

# Medieval Muslim Historians and the Franks in the Levant

*Edited by*

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# Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī

Frédéric Bauden

Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Maqrīzī or Ibn al-Maqrīzī, the hadith scholar and historian, was born in Cairo in 766/1364–65 into a family of Ḥanbalī scholars originally from Baalbek.<sup>1</sup> It was

- 1 For the life of al-Maqrīzī, see Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr bi-abnā’ al-‘umr*, ed. Ḥ. Ḥabashī, 4 vols (Cairo, 1969–72), vol. iv, pp. 187–88; idem, *al-Majma’ al-mu’assis bi’l-mu’jam al-mufahris*, ed. Y.‘A.R. al-Mar‘ashī, 4 vols (Beirut, 1992–94), vol. iii, pp. 58–60; Ibn Fahd, *Mu’jam al-shuyūkh*, ed. M. al-Zāhī and Ḥ. al-Jāsir (Riyadh, 1982), pp. 63–67; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi wa’l-mustawfi fi ba’d al-wāfi*, ed. M.M. Amīn et al., 13 vols (Cairo, 1984–2009), vol. i, pp. 415–20 (no. 221); idem, *al-Dalīl al-shāfi ‘ala’l-manhal al-ṣāfi*, ed. F.M. Shaltūt, 2 vols (Mecca, 1983; reprint Cairo, 1998), vol. i, p. 63 (no. 217); idem, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fi mulūk Miṣr wa’l-Qāhira*, s.n., 16 vols (Cairo, 1963–72), vol. xv, pp. 490–91; idem, *Ḥawāḍith al-duḥūr fi madā’ al-ayyām wa’l-shuhūr*, ed. F.M. Shaltūt, 2 vols (Cairo, 1990), vol. i, pp. 39–41; al-Biqā’ī, *Unwān al-zamān bi-tarājim al-shuyūkh wa’l-aqrān*, ed. Ḥ. Ḥabashī, 5 vols published so far (Cairo, 2001–), vol. i, pp. 109–10; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmī ‘an ahl al-qarn al-tāsi’*, s.n., 12 vols (Cairo, 1934–36; reprint Beirut, 1992), vol. ii, pp. 21–25; idem, *al-Tibr al-masbūk fi dhayl al-sulūk*, ed. N.M. Kāmil et al., 4 vols (Cairo, 2002–7), vol. i, pp. 70–78; idem, *Wajīz al-kalām fi’l-dhayl ‘alā duwal al-islām*, ed. B.‘A. Ma’rūf et al., 4 vols (Beirut, 1995), vol. ii, p. 580 (no. 1342); al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs wa’l-abdān fi tawārīkh al-zamān*, ed. Ḥ. Ḥabashī, 4 vols (Cairo, 1970–89), vol. iv, pp. 242–44 (no. 536); ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl al-Malaṭī al-Ḍāhirī, *Nayl al-amāl fi dhayl al-duwal*, ed. ‘U.A. Tadmurī, 9 vols (Sidon-Beirut, 2002), vol. v, pp. 150–51; idem, *al-Majma’ al-mufannan bi’l-mu’jam al-mu’anwan*, ed. ‘A.M. al-Kandari, 2 vols (Beirut, 2011), vol. i, pp. 347–52 (no. 429); Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr fi waqā’i’ al-duḥūr*, ed. M. Muṣṭafā, 5 vols (Wiesbaden, 1960–75), vol. ii, pp. 231–32; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fi akhbār man dhahab*, ed. ‘A.Q. al-Arna’ūt and M. al-Arna’ūt, 10 vols (Damascus-Beirut, 1986–93), vol. ix, pp. 370–71; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭālī bi-maḥāsīn man ba’d al-qarn al-sābi’*, ed. M.Ḥ. Ḥallāq (Damascus-Beirut, 2006), pp. 109–11 (no. 46); F. Bauden, ‘al-Maqrīzī’, in *EMC*, vol. ii, 1074–76; *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7 (2003), *passim* (proceedings of the international conference *The Legacy of al-Maqrīzī* [1364–1442], University of Notre Dame, September 28–29, 2001); Ḥ. ‘Āṣī, *Al-Maqrīzī Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir al-‘Ubaydī (766–845 h.-1366–1441 m.)*, *mu’arrikh al-duwal al-islāmiyya fi Miṣr* (Beirut, 1992); K. al-D. ‘I. al-D. ‘Alī, *Arba’a mu’arrikhīn wa-arba’a mu’allafāt min dawlat al-jarākisa* (Cairo, 1992), pp. 157–239; idem, *al-Maqrīzī mu’arrikhān* (Beirut, 1990); S. ‘Āshūr, ‘Aḍwā’ jadida ‘ala’l-mu’arrikh Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī wa-kitābātihi’, *Ālam al-fikr* 14 (1983), 165–210; J.-C. Garcin, ‘Al-Maqrīzī. Un historien encyclopédique du monde afro-oriental’, in *Les Africains*, vol. 9, ed. Ch.-A. Julien et al. (Paris, 1977), 195–223; F. Rosenthal, ‘al-Maqrīzī’, in *EI2*; *Dirāsāt ‘an al-Maqrīzī* (Cairo, 1971); al-Ziriklī, *al-A’lām*, 8 vols (4th ed., Beirut, 2002), vol. i, pp. 177–78; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte*

