing the corrupt structure of power and chiding its perpetrators. These strong yet ultimately desperate feelings of disillusionment inevitably seeped into the structure and tone of the *Khiṭaṭ* and the *Sulūk*.

Death: Al-Maqrīzī died in Ramaḍān 845/January–February 1442 after a protracted but unnamed illness. His biographers dispute the exact date of his death, and none of them managed to record the correct day of the week on which he died.[64] This is further evidence of his relative isolation from his scholarly milieu at the end of his life. His biographers might not have learned of his death until some time after it occurred, or they might not have bothered to check the correct date, as Ibn Taghrībirdī pungently suggests al-ʻAynī did not. Al-Maqrīzī was buried without any elaborate funeral in the Sufi Baybarsīyah cemetery outside the Bāb al-Naṣr north of Cairo, which was the final resting place of many ulama

[63]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 1:397, al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 2:24, mention only a *mujāwarah;* al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat,* 3:219, 367, quotes al-Maqrīzī in the years 834/1431 and 840/1437 respectively as having been in the hajj; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 14:355, quotes him in 835/1432, which may mean that he stayed in Mecca for a whole year.

[64]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 9:172, places it on Thursday 26 of Ramaḍān (correct day is Wednesday); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 15:490, and *Manhal,* 1:399; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 2:25, put it on Thursday 16 Ramaḍān (correct day is Sunday), whereas al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd,* 547, carelessly—as noted by Ibn Taghrībirdī—put it on Thursday 29 Shaʻbān, although he was at least correct in the day of the week. Al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat,* 4:343–44, reports Ibn Ḥajar´s and al-Aynī´s dates, but favors Ibn Ḥajar´s in accordance with his master, Ibn Taghrībirdī, whom he later on will denigrate, although Ibn Taghrībirdī´s date is different from Ibn Ḥajar´s.

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of the period, including Ibn Khaldūn.[65] The anonymity of al-Maqrīzī′s burial place is an indication of his *zuhd* (asceticism), since he does not seem to have provided a specific place for his interment as was the habit of distinguished ulama in medieval Egypt. The simplicity of his entombment becomes even more poignant when it is contrasted with the pomp of that of his old competitor al-'Aynī, who had built himself a sumptuous funerary *qubbah* in his madrasah adjacent to al-Azhar. The *qubbah* was embellished by a gilded dome ordered specially by Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh as a sign of favoritism, when the same sultan seems to have shunned al-Maqrīzī throughout his reign.[66]

[65]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:336, no. 1; al-Jalīlī, ″Tarjamat Ibn Khaldūn,″ 230; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 10:146.

[66]Laila Ibrahim and Bernard O′Kane, ″The Madrasa of Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī and its Tiled Mihrab,″ *Annales Islamologiques* 24 (1988): 253–68, esp. 267; 'Alī Bāshā Mubārak, *Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīqīyah al-Jadīdah* (Būlāq, 1888–89), 6:10. Al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh seems to have provided some endowment in his *waqf* for the madrasah of al-'Aynī; see al-'Aynī, *'Iqd,* 110 (*Awqāf* 938q: *Waqf* of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, dated 12 Rajab 823/1420, lines 331–41).

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Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method Description: Section 1

Introduction

This article aims at presenting an important manuscript discovered recently in the holdings of the library at the University of Liège, in Belgium. It has been authenticated as a holograph manuscript of Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, and identified as a specimen of his notebooks. As I will try to demonstrate, the notebook was conceived by al-Maqrīzī as a working tool to which he returned, utilizing the greatest part of it in his later writings. Its study, together with al-Maqrīzī's other preserved autograph manuscripts and drafts, clearly provides answers to numerous questions about the working methods of medieval Muslim scholars, making possible reflection on an archaeology of scholarship. The preliminary results are revealed here for the first time, and are based on the current stage of my research. It is possible some weakness of these arguments may emerge later, although I hope that future research will corroborate most of them.

In this study, to be published in two sections, I decided first to scrutinize the manuscript itself, in codicological terms, i.e., to describe it and reconstruct its history, and finally to give a detailed overview of its contents.[1] The second part

This article is a revised version of a paper presented on the 13th of May 1998 at the 7th Colloquium on Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven), under the title: ″À propos du MS 2232 de l'Université de Liège: découverte d'un nouvel autographe de Maqrīzī?″ It was read once more, with major modifications, during a seminar on al-Maqrīzī organized by the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale in Cairo in May 2000, under the title: ″Le carnet de notes d'al-Maqrīzī et son importance pour l'historiographie musulmane.″ That version will appear in two sections for reasons of space. Another text was read at the Notre Dame colloquium; that will be published as the second part of this article in a forthcoming issue of this journal, under the title: ″Maqriziana II: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of his Working Method: Analysis.″ I have decided to publish this first part prior to the second as the demonstrations elaborated in the latter are too complex to follow without a clear exposition of the nature and contents of the manuscript.

[1] A full critical edition of the notebook is in preparation. It will be published by the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale in Cairo, in two volumes together with a facsimile of the entire manuscript on CD-ROM.

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will be devoted to an analysis of al-Maqrīzī′s working method.

History of the Discovery

In an article published in 1962, Claude Cahen wondered rhetorically whether unearthing a fundamental text was cheering or discouraging, as his discovery diverted him from his other scholarly commitments. He was speaking of a manuscript which has revealed, since its discovery, new data on the economic history of Egypt in the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods, i.e., al-Makhzūmī's treatise ″Al-Minhāj fī 'Ilm al-Kharāj.″[2] Reading his words, I asked myself if he really thought that this was ill-fortune, but I soon realized, when I myself came across an important manuscript, what he meant. Indeed, I also had to leave aside all my current research to dedicate my entire attention to the text I had found, almost accidentally. But this did not happen all at once. In 1989, I was asked by the University of Liège to catalog the Islamic manuscripts held there. It had received in 1986 a gift of about 450 Arabic manuscripts and wished to know exactly what it contained. I carried out this task, beginning with these manuscripts most recently bequeathed. The other Islamic manuscripts already among the holdings of the library had previously been described in a handlist, so I put them aside until I finished my catalogue.[3] After having perused hundreds of manuscripts, I decided to look at the older collection. When my eyes fell on MS 2232, I had seen so many *majmū'āt* from the Maghrib that I at first imagined that this was nothing more than another example of this particular kind of manuscript, although eastern in origin as indicated by the script. It appeared that it was not a composite *majmū'ah,* composed of various texts by several hands at different dates, collected at a specific moment and bound together, but rather a uniform text in which entries were written by the same hand. No author was named anywhere in the manuscript, although the greatest part consisted of epitomes of books. To me, it appeared to be nothing more than an ordinary manuscript. At the time I was able to date it to the fifteenth century, thanks to its codicological characteristics, a fact which was confirmed afterwards.[4]

The manuscript was then returned to a dusty shelf for several years until one day in 1997, when I received a copy of a recent edition of one of al-Maqrīzī's

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[2]See Claude Cahen, ″Un traité financier inédit d'époque fatimide-ayyubide,″ *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 5 (1962): 140; reprinted in his *Makhzūmiyyāt: Études sur l'histoire économique et financière de l'Égypte médiévale* (Leiden, 1977), 1.

[3]The first volume of the catalogue is finished and will appear under the title *Inventaire des manuscrits arabes, persans et turcs des bibliothèques publiques de Belgique* (Liège, forthcoming).

[4]The manuscript had already been described in 1970 as ″manuscrit arabe, XVIIIe siècle?″ See J. Hoyoux, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège: Manuscrits acquis de 1886 à 1960*, vol. 1 (Liège, 1970), no. 1070.

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minor works, the *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Kāmil fī al-Ḍu'afā'* of Ibn 'Adī.[5] This book consists of a resumé made by al-Maqrīzī of a work dealing with ″weak″ transmitters of tradition. It has been preserved in a unicum which is, moreover, an autograph copy (Istanbul, MS Murād Mollā 569), dated 795/1393. The editor had the excellent idea of including some plates of the manuscript. At first glance, the script looked familiar, and I soon remembered MS 2232. I was able to compare it with the facsimile and was overjoyed to discover that the *codex leodiensis* was an autograph copy in the hand of one of the most important historians of the Islamic world, known as the *shaykh al-mu'arrikhīn* of Egypt.

I proceeded further in my investigation and found that numerous autograph manuscripts of al-Maqrīzī are still extant in various libraries all over the world.[6] I soon discovered that the attention of scholars had already been drawn to this matter as early as 1847–51, when the Dutch Orientalist R. P. A. Dozy published a notice of his identification of three volumes of al-Maqrīzī's *Al-Muqaffá*.[7] Facing page 28, a plate containing a facsimile of al-Maqrīzī's handwriting was printed so as to facilitate the identification of other autograph manuscripts, of which, Dozy believed, there must have been other specimens in European and Arab libraries. Indeed, al-Maqrīzī's handwriting is distinctive, not easily forgotten, and this has been my experience. Later, I learned of an additional publication including another autograph manuscript of the historian: a draft of a volume of *Al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār,*[8] which made me realize that both manuscripts were written on the same kind of paper, a discovery which indicated to me another possibility for the study of al-Maqrīzī's autograph manuscripts.[9]

At this point, there remained no doubt that the Liège codex was to be identified as an unpublished holograph in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting, but I still had to establish what kind of work this was. I turned back to my description of it, made some years earlier, and improved it by adding every useful detail contained in the manuscript. I carried out a thorough scrutiny of the contents and soon realized that it was a notebook, and that these sheets of paper had been used by al-Maqrīzī to record historical details, facts, and events that he was interested in for the composition of his works. It is full of resumés, epitomes, extracts, excerpts, notes, cards, etc., the subjects of which vary as much as their number (history, numismatics, metrology,

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[5]*Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Kāmil fī al-Ḍu'afā' wa-'Ilal al-Ḥadīth li-Ibn 'Adī,* ed. Ayman ibn 'Ārif al-Dimashqī (Cairo, 1415/1994).

[6]See my ″Maqriziana II,″ where a complete list will be given.

[7]See R. P. A. Dozy, ″Découverte de trois volumes du Mokaffá d'Al-Makrízí,″ in idem, *Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes* (Leiden, 1847–51), 8–16.

[8]Edited by Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (London, 1995).

[9]On this point, see below, under the description of the manuscript.

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genealogy, medicine, exegesis, etc.). As far as I know, this is the first time that such a notebook has been discovered,[10] a unique document that opens myriad research prospects in many fields. Of course, the most salient aspect is the working method of al-Maqrīzī, since we can now study precisely how he conceived his works, not only by looking at the various drafts he left us, but more precisely by examining the way he summarized the works of his predecessors and how he inserted the data later in his own writings. But it should also be considered a manuscript of incomparable importance because it contains resumés of works which were previously considered lost. The resumés prove that al-Maqrīzī had access to such works as Ismaili texts, and in some cases the parts preserved in the notebook are the sole remaining evidence of their existence. Moreover, comparison of the material in al-Maqrīzī's published writings, where passages have been borrowed, with those in the notebook, will permit us to improve the readings in the editions where they are found, even in the most recent ones. The present study is thus only the first of a series in which the various aspects of the notebook will be scrutinized.

History of the Manuscript

Prior to his death in 1913, Victor Chauvin, one of the leading Orientalists of the nineteenth century[11] and holder of the chair of Arabic studies at the University of Liège, had decided to bequeath his entire library to his alma mater. This collection contained several thousands of books dealing with Islamic studies in general, with a particular interest in literature, printed between the seventeenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, together with some Arabic manuscripts. The whole library was received shortly after his death and it took years before the cataloging was completed. As for the manuscripts, they were only inventoried in 1928, and it was not until 1968 that they were brought to the knowledge of scholars.[12] The manuscript under discussion (2232) was catalogued at that time as ″Arabic MS″ and dated approximately to the eighteenth century. This laconic description was in fact based on the information provided by a small piece of paper which had been glued by Chauvin himself on fol. A, where one can read: ″450 Manuscrit arabe

[10]Manuscripts containing notes *(ta'līqāt)* have, of course, been discovered, but they are not comparable to this kind of book.

[11]His masterwork remains the famous, but now unfortunately not often used, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1888,* 12 vols. (Liège, 1892–1919).

[12]They were published in the general catalogue, mixed with the Occidental manuscripts. See J. Hoyoux, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège. Manuscrits acquis de 1886 à 1960,* 3 vols. (Liège, 1968–70).

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(ancien) du XVIIIe siècle, cart. (curieux), 5–,″ which means ″450 Arabic manuscript (old) from the eighteenth century, hardbound (odd), 5–.″ Undoubtedly this is the kind of description often found in sale catalogues, where here 450 represents the serial number and 5 the proposed price, the currency being probably the franc. Upon receipt of his acquisition, Chauvin wrote on the same folio the following note: ″Victor Chauvin le 13 9bre 1904, 5ff 45;″ in other words, the book was bought on the 13th of November 1904 for the price of 5.45 francs (the sale price plus the taxes, which amounted to 9%). Apparently, Chauvin did not attach any importance to the manuscript.

It is not possible to trace back the whole history of the manuscript from the death of al-Maqrīzī up to its acquisition by Chauvin. Nevertheless, some clues permit us to imagine broadly how it travelled and through what hands. It has been recently established that in the preserved autograph manuscripts of *al-Muqaffá*[13] full biographies have been added by another, anonymous, hand on folios left blank by al-Maqrīzī, this hand being attributed to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī.[14] Ibn Ḥajar is one of the few historians whose holograph manuscripts have been preserved, and thus a comparison with them can easily be made, which confirms the attribution. On the other hand, the greatest part of one of the Leiden copies (MS or. 14533) served as the original for a copy made in the seventeenth century which is found in Istanbul (Süleymaniye MS Pertev 496), but the copyist was not deceived and identified Ibn Ḥajar's hand, indicating in his copy that this particular biography was Ibn Ḥajar´s work.[15] Coming back to the *codex leodiensis,* I observed a note on fol. 155r in a hand difficult to read, which shows great similarity to that found in the manuscripts of *al-Muqaffá.* Since it has been corroborated that these had been in Ibn Ḥajar´s possession, it would not therefore be surprising that most of al-Maqrīzī's books, his *tarikah,* passed to his contemporary after his death. I may accordingly conclude that until 852/1449, the date of Ibn Ḥajar's death, the manuscript was still in Egypt. There is then a huge gap during which we do not know who owned the manuscript.

On fol. 4r, in the upper margin, two notations of ownership are visible. The first reads as follows:

ملك الفقير إلى الله تعالى محمد مرتضى الحسيني غفر عنه في سنة ١١٧٧

This owner can be identified as Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn

[13]Leiden MSS or. 1366a, 1366b, 3075, 14533, and Paris MS arabe 2144.

[14]See. J. J. Witkam, ″Les autographes d'al-Maqrīzī,″ in *Le manuscrit arabe et la codicologie*, ed. Ahmed-Chouqui Binebine (Rabat, 1994), 95.

[15] See ibid., 96.

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‘Abd al-Razzāq Murtaḍá al-Ḥusaynī al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790), the famous author of the *Tāj al-‘Arūs,*[16] which means that at that date (1177/1763–64) the manuscript was still in Egypt. I had already noticed, when I was consulting catalogues for my own cataloguing work, that his name appeared several times as an owner, a fact indicating that he was a collector of rare books in his time.[17] The notebook was surely not the only autograph manuscript of al-Maqrīzī in his library, since, in a reference to the Ṭabarī family of Mecca in his *Tāj al-‘Arūs* (Benghazi, n. d., 3:355), he cited al-Maqrīzī as follows: ″kadhā dhakarahu al-Maqrīzī fī ba‘ḍ mu’allafātihi.″ But the data supplied by al-Zabīdī about this important family of the Holy City[18] do not appear in any of al-Maqrīzī’s extant works. This raises a problem: where did al-Zabīdī find these details? Two answers may be given: either in an unknown work of al-Maqrīzī, a fact highly improbable as we are well informed, by himself and by his biographers, of all the books he composed, or maybe in another of his notebooks? Whatever the case, al-Zabīdī owned, or at least had access to, this manuscript.

Al-Zabīdī died in 1790 and the second notation of ownership provides us with a possible subsequent owner, either after his death or during his lifetime, which would mean that al-Zabīdī must have sold or donated the manuscript. This uncertainty is increased by the fact that no date has been appended to the name of the new owner. The inscription, almost illegible today, reads:

الحمد لله صار هذا الكتاب في نوبة الفقير إلى الله محمد بن عبد الكريم الفكون غفر له

The *nisbah* of this person (al-Fakkūn, read al-Faggūn) is mentioned in biographical dictionaries as belonging to an important family of *a‘yān* from Constantine, currently situated in Algeria: the Banū Lafgūn.[19] One of its most important representatives

[16]On him see Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1949), S2:620 and 696 (Brockelmann mistakenly mentioned him under two entries); ‘Umar Riḍá Kaḥḥālah, *Mu‘jam al-Mu’allifīn* (Beirut, n. d.), 12:12 (where the same confusion is evident).

[17]Here are some of the manuscripts where a possession notation in al-Zabīdī’s handwriting can be found: al-Fāsī, ″Dhayl al-Taqyīd (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS 198 *muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth*); Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, ″Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb″ (Dār al-Kutub MS 533 *tārīkh*); Ibn Abī Shaybah, ″Al-Muṣannaf fī al-Ḥadīth″ (Tunis, Dār al-Kutub al-Waṭanīyah MS 3483, vols. 1, 3–7). There is no doubt that other manuscripts that had been part of al-Zabīdī’s library are to be found in other libraries.

[18]About them, see F. Bauden, ″Les Ṭabariyya: histoire d′une importante famille de la Mecque (fin XIIe–fin XVe siècle),″ in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras: Proceedings of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd International Colloquium Organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 1992, 1993 and 1994,* Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 73, ed. U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet (Leuven, 1995), 253–66 + 5 pl.

[19]On them, see H. Touati, *Entre Dieu et les hommes: Lettrés, saints et sorciers au Maghreb (17e*

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was ʻAbd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Karīm al-Faggūn (d. 1073/1663), who had been appointed to the coveted post of chief of the caravan of Maliki pilgrims to Mecca, a position which would be transmitted within the family for some time. Al-Ziriklī[20] speaks about him and specifies that he had a son named Muḥammad. At first, it is tempting to identify him with the Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Karīm who put his owner's mark in the notebook, but according to the sources he died in 1114/1702.[21] This would mean that he owned the manuscript prior to al-Zabīdī, and that the notebook made a journey between Cairo, Constantine, and then Cairo again, which is highly improbable, even if we consider that manuscripts have always travelled widely in the Muslim world. I prefer to believe that this person is another member of the family who died after al-Zabīdī. My hypothesis is supported by the fact that one of the manuscripts owned by al-Zabīdī, besides the Liège manuscript, also bears the ownership mark of Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Karīm al-Faggūn.[22] This clue is insufficient in itself to prove my conviction unconditionally. What seems to me an unassailable argument lies in the Paris MS arabe 1535, a copy of Ibn Khaldūn's *Al-ʻIbar* (vol. 7). This copy was completed by ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Badr al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Karīm al-Faggūn on 3 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1179/13 May 1766 (fol. 160r). The name of the copyist is not important, except that he was from the same family, but the fact that on fol. 1r there is an ownership notation of Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Karīm al-Faggūn is decisive. Fortunately, the date of the copy (1766) allows us to fix a *terminus post quem* for this owner's mark and to establish that this person lived after that date, thus confirming that the manuscript was first in the possession of al-Zabīdī before it went to Constantine. The circumstances in which it passed from al-Zabīdī to this member of the Banū Lafgūn are not clear, although we have seen that the Banū Lafgūn were in charge of the pilgrimage caravan to Mecca each year. During his stay in Egypt, al-Faggūn could have bought al-Maqrīzī's notebook, as well as the Tunis manuscript, directly from al-Zabīdī, or from an heir after his death, unless he received them as a gift. In any event, the manuscript was in Algeria at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Constantine was conquered by the French in 1837, and the Paris manuscript of *al-ʻIbar* entered the collection of the then Bibliothèque Royale in 1838, through J. J. Caussin de Perceval. Did the

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siècle) (Paris, 1994), chapter 3, 71–110. I wish to express my gratitude to the author for providing me with this reference during one of our many stimulating conversations during a stay in Cairo in April 2000. The Library of the University of Liège holds a manuscript entitled ″Rasm Taqtaḍī Ithbāt Nasab al-Sayyid Abī Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Karīm al-Faggūn″ (MS 5439, fols. 43v–55r).

[20]Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *Al-Aʻlām* (Beirut, 1989), 4:56.

[21]See Touati, *Entre Dieu,* 72.

[22]The manuscript of Ibn Abī Shaybah's ″Al-Muṣannaf fī al-Ḥadīth″ already mentioned (see above). See Ibrāhīm Shabbūḥ, *Al-Makhṭūṭ* (Tunis, 1989), 14–15.

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Liège codex follow the same path? In 1904, Chauvin bought it from a sale catalogue written in French. I will refrain from jumping to conclusions about this last part of the history of the manuscript, but this element is disturbing.

Description of the Manuscript

The manuscript is composed of 209 folios, plus one fol. A at the beginning and one fol. B at the end. It was foliated at the time it was catalogued, but 4 folios were overlooked and have been numbered by me, with the number of the preceding folio accompanied by the word *bis* (47bis, 82bis, 124bis, 195bis). When I discovered the manuscript, it was in a terrible mess, as several folios, which were now loose leaves, and even a quire, had gotten out of order over time. Careful study allowed me to reorder the notebook completely, which gives the following rearrangement: fols. 4–86, 122, 121, 97–120, 205, 2, 196–204, 123, 87–96, 124–126, 3, 127–195bis, 1. The average size of a folio is 137 by 185 mm. Al-Maqrīzī used two colors of ink: black for the text and red for some titles and words within the texts. For some resumés, he also took the time to write the catchword in the lesser margin of the verso of the folios, and one notices particularly the marginal headlines that appear in one of the resumés. The manuscript has been trimmed, probably after al-Maqrīzī's death: the note inscribed by Ibn Ḥajar on fol. 155r has lost part of its text. This is confirmed by the fact that the autograph volumes of *Al-Muqaffá* were described by a reader during the last year of al-Maqrīzī's life (844/1440) as a ream *(rizmah)*.[23] There is no reason to believe that the notebook was worth a binding if one of his personal works was not. The binding which was provided for the notebook was produced in the east, but is of the kind called Occidental, which means without the traditional flap. The boards are decorated with marbled paper, while the spine is covered with brown leather.

The paper is of two different kinds. The first one is a good quality paper, of the Oriental type, glossy and creamy. The other is thicker and darker, and its surface is slightly rough. The most interesting feature is that the paper (of both types) had already been used: this can be deduced from inscriptions written in larger characters throughout the pages. I was able to identify them as being Mamluk chancery documents which had been cut into pieces by paper merchants, who sold them in the form of quires. These quires were in fact composed of scrap paper. I managed to reconstruct from the Liège manuscript five of these chancery documents and could date them precisely and link them to a particular event.[24]

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[23] See Witkam, ″Les autographes d'al-Maqrīzī,″ 93–94.

[24] See the preliminary report on this aspect of my research on the notebook entitled ″The Recovery of Mamlūk Chancery Documents in an Unsuspected Place,″ in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, ed. A. Levanoni and M. Winter (Leiden, in press). This is the prelude

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Other samples had already been mentioned in the other autograph manuscripts of al-Maqrīzī,[25] but they had always been described merely as pieces of reused paper and were never paid close attention.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CONTENT

The following description is divided into two sections: the first, which appears here, studies the epitomes, while the second, which will appear in a subsequent issue of this journal, will present the scattered notes. As I have tried to demonstrate elsewhere,[26] the notebook was composed progressively, year by year. At first, al-Maqrīzī wrote resumés for which he sometimes used several quires, sometimes not even one. The quires were put together at a time which cannot be fixed precisely, and the spaces that al-Maqrīzī had left blank were filled with notes. This did not necessarily take place after the quires were gathered, but probably both before and after. For this reason, the manuscript gives an impression of chaos at first glance, but this is not the case. In order to make the arrangement understandable, I have decided to follow the aforementioned division. In both sections, I have followed the physical order in which the resumés and the notes respectively appear. A serial number has been attributed to each item, running from I to XXII for the epitomes, and from XXIII to LXXI for the notes.

A. THE EPITOMES[27]

I. (quires I–III, fols. 4r–31v[28])

Title on fol. 4r, line 2: *[Mukhtār/Intiqā' min] Kitāb 'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*/Aḥmad ibn Abī al-Qāsim ibn Khalīfah al-Khazrajī al-Mutaṭabbib.
[مختار\انتقاء من] كتاب عيون الأنباء في طبقات الأطباء، جمع أحمد بن أبي القاسم بن خليفة الخزرجي المتطبب.

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to my forthcoming study which will be entitled *Maqriziana III: Scraps of Paper to the Rescue of History: The Reconstruction of Mamlūk Chancery Documents from the Reign of Sultan 'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl (743/1342–746/1345)*.

[25]See the list of the manuscripts in Bauden, "The Recovery."

[26]See my "Maqriziana IV: Le carnet de notes d'al-Maqrīzī: l'apport de la codicologie à une meilleure compréhension de sa constitution," to appear in the proceedings of the Third International Conference on the Palaeography and Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts, which was held in Bologna in October 2000 (St. Petersburg, in press).

[27]I follow the form of the title and the name of the author given by al-Maqrīzī in the first part of each number. Proper identification is provided in the commentary. For reasons of space, bibliographical references for the identification of the authors have been restricted to the minimum. Full references will be found in the critical edition of the text, which is in preparation.

[28]On fol. 28, a narrow strip of paper has been cut vertically prior to the scribbling.

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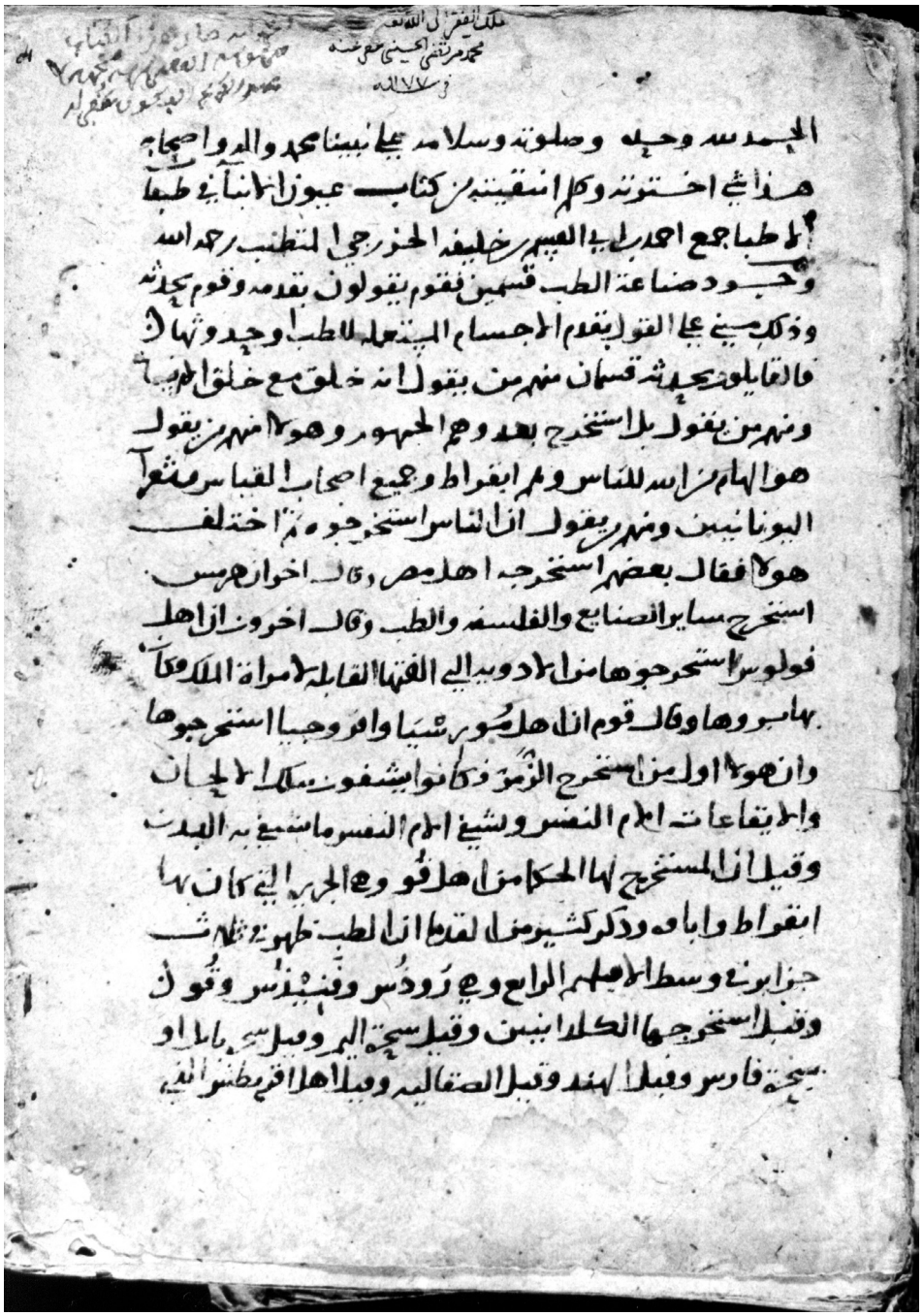

Folio 4r. Courtesy Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège, ms. 2232.

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Incipit (fol. 4r, lines 1–3):

الحمد لله وحده وصلوته وسلامه على نبينا محمد وآله وأصحابه

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

وجود صناعة الطب قسمين فقوم يقولون بقدمه وقوم بحدثه [...] (عيون ١، ص ٤، سطر ١٦)

أسقلنبيوس (عيون ١، ص ١٥)	Fol. 6v
أفلاطن (عيون ١، ص ٢٣)	Fol. 8v
أبقراط (عيون ١، ص ٢٤)	Fol. 9r
دياسقوريدس (عيون ١، ص ٣٥	Fol. 12v
بندقليس (عيون ١، ص ٣٦)	
فيثغورس (عيون ١، ص ٣٧)	Fol. 13r
سقراط (عيون ١، ص ٤٣)	Fol. 16r
أفلاطون (عيون ١، ص ٤٩)	Fol. 20r
أرسطوطاليس (عيون ١، ص ٥٤)	Fol. 22v
جالينوس (عيون ١، ص ٧١)	Fol. 26v
محمد بن زكرياء أبو بكر الرازي (عيون ١، ص ٣٠٩)	Fol. 29r
أبو سليمن محمد بن طاهر بن بهرام السجستاني المنطقي (عيون ١، ص ٣٢١)	Fol. 30r
محمد بن عمر بن الحسين فخر الدين الرازي (عيون ٢، ص ٢٣)	

Explicit (fol. 31v, line 12):

انتهى الغرض المطلوب من تأريخ الأطباء والله الموفق

Commentary:

The source is Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Khalīfah ibn Yūnus al-Sa'dī al-Khazrajī **Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah** (d. 668/1270), *Kitāb 'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*. We refer to the edition prepared by August Müller (Königsberg, 1884; reprint Farnborough, 1972). The work is quoted once in the *Khiṭaṭ* (1:229),[29] where it appears to be a citation regarding Pythagoras, which

[29]References are to the Būlāq edition. It is not mentioned in A. R. Guest, "A List of Writers, Books, and other Authorities mentioned by El Maqrīzi in his *Khiṭaṭ*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1902): 103–25, but it is in A. 'Abd al-Majīd Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr* (Cairo, 1983), 2:91.

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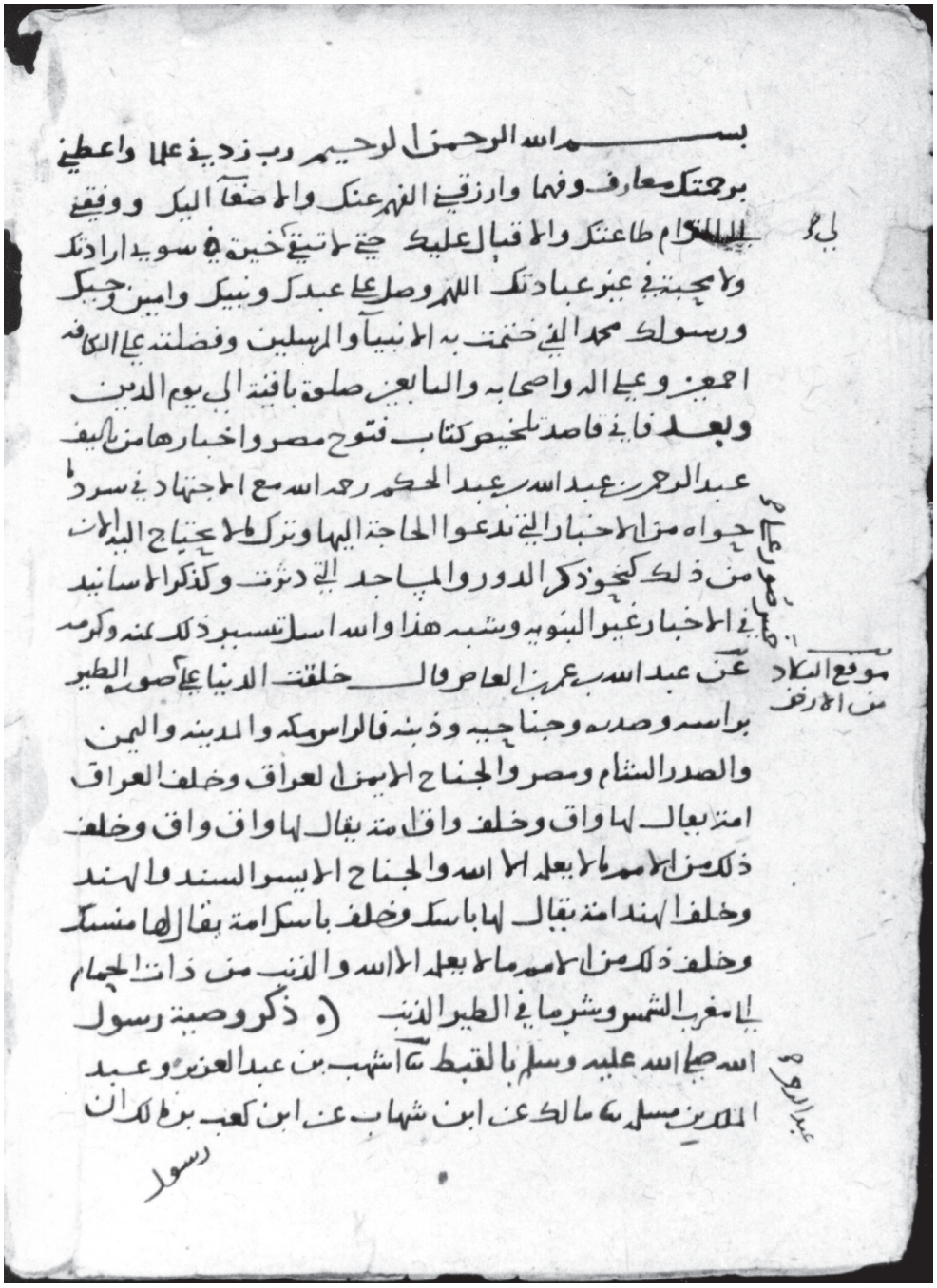

Folio 37v. Courtesy Bibliothèque de l´Université de Liège, ms. 2232.

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means that it is part of the epitome under discussion. It is highly probable that more passages have been used by al-Maqrīzī in the *Khiṭaṭ,* but this remains to be investigated.

II. (quires IV–VIII, fols. 37v–81v[30])

Title on fol. 37v, lines 7–8: *Talkhīṣ Kitāb Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Akhbārihā*/'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam.

تلخيص كتاب فتوح مصر وأخبارها من تأليف عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن عبد الحكم.

Incipit (fol. 37v, lines 1–11):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم رب زدني علما وأعطني برحمتك معارف وفهما وارزقني الفهم عنك والاصغاء اليك [...] 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 كنحو ذكر الدور والمساجد التي دثرت وكذكر الأسانيد في الأخبار غير النبوية وشبه هذا والله أسأل تيسير ذلك بمنه وكرمه.

First quotation (fol. 37v, lines 12–13):

عن عبد الله بن عمر بن العاص قال خلقت الدنيا على خمس صور على صورة الطير برأسه [...] (فتوح، ص ١)

List of the chapters *(dhikr):*

Fol. 37v	ذكر وصية رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بالقبط (فتوح، ص ٢)
Fol. 40r	ذكر سبب نزول القبط بمصر وسكناها بها (فتوح، ص ٧)
Fol. 42v	ذكر استنباط الفيوم (فتوح، ص ١٤)
Fol. 47bis v	عمل البرابي (فتوح، ص ٢٧)
Fol. 49r	ذكر دخول بخت نصر (فتوح، ص ٣١)
Fol. 52r	ذكر بناء الإسكندرية (فتوح، ص ٣٧)
Fol. 57r	ذكر كتاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم إلى المقوقس (فتوح، ص ٤٥)
Fol. 59r	ذكر سبب دخول عمرو بن العاص مصر (فتوح، ص ٥٣)
Fol. 60v	ذكر فتح مصر (فتوح، ص ٥٥)
Fol. 71v	ذكر من قال إن مصر فتحت بصلح (فتوح، ص ٨٤)
Fol. 73r	ذكر من قال فتحت مصر عنوة (فتوح، ص ٨٨)

[30]On fol. 55r, al-Maqrīzī wrote only 3 lines of text, leaving the rest and the verso blank. He repeated this on fol. 56, where he wrote only 9 lines on the recto and the verso was left blank. Later on, he used these spaces to write down notes quoted from other sources. For their description, see numbers XXXI–XXXIV.

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ذكر فتح الفيوم (فتوح ص ١٦٩)	Fol. 74r
كتاب الخطط (فتوح، ص ٩١)	Fol. 74v
ذكر المقطم (فتوح، ص ١٥٦)	Fol. 78r
ذكر أمر عمرو الناس بالخروج إلى الريف (فتوح، ص ١٣٩)	Fol. 79v
ذكر النيل (فتوح، ص ١٤٩)	Fol. 81r

Explicit (fol. 81v, line 21):

[...] فلما قدم الكتاب على عمرو فتح البطاقة فإذا فيها من عبد الله (فتوح، ص ١٥٠، سطر ١٨) [ends abruptly]

Commentary:

The source is Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd Allāh **Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam** (d. 257/871), *Kitāb Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Akhbārihā*.

We rely on the edition published by Charles C. Torrey under the title *The History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain known as the Futūḥ Miṣr of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, Edited from the Manuscripts in London, Paris and Leyden* (New Haven, 1922; Leiden, 1920). It was already well known that this source was used extensively by al-Maqrīzī for the *Khiṭaṭ,* where the name of the author as well as the title of the book is mentioned several times.[31] Indeed, the major part of this epitome is found in the *Khiṭaṭ* verbatim, without modifications in the wording. Comparison with the original source shows, however, some discrepancies, sometimes indicated by Torrey in his *apparatus criticus,* sometimes not.[32] The resumé ends, as it seems, abruptly within the story of the virgin who was sacrificed by the Copts in the Nile to induce its flood. This impression is strengthened by the fact that another hand added at a later date the word *kharm* (lacuna) in the lower margin. Another feature supports this idea: a clear examination of the resumé indicates that al-Maqrīzī wrote the catchword in the lesser margin of the verso of each folio, a custom which is generally observed in Islamic codicology, but this is not the case with the last folio of the resumé. Moreover, the last part of the resumé has been written on the fourth bi-folio of the quire, which means that, in this case, three folios remained blank at the end of the quire. These blank folios were filled with various notes at a later stage.[33] All this leads us to believe that al-Maqrīzī really ended his epitome of the *Futūḥ Miṣr* at this point, perhaps because the last

[31]See Guest, ″A List of Writers,″ 111; Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 2:82, 92.

[32]A detailed study of this epitome with the quotations found in the *Khiṭaṭ* is in preparation and will be published under the title ″Maqriziana V: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and al-Maqrīzī.″

[33]See nos. XXXV–XXXVII, XXXIX–XL.

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story had already been quoted previously,[34] though the source differs.[35] Nevertheless, one fact contradicts this impression : the whole story of the sacrifice of the virgin is to be read in the *Khiṭaṭ* (1:58)! At this point, several hypotheses may be conjectured: *(a)* the manuscript of the *Futūḥ* used by al-Maqrīzī ended abruptly at the point where he ended the resumé; *(b)* like *(a),* but he found a more complete copy later; *(c)* al-Maqrīzī decided to terminate the resumé at this point because nothing more interested him in the last parts of the book. The present state of my research makes me think that a complete version of the epitome did not exist, thus favoring the third hypothesis.

III. (quire X, fols. 121r–121v, 97r–98v)
No title. Fourteen *faṣl*s dealing with various subjects of the Egyptian economy.
List of the *faṣl*s:

Fol. 121r ١) فصل: كان مروان بن الحكم يكتب لعثمان بن عفان [...] (قوانين، ص ٦٤)
Fol. 121r ٢) فصل الذي كان يؤخذ بمصر من الجوالي (قوانين، ص ٣١٨)
Fol. 121r ٣) فصل الذي جرت العادة بشرائه للمتجر السلطاني (قوانين، ص ٣٢٧)
Fol. 121r ٤) فصل الشب (قوانين، ص ٣٢٨)
Fols. 121r–121v ٥) فصل النطرون (قوانين، ص ٣٣٤)
Fol. 121v ٦) فصل دار الضرب بالقاهرة والاسكندرية (قوانين، ص ٣٣١)
Fol. 121v ٧) فصل دار العيار (قوانين، ص ٣٣٣)
Fol. 97r ٨) فصل: كان بمصر الحبس الجيوشي بالبرين الشرقي والغربي [...] (قوانين، ص ٣٣٦)
Fol. 97r ٩) فصل الأسطول (قوانين، ص ٣٣٩)
Fol. 97v ١٠) فصل مقرر الجسور (قوانين، ص ٣٤٢)
Fol. 97v ١١) فصل موظف الأتبان بالديار المصرية (قوانين، ص ٣٤٤)
Fols. 97v–98r ١٢) فصل الخراج بالوجه القبلي من الديار المصرية (قوانين، ص ٣٤٤)
Fol. 98r ١٣) فصل القرظ (قوانين، ص ٣٤٧)
Fol. 98r ١٤) فصل: كانت قطيعة خراج الفدان القمح [...] (قوانين، ص ٢٥٨)

Commentary:
Most of this resumé was used by al-Maqrīzī in one place (*Khiṭaṭ* 1:109–11)

[34]See no. XXVI.

[35]I still must establish whether or not there are quotations of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's *Futūḥ Miṣr* in the *Khiṭaṭ* that correspond to the last parts of the book which are missing in al-Maqrīzī's resumé. This matter will be dealt with in ″Maqriziana V.″

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without indicating the source. I was able to identify the source as Abū al-Makārim al-As'ad ibn Muhadhdhab al-Khaṭīr **Ibn Mammātī** (d. 606/1209), *Qawānīn al-Dawāwīn*. References are made to the edition of 'Azīz Suryāl 'Aṭīyah (Cairo, 1943). This work is cited twice in the *Khiṭaṭ*, but only for other passages.[36] These *faṣl*s, like the entire notebook, were transcribed on the spot, while al-Maqrīzī read the source, and the fact that most of them appear at almost the same place in the *Khiṭaṭ* indicates that al-Maqrīzī was at a preliminary stage of writing.

IV. (quire X, fols. 98v–100r)

No title. Eight *faṣl*s concerning the geographical location of Egypt and its wonders, the marvels of the cities of Manf [Memphis] and al-Faramā [Pelusium], the *kharāj* and the Nile.

List of the *faṣl*s and incipit:

Fol. 98v

١) فصل: مصر جعلها الله متوسطة الدنيا وهي في الإقليم الثالث والرابع سلمت من حر الإقليم الأول والثاني ومن برد الإقليم السادس والسابع [...]

Fols. 98v–99r

٢) فصل: مصر ثمانون كورة ليس فيها كورة إلا وفيها طرائف وعجائب من أنواع البر والأبنية والطعام والشراب والفاكهة [...]

Fol. 99r

٣) فصل: مدينة منف ذات العجائب بها الأبنية والآثار والدفائن وكنوزها لا تحصى [...]

Fol. 99r

٤) فصل: الفرما هي أكثر عجائب وأقدم آثارا كان منها طريق إلى جزيرة قبرص في البر فغلب عليه البحر [...]

Fols. 99r–100r

٥) فصل في خراج مصر: جباها عمرو بن العاص عشرة آلاف ألف دينار فكتب اليه عمر بن الخطاب [...]

Fols. 100r–100v

٦) فصل النيل: انبعاثه من جبل القمر وراء خط الاستواء من عين تجري منها عشرة أنهار [...]

Fol. 100v

٧) فصل: وجعل الله مصر حاجزا بين بحر الروم وبحر الصين والحاجز بينهما مسيرة ليلة واحدة [...]

[36] Not mentioned in Guest, "A List of Writers," but mentioned in Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr*, 2:93.

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Fols. 100v–101r

٨) فصل: نقل من خط القاضي الفاضل ما صورته وجد في كتاب قبطي باللغة الصعيدية مما نقل إلى اللغة العربية أن مبلغ ما كان يستخرج لفرعون مصر [...]

Commentary:

All these *faṣl*s, except no. 3, appear extensively in *Khiṭaṭ* as follows: 1 and 2 in *Khiṭaṭ* 1:26, in this order; 4 in *Khiṭaṭ* 1:211, in this order too; 5 in *Khiṭaṭ* 1:98; 6 in *Khiṭaṭ* 1:53; 7 in *Khiṭaṭ* 1:212; and finally 8 in *Khiṭaṭ* 1:75. For no. 3, cf. *Khiṭaṭ* 1:134 sqq. In the notebook, it is possible to imagine that he wrote them at one sitting, as if they came from the same source. However, sometimes in the *Khiṭaṭ*, he identified, carelessly as usual, the original sources. It turns out that numbers 4 and 7 were taken from a work by Ibn al-Kindī,[37] and it may be presumed that number 3 came from the same source.[38] Although six *faṣl*s have the same origin, it would be untenable to attribute the two remaining to the same source and would constitute an anachronism, as number 8 is quoted from a work by al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200, on him see number XXVIII), the *Ta'līq al-Mutajaddidāt,* also titled as such with some variations by al-Maqrīzī.[39] But in the *Khiṭaṭ*, the work is attributed to al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-Asadī![40] Finally, for number 6, al-Maqrīzī indicates that it is to be found in Qudāmah ibn Ja'far's *Kitāb al-Kharāj,*[41] but it is not to be found there word for word. A careful examination of the text appearing in the

[37]'Umar ibn Abī 'Umar Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf Ibn al-Kindī (date of death unknown), the son of al-Kindī (d. after 350/961). He is the author of a *Faḍā'il Miṣr,* published by Oestrup under the title *Beskrivelse af Ägypten* (Copenhagen, 1896). G. Wiet, in his edition of the *Khiṭaṭ* (4:29–30), quoted the book and insisted that he found what corresponds to our *faṣl* 4 in the notebook in Oestrup's edition (on pp. 232–33). The *Faḍā'il Miṣr* is cited on several occasions by al-Maqrīzī. See Guest, "A List of Writers," 114; Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 2:92.

[38]Indeed, we find texts 3 and 4, with the same wording, in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (Beirut, 1968), 4:256 (s.v. al-Faramā) and vol. 5:214 (s.v. Manf). Yāqūt could not be al-Maqrīzī's source for these passages, because al-Maqrīzī is more complete in his quotations than Yāqūt. It thus seems that Yāqūt took these data from Ibn al-Kindī's text as well. After having consulted recently a newer edition of the *Faḍā'il Miṣr* (ed. Ibrāhīm Aḥmad al-'Adawī and 'Alī Muḥammad 'Umar, Cairo-Beirut, 1971), I have been able to identify clearly numbers 1–5 and 7 as coming directly from this source (respectively on pp. 45, 47, 51, 52, 54, 67 and in this same order).

[39]*Al-Mutajaddidāt, Mutajaddidāt al-Ḥawādith, al-Muyāwamāt*. See Guest, "A List of Writers," 110; Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 2:121.

[40]This source is mentioned neither by Guest, "A List of Writers," nor by Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr.*

[41]Abū al-Faraj Qudāmah ibn Ja'far ibn Qudāmah al-Baghdādī (d. 320/932), *Kitāb al-Kharāj wa-Ṣinā'at al-Kitābah,* ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Zabīdī (Baghdad, 1981), 151. This source is quoted twice by al-Maqrīzī in the *Khiṭaṭ*. See Guest, "A List of Writers," 117; Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 2:82.

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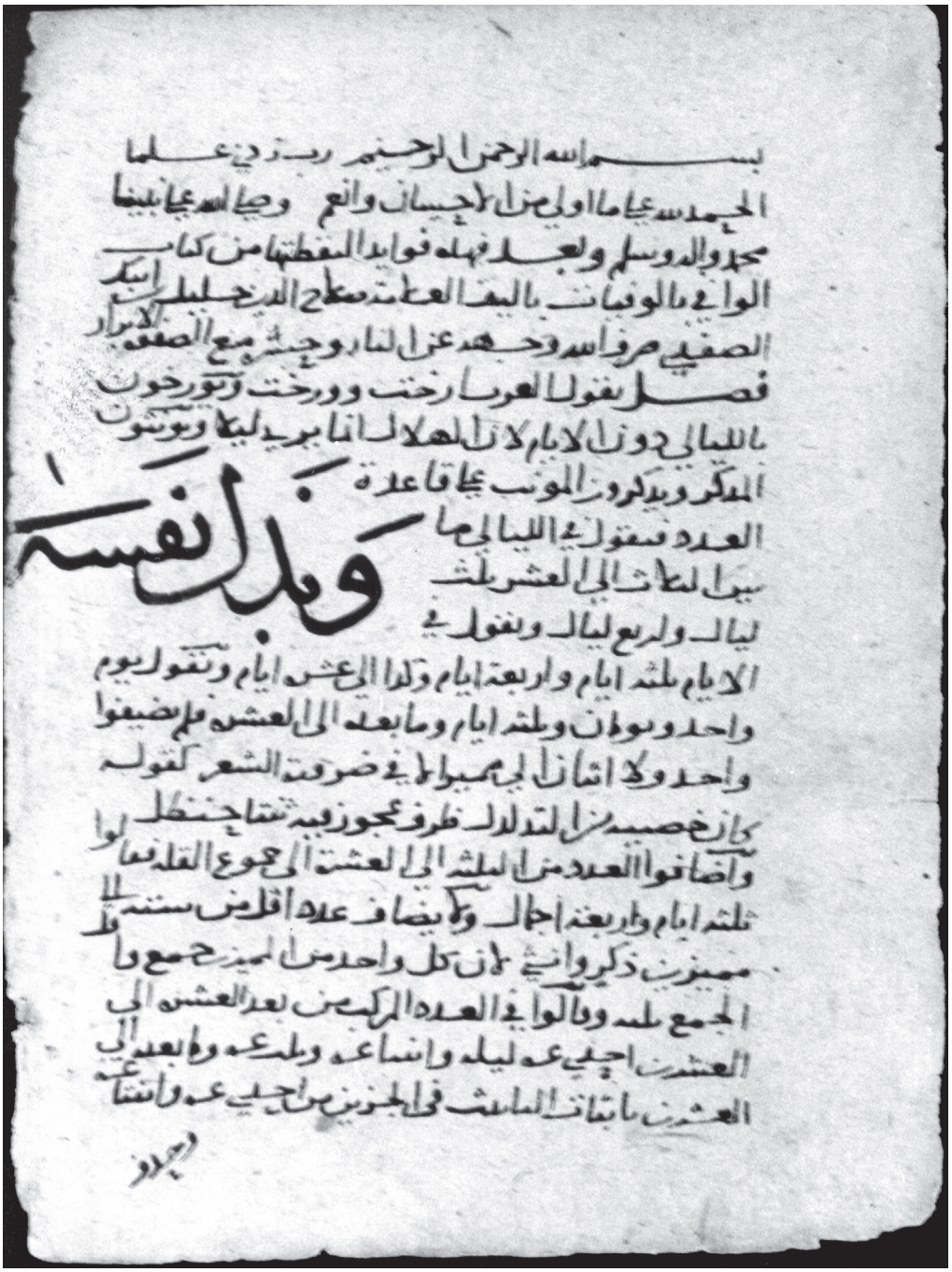

Folio 101v. Courtesy Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège, ms. 2232.

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Khiṭaṭ demonstrates that it comes from an indirect source that is probably al-Nuwayrī´s (d. 733/1333) *Nihāyat al-Arab,*[42] 1:262–64. However, the text present in the resumé, although containing the same data and almost the same phrasing, contains some discrepancies from the final version found in the *Khiṭaṭ*. This could mean that the source was not al-Nuwayrī, even if ultimately it is from this source that al-Maqrīzī made the citation.[43] I cannot help but think that this section was written at a preliminary stage in the redaction of the *Khiṭaṭ,* and the order of the *faṣl*s has changed in the final version.

V. (quires XI–XIII, IX, fols. 101v–120v, 205, 2,[44] 196r–204v, 87r–96v[45])

Title on fol. 101v, lines 3–5: *Fawā'id [Multaqaṭah[46]] min Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt*/Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī.

فوائد [ملتقطة] من كتاب الوافي بالوفيات، تأليف العلامة صلاح الدين خليل بن أيبك الصفدي

Incipit (fol. 101v, lines 1–5):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، رب زدني علما. الحمد لله على ما أولى من الإحسان وأنعم وصلى الله على نبينا محمد وآله وسلم.

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

List of the *faṣl*s and the biographies:

Fols. 101v–102v

فصل: تقول العرب أرخت وورخت ويؤرخون بالليالي دون الأيام لأن الهلال إنما يرى ليلا (الوافي ١، ص ١٦)

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[42]Cairo, 1923.

[43]The same passage found in al-Nuwayrī and the *Khiṭaṭ* appears in al-Suyūṭī's *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah,* ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1968), 2:347–49, 355–56, where al-Suyūṭī declares that the passages were taken from the *Mabāhij al-Fikar* by Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyá al-Waṭwāṭ al-Kutubī (d. 718/1318). See the facsimile of MS Fātiḥ 4116 published by F. Sezgin under the title *Encyclopædia of Four Natural Sciences,* 2 vols. (Frankfurt, 1990). It is highly probable that the *Mabāhij al-Fikar* was indeed the source used by al-Maqrīzī for the resumé (see no. LXX).

[44]A large vertical strip of paper was removed from fol. 2, prior to al-Maqrīzī´s scribbling.

[45]This quire was placed between quires VIII and X; it was bound there and cannot be moved physically, until the manuscript has been restored. It is clear, however, that its orginal position was after quire XIII, which ends with biographies of those whose *ism* is Aḥmad. This quire begins with biographies of those whose *ism* is Ismā'īl.

[46]Al-Maqrīzī speaks in the first person: *fawā'id iltaqaṭṭuhā*.

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Fols. 102v–103r

فصل تقول للعشرة وما دونها خلون ولما فوق العشرة خلت ومضت ومن بعد العشرين لتسع أن بقين بلفظ الشك (الوافي ١، ص ٢٠)

Fols. 103r–104r

١) محمد بن محمد بن علي بن محمد بن سليم المصري الصاحب تاج الدين أبو عبد الله بن الصاحب فخر الدين بن الوزير بهاء الدين بن حنا (ت ٧٠٧، الوافي ١\١٤٦ و ص ٢١٧)

Fols. 104r–104v

٢) محمد بن محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن يوسف التونسي ركن الدين أبو عبد الله الجعفري التونسي المعروف بان القوبع (ت ٧٣٨، الوافي ١\١٥٩، ص ٢٣٨)

Fols. 104v–105v

٣) محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن أحمد بن سيد الناس فتح الدين أبو الفتح اليعمري الربعي (ت ٧٣٤، الوافي ٢\١٩٨، ص ٢٨٩)

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٤) محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن الحسن بن أبي الحسن بن صالح بن علي بن يحيى بن طاهر بن محمد بن الخطيب أبي يحيى عبد الرحيم بن نباتة الفارقي الأصل المصري المولد الحذاقي الشافعي جمال الدين أبو بكر الأديب الناظم (ت ٧٦٨، الوافي ١\١٩٩، ص ٣١١)

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٥) محمد بن إبرهيم بن سعد الله بن جماعة بن علي بن جماعة بن حازم بن صخر بدر الدين أبو عبد الله الكناني الحموي (ت ٧٣٣، الوافي ٢\٢٦٨، ص ١٨)

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٦) محمد بن إبرهيم بن ساعد شمس الدين أبو عبد الله الأنصاري المعروف بابن الأكفاني السنجاري المولد والأصل المصري الدار (ت ٧٤٩، الوافي ٢\٢٧٥، ص ٢٥)

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٧) محمد بن أحمد بن عثمن بن قايماز شمس الدين أبو عبد الله الذهبي (ت ٧٤٨، الوافي ٢\٥٢٣، ص ١٦٣)

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٨) محمد بن الحسين بن رزين بن موسى بن عيسى بن موسى بن نصر الله تقي الدين أبو عبد الله الحموي العامري (ت ٦٨٠، الوافي ٣\٨٧٩، ص ١٨)

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٩) محمد بن دانيال بن يوسف الخزاعي الموصلي شمس الدين (ت ٧١٠، الوافي ٣\٩٥١، ص ٥١)

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١٤) محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن علي أبو المكارم شرف الدين الصفراوي الإسكندري المصري الشافعي المعروف بابن عين الدولة (ت ٦٣٩، الوافي ٣\١٤٣٣، ص ٣٥٢)

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١٥) محمد بن عبد الله بن عبد الظاهر بن نشوان بن عبد الظاهر فتح الدين ابن محيي الدين الجذامي المصري (ت ٦٩١، الوافي ٣\١٤٤٣، ص، ٣٦٦)

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١٦) محمد بن عبد الله بن إبرهيم الشهير بالمرشدي (ت ٧٣٧، الوافي ٣\١٤٤٩، ص ٣٧٢)

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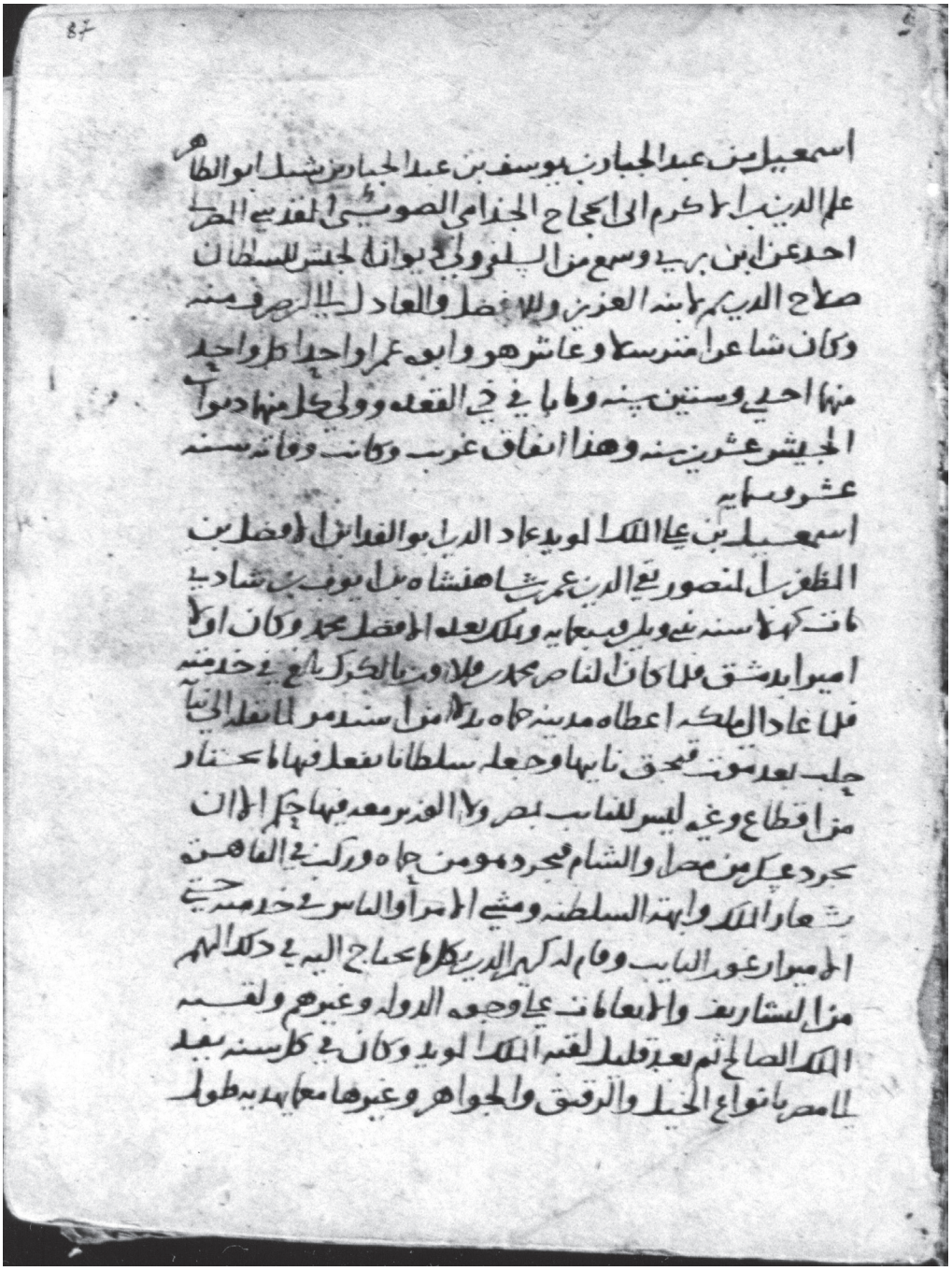

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Commentary:
The source is Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak **al-Ṣafadī** (d. 764/1363), *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafāyāt.* References are to the edition published beginning in 1949,[47] with mention of the date of death (preceded by *tā'*), the volume and the number of the biography in it, and finally the page on which the biography begins.

Al-Ṣafadī is quoted only thrice in the *Khiṭaṭ,*[48] but most of the persons whose biographies are found in this resumé are mentioned in this work. When al-Maqrīzī speaks of a particular building erected by a celebrity, he adds details about his biography. For the Mamlūk period, most of the information can be traced back to this resumé, but it would be too reductive to believe that the resumé was used solely in the *Khiṭaṭ*. I have noticed that al-Maqrīzī also used this kind of biography in *Al-Muqaffá.* Further study will be required in order to verify whether this material also appears in *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā'* and *Al-Sulūk.* The epitome resumes with what seems to be the end of the letter *hamzah,* and it is tempting to think that al-Maqrīzī did not go further. This is far from being the case: *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:35 contains a biography of Bashtāk, where al-Maqrīzī reveals that most of it was borrowed from al-Ṣafadī (i.e., *Al-Wāfī*). This citation shows that he made a resumé of *Al-Wāfī* which went far beyond what is found in the notebook.

VI. (quire XIV, fols. 124r–125v)
No title. Two *faṣl*s dealing with juridical matters, one regarding the law of inheritance when the deceased leaves three or more daughters and no son, the other the conditions according to the various schools of law in which the security for a debt *(rahn al-dayn)* vanishes.
List of the *faṣl*s and incipit:
Fols. 124r–124v
فصل في ميراث البنات: لا خلاف أن من مات وترك ثلاث بنات فاكثر من غير ابن ذكر إن لهن ثلثا ما ترك [...]

Fols. 124v–125v
فصل في تلاف الرهن من غير فعل الراهن ولا المرتهن: هذه مسألة اختلف أهل العلم فيها على خمسة أقوال [...]

---

[47]*Das biographische Lexikon des Ṣalāḥaddīn Ḫalīl ibn Aibak aṣ-Ṣafadī*, Bibliotheca Islamica 6, ed. H. Ritter (vol. 1), S. Dedering (vol. 2–6), I. 'Abbās (vol. 7), M. Y. Najm (vol. 8), J. Van Ess (vol. 9), A. Amara and J. Sublet (vol. 10) (Wiesbaden-Istanbul-Damascus-Beirut, 1949–80).

[48]See Guest, "A List of Writers," 118; Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 2:69 *(A'yān al-'Aṣr),* 75, and 96. Note that Harīdī gives two titles on pp. 75 and 96: *Tārīkh* and *Kitāb,* but neither of them appears in the *Khiṭaṭ*. In fact, both of them are passages coming from the *Kitāb al-Wāfī* (number 1 of the resumé appears in *Khiṭat,* 2:429).

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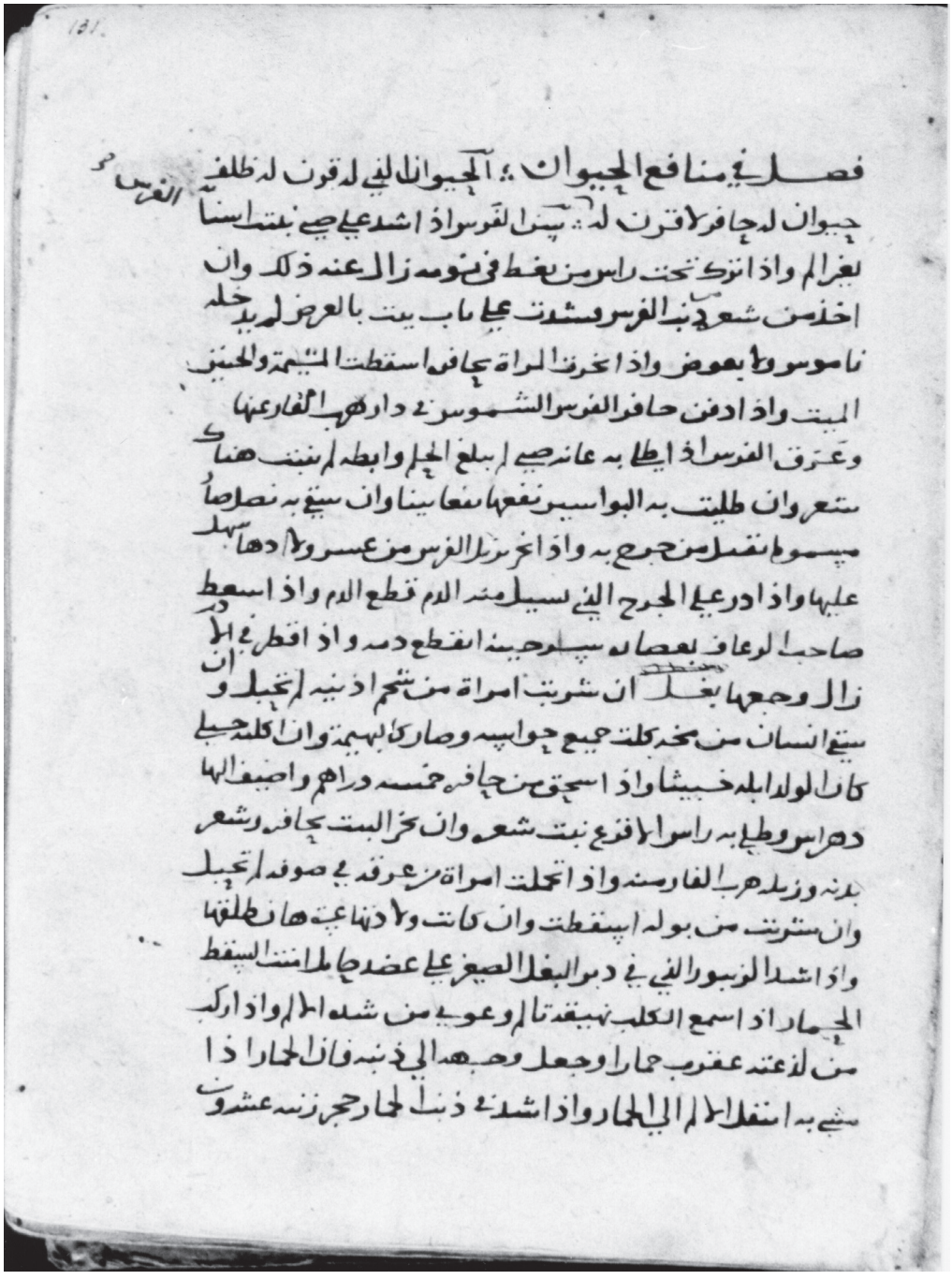

Folio 131r. Courtesy Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège, ms. 2232.

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Commentary:
So far I have not been able to identify the source of these *faṣl*s, nor to see if something equivalent appears in al-Maqrīzī's extant works. Still I want to point out that he dwells on the problem of inheritance in the Fatimid period in the *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:111, which demonstrates that he was interested in this matter.

VII. (quires XV–XVI, fols. 131r–142r)
Title on fol. 131r, line 1: *Faṣl fī Manāfi' al-Ḥayawān.*

فصل في منافع الحيوان

Incipit (fol. 131r, lines 1–2):

الحيوان الذي له قرن له ظلف، حيوان له حافر لا قرن له [...]

List of the animals:

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	البغل
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Fol. 131v	الجمل
	البقر
Fols. 131v–132r	الجاموس
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Commentary:
This *faṣl* deals only with animals, more precisely the medical usefulness of some parts of their bodies. Evidently, the animals are classified according to species, although al-Maqrīzī did not indicate in each case the precise species.[49] Within each species, the classification adopted is alphabetical, although one can see that some animals have been added at the end of each species, as if al-Maqrīzī was going backwards in the text he was reading. It is hard to conceive that this kind of information could have been of any use to al-Maqrīzī for any of his writings, but this impression is misleading. I was able to trace at least two quotations from this resumé in the *Khiṭaṭ*. Both of them deal with animals of the last classification: the crocodile (*Khiṭaṭ,* 1:67) and the *ra''ādah* (the electric ray) (*Khiṭaṭ,* 1:65). In the first of these, two lines before the beginning of the passage, al-Maqrīzī cites the name of Ibn Zuhr,[50] which is preceded a few lines before by the name of Ibn

[49]It is only the case at the beginning of the resumé, where one perceives that we have first the *dawābb* (riding animals), followed by the *na'am* (grazing livestock), then the *sibā'* (beasts of prey).

[50]This is Abū al-'Alā' Zuhr ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad ibn Marwān ibn Zuhr al-Ishbīlī al-Iyādī (d. 525/1131). See on him *GAL* 1:486, no. 13 and S1:889, no. 13. He is the author of a

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al-Bayṭār. It would, of course, be tempting to attribute the material to be found in the resumé to Ibn Zuhr, but this would be acting too quickly. The text that appears immediately after the name of Ibn Zuhr is not to be found in the resumé, which proves that the direct source is different. A comparison of the resumé with a manuscript of Ibn Zuhr's *Khawāṣṣ al-Ḥayawān* (Berlin, Ahlwardt 6166) reveals that the data contained in both texts are very similar. However, in Ibn al-Zuhr's text, the material is presented differently: all the animals are considered as a group, organized alphabetically, without taking into account a statement of species. It is highly improbable that al-Maqrīzī would have written the resumé reordering all the data according to the division in species. This is completely incompatible with his working method, as we will establish in ″Maqriziana II.″ The fact that al-Maqrīzī's resumé bears resemblance to Ibn Zuhr's text indicates that he must have used an intermediate source which relied mainly on Ibn Zuhr. This is the case with Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 646/1248) in his *Al-Jāmi' li-Mufradāt al-Adwiyah wa-al-Aghdhiyah,*[51] where Ibn Zuhr is quoted for the medical benefits of the crocodile. This proves that the material found in the *Khiṭaṭ* comes directly from Ibn al-Bayṭār, but it is impossible to identify the resumé as being an epitome of Ibn al-Bayṭār's book, which is comparable to Ibn Zuhr's work in its arrangement of the data (i.e., no distribution by species). We thus have to look for another author who would have relied on Ibn Zuhr, but would have rearranged the data according to species. This is the case with al-Qazwīnī's *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*.[52] Here again, a comparison of the resumé with the data included in this text reveals that there is an important relationship between the two, and one could believe that this is actually the original source of al-Maqrīzī in the Liège manuscript. Problems remain: al-Qazwīnī did not consider the aquatic animals, meaning that the crocodile and the *ra''ādah* do not appear in his book, and data found in the resumé are lacking in the *'Ajā'ib*. Al-Qazwīnī's book must thus be set aside, leaving the mystery of the source of the resumé in the Liège codex unresolved for the time being.[53]

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book entitled *Khawāṣṣ al-Ḥayawān,* where *khawāṣṣ* is a synonym of *manāfi'*.

