

# MAMLŪK STUDIES REVIEW

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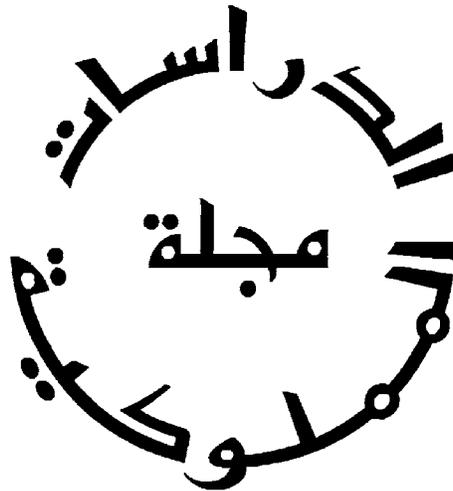
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# MAMLŪK STUDIES REVIEW

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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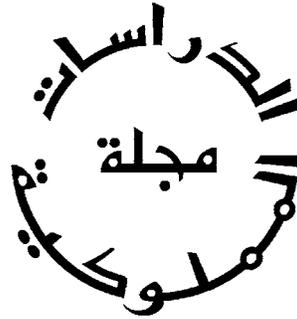
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THOMAS BAUER  
UNIVERSITÄT MÜNSTER

## Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī (686–768/1287–1366): Life and Works Part I: The Life of Ibn Nubātah

### 1. “THE SOLITAIRE OF THE AGE”

“If anyone in our century tried to equal Ibn Nubātah in poetry, prose, or handwriting, he would attempt something impossible and aspire to something that will in no way occur.”<sup>1</sup> These are the words of the scholar Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, who was well acquainted with Ibn Nubātah. The historian Ibn Ḥabīb, another acquaintance of his, sums up Ibn Nubātah’s accomplishments as follows: *wa-bi-al-jumlah fa-kāna u’jūbat al-zamān wa-nādirat al-waqt wa-farīd al-awān* “On the whole, he was the wonder of the era, the prodigy of this time, the solitaire of the age.”<sup>2</sup> The hadith scholar Walī al-Dīn Ibn al-‘Irāqī boasted of Ibn Nubātah a generation later: “Ibn Nubātah distinguished himself in the field of *adab* and reached in it everything that can be desired; he surpassed his contemporaries, transcended the people of his epoch, and ended up peerless and as the solitary leader in the field. His poetry reached the acme of perfection, and I do not think that the whole eighth century produced sweeter poetry than his.”<sup>3</sup>

For al-Ṣafadī, however, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī was the greatest poet of the age for perhaps two reasons. First, al-Ṣafadī’s style, characterized by his love for *jinās*, was more akin to that of al-Ḥillī than to that of Ibn Nubātah. Second, al-Ṣafadī’s relationship with Ibn Nubātah was a troubled one. On the one hand, al-Ṣafadī struggled throughout his life to escape the shadow of his master, Ibn Nubātah, who doubtlessly was the greater poet; on the other hand, al-Ṣafadī was a much more outgoing personality than the rather taciturn Ibn Nubātah and therefore gained more worldly success. In their relationship, periods of friendship alternated with periods of animosity. Nevertheless, al-Ṣafadī finds enthusiastic words for Ibn Nubātah. As a poet, al-Ṣafadī remarks, Ibn Nubātah “is unique in the elegance of his verse-making, the sweetness of his expressions, the excellence of his poetic compositions, the astonishing quality of his topics, the clarity of his language, and

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<sup>1</sup>Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi‘iyah al-Kubrā* (Beirut, 1420/1999), 5:111 (art. Ibn al-Zamlakānī).

<sup>2</sup>Badr al-Dīn Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh*, ed. Muḥammad M. Amīn (Cairo, 1976–86), 3:305.

<sup>3</sup>Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn al-‘Irāqī, *Al-Dhayl ‘alā al-‘Ibar fī Khabar Man ‘Abar*, ed. Ṣāliḥ Maḥdī ‘Abbās (Beirut, 1409/1989), 1:221.



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the fluency in his writing.”<sup>4</sup> But al-Şafadī is even more impressed by Ibn Nubātah as a prose author: “But his prose constitutes the summit of eloquence. He followed the manner of [al-Qāḍī] al-Fāḍil and adopted his style, and he extinguished the light of Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir and left no favored position for him in the hearts of the people.”<sup>5</sup>

In al-Nawājī’s anthology *Ta’hīl al-Gharīb*, only two poets are granted honorific titles. Whereas Ibn al-Fāriḍ is the *Imām al-‘Ushshāq*, Ibn Nubātah is called the *Malik al-Shu‘arā*, the *Malik al-Muta’addibīn*, and the *Imām al-Udabā*, at the same time being an *‘Allāmah*.<sup>6</sup>

These are only five of many examples that attest to the fame that Ibn Nubātah enjoyed among his contemporaries and in following generations. Apart from the famous Sufi poets (Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Ibn ‘Arabī, ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī) there was no other Arabic poet between the time of al-Mutanabbī and the modern period who enjoyed a greater reputation than Ibn Nubātah. Even at the beginning of the nineteenth century, al-Shawkānī (1173–1250/1760–1832) characterized Ibn Nubātah as “the famous, excellent, and creative poet, who in all kinds of poetry surpassed his contemporaries, all those who came after them, and even most of those who lived before him.”<sup>7</sup>

It becomes quite clear that it is impossible to understand the literature and the culture of the Mamluk and the Ottoman periods without a thorough knowledge of the works of Ibn Nubātah. Unfortunately, however, Ibn Nubātah has fared worse than other Mamluk authors among twentieth-century scholars. During the whole of that century, only a single monograph that can claim scholarly standing was published.<sup>8</sup> Even now, most of Ibn Nubātah’s works remain in manuscript.

There are several reasons for this deplorable state of affairs. The most important is the wide-spread negative attitude towards Mamluk literature in the still mentally colonized Arab world.<sup>9</sup> Another reason is the fact that Ibn Nubātah is generally perceived exclusively as a poet. His achievements as a prose writer are largely either neglected or unknown. Many contemporary scholars are unable to appreciate the aesthetic qualities of the sophisticated prose style of *inshā*, of which Ibn Nubātah was an acclaimed master. Some of Ibn Nubātah’s prose works

<sup>4</sup>Khalil ibn Aybak al-Şafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt*, ed. Helmut Ritter et al. (Wiesbaden, Beirut, 1962–), 1:311–12.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 312.

<sup>6</sup>Shams al-Dīn al-Nawājī, *Ta’hīl al-Gharīb*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad ‘Aṭā’ (Cairo, 2004), 78, 91, 116, 128, 171, 175, 183, etc.

<sup>7</sup>Al-Shawkānī, *Al-Badr al-Ṭālī bi-Maḥāsīn Man ba‘da al-Qarn al-Sābi‘* (Beirut, 1418/1998), 2:131.

<sup>8</sup>Umar Mūsā Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī: Amīr Shu‘arā al-Mashriq* (Cairo, 1963, 3rd ed., 1992).

<sup>9</sup>See my article “Mamluk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005): 105–32.



are among the most important *inshā'* works of pre-modern Islam, but they have yet to be edited.

For an appreciation of Ibn Nubātah as a poet, the edition of his *Dīwān*<sup>10</sup> has done as much harm as good. The *Dīwān Ibn Nubātah*, edited by a certain Muḥammad al-Qalqīlī, was published in Cairo in 1323/1905. From then on, readers took it for granted that this book represented the *Dīwān* of Ibn Nubātah and contained all his poetry in its original form. Nobody, including myself, ever questioned the philological basis of this “edition.” A closer examination, however, reveals that this *Dīwān* is only a distorted version of a questionable collection of Ibn Nubātah’s poetry made by his pupil al-Bashtakī. All studies of Ibn Nubātah’s poetry are based on this source, and the confidence that was placed in this “edition” made it seem superfluous to direct any efforts towards an edition of the poetic collections assembled by Ibn Nubātah himself. Thus, we must realize that we still lack a proper foundation for the study of Ibn Nubātah’s poetry.

The purpose of this article is to provide a basis for further research about Ibn Nubātah and the literary culture of the Mamluk period. It will list all the works of Ibn Nubātah known so far and try to elucidate their purpose, their biographical context, and their place in the literary culture of the epoch. Though I have used a fair number of manuscripts and library catalogues for this study, it cannot claim to be exhaustive. I will start with a chart that gives preliminary information on the titles of Ibn Nubātah’s works, their character, and the date of their composition. A survey of the main sources for Ibn Nubātah’s life is then given in the same section. A rather detailed chronology of Ibn Nubātah’s life follows. Section 4 presents Ibn Nubātah’s known autograph manuscripts. Section 5 will demonstrate the way Ibn Nubātah constantly revised his own works. As a consequence of Ibn Nubātah’s consideration of his own œuvre as a “work in progress,” the necessity for establishing a sound philological basis becomes even more obvious. A reconstruction of the history of Ibn Nubātah’s *Dīwān* will be the subject of the following section. Section 7 deals with all known works of Ibn Nubātah and those erroneously ascribed to him. They will be treated in the sequence given in the chart below. Due to its length, this article will appear in three parts over subsequent issues of *Mamlūk Studies Review*.

## 2. SOURCES

The main sources for Ibn Nubātah’s life are his own works. They reveal his social relationships and his place in the network of *udabā'* and ulama (and, to a lesser extent, *umarā'*) that shaped intellectual life in Syria and Cairo during the greater part of the eighth/fourteenth century. The known works of Ibn Nubātah are listed

<sup>10</sup>I use the word *Dīwān*, starting with a capital letter, if the word refers to a “collection of poetry,” in contrast to *dīwān* (= *dīwān al-inshā'*) in the sense of “state chancellery.”



in the following chart. For easier reference, I assign a number to each. This number is also used throughout the article, where it is added in square brackets whenever one of these titles is mentioned (with the exception of the *Dīwān*).

In the chart, titles that are lost (or not yet found) are marked with an asterisk. If the content of the book can be reconstructed more or less by means of other sources, the asterisk is put in brackets. The chart demonstrates that it is not sufficient to characterize Ibn Nubātah only as a poet, since a great part of his oeuvre consists of prose. His own compilations of poetry and prose anthologies of past and contemporary authors make up another important part of his oeuvre. Ibn Nubātah wrote in several genres, covering the wide spectrum of *adab* literature. The only exception is theory, a field that seems not to have aroused his interest.

THE WORKS OF IBN NUBĀTAH			own poetry	own prose	others' poetry	others' prose
No.	Title	Date				
1a	<i>Dīwān al-Aṣl</i>	several versions	■			
1b	al-Bashtakī: <i>Dīwān Ibn Nubātah</i>	773	■			
1c	Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī: <i>Ziyādāt ʿalā Dīwān Ibn Nubātah</i>	800 and shortly after	■			
2	<i>Maṭlaʿ al-Fawāʿid wa-Majmaʿ al-Farāʿid</i>	718	■	■	■	■
3	<i>Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq</i>	719	■	■	■	■
4	<i>Sarḥ al-ʿUyūn fī Sharḥ Risālat Ibn Zaydūn</i>	between 719 and 730			■	■
5	<i>Muntakhab al-Ḥadīyah min al-Madāʾih al-Muʿayyadiyah</i>	shortly after 719	■			
6	<i>al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī</i>	around 725	■			
7	<i>Farāʿid al-Sulūk fī Masāʾid al-Mulūk</i>	around 728	■			
8	(*) <i>al-Muntakhab al-Manṣūri</i>	before 732	■			
9	Examination of the <i>kuttāb</i> (letter to al-Shihāb Maḥmūd)	725 or shortly before		■		
10	<i>al-Mufākharah bayna al-Sayf wa-al-Qalam</i>	729		■		
11	Collection of letters (Esc. 548)	around 729		■		
12	<i>Zahr al-Manthūr</i>	730		■		
13	<i>Ijāzah</i> for al-Ṣafadī	730		■		
14	<i>Taqriḥ</i> for Badr al-Dīn Ibn Ḥabīb	730		■		
15	* <i>Ibrāz al-Akhbār</i> (?)	before 730		?		
16	<i>Ḥaḥīrat al-Uns ilā Ḥaḥīrat al-Quds</i>	735		■		



17	* <i>al-Nahlah al-Insīyah fī al-Rihlah al-Qudsiyah</i> (?)	after 735?		?		
18	<i>al-Fāḍil min Inshā' al-Fāḍil</i>	between 719 and 730				
19	<i>Sulūk Duwal al-Mulūk</i>	before 742?				
20	* <i>Sha'ā'ir al-Bayt al-Taḳawī</i>	730 or shortly after				?
21	<i>al-Mukhtār min Shī'r Ibn al-Rūmī</i>	before 730				
22	<i>al-Mukhtār min Shī'r Ibn Qalāqīs</i>	?				
23	<i>Taltīf al-Mizāj min Shī'r Ibn Ḥajjāj</i>	?				
24	* <i>al-Mukhtār min Shī'r Ibn Sanā' al-Mulḳ</i>	?				
25	<i>Mukhtār Dīwān al-Ṣāhib Sharaf al-Dīn al-Anṣārī</i>	754				
26	<i>Ta'liq al-Dīwān 743</i>	743				
27	<i>Ta'liq al-Dīwān 744</i>	744				
28	Letters in al-Qalqashandī, <i>Ṣubḥ al-A'shā</i>	various dates				
29	<i>Sūq al-Raqīq</i>	750s?				
30	(*) <i>Khubz al-Sha'ir</i>	?				
31	(*) <i>al-Sab'ah al-Sayyārah</i>	760s?				
32	(*) <i>Ṭarā'if al-Ziyādah</i>	?				
33	(*) <i>Julāsāt al-Qaṭr</i>	?				
34	(*) <i>Ṭālī' al-Sanah</i> (?)	?				

Corresponding to his importance and popularity, Ibn Nubātah is treated in a great number of bio-bibliographical works. These sources are of uneven value. Therefore it is useful to briefly comment on the more important of them. The texts are mentioned in chronological order.

(1) The *Ijāzah*. In the year 729 al-Ṣafadī asked Ibn Nubātah to grant him an *ijāzah* to transmit his writings and to give him information about his life and works. Ibn Nubātah's answer probably dates from the following year. It is the most important autobiographical document of Ibn Nubātah, who otherwise was more reluctant to talk about himself and his motives than most of his contemporaries. Of special relevance for this study is the list of works Ibn Nubātah had composed to that point, which is, of course, the most reliable list of Ibn Nubātah's works. It is also important for establishing a chronology of Ibn Nubātah's works since all works mentioned in it can be dated to, or before, 730. The text was considered important enough to be included in several sources. It can be found in al-Ṣafadī's *Wāfī* and in his *Alḥān*, in Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī's *Khizānat al-Adab*, and in Ibn Taghribirdī's *Manhal*. In the following, I will quote the *Ijāzah* according to the text in al-Ṣafadī's notice on Ibn Nubātah in his *Wāfī*.<sup>11</sup>

(2) Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*. After quoting the *Ijāzah*, al-Ṣafadī mentions several other

<sup>11</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 1:311–31; the *Ijāzah* is on pages 314–19.



titles of works by Ibn Nubātah, some of which he had heard from Ibn Nubātah himself. The notice on Ibn Nubātah in al-Ṣafadī's *Wāfi* is the basis for most later sources.

(3) *Alḥān al-Sawāji'*. For whatever reason, there is no notice on Ibn Nubātah in al-Ṣafadī's *A'yan al-ʿAṣr*,<sup>12</sup> though other ulama still alive during the composition of the book are included. Perhaps the book was written during one of the periods in which their personal relationship had cooled. At the time of al-Ṣafadī's last biographical enterprise, *Alḥān al-Sawāji' bayna al-Bādī' wa-al-Murāji'*, their relationship must have improved again somewhat. This collection of letters and poems exchanged between al-Ṣafadī and his famous contemporaries not only follows a model created by Ibn Nubātah (*Saj' al-Muṭawwaq*), but Ibn Nubātah is also granted by far the longest entry of all. There is no list of works in the text, but the documents published by al-Ṣafadī provide much valuable information. In the following, I will quote the edition by Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ,<sup>13</sup> though it is marred by the fact that the editor failed to use al-Ṣafadī's autograph manuscript, Berlin MS 8631.

(4) Ibn Ḥabīb: The *adīb* and historian Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿUmar Ibn Ḥabīb (710–79/1310–77) was a great admirer of Ibn Nubātah. In his youth he composed a *dīwān* of epigrams modeled after Ibn Nubātah's *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī*. The young Ibn Ḥabīb even dared to ask the most famous poets of his time, Ibn Nubātah and Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, to write words of praise in the form of a *taqrīḥ* in his book, and both complied with his request.<sup>14</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb immortalized this most memorable event of his life in his *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh*, in which we find an excerpt of Ibn Nubātah's *taqrīḥ* among the memorable events of the year 730 and a biography of Ibn Nubātah, including a short list of his works, among the *wafayāt* of the year 768.<sup>15</sup> The information given by Ibn Ḥabīb can claim utmost authenticity, since he met his role model Ibn Nubātah several times during his life and the two men enjoyed an untroubled friendship.

(5) Another personal acquaintance of Ibn Nubātah's was Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (728–71/1327–70), to whom Ibn Nubātah dedicated a few *qasīdahs* and a number of seven-liners. Al-Subkī in turn mentioned Ibn Nubātah in his biography of Shafī'ī scholars,<sup>16</sup> and we also find an entry for him in the dictionary of al-Subkī's

<sup>12</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yan al-ʿAṣr wa-A'wān al-Nāṣr*, ed. ʿAlī Abū Zayd et al. (Damascus, 1418–19/1998).

<sup>13</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawāji' bayna al-Bādī' wa-al-Murāji'*, ed. Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ (Damascus, 1425/2004), 2:180–268; the text of Ibn Nubātah's *Ijāzah* is on pages 186–90.

<sup>14</sup>See Thomas Bauer, "Was kann aus dem Jungen noch werden! Das poetische Erstlingswerk des Historikers Ibn Ḥabīb im Spiegel seiner Zeitgenossen," in *Festschrift Hartmut Bobzin* (forthcoming, 2007).

<sup>15</sup>See Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh*, 2:203–4 and 3:304–9, resp.

<sup>16</sup>Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyah al-Kubrā*, 5:153 (= ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāh al-Ḥulw and Maḥmūd al-



teachers.<sup>17</sup> Both entries are short and do not contain a list of works. Instead, they reveal some details of Ibn Nubātah's activities in the field of hadith. Other hadith scholars mention Ibn Nubātah as well, but these entries only confirm Ibn Nubātah's role as a hadith transmitter and have little to add to our knowledge of Ibn Nubātah's life.<sup>18</sup>

(6) Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (751–79/1377–1448) does not add substantially to the other sources. His *Tārīkh* contains a comparatively short article on Ibn Nubātah, in which he lists only the most popular of Ibn Nubātah's works.<sup>19</sup> Instead, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah is often the most important source for all those to whom Ibn Nubātah addressed his poems and letters. His detailed and sometimes tedious habit of registering all the holders of administrative offices and madrasah professorships helps considerably in dating Ibn Nubātah's poems and reconstructing his social relationships, especially after the year 741.

(7) The longest notice in *Al-Dhayl 'alā al-'Ibar* by Ibn al-'Irāqī (762–826/1360–1423) is the article on Ibn Nubātah.<sup>20</sup> His father had known Ibn Nubātah in person. Thanks to this association, Ibn al-'Irāqī is able to provide some information absent in other sources.

(8) Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī (767–837/1336–1434), who saw himself as an *adīb* in the mold of Ibn Nubātah, quotes Ibn Nubātah prominently in his *Khizānat al-Adab*.<sup>21</sup> This book is also the only source for Ibn Nubātah's *Khubz al-Sha'ir* [30].

(9) Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (773–852/1372–1449) treats Ibn Nubātah in his *Al-Durar al-Kāminah*,<sup>22</sup> but this notice, which contains hardly any new information, does not reflect at all the importance of Ibn Nubātah for the *shaykh al-islām* Ibn Ḥajar, whose father had been an acquaintance of Ibn Nubātah.<sup>23</sup> We will deal with this relationship later in the section on the *Diwān Ibn Nubātah*.

(10) Ibn Taghrībirdī (b. ca. 812/1409–10, d. 874/1470) was an ardent admirer Ṭanāhī, 2nd ed. [Cairo, 1413/1992], 9:273).

<sup>17</sup>Al-Subkī, *Mu'jam al-Shuyūkh, Takhrīj Ibn Sa'd al-Ḥanbalī*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf et al. (Beirut, 2004), 459–62.

<sup>18</sup>Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Rāfi', *Al-Wafayāt*, ed. Ṣāliḥ Mahdī 'Abbās (Beirut, 1402/1982), 2:311–12; Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Fāsi, *Dhayl al-Taḥyīd fī Ruwāt al-Sunan wa-al-Masānid*, ed. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Ḥūt (Beirut, 1410/1990), 1:250; al-Dhahabī, *Mu'jam Shuyūkh al-Dhahabī*, ed. Rūḥiyah 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūfi (Beirut, 1410/1990), 567–68.

<sup>19</sup>*Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah*, ed. 'Adnān Darwish (Damascus, 1977–97), 3:304–5.

<sup>20</sup>Ibn al-'Irāqī, *Dhayl al-'Ibar*, 1:219–23.

<sup>21</sup>Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī, *Khizānat al-Adab wa-Gḥāyat al-Arab*, ed. Kawkab Diyāb (Beirut, 2001/1421). Ibn Nubātah's *Ijāzah* is quoted in 3:326–34. For further quotations see index, 5:296.

<sup>22</sup>Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī A'yān al-Mi'ah al-Thāminah* (Hyderabad, 1929–31), 5:485–91.

<sup>23</sup>See Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Abnā' al-'Umr*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mu'īd Khān et al. (Hyderabad, 1387–96/1967–76), 1:174.



of the poetry of Ibn Nubātah. This is reflected in the length of the notices in which he treats Ibn Nubātah, though he does not offer much information not already given in earlier sources. Ibn Taghrībirdī devoted a long notice to Ibn Nubātah in his *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, in which he cites Ibn Nubātah's *Farā'id al-Sulūk* [7] and other poems.<sup>24</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī's notice on al-Ṣafadī in the same work contains more information about Ibn Nubātah than about al-Ṣafadī, since the aforementioned *Ijāzah* is quoted in its entirety in this entry.<sup>25</sup> The notice on Ibn Nubātah in *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah* is shorter and can be ignored.<sup>26</sup>

(11) Despite its late date, the chronicle of Ibn Iyās has some additional details, not so much in the obituary,<sup>27</sup> but scattered throughout the first volume.

(12) The entry on Ibn Nubātah in al-Shawkānī's *Al-Badr al-Tālī*<sup>c</sup> is important for an understanding of the reputation of Ibn Nubātah immediately before the onset of colonialism, but does not provide us with any otherwise unknown facts about the life and work of our author. The same is true for many other sources, both from contemporaries of Ibn Nubātah as well as from authors in later times.<sup>28</sup>

(13) 'Umar Mūsā Bāshā's study *Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣri* from 1963 is the only book-length scholarly monograph on Ibn Nubātah to date.<sup>29</sup> It is especially valuable for

<sup>24</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi wa-al-Mustawfā ba'da al-Wāfi*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn et al. (Cairo, 1984–). The notice on Ibn Nubātah is in vol. 11 (Cairo, 2005), 93–106.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., vol. 6 (Cairo, 1990), 241–57; the *Ijāzah* is on pages 246–54.

<sup>26</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fi Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*, Vol. V (746–800 A.H.), ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1936), 248–50. See also idem, *Al-Dalīl al-Shāfi 'alā al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Cairo, 1998), 700.

<sup>27</sup>Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fi Waqā'i' al-Duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā (Wiesbaden, 1960–75), 1:2:61–63.

<sup>28</sup>Al-Shawkānī, *Al-Badr al-Tālī*<sup>c</sup>, 2:131. Other sources: Ibn Kathīr (d. 774), *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* (Cairo, 1351/1932), 14:322; Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī (d. 832), *Ta'rif Dhawī al-'Ulā bi-man lam Yadhkuruhu al-Dhahabī min al-Nubalā*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Arnā'ūt and Akram al-Būshī (Beirut, 1998), 169–78; Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī (d. 845), *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-Kabūr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ya'lāwī (Beirut, 1411/1991), 7:103–5; idem, *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Faridah fi Tarājim al-A'yān al-Mufidah*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī (Beirut, 1423/2002), 3:221–23; idem, *Al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ziyādah et al. (Cairo, 1934–72), 3:147; al-Suyūṭī (d. 911), *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah fi Akhbār Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faql Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1387/1967–68), 1:571; Zayn al-Dīn Ibn Shāhīn (d. 920), *Nayl al-Amal fi Dhayl al-Duwal*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 1422/2002), 1:394; Ḥājjī Khalīfah (d. 1067/1657), *Kashf al-Zunūn 'an Asāmi al-Kutub wa-al-Funūn*, (Beirut, 1414/1994), 6:131; Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1089/1679), *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fi Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Beirut, n.d.), 6:212 [a terrible mess; he mixed up Ibn Nubātah, his father, and his son]; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *Al-A'lām* (Damascus, 1373–78/1954–59), 7:268–69.

<sup>29</sup>The book by Maḥmūd Sālim Muḥammad, *Ibn Nubātah: Shā'ir al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Damascus, 1420/1999), is worthless and cannot be considered a serious scholarly contribution. See my review in *MSR* 6 (2002): 219–24. J. Rikabi's entry in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd. ed., 3:900–1 is marred by many mistakes and a complete misjudgment of Ibn Nubātah's poetry. Julie Scott



its unprejudiced approach towards Ibn Nubātah's poetry. 'Umar Mūsá's book is a pioneering work and shows all the strengths and weaknesses of a work of this kind. It is high time for an update.

### 3. THE LIFE OF IBN NUBĀTAH

It is obvious that the works of Ibn Nubātah, both his poems as well as his letters and other prose texts, cannot be adequately understood if we ignore their historic and biographical context. In the following section I organize the main facts of Ibn Nubātah by year.<sup>30</sup> Due to the nature of the sources, the story of Ibn Nubātah's life appears mainly as the story of his social relations.

Amirs of the highest rank play a role twice in his life. In his first Syrian period, the princes of Ḥamāh, al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad and his son al-Afḍal, act as his patrons, and towards the end of his life the sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan would become the only sultan of immediate importance to him. But despite the enormous influence of al-Mu'ayyad on Ibn Nubātah's work, the main focus of Ibn Nubātah's life is the chancellery. Both the *dīwān al-inshā'* in Damascus as well as that in Cairo receive his attention from the very beginning of his literary activity. Even the chancellery of Aleppo is of some significance for him. Besides al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad, Ibn Nubātah's most important acquaintances are the *kuttāb al-sirr* of Damascus and Cairo, especially al-Shihāb Maḥmūd and the Ibn Faḍl Allāh brothers. Next in importance to the *kuttāb* are religious scholars with a more than passing interest in poetry, such as Ibn Ṣaṣrā at the beginning, and Nūr al-Dīn Ibn Ḥajar at the end of Ibn Nubātah's career. Another group, which was mainly the object of his epigrams, are higher officials connected with the chancelleries, such as viziers and *dawādārs*.

Personal relationships were often part of an association with a whole family. It seems as if the powerful families of the Mamluk empire took the place of caliphs, princes, and governors as patrons of literature. Therefore, a poet could give attention to even less important members of a family. The best examples are the

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Meisami's entry in the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, ed. J. S. Meisami and Paul Starkey (London, New York, 1998), 1:357–58, is also not free from errors. It was not Ibn Nubātah who “developed an interest in mysticism,” but his patron al-Malik al-Afḍal. Both articles claim that Ibn Nubātah led an itinerant life during his second Syrian period. This is also not true. Three studies that appeared in the year 2003 and treat different aspects of the works of Ibn Nubātah deserve to be mentioned: 'Awaḍ al-Ghubārī, “Al-Tanāṣṣ fi Shi'r Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣri,” in idem, *Dirāsah fi Adab Miṣr al-Islāmiyah* (Cairo, 2003), 149–230; Thomas Bauer, “Communication and Emotion: The Case of Ibn Nubātah's *Kindertotenlieder*,” *MSR* 7, no. 1 (2003): 49–95; Everett K. Rowson, “An Alexandrian Age in Fourteenth-Century Damascus: Twin Commentaries on Two Celebrated Arabic Epistles,” in *ibid.*, 97–110.

<sup>30</sup>A more narrative summary of Ibn Nubātah's life will be given in *Dictionary of Literary Biography: Arabic Literary Culture 1350–1830 C.E.*, ed. Joseph Lowry and Devin Steward (forthcoming).



Banū Faḍl Allāh. Ibn Nubātah had a close personal relationship with Shihāb al-Dīn and ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh. Yet Ibn Nubātah did not limit himself to addressing these two, but also eulogized other members of the family and congratulated them on diverse occasions of minor importance. Other families, of which several members became the object of Ibn Nubātah’s attention, were the offspring of Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the Banū al-Athīr, the Ibn Shaykh al-Salāmiyah family, Sharaf al-Dīn Ya‘qūb and his family, the Subkīs, and the Ibn Qarawīnah brothers. Next to the Banū Faḍl Allāh, the Subkīs were the most important of them. Their patronage even survived Ibn Nubātah. His pupil al-Qīrāṭī seems to have been a kind of house poet to the Subkīs.<sup>31</sup>

Ibn Nubātah’s relationship to contemporary poets may have been more extensive than the following section suggests. There are a few of them among his teachers (al-Ḥammāmī, al-Warrāq) and a few more among his colleagues or rivals (Ibn al-Wardī, al-Ḥillī, al-Ḍifdi‘, Ibn Abī Ḥajalah; al-Ṣafadī may be included rather among the *kuttāb*). Among his disciples, al-Qīrāṭī gained greatest fame. In sum, Ibn Nubātah’s life is part of a network that is representative of the culture of the *kuttāb* of the Bahri Mamluk period.

## I. FIRST CAIRENE PERIOD (686–716/1287–1316)

686 (0)<sup>32</sup>

Rabī‘ I/April 1287: Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Fāriqī al-Miṣrī is born in Cairo in the Zuqāq al-Qanādīl, the son of a hadith scholar and author of a history of the caliphs. He is a direct, tenth-generation descendant of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn Nubātah (d. 374/984–85), Sayf al-Dawlah’s famous preacher. The *nisbah* al-Fāriqī refers to this famous ancestor, who was born in Mayyāfāriqīn, the ancestral home of the Ibn Nubātah family. The *nisbah* al-Miṣrī helps to distinguish him from the preacher and from another famous, more distant relative, the poet Ibn Nubātah al-Sa‘dī (327–405/939–1014).<sup>33</sup> Some sources also mention the *nisbah* al-Ḥudhāqī, which refers to a branch of the tribe Iyād, to which the Ibn Nubātah family traced its origin. Jamāl al-Dīn had inherited this *nisbah* from his ancestor, but made hardly any use of it.<sup>34</sup> Of the several

<sup>31</sup>Ibn al-‘Irāqī, *Dhayl al-‘Ibar*, 490; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 1:12.

<sup>32</sup>Numbers in parentheses indicate Ibn Nubātah’s age at the time.

<sup>33</sup>*Dīwān Ibn Nubātah al-Sa‘dī*, ed. ‘Abd al-Amīr Maḥdī Ḥabīb al-Ṭā‘ī (Baghdad, 1397/1977).

<sup>34</sup>See Ibn Rāfi‘, *Wafayāt*, 2:312 and the explanation of the editor in footnote 2, and Ibn al-‘Irāqī, *Dhayl al-‘Ibar*, 220, with footnote 1. The correct form is also given in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 1:311; idem, *Alḥan al-Sawājī*, 2:180; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh*, 3:304. “Al-Judhāmī” (see al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah*, 1:571; Rikabi, *EI2*, 3:900, with additional inappropriate explanations; and several other late sources) and “al-Ḥamdānī,” (Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manḥal*, 11:94) are obvious mistakes. The explicit testimony of those who knew Ibn Nubātah is more convincing than the geographical



*kunya*hs Ibn Nubātah used during his life,<sup>35</sup> Abū Bakr became the most famous.

689 (3)

The small child is brought by his father to attend hadith sessions. Though he did not become a professional hadith scholar, he never ceased to occupy himself with hadith and to attend hadith sessions. Consequently, his name is recorded in several dictionaries of hadith transmitters.

690 (4)

Ghāzī al-Ḥalāwī, Ibn Nubātah's first hadith teacher, dies at the age of about 95.<sup>36</sup> Ibn Nubātah had heard from him two parts of the *Ghaylāniyāt* and was eventually to become the sole transmitter of the work in al-Ḥalāwī's *riwāyah*.

692 (6)

Death of Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, the famous *kātib al-sirr* of the chancellery in Cairo and the most accomplished prose stylist of the age.<sup>37</sup> Ibn Nubātah mentions him among his teachers in his *Ijāzah*, but he cannot have learned much from him, given his young age. However, he did meet Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, who became a model as a prose stylist for Ibn Nubātah. According to al-Ṣafadī, Ibn Nubātah "extinguished the light of Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir and left no favored position for him in the hearts of the people."<sup>38</sup>

695 (9)

Death of Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar al-Warrāq, an extraordinarily productive poet. He is considered the greatest Egyptian poet of his time and a master of the *tawriyah*. Al-Ṣafadī produces an anthology of the seven volumes of al-Warrāq's *Dīwān*.<sup>39</sup> Ibn Nubātah had met him and heard him recite an epigram.<sup>40</sup>

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arguments brought forward by 'Umar Mūsā Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, 117–20.

<sup>35</sup>Ibn al-'Irāqī, *Dhayl al-'Ibar*, 219: *dhū al-kunā: Abū Bakr wa-Abū 'Abd Allāh wa-Abū al-Faṭḥ wa-Abū al-Faḍl*.

<sup>36</sup>Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 52, *Ḥawādith wa-Wafayāt* 691–700, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmūrī (Beirut, 1421/2000), 430–31.

<sup>37</sup>J. Pedersen, "Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir," *EI*2, 3:679–80.

<sup>38</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 1:312 = al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffá*, 7:104.

<sup>39</sup>Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, vol. 19, *Baqiyat Shu'arā' Miṣr*, ed. Yūnis Aḥmad al-Sāmarrā'ī (Abu Dhabi, 1424/2003), 15–305; Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Weimar and Leiden, 1898–1949), 1:267; Ibn Ḥijjah, *Khizānat al-Adab*, 3:198–210.

<sup>40</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 1:318.



698 (12)

Death of Egypt's leading grammarian of the time, Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Nahḥās, "who never married . . . and never ate grapes,"<sup>41</sup> and whom Ibn Nubātah mentions among his teachers.<sup>42</sup>

700 (14)

Ibn Nubātah started to compose poetry before the turn of the century.<sup>43</sup> However, the only poems that can be dated with certainty to the first Cairene period are a two-line epigram on the Nile flood and a few epigrams on his early teachers and a few other celebrities.<sup>44</sup>

701 (15)

The famous hadith scholar and teacher of al-Dhahabī, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Abarqūhī<sup>45</sup> (b. 615), dies while on pilgrimage in Mecca. In his old age, Ibn Nubātah was sought after as the sole transmitter of the *Sīrah* of Ibn Ishāq/Ibn Hishām in the *riwāyah* of al-Abarqūhī.

702 (16)

Death of Ibn Daqīq al-Īd (625–702/1228–1302), one of the most renowned religious scholars of the time, considered by many as the *mujaddid* of the eighth century. As with many religious scholars, he was also an *adīb* and poet. Al-Ṣafadī compiled a short selection of his poetry.<sup>46</sup> Ibn Daqīq al-Īd was an acquaintance of Ibn Nubātah's father, and he must have exerted considerable influence on his son. However, the person whom Ibn Nubātah mentions as his main teacher in *adab*, a certain 'Alam al-Dīn Qays ibn Sulṭān al-Ḍarīr from Munyat Banī Khaṣīb,<sup>47</sup> is an otherwise unknown person.

704 (18)

Ibn al-Tīṭī, former *nā'ib dār al-ʿadl*, falls from his horse and dies.<sup>48</sup> He was a man with scholarly and literary interests and obviously an acquaintance of the Ibn Nubātah family. At a time when Ibn Nubātah had not yet reached puberty, Ibn al-Tīṭī suggested that he compose an epigram on the Nile flood. Ibn Nubātah records

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 2:12.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 1:318, 2:10–15; *GAL*, S1:527.

<sup>43</sup>Ibn al-ʿIrāqī, *Dhayl al-ʿIbar*, 221.

<sup>44</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 1:318–19.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 6:242 f.; idem, *Aʿyān*, 1:171 f.

<sup>46</sup>ʿAlī Ṣafī Ḥusayn, *Ibn Daqīq al-Īd: Ḥayātuhū wa-Dīwānuhū* (Cairo, 1960).

<sup>47</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 1:318.

<sup>48</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:330–32.



this event in his *Ijāzah*<sup>49</sup> and includes the epigram in his own poetic collections.<sup>50</sup> Like other poets, Ibn Nubātah was obviously proud of his early achievements. Since there is not a single longer *qasidah* that can be assigned to these years, there is no reason to assume that Ibn Nubātah was already a prolific poet in his first Cairene period, as ‘Umar Mūsá does.<sup>51</sup> Had Ibn Nubātah ever considered one of his early long poems (if there were any) worthy of preservation, he would have spared no effort to publish it and to note the occasion of its composition.

#### 705 (19)

Trial of Ibn Taymīyah in Damascus. Ibn Nubātah would become an acquaintance of two of the four judges, Najm al-Dīn Ibn Ṣaṣrā and Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Zamlakānī. The other two judges were already dead when Ibn Nubātah arrived in Damascus.<sup>52</sup>

#### 707 (21)

Besides the names of his teachers there is not much recorded for Ibn Nubātah’s early Cairene years. ‘Umar Mūsá, however, makes the year 707 the starting point of a second period in the life of Ibn Nubātah without presenting any compelling reason for this. According to him, this period is marked by Ibn Nubātah’s first panegyric poems, addressed, above all, to Badr al-Dīn and Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh, as well as to ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr. Contrary to ‘Umar Mūsá’s contention, however, we have no indication whatsoever that Ibn Nubātah ever tried to make a living as a panegyrist in Cairo. Though he may have composed poems in praise of Cairene scholars, none has been preserved. The fact that Ibn Nubātah composed an elegy on the death of Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh in 717, when he was already in Damascus, does not preclude the possibility that he had composed panegyrics for him while still in Egypt.<sup>53</sup> Elegies are not composed for the sake of the deceased, but for the bereaved. This elegy has to be seen in the context of Ibn Nubātah’s attempt to establish relations with the Banū Faḍl Allāh *after* his arrival in Syria in 716. The same is true for Ibn Nubātah’s poems on Badr al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh, who

<sup>49</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 1:318.

<sup>50</sup>In the *Proto-Diwan*, see Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, 19:614; on the epigram see also Th. Bauer, “Das Nilzaḡal des Ibrāhīm al-Mi‘mār,” in *Alltagsleben und materielle Kultur in der arabischen Sprache und Literatur: Festschrift für Heinz Grotzfeld*, ed. Th. Bauer and U. Stehli-Werbeck (Wiesbaden, 2005), 73.

<sup>51</sup>‘Umar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, 137–49.

<sup>52</sup>See Sherman A. Jackson, “Ibn Taymiyyah on Trial in Damascus,” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 39 (1994): 41–85.

<sup>53</sup>‘Umar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, 144–45; neither the *Diwan* nor any other source contains a poem or document that was addressed to Sharaf al-Dīn during his lifetime.



is not, as ‘Umar Mūsá believes, Sharaf al-Dīn’s brother Badr al-Dīn the Elder, but the son of Sharaf al-Dīn’s brother Muḥyī al-Dīn, Badr al-Dīn the Younger, brother of Shihāb al-Dīn and ‘Alā’ al-Dīn. The third person mentioned by ‘Umar Mūsá as an addressee of Ibn Nubātah’s poems written in Cairo is ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr.<sup>54</sup> He lived from 680 to 730 and was *kātib al-sirr* in Cairo between 709 and 729. We have several odes and epigrams that Ibn Nubātah composed for ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr, as well as a letter he wrote to him. Again, this is a family story. The Banū al-Athīr and the Banū Faḍl Allāh alternated in holding the leading positions in the *diwān al-inshā’* in Cairo and in Damascus. From his Damascene home Ibn Nubātah remained in contact not only with the members of these families who stayed in Syria, but also those who were in Cairo. A letter to ‘Alā’ al-Dīn that is preserved in *Zahr al-Manthūr* [12] and in El Escorial MS árabe 584 (fols. 106v–107r), and the rather small number of only three (albeit important) poems speak in favor of a relationship that consisted of the exchange of letters while Ibn Nubātah was in Syria. In sum, there is no justification for establishing a second Cairene period of the years 707–16. We can only assume that during these years Ibn Nubātah perfected his knowledge and his literary skill and composed his first poetry.

#### 708 (22)

Possible date of the death of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ḥammāmī (b. 669),<sup>55</sup> although 704 and 712 are also given.<sup>56</sup> He exchanged poems with Ibn Nubātah. The bath attendant al-Ḥammāmī was a popular poet, composing mainly strophic poetry and riddles, which he exchanged with Sirāj al-Dīn al-Warrāq. The three poets (and friends) al-Jazzār (601–79), al-Ḥammāmī, and al-Warrāq are the main representatives of Egyptian poetry in the generation before Ibn Nubātah. By mentioning two of them in his *Ijāzah*,<sup>57</sup> Ibn Nubātah places himself in this tradition, but at the same time strives to transcend it by composing denser and more sophisticated verses.

#### 710 (24)

The Ayyubid dynasty of Ḥamāh had come to an end with the death of the unloved Sultan al-Malik al-Muzaffar III, patron of the *washshāḥ* al-Maḥḥār, in 698. For the next twelve years, Ḥamāh was ruled by Mamluk governors. Dissatisfied with their conduct, Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad appoints his friend Abū al-Fidā’ ‘Imād al-Dīn Ismā‘īl governor of Ḥamāh and awards him the honorific title al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ.

<sup>54</sup>‘Umar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, 145–49.

<sup>55</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 6:159–61.

<sup>56</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 5:503–20; Otfried Weintritt, “An-Nāṣir al-Ḥammāmī (gest. 712/1312): Dichter und Bademeister in Kairo,” in Bauer and Stehli-Werbeck, eds., *Alltagsleben und materielle Kultur*, 381–90.

<sup>57</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 1:318–19.



In 720, he would be renamed al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad. He was the cousin of the last Ayyubid ruler of Ḥamāh. Abū al-Fidā' was a man of learning and literature, a poet and patron of poets and scholars. Today he is mainly known for his geographical work, *Taqwīm al-Buldān*, and his history, *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Tārīkh al-Bashar*, which Ibn Nubātah praised with an epigram.<sup>58</sup>

#### 714 (28)

The sultan appoints Karīm al-Dīn Ibn al-Sadīd (d. 724) as the first *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*. An epigram written to him by Ibn Nubātah may have been composed on this occasion.<sup>59</sup> When Ibn al-Sadīd became ill, many poets composed poems wishing him well and were each rewarded with two hundred dirhams. Among them was Ibn Nubātah, who contributed an epigram.<sup>60</sup> This is one of the few poems that can be dated to his Cairene period.

#### 715 (29)

Thirty years was the appropriate age to venture onto the public stage as an *adīb*.<sup>61</sup> Ibn Nubātah prepared for this step carefully. He collected material to be included in an anthology that, at the same time, was a manifesto of the importance of the *adīb* for contemporary scholarly society. In this book, the *Maṭla' al-Fawā'id* [1], Ibn Nubātah presented himself both as a scholarly expert on language and *adab*, as well as a legitimate heir to the grand tradition of Arabic poetry and prose. But was Cairo the right place to publish this book? The master of prose style, Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, was dead, and his successor as master *munshī*, Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, directed the chancellery in Damascus. In Cairo, popular poetry flourished, but if Ibn Nubātah wanted to realize his project of a literature of sophistication and refinement, he had to address all those people who happened to live in Damascus or in other places in Syria at that time. Though deeply in love with his hometown and always proud to present himself as Ibn Nubātah "the Egyptian," there was little that could hold him in Cairo. Contrary to 'Umar Mūsá, I do not believe that the reason for Ibn Nubātah's departure from Cairo was economic failure as a panegyrist (for which there is no evidence), but rather his aspiration to join the ranks of the greatest *udabā'* of the time. He could find them in the chancelleries

<sup>58</sup>*Dīwān*, 171 (in general, I will only note the page on which the poem begins). On Abū al-Fidā' see H. A. R. Gibb, "Abū 'l Fidā," *EI2*, 1:118–19; Robert Irwin, "Abū al-Fidā," *EAL*, 1:32; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh*, 2:321–25; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal*, 2:399–408.

<sup>59</sup>*Dīwān*, 478; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 1:1:444–45, 453–54; see also W. M. Brinner, "Ibn al-Sadīd," *EI2*, 3:923–24; al-Ṣafādī, *A'yān*, 3:142–54.

<sup>60</sup>*Dīwān*, 546; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 1:1:454; both epigrams also appear in *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī* (nos. 22, 173).

<sup>61</sup>See Bauer, "Ibn Ḥabīb."



of Damascus and Aleppo, in their madrasahs and the Umayyad mosque, or in al-Mu'ayyad's palace in Ḥamāh. Besides, his father had already left Cairo some time before to occupy a professorship in hadith at Damascus.

## II. FIRST SYRIAN PERIOD (716–42/1316–41)

716 (30)

In the heat of summer, Ibn Nubātah travels from Cairo to Damascus, only to find himself trapped in snow and ice the following winter. These meteorological annoyances are among the subjects of his extensive correspondence with the leading ulama of Syria, among them al-Shihāb Maḥmūd and his son Jamāl al-Dīn, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, and the other ulama, who appear in *Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq* [3]. He also directs poems and letters to Abū al-Fidāʿ, the ruler of Ḥamāh, then still bearing the title al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ. Death of the poet al-Wadāʿī. Ibn Nubātah copied many of his ideas, especially in the field of *tawriyah*.<sup>62</sup>

717 (31)

Ibn Nubātah publishes his programmatic work *Maṭlaʿ al-Fawāʿid* [1]. He dedicates the book to the prince of Ḥamāh and sends copies of it to the leading ulama, asking for a *taqrīz* to be published in a second book. After the death of Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh, whom Ibn Nubātah commemorates with a dirge,<sup>63</sup> Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd (often referred to as Ibn Fahd in Western literature) is appointed *kātib al-sirr* in Damascus. This celebrated *munshiʿ* was the venerated model for a whole generation of prose stylists.<sup>64</sup> His proficiency in poetry and prose and his influence as head of the chancellery made him Ibn Nubātah's most important acquaintance during his first years in Damascus. He contributed to Ibn Nubātah's *Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq* [3] and defended him when the *kuttāb* of the *dīwān* plotted against him, whereupon Ibn Nubātah directed a long letter of examination to him and his clerks [9]. At least five long odes in the *Dīwān* are addressed to him, and a letter to him is preserved in Ibn Nubātah's own hand.<sup>65</sup> ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir, grandson of the legendary Muḥyī al-Dīn and himself a *munshiʿ* of rank, dies in Cairo. His death is commemorated by Ibn Nubātah, who had previously addressed several artful letters to him.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>62</sup>GAL, 2:9, S2:2 (wrong date of death); al-Ṣafadī, *Wafī*, 22:199–213; Ibn Ḥijjah, *Khizānat al-Adab*, 3:291–310; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʿiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 1:1:447–48.

<sup>63</sup>*Dīwān*, 233. On Sharaf al-Dīn see al-Ṣafadī, *Wafī*, 19:317–24; idem, *Aʿyān*, 3:191–99.

<sup>64</sup>See Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmārī, *Masālik al-Aḥsār fī Mamālik al-Aḥsār*, vol. 12, *Kuttāb al-Inshāʿ Sharqan*, ed. Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ (Abu Dhabi, 1423/2002), 397–447.

<sup>65</sup>See *Dīwān*, 152, 153, 284, 363, 438; El Escorial MS árabe 567, fol. 160r.

<sup>66</sup>The *marthiyah* is in Ibn Ḥajar's additions to the *Dīwān*, Göttingen MS arab. 179, fols. 43v–44r; the letters are in El Escorial MS árabe 548. On ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 3:487–96.



## 718 (32)

Ibn Nubātah writes two letters to Amīn al-Dīn al-Qibṭī Ibn Tāj al-Riʿāsah on the occasion of the latter's appointment as *nāẓir* of Ṭarābulus.<sup>67</sup> This is the first recorded contact between Ibn Nubātah and the vizier Amīn al-Dīn.<sup>68</sup> Ibn Nubātah congratulates 'Alā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaykh al-Salāmīyah (d. 730) on his marriage to the daughter of the vizier Shams al-Dīn Ghibriyāl.<sup>69</sup> The *nāẓir al-jaysh* of Aleppo, Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Rayyān (663–749), is transferred to a post in Ṣafad. He will hold his former office and several other similar offices in Aleppo and other places in Syria several times. Ibn Nubātah addresses a number of long odes and epigrams to him, most (or all) of them during Ibn Rayyān's years in Aleppo.<sup>70</sup>

## 719 (33)

Ibn Nubātah is able to assemble *taqārīẓ* from twelve leading ulama and *kuttāb* on his *Maṭla' al-Fawā'id*. Together with some additional texts, they come to form *Saj' al-Muṭawwaq* [3], one of Ibn al-Nubātah's most successful books and one of the most characteristic documents for the culture of the Mamluk *kuttāb*. Ibn Nubātah congratulates Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn Shaykh al-Salāmīyah on his appointment as *muḥtasib* of Damascus.<sup>71</sup>

## 720 (34)

The Sultan awards the title al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad to Abū al-Fidā' of Ḥamāh. During this period, Ibn Nubātah visits Ḥamāh regularly at least once a year. He is granted a pension of 600 dirhams per year, but receives additional presents on different occasions. The court of Ḥamāh offers Ibn Nubātah the opportunity to meet other poets such as Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī. Several of his works are dedicated to the prince, among them *Sarḥ al-'Uyūn* [4] and a selection of passages from letters and documents written by al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, Ibn Nubātah's model for prose style. Above all, Ibn Nubātah assembles *qasīdahs*, *muwashshahāt*, a *zajal*, and epigrams addressed to al-Mu'ayyad and publishes them under the title *Muntakhab al-Hadiyah* [5]. Ibn Nubātah's nearly forty *qasīdahs* in praise of Abū al-Fidā' are the most important examples of panegyric poetry addressed to a ruler in post-Ayyubid, pre-modern Arabic literature. Ibn Nubātah writes a *taqrīẓ* on a *jīmīyah* by the poet

<sup>67</sup>El Escorial MS árabe 548, fols. 105r, 119r.

<sup>68</sup>See the years 733 and 735. On Amīn al-Dīn see al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:658–70.

<sup>69</sup>*Dīwān*, 112; a dirge on his death, *ibid.*, 112; on 'Alā' al-Dīn see al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 5:670.

<sup>70</sup>*Dīwān*, 112, 269, 394, 398, 401, 530; on Ibn Rayyān see al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:426–33. An epigram by Ibn Nubātah that is dedicated to Jamāl al-Dīn's son Bahā' al-Dīn is quoted in Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 1:2:61.

<sup>71</sup>*Dīwān*, 47 = *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī*, no. 31.



Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khayyāt, known as al-Ḍifdiʿ, “the Frog”<sup>72</sup> (693–756). He was a prolific poet who left a *Dīwān* of six volumes. His relationship to Ibn Nubātah, which is only attested by a few texts, may have been a troubled one, since al-Ḍifdiʿ was prone to satire and nobody escaped his sharp tongue. According to al-Ṣafadī, who seems to be quite amused by their quarrels, Ibn Nubātah and al-Ḍifdiʿ “were the Farazdaq and Jarīr of their age.”<sup>73</sup> Death of Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm, the first Hanafi qadi of Aleppo. An important *madīḥ* poem on him by Ibn Nubātah is preserved in different versions.<sup>74</sup>

## 721 (35)

*Rithāʿ* on the Cairene *munshiʿ* Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr,<sup>75</sup> to whom Ibn Nubātah had already directed several epigrams preserved in *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī* [6].

## 722 (36)

Death of the goldsmith Shams al-Dīn al-Ṣāʿigh, a leading *adīb* and specialist in metrics. His connection to Ibn Nubātah is attested by a long *qasīdah*.<sup>76</sup> Further, al-Ṣāʿigh was a protege of Quṭb al-Dīn Ibn Shaykh al-Salāmiyah (661–732), who was also an acquaintance of Ibn Nubātah.<sup>77</sup>

## 723 (37)

*Rithāʿ* on Najm al-Dīn Ibn Ṣaṣrā, who had been chief Shafiʿi qadi of Damascus for 21 years. He was one of the contributors to *Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq* [3] and an important acquaintance of Ibn Nubātah during his early Damascene years. This is reflected in many poems and epigrams in the *Dīwān* and in *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī* [6], among them an *urjūzah* of 169 rajaz verses.<sup>78</sup> For his first meeting with Ibn Ṣaṣrā, Ibn Nubātah had prepared not only a *madīḥ*, but also a satire in case Ibn Ṣaṣrā did not

<sup>72</sup>*Zahr al-Manthūr* [12], Chester Beatty MS 5161, fols. 42v, 39r–v; see also al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:353–63; *GAL*, 2:10, S2: 3.

<sup>73</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:358.

<sup>74</sup>*Dīwān*, 436, compare Chester Beatty MS 3813, fols. 29v–30v; a short poem, *Dīwān*, 525; on Kamāl al-Dīn see Ibn Hajar, *Durar*, 4:201–2; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal*, 8:299.

<sup>75</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:333–37.

<sup>76</sup>*Dīwān*, 340; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 2:361–63; al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 2:239. Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:397–400, dates his death to the year 720; still another date is given in *GAL*, 2:9.

<sup>77</sup>See *Dīwān*, 330, perhaps also p. 40; a dirge on his son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn p. 112. On Quṭb al-Dīn see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:469–72.

<sup>78</sup>*Dīwān*, 508–11; see also *Dīwān*, 80, 168, 173, 270, 367 (*rithāʿ*), 370, 431, 439, 444, 454, 459, 540, and *Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq* [3]; see also ʿUmar Mūsā Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, 175–78; Muḥammad ibn Shākīr al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1973–74), 1:125–27; W. M. Brinner, “Ibn Ṣaṣrā,” *EI2*, 3:931b.



welcome him properly. When he entered, Ibn Nubātah mistakenly handed him the satire. Ibn Ṣaṣrā not only forgave Ibn Nubātah this faux pas, but even kept it a secret.<sup>79</sup> At the request of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī collects his poetry into a thematically arranged *Dīwān*.<sup>80</sup> It documents part of the poetic exchange between him and Ibn Nubātah.<sup>81</sup> Additional poems and epigrams addressed to al-Ḥillī are preserved.<sup>82</sup> The two poets met several times in Ḥamāh, and despite their very different stylistic approach, Ibn Nubātah held al-Ḥillī in great esteem and called him “the best poet of his time.”<sup>83</sup> Whereas al-Ḥillī inspired Ibn Nubātah to write *Muntakhab al-Hadiyah* [3], Ibn Nubātah inspired al-Ḥillī to collect his epigrams in a separate *Dīwān* [see 5].

#### 724 (38)

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī is called to Cairo, honored by the sultan, and appointed chief Shafī‘i judge of Damascus.<sup>84</sup> Ibn Nubātah congratulates him with a *qasidah*.<sup>85</sup> Al-Qazwīnī (666–739) is known as Khaṭīb Dimashq because he was chief preacher of the Umayyad mosque. He was one of the contributors to *Saj‘ al-Muṭawwaq* and one of Ibn Nubātah’s first acquaintances in Damascus. Several letters to him are preserved, as are a number of *qasidahs* and epigrams written for him.<sup>86</sup> Al-Qazwīnī’s fame rests mainly on his *Talkhiṣ al-Miftāḥ*, a handbook of Arabic rhetoric. There is hardly a more frequently cited book in all of Arabic literature. Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Zamlakānī is appointed chief qadi of Aleppo. He takes up his new office reluctantly. Ibn Nubātah congratulates him with an epigram.<sup>87</sup>

#### 725 (39)

The death of three celebrities of Damascus induces Ibn Nubātah to compose three elegies. At the beginning of the year, the Sufi Ibn al-Ṣayyāḥ is mourned by an

<sup>79</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffá*, 1:715.

<sup>80</sup>W. Heinrichs, “Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī,” *EI2*, 8:802.

<sup>81</sup>See *Dīwān Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥawwar (Beirut, 2000), no. 208, and Ibn Nubātah, *Dīwān*, 72.

<sup>82</sup>*Dīwān*, 50, 72, 235, 344, 478, 426, 543 (see Ibn Ḥijjah, *Khizānat al-Adab*, 1:323).

<sup>83</sup>Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:595; see also Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 5:97–98.

<sup>84</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:254, 439–42; al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 4:492–99; ‘Umar Mūsā Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, 178–82; *GAL*, 1:295–96, 2:22, S1:516–19, S2:15–16; S. A. Bonebakker, “Al-Qazwīnī,” *EI2*, 4:863–64; W. P. Heinrichs, “Al-Khaṭīb al-Qazwīnī,” *EAL*, 2:439–40.

<sup>85</sup>*Dīwān*, 198.

<sup>86</sup>*Ibid.*, 161, 198, 323, 432, 495, 552; Ayasofya MS 2352, fol. 198v (a *wāwīyah* of 40 lines).

<sup>87</sup>*Dīwān*, 277–78, cf. Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, *Kunūz al-Dhahab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Shawqī Shaghth and Fāliḥ al-Bakkūr (Aleppo, 1417/1997), 1:326, and al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 4:632.



elegy, which is quoted in its entirety by al-Şafadī.<sup>88</sup> A death of more consequence for Ibn Nubātah occurs in Sha‘bān, when Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd dies. Ibn Nubātah writes a dirge.<sup>89</sup> As head of the chancellery, Shihāb al-Dīn’s successor is his son Shams al-Dīn, who had already assisted his father in this office in previous years. Badr al-Dīn Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār, son of the famous *munshi* Kamāl al-Dīn (d. 702), *adīb* and holder of several administrative offices, dies in Dhū al-Qa‘dah.<sup>90</sup> Ibn Nubātah composes another elegy. Badr al-Dīn was one of the contributors to *Saj‘ al-Muṭawwaq* [3], where Ibn Nubātah also quotes a long ode and several shorter poems he had addressed to him.<sup>91</sup>

#### 726 (40)

During his first fifteen years in Damascus, Ibn Nubātah visits the court of Ḥamāh every year, but—contrary to ‘Umar Mūsā’s assumption—keeps Damascus as his main residence. Ibn Nubātah writes quite a number of works, each of them a milestone of its kind, to prove himself a universal master of *adab*. Most of his works in this period are dedicated to the prince of Ḥamāh, but meant to be read and appreciated by all of the *udabā’* and *kuttāb*, especially those of Syria. Among the works that appear before 730, but cannot be dated more precisely, is *Sarḥ al-‘Uyūn fī Sharḥ Risālat Ibn Zaydūn* [4], a pioneering work that combined the form of a commentary with that of an anthology.<sup>92</sup> Besides Damascus and Ḥamāh, Aleppo is the third important place for Ibn Nubātah in Syria. The *nāẓir al-awqāf* Ibn Şaqr, who dies in this year, is one of the prominent men of Aleppo to whom Ibn Nubātah dedicates his poems.<sup>93</sup>

#### 727 (41)

*Rithā’* on the death of Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Zamlakānī, famous scholar and influential office holder in Damascus and Aleppo, one of the dignitaries who contributed a *taqrīz* to *Saj‘ al-Muṭawwaq* [3]. Additional poems about him are to be found in the *Dīwān* and in *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī* [5]. Ibn Nubātah recites his *rithā’* on Kamāl al-Dīn to al-Şafadī, who is highly impressed.<sup>94</sup> After only two years in office, Shams al-

<sup>88</sup>*Dīwān*, 220; al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 1:61–63.

<sup>89</sup>*Dīwān*, 155.

<sup>90</sup>See al-Şafadī, *A‘yān*, 4:240–41; idem, *Wāfī*, 30:272–73. On Kamāl al-Dīn see Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, 12:365–92.

<sup>91</sup>*Dīwān*, 44 (*rithā’*), 149, 277; most epigrams from *Saj‘ al-Muṭawwaq* are not in the printed *Dīwān*.

<sup>92</sup>See Rowson, “An Alexandrian Age.”

<sup>93</sup>*Dīwān*, 39 (?), 57, 233. On Ibn Şaqr see al-Şafadī, *Wāfī*, 2:200–1; idem, *A‘yān*, 4:317–19; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh*, 2:163–64.

<sup>94</sup>Al-Şafadī, *Wāfī*, 4:219–20; see also Ibn Nubātah, *Dīwān*, 67, 76, 172, 297, 405 (*rithā’*), 494, 505;



Dīn ibn Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd dies. Ibn Nubātah's dirge for him is quoted by al-Ṣafadī.<sup>95</sup> He is replaced as *kātib al-sirr* by Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn Faḍl Allāh (645–738), the father of Shihāb al-Dīn, Badr al-Dīn, and 'Alā' al-Dīn.

#### 728 (42)

The son of al-Mu'ayyad, who still bears the title al-Malik al-Manṣūr, was fond of hunting, a passion he shared with the governor of Syria, Tankiz. One of these hunting parties, which must have taken place around this year, is made the subject of Ibn Nubātah's *Farā'id al-Sulūk fi Maṣā'id al-Mulūk* [7]. With 193 *rajaz* couplets, it is the longest hunting *urjūzah* in Arabic literature and the most important contribution to hunting poetry after Abū Firās.

#### 729 (43)

Al-Ṣafadī writes from Cairo via Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh asking Ibn Nubātah for an *ijāzah* to transmit his works. Ibn Nubātah's answer probably dates from the following year. This *Ijāzah* is the most important source for Ibn Nubātah's early years and the chronology of his works. Still in 729, al-Ṣafadī and Ibn Nubātah meet in Damascus and Ibn Nubātah transmits to al-Ṣafadī some of his works in the Umayyad Mosque (*Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī* [6], *Muntakhab al-Hadiyah* [5], *Farā'id al-Sulūk* [7], *Al-Mufākharah bayna al-Sayf wa-al-Qalam* [10]).<sup>96</sup> Ibn Nubātah sends his *Mufākharah bayna al-Sayf wa-al-Qalam* to the *dawādār* Naṣir al-Dīn (see the year 734). The head of the chancellery of Cairo, 'Alā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, falls ill. Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh is transferred to Cairo to replace him. His place in Damascus is taken by Sharaf al-Dīn ibn Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Shihāb Maḥmūd,<sup>97</sup> who will change places with Muḥyī al-Dīn for eight months in 732–33 and return for a second term in office for one and a half years in the beginning of 733. While Ibn Nubātah's connection to Muḥyī al-Dīn is well established,<sup>98</sup> so far no text addressed to al-Shihāb Maḥmūd's grandson has been found.

#### 730 (44)

Ibn Nubātah publishes *Zahr al-Manthūr* [12], a collection of epistolary excerpts. With this book Ibn Nubātah establishes himself as the leading prose stylist of his time. Since he did not hold a position in the *dīwān al-inshā'* (and probably did not yet aspire to one), he had to draw largely on his private correspondence. A large

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but several epigrams from *Saj' al-Muṭawwaq* are missing in the printed *Dīwān*.

<sup>95</sup>*Dīwān*, 221; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 5:13–14; idem, *A'yān*, 5:255–56.

<sup>96</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawāji'*, 2:180–92; idem, *Wāfi*, 1:312–19.

<sup>97</sup>See al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 10:259–64; idem, *A'yān*, 2:12–25.

<sup>98</sup>Two long odes in the *Dīwān*, 100, 564, and a few shorter poems.



number of letters and gifts are exchanged between al-Şafadī, who is in al-Raḥbah, and Ibn Nubātah.<sup>99</sup> ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr dies and Ibn Nubātah “laments his death with a celebrated elegy.”<sup>100</sup> During his lifetime, Ibn Nubātah had written poems and letters to him. They show that Ibn Nubātah kept in contact not only with the chancellery of Damascus, but also with that of Cairo. Ibn Nubātah spends time in Aleppo. The young *adīb* and later historian Ibn Ḥabīb presents to him a newly-written collection of epigrams, in which he emulated Ibn Nubātah’s *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī*. Ibn Nubātah praises the work of the young aspirant with a rhetorically brilliant *taqrīz*. In the following year, Ibn Ḥabīb is able to obtain a *taqrīz* by Şafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī. He will never cease to be proud of this achievement at such an early age.<sup>101</sup> Ibn Nubātah writes a *rithā’* on the death of the young Şalāḥ al-Dīn Ibn Shaykh al-Salāmiyah, who was a member of the family to whom Ibn Nubātah dedicated poems.<sup>102</sup>

## 731 (45)

On 8 Rabī‘ I, al-Şafadī enters the *dīwān al-inshā’* in Damascus.<sup>103</sup> On his arrival in Damascus he receives a present from Ibn Nubātah and thanks him with an epigram.<sup>104</sup> The *adīb* and historian Tāj al-Dīn al-Makhzūmī spends time in Damascus and meets al-Şafadī. His visit to Ibn Nubātah may have occurred in the same year. On this occasion, he composed an epigram on the many ants that he saw in Ibn Nubātah’s house.<sup>105</sup>

## 732 (46)

Death of al-Malik al-Mu’ayyad of Ḥamāh. With the help of Tankiz, the mighty governor of Syria, his son al-Malik al-Manşūr Nāşir al-Dīn Muḥammad is nominated as his successor and awarded the title al-Malik al-Afḍal.<sup>106</sup> The poem in which Ibn Nubātah comforts al-Afḍal on the death of his father and simultaneously congratulates him on his nomination as the new sultan of Ḥamāh is praised

<sup>99</sup>Al-Şafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawāji’*, 2:192–224.

<sup>100</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 4:15–18; further texts in *Dīwān*, 83, 107, 212, El Escorial MS árabe 548, fol. 106v (also in *Zahr al-Manḥūr* [12]). See also ‘Umar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, 145–49; al-Şafadī, *A’yān*, 3:264–70.

<sup>101</sup>Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh*, 2:203–4; see also Bauer, “Ibn Ḥabīb.”

<sup>102</sup>*Dīwān*, 112, the poems p. 40 and p. 330 probably to his father, Quṭb al-Dīn Mūsá (see al-Şafadī, *A’yān*, 5:469–72), two poems p. 46 probably to ‘Izz al-Dīn ibn Mūsá (see Ibn al-‘Irāqī, *Dhayl al-Ibar*, 267–68).

<sup>103</sup>Al-Şafadī, *A’yān*, 4:257.

<sup>104</sup>Al-Şafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawāji’*, 2:225.

<sup>105</sup>Al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, 18:26–27. On al-Makhzūmī see also *GAL*, S2:220.

<sup>106</sup>Al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, 2:224–27; idem, *A’yān*, 4:322–30; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Manhal*, 9:322–24.



as an outstanding example of *iftinān*, the combination of different genres in a single text.<sup>107</sup> On 9 Rabīʿ II, the *adīb* Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Nāhiḍ (d. 761), imam of the madrasah and mosque al-Firdaws in Aleppo, finishes a copy of *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī* [6]. Ibn Nubātah knew Ibn Nāhiḍ personally and had visited him in al-Firdaws.<sup>108</sup> Ibn Nubātah writes a letter to al-Ṣafadī, who is in Cairo.<sup>109</sup>

### 733 (47)

Al-Ṣafadī answers Ibn Nubātah's letter.<sup>110</sup> Amīn al-Dīn Ibn Tāj al-Riʿāsah is appointed to his last vizierate of Damascus (733–40). This is the most probable occasion for a long congratulatory poem.<sup>111</sup> During this year and the following years, Ibn Nubātah regularly visits Ḥamāh and composes poems on al-Afḍal. For several years, al-Afḍal is still interested in literature and acts as a patron to poets. After some more years in office—the exact date cannot be fixed—al-Afḍal starts to retreat from worldly affairs and becomes a pious *zāhid*. Ibn Nubātah first reacts by no longer beginning his *qasīdahs* with love poetry, but with ascetic themes instead.<sup>112</sup> But after a while, al-Afḍal comes to loathe even this sort of poetry and stops the regular stipends paid to Ibn Nubātah. He also neglects his administrative duties, which leads to a bedouinization of the vicinities of Ḥamāh and to al-Afḍal's deposition in 742. In all, Ibn Nubātah composes more than twenty poems, most of them long *qasīdahs*, to eulogize al-Afḍal.

### 734 (48)

Death of Ibn Nubātah's son ʿAbd al-Raḥīm.<sup>113</sup> Ibn Nubātah's private life was overshadowed by the death of most of his children. Though infant death was a common experience in those times, Ibn Nubātah lost many children who were older, after having developed an intense emotional relationship with them. According to al-Ṣafadī, Ibn Nubātah had to bury about sixteen sons, all aged between five and seven.<sup>114</sup> Ibn Nubātah confronted his pain by composing poetry. Just like Friedrich Rückert, Ibn Nubātah composed a series of “Kindertotenlieder” on the death of his children, most of them on the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm,<sup>115</sup> who may have been Ibn Nubātah's favorite son. Note that he bore the name of his

<sup>107</sup>*Dīwān*, 429; Ibn Ḥijjah, *Khizānat al-Adab*, 2:43–45.

<sup>108</sup>Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh*, 3:239.

<sup>109</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ*, 2:230–32.

<sup>110</sup>*Ibid.*, 232–37.

<sup>111</sup>*Dīwān*, 502 (27 lines; the poem has 53 lines in Ibn Duqmāq's manuscript of the *Dīwān*).

<sup>112</sup>See for example *Dīwān*, 139.

<sup>113</sup>See *Ḥaḍīrat al-Uns* [16].

<sup>114</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 1:312.

<sup>115</sup>See Bauer, “Communication and Emotion.”



famous ancestor, the preacher of Sayf al-Dawlah. The career of the *dawādār* Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Kawandak came to a tragic end. Since 712, Nāṣir al-Dīn had been the dearest friend of the governor Tankiz and the most powerful man in the office of the *dawādār*. “People never saw a *dawādār* like him.”<sup>116</sup> Ibn Nubātah dedicated to him his “Debate between Sword and Pen,” [10] after he had already dedicated it to al-Malik al-Mu’ayyad. The subject was most suitable for a man in a position between the civil and military elite.