his great-great grandfather Ibrāhīm, or the latter's father Muḥammad, who first settled in the Syrian town. It is not known where this ancestor originally came from but the area of Baalbek in which he chose to live, Maqāriza, meant his descendents came to be known under the name al-Maqrīzī, according to al-Maqrīzī himself.<sup>2</sup> Another possibility, although a more debatable one due to the nature of the source, is that the origin of this *nisba* could be from a certain Ibn Amqrīz, a Berber who belonged to the Kutāma tribe. One of his daughters may have married an ancestor of al-Maqrīzī and the family would thus have been known through this slightly altered form of the name.<sup>3</sup> Whichever is the case, it seems probable that the family must have originally been Shī'īs, perhaps themselves related to the Fāṭimids, which would explain why al-Maqrīzī's ancestor opted for a family name which allowed him to blend into Baalbek when he settled in the city. Al-Maqrīzī, however, doubts a Fāṭimid origin for his family. Yet he did leave several clues which suggest that his family did have such a background, or at least that he believed this until a certain point in his life; this does not mean, however, that he was necessarily right or that he continued to believe until the end of his life what may have been a family legend.

It was al-Maqrīzī's grandfather, Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir (born in 677/1278–79, d. 28th Rabī' 1 732/29th December 1331),<sup>4</sup> who was the first to leave his home town and go to Damascus where he was, among other things,

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*der arabischen Litteratur*, 2 vols (Weimar-Berlin, 1898–1926; 2nd ed. Leiden, 1943–49), 3 supplements (Leiden, 1937–42), vol. II, pp. 47–50, and S., vol. II, pp. 36–38; U.R. Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifin*, 4 vols (Beirut, 1993), vol. I, pp. 204–5 (no. 1515). See also the introduction by M. al-Jalilī to his edition of al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda fī tarājim al-a'yān al-mufīda*, 4 vols (Beirut, 2002), vol. I, pp. 13–39.

- 2 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Majma' al-mu'assis*, vol. III, p. 59. The passage in question was approved by al-Maqrīzī himself, who reviewed and corrected his own biography in the auto-graph manuscript of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī. See F. Bauden, 'Maqriziana IX: Should al-Maqrīzī Be Thrown Out With the Bathwater? The Question of His Plagiarism of al-Awḥadī's *Khīṭaṭ* and the Documentary Evidence', *Mamlūk Studies Review* 14 (2010), 159–232, pp. 221–23.
- 3 Ibn Fahd, *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh*, p. 64; Sibṭ Ibn al-'Ajāmī, *Kunūz al-dhahab fī ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Sh. Sha'th and F. al-Bakkūr, 2 vols (Aleppo, 1996–97), vol. II, p. 267.
- 4 On al-Maqrīzī's grandfather, see al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl ta'rīkh al-Islām*, ed. M.S. Bā Wazīr (Riyadh, 1998), pp. 392–93; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi'l-wafayāt*, 30 vols (Beirut, 1993), vol. XIX, (ed. R. Sayyid) pp. 42–43; idem, *A'yān al-'aṣr wa a'wān al-naṣr*, ed. N.A.'A. 'Alī Abū Zayd et al., 6 vols (Beirut-Damascus, 1997–98), vol. III, pp. 119–20; Ibn Rajab, *al-Dhayl 'alā ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, ed. 'A.R.S. al-'Uthaymīn, 5 vols (Riyadh, 2005), vol. V, p. 29; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda*, vol. II, pp. 516–17 (a biography of his grandfather contained within the notice devoted by al-Maqrīzī to his own father); idem, *al-Sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. M.M. Ziyāda and S.'A.F. 'Āshūr, 4 vols (Cairo, 1934–73), vol. II, p. 365 (*sub anno* 733!). It is unclear whether members of the family remained in Baalbek during al-Maqrīzī's lifetime, but an older brother

responsible for teaching hadith studies at Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Bahā’iyya, a leading institution for the subject.<sup>5</sup> While based in Damascus he also made an academic journey which took him to Cairo, Aleppo, and the two Islamic Holy Cities, almost certainly on pilgrimage. Al-Maqrīzī’s father, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī (d. 25th Ramaḍān 779/25th January 1378 in Cairo, at the age of almost 50), was born in the Syrian capital where he would both benefit from the social status his father had acquired and undertake all his training.<sup>6</sup> He does not seem to have made trips to any other places during this time, and instead he began working in Damascus, seemingly only departing that town when he left for Cairo, which was presumably an attempt to make his way through the ranks of the civil administration. His departure for Cairo cannot be precisely dated, but all indications suggest that it must have occurred before he was thirty years old.

Professionally, he was able to benefit in Cairo from the relations he cultivated with Sayf al-Dīn Āqtamur al-Ḥanbalī (d. 11th Rajab 779/13th November 1377), a Mamlūk emir who held a high position within the military government.<sup>7</sup> When Āqtamur became chief executive secretary (*dawādār*) he took al-Maqrīzī’s father under his wing, enabling the latter to take a job at the chancellery (*dīwān al-inshā’*) as a secretary (*kātib*). He was thus able to quickly consolidate his position and his fortune.<sup>8</sup>

(born 668/1269–70) of his grandfather, named Ibrāhīm and described as a Sufi, died there in 737/1337. See Ibn Rāfi‘ al-Salāmī, *al-Wafayāt*, ed. Ṣ.M. ‘Abbās, 2 vols (Beirut, 1982), vol. I, p. 185.

5 This madrasa was founded by Bahā’ al-Dīn Ibn ‘Asākir; see al-Nu‘aymī, *al-Dāris fī ta’rīkh al-madāris*, 2 vols (Beirut, 1999), vol. I, pp. 43–45.

6 On al-Maqrīzī’s father, see al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda*, vol. II, pp. 516–17; idem, *al-Sulūk*, vol. III, p. 326; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr*, vol. I, p. 166.