[51]Cairo-Būlāq, 1291/1874, 4 vols.

[52]Ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1849) under the title *Zakarija Ben Muhammed Ben Mahmud el-Cazwini's Kosmographie: Erster Theil: Kitāb 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt.* Al-Qazwīnī died in 682/1283.

[53]M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften* (Leiden/Cologne, 1972), 5–42, speaks of other works related to this kind of literature, where the material was classified according to species and then by alphabetical order of the animals, but I must still investigate this matter. One of these works, the *Mabāhij al-Fikar* of al-Waṭwāṭ, must be disregarded, as it does not deal with the medical uses of the various parts of animals *(khawāṣṣ).* See R. Kruk, ″Some Late Mediæval Zoological Texts and Their Sources,″ in *Actas del XII Congreso de la U.E.A.I. (Malaga, 1984)* (Madrid, 1986), 424.

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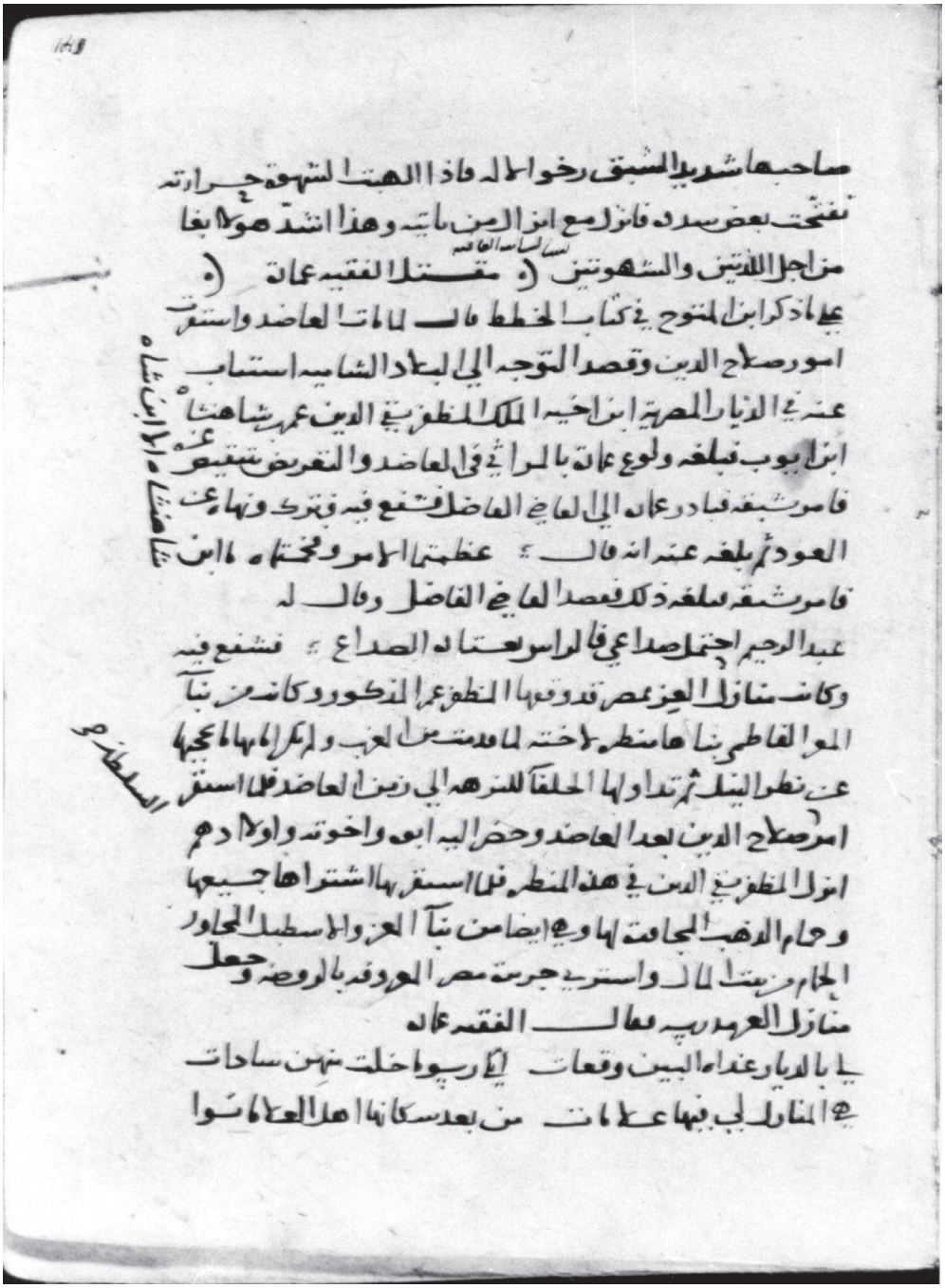

Folio 149r. Courtesy Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège, ms. 2232.

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In summary, Ibn Zuhr's *Khawāṣṣ al-Ḥayawān* is probably the basis of the resumé, but by way of another source which relied on it while reordering the material according to species.

VIII. (quire XVII, fols. 146r–149r)
No title. Text dealing with love and its various aspects.
List of the sections and incipit:

Fol. 146r ١) في القبلة: قال أبقراط الجماع بغير مؤانسة جفاء [...]
٢) آداب المحادثة ثلاثة وعشرون [...]
Fol. 146v ٣) آداب المضاجعة: ١٤ أدبا [...]
Fol. 147r ٤) سبب العشق: التجانس وقوته وضعفه على قدر التشاكل [...]
Fol. 148r ٥) الكلام له أربع مراتب
Fol. 148v ٦) سبب اللياطة: تفحل الشهوة وغلبتها [...]

Commentary:
The main theme of the section is love. The various sections discuss how to kiss, to converse, to sleep with somebody, the reasons for passion, the different kinds of intercourse, and finally the reasons that could explain a leaning toward sodomy. It is very difficult to identify the original source from which al-Maqrīzī made this resumé and to determine whether he used it for any of his books, preserved or lost. While consulting the *Nihāyat al-Arab* of al-Nuwayrī, I realized that this encyclopedist spoke about human passion, and argues about the reasons for this facet of love . It appears that the material found there (*Nihāyat al-Arab,* 2:135–38) is similar to no. 4 in al-Maqrīzī's resumé. In spite of similarities, al-Nuwayrī cannot be considered to be al-Maqrīzī's direct source, because there are details in the resumé absent from the *Nihāyat al-Arab*. Both of them must have utilized the same source once more.

IX. (quire XVII, fols. 149r–149v)
Title on fol. 149r, lines 3–4: *Maqtal al-Faqīh ʻUmārah* from *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ*/Ibn al-Mutawwaj.

مقتل الفقيه عمارة على ما ذكر ابن المتوج في كتاب الخطط

Incipit (fol. 149r, lines 4–5):

قال لما مات العاضد واستقرت أمور صلاح الدين وقصد التوجه إلى البلاد الشامية [...]

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Explicit (fol. 149v, lines 9–10):

[...] وعجل لك الاجتماع بإحبابك فقال إنما قتلني إحسانهم وإساؤكم.

Commentary:

The source of this epitome is clearly indicated by al-Maqrīzī as being the *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ* written by Ibn al-Mutawwaj. He is to be identified with Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb **Ibn al-Mutawwaj** (d. 730/1329), who is the author of a book dealing with *khiṭaṭ* entitled *ʿqāẓ al-Mutaghaffil wa-Itti'āẓ al-Muta'ammil,* which is considered lost. This work is one of the few that al-Maqrīzī cites in his introduction to the *Khiṭaṭ* (1:5) among the sources he relied upon.[54] It has previously been stated that all the references to this work in the *Khiṭaṭ* concern old Cairo (prior to the Fatimids) and refer only to archeological matters. The resumé preserved here brings up material which goes against this mistaken idea, and establishes the importance of the historical data presented here.[55]

X. (quire XVII, fols. 149v–150r)

Title on fol. 149v, line 10:

الأهرام

Incipit (fol. 149v, lines 10–11):

عددها ثمانية عشر هرما في مقابلة الفسطاط [...]

Explicit (fol. 150r, lines 6–7):

[...] وعند مدينة فرعون موسى أعظم مما قبلها وهرم ميدوم آخرها.

Commentary:

Some passages of this resumé on the pyramids can be identified in the *Khiṭaṭ* (1:116, 119). For the first occurrence, al-Maqrīzī identifies the source as *Kitāb Tuḥfat al-Albāb* of Abū ʻAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥīm al-Qaysī [al-Gharnāṭī] (d. 565/1170). The data are almost identical and a date (501) which is mentioned in the resumé appears again in the *Khiṭaṭ,* on the same page. Moreover, the quotation in the *Khiṭaṭ* can be traced in the published version of the *Tuḥfat al-Albāb,*[56] which prompts me to regard this work as definitely the source of the resumé.

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[54]For the quotations noticed in the *Khiṭaṭ,* see Guest, "A List of Writers," 116 and Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 2:72, 74, 82, 94. The title given by al-Maqrīzī varies greatly from one reference to another: *ʿqāẓ al-Mutaghaffil, al-Khiṭaṭ, al-Tārīkh, al-Kitāb*.

[55]I have not traced exactly the data preserved here in al-Maqrīzī's books. But compare with *Al-Muqaffá* (ed. M. al-Yaʻlāwī, Beirut, 1991), 8:740 sqq. and *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā'* (ed. Ḥilmī M. Aḥmad, Cairo, 1973), 3:332–34.

[56]See Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid's edition (London, 2002), 1:313–14.

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XI. (quire XVII, fol. 150r)
Title on fol. 150r, line 7: *Khabar fīhi Mu'tabar*.

خبر فيه معتبر

Incipit (lines 7–8):
توفي الصاحب الوزير زين الدين يعقوب بن الزبير في ثالث عشر شهر ربيع الآخر سنة ٦٦٨ بالسجن [...]

Commentary:
The source of this very short excerpt (14 lines) remains to be identified. Part of the data is to be found in *Al-Sulūk*,[57] 1:447.

XII. (quire XVII, fols. 150r–150v)
Title on fol. 150r, lines 20–21: *Mukhtār min Akhbār Banī Ayyūb*/Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī al-Kātib.

مختار من أخبار بني أيوب، تأليف محمد بن علي بن عبد العزيز بن نظيف الحموي الكاتب

Incipit (fol. 150r, lines 21–22):
سنة ٥٧٩ فيها ظهر بقرية بوصير من الجيزة بيت هرمس الثاني فتحه القاضي بن الشهرزوري [...]

Explicit (fol. 150v, lines 13–15):
[...] سنة ٦٢٤ في شوال منها أمر الكامل بن العادل الأيوبي بهدم مدينة تنيس وكانت من المدن الجليلة.

Commentary:
The stated source of this resumé is the *Akhbār Banī Ayyūb* by Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz **Ibn Naẓīf** al-Ḥamawī (d. in the second part of the seventh/thirteenth century). Ibn Naẓīf is the author of three books, of which only one has been preserved: *Al-Tārīkh al-Manṣūrī, Talkhīṣ al-Kashf wa-al-Bayān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān*.[58] As its title indicates, the book is a shorter version of a universal history *(Al-Kashf wa-al-Bayān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān)*. The *Al-Tārīkh al-Manṣūrī* ends with the year 624 and is considered to be the most important source for the Ayyubid period.[59] A close examination of the text reveals that

[57]Ed. M. Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1967).

[58]See the critical edition of this work by Abū al-'Īd Dūdū (Damascus, 1981). The editor decided to publish only the part beginning with the year 589. Prior to this edition, a facsimile of the *unicum* preserved at St. Petersburg in Russia had been published by P. Griaznevich (Moscow, 1960).

[59]See Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades et de la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), 57–58; idem, "Editing Arabic Chronicles: a Few Suggestions," *Islamic*

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material on early Islamic history and successive periods is by far more concise than the parts beginning with the year 580. It is thus not surprising to notice that al-Maqrīzī began his resumé with the year 579 and continued with the following years: 597, 601, 611, 622, 624, taking notes for events related to Egypt. The data correspond exactly to what is found in the original source, consequently confirming that what al-Maqrīzī entitles *Akhbār Banī Ayyūb* is equivalent to *Al-Tārīkh al-Manṣūrī,* and it has been reutilized for the *Khiṭaṭ* and other of his works, although neither the author´s name nor the title of the work appears in any of them.

XIII. (quire XVII, fols. 150v–151r)
Title on fol. 150v, in the margin: *Mukhtār min Tārīkh Ibn Naẓīf al-Kabīr*/Ibn Naẓīf.

مختار من تأريخ ابن نظيف الكبير

Incipit (fol. 150v, lines 15–16):

سنة ٧٦ من الهجرة نقش عبد الملك بن مروان على الدنانير والدراهم سكة الإسلام [...]

Explicit (fol. 151r, line 23):

[...] عن الشمس في نصف برج الحوت طول ذؤابته مائة وخمسون ذراعا.

Commentary:
Just below the resumé *(mukhtār)* of *Al-Tārīkh al-Manṣūrī,* al-Maqrīzī added other notes starting with the year 76, then proceeding with the following years: 91, 99, 133, 180, 199, 216, 234, 235, 237, 253, 258, 268, 274, 286, 310, 375, 398, 435, 487, 496, in which all events are more general and do not deal exclusively with Egypt. In the margin, he added a title: *Mukhtār min Tārīkh Ibn Naẓīf al-Kabīr*. We should understand from this title that al-Maqrīzī intended to summarize the longest text written by Ibn Naẓīf, i.e., *Al-Kashf wa-al-Bayān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* a work which has not been preserved, except in a shorter version (i.e., *Al-Tārīkh al-Manṣūrī,* see the preceding entry). A comparison of the material found in the resumé and the beginning of *Al-Tārīkh al-Manṣūrī* shows that the wording of the latter is different and more complete. This proves that what al-Maqrīzī included in this resumé was not taken from *Al-Tārīkh al-Manṣūrī,* assuming that this was a part of the longest work, but from *Al-Kashf wa-al-Bayān* itself.

XIV. (quire XVII, fols. 151r–151v)
No title. Excerpt regarding the kings of Ḥimyar.

Studies 1 (1962): 11.

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Incipit (fol. 151r, lines 24–25):

جميع ملوك حمير على اختلاف القول فيهم ستة وعشرون ملكا وامرأة أعني بلقيس [...]

Explicit (fol. 151v, line 8):

[...] قد طال ما أكلوا يوما وما شربوا فأصبحوا بعد ذاك الأكل قد أكلوا.

Commentary:

No source is indicated by al-Maqrīzī for this very short excerpt dealing with the kings of Ḥimyar. The main part consists in the quotation of six verses attributed to Sayf ibn Dhī Yazan. The purpose of this excerpt is quite clear: al-Maqrīzī evokes the kings of Ḥimyar several times in his *Khiṭaṭ*,[60] where the *Kitāb al-Tījān fī Mulūk Ḥimyar* by Wahb ibn Munabbih, in the transmission of Abū Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Malik ibn Hishām (d. 218/833), is quoted more than once as a source.[61] He even devoted a biography to Ḥimyar in his *Al-Muqaffá* (3:691–97). However, the material found in this excerpt was not used by him in either work. It must be considered a preliminary step for his books or an unused note.

XV. (quire XVII, fols. 151v–155r)

Title on fol. 155r, lines 19–20: [*Talkhīṣ*] *Mukhtār min Kitāb al-Danānīr wa-al-Darāhim*/Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn Ḥayyān al-maʻrūf bi-Wakīʻ.

لخصت ما قيل في الدرهم والدينار من مختار من كتاب الدنانير والدراهم، تأليف أبي بكر محمد بن خلف بن حيان المعروف بوكيع.

Incipit (fol. 151v, lines 13–14):

القول في الدينار والدرهم: قال كعب الأحبار أول من ضرب الدنانير والدرهم آدم [...]

Explicit (fol. 155r, lines 17–18):

[...] وكان على بيت المال رجل من طيء يقال له سمير فأمره فأعطى الناس فجعل الناس يقولون دراهم سميرية فبذلك سميت سميرية.

Commentary:

Fortunately the title of the source is indicated by al-Maqrīzī at the end of the text, where with rare meticulousness he specifies that he had not seen the original work in its complete form (fol. 155r, line 20: *lam aqif ʻalá al-aṣl*), but rather a resumé *(mukhtār)* from which he made an epitome *(talkhīṣ)*. Undoubtedly this resumé had been prepared by another scholar and al-Maqrīzī decided to condense it. The original work was produced by Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn Ḥayyān,

[60] See Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 1, s.v. Ḥimyar and Sayf ibn Dhī Yazan.

[61] See ibid., 2:80.

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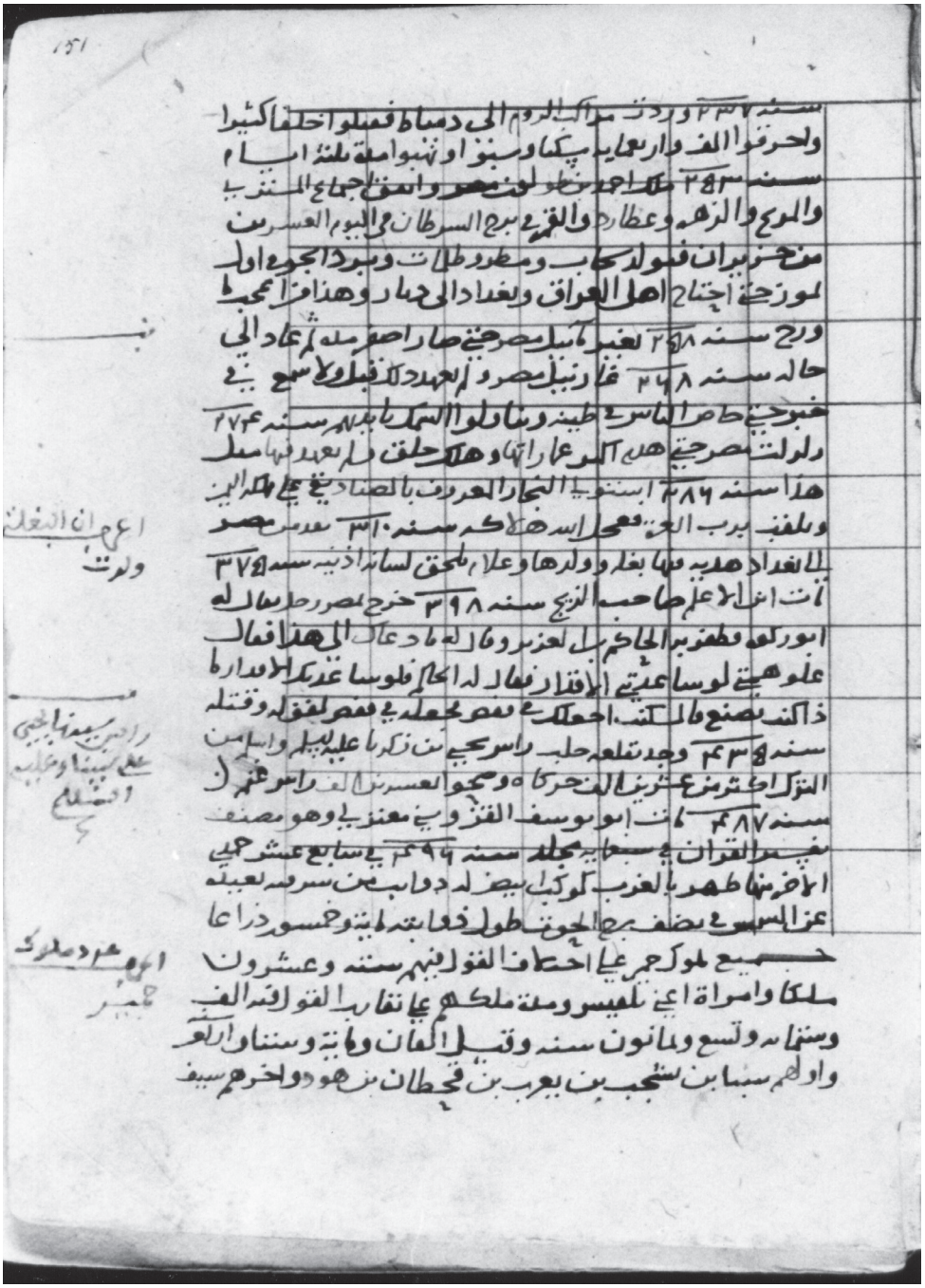

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known by his *shuhrah* as **Wakī'**. His *Akhbār al-Quḍāh* made his fame, but he was also renowned as the author of a book on numismatics. Here it is entitled *Kitāb al-Danānīr wa-al-Darāhim,* although according to the sources it was *Kitāb al-Ṣarf wa-al-Naqd wa-al-Sikkah*.[62] This text is now known to be one of the most ancient on this subject, thus making it a major discovery. Numerous parts of it were used by al-Maqrīzī for his treatise on numismatics, *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd*. In this case as in numerous others, neither the name of the author nor the title of his book has been cited.[63]

XVI. (quire XVII, fol. 155v)
No title. *Faṣl* on philosophical matters regarding the soul.
Incipit (fol. 155v, lines 1–2):
فصل [بياض]: كل مطلوب مدرك وإن كان شاهقا في السماء ومن رجع عن حاجته فهو غير طالب.
النفس الحية هي التي [...]

Commentary:
This passage consists of just a few lines, but al-Maqrīzī deemed it so valuable that he labelled it a *faṣl*. It contains remarks on the soul and aphorisms of philosophical or moral character. At this point, I have not been able to identify the source nor to determine whether al-Maqrīzī used this material.

XVII. (quire XVIII, fols. 155v–156v)
No title. Excerpts on numismatics and metrology.
List of the sections and incipit:
Fol. 155v نقود الهند التي يتعاملون بها: الملك الأحمر مائة ألف تنكة ذهبا [...]
Fol. 156r خان بالق من بلاد الخطا: ملكها اجل ملوك توران [...]
ومعاملة أهل خوارزم والقفجاق ومعظم ممالك إيران بالدينار [...]
ومعاملة بغداد ديناران أحدهما العوال عنه اثنا عشر درهما [...]

Commentary:
After no. XV, this is another text dealing with numismatics, but not exclusively.

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[62]See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist,* ed. G. Flügel (Leipzig, 1871–72), 114 *(Kitāb al-Taṣarruf . . .);* al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 3:43–44; *GAL* S1:225 *(Kitāb al-Taṣarruf . . .);* not mentioned in Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden, 1967–2000).

[63]This material, as well as the other parts of the notebook related to numismatics (see below, numbers XVII and XX), will be the subject of my ″Maqriziana VI,″ which will appear in a forthcoming issue of *MSR*.

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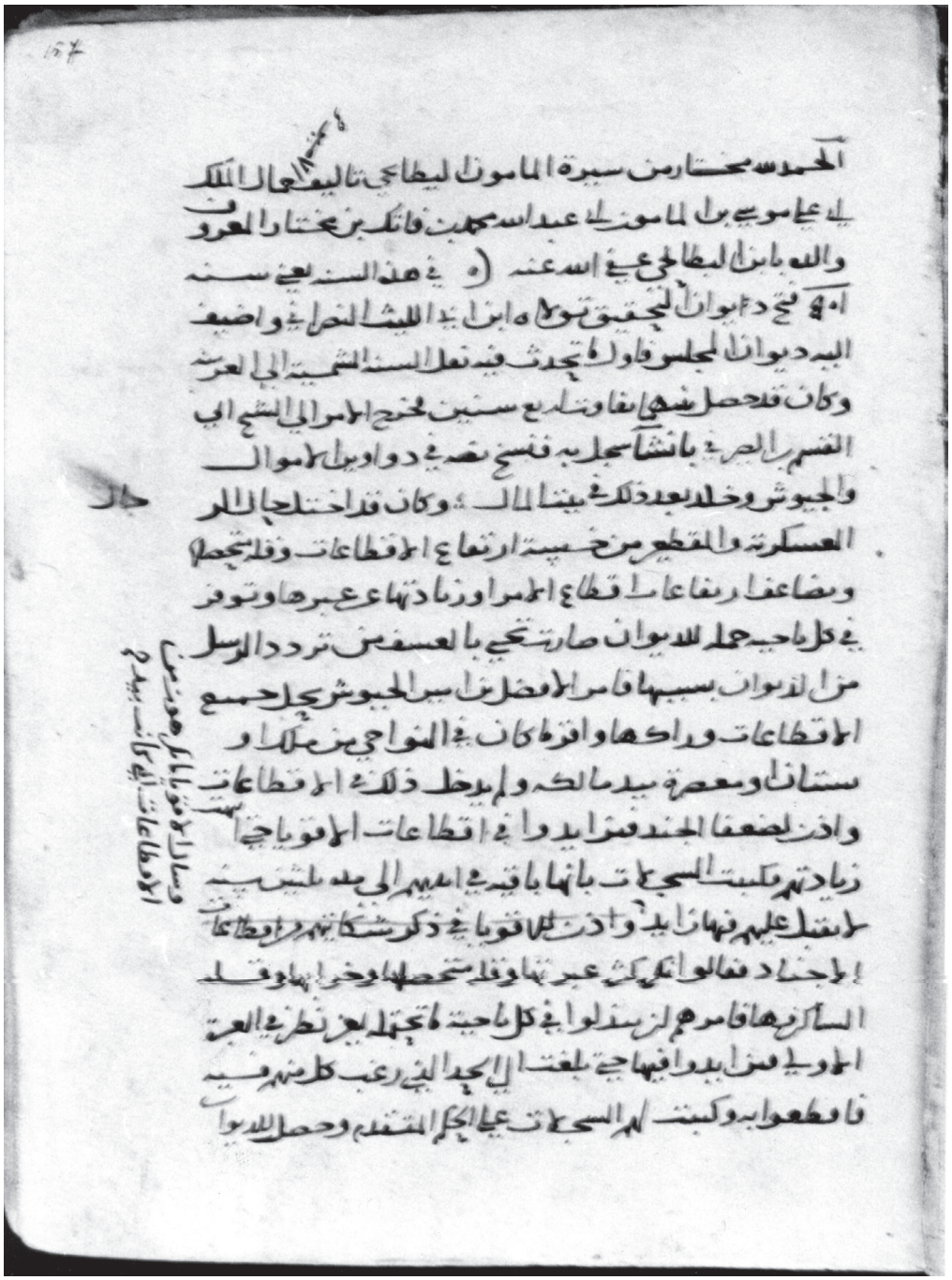

Folio 157r. Courtesy Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège, ms. 2232.

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The most interesting point here is probably his discussion of China and the currency used there: al-Maqrīzī describes, of course, the paper currency, stating that it is printed on pieces of mulberry bark. No source is indicated in this excerpt and no trace of it has been identified in his numismatic treatises: *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd* or *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah.* In the last part, however, where the currency of Baghdad is studied, information is also given about weights. This material has been reused for his treatise on this matter, which is entitled *Al-Awzān wa-al-Akyāl al-Shar'īyah.*

XVIII. (quire XVIII, fols. 157r–160v)

Title on fol. 157r, lines 1–3: *Mukhtār min Sīrat al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī*/Jamāl al-Mulk Abū 'Alī Mūsá ibn al-Ma'mūn Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Fātik ibn Mukhtār Ibn al-Baṭā'iḥī.

مختار من سيرة المأمون البطائحي، تأليف الأمير جمال الملك أبي علي موسى بن المأمون أبي عبد الله محمد بن فاتك بن مختار المعروف والده بابن البطائحي.

Incipit (fol. 157r, lines 3–4):

في هذه السنة يعني سنة ٥٠١ فتح ديوان التحقيق تولاه ابن أبي الليث النصراني واضيف إليه ديوان المجلس

List of the dates and events dealt with:

Fol. 158r	سنة ٥١٢
Fol. 158v	سنة ٥١٣
Fol. 159r	خبر قتل الأفضل

Commentary:

The source is clearly indicated as being the *Sīrat al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī,* a work attributed to Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī. His full name was Jamāl al-Dīn Abū 'Alī Mūsá **Ibn al-Ma'mūn** Muḥammad ibn Fātik ibn Mukhtār al-Baṭā'iḥī (d. 588/1192), son of the vizier al-Baṭā'iḥī, and his book, known as *Tārīkh Ibn al-Ma'mūn* or *Al-Sīrah al-Ma'mūnīyah,*[64] is considered one of the best sources for the Fatimid caliphate in Egypt, even though it is lost. Our knowledge of this source and its contents is based only on the passages found, whether attributed or not, in the works of Ibn Muyassar *(Akhbār Miṣr),* Ibn Sa'īd *(Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib),* al-Nuwayrī *(Nihāyat al-Arab),* Ibn Duqmāq *(Al-Intiṣār),* and al-Maqrīzī (*Al-Khiṭaṭ*, *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā',* and *al-Muqaffá*).[65] The excerpt preserved in the Liège codex is

[64]See Guest, "A List of Writers," 115; and Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 2:114.

[65]See Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, "Lumières nouvelles sur quelques sources de l'histoire fatimide en

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thus the first proof that al-Maqrīzī had access to the original source. Furthermore, we now know that he took notes from it to prepare a resumé which would serve him as a memorandum. The material has been identified in the three works of al-Maqrīzī where the Fatimid period is dealt with (see above). Another interesting feature of the notebook is that it contains a specimen of al-Maqrīzī's notecards (see no. LXIV), where part of the data from this resumé was transcribed later. This rare sample gives us an opportunity to better understand al-Maqrīzī's working method.[66]

XIX. (quire XVIII, fols. 161r–163v)

Title on fol. 161r, line 1: *Al-Khabar 'an Jinkiz Khān.*

الخبر عن جنكز خان.

Incipit (fol. 161r, lines 1–2):

قيل إن جنكز خان ينتهي نسبه إلى امرأة تسمى ألان قوا كانت تحت رجل أولدها و الدين [...]

Explicit (fol. 163v, line 16):

[...] وكان ولده تولى متصلا به فكان موضعه نقطة.

Commentary:

In a series of articles published between 1971 and 1973,[67] David Ayalon studied the problem of al-Maqrīzī's hypothetical source for the data about the *yāsa* in the *Khiṭaṭ* (2:219–22). After a close examination of the sources, Ayalon was inclined to identify it as Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*. He identified it as such without reservation, even though the two texts were not quite the same, and without irrefutable proof. The resumé present in the notebook is anonymous in the sense that no source is indicated. Nonetheless, a comparison with what is found in the *Masālik al-Abṣār*[68] unequivocally demonstrates that it is the original source. Another element strengthens this attribution, an element of which Ayalon was not aware at the time he wrote his study: on the first folio of eight volumes among the twenty-seven of the *Masālik al-Abṣār* preserved, one

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Égypte," *Annales Islamologiques* 13 (1977): 20–21. The passages that appear in the works of al-Nuwayrī and al-Maqrīzī have been edited by Sayyid, *Nuṣūṣ min Akhbār Miṣr li-Ibn al-Ma'mūn* = Passages de la Chronique d'Égypte d'Ibn al-Ma'mūn (Cairo, 1983).

[66]This argument will be treated extensively in "Maqriziana II."

[67]David Ayalon, "The Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khān: A Reexamination," *Studia Islamica* 33–38 (1971–73).

[68]I compared it with the facsimile of MS Ahmet III 2797/2 produced by Fuat Sezgin (Frankfort, 1988), 4:40–55. This part has been edited by K. Lech, *Das mongolische Weltreich: Al-'Umarī's Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk* Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār (Wiesbaden, 1968).

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can read an inscription in al-Maqrīzī's hand, which is ″intaqāhu dā'iyan li-mu'īrihi Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī sanat 831.″[69] This is not the only example of this kind of note. Other samples can be found in various other manuscripts of sources used by al-Maqrīzī.[70] In all these cases, he chose the verb *″intaqá″* which in this context means ″to take notes, to digest.″[71] Thanks to the date, we now have a *terminus post quem* for this part of the notebook, and this is perhaps more important for the history of the composition of the *Khiṭaṭ*, given its inclusion in this book. This resumé proves definitely that al-Maqrīzī prepared a notandum of the part regarding Chingiz Khān and the *yāsa*.[72] But there is more to come: Ayalon stressed that the data found in the *Masālik al-Abṣār* had been deliberately distorted by al-Maqrīzī with the aim of discrediting the *yāsa* among his contemporaries. It will now be possible to compare the original version (Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī) with the resumé, where some modifications are already visible, and finally with the version in the *Khiṭaṭ*. Once more, we will come closer to the working technique of this historian.[73]

XX. (quire XIX, fols. 166r–174v)
No title. Six *faṣl*s dealing with juridical matters.
List of the *faṣl*s and incipit:

Fol. 166r	فصل في بيان الذرع والكيل والوزن
Fol. 169r	فصل في حد المدعي الذي يحتاج إلى البينة والمدعى عليه الذي لا يحتاج إليها
Fol. 169v	فصل في حكم اليهود والنصارى الذين بمصر الآن
	فصل في ذكر اللعن وما جاء فيه
Fol. 172r	فصل في زيارة القبور والنذر لها والعكوف عندها والقراءة عليها
Fol. 172v	فصل في النذر
Fol. 174v	معنى تعذيب الميت بالبكاء عليه

[69]Moreover, marginal notes in al-Maqrīzī's own handwriting have been identified by the present writer in volumes 4, 5, 6, 14, 15, 17, and 19.

[70]For a complete list, see ″Maqriziana II.″

[71]I will come back to this particular point in ″Maqriziana II.″

[72]At least, it is the part that has been preserved. Scholars had already noticed that al-Maqrīzī took almost complete chapters from the *Masālik al-Abṣār* without acknowledgment, which confirms that he made several resumés of this book. See Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid's edition of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār (Mamālik Miṣr wa-al-Shām wa-al-Ḥijāz wa-al-Yaman)* (Cairo, 1985), 28 (from the introduction in Arabic). This is confirmed by the note found on the first folio of several volumes of this text.

[73]This matter will be the subject of our ″Maqriziana VII.″

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Commentary:
All these *faṣl*s seem to have been transcribed in sequence, as if they came from the same source. Indeed they all treat subjects that may be defined as juridical. It is difficult to recognize the source/sources from which al-Maqrīzī borrowed this material. Considering the first *faṣl* only, I noticed that it contains data about numismatics and metrology which can be found in *Shudhūr al-ʻUqūd, Al-Ighāthah,* and *Al-Awzān wa-al-Akyāl al-Sharʻīyah,* where no source is indicated. However, in the resumé, the name of a certain Ibn al-Rifʻah appears twice. He is anonymously quoted again, about an event where he speaks in the first person about the *dār al-ḥisbah,* to which, he says, he had been appointed. This person is to be identified as Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī Ibn al-Rifʻah (d. 710/1310).[74] The sources consulted say that he was in charge of the *ḥisbah* in Cairo. Al-Maqrīzī mentions that he was the author of a commentary on al-Shīrāzī's *Al-Tanbīh* entitled *Kifāyat al-Nabīh fī Sharḥ al-Tanbīh* in fifteen volumes, and also of a work on measures and weights *(al-makāyīl wa-al-mawāzīn),* which was entitled, according to Ibn Ḥajar, *Ḥukm al-Mikyāl wa-al-Mīzān*.[75] It is, of course, very tempting and credible to see in this text the source of the resumé found in the notebook, at least for the first *faṣl*. It remains to be determined whether the other *faṣl*s come from the same author, and in this case maybe from his *Sharḥ al-Tanbīh*. Unfortunately, only the book on metrology has been preserved.[76]

XXI. (quire XX, fols. 176r–184r[77])
No title. Epitome of a Quranic commentary.
Incipit (fol. 176r, lines 1–2):
قوله تعالى في قلوبهم فزادهم الله مرضا ولهم عذاب أليم بما كانوا يكذبون المرض في القلب يجوز ان يكون حقيقة ومجازا [...]

Explicit (fol. 184r, line 8):
[...] وعن الأوزاعي لا يجوز تبرعها ما لم تلد أو تقم في بيت زوجها سنة.

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[74]On him, see *GAL,* S2:164; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 7:395 (no. 3392); al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 1:623–24; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah* (Hyderabad, 1348/1929–30,) 1:284–87.

[75]Or rather, *Al-ʿIḍāḥ wa-al-Tibyān fī Maʻrifat al-Mikyāl,* according to al-Ziriklī, *Al-Aʻlām,* 1:222.

[76]*Al-Īḍāḥ wa-al-Tibyān* has been edited by M. Aḥmad Ismāʻīl al-Khārūf (Mecca, 1980), but I was unable to consult a copy of it. My hypothesis, which consists in identifying the source of the first *faṣl* in the notebook with Ibn al-Rifʻah's *Al-Īḍāḥ wa-al-Tibyān,* seems to be corroborated as Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Sattār ʻUthmān, in his edition of al-Maqrīzī's *Shudhūr al-ʻUqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd* (Cairo, 1990), 52, after having compared the two texts, asserts that *Al-Īḍāh* served as a basic source for al-Maqrīzī in writing his *Shudhūr al-ʻUqūd.*

[77]Fol. 177 is in fact a tiny piece of paper, oblong in form, which was pasted in the margin of fol. 178.

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Commentary:
A glance at this resumé shows immediately that it consists of an epitome of a Quranic commentary, beginning with Quran 2:10 and ending with Quran 4:4. No source is indicated by al-Maqrīzī, but I found the name of al-Zamakhsharī quoted once on fol. 177r. Comparison with al-Zamakhsharī's *Al-Kashshāf 'an Ḥaqā'iq al-Tanzīl* reveals that it was the original source of the resumé. Al-Zamakhsharī is cited only once in the *Khiṭaṭ*[78] (1:161), for Quran 89:5–7. This could mean that al-Maqrīzī went on with the resumé, presumably until the end of the commentary. Here, once more, we have only a quire that has been preserved, and it would be too conjectural to conclude that an entire resumé of the book exists for the sole reason that a quotation related to the end of it appears in one of his books. The aim of a Quranic resumé is clear when one looks at the *Khiṭaṭ,* but other quotations must have been used by al-Maqrīzī for his other works, extant or not.

XXII. (quire XXI, fols. 187r–191v)
No title. Long biography of a Mamluk who died in 812.
Incipit (fol. 187r, lines 1–2):

يوسف بن أحمد بن محمد بن أحمد بن جعفر بن قاسم البيري جمال الدين البجاسي [...]

Explicit (fol. 191v, lines 1–3):

[...] واشتملت تركته على سبعمائة ألف دينار من الذهب وثمان [...] على ذكر [...] على ألفي ألف دينار ذهبا

Commentary:
This very long biography is written in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting, of course, but it differs from the other resumés. Diacritical dots are scarcer and the letters were written quickly. The person dealt with here was an important Mamluk who accumulated an immense fortune during his lifetime. The date of his death clearly indicates that this biography did not find its place in *Al-Muqaffá*, a biographical dictionary of Egyptian residents, from pre-Islamic times to the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century. As this Mamluk was a contemporary of al-Maqrīzī, his biography must have been written for another of his works: *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-A'yān al-Mufīdah*. Unfortunately, this important source has

[78] See Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 2:99.

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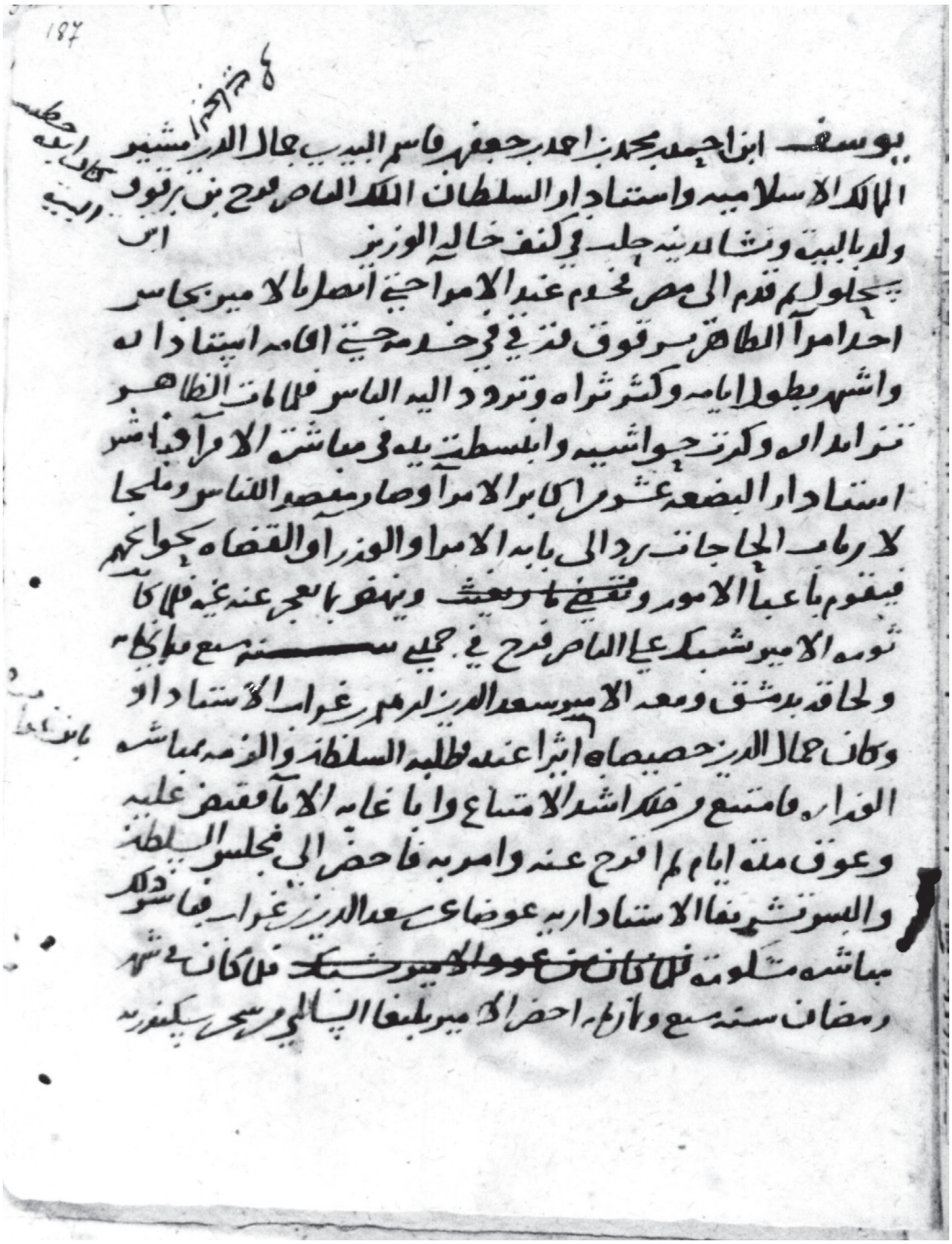

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not yet been fully published. It is preserved in an incomplete autograph manuscript in Gotha (A 1771),[79] and there exists a complete copy made from the autograph which is held in a private collection in Mosul, where it remains inaccessible to scholars.[80] Fortunately, my eyes fell by mere chance on the *Durar al-Fawā'id al-Munaẓẓamah fī Akhbār al-Ḥajj wa-Ṭarīq Makkah al-Mu'aẓẓamah,* a book written by 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Qādir al-Anṣārī al-Jazīrī (d. after 976/1568),[81] where I found an interesting passage (92–94) dealing with the same Mamluk. There, the author gives a detailed biography which, he says, he cites from the *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah* of al-Maqrīzī! In the absence of an edition of the complete manuscript, this information is, of course, vital. In this way, I have been able to compare the biography in the notebook with the one in al-Jazīrī's work, concluding that the texts are very similar, the information given in the notebook being more complete. This leads us to infer that the text found in the notebook is in fact a preliminary stage of redaction for the *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah,* or it may alternatively be the definitive one, conjecturing in this case that al-Jazīrī changed the wording of al-Maqrīzī, which would not be surprising. The fact that the script is abnormal (impression of rapid writing) reinforces this interpretation.

To be continued

[79]Published by M. Kamāl al-Dīn 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī (Beirut, 1992). The manuscript on which this edition is based contains biographies beginning with the letter *alif,* part with the letter *bā'* (Abū Bakr), then some with the letter *'ayn* and one with the letter *dāl* (Dā'ūd). As M. al-Ya'lāwī has shown (*Al-Muqaffá,* 8:699–700), the biographies beginning with *'ayn* are related to persons who died prior to the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century. It is thus ruled out that they were part of the *Durar,* and it is more probable that we are dealing with part of *Al-Muqaffá* that was misplaced after the death of al-Maqrīzī.

[80]See Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, "Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-A'yān al-Mufīdah lil-Maqrīzī," *Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Irāqī* 13 (1966): 201–14; idem, "Tarjamat Ibn Khaldūn lil-Maqrīzī," ibid., 215–42.

[81]On him, see *GAL,* 2:325 (no. 1); S2:447 (no. 1) and 517 (no. 10c) (Brockelmann confused him twice; the information given in the last reference is an error). The book was published in Cairo in 1384/1964–65.

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Al-Maqrīzī, Hashimism, and the Early Caliphates*

Introduction

Like his contemporaries in the field of history such as al-ʻAynī and Ibn Ḥajar, al-Maqrīzī was an heir to a classical Arabic historiographical tradition stretching far into the past. Al-Maqrīzī inherited from this tradition not merely a corpus of ancient sources, but also the very form that his history-writing took. It was also from this tradition that al-Maqrīzī inherited many of the subjects that were considered to be the standard fare of any good medieval Muslim historian. Foremost among these subjects was an issue that formed *the* central debate of the formative era of Islam: the caliphate, a topic that enervated Muslim historians from the very beginning of Islamic history until today. At the crux of the issue was the concept of the *ahl al-bayt,* ″The People of the Household,″ that is, of course, the household of the Prophet Muḥammad. Those who belonged to the *ahl al-bayt* could be said to have a legitimate claim to the Prophet′s patrimony, that is, the office of the caliphate. Who, then, were classed as within the *ahl al-bayt,* and who without? Did it include only the Prophet′s immediate ʻAlid descendants through his daughter Fāṭimah and her husband ʻAlī, did it include his whole clan, the Banū Hāshim, or did it stretch to include the broader tribe of Quraysh, to which the Banū Hāshim belonged alongside other clans such as the Banū Umayyah? Insofar as the question is usually seen as central to the distinction between Sunnis and Shiʻites, and between different historical visions within each of these two sects, it would be an understatement to say that the question has received more than a few contentious responses over the centuries.

Given the fact that al-Maqrīzī had eight centuries of writings about the caliphate in place before him, and given the fact that he was himself an established Sunni scholar of the Shafiʻi *madhhab,* one might expect al-Maqrīzī to follow his Sunni

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predecessors on this subject and simply favor one of two visions of the past favored by most Sunni writers before his time. That is, he might: (1) favor a generic conciliatory pro-Quraysh reading of Sunni history in which the Umayyad dynasty, wicked as they were, *and* the Abbasid dynasty (from the Banū Hāshim clan) that followed them were to be recognized as the legitimate successors of the Prophet, even if we do not always find in them models of proper Muslim conduct. Such a stance is easy to find, as, for example in the chronicle of al-Ṭabarī, a source on the early caliphates much used by later Arab historians.[1] Alternately, al-Maqrīzī might (2) exhibit a simple pro-Abbasid bias on the question of the caliphate, in which the Abbasid family, and neither their wicked predecessors the Umayyads nor the descendants of ʻAlī, had exclusive claims to be the legitimate successors of the Prophet. The anonymous *Akhbār al-Dawlah al-ʻAbbāsīyah* is the most famous example of this trend.[2] Then again, if we were willing to be broad-minded, we might even be willing to add a third stance for al-Maqrīzī to inherit, namely a pro-Umayyad stance, or at least a vision of the early caliphate that was less critical of the Umayyads as were so many of his predecessors. Such a vision of the early caliphates no longer survives intact, but telling fragments of it do exist.[3]

In fact, what one does find when one reads the several works of his that address the issue of the caliphate directly is a much more complicated picture. Al-Maqrīzī is certainly not pro-Umayyad; that is clear from all his writings. Nor is he any kind of crypto-Shiʻite. Yet, at the same time, he is not a blind partisan of the Abbasids either, and he is as free to criticize the Abbasids as he is the Umayyads, particularly in his work on Umayyad-Abbasid rivalry called the *Kitāb al-Nizā' wa-al-Takhāṣum,* aptly translated by Bosworth as ″The Book of contention and strife.″ Why does al-Maqrīzī have such a pessimistic opinion of the two caliphates?

After reading several of al-Maqrīzī′s shorter works, I am more willing than ever to entertain the answer that ″that′s just the way it is″: al-Maqrīzī was a very complex man, much more so than we usually think. However, I suggest that two factors shaped al-Maqrīzī′s attitude toward the early caliphates. First, we must be willing to recognize the realities of al-Maqrīzī′s historical context: al-Maqrīzī

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[1]Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk,* ed. M. J. de Goeje et al. (Leiden, 1879–1901).

[2]*Akhbār al-Dawlah al-ʻAbbāsīyah,* ed. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Dūrī et al. (Beirut, 1971).

[3]On this, see Moshe Sharon, ″The Umayyads as *Ahl al-Bayt*,″ *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 14 (1992): 115–52. See also the description of a *Kitāb al-Barahīn fī Imāmat al-Umawīyīn* (The Book of proofs of the imamate of the Umayyads) in al-Masʻūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-al-Ishrāf,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1894), 336–37. On the survival of Umayyad sympathies, see Paul M. Cobb, *White Banners: Contention in ʻAbbasid Syria, 750–880* (Albany, 2001), 51–55.

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wrote his different works about the early caliphate at different times and places, for different patrons, and this probably affected the substance of what he wrote. Second, I would also argue that one can make sense of al-Maqrīzī´s complex assessment of the early caliphates by recognizing what I shall call his ″Hashimism,″ his belief that any member of the Banū Hāshim clan is worthy of honor; this includes both Abbasids *and*—significantly—'Alids. But it cannot be stressed enough that al-Maqrīzī´s Hashimism is *not* Shi'ism. For example, he does not recognize any line of Shi'ite imams, nor does he feel that 'Alī should have succeeded after the Prophet´s death instead of Abū Bakr. However, al-Maqrīzī´s Hashimism did lead him to condemn those regimes (Umayyads or even Abbasids) that persecuted other members of the Banū Hāshim and to sympathize with their victims, many of whom have, historically, been 'Alids. The result is an attitude toward the early caliphates that is best appreciated from a broad survey of al-Maqrīzī´s works, rather than a study of one specific text.

AL-MAQRĪZĪ´S WORKS ON THE CALIPHATE

Al-Maqrīzī composed four principal works that address the issue of the caliphate directly. The first work is al-Maqrīzī´s massive biography of the Prophet, the *Imtā' al-Asmā' bi-Mā lil-Rasūl min al-Anbā' wa-al-Amwāl wa-al-Ḥafadah wa-al-Matā'* (The Delectation of ears concerning stories about the Messenger, his possessions, his offspring and helpers and things of which he made use) written sometime during al-Maqrīzī´s stay in Mecca prior to 1433, since it is cited in his short work of that year, the *Kitāb fī Dhikr Mā Warada fī Banī Umayyah wa-Banī al-'Abbās,* described below. The *Imtā'* is best known in Shākir´s 1941 Cairo edition, but this is in fact only a partial edition, representing merely the first part of the work devoted to the more or less familiar narrative of the *sīrah* of the Prophet.[4] A complete edition is now available in fifteen volumes, and it shows that the work is very much more than a mere biography of the Prophet.[5] Just to give one small example, al-Maqrīzī´s long excursus on Judaism and Christianity reflects his quite detailed knowledge of the People of the Book, and there is much more to be found besides.[6] Many traditions cited in the *Imtā'* address the vexed question of who could be counted as *ahl al-bayt*, and so bear directly on the issue of the caliphate.

The second work is al-Maqrīzī´s best-known work about the caliphates, *Kitāb al-Nizā' wa-al-Takhāṣum fīmā bayna Banī Umayyah wa-Banī Hāshim* (Book of

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[4]Taqī al-Dīn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-Asmā' bi-mā lil-Rasūl min al-Anbā' wa-al-Amwāl wa-al-Ḥafadah wa-al-Matā',* ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo, 1941).

[5]Edited by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Nuwaysī (Beirut, 1999). Hereafter referred to as *"IA."*

[6]*IA,* 4:151 ff.

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contention and strife concerning the relations between the Banū Umayyah and the Banū Hāshim). Its date of composition is also unknown, but it too is cited in the *Kitāb fī Dhikr Mā Warada* and so must have been composed before 1433. The work was edited by Geert Vos in the nineteenth century and by many others since then.[7] It has even been translated into English with detailed annotations by Bosworth.[8] In this work, al-Maqrīzī sought to account for the speedy rise of the Umayyad house to the caliphate after the death of the Prophet and the much-delayed victory of the Abbasids, despite the fact that the Umayyads were among the Prophet´s most inveterate enemies and the Abbasids were among his closest allies.

The third work is al-Maqrīzī´s short epistle entitled *Kitāb fī Dhikr Mā Warada fī Banī Umayyah wa-Banī al-ʻAbbās,* or ″Concerning what has come down to us about the Banū Umayyah and the Banū al-ʻAbbās,″ which has not yet been edited, and so survives only in a unique manuscript now housed at the Austrian National Library in Vienna.[9] Al-Maqrīzī composed this epistle in 1433, when he was living in Mecca toward the end of his life. He said he composed the work in response to a *mufāḍilah,* a discussion of the various merits of the Umayyads and Abbasids, that took place in the *majlis* of the epistle´s unnamed patron. His intent was to sift through ″the welter [of accounts] that have come down to us about the two groups.″[10] Like some of the other short works al-Maqrīzī wrote on the subject, the *Kitāb fī Dhikr Mā Warada* is divided into two sections, one on accounts about the Umayyads, one on the Abbasids. The work appears to be stridently pro-Abbasid and so Bosworth speculated that the unnamed patron of the work was in fact a member of the Abbasid house, a point to which we will return.[11]

The fourth and final work is al-Maqrīzī´s short epistle *Kitāb Maʻrifat Mā*

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[7]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Nizāʻ wa-al-Takhaṣum fīmā bayna Banī Umayyah wa-Banī Hāshim,* ed. G. Vos as *Die Kämpfe und Streitigkeiten zwischen den Banū Umajja und den Banū Hāšim* (Leiden, 1888). For this paper, I have consulted the edition by Ḥusayn Mu'nis (Cairo, 1988), hereafter referred to as *"NT."*

[8]C. E. Bosworth, trans., *Al-Maqrīzī´s "Book of Contention and Strife Concerning The Relations between the Banū Umayyah and the Banū Hāshim,"* Journal of Semitic Studies, Monograph no. 3 (Manchester, 1980).

[9]Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus, Alter Fond, 342b of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Flügel 887). The work itself (342b) is the second part of a four-part anthology (MS Alter Fond 342) of some of al-Maqrīzī´s shorter works. Hereafter referred to as *"DMW."*

[10]*DMW,* fol. 159a: ″fa-qayyadtu mā tayassaru mimmā warada fī al-farīqayn.″

[11]C. E. Bosworth, ″Al-Maqrīzī´s Epistle ´Concerning What Has Come Down To Us About the Banū Umayyah and the Banū l-ʻAbbās,´″ in *Studia Arabica et Islamica: Festschrift for Iḥsān ʻAbbās on His Sixtieth Birthday,* ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī (Beirut, 1981), 39–45. The article provides a more thorough description of the work than that attempted here. On the possible identity of the patron, see p. 45.

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Yajibu li-Āl al-Bayt al-Nabawī min al-Ḥaqq ʻalá Man ʻAdāhum (Book of knowledge about what should be recognized as the righteousness of the cause of the prophetic household against those who oppose it), written in 1438, when al-Maqrīzī was seventy-four and had returned from Mecca to take up residence again in Cairo.[12] It is a detailed examination of five Quranic passages that al-Maqrīzī held to be of relevance for the issue of the caliphate and of the status of the Banū Hāshim more generally. Incidentally, it also contains an interesting final chapter consisting of five anecdotes from al-Maqrīzī′s own time demonstrating among other things the noble deeds of some of the *sharīfs* of Mecca, and, surprisingly, the alleged Hashimi lineage of Tīmūr Lenk.

AL-MAQRĪZĪ′S HASHIMISM

What do these four works have to say about al-Maqrīzī′s Hashimism? I will begin with the *Imtāʻ*. Evidence for al-Maqrīzī′s attitude toward the Banū Hāshim does not readily spring from this text, but it is there in great quantity mixed and scattered about with the various accounts about the details of the life of the Prophet, as, for example, in traditions in which the Prophet swears off shedding the blood of any Hashimi, or the accounts of the merits of specific Hashimis like Jaʻfar ibn Abī Ṭālib, slain in battle at Muʼtah in 629.[13] Other accounts are more subtle, as in a famous account about a campaign of the Prophet against some Meccan opponents. Before leaving, he put Abū Bakr in charge of the army, another companion in charge of Medina, and ʻAlī in charge of his household *(ʻalá ahlihi)*. The Prophet′s opponents then began to suggest that he had done so merely to be rid of ʻAlī. When ʻAlī left Medina to join the Prophet and tell him this, Muḥammad replied: ″They lie! I have truly only appointed you over what lies behind me. Now get back there and act as my deputy over my household and your household. Are you not satisfied to be in a relationship to me as Aaron was to Moses . . .?″[14] In another account the Banū Hāshim are said to have been the ones who prayed first over Muḥammad′s dead body, and so on.[15]

While these sorts of accounts are scattered throughout the work, the clearest evidence for al-Maqrīzī′s attitude about the Banū Hāshim and the caliphate comes in the sections of the work devoted to the Prophet′s family and household. Here, al-Maqrīzī is careful to enumerate the various definitions of *ahl al-bayt* that Muslim scholars have propounded. He lists four definitions: (1) that the *ahl al-bayt*

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[12]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb Maʻrifat Mā Yajibu li-Āl al-Bayt al-Nabawī min al-Ḥaqq ʻalá Man ʻAdāhum,* ed. ʻAbd al-Muḥsin ʻAbd Allāh al-Sirāwī (Damascus, 1998), hereafter referred to as *"MMY."*

[13]*IA,* 1:108, 337–44.

[14]Ibid., 2:50.

[15]Ibid., 136.

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are those to whom *ṣadaqah* is forbidden as a source of income; of this definition, there are three sub-sets, *(a)* those who identify this group as the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib combined, *(b)* those who identify this group as the Banū Hāshim exclusively, and *(c)* those who identify this group as Quraysh more broadly, including the Banū Hāshim, the Banū al-Muṭṭalib, the Banū Umayyah, etc.; (2) that the *ahl al-bayt* are the children and wives of the Prophet exclusively; (3) that the *ahl al-bayt* are all the followers of the Prophet from now until Judgement Day; (4) that the *ahl al-bayt* are the truly God-fearing members of the *ummah*. Of these four options, al-Maqrīzī very explicitly chooses the first. For him, the *ahl al-bayt* are those to whom *ṣadaqah* is forbidden as a source of income; this group is identifiable with the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib combined. Moreover, as al-Maqrīzī explictly states in his own words: ″this excludes the Banū ʻAbd Shams, the Banū Nawfal of ʻAbd Manāf, and all the rest of Quraysh.″ Not surprisingly, this is the stance on the issue taken by the Shafiʻi law-school to which al-Maqrīzī belonged.[16]

However, it is worth pointing out that in this discussion, al-Maqrīzī makes a point of mentioning Shiʻite claims about the *ahl al-bayt,* in particular their understanding of the famous *ahl al-kisā'* tradition, which defines the *ahl al-bayt* as ʻAlī, Fāṭimah, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn exclusively. This exegetical tradition seeks to provide a context for Quran 33:33: ″God only desires to put away filthiness from you as his household, and with cleansing to cleanse you.″ According to this tradition, after this verse was revealed, the Prophet wrapped ʻAlī, Fāṭimah, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn in a garment of his *(kisā'),* signifying that they alone belonged to his household. But even in discussing these traditions, al-Maqrīzī does so merely to refute them.[17] Indeed, the *Imtāʻ* includes a rousing plea for venerating the Quraysh and Companions in general, albeit not all of them as *ahl al-bayt:*[18]

> Know that the household of the Messenger of God and his beloved ones are of two kinds, those whom God took from us [during the Prophet′s life] . . ., and those whom God kept to serve as a consolation for the Prophet′s eyes, such as ʻĀ'ishah, Zaynab, and all the Mothers of the Faithful, and Fāṭimah and al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, and ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and al-ʻAbbās ibn ʻAbd al-Muṭṭalib . . . and Abū Sufyān and all the Companions [of the Prophet] and those whom

[16]Ibid., 5:372–405. See p. 382: ″Wa-hādhā al-qawl min an āl al-rasūl hum alladhīna tuḥrima ʻalayhim al-ṣadaqah huwa aṣaḥḥ al-aqwāl al-arbaʻah . . . wa-kharaja Banū ʻAbd Shams wa-Banū Nawfal ibnay ʻAbd Manāf wa-sā'ir Quraysh ʻan hadhayn al-baṭnayn.″

[17]Ibid., 383–88.

[18]Ibid., 6:20–21.

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> he loved. [We should] love and honor every person in these two groups, accept their reports, glorify their cause, and invoke God′s pleasure upon them, for he [the Prophet] has done so.

I cannot think of a clearer statement of Sunni conciliation inflected with Hashimism.

In the *Kitāb Ma'rifat Mā Yajibu*, al-Maqrīzī is the most explicit about his feelings for the Banū Hāshim. Indeed, he explains his motives behind the composition of the work as follows:[19]

> When I observed that most people were remiss in acknowledging the legitimacy of the Family of the Prophet, that they opposed what legitimacy they possessed, that they tarnished their glory, and were ignorant of their station relative to God Most High, I desired to produce a tract about this matter that demonstrates the greatness of their glory and that guides the God-fearing to the mightiness of their powers. [In this way, the God-fearing reader] might remain within the bounds of propriety and fulfill what God has promised them and bestowed upon them.

As indicated earlier, this work is organized into five chapters, each dealing with a separate Quranic verse that al-Maqrīzī feels pertains to the issue of the *ahl al-bayt*. In the first chapter, he returns to the issue of the *ahl al-kisā'* tradition that he broached in the *Imtā'*. He does not add much that is new, save that he includes a long extract from an anti-Shi'ite tract by an earlier Iraqi scholar, Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī (d. 657/1258), a disciple of Ibn Taymīyah.[20] Although Shi'ite arguments about the *ahl al-bayt* are reproduced in this tract, they are nevertheless refuted, and doubly so as they are buried by a long excerpt from Ibn 'Arabī′s *Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah* which argues for an *'iṣmah*-like quality of grace for the *ahl al-bayt*.[21] At no time does al-Maqrīzī explicitly reveal to us here who *he* thinks the *ahl al-bayt* are, but the chapter ends significantly with a statement by 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (an Umayyad) speaking of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasan ibn 'Alī (a Hashimi 'Alid) that ″There is not one member of the Banū Hāshim but that possesses the quality of intercession [for our sins on Judgement Day].″ Chapter two (a commentary on Quran 52:21) argues that the descendants (*dhurriyāt*) of the Prophet will be forgiven for their crimes, their disobedience will be overlooked, and their sins

[19]*MMY,* 35.
[20]Ibid., 57–62.
[21]Ibid., 62–69.

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absolved that they may enter Paradise without experiencing the pains of Hell.[22] The key question, of course, is whether the term *dhurriyāt* refers merely to the Prophet´s sons and daughters, or also to his grandchildren, and, thus, to the ‘Alids. Al-Maqrīzī presents both arguments, but never decides the issue here.[23] Instead, he waits for his third chapter (commenting on Quran 18:82) to make that point, arguing that if, as people say, the doves of the Ḥaram in Mecca are descended from two doves who had a nest in the mouth of a cave in which the Prophet sought refuge, then surely God would protect the descendants of his own Prophet, and, even more so, the children of Fāṭimah, and keep them from entering Hell on Judgement Day.[24] Along the same lines, chapter four (a commentary on Quran 13:23) demonstrates that these descendants will enter heaven on account of the Prophet´s special regard for them and because of their own innate righteousness.[25] Chapter five, the last chapter (on Quran 42:23) and thus the one the reader/listener ″takes home,″ returns to the issue of terminology and tries to define what is meant by *qurbah* or *qarābah*, ″nearness,″ another crucial concept in the arguments about the caliphate.[26] For it was those with *qurbah* to the Prophet that God first directed Muḥammad to seek out as followers. As with *ahl al-bayt,* al-Maqrīzī lays out the various defnitions of the term for us, but finally settles on one, conciliatory reading. For al-Maqrīzī, *qurbah* is an attribute that every Muslim shares, even if in varying degrees. For the Arabs are the Prophet´s kin-group, and even if the Quraysh are closer to him than the Arab tribe of Yaman, they are all descendants of Ismā‘īl. However, because of their nearness, the Quraysh possess a special status above all other Arabs. It is incumbent upon us to respect them all.[27]

In the *Kitāb al-Nizā’,* al-Maqrīzī returns to the issue of *qurbah,* but not before purveying a complicated tissue of evidence to explain why the impious Umayyads attained the caliphate prior to the Banū Hāshim, by which al-Maqrīzī of course means the Abbasid dynasty. The Umayyads, al-Maqrīzī shows us, were excluded from the Prophet´s share of the booty from his raid on Khaybar (and so can be expected to be ineligible for a share in his legacy, i.e., the caliphate), they opposed and indeed fought the Prophet during his lifetime, they ruled as tyrants when they did become caliphs, and were furthermore arrogant in their station, forgetting to whom it was they owed their glory.[28] But, al-Maqrīzī tells us, the Abbasids were

[22]Ibid., 84–85.
[23]Ibid., 75–85; *IA,* 6:3–13.
[24]*MMY,* 88.
[25]Ibid., 95.
[26]On these concepts, see Afsaruddin, *Excellence and Precedence,* 146 ff.
[27]*MMY,* 107–8.
[28]*NT,* 67–69.

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no angels, either. For this Hashimi dynasty, when it finally did attain power, did so only by seizing power when Islam was weak. To make matters worse, they transformed the caliphate into a despotism, murdered other Muslims, and, like their Umayyad predecessors, came to rule as tyrants, with a greater preference for *adab* than for the *sunnah* of the Prophet.[29] As al-Maqrīzī puts it:[30]

> Now what connection is there between this tyranny and evil-doing, and the justice of the divine law revealed to Muḥammad and the exemplary lives of the Rightly-Guided Imams? Or between this frightful barbarity shown towards near kinsmen and the compassion evinced by the Prophet? By God, this conduct has nothing whatever to do with true religion; on the contrary, it is the sort of thing which God . . . has described in His words (Quran 47:22-23), ″If you turned away, would you perhaps then wreak evil in the land and sever all bonds of kinship?″

And it is here, finally, that one can see al-Maqrīzī′s feelings of reverence for the Banū Hāshim, as reflected in his understanding of that key term, ″nearness″ *(qurbah, qarābah).* In his discussion of the blockade upon the Prophet imposed by Quraysh, al-Maqrīzī notes that the Prophet′s ancestor ʻAbd Manāf produced two lineages of potential help to him. The first, the Banū Umayyah of ʻAbd Manāf, he excluded, since they had been godless and bitter opponents of him even in the Jāhilīyah. The second, the Banū al-Muṭṭalib of ʻAbd Manāf, however, had been early converts and supporters, and so he took them with him, even the members of the clan who did not convert to Islam. In al-Maqrīzī′s words:[31]

> They went into the ravine with him, both the believers and the unbelievers of the clan—the believers out of solidarity in faith, the unbelievers out of solidarity in kinship. So, if you consider all these points, two valuable conclusions will become plain to you. Firstly, the deciding factor is nearness of faith, not of the flesh *(al-ʻibrah bi-qarābat al-dīn, lā bi-qarābat al-ṭīn).* Secondly, mere blood relationship means nothing.

This then, allows us to make sense of some the more notable characteristics of al-Maqrīzī′s attitude toward the early caliphates. If Quraysh are all to be accorded

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[29]Ibid., 88–97.

[30]Ibid., 97.

[31]Ibid., 67.

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respect, and the Banū Hāshim especially so, because of their identity as *ahl al-bayt*, nevertheless, in the final analysis, it is their piety, not their genealogical status that determines our respect for them. And so, impious Hashimis get censured just as hotly as do wicked Umayyads. Even the Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil, whom many Sunni historians saw as the restorer of the faith after the unfortunate interlude of the Abbasid ″Inquisition″ or *miḥnah,* even he is not immune to al-Maqrīzī′s high standards, for he, in enforcing a restored *sunnah,* murdered other Muslims and other Hashimis.[32] And similarly, he makes an analogy between the Muslim community and the Israelites, bemoaning the scattered and fallen state of the Quraysh in his day by comparing it to the Diaspora of the Jewish people, and the impotence of the once so promising Abbasid caliphs under the Mamluks to the status of the Israelites under Greek rule after their return from Exile.[33]

In many ways, the last of al-Maqrīzī′s works to be considered here, the *Kitāb fī Dhikr Mā Warada*, is a summary of the *Nizā‘*. That is, it too is a roughly historical work, dominated by two sections, one on the perfidy of the Umayyads, followed by one on the Abbasids. However, it is quite unlike the *Nizā‘* in that it allows no room for the faults of the Abbasids, and instead concentrates solely on their merits. Thus, as in the *Nizā‘,* the work begins with a condemnation of the Umayyads as the ultimate opponents of the Prophet, excluded from his legacy at Khaybar.[34] It was the Umayyads, after all, who burned the Ka‘bah during the Second Fitnah,[35] who murdered al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī and coldly gloated over that fact,[36] and who were responsible for any number of innovations against the *sunnah,* such as the delaying of canonical prayer-times.[37] The Abbasids, however, were pillars of righteousness, best represented by their pious forebears such as al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the very embodiment of Prophetic *‘ilm,* ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abbās.[38] Indeed, the reign of the Banū al-‘Abbās would issue in the eschaton, in which Evil would perish and Good emerge victorious for all time.[39] If one had to provide only one example of their merits, al-Maqrīzī says to look no further than their decision to stop the ritual cursing of ‘Alī from the pulpits, a practice begun by the Umayyads.[40] Here, again, al-Maqrīzī′s conciliatory Hashimism emerges:

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[32]Ibid., 102.

[33]Ibid., 107.

[34]*DMW,* fols. 159a–160b.

[35]Ibid., fols. 162b–163a.

[36]Ibid., fol. 163b ff.

[37]Ibid., fols. 166a–166b.

[38]Ibid., fols. 167a–169b.

[39]Ibid., fols. 170a–172b.

[40]Ibid., fol. 172b.

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what better symbol of it than the Hashimi Abbasids, so strongly associated with Sunnism to al-Maqrīzī, putting an end to the cursing of their fellow Hashimi ʻAlī, the first Shiʻite imam?

Yet the *Kitāb fī Dhikr Mā Warada* also contains at least one statement that might suggest something more than mere conciliation. In introducing the Umayyads, al-Maqrīzī takes a moment to place them chronologically, revealing both his vision of early Islamic history, and of the caliphate: ″The reign of the Banū Umayyah came after the reign of the beloved Rightly-Guided Caliphs, who are Abū Bakr, ʻUmar, ʻUthmān, ʻAlī, and al-Ḥasan, may God be pleased with them.″[41] The startling addition here of al-Ḥasan to what is otherwise the standard Sunni list of Rightly-Guided Caliphs might suggest that al-Maqrīzī has crossed the line into recognizing ʻAlid legitimacy and—who knows?—perhaps even doctrinal Shīʻism.

But it would be unfortunate if that conclusion were drawn, and it is here that one must return to the two factors shaping al-Maqrīzī′s attitudes about the caliphate mentioned above. On the one hand, al-Maqrīzī is demonstrably ″soft″ on *all* members of the Banū Hāshim, Abbasid or ʻAlid, a point which should now be clear. On the other, al-Maqrīzī was not writing in a vacuum, and was himself writing for a patron. The work was written in 1433 in Mecca for a specific purpose: to summarize the faults of the Umayyads and the merits of the Abbasids in the wake of a debate about the subject in the *majlis* of al-Maqrīzī′s unnamed patron. The overtly pro-Abbasid nature of the text, avoiding any of the condemnations of the Abbasids that al-Maqrīzī adduces in the *Nizāʻ,* for example, led Bosworth to suggest that the patron of the work was a member of the Abbasid family, a plausible suggestion given the Meccan context.[42] However, in light of al-Maqrīzī′s list of Rightly-Guided Caliphs, I suggest that the patron might equally be a descendant of al-Ḥasan. After all, Mamluk-era Mecca was governed at the time by a local dynasty of *sharīfs.* In fact, when al-Maqrīzī composed the *Kitāb fī Dhikr Mā Warada,* it was governed by the Hasanid *sharīf* Barakāt ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ʻAjlān.[43] There is no proof positive, of course, but given al-Maqrīzī′s nod to the ʻAlids and to al-Ḥasan in particular in this work,[44] it is certainly more than possible that the host of the Meccan *majlis* in 1433 and the patron of one of

[41]Ibid., fol. 159a: ″wa-kānat dawlat Banī Umayyah baʻda dawlat al-khulafāʼ al-rāshidīn al-ʻazīz hum Abū Bakr wa-ʻUmar wa-ʻUthmān wa-ʻAlī wa-al-Ḥasan raḍiya Allāh taʻālá ʻanhum.″

[42]Bosworth, ″Al-Maqrīzī′s Epistle,″ 45.