## 735 (49)

Ibn Nubātah accompanies Amīn al-Dīn Ibn Tāj al-Ri’āsah on his journey to Jerusalem and al-Khalīl. Ibn Nubātah describes this journey in his *Ḥaḍīrat al-Uns ilā Ḥaḍrat al-Quds* [16]. Perhaps there was a connection between this journey and Ibn Nubātah’s appointment to the office of the *nāẓir al-qumāmah*, the keeper of the key of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.<sup>117</sup>

## 736 (50)

The Syrian governor Tankiz is so enamored of ‘Alam al-Dīn Ibn al-Quṭb that he appoints him *kātib al-sirr* of Damascus, much to the disappointment of al-Shihāb Ibn Faḍl Allāh, who had expected to get the post himself.<sup>118</sup> Ibn Nubātah was a close friend of Shihāb al-Dīn and the Faḍl Allāh family. Therefore he did not dare to extend his contacts with Ibn al-Quṭb, and his relations with the *dīwān al-inshā’* declined. This may have occurred at a time in which Ibn Nubātah needed employment in the *dīwān* more urgently than before, since the patronage of the prince of Ḥamāh had become more and more uncertain.

## 737 (51)

‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh takes up his duties in the chancellery of Cairo, first as deputy for his sick father, and then, after his death in the following year, as *kātib al-sirr* himself. He would hold this office for 33 (lunar) years, longer than anybody else, until his death in Ramaḍān 769/1368. More than forty poems addressed to him are preserved in Ibn Nubātah’s *Dīwān*, among them a number of seven-liners [31]. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn was a man of literary taste and great stylistic competence. He was also an active and engaged patron of poets, among them al-Qirāṭī and the popular poet al-Mi’mār. In Ibn Nubātah’s later years, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn played a role similar to that of al-Mu’ayyad during his early years. There is no other person to whom Ibn Nubātah ever dedicated as many poems as he did to these two. In

<sup>116</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 5:105.

<sup>117</sup>See *Dīwān*, 465; see also ‘Umar Mūsā Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, 198–202, and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 1:212.

<sup>118</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 4:304–10.



his poems to ‘Alā’ al-Dīn, Ibn Nubātah perfected his *tawriyah* style. These poems differ remarkably from his earlier poems and represent the main achievement of his later work. Most of Ibn Nubātah’s poems to him date from his second Syrian and second Cairene period. Death of the prominent *kātib* ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ibn Ghānim, who had contributed to *Saj’ al-Muṭawwaq* [3].<sup>119</sup> Ibn Nubātah also knew his son Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh (721–44), whose promising career was ended by his premature death.<sup>120</sup>

### 738 (52)

After a year and eight months in office, the *kātib al-sirr* Ibn al-Quṭb is arrested, his property is confiscated, and he is put under house arrest until Tankiz’s removal from office. His successor is Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyá ibn Ismā‘īlī Ibn al-Qaysarānī,<sup>121</sup> Tankiz’s new favorite. Al-Ṣafadī congratulates him immediately,<sup>122</sup> but Ibn Nubātah, who once had praised Yaḥyá’s father,<sup>123</sup> was in a worse situation. Perhaps the poem *Dīwān*, 400 was an attempt to ingratiate himself with the chancellery again. It obviously was not successful. He may have been too closely associated with al-Shihāb Ibn Faḍl Allāh. Shihāb al-Dīn, however, often criticized the state of the chancellery of Damascus. This angered the sultan, who imprisoned him.

### 739 (53)

Tāj al-Dīn Ibn al-Zayn Khaḍir, *kātib al-sirr* of Aleppo since 733, is deposed and retreats to Cairo.<sup>124</sup> He would return to Syria as successor to Badr al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh as *kātib al-sirr* of Damascus in 746, eight months before his own death. Ibn Nubātah dedicates several long odes to him, perhaps most of them during Tāj al-Dīn’s Aleppo period.<sup>125</sup> Aleppo obviously was always an important place for Ibn Nubātah. Ibn Nubātah laments the death of al-Qazwīnī with a *marthiyah*.<sup>126</sup>

### 740 (54)

Tankiz, the mighty governor of Syria, had aroused the suspicion of Sultan al-Nāṣir

<sup>119</sup>*Dīwān*, 235, 320, 448, further texts in *Saj’ al-Muṭawwaq* [3]; see also al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 22:33–38; idem, *A’yān*, 3:496–502; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, 3:78–84.

<sup>120</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 17:351–62.

<sup>121</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 5:550–60.

<sup>122</sup>*Ibid.*, 557–58.

<sup>123</sup>*Dīwān*, 463.

<sup>124</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 4:420–21; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabih*, 3:96; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 2:498–99.

<sup>125</sup>*Dīwān*, 87, 110, 154, 223 (*rithā’*), 366; it is not always possible to decide if a *Tājīyah* was directed to him or to Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī.

<sup>126</sup>*Ibid.*, 404.



and he is arrested, taken to Alexandria, and executed.<sup>127</sup> With the death of Tankiz, many of his favorites are dismissed from office. Ibn Nubātah had fared well with the Tankiz administration, though he had not been employed by the *dīwān al-inshā'* during the last years. He might have viewed this development with mixed feelings.

#### 741 (55)

After his imprisonment in the Cairene Citadel (Sha‘bān 739 to Rabī‘ I 740), al-Shihāb Ibn Faḍl Allāh regains favor and is finally appointed *kātib al-sirr* of Damascus.<sup>128</sup> Shihāb al-Dīn, a good poet and extraordinary prose stylist, is the most important person in Ibn Nubātah’s life besides Abū al-Fidā’ and al-Shihāb’s brother ‘Alā’ al-Dīn. The dozen *Shihābiyāt* in Ibn Nubātah’s *Dīwān* give an imperfect picture of the importance of this relationship, as do the few preserved prose texts, such as Ibn Nubātah’s *taqrīz* on Shihāb al-Dīn’s extract of *Qalā'id al-Iqyān* included in *Zahr al-Manthūr* [12]. Ibn Nubātah also dedicates his *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī* [6] to Shihāb al-Dīn. Amīn al-Dīn Ibn Tāj al-Ri’āsah is executed in Cairo after he had been dismissed from the vizierate the year before.<sup>129</sup>

#### 742 (56)

In Rabī‘ II, al-Afḍal is deposed as governor of Ḥamāh and transferred to Damascus as an *amīr mi‘ah*, but he dies in the same month. Ibn Nubātah composes an elegy, which laments his death, the end of the Ayyubid dynasty, and the closing of an important chapter in his own life.<sup>130</sup> Sultan al-Nāṣir Aḥmad appoints Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh (710–60) to the rank of an *amīr ‘asharah*. This Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, brother of Shihāb al-Dīn and ‘Alā’ al-Dīn, is the rare case of an offspring of a family of ulama who went to Cairo in Turkish attire to make a career among the *umarā'*.<sup>131</sup> The seven-liner *Dīwān*, 117, may have been dedicated to him. Death of Badr al-Dīn Ibn Makkī, *kātib* and holder of several offices in Tripoli. He and Ibn Nubātah had been on good terms, but their friendship suffered a crisis that resulted in an exchange of epigrams.<sup>132</sup>

### III. SECOND SYRIAN PERIOD (743–61/1342–60)

#### 743 (57)

<sup>127</sup>See S. Conermann, “Tankiz,” *EI2*, 10:185–86.

<sup>128</sup>Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 2:571.

<sup>129</sup>Ibid., 163.

<sup>130</sup>*Dīwān*, 99.

<sup>131</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān*, 5:491–92. Another amir of this family is Nāṣir al-Dīn; see the year 764.

<sup>132</sup>*Dīwān*, 333, also in *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī* [6] and Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 6:17–18.



Ibn Nubātah enters the *dīwān al-inshāʿ*. His financial situation had become increasingly difficult, especially after the loss of his Ḥamāh stipend. It seems that at this time he relied to a degree on the support of his father.<sup>133</sup> Therefore, to seek a position in the *dīwān* was the most obvious thing for him to do. He had established close contact with the chancellery since coming to Syria, but the last years were not favorable for Ibn Nubātah, who was a partisan of Ibn Faḍl Allāh. His friend Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh had finally become the head of the *dīwān*, and it was he who took Ibn Nubātah with him into the chancellery. Ibn Nubātah started to work immediately, but it was only after some time had elapsed that he received his appointment decree, which was drawn up by al-Ṣafadī.<sup>134</sup> Advanced in age as he was, and having acquired the reputation of a great stylist, his situation as a “beginner” in the *dīwān* must not have been easy for him. He met the pressure to succeed by publishing a collection of documents and official letters produced in his first year under the title *Taʿlīq al-Dīwān* [26]. Still in the same year, Shihāb al-Dīn is dismissed and replaced by his brother Badr al-Dīn. Shihāb al-Dīn spends his time in the following years writing his encyclopedia *Masālik al-Aḥṣār*, which contains an early version of the *Dīwān Ibn Nubātah*.

#### 744 (58)

Ibn al-Quṭb’s star is rising again. After two unsuccessful years as vizier in Damascus, he is appointed inspector of the army of Damascus. He would hold this office for sixteen years. It is only now that Ibn Nubātah addresses a few lines to him.<sup>135</sup> Ibn Nubātah publishes this year’s output as a *muwaqqiʿ* in the chancellery as a sequel to his *Taʿlīq al-Dīwān* [27].

#### 745 (59)

The new vizier (= *nāẓir al-dawāwīn*) Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Marājil arrives in Dhū al-Ḥijjah.<sup>136</sup> If I understand al-Maqrīzī correctly, he cut the wages of many secretaries of the Damascene chancellery, among them prominent members, including Ibn Nubātah.<sup>137</sup> On the other hand, Ibn Nubātah welcomed Ibn Marājil with an epigram, and hailed the vizier with two long *qasīdahs*, in which he thanks him for the many favors he had bestowed on him.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>133</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:192; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 5:437.

<sup>134</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 1:330–31.

<sup>135</sup> *Dīwān*, 470.

<sup>136</sup> Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 2:414–16, 449–50, 3:230.

<sup>137</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:671. Contrary to ʿUmar Mūsā Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, 207, I do not think that *qaṭaʿa* in this context means “remove from office.”

<sup>138</sup> *Dīwān*, 147, 208; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabih*, 3:260.



## 746 (60)

Death of Badr al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh. Ibn Nubātah writes a dirge and transforms a poem intended to be addressed to Badr al-Dīn into a poem on his brother Shihāb al-Dīn.<sup>139</sup> Due to his early death at the age of 36, Badr al-Dīn left a smaller trace than his brothers in the oeuvre of Ibn Nubātah. There is only a single long ode to him in Ibn Nubātah's *Dīwān*, but Ibn Nubātah was also the author of Badr al-Dīn's marriage contract.<sup>140</sup>

## 747 (61)

For a few months the vizierate of Damascus is held by the 24-year-old Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Hilāl. Ibn Nubātah congratulates him with an epigram that he recited to al-Ṣafadī, who criticized it.<sup>141</sup> Ibn Nubātah composes a dirge on the death of Tāj al-Dīn Ibn al-Zayn Khaḍir, Badr al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh's short-term successor as *kātib al-sirr* of Damascus.<sup>142</sup> Tāj al-Dīn's successor Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn al-Ṣāhib Ya'qūb would enjoy a longer period in office (until 763). Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Shihāb Maḥmūd (676–760) is appointed *kātib al-sirr* of Aleppo, an office he had already held for sixteen years until 733. He would be dismissed two years later, but would return for a third term from 752 to 759. His successor is al-Ṣafadī.<sup>143</sup> Besides his father, Jamāl al-Dīn was the most important member of the family for Ibn Nubātah, who addresses letters and a large number of poems to him. At least two odes composed for him are missing in the printed *Dīwān*.<sup>144</sup>

## 748 (62)

From Jumādā I to the beginning of the following year, Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Tāj Ishāq (d. 771) is appointed to the vizierate of Damascus for the first time. Ibn Nubātah dedicates to him at least two long *qasidahs* (one on this occasion) and an epigram.<sup>145</sup> The Marinid ruler Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī establishes a *waqf* in Damascus for which Ibn Nubātah writes the *tawqī'*.<sup>146</sup> Execution of the amir al-Ḥājj Baydamur

<sup>139</sup>*Dīwān*, 460, 211; 'Umar Mūsā Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, 139–44, confuses this Badr al-Dīn with his uncle, the brother of his father Muḥyī al-Dīn.

<sup>140</sup>Included in *Zahr al-Manthūr* [12]. The ode is in *Dīwān*, 365, shorter poems *ibid.*, 56, 78, 234.

<sup>141</sup>*Dīwān*, 414; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 6:406; *idem*, *A'yān*, 1:219; al-Maqrizī, *Muqaffá*, 1:391.

<sup>142</sup>*Dīwān*, 223.

<sup>143</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 6:143–45; *idem*, *A'yān*, 1:127–32; *idem*, *Alḥān al-Sawāji'*, 1:47–51.

<sup>144</sup>*Dīwān*, 11, 108, 109, 216, 396, 399, 438, 466, 554; see also Berlin MS 7861, fol. 129r and “the famous *qasidah*» mentioned by Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 5:171 f; letters in El Escorial MS árabe 548.

<sup>145</sup>*Dīwān*, 260, 269, 302; on Ibn al-Tāj see Ibn Qāḍi Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 2:504, 541, 3:378–79.

<sup>146</sup>Ibn al-Wardī, *Tārīkh* (Beirut, 1417/1996), 2:336–37. See also 'Umar Mūsā Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, 207–8.



al-Badrī, the former governor of Aleppo, to whom Ibn Nubātah had dedicated one of his few long odes addressed to an amir.<sup>147</sup> Death of the *muḥaddith al-ʿaṣr*, al-Dhahabī, who reckoned Ibn Nubātah among his *shuyūkh*.<sup>148</sup>

#### 749 (63)

Year of the Black Death. Many friends and colleagues of Ibn Nubātah die, including the poets Zayn al-Dīn Ibn al-Wardī (who calls Ibn Nubātah *ṣāhibunā*)<sup>149</sup> and al-Miʿmār. For Ibn Nubātah, the heaviest loss may have been Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh. Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Jumlah is appointed preacher at the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. He will hold this office until his death in 764. He was the successor of Tāj al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, to whose father Ibn Nubātah had turned when he came to Damascus. Ibn Nubātah's connection to Ibn Jumlah is attested by at least two long odes.<sup>150</sup> It seems as if the Great Mosque of Damascus was the most important religious institution with which Ibn Nubātah maintained close contact. Some documents even suggest that he held some sort of position in its *dīwān* for a while.

#### 750 (64)

Ibn Nubātah's father Shams al-Dīn dies in Damascus at the age of 84 (lunar) years and is buried at the foot of Jabal Qāsiyūn.<sup>151</sup> He had reached the pinnacle of his career only the year before, when he had been appointed shaykh of the Nūriyah madrasah in Damascus as successor to Zayn al-Dīn al-Mizzī, the son of the famous hadith scholar and previous shaykh of the Nūriyah, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Mizzī (654–742).<sup>152</sup> Ibn Nubātah is appointed successor to his father as notary (*shāhid al-qasam*) of Dārayyā and Dūmah, two places in the Ghūṭah. Again he asks al-Ṣafadī to issue his appointment decree.<sup>153</sup> Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī dies in Baghdad.<sup>154</sup>

<sup>147</sup> *Dīwān*, 362; see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:98 f.

<sup>148</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam Shuyūkh al-Dhahabī*, ed. Rūḥiyah ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūfī (Beirut, 1410/1990): 567–68.

<sup>149</sup> Ibn al-Wardī, *Tārīkh*, 2:336.

<sup>150</sup> *Dīwān*, 304, 403; on Ibn Jumlah see *GAL*, S2:77; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 2:553, 3:221, 240–41.

<sup>151</sup> Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 2:705–6.

<sup>152</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal*, 11:83; on al-Mizzī see G. H. A. Juynboll, “Al-Mizzī,” *EI2*, 7:212–13.

<sup>153</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ*, 2:254–56.

<sup>154</sup> The date 749 is given by al-Ṣafadī, *Wafī*, 18:482, but since al-Ṣafadī corrected this date later in his *Aʿyān*, 3:70, it is likely incorrect. The date 752 given in the *Aʿyān*, however, is most certainly too late. Therefore, the date 750 is the most probable. It is given by Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabih*, 3:138, who was a close acquaintance and great admirer of al-Ḥillī. It is corroborated by al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, 2:350; see also Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 2:595: “Baghdad, end of 750.”



## 751 (65)

Bahā' al-Dīn Abū al-Baqā' al-Subkī is given a professorship at the Madrasah al-Rawāḥiyah in Damascus.<sup>155</sup> Ibn Nubātah had dedicated a poem to him already in his *Dīwān al-Aṣl*,<sup>156</sup> which indicates his early and strong connection to the Subkī family. Another Bahā' al-Dīn al-Subkī, Aḥmad ibn 'Alī, the son of Taqī al-Dīn and author of *'Arūs al-Afrāḥ*, an ingenious manual on rhetoric, may also have been the object of poems by Ibn Nubātah. It is not always possible to determine which of them is the addressee.<sup>157</sup>

## 752 (66)

'Izz al-Dīn Ṭuqtāy (d. 760) is appointed *dawādār* and is at the height of his power, which lasts until 758. At least two epigrams attest to Ibn Nubātah's (if only marginal) relationship to this amir.<sup>158</sup>

## 753 (67)

At the beginning of the year, prices for foodstuffs in Damascus rise considerably.<sup>159</sup> We do not know if this caused problems for Ibn Nubātah and his family, but a review of Ibn Nubātah's life must note his repeated complaints about his miserable financial situation.<sup>160</sup> The sources agree that Ibn Nubātah never achieved worldly riches. Not every complaint should be taken as a sign of extreme poverty, though. To ask other people for gifts was also a way to make contact with them and to honor them. Further, I cannot help but feel that wealth was not a major ambition of Ibn Nubātah. Rather than risk exaggerating Ibn Nubātah's poverty, one should carefully study the attitudes towards money and wealth in this period and the role of gifts in the establishment and preservation of social relationships.

## 754 (68)

Ibn Nubātah produces a selection of the poetry of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Anṣārī [25]. This is one of four selections of poetry he made that have survived. The others are dedicated to the poems of Ibn al-Rūmī [21], Ibn Qalāqīs [22], and Ibn al-Ḥajjāj

<sup>155</sup>Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:10; on Bahā' al-Dīn see *ibid.*, 3:499–501, and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 3:310–14.

<sup>156</sup>*Dīwān*, 288 (see Ayasofya MS 3891, fols. 22v–23r), 343, 446, and see *Dīwān*, 50 and Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 1:2:12.

<sup>157</sup>The seven-liner, *Dīwān*, 159 is probably addressed to Aḥmad ibn 'Alī.

<sup>158</sup>*Dīwān*, 261–62; see the headlines in Ayasofya MS 2352, fol. 94r.

<sup>159</sup>Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:33.

<sup>160</sup>For example, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, 1:330; 'Umar Mūsā Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, records many instances of this kind throughout his book.



[23]. His selection of the poetry of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk [24] seems to have been lost.

#### 755 (69)

Beginning of the second reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, who was interested in Ibn Nubātah's poetry. He ordered production of a copy of Ibn Nubātah's *Dīwān* and eventually invited him to Egypt. If Ibn Iyās is right, Ibn Nubātah congratulated the sultan on this occasion with an epigram that is only a slight revision of an epigram he had composed on a different occasion many years before and included in his *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī* [6].<sup>161</sup>

#### 756 (70)

Death of Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, the prolific scholar, qadi, and preacher. Ibn Nubātah dedicated to him at least three *qasīdahs* and several shorter poems. A first-rank literary joke is Ibn Nubātah's transformation of al-Ḥarīrī's didactic poem on syntax, the *Mulḥat al-Frāb*, into a panegyric *urjūzah*. Ibn Nubātah composes a long elegy on his death, as did al-Ṣafadī, al-Qīrātī, and others, and sends it from Damascus to Taqī al-Dīn's son Tāj al-Dīn in Cairo.<sup>162</sup>

#### 757 (71)

Ibn Nubātah exchanges letters with the poet and prolific writer Ibn Abī Ḥajalah (725–76), who is also the addressee of at least one of Ibn Nubātah's seven-liners.<sup>163</sup>

#### 758 (72)

In all probability, Ibn Nubātah's *Sūq al-Raqīq* [29] was written during the late fifties, though no exact date can be given. In this book, the poet collected the *nasīb* of many of his *qasīdahs* to create a book of love poetry. The text, which is preserved in Ibn Nubātah's own hand, shows that the poet had thoroughly revised many poems since their creation.

<sup>161</sup>See *Dīwān*, 531, and Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-Zuhūr*, 1:1:553.

<sup>162</sup>The *qasīdahs* *Dīwān*, 8, 264, 273, the shorter poems *ibid.*, 94, 237, 241, 349, 415, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS adab Ṭal'at 4658, fols. 22r–v; the *rajaz* poem *Dīwān*, 582; the *rithā'* *ibid.*, 41; see also Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyah*, 5:305–407, esp. 397–400, and Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-Zuhūr*, 1:1:556–57. See also *GAL*, 2:86–88, S2:102–4; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 3:417–55.

<sup>163</sup>Ibn Abī Ḥajalah, *Sukkardān al-Sulṭān*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad 'Umar (Cairo, 2000), 10–11; on Ibn Abī Ḥajalah see *GAL*, 2:12–13, S2:5–6; J. Robson, U. Rizzitano, "Ibn Abī Ḥadjala," *EI2*, 3:686; T. Seidensticker, "Ibn Abī Ḥajala," *EAL*, 1:305. Ibn Nubātah's seven-liner, *Dīwān*, 227.



## 759 (73)

The famous scholar Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī,<sup>164</sup> son of the aforementioned Taqī al-Dīn, is dismissed from office as chief Shafīʿī qādi of Damascus in Shaʿbān but reinstated a month later. On this latter occasion, al-Ṣafadī congratulates him with a long poem,<sup>165</sup> and in all probability Ibn Nubātah's poem *Dīwān*, 141–43, was composed on the same occasion. Tāj al-Dīn was one of the closest acquaintances of Ibn Nubātah during his last years. They exchanged many poems and shared (together with al-Ṣafadī) a passion for riddles. A few more long *qasīdahs* and about a dozen of Ibn Nubātah's seven-liners are addressed to Tāj al-Dīn.<sup>166</sup>

## 760 (74)

The *kātib al-sirr* Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn Yaʿqūb is transferred to Aleppo as the successor to al-Ṣafadī, who, in turn, becomes Nāṣir al-Dīn's successor as *wakīl bayt al-māl* and *muwaqqiʿ al-dast* in Damascus. The new head of the chancellery is Amīn al-Dīn Ibn al-Qalānīsī,<sup>167</sup> to whom Ibn Nubātah seems to have had no close ties and in whose biographies epithets or praise are conspicuously missing. He will be dismissed two years later, and Nāṣir al-Dīn returns for a few months. It must remain speculation whether these developments contributed to Ibn Nubātah's decision to go to Egypt despite his advanced age.

## IV. Second Cairene Period (761–68/1360–66)

## 761 (75)

At the invitation of Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, Ibn Nubātah returns to Cairo in Rabīʿ I, 44 years after he had left. He is appointed *muwaqqiʿ al-dast* in the Cairene chancellery. Due to his poor health, he cannot work regularly, but is paid his wages nonetheless. This office may have been meant as a sinecure for the renowned aging *adīb* rather than a real job. Ibn Nubātah stays in a house that is lent to him by the merchant Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar (d. 777/1375), a legal scholar and man of letters, to whom Ibn Nubātah addresses many of his seven-liners. Some of them mention a quarrel about the house, which would end their friendship. Nūr al-Dīn's son, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, would profit from Ibn Nubātah's manuscripts which he inherited from his father.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>164</sup> GAL, 2:89–90, S2:105–7; J. Schacht, C. E. Bosworth, “Al-Subkī,” *EI2*, 9:744–45; al-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ*, 1:392–424.

<sup>165</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ*, 1:402–4; on the event see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:133–34.

<sup>166</sup> *Dīwān*, 48, 77, 92, 158, 159, 226, 309, 314, 349, 457, 469, 470, 574.

<sup>167</sup> On Nāṣir al-Dīn see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:311–18; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:145–46, 186, 214–15; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 6:42–44. On Amīn al-Dīn see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:310–12; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 5:96–97.

<sup>168</sup> See part II of this article; poems addressed to Nūr al-Dīn in *Dīwān*, 74, 75, 158, 228, 230, 240,



## 762 (76)

Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan is put to death on 9 Jumādā I.<sup>169</sup> Most contemporaries and historians do not say much in favor of this sultan, besides his building the beautiful madrasah-mosque that bears his name. As is easily understandable, Ibn Nubātah saw things differently. He praised the sultan with four *qasīdahs*, a *takhmīṣ*, and several seven-liners.<sup>170</sup> Al-Nāṣir Ḥasan was the only sultan eulogized by Ibn Nubātah. We do not know anything about the relationship between Ibn Nubātah and al-Ḥasan's successors al-Manṣūr Muḥammad (762–64) and al-Ashraf Sha'ḥbān (764–78). Fakhr al-Dīn Mājīd Ibn Khaṭīb is dismissed from office as vizier in Cairo.<sup>171</sup> After ten months in office as vizier in Damascus, the recently converted Copt Fakhr al-Dīn Mājīd Ibn Qarawīnah is transferred to Cairo to replace his namesake as vizier and *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*.<sup>172</sup> He administers his offices very successfully, but judgments of his personality are controversial.<sup>173</sup> After the overthrow of Yalbughā in 768, he was tortured to death three months after Ibn Nubātah's death. He was one of three brothers (the others were 'Alam al-Dīn Ibrāhīm and Sa'd al-Dīn),<sup>174</sup> to whom Ibn Nubātah addressed several of his seven-liners. The Ibn Qarawīnah family was probably the last family that came to play a role in Ibn Nubātah's life. Since Ibn Nubātah had already dedicated poems to Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn Khaṭīb, it is not always easy to avoid confusion over who is addressed.<sup>175</sup>

## 763 (77)

Death of Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn Ya'qūb, *kātib al-sirr* of Damascus since 747, with the exception of two years in Aleppo (760–62). He is praised as a pious man, well versed in the religious sciences, and a bibliophile, who was interested in literature and composed poetry himself. Ibn Nubātah had addressed many poems to him, among them a dirge on the death of his mother.<sup>176</sup> He had already addressed his father Sharaf al-Dīn Ya'qūb (d. 729), who had been *nāẓir* of Aleppo for many

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242, 271, 309; see also 229.

<sup>169</sup>P. M. Holt, "Al-Nāṣir," *EI2*, 7:992–93; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:247–52.

<sup>170</sup>*Dīwān*, 15, 115, 195, 331, 380, 381, 491, 519, 521, 579.

<sup>171</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:51; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:179–80.

<sup>172</sup>Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:180, 301–2; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal*, 9:185; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:60, 147–48 (erroneously قنبروز).

<sup>173</sup>See al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:147–48, and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal*, 9:185; Ibn al-'Irāqī, *Dhayl al-'Ibar*, 216–17.

<sup>174</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:140.

<sup>175</sup>On Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn Khaṭīb see *Dīwān*, 47, 520, and the *qasīdah* p. 389; on Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn Qarawīnah: *ibid.*, 166 (?) and 468; on Sa'd al-Dīn: *ibid.*, 240, 268, 468–69, 525; on 'Alam al-Dīn: *ibid.*, 461 (?).

<sup>176</sup>*Dīwān*, 306, other poems *ibid.*, 16 (?), 62, 209, 243, 253, 327, 349, 390.



years, and written a poem of condolence when he lost his uncle.<sup>177</sup>

#### 764 (78)

Al-Ṣafadī dies. His relationship to Ibn Nubātah began as that of a pupil, after which they became friends and exchanged poems and presents. In the *dīwān al-inshā'* in Damascus they were colleagues and al-Ṣafadī issued several documents for Ibn Nubātah. But their friendship was not untroubled. Al-Ṣafadī emulated Ibn Nubātah's work to a degree that Ibn Nubātah regarded as plagiarism. Their quarrels culminated with Ibn Nubātah's *Khubz al-Sha'ir* [30]. This may have been a reason for al-Ṣafadī to concentrate more on the theoretical side of *adab*, which was not Ibn Nubātah's domain. Later, there seems to have been a reconciliation. In al-Ṣafadī's *Alḥān al-Sawāji'*, Ibn Nubātah is granted by far the longest chapter. It comprises almost a hundred pages and contains poems and letters exchanged between them.<sup>178</sup> Al-Ṣafadī opines that Ibn Nubātah never reached the rank among the *kuttāb* that he deserved.<sup>179</sup> This was probably due to Ibn Nubātah's very late decision to enter the *dīwān al-inshā'*. In addition, his character seems not to have been without a certain stubbornness, which made it difficult for him to navigate the intrigues of the chancellery. But even the more amiable and successful al-Ṣafadī did not reach the highest possible positions. In his case, it was his increasing deafness that got in the way.<sup>180</sup> Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh, the grandson of Sharaf al-Dīn, dies in Adana. He and his father are two more examples of members of the Faḍl Allāh family who pursued a military career. Ibn Nubātah had addressed poems to him.<sup>181</sup> Death of al-Kutubī, who had known Ibn Nubātah.<sup>182</sup>

#### 765 (79)

Perhaps as his last work, Ibn Nubātah assembles his miniature *qasīdahs* of seven lines in a separate *Dīwān* entitled *Al-Sab'ah al-Sayyārah* [31]. An exact date cannot be given, but the book cannot have been finished earlier than during the Cairene years (if it was ever finished at all).

#### 766 (80)

The poet and prose stylist Burhān al-Dīn al-Qīrāṭī (726–81) returns to Cairo.<sup>183</sup> He

<sup>177</sup>Ibid., 43, other poems *ibid.*, 12, 345; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh*, 2:196.

<sup>178</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawāji'*, 2:180–268.

<sup>179</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *Wafī*, 1:312.

<sup>180</sup>Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:228.

<sup>181</sup>*Dīwān*, 237 (= Ibn Ḥijjah, *Khizānat al-Adab*, 3:353), 242; see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:239; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 5:222.

<sup>182</sup>See al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, 3:159.

<sup>183</sup>The date 766 is given by Brockelmann, *GAL*, 1:14, but I could not find it in the sources accessible



and Ibn Nubātah enjoy boat trips on the Nile. Several of Ibn Nubātah's seven-liners directed to al-Qirāṭī date from these years. When Ibn Nubātah was still in Damascus, al-Qirāṭī had written a letter of praise of "extreme length and beauty" to Ibn Nubātah, which is counted among al-Qirāṭī's major works.<sup>184</sup> Ibn Nubātah was al-Qirāṭī's model, and, according to Ibn Taghribirdī, al-Qirāṭī is the best poet of the age next to Ibn Nubātah, and the poet who comes closest to him.<sup>185</sup>

#### 767 (81)

Birth of the poet, prose stylist, and literary critic Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī (d. 837), a great admirer of Ibn Nubātah, who lauded Ibn Nubātah's achievements, especially in the field of the *tawriyah*, in his *Kashf al-Lithām 'an Wajh al-Tawriyah wa-al-Istikhdām* and in his *Khizānat al-Adab*, in which several otherwise lost texts by Ibn Nubātah are preserved. Death of Burhān al-Dīn al-Zura'ī, the son of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah. He had once been Ibn Nubātah's travelling companion and gave Ibn Nubātah reason to compose a humorous epigram.<sup>186</sup>

#### 768 (82)

7 Šafar (13 October 1366): At the age of 82 lunar (79 solar) years, Ibn Nubātah dies in the hospital that had been built by al-Manšūr Qalāwūn. He is buried at the so-called Cemetery of the Sufis north of Bāb al-Našr. He leaves behind a son named Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. after 790), a mediocre *adīb*, who earned his living as copyist.<sup>187</sup> This is one of the many parallels between Ibn Nubātah and Ibn Ḥajar. Both hoped for a son who would continue their enterprises. When, after many setbacks, they became fathers to sons who survived infancy, the sons proved unable to meet the expectations of their fathers. Ibn Ḥajar had his pupil al-Sakhāwī to step in. Ibn Nubātah's "Sakhāwī" was al-Bashtakī, who re-edited Ibn Nubātah's *Diwān* in the year 773, though in a rather questionable way. But Ibn Nubātah's poems and prose texts survived and helped to shape Arabic literature for centuries to come.

*To be continued*

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to me.

<sup>184</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 1:312, see also *GAL*, 2:14, S2:7; Ibn al-'Irāqī, *Dhayl al-'Ibar*, 488–90; Ibn Nubātah, *Diwān*, 16, 75. A boat trip on the Nile is reported in "Tahrir al-Qirāṭī," Berlin MS 7870, fol. 22r.

<sup>185</sup>Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal*, 1:90.

<sup>186</sup>"Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī," Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS 2234, fols. 186v–187v.

<sup>187</sup>Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 5:498.



ROBERT IRWIN

## The Political Thinking of the “Virtuous Ruler,” Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī

What follows is an essay on the politics of high culture. Historians have tended to present the politics of the Mamluk Sultanate and in particular its factional fighting, as ideology free. Apart from a commitment to Islam and the jihad, the Mamluks seem curiously bereft of any form of idealism, role models, or political programs. Modern historians often portray the political strategies and goals of the Mamluk sultans as being almost invariably driven by hunger for power, greed, arrogance, and, in some cases, fear. They have been encouraged in such cynical readings of Mamluk politics by the way in which the medieval ulama, who were effectively the custodians of Mamluk historiography, wrote about the sultans and amirs. Generalizing very broadly, their narratives tended towards the positivist and uninterpretative. But it seems worth considering whether there was at least the pretence of ideology and idealism on the part of the ruling elite.

Most of the ulama did not frequent the court, and consequently they were not party to the way decisions were made and the reasons for those decisions. Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās (1448–ca. 1524) is a case in point. Despite being the grandson of a mamluk, his chronicle, the *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr*, is effectively an outsider’s chronicle, based on public proclamations, gossip, and personal sightings of processions and departing military expeditions. While he is prepared to concede that the Mamluk sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī had some good qualities, nevertheless his account of that sultan’s reign (906–22/1501–16) is a hostile one and, in his obituary of the sultan, he condemns him for his injustice, confiscations, and greed.<sup>1</sup> Obviously the *Badāʾiʿ* is not a neutral source. Ibn Iyās, a student of al-Suyūṭī’s, was an Egyptian *ʿālim* who shared the hostility of the ulama toward the favor shown by Qānṣūh to immigrant Persian and Turkish scholars. (Prominent amongst the incoming Turks was the heterodox Khalwatī Sufī, Shaykh Ibrāhīm Gulshani.) Ibn Iyās disapproved of the favor shown by the sultan to certain Sufis and the sultan’s alleged sympathy for the ideas of the Ḥurūfī poet, Nasīmī, who had been flayed alive for heresy in 820/1417.<sup>2</sup> When the Ottoman prince Qorqud turned up as a refugee at the Mamluk court, Ibn Iyās also seems to have regarded the honor with which that prince was treated as excessive.

As the grandson of a mamluk and son of a member of the *awlād al-nās*, Ibn Iyās resented Qānṣūh’s contempt for this increasingly redundant and notional military

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden-Cairo, 1961–75), 5:85–93.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.



group. Qānṣūh treated them merely as a fiscal resource.<sup>3</sup> Though no soldier, Ibn Iyās had inherited an *iqṭāʿ* from his father, and when the sultan confiscated this *iqṭāʿ*, Ibn Iyās had a long fight in the courts to reclaim it.<sup>4</sup> And, despite his Mamluk descent, Ibn Iyās shared the fairly general ulama prejudice against the Mamluks. With his traditional cast of mind he disapproved also of Qānṣūh's raising of the Fifth Regiment of musketeers. Moreover, it seems that as a civilian, Ibn Iyās was not fully aware of the growing military threats posed to the Mamluk regime by the Portuguese, Safavids, and Ottomans, and consequently he regarded all the sultan's emergency exactions as being driven by personal greed, rather than by harsh military necessity. Furthermore, it is plausible that his account of Qānṣūh's reign is colored by hindsight and Ibn Iyās's knowledge that that sultan had led the Mamluks to defeat at the hands of the Ottomans at Marj Dābiq.<sup>5</sup>

Though Ibn Iyās was not a neutral observer and his deficiencies as a historian are clear, it must be admitted that we have scarcely any other sources on what was going on in Egypt during the reign of Qānṣūh. However, two literary sources from the time have survived that shed some light, however dim, flickering, and partial, on the culture and thinking of the sultan. The first of these is the *Nafā'is al-Majālis al-Sultānīyah*. This is a record of the sultan's *majlises* or soirees during 910/1505. It was compiled by the Iranian Turkophone Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, also known as Sharīf. In the *Nafā'is* he logs some of the people who attended and gives an account of the highlights of the evening's debate, which was usually opened by the sultan posing a question. The matters debated included religious, literary, political, and social issues and there were also riddles, jokes, and mathematical problems. The debates, which took place several evenings a week, were normally held in the Duhayshah, a hall within the Cairo Citadel. Quite a few of the ulama seem to have attended.

The second source, the *Kawkab al-Durrī*, completed in 919/1513–14 by an unknown hand, is similar but different, in that it is record of what was said at various *majlises* of the sultan, but it is organized according to subject matter, rather than chronologically. Qorqud, an Ottoman prince in exile, attended several

<sup>3</sup> On the collection of substitute money from the *awlād al-nās*, see Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (New York, 1994), 86–87.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>5</sup> On Ibn Iyās, see Eliyahu Ashtor, "Etude sur quelques chroniques mamloukes," *Israel Oriental Studies* 1 (1971): 272–97; David J. Wasserstein, "Tradition manuscrite, authenticité, chronologie et développement de l'oeuvre littéraire d'Ibn Iyas," *Journal Asiatique* 280 (1992): 81–114; William Brinner, "Ibn Iyās," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 3:812–13; Carl Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamluk Sultans al-Ashraf Qaytbay and Qansuh al-Ghawri in Egypt* (Seattle and London, 1993), 9–10.



of these sessions. Here are some of the topics covered in both these sources, to give a sense of their diversity: Was Adam the first man to speak Arabic? How can prayers and fasting be managed in the land of the Bulgars where there is no sunset or sunrise? Can one recite the *fātiḥah* in Persian? Why do people avoid wearing red or yellow? Who built the pyramids? Why do people beat on cups when there is an eclipse? What is the function of the *maṣḍar* in grammar? How old is the world? And there are also chess anecdotes, mathematical problems, jokes about Kurds, a joke featuring Naṣr al-Dīn Khwājāh, stories about thieves, the beauty of Joseph, the death of the poet Mutanabbī, praise for the narcissus, and the story of the commissioning of the *Shāhnāmah* and how Firdawsī was rewarded.<sup>6</sup>

Qānṣūh was famous (or notorious) for the favor he showed to Persian and Persian-speaking religious figures and literati.<sup>7</sup> Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī was only one of several Persians who received patronage from him. Moreover, Persian was one of the several languages in which Qānṣūh was fluent.<sup>8</sup> In 906/1500–1 he commissioned a translation of Firdawsī's *Shāhnāmah* into Turkish, not for his own benefit, as he could read the original, but for his Turkish-speaking amirs. The manuscript was illustrated in the Turkman style of the courts of Baghdad and Shiraz. (The vast project took ten years.)<sup>9</sup> Qānṣūh himself composed poetry in Persian as well as Turkish.<sup>10</sup> The early Mamluk sultans did not compose poetry (and very likely they would have thought the practice sissy), but Qāyṭbāy, Yashbak min Mahdī, and Qānṣūh did, as did several of the Ottoman sultans as well as the Timurid princes Bāysunghur and Iskandar in Fars. By the fifteenth

<sup>6</sup> The *Nafā'is* and the *Kawkab* were edited and published together (with independent pagination) by 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Azzām under the title *Majālis al-Sulṭān al-Ghawrī: Ṣafahāt min Tārīkh Miṣr fī Qarn al-Āshir Hijrī* (Cairo, 1941). On these books, see Mohammed Awad, "Sultan al-Ghawri: His Place in Literature and Learning (Three Books Written under His Patronage)," *Actes du XXe Congrès des Orientalistes, Bruxelles, 1938* (Louvain, 1940), 321–22; Barbara Flemming, "Aus den Nachtgesprächen Sultan Ġauris," in *Folia Rara: Festschrift für Wolfgang Voigt*, ed. Herbert Franke, Walther Heissig, and Wolfgang Treue (Wiesbaden, 1967), 22–28; Robert Irwin, "Mamluk Literature," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, no. 1 (2003): 28.

<sup>7</sup> Barbara Flemming, "Šerif, Sultan Ġavri und die 'Perser,'" *Der Islam* 45 (1969): 81–93.

<sup>8</sup> Al-Ḥusaynī, *Nafā'is*, 132–33.

<sup>9</sup> Awad, "Sultan al-Ghawri," 321–22; Nurhan Atasoy, "Un Manuscrit Mamluk Illustré du Šahnama," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 37 (1969): 151–58; Mohammed Mostafa, "Miniature Paintings in Some Mamluk Manuscripts," *Bulletin de l'Institut de l'Égypte* 52 (1971): 5–15; Esin Atıl, *The Renaissance of Islam* (Washington, 1981), 264–65; on the cultural patronage of the sultan more generally, see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Sultan al-Ghawrī and the Arts," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 71–94.

<sup>10</sup> *The Dīvān of Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī*, ed. Mehmet Yalçın (Istanbul, 2002); *Kansu Gavrī'nin Türkçe Dīvānı*, ed. Orhan Yavuz (Konya, 2002). For a review of both of these editions, see Robert Dankoff, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (2004): 303–7.



century the composition of poetry was seen as a desirable accomplishment for a prince. Incidentally Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī had previously been in the entourage of the fugitive Ottoman prince Jem.<sup>11</sup> It is possible that, during his time at the Mamluk court in the reign of the sultan Qāyṭbāy, Jem had been instrumental in introducing various Turkish and Persian cultural activities.<sup>12</sup>

There is little precedent for the holding of soirees in Mamluk cultural history, though in the early fifteenth century Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, the son of the Sultan Jaqmaq, presided over soirees.<sup>13</sup> It seems likely that in holding such cultural soirees, Qānṣūh was inspired not by the past practice of earlier Mamluk sultans, but by literary and philosophical sessions presided over by the Timurids and by the various successor regimes that were established as the Timurid empire fell apart.

Qānṣūh’s court culture was a Persianate one, and it looked East for most of its role models—to Shiraz, Baghdad, Tabriz, Samarkand, and Herat. The court of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (r. 873/1469–70, 875–911/1470–1506) had enormous prestige. The sultan presided over *majlises* in a garden pavilion outside Herat, where courtiers mingled with singers, poets, and musicians.<sup>14</sup> Subsequently Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā’s rule and patronage were idealized and taken as models by the Uzbeks. Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā was fond of the *mu‘ammah*, those who posed riddles, and, to judge by his sessions, Qānṣūh was similarly fond of riddling. Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā also held *majlises* in Herat and a record of these, the *Badāyī‘ al-Vaqāyī‘*, was made by Zayn al-Dīn Vāṣifī. When the Uzbek Muḥammad Shībānī Khan took over Herat, he presided over *majlises*, which were mostly devoted to poetry, though the riddling craze continued. Later the Persian writer Vāṣifī gave the Uzbek Kildī Muḥammad tutorials on the model rulers of past centuries. These included Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā, Bāysunghur, Anūshirvān, Ulugh Beg, Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna, and Sultan Ismā‘il Sāmānī. Like Qānṣūh, Muḥammad Shībānī Khan commissioned a translation of the *Shāhnāmah* into Turkish.<sup>15</sup> In Muzaffarid Shiraz, the prince posed questions such as whether *‘aql* or *‘ishq* came first? Or who was Burāq? His scholars wrote letters giving their replies.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Al-‘Azzām, *Majālis*, introduction (separately paginated), 43.

<sup>12</sup> Flemming, “Aus den Nachtgesprächen,” 23.

<sup>13</sup> Irwin, “Mamluk Literature,” 27–28.

<sup>14</sup> Maria E. Subtelny, “Scenes from the Literary Life of Timurid Herat,” in *Logos Islamikos: Studia Islamica in Honorem Goergi Michaelis Wickens*, ed. Roger M. Savory and Dionysius Agius (Toronto, 1984), 143–44.

<sup>15</sup> Maria E. Subtelny, “Art and Politics in early 16th Century Central Asia,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 27 (1983): 124–35, 139–42; Thomas Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles and Washington), 256–58.

<sup>16</sup> Jean Aubin, “Le Mécénat Timouride à Chiraz,” *Studia Islamica* 8 (1957): 78.



Qānṣūh's preoccupation with his magnificent garden also had Timurid, Aqqoyunlu, and Ottoman precedents. Timur had held court in a series of elaborately planned gardens in Samarkand and these gardens were later rivalled by those established by Shāhrukh in Herat. Later in 1470 Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā began laying out the Bāgh-i Jahān-Ārā, "the World-Adorning Garden," also in Herat. Mehmed II's "paradise-like" gardens and Chinli Kiosk were derived from Timurid prototypes.<sup>17</sup> Josafò Barbaro has described Uzun Ḥasan's garden, the Hasht Bihisht ("Eight Paradises") outside Tabriz.<sup>18</sup> As Doris Behrens-Abouseif has observed, Qānṣūh "worked carefully at constructing his image as poet and scholar and a patron of the secular arts, pursuing the kind of princely image that was cultivated by the Timurid, Safavid, and Ottoman princes, but was unfamiliar in the culture of the Mamluk court. Moreover, there is an undeniable Iranian flair to al-Ghawri's cultural life, which is evident in his entourage of *a'jam* and his preoccupation with the *Shāhnāmah*."<sup>19</sup>

Qānṣūh, like Qāyṭbāy and Yashbak min Mahdī before him, wrote poetry and he presided over a literary court culture. At some of his soirees young mamluks were brought before the sultan so that they could be tested on their reading.<sup>20</sup> On another occasion young mamluks were brought in to be taught singing and poetry by a certain Ibn Ifrīt.<sup>21</sup> There is evidence from elsewhere that young mamluks were also assigned exercises in copying manuscripts.<sup>22</sup>

Apart from commissioning a Turkish version of the *Shāhnāmah*, Qānṣūh had several Persian versions of it in his library. The *Shāhnāmah* was an epic romance celebrating the ancient Persian kings and heroes, but it "was also a political treatise, as it addressed deeply rooted conceptions of honor, morality and legitimacy." It "reflected the attempts of various dynasties to assimilate themselves into the Iranian monarchical tradition."<sup>23</sup> Qānṣūh was no exception and the translated version of the *Shāhnāmah* that he commissioned was given an extended addendum with a discussion of important later sultans, beginning with Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna and ending with Qānṣūh, whose court, soirees, palaces, and madrasahs

<sup>17</sup> Lentz and Lowry, *Timur*, 38, 108, 257, 317.

<sup>18</sup> Barbaro in *Il Nuovo Ramusio VII: I Viaggi in Persia degli Ambasciatori Veneti Barbaro e Contarini*, ed. L. Lockhart, R. Morozzo della Rocca, and M. F. Tiepolo (Rome, 1973), 120–21.

<sup>19</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, "Sultan al-Ghawri," 84–85.

<sup>20</sup> Al-Ḥusaynī, *Nafā'is*, 107, 116.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>22</sup> Barbara Flemming, "Literary Activities in Mamluk Halls and Barracks," in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. Myriam Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem, 1977), 249–60.

<sup>23</sup> Lentz and Lowry, *Timur*, 126. See also on political messages in the text and illustrations of the *Shāhnāmah*, Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama* (Chicago, 1980), 15–17, 19–20.



were all lavishly praised.<sup>24</sup>

Political theory produced by the ulama in the Mamluk period was sparse, sententious, and uninspiring. It was also somewhat pusillanimous. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Jamā'ah (639–733/1241–1333) has been described by Henri Laoust as "the theoretician of the Mamluk state."<sup>25</sup> According to Ibn Jamā'ah, "the tyranny of a sultan is preferable to the flock being left without a master for a single hour." Ibn Jamā'ah adjusted the preoccupations and vocabulary of earlier political thinkers who had flourished under the Abbasid Caliphate to fit the realities of the early Mamluk regime. He stressed the role of the ulama in advising the sultan and the sultan's duty to protect the ulama. The Muslim people must be led by an imam, but the imamate could be acquired by force (implicitly therefore by a Mamluk sultan). Such an imamate, acquired by force, could obviously be lost by force. Even if the imam was a sinful man, it was generally preferable to obey him, for fear of the anarchy that might ensue if obedience was withdrawn.<sup>26</sup> Ibn Taymiyah (661–728/1262–1328) echoed Ibn Jamā'ah when he stated that "Sixty years with an unjust imam is better than one night without a sultan." He denied that it was necessary for a Muslim community to be governed by a caliph, and he rejected the idea that the imam must be of Qurayshī lineage.<sup>27</sup> According to Ibn Taymiyah, people are enjoined to "patient endurance of the injustice and tyranny of leaders."<sup>28</sup> He accepted the de facto situation in which the military authority had usurped for its own jurisdiction a large number of criminal cases.<sup>29</sup>

In contrast, as we shall see, the kind of material produced by and for the sultan at his soirees belongs in the category of what Patricia Crone has termed *naṣīḥah*, or advice literature.<sup>30</sup> Much of it can also be categorized as mirrors-for-princes. The advice offered was essentially secular, and expedient justice took precedence over the shari'ah. The literature focused on kings and how they could maintain their rule and administer justice, and was Persian in origin (where it went under the name of *andarz*).<sup>31</sup> Often the precepts were delivered in the guise of a last will and testament, a *waṣīyah*, which offered guidance to the succeeding son. A manuscript full of *naṣīḥāt* entitled *A Book Containing Wise Sayings and Literary*

<sup>24</sup> Atīl, *Renaissance*, 264–65.

<sup>25</sup> Henri Laoust, "Le Hanbalisme sous les Mamlouks Bahrides," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 28 (1960): 21.

<sup>26</sup> Ann K. S. Lambton, *State and Government in Medieval Islam* (Oxford, 1981), 139–43.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 143–51.

<sup>28</sup> Ibn Taymiyah, *Public Duties in Islam: The Institute of the Hisba*, tr. Muhtar Holland (Leicester, 1982), 125.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>30</sup> Patricia Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought* (Edinburgh, 2004), 149–64.

<sup>31</sup> S. Shaked and Z. Safar, "Andarz," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2:11–22.



*Anecdotes* has survived in a copy made for Qānṣūh's library.<sup>32</sup>

So now to the actual content of the *Nafā'is* and *Kawkab*. Right at the beginning of the *Nafā'is* in the *muqaddimah*, or introduction to the records of the soirees, a political question is posed and answered in various ways: "Alexander was asked, 'What man is fit to be king?' 'Either a wise man (*hakīm*) who is king of wisdom, or a king seeking wisdom,' he replied." Then other ruler-sages, the Faghfur of China, the Caesar of Rome, the Fur of India, and so on, give their pronouncements on the importance of wisdom and the disgrace of ignorance and so on, ending up with Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna and Qānṣūh, who pronounces that "there is nothing better in the world than *adab* [which I take in this context to mean literature], as *adab* adorns wealthy men and conceals the poverty of the poor."<sup>33</sup> Recurrent reference throughout the *Nafā'is* and the *Kawkab* is made to the gnomic sayings of the wise rulers of past centuries. Alexander is a favorite source of sagacious advice, but Anūshirvān (Chosroes) and Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna also feature frequently.

The Alexander who features in Qānṣūh's soirees is not the Macedonian world conqueror familiar to modern historians, but rather a half-Persian legendary seeker of knowledge and eternal life as portrayed in the *Shāhnāmāh*. According to the *Nafā'is*, "Alexander was asked, 'What is the best state of the people?' He said, 'When their king has a brilliant mind, sound judgement, and is knowledgeable about government.' He was asked, 'And the worst?' 'When their king lacks all these things.'" And al-Ḥusaynī goes on, of course, to add that, thank God, all these qualities are found in the sultan Qānṣūh.<sup>34</sup> Again, "Alexander said, 'The best of kings is he who keeps justice in his mind and whose excellent qualities inspire those who come after him,'" and once again al-Ḥusaynī is swift to point out that this characterization fits Qānṣūh perfectly.<sup>35</sup> There are many more (not particularly interesting) examples of Alexander's wisdom.

Perhaps such precepts derive from the *Naṣā'ih-i Iskandar*, or "Counsels of Alexander," a manuscript of which had been copied for Bāysunghur. Or perhaps they come from Niẓāmī's treatment of the Alexander romance. Although Alexander features prominently in Firdawsī's *Shāhnāmāh*, the *Shāhnāmāh* does not seem to be the source for the precepts of Alexander as relayed in the soirees. For example, Firdawsī included a version in verse of the letter that Alexander wrote to his mother on his deathbed. The *Nafā'is* also quotes a deathbed letter from Alexander to his mother in prose, but it is full of pietistic platitudes about the acceptance

<sup>32</sup> Geza Féheravari and Yasin Safadi, *1400 Years of Arab Art: A Catalogue of the Khalili Collection* (London, 1981), 42.

<sup>33</sup> Al-Ḥusaynī, *Nafā'is*, 3–4.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.



of death that are not found in Firdawsī.<sup>36</sup> Or, to take another example, according to the *Nafā'is*, "Alexander was told that there were 300,000 men in the army of King Dārāb, but Alexander replied, 'So many sheep do not frighten the butchers.'" <sup>37</sup> Dārāb, Alexander's great foe, does feature prominently in the *Shāhnāmāh*, but this particular exchange is not found in Firdawsī's poem.

Farīdūn, a king in ancient Persia who features in the *Shāhnāmāh*, is quoted in the *Nafā'is* to the effect that besides having all the virtues, the ideal ruler must have perfect physiognomy, great strength, and a loud voice. Happily again, Qānṣūh happened to have all these characteristics.<sup>38</sup> And here al-Ḥusaynī adds that Persians paint images of their kings and their battles on the walls of their houses so as to perpetuate the memory of those kings, before he goes on to lay out the shari'ah's stipulations for an imam. According to the shari'ah, it is preferable that the ideal imam should be of the Banū Ismā'īl, or, if not from the Banū Ismā'īl, then from the Persians or the Banū Ishāq. Again it is fortunate that the Circassians are descended from the Banū Ishāq.<sup>39</sup> Qānṣūh and his panegyrist subscribed to the legend that the Circassians descended from the Arab Ghassanids.<sup>40</sup> Incidentally the more orthodox Sunni position is narrower than that suggested by al-Ḥusaynī, as most medieval Sunnis held that the imam should be of Qurayshī descent.<sup>41</sup>

There are fewer allusions to previous Mamluk sultans, though al-Ḥusaynī records that at one *majlis* Shaykh Ibn 'Amm Abī al-Ḥasan arrived with two books, one of which was the *Sīrah* of al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars and the story of his invasion of the land of the Franks, which he proposed to read in its entirety, but al-Ḥusaynī argued against this, saying that if Baybars were alive today he would want to hear the story of the *majlis* of our Lord the Sultan.<sup>42</sup> Presumably the *Sīrah* in question was the history by Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, rather than the anonymous folk epic.

Later, when Qānṣūh was preoccupied with preparations for the hajj, the dispatch of an army down to the Hijaz, and the fortification of Jedda, he asked if the hajj was ever suspended. In answer a fairly lengthy account is given of the rivalry between Baybars and Hulagu for the control of Mecca and the hajj.<sup>43</sup>

At one point Qānṣūh tells a most curious story of Muḥammad Qalāwūn (*sic*, but presumably Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn is meant) summoning a group

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 107–8.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>41</sup> Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought*, 224–25.

<sup>42</sup> Al-Ḥusaynī, *Nafā'is*, 16.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 73–74.



of his beloved and telling them that if they loved him they would throw themselves out of the palace, whereupon they said “*bismillāh*” and threw themselves from the first floor to the ground. As they lay there they shouted up to the sultan, “Our love for you extends this far, and he who can go further, let him be the favored one.”<sup>44</sup>

Another story not featured in conventional history books is the story of the fate of an Ottoman fleet sent against the Mamluks during the reign of Qāyṭbāy. The *amīr kabīr* had advanced out of Egypt to counter the threat. He proposed to some of his retinue they recite the *fāṭihah*. They recited it that afternoon and all of the enemy were drowned by the decree of fate that night. In the morning the Mamluks sent out small ships to seek out those who had tried to save themselves by clinging to bits of wood and cut off their hands. This happy event was all due to the *fāṭihah*.<sup>45</sup> The reference here would be to the Ottoman fleet under the command of Hersek-oğlu Ahmed Pasha, many of whose ships were indeed sunk in a great storm in 893/1488. The *amīr kabīr* in question was the Atabeg Uzbek.<sup>46</sup>

On the one hand, secular and legendary Persian figures are used both to denounce tyranny and to justify kingship. For example, Bahrām ibn Bahrām said, “A lion that crushes everything he devours is better than an unjust king, and he in turn is better than persistent disorder.”<sup>47</sup> But on the other hand, Qānṣūh’s rule is also justified on religious grounds, for, according to a hadith, “The sultan is the shadow of God upon earth and he who is sincere before him is rightly guided, but he who deceives him errs.”<sup>48</sup> The sultan’s rule is preordained by fate and sanctioned by God. In one *majlis*, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maḥallī relates a dream he has had in which a band of armored men looking like Turkmans advanced to invade Egypt, but the Prophet appeared flanked by Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī, and the Prophet declared himself the protector of Egypt. Al-Maḥallī’s dream prompts the sultan to recall how thirty years previously, when he was just an amir, he entered the house of Yashbak the *dawādār*, where he encountered an amir who hailed him and told him that he had had a dream in which Qānṣūh had appeared with a ring of iron round his neck. He had taken this dream to Yashbak. They interpreted it as meaning that great power would come to Qānṣūh, and that it was inevitable that he should become sultan.<sup>49</sup> (This, in turn, leads to a silly story about a man who dreamt that Shāhrukh was wearing a pearl the size of a watermelon in his ear.)

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 24–25.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>46</sup> Shai Har-El, *Struggle for Domination in the Middle East: The Ottoman-Mamluk War, 1485–1491* (Leiden, 1995), 181–82.

<sup>47</sup> Al-Ḥusaynī, *Nafā’is*, 23.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 64.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 79.



The sultan should be generous. The story is told that Jahānshāh, the Qaraqoyunlu ruler of Tabriz, had very poor-quality black bread distributed at his madrasah, but when threatened by a *faqīr* with retribution in the afterlife, he repented. Qānşūh claimed that he had resolved to be as generous as the repentant Jahānshāh.<sup>50</sup> The sultan should avoid behaving tyrannically and should offer redress to those who had suffered tyranny. The tale is told of a king of Hind who, when he became deaf, gave orders that plaintiffs who appeared before him who were victims of tyranny should wear red, so that he would not miss their complaints.<sup>51</sup>

At one point the legitimacy of a Mamluk regime is raised. In 890/1485 Qāyrbāy had sent one of his closest associates, the amir Jānībak Ḥabīb al-ʿAlay al-Īnālī, on a placatory but ultimately unsuccessful mission to the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II.<sup>52</sup> According to the *Nafāʾis*, when Jānībak entered the Ottoman lands, the Ottomans tauntingly demanded to know by what right the Mamluks, who were sons of infidels, should govern the Bayt Allāh and the Ḥaram (in Mecca). That prerogative should surely belong to the Ottoman sultan, who is the son of a sultan, grandson of a sultan, and great-grandson of a sultan. But Jānībak retorted by pointing out that the father of Ibrāhīm was an infidel and so was the father of Muḥammad. Moreover, the nobility of a person depends upon knowledge and comportment (*adab*), not lineage and descent. Shaykh Kurānī (who was presumably in Jānībak's retinue) added that those present should not even discuss the legitimacy of the sultans of Egypt as they covered themselves with disgrace. Bayezid marvelled at this and he bestowed many precious gifts upon him.<sup>53</sup> Elsewhere in the *Nafāʾis*, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib is quoted to the effect that a man's nobility, knowledge, and decorum are more important than his lineage and tribe, and it is soon after that the origins of the Circassians are discussed.<sup>54</sup>

In the *Kawkab al-Durrī* another, more minor clash with Bayezid II is mentioned, when Bayezid allegedly wrote to Qāyrbāy wanting to know why the latter prefaced his decrees with the words *bismillāh al-rahīm al-rahīm*. Qāyrbāy replied that he did so because any important enterprise was defective without the *basmalah*. Why did Bayezid not preface his decrees with a *basmalah*?<sup>55</sup>

In one *majlis* the sultan asked whether the sultan or the caliph took precedence in a funeral procession. Doubtless he was gratified to be told that the sultan did. This in turn led to reminiscences about the dispatch of robes of honor by the caliph

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>52</sup> Har-El, *The Struggle*, 128–30.

<sup>53</sup> Al-Ḥusaynī, *Nafāʾis*, 133–34.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 84–85.

<sup>55</sup> *Kawkab*, 7–8.



in Egypt to Jahānshāh ibn Qarā Yūsuf, the Qaraqoyunlu ruler from 837/1434 until 872/1467, and to the Ottoman sultan Mehmed, presumably Mehmed II. In Jahānshāh's case, when the caliph's emissary explained the gift, Jahānshāh said: "If you were not a stranger, I would have cut out your tongue." Then he made the emissary wear the robe and gave him three hundred dinars for having entered the royal presence. In Mehmed's case, after the emissary had explained the robe in the sultan's council, Mehmed declared that he was himself the Caliph of the World and that every sultan in the world should don the robe. Then he gave orders for it to be cut to pieces.<sup>56</sup>

On a separate occasion another aspect of the caliphate was debated. Did the glory of the sultan of Egypt derive from the fact that he was deputy of the caliph? Al-Ḥusaynī argued that this was not the case, since, if the sultan of the Yemen was independent and his status did not depend on his being the deputy of the caliph, *a fortiori* this must be true also of the sultan of Egypt and the two Holy Places. He was really only the deputy of the shari'ah law. Then al-Ḥusaynī was asked what was said about Baybars when he donned the caliph's robe. Al-Ḥusaynī replied that the caliph's glory derived from the sultan and not vice versa, whereupon one of al-Ḥusaynī's rivals and debating foils in the *majlis* observed that if al-Ḥusaynī had made such a remark in the days of Qāyṭbāy he would have had his head cut off. This talk of cutting off people's heads made the sultan angry.<sup>57</sup>

The *Kawkab* includes yet another debate on the question of the caliphate. This arose when the Safavid Shāh Ismā'īl had sent Qānṣūh a book of Mongol history and in it there was an obituary of a certain Shāhīn-bak, where he was referred to as "Caliph of the Age." This raised the question whether it is ever permissible for a king to call himself Caliph. The verdict was that a king can be called Commander of the Faithful and Caliph of the Prophet, but it is not acceptable to call himself Caliph of God or Caliph of the Age.<sup>58</sup>

Occasionally strictly contemporaneous matters cropped up. On one occasion, as the sultan's oxen were being led out to clover, their keepers had run amuck looting shops in Cairo—the sort of thing that had allegedly happened frequently under earlier sultans like Baybars and Qalāwūn. Qānṣūh issued a proclamation banning this *bid'ah*, and he made arrangements through Zaynī Barakat, the *muhtasib*, for the shopkeepers to be compensated. However, it would appear that during the disturbances some of the sultan's cattle were killed, and therefore four men were crucified and strangled and the rest were disgraced (Ibn Iyās does not mention this incident). In order to emphasize that this truly was royal justice,

<sup>56</sup> Al-Ḥusaynī, *Nafā'is*, 101–2.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 111

<sup>58</sup> *Kawkab*, 73–74.



al-Ḥusaynī follows the mention of those executions with a tale about how Sultan Maḥmūd [of Ghazna], disguised as a *faqīr*, was wandering about at night when he was accosted by a sorrowful old woman. When he asked about the cause of her grief, she told him that a trooper (*jundī*) had fornicated with her daughter. Sultan Maḥmūd asked her to describe the man, which she did. Thereupon the sultan had the "trooper" killed, and only after that did he reveal that the executed man was his own son. The anecdote is then capped by a maxim from Anūshirvān to the effect that "rightness of judgement is better than many soldiers and kingship."<sup>59</sup>

The *Kawkab* includes a discussion of what could be done about Birkat al-Ratlī. The area round this Cairene pleasure lake had become a place of low repute where people were drinking alcohol and consuming drugs, and yet some important people, including several of the leading ulama, had acquired houses in the area. The sultan thought that this showed a lack of maturity (*murūwah*) on their part. The celebration of the mock marriage of the Birkah with the Khalij al-Nāṣirī at the time of the Nile's flooding with the throwing of henna, halva, and other stuff was particularly reprehensible. The crowds included riffraff (*awbāsh*), veiled women, and loose women displaying themselves at windows or on rugs. What should be done about this? The author of the *Kawkab* offers several possibilities, such as filling up the Birkah, without saying what, if anything, the sultan decided.<sup>60</sup> However, Ibn Iyās reports that in 917/1511–12 a decree was issued that none of the civil functionaries should dwell on the banks of the Birkah on pain of severe penalties. So the area became sad and deserted and there were indeed rumors that the sultan was going to close it to boats.<sup>61</sup>

Other incidents from recent times cropped up. In one *majlis* the sultan teased the qadi Shams al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, saying that this man had a vulgar intellect. Here the sultan was alluding to the rebellion of the amir Dawlatbāy against the sultan. (This short-lived affair started in Tripoli in Jumādā II 910/November–December 1504.)<sup>62</sup> At that time the qadi had counselled Dawlatbāy against revolt, warning him that it would come to no good. Dawlatbāy angrily told him to shut up and declared that he had "a vulgar intellect." The qadi then fled from Dawlatbāy.<sup>63</sup>

The sort of political theorizing offered to Qānṣūh was, in its own way, just as sententious as the theorizing of ulama like Ibn Jamā'ah. As Crone puts it in her discussion of advice literature in *Medieval Islamic Political Thought*: "They often seem to be written on the assumption that political problems could be solved by

<sup>59</sup> Al-Ḥusaynī, *Nafā'is*, 120–22.

<sup>60</sup> *Kawkab*, 64–66.

<sup>61</sup> Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī*, 4:234.

<sup>62</sup> Petry, *Protectors*, 37.

<sup>63</sup> Al-Ḥusaynī, *Nafā'is*, 132.



moral precepts.”<sup>64</sup> If the ruler is morally perfect there can be no problem. But Qānṣūh was not really perfect.

In these soirees Qānṣūh appears as a vain, pious, prissy, quite witty, scholarly man with wide literary and cultural interests. Contrary to the impression given by Ibn Iyās, he seems to have spent a lot of time listening to the opinions of the ulama. The above has been a selection from an idealized account of what went on at the soirees. Doubtless the questions that were unanswerable, the ums and ers, as well as examples of the sultan’s stark ignorance and ugly spats between competitive courtiers, were erased from the record. The aim of both treatises was to glorify Qānṣūh. It may well be that the sultan only paid lip-service to the precepts of Ardashīr and Alexander or the example of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā. But the point is that these were the models to which he thought he should be seen to be paying lip-service. This was Qānṣūh’s self-presentation. It was perhaps not a true one, but it was the fashionable one. And perhaps the sultan himself was as much deceived by this façade of high-minded debate as his courtiers pretended to be. This was the language of despotism in the early decades of the sixteenth century. That story about the deaf Hindu king instructing victims of tyranny to wear red so that their complaints might properly be addressed must have seemed laughable, or rather something to weep over, to those who had witnessed Qānṣūh’s licensing of brutal amirs like Qāyt Rajabī and professional torturers like Zaynī Barakat.

In 910/1504–5, the year of the sessions covered in the *Nafā’is*, while Qānṣūh and his courtiers debated obscure points of shari‘ah law and the literary merits of the *Shāhnāmah*, the qadi Badr al-Dīn Muzhir was subjected to prolonged and horrific torture under which he eventually died. The *nāẓir al-jaysh*, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, had his carefully collected marble arbitrarily confiscated by the greedy sultan. Illegal taxes were levied. Extortion, torture, popular discontent, and threats of revolt were leitmotifs running throughout Qānṣūh’s reign. Perhaps the reports of the soirees tell us very little about the real political thinking of Qānṣūh (much less so than the table-talk of Hitler tells us about the mentality of Hitler), but they tell us a great deal about the language of political panegyric and obfuscation that prevailed at the time.

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<sup>64</sup> Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought*, 161.



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## Maqriziana II: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method Analysis

### TOWARDS AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF SCHOLARSHIP

The process of writing in all its complexity, i. e., from the moment an author hits upon the idea of writing a book on a given subject until the work is published and distributed, is one of the least understood and studied concepts of scholarship, whatever the field, and as such certainly constitutes one of the most exciting challenges for the researcher. Where, when, and how did the author think of writing about such a topic? How did he collect the material? How did he organize it? How did he handle the sources? Did he gather abstracts and excerpts, and in what manner? Did he take notes on slips of paper? Did he work with note-cards? How did he arrange the material, and in whose words, his own or those of his sources? When and how was the book published and made available to the public? Was it possible for the author to correct mistakes after this point? Answers to these questions, however incomplete or conjectural, would help us understand how scholarship was undertaken in the past.

In the field of classical studies, this issue has been the subject of inquiry for a long time, but it has received much more attention since the eighties of the last century. In a pioneering book presenting the findings he has amassed during the last twenty years, Tiziano Dorandi<sup>1</sup> succeeds in providing answers to many of the above-mentioned questions. Because they deal with Greece and Rome, civilizations

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<sup>1</sup>Tiziano Dorandi, *Le Stylet et la tablette: dans le secret des auteurs antiques* (Paris, 2000).



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that have not left behind a large number of books, let alone autograph versions,<sup>2</sup> classicists struggle with either (a) rare quotations where the *modus operandi* of some authors is described, or (b) even rarer tangible evidence. The first group represents what could be called the “indirect tradition,” in which either first- or second-hand testimonies of the working method of an author are found. In the second group, the evidence constitutes the “direct tradition,” i.e., all the original documents (holograph and autograph manuscripts of the fair and draft versions, notebooks). Needless to say, classicists seldom are lucky enough to deal with items from the second group.