7 He was essentially chief executive secretary (*dawādār*) from 19th Rajab 769/10th March 1368 to 20th Ramaḍān 770/28th April 1369; viceroy (*nā’ib al-saltāna*) from 20th Rabī‘ I 777/19th August 1375 to 21st Ramaḍān 778/1st February 1377 and from 19th Dhu’l-Qa’da 778/30th March 1377 to 25th Ṣafar 779/3rd July 1377; and then governor of Syria, a position he occupied until his death. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. III, p. 326; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr*, vol. I, pp. 245–46; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, vol. XI, p. 191; idem, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, vol. II, pp. 492–93. He must not be confused, as Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr*, vol. I, p. 166, did, with Sayf al-Dīn Āqtamur min ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nāṣirī al-Turkī (d. 29th Jumādā II 783/20th September 1381), who held the post of lieutenant of the sultan in Cairo alternatively with his homonym. For the latter, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. III, p. 462; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina fī a’yān al-mī’a al-thāmina*, 4 vols (Hyderabad, 1930–32; reprint Beirut, 1993), vol. I, p. 392 (no. 1008); idem, *Inbā’ al-ghumr*, vol. I, pp. 243–44 (no. 12); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, vol. II, p. 493 (no. 498); idem, *al-Dalīl al-shāfi*, vol. I, p. 141 (no. 497); idem, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, vol. XI, pp. 178–79.

8 According to al-Maqrīzī, Āqtamur was so powerful as an chief executive secretary that he could issue documents in his own name without consulting the sultan, as stated on the

In the meantime, he had married Asmā' (born 21th Rajab 747/7th November 1346; d. 12th Rabi' 1 800/3rd December 1397), the daughter of the famous Ḥanafī scholar Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. Abī'l-Ḥasan al-Su'ūdī b. al-Ṣā'igh (d. 12th Sha'bān 776/16th January 1375). Such a match was another way in which he increased his standing in society, through this union with a prominent family from the Cairo elite. 'Alī al-Maqrīzī's father-in-law held many important positions, notably that of *Mufti* at the supreme court (*dār al-'adl*). One year after the marriage (in Muḥarram 765/October–November 1363) al-Maqrīzī was born. At least two other births followed, as al-Maqrīzī had two brothers named Muḥammad (772/1371–822/1419) and Ḥasan.<sup>9</sup> When al-Maqrīzī's father died around the age of fifty his eldest son had not yet reached his fourteenth birthday.

Although he came from a Ḥanbalī family al-Maqrīzī was educated according to the *madhhab* of his maternal grandfather, even though he was only ten when the latter died. His influence must have been a significant factor in this choice of Ḥanafism and, although his father did not oppose it, it seems that the latter could not have gone against the decision of his father-in-law. At just three years old al-Maqrīzī was present at his grandfather's lessons and at seven, having memorised the Quran, he was trained in the religious sciences for which he demonstrated a definite aptitude, particularly in hadith studies. Even by the age of five he could boast of possessing several transmission licences, issued by some of the greatest scholars of his age. Yet when he was twenty he decided to change to the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*. This choice, which he made well after the death of his maternal grandfather and his father, had its basis in his indifference towards the more conciliatory character of Ḥanafism, for which his aversion grew, as well as from concern over his career, as membership of the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*, which was followed by the majority in Egypt, constituted the quickest way by which he could climb the career ladder. While this change was justified by personal reasons, everything seems to suggest that in dogmatic terms al-Maqrīzī remained attached to the *madhhab* of his father: the various

documents issued. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa'l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa'l-āthār*, 2 vols (Būlāq, 1853), vol. II, p. 221 = ed. A.F. Sayyid, 5 vols (London, 2002–4), vol. III, pp. 720–21.

9 This was Asmā's second marriage: she had been married to Najm al-Dīn al-Muhallabī al-Ramlī at the age of twelve. After the death of al-Maqrīzī's father she married for the third and final time, and gave birth to another boy. See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda*, vol. I, pp. 394–97 (no. 319); idem, *al-Sulūk*, vol. IV, p. 1107; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr*, vol. II, p. 33. For al-Maqrīzī's maternal grandfather, see al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, vol. III, 244; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda*, vol. III, pp. 255–60; idem, *al-Sulūk*, vol. III, p. 245; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr*, vol. I, pp. 95–96. There is no biography of al-Maqrīzī's brother Ḥasan in the sources, and so nothing is known of him.

positions he took in his diverse writings demonstrate that he favoured a more literal interpretation which was characteristic of the Ḥanbalī *madhhab*. Thus, his profession of faith, *Tajrīd al-tawḥīd al-mufīd*, written towards the end of his life, is full of implicit references to the works of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350), who was himself a disciple of Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328).<sup>10</sup> His propensity for literalism led him to being accused of Zāhirism, a movement of thought which took its name from its founder Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), but the foundation of this accusation is very thin and seems to have been the result of a confusion of genres.<sup>11</sup>

In 783/1381 he performed the Hajj, the first of a number of times he did so,<sup>12</sup> and he profited during his sojourn in Mecca by studying under numerous scholars, an activity in which he would also engage during several future visits to the Holy City. His entry into working life came a little after this, and his first position was as a delegated judge and administrator of endowments. He then worked in the chancellery, following in the footsteps of his father by working there as a *kātib* alongside the famous al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418). His contacts with various emirs grew and he became noticed by the sultan Barqūq (r. 784/1382–791/1389 and 792/1390–801/1399) and, at the end of the latter's reign, al-Maqrīzī was appointed to the prestigious post of inspector of the Cairo markets (*muḥtasib*).<sup>13</sup> However, this gained him the enmity of many of his colleagues, including his fellow-historian al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1453), who

10 See al-Maqrīzī, *Tajrīd al-tawḥīd al-mufīd wa-yalihi Taḥṣīr al-ʿitqād ʿan adrān al-ilḥād li-Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Ṣanʿānī* (t. 1182), ed. Ṣ.S. Šāhīn and M.I. al-Ṣanʿānī (Riyadh, 2005). It is not disinteresting to note that al-Maqrīzī's grandfather was buried near the tomb of Ibn Taymiyya, in Damascus.

