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REVIEW

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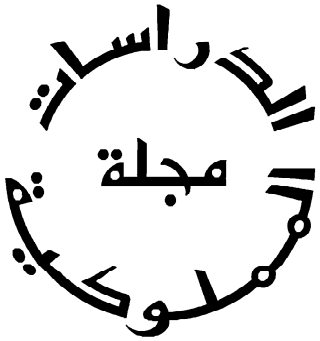

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Mamlūk Studies Review is an annual, Open Access, refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648–922/1250–1517). The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, 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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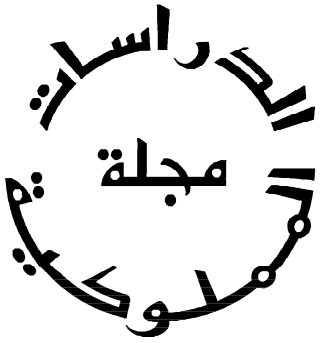

The Bruce D. Craig
Prize for Mamluk Studies

The Prize Committee is pleased to announce that Zayde G. Antrim (Ph.D., Harvard University) has been named the recipient of the 2005 Bruce D. Craig Prize for Mamluk Studies for her dissertation:

"Place and Belonging in Medieval Syria, 6th/12th to 8th/14th Centuries"

The Committee was impressed by Antrim's exhaustive use of various genres of sources to study the formation of a medieval Syrian "sense of place." She broke new ground in developing a paradigm in Mamluk studies for an indigenous and contemporary understanding of "place" and, specifically, the creation of a Syrian identity. The Committee believes that her work will find a place not only in Mamluk studies but also world systems theory/globalization studies and a variety of other disciplines such as political/social/intellectual history, art and architectural history, geography, and archaeology.

The Bruce D. Craig Prize, carrying a cash award of $1,000, is given annually by *Mamlūk Studies Review* for the best dissertation on a topic related to the Mamluk Sultanate submitted to an American or Canadian university during the preceding calendar year. In the event no dissertations are submitted, or none is deemed to merit the prize, no prize will be awarded. To be considered for the 2006 Prize, dissertations must be defended by December 31, 2006, and submitted to the Prize Committee by January 31, 2007. Submissions should be sent to:

Chair, Prize Committee
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The Prize Committee for 2005 consisted of Marlis J. Saleh (University of Chicago); Li Guo (University of Notre Dame); and Bethany J. Walker (Grand Valley State University).

Previous Prize Winner:
2004: Tamar el-Leithy, Princeton University, "Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo: 1293–1524."

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Linda T. Darling
University of Arizona

Medieval Egyptian Society and the Concept of the Circle of Justice

One of the prominent ideologies of justice in medieval Egypt was the one called the Circle of Justice.[1] That term refers to an ancient concept of justice in which the king at the top of society was seen as dependent on the peasants at the bottom; they could only provide him revenue if he provided them justice. Justice, in this view, meant much more than equality before the law; it had to include peace, protection, good organization, and a functional infrastructure. In its summarized form the Circle consisted of eight sentences:

> The world is a garden for the state to master.
> The state is power supported by the law.
> The law is policy administered by the king.
> The king is a shepherd supported by the army.
> The army are assistants provided for by taxation.
> Taxation is sustenance gathered by subjects.
> Subjects are slaves provided for by justice.
> Justice is that by which the rectitude of the world subsists.[2]

Scholars who have referred to this idea have emphasized the absolutist and elitist elements of it and have often neglected its acknowledgment that the ruler´s power rested on the well-being and productivity of his subjects. I would argue, however, that this understanding of political interdependence was pervasive enough in Egyptian society to be known to peasants and artisans as well as rulers and scribes, that institutions were established and maintained to implement it, and that ordinary people used these institutions to demand justice from their rulers, whether

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[1]A version of this article, part of a larger study I am preparing on the dissemination and implementation of the Circle of Justice *(Justice and Royal Power in the Middle East),* was presented at the American Research Center in Egypt Convention, Tucson, Arizona, April 2004; I thank the members of the audience for all their helpful comments.

[2]This version of the Circle is from *The Counsels of Alexander,* presented to the Timurid prince Baysunghur, reproduced and translated by Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*: *Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Washington, 1989), 12; it is identical to one of those in the *Sirr al-Asrār,* our earliest source for the saying.

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or not they received it.[3] First, although Muslims attributed this idea to the Persians, the Persians inherited it from the Assyrians and the Assyrians from the Sumerians. By the time of the rise of Islam, it had been promulgated for three millennia; any idea repeated that long is bound to seep into people´s consciousness to some degree. Second, this concept of justice formed the ideological underpinning for a number of social institutions that touched the lives of ordinary people throughout the Islamic period, notably the regulation of taxation by surveys and registers and the *maẓālim* court, the court for redress of wrongs.

As my colleagues who are Mamluk historians know, I am not a Mamluk historian but an Ottomanist. Anne Broadbridge, however, has drawn our attention to the fact that Ibn Khaldūn, famed as the transmitter of the Circle of Justice to the Ottomans, was not without influence in his own society.[4] In this article, therefore, I will examine medieval Egyptian society´s use of this concept. In so doing, I acknowledge my debt to the many scholars who have already researched aspects of this issue and propose that by knitting their work together we may gain a new view of the subject. First, let us look at the origin of the saying (the origin of the idea itself would take us back to the Sumerians and is outside the scope of this article).

The eight sentences quoted above came from a tenth-century book called *Sirr al-Asrār* or *Secretum Secretorum,* at least part of which was supposedly written by Aristotle for Alexander the Great.[5] That book contained several variations of the sentences, attributed to different people: Aristotle, the Persian king Anūshirvān, the fourth caliph ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and the Muslim conqueror of Egypt ʻAmr ibn al-ʻĀṣ, suggesting that a variety of earlier sources existed at that time which are no longer known to us. The eight sentences initially became popular in Spain, where they were quoted around 980 by Ibn Juljul in a biography of Aristotle that appeared in his collection of medical biographies, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā' wa-al-Ḥukamā'*.[6] A shorter four-line version, which had first appeared as a quotation

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[3]See Aziz al-Azmeh, *Muslim Kingship: Power and the Sacred in Muslim, Christian, and Pagan Polities* (London, 1997); Antony Black, *The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present* (Edinburgh, 2001).

[4]Anne F. Broadbridge, ″Royal Authority, Justice, and Order in Society: The Influence of Ibn Khaldūn on the Writings of al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, no. 2 (2003): 233; Cornell H. Fleischer, ″Royal Authority, Dynastic Cyclism and ʻIbn Khaldûnism′ in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Letters,″ *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 18 (1983): 198–219.

[5]See Robert Steele, ed., *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, vol. 5, *Secretum Secretorum,* English trans. Ismail Ali (Oxford, 1920), 224–27; ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, ed., *Fontes Graecae Doctrinarum Politicarum Islamicarum*, pt. 1, *Testamenta Graeca (Pseudo-) Platonis, et Secretum Secretorum (Pseudo-) Aristotelis* (Cairo, 1954), 126–28.

[6]Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān ibn Juljul al-Andalūsī, *Les générations des médecins et des*

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from anonymous sources in the *adab* work of Ibn Qutaybah (828–89), *'Uyūn al-Akhbār*, was disseminated by Ibn Juljul′s compatriot, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (d. 940), through his *adab* work *Al-'Iqd al-Farīd,* where it was attributed to 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ.[7] This version became very popular in Egypt. The eight sentences first appeared in Egypt around 1050 in an *adab* anthology by al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, who used a version replacing the word ″king″ with ″imam.″[8]

The Fatimids (969–1171), who ruled Egypt in al-Mubashshir′s time, belonged to a movement with a powerful sense of social justice and an expectation of a charismatic ruler to enact it. The precise nature of the ruler′s charisma was a secret imparted only to initiates, but his reforming role was part of the movement′s official propaganda. The Fatimid caliphs, especially in their celebration of public festivals and processions, drew on the common people′s ideology of the ruler as a fountain of justice to whom petitions were addressed, a victorious warrior, sponsor of the infrastructure, and bestower of prosperity.[9] A legal compendium by the chief Fatimid qadi al-Nu'mān highlighted the interdependence of ruler and people and warned that God

> hearkens to the prayer of every oppressed one. . . . Cherish most that conduct which conforms to the highest degree of rightfulness, is the most perfect expression of obedience to the Lord, and ensures most the contentment of the common people, for the discontent of the common people outweighs the contentment of the retinue.[10]

He stressed the interdependence of all social groups and the contribution of that interdependence to the prosperity of the whole society, and therefore recommended that the ruler maintain the populace in good order:

> Take care of those who pay the *kharāj* and consider everything that will keep them in good estate, for upon their welfare rests that

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sages (Ṭabaqāt al-'aṭibbā' wal-ḥukamā'), ed. Fu'ād Sayyid (Cairo, 1955), 26. Many of the quotations of this saying were listed by Iḥsān 'Abbās, ed., *'Ahd Ardashīr* (Beirut, 1967), 98; and Joseph Sadan, ″A ′Closed-Circuit′ Saying on Practical Justice,″ *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10 (1987): 325–41; but these scholars did not contextualize or discuss them.

[7]Ibn 'Abd Rabbih al-Andalūsī, *Al-'Iqd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1928), 1:18.

[8]Abū al-Wafā' al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, *Los Bocados de Oro (Mujtār al-Ḥikam),* ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī (Beirut, 1980), 222.

[9]Paula Sanders, ″From Court Ceremony to Urban Language: Ceremonial in Fatimid Cairo and Fusṭāṭ,″ in *The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times: Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, ed. C. E. Bosworth et al. (Princeton, 1989), 311–22.

[10]Gerard Salinger, ″A Muslim Mirror for Princes,″ *Muslim World* 46 (1956): 28, 33.

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> of others. . . . They and none other are the mainstay of the state, and the people are dependent on them. Therefore you should care for the cultivation of their land and the favorable state of their livelihood more than for the easy collection of their *kharāj*.[11]

In the first century of their rule, the Fatimids could take credit for a rise in Egyptian prosperity, perhaps by following this advice. The protection they provided enhanced their legitimacy, according to the Persian poet and pilgrim Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who was there in the 1040s.

> The people are so secure under the sultan´s reign that no one fears his agents, and they rely on him neither to inflict injustice nor to have designs on anyone´s property. . . . The security and welfare of the people of Egypt have reached a point that the drapers, moneychangers, and jewelers do not even lock their shops—they only lower a net across the front, and no one tampers with anything.[12]

The Fatimids put great stress on their ability to supply grain and bread and to control the grain merchants. They also paid for the repair of irrigation works, provided public safety, granted land to petitioners, and reportedly presided over the *maẓālim* court in person.[13] A Fatimid political testament called the judicial office ″the balance of God´s justice which He has established on earth to vindicate the offended against the offender, to defend the weak against the strong″; it urged rulers to hear the grievances of the people and lighten their tax burden in times of distress, and recommended that judges be appointed who were learned, forbearing, pious, who would not be impatient, ″get angry with the contenders, or be exasperated at the halting speech of stammerers.″[14] Ibn al-Sayrafī, author of a treatise on bureaucracy, saw the people´s petitions as improving the state´s reputation by bringing injustices to the attention of the ruler, initiating investigations, and

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[11]Ibid., 33.

[12]Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Naser-e Khosraw´s Book of Travels (Safarnāma)*, trans. W. M. Thackston, Jr. (New York, 1986), 55–57.

[13]Boaz Shoshan, ″Fāṭimid Grain Policy and the Post of the Muḥtasib,″ *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 13 (1981): 183–85; Yaacov Lev, ″The Suppression of Crime, the Supervision of Markets, and Urban Society in the Egyptian Capital during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries,″ *Mediterranean Historical Review* 3 (1988): 90; Kenneth M. Cuno, *The Pasha´s Peasants: Land, Society, and Economy in Lower Egypt, 1740–1858* (Cambridge, 1992), 20; Sadik A. Assaad, *The Reign of al-Hakim bi Amr Allah (386/996–411/1021): A Political Study* (Beirut, 1974), 78–83.

[14]Salinger, ″Muslim Mirror,″ 34, 31.

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promoting the good behavior of officials.[15] All sorts of people used the *maẓālim* court: Muslims and non-Muslims, city dwellers and country folk, rich and poor sent petitions or brought their cases to the court in Cairo and obtained responses to their pleas.

During the Ayyubid period, the Circle of Justice became one of the elements in the legitimation of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ibn ʻAyyūb. His biographer, the religious scholar Ibn Shaddād, began the biography with chapters on religion and justice describing Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as a just governor, quoting the Prophetic definition of a just governor as the Shadow of God upon earth, and alluding to the just governor′s favored position on the day of resurrection. In the role of a just ruler, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn performed a revenue survey, remitted non-Quranic taxes (restored by later sultans),[16] and regularly held *maẓālim* court. As Ibn Shaddād described the court:

> Every Monday and Thursday he sat in public to administer justice, and on these occasions jurisconsults, kâdis, and men learned in the law were present. Every one who had a grievance was admitted—great and small, aged women and feeble men. He sat thus, not only when he was in the city, but even when he was travelling; and he always received with his own hand the petitions that were presented to him, and did his utmost to put an end to every form of oppression that was reported. Every day, either during the daytime or in the night, he spent an hour with his secretary, and wrote on each petition, in the terms which God suggested to him, an answer to its prayer.[17]

In this receptive atmosphere, literature on justice began to emerge. A work of advice written for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn on the virtues of leadership quoted the eight-line Circle of Justice in a section on the virtue of justice, putting it in the mouth of

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[15]Henri Masse, ″Ibn el-Çaïrafi, Code de la chancellerie d′état (Période fâtimide),″ *Bulletin de l′Institut français d′archéologie orientale* 11 (1914): 113–15.

[16]Claude Cahen, ″L′Évolution de l′iqta‘ du IXe au XIIIe siècle: Contribution à une histoire comparée des sociétés medievales,″ *Annales, économies, sociétés, civilisations* 8 (1953): 46; al-Maqrīzī, *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt,* trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst (Boston, 1980), 75–76, 231. A twelfth-century history of eastern Anatolia equated justice with remission of non-Islamic taxes and injustice with ″murder, mulcting, and the imposition of illegal taxes″ (Carole Hillenbrand, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State* [Istanbul, 1990], 34, 42, 109).

[17]Bahā’ al-Dīn ibn Shaddād, *The Life of Saladin, by Behâ ed-Dîn,* trans. C. W. Wilson and Lieutenant-Colonel Conder (London, 1897; reprint as *Saladin, or, What Befell Sultan Yusuf* [Lahore, 1976]), 15.

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Anūshirvān.[18] Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn´s vizier was also the recipient of a work of *adab* that quoted the four-line Circle and attributed it to ʻAmr ibn al-ʻĀṣ.[19]

Other Ayyubid rulers do not seem to have shared Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn´s concern for justice; only once did the historian al-Maqrīzī mention any later sultan remitting taxes, even temporarily.[20] Still, the institutional mechanisms for delivering justice that were so highly developed under the Fatimids continued to operate under the Ayyubids. People presented petitions in ″Houses of Justice″ in Aleppo and Cairo which were constructed in imitation of the one previously built by Nūr al-Dīn Zangī in Damascus. Rulers handled petitions privately as well as in public, sometimes appointing others to preside over the public sessions. They considered cases with the aid of a panel of qadis, and their decrees were transmitted not by mere secretaries but by high court officials and religious scholars.[21] Documents were registered in the government offices before being issued, and governors and deputies, headmen and holders of *iqṭāʻ*s were required to enforce the sultan´s orders. The few decrees still extant convey the stress placed by Ayyubid administrators on the need ″to protect the subjects whose affairs were entrusted to us by God.″[22]

The Circle of Justice was disseminated more widely in the Mamluk period. Authors quoted it in a variety of different literary genres and contexts, perhaps as part of a broader effort to Islamize and acculturate their foreign-born rulers. The eight-line version appeared in a work on politics written by the jurist and qadi Ibn Jamāʻah. Although he was a jurist, Ibn Jamāʻah apparently saw no conflict between the Quran and the Circle of Justice. He wrote that ″justice is the cause of the increase of blessings and of the growth of prosperity, but that injustice and tyranny are the reason for the destruction of empires,″ and he expected the sultan to

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[18]ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Naṣr al-Shayzarī, *Al-Nahj al-Maslūk fī Siyāsat al-Mulūk* (Beirut, 1994), 248.

[19]Abū al-Faḍl Jaʻfar ibn Shams al-Khilāfah, *Kitāb al-Ādāb,* ed. Muḥammad Amīn al-Khānjī (Cairo, 1930), 27. This author´s source was probably *Al-ʻIqd al-Farīd,* which has the same form of the saying, also attributed to ʻAmr ibn al-ʻĀṣ.

[20]Al-Maqrīzī, *History of the Ayyubid Sultans,* 233.

[21]Yasser Tabbaa, ″Circles of Power: Palace, Citadel, and City in Ayyubid Aleppo,″ *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 182–83; idem, *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo* (University Park, PA, 1997), 63–66; S. M. Stern, ″Petitions from the Ayyūbid Period,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 27 (1964): 14–16. Ibn Shaddād himself waited on Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn for this purpose and was active in his administration of justice; in this way rulers could conveniently obey the counsel of advice writers to associate with religious scholars rather than courtiers and scribes whose faith might be less orthodox.

[22]S. M. Stern, ″Two Ayyūbid Decrees from Sinai,″ in *Documents from Islamic Chanceries,* ed. idem (Columbia, SC, 1965), 13; Geoffrey Khan, *Arabic Legal and Administrative Documents in the Cambridge Genizah Collections* (Cambridge, 1993), 23.

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practice justice, since ″the justice of the king is the life of the subjects and the spirit of the realm.″[23] In exchange for obedience to the ruler, the people had the right to demand justice from him.[24] Ibn Jamā‘ah even quoted the Circle, though in a garbled form:

> The kingdom is a building supported by the army. The army are soldiers assembled by money. Money is sustenance obtained from prosperity, and prosperity is an accomplishment brought about by justice. And the wise men say that the world is a garden whose wall is the state. The state is authority supported by the soldiers. The soldiers are an army assembled by money. Money is sustenance gathered by the subjects. The subjects are servants raised up by justice.[25]

Surprisingly, Ibn Jamā‘ah′s opposite number, Ibn Taymīyah, who recommended a public policy based completely on the Quran and hadith, a *siyāsah shar‘īyah,* also held an understanding of the ruler′s tasks that incorporated aspects of this concept of justice. Like al-Māwardī, he awarded to the sultan the authority to administer justice, wage holy war, lead prayers, and relieve the oppressed, and on that account designated him as God′s Shadow on Earth. Without precisely defining justice, he quoted a hadith about the just ruler and likened him to a shepherd, responsible for the flock: ″he is the right ruler who gives to men what men need and never appropriates except what is lawful and decent.″ Government in his view had essentially two functions, fiscal and judicial, and its purpose was ″the improvement of the religious and material conditions of men.″[26]

Ibn Jamā‘ah′s offhand quotation of the eight-line Circle suggests that the idea was familiar to many of his readers. This impression is strengthened by the fact that al-Waṭwaṭ introduced a section on justice in his book of ethics by paraphrasing

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[23]Quoted in Erwin I. J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam: An Introductory Outline* (Cambridge, 1962, reprint, Westport, CT, 1985), 50; Ann K. S. Lambton, *State and Government in Medieval Islam, An Introduction to the Study of Islamic Political Theory: The Jurists* (Oxford, 1981), 140.

[24]Irmeli Perho, ″The Sultan and the Common People,″ *Studia Orientalia* 82 (1997): 145.

[25]Hans Kofler, ″Handbuch des islamischen Staats- und Verwaltungsrechtes von Badr-al-Dīn ibn Ǧamā‘ah,″ *Islamica* 6 (1934): 363; partially quoted in Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*, 50; and in Lambton, *State and Government*, 143 and n. 16.

[26]Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah, *Ibn Taimiyya on Public and Private Law in Islam,* trans. Omar A. Farrukh (Beirut, 1966), 187–88, 33, 19, 71; see also Fauzi M. Najjar, ″*Siyasa* in Islamic Political Philosophy,″ in *Islamic Theology and Philosophy: Studies in Honor of George F. Hourani,* ed. Michael E. Marmura (Albany, 1984), 100.

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the Circle's last line, doubtless expecting his readers to recognize the quotation:

> For justice is the support of the world and the faith,
> And the cause of the health of all creation.[27]

Readers could have encountered the Circle in a new biography of Aristotle by the thirteenth-century Egyptian author Ibn Abī Usaybī'ah, found in his collection of medical biographies called *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*. Expanding upon Ibn Juljul's earlier biographical collection, this book listed among the sayings of Aristotle the eight sentences, which he desired to be written at his death on the sides of his costly tomb. The eight sentences, carefully numbered, were marked on an abstract eight-sided diagram (of the tomb?).[28]

Other Mamluk authors and encyclopedists, whose books were accessible in private and public libraries throughout the city, wrote chapters on justice and injustice in which they liberally cited the Circle of Justice, most often in its four-line form. The administrator al-Nuwayrī, in his encyclopedic reference work of *adab* and history *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* quoted the standard version and attributed it to 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ; Ibn Ya'qūb included it in a condensation of the Seljuk grammarian al-Zamakhsharī's *adab* collection; and al-Ibshīhī, in his anthology of "edifying discourses and wise maxims" called *Al-Mustaṭraf fī Kull Fann Mustaẓraf,* gave it five terms, and traced it to Anūshirvān.[29] The eight-line version appeared in al-'Abbāsī's *Āthār al-Uwal fī Tartīb al-Duwal,* introduced by the note that Alexander had had between his hands an eight-sided wheel or ball of gold which Aristotle had invented, on each side of which was a political sentence on which he was to act. It was also quoted in Ibn al-Azraq's *Badā'i' al-Silk fī Ṭabā'i' al-Milk,* a work that drew on Ibn Khaldūn.[30]

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[27]Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yaḥyá al-Waṭwaṭ, *Ghurar al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-Wāḍiḥah wa-'Urar al-Naqā'iṣ al-Fāḍiḥah* (Būlāq, 1867), 33.

[28]Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās ibn Abī Usaybī'ah, *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā',* ed. Nizār Riḍā (Beirut, 1980), 102–3.

[29]Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1964), 6:35; Muḥammad ibn Qāsim ibn Ya'qūb, *Rawḍ al-Akhyār, al-Muntakhab min Rabī' al-Abrār fī 'Ilm al-Muḥāḍarāt fī Anwā' al-Muḥāwarāt min al-'Ulūm al-'Arabīyah wa-al-Funūn al-Adabīyah lil-Zamakhsharī* (Būlāq, 1862), 35–36; Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ibshīhī, *Al-Mustaṭraf fī Kull Fann Mustaẓraf* (Beirut, 1983), 1:228. On Cairo libraries see Otfried Weintritt, "Concepts of History as Reflected in Arabic Historiographical Writing in Ottoman Syria and Egypt (1517–1700)," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 199–200.

[30]Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-'Abbāsī, *Āthār al-Uwal fī Tartīb al-Duwal* (Beirut, 1989), 71. Sadan also mentions an unnamed sixteenth-century Egyptian author who described the eight sentences as being written on a wheel or ball which Aristotle turned to demonstrate their continuousness and

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The history written by Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406), with its well-known *Introduction (Muqaddimah)* containing the author′s principles of analysis, was probably the most outstanding cultural product of the period. Ibn Khaldūn served as a *maẓālim* judge, qadi, and royal advisor, describing his work in the *maẓālim* court in his autobiography: ″I made the utmost effort to enforce God′s law, as I had been charged to do. . . . I considered the plaintiff and the accused equally, without any concern for their status or power in society; I gave assistance to any weaker party, to level out power inequalities; I refused mediation or petitions on either party′s behalf.″[31] In the *Muqaddimah* he quoted the Circle of Justice in three versions: the tale of Bahrām and the owls first told by al-Mas'ūdī (d. 956), the four-line saying of Anūshirvān, and the eight sentences of Aristotle.[32] Unlike others who cited the Circle, Ibn Khaldūn did not consider it a mere literary gem or even a piece of good advice; to him it summarized the real nature of human association and formed the key to the science of civilization which he had been led by God to understand and set forth. He credited the author of the *Sirr al-Asrār* with the circular arrangement of the eight sentences but expressed his disapproval of all previous writers for not supporting this crucial statement with arguments or pursuing its historical implications, as he intended to do in his *Introduction:*

> These are eight sentences of political wisdom. They are connected with each other, the end of each one leading into the beginning of the next. They are held together in a circle with no definite beginning or end. The author was proud of what he had hit upon and made much of the significance of the sentences. When our discussion in the section on royal authority and dynasties has been studied and due critical attention given to it, it will be found to constitute an exhaustive, very clear, fully substantiated interpretation and detailed exposition of these sentences.[33]

Ibn Khaldūn felt that all others who had copied and relayed the Circle of

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interrelatedness; al-'Abbāsī was perhaps this author′s source (Sadan, ″A ′Closed-Circuit′ Saying,″ 335 and n. 20). Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Azraq, *Badā'i' al-Silk fī Ṭabā'i' al-Milk,* ed. 'Alī Sāmī al-Nashshār (Baghdad, 1977–78), 1:229.

[31]Ibn Khaldūn, *Le Voyage d′Occident et d′Orient,* trans. Abdesselam Cheddadi (Paris, 1980), 154–55; translated in Morimoto Kosei, ″What Ibn Khaldūn Saw: The Judiciary of Mamluk Egypt,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 112.

[32]Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History,* trans. Franz Rosenthal (New York, 1958), 1:80–82.

[33]Ibid., 81–82; abridgement, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, by N. J. Dawood (Princeton, 1967; hereafter cited as Ibn Khaldūn/Dawood), 40–41.

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Justice had at best touched upon the problems he sought to analyze in depth; Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ merely mentioned them in passing, and al-Turtūshī presented illustrative stories without any analysis. Specialists in religious law such as al-Māwardī discussed the legal conditions under which rulers might assume power, but Ibn Khaldūn was investigating the nature of civilization and the requirements of human existence and therefore found the ruler′s behavior more significant than his origin or intentions. He saw the duties of a good ruler as protecting the community, restraining mutual hostility and attacks on property, supervising the market and enforcing contracts, issuing trustworthy coinage, and keeping the people satisfied with their lot in life. Royal authority, according to him, was a relationship with the ruled: ″A ruler is he who has subjects *(ra‘āyā)* and subjects are persons who have a ruler. . . . If such rulership is good and beneficial, it will serve the interests of the subjects.″ Since civilization was prior to religion, the shari‘ah should be seen not as a constitution for the state but as a measuring stick for rulers, who should employ it in combination with ethical-rational principles in a combination best described in the letter of advice by Ṭāhir Dhū al-Yamīnayn, which he quoted in full.[34] That letter described the governor as

> a watchman, and a shepherd; the people in your realm are only called ″your flock″ because you are their shepherd and their overseer; you take from them that which they hand over to you from their surplus income and subsistence means, and you expend it on things which will ensure their continued material well-being and spiritual welfare and which will alleviate their burdens. . . . As a consequence, charitable works will abound in your land and prosperity will be general in your territories. The land under your rule will burgeon with fertility, the yield from the land tax will increase, and your income in kind will be proportionately expanded. By this means you will be able to strengthen the bonds linking your army to you, and you will bring contentment to your people through the personal largess which you will be able to lavish upon them.[35]

According to Ibn Khaldūn, struggle for power did not in itself delegitimate kingship, but a king′s power could be dissipated by tyranny.[36] The ruler and his army were supported by the wealth of the conquered cities, and they returned the

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[34]Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah,* 1:383; 2:140–56.

[35]C. E. Bosworth, ″An Early Arabic Mirror for Princes: Ṭāhir Dhū′l-Yamīnain′s Epistle to His Son ‘Abdallāh (206/821),″ *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 29 (1970): 37–38.

[36]Lambton, *State and Government,* 163; Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam,* 92.

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people´s taxes in the form of gifts and public works. In order to maintain their power, the powerful became personally involved in the production of wealth. They would be successful in this as long as they remained just, but as the level of luxury among the rulers increased so would the level of exploitation, and injustice soon produced division and ″the ruin of civilization.″[37] So insistent was Ibn Khaldūn on this point that in discussing the injurious effects of injustice on society he repeated in full the story of Bahrām and the owls, a cautionary tale in which Bahrām passed by a ruined village where two owls were hooting. On asking what they were saying, the king learned that the two owls were to be married, and that the female owl had demanded as a wedding present twenty ruined villages like that one so that she could hoot in them. The male owl responded that if the king continued in his unjust ways, he would easily be able to give her a thousand ruined villages.[38] Al-Mas'ūdī´s retelling of the story ended by quoting the vizier´s advice from the Circle of Justice, from which Ibn Khaldūn drew the logical conclusion:

> ″O King, the might of royal authority materializes only through the religious law, obedience toward God, and compliance with His commands and prohibitions. The religious law persists only through royal authority. Mighty royal authority is achieved only through men. Men persist only with the help of property. The only way to property is through cultivation. The only way to cultivation is through justice. Justice is a balance set up among mankind. The Lord set it up and appointed an overseer of it, and that is the ruler. . . .″ The lesson this story teaches is that injustice ruins civilization. The ruin of civilization has as its consequence the complete destruction of the dynasty.[39]

In keeping with Ibn Khaldūn´s view of the Circle of Justice as an essential social mechanism, we will proceed to examine how this concept of justice appeared in actual Egyptian life and practice. Its long life and popularity cannot be attributed merely to the cleverness and pithiness of the forms in which it was stated. Rather,

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[37]Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah,* 1:284, 313, 340–41; 2:3, 5, 105, 139; Ibn Khaldūn/Dawood, 108, 134–35, 189–90, 238.

[38]Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah,* 2:104–5; see Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī, *Les Prairies d´or,* trans. Barbier de Maynard and Pavet de Courteille, rev. and corr. Charles Pellat (Paris, 1962), 1:222–24; idem, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Ma'ādin al-Jawhar,* ed. Barbier de Maynard and Pavet de Courteille, rev. and corr. Charles Pellat (Beirut, 1965–79), 1:293–94. Other authors transferred this story to Anūshirvān or another monarch.

[39]Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah,* 2:104–6; Ibn Khaldūn/Dawood, 238–39.

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it encapsulated elements of the political relationship that were valued by both the rulers and the ruled. First of all, it provided criteria for legitimating and praising the ruler. Many quotations could be cited; for example, in the fifteenth century a member of the ulama called attention to the rulers´ devotion of their lives to the defense of the believers, their protection of the helpless subjects against brigandage and robbery, and their maintenance of order in the cities.[40] The Mamluk rulers themselves adopted it as a standard of behavior; Sultan Qalāwūn´s instructions to his deputy stated that ″justice results in the cultivation of the land and financial profits which are the essential element, or basis, of the armies,″ and so he ordered his deputy to ″collect proper petitions from all the people to discuss them in order to preserve that golden age″ because ″the strong must not use their power to dominate the weak.″[41]

The Mamluk armies were supported by *iqṭā'*s, and it was in the allocation of *iqṭā'*s and the administration of taxes that the rural population felt the ruler´s justice or injustice most directly. Ordinarily government agents estimated taxation levels on the basis of the height of the Nile flood and made a more accurate assessment at the end of the growing season by surveying the actual area planted to crops. ″This,″ said al-Nuwayrī in his secretarial handbook, ″is justice and equity, and whoever departs from it has erred and done wrong.″ An earlier handbook by the late Ayyubid finance official al-Nābulusī had decreed ″failure to make a survey of all private and public property annually, by faithful and recognized assessors, together with honest and intelligent soldiers who are heedful, scribes who are expert in surveying, and two or three of the most faithful accountants, who fear for their honor″ to be ″amazing negligence.″[42] Under the Mamluks, however, the soldiers and administrators who received *iqṭā'*s were responsible for making the survey themselves, which left ample room for abuses.[43] Another type

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[40]Ulrich Haarmann, ″Rather the Injustice of the Turks than the Righteousness of the Arabs—Changing 'Ulamā' Attitudes towards Mamluk Rule in the Late Fifteenth Century,″ *Studia Islamica* 68 (1988): 70.

[41]Linda S. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689A.H./1279–1290A.D.)* (Stuttgart, 1998), 257, 259–60; Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta's and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997), 108–9.

[42]Quoted in Gladys Frantz-Murphy, *The Agrarian Administration of Egypt from the Arabs to the Ottomans*, Supplément aux Annales islamologiques, no. 9 (Cairo, 1986), 11–13, 52; and Charles A. Owen, ″Scandal in the Egyptian Treasury: A Portion of the *Luma' al-Qawānīn* of 'Uthmān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Nābulusī,″ *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 14 (1955): 80.

[43]Frantz-Murphy, *Agrarian Administration,* 69–70. The historian al-Maqrīzī stated that in the early period a survey was performed every thirty years, or once a generation, to readjust the assessed amounts; this period coincided with the solar/lunar year cycle which generated an extra

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of survey, a *rawk*, was made to allocate the *iqṭā'*s among their holders; the Mamluks made two of these surveys, in 1298 and 1315. They had the effect of centralizing landholding in the hands of the elite: the first took *iqṭā'*s from ordinary soldiers and redistributed them to Mamluk officers, while the second increased the number of *iqṭā'*s under the direct control of the sultan.[44] Despite this centralization, however, later Mamluk sultans were unable to maintain the irrigation works or to force the *iqṭā'* holders to do so, and demands for heightened revenue were not met by any improvement in production. The people responded to increasingly oppressive tax collection not with open rebellion but with foot-dragging and evasion, and finally by petitioning the *maẓālim* court.[45]

The *maẓālim* court, the court for the redress of wrongs, was described by the finance official al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418) as "rendering justice to the victim of a wrong against the one who committed it, delivering the right from the wrong, succoring the weak against the strong, assuring the observation of the rules of justice throughout the realm."[46] This institution goes back to ancient Mesopotamia, and the Mamluk rulers also maintained it. During times of political upheaval, however, the *maẓālim* court was not convened. Reopened when the crisis was under control, it symbolized the stability and order provided by a powerful sultan. As elsewhere in the Muslim lands, the *maẓālim* court heard cases against qadis, the great men of the realm, and the sultan himself. Under the Mamluks, however, the *maẓālim* court changed over time from an imitation of Ayyubid judicial practice to a ceremonial occasion renewing the ruler's legitimacy, and royal judicial activity was transferred to other locations.[47]

The Mamluks first heard *maẓālim* cases in the old Ayyubid House of Justice

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lunar year every thirty-three solar years; ibid., 56; Michael Brett, "The Way of the Peasant," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47 (1984): 51. It also coincided with the conjunction of the two unlucky planets Saturn and Mars in the sign of Cancer once every thirty years, presaging disturbances and poor conditions; Ibn Khaldūn/Dawood, 261.

[44]Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt, A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341* (London, 1972), 52–55; P. M. Holt, "The Sultanate of al-Manṣūr Lāchīn (696–9/1296–9)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 36 (1973): 527–29; Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)* (Leiden, 1995), 31–53.

[45]Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1976), 315; Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994), 106.

[46]Al-Qalqashandī, quoted in Émile Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam,* Annales de l'Université de Lyon, ser. 3, fasc. 4 (Paris, 1938–43), 2:147.

[47]Perho, "The Sultan and the Common People," 148; P. M. Holt, "The Position and Power of the Mamlūk Sultan," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 (1975): 247; Tyan, *Histoire,* 184–85, 194, 199.

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in a Cairo madrasah. In 1262, to reinforce the independence of the Mamluk regime, Sultan Baybars built a new House of Justice near the Citadel. In 1315 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad built a second one inside the Citadel, with open sides to suggest the sultan´s accessibility. He presided over its sessions in person, surrounding them with ceremonies courting popular support.[48] Greater attention to justice was possible during his reign because the threat from the Mongols and Crusaders was receding and the sultan was becoming less a military commander and more a head of state.[49] In 1387 Sultan Barqūq started hearing *maẓālim* cases in the Royal Stables below the Citadel. This was not degrading; in Turkish practice stables were often places of political sanctuary. The *maẓālim* sessions in the Royal Stables were preceded by a magnificent military procession down from the palace and featured the chief qadis, government officials, and military officers arrayed around the sultan in advisory positions.[50] The House of Justice in the Citadel then became the place where the sultan ″held court″ in the ceremonial sense, received ambassadors, announced state decisions, set prices and coinage values, received taxes, and distributed robes of honor.[51] Special *maẓālim* courts held at the enthronement of new sultans were ceremonies of legitimation, including the reception of petitioners from all over the country. The hearing of petitions was made a symbolic ornament to the ruler´s power and lost some of its effectiveness as a complaint against governmental oppression, becoming a vehicle for the advancement of officials and the achievement of the sultans´ political aims.[52]

In this situation, real complaints began to employ less formal but more effective channels, such as the sultan´s wife or the bureaucracy.[53] According to al-Qalqashandī, the majority of petitions were handled through administrative channels. Mamluk

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[48]Jørgen S. Nielsen, *Secular Justice in an Islamic State: Maẓālim under the Baḥrī Mamlūks, 662/1264–789/1387* (Istanbul, 1985), 51; Nasser O. Rabbat, ″The Ideological Significance of the *Dār al-ʻAdl* in the Medieval Islamic Orient,″ *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 27 (1995): 14, 18; for diagrams of the locations of these buildings see ibid., 8–11.

[49]The role of the ″vicegerent,″ who took charge while the sultan was away on campaign, declined in importance at just this time; P. M. Holt, ″The Structure of Government in the Mamluk Sultanate,″ in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades,* ed. idem (Warminster, England, 1977), 53.

[50]Walther Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamschen Ägypten* (Hamburg, 1928), 115; Tyan, *Histoire,* 2:247–50; Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* 56–58.

[51]Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* p. 52; idem, ″*Maẓālim* and *Dār al-ʻAdl* under the Early Mamluks,″ *Muslim World* 66 (1976): 130. For a description of these ceremonies see S. M. Stern, ″Petitions from the Mamluk Period (Notes on the Mamluk Documents from Sinai),″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 29 (1966): 265–66.

[52]Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* 61, 123.

[53]Nielsen, ″*Maẓālim* and *Dār al-ʻAdl*,″ 120.

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administration was highly developed, to judge by the flourishing genre of secretarial manuals, at least eight of which were produced during the Mamluk period. These manuals described bureaucratic methods and document production, transmitting the governing heritage of previous regimes as well as current modifications to it. The greatest of them, al-Qalqashandī´s magisterial fourteen-volume *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá,* continued to be read by succeeding regimes as a summation of the best in administrative practice. Extant petitions, and decrees issued in response to them, show that the form of the petition and the procedures used to handle it modified Fatimid precedents only slightly.[54] The topics of complaint in surviving documents include such problems as interference with a poor man´s palm trees, Bedouin raids on St. Catherine´s monastery, and an *iqṭā'* holder´s taking revenue to which he was not entitled.[55]

If the petition process became ineffective, the populace could resort to mass demonstrations. Because the rulers disapproved of popular political activity, however, they tried to maintain a certain level of responsiveness to petitions as a safety valve. The records show that when the authorities became too oppressive, the people did take their demands for justice to the streets.[56] An upsurge of crime, urban rioting, or Bedouin incursions was interpreted as a lapse in the ruler´s ability to govern and a strike against his legitimacy. ″Every grain crisis thus became a . . . political struggle.″[57] In 1412 the sultan punished grocers who closed their shops in the wake of coinage inflation, because the people´s inability to buy bread could be interpreted as the ruler´s inability to feed his flock.[58] Mamluk sultans, to maintain the public order on which their power rested, dispensed free

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[54]Samir al-Droubi, *A Critical Edition of and Study on Ibn Faḍl Allāh´s Manual of Secretaryship ″Al-Ta'rīf bi-al-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf″* (al-Karak, Jordan, 1992), 68–79; J. S. Nielsen, ″Maẓālim,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 6:933–35; Stern, ″Petitions from the Mamluk Period,″ 240–41, 251.

[55]Stern, ″Petitions from the Mamluk Period,″ 245, 250; D. S. Richards, ″A Mamlūk Petition and a Report from the *Dīwān al-Jaysh*,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 40 (1977): 3.

[56]Perho, ″The Sultan and the Common People,″ 148–49; Miura Toru, ″The Structure of the Quarter and the Role of the Outlaws—The Ṣāliḥīya Quarter and the Zu'r in the Mamluk Period,″ in *Urbanism in Islam: The Proceedings of the International Conference on Urbanism in Islam* (Tokyo, 1989), 3:420, 423–24; Boaz Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo* (Cambridge, 1993), 52, 54, 56.

[57]Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1967), 147; Boaz Shoshan, ″Grain Riots and the ´Moral Economy´: Cairo, 1350–1517,″ *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10 (1980): 461. For another food riot with political implications see Richard T. Mortel, ″The Decline of Mamluk Civil Bureaucracy in the Fifteenth Century: The Career of Abū´l-Khayr al-Naḥḥās,″ *Journal of Islamic Studies* 6 (1995): 181.

[58]Shoshan, ″Grain Riots and the ´Moral Economy´,″ 465.

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grain to the poor, took steps to deal with plague or communal strife, and tried to control the violence of the mighty. There was no regular institutional mechanism for this kind of relief; it was thought to proceed directly from the personal justice of the ruler.[59] Sultan Qāytbāy used his judicial role in *maẓālim* to emphasize his solidarity with his subjects and to win their loyalty, intervening personally in cases of official dereliction and announcing his return to health after a riding accident by presiding over the *maẓālim* court. His successor Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī, in order to be seen as the fountain of justice, tore down the House of Justice and built a bigger and more magnificent one. He also restored the Nilometer, Egypt′s barometer of prosperity, and initiated popular festivities, acting as the bestower of the people′s well-being by praying for the annual flood. An advice book written for him, *Ṭaḥrīr al-Sulūk fī Tadbīr al-Mulūk,* was dedicated to the intricacies of judging *maẓālim* cases.[60]

According to the Egyptian historian Ibn Iyās, however, royal injustice was a key issue in the fall of the Mamluks. His narrative of their last days was couched in terms of the Circle of Justice and its absence. He told how Sultan al-Ghawrī′s preparations for war with the Ottomans included oppressive levies on peasant villages and extortion of money from women whose fathers had died and who sacrificed their dowries to pay. Those governing the city in his absence were all known tyrants, except for his regent Tūmānbāy, who heard petitions and was ″beloved by the people and the poor.″ In the first battle against the Ottomans, Sultan al-Ghawrī was killed and his body lost, never to be buried in the magnificent tomb for which he had squeezed so much money from the people. He was commemorated in a verse describing the disastrous effects of injustice:

> Look with wonder at al-Ashraf al-Ghuri,
> Who, after his tyranny had reached its height in Cairo,
> Lost his kingdom in an hour,
> Lost this world and the world to come.

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[59]Perho, ″The Sultan and the Common People,″ 149–50; Carl F. Petry, ″′Quis Custodiet Custodes?′ Revisited: the Prosecution of Crime in the Late Mamluk Sultanate,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 30; William Tucker, ″Environmental Hazards, Natural Disasters, Economic Loss, and Mortality in Mamluk Syria,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 122.

[60]Carl F. Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle, 1993), 79, 106; idem, *Protectors or Praetorians?* 155–58, 164, 161; idem, ″Royal Justice in Mamluk Cairo: Contrasting Motives of Two Sultans,″ in *Saber Religioso y Poder Politico en el Islam* (Madrid, 1994), 197–211. For an interpretation of al-Ghawrī′s actions as resulting from piety see Robert Irwin, ″The Privatization of ′Justice′ under the Circassian Mamluks,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 69. Ibn al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-A‘raj, *Ṭaḥrīr al-Sulūk fī Tadbīr al-Mulūk,* ed. Fu’ād ‘Abd al-Mun‘im (Alexandria, 1982).

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Tūmānbāy was chosen as his successor to ″abolish the tyrannical innovations of al-Ghuri.″ In an act heavy with symbolism, he tore down al-Ghawrī′s stone seat or throne and replaced it with a simple wooden dais. A poem on the occasion explained its meaning:

> The Dais of Justice has come back,
> The ″Mastabah″ of Injustice has been pulled down;
> Tuman Bai has become amongst the people
> As one who causes the wolf to live with the sheep in peace.
> Oh! what a King he is! his justice has become notorious
> Amongst Arabs, and people of other countries.

Besides making symbolic gestures, Tūmānbāy punished advisors who recommended oppressive measures, even to raise money for an army bonus, and he tried to enforce Islamic law. It was too little too late, though; in the last battle his troops fled, leaving him to defeat.[61]

To Ibn Iyās, and perhaps to most Egyptians in the Mamluk period, the Circle of Justice was more than a literary curiosity or a propaganda ploy of rulers. It also played a central role in the moral economy of medieval Egyptian peasants, soldiers, and even historians, encapsulating the people′s expectations of their rulers and providing a measuring rod for how well or poorly they met them. Rulers were well aware of these expectations and tried to live up to them, or at least to appear as if they did. The people′s obedience was carefully graded to match their estimate of the ruler′s justice, and they took advantage of the institutions of petitioning and the *maẓālim* court to register their complaints. Other popular actions, such as bread riots and the withholding of taxes, also played on the same understanding of an interdependence between the people′s welfare and the sultans′ power. Thus, the idea behind the Circle of Justice must be taken seriously as a political idea in the Egyptian context. It is clear that our image of Mamluk government as pure force, which we tend to derive from the notorious custom of Egyptian peasants not to pay their taxes until they were beaten to within an inch of their lives, has to be modified to include a calculus of justice based on the time-honored Circle, according to which the peasants′ ability to provide revenue was understood to be dependent on the ruler′s ability to provide justice and good administration.

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[61]Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Iyās, *An Account of the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt in the Year A.H. 922 (A.D. 1516),* trans. W. H. Salmon (London, 1921; reprint, Westport, CT, 1981), 5–6, 10–11, 17–18, 26, 44, 51–53, 57, 58, 76, 78–80, 93–95, 112–13.

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Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah: His Life and Works*

There is hardly another Muslim Mamluk polymath of such standing who at the same time is best known as the student of someone else. Despite his own extraordinary scientific output, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (1292–1350) was Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taymīyah′s (1263–1328) most famous and important student. Even centuries later, he is still primarily known and defined by his relation and service to his master, whose works he compiled and whose legal doctrines and hermeneutical and theological convictions he defended. While Ibn Taymīyah led a life characterized by conflict on several fronts, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah—with the exception of a few incidents—was a rather bookish man who preferred pious scientific endeavors to confrontations of any kind.

Biographical Sketch

The full name of this scholar in the shadow is Abū ʻAbd Allāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb ibn Saʻd ibn Ḥarīz ibn Makkī Zayn al-Dīn al-Zurʻī al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanbalī, known as Shams al-Dīn Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, or simply Ibn al-Qayyim. It is, however, wrong to say Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, since the element ″Qayyim″ is the first part of a genitive clause. Being in the *status constructus,* ″Qayyim″ takes no article.[1] Nevertheless, this is a frequent mistake. The article, however, returns when one uses the short version Ibn al-Qayyim. Ibn al-Qayyim′s father, Abū Bakr, took care of the Damascene Jawzīyah madrasah, so that the term means nothing more than ″son of the superintendent *(qayyim)* of the Jawzīyah.″[2] There is no need to dwell in this article on the numerous other elements of his name.[3] Suffice it to mention his *nisbah* al-Zurʻī

*This article is a by-product of my splendid isolation in the stacks of Harvard′s marvelous Widener Library. My research there in 2000–3 was made possible by the German Research Community, the ″Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft″ or DFG. I am indebted to the DFG and its anonymous expert advisors for a Heisenberg Grant, including two years abroad. I would also like to thank the students of my block seminar at Tübingen University in the winter term 2004/05 for providing a testing ground for this overview and discussing its principal ideas.

[1]Aḥmad Māhir Maḥmūd al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-ʻIlmīyah* (Beirut, 1984), 4.

[2]Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn Mufliḥ, *Al-Maqṣad al-Arshad fī Dhikr Aṣḥāb al-Imām Aḥmad,* ed. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Sulaymān al-Uthaymīn (Riyadh, 1990), 1:265.

[3]Minute details concerning his names are already given in Bakr ibn ʻAbd Allāh Abū Zayd, *Ibn*

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(or al-Zar'ī), since we thereby ″know that his family originated from Zar'a in the Ḥawrān″ (a coincidental parallel with Ibn Taymīyah, whose family was also ousted from Ḥarrān in that region). ″Most probably they fled the Mongolian invasions in the thirteenth century,″[4] so that his family headed to Damascus which was at that time ″the major academic center of the Ḥanbalite world.″[5] Al-Zar'ah itself is described as ″a small farming village fifty-five miles from Damascus,″[6] though by the time of Ibn al-Qayyim´s birth the family had already moved to Damascus.

This short introduction to what is basically an overview of Ibn al-Qayyim´s œuvre gives only rough biographical outlines.[7] The late medieval sources for biographical data on Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah are already diligently displayed in a number of modern Arabic books on this author and are also presented in the foreword of many editions of his books. Nevertheless, a critical biography of Ibn al-Qayyim in a Western language remains to be written. Entries in the vast biographical dictionaries are quite summary; they display a lot of name-dropping, do not offer much analysis, and copy profusely from one another. Obviously Ibn al-Qayyim´s life was quite humdrum judged from the sensationalist viewpoint of biographers and historical chroniclers. Of real importance, however, are the contributions by another Hanbali legal scholar, Ibn Rajab (d. 1397), and the Shafi'i traditionalist and historian Ibn Kathīr (d. 1373).[8] These two were the most important of Ibn al-Qayyim´s pupils.[9] Ibn Rajab is also ″the last great representative of medieval Hanbalism.″[10] While the reception of Ibn al-Qayyim´s life and works

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Qayyim al-Jawzīyah: Ḥayātuhu Āthāruhu Mawāriduh (Riyadh, 1412/1991–92), 17–36, 202–8. On Ibn al-Qayyim´s confusion with other authors see also 'Iwaḍ Allāh Jād Ḥijāzī, *Ibn al-Qayyim wa-Mawqifuhu min al-Tafkīr al-Islāmī* (Cairo, 1960), 26–27.

[4]Gino Schallenbergh, ″The Diseases of the Heart: A Spiritual Pathology by Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawzīya,″ in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras* (Proceedings of the 6th, 7th and 8th International Colloquium organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 1997, 1998 and 1999), ed. U. Vermeulen and J. van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2001), 3:421.

[5]Michael Cook, ″On the Origins of Wahhābism,″ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 3d ser., 2, no. 2 (1992): 193.

[6]*Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on the Invocation of God: Al-Wābil al-Ṣayyib min al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib,* trans. Michael Abdurrahman Fitzgerald and Moulay Youssef Slitine (Cambridge, 2000), xi.

[7]For biographical details see Livnat Holtzmann, ″Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya,″ in *Arabic Culture 1350–1830,* ed. D. Stewart and J. E. Lowry, Dictionary of Literary Biography (forthcoming); and idem, ″Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya,″ in *Medieval Islamic Civilization: an Encyclopedia,* ed. Josef W. Meri (New York, 2005).

[8]Ḥijāzī, *Ibn al-Qayyim wa-Mawqifuhu min al-Tafkīr al-Islāmī,* 4. The work is a Ph.D. dissertation from al-Azhar University from 1947. There is a 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1972), with a revised introduction.

[9]On such students see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 179–83. Another important student is the Shafi'i scholar Muḥammad al-Dhahabī.

[10]Henri Laoust, ″Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 3:822.

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in later centuries certainly deserves more exploration, his rediscovery and enthusiastic propagation by modern Salafi authors also calls for closer analysis. A comparable revival and hailing by such reformers was offered not only to Ibn Taymīyah, his co-Hanbali or *the* neo-Hanbali par excellence, but also, for instance, to the Maliki scholar Muḥammad al-Shāṭibī (d. 1388) and the Shafi'i 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn 'Abd al-Salām (d. 1262). But before we can examine the ongoing interest in Ibn al-Qayyim´s œuvre, we need to get a better idea of the scope and variety of this reservoir beyond merely rattling off book titles. Since about the second half of the twentieth century, a considerable number of monographs written in Arabic on Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah have been published. These works are often the outcome of dissertations and other academic writing from faculties of religion, shari'ah law, or literature from the Near East. Many of them are not found in Western libraries or are not even officially published.[11] This study refers to at least some of them, but does not have the scope to fully present their major findings.

To give but a short biographical overview,[12] Ibn al-Qayyim was born on 7 Ṣafar 691/29 January 1292 in Damascus, the city where he also died. His father was a religious scholar who excelled notably in inheritance law *(al-farā'iḍ)*. From him Ibn al-Qayyim received his initial scientific education[13] and took over the responsibility for the Jawzīyah madrasah. This madrasah also ″served as a court of law for the Hanbali *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* of Damascus.″[14] His education ″was particularly wide and sound.″[15] The subjects of his education, and especially the names of his teachers, are extensively listed in the biographical dictionaries.[16] Among them are Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Hindī,[17] an opponent of Ibn Taymīyah, Ibn Taymīyah himself, and Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamā'ah. Al-Ṣafadī in particular not only mentions the names of his teachers but also lists the titles of certain books Ibn al-Qayyim read with them.[18] According to the Shafi'i scholar al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505),

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[11]Some such works are mentioned in Rāshid ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ḥamd´s introduction to his edition of Ibn al-Qayyim, *Al-Kalām 'alá Mas'alat al-Samā'* (Riyadh, 1409/1988–89), 14.

[12]Cf. *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on the Invocation of God,* xi–xiii; Schallenbergh, ″The Diseases of the Heart,″ 421.

[13]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 37, provides information on some close relatives, 38–41.

[14]Laoust, ″Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya,″ 821.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Given in full detail in Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 49–50, 159–78; cf. Ḥijāzī, *Ibn al-Qayyim wa-Mawqifuhu min al-Tafkīr al-Islāmī,* 31–33; Ibn al-Qayyim, *Al-Kalām 'alá Mas'alat al-Samā',* ed. al-Ḥamd, 24–28, followed by a list of his students, 28–30.

[17]Sayyid Ahsan, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab* (Aligarh, 1988), 32.

[18]Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt* (Istanbul, n.d.), 2:271.

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> he wrote *(ṣannafa),* debated *(nāẓara),* practiced legal development *(ijtahada),* and became one of the great authorities *(al-a'immah al-kibār)* in Quran commentary, hadith, practical jurisprudence, both roots [i.e., Quran and *sunnah*], and Arabic.

He then lists fourteen of Ibn al-Qayyim's important works.[19] Ibn Rajab mentions that he was likewise versed in "the science of proper conduct, and the terminology, allusions, and subtleties of the Sufis" *('ilm al-sulūk, wa-kalām ahl al-taṣawwuf, wa-ishārātihim wa-daqā'iqihim).*[20] He is described as outstanding not only for his erudition, but also for his level of piety. Ibn Kathīr says, "I do not know in this world in our time someone who is more dedicated to acts of devotion" *(akthar 'ibādah minhu),* and reports as an eyewitness that Ibn al-Qayyim had a manner of conducting the ritual prayer by which he very much prolonged it, stretching out its bowing and prostration, while turning a deaf ear to any critique thereof.[21] And Ibn Rajab adds that:

> he was extremely *(ilá al-ghāyah al-quṣwá)* dedicated to divine devotion *('ibādah),* spending the night in prayer *(tahajjud)* as well as prolonging ritual prayer, and he invoked the name of God *(ta'allaha),* was eager to recall him *(lahija bi-al-dhikr),* articulated affection, repentance, and petitions of forgiveness and longing directed to God *(shaffafa bi-al-maḥabbah, wa-al-ināb ah wa-al-istighfār, wa-al-iftiqār ilá Allāh),* and expressed that he could be broken by him *(wa-al-inkisār lahu)* and that he is cast into his hands *(wa-al-iṭrāḥ bayna yadayhi),* [all] while entering or leaving prayer *('alá 'atabat 'ubūdīyatihi)*—to which I never witnessed anything comparable therein [the prayer] *(lam ushāhid mithlahu fī dhālik).*[22]

The Hanbali scholar must have been so peculiar in his pious exaggerations, as some see it, that he caused bewilderment even among the inhabitants of Mecca. Ibn Rajab further relates:

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[19]Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb Bughyat al-Wu'āh fī Ṭabaqāt al-Lughawiyīn wa-al-Nuḥāh,* ed. Muḥammad Amīn al-Khānjī (Cairo, 1326/1908–9), 4.

[20]'Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl 'alá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Cairo, 1372/1953), 2:448.

[21]Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'īl ibn 'Umar Ibn Kathīr al-Qurashī, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* (Beirut, n.d.), 14:253.

[22]Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl 'alá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 2:448; cf. the translation in *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on the Invocation of God,* xiii.

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> He often *(marrāt kathīrah)* performed the pilgrimage and dwelled in the holy vicinity *(jāwara)* in Mecca. The people of Mecca, however, remember him because of his intense devotion *(shiddat al-'ibādah)* and multiple circumambulations of the Kaaba *(kathrat al-ṭawāf),* which was regarded as astonishing.[23]

Although Ibn al-Qayyim made several pilgrimages to Mecca and spent some time there, he is not recorded for any other *ṭalab al-'ilm* activities. His modern chronicler Abū Zayd takes some pains to dispel the impression of a travel-shy, stay-at-home scholar, pointing out that many eminent religious scholars were already on hand in Damascus so that he did not need to head for other places. The old patterns of *ṭalab al-'ilm* cannot be applied, he says, arguing:

> this is not unusual for his epoch, because the cities at that time used to be jam-packed with expert scholars of Islam, outstanding Quran memorizers, and well-versed writers, especially in Damascus.[24]

When Ibn Taymīyah returned from Egypt to Damascus in 712/1313 after an absence of six years, Ibn al-Qayyim, at that time aged twenty-one, joined him immediately as a student and remained so until the former's death in 1328. The companionship with this extraordinary scholar and, from the viewpoint of influential circles, notorious troublemaker, was an experience that shaped Ibn al-Qayyim's life like no other.[25] In 1318, however, the sultan "forbade Ibn Taymīyah to issue fatwas regarding repudiation (*ṭalāq*) contrary to the prevailing Hanbali doctrine." Ibn Taymīyah landed in prison for five years but kept receiving visitors, as well as publishing and issuing fatwas. Only after his last arrest in 1326, prompted by a critical treatise on the visitation of graves, was he finally denied the possibility to write, a serious deprivation that lasted until his death in 1328.[26] During this period, Ibn al-Qayyim was likewise held captive in the citadel of Damascus, accused of prohibiting visits to the grave of Abraham *(ziyārat qabr al-Khalīl).* Ibn Ḥajar

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[23]Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl 'alá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 2:448.

[24]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 54, cf. 55–57; similarly, al-Ḥamd's introduction to his edition of Ibn al-Qayyim, *Al-Kalām 'alá Mas'alat al-Samā',* 22.

[25]*Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on the Invocation of God,* xi.

[26]Ahsan, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab,* 18. On Ibn Taymīyah's various detentions, see Sherman A. Jackson, "Ibn Taymiyyah on Trial in Damascus," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 39, no. 1 (1994): 41–85; Donald Little, "Significance of the Detention of Ibn Taymiyya," 311–27; Hasan Qasim Murad, "Ibn Taymiyya on Trial: A Narrative Account of his Miḥan," *Islamic Studies* 18, no. 1 (1979): 1–32.

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al-ʻAsqalānī recounts: ″He was arrested together with Ibn Taymīyah in the Citadel after he was humiliated *(uhīna)* and paraded around (*ṭīfa bi-hi*) on a camel.″[27] Delivering fatwas in line with the convictions of Ibn Taymīyah had brought about this treatment and the ensuing arrest, but since Ibn al-Qayyim was ″the most devoted disciple of his mentor, he was especially marked for humiliation.″[28] He would have been shown more leniency and been spared this sojourn in prison had he switched legal doctrines. In the eyes of many followers, however, this self-imposed fate had nothing to do with social stain and stigmatization; on the contrary, as Ibn Rajab reports:

> He underwent inquisition *(umtuḥina),* and was repeatedly harmed *(ūdhá)* and jailed *(ḥubisa)* together with Ibn Taymīyah in the Citadel, but separated from him, and was only released from there after the death of the shaykh.[29]

The verb *umtuḥina* already recalls the *″miḥnah″* of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal[30] and—in this great tradition of sacrifice in the name of wholehearted dedication to the holy sources—the subsequent multiple *miḥan* of Ibn Taymīyah. By undergoing his own ″mini-*miḥnah*,″ Ibn al-Qayyim impressed certain people, while repulsing others. Even after the death of Ibn Taymīyah, Ibn al-Qayyim ″suffered distress *(umtuḥina)* once again because of the fatwas of Ibn Taymīyah.″[31] In 1345 he ″experienced *miḥan* with the judges″ *(jarat lahu miḥan maʻa al-quḍāh),* namely Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 1378), the Shafiʻi chief judge of Damascus, ″because of his fatwa on the permissibility of a shooting contest *(musābaqah)* without a third competitor *(muḥallil).*″[32] In 1349, a second conflict arose with al-Subkī because of Ibn al-Qayyim´s stubborn adherence to Ibn Taymīyah´s fatwas, this time concerning the much-debated issue of repudiation (*ṭalāq*).[33] Before it escalated, however, a conciliation *(ṣulḥ)* was reached between the two with the help of the amir Sayf

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[27]Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʻyān al-Miʼah al-Thāminah,* ed. Muḥammad Rashīd Jād al-Ḥaqq (Cairo, 1966–67), 4:22.

[28]Ahsan, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab,* 33.

[29]Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl ʻalá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 2:448.

[30]Walter M. Patton, *Aḥmed Ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna: A Biography of the Imâm Including an Account of the Moḥammedan Inquisition Called the Miḥna, 218–234 A. H.* (Leiden, 1897).

[31]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 4:22.

[32]Ibid., 23; Sayyid Ahsan, ″Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah,″ *Islam and the Modern Age* 12 (1981): 245; idem, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab,* 34.

[33]Ahsan, ″Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah,″ 245; Ahsan, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab,* 34. The fatwas that prompted his imprisonment are mentioned by Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 69–71.

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al-Dīn ibn Faḍl in al-Subkī′s garden.[34] Compared with his scientific skills, Ibn al-Qayyim′s ″career was modest, and was hampered by the opposition that the neo-Ḥanbalism of Ibn Taymiyya encountered in the governmental circles of the Mamlūk state.″[35] But when Ibn al-Qayyim died in 1350 at the age of sixty,[36] his burial attracted huge crowds of people.[37] He was buried beside his mother in the Bāb al-Ṣaghīr cemetery. One of his three sons, ʻAbd Allāh (d. 1355), succeeded him at the Ṣadrīyah madrasah.[38] The main feature that ultimately distinguishes Ibn al-Qayyim from Ibn Taymīyah seems to be his general mood and attitude toward the world. According to a modern Damascus-based shariʻah commentator, Wahbah al-Zuḥaylī, their ″modes of thinking″ *(al-minhaj al-fikrī)* differ in that Ibn Taymīyah is ″hot-blooded″ *(ḥādd al-mizāj),* whereas Ibn al-Qayyim is ″mild-tempered″ *(raqīq al-uslūb).*[39] While his master is often described in situations revealing his choleric rage, notorious impatience, uncompromising stance, aggressiveness, and sarcastic rejoinders, Ibn al-Qayyim is perceived as a profoundly different, rather sanguine individual. Ibn Kathīr, who claims to have belonged to the inner circle of this scholar, reports that Ibn al-Qayyim′s behavior easily won sympathy, because he never envied others or caused harm to them, never blamed anybody, or harbored hatred or grudges.[40] Conflicts simply for the sake of dispute did not suit his personality. He preserved this attitude even in jail:

> During his imprisonment he was busy reciting the Quran, contemplating, and meditating. Thereupon many good things were disclosed to him *(fa-futiḥa ʻalayhi min dhālik khayr kathīr)* and he gained a large portion of the right senses and sentiments *(al-adhwāq wa-al-mawājīd al-ṣaḥīḥah).* As a consequence, he mastered the

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[34]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:232. For Ibn al-Qayyim′s supporters *(anṣār)* and enemies see Ḥijāzī, *Ibn al-Qayyim wa-Mawqifuhu min al-Tafkīr al-Islāmī,* 38 f.; ʻAbd al-ʻAẓīm Sharaf al-Dīn, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*: *ʻAṣruhu wa-Manhajuhu wa-Ārāʼuhu fī al-Fiqh wa-al-ʻAqāʼid wa-al-Taṣawwuf* (Cairo, 1967), 72–73.

[35]Laoust, ″Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya,″ 822.

[36]For a discussion of the exact date see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 4:23; Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1348–92/1929–72), 10:249; Ḥijāzī, *Ibn al-Qayyim wa-Mawqifuhu min al-Tafkīr al-Islāmī,* 31; Sharaf al-Dīn, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 68–70.

[37]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 311 f.

[38]Ahsan, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab,* 35. The other two were named Ibrāhīm and Sharaf al-Dīn (*Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on the Invocation of God,* xii).

[39]*Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn wa-Bāb al-Saʻādatayn,* ed. Yūsuf ʻAlī Budaywī (Damascus and Beirut, 1993), 14.

[40]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:253.

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> discourse of the sciences of the people of [mystical] experiences *(ahl al-ma'ārif)* and gained access to their concealed issues *(wa-al-dukhūl fī ghawāmiḍihim),* and his writings are full of that.[41]

His modern admirers feel obliged to point out

> that he felt longings and affection that captivated his heart, not in the manner of the extreme Sufis, but of the venerable forefathers″ *(lā 'alá manhaj al-mutaṣawwifa al-ghulāh bal 'alá ṭarīq al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ).*[42]

Ibn Rajab, who is very famous himself, confessed, ″I never saw anybody with a broader knowledge than him.″[43] A modern editor praises Ibn al-Qayyim as ″the very learned and encyclopedic″ *(al-'allāmah al-mawsū'ī).*[44] He was indeed outstanding *(bāri')* in several sciences, such as Quran commentary *(tafsīr),* jurisprudence, Arabic, grammar, and hadith.[45] Ibn al-Qayyim also possessed an impressive library, since he purchased more manuscripts than anybody else,[46] and devoted much time to studying them. This is apparent after reading only a single example of his writings.[47] This is not to say that he diligently quoted from his sources; as a matter of fact, he seldom explicitly quoted anything but Quran and *sunnah*—a deplorable habit that makes an assessment of his original contributions all the more difficult.[48] He was such an enthusiastic collector of books ″that he obtained an unquantifiable number of them, while his children for a long period after his death used to sell out of this what they did not finish.″[49] His whole life was rooted in religious sciences. He served as imam at the Jawzīyah, and after 1342 he also taught at the Ṣadrīyah and other institutions. Further, he issued fatwas and wrote books and treatises. Al-Ṣafadī informs us that

> he worked a lot, disputed, carried out legal development, bent to

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[41]Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl 'alá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 2:448.