It is well established that Islam was a civilization of the book where the practice of scholarship and writing was undeniably given impetus by the introduction of a new writing material (paper).<sup>3</sup> Islamic civilization is more recent than Greek and Roman civilization, and thus more examples of Islamic books have survived. Furthermore, the quality of the material used for the publication and transmission of texts assured better preservation of the manuscripts, provided—of course—that the political situation permitted it. Thus, there is no reason to wonder why several million Islamic manuscripts have survived, mainly from after the sixth/twelfth century until the last century. Among them, the large number of autograph copies representing the final version of a work or another step of the writing process is quite impressive. If the researcher specializing in the field of Islamic studies has no reason to complain in comparison with his fellow classicist, who adheres to the adage “a little is better than nothing,” it is also true that he is sometimes overwhelmed by the volume of the manuscripts preserved. Consequently, he concentrates his research on more directly palpable aspects, such as the text itself (i. e., the contents of the manuscript), and seldom considers the material approach. Despite the abundance of material, the field of Islamic studies is deficient in the analysis and explication of the working methods of writers. Some stimulating attempts, however, have been made, but to little avail. Worth mentioning is the landmark study of Franz Rosenthal,<sup>4</sup> published as early as 1947, in which he mainly addressed the problem of scholarship, his aim being “to find out what Muslims

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<sup>2</sup>Alphonse Dain’s words perfectly echo this situation: “À l’exception de quelques textes grecs ou latins du Moyen Age déjà avancé, aucun ouvrage ancien ne nous est parvenu sous forme d’original, exemplaire dû à l’auteur lui-même ou à son secrétaire. Nous n’avons pour ainsi dire jamais affaire à un livre *autographe*.” Alphonse Dain, *Les Manuscrits*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1975; reprint, 1997), 15. Since then, the “Papyrus of Herculaneum” 1021 has been identified as a rare item of an authorial manuscript, i.e., a work written by an author, but not necessarily in his handwriting. See Dorandi, *Le Stylet*, 13.

<sup>3</sup>See François Déroche, *Le Livre manuscrit arabe: Préludes à un histoire* (Paris, 2004), 44.

<sup>4</sup>Franz Rosenthal, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship* (Rome, 1947).



thought, and not how they acted.”<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, Rosenthal summarily tackled some technical aspects connected with the methods employed by authors to write their books.<sup>6</sup> His observations were exclusively based on the indirect tradition, i.e., the testimonies which the authors interspersed or hinted at in their works, or the clues they deliberately or unwittingly left. In the following decades, several books devoted to the methods to which an author had recourse in order to compose his book(s) have appeared.<sup>7</sup> Once again, these studies base themselves on a unique, somewhat biased, tradition: the evidence provided by the final stage of a work which, most of the time, survived in later manuscripts. Most of these deal with the peripheral problem of the sources (*Quellenuntersuchungen*), source criticism together with the relationship of the author to his sources (oral or written), and the quotation technique. Among these, the studies relying on books written in the classical period (pre-fifth/eleventh century) employing the traditional quotation technique (*isnād*) constitute the lion’s share, because the underlying question of the trustworthiness of the information is foremost in the author’s mind.<sup>8</sup> The recent contribution of Gregor Schoeler,<sup>9</sup> which represents the *lubb al-albāb* of his research in this direction for the last two decades, gathers some of the results reached by his predecessors. Moreover, it breaks new ground in giving, for the very first time, a clear view of the arduous procedure of the transmission of texts and the writing process in early Islam, as well as the problem of authorship in all fields of writing activity. The answers he suggests also enlighten us, although superficially, on the working method for the classical period.

More testimonies of the direct tradition survive from later periods, but at the same time interest in the working method of Muslim scholars diminishes. The

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 1.

<sup>6</sup>The question of the taking of notes, the existence of note-cards, and the problem of the draft are all briefly dealt with.

<sup>7</sup>Arab authors seem to have been more interested in these themes, as the bibliography shows. One can cite, for example, the following references: Dāwūd Sallūm, *Dirāsāt Kitāb al-Aghānī wa-Manhaj Mu’allifihī*, 3rd (sic) ed. (Beirut, 1985); Muṣṭafā al-Shak‘ah, *Manāhij al-Ta’lif ‘inda al-‘Ulamā’ al-‘Arab: Qism al-Adab*, 3rd ed. (Beirut, 1979 [1973]); Akram Ḍiyā’ ‘Umārī, *Mawāriḍ al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī fī Tārīkh Baghdād* (Damascus, 1395/1975); Maryam Muḥammad Khayr al-Dir‘, *Mawāriḍ Ibn al-‘Adīm al-Tārīkhiyah wa-Manhajuhu fī Kitāb Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab* (Damascus, 1426/2005).

<sup>8</sup>Sebastian Günther, *Quellenuntersuchungen zu den »Maqātil at-Ṭālibiyyīn« des Abū ‘l-Farağ al-Iṣfahānī (gest. 356/967)* (Hildesheim, Zurich, and New York, 1991); idem, “Assessing the Sources of Classical Arabic Compilations: The Issue of Categories and Methodologies,” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 32, no. 1 (2005): 75–98; idem, “». . . nor have I learned it from any book of theirs«: Abū l-Farağ al-Iṣfahānī: a Medieval Arabic Author at Work,” in *Festschrift für Werner Ende zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Rainer Brunner et al. (Würzburg, 2002), 139–53.

<sup>9</sup>Gregor Schoeller, *Écrire et transmettre dans les débuts de l’islam* (Paris, 2002).



overwhelming number of manuscripts probably plays a role in this indifference along with the technical and administrative problems encountered by the researcher who would like to address this issue. No wonder if, here again, efforts have been directed to source criticism and all the correlative issues. For the Mamluk period, the works of Ulrich Haarmann and Donald Little are considered milestones.<sup>10</sup> Even though their aims are quite different from those implied in this article, their results could elucidate some interesting features pertaining to working method; as Little put it: [while] “what is proposed [. . . is more a] close study of the way in which each historian used his sources and the type of events which he chose to describe, it is also hoped that some insight will be gained into the principles and methodology of Muslim historiography of this period.”<sup>11</sup> In these particular cases, the inquiry did not focus on a single author and one of his works, but rather on the comparison of several works which revealed the similarity and the confluence in the wording and details in the depiction of a given event.

So far, the only research conducted on the *modus operandi* of scholars is with regard to a very late author of the Ottoman period, Kātib Chelebi (a.k.a. Ḥājji Khalifah, d. 1067/1657). The autograph draft of the work which contributed to his fame more than any other (*Kashf al-Zunūn ‘an Asāmi al-Kutub wa-al-Funūn*) is full of slips of paper covered with notes to be added to the final text. As such, it illustrates Kātib Chelebī’s method of working. Eleazar Birnbaum understood the value of this manuscript, and in his thorough study of it tried to discern how the author composed his book.<sup>12</sup>

All these studies have yielded results. However, they do not give answers to the whole set of questions we put forward at the beginning of this article. This is not surprising, considering the huge quantity of material from both the indirect and direct traditions required in order to tackle this complex issue in an exhaustive manner.

The indirect tradition, surveyed quite comprehensively by Rosenthal and Schoeller (although in the latter case within the limits of the periods considered), is of particular importance. In fact, it is usually the author who, speaking in the first person, gives valuable hints about his working method. While first- and

<sup>10</sup>Ulrich Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Freiburg im Brisgau, 1969); Donald P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā’ūn* (Wiesbaden, 1970) The latest contribution to this field will be found in Sami Massoud, *The Chronicles and Annalistic Sources of the Early Mamluk Circassian Period* (Leiden, 2007).

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>12</sup>Eleazar Birnbaum, “Kātib Chelebi (1609–1657) and Alphabetization: A Methodological Investigation of the Autographs of His *Kashf al-Zunūn* and *Sullam al-Wuṣūl*,” in *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, ed. François Déroche and Francis Richard (Paris, 1997), 236–63.



second-hand testimonies are useful, they are also scarce. Indeed, several others are still waiting to be tracked down, as illustrated by the following description dated to the seventh/thirteenth century, probably the most detailed at our disposal, by Ibn Ṭāwūs (died 664/1266 in Baghdad). This Shi'ī figure, whose peculiar method of quotation has drawn the attention of Etan Kohlberg,<sup>13</sup> also provided, in two of his books, a very precise picture of how he composed books, differing, he says, from the traditional method. The various steps are summarized by Kohlberg as follows:

IṬ [Ibn Ṭāwūs] explains that he was too busy with other matters to be able to work in the usual fashion. Instead he used the services of a copyist (who seems to have been incorporated into the household for the duration of the work: *kāna 'indanā nāsikh*). The copyist was employed in the following manner: (a) IṬ would jot down his ideas on slips of paper (*ruqay'āt*) which the *nāsikh* would copy at once; (b) when citing from written texts, IṬ would either dictate to the copyist from the original book or show him the passage which he wanted copied, and the copyist would write it down. This obviated the need for the initial draft. The individual folios produced by the copyist did not follow any particular order, and may be compared to index-cards. The next step was for IṬ to take each completed folio (*qā'imah*) and copy its text into the appropriate place in the final version of the book (presumably with revisions).<sup>14</sup>

This passage is of particular importance for our purpose thanks to its detailed description. Not only does it establish that the author worked with the help of a copyist, but it also confirms what has been postulated for a long time: that authors used to have recourse to what corresponded to index cards, individual sheets of paper which could be organized according to the outline of the final work. Interestingly too, the process resembles Pliny the Elder's working method as described by his nephew, Pliny the Younger, for the composition of his *Naturalis Historia*:<sup>15</sup> apparently, Pliny the Elder read sources or had them read to him by a slave; he marked the passages he was interested in; he dictated those passages to have them copied in *pugillares* (notebooks); he then utilized these passages for the

<sup>13</sup>Etan Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Ṭāwūs and His Library* (Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1992).

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 86 (on the basis of the description provided by Ibn Ṭāwūs in his *Falāḥ al-Sā'il wa-Najāḥ al-Masā'il* and *Al-Iqbāl bi-al-A'māl al-Ḥasanah*).

<sup>15</sup>See Dorandi, *Le Stilet*, 29-40. The passage in question has been the object of several interpretations due to the ambiguity of the terms used. The process given hereafter results from Dorandi's reading.



composition of his book. This example from antiquity is given here to show that, in this matter, the working method was a question of innate *modus operandi* which was to be formalized only in the Renaissance period.<sup>16</sup>

As for the direct tradition, the inquiry should rely on the material evidence, in the best cases that would have reached us, the ideal being:

- a) manuscripts representing the final stage of a book (*mubayyadah, mubyaddah*);
- b) manuscripts of the draft version of a book (*musawwadah, muswaddah*);
- c) manuscripts of the summaries and abstracts of the original sources used for the composition of a book (*mukhtaṣar, mukhtār, muntaqá*, etc);
- d) manuscripts of the notebooks compiled by an author to write his book (*tadhkirah, majmūʿ, taʿlīq*);
- e) original manuscripts of the sources used by an author with undeniable proof that these manuscripts were in his hands at a given time.

With the exception of (e), all of these should be holograph manuscripts of the author. Examples from each of these categories would make possible a serious study on the working method of a given scholar. Unfortunately, even though Islamic civilization has produced and preserved more manuscripts than any other, as already pointed out, it is unrealistic to assume that manuscripts fulfilling all these conditions are available. Various examples can undoubtedly be found for categories (a) and (c). As for (b) and (d), there are good reasons to believe that manuscripts of drafts and notebooks could only survive by chance. This is logical: a draft representing the intermediary stage of a book lost its usefulness once the finished version had been completed. Moreover, most of the works left unfinished by an author at his death either disappeared or were taken by another scholar who decided to polish them, sometimes to emend them, and in the end to publish them in the author's name or, more perfidiously, in his own name.<sup>17</sup> Notebooks, on the other hand, are made by the author only for his own benefit. They do not represent a finished version of a work. Here again, they rarely arouse the interest of others and were generally considered as the author's *nachlaß*, at a time when this genre of personal notes was considered at face value.

It remains that if several examples of categories (a) and (c) have been preserved, they do not necessarily come from the same author, and even in this case the picture of his *modus operandi* will be limited by the lack of additional

<sup>16</sup>See *ibid.*, 3.

<sup>17</sup>Regarding al-Maqrizī, for instance, see my forthcoming study: "Maqriziana IX: Should al-Maqrizī Be Thrown Out With the Bathwater? The Question of His Plagiarism of Al-Awhādī's *Khīṭaṭ* and the Documentary Evidence" (to be published in a forthcoming issue of this journal).



material evidence for the other categories. Still, there is an exception, an author for whom all the above-mentioned categories are represented by even more than one manuscript: al-Maqrīzī. Strangely, one of the most representative figures of Muslim scholarship, considering all periods, is precisely the one for whom more than twenty-three autograph manuscripts have been preserved (nearly 5,000 leaves)<sup>18</sup> together with several copies of the sources he consulted,<sup>19</sup> the whole covering all the categories regarded as necessary for an exhaustive study of his working method.<sup>20</sup> Thanks to this abundance of material evidence, it is possible not only to compare the final stages of his works to the draft versions, but also to the (preserved) sources he used (i.e., the original manuscripts he consulted), and to the preliminary work necessary for an author to prepare a book (abstracts, notebooks, note-cards). The discovery of one of his notebooks constitutes a unique opportunity not only for the reconstruction of his working method, but also, more generally, to contribute to the building of an archaeology of scholarship, as expressed by Thierry Bianquis as early as 1997. In his review<sup>21</sup> of an edition of one of al-Maqrīzī's drafts,<sup>22</sup> he recognized the value of these autograph manuscripts and adumbrated the results that could be obtained through their study as witnesses of the author's technique: "Quand j'avais travaillé sur ce texte à la BN [Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Ar. 2144, "Al-Tārīkh al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr"], j'avais pensé que toute une archéologie du savoir historique pourrait être reconstituée en analysant ce type d'écrit et en travaillant en même temps sur l'usage qu'avait fait al-Maqrīzī, dans l'*Itti'āz al-Ḥunafā'*, du manuscrit d'al-Musabbihī que nous avons publié et qui porte une mention de sa main en première page indiquant qu'il l'avait utilisé." This "archaeology of scholarship," historical scholarship in this case, echoes the title of Michel Foucault's book first published in 1969,<sup>23</sup> but it has a different scope. Foucault's vision was that of a philosopher and his work was epistemological. The archaeology of scholarship, as put forward by Bianquis, is closer to the technical meaning of the first term: it should aim at studying, digging up what amounts to the soil for the traditional

<sup>18</sup>See Appendix I at the end of this article. Reference is made here to the numbers attributed to each manuscript in this appendix, with the exception of no. 18 (copy of the autograph) and no. 15 (partly autograph).

<sup>19</sup>See Appendix II at the end of this article.

<sup>20</sup>They can be divided in this manner (the letters refer to the categories): (a) 1–7, 15, 17; (b) 9–14, 16, 19, 21; (c) 8, 18, 22; (d) 20, 21, 23; (e) see Appendix II (18 manuscripts representing 6 sources).

<sup>21</sup>*Bulletin critique des Annales islamologiques* 13 (1997): 158.

<sup>22</sup>Taqī al-Dīn Ahmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa-al-F'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (London, 1995).

<sup>23</sup>Michel Foucault, *L'Archéologie du savoir* (Paris, 1969).



archaeologist, i.e., the manuscripts, in order to reconstruct the techniques, the methods followed by writers to compose their books; that is to say, in a few words, to try to deduce the writer's creative process.

As mentioned earlier, al-Maqrīzī constitutes a case study and a logical starting point.<sup>24</sup> The present article is conceived as a contribution to this new form of archaeology, keeping in mind two caveats:

It does not aim at reconstructing al-Maqrīzī's working method in all its complexity, for two reasons. Firstly, it is seen as a continuation of the preceding articles in which the notebook was comprehensively described. In the following pages, the analysis will be primarily based on this witness, although limited references will be made to the other autograph manuscripts. Consequently and secondly, it is implied that a study considering all the autograph manuscripts would take more time and space than is allowed for such an article.<sup>25</sup>

The conclusions drawn from the present study are by no means definitive, given the partial sample taken into consideration, and should not be regarded as applicable to every author. Although the working methods might have been identical, they probably differed according to the persons, the place, and the period considered. Only a more comprehensive analysis based on several authors of different periods could lead to such general conclusions.

#### THE CODEX LEODIENSIS: A NOTEBOOK?

Although some folios clearly give the impression that one is looking at a notebook, most of the parts appear, *prima facie*, as neatly copied texts. This raises the question whether the manuscript should really be identified as a notebook or not. The definition of a notebook, as provided by the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1989), is "a book reserved for or containing notes or memoranda." In this sense, a scholar's notebook is the place where he jots down information he is interested in for his own research and writing, but not unreservedly: he may be struck by an anecdote or a story without necessarily feeling the need to use it in

<sup>24</sup>Regarding al-Maqrīzī, some attempts have already been made, but all are sketchy. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid only touched on the subject in the following publications: Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, "Remarques sur la composition des *Ḥiṭaṭ* de Maqrīzī d'après un manuscrit autographe," in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron, 1927-1976*, vol. 2, *Égypte post-pharaonique* (Cairo, 1979), 231–58; idem, "Early Methods of Book Composition: al-Maqrīzī's Draft of the *Kitāb al-Khīṭaṭ*," in *The Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts: Proceedings of the Second Conference of al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 4-5 December 1993*, ed. Yasin Dutton (London, 1995), 93–101. On the other hand, Muḥammad 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī followed the traditional method which concerns the question of the sources and the method of quotation, which brings some answers, however partial. See Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī, *Arba'at Mu'arrikhīn wa-Arba'at Mu'allafāt min Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah* (Cairo, 1992).

<sup>25</sup>It is the present writer's project to carry out this larger analysis.



the future. Thus the notebook plays the role of a memorandum, a book to which a scholar is able to refer when needed. Such a book will contain two kinds of information: first, personal observations and even oral testimonies, heard during the day and memorized, or already scribbled on slips of paper on the spot, with the intent to transfer them into the notebook later on, at the end of the day, for instance, or when it comes to mind again.<sup>26</sup> Second, during the reading of the sources, with a projected book in mind or not, the scholar writes down all the material he deems useful, which may consist of small notes. But if the mass of material is very important, he may rather make a summary in order to make the best use of this source. The summary might be faithful to the original, a word-by-word excerpt, or, on the contrary, paraphrased, depending on its usefulness and the ultimate scope of the finished work. Obviously, the notebook will also reflect the scholar's interests, depending on the period considered: his notes and excerpts based upon an eclectic range of works would be the result of his readings in a great variety of fields. The comprehensive description of the *codex leodiensis* has revealed the heterogeneous character of the texts collected (from history to zoology, from Quranic commentary to numismatics), as well as the diversity of the nature of these texts (from summaries to excerpts, from personal notes to short quotations). Furthermore, the question of authenticity is not problematic, given that the script may be compared without difficulty to the numerous other holograph manuscripts of al-Maqrīzī. Handwriting, together with style, could be affected by the very nature of the work accomplished by a scholar in his notebook. The scholar, concentrating on the task of condensing his source, might not be liable to devote his whole attention to his style, in which grammatical mistakes and aberrant orthographical features would be visible.<sup>27</sup> As for handwriting, one would expect a more cursive script than the one used for the writing of a book.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, the scholar might wish to avoid, as often as possible, any

<sup>26</sup>If the notebook consists of only this kind of information, it should rather be considered a journal. Two exceptional witnesses of this genre have reached us, one from eleventh-century Baghdad and the other from fifth-century Damascus: Georges Makdisi, "Autograph Diary of an Eleventh-Century Historian of Baghdād," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 18 (1956): 9–31, 239–60; 19 (1957): 13–48, 281–303, 426–43; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq, *Journal d'Aḥmad ibn Ṭawq (834/1430–915/1509) = Al-Ta'liq: Yawmiyāt Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Ṭawq (834–915 H./1480–1502 M.)*, ed. Ja'far al-Muhājir (Damascus, 2000–4).

<sup>27</sup>Such features are conspicuous in al-Maqrīzī's notebook and have been inventoried in the forthcoming study: Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana VIII: Quelques remarques sur l'orthographe d'al-Maqrīzī (m. 845/1442) à partir de son carnet de notes : peut-on parler de moyen arabe?" in *Moyen arabe et variétés mixtes de l'arabe: Actes du Premier Colloque International (Louvain-la-Neuve, 10–14 Mai 2004)*, ed. Jérôme Lentin and Jacques Grand'Henry (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2008), 21–38.

<sup>28</sup>Item XXII, which most probably represents the first stage of redaction of a biography by al-Maqrīzī, shares this characteristic.



ambiguity in the reading of passages which are not his own, in which case he might be unable to read his own handwriting correctly. This raises the problem of the neatly written texts found in the notebook, which give the impression that al-Maqrizī copied what he had already condensed elsewhere. If this is the case, material evidence characteristic of the technique of copying would emerge, like homoioteleuton, for instance.<sup>29</sup> However, such a phenomenon is not observed in the manuscript. The question arises whether these neatly written summaries and excerpts were made on the spot, i.e., at the very moment when al-Maqrizī was reading the source, or written later on in the notebook. An answer can only be found through the comparison of the results of this scholar's notes and the original sources, when preserved. Several examples will serve to give an unequivocal answer.

Definitely one of the most meticulously written texts, item II consists of a summary (*talkhīṣ*) of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's *Kitāb Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Akhhbārihā*. This and the following references to "items" refer to the organization of al-Maqrizī's notebook set forth in my two previous articles in *Mamlūk Studies Review*: vol. 7, no. 2 (2003): 21–68, and vol. 10, no. 2 (2006): 81–139. The original work is composed of reports transmitted in the traditional way, i.e., as hadith and *khbar* supported by a chain of authorities. Given the nature of this historical data, the note-taker does not have the same discretion to summarize as he would with another genre of historical writing. As a traditionalist himself, al-Maqrizī would be reluctant to distort the original. It is no surprise then to note that this summary is almost completely faithful to the original, although several additional notes and erasures visible in the margins indicate that some alterations nevertheless were made.

In the following example, the original text reads:<sup>30</sup>

... فملك مائة سنة وعشرين وهو الأعرج ...

where a peculiar grammatical construction is discernible.<sup>31</sup>

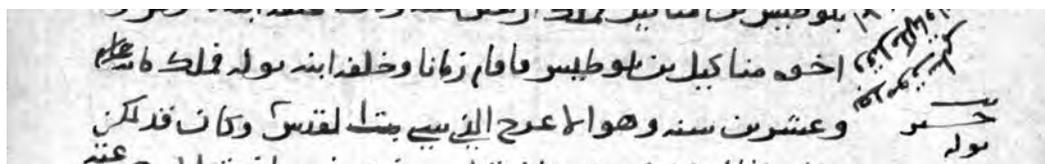
If we turn to the notebook, we notice that al-Maqrizī was obviously condensing the text while he was reading it, as he faithfully copied it, except that he changed the word "*sanah*" into "*ām*." But when he got to the word "*ishrīn*," the structure of the sentence appeared singular to him, and he decided to erase the word "*ām*" and to replace it at the end of the numerals by the word "*sanah*"!

<sup>29</sup>Dain, *Les Manuscrits*, 44.

<sup>30</sup>Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd 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), 29.

<sup>31</sup>If the word "*sanah*" had been repeated after "*ishrīn*," the construction would have been correct according to the rules. See William Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, 1896–98), vol. 2, § 104.





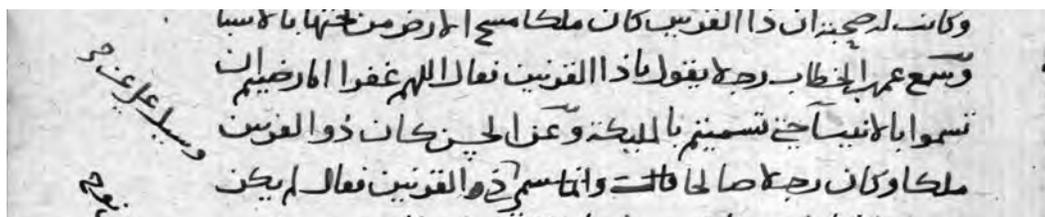
MS 2232, fol. 48b (Courtesy Université de Liège)

There is no other way to interpret the following passage but that al-Maqrīzī was truly condensing the source during the reading process. The passage reads as follows in Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam’s *Futūḥ Miṣr* (pp. 39–40):

قال وإنما سمّي ذا القرنين كما حدّثنا وثيمة حدّثنا سفيان بن عيينة عن ابن أبي حسين عن أبي الطفيل أن عليّاً رضي الله عنه سئل عن ذي القرنين فقال لم يكن ملكا ولا نبيا . . .

In the notebook, al-Maqrīzī once again wrote as he was reading, but with the intention to summarize. He thus read the beginning of the sentence, took note of it as he was interested in it, and did not change anything in the wording, except that he made a grammatical mistake (*dhū* instead of *dhā*):

قال وإنما سمّي ذو القرنين . . .



MS 2232, fol. 53a (Courtesy Université de Liège)

Once he had written down this passage, he proceeded further in the reading of the text and discovered that Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam quoted a *khbar* in support of this appellation, which introduced a redundancy with the previous words already quoted. Clearly, al-Maqrīzī did not consider the chain of transmitters in this summary, but he could not pass over the material provided by the *khbar*. He thus decided to strike out some of the words already written (*qāla wa-innamā summiya*) and added, in the margin, part of the following text found in *Futūḥ Miṣr*, slightly modifying the phraseology (*wa-su’ila ‘Alī ‘an*) and indicating in the text the exact point where this marginal addition should find its place. This caused him to erase the *wāw* of *dhū* and to replace it by a *yā*. Consequently, the final result must be read thus:

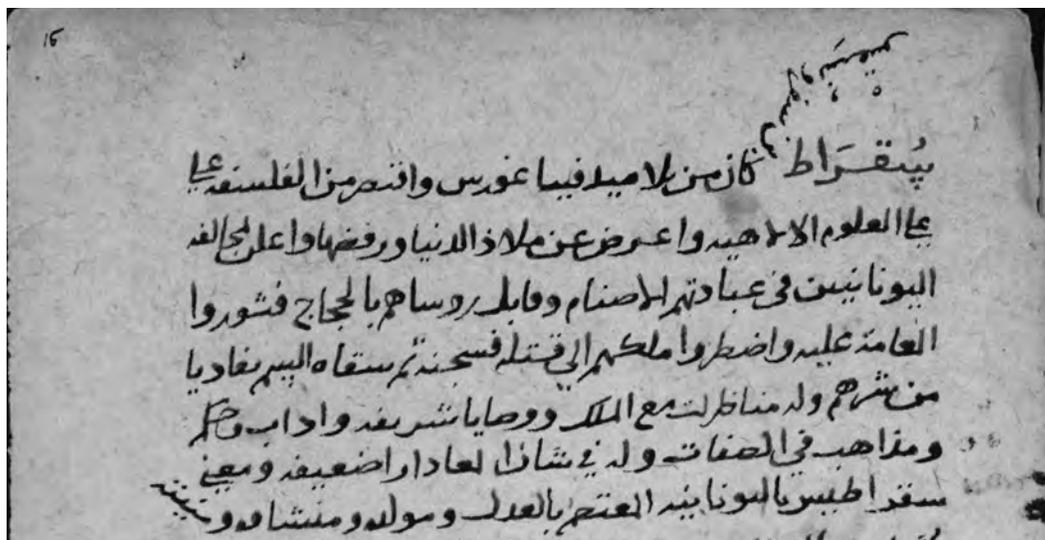
وسئل علي عن ذي القرنين فقال لم يكن ملكا ولا نبيا . . .

In order to establish that this process of epitomizing during the reading operation is typical of al-Maqrīzī’s working technique, it is necessary to demonstrate that



similar features appear in the other summaries. It is obviously impossible to deal with all the abstracts present in the notebook and for which the original source has been preserved, but the three following examples regarding two of these abstracts should provide convincing proof.

As already noted, the notebook opens with an epitome of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah’s ‘*Uyūn al-Anbā’ fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā’*’ (item I). On folio 16a, al-Maqrizī started summarizing a new biography: Socrates. He wrote the name in red ink to catch the eye, and began to read the source and to condense it. There is, however, a marginal note just above the name, which was added later. It consists of the name of the philosopher’s father (*ibn Sufrūnusiqs* [sic]).



MS 2232, fol. 16a (Courtesy Université de Liège)



To understand why it appears there, it is necessary to turn back to the source<sup>32</sup> and to compare it to al-Maqrīzī's rendering:

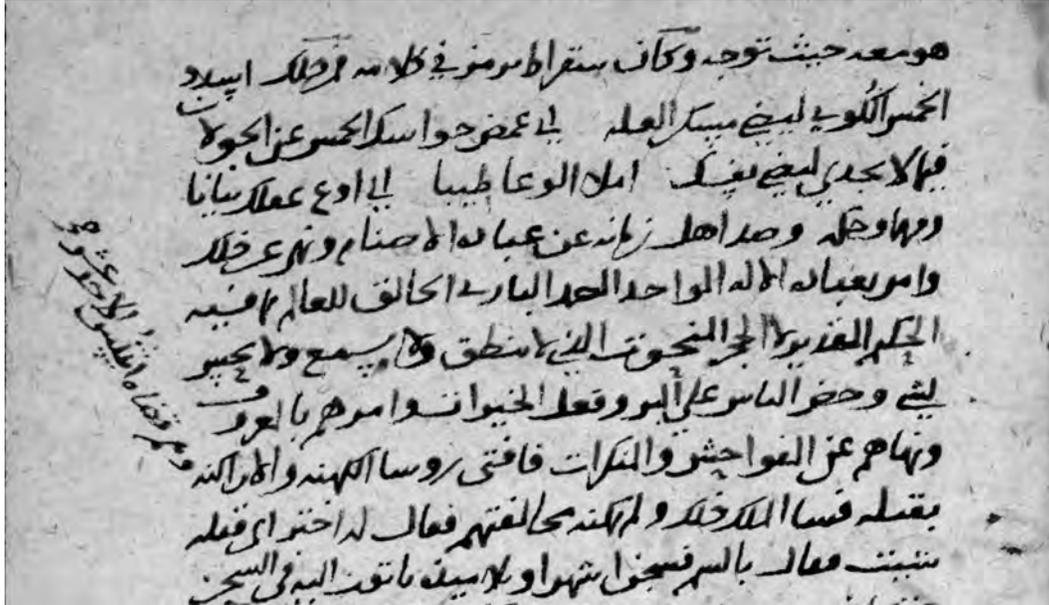
المقريزي	ابن أبي أصيبعة
سُقْرَاطُ بْنُ سَفْرُونُسُقِسَ.	سقراط.
كان من تلاميذ	قال القاضي صاعد في كتاب طبقات الأمم إن سقراط كان من تلاميذ
فيثاغورس واقتصر من الفلسفة على العلوم الإلهية وأعرض عن ملاذ الدنيا	فيثاغورس. إقتصر من الفلسفة على العلوم الإلهية وأعرض عن ملاذ الدنيا
ورفضها وأعلن بمخالفة اليونانيين في عبادتهم الأصنام وقابل رؤساءهم	ورفضها وأعلن بمخالفة اليونانيين في عبادتهم الأصنام وقابل رؤساءهم
بالحجاج فثوروا العامة عليه واضطروا ملكهم إلى قتله فأودعه الملك	بالحجاج والأدلة فثوروا العامة عليه واضطروا ملكهم إلى قتله فأودعه الملك
الحبس تحمدا إليهم ثم سقاه السم تفاديا من شرهم مع مناظرات جرت له مع	الحبس تحمدا إليهم ثم سقاه السم تفاديا من شرهم مع مناظرات جرت له مع
الملك محفوظة وله وصايا شريفة وآداب فاضلة وحكم مشهورة ومذاهب	الملك محفوظة وله وصايا شريفة وآداب فاضلة وحكم مشهورة ومذاهب
في الصفات قريبة من مذاهب فيثاغورس وبندقليس إلا أن له في شأن المعاد	في الصفات قريبة من مذاهب فيثاغورس وبندقليس إلا أن له في شأن المعاد
آراء ضعيفة بعيدة عن محض الفلسفة خارجة عن المذاهب المحققة.	آراء ضعيفة بعيدة عن محض الفلسفة خارجة عن المذاهب المحققة.
وقال الأمير المبشر بن فاتك في كتاب مختار الحكم ومحاسن الكلم معنى	وقال الأمير المبشر بن فاتك في كتاب مختار الحكم ومحاسن الكلم معنى
سقراطيس باليونانية المعتمضم بالعدل	سقراطيس باليونانية المعتمضم بالعدل وهو ابن سفرونسقس ومولده ومنشأه
ومولده ومنشأه	ومولده ومنشأه
ومنيته بأثينة. . . .	ومنيته بأثينة. . . .

The collation of both texts reveals that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah is primarily interested in quoting his sources faithfully, apparently without reworking the wording or the plan. This explains why the biographical data regarding Socrates, such as his father's name and his birthplace, appear in the second quotation. Reading the source, al-Maqrīzī discovered his father's name several lines later, but his aim differs from Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah's: though summing up raw material, he is nevertheless trying to organize the material at this early stage and this is the reason why he placed the father's name in the margin, above Socrates' name, rather than leaving it in its original place in the source. This comparison, as shown, also allows several observations regarding other features of al-Maqrīzī's working method while composing a summary. It first shows that he completely disregarded the sources quoted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah, thereby attributing those words to him. Then, it illustrates his desire to be brief, as he left out superfluous words whose omission does not modify the meaning (adjectives as in line 6: *ādāb fādīlah wa-ḥikam mashhūrah* → *ādāb wa-ḥikam*) or changed the wording to be more concise (as in lines 3–4: *fa-awda‘ahu al-malik al-ḥabs taḥammudan ilayhim* → *fa-sajanahu*).

<sup>32</sup>Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah, *‘Uyūn al-Anbā’ fi Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā’*, ed. August (Imru’ al-Qays ibn al-Ṭaḥḥān) Müller (Cairo/Königsberg, 1299/1882–84), 43.



A little bit further in the biography (fol. 17a/p. 45), another example corroborating the idea that the summarizing process takes place during the reading is provided.



MS 2232, fol. 17a (Courtesy Université de Liège)

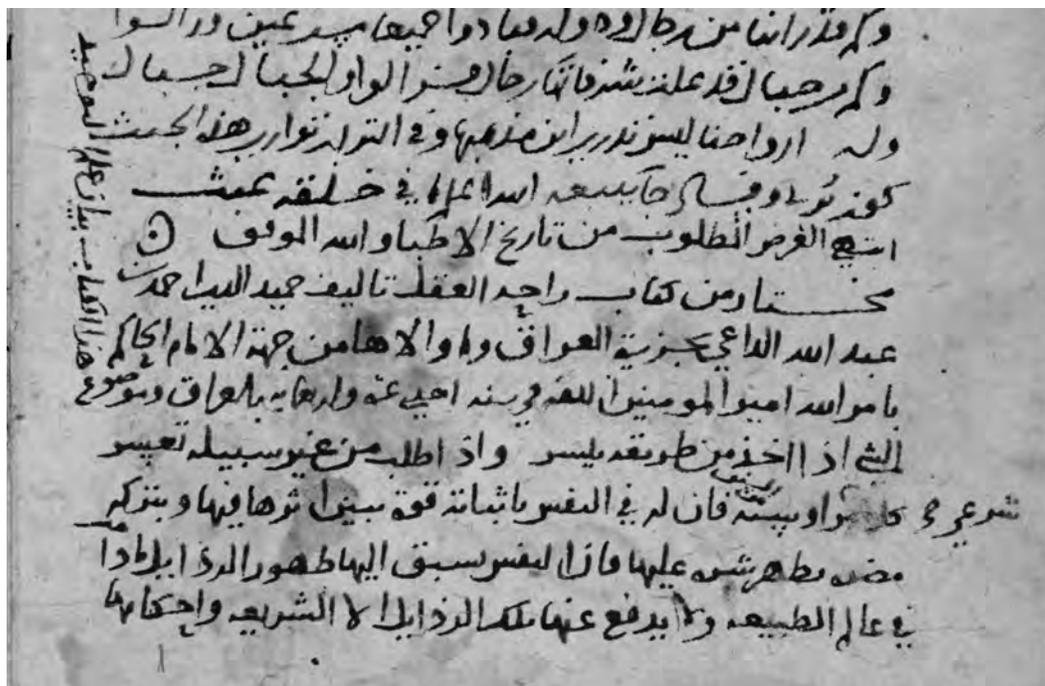
<p>المقريري. فأفتى رؤساء الكهنة والأراكنة وهم قضاة أثينس الأحد عشر بقتله فساء الملك ذلك ولم يمكنه مخالفتهم. . .</p>	<p>ابن أبي أصيبعة. فلما علم الرؤساء في وقته من الكهنة والأراكنة ما رامه من دعوته وأن رايه نفي الأصنام ورد الناس عن عبادتها شهدوا عليه بوجوب القتل وكان الموجبون عليه القتل قضاة أثينس الأحد عشر وسقي السم الذي يقال له قونيون لأن الملك لما أوجب القضاة عليه القتل ساءه ذلك ولم يمكنه مخالفتهم. . .</p>
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In this case, it is clearly established that al-Maqrīzī read a bigger part, i. e., the first two lines, before he started summarizing. He shows here his ability to extract the meaning of the whole sentence concisely, stated here in a nutshell (five words). Then, he discovered that those who were responsible for Socrates' death were the eleven judges of Athens. In his modified text, this part came at a better place to describe who those high priests and archons were, and so he added this information in the margin, opposite their mention. If he had read the whole passage on this affair, he would have had time to organize it then and would not have added the additional information in the margin. This passage demonstrates, if necessary, that the epitomizing process happened during the reading of a few words or of a whole phrase, but not more.



The last example considers a very short excerpt (item XXIII) appended to the previous abstract (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah, ‘*Uyūn al-Anbā’*), which ends on fol. 31b. The space left blank (roughly one third of the leaf) was filled in with an excerpt of seven lines. There is no doubt that it ends there because al-Maqrīzī did not write a catchword, as he did for the previous abstract. On the other hand, fol. 31 lies in the third quire which is completed with fol. 35. All these folios, which were also blank, have been filled with various notes taken from different sources (items XXIV–XXX). This excerpt, as already indicated,<sup>33</sup> is remarkable by its very nature, as it was taken from a book of Isma‘ili literature: *Kitāb Rāḥat al-‘Aql* of Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī. Its mere presence in the notebook might reveal whether or not al-Maqrīzī truly had access to Isma‘ili sources, as he claimed. Several elements found in the excerpt reveal that, at least for this work, this statement was true.

A close look at the arrangement of the text in the notebook suggests that the content of the book has been partly added in the right margin.



MS 2232, fol. 31b (Courtesy Université de Liège)

<sup>33</sup>See Frédéric Bauden, “Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method: Description: Section 2,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10, no. 2 (2006): 82–83.



In order to understand why this data is found there, it is necessary to turn to the original source and see how the material is organized there.<sup>34</sup>

- المقرزي. الكرمانى.
- (١) فنقول إن كتابنا هذا كتاب راحة العقل (ص. ١٠٦|٢٠). (١) مختار من كتاب راحة العقل.
- (٢) ومؤلفه حميد الدين أحمد بن عبد الله الداعي بجزيرة العراق وما وليها<sup>35</sup> من جهة الإمام الحاكم بأمر الله أمير المؤمنين . . . ألفه في سنة إحدى عشرة وأربعمائة في ديار العراق (ص. ١٠٦|٢٠).
- (٣) لما كان الغرض المقصود في تأليف هذا الكتاب بيان علم التوحيد (ص. ١١١|٢٤).
- (٤) إذ الشيء إذا أخذ من طريقه تيسر وإذا طلب من غير طريقه تعسر (ص. ١٠٠|١٦).
- (٥) إذ كل أمر من الأمور وسنة من السنن لها في النفس باحيائها قوة يتبين أثرها فيها ويتركها مضرة يظهر شرها عليها ذلك بأن النفس بكونها في عالم الطبيعة ظهور الرذائل فيها أسبق إليها من سبق النار إلى النفط وليس يدفع عنها تلك الرذائل إلا الشريعة وأحكامها (ص. ١٠١|١٧-٢).
- (٥) كل ضر شرعي<sup>37</sup> أو سنة من السنن<sup>38</sup> فإن له في النفس باثباته قوة يبين أثرها فيها ويتركها مضرة يظهر شره عليها فإن النفس يسبق إليها ظهور الرذائل ما دامت في عالم الطبيعة ولا يدفع عنها تلك الرذائل إلا الشريعة وأحكامها.

The comparison of both texts broadly hints that al-Maqrizī is summarizing the original text, and not a secondary source. During the reading process, it is necessary to condense the ideas and al-Maqrizī did not hesitate to state the material in his own words, particularly for passage no. 5. However, the arrangement of the material in al-Kirmānī's text is rather different from what one finds in the notebook. There, the various passages appear in the following order: 4, 5, 1, 2, 3, keeping in mind that 3 is located in the margin in the notebook. The *Rāḥat al-ʿAql* is quite peculiar in that it begins with a fairly long introduction and the reader must wait for several pages before reaching the point where the author gives his name and the title of his work.<sup>39</sup> A reader looking for this information must first go through those preliminary chapters. We notice that al-Maqrizī did not take notes from these before reaching the title of the work and the name of its author, and, possibly, the date of composition. Once he had copied these, he did not proceed further in the book, but rather went back to the introductory chapters where he selected a phrase and a short passage. Only then did he complete the reading of

<sup>34</sup>Reference is made here to the following editions: Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn and Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ḥilmī (Cairo, 1953); Muṣṭafá Ghālib (Beirut, 1967).

<sup>35</sup>In one manuscript: والاهـا.

<sup>36</sup>In the manuscript: اللفه. See, on this mistake frequently displayed in the notebook, "Maqriziana VIII."

<sup>37</sup> شرعي : marginal addition.

<sup>38</sup> من السنن : interlinear addition.

<sup>39</sup>It appears in the second *mashraʿ*.



the following chapters, particularly the fourth *mashraʿ* where the author explains the aim of the book.<sup>40</sup> In al-Maqrīzī's eyes, this was better placed between the historical and the philosophical material already selected by him and left at the end of passage no. 2 and the margin, where he could just write the first word (*wamawḍūʿ*). This analysis definitely proves that al-Maqrīzī had access to a copy of this work, because he would never have been able to arrange the material in this way if he could not thumb through the book. It also resolves the question of his access to the works of Ismaʿīli literature!

The preceding examples, selected from dozens, undoubtedly establish how the summarizing process took place and, bearing in mind the definition of "notebook" provided earlier, establishes that this particular manuscript is indeed a notebook.

#### ITS CONSTITUTION OVER TIME

Given its nature, the notebook in its present state is the result of an activity which spanned a long period of time, as confirmed by the evolution of the script, the great number of extracts of all kinds, and the numerous notes scattered throughout the manuscript. In this sense, the history of its constitution may be disclosed thanks to these internal elements as well as external ones. It thus helps us understand another aspect of al-Maqrīzī's working method, i.e., how he collected the abstracts and the notes.

While it is documented that authors of classical antiquity utilized, for the taking of notes and copying of their drafts, scrolls of papyrus (*volumen* or *rotulus*) rather than sheets of the same material assembled in scrolls later on,<sup>41</sup> the use of paper lent itself to another organization of the writing material: instead of the scroll, which is also attested in the Muslim world, but in a somewhat confined use,<sup>42</sup> paper allowed the creation of a quire made of several sheets folded in two. The multiple quires could then be sewn together and bound in order to protect the whole (codex).<sup>43</sup> The codex was a model of book already widespread in the

<sup>40</sup>"Al-mashraʿ al-rābiʿ fi al-gharaḍ al-maqṣūd fi tartīb aswār hādhā al-kitāb bi-mā nusawwiruḥu min mashāriʿihi ʿalā mā ruttibat ʿalayhi."

<sup>41</sup>Evidence of this is provided by traces of script over the pasted strips of the sheets of papyrus put together to form a scroll. If the sheets had been independently copied and then pasted together, the strips resulting from this operation would be blank. See Dorandi, *Le Stylet*, 13–14. It seems, however, that quires of papyrus could be made for the copying of notes. See note 43.

<sup>42</sup>Scrolls made of sheets of paper glued together were used by the Muslim chanceries until the Ottoman period.

<sup>43</sup>Codices made of papyrus are also attested, but are quite late and rare. See for instance a blank papyrus codex later used for various notes (ca. 400 C.E., Chester Beatty Library, Pap. Ac. 1499) in Jonathan M. Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven and London, 2001), 26. Papyrus was particularly unsuitable for this kind of book.



Middle East and the Mediterranean area in the first centuries of the common era and it ultimately outweighed all the others in these areas.<sup>44</sup> Quires, first of papyrus and parchment, then of paper, rather than loose leaves, were thus used for the taking of notes by Muslim scholars. Al-Maqrizī's notebook shows this observation to be a certainty.<sup>45</sup> Physical analysis indicates that the notebook is composed of 21 quires, most of which (14) consist of five sheets. Some summaries are spread over several quires. This means that al-Maqrizī had at his disposal a stock of such quires (most probably of five sheets each). When he saw that he would lack space to complete a summary, he had two options: either he inserted an intermediary sheet, thus modifying the structure of the quire (for instance, quire XIII has six sheets), or he continued on with a smaller one (two or three sheets, as in quire XVI, for example). In some cases, it happened that he finished a summary earlier in the quire, thus leaving several blank leaves. These leaves were later used for notes selected from different sources, which explains why they are sometimes scattered over several quires. However, when these notes fell at the intersection of two quires, they definitely linked these quires to one another. It thus establishes that those quires were in that order in al-Maqrizī's lifetime. But we can further refine our understanding of this aspect of his working method by proceeding to another level of analysis. As already stated,<sup>46</sup> two different kinds of paper are found in the notebook: al-Maqrizī utilized blank paper together with recycled paper, a feature which is not characteristic of this manuscript only, but of a large part of his autograph manuscripts. The recycled paper consists of chancery documents which were in the shape of scrolls (*rotulus*) and were cut into pieces, most probably by paper merchants.<sup>47</sup> It is reasonable to believe that, when such documents were cut, the sheets obtained through this process and pertaining to the same document were gathered to form quires. In this way, we should find sheets belonging to the same document in a quire of the notebook made of this kind of paper. If we look carefully at the distribution of documents I and II, among the five identified in the notebook and reconstructed afterwards, we notice that the first

<sup>44</sup>Déroche, *Le Livre manuscrit*, 16.

<sup>45</sup>The following remarks are summed up on the basis of the following publication: Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana IV: Le Carnet de notes d'al-Maqrizī: l'apport de la codicologie à une meilleure compréhension de sa constitution," in *Scripts, Page Settings and Bindings of Middle-Eastern Manuscripts: Papers of the Third International Conference on Codicology and Paleography of Middle-Eastern Manuscripts (Bologna, 4–6 October, 2000), Part 2*, ed. François Déroche and Francis Richard, *Manuscripta orientalia* 9 (2003): 24–36.

<sup>46</sup>Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrizī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method: Description: Section 1," *MSR* 7, no. 2 (2003): 28.

<sup>47</sup>See Frédéric Bauden, "The Recovery of Mamlūk 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.



one is represented by quires IX and XII and that the second one constitutes quires I to III and XI. This corroborates the hypothesis that those recycled documents were cut up consecutively, and that the quires were also produced according to the same sequence.<sup>48</sup> It also raised the question whether or not the summaries scribbled on quires made of sheets belonging to the same document, such as quires I to III and XI (= document II), were written at approximately the same time. The answer can only be affirmative, because if al-Maqrīzī had recourse to recycled paper, it was for financial reasons: blank paper, at that particular period,<sup>49</sup> must have been too expensive for writings not meant to survive after his death, like abstracts, notes, and drafts. In this sense, he probably bought a stock of quires of this recycled paper and used it over several years for various applications, although mainly for the drafts and the notebooks.<sup>50</sup> The stock must have been quite impressive: among the 22 autograph manuscripts,<sup>51</sup> 13 contain 509 sheets of this recycled paper, more than 10% of the total number of sheets, but most of it was used during a short period, given that 83% is found in only 3 volumes.<sup>52</sup> Quire XIII provides evidence that corroborates the idea that al-Maqrīzī had at his disposal several quires of this recycled paper. That quire consists of six sheets of recycled paper, contrary to the five sheets usually found in the notebook and al-Maqrīzī's other autograph manuscripts. An analysis of the paper shows that five sheets belong to the same document (no. III in our reconstruction), while the extra sheet comes from document II! There is only one possible explanation: al-Maqrīzī realized that he would run short of paper to complete his epitome, but that he did not need a full quire, just a sheet. He thus added one sheet to quire XIII, but this additional sheet was taken from a quire composed of the recycled

<sup>48</sup>It is even possible to affirm that the production of the quires only took place once a complete document had been cut. There is no other way to explain the disorder of the text of the documents inside the quires. For instance, document I in quire XII is in the correct order if the sheets are arranged this way : fols. 113, 114, 112, 111, 115.

<sup>49</sup>At the present stage of the research, it is impossible to determine exactly when the purchase took place, except that it was prior to 811/1408 (see note 52). It is established that archival material from the chancery was sold in 791–92/1389–90, but it is difficult to ascertain if the recycled paper found in al-Maqrīzī's autographs corresponds to this archival material. See *ibid.*, 74. It is important to note that he was not the only one in his milieu to exploit this kind of paper. See, for more details, “Maqriziana IX”; “Maqriziana VIII.”

<sup>50</sup>This is confirmed by the actual distribution of this recycled paper in his autograph manuscripts. See the following note and Appendix II (last column, the number in parentheses).

<sup>51</sup>No. 18 is excluded from this figure since it is a copy of an autograph manuscript.

<sup>52</sup>The great majority is found in the notebook now in Liège and in the two preserved volumes of the draft of the *Khīṭaṭ* (comprehensively 420 sheets). With regard to the two volumes of the *Khīṭaṭ*, it is now established that they were written between 811/1408 and 816/1413. See “Maqriziana IX.”



paper pertaining to document II. Moreover, if we look more closely at abstract V, which covers quires XI–XIII and IX, we notice that those quires are made of sheets belonging to documents I (quires XII and IX), II (quire XI and one sheet in quire XIII), and III (quire XIII). This distribution of the same extract, written during a short period of time, confirms that the quires of recycled paper were in disorder, if we consider the original documents. Al-Maqrīzī selected his recycled sheets regardless of their original order. But this also perfectly demonstrates that the summaries written on that kind of paper are contemporaneous, given that résumé no. I (quires I–III) is composed of the recycled paper of document II. However, there is a caveat. As shown by the actual organization of the notebook, which must be ascribed to al-Maqrīzī, as asserted earlier,<sup>53</sup> the quires made of recycled paper were ordered, at al-Maqrīzī’s death, as follows: I–III, X–XIII, IX, XXI, while the quires in between consist only of originally blank paper, and, thus, were written later. What could then explain how the quires, and consequently the summaries they contain, became separated in the notebook by these intervening quires, and consequently their summaries copied at a later date? The answer is provided by indirect testimony found in the autograph manuscripts of *Al-Muqaffá*. In 844/1440, one of al-Maqrīzī’s students managed not only to consult, but also to take notes from, with the author’s approval, what seems to have been the complete text of *Al-Muqaffá* at that time.<sup>54</sup> To describe the manuscript, this student referred to the technical term ream (*rizmāh*), indicating that this unfinished work, unlikely

<sup>53</sup>See p. 18. The only quire that was misplaced after al-Maqrīzī’s death is quire IX, which should be replaced after quire XIII. See “Maqriziana I/1,” 39 (n. 45).

<sup>54</sup>“Al-Muqaffá,” LeidenMSOr. 14533, fol. 170b (see Jan J. Witkam, “Les Autographes d’al-Maqrīzī,” in *Le Manuscrit arabe et la codicologie*, ed. Ahmed-Chouqui Binebine [Rabat, 1994], 88–98, 93–94):

الحمد لله طالع هذه الرزمة من أولها إلى هنا داعيا لمصنفها بطول حياته العبد محمد بن محمد بن الخيزري الدمشقي الشافعي غفر الله تعالى له أمين [not عفى الله تعالى الدائم 94, as in ibid.,] ونقل منها واستفاد في شعبان سنة ٨٤٤ بالقاهرة.

“Al-Muqaffá,” fol. 457a (not mentioned by Witkam, “Les Autographes”):

. . . واستفاد محمد بن محمد الخيزري . . . الله تعالى.

“Al-Muqaffá,” Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS Ar. 2144, fol. 41b (partly erased; not mentioned by Witkam, “Les Autographes”):

الحمد لله وسلام على عباده والذين اصطفى. انتهى العبد محمد بن محمد بن الخيزري الشافعي مطالعة هذه الرزمة ودعا لمصنفه بطول حياته بتاريخ شعبان سنة ٨٤٤ بالقاهرة والحمد لله على جميع نعمه.

The Damascene Ibn al-Khayḍarī arrived in Cairo in 843/1439–40, aged 22. There, he became an associate (*lāzama*) of Ibn Ḥajar, with whom he studied. He also studied with al-Maqrīzī until he went to the Holy City for the pilgrimage. See Najm al-Dīn ‘Umar [Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad] Ibn Fahd al-Hāshimī al-Makkī, *Mu‘jam al-Shuyūkh*, ed. Muḥammad al-Zāhī and Ḥamad al-Jāsir (Riyadh, 1982), 389–90. Al-Maqrīzī died 13 months after the date of these study-notes, after a long illness. The invocation for a long life might be a reference to the state of al-Maqrīzī’s health at that time.



to be completed given al-Maqrīzī's advanced age at that time, was in draft form as an unbound collection of several quires. The position of these reading notes additionally indicates that the actual distribution in the bound volumes differed from the original versions. Above all, this description helps to solve the question of the shifting of the quires in the notebook. If the draft of a work in progress, like the biographical dictionary entitled *Al-Muqaffá*, was unbound in order to allow the shifting of the biographies, there are good reasons to believe that the notebooks were in the same state. Consequently, the quires in the notebook were moved by al-Maqrīzī at a given time because each abstract formed a self-contained unit, the whole perhaps placed together within a cover, until he added additional notes and short extracts from other sources to fill in the blanks left at the end and within those summaries. The result was a volume which probably remained unbound. This explains why a quire (IX) could be misplaced later on, well after al-Maqrīzī's death.

While the preceding pages have helped us to reconstruct how the present notebook was compiled over time, and consequently to bring to light al-Maqrīzī's *modus operandi* during his reading and note taking, it remains to be established when the various parts were written. Dating the present notebook is a difficult, almost impossible task, given that al-Maqrīzī did not date any of the summaries or notes. Internal elements, however, offer valuable hints for the dating of some parts of the manuscript. This is the case with item XXII, which consists of a biography of a Mamluk who was contemporary with al-Maqrīzī. The text in the notebook appears to be a preliminary stage of redaction for the biographical dictionary of his contemporaries entitled *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Faridah fī Tarājim al-A'yān al-Mufidah*.<sup>55</sup> This section is the result of al-Maqrīzī's activity as an author and not as a summarizer. If we consider that this person died in 812, we can reasonably conclude that this part of the notebook (quire XXI) was written later on. A *terminus ante quem* can also be fixed thanks to the notes which were written at the end of this biography to complete the blank part of the quire (fols. 191b–1b). As demonstrated,<sup>56</sup> these personal notes were undeniably written during al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's reign (815–24/1412–21). Obviously, the result is a quite lengthy span of time, but it is possible to narrow it by considering a material element together with the conclusions drawn earlier. Account must be taken of the fact that quire XXI is composed of recycled paper. We have arrived at the conclusion that the summaries written on this kind of paper were jotted down in a relatively short period of time, but we have been unable so far to date, even approximately, these summaries. A close look at the use made of this recycled paper in al-Maqrīzī's

<sup>55</sup>See "Maqriziana I/2," 136.

<sup>56</sup>See *ibid.*, 134.



various autograph manuscripts revealed that 83% of this particular paper is to be found in three volumes: the notebook and the two extant volumes of the first draft of the *Khīṭaṭ*. As it has been established that the latter was written between 811 and 816,<sup>57</sup> it is reasonable to assume that the quires made of the same paper in the notebook must be dated before 816. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the biography in quire XXI was drafted after 812 and that the remaining notes in that quire were written between 815 and 824. Additionally, there is the fact that several parts of the notebook, some of which are written on recycled paper, contain information that was used by al-Maqrīzī in his *Khīṭaṭ*, and more importantly, already in the first draft of this work, where they can be identified.<sup>58</sup>

Other parts can be precisely dated thanks to external elements. It indeed seems that each time al-Maqrīzī borrowed a manuscript which he made use of, he felt the need to indicate this in a note he scribbled, most of the time on the title page, or less frequently elsewhere in the manuscript.<sup>59</sup> These reading notes, which coincide with category (e) in the previously mentioned list of sources for the reconstruction of the working method, offer us a good opportunity to understand how al-Maqrīzī read these manuscripts, since the date is generally appended to the notes. Such notes were found in no less than 25 volumes representing 7 works,<sup>60</sup> but only two of them are useful for the dating of the notebook, more precisely the relevant parts containing either a summary or scattered notes: Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmārī’s *Masālik al-Abṣār* and Ibn Saʿīd’s *Al-Mughrib*. The first source is preserved in several sets of numerous volumes, although just ten volumes of the set consulted by al-Maqrīzī have come down to us. On the title page of each of them,<sup>61</sup> he added a note of consultation which reads: “Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī made excerpts from it in the year 831, invoking [God’s favors] on its lender.” Therefore, we can conclude that al-Maqrīzī obviously managed to consult a whole set of this work at the same time, i.e., in the same year, and more importantly that he could make use of it with the utmost ease given that he had borrowed it from its owner. This is confirmed by the

<sup>57</sup>See, for the details of this dating, “Maqriziana IX.”

<sup>58</sup>See, for instance, the third quotation of item XLV (“Maqriziana I/2,” 103) in *Al-Khīṭaṭ* (Būlāq ed. [1853], 1:208 = MS Topkapı Sarayı 1405, fol. 76).

<sup>59</sup>All these manuscripts were borrowed from private owners, and not from public libraries, like those of madrasahs. Al-Maqrīzī refers, in *Al-Khīṭaṭ* (Būlāq ed., 2:395 = Ayman Fuʿād Sayyid ed. [London, 2002– ], 4:2:592), to such a public library in the madrasah of Maḥmūd al-Ustādhḍār, considered as one of the best for its holdings and renowned for its collection of autographs. He emphasizes that the books could not be taken out of the madrasah. On the lending of books in Islam, see Fuʿād Sayyid, “Naṣṣān Qadīmān fī Iʿārat al-Kutub,” *Majallat Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabīyah/Revue de l’Institut des manuscrits arabes* 4 (1958): 125–36.

<sup>60</sup>See Appendix II.

<sup>61</sup>With the exception of vols. I and IV. The latter contains a marginal note in al-Maqrīzī’s handwriting, however.



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

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

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

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

<sup>65</sup>I.e., summaries VII, XVII–XIX.



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

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

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

<sup>67</sup>See "Maqriziana I/2," 122.



المقريزي (مخ. لياج، ١٣٠٠ ب).

القرافة: قال ابن سعيد في المغرب:

المقريزي، الخطط.<sup>68</sup>

وقال علي بن موسى بن محمد بن سعيد في

كتاب المغرب في أخبار المغرب:

ابن سعيد، المغرب.<sup>70</sup>

وهي في شرفيها بها منازل لأعيان الفسطاط والقاهرة وقبور عليها. وهي في شرفيها بها منازل لأعيان الفسطاط والقاهرة وقبور عليها معتنى بها وفيها القبة العالية العظيمة المزخرفة التي فيها قبر الإمام الشافعي رضي الله عنه وبها مسجد جامع وترب كثيرة عليها أوقاف للقراء ومدرسة كبيرة للشافعية ولا تكاد تخلو من طرب ولا سيما في الليالي القمرية وهي معظم مجتمعات أهل مصر وأشهر منتزهاتهم وفيها أقول . . .

وهي في شرفيها بها منازل لأعيان الفسطاط والقاهرة وقبور عليها معتنى بها وفيها القبة العالية العظيمة المزخرفة التي فيها قبر الإمام الشافعي رضي الله عنه وبها مسجد جامع وترب كثيرة عليها أوقاف للقراء ومدرسة كبيرة للشافعية ولا تكاد تخلو من طرب ولا سيما في الليالي القمرية وهي معظم مجتمعات أهل مصر وأشهر منتزهاتهم وفيها أقول . . .

In this case, the manuscript must have been at his disposal during the composition of his opus magnum, though it will be established, as already mentioned,<sup>71</sup> that this work was not begun before or only shortly before 811. Given that the manuscript of *Al-Mughrib* belonged to someone else, as indicated by al-Maqrīzī himself,<sup>72</sup> how then could he gain access to it later on? The inscription indicates that he utilized it<sup>73</sup> in 803, but the word used (*istafāda*) refers here to more than this, as it was also used by al-Maqrīzī on several volumes of Ibn ‘Adī’s *Al-Kāmil lil-Ḍu‘afā’*<sup>74</sup> of which he produced a *mukhtaṣar* dated to 795. If this term implies that he made a summary of *Al-Kāmil*, then it is clear that the same conclusion can be drawn for *Al-Mughrib*. This summary, however, is now lost and the very brief notes traceable to this source which are scattered in the notebook conspicuously do not represent

<sup>68</sup>Būlāq ed., 2:444; Sayyid ed., 4:849.

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

<sup>70</sup>Ed. Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan et al. (Cairo, 1953), 10.

<sup>71</sup>See “Maqriziana IX.”

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

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

<sup>74</sup>See Appendix II.



the result of the summarizing process. Rather, they must be regarded as extracts selected from the résumé in order to be reused afterwards. The fact that two of these notes found their way into *Al-Khiṭaṭ* corroborates this hypothesis.<sup>75</sup> In doing so, al-Maqrīzī probably went back either to his summary or to the original source<sup>76</sup> in order to be able to quote the given paragraph completely. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the notes taken from *Al-Mughrib* are not datable to 803, but to a later date.

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

#### WHAT FOR?

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

As for the milieu of traditional Islam, there is no reason to believe that things were different. Given the very prolific activity of Muslim scholars in ancient times, it is no surprise to remark that the *ars excerpendi*, “the art of condensing a book or treatise came to be considered one of the accomplishments of true scholarship,”<sup>80</sup> to such an extent that authors such as Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi considered that “condensing a work is more complicated than writing it.”<sup>81</sup> The particularity of its educational system based on the oral, or more correctly aural,<sup>82</sup> transmission of texts gave birth to a great variety of notes: those prepared by a teacher for his lectures, those jotted down by a student during these lectures, and finally those taken by any one of them during their readings for their personal use. The first category corresponded, somewhat, to the first stage of an authorial work: the teacher had selected and organized the material and commented on it. It could eventually give birth to the publication of a book, either by the author himself, or, after his death, by a disciple who then put his master’s notes in order or, when these were no longer available, his personal notes (second category).<sup>83</sup> The third category consisted of the personal notes resulting from reading of sources or any other kind of information gleaned by other means. The result of the three categories of activity could be found, either separately or altogether, in what was, in fact, a notebook. The evidence provided by al-Maqrīzī’s specimen combined with the indirect tradition<sup>84</sup> shows that they contained summarized texts, short excerpts, personal testimonies, comments, and first sketches of small parts to be included in drafts later on, but the group of summaries by far surpasses the other categories. If notes played a mnemonic role in ancient Greece and Rome, they served the same purpose in Islamic civilization. Consequently, summaries were not only meant for

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

<sup>80</sup>Rosenthal, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship*, 45.

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

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

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

<sup>84</sup>See below the section entitled *Referring to the Notebook?*



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

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

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

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

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

<sup>88</sup>*Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>89</sup>See Appendix I (nos. 8, 18, and 22).



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

<sup>90</sup>Istanbul, Murat Molla Kütüphanesi MS 569, fol. 1r:

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>93</sup>These are: *Kitāb Qiyām al-Layl*; *Kitāb Qiyām Ramaḍān*; *Kitāb al-Witr*.

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

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

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

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

<sup>95</sup>The preface is thus lost. The second volume bears a less indicative title:

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

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



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

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

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

<sup>96</sup>See "Maqriziana I/2," 100 (no. 62).

<sup>97</sup>See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá*, 157:

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

<sup>98</sup>See "Maqriziana I/1," no. II.

<sup>99</sup>Liège MS 2232, fol. 37v:

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

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



notebook.

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

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

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

<sup>101</sup>See “Maqriziana I/1,” no. V.

<sup>102</sup>Liège MS 2232, fol. 101v:

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

<sup>103</sup>See “Maqriziana I/1,” 46.

<sup>104</sup>Liège MS 2232, fol. 4r:

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

<sup>109</sup>See previous section.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

essentially made for his personal use.

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

<sup>114</sup>Dain, *Les Manuscrits*, 41.



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

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

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<sup>115</sup>Ibid., 44–45.

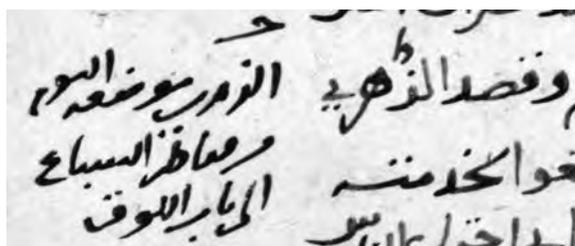
<sup>116</sup>See “Maqriziana VIII.”



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

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

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



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

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

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

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

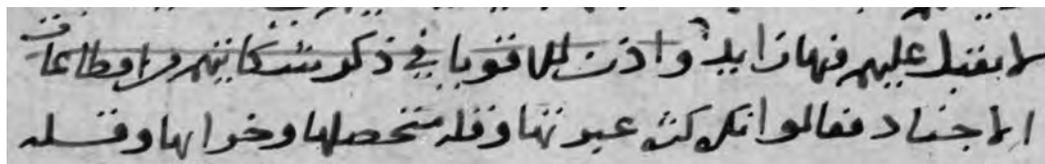


the script, that he discovered what the word meant and added, in the margin, a gloss preceded by the letter *ḥā* (for *ḥāshiyah*, “gloss”). The text thus reads:

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

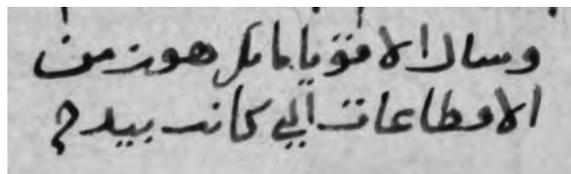
Other instances found in the same summary<sup>119</sup> allow us to confirm the meaning of the symbol used together with al-Maqrīzī’s perplexity over several words appearing in this text. Consequently, it can be established that, for al-Maqrīzī, Ibn al-Ma’mūn’s *History* represented a difficult source, due to the presence of several unknown words. It also shows that a text composed three centuries earlier could contain words which were no longer used and understood by a historian of the fifteenth century.

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



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

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



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

The whole can be illustrated thus:

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

<sup>119</sup>See next section.



وسأل الأقباء ما يكرهون من الإقطاعات التي كانت بيد صح.

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

In other circumstances, we already noted that al-Maqrīzī was able to get the most out of his source, paraphrasing, for example, a sentence of 50 words in just 15.<sup>120</sup> In each case, it has been established that this takes place during the reading of the source. Owing to the psychological conditions attendant to the copying process referred to earlier, it can be said that he could not read more than a limited number of words in order to be able to paraphrase or to quote, hence the modifications intervening in the margins or directly in the text.

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

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

<sup>120</sup>See above, p. 14.

<sup>121</sup>No. 21 of LVI.



when he did not quote its title or author, and the evidence provided by his books.<sup>122</sup> This procedure has revealed al-Maqrīzī's extraordinary capacity to extract the fundamental data and to combine it in a concise and well-constructed manner. But it has its pitfalls, in particular when the source cannot be identified with certainty. Thanks to the notebook and taking into consideration the autograph drafts of his works, this method of analysis can be refined in the best circumstances: in many cases, several versions can now be compared for a given source, whether or not it is extant. In the next section, for instance, a synoptical analysis of four versions of the same text is given, from the résumé up to the last version in the fair copy. It is thus possible to follow the evolution of al-Maqrīzī's intellectual activity from the very beginning up to the end of the process. Such analyses will not be detailed here for reasons of space:<sup>123</sup> only selected short instances will be dealt with.

A collation of the various résumés and the scattered notes with the material exploited by al-Maqrīzī in his books establishes that a concrete answer cannot be given to the question posed above, proving once more the complexity of his working method.

The material summarized can indeed be quoted verbatim, as is shown by the analysis of a quotation from Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History* in the next section. In other circumstances, the material is slightly modified, tending toward a simplification or an extrapolation of the meaning of the text. This indicates that he considered the text he took note of as being already either a quotation, or a first sketch of what it should be in the final version. In this case, the paraphrase is made with an idea of its final destination already in mind.

The following example illustrates perfectly how it worked. The source of this biography has not yet been identified, which means that the analysis can only be made on the basis of al-Maqrīzī's words. In the reworked version, as provided by al-Maqrīzī in his *Khiṭaṭ*, the elements modified have been underlined.

<sup>122</sup>See, more particularly, Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography*, 76–80; Reuven Amitai, “Al-Maqrīzī as a Historian of the Early Mamluk Sultanate (or: Is al-Maqrīzī an Unrecognized Historiographical Villain?),” *MSR* 7, no. 2 (2003): 99–118; Sami G. Massoud, “Al-Maqrīzī as a Historian of the Reign of Barqūq,” *ibid.*, 119–36.

<sup>123</sup>See the following forthcoming studies: “Maqriziana V: Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam et al-Maqrīzī,” where the use of a source composed of *akhbār* and hadiths is studied; “Maqriziana VII: Al-Maqrīzī and the Yāsa: New Evidence of His Intellectual Dishonesty,” where the problem of the interpretation and the deliberate modification of the source are detailed; “Maqriziana XI: al-Maqrīzī et al-Ṣafadī: Analyse de la (re)construction d’un récit biographique,” where the analysis of the reworking of data found in a source is scrutinized through three of al-Maqrīzī's works.



المقريزي (مخ. لياج، 183).  
 إبراهيم بن عبد الرحمن بن علي بن عبد العزيز بن علي بن قريش بن محمد بن أحمد بن سلامة بن الحسن بن سليمان بن خالد بن الوليد أبو إسحاق القرشي المخزومي المصري الكاتب شرف الدين أحد الكتاب المجيدين خطا وإنشاء خدم في دولتي العادل والكمال وسمع الحديث بمكة ومصر وحدث وولد بالقاهرة مستهل ذي القعدة سنة اثنتين وسبعين وخمسمائة وقرأ القرآن وحفظ قطعة من المذهب واشتغل بالأدب وكتب بخطه ما يزيد على أربعمئة مجلد وتوفي في الخامس والعشرين من جمادى الأولى سنة ثلاث وأربعين وستمئة.

المقريزي، الخطط.<sup>124</sup>  
 إبراهيم بن عبد الرحمن بن علي بن عبد العزيز بن علي بن قريش أبو إسحاق القرشي المخزومي المصري الكاتب شرف الدين أحد الكتاب المجيدين خطا وإنشاء خدم في دولة الملك أبي بكر بن أيوب وفي دولة ابنه الملك الكامل محمد بديوان الإنشاء وسمع الحديث بمكة ومصر وحدث وكانت ولادته بالقاهرة في أول يوم ذي القعدة سنة اثنتين وسبعين وخمسمائة وقرأ القرآن وحفظ كثيرا من كتاب المذهب في الفقه على مذهب الإمام الشافعي ويرع في الأدب وكتب بخطه ما يزيد على أربعمئة مجلد ومات في الخامس والعشرين من جمادى الأولى سنة ثلاث وأربعين وستمئة.