11 See N. Rabbat, 'Who was al-Maqrīzī? A Biographical Sketch', *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7 (2003), 1–19, pp. 12–14.

12 In addition to his first stay, which lasted several months (he arrived at Mecca at the beginning of Ramaḍān 783/end of November 1381 and left with a pilgrim caravan which departed at the beginning of 784/Spring 1382), he went to Mecca in 787 (arriving in the middle of the year/August 1385, and remaining until the beginning of 788/Spring 1386), in 790 (arriving for the pilgrimage, which was at the end of the year 1388, he left at the beginning of the year 791/1389), in 825 (again to carry out the pilgrimage, at the end of 1422, leaving just after the beginning of 826/1423), in 834 (he arrived in the middle of the year, in March 1431, staying several months, departing for Cairo at the end of the pilgrimage, at the beginning of 835/Autumn 1431), and finally in 838 (arriving with the Cairene caravan at the end of the year/June 1435, he remained there until the beginning of the year 840/July–August 1436). These very precise dates are provided by Ibn Fahd, the Meccan historian, who met al-Maqrīzī during his final two stays; see Ibn Fahd, *Muʿjam al-shuyūkh*, p. 65.

13 For this office during the Mamlūk period, see K. Stilt, *Islamic Law in Action. Authority, Discretion, and Everyday Experiences in Mamluk Egypt* (New York, 2011).



repeatedly rivalled him for the position.<sup>14</sup> Barqūq's son, al-Nāṣir Faraj, who became sultan after his father (r. 801/1399–808/1405 and 808/1405–815/1412), confirmed him in his position. Al-Maqrīzī was also, by turns, preacher in the mosque of 'Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣ in Fuṣṭāṭ, then inspector and imam of the mosque of al-Ḥākim, and so his power and influence continued to grow. He was even appointed Mamlūk ambassador to Tamerlane (d. 807/1405) by the sultan, before being replaced by the son of a Mamlūk emir. Al-Maqrīzī was also part of a group which accompanied the sultan on a trip to Damascus in 810/1407.

This journey was to mark the beginning of a new period in the life of al-Maqrīzī, as he stayed in the Syrian capital at regular intervals from 810/1407 to 815/1412. These years correspond to a politically difficult period in which the power of the sultan in Syria was severely tested. In Damascus, al-Maqrīzī held a number of different roles, although it seems likely that he did not remain in the town continuously and returned to Cairo each time the sultan did. During his final journey the sultan was assassinated, and it was in the company of the caliph al-Mustaʿin bi-llāh, who also became sultan for several months in 815/1412, that al-Maqrīzī returned to Cairo. This return marks the beginning of a decline in his fortunes, as support from powerful patrons began to become rarer. From this point on he decided to retire from public life and to devote himself full-time to his passion for writing history, particularly that of his native country, Egypt. If al-Maqrīzī could afford to do this, it was because he had gained a fortune which partly came from his parents—both from the paternal and the maternal sides—and partly from his professional activities.

This choice was doubtless also influenced by the loss of most of his relatives. In 782/1381 he had married a young girl (she was 12) from a family who had their origins in Baghdad. This woman, Safrā bint 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Salām (or b. 'Abd al-'Azīz) b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Baghdādī, gave birth to his son, Abu'l-Maḥāsin Muḥammad, in 786/1384. Repudiated several months later for unknown reasons, al-Maqrīzī married her again after a period of two years, when she bore him another son, Abū Hāshim 'Alī, in 789/1388, but he died a few months after, in 790/1388.<sup>15</sup> Al-Maqrīzī also had a daughter named Fāṭima (born 798/1396; d. 826/1423), either from another marriage or by his concubine, Sūl (d. 824/1421). It is not known when all his children died, but Fāṭima was the last of his children to do so.

14 Al-Maqrīzī recovered his position in 802/1400, although he held it for less than three months, and again took it, at the insistence of the sultan, in 807/1405, this time for less than one month. See A. 'Abd al-Rāziq, 'La *ḥisba* et le *muḥtasib* en Égypte au temps des Mamlūks', *Annales islamologiques* 13 (1977), 115–78, pp. 148–49 and 153.

15 See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda*, vol. 11, pp. 98–99.



The only member of his family to outlive al-Maqrīzī was his nephew Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (born 801/1399, d. 867/1462), who was the son of his brother Muḥammad, and who seems to have supported him in his old age.<sup>16</sup> We know for certain that he accompanied al-Maqrīzī during his sojourn at Mecca between 838/1435 and 840/1436. The sole inheritor still alive at the time of al-Maqrīzī's death, Nāṣir al-Dīn took possession of all his manuscripts, among other things, as demonstrated by marks of possession signed in his own hand which can be found on the title pages of certain works written by his uncle. Al-Maqrīzī also owned a slave, Abu'l-Durr Yāqūt, who helped him during the last years of his life and participated in some of his master's teaching sessions.