[42]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 45.

[43]Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl 'alá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 2:448.

[44]In the introduction to *Miftāḥ Dār al-Sa'ādah wa-Manshūr Wilāyat al-'Ilm wa-al-Irādah,* ed. Ḥassān 'Abd al-Mannān al-Ṭībī and 'Iṣām Fāris al-Ḥarastānī (Beirut, 1994), 5.

[45]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 249.

[46]Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl 'alá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 2:449.

[47]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 61.

[48]Al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-'Ilmīyah,* 60.

[49]Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 4:22.

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> the quest [for knowledge], composed, and became one of the great leading figures in the science of Quran commentary, hadith, legal and theological hermeneutics, jurisprudence, and Arabic.[50]

The sources convey the impression of a workaholic.[51] His fields of expertise can hardly be enumerated, because

> the sciences he learned and in which he distinguished himself encompass nearly all the sciences of the holy law and God″ *(takādu ta'ummu 'ulūm al-sharī'ah wa-'ulūm al-ālihah).*[52]

One would expect that a scholar of his standing would have had a brilliant career in the relevant institutions of higher learning. This, however, did not happen, although he did have some moderate success. Three reasons account for this. First, his œuvre provides no easy reading. The scope of his erudition and eloquence could not make up for his long-windedness and tedious focus on the whole range of minutia related to any problem.[53] Second, his loyalty to Ibn Taymīyah, even after his death, proved to be a persistent impediment to achieving higher aspirations: ″Ibn Qayyim had a decent career, but since he represented and propagated Ibn Taymīyah′s thoughts, he was at times hampered by the same circle which opposed his master.″[54] As a consequence, his writings quickly fell into oblivion: ″A majority of his works have become extinct since in the early periods no care was taken to preserve them.″[55] Already in Ibn Rajab′s time, Ibn al-Qayyim′s works were largely forgotten.[56] Abū Zayd discusses this ″concealed reason why many of the writings of Ibn al-Qayyim disappeared from the Islamic library″ *(al-sirr fī ikhtifā' al-kathīr min kutub Ibn al-Qayyim 'an al-maktabah al-islāmīyah).*[57] He answers his own question by referring to the widespread indignation *(sakhṭ)* and quarreling *(khiṣām)* instigated by the activities of Ibn Taymīyah, which continued well beyond the latter′s death. Finally, ″the enemies of this Salafi call″ *(da'wah)* embarked upon

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[50]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* 2:271; for a collection of such reports, see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 51–53.

[51]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:253.

[52]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 51.

[53]Cf. the critical remarks in Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 4:22.

[54]Ahsan, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab,* 33.

[55]Ibid., 35.

[56]Moshe Perlmann, ″Ibn Qayyim and the Devil,″ in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida* (Rome, 1956), 2:330.

[57]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 309.

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the collection and burning of his books and those of his master Ibn Taymīyah.[58] Even today, the accusation against Ibn Taymīyah that he was the ″father of Islamic fundamentalism″[59] rarely includes Ibn al-Qayyim explicitly, but it does cast a certain suspicion on him. A third reason is the repression of Hanbalism with the advent of Ottoman supremacy, which basically favored Hanafism.[60] The development of Hanbalism has barely been studied for the period before the eighteenth century,[61] when the importance of neo-Hanbali authors reappears as a sort of *deus ex machina* in the time of Muḥammad Ibn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1792) in what today constitutes the kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

While this introduction is intended to point out areas of needed research, rather than filling existing gaps, the main part of this article is dedicated to an attempt to outline and categorize Ibn al-Qayyim´s works. We first need to know what is available before addressing the other serious problems of insufficient research. The methodology chosen for the second and main part of this article therefore differs from that of the previous two projects in this long-term series on the ″great Mamluk polymaths.″[62]

Works of Ibn al-Qayyim

Introductions to editions of Ibn al-Qayyim´s works usually present only a number of various book titles to acquaint the reader with his literary output.[63] Such a mere enumeration of doubtlessly important titles is of little help in getting an idea of the character and composition of his œuvre.[64] Even those who do try to somehow

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[58]Ibid., 310.

[59]Birgit Krawietz, ″Ibn Taymiyya, Vater des islamischen Fundamentalismus?: Zur westlichen Rezeption eines mittelalterlichen Schariatsgelehrten,″ in *Theorie des Rechts und der Gesellschaft*, ed. Manuel Atienza et al. (Berlin, 2003), 39–62.

[60]Ignaz Goldziher, ″Zur Geschichte der ḥanbalitischen Bewegungen,″ *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 62 (1908): 28; Ahsan, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab,* 30.

[61]Michael Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge, 2000), 158–63.

[62]Marlis J. Saleh, ″Al-Suyūṭī and His Works: Their Place in Islamic Scholarship from Mamluk Times to the Present,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 (2001): 73–89; Stephan Conermann, ″Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 955/1548): Life and Works,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8 (2004): 115–39.

[63]For instance, 57 titles in *Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmīyah fī al-Siyāsah al-Sharʻīyah,* ed. Aḥmad al-Zaʻbī (Beirut, 1999), 22–24, or 20 ″most important and renowned of his books″ in *Shifāʾ al-ʻAlīl fī Masāʾil al-Qaḍāʾ wa-al-Qadar wa-al-Ḥikmah wa-al-Taʻlīl,* 2nd ed. Muṣṭafá Abū Naṣr al-Shalabī (Jeddah, 1415/1995), 1:13–14. Cf. for pre-modern voices Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 192–97.

[64]The article ″Ḥanābila″ by Henri Laoust, in *EI*^{2}, 3:161, mentions only four titles; likewise his article ″Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya,″ 822. Much more detailed are the ones by Najīb Māyil Haravī,

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categorize his writings still feel compelled to deliver some remarks on the general difficulty of analyzing his scientific output on the basis of clear-cut categories. One editor, for instance, in his long introduction quotes from Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ′s preliminary remarks to his edition of *Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah* to make the observation:

> At times, it is difficult for the researcher to consider something from the writings of Ibn al-Qayyim under a specific category *(ism mawḍū'ī khāṣṣ),* . . . because what he wrote on theology *(kalām)* is not devoid of legal aspects as well as of exhortations that refine the hearts (*al-mawā'iẓ al-muraqqiqah lil-qulūb),* and what he wrote on practical jurisprudence and on the principles of legal reasoning is also not free from theological studies and exhortations.[65]

Given this multi-layered character and departure from familiar genres, it is no coincidence that many an editor or scholar has shied away from such a task or stopped short of any further inquiry by simply reverting to a list of titles, or by reducing the state of the art to broad generalizations. No wonder that Western secondary literature has also failed to come up with any remedy in this regard, providing only bits and pieces.[66] The relevant Western secondary literature on Ibn al-Qayyim is cited throughout this article.

Therefore, it has proven necessary to try a somewhat different approach here. To begin with, the present overview makes no attempt to recommend a definitive way to finally pinpoint Ibn al-Qayyim′s numerous writings under familiar genre labels. It calls for a heightened awareness that any classification can be used only loosely, since most of his writings defy easy categorization and—as a rule—transcend familiar boundaries. That is to say, the majority of Ibn al-Qayyim′s writings could also legitimately be categorized differently. Nevertheless, the present study does not seek recourse to overly broad, catch-all categories, such as cramming several titles under one simple term, for instance ″religious doctrine″ *(al-'aqīdah),* to cope with this inherent ambiguity. Instead, the aim is to convey a sense of

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″Ibn-i Qayyim-i Jawzīyah, ″in *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif-i Buzurg-i Islāmī* (Tehran, n.d.), 4:498–504 (in Persian), and especially Yusuf Şevki Yavuz, ″İbn Kayyim el-Cevziyye,″ in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1999), 20:109–27 (in Turkish).

[65]*Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah,* ed. Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ (Damascus, 1961), editor′s introduction, 1:70; *Hidāyat al-Ḥayārá fī Ajwibat al-Yahūd wa-al-Naṣārá,* ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Ḥājj (Damascus, 1996), 80. The categorization of al-Ḥājj is highly problematic anyway and does not really address the critical issues, 81–102.

[66]An exception is Schallenbergh, ″The Diseases of the Heart,″ 421–28, who analyzed a number of his writings.

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certain common threads in the author's interest and output. With a bird's-eye view, but occasionally with a more focused look at specific writings or parts of them, Ibn al-Qayyim's publications available in print[67] are grouped under certain headings and their characteristics identified. His most important works will be discussed in the context of these subdivisions of his religious-scientific output. For the sake of lucidity, not every small tract attributed to him shall be recorded.[68] Nor is any chronology of his many writings an option here. The same applies to an analysis of Ibn al-Qayyim's sources and his indebtedness to certain authors, especially to Ibn Taymīyah, although the latter's influence is sporadically traced. The authenticity of a substantial percentage of Ibn al-Qayyim's work is contested, and much that appears in modern publications is of little help to the critical reader who seeks the precise original work. This is an issue that will be demonstrated for a variety of writings in this survey which proceeds along the following divisions:

(1) Inner-Islamic religious polemics
(2) Intercommunal polemics with Jews and Christians
(3) Eschatology
(4) Quranic studies
(5) Hadith
(6) Legal methodology
(7) Practical jurisprudence
(8) Moral psychology
(9) Pervasion of everyday life

On a second level, the intricate complex of modern perception, transformation, and distortion of Ibn al-Qayyim's œuvre by a plethora of compilations will be exposed to a certain degree. This includes a discussion of the considerable confusion about the original format of his writings.

(1) Inner-Islamic Religious Polemics

As an ardent follower of Ibn Taymīyah, it is not surprising to find Ibn al-Qayyim engaged in religious polemics. Committed to a literal understanding of the holy sources, he unwaveringly promotes religious truth as he sees it. Various intra-communal Muslim polemics aim to address familiar Hanbali hot spots. A voluminous

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[67]For manuscripts of Ibn al-Qayyim's writings see 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Alī al-Shibl, *Al-Thabat: Fīhi Qawā'im bi-Ba'ḍ Makhṭūṭāt Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad Ibn Taymīyah wa-ma'ahu Mulḥaq bi-Ba'ḍ Makhṭūṭāt al-'Allāmah Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah* (Riyadh, 1417/1996–97), 177–221.

[68]The most detailed account of titles attributed to Ibn al-Qayyim or referred to by himself is Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 201–309.

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opus is *Al-Ṣawā'iq al-Mursalah 'alá al-Jahmīyah wa-al-Mu'aṭṭilah*.[69] This edition is the fruit of a dissertation from Saudi Arabia. Its editor writes in his introduction that ″Ibn al-Qayyim lived in a century to a certain degree similar to the century we live in today,″ since an awakened Islamic community of believers returned to its Creator, ″after it had suffered from defeats and losses of vigor.″[70] People in the author's time were divided into several factions, while books on Sufism, philosophy, and speculative theology *('ilm al-kalām)* were widespread and ″the people were tempted *(futina)* by them, like they are tempted today by Western patterns of thinking, so that truth and void get mixed″ in the minds of many Muslims. Ibn al-Qayyim is given credit for laying down ″the most important principal deviations *(uṣūl al-inḥirāfāt)* of the Jahmites, if not of many sects *(firaq).*″ Things turned bad because reason *('aql),* desire *(shahwah),* personal judgement *(ra'y),* caprice *(hawá),* politics *(siyāsah),* and personal taste *(dhawq)* had taken precedence over revelation (*waḥy*).[71]

A smaller but better known work is his *Ijtimā' al-Juyūsh al-Islāmīyah 'alá Ghazw al-Mu'aṭṭilah wa-al-Jahmīyah*, which is also known under the title *Al-'Ulūw wa-al-Istiwā'* (Highness and sitting), or simply *al-Istiwā'* . It is a tract that pinpoints the literalistic criticism of Jahmites. It speaks out against denying God all attributes *(ta'ṭīl)* by dealing with the Quranic information that God, for instance, ″sat″ on a throne *(al-raḥmān 'alá al-'arsh istawá).*[72] The attributes of God *(ṣifāt Allāh)* are an old and fiercely debated issue with manifold hermeneutical implications.[73] The title of the epistle *(risālah)* in question could be translated as ″Gathering the Islamic troops to fight the *mu'aṭṭilah* and the *jahmīyah*.″ The ″troops″ Ibn al-Qayyim claims to have assembled therein are utterings taken from the Quran, dicta of the Prophet's companions and their followers, renowned traditionalists, leading

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[69]Ed. 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Dakhīl Allāh, 4 vols. (Riyadh, 1412/1991–92). An early short version *(mukhtaṣar)* by Muḥammad Ibn al-Mawṣilī already dates from Cairo 1348/1929–30, repr. 1370/1950–51. Ahsan, ″Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah,″ 247, renders the work incorrectly as ″Al-Ṣawā'iq al-Munazzalah 'alá al-Jahmīyah wa-al-Mu'aṭṭalah.″

[70]*Al-Ṣawā'iq al-Mursalah 'alá al-Jahmīyah wa-al-Mu'aṭṭilah,* ed. al-Dakhīl Allāh, 1:5.

[71]Ibid., 1:6.

[72]*Ijtimā' al-Juyūsh al-Islāmīyah 'alá Ghazw al-Mu'aṭṭilah wa-al-Jahmīyah: Wa-huwa al-Risālah al-Musammá bi-"al-Istiwā',"* ed. Riḍwān Jāmi' Riḍwān (Mecca and Riyadh, 1415/1995), 5–7. Early editions include one in Amritsar, India, in 1314/1896–97 and in Cairo in 1350/1931–32 (Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 201; Ahsan, ″Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah,″ 246). On Ibn Ḥanbal and *istiwā'* see al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-'Ilmīyah,* 74–78.

[73]Cf. Daniel Gimaret, *Les noms divins en islam: Exégèse lexicographique et théologique* (Paris, 1988); 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī, *A Medieval Critique of Anthropomorphism: Ibn al-Jawzī's* Kitāb Akhbār al-Ṣifāt, a critical edition of the Arabic text with translation, introduction, and notes by Merlin Swartz (Leiden, 2002).

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interpreters of the Quran *(a'immat al-tafsīr),* Sufis and ascetics, theologians, poets, even one or the other philosopher, jinn and ants—as enshrined in the cherished reservoir of early Islamic texts.[74]

A third theological tract of importance is *Shifā' al-'Alīl fī Masā'il al-Qaḍā' wa-al-Qadar wa-al-Ḥikmah wa-al-Ta'līl* (Cure of the ill concerning questions of divine ordinance, predestination, underlying reason, and finding explanations).[75] The title is an example of Ibn al-Qayyim's penchant for medical metaphors when discussing—to his mind—necessary normative orientations. This time, his arguments are basically directed against the ideas of, on the one hand, the fatalistic Islamic school of the Jabarīyah, and on the other, the Qadarīyah, perceived as extreme proponents of man's free will.[76] The cluster of theological problems in question is not a mere academic exercise for Ibn al-Qayyim, but relates to his inner conviction of man's accountability for his deeds, of which freedom of choice is the essential precondition. He therefore stands up against all charges of blurring the boundaries between good and evil or—to be more precise—between certain and uncertain as well as between permitted and forbidden. According to him, an allegation of fatalism is averse to the logic of divine legislation, the sending of prophets, and reward or punishment in the hereafter.[77] The same applies, on the other hand, to self-important behavior of man when confronted with God's demands. Today, as well, self-appointed agents of the Islamic heritage *(turāth)* underline the necessity of "the authentic method for an understanding of religious doctrine" *(al-manhaj al-ṣaḥīḥ fī fahm al-'aqīdah)* which they claim to have found in Ibn al-Qayyim's theological works.[78]

Also to be mentioned under the rubric of religious polemics is the booklet *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah fī al-Intiṣār lil-Firqah al-Nājiyah* (The Sufficient and salutary concerning the triumph of the rescued group).[79] It is better known as

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[74]*Ijtimā' al-Juyūsh al-Islāmīyah,* 7.

[75]*Shifā' al-'Alīl,* 2nd ed. al-Shalabī, with information on previous editions, 1:8. The first edition was printed in 1323/1905–6 and published by Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn Abū Farrās al-Na'sānī al-Ḥalabī (Cairo). On the latter's shortcomings, see *Shifā' al-'Alīl,* ed. al-Ḥassānī Ḥasan 'Abd Allāh (Cairo, ca. 1975), 645–46.

[76]*Shifā' al-'Alīl,* ed. Khālid 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Sab' al-'Alamī (Beirut, 1995).

[77]*Mukhtaṣar Shifā' al-'Alīl fī Masā'il al-Qaḍā' wa-al-Qadar wa-al-Ḥikmah wa-al-Ta'līl,* ed. Khālid ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Akk (Beirut, 1996), 5.

[78]*Shifā' al-'Alīl,* ed. al-Sab' al-'Alamī, 5. A translation into Urdu, printed in Lahore as *Kitāb al-Taqdīr,* is mentioned by Ahsan, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah," 246.

[79]Hüseyin Avni Çelik,, "İbn Kayyim el-Cevziyye ve Ma'āni el-Edevāt ve'l-Hurūf adlı eseri," *Atatürk Üniversitesi İlāhiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 8 (1988): 152. There is an Arabic edition published by the Suhail Academy in 1976 in Lahore (Pakistan). An early one appeared already in Cairo in 1319/1901–2. It is reminiscent of Ibn Taymīyah's *Al-Waṣīyah al-Kubrá fī 'Aqīdat Ahl al-Sunnah*

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Al-Qaṣīdah al-Nūnīyah (Ode rhyming in the letter ″n″). It comprises important tenets of faith in the form of a didactic poem or mnemonic manual.[80] It further fueled fierce discussions of old disputes over the divine attributes, etc., that were launched by various commentaries and which prompted a famous refutation from Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 1355), namely *Al-Sayf al-Saqīl fī al-Radd ʻalá Ibn Zafīl* (The Burnished sword in refuting Ibn Zafīl), i.e, Ibn al-Qayyim.[81] During the lifetime of its author the *Nūnīyah* could only be transmitted in secret.[82]

(2) INTERCOMMUNAL POLEMICS WITH JEWS AND CHRISTIANS

Hidāyat al-Ḥayārá fī Ajwibat al-Yahūd wa-al-Naṣārá (Guidance for the confused: answers to Jews and Christians) has been variously published. A first edition appeared already in 1323/1905–6 in Egypt.[83] Of special importance for any future analysis is a Saudi Arabian dissertation from the Islamic Muḥammad Ibn Saʻūd University which was published in 1416/1996. It provides not only an important critical edition,[84] but also has an introduction of more than 200 pages. Concerning the context of his engagement, this Saudi Arabian editor informs his readers:

> The Jews and Christians used to carry the banner of enmity against the Muslim community *(ummah)* in the course of the centuries. Their deceit *(kayd)* is endless, not restricted to one means, but they fight against Muslims with all the means available to them. At times, they oppose them with strength and combat *(qitāl),* if they find a way to do so; at others, they take recourse to deceit and conspiracies or they defame by suspicions *(qadḥf al-shubuhāt),* trying to fill Muslims with scepticism toward their [own] doctrinal beliefs *(tashkīk al-muslimīn bi-ʻaqīdatihim)*.

The book at hand is therefore presented as a reaction to such endeavors and allegations from non-Muslim religious communities.[85] It basically deals with seven

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wa-al-Firqah al-Nājiyah: al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-ʻIlmīyah,* 153.

[80]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 288, counted nearly 6,000 verses. For Ibn al-Qayyim as a poet see al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-ʻIlmīyah,* 147–53.

[81]Cf. the *sharḥ* by Muḥammad Khalīl al-Harrās (Miṣr, n.d.). See also <http://www.sunnah.org/history/Innovators/ibn_al_qayyim_al-jawziyya.htm> (accessed Jan. 2, 2005), with a modern repetition of neo-Hanbali bashing of anthropomorphism by G. F. Haddad, 1. On the agnomen Ibn Zafīl see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 31–36.

[82]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 288.

[83]*Kitāb Hidāyat al-Ḥayārá* (Miṣr, 1323/1905).

[84]*Hidāyat al-Ḥayārá,* ed. al-Ḥājj, 7, 141–42.

[85]Ibid., 6.

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key theoretical issues raised by distortions of Islam by Jews and Christians, such as their questioning of the prophethood of Muḥammad.[86] The editor not only discusses the monograph´s relation and independent value in comparison with Ibn Taymīyah´s *Al-Jawāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ li-Man Baddala Dīn al-Masīḥ,* but also of two similar earlier works—one by Abū al-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī (d. 1085) and the other by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī (d. 1111).[87] Finally, the editor not only claims a great portion of originality for Ibn al-Qayyim´s piece and sees his endeavors as complementary to Ibn Taymīyah, but also stresses that the tone of the former is very different from that of his teacher:

> I found that Ibn al-Qayyim did not believe in the manner of harshness *('unf)* and abuse *(shatm)* in responding to his adversary *(khaṣm).* Rather, he believed in the principle of dispelling doubt *(shubhah)* with arguments *(bi-al-ḥujjah)* and proof *(burhān).*[88]

While his tone and strategies in making counter-arguments may differ from Ibn Taymīyah´s, Ibn al-Qayyim, like his master, nevertheless does not hesitate to directly address all the touchy issues. However, a proper comparison of their style and content, as well as a comparison with other writings, is still awaited.

(3) Eschatology

With two outstanding monographs of wide circulation, eschatology is one of Ibn al-Qayyim´s influential areas of activity. Of these two, the ″Book of the Soul,″ *Kitāb al-Rūḥ,*[89] is the more popular. It is a real best seller[90] and gained him a reputation even in circles opposed to him in other ways.[91] Less polemical, but definitely rooted in his literalist text interpretation, are his efforts concerning Islamic eschatology. Although the Quran declares the question of the human soul to be unexplorable, for instance in 17:85, no other author has presented such a diligent investigation of the holy sources and statements on the various aspects of

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[86]The seven main topics are, for instance, listed ibid., 131–32.

[87]Ibid., 161–68. Cf. *A Muslim Theologian´s Response to Christianity: Ibn Taymiyya´s* al-Jawab al-Sahih, ed. and trans. Thomas F. Michel (Delmar, NY, 1984).

[88]*Hidāyat al-Ḥayārá,* ed. al-Ḥājj, 595.

[89]The subtitle is often rendered in the following form as *Al-Rūḥ: Fī al-Kalām 'alá Arwāḥ al-Amwāt wa-al-Aḥyā' bi-al-Dalā'il min al-Kitāb wa-al-Sunnah wa-al-Āthār wa-Aqwāl al-'Ulamā',* cf. for instance the 3rd ed. (Miṣr, 1966). All sorts of blends are available. For details of this work see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 253–58.

[90]To mention here only one other edition of *Al-Rūḥ,* ed. 'Iṣām al-Ṣabābiṭī (Cairo, 1415/1994).

[91]<http://www.sunnah.org/history/Innovators/ibn_al_qayyim_al-jawziyya.htm> (accessed Jan. 2, 2005), 2.

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the soul, especially of its whereabouts after death but before resurrection.[92] The work itself was written in response to requests for clarification, since the question of the createdness and essence of the soul, etc., had always stirred discussions.

A bit less famous, but also widely circulating in many editions is his *Ḥādī al-Arwāḥ ilá Bilād al-Afrāḥ* (Guide for the souls to the realm of ultimate joy), also known under the title *Kitāb Ṣifat al-Jannah* (Book on the quality of paradise).[93] What the *Kitāb al-Rūḥ* provides for the knowledge of the soul, the ″Guide for the Souls″ offers with regard to Paradise. Such aspects as its ″gardens, fruits, castles, black-eyed maidens, food, clothes, attire, adornment, jewelry, and the rivers therein″ are so vividly described by direct quotations from the hadith and Quran that the reader is motivated to strive for them.[94] Striking are the most blatant, down-to-earth accounts of what can be awaited. Such descriptions are a necessary outcome of Ibn al-Qayyim´s non-metaphorical understanding of the holy texts. Since it comprises some five hundred pages in Arabic and suffers from ″too much information on chains of authorities *(kathrat al-ʻanʻanah),* burden of some topics, and multitude of linguistic details,″ several short versions have been arranged.[95] Ibn al-Qayyim did not come up with a comparable compilation for the other option for the soul (and body), i.e., hell, although the latter is also an important topic in the sources. Because Muslims are not supposed to stay in hell eternally, Ibn al-Qayyim prefers not to frighten people about the hereafter *(tarhīb).* There is no famous independent *tarhīb* work in Ibn al-Qayyim´s literary output on the torments awaiting sinners in the world to come. Probably such an approach did not match his personal inclinations and preaching habits, as shall be demonstrated in the section on his moral theology.

(4) Quranic Studies

Ibn al-Qayyim did not leave behind a complete commentary on the Quran *(tafsīr)* or undertake to write one, as might be expected from a scholar of his standing.

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[92]Cf. Timothy J. Gianotti, *Al-Ghazālī´s Unspeakable Doctrine of the Soul: Unveiling the Esoteric Psychology and Eschatology of the* Iḥyā' (Leiden, 2001), which also contains a good selection of relevant secondary literature.

[93]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 240.

[94]*Ḥādī al-Arwāḥ ilá Bilād al-Afrāḥ*, ed. ʻIṣām al-Ṣabābiṭī (Cairo, 1992), 5. There is no need to deal with the various editions here. Cf. Soubhi el-Saleh, *La vie future selon le Coran* (Paris, 1971), 15–18, 25–43 and passim.

[95]*Tahdhīb Ḥādī al-Arwāḥ ilá Bilād al-Afrāḥ*, ed. Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad al-Būrīnī (Amman, 2000), 5. Another one bears the title *Rūḥ wa-Rayḥān min Naʻīm al-Jinān: al-Mukhtaṣar al-Ṣaḥīḥ min Ḥādī al-Arwāḥ li-Ibn al-Qayyim,* ed. ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd Aḥmad al-Dukhānjī (Alexandria, 1990). A similarly shortened French version is also available, namely *Le paradis:le rapprochement des âmes dans le monde des merveilles=Hadi el arwah ila biladi el Afrah,* ed. Fdal Haja, trans. Hébri Bousserouel (Paris, 1996), 1.

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Although he drew heavily on the Quran, he usually combined Quranic interpretation with other aspects throughout his writing. He seems to have been more dedicated to the demonstration of certain ideas or perspectives than to an abstract goal of general commentary. Given his penchant for long-windedness even on the most minute topics, an official *tafsīr* work would have exceeded all reasonable measures anyhow. Instead, we find him concentrating on the interpretation of certain passages of the Quran. In this sense he produced a limited number of sporadic, but clear-cut *tafsīr* units. His extensive use of Quran interpretation in the course of general writing on the holy sources could be called commentary in a secondary sense, but is as such difficult to specify. Of special importance in the overall understanding of Ibn al-Qayyim´s *tafsīr* are his remarks on the very beginning and some final parts of the Quran: the very first chapter, namely ″The Opening″ Surah *(al-Fātiḥah),* and the likewise short chapters at its end, namely Surah 109, ″The Unbelievers″ *(al-Kāfirūn),* as well as Surahs 113, ″The Twilight″ (*al-Falaq*), and 114, ″The People″ *(al-Nās).* The modern book market offers in monographic form a *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥah,* a *Tafsīr al-Mu'awwidhatayn,*[96] i.e., a commentary on the last two surahs, numbers 113 and 114, and a *Tafsīr Suwar al-Kāfirūn wa-al-Mu'awwidhatayn*.[97] A closer look at the first of these three books, *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥah,* reveals that it has simply been taken from the first part of the compendium *Madārij al-Sālikīn.*[98] In his opening words Ibn al-Qayyim nevertheless describes the *fātiḥah* as the bearer of the most central names of God.[99] The editor concedes this fact only by quoting the relevant part of the *Madārij* in his very last footnote.[100] The second separately published commentary booklet, *Tafsīr al-Mu'awwidhatayn,* is also taken from one of the huge compendia, namely *Badā'i' al-Fawā'id*.[101] It draws attention to Ibn al-Qayyim´s attachment to spiritual healing and white magic,[102] i.e., to counter-measures against evil by reference to specifically strong passages of the Quran, notably the last two surahs. The author himself announces:

> The aim is to discuss these two surahs and to show that they are

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[96]*Tafsīr al-Mu'awwidhatayn*, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1392/1972).

[97]*Tafsīr Suwar al-Kāfirūn wa-al-Mu'awwidhatayn,* ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Beirut, ca. 1974).

[98]*Madārij al-Sālikīn bayna Manāzil Iyyāka Na'budu wa-Iyyāka Nasta'īn,* ed. Riḍwān Jāmi' Riḍwān (Cairo, 2001), 1:21–113, corresponds to the above-mentioned *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥah*. *Madārij al-Sālikīn* is dealt with in this article in section eight on moral theology.

[99]*Tafsīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥah,* ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Cairo, ca. 1979), 3.

[100]*Tafsīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥah,* 107.

[101]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 233.

[102]On magic see below the part on ″medicine of the Prophet″ *(ṭibb al-nabī)* in section 9.

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> tremendously useful, that people strongly benefit from, if not need them, that no one is able to dispense with them, that they both have a specific effect on the repulsion of sorcery *(siḥr),* the evil eye *(al-'ayn),* and other evils *(shurūr),* and that man's need to seek God's protection *(isti'ādhah)* through these two surahs is more pressing than his need for breath, food, drink, and clothes.[103]

To further illustrate this, Ibn al-Qayyim follows up on some incomplete and less impassioned comments of his teacher Ibn Taymīyah. The tracts of both authors were also patched together for publication in Bombay.[104] The special interest in this issue in the Indian subcontinent is further indicated by the fact that an Urdu translation of Ibn al-Qayyim's commentary on the *mu'awwidhatān* had already been prepared in 1927 in Lahore.[105]

On top of that, it was an Indian follower who initiated the most ambitious project and compiled a sort of all-encompassing *tafsīr* of Ibn al-Qayyim that was—to the disappointment of his admirers—not authentic. A graduate of Nadwat al-'Ulamā' in Lucknow, Muḥammad Uways al-Nadwī, browsed through the works of Ibn al-Qayyim, sorting out their *tafsīr* sections in order to cut-and-paste them into a single compendium of 631 pages. As its title he chose "The Precious Commentary" (*Al-Tafsīr al-Qayyim),*[106] insinuating that these were the authentic words of the late medieval Hanbali scholar. Its editor in 1949, Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī, however, leaves no doubt in his concluding remark that he had to do much more than just straighten out some slips in Uways' concoction.[107] Successive projects to set up a mega-*tafsīr* were carried out in the 1990s. They undertook to eliminate the many remaining deficiencies and also to broaden the scope of writings reviewed. One of these hails all the works of Ibn al-Qayyim as being "gardens full of fruit and rivers with fresh water,"[108] while another characterizes its task as

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[103]*Tafsīr al-Mu'awwidhatayn,* ed. Maḥmūd Ghānim Ghayth, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1392/1972), 5.

[104]Ibn Taymīyah and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Tafsīr al-Mu'awwidhatayn,* ed. 'Abd al-'Alī 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Ḥāmid, 2nd ed. (Bombay, 1987), editor's introduction, 5.

[105]By someone named 'Abd al-Rahīm, according to Ahsan, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah," 247.

[106]*Al-Tafsīr al-Qayyim lil-Imām Ibn al-Qayyim,* compiled—as indicated on the title page—by "the meticulous Salafi" Muḥammad Uways al-Nadwī, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Cairo, 1368/1949), "with the support of the distinguished traders and Mecca-based Salafis 'Abd Allāh and 'Ubayd Allāh Dihlawī." Al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-'Ilmīyah,* 219, assures his readers that Ibn al-Qayyim did wish to write a *tafsīr* and dedicates a large section to its description and reconstruction, 219–80, 288.

[107]*Al-Tafsīr al-Qayyim lil-Imām Ibn al-Qayyim,* 631. For more criticism see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 232.

[108]*Badā'i' al-Tafsīr: al-Jāmi' li-Tafsīr al-Imām Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* ed. Yusrī al-Sayyid

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uncovering a ″hidden treasure″ *(kanz madfūn).*[109] However, both authors of these reviews deserve credit for not listing Ibn al-Qayyim as the official author, as is often done, and indicating on the title page that they had put together *(jama'a)* the amalgamation contained therein themselves. Such an announcement is welcome these days. Devices to attract the customer by creating fancy titles recalling familiar works of an author are, nevertheless, widespread. In this case, the title of the newly created *Badā'i' al-Tafsīr* seems to suggest the authentic *Badā'i' al-Fawā'id.*

This *Badā'i' al-Fawā'id* (Amazing benefits) is a voluminous work not easily categorized.[110] Al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505) describes it as having ″many benefits, the majority of which concern questions of grammar″ *(huwa kathīr al-fawā'id aktharuhu masā'il naḥwīyah).*[111] Various other lessons derived from Quran and *sunnah* are also assembled in this work, which transcends genre categories. Wahbah al-Zuḥaylī, in his introduction to one edition, characterizes it as a unique combination of

> general principles in law and legal methodology, explication of the underlying reasons for the Holy Law *(asrār al-sharī'ah),* detailed description of eloquence, purity of expression, ease of style, clarity of purpose and intention, and power of persuasion by bringing forward manifold and comprehensive proofs, by subtlety and precision, renewal *(tajdīd)* and creative development *(ijtihād),* so that it belongs to the core of general books on the shari'ah.[112]

For the sake of convenience, we consider the ″Amazing Benefits″ here within the section on Quranic studies, also in order to distinguish it from other writings in this field—be they real or synthetic. *Badā'i' al-Fawā'id* should not be confused with *Al-Fawā'id,* another authentic work by Ibn al-Qayyim that is presented in our section eight on moral psychology. Neither does it have anything to do with *Kitāb al-Fawā'id al-Mushawwiq ilá 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān wa-'Ilm al-Bayān*[113] (The

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Muḥammad (al-Dammām, Saudi Arabia, 1414/1993), 1:13.

[109]*Al-Ḍaw' al-Munīr 'alá al-Tafsīr,* selected by 'Alī al-Ḥamad al-Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥī from the works of Ibn al-Qayyim (Dakhna, Saudi Arabia, in collaboration with Riyadh, 1995–99), 1:5.

[110]*Badā'i' al-Fawā'id*, ed. Markaz al-Dirāsāt wa-al-Buḥūth, 2nd ed. (Mecca and Riyadh, 1998), which contains, by the way, Ibn al-Qayyim's *tafsīr* on the Mu'awwidhatān, 2:424–500. There are also earlier editions from Cairo.

[111]Al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb Bughyat al-Wu'āh,* 25.

[112]*Badā'i' al-Fawā'id,* ed. Ma'rūf Muṣṭafá Zurayq et al. (Beirut, 1994), 1, introduction of Wahbah al-Zuḥaylī.

[113]*Al-Fawā'id,* ed. Salīm ibn 'Ubayd al-Hilālī (Riyadh, 1422/2001), see the foreword by al-Hilālī, 18–19. For criticism regarding its ascription to Ibn al-Qayyim see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 291–92.

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Benefits which arouse interest in the sciences of the Quran and of eloquence). The latter is often ascribed to Ibn al-Qayyim and has appeared as such on the book market.[114] An Arabic edition from Pakistan warmly recommends it for didactic purposes in a direct address to prospective readers.[115] This, however, proved to be a wrong ascription, because its real author is the scholar Ibn al-Naqīb.[116] To set the record straight, a recent edition printed a warning under the subtitle on the front page which reads ″printed wrongly under the title *Al-Fawā'id al-Mushawwiq ilá 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān wa-'Ilm al-Bayān* of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah.″[117] Certain parts of the huge *Badā'i' al-Fawā'id,* as happened with several of Ibn al-Qayyim´s compendia, have been published separately.[118] Some such partial publications tend to be blended with other writings by Ibn al-Qayyim. In short, whether spurred on by pious engagement or the rules of the market, there is a huge number of creative compilers, extractors, condensers, and synthesizers who have a share in the current confusion about the scholar´s œuvre.[119]

To conclude this section on his studies immediately related to the Quran we must include a separate,[120] authentic tract by Ibn al-Qayyim, the monograph *Al-Tibyān fī Aqsām al-Qur'ān* (The Exposition on oaths in the Quran). It is ″a commentary on Quranic verses such as ´By the sun and its radiance.‴[121] It is described in one of the introductions as an absolutely unequaled and unique source on the topic.[122] The medieval scholar diligently identifies instances of oaths in the holy book, revealing their background and offering erudite musings. Especially the passage that ″Muhammad was the only prophet of God, from among numerous

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[114][Pseudo-] Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Kitāb al-Fawā'id al-Mushawwiq ilá 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān wa-'Ilm al-Bayān,* ed. Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Khusht (Cairo, 1994), with criticism of previous editions, 11.

[115]Printed in Gujranwala (Pakistan), 1394/1974.

[116]For a detailed analysis and evaluation see *Badā'i' al-Tafsīr,* 1:64–75.

[117]*Muqaddimat Tafsīr Ibn al-Naqīb: Fī 'Ilm al-Bayān wa-al-Ma'ānī wa-al-Badī' wa-I'jāz al-Qur'ān,* ed. Zakarīyā Sa'īd 'Alī (Cairo, 1415/1995).

[118]For instance, *Dhamm al-Ḥasad wa-Ahlihi,* ed. 'Alī Ḥasan 'Alī 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Amman, 1986); *Irshād al-Qur'ān wa-al-Sunnah ilá Ṭarīq al-Munāẓarah wa-Taṣḥīḥihā,* ed. Ayman 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Shawwā (Beirut and Damascus, 1417/1996).

[119]This does not mean, of course, that there are not also many examples of serious secondary literature in Arabic exploring important aspects of Ibn al-Qayyim´s work, e.g., 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Lāshīn, *Ibn al-Qayyim wa-Ḥissuhu al-Balāghī fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (Beirut, 1982), to name but one example for the realm of *tafsīr*.

[120]Against the claim that this is merely part of a book see *Al-Tibyān fī Aqsām al-Qur'ān*, ed. 'Iṣām Fāris al-Ḥarastānī and Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Zaghlī (Beirut, 1994), 5.

[121]*Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on the Invocation of God,* xv.

[122]*Al-Tibyān fī Aqsām al-Qur'ān,* ed. Fawwāz Aḥmad Zamarlī (Beirut, 1994), 18–19.

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others by whose life Allāh has sworn, so dearly beloved was he to him,″ is taken as another indicator of his privileged status.[123] Besides dogmatic insight, obtaining everyday spiritual benefits seems to be the overarching focus of Ibn al-Qayyim´s musings on the Quran. He is not interested in making predominantly technical contributions.

(5) Hadith

Although Ibn al-Qayyim drew upon the vast corpus of hadith as hardly anyone else, his immediate engagement in traditional hadith sciences appears to be quite meagre. He wrote an emendation *(tahdhīb)* on al-Mundhirī´s (d. 1258) abridgement *(mukhtaṣar)* of Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī´s *Sunan*. The latter is widely known as one of the canonized ″six books″ that contain the core corpus of early Islamic tradition *(sunnah)*. This *Tahdhīb Mukhtaṣar Sunan Abī Dāwūd* was composed by Ibn al-Qayyim during a stay in Mecca; it apparently took him about four months to complete it.[124] The work is also published alongside other *Sunan* revisions, which is the reason for some different titles on the book market.[125] His further contributions to the field of hadith sciences address from a different angle the range and limits of hadith as a source of knowledge. Ibn al-Qayyim studied reported traditions in their strongest and weakest forms, from the so-called ″holy hadith″ *(ḥadīth al-qudsī)* in which God himself is said to speak, to the weak *(ḍa'īf)* hadith at the other end of the spectrum. In the slim tract *Al-Farq bayna al-Qur'ān al-Karīm wa-al-Ḥadīth al-Qudsī*[126] (The Difference between the noble Quran and the holy hadith), he analyzes their functional, hierarchical, and ritual differences. In *Al-Manār al-Munīf fī al-Ṣaḥīḥ wa-al-Ḍa'īf* (The Tall lighthouse for correct and weak reports),[127] however, the focus is on spurious reports. There are variants of its title; it is, for instance, also called simply *Al-Manār* or *Naqd al-Manqūl wa-al-Miḥakk al-Mumayyiz bayna al-Mardūd wa-al-Maqbūl* (Criticism

[123]Haji Abdul Karim Germanus, ″Some Unknown Masterpieces of Arabic Literature,″ *Islamic Culture* 26 (1952): 98.

[124]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 235.

[125]For instance, *Mukhtaṣar Sunan Abī Dāwūd lil-Ḥāfiẓ al-Mundhirī wa-Ma'ālim al-Sunan li-Abī Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī wa-Tahdhīb al-Imām Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir and Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Cairo, 1369/1950, repr. Beirut 1400/1980), or *'Awn al-Ma'būd: Sharḥ Sunan Abī Dāwūd lil-'Allāmah al-'Aẓīm Ābādī ma'a Sharḥ al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad 'Uthmān, 2nd ed. (Medina, 1377/1968).

[126]Ed. Nāyif ibn Qublān al-'Utaybī (Mecca, 1418/1997–98).

[127]*Al-Manār al-Munīf fī al-Ṣaḥīḥ wa-al-Ḍa'īf*, ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghuddah (Aleppo, 1970), or ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yaḥyá al-Mu'allimī and Manṣūr ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Samārī (Riyadh, 1996).

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of the transmitted and touchstone distinguishing the rejected and the acceptable).[128] According to the latter's editor, Ibn al-Qayyim "did not intend a thorough examination of the false hadith, but laid down the regulations and principles by which false hadith can be identified."[129] Such an analysis makes a great difference, since weak traditions, in contrast to spurious ones, are cherished inasmuch as Hanbali doctrine —based on its hierarchy of the law sources—accords them preference over rational arguments.

(6) LEGAL METHODOLOGY

I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn 'an Rabb al-'Ālamīn (Instructing those in charge about the master of the two worlds) is a heavy-weight compendium on the principles of Islamic jurisprudence. It ranks among a distinguished group of about half a dozen *uṣūl al-fiqh* monographs that represent the best and most important pre-modern Islamic contributions to the field.[130] Within Hanbali writing, it surpasses works like Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāmah's[131] (d. 1233) *Rawḍat al-Nāẓir wa-Jannat al-Munāẓir* and Ibn 'Aqīl's (d. 1199) *Al-Wāḍiḥ fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*. Modern manuals on Islamic legal methodology regularly refer their students to Ibn al-Qayyim's towering work—discussing its positions on a broad range of issues, such as the genesis of Islamic law, analogical reasoning, the reprehensibility of *taqlīd* and *ḥiyal,* or the fatwas of the Prophet and his companions.[132] An early expression of this esteem in modern times is the fact that the very first edition of *I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn* was published in India.[133] The extent and depth of Ibn al-Qayyim's treatment of the means of legal development *(ijtihād)* is not surprising, since by his time "virtually all Muslims became semi-rationalists in jurisprudence."[134] This

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[128]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 302–4. However, the edition *Naqd al-Manqūl wa-al-Miḥakk al-Mumayyiz bayna al-Mardūd wa-al-Maqbūl: Wa-huwa al-Kitāb alladhī Ṭubi'a bi-Ism "Al-Manār al-Munīf fī al-Ṣaḥīḥ wa-al-Ḍa'īf,"* ed. Ḥasan al-Samāḥī Suwaydān (Beirut, 1990), is quite explicit in its subtitle.

[129]*Naqd al-Manqūl wa-al-Miḥakk al-Mumayyiz bayna al-Mardūd wa-al-Maqbūl,* 9.

[130]In this sense it could be compared to, for example, Sāṭibī's *Muwāfaqāt.*

[131]On Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn Qudāmah see Henri Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa (Traditionniste et jurisconsulte musulman d'école hanbalite mort en Irak à 'Ukbarâ en 387/997)* (Damascus, 1958), cxxxiii–cxxxv.

[132]Birgit Krawietz, *Hierarchie der Rechtsquellen im tradierten sunnitischen Islam* (Berlin, 2002), 456.

[133]Published in three volumes by al-Maṭba'ah al-Niẓāmīyah, India, 1298 [1880/81]: Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 209, n. 3 and 4. According to Ahsan, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah," 246, it was brought out in two volumes in Delhi in 1313–14/1885–86 and there is an "Urdu translation entitled *Dīn-i-Muḥammadī."*

[134]Christopher Melchert, "The Adversaries of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal," *Arabica* 47 (1997): 253.

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was particularly true for neo-Hanbali authors who propagated the dire need for *ijtihād*. His indebtedness to the trail-blazing thoughts of Ibn Taymīyah in particular is uncontested, although the latter himself never wrote a comprehensive work on *uṣūl al-fiqh*,[135] a format that did not suit his personality and approach. The core section of *I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn* is to be found towards its very end. It consists of a broad collection of the Prophetic fatwas, i.e., Muḥammad's transmitted legal or doctrinal decisions, as requested by his followers, which were not directly fueled by divine inspiration *(waḥy)*.[136] Such a minute presentation of the Prophet's normative decisions referred to in *sunnah* and the Quran, although not surprising for Ibn al-Qayyim, is quite unusual in the framework of a book on the principles of legal methodology. This ambiguity can be clarified by a deeper look at the exact structure and apparent genesis of this work. The decisive clue is offered in its title, "Instructing Those in Charge about the Master of the Two Worlds."[137] While the second part, without any doubt, refers to God, the first part refers directly to the authorities, that is to say those who are entitled to sign (in Arabic: *waqqa'a*). Here Ibn al-Qayyim addresses legal scholars in their function as *muftī*s and *mujtahid*s, i.e., those who write down their answers to questions and who seek to develop a solution consistent with the holy sources and the legitimate methodological means derived from them. To outline this task, the Hanbali scholar takes early Islamic proto-*iftā'* as the starting point and eternal model. In his exploration of the various aspects of the correct behavior for the *muftī* and questioner *(mustaftī)*, this work, initially devoted to the relationship between *muftī* and *mustaftī*,[138] grew into an encompassing compendium covering, in the end, a whole range of issues relating to *uṣūl al-fiqh*.[139] Specifically *adab al-muftī* problems are dealt with in the section preceding the Prophetic fatwas.[140] The comprehensive character of *I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn* turned it into a convenient reservoir for all sorts of separate, often paperback publications that offer its subtopics piecemeal. Out of this "quarry" which, in its complete form, is published in several volumes, parts hitherto selected

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[135]Cf. Henri Laoust, *Contribution à une étude de la méthodologie canonique de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taimīya* (Cairo, 1939), 9.

[136]Birgit Krawietz, "Der Prophet Muḥammad als Muftī und Muǧtahid," in *Beiträge zum Islamischen Recht*, ed. Hans-Georg Ebert and Thoralf Hanstein (Frankfurt am Main, 2003), 3:58–59. For the fatwas themselves see Ibn al-Qayyim, *I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn 'an Rabb al-'Ālamīn* (Beirut, 1418/1997), 2:486–612.

[137]For discussions about the title see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*, 210–17.

[138]On this genre, see Birgit Krawietz, "Der Mufti und sein Fatwa: Verfahrenstheorie und Verfahrenspraxis nach islamischem Recht," *Die Welt des Orients* 26 (1995): 161–80, esp. 163.

[139]Krawietz, "Der Prophet Muḥammad als Muftī und Muǧtahid," 60–61.

[140]*I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn*, 2:407–86.

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for separate publication include those about *taqlīd,*[141] *qiyās,*[142] the authority of fatwas of the companions of the Prophet,[143] and, of course, Muḥammad′s fatwas themselves.[144] The latter became especially popular in the modern era when the qadi was gradually supplanted by the *muftī* as the most central figure of Islamic legal thinking.[145] In general, the decades-delayed exploration in Western languages of the Hanbali school of law has also gained impetus lately with regard to Ibn al-Qayyim′s conception of the principles of Islamic jurisprudence.[146]

(7) PRACTICAL JURISPRUDENCE

In spite of the fact that he is frequently referred to as ″the legal scholar″ *(al-faqīh)* and in spite of his above-mentioned leading role in the field of *uṣūl al-fiqh,* Ibn al-Qayyim did not write a comprehensive *furū‘ al-fiqh* manual, nor did he comment upon one. Instead, a number of legal writings on more specific topics are attributed to him. To start with, it would be excessive to claim that, in these monographs on practical jurisprudence, he was primarily concerned with penal law.[147] Nevertheless, he is the author of some larger tracts on Islamic jurisprudence that are, though not exclusively, also important from the standpoint of criminal law, namely *Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah, Al-Ṣalāh wa-Ḥukm Tārikihā, Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmīyah fī al-Siyāsah al-Shar‘īyah,* and *Kashf al-Ghiṭā’ ‘an Ḥukm al-Samā‘ wa-al-Ghinā’*. All four of these works were written in response to fatwa requests. Since they are *responsa*

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[141]Ibid., 1:416–82, as compared with Ibn al-Qayyim, *Risālat al-Taqlīd,* ed. Muḥammad ‘Afifī (Beirut and Riyadh, 1983).

[142]Introduction by Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb in *Al-Qiyās fī al-Shar‘ al-Islāmī: Yaḥtawī ‘alá Risālat al-Qiyās li-Ibn Taymīyah wa-Fuṣūl fī al-Qiyās li-Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 2nd ed. (Beirut, 1975), 6.

[143]*I‘lām al-Muwaqqi‘īn,* 2:379–407, as compared with *Al-Bayyināt al-Salafīyah ‘alá anna Aqwāl al-Ṣaḥābah Ḥujjah Shar‘īyah fī I‘lām al-Imām Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* commented upon and expanded by Aḥmad Salām (Beirut, 1974).

[144]*Fatāwá Rasūl Allāh*, ed. Sulaymān Salīm al-Bawwāb (Damascus, 1404/1984).

[145]Krawietz, ″Der Prophet Muḥammad als Muftī und Muǧtahid,″ 55.

[146]Cf., for instance, Satoe Horii, *Die gesetzlichen Umgehungen im islamischen Recht (ḥiyal): Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ǧannat al-aḥkām wa-ǧunnat al-ḥuṣṣām des Ḥanafiten Sa‘īd b. ‘Alī as-Samarqandī (gest. 12. Jhdt.)* (Berlin, 2001), 53–66 and passim.

[147]A study such as Bakr Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Abū Zayd, *Aḥkām al-Jināyah ‘alá al-Nafs wa-mā Dūnahā ‘inda Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah* (Beirut, 1416/1996), might convey the wrong impression that penal law is one of Ibn al-Qayyim′s central areas of interest. In fact, his relevant utterances had to be assembled from a variety of his writings, 12, but had attracted Abū Zayd′s attention because of their insistence on the inherent wisdom of Islamic legislation *(tashrī‘)* as against claims of ″the orientalists″ directed against the allegedly savage character of Islamic penal law, 13. Abū Zayd offers a comparative perspective on the various law schools using them as a frame for selected remarks taken from Ibn al-Qayyim.

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and, as such, originally often did not bear an official title, the usual confusion about Ibn al-Qayyim´s book titles here allows for an even greater range of different versions. The monographs mentioned here are widely read and discussed—well beyond the more limited realm of specifically Hanbali jurisprudence.

Outstanding are his *Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah* (Regulations for the people of the covenant), i.e., Jews and Christians, with whom he was concerned not only in the sphere of theology. This *furū' al-fiqh* work is usually published in two volumes.[148] It is one of the most prominent works of Ibn al-Qayyim in general and the most important of his writings in practical jurisprudence in particular. In fact, it has to be regarded as the main late medieval reference concerning the status of minorities in Islamic law. No wonder that—once again—the well-known Salafi scholar Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ prepared the pioneering edition.[149] Of special importance is the long introduction by al-Ṣāliḥ himself[150] and an introduction to Muslim international law *(muqaddimah fī 'ilm al-siyar)* by Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh.[151] The editor praises this book as

> surpassing all earlier works in regard to diligence, depth, and comprehensiveness, and it was the first complete compilation on its topic *(imtāza 'an kull mā sabaqahu bi-al-diqqah wa-al-'umq wa-al-shumūl, fa-kāna awwal kitāb jāmi' fī bābihi).*[152]

The point of departure was a fatwa request on the poll-tax *(jizyah)* and its imposition on more or less wealthy *dhimmī*s.[153] The very last part of the *Aḥkām* on the ″conditions of 'Umar,″ i.e., of the (fictitious) pact between 'Umar and the Christians of Syria, has attracted specific attention. The editor of the famous 1961 version of the *Aḥkām* also edited and commented upon them separately that same year. He even recommends this detached part as an instructive and concise account of regulations for *dhimmī*s.[154] He characterizes it as an appendix on the one hand, but also as a separable and independent entity on the other. In due course, al-Ṣāliḥ

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[148]Cf. ed. Ṭāhā 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Sa'd (Beirut:, 1995), or ed. Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad al-Bakrī and Shākir ibn Tawfīq al-'Ārūrī (al-Dammām, Saudi Arabia, 1997).

[149]*Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah,* ed. Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ (Damascus, 1961).

[150]Ibid., 1:1–46, and a description of the originally sole copy of the manuscript in Madras, India, on 47–66, followed by a presentation of Ibn al-Qayyim on 67–73.

[151]Ibid., 74–95. On *siyar* regulations see Hilmar Krüger, *Fetwa und Siyar* (Wiesbaden, 1968), 31–37.

[152]*Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah,* ed. al-Ṣāliḥ, 1:6.

[153]Ibid., 7.

[154]*Sharḥ al-Shurūṭ al-'Umarīyah: Mujarrad min Kitāb Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah,* ed. Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ (Damascus, 1961), introduction, 5–6; likewise *Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah,* ed. al-Ṣāliḥ, 1:14–15.

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qualifies this last quarter of the text as its real ″center of gravity″ *(markaz al-thaqal),*[155] which is a frequent feature in Ibn al-Qayyim′s writings.[156]

The much smaller *Kitāb al-Ṣalāh wa-Ḥukm Tārikihā* (Book on the ritual prayer and those who neglect it) was edited in 1376/1956 by the important Salafi scholar Quṣayy Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb.[157] Since this legal tract is not very long and is well established as a topic of specific Hanbali (and later also Wahhabi) concern, some editions patch it together with other statements from this school, especially those of its alleged founding father Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.[158] This work of Ibn al-Qayyim is a compound fatwa answering ten questions, all related to the problem of neglecting the duty of prayer. The basic question is whether such a disregard for one′s religious duties has to be treated as unbelief *(kufr)* or not. The scholar′s harsh reaction to skipping this duty is relevant because it offers an opportunity for sanctions in public space. It is worth mentioning that this time Ibn Taymīyah does not take the lead. Instead, it is Ibn al-Qayyim and it seems a relevant tract of Ibn Taymīyah has been unearthed and published separately only against the background of Ibn al-Qayyim′s writing.[159] It has been drawn *(istikhrāj)* from his *Majmū‘ al-Fatāwá* [160] and was obviously only recently printed separately for the first time as an ″independent epistle″ *(risālah mustaqillah).*[161] The latter was put together with a lengthy introduction, various indices, and extensive footnotes in the epistle itself, that is to say, it had to be substantially edited to publish it along the lines of Ibn al-Qayyim′s monograph.[162]

Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmīyah fī al-Siyāsah al-Shar‘īyah (Legal ways of shari‘ah-conforming governance) not only addresses legal issues, such as the judiciary, but also aspects of economics, politics, and administration.[163] It is presented as ″a

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[155]*Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah,* ed. al-Ṣāliḥ, 1:18.

[156]Cf., for instance, the above-mentioned collection of Prophetic fatwas in his *I‘lām al-Muwaqqi‘īn*.

[157]Other editions and reprints are available. Al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-‘Ilmīyah,* 136, on Ibn al-Qayyim′s understanding of the term *siyāsah*.

[158]Cf. *Al-Risālah al-Sunnīyah fī al-Ṣalāh wa-mā Yalzam fīhā li-Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal wa-Yalīhi Kitāb al-Ṣalāh wa-Aḥkām Tārikihā* (Miṣr, 1964); *Kitāb al-Ṣalāh wa-mā Yalzam fīhā li-Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal wa-Yalīhi Kitāb al-Ṣalāh wa-Aḥkām Tārikihā* (Miṣr, 1347/1928–29).

[159]Ibn Taymīyah, *Ḥukm Tārik al-Ṣalāh,* ed. Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Nu‘mānī al-Atharī (Beirut, 1421/2000).

[160]*Majmū‘ Fatāwá Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad Ibn Taymīyah,* ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Qāsim al-‘Āṣimī al-Najdī al-Ḥanbalī with the help of his son Muḥammad (Riyadh, 1381/1961–62), 22:40–63.

[161]Ibid., 82–83.

[162]Ibid., with the tract bearing extensive footnotes, 89–136.

[163]*Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmīyah fī al-Siyāsah al-Shar‘īyah*, ed. Aḥmad al-Za‘bī [?] (Beirut, 1999), introduction, 2.

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treatise of public law built around a theory of proof."[164] It relies heavily on Ibn Taymīyah's *Al-Ḥisbah fī al-Islām* as well as on *Kitāb al-Siyāsah al-Shar'īyah fī Iṣlāh al-Rā'ī wa-al-Ra'īyah,*[165] but has received less attention in Western secondary literature. Also in its economic aspects, Ibn al-Qayyim very much followed the ideas of his master.[166] On the level of political jurisprudence, however, the monograph has to be viewed in comparison with a series of other works, such as Abū al-Ḥasan al-Māwardī's (d. 1058) famous *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah*. Masud pointed out that in its political fine-tuning, Ibn al-Qayyim's understanding of *siyāsah shar'īyah* possesses a flavor distinct from Ibn Taymīyah's harsh stance.[167]

With *Kashf al-Ghiṭā' 'an Ḥukm Samā' al-Ghinā'*[168] (Lifting the veil: judgement on listening to singing) a chord is struck that is again strongly reminiscent of Ibn Taymīyah and his criticism that Sufi practices lack respect for the demands of the shari'ah.[169] Although the topic of music is dealt with in other writings of Ibn al-Qayyim as well, such as *Madārij al-Sālikīn* and *Ighāthat al-Lahfān,* this monograph is the special product of a fatwa request that was answered by eight late medieval legal scholars; Ibn al-Qayyim was the one who provided the longest and most detailed answer by far.[170]

In his surviving legal responses, Ibn al-Qayyim often confronted problems of public space. While his famous longer fatwas acquired the format of full-fledged monographs, as has been demonstrated, it has to be assumed that many of his shorter ones did not survive the test of time. Some of these, however, are in wider circulation because they caused a great stir and prompted refutations, such as his counseling on repudiation *(ṭalāq)* or the visitation of graves *(ziyārat al-qubūr),* along the lines of his stubborn master Ibn Taymīyah.[171] Taylor even speaks of the

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[164]Laoust, "Ḥanābila," 161. Likewise Çelik, "İbn Kayyim el-Cevziyye ve Ma'āni el-Edevāt ve'l-Hurūf adlı eseri," 152. On the core issue of proofs see Baber Johansen, "Signs as Evidence: The Doctrine of Ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328) and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1351) [sic] on Proof," *Islamic Law and Society* 9 (2002): 158–93.

[165]Laoust, "Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya," 822.

[166]Abdul Azim Islahi, *Economic Thought of Ibn al Qayyim (1292-1350 A.D.)*, Research Series in English 20 (Jeddah, 1984), 19.

[167]Muhammad Khalid Masud, "The Doctrine of *Siyasa* in Islamic Law," *Recht van de Islam* 18 (2001): 12–13.

[168]Ed. Rabī' Ibn Aḥmad Khalaf (Beirut, 1412/1992).

[169]Cf. Jean R. Michot, *Musique et danse selon Ibn Taymiyya: Le livre du* Samâ' *et de la danse* (Kitāb al- Samâ' wa l-Raqṣ) *compilé par le shaykh Muḥammad al-Manbijî,* ed. Jean R. Michot (Paris, 1991).

[170]*Kashf al-Ghiṭā'*, ed. Khalaf, 5, the answer of Ibn al-Qayyim alone covers the pages 47–295.

[171]Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Mashrū'īyat Ziyārat al-Qubūr,* ed. 'Izzat al-'Aṭṭār al-Ḥusaynī (Cairo, 1375/1955). The editor remarks that Ibn al-Qayyim "was so overwhelmed with love for his master

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″inflammatory, revisionist, and radically anti-ziyāra rhetoric of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya.″[172] The publication of later refutations may also unearth some of this material. It is further likely that Ibn al-Qayyim incorporated several smaller *responsa* into his other writings, especially the ethical compendia, with their broad range of topics. Those shall be presented in the next section. At present, however, it is not possible to give a more comprehensive list of his legal publications—a problem that is closely related to the much-needed chronology of his works.

(8) MORAL THEOLOGY

Ibn al-Qayyim is depicted as belonging to ″the scholars of the hearts″ *(ʻulamāʾ al-qulūb)*[173] and his pathology in the Sufi tradition has already been described by Schallenbergh.[174] His concern for a ″treatment of the heart″ *(ṭibb al-qulūb)* stems from profoundly mystical influences on moral theology and a deeper understanding of the shariʻah. As opposed to mere lip–service and letter-of-the-law-obedience, this powerful trend directly addresses the conscience of the believer, calls for his internalization of norms, and encourages an enhanced awareness of their necessary application by the responsible individual. The latter, in his daily life—and not merely as a matter of pious seclusion—has to equip himself with sufficient knowledge and insight to monitor his spiritual development and outward behavior within the legal framework of the shariʻah. In this sense, Ibn al-Qayyim can indeed be called a ″Sufi-Hanbalite.″[175] It is primarily for this type of deep pious concern that Ibn al-Qayyim is nowadays mostly appreciated far beyond the Hanbali inner circles of the Near East. In this field he produced the greatest bulk of his writings, namely *Madārij al-Sālikīn, Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn, Al-Dāʾ wa-al-Dawāʾ*, and *Ighāthat al-Lahfān.*[176] Under his writings on Sufism are further listed *Rawḍat*

Ibn Taymīyah that he did not transgress any of his dicta,″ 5, an allegation that should, however, be more critically tested.

[172]Christopher S. Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous:* Ziyāra *and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt* (Leiden, 1999), 211. For Ibn al-Qayyim′s attitude towards *ziyārah,* see Josef W. Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford and New York, 2002), 34–135 and passim.

[173]*Risālat Ibn al-Qayyim ilá Aḥad Ikhwānih,* introduced by Bakr ibn ʻAbd Allāh Abū Zayd, ed. ʻAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Mudayfir (Riyadh, 1420/1999–2000), 3.

[174]Schallenbergh, ″The Diseases of the Heart,″ 421–28.

[175]George Makdisi, ″Hanbalite Islam,″ in *Studies on Islam*, trans. and ed. Merlin L. Swartz (New York and Oxford, 1981), 247.

[176]According to the editor Bakr ibn ʻAbd Allāh Abū Zayd in his introduction to *Risālat Ibn al-Qayyim ilá Aḥad Ikhwānih,* 3.

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al-Muḥibbīn, 'Uddat al-Ṣābirīn, and *Al-Fawā'id.*[177] The contents of these works shall be roughly presented and characterized here to allow for some closer analysis of Ibn al-Qayyim as an author of religious ethics.

Madārij al-Sālikīn bayna Manāzil "Iyyāka Na'budu wa-Iyyāka Nasta'īn" (Stages of the travelers between ″Thee alone we worship and in thee alone do we seek help)[178] is a voluminous commentary on the Sufi manual *Manāzil as-Sā'irīn* (Way stations of the wayfarers)[179] of the Herati mystic and Hanbali preacher Abū Ismā'īl 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Harawī (d. 1089).[180] The latter has often been commented upon,[181] but Ibn al-Qayyim, with his diligent approach and special concentration on the issue of repentance *(tawbah)* at the beginning of the work, has probably produced the most popular and widespread Anṣārī commentary in circulation today. It is no wonder that various short versions are also available.[182] In addition to that, the section on *tawbah* has been singled out and printed separately.[183] *Madārij al-Sālikīn* is widely regarded as Ibn al-Qayyim´s finest piece on theological psychology and an eminent example of Hanbali Sufism.

Ibn al-Qayyim´s book titles could be a topic in their own right. *Al-Dā' wa-al-Dawā'* (The Malady and the remedy), for instance, is likewise known and published under *Al-Jawāb al-Kāfī li-Man Sa'ala 'an al-Dawā' al-Shāfī* (Sufficient answers on medication).[184] The medicinal metaphor is reminiscent of his already-mentioned theological treatise *Shifā' al-'Alīl*. It starts out with remarks on the blessings of invocation *(du'ā')* and remembrance of God *(dhikr),* provides information on sins

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[177]Çelik, ″İbn Kayyim el-Cevziyye ve Ma'āni el-Edevāt ve'l-Hurūf adlı eseri,″ 152.

[178]Notice should be taken of an important early edition, namely *Madārij al-Sālikīn bayna Manāzil "Iyyāka Na'budu wa-Iyyāka Nasta'īn,"* since it was ″printed with the support of a group of excellent Arabs in Kuwait, India, and Egypt,″ ed. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍá (Cairo, 1333/1915). Ahsan, ″Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah,″ 246, informs us that vol. 1 was already printed in 1331/1912.

[179]For information on this work and its commentators see Anṣārī al-Harawī, *Chemin de Dieu: Trois traités spirituels,* trans. and ed. Serge de Laugier de Beaurecueil, 45–77.

[180]For his place within Hanbalism see A. G. Ravan Farhadi, *Abdullah Ansari of Herat: An Early Sufi Master* (Richmond, UK, 1996), 14.