The comparison reveals, at first sight, that the text found in the notebook, though we do not know whether it is a paraphrase, a summary, or a quotation, already contained all the material al-Maqrīzī deemed necessary. Apart from several names of the subject's ancestors, the reworked version does not lack any of the information. Instead, it contains various additions which are all al-Maqrīzī's. These added parts do not provide anything new, but rather sum up the exact meaning of the text or place the data in context, and in certain cases reveal al-Maqrīzī's interpretation. A hint that al-Maqrīzī is probably paraphrasing some parts may be inferred by the grammatical mistake he made in the notebook regarding the two rulers under whose reigns the subject served. Whereas the notebook displays a *muḍāf* followed by two *muḍāf ilayhi* (*dawlatay al-ʿĀdil wa-al-Kāmil*), the text in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* has been corrected according to the correct grammatical rule. The names of the rulers have also been clarified as the data is out of context. On the other hand, the addition regarding the fact that the biographee worked in the state chancery (*dīwān al-inshāʿ*) is redundant due to the mention of his office (*kātib*) and his mastery of writing (script and composition). The modification affecting his date of birth, as well as the verb used to indicate his death, were also unnecessary and might reflect al-Maqrīzī's desire to modify slightly the phrasing of the source, although the reason which caused him to do so remains unknown. As for the book the subject memorized (*Al-Muḥadhdhab*), al-Maqrīzī felt the addition was necessary, though anyone knowledgeable understood which book was referred to here. The last two differences are dependent on al-Maqrīzī's interpretation. His personal knowledge, reinforced by other readings for instance, could be invoked to explain why the piece (*qitʿah*) became a lot (*kathīran*), but the rather neutral *ishtaḡala bi-al-adab* changed into a more biased *baraʿa fī al-adab* could be the result of his own understanding of the text or of his wish to embellish the subject's

<sup>124</sup>Būlāq ed., 2:93; Sayyid ed., 3:309.



achievement. In the end, the text has become al-Maqrīzī's rendering, through small, but effective additions.

Another feature of al-Maqrīzī's *modus operandi* relates to his desire to go back to the most ancient sources he identified in a later work. Dealing with fires and their functions in the pre-Islamic period, al-Maqrīzī synthesized the data provided by al-Nuwayrī in his encyclopedic work *Nihāyat al-Arab* (item XXXV), but when he utilized it in one of his books (*Al-Khabar 'an al-Bashar*), he also quoted al-Nuwayrī's source for this subject, al-Jāḥiẓ's *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, demonstrating that he was not content with relying on a secondary source.<sup>125</sup> Obviously, he could only do this once he got access to a copy of al-Jāḥiẓ's work.

We have also seen that, in some cases, al-Maqrīzī did not quote an extract transcribed in the notebook, but rather turned back to the source from which he took the extract. In the example of Ibn Sa'īd's *Al-Mughrib*,<sup>126</sup> al-Maqrīzī selected just one sentence while, in *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, where the quotation fit better than anywhere else, the quotation tallies exactly with Ibn Sa'īd's text. This is interpreted as an indication of the existence of a comprehensive résumé, a fact confirmed by the note of consultation al-Maqrīzī wrote on the title page of the copy of Ibn Sa'īd's text he had in hand, and finally as a clue that this scattered note in the notebook served as a memorandum for future quotation.

#### WORKING WITH NOTE-CARDS

Among the manifold aspects of the *modus operandi* of an author, whatever the period and the civilization considered, the use of note-cards or file cards has been questioned. How may we conceive that an author could compose voluminous works, implying the handling of huge amounts of data, without an organizational system that provided the author with the possibility to arrange the data according to the evolutionary scheme of his work(s)? As early as 1930, W. K. Prentice postulated the use of such a system by the Greek historian Thucydides: "But how was it possible for Thucydides to be continually revising and enlarging his book, how could he have acquired certain 'documents gradually and stuck them in his manuscript to work up later,' if his manuscript was on papyrus rolls? Such a procedure can be imagined only if the author wrote on flat sheets, which he kept together in a bundle or in a box. And there is no reason whatever for rejecting such a supposition."<sup>127</sup> Prentice was deeply convinced that classical authors resorted to loose sheets of papyrus or parchment that they kept bundled or in boxes—the whole corresponding to an authorial manuscript—before organizing

<sup>125</sup>See "Maqriziana I/2," 93–94.

<sup>126</sup>See above, p. 25.

<sup>127</sup>W. K. Prentice, "How Thucydides Wrote His History," *Classical Philology* 25 (1930): 125, quoted by Dorandi, *Le Stylet*, 6.



them and copying the final version on papyrus rolls. Since then, classicists have moderated Prentice's views and generally consider that if note-cards were used, it was only in the first stage of the work: for the taking of notes, for excerpts, or for occasional additions to the final text.<sup>128</sup> As can be deduced, the problem resides in the transfer, the addition of data to a written text, and implicitly has to deal with the organization of the material. It is indeed quite difficult to move or to add information in a manuscript, be it a roll made of sheets pasted one to the other or a codex made of quires. If one is working, say, on a biographical dictionary alphabetically organized, he should ideally write each entry as an independent unit, so that it will be possible for him to move it according to the evolution of the work and the discovery of new material. Additional data pertaining to a biography could be added in the margins, if limited, or on a slip of paper inserted between two sheets with a cipher indicating where this addition must find its place. Once the author considers his work completed, a fair copy is produced. The note-card can thus be just a slip, a sheet, or even a quire, but the common feature is that it can be moved without requiring rewriting.

What about Islamic authors? Fortunately, the indirect tradition provides more examples than classicists could hope for. Some of them had already been collected by Rosenthal as early as 1947,<sup>129</sup> who showed that the terminology still remains to be investigated, according to the period and probably the area of origin of an author, as various terms are referred to in this study with the meaning of "notes." Indeed, a clear distinction must be made between the notes which resulted from the reading and summarizing activity of a scholar and the note-cards which are already the result of his composing activity. The first represents the raw material which he will perhaps reuse, while the latter corresponds to a later stage, being preliminary to final redaction. The quotation of Ibn Ṭāwūs' description of his personal working method, though precise,<sup>130</sup> provides another testimony to the use of note-cards. While the ones meant to keep his personal ideas are referred to as *ruqay'āt* (slips of paper), the others containing the quotations from the secondary literature are defined as *qā'imah/qawā'im* (individual sheets of paper) which could be reorganized according to the scheme of the work. On the basis of these indirect witnesses, it can be ascertained that note-cards were one of the various techniques used by Muslim authors to compose their books. If the indirect tradition had long ago provided convincing evidence of the use of note-cards, there was still a lack of examples of the direct tradition. Once again, the unusual collection of direct witnesses of al-Maqrīzī's authorial activity helps to fill

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<sup>128</sup>Ibid., 25.

<sup>129</sup>Rosenthal, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship*, 6 ff.

<sup>130</sup>See above, p. 5.



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

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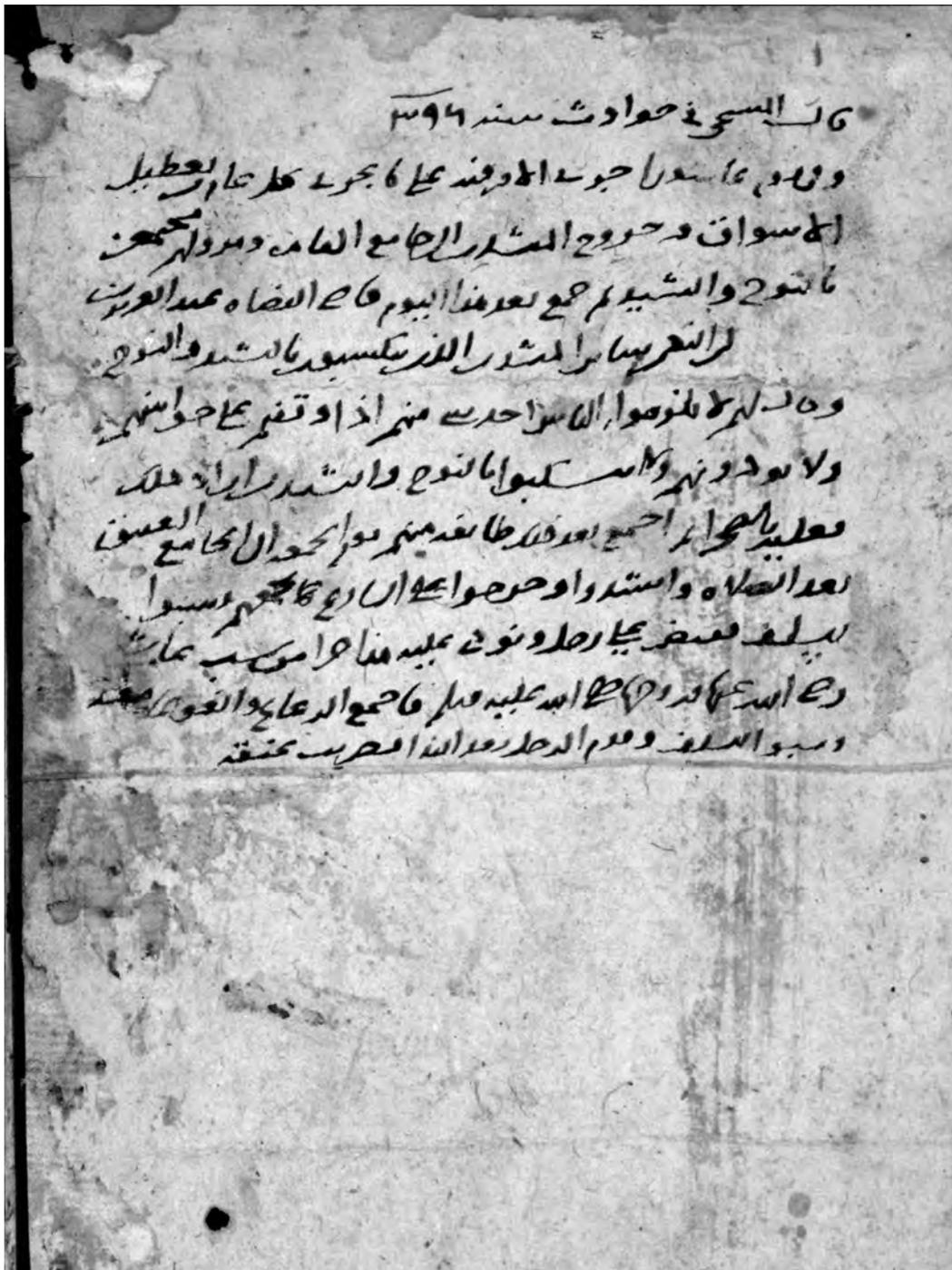
<sup>131</sup>Witkam, “Les Autographes,” 94.

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

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







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



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

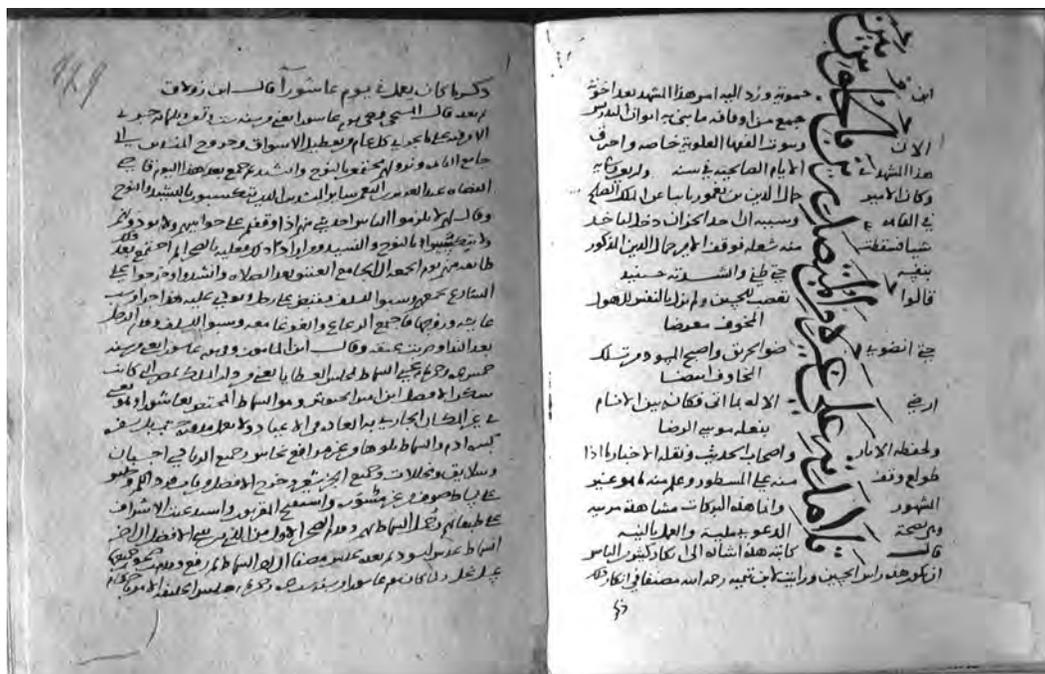
A thorough study of the autograph draft reveals a striking feature on fol. 130r. The title (*dhikr mā kāna yuʿmal fī yawm ʿāshūrāʿ*), written in red ink, was cancelled by al-Maqrīzī, while the text following it was maintained.

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





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



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

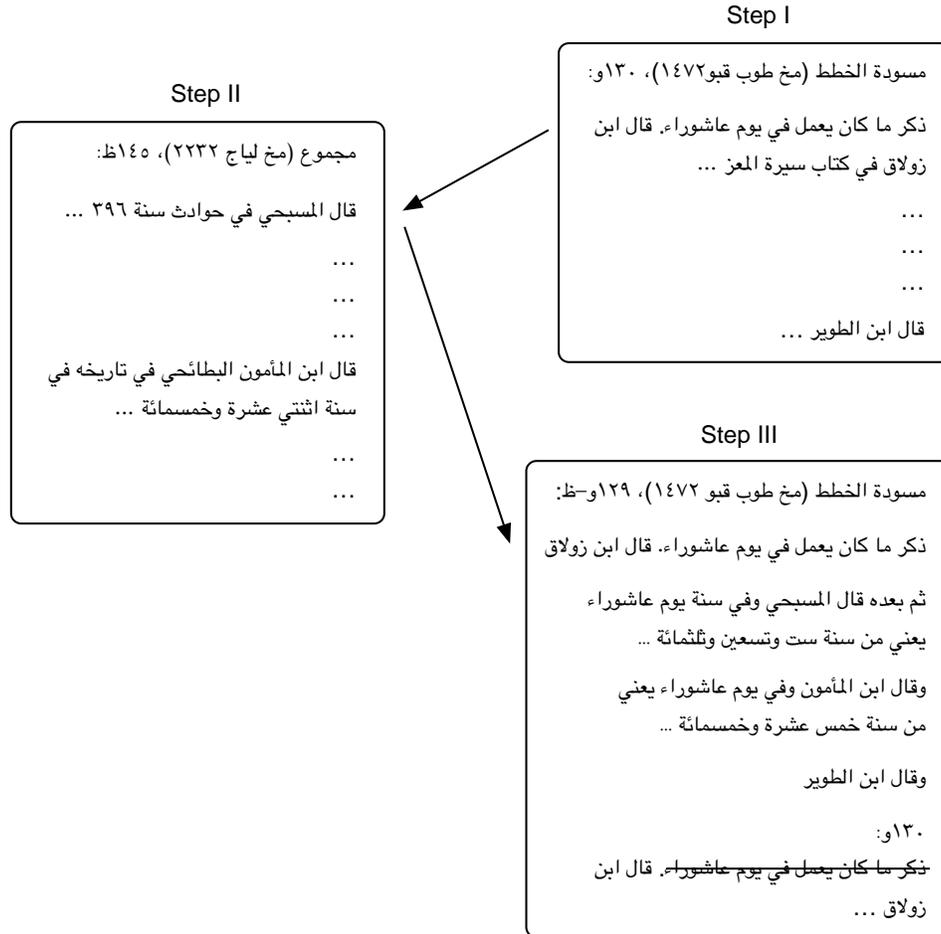


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Turning to the immediately preceding folio (129r), one notices that it starts with the same title crossed out on fol. 130r and, even more strikingly, the title is followed by the introductory words of the first quotation found on fol. 130r (*qāla Ibn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



First, al-Maqrīzī wrote a section dealing with the events that took place on the occasion of the feast of *‘āshūrā* during the Fatimid period. At that time, he only had access to two sources which addressed this event: Ibn Zūlāq and Ibn al-Ṭuwayr. Later on, he gained access to two other sources (al-Musabbiḥī and Ibn al-Maʿmūn), from which he made resumés<sup>135</sup> and, a second time, a note-card for this particular subject. The note-card was not inserted in the draft already prepared, although the additional text was meant to be inserted between the texts of Ibn Zūlāq and Ibn al-Ṭuwayr. Indeed, the chronological order had to be observed and, while Ibn Zūlāq spoke of an event that took place in 363, al-Musabbiḥī and Ibn al-Maʿmūn’s texts dealt with the same event that happened later, but before Ibn al-Ṭuwayr’s quotation. Instead of rewriting the whole quire, which represented a waste of time and paper, he preferred to add a leaf to the quire and indicate where the text had to be placed in the fair copy. He could not indicate it better than by cancelling the original title and rewriting it at the beginning of the additional text leaf. The question remains why al-Maqrīzī did not simply paste the note-card between fols. 128 and 130, as he did in many cases in several of his works. The answer is provided by the comparison of the text of the note-card with fol. 129 in the draft of *Al-Khiṭaṭ*: it reveals that both texts are identical, save some irrelevant discrepancies. However, this time, all the quotations follow each other, without physical separation. And more importantly, there is one additional quotation from Ibn al-Maʿmūn’s *Tārīkh*, regarding the year 517, which was placed at the end of fol. 129v, before shifting to Ibn al-Ṭuwayr’s text: it indicates that another note-card made for the same purpose existed and was copied here. Al-Maqrīzī probably felt uncomfortable pasting two note-cards in the same place, fearing that both could inadvertently be taken off or worked loose during the manipulation of the draft. Copying them anew seemed less risky to him. It is clear that al-Maqrīzī definitely worked with note-cards with the purpose of adding material to his books in embryo or already at an advanced stage and that he could organize them, in this particular case, according to chronological criteria.

There is more to say. We have come to the conclusion that the résumé of Ibn al-Maʿmūn’s *Tārīkh* (no. XVIII) in the notebook could be dated through a *terminus post quem* to after 831.<sup>136</sup> On this basis, the note-card, and consequently fol. 129 in the draft of *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, must have been copied after that date. Thanks to this dating, it is now possible to postulate that a fair copy of that work was not produced before 831!

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

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

<sup>136</sup>See above, p. 23.



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

المقريري، مختار من سيرة المأمون البطاحي (مخ. لياج، ١٥٨ب-١٥٩).  
 المقريري، رقيعة (مخ. لياج، ١٤٥).  
 ... سنة ٥١٣ ...  
 وفي يوم عاشوراء عبئ السمات بمجلس العطايا  
 وهو السمات المختص بيوم عاشوراء ويعبأ بغير  
 المكان الجاري به العادة في الأعياد ولا يعمل مدورة خشب بل سفرة كبيرة  
 أدم والسمات تلوها بغير مرافع نحاس وجميع الزبادي أجبان وسلانق<sup>138</sup>  
 ومخللات وجميع الخبز شعير وخرج الأفضل من باب فرد الكم فجلس  
 على بساط صوف من غير مسورة<sup>139</sup> واستفتح المقرنون واستدعيت  
 الأشراف على طبقاتهم فجمال بهم السمات وقدم الصحن الأول من الذي  
 بين يدي الأفضل إلى آخر السمات عدس أسود ثم بعده عدس مصفى<sup>140</sup> إلى  
 آخر السمات ثم رفع وقدمت صحن جميعها عسل نحل.

<sup>137</sup>For the sake of space, only the first of these is studied here.

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

<sup>139</sup>Same remark as above.

<sup>140</sup>Written مصفا.



المقريزي، مسودة الخطط (مخ. طوب قبو سراي ١٤٧٢، ١٢٩).  
وقال ابن المأمون: وفي يوم عاشوراء يعني من سنة خمس عشرة وخمسمائة  
عبي السماط بمجلس العطايا يعني من دار الملك بمصر التي كانت سكن  
الأفضل بن أمير الجيوش وهو السماط المختص بعاشوراء وهو يعياً في غير  
المكان الجاري به العادة في الأعياد ولا يعمل مدورة خشب بل سفرة كبيرة  
أدم والسماط تلوها<sup>141</sup> من غير مرايع نحاس وجميع الزبادي أجبان وسلانق  
ومخللات وجميع الخبز شعير وخرج الأفضل من باب فرد الكم وجلس  
على بساط صوف من غير مسورة<sup>142</sup> واستفتح المقرنون واستدعيت  
الأشراف على طبقاتهم وحُمل<sup>143</sup> السماط بهم<sup>144</sup> وقدم الصحن الأول من  
الذي بين يدي الأفضل إلى آخر السماط عدس أسود ثم بعده عدس مصفى  
إلى آخر السماط ثم رفع وقدمت صحن جميعها<sup>145</sup> عسل نحل.

المقريزي، الخطط (تحقيق أ. ف. سيد)، ٤١٩:٢.<sup>146</sup>  
وقال ابن المأمون: وفي يوم عاشوراء يعني من سنة خمس عشرة وخمسمائة  
عبي السماط بمجلس العطايا من دار الملك بمصر التي كان يسكنها  
الأفضل بن أمير الجيوش وهو السماط المختص بعاشوراء وهو يعياً في غير  
المكان الجاري به العادة في الأعياد ولا يعمل مدورة خشب بل سفرة كبيرة  
من أدم والسماط يعطوها من غير مرايع نحاس وجميع الزبادي أجبان وسلانق  
ومخللات وجميع الخبز من شعير وخرج الأفضل من باب فرد الكم وجلس  
على بساط صوف من غير مسورة<sup>147</sup> واستفتح المقرنون واستدعيت  
الأشراف على طبقاتهم وحمل السماط لهم وقد عمل في الصحن الأول الذي  
بين يدي الأفضل إلى آخر السماط عدس أسود ثم بعده عدس مصفى إلى  
آخر السماط ثم رفع وقدمت صحن جميعها عسل نحل.

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

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

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

<sup>143</sup>Not وحمل as in ibid.

<sup>144</sup>Not لهم as in ibid.

<sup>145</sup>جميعها is lacking in ibid.

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

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

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



al-Maqrīzī wrote the words as he read them, but indicated, through a symbol (*kāf?* for *kadhā?*), his perplexity and the need to provide an explanation of both terms, something he was able to do at a later stage, as we shall see. A collation of the summarized text with the excerpt found on the note-card reveals several discrepancies. First of all, the handwriting is noticeably different in the sense that the note-card is the result of haste: it appears as if al-Maqrīzī is just copying the text in a hurry and that is understandable as he is preparing a note-card. It is clearly visible in the less numerous diacritics and also in the modification he brings to the text while reading and writing it: while the summary gave *bi-ghayr* (l. 3), he changed it to *fi ghayr* directly after he wrote the words in accordance with the source, deleting them with a stroke.<sup>149</sup> On the other hand, his haste might be the reason why he made a mistake in copying the date. In the summary, the date was indicated in ciphers, while on the note-card, he wrote it in letters. But instead of 513, he wrote 512. Another interesting feature lies in the exegesis supplied in the note-card. The quotation, taken out of context, required some explanation. The council of the gifts, which was mentioned and explained in the summary under the year 512 (fol. 158r),<sup>150</sup> now lacked clarity and al-Maqrīzī added the required data just after its mention (*ya'ni min dār al-afḍal ibn amīr al-juyūsh*). More interestingly, one of the two terms al-Maqrīzī marked as requiring further clarification is missing completely in the note-card (*min ghayr miswarah*). Did he feel that he could not find the meaning and thus preferred to skip over it? In any case, he reconsidered his decision later on, given that it appears in the draft. Moving to the draft version, the changes made to the summary in the note-card all remain untouched. Nonetheless, other differences emerge: the date, mistaken in the note-card, here became 515 and this is the version to which al-Maqrīzī ultimately adhered since it is the one that is provided in the final version. The basis on which this modification in the dating was made is unclear, since the summary, presumably made on the basis of the source, indicates the year 513. If he changed it to the year 515, this means that he found a corroborative indication of this in another source. This happened between the time when he produced the note-card and when he inserted it in the draft. As for the portion he skipped in the note-card (*min ghayr miswarah*), it surfaces here again with the typical symbol<sup>151</sup> and a vowel.<sup>152</sup> Al-Maqrīzī thus returned to the summary and did not just copy the text of the note-card in this particular case. He probably remembered that he

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

#### REFERRING TO THE NOTEBOOK?

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

<sup>157</sup>Silvestre de Sacy, *Traité des monnoies musulmanes*, 11 n. 16.

<sup>158</sup>Eustache, “Études de numismatique et de métrologie musulmanes II,” 152 n. 42.

<sup>159</sup>“Maqriziana I/2,” 58–60.

<sup>160</sup>Istanbul MS Yeni Cami 887.



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

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

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

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

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

<sup>163</sup>See, for further investigation, "Maqriziana IX."

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

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

<sup>166</sup>Ibn Fahd al-Hāshimī al-Makkī, *Muʿjam al-Shuyūkh*, 66.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>172</sup>Ibid., fol. 2v.

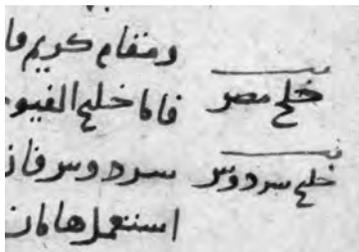


Maqrīzī's mind, as a memorandum.<sup>173</sup> Thus, it is impossible that al-Maqrīzī used the term *tadhkirah* for his notebooks.

#### FINDING HIS WAY IN THE NOTEBOOK?

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

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



MS. 2232, fol. 39v (Courtesy Université de Liège)<sup>175</sup>

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

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

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

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

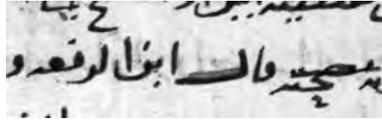
<sup>175</sup>The headlines read: *khuluj Miṣr* and *khalij Sardūs*.

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



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

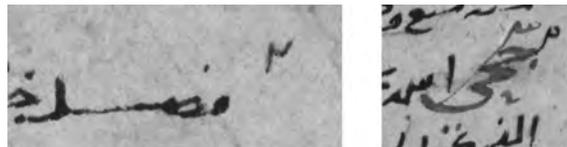
Red ink, without doubt, played a role similar, although less useful, to headings. It is found throughout the notebook in various situations: it is employed for the symbol *ف* put over a given passage or at the beginning of a new sentence. The role of this symbol is to catch the eye and lead it to the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



MS 2232, fol. 167v (Courtesy Université de Liège)<sup>177</sup>

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

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



MS 2232, fol. 32v and fol. 122r<sup>178</sup>  
(Courtesy Université de Liège)

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

<sup>178</sup>In this case, both ciphers have been used.

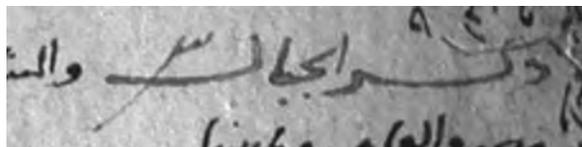


These ciphers must have indicated that al-Maqrīzī had already used the data noted in this way. In order to know until what point he quoted the text, he needed to add another mark. It is regularly observed together with the previous cipher, but of course at the end of the portion of text quoted. This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



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

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



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

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



MS 1472, fol. 9r; MS 1405, fol. 21r; MS 1405, fol. 111r;<sup>179</sup>  
and MS 1405, fol. 104v

(Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi)

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

<sup>179</sup>In this example, the greatest part of the cipher disappeared due to the trimming.



In an article published in 1986, Geoffrey Khan studied a copy of a decree dated to the Fatimid period.<sup>180</sup> This document is of particular importance given that it is not the original which was released to the beneficiary, but the copy that was filed in one of the registers held in the archives. One of the most interesting features of this document lies in the mark that crosses the whole text on the first page. This mark looks like a big three in Arabic<sup>181</sup> and it tallies exactly with the cipher used by al-Maqrīzī in his notebook and his drafts, confirming that this could not be a *sīn*. Instead, it clearly stands for the word *nuqīla* (“it has been transcribed”).<sup>182</sup> It is no surprise to see that al-Maqrīzī utilized a mark for which evidence is found on archival material. Part of his official career took place in the chancery, where he was employed for several years.<sup>183</sup> Consequently, he was knowledgeable in all the nuances of this practice. On the other hand, the fact that this mark was still in use in the Mamluk period demonstrates the durability of the conventions of the chancery bureaux. While this cipher worked as a check mark in al-Maqrīzī’s notebook, indicating that a passage had been transcribed in one of his works, it meant, when used in his drafts, that a passage had been recopied in the new, either intermediary or final, version. As for the other mark, which looks like the Arabic numeral for 2, it is unlikely that it corresponds to a more cursive form of the preceding mark, because it is sometimes used together with the latter.<sup>184</sup> It could be interpreted as an indication that al-Maqrīzī had to quote the passage characterized in that way; hence the sporadic presence of an *ilá*, at the end of the text, and of the check mark as indicated above. If such was the case, this system

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

<sup>181</sup>See the reproduction in *ibid.*

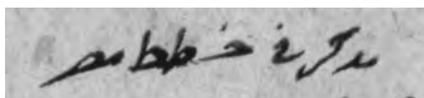
<sup>182</sup>On this meaning, see Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition*, 144. This interpretation is confirmed by other evidence studied below (see p. 62). The mark was tentatively interpreted by Khan as being the word *ṣahḥa*, a reading he was not happy with as he proposed later to rather consider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

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

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

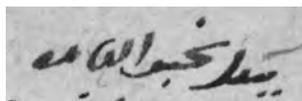


did not indicate precisely where the quotation had to be transcribed. In some cases, al-Maqrizī must have been aware of the place where he wished to use a given text, but this was probably not generally true. Evidence of this is provided by the existence of unambiguous references to the need to copy some parts in his books in embryo. At least two such references are found in the notebook. The first (fol. 122r)<sup>185</sup> was placed at the end of a biography and reads: *yudhkar fī Khīṭat Miṣr* (“let it be mentioned<sup>186</sup> in the topography of Egypt”).



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

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



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

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

#### CONCLUSION

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

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

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

<sup>188</sup>See “Maqriziana I/2,” 127.



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

This study has allowed us to establish that:

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



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



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## APPENDIX I: AL-MAQRĪZĪ'S AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPTS

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

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

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



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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

<sup>199</sup> On fol. 95b: انتقاه داعيا لمالكه احمد بن علي المقرئ في صفر سنة ٨١٩.

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

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

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

<sup>203</sup> On fol. 132a: انتقاده داعيا له أحمد بن علي المقرئ في سنة ٨٠٧.

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



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## Mamluks of Mongol Origin and Their Role in Early Mamluk Political Life

It will come as no surprise to even a casual student of Mamluk history when I state that the Mongols were the major foreign policy concern of the Mamluk Sultanate during its first century of existence, certainly after 1260. Be it the war with the Ilkhanids in Iran and the surrounding countries, or the amicable relations with the Golden Horde, the leadership of the young sultanate devoted much thought and many resources to dealing with the Mongol danger from the east on the one hand, and co-opting the Mongols from the far north on the other. Even after the conclusion of peace with the Ilkhanate in the early 1320s, the Mongols remained a concern for the Mamluks, although perhaps without the same urgency. With the breakup of the Ilkhanid state after 1335, the Mamluks still had to take into account for several decades their relations with different Mongolian rump states on their eastern and northern frontiers. In short, one can scarcely comprehend the history of the early Mamluk Sultanate without considering the impact of its preoccupation with the Mongols.<sup>1</sup>

One aspect of Mamluk-Mongol relations is the question of Mongols in the Mamluk army, as soldiers and officers, and once even as a sultan. These could be Mamluks themselves or Mongol tribesmen who came as *wāfidiyah* or *musta'minūn*, i.e., refugees seeking sanctuary in the sultanate. This phenomenon of the *wāfidiyah*, Mongol and otherwise, received attention over half a century ago in a well-known article by the late David Ayalon,<sup>2</sup> who subsequently touched upon the phenomenon of Mamluks of Mongol origin in his wide-ranging series of papers on the *yāsā*,<sup>3</sup> as well as in his article "Mamlūk" in the *Encyclopaedia of*

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<sup>1</sup>Some important general comments on Mongol-Mamluk relations are found in David Ayalon, "The Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khān: A Reexamination," *Studia Islamica*, Part C1, 36 (1972): 117. My own investigations into these relations have been published in *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge, 1984) and *The Mongols in the Islamic Lands: Studies in the History of the Ilkhanate* (Aldershot, 2007). These studies contain many references to other articles and books on the subject.

<sup>2</sup>David Ayalon, "The Wafidiya in the Mamluk Kingdom," *Islamic Culture* (1951): 91–104.

<sup>3</sup>Ayalon, "The Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khān," Part C1, 124–28. For the complete series of articles, see *Studia Islamica*, Part A, 33 (1971): 97–140; Part B, 34 (1971): 151–80; Part C1, 36 (1972): 113–58; Part C2 (1973): 107–56.



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*Islam*.<sup>4</sup> Recently, Nakamachi Nobutaka<sup>5</sup> has written an interesting and innovative essay published in *Mamlūk Studies Review*, in which the status of the *wāfidiyah* in general, with some emphasis on the Mongol *wāfidiyah*, is reconsidered. I propose in the following article to look mainly at the “Mongol” Mamluks and their role in early Mamluk political life, without neglecting their possible connections with the Mongol *wāfidiyah*. I will end with some comments about the Mongol *wāfidiyah*, particularly in light of Nakamachi’s article.

Finally, one small technical note: in the interest of brevity, in this article I will generally refer to Mamluks of Mongol provenance as Mongol-Mamluks. I hope that this shorthand will not prove confusing.

We have the names of several prominent Mongol-Mamluks who reached the sultanate in various ways. There were probably many more such Mamluks who remained nameless in the sources, reflecting their modest ranks and achievements. This is something that we could expect *a priori*. First, we could imagine that some Mongol youths would be caught up in the trade of young Qipchaq Turks from the realm of the Golden Horde (more about this below). This point has already been made by Ayalon.<sup>6</sup> Secondly, some young Mongols would have been among the captives from the battles and border warfare between the Mamluk Sultanate and the Ilkhanate, where the Mamluks almost invariably had the upper hand (some prominent examples are given below). Thus, it seems probable that the senior Mongol-Mamluk officers whose names we know were only the tip of an iceberg, made up of lower-ranking Mamluks of Mongol origin.

We are fortunate not to have to remain in the realm of speculation. As early as the reign of Qalawun (678–89/1279–90),<sup>7</sup> we learn that this sultan purchased 12,000 “Turkish, Mongol, and other Mamluks.”<sup>8</sup> Of course, this gives us no idea of the relative or absolute size of this contingent of Mongol-Mamluks, but they were certainly significant enough to be mentioned after the Turks. Note that the Circassians, who—as is well known—were bought in large numbers by Qalawun,

<sup>4</sup>David Ayalon, “Mamlūk,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 6:314; cf. the longer version in idem, *Islam and the Abode of War* (Aldershot, 1994), art. II, 3.

<sup>5</sup>Nakamachi Nobutaka, “The Rank and Status of Military Refugees in the Mamluk Army: A Reconsideration of the *Wāfidiyah*,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10, no. 1 (2006): 55–81.

<sup>6</sup>Ayalon, “The Great Yāsa,” Pt. C1, 126–27.

<sup>7</sup>In this paper I have striven to render the names of Mamluks and Mongols in a transliteration which I hope best approaches the way they themselves would have pronounced them. Those names which I am unable to provide in this way, I have given in the Arabic transliteration.

<sup>8</sup>Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk*, ed. Q. Zurayk and N. ‘Izz al-Dīn (Beirut, 1939), 8:97 (s.a. 689, as part of the summation of Qalawun’s rule); cited in Ayalon, “The Great Yāsa,” Pt. C1, 124–25.



are not mentioned in this passage.<sup>9</sup> Baybars al-Manṣūrī, in his entry for 699/1299–1300, reports that one of the results of the civil war in the Golden Horde between the Khan Toqta (<Toqtagha) and the army commander Noghai was that many Mamluks and slave girls were brought to the sultanate. We can assume that some of these Mamluks were Mongols.<sup>10</sup>

We have some indirect evidence that young Mongols were indeed caught up in this trade of Mamluks: Toqta attacked Genoese settlements in the Crimea in 707/1307–8 for various reasons, including retaliation for the capture of Mongol children (*awlād min al-tātār*) who were then sold to the Muslim countries, referring most probably to Egypt and Syria.<sup>11</sup> Even if the Mongol candidates to become Mamluks were not connected to the previously mentioned Toqta-Noghai war, this second passage shows that Mongol children were indeed part of the regular trade in young Mamluks, at least for a certain time.

This appears to have continued well into the eighth/fourteenth century. The mid-fourteenth-century encyclopedist Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī has this to say in his chapter on the Golden Horde in the section on the Mongols in *Masālik al-Abṣār*: The Mongols sold their own children on one hand, and on the other hand, the Qipchaqs themselves also kidnapped the children of their Mongol subjugators and sold them to slave-traders.<sup>12</sup> There is no mention of a particular time-frame for this information, and it is unclear if the author is referring to a general phenomenon or to one particular period. Al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442), however, is more specific. He writes that in the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalawun (1310–41), the Mongols of the Golden Horde competed with each other in selling their boys, girls, and relatives to the slave-merchants. The competition was so fierce among

<sup>9</sup>David Ayalon, “The Circassians in the Mamlūk Kingdom,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 69 (1949): 137–38; Linda Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689 A.H./1279–1290 A.D.)* (Stuttgart, 1998), 191–92. I should mention here Robert Irwin’s yet-unpublished paper, “How Circassian Were the Circassian Mamluks?” which was presented in April 2006 in Haifa.

<sup>10</sup>Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkiyah fi al-Dawlah al-Turkiyah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamid Ṣāliḥ Ḥamdān (Beirut, 1407/1987), 159; idem, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fi Tāriḫ al-Hijrah*, ed. D. S. Richards (Beirut and Berlin, 1998), 347.

<sup>11</sup>Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 399; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fi Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–97), 27:374. Toqta sent off an army to Kaffa, their headquarters, but the Genoese had advance notice of the attack and fled by boat. Toqta found some solace by expropriating the wealth of their compatriots in Saray.

<sup>12</sup>*Das Mongolische Weltreich: al-ʿUmaris Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk Masālik al-abṣār fiʾl-mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. and trans. K. Lech, Asiatische Forschungen 14 (Wiesbaden, 1968), 72; cited by Ayalon, “Mamlūk,” *IE²*, 314 ; cf. the longer version of this article in Ayalon, *Islam and the Abode of War*, art. II, 3.



those Mongols that it even marred their internal relations,<sup>13</sup> although what this means exactly is unclear. Perhaps it refers to some type of disruption of normal social relations, due to the outflow of young people and even depopulation.

Finally, we can note that young Mamluks also arrived, probably sporadically, from the territory of Qaidu (and his Chaghatayid allies) in Central Asia. Al-Nuwayrī reports in his section on the Mongols in *Nihāyat al-Arab* that after Qaidu defeated Nomughan, the son of the Great Khan Qubilai, ca. 1276, many women and children were taken captive and were exported by traders to Egypt (perhaps via the territory of the Golden Horde).<sup>14</sup> There are some problems with the description of these events in Central Asia,<sup>15</sup> but as the story of the young mamluks is told *en passant*, we can accept it at face value. It is, however, unclear, how often mamluks came from this region, in what quantities, and how many of them were actually Mongols. Still, some Mongols, it would seem, probably entered the Mamluk army from this relatively far-away region.

We see, then, that young Mongol boys (and girls for that matter) played some part in the trade in Mamluks conducted with the Golden Horde. We are now in a better position to examine the careers of prominent Mongol-Mamluks, and to see whether their advancement and behavior had anything to do with this Mongol-Mamluk milieu. I will begin with a brief review of the senior Mongol-Mamluks of whose name and identity we can be sure. I confess that I may have missed one or more individuals, and additional names will be welcome. The order is roughly chronological.

#### ZAYN AL-DĪN KITBUGHA AL-MANŞŪRĪ

He was captured as a youth at the first battle of Homs (December 1260) and enrolled in the Mamluk unit of Qalawun,<sup>16</sup> already serving as an officer during his amirate. With Qalawun's death in 1290, Kitbugha also served al-Ashraf Khalīl, although he was somewhat estranged from him. After the latter's murder in 1293, he led the Qalawunid "loyalist" forces who fought and defeated the conspirators

<sup>13</sup>Al-Maqrizī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ziyādah (Cairo, 1934–73), 2:525, cited in Ayalon, "Mamlūk," *Islam and the Abode of War*, art. II, 3.

<sup>14</sup>Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 27:354–55.

<sup>15</sup>See the discussion in Michal Biran, *Qaidu and the Rise of the Independent Mongol State in Central Asia* (London, 1997), 62–63.

<sup>16</sup>Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah fī al-Tārīkh* (rpt., Beirut, 1977), 13:338–39; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafāyāt*, ed. H. Ritter et al. (Wiesbaden, 1931–), 24:318; idem, "Aʿyān," MS Aya Sofya 2967, fol. 47a; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhiraḥ fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhiraḥ* (rpt., Cairo, n.d., of Cairo, 1930–56), 8:55. Cf. al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 29:475, and Ibn al-Ṣuqāʿī, *Tālī Kitāb Wafāyāt al-Aʿyān*, ed. J. Sublet (Damascus, 1934), 131, who both say he was captured at ʿAyn Jālūt.



led by Baydara. Upon the accession of the boy-king al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Kitbugha became *nāʾib al-saltānah* and one of the two strongmen of the state, the other being Sanjar al-Shujāʿī. Relations soon deteriorated between these two officers, and open fighting broke out in the streets of Cairo. This ended in Kitbugha's victory and his subsequent enthronement (1294). Taking the title al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, he ruled for some two years until deposed by a conspiracy led by Lachin (Lājīn), who replaced him. Kitbugha lived out his life as governor of Sarkhad and then Ḥamāh, dying in 1303. His reign was marked by a famine and the resulting crisis, as well as the arrival of an extremely large group of Mongol *wāfidīyah* in early 1296 from the Oirat tribe, from which he himself hailed. See below for how his Mongol affinities affected his policies and actions.<sup>17</sup>

#### SAYF AL-DĪN SALĀR AL-MANṢŪRĪ

He was captured at the battle of Abulustayn in 1277 and eventually became a Mamluk of Qalawun, although he started off as a Mamluk of his son al-Ṣāliḥ ʿAlī (d. 1288).<sup>18</sup> During the second reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (1299–1309), Salār, the *nāʾib al-saltānah*, was one of the two most powerful amirs, together with Baybars al-Jashnakir, also a Manṣūrī (albeit of Circassian origin) who enjoyed the support of the Burjīyah. Salār was also an Oirat Mongol and brought over two of his brothers and mother to the sultanate in 1305.<sup>19</sup> After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's return to power for the third time in 1310, Salār was imprisoned and starved to death. His personal wealth and income were proverbial.<sup>20</sup>

#### SAYF AL-DĪN QIPCHAQ (QIBJAQ) AL-MANṢŪRĪ

He was also captured at the battle of Abulustayn, becoming a Mamluk of Qalawun after first serving his son al-Ṣāliḥ ʿAlī.<sup>21</sup> As governor of Damascus in Lachin's reign,

<sup>17</sup>Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* (London, 1986), 85; P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (London, 1986), 106–8; al-Ṣafādī, *Al-Wāfi*, 24:318–19 (who calls him al-Mughuli).

<sup>18</sup>Baybars, *Zubdah*, 155; Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, 174.

<sup>19</sup>Angus Donal Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks: War and Diplomacy during the Reigns of Het'um II (1289–1307)* (Leiden, 2001), 166, and n. 446. See Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmiʿ al-Ghurar*, ed. H. R. Roemer (Cairo, 1960), 9:131; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 385.

<sup>20</sup>Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages*, 70, 86, 92; Holt, *The Age of the Crusades*, 110–12; Ibn al-Ṣuqāʿī, *Tālī Kitāb Wafāyat al-Aʿyān (wa-kāna jinsuhu min al-tatār)*; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ed. ʿA. M. Muʿawwaḍ and ʿA. A. ʿAbd al-Mawḥūd (Beirut, 2000/1421), 1:468–73 (*wa-huwa min al-tatār al-ūyūrātīyah*).

<sup>21</sup>Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 155; Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, 174. Another Mongol who is mentioned as being captured at this time (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*) and also becoming a Mamluk is Sayf al-Dīn Jāwurshī, about whom nothing else is known.



he fled to the Mongol court of Iran. There he found his father (named Toghril) and brothers, who held prominent positions at court. Qipchaq was awarded the governorship of Hamadān, although it is doubtful that he actually took it up. He accompanied Ghazan on his successful campaign into Syria in 1299–1300. After the Mongol occupation of Damascus, he was appointed the Mongol governor of Syria, but in the aftermath of Ghazan's withdrawal from the city (followed by the retreat of the remaining Mongol troops), Qipchaq returned to the Mamluk fold. He was pardoned and was awarded the governorships of Shawbak and then Ḥamāh, dying in 1310.<sup>22</sup> According to al-Ṣafadī, “He spoke and wrote excellent Mongolian” (*wa-yujīd al-kalām wa-al-khatṭ bi-al-lughah al-mughulīyah*), and had been the scribe (*kātib*) to Ḥasan Taqu, one of the *noyans* of the Mongols. His father had also been one of the leading scribes among the Mongols. Qipchaq said about the Mongolian language, comparing it to Arabic: “Like with you, there is proper and improper speech, so with us.”<sup>23</sup>

#### SAYF AL-DĪN AYTAMISH/UTAMISH AL-NĀṢIRĪ

Originally a Mamluk of al-Ashraf Khalīl, then of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Aytamish first comes to our notice as a trusted envoy of the latter during his exile in Karak (1309–10). He was named governor of Karak when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad left to regain the throne, remaining in this position until 1311. Subsequently, Aytamish became a loyal member of the sultan's inner circle, although never rising above the rank of an amir of forty; in this capacity he fulfilled a number of missions. Probably the height of his career was the series of embassies he led to the court of the Ilkhan Abū Sa'īd, both during the peace negotiations that led to the treaty of 1323 and the subsequent years. Al-Ṣafadī writes that he traveled to the Ilkhanate with his personal contingent (*ṭulb*) and musical band (*ṭablkhānah*), but I assume that if this was the case it was only in the aftermath of the peace treaty. Aytamish spoke and wrote Mongolian, and knew the customs of the Mongols (*ādāb al-mughulī*). “He judged in the house of the sultan among the *khaṣṣākīyah* according to the *yāsāq* that Chinggis Khan established. He knew the biography of Chinggis Khan, explained it, and reviewed it. He was acquainted with the branches of the Mongols and their roots, and he knew by heart their histories and events.” Aytamish answered letters in Mongolian for the sultan.<sup>24</sup> He died in Ṣafad in

<sup>22</sup>Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages*, 99–101, 105–6; Holt, *The Age of the Crusades*, 110–11, 113; Reuven Amitai, “The Mongol Occupation of Damascus in 1300: A Study of Mamluk Loyalties,” in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, ed. Amalia Levanoni and Michael Winter (Leiden, 2004), 21–41, esp. 22–25.

<sup>23</sup>Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi*, 24:178.

<sup>24</sup>In Aytamish's absence, he was replaced by the sultan's maternal uncle, Tayirbughā, who is mentioned at the end of this article.



737/1336, having received the governorship there a few months earlier, the previous incumbent being his brother Ariqtay (see below).<sup>25</sup>

#### SAYF AL-DĪN ARIQTAY

Ariqtay may have been the brother of the above-mentioned Aytamish (although it is probably more likely that this “brotherhood” (*ukhūwah*)<sup>26</sup> was metaphorical). Aytamish was buried in Ariqtay’s *turbah*, near the “external” mosque (referring, it would seem, to the mosque outside of the citadel, in Şafad).<sup>27</sup> Early in al-Nāşir Muḥammad’s third term he became *jāmdār*. For over twenty years Ariqtay was governor of Şafad, replaced in 1336 by Aytamish. In the post-al-Nāşir Muḥammad period, Ariqtay had an illustrious career until his death in 750/1349.<sup>28</sup> Al-Şafadī notes that both Aytamish and Ariqtay spoke Turkish and Qipchaqī fluently (*wa-humā fi lisān al-turk wa-al-qibjāqī faşihān*). The latter term must refer to Mongolian, clearly that of the Golden Horde.<sup>29</sup>

#### SAYF AL-DĪN ALMALIK<sup>30</sup>

He was captured by the Mamluks at Abulustayn in 1277<sup>31</sup> and thus was presumably a Mongol, around the relatively advanced age of 20. Although originally bought by Qalawun, he was given to his son-in-law, Berke Khan, who thereupon gave him to Küvendik (who became *nā’ib al-saltānah* after Berke’s accession); the exact chronology is not clear. Eventually Almalik became the Mamluk of Qalawun’s

<sup>25</sup>Al-Şafadī, *Al-Wāfi*, 9:440; Ayalon, “The Great Yāsa,” Pt. C2, 131–45; Donald P. Little, “Notes on Aitamiş, A Mongol Mamlūk,” in *Der islamischen Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed. Ulrich Haarmann and P. Bachmann (Wiesbaden, 1979), 387–401; Reuven Amitai, “A Mongol Governor of al-Karak in Jordan?: A Re-examination of an Old Document in Mongolian and Arabic,” forthcoming in *Zentralasiatische Studien*.

<sup>26</sup>See the important and succinct discussion of this term (although mainly referring to a later period) in Jo Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos: Patronage, Conflict and Mamluk Socio-Political Culture, 1341–1382* (Leiden, 2006), 86–88. See also David Ayalon, *L’esclavage du mamelouk*, *Oriental Notes and Studies*, no. 1 (Jerusalem, 1951), 36–37.

<sup>27</sup>On this site, see H. Taragan, “Doors that Open Meanings: Baybars’s Red Mosque at Safed,” in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, ed. Winter and Levanoni, 3–20.

<sup>28</sup>Al-Şafadī, *Al-Wāfi*, 8:361, 9:440; for a discussion of their “brotherhood,” see Ayalon, “The Great Yāsa,” Pt. C2, 138. For a different reading of the line about the languages, see *ibid.*, 137.

<sup>29</sup>For Qipchaqī language as a synonym for Mongolian language, see Ayalon, “The Great Yāsa,” Pt. C1, 133.

<sup>30</sup>For the vocalization of this name, see the editor’s comments in his biography in al-Şafadī, *Al-Wāfi*, 9:372, note.

<sup>31</sup>Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fi A‘yān al-Mī‘ah al-Thāminah* (Hyderabad, 1392–96/1972–76), 1:489.



son al-Şāliḥ ʿAlī.<sup>32</sup> During the time of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s second exile in Karak (1309–10), Almalik played an important role as an intermediary between him and the amirs in Cairo, and by 1312, two years after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s return to the sultanate, he was promoted to the rank of an amir of one hundred. Throughout al-Nāṣir’s long reign he played an important role, as he did in the confused years after his death. He was arrested and executed in 1346, at the ripe old age of 90.<sup>33</sup>

We have thus a list of six prominent Mamluk officers, one who even became sultan, of Mongol origin. In four cases, they joined the Mamluk ranks as a result of being taken captive in battle. The way that the apparent brothers Aytamish and Ariqtay came to the sultanate is unknown: the slave trade and captivity are possibilities; if the former, then it is more feasible that they came from the Golden Horde and not from the Ilkhanate. The fact that they are said to know “Qipchaqi” (i.e., in this case, the Mongolian of the Golden Horde) indicates this also. Kitbugha and Salār are explicitly reported to have been Oirat Mongols, while the fluency of Qipchaq, Aytamish, and Ariqtay in Mongolian clearly indicates a Mongol provenance. Qipchaq is cited by al-Şafadī as using the first person plural when referring to the Mongolian language, so there is no doubt of his origins. Only Almalik may be of doubtful Mongolian birth: he was captured in the battle of Abulustayn, but it is conceivable that he may have hailed from among the Turkish troops who served the Mongols. Lacking clear evidence of this, I will continue to include him among the Mongol-Mamluks.

One personality who has not been included in this list is Küvendik<sup>34</sup> al-Sāqī, to whom some scholars have attributed a Mongol origin.<sup>35</sup> He had become *nāʾib al-saltānah* of his old friend al-Saʿīd Berke Khan in 1277 after the death of Bilik al-Khaznadār and the short incumbency of Āqsunqur al-Fāriqān. Subsequently, he played an important role in the deposition of Berke Khan. Later, Küvendik was accused of leading a conspiracy against Qalawun (including corresponding with the Franks) and was executed by drowning in Lake Tiberias in May 1281.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>32</sup>Al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 2:723.

<sup>33</sup>For his biography, see Joseph Drory, “Aal-Malik [sic] and His Inscription,” *Cathedra* 117 (2005): 75–80 [in Hebrew].

<sup>34</sup>Various transliterations of this name are given by scholars. According to G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), 690, *küven-* means “to be happy, pleased,” “to rejoice” in Qipchaq.

<sup>35</sup>Holt, *The Age of the Crusades*, 99; Irwin, *The Middle East*, 62. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, 189, also implies that Küvendik was a Mongol.

<sup>36</sup>Cf. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades*, 102: “Küvendik . . . was accused of heading a conspiracy of Mamluks of Mongol origin.” See also Irwin, *The Middle East*, 71; Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, 188–89. Cf. Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, 186: the conspirators were composed mainly of



I confess, however, that I have not found clear evidence of Küvendik's Mongol origins. For example, in his death-notice in Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle (s.a. 681), there is no mention of his so-called Mongol provenance.<sup>37</sup> Given his particular, albeit short-lived, prominence, as well as the especially important role he played in the higher politics of the time, the matter of Küvendik's origins is perhaps not an insignificant point, and it involves more than just increasing our list from six to seven senior officers of Mongol heritage.

In order to facilitate the continuation of our investigation, and to provide some basis for comparison, let us look at the data for the leading Mongol *wāfidiyah*, i.e., those Mongols who left the territory of the Ilkhanate for various reasons, seeking refuge with the Mamluks. As I mentioned above, this subject was initially discussed systematically by Ayalon, and recently by Nakamachi Nobutaka. I must commend the latter for his exhaustive and comprehensive research, which culminates in his detailed and impressive list of 28 officers in the Mamluk army of *wāfidi* origin. This list can be divided into two parts: those who reached their greatest prominence before the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalawun (1310–41), and those—including some who had arrived earlier—who became senior officers (i.e., “amirs of one hundred/commanders of one thousand”) later. I will briefly look at a few from the former category, while I will address the latter group at the end of this article. I should add that Nakamachi's meticulous work greatly facilitates a comparison of Mongol-Mamluk and Mongol *wāfidi* senior amirs.

The list contains thirteen individuals whose careers peaked before 1310 (nos. 1–11, 16–17 in Nakamachi's list). I am disregarding at this point those Mongol *wāfidiyah* who may have arrived before 1310 but were important only afterwards. Three of these were members of the Rum Seljuq elite (nos. 8, 9, and 11), and thus are not relevant to our discussion. Of the ten Mongols, I will mention the four most prominent; nos. 16 and 17 were leaders of the Oirat *wāfidiyah* who came in 1295 but were both eliminated by 1300. Perhaps the most important of these is Sayf al-Dīn Noghai/Nūkāy<sup>38</sup> al-Tatarī (no. 4 in Nakamachi's list), who came over in the group of Mongol deserters in 661/1263. He was arrested by Baybars, but later released and made an amir of one hundred by Qalawun. Noghai was killed

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Zāhiriyyah (i.e., the mamluks of Baybars). The Mongol *wāfidiyah* were evidently part of the group, but not its main component (see al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 1:685–86, for how the *wāfidiyah* fled with coconspirators Aytamish al-Sa'īdī and others to Sunqur al-Ashqar in north Syria). In any event, there does not seem to be any justification in seeing the involvement of “Mamluks of Mongol origin.”

<sup>37</sup>Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk*, 7:239.

<sup>38</sup>Significantly, perhaps, not a Turkish name, but a Mongolian one (< *noghai*, “dog”). The other *wāfidiyah* at this time also have Mongol names.



in the battle of Wādī al-Khaznadār in 699/1300. He is the only *wāfidī* of this period to reach unequivocally the highest rank in the Mamluk hierarchy.<sup>39</sup> Yet, in spite of his high title and the fact that his three daughters married very well (one even wedding Baybars), Noghai apparently was not a member of the inner circle of sultanic intimates or one of the truly senior amirs, for he is hardly mentioned in the ongoing machinations that characterized the Sultanate in the 1290s. For that matter, in spite of having been appointed an amir of one hundred, he is not mentioned in the Mamluk order of battle at Wādī al-Khaznadār,<sup>40</sup> showing perhaps that he was not one of the more important amirs of one hundred, or perhaps that he had been demoted at some point.

Nakamachi suggests that Sayf al-Dīn Siraghan Āghā (no. 1 on his list), the leader of the first wave of Mongol *wāfidīyah* in 660/1262,<sup>41</sup> also received a commission of one hundred, based on the evidence given by Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir’s *Rawḍ*, where it is written that Baybars “commissioned their leaders with [officer ranks] of one hundred horses and less.”<sup>42</sup> I have written that the evidence for these appointments was “mere hyperbole.”<sup>43</sup> Nakamachi demurs, writing “there is no logical reason for denying this appointment itself.”<sup>44</sup> Well, I will stick to my guns: our friend Siraghan never appears again in the detailed records for the reign of Baybars, neither as an amir of one hundred nor in any other capacity, except to receive part of a village in the environs of Caesarea and Arsūf as *milk* in 1265.<sup>45</sup> One could wonder what kind of amir of one hundred he was that he is never mentioned in the sources during this period of incessant warfare. I have devoted some space to questioning Nakamachi’s analysis of Siraghan’s rank, since this directly impinges upon his analysis of the role and importance of the early Mongol *wāfidīyah*. I therefore see no reason to call into doubt Ayalon’s statement: “Baybars’ reign is also marked by the absence of a single appointment [of a *wāfidī*]

<sup>39</sup>Nakamachi, “Military Refugees,” 77. The fact that al-Yūnīnī (in Guo, *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography*, 72, cited in Nakamachi, “Military Refugees,” 75) refers to him as a “Zāhiri” should not be given too much importance. This single attribution does not turn Noghai (spelled here Nukayh) into a mamluk of al-Zāhir Baybars, as implied by Nakamachi in note 104.

<sup>40</sup>See Reuven Amitai, “Whither the Ilkhanid Army? Ghazan’s First Campaign into Syria (1299–1300),” in *Warfare in Inner Asian History*, ed. N. Di Cosmo (Leiden, 2002), 239–41.

<sup>41</sup>Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sirat al-Malik al-Zāhir*, ed. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1396/1976), 180, when describing the second wave of Mongol *wāfidīyah*, states that Saraghan Āghā was the commander of the previous wave, i.e., the one that arrived in 660/1262.

<sup>42</sup>Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 138.

<sup>43</sup>Reuven Amitai-Preiss, “The Mamluk Officer Class during the Reign of Sultan Baybars,” in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th–15th Centuries*, ed. Y. Lev (Leiden, 1997), 286.

<sup>44</sup>Nakamachi, “Military Refugees,” 65.

<sup>45</sup>Amitai-Preiss, “The Mamluk Officer Class,” 295 (no. 21). See note 96 for the vocalization of this name.



to the rank of Amir of One Hundred,”<sup>46</sup> as Nakamachi does.

Another important *wāfidi* Mongol personality was Sayf al-Dīn Geremün (no. 2 in Nakamachi’s list, vocalized as Karmūn) al-Tatarī, who led the second group of Mongol *wāfidiyah* in 661/1263. He played noteworthy roles in the campaigns against Arsūf (1265) and Ṣafad (1266), but never seems to have risen above the rank of amir of forty.<sup>47</sup> We should also mention Sögetei (no. 10 in Nakamachi’s list), who arrived from Rum (although he was a Mongol) in 675/1276 during the confused events preceding Baybars’s campaign to Anatolia that culminated in the battle of Abulustayn. While his daughter Ashlun was married to Qalawun, and gave birth to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, we know nothing of Sögetei’s eventual career. In the end, he was not destined for a senior role in Mamluk military and political life.

It appears that for the Sultanate’s first half century or so, the *wāfidiyah* and their leaders, while perhaps of some importance from the perspective of military manpower and contributing something to the social and even political life of the ruling elite drawn from the military society, were on the whole far from the seats of power. I agree somewhat with Nakamachi that perhaps the lines between Mamluk society and the *wāfidi* grandees were not cut and dried,<sup>48</sup> but at the same time the latter did not have true entrée into the higher circles of the Sultanate, and it was clear where the monopoly of power lay. It will be interesting, however, to see how the *wāfidiyah* and the amirs drawn from them could be integrated into the political aspirations and activities of the senior Mongol-Mamluks. This will be examined below.

Let us look at the above-mentioned handful of senior Mongol-Mamluks who became movers and shakers of Mamluk politics at the beginning of the 1290s, and what role their Mongol origin played in their activities. Although three of these amirs are at the nexus of power from 1290 onward, all had been senior amirs already under Sultan Qalawun, perhaps even obtaining their first commissions while he was still an officer (albeit one of the leading officers under Baybars and his immediate successors).<sup>49</sup> The first to gain prominence was Kitbugha al-Manṣūrī, whose Mongol political connections have already been noted by several scholars and have been alluded to above. Because of his Mongol affinities, Kitbugha—then the *nā’ib al-salṭanah* in the short first reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad—was in

<sup>46</sup>Ayalon, “Wafidiya,” 99.

<sup>47</sup>Amitai-Preiss, “The Mamluk Officer Class,” 296 (no. 30); idem, *Mongols and Mamluks*, 108–9; Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ*, 236; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir’āt al-Zamān* (Hyderabad, 1954–61), 2:337–38; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 7:138–39.

<sup>48</sup>Nakamachi, “Military Refugees,” 75–76.

<sup>49</sup>See Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 176–77, for a list of some forty Manṣūrīs who were in Qalawun’s service while he was still an amir.



693/1293 given important information on Sanjar al-Shujā'ī's plans against him by the amir Sayf al-Dīn Qunghur/Qunqur, who had arrived with the *wāfidiyah* during the reign of Baybars, and “was of Kitbugha's race” (*wa-huwa min jins kitbughā*). In spite of the fact that several of his sons were in al-Shujā'ī's service and he himself was among his associates, he gave the intelligence to Kitbugha because of a feeling of ethnic solidarity (*jinsiyyah*). This information prevented Kitbugha from being ambushed and enabled him to organize his forces and eventually to defeat his rival.<sup>50</sup> During the actual fighting, among the forces that joined Kitbugha's side were Mongol *wāfidiyah*, and it is possible that mutual feelings of ethnic solidarity played a role here.<sup>51</sup>

A few months later, Kitbugha had deposed the boy-sultan, and he took the throne as al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. One of the important events of his reign was the arrival of some 10,000 (sometimes given as 18,000) *wāfidiyah* of the Mongol Oirat tribe, which happened to be the same group from which Kitbugha himself hailed. Both 10,000 and 18,000 are enormous numbers, in relation to previous waves of Mongol refugees and to the total size of the Mamluk army. Again, this event has received some attention by scholars, from Ayalon onward. The reasons for the massive influx of these Mongol deserters will not concern us, but it has mostly to do with events in the Ilkhanate and the rise of Ghazan to its throne. Ironically, but perhaps not completely surprisingly, these refugees to the Sultanate had yet to be touched by the growing Islamization of the Mongols in the Ilkhanate; their pagan customs caused some averse comments in the Sultanate. As is well known, Kitbugha gave them a warm welcome, it would seem *inter alia* because of their common origin, but also since he appears to have believed that they would provide a bulwark against his opponents, not the least because of ethnic solidarity. The opposite was achieved: his inordinate support of this group and their leaders only contributed to the growing alienation of a significant number of senior and middle ranking amirs from him. This in turn developed into the *coup d'état* led by Lachin in 1296, who in turn purged some of the Oirat officers.<sup>52</sup>

This is not the last that we are to hear of the Oirats. In the fall of 1299,

<sup>50</sup>Al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 1:798–79 (who also mentions one of Qunghur's sons, Jāwurji); *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlükensultane*, ed. K. Zetterstéen (Leiden, 1919), 29; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm*, 8:42 (the two last mentioned cited by Donald P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography* [Wiesbaden, 1970], 126, who also cites al-Jazarī, “Jawāhir al-Sulūk fi al-Khulafā' al-Mulūk,” Bibliothèque Nationale [Paris] MS Ar. 6379, fols. 215–16, which I was unable to inspect). Nakamachi does not mention Qunghur in his list.

<sup>51</sup>Al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 1:800.

<sup>52</sup>For the arrival of the Oirats, see Ayalon, “Wafidiya,” 99–100; for the importance of Kitbugha's pro-Oirat policy in his deposition, see *ibid.*, 91. In both places, abundant sources are cited. See also Nakamachi, “Military Refugees,” 59, 65, 79–80.



having entered Palestine on the way to confront the Mongols under Ghazan in the campaign that culminated in the battle of Wādī al-Khaznadār, Oirats in the Mamluk army launched a rebellion under their leader Ulus (rehabilitated since the above-mentioned purge), ostensibly to put their “kinsman” Kitbugha back on the throne. We have here, then, another apparent expression of “ethnic solidarity.” This rebellion was put down and Ulus and other leaders were executed. This incident certainly did not contribute to either the preparedness or the morale of the Mamluk army, and it was one of the reasons behind their defeat at the battle north of Homs at the end of the year.<sup>53</sup>

In short, the whole long episode of Kitbugha and the Oirats, lasting some seven years, is a clear example of the apparent role of ethnic solidarity, in this case of an Oirat Mongol variety, in Mamluk politics. Without this Mongol connection, we can scarcely understand Kitbugha’s rise to power, his sultanate, his fall, and the ill-fated attempt to reinstate him (apparently without his knowledge or connivance). The role of ethnic solidarity—I prefer this to the older expression “racial solidarity,” and not only because of the discredited political connotations—in Mamluk politics has been noted by several modern scholars,<sup>54</sup> “because”—as Donald Little has stated in a different context—“of the importance of ethnic affiliation in the complex system of Mamluk loyalties that provided cohesion to the Mamluk state.”<sup>55</sup>

However, I do not want to go overboard by attributing too much importance to ethnic solidarity in the Sultanate’s politics, at least among senior Mamluks of Mongol origin. There is nowhere else anything similar to the story of Kitbugha and the Oirats, either in its intensity and duration or with regard to its basic nature, elsewhere in the annals of early Mamluk history. Let us look at the stories of Salār and Qipchaq for illustrations of this point.

Salār, it should be remembered, was also of Oirat origin, and yet we see little evidence of ethnic solidarity on his part, neither *vis-à-vis* Kitbugha nor the Oirat *wāfidiyah*. We find him rising to some prominence early in the reign of Lachin, so he does not appear to have been a protégée or ally of the Oirat Kitbugha.<sup>56</sup> Both al-Kutubī and al-Şafadī note that Salār and Lachin were very close friends, and Salār was named *ustādār* when the new sultan reached Cairo.<sup>57</sup> Lachin, it should be

<sup>53</sup>Al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 1:883; Ayalon, “Wafidiya,” 100; Irwin, *The Middle East*, 100; Amitai, “Whither the Mongol Army?” 227.

<sup>54</sup>Irwin, *The Middle East*, 92; Holt, *The Age of the Crusades*, 110; Little, *Introduction*, 126; Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, 117, 189.

<sup>55</sup>Donald P. Little, review of *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, by Peter Thorau, trans. P. M. Holt, in *Journal of Semitic Studies* 38, no. 2 (1993): 342.

<sup>56</sup>Al-Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, 1:822.

<sup>57</sup>Al-Şafadī, *Al-Wāfi*, 24:178–79; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, 1:468.



remembered, was apparently of Greek origin, so it is clear that “ethnic solidarity” played little role when Salār threw in his lot with Lachin and abandoned Kitbugha. For that matter, his friendship with Lachin did not stop Salār from participating in the conspiracy against him that resulted in his assassination and replacement by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalawun (his second reign).<sup>58</sup> Other considerations besides ethnic solidarity and friendship played a role in Salār’s political calculations. Certainly the former was not a factor when Salār helped to lead the resistance to the attempted Oirat putsch in 1299 in Palestine.<sup>59</sup> Interestingly enough, the late Peter M. Holt describes Salār as later leading the “Turkish” faction as opposed to the Circassian “Burjī” faction headed by Baybars al-Jashnakīr.<sup>60</sup> This may well be the case, although further research is needed to establish the ethnic component of this rivalry and the larger political struggles of the second reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. I do not believe one should infer “ethnic solidarity” from the arrival of a couple hundred Mongols around 705/1305, who included the mother and two brothers of Salār himself. If anything, we have here a clear and interesting example of family solidarity, showing that contact with kin could be maintained for almost three decades over long distances and a distinctly hostile frontier.<sup>61</sup>

Mongolian family reunions are also seen in the story of Qipchaq al-Manṣūrī from the end of the 1290s. But first, some background: Qipchaq was part of the group of senior amirs who acclaimed Lachin sultan in 1296.<sup>62</sup> Whatever ethnic solidarity he might have had with Kitbugha was soon forgotten in the aftermath of his deposition. Qipchaq was appointed governor of Damascus by the new sultan, but relations soon soured, not the least because of the increasing power of the *nāʾib al-salṭānah* Mengü-Temür. Realizing that he was soon to be arrested, Qipchaq and some other amirs, along with their mamluks, fled the Sultanate in 1298 for the Ilkhanate. They were warmly welcomed at Ghazan’s court. Qipchaq was reunited with his father (called in the Mamluk sources a *silāḥdār*) and his brothers, married to a Mongol lady, and given the governorship of Ḥamadan. At the end of 1299, he and his ex-Mamluk comrades joined Ghazan in his campaign into Syria, were

<sup>58</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1:856.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., 1:883–84; Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom*, 166. Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 330, does not mention the role of Salār or any other amirs in putting down this rebellion.