[43]On Meccan politics, economy, and society at this time, see John Lash Meloy, ″Mamluk Authority, Meccan Autonomy, and Red Sea Trade, 797–859/1395–1455,″ Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1998.

[44]Pace Bosworth, who claims that the work is ″so silent in respect of the ʻAlids.″ See ″Al-Maqrīzī′s Epistle,″ 45.

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al-Maqrīzī′s last works was a Hasanid member of the sharifian family, if not the *sharīf* Barakāt himself.

Conclusion

All of al-Maqrīzī′s four works described here comment on the course of early Islamic history, especially the *Nizā‘* and the *Kitāb fī Dhikr Mā Warada.* Yet, significantly, despite the fact that in the *Nizā‘* he traces the deeds of the Abbasids from their Jahili beginnings to their Mamluk-era *fainéantise,* he never once takes the opportunity in this tract about the Banū Hāshim, or indeed in any other of the works I mentioned, to discuss the Fatimids. This is especially frustrating as the hidden question behind any discussion of al-Maqrīzī′s views of the caliphate is the question of his Shi‘ite sympathies. Was al-Maqrīzī, with his fascination for Egypt′s Fatimid past, a closeted Shi‘ite himself? Simply: no. As I have shown, and as al-Maqrīzī explicitly states, his position vis-à-vis the *ahl al-bayt* was one solidly within the tradition of Shafi‘i thinking on the issue, and so al-Maqrīzī was in great degree merely toeing the party line. He even adduced refutations of Shi‘ite arguments in doing so. Al-Maqrīzī′s attitude *is* notably accented or nuanced with a clear veneration for the Banū Hāshim as *ahl al-bayt* and as a subset of Quraysh, but this hardly disqualifies him as a Sunni. Reverence for the Banū Hāshim and indeed the descendants of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib was a common feature of Sunni piety from an early date,[45] and we should certainly not be surprised to see it in a man of broad interests and deep learning like al-Maqrīzī, who was himself a product of the religious-cultural synthesis of the Middle Periods that Lapidus has aptly called ″a broad synthetic middle ground—the Sunni-Shari‘a-Sufi position.″[46]

Nevertheless, such a position does raise some questions. Even if one accepts al-Maqrīzī as an unobjectionable Sunni, one has to admit that he had a thing about the Banū Hāshim and the progeny of ‘Alī in particular, what contemporaries would have seen as forgivable Shi‘ite inclinations *(tashayyu‘ ḥasan).*[47] The man wrote three separate treatises about the subject, and the issue is a sub-theme of other of his works, too. He had, to use a felicitous idiom for the author of a treatise on apiculture,[48] a bee in his bonnet. Clearly, al-Maqrīzī is arguing a point here, and it may be that he is arguing against an identifiable trend among his fellow Sunni Muslims of the fifteenth century, in which the Banū Hāshim were

[45]Demonstrated most clearly in Afsaruddin, *Excellence and Precedence,* 12–13 and 283–86.

[46]Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge, 1988), 233.

[47]Afsaruddin, *Excellence and Precedence,* 13, citing Alessandro Bausani, ″Religion under the Mongols,″ in *The Cambridge History of Iran,* ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge, 1968), 5: 538–49.

[48]Al-Maqrīzī, *Naḥl ‘abr al-Naḥl,* ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 2000).

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not being given due respect and in which the descendants of ʻAlī *were* being reviled. But what that position is, and whether there is more evidence for it, I do not know. Certainly, al-Maqrīzī′s writings are at least evidence of one man′s conviction that Sunnis of his day were in need of a little schooling.

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Al-Maqrīzī and the Fatimids

The role of al-Maqrīzī in the historiography of the Fatimids is immense; he looms so large in fact that what he wrote often seems to overwhelm all other sources of information about them. Regardless of how one assesses his strengths and weaknesses as a historian in other respects, his contributions in this one area remain critical in any reconstruction or assessment of Fatimid history. Moreover, if he offered nothing other than the preservation of older sources, that would be enough. He provides a mass of material where little else exists.[1]

And several sources not by him nevertheless depend on him. For the study of the Fatimids, where so few works survive, especially for Egypt, those that we know because of his efforts stand out. One prime example is what remains of the Egyptian historian Tāj al-Dīn Ibn Muyassar′s *History of Egypt (Tārīkh Miṣr)*. Ibn Muyassar′s dates are 628–77 and thus he precedes al-Maqrīzī by over a century and a half. Thought by many to have been the most important work on the Fatimid period before al-Maqrīzī, it has long been known that this chronicle was al-Maqrīzī′s main source for the reconstruction of a major period—a fact easily demonstrated by comparing the surviving text of Ibn Muyassar with al-Maqrīzī′s Fatimid history, the *Itti'āẓ*. But in fact, what we possess of Ibn Muyassar is merely a set of detailed notes taken from the original by al-Maqrīzī himself in the year 814. It is not in all likelihood a verbatim transcription. The surviving manuscript is, moreover, only a copy of those same notes.

There are other less dramatic examples. Only a small section of the massive history by al-Musabbiḥī (d. 420/1029)[2] has been recovered and it is now in the Escorial. On the title page of that manuscript is the signature of al-Maqrīzī, indicating apparently that he once possessed and/or used it.[3] Similarly, al-Maqrīzī′s name and seal are visible on the title page of the Vienna manuscript of Ibn

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[1]On the historiography of the Fatimids see in general my *Exploring an Islamic Empire: Fatimid History and Its Sources* (London, 2002).

[2]The amir al-Mukhtār 'Izz al-Mulk Muḥammad al-Musabbiḥī′s *History,* said to have comprised 13,000 folios in all, has for the most part all but disappeared. His life spanned the period 366–420 and his history the years 368–415.

[3]The same title page has the signature as well of al-Awḥadī. See the photograph of it reproduced in the edition by Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid and Thierry Bianquis, *Al-Juz' al-Arba'ūn min Akhbār Miṣr,* pt. 1 (historical section) (Cairo, 1978), plate 1 (transcribed on p. 1).

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al-Furāt.[4] In two other cases, those of Ibn al-Ma'mūn and Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, much of what remains of their works are the sections that appear in the writings of al-Maqrīzī.

Several of al-Maqrīzī's own works concern the Fatimids in one way or another. The major ones are, first, the *Khiṭaṭ,* which is itself, at least in inspiration, a work on Fatimid Cairo and Fatimid institutions. A *khiṭṭah* (plural *khiṭaṭ*) is both a location or a building and as well an institution, such as a department of government. For al-Maqrīzī the office of chief *dā'ī,* the *dā'ī al-du'āh,* is such an institution, a *khiṭṭah.*[5] Begun out of a sense of nostalgia for the city of his birth and boyhood and its antiquities, much of the *Khiṭaṭ* centers on the Fatimids, even though the final version came to encompass most of Egypt. Al-Maqrīzī's great biographical dictionary, *Al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr,* aspired to include all prominent individuals in the Islamic period who had lived in or visited Egypt. It is less obviously dedicated to the Fatimids. However, of the parts that survive, which contain some 3600 individual entries, I count over 500 related more or less to Fatimid history. Many are quite brief: Andalusians, for example, who passed through Egypt on the hajj; but a fair number of the entries are extensive. Several concern persons one might not expect: there is a biography of a Berber rebel who harried the Zirid rulers of North Africa in the period when they still recognized the suzerainty of the Fatimids in Egypt. After at last defeating and capturing this man, the Zirid ruler executed him and sent his head off to Cairo. And thus, comments al-Maqrīzī, this man merits inclusion in this book—at least his head came to Egypt. Among the longer and more noteworthy biographies are those of the first three Fatimid caliphs: al-Mahdī, al-Qā'im, and most peculiarly al-Manṣūr. Both al-Mahdī and al-Qā'im had lived in Egypt; al-Qā'im also twice led a Fatimid army into Egypt trying to capture it. But al-Manṣūr was born in the Maghrib and died there. His corpse, however, came with al-Mu'izz (along with the bodies of his grandfather and great grandfather) when the Fatimids moved their capital to Egypt. Thus he, too, fit al-Maqrīzī's requirement for the *Muqaffá.*

But, important as these two works are, al-Maqrīzī's major contribution was his *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā' bi-Akhbār al-A'immah al-Fāṭimīyīn al-Khulafā'* (Lessons for the true believers in the history of the Fatimid imams and caliphs), a single, large work devoted exclusively to the Fatimids. It was, it is true, only one of a series of three works on the history of Egypt from the Arab conquest until the

[4]As noted by Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid in the introduction to his edition of Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, *Nuzhat al-Muqlatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn* (Beirut, 1992), 14*.

[5]See the *musawwadah*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (London, 1995), 94: ″This institution *(al-khiṭṭah),* that is the office *(waẓīfah)* of the chief *dā'ī* I have not observed in any state other than that of the Fatimid caliphs, especially in Egypt. The institution is based on an appeal to the masses to accept what of the Ismaili *madhhab* they used to believe in.″ The Bulaq text ([1853], 391) is not the same.

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year of al-Maqrīzī′s own death. The first, his *'Iqd Jawāhir al-Asqāṭ min Akhbār Madīnat al-Fusṭāṭ,* went to the year 358.[6] Next is the *Itti'āẓ,* his history of the Fatimids, and finally his *Al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* which covered the Ayyubids and Mamluks. The pattern of these histories thus suggests that the Fatimids were not accorded as much attention as might be supposed from the one work in isolation. Still, even if it is one of a series, it stands out. Excluding those that are merely a part of a broader history and a few that deal with limited portions of the Fatimid experience as a whole, the *Itti'āẓ* is the only medieval history of them we have.[7]

Al-Maqrīzī′s lavish attentions to the Fatimids, his evident sympathy for them, and his well-known acceptance of their genealogical claim of descent from 'Alī and Fāṭimah—despite its rejection by most Sunni authorities—gained him special notice among his contemporaries, both those friendly to him and those who were not. But a typical reaction is that of an unknown writer who added a comment in the margin of the Gotha ms. (the autograph) of the *Itti'āẓ* immediately after al-Maqrīzī′s section on Fatimid genealogy.[8]

> The concern of the author with refuting what was said by the specialists in genealogy about the validity [of the claim of descent] of the Fatimids, and his attempt to vindicate them, his constant praise for them, and defense of their *madhhab* . . . is excused because he traced his own ancestry to them. He used to state, particularly in the beginning of a book and in his own hand, that his line went back to Tamīm [ibn al-Mu'izz].

As a descendant of the Fatimid caliphs he might well be expected both to support their position and to write a laudatory account of their reign. The view expressed in this comment was apparently shared by many others, as at least supplying a reason to explain al-Maqrīzī′s interest in the Fatimids. Nearly all of his biographers mention it, for example. Some even, perhaps hoping to discredit him, hint at the possibility that he was personally attracted by Ismaili doctrine, that he was a

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[6]This work is now lost.

[7]Remarkably, there is as yet no history of the Fatimids in a European language. The only modern example is Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan′s *Tārīkh al-Dawlah al-Fāṭimīyah fī al-Maghrib wa-Miṣr wa-Suriyā wa-Bilād al-'Arab* (2nd ed., Cairo, 1958; 3rd ed., Cairo, 1964). But the most important book on the Fatimids in Arabic is Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid′s *Al-Dawlah al-Fāṭimīyah fī Miṣr: Tafsīr Jadīd* (Cairo, 1992; 2nd ed., Cairo, 2000) which by its very nature does not cover the North African phase.

[8]Given in Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl′s note in his edition of the text, *Iṭṭi'āẓ al-Ḥunafā' bi-Akhbār al-A'immah al-Fāṭimīyīn al-Khulafā'* (Cairo, 1967–73), 1:54 n. 2.

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crypto-Ismaili. These are, however, two separate problems: Was al-Maqrīzī, or did he think he was, a descendant of the Fatimids? And did he accept in any way Ismaili doctrines?

The question of his ancestry is immediately complicated by al-Maqrīzī′s refusal in all his works, despite the evidence of the statement above, to admit his Fatimid descent or provide a full genealogy going back to the Fatimids—a fact already noted by contemporaries such as Ibn Ḥajar. In other words, al-Maqrīzī himself did not make such a claim in his written work, but extended his line back no more than ten generations. From where, then, does this widely cited fact come and on what sort of evidence is it based?

Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Maqrīzī′s own student, remarks in the *Nujūm al-Zāhirah* that al-Maqrīzī′s ancestry could be extended back to ʻAlī via the Fatimid caliphs, a fact he learned from al-Maqrīzī′s nephew al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad, the son of his brother.[9]

Ibn Ḥajar, in the *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* offers two bits of evidence.[10] A) The story of a Meccan scholar who read a work of al-Maqrīzī′s with him on the front of which he had written a list of al-Maqrīzī′s ancestors running back to Tamīm the son of al-Muʻizz, the Fatimid caliph who founded Cairo. But then al-Maqrīzī himself erased that same list and in his works he never (again?) extended the line that far back. B) Another story comes from al-Maqrīzī′s brother who was curious to learn how they were related to the Fatimids. Al-Maqrīzī supposedly told him that he and his father entered the Mosque of al-Ḥākim one day and the father told the son, ″My son, this is the mosque of your ancestor.″

In the same author′s *Al-Durar al-Kāminah*[11] he comments that al-Maqrīzī used to say that his father mentioned to him that he was a descendant of Tamīm ibn al-Muʻizz, the builder of Cairo, but that he should not reveal this fact to anyone he could not trust.

Al-Maqrīzī′s neighbor, friend, and fellow historian, al-Awḥadī, composed lines of verse in which he states rather directly, ″Boast among the people, Taqī al-Dīn, with full pride in a noble Fatimid ancestry; when you related something good about them and face opposition, trace it back to the Ḥākimī [al-Ḥākim].″[12]

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[9]See, under the year 845, his obituary for al-Maqrīzī: Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1929–49; 1963–71), 15:490. There is, however, no detail given of such a genealogy. In Ibn Taghrībirdī′s *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʻda al-Wāfī,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1984) there is a biography of al-Maqrīzī (1:415–20) but again no genealogy (nor any claim for it).

[10]*Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʻUmr* (Hyderabad, 1976) under the year 845, 9:172.

[11]*Al-Durar al-Kāminah* (Cairo, 1966), 3:5.

[12]As far as I know Nasser Rabbat was the first to notice these lines, which appear in al-Maqrīzī′s biography of al-Awḥadī in the *Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-Aʻyān al-Mufīdah,* ed.

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There is in all this still no specific genealogy. Al-Sakhāwī in his *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'* also gives none, although he does repeat disparagingly what Ibn Ḥajar had said, adding a nasty comment about al-Maqrīzī's reliance on an untrustworthy genealogist.[13] Nevertheless in his *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk* he provides a complete genealogy going back, not merely to al-Mu'izz, but from him to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.[14] This is the only complete genealogy for al-Maqrīzī that I know of.[15]

What can we make of all this? Obviously someone wanted to be descended from the founder of Cairo. Tamīm, al-Mu'izz's oldest son, was the link. But Tamīm, born in 337, although the oldest, was passed over in the succession in the mid-350s when it was learned that he would never produce offspring *(lammā ra'á an lā yu'qib)*. We don't know exactly why: impotence or another physical defect. A Shi'i imam, however, must produce an heir, otherwise he cannot be the imam. But the point here is that Tamīm also cannot have been al-Maqrīzī's ancestor; or to put it another way, al-Maqrīzī was not his descendant. Whoever was originally responsible for this claim had made the wrong choice of a Fatimid.[16] Most importantly al-Maqrīzī knew about the impotence of Tamīm, or at least, he came to know of it. But in his *Itti'āẓ* he does not mention this fact, although it might be expected there. Nevertheless, in his biographical entry for Tamīm in the *Muqaffá,* he is quite clear about it.

Another fact worth repeating here also comes from al-Maqrīzī. When Saladin put an end to the caliphate he rounded up all the Fatimids and detained them where they could not procreate and thus produce more Fatimids. Thirty years later in 608, sixty were still held; in 623, forty remained. We have their names thanks to al-Maqrīzī. If sixty-three were still in custody after 30 years, there must have been many, many more in 558: possibly as many as 200? 300? Saladin was quite

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'Adnān Darwīsh and Muḥammad al-Miṣrī (Damascus, 1995), 2:239. He quite rightly saw their significance as well. For this reference and some others I benefited from an unpublished earlier version of his paper in this volume which he kindly provided to me.

[13]Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo, 1934–36), 2:21–26.

[14]Did al-Sakhāwī possibly accept as genuine the genealogy he gives for the line from al-Mahdī to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq: "al-Mahdī. . .ibn Majīd ibn Ja'far, ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ja'far. . ."?

[15]As printed: Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk* (Bulaq, 1896), 21–24; however, there are problems: the key segment runs: ". . . Tamīm ibn 'Alī ibn 'Ubayd ibn Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Mu'izz . . ." which cannot be correct. Al-Mu'izz had four sons: Tamīm, 'Abd Allāh, Nizār (al-'Azīz), and 'Aqīl. See my "Succession to Rule in the Shiite Caliphate" (*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 32 [1995]: 239–64), 246.

[16]Admittedly there is some confusion in the data presented to us. Tamīm ibn al-Mu'izz was the uncle of al-Ḥākim and therefore, even if he had produced offspring, he and al-Ḥākim belong to different lines.

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thorough; there were to be no descendants at all![17]

At this point it is obvious that the evidence is hardly unambiguous and it is therefore difficult to explain all these claims with a simple solution. However, it appears that the basic assertion of Fatimid descent in the case of al-Maqrīzī is a family myth or legend. Note in particular the role of the father and the brother. The neighbor al-Awḥadī may have learned what he knew from the same source. At any rate al-Awḥadī died in 811, thirty-four years before al-Maqrīzī. His lines of verse therefore belong to the first half of al-Maqrīzī's life, quite possibly before he discovered how unlikely the family legend was. When he did, he simply stopped making the claim on his own behalf; but he could not—and perhaps saw no harm in not—prevent others (such as his own brother) from repeating it.

But what about those who saw him as a sympathizer, a Shiite, or even a crypto-Ismaili? His acceptance of the Fatimid claim of a valid descent from ʻAlī, despite its rejection by most Sunnis, his generally soft-hearted attitude to the Hashimids and the Alids (the Ashrāf, i.e., descendants of either Ḥasan ibn ʻAlī or Ḥusayn ibn ʻAlī), and his obvious tolerance for Shiite doctrines were well known. But do they indicate something deeper and more profound?

Here there are three separate questions to consider. The first involves his support of the Fatimid genealogy. The second is his attitude toward the public doctrines of the Ismailis as applied by the Fatimids. The third concerns his reaction to the secret esoteric doctrines of the Ismaili *daʻwah*. But did he even know about the last and if he did, in what manner and based on what sources? Sunni denunciation of Ismaili doctrine occurred regularly but rarely was it directed at authentic pronouncements by the Ismailis themselves.

The problem of Fatimid genealogy is interesting. Al-Maqrīzī was one of only a handful of the later Sunni writers to accept it. But his argument is curious.[18] According to him, it is plausible, which means that he could find specialists in the genealogy of the Alids who assured him that descent from Jaʻfar through Ismāʻīl and his son Muḥammad might well continue to al-Mahdī, the founder of the caliphate. Moreover, the main detractors, namely Akhū Muḥsin and Ibn al-Rizām, were obviously out-of-line and clearly consumed by bias. As were the Abbasids, who did not denounce it until they had lost a huge share of territory and were threatened directly and immediately, and even then they had to resort to force in

[17]It should be recognized that these facts by themselves do not exclude all lines of descent. Several sons of al-Mustanṣir fled Egypt during the dispute over the succession of al-Mustaʻlī and they are not all accounted for, nor their offspring. On this see ″Succession to Rule in the Shiite Caliphate,″ 248–56.

[18]His comments occur in at least three places: *Itti'āẓ*, 1:15–54 (esp. 52–54); *Khiṭaṭ* (Bulaq), 1:348–51; *Kitāb al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr,* ed. M. al-Yaʻlāwī (Beirut, 1991), 4:523–70 (bio. of al-Mahdī, no. 1528).

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order to convince the Ashrāf to sign on to their proclamation of the denunciation.[19] Had the Fatimids been liars, al-Maqrīzī continues, God would never have allowed them the tremendous successes they in fact achieved. (This latter argument is admittedly extremely weak, as al-Maqrīzī´s contemporaries obviously realized.) But finally, and much more importantly, he observes that the major Egyptian historians accepted its validity, among them Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir,[20] Ibn al-Ṭuwayr,[21] and Ibn Khaldūn.[22] Those who rejected it were most often non-Egyptians, for example, the Syrians or the Baghdadis.

Al-Maqrīzī´s accounts of public doctrines for the better part also down-play the differences between Shiite practice and that of the Sunnis. The Fatimids, in his view, simply followed the practice of ʻAlī and of the Ahl al-Bayt; it was their *madhhab*. To cite but one example, when al-Muʻizz´s uncle died, the caliph allowed seven repetitions of the *takbīr* instead of the expected five. ʻAlī himself had approved, al-Maqrīzī notes, an adjustment of the number in accord with the rank of the deceased.[23] Al-Maqrīzī sees in this aspect of Fatimid doctrine, as with other examples of the kind, nothing denoting unacceptable heresy. Mild preference for ʻAlī *(tafḍīl ʻAlī)* apparently did not threaten him.

What about theology and the secret doctrines of the *daʻwah*? Did al-Maqrīzī really understand the true nature of Ismailism? This is an important question. He certainly had read anti-Ismaili tracts and refutations, many quite scurrilous and hostile. He knew therefore of the standard accusation leveled against them of antinomianism, that is, of having rejected the outward observance of legal rites and rituals in favor of esoteric knowledge. But did he actually know about the content of genuine Ismaili writings and of their actual doctrines?

Here it is useful to quote at length his assessment of the problem as reflected in the concluding pages of the *Itti'āẓ*. There he says the following:[24]

> What They May Be Faulted For (Or Not)
>
> There is no disputing the fact that this group was Shiʻi and that they maintained the superiority of ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib over the rest

[19]The date of this famous proclamation issued in Baghdad by the Abbasids is 402.

[20]*Al-Rawḍah al-Bahīyah al-Zāhirah fī Khiṭaṭ al-Muʻizzīyah al-Qāhirah,* ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (Cairo, 1996), 6–7.

[21]Ibn al-Ṭuwayr´s acceptance is reported by Ibn al-Zayyāt (*Al-Kawākib al-Sayyārah fī Tartīb al-Ziyārah,* 176) as noted by Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid in his introduction to Ibn al-Ṭuwayr´s *Nuzhat al-Muqlatayn,* 14*.

[22]Whether or not Ibn Khaldūn counts as an Egyptian, when al-Maqrīzī knew him, he did live in Cairo.

[23]*Itti'āẓ*, 1:146.

[24]Ibid., 3:345–46.

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of the Companions and that, out of the various *madhhab*s of the Shi'ah, they adhered to that of the Ismā'īlīyah, who affirm the imamate of Ismā'īl ibn Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and trace the continuation of it in offspring of his among imams that were hidden up to 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī, the first of those who ruled in the Maghrib. The remainder of the Shi'ah do not recognize the imamate of Ismā'īl and, in direct opposition to them, deny it vehemently.

Along with their deviation from the general *madhhab* of Shiism they were excessive in terms of *rafḍ* [i.e., refusal to accept the authority of others, 'Umar and other Companions], although those who came earlier were more concerned to safeguard themselves from the kind of perversions engaged in by the later ones. Then al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh went even further in meddling with doctrine. But he was hardly consistent in this and was quick to change his mind. When he leaned to one doctrine, he proclaimed it and imposed it on the people. But soon thereafter he reverted to something else and expected the populace to abandon what he had imposed on them and turn to what he had now come up with. A man known as al-Labbād al-Zawzanī [Ḥamzah][25] joined him and this man now professed openly the *madhhab* of the Bāṭinīyah.[26] There had been some of this among the earliest of them. However, the people rejected this *madhhab* in so far as it comprised things not known among the earlier imams and their successors, and also what in it contradicted the shari'ah.

Next, in the time of al-Mustanṣir, al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ[27] came to see him. He spread this *madhhab* in various regions, summoning the masses to it. He also permitted the killing of those who opposed him. Accordingly, disapproval [of them] intensified and the outcry against them increased in every direction up to the point that they were excluded from Islam and the community of believers.

When the Abbasids were overcome with hatred for them

[25]This Ḥamzah, who was originally a *dā'ī* in Egypt under al-Ḥākim, became the founder of the Druze.

[26]Al-Maqrīzī apparently means by this term those who subscribe to the inner *bāṭinī* understanding of the law and scripture to the exclusion of its outward *ẓāhirī* aspects. In other words they deny the physical reality of the law itself and no longer observe its strictures.

[27]Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ created and led the Nizārī Ismailis who became legendary, if not notorious, for use of assassination to control their enemies, hence the common name for his followers, the Assassins.

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[the Fatimids] and were reeling from the hurt of their having captured from them the territories of Qayrawan, the regions of Egypt, Syria, the Hijaz, the Yemen, and ultimately even Baghdad, the Abbasids found a special way to denigrate them. They repudiated any genealogical link of theirs to ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and insisted instead that they were the descendants of a Jew. The Abbasids procured spokesmen who would say this and the latter filled the books of history with it.

Later the Ghuzz arrived and from their number Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh and his nephew Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn were appointed viziers of the Fatimids. These men were creatures of the Abbasid regime. They had been raised on its doorstep, nurtured by its favors; they were steeped in the doctrine of its supporters and in hostility toward its enemies. Their closeness to the Fatimid regime only increased their aversion to it and its favor to them filled them with nothing but ill-will and animosity, until having benefited from it, they attained enough power to bring about its end and do away with it completely.

However, the foundations of Fatimid rule were firmly grounded within proper limits; their eminence ascended higher than the stars; their followers and loyalists were too numerous to count; their supporters and backers had filled every region and territory. Wanting to obliterate their light, to replace their very lighthouses, the Abbasids attempted to smear them with charges of depravity and abomination. This is how an enemy acts, and is obviously in accord with the condition of his being an enemy.

But ponder, may God have mercy on you, the secrets of existence and distinguish among historical reports as you would distinguish between good and bad coins. Discover, by avoiding passions, the real truth. What you will discern in the great numbers of attacks on them is that those accounts of repulsive acts, especially those leading to their expulsion from the community of Islam, are found almost exclusively in the books by easterners, that is, among the Baghdadis and Syrians, as for example in the *Muntaẓam* of Ibn al-Jawzī, the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr,[28] the *History of Aleppo* of Ibn Abī Ṭayy, the *Tārīkh al-ʻImād* of Ibn Kathīr, the books by Ibn Wāṣil al-Ḥamawī, Ibn Shaddād, and al-ʻImād al-Iṣfahānī, and others

[28]For his judgment of Ibn al-Athīr, see also *Itti'āẓ*, 1:232. Ibn al-Athīr, he says, relied on Iraqi and Syrian historians who did not know Egypt well. Al-Maqrīzī prefers the Egyptian Ibn Zūlāq, for example.

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> like these. Books by Egyptians, who took great care in recording what they report, contain almost nothing of the kind at all. So judge according to reason and vanquish the forces of prejudice, give everything its proper due, and be rightly-guided.

In the preceding passage al-Maqrīzī appears to minimize the heretical nature of Ismaili doctrine, except in the two cases of extremists, Ḥamzah and the Druze, and the Assassins after Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ. The former group rejected Islamic law and the latter advocated the killing of those who opposed them. Both are clearly unacceptable and are intolerable in his mind. But al-Maqrīzī seems to be separating carefully these obviously heretical transgressions from what are, in his view, otherwise doctrines that remain within the bounds of Islam. It is more than likely that he personally did not subscribe to the Shiism of the Fatimids but he refused nonetheless to condemn it. He also will have nothing to do with what he sees as the flagrantly inaccurate and trumped-up charges against them put in circulation by the Abbasids and their hired guns. Moreover, he tends to reject the authority of any non-Egyptian, as the list he has just given well illustrates.[29]

But surely he knew more that he is not saying. Or, possibly, there are issues involved—subjects pertaining to the work of the Ismaili *da'wah*—that al-Maqrīzī had either ignored or had not yet discovered. As to this latter category, his remarks in the *Khiṭaṭ* introducing his discussion of the *da'wah* seem particularly to the point (statement from the *musawwadah*[30]):

> Most people of our time are ignorant of their beliefs and thus, as a way of disavowing it, I want to explain their doctrines here based on what I discovered in the books they themselves composed for that purpose (i.e., for the *da'wah*).

What did he ″discover″ in their books and when? What books?

Prior to dealing with these questions it is useful to return to some historiographical issues about what he wrote, when, and in what order.

Main Works Reconsidered for Historiographical Order

The *Khiṭaṭ,* which was the first to enter modern scholarship, is well known and widely used despite the faulty Bulaq edition of 1853. Having now two versions of

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[29]For a similar rejection of Ibn Abī Ṭayy whose bias he claims is not shared by any of the Egyptian historians, see *Itti'āẓ*, 2:119. Note also *Itti'āẓ*, 1:232 (and the comments of the editor al-Shayyāl, 1:30).

[30]P. 94.

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it, a *musawwadah* and a final draft, allows the study of its development. The *Itti'āẓ* (also badly edited) by contrast is known only from a partial *musawwadah* and a copy of the whole that has been taken from what is likely the same original *musawwadah*. In other words, no final draft exists. And, in all probability, none was ever made.

Thanks to the recent investigations of Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid[31] and Frédéric Bauden[32] on al-Maqrīzī's methods, we are fairly sure that he employed his first drafts as a kind of working file to which he either added marginal additions or inserted bits of paper with new material between the pages. Apparently he planned to return to produce a final version at some future time.

As with the *Itti'āẓ,* the portions of the *Muqaffá* that survive represent an unfinished draft, a *musawwadah*. The *Itti'āẓ* was published in its entirety only in 1973; the latter in 1991. Neither one is as well known or as thoroughly studied as the *Khiṭaṭ*. In fact the *Muqaffá* is even now often ignored although it contains a great deal of information not in the other two.[33]

Given that two of these major works exist only as a first draft, it is quite reasonable to assume that al-Maqrīzī kept all three projects active simultaneously, adding from one to the others as he came upon new material. It is certainly essential for modern scholars to consult all three. Al-Maqrīzī often identifies his source in one but not in the others; presumably, therefore, the former is more likely to contain a verbatim quotation of the source and the others merely paraphrases or some other reworking of the same material. However, as Bauden's discoveries have shown, what might look like a quotation may already represent a paraphrase and thus not the original text. Accordingly, for example, the work now attributed to Ibn Muyassar and which is in reality a set of al-Maqrīzī's notes from it, may owe as much to al-Maqrīzī as to Ibn Muyassar.

It remains to be seen whether we can find a basis for arranging these three works of al-Maqrīzī in some chronological order. Here the differences among them in the presentation of facts or, more significantly, what is missing from one as opposed to another may help. Also there is a suggestive passage at the end of

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[31]Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid's contribution to the study of al-Maqrīzī is extensive. See, for example, his introduction to his edition of the *Khiṭaṭ Musawwadah* as well as the following "Early Methods of Book Composition: al-Maqrīzī's Draft of the Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ," in *The Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts, Proceedings of the Second Conference of Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1993* (London, 1995), 93–101, and "Remarques sur la compostion des Ḫiṭaṭ de Maqrīzī d'après un manuscrit autographe," in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron,* vol. 2, *Egypte Post-Pharaonique* (Cairo, 1979), 231–58 + plates.

[32]See his article in this volume.

[33]As but one example, note that it has a long biography of al-Yāzūrī which is not cited at all in the recent *Encyclopaedia of Islam* article on him.

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the *Itti'āẓ* in which al-Maqrīzī comments:[34]

> In an account of the *khiṭaṭ* of Cairo, *in shā' Allāh,* I will describe the relics of their rule and review the management of their state so that, in regard to matters of this world, you will come to understand the extent of their achievement and the insignificance of those who came after them.

It appears therefore that when he finished this draft of the *Itti'āz*—which is the only one known to have existed—he had not yet written the *Khiṭaṭ;* the latter was then only a project in his mind (but perhaps one he was just about to begin). If so, all subsequent revisions of it also come after the *Itti'āẓ*. What he learned while gathering material for the *Khiṭaṭ* thus may or may not have found its way back also to the *Itti'āẓ*. And the *Muqaffá* is quite likely later still. We are quite sure in this latter case that he never completed it.[35]

Vis-à-vis the *Itti'āẓ,* the *Muqaffá* contains significant new information that ought to have been included in the former but is not to be found there. The *Itti'āẓ*, for example, contains four pages on the reign of al-Manṣūr (plus at most four additional pages on the pursuit of Abū Yazīd included at the end of the section on al-Qā'im). By contrast the *Muqaffá* has fifty-two pages on al-Manṣūr with quite valuable new information. It provides, for example, the details of how and why, with a fairly precise date for when, al-Manṣūr brought Qāḍī al-Nu'mān from his post in Tripoli to al-Manṣūrīyah—a date nearer the end of his reign and later than most scholars have supposed.[36] In the biography of Tamīm ibn al-Mu'izz we are given the reason, cited earlier, for his having been passed over. In a biography of the chief qadi Ibn Abī al-'Awwām, who was appointed by al-Ḥākim in 405, al-Maqrīzī makes clear he was a Hanafi (a fact that is surely correct). Ibn Ḥajar had claimed he was a Hanbali.[37] There is a biography of Ḥamzah ibn 'Alī, the founder of the Druze, which gives the date and details of his death.[38] For the later

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[34]3:344.

[35]According to information supplied by al-Sakhāwī. See his *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, 23 and *Al-Ḍaw'*, 2:22.

[36]*Muqaffá,* bio. no. 780.

[37]Ibid., bio. no. 584. On the Hanafi affiliation of this qadi see Gary Leiser, ″Ḥanbalism in Egypt before the Mamlûks″ (*Studia Islamica* 54 [1981]: 155–81), 159–60.

[38]On this information and its meaning see Heinz Halm, ″Der Tod Ḥamzas, des Begründers der drusischen Religion,″ in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, ed. U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet (Leuven, 1995–2001), 2:105–13.

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vizier al-Ma'mūn, new information reveals that he was Imami Shi'i.[39] And, in one more case, the biography of al-Musta'lī explains a simple conspiracy of al-Afḍal with a sister of al-Mustanṣir to throw the succession to this caliph (rather than, say, Nizār) with a tacit understanding that they, the sister and the vizier, would thereafter share power: he in public and she within the palace.[40] The point is that this is not what is reported in the *Itti'āẓ*.

All this suggests that al-Maqrīzī wrote the *Muqaffá* well after the *Itti'āẓ* and that he included in it a great deal of information that he had come upon in the meantime. Moreover, he did not bother to add it to the older *Itti'āẓ*. It seems likely as well that the *Khiṭaṭ* did not benefit from much of this material, it also being earlier, even in its final draft.[41]

Returning to the question of al-Maqrīzī's knowledge of authentic Ismaili works, we may now be in a position to see a chronological progression in his knowledge of the secret works of the *da'wah*. What he says in the *musawwadah* of the *Khiṭaṭ* in one place (as quoted above), and repeated in the Bulaq edition in different places, establishes that, according to his own account, he found genuine Ismaili books and treatises and learned from them. He speaks repeatedly in the latter of their books: ". . . matters stipulated in their books,"[42] "what is accepted in their books an account of which this book cannot include because of its length,"[43] ". . . and things of this sort are found in their books; the source of it is the writings of the Philosophers . . . they go on at great length with other expressions . . . this book cannot contain the full extent of the statements of this kind."[44] "They uphold the doctrine that God is neither eternal nor temporally created but rather what is eternal is His command *(amr)* and word *(kalimah)* and what is temporally produced is His creation as explained at length in their books."[45] Near the end of this section on the Ismaili *da'wah* he says: "It is dealt with in extenso in their books and all this constitutes the knowledge of the *dā'ī*. They have many books composed for that purpose from which I have taken the summary just given."[46]

His summary of esoteric Ismaili doctrine, i.e., the *da'wah,* is, moreover, despite some relatively unimportant problems, reasonably accurate and accords well with

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[39]*Muqaffá,* bio. no. 2999.

[40]Ibid., bio. no. 638.

[41]I have not compared enough of the specific Fatimid material in these two for a sound judgment about how it relates precisely from one to the other.

[42]Bulaq ed., 1:393.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Ibid., 395.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Ibid.

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what we know from the writings of Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī[47] and Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī,[48] to cite but two of the main Fatimid-era Ismaili authorities. Here is a key point: at the final stage of the initiation of an Ismaili, the candidate is taught that the prophet's miracle is the law, which is expressed on the one hand by "symbols a person of intellect will comprehend and on the other by an open declaration recognizable by everyone."[49] "Revelation is the delivering of God's word [to the prophet], following upon which the prophet embodies it [i.e., makes it incarnate, *yujassiduhu*] and then presents it to the people."[50]

But what "books" exactly? We have no way of knowing precisely except in one case. Bauden has now discovered in one of al-Maqrīzī's notebooks a passage from al-Kirmānī's *Rāḥat al-'Aql*. Clearly then al-Maqrīzī was able to find a copy of this one work and to use it.[51] Most probably he located more and thus when he says he derives his understanding of Ismaili doctrine from their books, that is in fact true.[52]

Is it possible to say when this happened, even relatively? If the chronology suggested above reflects reality, then it appears likely that al-Maqrīzī's work on the *Itti'āẓ,* which is his most sympathetic portrayal of the Fatimids and is a defense of them, and which closely follows in the appropriate sections what he gleaned from Ibn Muyassar, must belong to a period not long after 814, when he took his notes from this source. Why would he excerpt Ibn Muyassar after he had written the *Itti'āẓ*? It must be the other way around: the *Itti'āẓ* came later. Subsequently—i.e., after 814—he composed a first draft of the *Khiṭaṭ* and then reworked it at least once. And it contains an account of the secret doctrines of the Ismaili *da'wah* that is not in the *Itti'āẓ,* nor even alluded to there.

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[47]On this fourth century *dā'ī* see the following studies of mine: *Early Philosophical Shiism: The Ismaili Neoplatonism of Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī* (Cambridge, 1993); *The Wellsprings of Wisdom: A Study of Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī's* Kitāb al-Yanābī' (Salt Lake City, 1994); and *Abu Ya'qub al-Sijistani: Intellectual Missionary* (London, 1996).

[48]On al-Kirmānī, see Daniel De Smet, *La Quiétude de l'Intellect: Néoplatonisme et gnose ismaélienne dans l'oeuvre de Ḥamīd ad-Dīn al-Kirmānī (Xe/XIe s.)* (Leuven, 1995), and Walker, *Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī: Ismaili Thought in the Age of al-Ḥākim* (London, 1999).

[49]Bulaq ed., 1:395. This doctrine implies a double *bāṭinī/ẓāhirī* form of the truth (in the manner, for example, advocated by the philosopher Ibn Rushd).

[50]*Musawwadah,* 105. Note that, according to this doctrine, the Prophet is the author of the written form of the revelation. He is the lawgiver, the *shāri'*. On this in the thought of al-Sijistānī, see my *Early Philosophical Shiism*, ch. 11 (pp. 114–23), *Intellectual Missionary,* 49–50, and *Wellsprings,* 8–10.

[51]Personal communication.

[52]Knowledge of and/or the citation of genuine Ismaili works by non-Ismailis was extremely rare.

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Conclusion: Just as al-Maqrīzī eventually discovered that he could not have descended from the Fatimid caliphs, he also learned more and more about their secret doctrine, not from malicious detractors like Ibn al-Jawzī or Ibn al-Nadīm or the others he mentioned in the statement taken earlier from the *Itti'āẓ,* nor as revealed by the renegade Druze, the erratic and unstable al-Ḥākim, or the Assassins after Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, but from their own writings, the authentic works of true Ismaili *dā'ī*s. He then realized that the Ismaili *da'wah* was far more sophisticated yet also therefore dangerously alien to his own religious outlook than if it had been merely a *madhhab* of the Ahl al-Bayt. Subsequently, his former enthusiasm for the Fatimids abated.[53] He never went back to finish the *Itti'āẓ* and he expanded the *Khiṭaṭ* far beyond its original narrow focus on the Fatimid capital and governing institutions, until ultimately it encompassed all of Egypt and its history.

[53]That he lost his enthusiasm for the Fatimids does not mean also that he lost interest in the details of the history of their period since he obviously continued to collect such material. And I think, for example, it is quite obvious from his biography of al-Manṣūr that on a personal basis he deeply admired this one caliph (if not others).

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Al-Maqrīzī as a Historian of the Early Mamluk Sultanate (or: Is al-Maqrīzī an Unrecognized Historiographical Villain?)

It can be argued that al-Maqrīzī′s chronicle *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk* is the best known historical work from the Mamluk period, contributing in no small way to its author′s reputation as the most famous historian writing in the Mamluk Sultanate. The pride of place of this work can easily be understood. Al-Maqrīzī′s treatment of the early sultanate in the *Sulūk* was the first Mamluk chronicle to be translated into a European language.[1] I am referring, of course, to the fine translation by Quatremère, published in Paris in the years 1837–45.[2] The extensive notes and appendices, still valuable today, greatly increased the value of this translation, and it indeed served as a bedrock for the study of the early sultanate, as well as the waning years for the Frankish entity in the East. A second reason for al-Maqrīzī′s ubiquity and prominence in most studies on the period under discussion is the exemplary edition initiated by Ziyādah in 1934 and finally completed in 1973.[3] When publishing began in the 1930s, this was one of the first Mamluk chronicles to see the light of day in a competent scholarly edition, and thus it is not a surprise that the *Sulūk* continued to serve as a major source for the study of the period, even after the publication of various editions (some better than others) of chronicles and other sources which covered this period. In the present discussion, my focus will be only on the first volume (published in three parts), which deals with the sultanate up to the beginning of the eighth/fourteenth century.

I will suggest in this article that for the first decades of the Mamluk Sultanate, al-Maqrīzī was a summarizer of primarily one work, and not always an accurate one at that. I will propose, therefore, that for this early period of the sultanate′s history, he should be seen as an auxiliary source of only secondary importance. A

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[1]Parts of the chronicles by Abū al-Fidā' and Ibn al-'Amīd were published and translated long before this, but these were sections related to the early history of Islam, and therefore are not relevant to the discussion here.

[2]M. E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l′Égypte* (Paris, 1837–45), 2 volumes in 4 parts.

[3]Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr (Cairo, 1934–73), 4 volumes in 12 parts.

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few modern scholars have already mentioned al-Maqrīzī′s derivative and summary character in his account of the early sultanate, as well as his overall refusal to cite the names of his sources.[4] But al-Maqrīzī′s carelessness in rendering his material has not, as far as I am aware, been explicitly noted. At the same time, some historians of the early sultanate and the late Frankish East have continued citing the *Sulūk* as if it was an independent source, in spite of the plethora of recently-published contemporary and near contemporary sources, as well as the much greater source-critical sophistication of Mamluk historiography.[5]

As I hope to demonstrate, for the first decades of the Mamluk Sultanate (up to 696/1296–97), al-Maqrīzī′s *Sulūk* should be read in conjunction with his main, and at times exclusive (particularly for 658–80/1260–81), source. I am referring to the chronicle of the Egyptian historian Nāṣir al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405), *Kitāb al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* parts of which have been published, and others are available still only in manuscript form.[6] I will show that the use of al-Maqrīzī as an independent source without

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[4]Donald P. Little, ″Historiography of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Epochs,″ in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, ed. Carl F. Petry, vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt (640–1517)* (Cambridge, 1998), 436–37; idem, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 77–78; Linda S. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689 A.H./1279–1290 A.D.)* (Stuttgart, 1998), 51. Peter Thorau, ″The Battle of ʻAyn Jālūt: A Re-examination,″ in *Crusade and Settlement,* ed. Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), 237, writes that ″[al-Maqrīzī′s] account of earlier centuries cannot always serve as a primary source,″ but proceeds to use him as an independent source for the reconstruction of the battle.

Scholars from an earlier generation held al-Maqrīzī in high regard. For the views of Hitti, Ziyādah, etc., see the citations and references found in: Little, *Introduction*, 77; idem, ″Historiography,″ 436. Little, *Introduction*, 76, writes: ″The grand scope of that work [i.e., *Sulūk*], its accessibility both in Arabic and translated versions, the praise it has received, have combined to secure al-Maqrīzī the hackneyed but apt title of dean of Egyptian historians.″ Little himself challenges that view by showing that at least one of al-Maqrīzī′s contemporaries, Badr al-Dīn al-ʻAynī, wrote a chronicle whose scope (let alone accuracy) is no less comprehensive than the former′s. See F. Rosenthal, ″Maḳrīzī,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 4:193–94, for some discussion of criticism from al-Maqrīzī′s contemporaries.

[5]The following recent studies, for example, use al-Maqrīzī′s *Sulūk* for their discussion of the early sultanate as if it was an independent source: ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Khuwayṭir, *Baibars the First: His Endeavours and Achievements* (London, 1978); Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, tr. P. M. Holt (London and New York, 1992); Stefan Heidemann, *Das Aleppiner Kalifat (AD 1261): vom Ende des Kalifates in Bagdad uber Aleppo zu den Restaurationen in Kairo* (Leiden, 1994). My historiographical reservations do not detract from the overall value of these studies.

[6]The annals of these years are found in the following volumes: (a) Vatican MS AR. 726 (years

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recourse to Ibn al-Furāt can be misleading, since at best the former gives only a succinct rendering of his source, and as will be seen, a not always accurate one at that. Whereas al-Maqrīzī never names his source, Ibn al-Furāt is generally scrupulous in naming those historians whose works he cites. At this point, it might be noted that for Baybars´s reign, Ibn al-Furāt relies heavily on the royal biography by Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, who is often cited by name.[7] To this central source, Ibn al-Furāt adds material from other writers, some of whose works are now lost. Some modern scholars have discussed in general al-Maqrīzī´s reliance on Ibn al-Furāt for the annals describing the early decades of the sultanate,[8] but to the best of my knowledge, no one has yet explicitly noted that the former´s almost complete dependence on the latter, and the frequent sloppy and inaccurate way in which this was done.

As I hope to show in the following discussion, Ibn al-Furāt reveals himself to be a master historian of tremendous significance for the study of the early Mamluk Sultanate,[9] while it will be suggested that al-Maqrīzī´s role is merely that of a writer who has provided us with a convenient precis of events, which should be

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639–59); (b) Vienna MS Staatsbibliothek 814 (years 660–71); (c) *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt,* vol. 7, ed. Qustantīn Zurayk (Beirut, 1942) (years 672–82); (d) *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt,* vol. 8, ed. Zurayk and Nejla M. Abu Izzeddin (Beirut, 1939) (years 683–96). Some of the material of these years, relevant to the Franks, has been published in *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders: Selections from the Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk of Ibn al-Furāt*, tr. U. and M. C. Lyons, intro. and notes J. S. C. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 1971), 2 volumes.

[7]Published as Muḥyī al-Dīn ʻAbd Allāh ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Ẓāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* ed. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1396/1976).

[8]See the general comments in Claude Cahen, ″Ibn al-Furāt,″ *EI*^{2}*,* 3:769. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan,* 51–52, notes that al-Maqrīzī´s annals are generally a summary of Ibn al-Furāt´s for the period that she discusses, but does not mention the former´s sloppiness. Little, *An Introduction to Mamluk Historiography,* 77–78, notes the dependence of al-Maqrīzī on Ibn al-Furāt (along with additional sources) for the annal of 694/1294–95. He is unable to make such a comparison for the other two annals which he checked (699/1299–1300 and 705/1305–6, on pp. 78–80), since that part of Ibn al-Furāt´s work is not extant. In his important article on Mamluk historiography in general (″Historiography of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Epochs,″ 436–37), Little does not note any dependence between the two historians, writing only: ″As far as Baḥrī Mamlūk history is concerned, al-Maqrīzī had to rely completely, of course, on earlier sources, and these he adapted freely, and sometimes indiscriminately without identifying them.″

[9]For an earlier appreciation of Ibn al-Furāt´s importance for the study of early Mamluk history, see Eliyahu Ashtor, ″Some Unpublished Sources for the Baḥrī Period,″ in *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization,* ed. Uriel Heyd (published as *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, vol. 9) (Jerusalem, 1961), 13–24. There is no discussion, however, of al-Maqrīzī´s use of his work. Cf. Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l´époque des Croisades et la principauté franque d´Antioche* (Paris, 1940), 88: ″Autant dire que pour le viie/xiiie siécle l´intérêt d´Ibn al-Fourât est pour nous des plus réduits.″

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consulted with care. I will first attempt to demonstrate al-Maqrīzī′s almost complete dependence on Ibn al-Furāt for these years, and then will give several examples of the former′s shoddy summary of his earlier contemporary. I must add, however, that here and there, al-Maqrīzī does provide a snippet of information—sources usually unnamed—not given by Ibn al-Furāt, showing that he had at his disposal other sources, and indicating that he was capable of writing a synthetic work when he chose.

My first task will be to demonstrate that al-Maqrīzī indeed based his chronicle for the early sultanate on that of Ibn al-Furāt. I will employ the method used by Donald Little in his introductory study on Mamluk historiography, i.e., a comparison of subjects covered by both historians in a particular annal; later on, I will compare the language of selective short passages. Where Ibn al–Furāt mentions the name of *his* source, this will be noted also. I will provide two examples, both being significant chunks from two annals. The first will be that of 658 (1259–60), i.e., the year of the battle of ‘Ayn Jālūt, while the second will be from 663 (1264–65), describing Baybars′s conquest of Caesarea and Arsūf. In the following comparison **IF** stands for Ibn al-Furāt, and **Maq** for al-Maqrīzī. If the latter author provides only a parallel text, even if somewhat shortened, then generally only the page number is given.

I. Year 658 (1259–60)

Events leading up to the Battle of ‘Ayn Jālūt

1. **IF:** Hülegü takes Aleppo (MS Vat., fols. 226v–227r).
   Maq: 1:422.

2. **IF:** Cites Qirṭāy al-Khaznadārī quoting Ṣārim al-Dīn Özbeg al-Ḥimṣī on his experiences and the fate of Aleppo (227r–231v = Levi della Vida,[10] 358–64).
   Maq: Not in *Sulūk*.

3. **IF:** More on the fate of Aleppo; capture of seven members of the Baḥrīyah (231v).
   Maq: 1:422–23.

[10]G. Levi della Vida, ″L′Invasione dei Tartari in Siria nel 1260 nei ricordi di un testimone oculare,″ *Orientalia* 4 (1935): 253–76.

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4. **IF:** Actions of al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, ruler of Aleppo and Damascus; his fleeing from Damascus, and end of his rule (231v–233r).
   Maq: 1:423.

5. **IF:** Mongols occupy Damascus (233r–234v).
   Maq: Hülegü comes to Damascus [wrong, and not in Ibn al-Furāt]; Mongols gain possession of city (1:423).

6. **IF:** Arrival of Mongol governors in Damascus (234r).
   Maq: 1:423–24 [governors together with Kitbughā; see below].

7. **IF:** Mongols raid Palestine (234r–v).
   Maq: 1:425.

8. **IF:** Christian ″outrages″ against Muslims in Damascus (234v).
   Maq: 1:425.

9. **IF:** Arrival of Kitbughā and Baydarā; rebellion of citadel in Damascus; communications with the Franks on the coast; Ayyubid ruler of Homs arrives at Damascus after having submitted to Hülegü (234v–235v).
   Maq: 1:425.

10. **IF:** Battle in Nablus between Mongol advance force and Ayyubid rear guard; latter defeated (235v–236r).
    Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

11. **IF:** Citadel in Damascus subdued; Baalbek taken, as is al-Ṣubaybah (236r–v).
    Maq: 1:426.

12. **IF:** Mongols keep eye on Franks on coast and send advance force to Gaza to watch Egypt; destroy fortresses in southern Syria (236v).
    Maq: No mention of Franks at this point in *Sulūk.* Short mention of force that goes to Gaza and destruction of fortresses (1:426).

13. **IF:** Baybars returns to Syria on Rabīʿ I (236v).
    Maq: 1:426.

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14. **IF:** Mongol siege of Mārdīn (236v–237r).
    Maq: Very short mention (1:426).

15. **IF:** Fate of al-Nāṣir Yūsuf (237r–v).
    Maq: 1:426.

16. **IF:** Quṭuz strengthens his position in Egypt (237v–238r).
    Maq: 1:426–27.

17. **IF:** Al-Nāṣir Yūsuf′s capture by Mongols (238r).
    Maq: 1:427.

18. **IF:** Cites Sibṭ Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir (=Shāfiʻ ibn ʻAlī), author of *Naẓm al-Sulūk fī Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ wa-al-Mulūk* (now lost), with more details about al-Nāṣir Yūsuf′s capture (238r–v).
    Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

19. **IF:** Yet another version of this story (238v).
    Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

20. **IF:** Hülegü communicates with al-Mughīth ʻUmar, ruler of Karak, to get him to submit. Al-Malik al-Qāhir ibn al-Muʻaẓẓam ʻĪsá flees to Cairo (238v).
    Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

21. **IF:** Al-Qāhir goes with Baybars to Quṭuz to strengthen his resolve to fight the Mongols (238v).
    Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

22. **IF:** Cites Ibn Duqmāq′s *Nuzhat al-Anām fī Tārīkh al-Islām* about al-Nāṣir Yūsuf telling Hülegü not to take the Mamluks seriously. Hülegü plans to go east, since he heard about conflict between brothers (238v–239r).
    Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

23. **IF:** Discussion of Mongol religious beliefs (239v–240v).
    Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

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24. **IF:** Hülegü decides to return to east, but not before ordering Kitbughā and Baydarā to move south and invade Egypt (240r–241v).
Maq: 1:427.

25. **IF:** Again, cites Qirṭāy al-Khaznadārī citing Ṣārim al-Dīn Özbeg al-Ḥimṣī, who describes his adventures with the Mongols, and reports that the Mongol commanders Kitbughā and Baydarā were sent south (241v–242v = Levi della Vida, 364–65).
Maq: Cites line from this section (without mentioning source): ″wa-ja'ala Kitbughā nuyan nā'iban bi-Ḥalab wa-Baydarā nā'iban bi-Dimashq″ (1:428).[11]

26. **IF:** Resistance of Ayyubid ruler of Mayyafāriqīn, and its eventual conquest by the Mongols (242v–243r).
Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

27. **IF:** Quṭuz kills Mongol envoys and sets off for Syria, in spite of opposition among amirs; battle of 'Ayn Jālūt (243r ff.).
Maq: 1:427ff.

This comparison shows that there is a great probability that Ibn al-Furāt′s *Tārīkh* served as the model for al-Maqrīzī′s *Sulūk* in this annal at least. The former writer built a narrative drawn from various sources, three of which he names here. The sequence of events (with a not-insignificant number of omissions) in the *Tārīkh* is found in the parallel text in *Sulūk.* The only explanation can be that al-Maqrīzī used Ibn al-Furāt′s text as a model. The former′s (unattributed) citation of the line given in item 25 (derived from Qirṭāy al-Khaznadārī, quoting Ṣārim al-Dīn Özbeg) in exactly this place as found in Ibn al-Furāt is a further indication of the connection between the two works. This correlation between the two texts can also be seen in the second example:

II. YEAR 663 (1264–65)
EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE MAMLUK CONQUEST OF CAESAREA AND ARSŪF

1. **IF:** At the beginning of the year, Baybars leaves Cairo to hunt (MS Vienna, fol. 62r).
Maq: 1:523.

[11]This information is actually incorrect. See the discussion in Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Īlkhānid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge, 1995), 30–35.

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2. **IF:** News received that Mongols besieging al-Bīrah (62r).
   Maq: 1:523.

3. **IF:** Order sent to Cairo for lightly-equipped contingent to be sent off from Egypt to Syria immediately (62r).
   Maq: 1:523.

4. **IF:** Sultan returns to Cairo from hunting (62r).
   Maq: 1:523.

5. **IF:** Mamluk horses at pasturage, causing a delay; this information conveyed by unspecified Franks to Mongols (62r).
   Maq: 1:523, but no information about Franks sending intelligence to Mongols.

6. **IF:** More Mamluk contingents sent to Syria (62r–v).
   Maq: 1:523–24.

7. **IF:** Sultan sets off from Cairo (5 Rabī‘ II); hadith quoted; reaches Gaza (20 Rabī‘ II) (62v).
   Maq: 1:524, but hadith not quoted.

8. **IF:** News from al-Bīrah; Baybars writes to commander of expeditionary force to hurry (62v).
   Maq: 1:524.

9. **IF:** Baybars reaches Qaratayyah,[12] goes hunting (″wa-lammā nazala al-sulṭān fī Qaratayyah rakiba lil-ṣayd″) and gets hurt. Castallan of Jaffa arrives with gifts (62v–63r).
   Maq: 1:524, but the text is corrupt: ″fa-nazala qarīban min Ṣaydā’″ [!]. Whether this is in the manuscript or a mistake of the editor is unclear.

10. **IF:** Sultan arrives at Yubnā; report comes that Mongols have withdrawn from al-Bīrah; Mamluk force arrived at al-Bīrah; orders sent out by sultan to repair that fort (63r–64v).
    Maq: 1:524–25 [very terse description].

[12]This was a village in the region of Jerusalem, in the vicinity of Bayt Jubrīn; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Kitāb Mu‘jam al-Buldān (=Jacut´s geographisches Wörterbuch)* (Leipzig, 1866–70), 4:35.

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11. **IF:** Money is collected for the repair project of al-Bīrah; details of work and arrangements there (64v–65r).
Maq: 1:525.

12. **IF:** Sultan meets commoners on bridge over al-'Awjā' and treats them well (ed. Lyons, 84).
Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

13. **IF:** Sultan leaves al-'Awjā', after battalions hunt in forest of Arsūf; Sultan scouts out Arsūf and Caesarea (ed. Lyons, 84–85).
Maq: 1:526.

14. **IF:** Mangonels and ladders built (details of types of mangonels) (ed. Lyons, 85).
Maq: 1:526 [without details of the mangonels].

15. **IF:** Sultan goes to 'Uyūn al-Asāwir (ed. Lyons, 85).
Maq: 1:526 [adds detail about location of 'Uyūn al-Asāwir].

16. **IF:** Army receives order to don equipment and marches to Caesarea (ed. Lyons, 85).
Maq: 1:526–27.

17. **IF:** History of Caesarea up to battle (ed. Lyons, 86–87=MS Vienna, 66r–67v; not all of the text is in the edition).
Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

18. **IF:** Caesarea attacked on the morning of 9 Jumādá I. City taken by assault; citadel put under siege. Raids sent out against Baysān and Acre (ed. Lyons, 87).
Maq: 1:527.

19. **IF:** Role of sultan during siege of Caesarea (ed. Lyons, 87).
Maq: 1:527.

20. **IF:** Mamluks take citadel and destroy the city (ed. Lyons, 87–88).
Maq: 1:527.

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21. **IF:** Hadith cited (ed. Lyons, 88).
    Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

22. **IF:** Mamluk raid against ʻAthlīth and Haifa; Sultan visits ʻAthlīth (ed. Lyons, 89).
    Maq: 1:527–28.

23. **IF:** Long panegyric to sultan (ed. Lyons, 89).
    Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

24. **IF:** Sultan goes back to Caesarea; arrival of mangonels from al-Ṣubaybah; refugees from the Franks arrive; breakout of disease among the troops (ed. Lyons, 90).
    Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

25. **IF:** History of Arsūf, derived from Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī´s *Al-Aʻlāq al-Khaṭīrah,* which is mentioned by name (ed. Lyons, 91).
    Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

26. **IF:** Sultan arrives at Arsūf on 1 Jumādá I; siege commences; role of sultan in fighting is lauded. Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir mentioned twice as source. Initial tunnels to citadel walls are constructed; Franks counterattack. Mamluks dig trench parallel to outside moat of city (ed. Lyons, 91–94).
    Maq: 1:528–29.

27. **IF:** Presence in Mamluk camp of *al-ʻubbād wa-al-zuhhād wa-al-fuqahā*ʾ *wa-al-fuqarā*ʾ. Sultan´s largess to certain shaykhs is described (ed. Lyons, 94–95).
    Maq: 1:529 [but only *al-ʻubbād wa-al-zuhhād wa-al-fuqahā*ʾ are mentioned].

28. **IF:** Continued bombardment of Arsūf by mangonels; final attack on city (taken 8 Rajab); hadith cited. Sultan visits tomb of local shaykh. Attack on citadel on 11 Rajab. First barbican taken; citadel surrenders (ed. Lyons, 95–96).
    Maq: 1:529 [confused account: see below].

Note: The text of Ibn al-Furāt in items 1–16 is derived almost completely from Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 221–30. For items 17–28, the parallel text is in *Rawḍ,* 230–43.

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From the above, we can note that apparently the model of al-Maqrīzī was also the parallel passage in Ibn al-Furāt´s *Tārīkh*. Although it is theoretically possible that al-Maqrīzī had Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir´s *Rawḍ* (Ibn al-Furāt´s main source here) as a direct model, the fact that al-Maqrīzī had based himself on Ibn al-Furāt for the year 658 leads to the conclusion that he was working from Ibn al-Furāt´s text also for 663.

The above observations have been strengthened by a systematic comparison of 22 years of annals, described above. Of course, in the framework of a short article, it is impossible to demonstrate a 100% correlation between the two texts, but I hope that the examples adduced will be convincing. It is now my wish to give several examples of al-Maqrīzī´s carelessness in rendering a summary of his source.

My first example will be from the above-mentioned annal of 658, to wit, the events of ʻAyn Jālūt. If nothing else, I hope to strengthen my assertion that al-Maqrīzī´s description of the battle is taken directly from that of Ibn al-Furāt. The latter author writes about the opening stages of the battle (citing Ṣārim al-Dīn Özbeg al-Ḥimṣī, whose words were first conveyed by Qirṭāy al-Khaznadārī, who in turn is cited by name by Ibn al-Furāt). This is Ibn al-Furāt´s text:

> . . . wa-hum munḥadirūn min al-jabal . . . thumma taṭābaʻat al-aṭlāb awwalan fa-awwal wa-inḥadarū min safḥ al-jabal wa-duqqat al-kūsāt wa-al-ṭablk[ān]āt. . . . thumma inna al-tatār inḥāzū ilá al-jabal. . . . [. . . They (the Mamluks) descended from the hill . . . then the squadrons followed each other one by one, and descended from the foot of the hill. The drums and orchestras were played . . . Then Mongols headed for the hill.][13]

Now compare the parallel, but much shorter, passage from al-Maqrīzī:

> Wa-taṭābaʻa ḍarb kūsāt al-sulṭān wa-al-umarā' fa-taḥayyaza al-tatar *[sic]* ilá al-jabal [The beating of the sultan´s and amirs´ drums was continuous, and the Mongols headed for the hill.][14]

A number of points can be noted: First, something which may not be obvious from my shortened rendition of Ibn al-Furāt´s passage is that his text is about four times as long as al-Maqrīzī´s. Secondly, also not apparent from the passage that I

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[13]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* MS Vatican, fol. 247r (= ed. Levi della Vida, ″L´invasione dei Tatari,″ 366).

[14]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:430.

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have cited, is that Ibn al-Furāt names his source. Thirdly, al-Maqrīzī has conflated two matters, slightly changing the wording in the process: Ibn al-Furāt writes that the ″squadrons followed *(taṭāba'at)* one another,″ and then ″the drums and orchestras were played (or beaten),″ while al-Maqrīzī has ″the beating of the sultan′s and amirs′ drums was continuous *(Wa-taṭāba'a ḍarb kūsāt al-sulṭān wa-al-umarā')*. This ″editing″ is innocuous enough, though al-Maqrīzī′s use of *taṭāba'a* is a useful telltale sign of the origins of this passage. More seriously, al-Maqrīzī completely omits the twice-told information of the Mamluks coming off a hill or height of some type; his final remark, that ″the Mongols headed for the hill″[15] is perhaps inexplicable without the information which his source provides, i.e., that the Mamluks were advancing down the slope of the unnamed hill.[16]

Al-Maqrīzī′s version so far is thus somewhat confusing, but even without recourse to Ibn al-Furāt (or his source), it does not present an insurmountable problem in reconstructing the battle. A much more significant problem is found in the continuation of the passage by al-Maqrīzī, where he writes:

> Wa-marra al-'askar fī athar al-tatar ilá qurb Baysān fa-raja'a al-tatar wa-ṣāffū maṣāffan thāniyan a'ẓam min al-awwal [The (Mamluk) army moved to the vicinity of Baysān on the heels of the Mongols. They came back (or regrouped), and they fought a second battle greater than the first.][17]

This statement has given rise in several modern renditions of the battle to the suggestion that a second battle took place near Baysān (Beit Shan), after the defeated Mongols regrouped, only to be routed yet again.[18] Yet an examination of Ibn al-Furāt′s passage, derived he says from Ibn Duqmāq′s *Nuzhat al-Anām* (in a now non-extant section), shows that this was not the case:

> Wa-kasara [Quṭuz] al-'adūw al-makhdhūl kasratan qawīyan ilá qarīb madīnat Baysān thumma 'ādū wa-iltaqaw ma'a al-muslimīn wa-kānat al-thāniyah a'ẓam min al-ūlá [(Quṭuz) dealt the (God-)forsaken

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[15]This particular sentence was misread by Quatremère, *Histoire,* 1:2:104: ″Les Tatars monterent alor à cheval,″ evidently reading *al-khayl* for *al-jabal;* Thorau, ″The Battle of 'Ayn Jālūt,″ 238, cites this mistaken translation without comment.

[16]For the possible location of this ″hill″ and a detailed reconstruction and analysis of the battle, see R. Amitai-Preiss, ″'Ayn Jālūt Revisited,″ *Tārīḫ* 2 (1991): 119–50.

[17]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:431.

[18]See, e.g., Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem,* tr. G. Nahon (Paris, 1970), 2:435.

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> enemy a great defeat near the city of Baysān, then they came back, and encountered the Muslims (again). The second (defeat) was greater than the first.][19]

What Ibn al-Furāt is saying is that the battle which we know as ʻAyn Jālūt was fought *near* Baysān, which is certainly true, Baysān being the largest town in the vicinity of the battlefield. At this battle there were two rounds of fighting. After an initial Mamluk success, the Mongols regrouped *at the same spot;* in the second round, the Mongols were again, and finally, defeated.[20]

Al-Maqrīzī´s account of this battle contains other careless renderings of Ibn al-Furāt´s detailed and careful narrative, which misleads the historian if consulted without reference to his source. I will note here only a couple of illustrations of al-Maqrīzī´s haphazard method in rendering the details given by Ibn al-Furāt, from the account of the events which led up to the fighting itself. For example, Ibn al-Furāt has only that commissioners of some type (called here *nuwwāb*) of Hülegü entered Damascus on 16 Rabīʻ I 658 (1 March 1260),[21] while al-Maqrīzī writes that it was the commissioners *and Kitbughā,* then commander of the Mongol advanced forces in central and southern Syria, who entered Damascus on this date.[22] One might comment that perhaps al-Maqrīzī knew something that his source did not, and added it accordingly. While this is theoretically a possibility, it can be discounted here. No other Mamluk (or pro-Mongol) writer mentions Kitbughā entering the city at this time, and contemporary Damascene writer Abū Shāmah explicitly says that the *nuwwāb* arrived alone (albeit on 17 Rabīʻ I/2 March).[23] In addition, Ibn Kathīr writes that Kitbughā had arrived in the city as early as the last day of Ṣafar 658 (14 February 1260), and he left the city a few days later for points south, evidently not returning to Damascus until late April.[24] This is of course a small detail, but indicative of al-Maqrīzī´s working method of summarizing Ibn al-Furāt, conflating here, skipping there, and occasionally adding a little extrapolation from his imagination.

With this growing skepticism, we may now look at another example of al-

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[19]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* MS Vatican, fol. 248r.

[20]Actually, the course of the battle was even more complicated; see the article cited above in note 16.

[21]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* MS Vatican, fols. 233r, 234r–v.

[22]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:424.

[23]Shihāb al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ismāʻīl Abū Shāmah, *Tarājim Rijāl al-Qarnayn al-Sādis wa-al-Sābiʻ al-Maʻarūf bi-al-Dhayl ʻalá al-Rawḍatayn,* ed. M. al-Kawtharī (Cairo, 1947), 203.

[24]Abū al-Fidāʼ ʻAbd Allāh Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah fī al-Tārīkh* (rpt., Beirut, 1977), 13:219. For details of Kitbughā´s itinerary during this period, see Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks,* 30–33.

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Maqrīzī′s additions to his source, again from the events leading up to the battle of ʻAyn Jālūt: he writes that after the final conquest of Aleppo and north Syria in February 1260, Hülegü himself is reported to have advanced to Damascus.[25] Not only is this not found in the parallel passage in Ibn al-Furāt,[26] but all the other Mamluk and Persian sources state that Hülegü remained in the north of the country. Again, we have caught al-Maqrīzī trying to improve upon his source whilst attempting to summarize it.

So much for the Mongols in Syria; what about Mamluk reactions to events there? Ibn al-Furāt reports that the Egyptian army was swelled by Turcomans, bedouins *(al-ʻurbān),* and Shahrazurīyah Kurds.[27] This information is given by al-Maqrīzī, but without the Kurds,[28] a minor but telling omission. Once the Mamluk army has set out from Cairo and has established camp at Ṣāliḥīyah, Quṭuz encounters opposition from many of the amirs who were less than enthused about continuing on to Syria and confronting the Mongols. Ibn al-Furāt, citing the now lost *Naẓm al-Sulūk* by Shāfiʻ ibn ʻAlī, provides several anecdotes showing how the sultan was eventually able to convince these recalcitrant commanders to follow him to Syria.[29] Al-Maqrīzī conflates these stories in a disjointed way: he stops one anecdote in the middle and begins the next also in the middle, leading to confusion on the part of the unwary reader.[30]

To summarize so far, the best policy for the would-be historian of this crucial year in the history of the Mamluk Sultanate, and arguably the Middle East as a whole, would be to lay the *Sulūk* aside and concentrate on other works, starting with the Vatican manuscript of Ibn al-Furāt′s *Tārīkh*. I have found the relevant pages of *Sulūk* useful only as a rough guide of events and a serviceable precis for my students.

I have concentrated so far on the events of 658/1260, since during my research on the battle of ʻAyn Jālūt, I have devoted much attention to a detailed comparison of all of the sources, most of which are in Arabic. Yet, I have found additional examples of al-Maqrīzī′s imprecise summations of Ibn al-Furāt′s chronicle. For example, Ibn al-Furāt gives a detailed break-down of the Mongol army which invaded Syria in 680/1281, based on intelligence reports which Sultan Qalāwūn received. He gives the total figure of 80,000 ″pure″ Mongols (referred to here as *al-mughul*); the rest was composed of ″Georgians, [Saljuq troops from] Anatolia,

[25]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:423.

[26]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* MS Vatican, fol. 233r.

[27]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* MS Vatican, fol. 244v.

[28]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:423.

[29]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* MS Vatican, fol. 244r–245r.

[30]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:429–30.

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Armenians, Franks, and renegades";[31] the last mentioned term is *murtaddah,* literally "apostates," but in the Mamluk Sultanate this expression was applied to Muslim troops in the service of the Mongols. Al-Maqrīzī condenses this report, leaving out in the process the *murtaddah,*[32] an interesting and important tidbit of information.

Al-Maqrīzī's imprecision in rendering Ibn al-Furāt's text is not limited to the realm of Mamluk-Mongol relations. Thus, in 659/1261, the latter writes—deriving his information from Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir—that Baybars met with unnamed bedouin chiefs *(umarā' al-'urbān)* and gave them some type of allowance or livelihood *(arzāq).*[33] This is changed by al-Maqrīzī to *iqṭā'āt,*[34] i.e., revenue granting lands, which for all we know may or may not have been his source's intention.