[181]For example, *Manāzil al-Sā'irīn ilá al-Ḥaqq al-Mubīn li-Abī Ismā'īl al-Harawī: Sharḥ 'Afīf al-Dīn Sulaymān Ibn 'Alī al-Tilimsānī (d. 1291),* ed. 'Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ Manṣūr (Tunis, 1989).

[182]*Mukhtaṣar Madārij al-Sālikīn*, ed. Khālid 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Akk (Beirut [and others], 1996), or *Tahdhīb Madārij al-Sālikīn,* ed. 'Abd al-Mun'im Ṣāliḥ al-'Alī al-'Izzī (Dubai, 1981).

[183]Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Kitāb al-Tawbah,* ed. Ṣābir al-Baṭāwī (Cairo, 1990).

[184]Schallenbergh, ″The Diseases of the Heart,″ 422. Another translation is given by Germanus, ″Some Unknown Masterpieces of Arabic Literature,″ 97: ″The answer given to him who asked for a curing medicine.″ There are several editions under each of the two titles. Some editions alternatively offer both titles, such as *Al-Dā' wa-al-Dawā' aw al-Jawāb al-Kāfī li-man Sa'ala 'an al-Dawā' al-Shāfī,* ed. Muḥammad Jumayyil Ghāzī (Cairo, 1978). Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 233–45, found no reference to it by the author himself.

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(al-ma'āṣī), distinguishing for instance healthy love *(ḥubb)* from excessive passion *('ishq).* The compendium is also quite specific on certain aberrations such as polytheism and homosexuality.

Ighāthat al-Lahfān min Maṣāyid al-Shayṭān is composed—as the title reveals—for ″Rescuing the Distressed from Satan´s Snares.″ Perlmann[185] has already narrated a sort of rough outline based on the critical edition of al-Fiqī.[186] Schallenbergh renders it as ″Assistance for Those Who Seek Refuge From Satan´s Entrapments.″[187] The voluminous work provides interesting reading material insofar as it not only deals with regulations for mastering the straight path to God, but also focuses on sins in all their richness and variety. Two issues in particular dealt with in this monograph were singled out for publication as a separate booklet. The first one is ″devilish delusion″ *(al-waswās al-khannās* or *waswasah).*[188] In this context, the literary impact of both Ibn al-Jawzī´s (d. 1200) famous *Talbīs Iblīs,*[189] and of Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāmah (d. 1223)[190] still needs to be investigated.[191] The second topic of special interest as expressed in various editions is the contested question of triple divorce (*ṭalāq al-ghaḍbān,* ″divorce of the angry″), i.e., to effect a divorce by pronouncing *ṭalaq* three times in immediate succession. This procedure was contested by neo-Hanbali legal scholars—notably in a famous fatwa of Ibn Taymīyah.[192] Ibn al-Qayyim backed his position with the consequence of

[185]Perlmann, ″Ibn Qayyim and the Devil,″ 330–37.

[186]Ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Cairo, 1939). Among the various editions available there is again the name Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī (Cairo, ca. 1969).

[187]Schallenbergh, ″The Diseases of the Heart,″ 422.

[188]Printed separately as *Al-Waswās al-Khannās* (Cairo, 1984), or as *Subul al-Khalāṣ min al-Waswās al-Khannās,* ed. Nūr Sa'īd (Beirut, 1992).

[189]For instance 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs,* ed. Ayman Ṣāliḥ (Cairo, 1422/2001). Cf. the translation by D. S. Margoliouth, *″The Devil´s Delusion* by Ibn al-Jauzī,″ *Islamic Culture* 9–12, 19–22 (1935–38, 1945–48).

[190]Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāmah, *Risālat Dhamm al-Waswasah,* ed. Aḥmad 'Adnān Ṣāliḥ (Baghdad, n.d.).

[191]This is all the more necessary since there is a booklet claiming to be Ibn al-Qayyim´s adaptation of the Ibn Qudāmah version, namely Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Makā'id al-Shayāṭīn fī al-Waswasah wa-Dhamm al-Muwaswisīn: Sharḥ Kitāb Dhamm al-Muwaswisīn wa-al-Taḥzīr min al-Waswasah lil-Imām al-Faqīh Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī* (Cairo, 1401/1981), or the Beirut, 1402/1986, edition.

[192]Yossef Rapoport, ″Ibn Taymiyya on Divorce Oaths,″ in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni (Leiden and Boston, 2004), 191–217; Henri Laoust, ″Une *risāla* d´Ibn Taimīya sur le serment de répudation,″ *Bulletin d´Etudes Orientales* 7–8 (1937–38): 215–36.

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imprisonment, as previously mentioned.[193] *Ighāthat al-Lahfān* is not only a very popular treatise on theological psychology concerning all sorts of pitfalls in life (including lengthy remarks on doctrinal errors of Christians and Jews) with a presentation of remedies, such as formally seeking God's protection *(isti'ādhah),* but is also relevant for legal doctrine. It deals with challenges for the believer in the context of ritual purity, prayer, visitation of graves,[194] dance, music, singing, polytheism, adultery, and homosexuality. In addition, it contains various reflections on the character of legal tricks *(ḥiyal)* and unorthodox innovations *(bida').*

In *'Uddat al-Ṣābirīn wa-Dhakhīrat al-Shākirīn* (Implements for the patient and provisions for the grateful) Ibn al-Qayyim pursues the Sufi topics of patience and gratitude, which are seen as the two halves of faith. He thereby presents "a complete pedagogic encyclopedia,"[195] i.e., he "combines *ṣabr* with all aspects of life."[196] This book is tremendously popular. Its essence also reappears in other writings attributed to Ibn al-Qayyim.[197] There is a shortened version in English that assures its readers in the translator's afterword that, despite "a constant struggle to reassert our Islam in the face of overwhelming pressure from Western media and technology," the Islamic heritage still has "a great deal to say about the human condition."[198] Nowadays, even economists claim Ibn al-Qayyim's assistance, since in the course of this book he also explores the concepts of poverty *(faqr)* and wealth *(ghiná),* but without proposing strict asceticism:

> Against the background of widespread influence of Sufism which promotes self-denial and pauperism, Ibn al Qayyim has tried to

[193]Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ighāthat al-Lahfān fī Ḥukm Ṭalāq al-Ghaḍbān* was printed separately in 1327/1909–10 and edited by the Salafi scholar Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī in the Egyptian Maṭba'at al-Manār. *Ighāthat al-Lahfān min Maṣā'id al-Shayṭān,* ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Kīlānī, 7, refers to an even earlier edition (Cairo, 1320/1902–3)—just to mention such early efforts. Some authors refer to it as *Al-Ighāthah al-Ṣughrá,* Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 220.

[194]Cf. the extract version *Ziyārat al-Qubūr al-Shar'īyah wa-al-Shirkīyah* by Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Birkawī, Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 219.

[195]*'Uddat al-Ṣābirīn,* ed. Abū Usāmah Salīm Ibn 'Īd al-Hilālī (Jeddah and Riyadh, 1420/1999), with criticism of previous editions, 5–8.

[196]*'Uddat al-Ṣābirīn,* ed. 'Iṣām Fāris al-Ḥarastānī (Beirut, 1998), 2.

[197]For example the booklet *Maṭālī' al-Sa'd bi-Kashf Mawā'iq al-Ḥamd,* ed. Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-'Askar (Riyadh, 1993), 13–15, which claims to be a fatwa of Ibn al-Qayyim on the issue of praise *(ḥamd)* for God.

[198]*Patience and Gratitude: An Abridged Translation of* 'Uddat as-Sabirin wa-Dhakhirat ash-Shakirin, trans. Nasiruddin al-Khattab, ed. 'Abdassamad Clarke (London, 1997), 71.

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> bring out the balanced teachings of Islam with regard to poverty and riches.[199]

It may seem strange that two of the most notorious literalists could produce such outstanding works on love, namely Ibn al-Qayyim´s *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn wa-Nuzhat al-Mushtāqīn* (The Garden of lovers and the pleasance of yearning souls) and Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064) with his *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* (The Ring of the dove). This paradox is also reflected in an article which—despite its obscure title—conveniently presents and summarizes in English the chapter contents of the *Rawḍah,* which all deal with the ″psychology and metaphysics″ of earthly love as created by God.[200] Hence, there is no need to reproduce them here. It should only be added that this work—more than most other writings by Ibn al-Qayyim—quotes a good deal of poetry.[201] Besides short versions of the *Rawḍah,*[202] parts of this monograph have been edited separately—especially chapter 29 on illegitimate desire *(hawá)*.[203] One editor cites many readers´ ignorance of the exact contents of the great compendia *(al-muṣannafāt al-kabīrah)* as the very reason for publishing parts of them as separate tracts. The chapter on *hawá* is the very last one of the book.[204] Frequently Ibn al-Qayyim provides essential information near the end of his books.[205] This very chapter of the *Rawḍah* has also been translated into English.[206] Another method to exploit the wealth of this or other writings of

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[199]Islahi, *Economic Thought of Ibn al Qayyim,* 6.

[200]Germanus, ″Some Unknown Masterpieces of Arabic Literature,″ 92. The standard account of Ibn al-Qayyim´s writings on love is J. N. Bell, *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam* (Albany, 1979), 92–181.

[201]See *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn wa-Nuzhat al-Mushtāqīn*, ed. Muḥyī al-Dīn Dīb Mastū (?) (Beirut and Damascus, 1997), or any of the manifold editions.

[202]For example *Al-Ḥubb fī al-Islām: Mukhtaṣar Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn wa-Nuzhat al-Mushtāqīn,* ed. Ṣāliḥ ibn ʻUthmān al-Laḥḥām (Amman, 1994).

[203]Ibn al-Qayyim, *Dhamm al-Hawá wa-Ittibāʻihi,* ed. ʻAlī Ḥasan ʻAlī ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd (Amman, 1988). It would have to be analyzed against the background of previous writings, such as Ibn al-Jawzī´s (d. 1200) ″Censure of Passion″ *(Dhamm al-Hawá);* Bell, *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam,* 11–45, 99–100, and Stefan Leder, *Ibn al-Ǧauzi und seine Kompilation wider die Leidenschaft: der Traditionalist in gelehrter Überlieferung und originärer Lehre* (Beirut, 1984). Another example is the chapter on glances and gazing that was separately published as *Aḥkām al-Naẓar,* ed. Aḥmad ʻUbayd (Damascus, 1348/1929–30), but this at least admits already on the title page to being a ″section isolated from″ *(nubdhah mujarradah)* the *Rawḍah*. On *naẓar* cf. Bell, *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam,* 125–47.

[204]*Dhamm al-Hawá wa-Ittibāʻihi,* 4.

[205]Cf. the fatwas of the Prophet Muḥammad in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Iʻlām al-Muwaqqiʻīn ʻan Rabb al-ʻĀlamīn,* ed. Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Salām al-Zuʻbī (Beirut, 1418/1997), 2:486–612.

[206]*From the Treasures of Ibnul Qayyim: A Chapter on The Dispraise of al-Hawaa (Desire):*

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Ibn al-Qayyim is to assemble information on a certain topic from his various books—in this case, for instance, on the love for God—and to present it in a newly arranged shape while still naming the late medieval scholar as author of the new booklet, thus contributing even more to the widespread confusion about his œuvre.[207]

One might also expect to find under the topic of love Ibn al-Qayyim's "Reports on Women," *Akhbār al-Nisā'*, that is often attributed to him.[208] Häemen-Anttila[209] perceives this work as an "*adab*-monograph," so that it would not fit into our category of Sufi moral theology,[210] but he deliberately leaves the question of its authorship aside. For reasons that space does not permit us to present here, this work cannot be regarded as a product of Ibn al-Qayyim.[211] As a matter of irony, though, this is one of the very few works of Ibn al-Qayyim which has been translated into a Western language by a non-Muslim scholar of Islamic sciences.[212]

In *Miftāḥ Dār al-Sa'ādah wa-Manshūr Wilāyat al-'Ilm wa-al-Irādah* (The Key to the abode of happiness and proclamation to generate knowledge and will power) Ibn al-Qayyim, who is labeled "the very learned encyclopedic" *(al-'allāmah al-mawsū'ī),* takes his readers once again on a journey of self-realization.[213] He guides them through the panoramic landscapes of his religious-spiritual outlook and worldview. God has arranged everything in the best of all manners. Man is

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Appended with Warning the Muslims Against Deviant Creeds and Methodologies (Including those of Nuh Ha Mim Keller), prepared by Saleh As-Saleh (Buraidah, Saudi Arabia, 1418/1998).

[207]Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Maḥabbat Allāh 'Azza wa-Jalla,* ed. Yūsuf 'Alī Budaywī (Damascus and Beirut, 1421/2000), 15, where he mentions an earlier work of his from the same fabrication, namely *Asmā' Allāh al-Ḥusná* as attributed to Ibn al-Qayyim, ed. Yūsuf 'Alī Budaywī and Ayman 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Shawwā (Damascus and Beirut, 1418/1997), and threatens to be already preparing another one.

[208]For instance Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Akhbār al-Nisā'* (Beirut, 1979).

[209]Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, "Some Notes on Women in Classical Arabic Literary Tradition," in *Proceedings of the 14th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants,* ed. A. Fodor, part 2, Budapest, 29 August–3 September 1988, published in *The Arabist Budapest Studies in Arabic* 15–16 (1995): 133.

[210]For Çelik, "İbn Kayyim el-Cevziyye," 153, *Akhbār al-Nisā'* belongs to the genre of history. Others mention it under the rubric "history and social life" *(al-tārīkh wa-al-ijtimā'), Ḥādī al-Arwāḥ ilá Bilād al-Afrāḥ,* ed 'Ādil 'Abd al-Mun'im Abū al-'Abbās (Cairo, 1988), 6.

[211]Cf. Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 202–8.

[212]Although the German orientalist Bellmann in [Pseudo-] Ibn al-Qayyim, *Über die Frauen: Liebeshistorien und Liebeserfahrung aus dem arabischen Mittelalter,* ed. Dieter Bellmann (Munich, 1986), admits the dubiousness of its attribution, he does not refrain from smug remarks: 449, 463–65.

[213]*Miftāḥ Dār al-Sa'ādah wa-Manshūr Wilāyat al-'Ilm wa-al-Irādah*, 1:5. Leaving aside other recent editions, there remain to be mentioned an early one from Cairo in 1323–25/1905–7 and an

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created with a natural inclination toward paradise and a quest for the religious knowledge *(ʻilm)* necessary to get there. Against this background, it is up to every Muslim to consciously remedy the deficiencies of his soul *(amrāḍ al-qalb)*. In a somewhat patchwork-like manner, Ibn al-Qayyim also includes musings on phenomena of the physical and animated world, detecting all sorts of hidden wisdoms behind them, and underlines the necessity of the shariʻah while castigating astrology *(ʻilm al-nujūm)* and other pseudo-sciences.[214]

Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn wa-Bāb al-Saʻādatayn (Path of the two migrations and gate to the two happinesses) is even more varied. The Syrian legal scholar al-Zuḥaylī identifies four central topics as this book's core issues: first, "the treasures of faith and their meanings," i.e., the basic tenets of faith, including ones disputed by other groups, who have a different approach to good and evil; second, "exposition of the ways of moderate Sufism *(al-taṣawwuf al-muʻtadil)* in accordance with Quran and *sunnah;*" third, reflections on good and evil; and fourth, a clarification of terms.[215] Again, we find Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb as one of the early editors of this work.[216] The title of the book is understood as referring to the migration to God by complying with his will, and to his prophet Muḥammad by following the Prophet's normative example.[217] With its reference to the abode of happiness and allusion to the metaphor of door and key, the title recalls the above-mentioned *Miftāḥ Dār al-Saʻādah.*

Ibn al-Qayyim's *Al-Fawā'id* (The Benefits) is the most patchwork-like of the writings in this section—if not in his entire œuvre. Its very general title refers the reader to Quran, *sunnah,* and early Islamic testimonies which provide him with a broad range of information. It fits less neatly than the above-mentioned monographs under the rubric of moral theology, since it contains elements of virtually every aspect of the author's broad literary production. One editor says that this book is equally relevant for hadith scholars, Quran interpreters, grammarians, rhetoricians, Sufis, theologians, experts of practical jurisprudence and of its methodology, or

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Indian edition from 1329/1911, Ahsan, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah," 247.

[214]John W. Livingston, "Science and the Occult in the Thinking of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 112 (1992): 599; idem, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya: A Fourteenth Century Defense Against Astrological Divination and Alchemical Transmutation," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 91 (1971): 96–103. Cf. Yahya Michot, "Ibn Taymiyya on Astrology: Annotated Translation of Three Fatwas," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 11, no. 2 (2000): 147–208.

[215]*Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn wa-Bāb al-Saʻādatayn,* ed. Wahbah al-Zuḥaylī and Usāmah Ḥasan ʻAbd al-Majīd (Damascus and Beirut, 1419/1996), 5–7.

[216]*Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn wa-Bāb al-Saʻādatayn,* ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1394/1974–75) (1st ed. 1375/1955–56).

[217]*Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn wa-Bāb al-Saʻādatayn*, ed. Budaywī, 6, listing alternative titles, 15. In that sense already the introduction of al-Khaṭīb in his edition, 4.

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poets, and that it attracts beginners as well as teachers.[218] Under a newly created title *Fawā'id al-Fawā'id* (Benefits of the benefits) an adept has reshaped and rearranged the contents of the authentic *Al-Fawā'id,* presented according to the useful lessons of the various religious branches. As this editor informs us, in the original presentation ″it is difficult to pick the fruit from the tree of its benefits.″[219] Uncertainty about the identity of *Al-Fawā'id* does not stop here. On the one hand, it should not be confused with *Badā'i' al-Fawā'id,*[220] although this does not mean that the two exhibit no overlap in content. On the other hand, there is also no connection between Ibn al-Qayyim´s *Al-Fawā'id* and the wrongly attributed *Al-Fawā'id al-Mushawwiq ilá 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān wa-'Ilm al-Bayān,* also mentioned in section four.

On balance, while perusing Ibn al-Qayyim´s writings on moral theology, the reader is struck by the repetition of familiar sub-topics. On the one hand, one recognizes specific emphases or angles of an explorative scientific character that call for a complete assembly of the relevant holy sources. Whereas *Madārij al-Sālikīn* takes the form of a commentary on the spiritual journey of the Sufi, and most dearly recommends repentance *(tawbah), Ighāthat al-Lahfān* concentrates on the diverse aspects of sin and its manifold pitfalls in the cosmos of human life. At least two works explore specific Sufi attitudes or, originally, stations of the mystic path, such as love in *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn,* or patience in *'Uddat al-Ṣābirīn*. On the other hand, the majority of their respective elements reappear in multiple combinations and modified variations. More or less general religious outlooks organizing one´s smooth transit from this world to the next are found in *Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn, Al-Dā' wa-al-Dawā',* and *Miftāḥ Dār al-Sa'ādah*. They, as well as *Al-Fawā'id*, do not even seem to need a specific marker. Their repeated composition seems to bear some sort of ritualistic character, so that one might even think of writing as a devout practice. Many readers perceive this similarly. One editor confesses in his preliminary remarks:

> It became evident to me by hearing, witnessing, and personal experience that the books of Ibn al-Qayyim in general and this book [i.e., *Al-Fawā'id*] and the like in particular soothe the spirit while reading them, open the breast while studying them, and while reciting them delight the heart that turns to God in joy and longing.

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[218] *Al-Fawā'id,* ed. Abū Khālid al-Ḥusayn Ayt Sa'īd (Beirut, 1993), 7–8.

[219] Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Fawā'id al-Fawā'id: Murattabah Mubawwabah,* ed. 'Alī Ibn Ḥasan al-Ḥalabī al-Atharī (Riyadh [and others], 1417/1996), 6.

[220] *Al-Fawā'id* (Miṣr, 1344/1925–26), 2. *Badā'i' al-Fawā'id* is dealt with above in the fourth rubric on Quranic sciences.

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> So if the reader is in a state of distress God dispels it with the blessing of sincere devotion″ *(adhhabahu Allāh bi-barakat ikhlāṣ)*.[221]

In this sphere of religious ethics, Ibn al-Qayyim´s criticism of deviating Muslims and People of the Book, which is familiar from his quite polemical inter- and intra-communal theological writings, vanishes—though not completely, as can be seen in the most striking exception *Ighāthat al-Lahfān*. In this sense, Muslim and Western Islamic studies are correct to frequently state that the Hanbali scholar is ″more a preacher than a polemist″[222]—undoubtedly in contrast to his famous teacher Ibn Taymīyah.

What is more, this highest degree of genre-hybridization in the rubric of moral theology in all of Ibn al-Qayyim´s works has consequences for the scientific assessment of such sources and for future analytical studies of his other writings. Since theology, Quran commentary, and legal doctrines are variously interwoven, any diligent analysis of Ibn al-Qayyim would also have to take into account about half a dozen such Sufi tracts on internalizing correct behavior. This is especially true of *Ighāthat al-Lahfān.* A consideration merely of his obvious legal writings dealt with above under the rubric of *furū‘* or *uṣūl al-fiqh* would be too shortsighted and would unduly blur a correct appreciation of his role in Islamic jurisprudence. With good reason, it can be assumed that a similar situation also holds true for other fields.

(9) Enacting the Prophet´s Orientations in Everyday Life

Their devotion to early Islamic sources inspired the traditionalists in general and the Hanbalis in particular to deduce from them normative religious examples even for spheres one might regard as everyday and, to a certain degree, secular. This retrospective commitment and expanded normativity seeks to pervade society in a variety of ways. The proclaimed hegemony of so-called early Islamic practices left no stone of the corpus of this tradition unturned in a renewed quest to find models for orientation. It is best described by a fictitious book title ascribed to Ibn al-Qayyim: *Fiqh al-Sīrah* (The Comprehension of the prophetic conduct).[223] We need not discuss here the specific historical reasons why the range of meaningful religious action was once again considerably broadened under the Mamluks and fused with exemplary procedures from the golden age of Islam. In the case of Ibn al-Qayyim, this trend expresses itself notably in the pious regulation of daily

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[221]*Al-Fawā'id,* ed. Zakarīyā ‘Alī Yūsuf (Cairo, ca. 1967), 2.

[222]Laoust, ″Ḥanābila,″ 161.

[223]Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Fiqh al-Sīrah,* ed. ‘Umar al-Faramāwī (Cairo, 1417/1997), 4, without any reflection about its provenance.

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speech habits, in the field of medicine including occult practices, and further in a discussion of sports, contests, and pedagogical doctrines. The treatment of such areas as God-willed applications of meaningful Prophetic behavior is, to a certain degree, connected to the related fields of Quran commentary, the science of hadith, of jurisprudence, and of moral psychology. Nevertheless, none of these can be considered as clearly dominating our author´s scientific approach here—apart from perhaps hadith. In this article, however, part five on hadith discusses only his contributions to either the corpus or to the status of hadith within the hierarchy of the normative sources, but not writings that simply make excessive use of hadith, because this would create an overly broad, and thus not instructive, category. Therefore, a separate section seemed necessary, in order to explore this dimension of Ibn al-Qayyim´s literary activities.

With *Jalā' al-Afhām fī al-Ṣalāh wa-al-Salām 'alá Khayr al-Anām*[224] (Clarification of understandings concerning the prayer and invoking blessings on the best of mankind) Ibn al-Qayyim reserved a complete study solely for the bliss, background, and correct manner of the *taṣliyah,* the invocation of blessings on Muḥammad before and after ritual prayer.[225] This is, of course, nothing one would imagine the Prophet himself imposing on his followers. Nevertheless, such rituals became part of the Prophetic *sunnah* insofar as hadith put relevant recommendations into the mouth of Muḥammad himself, as well as the mouths of his companions and later generations. Ibn al-Qayyim displays the relevant source material concerning this topic with unprecedented diligence and explores its applicability to various situations in daily life.

Another, even slimmer treatise, *Al-Wābil al-Ṣayyib min al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib* (The Heavy shower of good utterances), deals, more generally, with all sorts of invocation *(dhikr)* and supplication *(du'ā').* It is much less specific than *Jalā' al-Afhām* in that it offers divinely sanctioned elements of speech for a broad variety of social contexts. Its promoters compare the blissful effect of such expressions to the ″heavy shower″ that revives waste land, causing a stimulation of the hearts and opening the breasts.[226] The tract takes up and complements a work by Ibn Taymīyah with the title *Al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib*.[227] It seems that Ibn

[224]Ed. Nizār Muṣṭafá al-Bāz (Mecca and Riyadh, 1417/1996).

[225]Fritz Meier, ″Invoking Blessings on Muḥammad in Prayers of Supplication and When Making Requests,″ in idem, *Essays on Islamic Piety and Mysticism,* trans. John O´Kane, with editorial assistance by Bernd Radtke (Leiden [and others], 1999), 550. Cf. the Maliki author Khalaf Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Bashkuwāl (d. 1183), *Kitāb al-Qurbah ilá Rabb al-'Ālamīn: El acercamiento a Dios,* ed. and trans. into Spanish by Cristina de la Puente (Madrid, 1995), 39–57 and passim.

[226]*Al-Wābil al-Ṣayyib min al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib,* ed. Muḥammad 'Alī Abū al-'Abbās (Cairo, 1989), 3.

[227]See especially the edition Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymīyah, *Al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib,* ed. Muḥammad Nāṣir

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al-Qayyim′s expanded version became the more popular one. Its publication history is characterized by several important features, common to widely accepted religious tracts in Arabic today. Its famous Salafi editor,[228] multiple editions, circulation on the Indian book market,[229] and even presentation in a complete English translation,[230] all leave no doubt of its extraordinary popularity.

The most voluminous and famous of Ibn al-Qayyim′s writings in this section of reenactment of the Prophetic *sīrah,* however, is his *Zād al-Ma'ād 'alá Hady Khayr al-'Ibād* (Provision for the life to come with the teachings of the best of God′s servants). Once again, the Indian subcontinent is important for some editions.[231] *Zād al-Ma'ād* is one of Ibn al-Qayyim′s thickest extant monographs. As one editor remarks, this compendium comprehensively exposes all aspects of the Prophet′s behavior in ″the most minute details of his life″ and in a hitherto unprecedented fashion *(bi-shakl wa-uslūb lam yasbiqhu ilayhi aḥad)*.[232] Another one adds that this even includes aspects such as Muḥammad′s favorite colors and exactly how he used to drink, pointing out that hardly anybody else′s life was ever so minutely recorded.[233] Some scholars perceive this work as being one of Hanbali jurisprudence *(al-fiqh al-ḥanbalī)*.[234] Muranyi sees it as a collection of Ibn al-Qayyim′s legal doctrines, following Ibn Taymīyah in his strictness concerning ritual questions, but displaying leniency in matters of mutual legal relations.[235] It

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al-Dīn al-Albānī (Ṭanṭā, 1406/1985).

[228]*Al-Wābil al-Ṣayyib min al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib,* ed. Quṣayy Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1394/1974) (1st ed. 1376/1956–57). There is an even earlier one from Egypt: *Al-Wābil al-Ṣayyib min al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib* (Miṣr, 1357/1938).

[229]As *Dhikr-i-Ilāhī*, published in Tandalyanwala (Pakistan); Ahsan, ″Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah,″ 247. According to *Al-Wābil al-Ṣayyib min al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib,* ed. Abū al-'Abbās, 8, it was published in 1895 in Delhi.

[230]*Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on the Invocation of God.*

[231]Most editions comprise four or five volumes, such as *Zād al-Ma'ād 'alá Hady Khayr al-'Ibād,* ed. Ṭāhā 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Ṭāhā (Cairo, 1390/1970), or the edition by Shu'ayb al-Arna'ūṭ and 'Abd al-Qādir al-Arna'ūṭ (Kuwait and Beirut, 1979). There are very early editions from Kanpur/Kānfūr (?) in India from 1298/1880–81 or Cairo 1324/1906–7 as well as 1347/1928–29, which was translated in 1962 by Ra'īs Aḥmad Ja'farī into Urdu and published in Lahore; Ahsan, ″Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah,″ 246; Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 260.

[232]*Zād al-Ma'ād 'alá Hady Khayr al-'Ibād,* ed. Muṣṭafá 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā (Beirut, 1998), 1:6.

[233]*Zād al-Ma'ād 'alá Hady Khayr al-'Ibād*, ed. al-Arna'ūṭ and al-Arna'ūṭ, 1:6, with criticism of previous editions, 7.

[234]For instance, according to Wahbah al-Zuḥaylī, *Āthār al-Ḥarb fī al-Fiqh al-Islāmī* (Beirut, 1981), who lists it alongside *Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmīyah, I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn,* and *Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah* in one rubric.

[235]Miklos Muranyi, ″Die Ḥanbalīya,″ in *Grundriß der Arabischen Philologie*, ed. Helmut Gätje, vol. 2: Literaturwissenschaft (Wiesbaden, 1987), 321–22.

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is, however, different as well in its impetus and range of topics, since it frequently transcends the familiar *furū' al-fiqh* pattern. *Zād al-Ma'ād* is definitely not *the* compendium of practical jurisprudence which is otherwise missing in Ibn al-Qayyim´s œuvre. Instead, it is a genuine ″mixture containing the biography and what branches out from it, like jurisprudence, good manners *(ādāb),* and Prophetic instructions.″[236] Abū Zayd speaks of ″this amazing encyclopedia of various sciences such as *sīrah,* jurisprudence, profession of the unity of God, theology, the subtleties in *tafsīr,* hadith, language, grammar, etc.″[237]

Many scholars condensed this package of wisdom into a convenient short version; Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1792) is the most prominent of these.[238] The most highly cherished part of *Zād al-Ma'ād,* the section in its last quarter on Prophetic medicine *(al-ṭibb al-nabawī, ṭibb al-nabī),* came to be appreciated as a sort of separate book.[239] Many people are familiar with this section, but have no clue that it was originally only a cluster of topics pertaining to a larger compendium. In recent decades it has perhaps become the most popular publication on Islamic medicine of all—even supplanting al-Suyūṭī´s (d. 1505) version. Notably, both are available in an English translation.[240] In addition, Prophetic medicine is the one aspect of Ibn al-Qayyim´s work most intensely researched by Western scholars of Islamic sciences.[241] Its merits have definitely not been underestimated, although the extent to which Ibn al-Qayyim is indebted to the writings of other scholars is only now gradually becoming discernible. Typically, this field is concerned with the illness *(maraḍ)* of hearts *(qulūb)* as well as the illness of bodies *(abdān).*[242] Nevertheless, in this context, Ibn al-Qayyim deals

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[236]*Mukhtaṣar Zād al-Ma'ād fī Hady Khayr al-'Ibād,* abridged by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, ed. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Mahdī (Beirut, 1995), editor´s introduction, 5.

[237]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 261.

[238]Others are *Hady al-Rasūl: Mukhtaṣar min Zād al-Ma'ād,* ed. Muḥammad Abū Zayd (Cairo, [before 1960]), and *Thamar al-Wadād: Mukhtaṣar Zād al-Ma'ād fī Hady Khayr al-'Ibād,* ed. Muṣṭafá Muḥammad 'Ammārah (Cairo, 1952). Cf. Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 262.

[239]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 270–71, came across a very early manuscript that dates back only 73 years after the death of Ibn al-Qayyim.

[240]Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Medicine of the Prophet,* trans. Penelope Johnstone (Cambridge, 1998). The second is al-Suyūṭī, *As-Suyuti´s* Medicine of the Prophet, ed. Ahmad Thompson (London, 1414/1994), strongly relying on the translation prepared by Cyril Elgood.

[241]Especially Irmeli Perho, ″The Prophet´s Medicine: A Creation of the Muslim Traditionalist Scholars,″ *Studia Orientalia* (Helsinki) 74 (1995), published as a monograph, 40–42 and passim; idem, ″Medicine and the Qur'ān,″ in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān,* ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe, (Leiden and Boston, 2001–), 3:349–67.

[242]Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Al-Ṭibb al-Nabawī,* ed. Shu'ayb al-Arna'ūṭ and 'Abd al-Qādir al-Arna'ūṭ (Beirut, 1980), 5; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Medicine of the Prophet,* 3.

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predominantly with bodily diseases. Noteworthy is the high percentage of occult practices,[243] especially the evil eye[244]—obviously the heritage of many Near Eastern sources, which Ibn al-Qayyim often does not quote by name and title. This is part of a general problem: in his eagerness to present the authentic early Islamic picture, he often fails to mention his more recent scholarly sources.

A topic very dear to the heart of the Mamluk aristocracy must have been Ibn al-Qayyim´s monograph *Al-Furūsīyah* (Horsemanship),[245] which assembles traditions on various sports, especially riding and different contests *(sibāq, musābaqah)*. They are related to the military tradition of Islam, but also include mere leisure activities. Noteworthy are the introductory remarks of one apparently Saudi Arabian edition published around 1970. The editor suggests that Islamic sport clubs replace their official self-designation as places for ″physical education″ *(riyāḍah badanīyah)* with ″Islamic *furūsīyah,*″ in keeping with correct historical precedent, since the Europeans, in full ignorance, nowadays regard familiar types of sports as their own developments.[246]

A last concern is the raising of children and the treatment of infants in various stages of their development. *Tuḥfat al-Mawdūd bi-Aḥkām al-Mawlūd* (A Present for the beloved on the rules concerning the treatment of infants)[247] comprises legal rulings and advice for the correct behavior of pregnant women, the treatment of their newborn infants, and the raising of children at certain stages of life. Taking this work as a starting point, a German dissertation—supervised by Annemarie Schimmel—deals with the prescriptions for small children, but leaves aside some of the aspects Ibn al-Qayyim treated.[248] Giladi describes the book as ″typically combining medical and religious elements″[249] and presents it as ″a remarkable instance of how Islamic writings could weave popularized medical theories into

[243]Schallenbergh, ″The Diseases of the Heart,″ 422–23.

[244]Birgit Krawietz, ″Islamic Conceptions of the Evil Eye,″ *Medicine and Law* 21 (2002): 339–55.

[245]On the topic in general, see David Ayalon, ″Notes on the *Furusiyya:* Exercises and Games in the Mamluk Sultanate,″ in idem, *The Mamluk Military Society* (London, 1979), 2:31–62; Shihab al-Sarraf, ″Mamluk *Furūsīyah* Literature and Its Antecedents,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 1 (2004): 141–200. For a discussion of the title see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 280–81.

[246]*Al-Furūsīyah,* ed. ʻIzzat al-ʻAṭṭār al-Ḥusaynī (Beirut, ca. 1970), introduction, 2.

[247]Translation according to Avner Giladi, *Infants, Parents and Wet Nurses: Medieval Islamic Views on Breastfeeding and their Social Implications* (Leiden [and others], 1999), 43.

[248]Gerhard Adamek, ″Das Kleinkind in Glaube und Sitte der Araber im Mittelalter″ (Ph.D. diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn, 1968), 6–7. It normatively complements Franz Rosenthal, ″Child Psychology in Islam,″ *Islamic Culture* 26 (1952): 1–22.

[249]Giladi, *Infants, Parents and Wet Nurses,* 63.

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legal discussions."[250] Again, the existence of shortened versions[251] and editions from the South Asian market[252] are indicative of a wider distribution and interest beyond the smaller ideological community, since legal contents, interpretations of Quran and *sunnah,* religious ethics, and profane information are blended. A "medical appendix" *(mulḥaq ṭibbī)* at the end of one modern edition of the *Tuḥfah* includes photographic material and presents scientific knowledge of exclusively Western, specifically American, provenance.[253]

Such phenomena seem to be part of a broader trend in the modern book market in recent decades. Secular scholars, whether in medicine, psychology, pedagogy, or other fields, generate publications presenting odd mixtures of scientific manuals and quotations from the holy sources as well as relevant tracts of traditionalist authors. In the relevant bibliography, university textbooks and religious literature are, quite frequently, listed side by side—probably to show the harmony between the wisdom of the Islamic heritage and modern science.

Conclusion

Unlike Ibn Taymīyah, his pupil Ibn al-Qayyim did not spend his life fighting on several fronts. The latter's mini-*miḥnah* in prison and ensuing social criticism in giving fatwas and defending theological stances in line with his famous teacher's fiercely debated positions elevated him in the eyes of his admirers to the ranks of heroic resistance and moral courage. Taken as a whole, however, his life was one very much spent in writing. Ibn al-Qayyim is described as being well aware of the brevity of man's lifetime and as therefore working incessantly[254]—even when separated from his private hometown library. One of the main scientific *desiderata* remains a systematic chronology of his writings.[255] He wrote some books, such as *Zād al-Ma'ād, Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn,* and *Badā'i' al-Fawā'id,* while traveling.[256] Certain phases and influences dominating his works have to be identified. According to Bell, "the various shifts in stress or disciplinary framework discernible in the

[250]Ibid., 43.

[251]For instance, *Awlādunā fī Ādāb al-Islām: Mukhtaṣar min "Tuḥfat al-Mawdūd bi-Aḥkām al-Mawlūd"; wa-Yalīhi Fitnat al-Kabad ilá Naṣīḥat al-Walad li-Ibn al-Jawzī,* ed. Quṣayy Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb (Miṣr, 1394/1974).

[252]Ed. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Sharaf al-Dīn (Bombay, 1961). Ahsan, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah," 246, refers to one edition (Lahore, 1329/1911–12).

[253]*Tuḥfat al-Mawdūd bi-Aḥkām al-Mawlūd,* ed. 'Abd al-Laṭīf Āl Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Fawā'īr (Amman, 1988), 8, 269–322.

[254]Al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-'Ilmīyah,* 142.

[255]Cf. Holtzmann (see n. 7 above).

[256]*Zād al-Ma'ād 'alá Hady Khayr al-'Ibād*, ed. al-Arna'ūṭ and al-Arna'ūṭ, 1:6; Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 60, 222, 252, 261.

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writings of Ibn al-Qayyim correspond to fairly distinct periods in his career."[257] Although he often refrained from giving an exact title, Ibn al-Qayyim, with several explicit self-references, gives many indications of the chronology of his works, which Abū Zayd diligently registered.[258] Nevertheless, they have not yet been tied together in a convenient overview. The Hanbali is described as a bibliophile scholar and a devoted, if not compulsive, author who derives intense spiritual blessing from the procedure of pious writing as such. He must have worked as much as circumstances permitted even during his travels, thus creating for himself the air of his Damascene study. For these reasons, this article focuses on his œuvre and only to a lesser degree on his biography as important keys to his ideas about Islam. The limited path chosen for our study is first of all based on a hands-on approach to available books and booklets. The Internet proved unsuitable for a reliable initial survey, but has to come into play afterwards in a separate study.[259] Even their contemporaries were perplexed about the huge literary output of Ibn Taymīyah and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah. At the request of a group of such people, Ibn al-Qayyim himself compiled an inventory of his master's works.[260] Unfortunately, no pre-modern adept ventured a comparable service for Ibn al-Qayyim. The cause of and extent to which neo-Hanbali doctrines fell into oblivion under Ottoman supremacy still have to be explored for the period from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century. The approach to Ibn al-Qayyim's œuvre chosen for this article, however, is a different one. Since the difficulties of demarcating and categorizing his works are tremendous, we chose here to approach them with regard to their reception in modern times. "Reception" is herein understood in the narrowest sense, because the history of the exact neo-Hanbali impact on important figures, such as Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Shawkānī, Mawdūdī, Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān, and the various Near Eastern Salafis like Rashīd Riḍá, has yet to be written.[261] Nevertheless, this article shows the special role of Salafi scholars such as Subḥī al-Ṣāliḥ and Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, as well as of Salafi printing houses in Egypt and India. The Indian market and its scholars' attachment to Arabian libraries often blazed a trail. It seemed useful, in order to gain some access and familiarity, to focus first of all on printed works by Ibn al-Qayyim, and to follow to a certain degree the ways in which Muslims have (re)discovered this author. This methodology and the reading of introductory passages inserted by his modern

[257]Bell, *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam,* 101.

[258]See especially Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 199–309.

[259]Among the almost 4,000 hits for "Ibn Qayyim" there are of course many useful sites, such as <http://arabic.islamicweb.com/Books/taimiya.asp> (accessed Jan. 5, 2005).

[260]*Asmā' Mu'allafāt Ibn Taymīyah,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Damascus, 1372/1952–53).

[261]Little information is given by al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-'Ilmīyah,* 145–46.

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editors permit some sort of overview and provides clues for a categorization that are often missing, both from the few articles on this author in Western languages, as well as from a certain number of button-counting modern studies in Arabic. It must, however, be acknowledged that especially Saudi Arabian dissertations and academic writing have done much to enhance the level of research.

What, then, does the modern book market offer? Obviously, Ibn al-Qayyim ″catered to all the branches of Islamic science.″[262] As al-Zuḥaylī sums up, the scholar′s activities ″comprise religious knowledge *(‘ilm),* jurisprudence *(fiqh),* and legal development *(ijtihād),* and he is also the person of reference for those interested in transcendental questions *(imām ahl al-rūḥ),* in moderate Sufism *(al-taṣawwuf al-mu‘tadil),* sound spiritual radiance *(al-ishrāq al-nafsī al-sawī),* forceful remembrance of God, and for those who are eager to fulfill his duties and recommendations.″[263]

The problem is that such trends are often dealt with all together. His huge compendia embody an ongoing process of synthesizing the diverse elements in multiple variations and rearrangements. Genre boundaries are constantly transgressed and deliberately blurred. As a consequence, whoever researches a certain topic in Ibn al-Qayyim′s œuvre has to take a broad range of partially parallel publications into account. This is certainly important for his writings with legal relevance.

Ibn al-Qayyim is a great recycler in that any of his contributions can be expected to show up in a more or less transformed shape somewhere else in his writings. The scope of this article is not broad enough to determine the degree to which he recycles not only his own ideas but also those of previous authors. However, it is very likely that an œuvre of such vast dimensions could have been produced only by borrowing on a large scale. This is not to say that Ibn al-Qayyim lacked originality, which would be missing the point. Apart from the fact that in medieval religious sciences the concept of authorship and ″copyright″ was quite different from our understanding, his personal originality seems to lie elsewhere: in his extraordinary capacity to create a synthesis of floating data, his overarching aim of internalizing Islamic norms on an educational and self-referential level, and his creation of comprehensive books either in the from of compendia or of monographs on highly specific topics, about which previous scholars had written merely a passage, a chapter, or a small treatise. Further, he plays an important role in the self-emancipation of Hanbali Sufism and tradition-oriented inwardness. Although his writings have been marginalized for centuries, he produced—especially from the viewpoint of twentieth-century publications—an

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[262]<www.pearlpublishing.com/medjawziya.shtml> (accessed Jan. 2, 2005).

[263]*Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn wa-Bāb al-Sa‘ādatayn,* ed. al-Zuḥaylī and ‘Abd al-Majid, 8.

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extraordinary number of standard works that are in line with many reformers′ reinvigorated interest in the early Islamic heritage.

Current editions, however, not only make Ibn al-Qayyim′s works much more accessible than in the dispersed manuscripts of previous times, and allow for helpful insights, but they also contribute greatly to the already existing obscurity and confusion. Since the voluminous compendia seem to be too overwhelming for ordinary readers, the modern book market offers them in the form of single chapters, piecemeal selections, shortened versions, and collections containing also the works of other authors. While such editors often congratulate themselves for the service they provide to religious knowledge, these truncated publications are confusing to specialists and general readers alike. Many a twentieth-century soulmate even fuses his own musings or his leftover university textbooks with quotations from Ibn al-Qayyim. There is a rising flood of publications, including many paperbacks, most of which claim Ibn al-Qayyim as their official author. One scholar, though, counts only three smaller epistles as authentic writings of Ibn al-Qayyim among these available, in the range of 50–100 pages.[264] As a consequence, the authenticity of the contents of the shorter publications in particular, but also of several larger synthetic works, have to be thoroughly tested. At times, pious compilers dress them up with fancy titles that deliberately recall famous, authentic works of Ibn al-Qayyim; or they fall back on titles reminiscent of generally familiar topics, such as ″The Beautiful Names of God″ *(asmā' Allāh al-ḥusná),*[265] to give but one final example. However, as a rule of thumb, these and other publications cannot be discarded, since many shorter fatwas and epistles in particular may still be uncovered and prepared for publication. Dissertations and similar studies from Arab countries play a pioneering role in this field. For Western readers it is not very easy to gain access. There may be various reasons for this: Ibn al-Qayyim′s Arabic is of medium difficulty and he uses a highly technical language. Nor do his extremely frequent quotations from the Quran and *sunnah* make for easy reading. Only a few translations into Western languages are apparently available, and these are basically addressed to pious Muslims. Ironically, Bellmann picked the wrong author. It seems at any rate that a certain mood of devoted piety is a sort of precondition to fully appreciate the bulk of Ibn al-Qayyim′s writings. Ardent readers often seek a profound elevation of spirit. Religiosity sells and Ibn al-Qayyim′s presentations in particular obviously help Muslims feel good about themselves and proud of their religion. The gap in taste between Muslim and non-Muslim readers may also explain the lack of studies by Western scholars of

[264]Yusrī al-Sayyid Muḥammad in *Badā'i' al-Tafsīr,* 62.

[265]Ed. Budaywī and al-Shawwā. This appears even in a series called ″Publications *(mu'allafāt)* of Ibn al-Qayyim.″

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Islamic sciences. The comparably small number of decent studies on Ibn al-Qayyim and possibly even other religious ″polymaths″ might also have to do with the fact that modern Western scholars are not sufficiently equipped or are too one-sided in their approach—while great medieval scholars, as a rule, were not.

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Coptic Conversion and the Islamization of Egypt

Articles by Gaston Wiet in the 1920s, M. Perlmann in 1942, and Donald Little in 1976 have encouraged the perception that the first century of the Mamluk period marked a turning-point in the history of Coptic conversion to Islam. According to Wiet in his article on the Copts in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam:* ″The government of the Mamluks gave the *coup de grâce* to Christianity in Egypt,″ and he goes on, ″It can be estimated that by the 8th century [that is, the fourteenth century], the Christians were barely, as in our times, a tenth of the total population of Egypt.″ Perlmann echoes, ″The Mamluk empire contributed decisively to the crushing of the Copt element in Egypt,″ and ″The power of the Copts as a community was crushed.″ Donald Little believes that his findings ″tend to support Wiet´s generalization.″[1]

Chronological and demographic questions interested Wiet and his followers: when did the Copts become a minority in Egypt and the Muslims a majority, and what were the main stages in this process? To begin, they assumed that Coptic conversion to Islam was the main cause of demographic change in Egypt: Egyptian Muslims are thus mostly of Coptic ethnic origin. Next, they supposed that the Copts had converted in two waves—the first in the ninth century and the second in the fourteenth. Therefore, while heavily emphasizing the importance of the Mamluk period, they did not claim that the Islamization of Egypt occurred during this period alone.

Most recently, Tamer el-Leithy has made a comprehensive study of Coptic conversion during the Mamluk period.[2] In length and depth, this still-unpublished work eclipses the preceding article-length studies. Its subject is focused on conversion among the Coptic upper class in Cairo during the fourteenth century, on which there is much detailed evidence in unpublished Coptic material and in the Mamluk-period histories of al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī. El-Leithy explores in depth the motives for conversion, classifies various forms of conversion, and

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[1]Gaston Wiet, ″Ḳibt,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., 2:996 f.; M. Perlmann, ″Notes on Anti-Christian Propaganda in the Mamlūk Empire,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10 (1942): 843–61; Donald Little, ″Coptic Conversion to Islam under the Bahrī Mamlūks, 692–755/1293–1354,″ *BSOAS* 39 (1976): 552–69.

[2]Tamer el-Leithy, ″Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo, 1293–1524 A.D.,″ Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2004.

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analyzes the reaction to Coptic converts on the part of Muslims, especially among the ulama class. In the relatively little space he allows for the questions when and how Islamization took place in Egypt, el-Leithy agrees with Wiet that conversion was the main factor of change. Thus, in the last sentence of his work, he refers to ″[t]he pervasive (and to this day, persistent) illusion that Egyptian Muslims are all of Arab stock—rather than converted Copts. . . .″[3] Yet, he goes farther than Wiet by arguing that no conversion wave had occurred in the ninth century: this was an erroneous idea, which arose from a misinterpretation of al-Maqrīzī′s report. For el-Leithy, the fourteenth century alone marks the decisive sociological transformation of Egypt, as the only period during which the Copts converted to Islam en masse.

Wherein lies the evidence that the early Mamluk period was so decisive for the Islamization of Egypt through Coptic conversion? Wiet and his followers quote extensively from the historian al-Maqrīzī, whose *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ,* compiled from the 1420s, records a series of eight assaults against the Copts during the early Mamluk period from 1250 to 1354. They occurred in 1259, 1264, 1279, 1283, 1293, 1301, 1321, and 1354.[4] As described, these assaults took the form of violent outbreaks by the Muslim populace or *'āmmah,* especially the lowest elements in Cairo and throughout the countryside. They also took the form of government measures variously prohibiting the public employment of Copts, renewing the traditional laws that restricted and humiliated Christians, and confiscating Coptic *waqf*s. The typical pattern would see a minor incident triggering a popular outbreak in Cairo, spreading sometimes to the provinces, and then quickly followed by government measures that punished the Copts but whose main intention was to placate the Muslim populace.

Perhaps most important is al-Maqrīzī′s comment following his description of the last anti-Copt assault in 1354. This assault combined both popular riots against the Christians and their churches with government decrees forbidding the employment of Copts in public service. Such decrees had been promulgated many times before, but the difference this time was that the prohibition also covered Copts who had nominally converted to Islam. The government was now responsive to accusations that such converts were crypto-Christians who undermined the government and oppressed Muslims with impunity. Finally, the government confiscated all *waqf* land belonging to Coptic institutions. Al-Maqrīzī′s comment suggests that this persecution was the last straw for the Copts:

> In all the provinces of Egypt, both north and south, no church

[3]Ibid., 479.

[4]Little, ″Coptic Conversion to Islam under the Bahrī Mamluks,″ 553.

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> remained that had not been razed; on many of these sites, mosques were constructed. For when the Christians´ affliction grew great and their incomes small, they decided to embrace Islam. Thus Islam spread among the Christians of Egypt, and in the town of Qalyub alone, 450 persons were converted to Islam in a single day. Many people attributed this to Christian cunning, so repugnant did the populace find them. But this was a momentous event in Egyptian history. From that time on, lineages became mixed in Egypt.[5]

So concludes al-Maqrīzī´s description of the series of anti-Coptic outbreaks, which constitutes the main support for the view that the early Mamluk period marked a decisive advance in the Islamization of Egypt through large-scale Coptic conversion. From this passage, for example, Donald Little draws the following conclusion:

> The Copts must have realized in significant numbers that their social and economic welfare lay thereafter in Islam. In this sense the year 755/1354, some seven centuries after the Muslim conquest of Egypt, may be regarded as a turning-point in Egyptian religious history, as the point in time when the second great transformation of Egyptian religion became virtually complete, as complete, at any rate, as it was to be for the next six-and-a-half-centuries.[6]

In other words, the Islamization of Egypt reached its maximum point by 1354. After that date, the proportion between Muslims and Christians in Egypt remained unchanged at about 90% to 10%, in Wiet´s estimate. Moreover, the early Mamluk period, culminating in 1354, was responsible for a significant part of the process by which the Coptic population was reduced to only 10%. This conclusion has been widely accepted. Certainly, its plausibility is reinforced by the critical military and political context of the early Mamluk period to 1300 and by the increased intensity of Muslim polemical literature against Christianity and Christians, which becomes noticeable from about 1250 and for long afterwards.[7]

Nevertheless, al-Maqrīzī´s statement does not constitute firm evidence for Little´s conclusion, even when taken in conjunction with his previous reports of anti-Coptic pressure. It exaggerates, of course, in stating that no church was left standing throughout the Egyptian countryside, and that the Christians as a whole decided to embrace Islam. Furthermore, the single example given, the mass

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[5]Quoted ibid., 568.

[6]Ibid., 569.

[7]Perlmann, ″Notes on Anti-Christian Propaganda in the Mamluk Empire,″ 842, 845.

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conversion in the town of Qalyub, is insufficient support for the preceding generalization that Islam now spread among the Copts throughout the country. Yet, statistics on conversion are almost absent from the corpus of the Islamic literary-historical tradition, and the standard of required evidence cannot be pushed so high as to exclude valuable reports like that of al-Maqrīzī. We may accept his statement that 1354 marked "a momentous event in Egyptian history," the culmination of a Coptic conversion wave that had begun in the late thirteenth century. Indeed, there is plausibility in Wiet's suggestion that the Copts formed only 10% of Egypt's population after 1354. For the Copts as a community did not suffer any serious blow from the late Mamluk period until the first census in 1846. This and later censuses consistently estimated the Coptic element of the population at about 8%, which may be raised to 10%, given the tendency of the Copts to underestimate their numbers to census-takers.[8]

But when and how were the Copts reduced to the proportion of 10% by the later fourteenth century? A range of possibilities appears. As to when, the reduction could have occurred mainly in the fourteenth century (el-Leithy's position); or in two roughly equal phases, the first in the ninth century and the second in the fourteenth century (the view of Wiet and his followers); or, as argued below, mainly throughout the early Islamic period (seventh–tenth centuries). As to how, the reduction of the Coptic proportion could have occurred mainly through conversion, which seems to be the view of all modern writers on the subject. However, a more important role may have been assumed by a combination of other factors: Arab-Muslim immigration and marriage with Coptic women, together with Coptic demographic decline following the failure of repeated revolts against Muslim rule. These factors have been given relatively little consideration in historical studies of Islamic Egypt. Yet, Arab-Muslim immigration to Egypt from 641 onwards is well documented, as is the outbreak and severe repression of repeated Coptic revolts. Such factors should therefore be borne in mind as a counterpoint to the factor of Coptic conversion.[9]

Returning to the question as to when, the Islamization of Egypt may have been practically completed long before Mamluk rule began in 1250. In other words, by the eleventh century or even earlier, the proportion of Christians in Egypt may have already fallen to not much more than the 10% given by Wiet (it

[8]No documentary evidence exists until the first censuses of 1846 and 1882, which recorded the Copts as 8% of the population. But European travellers over the previous century had estimated similarly: Youssef Courbage and Philippe Fargues, *Christians and Jews under Islam* (London, 1997), 64.

[9]Khalīl 'Athāminah, "Arab Settlement during the Umayyad Caliphate," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 8 (1986): 200–4.

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would be unwise to advance percentages other than this one, which at least has a tenuous basis in nineteenth-century censuses[10]). Further reduction occurred under the early Mamluks from 1250 to 1354, but this was not significant in the wider picture. The historical evidence is too scanty to allow a decisive case for the early and rapid Islamization of Egypt. But we can reasonably argue that this is what occurred.

The main piece of evidence for this view comes from al-Maqrīzī again. He recounts the last Coptic uprising against Islamic rule, the so-called Bashmurite revolt, which took place in the Egyptian Delta in 831, during the rule of the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mūn. The revolt was crushed by the caliph himself, and al-Maqrīzī adds:

> From that time, the Copts were subjugated throughout the whole length of Egypt, and none of them dared to revolt against the sultan, *and the Muslims began to prevail in number in most of the villages*, so they turned from armed opposition to trickery and the use of guile, ruses, and deception of the Muslims.[11]

On the face of it, this important quotation informs us that the Islamization of Egypt began early and was accelerated by the failed revolt of the Copts. However, we must examine al-Maqrīzī's crucial statement more carefully because controversy has arisen over the historian's exact meaning. Al-Maqrīzī wrote:

> wa-min ḥīna'idhin dhallat al-qibṭ . . . wa-lam yaqdir aḥad minhum ba'da dhālika 'alá al-khurūj 'alá al-sulṭān *wa-ghalabahum al-muslimūn 'alá 'āmmat al-qurá* fa-raja'ū min al-muḥārabah ilá al-mukāyadah wa-isti'māl al-makr wa-al-ḥīlah wa-mukāyadat al-muslimīn.

The key phrase *wa-ghalabahum al-muslimūn 'alá 'āmmat al-qurá* was interpreted by Wiet and Antoine Fattal as having a numerical sense—that the Muslims now came to outnumber the Copts in the villages. But more recently, Yohannan Friedman has interpreted the phrase as meaning that the Muslims "regained control over the rebellious villages [and presumably resumed the collection of taxes]."[12] As used

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[10]El-Leithy, "Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo," 26.

[11]Quoted in Antoine Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d'islam* (Beirut, 1958), 282.

[12]Yohannan Friedman, "A Note on the Conversion of Egypt to Islam," *JSAI* 3 (1981): 238–40, cited in el-Leithy, "Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo," 19–20.

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here, the verb *ghalabahum 'alá* thus means simply ″to overcome them in (the villages)″ in a political and military sense: it has no numerical reference. El-Leithy stressed this interpretation in order to disprove the hypothesis of a ninth-century Coptic conversion wave, which had been advanced by Wiet and his followers.

However, *ghalabahum 'alá* can also have the meaning ″to prevail over them in something,″ ″to be preponderant over them in something,″ that is, in a numerical sense.[13] Wiet and Fattal supposed this to be al-Maqrīzī's intended meaning, and its context here suggests that they were right. The preceding phrase already states that ″the Copts were subjugated throughout the whole length of Egypt,″ so that to interpret *ghalabahum* as ″to overcome [the Copts]″ would be an incongruous repetition. And secondly, the succeeding phrase, *'alá 'āmmat al-qurá,* means literally ″in the *generality* of the villages,″ that is, ″in *most* of the villages.″ But to say that ″the Muslims overcame the Copts (in a military and political sense only) in *most* of the villages″ is surely a case of *non sequitur*. In crushing the Coptic revolt of 831, the Muslims necessarily overcame the Copts, militarily and politically, in *all* the villages, not most of them (to put it the other way, overcoming the Copts in most of the villages would mean, strictly speaking, that the revolt was unsubdued). It seems, therefore, that al-Maqrīzī used the phrase *wa-ghalabahum al-muslimūn 'alá 'āmmat al-qurá* in the numerical sense. He meant that the Muslims began to outnumber the Copts in most Egyptian villages after the revolt of 831. That meaning sensibly completes the sequence of events: first, the Copts were subjugated; second, they were reduced to a minority in their villages; and finally, in consequence of this, they turned forever from open revolt to the use of trickery and guile. For the Copts had rebelled previously in 725 and 739; had they remained in a majority after their last effort in 831, would they not have rebelled again eventually?

On balance, then, it seems that the interpretations of Wiet and Fattal were correct. Al-Maqrīzī states that the Muslims became a majority in Egypt during the ninth century, following the last Coptic revolt of 831. This is an extremely valuable piece of information as regards when Islamization occurred. Yet, it immediately raises the question as to how. For al-Maqrīzī does not confirm in this passage or anywhere else that the process of Islamization took place mainly through Coptic conversion. In fact, the only occasion where he mentions Coptic conversion without ambiguity is in the context of the anti-Coptic measures of 1354, quoted above, where he says, ″For when the Christians′ affliction grew great and their incomes

[13]Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* (Beirut, 1955–56), 1:651–53, leaves no doubt that the sense of numerical predominance is included in the general meaning of ″overcoming″ that is attached to *ghalaba.* He cites the obsolete verbal form *ighlawlaba,* meaning ″to be abundant″ *(ighlawlaba al-qawm idhā katharū),* and the feminine adjective *ghalbā',* meaning ″luxuriant″ *(shajarah ghalbā' idhā kānat ghalīzah).* The modern derivations *aghlabīyah* and *ghālibīyah* both mean ″majority″ (Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* [Wiesbaden, 1961], 680).

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small, they decided to embrace Islam. Thus Islam spread among the Christians of Egypt. . . .″[14] Perhaps al-Maqrīzī did not mention Coptic conversion previously, especially in his account of the failed revolt of 831, precisely because it was not the main factor of Islamization in Egypt until the fourteenth century. El-Leithy implicitly concurs, holding firmly that the Copts converted more slowly than any other people conquered by early Islam: he points out that had the Copts converted as rapidly as the Persians, for example, they would also have preserved their language within Islamic culture. Instead, the Copts became entirely Arabized long before mass conversions took place.[15]

This is a convincing observation, but the Copts′ late conversion does not necessarily signify Egypt′s late Islamization: the tenacity of Coptic Christianity does not necessarily preclude the early spread of Islam in Egypt. Indeed, from the contrast between al-Maqrīzī′s descriptions of the revolt of 831 and the anti-Copt measures of 1354, we may infer that Islamization was indeed advancing in Egypt during the early Islamic centuries, but not primarily through Coptic conversion. For in his account of the Bashmurite revolt and its aftermath, al-Maqrīzī does not state that *Islam* prevailed throughout the Egyptian countryside, which would be the natural phrase to use in the case of mass conversion of a single ethnic group from one religion to another. Instead, he refers to two separate ethnic groups, the Muslims and the Copts, and states that the Muslims came to prevail over the Copts numerically in most of the Egyptian countryside after the crushing of the revolt. He does not say how this happened. But if not primarily through conversion, then it must have occurred, on the one hand, through the widespread rural settlement of Muslim Arabs and their marriage with Coptic women; and on the other hand, through Coptic demographic decline brought about by the crushing of their revolts and the severe fiscal and other repressive measures that followed.[16]

There is evidence in the earliest Egyptian Arab writers of Arab-Muslim settlement in Egypt from the time of the conquest in 641–42. Arab tribal immigrants

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[14]A little after his description of the Bashmurite revolt, al-Maqrīzī makes the statement, ″No other nation is known to have converted in such a short time as the Copts.″ However, following Yohannan Friedman, el-Leithy points out that this statement has no reference whatsoever to the Islamic period: it refers instead to the Copts′ supposed conversion to Islam following the miracles performed by Moses before Pharaoh: ″Here the ′Islam′ to which the Egyptians (Copts) converted was Moses′ religion. The phrase has been violently wrenched out of context when applied to conversion to Islam″ (″Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo,″ 20, n. 52).

[15]Ibid., 8, 25, 458.

[16]These measures are described at first hand by Patriarch Dionysius of Tell Mahré (818–45), who visited the caliph al-Ma'mūn in Egypt at the time of the Bashmurite revolt: his account is preserved in Michael the Syrian′s history (*Chronique,* ed. and tr. Jean Baptiste Chabot [Paris, 1899–1910], 3:62–64).

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were dispatched to Egypt in the 640s to reinforce the initial army of conquest. At this time, it is said, one third of the Quḍā'ah or Kalbite tribal group was transplanted from Syria to Egypt with the aim of increasing the Arab population of Egypt and reducing tribal tensions in Syria. Evidence for the increase of Muslim Arabs in Egypt comes from the Egyptian military lists *(diwān),* preserved in al-Kindī's history, which show a constant and rapid rise in the number of soldiers enrolled. These were settled at first in the garrison center of al-Fusṭāṭ, and during Mu'āwiyah's rule, a second large garrison of some 27,000 soldiers was established at Alexandria. But Arab-Muslim settlers were not confined to al-Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria. From the start, they were permitted "to leave al-Fusṭāṭ in the spring . . . leading their flocks and horses to the grazing lands in the countryside." They were supposed to return to the garrison center in summer, but in practice, many settled permanently in the countryside: the Mudlij and other Himyarite tribes are cited as examples. Here, it seems, is a glimpse into the informal process by which Arab-Muslim soldiers *(muqātilah)* gradually turned into farmers and traders and spread throughout the Egyptian countryside.[17]

Especially well recorded is the settlement of 5,000 Qaysī families in the eastern Nile Delta, starting in 727. Their case was unusual in that they were settled by direct order of the caliph Hishām at the request of his Egyptian governor, Ibn Ḥabḥāb. Although registered in the *diwān,* the Qaysīs were allowed to practice agriculture, to breed horses, and to monopolize the export trade from Egypt to Hijaz through the Red Sea port of al-Qulzum. As a result, they soon became wealthy, building large houses for themselves in the region allotted to them. Their descendants long preserved a Qaysī tribal identity: al-Mutanabbī describes them in his visit to Egypt in the mid-tenth century.[18]

The Qaysīs' widespread settlement in the eastern Delta only two years after the first Coptic revolt in 725 suggests that they were granted lands previously occupied by Copts but now lying abandoned because of the revolt and its repression. To judge by the example of the Qaysīs in 727, it was probably the standard policy of the Islamic state to take advantage of the failed Coptic revolts of 725, 739, and 831 by settling large numbers of Muslim Arabs in the Egyptian countryside, especially in the Delta. If we add this to the evidence that Arabs were informally spreading throughout the countryside from an early date, and that the Copts themselves were subject to early and thorough Arabization—then we can dimly discern the process by which Lower Egypt at least was transformed into an ethnically mixed region where Muslims, many of them descended from Copts on the female side, prevailed numerically in most of the villages by the mid-ninth century.

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[17] 'Athāminah, "Arab Settlement during the Umayyad Caliphate," 201–2.

[18] Ibid., 203.

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Coptic conversion may not have been the primary factor in the Islamization of Egypt during the early Islamic period. But it was nonetheless significant, especially after ʻUmar II (717–20) adopted a systematic campaign of Islamization among the subject Christians.[19] According to the historian Ibn Saʻd, ʻUmar reproached his governor in Egypt, who had warned that the caliph′s measures to promote conversion could lead to a reduction in revenue, with the words ″God sent Muḥammad to preach the faith, not to collect taxes.″[20] The Coptic revolt in 725 had been triggered by a census, after which the governor Ibn Ḥabḥāb raised taxes and promised converts exemption from the poll-tax. The Coptic *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria,* compiled in the eleventh century from records written mostly in the eighth century, states that in 727, the year of the Qaysī settlement, 24,000 Copts converted to Islam in order to escape the *jizyah.*[21] In 750, the first Abbasid governor of Egypt promised to lift the *jizyah* on converts, and, according to the same Coptic source, ″because of the heavy taxes and the burdens imposed upon them, many rich and poor denied the religion of Christ.″[22]

ʻUmar II initiated a radical change of policy by actively promoting the conversion of conquered subjects. But significant Coptic conversion is recorded even beforehand. The *History of the Patriarchs* states that about 700, the Egyptian governor al-Aṣbagh forced many people to become Muslims, including Coptic government officials and an innumerable group of peasants.[23] And John of Nikiu, a Coptic historian and probable eyewitness of the Muslim conquest of Egypt, states that many false Christians converted at that time and afterwards.[24] One of the earliest Islamic monuments, a tombstone from Aswan dated 71 A.H. (691 A.D.), commemorates the death of ʻAbbāsah bint Guraig, whose Christian patronymic suggests that she was a Coptic convert.[25]

Separately, the first Christian apologetic works, defending the Christian religion against Islamic accusations of polytheism and image-worship, appeared soon after 750, which suggests that conversion to Islam by subject Christians was then

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[19]ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Dūrī, *The Historical Formation of the Arab Nation,* tr. Lawrence Conrad (London, 1987), 64.

