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

The present article is a continuation of the first section published in this journal in 2003.¹ As discussed previously, al-Maqrīzī filled the blanks he left at the end of his resumés with numerous notes which became scattered with the passage of time. This article presents another aspect of his working method: cards which he organized to produce the first stages of his books. A complete description of these notes will be given here, following the system used in the first section of "Maqriziana I," by which material is presented in its physical order, keeping in mind that some material may have been rearranged. Since the publication of the first article, I have been able to trace other works back to their original source. At the end of the article, the reader will find addenda where identification or confirmation of these sources is provided. This will end my description of the contents of al-Maqrīzī's notebook. The analysis of his working method, based on elements discussed throughout these articles, will be dealt with in a forthcoming study.²

B. THE SCATTERED NOTES

XXIII. (fol. 31v³)

Title on same fol., lines 13–14: *Mukhtār min Kitāb Rāḥat al-‘Aql/Ḥamīd al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Dā‘ī.*

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

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

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

³See reproduction in "Maqriziana IV," 26.



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

Incipit (fol. 31v, line 16):

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

Explicit (fol. 31v, line 19):

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

Commentary:

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

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

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



book⁶ definitely proves that it did not come from a second-hand source.⁷ More importantly, it implies that al-Maqrīzī was speaking truthfully when he declared that he had access to Ismaili literature,⁸ even though the great Fatimid libraries had been looted, sold, or destroyed two centuries before his birth, and the Ismaili believers had left Egypt *en masse* in the decades that followed the end of the Fatimid caliphate.⁹ It does not solve, unfortunately, the mystery of how and where he consulted the so jealously guarded manuscripts of the Ismailis.

XXIV. (fol. 32r–32v¹⁰)

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

Incipit (fol. 32r, lines 2–3):

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

Explicit (fol. 32v, line 8):

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

Commentary:

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

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

⁷See “Maqriziana II” for this comparison.

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

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

¹⁰See reproduction of fol. 32r in “Maqriziana IV,” 26.



XXV. (fol. 32v)

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

Incipit (fol. 32v):

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

Explicit (fol. 32v, lines 16–17):

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

(السيرة، ص ٣٤٩–٣٥١)

Commentary:

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

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

¹²A small part of the book dealing with individuals whose *ism* began with an 'ayn (mostly 'Alī) was identified in the autograph copy of *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah* (Forschungsbibliothek, Gotha, MS A1771) by M. al-Ya'lāwī, who published these biographies at the end of vol. 8 of his edition of *Al-Muqaffá*.

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

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



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

XXVI. (fols. 32v–33r¹⁶)

No title: *Faṣl* consisting of the quotation of a story regarding ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and a Coptic ritual performed to ensure the flooding of the Nile.

Incipit (fol. 32v, lines 17–19):

قصر مد النيل في زمن عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه وكان عاداتهم في الجاهلية أن يأخذوا بنتا بكرا
من قومهم يغرقونها في النيل [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 33r, lines 3–6):

[. . .] فلما قذفها فيه غلق في ذلك اليوم ما كان يزيده في طول السنة.

Commentary:

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

XXVII. (fol. 33r)

No title: Quotation dealing with the city of Barzah, taken from [*Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq?*] by Ibn ‘Asākir.

Incipit (fol. 33r, lines 7–8):

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

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

¹⁷See 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; Leiden, 1920), 150–51. For a folkloric interpretation of the whole story, see S. Mahdihassan, “A Legend Attributed to Calif Omar and Its Chinese Basis,” *Abr-Nahrain* 16 (1975–76): 115–18.

¹⁸“Maqriziana I/1,” resumé II, 33–35.



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

Explicit (same fol., lines 14–17):

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

Commentary:

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

XXVIII. (fol. 33v)

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

مختار من ميأومات القاضي الفاضل.

Incipit (fol. 33v, lines 2–3):

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

Explicit (fol. 33v, lines 9–10):

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

Commentary:

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

¹⁹Other excerpts from this source will be found under numbers LXIII and LXVII. The author and his work are quoted thrice in the *Khīṭaṭ* (see Guest, "A List of Writers," 109; Harīdī, *Fihrist Khīṭaṭ Miṣr*, 1:279 and 2:76), under the title *Tārīkh Dimashq*, but he undoubtedly used it for other works, like *Al-Muqaḥḥā, Imtā‘ al-Asmā‘, al-Khabar ‘an al-Bashar*, and some of his opuscles.

²⁰I am referring here to the following edition: ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū Sa‘īd ‘Umar ibn Gharāmah al-‘Amrawī (Beirut, 1415/1995, 80 vols.), 2:323–41 (*bāb dhikr faḍl al-masājīd al-maḥṣūdah bi-al-ziyārah ka-al-rabwah wa-maqām Ibrāhīm wa-kaḥf Jibrīl wa-al-maqābir*).



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

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

XXIX. (fol. 34r)

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

(١) عثمان بن عمر بن أبي بكر بن يونس الدويني أبو عمرو جمال الدين بن الحاجب الإسناي المصري

²¹See “Maqriziana I/1,” 37.

²²Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, ed. Sayyid, 2:34.*

²³These are *Al-Khīṭaṭ*, *Al-Muqaffā*, and *Al-Sulūk*.

²⁴Al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadah*, 299–300.

²⁵The source is indicated there as al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, *Ta’līq al-Mutajaddidāt*.



المالكي (ت ٦٤٦)

٢ أحمد بن عبد الوهاب بن خلف بن محمود بن أبي بدر اللخمي العلامي (ت ٦٩٩)

٣ محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن بُنان أبو طاهر (ت ٥٩٦)

٤ محمد بن مشكور شرف الدين أبو عبد الله (ت ٦٧٤)

Commentary:

These four biographies of men who all died in Egypt, mainly during the seventh century, seem to have been written at the same time, as shown by the color of the ink and the style of script, which means that they probably come from the same source. In all cases, the first *ism* has been written in red ink, and the placement of the biographies varies according to the space left blank while al-Maqrīzī was writing his notes, ensuring that each of them would be easily visible. This explains why the first occupies the upper right quarter, beginning from the bottom towards the top of the page, the second the upper left quarter, from right to left, and the last two the lower half of the page, from top to bottom, beginning from left to right. Two of them have been mentioned in *Al-Muqaffá* (no. 2 = 1:519–21 [no. 507]; no. 3 = 7:154–57 [no. 3258]), where parts of the material in the notebook have been used. No. 4 should also have been included in this work, given that his profile corresponded to the goals established by al-Maqrīzī for the compiling of this dictionary.²⁶ The original source (or sources) has not been identified so far. Considering the order in which they were written, the source surely did not consist of an alphabetically-organized dictionary, nor an annalistic history. Furthermore, in none of the sources quoted by al-Maqrīzī for the biography of no. 3 in *Al-Muqaffá* does the text match the one found here.²⁷ The same is true for no. 2, whose biography appears in seven sources composed prior to 845.²⁸

XXX. (fols. 34v–37r, 36v)

No title: Biography of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Mudabbir.

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

²⁷Ibn al-Dubaythī, al-Mundhirī, and al-'Imād al-Iṣfahānī.

²⁸Al-Ṣafādī, *Al-Wāfi*; idem, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Durrat al-Aslāk*; idem, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh*; Ibn al-Ṣuqā'ī, *Tālī Kitāb al-Wafayāt*; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyah*; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*.



Incipit (fol. 34v, lines 1–2):

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

Explicit (fol. 36v, lines 12–13):

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

Commentary:

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

XXXI. (fols. 55r–55v³⁰)

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

List of the quotations:

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

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

³⁰See reproduction of fol. 55r in "Maqriziana IV," 28.



- ٢) البربر أرض البربر كانت أرض فلسطين من بلاد الشام ومملكهم كان جالوت [. . .]. من كتاب مروج الذهب (مروج، ج ٢، ص ٢٤٥). (fol. 55r).
- ٣) قال المسعودي في كتاب مروج الذهب: النارج والأترج المدور حمل من أرض الهند [. . .]. (مروج، ج ٢، ص ١٠٨). (fol. 55v).

Commentary:

Quire VI, which opens with fol. 55, is placed just in the middle of resumé II (Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam’s *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Akḥbārihā*). It opens with the end of *dhikr binā’ al-Iskandarīyah*³¹ which al-Maqrīzī began on fol. 52r of the preceding quire. Strangely, fol. 55r bears only three lines and fol. 56r eight lines, the remaining part on the recto and the entire verso of both folios having been left blank by al-Maqrīzī, as if he intended to complete these passages with others missing in his original copy. These blank spaces were further used to scribble notes (XXXI–XXXIV) starting, as it seems, from fol. 56v backwards with XXXIV, indicating that the source in note XXXIV was undoubtedly consulted prior to those of the following notes. In this way, we are able to know in which chronological order al-Maqrīzī consulted these sources. Obviously, notes XXXI–XXXIII were written after note XXXIV, to fill in the gap. The actual note is composed of three excerpts originating from a common source, which is indicated very carefully in the three cases, i.e., the *Murūj al-Dhahab* of **al-Mas‘ūdī** (d. 346/956). A close examination of their placement on the folio reveals that they were jotted down in the order given here: the first one occupies the space located near the spine, written vertically from bottom to top, while the second was placed horizontally, at its side. In both cases, red ink was used for the first word to mark it as a catchword. The third extract, on the verso, is written on the right, filling the space left blank after the end of note XXXIV. Al-Mas‘ūdī represents an important source for al-Maqrīzī, who used his *Murūj al-Dhahab*, *Akḥbār al-Zamān*, and *Al-Tanbīh wa-al-Ishrāf*.³² The actual extracts in the notebook, together with one other (see XXXV), all come from the first book. They deal with the tax (*baqt*) paid by Nubia in agreement with the truce concluded in 31/652, the origin of the Berbers, and the introduction of bitter orange and citron to the Middle East. Each of them was found in the original source³³ and was incorporated into al-Maqrīzī’s works. The first as well as the third are to be found throughout the *Khiṭaṭ* (1:201 and 1:28),

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

³²For the *Khiṭaṭ*, see Guest, “A List of Writers,” 115; Harīdī, *Fihrist Khīṭaṭ Miṣr*, 1:277.

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



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

XXXII. (fol. 55v)

No title: Biography of a Damascene who died in the 6th c.

أبو البيان بنان بن محمد بن محفوظ بن أحمد القرشي المعروف بابن الحوراني الشافعي (ت ٥٥١).

Commentary:

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

XXXIII. (fol. 55v)

No title: Quotation of a verse by Muḥammad ibn Tūmart.

من شعر محمد بن تومرت الشاعر بالمغرب

Verse:

تجرد من الدنيا فإنك إنما خرجت إلى الدنيا وأنت مجرد

Commentary:

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

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

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



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

XXXIV. (fols. 56v–55v)

No title: Quotation dealing with Ibn Ṭūlūn and the discovery of a treasure.

Incipit (fol. 56v, line 1):

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

Explicit (fol. 55v, line 7):

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

Commentary:

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

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

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

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

³⁹See n. 37.

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



author, **al-Balawī**. The passage quoted here was found in the only available edition.⁴¹ The text, written backwards starting from fol. 56v, is simply introduced by the words “*min khabar Miṣr*” in red ink, and recounts the events that took place when the Abbasid caliph demanded that Ibn Ṭūlūn give him the *kharāj* of Egypt and the accidental discovery he made of a treasure in the desert. This text was reused verbatim by al-Maqrīzī in both versions of his *Khiṭaṭ* (the draft⁴² and the final text (2:266–67)), under the heading “*ḥadīth al-kanz*.” This proves that the passage in the notebook was already considered by al-Maqrīzī to be the final version to be included in his work. Also noteworthy is the fact that the text in the notebook is a verbatim quotation, implying that he did not change anything.

XXXV. (fol. 82r)

Title on fol. 82r, line 1: *Faṣl fī Nīrān al-‘Arab*

فصل في نيران العرب

Incipit (fol. 82r, line 1):

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

Explicit (fol. 82r, line 17):

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

Commentary:

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

⁴¹ Al-Balawī, *Sīrah*, 74–77.

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

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



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

XXXVI. (fols. 82v–83r)

No title: *Faṣl* [regarding the tribe of Shu‘ayb and their genealogy, taken from] al-Mas‘ūdī.

Incipit (fol. 82v, lines 1–2):

فصل. قال المسعودي : وقد تنازع أهل الشرائع في قوم شعيب بن نوفل بن رعويل بن مرا بن عنقاء
بن مدين بن إبراهيم الخليل صلى الله عليه [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 83r, lines 5–6):

[. . .] ولهؤلاء الملوك أخبار عجيبة من حروب وسير وكيفية تغلبهم على هذه الممالك وتملكهم عليها
وإبادتهم من كان فيها وعليها قبلهم من الأمم.

Commentary:

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

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

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

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



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

XXXVII. (fol. 83r⁴⁷)

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

(١) إبراهيم بن عبد الله أبو إسحاق البغدادي النحوي الكاتب النجيري (ت ٣٤٣).
 (٢) إبراهيم بن عبد الرحمن بن علي بن عبد العزيز بن علي بن قريش بن علي بن محمد بن أحمد بن سلامة بن الحسن بن سليمان بن خالد بن الوليد أبو إسحاق القرشي المخزومي المصري الكاتب شرف الدين (ت ٦٤٣).