Another example is taken from the realm of building. Ibn al-Furāt cites (almost exactly, I might add) Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir in the description of Baybars's reconstruction works in various fortresses in Syria, as follows: "Their moats were cleaned out, their curtain walls *(badanāt)* were widened, and they were filled with equipment."[35] Al-Maqrīzī renders this with a difference: instead of *badanāt,* the word *abrāj* (towers) is found.[36] Ibn al-Furāt, however, has made one important change in the text, or rather where he has placed it. Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir had given his information as part of a general description of Baybars's good qualities, just after the report of his accession to the sultanate. Ibn al-Furāt, on the other hand, puts this in the course of events *sub anno* 659. Al-Maqrīzī does the same, thereby showing that he was not working with Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir's biography of the sultan as his direct model, but rather Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle.

I must admit that these examples are really small change: our view of the early Mamluk Sultanate is not going to be radically altered were we just to consult al-Maqrīzī on the above matters. A more egregious error is found in al-Maqrīzī's description of the siege of Arsūf, and particularly the final successful attack on the city and the citadel. He writes:

> Fa-lamma tahayya'a dhālika waqa'a al-zaḥf 'alá Arsūf fī yawm al-khamīs thāmin Rajab, fa-fataḥahā Allāh fī dhālika al-yawm 'inda mā waqa'at al-bāshūrah fa-lam yash'arū illā bi-al-muslimīn qad tasallaqū wa-ṭala'ū ilá al-qal'ah [When this (preparation for the

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[31]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 7:215. For the matter of these figures, see Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks,* 189–95.

[32]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:692.

[33]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* MS Vatican, fol. 277v; Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 119.

[34]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:465.

[35]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* MS Vatican, fol. 266r; Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 119.

[36]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:446.

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> attack) was organized, the assault took place against Arsūf on Thursday, the eighth of Rajab. Allāh conquered it on this day, when the barbican (of the citadel) fell. Before the Franks knew it, the Muslims had climbed and ascended to the citadel.][37]

It can be noted that al-Maqrīzī has conflated two discrete episodes from Ibn al-Furāt′s text, the first reporting that the Mamluks took the city, and the second the taking of the citadel *three days later*. Over a page of text in the printed edition of Ibn al-Furāt′s chronicle separates the two pieces of evidence:

> Wa-faragha min al-sarābāt allatī ilá janīb al-khandaq min al-jihatayn wa-futiḥat fīhā abwāb muttasi‘ah ḥaṣala al-zaḥf ‘alá Arsūf fī nahār al-ithnayn thāmin shahr Rajab al-fard min hādhihi al-sanah wa-futiḥat fī dhālika al-nahār[38] . . . fa-lammā qadara Allāh wuqū‘ al-bāshūrah fī al-sā‘ah al-rābi‘ah min nahār al-khamīs ṭala‘a al-muslimīn ilayhā taslīqan wa-mā aḥassa al-faranj bi-al-muslimīn ilá wa-qad khālatūhum min kull bāb[39] [The ditches which were to the side of the moat on two sides were completed, and the wide gates were opened. The assault against Arsūf was carried out on Monday, the eighth of the holy month of Rajab in this year. (The city) was conquered this day. . . . When Allāh decreed the falling of the barbican in the fourth hour of Thursday, the Muslims went up (the citadel) by climbing. Before the Franks noticed them, the Muslims were among them from every entrance.][40]

I believe that this comparison speaks for itself: al-Maqrīzī has failed completely to summarize accurately his source and has conveyed a false impression of what happened. If we had only al-Maqrīzī′s *Sulūk* to go on here, we would have a mutilated and confused picture of the conquest of Arsūf.

On occasion, however, al-Maqrīzī inserts some information that is not found in Ibn al-Furāt, but need not be rejected out of hand. One outstanding example for this is from the battle of ‘Ayn Jālūt: in the midst of the fighting, Quṭuz′s horse was shot out from under him. The sultan, therefore, was in the dangerous position of walking around in the midst of a cavalry battle, until a spare horse was brought

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[37]Ibid., 529.

[38]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* ed. Lyons, 95; Ibn ‘Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 239.

[39]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* ed. Lyons, 96; Ibn ‘Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 242.

[40]I am currently preparing a study of the Mamluk conquest of Arsūf, where this passage is analyzed in detail.

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up and he remounted. An additional detail is told: the horse was shot by a young Mongol, who had accompanied Mongol envoys several months before to Cairo, and had been pressed into the sultan′s mamluks; he was trying to kill Quṭuz, missed, and was then cut down himself.[41] The whole story is not found in Ibn al-Furāt′s extensive account of the battle. Given al-Maqrīzī′s record, we might be justified in wondering about the credibility of this story. But a somewhat similar version appears in *'Iqd al-Jumān* by al-'Aynī, [42] so whatever its ultimate veracity, al-Maqrīzī cannot be blamed for conjuring it up.

Here and there in the annals for Baybars′s reign we find other snippets of information added by al-Maqrīzī to his summary of Ibn al-Furāt′s chronicle. One interesting example is in the account of events leading up to the campaigns against Caesarea and Arsūf. Ibn al-Furāt writes that Baybars stopped at a location called 'Uyūn al-Asāwir.[43] Al-Maqrīzī adds at this point that these springs were in ″Wādī 'Ārah and 'Ar'arah,″[44] names still used today. This is important information; although it is unclear from whence al-Maqrīzī received it and it would be desirable to have independent confirmation, this detail does point to his wide geographical knowledge.

Of greater interest and significance is information provided in the obituary of Sultan Baybars, *sub anno* 676. Here al-Maqrīzī cites *inter alia* two passages *by name.*[45] As far as I can tell this is a unique occurrence for his annals of the first decades of the sultanate′s existence. In the first of these, the source is Baybars al-Manṣūrī′s *Zubdat al-Fikrah;*[46] the second passage is from Quṭb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī′s *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*.[47] It is important to note that the evidence derived from al-Yūnīnī is not from the last-mentioned obituary of Baybars, but rather from that of an Ayyubid scion, al-Malik al-Qāhir 'Abd al-Malik ibn al-Mu'aẓẓam 'Īsá, whose death is reported to have been intertwined with that of the sultan. What this

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[41]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:431.

[42]Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn 'Alī al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* ed. M. M. Amīn (Cairo, 1407/1987), 1:244–45, who cites al-Nuwayrī. But in the published version (at least) of the latter′s work, the account is less full: it indeed says that Quṭuz′s horse was shot out from under him, and the sultan was in danger until a spare was brought. There is, however, no mention of the role of the Mongol captive. See Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* vol. 29, ed. M. M. Ziyādah and M. Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Rayyis (Cairo, 1992), 485.

[43]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* ed. Lyons, 85.

[44]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:526.

[45]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:635–36.

[46]Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah,* ed. D. S. Richards (Beirut, 1998), 160–61.

[47]Quṭb al-Dīn Mūsá ibn Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān fī Tārīkh al-A'yān* (Hyderabad, 1954–61), 3:273–74.

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and the previously mentioned examples show is that al-Maqrīzī had other works in front of him besides Ibn al-Furāt′s *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk* when he was composing the history of the early sultanate. We see that he was capable of dipping into different sources, even once using a report that was not in the parallel passage in one of them. Why al-Maqrīzī relied almost exclusively on Ibn al-Furāt′s work remains an unsolved matter.

With the advent of Qalāwūn′s reign (1279–90), matters begin to change, albeit slowly. Linda Northrup has already noted the ″great dependence″ of al-Maqrīzī on Ibn al-Furāt′s chronicle, the former being a summary of the latter, mentioning that in the process many of the important documents which Ibn al-Furāt cited *in extenso* were omitted.[48] She also gives two examples of information that al-Maqrīzī provides which is not found in the earlier chronicle. The first mentions that soon after his accession Qalāwūn refrained from riding out in a traditional sultanic procession for a while because some Ṣāliḥī and Ẓāhirī amirs had turned against him and were corresponding with Sunqur al-Asqar, the rebel governor of Damascus. Qalāwūn was therefore fearful for his life.[49] A second example is that in 1268 Qalāwūn turned to several Sufi shaykhs to pray for his son′s recovery from his eventually fatal illness.[50]

Additional evidence indicates that although Ibn al-Furāt remained the model for al-Maqrīzī′s chronicle in the post-Baybars era, the latter author shows an increasing tendency to insert additional information, the sources for which are not always clear. Thus, in the events before the battle of Homs in 680/1281, al-Maqrīzī describes the arrival of the splendidly attired Syrian bedouin, seeking to join the Mamluk army.[51] This information is not relayed by Ibn al-Furāt, but may have its origin in the chapters on the bedouin in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī′s *Masālik al-Abṣār,* where this information is found.[52] This, then, is a further indication of al-Maqrīzī′s wide reading in earlier sources, which only occasionally finds expression in the annals of these years.

Of greater significance for the history of the battle of Homs is a unique piece of information found, as far as I can tell, only in al-Maqrīzī′s *Sulūk.* While several sources provide in great detail the Mamluk order of battle, evidently based on

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[48]Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan,* 51.

[49]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:672.

[50]Ibid., 744–45.

[51]Ibid., 690–91.

[52]Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyá ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār: Qabā′il al-‘Arab fī al-Qarnayn al-Sābi‘ wa-al-Thāmin al-Hijrīyayn,* ed. Dorothea Krawulsky (Beirut, 1985), 142, who is cited by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A‘shá fī Ṣinā‘at al-Inshā′* (Cairo, 1913–19), 4:209–10.

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Baybars al-Manṣūrī´s *Zubdah,*[53] only al-Maqrīzī gives the following evidence: originally Qalāwūn had near him 800 royal mamluks and 4000 *ḥalqah* troopers. Then the sultan took up position on a nearby hill with 200 of his mamluks. If he saw that a squadron was encountering difficulties, he planned to reinforce it with a force of 200 royal mamluks.[54] This is truly a significant bit of evidence. One wishes for confirmation from another writer, preferably a contemporary one. I would have been satisfied had al-Maqrīzī mentioned his source, but here he has not changed his habit of not providing a reference. There is, however, no *a priori* reason to reject this evidence out of hand.

The comparison of al-Maqrīzī and Ibn al-Furāt´s annals for Qalāwūn´s reign is facilitated by the existence of printed editions for the two volumes in question. Volume 8 concludes with the annal of 696/1296–97, and the manuscript containing the subsequent annals has not been found. We are fortunate, however, to have the analysis of D. P. Little for the annal of 694/1295, which shows the dependence, with some additional information, of al-Maqrīzī on Ibn al-Furāt´s text. Little, of course, was unable to make such a comparison for the other two annals (699/1299–1300 and 705/1305–6), which served as the basis for his research on the methods and interdependence of the Mamluk sources for Bahri history. We can suppose that if indeed al-Maqrīzī had at his disposal parallel manuscripts by Ibn al-Furāt for these years, and these manuscripts would have been extant, that we would probably have seen a continued reliance on this latter writer, but perhaps with increasing references to other sources.

By way of conclusion, a number of points can be made. Al-Maqrīzī has revealed himself in the annals examined to have been an often careless summarizer of the work of Ibn al-Furāt. His chronicle for the early Mamluk Sultanate should not be ignored, but it should always be remembered that generally he is not an independent source, and must be read in conjunction with the parallel parts of Ibn al-Furāt´s *Tārīkh*. On the whole, as I have pointed out above, he should be seen mainly as a general guide to the events of the period, and as an appropriate text for students to cut their teeth on early Mamluk historiography.

Al-Maqrīzī´s sloppiness that has been revealed here should turn on red lights for all students of Mamluk history and in fact anyone who uses his many works. We have seen, through a detailed comparison with Ibn al-Furāt´s chronicle in several places, that he cut corners and was careless in his attempt to be terse for the early history of the sultanate. Might he have been equally slipshod in his other

[53]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 196–97.

[54]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:693. Mention is also made that Kurdish amirs were present at the battle, but their exact position is not specified.

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works for which we do not have a control? It seems to me that all scholars using his works should take this possibility into account.

My focus has been on al-Maqrīzī′s carelessness and imprecision when he summarizes earlier work. There does not appear to be an ideology behind this, and there is no indication that he deliberately manipulated material for some unknown end. Even so, it is worthwhile at this juncture to remember that al-Maqrīzī was capable of such historical machinations, as the late David Ayalon showed in his study of the Mongol Yasa. There, it can be remembered, it was demonstrated that al-Maqrīzī had taken information from Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī on the Yasa, and deliberately added to it, in order to achieve the effect he desired, i.e., an attack on the Mamluk *ḥujjāb* (chamberlains) and the system of Mamluk administrative justice.[55] While I am far from accusing al-Maqrīzī of such fabrications in the present context, it may be that his carelessness, on the one hand, and creative additions, on the other, are two facets of the same intellectual personality. In any case, an appraisal of the man′s works must take both traits into account.

It is an exaggeration to have called al-Maqrīzī a villain in my subtitle, even in the historiographical sense. Sloppiness in the reporting of history, annoying as it might be, is not normally a crime; no one, as far as I am aware, has died or been injured as a result of al-Maqrīzī′s slipshod methods of summarizing. But the use of the term was not just to gain the attention of the reader. I also hoped to emphasize the unwarranted dependence that modern historians of both the early Mamluk Sultanate and the Frankish East have placed on his chronicle. My hope, then, is that henceforth al-Maqrīzī will be reduced to his proper stature for the period in question, and will be seen only as an auxiliary source for the first decades of the sultanate.

But while the expression ″unrecognized villain″ was overdrawn, it would certainly be appropriate to look for the ″unsung hero″ of the historiography of the early Mamluk Sultanate. This is, so it seems to me, Ibn al-Furāt, whose careful method of compilation, his many sources, and judicious judgment put him up there with the greatest of Mamluk historians and even Arabic historical writers of all time. Certainly, without him, our knowledge of the early sultanate would be much more meager than it is now. Without a doubt, a complete scholarly edition of the manuscripts of volume 5 and 6, found in the Vatican and the Staatsbibliothek in Vienna respectively, is a desideratum.

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[55]David Ayalon, ″The Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khān: A Reexamination,″ part C2, *Studia Islamica* 38 (1973): 121–23, 140–42 [This article has been reprinted in D. Ayalon, *Outsiders in the Lands of Islam: Mamluks, Mongols and Eunuchs* (London, 1988), art. no. IV]. Ayalon took a more charitable view of al-Maqrīzī in ″The Mamluks of the Seljuks: Islam′s Military Might at the Crossroads,″ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd series, 6 (1996): 318, note 43.

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Al-Maqrīzī as a Historian of the Reign of Barqūq

When reading the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* of al-Maqrīzī one cannot help but notice the consistently negative assessment the historian made of Barqūq and his rule in the reports on his rise from simple mamluk to *amīr kabīr* (roughly from 768–79/1366–78), and then from *amīr kabīr* (779–84/1378–82) to sultan (784–91, 792–801/1382–89, 1390–9). The criticisms he voiced are simply too pervasive and too peculiar to his work—they are absent from most of his contemporaries' chronicles—for them to be ignored or to be explained away as mere coincidence. The aim of this article is twofold: first, it will present the arguments marshalled by al-Maqrīzī[1] in his attacks on Barqūq,[2] and then verify whether or not they are present in the works of contemporary and later historians, namely Ibn al-Furāt's (735–807/1335–1405) *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's (773–852/1372–1449) *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Abnā' al-'Umr,* Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's (779–851/1377–1448) *Al-Dhayl fī Tārīkh al-Islām,* Ibn Taghrībirdī's (812–74/1409–70) *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*, al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī's (819–900/1416–94) *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān,* and Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās's (852–930/1448–1524) *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr;*[3] second, it will examine the historiographical

[1]For the purposes of this paper, three of al-Maqrīzī's works have been examined: *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* vols. 1–2 (Beirut, n.d.); idem, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* vol. 3 (parts 1–2), edited by Sa'īd 'Āshūr (Cairo, 1970); and idem, *Mamluk Economics: A Study and Translation of al-Maqrīzī's Ighāthah,* translated by Adel Allouche (Salt Lake City, 1994).

[2]So far, the only attempt to analyze the aversion of al-Maqrīzī towards Barqūq was made by Amalia Levanoni in her "Al-Maqrīzī's Account of the Transition from Turkish to Circassian Mamluk Sultanate: History in the Service of Faith," in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800)*, ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden, 2001), 93–105, where she noted what she perceived as inconsistencies and prejudices on the part of al-Maqrīzī: among other things his over-emphasis, unsupported by evidence, on the decline of the Turks and the rise of the Circassians (91–101) and his own personal dislike of Barqūq and his kin, the Circassians (100–2). For Levanoni, his severe attitude vis-à-vis holders of power "might be found in his deep commitment to the role Islam allotted to religious scholars, the ulama, in the guidance of their community [103]." In other words, it is because he perceived that the new Mamluk regime "fell short of the traditional Muslim political theory" (103) that he took it upon himself to criticize it. Even though the explanations presented by Levanoni are undoubtedly central and essential to our understanding of al-Maqrīzī's denigration of Barqūq, there are other factors that need to be examined.

[3]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* vol. 9, pts. 1 and 2, ed. Costi K. Zurayk and Najla

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significance of al-Maqrīzī′s comments.

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The criticisms voiced by al-Maqrīzī towards Barqūq are part of a complex of negative opinions that indicate not only that he, alone among the historians of this period, seriously disliked the sultan, but also felt that he was witnessing the end of an era and the dawn of another fraught with a breakdown in the traditional order, social turmoil, danger at the borders, an increasingly predatory regime, etc. The criticisms levied by al-Maqrīzī do not pervade every page of his works. They do however appear consistently in those parts of the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* that cover the rise of Barqūq until the end of his first reign, whenever he described or recounted events that were symptomatic, in his eyes, of the ills of Egypt and Syria and more specifically of the *fin d′époque* he felt he was witnessing.

The most eloquent criticism of Barqūq and his regime is to be found in an often-quoted passage of the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* that is intended as an assessment of Barqūq′s first reign, which ended in 791/1389. After noting the taxes that he abolished, the structures he ordered built, his deference, unique amongst the ″Turkish kings,″ towards men of religion, al-Maqrīzī said the following:[4]

Izzeddin (Beirut, 1936–38); Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr bi-Abnā’ al-‘Umr,* vols. 1–4 (Beirut, 1986); Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Dhayl fī Tārīkh al-Islām,* vols. 1, 3, 4, ed. ‘Adnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977–97); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* vols. 11–13, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 1992); and idem, *History of Egypt 1382–1467*, trans. William Popper, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, vols. 13, 17, 18 (Berkeley, 1954–); al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān,* vol. 1, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970); Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i‘ al-Zuhūr fī Waqā’i‘ al-Duhūr*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1974–75). Al-‘Aynī′s *‘Iqd al-Jumān* is the only one of the major chronicles of the period I was unable to consult. As will become apparent below, of all the above-mentioned historians, Ibn Iyās (852–930/1427–97) is the only one to systematically denigrate Barqūq. Interestingly, the overwhelming majority of his criticisms are either taken directly from al-Maqrīzī or are paraphrases of his accounts.

[4] *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:2:618–19. The translation is William Popper′s in Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt,* 13:42–43. Ibn Taghrībirdī made up for the dearth of non-political facts in his chronicle by adding to his work the type of information which makes his chronicle extremely useful: the accounts he reports from people who lived through this period, namely his father′s associates and acquaintances, and the first-hand knowledge he had of the sultan and his family, to whom he was related. In the case of the quotation at hand, Ibn Taghrībirdī clearly identifies the passage as al-Maqrīzī′s (something he rarely does in his narrative unless, for example, he wants to challenge his teacher) in order to criticize him. I have added in italics a few sentences that are present in al-Maqrīzī′s *Kitāb al-Sulūk* but were written differently or simply omitted in the *Nujūm al-Zāhirah.* On the other hand, I have removed passages that are not to be found in the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* but are present in the *Nujūm al-Zāhirah.*

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> But he was avaricious, and in his days has introduced the practice of the open offering of bribes; indeed he hardly ever appointed anyone to an office or administrative position except for money, *so the lowlifes acceded to prestigious positions and to high stations,* and on this account political corruption was common; he also had an inordinate predilection for advancing men of the lowest classes and debasing those of noble family so that *he changed the social order amongst people,*[5] *and he antagonized the grandees amongst the Turcomans and Arabs in Syria, Egypt, and the Hijaz*. In his days three disgraceful practices became notorious: pederasty, *to such an extent that prostitutes, for their lack of business, had to imitate the* ghulmān *in order to boost the demand for their debauchery,* because of the favor which he openly showed to handsome mamluks *and the accusation levied against him and his amirs that he had intercourse with them;* the frank acceptance of bribes, *in which he was imitated by district governors, until such behavior ceased to be reprehensible;* and the decline in the business of the market and the *paucity of gain,* because of his niggardliness and the rarity with which he made gifts to anyone. So his faults were many times more numerous than his virtues.[6]

The charges levelled here by al-Maqrīzī against Barqūq, namely the accusations of pederasty, the taking of briberies and niggardliness, his overturning of the social order, his antagonizing of internal and outside forces, etc., even though forcefully put,[7] do not cover the whole range of criticisms that are to be found in other parts of the *Kitāb al-Sulūk*.

For one thing, the criticisms elaborated by al-Maqrīzī concerning the character of Barqūq touch upon much more than the shortcomings noted in the quotation above. In those instances where al-Maqrīzī commented on the very persona of

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[5]This is my understanding of ″wa-ghayyara mā kāna lil-nās min-al-tartīb,″ whereas Popper reads it as ″he brought about a change in the orderly conduct of people,″ Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt*, trans. Popper, 13:43.

[6]Following this passage, Ibn Taghrībirdī systematically rebuked his former teacher by noting in the case of pederasty and the taking of bribes that they were old practices, the former going as far back as the Khurasānīs′ entry into Iraq during the Abbasid revolution (ibid.). Ibn Taghrībirdī stated that the accusation of niggardliness might hold if he is compared to his predecessors, ″but he was generous in comparison to those who came after him″ (ibid., 44). The refutation of al-Maqrīzī′s discourse is accompanied by harsh criticisms as for example, ″Shaikh Taqî al-Dîn (God have mercy on him) was guilty of well-known inconsistencies. . . .″ (ibid.).

[7]One of them, that of pederasty, was found nowhere else in the chronicle.

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Barqūq, the latter is depicted as a conniving individual who maneuvered through the meanders of politics to secure his power. For example, as early as 23 Rabī‘ al-Thānī 779/ 28 August 1377, following the removal of Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī by Barqūq and Barakah, al-Maqrīzī noted that the civil wars, the mamluk revolts, and the changes in government that had previously taken place were all but a springboard for Barqūq´s taking over of the country. Barqūq, continued al-Maqrīzī, quickly settled into office and governed on his own until he was taken to the grave, ″[an] honored, invincible, revered, and lofty [man].″[8] The Machiavellian nature of Barqūq was again emphasized by al-Maqrīzī on a number of other instances. For example, when Barqūq used the services of the qadis and the ulama on 19 Ṣafar 782/ 25 May 1380 to ease the tension between himself and his former ally Barakah, al-Maqrīzī saw nothing in the motivation of the *amīr kabīr* but ″ruse and cunning.″[9] In 793/1391, one year after his return to the throne, the arrest of an amir by Barqūq is yet another opportunity for al-Maqrīzī to dwell upon the sultan´s calculating ways; commenting on the arrest of Āqbughā al-Mārdīnī, he said: ″This is the habit of the sultan: he is patient with his enemies in that he does not take revenge on them until he has the opportunity to discipline them for a punishable crime so that he does not appear to be seeking revenge, thanks to his self-command and *retenue*. Follow this and you will realize that it is as I said to you.″[10]

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[8] *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:316. Ibn Taghrībirdī noted, for the same event, that the removal of Yalbughā took place a few days after Barqūq and Barakah had dismissed a number of amirs from office, *Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 11:130. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah made no negative comments and simply mentioned Yalbughā´s removal, *Al-Dhayl,* 3:548. Ibn Ḥajar simply commented that Barqūq ″held absolute power,″ *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 1:234. Ibn Iyās was the only one of the chroniclers to echo al-Maqrīzī: he repeated his account almost word for word and then added ″and he established the Circassian regime,″ *Badā'i‘ al-Zuhūr,*1:2:212.

[9] *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:379. Al-Maqrīzī was more discerning in the analysis he later made of the causes behind the conflict between the two former ″brothers.″ He mentioned the negative effects of the 781 rebellion led by Īnāl al-Yūsufī, the then *silāḥdār,* with the alleged collusion of Aytamish al-Bijāsī, Barqūq´s close ally, whose purpose was to get rid of Barakah, and then he noted the following: because of the jealousy that appears frequently between associates, it was in the nature of things for the two amirs to try to monopolize power and to seek glory for their own person (ibid., 3:1:380–81). See Levanoni, ″Al-Maqrīzī´s Account of the Transition,″ 96–100, for an analysis of the Īnāl rebellion and al-Maqrīzī´s alleged *parti pris* in its reporting. All four chroniclers who reported this event—Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 2:2; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 11:141ff; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Dhayl,* 1:22; and Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i‘ al-Zuhūr,* 1:2:254–55—refrained from making any negative comment about Barqūq.

[10] *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:3:734. None of the chroniclers who also reported this event, namely Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 3:73, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 12:8, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Dhayl,* 1:368–69, al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 1:323, and Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:247, made any comment that could be construed as being negative.

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Thinly veiled references to Barqūq′s alleged cowardice and calculating personality can also be construed from the remark al-Maqrīzī made in his report on the aftermath of the conflict between Barakah and Barqūq in 782: ″It is incredible that during this serious incident, Amir Barqūq did not ride into battle for even an hour of the day, but remained put while the battle between his supporters—chief among them Amir Aytamish—and those of Barakah [was taking place], until God gave him victory effortlessly *(min ghayr ta'ab).*″[11] On top of Barqūq′s cunning, al-Maqrīzī associated with him character flaws that are of a non-political nature such as indulgence in drinking[12] and pederasty.[13]

Beyond the alleged immorality of Barqūq the man, al-Maqrīzī also often sought to indict the regime that gave rise to him and that he later headed, its genesis and political personnel. And he does this from a particular angle, that of a member of the *khāṣṣah* who was witnessing the rise of ″men of the lowest classes″ and the debasing of those of ″noble family.″ The sentiment of dismay al-Maqrīzī felt towards this situation can be seen expressed in various parts of the *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* whether about the upstart and greedy *julbān* or members of the *'āmmah*. On 8 Dhū al-Qa'dah 779/8 March 1378, upon the nomination of a new roster of amirs, many of whom had been simple soldiers *(mafāridah)* prior to their rebellion, al-Maqrīzī exclaimed: ″The elevation of the lowlifes became the matter of proverbs as the mamluk recruits who yesterday had been unknown quantities, by means of murder, banishment, and various forms of torture, had become kings to whom the bounties of all things are brought and who ruled the kingdoms of the world according to their wants. From then on, the situation of the land changed with the

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[11]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:385. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Dhayl,* 1:26, was the only chronicler to actually narrate this story that is almost identical to al-Maqrīzī′s.

[12]Of the two instances recorded in the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* concerning the drinking habits of Barqūq, the first is reported as a matter of fact without any criticisms (3:2:590). As for the other, in which al-Maqrīzī described a big party held by the sultan at the hippodrome, it is replete with negative comments (3:2:902): he stated that the sultan drank with the mamluks and was warned about doing so, and that later, at the end of the party, the populace was allowed to loot both food and beverages; this, al-Maqrīzī added, was an ugly day during which sacrilegious things occurred, so that it dawned upon *ahl-al-ma'rifah* that this was the end of it all. For the first event, the accounts of both Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 11:210, and al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 1:51, were either modeled upon that of al-Maqrīzī or simply directly quoted from the *Kitāb al-Sulūk.* The second incident elicited more negative reactions. For example, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 12:66–67, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Dhayl,* 1:662, and Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:2:500–1, actually quoted al-Maqrīzī′s account, whereas Ibn Ḥajar stated the facts and then added that a *faqīr* who decried what was going on was beaten and humiliated, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 3:383–85.

[13]See note 7, above.

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change of its rulers."[14]

The imbalance in the traditional social order was not only the work of the *julbān* but also that of the *'āmmah.* Al-Maqrīzī might have been more prone than, say, an Ibn Taghrībirdī to report the way events such as famine impinged on the lives of the populace,[15] but his comments on the *'āmmah,* particularly when it was involved in "political action" on the side of Barqūq, reveal a high degree of antagonism. Al-Maqrīzī noted on a number of occasions that the common people liked Barqūq and that he did his utmost to protect them so that they sympathized with and felt strongly for him.[16] Of note are his thoroughly negative characterization of the *'āmmah,* which he alone did among contemporary historians: during his description of the events surrounding Īnāl al-Yūsufī's rebellion in Rajab 781/November 1379, al-Maqrīzī noted Barqūq's appeal to the *'awāmm* and then immediately observed that he was "very cunning and deceitful. They [the plebeians] rose at once and shouted together: 'Walk ahead of us!' So he went, surrounded by them as if they were a swarm of locusts."[17]

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[14]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:289. Only Ibn Iyās narrated this story by copying al-Maqrīzī almost word for word, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:2:191–92. Even though Barqūq had not yet emerged form obscurity and is not mentioned by al-Maqrīzī in reference to this event, namely the aftermath of the murder of al-Ashraf Sha'bān, as a Yalbughāwī mamluk, he was very much involved in the coup; see *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:155 for a brief summary of Barqūq's travels and activities following the murder of Yalbughā al-'Umarī in 768/1366. See also *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:277, 287–88, in which much is made about the lowly status and *arriviste* nature of the new military elite. On the political activities of the *julbān* and those Levanoni calls rank-and-file mamluks during the period at hand, see her "Rank-and-file Mamluks versus Amirs: New Norms in the Mamluk Military Institution," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 25–28.

[15]For a discussion of the way the *'āmmah* were treated by historians during the Circassian period, see Irmeli Perho, "Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī as Historians of Contemporary Events," in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt*, 93–105.

[16]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:352–53. Here again, Ibn Iyās was the only one amongst the chroniclers to echo the relationship between Barqūq and the *'āmmah, Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:2:240.

[17]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:365–66. See also 3:1:382, 386. Only Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:2:257, used the term *jarād al-muntashir* (swarm of locusts). Interestingly, even the description of a rather mundane event such as a new fashion trend amongst women in Cairo provided al-Maqrīzī with the opportunity to criticize the uppitiness of the lower classes: "In this [the wearing of large dresses] the females of the populace overindulged until they imitated in their dress the women of the rulers and the elite *[al-mulūk wa-al-a'yān]," Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:2:750. The *a'yān/'awāmm* dichotomy can also be seen in al-Maqrīzī's account about a *maẓālim* court held by Barqūq on 28 Ramadān 789/ Saturday 12 October 1387: great fear, said al-Maqrīzī, overtook members of the elite "as the lowlifes became daring in dealing with the grandees," ibid., 3:2:566. Concerning this last event, Ibn Ḥajar said "and whoever amongst the villains wished to disrespect the grandees, did so," *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 2:249, while al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī simply paraphrased al-Maqrīzī, *Nuzhat*

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But nothing appears to hurt the class sensibility of al-Maqrīzī more than the perceived decline in standing and power of the civilian elite in general and the ulama class in particular, and the concomitant social ascension of *arbāb al-sayf* and their taking over of domains previously the exclusive preserve of the *arbāb al-qalam.* The importance al-Maqrīzī attached to the social class he belonged to is clearly discernible in his writings.[18] In *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* al-Maqrīzī reported on an event dated 9 Jumādá al-Thānī 781/ 21 September 1379 which witnessed the removal of a Hanafi judge who had harbored a man who, because he was sought by the *hājib,* had placed himself under the protection of the *shar'*. After stating that the *hājib* had complained to Barqūq who had then acquiesced to his wishes, namely the removal of the qadi, al-Maqrīzī then declared that ″this was also one of the events which were unheard of before whereby the station of the *quḍāh* was diminished and the reach of the *huǰǰāb*′s rulings extended according to their fancy; and their evil flourished without it being checked by either knowledge or faith.″[19]

Also of great concern to al-Maqrīzī, and a symptom in his eyes of the overall worsening of the state of the kingdom, was the very denigration and lowering of the standing of the ulama in the eyes of the holders of temporal power. Nowhere is this more obvious, and again peculiar to our historian, than in an incident that took place in 783/1381 during which Barqūq spoke ill of the ulama by declaring that they were not Muslims. ″It was one of those ugly novelties,″ noted al-Maqrīzī,

> that the *amīr kabīr* and his entourage started to show ill respect to the *quḍāh* and the *fuqahā'*, and that the amirs and mamluks started

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al-Nufūs, 1:157.

[18]Levanoni, ″Al-Maqrīzī′s Account of the Transition,″ 102–5.

[19]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:361. Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 1:303–4, devotes two short paragraphs to this story but makes no comment à la al-Maqrīzī. In his *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:244–45, Ibn Iyās presented an account similar to but shorter than al-Maqrīzī′s. Al-Maqrīzī made similar comments concerning the office of the *ustādār* whose holders acted as if they were *quḍāh*, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:222. For another incident of this type, see *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:2:636–37, Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 2:329, and Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:1:110–12, who give similar accounts of the same event. In the same vein, see *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:330, on the indignation expressed by al-Maqrīzī when reporting that people of high rank destined for mulcting were delivered to the *wālī* of Cairo instead of to the *shādd al-dawāwīn* or the *muqaddam al-dawlah,* both of whom usually acted upon edicts issued by the vizier: ″. . . the rulings of the *wālī* never extended beyond the populace and the criminals *[ahl al-jarā'im]* amongst them. As for the soldiery, the secretaries, and the elite of the merchants, they were beyond the reach of his ruling, as they were the responsibility of *nā'ib al-sulṭān,* and if not his then that of the *hājib al-hujjāb,* because each individual has a station peculiar to him he does not exceed. Now barriers collapsed and each person started to exceed his station and to ignore his lot.″ Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 1:264, and Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:224, both mentioned this event without making any value judgment.

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> to debase their immunity. All that after they (the *quḍāh* and the *fuqahā'*) had witnessed the lengths the sultan and the grandees from amongst the amirs used to go to dignify them, and after the realization that it was through them that they had known the religion of Islam, and that it was in the shadow of their sanctity that they lived. The grandest of them considered it a blessing to kiss the hand of the learned. Things changed dramatically *[inqalaba al-amr]* and the opposite situation started to prevail, so the instances of amirs and mamluks demeaning them increased because of what they had learned from the *amīr kabīr*. Things then came to a head, and from the end of the Ẓāhirī Barqūq regime, through that of al-Nāṣir Faraj and beyond, the rulers continued to demean the station of the *quḍāh* and the *fuqahā': :* the lowest of the slave boys and the vilest of peddlers spoke ill of them. . . .[20]

Curiously, the outrage felt by al-Maqrīzī with regard to the fate of the class he belonged to did not prevent him from reporting stories about its corrupt practices, notably employment through money payments or the intercession of a powerful patron. Whether he decried his peers in order to uphold his attachment to ″the long-held Islamic societal ideal of intellectual success—[that of a] scholar untainted by the corrupting hand of government,″[21] or to settle scores with them,[22]al-Maqrīzī was critical of those among his peers who bought their charges,[23] and of the state for encouraging such a practice.[24]

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[20]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:2:448. Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 2:47–48, and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Dhayl,* 1:61, reported this incident without any comment while Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1: 291, quoted al-Maqrīzī by name but made changes to his report.

[21]Anne F. Broadbridge, ″Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: al-'Aynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 85.

[22]One of the most devastating attacks on his peers is to be found in the annal of the year 820 in which he blasted the military personnel of the state as well as its civilian functionaries, especially the *muḥtasib*s and the *quḍāh, Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:1:388, 389.

[23]Government service need not taint an office-holder. For example, at the very beginning of his 785 annal, we see al-Maqrīzī give a glowing and very long description of the character and person of Shams al-Dīn Kātib Arlān, the newly appointed vizier who, in his eyes, constituted the quintessential example of the perfect civil servant, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:2:486–87.

[24]See for example *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:293, 333–34, 3:2:454, 746, 810, 872. As usual, he is alone most of the time among Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, and al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī in making value judgments about, and mentioning the influence of money on, nominations. Only Ibn Iyās usually copied or paraphrased him directly and thus mentioned the negatives without fail.

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The role of the state in fostering bribery[25] has already been pointed out in the lengthy citation from the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* quoted above, but bribery is only one of what appears to be a panoply of means, other than the accepted ones, used by the regime to sustain and enrich itself. Certainly, most of the methods used by Barqūq and his collaborators were not new.[26] The sources dealing with the period preceding that of Barqūq all the way to the early Mamluk Sultanate and beyond abound with stories that illustrate various types of money extraction, whether ″shake-downs″ and the arbitrary seizing of property of both civilian and military personnel, looting, or the occasional forced sale or purchase of goods, etc. However, a cursory and admittedly unscientific survey of mostly secondary sources seems to show that the incidence of such stories as well as of reports about new means of money extraction, such as the confiscation of *awqāf,* is more pervasive in Barqūq′s period and later than in the preceding Bahri era.

Even though stories about mulcting are as prevalent in other chronicles as they are in his, in this respect al-Maqrīzī again differed from his contemporaries in going it alone with regard to emphasizing the evil inherent in the corruption of the state, and describing its mechanisms.[27] In his report about 13 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 779/12 April 1378, less than seven months after Barqūq and Barakah had monopolized power following the removal of Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī, al-Maqrīzī depicted the way this duumvirate functioned and presented the earliest evidence of systemic corruption in the state: the two then friends divided all matters between them and while decisions pertaining to nominations to and removals from office were taken in the house of Barakah, the countersigning of all was in the hands of Barqūq in the royal stables.[28] No position, continued al-Maqrīzī, could be obtained by anyone

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[25]In his *Ighāthah* (trans. Allouche, 52–53), al-Maqrīzī indicted bribery as one of the three causes behind the crises of the years 807/1404–5 and 796/1393–94. See also the *Khiṭaṭ*, 1:111, where al-Maqrīzī dated back the practice of bribery to the Ayyubids while noting that Barqūq over-indulged in it.

[26]For a general work on this issue, see Ḥasanayn Muḥammad Rabī‘, *The Financial System of Egypt, A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341* (London, 1972).

[27]Examples of different types of malversation and administrative expedients on the part of the Ẓāhiri regime, such as mulcting, confiscations of properties, *awqāf,* and orphans′ money, forced sales and purchases, etc., are legion in the *Kitāb al-Sulūk:* 3:1:137, 140, 172, 215, 234, 235, 241, 253, 268, 282, 289, 290, 291, 292, 319, 321, 330, 336, 337, 341, 343, 346, 347, 352, 354, 355, 360, 364, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 377, 386, 389, 390, 391, 409, 410, 411, 412; 3:2:440, 450, 455, 456, 467, 468, 471, 482, 490, 500, 501, 520, 531, 553, 561, 566, 583, 624, 627, 628, 636, 637, 648, 649, 650, 659, 660, 661, 663, 668, 669, 672, 673, 675, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 690, 703, 709, 712, 721, 723, 724, 725, 727, 732, 734, 736, 746, 747, 761, 763, 765, 770, 773, 781, 784, 796, 799, 802, 810, 812, 816, 829, 833, 850, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 861, 862, 871, 872, 880, 895, 896, 922, 924, 925, 928, 933.

[28]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:324.

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without payment of money so that ″society′s lowlifes and wretches acceded to what their minds fancied in terms of prestigious positions and high situations, and a great disaster befell people and led necessarily to the destruction of Egypt and Syria. . . .″[29] Elsewhere, as part of the events of 23 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 781/31 March 1380, al-Maqrīzī described in detail the predatory fiscal policies of governors who enriched themselves at the expense of the local population, only to see themselves replaced while they were still in office by people who had paid a larger amount, and also mulcted and deprived of all that they had accumulated in terms of movable and immovable property; and the province of Egypt, concluded al-Maqrīzī, became corrupt because of this practice.[30]

The leitmotiv, encountered above, peculiar to al-Maqrīzī, that Egypt and Syria had declined and were no longer the same as before was used by him while highlighting the shortcomings of the state at yet another level: its antagonizing of both internal and external forces, namely the Arabs in both Egypt and Syria, and the Turcomans in the Anatolian marches, something which caused both political instability and economic hardship to the kingdom. For example, al-Maqrīzī related news that reached Cairo on 25 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 780/13 April 1379 about a Mamluk defeat in Anatolia: after having attacked and looted the encampments of Turcomans who had come to them bearing gifts and asking for peace, the Mamluk forces of Syria fell into a trap set by remaining Turcomans forces and were wiped out, their military equipment, their money, horses and camels, etc., taken away. ″This,″ commented al-Maqrīzī,

> caused a weakness in the state: the Turcomans were the equivalent of fortifications protecting the country, and every year tens of thousands of sheep would be garnered from them along with alms payment in kind called the *ʻidād*. From them, the people of Aleppo reaped uncountable benefits, and if the sultan delegated them to fight a war they acquiesced to his order and they went ahead in obeisance and prostration. The ill treatment and the oppression they were subjected to transformed them into the enemies of the state who kill its soldiers, loot its moneys, and take over its dependencies. . . .[31]

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[29]Ibid. Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 1:326–27, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 11:133, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Dhayl,* 3:555, noted the changes in the top echelons of the state, but offered no information on the mechanisms of corruption described by al-Maqrīzī. Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʻ al-Zuhūr,* 1:220, offered almost the same account as al-Maqrīzī whom he appeared to have paraphrased.

[30]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:371–2. Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʻ al-Zuhūr,* 1:251, is the only chronicler to give an account of this mechanism of money extraction. His report is almost exactly the same as al-Maqrīzī′s.

[31]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:347–48. Neither of the other chroniclers who reported this event, Ibn Ḥajar

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Al-Maqrīzī used the same alarmist tone in his analysis of the relations between the state and the Arabs. For instance, on two occasions he decried the harshness of Mamluk governors in dealing with the nomads of Egypt and Syria, and on both occasions his reports ended with laments about the fact that such behavior was pivotal in the destruction of both regions. [32]

The last category of criticisms to be dealt with here is al-Maqrīzī′s apparent dislike of the very ethnic stock of the new ruling elite, the Circassians. Politically, it has been shown that he displayed a marked bias against the Circassians in the very way he presented the events that accompanied the struggle between Barqūq and Barakah which came to a head in Rabī‘ al-Awwal 782/June 1380.[33] Thus, among other things, al-Maqrīzī generalized to all Circassians the accusation of inveterate plotting he had leveled earlier against Barqūq.[34] Elsewhere in his *Kitāb*

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al-‘Asqalānī and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, made similar comments: the latter gave an account of the battle, *Al-Dhayl,* 3:579, while the former, in a couple of sentences, noted the defeat of the army and the fact that from then on, the Turkmān refrained from paying the *‘idād, Inbā’ al-Ghumr,* 1:273. Ibn Iyās′s account, *Badā’i‘ al-Zuhūr,* 1:237–38, reproduced almost word for word al-Maqrīzī′s comments.

[32]In the case of Egypt, the occasion is the reporting of the nailing of Awlād al-Kanz Arabs on 17 Muḥarram 781/5 May 1379: the severity of the governor′s oppression caused the rebellion of those Arabs and their depredations, to such an extent that ″Aswan escaped the control of the state and was then destroyed,″ *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 3:1:352. Of the other chroniclers, only Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*, 1:297, reported the fact of the *wālī*′s oppression of the Arabs and their defeat at his hands, but made no value judgment. As for Syria, the event in question, in early Rajab 785/late August 1383, at the very beginning of Barqūq′s sultanate, was the attack launched by Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī on Nu‘ayr ibn Ḥayyār, who had just been replaced by ‘Uthmān ibn Qārah as *amīr al-‘arab.* Nu‘ayr was defeated, his encampment looted, his womenfolk taken away: ″this,″ said al-Maqrīzī, ″was also one of the greatest reasons for the corruption of the state, and one of the most important reasons behind the destruction of Syria,″ *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 3:2:496. Ibn Taghrībirdī and Ibn Ḥajar did not report the event, while Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Dhayl,* 1:111, presented the bare facts without comment. As for al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 1:72–73, and Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i‘ al-Zuhūr*, 1:334, both offered accounts very close to al-Maqrīzī′s that incorporated his negative characterization of the event: in al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī′s story, al-Maqrīzī′s name actually appeared directly before the quote describing the evils that befell Syria.

[33]See note 9, above.

[34]″And the Turkish government came to an end completely. They [the Turkish amirs] were pursued, executed, banished, and imprisoned. And the Circassians had already . . . spoken among themselves, saying that there would be a great civil war that would be put down, and after it another one would break out between them and the Turks in which they would vanquish the Turks after a fight, and [then] they would be under their command. And when there was the rebellion led by Īnāl, they spoke of it aloud and so unashamedly and made it public to the degree that the most senior and the most junior of them spoke of it. And thus it indeed happened;″ Levanoni′s translation, quoted in her ″Al-Maqrīzī′s Account of the Transition,″ 95; see also *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1 :385. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Dhayl,* 1:26, and Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i‘ al-Zuhūr,* 1:262, both quoted al-Maqrīzī

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al-Sulūk, al-Maqrīzī appeared to be shocked at the fate of the mamluks of Uljāy al-Yūsufī (d. 775/1373), a former grandee of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, who on 23 Rabī' al-Thānī 779/ 28 August 1377 were accused of plotting against Barqūq and were imprisoned in the Shamāyil treasury, the prison of the common criminals. ″It was unheard of before this incident,″ noted al-Maqrīzī, ″for the Turks, the foundation of the state *(rijāl al-dawlah),* to be humiliated in this fashion.″[35]

* * * *

The discourse of al-Maqrīzī on Barqūq′s reign is remarkable on many accounts. Firstly, even though, as will be shown below, his tone did change in his accounts of the sultan′s second reign, the antipathy he felt towards Barqūq is clearly evident. As a matter of fact, no other sultan of the Circassian period attracted the ire of al-Maqrīzī more consistently than Barqūq did. This is not to say that al-Maqrīzī did not have anything negative to say about post-Barqūq Circassian sultans or their regimes. As a matter of fact, in his *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* al-Maqrīzī did savage Faraj,[36] Shaykh,[37] Barsbāy,[38] and their respective regimes, but his criticisms do not

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almost word for word, without identifying him as their source, especially his comments concerning the end of the Turkish state, but refrained from mentioning his litany about a conspiracy. Levanoni, ″Al-Maqrīzī′s Account of the Transition,″ 95, said that Ibn Taghrībirdī was influenced by al-Maqrīzī′s account and indicated a page number in the Cairo edition of the *Nujūm al-Zāhirah*. In the Beirut edition, however, I was not able to find this reference.

[35]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:331. Ibn Taghrībirdī presented no report on the incident, while Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah stated the facts and then noted that ″a great humiliation befell the Turks the like of which they had never experienced before,″ *Al-Dhayl,* 3:571. As for Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 1:265, he simply related that ″they were greatly humiliated.″ Finally, Ibn Iyās stated the facts without referring to any humiliation, but concluded his report by saying ″this was the first assault by the Atābak Barqūq on the Turkish mamluks and the first public manifestation of the Circassian regime,″ *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:334.

[36]Faraj′s obituary is particularly telling since al-Maqrīzī does not seem to see anything redeeming about Barqūq′s son, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:1:225–28. Al-Maqrīzī also reported without fail what would later become a distinguishing characteristic of Faraj′s reign, the long list of atrocities he committed against his enemies, for example, ibid., 4:1:113, 114, 148, 180, 187, 188, 192, 196.

[37]Shaykh′s obituary, even though overwhelmingly negative, is not as devastating as Faraj′s, ibid., 4:1:550–1. Also, on one occasion, ibid., 4:1:532, al-Maqrīzī, while talking about the piety displayed by Shaykh, indicted his entourage rather than the sultan himself for the evils of his regime. As for Tatar (d. 824/1421), al-Maqrīzī stated that he did not rule long enough for his actions to be either lauded or denigrated, ibid., 4:2:550–1.

[38]My edition of the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* did not include al-Maqrīzī′s negative obituary of Barsbāy which is quoted by Broadbridge in her ″Academic Rivalry,″ 93–94. What appear to me to be the three major negative characteristics of Barsbāy′s rule, namely the endemic rioting of the *julbān* (4:2:673, 793, 804, 805, 909, 930, 931, 965, 975, 1006, 1025, 1027, 1047), the systematic recourse

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come close to the *systematic* and *direct* attacks he made on Barqūq and his rule.[39] Secondly, al-Maqrīzī´s criticisms are all the more surprising since he did benefit from Barqūq´s and later from his son Faraj´s patronage,[40] and also since Sūl, a favorite slave-girl of his, was given to him by no other than the sultan.[41] Thirdly, al-Maqrīzī was the only one amongst the chroniclers[42] of this period to systematically criticize Barqūq, especially during his description of the sultan´s first reign.

In the light of what was said in the above paragraph, what is then, if any, the historiographical significance of al-Maqrīzī´s negative attitude towards Barqūq? An analysis of a passage from Ibn Taghrībirdī´s *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah* is one way to tackle this issue. After rejecting point by point the very serious accusations levelled by his former teacher against Barqūq in his assessment of his first reign, Ibn Taghrībirdī said:

> Shaikh Taqî ad-Dîn was guilty of well-known inconsistency; he said now this and now that. . . . And my statement that the Shaikh Taqî ad-Dîn sometimes praises Barqûq and sometimes blames him rests on the fact that *when the author was friendly with al-Malik aẓ-Ẓâhir during his second sultanate and aẓ-Ẓâhir made him the object of his beneficence, he went to extremes in praising him in several passages of his works, and forgot this earlier statement of*

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to mulcting as a means to enrichment (4:2:619, 610, 621, 623, 631, 632, 633, 636, 644, 648, 662, 663, 673, 685, 688, 693, 709, 729, 735, 754, 747, 751, 754, 755, 767, 768, 791–92, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 817, 819, 820, 821, 823, 824, 833, 860, 867, 868, 872, 887, 905, 906, 912, 913, 914, 919, 928, 929, 931, 933, 934, 936, 938, 950, 962, 965, 968, 1005, 1008, 1020), as well as the establishment of monopolies over the spice trade and other sectors of the economy (647, 824, 869, 905, 929, 1001), are very well documented in the *Kitāb al-Sulūk*. But al-Maqrīzī directly attacks Barsbāy only on one occasion: after the death of his arch-foe Jānbak al-Ṣūfī in 841, al-Maqrīzī stated that because of Barsbāy´s injustice, God made sure he did not savor his victory as the sultan ended up dying shortly after, ibid., 4:2:1024.

[39]Maybe it was the novelty of the new regime and the fact that it heralded new practices that later became commonplace that caused al-Maqrīzī to formulate very precise and scathing criticisms of Barqūq. Also, it may be that, in his eyes, Barqūq not only erected the new system but also came to epitomize it, so that he did not see the need to rehash at later stages of his writing things he had already observed.

[40]See Broadbridge, ″Academic Rivalry,″ 89–90.

[41]See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Beirut, 1992), 12:66–67. This reference as well as the information concerning Sūl was kindly brought to my attention by Nasser Rabbat.

[42]Of the major historians of this period, Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī (762–855/1360–1451) is the only author whose work, *'Iqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* I have not been able to consult. As was noted throughout this paper, only Ibn Iyās closely followed al-Maqrīzī in his denigration of Barqūq by either copying or paraphrasing his *Kitāb al-Sulūk*.

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> *his and others similar to it;* it escaped his notice that he should have changed this earlier account, for, as the proverb runs, ″Who praises and blames is as though he lied twice.″[43]

One can sense that the tone of al-Maqrīzī′s writings with regard to Barqūq changed from one period to another: in the *Kitāb al-Sulūk*[44] the criticisms started[45] in full-swing in 778/1376–77 (the year that witnessed the successful coup led by the *julbān* and upstart mamluks against the sultan al-Ashraf Sha'bān), continued during al-Maqrīzī′s account of Barqūq′s rise to power in 779/1378, and peaked during the early 1380s, only to subside during the second reign of the sultan, from 792/1390 until 801/1399.[46] Strikingly, al-Maqrīzī′s obituary of Barqūq in 801/1399 contained only a handful of comments that could be construed as strictly negative (his greed and his advancement of Circassians over Turks, etc.) drowned as they were in more than four pages of praise (his love of men of religion, the illegal taxes he abolished, the structures he ordered built, his largesse, etc.[47]), a far cry

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[43]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *The History of Egypt*, trans. Popper, 13:44–45. [Emphasis mine]

[44]Both *Kitāb al-Ighāthah* and the *Khiṭaṭ* contain a fair number of passages in which al-Maqrīzī condemns Barqūq and aspects of his rule, but it is in the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* that they are the most pervasive and systematic.

[45]The kind of dismay frequently expressed by al-Maqrīzī throughout the rise to power of Barqūq in the late 1370s and beyond can actually be encountered as far back as 768/1366–67 during the events surrounding the *coup* launched by his *ajlāb* against Yalbughā al-'Umarī and his assassination on 10 Rabī' al-Thānī 768/13 December 1366. Clearly discernible in al-Maqrīzī′s description of events are themes that will be recurrent in his criticisms against Barqūq, namely the ascension of lowly mamluks to positions of authority, the shaking up of the social order at the hands of an increasingly riotous populace, etc. See *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:137–38, 143.

[46]The instances where al-Maqrīzī made negative comments about Barqūq or presented accounts that directly reflected badly upon him number 43 for the period between 778 to 791 and 8 for that stretching between 792 and 801: **778**: 3:1:277, 287–89, 293, 295; **779**: 3:1:315–16, 324; **780**: 3:1:327, 330, 331, 333–34, 337, 347–48; **781**: 3:1:352, 352–53, 360–61, 365–66, 371–72, 374; **782**: 3:1:379, 381, 382, 382, 385, 385, 386, 390; **783**: 3:2:447–48, 454, 457; **784**: 3:2:466; **785**: 3:2:490, 496, 499, 503; **784**: 3:2:466; **785**: 3:2:490, 496, 499, 503; **787**: 3:2:538; **789**: 3:2:563–64, 566; **791**: 3:2:618–19; **793**: 3:2:734, 750; **796**: 3:2:810; **797**: 3:2:826; **799**: 3:2:872; **800**: 3:2:902; **801**: 3:2:935, 943.

[47]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:2:937–47. Ibn Taghrībirdī made sure to note in his critique of al-Maqrīzī that the second reign of Barqūq was more deserving of criticism than the first one because the sultan ″was guilty of several abominable acts, such as putting some scholars to death and banishing and degrading others because after he had left al-Karak they had issued a decision legitimizing the war against him,″ *The History of Egypt*, trans. Popper, 13:42–45. Now compare this with what al-Maqrīzī had to say about this issue: ″he felt a great deal of dislike for the *fuqahā*' during his second reign because they had issued a *fatwá* allowing his killing, but he did not cease honoring them despite his anger towards them,″ *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:2:944.

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from the savaging he inflicted on the sultan in the report dealing with the end of his first reign.

Was it then, as Ibn Taghrībirdī maintained, the fact that Barqūq had made al-Maqrīzī ″the object of his beneficence″ which led the latter to tone down his criticisms in his reports on al-Ẓāhir′s second reign, and in the process, to suppress those sensibilities which had earlier made him prone to condemn the sultan? Ibn Taghrībirdī′s quotation actually raises more questions, historiographical and biographical in nature, than it provides answers. If it is indeed true that his *Kitāb al-Sulūk* reflected al-Maqrīzī′s changing relationship with Barqūq, and if, as Ibn Taghrībirdī argued, this transformation took place during the sultan′s second reign, this means that a substantial portion of the *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, that which contains the most virulent criticisms against Barqūq, must have been written before the rapprochement between the two, sometime during the second reign, which started in 792/1390. The dating of parts of the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* to this particular period raises a number of problems. First, if we take at face value the contentions that: one, the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* was the last of a series of historical works, starting with the *Khiṭaṭ*, depicting various periods of the history of Egypt;[48] two, that the *Khiṭaṭ* was written between 819/1417 and 839/1436;[49] and three, that evidence suggests that the first draft of the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* was written sometime around or after 1421–23 but no earlier than al-Maqrīzī′s return from Damascus following the death of Faraj in 815/1412[50]—then al-Maqrīzī′s chronicle could not have been written during Barqūq′s reign, and certainly not at the earliest stage of al-Ẓāhir′s rule because he was simply too young. For Ibn Taghrībirdī′s assertion to be correct, one needs to postulate that al-Maqrīzī had already written down extensive notes, tainted by his prejudices, on the first part of Barquq′s reign *during* this reign, long before he started using these notes to write a full-fledged book. It can then be argued that al-Maqrīzī had no qualms about using the old ″anti-Barqūq″ notes since he was no longer in danger of incurring the wrath of the sultan, who was then long dead.

This perspective makes good of the claim that the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* was written after al-Maqrīzī′s return to Cairo from Damascus in 820/1417,[51] since it is probable that he would have made use of material composed or gathered in the past along

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[48]Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah, ″Tārīkh Ḥayāt al-Maqrīzī,″ in *Dirāsāt ‘an al-Maqrīzī* (Cairo, 1971), 18–19.

[49]Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah, *Al-Mu’arrikhūn fī Miṣr fī al-Qarn al-Khāmis ‘Ashar al-Mīlādī, al-Qarn al-Tāsi‘ al-Hijrī* (Cairo, 1954), 10.

[50]This information was kindly made available to me by Nasser Rabbat. See his article in this volume on the life of al-Maqrīzī.

[51]Levanoni, ″Al-Maqrīzī′s Account of the Transition,″ 96. On the uncertainty concerning the date of al-Maqrīzī′s return to Cairo, see below, note 62.

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with more recent data. But if, while writing the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* after 820/1417, al-Maqrīzī did more than simply record events but also ″took a moral stance against Barqūq both on personal and factional grounds,″ and thus embarked upon a retrospective revisiting of past events[52] tainted by the prejudices of a bitter man, then we have a problem to solve: we would still have to account for the generally neutral tone of the annals covering the second half of Barqūq′s reign and the dramatic decrease therein of criticisms directed at him by al-Maqrīzī. One way out of this problem would be to advance another albeit potentially weaker postulate: that al-Maqrīzī *did* write all of the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* starting after 820/1417 and that his retrospective assessment of events was influenced by his reliving, through a wide spectrum of moods, of the events he described in his chronicle.

Still, one might reject Ibn Taghrībirdī′s contention about a two-phased elaboration of al-Maqrīzī′s *oeuvre*. Despite the deference Ibn Taghrībirdī showed his former teacher qua historian,[53] his *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah* is replete with criticisms directed at al-Maqrīzī. On top of indicating historical inconsistencies,[54] Ibn Taghrībirdī, on a number of occasions, belittled al-Maqrīzī′s knowledge.[55] It might be that pointing out alleged inconsistencies on the part of al-Maqrīzī was just another means used by Ibn Taghrībirdī to damage the reputation of his teacher and, in the process, to elevate himself. Within the framework of the intensive competition for patronage and for sheer intellectual glory amongst academics and thinkers during this period,[56] this would come as no surprise. The possibility that it was his intention to discredit al-Maqrīzī is further supported by another statement made by Ibn Taghrībirdī. In the account of the year 841/1437–38 of his *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* Ibn Taghrībirdī again attacked his former mentor′s alleged historical inconsistencies, namely his criticisms against Barsbāy, and then said, as an explanation for al-Maqrīzī′s stand, that after the death of Barqūq ″he had no success with the rulers who came after him; they kept him away without showing him any favour, so he on his part took to registering their inequities and infamies.″[57] The fact that al-Maqrīzī was no kinder to later sultans than he was towards

[52]Ibid., 95–96.

[53]See for example *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 14: 270, 15: 225–26.

[54]See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *The History of Egypt*, trans. Popper, 13:44 and idem, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 11:240, on the way he discredits al-Maqrīzī on historical grounds.

[55]Especially his and other chroniclers′ paucity of knowledge concerning things Turkish, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 11:184–85.

[56]On this issue, see Broadbridge, ″Academic Rivalry.″ Ziyādah makes of the antagonisms, jealousies, and enmities amongst ninth/fifteenth century historians a fundamental characteristic of the historiography of this period, *Al-Mu'arrikhūn,* 84–88.

[57]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *The History of Egypt*, trans. Popper, 18:143 (emphasis mine); idem, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 14:270.

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Barqūq during his first reign is supported by evidence.[58] What is interesting about the quotation above is the later statement, casually mentioned by Ibn Taghrībirdī, that al-Maqrīzī was a boon companion of Barqūq.[59] That no other chronicler or biographer, not even the generally caustic al-Sakhāwī, had related such a juicy accusation with high damage potential could indicate that Ibn Taghrībirdī might have been engaged in a low-level work of demolition of al-Maqrīzī′s reputation.

Ibn Taghrībirdī could also have simply misunderstood the method used by his teacher in his writing of *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* so that he assumed that it was written during two distinct periods. But even if we reject Ibn Taghrībirdī′s original assertion about al-Maqrīzī′s writing, we are still not out of the woods: again, what caused al-Maqrīzī to change, in a significant manner, the tone of his comments on Barqūq?

In the light of all that has been said, the easiest way out of the enigma is to posit two scenarios. First, al-Maqrīzī probably started taking notes, from a variety of sources, very early on and this note taking reflected the mood he was in and his relationship with holders of political authority; upon his return to Cairo in 819/1417,[60] he started turning the notes he had assembled into a full-fledged book. This, as has been argued above, weakens the ″retrospective presentation of events″ postulate. The second scenario, even though not yet supported by research, is that al-Maqrīzī simply relied on another chronicle to write those sections of the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* that dealt with the sultan′s first reign.

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Of course, this is all conjecture. As a matter of fact, many matters have to be resolved before the historiographical problem posed above can be dealt with effectively. For one thing, the very biography of al-Maqrīzī and the concomitant issue of the history of his literary production need to be addressed. Even though the general outline of his life is well known, some aspects of it are shrouded in uncertainty and are reported differently by scholars past and present. For example, when did he start working?[61] How long did he stay in Damascus after he went

[58]See Broadbridge, ″Academic Rivalry.″

[59]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 14:270.

[60]Or no earlier than his return from Damascus following the death of Faraj in 815/1412.

[61]Broadbridge says it was in the year 788/1386, ″Academic Rivalry,″ 87, and Ziyādah in 1388, ″Tārīkh Ḥayāt al-Maqrīzī,″ 15. Al-Maqrīzī, in his *Khiṭaṭ*, said he started working in the *dīwān al-inshā*′ around ″al-sab‘īn wa-al-sab‘ mi’ah,″ 2:225. If he were born in 766, as is generally accepted, then al-Maqrīzī was around 4 years of age when he started his career (!): it is therefore more than probable that a scribe made a mistake while copying the original or that the editor of the text himself erred in this respect. Surprisingly, the same inconsistency can be found in Ziyādah′s *Al-Mu’arrikhūn,* 8, in which the date of birth is reported as 1364 and the year he started his career

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there with Faraj in 810/1408 and, consequently, when did he return to Cairo?[62] As we have seen above, much of the interpretations of al-Maqrīzī´s historiographical output was made on the assumption that he wrote this or that work on given dates, so what would become of these interpretations if the dates are themselves not to be trusted?

The present state of knowledge concerning the issue at hand calls for two comments: first, to the extent allowed by the primary sources themselves, that a definitive biography of al-Maqrīzī be produced, and second, that the ″critical analysis of the originality, sources, and possible interdependence″[63] of ″Burji″ historians be undertaken at the same level of scholarship as that of the ″Bahri″ historiographical output.[64] Until then, the questions raised above will only be partially addressed.

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as 1368, without any comment! A footnote actually refers the reader to page 225 of the *Khiṭaṭ*.

[62]Broadbridge, who probably based herself on al-Sakhāwī, states that he went back and forth the same year, ″Academic Rivalry,″ 91. Franz Rosenthal in his *Encyclopaedia of Islam* article reported the figure of around ten years: ″In Damascus where he spent about 10 years beginning in 810/1408 . . .,″ 6:194, and so do Levanoni, ″Al-Maqrīzī´s Account of the Transition,″ 96, and Ziyādah, *Al-Mu'arrikhūn,* 9.

[63]Donald P. Little, ″Historiography of the Ayyubid and Mamluk Epochs,″ in *The Cambridge History of Egypt 640–1517*, ed. Carl Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 433. To my knowledge, the only studies that do just that are David C. Reisman, ″A Holograph MS of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah´s ´Dhayl,′″ in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 19–49 and Donald P. Little´s article in this volume.

[64]See Donald P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn.* (Wiesbaden, 1970).

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Al-Maqrīzī´s Discussion of Imprisonment and Description of Jails in the *Khiṭaṭ*

Al-Maqrīzī provides his views about the penalty of incarceration and its status under Islamic law as an extended preface to his survey of jails and prisons as they existed in Miṣr/al-Qāhirah from the founding of these towns to his own day.[1] Several themes and subtexts may be discerned as one reads through al-Maqrīzī´s comments. The most pointed of these is the dubious efficacy of imprisonment itself as a deterrent to criminal activity. Al-Maqrīzī´s ambivalence towards the quality of governance under the Mamluk Sultanate is readily apparent from his depiction of conditions prevalent in Cairo´s institutions of incarceration. As in his other works, al-Maqrīzī rarely misses an opportunity to castigate the Mamluk regime as the culprit behind most ills burdening the civil society of the Mamluk capital. Whether the sordid conditions he vividly portrays would, in fact, have differed appreciably under a regime more to his liking remains a problematic issue.

The entry on prisons is substantial. In the Būlāq edition (volume 2, p. 187), it fills two and one-quarter printed pages, with 39 lines on the full pages, 9 on the third.[2] The average Arabic word count per line is 14. Al-Maqrīzī begins with a statement quoted from Ibn Sīdah about the several terms and grammatical forms that derive from the two roots for incarceration: *sīn-jīm-nūn* and *ḥā'-bā'-sīn* (lines 3–6). He then relates several hadiths that express the Prophet´s concept of imprisonment. Since al-Maqrīzī chose these traditions to reinforce his own views about incarceration, the section merits quoting (with omission of the praise formulas) (lines 6–27):

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[1]This analysis of al-Maqrīzī´s statements about imprisonment and jails in his *Khiṭaṭ* was undertaken in the context of a larger study of crime and criminal prosecution in the major cities of the Mamluk Sultanate: Cairo and Damascus. The study is based on more than 1000 incidents of crime and violence reported by prominent chroniclers of events in these cities. Al-Maqrīzī´s own chronicle, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* was examined as an important source for such incidents.

[2]In addition to the section on prisons, al-Maqrīzī inserted a detailed description of a site he named Sijn Yūsuf (Prison of Joseph) (volume I, p. 207). This proved to be a revered shrine, located in al-Jīzah Province, attributed to the confinement of the Prophet Joseph during his sojourn in Egypt. He allegedly received divine revelation there. The site was the object of veneration and pilgrimage during the medieval period. It had no function as a prison for criminals.

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The Imam Aḥmad and Abū Dāwūd transmitted from the hadith of Yahz ibn Ḥakīm from his father, and he from his grandfather . . ., who said that the Prophet held (a person) in custody *(ḥabasa)* under an accusation *(tuhmah)*. And in the *Jāmi‘ al-Jalāl* of al-Suyūṭī, on the authority of Abī Hurayrah . . . who said that the Messenger of God . . . confined *(ḥabasa)* (a person) under an accusation for a day and a night. For the legal incarceration is not the prison *(sijn)* (itself) in a straitened place. Rather, he (who is under an accusation/charge) is (to be) personally restrained and prevented from independent egress unless he be in a house *(bayt)* or a *masjid,* or his agent on his behalf, and sticks close by him *(wa-mulāzimatuhu la-hu)*. In this regard, the Prophet . . . named him a prisoner *(asīran)*.

As Abū Dāwūd and Ibn Mājih related from al-Hurmās ibn Ḥabīb from his father . . ., who said: ″I came before the Prophet with one (who was) indebted to me.″ And he (Prophet) said to me: ″Take custody of him.″ Then, he (Prophet) told me: ″O brother of the Banī Tamīm, what do you want me to do with your prisoner?″ According to the version of Ibn Mājih, the Prophet subsequently passed by me at the end of the day. He said: ″What did your prisoner commit, O brother of the Banī Tamīm?″ For it was this [personal custody] that was incarceration *(ḥabs)* during the time of the Prophet. Abū Bakr . . . did not possess a prison intended for incarceration of the disputants.

But when the populace *(al-ra‘īyah)* were dispersed in the time of ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb . . ., he [‘Umar] bought from Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah . . . a house *(dār)* in Mecca for 4000 dirhams, and made it into a prison for incarceration. On this issue the ulama disputed as to whether the imam could establish a jail on the basis of two statements *(qawlayn)*. For one said: ″He who does not set up a prison bases his case on the fact that neither the Messenger of God . . . nor his successor after him established a prison. Rather, he (Prophet) would detain him in a certain place. Or, he would appoint over him a guardian. This [policy] would be called the safeguard or voucher *(al-tarsīm)*. Or, he would order his debtor to stick by him. It was said to him, that he who [does] institute a prison takes his proof from the act of ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. Thus was set the practice *(sunnah)* in the time of the Messenger of God . . ., and of Abī Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī . . ., that one not be jailed for debts, but [rather] that the two contestants [in the suit] remain in close contact *(yatalāzimu)*. The first to incarcerate for debt was

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> Shurayh the Judge *(al-Qāḍī)*.
>
> As for imprisonment as it is now, it is not sanctioned for any of the Muslims, because it crowds [too] many individuals in a place confining to them, or [a site] making impossible the performance of [either] the ablution or the prayer. [Indeed], some of them [inmates] would see the genitals of others. The summer heat [or] winter cold would afflict them. One might well be jailed for a year without any recourse, since the original cause *(aṣl)* for his incarceration was by a warrant *('alá ḍumān)*.

When al-Maqrīzī addresses conditions in jails of his own day, he is vituperative:

> As for the prisons of the prefects *(walātah),* one cannot describe the distress/misfortune *(al-balā')* that afflicts their inmates. For it is widely known that they [prisoners] go out with aides [of the prefects] in irons. They beg for alms while they bewail their hunger in the streets. [But] whatever alms are given them they may not retain—except what enters their bellies. The charitable offerings collected for them from the people the jailer *(sajjān)* and staff of the prefect keep. He who does not please them, they punish excessively. Nonetheless, they [inmates] are employed in digging, construction, or similar hard labor. The [prefect's] aides goad them. When they finish their labors, they are returned to the jail in irons without having eaten anything. There are many similar conditions for which space does not permit relating.

Al-Maqrīzī's selection of traditions, and comments on contemporary circumstances of prison life, unambiguously disclose his own stand on imprisonment. If the Prophet's actions are to be viewed as an exemplary precedent for policy, then personal supervision or recognizance is legally mandated rather than physical confinement to a building. Such confinement is, in fact, attributed to the second of the Prophet's successors, 'Umar, and as such should be interpreted as an innovation without legal sanction. Second, imprisonment for debt serves no purpose. Indeed, it is counterproductive. Although not explicitly stated, the presumed reason for allowing the debtor to remain unconfined, but under the recognizance of his own plaintiff, is his capacity to continue working for pay, and thus to discharge his debt. Incarceration for debt was widespread in the Mamluk Sultanate, and al-Maqrīzī denounced it as more than personally demeaning. The practice contributed to the fiscal decline of the state, over which al-Maqrīzī obsessed continuously throughout his works. At a time of labor shortages brought on by

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plague mortality, the removal of debtors from the work force amounted to gross incompetence on the part of the ruling authorities. Not only would debtors be unable to reimburse their claimants, but the economy would suffer the loss of potential laborers, many of them skilled.

Finally, al-Maqrīzī fulminates over the degradation imposed on prison inmates of his own time, presumably from personal observation. Muslims, no matter the severity of their crimes, should not be treated inhumanely by fellow believers. I find al-Maqrīzī´s denunciations of prevailing conditions puzzling, if not truculent. His position is not intrinsically defensible if one accepts a relationship between severity of offense and punishment inflicted. Al-Maqrīzī´s subsequent discussion of Cairo´s jails and prisons does not ignore the heinous acts of hardened criminals, many of whom were repeat offenders, incarcerated in those prisons with forbidding reputations. But he remains stridently insistent on the fundamental rights of Muslim believers, especially when incarcerated by their co-religionists. (Note that al-Maqrīzī does not mention the confinement of non-Muslims in this passage. In the narrative sources, including his, one encounters imprisonment of Muslims, Christians [mostly Copts, a few Europeans], and Jews frequently. ʻAlawīs, Samaritans and Hindus appear infrequently.)