[20]Quoted in H. A. R. Gibb, ″The Fiscal Rescript of ʻUmar II,″ *Arabica* 2 (1955): 8.

[21]Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d′islam,* 341–42.

[22]*History of the Patriarchs,* 189, quoted in Daniel Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll-Tax in Early Islam* (Cambridge, MA, 1950), 86.

[23]Ibid.

[24]John Moorhead, ″The Monophysite Response to the Arab Invasions,″ *Byzantion* 51 (1981): 588; Demetrios J. Constantelos, ″The Moslem Conquests of the Near East as Revealed in the Greek Sources of the Seventh and Eighth Centuries,″ *Byzantion* 42 (1972): 337–38.

[25]Hassan El-Hawary, ″The Second Oldest Islamic Monument Known: Dated A.H. 71 (A.D. 691),″ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1932): 289–93.

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becoming widespread in Syria and Iraq. At least half a century earlier, Christian apocalyptic works were implying the same. The most important, the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius,* originating in northern Syria or Jazira not later than the 690s, describes the rule of Islam as a ″testing furnace for all Christians″; it continues:

> For the blessed apostle said: not all of Israel are Israel. Also, all who are called Christians are not Christians, for 7000 only were left over from the Israelites in the days of the prophet Elijah. . . . Thus also in the time of punishment of these tyrants, few from many will be left over who are Christians, as our Saviour showed us in the Holy Gospel, saying: when the Son of Man cometh, will he find faith on earth? Behold also . . . the multitude of the clergy will deny the true faith of the Christians and the Holy Cross and the mysteries of power. And without compulsion, blows, and wounds, they will deny Christ and will associate with the unbelievers.[26]

A similar work, the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Athanasius,* originated in Egypt about the time of the first Coptic revolt, corroborating the source evidence of significant conversion at that time. Clearly, Coptic conversion was not a negligible phenomenon, even in the early Islamic period.

As noted above, el-Leithy contrasted the slowness of Coptic conversion with the speed of Iranian conversion, evidenced by the successful transformation of Persian into a language of Islamic culture. It is worth considering how fast the process of Islamization took place in Iran. Richard Bulliet's well-known study of this question examined the relative frequency of Muslim and non-Muslim names in recorded literature over different periods.[27] Although the field of evidence is limited to the urban ulama class and the study is based on questionable assumptions, his work remains valuable in the absence of documentary material. Bulliet constructed a graphed curve to show that the Muslim population of Iran rose steadily from zero at the start of the Islamic conquest in the 640s to at least 80% by the 960s. The rise occurred in three stages: a slow rate of increase until about 720, when the Muslim population had reached about 10% of the total; then a rapid increase until the 890s; finally, a progressive slowing again as the Muslim population

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[26]Quoted in Paul Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley, 1985), 46–47.

[27]Richard W. Bulliet, ″Conversion to Islam and the Emergence of a Muslim Society in Iran,″ in *Conversion to Islam,* ed. Nehemiah Levtzion (New York, 1979), 31. See also el-Leithy, ″Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo,″ 21–22. Bulliet attempted a similar investigation for other countries, including Egypt, using a smaller sample of names and with less positive results.

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reached and surpassed the 80% mark. Of course, the curve ignores important events that accelerated, slowed, or temporarily reversed the process of Islamization. But the conclusion remains that Iran became overwhelmingly Muslim in just over three centuries.

Ottoman documentary records for the period 1520–35 reveal that the population of Anatolia during this period, about five million, was more than 92% Muslim and only 8% Christian.[28] Thus, the evidence from both Iran and Anatolia indicates a process of Islamization up to an overwhelming majority of 80–90%. The process took about 300 years in Iran and at least 400 years in Anatolia, taking the starting-point as the initial Turkish invasion in the later eleventh century. It involved the set of powerful and interlocking social mechanisms that we have discerned at work in Egypt: Muslim migration and settlement, marriage with non-Muslim native women, and conversions from among the native population. The relative importance of these factors differed in each country—conversion, for example, was especially important in Iran, whereas Turkish settlement, combined with intermarriage, was probably the main factor in Anatolia.[29] In each case, however, the process worked inexorably, with a snowballing effect, to achieve the Islamization of Iran and Anatolia within three to four centuries.

Adding these results to the evidence that Arab-Muslim immigration and Coptic conversion both took place in Egypt from an early date, and to the specific attestation by al-Maqrīzī that Muslims had achieved a majority in most Egyptian villages during the ninth century, we conclude that the Islamization of Egypt to the order of at least 80% was achieved well within the six centuries that elapsed from the Islamic conquest of Egypt to the Mamluk seizure of power in 1250. Several writers are of this opinion, although they all assume that Islamization was achieved mainly by conversion and ignore the factors of Arab-Muslim settlement, intermarriage, and Coptic demographic decline. Thus, according to ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Dūrī: ″By the dawn of the third century [830] Islam had spread on a wide scale in the [Egyptian] countryside . . . and became the religion of the majority of the

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[28]V. L. Menage, ″The Islamization of Anatolia,″ in *Conversion to Islam*, ed. Levtzion, 53–59. See also Courbage and Fargues, *Christians and Jews under Islam,* 92: ″In *Le Livre des Merveilles,* Marco Polo recounted how, 200 years after the battle of Mantzikert [1071], the Turks were still a minority in a country which remained Greek and Armenian.″ Pointing somewhat in the opposite direction, however, the following page reads: ″it is estimated that . . . in 1200, 43 percent of the inhabitants of Anatolia were still Christian.″

[29]Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fourteenth Centuries* (Berkeley, 1971). For the controversy among Turkish historians over the ethnic composition of the modern Turkish population, see Menage, ″The Islamization of Anatolia,″ 53–59.

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[Egyptian] population in the fourth century [tenth century]."[30] G. R. Hawting thinks that Islamization in Egypt was slower than in Syria and Iraq, "and that it was not until after the [Umayyad] dynasty had been overthrown that Islam became the religion of the majority."[31] Garth Fowden considers that Iran converted more rapidly than any other conquered country, its population being over 90% Muslim by about 950. He continues: "Iraq, Syria, North Africa, and Egypt lagged behind this very rapid conversion rate, but the result was the same—an almost entirely Muslim population by the 11th century."[32] Daniel C. Dennett and the demographer Josiah C. Russell both concur that Egypt was 80% Muslim by the time of the Bashmurite revolt in 831.[33]

In the study of Egypt's Islamization, the factor that perhaps requires more consideration than any other is that of Coptic demographic decline during the early Islamic period. The topic can be introduced here by referring to the recent demographic study of Youssef Courbage and Philippe Fargues, based on Josiah Russell's work. Regarding Egypt, the authors take a radical stance, tentatively concluding that fully half the Egyptian population converted from Christianity to Islam within a few decades of the Islamic conquest, and that the Muslim element approached 80% as early as 800.[34] They reach this conclusion from Islamic source-historical evidence that the annual Egyptian revenue, the *jizyah,* fell precipitately from the conquest of Egypt in 641–42 to the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn (809–13): from about twelve million dinars immediately after the conquest, the Egyptian *jizyah* fell to nine million in 660, five million in 680, four million in 743, and three million in 813, remaining roughly stable thereafter.[35] Converts to Islam were exempted from paying poll-tax, which is the strict interpretation of the term *jizyah*

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[30]Al-Dūrī, *The Historical Formation of the Arab Nation,* 64.

[31]G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: the Umayyad Caliphate A.D. 661–750* (London, 1986), 9.

[32]Garth Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth: Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 1993), 162.

[33]Courbage and Fargues, *Christians and Jews under Islam,* 28.

[34]Ibid., 15–16.

[35]Ibid., 23; they quote the figures in dirhams, but dinars, the currency of Islamic Egypt, is surely meant. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum no. 7 (Leiden, 1892), 339, records different figures within the same trend of rapid fall followed by relative stability: 10–12 million dinars per annum in 640–56, 4 million in 735, 4.3 million in 830, 4 million in ca. 880, 3.4 million in ca. 980, and 2.8 million in ca. 1080. See also A. S. Tritton, "Islam and the Protected Religions," *JRAS* (1928): 506–7. In contrast, however, al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866), 216–18, states that the first governor of Egypt, 'Amr (642–46), raised only two million dinars per annum and the second governor, Ibn Sa'd (646–56), only four million

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in Islamic law; consequently, Courbage and Fargues attribute the decline of the *jizyah* entirely to massive Coptic conversion during the first century of Islam in Egypt.

But this interpretation is problematic. If massive Coptic conversion during the period 641–813 explains both the *jizyah*′s large fall during that period and its stability thereafter (once Islamization was practically completed), then one is forced to suppose that the total population of Egypt remained relatively stable during the entire Islamic period. Therefore, since Egypt′s population was quite reliably estimated at 2.5 million by the French in 1798, Courbage and Fargues suppose that, leaving aside temporary fluctuations, this was also the case going back to the Islamic conquest in 641: Egypt′s population, then, was only 2.5 million at the end of Roman rule in 641, having declined from a peak of 4.5 million at the time of Augustus. Yet, this population estimate for Egypt in 641 seems too low compared to the estimates Courbage and Fargues give for Syria and Iraq (4 million and 9 million) and to other estimates of Egypt′s population at that time;[36] it also contradicts traditional Islamic reports of Egypt′s wealth during the early Umayyad period—according to al-Ṭabarī, for example, Mu‘āwiyah ″hoped that if he won control over Egypt, he would also be victorious in the war against ‘Alī on account of the huge sum that was raised from its kharāj.″[37]

But there is an alternative explanation for the apparently rapid fall of the Egyptian *jizyah* during the seventh and eighth centuries. The treaty reports relating to the conquest of Egypt, as well as the fiscal documents contained in the Aphrodito papyri from Upper Egypt, dating 700–20, reveal that the term *jizyah* was used generally to mean *all* regular annual revenues paid by local communities to the central administration in al-Fusṭāṭ. That is, *jizyah* included not only poll-tax (*diagraphon* in the papyri), payable only by adult male non-Muslims, but also land-tax (*dēmosia* in the papyri), payable by all land-owners including converts.[38] Therefore, the steady fall of the annual Egyptian *jizyah* from ten–twelve million dinars to three million during the period 641–813 would not reflect massive

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[36]Peter Charanis, ″Observations on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire,″ *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 1967), 454. The tenth-century Egyptian Melkite writer Eutychius states, with great exaggeration, that Egypt had six million adult males at the start of Islamic rule: Gilbert Dagron and Vincent Déroche, ″Juifs et chretiens dans l′Orient du VIIe siècle,″ *Travaux et Mémoires* 11 (1991): 244–45.

[37]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1879–1901), ser. 1, 6:3396; tr. E. Yarshater et al. (Albany, NY, 1987–89).

[38]Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam,* 90–98; Jørgen Bæk Simonsen, *Studies in the Genesis and Early Development of the Caliphal Taxation System* (Copenhagen, 1988), 81–129 passim; Tritton, ″Islam and the Protected Religions,″ 494; H. I. Bell, ″The Administration of Egypt under the Umayyad Khalifs,″ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 28 (1928): 282–83.

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conversion because Muslims too paid *jizyah* in early Islamic Egypt. Instead, however, it ought to reflect a real decline in the total population of Egypt from the conquest onwards.[39] And this conclusion would seem to fit the picture of the demographic decline of the native Coptic population, still the great majority during this early period but caught in a cycle of repression, failed revolts, and aggravated repression—and, on the other hand, the spread and settlement of Arab-Muslim migrants throughout rural Egypt. Islamization in Egypt was achieved within three centuries—on the one hand by the shrinking of Coptic numbers; and on the other, by the introduction of a Muslim element that was small at first but grew quickly, both in absolute terms and relative to the declining native population. Coptic conversion had a significant part in the growth of this Muslim element, but it was not the primary factor.

The Islamization of Egypt was thus achieved by the ninth century, but the early Mamluk period may be seen as a long-delayed conclusion to it, since it gave rise to the last and most important in an intermittent series of Coptic conversion-waves. This was partly due to the unusually severe measures introduced by the Mamluk state against the Copts—notably the rule imposing conversion upon the wife of a convert (which practically ensured that the family´s wealth would pass out of the Coptic community), the banning of traditional Coptic festivals, and the wholesale confiscation of Coptic *waqf*s.[40] But perhaps the main cause was the decline of morale among the Copts in the early fourteenth century, possibly prompted by external factors—especially the recent conquest of Monophysite Christian Nubia by Arab tribes at that time. Their direct connection to Ethiopia now severed, the Copts were reduced into a sealed pocket community with little hope of support from the outside.

But this is not to say that the early Mamluk period was a decisive turning-point in the Islamization of Egypt. Indeed, al-Maqrīzī´s account of anti-Copt agitation and government pressure from 1290 to 1354 suggests that the Copts were by now a relatively small and weak minority in Egypt. For example, following the mass riots in 1321 that destroyed sixty churches and monasteries across the whole country, a group of monks armed with naphtha set fire to the mosques of Cairo, setting off blazes that burned for days. The sultan, according to al-Maqrīzī, refused to believe that the Christians were responsible: as he claimed, ″they did not have

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[39]Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam,* 97; Simonsen, *Studies in the Genesis and Early Development of the Caliphal Taxation System,* 89, 107, 127–29.

[40]El-Leithy, ″Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo,″ 96, 117–24. However, a much earlier example of severe fiscal pressure, fully justified by appeal to tradition, is minutely recorded in the Zuqnin Chronicle´s eyewitness account of events in al-Jazira in 772–74: J.-B. Chabot, ed., *Chronique de Denys de Tell Mahré, quatrième partie* (Paris, 1895), 122 f..

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sufficient strength and boldness to embark upon an enterprise of such magnitude.″ And in the last anti-Copt episode of 1354, the government confiscated all the lands in Egypt held as *waqf*s by Christian churches and monasteries. These lands were the main source of revenue for Christian institutions, yet they amounted to only 25,000 feddans—that is, a few hundred square kilometers in a country possessing at least 25,000 square kilometers of cultivated land.[41]

[41]Little, ″Coptic Conversion to Islam under the Bahrī Mamlūks,″ 564, 568; el-Leithy, ″Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo,″ 124. The feddan is taken to be roughly equivalent to the acre.

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Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method Description: Section 2

The present article is a continuation of the first section published in this journal in 2003.[1] As discussed previously, al-Maqrīzī filled the blanks he left at the end of his resumés with numerous notes which became scattered with the passage of time. This article presents another aspect of his working method: cards which he organized to produce the first stages of his books. A complete description of these notes will be given here, following the system used in the first section of ″Maqriziana I,″ by which material is presented in its physical order, keeping in mind that some material may have been rearranged. Since the publication of the first article, I have been able to trace other works back to their original source. At the end of the article, the reader will find addenda where identification or confirmation of these sources is provided. This will end my description of the contents of al-Maqrīzī′s notebook. The analysis of his working method, based on elements discussed throughout these articles, will be dealt with in a forthcoming study.[2]

B. The Scattered Notes

XXIII. (fol. 31v[3])

Title on same fol., lines 13–14: *Mukhtār min Kitāb Rāḥat al-ʻAql*/Ḥamīd al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʻAbd Allāh al-Dāʻī.

مختار من كتاب راحة العقل، تأليف حميد الدين أحمد بن عبد الله الداعي بجزيرة العراق وما والاها

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[1]Frédéric Bauden, ″Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method: Description: Section 1,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, no. 2 (2003), 21–68. In the meanwhile, the following articles, mentioned as under press in that article, have finally come out: ″Maqriziana IV: Le carnet de notes d′al-Maqrīzī: l′apport de la codicologie à une meilleure compréhension de sa constitution,″ *Manuscripta orientalia* 9 (2003): 24–36; ″The Recovery of Mamluk Chancery Documents in an Unsuspected Place,″ in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni (Leiden, 2004), 59–76.

[2]″Maqriziana II: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method: Analysis,″ to appear in a forthcoming issue of this journal.

[3]See reproduction in ″Maqriziana IV,″ 26.

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من جهة الإمام الحاكم بأمر الله أمير المؤمنين. ألفه في سنة إحدى عشرة وأربعمائة بالعراق وموضوع هذا الكتاب بيان علم التوحيد.

Incipit (fol. 31v, line 16):

الشيء إذا أخذ من طريقه تيسر وإذا طلب من غير سبيله تعسر [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 31v, line 19):

[. . .] ولا يدفع عنه تلك الرذائل إلا الشريعة وأحكامها.

Commentary:

This very small excerpt (7 lines), which occupies the space left blank at the end (last quire) of resumé I (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*), was taken by al-Maqrīzī from the work of one of the foremost figures of Ismaili thought, the *Kitāb Rāḥat al-'Aql,* Ḥamīd al-Dīn **al-Kirmānī**'s *opus magnum*. Very little is known about the life of this propagandist *(dā'ī)*[4] with the exception of what he revealed about himself in his books. We learn that he composed this book in Iraq, where he acted as a propagandist for the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim, in the year 411/1020, the year in which this caliph mysteriously disappeared. It is clear that al-Maqrīzī selected all the useful material for a biography of this person (full name, role, position, year of composition of the book, its subject, and an explanation of its aim), although no biography of al-Kirmānī was found in any of al-Maqrīzī's extant books, not even in *Al-Muqaffá*.[5] Nevertheless, it would be strange if he did not devote some space in it to this important representative of the Fatimid period, given the information available to him in the notebook. But the presence of such an excerpt from a book written under al-Ḥākim's rule by an Ismaili thinker suffices here to confirm, unequivocally, that al-Maqrīzī had access to it and could take notes from it. A comparison of these 7 lines with the original

[4]On al-Kirmānī, see Paul E. Walker, *Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī: Ismaili Thought in the Age of al-Ḥākim* (London-New York, 1999); Hamid Haji, *A Distinguished Dā'ī Under the Shade of the Fāṭimids: Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. circa 411/1020) and His Epistles* (London, 1419/1998). The *Kitāb Rāḥat al-'Aql* has been the object of a detailed study by Daniel De Smet, *La Quiétude de l'intellect: Néoplatonisme et gnose ismaélienne dans l'œuvre de Ḥamīd ad-Dīn al-Kirmānī (Xe/XIe s.)* (Leuven, 1995), and has been translated into Russian by A. V. Smirnov (Moscow, 1995).

[5]However, only part of *Al-Muqaffá* has come down to us, representing roughly 9.6 volumes of the 16 al-Maqrīzī managed to complete before his death, far fewer than the 80 volumes he announced. See Jan Just Witkam, ″Les Autographes d'al-Maqrīzī,″ in *Le Manuscrit arabe et la codicologie,* ed. Ahmed-Chouqui Binebine (Rabat, 1994), 96. Furthermore, the only available edition of this work (ed. Muḥammad al-Ya'lāwī, Beirut, 1411/1991, 8 vols.) does not appear to be complete in the light of the preserved autograph manuscripts. This will be the subject of ″Maqriziana X.″ In any case, al-Kirmānī's name is absent from these supplementary biographies.

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book[6] definitely proves that it did not come from a second-hand source.[7] More importantly, it implies that al-Maqrīzī was speaking truthfully when he declared that he had access to Ismaili literature,[8] even though the great Fatimid libraries had been looted, sold, or destroyed two centuries before his birth, and the Ismaili believers had left Egypt *en masse* in the decades that followed the end of the Fatimid caliphate.[9] It does not solve, unfortunately, the mystery of how and where he consulted the so jealously guarded manuscripts of the Ismailis.

XXIV. (fol. 32r–32v[10])

Title on fol. 32r, line 1: *Faṣl* [containing a formula of salutation].

Incipit (fol. 32r, lines 2–3):

وإذا حييتم بتحية فحيوا بأحسن منها أو ردوها وهو على جمعهم إذا يشاء قدير وما ذلك على الله بعزيز [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 32v, line 8):

[. . .] إذا ركبوا زانوا المواكب هيبة وإن جلسوا كانوا صدور المجالس.

Commentary:

This short text covers the two sides of one folio which immediately follows excerpt XXIII in the same quire, showing that it was written after it. Nonetheless, it does not seem to be related at all to the *Kitāb Rāḥat al-ʻAql* or to be of Ismaili provenance. It deals with a formula of salutation and ends with a selection of poetry. So far, I have not been able to trace this text back to a source, or to any of al-Maqrīzī′s surviving books.

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[6]Reference is made here to the first edition (ed. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn and Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ḥilmī, Cairo, 1953), where the various passages were found on pages 16, 17, 20, and 24. Some discrepancies in the readings were confirmed by the *apparatus criticus*. Another edition was published by M. Ghālib, Beirut, 1967 (2nd ed., 1983); see pp. 100, 101–2, 106, 111.

[7]See ″Maqriziana II″ for this comparison.

[8]Cf. in his *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:395 (unless otherwise stated, reference is always made to the Būlāq ed.) (*″wa-lahum fī dhālika muṣannafāt kathīrah minhā ikhtaṣartu mā taqaddama dhikruhu″* [and they have, in this matter, many works from which I have excerpted what precedes]). Note that this sentence does not appear in his *musawwadah,* where the same passage is quoted, however. See al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār,* ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (London, 1416/1995), 106.

[9]On the small Ismaili communities that survived in Upper Egypt, apparently still in the first quarter of the eighth/fourteenth century, see Farhad Daftary, *The Isma'ilis: Their History and Doctrines* (Cambridge, 1990), 274–75.

[10]See reproduction of fol. 32r in ″Maqriziana IV,″ 26.

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XXV. (fol. 32v)

Title on fol. 32v, lines 9–10: *Faṣl* [dealing with the wealth and personal estate which Ibn Ṭūlūn left upon his death].

Incipit (fol. 32v):

فصل : خلف الأمير أحمد بن طولون ذهبا مصريا عشرة آلاف ألف دينار وسبعة آلاف مملوك [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 32v, lines 16–17):

[. . .] وعلى حصن الجزيرة ثمانين ألف دينار وعلى القصر والميدان خمسين ألف ومائة ألف دينار.

(السيرة، ص ٣٤٩–٣٥١)

Commentary:

Placed at the end of XXIV, on the same folio, but written in the other direction, i.e., perpendicularly, this excerpt, containing a small passage related to Ibn Ṭūlūn, was reused word for word by al-Maqrīzī in the biography he wrote of him in *Al-Muqaffá* (1:429), without referring to any source. It was found in the main source for the Tulunid period in al-Maqrīzī's time as well as in ours: *Sīrat Āl Ṭūlūn* or *Al-Sīrah al-Ṭūlūnīyah* by Abū Muḥammad ʻAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad **al-Balawī** (d. after 330/942).[11] Al-Maqrīzī must have dedicated some lines to this important author in the lost section of his *Al-Muqaffá*.[12] However, in his other works, he never refers to him by name, but instead refers to the title of his book, sometimes quoted as *"jāmiʻ al-sīrah al-ṭūlūnīyah"* or *"jāmiʻ sīrat (Aḥmad) Ibn Ṭūlūn."*[13] Other excerpts which derive from this source will be found under notes XXXIV, XLVII, and XLV, all regarding Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn. From this and the other material gleaned from al-Balawī's book by al-Maqrīzī and inserted in his works,[14] it can be conjectured that he had at his disposal, already in his time, the part of the book dealing with Ibn Ṭūlūn only, and not the part dealing with his descendants. Furthermore, he must have relied heavily on it for the first part of his triptych on Egyptian history: *ʻIqd Jawāhir al-Aṣfāṭ min Akhbār Madīnat al-Fusṭāṭ*. This work is now considered lost, but must have been finished by the time al-Maqrīzī

[11]Reference is made here to al-Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn,* ed. Muḥammad Kurd ʻAlī (Damascus, 1358/[1939–40]). The actual passage is to be found on pages 349–51.

[12]A small part of the book dealing with individuals whose *ism* began with an *ʻayn* (mostly ʻAlī) was identified in the autograph copy of *Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīdah* (Forschungsbibliothek, Gotha, MS A1771) by M. al-Yaʻlāwī, who published these biographies at the end of vol. 8 of his edition of *Al-Muqaffá*.

[13]See A. R. Guest, "A List of Writers, Books, and other Authorities mentioned by El Maqrīzī in his Khiṭaṭ," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1902): 112; A. ʻAbd al-Majīd Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr* (Cairo, 1983), 2:86–87; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* ed. A. F. Sayyid (London, 1423/2002), 2:23.*

[14]Till now, the material has been traced back in *Al-Muqaffá, Al-Khiṭaṭ,* and *Shudhūr al-ʻUqūd*.

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began to write his other books, where he refers to it.[15]

XXVI. (fols. 32v–33r[16])
No title: *Faṣl* consisting of the quotation of a story regarding ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and a Coptic ritual performed to ensure the flooding of the Nile.
Incipit (fol. 32v, lines 17–19):
قصر مد النيل في زمن عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه وكان عادتهم في الجاهلية أن يأخذوا بنتا بكرا من قومهم يغرقونها في النيل [. . .]
Explicit (fol. 33r, lines 3–6):
[. . .] فلما قذفها فيه غلق في ذلك اليوم ما كان يزيده في طول السنة.

Commentary:
This note seems to have been written in the same direction immediately after the previous one, as no change of color in the ink is discernible, although it is not connected with the subject of al-Balawī′s book. The last lines end on the following folio. The original source was not identified. The same event is reported in different words by Ibn ʻAbd al-Ḥakam in his *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Akhbārihā*.[17] As we have seen,[18] the notebook contains a resumé of this work which ends abruptly with this very story. The last lines found in the *Futūḥ Miṣr* are missing there, while the entire story which came from Ibn ʻAbd al-Ḥakam is found in his *Khiṭaṭ* (1:58). The wording is identical, which means that al-Maqrīzī did not quote from his incomplete abstract, but rather returned to the original source. The reason why he decided not to quote the version found on this folio, which differs from Ibn ʻAbd al-Ḥakam′s version in its wording, remains unknown.

XXVII. (fol. 33r)
No title: Quotation dealing with the city of Barzah, taken from *[Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq?]* by Ibn ʻAsākir.
Incipit (fol. 33r, lines 7–8):

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[15]See *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:212; *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā',* ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1967), 1:4; *Al-Sulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1956), 1:9; *Ḍaw' al-Sārī fī Khabar Tamīm al-Dārī,* ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad ʻĀshūr (Cairo, 1392/1972), 31.

[16]A large band of paper, representing about the third of the folio, has been cut horizontally from fol. 33.

[17]See Ibn ʻAbd al-Ḥakam, *The History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain Known as the Futūḥ Miṣr of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam,* ed. Charles C. Torrey (New Haven, 1922; Leiden, 1920), 150–51. For a folkloric interpretation of the whole story, see S. Mahdihassan, ″A Legend Attributed to Calif Omar and Its Chinese Basis,″ *Abr-Nahrain* 16 (1975–76): 115–18.

[18]″Maqriziana I/1,″ resumé II, 33–35.

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برزة قرية بظاهر دمشق فيها معبد يعرف بالمقام [. . .]

Explicit (same fol., lines 14–17):

[. . .] وقيل إن أمه كانت تخبؤه في كهف بقرية برزة في الموضع الذي يعرف بمقام إبراهيم إلى اليوم. ذكره ابن عساكر.

Commentary:

The source, mentioned explicitly by al-Maqrīzī at the end of the note, is **Ibn ʻAsākir**.[19] As the passage refers to a place located in the vicinity of Damascus, it is reasonable to think that it was taken from his *opus magnum,* the *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq,* notwithstanding the fact that this data is not found in it. There is indeed a chapter devoted to the *Maqām Ibrāhīm*[20] situated in Barzah, but the stories differ from what is found in the notebook. Besides this discrepancy, it is hardly probable that al-Maqrīzī took this note from another source based on Ibn ʻAsākir, where the source was clearly indicated by the author. It remains puzzling that this note differs from the original text and that no other works among those compiled by Ibn ʻAsākir, except the *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq,* could better fit with this excerpt. Furthermore, al-Maqrīzī does not seem to have used it in any of his published books.

XXVIII. (fol. 33v)

Title on same fol., line 1: *Mukhtār min al-Muyāwamāt*/al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil.

مختار من مياومات القاضي الفاضل.

Incipit (fol. 33v, lines 2–3):

سنة سبع وسبعين وخمسمائة جمادى الأولى مستهله فيه ركب الملك الناصر صلاح الدين يوسف لفتح نحو ابن أبي المنجى [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 33v, lines 9–10):

[. . .] وأمر المجلس العادلي بوضع يده فيه والاستخدام من قبله.

Commentary:

Written on the back of fol. 33, with the title in red ink, this extract stems from a

[19]Other excerpts from this source will be found under numbers LXIII and LXVII. The author and his work are quoted thrice in the *Khiṭaṭ* (see Guest, ″A List of Writers,″ 109; Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 1:279 and 2:76), under the title *Tārīkh Dimashq,* but he undoubtedly used it for other works, like *Al-Muqaffá, Imtāʻ al-Asmāʻ, al-Khabar ʻan al-Bashar,* and some of his opuscules.

[20]I am referring here to the following edition: ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū Saʻīd ʻUmar ibn Gharāmah al-ʻAmrawī (Beirut, 1415/1995, 80 vols.), 2:323–41 *(bāb dhikr faḍl al-masājid al-maqṣūdah bi-al-ziyārah ka-al-rabwah wa-maqām Ibrāhīm wa-kahf Jibrīl wa-al-maqābir).*

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work mentioned in my previous article, where the title was not given.[21] The author, ʻAbd al-Raḥīm ibn ʻAlī al-Baysānī, better known by his title al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200), had worked for the Fatimid administration and was put in charge of the Egyptian chancery under Saladin. Apart from his important epistolary output, he is also the author of a diary whose title, as provided by al-Maqrīzī, varies greatly, from *Taʻlīq al-Mutajaddidāt* to *Mutajaddidāt al-Ḥawādith* or *al-Muyāwamāt*. The latter is quoted here, preceded by the word *mukhtār* (extract). This passage clearly shows that the diary was organized by year, and within each year by month, etc. Al-Maqrīzī apparently managed to get an autograph copy of this work, as he confirms in several places with the words *min khaṭṭihi naqaltu,*[22] though this probably happened at a later stage in his writing process as it became necessary.[23] This can be surmised thanks to a draft (2 vols.) of his *Khiṭaṭ,* where all the quotations deriving from al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil′s diary were jotted down in the margins or on slips of paper glued in places where they were to be inserted. From these quotations, it can be deduced that this historical book covered broadly the period between 566 (earliest citation in the *Khiṭaṭ*) and his death, making it a substantial source for the end of the Fatimid period and the transition to the Ayyubid regime.

The actual excerpt reports events dated to the year 577, opening with the first day of Jumādá I, then proceeding to the 11th of the same month. Al-Maqrīzī took complete advantage of it in *Al-Sulūk* (1:73 and 107–8), but he also quoted parts of it in the draft of his *Khiṭaṭ*.[24] Here it was written on a small piece of paper and glued in the margin (Topkapı Sarayı MS 1472, fol. 122). It was inserted among other data originating from the same source and dealing with events which occurred between 577 and 587, though all this did not find its way into the final version of the book.[25] From this, we may surmise that he made various cards while composing the *Khiṭaṭ* which he collected on a slip of paper and later introduced to *Al-Sulūk* where he deemed appropriate. Some striking discrepancies in the dating of some events are conspicuous between the notebook, *Al-Sulūk,* and the draft of the *Khiṭaṭ*. Clearly, this exemplifies another aspect of his working method.

XXIX. (fol. 34r)

No title: Biographies of four Egyptians who died in the sixth and seventh centuries.

١) عثمان بن عمر بن أبي بكر بن يونس الدَوِيني أبو عمرو جمال الدين بن الحاجب الإسنائي المصري

[21]See ″Maqriziana I/1,″ 37.

[22]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* ed. Sayyid, 2:34.*

[23]These are *Al-Khiṭaṭ, Al-Muqaffá,* and *Al-Sulūk.*

[24]Al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadah,* 299–300.

[25]The source is indicated there as al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, *Taʻlīq al-Mutajaddidāt.*

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المالكي (ت ٦٤٦)
٢) أحمد بن عبد الوهاب بن خلف بن محمود بن أبي بدر اللخمي العَلاَمي (ت ٦٩٩)
٣) محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن بُنان أبو طاهر (ت ٥٩٦)
٤) محمد بن مشكور شرف الدين أبو عبد الله (ت ٦٧٤)

Commentary:
These four biographies of men who all died in Egypt, mainly during the seventh century, seem to have been written at the same time, as shown by the color of the ink and the style of script, which means that they probably come from the same source. In all cases, the first *ism* has been written in red ink, and the placement of the biographies varies according to the space left blank while al-Maqrīzī was writing his notes, ensuring that each of them would be easily visible. This explains why the first occupies the upper right quarter, beginning from the bottom towards the top of the page, the second the upper left quarter, from right to left, and the last two the lower half of the page, from top to bottom, beginning from left to right. Two of them have been mentioned in *Al-Muqaffá* (no. 2 = 1:519–21 [no. 507]; no. 3 = 7:154–57 [no. 3258]), where parts of the material in the notebook have been used. No. 4 should also have been included in this work, given that his profile corresponded to the goals established by al-Maqrīzī for the compiling of this dictionary.[26] The original source (or sources) has not been identified so far. Considering the order in which they were written, the source surely did not consist of an alphabetically-organized dictionary, nor an annalistic history. Furthermore, in none of the sources quoted by al-Maqrīzī for the biography of no. 3 in *Al-Muqaffá* does the text match the one found here.[27] The same is true for no. 2, whose biography appears in seven sources composed prior to 845.[28]

XXX. (fols. 34v–37r, 36v)
No title: Biography of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Mudabbir.

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[26]I.e., all the Egyptians from the beginning of Islam, except his contemporaries to whom he devoted another biographical dictionary entitled *Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīdah*. By Egyptian, he meant all those who were born in Egypt, or those who were born elsewhere but eventually established themselves in Egypt. There probably is a gap between Muḥammad ibn al-Musayyab and Muḥammad ibn Muṣṭafá in the surviving sections of *Al-Muqaffá*. However, no. 4 does not appear in the unpublished sections that I have identified, nor in the list of lost biographies established by the editor (8:669–75) on the basis of cross-references made by al-Maqrīzī in his book.

[27]Ibn al-Dubaythī, al-Mundhirī, and al-ʻImād al-Iṣfahānī.

[28]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī;* idem, *Aʻyān al-ʻAṣr;* Ibn Ḥabīb, *Durrat al-Aslāk;* idem, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh;* Ibn al-Ṣuqāʻī, *Tālī Kitāb al-Wafayāt;* al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʻīyah;* Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*.

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Incipit (fol. 34v, lines 1–2):

أحمد بن محمد بن مدبر. كان من دهاة الناس وشياطين الكتاب والعمال الأجلاء [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 36v, lines 12–13):

[. . .] فقالت يآبا الحسن وجدنا الدواء كما وصفت فبكى وبكى كل من كان حوله.

Commentary:

This rather long biography closes quire III, connecting it with the following one.[29] The person whose life is portrayed here was one of the most emblematic rulers of Egypt, i.e., Ibn Mudabbir, governor in the name of the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad, who was eventually challenged by Ibn Ṭūlūn. Quite strangely, Ibn Mudabbir´s life is not included in *Al-Muqaffá,* although this is another example of the state in which this important work has reached us. It is, however, found in an autograph copy of the *Muqaffá* containing letters *alif* to *khā'*, which came to light in the eighties of the last century and is now held by the University Library of Leiden (the Netherlands, MS 14.533, fols. 1v–2v, 20r–v). The material found in the notebook was reused by al-Maqrīzī in the *Muqaffá,* particularly Ibn Ṭūlūn´s biography (*Al-Muqaffá,* 1:420–22), as well as in other places. Other passages found on fols. 34v–35v in the notebook were inserted in the *Khiṭaṭ* where Ibn Mudabbir was the subject of the section (*Khiṭaṭ,* 1:314–15 and 316). Unfortunately, the source of the material found in the notebook remains unidentified, and possibly lost.

XXXI. (fols. 55r–55v[30])

Title on fol. 55r, line 30: [Three quotations from] *Murūj al-Dhahab*/al-Mas'ūdī dealing with the definition of *al-baqṭ, al-barbar, al-nāranj,* and *al-utrujj al-mudawwar*.

List of the quotations:

١) البقط هو الضريبة التي تحمل في كل سنة من ملك النوبة إلى مصر وهي على ما ذكر المسعودي (مروج، ج ٢، ص ١٣٠) [. . .] (fol. 55r).

[29]Fol. 36 is a small piece of paper pasted in the margin. The recto is blank. All this proves that text XXX, and consequently all the preceding notes, were written after the quires of resumés I and II were assembled. When al-Maqrīzī reached the end of fol. 37r., he could not go on writing on the verso of the same folio which corresponded to the beginning of text II. So, he added a scrap of paper in order to finish note XXX. On top of it, he wrote بقية خبر بن مدبر, to avoid misunderstanding in the arrangement of the folios. The text is written normally on the verso of fols. 34 and 35, while it is written vertically on the recto of fols. 35 and 37, beginning on the spine side, from bottom to top.

[30]See reproduction of fol. 55r in ″Maqriziana IV,″ 28.

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٢) البربر أرض البربر كانت أرض فلسطين من بلاد الشام وملكهم كان جالوت [. . .]. من كتاب مروج الذهب (مروج، ج ٢،ص ٢٤٥).(fol. 55r)

٣) قال المسعودي في كتاب مروج الذهب : النارنج والأترج المدور حمل من أرض الهند [. . .] (مروج، ج ٢، ص ١٠٨). (fol. 55v)

Commentary:

Quire VI, which opens with fol. 55, is placed just in the middle of resumé II (Ibn ʻAbd al-Ḥakam′s *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Akhbārihā*). It opens with the end of *dhikr binā' al-Iskandarīyah*[31] which al-Maqrīzī began on fol. 52r of the preceding quire. Strangely, fol. 55r bears only three lines and fol. 56r eight lines, the remaining part on the recto and the entire verso of both folios having been left blank by al-Maqrīzī, as if he intended to complete these passages with others missing in his original copy. These blank spaces were further used to scribble notes (XXXI–XXXIV) starting, as it seems, from fol. 56v backwards with XXXIV, indicating that the source in note XXXIV was undoubtedly consulted prior to those of the following notes. In this way, we are able to know in which chronological order al-Maqrīzī consulted these sources. Obviously, notes XXXI–XXXIII were written after note XXXIV, to fill in the gap. The actual note is composed of three excerpts originating from a common source, which is indicated very carefully in the three cases, i.e., the *Murūj al-Dhahab* of **al-Masʻūdī** (d. 346/956). A close examination of their placement on the folio reveals that they were jotted down in the order given here: the first one occupies the space located near the spine, written vertically from bottom to top, while the second was placed horizontally, at its side. In both cases, red ink was used for the first word to mark it as a catchword. The third extract, on the verso, is written on the right, filling the space left blank after the end of note XXXIV. Al-Masʻūdī represents an important source for al-Maqrīzī, who used his *Murūj al-Dhahab*, *Akhbār al-Zamān,* and *Al-Tanbīh wa-al-Ishrāf*.[32] The actual extracts in the notebook, together with one other (see XXXV), all come from the first book. They deal with the tax *(baqṭ)* paid by Nubia in agreement with the truce concluded in 31/652, the origin of the Berbers, and the introduction of bitter orange and citron to the Middle East. Each of them was found in the original source[33] and was incorporated into al-Maqrīzī′s works. The first as well as the third are to be found throughout the *Khiṭaṭ* (1:201 and 1:28),

[31]This end is lacking in the edition based on several manuscripts (ed. Torrey). On this, see ″Maqriziana V″ (forthcoming).

[32]For the *Khiṭaṭ,* see Guest, ″A List of Writers,″ 115; Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 1:277.

[33]Reference is made here to the following edition: Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, rev. and corrected by Ch. Pellat (Beirut, 1966), vol. 2.

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where the source is clearly indicated, although, for the second, reference is made to a more generic title: *Al-Tārīkh*.[34] The second extract *(al-Barbar)* was not used in the *Khiṭaṭ*, although it could have found a place in the *Dhikr al-Bujah wa-Yuqāl innahum min al-Barbar* (1:194). However, it inspired al-Maqrīzī for another purpose, as it was identified in his opuscule on the Arab tribes in Egypt *(Al-Bayān wa-al-I'rāb 'amman fī Arḍ Miṣr min Qabā'il al-A'rāb).*[35]

XXXII. (fol. 55v)
No title: Biography of a Damascene who died in the 6th c.
أبو البيان بنان بن محمد بن محفوظ بن أحمد القرشي المعروف بابن الحوراني الشافعي (ت ٥٥١).

Commentary:
This very short biography (10 lines) occupies the space left below the third extract of the preceding note. In this case too, the beginning (here the *kunyah*) has been written in red ink, and the text has been placed upside down. It is interesting to note that this individual was the founder of a mystical order in Damascus and Syria, called the *Bayānīyah,* of which disciples were still active more than a century after his death. Al-Maqrīzī does not seem to have made use of the data found here, but he mentioned one of its disciples (d. 675/1277), called *shaykh al-bayānīyah* of Ḥamāh, in his *Al-Muqaffá* (1:161). The source of this note has not been identified so far.

XXXIII. (fol. 55v)
No title: Quotation of a verse by Muḥammad ibn Tūmart.
من شعر محمد بن تومرت الثائر بالمغرب

Verse:
تجرد من الدنيا فإنك إنما خرجت إلى الدنيا وأنت مجرد

Commentary:
Al-Maqrīzī did not devote a biography to the *mahdī* Ibn Tūmart (d. 524/1130) in *Al-Muqaffá,* even though he did pass through Alexandria, thus satisfying the

[34]Strangely, in his recent edition, A. F. Sayyid (1:75, n. 4) has indicated that this quotation was not found in *Murūj al-Dhahab, Akhbār al-Zamān,* or *Al-Tanbīh wa-al-Ishrāf.*

[35]Ed. Ramaḍān al-Bakrī and Aḥmad Muṣṭafá Qāsim, in *Rasā'il al-Maqrīzī* (Cairo, 1419/1998), 145. It had previously been quoted by F. Wüstenfeld in *Macrizi's Geschichte der Copten, aus den Handschriften zu Gotha und Wien mit Übersetzung und Anmerkungen* (Göttingen, 1847), 63 (of the Arabic text) and 11–12 (n. 6 of the translation).

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prerequisite for inclusion in this biographical dictionary.[36] The presence of this verse in the margin of the notebook shows that he was interested in this individual, despite the fact that it does not appear in any of al-Maqrīzī´s extant works. Thus, it might be considered only as a note of interest to al-Maqrīzī, who did not intend to reuse it, an attitude that is confirmed in the case of other notes as well. The authors who mentioned this verse in Ibn Tūmart´s biography repeatedly say that the *mahdī* used to recite it frequently *(kāna yunshidu kathīran)*.[37] In earlier works, it is attributed to Abū al-'Atāhiyah.[38] Al-Maqrīzī neglected to mention the source from which he took this verse. Various possibilities may be imagined,[39] such as al-Ṣafadī, who appears in this notebook in connection with an abstract (V) from *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafāyāt,* but al-Maqrīzī more likely took it from *Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib* by Ibn Sa'īd ('Alī ibn Mūsá, d. 685/1286), clearly given by al-Ṣafadī as his source in this particular case. Ibn Sa'īd was also an important source from whom al-Maqrīzī benefited, and excerpts from two of his works appear later in the notebook (LVII, LX, LXI).[40]

XXXIV. (fols. 56v–55v)
No title: Quotation dealing with Ibn Ṭūlūn and the discovery of a treasure.
Incipit (fol. 56v, line 1):

من خبر مصر. لما ورد على أحمد بن طولون كتاب المعتمد بما استدعاه من رد الخراج بمصر إليه [. . .]
(السيرة، ص ٧٤–٧٧)

Explicit (fol. 55v, line 7):

[. . .] وألزمهم أشياء ضجوا منها فقبض عليه وأخذ ماله وحبسه فمات في حبسه.

Commentary:
As for most of the extracts dealing with the period of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn (see XXV), this particular one also comes from the source already identified, although never mentioned explicitly in the notebook. It is referred to generally by al-Maqrīzī as the *Jāmi' al-Sīrah al-Ṭūlūnīyah,* and more commonly known by the name of its

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[36]He made only a short reference to his leaving Egypt in 511 in *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā',* ed. Muḥammad Ḥilmī Muḥammad Aḥmad (Cairo, 1393/1973), 3:56.

[37]Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān,* ed. Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo, 1948), 4:145; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā',* ed. Shu'ayb al-Arna'ūṭ (Beirut, 1417/1996), 19:551; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* ed. S. Dedering (Damascus, 1953), 3:327.

[38]See for instance Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Al-Aghānī* (Beirut, 1955), 4:102.

[39]See n. 37.

[40]His books are quoted in *Al-Muqaffá,* 1:390, 3:412, 6:112; and *Al-Khiṭaṭ*. See Guest, "A List of Writers," 118; Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 1:27; and Sayyid´s ed., 5:967 and 989.

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author, **al-Balawī**. The passage quoted here was found in the only available edition.[41] The text, written backwards starting from fol. 56v, is simply introduced by the words *"min khabar Miṣr"* in red ink, and recounts the events that took place when the Abbasid caliph demanded that Ibn Ṭūlūn give him the *kharāj* of Egypt and the accidental discovery he made of a treasure in the desert. This text was reused verbatim by al-Maqrīzī in both versions of his *Khiṭaṭ* (the draft[42] and the final text (2:266–67)), under the heading *"ḥadīth al-kanz."* This proves that the passage in the notebook was already considered by al-Maqrīzī to be the final version to be included in his work. Also noteworthy is the fact that the text in the notebook is a verbatim quotation, implying that he did not change anything.

XXXV. (fol. 82r)
Title on fol. 82r, line 1: *Faṣl fī Nīrān al-'Arab*

فصل في نيران العرب

Incipit (fol. 82r, line 1):

وهي أربعة عشر نارا : نار المزدلفة توقد ليراها من دفع من عرفة [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 82r, line 17):

[. . .] ويرفعونها لمن يلتمس القرى كلما كانت أضخم وموضعها أرفع كان أفخر وهم يتمادحون بها.

Commentary:
This extract initiates a series of notes placed at the end of quire VIII, where the aforementioned resumé II ends. Those notes occupy the last three folios (82r–86v) which were left blank. Two slips of paper were added to complete some of them (fols. 83–84). The section dealing with the fires of the Arabs occupies all of fol. 82r, being placed vertically, starting from the spine. As usual, the first word was written in red ink, and strokes in the same color over the name of the various fires help to easily differentiate them. No source is indicated, but it can be assumed that the text comes from **al-Nuwayrī** (d. 733/1333), *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* since the fires are organized in the same way and the wording is almost identical.[43] However, al-Nuwayrī mainly relied on another source, i.e., al-Jāḥiẓ's *Kitāb al-*

[41]Al-Balawī, *Sīrah,* 74–77.

[42]Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi MS 1405, fols. 73v–75r. It is worth mentioning that the name of one of the protagonists in this passage is vocalized in one occurrence in the notebook as Ibn al-D?suwamah. In the draft, this is not the case, but the ductus is identical. Thus, the reading that appears in A. F. Sayyid's edition of the *Khiṭaṭ* (Ibn al-Dashshūmah) must be corrected accordingly.

[43]This work was already considered as a possible source of resumé IV/6. The actual passage is to be found in vol. 1:103–29.

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Ḥayawān,[44] adding original data taken from other books. Al-Maqrīzī utilized the extract he scribbled in his notebook for his book dealing with pre-Islamic times, *Al-Khabar ʻan al-Bashar,* a work that remains unpublished despite its vast amount of material gathered from many lost and extant sources.[45] In the *Dhikr Nīrān al-ʻArab,*[46] the author has interspersed the information he collected in al-Nuwayrī´s work, but the most interesting feature is the fact that he went back to al-Nuwayrī´s original source (al-Jāḥiẓ), from which he quotes extensively, while also adding new material to both of them. This trait illustrates al-Maqrīzī´s insistence on going back to older texts.

XXXVI. (fols. 82v–83r)
No title: *Faṣl* [regarding the tribe of Shuʻayb and their genealogy, taken from] al-Masʻūdī.
Incipit (fol. 82v, lines 1–2):
فصل. قال المسعودي : وقد تنازع أهل الشرائع في قوم شعيب بن نوفل بن رعويل بن مرا بن عنقاء بن مدين بن إبراهيم الخليل صلى الله عليه [. . .]
Explicit (fol. 83r, lines 5–6):
[. . .] ولهؤلاء الملوك أخبار عجيبة من حروب وسير وكيفية تغلبهم على هذه الممالك وتملكهم عليها وإبادتهم من كان فيها وعليها قبلهم من الأمم.

Commentary:
The name of the author helps to establish the source of this extract. We have seen elsewhere in the notebook (see XXXI) that quotations from this author came from the *Murūj al-Dhahab,* which must still be identified as the source in this case (2:281–83). Considering the fact that al-Maqrīzī probably wrote both of them at the same time, and given the place of this note in the quire (just after the extract from al-Nuwayrī) and that of the other extract (XXXI, in the middle of a quire, to fill the blank spaces), it may be presumed that he had access to this source after

[44]Ed. ʻAbd al-Salām M. Hārūn (Cairo, 1385/1966), 4:461–92 and 5:5–148. See also more generally T. Fahd, ″Le Feu chez les anciens Arabes,″ in *Le Feu dans le Proche-Orient antique: Aspects linguistiques, archéologiques, technologiques, littéraires: Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg (9 et 10 juin 1972)*, Travaux du Centre de recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce antiques (Leiden, 1973), 43–61 (based on al-Jāḥiẓ and al-Nuwayrī).

[45]For a description of the manuscripts held in Istanbul libraries, some of which are autographs, see F. Tauer, ″Zu al-Maqrīzī´s Schrift *al-Ḫabar ʻan al-Bašar*,″ *Islamica* 1 (1925): 357–64; for an appraisal of the work´s importance, see M. Lecker, ″Idol Worship in Pre-Islamic Medina (Yathrib),″ *Le Muséon* 106 (1993): 331–46.

[46]Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi MS Fatih 4339 (autograph), fols. 66r–74v (particularly 69r–71v).

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having consulted al-Nuwayrī´s *Nihāyat al-Arab*. When he obtained a copy of the *Murūj al-Dhahab,* he first jotted down his notes in the remaining space on fol. 55, then went on to the next blank pages in the notebook, i.e., fols. 82–83. We have already seen that such a chronological classification could be proposed for text XXXIV (see under XXXI). The entire text was later integrated into the *Khiṭaṭ* (1:187), without any modification in the phrasing.

XXXVII. (fol. 83r[47])

No title: Two biographies of persons who died in Cairo in the fourth and seventh centuries.

١) إبراهيم بن عبد الله أبو إسحاق البغدادي النحوي الكاتب النجيرمي (ت ٣٤٣).

٢) إبراهيم بن عبد الرحمن بن علي بن عبد العزيز بن علي بن قريش بن علي بن محمد بن أحمد بن سلامة بن الحسن بن سليمان بن خالد بن الوليد أبو إسحاق القرشي المخزومي المصري الكاتب شرف الدين (ت ٦٤٣).

Commentary:

The preceding note ended on fol. 83r, with only 6 lines occupying the upper part, leaving the rest of the folio available for further notes. Al-Maqrīzī used this space for two biographies. The first one was written vertically, from top to bottom, on the left, while the second occupies the right side, horizontally. Red ink was used for the first *ism*. Both of them were obviously taken from the same source, which is not cited. This source probably consisted of a comprehensive biographical dictionary. This can be inferred from the names, which follow in alphabetical order, and from the death dates, which are not contemporaneous with each other. This source has not been identified so far. The material was partly reused for *Al-Muqaffá,* where a biography has been devoted to both of them (1:239–41 [no. 274]; 1:213–14 [no. 238]). Furthermore, the second one is mentioned in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (2:93), where the text exactly matches the one in the notebook! But al-Maqrīzī intended to include both of them in his other book dedicated to the secretaries of the chancery entitled *Khulāṣat al-Tibr fī Akhbār Kuttāb al-Sirr,*[48] considered lost.

[47]Fol. 83 is a little bit smaller than the other folios in the quire, missing a small strip of paper horizontally and vertically. It was added to the quire by al-Maqrīzī when he saw that he needed a place to complete the notes. See ″Maqriziana IV,″ 27 (n. 13).

[48]See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (Sayyid ed.), 1:45*, and also LXXI below.

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XXXVIII. (fol. 82bis r–82bis v[49])

No title: Text describing the sessions of wisdom held by the *dā'ī* in the Fatimid period.

Incipit (fol. 82bis r, lines 1–3):

كان الداعي يواصل الجلوس بالقصر لقراءة ما يقرأ على الأولياء والدعاة والمتصلة [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 82bis v, lines 10–11):

[. . .] وكتب آخر بقطع مجالس الحكم التي تقرأ على الأولياء يوم الخميس والجمعة.

Commentary:

The short text appears on a very small loose slip of paper which was never bound to the notebook. It is to be found throughout *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (1:391), where the source is given as **al-Musabbiḥī**, i.e., al-Mukhtār Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh (d. 420/1030). His main work consisted of a history of Egypt and was entitled *Akhbār Miṣr* in its shorter form. Al-Maqrīzī depended heavily upon it for several of his books.[50] The unicum of vol. 40 dealing with the last months of the year 414 and the greater part of 415, now held in the Escorial in Spain, bears witness to the fact that he had access to at least that volume,[51] but there is no reason to believe that he did not have access to other volumes as well. In fact, another excerpt from this source, concerning the year 396, will be found under LXV (fol. 145v). As in that case, the actual loose leaf played the role of a card, which al-Maqrīzī could attach to the relevant subject in the preliminary stage of redaction. Indeed, beside the actual evidence, the same text can be read both in the final version of the *Khiṭaṭ* as well as in *Al-Muqaffá* (3:627–28, biography of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān [al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān]) and in *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā'* (2:82). It is interesting to notice that the notebook also contains a biography of al-Musabbiḥī, which al-Maqrīzī picked up from a hitherto unidentified source (see LVI, no. 13). At the end of the biographical data, a small—in comparison with what is found in other sources—list of al-Musabbiḥī's works is provided, ending with the following: ″*wa-lahu 'iddah taṣānīf ghayrahu* wa-qad dhakartuhā 'inda dhikr mā intaqaytuhu min tārīkhihi″!

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[49]This folio, which was found between fols. 82–83 unfoliated, is a loose scrap of paper. It appears to be a card, as I will try to demonstrate in ″Maqriziana II.″

[50]For the *Khiṭaṭ*, see Guest, ″A List of Writers,″ 116; Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr*, 1:260.

[51]The manuscript has been the object of two complete editions: W. J. Milward, *Akhbār Miṣr fī Sanatay 414–415 h.* (Cairo, 1980); Th. Bianquis and A. F. Sayyid, *Al-Juz' al-Arba'ūn min Akhbār Miṣr* (*al-Qism al-Tārīkhī*) (Cairo, 1978); Ḥ. Naṣṣār, *Al-Juz' al-Arba'ūn min Akhbār Miṣr (al-Qism al-Adabī)* (Cairo, 1984). For the reading note in the handwriting of al-Maqrīzī, see the reproduction of the title page in the Bianquis and Sayyid edition. Other passages originating in volumes now lost and found in various sources were gathered by A. F. Sayyid, ″Nuṣūṣ Ḍā'i'ah min Akhbār Miṣr,″ *Annales islamologiques* 17 (1981): 1–54.

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The last words should probably be attributed to al-Maqrīzī,[52] rather than to the author from which he extracted this biography. In this way, al-Maqrīzī confirmed that he had made a selection *(intiqā')* of the *Tārīkh* of al-Musabbiḥī, a fact that is corroborated by his working method.[53] Apart from al-Maqrīzī, another author also seems to have completed a selection of this work, although he has been ignored until now. Ḥājjī Khalīfah mentioned it mistakenly,[54] yet the author was never identified as being Rashīd al-Dīn al-Mundhirī (Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-ʻAẓīm ibn ʻAbd al-Qawī, d. 643/1245–46).[55] This was confirmed by the quotations made by the Meccan historian Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī (d. 832/1429) in his *Shifā' al-Gharām,*[56] establishing that the *Mukhtaṣar* was still available in Mecca at that time, in al-Maqrīzī´s lifetime.

XXXIX. (fols. 83v–84v[57])

No title: Text containing obituaries for the year 761 and a historical report of the persons who were in charge of the *ḥisbah* between 737 and 745/Ibn al-Naqqāsh.

Incipit (fol. 83v, lines 1–2):

ذي الحجة سنة إحدى وستين وسبعمائة توفي فيه القاضي ضياء الدين يوسف بن أبي بكر بن محمد الشهير بابن خطيب بيت الآبار [. . .]

Other names mentioned:

وفي سلخه توفي الملك الصالح صالح بن محمد بن قلاون في محبسه [. . .] (fol. 83v)

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[52]See the reasons invoked under LVII. However, unsurprisingly, al-Maqrīzī did not refer to this resumé in the biography he gave of al-Musabbiḥī in *Al-Muqaffá* (6:163–65, no. 2632).

[53]See ″Maqriziana II.″

[54]Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* (ed. Sh. Yaltakya and R. Bilge, Istanbul, 1360/1941), 1:304: *″wa-ikhtaṣarahu Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī.″* He probably meant that al-Fāsī used al-Mundhirī´s *Mukhtaṣar*. See also A. F. Sayyid, ″Lumières sur quelques sources de l´histoire fatimide en Egypte,″ *Annales islamologiques* 13 (1977): 14.

[55]Al-Maqrīzī does not mention this resumé or his books in the biography he gave for al-Mundhirī in *Al-Muqaffá,* 6: 91–92. Note also that the date of his death is mentioned in other sources as being 644. Al-Mundhirī is known to have written a *Tārīkh Miṣr* which has not been preserved (see Sayyid, ″Lumières,″ 32–33). An edition *(takhrīj)* he made of the *Mashyakhat al-Na''āl al-Baghdādī Ṣā'in al-Dīn al-Anjab* has been preserved and was published in Baghdad in 1975 (ed. Bashshār ʻAwwād Maʻrūf and Nājī Maʻrūf). His father is better known than him for his book *Al-Takmilah li-Wafayāt al-Naqalah.*

[56]Ed. Saʻīd ʻAbd al-Fattāḥ (Mecca-Riyadh, 1417/1996), *Shifā' al-Gharām,* 1: 203: *'alá mā dhakara al-Musabbiḥī fī Tārīkhihi 'alá mā wajadtu bi-khaṭṭ al-ḥāfiẓ Rashīd al-Dīn ibn al-ḥāfiẓ Zakī al-Dīn al-Mundhirī fī ikhtiṣārihi li-Tārīkh al-Musabbiḥī;* 1:233: *naqaltu dhālika min khaṭṭ al-Rashīd al-Mundhirī fī ikhtiṣārihi li-Tārīkh al-Musabbiḥī.*

[57]Fol. 84 is somewhat smaller than fol. 83 and was also added by al-Maqrīzī for the same reason invoked for fol. 83. See n. 47.

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خليل بن عثمان الزولي جمال الدين الشافعي أولا ثم الحنفي ثانيا التيمي [. . .] (fol. 83v)
قال ابن النقاش وممن توفي في هذا الوبأ أيضا صاحبنا الفاضل المتقن العلامة جمال الدين عبد الله بن الزيلعي الحنفي المحدث [. . .] (fol. 83v)

The office of *muḥtasib* (fol. 84r):

وكانت ولاية الحسبة في ثمان عشر جمادى الأولى سنة سبع وثلاثين وسبعمائة بعد موت نجم الدين محمد الإسعردي في يوم الجمعة خامس عشرة وكان قد سعى في الحسبة أحمد بن الحاج علي طباخ السلطان بالأمير قوصون والأمير بشتاك [. . .]

Explicit (fols. 84r, line 18–84v, lines 1–2):

[. . .] وتولى نظر الدولة علم الدين بن سهلول بدله وعاد الضياء إلى وظيفة نظر المارستان.

Commentary:

The name of the author is found at the beginning of a note placed at the bottom of fol. 83v. Here the name of a person who died during the plague that struck Cairo in 761, which is discussed in the text covering most of the folio, is given. Attributing the whole text to Ibn al-Naqqāsh on the sole basis of this coincidence would have been presumptuous. Fortunately, some data found in the upper anonymous part (fol. 83v, lines 13–15) was inserted by al-Maqrīzī in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (2:279), where he explicitly quoted the source: Ibn al-Naqqāsh. It thus can be assumed that excerpt XXXIX comes entirely from this source, which is also mentioned under LI. There, an obituary from the same year, but dated to the month Dhū al-Qa'dah (i.e., just before the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah reported here), demonstrates that it was written prior to this one. The title of the book is also given there fully as *Al-'Ibar fī Man Maḍá wa-Ghabar,* a work composed by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid **Ibn al-Naqqāsh** al-Maghribī al-Dukkālī (d. 763/1362).[58] From the citations gleaned from al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ,*[59] it can be deduced that it consisted of

[58]For al-Dukkālī, see Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Weimar and Leiden, 1898–1949), 2:247; S2:95. The title of this book is not mentioned in the sources where his biography is given. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* ed. Sayyid, 4:1:118 (n. 1).

[59]See Guest, "A List of Writers," 116; Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 1:346 and 2:91; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* ed. Sayyid, 5:987. This editor is not sure that the Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Naqqāsh mentioned in the *Khiṭaṭ* (ed. Būlāq, 2:279 = ed. Sayyid, 4:1:118) is the same one who died in 763/1362. However, the passage quoted there, which also appears in the notebook, refers to the destruction of al-Hirmās's house built in front of al-Ḥākim's mosque. Al-Hirmās appears in the events recorded by the historians with regard to Ibn al-Naqqāsh's life (see, among others, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* ed. M. M. Amīn [Cairo, 1423/2003], 10:221–22). The second quotation indicated in Sayyid's index (5:981) refers to another individual whose name is given by al-Maqrīzī as Zayn al-Dīn Abū Hurayrah 'Abd al-Raḥmān. That passage appears only in the

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an obituary arranged according to the day and month of death. The analogy with al-Dhahabī´s *Al-'Ibar fī Khabar Man Ghabar* might suggest that the book was similar in its organization. The data gleaned here was reused, as indicated earlier, in the *Khiṭaṭ* as well as in *Al-Sulūk,* where the name of the source is never given.

XL. (fols. 85r–86v)

No title: Text relating the events which took place after 446 between al-Basāsīrī and the caliph al-Qā'im bi-Amr Allāh until his death in 451.

Incipit (fol. 85r, lines 1–3):

البساسيري : في سنة ست وأربعين وأربعمائة ابتدأت الوحشة بين الخليفة القائم بأمر الله وبين البساسيري بسبب أنه طلب من الخليفة أن يسلم إليه أبا الغنائم وأبا سعد ابني المحلبان صاحبي قريش [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 86v, lines 21–22):

[. . .] وأطلق لها في كل يوم أربعة أرطال لحم واثنين وعشرين رطلا خبزا.

Commentary:

The excerpt is introduced by the name of the protagonist written in red ink. The text presents itself as a digest of al-Basāsīrī´s career at the end of his life, and particularly the role he played in Baghdad and the region in the service of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustanṣir. No source is indicated here, nor in the works where the material was interspersed (*Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā',* 2: 232–33; *Al-Muqaffá,* 3: 389–93 [biography of al-Basāsīrī]; *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 1:356). It can hardly be identified, since most of the preserved sources for the given period do contain some parts of it.[60] Ibn al-Jawzī´s *Al-Muntaẓam* seems most likely, as it is the one source consulted that gives two pronouncements by the Abbasid caliph al-Qā'im bi-Amr Allāh on that occasion, and is also present in the notebook. Notwithstanding this fact, the *Muntaẓam* can not be considered the original source of the present extract, because other elements from it do not appear in Ibn al-Jawzī´s work. On the other hand, we cannot regard it as a preliminary stage of redaction in al-Maqrīzī´s handwriting, as the text reveals erasures demonstrating that he was summarizing while reading, as usual.[61] A striking feature might convince us to consider Ibn Muyassar (d. 677/1278) as a potential candidate. Ibn Muyassar´s *Tārīkh* has reached us only in

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Musawwadah and was not meant to find its way into the final version of the *Khiṭaṭ*.

[60]Under the years 446–51 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam;* Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh;* al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab;* Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab;* idem, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab;* al-Bundārī, *Zubdat al-Nuṣrah;* al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād;* Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Dimashq;* anonymous, *Al-Fakhrī;* al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām;* Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*.

[61]See ″Maqriziana II.″

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a summary made by al-Maqrīzī himself.[62] The abstract opens with 4 lines dealing with al-Basāsīrī′s activity in Iraq under the year 447.[63] This text opens with the exact words found in the notebook (*″ibtada'at al-waḥshah bayna″*), except that the following names have been put in a different order and the date is different.[64] The comparison ends here: the excerpt in the notebook is far longer than what is found in that resumé, and some details differ, such as the origin of al-Basāsīrī′s *nisbah*. However, let us remember that the *Muntaqá min Akhbār Miṣr li-Ibn Muyassar* is nothing more than a memorandum, and that al-Maqrīzī usually went back to the original text when he had to quote a passage, which explains why passages absent in an abstract in the notebook may be found in al-Maqrīzī′s books.[65] In the present stage, the source of this extract remains to be identified.