Commentary:

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

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

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



XXXVIII. (fol. 82bis r–82bis v⁴⁹)

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

Incipit (fol. 82bis r, lines 1–3):

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

Explicit (fol. 82bis v, lines 10–11):

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

Commentary:

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

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

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

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



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

XXXIX. (fols. 83v–84v⁵⁷)

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

Incipit (fol. 83v, lines 1–2):

ذِي الْحِجَّةِ سَنَةِ إِحْدَى وَسْتِينَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ تُوْفِي فِيهِ الْقَاضِي ضِيَاءُ الدِّينِ يَوْسُفُ بْنُ أَبِي بَكْرٍ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ
الشَّهِيرِ بِابْنِ خَطِيبِ بَيْتِ الْأَبَارِ [. . .]

Other names mentioned:

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

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

⁵³See "Maqriziana II."

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

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

⁵⁶Ed. Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāh (Mecca-Riyadh, 1417/1996), *Shifā' al-Gharām*, 1: 203: '*alā mā dhakara al-Musabbihī fī Tārīkhīhi 'alā mā wajadtu bi-khaṭṭ al-ḥāfiẓ Rashīd al-Dīn ibn al-ḥāfiẓ Zakī al-Dīn al-Mundhirī fī ikhtīṣārihi li-Tārīkh al-Musabbihī*'; 1:233: *naqaltu dhālika min khaṭṭ al-Rashīd al-Mundhirī fī ikhtīṣārihi li-Tārīkh al-Musabbihī*.

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



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

The office of *muhtasib* (fol. 84r):

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

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

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

Commentary:

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

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

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



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

XL. (fols. 85r–86v)

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

Incipit (fol. 85r, lines 1–3):

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

Explicit (fol. 86v, lines 21–22):

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

Commentary:

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

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

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

⁶¹See "Maqriziana II."



a summary made by al-Maqrīzī himself.⁶² The abstract opens with 4 lines dealing with al-Basāsīrī's activity in Iraq under the year 447.⁶³ This text opens with the exact words found in the notebook (*"ibtada'at al-waḥshah bayna"*), except that the following names have been put in a different order and the date is different.⁶⁴ The comparison ends here: the excerpt in the notebook is far longer than what is found in that resumé, and some details differ, such as the origin of al-Basāsīrī's *nisbah*. However, let us remember that the *Muntaqá min Akhbār Miṣr li-Ibn Muyassar* is nothing more than a memorandum, and that al-Maqrīzī usually went back to the original text when he had to quote a passage, which explains why passages absent in an abstract in the notebook may be found in al-Maqrīzī's books.⁶⁵ In the present stage, the source of this extract remains to be identified.

XLI. (fol. 96v)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁶⁵See an unambiguous example in "Maqriziana V."



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

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

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

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

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

Commentary:

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

XLII. (fol. 122v)

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

Text (fol. 122v, lines 1–2):

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

Commentary:

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



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

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

XLIII. (fol. 122v)

No title: Biography of an Egyptian.

Incipit (fol. 122v, lines 3–4):

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

Explicit (fol. 122v, line 5):

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

Commentary:

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

XLIV. (fol. 122v)

No title: Extract dealing with al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā’i‘ ibn Ruzzīk.

Incipit (fol. 122v, lines 6–7):

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

Explicit (fol. 122v, line 12):

⁶⁷See “Maqriziana I/1,” 37.



[. . .] لكن تفألت والأقدار غالبية والله يبسط إما لا فينبسط.

Commentary:

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

XLV. (fol. 122v)

No title: Three quotations regarding Ibn Ṭūlūn and 1) his attitude towards his emissaries, 2) economic problems, and 3) a secretary named Andūnah.

Incipit of first quotation (fol. 122v):

كان أحمد بن طولون إذا أنفذ رسولا في حاجة برسالة قال له أعد علي ما قلت [. . .] (السيرة، ١٠١-١٠٠)

Incipit of second quotation (fol. 122v):

[. . .] زاد السعر في زمن أحمد بن طولون واضطرب البلاء [. . .]

Incipit of third quotation (fol. 122v):

أندونة كاتب أحمد المدائني صاحب موسى بن بغا [. . .] (السيرة، ٨٨-٨٩)

Commentary:

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

XLVI. (fol. 122v)

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

⁶⁸See "Maqriziana II."

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



from] *Jinān al-Janān*/Ibn al-Zubayr.

Incipit (fol. 122v):

قال ابن الزبير في كتاب جنان الجنان إن الطبول ضربت يوما على عقلة في قصر السلطان تميم بن المعز
بن باديس [. . .]

Commentary:

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

XLVII. (fol. 122r)

No title: Extract which concerns the secretaries of Ibn Ṭūlūn.

Incipit (fol. 122r, line 1):

ما خلت دار أحمد بن طولون قط من كاتب خفي الشخص يقف عنده يعرف بكاتب السر [. . .]
(السيرة، ص ٢١٠)

Explicit (fol. 122r, lines 3–4):

[. . .] فإن كان فيه شيء يحتاج إلى تغيير أو زيادة تقدم في ذلك بما يمتثل.

Commentary:

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

⁷⁰Al-Maqrīzī gives the title in the biography he wrote on Ibn al-Zubayr as *Al-Jinān wa-Riyāḍ al-Adhhān* (*Al-Muqaffā*, 1:534–35).

⁷¹See 8: 573.

⁷²See Sayyid, “Lumières,” 24, n. 3.



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

XLVIII. (fol. 122r)

No title: Quotation regarding the fact that the witnesses (*'udūl*) in the Fatimid period used to wear their turban with the end tied under their chin in order to differentiate themselves.

Incipit (fol. 122r, line 7):

كان العدول في زمن المصريين بالدولة الفاطمية يتحنكون ولا يفعل ذلك إلا العدول ليميزوا بذلك عن
غيرهم [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 122r, line 12):

شاهد الحسن في محياك عدل كيف لا وهو بالموزار محنك

Commentary:

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

XLIX. (fol. 122r)

No title: Report of an event dealing with the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ and the poet Tilmīdh Ibn Sābiq (d. 536/1141–42).

Incipit (fol. 122r, line 13):

اجتمع الشعراء بباب الحافظ فتنهاوا في القول [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 122r, line 19):

⁷³ Al-Balawī, *Al-Sīrah*, 210.

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

⁷⁵ On Ibn Qalāqis, see U. Rizzitano, "Ibn Qalāqis," *EI*², 3:814.

⁷⁶ See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá*, 135.

⁷⁷ These verses are not quoted in his biography in al-ʿImād al-Ṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr wa-Jarīdat al-ʿAṣr: Qism Shuʿarāʾ Miṣr*, ed. A. Amīn, Sh. Ḍayf and I. ʿAbbās (Cairo, 1951), 1:145–65. His *Dīwān* (ed. Kh. Muṭrān, Cairo, 1905) was not available to me.

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



فَأَمْرُوا بِالْعُودِ إِلَى مَا كَانُوا عَلَيْهِ.

Commentary:

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

⁷⁹Al-‘Imād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr*, 2:64.

⁸⁰Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá*, 134.

⁸¹Ibn Sa‘īd, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Hulá Ḥaḍrat al-Qāhirah*, ed. H. Naṣṣār (Cairo, 1970), 328–29.

⁸²*Al-Muqaffá*, 1:668.

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

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

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



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

L. (fol. 122r)

No title: Three biographies not linked to one another.

- (١) علي بن جعفر بن الحسن أبو القاسم بن البوين التنوخي المعري
 (٢) أحمد بن عثمان بن هبة الله بن أحمد بن عقيل فتح الدين أبو الفتح المعروف بابن أبي الجواهر القيسي (ت ٦٥٧)
 (٣) جحي يحيى بن عبد الله أبو زكرياء مولى عثمان بن عفان

Commentary:

The three biographies occupy two different spaces on the page: the first is on the right side which was left blank after al-Maqrīzī copied the preceding entry, while the other two were placed in the left margin, beginning from the edge of the page. It is clear that no. 1 was written before the other two. Moreover, these appear to have been written at a later date (the first *ism* is written very carefully for both of them, while this is not the case for no. 1). Consequently, the first one possibly comes from a source which differs from the other two. No. 1 could stem from Ibn al-Zubayr's *Jinān al-Janān* for these reasons and those mentioned for the previous entry. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the subject of the biography lived during the vizierate of al-Afḍal (d. 515/1121), the presence of poetic verse, and a passage found in the biography: "*min al-ṭārī' in 'alā Miṣr*" (among those who came unexpectedly to Egypt), which echoes the definition given for the *Jinān al-Janān*. The information is untraceable not only in *Al-Muqaffá* and *Itti'āz al-Hunafā'*, but also in other sources for the same period.⁸⁶ No. 2, as well as no. 3,

⁸⁶In the indexes to Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*, ed. S. Zakkār (Damascus, 1408/1988), 11:5209, an 'Alī ibn Ja'far ibn Buwayn al-Ma'arrī is mentioned as appearing on pp. 1831–35. This is a mistake due to a shift in the page numbers. He appears in fact in 10:4545. There the author reports facts concerning Abū al-'Alā' ibn Buwayn al-Ma'arrī, said to be a relative of Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ja'far ibn Buwayn al-Ma'arrī, the famous poet. Ibn al-'Adīm managed to obtain two verses of this Abū al-'Alā' through Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Bayān Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Tanūkhī al-Ma'arrī. He also transmits two verses through al-Silafī. In the chain of transmitters, we find once again this Abū Ja'far (with another name appended, "Ibn al-Jawārī") who says that he heard these two verses when they were recited to his father in Egypt by his relative who, afterwards, requested a diploma (*ijāzah*) for them. From this it appears that his



obviously come from another source, due to the dates and their style. The first appears in several sources of the Mamluk period, but the text in the notebook does not match them exactly, giving additional or different information. An interesting feature appears in the addition by al-Maqrīzī, just at the end of it: “*yudhkar fī Kḥiṭat Miṣr.*” He must have completed this since the mark symbolizing the accomplishment of this task is also found over the first *ism* of this person.⁸⁷ In fact, in the section dealing with the *Hammām Ibn Abī al-Ḥawāfir*, a short identification of the builder is provided, where the date is more complete, corresponding to what is found in al-Nuwayrī.⁸⁸ The day of his death has been corrected, for example, but the wording is al-Nuwayrī’s. He also added some of the data from the notebook. The third biography was also reused with the same mark, but was not located. Perhaps it is in the missing part of *Al-Muqaffá*.

LL (fols. 198v–199r)

Title on fol. 198v: [Quotation regarding an obituary taken from] *Kitāb al-‘Ibar fī Akhbār Man Maḍá wa-Ghabar*/Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Naqqāsh.

Incipit (fol. 198v):

قال العلامة شمس الدين محمد بن النقاش في كتاب العبر في أخبار من مضى وغبر يوم الثلاثاء ثاني
ذي القعدة سنة ٧٦١ توفي الشيخ العلامة الفاضل البليغ المتضلع الإمام في العربية والنحو جمال
الدين عبد الله بن يوسف بن هشام المصري [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 199r):

[. . .] للقاضي الحنبلي وإحسانه إليه فقال ولد سنة ٧٠٨.

Commentary:

The biography begins in the lower margin of the page and then runs onto the other folio, along the spine. It is found in the quire containing the resumé of al-Ṣafadī’s *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafāyāt*. The source is clearly indicated as being **Ibn al-Naqqāsh**’s *Kitāb al-‘Ibar fī Akhbār Man Maḍá wa-Ghabar*. (See entry XXXIX, where quotations from the same source appear, some also dealing with obituaries of the year 761). The subject of the biography is the famous grammarian Ibn Hishām (d. 761/1360), author of *Mughnī al-Labīb ‘an Kutub al-A‘arīb*. Al-Maqrīzī undoubtedly devoted some space to him in his *Al-Muqaffá*, but it is missing in the extant manuscripts. One can see evidence of this in Ibn Taghrībirdī’s biography of this

father was probably the same person whose biography is given in the notebook, even though the *kunyah* is different (Abū al-Bayān). However, individuals could have more than one *kunyah*.

⁸⁷See above, XLIV.

⁸⁸Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab* (ed. M. Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Rayyis, Cairo, 1992), 29:470.



scholar.⁸⁹ At the end, he added a statement different from that of his master about the date of his death: "*wa qāla al-Maqrīzī: fī yawm al-thulathā' thānī dhī al-qa'dah min al-sanah.*" It agrees exactly with the date mentioned in the notebook. This could mean that Ibn Taghrībirdī had access to this manuscript, as Ibn Ḥajar did,⁹⁰ although it is also conceivable that he referred in fact to *Al-Muqaffá*.

LII. (fol. 204v)

No title: Quotation of an event regarding the sultan Berk-yaruq and Maḥmūd ibn Sebūktigin.

Incipit (fol. 204v, lines 12–16):

بعث السلطان برقياروق أبا الحسن الطبري الملقب بالكنيا إلى محمود بن سبكتكين. قال : فدخلت عليه وهو جالس في طارمة عظيمة [. . .] (المنتظم، مج ١٧، ص ٤٩)

Explicit (fol. 204v, lines 27–28):

[. . .] رويت له الخبر عن النبي عليه السلام لمناديل سعد بن معاذ في الجنة أحسن من هذا فبكي.