<sup>60</sup>Holt, *Age of the Crusades*, 110; cf. Irwin, *The Middle East*, 92, who writes that Salār was supported by the aging Ṣāliḥī and Zāhirī amirs, “as well as Mongols who favoured Salar because he was a Mongol.” It is unclear to me to which Mongols he is referring: the remnants of earlier *wāfidīyah* or unknown Mongol-Mamluks (regular troopers or amirs); he was certainly no friend of the Oirats. In any event, I am not sure that this Mongol support really existed.

<sup>61</sup>Besides the references in note 19 above, see Irwin, *The Middle East*, 101; Little, *Introduction*, 8, 16–17.

<sup>62</sup>Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1:822.



present at the Mongol victory at Wādī al-Khaznadār, and advanced with the triumphant Ilkhan to Damascus. Qipchaq was appointed titular “Mongol” governor of the city (and perhaps beyond) but seems to have exercised little authority beyond facilitating the collection of taxes and other tribute, mediating with the local notables, and trying to restrain some of the excesses of Mongol troops and to moderate demands from the local population. When the Mongols withdrew in the spring of 1300, instead of returning with them to the east, he traveled to the south, meeting the Mamluk leadership that was making its way from Egypt to Syria. His submission and excuses were accepted and he was permitted back in the Mamluk fold, although he never returned to his high position.<sup>63</sup>

I will summarize what I wrote in an article published in the volume edited by Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni in 2004.<sup>64</sup> Qipchaq had every reason to return with the retreating Mongols and end his days in honorable retirement, surrounded by family, enjoying a comfortable sinecure, and speaking his mother tongue. Qipchaq rejected all that, evidently motivated more by his Mamluk loyalties, developed since his youth. This, to my mind, shows the limits of Mongol ethnic solidarity in general, as well as the ultimate loyalty of mamluks of Mongol provenance.

I should mention an apparently apocryphal story found in some later sources, such as Ibn al-Furāt.<sup>65</sup> In the death notice of Qalawun (s.a. 689), it is told how much the sultan liked Qipchaq, but that he did not permit him to go to Syria (it is not clear if his intention was just to travel to Syria or to be appointed to a governorship or other office there) because he was afraid that he would flee to the Mongols and cause trouble. When Lachin became sultan, however, he made him governor of Damascus. Later, Qipchaq indeed fled to the Mongols and truly caused trouble when he instigated Ghazan’s campaign to Syria. Personally, I have my doubts regarding the reliability of this anecdote, and to my mind it is likely that had Qipchaq never been compelled to take his trip to the east, this story would have never circulated. In any case, let us remember the next development, not related in the story: Qipchaq abandoned the Mongols to rejoin the Mamluks.

Robert Irwin has written: “[S]entiments of racial solidarity were inextricably involved in the struggle for political power between what may be termed the inner and the outer elites of the Mamluk armies.”<sup>66</sup> I certainly agree with him, but I have tried to show above that we should be careful about seeing Mongol ethnic

<sup>63</sup>This is a summary of a somewhat detailed discussion, with references in Amitai, “The Mongol Occupation of Damascus,” 22–26, 32–35, 37–40. I have found no evidence to support the statement in Irwin, *The Middle East*, 91, that Qipchaq fled to the Ilkhanate with other “Mongol mamluks.”

<sup>64</sup>Reuven Amitai, “The Mongol Occupation of Damascus,” 21–41.

<sup>65</sup>Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk*, 8:94–95.

<sup>66</sup>Irwin, *The Middle East*, 92.



solidarity being a determinant factor every time the paths of two Mongol-Mamluks crossed, one of them came across some Mongol *wāfidīyah*, or the opportunity to flee to the Mongol enemy arose. Other determinants, including *khushdāshiyah* solidarity, loyalty to patron and sultan, and fidelity to Islam as they understood it, let alone rational decisions based on practical advantage, were still the dominant bases for political behavior among Mamluk officers and probably their inferiors as well.

In order to further explore the role of ethnic solidarity in Mamluk politics in a more general sense, I suggest that at least three further matters must be taken into consideration in future research. The first is the more theoretical question of ethnicity and national feeling in pre-modern societies around the world, not the least in the Middle East and Central Asia. As far as I am aware, we do not have comprehensive discussions of Turkish and Mongolian ethnic feelings in the period of the Mamluk Sultanate.<sup>67</sup> Without a study of how thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Mongols saw themselves as an ethnic collective of some type, hopefully free of modern anachronism, nationalistically inspired or otherwise, it is impossible to analyze fully the sense of ethnic solidarity among Mamluks and *wāfidīyah* of Mongol provenance in the Sultanate.

Secondly, we need more case studies of possible expressions of ethnic solidarity among other groups in the military society of the Sultanate, starting perhaps with the Circassians.<sup>68</sup> Are some groups more prone to ethnic-based solidarity than others? How often is this expressed? Is the solidarity among some groups more powerful than others? In short, in order to study comprehensively ethnicity and its role in Mamluk politics, we first need a series of case studies, which will provide a proper empirical basis for comparison and generalization.

Thirdly, we would gain a fuller picture were we to take into account the gender aspect of this story, not the least the role of the daughters of Mongol *wāfidī*

<sup>67</sup>For some examples of ethnic solidarity, or at least affinity, between various groups of Turks in the Middle East in the eleventh century, see David Ayalon, "Aspects of the Mamlūk Phenomenon: The Importance of the Mamlūk Institution," *Der Islam* 53, no. 2 (1976): 210–11; for expressions of Turkish-Mongol solidarity, see idem, "The European-Asiatic Steppe: A Major Reservoir of Power for the Islamic World," in *Proceedings of the 25th Congress of Orientalists (Moscow 1960)* (Moscow, 1963), 2:48–49. Both articles were reprinted in idem, *The Mamlūk Society* (London, 1979), articles Xa and VIII, respectively.

<sup>68</sup>See, however, some preliminary comments in Van Steenberg, *Order Out of Chaos*, 92–94, who also cites some other relevant comments in other studies. (I was unable to obtain what appears to be an important study by M. Chapoutet-Remadi, "Liens propres et identités séparées chez les Mamelouks bahrides," in *Valeur et distance: Identités et sociétés en Egypte*, ed. C. Décobert [Paris, 2000], 175–88.) Here I should note again Robert Irwin's provocative paper on the problems of studying the Circassians in the Sultanate, delivered in Haifa in 2006; see note 9 above.



amirs, as wives of the sultan and senior amirs.<sup>69</sup> Thus, the biographer of Baybars mentions five wives of the sultan, three of whom were the daughters of Mongol *wāfidi* amirs.<sup>70</sup> Qalawun also took some daughters of Mongol *wāfidi* as wives, including al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's mother, and married a few to his sons.<sup>71</sup> A full-fledged study of the gender and family aspects of higher Mamluk politics carried out with a sensitivity to ethnic networks and origins would certainly prove useful to a comprehensive discussion of the role of ethnicity and ethnic solidarity in Mamluk politics.

Before concluding, I would like to go back to the *wāfidi* amirs discussed by Nakamachi, this time looking at those from the post-1310 period, both those who arrived after this date and those who reached prominence only at this time. There are fifteen amirs in this category (nos. 12–28, minus nos. 16–17, who were the Oirat leaders who came in 1295 and by 1300 were dead). One of these was a Rum Seljuq officer who arrived in the Sultanate in 1276 (no. 12), two were descendents of another of these officers (nos. 13 and 14), and one was the mamluk of a Rumi amir (no. 15). Of the remainder, seven can be defined as Mongols (nos. 18–24). Three of these (nos. 20, 23, 24: Badr al-Dīn Jankālī ibn al-Bābā, Sayf al-Dīn Tayirbugha, and Temürtash, though the last for only a few months) indeed became amirs of one hundred between the years 1310 and 1341. This is noteworthy when compared to the fifty-year period before, although this is far from a *wāfidi* revolution (even with three other non-Mongol *wāfidiyah* who received this position, nos. 25, 26, and 28, the last in Damascus). Still, it is worth analyzing this development. To what can we attribute it? Nakamachi says that in al-Nāṣir's third reign, "the centralization of power was achieved, and the sultan no longer needed to depend on strong units of military refugees. He could advance his favorite retainers whether they were sultan's mamluks or not. Therefore, in this phase, several highly advanced *wāfidi* amirs emerged from *wāfidiyah* groups which had only a small number of personnel or which had collapsed and completely dissolved."<sup>72</sup>

<sup>69</sup>See the relevant comments in Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, 116–18; and for a later period: Van Steenberghe, *Order Out of Chaos*, 82–85, esp. 82, n. 117, for other relevant studies.

<sup>70</sup>Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Zāhir*, ed. A. Ḥuṭayṭ (Wiesbaden, 1404/1983), 233.

<sup>71</sup>Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, 116–18; P. M. Holt, "An-Nasir Muhammad b. Qalawun (684–741/1285–1341): His Ancestry, Kindred, and Affinity," in *Proceedings of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd International Colloquium, Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, ed. U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet (Leuven, 1995), 313–24.

<sup>72</sup>Nakamachi, "Military Refugees," 75. I plan to discuss in a future paper some of the conclusions from this article, which, while being thought-provoking, are perhaps a bit far-fetched. For example, I am not convinced that early sultans had a need for "strong units of military refugees," and I am not sure that they existed.



Frankly, I do not concur with this explanation. I think that rather the answer is to be found in the nature of al-Nāṣir's personality, the nature of his rule, and the relations between him and his senior amirs. As has been pointed out briefly by Ayalon<sup>73</sup> and in greater detail by Amalia Levanoni,<sup>74</sup> al-Nāṣir Muḥammad wrought many changes in the way mamluks were educated and the whole military system was run. It should then not come as a surprise when we discern such a large presence of senior *wāfidi* amirs. At the same time, like his predecessors, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had built up a large unit of royal mamluks and surrounded himself with a large group of senior amirs from this formation. Yet, he remained fundamentally suspicious of all those around him, even from the group of his oldest personal mamluks. The fate of Tankiz in 1340 is a case in point. Robert Irwin has written that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was "a little paranoid in his treatment of those he had chosen."<sup>75</sup> This appraisal seems to me to be an understatement, and the picture drawn should be much starker. It could well be that the cultivation of a few *wāfidi* amirs, two of whom were Mongols, was designed to counterbalance the sultan's own mamluks and to prevent the concentration of too much power within one group. Since al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had already eliminated most of the veteran amirs from the Manṣūriyah early in his reign,<sup>76</sup> he had no natural group with which he could balance his own mamluks, and thus he also favored *inter alia* two of the *wāfidi* amirs.

As far as I know, there was no extraordinary connection between these *wāfidi* amirs and the Mongol-Mamluks that we named above (Aytamish, Ariqtay, and Almalik), although Tayirbughā on occasion assisted Aytamish with translation work in Mongolian. Moreover, for all of their pride in their Mongol cultural heritage, and in Aytamish's case, ongoing direct contact with a Mongol regime, there is no indication that these Mongol-Mamluk amirs ever acted politically on the basis of ethnic solidarity.

Individual and group identities and their impact on political action can be fluid and multifarious, and the possibility of multiple identities existing concurrently cannot be discounted. When we deal with the Mongol identity of certain Mamluk amirs and its influence on politics, we should be wary of unbalanced attention to certain evidence and drawing too broad conclusions on the basis of one or two examples.

<sup>73</sup>See, e.g., David Ayalon, "The Auxiliary Forces of the Mamlūk Sultanate," *Der Islam* 65 (1988): 33–35.

<sup>74</sup>Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)* (Leiden, 1995).

<sup>75</sup>Irwin, *The Middle East*, 121.

<sup>76</sup>Reuven Amitai, "The Remaking of the Military Elite of Mamlūk Egypt by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad B. Qalāwūn," *Studia Islamica* 72 (1990): 145–63.



## POSTSCRIPT

As this article was going to press, I came upon the following relevant passage from Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umari’s *Al-Ta’rīf bi-al-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf*:<sup>77</sup>

The form of correspondence to [Özbeḡ Khan of the Golden Horde]—if it is written in Arabic—is [the same] form as written to the ruler of Iran [i.e., the Ilkhan], as has been mentioned. But most of the time it is written in Mongolian (bi-al-mughulī), for which is responsible Aytamish al-Muḡammadī, Ṭayirbugha al-Nāṣirī, Arighadliq (?) the translator (*al-tarjumān*), and Qūṣūn al-Sāqī.

Aytamish and Ṭayirbugha are of course mentioned above. Arighadliq<sup>78</sup> may not have been a mamluk, given the nickname *al-tarjumān*. At this point he remains unidentified. Qūṣūn al-Sāqī is the famous amir who rose to prominence progressively towards the end of al-Nāṣir Muḡammad’s third reign, briefly becoming the most powerful amir immediately after his patron’s death.<sup>79</sup> I perhaps should have included Qūṣūn in my discussion above, due to his apparent Mongol origin, but his activities were connected mainly to a later period than the focus of this paper. I would like to note, however, that Qūṣūn’s erstwhile protégé, Bashtak, had become his main enemy, in spite of the latter also hailing from the Golden Horde, and perhaps being of Mongol provenance as well.<sup>80</sup> This is another occurrence where ethnic solidarity among mamluks of seemingly Mongol origin is not evident.

<sup>77</sup> Ed. M. Ḥ. Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 1408/1988), 70. See also al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A’sḥā*, ed. M. Ḥ. Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 1407/1987), 7:316–17; Little, “Notes on Aitamiš,” 393.

<sup>78</sup> The vocalization of the last three letters remains uncertain. I am grateful to Prof. Marcel Erdal (University of Frankfurt), who suggested to me in a private correspondence that this name might be composed of *arigh* (“pure”) and *adliq* (“having a name”); see Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, 32–33, 213.

<sup>79</sup> For him, see Jo Van Steenbergen, “The Amir Qawsun, Statesman or Courtier? (720–741 AH/1320–1341 AD),” in *Proceedings of the 6th, 7th and 8th International Colloquium, Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, ed. U. Vermeulen and J. Van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2001), 449–66. The vocalization of Qūṣūn is preferred over the frequently found Qawsūn, as the word apparently derives from the Mongolian *qusu[n]* (modern *xus*), “birch tree”; F. D. Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960), 991.

<sup>80</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi*, 10:132–34; Van Steenbergen, “The Amir Qawsun,” 460–63.



HANI HAMZA

## Some Aspects of the Economic and Social Life of Ibn Taghrībirdī Based on an Examination of His *Waqfiyah*

The famous Mamluk historian Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī was born in Cairo in 812/1409–10 and died in 874/1470. His works and public life have been extensively researched and will not be dealt with here. Instead, Ibn Taghrībirdī's *waqfiyah* will be used to explore other aspects of his life. The text of the *waqfiyah* is given in an appendix to this article. First an attempt will be made to determine the location and the architectural layout of his *turbah*, built in the Northern Cemetery of Cairo. We have no trace of this once "huge" *turbah*<sup>1</sup> as it has totally disappeared. Secondly, the functions, personnel, and the maintenance cost of the *turbah* foundation will be summarized. Finally the *waqfiyah* will also be used to address the financial status of the founder, his family relations, and his sexuality, subjects seldom covered by traditional contemporary sources.

The contents and the formal characteristics of the *waqfiyah* were summarized in a lecture by 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm at a symposium marking the 500th anniversary of the death of Ibn Taghrībirdī in 1972.<sup>2</sup> Although this paper adopts a different approach to the study of the *waqfiyah*, some overlap and redundancies are unavoidable.

### THE SOURCE: DESCRIPTION OF THE *WAQFIYAH* DOCUMENT

The *waqfiyah* is housed in the National Archives in Cairo, cataloged as no. 147 and dated 14 Sha'bān 870/1465.<sup>3</sup> It is a paper roll 33 cm wide and 17.20 cm long written in black ink in legible handwriting and remains in generally good condition except for some disintegration in the left margins.

### *TURBAH*: A NEW INTERPRETATION

Recent research has shown that the *turbah* developed under the Mamluks and functioned not only as a grave or mausoleum, as is commonly known, but also served other purposes.<sup>4</sup> The *turbah*, in general, consisted of units such as an inner

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<sup>1</sup>Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsī'* (Beirut, 1966), 10:308.

<sup>2</sup>'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, "Waqfiyat Ibn Taghrī Birdī," in *Al-Mu'arrikh Ibn Taghrī Birdī Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf 812–874 H* (Cairo, 1974), 182–222.

<sup>3</sup>The document we now have is a transcription of the original deed, but it is considered a legal document since it was authenticated by a notary and confirmed by witnesses. See *ibid.*, 184.

<sup>4</sup>Hānī Ḥamzah, "Al-Turab al-Mamlūkiyah bi-Madinat al-Qāhirah (648–923 AH/1250–1517 AD)"



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court (*ḥawsh*), pavilion (*maqṣūrah*), domed cube (*qubbah*), mosque, madrasah, *sabīl*, *kuttāb*, loggia (*maqʿad*), hall (*qāʿah*), residential areas, and stables. All these units were typically enclosed by a wall and entered through a portal within an elaborate façade, which included a minaret in some cases. This architectural setting served several expressive, socioeconomic, and religious objectives of the patrons who came mainly from the Mamluk ranks and the civilian elite.

A study of the remains of several buildings specifically designated by their foundation inscriptions and/or other contemporary sources as *turbahs* led to the formulation of the *turbah* model.<sup>5</sup> The exact layout and functions of the existing *turbahs* are subject to some confusion since many either disappeared or remain only partially standing with no known *waqfiyahs* to provide descriptions. This fact gives a particular significance to the *waqfiyah* of Ibn Taghrībirdī for enabling us to know precisely the typical architectural layout of a *turbah*,<sup>6</sup> and its functions and activities as stated by the founder himself and clearly spelled out in his *waqfiyah*.

#### LOCATION OF THE *TURBAH*

According to the *waqfiyah* the *turbah* was located outside Bāb al-Naṣr on the sultanic road (al-Darb al-Sultānī), the main route to Syria, in the direction of the *turbah* of al-Zāhir Abū Saʿīd and Shaykh Kahnafush.<sup>7</sup> The titles and *kunyah*

(Ph.D. diss., Cairo University, 2004), 3–4.

<sup>5</sup>The foundations included in this study are those of: Mankalī Bughā al-Fakhrī (unlisted monument, ca. second quarter of the eighth/fourteenth century); Tankizbughā (Index 85, 764/1362); Princess Tūlūbiyah (Index 80, 765/1364); Taybughā al-Ṭawīl (Index 372, 768/1366); al-Ashraf Barsbāy (Index 121, 835/1432); al-Ashraf Īnāl (Index 158, 855–60/1451–56); Girbāsh Qāshīq (listed as part of the complex of al-Ashraf Īnāl, 853–56/1449–1452); Barsbāy al-Bajāsi (Index 124, 860/1456); Jānībīk Nāʿīb Jiddah (Index 171, 869/1465); Qāyṭbāy (Index 95/99/100/101, 877–79/1472–74); Azdamur (Index 90, 885/1480–81); Tikīyah of Abū Sayf (Index 111, end of ninth/fifteenth century), Azdamur min ʿAlī Bay (Index 174, 908/1502); Khayr Bik (Index 248, 908/1502–3); al-Ghūrī (Index 65, 909–10/1503–4); Qurqmās (Index 162, 911–13/1506–7). See *Index to Mohammedan Monuments in Cairo* (Cairo, 1951).

<sup>6</sup>Christel Kessler, who works on the funerary architecture of Cairo, has discussed their architectural features, plans, the decorative scheme of their domes, and their orientation, as well as their placement within the urban fabric of the city. However, she did not classify the *turbah* as a separate building genre and limited her studies to a formal architectural analysis of religious establishments with adjoining mausolea, mainly within the city proper. See Christel Kessler, “Funerary Architecture within the City,” in *Colloque International sur l’Histoire du Caire (1969)* (Cairo, 1972), 257–67; idem, *The Carved Masonry Domes of Mediaeval Cairo* (Cairo, 1976); idem, “Mecca-Oriented Urban Architecture in Mamluk Cairo: The Madrasa-Mausoleum of Sultan Shaʿban II,” in *In Quest of an Islamic Humanism: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Memory of Mohamed al-Nowaihlī*, ed. A. H. Green (Cairo, 1984), 97–108.

<sup>7</sup>Dār al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmiyah MS 147 Mamālik, lines 46–47. ʿAlī Kahnafush, or Kahnabush



(epithet) of the sultan are given but his name has disappeared in the damaged margin of the document. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm assumed, obviously incorrectly, that the deceased sultan al-Zāhir Abū Sa‘īd Jaqmaq was meant,<sup>8</sup> not al-Zāhir Abū Sa‘īd Khushqadam, who was the reigning sultan of that time (r. 865–72/1461–67) and bore the same title and *kunya*. The latter sultan is the correct choice for two reasons; first, the document includes a prayer for his long reign,<sup>9</sup> a phrase reserved naturally for a living sultan; second, the name of the sultan is not preceded by *al-shahīd* (martyr), which was customary when referring to a deceased sultan in official papers or monumental epigraphy. Contemporary sources indicate that al-Zāhir Khushqadam built a *turbah*/madrasah for himself at the northern part of the Northern Cemetery, which no longer exists,<sup>10</sup> in a rare, if not unique, case of the disappearance of a royal Mamluk monument under unknown circumstances.

The *waqfiyah* indicates that the main western façade (with the portal and the windows) faced al-Darb al-Sulṭānī, while the opposite eastern façade (the qiblah side) faced the desert, meaning empty space. The northern façade faced a side road while the southern façade faced the madrasah of al-Ashraf Īnāl, which still exists.<sup>11</sup> Thus we can determine with accuracy the site of the *turbah* as having been north of the madrasah of Īnāl across the main road (fig. 1). It was also near the *turbah* of al-Jamālī Yūsuf ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm, known as Ibn Kātib Jakam *nāẓir al-jaysh wa-al-khāṣṣ* (controller of the army and privy funds), who died in 862/1458.<sup>12</sup> This *turbah* no longer exists.

#### PLAN AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE *TURBAH*

The *turbah*, as described in the *waqfiyah*, is composed of 18 units as illustrated in the plan (fig. 2). Here is a brief description of their form and function:

##### 1. The entrance (1) (lines 49–54):

Made of stone as part of the main western façade alongside the main road. A typical portal with the stairs leading to the door within an arched recess, flanked by two benches (*maksalah*) and two inscription bands (text not quoted).

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according to other sources (d. 798/1398), had a *zāwiyah* built for him at the northern part of the Northern Cemetery. See Hani Hamza, *The Northern Cemetery of Cairo* (Costa Mesa, CA, 2001), 25.

<sup>8</sup>Ibrāhīm, “Waqfiyat Ibn Taghrī Birdī,” 193.

<sup>9</sup>Dār al-Wathā’iq al-Qawmiyah MS 147 Mamālīk, line 47.

<sup>10</sup>Hamza, *The Northern Cemetery*, 16, 29.

<sup>11</sup>Dār al-Wathā’iq al-Qawmiyah MS 147 Mamālīk, lines 93–96.

<sup>12</sup>Hamza, *The Northern Cemetery*, 16.



2. The vestibule (*dirkah*) (2) (lines 55–57):

The portal leads to a vestibule which has a stone platform at its opposite side, and two recesses/cupboards (*kutbiyah*) for the storage of books or other objects topped by a window overlooking the *ḥawsh* (court). Two side doors lead to the *sabīl* and a corridor.

3. The drinking fountain (*al-sabīl*) (3) (lines 58–68):

This occupies the northern corner, with two perpendicular windows overlooking the street, making water available all day except during Ramaḍān. It has a cistern beneath the marble flooring and is covered by a shallow dome with an attached room for the *sabīl* keeper (*mazamalāti*).

## 4. The corridor (5) (lines 68–73):

An internal barrel-vaulted passage with doors leading to the *kuttāb* situated over the *sabīl* and undefined apartments (*ṭibāq*) through a staircase. Another door leads to the doorman's (*bawwāb*) room (6), and two more doors lead to the court.

5. The court (*ḥawsh*) (lines 73–75):

This is the internal heart of the *turbah* which connects the various units and is used for charity burial as decided by the founder and the *waqf* superintendent (*al-nāzir*) after him.

## 6. The residential area (lines 75–86):

This is the largest unit of the *turbah*, located at the southern part and made up of two stories. The ground floor has a large room with no windows (7), which was not assigned any function, and four other parts all entered through doors in the court.

The first unit consists of a passage (8) with a kitchen (9) and a lavatory (10), both for the private use of the founder and his descendants, with a stairway to the upper floor. This passage leads to a large apartment which consists of an inner court (*durqā'ah*) (11) and then leads to an *iwān* (12) with shallow recesses and cupboards. Al-Sakhāwī had mentioned in his biography of Ibn Taghrībīrdī that he kept his books and notes at his *turbah*; one can safely assume that they were kept in this part of the *turbah* in the recesses and cupboards, although this fact is not mentioned in the deed. Moreover, a librarian was mentioned in another part of the *waqfiyah* as part of the staff. The staircase leads to an L-shaped apartment with windows overlooking the main and side streets. This part is designated as the private residence of the founder and whomever he chooses, then his family after him, followed by any of the *turbah* staff members if no family members survive,



as chosen by *al-nāẓir*. No outsider is ever allowed to reside here.

The second unit is another windowless room (*khilwah*) (13) with a small apartment on top of it. The third unit has three lavatories (14) for the use of the *turbah* staff and visitors and the fourth part is a stable (15) with another apartment on top of it which was not finished at the time the *waqf* deed was written.

7. The side door (*bāb al-sirr*) (16) (lines 85–86):

This is a secondary door next to the stable leading to the side street, used for coffins being brought for burial, and for the entry of horses or other animals to the stable.

8. The *iwān* and the burial pavilion (17) (lines 86–93):

This is the most sacred part of the *turbah*, as usual occupying the qiblah (eastern) side of the *turbah*. Built of stone, it has four underground burial chambers (*fasqīyah*) and a stone floor most probably raised above the court ground level by two steps, as is common.

The *iwān* consists of five arcades; the middle one contained a mihrab and was used as a mosque for prayers. The other four arcades were not used for prayer, since they are positioned over the four burial chambers and prayers cannot be performed over the remains of the dead. The first *fasqīyah* was assigned for the burial of the amir Qulmiṭāy ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Ishāqī (d. 877/1472),<sup>13</sup> the husband of the founder’s niece ‘Ā’ishah, his family, and his retinue. The second was assigned to his niece ‘Ā’ishah bint Jānibik al-Bashmiqdār,<sup>14</sup> and her descendants and retinue. The third was assigned to another niece, Zaynab bint Ḥamzah ibn Taghribirdī, and her family and retinue. The fourth was reserved for the founder himself and whomever else he chose. Following his burial, the *fasqīyah* was to be locked and sealed so no one else could be buried with him afterwards.<sup>15</sup>

One might wonder why the burial area was divided into four parts, the middle section being assigned as a mosque by the *waqfiyah*. Obviously Ibn Taghribirdī wanted his own individual burial area as he did not have a wife or children. Each branch of the surviving family was assigned a separate area. The arcades provided the necessary roof or shelter customary on a *fasqīyah* and must have been used for all kinds of rituals including sublimateions and reading the glorious Quran for the benefit of each individual family branch. We have to presume the nature of those activities, since the *waqfiyah* assigns a function for the middle arcade only

<sup>13</sup>A junior *amīr* ‘*asharah* (commander of ten soldiers). See al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw’*, 6:224.

<sup>14</sup>A low-ranking mamluk in charge of carrying the footwear of the sultan or an amir during the prayer time or other occasions. See Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *Al-Funūn al-Islāmīyah wa-al-Waḥā’if ‘alā al-Athār al-‘Arabīyah* (Cairo, n.d.), 1:304.

<sup>15</sup>Dār al-Wathā’iq al-Qawmīyah MS 147 Mamālik, lines 299–301.



but does not mention the flanking spaces.

Conclusions about the *turbah* model and structure will be incomplete without comparison to other examples. The margin of the *waqfiyah* of Abū Zakariyā Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Mūsā (chief surgeon of al-Bīmāristān al-Manṣūrī),<sup>16</sup> dated 871/1466 and 885/1480,<sup>17</sup> gives a detailed description which enables us to draw a plan of the *turbah* (fig. 3). It consists of 16 units: entrance, vestibule, *sabīl*, stable, court, side entrance, burial *maqṣūrah*, mosque, residential quarters, lavatories, and a kitchen. This plan is very similar to that of Ibn Taghribirdī's *turbah*, which has the same units albeit arranged differently and with minor variations.

#### THE ORGANIZATION OF THE *TURBAH* AND ITS EXPENSES

Table 1 summarizes the staff appointed to the *turbah* and its expenses (revenue sums are seldom mentioned precisely in a *waqf* deed).<sup>18</sup> The staff consisted of the administrator (*nāẓir*), twenty persons doing various jobs, and ten young orphans below the age of puberty.<sup>19</sup>

The administrative functions were carried out by a staff consisting of the *nāẓir* to oversee the *waqf* properties and the *turbah*, and another person simultaneously acting as *shāhid* (witness) to observe and authenticate the foundation's transactions, and as a librarian to maintain the books and notes that the founder deposited at the *turbah*.<sup>20</sup>

The religious and educational functions were carried out by a *faqīh* (jurist) who taught the young orphans at the *kuttāb*, two Quran readers, and ten Sufis to carry out various tasks.

The service functions were carried out by a *bawwāb* or doorkeeper, a *mazamalātī* or *sabīl* keeper, and four *farrāsh/waqqād* or janitors for cleaning; the *waqqād* handled the lighting and illumination of the *turbah*.

A stipend was allocated for the education of ten young orphans. In addition the

<sup>16</sup>Died in Rajab 888/1483. For his biography see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʿ*, 10:230; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Faṭḥ Allāh and Abū Zakariyya: Physicians Under the Mamluks* (Cairo, 1987), 21–25.

<sup>17</sup>The *waqfiyah* deed is housed in the National Archives in Cairo (Dār al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmiyah), under no. 152 Mamālik; the margin is dated 11 Shaʿbān 872/1468.

<sup>18</sup>The founder endowed several pieces of real estate to finance the *turbah*, comprising a house in Ḥarat Burjwān in Cairo, a plot of land in Būlāq, a minor share in three plots of farmland in Gharbiyah province, and part of a village *iqṭāʿ* in the Manūfiyah province. See Ibrāhīm, “Waqfiyat Ibn Taghri Birdī,” 201.

<sup>19</sup>In a sense, the ten orphans were more beneficiaries of the *waqfiyah* than staff members. However, in the *waqfiyah* they are included with the staff since they received a stipend on the condition that they attended the lessons. They were permanent members of the *turbah* like all other staff, except that they were replaced by younger boys when they reached puberty.

<sup>20</sup>Though this is not explicitly mentioned in the *waqfiyah* it is mentioned by al-Sakhāwī. See al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʿ*, 10:308.



founder allocated various sums of money to procure water and equipment for the *sabīl* and maintenance of the *turbah* in general.<sup>21</sup>

The total monthly salaries, according to table 1, came to 7,200 trade *dirham min al-fulūs al-judud*<sup>22</sup> or *fulūs* (plural of *fals*, made out of copper, not silver) per month, which is 86,400 dirhams per year. The founder also allocated 3,900 dirhams yearly for other expenses. The total outlay would have been 90,300 dirhams, which seems a large amount, especially if we consider that the average income of a prominent scholar in a religious foundation ranged between 500 to 1,000 dirhams per month.

We can compare this with other foundations of the period. The *waqfiyah* of the complex of Barsbāy, built almost thirty years earlier, as stated by Fernandes,<sup>23</sup> shows a total yearly expense for wages of 15,600 trade dirhams and 7,230 *dirham nuqrah* (silver and copper). According to al-Maqrīzī, one *dirham nuqrah* equaled 20 trade dirhams in 826/1423.<sup>24</sup> Thus the total wages would amount to 160,200 trade dirhams per year; in addition he allocated a bread stipend of 32,100 loaves and 10 *irdabbs* of wheat per year. Al-Maqrīzī also gives the price of three loaves of bread from this period as 1 trade dirham and an *irdabb* of wheat as 80 trade dirhams,<sup>25</sup> which made a total bread stipend of 18,700 trade dirhams per year and a total expense of 179,900 trade dirhams per year.

The expenses of the *turbah* of Ibn Taghribirdī would have been a little more than half that of the complex of Barsbāy, which is a hefty sum if we consider that the latter was the largest complex in the area, had a teaching function, and was the royal foundation of one of the richest sultans of the Burji period. This is a telling indication of how grand Ibn Taghribirdī's *turbah* must have been.

As another example, the staff of the complex of al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy, which was

<sup>21</sup>The staff functions, stipend, qualifications, and the various expenditure outlays were described in lines 353 to 415 of the *waqfiyah* and shown in more detail in table 1. See also Ibrāhīm, "Waqfiyat Ibn Taghri Birdi," 206–14.

<sup>22</sup>Meaning "new dirham" and sometime called trade dirham. According to Schultz "this term, the subject of modern disagreement, is best understood as the amount of copper coins necessary to equal the value of a *dirham's* worth of silver." See Warren C. Schultz, "Mamluk Monetary History: A Review Essay," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 188. For more details on the use of copper coinage in Mamluk Egypt, see idem, "Mamluk Egyptian Copper Coinage Before 759/1357–1358: A Preliminary Inquiry," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 (2001): 25–43.

<sup>23</sup>Leonor Fernandes, "Three Sufi Foundations in a 15th Century Waqfiyya," *Annales Islamologiques* 17 (1981): 153–55.

<sup>24</sup>Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk bi-Ma'rifat al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk*, vols. 1–2, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ziyādah (Cairo, 1958); vols. 3–4, ed. Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr (Cairo, 1973), 4:634.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.



built in the same period, as summarized by Popper,<sup>26</sup> numbered 38 excluding the students and the orphans of the *kuttāb*. Its total yearly stipend was approximately 253,200 dirhams. The stipend for the forty students was 240,000 dirhams per year, and the stipend for the twenty orphans was 24,000 per year. In addition the deed assigns a daily bread ration of 250 loaves, which would have cost around 65,000 dirhams per year, based on the average price of a loaf of bread in that period, which Adam Sabra has suggested was 0.71 dirhams.<sup>27</sup> Thus, the total annual salary expenses at the *turbah* of Qāyrbāy would have been approximately 569,000 dirhams.

The complex of Qāyrbāy had a madrasah which represents more than half of the expenses, while the *turbah* of Ibn Taghrībirdī had no students or teaching functions.<sup>28</sup> This means that the expenses of both foundations, apart from those related to teaching, were similar, taking into consideration the relative size of each. In addition the former is the royal foundation of the greatest sultan of the Burji period and his complex, which still stands today, is considered to be one of the jewels of Mamluk architecture.

#### FINANCIAL STATUS OF IBN TAGHRĪBIRDĪ

These facts, in addition to the large sums spent on building the *turbah* itself, leave no doubt that Ibn Taghrībirdī was a rich man, but the question remains: how did he accumulate such wealth? His father Taghrībirdī al-Atabakī<sup>29</sup> was a high-

<sup>26</sup>William Popper, *Egypt and Syria Under the Circassian Sultans, 1382–1458 A.D.: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrī Birdī's Chronicles of Egypt*, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, vols. 15–16 (Berkeley, 1955–1957), 16:120–21.

<sup>27</sup>Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge, 2000), 126.

<sup>28</sup>I distinguish between two systems of education in the Mamluk period; one took place in the *kuttāb* and included basic proper conduct (*adab*), study of the Quran, reading, and handwriting. The teacher in this case was called *mu'addib* (teacher of conduct) or *faqih* (jurisprudent), and his assistant was called *'arif*. In charitable *kuttābs* the students were invariably drawn from among the poor and pre-pubescent orphans. This was not considered a formal education, but a basic introduction to the tenets of Islam and to proper conduct. Formal education, on the other hand, was conducted in madrasahs by qualified teachers, normally called shaykhs. The students, called *ṭalabah*, were adults. The *turbah* of Ibn Taghrībirdī provided for a *kuttāb* but not for formal education or a student stipend.

<sup>29</sup>Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manḥal al-Ṣāfi wa-al-Mustawfā ba'd al-Wāfi*, vols. 1–2 ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1984); vol. 3 ed. Nābil Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz (Cairo, 1989); vol. 4 ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1986); vol. 5 ed. Nābil Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz (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), 4:35.



ranking state official during the turbulent reign of al-Nāṣir Faraj. Taghrībirdī died in Damascus as viceroy of Syria in 815/1412 when his son Abū al-Maḥāsin was only three years old. Taghrībirdī left a large fortune which was confiscated by al-Nāṣir Faraj and squandered in his last military campaign against rebel amirs shortly before his murder. Nothing of this large fortune passed on to Ibn Taghrībirdī or his family and they were left with no money or estate (as he himself testifies).<sup>30</sup> But we know from the *waqfiyah* that he had a house in Ḥarat Burjwān in Cairo, a piece of land in Būlāq, a minor share in three plots of farmland in the Gharbiyah province, and part of a village *iqṭāʿ* in the Manūfiyah province.

As one of the *awlād al-nās* he received a monthly salary and a stipend of fodder, meat, and bread from the government. However, this could not have been much, and we must look for other sources of his wealth.

Unlike many other historians, Ibn Taghrībirdī never held any administrative or military office despite belonging to the *awlād al-nās* and possessing skills in martial arts, as he and his biographers claimed. Perhaps this was because his father died when he was very young. Ibn Taghrībirdī devoted all of his time to scholarly work as well as playing and writing music, yet he possessed a charming character, was generous and modest, and thus enjoyed wide social relations.<sup>31</sup>

His father was *rūmī*, meaning that he most likely came from Greece or the Balkans, and was not a Circassian like most of the Mamluk elite of the time. The background of his mother is unknown. He spoke fluent Turkish, was well acquainted with the manners of the elite, and moved freely within the ruling circle.

Ibn Taghrībirdī had a network of family ties to the sultans al-Zāhir Barqūq and his son al-Nāṣir Faraj and the ruling elite; the cousin of his father, Shīrīn al-Rūmīyah, was a wife of the former sultan and the mother of the latter.<sup>32</sup> His father also married a divorcee of al-Zāhir Barqūq, who bore him a daughter called Shaqrah. His sister Fāṭimah was married to al-Nāṣir Faraj.<sup>33</sup> His other sister ʿĀʾishah, also known as Shaqrah, was first married to a senior amir, Aqbughā al-Tamrazī (d. 843/1439–40), who was viceroy of Syria, and then was married to

<sup>30</sup>Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʿ*, 10:306; see also the biography written by Ibn Taghrībirdī's friend and disciple Aḥmad Ibn Ḥusayn al-Turkmānī, in 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. Fahim Shaltūt (Cairo, 1970); vol. 15 ed. Ibrāhīm ʿAlī Tarkhān (Cairo, 1971); vol. 16 ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl and Fahim Muḥammad Shaltūt (Cairo, 1972), 1:16.

<sup>31</sup>Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʿ*, 10:306; see also al-Turkmānī's biography in Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 1:16.

<sup>32</sup>Aḥmad Darrāj, "Nashʾat Abī Al-Maḥāsin wa-Atharuhā fī Kitābatihī lil-Tārīkh," in *Al-Muʿarrikh Ibn Taghrī Birdī*, 62.

<sup>33</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, 4:42.



Sīdī<sup>34</sup> Khalīl, son of al-Nāṣir Faraj.<sup>35</sup> One of his nieces, a daughter of Shaqrah, was married to Muḥammad, the favorite son of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq, who was a candidate for the sultanate but for his untimely death in 847/1443–44.<sup>36</sup> The oldest sister of Ibn Taghrībirdī, Bayram, was married to Yashbik Ibn Azdamur al-Zāhirī (d. 817/1414–15) when he was the viceroy of Aleppo.<sup>37</sup>

Ibn Taghrībirdī's status and lineage allowed him access to sultans; he went hunting with al-Ashraf Barsbāy and accompanied him on his military campaign against Amid in Anatolia. He was close to the court of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq, as he was a friend of his son Muḥammad, the husband of Ibn Taghrībirdī's niece, as we have seen earlier. He attended a scholarly council held by the sultan every Friday at the Citadel and was a close friend of al-Qāḍī Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bārīzī, *kātib al-sirr al-sharīf* (royal confidential secretary).<sup>38</sup>

Though he was not close to al-Ashraf Īnāl and seldom visited the Citadel during his reign, Ibn Taghrībirdī was still well connected to him through his close relationship with Yūsuf ibn 'Abd al-Karīm Kātib Jakam (d. 862/1458), who was *nāẓir al-jaysh wa-al-khāṣṣ* (superintendent of the army and the privy council). He again became close to the court of al-Zāhir Khushqadam and particularly close to the most powerful amir of the time, Jānibik, *nā'ib* Jiddah (d. 867/1462).<sup>39</sup>

Both al-Sakhāwī and al-Jawharī, his contemporary and rival historians, alleged that Ibn Taghrībirdī used his origins and contacts with some of the powerful amirs to attract financial favors, including real estate and money, from the state. In their accounts, they also allege that he received gifts and money from members of the elite to write favorably about them in his chronicles.<sup>40</sup> These accusations were strictly denied by Ibn Taghrībirdī and his disciples.<sup>41</sup>

We cannot, therefore, accept those claims at face value, since both historians were professional rivals of Ibn Taghrībirdī and were notoriously jealous of him. However, we also cannot discount the possibility that he used his connections,

<sup>34</sup>Sīdī, singular of *al-asyād*, meaning the masters, is the title normally used to designate sons of Mamluk sultans who do not succeed to the sultan's throne.

<sup>35</sup>Marrying of widows and divorcees was very common in Mamluk society.

<sup>36</sup>Darrāj, "Nash'at Abī al-Maḥāsīn," 63.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 64.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., 70.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 70–71.

<sup>40</sup>In particular they alluded to his close relationship with al-Ṣāhib Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Kātib Jakim (d. 862/1458) and Jānibik *nā'ib* Jiddah (d. 867/1462). See al-Sakhāwī, *Daw'*, 10:306; 'Alī ibn Dāwūd al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā' al-Ḥaṣr bi-Abnā' al-'Aṣr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970), 179–81.

<sup>41</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, 1:16.



social status, and scholarly prestige to augment his wealth.<sup>42</sup> On the other hand we know that he inherited an *iqtā'* that he shared with his brother Qāsim,<sup>43</sup> and it is likely that he may also have inherited reasonable sums of money from his sister who was married to a rich qadi,<sup>44</sup> as well as other family members whom he survived.<sup>45</sup>

#### FAMILY RELATIONS

Ibn Taghrībirdī, following the practice of most Mamluk historians, did not write his autobiography. What we possess of his biography focuses on his education and works, hardly touching on his personal life. Most of the details we know about his family are derived from the biography he wrote of his father.<sup>46</sup>

Ibn Taghrībirdī was the youngest of ten children, all born to different mothers, except for himself and his full sister. The boys were Qāsim (b. 798/1395–96, d.?), Hamzah (b. 800/1397–98, d. 848/1444–45), Ibrāhīm (b. 808/1405–6, d. 826/1422–23), Muḥammad (b. 800/1397–98, d. 819/1416–17) and Ismā'īl (b. 810/1407–8, d. 833/1429–30). The sisters were Khawānd Fāṭimah, who was married to the sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj (b. 795/1392–93, d. 846/1442–43), Bayram (b. 807/1404–5, d. 826/1422–23), Hājir, who was his only full sister (b. 807/1404–5, d. 846/1442–43), and 'Ā'ishah, also called Shaqrah. She was married to Khalīl, al-Nāṣir Faraj's son, and her mother was a former wife of al-Zāhir Barqūq.<sup>47</sup> As a boy, Ibn Taghrībirdī lived with his only full sister, Hājir. She was married to the chief Shafī'i judge, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bulqīnī (d. 824/1420–

<sup>42</sup>For more detailed discussions of the properties of Ibn Taghrībirdī and the web of his social relations, as well as his relations with the ruling elite and the sultan, see Darrāj, "Nash'at Abī al-Maḥāsin," 64–73.

<sup>43</sup>Al-Jawharī, *Inbā' al-Ḥaṣr*, 179.

<sup>44</sup>His sister Hājir was married to 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bulqīnī, who came from a rich family. It is worth noting here that Ibn Taghrībirdī refers to his sister as *karīmatī*, a term used in modern Arabic to designate a daughter, not a sister. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, 7:200.

<sup>45</sup>In addition to the primary and secondary sources quoted above there exists a large corpus of secondary sources dedicated to the study of Ibn Taghrībirdī's private and public life. See Aḥmad 'Izzat 'Abd al-Karīm, "Al-Mu'arrikh al-Miṣrī Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin ibn Taghrībirdī," in *Al-Mu'arrikh Ibn Taghrī Birdī*, 11–18; Maḥmūd Ismā'īl 'Abd al-Rāziq, "Manhaj al-Mu'arrikh Ibn Taghrībirdī fi Kitābihi al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah," in *ibid.*, 107–22; Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Ashūr, "Makānat Ibn Taghrībirdī bayna Mu'arrikhī Miṣr fi al-Qarn al-Tāsi' al-Hijrī," in *ibid.*, 87–106; Aḥmad Darrāj, "La vie d'Abū'l-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrī Birdī et son oeuvre," *Annales Islamologiques* 11 (1972): 163–81; William Popper, "Abū'l-Maḥāsin Djamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Taghrī Birdī," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 1:137–38; Gaston Wiet, "L'Historien Abul-Maḥāsin," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 12 (1930): 89–105.

<sup>46</sup>Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, 4:31–43.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, 41–42.



21), who tutored young Yūsuf. This prominent judge played a major role in his upbringing and education as attested by the historian himself.<sup>48</sup> Such kindness evidently influenced the character of Ibn Taghrībirdī, for he remained grateful and attached to his family all his life, as we can see from the *waqfiyah*.

By the time he drew up the *waqfiyah* in Sha‘bān 870/1465 all his brothers and sisters had died except Khawānd ‘Ā’ishah Shaqrah. No children or spouses were mentioned in the *waqfiyah* as beneficiaries of any of its resources, which leads us to believe that he had none. This is confirmed in line 336 of the *waqfiyah* where property he owned is assigned to his “possible future” children. The *waqfiyah* was written when Ibn Taghrībirdī was 58 years old and he died four years later on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 874/1470. Ibn Taghrībirdī stopped writing his chronicles in 872/1468 after becoming very sick, and remained bedridden for the last two years of his life. The last modification in the deed, executed only a few weeks before his death, favored a protégé of his and does not mention a wife or children. Thus, we can safely conclude that he died with no children or wife surviving him.

One of the important functions of the *waqf* system was to transmit income to family members by allocating revenues in excess of the *waqf* expenses. This surplus would normally go to the founder in his lifetime and to his descendants upon his death. Having no children of his own, Ibn Taghrībirdī divided the revenue surplus after his death into three equal portions; one third went to his only surviving sister, Khawānd ‘Ā’ishah Shaqrah (he did not assign a burial place to her as she was married to Khalīl ibn al-Nāṣir Faraj and was thus entitled to a royal burial at the *khānqah* of Faraj ibn Barqūq). The second third went to his niece ‘Ā’ishah, and the remaining amount was to be equally distributed among Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Maghribī and his brother Badr al-Dīn Barakāt together with the surviving freed slaves of Ibn Taghrībirdī.<sup>49</sup> Zayn al-Dīn may have been his favorite young servant. Al-Jawharī maliciously claims that Ibn Taghrībirdī allocated to him his entire *turbah* and most of its jobs and revenue at the expense of his sisters and heirs.<sup>50</sup> This is a naked lie and a libel aimed at tarnishing the reputation of Ibn Taghrībirdī by his rival, since the *waqfiyah* allocated to him only a minor share of the surplus of revenues and a modest job.

The succession to the top job in the *waqfiyah*, *nāzir al-waqf*, also shows Ibn Taghrībirdī’s commitment and attachment to his family; after his death it would be passed on to his niece ‘Ā’ishah, then to her husband Qulmiṭāy (and their descendants), his sister Shaqrah, his other niece Zaynab bint Ḥamzah, or their descendants, and then to Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad and his brother. If they were all

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 7:200.

<sup>49</sup>Dār al-Wathā’iq al-Qawmīyah MS 147 Mamālīk, lines 425–41.

<sup>50</sup>Al-Jawharī, *Inbā’ al-Ḥaṣr*, 182.



deceased, it would then be left to a high-ranking state official.<sup>51</sup>

Ibn Taghrībirdī was wealthy and lived a long life by Mamluk standards, where it was very unusual for someone of his social status and age to have no wife, concubine, or children. The only person from outside the family of the founder who was given a share in the surplus revenue of the *turbah*, and was included in the succession to the position of *al-nāẓir* and exempted from some restrictions, was the aforementioned Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad. Al-Jawharī believed that Ibn Taghrībirdī willed him all his property at the expense of his sisters and relatives in violation of the inheritance rules set by the shari‘ah. He referred to Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad as “*fatāh*,” meaning the boy or valet of Ibn Taghrībirdī, a term that may carry sexual connotations in the language of the time. Can this be taken as an indication of the sexual preference of Ibn Taghrībirdī in view of his unusual celibacy? Given the current state of our knowledge such a possibility is sheer conjecture; however, it is an interesting dimension that has never been addressed before.

#### CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the *waqfiyah* of Ibn Taghrībirdī is useful for investigating several architectural, economic, and social issues. It enables us to reconstruct an accurate layout of the *turbah*, its units, and functions, which suggests the development of the *turbah* from a simple mausoleum into a large complex during the Mamluk period. The analysis of the *turbah*’s financial outlay is a viable indicator of the wage levels at that time, and the financial and social status of the founder and of the *turbah* inhabitants. This study has also shed light on some personal aspects of Ibn Taghrībirdī’s life, such as his family relations, his affiliations, and his generous and grateful disposition, and has shown the fallacy of some claims by his envious critics. Such issues are hardly dealt with in the more formal and politically-oriented contemporary biographies.

In conclusion, historiographers are mainly concerned with studying the method, concepts, and literary structure used by medieval historians and schools of historical thought. Such understanding is not possible without an analysis of the interplay between a historian’s life, career, and the cultural currents that shaped his literary works.<sup>52</sup> Understanding the life of Ibn Taghrībirdī and his social and economic background is therefore essential for an accurate interpretation of his historical works and their proper context. The conclusions reached here and in similar studies can contribute to this contextualization and an independent interpretation of his historical works.

<sup>51</sup>Dār al-Wathā’iq al-Qawmīyah MS 147 Mamālīk, lines 478–92.

<sup>52</sup>R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry* (Cairo, 1992), 133–35.



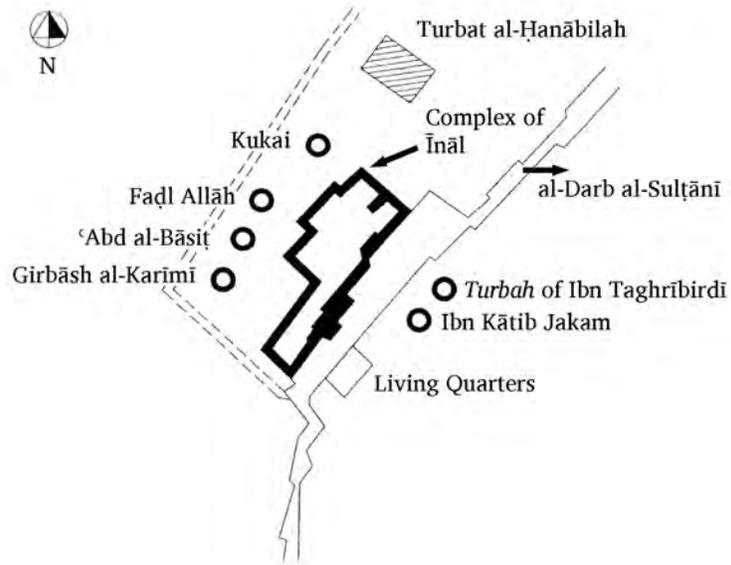
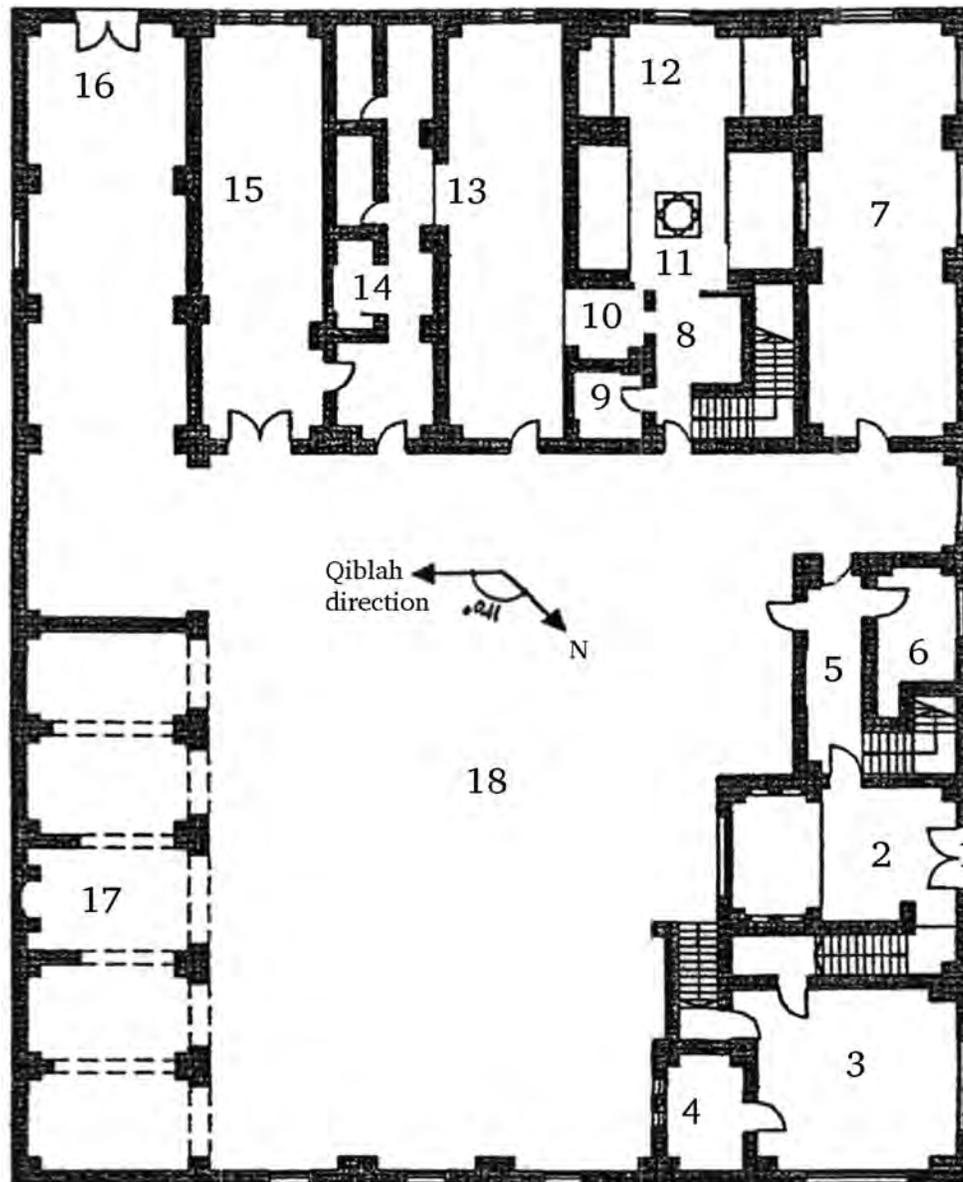


Fig. 1. Location of the *turbah* of Ibn Taghrībirdī and its surroundings





- |                        |                 |                                     |
|------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Entrance            | 7. Cell         | 13. Cell                            |
| 2. Vestibule           | 8. Corridor     | 14. Lavatories                      |
| 3. <i>Sabīl</i>        | 9. Kitchen      | 15. Stable                          |
| 4. <i>Sabīl</i> keeper | 10. Lavatory    | 16. Side door                       |
| 5. Corridor            | 11. Inner court | 17. <i>Īwān</i> and <i>maqsūrah</i> |
| 6. Doorman             | 12. <i>Īwān</i> | 18. Main court                      |

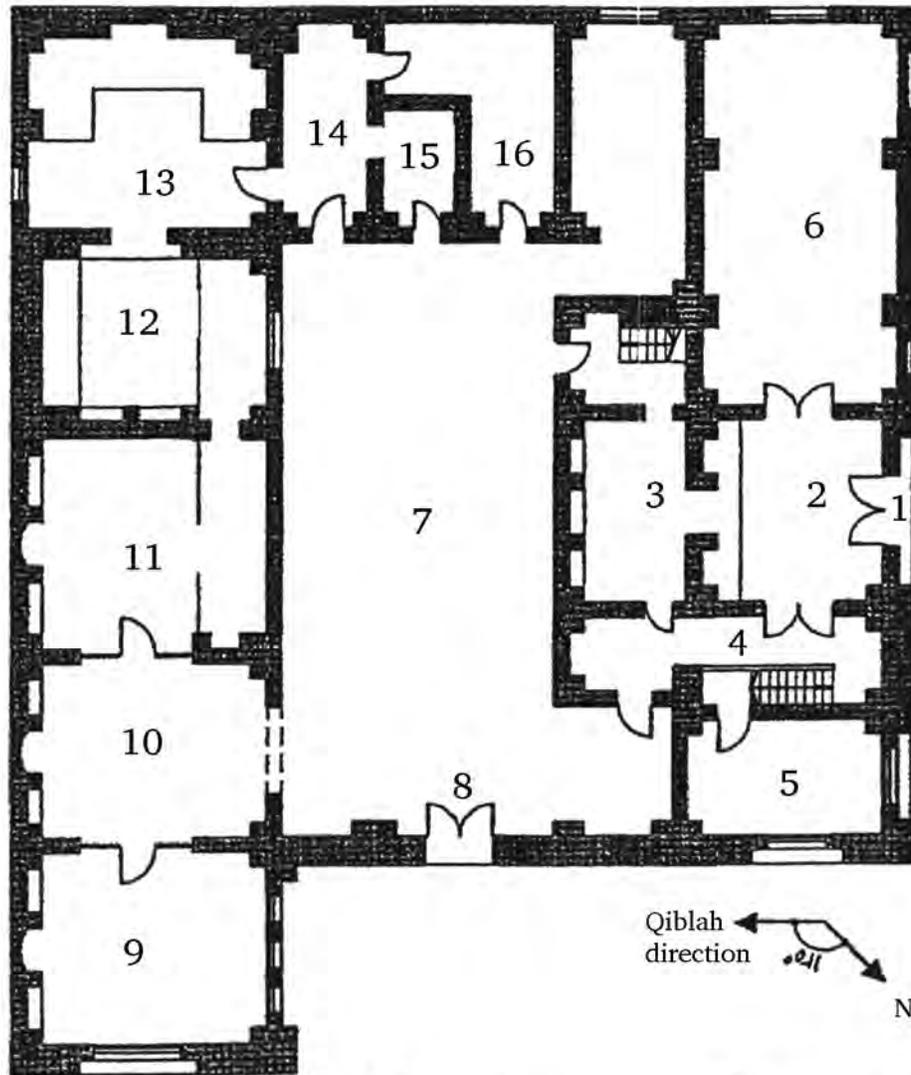
Fig. 2. Plan of the *turbah* of Ibn Taghribirdi



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- |                 |                               |                 |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Entrance     | 7. Main court                 | 13. Inner court |
| 2. Vestibule    | 8. Side door                  | 14. Corridor    |
| 3. Vestibule    | 9. Protruding <i>maqsūrah</i> | 15. Lavatories  |
| 4. Corridor     | 10. <i>Īwān</i>               | 16. Kitchen     |
| 5. <i>Sabīl</i> | 11. <i>Maqsūrah</i>           |                 |
| 6. Stable       | 12. <i>Īwān</i>               |                 |

Fig. 3. Plan of the *turbah* of Abū Zakariyā Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Mūsá



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Table 1. The *turbah* organization and expenditure outlay as defined by the *waqfiyah* of Abū al-Mahāsīn Ibn Taghribirdī

	Job title	Number	Monthly salary*	Duties and qualifications Assignments and activities	Reference (line #)
1	<i>Bawwāb</i> (doorman)	1	400	Duties: To reside at the <i>turbah</i> and leave it only in case of necessity. Assignments and activities: To guard the <i>turbah</i> , open and close its doors, keep its keys, and remove intrusions on the façade along the sultan's highway.	353–59, 469–71
2	<i>Mazamālāī</i> ( <i>sabīl</i> keeper)	1	300	Duties: To reside at the <i>turbah</i> . Assignments and activities: To wash, clean, and fumigate the cistern every year. To fill up the <i>sabīl</i> 's water-dispensing mechanism. To tend the <i>sabīl</i> 's window every morning. To keep the tools of the <i>sabīl</i> . To clean and sweep the <i>sabīl</i> . To clean, fumigate, and hang the <i>sabīl</i> jugs after filling them with water for the benefit of the passers-by.	357–63, 467
3	<i>Farrāsh</i> (janitor) and <i>waqqād</i> (candle lighter)	4	500	Duties: To reside at the <i>turbah</i> . Assignments and activities: To sweep the <i>turbah</i> and clean its floor mats. To pick up the wilted flowers from the graves and throw them outside the <i>turbah</i> . To light candles. To wash and clean the lanterns and to light and extinguish them.	370–77, 467
4	Students	10	150	Qualifications: Young orphans and children of the poor and needy to be selected by the <i>nāzir</i> . Assignments and activities: To recite the glorious Quran and dedicate the accrued blessing to the founder, his siblings, parents, and Muslim residents of the <i>turbah</i> . The recitation is to be concluded daily by supplications to the Prophet except on Tuesdays, Fridays, feasts, and anniversaries.	378–84

\*In trade dirhams per person.



5	<i>Faqīh</i> (jurist)	1	300	<p>Duties: To teach the students every day, except on Tuesdays, Fridays, feasts, and anniversaries.</p> <p>Assignments and activities: To discipline the students and teach them reading and writing, as well as recitation of the glorious Quran daily, except on Tuesdays, Fridays, feasts, and anniversaries.</p>	385–86, 471
6	Quran readers	2	150	<p>Duties: To memorize the Quran and never interrupt reading unless sick, traveling on pilgrimage, or other legal excuse.</p> <p>Assignments and activities: To recite collectively half of a <i>hizb</i> of the Quran after the morning prayer at the founder's grave and dedicate the blessing of the recitation to the Prophet, then to the founder, his siblings, parents, and Muslim residents of the <i>turbah</i>. The recitation is to be concluded by praying for the Prophet.</p>	387–91, 472–74
7	<i>Shāhid</i> (notary) and <i>khāzin al-kutub</i> (librarian)	1	200 for each	<p>Qualifications: Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Maghribī is assigned to this job, then his brother al-Sa'īd Rukn al-Dīn Abū al-Barakāt, then any of their sons, or someone to act for them if they are not of legal age or competent.</p> <p>Assignments and activities: No special tasks are mentioned, but from the designation we can conclude that the job of the notary is to authenticate all the financial and legal transactions of the foundation. The librarian's task is to look after the books and compilations of the founder.</p>	392–404



<p>412-22, 476-90</p>	<p>Qualifications: The founder himself, then his siblings by order of age, then his niece ʿĀʾishah, wife of Qulmiṭāy, then their siblings by order of age, then Qulmiṭāy himself, then ʿĀʾishah Shaqrah, sister of the founder, then his niece Zaynab, then al-Zaynī Muḥammad and his brother Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū al-Barakāt, then any of their siblings afterwards, then al-Dawādār al-Thānī in Egypt, then the <i>kātib al-sirr</i> (confidential secretary), then the sultan or whom he deputizes.</p>	<p>500</p>	<p>1</p>	<p><i>Nāzir</i> (super-intendent)</p>
<p>Assignments and activities: To utilize the foundation in legitimate activities. To disburse the revenue to the beneficiaries holding jobs at the foundation and according to the other expenditure outlay as specified in the <i>wagfiyah</i> deed. To distribute the revenue surplus as specified in the <i>wagfiyah</i> deed. In general, he is charged with the administration of the <i>turbah</i> and its workforce.</p>	<p>Qualifications: People of charitable and religious qualities who come to the <i>turbah</i> daily after sunrise.</p>	<p>150</p>	<p>10</p>	<p>Sufis</p>
<p>438-47</p>	<p>Assignments and activities: To recite ten parts of the glorious Quran. One of the Sufis is singled out as their shaykh, and he puts his Quran in front of him on a special <i>kursī</i> (stand) presented to him by the <i>khādim al-muṣṣḥaf</i> (servant of the Quran), who is also one of the ten Sufis. Two of them conclude the recitation by reading <i>Sūrat al-Ikhlās</i> (<i>sūrah</i> 112), <i>Al-Fāṭiḥah</i> (opening <i>sūrah</i> of the Quran), and supplications, all to be dedicated to the Prophet, his siblings, his household, and his companions, as well as to the founder, his siblings, the <i>turbah</i> residents dead and living, <i>the nāzir</i>, and all Muslims. One of the Sufis is to be <i>māṭiḥ</i> (panegyrist) of the qualities of the Prophet.</p>	<p>150</p>	<p>10</p>	<p>Sufis</p>

\*In trade dirhams per person.



Expense	Monthly* outlay	Explanation	Reference (line #)
Fresh water	300 yearly	Clean fresh water totaling 300 <i>rāwīyahs</i> (water bags) in addition to the 200 <i>rāwīyahs</i> from the <i>waqf</i> foundation of ʿĀʾishah, wife of Qulmiṭāy. To fill up the cistern after its being washed, cleaned, and fumigated.	364–69
Miscellaneous	100	For the tools of the <i>sabil</i> and the requirements of the southern <i>iwān</i> , such as floor mats, tools, glass, and drinking jugs.	405–6
Maintenance works	200	To repair fallen parts of the <i>turbah</i> or its <i>waqf</i> property, and to maintain its buildings. The surplus from this expense item is to be used for procuring real estate by the <i>nāzir</i> to be added to the <i>turbah</i> property.	407–11
Surplus		The surplus of the revenues will go to the founder during his lifetime. If he dies without siblings, it will be divided into three equal parts. One third goes to ʿĀʾishah Shaqrah, sister of the founder; the second third goes to his niece ʿĀʾishah, wife of Qulmiṭāy during their lifetime; the last third is divided equally among the brothers Zayn al-Din and Badr al-Din Muḥammad Abū al-Barakāt and the living freed slaves of the founder (but the two brothers get a double share). The share of each of the above will go to their siblings at their deaths. If all of the above expire, the surplus goes to the ten Sufis.	422–36



## TEXT OF THE WAQFIYAH OF IBN TAGHRĪBIRDĪ

The *waqfiyah* is kept at the National Archives in Cairo under no. 147 and dated 14 Sha‘bān 870/1465 recto and verso.<sup>53</sup> It is a paper roll 33 cm wide and 17.20 m long, written in black ink in clear handwriting, and remains generally in good condition except for some disintegration in the left margin.

The following is a transcription<sup>54</sup> of the microfilm copy of the *waqfiyah*. The notarization sections with the standard legal formulae of attestation and certification by the chief judges in the recto and verso or margins of the *waqfiyah* have been omitted. Those notarization sections in many cases are either damaged or illegible and are not relevant to the context of this article.

The recto of the *waqfiyah* consists of 25 pages, of which pages 1 to 13 and 18 to 24 are notarization sections. The verso of the *waqfiyah* comprises the most important part, with brief notarization sections in the margins that are also omitted.

## Recto:

- اشهد على نفسه الكريمة المقر الكريم العال المولوي الأمري الكهفي السدي السندي الإمامي العالمي الفريدي  
البليغي السليلي العريقي المربي الوحدي الفريدي البليغي المفوهي النهري الغوثي الحافضي الجمالي نسيب الملوك  
والسلاطين عمدة النقلة والمحدثين محب العلم والصالحين أوجد العلماء في العالمين أبو المحاسن يوسف بن  
مولانا المقر الأشرف الكريم العال المولوي الأمري الكريمي الأتابكي السيفي تغري بردي بن عبد الله من يشبغا  
5 كافل المملكتين الشاميه والحلييه والده كان يغمده الله تعالى بالرحمة والرضوان وأسبغ ظلاله  
المقر المشار له أعلاه وأحسن إليه وأسبغ نعمه عليه وهو الواقف المشار باطنه شهوده اشهاداً  
ان وقف وحبس وأبد وتصدق بجميع الحصة الآتى ذكرها فيه فهي حصة  
كاملة من أصل ثمان حصص شائعاً ذلك في أراضى ناحية الحداد بالغربية وما هو معروف  
بها ومنسوب إليها ويحيط بكامل هذه الناحية ويحصرها حدود أربعة الحد  
القبلي ينتهي إلى أراضى ناحية برما والحد البحري ينتهي إلى أراضى ناحية [ترنشان] والحد  
10 الشرقى ينتهى إلى ناحية شفا وقرن والحد الغربى ينتهى إلى أرض ناحية النحرارية يحد ذلك [؟]  
وحقوق وما يعرف به وينسب له من المعالم والرسوم والمنافع والحقوق خلا ما يستنتى شرعاً المعلوم [فيه]  
عند مولانا المقر الواقف المشار له اعلاه أدام الله تعالى علاه العلمي الشرعي النافي للجهاهه ذلك بيد المقر الكريم العال  
المولوي الجمالي الواقف المشار إليه باعلاه أدام الله تعالى معاليه وملكه وتصرفه وحيازته واختصاصه بذلك من  
15 جملة ما هو جار في ملكه بالتتابع الشرعي من بيت المال المعمور بمقتضى المكتوب الشرعي الورق الحموي المؤرخ  
بالتاس [ع]  
عشر من جمادى الآخر سنة تاريخه الثابت المحكوم به فى الشرع الشريف في مجلس الحكم القضائي  
الحاكمي العالمي الشيخي الأمامي الشمسي شرف العلماء أوجد مفتي المسلمين أبي عبدالله محمد السنهوري الشافعي خليفة  
الحكم العزيز بالديار المصرية أعزه الله تعالى وأحسن إليه بدلالة إسهاله الكريم المسطر بظاهر المكتوب المذكور  
المؤرخ بخطه الكريم سادس عشرين من جمادى الآخرة سنة تاريخه اعلاه من سنه [كذا] تاريخه وخصم بمقتضى ذلك  
الخصم الشرعي

<sup>53</sup>The document we now have is a transcription of the original deed, but it is considered a legal document since it was authenticated by a notary and confirmed by witnesses. See n. 2 above.

<sup>54</sup>Transcription in general follows the orthography of the original except in a few cases. Words that are incomplete, illegible, or damaged are put between brackets.