Becoming a recluse in his home—which he seldom left except to perform his religious obligations and to make his final pilgrimage to Mecca (838/1435–840/1436)—and only receiving visits from scholars and disciples in search of his knowledge, he died on the 26th Ramaḍān 845/7th February 1442. He was buried in the Sufi cemetery, situated outside the city walls, beyond the Gate of Victory (*Bāb al-Naṣr*), the same place where both the great historian Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) and al-Maqrīzī's own father had been buried some decades before.

### Al-Maqrīzī's Historical Writings

In the initial years of his studies, al-Maqrīzī had devoted himself to the prophetic tradition (hadith): the first attestation of his lectures appears in a work devoted to traditionists who were considered unreliable, of which he made a précis (dated 795/1393).<sup>17</sup> His interest in such material never dissipated, as evidenced by other summaries and autograph copies of works of the same genre which can be dated to the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century. But it was his passion for writing history which occupied the majority of his scholarly activity after he reached around forty years of age. It is undeniable that his contact with the great Ibn Khaldūn, whom he greatly admired, had an influence on the direction of his historical writing. From the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century he read and summarised various historical sources, such as *al-Mughrib* by Ibn Saʿīd (d. 685/1286), al-Musabbihī's (d. 420/1030) *Akḥbār Miṣr*, and *al-Iḥāṭa* by Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1374), all of which would prove useful for the works he was already planning on writing. The result of his indefatigable writing activity such as it appears to us today thanks to numerous copies

16 For details of Nāṣir al-Dīn's life, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, vol. ix, p. 150.

17 See Bauden, 'Maqriziana II', p. 115 (number 8).

having been conserved—of which more than twenty are autograph volumes—is over thirty different titles. Some of these have multiple volumes, while others are comparable to treatises or pamphlets, and at least some of these were works written in response to a specific request.

His employment in the Mamlūk chancellery at the end of the eighth/fourteenth century inspired him to write two works focussed on two types of civil servants which he considered essential to guarantee good governance of the state: *Khulāṣat al-tibr fī kuttāb al-sirr*, which was written about chancellery secretaries (*kuttāb al-sirr*), and *Talqīḥ al-‘uqūl wa’l-ārā’ fī tanqīḥ akhbār al-julla al-wuzarā’*, dedicated to viziers. No copy of either of these two works has reached us and it is thus difficult to say precisely when they were written. However, it can be confidently suggested that he must have written them before he commenced his historiographical project which would focus on the land of his birth, Egypt, and consequently before the beginning of the second decade of the ninth/fifteenth century.<sup>18</sup>

The first work which he seems to have written that may be dated with certainty is a small socio-economic tract entitled *Ighāthat al-umma bi-kashf al-ghumma*.<sup>19</sup> Incorrectly identified as a treatise on famines by its first editors and by G. Wiet afterwards,<sup>20</sup> it actually addresses the multiple causes which led to the economic crises between the years 796/1394 and 808/1405, reaching their zenith in 806/1403–4.<sup>21</sup> Written in 808/1405 with the aim of fostering reforms, and particularly economic ones, which would reverse the crises, this pamphlet probably also had an ulterior motive: to draw the attention of the powers-that-be onto him and his abilities as market inspector (*muḥtasib*), a position which he occupied on many occasions, including up until a year after writing this piece. His ties with the sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj were to increase two years later, when he accompanied the latter in his various sojourns in Damascus, suggesting this aim may have been successful.

It was around this time that al-Maqrīzī developed a major project which would occupy him until his death and gain him fame during his lifetime even

18 For the first work on chancellery secretaries, information comes from a note added by al-Maqrīzī to an autograph copy of *al-Mughrib* by Ibn Saʿīd (ms Sūhāj—Maktabat al-Shaykh Aḥmad ‘Alī Badr, f. 105v), where he states that he was in the middle of writing this work when he read Ibn Saʿīd’s book, that is, in 803/1400–1.

19 Ed. K.Ḥ. Farḥāt (Cairo, 2007).

20 Ed. M.M. Ziyāda and J. al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1940); tr. G. Wiet, ‘Le traité des famines de Maqrīzī’, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 5 (1962), 1–90 (also published as a book the same year by Brill in Leiden).

21 English tr. by A. Allouche as *Mamluk Economics. A Study and Translation of al-Maqrīzī’s Ighāthah* (Salt Lake City, 1994).

beyond the borders of the Mamlūk sultanate. The circumstances in which he decided to embark on this project remain obscure, but it is possible to make an educated guess. When he went to Damascus for the second time, in 811/1409, accompanying the sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj, al-Maqrīzī had come into the possession of a manuscript which would change his life: the text, partly in draft form and partly completed, was a historical topography of Cairo written by his friend and neighbour al-Awḥadī (d. 811/1408), to which the latter had devoted many years of his life. The text was far from being in a publishable state, but it served as a blueprint for al-Maqrīzī's own work which would, to a large degree, earn him his place in posterity: *al-Mawā'iz wa'l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa'l-āthār*—often shortened, as much by medieval authors as by modern, to *al-Khiṭaṭ*. Al-Maqrīzī increased the amount of material in al-Awḥadī's work by starting with the history of the town from the Muslim conquest and also considered, among other things, the history of other towns, as well as Jewish and Christian monuments. The subject matter of this work is not original: many authors preceding him produced works of this genre, as much in Iraq and Syria as in Egypt.<sup>22</sup> However, its chronological extent, the number of sources employed, and the combination of topographical data and historical elements make it a veritable encyclopaedia of the heritage of Cairo. His parallel projects, of a history of Egypt from the Muslim conquest until his time and of biographical dictionaries, all overlap with this first book in scope.