XLI. (fol. 96v)

No title: Quotation of two events which occurred in 501 at Baghdad and in 508 at Ghaznah.

Incipit of first event (fol. 96v, lines 18–21):

في سنة إحدى وخمسمائة قد ظهر ببغداد صبية عمياء تتكلم على أسرار الناس فاجتهدوا في تعرف حالها فلم تلعم. قال ابن عقيل : وأشكل امرها على [. . .]

Explicit of first event (fol. 96v, lines 29–30):

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[62]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá min Akhbār Miṣr li-Ibn Muyassar,* ed. A. F. Sayyid (Cairo, 1981). The resumé, which only covers the second part of Ibn Muyassar′s *Tārīkh,* is not preserved in al-Maqrīzī′s hand. An interesting feature is al-Maqrīzī′s indication of the date he finished his resumé (″the evening of Saturday, six days before the end of the month of Rabī‘ I of the year 814″). The unique manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque National Ar. 1688) consists of a copy made from the autograph. The editor, A. F. Sayyid, in his introduction (p. *mīm*) was convinced that the copyist discovered al-Maqrīzī′s cards *(biṭāqāt)* regarding Ibn Muyassar′s *Tārīkh* and that he put them in the order now found in the Paris manuscript. In comparison with the Liège manuscript, it is clear that the copyist of the Paris manuscript found only a part of one of al-Maqrīzī′s notebooks, and surely not cards, as we can see in all resumés studied in ″Maqriziana I/1.″ This is corroborated by the presence, in the Paris manuscript, of excerpts originating from other sources, which Cl. Cahen (″Ibn Muyassar,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 3:894) identified as being al-Musabbiḥī and Ibn Zūlāq. Furthemore, the manuscript ends with a biography of a person also present in the Liège manuscript (see below, under LV, no, 5), but with different content. This was probably added by al-Maqrīzī at the end of the abstract, where he found blank space, a practice confirmed by the notebook.

[63]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá,* 14. Other passages dealing with al-Basāsīrī will be found on pp. 20–21.

[64]In the notebook, this event is said to have occurred in 446. Al-Maqrīzī sometimes made mistakes in copying dates (see ″Maqriziana II,″ regarding excerpt LXIV/LXV [fol. 145]).

[65]See an unambiguous example in ″Maqriziana V.″

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[. . .] وثبت بالتواتر أن جميع ما تتكلم به بتفاصيل لا يدركها البصر.

Incipit of second event (fol. 96v, line 31):

[. . .] ولما ملك السلطان سنجر في سنة ثمان وخمسمائة مدينة غزنة حصل لأصحابه من المال ما لا يحصى [. . .]

Explicit of second event (fol. 96v, lines 44–46):

[. . .] وسبعة عشر سريرا من الذهب والفضة.

Commentary:

This quotation was added in the lower margin and written from the spine towards the right margin. It is composed of two reports without any separation, indicating that they both come from the same source. Trying to identify both of them in historical works, I have found the first one, in the same words, in Ibn al-Jawzī′s *Al-Muntaẓam.* This is confirmed by the fact that the name of Ibn ʻAqīl is quoted here, as can be seen in the incipit. Ibn ʻAqīl was one of the many sources used by Ibn al-Jawzī.[66] Accordingly, it could be considered the source of this extract. Unfortunately, the second event is not reported in this work, but was found in Ibn al-Athīr′s *Al-Kāmil,* where the first event is lacking. This puzzling situation will probably be solved in the future with the discovery of an additional source. In any case, this material was not incorporated into any of the extant works of al-Maqrīzī, which is not surprising, considering that the first one tells the strange story of a blind girl who, despite her disability, could see better than anyone else, while the second deals with the city of Ghaznah and the treasures seized by Sanjar and his troops. Both must have piqued al-Maqrīzī′s curiosity, which pushed him to scribble them down in his notebook.

XLII. (fol. 122v)

Title on fol. 122v, line 1: [Quotation from] *Al-Mutajaddidāt*/al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil.

Text (fol. 122v, lines 1–2):

رأيت بخط القاضي الفاضل من جملة المتجددات في سنة ٥٧٧ أن رجلا من أهل حماة زرع اثني عشر مدا فحمل منها مائة وخمسين حملا.

Commentary:

[66]However, Joseph de Somogyi does not list him among the authorities of this book (″The ′Kitāb al-muntaẓam′ of Ibn al-Jauzī,″ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* [1932]: 49–76). On Abū al-Wafāʼ ʻAlī ibn ʻAqīl al-Baghdādī al-Ẓafarī (d. 513/1119), see George Makdisi, *Ibn ʻAqīl et la résurgence de l′islam traditionaliste au XI^e siècle (V^e siècle de l′Hégire)* (Damascus, 1963). Ibn al-Jawzī probably used his *Kitāb al-Funūn,* of which he is known to have prepared a resumé entitled *Muntakhab al-Funūn.* See ibid., 510–11.

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Fol. 122, which is now a fly-leaf, contains several notes taken from various sources, regarding events mostly from the Ayyubid and Fatimid periods. The equivalent of the actual verso appears in a particularly bad state and hinders easy reading. Having been removed from the codex, it was paginated as it was found, but a thorough analysis of various extracts from it has revealed that what is now considered the recto was originally the verso. This explains why the study of the notes begins with this side. Chronologically, on the basis of their arrangement on the page, the various notes were presumably copied in the following order: XLII, XLIII, XLIV, XLV, XLVII, XLVI, XLVIII, XLIX, L.

This one, which consists of two lines written in red ink, clearly indicates the source, which has been previously identified (see XXVIII): **al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil**, *Al-Mutajaddidāt,* a title that underwent great variations in the notebook and in al-Maqrīzī's works.[67] The report may be classified as one of the curious phenomena that amazed al-Maqrīzī, though he did not use it in *Al-Sulūk* (under the year 577), the more appropriate book for this, or anywhere else.

XLIII. (fol. 122v)
No title: Biography of an Egyptian.
Incipit (fol. 122v, lines 3–4):

شهاب الدين أبو يوسف يعقوب بن محمد بن علي بن محمد بن المجاور [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 122v, line 5):

[. . .] فيما يتعلق بأمر الوزارة وقوانينها عشر مجلدات.

Commentary:
A short biography of an individual who composed a book in ten volumes on the vizierate and its rules. He is mentioned here as having particularly praised a vizier of the Ayyubid period, Ṣafī al-Dīn ʻAbd Allāh ibn ʻAlī Ibn Shukr (d. 622/1225). This author has not been identified in the sources so far. Consequently, the origin of the excerpt found here remains unknown. It was probably meant to be included in his biography in the missing part of *Al-Muqaffá.*

XLIV. (fol. 122v)
No title: Extract dealing with al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā'i' ibn Ruzzīk.
Incipit (fol. 122v, lines 6–7):

غنى مطرب في مجلس الصالح بن رزيك : لا خيل عندك تهديها ولا مال فغضب [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 122v, line 12):

[67] See "Maqriziana I/1," 37.

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[. . .] لكن تفآلت والأقدار غالبة والله يبسط إما لا فينبسط.

Commentary:
Al-Maqrīzī scribbled on this folio several verses exemplified by the circumstances in which they were pronounced, and among which the present one is an example. Another feature found on this folio regards the source: in only two cases did he take pains to indicate it clearly. Here it is impossible to know its origin, since these verses have not yet been identified in any source consulted, nor in any of al-Maqrīzī's writings. However, al-Maqrīzī undoubtedly reused this passage because a symbol indicating this can be found at the beginning.[68] It was probably intended for Ibn Ruzzīk's biography in *Al-Muqaffá,* from which only a few entries have come down to us for the letter *ṭā'*.

XLV. (fol. 122v)
No title: Three quotations regarding Ibn Ṭūlūn and 1) his attitude towards his emissaries, 2) economic problems, and 3) a secretary named Andūnah.
Incipit of first quotation (fol. 122v):
كان أحمد بن طولون إذا أنفذ رسولا في حاجة برسالة قال له أعد علي ما قلت [. . .] (السيرة، ١٠٠–١٠١)

Incipit of second quotation (fol. 122v):
[. . .] زاد السعر في زمن أحمد بن طولون واضطرب البلاء [. . .]

Incipit of third quotation (fol. 122v):
أندونة كاتب أحمد المدائني صاحب موسى بن بغا [. . .] (السيرة، ٨٨–٨٩)

Commentary:
Once again, the material dealing with Ibn Ṭūlūn stems from **al-Balawī**, *Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn,* from which other excerpts have already been identified (see XXV, XXXIV above, and XLVII below). It is very interesting to notice that all these notes were included in the notebook. The first and third were traced back to their source, but the second one is lacking in the text. It is also missing in al-Maqrīzī's works, but the other two were identified in two different books.[69]

XLVI. (fol. 122v)
Title on fol. 122v: [Quotation regarding Tamīm ibn al-Mu'izz ibn Bādīs taken

[68]See "Maqriziana II."

[69]The first one was placed in Ibn Ṭūlūn's biography in *Al-Muqaffá,* 1:443 and 447, while the second is present in *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 1:208 *(dhikr minyat Andūnah).*

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from] *Jinān al-Janān*/Ibn al-Zubayr.
Incipit (fol. 122v):
قال ابن الزبير في كتاب جنان الجنان إن الطبول ضربت يوما على عقلة في قصر السلطان تميم بن المعز بن باديس [. . .]

Commentary:
The note occupies the space in the lower margin and was clearly added after the preceding passages. In this particular case, al-Maqrīzī indicated the source as being *Jinān al-Janān* by Ibn al-Zubayr. He is to be identified as **al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr** (d. 562/1166) and the full title of his book is *Jinān al-Janān wa-Riyāḍ al-Adhhān*.[70] This is one of the sources al-Maqrīzī relied upon for the Fatimid period, and essentially for *Al-Muqaffá,* as it dealt with the poets and writers up until his own time.[71] It was relied upon heavily by later authors like al-'Imād al-Iṣfahānī in his *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr,* Ibn Khallikān in his *Wafayāt al-A'yān,* and Ibn Sa'īd in his *Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib* (the parts regarding Fusṭāṭ and al-Qāhirah),[72] sources which were also used by al-Maqrīzī. However, as his working method reveals, he was always eager to go back to contemporaneous sources, and from the quotations in *Al-Muqaffá,* one understands that he had access to a copy of Ibn al-Zubayr's book. This note on an event which occurred in al-Mahdīyah doubtlessly found its way into many of al-Maqrīzī's books, given that it concerns the Zirid Tamīm ibn al-Mu'izz, even though his name appears in *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā'*.

XLVII. (fol. 122r)
No title: Extract which concerns the secretaries of Ibn Ṭūlūn.
Incipit (fol. 122r, line 1):
ما خلت دار أحمد بن طولون قط من كاتب خفي الشخص يقف عنده يعرف بكاتب السر [. . .] (السيرة، ص ٢١٠)

Explicit (fol. 122r, lines 3–4):
[. . .] فإن كان فيه شيء يحتاج إلى تغيير أو زيادة تقدم في ذلك بما يمتثل.

Commentary:
This passage, which was scribbled down at the same time as XLV, was found in

[70]Al-Maqrīzī gives the title in the biography he wrote on Ibn al-Zubayr as *Al-Jinān wa-Riyāḍ al-Adhhān* (*Al-Muqaffá,* 1:534–35).
[71]See 8: 573.
[72]See Sayyid, "Lumières," 24, n. 3.

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al-Balawī's book on Ibn Ṭūlūn.[73] Al-Maqrīzī integrated it into Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn's biography in *Al-Muqaffá,*[74] although it differs slightly from al-Balawī's wording.

XLVIII. (fol. 122r)
No title: Quotation regarding the fact that the witnesses *('udūl)* in the Fatimid period used to wear their turban with the end tied under their chin in order to differentiate themselves.
Incipit (fol. 122r, line 7):
كان العدول في زمن المصريين بالدولة الفاطمية يتحنكون ولا يفعل ذلك إلا العدول ليتميزوا بذلك عن غيرهم [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 122r, line 12):
شاهد الحسن في محياك عدل كيف لا وهو بالموزار محنك

Commentary:
This note was written just below the previous one. Al-Maqrīzī used a symbol in red ink to attract attention *(qif)* and differentiate it. The poet whose verses are quoted here, Ibn Qalāqis (d. 567/1172),[75] played a role in Fatimid diplomacy as a cultural envoy to Sicily and Yemen.[76] The source is not indicated and could not be identified,[77] but could be the same as one considered for the next entry.[78] The material was not found in the works of al-Maqrīzī, who probably devoted a biography to this poet in the lost part of *Al-Muqaffá*.

XLIX. (fol. 122r)
No title: Report of an event dealing with the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ and the poet Tilmīdh Ibn Sābiq (d. 536/1141–42).
Incipit (fol. 122r, line 13):
اجتمع الشعراء بباب الحافظ فتناهوا في القول [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 122r, line 19):

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[73]Al-Balawī, *Al-Sīrah,* 210.

[74]*Al-Muqaffá,* 1:452 (biography of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn).

[75]On Ibn Qalāqis, see U. Rizzitano, "Ibn Ḳalāḳis," *EI*^{2}, 3:814.

[76]See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá,* 135.

[77]These verses are not quoted in his biography in al-'Imād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr wa-Jarīdat al-'Aṣr*: *Qism Shu'arā' Miṣr,* ed. A. Amīn, Sh. Ḍayf and I. 'Abbās (Cairo, 1951), 1:145–65. His *Dīwān* (ed. Kh. Muṭrān, Cairo, 1905) was not available to me.

[78]I have some doubt that Ibn al-Zubayr (d. 562/1166) would have included verses from one of his contemporaries who passed away after him.

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فأمروا بالعود إلى ما كانوا عليه.

Commentary:
The position, just below the preceding note, the script, and the color of the ink would imply that this report comes from the same source. In this case, fortunately, the passage has been identified in several sources. In chronological order, they are: al-'Imād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr,*[79] Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār Miṣr,*[80] and Ibn Sa'īd, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah.*[81] Ibn Muyassar looks like the most plausible source for al-Maqrīzī, because he provides the introduction to Tilmīdh ibn Sābiq's verses in detail, as given here. However, regarding the wording, there is a slight difference. On the other hand, in the biography al-Maqrīzī devoted to this poet,[82] he quoted a similar passage citing his source as al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr's *Jinān al-Janān!* There, the verses are very briefly introduced and one wonders if the *qāla* that precedes them really means that al-Maqrīzī is quoting verbatim. An analysis of the sources mentioned earlier will help to clear up this confusion. Al-'Imād al-Iṣfahānī and Ibn Sa'īd both admit that they rely on the *Jinān al-Janān*.[83] Even if the latter added that this poet is among those mentioned by al-'Imād al-Iṣfahānī, there is no doubt that he quoted the verses directly from Ibn al-Zubayr's work, as he supplied information not found in the *Kharīdah* in the introduction to the poem. Turning to Ibn Muyassar, one must presume that he also relied on the same source. In this case, he did not summarize, but surely changed the words.[84] Strikingly, the passage found in al-Maqrīzī's *Muntaqá min Akhbār Miṣr* was copied, almost verbatim, in his *Ittiʿāẓ al-Ḥunafā',*[85] although he quoted the present excerpt in *Al-Muqaffá.* It proves that he could not manage his many notes and cards as he would have liked to. Another decisive argument for considering Ibn al-Zubayr can be found in note XLVI (see above), on the same folio (122v), where his name and the title of his book are explicitly given. Its position in the lower margin, just after extract XLV, which was followed on the recto by XLVII

[79] Al-'Imād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr,* 2:64.

[80] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá,* 134.

[81] Ibn Sa'īd, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Ḥulá Ḥaḍrat al-Qāhirah,* ed. Ḥ. Naṣṣār (Cairo, 1970), 328–29.

[82] *Al-Muqaffá,* 1:668.

[83] Al-'Imād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr,* 64 *(dhakara Ibn al-Zubayr fī al-Jinān);* Ibn Sa'īd, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 329 *(anshada lahu ṣāḥib al-Jinān qawlahu).*

[84] Unless this is due to al-Maqrīzī, given that we only have his resumé of Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār Miṣr.* There is no reason to believe that he did not proceed in this case as with the other excerpts. A. F. Sayyid already noticed that passages attributed to Ibn Muyassar in the *Khiṭaṭ* are not found in the *Muntaqá* made by al-Maqrīzī. See Sayyid, "Lumières," 36.

[85] Ed. M. Ḥilmī M. Aḥmad (Cairo, 1393/1973), 3:176.

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(same source) and XLVIII (which may also come from Ibn al-Zubayr), shows that he continued to take notes from Ibn al-Zubayr´s book, where he could find enough blank space. Based on this and what has been said, Ibn al-Zubayr´s *Jinān al-Janān* must be considered the most likely source for this passage (see also the next entry, no. 1). From a chronological point of view, this means that he had access to this source after *Al-Sīrah al-Ṭūlūnīyah* of al-Balawī.

L. (fol. 122r)

No title: Three biographies not linked to one another.

١) علي بن جعفر بن الحسن أبو القاسم بن البوين التنوخي المعري

٢) أحمد بن عثمان بن هبة الله بن أحمد بن عقيل فتح الدين أبو الفتح المعروف بابن أبي الجواهر القيسي (ت ٦٥٧)

٣) جحي يحيى بن عبد الله أبو زكرياء مولى عثمان بن عفان

Commentary:

The three biographies occupy two different spaces on the page: the first is on the right side which was left blank after al-Maqrīzī copied the preceding entry, while the other two were placed in the left margin, beginning from the edge of the page. It is clear that no. 1 was written before the other two. Moreover, these appear to have been written at a later date (the first *ism* is written very carefully for both of them, while this is not the case for no. 1). Consequently, the first one possibly comes from a source which differs from the other two. No. 1 could stem from Ibn al-Zubayr´s *Jinān al-Janān* for these reasons and those mentioned for the previous entry. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the subject of the biography lived during the vizierate of al-Afḍal (d. 515/1121), the presence of poetic verse, and a passage found in the biography: *"min al-ṭāri'īn 'alá Miṣr"* (among those who came unexpectedly to Egypt), which echoes the definition given for the *Jinān al-Janān.* The information is untraceable not only in *Al-Muqaffá* and *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā',* but also in other sources for the same period.[86] No. 2, as well as no. 3,

[86]In the indexes to Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*, ed. S. Zakkār (Damascus, 1408/1988), 11:5209, an 'Alī ibn Ja'far ibn Buwayn al-Ma'arrī is mentioned as appearing on pp. 1831–35. This is a mistake due to a shift in the page numbers. He appears in fact in 10:4545. There the author reports facts concerning Abū al-'Alā' ibn Buwayn al-Ma'arrī, said to be a relative of Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ja'far ibn Buwayn al-Ma'arrī, the famous poet. Ibn al-'Adīm managed to obtain two verses of this Abū al-'Alā' through Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Bayān Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Tanūkhī al-Ma'arrī. He also transmits two verses through al-Silafī. In the chain of transmitters, we find once again this Abū Ja'far (with another name appended, "Ibn al-Jawārī") who says that he heard these two verses when they were recited to his father in Egypt by his relative who, afterwards, requested a diploma *(ijāzah)* for them. From this it appears that his

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obviously come from another source, due to the dates and their style. The first appears in several sources of the Mamluk period, but the text in the notebook does not match them exactly, giving additional or different information. An interesting feature appears in the addition by al-Maqrīzī, just at the end of it: *"yudhkar fī Khiṭaṭ Miṣr."* He must have completed this since the mark symbolizing the accomplishment of this task is also found over the first *ism* of this person.[87] In fact, in the section dealing with the *Ḥammām Ibn Abī al-Ḥawāfir,* a short identification of the builder is provided, where the date is more complete, corresponding to what is found in al-Nuwayrī.[88] The day of his death has been corrected, for example, but the wording is al-Nuwayrī's. He also added some of the data from the notebook. The third biography was also reused with the same mark, but was not located. Perhaps it is in the missing part of *Al-Muqaffá.*

LI. (fols. 198v–199r)

Title on fol. 198v: [Quotation regarding an obituary taken from] *Kitāb al-'Ibar fī Akhbār Man Maḍá wa-Ghabar*/Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Naqqāsh.

Incipit (fol. 198v):

قال العلامة شمس الدين محمد بن النقاش في كتاب العبر في أخبار من مضى وغبر يوم الثلثاء ثاني ذي القعدة سنة ٧٦١ توفي الشيخ العلامة الفاضل البليغ المتضلع الإمام في العربية والنحو جمال الدين عبد الله بن يوسف بن هشام المصري [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 199r):

[. . .] للقاضي الحنبلي وإحسانه إليه فقال ولد سنة ٧٠٨.

Commentary:

The biography begins in the lower margin of the page and then runs onto the other folio, along the spine. It is found in the quire containing the resumé of al-Ṣafadī's *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafāyāt.* The source is clearly indicated as being **Ibn al-Naqqāsh**'s *Kitāb al-'Ibar fī Akhbār Man Maḍá wa-Ghabar.* (See entry XXXIX, where quotations from the same source appear, some also dealing with obituaries of the year 761). The subject of the biography is the famous grammarian Ibn Hishām (d. 761/1360), author of *Mughnī al-Labīb 'an Kutub al-A'ārīb.* Al-Maqrīzī undoubtedly devoted some space to him in his *Al-Muqaffá,* but it is missing in the extant manuscripts. One can see evidence of this in Ibn Taghrībirdī's biography of this

father was probably the same person whose biography is given in the notebook, even though the *kunyah* is different (Abū al-Bayān). However, individuals could have more than one *kunyah*.

[87] See above, XLIV.

[88] Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab* (ed. M. Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Rayyis, Cairo, 1992), 29:470.

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scholar.[89] At the end, he added a statement different from that of his master about the date of his death: *"wa qāla al-Maqrīzī: fī yawm al-thulathā' thānī dhī al-qa'dah min al-sanah."* It agrees exactly with the date mentioned in the notebook. This could mean that Ibn Taghrībirdī had access to this manuscript, as Ibn Ḥajar did,[90] although it is also conceivable that he referred in fact to *Al-Muqaffá.*

LII. (fol. 204v)

No title: Quotation of an event regarding the sultan Berk-yaruq and Maḥmūd ibn Sebüktigin.

Incipit (fol. 204v, lines 12–16):

بعث السلطان برقياروق أبا الحسن الطبري الملقب بإلكيا إلى محمود بن سبكتكين. قال : فدخلت عليه وهو جالس في طارمة عظيمة [. . .] (المنتظم، مج ١٧ ، ص ٤٩)

Explicit (fol. 204v, lines 27–28):

[. . .] رويت له الخبر عن النبي عليه السلام لمناديل سعد بن معاذ في الجنة أحسن من هذا فبكى.

Commentary:

With fol. 204v, the resumé al-Maqrīzī decided to make from al-Ṣafadī's *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafāyāt* ends abruptly with an *Aḥmad*. Some space remained (about one quarter) that was later filled in with the present note, which belongs to a series of moralistic reports: after having been shown the treasuries of the Sultan of Ghaznah, the visitor concludes his visit with a hadith reminding him of the vanity of terrestrial wealth. Dealing exclusively with events that occurred in the eastern part of the Islamic empire, it must have been selected from a book written by a well-informed scholar from that region. Indeed, the note was identified as corresponding, almost word for word, to Ibn al-Jawzī's *Al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-al-Umam.*[91] There is a substantial difference: in the note, al-Maqrīzī connected the event to Maḥmūd ibn Sebüktigin, while Ibn al-Jawzī connected it to Ibrāhīm ibn Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd ibn Sebüktigin, which is of course correct.[92] Notwithstanding, *Al-Muntaẓam* must be considered the source, which is confirmed by another entry (LV) that contains data identified in the same text. Thanks to the position of this excerpt and the other connected with it (LV), we can postulate that al-Maqrīzī

[89]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá ba'da al-Wāfī*, ed. M. M. Amīn (Cairo, 1993), 7:132.

[90]See "Maqriziana I/1," 25.

[91]Ed. M. 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā and M. 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā (Beirut, 1412/1992), 17:49.

[92]Ibn Kathīr also made a mistake by giving his name as Ibrāhīm ibn Maḥmūd ibn Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd ibn Sebüktigin. See Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* (Cairo, n.d.), 12:157 (under year 492).

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first had access to the source where he wrote entry LIII, placed in between, and only then to *Al-Muntaẓam*. Once again, the notebook provides precious information on the chronological order in which this historian consulted his sources, and consequently will help to reconstruct the chronological order in which he composed his books. Unfortunately, in this particular case, the material of this note was apparently not reused by al-Maqrīzī.

LIII. (fols. 204r–123r)
No title: A *faṣl* whose subject is the sky.
Incipit (fol. 204r, lines 1–2):

فصل : قال عبد الله بن المعتز في وصف السماء

كان سماؤنا لما تجلت خلال نجومها عند الصباح [. . .] (نهاية الأرب، مج ١، ص ٣٣–٣٩)

Explicit (fol. 123r, line 13):

[. . .] فهذا الارتداد شبه التحير.

Commentary:
The recto of the folio was later covered with passages dealing exclusively with the sky and the planets. Defined by al-Maqrīzī himself as a section (*faṣl*—this word written in red ink), it can be divided into several parts: 1) some verses of poets like Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Ẓāfir al-Ḥaddād, Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, and al-Buḥturī, 2) a commentary on the Quran 81:15–16, and 3) an explanation of the meaning of the names of the planets. The latter two found their way in the same order and with almost the same wording into *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (1:5–6), where the source is not given.[93] The whole could be identified as coming from **al-Nuwayrī**'s *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*.[94] The distance between no. 1 and 2–3 explains why they were organized in a different manner on the folio: the first lies in the first two thirds of it, while the second and the third begin beneath it, running horizontally from the margin towards the spine, and then in the same direction on fol. 123r. Despite the fact that al-Maqrīzī reused nos. 2 and 3 in his *grand œuvre,* he neglected the first one containing only poetry.[95]

LIV. (fol. 123r)
No title: A *faṣl* dealing with the shifting of the year of reference for the *kharāj.*
Incipit (fol. 123r, lines 14–17):

[93]It was not identified by A. F. Sayyid in his edition (1:11–13).
[94](Cairo, 1342/1923), 1:33–35 (passage no. 1), 38 and 39 (passages 2–3).
[95]Neither al-Nuwayrī's name nor the title of his book appear in *Al-Khiṭaṭ*.

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فصل تحويل السنة الخراجية بديار مصر لا يكون إلا بأمر السلطان [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 123r, lines 32–33):

[. . .] يحولون السنة الخراجية إلى الهلالية والله أعلم.

Commentary:

In *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (1:273), al-Maqrīzī dedicated a section to this particular subject which he entitled *"dhikr taḥwīl al-sanah al-kharājīyah al-qibṭīyah ilá al-sanah al-hilālīyah al-'arabīyah wa-kayfa 'umila dhālik fī al-islām."* It would have been strange if he did not insert the data found here, which is also the subject of a section (called here *faṣl,* written in red ink). And indeed, the first half of it was introduced at the beginning. Curiously, the end of this small excerpt, which gives an explanation for the use of the word *"taḥwīl,"* was not deemed by al-Maqrīzī important enough to be included there or anywhere else. The source from which he selected the data is not indicated and could not be identified. Its position, at the end of the preceding entry, which has been identified as originating in al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-Arab,* might suggest that it is of the same origin, but this is not the case.[96]

LV. (fol. 123v)

No title: Five biographies of individuals who died in Baghdad in the fifth century.

List of the biographies:

١) أبو جعفر مسعود بن المحسن بن الحسن بن عبد الرزاق البياضي الشاعر (ت ٤٦٨) (المنتظم، مج ١٦، ص ١٧٥-١٧٦، رقم ٣٤٥٩)

٢) محمد بن الحسن بن عبد الله بن أحمد بن يوسف بن الشبل الشاعر (ت ٤٧٣) (المنتظم، مج ١٦، ص ٢١٣-٢١٤، رقم ٣٥١١)

٣) عبد السلام بن محمد بن يوسف بن بندار أبو يوسف القزويني (ت ٤٨٨) (المنتظم، مج ١٧، ص ٢١-٢٢، رقم ٣٦٥١)

٤) يحيى بن عيسى بن جزلة الطبيب (ت ٤٩٣) (المنتظم، مج ١٧، ص ٦١، رقم ٣٧٠٦)

٥) أبو سعد العلاء بن الحسن بن وهب بن موصلايا الكاتب (ت ٤٩٧) (المنتظم، مج ١٧، ص ٨٩، رقم ٣٧٤٧)

Commentary:

These biographies completely cover the folio. A mark in red ink, already examined in other circumstances *(qif),* has been placed over the first part of their names in

[96]This observation is also valid for the other encyclopedias like al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá* (13:54 ff.), or books dealing with the *kharāj* like al-Makhzūmī, *Al-Minhāj*.

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order to separate them distinctly. A close examination of the dates of death reveals that they were taken from a book in the chronicle or *ṭabaqāt* genre. Moreover, their Baghdad origin means that the book focused mainly on that region. Proper identification is facilitated by al-Maqrīzī's habit of relying on original or the most contemporary biographical data available. In this case, the five biographies were located in Ibn al-Jawzī's *Al-Muntaẓam,* already identified as the source of no. LII. It is interesting to note that no. LII pertained to the year 492, which means that al-Maqrīzī came across it after biography no. 3 here. He decided to scribble it down elsewhere in the notebook, presumably because it was not related to his purpose of taking notes on biographies. No common link could be established between all the biographies, except their origin which normally should have excluded them from al-Maqrīzī's interest. In fact, none of them was found mentioned in his works, and surely not in *Al-Muqaffá,* although one of the subjects (no. 3) lived for 40 years in Egypt, which should have ensured a place for him in the dictionary.[97] The last one, a secretary under three Abbasid caliphs for no less than 65 years, might have caught his attention for his book on secretaries.[98] This is confirmed by the presence of another biography of this same individual found at the end of the resumé al-Maqrīzī wrote of Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār Miṣr*.[99] The copyist, who relied on al-Maqrīzī's autograph, probably found it at the end of the resumé or on a slip of paper and decided to place it at the end of the abstract, just after al-Maqrīzī's colophon. The text is different from what we read in the notebook, indicating that this biography comes from another source, but it is intriguing that al-Maqrīzī was interested in this individual for the purpose mentioned earlier. What appears as a double entry is nothing else than two excerpts regarding one person, taken from two different sources.

LVI. (fols. 125v–130v)

No title: Biographies of men, mostly Egyptians, who died mainly in the seventh and eighth centuries.

List of the biographies:

١) محمد [بياض] بن عين الدولة أبو المكارم (ت ٦٣٩) (fol. 125v) (المغرب، ص ٢٥٦–٢٥٧)

٢) محمد بن سعد القرطي (ت قرن ٦) (fol. 125v) (المغرب، ص ٢٦٧–٢٦٨)

٣) محمد بن عبد العزيز بن عبد الرحيم بن عمر بن سلمان الإدريسي الشريف الحسني أبو عبد الله وأبو جعفر الفاوي المصري (ت ٦٤٤) (fol. 126r)

[97]He may have been included in the now-missing part of *Al-Muqaffá*.

[98]See above, XXXVII.

[99]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá,* 158 and plate 6.

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٤) محمد بن عبد المجيد بن عبد الكريم بن علوان بن خروف بن نجم بن أحمد بن علي بن جعفر بن يحيى بن عمر بن سليمان بن عبد الله بن الحارث بن هشام بن المغيرة بن عبد الله بن عمر بن مخزوم أبو عبد الله القرشي المخزومي شرف الدين بن الخطباء (ت ٦٨٦) (fol. 126r)

٥) محمد بن عبد المحسن بن عبد الكريم بن علوان بن خروف أبو عبد الله بن الخطباء (ت ٦٨٩) (fol. 126r)

٦) محمد بن عبد المنعم بن محمد بن يوسف بن أحمد أبو عبد الله الأنصاري اليمني المصري (ت ٦٨٥) (fol. 126r)

٧) محمد بن عبد الوهاب بن منصور بن عبد الوهاب أبو عبد الله شمس الدين الحراني الحنبلي (ت ٦٧٤) (fol. 126v)

٨) محمد بن عثمان بن علكان أبو عبد الله الأمير سيف الدين بن الأمير شجاع الدين الكردي (ت ٦٣٧) (fol. 126v)

٩) أحمد بن عمر بن محمد بن عبد الله أبو الجناب نجم الدين الصوفي الخوقي المعروف بالنجم الكبراء الخوارزمي (ت ٦١٨) (fol. 126v)

١٠) إسماعيل بن محمد بن عبيد الله أبو الطاهر المنصور بنصر الله بن القائم بن المهدي (ت ٣٤١) (fol. 3r)

١١) محمد بن علي بن إبراهيم بن شداد بن خليفة بن شداد أبو عبد الله عز الدين الأنصاري الحلبي (ت ٦٨٤) (fol. 3r)

١٢) محمد بن علي بن مقاتل أبو بكر الكاتب (ت ٣٥٠) (fol. 3r)

١٣) محمد بن عبيد الله بن أحمد بن إسماعيل بن عبد العزيز أبو عبد الله الحراني المصري الكاتب المعروف بالمسبحي الملقب بالمختار (ت ٤٢٠) (fol. 127r)

١٤) محمد بن عثمان بن أبي الحسن بن عبد الوهاب أبو عبد الله الأنصاري الدمشقي المعروف بابن الحريري (ت ٧٢٨) (fol. 127r)

١٥) محمد بن عثمان بن أبي الرجاء بن أبي الزهر شمس الدين بن السلعوس (ت ٦٩٣) (fol. 127r)

١٦) محمد بن علي بن حرمي بن مكارم مُهيى بن علي أبو بكر المنعوت بالعماد الدمياطي الشافعي (ت ٧٤٩) (fol. 127v)

١٧) محمد بن علي بن محمد بن أحمد بن عبد الله أبو عبد الله بن العربي محيي الدين الطائي الحاتمي المغربي الأندلسي الصوفي (ت ٦٣٨) (fol. 127v)

١٨) محمد بن علي بن همام بن راجي الله بن ناصر بن داود أبو عبد الله العسقلاني الشافعي (ت ٧١٣) (fol. 127v)

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١٩) محمد بن الوليد بن محمد بن خلف بن سليمان بن أيوب أبو بكر الفهري القرشي الأندلسي الطرطوشي المالكي المعروف بابن أبي رندقة (ت ٥٢٠) (fol. 128r)

٢٠) محمد بن موسى بن عبد العزيز أبو بكر بن أبي عمران الكندي المصري الصيرفي الفصيح المعروف بابن الجبي يلقب بسيبويه (ت ٣٥٨) (fol. 128v)

٢١) محمد بن ناماور بن عبد الملك بن زنجلين أبو عبد الله أفضل الدين الخونجي الشافعي (ت ٦٤٦) (fol. 128v)

٢٢) محمد بن نصر الله بن عبد الوهاب علاء الدين الجوجري (ت ٧٣٦) (fol. 128v)

٢٣) محمد بن هبة الله بن أحمد بن شكر أبو البركات نفيس الدين بن القاضي المخلص بن كمال الدين أبي السعادات (ت ٦٨٠) (fol. 128v)

٢٤) محمد بن يحيى بن الخضر بن حاتم بن سلطان بن طولون أبو عبد الله الأنصاري القليوبي (ت ٧٠٥) (fol. 128v)

٢٥) محمد بن يحيى بن الفضل بن يحيى بن عبد الله بن القاسم بن المظفر محيي الدين الشهرزوري الموصلي (ت ٦٧٣) (fol. 128v)

٢٦) إبراهيم بن أحمد بن محمد بن إسماعيل بن القاسم الرسي بن إبراهيم طباطبا بن إسماعيل بن إبراهيم بن الحسن بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب أبو إسماعيل بن أبي القاسم الرسي (ت ٣٦٩) (fol. 129r)

٢٧) إبراهيم بن إسماعيل بن سعيد بن أبي بكر محمد بن سليمان العباسي الهاشمي (ت ٥٨٩) (fol. 129r)

٢٨) إبراهيم بن الحسن بن محمد بن الحسين بن جعفر بن موسى بن إسماعيل بن موسى بن جعفر بن محمد بن علي بن الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب أبو الفضل الحسيني الكلثمي الموسوي (ت ٥٢٩) (fol. 129r)

٢٩) إبراهيم بن سعيد بن عبد الله أبو إسحاق الحبال المصري (ت ٤٨٢) (fol. 129r)

٣٠) إبراهيم بن سلطان أبو إسحاق القليبي (ت ؟) (fol. 129r)

٣١) محمد بن أحمد وقيل أحمد بن محمد أبو عبد الله الواسطي (ت بعد ٢٧١) (fol. 129v)

٣٢) محمد بن أحمد أبو عبد الله الجرجرائي (ت قرن ٥) (fol. 129v)

٣٣) محمد بن الحسين بن عمر بن حفص بن موسى بن عبد الرحمن أبو عبد الله اليمني التنوخي المصري (ت ٤٠٠) (fol. 129v)

٣٤) محمد بن الحسين بن محمد بن الحسين بن زيد بن الحسن بن ظفر الأحول أبو عبد الله الحسيني الأرموي (ت ٦٥٠) (fol. 129v)

٣٥) محمد بن سعيد بن حماد بن تحسن بن عبد الله بن حياني الصنهاجي (ت ٦٩٥) (fol. 130r)

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٣٦) وحيد الحبشي (ت بعد ٣٩٠) (fol. 130r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٢، ص ٤٢٢-٤٢٣ ، رقم ٧٩٦٥)

٣٧) وردان أبو عبيد وقيل أبو عثمان مولى عمرو بن العاص (ت ٥٣) (fol. 130r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٢ ، ص ٤٢٨-٤٣٤، رقم ٧٩٦٨)

٣٨) محمد بن عبد الله المعروف بابن عبد (ت ؟) (fol. 130v)

٣٩) محمد بن عبد الله بن محمد بن أحمد بن خالد بن محمد بن نصر بن صغير بن داغر بن عبد الرحمن شرف الدين أبو الفتح ابن القيسراني الحلي المخزومي (ت ٧٠٧) (fol. 130v)

٤٠) محمد بن إبراهيم بن عبد الواحد بن علي بن سرور بن رافع بن حسن بن جعفر أبو بكر وأبو عبد الله المقدسي الجماعيلي الصالحي الحنبلي (ت ٦٧٦) (fol. 130v)

٤١) محمد بن إبراهيم بن محمد بن أبي نصر أبو عبد الله بهاء الدين بن النحاس الحلبي (ت ٦٩٨) (fol. 130v)

٤٢) محمد بن أحمد بن علي أبو عبد الله الأزدي عرف بابن جاره (ت ٦٤١) (fol. 130v)

Commentary:

The fourteenth quire of the notebook opens with two sections *(faṣl)* on juridical matters.[100] Only two folios were used for this purpose, which means that the remaining parts of the quire, to which was probably added what is now fol. 3, were available for further notes. The space was used for 42 biographies and other unrelated notations, scribbled in all directions. An examination of this list reveals that it can be divided into several groups alphabetically. These biographies follow the traditional system of ordering in biographical dictionaries, which begins with individuals named Muḥammad, and then proceeds to those whose first name began with *hamzah,* etc. Al-Maqrīzī took great pains to write the first *ism,* in all cases, in red ink, to better catch his attention. Nonetheless, there are gaps in the sequence of the biographies. For instance, nos. 9–12 do not fit in the sequence of the first group represented by nos. 3 to 30, as well as nos. 36–37 in the second group (nos. 31 to 39). For nos. 10–12, an explanation can be found in the fact that they all figure on fol. 3, now a fly-leaf, which was not there initially. No. 9, instead, is written on fol. 126v, in a script different from the other two found on the same folio, showing that it was jotted down at a different time. Finally, from this long list, six groups may be identified: the first one is represented by nos. 1–2, the second by nos. 3–8 and 13–30, the third by nos. 9–12, the fourth by nos. 31–35 and 38–39, the fifth by nos. 36–37, and the sixth by nos. 40–42. My hypothesis is that each group comes from a different source. It is partly confirmed

[100]See ″Maqriziana I/1,″ resumé VI, 46–48.

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by groups 1 and 5. Group 1 is found only on fol. 125v, together with two other notes with a historical content (see below LVII, LVIII). As is shown under LVII, the source indicated there, *Kitāb al-Kamā'im,* is quoted indirectly by al-Maqrīzī from **Ibn Sa'īd**′s *Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib,* where the passage could be precisely located. A quick search in the same book demonstrates that both biographies share the same origin with note LVII.[101] The text is clearly the same, even though al-Maqrīzī simplifies Ibn Sa'īd′s ornate style. It is not surprising that other notes from Ibn Sa'īd′s books appear in the same quire (those indicated above and also LX[102] and LXI). For group 5, both biographies were taken from **Ibn 'Asākir**′s *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq,* which is stated as the source of LXIII and LXVII.[103]

As for groups 2–3–4–6, the subject (or subjects) conform to the classic organization of the biographical dictionaries: first *Muḥammad*s, followed by other *ism*s in alphabetical order. Considering the dates of death (the earliest 358, the latest 749), research to find their origin should focus on a biographical dictionary with a large temporal scope,[104] such as al-Ṣafadī′s *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafāyāt*. As already noticed, the notebook contains a summary of some parts of this book (see V), corresponding exactly to the letters represented in this group.[105] In fact some of them can be found in this work, but it would be illogical to consider that al-Maqrīzī prepared an epitome, and that he later reconsidered, choosing other biographies from *Al-Wāfī* and writing them elsewhere in the notebook. Besides the fact that not all the biographies in it were identified, this claim is also supported by the material evidence. Biography no. 21 already appears in the resumé of *al-Wāfī*,[106] and both differ from each other, in terms of the information they provide. A collation with several books of the genre considered yielded no result, nor did a study of the internal evidence in the notebook or in al-Maqrīzī′s works where the data was introduced.[107] For instance, one can read a statement of al-Yaghmūrī (d.

[101]Ibn Sa'īd′s *Al-Ightibāṭ fī Ḥulá Madīnat al-Fusṭāṭ (min Kitāb al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib),* ed. Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan, Shawqī Ḍayf, and Sayyidah Kāshif (Cairo, 1953), 256–57 (no. 1), 267–68 (no. 2).

[102]This was placed on fol. 3, which explains why this fly-leaf was replaced in that quire.

[103]Al-Maqrīzī cites Wardān in *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:190, which explains the presence of his biography in the notebook.

[104]The geographical link between all these biographies (all these individuals were born, lived, or passed away in Egypt) would be too restrictive. What appears as a common link in the notebook could be nothing more than the result of al-Maqrīzī′s selection in a biographical dictionary with a broader geographical scope.

[105]*Muḥammad*s, then names beginning with *hamzah* up to Aydamur.

[106]See ″Maqriziana I/1,″ 42 (no. 26).

[107]Most of them will be found in *Al-Muqaffá,* but some parts also appear in *Al-Sulūk* and *Al-Khiṭaṭ*.

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673/1274, see below LIX) regarding the reliability of the subject of biography no. 27 on hadith matters. This statement was not found in any of the sources where a biography of this scholar was identified,[108] and more curiously not even in *Al-Muqaffá* where al-Maqrīzī kept silent on it.[109] No. 3 (al-Idrīsī) constitutes another interesting example of this kind of cross-reference work. He is the author of a book on the Pyramids,[110] quoted in his biography in the notebook. He has not been the subject of many reports in the works that have been preserved.[111] In his notice in *Al-Muqaffá,* al-Maqrīzī quotes Ibn Musdī[112] (d. 663/1265), who composed a *Mu'jam* in three volumes, again demonstrating his ability to find contemporary sources. None of the sources preceding al-Maqrīzī match the biography in the notebook. For instance, the date of his death appears in the notebook and in *Al-Muqaffá* as being 644, although the year 648 is recorded in the other sources.[113] No. 33 can also be studied in this way. Al-Maqrīzī mentioned his sources in the biography he wrote about him in *Al-Muqaffá* (5:594–95, no. 2144). These sources were al-Qiftī´s *Tārīkh al-Nuḥāt* and al-Musabbiḥī. A comparison with these data in the notebook reveals that some of the information came from both of these sources, but that the quotations are more complete in *Al-Muqaffá*. From this, it must be understood that the biographical dictionary from which the actual biography has been summarized in the notebook relied on both these sources and that al-Maqrīzī later had access to them. In fact, he always tried to discover more reliable or direct sources.

Notwithstanding all this, the ultimate source of these biographies remains to be discovered. Meanwhile, the data provided will enlarge our knowledge of Egyptian historiography, as many of the subjects of these biographies were historians, and all the data was not reused by al-Maqrīzī in *Al-Muqaffá*. A good example is no. 13, which consists of a biography of al-Musabbiḥī. The notice contains a very interesting passage already quoted.[114] The question arises whether this is a statement made by the author of this biography or by al-Maqrīzī himself. A *Muntaqá Tārīkh al-Musabbiḥī* is registered, but Rashīd al-Dīn al-Mundhirī (d. 643/1245–46 or 644/1246–47) cannot be considered the author of this statement because it does

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[108]Al-Mundhirī, *Al-Takmilah li-Wafayāt al-Naqalah,* ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf (Beirut, 1401/1981), 1:185 (no. 193).

[109]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 1:104 (no. 54).

[110]See al-Idrīsī, *Anwār 'Ulwī al-Ajrām fī al-Kashf 'an Asrār al-Ahrām,* ed. U. Haarmann (Beirut, 1991).

[111]See Haarmann´s introduction, ibid., 66. The sources preceding al-Maqrīzī are but a few: al-Udfuwī, *Al-Ṭāli' al-Sa'īd;* Ibn Sa'īd, *Al-Mughrib;* Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arīb.*

[112]Or Masdī. See for the proper vocalization al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 5:516–17 (no. 3618).

[113]See Haarmann´s introduction, al-Idrīsī, *Anwār 'Ulwī al-Ajrām.*

[114]See above, XXXVIII.

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not belong with the other biographies. As I have tried to demonstrate, these other biographies came from a single source. Moreover, some of them deal with individuals who died well after al-Mundhirī.[115] The fact that al-Maqrīzī prepared a resumé of al-Musabbiḥī's *Tārīkh* proves, however, his interest in historical matters, particularly from the Fatimid period. Thus, the only answer that can be put forward is that the statement is al-Maqrīzī's, and that he added this personal information in the middle of a biography he summarized.

LVII. (fol. 125v)

Title on fol. 125v (lines 6–7): [Quotation from] *Kitāb al-Kamā'im.*

من خبر مصر. قال في الكمائم : وأما فسطاط مصر فإن مبانيها كانت في القديم متصلة بمباني عين الشمس وجاء الإسلام وبها مبنى يعرف بالقصر حوله مساكن.

Commentary:

As argued above (see preceding entry), this short quotation is found on a folio where biographies were identified as coming from **Ibn Sa'īd**'s *Al-Mughrib*. This conclusion is partly thanks to the mention of the indirect source from which al-Maqrīzī said he took it: *Al-Kamā'im*. This book was written by al-Bayhaqī ('Alī ibn Zayd, d. 565/1169[116]), and is exclusively cited on several occasions by Ibn Sa'īd in his own work. Indeed, the passage is found in the second book of *Al-Mughrib* dealing with the history of Fusṭāṭ: *Al-Ightibāṭ fī Ḥulá Madīnat al-Fusṭāṭ*.[117] In *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (1:40), where it was reused, al-Maqrīzī indicated the direct source *(Al-Mughrib)* from which he took it, although he did not indicate this source in the notebook. This is probably due to the fact that he knew that all excerpts he took from *Al-Kamā'im* were taken only from this source. Ibn Sa'īd's books appear later in the notebook (see LX, LXI).

LVIII. (fol. 125v)

No title: Quotation of a passage regarding the plunder that took place during al-Mustanṣir's reign (460–61).

Incipit (fol. 125v, lines 22–24):

من خبر المستنصر : بيعت البيضة في غلاء المستنصر بعشرة قراريط والراوية الماء بدينار وخرج من خزانة السلاح أحد عشر ألف درع [. . .] (المنتظم، مج ١٦، ١١٦–١١٧)

Explicit (fol. 125v, line 29):

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[115]His lost *Tārīkh Miṣr* might have contained data regarding al-Musabbiḥī.

[116]On Bayhaqī, see *GAL* S1:557–58.

[117]Ibn Sa'īd's *Al-Ightibāṭ,* 1.

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[. . .] اشتري بها أقل من كارة دقيق.

Commentary:
The excerpt is introduced by an indicative title written in red ink: *"min khabar al-Mustanṣir."* It was placed in front of the preceding entry, and logically one could conclude that it shares the same origin as the other items on the folio. However, this is contradicted by the color of the red ink which differs from the ink used elsewhere on this folio, which indicates that it was jotted down at a later date. These notes deal with horrific events that happened during the famine which struck the entire country during the years 460–61, events he treated comprehensively in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* and *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā'*. A positive event from this period was the extraction of treasures from the *khizānat al-silāḥ*. In *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* he devoted a section to the *khazā'in al-silāḥ* (1:417–18) where the same subject is scrutinized on the basis of *Al-Dhakhā'ir wa-al-Tuḥaf,* the well-known treatise on treasures, mostly those plundered in al-Mustanṣir's reign.[118] Unfortunately, the data in the notebook was not used there. However, it is found verbatim in *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā'* (2:296 [ll. 3–6] and 296–97 [ll. 15–1]). It is interesting to note that al-Maqrīzī provides crucial information there for the identification of the data, as he introduces it thus: *"wa-waṣala ilá Baghdād 'alá yad al-tujjār mimmā khurrija min al-qaṣr,* 'alá mā waqaftu fī tārīkh ba'ḍ al-baghdādīyīn." One wonders why he did not give the name of this *History* composed by a scholar from Baghdad! There could have been many potential candidates with such a vague indication, but, as already proven in several cases, it is better to consider a source already mentioned in the notebook for the given period. This leads us unequivocally to **Ibn al-Jawzī**'s *Al-Muntaẓam.* Under the year 462 (16:116–17) he recalls some events that happened in Egypt during that year through the testimonies of Egyptians who fled from the country to find relief in other areas. Among these is the passage excerpted by al-Maqrīzī. The order as well as the wording leave no doubt that *Al-Muntaẓam* was the source in this case too.

LIX. (fol. 3v)
No title: Excerpt from a book by al-Yaghmūrī.
Incipit (fol. 3v, line 1):
رأيت بخط الحافظ اليغموري ما مثاله : قرأت بخط العلامة أبي محمد عبد اللطيف بن يوسف بن محمد البغدادي قال : كان السوق يعني في عسكر صلاح الدين [. . .]

[118]Falsely attributed to al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr. Ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh (Kuwait, 1959) on the basis of a resumé made by al-Awḥadī. See Sayyid, "Lumières," 23–25. Trans. Ghādah al-Ḥijjāwī al-Qaddūmī, *Book of Gifts and Rarities* (Cambridge, MA, 1996).

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Explicit (fol. 3v, lines 9–10):
[. . .] وصار حماما يغسل الرجل رأسه بدرهم وأكثر وندم صلاح الدين على خراب عسقلان وأبقى عكاء.

Commentary:
The excerpt occupies half of the page and was written from bottom to top, from the spine toward the middle of the page. The source is given as **al-Yaghmūrī** (Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-Asadī, d. 673/1274),[119] who is quoted, almost always for personal testimonies, on several occasions in *Al-Muqaffá*[120] and *Al-Khiṭaṭ*.[121] Al-Maqrīzī explains how he became acquainted with it in this excerpt and in *Al-Muqaffá:*[122] he managed to obtain an autograph copy of al-Yaghmūrī´s book. In this particular case, the author himself relied on an autograph copy of al-Baghdādī´s work. He is to be identified as ʻAbd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Baghdādī (d. 629/1231), the author of *Al-Ifādah wa-al-Iʻtibār fī al-Umūr al-Mushāhadah wa-al-Ḥawādith al-Muʻāyanah bi-Arḍ Miṣr,*[123] also cited as a direct source by al-Maqrīzī in *Al-Khiṭaṭ*.[124] But obviously, al-Maqrīzī deemed al-Yaghmūrī´s work valuable for the first part of *Al-Sulūk,* because it is there that

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[119]On al-Yaghmūrī, see R. Sellheim, *Die Gelehretenbiographien des Abū ʻUbaidallāh al-Marzubānī in der Rezension des Ḥāfiẓ al-Yaġmūrī,* part 1 (Wiesbaden, 1964), 8 ff.; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Iʻlān bi-al-Tawbīkh,* in F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography,* 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1968), 322, 422, 467. Quotations from this source can also be found in Ibn Ṣaṣrá, *Al-Durrah al-Muḍīʾah fī al-Dawlah al-Ẓāhirīyah,* ed. W. Brinner as *A Chronicle of Damascus, 1389–1397* (Berkeley, 1963).

[120]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 7:160 *(qāla al-ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad al-Yaghmūrī: wa-akhbaranī al-shaykh . . .);* 6:122 *(wa-qāla al-ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn al-Yaghmūrī: anshadanī al-shaykh . . .);* 5:131 *(wa-qāla al-ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Yaghmūrī wa-min khaṭṭihi naqaltu: qāla lī al-shaykh . . .);* 3:442 *(wa-qāla al-ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad al-Yaghmūrī: wajadtu bi-khaṭṭ al-sharīf . . .).*

[121]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:25 *(wa-qāla al-ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Asadī al-Dimashqī al-maʻrūf bi-al-Yaghmūrī: anshadanī al-imām . . .);* 2:87 *(wa-qāla al-ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd al-Yaghmūrī: samiʻtu al-amīr al-kabīr . . .);* 2:183 *(qāla al-ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-Asadī al-shahīr bi-al-Yaghmūrī: samiʻtu al-amīr al-kabīr . . .).* For other impersonal quotations, see ibid., 1:7 and 496–97.

[122]See the third extract given in n. 119 above.

[123]Ed. Aḥmad Ghassān Sabānū (Damascus, 1403/1983). Since the note found in the notebook concerns ʻAkkā, the city near which Saladin established his camp, and which was visited by ʻAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī in 587/1191, it is no surprise that it does not appear in his book entitled *Al-Ifādah wa-al-Iʻtibār* in which he recorded his stay in Egypt during the years 588–89.

[124]See Guest, ″A List of Writers,″ 120; Harīdī, *Fihris Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 1:408; Sayyid ed., 5:972.

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this passage is found.[125] The wording is exactly the same,[126] with a considerable difference: in *Al-Sulūk,* al-Yaghmūrī′s name is omitted, as if he wanted to imply that al-Baghdādī was his direct source in this case. Be that as it may, he did not dare to quote al-Yaghmūrī′s words *(ra'aytu bi-khaṭṭ . . .),* but replaced them with a more pragmatic *″qāla.″*

LX. (fol. 3v)

Title on fol. 3 v, lines 32–33: [Quotation of] *Al-Muḥallá bi-al-Ash'ār*/Ibn Sa'īd.

[. . .] نقلته من كتاب المحلى بالأشعار لابن سعيد.

Incipit (fol. 3v, lines 11–14):

غانة من بلاد السودان في المغرب الأقصى عزا ملكها وهو من ولد صالح بن عبد الله بن الحسين بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 3v, lines 31–32):

[. . .] وأوسعها متجرا وأهلها مسلمون.

Commentary:

The second half of fol. 3v was later covered with a quotation extracted from **Ibn Sa'īd**′s *Al-Muḥallá bi-al-Ash'ār,* al-Maqrīzī being very precise in this case (*″naqaltuhu″*). From a chronological point of view, it means that he had access to this work of Ibn Sa'īd after al-Yaghmūrī′s book. *Al-Muḥallá bi-al-Ash'ār* is attested for the first and last time in the notebook: al-Maqrīzī rather exploited Ibn Sa'īd′s other book entitled *Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib* (see XXXIII, LVI, LVII, LXI), at least the part dealing with Egypt. The content of this passage is interesting in that it contains an indirect quotation of the *Kitāb Ujār* [or better *Rujār*], better known under its full title *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fī Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq,* compiled by al-Idrīsī (Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, d. 560/1164). These few lines do not appear in this source,[127] and this is not surprising: two other excerpts known to come from this book in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* were not found in the version that reached us. The first one[128] is mentioned by al-Maqrīzī through al-Nuwayrī, who probably borrowed it from al-Waṭwāṭ (see below under LXX), while the second[129] came through Ibn Sa'īd′s *Al-Mughrib*. The interesting point concerns the first of these because it deals with the Nile and how it divides various areas in Nubia and beyond, with

[125] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1934), 1:94.

[126] Except that the last sentence in the notebook is not cited there.

[127] Italian ed. (Rome, 1970–84), in 9 parts.

[128] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 1:53 (quoted with its full title).

[129] Ibid., 1:341 (quoted as *Kitāb Ujār*).

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specific mention of the Ghana river. Here in the notebook, information is precisely provided on the king of Ghana and the palace he built on the Nile in 510. There is also a description of his habits. Al-Maqrīzī does not seem to have taken advantage of any part of this note, either in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* or in *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā'*.[130]

As for *Al-Muḥallá bi-al-Ash'ār,* al-Maqrīzī used it in two other cases,[131] in which another indirect source appears: al-Qurṭī (see LVI, no. 2), who makes reference to the *Thousand and One Nights*. On this basis, Z. M. Ḥasan[132] refuted C. Brockelmann's view[133] that *Al-Muḥallá* was identical with *Al-Qiḍḥ al-Mu'allá fī al-Tārīkh al-Muḥallá,* another item of Ibn Sa'īd's production. For Ḥasan, this attribution could be inaccurate, since the latter deals exclusively with Andalusian poets, while *Al-Muḥallá*, as we know thanks to the quotations taken from it by al-Maqrīzī, also deals with Egypt. Ḥasan's view is confirmed by this passage in the notebook, demonstrating that Ibn Sa'īd also took into account the sources on the Nile.

LXI. (fol. 130v)

Title on fol. 130v, line 1: [Quotation from] *Al-Mughrib*/Ibn Sa'īd.

قال ابن سعيد في المغرب.

Text (fol. 130v, lines 1–2):

القرافة. قال ابن سعيد في المغرب : وهي في شرقها بها منازل لأعيان الفسطاط والقاهرة وقبور عليها.

Commentary:

The first word was written in a red ink similar to the other excerpts taken from Ibn Sa'īd's *Al-Mughrib*. Fol. 130 is the last of quire XIV in which several of these have been identified. Here, the inscription lies in the upper part of the page. The source is clearly indicated and the material can be read in the section on Fusṭāṭ where it appears with the same wording.[134] Al-Maqrīzī reused it in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (2:444), illustrating another aspect of his working method: while the excerpt in the notebook consisted of two lines selected from a paragraph of ten in the printed text, the passage quoted in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* contains the whole paragraph. In this case, al-Maqrīzī went back to his source to enlarge the quotation.

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[130]For the year 510, the autograph contained three blank folios. See al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā',* 3:56.

[131]*Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 1:485 and 2:181.

[132]Ibn Sa'īd, *Al-Ightibāṭ,* 23m.

[133]*GAL* 1:337.

[134]Ibn Sa'īd, *Al-Ightibāṭ,* 10.

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LXII. (fol. 142r)

No title: Various quotations of events and biographies regarding the fifth century. List of the events and the biographies:

١) سنة سبع وأربعين وأربعمائة فيها ظهر باليمن أبو كامل علي بن محمد الصليحي ودعا للمستنصر [. . .]

٢) علي بن الحسن بن أحمد بن عمر بن المسلمة أبو القاسم (ت ٤٥٠)

٣) سنة اثنتين وخمسين وأربعمائة فيها حصر محمود بن شبل الدولة بن صالح بن مرداس [. . .]

٤) قريش بن بدران صاحب الموصل ونصيبين (ت ٤٥٣)

٥) شكر العلوي أمير مكة (ت ٤٥٣)

Commentary:

Folio 142 is part of a quire (no. XVI) composed of two bi-folios which were added by al-Maqrīzī to conclude resumé no. VII. The unused portion (from fol. 142r, where only five lines of the abstract were neatly written, to 144v) was later covered with notes from two different sources. Here, al-Maqrīzī included some events which took place between 447 and 453. From its arrangement, it can be deduced that he borrowed them from a chronicle or another kind of historical book. Because they treat events which mainly took place in the East, although linked to the Fatimid state, it is more reasonable to consider an eastern author. We have seen with other excerpts (LII, LV, LVIII) dealing with the same period and region that al-Maqrīzī primarily used Ibn al-Jawzī's *Al-Muntaẓam*. In this case, however, one must consider another possibility, given that the texts do not match each other. Some parts of it were identified in Ibn al-Athīr's *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh,* a chronicle al-Maqrīzī knew and used.[135] Notwithstanding the parallels that could be drawn, the notebook contains data absent in *Al-Kāmil*. This means that both authors relied on a common source which has not been identified so far. Some of what is found here was used by al-Maqrīzī in some of his works.[136]

LXIII. (fols. 144v–142v)

Title on fol. 144v, line 1: [Biographies and events from] *Tārīkh Dimashq*/Ibn ʻAsākir.

أنشد ابن عساكر في تأريخ دمشق [. . .]

[135]See his judgment on the Oriental historians regarding the Fatimid state in *Itti'āẓ,* 3:346. A list of those he knew is given there.

[136]*Itti'āẓ,* 2:230–64 (the years under consideration, and particularly 261); *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 1:356.

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List of the biographies:

١) سودة بنت عمارة الهمدانية (fol. 144v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٩، ص ٢٢٦، رقم ٩٣٦٣)

٢) عاتكة بنت عبد الله بن يزيد بن معاوية (fol. 144v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٩، ص ٢٤٥، رقم ٩٣٧٦)

٣) عائشة بنت طلحة بن عبيد الله (fol. 144v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٩، ص ٢٥٠، رقم ٩٣٧٩)

٤) عبدة بنت عبد الله بن يزيد بن معاوية (fol. 144v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٩، ص ٢٦٥، رقم ٩٣٨٤)

٥) فاختة بنت قرظة بن عبد عمرو بن نوفل بن عبد مناف بن قصي (fol. 144r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ٦، رقم ٩٣٩٧)

٦) فاطمة بنت الحسين بن علي (fol. 144r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ١٠، رقم ٩٤٠٠)

٧) فاطمة بنت عبد الملك بن مروان (fol. 144r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ٢٨، رقم ٩٤٠٦)

٨) مؤمنة بنت بهلول (fol. 143v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ١٢٨، رقم ٩٤٣٠)

٩) ميسون بنت بجدل الكلبية (fol. 143v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ١٣٠، رقم ٩٤٣٢)

١٠) نائلة بنت عمارة الكلبية (fol. 143v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ١٣٥، رقم ٩٤٣٤)

١١) أم الدرداء (fol. 143v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ٢٣٧، رقم ٩٤٦٦)

١٢) هند بنت المهلب بن أبي صفرة (fol. 143r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ١٨٩ ، رقم ٩٤٤٦)

١٣) أم هارون الخراسانية[137] (fol. 143 r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ٢٦٥ ، رقم ٩٤٨٥)

١٤) يوسف بن القاسم بن يوسف بن فارس بن سوار أبو بكر الميانجي الشافعي (fol.142v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٤، ص ٢٥٥ ، رقم ١٠١٩٩)

١٥) يوسف بن ياروح القائد ابن زوجة الامير شهم الدولة ساتكين (fol. 142v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٤، ص ٢٦٤، رقم ١٠٢١٠)

١٦) محمد بن بزال أبو عبد الله الملقب قائد الجيوش (fol. 142v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٥٢، ص ١٤٨، رقم ٦١٣١)

Commentary:

These notes were written from fol. 144v onward. This means that al-Maqrīzī wrote the beginning of these notes at the end of the quire going backward until the end of the resumé, which stopped in the middle of it, on fol. 142r. The source is identified by al-Maqrīzī himself who opened the notes with the formula *"anshada Ibn 'Asākir fī Tārīkh Dimashq."* The *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* by **Ibn 'Asākir**

[137]Fols. 143r–142v contain various historical reports dealing with the Umayyads.

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(‘Alī ibn al-Ḥasan, d. 571/1176)[138] is quoted several times in *Al-Khiṭaṭ,*[139] mostly for hadiths. The material preserved here shows that al-Maqrīzī was also interested in facts dealing with the Umayyad period. This is confirmed by examples of his own production, such as *Al-Nizā‘ wa-al-Takhāṣum fīmā bayna Banī Umayyah wa-Banī Hāshim*.[140] Here, his interest mainly centered upon poetry recited by or about these women. The last numbers represent men of later periods, which he found in other volumes.[141] The entry is connected with LXVII, where biographies were selected from the same source, but from previous volumes. This implies that he had access to several parts of this monumental work, either in Cairo,[142] or during one of his stays in Mecca. The data found here was partially reused, as no. 16 appears in *Al-Muqaffá* (5:433–34), where sentences from the notebook can be read. Nos. 14–16 probably also found their way into the now lost sections of this biographical dictionary.

LXIV. (fol. 145r)

Title on fol. 145r, line 1: [Excerpt from] *Al-Tārīkh*/Ibn al-Ma’mūn al-Baṭā’iḥī.

قال ابن المأمون البطائحي في تأريخه في سنة اثنتي عشرة وخمسمائة [. . .]

Incipit (fol. 145r, lines 2–3):

[. . .] وفي يوم عاشوراء عبئ السماط بمجلس العطايا يعني من دار الأفضل بن أمير الجيوش وهو السماط المختص بعاشوراء [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 145r, line 18):

[. . .] والوعاظ والشعراء وغيرهم على ما جرت به عادتهم.

Commentary:

This text and the one following it are written on a smaller piece of paper which was pasted on a narrow strip, in order to attach it to the manuscript. This was made at a later date, by one of the most recent owners of the manuscript. An almost invisible inscription (three words) appearing on the recto indicates that the

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[138]Reference is made to the new complete edition, though not as critical as the one published in Damascusby the Arab Academy: ed. ‘Alī Shīrī (Damascus, 1415–21/1995–2000), 80 vols.

[139]See Guest, ″A List of Writers,″ 109; Harīdī, *Fihris Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 1:279, 2:76; Sayyid′s ed., 5:973.