Commentary:

With fol. 204v, the resumé al-Maqrīzī decided to make from al-Ṣafadī's *Al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafāyāt* ends abruptly with an *Aḥmad*. Some space remained (about one quarter) that was later filled in with the present note, which belongs to a series of moralistic reports: after having been shown the treasuries of the Sultan of Ghaznah, the visitor concludes his visit with a hadith reminding him of the vanity of terrestrial wealth. Dealing exclusively with events that occurred in the eastern part of the Islamic empire, it must have been selected from a book written by a well-informed scholar from that region. Indeed, the note was identified as corresponding, almost word for word, to Ibn al-Jawzī's *Al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-al-Umam*.⁹¹ There is a substantial difference: in the note, al-Maqrīzī connected the event to Maḥmūd ibn Sebūktigin, while Ibn al-Jawzī connected it to Ibrāhīm ibn Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd ibn Sebūktigin, which is of course correct.⁹² Notwithstanding, *Al-Muntaẓam* must be considered the source, which is confirmed by another entry (LV) that contains data identified in the same text. Thanks to the position of this excerpt and the other connected with it (LV), we can postulate that al-Maqrīzī

⁸⁹Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi wa-al-Mustawfá ba'da al-Wāfi*, ed. M. M. Amīn (Cairo, 1993), 7:132.

⁹⁰See "Maqriziana I/1," 25.

⁹¹Ed. M. 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā and M. 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā (Beirut, 1412/1992), 17:49.

⁹²Ibn Kathīr also made a mistake by giving his name as Ibrāhīm ibn Maḥmūd ibn Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd ibn Sebūktigin. See Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* (Cairo, n.d.), 12:157 (under year 492).



first had access to the source where he wrote entry LIII, placed in between, and only then to *Al-Muntazam*. Once again, the notebook provides precious information on the chronological order in which this historian consulted his sources, and consequently will help to reconstruct the chronological order in which he composed his books. Unfortunately, in this particular case, the material of this note was apparently not reused by al-Maqrīzī.

LIII. (fols. 204r–123r)

No title: A *faṣl* whose subject is the sky.

Incipit (fol. 204r, lines 1–2):

فصل : قال عبد الله بن المعتز في وصف السماء

كان سماؤنا لما تجلت خلال نجومها عند الصباح [. . .] (نهاية الأرب، مج ١، ص ٣٣–٣٩)

Explicit (fol. 123r, line 13):

[. . .] فهذا الارتداد شبه التحير.

Commentary:

The recto of the folio was later covered with passages dealing exclusively with the sky and the planets. Defined by al-Maqrīzī himself as a section (*faṣl*—this word written in red ink), it can be divided into several parts: 1) some verses of poets like Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, Zāfir al-Ḥaddād, Abū al-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī, and al-Buḥturī, 2) a commentary on the Quran 81:15–16, and 3) an explanation of the meaning of the names of the planets. The latter two found their way in the same order and with almost the same wording into *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (1:5–6), where the source is not given.⁹³ The whole could be identified as coming from **al-Nuwayrī’s** *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*.⁹⁴ The distance between no. 1 and 2–3 explains why they were organized in a different manner on the folio: the first lies in the first two thirds of it, while the second and the third begin beneath it, running horizontally from the margin towards the spine, and then in the same direction on fol. 123r. Despite the fact that al-Maqrīzī reused nos. 2 and 3 in his *grand œuvre*, he neglected the first one containing only poetry.⁹⁵

LIV. (fol. 123r)

No title: A *faṣl* dealing with the shifting of the year of reference for the *kharāj*.

Incipit (fol. 123r, lines 14–17):

⁹³It was not identified by A. F. Sayyid in his edition (1:11–13).

⁹⁴(Cairo, 1342/1923), 1:33–35 (passage no. 1), 38 and 39 (passages 2–3).

⁹⁵Neither al-Nuwayrī’s name nor the title of his book appear in *Al-Khiṭaṭ*.



فصل تحويل السنة الخراجية بديار مصر لا يكون إلا بأمر السلطان [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 123r, lines 32–33):

[. . .] يحولون السنة الخراجية إلى الهلالية والله أعلم.

Commentary:

In *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (1:273), al-Maqrīzī dedicated a section to this particular subject which he entitled “*dhikr taḥwīl al-sanah al-kharājīyah al-qibṭīyah ilá al-sanah al-hilālīyah al-‘arabīyah wa-kayfa ‘umila dhālik fī al-islām.*” It would have been strange if he did not insert the data found here, which is also the subject of a section (called here *faṣl*, written in red ink). And indeed, the first half of it was introduced at the beginning. Curiously, the end of this small excerpt, which gives an explanation for the use of the word “*taḥwīl*,” was not deemed by al-Maqrīzī important enough to be included there or anywhere else. The source from which he selected the data is not indicated and could not be identified. Its position, at the end of the preceding entry, which has been identified as originating in al-Nuwayrī’s *Nihāyat al-Arab*, might suggest that it is of the same origin, but this is not the case.⁹⁶

LV. (fol. 123v)

No title: Five biographies of individuals who died in Baghdad in the fifth century.
List of the biographies:

- ١) أبو جعفر مسعود بن المحسن بن الحسن بن عبد الرزاق البياضي الشاعر (ت ٤٦٨) (المنتظم، مج ١٦، ص ١٧٥–١٧٦، رقم ٣٤٥٩)
- ٢) محمد بن الحسن بن عبد الله بن أحمد بن يوسف بن الشبل الشاعر (ت ٤٧٣) (المنتظم، مج ١٦، ص ٢١٣–٢١٤، رقم ٣٥١١)
- ٣) عبد السلام بن محمد بن يوسف بن بندار أبو يوسف القزويني (ت ٤٨٨) (المنتظم، مج ١٧، ص ٢١–٢٢، رقم ٣٦٥١)
- ٤) يحيى بن عيسى بن جزلة الطبيب (ت ٤٩٣) (المنتظم، مج ١٧، ص ٦١، رقم ٣٧٠٦)
- ٥) أبو سعد العلاء بن الحسن بن وهب بن موصلايا الكاتب (ت ٤٩٧) (المنتظم، مج ١٧، ص ٨٩، رقم ٣٧٤٧)

Commentary:

These biographies completely cover the folio. A mark in red ink, already examined in other circumstances (*qif*), has been placed over the first part of their names in

⁹⁶This observation is also valid for the other encyclopedias like al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A‘shá* (13:54 ff.), or books dealing with the *kharāj* like al-Makhzūmī, *Al-Minhāj*.



order to separate them distinctly. A close examination of the dates of death reveals that they were taken from a book in the chronicle or *ṭabaqāt* genre. Moreover, their Baghdad origin means that the book focused mainly on that region. Proper identification is facilitated by al-Maqrīzī's habit of relying on original or the most contemporary biographical data available. In this case, the five biographies were located in Ibn al-Jawzī's *Al-Muntaẓam*, already identified as the source of no. LII. It is interesting to note that no. LII pertained to the year 492, which means that al-Maqrīzī came across it after biography no. 3 here. He decided to scribble it down elsewhere in the notebook, presumably because it was not related to his purpose of taking notes on biographies. No common link could be established between all the biographies, except their origin which normally should have excluded them from al-Maqrīzī's interest. In fact, none of them was found mentioned in his works, and surely not in *Al-Muqaffá*, although one of the subjects (no. 3) lived for 40 years in Egypt, which should have ensured a place for him in the dictionary.⁹⁷ The last one, a secretary under three Abbasid caliphs for no less than 65 years, might have caught his attention for his book on secretaries.⁹⁸ This is confirmed by the presence of another biography of this same individual found at the end of the résumé al-Maqrīzī wrote of Ibn Muyassar's *Akhhbār Miṣr*.⁹⁹ The copyist, who relied on al-Maqrīzī's autograph, probably found it at the end of the résumé or on a slip of paper and decided to place it at the end of the abstract, just after al-Maqrīzī's colophon. The text is different from what we read in the notebook, indicating that this biography comes from another source, but it is intriguing that al-Maqrīzī was interested in this individual for the purpose mentioned earlier. What appears as a double entry is nothing else than two excerpts regarding one person, taken from two different sources.

LVI. (fols. 125v–130v)

No title: Biographies of men, mostly Egyptians, who died mainly in the seventh and eighth centuries.

List of the biographies:

- ١) محمد [بياض] بن عين الدولة أبو المكارم (ت ٦٣٩) (fol. 125v) (المغرب، ص ٢٥٦–٢٥٧)
- ٢) محمد بن سعد القرطي (ت قرن ٦) (fol. 125v) (المغرب، ص ٢٦٧–٢٦٨)
- ٣) محمد بن عبد العزيز بن عبد الرحيم بن عمر بن سلمان الإدريسي الشريف الحسن بن أبو عبد الله وأبو جعفر الفاوي المصري (ت ٦٤٤) (fol. 126r)

⁹⁷He may have been included in the now-missing part of *Al-Muqaffá*.

⁹⁸See above, XXXVII.

⁹⁹Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá*, 158 and plate 6.



- ٤) محمد بن عبد المجيد بن عبد الكريم بن علوان بن خروف بن نجم بن أحمد بن علي بن جعفر بن يحيى بن عمر بن سليمان بن عبد الله بن الحارث بن هشام بن المغيرة بن عبد الله بن عمر بن مخزوم أبو عبد الله القرشي المخزومي شرف الدين بن الخطباء (ت ٦٨٦) (fol. 126r)
- ٥) محمد بن عبد المحسن بن عبد الكريم بن علوان بن خروف أبو عبد الله بن الخطباء (ت ٦٨٩) (fol. 126r)
- ٦) محمد بن عبد المنعم بن محمد بن يوسف بن أحمد أبو عبد الله الأنصاري اليميني المصري (ت ٦٨٥) (fol. 126r)
- ٧) محمد بن عبد الوهاب بن منصور بن عبد الوهاب أبو عبد الله شمس الدين الحراني الحنبلي (ت ٦٧٤) (fol. 126v)
- ٨) محمد بن عثمان بن علكان أبو عبد الله الأمير سيف الدين بن الأمير شجاع الدين الكردي (ت ٦٣٧) (fol. 126v)
- ٩) أحمد بن عمر بن محمد بن عبد الله أبو الجناب نجم الدين الصوفي الخوقي المعروف بالنجم الكبراء الخوارزمي (ت ٦١٨) (fol. 126v)
- ١٠) إسماعيل بن محمد بن عبيد الله أبو الطاهر المنصور بنصر الله بن القائم بن المهدي (ت ٣٤١) (fol. 3r)
- ١١) محمد بن علي بن إبراهيم بن شداد بن خليفة بن شداد أبو عبد الله عز الدين الأنصاري الحلبي (ت ٦٨٤) (fol. 3r)
- ١٢) محمد بن علي بن مقاتل أبو بكر الكاتب (ت ٣٥٠) (fol. 3r)
- ١٣) محمد بن عبيد الله بن أحمد بن إسماعيل بن عبد العزيز أبو عبد الله الحراني المصري الكاتب المعروف بالمسبحي الملقب بالمختار (ت ٤٢٠) (fol. 127r)
- ١٤) محمد بن عثمان بن أبي الحسن بن عبد الوهاب أبو عبد الله الأنصاري الدمشقي المعروف بابن الحريري (ت ٧٢٨) (fol. 127r)
- ١٥) محمد بن عثمان بن أبي الرجاء بن أبي الزهر شمس الدين بن السلعوس (ت ٦٩٣) (fol. 127r)
- ١٦) محمد بن علي بن حرمي بن مكارم مهيى بن علي أبو بكر المنعوت بالعماد الدمياطي الشافعي (ت ٧٤٩) (fol. 127v)
- ١٧) محمد بن علي بن محمد بن أحمد بن عبد الله أبو عبد الله بن العربي محيي الدين الطائي الحاتمي المغربي الأندلسي الصوفي (ت ٦٣٨) (fol. 127v)
- ١٨) محمد بن علي بن همام بن راجي الله بن ناصر بن داود أبو عبد الله العسقلاني الشافعي (ت ٧١٣) (fol. 127v)