Although part of a family originally from Baalbek, al-Maqrīzī devoted the majority of his works to the land of his birth. At the beginning of the 19th century, when his writings began to be rediscovered, the output of al-Maqrīzī was related in these terms by the French Orientalist A.-I. Silvestre de Sacy:

Si ces travaux de Makrizi, dont quelques parties manquent encore à nos bibliothèques, étaient réunis, on pourrait les regarder comme une espèce d'encyclopédie pour l'histoire de l'Égypte pendant les huit premiers siècles de l'hégire et la première moitié du neuvième. Makrizi n'est guère cependant autre chose, comme nous l'avons dit, qu'un compilateur; et s'il montre, parfois, un jugement sain et plus de critique que la plupart des écrivains de sa nation, il ne paraît pas plus réservé sur l'article du merveilleux.<sup>23</sup>

22 At the same time as al-Awḥadī, another author had become interested in the genre and had begun to write another work which remained, in part, only in draft form: Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809/1407), *al-Intiṣār li-wāṣiṭat 'iqd al-amṣār*, ed. K. Vollers, vols IV–V (Cairo, 1893).

23 A.-I. Silvestre de Sacy, 'Notice sur Abd-allatif', in idem, *Mélanges de littérature orientale, précédés de l'éloge de l'auteur par M. le Duc de Broglie* (Paris, s.d.), p. 118, note 1.

This critique by de Sacy concerning the character of the writer is undoubtedly too severe. If it is true that al-Maqrīzī had a special gift for unearthing sources which were, already in his time, rather rare, such as those relating to the Fāṭimid era, he also managed to extract the essence and restore the data intelligently, using an attractive style of writing. All the experts who have examined his outputs recognise that he managed to combine reports from differing sources in order to reconstruct the facts reported into a single narrative. It suggests that intense preparatory work—undertaken through diverse readings, notetaking and the preparation of summaries—was his *modus operandi*, as demonstrated by rare surviving volumes of his notebooks and some of his summaries.<sup>24</sup> It is thus undeniable that he had an exceptional ability to construct historical reports.<sup>25</sup> The influence which Ibn Khaldūn—who was also his teacher—and his works had on al-Maqrīzī is clear in many of the latter's writings, as much by the deep level of his reflections on history itself as by the wide-ranging nature of his interests.

Al-Maqrīzī could also employ other methods of working, such as borrowing from authors whose work was not published, such as the partially completed draft of the work of al-Awḥadī on the topography of Cairo, or using works which were difficult to get hold of, such as the encyclopaedia of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349) entitled *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, in a manner which often comes close to that which would be regarded as plagiarism today. In the former case, it has been proved that the autograph manuscripts of al-Awḥadī served as the basis for al-Maqrīzī's writing of the *Khīṭaṭ*, without at any time acknowledging his debt to his colleague and neighbour, not even citing his name. From the autograph fragment of al-Awḥadī's work conserved in the autograph draft of al-Maqrīzī, it can be determined that his personal contribution was essentially limited to the adding of biographies of the founders of the monuments examined.<sup>26</sup> In the latter case, it appears that al-Maqrīzī largely used the data provided by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī for many

24 See F. Bauden, 'Maqriziana 1: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī. Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method. Description: Section 1', *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7 (2003), 21–68; idem, 'Maqriziana 1: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī. Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method. Description: Section 2', *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10 (2006), 81–139; idem, 'Maqriziana 11: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī. Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method. Analysis', *Mamlūk Studies Review* 12 (2008), 51–118.

25 See F. Bauden, 'Maqriziana XI. Al-Maqrīzī et al-Ṣafadī: Analyse de la (re)construction d'un récit biographique', in idem (ed.), 'Les méthodes de travail des historiens en Islam', *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 4 (2009), 99–136.

26 See Bauden, 'Maqriziana IX'.

of his works and even, in one case, going so far as to knowingly alter the words of the latter for purely ideological reasons.<sup>27</sup>

However this may appear to our modern eyes, such an approach earned great renown for his works which themselves indelibly marked Islamic historical writing. The most important of these are: the *Khiṭaṭ*; his trilogy on the history of Muslim Egypt, of which only the last two components are preserved (*Itti‘āz al-ḥunafā’ bi-akḥbār al-a‘imma al-khulafā’* for the Fāṭimid period, covering the fourth/tenth to the sixth/twelfth centuries, and *al-Sulūk li-ma‘rifat duwal al-mulūk* for the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk eras, the sixth/twelfth to the ninth/fifteenth centuries); and to which he later added a biography of Muḥammad (*Imtā‘ al-asmā’ li-mā li’l-rasūl min al-anbā’ wa’l-aḥwāl wa’l-ḥafada wa’l-matā’*), a history of humanity (*al-Khabar ‘an al-bashar*), numerous biographical dictionaries (*al-Ta’riḫ al-muqaffā al-kabīr*, which lists Egyptians and people who lived or passed through Egypt; and *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda fī tarājim al-a’yān al-mufīda*, which relates his contemporaries, that is, people who died or were born after the beginning of the decade of al-Maqrīzī’s own birth [i.e. before 760/1358–59], and who he did not necessarily meet), and finally his booklets on other subjects (economics, metrology, numismatics, the history of Egyptian borderlands such as Abyssinia, gemology, religion, etc.).

For historians of the Crusades, the most important of these works, to varying degrees, are his chronicles covering the Fāṭimids (*Itti‘āz al-ḥunafā’*) and the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks (*al-Sulūk*); the biographical dictionary of people who were born in or who lived in Egypt, known as *al-Muqaffā*; his history of humanity (*al-Khabar ‘an al-bashar*); and *al-Khiṭaṭ*.