[140]Ed. Ḥusayn Mu’nis (Cairo, 1988).

[141]No. 16 was added at a later date, as suggested by the color of the ink and its position on the page, as well as by its location in a volume which corresponds, in print, to vol. 52. The other biographies were selected mainly in what are now vols. 69–70 and 74. The passages in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* appear in volumes other than those represented here.

[142]See an interesting reference, in *Al-Muqaffá* (7:392), to a transmitter of more than 200 *juz*’s of the *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* directly from the author, who stayed in Egypt.

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paper had been previously used for another purpose, i.e., a chancery note. The excerpts found on both sides deal with the etiquette observed for the feast of *'Āshūrā'* during al-Afḍal's vizierate. The recto contains two passages referring to the years 512 (to be corrected to 513) and 516 and coming from **Ibn al-Ma'mūn**'s *Tārīkh*. As previously mentioned,[143] the first of these passages can also be read literally in a short resumé of this source by al-Maqrīzī (XVIII, fols. 158b, line 16–159a, line 3). Due to the nature of this folio (a small, originally loose piece of paper), the similar subject of the notes, and the chronological order,[144] it can be identified as a notecard, as I will try to demonstrate in "Maqriziana II." Besides the appearance of the first passage in the abstract of the original source, both passages were also identified in *Al-Khiṭaṭ*.[145] We can thus follow the evolution of the text through no less than four versions!

LXV. (fol. 145v)

No title: [Quotation taken from *Al-Tārīkh*]/al-Musabbiḥī.

قال المسبحي في حوادث سنة ٣٩٦ [. . .]

Incipit (fol. 145v, lines 2–3):

[. . .] وفي يوم عاشوراء جرى الأمر فيه على ما يجري كل عام من تعطيل الأسواق وخروج المنشدين [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 145v, line 12):

[. . .] وسبوا السلف وقدم الرجل بعد النداء فضربت عنقه.

Commentary:

Closely linked to the previous excerpt, this quotation, as we are told by al-Maqrīzī himself, has been taken from **al-Musabbiḥī**'s *Tārīkh*. In this case, he drew it from the volume covering the year 396, which is now lost.[146] This passage was inserted by al-Maqrīzī at the appropriate place in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (1:431), where it precedes the previous excerpt chronologically, which naturally implies that the actual leaf was later bound incorrectly. It also found its way into the draft version of *Al-Khiṭaṭ*[147] at the same place as the preceding one, confirming the status of this leaf.

[143] See "Maqriziana I/1," 63.

[144] What appears to be the recto was in fact the verso.

[145] Al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadah,* 315–16; idem, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 1:431.

[146] See above, XXXVIII.

[147] Al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadah,* 315.

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LXVI. (fol. 156v)

No title: Excerpt of events regarding the *khuṭbah* in Mecca, Damascus, and Jerusalem, which took place mainly during the reign of al-Mustanṣir (years 462, 465, 468, 470, 472, 478, 490, 491, 492).

Incipit (fol. 156v, lines 4–6):

سنة اثنتين وستين وأربعمائة قطعت دعوة المستنصر صاحب مصر من مكة ودعي بها للقائم العباسي وللسلطان عضد الدولة ألب أرسلان [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 156v, lines 20–21):

[. . .] وقتل في المسجد الأقصى ما يزيد على سبعين ألف من المسلمين.

Commentary:

Quire XVIII was added by al-Maqrīzī to complete the resumé (XVII[148]) he began on the last folio of the preceding quire. Apparently, he was reluctant to start a new resumé on the basis of a different source at the end of the preceding one, though it occupies only two lines. Thus he decided to leave the remaining part blank for further notes, and commenced his new resumé (XVIII) on the next folio. The blank space was indeed not spared. Notes reporting events that occurred in various cities under Fatimid rule and where the name of the caliph was pronounced during the Friday prayer were placed perpendicularly starting from the lower margin. They are preceded by the following phrase in red ink: *"yunqal bi-khabar al-Qāhirah."* No source is indicated in this case, but the material was indeed introduced, although not literally, in some places of *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā'*.[149] Several soundings have been made in various chronicles, based on the order of the reports, in order to identify the source, but without satisfying results. Some reports correspond to *Al-Muntaẓam* of Ibn al-Jawzī. This is the case for the inscription on the minbar sent by the Abbasid caliph to Mecca in 470, which does not appear in many sources. But, alas, this is surely not valid for the whole excerpt. This means that Ibn al-Jawzī relied on the same source al-Maqrīzī later summarized in his notebook. Another possibility concerns Atzız's surname, given here as al-Aqsīs (probably the Arabic form of his name). Al-Maqrīzī mentioned it in *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā'* (2:315) on the basis of this excerpt, and Ibn al-Athīr explains that this form is given by *"al-Shāmīyūn,"*[150] indicating the Syrian historiographers. Unfortunately, I did not reach any conclusion after searching published works. It thus remains to be identified.

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[148]For the identification of the source of this resumé, see the addendum at the end of this article.

[149]*Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā'*, vol. 2, *passim* (under the years mentioned).

[150]See the editor's note in the preceding reference.

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LXVII. (fols. 160v, 163v–164r)
Title on fols. 160v and 164r: [Biographies of various persons taken from] *Tārīkh Dimashq*/Ibn ʻAsākir.

[. . .] ذكره ابن عساكر في تاريخ دمشق.
قال ابن عساكر في تاريخ دمشق [. . .]

List of the biographies:
١) أبو معين الحسن الطيركي (fol. 160v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٧، ص ٢٤٧، رقم ٨٨٥٠)
٢) أبو المنجى يقال فيه عبد الله بن علي بن المنجى من وجوه أصحاب أبي علي الحسن بن أحمد بن الحسن بن بهرام القرمطي المعروف بالأعصم (fol. 163v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٧، ص ٢٥٤، رقم ٨٨٥٤)
٣) قال أبو المهاصر: كنت رسول عمر بن عبد العزيز إلى عماله [. . .] (fol. 164r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٧، ص ٢٦٠، رقم ٨٨٦٢)
٤) أبو نصر البرمكي (fol. 164r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٧، ص ٢٦٤، رقم ٨٨٧٥)
٥) يحيى بن زيد بن يحيى بن علي بن محمد بن أحمد بن عيسى بن زيد بن علي بن الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب أبو الحسن الحسيني الزيدي (fol. 164r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٤، ص ٢٢٩، رقم ٨١٤٠)
٦) أبو منصور سديد الدولة (fol. 164r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٧، ص ٢٥٤، رقم ٨٨٥٦)

Commentary:
Quire XVIII contains three resumés made from two different sources.[151] Some folios (163–65), left blank, were later utilized for several notes. Among these, one finds what must be considered the first in the chronological order, i.e., another excerpt from Ibn ʻAsākir's *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*. All these biographies follow an alphabetical order, a succession confirmed by the printed edition of this source. But al-Maqrīzī did not begin his note-taking on a plain blank folio, as can be seen. Rather, he wrote the first note at the end of the second resumé, in the lower margin, where some space remained. Then he moved forward to the end of the next resumé, once again exploiting the blank space at the bottom, and finally placed all the other biographies on fol. 164, where the full page was available for notes. From this, it can be understood that he did not consider the *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* important enough to prepare a resumé of it, but it can also be inferred that he had access to this text after 831, as this is the date at which he could

[151] See "Maqriziana I/1" (XVII–XIX) and the addendum at the end of this article for the identification of the source of XVII.

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consult the source of summaries XVII and XIX.[152] Additionally, given that no. 5 was selected from what is now vol. 64, we can say that he did not consult the volumes in numerical order.[153] This is confirmed by entry LXIII, where biographies were found in vols. 69–70, 74, and 52, whether they were scribbled down before or after these. These notes were reused primarily in *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā'*[154] as well as in *Al-Muqaffá*.[155]

LXVIII. (fols. 164v–165v, 175v, 184r, 185v, 192r[156])

No title: Biographies of persons who died mainly in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries.

List of the biographies:

١) محمد بن إسماعيل بن القاسم الرسي بن إبراهيم طباطبا ء بن إسماعيل الديباج بن إبراهيم بن الحسن بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب المدني المعروف بالشعراني (ت ٣١٥) (fol. 164v)

٢) العكبري المنجم (ت ؟) (fol. 164v)

٣) محمد بن أبي بكر بن عيسى بن بدران أبو عبد الله تقي الدين الإخنائي المالكي (ت ٧٥٠) (fol. 165r)

٤) محمد بن أبي بكر بن عيسى بن بدران أبو عبد الله علم الدين الإخنائي الشافعي (ت ٧٣٢) (fol. 165r)

٥) محمد بن أبي بكر بن محمد بن محمد بن حسن أبو عبد الله شمس الدين الفارسي الأيكي (ت ٦٩٧) (fol. 165r)

٦) محمد بن بركات بن هلال بن عبد الواحد وقيل محمد بن بركات بن علي بن هلال بن عبد الواحد أبو عبد الله المصري السعيدي النحوي (ت ٥٢٠) (fol. 165r)

٧) محمد بن أسعد بن علي بن المعمر بن عمر بن علي بن أبي هاشم الحسين نسابة بغداد بن أحمد نسابة بغداد بن علي نسابة الكوفة بن إبرهيم بن محمد بن الحسين بن محمد الجواني بن عبيد الله الزاهد بن الحسين بن علي بن الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب أبو علي بن أبي البركات الحسيني العبيدلي الجواني النسابة المالكي (ت ٥٨٨) (fol. 165v)

٨) محمد بن إسماعيل بن أحمد بن علي بن منصور بن محمد بن الحسين أبو عبد الله شمس الدين الصاحب الوزير بن الصاحب المؤرخ شرف الدين الأمدي ابن التيتي (ت ٧٠٤) (fol. 165v)

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[152]See below, no. XVII in addendum.

[153]No. 6, which is found in vol. 67 like all the others, was written in the margin, near the spine. Thus, no. 5 was surely written prior to no. 6.

[154]For instance, no. 5 (*Itti'āẓ,* 2:268 [read *al-Ḥusaynī* instead of *al-Ḥasanī!*]).

[155]For instance, no. 2 (*Al-Muqaffá,* 4:616–18).

[156]See reproduction of fol. 184r in ″Maqriziana IV,″ 25.

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٩) محمد بن محمد بن إبراهيم بن الحسين بن سراقة أبو القاسم وأبو بكر وأبو عبد الله الأنصاري الشاطبي المالكي (ت ٦٦٢) (fol. 175v)

١٠) محمد بن محمد بن أسعد بن علي بن معمر بن عمر بن علي أبو عبد الله الحسيني الجواني (ت ٦١٦) (fol. 175v)

١١) محمد بن محمد بن محمد أبو عبد الله الوهراني (ت ٥٧٥) (fol. 175v)

١٢) إبراهيم بن جعفر أبو محمود الكتامي (ت ٣٧٠) (fol. 184r)

١٣) محمد بن يوسف بن إبراهيم بن عبد الرحمان بن علي بن عبد العزيز بن علي بن قريش أبو عبد الله المخزومي المصري (ت قرن ٧ ؟) (fol. 185v)

١٤) محمد الشيخي تاج الدين (ت ٧٠٤) (fol. 185v)

١٥) محمد بن الحسن بن سعيد عز الدين الحميدي (ت ٦٤٦) (fol. 192r)

١٦) محمد بن الحسين بن الحسن أبو عبد الله المرتضى المعروف بالمحنك الطرابلسي (ت ٥٤٩) (fol. 192r)

١٧) محمد بن خاص بك بن عمر وهو بزغش بن كحت بن شيرك أبو عبد الله بن الأمير أبي سعيد الشوباشي العزيزي (ت ٦٥٣) (fol. 192r)

Commentary:

As with LVI, this long list of biographies, organized in alphabetical order and divided in several groups, cover many folios. However, here the biographies are sometimes separated by large gaps corresponding to resumés. Clearly, once again, al-Maqrīzī has taken utmost advantage of the blank spaces. In this case, some biographies can be attributed to different sources, such as no. 2 and no. 12, as confirmed by the script and their location on the page. Apart from these, we note names starting with *Muḥammad,* then followed by another *ism* beginning with *hamzah* and continuing in alphabetical order. The classification is respected until no. 6, followed by another group from nos. 7 to 13, and then another group of four, respecting the order, but going backward somewhat with respect to the previous ones. These three groups (nos. 1–6 [less 2], 7–13 [less 12], and 14–17) might indicate three different sources. The span of time evidenced by the death dates demonstrates that one must look for biographical dictionaries organized alphabetically, but nonetheless respecting the priority of Muḥammad′s name. Such a dictionary or dictionaries must have been written by a scholar or scholars of the eighth century. In this case, as with LVI, which consisted of a similar list, the system of cross-references has yielded no positive result in my attempt to identify the source(s). Nos. 1 to 8, for instance, appear in al-Ṣafadī′s *Al-Wāfī*, but the collation of both texts ended in failure. One must thus look in other directions. A

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search in *Al-Muqaffá* revealed that al-Maqrīzī transferred half of these notes to the respective biographies, where he hardly quoted his sources. Yet, for no. 16 (the Fatimid historian al-Muḥannak[157]), he indicated[158] that he relied on Ibn Muyassar, which is confirmed by the resumé he made of it.[159] His biography in the notebook corresponds to what is found in that source, but it cannot be regarded as the source on which he based the biography appearing in the notebook. Instead, he relied on a biographical dictionary, a genre to which Ibn Muyassar's *Tārīkh* does not belong. In this matter, he probably relied on an intermediary source whose author had access to Ibn Muyassar's book. This hypothesis is corroborated by no. 6 (another author of the Fatimid period who is known as the writer of a book on the *Khiṭaṭ* of Egypt). In *Al-Muqaffá* (5:431), al-Maqrīzī mentioned this fact through Ibn Muyassar in the following words: *"wa-lahu Kitāb fī Khiṭaṭ Miṣr ajāda fīhi."*[160] Unfortunately, Ibn Muyassar's *Tārīkh* in the summary made by al-Maqrīzī does not contain any data regarding this person. The same sentence can be read in his biography in the notebook. Once again, this means that Ibn Muyassar must not be considered the source; instead, it must have come from another book relying on it. Proceeding further with no. 7 (the historian al-Jawwānī[161]), one can see that the source used by al-Maqrīzī here was also common to al-Mundhirī:[162] they share the same explanation for his *nisbah* and other details, but the notebook is far more comprehensive, with 19 lines devoted to this person. So far, none of the sources investigated perfectly corresponds with the information found in the notebook.

LXIX. (fol. 184r)

No title: Some verses by Abū al-'Atāhiyah and Ḥunayn.

Incipit (fol. 184r, lines 9–10):

أبو العتاهية : نادت بوشك رحيلك الأيام أفلست تسمع أم بك استصمام

Explicit (fol. 184r, line 17):

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[157]One can only be astonished by the number of biographies regarding authors of books on the *Khiṭaṭ* or history that appear in this list, as well as in LVI.

[158]*Al-Muqaffá,* 5:578.

[159]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá,* 153.

[160]Al-Maqrīzī added the following sentence after this: *"wa-lam aqif 'alayhi,"* to which he appended later: *"waqaftu 'alayhi bi-khaṭṭ Muḥammad ibn As'ad ibn al-Jawwānī."* This last addition is found in the margin of *Al-Muqaffá* (Leiden Ms. 1366, fol. 136b), indicating that he found that manuscript after he drafted the author's biography. In the edition, there is no indication of this, giving the impression that these statements come from Ibn Muyassar.

[161]A biography of his son will be found under no. 10. In the biography of the father (*Al-Muqaffá,* 5:306–8), al-Maqrīzī refered to the biography of his son, which belongs to the now lost section of this work.

[162]Al-Mundhirī, *Al-Takmilah li-Wafayāt al-Naqalah,* 1:177–78.

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[. . .] من رأيت المنون خلدن أم من ذا عليه من أن يضام خفير.

Commentary:
These verses were written by al-Maqrīzī at the end of epitome XXI. They do not originate in a *dīwān,* since two poets are concerned here. Thus, research must be done in anthologies or encyclopedias. In this case, the verses have been found in several sources, including some used by al-Maqrīzī, which complicates the work of properly identifying them. But considering the author of the source identified for the next resumé that closes the quire, I would be inclined to regard it as the one from which al-Maqrīzī selected the verses. Al-Nuwayrī′s *Nihāyat al-Arab* (4:310 and 288) offers indeed a similar text, but I am still doubtful because the ink and the script differ from those in the following resumé. In any case, al-Maqrīzī did not take advantage of them.

LXX. (fols. 186v–184v[163])
Title on fol. 186v, line 1, and fol. 185r, line 1: *Dhikr A'yād al-Qibṭ bi-Miṣr* and *A'yād al-Yahūd.*

ذكر أعياد القبط بمصر [. . .]، أعياد اليهود التي نطقت بها التوراة خمسة [. . .]

Commentary:
The section in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (2:472–501) devoted to the non-Muslim communities has been considered since the nineteenth century as one of the best sources for this subject, although this appreciation is now tempered by the discovery of other sources unknown at that time,[164] which include al-Maqrīzī′s own sources. Given his efforts to render as comprehensively as possible the complexity of Egypt′s different religions, it is not surprising to find some notes here dealing with the feasts celebrated by the Copts and the Jews. Each entry is highlighted by an outline in red ink, with the stroke intentionally elongated by al-Maqrīzī between the *yā'* and the *dāl* of the word *'īd*, which introduces each feast. No source is indicated here, nor in *Al-Khiṭaṭ*[165] where the data was reused verbatim and in the same order. He undoubtedly relied on **al-Nuwayrī**′s *Nihāyat al-Arab* (1:191–97), as confirmed by the phrasing and the order in which the feasts are detailed. Al-Nuwayrī did not quote his source, but it can be identified as al-Waṭwāṭ al-Kutubī′s (Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, d. 718/1318) *Manāhij al-Fikar wa-Mabāhij*

[163]These notes were written from fol. 186v. onward. This system has already been observed for no. LXIII.

[164]Wüstenfeld, *Macrizi′s Geschichte der Copten;* al-Maqrīzī, *Tārīkh al-Yahūd wa-Āthāruhum fī Miṣr,* ed. 'Abd al-Majīd Diyāb (Cairo, 1997) [from *Al-Khiṭaṭ*].

[165]*Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 1:264–67 and 2:501 for the Copts; 2:473–74 and 479 for the Jews.

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al-'Ibar:[166] The parallelism between the two texts cannot be a coincidence.

LXXI. (fols. 191v–195bis v,[167] 1v)

Titles on fols. 191v, 192r, 192v: Four *faṣl*s dealing with the fact that history sometimes repeats itself, as well as persons who held authority despite their young age, and finally with those who were secretaries in Egypt.

List of the *faṣl*s:

١) فصل من الاتفاقات الغريبة : كل قائم بدولة يخرج الملك عن عقبه واعتبر ذلك : معاوية بن أبي سفيان خرج الملك عن عقبه إلى بني مروان [. . .] (fol. 191v)

٢) فصل ما قامت دولة باسم ملك إلا انقرضت بمثل ذلك الاسم الذي قامت به :بنو حرب أولهم معاوية بن أبي سفيان آخرهم معاوية بن يزيد [. . .] (fol. 192r)

٣) فصل فيمن رأس وهو صغير السن : أسامة بن زيد ولاه النبي عليه السلام على حشر فيه كبار الصحابة وهو دون العشرين سنة [. . .] (fol. 192v)

٤) فصل فيه تراجم من ولي كتابة السر بمصر (fol. 192v)

١) عبد الوهاب بن فضل الله العدوي شرف الدين (ت ٧١٧)

٢) علي بن أحمد بن سعيد بن الأثير القاضي علاء الدين بن تاج الدين الحلبي (٧٣٠)

٣) يحيى بن فضل الله بن مجلي محيي الدين بن محمد بن جمال الدين العمري (٧٣٨)

٤) فتح الدين محمد بن محيي الدين عبد الله بن عبد الظاهر بن نشوان بن عبد الظاهر (ت ٦٩١)

٥) أحمد بن علي بن أحمد بن خيران أبو محمد (ت ٤٣٢)

٦) علي بن منجب بن سليمان أبو القاسم المعروف بابن الصيرفي (٥٤٢)

٧) علي بن يحيى بن الحسن بن الحسين بن علي بن محمد الأسدي الحلي أبو الحسن نجم الدين (ت ٦٤٢)

٨) حسين بن جوهر أبو عبد الله (ت ٤٠١)

٩) علي بن محمد بن كاسيبويه أبو الحسين المؤتمن المصري وقيل علي بن أحمد (ت ٥٨٨)

١٠) محمد بن الحسين بن إبراهيم بن المسلم بن محمد بن عبد الله بن يوسف بن سلاح أبو عبد الله الفهري (ت ٥١٥)

١١) محمود بن عبد الله الكلستاني التركي بدر الدين الحنفي (ت ٨٠١)

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[166]See the facsimile edition of the Istanbul Ms. Fatih 4116 produced by F. Sezgin (Frankfurt, 1990), 1:214–16 (Copts) and 216–18 (Jews).

[167]Fol. 195bis is another sample of a card added by al-Maqrīzī at a place where it coincided with the main text.

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Commentary:
The remaining space at the end of quire XXI was filled later on with four sections written at the same time, at least for the first three and the beginning of the fourth, as indicated by the color of the ink and the general style of the script. This could suggest that al-Maqrīzī was once again copying from a source, although I am more disposed to consider these sections to be the result of his own reflection on history. The following statement found at the end of the first section could confirm this impression: after having listed the various dynasties which originated with a founder whose power was passed on to his descendants, he gives a final contemporaneous example, saying ″Barqūq awwal qā'im min mulūk al-jarākisah intaqala al-mulk 'an 'aqibihi ilá mamlūkihi al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh wa-naḥnu al-ān fī zamanihi.″ On this basis and assuming that this is really al-Maqrīzī´s own statement, this passage constitutes an important clue for dating this part of the notebook (between 815/1412 and 824/1421).

The first three sections must be considered together as far as the theme is concerned: it is announced in the first section only, but the following two undoubtedly belong to it. The coincidences *(ittifāqāt)* noticed in history amazed Muslim historians who regularly stressed these in their books.[168] In this case, however, complete lists are given rather than individual cases, showing al-Maqrīzī´s process of systemization. Nonetheless, he does not seem to have proceeded further in this direction in any of his books. It should remind us, however, of al-Maqrīzī´s personal relation with Ibn Khaldūn during his stay in Cairo and the influence the latter must have had on his younger colleague.

The fourth section is completely different as it gathers several biographies of secretaries in Egypt, from the Fatimid to the Mamluk period. No chronological or alphabetical order is respected in this section. This indicates that al-Maqrīzī, at different dates as confirmed by the variation of the ink, added data, which he acquired from his readings. No doubt it was intended for his work on secretaries entitled *Khulāṣat al-Tibr fī Akhbār Kuttāb al-Sirr*.[169]

C. Addendum

Since the publication of the first section of this article, I have been able to identify the source of some abstracts dealt with there, or to verify some of my hypotheses.

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[168]See Barbara Langner, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Volkskunde Ägyptens nach mamlukischen Quellen* (Berlin, 1983), 111–12, where the author points out several samples collected in various histories written by later historians (Ibn al-Dawādārī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, and Ibn Iyās), but pertaining to earlier periods such as the Fatimid period. She studied them in a section entitled *″gharā'ib al-ittifāq.″* To these, one may add the following one found in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam,* 16:54, where the author concluded saying: *″wa-hādhā min al-ittifāqāt al-ẓarīfah.″*

[169]See above, XXXVII.

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The progressive study of many other sources will probably lead to further identification of the sources of other resumés, excerpts, and notes listed in both sections of this article which remain unknown.

No. VII (″Maqriziana I/1,″ 48–52), entitled *Faṣl fī Manāfiʿ al-Ḥayawān,* is very close to Ibn Zuhr′s *Khawāṣṣ al-Ḥayawān,* although the order in which the animals are listed differs. I concluded that al-Maqrīzī probably relied on an intermediate source which reordered Ibn Zuhr′s data. The source was finally found to be **Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī**′s *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār,* of which volume 20 is dedicated to animals and plants.[170] The resumé made by al-Maqrīzī exactly matches the text both in its wording and order.

No. XVII (″Maqriziana I/1,″ 60–62) contains excerpts dealing with numismatics and metrology of the eastern parts of the Muslim world. I made no proposal for the source of this excerpt, but since the publication of the article I ascertained that one of the most well-informed sources for this matter outside the areas concerned was **Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī**′s *Masālik al-Abṣār,* which must be considered al-Maqrīzī′s primary source for many matters. The data found in the resumé corresponds to what one can read on this subject in this encyclopedia.[171] As already noted, al-Maqrīzī had access to this source precisely in 831,[172] meaning that this part of the notebook can be dated accordingly. But another conclusion can be made: no. XIX was already identified as a resumé of another part of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī′s *opera omnia,* and together with no. XVII now clearly identified as coming from the same source, we can determine that no. XVIII (a resumé of Ibn al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī′s *Sīrat al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī*), which is inserted in the same quire, was consequently written at the same date. This is extremely important for the dating of the redaction of some portions of *Al-Khiṭaṭ* and *Ittiʿāẓ al-Ḥunafāʾ*.

No. XX (″Maqriziana I/1,″ 64–65) consisted of several *faṣl*s dealing with juridical matters. The first of these regarded problems of metrology and I surmised that it could have been taken from a work written by Ibn al-Rifʿah (d. 710/1310), entitled *Al-Īḍāḥ wa-al-Tibyān fī Maʿrifat al-Mikyāl,* on the basis of the appearance of his

[170]Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār: Al-Juzʾ al-ʿIshrūn Khāṣṣ bi-al-Ḥayawān wa-al-Nabāt,* ed. Muḥammad Nāyif al-Dulaymī (Beirut, 1419/1999).

[171]See Etienne Quatremère, ″Notices sur l′ouvrage qui a pour titre: *Mesalek alabsar fi memalek alamsar, Voyage des yeux dans les royaumes des différentes contrées* (Manuscrit arabe de la Bibliothèque du Roi, no. 583),″ *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque du Roi et autres bibliothèques* 13 (1838): 151–384, particularly 210–12, 223. For more details, see ″Maqriziana VI: Numismatics and Metrology in al-Maqrīzī′s Notebook″ (forthcoming).

[172]See ″Maqriziana I/1,″ 64.

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name in the resumé for a personal statement and the collation made by one editor of al-Maqrīzī´s *Shudhūr al-ʻUqūd* with the original text. Since that time, I have obtained a copy of the edition of Ibn al-Rifʻah´s work[173] and can confirm that it corresponds literally to the resumé found in the notebook. The problem of the source of the first *faṣl* is thus solved, and there remains to be determined whether the other parts of these sections come from Ibn al-Rifʻah´s commentary on al-Shīrāzī´s *Al-Tanbīh,* as I suggested.

No. XXII (″Maqriziana I/1,″ 66–68) occupies the majority of the last quire found in the notebook. It differs slightly from all the other resumés as it contains a long biography of a Mamluk amir who was al-Maqrīzī´s contemporary (d. 812). At that time, I concluded that al-Maqrīzī devoted a biography to him in his biographical dictionary of his contemporaries, *Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-Aʻyān al-Mufīdah,* although the complete manuscript of this text was unavailable to researchers. Since then, an edition prepared by its owner has appeared on the market.[174] The biography of this amir can be found in the last volume (3:562–72). My conviction was that the text present in the notebook was nothing other than a preliminary stage of redaction for that work. Now that a collation can be made between both texts, one notices that the final version found in *Durar al-ʻUqūd* is more elaborate, although some passages appear verbatim in the notebook. Al-Maqrīzī also added some personal information not found in the notebook to complete the portrait. Considering the material facts stressed earlier (the impression of rapid writing, numerous marginal additions and cancellations), I am confident that the version in the notebook is not the result of a summarizing process, but rather is actually a preliminary version of what became *Durar al-ʻUqūd*.

D. List of the sources[175]

Entry no.	Author	Title
I	Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʻah	*ʻUyūn al-Anbāʾ fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbāʾ*
II	Ibn ʻAbd al-Ḥakam	*Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Akhbārihā*
III	[Ibn Mammātī]	*[Qawānīn al-Dawāwīn]*
IV/1–5, 7	[Ibn al-Kindī]	*[Faḍāʾil Miṣr]*
IV/6	[Qudāmah ibn Jaʻfar]	*[Al-Kharāj]* (?)

[173]Ed. M. Aḥmad Ismāʻīl al-Khārūf (Mecca, 1980).

[174]Ed. Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī (Beirut, 2002), 4 vols. (vol. 4: indexes).

[175]Square brackets indicate that the name of the author and/or the title of the source are not given by al-Maqrīzī, but were identified through various methods as being his source without a doubt. If there is any doubt concerning this attribution, the name and/or title are followed by a question mark.

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IV/8	al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil	*[Ta'līq al-Mutajaddidāt]*
V	al-Ṣafadī	*Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafāyāt*
VI	?	?
VII	[Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī]	*[Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār]*
VIII	?	?
IX	Ibn al-Mutawwaj	*Al-Khiṭaṭ*
X	[al-Gharnāṭī]	*[Tuḥfat al-Albāb]*
XI	?	?
XII	Ibn Naẓīf	*[Al-Tārīkh al-Manṣūrī]*
XIII	Ibn Naẓīf	*[al-Kashf wa-al-Bayān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān]*
XIV	?	?
XV	Wakī'	*Al-Danānīr wa-al-Darāhim*
XVI	?	?
XVII	[Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī]	*[Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār]*
XVIII	Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī	*Sīrat al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī*
XIX	[Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī]	*[Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār]*
XX/1	[Ibn al-Rif'ah]	*[Al-Īḍāḥ wa-al-Tibyān fī Ma'rifat al-Mikyāl]*
XXI	[al-Zamakhsharī]	*[al-Kashshāf 'an Ḥaqā'iq al-Tanzīl]*
XXII	[al-Maqrīzī]	*[Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-A'yān al-Mufīdah]*
XXIII	al-Kirmānī	*Rāḥat al-'Aql*
XXIV	?	?
XXV	[al-Balawī]	*[Al-Sīrah al-Ṭūlūnīyah]*
XXVI	?	?
XXVII	Ibn 'Asākir	*[Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq]* (?)
XXVIII	al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil	*Ta'līq al-Mutajaddidāt*
XXIX	?	?
XXX	?	?
XXXI	al-Mas'ūdī	*Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Ma'ādin al-Jawhar*
XXXII	?	?
XXXIII	[Ibn Sa'īd]	*[Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib]* (?)
XXXIV	[al-Balawī]	*[Al-Sīrah al-Ṭūlūnīyah]*
XXXV	[al-Nuwayrī]	*[Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab]*
XXXVI	al-Mas'ūdī	*[Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Ma'ādin al-Jawhar]*
XXXVII	?	?
XXXVIII	[al-Musabbiḥī]	*[Akhbār Miṣr]*

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XXXIX	Ibn al-Naqqāsh	*[Al-ʻIbar fī Man Maḍá wa-Ghabar]*
XL	?	?
XLI	?	?
XLII	al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil	*Taʻlīq al-Mutajaddidāt*
XLIII	?	?
XLIV	?	?
XLV	[al-Balawī]	[*Al-Sīrah al-Ṭūlūnīyah*]
XLVI	al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr	*Jinān al-Janān wa-Riyāḍ al-Adhhān*
XLVII	[al-Balawī]	*[Al-Sīrah al-Ṭūlūnīyah]*
XLVIII	[al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr] (?)	*[Jinān al-Janān wa-Riyāḍ al-Adhhān]* (?)
XLIX	[al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr]	*[Jinān al-Janān wa-Riyāḍ al-Adhhān]*
L/1	[al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr] (?)	*[Jinān al-Janān wa-Riyāḍ al-Adhhān]* (?)
L/2–3	?	?
LI	Ibn al-Naqqāsh	*Al-ʻIbar fī Man Maḍá wa-Ghabar*
LII	[Ibn al-Jawzī]	*[Al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-al-Umam]*
LIII	[al-Nuwayrī]	*[Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab]*
LIV	?	?
LV	[Ibn al-Jawzī]	*[Al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-al-Umam]*
LVI/1–2	[Ibn Saʻīd]	*[Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib]*
LVI/3–35, 38–42	?	?
LVI/36–37	[Ibn ʻAsākir]	*[Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq]*
LVII	[Ibn Saʻīd]	*[Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib]*
LVIII	[Ibn al-Jawzī]	*[Al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-al-Umam]*
LIX	al-Yaghmūrī	?
LX	Ibn Saʻīd	*Al-Muḥallá bi-al-Ashʻār*
LXI	Ibn Saʻīd	*Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib*
LXII	?	?
LXIII	Ibn ʻAsākir	*Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*
LXIV	Ibn al-Maʼmūn al-Baṭāʼiḥī	*Sīrat al-Maʼmūn al-Baṭāʼiḥī*
LXV	al-Musabbiḥī	*Akhbār Miṣr*
LXVI	?	?
LXVII	Ibn ʻAsākir	*Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*
LXVIII	?	?
LXIX	[al-Nuwayrī] (?)	*[Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab]* (?)

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LXX	[al-Nuwayrī]	*[Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab]*
LXXI	al-Maqrīzī (?)	—

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Crime in Mamluk Historiography: A Fraud Case Depicted by Ibn Taghrībirdī

Fraud and crimes related to corrupt fiscal practices figured prominently among references to criminal activity as chroniclers of the Mamluk period reported such episodes. A crime, as distinct from other categories of violence, may be defined as an act deemed by its recorder(s) as worthy of investigation, apprehension, prosecution, and retribution.

Of roughly 1,100 cases discerned in a group of prominent Mamluk-era histories, fraud-related crimes constituted some fifteen percent (167 incidents).[1] Included in this broad category were cases involving manipulation of *waqf* properties, fiscal extortion, generalized corruption (the largest group with 60 incidents), embezzlement, false witness, forgery, and fraud itself (defined as a crime linked specifically to mendacity). The range of actions the chroniclers described, and the diversity of their contexts, were truly multifarious. While the majority of incidents touched upon the laundering or other misappropriation of fiscal assets (but not larceny or theft, which constituted a separate category), fraud-related crimes included sale of defective goods, faking weights and measures, forcing purchases of otherwise unsalable goods, hoarding and price fixing, racketeering through connivance with gangs, falsification of accounts, spreading of rumors deliberately to stimulate civic unrest, and a host of elaborate con schemes.

I am still in the process of collating these crimes among their various types, since few incidents fit neatly into one category and most can be considered in several. I have also discovered that generalizations about classification of criminal acts offer few insights unless they are closely tied to discrete incidents as illustrations. I therefore have selected one well-documented case of fraud for discussion, as an example of the kind of activity that attracted the notice of historians active during the Mamluk period. It emerged as perhaps the most interesting scheme by a con artist that I have encountered.

The incident was recorded by only one chronicler, albeit among the best

[1]The collection of criminal cases was conducted to support a study, ongoing at the present time, of crime and its social context in Mamluk Cairo and Damascus. The incident discussed here is indicative of the nuanced detail frequently included in the narratives presented by contemporary chroniclers such as Ibn Taghrībirdī.

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known: Ibn Taghrībirdī, in his *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr*.[2] The incident, or at least its prosecution, occurred during the month of Shawwāl 858/September–October 1455. The case involved an individual of the *awlād al-nās* (descendants of first-generation Mamluk soldiers) named Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī ibn Īnāl (no relation to the sultan of that name). Ibn Taghrībirdī initiated his discussion by stating that this Muḥammad went into hiding when a princess *(khawand),* daughter of the former sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (815–24/1412–21), brought suit against him after he had instigated the demolition of a belvedere, or *manẓarah,* known as al-Tāj, the Crown, with Five Sides (i.e., a pentagon, although some described it with seven sides or a septagon) and his expropriation of its materials for resale.

Ibn Taghrībirdī described this person as ″one repugnant″ to the sultan, al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq (842–57/1438–53). The latter had raised Muḥammad from childhood since the ruler had shared a bond of camaraderie with his father. Indeed, Jaqmaq had begun his career in the father′s service, prior to his own promotion by Sultan Barqūq (two reigns: 784–801/1382–99). Jaqmaq as an amir had placed Muḥammad in his own company of mamluks. But this Muḥammad had other ideas about his future, apparently, since he abandoned soldiering for the path of an itinerant Sufi. Ibn Taghrībirdī described him, contemptuously, as adopting the guise of a mendicant or *faqīr* who solicited (more bluntly, begged, *sa'ala*) alms from the populace. Ibn Taghrībirdī claimed that this individual was lazy, lethargic, and quite content with his chosen agenda, until Jaqmaq was enthroned as sultan. He then summoned Muḥammad and ordered him to resume his military garb. But Muḥammad refused his patron′s demand, unlike his brother Aḥmad, who conformed to behavior more appropriate to his class.

When Jaqmaq promoted the brother Aḥmad to the rank of amir of ten, Muḥammad was ″consumed with envy″ but still refused to conform. Instead, he became even more audacious with his solicitation, and took to riding a donkey up to the citadel where he collected alms from the elite stationed there. Muḥammad displayed unique skills in his calling, it would seem, since he gained status among the influential, abandoned his donkey for a horse, and ultimately won the post of court audiencer *(amīr shakkār)*. He attained his brother′s rank as amir of ten that he had coveted. Ibn Taghrībirdī noted that he was awarded several allotments *(iqṭā'āt)* set aside for the *ḥalqah* reserve corps.

But none of this satisfied Muḥammad′s ambition, and it is at this stage of the narrative that Ibn Taghrībirdī noted his cross-over into crime. Muḥammad alleged to Sultan Jaqmaq that frequenters of the Tāj belvedere were committing ″fornication and other shocking acts″ on the premises. ″Its demolition would thus be meritorious.″

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[2](Beirut, 1994), 2:500, line 16; ed. William Popper, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, vol. 8, pts. 1–4 (Berkeley, 1930–42), pt. 2:216, line 1.

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Ibn Taghrībirdī emphatically dismissed this claim. He described the belvedere as ″one of the loveliest buildings in Miṣr—and one of the most respectable.″ He mentioned that its resident shaykh, by the name of Ḥaydar, was ″among the worthiest of persons, religious, pious, and righteous.″ Indeed, the populace came to him with their supplications, presumably for his intercession with the Divine on their behalf. Shaykh Ḥaydar had established a *zāwiyah* at the site and had attracted a devout community of mystics.

Ibn Taghrībirdī went on to note that the belvedere, located in the vicinity of Kawm al-Rīsh outside al-Qāhirah, had deteriorated prior to the sultanate of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh. The latter had intervened to invest 20,000 dinars in its restoration. The sultan developed a special affinity for the site, and visited it on numerous occasions after its restoration. Subsequently, Sultan Barsbāy (825–41/1422–38) established the shaykh Ḥaydar, now described more precisely as a Rifā'ī, in the belvedere. The shaykh had founded the *zāwiyah* in the *ṭarīqah* of this order. Sultan Barsbāy granted the shaykh a stipend for this purpose, and Ḥaydar had presided over his *zāwiyah* for three decades, with all due propriety—before this Muḥammad impugned his reputation. Ibn Taghrībirdī was himself a close friend of the shaykh Ḥaydar, noting that he was ″decent and upright with regard to what the riffraff of Persians cast at him.″

Yet despite his unsavory past, Muḥammad managed to persuade Sultan Jaqmaq about the veracity of his allegation. The sultan ordered the belvedere razed—under Muḥammad's supervision. He appropriated all of its material (whether known to Jaqmaq is unclear), which he sold. Ibn Taghrībirdī mentioned ″an exorbitant quantity of building stones, wood, iron window fixtures, and other items beyond calculation.″ The belvedere became ″a ruin inhabited by mendicants.″ The audacious Muḥammad actually used some of the razed materials to build a structure at the Hill of the New Quarter *(kawm al-qanṭarah al-jadīdah)*. Ibn Taghrībirdī stated that the locals mockingly dubbed it ″the wanton″ (*al-makhlū'ah*). ″Hashish users and others steeped in depravity repaired to it.″ The populace were profoundly grieved over the demolition of the lovely belvedere.

Ibn Taghrībirdī now digressed into a detailed description of the sordid Muḥammad. He was tall, long of beard, bushy of mustache, reckless in speech. As for his dress, he wore the cloth headgear of (common) marketeers, and a mantle with wide sleeves—in the guise of the Bedouin from al-Buḥayrah. He rode on a Bedouin-style saddle, in the fashion of the *'Arab* also. On occasion, he held a hunting falcon on his arm. This individual was indeed so adept in altering his appearance that he often went unrecognized in the streets. Ibn Taghrībirdī did not admire his skill at image transformation, however, since he found his demeanor ″repulsive and ridiculous,″ even comical—his bearing ″indicative of triviality of mind, (proof that) insanity appears in diverse forms.″ Nonetheless, Muḥammad

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continued on his trajectory of schemes and depravity with success until al-Ashraf Īnāl (857–65/1453–61) succeeded Jaqmaq. He immediately stripped Muḥammad of his amir′s rank and dismissed him as court audiencer. His status declined until al-Mu'ayyad′s daughter formally denounced him. In suit, she demanded the value of materials expropriated from the demolished belvedere her father had built—presumably as an inheritance due her (possibly under *waqf* trust). Ibn Taghrībirdī stated that the accused remained in custody for several days, yielded up a fraction of the value of the expropriated materials—less than 1,000 dinars—and then went into hiding until the *khawand* expired (no date given, but other data suggest a lengthy seclusion). He eventually reappeared and took to his house. The entry terminated without further disclosure.

So, what to make of this intriguing affair? First of all, Ibn Taghrībirdī lavished far more detail on Muḥammad′s deviance from the stance of a respectable member of the *awlād al-nās* and their *ḥalqah* corps, entitled to a comfortable if not profligate living from his allotments, than he did on particulars of the fraud case itself. Perhaps he knew nothing more about its facts, but no chronicler was better informed of court intrigues than Ibn Taghrībirdī. Ibn Taghrībirdī was particularly incensed by Muḥammad′s smirching of Shaykh Ḥaydar′s reputation. Quite possibly, his vitriolic denunciation masked a rivalry between two sharply contrasting representatives of Sufi activism in Cairo. Ibn Taghrībirdī loathed the heterodox life-style of the mendicant Sufis, who disdained the shari'ah-oriented strictures of the more conventional *ṭarīqah*s, and indulged in drug use and other practices castigated by the formal religious establishment but appealing to many elements of the commons.

But for whatever reason, Ibn Taghrībirdī disclosed little about the actual nature of the suit and its litigation, presumably in the appeals *(maẓālim)* court presided over by Sultan Īnāl. The substantive facts warranting the suit were only two: 1) that Muḥammad had allegedly lied to Sultan Jaqmaq about sordid, possibly illegal, acts occurring on the premises of the belvedere, and 2) that the daughter of the belvedere′s founder, al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, could put a lien on the materials removed from the belvedere upon its demolition that Muḥammad had sold.

With regard to the first, Ibn Taghrībirdī made clear his own revulsion over behavior exhibited by visitors (he would describe as revelers, by inference, fornicators) to the belvedere. But despite his choler, it is possible to envisage some debate at a court hearing over the illegality of such behavior. And in any case, Ibn Taghrībirdī provided no details about whether such acts were formally attested by sworn witnesses. As noted above, Ibn Taghrībirdī′s denunciation of these acts, and his defense of Shaykh Ḥaydar, likely conceal a long-standing tension between the shaykh and Muḥammad—and more broadly, over opposing orientations within Sufi life-styles. But whatever rancor existed between the two

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over their contrasting Sufi paths, Ibn Taghrībirdī´s assertions remain allegations unsupported by description of the litigious proceedings themselves. We have his word only about Muḥammad´s character. Indeed, Muḥammad´s personal decisions about his abandonment of a soldier´s career as a *walad nās* in the *ḥalqah* corps for the life of a mendicant, his solicitation of influential persons for alms, or his adoption of peculiar modes of dress that effectively disguised him may have sullied Ibn Taghrībirdī´s own standard of conduct (recall that he too was a *walad nās*). But there was nothing intrinsically illegal about these decisions—unless they could be tied to specific malfeasance.

In fact, this Muḥammad, considered objectively, comes across as an imaginative figure who elected to cross boundaries that defined behavioral norms considered appropriate to class conduct and fixed by time-honored tradition. And more relevant to this case, he got away with crossing them and prospered accordingly. An incident that relies solely on one observer´s version does not allow for the offender´s voice to be heard. So, we do not have any indication of Muḥammad´s perspective on these events.

With regard to the second fact, supporting details are sparse. The daughter of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh is not named, but simply referred to as the princess or *al-khawand.* Although her death date cannot be ascertained from Ibn Taghrībirdī´s account, she may not have died in 858/1455 or soon after the events of this case. Al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh produced several children who lived beyond infancy, including two sons and at least three daughters whose deaths can be dated. One of the sons, Aḥmad, would briefly succeed Shaykh upon his demise in 824/1421, as Sayf al-Dīn Abū al-Sa'ādāt. Deposed within months, at less than two years of age, Aḥmad would be imprisoned in Alexandria along with his surviving brother, Ibrāhīm. Both would die by the plague nine years later. I raise this issue because of its possible relevance to the daughter´s claim. No male heirs survived to 858/1455 and thus could not demand right of precedence in any legal proceeding. With regard to the daughter, this individual seems somewhat elusive. A check of relevant biographical sources (Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī and al-Sakhāwī), and obituaries at the end of year logs in relevant chronicles turned up three females fathered by al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh. Two of these individuals died in 816/1413 and 842/1438–39 respectively.[3] I also found obituaries of two women: one described as Khawand Āsīyah, wife of the prominent *dawādār* Yashbak al-Faqīh, and Shaykh´s last surviving child. She died in Shawwāl of 891/September–October 1486.[4] The other was listed as Shaykh´s granddaughter, and thus was the probable child of this

[3]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo, 1353/1934), 12:163, nos. 1022, 1023.

[4]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr* (Cairo and Wiesbaden, 1960–63), 3:234.

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Khawand Āsīyah. She died in 918/1512.[5] While her mother was not named in the obituary, her father was the same Grand *Dawādār,* Yashbak al-Faqīh. Al-Sakhāwī mentioned a husband for only one of the two daughters he listed (the first died at the age of nine and was unmarried), and this was one Qurqmās. So Āsīyah, deceased in 891 according to Ibn Iyās, was likely the *khawand* noted here by Ibn Taghrībirdī. (If Āsīyah was indeed the relevant individual, then she would not appear in obituaries listed in the *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr*, which terminates in 873/1469.)

Returning to the lien claimed by the *khawand,* Ibn Taghrībirdī makes no mention of the property's legal status. The term *waqf* appears nowhere in the entry, nor do any details about the belvedere's heritability. The possibility of the belvedere's inclusion among Shaykh's *waqf* properties is strong, but cannot be ascertained pending an examination of his *waqf* deed. The possibility is bolstered by the properties listed at the end of Shaykh's biography in the *Ḍaw'*.[6] The belvedere is noted prominently, and may have represented the second most costly site among Shaykh's endowments, following the sultan's tomb mosque at the Bāb Zuwaylah. If the belvedere did belong to the properties protected by Shaykh's trust, then, on the assumption that *waqf* provisos granted its heirs perpetual access to at least some of its proceeds following any sale, this *khawand* had a legal case.

Other possible circumstances must be considered. For example, an anomaly is apparent in this incident. Ibn Taghrībirdī claims that Sultan Jaqmaq had been discomfited for years about his ward's rejection of a soldier's duties and his subsequent behavior. Yet when Muḥammad raised his allegations about heinous acts occurring at the belvedere, the sultan accepted them at face value. How probable would this be, unless other circumstances influenced his decision? The possibility of collusion between the sultan and mendicant for mutual profit cannot be discounted here. Plundering materials from existing structures is well known as a practice widespread during the Circassian period, when the economy was stagnating and cash flows available to the elites for new construction were depleted. But such expedients, especially if they involved properties shielded under *waqf,* were usually restricted to the sultan himself. Note that it was Jaqmaq who endorsed the demolition. But did he endorse Muḥammad's subsequent sale of the razed materials? While this is unclear, collusion for mutual profit is a plausible scenario.

Also note that when Īnāl was enthroned, he reviewed acts of nepotism by his predecessor, and stripped Muḥammad of his sinecures. Only then did the *khawand* file her claim. Ibn Taghrībirdī stated that she received less than 1,000 dinars, a fraction of the original expenditure by her father decades earlier—even discounting for inflation. Ibn Taghrībirdī claimed that Muḥammad went on to build a structure

[5]Ibid., 4:258.

[6]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi',* 3:308, no. 1190; see p. 310 bottom.

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that was popularly derided as a den of iniquity. But he makes no mention of Īnāl demolishing it to provide restitution. Presumably, Shaykh Ḥaydar′s Rifā‘ī *zāwiyah* did not survive the belvedere′s demolition. But the entry concludes with Muḥammad re-emerging and seeking seclusion in his house. If Khawand Āsīyah was actually the instigator of the suit, then Muḥammad remained a recluse for more than thirty years. Could he have resumed his old tricks after so long an interval? Did he do so clandestinely while in hiding? Did his disguises aid him in this endeavor? Who knows? Ibn Taghrībirdī asserted that Muḥammad′s personal depravity would indeed be assessed and retribution imposed—but only by the All-High on Judgment Day *(yawm al-qiyāmah).*

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APPENDIX I: Translation of the Original Entry

Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr* (1994 edition), 2:500, line 16; (1932 Popper edition), 8:216, line 1
In these days (Shawwāl 858), Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī ibn Īnāl fled *(haraba),* and no one knew where he had gone. The reason for his retreat *(tasaḥḥubihi):* the *khawand,* daughter of al-Malik al-Muʼayyad, complained about him due to his demolition of the observatory/belvedere *(manẓarah)* of five sides *(al-khams wujūh)* known as al-Tāj, and seven sides. Also, his expropriation of its debris/material *(anqāḍihi).*

line 20: This Muḥammad was one of those offensive/repugnant *(musīʼ)* to al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq. He had raised him while young *(rabbāhu ṣaghīran),* because al-Ẓāhir, prior to his arrival [in the service of] al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, was a mamluk of the amir ʻAlī, father of the aforementioned Muḥammad. In consequence of that, he [al-Ẓāhir] took custody of him and raised him. Then, he placed him *(jaʻalahu)* in his company *(jumlah)* of mamluks when he grew up *(kabara).* He continued this way for several years. Then, it seemed appropriate for him to cease soldiering *(yatraku zayy al-jund)* and dress as a mendicant (Sufi) person *(faqīrī).* He became a mendicant *(tafaqqara)* and begged *(saʼala)* from the populace. He became lethargic *(tukhūmila),* and continued like that for a time *(dāma ʻalá dhalika dahran),* until al-Malik al-Ẓāhir became sultan. He [then] summoned him and ordered him to dress as he had done initially. He refused to do so, and persisted as he was. His brother Aḥmad was also in the service of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq.

p. 501, line 1: Aḥmad was the elder. They were carefree *(ghayr ashqāʼ).* Al-Malik al-Ẓāhir promoted his brother Aḥmad to the rank of amir of ten. When Muḥammad noted what had befallen his brother Aḥmad, envy consumed him. He remained unwilling to return to soldiering. He opened another door of soliciting *(fataḥa bāban ākhir min al-sawāʼil),* begging *(ṭalab),* and extortion *(balṣ).* Yet he was not satisfied/content *(ṣāra la yaqnaʻu)* with what was in the treasury *(bayt al-māl)* from al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq. He persisted in riding a donkey, ascended to the Citadel, and frequented *(yataraddadu ilá)* prominent persons *(al-akābir)* and solicited them *(yasʼaluhum)* properly and illegally *(ṭayyibatan wa-ghaṣban).* He behaved *(aẓhara)* in repulsive ways *(min qabīḥ al-khiṣāl),* and with gross greed *(ʻiẓam al-ṭamaʻ),* as will be related about him on the Day of Judgment *(yawm al-qiyāmah).* Then, after a while he rode a horse and assumed [the rank of] amir audiencer *(shakkāran).* Subsequently, he was promoted amir of ten. That was after he assumed *(akhadha)* several allotments *(iqṭāʻāt)* of the *ḥalqah* reserve corps.

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None of this satisfied him so that he alleged/disclosed *(anhá)* to al-Malik al-Ẓāhir that in al-Tāj fornication *(fawāḥish)* and horrendous acts *(umūr ʻaẓīmah)* were occurring on the part of the observers/spectators *(mutafarrijīn).* Its demolition [therefore] would be highly meritorious *(min akbar al-maṣāliḥ).* There was no truth to his speech. For indeed, this site was one of the loveliest buildings in Miṣr and the most respectable *(anzahuhā)*. As for the shaykh Ḥaydar who was dwelling there, he was one of the worthiest of people, religious, pious, and righteous *(ʻiffah).* He was among those of whom supplications were solicited. A mihrab had been built there [or he did so] and was called none other than the *zāwiyah*.

line 14: Altogether *(bi-al-jumlah),* the Tāj was one of the handsomest [of structures] in the world. It was one of the old buildings near Kawm al-Rīsh outside Cairo. Its structure had deteriorated [literally, disrupted, *tasha''aba*] and it was demolished. Al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, may God praise him, restored it, and spent on it [literally, indemnified it, *gharama ʻalayhi*] approximately 20,000 dinars. He descended to it from the Citadel several times. He resided there and held a review *(khidmah)* there. He wished to build up *(ʻamara)* its surroundings, and his desire was fulfilled [literally, Fortune overtook him, *adrakathu al-manīyah*]. Then, when al-Malik al-Ashraf Barsbāy was enthroned, he established this Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥaydar al-Rifāʻī and his brotherhood [there]. He [Barsbāy] granted him a stipend *(rizqah)* near to it. The aforementioned Ḥaydar dwelled there some thirty years. There was a firm friendship *(ṣuḥbah akīdah)* between me and him. He was among the singular *(al-afrād)* in his qualities *(maʻanāhu)*—religious, decent, upright *(ʻafīfan)* in what the riffraff of Persians [Sufis?] *(awbāsh al-ʻajam)* cast at him. May God the All-High have mercy on him.

line 22: When al-Malik al-Ẓāhir heard this Muḥammad's speech, he believed it and ordered its [the belvedere's] demolition. This Muḥammad supervised its razing and appropriated *(istawlá)* all its debris/material, which he sold—an exorbitant quantity *(bi-jumal mustaktharah)* of stones, wood, windows *(shabābīk)* of iron, and [many] other items, impossible to calculate *(la tudkhalu taḥt ḥaṣr).* The aforementioned al-Tāj became a ruin of the mendicants *(kharāb al-fuqarā')*. He [Muḥammad] was not satisfied with the demolition of al-Tāj until he built with some of its debris *(anqāḍihi)* a locality *(mawḍiʻan)* on the Hill of the New Quarter *(kawm al-qanṭarah al-jadīdah),* which the commons named the wanton *(al-makhlūʻah).* Hashish users and depraved ones repaired to it. All the people were sorrowed by the demolition of the aforementioned al-Tāj—to the extreme.

p. 502, line 1: The appearance *(hay'ah)* of this Muḥammad: he was a tall man, long of beard *(liḥyah)* and mustaches *(shawārib),* reckless *(ahwaj)* in his speech.

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As for his dress, he wore on his head a piece of cloth *(shāsh)* like the common marketeers. He wore a mantle *(thiyāb)* with wide sleeves *(akmām kubār),* in the guise of the Bedouin *(ʻarab)* of al-Buḥayrah. He rode on a saddle of Bedouin type, in the style of the Arabs also. Then, on some occasions he held in his hand a bird of prey *(ṭayr al-jawāriḥ)* [falcon]. He walked in the streets in this guise. When one looked at him, one did not recognize him due to the changeability of his bearing *(amrihi)* and varied costume. His demeanor was repulsive and ridiculous/comical *(muhawwilah muḍḥikah)*. All that [indicating] one of the trivial of mind *(khiffat al-ʻaql),* [proof that] insanity appears in diverse forms *(wa-al-junūn funūn)*. He continued in this way until al-Malik al-Ashraf Īnāl became sultan. He stripped him of his officer´s rank and forbade him the [office of] amir audiencer *(shakkārīyah)*. His status *(amruhu)* began to diminish until the daughter of al-Mu'ayyad denounced/brought suit against him. She demanded of him the price/value of what he had sold of the material from al-Tāj. He remained in custody for several days and yielded up some money—less than 1,000 dinars. Then he fled, where no one knew, until the time when she expired. Some days later he reappeared and took to his house.

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APPENDIX II: AUTHOR OF THE SOURCE

Ibn Taghrībirdī (813–74/1411–69) was an admiring, but on occasion critical, disciple of the eminent historian al-Maqrīzī. Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf stood in awe of his mentor′s formidable intellect and moral integrity. Yet he was aware of al-Maqrīzī′s inner turmoil over ideological controversies, and endemic bitterness over his stalled career. Ibn Taghrībirdī appreciated the effect such emotions could have on his predecessor′s depiction of events. More relevant to issues at hand, he applied this realization to his own scholarship.

Ibn Taghrībirdī envisioned his second historiographical work, in which the preceding incident was discerned, as an extension of the detailed coverage and rigors of analysis maintained by al-Maqrīzī. *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr* (Episodes of the epoch that pass in days and months) begins where al-Maqrīzī′s *Kitāb al-Sulūk* left off, with the year 845/1441. It continues to 873/1469. More compact chronologically than its predecessor, the *Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* the *Ḥawādith* deals with events contemporaneous to its author. It focuses almost exclusively on incidents in Cairo. Although intrigues in the sultanic court loom with predictable prominence, the *Ḥawādith* offers myriad glimpses of life in the city′s teeming streets. Crimes committed at all levels of society, from members of the sultan′s household to unruly gangs of urban riffraff or *zu‘ar,* are reported frequently, their depiction marked by the sobriety and thoroughness characteristic of al-Maqrīzī′s methodology. Ibn Taghrībirdī rarely let an incident pass without comment on motives, often followed by condemnation of moral laxity or falsification of evidence. Ibn Taghrībirdī did not confine his castigations to the lower orders. He reserved his intense vituperations for those at the apex of the ruling class. As a *walad nās* and son of a former amir, Ibn Taghrībirdī exploited his connections at court to fulminate against the excesses of its most exalted residents. His descriptions of their crimes were among the most gripping narratives noted in these texts. Overall, the *Ḥawādith* ranked among the most productive sources consulted for the larger study. The appearance of the preceding case is therefore consistent with the author′s objectives.

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The Making of a Sufi: al-Nuwayrī´s Account of the Origin of Genghis Khan

Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333), an administrator and historian in the reign of the Bahri Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (r. 693–94/1293–94, 698–708/1299–1309, 709–41/1310–41), authored the monumental encyclopedia and history entitled *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* between the years 714/1314 and 731/1330.[1] The fifth book of al-Nuwayrī´s gigantic work contains his dynastic histories, including a significant section on the history of the Mongols.[2] Reuven Amitai noted that this section on the Mongols has been largely overlooked by historians, describing it as *"terra incognita* for virtually all scholars of the Mongol Empire in general."[3] Amitai selects six episodes in al-Nuwayrī´s history of the Mongols to evaluate, comparing them briefly with other source materials. Among the six episodes is the account of the rise of Genghis Khan.

Al-Nuwayrī introduces his section on the Mongols by stating that he has gleaned his information from multiple sources, two of which are written histories: al-Nasawī´s (d. 638/1241) *Sīrat al-Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Mankubirtī*[4] and Ibn al-Athīr´s (d. 630/1233) *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*.[5] In addition to these, he claims to have compiled other information "which was transmitted to us by their envoys who arrived at our rulers´ court from their direction, and others who came from their land."[6] Amitai notes that the account of Genghis Khan´s rise to prominence is not found in either of the written sources and therefore appears to have been an

[1]M. Chapoutot-Remadi, "Al-Nuwayrī," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 8:158.

[2]Volume 27 of the edition contains the dynastic history of the Mongols and is the source for this article. See Aḥmad ibn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* vol. 27, ed. Saʻīd ʻĀshūr (Cairo, 1975), 300–420.

[3]Reuven Amitai, "Al-Nuwayrī as a Historian of the Mongols," in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800),* ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden, 2001), 25.

[4]See al-Nasawī, *Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankobirti, prince du Kharezm,* ed. Octave V. Houdas (Paris, 1891–95).

[5]See Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh,* ed. ʻUmar ʻAbd al-Salīm Tadmurī (Beirut, 1997).

[6]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 27:300; cf. translation in Amitai, "Al-Nuwayrī," 27, and Chapoutot-Remadi, "Al-Nuwayrī," 159.

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addition of al-Nuwayrī.[7] Amitai has correctly evaluated this passage as apocryphal; however, he appears to have misinterpreted the historiographical intent of the episode. He has read the account as an attempt to describe Genghis Khan's Mongolian nomadic origins. This, however, does not seem to be the paradigm within which al-Nuwayrī is working. On the contrary, as will be shown below, this episode is apocryphal in the sense that it projects a fourteenth-century image of a Sufi ascetic upon the figure of Genghis Khan. It is from this perspective that al-Nuwayrī's account of the origin and rise of Genghis Khan is important, for it provides an example of Mamluk historiography concerning the history of the Mongols.

Al-Nuwayrī relates that Genghis Khan, early in his life, asked a Jew why Moses, Jesus, and Muḥammad had attained such an exalted station and great fame. The Jew replied by saying that they loved God and had consecrated themselves to him, and thus God granted them their exalted positions. Genghis Khan asked the Jew, "And if I love God and consecrate myself to him, will God give this to me?" The Jew said, "Yes, and I must also tell you that our books state that you will have a dynasty." So Genghis Khan left his work, which al-Nuwayrī says was a blacksmith, *ḥaddād,* for according to "their language" the *nisbah* Timurchi refers to the blacksmith,[8] and practiced asceticism, *tazahhada*. He withdrew from his people and his tribe and sought refuge in the mountain where he would eat those things which were permissible, *mubāḥāt*.

As a result of his ascetic practices, Genghis Khan's fame spread abroad. Groups from his tribe would go out to visit him but he would not speak with them. He would indicate to them to clap their hands. They would then say, "O God, O God, he is good" *(yā Allāh yā Allāh yakhshidir)*. They would continue this clapping and chanting while Genghis Khan danced.

Al-Nuwayrī closes this episode of Genghis Khan's life by mentioning that this practice was his routine with those who visited him. Even though he engaged in these practices, Genghis Khan is said to have not held to a particular religion or to have embraced a particular faith. Instead of affiliating with a religion, he devoted himself solely to the love of God *(maḥabbat Allāh)*. He dwelt in this state of isolation from his society as long as God desired for him to remain so.

The above episode presents multiple challenges for the interpreter. Amitai perceives that al-Nuwayrī's addition of this episode is intended to portray the Turkish and shamanistic roots of Genghis Khan. He states that this passage "appears to reflect several motifs in early Mongolian imperial history and culture."[9] While

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[7]Amitai, "Al-Nuwayrī," 27.

[8]وقد اختلف في نسبة جنكزخان الى التمرجى فقال قوم إنه كان حدادا والتمرجى بلغتهم هو الحداد (Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 27:301).

[9]Amitai, "Al-Nuwayrī," 28.

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some of the elements of the account could be understood in this manner, the preponderance of evidence indicates that al-Nuwayrī′s objective is not to write the story of the rise of Genghis Khan according to ″Mongolian imperial history and culture″ but instead to strike him in the mold of a Sufi ascetic who manifests an honest spiritual desire for God in spite of his non-Islamic heritage. By doing so, al-Nuwayrī may be offering nominal religious justification for the success of Genghis Khan and the Mongols. This episode, therefore, must be interpreted in light of the Sufi terminology and themes evident within the account.

From the outset, al-Nuwayrī attempts to formulate the rise of Genghis Khan according to traditional motifs as indicated in his conversation with the Jew. The fact that Genghis Khan is made to ask about the success of Moses, Jesus, and Muḥammad establishes a foundation for the religious tropes that pervade the episode. Firstly, the importance of these figures within the Islamic tradition, they being the primary figures of their respective religious traditions of which Islam is the culmination, is undeniable. By placing the names of the primary figures of this monotheistic continuum on the lips of Genghis Khan, al-Nuwayrī attests to Genghis Khan′s awareness of these men and his recognition of their superiority in the history of mankind. Amitai understands the reference to these religious figures as ″an expression of the equanimity which the Mongols showed to different religions, what some scholars have called ′religious tolerance.′″[10] It is more likely, however, that the presence of these men in the account is an attempt to affiliate Genghis Khan with these men and to present him as a sympathetic, if not enthusiastic, seeker of the divine sanction enjoyed by these leaders. In fact, this reading of the encounter is confirmed later by his question to the Jew, ″And if I love God and consecrate myself to him, will God give this [exalted station] to me?″

Moreover, the fact that Genghis Khan′s discussant is a Jew and not a Christian or Muslim, and that this Jew mentions that his book refers to Genghis Khan and his future success, is most obviously an allusion to the Muslim claim that there are references to Muḥammad in the previous scriptures. In this regard, Amitai has adroitly assessed the text, ″we may have here an echo of Muslim claims that the Jews had in their bible passages referring to the appearance of the prophet Muḥammad.″[11] Later, Amitai implies that the reference to the future success of Genghis Khan as the leader of an empire is ″an echo of the heavenly mandate to rule the world which Chingiss Khan and his descendants claimed.″[12] Yet this text should not be read as a justification of Mongol power in the sense of validating belief in the heavenly mandate, but as an explanation to a Muslim community of

[10]Ibid.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid, 28–29.

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the reasons for the rise of these infidels.[13] Thus, these statements are not intended to reflect Mongol imperial ideology but to explain the great success of the Mongols to the Muslim community. Additionally, the inclusion of divine sanction upon the progenitor of the Mongol empire may reflect an indictment by al-Nuwayrī of his masters, the Mamluks. By stating that Genghis Khan enjoyed a degree of heavenly approval, our author may be implying that the rise of the Mongols is a divine judgment upon the decadence of the current Mamluk ruling elite. In any case, it is clear that from the beginning of this episode al-Nuwayrī´s intention is to portray Genghis Khan in terms that would be understandable to his Muslim audience. His interest in the major figures of the monotheistic tradition is inserted to indicate a seminal affinity for Islam and its history.