- ١٩ (محمد بن الوليد بن محمد بن خلف بن سليمان بن أيوب أبو بكر الفهري القرشي الأندلسي
الطرطوشي المالكي المعروف بابن أبي رندقة (ت ٥٢٠) (fol. 128r)
- ٢٠ (محمد بن موسى بن عبد العزيز أبو بكر بن أبي عمران الكندي المصري الصيرفي الفصيح
المعروف بابن الجبي يلقب بسبويه (ت ٣٥٨) (fol. 128v)
- ٢١ (محمد بن ناماور بن عبد الملك بن زنجلين أبو عبد الله أفضل الدين الخونجي الشافعي (ت
٦٤٦) (fol. 128v)
- ٢٢ (محمد بن نصر الله بن عبد الوهاب علاء الدين الجوجري (ت ٧٣٦) (fol. 128v)
- ٢٣ (محمد بن هبة الله بن أحمد بن شكر أبو البركات نفيس الدين بن القاضي المخلص بن كمال
الدين أبي السعادات (ت ٦٨٠) (fol. 128v)
- ٢٤ (محمد بن يحيى بن الخضر بن حاتم بن سلطان بن طولون أبو عبد الله الأنصاري القليوبي (ت
٧٠٥) (fol. 128v)
- ٢٥ (محمد بن يحيى بن الفضل بن يحيى بن عبد الله بن القاسم بن المظفر محيي الدين الشهرزوري
الموصلي (ت ٦٧٣) (fol. 128v)
- ٢٦ (إبراهيم بن أحمد بن محمد بن إسماعيل بن القاسم الرسي بن إبراهيم طباطبا بن إسماعيل بن
إبراهيم بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب أبو إسماعيل بن أبي القاسم الرسي (ت ٣٦٩)
(fol. 129r)
- ٢٧ (إبراهيم بن إسماعيل بن سعيد بن أبي بكر محمد بن سليمان العباسي الهاشمي (ت ٥٨٩)
(fol. 129r)
- ٢٨ (إبراهيم بن الحسن بن محمد بن الحسين بن جعفر بن موسى بن إسماعيل بن موسى بن جعفر بن
محمد بن علي بن الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب أبو الفضل الحسيني الكلثمي الموسوي (ت ٥٢٩)
(fol. 129r)
- ٢٩ (إبراهيم بن سعيد بن عبد الله أبو إسحاق الحبال المصري (ت ٤٨٢) (fol. 129r)
- ٣٠ (إبراهيم بن سلطان أبو إسحاق القليبي (ت ؟) (fol. 129r)
- ٣١ (محمد بن أحمد وقيل أحمد بن محمد أبو عبد الله الواسطي (ت بعد ٢٧١) (fol. 129v)
- ٣٢ (محمد بن أحمد أبو عبد الله الجرجاني (ت قرن ٥) (fol. 129v)
- ٣٣ (محمد بن الحسين بن عمر بن حفص بن موسى بن عبد الرحمن أبو عبد الله اليميني التنوخي
المصري (ت ٤٠٠) (fol. 129v)
- ٣٤ (محمد بن الحسين بن محمد بن الحسين بن زيد بن الحسن بن ظفر الأحول أبو عبد الله الحسيني
الأرموي (ت ٦٥٠) (fol. 129v)
- ٣٥ (محمد بن سعيد بن حماد بن تحسن بن عبد الله بن حياني الصنهاجي (ت ٦٩٥) (fol. 130r)



- ٣٦ (وحيد الحبشي (ت بعد ٣٩٠) (fol. 130r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٢، ص ٤٢٢-٤٢٣، رقم ٧٩٦٥)
- ٣٧ (وردان أبو عبيد وقيل أبو عثمان مولى عمرو بن العاص (ت ٥٣) (fol. 130r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٢، ص ٤٢٨-٤٣٤، رقم ٧٩٦٨)
- ٣٨ (محمد بن عبد الله المعروف بابن عبد (ت ؟) (fol. 130v)
- ٣٩ (محمد بن عبد الله بن محمد بن أحمد بن خالد بن محمد بن نصر بن صغير بن داغر بن عبد الرحمن شرف الدين أبو الفتح ابن القيسراني الحلبي المخزومي (ت ٧٠٧) (fol. 130v)
- ٤٠ (محمد بن إبراهيم بن عبد الواحد بن علي بن سرور بن رافع بن حسن بن جعفر أبو بكر وأبو عبد الله المقدسي الجماعيلي الصالحي الحنبلي (ت ٦٧٦) (fol. 130v)
- ٤١ (محمد بن إبراهيم بن محمد بن أبي نصر أبو عبد الله بهاء الدين بن النحاس الحلبي (ت ٦٩٨) (fol. 130v)
- ٤٢ (محمد بن أحمد بن علي أبو عبد الله الأزدي عرف بابن جاره (ت ٦٤١) (fol. 130v)

Commentary:

The fourteenth quire of the notebook opens with two sections (*faṣl*) on juridical matters.¹⁰⁰ Only two folios were used for this purpose, which means that the remaining parts of the quire, to which was probably added what is now fol. 3, were available for further notes. The space was used for 42 biographies and other unrelated notations, scribbled in all directions. An examination of this list reveals that it can be divided into several groups alphabetically. These biographies follow the traditional system of ordering in biographical dictionaries, which begins with individuals named Muḥammad, and then proceeds to those whose first name began with *hamzah*, etc. Al-Maqrīzī took great pains to write the first *ism*, in all cases, in red ink, to better catch his attention. Nonetheless, there are gaps in the sequence of the biographies. For instance, nos. 9–12 do not fit in the sequence of the first group represented by nos. 3 to 30, as well as nos. 36–37 in the second group (nos. 31 to 39). For nos. 10–12, an explanation can be found in the fact that they all figure on fol. 3, now a fly-leaf, which was not there initially. No. 9, instead, is written on fol. 126v, in a script different from the other two found on the same folio, showing that it was jotted down at a different time. Finally, from this long list, six groups may be identified: the first one is represented by nos. 1–2, the second by nos. 3–8 and 13–30, the third by nos. 9–12, the fourth by nos. 31–35 and 38–39, the fifth by nos. 36–37, and the sixth by nos. 40–42. My hypothesis is that each group comes from a different source. It is partly confirmed

¹⁰⁰See "Maqriziana I/1," resumé VI, 46–48.



by groups 1 and 5. Group 1 is found only on fol. 125v, together with two other notes with a historical content (see below LVII, LVIII). As is shown under LVII, the source indicated there, *Kitāb al-Kamā'im*, is quoted indirectly by al-Maqrīzī from **Ibn Sa'īd's** *Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib*, where the passage could be precisely located. A quick search in the same book demonstrates that both biographies share the same origin with note LVII.¹⁰¹ The text is clearly the same, even though al-Maqrīzī simplifies Ibn Sa'īd's ornate style. It is not surprising that other notes from Ibn Sa'īd's books appear in the same quire (those indicated above and also LX¹⁰² and LXI). For group 5, both biographies were taken from **Ibn 'Asākir's** *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, which is stated as the source of LXIII and LXVII.¹⁰³

As for groups 2–3–4–6, the subject (or subjects) conform to the classic organization of the biographical dictionaries: first *Muḥammads*, followed by other *isms* in alphabetical order. Considering the dates of death (the earliest 358, the latest 749), research to find their origin should focus on a biographical dictionary with a large temporal scope,¹⁰⁴ such as al-Ṣafadī's *Al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafāyāt*. As already noticed, the notebook contains a summary of some parts of this book (see V), corresponding exactly to the letters represented in this group.¹⁰⁵ In fact some of them can be found in this work, but it would be illogical to consider that al-Maqrīzī prepared an epitome, and that he later reconsidered, choosing other biographies from *Al-Wāfi* and writing them elsewhere in the notebook. Besides the fact that not all the biographies in it were identified, this claim is also supported by the material evidence. Biography no. 21 already appears in the resumé of *al-Wāfi*,¹⁰⁶ and both differ from each other, in terms of the information they provide. A collation with several books of the genre considered yielded no result, nor did a study of the internal evidence in the notebook or in al-Maqrīzī's works where the data was introduced.¹⁰⁷ For instance, one can read a statement of al-Yaghmurī (d.

¹⁰¹Ibn Sa'īd's *Al-Ightibāf fī Ḥulá Madīnat al-Fuṣṭāṭ (min Kitāb al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib)*, ed. Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan, Shawqī Ḍayf, and Sayyidah Kāshif (Cairo, 1953), 256–57 (no. 1), 267–68 (no. 2).

¹⁰²This was placed on fol. 3, which explains why this fly-leaf was replaced in that quire.

¹⁰³Al-Maqrīzī cites Wardān in *Al-Khiṭat*, 2:190, which explains the presence of his biography in the notebook.

¹⁰⁴The geographical link between all these biographies (all these individuals were born, lived, or passed away in Egypt) would be too restrictive. What appears as a common link in the notebook could be nothing more than the result of al-Maqrīzī's selection in a biographical dictionary with a broader geographical scope.

¹⁰⁵*Muḥammads*, then names beginning with *hamzah* up to Aydamur.

¹⁰⁶See "Maqriziana I/1," 42 (no. 26).

¹⁰⁷Most of them will be found in *Al-Muqaffá*, but some parts also appear in *Al-Sulūk* and *Al-Khiṭat*.



673/1274, see below LIX) regarding the reliability of the subject of biography no. 27 on hadith matters. This statement was not found in any of the sources where a biography of this scholar was identified,¹⁰⁸ and more curiously not even in *Al-Muqaffá* where al-Maqrīzī kept silent on it.¹⁰⁹ No. 3 (al-Idrīsī) constitutes another interesting example of this kind of cross-reference work. He is the author of a book on the Pyramids,¹¹⁰ quoted in his biography in the notebook. He has not been the subject of many reports in the works that have been preserved.¹¹¹ In his notice in *Al-Muqaffá*, al-Maqrīzī quotes Ibn Musdī¹¹² (d. 663/1265), who composed a *Mu‘jam* in three volumes, again demonstrating his ability to find contemporary sources. None of the sources preceding al-Maqrīzī match the biography in the notebook. For instance, the date of his death appears in the notebook and in *Al-Muqaffá* as being 644, although the year 648 is recorded in the other sources.¹¹³ No. 33 can also be studied in this way. Al-Maqrīzī mentioned his sources in the biography he wrote about him in *Al-Muqaffá* (5:594–95, no. 2144). These sources were al-Qiftī’s *Tārīkh al-Nuhāt* and al-Musabbiḥī. A comparison with these data in the notebook reveals that some of the information came from both of these sources, but that the quotations are more complete in *Al-Muqaffá*. From this, it must be understood that the biographical dictionary from which the actual biography has been summarized in the notebook relied on both these sources and that al-Maqrīzī later had access to them. In fact, he always tried to discover more reliable or direct sources.

Notwithstanding all this, the ultimate source of these biographies remains to be discovered. Meanwhile, the data provided will enlarge our knowledge of Egyptian historiography, as many of the subjects of these biographies were historians, and all the data was not reused by al-Maqrīzī in *Al-Muqaffá*. A good example is no. 13, which consists of a biography of al-Musabbiḥī. The notice contains a very interesting passage already quoted.¹¹⁴ The question arises whether this is a statement made by the author of this biography or by al-Maqrīzī himself. A *Muntaqá Tārīkh al-Musabbiḥī* is registered, but Rashīd al-Dīn al-Mundhirī (d. 643/1245–46 or 644/1246–47) cannot be considered the author of this statement because it does

¹⁰⁸ Al-Mundhirī, *Al-Takmilah li-Wafayāt al-Naqalah*, ed. Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma‘rūf (Beirut, 1401/1981), 1:185 (no. 193).

¹⁰⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá*, 1:104 (no. 54).

¹¹⁰ See al-Idrīsī, *Anwār ‘Ulwī al-Ajrām fī al-Kashf ‘an Asrār al-Ahrām*, ed. U. Haarmann (Beirut, 1991).

¹¹¹ See Haarmann’s introduction, *ibid.*, 66. The sources preceding al-Maqrīzī are but a few: al-Udfuwī, *Al-Tāli‘ al-Sa‘īd*; Ibn Sa‘īd, *Al-Mughrib*; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arīb*.

¹¹² Or Masdī. See for the proper vocalization al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá*, 5:516–17 (no. 3618).

¹¹³ See Haarmann’s introduction, al-Idrīsī, *Anwār ‘Ulwī al-Ajrām*.

¹¹⁴ See above, XXXVIII.



not belong with the other biographies. As I have tried to demonstrate, these other biographies came from a single source. Moreover, some of them deal with individuals who died well after al-Mundhirī.¹¹⁵ The fact that al-Maqrīzī prepared a résumé of al-Musabbiḥī's *Tārīkh* proves, however, his interest in historical matters, particularly from the Fatimid period. Thus, the only answer that can be put forward is that the statement is al-Maqrīzī's, and that he added this personal information in the middle of a biography he summarized.

LVII. (fol. 125v)

Title on fol. 125v (lines 6–7): [Quotation from] *Kitāb al-Kamā'im*.

من خبر مصر. قال في الكمائيم : وأما فسطاط مصر فإن مبانيها كانت في القديم متصلة بمباني عين الشمس وجاء الإسلام وبها مبنى يعرف بالقصر حوله مساكن.

Commentary:

As argued above (see preceding entry), this short quotation is found on a folio where biographies were identified as coming from **Ibn Sa'īd's** *Al-Mughrib*. This conclusion is partly thanks to the mention of the indirect source from which al-Maqrīzī said he took it: *Al-Kamā'im*. This book was written by al-Bayhaqī ('Alī ibn Zayd, d. 565/1169¹¹⁶), and is exclusively cited on several occasions by Ibn Sa'īd in his own work. Indeed, the passage is found in the second book of *Al-Mughrib* dealing with the history of Fustāṭ: *Al-Ightibāṭ fī Ḥulá Madīnat al-Fustāṭ*.¹¹⁷ In *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (1:40), where it was reused, al-Maqrīzī indicated the direct source (*Al-Mughrib*) from which he took it, although he did not indicate this source in the notebook. This is probably due to the fact that he knew that all excerpts he took from *Al-Kamā'im* were taken only from this source. Ibn Sa'īd's books appear later in the notebook (see LX, LXI).

LVIII. (fol. 125v)

No title: Quotation of a passage regarding the plunder that took place during al-Mustanṣir's reign (460–61).

Incipit (fol. 125v, lines 22–24):

من خبر المستنصر : بيعت البيضة في غلاء المستنصر بعشرة قراريط والراوية الماء بدينار وخرج من خزانة السلاح أحد عشر ألف درع [. . .] (المنتظم، مج ١٦، ١١٦–١١٧)

Explicit (fol. 125v, line 29):

¹¹⁵His lost *Tārīkh Miṣr* might have contained data regarding al-Musabbiḥī.