Al-Maqrīzī´s perspective is clearly apparent when he decries the close confinement of inmates and its hindrance of their religious obligations (ablution and prayer). The exploitation of charitable giving by sympathetic onlookers on the part of prison wardens he denounces outright. One must question whether release of convicted criminals to the recognizance of their victims would warrant any serious consideration by the legal authorities as a viable means of deterrence. Al-Maqrīzī´s exclusive focus on the suffering of inmates implies the primacy of his criticism for the regime that jailed them, to the subordination of realistic concern over reprisal for criminal behavior or of the public´s right to safety.

Al-Maqrīzī´s focus is sustained throughout his description of specific prisons (pp. 187, lines 28–39; 188, lines 7–39; 189, lines 1–8 and left margin). The Būlāq edition lists eight sites in Miṣr and al-Qāhirah designated either as a jail *(ḥabs)* or prison *(sijn)* (lines 28–30). This summary list differs from the following text, since the most prominent—and infamous—prison, al-Maqsharah, is not mentioned. It is, however, discussed in some detail below (p. 188, lines 34–39). By contrast, the jails of al-Daylam and Maydān al-Raḥbah do not appear in the text, as noted in the margin on p. 189. Al-Maqrīzī begins with the two institutions in Miṣr: the Jails of Succor *(Ḥabs al-Maʻūnah)* and of the Salt Fish Seller *(Ḥabs al-Ṣayyār)*. The former was presumably the oldest house of incarceration, its locale dating back to the founding of Miṣr al-Fusṭāṭ. The site was originally owned by Qays ibn Saʻd ibn ʻIbādah al-Anṣārī, who bequeathed it to the Muslim community. Over the centuries, the site was occupied by a warehouse for pepper, a police station

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(shurṭah), a monetary exchange or customs house *(dār al-ṣarf),* a mosque residency, and finally a jail—after the year 381/991–92. Ultimately, the founder of the Ayyubid Sultanate, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf, converted the jail into a madrasah, known as al-Ashrafīyah bi-Miṣr. It was functioning during al-Maqrīzī′s lifetime. No reference to its inmates or their crimes appears in the text.

The Ḥabs al-Ṣayyār was set up after the Succor Jail was closed. It replaced a shop in an alley *(zuqāq)* where a repository for salted fish *(ṣīr al-mulūḥah)* had been located. The jail remained in use until the destruction of Fusṭāṭ after the end of the Fatimid period. Its inmates were political officials, with no reference to their offenses.

Al-Maqrīzī describes five prisons in al-Qāhirah: the Treasury of Banners [possibly, Troops] *(Khizānat al-Bunūd),* the Succor Jail *(Ḥabs al-Ma'ūnah bi-al-Qāhirah);* the Treasury of Shamā'il *(Khizānat Shamā'il);* the Maqsharah Prison; and the Pit of the Citadel *(al-Jubb bi-Qal'at al-Jabal).* Al-Maqrīzī provided background information about the original purposes of their sites and the careers of their founders. The Khizānat al-Bunūd, for example, was set up in the district *(khuṭṭ)* known as the Treasury of Banners, located near the Festival Gate *(Bāb al-'ˇd).* Under the Fatimids, weapons were manufactured in it. It burned down in 461/1068–69, and was replaced by the prison. Amirs and civil notables were confined there until the end of the regime. The Ayyubids maintained the Khizānat al-Bunūd as a prison, but under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn it was converted into a residence *(manzil)* for Frankish officers *(al-'umarā' al-firanj)* and their families. It was razed in the year 744/1343–44 to make room for private residences.

The Khizānat Shamā'il was founded by an amir of peasant origin who rose to prominence during the reign of al-Malik al-Kāmil ibn al-'Ādil. During the French siege of Dumyāṭ in 615/1218, this Shamā'il swam across the blockaded harbor of the port to alert al-Kāmil′s staff about weaknesses in the enemy′s lines. Al-Kāmil named him ″sword of his revenge″ *(sayf niqmatihi)* and rewarded him with the prefecture of Cairo, a post he held until the enthronement of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb. The latter arrested and executed him. Shamā'il′s prison was, according to al-Maqrīzī, ″among the most heinous and ugly in appearance. Incarcerated within were those sentenced to death: habitual thieves and highwaymen, those the sultan intended to destroy among the Mamluks, and those who had committed serious crimes *(aṣḥāb al-jarā'im al-'aẓīmah).*″ He commented wryly that ″its warden *(sajjān)* was assigned to it by the prefect *(wālī)* of Cairo in return for [payment] of a certain sum of money each day. During the days of al-Nāṣir Faraj, this came to a large amount.″ The Khizānat Shamā'il continued in such vein until it was razed by Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh on Sunday 10 Rabī' I 818/18 May 1415 to make room for his madrasah and tomb adjacent to Bāb Zuwaylah.

Al-Maqrīzī dwelled on the wretched conditions prevailing in the last two

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prisons he described: the Maqsharah and the Pit. To quote: ″The Maqsharah is located in the vicinity of Bāb al-Futūḥ, [standing] between it and the Mosque of al-Ḥākim. Wheat was husked *(yuqshiru)* there. Among its several structures was a tower *(burj)* on the wall to its right outside Bāb al-Futūḥ. Houses were rebuilt above it, which stood until the Khizānat Shamā'il was razed. This tower and the Maqsharah were [then] designated as a prison for hardened criminals. The houses standing there were demolished in the month of Rabī‘ I in the year 823/March–April 1420. It was then [opened] as a prison and the criminals were transferred to it [presumably from the Khizānat Shamā'il]. It was one of the most heinous prisons, and among the most straitening. Within it languished prisoners in the depths of depression and despair—beyond description. May God spare us from its myriad tribulations.″

The Pit of the Citadel (probably a cistern originally) acquired such a gruesome reputation that it transgressed the accepted limits of the peculiar code of camaraderie among Mamluks known as *al-khushdāshīyah*. To quote:

> Officers were incarcerated in it. It began operating in the year 681/1282–83. The sultan then was al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn. It continued functioning until al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn demolished it on Monday 17 Jumādá I, year 729/19 March 1329. This occurred because arguments for the reform of its use were intensifying. Amirs testified to its horrors of oppression, the multitude of bats, and foul odors emanating from it. Consequently, its [demolition was decided upon. The Amir Baktimur al-Sāqī had in his retinue an individual whom he had mocked and scorned. He consigned him to the Pit where he was left suspended. He then drew him back up after he had passed the night in it. When he was brought before Baktimur, he informed him of the atrocities he had seen with his own eyes in the Pit. He described terrifying acts [occurring there]. The debate became heated during the council, with amirs who had been in the Pit recounting what went on there with regard to afflictions. Baktimur [then] discussed the matter with the sultan. The latter ordered the amirs´ release, and filled it in. Over it [the site] he built a barracks for the Mamluks. Debris from the demolition of the large hall adjacent to the Main Treasury was used to fill in this pit. For God knows what is proper.

Al-Maqrīzī´s description of these jails emphasizes the inherent impropriety of their function, the sordidness of conditions endured by their inmates, regardless of their offenses, and, most interestingly, their transitory nature. All but the Maqsharah

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had ceased operating, and had been replaced by other structures that served more positive purposes—such as private residences or places of learning. Only the Maqsharah was in operation at the time al-Maqrīzī stopped writing the *Khiṭaṭ*. My own research confirms that the Maqsharah was statistically the most frequently cited prison in Cairo up to the Ottoman conquest and possibly beyond.

To what extent al-Maqrīzī′s denunciation of wretched conditions in prisons as legally unsound and morally repugnant was representative of juristic opinion remains an open question. Certainly the limited number of jails he described for a metropolis the size of Miṣr/al-Qāhirah during the Mamluk period does not imply sufficient space, even under the inmates′ straitened circumstances, to confine large groups of offenders. Whether the institutions he discussed actually represented the full range of places where criminals or political prisoners were confined is also open to speculation. The motives behind al-Maqrīzī′s fulmination against prisons and conditions of imprisonment therefore remain as intriguing a question as his other controversial perspectives.

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Al-Maqrīzī´s *Khiṭaṭ* and the Urban Structure of Mamluk Cairo

This paper is a continuation of a research project initiated twenty-five years ago on indications *(signes)* of urbanization in the Ottoman cities,[1] later enlarged to include the Mamluk period.[2] My interest in the Mamluk period derived principally from the need I felt to revert to the actual starting point of the Ottoman era, my main preoccupation, and also from a desire to test out some of the principles already applied to urban research on the ″modern″ Ottoman epoch against a ″classical″ period.

The postulate of this inquiry (not always accepted) is that the city´s public monuments constitute a ″production″ from which (by utilizing their dates and geographical location) a study can be built up of the history of urbanization and the evolution of urban demographics, the building of one of these monuments normally constituting a sign of the presence of inhabitants for the religious needs of whom they will provide. One must not forget, of course, that there are many exceptions to a principle which is valid only on a general, statistical level. The choice of which monuments to study is based on their ″urban content″ *(charge urbaine)* and the role they play in the activity of the city and the life of its inhabitants: thus the public fountains *(sabīl)* and baths *(hammām)* would be the most appropriate targets for such research, since their construction is directly linked to fundamental urban needs and implies the existence of a stable community of users. But their mention in texts is random, and details about them (particularly when it comes to dating) are often far from precise. For that reason I have taken mosques as my main focus for tracking urban realities, because they are more frequently mentioned in texts, more precisely dated (often by inscriptions), and better maintained and preserved, so that they form a good basis for study derived from both textual and archaeological evidence.

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[1] André Raymond, ″Signes urbains et étude de la population des grandes villes arabes,″ *Bulletin d´études orientales* 27 (1974).

[2] ″La population du Caire de Maqrīzī à la Description de l´Egypte,″ *BEO* 28 (1975); *Les marchés du Caire,* in collaboration with G. Wiet (Cairo, 1979); ″La localisation des bains publics au Caire au XVème siècle,″ *BEO* 30 (1978); ″Cairo´s Area and Population in the Early Fifteenth Century,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984); *Le Caire* (Paris, 1993); English trans. by Willard Wood, *Cairo* (Cambridge, 2001).

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Sources Used for a Study of Mamluk Cairo

When it comes to the Mamluk era in the urban history of Cairo, our first source is naturally the *Khiṭaṭ*.[3] The second volume provides us with an enumeration of the principal landmarks of Cairo, be they religious (mosques, convents), public (fountains and baths), economic (markets, caravanserais), topographical (quarters, squares, bridges) or domestic (palaces), etc., and generally provides key information on their location and dating. I shall return later to the problem of the comprehensiveness of the author′s coverage and enumeration. Among these abundant lists (which I have already touched on in previous studies: markets and caravanserais, public baths and town quarters) I shall here concentrate on mosques. No distinction will be made between different types of mosques—such as the *jāmi‘* (mosques with *khuṭbah*), the *madrasah* (teaching institutions), the *masjid* (oratories). Even in al-Maqrīzī′s time it seems delineation was somewhat vague, with the same building sometimes being referred to as a *jāmi‘*, and other times as a *madrasah*. Among blatant examples of this confusion I shall mention the mosque of Ibn Maghribī,[4] which is studied twice by the (in this instance) careless al-Maqrīzī—once in the mosque chapter[5] and secondly among the *madrasah*s.[6] It is also the case with the famous Sultan Ḥasan mosque,[7] which is classified as a *jāmi‘*, but which, as al-Maqrīzī states right from the beginning, ″was known as the *madrasah* of Sultan Ḥasan″ *(hadhā al-jāmi‘ yu‘raf bi-madrasat al-sulṭān Ḥasan)*.[8] The difference between *jāmi‘* and *madrasah* became later so dim that the *Description de l′Egypte,* in its list of monuments in Cairo, refers only to *jāmi‘* whatever the original purpose or qualification of the monument.

Turning to the building of mosques as a means to study urbanization, I

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[3]Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā‘iẓ wa-al-I‘tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār,* 2 vols. (Būlāq, 1270/1853).

[4]Before 1374, around G 15 (74).

In this article information about mosques is given so that the first number indicates the date the mosque was built. A letter followed by a number indicates the mosque′s location on one of the two maps appended to the article. The number in parentheses shows its place within our chronological list of the 122 mosques (dated 1260–1441) studied, and located on the plans. A number followed by a letter and another number refers to the ″Description abrégée de la ville du Caire″ *(Description de l′Egypte)* and to the location on the map of the *Description de l′Egypte* whose cartographic squaring I have reproduced on my map. ″No.″ followed by a number indicates the classification number in the list of Cairo′s monuments (*Index to Mohammedan Monuments in Cairo*, Survey of Egypt, 1951).

[5]*Khiṭaṭ,* 2:328.

[6]Ibid., 391.

[7]1362, 1 S 6 (68).

[8]*Khiṭaṭ,* 2:316.

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found 92 monuments mentioned in the *Khiṭaṭ:* the *jāmi'* chapter contains references to 110 monuments of which 53 pertain to the period which interests us (1260–1441). The most recent monument mentioned here is the Muḥammad al-Ghamrī mosque (number 120 in my own list) which dates from 1440.[9] The *madrasah* chapter enumerates 73 buildings, 36 of which fall into our time-frame. The *masjid* section describes 19 monuments, of which 3 are relevant to our study. To that total (92) must be added the *māristān* (hospital) al-Mu'ayyad,[10] transformed into a mosque in 1422.[11]

Although quite lengthy, this list is obviously incomplete. One of the most conspicuous absences is the prestigious *madrasah* of Barqūq, built in 1386[12] with which al-Maqrīzī—who lived in the Barjawān quarter, just 400 meters away[13]—was of course familiar; he moreover mentions the progress of its construction several times in the *Sulūk*. In addition to this exceptional case several other mosques are mentioned in the *Sulūk* but not in the *Khiṭaṭ:* this is the case with the last mosque whose construction al-Maqrīzī records, that of Jawhar al-Tawāshī at Rumaylah,[14] built in January 1441, and marking the *terminus ad quem* of his researches, not long before his death in February 1442. Reference to the *Index to Mohammedan Monuments in Cairo* is enough to illustrate the reality of important gaps in al-Maqrīzī: out of 66 monuments classified for the period 1250–1441, 19 are not mentioned in the *Khiṭaṭ*.

I estimated that, in order to present an outline of Cairo´s urban development between 1260 and 1441, it was necessary to extend the research to sources other than the *Khiṭaṭ* to make up in a certain measure the missing information. Furthermore, taking into consideration other sources allows an investigation of al-Maqrīzī´s accuracy.

The information provided by the lists of the *Khiṭaṭ* (93 monuments) was thus supplemented by al-Maqrīzī´s own *Sulūk* (13 additional monuments), Ibn Taghrībirdī (6 mosques), Aḥmad Darrāj (*Barsbay:*[15] 1 monument) and the *Index to Mohammedan Monuments in Cairo* (19 mosques). This additional list of 29 mosques, which brings the grand total to 122 is, of course, again deficient: a more complete perusal of the sources, and especially of the *waqf* documents, would enlarge this corpus. Imperfect as it is, I intend to use it as a basis for a study of the

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[9] 197 F 7.

[10] 50 S 4 (108).

[11] *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:408 (108).

[12] *Description* 279 H 6, classification number in the *Index:* 187 (80).

[13] 66 F 7.

[14] Around T 6 (122).

[15] *L´Egypte sous le règne de Barsbay, 825–841/1422–1438* (Damascus, 1961).

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urbanization of Cairo and for some reflections on al-Maqrīzī′s work.

Let us first remark that if we take into consideration the information provided by the *Khiṭaṭ* and *Sulūk* we notice that al-Maqrīzī mentioned, on the whole, 106 monuments, a figure which (out of a grand total of 122) seems to confirm the reliability of our historian.

A study of the deficiencies of the *Khiṭaṭ* reveals no obvious neglect of any region of Cairo, except for an important deficit for the southern region (17 monuments out of a total of 48).[16] The quarters of Tabbānah,[17] Rumaylah,[18] and Ṣalībah[19] seem particularly affected by this neglect. In al-Qāhirah, where the deficit of the *Khiṭaṭ* is less important (10 monuments out of 43), it is the zone surrounding al-Azhar[20] which is the most ill-treated (mosques 116, 119, 72, 92, 110 missing in the *Khiṭaṭ*). In contrast the deficit of the *Khiṭaṭ* is quite limited in the northern region (one out of 12) and even more so in the western region (one out of 19). I have no explanation for the cause of this geographic disparity, the argument of distance which could be invoked in the case of the southern region being, of course, irrelevant in that of al-Azhar. I may at least remark that it is difficult to reconcile al-Maqrīzī′s omission of a significant number of monuments in the western region with the fact that it is precisely in this zone that his information is otherwise the most complete.

I feel that on the whole the consideration of chronology offers a better explanation of the lacunas in the *Khiṭaṭ*′s information. Contrary to what would seem logical (that al-Maqrīzī′s information would be more complete for the most recent constructions), it is clear that the omissions mainly concern the newest monuments. Between 1260 and 1398 al-Maqrīzī′s *Khiṭaṭ* omitted only 14 monuments out of a total of 86 (one sixth); the figure is 15 monuments out of 34 in the period 1404 to 1441 (one half). It is mainly around 1420 that the historian′s documentary effort obviously slackened. This strong deficiency (11 omissions out of 22 between 1420 and 1441) was only partly compensated for by a kind of last minute effort of the historian to augment his documentations, hastily noting ten

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[16]In my description of the geography of Cairo I use ″al-Qāhirah″ to designate the Fatimid city inside its walls, east of the canal (al-Khalīj al-Miṣrī). ″Northern region″ is used for the area which is located to the north of the Fatimid wall (Bāb al-Futūḥ), on both sides of the Khalīj. ″Southern region″ is the area stretching south of the Fatimid wall (Bāb Zuwaylah), east of the Khalīj. The ″western region″ is the area limited by the wall (north), the Khalīj (east), and the Khalīj al-Nāṣirī (west).

[17]Around P 5: mosques 55, 97, 27, 88.

[18]Around S 5: 115, 118, 75, 122.

[19]Around T 7: 93, 121, 21, 77.

[20]K 4–5.

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mosques (numbers 100 to 106, 113, 114, 120) built after 1420, on the last page (331) of the *jāmi'* chapter, but without giving any details about these monuments. This character of the lacunas is also obvious when one analyzes the mosques mentioned in the *Sulūk* and not in the *Khiṭaṭ:* out of 13 monuments neglected, 6 are from the period after 1420.

Jean-Claude Garcin has insisted upon the fact that al-Maqrīzī's inventories upon which I dwelt are not fully comprehensive: "One can try to grasp the result of this urbanization movement through the work of al-Maqrīzī, even though his historical and literary evocation of Cairo (in the *Khiṭaṭ*) does not have the nature of an inventory which held pretensions of being complete (as it was later on held by the *Description de l'Egypte,* in an already colonial context."[21] Garcin again took up this stance in a recent publication: "The value accorded to the pre-colonial type of census analysis undertaken in the *Description de l'Egypte* seems less applicable to al-Maqrīzī's work, where his city description is less than comprehensive. . . . One cannot hope to find, in his records, every name of every quarter, each monument, each souk, or artisan's workshop which existed in his time."[22]

My point of view is that, whatever their evident imperfections and deficiencies, the lists compiled by al-Maqrīzī constitute an ensemble of such variety, richness, and precision that they can well withstand statistical utilization for a study of the city structure. The research already carried out on the souks and caravanserais[23] is, I think, confirmed by this study of mosques. In any event, while awaiting more exhaustive documentation, there is no richer or more reliable source of information at our disposal than what al-Maqrīzī affords. It is, then, important to try and extract everything we can from it, without losing sight of its "not totally complete" nature.

The Urban Structure of Cairo (1260–1441) According to al-Maqrīzī

The documentation at our disposal allows us to examine the evolution of the structure of the city over nearly two centuries, from 1260, the beginning of the Mamluk era, to 1441 (the end of al-Maqrīzī's investigations), in a geographic framework which I limit to what I propose to define as "traditional Cairo": the area described in the Cairo map of the *Description de l'Egypte,* thus excluding the regions located outside the Khalīj al-Nāṣirī to the west, and Ḥusaynīyah to the

[21]"Toponymie et topographie urbaines médiévales à Fustat et au Caire," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 27 (1984): 133.

[22]"Note sur la population du Caire en 1517," in *Grandes villes méditerranéennes du monde musulman médieval* (Rome, 2000), 206.

[23]Raymond and Wiet, *Les marchés du Caire*.

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north, and naturally the ″suburbs″ of Cairo (Būlāq and Old Cairo).

The cartographic problems concerning Mamluk Cairo have been discussed recently by Jean-Claude Garcin in *Grandes villes méditerranéennes,*[24] accompanied by maps 4 (″Le Caire au XIVème siècle″) and 5 (″Le Caire au début du XVIème siècle″) which delineate zones of ″urbanisation dense supposée″ and ″urbanisation peu dense supposée.″ My own conclusions are based on the previously described corpus of 122 religious monuments, mosques *(jāmi‘),* colleges *(madrasah),* and oratories *(masjid),* for which we have presented the necessary information about their dating and location. But this study on urbanization in Mamluk Cairo, of course, takes into account previous research carried out on other components of the urban environment, such as places of economic activity (markets and caravanserais), public baths (*ḥammām*s) and the residential quarters of the city *(ḥārāt).*

The Northern Region

An analysis of the fluctuation in the number of religious buildings constructed over time leads us to the conclusion that there was vigorous urbanization in the northern part of Cairo. The building activity in the Ḥusaynīyah quarter and the Birkat al-Ratlī region[25] was launched from the time of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars (1260–77), starting with the building of the great mosque which bears his name, in 1269.[26] The numerous mosques that were founded afterwards (twelve, of which eight were built in al-Nāṣir′s time) bear witness to a phenomenon of urban growth and demographic development, which al-Maqrīzī recorded. However the effects of this urbanistic move seem to have been temporary: no construction is mentioned there after 1397, and al-Maqrīzī himself, in several often-quoted passages, recognized the decline and fall of this area about the turn of the century. It is also significant that of those monuments recorded by al-Maqrīzī, few have survived: in fact only two (the already-mentioned Ẓāhirīyah mosque and the Maẓharīyah *madrasah*),[27] which would confirm a later slump within the quarter, firstly at the end of the Mamluk, then in the Ottoman era. The construction of some rare religious monuments in the zone to the north of Ḥusaynīyah (at Raydānīyah and Siriyaqūs) would seem to indicate a real interest in developing Cairo in this direction (on the pilgrims′ route and on the road to Syria), but there is no evidence of any durable urban growth in the area outside Ḥusaynīyah. To conclude: an important development took place in the areas of Ḥusaynīyah and Birkat al-Ratlī,

[24]″Note sur la population du Caire en 1517,″ 205–13.

[25]B 9–10.

[26]No. 1, *Description* 378 A 6–7 (3).

[27]No. 8, 1299, D 7 (14).

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but it regressed before the end of the fourteenth century: between 1402 and 1517 only three mosques were built in the area.

AL-QĀHIRAH

The indications provided by a census of the religious edifices built in the al-Qāhirah region would, alternatively, reflect an intense and durable demographic increase. The massive occupation of the ″Fatimid″ city started during the Ayyubid period, when the seat of political and military power was transferred to the Citadel, leaving the old center of the Fatimids available for economic development, and settlement of the Mamluk elite and indigenous population: 43 mosques were founded in this 153-hectare zone between 1260 and 1441, just over a third of all the religious buildings under examination. Nine of these monuments were erected during the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, a number which is just in proportion with the duration of his reign (1293–1340).

The most spectacular of these new developments was the transformation of Bayn al-Qasrayn (the place ″between the palaces″) into a splendid avenue lined by prestigious monuments: the *madrasah*s of al-Ẓāhir Baybars,[28] of Qalāwūn,[29] of al-Nāṣir,[30] and much later of Barqūq,[31] utilized the space existing in the great Fatimid esplanade. Later it expanded southwards with the Ashrāfī mosque[32] and Mu'ayyad mosque.[33]

But during this long period religious monuments were also built throughout the entire region, the religious network expanding in order to adapt to the increase in population. It was the northern part of al-Qāhirah which was first affected by urban expansion, as shown in the number of new mosques in the area. Besides the Qaṣabah, the favorite spot was that of Jamālīyah, between Bāb al-Naṣr[34] and the Ḥusaynī region,[35] where nine mosques were constructed between 1300 and 1430, of which seven still remain and are registered on the inventory of the monuments of Cairo. The southern part of al-Qāhirah was to experience most of its development in the later part of the period: 5 of the 8 mosques built south of al-Azhar are posterior to 1420.

After 1442 the movement of construction went on, particularly in the south

[28]1263, no. 37, 274 H 6 (1).

[29]1285 no. 43, 275 H 6 (8).

[30]1304, no. 44, 278 H 6 (18).

[31]1386, no. 187, 279 H 6 (80).

[32]1424, no. 175, 194 K 6 (109).

[33]1420, no. 190, 255 M 7 (99).

[34]E 5.

[35]I 5.

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of al-Qāhirah (8 mosques out of 12 monuments built in al-Qāhirah between 1442 and 1517) (see map 2). The mosque network had reached its completion in a region now fully urbanized. The importance of the development of al-Qāhirah in the Mamluk period is confirmed by a comparison between the number of mosques standing there in the *Description* (67 mosques), and that slightly higher recorded by al-Maqrīzī (69 mosques). This suggests that the residential population of the central zone reached in the Mamluk era a level that would remain largely stable until the end of the eighteenth century when, according to my calculations in ″Signes urbains,″ there were 90,000 inhabitants.

The Population Growth of the Region South of the City, between Bāb Zuwaylah and the Citadel

The occupation of this huge 266-hectare region, outside al-Qāhirah, between the outskirts of the Fatimid city (Bāb Zuwaylah), the Citadel, and the Khalīj was the key event in the urban history of Cairo during the Mamluk period (and until the end of the ″Ottoman″ seventeenth century). This expansion was the natural consequence of Saladin′s construction of the Citadel (started in 1176) which opened up a large area for urban settlement between al-Qāhirah and the new center for the army and government. This region saw a demographic expansion which began in the Ayyubid era and continued until about 1700. Under the Ayyubids the movement was still in its initial phase, but it really took off in Mamluk times, when important changes fundamentally altered the structure of the city. One only needs to compare, in the list of classified monuments, the three Ayyubid mosques with the 35 Mamluk monuments, to understand the scale of the transformation. Construction in the period covered by al-Maqrīzī′s work was remarkably prolific: 48 mosques were built between 1260 and 1341 (more than in al-Qāhirah), of which 33 are classified, an indication that it was not only the quantity of construction, but the quality of architectural design which was out of the ordinary. The most notable examples within this list are the al-Nāṣir mosque at the Citadel,[36] and, naturally, the monument which is the very emblem of the Mamluk era, the Sultan Ḥasan mosque.[37]

The study of the chronology of these buildings does not reveal a clear pattern of planning within this expansion. Sultan al-Nāṣir obviously gave his strong backing to the urban development in this region, as he did in the western part of the city, with the use of ″concessions″ *(ḥikr)* to encourage the setting up of housing settlements and infrastructure to accommodate a growing population,

[36]1335, no. 143, 54 T 3 (36).

[37]1362, no. 133, 1 S 6 (68).

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often organized around a religious center.[38] This aid from the sultan encouraged the foundation of mosques by all the main amirs: the mosques of Ylmās,[39] Qawṣūn,[40] Bashtāk,[41] and Altunbughā al-Māridānī[42] are the most remarkable of the fourteen mosques which were erected in this region under the reign of al-Nāṣir, mostly along the main roads leading from Bāb Zuwaylah to the Khalīfah,[43] by way of Ṣalībah[44] and to the Citadel, by way of Darb al-Aḥmar[45] and Tabbānah.[46] These were logical itineraries for expansion to the south, but there was apparently no chronological order in this movement. The two most southerly mosques, for example, were constructed as early as 1298[47] and 1315.[48]

After al-Nāṣir the movement continued, creating a network of religious buildings scattered fairly evenly throughout the region with two high density zones: one near Darb al-Aḥmar, at the southernmost end of Bāb Zuwaylah (six mosques) and the other between Sūq al-Silāḥ and Rumaylah, below the Citadel (nine mosques)—two nerve centers of Cairo, politically and economically. The extreme south of the town (between Ṣalībah and Khalīfah) was also the locus of nine mosques, their construction being strongly linked to the importance of the traffic on the roads towards Old Cairo and the Ṣa'īd, and to its proximity to the cemetery.

Two regions, situated on the western side of the area, remained little touched by this burst of building. One lies in the large stretch to the southwest of Bāb Zuwaylah, between the Fatimid wall, the Khalīj, the north bank of Birkat al-Fīl, and that part of the great avenue which was later to be named "Qaṣabat Riḍwān."[49] This was where the tanneries were located, which in the sixteenth century would have covered as many as a dozen hectares:[50] we can assume that this was the main reason for the lack of residential settlement and the quasi-absence of mosque-

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[38]Raymond, *Le Caire,* 138.

[39]1330, no. 130, 85 R 7 (30).

[40]1330, no. 202 and 224, 106 P 8 (31).

[41]1336, no. 205, 54 R 10 (37).

[42]1340, no. 120, 180 O 5 (42).

[43]X 7.

[44]T 7.

[45]N 6.

[46]O 5.

[47]The *madrasah* of Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf, no. 172, towards 9 Z 4 (11).

[48]The mosque of the *mashhad* al-Nafīsī, probably 81 Z 7 (23).

[49]N 6.

[50]N–O 7–9.

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building in the area. The Qawṣūn mosque[51] and the mosque built at Taḥt al-Rab‘ after 1420[52] are both located outside the area, and it was not until 1429 that the modest Qāḍī Amīn al-Dīn mosque,[53] briefly mentioned by al-Maqrīzī[54] and not even recorded in the *Description,* was built in Suwayqat ‘Aṣfūr.[55] The problem of the presence of the tanneries *(madābigh)* which blocked urban development in this region, so close to the south limit of al-Qāhirah, was only raised in the sixteenth century by the Ottomans, and eventually resolved, in 1600, with their transfer to Bāb al-Lūq:[56] this move made way for the building of two prestigious religious monuments (the mosques of Malikah Ṣafīyah in 1610 and of Burdaynī in 1629).[57]

The region surrounding the vast Birkat al-Fīl pond was another special case. According to al-Maqrīzī´s lists there were no mosques constructed in the immediate neighborhood of the water´s edge, which was at that stage already given over to residences of the wealthier strata of the population.[58] It was not, therefore, an empty zone, but one which was devoted to the residence of the rich rather than to that of the common man. This segregation was reinforced towards the end of Mamluk rule and the beginnings of Ottoman days—until the end of the seventeenth century, when Azbakīyah became the new fashionable location, enticing the elite away from Birkat al-Fīl.

Overall the mosque building activity in the southern region of Cairo in al-Maqrīzī´s days reflects the demographic expansion of the area with telling accuracy. This urban development was something al-Maqrīzī himself noted, in an emphatic manner: people ″one and all″ started building there; buildings followed one another ceaselessly ″from the edges of al-Qāhirah to the Ibn Ṭūlūn mosque.″[59] In actual fact the process was then only in its early stage and would continue until the end of the Mamluk age (26 additional mosques were built there between 1442 and 1517, compared to the 12 in al-Qāhirah) and well into the Ottoman period. The *Description de l´Egypte* mentions no less than 93 mosques in this southern

[51] 1330, 106 P 8 (31).

[52] Towards 26 M 9 (104).

[53] (114).

[54] *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:331.

[55] 156 O 8–9.

[56] 357 M 16.

[57] 153 08 and 322 0 7.

[58] André Raymond, ″The Residential Districts of Cairo´s Elite,″ in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. T. Philipp and U. Haarmann (Cambridge,1998).

[59] Raymond, *Le Caire,* 139–40.

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area, a much larger figure than in al-Maqrīzī´s time and even for the entire Mamluk period: the development of urbanization begun during the Mamluk era was far from having reached its apogee.[60] There is no question that in al-Maqrīzī´s time, and even in 1517, the population of the southern region was much less than the 100,000 inhabitants I have estimated for 1798.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE WESTERN REGION

The problem of the evolution of the region west of Cairo—in other words, the zone beyond the Khalīj al-Miṣrī—is a point for discussion. In his map 4 of *Grandes villes méditerranéennes* (fourteenth century) Garcin suggests that in the fourteenth century the western region (beyond the Khalīj al-Miṣrī: ″zone des principaux ahkar″) was sparsely populated (″urbanisation peu dense supposée″) with a zone of dense occupation along the Khalīj al-Nāṣirī. In map 5 (beginning of the sixteenth century) the western region is considered by him as a zone of dense urbanization (″urbanisation dense supposée″). My view, based on locations of mosques, is quite different.

When discussing the issues of the western region´s urbanization during al-Nāṣir´s time, historians have relied heavily on al-Maqrīzī´s comments about the sultan´s policy of expansion through concessions *(ḥikr)* on six- or even twelve-hectare plots. This would have resulted in a boom in population, described by al-Maqrīzī in glowing terms: the two banks of the Khalīj (al-Nāṣirī) were covered with houses with markets, baths, and mosques. In fact the region beyond al-Qāhirah, on the west side, became ″a string of cities.″[61] However, when one looks at the list that al-Maqrīzī gave of the mosques built in this very area by al-Nāṣir, one comes to more modest conclusions. Between 1300 and 1340 al-Maqrīzī mentions only eight religious buildings in the whole western region in his list of mosques built by al-Nāṣir[62] and in his chapters on the *jāmi‘, madrasah,* and *masjid* in the *Khiṭaṭ*. The location of these mosques is significant. Four were constructed around 1314, 1337, 1340, and 1341 in the zone between Bāb al-Qanṭarah[63] and Bāb al-Baḥr;[64] one was built in 1320 on the banks of the Khalīj near al-Amīr Ḥusayn bridge;[65]

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[60]Raymond, ″Cairo´s area and population,″ maps pp. 28 and 29.

[61]Quoted in Raymond, *Le Caire,* 131–33.

[62]*Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma‘rifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1934–), 2:2:544–45.

[63]287 F 9.

[64]222 E 11.

[65]L 9.

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one in 1308 on the road between Bāb al-Kharq[66] and Bāb al-Lūq;[67] and the last two, both built around 1340, were located in the Suwayqat al-Sabbā'īn quarter.[68] The geography of these mosques suggests a densely urbanized zone around the road leading from Bāb al-Qanṭarah[69] to the gate of the city, but in no other areas of the region. This is not the urban boom described by al-Maqrīzī. Similarly hypothetical is the ″high density″ settlements suggested in Garcin′s map along the Khalīj al-Nāṣirī and on the east bank of the Nile, between Būlāq and Old Cairo. If the two satellite cities experienced a development which confirmed the importance of Old Cairo and the burgeoning of Būlāq, one is struck by the small number of constructions along the Nile recorded by al-Maqrīzī. Examples of what appears to be the fragility of these creations reinforce this feeling of scepticism: the al-Ṭaybarṣī mosque, constructed in 1307 at Bustān al-Khashshāb, beside the Nile, fell into ruin after the decline of the area about 806/1403–4;[70] the mosque of Fakhr Nāẓir al-Jaysh at Jazīrat al-Fīl, built before 1332, was ruined at some point after 1388.[71] Such examples lead us to believe that expansion here was not the result of a lasting demographic development, hence the difficulties encountered when times got hard, as they did after 1348 until the end of the century. Even mosques constructed in less problematic conditions led apparently precarious existences: erected around 1340, just outside Bāb al-Baḥr,[72] the Ibn Ghāzī mosque[73] had only slight popularity; al-Maqrīzī states that, although people continued to say the *khuṭbah* there, it was shut the rest of the time since there were not enough local residents to support it *(li-qillat al-sukkān ḥawlahu)*.[74]

A study of what happened after 1340 seems to confirm this overall impression of al-Nāṣir′s reign. The list established for the whole of the period (1260–1441) shows that 19 mosques were erected in the western zone (out of a total of 122, of which 43 were in al-Qāhirah and 48 in the south). The only regions where the locations of mosques indicate dense occupation are the two areas previously mentioned: the zone extending from Bāb al-Qanṭarah[75] to the city gate (9 mosques)

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[66]49 N 10.

[67]M 13.

[68]132 Q 11.

[69]E 8.

[70]*Khiṭaṭ,* 2:303.

[71]Ibid., 311.

[72]E 12.

[73](44).

[74]*Khiṭaṭ,* 2:313.

[75]E 8.

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and the zone between the Khalīj and the Birkat al-Saqqā'īn[76] (5 mosques). In the region which was soon to become Azbakīyah, the fate of the mosque/*madrasah* of Ibn al-Maghribī,[77] on the Khalīj al-Nāṣirī, near Birkat Qarmūt,[78] seems quite significant: it is recorded as destroyed in 1411–12.[79] Outside the two aforementioned areas a few mosques were built near the Khalīj al-Miṣrī and Bāb al-Lūq.

This situation did not change substantially in the period 1442–1517, with a meagre total of 5 mosques built in the whole western region (out of 46 for the whole of Cairo, of which 12 were in al-Qāhirah, and 26 in the southern region), in the areas previously mentioned. The only exception was the building of Amir Azbak´s mosque along the ″Azbakīyah″ in 1484.[80] But the problematic character of such an attempt was revealed by the ultimate failure of the enterprise, although hailed by a commentary of Ibn Iyās, every bit as enthusiastic as al-Maqrīzī´s in similar circumstances: ″Everybody wanted to live in Azbakīyah, which thus became an independent residential district.″[81] In fact, Azbakīyah´s day was not to come until much later, under the Ottomans, in the seventeenth and, more so, in the eighteenth centuries.

The fact that the western region beyond the Khalīj al-Miṣrī remained largely unoccupied is confirmed by what we learn, thanks to al-Maqrīzī and his *Khiṭaṭ,* from the geographical distribution of the public baths,[82] from that of the market places and caravanserais,[83] and from that of the *ḥārah*. I would like to be allowed here to refer, concerning these various aspects, to the maps published in my ″Cairo´s Area and Population.″

I tried to show earlier that there is no likelihood in the suggestion that the ″scarcity″ (and even absence) of mosques in the larger part of this region is a consequence of the defects of our source and not the result of the real situation, since it is precisely in this area that al-Maqrīzī´s counts are the most complete. Furthermore there is no explanation why, of the mosques thus overlooked by al-Maqrīzī, so few would have withstood the test of time and survived: in effect only four in this vast area (compared with 35 monuments in the southern quarter):

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[76]Q–R 13.

[77]Before 1374, G 15 (74).

[78]G 15.

[79]*Khiṭaṭ,* 2:328, 391.

[80]I 11 (148).

[81]Quoted in Raymond, *Le Caire,* 186.

[82]See Raymond ″La localisation des bains publics.″

[83]See Raymond and Wiet, *Les marchés du Caire*.

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the al-Zāhid mosque,[84] Amir Ḥusayn,[85] Sitt Ḥadaq (Miskah),[86] and the Arghūn Shāh,[87] all of them mentioned by al-Maqrīzī and lying in a location that confirms the conclusions I have been proposing. The enormous changes that this region underwent at the end of the nineteenth century can hardly be held responsible for such a situation: mosques, due to their religious purpose and use, are monuments of remarkable stability, and even if this area of the city was completely transformed by the ″modernization″ which affected Cairo at that time, the mosques would have remained active, continuing to serve the large population of this area.

During the Mamluk period the western region remained nearly unoccupied in its central part (between the Birkat al-Azbakīyah and al-Nāṣirīyah/Saqqā'īn); it was densely populated only on its fringes in the north, and in the south. It seems then difficult to evoke any dense urbanization in 1517. The urbanized area probably developed on less than one hundred hectares, much less than in 1798 (215 hectares). In the absence of architectural evidence it would also seem unjustifiable to assume that there was continuous dense urbanization along the Khalīj al-Nāṣirī and the east bank of the Nile between Būlāq and Fusṭaṭ. Again, it is the absence of urbanization, not the imperfection of our main source, which explains the lack of mosques in the area.

Using the available sources, we may arrive at reasonable conclusions as to the surface area that was populated during al-Maqrīzī′s time. I should estimate it to be around 450–500 hectares, and suggest a population figure of much fewer than 200,000 inhabitants (in 1798, 660 hectares, and 263,000 inhabitants). This evaluation might appear, at face value, to be on the low side. But taking into account Fusṭaṭ—which was still thriving at that time—and Būlāq, which was then expanding, Cairo still was one of the major cities in the Mediterranean basin.

Although the study of monuments belonging to art history is generally kept separate from political and economic history, I suggest that by considering the mosques as not just religious buildings and ″oeuvres d′art,″ but as ″products″ of human urban enterprise, meant to provide for the needs (here religious) of a population, we may draw from them some information about the urban evolution of the city. It is a principle I have used in studying the architecture of Ottoman Cairo, and it seems to me quite as pertinent for the Mamluk period. If we group the dates of construction

[84] 1415, no. 83, 324 E 10 (96).

[85] 1319, no. 233, 36 L 9 (25).

[86] 1340, no. 252, 131 Q 11 (41).

[87] 1347, no. 253, 192 R 13 (54).

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of the mosques by 25-year spans, we arrive at a picture which bears some relation to Cairo´s history:

1276–1300: 11 mosques built
1301–1325: 14
1326–1350: 30
1351–1375: 17
1376–1400: 12
1401–1425: 23
1426–1441: 12 (16 years)

This table confirms the exceptional building activity that took place during the reign of al-Nāṣir. The decline which followed the crisis of 1348 reached its nadir in the last part of the fourteenth century, with a normal time lag before the effects of the political/economic situation were felt in human activities, such as building religious monuments. This crisis was very severe, with a paroxysm between 1376 and 1400. One is also struck by the frequency and length of periods for which our sources mention no building at all: five years each between 1351 and 1356, 1362 and 1367, 1386 and 1391, and 1399 and 1404; and four years between 1377 and 1381. The table shows how the architectural activity bounced back and was particularly important at the very beginning of the fifteenth century (1401–25). In some measure this contradicts al-Maqrīzī´s contemporary pessimistic comments: in this case, the conclusion that we can reach using the factual information ″innocently″ provided by the historian in his *Khiṭaṭ* and *Sulūk* is at variance with his own statements on the evolution of Cairo as developed in his historical discourse.

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Chronological List of the Mamluk Mosques in Cairo (1260–1517)

The following list of mosques (1260–1517) is divided into two parts: the period 1260–1441, and the period 1442–1517. Each listing includes successively the date (ca. = circa, if it is approximate), the reference to al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghrībidrī, or Ibn Iyās, the number in the *Index to Mohammedan Monuments* (I), and the location (a. = around, if it is conjectural) by reference to the map of the *Description de l'Egypte* (in bold type if the monument is mentioned in the *Description,* and with the name given in the *Description* if it is different).

Abbreviations are as follows:

M: mosque
m: madrasah
Kh: al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāq, 1270/1853)
Sulūk: al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* (Cairo, 1934–)
Quatremère: al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* trans. as *Histoire des sultans mamlouks* (Paris, 1837–45)
ITB, Nujūm: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1926–29)
ITB, History: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* trans. William Popper as *History of Egypt, 1382–1469 A.D.* (Berkeley, 1954–60)
ITB, Ḥawādith: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr,* ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1930–42)
IIW: Ibn Iyās, *Histoire des mamlouks circassiens* (872–906), trans. Gaston Wiet (Cairo, 1945)

I. 1260–1441

1. m. al-Ẓāhir Baybars - 1263 - Kh 2:378 - I 37 - **274 H 6**
2. masjid around *mashhad* al-Ḥusaynī - Baybars - 1264 - Kh 2:413 - a. I 5
3. M. al-Ẓāhirīyah - Baybars- 1269 - Kh 2:299 - I 1 - **378 A 6–7**
4. masjid in Tabbālah - Baybars - 1277 - Kh 2:409 - a. 394 A 7
5. m. al-Fāriqānīyah - 1278 - Kh 2:369 - a. L 7–8
6. m. Mahdhabīyah - ca. 1278 - Kh 2:369, 397 - a. 91 Q 8
7. m. Turbat Umm al-Ṣāliḥ - 1284 - Kh 2:394 - I 274 - a. 85 Y 7
8. m. Qalāwūn - 1285 - Kh 2:379 - I 43 - **275 H 6**
9. m. al-Husāmīyah - 1290 - Kh 2:386 - I 590 - **20 L 8** (Abû l-Fadl)
10. M. al-Baqlī - 1297 - I 156 - **49 V 6**
11. m. Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf -1298 - I 172 - **9 Z 4** (Qadiriyya)
12. m. Mankūtumurīyah - 1299 - Kh 2:387 - a. 98 E 6

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13. m. Tafjīyah - before 1299 - Kh 2:397 - a. S 7
14. m. Maẓharīyah - 1299 - I 8 - **384 D 7**
15. m. Qarāsunqurīyah - 1301 - Kh 2:388 - I 31 - **293 G 5**
16. M. Karāy al-Manṣūrī - 1302 - Kh 2:325 - a. A 4
17. m. Sālār and Sanjar al-Jawlī - 1304 - Kh 2:398 - I 221 - a. 169 V 10
18. m. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad - 1304 - Kh 2:382 - I 44 - **278 H 6**
19. M. Jamāl al-Dīn Āqūsh - before 1308 - Kh 2:315 - **99 N 13** (Tabbâkh)
20. m. Ṭaybarsīyah - 1310 - Kh 2:383 - I 97 - 150 K 5
21. M. Aḥmad Bey Kuhyah - 1310 - I 521 - a. 110 U 7
22. M. al-Jākī - before 1314 - Kh 2:314 - a. 330 D–E 9 ?
23. M. al-Nāṣir at *mashhad* al-Nafīsī - 1315 - Kh 2:306 - **81 Z 7** ? (al-Sayyida)
24. m. al-Jukandār - 1320 - Kh 2:392 - I 24 - a. 85 I 4
25. M. Amīr Ḥusayn - 1320 - Kh 2:307 - I 233 - **36 L 9**
26. m. al-Sa'dīyah - Sunqur - 1321 - Kh 2:397 - I 263 - **68 S 7** (A'gâm)
27. m. Dawādārīyah - before 1325 - Sulūk 2:1:269 - a. 143 P–Q 5–6
28. m. al-Mihmandārīyah - 1325 - Kh 2:399 - I 115 - **185 N 5**
29. M. al-Barqīyah - al-Tūbah - Mughulṭāy - 1329 - Kh 2:326 - a. 8 K 3
30. M. Ylmās - 1330 - Kh 2:307 - I 130 - **85 R 7** (al-Mâż)
31. M. Qawṣūn - 1330 - Kh 2:307 - I 202, 224 - **106 P 8**
32. m. Mughulṭāy al-Jamālī - 1330 - Kh 2:392 - I 26 - **109 H 4**
33. M. al-Tūbah - Ṭaqṭā'ī - after 1330 - a. H 8
34. M. Akhū Sārūjā - after 1330 - Kh 2:315 - a. B 10–11
35. M. al-Malik - 1332 - Kh 2:310 - Ḥusaynīyah
36. M. of the Citadel - al-Nāṣir Muḥammad - 1335 - Kh 2:325 - I 143 - **54 T 3** (Qalāwūn)
37. M. Bashtāk - 1336 - Kh 2:309 - I 205 - **54 R 10**
38. M. Muḥammad al-Turkmānī - before 1337 - Kh 2:313 - **261 E 12**
39. M. Qāḍī Sharaf al-Dīn - 1337 - I 176 - **123 K 7** (zâwiya)
40. M. Aqsunqur - before 1340 - Kh 2:309 - a. 132 Q 11
41. M. Sitt Ḥadaq (Miskah) - 1340 - Kh 2:313, 326 - I 252 - **131 Q 11**
42. M. Māridānī - 1340 - Kh 2:308 - I 120 - **180 O 5**
43. m. Aqbughā - 1340 - Kh 2:383 - I 97 - K 5
44. M. Ibn Ghāzī - 1340 - Kh 2:313 - a. E 12
45. M. Karīm al-Dīn - before 1341 - Kh 2:245 - a. D 9
46. M. Dawlat Shāh - before 1341 - Kh 2:325 - a. 432 C 10
47. M. at Birkat al-Ratlī - before 1341 - Kh 2:326 - a. 437 A 9
48. M. Qīdān al-Rūmī - before 1341 - Kh 2:312 - a. 394 A 7
49. M. Muẓaffar al-Dīn ibn al-Falak - before 1341 - Kh 2:326 - a. 345 B 5
50. M. Jawhar al-Sahratī - Ṭawāshī - before 1341 - Kh 2:325 - **145 D 10**

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51. M. Aslam - 1345 - Kh 2:309 - I 112 - **94 N 4** (Aslân)
52. m. Aydumur- Baydar - before 1347 - Kh 2:391 - I 22 - **92 I 4** (zâwiya)
53. M. Aqsunqur - 1347 - Kh 2:309 - I 123 - **82 P–Q 5** (Ibrâhîm Âghâ)
54. M. Arghūn Shāh al-Ismāʻīlī - 1347 - Kh 2:327 - I 253 - **192 R 13** (Ismaʻînî)
55. m. Qatlūbughā al-Dhahabī - 1347 - I 242 - a. 39–40 P 5
56. M. Manjak al-Yūsufī - 1349 - Kh 2:320 - I 138 - **36 R 3** (Manshakiyya)
57. M. Shaykhū - 1349 - Kh 2:313 - I 147 - **229 T 7**
58. M. al-Akhḍar - Maliktamur - about 1350 - Kh 2:324 - a. D 14
59. m. al-Ṣaghīrah - 1351 - Kh 2:394 - a. K 6–7
60. m. al-Qaysarānīyah - 1351 -Kh 2:394 - a. 221 K 8
61. m. al-Fārisīyah - 1356 - Kh 2:393 - a. F 5
62. M. Niẓām al-Dīn - 1356 - I 140 - **12 Q–R 3** (Ludâmî)
63. m. Sarghatmish - 1356 - Kh 2:403 - I 218 - **212 U 9** (Qawâm al-Dîn)
64. m. al-Budayrīyah - 1357 - Kh 2:392 - a. 247 I 6
65. m. Bashīr al-Jamdār - 1360 - Kh 2:399 - I 269 - **138 S 8** (Shaykh al-Zalâm)
66. m. Ṭāṭār al-Hijāzīyah - 1360 - Kh 2:382 - I 36 - **261 H 5** (zâwiya)
67. m. Sābiqīyah - Mithqāl - 1362 - Kh 2:393 - I 45 - **283 H 5** (Shaykh al-Islâm)
68. M. Sulṭān Ḥasan - 1362 - Kh 2:316 - I 133 - **1 S 6**
69. m. Iljāy - 1367 - Kh 2:399 - I 131 - **146 R 6** (al-Sâʼîs)
70. m. Umm al-Sulṭān Shaʻbān - 1369 - Kh 2:399 - I 125 - **167 P 5**
71. m. Asanbughā - Būbakrīyah - 1370 - Kh 2:390 - I 185 - **18 L 8**
72. m. Ghannāmīyah - 1373 - Sulūk 4:1:545 - I 96 - **54 K 4** (zâwiyat al-Nanâmiyya)
73. m. al-Baqrīyah - before 1374 - Kh 2:391 - I 18 - **135 F 4**
74. M./m. Ibn al-Maghribī - before 1374 - Kh 2:328, 391 - a. G 15
75. m. Shaʻbān - 1375, demolished in 1411 - Sulūk 3:1:251, 4:1:175 - **50 S 4** (al-maristân al-qadîm)
76. m. Abī Ghālib al-Kalbashāwī - before 1376 - Sulūk 3:1:262 - I 9?
77. M. Khushqadam al-Aḥmadī - 1377 - I 153 - **74 U 6**
78. m. Ibn ʻArrām - before 1381 - Kh 2:394 - a. L 10?
79. m. Aytmish al-Bajāsī - 1383 - Kh 2:400 - I 250 - **63 R 4** (Bâb al-Wazîr)
80. m. Sulṭān Barqūq - 1386 - Sulūk 3:2:547 - I 187 - **279 H 6**
81. masjid Ibn al-Shīkhī - before 1391 - Kh 2:411 - a. G 7
82. m. Īnāl - 1393 - Kh 2:401 - I 118 - **234 N 6** (Sinân al-Yusufî)
83. m. Zimāmīyah - Muqbil - 1395 - Kh 2:394 - I 177 - a. 121 K 7
84. m. al-Maḥmūdīyah - 1395 - Kh 2:395 - I 117 - **237 N 7**
85. M. Kīmkhatī - Gunaynah - before 1397 - Kh 2:325 - a. 412 C 8?
86. M. Qalamtāy - before 1398 - ITB, History 1:203 - a. 66 U 7
87. M. Barakah - around 1399? - Kh 2:326 - a. U–V 10

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88. M. Sūdūn Min Zādah - 1404 - Sulūk 3:3:1122 - I 127 - **158 Q 6** (Masdâda)
89. M. al-Fākhirī - before 1405 - Kh 2:324 - a. D–E 14
90. m. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār - 1408 - Kh 2:401 - I 35 - **302 G 5** (Mu'allaq)
91. M. al-Hawsh - 1410 - Kh 2:327 - Citadel, a. U 3
92. m. al-'Aynī - 1411 - Quatremère, 2:224 - I 102 - **53 L 4**
93. m. Qānī Bāy al-Muḥammadī - 1413 - ITB, History 3:102 - I 151 - **122 T 7**
94. M. al-Dawā - after 1413 - Kh 2:327 - a. 63 R 4
95. M. al-Ḥanafī - 1415 - Kh 2:327 - **121 R 11**
96. M. al-Zāhid - 1415 - Kh 2:327 - I 83 - **324 E 10**
97. m. Muqbil al-Ishiqtamurī - before 1416 - Sulūk 4:1:377 - a. P 5
98. M. al-Fakhrī - 1418 - Kh 2:328 - I 184 - **16 K–L 9** (al-Banât)
99. M. al-Mu'ayyad - 1420 - Kh 2:328 - I 190 - **255 M 7**
100. M. al-Bāsiṭī - 1420 - Kh 2:331 - I 60 - **170 G 7**
101. M. Ibn Dirham wa-Niṣf - after 1420? - Kh 2:331 - **221 E 11**
102. M. Muḥammad al-Maskīn - after 1420? - Kh 2:331 - a. N 5?
103. M. Muqaddam al-Saqqā'īn - after 1420? - Kh 2:331 - **217 Q 12** (Hârat al-Saqqâ'în)
104. Mosque - after 1420? - Kh 2:331 - a. 26 M 9
105. M. Banū Wafā' - after 1420? - Kh 2:331 - a. 170 G 7
106. m. al-Ṭawāshī - after 1420? - Kh 2:331 - a. 286 L 6
107. m. al-Bulqaynī - before 1421 - Sulūk 4:2:600 - **92 E 6**
108. māristān al-Mu'ayyad converted into a mosque - 1422 - Kh 2:408 - I 257 - **50 S 4** (maristân al-qadîm)
109. M. al-Ashrafī - 1424 - Kh 2:330 - I 175 - **194 K 6**
110. M. Kāfūr al-Zimān - 1425 - Sulūk 4:2:760 - I 107 - **215 L 5** (Khurbatlî)
111. m. Fayrūz - 1427 - ITB, Nujūm 7:1:295 - I 192 - **398 L 8**
112. M. Jānībak - 1427 - Sulūk 4:2:746 - I 119 - **44 O 6**
113. M. Aḥmad al-Qammāḥ - before 1428 - Kh 2:331 - **141 E 10** (zâwiyat al-Shaykh Wahba)
114. M. Qāḍī Amīn al-Dīn - 1429 - Kh 2:331 - a. 156 O 8–9
115. m. Jawhar al-Lālā - 1430 - ITB, History 5:167 - I 134 - **133 R–S 5**
116. m. Shaykh Naṣr Allah - after 1430 - ITB, History 4:187 - I 5
117. M. Barsbāy - before 1434 - Darrāj, Barsbay, 414 - a. F 5
118. m. Jawhar al-Jalbānī - before 1438 - ITB, Nujūm 7:1:254 - a. 129 S 5–6
119. m. Jawhar Qunqubāy - before 1440 - Sulūk 4:3:1234 - I 97 - a. 151 K 5
120. M. Muḥammad al-Ghamrī - 1440 - Kh 2:331 - **197 F 7** (al-Sultan al-Ghamrî)

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121. M. Taghrī Bardī - 1441 - Sulūk 4:3:1230 - I 209 - a. 123 U 8
122. M. al-Ṭawāshī Jawhar - 1441 - Sulūk 4:3:1230 - a. T 6

II. 1442–1517

123. m. Qānībāy al-Jarkasī - 1442 - IIW 1:309 - I 154 - **71 U 6** (Sarkasî)
124. m. Qarā Khujā - 1442 - Ibn T. B., Nujūm, 7:1:335- I 206 - **15 R 10**
125. M. Qāḍī Yahyá Zayn al-Dīn - 1444 - I 182 - **225 K 9** (Zayniyya)
126. m. Jamālī Yūsuf - 1446 - ITB, Nujūm 7:1:218 - I 178 - **216 K 8** (al-Khâsiyya)
127. M. Badr al-Dīn al-Wanā'ī - ca. 1446 - I 163 - **57 X 6** (al-Yanâ'î)
128. m. Jawhar al-Manjakī - before 1448 - Ibn T. B., Nujūm, 7:1:315 - a. T 6
129. M. Jaqmaq - 1449 - I 217 - **204 U 11** (al-Musallah)
130. M. Muḥammad Sa'īd Jaqmaq - 1451 - I 180 - **217 K 9** ('Umâr)
131. M. al-Qāḍī Yahyá - 1452 - I 204 - **19 P 9** (al-Sa'îd)
132. m. al-Zaynī Yahyá - before 1453 - ITB, History 6:38 - a. L 8
133. m. Bardbak - 1454 - ITB, Ḥawādith 2:209, 3:577 - a. 162 U 12–13
134. M. Bardbak - 1460 - ITB, Ḥawādith 3:577 - I 25 - **88 I 4** (Dardabakiyya)
135. m. 'Anbar al-Tanbadhī - before 1462 - ITB, Nujūm 7:773 - a. N 6
136. M. al-Shaykh Madyan - ca. 1465 - IIW 1:77- I 82 - **323 E 9**
137. m. Qānim min Safar Khujā al-Tājir- before 1466 - ITB, History 7:119 - a. V 9 - 149 U 8 ? (it may be the zâwiya Kûhiya of the *Description*)
138. M. Mughulbāy Tāz - 1466 - IIW, 1:21 - I 207 - **132 T 8** (al-Mi'mâr)
139. m. Sūdūn al-Qaṣrawī - before 1469 - I 105 - **118 M 5** (Saydûn)
140. M. al-Mar'ah - 1469 - I 195 - **386 M 8** (Mara)
141. M. Tamīm al-Rasafī - before 1471 - I 227 - **249 U 13** (Rusân)
142. M. Timrāz al-Aḥmadī - 1472 - IIW 1:77 - I 216 - **104 T 11** (Bahlûl)
143. M. Qāytbāy - 1475 - IIW 1:368 - I 223 - **199 V 10**
144. M. Qāḍī Aḥmad Ibn Jī'ān - before 1477 - IIW 1:149 - a. B 10
145. m. Abū Bakr Ibn Muẓhir - 1480 - IIW 1:284 - I 49 - **75 F 6** (Muzhiriyya)
146. m. Qijmās al-Isḥāqī - 1481 - IIW 1:272 - I 114 - **196 N 5** (Qismâs al-Barâdi'iyya)
147. m. Khāyrbak Ḥadīd - before 1482 - IIW 1:214 - a. 91 Q 8
148. M. Azbak - 1484 - IIW 1:132 - **177 I 11** (Yazbak)
149. m. Khushqadam - 1486 - IIW 1:253 - a. T 5–6
150. M. Qāytbāy - 1494 - IIW 1:338 - **11 Z 5**
151. m. Azbak al-Yūsufī - 1495 - IIW 1:350 - I 211 - **183 U 9** (Yazbak)
152. M. Qāytbāy? - before 1496 - **44 P 3**
153. M. Sulṭān Shāh - before 1496 - IIW 1:368 - I 239 - **53 N 10**
154. M. Azdumur - after 1496 - I 174 - **31 Z 5** (al-Zumur)

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155. M. al-Ghamrī - before 1499 - IIW 1:465 - a. 284 E 8
156. M. Barakāt ibn Quraymīt - 1499 - IIW 1:464 - **145 H 7** (Qurumît)
157. masjid Tānībak Qarā - before 1500 - IIW 1:470 - a. 130 T 8
158. m. Jānbalāt - ca. 1500 - IIW 1:483 - **137 E 4**
159. M. Khayrbak - 1502 - I 248 - **78 Q 4** (Kharbakiyya)
160. M. Ghūrī - 1503 - IIW 2:54 - I 189 - **305 K 6**
161. m. Ghūrī - 1503 - IIW 2:48- I 67 - 303 K 6
162. M. Qānībāy Qarā al-Rammāh Amīr Ākhūr - 1503 - IIW 2:416 - I 136 - **130 S 5** (Amîr Yâkhûr)
163. M. Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī - 1504 - I 148 - a. 129 T 5
164. M. Qānībāy Qarā al-Rammāh - 1506 - IIW 2:416 - I 254 - **263 S 13** (Amîr Khûr)
165. M. Dashtūtī - 1506 - IIW 2:93 - I 12 - **404 D 8** (Tashtûtî)
166. M. al-Ghūrī - 1509 - IIW 2:156 - I 159 - **6 X 4**
167. m. Jānim al-Sayfī al-Bahlawān - 1510 - IIW 2:329 - I 129 - **102 P 7** (Shygânim)
168. m. Baybars - 1515 - IIW 2:441 - I 191 - **373 L 7**

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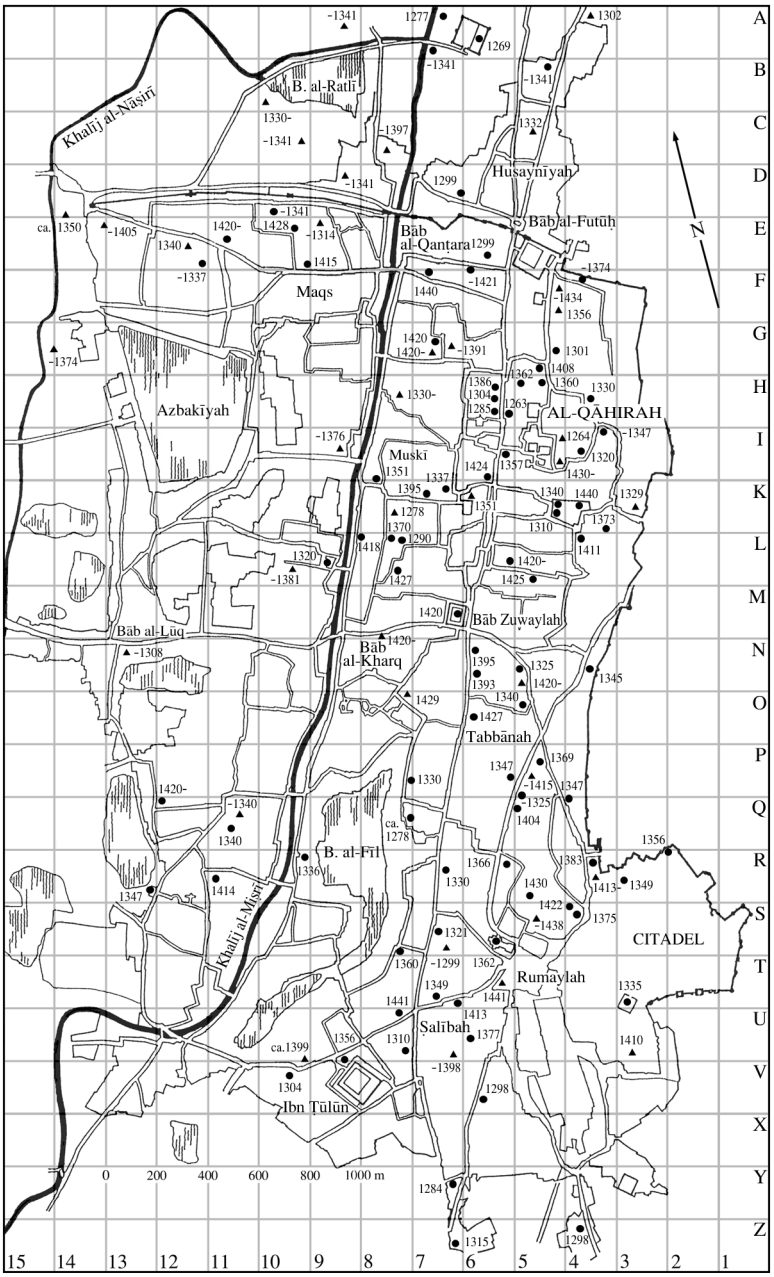

Map 1. Mosques built between 1260 and 1441.

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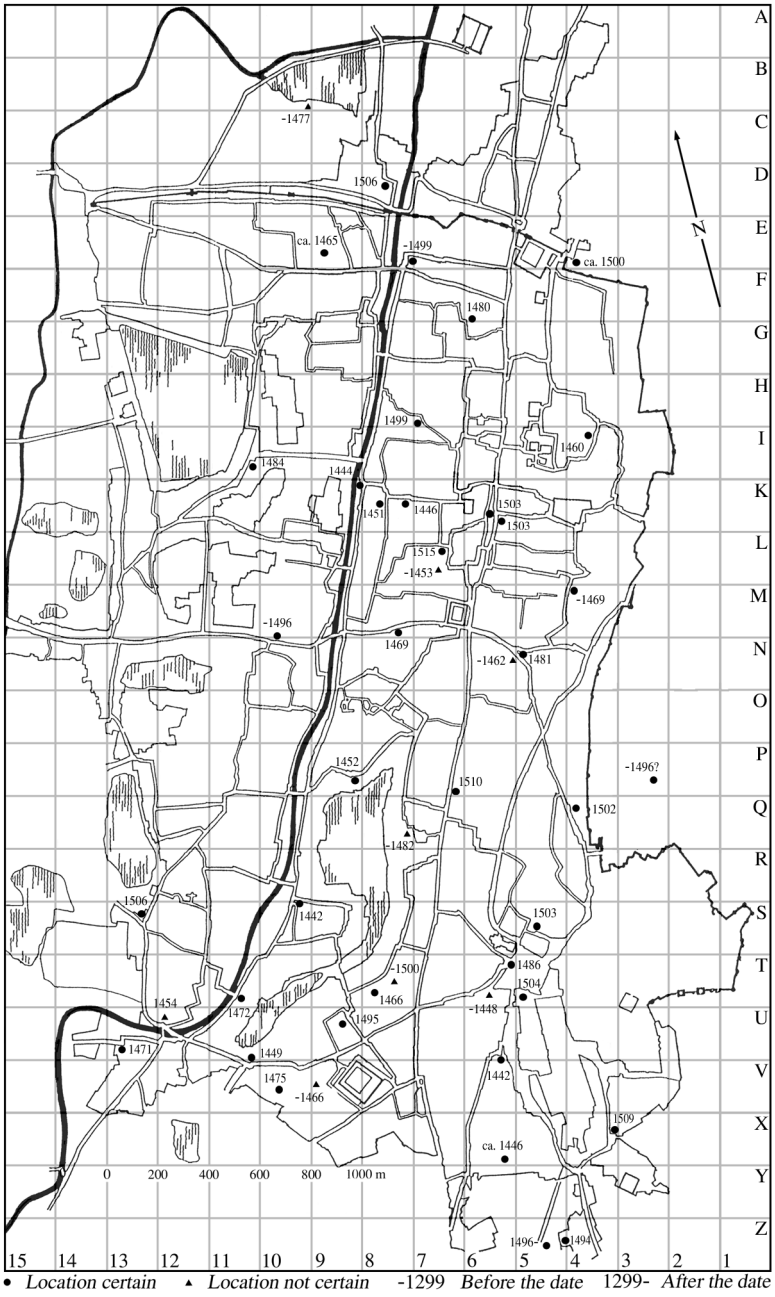

Map 2. Mosques built between 1442 and 1517.

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"It Has No Root Among Any Community That Believes in Revealed Religion, Nor Legal Foundation for Its Implementation": Placing al-Maqrīzī's Comments on Money in a Wider Context

I

It is certainly nothing new to state that the works of al-Maqrīzī have been one of the most important sets of resources used by scholars of the economic and monetary history of the medieval Middle East in general, and for the Mamluks in particular. His short treatises *Ighāthah* and *Shudhūr* are well known for their focus on economic matters, and his chronicle the *Sulūk* and topographical work the *Khiṭaṭ,* among others, also reflect the author's concern with these issues.[1] As a result, one can scarcely pick up an article or chapter about Islamic money without finding the obligatory reference to Sauvaire's nineteenth-century compilation of monetary and metrological citations, which contains more references to the works of al-Maqrīzī than any other author.[2] When it comes to the history of Mamluk Egypt, the reliance is even greater. This is clear if we examine the nuts and bolts of Mamluk monetary research. Citations to al-Maqrīzī's many works are common in the "Currency" section of William Popper's *Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrî Birdî's Chronicles of Egypt*.[3] Paul Balog, the author *Coinage of the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt and Syria,* relied primarily on French translations of some of al-Maqrīzī's major texts for much of the historical context which he included in his works

[1]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1940); *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd,* ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Sattār 'Uthmān (Cairo, 1990), and many other editions; *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr (Cairo, 1934–72); *Al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1270).

[2]Henri Sauvaire, "Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la Numismatique et de la Métrologie Musulmanes," *Journal Asiatique,* 7 serie, 14 (1879): 455–533; 15 (1880): 228–77, 421–78; 18 (1881): 499–516; 19 (1882): 23–77, 281–327; 8 serie, 3 (1884): 368–445; 7 (1886): 124–77, 394–468; 8 (1886): 113–65, 272–97, 479–536. It is also worth noting that Isaac de Sacy had translated al-Maqrīzī's *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd* at the end of the eighteenth century.

[3]William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382–1468 A.D.: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrî Birdî's Chronicles of Egypt,* University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, no. 16 (Berkeley, 1957), 41–73.

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about Mamluk numismatics.[4] Jere L. Bacharach, the first scholar to combine systematically the exploitation of Mamluk numismatic evidence with information derived from the many chronicles and other written sources, counted more than 850 references to money and prices in the *Sulūk* for the period from 1382 up to the end of the chronicle alone.[5] These citations have been the grist for many other studies.

Yet as any recent text on historical methods would point out, and as many of the papers of this conference have emphasized, using al-Maqrīzī's oeuvre is not a simple matter of looking up what he says and plugging that into our work. As Cahen wrote, "the very remarkable merits of this author are incontestable; but . . . it must be kept in mind that for the early periods he is, in the final analysis, in the same position as ourselves, and that his opinion cannot, therefore, bear the validity of formal testimony."[6] The topic of al-Maqrīzī's use of earlier sources has been much discussed and does not directly concern us here.[7] There is more to the question of al-Maqrīzī's reliability and historical approach than chronology, however. What is also relevant are the prisms through which al-Maqrīzī viewed those economic matters both prior to and contemporary with him. As is clear to anyone who has read the *Ighāthah* and the *Shudhūr,* al-Maqrīzī was not an impartial observer of the events he described.

For example, al-Maqrīzī had much to say about the disastrous effects he concluded were the result of the Mamluks having put large numbers of *fulūs* into circulation. The following passage appears in his *Ighāthah* (written in 808/1405):

> Know—may God grant you eternal happiness and felicity—that the currency that has become commonly accepted in Egypt is the *fulūs*. They are used in exchange for all sorts of edibles, all types of drinks, and other common goods. They are accepted for payment of land taxes, the tithe on the profits of merchants, and other imposts

[4]Paul Balog, *Coinage of the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt and Syria* (New York, 1964). Cf. Balog's "History of the Dirham in Egypt From the Fatimid Conquest Until the Collapse of the Mamlūk Empire, 358/969–922/1517," *Revue Numismatique,* 6 serie, 3 (1961): 109–46.

[5]Jere Bacharach, "Circassian Mamlūk Historians and Their Economic Data," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 12 (1975): 75–87.

[6]Claude Cahen, "Monetary Circulation in Egypt at the Time of the Crusades and the Reform of al-Kāmil," in *The Islamic Middle East, 700–1900,* ed. A. L. Udovitch (Princeton, 1981), 331, n. 14.

[7]Cf. Donald Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography,* Freiburger Islam Studien no. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1970). Al-Maqrīzī's sources for earlier Islamic history and his way of utilizing them are emerging from the studies by Frédéric Bauden. See his "Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method" in this volume.