After establishing this religio-ideological connection between Genghis Khan and the Islamic tradition, al-Nuwayrī proceeds to describe Genghis Khan´s pursuit of God and those blessings that have been prophesied for him in manifestly Sufi terminology. He states that Genghis Khan practiced asceticism, *tazahhada,* utilizing a term that by the fourteenth century was employed with its technical meaning for the practice of Sufi orders.[14] As evidence of his ascetic pursuits, Genghis Khan withdrew from society and dwelt in the mountains. Once again, the insertion of this act conjures up a Sufi motif of the denial of the world with its concomitant isolation from society. In addition, al-Nuwayrī states that Genghis Khan ate food that was permissible according to Islamic law *(mubāḥāt)*.[15] By attributing to Genghis Khan foods that were acceptable, al-Nuwayrī affirms that Genghis Khan, though not a Muslim in the truest sense of the term, lived according to the strictures of Islamic law and thus did not defile himself by eating forbidden foods.

Al-Nuwayrī then relates one of the more interesting aspects of this episode. He states that Genghis Khan´s fame spread abroad and that people from his tribe would travel to the mountains to visit him. When they arrived, Genghis Khan would not speak to them, *fa-lā yukallimuhum*. Instead he would indicate to them to clap their hands together and to chant, ″O God, O God, he is good,″ *wa-yushīru*

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[13]The justification of foreign domination over Muslim lands was not uncommon in the literary productions of the Mamluk period as indicated by Ibn al-Nafīs' *Al-Risālah al-Kāmilīyah*. See Remke Kruk, "History and Apocalypse: Ibn al-Nafīs' Justification of Mamluk Rule," *Der Islam* 72, no. 2 (1995): 324–37.

[14]For a medieval discussion of the terms *zuhd* and *taṣawwuf* and their use as both general terms referring to asceticism in the early period of Islam and in connection to organized Sufi orders in the medieval period, see Ibn al-Jawzī's *Kitāb Ṣifat al-Ṣafwah* (Hyderabad, 1968), 1:4.

[15]For discussions on foods that are permissible and forbidden and the variations within the different sects of Islam, see M. Rodinson, "Ghidhā'," *EI*^{2}, 2:1057–72, and C. Pellat, "Ḥayawān," *EI*^{2}, 3:304–9.

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ilayhim an yuṣaffiqū bi-akuffihim wa-yaqūlū: yā Allāh yā Allāh yakhshidir.[16] Al-Nuwayrī says that his visitors would perform this act for him while he danced, *fa-yaf'alūna dhalika wa-yuwaqqa'ūna lahu wa-huwa yarquṣu.*[17] It seems clear that al-Nuwayrī is describing a Sufi *dhikr* and projecting this form of spiritual devotion back onto Genghis Khan. The assembly of a crowd clapping their hands and chanting while Genghis Khan danced is certainly indicative of Sufi practice and, contrary to Amitai, should not be interpreted as ″some type of shamanistic ritual.″[18] Amitai states, ″it is known that Chinggis Khan himself had acted in a shamanist capacity early in his career, although apparently not in such a demonstrative capacity.″[19] Here, Amitai notes the unusual nature of this episode when compared to the traditional view of Genghis Khan′s early shamanistic tendencies but fails to recognize that this episode is not intended to be descriptive of Genghis Khan′s shamanism but of fourteenth-century Sufism.

When the text is interpreted according to a proper understanding of al-Nuwayrī′s historiography, other unusual aspects of the text become clearer. This is the case with the *dhikr* that is chanted by the tribal members.[20] The repetition of the phrase *yā Allāh* presents no interpretative challenges. However, the ensuing phrase is of particular interest. Amitai interprets this phrase by editing the text and claiming that the word *yakhshī* should be read *bakhshī*, a reference to a Buddhist lama.[21] He includes a transliteration of the root of this word in his footnotes but dismisses it as incorrect.[22] He implies that since the term *bakhshī* is used among later pro-Mongolian sources its inclusion in the text indicates that al-Nuwayrī was drawing his information from later sources.[23] However, he does not address the significance or meaning of the *d-r* which follows *yakhshī*. By failing to recognize al-Nuwayrī′s objectives in this episode, Amitai has confused the meaning of this phrase.

The phrase *y-kh-sh-y-d-r* must be read as a Turkish phrase meaning, ″he is good.″[24] The phrase cannot be read correctly in Arabic without the addition of an *alif* as a seat for the *tanwīn fatḥah* after the *d-r*, which would make the word *darr* function grammatically in the accusative, *mansūb*. This addition would allow for

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[16]The Arabic text reads: يشير إليهم أن يصفقوا بأكفهم، ويقولوا: يا الله يا الله يخشى در (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 27:302).

[17]The Arabic text reads: فيفعلون ذلك ويوقعون له وهو يرقص (ibid.).

[18]Amitai, "Al-Nuwayrī," 28.

[19] Ibid.

[20]The Arabic text reads: يا الله يا الله يخشى در (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 27:302).

[21]On the meaning of the term *bakhshī,* see P. Jackson, "Bakšī," *Encyclopaedia Iranica,* 3:535–36.

[22]See Amitai, "Al-Nuwayrī," 28, n. 20.

[23]Amitai, "Al-Nuwayrī," 29; Jackson, "Bakšī," 3:535–36.

[24]See Sir James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish-English Lexicon,* 2199.

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the possible reading of *yakhshá darran,* meaning ″he fears bounty.″[25] While this reading could support the thematic emphasis upon asceticism, it does not incorporate the true sense of the phrase as is contained by rendering it in Turkish. In addition, a Turkish reading would seem to indicate that the phrase is used in reference to God in contrast to Amitai′s edition of the text which places the focus upon Genghis Khan as the *bakhshī.* As a result, when read as a Turkish phrase, it carries a clear and obvious meaning and does not need to be edited away. It also functions extremely well in the general tenor of the passage by maintaining the connections to Sufi terminology and practice. Thus, when taken as a whole, this *dhikr* must be interpreted as al-Nuwayrī′s utilization of a Sufi ritual to describe the spiritual pursuits of Genghis Khan and as having no relation to Buddhist lamas or authentic shamanistic practices.

According to al-Nuwayrī, the *dhikr* in which Genghis Khan participated was his normal practice when people came to visit him. He describes it as part of ″his habit,″ *da'bahu,* and ″his manner,″ *ṭarīqatahu*. It is noteworthy that al-Nuwayrī reinforces the term *da'b* with a synonym, a practice common in Arabic literature, which could also be interpreted in a technical sense meaning a Sufi order, *ṭarīqah.*[26] He follows this by stating that Genghis Khan did not espouse a particular religion, *diyānah,* nor did he embrace a certain faith, *millah,* but rather he devoted himself solely to the love of God, *bal mujarrada maḥabbat Allāh*. He closes this episode in Genghis Khan′s life with the statement that he dwelt in this state as long as God desired for him to remain there.

This last section is carefully constructed by al-Nuwayrī. The passage would appear to have conjured up in the mind of a fourteenth-century reader the concrete images of traditional Sufi practices. The implication of course would be that one may draw the connection between these practices and Genghis Khan being a proto-Muslim, as Amitai has said, ″a sort of Chingissid hanifism.″[27] By emphasizing that Genghis Khan was not an adherent to any formal religion, al-Nuwayrī refutes any such interpretation from his readers that his practices indicate he was a Muslim. Yet at the same time, he does not disparage Genghis Khan for his faith. On the contrary, he commends him as a genuine seeker of God who had devoted himself to loving God in the manner in which he knew how. Sufi asceticism seems to have offered al-Nuwayrī the most logical template from which to construct such an image of the great Mongol ruler.

The fact that this incident in the life of Genghis Khan has not yet been located

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[25]The term *darr* literally means "milk" though by extension it carries the connotation of "wealth," "beneficence," "bounty," etc. See Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon,* 3:863.

[26]See E. Geoffroy, "Ṭarīḳa," *EI*^{2}, 10:243–46.

[27]Amitai, "Al-Nuwayrī," 29.

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in other sources and that it therefore may very well have been a construct of al-Nuwayrī´s literary mind should not lead one to demean his *Nihāyah* as an historical source. Al-Nuwayrī himself states that his work is not solely a work of history but it also a literary work: ″our work is not based on history only; it is a book of *adab*.″[28] As a result, the inclusion of fictional accounts such as the above account of the early life of Genghis Khan should be understood as one component of al-Nuwayrī´s work. In this case, the lack of information for the rise of one of the great conquerors of the world lies as a *tabula rasa* for an inquisitive mind and prolific writer of the stature of al-Nuwayrī. Therefore, accounts of this nature must be studied not for their value as accurate history nor as a description of the apocryphal histories of those Mongols with whom al-Nuwayrī came in contact, but as a reflection of the historiography of the author and of the current status of affairs in fourteenth-century Cairo. This apparently fictional account can consequently be interpreted as a medieval template for the rise of a world conqueror. In other words, al-Nuwayrī´s account seems to indicate that truly epic figures in world history, such as Moses, Jesus, and Muḥammad, have all attained that position by virtue of a seminal form of submission and devotion to God demonstrated by a period of seclusion from the rest of civilization, a form of purging in preparation for the task at hand.

In addition, a thorough evaluation of this passage must consider its use as justification for the growing strength of and constant opposition of the Mongols on the borders of the Mamluk empire. Al-Nuwayrī´s history could be read as an attempt to justify the rise of an infidel army which has taken Baghdad, removed the caliph, and remains an ever-present threat to the existence of the Islamic world. An apocalyptic reading of this section could easily accommodate the religious aspects of Genghis Khan´s early life by revealing a degree of divine sanction upon the leader which could, at the very least, offer a theological justification for this growing threat. Other texts of Mamluk Egypt, such as Ibn Nafīs´ *Al-Risālah al-Kāmilīyah,* appear also to use apocalyptic motifs to justify the rise and eventual fall of the Mamluk sultanate. This passage, therefore, may be the initial piece in al-Nuwayrī´s attempt to describe the Mongols as tools in the hand of God for correcting the failures of the current leaders of the Islamic empire. As an influential administrator in the Mamluk sultanate, al-Nuwayrī may not have felt capable of directly confronting the Mamluk regime. While as a religious scholar intimately connected with both the ulama and the Sufis, he may be explaining the reasons for the rise of the Mongols and the ultimate fall of the Mamluks.[29]

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[28]Chapoutot-Remadi, "Al-Nuwayrī," 159.

[29]M. Chapoutot-Remadi described al-Nuwayrī as being "acquainted with Ṣūfī *shaykhs*." These connections may have influenced his fictionalization of Genghis Khan's origins. M. Chapoutot-

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The above analysis of this passage in al-Nuwayrī´s history of the Mongols has revealed that our author has not attempted to present an accurate account of the rise of Genghis Khan but has attempted to create out of the great leader a man who, from his earliest years, had spiritual desires and pursuits. For an Egyptian writer in fourteenth-century Cairo who was most definitely familiar with and quite possibly directly affiliated with Sufi practices, the most logical model for expressing these character traits seems to have been that of a Sufi mystic. Amitai is correct in viewing this section as important for historians of the Mongol empire. Yet, it does not appear to be beneficial as a projection of Mongol imperial ideology but rather as an expression of how the Mongols were viewed by the Mamluk Sultanate and, quite possibly, of how a powerful insider within the Mamluk administration may have utilized a work of history as an indictment of his patrons.

Remadi, "Al-Nuwayrī," 158.

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Hani Hamza

The Turbah of Tankizbughā

Turbah: A New Interpretation

The *turbah* developed in the Mamluk period from a simple tomb or mausoleum into an independent multifunctional complex consisting of several architectural units. The building of large *turbah*s became widespread and popular due to the vital role they played in Mamluk society. The *turbah* not only provided a place for burial and tomb visitation, but also became a focal point for many other activities. Religiously, it served as a place for worship, the reading of the Quran and hadith, and Sufi rituals such as *dhikr* and *ḥuḍūr*. On the social level it was the venue for charitable and philanthropic acts serving the community by providing free water, food, clothing, and education for orphan children. Politically, it served as a monument for the commemoration of the Mamluk elite, a phenomenon hitherto reserved only for the Prophet, his family and companions, and other religious figures. Such commemoration of the elite was justified on the grounds that they served to protect Islam against attack, while at the same time upholding Sunnism and the shari'ah internally. Finally, the *turbah* served an important economic function through the institution of *waqf,* a means of transmitting wealth and protecting it from the threat of confiscation. This was particularly important in a society known for meteoric changes in the fortunes of the elite, which often led to the seizure of private property by those in power.

The architectural form of the *turbah* reflected these functions, and thus consisted of several units. These included a courtyard as a burial place for the founder´s dependents; a grand portal which sometimes included a minaret; a dome and a *maqṣūrah* (pavilion) for burial of the founder and other religious rituals; and often a *sabīl* (public fountain) and *kuttāb* (elementary Quranic school) which served charitable functions. A residential section and the *maq'ad* (loggia) provided the setting for tomb visitation and served as living quarters for the *turbah* residents.

The *turbah* of Tankizbughā is a prime example of such a multi-functional building complex, as will be shown in the present article.[1] The remains of Turbat Tankizbughā,[2] known also as Tankizīyah, are located in the south-east of the

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[1]This new interpretation of the *turbah* and most of the research here were part of my unpublished Ph.D. dissertation presented to the Faculty of Archaeology of Cairo University in January 2004.

[2]Survey of Egypt, *Index to Mohammedan Monuments in Cairo* (Cairo, 1951), 85, 764/1362. Many contemporary sources refer to it as a *khānqāh* but I will refer to it as a *turbah* in line with the foundation inscription.

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Northern Cemetery outside its boundaries on an outcrop at the foot of the Muqaṭṭam Hill. Early photos taken at the beginning of the twentieth century show it as a solitary building in a deserted area (fig. 2). Today it is completely surrounded by the buildings and workshops of the slum of Manshi'at Nāṣir that sprang up at the beginning of the 1970s.

The significance of this *turbah* lies in its unique plan and architectural features as well as the ambiguity of its function. The plan is unusual for having a dome in the middle of an *īwān* and two side enclosures which were added to the *turbah* proper at a later date. The presence of a large minaret and the combination of innovative decorative methods on the dome and the minaret are in contrast with the traditional zones of transition and the upper part of the minaret. The building site is curious and its functions are not clear; in addition to its isolated location we do not know who was buried there, or if it was a *khānqāh* as well as a *turbah*. It could also have been used for military and surveillance purposes. Who completed the building after the early death of the founder and why?

Date and Founder

The foundation inscription that flanks the portal reads as follows:

> Bismillāh . . . this blessed *turbah* is constructed by the order of the poor slave of God almighty Tankizbughā *amīr majlis al-aḥkām,* may God surround him with his mercy on the date of Rabī' I, the year 764.[3]

In spite of its brevity, the inscription provides all the data we need to date and identify the building. We learn the name of the founder was Tankizbughā[4] and that he served as *amīr majlis*.[5] The request for the mercy *(raḥmah)* of God for the founder indicates that the monument was built or at least finished after his death. It gives the date of foundation as Rabī' I 764/1362–63. Most importantly, it defines the building as a *turbah,* a distinct architectural form.

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[3]Max Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum: Égypte* (Paris, 1894–1903), 1:273.

[4]It consists of two parts: Tankiz, which means ″sea″ in Turkish, and Bughā, which means ″bull″ and can connote ″big″ or ″strong.″ See: J. Sauvaget, ″Noms et Surnoms de Mamlouks,″ *Journal Asiatique* 238 (1950): 45.

[5]Amir of the council chamber, which was one of the highest positions in the Mamluk hierarchy. His functions were to guard and supervise the sultan′s council chamber, as well as to control and direct the court′s physicians, surgeons, and oculists. See: William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382–1468 A.D.: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrîbirdî′s Chronicles of Egypt* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1955–57), 16:92.

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WHO WAS TANKIZBUGHĀ?

Amir Tankizbughā Sayf al-Dīn ibn ʻAbd Allāh al-Mārdīnī was *shādd al-sharābkhānah* (superintendent of the buttery or store of the court potables)[6] during the first reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (748–52/1347–51).[7] He was one the sultan´s favorites and became amir of the first rank in the second reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan. He was appointed *amīr majlis* in 758/1357[8] and was married to the sultan´s sister.[9] Tankizbughā was appointed *nā'ib al-shām* but he refused the appointment. He fell sick and died shortly afterwards in Ramaḍān 759/1358. He was one of the state elite, known to be wise, shrewd, and efficient.[10] Yalbughā al-ʻUmarī succeeded Tankizbughā as *amīr majlis* and received his *iqṭāʻ*.[11]

Tankizbughā died in 759/1358, four years before the date of the foundation inscription. Who financed and completed the construction of this large monument? Was it his wife, the sultan´s sister, or his successor Yalbughā al-ʻUmarī? The contemporary sources did not deal with this issue, but we will come back to this point at the end of this article.

DESCRIPTION OF THE *TURBAH*

The *turbah* plan is a rough rectangular figure (fig. 1) with two parallel sides to the east and west and the two other longer sides to the north and south. It consists of six parts: the portal and minaret, the residential area (both occupying the main western façade), a courtyard *(ḥawsh)* behind the residential area, a large *qiblah īwān* to the east, a dome within the *īwān,* and what I will call a *ziyādah* occupying the north and south sides of the *turbah*. A *ziyādah* is an enclosure or space added around a mosque, serving a function complementary to the main function of the mosque.

The portal and the minaret occupy the southwest corner of the *turbah* and are

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[6]Ibid., 95.

[7]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʻyān al-Miʼah al-Thāminah* (Beirut, n.d.), 1:520.

[8]Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* vols. 1–2, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1958); vols. 3–4, ed. Saʻīd ʻAbd al-Fattāḥ ʻĀshūr (Cairo, 1972), 3:35.

[9]Ibid., 3:45.

[10]Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*, vols. 1–12 (Cairo, 1929–56); vols. 13–14, ed. Fahīm Shaltūt (Cairo, 1970); vol. 15, ed. Ibrāhīm ʻAlī Tarkhān (Cairo, 1971); vol. 16, ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl and Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Cairo, 1972), 10:331.

[11]Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʼiʻ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1982–84), 1:1:568.

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made of bare stone. The portal has a pointed arched recess containing the only entrance to the *turbah,* rectangular in shape and flanked by two stone benches *(maksalah).* The foundation inscription is written above it, and below a rectangular window. A roofless vestibule *(dirkah)* lies behind the entrance and is now filled completely with rubbish and debris (fig. 3). The northern wall of the vestibule has an arched doorway which leads into the adjacent residential area. The eastern wall, opposite the entrance, is completely covered by debris. However, Christel Kessler´s plan, which I consulted at the Rare Books and Special Collections Library of the American University in Cairo, shows a door leading to a chamber, now completely hidden under the debris (fig. 4). The northern and eastern walls of the first story of the minaret occupy the south side of the vestibule.

The stone minaret is composed of a square shaft and an octagonal pavilion *(jawsaq)*. The stonework of the minaret and portal walls is integrated. There is an obvious gap between the minaret walls and the adjacent wall of the southern *ziyādah.* The square part of the minaret consists of two stories with an internal spiral staircase leading to the pavilion. The lower story is the same height as the portal. The main entrance of the minaret is at the eastern wall and there is an arrow slit in the southern wall. The upper story has an opening at the eastern side overlooking the inside of the *turbah,* most probably intended for the call to prayer *(adhān),* and an arrow slit at the north wall for lighting and ventilation of the staircase. The remaining walls of the minaret are solid with no openings or ornamentation.

The top of the square section is a platform with *muqarnas* (squinches) supporting the octagonal pavilion which has arched windows on all the eight sides except the eastern side, where the entrance to the pavilion is located. It is topped by a *mabkharah,* the latest example of its kind.[12] The *mabkharah* rests on a platform with three tiers of *muqarnas* and a peculiar stone motif consisting of protruding triangles forming a saw-tooth pattern.[13] The height of the minaret and the fact that the *turbah* is built on high ground allows a wide view of the surrounding area and the towers of the Citadel, a point that will be discussed.

The minaret has an octagonal band under the *mabkharah* with an inscription of Quran 24:37, ending with ″for the remembrance of Allah″ *(‘an dhikr Allāh)*.[14]

The residential quarters (figs. 9 and 10) lie to the north of the portal and can

[12]Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Minarets of Cairo* (Cairo, 1985), 101.

[13]A similar motif appears earlier at the top of the transition zone of the dome of Tankizbughā (*Index* 298, 760/1359).

[14]Bernard O´Kane, *Documentation of the Inscriptions in the Historic Zone in Cairo, Prepared for the Egyptian Antiquities Project of the American Research Center in Egypt, Inc. (ARCE)* (forthcoming), inscription no. 85.5.

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be entered through the door at the portal vestibule which leads to a stone cross-vaulted vestibule with two recesses in the western and northern walls and a door at the eastern wall. The door leads to a roofless passage parallel to the façade and to another door leading to the courtyard *(ḥawsh).*

This roofless passage divides the residential area into two parts. The western part has the remains of five vaulted cells (fig. 9) (the northern three have a long narrow window similar to an arrow slit for lighting and ventilation) and the eastern part has the remains of walls of several rooms which are now covered under layers of debris. The northern side of the residential part has a two-storied wall with a window at each floor overlooking the area to the north of the *turbah*. We can conclude that it consisted of two apartments *(riwāq)*.

The passage´s eastern door leads to the courtyard which is an open rectangular area (fig. 5). A water well is now hidden under debris. The courtyard´s ground level is the same as that of the residential area.

A large roofless *īwān* (a space enclosed on three sides) lies at the eastern side of the courtyard (fig. 7); the *īwān´*s ground level is slightly higher than that of the courtyard. The *īwān* walls are thick, made up of rubble lined by dressed stone on both sides. The outer side of the eastern wall is the eastern façade of the *turbah,* now overlooking a street with modest modern buildings and workshops. The outer wall is smoothed with no decoration and reveals the outward projection of the mihrab. The other two sides probably overlooked the area around the *turbah* before the addition of the two *ziyādah*s, the walls of which are thinner and of a different material than that of the *īwān,* which indicates that they were built at different dates.

The inner eastern *(qiblah)* wall of the *īwān* has a mihrab in its middle (fig. 6). The mihrab consists of a semi-cylindrical niche flanked by two engaged columns, now lost, and a conch in the form of a semi-dome with a pointed arch profile. The conch has two layers of *muqarnas* at the base and a ribbed shell-like motif on top. It is covered by plaster painted with arabesque designs obviously added at a later stage.

The *īwān* walls are all covered by smooth plaster and have no decoration. There is a slightly recessed horizontal band running around the three sides of the *īwān*. The band is of the same width as the first layer of *muqarnas* on the mihrab and at the same level. The recessed band has nail holes indicating that the band once bore wooden panels, probably with inscriptions, which have disappeared. The *īwān* is roofless at present but it could well have had a wooden roof that was dismantled when the dome was built.

A stone domed cube stands in the middle of the *īwān* (fig. 7); its east-west axis passes through the mihrab at the eastern wall of the *īwān*. The dome consists of the three traditional sides of a cubic base, transitional zone, and domed roof.

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The cubic base has four thick walls with the same height as the walls of the *īwān* and is of the open type (canopy),[15] as each of its four walls has a large pointed arched opening. The inside and outside walls of the cube are smooth with no decoration or recesses. An inscription runs along the top part of the four walls of the cube. It begins with Quran 2:255–56, and then reads, ″This blessed dome was completed on the first of the month of Rabī‘ I in the year 764/19 December 1362.″[16]

The transition zone on the inside (fig. 8) is octagonal consisting of four corner *muqarnas* alternating with four recesses, each with two windows in a horseshoe arch. The transition zone thus transforms the square shape of the cube into the cylindrical base carrying the dome roof. The lower part of the base has eight keel-arched windows. Above these is an inscription of Quran 3:191–92.[17]

The outer transition zone is simple, consisting of a square base supporting the octagonal transition zone with eight openings corresponding to the inner windows mentioned above. The outside of the cylindrical base of the dome consists of two parts; the lower part has eight keel-arched openings corresponding to the eight inner windows alternating with eight similar blind keel arches. The upper part features an inscription of Quran 2:255–56 and 258, ending with ″each one who believes in Allah″ *(kull man āmin billāh).*[18]

The roof has the typical Mamluk keel-arched profile, bare on the inside except for an inscription of Quran 3:190–93. Verse 3:193 is not complete and ends with ″Believe you in your Lord, so we believed″ *(an āminū bi-rabbikum fa-āmannā).* The dome apex has a circular Quranic inscription which starts with the continuation of verse 3:193 mentioned earlier, reading ″Our Lord! Therefore forgive us″ *(rabbanā fa-ighfir lanā),* and verse 3:194 until ″by thy messengers″ *(‘alá rusulika).*[19]

The most striking feature of the dome is the outer ribbing of the roof which was an innovation in its time, where convex ribs alternated with concave flutings.[20]

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[15]The open-type domes are not common in Mamluk Cairo. We know of only two other examples. One is the dome built by al-Ashraf Barsbāy for his brother Yashbak (d. 833/1429) at his *turbah* in the Northern Cemetery (*Index* 121, 835/1432). The other is that of Ilbāz al-Ashhab built at the rear courtyard of the *turbah* of Khayrbik in Bāb al-Wazīr street (*Index* 248, 908/1502–3), which has an octagonal plan rather than the traditional square plan.

[16]O′Kane, *Documentation of the Inscriptions in the Historic Zone in Cairo,* inscription no. 85.1. The Quranic verses are quoted from the monument′s file no. 85 at the archives of the Supreme Council of Antiquities at the Citadel of Cairo.

[17]These verses are recorded in the monument′s file no. 85 at the archives of the Supreme Council of Antiquities at the Citadel of Cairo.

[18]O′Kane, *Documentation of the Inscriptions in the Historic Zone in Cairo,* inscription no. 85.4.

[19]Ibid., inscription no. 85.3.

[20]The same technique was used shortly before at the dome of the same Tankizbughā in the

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This technique adds an aesthetic impact created by the play of light and shade when light is reflected on the ribbed dome´s undulating surface.

The most controversial parts of the *turbah* are the enclosures flanking the central part of the *turbah* to the north and south which we will call *ziyādah* for reasons to be discussed shortly (fig. 11). These parts are obvious additions to the main part; they are made of different material, with obvious gaps at the points of contact with the outer walls of the central part.

The northern *ziyādah* is a rectangular enclosure adjacent to the *īwān* and the courtyard to the north. Its eastern wall is an extension, with a gap, of the eastern wall of the *īwān*.

The northern and western walls now constitute the outer walls of the *turbah*. The *ziyādah* has a large rectangular room to the east, adjacent to the *īwān*. The southern wall of this room is the north wall of the *īwān*. This room was barrel vaulted as indicated by its arched eastern wall and opens onto the courtyard through a door at the western wall. Without a *waqfīyah* or excavation it is hard to determine the function of the room. It is unlikely to have been a mosque since it has no mihrab.

The remaining part is covered up with debris. However, the upper part of a vaulted roof made of bricks protrudes from the debris. We can conclude therefore that this part consisted of windowless vaulted cells. We can distinguish the remains of a wall between the courtyard and the northern *ziyādah* that has since disappeared, giving the wrong impression that the *ziyādah* is an integral part of the *turbah* proper.

The walls of the southern *ziyādah* are also made of material different from that of the main part of the *turbah*. It is aligned with the stone façade of the *turbah* to the west and the *īwān* wall to the east, yet not integrated with either of them. The eastern part is an oblong enclosure with a recess at the short eastern side that could have served as a mihrab since the enclosure could well have been a mosque. The remaining part extends to the west adjacent to the courtyard and is totally covered by dirt and debris. Thus, without an excavation, any attempt to recreate a detailed plan or understand its function would be pure conjecture.

WHY *ZIYĀDAH*?

Generally speaking the term *ziyādah* traditionally denotes a space (roofed or open to the sky) added to a mosque, intended to serve a function different from the main function of the mosque.[21] The most famous *ziyādah*s outside Egypt were

Mamluk Qarāfah (*Index* 298, 760/1359). See C. Kessler, *The Carved Masonry Domes of Mediaeval Cairo* (Cairo, 1976), 9.

[21]Creswell limited the function of the *ziyādah* to isolating and sheltering the mosque from its surroundings. See: K. A. C. Creswell and J. Allan, *A Short Account of Early Moslem Architecture*

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found at the Great Mosque of Samarra (third/ninth century),[22] the mosque of Abū Dulaf (245/859–60), also in Samarra,[23] and the *ziyādah* added to the Great Mosque of Sūsah in Tunisia (236/850–51).[24] In Egypt several examples of *ziyādah*s are known but all vanished except that of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn. It is well known that the al-Azhar and al-Ḥākim mosques also had *ziyādah*s; however, the oldest *ziyādah* in Egypt was that of the Mosque of ʻAmr. We will discuss it here in more detail since it will help us to understand the *ziyādah* of Tankizbughā.

At the outset we have to distinguish between an addition or an extension and the *ziyādah* as defined above; for example the addition of an arcade *(riwāq),* a dome,[25] a mihrab, a *maqṣūrah,*[26] a minaret,[27] or even a madrasah[28] is not considered a *ziyādah* but an extension.

In the case of the mosque of Amr, the *ziyādah* does not refer to the extensive additions started by Musālamah ibn Mukhālad, the Umayyad governor of Egypt, in 53/672–73 and completed under ʻAbd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir, the Abbasid governor, in 212/827, which doubled the area of the original mosque built by ʻAmr.[29] Rather, we mean here the *raḥbah* that was suggested by Bernard O´Kane and was defined by al-Maqrīzī as a spacious area.[30] The Mamluk documents used the term *raḥbah* to mean a spacious area within a house, a mosque, or in front of a building,

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(Cairo, 1989), 395–96.

[22]Ibid., 361–62.

[23]Ibid., 369, 373.

[24]Ibid., 355.

[25]The most striking examples are the four arcades and the dome added to the courtyard *(ṣaḥn)* of the Azhar mosque by the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ during the years 524–44/1129–49. See ʻAbd al-Wahhāb Ḥasan, *Tārīkh al-Masājid al-Atharīyah* (Cairo, 1994), 51.

[26]The governor of Egypt, Qurrah ibn Sharīk, added a mihrab and a *maqṣūrah* to the mosque of ʻAmr on the orders of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd ibn ʻAbd al-Malik in 94/712. See: ibid., 24; Aḥmad Fikrī, *Masājid al-Qāhirah wa-Madārisuhā: al-Madkhal* (Cairo, 1961), 69.

[27]Musālamah ibn Mukhalad al-Anṣārī, governor of Egypt under the Umayyad Caliph Muʻāwiyah, added four minarets to the mosque of ʻAmr in 53/672. See: Fikrī, *Masājid al-Qāhirah,* 68. Two minarets were also added to al-Azhar mosque by the Mamluk sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy in 873/1468 and al-Ashraf Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in 915/1510.

[28]Three madrasahs were added to al-Azhar mosque; al-Ṭaybarṣīyah (*Index* 97, 709/1309), al-Aqbughāwīyah (*Index* 97, 740/1340), and al-Jawharīyah (*Index* 97, 844/1440).

[29]For details of such works refer to: Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat ʻIqd al-Amṣār* (Beirut, n.d.), 59–74; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1854), 2:247–50; ʻAbd al-Wahhāb, *Tārīkh al-Masājid al-Atharīyah,* 24–25; Fikrī, *Masājid al-Qāhirah,* 67–73.

[30]Bernard O´Kane, ″The Ziyada of the Mosque of Al-Hakim,″ in *L´Egypte fatimide: son art et son histoire,* ed. Marianne Barrucand (Paris, 1999).

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generally without a roof but sometimes totally or partially covered by a roof.[31] Since the *raḥbah*s in question have vanished, Bernard O´Kane depended mainly on al-Maqrīzī´s (d. 845/1442) account in his *Khiṭaṭ* and did not refer to Ibn Duqmāq´s (d. 809/1407)[32] account in his *Intiṣār*. Obviously, both of the Mamluk historians were quoting Ibn al-Mutawwaj (d. 730/1329–30), as acknowledged by al-Maqrīzī but not by Ibn Duqmāq. I will therefore use here Ibn Duqmāq´s *Intiṣār,* since it is the older and more detailed of the two accounts.

As a word of caution we should note that Ibn Duqmāq used the term *ziyādah* interchangeably to mean an extension as well as in the more restricted sense we outlined above. However, he uses the term *raḥbah* when he refers to the *ziyādah* in this strict sense rather than as an extension. Within his general description of the mosque, Ibn Duqmāq mentions specifically that the mosque had three *ziyādah*s at the western (opposite the qiblah) and southern façades of the mosque.[33]

The oldest of these was the *raḥbah* added to the south façade in 175/791–92 by Mūsá ibn ʻĪsá, the Abbasid governor of Egypt.[34] It had a door opening to the street and leading to the interior of the mosque, and was covered by a ceiling supported by fifteen columns.[35] It was designated for the court of the chief judge which convened there twice a week.[36]

The second *ziyādah* was built in 258/871–72 by Abū Ayyūb, the tax collector *(ṣāḥib al-kharāj)* for Ibn Ṭūlūn. It occupied the remaining part of the southern façade as an extension to the *raḥbah* of Mūsá.[37] It had two doors opening to the

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[31]Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Laila Ibrahim, *Architectural Terms in Mamluk Documents (648–923 H/1250–1517 M)* (Cairo, 1990), 53.

[32]Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʻ fī Aʻyān al-Qarn al-Tāsiʻ* (Beirut, 1966), 1:145; Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʻd al-Wāfī,* vols. 1–2, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1984); vol. 3, ed. Nabīl Muḥammad ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz (Cairo, 1989); vol. 4, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1986); vol. 5, ed. Nabīl Muḥammad ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz (Cairo, 1987); vol. 6, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1990); vol. 7, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1993); vol. 8, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1999); vol. 9, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 2002); vol. 10, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 2003); vol. 11, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 2005), 1:140. This date is also given by several other contemporary historians. However, al-Suyūṭī, the late Mamluk historian, mentions that Ibn Duqmāq died in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 790/1388: Jalāl al-Dīn ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah fī Akhbār Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*, ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr (Beirut, 1997), 1:454. See: J. Pedersen, ″Ibn Duḳmaḳ,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 3:756.

[33]Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Intiṣār,* 61.

[34]Ibid., 65.

[35]Ibid., 61.

[36]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:253.

[37]Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Intiṣār,* 66–67.

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street and two doors leading to the interior of the mosque. It was also covered by a ceiling supported by forty-two columns and divided into two sections. One section was assigned to the court of the Shafi'i judge and the other was assigned to the Maliki judge. Each section had its own mihrab flanked by two columns.[38]

The third *ziyādah* is the *raḥbah* occupying the northern part of the western façade, built by Ibn al-Ḥārith who became the chief judge of Egypt in 237/851–52. He built the *raḥbah* in the same year to give additional space for the congregation. It was also used for trading on Fridays.[39] It had three doors leading to the outside and two doors to the mosque interior. It was covered by a roof supported by twenty-four columns and a mihrab flanked by two columns.[40] Almost 120 years later, in 357/967–68, al-Khāzin added an arcade *(riwāq)* connected to the *raḥbah* of Ibn al-Ḥārith as an eastern extension.[41] This arcade is not considered a *ziyādah* in the strict sense, but as an extension to the mosque proper. Ibn Duqmāq described it as a *riwāq* and not as a *raḥbah,* as was the case in the three previous examples.[42]

We conclude from these accounts that a *ziyādah* could also be a roofed addition to the outer façades of a building in the form of a *raḥbah,* built at a later date than the original structure. Normally it could have doors (opening to the outside as well as to the inside of the building), windows, and mihrabs. The functions of the *ziyādah* are normally different from the functions of the building proper, as we have seen in the case of the three *ziyādah*s of the mosque of 'Amr outlined above. Obviously they were different from those of the mosque proper whose main functions were the Friday prayer, teaching, and housing the public treasury *(bayt al-māl)*.

The purpose of this long digression is to show that the features of the two enclosures added to the *turbah* of Tankizbughā are very similar to those of the three *ziyādah*s of the mosque of 'Amr. They were built after the *turbah* proper as evidenced by the obvious separation of the walls and the use of different construction materials. They take the form of roofed *raḥbah*s added along the external façade, with doors leading to the interior of the *turbah*. The only exception is that they do

[38]Ibid., 61.

[39]Ibid., 66.

[40]Ibid., 61.

[41]Ibid., 68.

[42]Bernard O'Kane mentions also *ziyādah*s for the mosque based on the account of al-Maqrīzī, who was quoting Ibn al-Muttawaj, but O'Kane combined the *raḥbah*s of Mūsá and Abū Ayyūb and considered them as a single *ziyādah* added to the western façade opposite the qiblah side. He also combined the *raḥbah* of al-Ḥārith with the arcade of al-Khāzin and considered them as the second *ziyādah* added to the southern façade of the mosque. He assumed therefore the presence of a third anonymous *ziyādah* added to the northern façade. See O'Kane, "The Ziyada of the Mosque of Al-Hakim," 153.

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not appear to have had doors opening to the outside like the *ziyādah*s of the mosque of Amr. This was no doubt for security reasons in what was then an isolated location that dictated the use of only one entrance to the *turbah*.

I therefore have called this part a *ziyādah*. Identifying a specific function for the *ziyādah*s of Tankizbughā, in the absence of *waqf* documents and with the highly dilapidated state of the *turbah,* would be sheer speculation. It suffices to say that it provided an additional space serving part of the functions of the *turbah,* as will be discussed later.

FUNCTIONS OF THE *TURBAH*

The main function of any *turbah* is to provide a burial place for the founder, and his family and dependents. The burial courtyard and the dome served this function but it is highly unlikely that the founder himself was buried here. The *turbah* proper and the dome in particular were finished, according to the foundation inscription, in Rabīʿ I 764/1362–63, while Tankizbughā had died four years earlier, in Ramaḍān 759/1358. The sources do not mention his burial place but it is likely that he was buried in another domed mausoleum in the Mamluk Qarāfah, which is also attributed to him.[43] Otherwise we have no clue as to who is buried in this *turbah*.

The large residential area indicates that a reasonably large community lived on the premises, most likely to perform the normal religious, social, and administrative services for the inhabitants of the *turbah*. The religious tasks included prayer, Sufi rituals, reading of the Quran, recitation of hadith, invocation of blessings, and teaching. The social services included charitable works such as the dispensation of water, and the distribution of alms, clothes, or food. The administrative tasks were those related to the management of the establishment, including its endowed property, financial resources, and expenditures, by a hierarchy of administrators headed by the superintendent *(nāẓir* or *shaykh al-turbah)*. Finally, maintenance related to cleaning and guarding the building and its facilities was carried out by a staff of servants and janitors *(farrāsh)*.

An outline of the general tasks that could have been performed is only tentative due to the absence of an endowment deed or contemporary sources dealing with this subject. However, the architectural units of the *turbah* could have conveniently supported many if not all the activities mentioned. There was a vast residential area, a minaret for the call to prayer, a *qiblah īwān* with a mihrab for prayer, several halls *(qāʿah),* two *ziyādah*s for Sufi practices or teaching functions, a water well, and a large courtyard for the convenient movement of the residents among the various units of the *turbah*.

[43] *Index* 298, 760/1359.

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Another unconventional function can be suggested for this *turbah* based on the political circumstances at the time of its foundation, its location, and its architectural features. Tankizbughā, as we have seen, died four years before the completion the *turbah,* leaving us to wonder who finished it and why. Two individuals are the most likely contenders for such a task: his wife, the sister of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan and scion of the wealthy Qalawunid family, or Yalbughā al-'Umarī, who succeeded Tankizbughā as *amīr majlis* and was awarded his *iqṭā'* upon his death in 759/1358.[44] It is unlikely that such a relatively small and simple structure would have taken four years to be completed, which would suggest that his wife must have taken a long time to mourn him after his death. Such prolonged periods of mourning were not common among the Mamluks.[45] Thus, Yalbughā al-'Umarī is the more likely person to have completed the building since he was assigned his *iqṭā',* which probably included the *waqf* of the *turbah*. This was no doubt an act of piety and devotion, although worldly motives cannot be discounted.

The second reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (755–62/1354–61) was stormy and full of political strife. Like his father al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, he eliminated members of the elite and gradually replaced them with his own mamluks. He banished from Cairo Amir Tāz, the favorite amir of Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ (brother and predecessor of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan during the interregnum of 752–55/1351–54) by appointing him, against his will, viceroy *(nā'ib)* of Aleppo in 755/1354.[46] In 758/1357 the *amīr kabīr* Shaykhū was conveniently murdered by a minor amir over a petty complaint. The sultan denied any knowledge of the crime but quickly rounded up all the senior amirs loyal to Shaykhū and promoted his own, including Yalbughā al-'Umarī.[47] Finally the last of the great amirs, Sarghatmush, was arrested, exiled to Alexandria, and murdered there in 759/1358.[48]

In the same year that Tankizbughā died, Yalbughā was promoted to the highest military rank, *amīr majlis,* replacing Tankizbughā, and was granted his *iqṭā'*. He became the most influential figure in the state after the sultan himself, a situation which led to an inevitable confrontation. Before long, each started to distrust the other and wait for a chance to get rid of his rival. Finally, Yalbughā prevailed and the sultan was murdered in 762/1361.[49] Yalbughā appointed a new puppet sultan,

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[44]Please refer to the biography of Tankizbughā outlined above.

[45]Yalbughā al-'Umarī killed his master and sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan on Jumādá I 762/Mar–Apr 1361 and married his widow Khūnd Ṭūlūbīyah in Muḥarram 763/Nov 1361, less than a year after his crime. See: al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 7:60, 73.

[46]Ibid., 3–4.

[47]Ibid., 33–35.

[48]Ibid., 41–42, 44.

[49]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:311–14.

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al-Manṣūr Muḥammad from the Qalawunid family, and became the ruler in fact if not in name.[50] The following seven years saw more internal struggle between Yalbughā and the rival amirs till finally he was murdered by his own mamluks in 768/1366–67.[51]

Under these circumstances and given the constant threat to his authority, security issues must have been of primary concern to Yalbughā. The area around the *turbah*, known as the *sharā'*[52] in the Mamluk period, was of strategic importance as it dominated the route to Syria, *al-darb al-sulṭānī.* The area was spacious with sparse population, representing the last line of defense of the citadel against invasion from Syria, while also providing ample space for military maneuvers among warring mamluk factions. During the Bahri Mamluk period the area was the theater of many important political events.[53]

The first threat to the authority of Yalbughā after the murder of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan came from Baydamur, the *nā'ib al-shām*. Thus, an invasion from Syria was a serious possibility.[54] Yalbughā was in the habit of visiting and staying in the *turbah*s of his lieutenants. For example, he was at the *turbah* of Maliktamur al-Mārdīnī when he received the news that Taybughā al-Ṭawīl, *amīr silāḥ* and the most influential of his amirs, was plotting rebellion in protest of his transfer to Damascus in 767/1365–66.[55] The ensuing military confrontation that took place between them was at the Northern Cemetery, not far from the *turbah* of Tankizbughā.[56]

It would not be unreasonable therefore to suggest here that Yalbughā, setting piety and loyalty to a deceased colleague aside, completed the *turbah* after the death of Tankizbughā to be used for surveillance and as a base for military operations. That it was used for both of these functions is further evidenced by its site and many architectural features.

The *turbah* was built on an outcrop near the Muqaṭṭam Hill, dominating the nearby strategic route to the north. Building a tall minaret on an already high site is not justified by the simple needs of the call to prayer in this isolated area. The open pavilion on top of the minaret provided a perfect setting for watching the road and communicating with the Citadel. An individual standing at the pavilion

[50]Ibid., 11:3–4.

[51]For the turbulent events of those years see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 7:65–137; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:4–40.

[52]Now called the Northern Cemetery of Cairo.

[53]Hani Hamza, *The Northern Cemetery of Cairo* (Costa Mesa, CA, 2001), 53.

[54]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 7:66; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:4.

[55]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 7:115. The contemporary sources are silent about the site of the *turbah*.

[56]Ibid., 155–56; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:30–31.

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could easily see and communicate by signals with the two eastern towers of the Citadel: Burj al-Ramlah and Burj al-Ḥaddād. The size of the residential area and the addition of the *ziyādah* could have provided ample space for a garrison barracks. The *turbah* has high walls with a limited number of small windows and only one entrance that could be easily defended from the minaret roof and the arrow slits.

The use of religious buildings for military functions was known, though not very common in Cairo. Farid Shafei suggested such functions for Mashhad al-Juyūshī on the Muqaṭṭam Hill.[57]

Peculiar *Turbah?*

The analysis of Mamluk or any other type of buildings must consider three intersecting aspects. An interactive matrix of utilitarian, expressive, and formal considerations all work together within a framework of the prevailing socioeconomic conditions and technology.

The changing utilitarian functions of the *turbah* of Tankizbughā influenced its formal and expressive aspects. The religious and charitable functions intended by the founder soon gave way to the propaganda and security needs of his ambitious successor, Yalbughā. The roof of the *qiblah īwān* was thus dismantled and an unusual dome erected overhead, creating an internal visual focus, a change which infused a new vitality into a dull sanctuary and signalled the profound changes to come. A tall and formidable minaret, which went beyond the needs of the call to prayer in this secluded place, must have been added at this time together with the solitary portal, as evidenced by the foundation inscription. Both represent a response to increasing security needs in a turbulent time. The *ziyādah* was added to meet the needs of increased Sufi activity and to serve as a garrison.

The *turbah* here, more than any other, is both an expression of religious functions and military might, typical of the Mamluk character. The decorations are scarce and subdued but innovative, best suiting a funerary, religious building which was also constructed with worldly considerations. Walls are bare, thick, imposing, with no fenestration, inspiring awe and providing security.

The richest and most popular expressive medium in the Islamic context is Quranic epigraphy. Here it was employed with discretion, as a statement and as a decorative tool to punctuate spaces. The so-called Throne Verse (2:255–56) is depicted twice on the dome. This verse is the most widely used in Islamic monumental epigraphy.[58] The verse 24:36–37 on the minaret is utilitarian and

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[57] *Index* 304, 478/1085. Farid Shafei, "The Mashhad al-Juyushi (Archaeological Notes and Studies)," in *Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honor of Professor K. A. C. Creswell* (Cairo, 1965), 237–52.

[58] Erica Dodd and Shereen Khairallah, *The Image of the Word: A Study of Quranic Verses in*

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common on minarets and mosque portals as it encourages people to perform prayers and pay alms *(zakāt)*.

Finally, formal analysis of the *turbah* shows some odd characteristics, in plan, form, and decoration. A glance at the plan, in addition to the rare *ziyādah,* shows that the placement of the dome at the middle of the *qiblah īwān* is unusual. Normally domes are either attached to a part of the complex or placed over the courtyard. We have demonstrated before that the eastern part of the *turbah* is an *īwān* and not part of the courtyard. It could well be that the *īwān* roof was taken off to give way to the dome. This was perhaps carried out by Yalbughā as the dome was built, which, according to its foundation inscription, was four years after the death of Tankizbughā. It is likely that Tankizbughā was content to build the *īwān* without a dome, since he had another similar dome at Qarāfat al-Mamālīk.

In form and decoration there is quite an unusual mix of the old and the new. The use of the traditional squinches on the internal zone of transition, common in the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods but not in the Mamluk era, stands out in contrast to the outer ribbing of the dome which was an innovation at the time.

The minaret consisting of a square base supporting a pavilion topped by a *mabkharah,* the latest existing example of its kind, is definitely a throw-back, yet it has a stone motif consisting of protruding triangles forming a saw-tooth formation. Again this formation was an innovation at the time sharply in contrast with the traditional shape of the minaret.

Islamic Architecture (Beirut, 1981), 1:64, 2:10–17.

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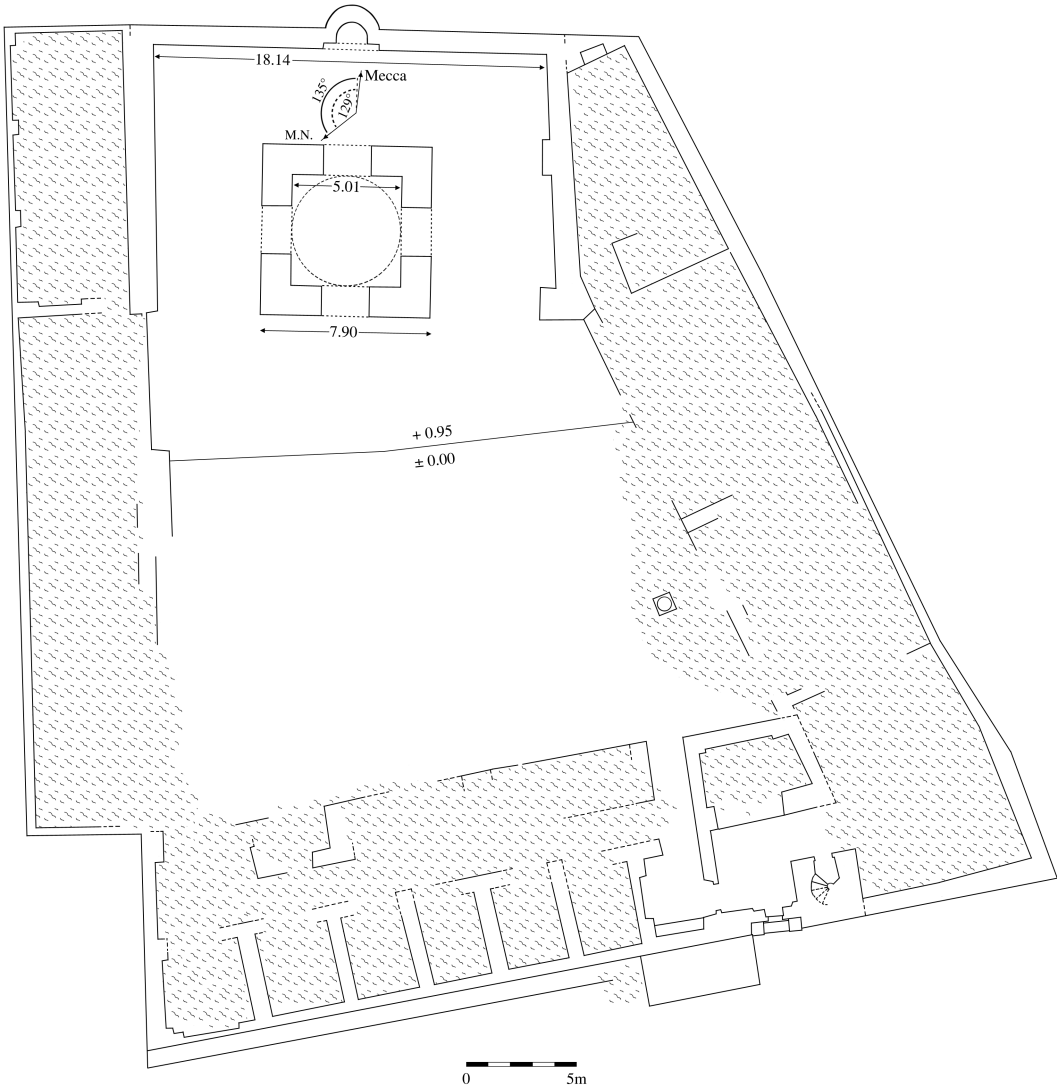

Fig. 1. Plan of the *turbah* of Tankizbughā (after Kessler)

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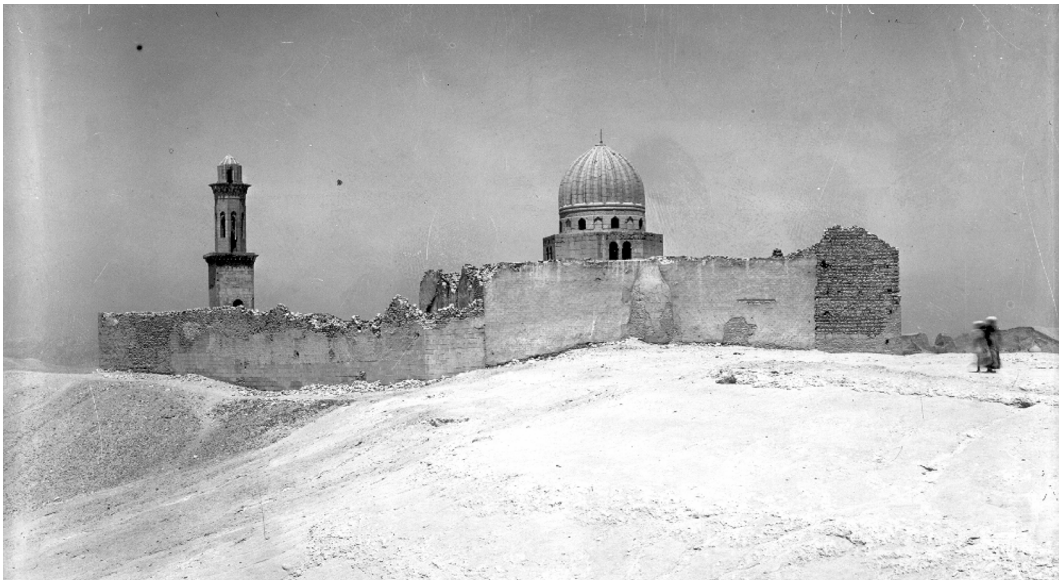

Fig. 2. *Turbah* of Tankizbughā at the beginning of the twentieth century (from the archives of the Egyptian Supreme Council for Antiquities)

Fig. 3. Entrance and the vestibule from inside

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Fig. 4. The minaret and a room east of the vestibule (from the archives of the Egyptian Supreme Council for Antiquities)

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Fig. 5. The court *(ḥawsh)*

Fig. 6. The *miḥrab*

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Fig. 7. The dome within the *īwān*

Fig. 8. Transition zone from the inside

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Fig. 9. Remains of the residential area

Fig. 10. Cell *(khilwah)*

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Fig. 11. The southern *ziyadah*

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Book Reviews

‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl, *Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal*, edited by ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-‘Aṣrīyah, 2002). 9 vols.

Reviewed by Boaz Shoshan, Ben Gurion University of the Negev

This edition is based on the Oxford MS Huntington 610 and 685, which covers the *hijrī* years 744–896. The author, who—as his *nisbah* al-Malaṭī indicates—was born in 844/1440 in the Anatolian town of Malatia, where his father, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, a Mamluk administrator and somewhat of a scholar, known for his *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik,* served at the time as the local *nā’ib*. Moving from there due to the requirements of his father´s career, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ was educated in Tripoli and, as a young man, settled in Cairo. He spent the rest of his life in the Mamluk capital and died in 920/1515.

Of his numerous works, the most important is his still-unpublished chronicle *Al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim fī Ḥawādith al-‘Umr wa-al-Tarājim,* which covers the years 844–90 and is extant in a single, incomplete, Vatican manuscript. What we have before us is arguably ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ´s less important historical work. What is its value for modern historians?

In his introduction Tadmurī, the editor, claims that ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ was an unacknowledged source for Ibn Iyās, the author of the essential *Badā’i‘ al-Zuhūr*. This claim is questionable, given the fact that one can find Ibn Iyās, on occasion, narrating events in a more complete form than ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ does in the *Nayl.* Tadmurī also points out that ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ travelled to Syria, Anatolia, the Maghreb and Spain, as opposed to Ibn Iyās, who hardly left Cairo. This fact, however, bears only marginally on content of the chronicle.

As already observed by scholars, contrary to expectations, with the exception of Ibn al-Dawādārī and Ibn Taghrībirdī, chroniclers who belonged to the Mamluk caste, and there are a few of them, hardly used their social origin to the benefit of shining light on the Mamluk elite. This seems to apply to our chronicler as well. As noted by the editor, for the major part of the *Nayl,* in other words, the first one hundred years up to the 840s, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ relies on al-Maqrīzī´s, Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī´s, and other standard chronicles, and thus adds almost nothing to the available information.

As for the second half of the ninth *hijrī* century, it can tentatively be suggested that for the 850s–870s the *Nayl* and Ibn Taghrībirdī´s *Ḥawādith,* although to a large extent similar, must be used together, for each provides information that is

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not always to be found in the other. This is the case also as regards al-Jawharī′s *Inbā' al-Haṣr,* which covers the 870s. Only when it comes to the closing decades of the century does the *Nayl* largely supersede Ibn Iyās, although it must be stressed that the additional material that ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ provides is of secondary importance and is unlikely to change our basic knowledge of the end of the Mamluk era. His additions are minor and extremely variegated: price data, notes on diseases, or piquancies such as the birth of a deformed child or the conversion of a Jew, curious material devoid of major significance. On the other hand, sometimes ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ does not include information that one may find in the *Badā'i',* a lack the significance of which is not easy to ascertain, however. For example, in the obituary of Amir Qānṣawh al-Khasīf al-Aynālī (d. 892/1487), only the *Badā'i'* includes information about his dispute with Sultan Qāytbāy. Did ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ apply here censorship because of political calculation?

Tadmurī, the editor, presents the reader with a fine edition, which he prefaces with a comprehensive biography of our relatively unknown chronicler and a list of his (mostly lost) works. An additional merit of the edition is a systematic collation of each of ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ′s reports with the other available sources, indicating which of the *Nayl′*s data are unique. The editor also includes in the eighth and the entire ninth volume a variety of useful indexes.

Angus Donal Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks: War and Diplomacy during the Reigns of Het'um II (1289–1307)* (Leiden: Brill, 2001). Pp. 215. Includes genealogical chart, photographs of castles, and map.

Reviewed by Patrick Wing, University of Chicago

The Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia and its steady decline under military pressure from the Mamluk Sultanate in the late thirteenth century is the subject of Angus Donal Stewart′s *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks*. Stewart′s stated aim is to address an aspect of scholarship on the Armenian Kingdom which neglects the wider political context in the Middle East, and ascribes a leadership role to the Armenians, arguing that, in fact, they were more often the subject of larger regional powers. The author′s solution to this problem is to make use of the rich historiographical tradition written in Arabic under the Mamluks in order to understand the relations between the Cilician Kingdom and the Mamluk Sultanate. The result is a thorough, highly detailed analysis, focused on the period of Het'um II, in which the Cilician Kingdom was weakened by Mamluk military campaigns,

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a lack of consistent support from the Mongol Ilkhanate, and internal instability and conflict among the Armenian royal family.

In his Introduction, Stewart identifies the failure to use Arabic sources by scholars of Armenia and the Crusades as one of the major shortcomings in the field. This weakness has limited the view of previous studies on the Armenian Kingdom, which does not reflect an adequate understanding of the non-Christian powers, particularly the Mamluks and Ilkhans. An exception is Marius Canard's article "Le royaume d'Arménie-Cilicie et les Mamlouks jusqu'au traité de 1285,"[1] whose methodology Stewart cites as a model and inspiration for his own work. In his discussion of sources, Stewart emphasizes his goal to demonstrate the potential value of the Arabic sources for the history of the Armenian Kingdom. Limiting his survey to "widely available printed editions," he cites al-'Aynī's *'Iqd al-Jumān,* al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* and Abū al-Fidā''s *Mukhtaṣar* among his primary sources. For sources from the Armenian point of view, the author relies foremost upon Hayton of Gorigos' 1307 work *La Flor des Estoires de la Terre d'Orient,* originally written in French for Pope Clement V. The *Chronicle of Smpad* (d. 1276), brother of King Het'um I, and the *Gestes des Chiprois,* composed in Cyprus in the fourteenth century, also reflect an Armenian perspective. The Introduction concludes with a survey of the geography of the Armenian Kingdom.

The main body of the book is divided into two parts. Part One on the Historical Background begins with a chapter on the origins of the four principal political groups active in the eastern Mediterranean in the thirteenth century: the Armenians, Mamluks, Mongols, and Franks. Chapter Two traces the history of relations between the Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluk Sultanate, from the rise of the Mamluks until the truce of 1285, in which King Lewon II was forced to accept a tributary status in the face of military pressure. Stewart analyzes the truce of 1285 in the context of Armenian isolation due to the fall of the Frankish state at Antioch to Baybars in 1268, and the lack of support from the Ilkhans, who were engulfed in a succession struggle following the death of Abāghā Khān in 1282.

The paradigm of gradual Armenian political decline, due to unreliable support from the Mongols and growing Mamluk military pressure, shapes Stewart's description and analysis in Part Two. This section comprises the bulk of the work, and consists of one long chapter on the reigns of King Het'um II, from his accession after Lewon II's death in 1289 until his murder by a Mongol garrison commander in 1307. The focus is on Mamluk military activity in Cilicia in an attempt to take Armenian castles, force the payment of tribute, and punish the Armenian king for his alliance with the Mongols. Stewart deals extensively with Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl's conquests in Cilicia in 1292 and 1293, as well as the

[1] *Revue des études arméniennes,* n.s., 4 (1967): 217–59.

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campaign led by Sultan al-Manṣūr Lāchīn in the summer of 1298. These discussions combine a thorough treatment of the Mamluk histories with a precise knowledge of the physical geography of the region.

Stewart does not neglect the internal politics of the Armenian royal house, and ascribes some of the weakness of the Cilician kingdom in this period to Het'um′s vacillations between kingship and a cloistered life as a monk, and the related disputes among his brothers for the throne. Consideration is also given to the role of the Armenian kingdom in the continuation of the war between the Mamluks and Ilkhans during the reign of Ghāzān. Stewart emphasizes the participation of Het'um II in Ghāzān′s Syrian campaigns between 1299 and 1303 as motivation for Mamluk reprisals in Cilicia after the Ilkhans had withdrawn. The attention given to the Mongol-Mamluk conflict after the 1281 Battle of Homs provides a useful companion to Reuven Amitai′s *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281*. Although Stewart relies on secondary interpretations and translations of Persian sources, he does address the issues in the conflict in the period after that covered by Amitai.

In the Epilogue, a brief summary of the Kingdom of Cilicia is given up to the year 1375, when King Lewon V was captured by the Mamluks and the region was left to the Türkmen of the Ramazan Oğulları. Stewart concludes that the turn of the fourteenth century was a period of decline for the Cilician Kingdom due to Mamluk pressure after the disappearance of the Frankish Crusader states and a lack of sustained support from the Ilkhanate.

Stewart succeeds in his aim to demonstrate the significance of Arabic sources for the history of the Cilician Kingdom of Armenia, while at the same time drawing the attention of Mamluk scholars to the ways in which the internal developments of the Sultanate related to its policy toward the Armenians. In addition, attention to developments within the Ilkhanate and its military operations in Syria help to emphasize the difficult diplomatic position of the Cilician Kingdom as a subject state between two larger polities. Overall, this work stands as a useful contribution to the history of the Christian eastern Mediterranean, as well as the Mamluk Sultanate.

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‘ALĀ’ ṬĀHĀ RIZQ ḤUSAYN, *Al-Sujūn wa-al-‘Uqūbāt fī Miṣr: ‘Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk* (Cairo: ‘Ayn lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Buḥūth al-Insānīyah wa-al-Ijtimā‘īyah, 2002). Pp. 193.

REVIEWED BY CARL F. PETRY, Northwestern University

This monograph (likely a revised doctoral dissertation, although unspecified by the author) surveys the proliferation of prisons and diversity of their functions during the independent Mamluk period in Egypt. The author, on the faculty of history in the Teachers´ College of Dumyāṭ, Manṣūrah University, initiates his study with a discussion of primary sources consulted. While Ḥusayn pays lip service to the significance of Quranic, hadith, and literary texts for relevant legal theory or criminal images, his emphasis on narratives compiled by on-site historians of the Mamluk period underscores their centrality as repositories of the concrete evidence on which a credible analysis must rely. Predictably, the eminent but acerbic chronicler Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī emerges as the authority of first rank. Ḥusayn confirms the primacy of his *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma‘rifat Duwal al-Mulūk* for reportage of specific criminal episodes, and his *Khiṭaṭ* for its detailed description of jails, background to their construction, and conditions endured by their inmates. The author lists al-Maqrīzī´s disciple and self-styled successor, Ibn Taghrībirdī, next in order of prominence, but dwells on his voluminous yet diffuse *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* and biographical dictionary, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī* (largely unquoted in the text), while passing over his more focused *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr,* which the historian compiled as a continuation of al-Maqrīzī´s *Sulūk* (Ḥusayn refers to the California edition of the *Ḥawādith* edited by W. Popper in the bibliography, but does not mention it among the ″encyclopedic″ *[mawsū‘īyah]* sources most replete with relevant data). The author goes on to note the works of Ibn al-Ṣayrafī *(Nuzhat al-Nufūs, Inbā’ al-Ḥaṣr)* and al-Qalqashandī *(Ṣubḥ al-A‘shá)* but does not acknowledge Ibn Iyās´s chronicle *(Badā’i‘ al-Zuhūr),* although he mines it frequently throughout the study (he does list it in the bibliography).

Among the sources the author finds less important are al-Maqrīzī´s treatise on economic and fiscal decline *(Kitāb Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah),* al-Subkī´s *Mu‘īd al-Ni‘am wa-Mubīd al-Niqam,* useful for its details on judges and court officials, Abū Yūsuf´s *Kitāb al-Kharāj* for its information on jails and criminal penalties, al-Māwardī´s *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah,* Ibn Taymīyah´s *Al-Siyāsah al-Shar‘īyah,* and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah´s *Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmīyah* for their transcriptions of fatwas and classifications of criminal offenses. Ḥusayn then briefly credits Ibn Khaldūn´s *Muqaddimah fī-al-Tārīkh* for its description of criminal procedures in court, such popular literary sources as the *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars* and *Alf Laylah wa-Laylah* for their picaresque portrayal of felons, and the *Hazz*

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al-Quḥūf fī Sharḥ Qaṣīdat Abī Shādūf for its depiction of rural violence in local villages. None of these works assume a prominent role among sources actually utilized by the author.