¹¹⁶On Bayhaqī, see *GAL* S1:557–58.

¹¹⁷Ibn Sa'īd's *Al-Ightibāṭ*, 1.



[. . .] اشترى بها أقل من كارة دقيق.

Commentary:

The excerpt is introduced by an indicative title written in red ink: “*min khabar al-Mustanşir*.” It was placed in front of the preceding entry, and logically one could conclude that it shares the same origin as the other items on the folio. However, this is contradicted by the color of the red ink which differs from the ink used elsewhere on this folio, which indicates that it was jotted down at a later date. These notes deal with horrific events that happened during the famine which struck the entire country during the years 460–61, events he treated comprehensively in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* and *Itti’āz al-Ḥunafā’*. A positive event from this period was the extraction of treasures from the *khizānat al-silāḥ*. In *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, he devoted a section to the *khazā’ in al-silāḥ* (1:417–18) where the same subject is scrutinized on the basis of *Al-Dhakhā’ir wa-al-Tuḥaf*, the well-known treatise on treasures, mostly those plundered in al-Mustanşir’s reign.¹¹⁸ Unfortunately, the data in the notebook was not used there. However, it is found verbatim in *Itti’āz al-Ḥunafā’* (2:296 [ll. 3–6] and 296–97 [ll. 15–1]). It is interesting to note that al-Maqrīzī provides crucial information there for the identification of the data, as he introduces it thus: “*wa-waṣala ilā Baghdād ‘alā yad al-tujjār mim mā khurrija min al-qaṣr, ‘alā mā waqaftu fī tārikh ba’d al-baghdādīyīn*.” One wonders why he did not give the name of this *History* composed by a scholar from Baghdad! There could have been many potential candidates with such a vague indication, but, as already proven in several cases, it is better to consider a source already mentioned in the notebook for the given period. This leads us unequivocally to **Ibn al-Jawzī’s** *Al-Muntaẓam*. Under the year 462 (16:116–17) he recalls some events that happened in Egypt during that year through the testimonies of Egyptians who fled from the country to find relief in other areas. Among these is the passage excerpted by al-Maqrīzī. The order as well as the wording leave no doubt that *Al-Muntaẓam* was the source in this case too.

LIX. (fol. 3v)

No title: Excerpt from a book by al-Yaghmurī.

Incipit (fol. 3v, line 1):

رأيت بخط المحافظ اليعموري ما مثاله : قرأت بخط العلامة أبي محمد عبد اللطيف بن يوسف بن محمد البغدادي قال : كان السوق يعني في عسكر صلاح الدين [. . .]

¹¹⁸Falsely attributed to al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr. Ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh (Kuwait, 1959) on the basis of a resumé made by al-Awḥadī. See Sayyid, “Lumières,” 23–25. Trans. Ghādah al-Ḥijjāwī al-Qaddūmī, *Book of Gifts and Rarities* (Cambridge, MA, 1996).



Explicit (fol. 3v, lines 9–10):

[. . .] وصار حماما يغسل الرجل رأسه بدرهم وأكثر وندم صلاح الدين على خراب عسقلان وأبقى
عكاء.

Commentary:

The excerpt occupies half of the page and was written from bottom to top, from the spine toward the middle of the page. The source is given as **al-Yaghmūrī** (Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-Asadī, d. 673/1274),¹¹⁹ who is quoted, almost always for personal testimonies, on several occasions in *Al-Muqaffá*¹²⁰ and *Al-Khiṭaṭ*.¹²¹ Al-Maqrīzī explains how he became acquainted with it in this excerpt and in *Al-Muqaffá*:¹²² he managed to obtain an autograph copy of al-Yaghmūrī's book. In this particular case, the author himself relied on an autograph copy of al-Baghdādī's work. He is to be identified as 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Baghdādī (d. 629/1231), the author of *Al-Ifādah wa-al-I'tibār fī al-Umūr al-Mushāhadah wa-al-Hawādith al-Mu'āyanah bi-Arḍ Miṣr*,¹²³ also cited as a direct source by al-Maqrīzī in *Al-Khiṭaṭ*.¹²⁴ But obviously, al-Maqrīzī deemed al-Yaghmūrī's work valuable for the first part of *Al-Sulūk*, because it is there that

¹¹⁹On al-Yaghmūrī, see R. Sellheim, *Die Gelehrenbiographien des Abū 'Ubaidallāh al-Marzubānī in der Rezension des Ḥāfiẓ al-Yağmūrī*, part 1 (Wiesbaden, 1964), 8 ff.; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-I'lān bi-al-Tawbīkh*, in F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1968), 322, 422, 467. Quotations from this source can also be found in Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah fī al-Dawlah al-Zāhirīyah*, ed. W. Brinner as *A Chronicle of Damascus, 1389–1397* (Berkeley, 1963).

¹²⁰Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá*, 7:160 (*qāla al-ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad al-Yaghmūrī: wa-akhbaranī al-shaykh . . .*); 6:122 (*wa-qāla al-ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn al-Yaghmūrī: anshadanī al-shaykh . . .*); 5:131 (*wa-qāla al-ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Yaghmūrī wa-min khaṭṭihi naqaltu: qāla lī al-shaykh . . .*); 3:442 (*wa-qāla al-ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad al-Yaghmūrī: wajadtu bi-khaṭṭ al-sharīf . . .*).

¹²¹Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:25 (*wa-qāla al-ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-Muḥammad al-Asadī al-Dimashqī al-ma'rūf bi-al-Yaghmūrī: anshadanī al-imām . . .*); 2:87 (*wa-qāla al-ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd al-Yaghmūrī: sami'tu al-amīr al-kabīr . . .*); 2:183 (*qāla al-ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-Asadī al-shahīr bi-al-Yaghmūrī: sami'tu al-amīr al-kabīr . . .*). For other impersonal quotations, see *ibid.*, 1:7 and 496–97.

¹²²See the third extract given in n. 119 above.

¹²³Ed. Aḥmad Ghassān Sabānū (Damascus, 1403/1983). Since the note found in the notebook concerns 'Akkā, the city near which Saladin established his camp, and which was visited by 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī in 587/1191, it is no surprise that it does not appear in his book entitled *Al-Ifādah wa-al-I'tibār* in which he recorded his stay in Egypt during the years 588–89.

¹²⁴See Guest, "A List of Writers," 120; Harīdī, *Fihris Khīṭaṭ Miṣr*, 1:408; Sayyid ed., 5:972.



this passage is found.¹²⁵ The wording is exactly the same,¹²⁶ with a considerable difference: in *Al-Sulūk*, al-Yaghmurī's name is omitted, as if he wanted to imply that al-Baghdādī was his direct source in this case. Be that as it may, he did not dare to quote al-Yaghmurī's words (*ra'aytu bi-khatt . . .*), but replaced them with a more pragmatic "qāla."

LX. (fol. 3v)

Title on fol. 3 v, lines 32–33: [Quotation of] *Al-Muḥallá bi-al-Ash'ār*/Ibn Sa'īd.

[. . .] نقلته من كتاب المحلى بالأشعار لابن سعيد.

Incipit (fol. 3v, lines 11–14):

غانة من بلاد السودان في المغرب الأقصى عزا ملكها وهو من ولد صالح بن عبد الله بن الحسين بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 3v, lines 31–32):

[. . .] وأوسعها متجرا وأهلها مسلمون.

Commentary:

The second half of fol. 3v was later covered with a quotation extracted from **Ibn Sa'īd's** *Al-Muḥallá bi-al-Ash'ār*, al-Maqrīzī being very precise in this case ("naqaltuhu"). From a chronological point of view, it means that he had access to this work of Ibn Sa'īd after al-Yaghmurī's book. *Al-Muḥallá bi-al-Ash'ār* is attested for the first and last time in the notebook: al-Maqrīzī rather exploited Ibn Sa'īd's other book entitled *Al-Mughrib fī Hulá al-Maghrib* (see XXXIII, LVI, LVII, LXI), at least the part dealing with Egypt. The content of this passage is interesting in that it contains an indirect quotation of the *Kitāb Ujār* [or better *Rujār*], better known under its full title *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fī Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq*, compiled by al-Idrīsī (Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, d. 560/1164). These few lines do not appear in this source,¹²⁷ and this is not surprising: two other excerpts known to come from this book in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* were not found in the version that reached us. The first one¹²⁸ is mentioned by al-Maqrīzī through al-Nuwayrī, who probably borrowed it from al-Waṭwāt (see below under LXX), while the second¹²⁹ came through Ibn Sa'īd's *Al-Mughrib*. The interesting point concerns the first of these because it deals with the Nile and how it divides various areas in Nubia and beyond, with

¹²⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1934), 1:94.

¹²⁶ Except that the last sentence in the notebook is not cited there.

¹²⁷ Italian ed. (Rome, 1970–84), in 9 parts.

¹²⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:53 (quoted with its full title).

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:341 (quoted as *Kitāb Ujār*).



specific mention of the Ghana river. Here in the notebook, information is precisely provided on the king of Ghana and the palace he built on the Nile in 510. There is also a description of his habits. Al-Maqrīzī does not seem to have taken advantage of any part of this note, either in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* or in *Itti'āz al-Ḥunafā'*.¹³⁰

As for *Al-Muḥallā bi-al-Ash'ār*, al-Maqrīzī used it in two other cases,¹³¹ in which another indirect source appears: al-Qurṭī (see LVI, no. 2), who makes reference to the *Thousand and One Nights*. On this basis, Z. M. Ḥasan¹³² refuted C. Brockelmann's view¹³³ that *Al-Muḥallā* was identical with *Al-Qidḥ al-Mu'allā fī al-Tārīkh al-Muḥallā*, another item of Ibn Sa'īd's production. For Ḥasan, this attribution could be inaccurate, since the latter deals exclusively with Andalusian poets, while *Al-Muḥallā*, as we know thanks to the quotations taken from it by al-Maqrīzī, also deals with Egypt. Ḥasan's view is confirmed by this passage in the notebook, demonstrating that Ibn Sa'īd also took into account the sources on the Nile.

LXI. (fol. 130v)

Title on fol. 130v, line 1: [Quotation from] *Al-Mughrib*/Ibn Sa'īd.

قال ابن سعيد في المغرب.

Text (fol. 130v, lines 1–2):

القرافة. قال ابن سعيد في المغرب : وهي في شرقها بها منازل لأعيان الفسطاط والقاهرة وقبور عليها.

Commentary:

The first word was written in a red ink similar to the other excerpts taken from Ibn Sa'īd's *Al-Mughrib*. Fol. 130 is the last of quire XIV in which several of these have been identified. Here, the inscription lies in the upper part of the page. The source is clearly indicated and the material can be read in the section on Fustāṭ where it appears with the same wording.¹³⁴ Al-Maqrīzī reused it in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (2:444), illustrating another aspect of his working method: while the excerpt in the notebook consisted of two lines selected from a paragraph of ten in the printed text, the passage quoted in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* contains the whole paragraph. In this case, al-Maqrīzī went back to his source to enlarge the quotation.

¹³⁰For the year 510, the autograph contained three blank folios. See al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-Ḥunafā'*, 3:56.

¹³¹*Al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:485 and 2:181.

¹³²Ibn Sa'īd, *Al-Ightibāṭ*, 23m.

¹³³*GAL* 1:337.

¹³⁴Ibn Sa'īd, *Al-Ightibāṭ*, 10.



LXII. (fol. 142r)

No title: Various quotations of events and biographies regarding the fifth century.

List of the events and the biographies:

(١) سنة سبع وأربعين وأربعمائة فيها ظهر باليمن أبو كامل علي بن محمد الصليحي ودعا للمستنصر
[. . .]

(٢) علي بن الحسن بن أحمد بن عمر بن المسلمة أبو القاسم (ت ٤٥٠)

(٣) سنة اثنتين وخمسين وأربعمائة فيها حصر محمود بن شبل الدولة بن صالح بن مرداس [. . .]

(٤) قريش بن بدران صاحب الموصل ونصيبين (ت ٤٥٣)

(٥) شكر العلوي أمير مكة (ت ٤٥٣)

Commentary:

Folio 142 is part of a quire (no. XVI) composed of two bi-folios which were added by al-Maqrīzī to conclude resumé no. VII. The unused portion (from fol. 142r, where only five lines of the abstract were neatly written, to 144v) was later covered with notes from two different sources. Here, al-Maqrīzī included some events which took place between 447 and 453. From its arrangement, it can be deduced that he borrowed them from a chronicle or another kind of historical book. Because they treat events which mainly took place in the East, although linked to the Fatimid state, it is more reasonable to consider an eastern author. We have seen with other excerpts (LII, LV, LVIII) dealing with the same period and region that al-Maqrīzī primarily used Ibn al-Jawzī's *Al-Muntaẓam*. In this case, however, one must consider another possibility, given that the texts do not match each other. Some parts of it were identified in Ibn al-Athīr's *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, a chronicle al-Maqrīzī knew and used.¹³⁵ Notwithstanding the parallels that could be drawn, the notebook contains data absent in *Al-Kāmil*. This means that both authors relied on a common source which has not been identified so far. Some of what is found here was used by al-Maqrīzī in some of his works.¹³⁶

LXIII. (fols. 144v–142v)

Title on fol. 144v, line 1: [Biographies and events from] *Tārīkh Dimashq/Ibn 'Asākir*.

أنشد ابن عساكر في تاريخ دمشق [. . .]