- 20 بموافقة تاريخه وشهوده وفقاً صحيحاً شرعاً وحبساً صريحاً مرعياً لا يباع ولا يوهب ولا يورث ولا يملك ولا يناقض به ولا بيعه قائماً على أصوله محفوظاً على شروطه التي تذكر فيه أنشأ الواقف المشار له أعلاه أدام الله عزه وعلاه وقفه هذا على ما يأتي ذكره مفصلاً وشرحه مبيناً على أن الناظر على هذا الوقف والمتولى عليه يستغل الحصة الموقوفة أعلاه بأنواع الاستغلال الشرعي ويبدأ من ريع ذلك بإصلاح أراضيها وجسورها وما يعود نفعه على الحصة الموقوفة أعلاه والفاضل من ذلك يضيفه الناظر الشرعي على الوقف المذكور فيه على ريع الموقوف [؟] ويصرف ذلك على حكم المصارف المعينة باطنه في مصالح التربة الموقوفة باطنه وأرباب الجوامك والوظائف وعلى الصهرج والأيتام والقراء والكسوة وثمان الخبز والعنقا وأولاد طرف الزيني زين الدين محمد وأخيه أبي البركات ومن ذكر إسمه باطنه وما عينه للصوفية وشيخهم على الحكم المقر باطنه والشروط والترتيب المقر باطنه من مصارف ذلك لمن عن له الصرف المقر باطنه من الفقراء والمساكين على النص المبين باطنه يجري الحال في الله كذلك أبد الأبدين ودهر الدهرين حتى يرث الله جلاله وتعددت أسماؤه الأرض ومن عليها وهو خير الوارثين
- 30 وشرط مولانا المقر الجمالي الواقف المشار له المذكور وقاه الله كل محذور في وقفه هذا نظير المشروط المعينه باطنه على النص المعين باطنه من اشتراط النظر وغيره وأن يزيد في وقفه هذا ما يرى زيادته وتغيير منه ما يرى تغييره وينقص منه ما يشاء ويدخل فيه من يشاء ويخرج منه من أراد ويشترط من الشروط المخالفة لذلك ما يرى اشتراطه ويرجع فيه بما أحب يفعل ذلك كلما بدا له لا يتقيد ذلك بوقت ولا أوان ولا حين ولا زمان وأصل الوقف باق على حكمه وليس لأحد من بعده فعل غيره شيء من ذلك فقد تم هذا الوقف ولزم ونفذ حكمه وأنيرم
- 35 وصار ذلك وفقاً شرعاً وحبساً مرعياً محرماً محرمات الله الأكيده مدفوعاً عنه بقوة الله الشديدة فمن بذله بعد ما سمعه فإنما إثمه على الذين يبدلونه إن الله سميع عليم ورفع مولانا وسيدنا الواقف المسمى أعلاه أدام الله عزه عن الحصة الموقوفة يد ملكه وحيازته ووضع على [؟] ولايته وأشهد على نفسه الكريمة بالله وهو بحال الصحة والسلامة وبالتوكيل في ثبوت ذلك وطلب الحكم به وسؤاله اشهاد وإبدا الدافع وتقيه توكيلاً بما في ذلك في اليوم المبارك الثامن والعشرين من جمادى الآخر المبارك سنة إحدى وسبعين وثمانمائة [وما لو يعملو كل [ظهر الحجة-أول أحد وأربعون سطراً غير مقروءة]

Verso: (first 41 lines are illegible)

- 42 وصار ما نبه على إيقافه أعلاه وفقاً على ما يأتي ذكره فيه ومن ذلك جميع ما أنشأه وعمره و من ما وصلت حاله إلى أن صار على الصفة الآتي ذكرها وما هو جميع المكان الكائن ظاهر القاهرة المحروسة خارج باب النصر بالصحرا بالقرب من تربة الجمالي ناظر الجيوش المنصورة والخواص الشريفة كان تغمده الله تعالى برحمته [على الدرب]
- 45 السلطاني طالباً تربة مولانا السلطان الإمام الأعظم المالك الملك الظاهر أبي سعيد [خشدتم] خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه وتربة المرحوم الشيخ كهنفوش وغير ذلك [ . . . ] بدلالة المشاهدة على واجهات أربع مبنيات بالحجر الفص النحيت أحدها بالحد البحري وهي التي على ممر السالك بها [باب] مربع بصار إليه من سلم درج قصير وبسطه بها [مستطبتان]
- 50 يمينه ويسره فيما بينهما الباب المذكور يعلو المسطبتان مكتوب طراز [ . . . ] [ق] بالذهب والأزورد ويعلو الباب المذكور واجهه مصوفة بطراز [ . . . ] معقود واجهه الباب بالحجر النحيت الملون المنعم به عقد حجر مقرنص بطراز [ . . . ] وبالواجهه المذكورة شبك حديد معد للسبيل الآتي وصفه فيه يعلق على الباب المذكور فردة باب خشباً مصفح بالجميز والسماز المفلس يدخل من الباب المذكور [إلى]



- 55 دركاة متسعة بصدرها مصطبة خلوة علو مفروش أرضها و أرض الدركاة [بالحجر]  
الكدان بالمسطبة المذكورة كتيبات أربعة يمنة ويسرة وبصدرها طاق [ . . . ]  
خشباً مطلة على الحوش الآتي ذكره فيه يعلق عليها فرده باب خشب وبالدركاة المذكورة [بابان]  
أحدهما يصار إليه من درج يدخل منه الي السبيل المعد لتسبيل الماء علو الصهريج  
المبني في تخوم الأرض المعد لخرن الماء الحلو يرسم تسبيله الذي أنشأه الواقف المشار إليه  
60 أعلاه مع التربة المذكورة يشمل السبيل المذكور على شباكين أحدهما بالواجهة المقدم ذكرها  
والثانيه بالحد الشرقي كل من الشباكين معد لتسبيل الماء على المار من الجهتين المذكورتين  
في الأوقات الآتي ذكرها فيه على كل منهما فرده باب خشب معقود علو السبيل المذكور بالحجر  
الفص النحيت قبه مفروش أرضه بالرخام الملون وبأرضه خرزه رخاما مركبه على فوة  
الصهريج المقدم ذكره ويصدر السبيل المذكور في الحد القبلي بابان على كل منهما فرده [ . . . ]  
65 ينزل من أحدهما بدرج إلى فضا التربة الآتي وصفها فيه والثاني يدخل منه إلى خلوة  
كبيرة علو خلوه من حقوق الحوش الآتي ذكره فيه أعدها الواقف المشار فيه لمن يكون  
مزملاتيا بالسبيل المذكور لخرن آله التسبيل على العادة والباب الثاني في [الدركاة]  
المذكورة على يمنة الداخل منه دهليز مستطيل متسع الفنا معقود  
بالحجر على يمنة الداخل باب معقود لطيف يدخل منه الي سلم يصعد من عليه الي علو السبيل  
70 المقدم ذكره أعلاه وهو مكتب يرسم تعليم الصبيان القرآن العظيم ذو وجهتين أحدهما بطاقات  
والثاني بدرابزين ويتوصل من السلم المذكور إلى حقوق وطباق ينتفع بها وبالدهليز المذكور  
باب لطيف معقود يدخل منه إلى خلوة متسعة يرسم سكن بواب التربة المذكورة وخرن  
التي بأقصى الدهليز المذكور درجان ينزل منهما للحوش الكبير وهو فضا التربة [ . . . ]  
أعدها الواقف لموارات الأموات على ما يأتي بيانه فيه ويجاور آخر الدهليز المذكور من داخل  
75 الحوش المذكور على يمينه باب معقود لطيف يدخل منه الي خلوة كبيرة متسعة يعلوها  
منافع وطباق وغير ذلك و بفضا التربة في الحد الغربي أربعة أبواب  
أحدهما مربع عليه فرده باب يدخل منه إلى دهليز وسلم يأتي ذكره يتوصل من الدهليز  
المذكور إلى قاعة ذات إيوان ودور قاعه مسقفة دمساً و ذات السدلات والخرا [استانات]  
والمنافع والحقوق وبالدهليز المذكور مطبخ ومستراح ويصعد من السلم الي رواق علو  
80 القاعة المذكورة وهو علو الواجهة البحرية بشابيك وطباق ومنافع وحقوق  
والباب الثاني يدخل منه الي خلوه في [ . . . ] يعلوها طبقه لطيفه يتوصل إليها  
من السلم المقدم ذكره والثالث يدخل منه إلى دهليز به ثلاث مراحل يرسم الراحة  
وبه باب سر لطيف على يسرة الداخل للإسطبل الآتي ذكره فيه والرابع يخرج منه  
إلى إسطلب معد لربط الخيل وبه طوالة مسقف الإسطلب المذكور غشما يعلو الإسطلب المذكور  
85 طباق متجاوزة لم تكمل عمارتها يكملها الواقف المذكور وقاه الله كل محذور وبالواجهة الغربية  
من الطريق باب يخرج منه إلى فضاء الطريق المعد وهو لدخول الأموات ويقابل الواجهة  
المقدم ذكرها وهي البحرية إيوان كبير في الحد القبلي مبني بالحجر الفص النحيت مفروش أرضه [بالبلاط]  
الكدان به أربع فسافي مبنية معقودة بالحجر الفص النحيت لكونها منزل معدة الفسافي  
المذكورة لدفن الأموات على الحكم الآتي بيانه فيه بصدر الإيوان المذكور قبلة للصلاة معقود  
90 الإيوان المذكور بالطوب الأجر على خمس قناطر معقودة بالحجر الفص النحيت محمولة على أربع دعائم  
مبنية بالحجر الفص النحيت يعلو واجهه الإيوان من داخل الحوش المذكور شراريف حجر من ابتداء الحد  
الشرقي إلى الحد الغربي ويعلو واجهه الحد الشرقي حجر مهرم وذات الدعائم و [الحقوق]  
ويحيط بذلك حدود أربعة الحد القبلي ينتهي إلى الصحرا وقبة النصر والحد  
البحري ينتهي الي الطريق الدرب السلطاني وفيه الباب والشبايك والحد



- 95 الشرقي ينتهي إلى الطريق بعضه وبعضه إلى قبة النصر والحد الغربي ينتهي إلى طريق  
فصله بين هذا المكان وبين تربه تعرف بزواية الملك الأشرف إينال وفيه الباب  
ومن ذلك ما هو جار بيده وفي وقفه السابق على تاريخه الموعود بذكره أعلاه يشهد [؟]  
المكتوب الرق المخيط المؤرخ بيوم الأربعاء الثامن من جمادى الأولى عام ثمانية وستين وثمانمائة  
ثابت محكوم بموجبه وبصحة الوقف ولزومه لدى سيدنا العبد الفقير إلى الله تعالى
- 100 الشيخ الإمام العالم العلامة نور الدين شرف العلماء أوحده الفضلا مفتي المسلمين ولي أمير المؤمنين  
أبو الحسن علي الصوفي الحنفي خليفة الحكم العزيز بالديار المصرية أيد الله تعالى أحكامه  
وأحسنه بدلالة إسجاله الكريم المسطر بظاهر المكتوب المذكور بخطه الكريم بالربع عشر  
من جمادى الأولى الشهر المذكور من السنة منفذ على السادة الموالى قضاه القضاء و[مشايخ]  
الإسلام نوي المذاهب الأربع بدلالة إسجالاتهم لظاهر المكتوب المذكور وهو جميع
- 105 المكان الكامل أرضا وبنا الآتى ذكر ذلك ووصفه وتحديده فيه خلا ربع الأرض الحامله له  
وذلك كما دل عليه كتاب أصله المعبر عنه فى كتاب بجميع الدار الكائن ذلك بخط رأس  
حارة أمير جوان بالقاهرة المحروسة بالقرب من حمام الرومى بجوار المسجد المعمور بذكر الله تعالى  
المعروف بمسجد الكويك ومعروف هذا المكان المذكور فيه قديما بسيدنا الشيخ الامام العالم  
العلامة المرحوم زين الدين شيخ الاسلام والمسلمين أبى المناقب ابى بكر [القمني] الخزرجي الشافعي
- 110 تغمده الله برحمته وأسكنه فسيح جنته ثم عرف بغيره ثم عرف بالواقف المشار له ادام الله نعمته  
عليه يشهد للواقف المذكور بإبتياع ذلك مكتوب التبايع الرق واصول لذلك المؤرخ  
باطنه مكتوب التبايع المذكور بالتاسع عشر من جمادى الآخر المبارك عام خمس وستين وثمانمائة  
ثابت ذلك فى الشرع الشريف محكوم فيه بالموجب بعد استيفاء شرائط الشرعية
- والعلم بالحلاف فى ذلك من مجلس الحكم العزيز القضائي الشيخي الإمامي العالمي الجلالى أبى الفضل  
عبد الرحمن [ذي] الأمانة الأنصاري الشافعي خليفة الحكم العزيز بالديار المصرية وما أضيف إلى ذلك  
115 أيد الله تعالى أحكامه وأحسن له بدلالة إسجاله المسطر بظاهر المكتوب المذكور المؤرخ بخطه  
الكريم بيوم السبت الرابع عشر من شهر رجب الفرد من السنة المذكوره منفذ ذلك على مستنبيه  
سيدنا ومولانا قاضى القضاة وشيخ الإسلام حافظ العصر عمدة المسلمين العلمي الكتاني  
البلقيني الشافعي الناظر فى الاحكام الشرعية بالديار المصرية كان تغمده الله تعالى بالرحمة والرضوان
- 120 وأسكنه فسيح الجنان بدلالة إسجاله المكتوب بظاهر المكتوب المذكور المؤرخ بخطه الكريم [يوم]  
الأحد الخامس عشر من شهر رجب الفرد المذكور الشهر المذكور من السنة المذكوره وخصم كل من ذلك  
الخصم الشرعى بموافقة تاريخه وشهوده مع أصوله السبعة وصفه ذلك على ما دل عليه كتاب  
أصله الرق وما استجد فيه مما جدده الواقف المشار له قديما قبل إيقافه وشمله الوقف  
وما جدده وأضافه الآن ووقفه فى تاريخه ودل على ذلك المشاهده انه يشتمل
- 125 على واجهه منيية بالحجر الفص النحيت بها باب مربع عليه فرده باب به خوخره بعته سفلى حجرا وعلوي  
حجر كدانا يعلوها روشن عليه حمل الغير يدخل من الباب المذكور فيه إلى دهليز مستطيل  
به باب مربع على يسر من دخل يغلق عليه زوجا باب يدخل منه إلى سلم به فسحه بجانبها  
سلم يتوصل منه إلى باب عليه فرده يدخل منه إلى فسحه ثانية صغيرة بها قصبه قناة [يتوصل]  
منه إلى باب بغير باب عليه يتوصل منه إلى باب عليه زوج ابواب يدخل منه إلى رواق يشتمل على إيوان
- 130 ودورقاعة به طاقة مظه على الدهليز المذكور فيه يجاورها خزانه عليها زوج أبواب بها طاقة  
مظه على الدهليز المذكور ويجاور الرواق المذكور باب يغلق عليه فرده باب يدخل منه إلى مطبخ صغير  
يعلوه طبقة صغيرة وبجانب ذلك رواق علو الدراكاه المستجده مظل على الدهليز المبود بذكره فيه  
يشتمل الرواق المذكور على إيوان ودورقاعة وخزانه نومية وسدله وخرستانات وباب بدور القاعة  
المذكوره يتوصل منه إلى السطح العالى على ذلك وهذا الرواق [؟] بذكره كان يصعد إليه من سلم من



- 135 داخل الحوش الصغير الكشف الذي هدمه الواقف واستجد للرواق المذكور باب من الدهليز الذي بالرواق المبدى بذكره وذات الاسطحة والمنافع والحقوق ثم يتوصل من بعض الدهليز المبدى بذكره إلى باب مستجد على يسر الداخل يأتي ذكره فيه يجاوره دركاه يعلوها قبواً حجراً مبنى ذلك بالطوب الأحمر وبها بابان أحدهما يغلق عليه زوجا باب يدخل منه إلى دركاه صغيره بصدرها مسطبه يجاورها باب مقتطر عليه فرده باب يدخل منه إلى دهليز يتوصل منه إلى بيت
- 140 ازيار ثم يتوصل من بعض الدهليز المذكور إلى مطبخ صغير به حمام صغير وبالمطبخ المذكور مرحاض ونسبة كوانين وبالووعه بصدره من الناحية البحرية باب عليه فرده باب يدخل منه إلى حوش كشف [؟] معين وسلم يصعد من عليه إلى طبقة صغيرة يتوصل منها إلى سطح وبالحوش المذكور فيه باب عليه فرده باب يدخل منه إلى مخزن وسفله باب سر مقتطر صغير عليه فرده باب يتوصل منه إلى قاعة حرمية وإلى مسجد هناك يجاور دهليز القاعة الصغرى المذكورة ثم يتوصل من بقية الدهليز المذكور إلى باب عليه زوج ابواب يدخل منه إلى قاعة ذات إيوانين ودور قاعة وبالإيوان الكبير ثلاث سدلاه إحداها يعلوها باذنج وباحدى السدلاه باب عليه فرده باب يدخل منه إلى خزانه لطيفه يقابلها خرستانان وتجاه ذلك السدله الثالثة بها بابان احدهما خرستان والثاني خزانه عليها فرده باب يدخل من ذلك إلى دهليز به كرسى مرحاض يجاوره سلم يتوصل منه إلى إيوان القاعة المذكورة وبدور القاعة المذكورة أربعة أبواب أحدهما باب الدخول والثاني به سلم يتوصل منه إلى السطح العالي على ذلك والثالث به سلم إستجد به الواقف المشار له فيه باب سر للمقعد المربع المستجد الآتى ذكره فيه والباب الرابع يخرج منه إلى الدور الآتى ذكره فيه وبه كرسى مرحاض برسم القاعة المذكورة وبالإيوان الصغير سدله صدرها خرستانان مجاور بها صفتان والباب الثاني بعتبة حجر صوان يعلوها حجر ما يغلق عليه زوج أبواب يدخل منه إلى دهليز مستطيل يتوصل منه إلى باب يدخل منه إلى القاعة الحرمية الموعود بذكرها
- 155 تشتمل على إيوانين متقابلين فيما بينهما دور قاعة بايوانها الكبير خزانه نومية وخرستان وبدور القاعة المذكورة أربعة ابواب احدها باب الدخول والثاني والثالث خرستانات والباب الرابع يدخل منه إلى كرسى مرحاض يتوصل منه إلى سلم بجواره طبقة ثم يتوصل من السلم المذكور فيه إلى سلم آخر [؟] من عليه إلى السطح العالي أعلى ذلك وتجاه باب الدخول باب يتوصل منه إلى باب السر المقدم ذكره اعلاه المتوصل منه إلى الحوش والقاعة المذكوره يجاوره دهليز مستطيل يتوصل منه إلى المسجد المذكور اعلاه وبه محراب بصدره واما الباب المستجد الانشا الموعود بذكره اعلاه فهو باب مقتطر عليه فرده باب يعلوها شباك يدخل منه إلى دركاه بها خزانه برسم البواب وبصدر الدرکاه مسطبه كبرى يعلوها شباك مسقفه نقيا يتوصل منها إلى باب ثان يتوصل منه إلى قبو به شباك خشب ثم يتوصل من ذلك إلى الدور الكشف الموعود بذكره كان به على يسره من دخل باب مقتطر يدخل منه إلى حوش كشف صغير كان به السلم المتوصل منه إلى الرواق الثاني الموصوف اعلاه وكان يجاور الباب المذكور باب يدخل منه إلى اسطبل صغير يجاور قبو به باب مسدود يعلوه الرواق المبدى بذكره هدمه الواقف المشار له اعلاه واجهة البابين المذكورين ومعالم الاسطبل والسلم واطرافه لفضا الحوش وأنشأ به وبما يليه مما ملكه بعد تاريخ الوقف السابق على تاريخه المنبه عليه اعلاه قواصر على بوانك يعلوها بسائل
- 170 وأخشاب بلح مسقف بالجريد وصار الدور المذكور يشمل على ست قناطر معقوده باليوانك من داخلها مجالات الخيول وطوالات فى الحدين القبلى والشرقى فيما بين ذلك مسطبه بها بير ما معين فوهتها مسدوده وذات الأبنيه المستجده والمنبر المبنى والدهليز المتوصل منه إلى باب مقتطر مستجد البنا عليه فرده باب يخرج منه إلى الزقاق المعروف بالرماح تم عرف بالجورجى وبالدهليز المذكور فيه الثلاث مخازن المشتمل كل منها على باب



- 175 يدخل منه الى مخزن مسقف بالعقد خارج عن أبنية العلو وهو الربع والمخازن والمخازن التي من خارج درب الرماح فإن مولانا الواقف المشار له أعلاه أزال ذلك عن ملكه من قبل تاريخه بتبائع شرعي وصارت أبنية الربع المذكور والمخازن علوا وسفلا خارجه عن حكم هذا الوقف وحق هذا الوقف الانتفاع بما هو محمول على أبنية من أخشاب وبنا وغير ذلك وعلى مالك الأبنية حفظ ما عليه حملة لهذا الوقف ويجاور الدركاه من داخل الدوار المذكور بابان
- 180 على كل منهما فرده باب يدخل من احدهما الى شراب خانة والثاني مقنطر هو باب السر المتوصل منه الى القاعة الكبرى الموعود بذكره اعلاه يجاور هذا الباب سلم طرابلسي ثلاث درج وبسطه يتوصل منه الى باب عليه زوج أبواب بعته عليا منقوشه من الحجر الأحمر يدخل منه الى سلم يتوصل منه الى باب آخر مربع عليه فرده باب يدخل منه إلى مقعد مربع به شباك كبير خشبا وبجانبه أربع طاقات خشبا متطابقات
- 185 مطل ذلك على الدوار المذكور به ستة أبواب أحدها باب الدخول والثاني يدخل منه الى دهليز كشف به باب عليه زوج أبواب يدخل منه الى مبيت به طاقه مطلة على الاسطبل الآتي ذكره وبداخله خزانة صغرى ورفوف دايرة وبالدلهليز المذكور كرسى مرحاض وباب يسلم ينزل منه الى القاعة الكبرى المقدم ذكرها اعلاه والثالث والرابع والخامس خرسنات والباب السادس يتوصل منه الى سطح المقعد
- 190 المذكور اعلاه وبالمقعد المذكور أعلاه كتبه كبرى موشق تجاه الشباك المذكور فيه بها أربعة أبواب يعلو ذلك قمريات زجاج ملونه عدتها عشرة لظاها زرد نحاسا ملوى مسقف المقعد المذكور فيه نقيا مدهون حريريا ملمع بأنواع الذهب والازورد وغير ذلك من أنواع الدهان مسبل الجدر بالبياض مفروش أرضي ذلك بالبلاط الكدان وسفل المقعد المذكور فيه بابان مقنطران احدهما به فرده باب يدخل منه الى طشت خانة بايون واحد ودور قاعه وبالوعه برفوف دايرة والباب الثاني يأتي ذكره فيه مسقف الطشت خانة المذكوره فيه قبوا وهي سفلي المقعد المذكور فيه يعلو ذلك الواجهة الحجر المستجده الانشاء التي بها أبواب الشباك والطاقات المدهونه الموشق والواجهة المذكورة مبنية بالحجر فى علوها أبيض والاحمر يعلو ذلك زرد ظاهر القمريات المذكورة فيه يعلو ذلك مقرنص سفله
- 200 تاريخ ويعلو ذلك جميعه شراريف حجر أبيض والباب الثاني الموعود بذكره فيه هو باب مقنطرا يغلق عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى دهليز بعضه معقود قبو وبعضه كشف يتوصل منه إلى إسطبل مقام سته من الخيول به كرسى مرحاض يعلوه سلم يتوصل منه الى ركاب خاناه بها طاقتان متطابقتان مطلتان على الاسطبل المذكور فيه سفل ذلك متبن مسقف الاسطبل المذكور فيه غشيم يعلوه المبيت
- 205 الذى هو داخل المقعد المذكور فيه مسبل الجدر بالبياض مفروش أرض ذلك [بالبلاط] الكدان والقاعتان المذكورتان والدركاه التي بجانبها والرواق المقدم ذكر ذلك جميعه اعلاه سقف ذلك نقيا مدهون حريريا ملمع بأنواع الدهان مسبل الجدر بالبياض وذات المنافع والحقوق والمعالم والرسوم والاقصاب [؟] الخالصه لذلك والاسطحة العاليه على ذلك واصول الكرم والمكعب والتاريخ وغير ذلك
- 210 ويحيط بذلك جميع ويحصره ويشتمل عليه وعلى سائر حقوقه ومعالمه ورسومه حدود أربعة الحد القلبي ينتهي إلى ربع يعرف قديما بالجورجى ثم عرف بعد ذلك بالمرحوم سيدنا ومولانا قاضى القضاء ناصر الدين بن الملقن الشافعى تغمده الله برحمته والآن يجري فيه البنا فى ملك الفقير الى الله تعالى زين الدين بن محمد المصرى المشهور بخدمة مولانا المقر الجمالي المشار له وهو البنا المستثنى من الوقف المذكور الذى كان يجرى فى ملك الواقف المشار له بالتبائع الشرعي



- 215 وانتقل الى ملك الزينى محمد المذكور اعلاه من قبل تاريخه وفي هذا الحد البنا  
المستجد والمخازن والباب المستجد الذى هو من حقوق هذا الوقف  
الذى يخرج منه الى الدرب المعروف بالرماح وبقية هذا الحد ينتهى الى اماكن تجري  
فى وقف اولاد بن عماد الدين ووقف المسجد بمصر المحروسة والى ادر تشرع ابوابها من درب الرماح  
المذكور وإلى الزقاق وفيه باب من ابواب ذلك هو الآن مسدود والحد  
220 البحرى ينتهى الى الزقاق وكان فيه أربعة ابواب قديما والى دار المرحوم شمس الدين بن الصايغ  
والى اسطبل يعرف بالمرحوم العزى محمد الكويك رحمه الله تعالى والحد الشرقى ينتهى الى  
البيير المقدم ذكرها اعلاه المشتركة التى لها باب من الاسطبل المذكور فيه وإلى خربة هناك  
كانت وإلى المسجد الذى هناك وإلى الطريق المسلوكة وفيه الواجهه والسباط والجدار  
الذى هو على يمينة الداخل من الباب المتوصل منه الى المكان المذكور فيه المنتقل من أصله  
225 من قبل تاريخه بالإبتياح الشرعى الى ملك سيدنا ومولانا قاضى القضاة الصلاحى الحكيمى الشافعى الناظر  
فى الأحكام الشرعية بالديار المصرية أدام الله تعالى أيامه وأعز أحكامه وحمى بالصالحات  
أعماله وأحسن إليه وأسبغ نعمه فى الدارين عليه قديما والآن [يعرفها] عراف والحد الغربى  
ينتهى الى الادر التى تشرع ابوابها من درب الحصريى وإلى الخربة التى هى مجاورة لصدر  
الاسطبل المذكور فيه الذى كان به الباب المسدود وهو المكان المستجد الإنشاء  
230 الموصوف فيه يحد ذلك كله وحدوده وحقوقه وما يعرف به وينسب اليه خلا  
المستثنى اعلاه الجارى ما استجده مولانا المقر الواقف المشار له اعلاه بالدوار المذكور اعلاه بيده  
وملكه وتصرفه وحيازته واختصاصه لذلك يشهد له بذلك مكتوب التابع المؤرخ بالعشرين  
من جمادى الأولى سنة ثمان وستين وثمانمائة الثابت المحكوم بموجبه فى الشرع الشريف فى مجلس سيدنا  
العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخى الامامى العلاني المعيتي الطرابلسي الحنفي خليفة الحكم العزيز بالديار  
235 المصرية أعلى الله تعالى احكامه وأحسن إليه بدلالة إسجاله بظاهر المكتوب المذكور المؤرخ بخطه الكريم بالسادس  
والعشرين من جمادى الأولى من السنة المذكورة الشاهد المقر الواقف المشار له فيه لإبتياح ذلك أرضا  
[؟] يشتمل على الباب المذكور فيه يدخل منه الى فندق معد  
لطبخ السكر به مخازن دائرة خراب يعلوا طباق ومسترققات [؟] هدم غالبه  
وأزال معالمه وأنشأ البوائك المذكوره والأبنية المستجده الموصوفة فيه على ماعن فيه ومن ذلك  
240 جميع البنا القائم على الأرض المحتكره الجارية الأرض المذكور فى عقد اجارته الكائن  
ذلك بظاهر القاهرة المحروسة خارج باب البحر بخط بولاق بشاطيء البحر الأعظم والخليج  
المتوصل منه الى فم الخور الآتى ذكره ووصفه وتحديدده فيه المعروف هذا البنا  
بالواقف المشار له اعلاه وانشائه وعمارته المشتمل على واجهات أربعة مبنية بالحجر الفص  
النحيت وبعضه بالطوب بها باب مقنطر كبير يغلق عليه فرده باب خشب  
245 يدخل منه الى دركاه بها باب يدخل منه الى مجاز يتوصل منه الى حوش كبير به جنبه  
أصول ناربخ وجوز وغير ذلك وبيير ما معين وبالحوش المذكور سلم يصعد من عليه الى باب  
يدخل منه الى دهليز به مرحاض وباب يدخل منه الى قصر يشتمل على شبابيك  
من الجهات الثلاثة مطلات على البحر الأعظم والخليج والطريق مسقف نقيا مدهون حريريا  
مفروش أرضه بالبلاط مسبل الجدر بالبياض وذات الكتيبيات والمنافع والحقوق  
250 وبالحوش المذكور باب كبير يدخل منه الى أسطبل مقام سنه أروس خيول مسقف غشيميا  
وذات الشراب خاناه والطبخ خانه والمخازن والطباق علو الواجهه القبلىة على الطريق  
المار الى جامع الخطيرى والمنافع والمرافق والحقوق ويحيط بذلك ويحده  
حدود اربعة الحد القبلى ينتهى الى الطريق المار منها الى جامع الخطيرى [؟]  
طاقات أحد الطبقتان والحد البحرى ينتهى الى الطريق المسلوكة الفاصل بين



- 255 هذا البنا وبين البحر الأعظم والخليج والحد الشرقي ينتهي الى الرواق الفاصل بين هذا البنا وبين بنا يعرف بالمقر صر غتمش والحد الغربي ينتهي الى الخليج والى الطريق وفيه الباب الكبير يحد ذلك كله وحدوده وحقوقه وما يعرف به وينسب إليه ومن ذلك جميع الحصة التي مبلغها حصة ونصف حصة من أصل ستة عشر حصة شائعا ذلك في جميع أراضي ناحية سرد بالغربية بحقها وحقوقها وما هو معروف بها ومنسوب إليها خلا ما يستثنى منها
- 260 ويحيط بكاملها حدود أربعة الحد القبلي ينتهي إلى أراضي مبنية [؟] وغيرها والحد البحري ينتهي الى أراضي ناحية [خيول] والحناطه والحد الشرقي ينتهي إلى أراضي ناحية شبرا بلاله والحد الغربي ينتهي إلى أراضي كوم النجار وغيرها ومن ذلك جميع الحصة التي مبلغها حصة ونصف حصة من أصل عشرين حصة شائعا ذلك في جميع أراضي ناحيه قليب بجزيرة بنى نصر وما هو معروف بها ومنسوب إليها
- 265 خلا ما يستثنى شرعا ويحيط بكامله [؟] المذكورة حدود أربعة الحد القبلي ينتهي إلى أراضي ناحية [كرى] والحد البحري ينتهي الى أراضي [مسلمية] والفرستق والحد الشرقي ينتهي الى بحر ابيار الفاصل بين اراضي الناحية المذكورة وبين اراضي النحرارية والحد الغربي ينتهي إلى أراضي بلشاي وغيرها يحد كل من ذلك وحدوده وحقوقه وما يعرف به وينسب إليه الجاري ذلك بيد مولانا المقر المشار له أعلاه وملكه وتصرفه وحيازته واختصاصه لذلك بمقتضى إبتياعه
- 270 لذلك من بيت المال المعمور بمباشرة وكيل وكيل بيت المال المعمور يشهد له بذلك مكتوب التابع الورق الحموي المؤرخ بالعشرين من جمادى الأول سنة تاريخه الثابت المحكوم بموجبه فى الشرع الشريف من مجلس الحكم العزيز القضائي الحاكمي الشخي الشرفي ابن عمران موسى الخطيب المنوفي الشافعي خليفة الحكم العزيز بالديار المصرية أيد الله تعالى أحكامه وأحسن إليه بدلالة اسجاله المسطر بظاهر المكتوب المذكور المؤرخ بخطه الكريم بيوم الأحد الثاني من جمادى الآخر سنة تاريخه
- 275 وخصم كل من المكاتب المذكورة بمقتضى الوقف المذكور الخصم الشرعى بموافقة تاريخه وشهوده المعلوم ذلك عند الواقف المشار له أعلاه أدام الله تعالى علاه العلمى الشرعي وقفا صحيحا شرعيا وحبسا صريحا مرعيا لا يباع أصل ذلك ولا يوهب ولا يورث ولا يرهن ولا يستبدل به ولا بعضه ولا يناقل به ولا ببعضه قائما على أصوله محفوظا على شروطه مسبلا سبله الآتى شرحها وبيانها فيه إلى أن يرث الله جل جلاله وتقدست أسماؤه الأرض ومن عليها
- 280 وهو خير الوارثين إنشاء المقر الكريم العالى المولوى الجمالى يوسف الواقف المشار له ادم الله تعالى معاليه وقفه هذا على ما يأتى ذكره فيه معينا أما إيوان التربة المذكورة أعلاه الذي هو بالحد القبلي فجعله مسجدا لله تعالى للصلوات والعبادة محرما بحرمات المساجد المعمورة وأذن بالصلاة فيه لكافة الخلق أجمعين من عباده الله المؤمنين في أوقات الصلاة وغيرها وأما الفساقى [ . . . ]
- 285 فأرصدها الواقف المشار اليه أعلاه أدام الله تعالى علاه وقفا على ما يذكر فيه فواحدة منها ارصدها وقفا على الجناب الكريمي العال الأميري الكبيرى السندي المالكي المخدومي السيفي فلمطاي بن عبدالله الاسحاقى راس نوبة الملكي الظاهري اعز الله أنصاره ينتفع بها لنفسه ولمن شاء من أولاده وذريته و أقاربه وأصهاره ومن يلوذ به والثانية من الفساقى المذكورة أرصدها وقفا على ابنة أخته الست المصونه الكبرى [المحصن] المرأة الكامل ابنة الجناب
- 290 السيفي جاني بك البشمقدار جهة السيفي فلمطاي المشار اليه أعلاه صانها الله تعالى تنتفع بها لنفسها ولمن شانت من أولادها وذريتها وأقاربها وأصهارها ومن يلوذ بها والثالثة من الفساقى المذكورة ارصدها الواقف المشار إليه أعلاه أدام الله تعالى علاه وقفا على الست المصونة الكبرى [المحصن] زينب المرأة الكامل ابنة أخي المقر الواقف المشار اليه أعلاه وهو الجناب المرحوم الشرفى حمزة بن المقر السيفى تغري بردي المشار إليه أعلاه رحمه الله تعالى وصانها تنتفع بها لنفسها ولمن



- 295 شانت من أولادها وذريتها وأقاربها وأصهارها ومن يلوذ بها والرابعة من الفساقى المذكورة جعلها الواقف المذكور لنفسه الكريمة رزقه الله تعالى أطول الأعمار وأحسنها ينتفع بها لمن يختاره في حال حياته ويدفن بها بعد وفاته ولا يدفن بها احد بعد وفاته كايين من كان ويبلط باب المنزل المعد للفسقية المذكورة على هيئة جميع الإيوان حتى يخفي باب المنزل فلا يعرف ولا يفتح أبداً وأما الحوش الكبير فضاء التربة المذكورة فيما بين الإيوان القلبي والحد البحري
- 300 ومن الحد الشرقي إلى الغربي فارصده مولانا الواقف المشار إليه ضاعف الله له الأجور وحباه في [الجنات] بأعلا القصور وقفا للأموات من الذكور والإناث المالك والمملوك والغني والصعلوك والمسلم والمسلمات على مر الدهور والأوقات من القريب والبعيد ممن يسمح له الواقف [المشار إليه] أسبغ الله نعمه عليه مدة حياته الكريمة ثم من بعده الناظر الشرعي حسبما يراه في ذلك عاملا في ذلك بتقوى الله وطاعته في سره وعلانيته من غير مقابل لذلك ولا لشيء منه رغبة في ثواب الله تعالى ضاعف [الله]
- 305 نعمة عليه دوالى واما القاعة والرواق حبسهما وقفا شرعيا سكننا لنفسه الكريمة ينتفع بذلك مدة حياته في السكنى إن أختار وفي العطلة إذ احب وله ان يسكن من أقاربه وذريته من شا اذا شا ويمنعه اذا شا ثم من بعد وفاته احياء الله حياه طيبة يسكن بهما من ذريته وأقاربه الموجودين حيناً بعد حين مدة حياتهم فأذا انقرضوا بأجمعهم كان أمر [كايين من كان] في ذلك لمن يلي نظر التربة المذكورة فيه يسكن فيهما من شا من أرباب وطاقف التربة المذكورة [والمستحقين فيها]
- 310 ولا يسكنها لأجنبي كايين من كان أبداً بوجه من الوجوه أو يأذن لمن يكون بالتربة المذكورة دفن واقاربه واما المراحيض فجعلها برسم الراحة للسكان بالتربة المذكورة والقاطنين يسكن منهم من نختار السكنى بحيث يكون ممن شهر دينه وخيره كل ذلك بعد انقراض ذرية الواقف وأما الاسطبل المذكور فجعله وقفا مرصداً للانتفاع به لمن يسكن التربة المذكورة لربط الخيول والبهايم والمطبخ الذي بجانبه ينتفع به للطبخ ممن يكون ناظرا على التربة المذكورة من ذرية الواقف
- 315 وأقاربه وغيرهم واما الطباقي والخلوي التي انشاها مولانا الواقف المشار اليه اعلاه بالتربة المذكورة وما سيكمله و ينشبه فجعل ذلك وقفا وارصد ذلك لسكنى أرباب وطاقف التربة المذكورة والمستحقين على الحكم الآتي ذكره فيه حسبما يراه الناظر [ويؤدى] اليه اجتهاده على أن يسكن كل واحد في مكان يليق به على حسب حالهم وما يليق بهم وأما السبيل الذي بالواجهة المقدم ذكرها وهو ذو الشباكين الحديد في الحدين الشرقي والبحري
- 320 فجعله وقفا لتسبيل الماء على المارة وللسكان التربة المذكورة على ان تملأ أواني من الطشوت وغير ذلك من الآلات وتوضع بكل من الشباكين المذكورين ويوضع [ما يتناول] به الماء من كل الأواني التي بالشباكين المذكورين ليسقي منه المارة وغيرهم في كل يوم من الضحوة إلى مضي النهار ومن أول الليل إلى الضحوة بحيث لا ينقطع تسبيل المياه ليلا ولا نهارا الا في نهار شهر رمضان خاصة وأما الصهريج المبني سفلى السبيل المذكور فوقه [..].
- 325 لحرز الماء العذب من النيل المبارك في أيام زيادته و أما المكتب الذي هو علو السبيل المذكور فوقه مسجداً لله تعالى معداً للصلاة والعبادة ولتعليم القرآن العظيم للأطفال من أولاد المسلمين في المكتب المذكور على ممر الدهور والايام والشهور والاعوام وأما المكان الموقوف قبل تاريخه الذي رجع مولانا الواقف المشار اليه أحسن الله تعالى إليه عن [مصاف] ريعه المعينة فيه الكائن بحارة أميرجوان وهي الدار الموصوفة المحدودة باعليه فإنها
- 330 وفقاً شرعياً على مولانا المقر الأشرف الجمالي أدام الله له المعالي وهو الواقف المذكور وقاه الله كل محذور ينتفع بذلك وبما شاء منه في السكن والإسكان والغلة والاستغلال وسائر وجود أنواع التصرفات الشرعية على الوجه [المرعي] أبداً ما عاش ودائماً ما بقي رزقه الله تعالى أطول الأعمار بجاه سيدنا ونبينا محمد النبي المختار من غير شريك له في [ذلك] ولا معارض ولا مانع شرعي ثم من بعد وفاته يكون وقفاً على من سيحدثه الله تعالى من الأولاد



- 335 في المستقبل الذكور والاناث في ذلك بالسوية بينهم لا يفضل ذكر منهم على أنثى ولا أنثى على ذكر ثم من بعد أولاده لأولاد أولاده ثم لأولاد أولاد أولاده ثم لذريته ونسله وعقبه الذكور والإناث في ذلك سواء من ولد الظهر والبطن يحجب الطبقة العليا منهم أبدا الطبقة السفلى ينفردن الواحد منهم ذكرا كان أو أنثى ويشترك فيه الإثنان فما فوقهما عند الاجتماع على أنه من توفي منهم وله ولد أو ولد ولد أو أسفل من ذلك انتقل نصيبه إلى ولده ثم إلى ولد ولده وإن سفل ذكرا
- 340 كان أو أنثى ومن مات منهم عن غير ولد ولا ولد ولد ولا أسفل من ذلك لا من ولد الظهر ولا [من] ولد البطن انتقل نصيبه من ذلك إلى إخوته وأخواته المشاركين له في استحقاق هذا الوقت مضافا لما يستحقونه من ذلك وإن لم يكن له أخوه ولا أخوات انتقل نصيبه من ذلك إلى من في درجته وذوي طبقته من الذكور والإناث من ولد الظهر والبطن فإن لم يكن [له] أحد في درجته ولا في ذوي طبقته انتقل نصيب من توفي منهم إلى أقرب الطبقات للمتوفي المذكور يتداولون ذلك فيما بينهم كذلك طبقة بعد طبقة ونسلا بعد نسل إلى [حين] انقراضهم هذا لفظ نص كتاب الوقف السابق على تاريخه المنبه عليه أعلاه فإذا انقضوا بأجمعهم وأبادهم الموت عن آخرهم ولم يبق منهم أحد أو مات مولانا المقر الكريم الحمالي يوسف الواقف المسمى أعلاه زاد الله في علاه عن غير ولد ولا ذرية [بضيف] الناظر على الوقف المذكور فيه ربع [ . . ]
- 350 على أن الناظر على هذا الوقف والمتولي عليه يستغل الموقوف بسائر أنواع الاستغلال [ . . ] الموقوفة أعلاه قسطا بقسط والأماكن شهرا بشهر و يصرف من ذلك لأرباب الوظائف [ . . ] التي يقرها مولانا الواقف المشار إليه أعلاه آدم الله علاه بالتربة المذكورة أعلاه فما يصرفه لمن يكون بوابا بالتربة المذكورة أعلاه على أن يتولى حفظ التربة المذكورة وفتحها عند الاحتياج إلى ذلك وغلقها وصون مفاتيح إغلاقها ويتولى مصالح البوابة وفضائها وإزالة ما يتضرر به فضاء التربة المذكورة تجاه الواجهة بالطريق السلطانية وغير ذلك مما يلزم [أمثلة] من حفظ [التربة] ذلك في كل شهر من شهور الأهلة ما جملته من الفلوس الجدد معاملة تاريخه يومئذ أربعمئة دم [درهم] أو ما يقوم مقامهم من النقود ويصرف لمن يكون مزملاتيا بالسبيل المذكور أعلاه على أن يقوم بمصالح السبيل المقدم ذكره من غسل الصهريج في كل سنة وتنظيفه و بخوره وحفظ مائه وملأ الأواني التي تملأ برسم السبيل والجلوس بالشباك المسبل منه الماء وقت الحر وطرف النهار وحفظ آلة [السقي]
- 360 [ونشل] الماء ومسح السبيل وتنظيفه وتبخير كيزانة وتعليق شوكة به برسم الكيزان يعلق بها كيزان نظافا مملوءة من ماء الصهريج يسقى منها [روسا] المارة وغيرهم في كل شهر من شهور الأهلة ما جملته من الفلوس الجدد معاملة يومئذ بالقاهرة المحروسة ثلاثمئة دم أو ما يقوم مقامها من النقود ويصرف كل سنة من السنين العربية في أيام النيل المبارك من ربيع الوقف المذكور ثمن ثلاثمئة راوية مملوءة من الماء العذب وتصب بقاع الصهريج المقدم
- 365 ذكره مضاف لما يصب في الصهريج المذكور من وقف الست عائشة زوجة السيدي قلمطاي المذكورة أعلاه وهو مائتا راوية مملوءة من الماء مجملها يصب بالصهريج المذكور في كل سنة من [الماء] العذب خمسمائة راوية مملوءة ماء وهي مليء الصهريج المذكور يسبل ذلك في طول كل سنة وعند تفريغ الصهريج المذكور من الماء يغسل وينظف ويبخر ويملؤه الناظر على الحكم المشروع اعلاه يصرف ذلك في كل سنة ثمن المثل حسبما يراه الناظر ويؤدي إليه اجتهاده ويصرف لمن يكون فراشا بالتربة المذكورة اعلاه على ان يتولى كنس التربة المذكورة [وتز عيفها] ونفض حصرها وفرشها وضم الريحان المرمية على قبور التربة المذكورة ورمية خارج التربة وان يقوم بإضاءة المصابيح المستضاء بها وعدتها أربعة احدها بواجهة الباب الذي بالشارع والآخر يصدر المحراب الذي بالايوان القبلي والثالث بأخر القبو الكبير والرابع على ضريح الواقف ويتولى غسل القناديل وتنظيفها واشعالها بالضوء وطفيها ويكون منهما قنديلان



- 375 [صبيحان] أحدهما الذي بواجهة الباب والآخر بالمحراب المذكور أعلاه بحيث يكون فراشا وقادا في كل شهر من شهور الأهلة ما جملته من الفلوس الجدد معاملة تاريخه بالقاهرة المحروسة خمسمائة دم يصرف منها ثمن زيت الوقود في كل ليلة ثلاث أواق بالمصري و يصرف لمائة أنفار من الأطفال الصغار والأيتام وأولاد الفقراء المحتاجين الذين يقررهم الناظر بالمكتب المذكور أعلاه لتعليم قراءة القرآن العظيم ولهم فقيه برسم تعليمهم الخط ولتعليم قرائتهم القرآن العظيم [ . . . ]
- 380 على أن يحضروا في كل يوم من بكرة النهار إلى المكتب المذكور للتعليم والتأديب ويصرفهم الفقيه عصريته بعد قرائتهم مجتمعين ما تيسر من القرآن العظيم ويهدون ثواب قرائتهم للواقف وذريته ووالديه ومن حوته التربة من أموات المسلمين ويختمون دعائهم بالصلاة على النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم خلا يوم الثلاثاء ويوم الجمعة وأيام الاعياد والمواسم ولجميعهم في كل شهر من شهور الأهلة الف وخمسمائة درهم فلوساً جديدا معاملة يومئذاً وما يقوم مقامها من النقود لكل نفر منهم مائة وخمسون درهما من الفلوس المذكورة ويصرف للفقيه المذكور المتولي لتأديبهم وتعليمهم على الحكم المشروع أعلاه في كل شهر من شهور الأهلة ثلاثمائة دم فلوس جديدا معاملة القاهرة المحروسة أو ما يقوم مقامها من النقود ويصرف لقارئين لكتاب الله العزيز على أن يقرآن مجتمعان في كل يوم بعد صلاة الصبح على ضريح الواقف [مجهرًا . . .] نصف حزب من القرآن العظيم ويهديان ثواب ذلك للنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ثم من [صحيفة] الواقف المشار إليه فيه ثم لوالديه ولذريته ولجميع المسلمين
- 390 ومن حوته التربة المذكورة من أموات المسلمين ويختمان القراءة بالصلاة على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم] ويصرف لكل منهما في كل شهر من شهور الأهلة مائة دم وخمسون درهما فلوساً أو ما يقوم مقامها من النقود ويصرف لمن يكون شاهدا بالوقف المذكور وبعمارتها وخازن كتب التربة المذكورة التي جعلها الواقف المشار إليه اعلاه بالتربة المذكورة في كل شهر من شهور الأهلة ما حملته من الفلوس الجدد معاملة يومئذ بالقاهرة المحروسة اربعمائة دم معلوم الشهادة مائتا دم فلوساً ولخزن الكتب مائتي
- 395 دم فلوساً وقرر مولانا الواقف المسمى فيه بلغة الله ما يرتجيه الفقير الى الله تعالى زين الدين محمد المغربي المشهور بالجمالي مولانا المقر الواقف المشار اليه أمطر الله [سحائب] فضله عليه فيهما ثم من بعده لأخيه الولد السعيد الركن بدر الدين أبي البركات يستقل كل منهما بالوظيفتين المذكورتين عند ايلولهما اليه مضاف لما بيد كل منهما من الوظائف غير ذلك التي تقررها مولانا الواقف المنوه باسمه الكريم اعلاه ضاعف الله علاه من الوظائف بالتربة المذكورة وليس لأحد من ارباب الوظائف ولا لمستحقي
- 400 ريع الوقف المذكور بالتربة المذكورة لأن يجمع بين وظيفتين فاكثر إلا من قرره الواقف المسمى فيه بلغة الله ما يرتجيه في حال حياته وليس لأحد من النظار الجمع بيد أحد من ارباب الوظائف بين وظيفتين كائ[نا من] كان ومن توفي من كل من زين الدين المسمى أعلاه وأخيه بدر الدين أبي البركات المذكورين أعلاه وكان له [ . . . ] ولد فأكثر استقر في وظائف والده في شهادة وغيرها هذا في [حقهما] خاصة وأن لم يكن فيهم أهلية [استتاب] عنهم فيما بأيديهم ببعض معلومهم حسبما يراه الناظر ويؤدي له اجتهاده ويصرف الناظر في كل شهر
- 405 من شهور الأهلة مائة دم فلوساً جدد أو ما يقوم مقامها من النقود يرسم آلة السبيل وما يحتاج إليه الايوان القبلي والبوابة من حصر وآلة وزجاج وكيزان يسقي منها ويرصد الناظر في كل شهر تحت [يده] من ريع الوقف المذكور من الفلوس الجدد معاملة يومئذ مائتي دم برسم ما يتهدم من التربة المذكورة ومن موقوفها وما يحتاج إليه بالتربة المذكورة والأبنية الموقوفة عليها من ترميم وإصلاح فإن استغني عنها وتحصل منه مبلغا له جرم يشتري به عقار ويوقفه الناظر على التربة المذكورة ويكون حكمه حكم هذا الوقف
- 410 ويستمر المرصد في كل شهر على حكمه ومهما ارصد بعد ذلك من المبلغ المنبه عليه إرضاده أعلاه يصرف [في] العمارة الضرورية فإذا استغني عنه وتحصل منه مبلغا يشتري به عقار كما ذكر أعلاه يجري الحال [فيه] كذلك ويصرف من ريع الوقف المذكور في كل شهر من شهور الأهلة ما جملته من الفلوس [ . . . ] خمسمائة دم أو ما يقوم مقامها من النقود للناظر على هذا الوقف معلوم نظرة على التربة المذكورة وعلى أوقافها على أن يتولى استغلال الوقف المذكور بوجوه الاستغلالات الشرعية ويصرفها على مستحقيها لريع الوقف المذكور أعلاه



- 415 على الوجبة المقر اعلاه وعلى ان الناظر عند حضور المال الخراجي من الحصص الموقوفة اعلاه على حكم لاقتساط فعند حضور القسط الأول يضيفه إلى ما تحصل من ريع [الأبنية] الموقوفة أعلاه ويصرف منه معلوم أرباب الوظائف والجوامك والمستحقين على الحكم المقر أعلاه وما عين من ثمن الماء والآلة وغير ذلك كما شرح أعلاه ومهما فضل من القسط الأول ومن ريع بقية الموقوف يرصده تحت يده بأشهاد عليه مخلد بخزانه الكتب [ . . . ] المذكورة أعلاه وعند حضور القسط الثاني يفعل كفعله الأول من الإضافة والصرف على الحكم المقر أعلاه [ مهما ]
- 420 فضل يضيفه إلى الفاضل السابق المرصد تحت يده ويشهد على نفسه في ذلك ويفعل كذلك عند حضور القسط الثالث والفاضل يضيفه إلى ما تحت يده [ . . . ] عما تحصل من الشراء في الأراضي الموقوف [ . . . ] الحصة المعينة أعلاه وبعضها في السنة [المستقبل] يفعل ذلك في كل سنة فإذا حانت أيام النيروز [ورويت] أرض الموقوف واستغنت أرباب استحقاق ريع المذكور بالوقف عن المبلغ المرصد في السنة [الماضية] لاستيفاء معاليمهم وما شرطه الواقف من المصارف والمرصد على حكم شرطه المقر أعلاه فيختص بذلك الواقف المشار له أعلاه إن كان حيا متعه الله بالعيش الطيب عيشا هنيا ثم لأولاده وذريته على الحكم المقر أعلاه على النص والترتيب المشروح أعلاه فإن مات عن غير ولد ولا ولد ولد فرق الناظر الفائض المستغني عنه ثلاثة أثلاث ثلث يدفعه الناظر على هذا الوقف للسيدة المصونة الكبرى المحببة عائشة المدعوة شقرا المرأة الكامل أخت مولانا المقر الجمالي الواقف المسمى فيه ضاعف الله معاليه لأبيه تختص بها أبدا ما عاشت ودائما ما بقيت والثلث الثاني يدفعه للست المصونة عائشة ابنة الأميري
- 430 الكبيرى السيفي جاني بك البشمقدار جهة الجناب المقر قلمطاي المقدم ذكرها أعلاه الله قدرها تختص به أبدا ما عاشت ودائما ما بقيت والثلث الأخير يدفعه للفقير إلى الله تعالى [زين الدين] محمد وأخيه بدر الدين محمد أبي البركات المسمين أعلاه ولعقاة الواقف المشار له بأعاليه الموجودين حين ذاك الذكور والإناث لكل واحد منهم جروا إلا الفقير إلى الله تعالى زين الدين محمد وأخيه بدر الدين محمد المسمين أعلاه فان لكل منهما جروان ومن توفي منهم انتقلت حصته لولده و لولد ولده ونسله
- 435 وعقبه ومتى انقرضت ذريته منهم أو مات عن غير ولد انتقل نصيبه لمن بقي من ذرية الزيني محمد والبيدري بركات وعقاة الواقف وذريتهم المذكورين أعلاه فإذا انقرضوا بأسرهم وأبادهم الموت عن آخرهم صرف الناظر ما كان مصروفاً لمن ذكر أعلاه من أخت الواقف الست عائشة والست عائشة جهة السيفي قلمطاي والزيني محمد والبيدري بركات والعقاة لعشر أنفان من أهل الخير والدين [ . . . ] صوفية يحضرون في كل يوم مجتمعين بابوان التربة المذكورة اعلاه المقدم ذكره بعد طلوع الشمس ولهم
- 440 شيخ يجلس يصدر الإيوان المذكور ويجتمعون حوله ويقرءون في عشرة أجزاء من القرآن العظيم لكل منهم جزءا وينفرد شيخهم بمصحف شريف يوضع على كرسي أمامه يقدمه له خادم للمصحف الشريف وهو من جملة العشرة المذكورة ومنهم اثنان يختمان القراءة عند طيق شيخهم المصحف بقراءة سورة الإخلاص ثلاثا و[المعوذتين] و فاتحة الكتاب يجهران بالقراءة ويختتمون قرائتهم بدعاء الداعي منهم ويهدي ثواب القراءة للنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ولذريته وآل بيته وأصحابه بمن في صحيفة الواقف المشار له أعلاه
- 445 ولوالديه ولذريته ولسكان التربة من الأحياء والأموات وللناظر على الوقف المذكور ولجميع المسلمين ويكون أحد العشر صوفية مادحا لصفات النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في كل شهر من شهور الأهلة ما جملة من الفلوس الجدد معاملة يومئذ بالقاهرة المحروسة ألف دم وخمسمائة لكل واحد منهم في الشهر مائة دم وخمسون درهما في كل شهر ثلاثمائة دم فلوسا أو ما يقوم مقامها من النقود وما فضل يعد ذلك يشتري به خبز قرصة ويفرق الناظر أو نائبه على الصوفية وشيخهم والقارئ
- 450 والأيتام والفقير والبواب والمقيم بالتربة المذكورة والشاهد حسبما يراه الناظر المذكور من تفضيل وتفصيل على ما يؤدي إليه اجتهاده يجري الحال في ذلك كذلك أيد الأبدان ودهر الداهرين حتى يرث الله جل جلاله وتقدست أسماؤه الأرض ومن عليها وهو خير الوارثين فان تعذر الصرف والعياذ بالله تعالى لمن عن له الصرف أعلاه بوجه من وجوه التعذرات الشرعية صرف الناظر على الوقف المذكور ذلك للفقراء والمساكين أينما كانوا وحيث ما وجدوا فان عاد إمكان الصرف



- 455 إلى ما تعذر الصرف إليه صرفه الناظر إليه وقدمه على غيره وشرط الواقف المشار له أسبغ الله نعمة عليه في وقفة هذا شروطاً أكد عليها وجعل مرجع وقفة هذا إليها منها أن لا يؤجر الموقوف ولا شيء منه إلا سنة فما دونها بأجر المثل فما فوقها ولا يدخل عقد على عقد حتى ينقضي مدة العقد الأول ومنها أن لا يؤجر شيء من الموقوف لسيء المعاملة ولا من يخاف من سطوته وان يسكن بالأماكن الموقوفة من هو مشهور بالخير والدين وحسن المعاملة
- 460 ومنها أن من رغب عن وظيفة من أرباب الوظائف المقررين بالترتبة المذكورة أو نزل عنها لغيره بوجه من الوجوه كان حقه ساقطاً من وظيفته [قبل] رغبته أو نزوله عنها ولا تعود إليه ويقرر الناظر من يختاره غيره ومنها أن لا يجمع بين وظيفتين بالموقف المذكور [باسم] واحد وحدة إلا الزيني محمد وأخيه بدر الدين محمد بركات المذكورين أعلاه وذريتهما خاصة ومنها انه شرط السكنى لأرباب الوظائف المقررين بالترتبة المذكورة والمستحقين بها بالخلوى
- 465 والطباق التي بالترتبة المذكورة خاصة خلا القاعة والرواق اللذين بها فإن حق السكنى فيهما لمن عن له أعلاه ومن استغنى عن السكنى بالترتبة المذكورة ولم يسكن بها سقط حقه من السكنى ويسكن الناظر في ذلك غيره ممن يقيم بالترتبة المذكورة من أرباب الوظائف ومنها أن من انقطع عن مباشرة وظيفته بالترتبة المذكورة وقت من الأوقات من غير عذر شرعي أخرج الناظر وظيفته لغيره ومنها أن بواب الترتبة يقيم بالترتبة المذكورة ويسكن بها وان لا يخرج إلا لضرورة ويعود بسرعة
- 470 وان اختار البواب المذكور عدم السكنى بالترتبة المذكورة سقط حقه في وظيفته ولا تعود إليه ويقرر الناظر فيها غيره ومنها أن الفقيه لا ينقطع من تعليمه الصغار إلا يوم الثلاثاء والجمعة من كل جمعة خاصة ومنها أن لا يسامح أحد من الصوفية والقارئين عن الحضور عن وظيفته المقرر فيها إلا لضعف أو سفر لأداء الفرض أو عذر شرعي ومن سافر أو انقطع من غير عذر [أخرجت] وظيفته عنه ويقرر الناظر فيها غيره ومنها أن لا يحابى الناظر أحد من مستحقي ريع هذا
- 475 الوقف وان فعل ذلك كان أثم المحاباة عليه يوم لا ينفع مال ولا بنون إلا من أتى الله بقلب سليم ومنها أن جعل النظر على وقفه هذا المقر أعلاه والولاية عليه لنفسه الكريمة متعة الله بالحياة السليمة مدة حياته أحياءه الله حياة طيبة ورزقه أطول الأعمار وحشره في زمرة النبي المختار ينظر في ذلك كيف شاء على الوجه الشرعي ثم من بعده للأرشد فالأرشد من ذريته وعقبه ثم من بعدهم يكون النظر في ذلك للمصونة الست عائشة ابنة الأمير جاني بك البشمقدار جهة الجناب السيفي قلمطاي الإسحاقى [المشار]
- 480 اليهما أعلاه من بعدها للأرشد فالأرشد من ذريتهما فإذا انقرضوا أو ماتت عن غير ذرية كان النظر على جميع هذا الوقف للجناب الكريمي العالي الأميري الكبير السيفي قلمطاي المشار له أعلاه أعز الله أنصاره وضاعف إقتداره ولأولاده وذريته من بعده من الست عائشة المقدم ذكرها أعلاه فإن مات عن غير ذرية كان النظر على هذا الوقف لأخت مولانا المقر الكريمي العالي الجمالي آدم الله له [المعالي] وهو الواقف المشار له أعلاه هي الست المصونة الكبرى المدعوة عائشة شقرا المسماة أعلاه مدة حياتها
- 485 ثم من بعد وفاتها يكون النظر على هذا الوقف للست المصونة زينب المرأة الكامل بنت الجناب الشرفي حمزة أخي مولانا الواقف المشار له أعلاه وهي المسماة أعلاه ولذريتها فإذا انقرضوا بأجمعهم كان النظر على الترتبة المذكورة وعلى أوقافها للفقير إلى الله تعالى زين الدين محمد ولأخيه بدر الدين محمد أبي البركات المسمين أعلاه ولذريتهما من بعدهما فإذا انقرضوا بأجمعهم كان النظر على الترتبة المذكورة لمن يكون دوا داراً ثاني بالديار المصرية فإن تعذر كان النظر لمن يكون كاتب السر الشريف بالديار المصرية فإن تعذر
- 490 كان النظر على ذلك لولي الأمر الشرعي يوم ذلك ينظر فيه بنفسه ولمن يختاره ومنها [ . . ] الكريمي العالي المولوي الأميري الكبير الجمالي الواقف المسمى أعلاه بلغه الله في خير الدنيا والآخرة مرتجاة جعل لنفسه الكريمة أن يزيد في وقفه هذا ما يرى زيادته وينقص منه ما يرى تنقيصه ويدخل في هذا الوقف من شاء ويخرج منه من أراد ويشترط لنفسه من الشرط المخالفة لذلك ما يرى إشتراطه ويقرر فيه من الوظائف ما يري تقريره ويزيد من الزيادات ما يري زيادته وينقص من المعاليم ما



- 495 يرى تنقيصه ويشترط في السكنى لمن يختار ما يريد ويتصرف في وقفه هذا بساير وجوه التصرفات الشرعية يفعل ذلك كلما بدا له لا يتقيد ذلك بوقت ولا بزمان ولا بحين ولا بأوان وأصل الوقف المسطر أعلاه باقى على أصوله ليس لأحد بعده فعل شيء من ذلك ومنها أن شرط لنفسه أن يسند النظر على وقفه هذا ويوصي به ويفوضه لمن شاء فإن مات عن غير وصية ولا إسناد ولا تفويض أو وصى بالنظر على ذلك وأسنده وفوضه وتعذر النظر في ذلك للموصى له والمسند إليه والمفوض به [بوجه من الوجوه أو] 500 بسبب من الأسباب كان النظر في ذلك لمن شرط له النظر كما بين أعلاه يجري الحال في ذلك [كذلك] وجودا وعلما وبعدرا وإمكانا ونظرا واستحقاقا إلى أن يرث الله [تعالى] جل جلاله وتقدست أسماؤه [الأرض ومن عليها وهو [خير] الوارثين
- فقد تم هذا الوقف ولزم و نفذ حكمه وأبرم وصار وفقا صحيحا شرعيا محرما بحرمات الله الأكيدة مدفوعا عنه بقوة الله الشديدة فلا يحل [لأحد يؤمن] بالله تعالى واليوم الآخر من أمير وأمور [و] أمر أن يغير هذا الوقف ولا شيئا منه ولا يسعى 505 في إبطاله ولا في إبطال شيء منه فمن فعل ذلك أو شيئا منه فانه تعالى طليبه وحسيبه ومجازيه بعمله ومؤاخذه بفعله يوم التناد يوم عطش الأكباد يوم يكون الله تعالى هو [الحاكم] بين العباد يوم يقوم الإسهاد يوم لا ينفع الظالمين معذرتهم ولهم اللعنة ولهم سوء الدار ومن أعان على ثبوته [وبعد . . .] وتقريره في أيدي مستحقه برد الله تعالى مضجعه وجعل إلى دار السلامة مآبه ومرجعه ولقنه حجته وكفر عنه ذنوبه
- 510 وخطيئته وضاعف بره وحسناته ومحي عنه سيئاته وجعله من الأمنين الفرحين المستبشرين الذين لا خوف عليهم ولا هم يحزنون فمن بدله بعد ما سمعه فإنما إثمه على الذين يبدلونه إن الله سميع عليم ورفع مولانا الواقف المشار إليه أعلاه أدام الله عزه [ونجاه] وتقبل منه عمله واحسن له عن جميع الموقوف أعلاه يد ملكه ووضع على ذلك [ . . . ] واشهد عليه شهوده العارفون به انه عارف بما وقفه أعلاه المعرفة الشرعية [الناقية للجهالة]
- 515 ووقع الاشهاد عليه بذلك وبالتوكيد في ثبوته والدعوى به وطلب الحكم به في سؤال الاشهاد [ . . . ] الدافع ونفيه التوكيد الشرعي في رابع عشر شعبان المكرم من شهور سنة سبعين وثمان مائة فيه مصلح على سواد [ . . . ] يدخل [ . . . ] ملكه منها من [ريعه] على [لكل] ملمع ومصلح على غير كشط بعضها بالطوب وفيه ملحق [تعالى] انشأه وعمره من ماله وصلت حاله إلى الرضا وعلى الصفة الآتى ذكرها وهو جميع ترمال [تعالى] جل جلاله وتقدست اسماء [كان] الله صحح [ . . . ] في موضعه والحمد لله [وحده] وصلواته
- 520 وسلامه على اشرف الخلق سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه والتابعين [اسماء وامضاءات]



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## A Legal Instrument in the Service of People and Institutions: Endowments in Mamluk Jerusalem as Mirrored in the Ḥaram Documents

Religious endowments formed an important part of spiritual and legal life in the pre-modern Islamic world. Much has been written on the religious foundations for al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf by the sultan Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) after his conquest of Jerusalem in 583/1187.<sup>1</sup> But his were only the first in a long tradition of endowments in her “Noble Holiness,” al-Quds al-Sharīf, as the city was called in contemporary writings. From the seventh/thirteenth century onwards, Jerusalem was the place of numerous endowments by high-ranking Mamluk officials and ladies who founded mausoleums (sing. *turbah*), colleges (sing. *madrasah*), Sufi hospices (sing. *khānqāh*), and Sufi-convents (sing. *zāwiyah*). These buildings shaped the city and some still exist today.<sup>2</sup> As private institutions with their own sources of revenue, these foundations fulfilled social and religious functions, provided teaching posts for religious scholars, and paid for worship services both within their own confines and within the holy district, al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf, with its two sanctuaries, al-Masjid al-Aqṣá and the Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah).<sup>3</sup> Some attention has been given to the founders of these endowments, the economic support they provided, and their history in the centuries after the Mamluk period.<sup>4</sup>

This article will take another angle and enquire into legal practice connected to endowments in Mamluk society. Several specimens from the so-called Ḥaram

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<sup>1</sup>On the endowments of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī, see Y. Frenkel, “Political and Social Aspects of Islamic Religious Endowments (*Awqāf*): Saladin in Cairo (1169–73) and Jerusalem (1187–93),” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 62 (1999): 1–20; and Johannes Pahlitzsch, “The Transformation of Latin Religious Institutions into Islamic Endowments by Saladin in Jerusalem,” in *Governing the Holy City: The Interaction of Social Groups in Jerusalem between the Fatimid and the Ottoman Period*, ed. Johannes Pahlitzsch and Lorenz Korn (Wiesbaden, 2004), 47–69, with a new edition of the *waqfiyah* and a translation in *ibid.*, 60–68.

<sup>2</sup>On this issue, see the excellent architectural overview in Michael Hamilton Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study: With Additional Historical Research by D. S. Richards* (Jerusalem, 1987); more general is Yūsuf Darwīsh Ghawānimah, *Tārīkh Niyābat Bayt al-Maqdis fī al-‘Aṣr al-Mamlūki* (Amman, 1982), 107–11.

<sup>3</sup>See Richards in Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem*, esp. 70b–73b.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 66a–70b.



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corpus, 900 documents from eighth/fourteenth-century Jerusalem,<sup>5</sup> concern various aspects of religious and private endowments. Little is known about the functioning of these foundations from the leaseholders' perspective, that is, the legal relations of shopkeepers and farmers on *waqf* land to the *waqf* administration. One of the first things we may learn from the Ḥaram documents is that the legal paperwork in Mamluk times was not restricted to the endowment deed by which a foundation had been established. In the following we will discuss a variety of documents that at various times were certified in court and attested to the existence of an endowment. These documents also demonstrate how some people used the legal instrument of "endowment" in ways quite different from Mamluk sultans and their officials.

Our first example is a deed from a citizen of Hebron from 26 Ṣafar 759/7 February 1358, which endowed a house (*dār*) in Jerusalem. The document describes the estate, and enumerates as beneficiaries the founder and his children, followed by their descendants.<sup>6</sup> Less than one month later, this deed was confirmed by the procedure of *thubūt* (establishing as legal fact).<sup>7</sup> For this, the judge summoned and questioned the witnesses, accepted their testimony as legally binding, and ratified the document with his *ʿalāmah* (official motto). Only then would he call upon his court witnesses to attest to the *thubūt* procedure in the form of a notarized *ishhād* on the verso of the document.<sup>8</sup> In terms of layout, this endowment deed resembles any other legal document in the Ḥaram collection with the exception of the phrase "*waqafa wa-ḥabbasa . . .*" (it has endowed and alienated . . .). The deed did not follow a specific decorative format of notarization, as we may find in marriage contracts written in columns with a wide blank space between two lines.<sup>9</sup>

The second endowment deed in our archives was drawn up on 5 Ṣafar 768/11 October 1366 and concerned a house (*dār*) in the Bāb al-ʿAmūd quarter

<sup>5</sup>See Donald P. Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Ḥaram aš-Šarif in Jerusalem*, Beirut Texts and Studies 29 (Beirut/Wiesbaden, 1984).