### *Al-Khiṭaṭ*

*Al-Khiṭaṭ* is extant in four manuscript volumes, two of which are autograph copies of the drafts while one is an autograph volume of the version published in the time of al-Maqrīzī.<sup>28</sup> First published in 1853–54 at the Būlāq press in Cairo<sup>29</sup> it was a great success upon its release during al-Maqrīzī’s lifetime, as witnessed by its wide diffusion: more than 250 manuscripts have been

27 See F. Bauden, *Trusting the Source as Far as It Can Be Trusted: Al-Maqrīzī and the Question of the Mongol Book of Laws (Yāsa) (Maqriziana VII)* (Schnefeld, 2015).

28 MS Istanbul—Topkapı Saray Library E.H. 1405 and H. 1472, and MS Ann Arbor—Michigan University Library Isl. 605, respectively.

29 A new edition has recently been published: ed. A.F. Sayyid, 5 vols (London, 2002–4). On the quality of this edition, see the review by F. Bauden in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11 (2007),

identified around the world. Known as an archaeological and monumental history of the city of Cairo, it was inspired by many other books of the same genre composed from the fourth/ninth century onwards. However, al-Maqrīzī's work renewed the whole genre by adding preliminary chapters on Egypt, including its description, position, history, and main towns. This means the book includes, for example, a description of the initiation rites into the Ismā'īlī sect, information usually jealously guarded by its followers. He also provides an account of the history of Cairo from its foundation until his own day, including the Fāṭimid period, which is essential for understanding the development of the city. He then details the districts and buildings of the town which he categorises (as baths, mosques, madrasas, etc.), placing each building into its historical context by providing, among other things, biographical details about the people who founded them and why they did so.

The variety of the sources exploited by al-Maqrīzī is vast and reflects his capacity to locate texts which must have been difficult to access even in his own time. These included chronicles, annals, biographical dictionaries, Quranic commentaries, lexicographical works, scientific encyclopaedias and works of the same genre by his predecessors, and the overall number may be estimated at more than a hundred.<sup>30</sup> For many of them al-Maqrīzī prevented their contents from being lost completely, as many of them have not otherwise been preserved, particularly those dealing with the Fāṭimid era. In his introduction, he took the time to specify that he would be scrupulous in citing his sources:

When I transmit a passage taken from scholars who dealt with different areas of study, I must indicate from which work it is taken, so I can be absolved of any responsibility and cannot incur blame.<sup>31</sup>

However, despite this laudable aim he did not follow it in every case; there are numerous passages in which al-Maqrīzī neglects to indicate his sources. This is notably the case with Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, whom al-Maqrīzī hardly seemed to appreciate, despite the fact that he happily pillaged al-ʿUmarī's encyclopaedic work *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*.

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169–76. A partial French translation is available: *Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte*, tr. U. Bouriant and P. Casanova, 2 vols (Paris-Cairo, 1895–1920).

30 See A.R. Guest, 'A List of Writers, Books, and Other Authorities Mentioned by El Maqrīzī in his *Khiṭaʿ*', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1902), 103–25.

31 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaʿ* (Bulāq ed.), vol. 1, p. 4 = (Sayyid ed.), vol. 1, p. 8.



As has already been stated, al-Maqrīzī came up with the idea of writing the *Khiṭaṭ* after reading the partly-finished draft of his colleague and neighbour al-Awḥadī (d. 811/1408). The autograph volumes of the first version of the *Khiṭaṭ* demonstrate that the essence of the text was already written by 818/1415. It must have taken another few years and the discovery of new sources for the definitive version to finally be made available and published; the autograph volume of this version, recently discovered, allows it to be dated to slightly after 831/1427 and certainly before 834/1430–31.<sup>32</sup> However, al-Maqrīzī continued to add information to it until two years before his death.

The *Khiṭaṭ* provides only limited interest for crusade historians with the exception of a section devoted to the city of Damietta, which, situated on the mouth of the Nile, was the subject of numerous Frankish attacks.<sup>33</sup> In the section which al-Maqrīzī devotes to it, one finds a very accurate historical account of these attacks, although it provides only limited interest given that al-Maqrīzī does not cite his sources (although they can be guessed) and that the texts he used are now available, for the most part, in critical editions and, for some, in translation. This observation can be regarded as a general principle because it is equally valid for other works of al-Maqrīzī which will be mentioned later in this article.

This section on Damietta also had a separate life from the *Khiṭaṭ*: in the cadre of tracts describing the merits of towns (*faḍā’il*),<sup>34</sup> it was circulated as an independent text to enhance the importance of the city of Damietta. No doubt this was the work of an inhabitant of Damietta who had access to the *Khiṭaṭ*.<sup>35</sup>

This section attracted the attention of the Dutch Orientalist Henri Arens Hamaker (1789–1837), who first edited it and translated it into Latin on the basis of manuscripts held in Leiden.<sup>36</sup> However he limited this work up to the year 618/1221, having found that the report of the Crusade of Louis IX was

32 N. Gardiner and F. Bauden, ‘A Recently Discovered Holograph Fair Copy of al-Maqrīzī’s *al-Mawā’iz wa’l-i’tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa’l-āthār* (Michigan Islamic MS 605)’, *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 2 (2011), 123–31.

33 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāq ed.), vol. 1, pp. 213–26 = (Sayyid ed.), vol. 1, pp. 580–611; *Description topographique et historique de l’Égypte*, vol. 11, pp. 632–65.