¹³⁵See his judgment on the Oriental historians regarding the Fatimid state in *Itti'āz*, 3:346. A list of those he knew is given there.

¹³⁶*Itti'āz*, 2:230–64 (the years under consideration, and particularly 261); *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:356.



List of the biographies:

- (١) سودة بنت عمارة الهمدانية (fol. 144v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٩، ص ٢٢٦، رقم ٩٣٦٣)
- (٢) عاتكة بنت عبد الله بن يزيد بن معاوية (fol. 144v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٩، ص ٢٤٥، رقم ٩٣٧٦)
- (٣) عائشة بنت طلحة بن عبيد الله (fol. 144v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٩، ص ٢٥٠، رقم ٩٣٧٩)
- (٤) عبدة بنت عبد الله بن يزيد بن معاوية (fol. 144v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٩، ص ٢٦٥، رقم ٩٣٨٤)
- (٥) فاختة بنت قرظة بن عبد عمرو بن نوفل بن عبد مناف بن قصي (fol. 144r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ٦، رقم ٩٣٩٧)
- (٦) فاطمة بنت الحسين بن علي (fol. 144r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ١٠، رقم ٩٤٠٠)
- (٧) فاطمة بنت عبد الملك بن مروان (fol. 144r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ٢٨، رقم ٩٤٠٦)
- (٨) مؤمنة بنت بهلول (fol. 143v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ١٢٨، رقم ٩٤٣٠)
- (٩) ميسون بنت بجدل الكلبية (fol. 143v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ١٣٠، رقم ٩٤٣٢)
- (١٠) نائلة بنت عمارة الكلبية (fol. 143v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ١٣٥، رقم ٩٤٣٤)
- (١١) أم الدرداء (fol. 143v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ٢٣٧، رقم ٩٤٦٦)
- (١٢) هند بنت المهلب بن أبي صفرة (fol. 143r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ١٨٩، رقم ٩٤٤٦)
- (١٣) أم هارون الخراسانية¹³⁷ (fol. 143 r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ٢٦٥، رقم ٩٤٨٥)
- (١٤) يوسف بن القاسم بن يوسف بن فارس بن سوار أبو بكر الميافجي الشافعي (fol. 142v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٤، ص ٢٥٥، رقم ١٠١٩٩)
- (١٥) يوسف بن ياروح القائد ابن زوجة الامير شهم الدولة ساتكين (fol. 142v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٤، ص ٢٦٤، رقم ١٠٢١٠)
- (١٦) محمد بن بزال أبو عبد الله الملقب قائد الجيوش (fol. 142v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٥٢، ص ١٤٨، رقم ٦١٣١)

Commentary:

These notes were written from fol. 144v onward. This means that al-Maqrīzī wrote the beginning of these notes at the end of the quire going backward until the end of the resumé, which stopped in the middle of it, on fol. 142r. The source is identified by al-Maqrīzī himself who opened the notes with the formula "anshada Ibn 'Asākir fī Tārīkh Dimashq." The *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* by Ibn 'Asākir

¹³⁷Fols. 143r–142v contain various historical reports dealing with the Umayyads.



(‘Alī ibn al-Ḥasan, d. 571/1176)¹³⁸ is quoted several times in *Al-Khiṭaṭ*,¹³⁹ mostly for hadiths. The material preserved here shows that al-Maqrīzī was also interested in facts dealing with the Umayyad period. This is confirmed by examples of his own production, such as *Al-Nizā‘ wa-al-Takhāṣum fīmā bayna Banī Umayyah wa-Banī Hāshim*.¹⁴⁰ Here, his interest mainly centered upon poetry recited by or about these women. The last numbers represent men of later periods, which he found in other volumes.¹⁴¹ The entry is connected with LXVII, where biographies were selected from the same source, but from previous volumes. This implies that he had access to several parts of this monumental work, either in Cairo,¹⁴² or during one of his stays in Mecca. The data found here was partially reused, as no. 16 appears in *Al-Muqaffá* (5:433–34), where sentences from the notebook can be read. Nos. 14–16 probably also found their way into the now lost sections of this biographical dictionary.

LXIV. (fol. 145r)

Title on fol. 145r, line 1: [Excerpt from] *Al-Tārīkh/Ibn al-Ma’mūn al-Baṭā’ihī*.

قال ابن المأمون البطائحي في تأريخه في سنة اثنتي عشرة وخمسمائة [. . .]

Incipit (fol. 145r, lines 2–3):

[. . .] وفي يوم عاشوراء عبى السماط بمجلس العطايا يعني من دار الأفضل بن أمير الجيوش وهو
السماط المختص بعاشوراء [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 145r, line 18):

[. . .] والوعاظ والشعراء وغيرهم على ما جرت به عادتهم.

Commentary:

This text and the one following it are written on a smaller piece of paper which was pasted on a narrow strip, in order to attach it to the manuscript. This was made at a later date, by one of the most recent owners of the manuscript. An almost invisible inscription (three words) appearing on the recto indicates that the

¹³⁸Reference is made to the new complete edition, though not as critical as the one published in Damascus by the Arab Academy: ed. ‘Alī Shīrī (Damascus, 1415–21/1995–2000), 80 vols.

¹³⁹See Guest, “A List of Writers,” 109; Harīdī, *Fihris Khīṭaṭ Miṣr*, 1:279, 2:76; Sayyid’s ed., 5:973.

¹⁴⁰Ed. Ḥusayn Mu’nis (Cairo, 1988).

¹⁴¹No. 16 was added at a later date, as suggested by the color of the ink and its position on the page, as well as by its location in a volume which corresponds, in print, to vol. 52. The other biographies were selected mainly in what are now vols. 69–70 and 74. The passages in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* appear in volumes other than those represented here.

¹⁴²See an interesting reference, in *Al-Muqaffá* (7:392), to a transmitter of more than 200 *juz*’s of the *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* directly from the author, who stayed in Egypt.



paper had been previously used for another purpose, i.e., a chancery note. The excerpts found on both sides deal with the etiquette observed for the feast of ‘*Āshūrā*’ during al-Afḍal’s vizierate. The recto contains two passages referring to the years 512 (to be corrected to 513) and 516 and coming from **Ibn al-Ma’mūn’s** *Tārīkh*. As previously mentioned,¹⁴³ the first of these passages can also be read literally in a short resumé of this source by al-Maqrīzī (XVIII, fols. 158b, line 16–159a, line 3). Due to the nature of this folio (a small, originally loose piece of paper), the similar subject of the notes, and the chronological order,¹⁴⁴ it can be identified as a notecard, as I will try to demonstrate in “Maqriziana II.” Besides the appearance of the first passage in the abstract of the original source, both passages were also identified in *Al-Khiṭaṭ*.¹⁴⁵ We can thus follow the evolution of the text through no less than four versions!

LXV. (fol. 145v)

No title: [Quotation taken from *Al-Tārīkh*]/al-Musabbihī.

قال المسيحي في حوادث سنة ٣٩٦ [. . .]

Incipit (fol. 145v, lines 2–3):

[. . .] وفي يوم عاشوراء جرى الأمر فيه على ما يجري كل عام من تعطيل الأسواق وخروج
المنشدين [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 145v, line 12):

[. . .] وسبوا السلف وقدم الرجل بعد النداء فضربت عنقه.

Commentary:

Closely linked to the previous excerpt, this quotation, as we are told by al-Maqrīzī himself, has been taken from **al-Musabbihī’s** *Tārīkh*. In this case, he drew it from the volume covering the year 396, which is now lost.¹⁴⁶ This passage was inserted by al-Maqrīzī at the appropriate place in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (1:431), where it precedes the previous excerpt chronologically, which naturally implies that the actual leaf was later bound incorrectly. It also found its way into the draft version of *Al-Khiṭaṭ*¹⁴⁷ at the same place as the preceding one, confirming the status of this leaf.

¹⁴³See “Maqriziana I/1,” 63.

¹⁴⁴What appears to be the recto was in fact the verso.

¹⁴⁵Al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadah*, 315–16; idem, *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:431.

¹⁴⁶See above, XXXVIII.

¹⁴⁷Al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadah*, 315.



LXVI. (fol. 156v)

No title: Excerpt of events regarding the *khuṭbah* in Mecca, Damascus, and Jerusalem, which took place mainly during the reign of al-Mustans̄ir (years 462, 465, 468, 470, 472, 478, 490, 491, 492).

Incipit (fol. 156v, lines 4–6):

سنة اثنتين وستين وأربعمائة قطعت دعوة المستنصر صاحب مصر من مكة ودعي بها للقائم العباسي
وللسلطان عضد الدولة ألب أرسلان [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 156v, lines 20–21):

[. . .] وقتل في المسجد الأقصى ما يزيد على سبعين ألف من المسلمين.

Commentary:

Quire XVIII was added by al-Maqrīzī to complete the resumé (XVII¹⁴⁸) he began on the last folio of the preceding quire. Apparently, he was reluctant to start a new resumé on the basis of a different source at the end of the preceding one, though it occupies only two lines. Thus he decided to leave the remaining part blank for further notes, and commenced his new resumé (XVIII) on the next folio. The blank space was indeed not spared. Notes reporting events that occurred in various cities under Fatimid rule and where the name of the caliph was pronounced during the Friday prayer were placed perpendicularly starting from the lower margin. They are preceded by the following phrase in red ink: "*yunqal bi-khabar al-Qāhira*." No source is indicated in this case, but the material was indeed introduced, although not literally, in some places of *Itti'āz al-Ḥunafā'*.¹⁴⁹ Several soundings have been made in various chronicles, based on the order of the reports, in order to identify the source, but without satisfying results. Some reports correspond to *Al-Muntazam* of Ibn al-Jawzī. This is the case for the inscription on the minbar sent by the Abbasid caliph to Mecca in 470, which does not appear in many sources. But, alas, this is surely not valid for the whole excerpt. This means that Ibn al-Jawzī relied on the same source al-Maqrīzī later summarized in his notebook. Another possibility concerns Atzīz's surname, given here as al-Aqsīs (probably the Arabic form of his name). Al-Maqrīzī mentioned it in *Itti'āz al-Ḥunafā'* (2:315) on the basis of this excerpt, and Ibn al-Athīr explains that this form is given by "*al-Shāmīyūn*,"¹⁵⁰ indicating the Syrian historiographers. Unfortunately, I did not reach any conclusion after searching published works. It thus remains to be identified.

¹⁴⁸For the identification of the source of this resumé, see the addendum at the end of this article.

¹⁴⁹*Itti'āz al-Ḥunafā'*, vol. 2, *passim* (under the years mentioned).

¹⁵⁰See the editor's note in the preceding reference.



LXVII. (fols. 160v, 163v–164r)

Title on fols. 160v and 164r: [Biographies of various persons taken from] *Tārīkh Dimashq/Ibn ‘Asākir*.

[. . .] ذكره ابن عساكر في تاريخ دمشق.

قال ابن عساكر في تاريخ دمشق [. . .]

List of the biographies:

- ١) أبو معين الحسن الطيركي (fol. 160v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٧، ص ٢٤٧، رقم ٨٨٥٠)
- ٢) أبو المنجي يقال فيه عبد الله بن علي بن المنجي من وجوه أصحاب أبي علي الحسن بن أحمد بن الحسن بن بهرام القرمطي المعروف بالأعصم (fol. 163v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٧، ص ٢٥٤، رقم ٨٨٥٤)
- ٣) قال أبو المهاصر: كنت رسول عمر بن عبد العزيز إلى عماله [. . .] (fol. 164r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٧، ص ٢٦٠، رقم ٨٨٦٢)
- ٤) أبو نصر البرمكي (fol. 164r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٧، ص ٢٦٤، رقم ٨٨٧٥)
- ٥) يحيى بن زيد بن يحيى بن علي بن محمد بن أحمد بن عيسى بن زيد بن علي بن الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب أبو الحسن الحسيني الزيدي (fol. 164r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٤، ص ٢٢٩، رقم ٨١٤٠)
- ٦) أبو منصور سديد الدولة (fol. 164r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٧، ص ٢٥٤، رقم ٨٨٥٦)

Commentary:

Quire XVIII contains three resumés made from two different sources.¹⁵¹ Some folios (163–65), left blank, were later utilized for several notes. Among these, one finds what must be considered the first in the chronological order, i.e., another excerpt from Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*. All these biographies follow an alphabetical order, a succession confirmed by the printed edition of this source. But al-Maqrīzī did not begin his note-taking on a plain blank folio, as can be seen. Rather, he wrote the first note at the end of the second resumé, in the lower margin, where some space remained. Then he moved forward to the end of the next resumé, once again exploiting the blank space at the bottom, and finally placed all the other biographies on fol. 164, where the full page was available for notes. From this, it can be understood that he did not consider the *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* important enough to prepare a resumé of it, but it can also be inferred that he had access to this text after 831, as this is the date at which he could

¹⁵¹See “Maqriziana I/1” (XVII–XIX) and the addendum at the end of this article for the identification of the source of XVII.



consult the source of summaries XVII and XIX.¹⁵² Additionally, given that no. 5 was selected from what is now vol. 64, we can say that he did not consult the volumes in numerical order.¹⁵³ This is confirmed by entry LXIII, where biographies were found in vols. 69–70, 74, and 52, whether they were scribbled down before or after these. These notes were reused primarily in *Itti'āz al-Hunafā'*¹⁵⁴ as well as in *Al-Muqaffā'*.¹⁵⁵

LXVIII. (fols. 164v–165v, 175v, 184r, 185v, 192r¹⁵⁶)

No title: Biographies of persons who died mainly in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries.