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> due the sultan. They are used to estimate labor costs for all works, whether significant or insignificant. Indeed, the people of Egypt have no currency other than the *fulūs*, with which their wealth is measured. . . . This is an innovation and a calamity of recent origin. *It has no root among any community that believes in revealed religion, nor [does it have] any legal foundation for its implementation* [emphasis added]. Therefore, its innovator cannot claim that he is imitating the practice of any bygone people, nor can he draw upon the utterance of any human being. He can only cite the resultant disappearance of the joy of life and the vanishing of its gaiety; the ruination of wealth and the annihilation of its embellishments; the reduction of the entire population to privation and the prevalence of poverty and humiliation: ″That God might accomplish a matter already enacted″ (Q 8:42).[8]

What are we to do with such a jeremiad? On the one hand, it is clear to us today that there was nothing unique about the minting of copper coins in the Mamluk Sultanate. Not only are there many examples of copper coins issued by earlier Islamic dynasties, but al-Maqrīzī himself wrote about the issuance of copper coins in Egypt by the Ayyubid al-Malik al-Kāmil in the early seventh/thirteenth century (see below) and mentioned numerous other occasions of the minting of *fulūs*.[9] There are also many surviving specimens of Mamluk gold and silver coins minted in the first decade of the ninth/fifteenth century, the period when the *Ighāthah* was written, so other currencies clearly existed, although perhaps they were not in circulation but were hoarded.[10] On the other hand, it needs to be pointed out that what al-Maqrīzī seems to have been the most concerned with in this passage was the tremendous reliance on copper *fulūs* and its ubiquity in all facets of economic life—that it had usurped the roles reserved for gold and silver monies. This development was objectionable to al-Maqrīzī on two interrelated grounds; there was no basis for it in ″revealed religion″ nor any ″legal foundation″ for such a development. These reasons suggest that we need to examine the contemporary legal texts for what they have to say about money and its use if we wish to understand al-Maqrīzī′s point of view.

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[8]*Ighāthah,* 76. The translation is from Adel Allouche, *Mamlūk Economics: A Study and Translation of al-Maqrīzī′s Ighāthah* (Salt Lake City, 1994), 77.

[9]Cf. my ″Maḥmûd b. ʻAlî and the New *Fulûs:* Fourteenth Century Egyptian Copper Coinage,″ *American Journal of Numismatics* 10 (1998): 123–44.

[10]For an overview of monetary developments in Mamluk Egypt, see my ″The Monetary History of Egypt, 642–1517,″ chapter 12 of *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1, ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge, 1998).

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This article thus provides a case study of a set of related issues and problems which have not been adequately discussed in the context of Mamluk monetary history. When it comes to al-Maqrīzī's comments on the money and monetary policy of the Mamluks, I believe we would be well-served to adopt an approach that places al-Maqrīzī in the intellectual milieu of medieval Islamic economic thought. In other words, we need to understand what John Meloy has adroitly termed al-Maqrīzī's "economic *sunnah*."[11] This article contributes to that goal by examining brief segments of al-Maqrīzī's economic writings and then comparing those segments to similar material found in contemporary and near-contemporary *ḥisbah* and *fiqh* materials. It concludes with a discussion of the repercussions of this approach and the implications for future research.

II

While the office of *muḥtasib* was not everywhere the same across the expanse of the medieval Dār al-Islām, it is clear that a common matter of general concern of this economico-moral officer was the prevention of actions that resulted in usury *(al-ribā')*.[12] Al-Maqrīzī was twice appointed *muḥtasib* of Cairo during the period 801–803/1399–1401.[13] With that experience, and in light of the mentions of the duties of the *muḥtasib* which occur in al-Maqrīzī's own writings, it is perhaps safe to assume that he was familiar with the *ḥisbah* manuals of the age.[14] One such *muḥtasib* manual was the *Nihāyat al-Rutbah fī Ṭalab al-Ḥisbah* by the Syrian author al-Shayzarī.[15] While al-Shayzarī was a twelfth-century author, his work

[11]See his "The Merits of Economic History: Re-reading al-Maqrīzī's *Ighāthah* and *Shudhūr*" in this volume.

[12]See Claude Cahen and M. Talbi, "Ḥisba (i). General: Sources, Origins, Duties," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 3:485–88. Cf. Reuben Levy's edition and abridged translation of Ibn al-Ukhūwah's *Ma'ālim al-Qurbah fī Aḥkām al-Ḥisbah* (London, 1938). For an overview of the position of *muḥtasib* under the Mamluks, see Jonathan Berkey's "The *Muḥtasib* of Cairo under the Mamlūks: Toward an Understanding of an Islamic Institution," forthcoming in the proceedings volume of the International Conference on the Mamlūks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society, May 14–17, 2000, ed. Amalia Levanoni and Michael Winter. Kristen Stilt's forthcoming Harvard dissertation, based upon extensive analysis of the Mamluk *ḥisbah* manuals preserved in al-Azhar, is a welcome development for those interested in the *muḥtasib* in Mamluk times.

[13]For a succinct overview of the conditions surrounding al-Maqrīzī's short-lived career as *muḥtasib,* see Anne F. Broadbridge, "Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: al-'Aynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 85–107, esp. 89–91.

[14]See *Khiṭaṭ*, 1:110, 463–64 for examples.

[15]'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Naṣr al-Shayzarī, *Nihāyat al-Rutbah fī Ṭalab al-Ḥisbah*, ed. al-Sayyid al-Bāz al-'Arīnī (Beirut, 1981). It has been translated by R. P. Buckley as *The Book of the Islamic Market Inspector: Nihāyat al-Rutba fī Ṭalab al-Ḥisba: The Utmost Authority in the Pursuit of*

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was evidently popular among a Mamluk-era audience, as the number of surviving manuscripts known to have been copied during the Mamluk era may indicate. The two fourteenth-century Egyptian authors Ibn al-Ukhūwah and Ibn Bassām, for example, are known to have relied on al-Shayzarī´s work in their own.[16]

The following passage comes from chapter 30 of al-Shayzarī´s manual, devoted to regulation of money-changers:

> It is not permitted for anyone to sell gold coins for gold, nor silver for silver, except in the same quantities and by taking immediate possession. For if the money changer makes a profit when he is exchanging the same metal, or if he and the customer part company before possession is taken, this is unlawful. As for selling gold for silver, profit is permitted here, but credit and concluding the sale before delivery is made are unlawful. It is not permitted to sell pure coinage for that which is adulterated, nor to sell adulterated gold and silver coins for other adulterated ones, such as selling Egyptian dinars for those from Tyre, or those from Tyre for the same, or Ahadi dirhams for those from Qairouan because of ignorance as to their value and the lack of similarity between them.
>
> It is likewise not permitted to sell whole dinars for cut pieces of a dinar because of their difference in value. Nor is it permitted to sell dinars from Qashan for those from Sabur due to the difference in their composition.
>
> *It is also not permitted to sell a dinar and a garment for two dinars* [emphasis added]. Some money changers and cloth merchants occasionally practice this usury in another way. They give the buyer a dinar as a loan and then sell him a garment for two dinars, so that he owes them three dinars for a specified period when they will ask for it all back. This is unlawful and it is not permissible to do it with this condition because it is a loan bringing profit. If they had not loaned him the dinar, he would not have bought the garment for two dinars.[17]

Ḥisba, by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Naṣr al-Shayzarī, Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement 9 (Oxford, 1999). Very little is known about this individual´s life or career. Al-Shayzarī´s *madhhab,* for instance, is as yet undetermined.

[16]See Buckley, *The Book of the Islamic Market Inspector,* 14.

[17]This excerpt from R. P. Buckley´s translation of al-Shayzarī´s *Nihāyat al-Rutbah fī Ṭalab al-Ḥisbah,* 94–95. The passage appears in pp. 74–75 of the Arabic edition. A similar yet briefer passage occurs in Ibn al-Ukhūwah, p. 36 of the abridged translation and pp. 178–79 of the Arabic text.

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The passage is concerned with eliminating practices that could lead to usurious and therefore illegal profit by forbidding transactions involving more than one type of coinage made from the same metal. The market manual thus condemns what was likely among the most common features of the contemporary marketplace: in a market where coins of multiple provenance, age, weight, and purity were in use (as both the Geniza and hoard evidence indicates was the case), it is hard to imagine transactions above the most petty day-to-day type always involving coins that were exactly the same type.[18] While neither the common folk nor the ulama may have been fully cognizant of the differences and variables amongst the circulating coinages, it is safe to assume that moneychangers and successful merchants were. It was, after all, a primary job of the *sayrafī* to determine value. While the dichotomy is not absolute, passages such as this one seem to represent an incongruity between the competing ideals of the moral economy of the jurists and the market economy of the moneychangers and merchants.

For my purposes, it is useful to compare the just-cited *ḥisbah* regulations about using multiple coinages in purchase transactions with the following passage from the *Ighāthah.* This story was related by al-Maqrīzī as the reason why the Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad caused copper coinage to be ″introduced″ into Egypt in 622/1225. In order to understand this passage, it needs to be stated that in 622/1225, silver dirhams of multiple alloyage were present in Ayyubid Egypt. One type was the *dirham wariq* (or *waraq*).[19] Another type was the silver coin issued under al-Kāmil, and therefore known as Kāmilī dirhams. Both the Kāmilī and *wariq* dirhams were low silver coins, of one-third silver content or less.[20] There were also higher quality silver coins still in circulation (from the reign of Saladin in particular).

> The reason behind their mintage for the first time in Egypt during the reign of [Sultan] al-Kāmil was the following: a woman stopped

[18]S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society,* vol. 1, *Economic Foundations* (Berkeley, 1967), 229–72; and idem, ″The Exchange-Rate of Gold and Silver Money in Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid Times: A Preliminary Study of the Geniza Material, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 8 (1965): 1–46. For the evidence derived from Mamluk-era silver hoards, see my ″The Circulation of Dirhams in the Bahri Period,″ forthcoming in the Proceedings of the International Conference on the Mamlūks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society.

[19]For an overview of the monetary uses of the term *″wariq/waraq,″* see Michael L. Bates, ″Wariḳ,″ *EI*^{2}*,* 11:147–48.

[20]Al-Maqrīzī's error in stating that the Kāmilī dirham contained two-thirds silver is discussed by Andrew Ehrenkreutz, ″Contributions to the Knowledge of the Fiscal Administration of Egypt in the Middle Ages,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16 (1954): 504. Cahen suggests the reason for al-Maqrīzī's error was his reliance on an incorrect report in al-Nuwayrī. See Cahen, ″Monetary Circulation,″ 330, n. 46.

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> the *khaṭīb* [preacher] of the mosque of Old Cairo, who then was Abū'l-Ṭāhir al-Maḥallī, and asked him for a legal opinion: ″Is it legally permitted to drink water?″
>
> He answered: ″O slave of God, what forbids the drinking of water?″
>
> She said: ″The sultan has struck these dirhams [i.e., the Kāmilī dirhams], and I buy a waterskin for half a dirham. I hand the water carrier one dirham and he gives me back half a dirham in *wariq*. Therefore it is as if I bought water and half a dirham from him for a dirham.″
>
> Abū'l-Ṭāhir disapproved of this. He met the sultan and discussed this matter with him. Hence [the sultan] ordered the minting of *fulūs*.[21]

What are we to make of this anecdote? One option would be to take it at face value as an accurate account of what really happened. That is how the account was treated by Hassanein Rabie.

> Al-Maqrīzī stated in *Ighatha* that the main purpose of striking large numbers of copper fulūs was to put a coin in circulation that would facilitate daily shopping for household items worth less than one *dirham* or part of it. He tells the story of a woman who asked Abi Ṭāhir al-Maḥallī, the *Khaṭīb* of the mosque of Miṣr [Fusṭaṭ], if drinking water was legal. When he asked her in turn what prevented her from drinking it, she said that the sultan had coined *dirham*s (she may have had Kāmilī *dirham*s in mind) and she bought a waterskin at 1/2 *dirham,* paid the water-carrier one *dirham,* and received 1/2 *dirham waraq* change. This obviously means that she had obtained from him water and 1/2 *dirham waraq* in exchange for one (Kāmilī) *dirham,* and was plagued by remorse that she had underpaid the water-carrier who was, perhaps, unaware of the difference in the value of the two coins of the same denomination. It is possible that al-Maḥallī knew nothing of transactions of this kind, either because it was wrong to give the water-carrier a Kāmilī *dirham* with its poor silver content instead of a *dirham waraq,* or because he feared that might lead to usury. Thus he consulted Sultan al-Kāmil, who ordered *fulūs* to be issued. This story indicates

[21]This translation found in Allouche's *Mamlūk Economics,* 68–69.

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> that *fulūs* fulfilled a real need, as there were no half or quarter Kāmilī *dirham*s in existence.[22]

Rabie accepted the story as true, and then proceeded to provide a moral explanation for the woman's question—she felt remorseful at the possibility that she had cheated the water carrier. His further explanation of al-Maḥallī's possible reasons for taking the action he did, however, is built upon a misunderstanding of the circulatory value of the *dirham wariq* which was of similar "poor silver content" as the Kāmilī. Moreover, his "obvious" conclusion is built upon a series of speculations (chief among them identifying which specific dirham type was used at each stage of the story) which, while plausible, reads a degree of specificity into the source that just is not there. Finally, his suggestion that the issuance of copper *fulūs* would fulfill the need for small change, while sound, ignores the situation that there was an inexact correlation between the actual silver coin objects (whether *wariq* or Kāmilī) and their unit of account (Rabie uses the term denomination). The surviving coins of both *wariq* and Kāmilī types are very irregular in weight, and it is most probable that both types were valued in direct proportion to their weight.[23]

Another alternative would be to consider the anecdote as apocryphal and to dismiss it as an after-the-fact attempt to provide a single causation explanation for the complex monetary events of al-Kāmil's reign. Admittedly, this was my reaction when I first encountered the passage some years ago. However, that view now strikes me as not particularly useful or insightful for it ignores some interesting features of the account. First of all, the general context of the anecdote—one of many dirhams in circulation—does match the situation described in the Geniza and other non-normative sources—that many different types of silver coins were in circulation, and that all were called dirhams.[24] (The lack of specificity in identifying coin types is also what one typically encounters in the contemporary sources.) Secondly, regardless of whether the conversation between the woman and the *khaṭīb* took place or not, the anecdote allows us to explore how al-Maqrīzī understood what happened. In the account, the woman said "it is as if I bought water and half a dirham from him for one dirham." This is a situation where silver was being exchanged for silver and merchandise, and is analogous—in all but the metal of

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[22]Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt* (London, 1972), 182.

[23]It thus more useful to think of the actual coins as fractional rather than as individually matching up with units of account like the quarter, half, or full *dirham*. For a succinct overview of the wider monetary context in which al-Kāmil's new coin issues took place, see Michael L. Bates, "The Function of Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid Glass Weights," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 24 (1981): 63–92.

[24]See notes 18 and 23.

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the coin—to the example cited by al-Shayzarī where two dinars were exchanged for one dinar and a dress. It seems to me that this would have struck al-Shayzarī and al-Maqrīzī, or any other *muḥtasib,* as a forbidden transaction fraught with the possibility of usury.[25] If we still care to read remorse into the woman, it would thus be due to her having participated in a usurious act rather than cheating the water seller. Moreover, from the perspective of a *muḥtasib,* the primary value derived from this issuance of *fulūs* would not be from the convenience of providing small change for small transactions but from their reducing the possibility of wrongful transactions taking place involving different types of dirhams. This is also speculative, but I believe it reflects an aspect of the economic *sunnah* which al-Maqrīzī must have shared.

III

What is missing from this discussion, however, is the fact that the rich *fiqh* tradition produced before al-Maqrīzī's life had taken into account the existence of multiple coin types in the marketplace. Indeed, by the thirteenth century, as Brunschvig demonstrated, *fiqh,* "established in an age of pluralism and monetary fluctuation, commanded that coins not be taken at face value, but according to weight (allowing for alloyage), in order to insure honesty, as one would deal in any other form of merchandise."[26] Al-Maqrīzī did not acknowledge this tradition in the *fiqh* in either of his two monetary treatises. While we know that al-Maqrīzī's maternal grandfather was of the Hanafi *madhhab,* his father was a Shafi'i and al-Maqrīzī "opted for Shāfi'ism in early manhood."[27] Udovitch has detailed that the Hanafi *madhhab* had generated many regulations for commerce that permitted transactions involving types of coins of the same metal.[28] The Shafi'i tradition, meanwhile, tended to be more restrictive of commercial practices than the Hanafi, and al-Maqrīzī may thus have regarded some of those regulations which permitted the use of multiple coin types in one transaction as *ḥiyal,* which were more common within the Hanafi *madhhab* than the other schools.[29] *Ḥiyal* were intended to bridge the gap between legal theory and practice in order to expand the area in which commercial and other practices would be within the realm of shari'ah. In short, Hanafi law tended to recognize the needs of the marketplace.[30] While it is

[25]The usury explanation was raised by Rabie but not developed.
[26]Cited by Cahen, "Monetary Circulation," 326. Cf. Robert Brunschvig, "Conceptions monétaires chez les jurists musulmans (VIIIe–XIIIIe siècles)," *Arabica* 14 (1967): 113–43.
[27]Franz Rosenthal, "Al-Maḳrizi," *EI*^{2}, 6:193–94.
[28]Abraham L. Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit in Medieval Islam* (Princeton, 1970), especially 40–60.
[29]Joseph Schacht, "Ḥiyal," *EI*^{2}, 5:510–12.
[30]Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit,* 42–43.

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admittedly speculative, al-Maqrīzī's silence on these matters would seem more fitting of his Shafi'i leanings.

Al-Maqrīzī's attitudes toward the reprehensible copper coinage seem to support this. In addition to the passage cited in the first section of this article, al-Maqrīzī included longer rants against *fulūs* at two other points within the *Ighāthah*.[31] As Allouche has pointed out, underlying al-Maqrīzī's blanket condemnation of *fulūs* is the Shafi'i corpus condemning copper coinage in general, although again, al-Maqrīzī does not mention these Shafi'i prohibitions explicitly.[32] It should be pointed out that one stream of thought within the Hanafi *fiqh* tradition was willing to accept currently circulating copper *fulūs* as capital suitable for the forming of partnerships.[33]

The extent to which the legal instruments allowed in commerce by any of the *madhhab*s were utilized in the Mamluk-era marketplace will likely never be known due to the non-survival of archival sources.[34] But while we have no Mamluk court records analogous to those from the late sixteenth century recently exploited by Nelly Hanna, those later records clearly indicate that the institutions and processes set up within the *fiqh* tradition to govern pecuniary affairs in a properly Islamic manner were at work slightly more than a century after al-Maqrīzī's death.[35] Whether we posit their existence in the earlier Mamluk era is of course subject to our own judgments and methodologies. In any case, it seems safe to assess al-Maqrīzī's view of the marketplace as being implicitly shaped by normative assumptions about moral economic behavior current at the time.

IV

Such an assessment recognizes that al-Maqrīzī's discussions of economic events are, to paraphrase Bonner, discourses on history and the economy inextricably bound up with and part of the discourse on the norms of religious law.[36] We know that al-Maqrīzī was partial, but we must also recognize that he was viewing and recording events through a prism shaped by normative concerns as well as a desire to preserve an account of what happened. This prism—one he was unlikely

[31] *Ighāthah,* 47, 66.
[32] Allouche, *Mamlūk Economics,* 20.
[33] Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit,* 52–55.
[34] To the best of my knowledge, the study of commercial and pecuniary regulations found in the Mamluk-era *fiqh* materials remains an under-developed topic, cf. M. Bernand, "Mu'āmalāt," *EI*^{2}, 8: 255–57.
[35] Nelly Hanna, *Making Big Money in 1600* (Syracuse, 1998).
[36] Michael Bonner, "The *Kitāb al-Kasb* attributed to al-Shaybānī: Poverty, Surplus, and the Circulation of Wealth," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 121 (2001): 412.

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to acknowledge—had, in the cases discussed above, significant problems meshing what should be (an ideal pure coinage of standard weight in circulation everywhere) with what actually was. But the desire to describe one of the prisms through which al-Maqrīzī viewed his world establishes the necessity of acknowledging the prisms through which we view him and his work.

For example, al-Maqrīzī has been called the ″most vocal critic of Circassian monetary policy.″[37] And it is true that he frequently placed blame for the economic decline of Egypt at the feet of the Mamluks in general, and specific individuals in particular. There are numerous examples of this in his works. A particularly illustrative case is that of Barqūq′s *ustādār* Maḥmūd ibn ʻAlī, whom al-Maqrīzī fingered as the man responsible for the explosion of *fulūs* in circulation at the end of the eighth/fourteenth century. Al-Maqrīzī mentioned this case in the *Ighāthah, Shudhūr,* the *Sulūk,* and the *Khiṭaṭ*.[38] What I find most interesting about al-Maqrīzī in this and other such passages is his assumption of control. He was in effect saying ″this individual did these things and bad things resulted.″ Now many have argued quite effectively that in economic matters, particularly as they relate to sources of precious metals and therefore currency supplies, the Mamluk Sultanate cannot be separated from regional and even hemispheric developments.[39] I am not interested here in dismissing al-Maqrīzī explanations of complex economic conditions by resorting to blaming specific individuals as reflecting the ″simplicity of [his] medieval mind,″ as Ashtor put it,[40] but I am curious as to whether some of us moderns have not fallen prey to such ″simple″ mindsets as well.

Take, for example, assertions that the Mamluks had official monetary policies, or that they had official metallic standards (whether mono-, bi-, or tri-metallic), which the Mamluks consistently manipulated for their gain, or that they engaged in economic warfare through their coinage. All of these may be found scattered throughout the scholarship. Many scholars now argue that these assertions—and the degree of control they imply—are untenable, as I have discussed elsewhere.[41] All share a common assumption of Mamluk control over monetary matters. This is not surprising, since these assertions spring from economic theories derived and

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[37]Allouche, *Mamlūk Economics,* ix.

[38]See Schultz, ″Maḥmûd b. ʻAlî and the New *Fulûs*,″ 130–31.

[39]Cf. Boaz Shoshan, ″From Silver to Copper: Monetary Changes in Fifteenth Century Egypt,″ *Studia Islamica* 56 (1982): 97–116; Robert Lopez, Harry Miskimin, and Abraham Udovitch, ″England to Egypt, 1350–1500: Long-term Trends and Long-distance Trade,″ in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, ed. M. A. Cook (London, 1970), 115–28.

[40]Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1976), 305.

[41]For an overview of these issues and essential bibliography, see my ″Monetary History of Egypt,″ 319–24.

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delineated in an age when states and central banks could control the money circulating within set borders. But did the Mamluks, or any other pre-modern dynasty for that matter, in fact have this control? There was no Mamluk Central Bank, nor was there a Mamluk Greenspan-Dār presiding over a Mamluk Federal Reserve Board, yet like al-Maqrīzī's attempts to pin problems on officials such as Maḥmūd ibn 'Alī the *Ustādār* or others, some continue to explain developments as if there were.

I think our assessment of Mamluk monetary history in its entirety, from the issuing of new coin types to attempts at recall of old, from the use of "foreign coins" to attempts to manipulate exchange rates, all of it, needs to be looked at from a different starting point. One that views "official" Mamluk governmental economic activities as essentially and primarily reactive in nature. One where the initial assumption is that the Mamluks could only react to economic developments; they could not control them in the long run—any more than they could control the wider regional trade and economic developments. They could, of course, perhaps hope to benefit in the short term from their reactions to these developments, but that is the extent of their control. What I am proposing here is analogous to that which Udovitch argued that in the seminal article "From England to Egypt," that while Mamluk policies likely exacerbated Mamluk economic decline, the long-term underlying factors—such as the plague, shifts in regional trade patterns and goods, etc.—were not under their control.[42]

This perspective changes everything. We need to consider, for example, that the Mamluks could not control the bullion (in the form of coins) that circulated in their domains—not because I say so but because there is no evidence that indicates that they could. There were no active gold, silver, or copper mines in Egypt in the Mamluk period, as far as can be determined. All bullion thus had to come in trade, from booty (an obvious example is Armenian silver), or from existing stocks. If instead we accept at face value what the sources also tell us about the Mamluks' constant need and demand for money, then it should be readily apparent that they had no vast reservoir of specie that they could use to manipulate monetary markets. When the Mamluks accepted and used whatever coin they could find of gold and silver, terms like "official money" become meaningless. This is not simply saying that the market is king, although clearly the relative supply and demand of specie at any instance could have a tremendous effect on exchange rates. It is saying that just as we must examine al-Maqrīzī's operating assumptions, we need to re-examine the assumptions underlying our explanatory theories. Since there is no evidence that the Mamluks could control the money circulating in their domains, all those explanations based on the rules which need that assumption, such as those that

[42] "From England to Egypt," 120–28.

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invoke Gresham′s Law, are rendered problematic.[43]

As a final example, we can look at what Allouche has to say about the events of 806/1403-4, which al-Maqrīzī stated was the starting point of the ″current situation″ he described in the *Ighāthah*.[44] Citing from the *Sulūk* account of that year, Allouche places great emphasis on two events said to have taken place.[45] The first was a declaration that copper coins were to pass henceforth by weight, and not by count. The second was a declaration that the *darāhim min al-fulūs* was ordered to be the basis of the monetary system. Two objections to Allouche′s interpretation of these events need be raised. With regards to the first, there was nothing unusual about the declaration to accept *fulūs* by weight rather than count.[46] In fact it was a relatively common occurrence in the first half of the eighth/fourteenth century.[47] Weighing *fulūs* appears to have been a tactic used to control the valuation of copper coinage whenever there were large numbers of *fulūs* in circulation, which there most certainly were in 806. Second, the passage in the *Sulūk* says nothing about a fundamental reordering of the Mamluk monetary system. All it says is that the *Qāḍī al-Quḍāh* ordered that the rates paid for various things be written in *fulūs* and not in dirhams.[48] It makes more sense to me to see this as reflecting the contemporary prevalence of copper in the marketplace and acknowledging its widespread use for payment. If we are to read anything into this development, it is that copper was now accepted for payment of fees owed to the Mamluk regime, not that it was henceforth the ″official money″ of the sultanate.

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[43]For a study describing the limitations of the traditional Gresham′s Law from the perspective of two economists, see Arthur J. Rolnick and Warren E. Weber, ″Gresham′s Law or Gresham′s Fallacy,″ *Journal of Political Economy* 94 (1986): 185–99.
[44]Allouche, *Mamlūk Economics,* 16–19.
[45]*Al-Sulūk,* 3:1111–17.
[46]Ibid., 1112.
[47]See my ″Mamluk Egyptian Copper Coinage Before 759/1357–58: A Preliminary Inquiry,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 (2001): 25–43.
[48]*Al-Sulūk,* 3:1117. Significantly, the terminology used is *bi-al-fulūs,* and not *bi-al-darāhim min al-fulūs.*

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The Merits of Economic History: Re-Reading al-Maqrīzī´s *Ighāthah* and *Shudhūr*

Historians have long recognized the importance of economic issues in al-Maqrīzī´s writings and the value of his historical works as sources for economic data. Clearly economic matters figure largely within his legacy. His two short books in particular, *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah* (Saving the community by examining its distress) and *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd* (Pearls of the divine ordinances concerning money), have been used ever since the days of A. I. Silvestre de Sacy at the end of the eighteenth century as key sources for the economic history of Mamluk Egypt. The *Ighāthah* and the *Shudhūr* have traditionally been characterized as histories of economic phenomena or, more recently, as critiques of the economic policy of the Mamluk regime. However, the importance of these two books lies not in their value as economic histories or in their criticism of the sultanate but rather in the insight they give on al-Maqrīzī´s approach to economics and his use of knowledge of the past. Clarifying al-Maqrīzī´s intentions in writing these works is a necessary first step toward assessing his views on the economy and its role in history.

As Adel Allouche has noted, the *Ighāthah* has been known as an account of famines in Egypt since the early nineteenth century. In the introduction to his translation of al-Maqrīzī´s *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* Étienne Quatremère summarized the contents of the *Ighāthah* and referred to it as ″The Treatise on Famines,″ although he also admitted that the manuscript he read did not include the title.[1] Decades before Quatremère, Silvestre de Sacy had encountered the title of the *Ighāthah,* which is mentioned in al-Maqrīzī´s *Shudhūr,* but had not read the text itself, translating it as ″Remède offert au public contre le chagrin.″ Towards the end of the nineteenth century, H. Sauvaire relied heavily on data in the *Ighāthah* and the *Shudhūr* to produce his extended study of Islamic numismatics and metrology.[2] Sauvaire used manuscript versions of both texts from the Bibliothéque Nationale, but was also familiar with the translations of both texts and retained the translated titles in referring to the works. It was, however, Quatremère´s version of the title

[1]Étienne Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l´Égypte* (Paris, 1845), 1:xv.

[2]For the articles on numismatics, see: H. Sauvaire, ″Matériaux pour servir à l´histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes,″ *Journal asiatique* (7th ser.) 14 (1879): 455–533; 15 (1880): 228–77, 421–78; 18 (1881): 499–516; 19 (1882): 23–77, 97–163, 281–327.

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that stuck, no doubt in great measure because in 1940, the editors of the standard edition of the treatise, Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shayyāl, stated categorically in their introduction that the *Ighāthah* ″deals with the history of famines which descended on Egypt from most ancient times to the year 808 H.″[3] No doubt this view further confirmed in the mind of Gaston Wiet that Quatremère's title had ″the advantage of clearly defining its subject,″ and he went on to express the opinion that the ″Treatise on famines is rather more explicit than the translation from Arabic of the actual title.″[4]

Adel Allouche was the first scholar to challenge this long-standing interpretation of the work and he duly warned readers of his English translation and study of the text, published under the title *Mamluk Economics,* that Wiet's understanding—expressed in his title and in his French translation—″fails to account for the essence and scope of the work.″[5] In contrast to Wiet's reading of the text, Allouche concluded that it was ″a critique, if not an outright indictment, of the Circassian administration's economic and monetary policy.″[6] Allouche's approach will be discussed further below, but it is important here to note that his contribution effectively transformed the modern conception of the text from a straightforward economic historical narrative to a more abstract argument, based on the term ″inflation″ as a more accurate reading of the operative concept in the work, *ghalā'* . Allouche's reading thus re-conceptualized the text from a history of famines to an attack on the economic policies of the Mamluk Sultanate.

The reading of *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd* has had a less complicated history although it has followed a similar trajectory. Since the end of the eighteenth century, the text has been regarded as a straightforward treatise on money. Silvestre de Sacy published his French translation under the title *Traité des monnoies musulmanes,* using also the literal translation of the short Arabic title, ″Les perles des colliers.″ His translation was undertaken in part as a corrective to the errors contained in O. G. Tychsen's edition and Latin translation, published in the same year under the title *Historia monetae Arabicae*.[7] Indeed, Silvestre de Sacy expressed his admiration

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[3]Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1940/1359), page *alif*.

[4]Gaston Wiet, ″Le traité des famines de Maqrīzī,″ *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 5 (1962): 1; Adel Allouche, *Mamluk Economics: A Translation and Study of al-Maqrīzī's* Ighāthah (Salt Lake City, 1994), 5.

[5]Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 5.

[6]Ibid., 13.

[7]A. I. Silvestre de Sacy, ″Traité des monnoies musulmanes,″ originally published in *Magasin Encyclopédique*, 1796, IIe année, 6:472–507, and IIIe année, 1:38–89. I have used the edition published in *Bibliothéque des Arabisants Français* (1st ser.), vol. 1 (Cairo, 1905). O. G. Tychsen,

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for the text, noting that ″al-Maqrīzī′s ideas [were] more true to real monetary principles than many writers of our century.″ He also noted that, although ″[t]his short treatise on Arab money is not as complete as one would have hoped since it contains a number of inaccuracies,″ it is of ″great use″ to the study of Islamic numismatics.[8] Later scholars also treated the text as a treatise on the history of money. As mentioned above, Sauvaire used it in his series of articles on numismatics, referring to it as ″Traité des monnaies,″ and citing the Arabic title of the manuscript as ″Faṣl fī al-Nuqūd al-Qadīmah,″ a title used in some manuscripts of the text to refer to a particular section within it.[9] Anastase-Marie de Saint-Elie published an edition of the text under the title *Al-Nuqūd al-'Arabīyah wa-'Ilm al-Nummīyāt*.[10] L. A. Mayer published a facsimile of a Leiden manuscript—an autograph containing also his marginal notes and corrections—of the text, referring to it in a typescript note at the end of the text as ″al-Maqrīzī′s treatise on coins.″ In this brief note, Mayer stated that the second and third installments of his publication would consist of a translation with ″copious notes″ followed by a final recension of the text.[11] Daniel Eustache published his edition and French translation of *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd* in a two-part article, ″Études de numismatique et de métrologie musulmanes,″ which appeared in *Hespéris-Tamuda* in 1969. The first part discussed money in al-Balādhurī′s ninth-century chronicle, *Futūḥ al-Buldān,* while the second part contained his edition, translation, and notes on the *Shudhūr,* in which he followed Silvestre de Sacy′s title: ″′Les perles des colliers,′ ou Traité des Monnaies.″ Eustache, like his predecessors, read the text as a scholarly treatise on money and weights, ″reproduced, with obvious modifications, from the treatise of al-Maqrīzī on famines.″[12] Muḥammad al-Sayyid 'Alī Baḥr al-'Ulūm, in his edition and study of the *Shudhūr,* also read the work as a study of Islamic numismatics and used the text as the principal part of his volume on Islamic money entitled *Al-Nuqūd al-Islāmīyah.*[13] As with the *Ighāthah,* Adel Allouche characterized the *Shudhūr* as an ″indictment of the monetary policy of the Circassians.″[14] The negative reading

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Historia monetae Arabicae (Rostock, 1797).

[8]″Traité des monnoies musulmanes,″ 9; my thanks to Dr. Robert Irwin for bringing to my attention Silvestre de Sacy′s appreciation of this technical aspect of the text.

[9]Sauvaire, ″Matériaux,″ 14 (1879): 486–87, n. 2.

[10]Anastase-Marie de Saint-Elie, *Al-Nuqūd al-'Arabīyah wa-'Ilm al-Nummīyāt* (Cairo, 1939), 21–73, based on manuscripts from Baghdad and Cairo.

[11]L. A. Mayer, *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd,* facsimile Leiden MS Or. 560 Warn. (n.d.).

[12]Daniel Eustache, ″Études de numismatique et de métrologie musulmanes (II),″ *Hespéris-Tamuda* 10, fasc. 1–2 (1969): 95–190; the quotation is from p. 144, n. 1.

[13]Muḥammad al-Sayyid 'Alī Baḥr al-'Ulūm, *Al-Nuqūd al-Islāmīyah al-Musammá bi-Shudhūr al-'Uqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd* (Najaf, 1387/1967); note his discussion on pp. 37–38.

[14]Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 20.

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of the *Shudhūr* and the *Ighāthah* has been further enhanced by Warren Schultz's brief reference to them as "screeds."[15]

The conclusion that the texts are fundamentally critiques seems to have arisen because he wrote them, including their scathing accusations, in response to particular episodes. The conclusion that these texts were written chiefly as histories has of course followed from the dominating presence of their historical information. Modern scholars who have used these texts have largely been interested in economic and monetary history. Consequently, the collective desire of scholars to gather data on Islamic economic history has led them to interpret the essence and scope of these works according to their empirical needs. The result has been that al-Maqrīzī has not been read on his own terms. Of course, the accounts can be used for the information they contain, but it is nevertheless important to appreciate that these data are part of an argument concerning particular economic situations and do not necessarily represent the comprehensive view of the past that Silvestre de Sacy, for one, had hoped to find.

While one cannot deny the historical approach and negative tone of these two texts, emphasis on these characterizations obscures "the essence and scope" of both works. To be sure, in these texts al-Maqrīzī excoriates Mamluk officials and sultans and chronicles economic phenomena. However, both texts share a number of features that indicate that his broader aim was to make prescriptions for the management of monetary affairs. First, they both concern specific episodes in Mamluk monetary policy—al-Maqrīzī discussed the episode of 806 (July 1403–July 1404) in the *Ighāthah* and that of 818 (March 1415–March 1416) in the *Shudhūr*. al-Maqrīzī believed these episodes were especially significant because they directly related to issues that struck at the heart of his understanding of the monetary economy.

Furthermore, while large portions of both texts contain accounts of economic and monetary history, these narratives are part of broader arguments about the implementation of economic policy, which al-Maqrīzī believed could be addressed by means of monetary policy. Accordingly, al-Maqrīzī concluded the argument of each text with his recommendations for how the Mamluk regime should conduct Egypt's monetary affairs. In writing these texts, he was following the Islamic literary tradition of *nasīḥat al-mulūk,* advice for rulers, as much as the tradition of *tārīkh,* history proper. In *Ighāthat al-Ummah,* he offered this advice in an attempt to save the community from a difficult economic situation, while in *Shudhūr*

[15]Warren Schultz, "Mamluk Monetary History: A Review Essay," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 193. Schultz gives an earlier assessment in his "Mahmûd ibn 'Alî and the 'New Fulûs': Late Fourteenth Century Mamluk Egyptian Copper Coinage Reconsidered," *American Journal of Numismatics* (2nd series) 10 (1998): 130.

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al-'Uqūd he offered the Mamluk sultan religiously sound advice concerning the management of money. *'Uqūd* is read in the sense of ordinances—obligatory bonds imposed by God, rather than necklaces: Quran 5:1: ″O believers, fulfill the bonds″ *(al-'uqūd).*[16] In either case, al-Maqrīzī presented the collective knowledge in these texts as strings of pearls of divinely inspired wisdom concerning the economy and money. In the *Ighāthah* and the *Shudhūr,* he hoped to bring the conduct of the regime into line with religious teaching.

Like so many of his contemporaries whose writings constitute our access to the Mamluk past, al-Maqrīzī was a scholar trained in the religious sciences. After an upbringing influenced by his Hanafi grandfather, he followed his father as a Shafi'i, although he later fell under the influence of the Zahiri legal tradition.[17] And like many of the ulama of his time, he also served the state in a variety of offices until his career was cut short and he devoted his life to writing[18]—on a tremendous variety of topics. Given his scholarly training and religious background, he quite naturally based his recommendations on principles presented as religiously prescribed economic practice. Consequently, al-Maqrīzī based his arguments in the *Ighāthah* and the *Shudhūr* on the prescribed practice of the religious tradition, a monetary *sunnah,* or on historically based meritorious behavior, a monetary *faḍā'il*—overlapping categories but both of which rely on a knowledge of received history and law. His primary objective in writing these texts was to ensure that the management of monetary affairs conformed to Islamic precedent and practice as he presented them in his texts. Thus his argument for monetary reform, using the idiom of religious scholarship, was grounded in knowledge of the past—a past expressed in terms of the prescribed practice of the Muslim community. Amalia Levanoni, in discussing the transition to Circassian rule, has described al-Maqrīzī's historiographical approach as ″history in the service of faith.″[19] Consideration of his *Ighāthah* and *Shudhūr* shows that his economic history was not only in the

[16]Arberry's translation; other translations: ″obligations″ (Ahmed Ali), ″indentures″ (Marmaduke Pickthall).

[17]For details on al-Maqrīzī's background, see Franz Rosenthal, ″al-Maḳrīzī,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 6:193–94. I thank Prof. Nasser Rabbat for clarifying the significance of al-Maqrīzī's Zahirism during the conference. Al-Maqrīzī's Zahiri tendencies are briefly mentioned by Rosenthal and by R. Strothmann, ″Ẓāhirīya,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 1st ed., 4:1192.

[18]On his career, see Anne F. Broadbridge, ″Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: al-'Aynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 85–108.

[19]Amalia Levanoni, ″Al-Maqrīzī's Account of the Transition from Turkish to Circassian Mamluk Sultanate: History in the Service of Faith,″ in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800)*, ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden, 2001), 93–105. This book arrived at AUB in the months after the conference and I was pleased to discover that my ideas and those of Professor Levanoni follow similar tracks.

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service of the faith and the state, but was also guided by his faith. Examination of these texts in tandem—as expressions of his economic thought over the course of a decade—allows us to understand more fully his approach to and the development of his thought on economic matters, providing a more nuanced picture of an intellectual figure struggling with important affairs of his time.

806 and *Ighāthat al-Ummah:* Economic History as *Sunnah*

Al-Maqrīzī understood the crisis of 806 to be the result of a string of economic problems, culminating with actions undertaken during the administration of Sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj ibn Barqūq (r. 801–8, 808–15/1399–1405, 1405–12). In the *Ighāthah* and his other writings, al-Maqrīzī held Sultan Barqūq responsible for the monetary ruin of Egypt because of his appointment of the Ustādār, Maḥmūd ibn ʻAlī, who allegedly mismanaged the treasury and the minting of copper money in particular. The episode has attracted considerable scholarly attention and the discussion to a great extent has revolved around the plausibility of al-Maqrīzī's explanation—could one man have actually caused that amount of damage or was Egypt's economic crisis the product of larger economic forces?[20] There are still issues to be examined but most recently Warren Schultz has demonstrated, based on careful study of the numismatic and textual evidence, that "modern scholars should not be so quick to dismiss the accounts of Maḥmûd ibn ʻAlî."[21] The concern here is not with the matter of plausibility, and in any case, the story of Maḥmūd and Sultan Faraj is a part of the broader argument that al-Maqrīzī was making about money; rather the concern here is al-Maqrīzī's larger purpose in writing the *Ighāthah*.

Al-Maqrīzī's excoriation of Sultans Barqūq and Faraj and the Ustādār Maḥmūd in the *Ighāthah* may read like an indictment, but it is by no means the central feature of the text. The work as a whole consists of a carefully structured argument made explicit with clearly marked headings for its various sections. After a brief prologue, al-Maqrīzī started with "A Logical Premise."[22] In this section he presented his thesis that conditions in Egypt in 806 were exceptional in the sense that crises in the past were far worse, the evidence for which conclusion he supplied in his

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[20]See Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1976), 305; Jere L. Bacharach, "A Study of the Correlation between Textual Sources and Numismatic Evidence for Mamluk Egypt and Syria, A.H. 784–872/1382–1468," Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1967, 243–45.

[21]Schultz, "Mahmûd ibn ʻAlî," 144.

[22]I have cited both the edition by Ziyādah and al-Shayyāl as well as Allouche's translation. Quotations in English are generally taken from Allouche's translation although in some cases I have provided my own translation; the title here translated in full reads: "A section stating the logical introduction that comprises the whole work" *(qāʻidah kullīyah)*.

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section entitled ″The [Years of] *Ghalā'* in Egypt.″[23] The exceptionalism of 806, the discussion of which is contained in a section entitled ″Current Prices and Present Ordeals,″ is also based on the notion that the conditions of the crisis were not an act of God, as were all previous crises, but were caused by human action and thus could be remedied by the adherence to legal practice concerning the management of money—a kind of ″monetary *sunnah*.″ The basis for this monetary practice he provided in a section entitled ″The Causes of Our Ordeals.″ Sound economics then was based fundamentally on religiously prescribed monetary practice; therefore, one can look to legitimate precedent as a guide.

Al-Maqrīzī advocated the return to a monetary system in which gold and silver were used as the basis on which to measure the value of economic transactions, a call for reform that Allouche mentioned but did not emphasize. Al-Maqrīzī′s argument was based on the Shafi'i doctrine that only gold and silver are valid metals for currency and that to use others would be to contravene the law and to cheat people of what they are due.[24] His argument, made all the more urgent by the desperate economic crisis of 806, was directed, as the title implies, at saving the community from the affliction of this crisis, and was based on, as Allouche noted, a thorough understanding of the etiology of the crisis. Al-Maqrīzī′s etiological approach is significant because he thought of the crisis as a disease that afflicted Egypt—the symptoms were known to all; nevertheless the cause was not obvious. Furthermore, the text, a description and analysis of the economic problem, culminated with his prescription—a section entitled ″The Means to Eradicate the Disease.″ For al-Maqrīzī, the etiology was understood by means of a historical understanding of the past. Such an understanding required first an account of the history of *ghalā'*—what Wiet translated as famine and what Allouche translated as inflation—and second an account of the history of money.

Before discussing the substance of al-Maqrīzī′s recommendation, it is important to address the question, who would apply the remedy? While the substance of the text appears to be a fairly dry and impersonal discussion of economic matters, one nevertheless gets the impression that he was not addressing the general readership of a treatise but rather that he was advising the more particular readership of a policy recommendation. Each major section of the work begins with an invocation for the assistance of God to help the reader—who is addressed directly—understand the argument, lending a rather personal quality to the work as a piece of deliberately argued advice: the first begins ″Know—May God support you with His mercy and

[23]The title translated in full, ″A section setting forth what occurred in Egypt in times of dearth and anecdotes from those years.″

[24]Robert Brunschwig, ″Conceptions monétaires chez les jurists musulmans (VIIIe–XIIIe siècles),″ *Arabica* 14 (1967): 139–40; it is interesting to note Brunschvig′s observation that the Zahiri stance on the issue was not particularly rigid, p. 140.

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guide you to comprehend him—that bygone events, however difficult experiencing them was, are engaging when recounted"; the second, "Know—May God guard your prosperity and protect you—that since the day God created mankind dearth has alternated with plenty . . . "; the third, "Know—May God protect and guide you, and not deprive you of His bounty and divine providence—that from reports that have reached us . . ." And so on.[25]

Clearly al-Maqrīzī was addressing someone whom he thought could rectify Egypt's economic condition by means of the reformation of its monetary policy and, in particular, the reformation of innovations introduced under the reign of Sultan Faraj. The colophon of the work dates the text to Muḥarram 808 (June–July 1405) but Allouche convincingly argues, on the basis of internal evidence, that the text could not have been composed before Jumādá I (October–November) of that year.[26] While Allouche notes that a reference in the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* indicates that a final draft may have been produced in Muḥarram 809 (June–July 1406),[27] the hypothesis is nevertheless worth considering that al-Maqrīzī may have taken advantage of the interregnum of al-Malik al-Manṣūr ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz ibn Barqūq, who reigned from Rabīʻ I until Jumādá II (August–December 1405), to submit his recommendations to be put into practice. One can speculate as well that he may have wanted to obtain for himself a position in the administration yet again—by that time he had been out of government service as *muḥtasib* of Cairo since Dhū al-Qaʻdah 807 (May 1405), at least his third term of service in that capacity since 801 (September 1398–September 1399).[28]

A more detailed recap of the recommendation's argument, including al-Maqrīzī's view of the crisis, shows how he used historical information on *ghalā'* and money to convince his reader of the efficacy of the prescription and it provides also the basis for understanding his analysis of the episode of 818. In his discussion, "The Causes of Our Ordeals," he observed that although the Nile failed to reach plenitude

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[25]The others: the fourth, "Know—May God grant you toward every good and easy path, and on every grace a sign and a guide—"; the fifth, "Know—May God guard you with His sleepless eye and His fearsome might—"; the sixth, "Know—May God grant you eternal happiness and felicity—"; the seventh, "Know—May God guide you to your own righteousness and inspire you to follow the straight paths of your fellow humans—"; the eighth, "Know—May God embellish you with virtues, and protect you from the disgraces of vices—."

[26]Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 6–7.

[27]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Saʻīd ʻAbd al-Fattāḥ ʻĀshūr (Cairo, 1972), 4:28.

[28]Rosenthal, "Maḳrīzī," 193; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 3, 120, n. 12. On the extraordinary turnover in the position of *muḥtasib* during this period, see Allouche, 4, and Aḥmad ʻAbd al-Rāziq, "Le *ḥisba* et le *muḥtasib* en Egypte au temps des Mamluks," *Annales islamologiques* 13 (1977): 115–78.

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in 796 and then excessively flooded the land the following year causing prices to rise, by 798 prices had returned to their pre-796 level. The price increase was a result of a shortage of seed while the supply of grain was especially low since a smaller quantity of land was cultivated in 796. By no means was this unusual: ″This is characteristic of Egypt since ancient times,″ he wrote, ″whenever the Nile delays in flooding, prices continue to increase for two years.″[29]

In 806, however, when the Nile again failed to reach plenitude, one would have expected the situation to have improved within two years. But the ensuing grain shortage resulted in unusually high prices. This period of exceptional inflation was due, first, to officials intentionally maintaining high prices by withholding foodstuffs. al-Maqrīzī closed this section with the account of the Ustādār Maḥmūd ibn ʻAlī who increased the production of copper currency and stopped the production of silver currency. But it was not until his discussion entitled ″Current Prices and Present Ordeals″ that he explained that the inflation of 806 also resulted from the proliferation of *fulūs* and the disappearance of dirhams:

> *[Fulūs]* are used in exchange for all sorts of edibles, all types of drinks, and other common goods. They are accepted for payment of land taxes, the tithe on the profits of merchants, and other imposts due the sultan. They are used to estimate labor costs for all works, whether significant or insignificant. Indeed, the people of Egypt have no currency other than the *fulūs,* with which their wealth is measured. . . . This is an innovation *(bidʻah)* and a calamity of recent origin. There is no basis for it among the community of believers and there is no foundation for it in legal practice *(ṭarīqah sharʻīyah).*[30]

Thus al-Maqrīzī presented the uncanonical management of the monetary system as the fundamental cause of the crisis. It comes as no surprise, then, that the rectification of this unlawful innovation was the principal feature of his recommendation.

His argument that the inflation of 806 required special consideration, then, was founded on his history of *″Ghalā*ʾ in Egypt,″ and his history of money in Egypt. The latter history, included in his second major section after the ″Logical Premise,″ entitled ″The Causes of Our Ordeals″ (but which Allouche broke into a separate section entitled ″Currency″), was a chronological compilation of didactic reports prescribing models for proper monetary management. His account may be

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[29]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 42; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 51.

[30]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 76; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 77; the last sentence is my translation.

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divided into two parts: currency of the caliphs up until the ninth century followed by an account of currency in Egypt. His discussion on currency starts with his appeal to the reader to ″Know . . . that the currency that has been used to determine prices of goods and costs of labor consists only of gold and silver.″[31] The rest of the account, what has been construed as a history of money, runs in a similar vein. He constantly reminded the reader that gold and silver alone have always been recognized as the only legal tender. The account then comes across as a chronologically ordered compilation of ″monetary hadith,″ starting with Adam: ″In fact, it is said that the first to mint the dinar and the dirham was Adam, who said that life is not enjoyable without these two currencies. This was related by al-Ḥāfiz Ibn ʻAsākir (d. 571/1176) in his *Tārīkh Dimashq*.″[32] Al-Maqrīzī offered reports, assessed in terms of hadith scholarship, from the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods to argue for the exclusivity of gold and silver: ″According to all reports, either valid or invalid (*fī khabar saḥīḥ wa-la-saqīm),* no nation or group of people is ever known to have paid for goods or remunerated for works in ancient or recent times in a currency other than gold and silver.″[33]

After stating this thesis about money, al-Maqrīzī explained:

> I shall narrate to you some reports in this regard to illustrate the veracity of what I have pointed out. I say—seeking the help of God my Lord, indeed He is the only Protector—know—may God increase your knowledge and grant you intelligence and comprehension—that the dirham was, and still is, the currency of mankind at all times, so that it is said that the first to mint dinars and dirhams and make jewelry out of gold and silver was Fāligh son of Ghābir son of Shālikh son of Arfakhshad son of Sām son of Noah, since whose time people have [always] used currency.[34]

Of course, it was the lack of dirhams that was precisely the problem in 806 and it was by means of such reports that al-Maqrīzī hoped to convince his reader that he should follow the practice of his illustrious predecessors like the Umayyad caliph ʻAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān by re-issuing dirhams:

> The dirhams struck by ʻAbd al-Malik had three merits *(faḍā'il):* first, they [conformed to the rule] that the weight of seven *mithqāl*s

[31] Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 47; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 55.
[32] Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 47; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 55–56.
[33] Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 47; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 55.
[34] Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 48; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 56.

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> equaled that of ten dirhams. Second, ʻAbd al-Malik made the weight uniform: the dirham came to weigh six *dānaq*s instead of having large and small dirhams. Third, these [dirhams] were in conformity with the practice of the Messenger of God with regard to the obligation of [paying] *zakāt* without loss or excess. Thus, the Prophet´s tradition was followed and the Islamic community agreed on [the new dirham].[35]

His account of Islamic coinage ends with the ninth century Abbasid caliphs, and the entry of Turkish interlopers into high politics, where he found a convenient opportunity to foreshadow the problem he addressed at the beginning of the fifteenth century: ″Precepts of the divine law and religious prescriptions changed when the Turks innovated and invented ways that God did not allow, among which was the adulteration of dirhams.″[36] Al-Maqrīzī´s account of money in Egypt begins with the statement that gold has traditionally been used in Egypt and to support this he cited Abū Hurayrah, the companion of the Prophet and narrator of his traditions. It was in this section that he finally explained the introduction of copper money—he had to account for it at some point—attributing it to the reign of the Ayyubid sultan al-Kāmil (r. 615–35/1218–38). But he justified the use of copper for the purchase of ″goods of insignificant value,″ and stated that al-Kāmil´s innovation was legally sanctioned with the approval of one Abū al-Ṭāhir al-Maḥallī.[37] His failure to explain its existence prior to that time conformed to the widespread conviction that it was not worthy of discussion. For example, in the *Muqaddimah* Ibn Khaldūn consistently disregarded copper in his discussions of money, as do al-Maqrīzī´s sources in the *Ighāthah* such as Abū Yūsuf´s *Kitāb al-Kharāj*. It would seem that rather than deliberately ignoring the existence of pre-Ayyubid *fulūs,* al-Maqrīzī was not able to state that any legal authority had permitted it until the time of al-Kāmil. After all, its legality was his main concern.

In his account of *ghalā'* , al-Maqrīzī traced the history of ″all kinds of catastrophes and ordeals″ in Egypt starting with the ancient king Afraws son of Manāwash and ending with Sultan al-Ashraf Shaʻbān (r. 764–78/1363–76). His point here was that these ordeals have been caused by ″natural catastrophes sent by God″ but that the ordeal of 806 ″differs from the aforementioned disasters″[38] and may be explained by human corruption: the acquisition of positions by means of bribery, the artificially

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[35]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 56; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 61.

[36]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 61; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 65.

[37]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 62–63, 66–67; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 66, 68–69.

[38]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 41; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 50.

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imposed high cost of land, and the deliberate overproduction of *fulūs*.[39] The thrust of this argument is sharpened when we consider that al-Maqrīzī was making an argument about the concept of *ghalā'*, a notion that is weakened in Allouche's otherwise effective translation since he uses a variety of terms—inflation, rise in prices, dearth, etc.—to denote a central feature of al-Maqrīzī's argument.[40] If we use one of Allouche's terms, "dearth," which connotes a rise in prices as well as a scarcity, the latter of which does not necessarily occur with inflation, we see more clearly that al-Maqrīzī was in fact using all of these episodes as a single phenomenon of analysis to demonstrate that dearth, historically caused by the natural order, could in fact be a disease with an entirely different etiology—similar symptoms, different cause. His point was that the dearth of 806 was fundamentally different from previous episodes, as Allouche himself observed,[41] and that it was theoretically monetarily treatable because it was an inflationary event caused simply by the overproduction of copper money and the resulting replacement of silver as a legal tender with copper—which could never be a legal tender according to religious teaching. Accordingly, the crisis could only be alleviated by human action guided by religiously prescribed economics. The histories of *ghalā'* on the one hand and money on the other, thus, converged in 806 to make the year unique in Egypt's history.

With the influx of copper currency in the Egyptian economy it became standard practice to measure value, not in terms of gold and silver as had previously been practiced, but rather in a money of account known as the *dirham min al-fulūs*—that is to say, a silver dirham's worth of copper money.[42] With the cessation of the minting of silver, dirhams became so rare that they were available, he claimed, only through auction. But people were accustomed to thinking in terms of dirhams and in effect it came to exist only as an abstract quantity of value used to measure copper coins. This practice led to the widespread use of *dirham fulūs* to measure values of goods and labor costs—a legally untenable situation that was unacceptable from al-Maqrīzī's point of view. The dirham of account came to be unreliable in its value—he claimed that in Cairo the *mithqāl* equaled 150 dirhams of account while in Alexandria the *mithqāl* equaled 300 dirhams of account. "This caused a catastrophe that rendered money useless and foodstuffs scarce; at the same time, necessary goods became unavailable because of the variety of currencies. It is

[39]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 43–46, 47 ff; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 52–54, 55 ff.

[40]Allouche, *Mamluk Economics:* "dearth" (pp. 27, 33, 46, 50); "a period of inflation" (pp. 31, 36); "famine" (pp. 27, 28, 29, 37, 40, 41, 47, 49); "grain shortage" (pp. 29, 40, 48); and "high prices"/"prices increased" (pp. 29, 40, 44, 51).

[41]Ibid., 13.

[42]Schultz, "Mamluk Monetary History," 188.

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feared that if this should continue the population of this country will be in an unbearable situation.″[43] And this ″unbearable situation″ leads us to the heart of the problem.

The inflation of 806 was most obviously exceptional because of its differential effect on the populace. Natural disasters affected everyone, but not the inflation of 806. After a lengthy disquisition on prices, al-Maqrīzī concluded, ″Anyone who considers these prices in light of the rate of gold and silver will realize that they have increased only slightly, but if he considers them in relation to the abundance of *fulūs* that has afflicted the people, he will find this is a frightening abomination that is too odious to mention.″[44] Perhaps he should have said ″too odious to mention *again*,″ since in fact he mentioned the abomination earlier in the text in his ″Description of the Population,″[45] in which he argued that the inflation of 806 affected different categories of society in different ways. Those who were in a position to negotiate their income generally did pretty well. Merchants ″content themselves only with larger profits, even though a few hours later they will spend the amount they have gained on necessities.″[46] Those dependent on fixed incomes, like *waqf* employees—a group, of course, near and dear to al-Maqrīzī′s heart—did poorly.[47] If this had been a normal period of *ghalā′*, everyone would have been affected.

Al-Maqrīzī′s solution here was simple—to re-introduce a silver currency so that values would be based on gold and silver rather than arbitrary values of copper. As mentioned above, the text culminates with a section entitled ″The Means to Eradicate the Disease,″[48] in which al-Maqrīzī outlined his recommendation: ″Whenever God guides the person who is entrusted with the destiny of His subjects to the right path, he should respect the gold-silver ratio when striking silver currency. This will lead to an end to this general decay and to a return of prices and costs of labor to the level that existed prior to these ordeals.″[49] This view is based on the conviction that:

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[43]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 72; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 72.

[44]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 79; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 79.

[45]The full title translated: ″A section stating the division and categories of the population *(al-nās)* and an explanation of all their conditions and characteristics.″

[46]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 74; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 75.

[47]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 75; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 75.

[48]The full title translated reads, ″A section on eradicating this disease from mankind and setting out a remedy for the disease of the era.″

[49]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 81; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 81.

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> the currencies that are legally, logically, and customarily acceptable are only those of gold and silver, and that any other [metal] is unsuitable as a currency. By the same token, the situation of the people cannot be sound unless they are obliged to follow the natural and legal course in this regard [i.e., the currency], namely, that they should deal exclusively with gold and silver for pricing goods and estimating labor costs.[50]

The solution was directed at relieving the community of the unfair and difficult conditions produced by the inflation of 806. He concluded his recommendation in ″A section explaining the benefits of this plan *(tadbīr),* the gain of which will help the populace″:

> If God would guide those whom He has entrusted with the welfare of His servants to reinstate gold as the exclusive basis for transactions as it was previously—to link the value of goods and of all [types of] work either to the dinar or to minted silver that would later be adopted as currency and thereby reinstate the silver dirham as [the unit] for measuring the price of goods and the cost of labor—this would lead to the succor of the community, the amelioration of the [general] situation, and the checking of the decay that heralds destruction.[51]

Not only was this solution simple, but it was also doomed to fail, as al-Maqrīzī later recognized. But the gist of his argument was that the use of copper as a currency, that is, as a primary means of measuring and storing value and as a means of exchange—distinct from a means to facilitate a transaction by simply making change—was anathema not so much because corrupt officials were making money off of it, but rather because it contravened the law and ″monetary *sunnah*.″ In *Ighāthat al-Ummah,* al-Maqrīzī's concluding advice is presented in his guise as a *muḥtasib* of the monetary economy of Egypt, ″commanding right and forbidding

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[50]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 80; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 80. This attitude about the exclusivity of gold and silver was by no means unusual. Among his contemporaries, Ibn Khaldūn advocated an exclusive status for gold and silver; *Muqaddimah,* trans. Franz Rosenthal (New York, 1958), 3:277: ″It was God's wise plan that gold and silver, being rare, should be the standard of value by which the profits and capital accumulation of human beings are measured″; also see 1:168; 2:313. The reluctance of a central authority to administer base coinage is by no means unusual; for example, Queen Elizabeth I declined to undertake such a project; John Craig, *The Mint: A History of the London Mint from A.D. 287 to 1948* (Cambridge, 1953), 248.

[51]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 82–83; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 83.

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wrong″ *(al-amr bi-al-ma'rūf wa-al-nahy 'an al-munkar)*. In this regard he was acting in a long Shafi'i tradition.[52]

Subsequent events, however, afforded al-Maqrīzī the opportunity to test his solution and to modify his views on money—which brings us to 818 and his *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd fī-Dhikr al-Nuqūd.*

818 AND *SHUDHŪR AL-'UQŪD:* MONETARY HISTORY AS *FAḌĀ'IL*

As mentioned above, *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd* has typically been read as a source on the history of Islamic money, an approach that has largely obscured al-Maqrīzī's intention in writing it. al-Maqrīzī wrote the *Shudhūr* in response to a directive to write ″a refined précis on Islamic monetary matters″ *(nabdhah laṭīfah fī umūr al-nuqūd al-islāmīyah).*[53] Scholars since Silvestre de Sacy have concluded that it was the Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (r. 815–24/1412–21) who made this request, and the substance of the text, as will be discussed below, bears this conclusion out. Thus the *Shudhūr* may be dated to the years 818–24, although al-Maqrīzī corrected an autograph manuscript in 841.[54] The request may have been for a treatise on money, or even a history, but as in the *Ighāthah,* al-Maqrīzī used the monetary situation of a particular point in time, which we may take as 818, to support an appeal for action.

Al-Maqrīzī, however, chose not to present his prescription in terms of rectifying *bid'ah* by means of adherence to economic *sunnah;* after all, his reliance on legitimate monetary practice in the *Ighāthah* failed to remedy the crisis of 806. Clearly, by 818 some adjustment was needed, and adjusting the *sunnah* would, of course, have been inappropriate. However, once again, he relied on history to address an economic issue using an approach that he alluded to in his earlier recommendation. By viewing the past in terms of the merits *(faḍā'il*; sg. *faḍīlah)* of monetary precedent, he could sufficiently modify his conclusions in the *Ighāthah* from ten years before in order to produce an effective prescription. For al-Maqrīzī, sound economics then was based on the excellences of predecessors, which required a review of previous monetary exempla. By using the notion of such *faḍā'il* to present his case, al-Maqrīzī in effect composed in the *Shudhūr* a monetary mirror

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[52]Michael Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge, 2000), 354.

[53]Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* ed. Baḥr al-'Ulūm, 2; ed. Eustache, 97.

[54]Note that some of the manuscripts of the *Shudhūr* include the name of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh: ″Inspire our master the sultan [al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh] with the . . . ,″ while others simply state ″the sultan.″ But there is an ambiguity to the imperative appeals to ″Our master the sultan,″ which suggests that perhaps al-Maqrīzī's corrections to the text in Ramaḍān 841 (February–March 1438) eliminated these so that the text could be used as an appeal to Barsbāy's successor. Barsbāy fell ill in Sha'bān 841 and died by the end of the year.

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for princes. As with the other branches of Islamic statecraft, such knowledge required a grounding in the excellent examples of predecessors. History in the *Shudhūr* comes across clearly as a didactic subject and its role here was to provide advice for sound economic policy. The first part of the lesson may be summed up in the hadith he cited of Musaddad ibn Mirhad that ″The dinar and the dirham sundered corruption forever.″[55] But statecraft required addressing new circumstances, and al-Maqrīzī′s recommendation to abolish the *dirham al-fulūs* was an attempt to ensure the continuation of meritorious rule.

It has been noted that the *Shudhūr* is largely taken from the section on money in the *Ighāthah* but al-Maqrīzī re-structured the information to suit his particular needs in this context. After prefatory remarks, he began the body of the text with a straightforward history of money organized into ″A Section on Ancient Money,″ ″A Section on Islamic Money,″ and ″A Section on the Money of Egypt.″ Unlike the version in the *Ighāthah*, he ended the latter section with the episode in economic history that al-Maqrīzī wishes to address. Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh came to power in 815, supported by his allies and a pile of silver. In 817 he began minting, and in 818 officially announced, a silver dirham that became known as the Mu'ayyadīyah,[56] an event that answered al-Maqrīzī′s call in the *Ighāthah* for a properly minted silver coinage to accompany the dinar. However, the production of silver did not initially have the effect that al-Maqrīzī had expected in 808, although he recognized later in the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* that the economic situation had indeed improved:

> [Shaykh] struck dirhams known as Mu'ayyadīyahs. People exchanged them by count (i.e., not by weight) during his time and the situation of the people improved so the currencies of Egypt become copper, gold in various forms and Mu'ayyadī silver. However, the currency circulating was *fulūs* and the value of labor and the price of goods were calculated in *[fulūs]* as stated earlier.[57]

Consequently he found it necessary in the *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd* to address more directly the issue of the *dirham min al-fulūs*.

The relationship of precious metal and base metal coinages is a central issue in the administration of money. It was a problem that plagued medieval monetary systems on both sides of the Mediterranean and which was not solved in a practical manner until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The requirements are simple:

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[55] Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* ed. Baḥr al-'Ulūm, 32; ed. Eustache, 133.

[56] Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* ed. Baḥr al-'Ulūm, 32; ed. Eustache, 133.

[57] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:943; this observation was recorded in his account of Sha'bān 838.

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These coins should be tokens—the commodity value should be less than the monetary value, which thus requires that the state authorities should monopolize the issue of base metal coinage and guarantee its exchange with precious metal coins. Finally, the quantity of coins in circulation should be limited to the needs of the economy—determining this need was the most difficult problem to solve.[58] That al-Maqrīzī did not resolve the issue is not the concern here; rather, it is his effort to marshal the foundation for an economic prescription that warrants our attention.

Al-Maqrīzī organized the *Shudhūr* in such a way as to bring together two moments in Islamic monetary history for comparison of their respective *faḍā'il*. The bulk of the ″monetary hadith″ discussed in the *Ighāthah*′s section on money are found also in the *Shudhūr*. However, the central section of the *Shudhūr,* given the heading *Waṣl,* connects his historical account to his last section *(Faṣl)* where he makes his recommendations concerning copper money *(wa-ammā al-fulūs . . .).*[59] The two moments are the issue of the dirhams issued by the Umayyad Caliph ʻAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān and their three merits, which he had cited in the *Ighāthah,* but where, unlike his discussion in the *Ighāthah,* his history of Islamic coinage begins, and the issue of dirhams by the Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh and their *six* merits, where his account of Egyptian money ends. He managed to present the merits of Shaykh′s silver so as to double those of ʻAbd al-Malik by being slightly redundant: first, they conform to the *sunnah* of the Prophet; second, they follow the way of the believers in following the example of the Rāshidūn caliphs; third, they do not follow the way of the corrupt; fourth, they avoid the avarice of this world; fifth, they put an end to cheating; and sixth, they conform to the counsel of God and the Prophet.[60] For al-Maqrīzī, Shaykh′s minting of silver coins in 818 was the culmination of his discussion of money in Egypt since they provided a legally prescribed basis for the regime′s monetary system. Gold was not an issue; rather the issue was the presence of an illegal tender that was displacing the rightful role of silver.

In the *Ighāthah*, al-Maqrīzī had simply assumed that, given the proper supply of silver, people would naturally measure value according to gold and silver. In the *Shudhūr,* he explained his revised view:

> My astonishment was great that these Mu'ayyadī dirhams, which had the importance and merit that we have previously described,

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[58]Carlo Cipolla, ″The Big Problem of the Petty Coins,″ in *Money, Prices, and Civilization in the Mediterranean World* (Princeton, 1956), 27, 31.

[59]Eustache translates *waṣl* as *transition;* p. 132.

[60]Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* ed. Baḥr al-ʻUlūm, 33–34; ed. Eustache, 133, 135.

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> and our master the sultan having the power and the glory well-known to all, nevertheless, [simply] supplemented [the *fulūs*] and were counted according to the *fulūs* which God most high never made legal tender.[61]

He ended this statement by concluding that ″The [coinage that] should supplement (i.e., copper) was supplemented [by silver].″ In other words, the legally prescribed status of silver was perverted; what should have been a foundation of the monetary system became simply an accessory to the system. Mu'ayyadī dirhams, counted in terms of *fulūs,* were thus relegated to a subsidiary coinage. By expressing his astonishment, al-Maqrīzī acknowledged that the mere re-introduction of a silver coinage into circulation was an inadequate measure in itself to solve the monetary situation.

To remedy this unacceptable state of affairs, he made the plea: ″O God! Inspire our master the sultan with the beneficence of the noble mission to scorn that his currency should supplement others and [rather] that his currency should make other currencies supplement it.″[62] Al-Maqrīzī had recommended in the *Ighāthah* ″to link the value of goods and of all [types of] work either to the dinar or to minted silver.″[63] In the *Shudhūr,* al-Maqrīzī made his recommendation to the sultan more explicit: ″to issue a whole decree to our masters the chief judges—God strengthen their religion—that they require the notaries to write land registers, building contracts, marriage contracts, and loan documents only in dirhams.″ He also recommended that the judges be directed to require that the *muḥtasib* enforce market transactions in dirhams and that government finances be counted in terms of silver currency.[64]

What to do about the copper coinage? In his account of the events of 806 in the *Ighāthah,* he associates the importation of copper with Maḥmūd ibn 'Alī's greed for profits. In the *Shudhūr,* aside from his remarks about Maḥmūd ibn 'Alī, he also observed that:

> the Franks undertook the transport of copper wanting to profit from it. The striking of *fulūs* continued for a number of years and the Franks took the dirhams of Egypt to their lands and the people here melted down the copper in demand for profit until it increased in price so that it was on the verge of being a legally valid [money].

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[61] Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* ed. Baḥr al-'Ulūm, 34; ed. Eustache, 135.

[62] Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* ed. Baḥr al-'Ulūm, 35; ed. Eustache, 135.

[63] Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 82–83; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 83.

[64] Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* ed. Baḥr al-'Ulūm, 35–36; ed. Eustache, 135, 137.

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> The *fulūs* circulated to the degree that all goods were valued in it. It came to be said that the dinar was worth so many *fulūs*.[65]

In the *Shudhūr* he justified the importation of copper, the matter that had troubled him so much in the *Ighāthah*. His uncertainty betrays some hesitance in the matter but it would seem that, in principle, the importation of copper did not pose a danger: ″It is hoped that God would eliminate this [period of] destitution with the beneficence of the noble mission (of minting silver coins) and,″ he continued,

> I hope—God willing—that the state of affairs would be alleviated [because] if one considers the disks of red copper imported from the land of the Franks, the price of a *qinṭār* of it, and the price of the *qinṭār* is added to the sum of what one spends on it at the mint until it becomes copper money. If that is known, one knows how much one spends for each dinar of copper coinage and if one knows how much each dinar of it is, one knows how much each Mu'ayyadī dirham is. And in this there is an honorable transaction *(shay' sharīf)*[66] . . . if this copper coinage is struck it becomes the currency of the people which is the Mu'ayyadī silver dirham and the Mu'ayyadī copper *fulūs.*″[67]

Al-Maqrīzī seems not to have been aware of the importance of regulating the quantity of copper money in circulation. To be sure, he had observed that the excess production of copper in the 790s led to the crisis of 806 but for him the greater problem was the loss of silver coinage. The implication of his hope, quoted above, was that if the minting was carried out at cost—without taking a profit—then all would be well. That is to say that normal demand would be sufficient to allow the authorities ″to control the quantity of petty coins in circulation.″[68] Thus the re-institution of silver coinage in 818 was the first part of the solution, what was required then was its use as a measure of value. What he did not fully grasp was the relationship between the two. His assumption that silver would ″absorb,″ or be supplemented by, copper, becoming the primary means of monetary measure, was a view that was not tenable.

Was al-Maqrīzī´s advice heeded? This is a difficult problem to address since official wages and prices might not be measured in the same units of value. Wage

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[65] Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* ed. Baḥr al-'Ulūm, 39; ed. Eustache, 141.

[66] Some manuscript versions read *sirr sharīf;* ed. Baḥr al-'Ulūm, 40; ed. Eustache, 141, n. 260.

[67] Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* ed. Baḥr al-'Ulūm, 40; ed. Eustache, 141.

[68] Cipolla, ″Big Problem,″ 33.