<sup>6</sup>See Ḥaram document no. 617/1, lines 2ff. deal with the presence in court, lines 10ff. with the beneficiaries of the *waqf* (a part of this sentence remains undeciphered). Cf. also Little, *Catalogue*, 319. Only the registration on the verso names the city of Jerusalem as the location of the estate. As a convention, I indicate with a slash after the number of a Ḥaram document, here "617/1," one of several recordings on the same piece of paper or parchment, numbered in chronological order, which rarely corresponds with the layout given in the *Catalogue* by Little.

<sup>7</sup>See Ḥaram document no. 617/2 (verso) from 22 Rabīʿ I 759/4 March 1358; cf. Little, *Catalogue*, 319.

<sup>8</sup>On this procedure and subsequent notations on the documents see my analysis of the Ḥaram documents from a judicial and historical perspective, "Qāḍī-Gericht und Rechtsadministration in Jerusalem: Studie der mamlūkischen Dokumente des Ḥaram Sharif" (forthcoming), here chapter IV, "Gerichtliche Verfahrensarten."

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Little, *Catalogue*, 301.



of Jerusalem. After the founder's death, the estate would pass to the Ṣalāḥīyah Hospice.<sup>10</sup> We note the same lack of formality in its notarization. This document does not bear any signs of a *thubūt* procedure in court, and we must assume that court confirmation was not indispensable for the validity of a foundation, unless there was a dispute. Was it the absence of any family heirs which made additional judicial procedure unnecessary for the Ṣalāḥīyah Hospice?

A third endowment deed was, once again, certified in court after some time, and in this case family members do appear as additional actors. On 25 Rabī' I 747/16 July 1346, Fāṭimah al-Mar' (?) Sa'ūd had it notarized that she had endowed from her personal property the renovated Roman vaulted gallery (*qabw*) next to her house in the Maghribī Quarter. The beneficiaries were the old Maghribī *fuqarā'* living in the rear of this gallery, probably in the Zāwīyat 'Umar, which formed the northern boundary of the *waqf*. When the *fuqarā'* had perished, the place should pass to the *waqf* of the Maghribī Quarter.<sup>11</sup> As is made clear from the description, this vaulted gallery formed a street corner to its west and south, with the founder's house at its eastern side.

To challenge the endowment, claims would be made that Fāṭimah had not been full proprietor of the property, and that she did not have the legal capacity to make such an endowment. Unlike the first endowment cited above, here there occurred another step before court certification of the endowment was notarized: some weeks after the endowment deed was written, the founder's son, Mas'ūd, present in court, was accused of having changed the parameters (*tahyizat al-ʿimārah*) of the endowed building.<sup>12</sup> Finally, he acknowledged his mother's property rights on the gallery, and this was notarized in the same document on 9 Rabī' II 747/30 July 1346.<sup>13</sup> Again some weeks later, the two documents were "established as legal facts" (*thubūt*) by the Shafī'i judge of the city.<sup>14</sup> After this, the son had no legal opportunity to overturn his mother's endowment.

Another document, dating from 6 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 778 (?)/16 April 1377 (?), contained the acknowledgement by Sitt al-Bintayn al-Bilbaysīyah of her endowment of an orchard (*karam*) with fig trees, grapes, and olives within described boundaries on land of the Khān Banī Sa'd in Jerusalem. She designated herself as beneficiary during her lifetime, followed by her brother 'Umar and

<sup>10</sup>Ḥaram document no. 20, edited by Ghawānimah, *Tārīkh Niyābat Bayt al-Maqdis*, 194, no. 9, and Muḥammad Ṣālīḥīyah, "Min Wathā'iq al-Ḥaram al-Qudsī al-Sharīf al-Mamlūkīyah," *Ḥawliyat Kulliyat al-Ādāb* (Kuwait) 6 (1985): 49ff.

<sup>11</sup>Ḥaram document no. 833/1 (recto), cf. Little, *Catalogue*, 319; edited in Kāmil Jamīl al-ʿAsālī, *Wathā'iq Maqdisīyah Tārīkhīyah* (Amman, 1983 and 1985), 1:235ff.

<sup>12</sup>Ḥaram document no. 833/2 (verso), ll. 3–4, not edited.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.; cf. Little, *Catalogue*, 320.

<sup>14</sup>Ḥaram document no. 833/3 (4 Jumādā I 747/23 August 1346); Little, *Catalogue*, 320.



finally the Māristān Ṣalāḥīyah,<sup>15</sup> which benefitted the poor orphans of Jerusalem.<sup>16</sup> This is an example of an endowment of a plantation (*ghirās*) on *waqf* land.<sup>17</sup> No process of court certification took place in this case, to which we will return later. There is a slight, but historically important, difference between the document concerning Fāṭimah and this last one by Sitt al-Bintayn. In the first case, the act of endowment was notarized, and the witnesses attested to Fāṭimah's declaration, by which she made the endowment.<sup>18</sup> The second document attests to the fact that on such and such day, Sitt al-Bintayn declared having made an endowment. The act of endowment may have preceded the declaration by any period of time, whereas Fāṭimah made her endowment when the document was written.

The creation of an endowment demanded proof that the landowner held full property rights.<sup>19</sup> A house in Jerusalem is the subject of another Ḥaram document which demonstrates this point. In the last document in this series of attestations, a man acknowledged having endowed the house (*dār*) as *waqf* for himself and his wife as initial beneficiaries, followed by the Khānqāh Ṣalāḥīyah.<sup>20</sup> The first document on the recto, however, concerned the acknowledgment by an ill woman, 'Amīrah/'Umayrah bint Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Qiramī, of the sale of her residence (*dār*) to Shaykh Aḥmad ibn Khaḍīr al-Qiramī. Just one day later, on 13 Rajab 783/3 October 1381, this acknowledgment was certified in court,<sup>21</sup> followed less than three weeks later by the formal attestation of how 'Amīrah herself had acquired the property by transfer (*intiḡāl*) from the "register of the public treasury" (*dīwān bayt al-māl*) on 12 Sha'bān 768/13 April 1367.<sup>22</sup> Taken together, these three legal documents attest to the transfer of property rights of this particular house that Shaykh Aḥmad had acknowledged he had converted into a *waqf*. The date of his acknowledgement attestation is ambiguous,<sup>23</sup> but as mentioned before, the date of

<sup>15</sup>The hospital founded by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 584/1187 in the Dibāghah Quarter; cf. Little, *Catalogue*, 203.

<sup>16</sup>Ḥaram document no. 204; I read "*khān*" for "*ḥārah*": the orchard was situated on "land of the Khān Banī Sa'd", not in the Ḥārat Banī Sa'd; cf. Little, *Catalogue*, 203.

<sup>17</sup>For details see below.

<sup>18</sup>See al-'Asalī, *Wathā'iq*, 1:236, after line 13.

<sup>19</sup>See above the acknowledgement of Fāṭimah's son Mas'ūd.

<sup>20</sup>Ḥaram document no. 58/4 verso right; cf. Little, *Catalogue*, 194.

<sup>21</sup>Ḥaram document no. 58/2 verso, 13 Rajab 783/3 October 1381; Little, *Catalogue*, 193.

<sup>22</sup>Ḥaram document no. 58/3 recto bottom, 2 Sha'bān 783/22 October 1381; Little, *Catalogue*, 193.

<sup>23</sup>Whereas "8 Shawwāl" is perfectly readable, line 18 may very well be 783—which would be six days after the attestation of *intiḡāl*—but the witness signature below on the right has a different year, possibly 784: Ḥaram document no. 58/4 verso right. Little, *Catalogue*, 194, reads "786?" which I cannot confirm.



the acknowledgement does not signify the creation of an endowment. The house might well have been endowed when Shaykh Aḥmad asked ‘Amīrah to attest to the sale, possibly in order to protect the endowment against other claims.

‘Amīrah’s written acknowledgement of her sale to Shaykh Aḥmad did not have the legal standing of a sales contract. It indicates neither the price for the house, the means of payment, nor the requirements for concluding the contract. Other sales contracts with added notarization of the property transfer to the seller have survived, however.<sup>24</sup> Therefore we may assume the original sales contract being lost, Shaykh Aḥmad turned to the sick ‘Amīrah, who could acknowledge the sale. After her death, a proof of this sale and the property rights to the endowment without the sales contract would turn out to be much more complicated. The fact that ‘Amīrah’s written acknowledgement was immediately followed by court certification and the *intiḳāl* attestation indicates the desire by one of the parties to use this attestation in current legal affairs. My point is not to establish the time when Shaykh Aḥmad in fact endowed his house, but rather to demonstrate how people made use of legal documents and court procedures to ensure their endowments. Obviously the buyer, Shaykh Aḥmad, and his wife had no children, otherwise he would have noted them as beneficiaries, before the Khānqāh Ṣalāḥīyah. Without children, the public treasury would inherit a portion of the shaykh’s estate in addition to the widow’s, which might have resulted in the public sale of the house. To avoid this risk and its adverse effect for his wife, good reasons existed for the creation of an endowment that guaranteed the use of the entire house within the couple’s lifetime. This surviving document was probably held by the Khānqāh Ṣalāḥīyah after the death of Shaykh Aḥmad and his wife, as attestation of rights to a house, which the *khānqāh* administered. In such a context, ‘Amīrah’s acknowledgement and the following attestations were even better suited than the endowment deed by Shaykh Aḥmad, which does not attest to how its founder acquired the property. As a matter of fact, this *waqf* deed was not preserved.

Another acknowledgement of an endowment was notarized for still other purposes. This document concerned the endowment by the noblewoman Sufrā Khātūn of a mausoleum (*turbah*) and college (*madrasah*), not the dwellings of a family. On 26 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 770/1 August 1369 Sufrā Khātūn, wife of the deceased ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Bāwardī,<sup>25</sup> acknowledged the endowment of various commodities, including carpets and lamps, for the *turbah* and the madrasah she

<sup>24</sup>See, e.g., Ḥaram document no. 39/2 recto; Little, *Catalogue*, 278 (referred to as “B”).

<sup>25</sup>Ḥaram document no. 76/1, l. 3.



had established in Jerusalem.<sup>26</sup> This document had been written in Jerusalem, as far as one can judge from the testifying witnesses.<sup>27</sup> Literary sources inform us that Sufrā founded the Madrasah al-Bāwardiyah in the year 768/1367,<sup>28</sup> two years before the present document. What then could be the use of this document, written two years after the initial endowment? Two things seem to be important: firstly, the items mentioned as endowment in the acknowledgement of 770/1369 concern the furnishings, not the establishing of the institution. These items should only be used by those who staffed the endowed buildings (*man lahu waḥīfah fī al-makān*) and should not be taken away.<sup>29</sup> Secondly, this written acknowledgement was obviously meant to be legally valid in a town other than Jerusalem.<sup>30</sup> This however necessitated a first court certification (*thubūt*) from the Shafi‘i judge in Jerusalem, given two and a half months after the acknowledgement, on 2 Rabī‘ I 771/4 October 1369.<sup>31</sup> Attached to the four signatures attesting to this *thubūt* procedure is the *tazkiyah* attestation of 22 Rabī‘ II 773/2 November 1371 concerning the ‘*adālah* of one of these witnesses.<sup>32</sup>

After court certification in Jerusalem, Sufrā’s acknowledgement of her endowment could finally be accepted as a legally binding document in Damascus. On 29 Jumādā II 773/7 January 1372 the Shafi‘i deputy judge of Damascus certified the various documents,<sup>33</sup> more than two years after the initial acknowledgement. These court procedures certainly cost money, and we may imagine a dispute over

<sup>26</sup>Ḥaram document no. 76/1 (recto), not “790” as in Little, *Catalogue*, 194 (see below). The name in line 3 reads “Bāwardī” and not “Bārūdī,” as it is given in Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem*, passim, and Little, *Catalogue*, 194, n. 13. On the *nisbah* Bāwardī see ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad al-Sam‘ānī, *Al-Ansāb* (Beirut, 1988), 1:274; cf. Mujir al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Ulaymī, *Al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tārīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl* (Najaf, 1388/1968), 2:43: al-Madrasah al-Bāwardiyah.

<sup>27</sup>We find the characteristic signature in the right position of Ḥaram document no. 76/1 (Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar al-. . .) on several other documents from Jerusalem between the years 765 to 776: Ḥaram document no. 38 (middle), no. 322 (middle), no. 352/1 (middle), no. 352/2 (first), no. 354/1 (middle right), and no. 714 (right).

<sup>28</sup>Mujir al-Dīn, *Uns*, 2:43f., with her father being known as “al-Bāwardī” contrary to Ḥaram document no. 76/1. Cf. also Little, *Catalogue*, 194, n. 13.

<sup>29</sup>Ḥaram document no. 76/1, ll. 11–13.

<sup>30</sup>See court validation by the *nā‘ib fī al-ḥukm* of Damascus in Ḥaram document no. 76/4 (verso, right side); for details see below. On the procedure for court certification see my “Qāḍī-Gericht,” chapter IV.

<sup>31</sup>Ḥaram document no. 76/2 (verso left). The year cannot be “791,” as in Little, *Catalogue*, 194, since the judge and his witnesses were active around 770. This excludes dates as given in *ibid.*, 194f., in the 790s.

<sup>32</sup>Ḥaram document no. 76/3 (below no. 76/2); this attestation is not mentioned in Little, *Catalogue*, 194. “*Adālah*” is the legal quality necessary for any legally binding testimony.

<sup>33</sup>Ḥaram document no. 76/4 (verso, right side); cf. Little, *Catalogue*, 195. However, it is not the *ḥakīm*, but the *nā‘ib fī al-ḥukm* of Damascus.



items left by the late Sufrā in Damascus, which required legal proof that they had been endowed for her mausoleum and college in Jerusalem. Of course, this explanation remains conjectural, but fits our documentary findings. It would even explain why the document was preserved in Jerusalem, in the hands of those persons who administered the Madrasah al-Bāwardīyah.

Up to this point, we have examined documents pertaining to the creation of endowments, mostly for the benefit of family members, but also, as in the last case, for religious purposes. The next two cases concern litigation within a family over the administration and distribution of revenues. Regulating inheritance between family members was common practice in Mamluk Jerusalem and did not concern only houses or orchards. A certain Ghāliyah bint ʿUthmān addresses a petition to the judge Sharaf al-Dīn (d. 797/1395) and alleges that her brother ʿUmar arrogated revenues from their common family endowment for himself.<sup>34</sup> From her undated petition, we learn that her father, ʿUthmān ibn Thuʿaylib, had created an endowment, immediately before his death, in favor of his descendants (*waqf ʿalā al-dhurriyah*) and had ʿUmar installed as administrator (*mutawallī*).<sup>35</sup> Then Ghāliyah complained that ʿUmar sold *laban* “for 20 [possibly dirhams]” daily, which he got from the 200 sheep (*ra’s ghanam*). They also had an orchard (*karam*) in the Māmillah area with two houses, one of them inhabited by his brother-in-law (*ṣihruhu*), the other leased to him (?) for 20 years. In addition to this, her sister had made off with the *waqf* deed and sold one feddan for 800 dirhams. The petition continues on the right margin, where Ghāliyah states that her father had seen the judge before his death and explained that ʿUmar had no right to the sheep.<sup>36</sup>

From estate inventories drawn up for the deceased ʿUthmān during his lifetime, we know that he had endowed a house with five apartments (*masākin*) in the Jawālidah Quarter of Jerusalem on 9 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 795/16 September 1393, the same day he called upon witnesses to draw up the inventory.<sup>37</sup> The same documents notarize that “ʿUmar is the sole proprietor of 200 black sheep and the complete half of a plantation,” with boundaries given. According to the estate

<sup>34</sup>Ḥaram document no. 278; cf. Little, *Catalogue*, 43: the petitioner does not bear the *nisbah* Sharafī, this applies only to the judge. For the edition see al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq*, 1:217f., no. 25; emendations in Diem, “Philologisches zu Mamlūkischen Erlassen, Eingaben und Dienstschriften des Jerusalemer al-Ḥaram ash-Sharif,” *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 33 (1997): 51–54, but with sometimes far-fetched “explanations.”

<sup>35</sup>Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq*, 1:217, ll. 6–7.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., ll. 12–16, text on right margin without line numbers.

<sup>37</sup>Of this estate inventory two copies exist, Ḥaram document no. 515 and Ḥaram document no. 626 (with clearer handwriting); cf. Little, *Catalogue*, 134 and 148.



inventories, three sisters and his wife were present and had confirmed ʿUthmān’s statement. They had also acknowledged having no rights to the sheep and the plantation.<sup>38</sup> As Ghāliyah is mentioned among ʿUthmān’s heirs together with her brother ʿUmar, two sisters, and ʿUthmān’s wife, there is no doubt about her having drawn up the petition mentioned above.

How should one understand these different documents? The problem is to know whether the sheep and the plantation mentioned in Ghāliyah’s petition to the judge are the same as those that are designated in the inventory of her father. Unfortunately, the description of the plantation only mentions the neighbors, not the area, and we cannot be sure that these were situated in the Māmillah region, as explained in the petition. The same number of 200 sheep in the inventory and in the petition is certainly significant, but no proof they constitute the same flock. Therefore two possibilities remain: The father had only endowed the house in the city, which would give ʿUmar every right to the houses within the plantation. In addition, if the 200 sheep mentioned in the inventory did not correspond to those mentioned in the petition, then Ghāliyah’s complaint would have been unfounded. How then do we explain Ghāliyah’s statement that her father had declared in front of the judge that ʿUmar had no right to the sheep?<sup>39</sup> Could it be that the inventory did not correspond to the father’s expectation?

Or, as a second possibility, Ghāliyah was right to complain about an embezzlement of her father’s endowment. One cannot exclude the possibility that the written inventory did not correspond to what had been explained to her. This could explain why she insisted that her father had seen the judge before his death. We will probably never resolve this case of family quarrels between brothers and sisters. Ghāliyah mentioned also that one sister had availed herself of the “*kitāb*,” the written form of her father’s endowment,<sup>40</sup> and that her brother ʿUmar was found drunk the day of her father’s death and could not assist at his funeral.<sup>41</sup> In any case, the qadi obviously did not respond to Ghāliyah’s petition with an order (*marsūm*) to investigate the affair.<sup>42</sup> The accounting on the back of the petition dates from the year 797/1395 (line 1) and concerns “al-Ḥājj ʿUthmān,” which may well be the father of the petitioner Ghāliyah on the recto.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup>Inventories: Ḥaram documents no. 515 and no. 626.

<sup>39</sup>See above, with text on the right margin of Ḥaram document no. 278.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, ll. 15–16.

<sup>41</sup>Ḥaram document no. 278, ll. 18f.

<sup>42</sup>Compare Ḥaram document no. 25/2 and below, for the qadi’s order on the back of a similar petition; cf. also Ḥaram document no. 215/2, both edited by Donald Little in “Five Petitions and Consequential Decrees from Late Fourteenth-Century Jerusalem,” *Al-Majallah al-ʿArabīyah lil-ʿUlūm al-Insānīyah* 14, no. 54 (1996): 348–94.

<sup>43</sup>Cf. Little, *Catalogue*, 43. The accounting is not edited.



In the next litigation the manner in which revenues from a *waqf* were distributed among family members became the subject of a court case. Apparently, this endowment had already functioned for a long period of time before the document in our hands was drawn up.<sup>44</sup> The petitioners<sup>45</sup> claim that the stipulation of an endowment made by one of their ancestors benefited only his male descendants and that they have been receiving income in accordance with this stipulation for an extended period of time. According to these petitioners, they possessed successive grants of approval<sup>46</sup> and a *maḥḍar* certified by judges, attesting to the validity of this regulation.<sup>47</sup> It seems, however, that this distribution of revenues had always been contested; otherwise neither legal permission (*ijāzah*), nor court documentation (*maḥḍar*)<sup>48</sup> would have existed. The petitioners explain that a person subsequently disputed this usage and claimed the endowment was intended for both male and female descendants, but that he had nothing to substantiate (*yadillu*) the validity of his claim (*daʿwāhu*). Rather, he circulated this among persons, “by whose word nothing can be corroborated [legally].”<sup>49</sup> It seems from this, that a claim in court for equal distribution of the *waqf* revenues among both male and female descendants was ongoing. The petitioners ask their “Lord and Master, Judge of the Judges”<sup>50</sup> for a written decree (*marsūm*) to the judge in the district to consider their case in their favor.<sup>51</sup> The judge of Nablus, in an answer to this petition, wrote that he would “clarify the aforementioned case and settle the matter in accordance with the dictates of the stipulation of the endower.”<sup>52</sup>

<sup>44</sup>Ḥaram document no. 25/1, edited by Little, “Five Petitions,” 351–57.

<sup>45</sup>The translation “slaves” for “*mamlūk*,” *ibid.*, 353f., is misleading, since this was the expression used in any respectful correspondence or petition.

<sup>46</sup>Ḥaram document no. 25/1, l. 5, not “*ajāʿir mutawāfirah*” (*ibid.*, 353), but “*ajāʿiz mutawātirah*.”

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup>A *maḥḍar* at that time was a *shahādah* document, written only on a judge’s order. On this technical definition see my “Qāḍī-Gericht,” chapter I.2.a.

<sup>49</sup>Little, “Five Petitions and Consequential Decrees,” 354, ll. 7–10, here 10: “*lā yathbutu bi-qawlihi shayʿun*,” which means that his word is not valid for *thubūt*, i.e., he does not have the quality of a witness, which is more precise than “who cannot corroborate his word in any way” (*ibid.*).

<sup>50</sup>This should be read as a very respectful salutation, not as an exact title like “Chief Judge,” cf. *ibid.*

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, ll. 12–13.

<sup>52</sup>Contrary to Little’s translation (*ibid.*, 357, ll. 2–3), I do not think this is an order to the “Magistrate of Nablus” by the judge of Jerusalem (*ibid.*, 356f.). Rather, Ḥaram document no. 25/2 consists of the statement by the qadi of Nablus “that the affair should be settled according to the founder’s stipulations.” Sharaf al-Dīn Abū al-Rūḥ, the judge in whose court the Ḥaram documents originate, later judge in Jerusalem between 793 and 797, was in 783 judge (and not deputy judge) of Nablus; cf. his court attestations: Ḥaram document no. 55/3 from 19 Shawwāl 782/16 January 1381 (cf. Little, *Catalogue*, 313, who reads for the year “781” instead of my “782”) and Ḥaram document



With this we move to the administration of bigger foundations that were not endowed for the benefit of a single family. As we have seen, legal proof of an endowment could be achieved by means other than the original endowment deed. Bigger foundations were not always created by one act, but successively according to the will (and the means) of their founder. Then, there would exist various deeds, issued at different times and concerning different aspects of the same *waqf*. The administration of a big foundation on the basis of divergent endowment deeds may not have been easy. There were ways to reduce the complexity of various documents and to organize the major aspects of a *waqf* in a legally binding way.

One Ḥaram document is such a “synopsis of *waqf* purposes” (*talkhiṣ maqāsid al-waqf*) that summarizes various documents concerning the same endowment of a mausoleum and a college. This *waqf* summary was issued on 21 Shawwāl 793/21 September 1391 and bears the signatures of three witnesses as well as a note in the right margin as follows: “I allowed this [document] to be transcribed and collated” (*adhantu naql dhālika wa-muqābalatahu*).<sup>53</sup>

This *waqf* summary concerned the endowment of Muḥammad Beg, made between the years 748 and 751, in favor of a college that was known after him as al-Madrasah al-Muḥammadiyah.<sup>54</sup> Donald Richards has already given a summary of its content and analyzed it from various points of view.<sup>55</sup> The question to ask here is why was this document written when it was (42 years after the initial endowment), and for what purpose? The answers may tell us more about the functioning of such a religious foundation years after its establishment.

This Madrasah Muḥammadiyah was headed by a shaykh, whose function as administrator of the *waqf* and spiritual head was well defined in the *waqf* summary. He was supposed to be a person versed in the “ways of the Sufis,” and it is clear from this and from other documents<sup>56</sup> that this foundation was not administered by a member of the founder’s family, but by a religious scholar and Sufi. To answer the first question, why the summary was written in Shawwāl

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no. 609/5 (6 Rajab 785/4 September 1383) (cf. Little, *Catalogue*, 257). In the Ḥaram documents, judges (*quḍāh*) are referred to as the “*hākīm*” of a city. The distinction between qadi and *hākīm*, as pointed out by Little, “Five Petitions,” 356, is not valid for the Ḥaram documents in general, nor for the ways in which a judge was named in attestations of his own court procedures in particular; see my “Qāḍi-Gericht,” chapter IV. Therefore we must assume that this document, Ḥaram document no. 25/1, was addressed to Sharaf al-Dīn, then qadi of Nablus, and stayed among his papers, not with “*al-hākīm bi-al-nāhiyah*” (contrary to Little, “Five Petitions,” 356). As a result, it is impossible to conclude “that the Jerusalem judge had jurisdiction over the judge in Nablus” (ibid.).

<sup>53</sup>Ḥaram document no. 643; Little, *Catalogue*, 321.

<sup>54</sup>Cf. Mujīr al-Dīn, *Uns*, 2:44.

<sup>55</sup>See Richards in Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem*, 66a, 66b, 68a, 69b, 72b.

<sup>56</sup>See the acknowledgment of the shaykh of this *waqf* in Ḥaram document no. 210/1 (2 Rabi‘ II 791/31 March 1389), Little, *Catalogue*, 206.



793/September 1391, it is probably not a coincidence that the former shaykh, Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyá ibn Ḥusayn had recently died and his effects were sold in the following month, on 12 Dhū al-Qa‘dah 793/11 October 1391.<sup>57</sup> Obviously his wife had already died before him, and he had no heir.<sup>58</sup> We also know that the proceeds from the public auction went directly to Egypt, by order of the *ustādār* Maḥmūd, then a very influential Mamluk official.<sup>59</sup>

The *waqf* summary, Ḥaram document 643, was not meant to safeguard the validity of the act of endowment: no mention is made of the founder’s will, the conversion of his own private property into a *waqf*, etc. On the contrary, this “*waqf* summary” gives detailed instructions on the quality of the shaykh as Sufi and his duties as a spiritual guide, as well as how to provide for the daily needs of the community living in the college and occasional passers-by. Also, explanations are given for the lease period for the *waqf* land (usually one year, only exceptionally up to three years),<sup>60</sup> those persons deciding on the next inspector,<sup>61</sup> and the property belonging to the foundation.<sup>62</sup> From this, the major interest of this document seems to be in describing the administration of the *waqf* in general—with special focus on the inspector’s tasks and function. Any inspector would need this information in order to fulfill the founder’s wishes, and I am inclined to think that this was a copy furnished to the newly nominated shaykh, or to those reviewing his nomination.

This summary however, was not just a simple copy of other documents. It was signed by three court witnesses,<sup>63</sup> and contained an official notarization that the summary had been meticulously compared to the documents on which it was based. The document therefore had legal significance, since its witnesses would attest to its content in court. We can go one step further by supposing that it was the judge himself who gave this permission: the writing of this notation in

<sup>57</sup>Ḥaram documents nos. 768a and 768b; Little, *Catalogue*, 343.

<sup>58</sup>On Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyá ibn Ḥusayn and his wife see their mutual acknowledgements from 2 Rabī‘ II 791/31 March 1389 (Ḥaram documents nos. 210/1 and 315/1), certified in court the following day (Ḥaram documents nos. 210/2 and 315/2) (Little, *Catalogue*, 206 and 209). The wife is not mentioned as heir in Ḥaram document no. 768a. See the edition of Ḥaram document no. 315/1 in Huda Lutfi, “A Study of Six Fourteenth Century Iqrārs from al-Quds Relating to Muslim Women,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 26 (1983): 278, and in al-‘Asalī, *Wathā‘iq*, 2:118.

<sup>59</sup>Ḥaram document no. 768a. Other documents in this case are Ḥaram document no. 719/1 and following, as well as inventory no. 178. See my “Qāḍī-Gericht” on the context.

<sup>60</sup>Cf. Ḥaram document no. 643, and Richards in Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem*, 68a.

<sup>61</sup>Cf. Richards in Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem*, 72b.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, 66a.

<sup>63</sup>We find their signatures on court documents of this period.



the right margin<sup>64</sup> corresponds exactly to other notations by the Shafi'i judge of the time, Sharaf al-Dīn Abū al-Rūḥ 'Īsā ibn Ghānim (d. 797/1395). In contrast to this legal document, the two *daftar* sheets of an endowment established by the sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (beginning of eighth/fourteenth century) do not bear witness signatures or the annotation of a court official.<sup>65</sup> As Donald Little supposes, these pages formed part of the copy (of a copy) of a large *waqf* document.<sup>66</sup>

If the *waqf* summary of the Madrasah Muḥammadiyah did not serve to guarantee the legal status of the endowment, how was the existence of *waqf* institutions in perpetuity insured in a legal system which did not grant to written documents the status of a proof? In order to guarantee the validity of oral witness testimony on the authenticity of a document, the judge summoned the witnesses of the original deed and had them testify orally in court. This *thubūt* procedure allowed the judge to consider the text of the document as a legally “established fact” and subject to his ratification by his *‘alāmah*. As will be shown elsewhere in detail,<sup>67</sup> a ratified attestation of the *thubūt* procedure in the form of an *ishhād* on judicial procedure on the back of a legal document made a document valid over time and space even without oral testimony. These *ishhād* attestations of a qadi's court were legally binding on other judges, be they in another city or in a later time. In order to guarantee the judicial value of a document, like an endowment deed, over long time periods, we cite the renewing of court attestations at periodic intervals from several up to thirty years.<sup>68</sup>

One specimen of this kind figures among the Ḥaram documents: the endowment of seven shares of the village Bayt al-‘Aṭṭāb al-Fawqā and six shares of Bayt al-‘Aṭṭāb al-Suflā for the benefit of the *fuqarā'* (lit. “poor”) of Jerusalem.<sup>69</sup> The document

<sup>64</sup>Although called “*‘alāmah* notation” by Little in his *Catalogue*, 321, it is in the place where the judge would place his *tawqī'* orders to his court witnesses, although here it is not such an order.

<sup>65</sup>Ḥaram documents nos. 77 and 306 (which contains a text beginning with the *basmalah*); see also Little, *Catalogue*, 374f.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid.

<sup>67</sup>See my “Qāḍi-Gericht,” chapter VI.2.

<sup>68</sup>See, e.g., the *waqfiyah* of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (references in note 1), and court certifications edited by al-‘Asalī, *Wathā'iq*, 1:73–90 (from the year 590 to 791) and 98–100 (in the tenth/sixteenth century); however, there are many examples. A study on this long-term use of written documents is lacking.

<sup>69</sup>Ḥaram document no. 333; cf. Little, *Catalogue*, 320f. The term “*fuqarā'*” usually refers to persons that are “*faqīr ilā Allāh*” (needy of God), that is, religious scholars, not necessarily materially poor people.



opens with the endowment from the year 712/1312–13,<sup>70</sup> “transferred” (*untuqila*)<sup>71</sup> from “a copy in 12 chapters,” which had been attested to by court procedure for the first time in the year 720/1320–21.<sup>72</sup> Then follow the enumeration of further court attestations in the years 727/1327,<sup>73</sup> 743/1343,<sup>74</sup> 746/1346,<sup>75</sup> 747/1346,<sup>76</sup> and finally in the year 754/1353.<sup>77</sup> Each court attestation mentions the exact day and the name of the judge,<sup>78</sup> a way to confirm whether the judge had been in office or not. This specific document does not bear witness signatures. It probably served as an aide-mémoire, not as a legal attestation. A filing notation on the verso mentions the shares of the endowed villages, which had obviously been sold by some of the founder’s children.<sup>79</sup>

From a general point of view, this specimen shows that even minor endowments, not just the big imperial foundations like those of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, cited above, were the object of renewed court validation: in our case, it was obviously the *waqf* administration of Jerusalem in the name of the “*fuqarā*’ of Jerusalem” who had taken care of the repeated court validation. This system of repeated court validation could guarantee the legal standing of an endowment deed over a long time. However, without it, the deed loses the force of proof. Certainly no such renewal of a court validation was made when private endowments ceased to function and no longer provided substantial income. Then, after one or two generations, the original documents had lost any legal standing and the unvalidated *waqf* fell into disuse.

This brings us to our last point, the economic use of endowments by those persons who rented them and thus provided an income to the *waqf*. With regard to Jerusalem, Donald Richards has already pointed to the problem of leasing contracts of long duration that might alienate endowed property and thus bring the *waqf* to an end.<sup>80</sup> From an economic perspective, there are, however, various aspects to consider.

We have at our disposal several contracts of sale concerning “plantations”

<sup>70</sup>Haram document no. 333, ll. 1–13.

<sup>71</sup>The same expression is used for the *waqf* summary Haram document no. 643; see above.

<sup>72</sup>Haram document no. 333, ll. 14f.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., ll. 15f.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., l. 16.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., l. 17.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., l. 16.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., l. 18.

<sup>78</sup>Cf. Little, *Catalogue*, 320f., for the details.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid. On this see also Richards in Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem*, 68a.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid.



(*ghirās*) in vineyards and orchards within the city's limits. Like any sale of a dwelling (*dār*), these contracts delimit the object of the sale by its borders, the type of trees or plantations, its sale price, the conclusion of the contract, and the transfer of property to the buyer. Only the plantations are sold, however, not the land on which they are growing. This practice conforms to Shafi'ī law, allowing the sale of objects firmly rooted into the ground—without touching upon the legal status of the ground.<sup>81</sup>

In these cases, the land, the “basis” (*aṣl*, in legal terms), belonged either to a *waqf*<sup>82</sup> or was part of an *iqṭā'*.<sup>83</sup> All these sale contracts on plantations state at the end that “the buyer knows of the obligation to pay an annual ground rent (*ḥikr*) of a certain sum [between 5 and 15 dirhams per annum] to the endowment or to the *iqṭā'*.” When, however, land (*ard*)<sup>84</sup> or a vegetable garden (*ḥākūrah*)<sup>85</sup> was sold, no mention of paying *ḥikr* was made. A similar sales contract concerned an apartment (*bayt*) within a family estate (*dār*), for which *ḥikr* was due to [the endowment of] the Madrasah al-Ṣalāḥiyah.<sup>86</sup>

This practice of selling immovable objects, but not the ground where they were rooted, was not restricted to agricultural land or to dwellings. Several shops (*ḥānūt*, pl. *ḥawānit*) were sold in Ramaḍān 747/December 1346–January 1347 for 780 1/2 dirhams, and the buyer knew of his obligation to pay one dirham *ḥikr* each month to the endowment of the Ribāṭ al-Amīr 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Ruknī, on whose

<sup>81</sup>Cf. Ṣalīḥiyah, “Min Wathā'iq al-Ḥaram al-Qudsi al-Sharīf,” 62 (in commentary on Ḥaram document no. 326).

<sup>82</sup>Cf. Ḥaram document no. 318 (17 Jumādā I 789/5 June 1387) with Little, *Catalogue*, 283; several sales of the same piece of land in Ḥaram document no. 326/1 (recto) (30 Dhū al-Qa'dah 758/14 November 1357), no. 326/2 (verso left) (10 Shawwāl 759/15 September 1358), and no. 326/3 (verso right) (23 Muḥarram 762/3 December 1360), all in Little, *Catalogue*, 284; several sales concerning the same land: Ḥaram document no. 354/1 (1 Shawwāl 771/28 April 1370) and no. 354/2 (5 Dhū al-Qa'dah 772/21 May 1371), no. 354/6 (14 Muḥarram 781/2 May 1379), all cf. Little, *Catalogue*, 287; Ḥaram document no. 366 (22 Jumādā II 789/10 July 1387), Little, *Catalogue*, 288; Ḥaram document no. 614 (25 Sha'bān 765/28 May 1364), Little, *Catalogue*, 292; Ḥaram document no. 658/1 (24 Dhū al-Hijjah 784/28 February 1383) and Ḥaram document no. 658/2 (12 Muḥarram 785/17 March 1383), Little, *Catalogue*, 294; Ḥaram document no. 834/1 (9 Muḥarram 756/24 January 1355), Little, *Catalogue*, 294; Ḥaram document no. 328 (3 Shawwāl 755/21 October 1354), Little, *Catalogue*, 285 (here *ḥikr* is not mentioned, only the amount to pay and that the land belongs to the Ṣalāḥiyah endowment).

<sup>83</sup>Only Ḥaram document no. 323/1 (12 Shawwāl 763/4 August 1362), Little, *Catalogue*, 283; resold within the same month, Ḥaram document no. 323/2 (16 Shawwāl 763/8 August 1362).

<sup>84</sup>Ḥaram document no. 370, from 1 Jumādā I 712/4 September 1312, cf. Little, *Catalogue*, 290.

<sup>85</sup>Cf. the various sales of parts (*sahm*, pl. *ashām*) from the same *ḥākūrah*, Ḥaram document no. 372/1, from 29 Ramaḍān 771/26 April 1370, and following contracts, Little, *Catalogue*, 290f.

<sup>86</sup>Ḥaram document no. 43, with line 4 on the payment of the *ḥikr*.



land the shops were situated.<sup>87</sup> These shops were the object of several attestations and court procedures,<sup>88</sup> and two of them were resold in the year 752/1351 for 300 dirhams, the *ḥikr* being one and a half dirhams per month.<sup>89</sup> Without going into the details of this complicated case,<sup>90</sup> we realize that these shops were subject to free commercial transaction, separate from the ground on which they stood. The only constraint was the payment of the *ḥikr* to the endowment that owned the land.<sup>91</sup> Unfortunately, sold objects varied from one contract to another, but the impression is that the *ḥikr* increased; from one dirham per month in the year 747/1347 for several shops to one and a half dirhams in the year 752/1351 for only two shops.

It is important to note that the obligation to pay *ḥikr* did not end with the death of a person. The duty “to pay *ḥikr* is transferred,” as jurists would say, “to heirs and buyers.”<sup>92</sup> The sale of two shops, mentioned above, was done “*waṣīyatan*,” that is, after the death of their proprietor.<sup>93</sup> Among the Ḥaram documents figures also the receipt of 75 dirhams annual *ḥikr* for the shop of a rich textile merchant, paid by the guardian of his minor heirs to the foundation of the Madrasah Ṣalāḥīyah in 790/1388.<sup>94</sup> From this, we may conclude that any investment made by the shop owner, or in any plantation, was for the benefit of his proprietor, who could sell freely his property, under the sole condition that the *ḥikr* be paid.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>87</sup>Ḥaram document no. 42/1, recto (6 Ramaḍān 747/21 December 1346), Little, *Catalogue*, 279. On the Ribāṭ see Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem*, 117–26.

<sup>88</sup>Ḥaram document no. 42/2, recto (14 Ramaḍān 747/29 December 1346): acknowledgement of “no rights;” Ḥaram document no. 42/3, verso (27 Ramaḍān 747/11 January 1347): court validation; and Ḥaram document no. 42/4 recto (5 Rabīʿ II 750/23 June 1349): court validation; Little, *Catalogue*, 279–80.

<sup>89</sup>Ḥaram document no. 42/5, verso (20 Rabīʿ II 752/16 June 1351), ll. 28 and 31. Cf. Little, *Catalogue*, 280. In the right margin of recto and verso two more sales of some of the same objects are mentioned, without any details however; see Ḥaram document no. 42/7 (verso) from 6 Shawwāl 754/4 November 1353, and no. 42/8 (recto) from 27 Ramaḍān 756/5 October 1355.

<sup>90</sup>See additionally the buyer’s acknowledgement of having acted on behalf of a third person: Ḥaram document no. 42/9, recto (27 Ramaḍān 756/5 October 1355).

<sup>91</sup>Compare also Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿUqūd wa-Muʿīn al-Qudāh wa-al-Muwaqqiʿin wa-al-Shuhūd*, ed. Musʿad ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Muḥammad al-Saʿdanī (Beirut, 1996), 1:69, with corresponding contractual clauses.

<sup>92</sup>For this phrase see the Hanbali jurist Muḥammad al-Maqdisī Ibn Mufliḥ (d. 763/1362) in his *Kitāb al-Furūʿ*, ed. Abū al-Zuhrā Ḥāzīm al-Qāḍī (Beirut, 1418), 4:321. This corresponds exactly to the findings in the Ḥaram documents. Until now however, I have not found a similar Shafiʿī quotation.,

<sup>93</sup>Ḥaram document no. 42/5, l. 24.

<sup>94</sup>Ḥaram document no. 662 (16 Muḥarram 790/26 January 1388), Little, *Catalogue*, 329 (see above).

<sup>95</sup>I did not find any reference to a limitation of such a *ḥikr* contract to, for instance, 99 years.



These contracts of sale reflect an economic reality very different from that of the village headmen (*ru'asā' al-qariyah*) who guaranteed the payment or delivery of harvested crops to the Ḥaram *waqf*.<sup>96</sup> In some cases, the obligation of the villagers to cultivate their land was enforced by a formal *qasāmah* oath, whose breach was considered perjury (*ḥinth*) and subject to high fines.<sup>97</sup> These villages were part of the Ḥaram endowment created by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī in the sixth/twelfth century. For the villagers, the obligation to deliver a part of their harvest to the *waqf* may have resembled a tax, which they paid for the previous year.<sup>98</sup> Apparently, farmers also paid individually to the *waqf* administration. One account of revenues from the village al-Quṣūr, which was part of the Ḥaram *waqf*, distinguished between revenues from the farmers (*fallāḥīn*) and revenues guaranteed by the village head (*ḍamān*).<sup>99</sup>

We can also identify cases in which individuals had rented land for agriculture from a *waqf* in an *ijārah* (rental) contract. The leaseholder paid *ujrah* (rent), not *ḥikr*, but the difference went beyond denominations. Unlike *ḥikr* land, which stayed in the possession of the heirs, the death of a leaseholder might have caused problems for his heirs, even with a long-term *ijārah* contract.

On 25 Shawwāl 794/14 September 1392 the Shafi'i judge of Jerusalem, Taqī al-Dīn, gave his verdict to the claim of the Khānqāh Ṣalāḥīyah Foundation, represented by the Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ḥāmid, to terminate a lease of land in the Buq'ah area outside Jerusalem, because the leaseholder had died prior to its termination. The contract had been concluded in Sha'bān 791/August 1389 for thirty years at an annual rent of 76 dirhams. The defendant, one of the leaseholder's heirs, insisted that the contract be continued, since its term had been set for 30 years and was not linked to the life of the original leaseholder. According to the defendant, there was no reason to terminate the contract

<sup>96</sup>See Ḥaram documents nos. 19, 48, 110, 194, 202, 280, 348, and 459, all from the years 706/1306 to 708/1308, some of them mentioned by Richards in Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem*, 67.

<sup>97</sup>See Ḥaram documents nos. 293 and 697; cf. D. S. Richards, "The Qasāma in Mamlūk Society: Some Documents from the Ḥaram Collection in Jerusalem," *Annales Islamologiques* 25 (1991): 245–84.

<sup>98</sup>Cf. Ḥaram document no. 348, cf. Richards in Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem*, 67b. For the complexity of this phenomenon from a juridical point of view, see Baber Johansen, *The Islamic Law on Land Tax and Rent: The Peasants' Loss of Property Rights as Interpreted in the Hanafite Legal Literature of the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods* (London, 1988).

<sup>99</sup>See Ḥaram document no. 769a (for the years 792 and 793), recto, column A, first item: *faḍl al-ghallāt bi-ism al-fallāḥīn 2000 dirham*; second item: *ḍamān al-mu'allaq bi-ism al-ru'asā' wa-al-fallāḥīn 9000 dirham*. Another document from the year 795, Ḥaram document no. 847, ed. Richards, "Qasāma," 267, has the elders of the village al-Quṣūr attest to having paid only *zakāt*, and not their taxes (*ḍarā'ib dīwānīyah*), for the last four years. I am not sure how to resolve this contradiction, if there is one.



since the claimants would receive all outstanding payments from the estate of the deceased. The qadi Taqī al-Dīn gave a judgement (*ḥukm*) in favour of the leaseholder's heirs and allowed the rent to be paid from the estate.<sup>100</sup> In this case, the heirs' interest in continuing the contract is obvious. The existing conditions suited them better than what they could have hoped to obtain in a new contract, whether another lease or a *ḥikr*.<sup>101</sup> The lease of arable land to farmers seemed to have been a common practice.<sup>102</sup> From Ḥaram document no. 629, we learn that endowments sometimes leased the plantations (*ghirās*) in their possession for a specified period; here it was for 10 years.<sup>103</sup>

As a result, we conclude that at least two types of contracts regulated the use of *waqf* property for commercial and agricultural activities: the lease of an object (*ujrah*) and the ground rent (*ḥikr*). Since most of the surviving documents concern the estates of deceased persons, we have at our disposal two acquittals for payments vis-à-vis the Ḥaram endowment, made from the qadi's depository in the name of the heirs or from their *waṣīy*. One concerns the annual rent (*ujrah*) for a shop in the Sūq al-Wuṣṭānī amounting to 15 1/2 dirhams per month.<sup>104</sup> The other is the previously mentioned receipt of 75 dirhams annual *ḥikr* for the shop of a rich textile merchant, paid by the guardian of his minor heirs to the foundation of the Madrasah Ṣalāḥīyah in 790/1388.<sup>105</sup> Although any comparison without knowing the exact circumstances in each case is always problematic, the amount of the annual rent (*ujrah*) of 186 dirhams (15 1/2 x 12) being more than double that of the *ḥikr* may well be explained by the fact that the rented shop belonged to the endowment, contrary to the shop on *ḥikr* land.<sup>106</sup>

The interest of a *waqf* administration in transforming their assets into *ḥikr* was

<sup>100</sup>Ḥaram document no. 334, edited by al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʿiq*, 2:22f. On a discussion of the *ḥukm* in this case see Christian Müller, "Settling Litigations without Judgment: The Importance of a *Ḥukm* in Qadi-Cases of Mamlūk Jerusalem," in *Dispensing Justice in Islam: Qadis and their Judgments*, ed. Muhammad Khalid Masud, Rudolph Peters, and David S. Powers (Leiden, 2006), 51–55.

<sup>101</sup>The qadi Sharaf al-Dīn was known for having transformed land in the Buqʿah area into *ḥikr* in the year 793/1391 (see below), one year before the verdict of Taqī al-Dīn. This "coincidence" may illustrate an ongoing pressure on farmers to change contracts.

<sup>102</sup>See Ḥaram document no. 640 from 7 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 796/3 September 1394, edited by al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʿiq*, 2:62; cf. Little, *Catalogue*, 236. The land was leased by the Mamluk viceroy.

<sup>103</sup>Ḥaram document no. 629/1 (1 Shaʿbān 796/1 June 1394), Little, *Catalogue*, 299; cf. Richards in Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem*, 67.

<sup>104</sup>Ḥaram document no. 325 (12 Rabīʿ I 797/5 January 1395), Little, *Catalogue*, 210, rent to the "waqf mabrūr."

<sup>105</sup>Ḥaram document no. 662 (16 Muḥarram 790/26 January 1388), Little, *Catalogue*, 329 (see above).

<sup>106</sup>Compare also the sale of such shops and the *ḥikr* due in former years, above.



primarily to allow the development of land by private investors. They planted trees or built shops and houses, which became their private property. A citation by Mujir al-Din in his chronicle of Jerusalem, *Al-Uns al-Jalil*, mentions a case of the transfer of land to *hikr* in the period of the Ḥaram documents. The qadi of the city, and shaykh of al-Khānqāh al-Ṣalāḥīyah, Sharaf al-Din ʿĪsā ibn Ghānim (d. 797/1395)

made the land of al-Biqʿah outside Jerusalem, which is included in the *waqf* of the aforementioned *khānqāh*, into *hikr* in the year 793. It was given over to vineyards (*kurūm*) whereby the revenue for the *waqf* grew, the people having developed a liking for this land and its utilization having increased since the time when it was sown land.<sup>107</sup>

Even before this date, the Khānqāh Ṣalāḥīyah possessed olive trees cultivated by wage laborers. See for this an account of the sale of olives including the payment of wages from the year 789/1387.<sup>108</sup> Already cited is the litigation between the Khānqāh Ṣalāḥīyah and the heirs of a leaseholder over the continuation of the *ijārah* contract.<sup>109</sup> The other documents concerning economic activity of this endowment, like the renting of shops or a bath, certainly merit a detailed study<sup>110</sup> that is beyond the scope of this article.

The Ḥaram documents provide insights into *waqf* as a legal institution on various levels of Mamluk society. The city of Jerusalem as a center of veneration and pilgrimage profited greatly from the influx of “foreign” capital that established endowments within the city for religious reasons. One should not underestimate its material help for religious scholars living in the city or on pilgrimage (*mujāwir*), in matters of food and housing. Endowments provided the material basis for religious services not only in the Holy Sanctuaries, but also in private Sufi convents. They paid the professors in colleges and gave shelter to their students.

Outside the world of learning and religion, the local economy was certainly stimulated by building and repair activities that were supported by the *waqfs*’

<sup>107</sup>Mujir al-Din, *Uns*, 2:127, trans. D. Little, “Two Fourteenth-Century Court Records from Jerusalem Concerning the Disposition of Slaves by Minors,” *Arabica* 29 (1982): 24.

<sup>108</sup>Ḥaram document no. 573 (20 Ramaḍān 789/4 October 1387), Little, *Catalogue*, 291.

<sup>109</sup>Ḥaram document no. 334.

<sup>110</sup>See Richards in Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem*, 67a. To the documents cited by him, one may add other accounts of this endowment, such as Ḥaram documents nos. 775a, 775b, 775t, 775th and 775j.



founders and their administrators.<sup>111</sup> Certain endowments provided elementary teaching for children and material help for orphans. *Waqf* administrations were the landlords of numerous shops and buildings in the city, as well as the owners of orchards and arable land. Craftsmen and farmers were directly affected by the policy of *waqf* administrations, by the type of lease contract they had obtained, and by investment opportunities given through the *ḥikr* system. We should be cautious of generalities, such as the suggestion that too long a contract or the *ḥikr* alienated *waqf* property and led to its cessation. Long contracts were sometimes necessary to attract capital for investment to the benefit of both sides. Unfortunately, our documents do not furnish information about the duration of the *ḥikr* status. The documents at hand show perfectly how legal rights could be preserved over a long period of time. However, the legal status of documents in Islamic law made their court confirmation necessary within certain intervals. Only fairly reasonably managed *waqf* institutions would take the necessary steps and preserve their rights. This leads us to the various types of *waqf* foundations which in the case of Jerusalem went from the big administration of the Ḥaram *waqf* with its revenues from all over Palestine, to middle-sized religious foundations by individuals, to the endowing of property for the benefit of a family. At all levels of Mamluk society, the legal instrument “*waqf*” served men and women as a means to realize economic projects and to stabilize social situations. Prestigious religious and humanitarian institutions in the city, like the Ṣalāḥīyah Hospital<sup>112</sup> or the Ḥaram foundation, profited from the necessity in each endowment deed to name a final beneficiary in perpetuity. Over the centuries, they received the endowed property of families that had ceased to exist. In this way, the will of individuals finally merged into a communal project that helped to maintain traditional society.

<sup>111</sup> Compare also Ḥaram documents nos. 773a and 773b, Little, *Catalogue*, 352.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Ḥaram documents nos. 20 and 204.



## Book Reviews

Response to THOMAS BAUER, review of *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period*, edited by Roger Allen and D. S. Richards, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 2 (2007): 137–67.

SALMA KHADRA JAYYUSI, East-West Nexus/PROTA

Thomas Bauer seems very much intent on discrediting my chapter on Mamluk and Ottoman poetry (in the Post-Classical Period volume of the *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, edited by Roger Allen and D. S. Richards and published in 2006), which apparently contradicts the premises and ideas he himself had already put forward about this long period, one that happens to be his chosen area of specialization.

To this end he has resorted in his review article to an unseemly, incoherent, and unscholarly all-out attack on my ideas, my stance, and my work, even my person. The attack is unseemly because the personal slurs, innuendos, and insinuations generously distributed throughout his paper are unbecoming the tasks and objectives of genuine scholarship, and simply compromise their own source; incoherent because Bauer seems unable to stay the course of a single principle or standard of judgment in his rush to condemn my work and my stance; unscholarly because he builds his case on heavily decontextualized references, betrays a thorough ignorance of my corpus of work (and so my actual stance on particular issues of literature and culture), and critiques my translation of Arabic poetry in a manner that sadly betrays the weakness of his own grasp of the Arabic literary language and its idioms.

First of all, it needs to be acknowledged that there are obviously serious and deep-rooted differences in our assessment of the poetry of the period in question. Yet to slip from scholarly engagement with disagreement and alternative judgments to a vituperative lashing-out, filled with charges of all kinds, including insinuations which are meant to reflect on the person of the other, is beyond ordinary comprehension. Whereas a scholarly disagreement can be welcomed as a contribution to shaping or instigating a debate, this kind of inelegant and uncivil attack cannot be allowed to stand without challenge, although I admit to finding no pleasure whatsoever in having to respond to this level of writing.

Bauer has the audacity to heap personal invective on me simply for thinking differently from him, for not seeing in the poetry of this period the greatness and superior quality he himself sees. And yes, it is indeed true that I do not have a



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high view of most of the poetry of this period, with the exception (as I said in my essay) of Sufi poetry, some of which is of a high order; of a certain number of other religious poems on account of their ardor and genuine sensibility; and of the work of a very few specific poets, notably al-Bahā' Zuhayr and Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī. I am not an easy admirer of anything that I do not find up to standard and I reiterate my unswerving lack of admiration for Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī, who seems to be Bauer's favorite poet of this period—viewed by him as one of the greatest poets of the Mamluk age, and on whom he has written with such high appreciation.

The Arab literary renaissance of the nineteenth century (on which I have written elsewhere<sup>1</sup>) reconnected directly and purposively with the earlier periods (at least seven centuries of them overall, beginning in the sixth century of the Christian era, if not earlier)—in other words, with those periods regarded as forming the golden or “classical” era of our verse, viewed almost unanimously by Arab scholars as the fountainhead of Arabic poetry. It was from the poetry of this period that the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century revivalists took their models, leaping over the Mamluk and Ottoman centuries. The overriding need in the nineteenth century was to inject into a weakened, imitative, and formulaic verse, inherited from those two periods, a strength of language and a well-built phraseology, to rid it of artificiality and what was deemed an absence of profundity or even worthwhile meaning. This leap back to older centuries was certainly an interruption in the course of a poetry that had spanned such a very long period. However, it was certainly also a welcome interruption to its direction, diction, imagery, and semantics. In fact, Arabic literature in both poetry and prose has witnessed several major interruptions, sometimes even arrests, to its steady course of evolution, but this leap back in the modern era to a much older kind of poetry is one of the most serious, and in my estimation, one of the most fortunate. It points to a direct indictment of the kind of poetry which the Mamluk and Ottoman eras had offered. The poet-revivalists, literary historians, and anthologists of the time were unanimous in their rejection of the poetry that directly preceded their times and in their decisive resort to the golden or classical period. They rejected the vacuity and serious aesthetic fatigue that had hampered the inherited poetry of their age, and knew instinctively that a continuity with the immediately previous poetry would lead them to an artistic dead end.<sup>2</sup> Their

<sup>1</sup> See “The Arab Literary Renaissance in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden, 1977), 1:15–45.

<sup>2</sup> See my description of the poetry inherited from the Ottoman period in my *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry*, 1:25, where I say: “Arabic poetry in the earlier part of the nineteenth century was benighted in every meaning of the word. It had become a genre mainly concerned with amusement and politesse. . . . It was an exercise of the wits that revolved around itself in a



judgment, with which I fully agree, was that the poetry of these two periods had been moving overall towards banality, repetitiveness, and artificiality, mired in aesthetic clichés and formulaic descriptions. This was a trend which had its inception during the two periods in question, and the line of poetic decline had continued up to the modern Arab literary renaissance.

Bauer suggests (p. 159) that in taking this position, I simply “rely on blind [sic] personal taste,” without questioning the standards I am “applying to the object of research.” Yet it is clear that this assessment, and the choice of the Arab revivalists, was (as any contemporary history of the Arab literary renaissance would indicate) a matter of general and home-grown Arab consensus. Yet on this point, Bauer is inconsistent: while he ventures here that this judgment is based on my blind personal taste, he asserts, earlier on in his review, that this assessment is the outcome of a Eurocentric conceptualization derived from Orientalist sources, or expressing the Hegelian view of history, which he suggests was itself the foundation for many Orientalist accounts (see his many pages on this. pp. 141–44). It would be an extraordinary claim to make that this judgment was copied from the ideas of ill-intentioned Orientalists<sup>3</sup> or Hegelian theories—of whose very existence most Arab revivalists of the time were largely unaware. What connection is there between the considered judgment of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Arab poets, critics, anthologists, literary historians, and the huge Arab audience everywhere with Western conceptions of the Mamluk and Ottoman periods? Does Bauer seriously want to imply that the Arabs involved had no powers of independent thought or literary taste, that they were slaves to others outside their own culture? Is this his belittling view of the Arabs, and of their spontaneous judgment of their own poetic history?<sup>4</sup> Perhaps he should

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vacuum. . . . [It] had become artificial, imitative and sham . . . [and] bore no relation to the best examples of Classical poetry.” It would have been totally unsuccessful technically to try to draw strength for renewal from the Ottoman poetry preceding the revival.

<sup>3</sup> Bauer seems to believe that what he calls “prejudices” which have “for a long time prevented scholars in the Arab and Western world alike from appropriately assessing Mamluk and Ottoman literature” can “easily [sic] be discerned as originating in Western ideologies of this era.” See his article, “Mamlūk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005): 105, also 118. Western prejudices, however, were not really confined to this era, but indeed to the *entire* corpus of Arab literary and cultural history. It is indeed strange that Bauer should overlook this. In fact, even if an early Arab revivalist had come in contact with Western ideas on the subject, I cannot see that he would simply have acquiesced in the assumptions involved. I believe, on the contrary, that men like Nāṣif al-Yāziji, whom he gives as an example of one influenced by Western judgments on this literature (pp. 105–6 n.), had quite enough critical judgment themselves to be able to make choices of their own.

<sup>4</sup> If it were at all true, the Arab revivalists and the huge Arab audience at their heel would have shunned their most favorite poet, al-Mutanabbi, who is still regarded by Arabs as a supreme poet,



critically re-examine his own statements. This is precisely the substance of some modalities of Orientalist discourse: the denial to Arabs either of any intrinsic and independent judgment, grounded in their *own* relevances and needs, or any *value* to such judgment. Despite his overt attack on Orientalist thinking, he is perilously engaged in an equivalent figure of discourse. What reinforces this sense is precisely his inconsistency. Whilst in the introduction to his review, as we have seen, he objects stridently and at length to the premises, periodization, and conception of the volume as a whole (making special reference, of course, to my own article within this [p. 142]) as being Eurocentric and derived from Western imperial visions, he nevertheless equally lashes out against any descriptions of aspects of Arab literary or cultural heritage as evidencing any continuity, or shared concerns, vision, or style: for example, he objects strongly to the notion of an “Arab literary identity” (see p. 161), describing this as an “anachronistic” claim on my part, especially when applied to the period in question, and charging that it results from blind nationalism.

One cannot help reading in this an embodiment of the *newer* form of Orientalist discourse which insists on seeing in the region and its history nothing more than multiple, local, fragmented identities and projects. Certainly one can note a parallel between the structure of thinking and feeling fostered and championed by the contemporary imperial project and this kind of angry response to a stance that suggests that Arab civilization and culture had anything resembling unity to them. I shall return to this point later.

On a more specific level, Bauer needs to make up his mind: am I a Eurocentric subscriber to “Hegelian teleological thinking” (p. 142) which sees the sole function of Islamic culture as bringing “classical thinking . . . to the West” (p. 142), a writer “blinded” by my “nationalist ideology” (p. 161), or a “pro-Western” intellectual, one of those who “hail Western liberal modernity” (p. 162)? It strikes me that his attempt at discrediting my work aims to secure sympathy from a very wide range of practically opposed constituencies of opinion. But it really will not do for him to try to have his cake and eat it too. He needs to develop some consistency of approach and a convincing analysis, beyond simply that of seeking to discredit my work and person, not to mention the volume in question.

Let me turn now to the details of the specific critique Bauer makes of my paper. As part of his interest in discrediting my analysis of the poetry of the period in question, he resorts to accusing me of being ahistorical (p. 159) and essentialist (pp. 159–60). He writes (p. 160): “In her essentialist conception, it is ‘the essence of poetry’ (p. 29) or the ‘poetic essence’ (p. 41) imbued with ‘the essence of a free Arab spirit’ (p. 38) to capture the ‘human essence’ (p. 29), ‘the essence of life’ (p.

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but who was misunderstood and, to put it mildly, treated lightly by Orientalists.



29).” What is noteworthy here is the manipulative use of *very short* quotes, taken out of context, and used *out of sequence*, in order to attribute a larger statement to me which I do not make, and which simply serves the purpose of maligning my work. The sinister part in all this is the suggestion, implicit in the way he relates all these short quotes, that it is wrong to use the word “essence” in any context. It is this which sets the stage for the next statement, namely that, according to my conception, “the history of poetry is simply the history of the realization of the *immutable* ‘poetic essence’” (italics added). This betrays an ignorance (or intentional neglect) of the thrust and logic of my work on poetry; most notably relevant to this argument are my *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry*, my chapter on Umayyad poetry—which he lightly mentions—and my chapters on Andalusī poetry.<sup>5</sup> But beyond that, it demonstrates a willful misreading of my own statements in this paper: the only place in my entire paper where I use the term “the essence of poetry” is in reference to what another critic had said, specifically the Andalusī Ḥāzīm al-Qartājjanī (d. 456/1064) speaking of a poetry previous to his time which was already showing signs of some decline, and by this anticipating the systematic poetic decline during the following Mamluk and Ottoman periods. I write: “For two centuries, he [i.e., al-Qartājjanī] said, poets there had lacked all sense of the essence of poetry, and had not, in that time, produced a single *fahl*.” Again the only place in my entire paper where I use the phrase “poetic essence” is when I say: “Yet, for all the continuity of the old traditions in these and some other poets, there was a relentless, ongoing change in style, strength of language and poetic essence. The parallel phenomena of change and continuity that are so evident in the poetry of the eleventh and twelfth centuries may be seen as clear illustrations of a process that would be repeated constantly throughout the ensuing period under discussion here. . . .”

Immutability? Indeed, Bauer singularly fails to provide the reader with the actual context and substance of my argument which emphasizes change in both the social context of literature and accordingly its content, form, and substance. I address this from the very beginning and throughout my paper. I conclude, for example (p. 58):

What did this lengthy era, full of significant political and social developments, contribute to the course of Arabic poetry on the one hand, and, on the other, to the knowledge of poetry as a universal art form? First, it provides fertile ground for various studies in

<sup>5</sup> See “Umayyad Poetry,” in *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature (1983); and for the chapters on Andalusī poetry, see: “Andalusī Poetry: the Golden Period” and “Nature Poetry in al-Andalus and the Rise of Ibn Khafaja,” in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden, 1992), 317–66 and 367–97, respectively.



the theory of literature, showing many aspects of the nature of “change.” It also illustrates the effect of tradition on art, the hold that it has on the imagination of creative writers, the struggle during periods of change between various idioms and also between those forces of resistance and surrender that are a continuous part of the very stuff of poetry.

Clearly, his short quotations, strung together in a contrived way, are grievously misleading, and violate the fundamental trust between critic and reader. Most of his short quotes from my work, which pepper his tirade, are decontextualized in the same mode, and manipulated in the same prejudicial manner in order to attribute to me something I have neither said, nor expressed in my corpus of work, nor ever thought of. This is an issue of *interpretive integrity*, and integrity of transmission. I would have thought that this kind of integrity was one of the fundamental standards of critical and scholarly work.

Which brings me directly to a related issue in Bauer’s critique that follows from the above and has to do with the standards of judgment and critique (although it is uncertain after the above demonstration of Bauer’s “standards” for critical work whether he can even resonate with the points I will raise). It also again raises the issue of the historical as opposed to an ahistorical approach. Bauer asserts that there are “established premises” of “literary scholarship,” which I supposedly violate in my “essentialist” stance, arrogating for myself the “competence to define the aesthetic criteria according to which all poetry of all periods must be measured” (p. 160). Individual critics, however expert, however responsible, will work from the base of differing world views. There is simply no point in Bauer appealing to such “established premises,” when responsible critical viewpoints and methodologies vary so widely in practice. Does Bauer view “established” premises as permanently frozen criteria, such that a critic with verve and originality like M. L. al-Yousfi (whom he so categorically maligns in his review) cannot be permitted his own “different” assessment of literary change and values? Should these established criteria hold an observer back from offering a new method of dealing with literary history, a new interpretation and an original treatment of a particular topic, of a literary period, or of an author—all the more so when he or she is dealing with a culture like Arabic culture, which, though highly rich, complex, and multi-faceted, remains for numerous reasons in major need of cogent study, analysis, and interpretation? For someone who speaks so strongly of the need for a historical approach in scholarship, Bauer seems to contradict himself. He has argued earlier (p. 159) that historical judgments change, that there cannot be timeless criteria by which to assess poetic quality. Yet now he talks of “established premises and methods.” Can he perhaps be a little more precise?



However, perhaps these two positions can be harmonized, if one now sees that the source of standards and criteria which may be used, and any reassessments to be allowed within them, can never be home-grown or indigenous. This effectively is Bauer's implicit position. Standards and criteria engendered internally, including within and through the Arab revivalist movement, a whole generation of renewal and regeneration, which laid the foundations in the nineteenth and early twentieth century for the rich developments of modern Arabic poetry, are all illegitimate.

In fact, Bauer's judgment of poetry leaves much to be desired generally. "Jayyusi never asks," he says (p. 164), "what the poets themselves wanted to accomplish, which, *of course, is the only standard according to which they can be measured* [italics mine]." But is that really true? Leaving the personal slur aside, this is one of those resounding critical statements which will simply not stand up to close scrutiny. *The point is, of course, that it is not enough to accomplish what one aims to do. The aim must be worth striving for in the first place.* Whatever standards of poetic or literary assessment have been used, this cannot coherently or artistically be one of them. To begin with, how exactly do we judge what the poet "wanted to accomplish"? What is the criterion for this? Further, at what point, and by what criteria, do we in the first place judge that the poet has "accomplished" what he had wanted to? But let us suppose that we have the means unequivocally to determine what the poet wanted to accomplish and whether he did accomplish it, how then, by this measure, do we find ways of distinguishing between different levels of accomplishment among poets; where is the difference between great poetry and other verse? Or is this distinction no longer to be entertained? Bauer dismisses the idea that good poetry relates to profound issues of human life, and suggests that it is enough to "find a charming entertainment" in it (p. 164) or be "surprised by a pointed literary conceit" (p. 164). I fear Bauer diminishes the entire literary and artistic enterprise by such a "standard."

The point is, of course, that it is not enough to accomplish what one aims to do as a poet or artist: literary criticism classically articulates standards which also turn on the meaningfulness of the text and its substance, not merely its *artfulness*. Great poetry, I affirm, even just good poetry, does not depend primarily on the fulfilment of aim, and certainly does not depend on ornate diction, on elegance and an elaborate poetic style. It is not something remote and abstracted from experience. On the contrary, it is the profound, instinctive, intuitive expression of experience and of a major poet's vision of the world; and that is what gives it universality and permanent appeal. It is a poetry of genuine emotion, which brings out the profound secrets of existence shared by humanity everywhere and therefore belonging to all humanity. Otherwise, why translate any poetry to the world? It is the voice of the conscience, as W. B. Yeats once said, related to the conditions and predicaments of life, and its major lived encounters and



departures: love, death, hope, despair, pain, deep joy, the struggle for existence, wisdom as an expression of lived experience, and other existential encounters with which living in this world abounds. A poem that concentrates on aesthetics alone can be pleasing and interesting, and perhaps very skillful (as many of the nature poems in al-Andalus and elsewhere were); but to be a truly major poem, it must deal also with vision and experience, with at least some facet, however specific and however small, of the human condition. If we survey the history of poetry world wide, starting with the very first epic, Gilgamesh, it is hard not to acknowledge that the poetry *consistently* considered great, both within a culture and across cultures, has been deemed to have meaningfulness in relation to lived experience, that being another way of talking about the human condition; a depth of meaning, communicated in a profoundly creative way so that it touches the reader or listener. Bauer is, of course, welcome to differ, but he needs to make a better argument. Moreover, it is certainly not my solitary judgment that he will have to take on in such an endeavour

As for the reception by a poet's contemporaries of his or her poetry (see p. 160 of Bauer's review), this is no criterion either. Indeed, I refer again to his own statement earlier: "The perception of whole periods of art," he notes, "is constantly undergoing change" (p. 159). This point has in fact been clearly dealt with in the introduction to my *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry* (see especially pp. 5–9). The perception of the audience during a certain period is no necessary determinant of a poet's contribution and its value. In the modern period poets from many parts of the Arab world have gained great reputation and popularity, not because they have written superior poetry but merely because they have written poetry on political and patriotic subjects which deals with pertinent issues with which the contemporary Arab audience is deeply concerned. Conversely, during the classical period, Dhū al-Rummah (696–735) was regarded as a secondary poet (in fact, one quarter of a poet, as the old critics said). Yet he has now begun to be seen as one of the greatest poets of the classical (golden) period. The quality of poetry is not dependent simply on the "taste" of the audience or of the literary historian, but on its own interior qualities of meaningfulness and stance, as well as poetic charge and literary structure. This is a complex area of creativity. Yet it is a recognized domain within literary assessment, and the history of all literatures shows how reputations, luminous in their time, can crumble, and others, misunderstood or dimmed in the eyes of their contemporaries, are brought back to life; how the best poets survive over centuries and many generations, and how others are left behind.

There are a series of other points which Bauer raises. He bewails my omission of a number of poets of the period. The period had indeed numerous poets. However, to write a literary history of a period does not mean writing about a



large number of its authors. Let us consider the writing on poets of the modern period. It would take many volumes to cover even one tenth of them. The Bābitain Poetry Organization in Kuwait is presently working on a new encyclopedia, due to come out in October 2008, of Arab poets who lived and died in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There are now already over nine thousand names.

In every age poets have abounded in the Arab world, but one can certainly write the literary history of the modern period, indeed of any period, without mentioning many of its poets. In writing the literary history of a period, especially in the frame of a single chapter, rather than a full-length book, paramount attention must be given not to the sheer *number* of authors, even of some good ones among them, but to those among them who best shaped its literary history.<sup>6</sup> A literary genre is developed, enhanced, moved into a new school, wrenched from its course, or arrested by some of its leading authors, working alone or in groups. It is these of whom a literary historian will speak.