List of the biographies:

- ١ (محمد بن إسماعيل بن القاسم الرسي بن إبراهيم طباطبَاء بن إسماعيل الديباج بن إبراهيم بن الحسن بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب المدني المعروف بالشعراني (ت ٣١٥) (fol. 164v)
- ٢ (العكبري المنجم (ت ؟) (fol. 164v)
- ٣ (محمد بن أبي بكر بن عيسى بن بدران أبو عبد الله تقي الدين الإخنائي المالكي (ت ٧٥٠) (fol. 165r)
- ٤ (محمد بن أبي بكر بن عيسى بن بدران أبو عبد الله علم الدين الإخنائي الشافعي (ت ٧٣٢) (fol. 165r)
- ٥ (محمد بن أبي بكر بن محمد بن محمد بن حسن أبو عبد الله شمس الدين الفارسي الأيكي (ت ٦٩٧) (fol. 165r)
- ٦ (محمد بن بركات بن هلال بن عبد الواحد وقيل محمد بن بركات بن علي بن هلال بن عبد الواحد أبو عبد الله المصري السعيد النحوي (ت ٥٢٠) (fol. 165r)
- ٧ (محمد بن أسعد بن علي بن المعمر بن عمر بن علي بن أبي هاشم الحسين نسابه بغداد بن أحمد نسابه بغداد بن علي نسابه الكوفة بن إبراهيم بن محمد بن الحسين بن محمد الجواني بن عبيد الله الزاهد بن الحسين بن علي بن الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب أبو علي بن أبي البركات الحسيني العبيدلي الجواني النسابه المالكي (ت ٥٨٨) (fol. 165v)
- ٨ (محمد بن إسماعيل بن أحمد بن علي بن منصور بن محمد بن الحسين أبو عبد الله شمس الدين الصاحب الوزير بن الصاحب المؤرخ شرف الدين الأمدي ابن التيتي (ت ٧٠٤) (fol. 165v)

¹⁵²See below, no. XVII in addendum.

¹⁵³No. 6, which is found in vol. 67 like all the others, was written in the margin, near the spine. Thus, no. 5 was surely written prior to no. 6.

¹⁵⁴For instance, no. 5 (*Itti'āz*, 2:268 [read *al-Husaynī* instead of *al-Hasanī!*]).

¹⁵⁵For instance, no. 2 (*Al-Muqaffā'*, 4:616–18).

¹⁵⁶See reproduction of fol. 184r in "Maqriziana IV," 25.



- ٩ (محمد بن محمد بن إبراهيم بن الحسين بن سراقه أبو القاسم وأبو بكر وأبو عبد الله الأنصاري الشاطبي المالكي (ت ٦٦٢) (fol. 175v)
- ١٠ (محمد بن محمد بن أسعد بن علي بن معمر بن عمر بن علي أبو عبد الله الحسيني الجواني (ت ٦١٦) (fol. 175v)
- ١١ (محمد بن محمد بن محمد أبو عبد الله الوهراني (ت ٥٧٥) (fol. 175v)
- ١٢ (إبراهيم بن جعفر أبو محمود الكتامي (ت ٣٧٠) (fol. 184r)
- ١٣ (محمد بن يوسف بن إبراهيم بن عبد الرحمان بن علي بن عبد العزيز بن علي بن قريش أبو عبد الله المخزومي المصري (ت قرن ٧ ؟) (fol. 185v)
- ١٤ (محمد الشیخی تاج الدین (ت ٧٠٤) (fol. 185v)
- ١٥ (محمد بن الحسن بن سعيد عز الدين الحميدي (ت ٦٤٦) (fol. 192r)
- ١٦ (محمد بن الحسين بن الحسن أبو عبد الله المرتضى المعروف بالحنك الطرابلسي (ت ٥٤٩) (fol. 192r)
- ١٧ (محمد بن خاص بك بن عمر وهو بزغش بن كحت بن شيرك أبو عبد الله بن الأمير أبي سعيد الشوباشي العزيمي (ت ٦٥٣) (fol. 192r)

Commentary:

As with LVI, this long list of biographies, organized in alphabetical order and divided in several groups, cover many folios. However, here the biographies are sometimes separated by large gaps corresponding to resumé. Clearly, once again, al-Maqrizī has taken utmost advantage of the blank spaces. In this case, some biographies can be attributed to different sources, such as no. 2 and no. 12, as confirmed by the script and their location on the page. Apart from these, we note names starting with *Muḥammad*, then followed by another *ism* beginning with *hamzah* and continuing in alphabetical order. The classification is respected until no. 6, followed by another group from nos. 7 to 13, and then another group of four, respecting the order, but going backward somewhat with respect to the previous ones. These three groups (nos. 1–6 [less 2], 7–13 [less 12], and 14–17) might indicate three different sources. The span of time evidenced by the death dates demonstrates that one must look for biographical dictionaries organized alphabetically, but nonetheless respecting the priority of Muḥammad's name. Such a dictionary or dictionaries must have been written by a scholar or scholars of the eighth century. In this case, as with LVI, which consisted of a similar list, the system of cross-references has yielded no positive result in my attempt to identify the source(s). Nos. 1 to 8, for instance, appear in al-Ṣafadī's *Al-Wāfi*, but the collation of both texts ended in failure. One must thus look in other directions. A



search in *Al-Muqaffá* revealed that al-Maqrīzī transferred half of these notes to the respective biographies, where he hardly quoted his sources. Yet, for no. 16 (the Fatimid historian al-Muḥannak¹⁵⁷), he indicated¹⁵⁸ that he relied on Ibn Muyassar, which is confirmed by the resumé he made of it.¹⁵⁹ His biography in the notebook corresponds to what is found in that source, but it cannot be regarded as the source on which he based the biography appearing in the notebook. Instead, he relied on a biographical dictionary, a genre to which Ibn Muyassar's *Tārīkh* does not belong. In this matter, he probably relied on an intermediary source whose author had access to Ibn Muyassar's book. This hypothesis is corroborated by no. 6 (another author of the Fatimid period who is known as the writer of a book on the *Khiṭaṭ* of Egypt). In *Al-Muqaffá* (5:431), al-Maqrīzī mentioned this fact through Ibn Muyassar in the following words: "*wa-lahu Kitāb fī Khiṭaṭ Miṣr ajāda fīhi.*"¹⁶⁰ Unfortunately, Ibn Muyassar's *Tārīkh* in the summary made by al-Maqrīzī does not contain any data regarding this person. The same sentence can be read in his biography in the notebook. Once again, this means that Ibn Muyassar must not be considered the source; instead, it must have come from another book relying on it. Proceeding further with no. 7 (the historian al-Jawwānī¹⁶¹), one can see that the source used by al-Maqrīzī here was also common to al-Mundhirī:¹⁶² they share the same explanation for his *nisbah* and other details, but the notebook is far more comprehensive, with 19 lines devoted to this person. So far, none of the sources investigated perfectly corresponds with the information found in the notebook.

LXIX. (fol. 184r)

No title: Some verses by Abū al-‘Atāhiyah and Ḥunayn.

Incipit (fol. 184r, lines 9–10):

أبو العتاهية : نادت بوشك رحيلك الأيام أفلست تسمع أم بك استصمام

Explicit (fol. 184r, line 17):

¹⁵⁷One can only be astonished by the number of biographies regarding authors of books on the *Khiṭaṭ* or history that appear in this list, as well as in LVI.

¹⁵⁸*Al-Muqaffá*, 5:578.

¹⁵⁹Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá*, 153.

¹⁶⁰Al-Maqrīzī added the following sentence after this: "*wa-lam aqif ‘alayhi,*" to which he appended later: "*waqaftu ‘alayhi bi-khaṭṭ Muḥammad ibn As‘ad ibn al-Jawwānī.*" This last addition is found in the margin of *Al-Muqaffá* (Leiden Ms. 1366, fol. 136b), indicating that he found that manuscript after he drafted the author's biography. In the edition, there is no indication of this, giving the impression that these statements come from Ibn Muyassar.

¹⁶¹A biography of his son will be found under no. 10. In the biography of the father (*Al-Muqaffá*, 5:306–8), al-Maqrīzī referred to the biography of his son, which belongs to the now lost section of this work.

¹⁶²Al-Mundhirī, *Al-Takmilah li-Wafayāt al-Naqalah*, 1:177–78.



[. . .] من رأيت المنون خلدن أم من ذا عليه من أن يضام خفير.

Commentary:

These verses were written by al-Maqrīzī at the end of epitome XXI. They do not originate in a *dīwān*, since two poets are concerned here. Thus, research must be done in anthologies or encyclopedias. In this case, the verses have been found in several sources, including some used by al-Maqrīzī, which complicates the work of properly identifying them. But considering the author of the source identified for the next resumé that closes the quire, I would be inclined to regard it as the one from which al-Maqrīzī selected the verses. Al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-Arab* (4:310 and 288) offers indeed a similar text, but I am still doubtful because the ink and the script differ from those in the following resumé. In any case, al-Maqrīzī did not take advantage of them.

LXX. (fols. 186v–184v¹⁶³)

Title on fol. 186v, line 1, and fol. 185r, line 1: *Dhikr A'yād al-Qibṭ bi-Miṣr* and *A'yād al-Yahūd*.

ذكر أعياد القبط بمصر [. . .]، أعياد اليهود التي نطقت بها التوراة خمسة [. . .]

Commentary:

The section in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (2:472–501) devoted to the non-Muslim communities has been considered since the nineteenth century as one of the best sources for this subject, although this appreciation is now tempered by the discovery of other sources unknown at that time,¹⁶⁴ which include al-Maqrīzī's own sources. Given his efforts to render as comprehensively as possible the complexity of Egypt's different religions, it is not surprising to find some notes here dealing with the feasts celebrated by the Copts and the Jews. Each entry is highlighted by an outline in red ink, with the stroke intentionally elongated by al-Maqrīzī between the *yā'* and the *dāl* of the word *'īd*, which introduces each feast. No source is indicated here, nor in *Al-Khiṭaṭ*¹⁶⁵ where the data was reused verbatim and in the same order. He undoubtedly relied on **al-Nuwayrī's** *Nihāyat al-Arab* (1:191–97), as confirmed by the phrasing and the order in which the feasts are detailed. Al-Nuwayrī did not quote his source, but it can be identified as al-Waṭwāṭ al-Kutubī's (Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, d. 718/1318) *Manāhij al-Fikar wa-Mabāhij*

¹⁶³These notes were written from fol. 186v. onward. This system has already been observed for no. LXIII.

¹⁶⁴Wüstenfeld, *Macrizī's Geschichte der Copten*; al-Maqrīzī, *Tārīkh al-Yahūd wa-Āthāruhum fī Miṣr*, ed. 'Abd al-Majīd Diyāb (Cairo, 1997) [from *Al-Khiṭaṭ*].

¹⁶⁵*Al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:264–67 and 2:501 for the Copts; 2:473–74 and 479 for the Jews.



al-Ibar:¹⁶⁶ The parallelism between the two texts cannot be a coincidence.

LXXI. (fols. 191v–195bis v,¹⁶⁷ 1v)

Titles on fols. 191v, 192r, 192v: Four *faṣls* dealing with the fact that history sometimes repeats itself, as well as persons who held authority despite their young age, and finally with those who were secretaries in Egypt.

List of the *faṣls*:

- ١) فصل من الاتفاقات الغربية : كل قائم بدولة يخرج الملك عن عقبه واعتبر ذلك : معاوية بن أبي سفيان خرج الملك عن عقبه إلى بني مروان [. . .] (fol. 191v)
- ٢) فصل ما قامت دولة باسم ملك إلا انقرضت بمثل ذلك الاسم الذي قامت به : بنو حرب أولهم معاوية بن أبي سفيان آخرهم معاوية بن يزيد [. . .] (fol. 192r)
- ٣) فصل فيمن رأس وهو صغير السن : أسامة بن زيد ولاة النبي عليه السلام على حشر فيه كبار الصحابة وهو دون العشرين سنة [. . .] (fol. 192v)
- ٤) فصل فيه تراجم من ولي كتابة السر بمصر (fol. 192v)
 - ١) عبد الوهاب بن فضل الله العدوي شرف الدين (ت ٧١٧)
 - ٢) علي بن أحمد بن سعيد بن الأثير القاضي علاء الدين بن تاج الدين الحلبي (٧٣٠)
 - ٣) يحيى بن فضل الله بن مجلي محيي الدين بن محمد بن جمال الدين العمري (٧٣٨)
 - ٤) فتح الدين محمد بن محيي الدين عبد الله بن عبد الظاهر بن نشوان بن عبد الظاهر (ت ٦٩١)
 - ٥) أحمد بن علي بن أحمد بن خيران أبو محمد (ت ٤٣٢)
 - ٦) علي بن منجب بن سليمان أبو القاسم المعروف بابن الصيرفي (٥٤٢)
 - ٧) علي بن يحيى بن الحسن بن الحسين بن علي بن محمد الأسيدي الحلبي أبو الحسن نجم الدين (ت ٦٤٢)
 - ٨) حسين بن جوهر أبو عبد الله (ت ٤٠١)
 - ٩) علي بن محمد بن كاسيبويه أبو الحسين المؤتمن المصري وقيل علي بن أحمد (ت ٥٨٨)
 - ١٠) محمد بن الحسين بن إبراهيم بن المسلم بن محمد بن عبد الله بن يوسف بن سلاح أبو عبد الله الفهري (ت ٥١٥)
 - ١١) محمود بن عبد الله الكلستاني التركي بدر الدين الحنفي (ت ٨٠١)

¹⁶⁶See the facsimile edition of the Istanbul Ms. Fatih 4116 produced by F. Sezgin (Frankfurt, 1990), 1:214–16 (Copts) and 216–18 (Jews).