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data from *waqfīyāt* from the reign of Shaykh are sparse, but indicate that up until 818 values were measured in *dirham fulūs* while those after, and until the succeeding reign (al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad II ibn Shaykh [824/1421]), were measured in half dirhams *(niṣf dirham)*. This aspect of the problem requires further examination.[69]

Conclusion: Al-Maqrīzī's Economic History

To the extent that the *Ighāthah* and the *Shudhūr* were written for particular authorities, the essence of the two works lies in their function as advice literature to ensure the legal conduct of monetary affairs in 808 and a decade or so later. al-Maqrīzī expressed his reasoning and recommendations in terms of the discourse of hadith and *faḍīlah*. Correct economic, and particularly monetary, policy rested on sound religious teaching. However, the scope of these two works, historical in approach but not histories per se, is far wider. The question arises, what was the impact of his economic views—historically grounded as they were—on his ideas about history?

Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid has pointed out the significance of 806 in his introduction to the *musawwadah* of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*.[70] The crisis of 806 manifested itself in a number of ways—the collapse of markets, religious institutions, and other urban features—all of these, al-Maqrīzī wrote, were due to the economic crisis. Indeed, the *Khiṭaṭ* was to include, according to the Būlāq edition's introduction (which I believe is not precisely datable), a chapter on the causes of the ruin of Egypt, which if it followed the approach taken in other parts of the *Khiṭaṭ,* would have associated signs of economic hard times with the monetary crisis of 806. The finality of the crisis of 806 as depicted in parts of the *Khiṭaṭ* is matched by its depiction in the *Ighāthah.* Sayyid has suggested that the *Ighāthah* may be taken as the fulfillment of the intention he expressed in the introduction to the *Khiṭaṭ*.[71]

However, in the *Shudhūr,* Egypt's problem was not economic ruination. Historians of Cairo, most recently André Raymond in his history of the city, have noted Cairo's re-growth from the teens of the fifteenth century, both in the center as well as in Būlāq—perhaps not to previous levels, but growth nevertheless.[72] Al-Maqrīzī's implicit recognition of these developments, reported in the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* as well as the *Khiṭaṭ,* might suggest why he never completed the *Khiṭaṭ*'s chapter on ruin. It would then seem likely that al-Maqrīzī advocated this explanation

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[69]This data comes from one source. See Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam* (Cambridge, 2000), 131.

[70]Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, "Muqaddimah," in *Musawwadat Kitāb Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār,* ed Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (London, 1995/1416), 65–66.

[71]Ibid.

[72]André Raymond, *Cairo*, trans. Willard Wood (Cambridge, 2000), 171–88.

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for Egypt′s ruin in the years between the writing of the *Ighāthah* in 808 and his recognition of a rather more stable economic situation in Egypt after Shaykh′s minting of silver coin in 818. By the end of Shaykh′s rule the economic history of Egypt must have appeared to him to be more complex than it had appeared in 806, involving instead the waning and waxing of economic fortune. In this light, these two texts may be read as an attempt to achieve a conceptual framework—a kind of economic *Muqaddimah*—for the history of Egypt. Of course, although the two books do not achieve the grand vision of Ibn Khaldūn′s masterpiece, they nevertheless represent an attempt to understand the role of the economy in Egypt′s history.

At a broader level, while in these two books al-Maqrīzī has provided us with insight into his views of the economy and of the state′s role in managing the economy, the *Ighāthah* and the *Shudhūr* also provide us with considerably more insight into his views on the practice of history. History was a means to remedy the ills of the age, whether by means of the exhortation of the market inspector to save the community or the pearls of instruction offered by the princely advisor. In either case, by no means was al-Maqrīzī an impartial observer of the economic past; these two books make arguments about issues of immediate concern. What about his other, longer historical works? The *Khiṭaṭ,* it would seem, made an argument that was never completed. But this characteristic—the lack of impartiality—should not be considered so much a personal foible rather than a salient feature of the historiography of the age. Tarif Khalidi has argued that this era was dominated by a historiography of politics. Moreover, history was no longer written as entertainment, but rather ″as a moral sermon.″[73] Even after al-Maqrīzī′s retreat from public service, he continued to act as *muḥtasib,* offering advice by means of his historical work. After all, history properly understood should always provide the lessons for correct action. Consequently, the boundaries between advice and history become blurred. Al-Maqrīzī, like his contemporaries, was at root captivated by political power and saw his role as a historian to engage in the field of power, not with the weapons of war as the Mamluks were trained to do, but rather with the ultimately more durable weapons of religious learning and knowledge of the community′s past.

[73]Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Age* (Cambridge, 1994), chap. 5, ″History and *Siyasa,*″ 216.

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A Comparison of al-Maqrīzī and al-'Aynī as Historians of Contemporary Events

My paper was written on the assumption that the aim of a conference on the legacy of al-Maqrīzī is to put him in his proper place. Such a goal may well involve demoting him from the lofty heights to which some of our scholarly forebears have raised him, but may well not. There can be no doubt, however, that several eminent scholars of a generation or two ago were lavish in their praise. Philip Hitti, for example, announced that ″beyond doubt the most eminent of the Mamluk historians″ was al-Maqrīzī.″ Of *Al-Khiṭaṭ* A. R. Guest writes that al-Maqrīzī

> has accumulated and reduced to a certain amount of order a large amount of information that would, but for him, have passed into oblivion. He is generally painstaking and accurate, and always resorts to contemporary evidence if it is available . Also he has a pleasant and lucid style, and writes without bias and apparently with distinguished impartiality.[1]

To this latter tribute, the translator, R. J. C. Broadhurst, adds that these words ″can equally be applied to the *Sulūk*."[2] The views of these Western scholars were shared, and magnified, by Arab academicians, most prominently M. M. Ziyādah, editor of the *Sulūk,* which he declared ″deserves without dispute to occupy the first place among the historical works of his era.″[3] Furthermore, al-Maqrīzī himself, according to Ziyādah, ″was indisputably in the forefront of the Egyptian historians in the first half of the ninth century *hijrī*.″[4] ″Sufficient proof of this,″ Ziyādah goes on, is the fact that Ibn Taghrībirdī and al-Sakhāwī were his students. Two other contemporaries, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī and al-'Aynī, are disqualified from the first prize, he says,″because they did not devote themselves fully to history as

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[1]Both quotes cited by R. J. C. Broadhurst, *A History of the Ayyūbid Sultans of Egypt* (Boston, 1980), xvi–xvii.

[2]Ibid., xvii.

[3]*Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1934), 1:*waw*.

[4]Ibid.

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al-Maqrīzī did, but were traditionists more than historians.″[5] Recently, in a typically stimulating and nuanced article, Ulrich Haarmann compares al-Maqrīzī, who ″has always, rightly or not, been held in highest esteem for his precision, factualness and learnedness,″ with his ″sloppy″ and ″not very smart″ disciple, Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī, who nevertheless may have been a ″′truer′ witness to his time than the sober, maybe even impeccable, yet in his way inevitably also myopic al-Maqrīzī?″[6]

But in the same volume of conference papers in which Haarmann′s paper was published, Amalia Levanoni takes al-Maqrīzī to task for his inaccuracy in the presentation of facts and interpretations, particularly regarding the supremacy of the Circassians under Barqūq and his successors. In this respect she echoes Ibn Taghrībirdī′s judgment of al-Maqrīzī′s shortcomings as a historian ″′with his known nonconformities every now and then.′″[7] Be that as it may, she concedes that Ibn Taghrībirdī stressed ″al-Maqrīzī′s original contribution to history . . . [saying that he] ′did not stop to be an accurate and careful observer of the events and history until his death. . . .′″ Further, Levanoni acknowledges that al-Maqrīzī ″gained fame as an historian of considerable authority in the scholarly circles of his own time. . . .″[8] More fully, Ibn Taghrībirdī states, in Popper′s translation quoted by Anne F. Broadbridge:

> . . . Shaikh Taqī ad-Dīn (God have mercy on him) had certain aberrations for which he was well known, though he is to be forgiven for this; for he was one of those whom we have met who were perfect in their calling; he was the historian of his time whom no one could come near; I say this despite my knowledge of the learned historians who were his contemporaries. . . .[9]

Ibn Taghrībirdī goes on to say that al-Maqrīzī lost his status when Barqūq died and he failed to receive the patronage of subsequent sultans, ″so he on his part took to registering their iniquities and infamies. . . .″[10]

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[5]Ibid.

[6]″Al-Maqrīzī, the Master and Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī, the Disciple—Whose Historical Writing Can Claim More Topicality and Modernity?″ in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800),* ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden, 2001), 151.

[7]″Al-Maqrīzī′s Account of the Transition from Turkish to Circassian Mamluk Sultanate: History in the Service of Faith,″ in Kennedy, *Historiography,* 101–2.

[8]Ibid., 93–94.

[9]″Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: al-ʻAynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 92.

[10]Ibid., 93.

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Finally, if you will indulge me in citing myself, in my salad days I proved, to my own satisfaction at least, that for the Bahri period al-Maqrīzī was not as faithful or full a recorder of his sources, which he rarely named, as was his contemporary, al-'Aynī, who did. More trenchantly, David Ayalon demonstrated that al-Maqrīzī egregiously misrepresented al-'Umarī and thereby, in my own paraphrase, ″inflated and distorted the influence of Mongol law on Mamlūk administrative justice.″[11] More judiciously, I concluded that

> [u]nfortunately, until such time as the contemporary annals of *al-Sulūk* have been compared with those of other historians, especially of al-'Aynī, al-Maqrīzī′s significance as a historian will remain as a compiler and preserver of the work of others.[12]

Which brings me, almost, to the subject of this paper. First, however, let it be noted that such comparative study has already begun with the publication of an article by Irmeli Perho on ″Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī as Historians of Contemporary Events.″[13] Perho argues that the former′s background as a scholar and the latter′s as one of the *awlād al-nās* are evident in their attitudes toward events involving the common people. As the son of a mamluk Ibn Taghrībirdī shows practically no interest in the *'āmmah* at all, whereas the scholarly civilian al-Maqrīzī occasionally shared and reported the hardships of the commoners.[14]

This distinction does not obtain in the present case, for both al-Maqrīzī and al-'Aynī were scholar bureaucrats of substantial though aberrant rank in Mamluk judicial positions, as has been documented recently by Broadbridge.[15] The main differences are, one, that al-Maqrīzī was a native Egyptian while al-'Aynī, being from 'Ayntāb in northern Syria, was not; two, al-'Aynī capitalized on his fluent knowledge of Turkish to maintain the patronage of more than one Mamluk sultan (al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, al-Ẓāhir Ṭaṭar, and Barsbāy) as a history teacher, ambassador, unofficial advisor, and biographer (granted, al-Maqrīzī also enjoyed the patronage and friendship of two sultans—Barqūq and Faraj); and, three, al-'Aynī remained in public service until two years before his death in 855/1451, while al-Maqrīzī took early retirement around 820/1417, as is well known, having ″decided to give

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[11]Little, ″Historiography of the Ayyūbid and Mamluk Epochs,″ in *The Cambridge History of Egypt,* vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517,* ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 437, referring to Ayalon, ″The Great *Yāsā* of Chingiz Khān: A Re-examination: Al-Maqrīzī′s Passage on the *Yāsā* under the Mamlūks,″ *Studia Islamica* 38 (1973): 121–23.

[12]Little, ″Historiography of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Epochs,″ 437.

[13]In Kennedy, *Historiography,* 107–20.

[14]Ibid., 112.

[15]″Academic Rivalry,″ 85–107.

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up an unsatisfactory public career and devote himself full-time to historical scholarship (instead of part-time as he had done before)."[16]

That being said, I shall now turn to what our German colleagues refer to as a *Stichprobe,* which means, quite simply, a random sample, in which I shall compare the annals of one year 824/1421 from al-Maqrīzī and al-'Aynī. True to the spirit of *Stichprobe,* my selection of this particular year has been truly random, if not arbitrary, and I would be the first to concede that comparison of other annals might yield different results. In any case 824 was a pregnant year for historians if only because it gave birth to the reigns of two sultans after the death of al-Malik Mu'ayyad Shaykh at the beginning of the year, which allowed our historians to descant on the merits and defects of their reigns from their different vantage points. As al-'Aynī himself points out, it was an unusual occurrence that there were four sultans in this year: al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad; al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, his son; al-Malik al-Ẓāhir [Ṭaṭar]; and his son, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ.[17] It should also be pointed out that this is the annal of a partial edition of al-'Aynī's contemporary annals, which covers only the years 825–50/1421–47. The author died, out of favor, in 855/1451, nine years after the death of al-Maqrīzī in 845/1442. Limited though my efforts may be, I hope that I am taking a tentative step in the right direction toward characterizing al-Maqrīzī as a historian of the events of his own lifetime by comparing him with his contemporary, al-'Aynī, and, of course, vice versa. To lend a bit of structure to this undertaking I shall adopt as criteria of comparison the following: format, number and types of events and obituaries recorded, sources, style, and attitudes. If in so doing I betray an old-fashioned approach to historiographical studies, so be it.

Al-Maqrīzī, having left his ten years' residence in Damascus as teacher and financial administrator around 1417, returned to Cairo as a free-lancer, as far as we know, and stayed there until his sojourn in Mecca in 833/1430. While al-Maqrīzī, according to Ziyādah, was "without work or position,"[18] al-'Aynī, also in Cairo, was flourishing. A boon companion to al-Mu'ayyad, this sultan reappointed him as

> *nāẓir al-aḥbās,* a post he was to hold—except for a few brief periods—until 853/1449. Al-'Aynī's fluency in Turkish was a distinct asset, which he used to his advantage, for in addition to

[16]Franz Rosenthal, "Al-Maḳrīzī," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 6:193.

[17]*'Iqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* ed. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūṭ (Cairo, 1989), 166.

[18]Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah, *Al-Mu'arrikhūn fī Miṣr fī al-Qarn al-Khāmis 'Ashar al-Mīlādī, al-Qarn al-Tāsi' al-Hijrī* (Cairo, 1954), 9.

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> academic and financial appointments, al-Mu'ayyad made the 'Ayntābī native his ambassador to the Qaramanids at Konya in 823/1420.[19]

During the short reign of al-Mu'ayyad's successor, Ṭaṭar, al-'Aynī's career improved "and reached its height during the reign of Barsbāy."[20] How were these discrepancies in material circumstances reflected in the two authors' works, if at all?

Before we try to answer that question of subjective attitudes, let us look first to the external forms of their chronicles. Both are cast in the familiar form of annals followed by obituaries. Though they are of about the same length, *Al-Sulūk* covers substantially more events than does *'Iqd*. Both, to be sure, record with more or less the same details the major political events in Egypt and Syria involved in the machinations occasioned by the death of two sultans and the selection and installation of their successors. But perhaps it was in part al-Maqrīzī's obsession with dates and chronology that led him to include events that al-'Aynī did not. Or maybe al-Maqrīzī's state of unemployment left him with time on his hands, which he killed by writing about as many events as possible, whereas the busy bureaucrat and boon companion al-'Aynī had to focus on essentials in the spare time he could devote to his writing? In any case, 824 in the *Sulūk* is a month-by-month, day-by-day diary of events.[21] Al-Maqrīzī tells us the name of the day on which each month begins and sometimes gives the corresponding date in the Coptic calendar when that is significant—the flood of the Nile, for instance. The demands of chronology are ignored only at the beginning and the end of the annal. The year starts with a list of the principal officers of state both in Egypt and in the provinces and ends with undated happenings such as the wars in al-Andalus which had reached the author's attention during this year. The format of *'Iqd al-Jumān* is similar: its annal also begins with a list of members of the ruling circles, virtually the same and in the same order, in fact, as al-Maqrīzī's, and ends with undated events—in this case a report on the prices of commodities and currencies of the year, plus mention of the annual hajj and the flooding of the Nile, but not the wars in Spain. In the middle, al-'Aynī also follows a chronological path, complete with dates but less ostentatiously, without al-Maqrīzī's meticulous detail. Speaking of dates, I should point out that quite often the two versions are out of kilter by a day or two. Why? Is one historian more accurate in this respect than another? Given al-Maqrīzī's preoccupation with dates, we might expect him to be careful in recording them, but obsessions are no guarantee of precision, I would submit.

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[19]Broadbridge, "Academic Rivalry," 94.

[20]Ibid., 95.

[21]*Al-Sulūk,* ed. Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr (Cairo, 1972), 4: 547–600.

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Frankly, I do not know how to set a test for accuracy without recourse to independent contemporary sources if available. The most important question is are these minor discrepancies of any significance. I doubt it.

Chronology is also the key to al-Maqrīzī's organization of his obituaries.[22] Brief notices of the lives of sixteen notables are arranged in strictly chronological order according to the specified date of death. Sultans and amirs are mixed with *muḥtasib*s and qadis. Even a physician of Jewish descent finds his way into the obituaries, between an amir and a *muḥtasib*. Al-ʻAynī covers only eleven individuals,[23] two of whom are not mentioned by al-Maqrīzī. Ignoring dates for the most part, al-ʻAynī follows a hierarchical order, beginning with sultans, followed by amirs and a judge. He does not bother with *muḥtasib*s, the physician, or the ruler of Rūm. It is interesting that both authors make similar comments about some of the deceased. For example, both observe that al-Amīr Faraj was handsome; according to al-Maqrīzī, his good looks account for his favor with al-Mu'ayyad.[24] Al-ʻAynī adds that he was ″a succulent youth *(shābb ṭārī)*.″[25] Both characterize al-Amīr Badr al-Dīn al-Ṭarābulsī as a tyrant who deserved the punishment and execution he received from al-Mu'ayyad and Ṭaṭar, but both give details not mentioned by the other: al-Maqrīzī, that he was the son of a Muslimānī;[26] al-ʻAynī, that he was ″stupid and foolhardy *(aḥmaq ahwaj)*."[27] In any event it would be difficult, but not impossible, to argue on the basis of rare textual similarities that either historian was indebted to the work of the other. Be that as it may, al-ʻAynī's editor, writing from a wider perspective than a single annal, remarks that ″al-ʻAynī frequently followed al-Maqrīzī in the *Sulūk* and refutes him without mentioning him by name.″ In fact, a specific example is cited in which al-ʻAynī brands ″a certain historian,″ i.e., al-Maqrīzī, as a liar on two counts.[28]

As far as sources are concerned, al-Maqrīzī names none, not one, as was indeed his practice for the annals preceding his lifetime. Al-ʻAynī cites only one source—the sultan Mu'ayyad himself—twice for information on which the sultan had first-hand knowledge.[29] On another occasion, moreover, he writes in the first person to say that al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ṭaṭar ″had instructed him to cast into the language of the Turks *Kitāb al-Qudūrī fī Fiqh al-Imām Abī al-Ḥanīfah,* may God

[22]Ibid., 4:597–600.
[23]*ʻIqd,* 166–71.
[24]*Al-Sulūk*, 4:597.
[25]*ʻIqd,* 167.
[26]*Al-Sulūk,* 4:598.
[27]*ʻIqd,* 168.
[28]Ibid., 28.
[29]Ibid., 101, 168.

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be pleased with him, with no changes in meaning or alteration in its chapters."[30] But al-'Aynī's intimacy with sultans is well known if only because he wrote biographies of three of them, including al-Mu'ayyad and Ṭaṭar, plus Barsbāy—all three his contemporaries.

Which brings us to the respective attitudes of the two historians toward the events and personalities of 824. Being highly placed in the corridors of power, al-'Aynī can scarcely be expected to be very critical of the reigns of his patrons. In general, he adopts a formal and correct stance toward the complex and volatile affairs of state. For example, despite the fact that al-Mu'ayyad's successor as sultan, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad, was an infant less than two years old, al-'Aynī persists in pretending that he was in charge of affairs as long as he held the title of sultan, even though Ṭaṭar was acclaimed as Niẓām al-Mulk wa-al-Mutaḥaddith from an early date.[31] Thus when Ṭaṭar decided to put Syrian affairs in order, al-'Aynī tells us that on the 19th of Rabī' al-Awwal, al-Sulṭān al-Muẓaffar marched out, and with him were Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭaṭar and the troops . . .; "on 19 Jumādá al-Ūlá a group of 500 Syrian troops came to the sultan in Gaza . . .; on 20 Jumādá al-Ākhirah the troops accompanying al-Muẓaffar set out for Aleppo . . .;" on 3 Sha'bān "the sultan and al-Amīr Ṭaṭar set out with the victorious troops from Aleppo, headed for Damascus."[32] Free from the necessity to observe the niceties of protocol and naming the sultan first, al-Maqrīzī is more likely to reverse the order and refer first to the real holder of power, Ṭaṭar, accompanied by the sultan, or even "Ṭaṭar and those with him."[33]

More substantively, al-'Aynī's interest in keeping up appearances is also evident from the way he describes the transference of power from one sultan to another, emphasizing that all the legal niceties of installing a new sultan were observed. Thus, before al-Mu'ayyad had even been prepared for burial, al-'Aynī reports that

> Al-Amīr Ṭaṭar, *amīr majlis,* proceeded to assemble the judges, the caliph, and all other *ahl al-ḥall wa-al-'aqd.* They sent for al-Mu'ayyad's son from his mother. He is called Aḥmad, and his age is one year and seven months. They contracted the sultanate for him, giving him the title of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar. The amirs kissed the ground before him.[34]

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[30]Ibid., 157.

[31]Ibid., 121.

[32]Ibid., 136, 138, 142, 144.

[33]*Al-Sulūk,* 4: 576, 577, 579, 580.

[34]*'Iqd*, 117.

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Although al-Maqrīzī conveys much the same information, his account is both more precise in some respects but general and, at the same time, almost folksy in others:

> He was installed in the sultanate on the day his father died, at twenty minutes past midday, Monday, 9 Muḥarram 824, his age being one year, eight months, and seven days. He was mounted on a horse from Bāb al-Sitārah, and he cried as he was led all the way to the castle where the amirs, the judges, and the caliph kissed the ground before him. They gave him the title al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Abū al-Saʻādāt.[35]

However poignant the sight of a bawling sultan may be, it does not find its way into al-ʻAynī´s sober account. If, after all, al-ʻAynī was intent on presenting the legitimacy of the new sultanate, why should he call attention to the tearful inadequacies of the baby sultan? If, on the other hand, al-Maqrīzī was not happy with this turn of events, why should he not call attention to its fatuity? A difference is also apparent in the two historians´ versions of the installation of Ṭaṭar as sultan some eight months later. Al-Maqrīzī comments bluntly that after arresting and/or executing his perceived enemies, ″Ṭaṭar decided to depose al-Muẓaffar from the sultanate . . . and sat on the throne of monarchy in the Damascus citadel on Friday, 29 Sha'bān 824, corresponding to Nawrūz of the Copts of Egypt.″[36]

In contrast, al-ʻAynī takes considerable pains to set the action in an ameliorative context, explaining that a severe sickness had overtaken Ṭaṭar on the march from Aleppo to Damascus, and this gave rise to rumors of possible sedition and even an assassination attempt.[37] It was clearly in response to this threat that Ṭaṭar took action against his enemies and assumed the sultanate for himself. Primly, al-ʻAynī makes no mention of the deposition of the infant Aḥmad but gives a (discrepant) date of Ṭaṭar´s accession, complete with an assembly of *ahl al-ḥall wa-al-ʻaqd* and their conferral of a black caliphal robe of honor upon him.[38]

And yet, all is not so clear cut and simple, for al-Maqrīzī goes to some lengths to demonstrate the legitimacy of Ṭaṭar´s status as spokesman for the infant sultan. In the presence of the chief qadis, amirs, functionaries, and Royal Mamluks, Ṭaṭar declared that given the dissatisfaction of the Syrian amirs, ″it is necessary to have a ruler *(ḥākim)* to take charge of the management of the affairs of the people.″

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[35] *Al-Sulūk,* 4:563.

[36] Ibid., 581–82.

[37] *ʻIqd,* 143–46.

[38] Ibid., 147.

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Those present proclaimed, ″″We want you!″″ at which point ″the caliph delegated all the affairs of the subjects to al-Amīr al-Kabīr Ṭaṭar . . . except the title of sultan, prayers for him from the pulpit, and striking his name on dinars and dirhams, all three of which were reserved to al-Malik al-Muẓaffar.″ These steps were certified by the four chief justices and the amirs swore allegiance to him. All this, al-Maqrīzī explains, was because a fellow Hanafi jurist had advised Ṭaṭar that ″if a sultan was a minor and the power-elite *(ahl al-shawkah)* agreed that a imam should be installed to act as spokesman until he reached majority. . . .″ [39] Curiously, al-'Aynī does not mention this episode in extenuation of Ṭaṭar's action.

Nevertheless, there is clear evidence of al-Maqrīzī's attempt to spin the official version of events as presented by al-'Aynī in their biographies of sultans, most blatantly those of al-Mu'ayyad and, in a later annal, Barsbāy.[40] Al-Maqrīzī's sketch of al-Mu'ayyad is short and very much to the point. It begins in a moderate and judicious vein, conceding full credit to the sultan's virtues:

> He was more than fifty when he died, having reigned eight years, five months, and eight days. He was brave and bold. Fond of scholars, he used to meet with them, honoring the prophetic law and submitting to it. He did not disapprove if someone who appealed to his jurisdiction went from him to the judges of the *shar';* indeed, he approved of that. But he disapproved of his amirs who opposed judges in their decisions. He was averse to any innovation and sometimes spent the night in devotions.[41]

But then al-Maqrīzī launches into a full-scale diatribe against al-Mu'ayyad, pulling no punches:

> But he was miserly and grasping, stinting even in what he ate; stubborn, cross, envious, with an evil eye, who paraded various reprehensible deeds. Vituperative, dissolute, intimidating, he was mindful of his companions without indulging them. . . . He was the biggest reason for the ruin of Egypt and Syria, thanks to the evils and strife he stirred up while viceroy of Tripoli and Damascus and then by corrupt deeds of injustice and plunder while he was ruler, empowering his followers over the people, forcing them into

[39] *Al-Sulūk,* 4:569–70.

[40] For the latter, see Broadbridge, ″Academic Rivalry,″ 93–94.

[41] *Al-Sulūk,* 4:550.

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> submissiveness, taking what they possessed without impediment of reason or interdiction of religion.[42]

In a spiteful aside, revealing that when al-Mu'ayyad's corpse was being prepared for burial, there was neither towel nor cup to wash and dry the corpse, nor even a sash to hide his genitals, so that the woolen Ṣaʿīdī scarf of one of his slave girls had to be used for this purpose, al-Maqrīzī opines that these circumstances constituted "an exhortation containing the direst of warnings," since the sultan had died rich.[43] Perhaps, it has been suggested, these examples of al-Maqrīzī's spleen may stem from his unemployment and lack of patronage.[44] If that is so, then al-ʿAynī's conventional, temperate, but by no means fawning, biography may well reflect the favor he enjoyed under al-Mu'ayyad. In any case there is no hint of exhortation or warning to be gained in *ʿIqd al-Jumān* from the description of the preparation of his body for burial. Rather, al-ʿAynī focuses on a somewhat clinical explanation of his illnesses, which included "arthritis, retention of urine, diarrhea, and headaches, climaxed by the hiccups which did him in."[45] The ministrations of physicians from Ḥamāh and Iran plus a Jew from Damascus were unavailing. Then al-ʿAynī embarks on a matter-of-fact account of al-Mu'ayyad's ethnic origins and career pattern until he became sultan, whereupon he delivers an appraisal of his character and deeds which, though similar to al-Maqrīzī's, is much less obstreperous:

> He was a resolute and a brave officer, fond of learning and dervishes and good to them. But he was avid in accumulating the goods of this world: he loved money and was not averse to taking bribes, being inclined to pleasure and entertainments. Though not openhanded with money, he gave many alms, especially to scholars and dervishes. He could be impetuous and volatile. Fearsome, he wrote off the Turks.[46]

Striking is the lack of any suggestion from al-ʿAynī that an unscrupulous sultan brought about the ruin of the Mamluk Empire. Even his reservations regarding al-Mu'ayyad's character are offset by a long, detailed list of the public buildings which he had constructed, so that any defects are buried in the details of his

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[42]Ibid., 4:550–51.

[43]Ibid., 555.

[44]Broadbridge, "Academic Rivalry," 93.

[45]*ʿIqd*, 97.

[46]Ibid., 108.

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distinctions at the beginning and end of al-'Aynī's biography.

Finally we should look briefly at any evidence that al-Maqrīzī's, and al-'Aynī's, plebeian origins emerged in concern for the common people in their annals, as suggested, in al-Maqrīzī's case, by Perho, in contrast to Ibn Taghrībirdī's aloofness from the hoi poloi. Well, despite similar backgrounds and again possibly because of their different stations in life in 824 , al-Maqrīzī certainly seems more receptive to the plight of the masses and more inclined to mention them from time to time than al-'Aynī. Thus, although both record the prices of commodities and coinage, only al-Maqrīzī points to the general turmoil, set against the death of the sultan, to which economic and social conditions had deteriorated.[47] More telling of al-Maqrīzī's interest in common folk—women even—is his observation, absent from *'Iqd al-Jumān,* that women were prohibited from holding public obsequies at tombs, despite the fact that wide-spread sickness had resulted in many deaths during this year.[48]

In conclusion, it is difficult to answer the question with which we started, namely, is al-Maqrīzī's status and legacy as a historian enhanced or tarnished in comparison to al-'Aynī as historian of contemporary events. While I have tried to show, on the basis of only one year, that al-'Aynī was a defender and legitimizer of the status quo and that al-Maqrīzī was more critical of it, outspoken and even scathing at times, neither historian is uniformly predictable or, accordingly, rankable. In general I would say that *Al-Sulūk* is invaluable for, one, the candor, sometimes extreme and maybe embittered candor, of al-Maqrīzī's views, in contrast to the sobriety, perhaps even dull moderation, of al-'Aynī's. And, two, al-Maqrīzī's attention to many "minor" events that do not attract al-'Aynī's notice certainly makes his work indispensable. Also, I would suggest that al-Maqrīzī's casual reference to the exhortatory character of a racy anecdote, and the absence of such in al-'Aynī, might deserve further study. I make the final observation that the fortuitously early publication of *Al-Sulūk* and the neglect of *'Iqd al-Jumān* until recently may well have caused distortions in our view of Burji Mamluk history, *pace* Ibn Taghrībirdī, which may, perhaps, be balanced with the publication and study of the rest of al-'Aynī's text.

[47] *Al-Sulūk,* 4:559; *'Iqd,* 165.

[48] *Al-Sulūk,* 4:593.

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Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Khaldūn, Historians of the Unseen

According to Sir Lewis Namier, the great historian of Hanoverian England, ″historians imagine the past and remember the future.″[1] It is evident that Namier intended his paradoxical-seeming dictum to apply to all historians, but there are few, if any, of whom it is more true than of Ibn Khaldūn and his one-time student, al-Maqrīzī. In modern times Ibn Khaldūn has mostly been studied by historians, philosophers, and sociologists. None of those who have picked their way through his *Muqaddimah* seem to have engaged fully with the width and intensity of his interest in divination and the future. A remarkable amount of space in Ibn Khaldūn′s philosophical prolegomena to the study of history is devoted to consideration of divination and the occult sciences more broadly. In general, he took a hard-headed, even hostile view of the occult sciences. Alchemy and astrology were, like philosophy *(falsafah),* part of the *'ulūm al-awā'il* and, as such, inimical to true Islam.

Ibn Khaldūn judged alchemy to be a pernicious kind of sorcery, when it was not simply actual fraud.[2] *Maṭālib,* the occult science of treasure-hunting, was, like alchemy, not a natural way of making a living and the treasure-hunters were, like most of the alchemists, confidence-tricksters who used forged documents and other trumped-up pieces of evidence to prey upon the weak-minded. The section on *maṭālib* is entitled ″Trying to make money from buried and other treasures is not a natural way of making a living.″[3] A great deal of mumbo-jumbo was associated with treasure-hunting and, according to Ibn Khaldūn, this sort of thing was bound to appeal to the Egyptians, as they had a centuries-long attachment to anything to do with sorcery. One only had to look at the confrontation of Moses with the Egyptian sorcerers, as it was related in the Quran, to see that this was so.[4] Again the invocation of the Divine Names for magical purposes was wicked and blasphemous. Ibn Khaldūn was here denouncing the sort of magic set out in

[1]Lewis Namier, *Conflicts: Studies in Contemporary History* (London, 1942), 70.

[2]Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqaddimah,* published by E. Quatremère as *Prolégomènes d'Ebn-Khaldoun,* Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale et autres bibliothèques, vols. 16–18 (Paris, 1858), 18:191–219; idem, *The Muqaddimah: an Introduction to History,* trans. Franz Rosenthal, 2nd ed. (New York and London, 1967), 3:227–46.

[3]Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes*, 17:280–87; idem, *Muqaddimah,* 2:319–26.

[4]*Prolégomènes*, 17:283; *Muqaddimah,* 2:322.

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treatises like the thirteenth-century *Shams al-Ma'ārif,* attributed to al-Būnī (and popular among adherents of the Shadhilī Sufi *ṭarīqah* in Egypt).[5]

But Ibn Khaldūn's main interest was in those occult techniques that seemed to promise knowledge of the future. Here again his approach was hostile and suspicious. What he wanted to affirm was that knowledge of the future was reserved to God alone. However, his hostility to divination was tinged by ambivalence and he was not consistent in his approach to this subject. At times he seems to be saying that knowledge of the future is reserved to divinely guided prophets; at other times he seems to be saying that those who are not divinely guided prophets should not seek to enquire into the future—which is a rather different thing. Moreover, Ibn Khaldūn clearly viewed the subject as of remarkable importance, for he devoted one of the key prefatory discussions of the *Muqaddimah* (the sixth prologue) to an exploration of different ways of knowing the future, including such diverse topics as Prophetic revelation, Sufi meditation, numerology, astrology, and the *zā'irajah*.[6] As a Muslim, Ibn Khaldūn had to accept the authenticity of prophecy and, having done so, he found that the distinction between prophecy and divination was a subtle one. He was particularly interested in the political and historical uses to which divination might be put. Hence his discussion in the sixth prologue of *ḥisāb al-nīm.*[7] *Ḥisāb al-nīm* (it is not known why it was so called) was a kind of *jafr,* or a numerological divination based on the letters in the names of dynasties or rulers, that was used for making political and historical predictions. In medieval times it was widely thought that *ḥisāb al-nīm* had been vouched for by Aristotle in his famous treatise, the *Politics*. However, those who thought this were confusing the *Politics* with the *Sirr al-Asrār,* or *Secreta Secretorum,* an anonymous and immensely popular ragbag of wise maxims, stories, and spells. Ibn Khaldūn, after careful consideration, seems to have rejected the efficacy of *ḥisāb al-nīm,* though his rejection was tinged with ambiguity. The subject had after all attracted the attention of distinguished men. (He also doubted whether it was correct to attribute the *Sirr al-Asrār* to Aristotle.)[8]

When he came to consider such divinatory techniques as catoptromancy,

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[5]*Prolégomènes*, 18:145–46; *Muqaddimah,* 3:180–82.

[6]*Prolégomènes*, 16:165–220; *Muqaddimah,* 1:184–247; cf. Aziz Al-Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldūn, an Essay in Reinterpretation* (London, 1982), 65–68.

[7]*Prolégomènes*, 16:209–13; *Muqaddimah,* 1:234–38.

[8]On the misattribution to Aristotle and Ibn Khaldūn's doubts, see *Muqaddimah,* 1:81–82, note; cf. Dorothee Metlitzki *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England* (New Haven, 1977), 107. On Ibn Khaldūn's ambivalence with regard to the supernatural and miraculous in general, see Armand Abel, "La place des sciences occultes dans la décadence," in *Classicisme et déclin culturel dans l'histoire de l'Islam*, ed. Robert Brunschvig and G. E. von Grunebaum (Paris, 1957), 304–5; Toufic Fahd, *La divination arabe* (Paris, 1987), 45–50.

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geomancy, and divination from entrails, he denied that there was any sound, logical basis for making predictions from these techniques. Nevertheless, he did suggest that such practices might permit their practitioners to allow their minds to drift and, if they were spiritually gifted, their souls might ascend into the realm of the spiritual.[9]

In a later section devoted to astrology, Ibn Khaldūn argued that the boasts of the astrologers were not justified by their results.[10] Another reason for disapproving of astrologers was that their predictions often focused on coming crises and in so doing were liable to provoke civil strife.[11] Yet, when he encountered Tīmūr in Damascus in 1401, he told the would-be world-conqueror that Maghribi soothsayers and saints had predicted his coming. More specifically in 766/1365, astrologers in the western Islamic lands, basing themselves on the impending astrological conjunction of the two highest planets, Saturn and Jupiter—an event that occurred only once every 960 years—had deduced the coming of Tīmūr in 784/1382. Prophecies about the political consequences of this planetary conjunction seem to have originated in Isma'ili circles in North Africa and were originally held to foretell the coming of a Fatimid Mahdi (a possibility that Ibn Khaldūn did not rule out). Only subsequently were the prophecies reapplied to fit the coming of Tīmūr.[12]

Moreover, to stick with Ibn Khaldūn´s belief that the coming of Tīmūr had been foretold, in a lengthy chapter in the *Muqaddimah,* entitled ″Forecasting the future of dynasties and nations, including a discussion of predictions *(malāḥim)* and exposition of the subject called divination *(jafr),*″ he reproduced a lengthy, though fragmentary poem attributed to a Qalandar Sufi, al-Bājarbaqī (d. 724/1324).[13] Al-Bājarbaqī´s poem (which will remind many Western readers of Nostradamus´s *Centuries*) makes obscure prophecies about the future, the obscurity being enhanced by the frequent use of initials or gibberish assemblages of consonants to identify,

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[9]*Prolégomènes,* 16:209; *Muqaddimah,* 1:234.

[10]*Prolégomènes*, 18:220–28; *Muqaddimah,* 3:258–67.

[11]*Prolégomènes*, 18:225; *Muqaddimah,* 3:262–63.

[12]Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Ta'rīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn wa-Riḥlatihi Gharban wa-Sharqan,* ed. Muḥammad ibn Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī (Cairo, 1951), 412–13; idem, *Le voyage d´Occident et d´Orient: autobiographie,* trans. Abdesselam Cheddadi (Paris, 1980), 232–34; cf. Walter J. Fischel, ed. and tr., *Ibn Khaldūn and Tamerlane, Their Historic Meeting in Damascus, 1401 A.D. (803 A.H.): A Study Based on Arabic Manuscripts of Ibn Khaldūn´s "Autobiography," with a Translation into English, and a Commentary* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1952), 35–36, 79–81; idem, *Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt: His Public Functions and His Historical Research* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), 55–57; Yves Marquet, ″Ibn Ḫaldûn et les conjunctions de Saturne et de Jupiter,″ *Studia Islamica* 65 (1987): 91–96; cf. Al-Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldūn,* 26.

[13]*Muqaddimah,* 2:.225–27, 229–31; *Prolégomènes,* 17:197–198, 200–1.

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or perhaps rather to conceal the identity of people and things. One of the fragments runs as follows:

> This is the lamed Kalbite. Be concerned with him!
> In his time there will be disturbances, and what disturbances!
> From the East, the Turkish army will come . . .

And then the warning tails off into more obscure *jafr*. Presumably, the author of this verse was intending to refer to the limping Turk, Tīmūr, and that was how Ibn Khaldūn read it (though why Tīmūr should be associated with the South Arabian tribal grouping of Kalb is a bit of a mystery). Another of the fragments quoted by Ibn Khaldūn is also of interest:

> His father will come to him after an emigration
> And a long absence and a hard and filthy life.

This Ibn Khaldūn took to refer to the Sultan Barqūq and his summoning his father from Circassia to join him in Egypt.

One can, if one wishes, credit al-Bājarbaqī with remarkable powers of prescience, but, of course, it is more likely that the relevant verses were composed after the rise to power of both Tīmūr and Barqūq and falsely dated earlier, in order to confer more prestige on the prophetic verses as a whole. Ibn Khaldūn surmised that this was the case with the Bājarbaqī oeuvre—yet he remained fascinated by the subject and devoted an inordinate amount of space to it. Now Ibn Khaldūn only encountered al-Bājarbaqī′s prophecies after he had arrived in the Mamluk lands in 1382. The bulk of the *Muqaddimah* was written in the late 1370s in Qal‘at Ibn Salāmah in the Oranaise. However, it is important to bear in mind that he continued to expand and revise his work after his arrival in Mamluk Egypt and, as late as 1404, he was still revising his masterwork.[14] This raises the possibility that some of the historians who studied with Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt, such as al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Ḥajar, may conceivably had some influence on the final shape of the *Muqaddimah*. However, intriguing though this notion may be, it will not be pursued further here.

Also while in Egypt, Ibn Khaldūn had heard from learned people of the book of predictions attributed to Ibn al-‘Arabī al-Ḥātimī (not the famous Andalusian Sufi Ibn al-‘Arabī), in which the author ″speaks about the horoscope of the foundation of Cairo.″ If one followed Ibn al-‘Arabī′s somewhat complex calculations, then it

[14]Franz Rosenthal, ″Introduction,″ in *Muqaddimah,* civ–cvii.

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could be deduced that Cairo would be destroyed in 832/1428–29.[15] Ibn Khaldūn relayed the prophecy without comment. However, the fact that this prophecy, like the Bājarbaqī prophecies, as well as another prophecy of Ibn al-'Arabī's concerning an eschatological redeemer of Fatimid descent, were circulating in Cairo in the 1390s suggests the doom-laden atmosphere in which Ibn Khaldūn and al-Maqrīzī thought and wrote. *Malḥamāt,* prophecies concerning the last days and final slaughterings, preoccupied Ibn Khaldūn, just as they had an earlier scholar, Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī. (Ṣafadī wrote a treatise on the subject).

In the latter part of the *Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldūn included a section on *ta'bīr,* or dream interpretation.[16] Dream interpretation was not part of the dodgy corpus of the *'ulūm al-awā'il;* rather it "belongs to the sciences of the religious law."[17] It was clearly possible to divine the future in dreams, for Joseph in the Quran did so. Moreover, the Prophet had declared "A good dream is the forty-sixth part of prophecy." The problem for Ibn Khaldūn was how to distinguish a good dream from a false one, but at the end of his discussion, he concluded that "dream interpretation is a science resplendent with the light of prophecy."

The divination technique that above all others fascinated Ibn Khaldūn involved the use of a device called the *zā'irajah*. He discussed this thing at length in two places in the *Muqaddimah*. In the first place he discussed whether it could validly be used for telling the future. In the second place he went into enormous detail on the mechanics of the *zā'irajah*'s operation, including an operational manual cast in cryptic verse and attributed to al-Sabtī. The *zā'irajah* was a kind of calculating machine, relying on rotating, concentrating circles, marked with devices that combined *ḥurūf* and *jafr*. It bears a curious similarity to Ramon Lull's engine for demonstrating the existence of God and answering all questions, the Ars Magna. Ibn Khaldūn described the *zā'irajah* as "a remarkable technical procedure" and remarked that "Many distinguished people have shown interest in using it for supernatural information. . . ."[18] Despite his fascination with it, he suggested that the machine was incapable of determining the future by supernatural means. Rather the answers it produced were predetermined by the phrasing of the questions that were posed to it. Still Ibn Khaldūn remained fascinated by the device and went into extraordinary detail about its workings. He remonstrated with critics of

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[15] *Prolégomènes*, 17:196; *Muqaddimah,* 2:224.

[16] *Prolégomènes*, 18:80–86; *Muqaddimah,* 3:103–10.

[17] *Prolégomènes*, 18:80; *Muqaddimah,* 3:103.

[18] *Prolégomènes*, 16:213; *Muqaddimah,* 1:239; for the *zā'irajah* generally, see *Prolégomènes*, 16:213–20, 3:146–79; *Muqaddimah,* 1:238–45, 3:182–214; cf. D. M. Dunlop, *Arab Civilization to A.D. 1500* (London, 1971), 243–46; Fahd, *La divination*, 243–45.

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the *zā'irajah* who denounced it as merely hocus-pocus.[19] It also seems, though he expresses himself somewhat obscurely on the topic, he believed that people with mystical training could use the device as a kind of springboard for veridical divination.[20] Through this strange science secrets could indeed be uncovered, though he believed that it would be impious to seek to divine the future through this technique. It also seems that Ibn Khaldūn may have been even more obsessed with the device than he let on in the *Muqaddimah*. Ibn Ḥajar, in his obituary of Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Marrākushī (d. 735), described how this man was obsessed with the *zā'irajah* and how he left his *zā'irajah* to Ibn Khaldūn, who continued to research the topic intensively, though he kept his findings to himself.[21] A North African treatise on the *zā'irajah* quoted an eyewitness to Ibn Khaldūn in 1371 testing the device by asking it how old this particular technique of divination was. The *zā'irajah*'s response was that it was invented by Idrīs (i.e., Hermes) and since then its mystery had ascended to the highest rank. When Ibn Khaldūn got this answer, he was so pleased and excited that he spun and danced on the terrace of his house.[23] It is easy to exaggerate the modernity of Ibn Khaldūn by discounting his flirtations with the supernatural, as well as his intense, though rather conventional piety.

Neither Ibn Khaldūn's knowledge of the past history of the Maghrib and al-Andalus, nor his study of what was to come inspired him with optimism. Referring to the ravages of the Black Death, he wrote that it "was as if the voice of existence in the world had called out for oblivion and restriction, and the world responded to its call. God inherits the earth and whomever is upon it."[23] Ancient ruins testified that a large area of North Africa had once been settled and prosperous, though this was no longer so. Civilization in the region had shrunk: "This fact is attested by relics of civilization there, such as monuments, architectural sculpture, and the visible remains of villages and hamlets."[24] The ruins and abandoned cities of Yemen, Iraq, and Syria similarly testified to the decay of the world. One of the main aims of the *Muqaddimah*—arguably its chief aim—was to explain why there

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[19] *Prolégomènes*, 16:217–18; *Muqaddimah,* 1:243–44.

[20] *Prolégomènes*, 16:217; *Muqaddimah,* 1:243.

[21] Aḥmad ibn 'Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 4 vols. (Hyderabad, 1929–32), 3:376–77. (Note that the man in question is not the famous Andalusian statesman and polygraph, Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb.)

[22] M. Reinaud, "Divination et Histoire Nord-Africaine au temps d'Ibn Khaldun," *Hesperis* 30 (1943): 215.

[23] *Prolégomènes*, 16:52; *Muqaddimah,* 1:64.

[24] *Prolégomènes*, 16:272–73; *Muqaddimah,* 1:304–5.

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were more ruins in North Africa and the Islamic world generally than there were settled habitations.

The Arab race had long ago exhausted itself, and with the exhaustion of the Berbers would come the extinction of Maghribi civilization.[25] Ibn Khaldūn believed that power was moving from the Andalusian clime to the north. As Aziz Al-Azmeh has noted, ″Ibn Khaldūn seems . . . to have had a strong sense that momentous developments were taking place in the North [i.e., in Christian Europe], and surmised that the centre of gravity of human habitation was moving northwards—for which there were (according to him) ample stellar causes, as well as mundane ones he could not quite grasp. The passage is difficult to interpret, as the allusion in it might equally have been to the growing power of the Ottomans, to which there are other vague references in the *Muqaddimah*.″[26]

All of the above serves as a rather lengthy introduction to certain aspects of the historical thinking of al-Maqrīzī. Al-Maqrīzī knew Ibn Khaldūn and he appears to have read at least some of the *Muqaddimah,* but how much did al-Maqrīzī learn from this? Although the only subject that we know al-Maqrīzī formally studied with Ibn Khaldūn was *mīqāt,* the science of time measurement (which was used both for religious and for astrological purposes), it is perfectly clear that al-Maqrīzī was familiar with Ibn Khaldūn´s ideas about history. He gave Ibn Khaldūn a fairly lengthy entry in his biographical dictionary, the *Durar al-ʻUqūd,* in which he was unstinting in his praise of Ibn Khaldūn´s mastery of historiography and most specifically enthusiastic about the *Muqaddimah*.[27] Among other praiseworthy features, ″it reveals the truth of things, events, and news; it explains all the state of the universe and reveals the origin of all beings in an admirable plain style.″ Moreover, at several points in the *Durar,* al-Maqrīzī borrowed from Ibn Khaldūn.[28] Ibn Ḥajar and al-Sakhāwī later quoted al-Maqrīzī on the incomparability of the *Muqaddimah,* though they both had doubts whether the

[25]On this aspect of Ibn Khaldūn´s pessimism, see Abdallah Laroui, *L´histoire du Maghreb: un essai de synthèse* (Paris, 1976), 1:202–3.

[26]Aziz Al-Azmeh, ″Mortal Enemies, Invisible Neighbours: Northerners in Andalusi Eyes,″ in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain,* ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden, 1992), 269. Azmeh is discussing a passage that does not appear in the standard edited text of the *Muqaddimah.* For this text see M'barek Redjala, ″Un texte inédit de la Muqaddima,″ *Arabica* 22 (1975): 321–22; see also *Prolégomènes*, 2:245–46; *Muqaddimah,* 2:281–82 on the greater wealth of Christian merchants and Eastern merchants and how this is attested to by astrology.

[27]Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, ″Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-Aʻyān al-Mufīdah lil-Maqrīzī,″ *Majallat al-Majmaʻ al-ʻIlmī al–ʻIrāqī* 13 (1966): 235.

[28]Nasser O. Rabbat, ″Maqrīzī´s *Khiṭaṭ*, an Egyptian *Lieu de Mémoire,*″ in *The Cairo Heritage: Essays in Honor of Laila Ali Ibrahim,* ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo, 2000), 24.

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book really was as good as al-Maqrīzī cracked it up to be.[29] (Incidentally, composition of *Durar al-'Uqūd* seems to have had a melancholy inspiration, for as al-Maqrīzī noted in the introduction, ″By the time I was fifty most of my friends and acquaintances had perished. . . .″) Ibn Ḥajar sardonically observed that al-Maqrīzī was only so enthusiastic about Ibn Khaldūn because he had not understood him properly. Although al-Maqrīzī was unstinting in his praise of Ibn Khaldūn, the casually arrogant immigrant genius from the Maghrib never troubled to mention the latter at all—neither in the *Muqaddimah,* nor in the *Ta'rīf.*

It is perfectly plausible that al-Maqrīzī learned important lessons from the older historian, but, of course, what modern thinkers, like Arnold Toynbee, Ernest Gellner, and others, have admired in Ibn Khaldūn and taken away from a reading of the *Muqaddimah* may not be the same as what al-Maqrīzī may have learned from his acquaintanceship with the man and the work. Indeed, al-Maqrīzī in the fifteenth century seems to have read a rather different book from the one we read today. But first I would like to draw attention to some obvious contrasts between the two historians. Although the *Muqaddimah* concentrated on broad historical developments and their underlying social and economic causes, when Ibn Khaldūn actually came to write history in the *'Ibar* and, more briefly and scrappily, in the *Ta'rīf,* the results, as many have noted, are disappointing. Ibn Khaldūn mostly wrote a thoroughly conventional narrative history. By contrast, al-Maqrīzī was actually the more theoretical when it came to writing history as opposed to theorizing about it. He did give weight to broad social and economic causes. It is only disappointing that his economic information was so often erroneous and his social analyses skewed by a religious and moralistic perspective.

Secondly, if, as we have seen, Ibn Khaldūn was a rather gloomy historian, al-Maqrīzī was even gloomier. Though Ibn Khaldūn was gloomy about the Maghrib and about the End of the World in general, he actually took a thoroughly upbeat view of life in Cairo, on the peaceful nature of existence in Mamluk Egypt and Syria, and of the dynamic and Islamic virtues of the Mamluks themselves. Ibn Khaldūn presented an essentially false picture of life in Egypt as prosperous and peaceful and free from tribal disputes.[30] In Ibn Khaldūn's eyes, the Mamluks were benign patrons of scholarship and architecture and, above all, they were the saviours of Islam. For al-Maqrīzī, on the other hand, they were ″more lustful than monkeys,

[29]Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1968), 498; cf. M. A. Enan, *Ibn Khaldūn, His Life and Work* (New Delhi, 1979), 98–99.

[30]On Ibn Khaldūn's (unduly rosy) picture of the Mamluk sultanate, see Robert Irwin, ″Rural Feuding and Mamluk Faction Fighting in Medieval Egypt and Syria,″ to be published in *Texts, Documents and Artifacts: Islamic Studies in Honour of D. S. Richards*, ed. Chase F. Robinson (forthcoming 2002). See also Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt,* 78–79, on Ibn Khaldūn's neglect of the great famine in Egypt.

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more ravenous than rats, more harmful than wolves."[31]

Al-Maqrīzī, by contrast preferred to harp on all the disasters that had recently befallen Egypt—most of which, according to the *Ighāthah,* had been caused by the ruling regime's mismanagement and corruption.[32] Notoriously, al-Maqrīzī was nostalgic about the glory days of the Fatimids. He also painted for himself an unduly positive assessment of the condition of Egypt and Syria under the early Bahri Mamluk sultans. Historical nostalgia mingled with personal nostalgia—nostalgia for the time before he lost his only daughter, for the time when he enjoyed the favor of the sultan Barqūq to such an extent that one of his contemporaries described him as the sultan's *nadīm,* for the time when most of his friends were still alive, for the time when one could still buy the sweets he particularly liked in the Cairo market. The flipside of al-Maqrīzī's pervasive nostalgia was, as we shall see, his apprehension about the future.

Thirdly, if al-Maqrīzī was gloomier than Ibn Khaldūn, he was also much loonier—and he was totally uncritical in his embrace of the occult and the prophetic. Al-'Aynī in his brief obituary of al-Maqrīzī accused him of being obsessed with history, yes, but also of being obsessed with *darb al-ramal,* or geomancy.[33] According to al-Sakhāwī, al-Maqrīzī cast Ibn Khaldūn's horoscope and, on the basis of this, predicted that the latter would hold high office. Al-Sakhāwī described al-Maqrīzī as an expert on *zā'irajah,* the astrolabe, geomancy, and *mīqāt* (time-keeping).[34] Al-Maqrīzī was also convinced of the predictive power of dreams. Towards the end of the reign of al-Ashraf Sha'bān an acquaintance of al-Maqrīzī's dreamt of Barqūq as an ape preaching from a *minbar* and unsuccessfully trying to lead the people in prayer. From this he deduced that the dream had predicted the rise of Barqūq, as the Circassian sultan had the qualities of an ape—niggardliness and corruption. Ibn Taghrībirdī thought al-Maqrīzī's interpretation of this quite ridiculous.[35] Incidentally, Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Maqrīzī's student, fan, and historiographical rival, had no time for astrology at all and in the *Nujūm* he repeatedly went out of his way to highlight the failed predictions of the *munajjim.*

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[31]Nasser O. Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden, 1995), 293–94 and note.

[32]Adel Allouche, *Mamluk Economics: A Study and Translation of al-Maqrīzī's* Ighāthah (Salt Lake City, 1994).

[33]Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān*, ed. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūṭ (Cairo, 1985), 2:574.

[34]Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi',* 12 vols. (Cairo, 1934–36), 2:24.

[35]Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* 12 vols. (Cairo, 1929–56), 5:423–24.

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He believed that astrology, like the other *'ulūm al-awā'il,* was doomed to disappear.[36] Moreover, to return to dreams, the narrative of al-Maqrīzī's chronicle, the *Sulūk,* is peppered with accounts of political dreams that came true.[37]

In the *Khiṭaṭ,* al-Maqrīzī wrote that, since the Egyptian people were governed by Gemini, they were especially gifted in predicting the future. He instanced the time when in 791 Barqūq escaped from prison in Kerak in Transjordan and people in the Bayn al-Qasrayn in Cairo knew that very day.[38] It is natural that the *Khiṭaṭ* should have been read primarily as a source on the topography of Cairo and on the history of the Fatimids and Mamluks. However, to do this runs the risk of neglecting entire sections of the *Khiṭaṭ* that offer the modern reader no useful historical information (at least not useful in terms of mainstream historiography). But it is noteworthy that, after some preliminary pious throat-clearing, the *Khiṭaṭ* actually opens with a substantial disquisition on astrology. According to al-Maqrīzī, a grasp of this subject is necessary if the reader is to follow what he is to going to write about later. The familiar great names in Islamic astrology, Abū Ma'shar, al-Bīrūnī, and so on are cited, but al-Maqrīzī's interest was not merely theoretical and, for example, in order to predict the annual rise of the Nile flood, al-Maqrīzī followed a technique set forth by al-Bīrūnī, a method which involved a board and lots of seeds.[39] Most important, al-Maqrīzī believed that the fate of Egypt was foretold in the doom-saying of astrologers—as we shall see.

Al-Maqrīzī's gloomy ponderings on the future of Egypt arose naturally from his imagining of what Egypt's past had been. He knew—or thought he knew—that Egypt had once been a land of fabulous wealth, or rather it had several times been a land of fabulous wealth.[40] First, there had been the wealth of the Pharaohs, both before and after the Flood. Then there was the wealth of Egypt under its Rumi (Greek and Roman) rulers. Then, there was the well-attested wealth of the Fatimid caliphs. It even seemed to al-Maqrīzī that in the early Mamluk period Egypt had been more prosperous than it now was. So the question naturally arose, if, in former times, Egypt had been so very wealthy, where had all that treasure gone? Barqūq's Cairo was after all a dump in al-Maqrīzī's eyes. Ibn Khaldūn, in his

[36]See for examples ibid., 7:220, and note; 7:789–90.

[37]On the literary uses of dreams in chronicles of the Mamluk era written by al-Maqrīzī and others, see Barbara Langer, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Volkskunde Ägyptens nach mamlukischen Quellen* (Berlin, 1983), 70–85.

[38]Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār (al-Khiṭaṭ),* 2 vols. (Cairo, 1853–54), 1:86–87.

[39]Ibid, 1:8–14.

[40]Though the theme is pervasive throughout the *Khiṭaṭ,* al-Maqrīzī devoted a short section specifically to the destruction of the wealth of Egypt (*Khiṭaṭ,* 1:73–74), which contains some characteristically eccentric speculations about fossilized watermelons, cucumbers, and other fruits.

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discussion of treasure-hunting, had asked himself precisely the same question. What had happened to the great wealth of past cultures? The sensible answer, as far as Ibn Khaldūn was concerned, was that those riches had been transferred elsewhere to other more successful cultures. Ancient Egypt's wealth had been plundered, first by the Persians and then by the Greeks.[41] Al-Maqrīzī, who was never so fond of sensible answers, took a somewhat different view.

In his chapter on the *maṭālib* in the *Khiṭaṭ,* al-Maqrīzī wrote about *The Book of Treasures,* or *'Ilm al-Kunūz:* "It is said that the Greeks [i.e., Byzantines] in leaving Egypt and Syria hid most of their treasures, but they wrote down in books where they had hidden those treasures and these books were deposited in a church in Constantinople."[42] Alternatively, according to al-Maqrīzī, the Greeks took older treasure books (presumably dating from Pharaonic times) to the church in Constantinople. Each servant of the church who guarded those valuable texts received one page of where to find treasure as his reward. Ibn Khaldūn took the more sensible view that no one who was hiding treasure would then set about writing out instructions that others could use to find that treasure.[43] However, it was obvious to al-Maqrīzī at least that most of the treasures of antiquity had been hidden here and there all over Egypt. It is worth remembering that he lived in an age of thesaurisation, when viziers and other state functionaries routinely salted away the proceeds of office-holding in hollow columns, hidden cupboards, and holes beneath their courtyards.[44] Al-Maqrīzī actually devoted a whole treatise to hidden treasures, the *Kitāb al-Dhakhā'ir,* which has not survived. However, he also discussed the subject in the *Khiṭaṭ* and he relayed stories that are found in Ibn Waṣīf Shāh, al-Mas'ūdī and al-Murtaḍá, about the treasure-hunting *muṭālibūn,* who ventured into the pyramids and other places.

The pyramids were not merely storehouses of material treasure—of gold, silver, and jewels, but they were also repositories of intellectual treasures. Al-Maqrīzī shared the widely held view that the pyramids were a sort of collection of educational time- capsules that had been built to preserve ancient Egypt's intellectual heritage from a predicted catastrophe (the theme of ecpyrosis). Egypt had once been home to Hermes, or Idrīs, and he taught all the sciences to the inhabitants of the land before the Flood.

According to Ibn Waṣīf Shāh (fl. ca. 1000), the author of a widely credited but quite fantastic history of ancient Egypt, King Surīd had a dream which his counsellors

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[41] *Prolégomènes*, 17:285–86; *Muqaddimah,* 2:324–25.

[42] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 1:71. The section on *maṭālib:* 70–73.

[43] *Prolégomènes*, 17:285; *Muqaddimah,* 2:324.

[44] A *makhba'* was a place in the house designed for the hiding of treasure. See E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 3rd ed. (London, 1896), 16.

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interpreted as a warning of coming catastrophe. Unable to determine whether it would be by fire or by water, they built the pyramids to preserve within them their wisdom in a picture language that people in future centuries would be able to decode and they also drew diagrams on the walls of their temples. Al-Maqrīzī related a series of tales, also found in al-Mas'ūdī, al-Idrīsī, and others, about those who ventured into the pyramids looking for treasure or excitement. Most of these tales had a moralizing burden.[45] One story must have been particularly dear to the author of *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd*. It was related that treasure hunters excavating in the area of the pyramids presented Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn with a jar of ancient pure gold dinars in one of the pyramids and the inscription on the dinars declared in the ancient *barbatī* script ″He who has been able to issue pure currency will be pure in this life and the next.″[46]

The Sphinx was the talismanic guardian that saved Giza from being engulfed by sands. Another factor behind al-Maqrīzī′s engagement with the occult was his fierce patriotism. He wanted to boast about his land and, in order to do so, he invoked it′s *'ajā'ib,* its marvellous temples, talismans, wonder-working pillars, and buried treasures.

Some of the messages that the ancients had transmitted across the centuries were warnings for al-Maqrīzī and his contemporaries. According to al-Maqrīzī, there was once a temple in Ikhmīm, now lost, with pictures and images that recorded the past and future of the world. He was steeped in the writings of the eighth-century Sufi Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī—or at least the writings ascribed to him, for much or all of the occult material is presumably pseudepigrapha. According to al-Maqrīzī, Dhū al-Nūn had succeeded in deciphering a Pharaonic inscription in a temple, presumably in Ikhmīm. The inscription warned its readers, ″Beware of freed slaves, young men, military men become slaves, and Nabataeans who claim that they are Arabs.″[47] (So it would seem that ancient sages had foretold the coming of the Mamluks.)

More conclusively for the pious Muslim, Egypt′s sad fate had been foretold in Prophetic hadiths. Egypt was safe only as long as Iraq was unscathed, according to several hadiths, but according to another hadith, there would come a time when Egypt would be ruined by the overflowing of the Nile and military revolts would break out. According to yet another hadith, Egypt and Basra would become the most desolate of places. Red fighting and dry hunger would ruin Egypt and the

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[45]For al-Maqrīzī on pyramids, see *Khiṭaṭ*, 1:199–216 and cf. 1:53. See also Erich Graefe, ed. and tr., *Das Pyramidenkapitel in al-Makrizi′s "Hitat" nach zwei Berliner unde zwei Münchener Handschriften* (Leipzig, 1911).

[46]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:73.

[47]Ibid, 1:69.

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Nile would dry up. More puzzlingly it had also been foretold that ″when men with yellow flags shall enter Egypt the Syrians shall dig roads under the ground.″ The ″men with yellow flags″ might well be the armies of the Ayyubids or Mamluks (for yellow was the color of their standards), but what is supposed to be going to happen in Syria? Again Egypt should beware when it should be the target of the fourfold blows of the Andalusians, Abyssinians, Turks, and Rumis.[48] And so on… and al-Maqrīzī proceeded from these and numerous other doom-laden prophecies to a description of the ruined situation of al-Fusṭāṭ in his own time.[49]

In the opening pages of the *Khiṭaṭ*, al-Maqrīzī declared that the purpose of the study of history was to warn people and prepare them for departure from mortal life. Also that history was the most important of the sciences ″for it contains warnings and exhortations reminding man that he must quit this world for the next.″ Also, ″through such study, a person whose blindness of heart and vision was removed by God, will learn about the destruction and final disgrace which fell to the lot of his fellow-men after the handling of wealth and power.″ And in a version of the text of the *Khiṭaṭ,* quoted in al-Sakhāwī′s *I′lān*, al-Maqrīzī continued ″and he will come to abstain from this world and to wish for the other world.″[50] His gloomy animadversions on the decline of Egypt under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn and his descendants and the slide to worse yet under the early Circassian sultans should be seen within the broader framework of his historical vision, which encompassed the pre-Adamite sultans, the antediluvian Pharaohs, the Deluge, and the rule of Rome. The *Khiṭaṭ* considers how many centuries have passed since the world was created and how few years yet it and Islam have to endure, before the coming of the Mahdi.[51] Ever since Silvestre de Sacy and his student, Quatremère, historians have stressed al-Maqrīzī′s importance as a historian and it is certainly true that history was his chief interest. However, this stress has been at the expense of al-Maqrīzī′s wider literary and intellectual interests. For, after all, he wrote poetry, as well as treatises on bees, on precious stones, on music, on dogmatics, on the domestic objects in the household of the Prophet, a life of Tamīm al-Dārī, a polemical attack on the followers of Ibn al-′Arabī in Damascus, a biographical dictionary of artists (*The Light of the Lamp and the Answer of Company in Respect of the Annals of Artists),* as well as a treatise on secret letters and talismans.[52] All in all, he claimed to have written more than 200

[48]Ibid, 2:124–26.

[49]Ibid, 2:126–34.

[50]Ibid, 1:3–4; Rosenthal, *History,* 315–16.

[51]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 1:440–53.

[52]Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1949), 1:654. On the treatise on artists, see Thomas Arnold, *Painting in Islam* (Oxford, 1928) 22, 138.

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works. History was at the core of his oeuvre, but occult and eschatological concerns were at the core of his history. It is difficult to be sure what Ibn Khaldūn and al-Maqrīzī talked about when they met, but it is probable that they talked more about knowledge of the future than the past. If Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt succeeded in anything, it was in passing on his pessimism and his speculative interest in the future to al-Maqrīzī.

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Royal Authority, Justice, and Order in Society: The Influence of Ibn Khaldūn on the Writings of al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī

Modern historians of the Ottoman Empire have long been familiar with the decline paradigm, which was espoused by Ottoman intellectuals in the late tenth/sixteenth, eleventh/seventeenth, and twelfth/eighteenth centuries. These intellectuals felt that the empire had undergone a societal, financial, and administrative transformation for the worse. This transformation, or more accurately, decline, was often evaluated unfavorably in the context of previous periods of Ottoman history, especially but not exclusively the reigns of Mehmed I (r. 855–86/1451–81), Selim I (918–26/1512–20), or Suleyman the Magnificent (r. 926–74/1520–66).[1] Ottoman decline theorists tended both to describe society´s ills, and to offer practical advice for curing them. This they did in the *nasihatnamah*s, a new type of advice manual that was peculiar to the Ottoman literary scene.[2] Unlike the older and well-established genre of mirrors-for-princes, which tended to proffer general advice on all aspects of royal behavior, the *nasihatnamah*s were unique in that they presented both descriptions of actual societal decline, and pragmatic programs for the reform of society.

Modern historians writing on the Ottoman Empire took over this model of decline, which resulted in the appearance of scholarly works on Ottoman history arranged according to the notions of rise, apogee, decline, and disintegration. More recently, however, it has been argued that the general hand-wringing about the state of the times and the proliferation of advice manuals written by concerned Ottomans points not, as previously suspected, to an actual state of decline and disarray in matters social, financial, and administrative, but rather to the health and vigor of the Ottoman system. Scholars are still discussing the usefulness of

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[1]Ottoman nostalgia for times past has been described in modern literature as referring to a ″Golden Age.″ For the complexities both of this nostalgia and the Golden Age model, see Cemal Kafedar, ″Ottoman Historical Consciousness in the Post-Sülymânic Age: The Myth of the Golden Age,″ in *Süleymân the Second and His Time,* ed. Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar (Istanbul, 1993), 37–48.

[2]Cornell Fleischer, ″From Şeyhzade Korkud to Mustafa Âli: Cultural Origins of the Ottoman *Nasihatname,*″ in *Third Congress on the Social and Economic History of Turkey: Princeton University, 24–26 August, 1983,* ed. Heath W. Lowry and Ralph S. Hattox (Istanbul, Washington, and Paris, 1990), 67.

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the decline paradigm as a way to understand Ottoman history, but such a discussion is too broad for the scope of this article, and will not be addressed here.[3]

More pertinent to the current venue is the question of the intellectual inspiration for Ottoman decline literature. Many sources played a role in the development of the genre, but only the intellectual contributions of one particular figure will concern us here.[4] The figure in question is the North African scholar Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), whose work served to inspire the *nasihatnamah*s of several important Ottoman decline theorists.[5] Ibn Khaldūn presented a clear analysis of several crucial ideas: the cyclical theory of history with its assumptions about the rise and fall of dynasties; the related comparison of the state to the body with a life cycle of birth, growth, maturity, old age, and death; and the connections among strong royal authority, justice, and an ordered society, with the consequent assumption that weak royal authority led to the spread of injustice and societal disorder.[6] Ibn Khaldūn was not unique in presenting these notions, especially that of the relationship between royal authority and order; indeed, although central to his arguments in the *Muqaddimah,* this concept is in fact recognizable as the ancient political theory of the Circle of Justice, which had already entered the Ottoman intellectual scene in the writings of such thinkers as Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) and Jalāl al-Dīn Davānī (d. 908/1502–3). Like Ibn Khaldūn himself, they drew on the full array of Persian, Greek, and Indian statecraft, all of which helped contribute to the decline genre.[7] Indeed, Ibn Khaldūn was so popular not because his ideas were unique (although some of them were), but rather because he expressed familiar ideas in a systematic and straightforward way.[8] Thus probably during the tenth/sixteenth century and certainly by the eleventh/seventeenth, Ibn Khaldūn had developed a following of well-educated Ottoman admirers, many of whom

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[3]See Cemal Kafadar′s ″The Question of Ottoman Decline,″ *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 4 (1998): 30–75; Cornell Fleischer, ″Royal Authority, Dynastic Cyclism and ′Ibn Khaldûnism′ in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Letters,″ *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 18 (1983): 198–219. Also see Kafadar, ″Golden Age″; Bernard Lewis, ″Ottoman Observers of Ottoman Decline,″ *Islamic Studies* 1 (1962): 71–87; Klaus Röhrborn, *Untersuchen zur osmanischen Verwaltungsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1973), 6–11; Hans Georg Majer, ″Die Kritik an dem Ulema in den osmanischen politischen Traktaten des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts,″ in *Social and Economic History of Turkey (1071–1920)*, ed. Osman Okyar and Halal İnalcık (Ankara, 1980), 147–55; and Halil İnalcık, ″Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600–1700,″ *Archivum Ottomanicum* 6 (1980): 283–84.

[4]See Fleischer, *″Nasihatname.″*

[5]For a discussion of the emergence of Ibn Khaldūn as a major figure in Ottoman reform literature see Fleischer, ″Ibn Khaldûnism,″ 199–203.

[6]Ibid., 199–200.

[7]Ibid., 201.

[8]Ibid., 202.

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believed both in the reality of Ottoman decline, and in their own power to suggest reform.[9]

A familiarity with the question of Ottoman decline might prompt historians of the Mamluk Sultanate to investigate the Mamluk case in light of the Ottoman model. Certainly Mamluk Egypt and Syria experienced considerable societal and economic disarray during the ninth/fifteenth and early tenth/sixteenth centuries, if not earlier.[10] And certainly at least two major ninth/fifteenth-century Mamluk-era intellectuals, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) and his student Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470), appear to have felt that they were living in a period of societal decline. Furthermore, of these two men, al-Maqrīzī was unquestionably influenced by the work, theories, and person of Ibn Khaldūn, while Ibn Taghrībirdī appears to have absorbed Ibn Khaldūnian notions indirectly through al-Maqrīzī.

The parallels between the Ottoman and Mamluk cases are certainly far from complete, however, for whereas Ottoman intellectuals responded to the challenge of perceived decline by penning pragmatic programs of renewal, Mamluk authors—with only few exceptions—displayed little interest in writing advice literature at all.[11] Furthermore, it has been taken as axiomatic by modern scholars

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[9]Ibid., 199–203.

[10]For a discussion of the problems in society begun during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, see Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn* (Leiden, 1995).