Bauer also attacks me for my supposed attitude to nature poetry (pp. 164, 166). Here, once more, he betrays how little he has actually seen of my work on poetry. He is speaking from a lack of knowledge, unless (as I hope is not the case) he is wilfully ignoring what he knows with a view simply to malign. In my chapter on “Nature Poetry in al-Andalus and the Rise of Ibn Khafāja,”<sup>7</sup> I gave a lengthy, positive, and (to the best of my knowledge) new description of this poetry and its aesthetic refinements, particularly the dehumanized<sup>8</sup> (to use Ortega y Gasset’s description) poetry of many short poems of *al-wardiyāt*, *al-rabī‘iyāt*, *al-nawriyāt*, etc., which mostly had no relation to human experience and hence to the human condition. This poetry, which began in the East,<sup>9</sup> developed widely in al-Andalus, and has subsequently drawn much admiration from Western moderns. Lorca,

<sup>6</sup> Unless of course one wants merely to give a tepid survey of who wrote during that period: this kind of survey, however, is more of a social science than a critical literary genre of writing. I fear Bauer confuses the two sorts of enterprises, as seen in his use of the method of statistical analysis of poetic output, which offers no critical insights into the literature he treats herein at all. For a single example, see Bauer, “Abū Tammām’s Ghazal,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 27 (1996): 18–21.

<sup>7</sup> *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, 367–79.

<sup>8</sup> See what Ortega y Gasset had to say about dehumanized poetry, i.e., the poetry that does not speak of direct human experience, in *The Dehumanization of Art and Other Essays on Art, Culture and Literature* (Princeton, 1972), 24.

<sup>9</sup> Although the particular kind of poetry concentrating on nature had been written by the pre-Islamic poets in their intricate and “dehumanized” descriptions of the horse and the she-camel, focus on flowers and nature and the seasons as such was introduced in a big way by Ibn al-Mu‘tazz (861–908), the one-day caliph in Baghdad, and taken up in the next generation by the Syrian al-Ṣunawbari and the Egyptian al-Tinnisi and others, being already fully entrenched when it reached al-Andalus.



for example, was an admirer, and beautiful selections have been translated by three sets of fine translators in modern times.<sup>10</sup> This is all covered in my chapter.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, these poetic miniatures, no matter how perfected and chiselled they were, could never have a claim to be great poetry. Great poetry, not to belabour a point, has always been a poetry of human experience and vision, of the human condition, not simply of artistic and elaborate description. But this is a platitude, something known to every perceptive reader of poetry in any language. If Bauer disagrees, all very well: but he needs to provide a substantive argument; there is no profit in piling up accusations that will not stand the test of time or honest research. My work abounds in statements and interpretations that belie Bauer's aggressive claims.

In the interest of scholarly accuracy, incidentally, I should point out that my Umayyad chapter appeared not in the *Abbasid Belles Lettres* volume of the Cambridge History of Arabic Literature, as Bauer writes (p. 162), but in Volume One, titled *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (1983).

Some further corrections: *uḡhuwān* appears as “daisy” in more than one dictionary: see Wehr and *The Concise Oxford English-Arabic Dictionary*. Bauer attempts to critique my translations. But is he really competent to speak of my translation from the Arabic, or to make such high-handed judgments of it? Has he really mastered the language to this extent? In fact, when we look at a collection of his own translations (see his above-mentioned article on Abū Tammām), it appears that he does not understand the poetic idiom or is unable, at least, to deal with it in translation. His translations, to put it very mildly, leave much to be desired on account of the author's doggedly literal rendering of some passages in the poems he quotes, which betrays a serious lack of knowledge of the Arab poetic idiom as well as his poetic sensibility. His translations of excerpts from Abū Tammām's poetry, for example, are literal and flat; they betray an incapacity to understand the idiomatic meaning of the Arabic lines and the necessity of translating them without undue homage to the literal details (as is indeed the case with idioms in all languages). What poetic pleasure will a reader in English gain from Bauer's translation of some of the *ghazal* passages from Abū Tammām?

<sup>10</sup> See Cola Franzen's lovely translation of a selection of these poems, *Poems of Arab Andalusia* (San Francisco, 1989); James Bellamy and Patricia Owen Steiner, *Banner of the Champions, an Anthology of Medieval Arabic Poetry from Andalusia and Beyond* (Madison, 1989); and Christopher Middleton and Leticia Garza-Falcon, *Andalusian Poems* (Boston, 1992).

<sup>11</sup> Indeed, as I also said in my opening address at the conference on *qaṣīdah* poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa at the School of Oriental and African Studies in July 1993, “Let me say at the outset . . . that I am not a conventional lover of poetry. True lovers of poetry cannot fail to see the splendor of every aesthetic form: they are versatile, mobile, open to every kind of beautiful utterance, endlessly captivated by the poignant poetic passage in any language and in any form.” See *Qaṣīda Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa*, ed. Stefan Sperl and Christopher Shackle (Leiden, 1995), 1:1.



What, for instance, does Abū Tammām (along with many other poets of the Classical Age) mean by *naqā*?<sup>12</sup> Just a heap of sand? Or one to compare to a part of the beloved's body? Her buttocks, in fact: rounded, ample, and white like a sandhill. Since a "sandhill" has no such connotations for an English reader, such a translation completely robs the verse of its poetic substance:

Oh twig of a moringa tree of tender growth, upon a sandhill (oh twig)  
Of which the upper part sways (p. 15).

The poet's intention is simply to describe the slim waist of the beloved and her ample white buttocks.

Most of the translations included in this article are lacking in accuracy and, particularly, in poetic appeal; they render the phrases verbatim, disastrous in any translation.

I could embark on a long list pointing out the mistakes or infelicitous choices Bauer has made in translation. *Aḥshā'* (p. 14 of the same article) cannot be translated in English literally as "viscera" without a grotesquely misplaced connotative effect. The verb *alifa*, *ya'lafu* is not to be translated as "acquainted with" but as "familiar with" (p. 17). And how can anyone offer the following in the same article as a good translation:

Beauty prostrated itself before his face when it saw the perplexity  
of the minds brought on by his outstanding beauty (p. 16)!

In other words: "Beauty itself was in awe at the loveliness of his face when it saw all the wonder his beauty stirred."

Again, it is a well-known usage to say, when describing the tenderness of the beloved's skin, that, being so tender, even water scratches (*khamasha*) it (not as Bauer says: "makes smooth his skin") so that it becomes red, as if wearing a robe of embers (Bauer, pp. 16–17).

Then consider this:

Separation had made me swallow the juice of colocynths, and  
separation has made me bereft of a son. (p. 17 of the same  
article).

What does all this mean when all the poet intends is that separation has made him suffer bitterly and feel bereft? The colocynth (*ḥanzal*) is idiomatically understood, not just in poetry, but also in present-day prose and conversation, to denote bitterness of experience. Translated *literally* into English, it loses its meaning, and, like several of the other translations I have quoted, looks virtually

<sup>12</sup> See pp. 14–15 of "Abū Tammām's Ghazal."



comic. And *thakila* can also mean losing someone loved, not just losing one's child (see *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* under *thakila*).

There are many similar renderings in Bauer's poetic translation, and indeed in his discourse. For example, how can he translate *mujūn* as "satire"?<sup>13</sup> *Mujūn* is the use of heavy, bad language, uncontrolled and impervious to social decorum. It was a sign of the age itself, and of its accepted ethics and culture—one that he describes as "a culture of refinement, sophistication, and elegance" (p. 162 of his review on our volume)—that the word *mujūn* was used openly by poets and was explicitly present as a section title in some of their *diwāns*. It would be quite impossible for poets to use it in their poetry now.

But in this context, Bauer accuses me of "prudishness." My objection to the poetry of this period that delved into mere sexual delineation is simply an objection to vulgarity, which is inimical to art and which is amply manifested in the poetry of this period.<sup>14</sup> By way of contrast, I refer the interested reader to a poem I have quoted elsewhere by the early Iraqi poet ʿAbd al-Ghaffār al-Akhras (1780–1863).<sup>15</sup> In this lively, spirited, and delightful poem, the poet speaks of lust and wine and of a gaiety dizzy with drink. The problem is not a content that includes some explicit sexuality—as al-Akhras's poem in fact does—but the triviality from which most of the sexually explicit poetry of the period under discussion suffered, a triviality whose legacy is a corpus of bad and vulgar verse.

I note, in this context, that Bauer presents me as deliberately maligning ʿUmar ibn Abī Rabīʿah (p. 162), stating that I have regarded the Umayyad period as "marred" by the ʿUmar ibn Abī Rabīʿah syndrome. He contrives the following phrase to describe it (to be understood presumably as reflecting my position): "an abominable degeneration that consists of enjoying one's life without feeling guilt." I have treated the issue of guilt and shame in Arabic culture elsewhere, and would note that the above statement, with its implications, is not in my essay on Umayyad poetry nor has it ever been in my thought.<sup>16</sup> How did Bauer come to invent such words and such an attitude? Authentic scholarship is a matter of hard-earned status, depending first and foremost on a reputation for veracity of research and honesty of interpretation. This kind of personal assault on another scholar, through innuendo, misquotation, and slur, is (to put it charitably) highly unusual.

And "homophobia" (a further implied censure)? In my chapters on Andalusī

<sup>13</sup> See "Mamlūk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches," 116.

<sup>14</sup> Ibn ʿUnayn was banished from Damascus on account of his harsh invective, full of wantonness and crudity.

<sup>15</sup> See *Trends and Movements*, 1:30–31.

<sup>16</sup> The reader can see what I wrote on ʿUmar in my chapter, "Umayyad Poetry" in *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, 422–24 and *passim*.



poetry, I spoke with genuine admiration of the anguish of a dying poet (Ibn Shuhayd), expressed in lovely and heart-rending verse, at parting with ‘Amr, a young man with whom he was deeply in love.<sup>17</sup> Yet again Bauer fails to provide the actual context for my discussion of sexuality and love (or for that matter my discussion of eulogy and almost every other matter I do address) in the period in question, preferring to enumerate the appearance of words and tiny phrases from that discussion, as though this was any kind of genuine critical assessment. The fact that I am addressing the ways that two of the major genres of Arabic poetry (love poetry/*ghazal* and eulogy) became transformed in response to radical transformations and changes in the historical, social, and institutional conditions of the time apparently is not an issue he deems worthy of serious engagement.

What is worse here, however, is his discreditable and defamatory charges of homophobia and racism, threading their way throughout his review in order to be explicitly presented at the end (p. 167). Indeed, perhaps what is particularly outrageous is his ill-concealed attempt to assimilate my descriptions of the pre-Islamic Arabs to the waves of fascism in Europe of the twentieth century (p. 161). Again, all he has to say is based on the same method of selective quotation and enumeration as I have already outlined. However, the contexts and ways in which he repeatedly brings up the phrase “the Arab race,” a phrase I never used, in order to attribute to me ideas that I express neither implicitly nor explicitly, do raise a question about his own stance.

Why should it irk this writer so much if I posit a difference between the Arabs of old and the Arabs of the later urban centuries (p. 161)? And if I describe the old Arab way of life, so different from the urbanized and stylized way of life of the Mamluk and Ottoman periods? People may justifiably hold opposing views, but that is totally different from a mere assault on another in terms of multiple personal innuendo, defamation, and invective.

Why, too, this strange ire and rage (p. 161) because I see a basic concept of poetry common to all Arabic-speaking peoples, and a unified Arab poetic identity? This is a simple fact of literary history; it has been the case in the past and remains so now, throughout the Arab world. It would be extremely difficult, at the present time, to attribute an unsigned poem to a specific Arab country or region—more so, indeed, than in the period under discussion, when regional poetries exhibited certain differences of diction and tone. Changed means of communication, and the ubiquity of conferences and poetry festivals, have ensured that the poetry of the whole Arab world has now become to a high degree unified; and poetries are now distinguished rather through the known styles of certain poets than via local

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<sup>17</sup> See my article “Andalusi Poetry: The Golden Period,” in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, 339–40 and *passim*.



identities. This is an interesting point of literary history.<sup>18</sup> What does it have to do with some “nationalist ideology” that blinds judgment? Indeed, Bauer’s ire betrays the nature of his own stance on what can be permissibly said about the Arabs, or permitted for them, a point that I have addressed earlier. Interestingly, although he has issues to raise with some of the other authors, his invective is reserved only for the Arab scholars he disagrees with in the volume. It feels like a new old story. M. L. al-Yousfi (whom Bauer also attacks with slurs) is one of the very finest critics of poetry and prose literature in contemporary Arabic. The author of a seminal three-volume work, *Fitnat al-Mutakhayyal* (Beirut, 2002), he is original, creative, and gives a much-needed new and cogent interpretation and a breath of fresh air to literary criticism in the Arab world.

It is not within the rules of decorum in scholarly criticism that a reviewer should (directly or by implication) accuse an author of such negative personal qualities as homophobia and blind national fanaticism, even racism. At best, this serves to betray Bauer’s ignorance of my work and his remarkable capacity to leap to judgments which suit either his own preferences or his naive concept of poetry. Yet beyond that, and given the inconsistencies, contradictions, and manipulations as well as the ugliness of the accusations his “review” is replete with, one is left questioning what impulse actually informs this review. He has addressed none of the manifold and extended *technical* points I raise about the development of poetry during the period, nor the extensive social and historical discussion I provide that addresses the environment for the development of this poetry in its different forms, and the constant comparisons with the poetry that came before and after it (except either to outright deny any historical approach on my part, or to treat it in a very superficial and denigrating way when he wishes to make his unscrupulous charges of racism).

I have fervently dedicated myself over the last thirty years or so to serving the reputation and status of my beleaguered culture and literature, and of Arab/Islamic civilization, through translations and studies. To this end, I founded East-West Nexus/*PROTA* with the vision and aim of providing the English-speaking

<sup>18</sup> A very telling example, which demonstrates my point perfectly, can be drawn from a recent public occasion: on September 7, 2007, Abu Dhabi Satellite Television broadcast (10:00 p.m. local time) an inter-Arab poetry contest for best poet. Thirty-five poets from all over the Arab world (including the Sudan and Mauritania, from which two of the five finalists were selected) competed in this. One of the activities performed, as part of the occasion, was a shared collective composition of a single Arabic poem. A poet would say one verse, in the two-hemistich form, and then a second poet would add another verse in the same meter and rhyme, attempting to develop the semantic element of the poem, until all of them had had their say. The difference in their rendering was only in poetic value and skill, but there was no trace in the wordings themselves to denote the diverse local identities of the poets. This suggests the vibrancy of a shared poetic language, style, and stance.



world, to the best of my ability, with some of the finest manifestations of Arab creative talent, past and present. If I had found in the poetry of the period in question the beauty and greatness which Bauer strives to intimate it has, I would most certainly have included it in my agenda. What could prevent me from further enriching the general work I have undertaken by bringing forward more fruits of original creativity in Arabic? In my work on this project, I have consistently enjoyed the companionship of some of the best world scholars in the field of Arabic and Islamic studies. Many, from literally across the world, have shared in the vision and its objectives, and the work of bringing it to life. There may well be a number of people who may, however, not have welcomed it. This is part of the territory of such attempts at contributing to the transformation of cultural discourses about various issues and regions in the world. But it would be a sad development indeed should the field of Arabic studies fall into the hands of one such as Thomas Bauer, to be expressed in terms of such crude and personal virulence of language, intention, and tone.

Critics, in any age, work responsibly but from an inevitably—indeed bracingly—wide variety of viewpoints; and it is for the reader to make an informed choice. I myself, while observing scholarly principles, always including a close study of historical background, make my assessments from a viewpoint of heartfelt artistic conviction. What is more, I do this openly and in a spirit of respect for my readers and their intelligence. If readers, having read what I have to say, disagree with my viewpoint, I can do nothing about it. If, on the other hand, they find themselves convinced or enthused, then all the Bauers in the world can do nothing to stop this happening.

The above will, I trust, suffice to show the many-sided flaws in Bauer's blind defense of his personal view of the age, and in his venomous attack on views that differ. The only answer to the differing views of others which Bauer should give in order to defend his point of view and to show the soundness of his judgment is not to rain slurs and vituperation on those who differ from him, but rather to put down a genuinely convincing argument about this age, and translate its poetry *poetically* and demonstrate its superiority.

Meanwhile literature and criticism move vigorously on.



DENISE AIGLE, *Le Fārs sous la domination Mongole: Politique et Fiscalité (XIIIe-XIVe s.)*. Studia Iranica, Cahier 31 (Paris: Association pour l'Avancement des Études Iraniennes, 2005). Pp. 246. Includes glossary, maps, and genealogical charts.

REVIEWED BY PATRICK WING, Tulane University

Recent scholarship devoted to the provinces of the Mamluk Sultanate has raised important issues regarding the relationship between imperial authority and the influence and interests of local notables. A recent issue of this journal (11, no. 1, 2007) was devoted entirely to Syria, demonstrating an awareness of the need to consider aspects of Mamluk history taking place outside the citadel in Cairo. Denise Aigle's recent book offers scholars of Mamluk history an opportunity to examine some of these same issues in the context of the Mongol Ilkhanate in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Aigle's *Le Fārs sous la domination Mongole* makes an important contribution to our understanding of the relations between the Ilkhan court, the Mongol administrative elite, and the local Persian notables through a study of the political, social, and economic aspects of Mongol rule in Fars. Aigle's attention to the dynamics of power between military, administrative, and religious elite owes much to the work of Jean Aubin, whom she credits for influencing her approach in this work. Her stated objective is to examine the modalities of Mongol rule in Fars from the first appearance of the Mongol armies in Iran until the end of the Injuid dynasty in 1357.

In the introduction, Aigle points out that the Salghurid rulers of Fars submitted to the Mongols, and thus did not suffer the direct shock and devastation of the Mongol invasion. In addition, the province did not receive a large immigration of Mongol tribes, as was the case in Khurasan, Azarbayjan, and Anatolia. Mongol rule in Fars was exercised in a fiscal manner, and it is in the networks between the local notables, the Salghurid ruling house, and the Mongol rulers at the *ordo* (the court-camp of the khan) that Aigle examines the patterns and impact of Mongol rule in Fars.

Central to Aigle's thesis is the notion that Mongol rule in Fars caused a break in traditional administrative patterns. Previously, financial and secretarial offices had been handed down, generation to generation, in established families. However, under the Mongols, a dual administrative system was set up, consisting of both Mongol and local personnel, directed from the *ordo*. This structure meant that the provincial notables expended great energy and resources to secure loyal clients among the amirs, courtiers, and royal relatives at the *ordo* in order to pursue their own personal interests. The political maneuvering at the royal court meant that Mongol officials serving in Fars could not rely on the local nobility to faithfully manage fiscal affairs in the province. This situation, combined with



weak Salghurid rulers, led the Ilkhans to take more direct control over fiscal and administrative affairs in Fars.

Aigle traces this process chronologically through the death of the last Ilkhan ruler, Abū Saʿīd, in 1335, after which Fars became an object of desire and conflict among the several factions of amirs who attempted to take control in Iran. Conflict in the two decades after the death of Abū Saʿīd was focused on the family of the Injuids, so-called because they had been assigned to administer the Ilkhanid crown holdings (*injū*) in Fars in the early fourteenth century, and the Muzaffarids, another local dynasty that had ruled Kirman and Yazd under the Ilkhans. Aigle attributes the eventual victory of the Muzaffarids to their ability to incorporate the local *pahlavāns*, members of youth organizations devoted to the arts of wrestling and archery. Aigle argues that the *pahlavāns*, with their personal bands of followers, greatly contributed to the Muzaffarids' military success. At the same time, the Muzaffarid amir Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad's appeal to religion won him the support of the population of Shiraz. The combination of the *pahlavāns* and Islam enabled the Muzaffarids to take Shiraz in 1353 and execute the last Injuid leader in 1357.

A general issue which could have been addressed more directly in the book was the attitude of the Ilkhan rulers themselves toward Fars, which may help account for its historical development in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In other words, why was Fars spared the devastation of the initial Mongol conquest and the subsequent influx of Mongol tribesmen, in a way that Khurasan and Azarbayjan were not? I would suggest that the Ilkhans' concern with controlling commercial traffic from China and Central Asia to the Mediterranean and Black Seas had a direct impact on the political structure of Mongol Iran from the time of the first imperial governorates there in the 1230s and 1240s. The east-west trade route made direct control of cities like Tabriz and the foundation of the city of Sulṭānīyah an important part of the Ilkhanid political economy. Fars remained outside this economic pattern, and thus the Ilkhans were content to rely on the Salghurids, Injuids, and Muzaffarids to administer Fars, Kirman, and Yazd. However, as Aigle convincingly argues, contrary to common assertions, the Mongols did play an active role in the provincial administration. They did not simply leave the Persian personnel to manage the business of government. The value of this work is in Aigle's skillful analysis of the interests of the political elites, and the ways in which the political structure of the Ilkhanate provided opportunities for and limitations to those local political actors, from the Salghurid governors to the *pahlavān* youth organizations.

In *Le Fārs sous la domination Mongole*, Denise Aigle has not merely provided a "local history" of an Ilkhanid province, but has shown how local interests depended on and influenced the imperial center. As historians of the Mamluk Sultanate and



Mongol Ilkhanate continue to examine issues of imperial-provincial interaction, the possibility for more comparative studies becomes more realistic and more promising. Such comparisons of Mamluk and Ilkhanid provincial administration and economy would surely yield valuable new insights into both of these states and the relations between them.

*Al-Ta'liq: Yawmiyāt Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq*. Edited by Sheikh Jaafar al-Muhajer (Ja'far al-Muhājir). Vol. II: 891/1486 to 896/1491 (text: pp. 577–1069), vol. III: 897/1492 to 902/1497 (text: pp. 1081–1517). (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 2002, 2004).

REVIEWED BY LI GUO, University of Notre Dame

Woody Allen once famously remarked that ninety per cent of life is about showing up. To illustrate the point, here we have a journal, by a Damascene court clerk in the fifteenth century, which is virtually a laundry list of his showings-up, and no shows, at countless appointments and events required by his job, his family, and his community. The trajectory and significance of Ibn Ṭawq's *Al-Ta'liq* have been discussed by Stephan Conermann and Tilman Seidensticker in their review article published earlier in this journal,<sup>1</sup> with an outline of the contents of volume I, the first of four. Volumes II and III, under review here, cover the final years of Sultan Qāyṭbāy (r. 872–901/1468–96) and the first half of his son Muḥammad's short reign (r. 901–3/1496–98). In the following I have lumped together notes from my preliminary reading of this spectacularly rich text, in an attempt to present a reader's digest of sorts. I will first comment on the compositional features of the text, then describe its main contents, situating the piecemeal diary-entry fragments into context. I will conclude with a categorized list of the materials contained in the text that may be of interest for future research.

I.

For anyone familiar with the modern conventions of a diary, the most notable aspect of Ibn Ṭawq's narrative is its hybrid format: a strange blend of a "public" text, in the format of *tārīkh* annals, and a "private" journal. A synopsis of the opening segment of the year 891/1486 exhibits the pattern (pp. 577–79). It begins with a list of the statesmen of the Mamluk Sultanate in Cairo. Then comes the diary proper, of the first day of the year, to be broken down into nine items:

<sup>1</sup> "Some Remarks on Ibn Ṭawq's (d. 915/1509) Journal *al-Ta'liq*, vol. 1 (885/1480 to 890/1485)," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 2 (2007): 121–35.



- (1) The day fell on a Sunday. Cold weather.
- (2) Banyan trees and almond trees began to blossom.
- (3) Lesson of Arabic grammar took place at the mosque of the author's patron (*sayyidi*), the Shafi'i judge Shaykh al-Islām (of whom little is known). Students in attendance and the textbooks used.
- (4) A messenger arrived from Cairo, reporting the release of a group of Hanafi scholars from the Citadel.
- (5) Lecture at the Grand Mosque ended up with a visiting scholar, 'Alī al-Miknāsī al-Maghribī, accompanied by a "beardless lad" and others, being badly beaten by a man, also from the Maghrib. The skirmish was ignited when the visitor, a Shafi'i, made fun of the assaulter, a Maliki.
- (6) The *nā'ib* of Syria took off for the northern frontiers. Names of the generals in his entourage and those who stayed behind in Damascus.
- (7) List of the four chief judges in Damascus.
- (8) List of the civic officials in Damascus.
- (9) Meeting with a local shaykh, Abū al-Faḍl, at the latter's request.

Here items 6–8, on local state affairs in Damascus, were recorded perhaps out of the necessity of stocktaking at the beginning of a new year. By and large, an overall concern for the Mamluk state runs throughout the text. The annual hajj processions, military campaigns in Bilād al-Shām, news from Egypt and the Hijaz, and so forth, all find their way into the diary. However, the thin coverage of state affairs amounts to nothing more than mostly secondhand hearsay, introduced with the phrase "I heard that (*sami'tu* or *balaghani*). . . ." It is evident that the author's motivation and impulse for writing the diary lay in his consummate interest in the wellbeing of himself, his community (his family and a small circle of associates and neighbors), and his place: Damascus and its suburbs. It is this portion of the text that stands out as truly original and unique, and merits our attention.

The entries vary in length. There are long ones, and extremely terse ones. "There is nothing worth writing," is the usual explanation for leaving one day's record blank. Sometimes an entire day's entry consists of a single item. One entry reads "The 19th (Rabī' I, year 891), Saturday. It rained early in the day" (p. 602); "the 19th (Shawwāl, year 898), Friday. Bars and taverns (? *al-khammārāt wa-al-waqqāfāt*) have been on the rise" reads another (p. 1210). There are also a few unexplained lacunae: a long stretch from Sha'bān to Dhū al-Ḥijjah of the year 892 (pp. 713–24); the last three weeks of the year 896 (pp. 1067–68); and the last week of the year 900 (p. 1366). All these lacunae occurred at the end of a given year when the author was perhaps preoccupied with some sort of end-of-the-year rush. When he was traveling, the entries tend to be short "due to fatigue," (for example, pp. 664–65, 787–90). On occasion, failing health was the cause for tardiness: resulting from an illness "of forty-three days," starting from the end of



the year 899, the second half of the first month of the ensuing year 900 remained unrecorded, and the entries of the first three months are accordingly sparse (pp. 1308–21), a rarity for this otherwise consistent and diligent diarist.

## II.

Overall, the journal makes an intriguing read, in light of the idiosyncrasy of a “private” text, whose context was perhaps better known to the author alone. A case in point: the author mentions that he once “slept” on the bed of his patron’s son, the soon-to-be-married Muḥammad (p. 580). The significance of this seemingly off-hand reference is that, according to an ancient Damascene custom (the editor supplemented this information in the footnote), it was considered preferable to have a pious person sleep in the bridal bed three nights prior to the wedding. The author’s record of the nights he slept in the groom’s house was thus a testimony to his status in his community and his closeness to his patron’s family. But since the diary was perhaps never meant to be made public, this kind of scrupulousness can hardly be viewed as self-promotion, for he also kept a record of where he slept after the wedding, rotating between his own house, the residence of the shaykh at the mosque, and other places. Why was that an important issue, then?

It turned out that Ibn Ṭawq’s concern for his own job performance was perhaps the *raison d’être* for writing the diary in the first place. The tireless accounts of his whereabouts—where he prayed for the day, where he spent the night, and where he went on those work-related trips—may have to do with the fact that he lived in the suburbs and had to “commute” to the city to report to work and somehow felt the need to record all of his movements. The ubiquitous phrases such as *ḥaḍartu al-Shāmiyah fī khidmat sayyidī* (“was present at the Shāmiyah mosque [or other places] to attend to business for the patron . . .”), or *lam adkhul al-madīnah* (“did not come to the city today . . .”) underline such functionality of the text. It is perhaps for a similar reason that the no-shows were recorded. Our court clerk was very mindful about his personal hygiene: “Didn’t attend the session today; had to go to the bathhouse,” is a frequent diary entry. If it was time to do laundry, he would take the day off as well.

As diaries go, tidbits of private life are inevitable. Ibn Ṭawq is candid about it. He describes his medical conditions, namely the pathological mood swings (*taghayyur mizāj*) he suffered (pp. 1362, 1421, 1427, 1449). He laments over family problems: “have had some difficulty,” one entry reads, “with the relatives” (p. 1216); “wife has not been feeling well for two days. God have mercy,” reads another (p. 1221). He complains about being short of cash from time to time: “have been in bad shape money-wise these days . . .” (p. 829); “deep in debt these days . . .” (p. 847); “have had a hard time [due to legal wrangling over money]” (pp. 1152–53). Nevertheless, he seemed to lead quite a good life. A



lifetime “foodie,” his passion for well-prepared meals is unmistakable. We read about his anger over some “so-so quality smoked meat, pickles, and grape leaf wraps” (p. 910); his complaint that “meat was not to be had in Damascus for a week; I have not had meat for two days and two nights!” (p. 1101); and his description of the “six main dishes” presented at the dress rehearsal for his son’s wedding banquet (pp. 1419, 1422). One may take note here that the where’s-the-beef question was not only for the author’s own gastronomic gratification, but was also related to the welfare of his community. “Meat was not available this week in the marketplace; only statesmen and notables (*al-dawlah wa-al-kibār min al-nās*) could have it. God have mercy! . . .,” reads one entry (p. 1260); “wheat was sold at [such a high price] thanks to the unjust policy (*ẓulm*) of the governor of Syria!” reads another (p. 1238).

The intimate nature of the diary genre certainly allowed the liberty to divulge some strongly worded commentaries on his surroundings. For example, he was not too happy to see that in a Christian quarter “Muslims and Christians mingle . . . That’s not right!” (p. 602). He is not hesitant in lashing out at some Mamluks, including one particular amir who was a “tyrant, unjust, and dead drunk . . .” (p. 1186). Nor does he hold back any thoughts on business transactions he helped to facilitate and finalize. On more than one occasion, he makes it clear that he “was not satisfied with the deal at all” (p. 725).

Ibn Ṭawq had a keen eye for the happenings around him and was fastidious in recording them. Stories of the good, the bad, and the ugly make for some side-bar tales, aside from his own affairs. In telling the tales, his attitudes are unmistakable. For example, the sporadic accounts of the Mamluk military movements are underlined by his awareness of the state of Mamluk rule in the twilight years, in that “the Ottoman advances” pepper his narrative. At one point he exclaims that “the [Mamluk] army collapsed!” (p. 1428). Scandals, especially sexual escapades, are fixtures in the diary, and they are not for entertainment value alone. As a career Shafi‘i, Ibn Ṭawq uses these scandals to point out the moral shortcomings of other *madhhabs*. We read stories, with pointed information, about a “Hanafi” scholar who had impregnated a girl during Ramaḍān and was castrated as a penalty (p. 667); a “Hanbali” who had too much to drink (p. 1103); another “Hanbali who disguised himself as a female to mingle with women” (pp. 1171–72); and, alas, more misbehavior by “some Hanafis” (p. 1180).

There are plenty of unpleasant stories to go around: a raid that involved a preacher (*khaṭīb*), alcohol, and two singing girls (p. 656); Sufis destroying bars in the Christian quarters (p. 1011); a hashish smuggling ring (p. 1141); and more narcotics raids (pp. 1007, 1426, 1515, 1516). Nearly every page contains some dramatic episode in the author’s neighborhood: domestic abuse, slave girls running away, shouting matches and fist fights between neighbors, crimes (murder, theft,



prostitution, etc.), fires, riots in the city, and so forth. While most are matter-of-fact, some are quite gruesome, such as the coroner's report of a murder case in the back alleys (pp. 1476–77).

Speaking of neighborly behavior, Ibn Ṭawq obviously had some ax to grind, if only in his journal. Oddly enough, the dirty laundry of his patron's family—money problems (pp. 1378–79), the harem feuds (*nakd*) among two strong-willed wives and a husband in between (pp. 1462, 1515)—forms one of the main story lines. Looming in the background is the shaykh's difficult wife, referred to frequently as “that Egyptian woman,” whose “evil deeds” are enumerated in the diary entries, making her *the* villain of all. We are told, for example, that at the wedding of the above-mentioned Muḥammad, the mother-in-law, in her double capacity as the groom's step-mother *and* the bride's birth mother (she had been married to Shaykh al-Islām's brother, whose daughter was to marry Muḥammad), failed to show up. The woman, as Ibn Ṭawq tells it, was “possessed by Satan” and mentally unstable. Ibn Ṭawq then goes on to report that the party went on without a hitch: “the female guests” were fed with a feast of “eight grilled sheep,” various kinds of rice dishes, bread, dairy products, and dessert, to be washed down with refreshments; that he personally accompanied the groom to the pre-nuptial bath; that the newlyweds consummated their union at “the early minutes of two o'clock.” At the end of the day, the “Egyptian woman's wicked tricks” were defeated by divine intervention (p. 581). Inquiring minds, however, may still want to know: why an account of the food for “female attendees” only? Why such bitter animosity against this particular woman?

One also finds records of birth, death, illness, marriage, divorce, circumcision, and so forth, in the diary entries. Particularly interesting are the accounts of several cases of abortion or miscarriage. The verb used here is *asqāṭat*, the implication of which is not altogether clear. The lexicographers' definition of “a pregnant female cast her young one, or fetus, abortively, or in an immature, or imperfect, state” (Lane, Hava) encompasses a wide range of possibilities: abortion, still birth, or miscarriage. Since most of the incidents involve baby girls—a girl “of two months” (conception? birth?) had been “cast” (p. 899); two girls had been “cast” two days in a row (p. 1325); another girl met the same fate (p. 1363)—one would be inclined to think that abortion was the case here. But we also have cases involving a girl and boy (p. 1047), the circumstances of which remain vague. Such, of course, are the limits of a text of this kind. On the other hand, it is exactly this kind of scrupulous, and intriguing, detail that make Ibn Ṭawq's diary a valuable source for the study of Mamluk history, society, and culture.

### III.

Taken all together, Ibn Ṭawq's diary entries are straightforward and repetitive,



but never dry or dull. The journal is local, personal, and informative.

For the student of *environment and natural history*, Ibn Ṭawq's meticulous observations of climate variation and flora and fauna in the vicinity of Damascus stand out as one of the most consistent records of its kind. Attention to the environment and climate variation (solar and lunar eclipses, new moons, earthquakes, the position of the sun, migratory locusts, flooding rivers, etc.) has long been a hallmark of the Syrian historians. Ibn Ṭawq's documentation achieves a new standard in this arena.

For the historian of *architecture and urban development*, Ibn Ṭawq's detailed first-hand descriptions of the houses, mosques, alleys, residential quarters, and other properties are valuable. Certification and verification of measurements of the buildings constituted a large part of his job and he did it diligently. The journal is full of documented accounts about the buildings and grounds in Damascus and its suburbs.

For the study of the *history of the Arabic language*, especially Damascene colloquial, the text provides intimate raw material. Ibn Ṭawq had the tendency to quote people's dialogue, including some heated exchanges, in real situations; the result is a text full of local usage and slang. It is also in this particular area that the present edition has left something to be desired. Although some features of the "Middle Arabic" are noted on occasion, for example, the missing *ḥamzah* (p. 1090, n. 2, *juzayn* for *juz'ayn*) and the *ḡā'*/*dād* interchange (p. 1211, n. 3; p. 1258, n. 1), many others are not indicated at all, for example, *r-w-s*, for *ru'ūs*, which looks very odd. But overall, the editor did a superb job in transcribing the impossibly cursive handwritten manuscripts. For such a long text, typos and errors are surprisingly few (I spot only one: *aḥmaran*, p. 835). Particularly helpful are the cultural and sociolinguistic notes on all things Syrian or Damascene.

For the student of *social history* of the late Mamluk era, Ibn Ṭawq's snapshots—of the personnel changes in ulama circles, books he read, teaching sessions he attended, poems recited in his presence, and so forth—shed light on his intellectual environment. He was also very alert to the non-Muslim communities. His account of some measures imposed by the local officials on the *dhimmīs*—for example, when they go to the bathhouse, men should wear a rope around their waists and women a bell—is unique to his diary (p. 755, n. 2). As for the study of everyday life in Damascus, the diary is a mine of information. In addition to his aforesaid addictive enthusiasm for the meals he and his fellow Damascenes had savored, our author had a taste for other fine things. He loved his furs and cloth, evidenced by the care given to the detailed accounts of what he wore on a given day. He was also watchful of the fashion trends in his city as well. One entry, for example, notes that high-heeled shoes (*al-tasūmah*) were "hot" among the Damascene ladies, but were once banned (p. 643).



In the domain of social history, Ibn Ṭawq's journal is, in my opinion, most remarkable for its accounts of his daily activities in the capacity of court clerk (*shāhid, kātib*), and is therefore most valuable for the study of *economic life and related legal practices*. Yossef Rapoport's sensible reading, and successful use of the material contained in the journal in his excellent study of marriage and divorce in Mamluk society is but one good example.<sup>2</sup> And there is much more. A sampling of the cases Ibn Ṭawq personally oversaw in the first month of the year 891/1486 (pp. 580–90) is sufficient to give a glimpse of the kind of data the text contains and promises:

Day 4: a rental deal concerning a property near al-Bādira<sup>3</sup>iyah.

Day 7: a case of break-in in al-Ṣāliḥiyah.

Day 8: a dispute between Shafi'i and Maliki fellows over a debt.

Day 11: a real estate transfer deal involving the author's patron; and prior to that, a property transfer deal involving the sultan's personal translator.

Day 15: a case of jewelry theft by the servant of a Mamluk soldier.

Day 17: a rental deal concerning a property near Bāb al-Barīd.

Day 19: a *waqf* lease; and disputes over a will.

Day 22: family feud with regard to property rights involving the author's patron.

Day 30: the closing of the above-mentioned deal involving the sultan's translator.

And this covers only one month's worth of Ibn Ṭawq's court-related work. Following are more of his job activities as recorded in the diary:

Notarizations (*shahidtu 'alá*), marriage licenses (*'aqd*), case briefings (*infaṣalat al-qaḍīyah*), the description of which occupies most of the space in the text.

Verifications (pp. 736 [*thubūt*], 859 [*tarikah*], 999 [*qaṭī'ah*], 1007, 1264 [fake documents]).

Negotiations and settlements (pp. 584, 696, 758, 765–66, 789 [complaint by a Christian], 890 [mediation efforts, *al-iṣlāḥ*], 897 [crop harvest], 1450 [negotiation with fellahin over *kharāj*-revenues]).

Property inspection and appraisal: the commonly used verb is *ṭala'tu*, "I went to such-and-such place to inspect . . ." (pp. 605, 617, 623, 628, 630, 637, 647, 707, 759, 818, 862, 867, 877, 878, 882, 883, 884, 888, 927, 968, 989, 1018, 1041, 1082, 1118, 1119, 1162, 1204, 1261, 1264, 1366, 1375, 1466, 1514). Sometimes the inspection involved inventory after a house eviction or state-enforced confiscation (pp. 743, 795, 904, 1253), as well as crop inventory for tax farmers (pp. 955, 1050, 1139, 1143, 1192, 1345, 1357).

Document preparation: mostly *kitāb* (letters) (*passim*), but also other kinds of

<sup>2</sup> Yossef Rapoport, *Marriage, Money and Divorce in Medieval Islamic Society* (Cambridge, 2005).



documents, such as *waqf* papers (p. 1494); *shahādah* (certificate of properties) (pp. 921–22); *nuzūlāt* (residential certificate) (pp. 1014, 1088, 1132); *waraqah* (letter for the sultan) and *wuṣūl* (receipts) (p. 1375); *kharāj* (account) (pp. 1453, 1514). He tells many interesting trivial details. The letters between Egypt and Syria, for example, were collected and delivered in sealed/locked postal bags (*khirqah mukhayyātah, kis*); important letters were written on a specific kind of paper and wrapped in blue handkerchiefs for delivery (p. 1209).

Document delivery: *kitāb* (letters), *waraqah* (decrees), *shahādah* (certificates) (pp. 587, 617, 671, 748, 771, 772, 826, 852, 855, 860, 864, 868–69, 886, 988); *taṣḍīq* (pp. 638, 649); *fatwá* (pp. 710, 762, 828); secret documents (p. 814).

Payment collection and delivery: collecting (pp. 651, 652, 906, 1012, 1063–64); paying (pp. 665, 671, 828–29, 1010, 1045, 1046, 1254); collecting and paying (pp. 1126, 1145, 1212–13, 1236); money exchange (pp. 1212, 1217 [florin to dirham, for exporting goods from Europe]); and occasionally, returning (!) the money (p. 1213).

Ibn Ṭawq was very good with numbers and had, thankfully, the good habit of writing them down in his diary. Crunching numbers, after all, was his job. A typical case is an accounting session (*muḥāsabah*) with the senior accountant (*raʿīs al-ḥiṣṣah*, pp. 1165–66, 1381, 1382, 1514). Another major task was inventory (*ʿaddādah*), the documentation of which abounds (for example, pp. 1445–47). Other than that, the diary entries contain more numbers: the measurements of the properties (pp. 749–50); various inventories (pp. 842–43, of a *tarikah* [bequest]); expenses of military activities (p. 1228, for a spy network); salaries and compensation paid to the Mamluks and government employees (pp. 823, 875, 904, 1086, 1100); various currencies (*dhahab Ashrafī, fiḍḍah ʿadadiyah, fiḍḍah Shāmiyah, laffat Ḥamawiyah*) and exchange rates with foreign currencies (“single” florin [*iflūrin mufārid*] and “double” florin [*iflūrin muzāwij*], pp. 1217, 1220).

And then, there are lots of prices. Prices of foodstuffs are quoted on a nearly weekly basis. Other prices seldom seen in chronicles abound here, such as those for houses (pp. 915, 1285); farm and orchard leases (pp. 623, 950, 1194); rental/leasing rates (pp. 632, 638, 863–64, 1052 [the annual fees for the restaurant district, Dār al-Tuʿm, was 8,000 *fiḍḍah*], 1341 [a bath house’s monthly lease was settled for 160 *fiḍḍah*], 1475–76); slave girls (a “flawed one with bad manners and weak sight” went for 1,230 dirhams [p. 594]; a black maid for 1,300 dirhams [p. 604]; a legally acquired one [*al-sharʿiyah al-mūjibah*] for a sum of 1,170 *fiḍḍah* [p. 730]; a “Muslim” maid of Ethiopian origins went as high as 42 *Ashrafiyah* gold, in cash [*ḥāllah*, p. 1148]; another for 12 gold [p. 1149]); horses (pp. 649, 1273), sheep (p. 760), and cattle (pp. 781, 917). By the way, the cost for causing the wrongful death of a boy was 600 gold, cash (p. 1364).



Such are the sundry facts one can learn from the diary of a fifteenth-century Damascene court clerk. The categorized list above is far from complete. And the text as a whole, as it stands, is far from being “private” as well. Perhaps this is the way Ibn Ṭawq wanted it, after all. He makes it clear that the diary served the purpose of getting the record straight, insofar as *fal-yu‘lam dhālika*, literally “let it be known,” is a phrase frequently used by the author to conclude a business-related entry. In any case, modern students of Mamluk history should be thankful that the hard-working fellow not only showed up for work but also felt obliged to leave a record of it. What a record!

HASAN M. EL-SHAMY, *A Motif Index of The Thousand and One Nights* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2006). Pp. 680.

REVIEWED BY ROBERT IRWIN

In the last five years or so there has been an explosion of academic interest in *The Arabian Nights*. In 2004 several conferences were held to mark the tercentenary of the publication of the first volume of Antoine Galland’s French translation of *Alf Laylah wa-Laylah*. The Kyoto conference proceedings were published as *The Arabian Nights and Orientalism: Perspectives from East and West*, edited by Yuriko Yamanaka and Tetsuo Nishio. The Paris conference resulted in *Les Mille et Une Nuits en partage*, edited by Aboubakr Chraïbi. The papers given at Wolfenbüttel were published in special issues of *Fabula* and *Marvels and Tales: Journal of Fairy-Tale Studies*. Recent years have also seen the publication of Daniel Beaumont’s *Slave of Desire: Sex, Love and Death in The 1001 Nights; New Perspectives on Arabian Nights: Ideological Variations and Narrative Horizons*, edited by Wen-Chin Ouyang and Geert Jan van Gelder; Margaret Sironval’s *Album Mille et Une Nuits; The Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, edited by Ulrich Marzolph and Richard van Leeuwen; and *The Arabian Nights Reader*, edited by Ulrich Marzolph. We also have a new German translation by Claudia Ott from the Arabic edition of Muhsin Mahdi and a French translation by Jamel Eddine Bencheikh and André Miquel of the Calcutta II printed text of the *Nights* (handsomely published as a three-volume set in a Pléiade edition). In 2008 Penguin will publish a new translation by Malcolm Lyons of the Calcutta II version of the *Nights*, the first translation into English of this version since Richard Burton’s in the 1880s.

Hasan El-Shamy is a distinguished and widely published expert on Arab folklore. His previous works include *Folktales of Egypt* (1980) and *Folk Traditions of the Arab World: A Guide to Motif Classification*, (2 vols., 1995). Stith Thompson



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published *The Motif-Index* between the years 1932 and 1936. This catalogued in a fairly systematic fashion the elements that could be combined to make up either a folktale or a more literary composition. Although Thompson aimed at global coverage, as El-Shamy pointed out in his *Folk Traditions of the Arab World*, Arabic folklore was badly underrepresented in Thompson's Eurocentric compilation. *A Motif Index of The Thousand and One Nights* represents a further attempt by El-Shamy to redress this imbalance. It is also a major step forward in the study of *The Arabian Nights*, as thousands of story-telling items are here systematically catalogued for the first time.

*A Motif Index* is a useful book, even if one is not interested in folklore and its categories, since the book can serve general readers as a partial index to the *Nights*. If, for example, one cannot remember which story has the protagonist spying on bird-maidens as they bathe, or which story has a succession of sorcerers who demand that they be tied up and thrown into a lake, then one may find the right story by judicious use of El-Shamy's catalogue, which consists of a huge index of motifs, broadly classified in the way Thompson had laid out. It also includes a shorter alphabetical index of motifs as well as a short register of tale-types laid out following a numerical classification. (El-Shamy has not just classified new material, but he has also added new motif types to Thompson's structure.) If one looks up "mamluke" in El-Shamy's alphabetical index, the first reference is to P.508.1, "Mamelukes expected to rise to high ranks" from the story of "Dalila the Swindler." The second reference is to K252.5, "free person attired like slave (mameluke) sold as slave" from the same story. However, *A Motif Index*, compiled according to folkloristic criteria, is only a partial index, and if, for example, one looks up "camel" in the alphabetical index, one finds only three references to camels (and one of those is to a lover's bite said to have been caused by a camel), whereas if one looks up "camel" in *The Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, one finds many more very interesting references to these animals.

Each of El-Shamy's motifs (over 5,500 of them) is normally cross-referenced to an Arabic text of the *Nights*, to Burton's English translation, to Victor Chauvin's *Bibliographie des ouvrages Arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1800 à 1885* (1892–1922), and to *The Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*. This is an admirable and formidable piece of work, except that the choice of Arabic text as a base of reference strikes me as problematic. The text chosen was published in four volumes, printed by the Maktabat al-Jumhūriyah (Cairo, n.d.). One problem is that this text is not widely available in the West; for example, London University's School of Oriental and African Studies does not possess a copy of this edition (and neither do I). Secondly, the authenticity of this "folk edition of *Alf laylah wa laylah*" is asserted, rather than demonstrated. Among other things, it would be useful to know how much it differs from the Būlāq text. On a more general issue,



El-Shamy makes the following remark: “Most of the narratives constituting *Alf laylah wa laylah* in the Arabic language are literary representations of traditional folktales.” This may well be so, but how many is “most”? And can we be sure that the folk version always precedes the literary one? Quite a few of the stories seem to have originated in the repertoire of *nudamā'* or in the compositions of moralists working with the theme of *faraj ba'd al-shiddah*.

However, there is much of interest in El-Shamy's short introduction to his index. Burton's translation comes in for some well-deserved criticism. El-Shamy is right to point out that, in the frame story, Sheherazade survives through total submission to the will of Shahriyar and that there is no suggestion that the sultan should be punished for having previously killed so many women. The feminist view of Sheherazade as someone who uses stories therapeutically in order to cure the sultan of his madness must be rejected as anachronistic and as something imposed upon the frame story rather than actually being found in it. More generally, El-Shamy claims, surely correctly, that the stories in his sample are thoroughly male in their orientation: “Women-bound tales are virtually non-existent in *Alf laylah*.” To Mamlukists, mention of the word *inshā'* will summon memories of wading through the chancery treatises of al-'Umarī and al-Qalqashandī. But El-Shamy uses the word to refer to a literary style, signifying “a literary composition in classical academic Arabic, not in the vernacular.” Folktales suffer distortion and elaboration when they are written up in the *inshā'* manner.

To judge by the bibliography, very little has been written about the folklore of the *Nights* except by El-Shamy. The value of the introduction would have been enhanced by reference to parallel or contrasting work on the *Nights* and on Arabic folk literature more generally. Not all the stories are timeless and lacking a historical context and Patrice Coussonet has done patient work in dating selected stories and giving them a historical context. Malcolm Lyons's magnificent work on Arabic folk epics might also have been mentioned.

*Muslim Military Architecture in Greater Syria: From the Coming of Islam to the Ottoman Period*. Edited by Hugh Kennedy. History of Warfare, vol. 35 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006). Pp. xix + 323.

REVIEWED BY REUVEN AMITAL, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

This beautifully produced book (with a price to match) contains many of the papers from a conference held in Aleppo in September 2003. As indicated by the title, the individual articles cover a wide chronological span, stretching before and



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after the period usually covered by this journal, although Mamlukists—especially those with an interest in archaeology, historical geography, or military history—may find all of them of interest. The various approaches found in the articles reflect the training and methodologies of the authors: archaeology, architecture, history, and numismatics. Some authors, it is seen, clearly have read the Arabic sources closely in the original, while others are dependent on translations, many of which are quite old and perhaps outdated. Several papers are detailed technical discussions of individual sites, often provisional publications or summaries of works in progress. Other papers are *tours d'horizon*, giving an overview of a particular topic or area. These, to my mind, will be of particular interest for readers of *MSR*. Two archaeologically informed historians (Stefan Heidemann and Angus Stewart) have succeeded in presenting riveting accounts of a couple of sites, integrating historical and archaeological information (and in the former case, numismatic evidence). The inclusion of an author (John France) specializing in the Frankish view of warfare in the Levant is a welcome addition, and his article provides an interesting and significant perspective on the topic.

Actually, several of the papers, particularly at the beginning of the book, deal more with post-military architecture than sites with real defensive intent. The first two articles, by Denis Genequand and Ignacio Acre, are certainly of this kind. The former, writing about “Umayyad castles,” shows that there had been a shift from the military architecture of late antiquity on the frontier with the desert, to a more palatial style. The round towers of Umayyad palaces may have been inspired by Roman models, but were no longer of a true military nature. Likewise, Acre’s article on Qaṣr Ḥallabāt in Jordan shows a demilitarization of the site, the aim of which was to project grandeur and to show hospitality rather than to serve as a focus of defense. Donald Whitcomb, in his paper on the walls of early Ayla (chapter 5) takes up this issue, although the matter is not cut and dried here: the city represents a transitional form between the Roman legion camp and the Muslim *amṣār* (military camps that turned into cities). It is not clear how important its walls were, and perhaps they may have been more symbolic than functional.

The symbolic values of city or castle walls, projecting power perhaps more than actually providing it, is a matter that resurfaces elsewhere in the book. It comes up in the third chapter by Jan-Waalke Meyer, who discusses the early Abbasid Kharāb Sayyār to the southeast of Harrān. Its weak wall had little military worth, and thus may have been symbolic like those Umayyad sites mentioned above. The situation of the nearby Ḥiṣn Maslamah, today Madīnat al-Fār, also has what can be described as weak city walls and thus appears to be similar (chapter 4 by Claus-Peter Haase). Perhaps a comment regarding the inclusion of these two sites in the volume is in order. “Greater Syria,” the translation of Bilād al-Shām



as far as I understand it, means the territory between the eastern Mediterranean coast and the Euphrates River. East of the river is al-Jazīrah. The inclusion of these sites, deep within this last mentioned region, in the present volume may have more to do with present day political realities than the historical and geographical consciousness of the pre-modern residents of these regions. On the other hand, Qal‘at Sim‘ān, the subject of chapter 6 by Jean-Luc Biscop, is firmly in Syria, on the road between Antioch and Aleppo. Its fort, or “kastron,” was apparently built in 966 along with a crude enclosure wall around the surrounding town under Byzantine auspices. Here, too, a strict application of the title of the book would preclude its inclusion, but it was in the general environs of Muslim rulers, and as the editor writes (p. 2), “it seemed . . . important and useful to present a scientific account of Byzantine fortification of tenth century Syria for purposes of comparison.” The symbolic value rather than the military worth of the construction is also noted here by the author.

With the comprehensive article by Nasser Rabbat, “The Militarization of Taste in Medieval Bilād al-Shām” (chapter 7), we enter the portion of the book that will definitely interest students of Mamluk studies in particular and the pre-Ottoman history of the Turks in the Middle East in general. This article is an excellent review of expressions of legitimization and identity of the Turkish military class, be it of tribal or mamluk origins, particularly as found in construction projects of various types. First, we learn of the new-found importance of citadels under the Turks, which combined palace, audience halls, barracks, and stables, a process which appears to have begun before the arrival of the Saljuqs, but which gains real momentum in Syria and its environs with the Saljuqs and their various successors. Adornment, be it monumental inscription or zoomorphic ornamentation (dragons, large felines—not necessarily only lions, etc.), as well as military themes, are also found in abundance. This article is a very good starting point for the textual historian wanting to explore material aspects and expressions of Turkish rule in Syria, and can also serve as appropriate reading for students learning about Syria and its neighbors in the period between the first arrival of Turkish tribes in the eleventh century and the Ottoman conquest at the beginning of the sixteenth. I have just one point of possible disagreement: I am not convinced that the Mamluk military class was seeking or achieved a greater accommodation with their subjects in the fifteenth century. The sense that I get is actually a greater alienation between rulers and ruled, or at least the latter’s growing dissatisfaction with the heavy-handed attitude and actions of the former.

The next chapter by Benjamin Michaudel, “The Development of Islamic Military Architecture during the Ayyubid and Mamluk Reconquests of Frankish Syria,” is a laudable first attempt (to the best of my knowledge) to give an overview of this important topic. In spite of some important studies of specific



forts and some comments in the literature about Mamluk fortification policy, there is no comprehensive work on either this subject or the general approach of the Mamluks, let alone that of their Ayyubid predecessors, to fortification construction. This is a nice preliminary survey of mostly urban Ayyubid and Mamluk military architecture and I found the author's terse but systematic analysis of the development of military architecture cogent and easy to follow. On the other hand, the article does not really take into consideration either the role of the Mongols as generating a more serious Mamluk approach to fortifications or the Mamluk policy of destroying captured Frankish fortifications on the coast, while rebuilding those inland. Certain interesting Ayyubid forts in southwest Bilād al-Shām, such as Mt. Tabor and al-Ṣubaybah (the latter with important Mamluk additions) are not discussed. In short, this article is a very useful comparative, albeit preliminary, study, and it should be seen as a jumping off point for further comprehensive and comparative research on this hitherto ignored aspect of Ayyubid and Mamluk military history.

Stefan Heidemann's paper on "The Citadel of al-Raqqā and Fortifications in the Middle Euphrates Area" is to my mind an exemplary study combining historical, archaeological, and numismatic sources to provide a picture of one particular urban fortification within the regional context. The article also contains a pithy and useful definition of the roles of an urban citadel (p. 129), worthy of citation by those interested in this topic, and not only in the framework of late medieval Islamic military history. Heidemann's discussion of the increased construction of fortifications in the area complements that in Rabbat's article mentioned above. Initially, the citadel here and elsewhere in the region served garrisons and winter camps (for other troops I presume). Under the Ayyubids, it functioned more as a princely residence and lacked clear military value, a fact proved during the Mongol conquest of the region.

A more technical study is provided by Sophie Berthier on the citadel of Damascus (chapter 10: "Le citadelle de Damas: Les apports d'une étude archéologique"), reflecting the spate of excavations and other research at this site in recent years. This is a distillation of many studies and projects conducted by many scholars, not all of them published, providing archeologists and historians with much useful and interesting information, not the least of which is the detailed plan of the citadel (albeit without a scale or directional arrow). I personally found the information about the water supply system most fascinating, which helps to explain why the Mamluk defenders were able to hold out in the citadel during the three months of Mongol occupation of Damascus in early 1300, a fact that I should have taken into consideration in my previous work. In fact, I am glad that the role of the Mongols as destroyers of fortifications (and thus indirectly catalysts for further construction work) was noted here, as it was in the following



article by Julia Gonnella on Aleppo, the name of which (“The Citadel of Aleppo: Recent Studies”) reveals its intent and scope. Gonnella’s chapter is a nice review of studies, published and unpublished, from recent excavations, which should be of interest for archeologists and historians alike.

Aleppo is also the subject of the short but insightful paper by Yasser Tabbaa: “Defending Ayyubid Aleppo: The Fortifications of al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī (1186–1216).” This is a successful attempt to trace the development and implementation of a systematic fortification strategy of this dynamic ruler of north Syria, who—along with his descendents—was often at loggerheads with other Ayyubid princes, as well as other Muslim and Christian neighbors. The main objective of these forts was indeed to provide an answer to Ayyubid rivals and potential nomadic troublemakers, and not so much “serious” enemies such as the Franks, and the Mongols of the near future. The judicious use of resources to build and strengthen fortifications led in a period of three decades to an enlarged and consolidated principality, whose continued existence was thus facilitated after al-Ẓāhir’s death, and provided the basis for al-Nāṣir Yūsuf’s expansion to Damascus and much of Bilād al-Shām in 1250. I have, however, some reservations about the idea that al-Ẓāhir was attempting to create “defensible borders” (p. 180). I doubt if such a concept existed in the pre-modern period; in most cases the best one could hope for was an effective frontier system. Given technologies, geography, and the number of troops available, there was no such thing as an Ayyubid equivalent of a Maginot Line or anything close to it. I would suggest that al-Ẓāhir, by constructing and repairing these fortifications, was (1) attempting to make clear which territories were under his influence and power; and (2) creating a means to better control them.<sup>1</sup>

The next two chapters, by Sauro Gelichi (“The Citadel of Ḥārim”) and Cristina Tonghini and Nadia Montevicchi (“The Castle of Shayzar: The Fortification of the Access System”), are both fairly technical, detailed descriptions of two medium-sized castles in north Syria (the former an urban citadel). Archaeologists will certainly find these papers of interest, but historians will also derive benefit from the verbal descriptions, the plans, and the photographs, as they will be able to imagine the size and grandeur of these places when they encounter them in the sources for both the Ayyubid and Mamluk period. Cyril Yovitchitch’s article (“The Tower of Aybak in ‘Ajlūn Castle”) is a good, readable study looking at both the archaeology and history of the site, which also frequently appears in our sources. Here, too, it is suggested that the building of the fort had much to do with its symbolic value and was not only a military matter. My one reservation with this article was that the author cites (p. 226) without comment the pioneering work

<sup>1</sup> On the matter of medieval frontiers and castles in them, see the recent book by R. Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* (Cambridge, 2007), chapters 8 and 9.



of C. N. Johns on the castle of ‘Ajlūn that “arose as a direct retort to the new Latin castle of Belvoir . . . placed on the escarpment on the opposite side of the Jordan valley, between Tiberias and Baysan.”<sup>2</sup> How a castle some forty miles from another as the crow flies can be a “retort” is beyond me. If that was the intent, I am sure that the Franks were not too perturbed.

Other names from the Arabic chronicles come alive in the next two chapters by Janusz Bylinski (“Exploratory Mission to Shumaymis—2002”) and Balász Major (“Medieval Cave Fortifications of the Upper Orontes Valley”). The story of the cave fortifications was a real eye opener for me (I confess that I have not yet had the opportunity to tour the Upper Orontes region). True, the existence of these “forts” did not significantly shift the strategic balance in north Syria, but it does shed some light on the control of a rural area. I was impressed by this author’s combined use of archaeological data (much of which he himself collected) and the evidence from the Arabic sources; he did not rely on older translations or summaries. Angus Stewart (“Qal‘at al-Rūm/Hromgla/Rumkale and the Mamluk Siege of 691 AH/1292 CE”) does a fine job describing al-Ashraf Khalīl’s campaign to take this castle, really a small fortified city, putting his narrative in both a larger historiographical and archaeological context. A stickler might say that this paper does not really belong in this volume, as it only tangentially deals with Muslim military architecture and the fortification under discussion is really not in Syria by just about any definition. True, but mention is made of the Mamluk and Ottoman phases of the construction, and the discussion of the Mamluk siege offers important insight into the defensive strategies employed against a Mamluk military offensive. It is fascinating to see the Mamluks here not only as patrons of military architecture, but also as those seeking to negate its advantages.

John France’s essay (“Fortifications East and West,” chapter 20) is in my opinion one of the most important and interesting contributions in the book, since it analytically surveys the “confrontation” between Western siege technologies and Muslim military architecture from the beginning of the Crusades, while comparing Frankish and Muslim fortifications in general and examining the question of influence, primarily the latter on the former. In general, the author does not see too much Eastern (not just Muslim, since Byzantium is included here too) influence on the fortification architecture of the Franks, and also does not see a great initial technological disparity between the two sides in this area. Perhaps this last claim is going too far. To my eye, the Norman Tower of London seems fairly modest compared to Antioch or even Jerusalem of this period, let alone the contemporary citadels in these cities. Muslim fortified cities took weeks if not months (and in some cases years and even decades) to be conquered by the first

<sup>2</sup> C. N. John, “Medieval ‘Ajlūn,” *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 1 (1932): 23.



Crusaders. This not only reflects the social organization of the besieged population and its resolution, and conversely was not only a problem of logistics and faulty organization and discipline of the attackers, but shows *inter alia* the strength and sophistication of the fortifications that had to be taken. I also think that Dr. France underestimates the importance of the Frankish concentric fortification, found in such places as Belvoir (Kawkab al-Hawāʿ), Crac des Chevaliers (Ḥiṣn al-Akrād), Marqab, and elsewhere, a type of fortress that began to be developed in the mid-twelfth century. The point of this concentric plan was not only to provide covering fire to the outer wall from the higher inner one, but also to provide a platform for the firing of artillery. By raising the height of the firing platform, the trebuchets had a greater range than the attacker shooting from below.<sup>3</sup>

The volume concludes with two papers on Ottoman fortifications. The first, by Kay Prag (“Defensive Ditches in Ottoman Fortifications in Bilād al-Shām”), actually deals mainly with one ditch (or moat) in Jerusalem. This, by the way, is the only paper in the book to discuss Palestine, an integral part of medieval Bilād al-Shām. The final paper is by Andrew Petersen, and looks at “Ottoman Hajj Forts” in Transjordan, fortifications that are very different from those discussed elsewhere in the volume. Personally, I would have liked some more discussion of the dating of these structures, and the historical context in which they were constructed.

In spite of different emphases and methodologies, the papers are uniformly of high quality and interest. I must commend the general excellence of the plates: the color photographs are crisp and clear, and extremely evocative. I do, however, have some comments about some other technical aspects of the volume: while articles dealing with specific locations had plans or maps, not all were provided with a directional arrow or a scale. There was no map for the whole volume showing clearly and conveniently where all the sites discussed in the articles were located. Some of the papers use only translations of sources found in older, pioneering publications. I think it should be a must that the latest scientific editions and the full array of sources be used for researching a site, and archeologists should seek the cooperation of historians if necessary.

As mentioned above, a theme that emerges in many of the papers is the symbolic importance of fortifications, which project power and grandeur to the military-

<sup>3</sup> In addition to R. Ellenblum’s book cited above, see idem, “Frankish and Muslim Siege Warfare and the Construction of Frankish Concentric Castles,” in *Dei gesta per Francos: Etudes sur les croisades dédiées Jean Richard/Crusade Studies in Honour of Jean Richard*, ed. M. Balard, B. Z. Kedar, and J. Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2001), 187–98; idem, “Three Generations of Frankish Castle-Building in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,” in *Autour de la première croisade: actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East: Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995*, ed. M. Balard (Paris, 1996), 517–51.



political elite, the ruled population, and enemies. At the same time, some authors also address the military side of military architecture, looking at the advantages and disadvantages of a particular construction project or fortified spot, a complex of sites, or more general questions of fortification policy and technology. Taken all together, this collection certainly enriches our understanding of fortification planning, architecture, and construction, the roles of fortifications in military, political, social and cultural life, the actual maintenance and use of fortifications, and the attempts to negate their effectiveness by attackers, all in Greater Syria and neighboring lands from the advent of Islam until the early modern period.

At the beginning of the volume, it is written that the book “is dedicated to the people of Bilād al-Shām, both officials and ordinary folk,” and this is indeed a worthy and honorable dedication. I hope that in the future, conditions will be such that conferences of this type will also include scholars from the southwest portion of Bilād al-Shām, for the benefit of all participants and perhaps even for scholarship in general.

LUCIAN REINFANDT, *Mamlukische Sultansstiftungen des 9./15. Jahrhunderts: Nach den Urkunden der Stifter al-Ašraf Īnāl und al-Muʿayyad Aḥmad Ibn Īnāl*. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, vol. 257 (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2003). Pp. 469.

REVIEWED BY JOHANNES PAHLITZSCH, Freie Universität Berlin

The reign of the Mamluk sultan al-Ashraf Īnāl (r. 857–65/1453–61) has not attracted a great deal of attention. Thus Lucian Reinfandt’s book, which is a revised version of his dissertation written under the supervision of the late Ulrich Haarmann and Monika Gronke at the Christian-Albrechts-University of Kiel, is most welcome. The main part of his book is an edition with translation and commentary of two parchment scrolls from the Dār al-Kutub al-Qawmiyah (no. 63 tāriḫ = DK) and the Dār al-Wathāʿiq al-Qawmiyah (no. 51/346 = DW) in Cairo (part B, pp. 97–397). These scrolls contain various documents regarding the pious foundations (*waqf/awqāf*) of sultan Īnāl and his son and successor Aḥmad. In the first part Reinfandt gives a historical introduction to the reign of Īnāl, demonstrating the importance of Īnāl’s foundations for understanding his reign.

To this end Reinfandt gives a stimulating description of the legal and financial means used by Īnāl and other sultans of the fifteenth century in the establishment of pious foundations. Public foundations (*waqf khayrī*) in particular were endowed with much more property than would have been necessary to finance their upkeep. In fact, Reinfandt calculates a surplus of 90% for Īnāl’s foundation



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of a madrasah, a *khānqāh*, and a mausoleum in the northern cemetery of Cairo. While a great part of this property was probably acquired illegally, for example by embezzling the funds of the state treasury, the surplus could be used by the founder at will. By the addition of further endowments this private reserve could be increased. Reinfandt scrutinizes the persons and strategies involved in creating this clandestine economy, although some aspects of it have to remain obscure due to the lack of sources. It is one of Reinfandt's main theses (following Carl Petry) that public foundations of Mamluk sultans served as their private banks which provided them with the necessary means to act independently despite a chronic budget deficit. Pious foundations were thus a means to stabilize not only their own rule but also the succession of their sons, although their hopes of creating dynasties were not fulfilled.

Of importance in this context is the flexibility of the *waqf* law. By means of *istibdāl*, i.e., the exchange of *waqf* property with property of another foundation, the *waqf* became a dynamic and adaptive economic instrument in the fifteenth century. Reinfandt's work is especially important for the study of "Stiftungswirklichkeit" (reality of foundations) since it illustrates how two specific foundations developed in real life after the founder had specified his intentions in the endowment deed.

After the death of Īnāl and the deposition of his son Aḥmad, the foundations of Īnāl's family were confiscated by the new sultan. However, they were not totally dissolved but continued to exist well into the Ottoman period. Reinfandt speculates that only the surplus, i.e., the bulk of the income, had been confiscated, leaving the institutions as such enough property to ensure their survival. Thus the mausoleum of Īnāl became not only the center of the sultan's family as a burial plot but also in economic terms, because of additional endowments of his descendants which provided income for the members of the family. In this sense Īnāl's establishment of his madrasah-mausoleum complex was crucial for the further development of his newly created family.

Reinfandt then gives a detailed description of the two main foundations of Īnāl including lists of the endowed property (pp. 59–96): the just-mentioned public foundation of a mausoleum, a madrasah, and a *khānqāh*, and his family foundation. Both foundations are documented respectively in scrolls DK and DW together with later additional foundations ("Zustiftungen"), various judicial authentications and certifications, testimonies, and *istibdāl* documents. All in all Reinfandt identifies 17 documents in DK and 9 documents in DW. His careful analysis of the different types of documents and of the composition of the scrolls as such is very helpful for further research on Arabic diplomatics (pp. 97–135).

In the edition of these two documents (pp. 137–255) Reinfandt follows clear editorial principles, publishing the text as written in the documents. Unfortunately, the reliability of Reinfandt's edition could not be checked since only one picture



of scroll DK is given. Especially for scholars interested in paleography and diplomatics it would have been desirable to have more pictures of both documents. The final part of Reinfandt's book is the translation of the documents (257–397). This translation together with its comprehensive historical, topographical, and diplomatic commentary is not only of importance for its content. With the glossary of legal, economic, or architectural terms, titles, measurements, and the like, given in the appendix (pp. 414–57), it is an important tool for anyone dealing with Arabic legal documents.

While the translation of such a large amount of legal documents with their very specific language is an admirable work as such, the method of a very literal line by line translation leads sometimes to unsatisfying results. For example, on p. 309, lines 9ff., a certain phrase in German referring to the enactment of a court ruling which is repeated several times in DK and DW is more or less incomprehensible because of the unclear syntax. A similar case is p. 378, line 859ff. Beside this, a few oversights can be detected which a careful final edit would have prevented, such as incomplete sentences (p. 376, note. 909), references to maps that are not included in the book (p. 135), and an incorrect numbering of pages in the index (one has to add 6 to the numbers given in the index).

Despite these minor shortcomings, the analysis and edition of sultan Īnāl's foundation documents represent a very valuable contribution to the study of the history of the late Mamluk period and shows once again the value of documents as historical sources.



## LIST OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

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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-		
		َ	a	ُ	u	ِ	i		
		َـ	an	ُـ	un	ِـ	in		
		آ	ā	وُ	ū	يِ	ī		
		أ	ā	وُـ	ūw	يِـ	īy (medial), ī (final)		
		ى	á	وَ	aw	يِـ	ay		
						يِـ	ayy		

Avoid using apostrophes or single quotation marks for ‘*ayn* and *hamzah*. Instead use the Unicode characters ‘ (02BF) and ’ (02BE).

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 *li-l-sultān*. Note also the following exceptional spellings: Allāh, billāh, lillāh, bismillāh, mi’ah, and 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, and Sufi. Common place-names should take the common spelling in American English. Names of archaeological sites should follow the convention of the excavator.