Ḥusayn does dwell on modern scholars who have addressed the topic of criminality in medieval Egypt, broadly considered. While limited largely to twentieth-century historians in Egypt, his remarks about their findings are illustrative both for the insights they disclose, and the glaring lack of cognizance among Western authorities of their contributions. First among these Ḥusayn ranks M. Muṣṭafá Ziyādah, who wrote an extensive article on jails published over 1943–44 in three parts (″Al-Sujūn fī Miṣr fī-al-'Uṣūr al-Wusṭá,″ *Majallat al-Thiqāfah* 260, 262, 279). Since Ziyādah edited the first two volumes of al-Maqrīzī′s *Sulūk,* he drew most of his data from that work, and presumably the *Khiṭaṭ*. Ḥusayn acknowledges one foreign scholar among the significant analysts of Egypt′s unsettled economy during the Circassian Mamluk period: (Eliyahu) Ashtor, depicted here as an ″Austrian″ historian (p. 13). Ashtor′s *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* is referenced in its Arabic translation periodically, albeit the author does not list the original in the bibliography. Several other Egyptians have explored the topic of crime and punishment in Mamluk Egypt, with whose assertions Ḥusayn sporadically disagrees.

Ḥusayn′s introduction lists verses from the Quran that refer to criminal activity: reciprocal killing for murder (al-Baqarah, v. 178, al-Mā'idah, v. 45), condemnation of homicide except in retaliation (al-Mā'idah, v. 32), exhortation to base legal judgments on divine revelation (al-Mā'idah, v. 44, 47), and the exercise of patience before imposing punishment (al-Mā'idah, v. 39, al-Naḥl, v. 126) (pp. 16–18). The author subsequently quotes hadith transmitted by al-Tirmidhī and al-Bukhārī that emphasize clemency and repentance over harsh penalties (pp. 18–19). He then proceeds to a short statement on the establishment of shari'ah courts in Egypt following the Arab conquest, emergence of the prefect *(wālī)* as chief of police, the earliest references to prisons by chroniclers during the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods, and the marked increase of data on crime in narrative sources during the second half of the Mamluk era. Having set the stage for his first chapter, on prisons and their variants, the author distinguishes two types: houses of detention administered by judges and prefects *(ḥubūs, tarāsīm, sujūn al-ḥukm),* and ″prisons more generalized″ *(al-sujūn al-'āmmah)*. Of the latter, Ḥusayn notes four categories: 1) prisons reserved for eminent members of the military elite, primarily amirs and offspring of sultans, such as the Armory *(al-Zardkhānah)* in the Cairo Citadel, or the *Sijn al-Thaghr* in Alexandria; 2) prisons for political criminals from the military caste or civil notables: the *Sijn al-Abrāj al-Qal'ah*, *Khizānat al-Bunūd*, *Sijn al-Raḥbah*; 3) prisons for violent felons, primarily civilians or Bedouins: *Khizānat al-Shamā'il*, *al-Maqsharah*, *Sijn al-Daylam*—all in Cairo; and 4) a jail for women:

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the *Sijn al-Ḥajarah*, also in Cairo. Ḥusayn relies primarily on the descriptions listed for these sites by al-Maqrīzī in his *Khiṭaṭ*. The author, while quoting extensively from al-Maqrīzī′s comments on several prisons notorious for the inhumane conditions suffered by their inmates, offers an interesting hypothesis behind the chronicler′s ambivalence over their efficacy. Ḥusayn (pp. 46–47) speculates that the covert source of al-Maqrīzī′s anger was his animosity toward Sultan Barqūq′s controversial son and successor, al-Nāṣir Faraj (801–15/1399–1412, with interregnum). Ḥusayn argues that al-Maqrīzī regarded Faraj as an offender far more heinous than many of the hapless officers and notables he incarcerated, frequently without sustainable proof. Ḥusayn notes that al-Maqrīzī counted more than four hundred Mamluk amirs and soldiers detained by Faraj unfairly under dreadful conditions. In an article I wrote on al-Maqrīzī′s description of jails (*Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, no. 2 [2003]: 137–44), I mused about al-Maqrīzī′s ire over these harsh conditions endured by inmates, but could identify no specific reason behind his anger. Ḥusayn has provided a plausible explanation. Ḥusayn concludes this chapter with the admittedly sparse references he has gleaned on the detention of women (primarily for adultery, debt, and prostitution), exile as an alternative to imprisonment in Cairo, and the responses of inmates desperate over their suffering: attacks on prison guards, self-mutilation, attempts at escape, and suicide. The author acknowledges the infrequency of data on the behavior of jailed prisoners, but claims that its occurrence, however rare in the sources, yields an indication of the individual′s capacity to survive in the face of unbearable odds.

Ḥusayn′s second chapter considers the ″state″ *(dawlah)* of prison inmates, under which term he includes the contrasts in status demarcating criminal classes, variations in circumstances of their confinement, and the underlying motives of the authorities who imposed these circumstances. The author claims that, despite the obvious inducement to crime brought on by the flawed trajectory of the economy during the later Mamluk era, its defects nonetheless provided the ruling establishment with multiple opportunities for reaping quick profits. Persons who thwarted these opportunities, in the name of upholding justice and equity, were equally subject to incarceration as repeating felons. Ḥusayn observes that debtors, otherwise guiltless, were often exposed to procedures such as torture, formally reserved for accused embezzlers or convicted brigands concealing their illicit gains—to compel their disclosure. The author links this violation of shari‘ah principles to a broader tendency of the sultanate to exploit imprisonment as an expedient for enhancement of its revenues. He sees a clear connection between this tendency and the rise in harsh treatment meted out to inmates, often for allegations unproved in a court of law. Ḥusayn thus reaches the conclusion that imprisonment failed to rectify the growing trend toward lawlessness that plagued

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the sultanate in its latter decades. Yet since such rectification was not the sultanate′s prime goal, jails proliferated as a symbol of its asserted authority to bypass licit procedures and aggrandize its power. But withal, Ḥusayn claims that the narratives are filled with references to inmates of many stations maintaining a semblance of their social interactions, even under straitened conditions.

The study′s third chapter deals with the authorities presiding over criminal prosecution and imposition of penalties. Much of the text treats matters widely studied in the field: officials such as the prefect *(wālī),* market inspector *(muḥtasib),* district inspector *(kāshif),* or judge *(qāḍī)* and their formal duties, or the distinction between shari‘ah and appeals *(maẓālim)* courts. Few original details emerge in this discussion, although the author differentiates between appeals courts open to civilians, those reserved for militarists, and those convened for foreigners. Whether these categories of plaintiffs were consistently recognized in actual practice the author does not demonstrate. But Ḥusayn does dwell on the connection between the final, irrefutable quality of a ruling in the *maẓālim* court and the sultan′s growing reliance on it as a means of curtailing the *shar‘ī* judges′ authority while advancing his own. Ḥusayn considers this trend particularly ominous, a prime reason behind the inexorable corruption of criminal proceedings under the late sultanate. He observes that over time judges were less able to shape criminal justice, their authority insidiously eroded by the sultan and senior amirs. As a corollary, judges were progressively subjected to brutality as a means of coercion toward following the regime′s party line. And the civilian masses, largely ignorant of legal theory but street-wise in the ways of power politics, did not challenge the regime′s usurpation of judicial authority, but rather emulated those who held the power to influence their fate.

The monograph′s final chapter elaborates on typologies of punishments and means of their infliction. Most of the text is taken up with the bland penalties sanctioned by law, in contrast with lurid depictions of punishments meted out as reprisals for violent crimes, treason, or vengeance; devices to force disclosure of assets; or means of settling vendettas between rival troop factions. Ḥusayn′s description of bisection *(tawsīṭ)* (pp. 151–53) is the most graphic I have encountered. Ḥusayn concludes (p. 165) that the frequency of harsh penalties paralleled the growing politicization of criminal prosecution, at the expense of humane treatment mandated by the shari‘ah. Yet statistically, incarceration remained the penalty of choice from the regime′s perspective, useful for isolating (and thus neutralizing) potential adversaries or rivals, and detaining client officials whose release could be offered as a reward for revealing hidden assets. Ḥusayn discerns an interesting tension between sultans seeking to ameliorate their reputations through periodic proclamations of amnesty or clemency, and senior amirs, subordinates ideally but rivals in fact, who deliberately defied them by callously abusing the prison

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population. Overall, augmentation of cruel penalties failed to stem the steady rise in crime rates tarnishing the late sultanate. But, as Ḥusayn argues, the regime's overarching goal was to aggrandize its power in tense times rather than to improve its subjects' lot.

Professor Ḥusayn has produced a worthy, if succinct, study. This writer wishes to close with an observation all too characteristic of the divide between scholarship generated in Arab countries and Western states at present. A cursory glance at this monograph's bibliography will reveal the almost complete dearth of articles and books written in Western languages (those few included are marred by printing errors) that deal with criminality in the Islamic world—not to mention the vast literature on the subject as it evolved in medieval and Renaissance Europe. Yet this deficiency is no less evident in the bibliographies of Western authors. I counted no fewer than fourteen individuals listed among Ḥusayn's secondary sources who have studied crime but write in Arabic. Four of them were known to me prior to my perusal of this monograph, and for topics other than the one at hand. Whatever the strengths and weaknesses of a body of scholarship, its merits or defects cannot be ascertained if it remains unread by colleagues from different societies who examine the same phenomena. Our common enterprise of historical research is ill-served.

ALBRECHT FUESS, *Verbranntes Ufer: Auswirkungen mamlukischer Seepolitik auf Beirut und die syro-palästinensische Küste (1250–1517),* Islamic History and Civilization, vol. 39 (Leiden: Brill, 2001). Pp xiv + 520.

REVIEWED BY PATRICK FRANKE, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg

When Sultan Baybars in 1265 captured the Palestinian towns of Caesarea, Haifa, and Arsuf from the Crusaders, he ordered the destruction of their fortresses. Instead of the coastal line of fortifications, which was completely demolished, he established a new line of defence along the foothills deep in the country, more defensible by the Muslim forces. In order to make it impossible for the Franks to effect a new landing, Baybars in 1270 levelled also the last vestiges of Ashkelon, filling the harbor with trees and rubble. It is this successful strategy of ″scorched shore″ (in German: *Verbranntes Ufer*) to which Albrecht Fuess alludes with the title of his book. Later on in the Mamluk period, the military strategy was transformed into a general policy: as a precaution against a return by the Crusaders, the Mamluks kept the Syro-Palestine coast in a state of devastation.

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In an article published in 1967, David Ayalon had argued that the main reason for the destruction of the Levantine coast by the Mamluks was their naval weakness. It is for this reason that Fuess devotes the first chapter of his book to a general discussion of Mamluk naval policy. He emphasizes that the naval weakness of the Mamluks was not primarily caused by the lack of timber and iron. The fact that in the beginning of the fifteenth century the Mamluks were able to build up a short-lived fleet for their military expeditions against Cyprus and Rhodes shows in his view the general availability of both of these raw materials. Nor was it the lack of maritime expertise that hindered the Mamluks from pursuing a powerful naval policy. The existence of a manual on sea warfare written by a Mamluk officer together with the Mamluk tradition of navigation on the Red Sea proves for Fuess that the theoretical and practical knowledge of seafaring the Mamluk rulers had at their disposal would have been sufficient to serve as a base for a successful naval policy also on the Mediterranean had there only been the political will to pursue such a policy. But since the Mamluk rulers had preference for warfare on horseback rather than in galleys they did not use this naval knowledge, but chose to secure their Mediterranean flank through a policy of alliances with trading European sea powers, at the same time devastating the Syro-Palestinian shoreline in order to make it unattractive for future invaders.

In chapter 2 Fuess discusses the negative effects of this policy for the Levantine coast and the coastal populations. Since the line of defence was moved into the interior of the country, the formerly illustrious harbor towns of the Syro-Palestinian shoreline were left unarmed against attacks and piracy activities of European freebooters. Almost all of them were downgraded to a peripheral political and administrative status. While they still played an important role in the international trade, it was not they who benefited from the revenues of this business, but the towns of the hinterland such as Damascus, Aleppo, and Cairo where the Mamluk decision-makers resided. The only town on the Levantine coast which was able to gain a certain political importance during the Mamluk period was the provincial capital Tripoli, but since this city had been moved into the interior of the country by Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn in 1289, when he took it over from the Crusaders, it could not be counted as a classical harbor town anymore.

Notwithstanding the general neglect to which the Levantine coast was exposed during the whole Mamluk era a certain flavor of normality returned to the coastal cities in the second half of this period. This is what Fuess exemplifies by a thorough study of the local situation in Beirut. After its surrender to the Mamluks in 1291, the number of Muslims living in this city gradually increased. As in the rest of the Mamluk empire, daily life in Beirut was characterized by quarrels between local notables and by the repetitive occurrence of epidemics and minor natural catastrophes. A special problem of the shoreline were the recurrent raids

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of European corsairs. In spite of these sufferings, the inhabitants of Mamluk Beirut had also some little pleasures, as for instance the annual river festival *('īd al-nahr),* which was celebrated harmoniously by Muslims and Christians. The revival of international commerce during the fifteenth century which was conducted mainly by the Venetian trading fleet led also to a detente in the greater conflict between Mamluks and Europeans.

For more than 200 pages of his book, Fuess discusses topics concerning the history of Beirut during the Mamluk period: he deals with the administrative structures (ch. 3), the urban topography (ch. 4), the demographic situation and some details of popular culture (ch. 5), as well as the presence of Europeans of different sort (traders, missionaries, pilgrims) in this city (ch. 6). It is regrettable that he has missed the opportunity to expand these parts of his book into a proper history of Mamluk Beirut. A detailed and source-oriented monograph focussing on this little-studied subject could have brought him much more credit than his ″combined history,″ which packs together three different subjects (Mamluk naval policy, Levantine coastal history, local history of Beirut) and by this becomes a kind of grocery store. In his introduction, Fuess justifies his combined description of the different subjects by stating that they are strongly interlaced with each other (p. 6). Undoubtedly Mamluk naval policy had certain effects on the situation in the Syro-Palestinian coastal towns, but was there also an influence in reverse? And, another question, is it really necessary to discuss Mamluk naval policy in its totality, when it was only a detail, the strategy of ″scorched shore,″ which had an impact on the Levantine coast?

In its individual chapters, Fuess´s study supplies the reader with a lot of interesting and exciting information. For the inner coherence of the whole book, however, it would have been of great benefit if the author had maintained a stricter adherence to one (e.g., local) perspective. The reviewer cannot help feeling that Fuess, who prepared his study while staying in Beirut, extended it to the other two subjects because he considered the source material for Mamluk Beirut itself too meager for a Ph.D. thesis. A compensation of this meagerness, however, could have been accomplished much better by an enlargement of the theoretical and methodological base of the study and a more profound source criticism than by the strategy of thematic dispersion of which the author has made use.

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Helena Hallenberg, *Ibrahim al-Dasuqi (1255–1296): a Saint Invented* (Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, 2005). Pp. 293, three appendices, index.

Reviewed by Richard McGregor, Vanderbilt University

Several studies relating to Mamluk-era Sufism have appeared over the last decade. Among the most notable are monographs by Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen and Eric Geoffroy, and edited collections by Chih and Grill, as well as McGregor and Sabra. Mayeur-Jaouen's *Al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Badawi: un grand saint de l'Islam égyptien* (Cairo: IFAO, 1994) functions as an important precursor to the monograph under review. Hallenberg adopts a similar descriptive approach, one that is heavy on details and light on analysis. At its best, this style can be quite illuminating, bringing much new material to light. The downside, signaled by a dense four-page table of contents, is a disjointed structure that jumps from sub-section to sub-section.

As a contribution to our knowledge of an elusive but very popular Egyptian Sufi figure, this monograph is quite welcome. In scope it surpasses everything done on the topic to date. I will not summarize here the seventy-five or so sub-sections of the book, but will briefly describe the contents of the five chapters. First, however, are the author's forward and introductory comments, in need of an English-language editor, laying out the trajectory of the book. Here and in chapter one she tells us she has chosen the theme "invention" to reflect the variations and evolution in the biography of al-Dasūqī, allowing her to move away from an approach that seeks to reconstruct the original historical figure. The development of the saint's order, the Burhāmīyah, and analyses of his teachings and writings (the few that exist) are not of primary concern to Hallenberg. Her aim in this book is to carefully sort through the biographical material.

The second chapter surveys the available historical material for the life of al-Dasūqī. We learn that the earliest mention of him in written sources does not occur until 787/1385, thanks to Ibn al-Mulaqqin. Another reference is made to al-Dasūqī and his grave, by al-Maqrīzī. Hallenberg will later identify this short passage in *Kitāb al-Sulūk* as the earliest mention of pilgrimage *(mazārah)* to the saint's tomb (p. 139). (I should note here an additional source that likely predates al-Maqrīzī, though not by much. This is Abū al-Laṭā'if, hagiographer to Muḥammad Wafā' and his son 'Alī [d. 807/1405]. In *Al-Minaḥ al-Ilāhīyah,* written around the year 830/1426, he relates an episode in which 'Alī travels to al-Dasūqī's grave.) In addition to a *waqf* document identifying Sultan Qāytbāy as a patron of al-Dasūqī's shrine, Hallenberg wades through a variety of biographical sources, historical and devotional, extending into the twentieth century. An important part of this task is to untangle, as much as is possible, the confusion between three different Ibrāhīm

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al-Dasūqīs—individuals from the seventh/thirteenth, eighth/fourteenth, and tenth/sixteenth centuries.

Chapter three presents a synthesis of the saint´s hagiography, organized according to typical themes such as miracles associated with his birth and death, and his esoteric knowledge. Of interest also are accounts relating his opposition to Crusaders, Mongols, and Egyptian tyrants, although most of these seem to be of later origin. Drawing further from the hagiographies, using a similar synthetic approach, the fourth chapter describes al-Dasūqī´s lofty spiritual status as evidenced by his miracles and gnostic insights. His position as one of the four saintly ″poles″ is significant, as it is in the hagiographies of other early medieval saints such as al-Rifā'ī and al-Badawī.

Chapter five attempts analysis of a number of key themes and events relating to the veneration of al-Dasūqī. A discussion of his *mūlid,* or saint day, addresses problems in dating and its parallel and likely competition with the much better known *mūlid* of al-Badawī. Hallenberg´s analysis here is rather unconvincing. She points to the possible connections between the *mūlid* of al-Badawī and Coptic antecedents—although she notes Mayeur-Jaouen has found no sound evidence for this. The implication here is that perhaps this is relevant to al-Dasūqī´s case (p. 216); a few mythical themes are then presented from al-Dasūqī´s miraculous life, and related in passing to Coptic art. These connections are not developed, and left quite tentative. On page 223 the quotation from Gilsenan on the tension between the ulama and Sufis flies in the face of the subsequent description of al-Dasūqī as ″an ideal Muslim scholar.″ Hallenberg is on more solid ground when she describes the evolution of al-Dasūqī´s image. In brief, the seventeenth-century writers underline the saintly miracle worker, writers in the eighteenth century show him primarily as a learned author, the nineteenth-century sources refine his cosmic position as one of the ″poles,″ and the latest material stresses al-Dasūqī as the opponent of injustice and a defender of Islam. In support of this schema, appendix C presents a useful chronology of texts and themes. (On the expansion of the Burhāmīyah order outside of Egypt in the twentieth century, see the recent article by Michael Frishkopf, ″Changing Modalities in the Globalization of Islamic Saint Veneration and Mysticism: Sidi Ibrahim al-Dasuqi, Shaykh Muhammad 'Uthman al-Burhani, and their Sufi Orders,″ *Religious Studies and Theology* [2001]: 20, I and II.) Appendix B is an exhaustive list and description of the writings attributed to al-Dasūqī.

Hallenberg has given us the first comprehensive treatment of the life of Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī. The descriptive approach adopted, one that is admittedly less concerned with the historical retrieval of the real Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī, allows us to skip across time periods following the hagiographical portrait as it evolves. Hallenberg has overcome a paucity of sources for the early period, and managed to disentangle

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several strands of textual tradition in the later centuries. Although the resulting monograph suffers from a certain disjointedness, and is weak in sustained analysis, we owe the author thanks for presenting us with an impressive collection of relevant materials. She has put all future studies al-Dasūqī on a firmer foundation.

Making Cairo Medieval, edited by Nezar AlSayyad, A. Irene Bierman, and Nasser Rabbat (Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Lexington Books, 2005). Pp. 266.

Reviewed by John Rodenbeck

This collection of eleven essays originated as a series of papers delivered during a one-day conference sponsored by the Misr Research Group at Berkeley in 2004. Although its major focus is on Cairo in the nineteenth century, Mamlukologists and other folk concerned with the history of al-Maḥrūsah will find it provocative. The most impressive contributions, moreover, are probably Nairy Hempikian′s on Bāb Zuwaylah and the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l′Art Arabe (1881–1961), otherwise known as the Comité, without which there would have been little left of Mamluk Cairo, and Nasser Rabbat′s on al-Maqrīzī, the great Mamluk-era topologist, a brilliantly expanded version of an essay that appeared in *The Cairo Heritage,* the Festschrift published in 2000 to honor Laila Ali Ibrahim.

As I observed in that same volume, a major element in Laila′s formidability was her strategic vision, her ″insistence upon regarding the whole city as an evolving ensemble, rather than as a haphazard agglomeration that someone has arbitrarily divided into a modern/′Western′ metropolis and an old/′Oriental′ madinah, the latter architecturally characterized by its incidental possession of a piecemeal accumulation of ′monuments.′″ Such an understanding by no means denies the real historical division of late-nineteenth-century Cairo into ″Eastern″ and ″Western″ cities, but urges instead an effort to accommodate these two realities to each other without discomfiture to either. The same division is likewise the chief persistent theme throughout this collection, where it is treated with varying degrees of finesse, acuity, and historical awareness.

A ″Prologue″ asserts, for example, that ″Europeans, through representations of architecture and urban spaces . . . constructed dualities like East/West and modern/medieval which remain with us today.″ This declaration implies that such a distinction is merely an Idealist or Foucaultian abstraction with no basis in physical reality. Its physical basis is presumed to be real, however, by André

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Raymond, the foremost historian of the city, and is the very pivot of Janet Abu Lughod's *Cairo* (1971), which the editors correctly describe as "the classic work in the field." The central section of Abu Lughod's book is actually called "A Tale of Two Cities" and the five chapters within it (pp. 83–166) deal with an inescapable physical and historical fact. But abstract conceptions and brute realities can change places in this collection willy-nilly according to political or rhetorical whim. Raymond and Abu Lughod are thus somehow exempted from the recurrent recrimination of "Europeans," "Westerners," "colonialists," or a generalized "West" for having observed the same physical distinction that both of these authorities in fact not only accept, but treat at length.

Irene Bierman's opening essay, "Disciplining the Eye: Perceiving Medieval Cairo," introduces several alleged agents of perception that will appear in later chapters: the *Description de l'Égypte* (1810–29), E. W. Lane, 'Alī Mubārak, the Exposition Universelle (Paris) of 1867, the Comité des Monuments de l'Art Arabe, the World's Columbian Exposition (Chicago) of 1893. Like most commentators, she exaggerates the influence of the *Description* and its illustrations. Fewer than 2000 copies of both editions of the *Description* were printed, only 1490 were ever sold, and there was plenty of competition. The superb graphic collections of Shaw, Norden, Pococke, Luigi Mayer, and Vivant Denon, for example, were all published before the *Description* and were widely owned and perused. Denon's two-volume *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte,* for example, with its 141 large plates, some of them half-elephant size, went through more than 40 editions, translations, and adaptations and was quite possibly the most popular Egyptological book ever written. After the publication of the *Description* came the magnificent collections of Coste, Hay, Roberts, Owen Jones, and Prisse d'Avennes, compared with which the *Description*'s renderings were inaccurate, their reproduction technically backward. What the *Description* lacked, of course, was the advantage of two significant inventions that had arrived on the scene during its twenty-year gestation and been ignored: Wollaston's camera lucida and the process of lithography. It might also be noted that 'Alī Mubārak was not born until 1823, a year after the publication of the first (incomplete) edition of the *Description,* and that he therefore certainly does not belong, as Bierman says, "to these same years." Neither did the Comité, despite using French for its deliberations, ever use the outdated proto-Disneyesque interventionist methods of Viollet-le-Duc, now on display at sites like the Cité at Carcassonne, which I see from my house in Languedoc. Nor is there any evidence that tourism entered into the Comité's considerations. Bierman rightly deplores, though, the use of the term "Islamic Cairo."

Nasser Rabbat's chapter, an analytic survey of the life, career, and vision of the indispensable al-Maqrīzī, is suavely impeccable, the more useful and impressive

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in that it adduces recent Egyptian scholarship and recent Egyptian literature, concluding with an analysis of al-Maqrīzī′s influence on two contemporary novelists, Gamal al-Ghitani and Khayri Shalabi. Such an analysis could be extended into the work of Naguib Mahfouz, whose Cairene cityscape—in *Zuqāq Midāq,* for example, or *Al-Liṣṣ wa-al-Kilāb*—has a moral meaning that al-Maqrīzī would obviously have understood.

Nezar AlSayyad′s chapter on ‘Alī Mubārak, composer of the next most important Egyptian *khiṭaṭ* after al-Maqrīzī′s, describes him as ″the central character in our story″ and treats him with sensitivity and candor. Paralleling ″The Modern Vision of ‘Ali Mubarak,″ the ground-breaking paper delivered by B. F. Musallem at the colloquium on the Islamic city held at Cambridge in 1976, it provides the sole instance in this collection of the use of the word ″positivist,″ which defines more concisely than any other Mubārak′s background, training, and vision. If Mubārak had had his own positivist way, of course, the entire historic zone would have been leveled, a handful of approved architectural examples being spared solely ″for educational purposes.″ He must have been a thorn in the side of the Comité, of which he was a member from its second year until his death.

Derek Gregorys′s ″Performing Cairo: Orientalism and the City of the Arabian Nights″ focuses on E. W. Lane and his ethnographic masterpiece, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians,* the definitive 1860 edition of which, edited by Jason Thompson, was republished in 2003. Mustering a mass of theory, Gregory attempts to show that Lane′s equation of Cairene life in 1835 with the social background of the Arabian Nights became a fixture among nineteenth-century European travelers and tourists, who thus arrived in al-Maḥrūsah expecting to find the Baghdad of Hārūn al-Rashīd. If so, however, these wandering naïfs must have skipped over Lane′s remarks in the last chapter of all editions of *Manners and Customs:*

> European customs have not yet begun to spread among the Egyptians themselves; but they probably will ere long; and in the expectation that this will soon be case, I have been most anxious to become well acquainted (before it is too late to make the attempt) with a state of society which has existed, and excited a high degree of interest, for many centuries, and which many persons have deemed immutable.

Nor had they read the observations of Edward Stanley Poole, Lane′s nephew, in his editor′s preface to the 1860 edition, published sixteen years before Lane′s death: ″To continue [the ethnographic record] would be only to chronicle the gradual disuse of their national and characteristic customs and the adoption of

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Western habits that must mark a new era in their history as a nation."

Countering calumniators (Edward Said and Rana Kabbani) who allege that Lane suffered from pathological sexual repression, Gregory suggests that Lane's robust description of his own participation in a *mawlid* exaggerates its licentious atmosphere and thus indicates an undue degree of sexual susceptibility. Even contemporary Cairo, however, bears out Lane's objectivity, as any woman could testify who ever rode alone in a crowded car during the nine decades before the Metro afforded separate accommodation for females. Certain large-scale *mawlid*s—those of Sayyidah Zaynab, for example, and Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī in Tanta—still have well-deserved reputations for unleashed libido of which daintily bred non-participant bourgeois Egyptians may well remain quite unaware, as they apparently did until recently of female circumcision.

Much of this collection is less about Cairo than about European attitudes towards Cairo, a subject that demands as much acquaintance with the history of European taste and culture as with the history of al-Maḥrūsah. Caroline Williams' "Nineteenth-Century Images of Cairo: From the Real to the Interpretative" rests on solid ground in both respects, offers rewarding analysis with minimal theory or speculation, and supplies a consciously aesthetic dimension that is otherwise virtually absent from this collection. She concentrates upon a handful of the most distinguished Orientalist depictors of Cairo: Coste, Hay, Lane, Roberts, Frith (whose photography necessarily excluded human subjects), Lewis, Gérôme, and Deutsch. Her thesis—that artists before 1860 sought to make an accurate visual record, while those afterward created capriccios uniting authentic materials in fanciful and anachronistic ways—is neatly sustained and is perfectly conformable with historical fact: the manners and customs that Lane recorded in 1835 indeed no longer existed in 1860.

Williams' illustrations aptly tell the tale: the reproduction of Deutsch's "Le Tribut" (1898), for example, gives us an accurately detailed study of the portico of Sultan Ḥasan, but adorns it, as Williams points out, with some superfluous Turkish tiles and peoples it with personnel wearing the Ottoman costume of more than seventy years earlier. Two small observations: the caption of the reproduction of a print from the *Description* calls it a "lithograph" and Roberts is said to have intended his own work as a corrective to the *Description*'s "views." None of the illustrative plates in the *Description* is in fact a lithograph (see above) and Roberts's remark about their inadequacy, quoted here, was made only after he had already been in Egypt for nearly three months. The motives that had brought him to Egypt in the first place obviously remained primary and had nothing to do with mere rivalry over verisimilitude.

David Preziosi's "The Museum of What You Shall Have Been" bristles with ideas, but many of them are slightly suspect. His guesses as to the motives of the

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Comité and his linking it directly with the Egyptian Museum remain particularly unconvincing. Henri Pieron—the same passage from an article of his published in a popular French-language Egyptian magazine in 1911 is quoted as an epigraph later in this collection—may well represent a particular view of the morphology of Arab cities held during that era by certain empire-oriented Frenchmen, probably positivists, whose chief experience was in North Africa, but he can hardly represent the whole of ″the colonial order,″ as Preziosi claims, and certainly not the views of the Comité or even of the three Frenchmen in it (out of some sixteen members at the time, nine of them Egyptian). The French-North-African urban paradigm—a walled medieval Arab *madīnah* separated from a modern French ville by a *cordon sanitaire*—has had occasional official proponents in Cairo, but they have been Egyptian, rather than European: the Arab Bureau of Design, for example, a public-sector architectural firm, proposed exactly such a model for radical intervention in the historic zone as recently as 1980.

There are also mistakes based on legend and hearsay. The Khedivial Opera House, for example, was not built for the premier of *Aida,* but for the celebration of the opening of the Suez Canal, in the autumn of 1869. (The libretto for *Aida* was not delivered to Verdi until the following year and the opera premiered in Cairo on 24 December 1871.) And what is ″the Christian quarter″ that is mentioned two or three times? Preziosi′s text suggests that he means Miṣr al-Qadīmah, but in fact al-Maḥrūsah has several other quarters that have long been traditionally Christian, including neighborhoods in Azbakīyah, Shubrā, al-Muskī, al-Jamalīyah, al-Waylī, Rawḍ al-Faraj, and elsewhere.

Heba Farouk Ahmed′s chapter, ″Nineteenth Century Cairo: a Dual City?″ is burdened with a shaky and ill-defined thesis. Material is squeezed for dubious generalizations, which lead to misreadings, anachronisms, or irresolvable contradictions. One of her illustrations, for example, is a picture dating from 1877 showing an elaborately invented Ottoman doorway and a dim figure seated within who apparently offers something unidentifiable for sale. Her caption refers to ″[Western] interest in contemporary Cairenes and their everyday life—a new phenomenon in the nineteenth century.″ Such a reading, however, ignores both the far more informative illustrations in the ″Arts et Métiers″ section of the *Description de l′Égypte,* published shortly after the beginning of the century, but also the fact that the *Description* itself, a classic Enlightenment project, was the last major example of an encyclopædic tradition that had already achieved its finest flower in the great French *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts, et des métiers* (1751–80). What the uninformative picture of the invented doorway thus demonstrates, if anything, is that by 1877 Western interest in Cairene everyday life had dwindled remarkably, as Caroline Williams′s survey (above) very clearly shows.

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On the next page Ahmed declares that ″among the best known early [sic] European travel writers [sic] were Edward William Lane and David Roberts. Both were inspired to visit Egypt,″ she goes on to say, ″after reading the mammoth Napoleonic Description de l′Égypte″ [9500 pages of text? 1000 plates?]—a piece of misinformation which she owes, I′m afraid, to Tim Mitchell′s *Colonising Egypt* (1988, p. 29). Two pages later she reproduces a sensational illustration from a 1913 American edition of Lane′s *Arabian Nights* in the apparent belief that it was actually penned by Lane himself, who died a full generation earlier. (The illustrator even for Lane′s own ″standard″ edition was not himself. but William Darbey.) On the following page, in a paragraph summarizing the career of the historian Stanley Lane-Poole, Lane′s grandnephew, every statement is untrue. One could point to further errors. It must also be observed that, having been compelled by her thesis to deal with Western subjects, Ahmed was thus condemned to play down far more promising material about Egyptian subjects—al-Ṭahṭāwī, ʻAlī Mubārak, and al-Muwayliḥī—which is buried in her footnotes. One will look for something better from this scholar.

In his ″Modernizing Cairo: A Revisionist Narrative,″ Khaled Fahmy gives us the sort of tour de force we have come to expect from this scholarly virtuoso, a skilled and gratifyingly readable overview of the legal and bureaucratic apparatus that was so busily transforming al-Maḥrūsah before 1882. His punctilious reliance on archival material leads to at least one strange statement, however, an assertion that the cemetery of Sayyidah Nafīsah″ stopped receiving bodies for burial in the 1870s″ and ″was replaced by the Imamein cemetery south of the Aqueduct.″ In reality, interments at the Sayyidah Nafīsah cemetery continued—I myself saw several between 1964 and 2002—and the Qarāfat al-Imamayn, otherwise known as the Southern Cemetery, had already been a burial ground since the Abbasid era.

His narrative in general, however, is a star performance, well written, rousing, and sound. He does not embark upon it, though, without setting up a straw horse or two—the idea that ″modern″ Cairo was the creation of Ismāʻīl and that the entire inspiration for it came from his and ʻAlī Mubārak′s visit to Haussmann′s Paris in 1867—then cunningly knocking them down. Unfairly, he ascribes such notions to Janet Abu Lughod. But no serious historian of al-Maḥrūsah, including Abu Lughod, has ever believed that ″modernization″ commenced only with Ismāʻīl; and Haussmann′s influence is patent in the ″ambitious thirty-four article plan″ that was submitted to Ismāʻīl by ʻAlī Mubārak, as Fahmy himself observes, immediately after the latter′s return from Paris. Even if very little of the plan was actually subsequently implemented, it is clear that both Ismāʻīl and Mubārak found the speed and style of Haussmann′s transformations exciting. Both, after all, had known Paris in the 1840s, when much of the Ville Lumière was still composed of

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fœtid medieval warrens as yet without such urban amenities as sewerage or abattoirs, a city walled (newly, under the Thiers government), but otherwise by no means unlike Cairo.

The major difference would have been in provision for wheeled traffic. No essay in this book notes that when the French landed in 1798, Egypt was a country virtually without wheels or the fact that every major intervention in the historic zone from the reign of Muḥammad ʻAlī to that of Fu'ād was primarily intended to facilitate the movement of wheeled traffic. These interventions included the shift, by seven meters (not thirty, as Bierman says), of the *zāwiyah* of Faraj ibn Barqūq to the south side of what is now Sh. Aḥmad Māhir.

Nairy Hempikian´s magisterial chapter, ″Medievalization of the Old City as an Ingredient of Cairo´s Modernization: The Case of Bab Zuwayla,″ examines this move in due course during her analysis of the Comité´s work at Bāb Zuwaylah, an analysis informed by her own labors there and elsewhere in the historic zone as an architectural conservationist. Exemplary in nearly all respects, even Hempikian can misread evidence at hand. The fact that the ″Palais d´Egypte″ at the Paris Exposition of 1900 included Pharaonic elements for the first time at any such an event does not show that European interest in Ancient Egypt was being replaced by interest in contemporary life, but rather the reverse. As Cairene life became more Westernized and less ″exotic″ (see above), Western tourists became increasingly more interested in Pharaonic monuments than in local culture. This trend, given a big boost by King Tut in 1922, has of course continued; and thanks to ″packaging″ and a shortage of parking lots for buses, very few Western tourists now see anything of Cairo´s historic zone, while multitudes go gawking in Luxor and Aswan or content themselves with beach resorts. What is also in question here, of course, is the motives for architectural preservation. In Europe this question need never even be asked. In Egypt since the demise of the Comité, however, except among architects and historians, the only motive one usually hears for preserving Cairo´s historic zone—a unique medieval urban complex almost the size of Venice—is Tourism.

Hempikian´s survey of the Comité´s work at Bāb Zuwaylah, which rightly ignores this motive, is authoritative and refreshingly concrete. Her study was intended, as she says, to counter ″hasty conceptual and political judgments on its activities,″ judgments or prejudices of the sort, in fact, that lurk in the background of other chapters in this collection, which have a heavy ideological coloring. The Bulletins of the Comité, as she points out, are a treasure-house of accurate information. (The complete series is now available on-line, but unindexed.) ″The love and care,″ she says, moreover. which was transmitted to these monuments through the work of the Comité, the meticulous professionalism by which its members worked, and their sincerity is often under-appreciated. Furthermore, the

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seriousness with which these people approached their work is only apparent when one follows its line of thinking with regard to a single structure over a number of years.

She is critical, needless to say, of the insistence of the Comité on restoring monuments to their *aspect primitif*—an aim despised in current conservationist theory—but applauds the Comité for the rest of its program, especially its documentation. Under Ismā'īl it necessarily employed strategies that paralleled those of Mubārak's Ministry of Public Works in other parts of Cairo. but its standards and practices were far ahead of the norms pertaining generally in Europe and America.

The final chapter, May el-Ibrashy's "The Cemeteries of Cairo and the Comité de Conservation," looks at the Comité from a slightly different angle. Apart from the curious convictions that it was founded only after "extensive lobbying . . . by the European community" (whatever that may have been) and that its major motive was to encourage European tourism, her essay is solid and workmanlike. She corrects, for example, Khaled Fahmy's comment on the Sayyidah Nafīsah and Imamayn cemeteries (see above) with information about what actually happened both on and under the ground. The cemeteries have, of course, always been lived in and have been traditional sites of periodical festivities, as cemeteries normally were in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds and in Romanized Europe down to at least the thirteenth century. What this fact means is that the present relative crowdedness in the old cemeteries of Cairo is not due to a poor and under-housed populace being suddenly forced to find new habitation in strange places, but to sheer steady population growth, which has also increased the number of the dead, the richer of whom wanted to be interred in large walled permanent structures that occupied more and more of what had formerly been open space. El-Ibrashy discusses some of the differences between shrines—few of which, having been constantly refurbished, possess any architectural beauty and many of which are not now in any cemetery—and other kinds of monuments, but omits mention of funerary structures such as the Ḥawsh al-Bāshā, the mausoleum of Tawfiq Pasha, or the tomb of Sulayman Pasha, which are not shrines and are not aesthetically distinguished, but possess extraordinary historic and technical interest.

This book is as remarkable for what is left out as for what it contains. Wheeled traffic is one important missing item. (The so-called "traditional" crafts of wheel-making and cart-making in Egypt were entirely nineteenth-century creations, based upon models imported from Turkey, France, England, and Austria. The high-wheeled cart used for moving stone is still referred to locally as a *faransawī*.) One also wonders why the most obvious and important of all recent colonialist ventures in Egypt—the British Occupation—is never even alluded to. I'd have liked to see a specific consideration of the Mamluk inheritance, not only the remnants of the

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historic zone, but also the neo-Mamluk architectural style that became the signature of the Muḥammad ʻAlī dynasty. And although the Comité comes in for a certain amount of post-colonialist *afrangī*-bashing, inspired largely by Donald Malcolm Reid, no one touches upon the high-handed depredations that instantly ensued after the Comité was dissolved and that continue to this day: future historians will find it very difficult in relation to many other architectural complexes to duplicate Nairy Hempikian´s history of Bāb Zuwaylah because the necessary documentation will be missing and the physical record will have been altered beyond recuperation. The paradoxical fixation in much of this book on what are supposed to be European attitudes, finally, as if they possessed some sort of validating secret for good or for ill, is bemusing. The attitudes in question are not always well defined or understood, for one thing, and obsession with them excludes much of what Cairenes themselves have had to say, quite often passionately and intelligently (e.g., al-Maqrīzī), about their city.

Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Ikhtirāʻ al-Khurāʻ*, edited by Fārūq Aslīm (Damascus: Ittiḥad al-Kuttāb al-ʻArab, 2000). Pp. 142.

Reviewed by Vanessa De Gifis, University of Chicago

The Primary Work

Al-Ṣafadī is perhaps best known for his massive biographical dictionary, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* but he also wrote extensively in other literary genres, such as rhetoric and poetry.[1] His *Ikhtirāʻ al-Khurāʻ* belongs in this last category, and, as Brockelmann has indicated, is a tongue-in-cheek parody of poetical analysis.[2] *Ikhtirāʻ* can mean inventing, breaking, and deceiving, among other possibilities; *khurāʻ* means madness, or a disease that afflicts a camel whereby she collapses. Both words share the root *kh-r-ʻ*, which has the sense of limpness or laxity. Combining these various connotative elements, we are faced with a title that foreshadows the playful mood of the work.

The premise of *Ikhtirāʻ al-Khurāʻ* is an imagined *majlis* in which someone composes two absurd verses of poetry, which are then analyzed. The resulting

[1]For example, *Jinān al-Jinās fī ʻIlm al-Badīʻ; Faḍḍ al-Khitām ʻan al-Tawriyah wa-al-Istikhdām; Al-Kashf wa-al-Tanbīh ʻalá al-Waṣf wa-al-Tashbīh.*

[2]Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Weimar and Leiden, 1898–1949), S2:29; rev. ed., 2:33.

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sharḥ is divided into six topics: 1) language *(lughah),* 2) parsing *(i'rāb),* 3) meaning/syntax *(ma'ná),* 4) style *(badī'),* 5) meter *('arūḍ),* and 6) rhyme *(qāfiyah).* Through this concocted *sharḥ,* al-Ṣafadī parodies contemporary commentary on poetry. His parody targets scholars of Arabic grammar, figurative rhetoric, meter, and rhyme, and incorporates jokes about historians, philosophers, physicians, and politicians.

Clever parody and wordplay pervade every part of *Ikhtirā' al-Khurā'.* Even the opening formula is a play on the *basmalah: bismihi subḥānahu 'azza sha'nuh* (p. 27). Then the name of the man al-Ṣafadī imagines as the narrator of this *sharḥ* is hilarious: Abū Khurāfah al-Hudhā' means ″the father of superstition, delirium.″ This name suggests al-Ṣafadī′s estimation of the pedantic intellectualism for which this character appears to be a satirical personification. Other names that appear in the text are also occasions for comedy, e.g., Naṣīr al-Dīn Abū al-Hazā'im, ″the helper of religion, father of defeats″ (p. 28), the components of which (help and defeat) seem incompatible. Also, formulae following names are humorous, e.g., ″the commentator, may God forgive him *('afá Allāh 'anhu),* said . . .″ (p. 30).

Al-Ṣafadī deliberately confuses historical figures (e.g., his saying that ″al-Saffāḥ [was] the first of the caliphs of the Umayyads″ [p. 73], while in fact he was the first of the Abbasids), as well as authors (e.g., his claiming that Ibn Miskawayh wrote *Kitāb al-Luma'* and Ibn Jinnī wrote *Kitāb al-Fawz al-Akbar* [p. 51], while in fact the reverse is true).

Al-Ṣafadī justifies false statements with further false statements or impertinent true ones, demonstrating how erroneous information and reasoning can be made to seem sound if presented in a consistent manner or woven into an apparently obvious argument. For example, in parsing the preposition *fī* (in), al-Ṣafadī contradicts the rules of grammar by explaining that it is a noun, and he proceeds to furnish examples of how this ″noun″ may be used with the definite article, with *tanwīn,* and in an *iḍāfah* (pp. 54–55). In another example, he defines a word by adding inappropriate information to the right definition: ″[a mirror] is that in which one sees his own face if [the mirror] is in his pocket″ (pp. 31–32). While the reflective nature of a mirror is correctly described, the additional criterion that it is in a pocket is not a definitive feature of a mirror, and so the proper definition of mirror is falsely qualified.[3]

This combination of truth and falsehood, soundness and absurdity, is the basic thrust of the work as a whole. Given absurd verses, a commentator can apply a

[3]The inclusion of this discussion of a mirror is inappropriate in itself, for it is introduced in the context of the word *mar'ah* (woman), which al-Ṣafadī relates to the word *mir'āh* (mirror). Though these two words appear at first glance to share the same root, they do not. The root of *mar'ah* is *m-r-'*, while the root of *mir'āh* is *r-'-y*.

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sound analytical method to arrive at an appropriately absurd commentary, wherein the contents and conclusions of the analysis, though nonsensical, take on a respectable image thanks to the methodical presentation. Intellectual propriety lends an air of legitimacy to the absurd. Yet this does not read like a somber critique on scholarship; rather, it is a light-hearted jab at pedantry. Since al-Ṣafadī has, in other works, dealt seriously with the science that he parodies here, we are assured that the analytical method itself is not being totally debunked; rather, we see that a respected method is playfully employed in the service of comedy. Al-Ṣafadī is aware of his ridiculous activity and aims precisely for such ridiculousness as an achievement in cleverness. Indeed, in the opening section, al-Ṣafadī writes: ″[these two verses] require a commentary to join them in strangeness″ (p. 28). In other words, the goal of the work is to create a commentary of equal absurdity to the verses themselves. Just like the verses, the commentary comes in the form of a legitimate art/science, while the content is in fact nonsense.

The scenario he has constructed seems like the kind of thing we can imagine a group of scholars doing for a good laugh, having a bit of fun with their skills. Rather than being a mockery of a serious undertaking, we are witnessing a deliberately joking endeavor that is undertaken with full knowledge of the ridiculousness of the task and its results. In light of such absurdity, the fun itself justifies the exercise. It is really a self-parody on the part of the invented *majlis,* and indeed on the part of al-Ṣafadī himself, who is the real voice represented in the *majlis*. Elaborating on the absurd as if on something serious reflects the impulse of the expert to do what he does best. As al-Ṣafadī says, ″the bow is given to him who knows how to shape it″ (p. 28).

Parodying scholarly method requires serious knowledge of the method parodied. Al-Ṣafadī possesses this knowledge, as his other, more sober, literary works attest. Yet even the less educated can enjoy *Ikhtirā‘ al-Khurā‘*. Although some of the information with which al-Ṣafadī plays is specialized, a good deal of the subjects, such as lexical items and popular historical figures, are well known to a wider audience; therefore, the jokes played with them can be readily identified. For example, al-Ṣafadī defines the word *layl* (night) as the time between the rising and the setting of the sun (p. 39), which is, of course, the opposite of its real definition. One need not be a learned littérateur to understand and appreciate this and similar jokes. It is possible that al-Ṣafadī intended his audience to consist of scholars and non-scholars alike, and so wrote this work with something for everyone.

Al-Ṣafadī′s precision in parodying grammar, semantics, logical argumentation, all in the context of poetical composition, is possible only because he is well trained in these practices and he is intimately familiar with those who also engage in it and their methods and attitudes. His own poetic skill makes his play on the discipline of poetical criticism all the more effective. The parody pokes fun at

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literary analysts, and therefore equally targets al-Ṣafadī himself, who is a willful participant in such analysis. It is this implicit self-parody that most tickles the reader. This short book is a delightful testimony to al-Ṣafadī's erudition, his intellectual independence, his critical insight into formal scholarship, and above all his clever sense of humor.

THE EDITORIAL WORK

This edition of *Ikhtirā' al-Khurā'* is based on two photocopied manuscripts. One is at the National Library in Tunis, MS 3742, and is complete. The other is at the Chester Beatty Library, MS 5200, and has three sizable lacunae. The former is dated 1167 A.H., while the latter lacks dating. Through an analysis of the marginal notes, which elaborate upon some of the more subtle and obscure satirical remarks, Aslīm concludes that these two manuscripts are either both derived from a shared source, or that one of them is derived from the other. Aslīm treats MS 3742 as the *aṣl* on account of its completeness. At the end of his introduction, Aslīm provides some photocopy images of both manuscripts.

In the introduction, the editor provides a brief biography of al-Ṣafadī, gathering biographical information from modern secondary works on the author, as well as from primary sources, including some of al-Ṣafadī's own writings. Aslīm lists al-Ṣafadī's teachers in poetry, language, *fiqh,* and political and prophetic history. He points out that al-Ṣafadī had a reputation for attacking the writings of his contemporaries (p. 7). This point is appropriate in light of the nature of *Ikhtirā' al-Khurā',* which pokes fun at contemporary scholarly treatments of poetry. At the same time, al-Ṣafadī was accused of having pilfered the poetry of his teacher Ibn Nubātah.

Although Aslīm mentions al-Ṣafadī's teachers, he does not give any details about the relationships he had with them. Moreover, he does not orient al-Ṣafadī's work in the larger context of Mamluk literary activity, so we do not get an idea of how innovative a work like *Ikhtirā' al-Khurā'* may have been when it was composed. Joking and wordplay were not unique to al-Ṣafadī, but Aslīm does not give any indication of such activity among al-Ṣafadī's contemporaries.

Aslīm's list of the works of al-Ṣafadī that have been edited and published numbers seventeen; his list of the unpublished works numbers twenty-three. This list of works, though not entirely comprehensive, clearly reflects the diverse interests of al-Ṣafadī, which included poetry, epigrams, rhetoric, linguistics, and *adab*. Listed as unpublished is *Al-Tanbīh 'alá al-Tashbīh,* which, as Everett Rowson has noted, must be either the *Kashf* that Rowson reviews or an earlier version thereof.[4]

[4]Everett K. Rowson, review of *Al-Kashf wa-al-Tanbīh 'alá al-Waṣf wa-al-Tashbīh*, ed. Hilāl Nājī and Walīd ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Zubayrī, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 1

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The *Kashf* was published in 1999, a year earlier than *Ikhtirā‘ al-Khurā‘,* which is recent enough to excuse Aslīm for not acknowledging its publication in his own edition. *Rumūz al-Shajarah al-Nu‘mānīyah* is listed here, although Franz Rosenthal has pointed out that the attribution of this work to al-Ṣafadī is false.[5] Not listed is al-Ṣafadī′s *Tawshī‘ al-Tawshīḥ*, a *muwashshaḥāt* work, which would have been a suitable addition to the list for illustrating al-Ṣafadī′s poetical activity.

Aslīm confirms the authorship of *Ikhtirā‘ al-Khurā‘* with Ḥājjī Khalīfah (pp. 9–10). He does not, however, confirm this with any indication to internal evidence in the text itself. Nonetheless, it is widely accepted that this is indeed a work of al-Ṣafadī.

Aslīm contrasts the satire of al-Ṣafadī to that of al-Ma‘arrī (d. 449), saying that while both men are steeped in intellectual culture and rely on a rich literary heritage, al-Ṣafadī is not as serious as al-Ma‘arrī in his satire, opting to take a more humorous approach to mocking contemporary intellectual production (p. 11). I agree with this observation. *Ikhtirā‘ al-Khurā‘* does not exude the pessimistic misanthropy that we sense in the works of al-Ma‘arrī.

The edition of the work is well executed. There are copious footnotes, in which Aslīm indicates variations and marginal glosses in the manuscripts and explains many of al-Ṣafadī′s jokes. Many of the marginal notes in the manuscripts identify historical figures, define lexical items, and attribute poetic citations to the correct composers. The editor provides his own glosses in the absence of marginal notes, or to supplement or correct marginalia. These glosses offer valuable information that is necessary to fully appreciate the irony and mockery of al-Ṣafadī′s jokes. Also in the footnotes are occasional references to other primary sources, such as biographical dictionaries and literary works.

The end matter consists of a bibliography and indices for individuals, groups, places, books, and poetry. The bibliography is arranged alphabetically by title, and includes primary and secondary sources in a single list. The index of names includes real people as well as those whom al-Ṣafadī invents; the invented names are marked with an asterisk. Most names are listed according to the given name or *nisbah,*[6] and cross-listings are provided when necessary. Death dates are not provided. The index of books is arranged by title, followed by the author′s name. The index of poetry includes the opening words of a verse, the *qāfiyah,* the number of lines, and the names of both the actual poet and the person to whom the poetry is attributed, when applicable.

(2004): 321.

[5]Franz Rosenthal, ″Al-Ṣafadī,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 8:759–60.

[6]″Abū″ and ″Ibn″ are ignored in alphabetization.

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‘ALĪ ḤAYDAR, *Madkhal ilá Dirāsat al-Taṣawwuf: al-Shi‘r al-Ṣūfī fī al-Qarn al-Sābi‘ al-Hijrī wa-al-‘Aṣr al-Mamlūkī wa-al-‘Aṣr al-‘Uthmānī* (Damascus: Dār al-Shamūs, 1999). Pp. 269.

REVIEWED BY PETER HEATH, The American University of Beirut

This is an interesting and useful book, within the rather significant limitations that its author, a professor of Mamluk and Ottoman literature at Tishrīn University in Syria, himself acknowledges. It would be more fitting if the two parts of the title were reversed, since the intent of the book is to study the corpus of prominent Sufi poets from late Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman times and through these works to offer an introduction to their theories of mysticism. The utility of this study is that rather than present these theories as derived from prose texts of these and other authors, the book at least attempts to study them as presented in their poetry first and to refer to prose works secondarily. This approach may be expected in the case of a poet such as Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 1235/632), but it is less common among students of his contemporary Ibn ‘Arabī (d. 1240/638), whose ideas are usually studied based mainly on his prose works. In addition to these two writers, the book focuses on three others: al-‘Afīf al-Tilimsānī (father of the poet Ibn al-‘Afīf; d. 1291/690), al-Būṣīrī (d. 1297/697), and ‘Abd al-Ghānī al-Nabulusī (d. 1143/1731). Other poets and mystics from these periods are mentioned but more in passing than in detail.

The book is perhaps more a series of linked essays than a cohesive study. Individual sections are dedicated to presenting and analyzing the poetry of the five poets mentioned above. These sections are framed by rather general sketches of Sufism as practiced at the time, mention of secondary poets, and some analysis of such important poetic motifs as wine or praise of the prophet Muḥammad. As such the book does provide introductory accounts of the poetry and the ideas of these major writers, but its scope does not extend beyond this. As the author himself admits in his preface, this work is only an ″initial preparatory study″ *(tawṭi’ah)*.

While there are advantages to starting with poetry rather than with prose compositions, the more inquiring or ambitious reader is left unfulfilled. For one thing, although the book relies on primary sources it hardly refers to any secondary study, in Arabic or a Western language, on any of these writers. The author, it seems, is either working in an intellectual vacuum or assumes from his readers prior acquaintance with secondary sources. Second, each of the major poets presented easily deserves full-length individual study that more thoroughly examines his poetry and how the ideas presented therein relate to his theories or the ideas of others. Finally, with the exception of an excursus on the motif of wine, there is

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little literary analysis of any kind, traditional or contemporary, in this book. Hence, poetry is reduced to representation of theory rather than as a mode of expression in itself.

With these caveats, which will be major or minor depending on the level of knowledge of the reader, the book does serve its introductory purpose. Nonetheless, it also whets one's appetite for a more penetrating analysis of mystical poets from these neglected ages.

Fahmī ʻAbd al-ʻAlīm, *Al-ʻImārah al-Islāmīyah fī ʻAṣr al-Mamālīk al-Zharākisah: ʻAṣr al-Sulṭān al-Muʼayyad Shaykh* (Cairo: Wizārat al-Thaqāfah, al-Majlis al-Aʻlá lil-Āthār, 2003). Pp. 388.

Reviewed by Nasser Rabbat, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

This book is a monograph dealing with the architectural oeuvres built in Cairo (plus one industrial building in al-Ashmunin) during the reign of the Circassian Mamluk sultan al-Muʼayyad Shaykh (1412–21). It surveys twenty-six structures, ranging from the monumental Mosque of al-Muʼayyad Shaykh to two sultanic *basātīn* (sing. *bustān,* i.e., a large garden). Three madrasahs among the surveyed structures were built by officials in the court of al-Muʼayyad Shaykh: Amir Qānī Bay al-Muḥammadī, Amir Fakhr al-Dīn ibn ʻAbd al-Ghanī, and the qadi (judge) ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl. The sultan himself presumably endowed the rest of the structures since they are all, with one exception, listed in his *waqf* document. They consist of two mosques, one *khānqāh,* one *bīmāristān,* two *ṣihrīj*s (water tank, or possibly *sabīl-kuttāb* complex), one *ḥammām,* one *wikālah,* one *ṭibāq* (residential units) above the Zuwayla Gate, a series of shops, and a sugar factory, in addition to five items identified as *makān* (place) and four as *binā*ʾ (construction). Only the non-extant Manzarat al-Tāj wa-al-Khams Wujūh (Belvedere of the Crown and the Five Faces), rebuilt by al-Muʼayyad Shaykh in 1420, is not listed in the *waqf*. The author extracted its description from al-Maqrīzī's and ʻAlī Mubārak's *Khiṭaṭ*s.

The survey is followed by two comparative and typologically-organized studies: one on the architectural elements and another on the decorative patterns of the structures of al-Muʼayyad Shaykh. In both studies, ʻAbd al-ʻAlīm extends his purview to famous examples in Islamic history. His main concern is to establish provenance, precedence, and development of the elements he identifies as characteristic of the Circassian Mamluk architecture of the age of al-Muʼayyad

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Shaykh. His knowledge of these structures is amply displayed: he is clearly someone who has examined their minutest details very thoroughly and had access to those upper parts and closed spaces in them that are usually unavailable to other visitors. The most valuable section in this chapter is the one that lists the inscriptions in the four main monuments examined: the Mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh and the madrasahs of Amir Qānī Bay, Amir Fakhr al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-Ghanī, and Qadi 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ. One drawback, however, is that no attempt is made to illustrate any of these inscriptions, nor is any explanation offered for the choice or the significance of their content.

The next chapter is perhaps the most interesting to Mamluk historians. It contains the entire text of the general *waqf* of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, redacted during his lifetime in 1420, minus the substantial part on the *waqf*s in Syria (135 lines out of a total of 954 lines), which 'Abd al-'Alīm unfortunately excluded because it falls outside the scope of his study. The *waqf* text is followed by several glossaries: first, of the architectural terms in the *waqf;* second, of titles and offices; third, of *waqf* terms; fourth, place names; fifth, measures and scales; and sixth, names of cities and villages. The value of this section is less in its new or historically precise readings of the terms and more in its grouping of these terms in the context of one document. The book closes with a bibliography of both Arabic and English sources, 150 relatively clear black and white illustrations, and a hodgepodge of badly reproduced line drawings of plans, sections, and maps copied from various sources and left in their variegated scales and techniques of representation. The drawings are in fact mostly unusable, even in the case of the maps, which are supposed to offer new information on the location of some no-longer-extant structures of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh.

Fahmī 'Abd al-'Alīm worked for many years in the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities, first as inspector and finally as director in the Section of the Islamic and Coptic Antiquities of Cairo. This has lent him a great familiarity with the monuments of Cairo and a hands-on knowledge of their recent past and current status, especially after the frenzy of restoration that swept the city in the last ten years and irretrievably changed the appearance of many of its premier structures. 'Abd al-'Alīm had also written an unpublished master's thesis on the Mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh in 1975 (no doctorate is mentioned although he is identified as Dr.). This indicates that his interest in the architectural work of this sultan is long-lasting and that he has had the time to revise and fine-tune his student-days observations on al-Mu'ayyad's masterpiece. Only some of these expectations are met in the book under review, which was published in 2003, namely the detailed descriptions of the monuments and their present topographical surroundings, while others are strangely missing or only perfunctorily mentioned. The most glaring lack is in the English-language bibliography, which, besides

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being severely incomplete, seems to stop in 1970 (the only exception is Doris Behrens-Abouseif′s book on the minarets of Cairo, published in 1985). The Arabic bibliography is only slightly better. It includes a few entries from the 1980s, but nothing later, although a large number of monographs on the Mamluk monuments of Cairo have been published in the last decade, of which the book under review is but one example.

In fact, *Al-ʻImārah al-Islāmīyah fī ʻAṣr al-Mamālīk al-Zharākisah* thoroughly exhibits three main conceptual problems encountered in a contemporary type of Egyptian scholarship on Islamic architecture, so that we can use it to illustrate them here. The first is that, notwithstanding the inclusion of photos and line drawings, the study of buildings is primarily textual and is reminiscent of the medieval method and language of historical and *khiṭaṭ* tracts. No use is made of the figures to comprehend or question an aspect of a building. They play an illustrative role to the descriptive passages in the strictest sense and add no information on their own. The second is that architectural history, whether it be presented synchronically as in this book or diachronically as in many other studies, is depicted essentially as an endogenous development suffused with self-conscious nationalism (sometimes expressed as pan-Islamism), which unfolds over time with minimal interaction with the outside world. The third drawback is the absence of critical interpretation that would contextualize the architecture and use it to throw some light on the social, intellectual, economic, political, or ideological factors that contributed to its production and were in turn affected by it. The short (8 pages) introduction of the book under review purports to address these connections, but ends up only repeating some banal, and hugely debated, remarks on the Mamluk class structure and the economic and artisanal basis of the country′s wealth.

This is very different from what we expect from a contemporary study on architectural history in Western academe. Why is this so?[1] And how did this difference obtain, especially given that art and architectural history as fields of study were introduced to Egypt and the rest of the Islamic world by Western scholars and via Western academic training and influence? Many explanations can be proposed, but the most important one in my opinion is the rising intellectual split in Islamic studies (and scholarship in general) between the Islamic world and the West that has been intensifying in recent years. Analyzing this situation, a

[1]This is not the first time that reviewers for *MSR* have confronted these issues when reviewing contemporary Mamluk studies published in Egypt. Two examples are: Stephan Conermann′s review of N. Maḥmūd Muṣṭafá, *Al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī min Taṣfiyat al-Wujūd al-Ṣalībī ilá Bidāyat al-Hajmah al-Ūrubbīyah al-Thāniyah, MSR* 4 (2000): 257-60, and Nasser Rabbat′s review of Ḥusnī M. Nuwaysar, *Al-ʻImārah al-Islāmīyah fī Miṣr: ʻAṣr al-Ayyūbīyīn wa-al-Mamālīk, MSR* 5 (2001): 205-8.

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tempting and pressing endeavor indeed, does not belong in this short review. It requires grounding the argument within the larger issue of an Orientalist predicament loaded with overtones of elitism, cultural and religious misgivings, and a perverse nostalgia for the colonial age, which is countered by reciprocally hostile attitudes in the Islamic world.[2] Suffice it to say that both sides are the poorer on account of this state of affairs, with the scholars in the Islamic world missing much more simply because of the top heavy censorship and the shortage in academic books, journals, and funds for research they must endure.

[2]The predicament of the Arab intellectual in general has been a subject of great concern in progressive contemporary Arabic debates. A sample of recent books is: Samāḥ Idrīs, *Al-Muthaqqaf al-'Arabī wa-al-Sulṭah: Baḥth fī Riwāyat al-Tajribah al-Nāṣirīyah* (Beirut, 1992); 'Azīz al-'Aẓmah, *Dunyā al-Dīn fī Ḥāḍir al-'Arab* (Beirut, 1996); Muṣṭafá Murtaḍá 'Alī Maḥmūd, *Al-Muthaqqaf wa-al-Sulṭah: Dirāsah Taḥlīlīyah li-Waḍ' al-Muthaqqaf al-Miṣrī fī al-Fatrah min 1970-1995* (Cairo, 1998). For a devastating and gratuitously cynical indictment of modern Arab intellectuals, see Fouad Ajami, *The Dream Palace of the Arabs: a Generation's Odyssey* (New York, 1998).

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Arabic Transliteration System

Romanized Arabic in *Mamlūk Studies Review* follows the Library of Congress conventions, briefly outlined below. A more thorough discussion may be found in *American Library Association-Library of Congress Romanization Tables* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1991).

ء	’	خ	kh	ش	sh	غ	gh	م	m
ب	b	د	d	ص	ṣ	ف	f	ن	n
ت	t	ذ	dh	ض	ḍ	ق	q	ه	h
ث	th	ر	r	ط	ṭ	ك	k	و	w
ج	j	ز	z	ظ	ẓ	ل	l	ي	y
ح	ḥ	س	s	ع	‘				
		ة	h, t (in construct)			ال	al-		

ـَ	a	ـُ	u	ـِ	i
ـً	an	ـٌ	un	ـٍ	in
آ	ā	ـُو	ū	ـِي	ī
ا	ā	ـُوّ	ūw	ـِيّ	īy (medial), ī (final)
ى	á	ـَو	aw	ـَي	ay
				ـَيّ	ayy

Capitalization in romanized Arabic follows the conventions of American English; the definite article is always lower case, except when it is the first word in an English sentence. The *hamzah* is not represented when beginning a word, following a prefixed preposition or conjunction, or following the definite article. Assimilation of the *lām* of the definite article before ″sun″ letters is disregarded. Final inflections of verbs are retained, except in pausal form; final inflections of nouns and adjectives are not represented, except preceding suffixes and except when verse is romanized. Vocalic endings of pronouns, demonstratives, prepositions, and conjunctions are represented. The hyphen is used with the definite article, conjunctions, inseparable prepositions, and other prefixes. Note the exceptional treatment of the preposition *li-* followed by the article, as in *lil-sulṭān*. Note also the following exceptional spellings: Allāh, billāh, lillāh, bismillāh, mi’ah, ibn (for both initial and medial forms). Words not requiring diacritical marks, though following the conventions outlined above, include all Islamic dynasties, as well as the following terms: Quran, sultan, amir, imam, shaykh, Sunni, Shi‘i, Sufi. Common place-names should take the common spelling in American English. Names of archaeological sites should follow the convention of the excavator.