[11]Two exceptions to this rule are the *Kitāb Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām fī Tadbīr Ahl al-Islām* of Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Jamāʿah (d. 833/1333), and the *Āthār al-uwal fī Tartīb al-Duwal* of al-Ḥasan Ibn al-ʿAbbāsī (fl. 708/1308–9). See Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Jamāʿah, *Kitāb Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām fī Tadbīr Ahl al-Islām*, ed. Hans Kofler as ″Handbuch des Islamichen Staats- und Verwaltungsrechtes von Badr al-Dīn Ibn Gamāʿah,″ *Islamica* 6 (1934): 347–414, and Ḥasan Ibn al-ʿAbbāsī, *Āthār al-uwal fī Tartīb al-Duwal,* ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿUmayrah (Beirut, 1989). However, both works were composed long before the accepted ″decline″ phase of Mamluk history began in the ninth/fifteenth century. Predictably, these two works address the greatest concern of early eighth/fourteenth century Mamluk society, the threat of military, cultural, and religious annihilation at the hands of the Ilkhanids. As a result, both works seek to provide advice and moral support to the ruler in the face of this danger. A later example of advice work is the *Fākihat al-Khulafā' wa-Mufākahat al-Zurafā'* by the ninth/fifteenth-century author Ibn ʿArabshāh (d. 854/1450). This work is a collection of enlightening tales featuring both humans and animals, and also includes snippets of historical narrative. A second advice work attributed to Ibn ʿArabshāh is the Persian *Marzubān-nāmah,* but Ibn ʿArabshāh was merely a translator for this work, not the author. Furthermore, although Ibn ʿArabshāh began and ended his life in the Mamluk Sultanate, his many years spent in Central Asia and Anatolia make him a unique intellect and voice, and not a product of the Mamluk intellectual milieu. Thus he and his advice works should be considered exceptions to the Mamluk norm. For the best short biography of Ibn ʿArabshāh to date, see Robert G. Irwin, ″What the Partridge told the Eagle: a Neglected Arabic Source on Chinggis Khan and the Early

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writing in English that Ibn Khaldūn had little effect on intellectuals writing in Arabic. (The opposite point of view has been taken as axiomatic by modern scholars writing in Arabic.) Regardless, Ibn Khaldūn did serve as an important mentor and teacher to al-Maqrīzī, who, like the Ottoman decline theorists, argued powerfully that his own day and time suffered from societal, administrative, and financial disfunction and disarray. Al-Maqrīzī supported his arguments by defaming his contemporaries, particularly members of the military elite and their civilian advisors. In the later stages of his life, al-Maqrīzī displayed a marked interest in the past, whether that of his own family or of Egypt as a whole, which could be interpreted as nostalgia for an earlier (and better) vanished age.

I myself have argued elsewhere that both al-Maqrīzī´s disillusionment with contemporary life and his criticism of the ruling elite can be traced in part to his own personal failures in the competitive world of the Mamluk ulama.[12] Certainly the particulars of al-Maqrīzī´s own experience cannot be discounted in understanding the grim vision he brought to some of his writings on contemporary society.[13] Nevertheless, in view of the effect that Ibn Khaldūn had on Ottoman theorists of decline, it seems sensible to question his effect on al-Maqrīzī. After all, al-Maqrīzī was extremely impressed by Ibn Khaldūn, whom he described as: ″. . . the elite that the Age brings only rarely.″[14] And al-Maqrīzī not only read Ibn Khaldūn´s *Muqaddimah*, but praised it highly: ″. . . [It is] unlike any other work . . . the essence of knowledge and science, and the product of sound intellect and understanding.″[15]

Thus if Ibn Khaldūn´s work was influential enough in the Ottoman Empire to produce a group of admirers who knew him only through his writing, surely the same compelling ideas might have had some effect on a student like al-Maqrīzī, who knew Ibn Khaldūn personally and was favorably impressed by him. Furthermore, since Ibn Khaldūn´s intellectual legacy in Ottoman territory was primarily due to his appealing formulations of the notions of royal authority and justice, the cyclical history of dynasties, and the human metaphor for the body

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History of the Mongols,″ in *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy*, ed. Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (Leiden, 1999), 5.

[12]Anne F. Broadbridge, ″Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: al-‘Aynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 85–107.

[13]For a more comprehensive view of al-Maqrīzī´s life, personality, and peculiarities, see the work of Nasser Rabbat elsewhere in this volume. For a discussion of social class in this context, see Irmeli Perho, ″Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrī Birdī as Historians of Contemporary Events,″ in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800),* ed. Hugh Kennedy (London, 2001): 107–20.

[14]Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, ″Tarjamat Ibn Khaldūn lil-Maqrīzī,″ *Majallat al-Majma‘ al-‘Ilmī al-‘Irāqī* 13 (1966): 220.

[15]Ibid., 235.

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politic, might not al-Maqrīzī also display signs of having been influenced by some of those inspiring ideas?

Indeed al-Maqrīzī does demonstrate a marked interest in at least one notion dear to Ibn Khaldūn: that of the connections among royal authority, justice, and the maintenance of order in society. In al-Maqrīzī´s hands, however, the concept is most frequently shown in reverse as the weakening of royal authority, the proliferation of injustice and the resultant spread of societal disorder. Evidence for al-Maqrīzī´s interest can be found in his little treatise *Ighāthat al-Ummah fī Kashf al-Ghummah,* which was written in 808/1405 in response to an economic crisis in Egypt.[16] The crisis in question had begun in 806/1403–4, and was characterized by rapid and unprecedented inflation, especially in the prices of foodstuffs and clothing. The seriousness of the matter is indicated by the behavior of the Royal Mamluks, who rioted early in 806/1403 to force the sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj (r. 801–8/1399–1405; 808–15/1405–12) to give them their pay, clothing allowances, and fodder for their horses.[17] Indeed, the difficulties of the situation were further mirrored by the behavior of Faraj´s viziers, three of whom went into hiding in 806/1403–4 because they could not handle the financial demands of the vizierate and the expenses of the Royal household and Royal Mamluks.[18] This crisis at the highest levels of the financial administration was exacerbated throughout society by a poor Nile flood, a spate of bad weather that led to illness and death, and inflation in the price of medicine.[19]

The economic trouble of 806/1403–4 was surely worsened by diplomatic tribulations, for it was in this year that Faraj was forced to profess his vassalage to the Turkic warlord Timur (d. 807/1405), who had occupied and devastated Damascus in 803/1400–1. Relations between the two sides were tense for months, beginning in Muḥarram 806/July–August 1403 when ambassadors from Timur arrived and paraded through the streets of Damascus and Cairo, waving Timur´s banners from the back of an elephant.[20] Worse yet, with this embassy Timur sent an adolescent-

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[16]Adel Allouche, *Mamluk Economics: A Study and Translation of al-Maqrīzī´s* Ighāthah (Salt Lake City, 1994).

[17]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Muluk,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Sa'īd 'Āshūr (Cairo, 1956–73), 3:1113.

[18]In the previous year there had only been one disappearance; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:1104. For the disappearances in 806/1403–4, see 3:1113, 1116, and 1119.

[19]For Nile flood problems, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:1115; for bad weather, illness, and death, see 3:1119–20, 1124–25.

[20]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:1111; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah mentions their arrival in Damascus in Dhū al-Qa'dah 805/May–June 1403 on the way to Cairo in *Tārikh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* ed. 'Adnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977–97), 4:312; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr fī Abnā' al-'Umr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1389/1969), 2:256.

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sized robe of honor to the adolescent sultan.[21] The flags, the elephant, the robe: all these served as a proclamation of Timur´s superiority and a humiliating public indication of Mamluk vassalage. When Timur´s ambassadors were finally sent back to Samarqand at the end of the year, they were accompanied by a Mamluk ambassador and an unspecified amount of material goods, which appears to have been meant as tribute.[22] Any loss in money and goods to Samarqand may have struck a further financial blow to an administration already in dire straits. Interestingly, however, al-Maqrīzī does not mention these material goods either in the *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* or in the *Ighāthah.* This suggests either that al-Maqrīzī was unaware of the tribute leaving the sultanate for points east, or (like most other Mamluk chroniclers) was too embarrassed to discuss it.[23]

At any rate, the focus of the *Ighāthah* is on internal matters, which implies that it was intended for some person of authority within the Mamluk administration. Unfortunately the work does not address any particular individual, thus al-Maqrīzī´s specific audience—if he had one—is unknown. The contents of the work indicate that al-Maqrīzī understood Ibn Khaldūn´s maxim about the need for strong royal authority to provide justice to a well-ordered state, for in the treatise al-Maqrīzī goes to some trouble to identify the reasons for current financial decline and explain the singular role played in that decline by the injustice of the ruling class. In the text al-Maqrīzī describes a historical series of dearths and famines in Egypt, but takes care to suggest that they were all caused by natural disasters or insufficient Nile floods. When he reaches the economic crisis of the early ninth/fifteenth century, by contrast, al-Maqrīzī attributes it directly to the incompetence and mismanagement of the ruling class, stating: ″. . . what has befallen the population is caused solely by the malfeasance of the leaders and

[21]The Mamluk amirs refused to let Faraj put the robe on; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 2:256.

[22]Ibn ʻArabshāh mentions the arrival of a Mamluk ambassador with tribute in Samarqand. See Ibn ʻArabshāh, *ʻAjā'ib al-Maqdūr fī Nawā'ib Tīmūr,* ed. Aḥmad Fā'iz al-Ḥimṣī (Beirut, 1407/1987), 380; J. H. Sanders, *Tamerlane: or, Timur, the Great Amir* (Lahore, 1936), 220. Sanders does not appear to have realized the significance of the Arabic technical terms for tribute, *ḥaml* and *taqādum* (sing. *taqdimah*), which he translates merely as ″various gifts.″ Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo also makes a passing reference to a Mamluk ambassador and a collection of ″gifts″ [tribute?] in *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the court of Timour at Samarcand, A.D. 1403–6,* tr. Clements R. Markham, Hakluyt Society Second Series No. 26 (London, 1859), 86–87.

[23]The only contemporary Mamluk historians to discuss Timur´s ambassadors in humiliating detail are Ibn Ḥajar and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 2:256–57, and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārikh,* 4:312. The others, al-Maqrīzī included, mention the embassy but omit the embarrassing parts. I cannot believe, however, that they were unaware of them. After all, who could miss banners waving from an elephant that paraded in public in multiple Mamluk cities?

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rulers, and their negligence with regard to the public interest."[24]

Al-Maqrīzī lists three reasons for the current economic disaster, all of which stem from inappropriate and oppressive behavior (i.e., injustice) among the ruling elite. First is the fact that important positions in the civil administration can only be gained or kept through the payment of bribes. He argues that this practice results in oppression by the appointed official on those beneath him, since he needs to make back the investment that gained him the position in the first place.[25] Al-Maqrīzī specifically mentions market inspection *(ḥisbah)* as an example of one of these corrupt positions, which may reflect his own loss of that post after an unpleasant struggle with his rival, the historian Badr al-Dīn Mahmūd al-'Aynī, in 801–3/1399–1400.[26]

Al-Maqrīzī identifies the second reason for the economic crisis as the increase of taxes and fees collected from estates (*iqṭā'*s) controlled by members of the military elite. He explains that this increase has taken place solely so that the military elite can squeeze these estates of every last drop of profit, to the detriment both of those working the land, and the land itself.[27] Like the changes in the system of civil appointments, this demonstrates not only the greed of the military elite, but the injustice of their behavior as they permit their civilian subordinates to plunder estates and oppress the laborers on them.

The third reason al-Maqrīzī gives for the current economic malaise is the ill-advised and tyrannical decision of the Mamluk administration to circulate copper coins *(fals*, pl. *fulūs)* as currency. This is the main target of al-Maqrīzī's essay.[28] When elaborating on this theme, al-Maqrīzī identifies the major villain in the economic ruin of Egypt as one Mahmūd ibn 'Alī, a civilian from Alexandria who rose in the military hierarchy until he reached the position of the high steward *(ustādār)* under Barqūq in 790/1388, shortly before that sultan was thrown from power in the civil war of 791/1388–89.[29] Mahmūd's exemplary loyalty to the sultan during the unrest of 791/1388–89 earned him a stint in prison in chains; this seems to have inspired Barqūq to reinstate Mahmūd shortly after he himself fought his way back to power in Muḥarram 792/December 1389–January 1390. Mahmūd soon reached glorious heights of responsibility, power, and wealth.[30]

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[24]Allouche, *Ighāthah,* 24.

[25]Ibid., 52.

[26]See Broadbridge, "Rivalry," 89–90. In that article I did not address the question of bribery, but the role that bribery played in the struggle between the two men might also be considered.

[27]Allouche, *Ighāthah,* 53–54.

[28]Allouche, *Ighāthah,* editor's introduction, 2–4; text, 55–72.

[29]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:579.

[30]See the events of 791/1388–89 in the *Sulūk,* especially 3:621, 624, 627–28, 651, 655, 673, 677;

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Indeed, it was only the machinations of his own ambitious protégé, one Ibn Ghurāb, that led to the high steward's downfall, the confiscation of his enormous wealth, and his ultimate imprisonment, torture and death in Rajab 798/April–May 1396.[31]

Although al-Maqrīzī chronicles Mahmūd's rise and precipitous disgrace in detail in the *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* his censure of Mahmūd appears to hinge on a solitary event. This took place in 794/1391–92, when at the height of his power Mahmūd ordered copper coins to be struck in the mint at Alexandria. At that time copper was already in use in Cairo; nevertheless, the creation of additional coins caused al-Maqrīzī great concern, for the new Alexandrian coins were of a lower weight and quality than those circulating in Cairo. Furthermore, Mahmūd stopped the minting of silver dirhams at the same time, with the result that silver coins became rare.[32] To make matters worse, al-Maqrīzī claims, the little silver that did remain was melted down into jewelry and thereby removed from circulation.[33] Al-Maqrīzī goes on to outline a program of minting and regulating coins, which would return the currency to a shared gold-silver standard and limit copper coins to a marginal role. In his opinion, such a program would solve the economic difficulties Mamluk society was facing.[34]

In sum, al-Maqrīzī argues that the financial disarray of the early ninth/fifteenth century is solely a result of the injustice of the ruling class, which results in a corrupt appointment system, excessive taxes, and the promotion of a bad currency. This linking of injustice with societal trouble both echoes Ibn Khaldūn and foreshadows the Ottoman concern with weakened royal authority, the spread of injustice, and the resultant appearance of decline. Like the Ottoman *nasihatnamah*s, the *Ighāthah* appears to have been designed not only to draw attention to the reasons for disarray, but to propose a cure for them, in this case through currency reform, which was to restore society to its proper financial order and arrest the otherwise inevitable weakening of the body politic. It is noteworthy that al-Maqrīzī's criticisms focus on the ruling elite, both its military men and its civilian advisors, since al-Maqrīzī himself aspired to the ranks of the latter. In this way he resembles Ottoman decline authors, who tended to be members of the very ruling apparatus they sought to improve. Interestingly, however, al-Maqrīzī does not offer solutions

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for Mahmūd's reinstatement see 3:708 and 713.

[31]For the details of Mahmūd's downfall, as well as Ibn Ghurāb's role in it, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:839–40; 850, 851, 854, 855, 856–57, 861, 869, 872, 876, 885.

[32]For the lower weight and quality, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:774; for the cessation of minting silver, see Allouche, *Ighāthah,* 71.

[33]Allouche, *Ighāthah,* 71.

[34]Ibid., 80–85.

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to the problems either of bribery within the civil administration, or of extortion from estates. In fact, he does not challenge the existing political system in any way, but merely suggests his limited currency reform as a panacea for greater problems.

In order to implement his program of reform, al-Maqrīzī would have needed to capture the attention of a highly-placed member of the military elite. But as mentioned above, the intended audience for the work is unknown. It appears unlikely that Faraj was a candidate, since Faraj is never mentioned in the text, and since al-Maqrīzī´s relations to the sultan do not appear to have been close at the time he wrote the *Ighāthah.* A second likely choice was the amir Yashbak al-Sha'bānī, who was another of al-Maqrīzī´s patrons, but Yashbak was busy rebelling against and reconciling with Faraj in 807–8/1405–6.[35] Regardless of the intended audience, al-Maqrīzī´s plan of currency reform was never carried out.

After this unpromising beginning, al-Maqrīzī did not immediately compose other advice works. This may have been a result of his own career stagnation, for even as he wrote the *Ighāthah* his distance from those in power was steadily increasing. Later, however, al-Maqrīzī returned to his fledgling reforming notions by taking a chapter of the *Ighāthah* and expanding it into a separate tract, the *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd.* Unlike the *Ighāthah,* the *Shudhūr* had an explicit royal audience, the sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (r. 815–24/1412–21).[36] It appears to date from the early years of Shaykh´s reign, and was probably written shortly after Shaykh´s currency reforms of 817/1414–15 and 818/1415–16, which al-Maqrīzī mentions in the text.[37] Al-Maqrīzī himself states that he received a royal order to write about money for the sultan.[38]

In the *Shudhūr,* al-Maqrīzī returns to his earlier theme of the relationship among weak royal authority, high-level malfeasance, and financial trouble. He also returns to his griping about Barqūq´s high steward, Mahmūd ibn 'Alī, and the 794/1391–92 minting of copper in Alexandria. Here al-Maqrīzī refines his argument slightly, dropping his references to the uses of silver as jewelry, and instead focusing on Mahmūd´s minting activities as the primary cause of the increase in copper coinage and the eventual near-abandonment of gold and silver for copper. Al-Maqrīzī argues that shortly after Barqūq´s death copper became the standard currency: all prices were reckoned and wages paid in *fulūs,* and all other currencies

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[35]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo, n.d.), 10:278–79.

[36]Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqud,* ed. Muḥammad Baḥr al-'Ulūm (Cairo, 1387/1967), [2], n. 1; also see references to Shaykh on 31, 32, 33, 35.

[37]Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* 33. For a discussion of the dating of the *Shudhūr,* see the work of John Meloy elsewhere in this volume.

[38]Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* [2].

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were linked to copper.[39] As in the *Ighāthah,* al-Maqrīzī does not merely identify the reason for financial decline, but proposes a program designed to stop it. This time, he recommends that copper simply be removed from the market, so that all transactions would be undertaken in silver coins. The enforcement of this regulation would be the task of the sultan and his officers, especially the market inspector. The reform would bring about financial resurgence and—perhaps most importantly—the reassertion of proper royal authority.[40]

No source records the reception of al-Maqrīzī's little exhortatory tract at Shaykh's court, even though Shaykh himself commanded that the work be done. This may have been one of al-Maqrīzī's two attempts to gain Shaykh's favor, the other being the composition of a panegyric about the sultan based on a poem written by Ibn Nāhiḍ (d. 841/1438), which also appears to have received no recognition.[41] Any meaningful response to al-Maqrīzī's advice-giving impetus has gone unremarked by history, and indeed al-Maqrīzī himself seems to have soon abandoned his reforming zeal in favor of immersing himself in history and the past.

But if al-Maqrīzī was truly imbued with a desire to improve Mamluk society through practical advice, was his merely a reformer's voice crying in the wilderness? Although ninth/fifteenth century Mamluk historians in general do not display much interest in advice literature, an investigation of the writing of al-Maqrīzī's student Ibn Taghrībirdī does lead to the observance of a peculiar phenomenon. It must be stated outright that Ibn Taghrībirdī produced no advice works whatsoever. Nor was he personally inspired by Ibn Khaldūn and his compelling ideas, as was al-Maqrīzī; indeed Ibn Taghrībirdī did not even know the North African scholar since he was born after Ibn Khaldūn's death. Ibn Taghrībirdī's biography for Ibn Khaldūn—copied from al-Maqrīzī—is ordinary in the extreme, omits al-Maqrīzī's lengthy praise of the North African scholar, and makes no mention whatsoever of the *Muqaddimah*.[42]

Nevertheless, through al-Maqrīzī Ibn Taghrībirdī may have gained something of Ibn Khaldūn's ideas, especially his concern with royal authority, justice, and society. He may also have gained al-Maqrīzī's predilection for advising rulers, although Ibn Taghrībirdī presented his advice in a form that al-Maqrīzī himself did not use: historical narrative. In fact, Ibn Taghrībirdī appears to have felt that one purpose of historical writing was to function as a didactic tool for the instruction

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[39]Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* 31; also see *Sulūk,* 3:1131–33.

[40]Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* 35–36; 40.

[41]Broadbridge, "Rivalry," 92.

[42]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá ba'da al-Wāfi,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1993), 7:205–9.

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of the ruling elite. In an often quoted description of the historian al-'Aynī, for example, Ibn Taghrībirdī praises al-'Aynī for his success in transforming Barsbāy into a wise and thoughtful sovereign by reading history aloud to him.[43]

Ibn Taghrībirdī himself wrote two major histories, the *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* and the *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-'Uṣūr*. The *Ḥawādith* was intended as a continuation of al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* and does not appear to have been written with any particular patron in mind.[44] By contrast, the *Nujūm* was penned at least initially for a specific royal personage: Muḥammad, the son of Sultan Jaqmaq (r. 842–57/1438–53). Muḥammad was not only a candidate for the throne, but was also Ibn Taghrībirdī's friend and the husband of Ibn Taghrībirdī's niece.[45]

A preliminary examination of the *Nujūm* reveals an awareness of decline as a product of weakened royal authority and injustice. Of course, during Ibn Taghrībirdī's lifetime the sultanate was undergoing a period of actual societal and financial difficulty, thus Ibn Taghrībirdī's descriptions of decline must obviously be understood in part as a reflection of existing conditions. Nevertheless, Ibn Taghrībirdī invokes the specter of decline not only to describe actual conditions in the sultanate, but also to make a moral and didactic point about the connection between injustice and decline. In fact, occasionally Ibn Taghrībirdī manipulates his historical narrative in order to draw this connection, and thereby give a moral lesson. Thus if al-Maqrīzī served as a conduit both for Ibn Khaldūn's idea on royal authority and decline, and for the possibility of correcting decline through advice, Ibn Taghrībirdī seems to have transformed the ideas to motifs decorating a historical work designed to be both entertainment and a didactic tool. Muḥammad ibn Jaqmaq served as an ideal candidate for Ibn Taghrībirdī's advice, being both a personal friend and a potential sultan.

To give a few examples:

In the section of the *Nujūm* that corresponds roughly to his own lifetime, Ibn Taghrībirdī mentions a number of declining institutions. These institutions were diverse, and included such areas of society as the silk spinning industry, irrigated agricultural land, the vizierate, and the office of the comptroller, to name a few. In general, Ibn Taghrībirdī posits that the breakdown of these institutions can be

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[43]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt, 1382–1469 A.D.,* tr. William Popper (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958), 4:158.

[44]Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn, *Ibn Taghrībirdī: Mu'arrikh Miṣr fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Beirut, 1992), 111–12; also see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-'Uṣūr,* ed. Kamāl al-Dīn 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī ([Cairo], 1410/1990), editor's introduction, 1:32–33 and text, 1:51–52.

[45]Shams al-Dīn, *Ibn Taghrībirdī,* 34.

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attributed to trouble among the ruling elite, i.e., to weakened ruling authority and injustice.

For example, Ibn Taghrībirdī asserts that the decline of silk spinning in Egypt is the direct result of the tyranny, injustice, and mismanagement of the rulers since the 790s/1390s.[46] He also describes the glory of the vizierate in ″olden days,″ then bemoans the present degraded situation: ″. . . at the end of the eighth[/fourteenth] century *the rulers of Egypt abased themselves* [emphasis added] and in their days the office was filled by the refuse among men and the lowest type of Coptic scribe, while the functions of the office also were changed. *With these appointments there disappeared the splendor of this great offic*e.″[47] Elsewhere he argues that the sultans of his own day no longer made wise decisions in other important military appointments, as had been the case in past ages: ″The kings of this time of ours have debased themselves.″[48] Since Ibn Taghrībirdī actually had good relationships with many of the sultans who were his contemporaries, including Barsbāy (r. 824–41/1422–38) and Jaqmaq, his general comments about misrule and debasement should be understood as fodder for his moral and didactic points about proper rule.[49] Indeed, in his obituary for Barsbāy, Ibn Taghrībirdī gives both positive and negative moral lessons by condemning Barsbāy′s avariciousness as an example to avoid, but touting the large amount of money Barsbāy left behind, and praising his reign as one of ″extreme security and low prices.″[50]

But Ibn Taghrībirdī′s concern with the question of royal behavior also appears in those sections of the *Nujūm* that treat historical periods prior to his own lifetime. One striking example is in his discussion of Timur′s occupation of Damascus in 803/1400–1, where he presents less a straightforward historical narrative than a cautionary tale of the evils that misgovernment can wreak on society. In this passage, Ibn Taghrībirdī identifies the struggle for power among the Mamluk amirs as an example of weak royal authority, and suggests that it was the ultimate reason for Timur′s invasion of Syria and his destruction of the major Syrian cities.

In the passage, Ibn Taghrībirdī focuses on the arrival of ambassadors from the Ottoman Sultan Beyazid (r. 791–804/1389–1402) in Cairo in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 802/July–August 1400, some months before Timur′s armies reached Mamluk territory. The Ottoman envoys asked Sultan Faraj for a military alliance against Timur, but the Mamluk amirs rejected the proposal and scorned Beyazid. At this point, Ibn Taghrībirdī departs from his narrative to opine that such an alliance

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[46]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History,* 4:112.

[47]Ibid., 6:48.

[48]Ibid., 41.

[49]Shams al-Dīn, *Ibn Taghrībirdī,* 33.

[50]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History,* 4:156.

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would have been a good idea, argues that the Mamluk amirs *should have* arranged one, and criticizes them for quarreling and failing to identify the correct course of action. ″What Beyazid suggested was one of the best possible courses of action *[min akbar al-maṣāliḥ].*″[51] If only the Mamluk amirs had behaved properly, Ibn Taghrībirdī moans, Timur would not have been able to defend himself against the combined Ottoman-Mamluk forces: ″The common good *[al-maṣlaḥah]* required that a truce be reached with the abovementioned Beyazid ibn ʻUthmān. He would send someone to lead the Egyptian armies, while the Egyptian armies would be sent to Beyazid ibn ʻUthmān to cooperate with his armies. Then Timur would not have been able to withstand them. Indeed, both armies would have been capable of defeating him, if not for what we mentioned [i.e., the amirs′ refusal to ally themselves with the Ottoman sultan].″[52]

To heighten his portrayal of the stupidity of the Mamluk leadership, Ibn Taghrībirdī quotes the dramatic confidence of a Mamluk amir, one Asanbāy, who had been captured by Timur and escaped years later: ″Timur told me that in his lifetime he had met and fought many armies. In all that time he had never seen armies equal to two: the Egyptian army, and the Ottoman army.″[53] The impression given is that Timur′s dreadful treatment of Damascus only came to pass because the Mamluk amirs refused to stop quarreling and focus on seizing the opportunity presented by the Ottoman ambassadors.

Although poignant, Ibn Taghrībirdī′s lament was probably unjustified. In actual fact, Beyazid had already taken over a number of Mamluk forts in Eastern Anatolia by the time this embassy was sent. Beyazid had also annexed the lands of the Mamluks′ Anatolian Turkmen vassals, the Dulqadirids. If military cooperation between the Mamluks and the Ottoman ruler had indeed taken place, it might have been just as disastrous for the Mamluks as their eventual abandonment of Damascus to Timur. Most striking about this passage, however, is the moralistic and didactic effect of Ibn Taghrībirdī′s commentary. Ibn Taghrībirdī′s presentation of the material suggests the dangers of weak royal authority, which is here represented by the shortsighted and bickering amirs, who were filling in for the adolescent sultan. By adding his own critical remarks to the narrative, Ibn Taghrībirdī emphasizes the poor behavior of the Mamluk amirs, connects this behavior to the eventual military disaster, and thereby gives a lesson about proper rule.[54]

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[51]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 1413/1992), 12:174.

[52]Ibid., 174–75.

[53]Ibid., 174.

[54]Ibn Taghrībirdī′s lament over the campaign of Timur is also colored by his desire to glorify his

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Nor is Ibn Taghrībirdī´s treatment of the early Mamluk era free of unfavorable comparisons between past and present. A striking example occurs in his obituary for Qalāwūn, where he uses a description of Qalāwūn´s strict control of his mamluks as an opportunity to bewail the fallen standards of his own day. He sighs nostalgically about the discipline, military skills, and masterful participation in jihad demonstrated by Qalāwūn´s mamluks, then launches into criticism of contemporary mamluks for their small number, physical weakness, and cowardice. He regrets that the only opportunity for jihad in his own century was the advent of Timur, in which Mamluk forces were completely disgraced. Perhaps to deepen the contrast between the good old days and the bad new days, here Ibn Taghrībirdī neglects to mention the three successful naval campaigns Barsbāy sent to Cyprus in the 820s/1420s, although elsewhere the historian celebrates them as a shining example of jihad and one of Barsbāy´s greatest achievements.[55]

Ibn Taghrībirdī continues the theme of jihad in Qalāwūn´s obituary by waxing eloquent about the martial virtues of such great warriors as the Ayyubids Saladin (d. 589/1193) and al-Malik al-Kāmil (d. 635/1238). While praising them, he neglects to mention that al-Kāmil actually ceded Jerusalem to Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen in 626/1229, although Ibn Taghrībirdī is perfectly well aware of this event, and in fact mentions it in his entry for that year.[56] In Qalāwūn´s obituary, Ibn Taghrībirdī also discusses the general qualities of rulers of yore, whom he characterizes as well-mannered, decorous, modest with elders, kind to juniors, and endowed with kingly honor *[nāmūs]*.[57] The military elite of Ibn Taghrībirdī´s own day suffers by comparison, for he describes its members as arrogant, unskilled in the martial arts, greedy, unscrupulous, and unmanly. He even includes a comparison of apparel between Qalāwūn´s day and the present, and naturally presents the modest fashions of Qalāwūn´s time as superior.[58] Since elsewhere Ibn Taghrībirdī´s opinion of both the contemporary and historical ruling elites is far more balanced, we must understand this comparison more as a moral lesson for a potential ruler (i.e., Muḥammad ibn Jaqmaq) and less as a reflection of reality.

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own father, the amir Taghrībirdī, who is presented in a glowing and heroic light as the author of a plan that *would have* saved Damascus if only it had been implemented. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 12:185.

[55]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History,* 4:18, 19–21, 24–29, 32–45, especially 33, 38, 40, 43.

[56]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 6:241.

[57]Ibid., 7:278–79.

[58]Ibid., 279–80.

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Thus two major and interconnected historians of the Mamluk Sultanate, al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī, were well aware of the problems endemic in their society. Both appear to have understood at least in part the theoretical connections among weakened royal authority, injustice among the ruling elite, and trouble in society, connections espoused and promulgated by none other than Ibn Khaldūn. Of the two, al-Maqrīzī seems to have been directly and strongly influenced by the North African scholar, while Ibn Taghrībirdī´s at best tenuous connection to Ibn Khaldūn must have been made indirectly through al-Maqrīzī. Nevertheless, in the writings of each author, one element foreshadows the full-blown decline paradigm developed under the Ottomans in part as a result of Ibn Khaldūn´s formulation of compelling ideas. For al-Maqrīzī, this element is his composition of works that simultaneously describe the causes of financial decline, and propose a pragmatic solution to them. For Ibn Taghrībirdī, this element appears in his manipulation of history to demonstrate a causal link among weakened royal authority, injustice, and decline, which he then uses to suggest a moral lesson about the way to rule. Thus each author in his own way foreshadows the development of Ottoman decline literature. Why then, did Ottoman intellectuals develop an active movement of reform, but Mamluk intellectuals did not?

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Fāyizah al-Wakīl, *Al-Shiwār: Jihāz al-'Arūs fī Miṣr fī 'Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk* (Cairo: Dār Nahḍat al-Sharq and Dār al-Wafā', 2001). Pp. 543.

Reviewed by Vanessa De Gifis, University of Chicago.

In this book, al-Wakīl discusses the wedding trousseau in the Mamluk period. She sets out to describe the physical and design components of the trousseau and its surrounding ceremony; she then attempts to imagine the dynamics of the trousseau in its social and economic contexts. Al-Wakīl's sources include contemporary historical accounts, secondary historical and art historical works, and trousseau lists, marriage documents, and artifacts housed in museums such as the Louvre, the Museum of Islamic Art, the Coptic Museum, and the Museum of the School of Archaeology at the University of Cairo. The end of the book contains transcripts of marriage documents and trousseau lists, descriptions of artifacts, and photographs (however, often unclear) of select items. One obvious omission in her bibliography of primary sources is al-Sakhāwī's (831–902/1428–97) *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi',* the last section of which is a collection of biographies of women contemporary to the author.[1]

Al-Wakīl originally conceived a broader scope for her study: initially to cover the Islamic period generally, and then both the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. Her final concentration on the Mamluk period still bears the signs of her broader outlook—particularly in her use of Ottoman material evidence to fill in the blanks of Mamluk artifacts, and in her comparison of Mamluk trousseau lists with those of earlier periods.

The comparative contextualization of the Mamluk situation in Islamic history leads her to conclude that the Mamluk trousseau was generally increasing in luxury over time, being more extravagant than its predecessors in pre-Mamluk times. Within the Mamluk period itself,[2] al-Wakīl identifies the economic peak in Cairo in the first half of the fourteenth century under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (p. 315). This economic peak, she asserts, means a corresponding peak in the quality of trousseaux. In her chapter entitled ″The Trousseau in Light of Economic Life,″ al-Wakīl argues for a direct correspondence between economic prosperity and the elaboration of the trousseau, assuming that both suppliers and consumers, given disposable wealth, will maximize luxury in production and acquisition respectively.

Al-Wakīl's application of economic theory extends to her understanding of

[1]See Huda Lutfi, ″Al-Sakhāwī's *Kitāb al-Nisā*' as a Source for the Social and Economic History of Muslim Women during the Fifteenth Century A.D.,″ *Muslim World* 71 (1981): 104-24.

[2]Cf. L. A. Mayer, ″Costumes of Mamluk Women,″ *Islamic Culture* 17 (1943): 303, who cites al-Maqrīzī in noting an increase in luxury from the Bahri to Circassian periods.

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the varieties in trousseaux among different social classes, which she discusses in her chapter entitled ″The Trousseau in Light of Social Life.″ She categorizes social groups according to their financial (specifically, spending) power. For those groups that rank highest in financial viability, such as the ruling military elite and merchants, she explains that their trousseaux will be more extravagant, while the trousseaux of the peasants will be more modest in proportion to their wealth.[3] In this way, she argues, the trousseau is a means to demonstrate one´s wealth and social status. The idea of associating relative opulence of the trousseau according to social class is not original to al-Wakīl; Aḥmad ʻAbd al-Rāziq says as much in *La Femme au Temps des Mamlouks en Egypte*.[4] Since most of the sources available to al-Wakīl for studying the trousseau pertain to the higher classes, her emphasis on the opulence of trousseaux is amplified. Despite this, she is mindful not to neglect hypothesizing on the characteristics of the more meager trousseaux that are not well documented in the historical or archival records.[5] Moreover, she provides several extraordinary examples of trousseaux, demonstrating her awareness that the matter did not absolutely conform to a simple class-based categorization of trousseaux.[6]

As for her typological study of the components of the trousseaux, al-Wakīl presumes that most household items, including furnishings and cookware, are acquired as part of a trousseau, as are jewelry, clothes, and cosmetics (p. 8).[7] Having accepted this probability, she organizes her typological presentation of these items into functional categories and stylistic subcategories. She includes brief explanations of production processes. Most of her book (over 300 pages) consists of these functional and stylistic descriptions of the components of the trousseaux. The portions of this descriptive section that deal with the origins of materials and designs and the methods of production enhance the economic dimension of al-Wakīl´s thesis, particularly global trade (of both goods and ideas) and Egyptian marketplace activity.

Al-Wakīl´s use of Ottoman material data in her study suggests that she considers the Mamluk period as a nearly indistinguishable part of a greater cultural continuity,

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[3]She mentions also that the surrounding ceremonial aspects of marriage, including the procession of the trousseau, are similarly proportional to the wealth of the participants.

[4]Aḥmad ʻAbd al-Rāziq, *La Femme au Temps des Mamlouks en Egypte* (Cairo, 1973), 140.

[5]Al-Wakīl´s sources for the poorer classes are less often contemporary, consisting of later, sometimes Western, sources. Al-Maqrīzī is occasionally cited, such as in mentioning the overwhelming popularity of amber necklaces (sing. *qilādah*) among all groups of society (p. 435).

[6]For example, she notes several cases of upper-class trousseaux whose values were less than their class would theoretically suggest (p. 420).

[7]The jewelry, clothes, and cosmetics, she notes, would definitely be included when used in the wedding ceremony itself.

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a view which may lead to some insensitivity in perceiving distinctive Mamluk qualities in trousseau furnishings. Nonetheless, she recognizes various stylistic variants in many categories of artifacts, which demonstrates her attention to intra-Mamluk diversity. Since the functions of furnishings and personal items do not change drastically from one political period to the next, al-Wakīl′s use of Ottoman artifacts to help generally identify the components of the Mamluk trousseau is reasonable; she is aware that the specific decorative elements of these items are not to be as readily appropriated into our vision of the Mamluk character of trousseaux.

A valuable aspect of her study is her inclusion of the prices of some of the components of the trousseaux, as well as the amounts of dowries. In this way, she has gathered helpful data for reconstructing the monetary climate of the period. Although she does not explain matters such as the influences of inflation and devaluation on interpreting monetary rates, she does recognize various foreign and domestic policies involving market regulations and taxation, as well as the influence of other factors like famine and factional disputes on the security of the Mamluk economy.

Another enlightening point in al-Wakīl′s book is how material and behavioral reality did not conform to principles of the shari‘ah. For example, she notes that despite the legal prohibitions of gold kitchenware and ear and nose piercings, the popularity of these things are found frequently in material and documentary evidence. This reminds us of the importance of interpreting material and documentary evidence without straining to conciliate findings with the ideals presented in legal codes, and of recognizing the inaccuracy and inadequacy of legal codes in reconstructing an image of real life.

Perhaps the most important aspect, from the woman′s perspective, pertaining to the value of the trousseau is absent from al-Wakīl′s study: how the trousseau facilitated the woman′s economic maneuverability, which in turn could have fostered social and intellectual independence. This would have been an intriguing and germane issue for her to have addressed. Other pertinent but neglected issues are marriage among relatives as a means to preserve wealth within the family,[8] and the relative rarity of marriage between different socioeconomic classes.[9]

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[8]Although the evidence al-Wakīl presents on the familial sources of trousseau items demonstrates people′s interest in circulating wealth within the family unit, she does not discuss marriages in which the bride and groom are actually closely related to each other.

[9]She does address the frequency of marriage between sultans′ and amirs′ families and the resulting similarity in the values of their trousseaux; however, the closeness in class between these two groups as contrasted with the difference between the princely class and the peasant class makes the frequency of the aforementioned marriages not surprising, whereas a marriage between members of the princely and peasant classes would be more remarkable examples of the use of the trousseau

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Al-Wakīl′s penultimate chapter, in which she attempts to analyze the decorative motifs evident in trousseaux, is more descriptive than analytical. She mainly focuses on identifying the stylistic variants of typical motifs, and recalls only general interpretations of the various symbols, which are abstracted from the context of the trousseau. The question of why these symbols are evoked in the particular circumstance of marriage is not answered. While the philosophical details may be better left to the scholars whose works are dedicated specifically to those issues (to whom she does refer in her footnotes), the absence of a substantial discussion speculating on the significance of the presence of these symbols in the trousseaux effectively reduces this penultimate chapter to a selective reorganization of her data, in which she presents some of the material evidence according to decorative criteria, rather than the functional categories that she employs in the preceding chapters.

The comprehensive scope of al-Wakīl′s study of the trousseau and its cultural context is admirably ambitious. *Al-Shiwār* illuminates some of the connections between economic, social, and material patterns of culture and stimulates the reader to consider the material consequences of economic and social trends in light of the wedding ceremony and homemaking. It can be read in conjunction with other works that flesh out the more specific socioeconomic dynamics that comprise the milieu for the Mamluk trousseau. The annoyance of occasional typos and frustrating footnotes, in which she cites works incompletely in reference to earlier citations that are not immediately preceding the incomplete citation, should not distract the reader from appreciating the thoughtful work al-Wakīl presents.

Yasser Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001).

Reviewed by Nasser Rabbat, MIT

The field of Islamic art and architectural history is among the least theoretically developed areas of both art history and Islamic history. Very few studies exist that move beyond the monographic or taxonomic framework on the one hand, or the religiously or culturally essentialist and generalizing on the other. This polarity of

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as an expression of class identification. Lutfi notes some of these rare instances in which a woman marries a man of a lower social class in ″Al-Sakhāwī′s *Kitāb al-Nisā*′,″ 113.

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approach reflects the two influences that dominated the development of the field in the last century. The first is the authoritative Western historiography of art history, which until recently delimited the possible scope and methods of all subfields, including Islamic art and architecture, and assigned them their proper place in a culturally and even ideologically stratified art historical hierarchy. This is a dignified scholarly tradition to be sure: it finds its roots in the nineteenth-century German and French history of art and archaeology. But it is a tradition in the Hobsbawmian sense nonetheless, that is, it forms the most powerful proclamation by which a project or a specialty can gain legitimization by association with an already established network of conventions that produce and use art historical knowledge.

The second influence comes from the peculiar historiography of the study of Islam in the West, that we came to call Orientalism, and its various peregrinations. The Orientalist tradition produced a fundamentally self-contained discourse, charting the evolution of Islamic art and architecture but not communicating their cultural variety or the interdependence between them and other cultures´ art and architecture. Of particular relevance in this vein is a brand of Islamic esotericism which prospered in the 1970s and 1980s among a certain number of Western and Western-educated Muslim scholars. These scholars saw Islamic art and architecture primarily as symbolic manifestations of a transcendental and rather acultural and ahistorical Islam. This view promoted, and even demanded, comprehensive studies of art and architecture enframed within an essentialist vision that could not admit any form of cultural or historical criticism.

Thus the appearance of a thoroughly and critically historical study on Islamic art and architecture such as Yasser Tabbaa´s *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival,* is a positively welcome event. Here we have a book that outwardly and almost harshly rejects the approaches delineated above and adopts a historical method which asserts that specific artistic forms acquired and disseminated distinct meanings primarily in relation to and in conjunction with their cultural, social, and ideological contexts. This deeply and strongly contextualizing framework gives the book its verve and underscores its palpable sense of purpose. It also endows it with remarkable coherence despite the otherwise selective character of its content, which focuses on particular artistic and architectural changes in the studied period and leaves some others out, notably the resurgence of figural representation.

With the publication of this book, Tabbaa deliberately chooses to belong to and complete a scholarly genealogy of sorts. He situates his book historically, discursively, and methodologically between two influential treatises: Oleg Grabar´s *The Formation of Islamic Art* (1973, 1987 2d ed.) and Gulru Necipoglu´s *The Topkapi Scroll : Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture* (1995). The

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former, which deals with Umayyad and early Abbasid art, was a pioneering study that formed the foundation upon which most historical interpretations in the field have depended until now. The latter, which marked the forceful reintroduction of theory about Islamic ornamental modes abandoned since Ernest Diez´s 1930s stylistic studies, focuses primarily on the Timurid and post-Timurid art since the fourteenth century. Tabbaa´s *Transformation of Islamic Art* fits snugly in the historical space left between Grabar´s and Necipoglu´s timeframes. The book spans the ostensible trajectory of a heterogeneous and historically ambivalent movement, the Sunni Revival, which may have defined the struggle that occupied the central Islamic world during the period between the rise of a traditionalist Ash'arism in the second half of the tenth century and the demise of the Isma'ili Fatimids in 1171. Tabbaa particularly centers his investigation of artistic transformations around the reign of Nur al-Din Mahmud ibn Zangi (1146-74), a period that he convincingly projects as the triumphant culmination of the Sunni Revival.

Tabbaa tries to do exactly what the title of his book implies: to catalog, explain, contextualize, and interpret a number of artistic transformations both in writing and in two- and three-dimensional ornamentation, that coincided with the Sunni Revival. After briefly introducing the historical, ideological, and political context of the Sunni Revival, he moves to discuss, in two tightly-knit chapters, the transformation of Arabic writing from the angular (generally known as Kufic) style to the proportioned cursive style first in Qur'anic writing and later in monumental inscriptions on buildings. He then takes on the intricate vegetal and geometric patterns, alternately named Arabesque and *girih* by various scholars working from different vantage points, which he sees as having acquired potent religious meanings in the architectural works of the period. Lastly he tackles in two chapters the most important Islamic architectural innovation of the medieval Islamic world, the *muqarnas,* as well as five other stereotomic devices that appeared in the stone architecture of the various dynasties of Syria, Jazira, and Anatolia in the twelfth and thirteenth century. The brief conclusion sums up the driving forces of these artistic transformations —theology, politics, technology, and patronage— and insists on the symbolic role of the art as mediating between the vision of an idealist, ecumenical Islamic nation and the reality of a politically fragmented, though increasingly orthodox, medieval Islamic world.

Tabbaa argues that the timing of these transformations was not incidental. In fact, he ascribes the very reason of their occurrence to ″the forces of the Sunni Revival.″ This is indeed a tall order. No cohesive body of textual evidence exists to prove it, or to disprove it for that matter. Tabbaa consequently ekes out of a multitude of disparate and incomplete documents —historical, theological, biographical, scientific, and of course the art itself— the contours of a coherent,

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theologically and politically driven artistic movement, a movement that is otherwise never hinted at in the chronicles of the period. This is a formidable task, and Tabbaa succeeds brilliantly by sketching the historical circumstances surrounding the emergence and consolidation of a vigorous Sunnism in the central Islamic lands and its influence on the development of Arabic writing and monumental inscriptions as well as on the geometric ″Arabesque″ decoration. He is less convincing in his reading of Sunni and especially Ash'ari symbolic references in a number of architectural, decorative, and structural innovations —chief among them is the *muqarnas*. In this last case, the present reviewer finds two of Tabbaa´s causative forces, the developing technology and competitive patronage, more fruitful venues for interpretation than either the theological or politics forces. In fact, for a study predicated on the exploration of the tension between political fragmentation and a unifying impulse, Tabbaa´s book is short on examining the roles of the diverse Turkic and other small dynasties in the promotion and exploitation of the new artistic inventions.

Nevertheless, Tabbaa´s main point, the need to historicize and contextualize art making in the medieval period independent of positivist or essentialist views of Islam and Islamic history, is forcefully validated throughout the book. Henceforth, it will be very difficult indeed to see in the *muqarnas* or the monumental inscriptions of the Zangids, Ayyubids, Mamluks, and other medieval Islamic dynasties, expressions of the spirit of Islam *tout court*. Art historians will have to pay more attention to changes, discontinuities, innovations, and other telltale details in the art instead of lumping them all together as additional manifestations of an overarching and unchanging Islamic vision of art, even when the art itself has specific religious or sectarian meanings.

Tabbaa´s book also presents an effective reminder to Medieval Islamic historians to widen their investigative domains to encompass art and architecture. With the dearth of interpretable historic documents that often impede the study of medieval Islamic history, the inclusion of visual clues adds a new dimension of interpretation. Art and architecture complement other cultural expressions such as religious treatises, poetry, and legal texts, which have been explored by a small number of imaginative historians who have begun to sketch the mental structures of several classes of Muslims involved in the upheavals that changed the face of the medieval Islamic world. Visual documents in fact may be even more representative of collective mentalities than textual ones. They are public, more numerous, and their messages may have been more legible to the masses than literary or religious texts. More than any other cultural artifact, they can truly frame the historical and cultural characteristics of an era. Tabbaa´s *Transformation of Islamic Art* is a forceful and creative case in point.

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Nabīl Muḥammad ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz, *Riyādat al-Ṣayd fī ʻAṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk* (Cairo: Maktabah al-Anglo al-Miṣrī, 1999). Pp. 256, illustrations.

Reviewed by Niall Christie, University of British Columbia

Hunting was an important pursuit to the Mamluk sultans and their amirs, forming another of the branches of *furūsīyah*.[1] In this two-part work Nabīl Muḥammad ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz gives a portrayal of Mamluk hunting, dealing in turn with a wide variety of topics. He opens the first part, which considers hunting on land, with a discussion of what hunting was, followed by a treatment of the customary practices and manners of Mamluk hunters, both the rulers and the ordinary soldiers. He then describes the clothes worn on hunting expeditions, the officials and servants who accompanied the hunt, and the weapons and equipment used. There then follow chapters on birds and animals, dealing in each case with creatures both used for hunting and hunted, edible and otherwise, along with some consideration of their use as gifts or in trade. The second of these also includes some discussion of animals kept in menageries. The first section of the work ends with a long description of actual hunting expeditions engaged in by both the Mamluk sultans and their amirs.

The second, shorter part of the work discusses hunting in seas and rivers, and fishing in particular. This section, consisting of two chapters, begins with a consideration of the fishing grounds of Egypt and the *shām* region, and closes with a description of the various fish and other animals found in the rivers, lakes and seas of these countries. Several illustrations of hunters and animals follow. The work ends with a detailed bibliography and a contents page.

Nabīl Muḥammad ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz´s selection of sources is wide and thorough, but it is not surprising, given their variable nature, that he has relied on some works more than others. Al-Qalqashandī´s (d. 821/1418) chancery manual, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshā fī Ṣināʻa al-Inshā*', and al-Nuwayrī´s (d. 733/1333) encyclopedia, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, are among the works that feature particularly prominently. His major emphasis is on the evidence of primary sources, both in manuscript and published editions, although he has also made use of a relatively small amount of secondary literature in Arabic, French and English. References to the sources are rigorously footnoted, and occasional explanatory footnotes help to illuminate the text. However, this reviewer would have preferred to have seen more analysis of the sources. Too often the texts were allowed to speak for themselves, but the questions of how far the examples cited represented the normal practices of the period, and how far they had been idealized or otherwise altered by the writers

[1]David Ayalon, ´Furusiyya (In the Mamluk State)," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 2:955.

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who recorded them, were not fully addressed.

Nevertheless, despite these shortcomings Nabīl Muḥammad ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz´s work is still an important contribution to the field. It gives a detailed description of Mamluk hunting, as it is depicted in the sources from the period, and will be of great use as a resource for scholars interested in this noble pursuit.

SHAWQĪ ʻABD AL-QAWĪ ʻUTHMĀN, *Al-Tijārah bayna Miṣr wa-Afrīqiyā fī ʻAṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk, 1250–1515 M, 648–922 H.* (Cairo: al-Majlis al-Aʻlá lil-Thaqāfah, 2000). Pp. 161.

REVIEWED BY ADAM SABRA

Although this book has a promising title, it does not live up to that promise. The author, a professor of history at Cairo University, is the author of a previous study on the Indian Ocean trade and several studies on Egyptian folklore. Despite this background, however, the work under review fails to address the topic promised in its title in a scholarly or focused manner. This is doubly unfortunate since the field could use a good study of just this topic. The last overall study of Mamluk trade to cover the subject of Egypt´s foreign trade comprehensively is the well-known study by Ṣubḥī Labīb. More recent scholarship has generally focused on one or another aspect, primarily focusing on the Mediterranean or Indian Ocean. While Terry Walz has done a study of Egypt´s trade with Bilād al-Sūdān in the Ottoman period, we still lack a comprehensive treatment of the subject for the Mamluk period.

The book is divided into four chapters. The first deals with Egypt´s geographical position and the role of Arab and Muslim geographers in writing the history of the continent. The author is influenced by the Egyptian geographer Jamāl Ḥamdān and by Nasserist ideology in stressing Egypt´s three circles: Arab, Islamic, and African. While there is nothing inherently wrong with this view of Egypt´s identity, the author is primarily interested in emphasizing Egypt´s leading role in all three groups, rather than examining the interaction between them in a more open-minded manner. Furthermore, the author cites historical and geographical sources without any real concern for historical period or for the development of geographical literature as a genre. The latter subject has been studied in great detail by André Miquel and ʻAzīz al-ʻAẓmah, among others.

The lack of concern for historical period carries over into the second chapter, which deals with the spread of Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa and its connection

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with trade. Again, despite the promising character of the subject, the author does not really go beyond existing accounts. Most of his material comes from an earlier period, and there is nothing new here. Unfortunately, the author's acquaintance with European language studies of African history (or Mamluk history for that matter) is limited. This is unfortunate, since much has been done in recent years, especially on the important, although sensitive, subject of the slave trade. The author's treatment of this all-important topic is confined to delimiting the Islamic legal teachings on the subject without any attempt to examine whether these teachings were actually followed or what effects this trade might have had on the societies of Sudanic Africa. Indeed, the author plays down the importance of this trade, saying that it is insignificant in comparison with the number of slaves taken by "the white man." At the same time, the author clearly subscribes to a view that attributes cultural superiority to Arab Muslims, and sees the conversion to Islam by black Africans as something natural. While Islam was no doubt attractive to many people in Bilād al-Sūdān, one requires a more sophisticated and less patronizing model of explanation to contextualize conversion.

Chapter three deals with different trade routes connecting Egypt with Sub-Saharan Africa. Some of the information here is interesting, but it is taken from a group of primary and secondary sources without any sense of historical period. Material from the tenth century is indiscriminately mixed with material from the nineteenth century. Most of the material is simply paraphrased from travelogues without any real attempt at analysis. Nor is any effort made to reconstruct the West or East African role in most aspects of this commerce.

The fourth and final chapter deals with Egypt's role as a center of trade for African goods and the significance of this role for the Mamluk empire. Here one would expect that there would be considerable material of interest to the Mamluk historian. Unfortunately, however, the author, being unaware of most recent literature on his subject, misses this opportunity. For example, he argues that the rise of the Mongols endangered the land routes of trade from Asia. He is totally unaware of Janet Abu-Lughod's argument that it was the collapse of the Mongol imperium that led to Egypt's increased role in the trade between Asia and the Mediterranean world. Much more could have been said in this chapter about the role of West African gold in allowing the Mamluks to carry on trade with the Italian city states and the Catalans. Much of the remainder of the book deals with the Mamluk interest in the Red Sea trade, insofar as that required Mamluk influence in Upper Egypt and in East Africa. Here, it would have been helpful if the author had seen Jean-Claude Garçin's work on Qūṣ. The author does address the rise of the Portuguese empire, but in insufficient detail.

This book seems to have been intended as a textbook for Egyptian undergraduate students of history. Such a textbook would be a welcome addition, and might

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have been used by scholars of the period as well, had it been more carefully thought out, better researched, and less defensively written. Unfortunately, this book will not fill the need for a solid work on its subject.

ANDRÉ RAYMOND, *Cairo: City of History*, tr. Willard Wood (Cairo, The American University in Cairo Press, 2001). Pp. 436

REVIEWED BY BERNARD O'KANE, The American University in Cairo

This is a translation of the author's *Le Caire*, originally published by Fayard in 1993. André Raymond has also published monographs on the major cities of the Arab world in the Ottoman period, and his early works such as *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle* (Damascus, 1974) and *Les marchés du Caire* (Cairo, 1979) established him as one of the foremost authorities on Ottoman and urban history. Anyone working on urban history should be aware of the pitfalls that Orientalists have dug for themselves, and as it was Raymond himself who has exposed many of their limitations[1] (e.g. straight lines good, crooked lines bad) it is reassuring to find him taking on this task.

It will come as no surprise them to learn that this is a masterful exposition of the topic by one thoroughly in command of the sources. Raymond has been a pioneer in the use, not just of texts, but of all the sources available to historians, including the enormously rich legacy of Cairene monuments and their epigraphy. The generous quotations of these interwoven throughout the text lend much to the flavour of the periods they describe, and are analysed in conjunction with social data that they provide.

For example, al-Ghawri's restoration of the old aqueduct is familiar to most visitors to Cairo from its monumental intake tower. Naturally one's first assumption is that it brought drinking water from the Nile to obviate the cost and inconvenience of transporting it in the normal way, by camel or donkey. Raymond shows how most of it instead went to irrigate the sultan's new garden at the Maydan below the citadel, filled with tress and plants imported, with their soil, from as far away as Syria.

The extensive material available for Mamluk history enables Raymond to provide separate histories of individual districts of the city. Among the topics

[1] "Islamic City, Arab City: Orientalist Myths and Recent Views," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 21 (1994):

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considered are the problem of encroachments of houses and shops on the streets, and the flight of the elite from the center to the suburbs — cases of *plus ça change*... Raymond´s earlier work on al-Maqrizi´s account of markets is put to good use together with his knowledge of *waqfiyya*s to give us a vivid picture of contemporary mercantile life.

As one might expect, the Ottoman city is given substantial coverage, and the emphasis on the expansion of the city is a useful corrective to the widely-held earlier views of decline in this period. ″City Administration and Daily Life″ is appropriately given a separate chapter, in which the importance of the *waqf* institution is awarded its due. Here too economic activities are considered in detail, as are housing types and the fashionable or unfashionable neighbourhoods in which they were situated.

Within the section nineteenth and twentieth centuries he shows how the development of Cairo was held back by the granting of public utilities to foreign companies as concessions. The corresponding privileges granted to foreigners in the form of the Capitulations, overseen by the Mixed Tribunals, meant that it was only when the court of Mixed Trubunals wer abolished in 1949 that Cairo received a municipal charter. I wonder, however, whether this backwardness might have had an unforeseen positive consequence, a delay in street widening à la Muhammad Ali, with its concomitant destruction of monuments.

Raymond´s last chapter is entitled ″the Nightmare of Growth.″ He does not sidestep the problems that growth has occasioned, but notes that the public service infrastructure no longer seems incapable of meeting the challenge. There is now perhaps a small cause for optimism — since the ten years in which the book was written, for the first time the population aged five years or younger is smaller than that aged 6-10.

The illustrations, as in the original French edition, are small and mostly of poor quality, although the line drawings from nineteenth century works such as the *Description* reproduce rather better on the matt paper. More importantly, a whole new series of maps were made for the book (and which have also been redrawn for this English edition) which greatly supplement existing medieval maps and which reproduce well as slides can serve as a useful teaching aid to courses on history and urban development.

The translation is fluent and imaginative, substituting ″Preview″ and ″Retrospective″, for instance, for Raymond´s ″Préambule″ and ″Conclusion″ (although on p. 369 ″Saroit″ should be rendered as ″Sarwat″, and elsewhere *″odjaq″* as *″ojaq″*).

The bibliography has not been brought up to date since the appearance of the original in 1993. To it should be added Nasser Rabbat´s study of the citadel of

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Cairo,[2] *The Cambridge History of Egypt*,[3] and a competitor, Max Rodenbeck´s *Cairo: The City Victorious*.[4] In fact, though ostensibly a competitor, Rodenbeck´s work is really aimed at a different audience, those who are encountering Cairo for the first time and who do not necessarily have any background knowledge of the region. Rodenbeck´s is an engagingly written book that can be confidently recommended for the tourist, but for the audience reading this review, Raymond´s book will long remain a classic of its kind.

ADAM SABRA, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Pp. 192.

REVIEWED BY BOAZ SHOSHAN, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

There are topics, as important as they may be, that for some reason cannot generate books. Adam Sabra´s *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam* is a case in point. It is a book in form but hardly in content. This regrettable observation stems from an unavoidable fact that Sabra should have been the first to recognize. That is, one cannot write a book on poverty and charity in medieval Islam, not even in Mamluk Egypt (as the subheading has it), when such sparse information is available. The result is that the book under review is a collection of discussions artificially stitched together, some of which are original, some less so.

Following a brief introduction, Chapter 2 promises to deal with poverty as a social reality and as a religious ideal. As it turns out, Sabra, handicapped by his sources, has much more to tell on the latter than on who and how one was poor in Mamluk Egypt. He gives us a sample of writings by Muslim thinkers—incidentally, none of whom was a medieval Egyptian—on the nexus of poverty and piety, and on the Sufi poor (*faqīr,* in itself an ambiguous term) and pious in particular. Thus, for the renowned al-Ghazzālī, adopting the ″virtue″ of poverty was a sign of contempt for this world. Yet, the sort of intellectual aloofness that appears in this scholar´s views (something not quite obvious to Sabra, it appears) can be detected in al-Ghazzālī´s definition that ″all beings other than God are poor (or needy,

[2]Nasser O Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden, 1995).

[3]*The Cambridge History of Egypt. Vol.1: Islamic Egypt, 640-1517.* ed. Carl F. Petry, *Vol. 2: Modern Egypt from 1517 to the End of the Twentieth Century*, ed. M. W. Daly (Cambridge, 1998)

[4]Cairo, 2000.

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faqīr), since they all depend on Him for the continuation of their existence″ (p. 20). If the so-called ivory tower was ever in need of bad press, al-Ghazzālī provides it. Indeed, it is significant that in his categorization of the states of poverty, only one out of the five groups of the poor consists of ″the hungry man who lacks bread or the naked man who lacks clothes.″ What a flexible definition of poverty does the master of medieval Islamic thought provide; how detached from social reality it is, where there are poor and ″poor.″ Similarly, how ironic sounds the ″espousal of poverty″ as an attitude that ″appealed even to the elites″ (p. 30). One wonders how much consolation to the poor man′s (and woman′s) heart was al-Ghazzālī′s quoting the Prophet to the effect that ″no one is more virtuous than the pauper, if he is content″ (p. 21).

Since Sabra′s section on poverty as a religious ideal is basically a synopsis of some Sufi views, it appears quite ironic that al-Ghazzālī′s opponent, the Hanbalite Ibn al-Jawzī, attacks the very basis of Sufi advocacy of poverty and stresses the negative side of poverty in that Sufi hallucinations are caused by hunger (p. 23). Some decades later, Ibn Taymīyah, a no less prominent Hanbalite, rejected the Sufi equation of piety with poverty. That an analysis of the sort that Sabra is engaged with here can easily slide from the terra incognita of the poor into the more familiar domain of the ″poor″ Sufis can be seen in the author′s turning to the Sufi institution of the *khānqāh* and Egyptian Sufi orders (pp. 27–29). When, in the conclusion of the second chapter, Sabra anticipates the reader′s confusion as to where poverty as a social phenomenon ends and poverty as a religious ideal begins, it seems only too easy to blame it on the ″ambivalence inherent in the Mamluk sources.″ It is no astonishing news that the sources in question were not much concerned with the poor. The task of the social historian is, however, not to accept the smokescreen they put up in their insistent attempts to represent poverty as an intellectual-religious phenomenon. After all, as Sabra tells us, al-Ghazzālī believed that the poor should conceal their shameful status. It is the historian′s task to expose the camouflage that was part of the intellectual enterprise.

With the notable exception of famine relief, there was no system of government-sponsored poor relief, and the Mamluk state left most acts of charity to individual initiative. Sabra opens up his third chapter with discussion of the legal aspects of the mandatory alms tax *(zakāh)*. Here again, the synopsis of al-Ghazzālī′s view epitomizes the practical marginality, not to say non-existence, of the poor in this context. For al-Ghazzālī′s interest is in the conditions that a person paying the *zakāh* must fulfill. Thus the latter has to have the correct intention; or, the tax should be divided among the eight categories of recipients, provided they are present in the place where the tax is paid. The pauper is only in the role of an intermediary between the wealthy and God, a means to express devotion (pp. 37–38). When al-Ghazzālī comes to speak of the recipients, he begins (″interestingly

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enough," according to Sabra, but "unsurprisingly" would seem to fit better) with the ascetics and the Sufis, then goes on to the pious, and only then comes to the conventional poor, so to speak. Here Sabra does not fail to critically observe how al-Ghazzālī identified the "deserving" poor and his emphasis on the Sufis in particular (p. 38). The extent to which al-Ghazzālī's detached discussion of alms was irrelevant to the Mamluk situation we learn from the fact that a state-sponsored alms distribution was abolished by the Mamluk period (p. 40).

When it comes to begging, al-Ghazzālī's disapproval is illuminating: by begging, one complains that God has not provided for one's livelihood (p. 42). Sabra notes correctly that al-Ghazzālī's prohibition of begging when one is able to subsist for a whole year has little connection to reality, since no beggar in Mamluk Cairo can have been so fortunate (p. 44). As with the *zakāh,* al-Ghazzālī's premium is rather on the benefactor, not the beggar: the former may give alms out of embarrassment, which presumably means not out of sincerity. Alternatively, he may be placed at the level of the Creator. If this indeed be the case, the beggar should refuse (pp. 42–43). The fourteenth-century al-Subkī appears no less cynical than al-Ghazzālī: he sees the street beggars as actually blessed by God, since He could have made then dumb or crippled, and thus unable even to plead for alms. The paupers are an embarrassment to al-Subkī and to the Muslim community as a whole. To the jurists, begging was not a subject of interest, while Sufi authors disapproved of begging and praised concealment of need instead. In Sufi circles, begging was considered as distracting one's attention from God. The kind of intellectual sport that the phenomenon stood for is reflected in the confession of one Baghdadi Sufi to have started begging as a means to overcome his own ego (p. 41). Here again, it is indicative of the treatment of beggars that to late medieval writers they are a "professional group," or a folkloric phenomenon, such as the *harāfīsh,* who use various tricks to attract almsgivers. Hence al-Subkī recommends their punishment (pp. 45–46). And Sabra himself looks for these "professionals" in medieval Arabic *belles lettres,* such as the *Qaṣīdat Banī Sāsān* or the *Maqāmāt* that served as entertainment for the elite (pp. 46–49), obviously unaware that what is at issue is an elitist manipulation of the acute problem of poverty into a sort of burlesque.

On actual begging in Mamluk Cairo we know next to nothing, but we know more on sporadic attempts by the government to regulate the beggars (pp. 60–1). No state program for almsgiving was developed; almsgiving for the paupers or the ill is sparsely recorded, mainly on the occasion of public celebrations, religious holidays, or funerals. Specific sultans, amirs, scholars, and others are mentioned in the sources as providing alms (pp. 50–58, 96–98). Thus the scant data suggest that almsgiving was basically a private affair (p. 68). The Mamluk state was satisfied in exercising supervision over orphans' property and intervening on behalf of debtors.

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Chapter 4 deals with the institution of *waqf* as the most permanent form of charitable giving (pp. 69, 70). However, while we find information on the administration of these pious endowments, to a great extent already known, the role of *waqf* in the context of poverty and charity is marginal in the discussion. Here or there we learn that Sultan Qalāwūn, for example, arranged for sixty orphans to receive lessons in a complex he established (p. 75). The same ruler ordered that in an endowment he had arranged, poor and sick people were allowed to reside and receive treatment without payment (pp. 77–78). A rather revealing bit of information is that at least forty-six *waqf*s were established between 1300 and 1517 in Cairo to provide education to boys whose families could not pay for it, or to orphans (pp. 80–81). However, there is little evidence that the state or private individuals took much interest in housing for the poor and orphans (pp. 84, 85). By and large, until the mid-fifteenth century it was rare to find a *waqf* that takes care of feeding the poor (pp. 86–89). Sabra´s calculation of about a thousand poor receiving food from *waqf*s illustrates the extreme marginality of the phenomenon in a city where the number of the poor was very much higher (p. 92).

Chapter 5, which is devoted to ″standards of living,″ tells more, like its predecessor, about various aspects of late medieval Cairo than about the book´s major theme. A case in point is the section on housing. The short section on clothing concludes with the unstartling statement that the poor people´s clothing was simple and that they owned few items of it (p. 112). Also as regards food, it comes as no surprise that the poor were unable to consume meat (p. 114). The sort of quantitative section and the periodic breakdown of the standard of living that Sabra provides, or his attempt to figure out the effect of the Black Death in wage terms, do not add much to the vague idea that we already have. Were the poor among the wage-earners who benefited from the demographic decline? Was there a shortage of skilled labor, of the type for which the poor were usually not qualified?

Chapter 6 is an analysis of the dynamics of food shortages in Mamluk Egypt. This topic has been variously treated in recent scholarship, yet Sabra adduces further material that adds to our fair knowledge of the grain market mechanism. Here again, what we learn of the poor directly is relatively meager. On some occasions sultans and the military elite distributed food, but, as Sabra speculates, only about 15,000 Cairenes out of many more in need benefited on such occasions. On other occasions the poor were reduced even to cannibalism.

In conclusion, as a result of its informal character, much of Mamluk charity is hidden from the eye of the historian, which practically means that he will face difficulties writing about it. That almsgiving was an important social practice in Mamluk Cairo (p. 174) is a plausible guess, yet quite anti-climatic and too general

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at the end of a book that promises to tackle the topic. Charity under the Mamluks was unsystematic and unorganized.

One final comment. Sabra begins his book by stating that the social history of the pre-modern Middle East is in its infancy and ties it to the scholarly lack of interest in it until recently. How recent is Sabra's "recently" is unclear, but such a statement seems now not only inaccurate but also disserviceable to the scholarly field of which Sabra is a member. Some decent social history of the pre-modern Middle East has been written since the late 1960s at the latest. In fact, given the grave problems of historical material of the sort which Sabra's own book demonstrates, the potential for the social history in question may be less than one would certainly wish.

TABĪQ AL-ASHRAFĪ AL-BAKLAMĪSHĪ, *Ghunyat al-Rāmī wa-Ghāyat al-Marāmī fī 'Ilm al-Ramy 'an al-Qaws*. Edited with notes by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ẓāhirī ('Ammān: Dār 'Ammār lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī', 1998). Pp. 176, illustrations.

REVIEWED BY NIALL CHRISTIE, University of British Columbia

This book is an edition of a text on archery by a Mamluk named Tabīq al-Ashrafī al-Baklamīshī al-Yunānī. Little is known of the author, apart from that he was a Mamluk of the sultan al-Ashraf Sha'bān (r. 764/1363-778/1377), and was a distinguished member of a group of Mamluks who completed their education at a military college, and were then sent to work in military workshops. This is the second edition of al-Baklamīshī's work, the first having been made by J. D. Latham and W. F. Paterson in 1970 from a manuscript located in Istanbul. For his edition, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ẓāhirī relies primarily on a different manuscript, located in Aleppo.

Dealing as it does with archery, al-Baklamīshī's work falls into the genre of *furūsīyah* (horsemanship) literature. Despite its narrow literal meaning, the term *furūsīyah* covered a wide range of expertise that a Mamluk was expected to gain, including the use of various weapons, the training of horses and battle tactics. David Ayalon has extended the meaning to cover "all that a horseman had to master by systemic training in order to become an accomplished knight."[1] The Mamluk sultanate saw the production of a large number of manuals devoted to the

[1]David Ayalon, "Notes on the Furusiyya Exercises and Games in theMamluk Sultanate," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 9 (1961), 34.

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subject,[2] of which this is one particularly specialized example.

After an introduction in which he discusses the merits of archery, al-Baklamīshī presents his reader with a *qaṣīdah* (poem) in which he discusses the subject. Then in the second part of his work, he gives a line-by-line explanation of most of the poem. He bases his discussion on six *uṣūl al-ramy* (sources of archery), these being positioning the body, loading, gripping the arrow, drawing, aiming and releasing. He then discusses a number of other matters, including shooting from horseback, stringing the bow (a seventh *aṣl*, according to some other mediaeval scholars, but not counted as such by al-Baklamīshī) and the qualities a student of archery should have. He also digresses into consideration of numerous other topics, including stringing the bow on horseback or when submerged up to the neck, illnesses common to archers, the effects of differences in the size and shape of the body on the archer′s technique, and advice on ways to practice archery. As should by now be clear, al-Baklamīshī discusses his subject in painstaking detail. He illuminates his work with quotations from the Quran, legal texts, poetry and other masters of archery. A final digression on strength and courage finishes the original work, after which the name of the scribe (Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥīm al-Tulwānī) and the date of copying (805/1402) are given. There then begins a new section that has been added to the original manuscript, although the authorship is unclear. The new section supplements the original work, adding further discussions of topics related to archery, including shooting from above or below the enemy, the use of crossbows and different types of arrows and the laws of conduct in battle.

The book ends with a glossary of terminology used to refer to various types of arrows, a conversion table of Damascene measurements to French (metric) and English (imperial) ones, a section giving statistical information on bows, twenty-one illustrations and a contents page. The illustrations provided in the book are useful aids to understanding of the text, although it is not made clear when they were added, as they do not seem to be contemporary. The text also refers the reader several times to illustrations that are either clearly not the ones intended or simply non-existent, which is slightly frustrating.

Al-Baklamīshī′s text gives an interesting insight into the mind of a Mamluk who was a true master of his craft. Through his attempt to provide a ″how to″ guide for his peers, he reveals much about his own perceptions and attitudes. Naturally, one can not say how far his work reflects the actual practice of archery; indeed, it is much more likely that his work demonstrates his own view of how it *should* be practiced. However, it remains of interest to scholars of the period, particularly those studying Mamluk military theory and warfare.

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[2]Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh, 1999), 437.

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