¹⁶⁷Fol. 195bis is another sample of a card added by al-Maqrīzī at a place where it coincided with the main text.



Commentary:

The remaining space at the end of quire XXI was filled later on with four sections written at the same time, at least for the first three and the beginning of the fourth, as indicated by the color of the ink and the general style of the script. This could suggest that al-Maqrīzī was once again copying from a source, although I am more disposed to consider these sections to be the result of his own reflection on history. The following statement found at the end of the first section could confirm this impression: after having listed the various dynasties which originated with a founder whose power was passed on to his descendants, he gives a final contemporaneous example, saying "Barqūq awwal qā'im min mulūk al-jarākisah intaqala al-mulūk 'an 'aqibihi ilā mamlūkihi al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh wa-naḥnu al-ān fī zamanihi." On this basis and assuming that this is really al-Maqrīzī's own statement, this passage constitutes an important clue for dating this part of the notebook (between 815/1412 and 824/1421).

The first three sections must be considered together as far as the theme is concerned: it is announced in the first section only, but the following two undoubtedly belong to it. The coincidences (*ittifāqāt*) noticed in history amazed Muslim historians who regularly stressed these in their books.¹⁶⁸ In this case, however, complete lists are given rather than individual cases, showing al-Maqrīzī's process of systemization. Nonetheless, he does not seem to have proceeded further in this direction in any of his books. It should remind us, however, of al-Maqrīzī's personal relation with Ibn Khaldūn during his stay in Cairo and the influence the latter must have had on his younger colleague.

The fourth section is completely different as it gathers several biographies of secretaries in Egypt, from the Fatimid to the Mamluk period. No chronological or alphabetical order is respected in this section. This indicates that al-Maqrīzī, at different dates as confirmed by the variation of the ink, added data, which he acquired from his readings. No doubt it was intended for his work on secretaries entitled *Khulāṣat al-Tibr fī Akhbār Kuttāb al-Sirr*.¹⁶⁹

C. ADDENDUM

Since the publication of the first section of this article, I have been able to identify the source of some abstracts dealt with there, or to verify some of my hypotheses.

¹⁶⁸See Barbara Langner, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Volkskunde Ägyptens nach mamlukischen Quellen* (Berlin, 1983), 111–12, where the author points out several samples collected in various histories written by later historians (Ibn al-Dawādārī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, and Ibn Iyās), but pertaining to earlier periods such as the Fatimid period. She studied them in a section entitled "*gharā'ib al-ittifāq*." To these, one may add the following one found in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, 16:54, where the author concluded saying: "*wa-hādhā min al-ittifāqāt al-ẓarīfah*."

¹⁶⁹See above, XXXVII.



The progressive study of many other sources will probably lead to further identification of the sources of other resumés, excerpts, and notes listed in both sections of this article which remain unknown.

No. VII ("Maqriziana I/1," 48–52), entitled *Faṣl fī Manāfi' al-Ḥayawān*, is very close to Ibn Zuhr's *Khawāṣṣ al-Ḥayawān*, although the order in which the animals are listed differs. I concluded that al-Maqrīzī probably relied on an intermediate source which reordered Ibn Zuhr's data. The source was finally found to be **Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's** *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, of which volume 20 is dedicated to animals and plants.¹⁷⁰ The resumé made by al-Maqrīzī exactly matches the text both in its wording and order.

No. XVII ("Maqriziana I/1," 60–62) contains excerpts dealing with numismatics and metrology of the eastern parts of the Muslim world. I made no proposal for the source of this excerpt, but since the publication of the article I ascertained that one of the most well-informed sources for this matter outside the areas concerned was **Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's** *Masālik al-Abṣār*, which must be considered al-Maqrīzī's primary source for many matters. The data found in the resumé corresponds to what one can read on this subject in this encyclopedia.¹⁷¹ As already noted, al-Maqrīzī had access to this source precisely in 831,¹⁷² meaning that this part of the notebook can be dated accordingly. But another conclusion can be made: no. XIX was already identified as a resumé of another part of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's *opera omnia*, and together with no. XVII now clearly identified as coming from the same source, we can determine that no. XVIII (a resumé of Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī's *Sīrat al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī*), which is inserted in the same quire, was consequently written at the same date. This is extremely important for the dating of the redaction of some portions of *Al-Khiṭaṭ* and *Itti'āz al-Hunafā'*.

No. XX ("Maqriziana I/1," 64–65) consisted of several *faṣls* dealing with juridical matters. The first of these regarded problems of metrology and I surmised that it could have been taken from a work written by Ibn al-Rif'ah (d. 710/1310), entitled *Al-Īḍāḥ wa-al-Tibyān fī Ma'rifat al-Mikyāl*, on the basis of the appearance of his

¹⁷⁰Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār: Al-Juz' al-'Ishrūn Khāṣṣ bi-al-Ḥayawān wa-al-Nabāt*, ed. Muḥammad Nāyif al-Dulaymī (Beirut, 1419/1999).

¹⁷¹See Etienne Quatremère, "Notices sur l'ouvrage qui a pour titre: *Mesalek alabsar fī memalek alamsar, Voyage des yeux dans les royaumes des différentes contrées* (Manuscrit arabe de la Bibliothèque du Roi, no. 583)," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque du Roi et autres bibliothèques* 13 (1838): 151–384, particularly 210–12, 223. For more details, see "Maqriziana VI: Numismatics and Metrology in al-Maqrīzī's Notebook" (forthcoming).

¹⁷²See "Maqriziana I/1," 64.



name in the résumé for a personal statement and the collation made by one editor of al-Maqrīzī's *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd* with the original text. Since that time, I have obtained a copy of the edition of Ibn al-Rif'ah's work¹⁷³ and can confirm that it corresponds literally to the résumé found in the notebook. The problem of the source of the first *faṣl* is thus solved, and there remains to be determined whether the other parts of these sections come from Ibn al-Rif'ah's commentary on al-Shīrāzī's *Al-Tanbīh*, as I suggested.

No. XXII ("Maqriziana I/1," 66–68) occupies the majority of the last quire found in the notebook. It differs slightly from all the other résumés as it contains a long biography of a Mamluk amir who was al-Maqrīzī's contemporary (d. 812). At that time, I concluded that al-Maqrīzī devoted a biography to him in his biographical dictionary of his contemporaries, *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājīm al-A'yān al-Mufīdah*, although the complete manuscript of this text was unavailable to researchers. Since then, an edition prepared by its owner has appeared on the market.¹⁷⁴ The biography of this amir can be found in the last volume (3:562–72). My conviction was that the text present in the notebook was nothing other than a preliminary stage of redaction for that work. Now that a collation can be made between both texts, one notices that the final version found in *Durar al-'Uqūd* is more elaborate, although some passages appear verbatim in the notebook. Al-Maqrīzī also added some personal information not found in the notebook to complete the portrait. Considering the material facts stressed earlier (the impression of rapid writing, numerous marginal additions and cancellations), I am confident that the version in the notebook is not the result of a summarizing process, but rather is actually a preliminary version of what became *Durar al-'Uqūd*.

D. LIST OF THE SOURCES¹⁷⁵

<u>Entry no.</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>Title</u>
I	Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah	' <i>Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'</i>
II	Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam	<i>Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Akḥbāriḥā</i>
III	[Ibn Mammātī]	[<i>Qawānīn al-Dawāwīn</i>]
IV/1–5, 7	[Ibn al-Kindī]	[<i>Faḍā' il Miṣr</i>]
IV/6	[Quḍāmah ibn Ja'far]	[<i>Al-Kharāj</i>] (?)

¹⁷³Ed. M. Aḥmad Ismā'īl al-Khārūf (Mecca, 1980).

¹⁷⁴Ed. Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī (Beirut, 2002), 4 vols. (vol. 4: indexes).

¹⁷⁵Square brackets indicate that the name of the author and/or the title of the source are not given by al-Maqrīzī, but were identified through various methods as being his source without a doubt. If there is any doubt concerning this attribution, the name and/or title are followed by a question mark.



IV/8	al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil	<i>[Ta'liq al-Mutajaddidāt]</i>
V	al-Ṣafadī	<i>Al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafāyāt</i>
VI	?	?
VII	[Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī]	<i>[Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār]</i>
VIII	?	?
IX	Ibn al-Mutawwaj	<i>Al-Khiṭaṭ</i>
X	[al-Gharnāṭī]	<i>[Tuḥfat al-Albāb]</i>
XI	?	?
XII	Ibn Naẓīf	<i>[Al-Tārīkh al-Manṣūrī]</i>
XIII	Ibn Naẓīf	<i>[al-Kashf wa-al-Bayān fī Hawādith al-Zamān]</i>
XIV	?	?
XV	Wakī'	<i>Al-Danānīr wa-al-Darāhim</i>
XVI	?	?
XVII	[Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī]	<i>[Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār]</i>
XVIII	Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī	<i>Sīrat al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī</i>
XIX	[Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī]	<i>[Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār]</i>
XX/1	[Ibn al-Rif'ah]	<i>[Al-Īdāh wa-al-Tibyān fī Ma'rifat al-Mikyāl]</i>
XXI	[al-Zamakhsharī]	<i>[al-Kashshāf 'an Ḥaqā'iq al-Tanzīl]</i>
XXII	[al-Maqrīzī]	<i>[Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-A'yān al-Muḥīdah]</i>
XXIII	al-Kirmānī	<i>Rāḥat al-'Aql</i>
XXIV	?	?
XXV	[al-Balawī]	<i>[Al-Sīrah al-Ṭūlūnīyah]</i>
XXVI	?	?
XXVII	Ibn 'Asākir	<i>[Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq] (?)</i>
XXVIII	al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil	<i>Ta'liq al-Mutajaddidāt</i>
XXIX	?	?
XXX	?	?
XXXI	al-Mas'ūdī	<i>Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Ma'ādin al-Jawhar</i>
XXXII	?	?
XXXIII	[Ibn Sa'īd]	<i>[Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulā al-Maghrib] (?)</i>
XXXIV	[al-Balawī]	<i>[Al-Sīrah al-Ṭūlūnīyah]</i>
XXXV	[al-Nuwayrī]	<i>[Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab]</i>
XXXVI	al-Mas'ūdī	<i>[Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Ma'ādin al-Jawhar]</i>
XXXVII	?	?
XXXVIII	[al-Musabbihī]	<i>[Akhhār Miṣr]</i>



XXXIX	Ibn al-Naqqāsh	[<i>Al-‘Ibar fī Man Maḍá wa-Ghabar</i>]
XL	?	?
XLI	?	?
XLII	al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil	<i>Ta‘līq al-Mutajaddidāt</i>
XLIII	?	?
XLIV	?	?
XLV	[al-Balawī]	[<i>Al-Sīrah al-Ṭūlūnīyah</i>]
XLVI	al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr	<i>Jinān al-Janān wa-Riyāḍ al-Adhhān</i>
XLVII	[al-Balawī]	[<i>Al-Sīrah al-Ṭūlūnīyah</i>]
XLVIII	[al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr] (?)	[<i>Jinān al-Janān wa-Riyāḍ al-Adhhān</i>] (?)
XLIX	[al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr]	[<i>Jinān al-Janān wa-Riyāḍ al-Adhhān</i>]
L/1	[al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr] (?)	[<i>Jinān al-Janān wa-Riyāḍ al-Adhhān</i>] (?)
L/2–3	?	?
LI	Ibn al-Naqqāsh	<i>Al-‘Ibar fī Man Maḍá wa-Ghabar</i>
LII	[Ibn al-Jawzī]	[<i>Al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-al-Umam</i>]
LIII	[al-Nuwayrī]	[<i>Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab</i>]
LIV	?	?
LV	[Ibn al-Jawzī]	[<i>Al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-al-Umam</i>]
LVI/1–2	[Ibn Sa‘īd]	[<i>Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib</i>]
LVI/3–35, 38–42	?	?
LVI/36–37	[Ibn ‘Asākir]	[<i>Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq</i>]
LVII	[Ibn Sa‘īd]	[<i>Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib</i>]
LVIII	[Ibn al-Jawzī]	[<i>Al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-al-Umam</i>]
LIX	al-Yaghmūrī	?
LX	Ibn Sa‘īd	<i>Al-Muḥallá bi-al-Ash‘ār</i>
LXI	Ibn Sa‘īd	<i>Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib</i>
LXII	?	?
LXIII	Ibn ‘Asākir	<i>Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq</i>
LXIV	Ibn al-Ma‘mūn al-Baṭā’ihī	<i>Sīrat al-Ma‘mūn al-Baṭā’ihī</i>
LXV	al-Musabbihī	<i>Akhhbār Miṣr</i>
LXVI	?	?
LXVII	Ibn ‘Asākir	<i>Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq</i>
LXVIII	?	?
LXIX	[al-Nuwayrī] (?)	[<i>Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab</i>] (?)



LXX [al-Nuwayrī]
LXXI al-Maqrīzī (?)

[*Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*]
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