34 On this literary genre, see R. Sellheim, ‘Faḍila’, in *EI*2.

35 See, for example, MS Harvard—University Library, Houghton 357, ff. 1r–25r, entitled *Kitāb tarjamat thaḡhr Dimyāt wa-mā waqa’a bi-hā min ‘ahd Nūḥ ‘alayhi al-salām ilā ākhir dawlat al-Turk*.

36 *Takyoddini Ahmedis al-Makrizii, Narratio de expeditionibus, a graecis francisque adversus dimyatham, ab A.C. 708 ad 1221 susceptis*, ed. and Latin transl. H.A. Hamaker (Amsterdam, 1824).



based on the accounts of Ibn Wāṣil (d. 697/1298) and Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405).<sup>37</sup> Al-Maqrīzī used, for the most part, Ibn al-Furāt, but preferred to go back to the sources used by this historian where he could. Hamaker was therefore correct when he identified Ibn Wāṣil as al-Maqrīzī's main source for events relating to the Crusade of Louis IX.

For the most part, the report of Damietta recounts the multiple Frankish attacks on it between the sixth/twelfth and the seventh/thirteenth centuries. The first of these is dated to the year 550/August 1155 and is attributed to William I of Sicily (r. 1154–66), the son of Roger II (Lūjiz ibn Rujjār).<sup>38</sup> This was followed by another in 558/1163, this time led by Amalric I (Murī), the Frankish King of Jerusalem, who besieged Cairo and imposed a tribute on it after having burned the area of Fustāt.<sup>39</sup> The third expedition was dated to 565/December 1169: according to al-Maqrīzī, more than twelve hundred Frankish ships brought troops who encircled the town. After a stand-off of 55 days, the Franks were driven back into the sea. This attack caused Saladin to reinforce the defences of Damietta in a number of ways: garrisons were placed in the two forts on either side of the Nile; the passage of boats was prevented by means of a chain reinforced by ships placed along its entire length; and a dam and ditches were constructed.<sup>40</sup> These attempts did not, however, stop the Franks from making another assault on the town during the Fifth Crusade (614/1217–618/1221). Al-Maqrīzī mentions the support of the Pope, Innocent III, for this expedition and he then narrates the events which took place during the attack against Damietta, the fall of the city (25th Sha'bān 616/5th November 1219) after a siege of sixteen months and 22 days, and its occupation until the 19th Rajab 618/8th September 1221, over a period of 22 months and 24 days.<sup>41</sup> Al-Maqrīzī gives an extremely detailed report of these events, and particularly highlights the conditions for the inhabitants of Damietta during the siege. He reports that his source for these details was *al-Muʿjam al-mutarjam*, a dictionary of authorities, considered lost, by the Egyptian scholar al-Mundhirī (m. 656/1258), who relates the eyewitness account of one of his teachers who was in Damietta during the time of the siege. These details highlight the difficult living conditions of the inhabitants trapped in a city where the price of food had

37 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

38 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* (ed. Būlāq), vol. 1, p. 214; *Description topographique*, vol. II, p. 635.

39 *Ibid.*

40 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* (ed. Būlāq), vol. 1, pp. 214–15; *Description topographique*, vol. II, pp. 635–36.

41 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* (ed. Būlāq), vol. 1, pp. 215–19; *Description topographique*, vol. II, pp. 636–46.

skyrocketed. He also mentions the stratagems developed by the Muslim inhabitants of the surrounding area to secure food for their co-religionists who were trapped in the city, such as stuffing the belly of a camel's carcass with produce before throwing it into the Nile to be recovered by the besieged inhabitants.<sup>42</sup> The final victory of the Muslim troops is seen by al-Maqrīzī as a salvation for Islam, since the Mongols had by that time made themselves rulers of a number of regions in the East while the Franks were on the point of seizing Egypt.

Al-Maqrīzī also gives a report of the Crusade of Louis IX in Egypt (646/1248–648/1250).<sup>43</sup> This summarises a number of unnamed sources, and presents the events in a continuous narrative. He reports that the Ayyūbid sultan al-Šāliḥ II (r. 637/1240–648/1250) received a messenger sent by the Emperor Frederick II, information he can only have taken from Ibn Wāṣil, who was in contact with the envoy in question and from whom he received direct testimony,<sup>44</sup> and al-Maqrīzī also cites extracts from the correspondence between Louis IX and the Ayyūbid sultan. The account continues with some detail about the battles between the two armies, and al-Maqrīzī enhances his account through the use of interesting anecdotes, such as that of the watermelon. All methods were acceptable, he affirms, to capture Franks, and the following stratagem was employed by a Muslim fighter in order to seize one of them: he hollowed out a watermelon which he then placed on his head, and entered the water making for the Franks. One of them, thinking that it was an actual watermelon, entered the water in order to take it, but was captured and taken to the Muslim camp.<sup>45</sup> Al-Maqrīzī concluded his account of Louis IX's Crusade with the request for safe-conduct (*amān*) made by the French king and his subsequent captivity, while also mentioning the red and scarlet riding hood (*ghifāra*) of the French king, covered with squirrel fur, which was sent by the new Ayyūbid sultan al-Muʿazzam Tūrānshāh to his deputy at Damascus. Some verses of added poetry help glorify this event and heap further derision onto the French king. The events which follow this in the text are the brutal fall of al-Muʿazzam Tūrānshāh (r. 648/1250–650/1252) and the accession to the throne of Shajar al-Durr, during whose rule Louis IX negotiated the evacuation of Damietta and received assurances that his brother, his wife, and all those who were prisoner with him would gain their liberty. Escorted along the bank

42 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* (ed. Būlāq), vol. I, p. 217; *Description topographique*, vol. II, p. 642.

43 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* (ed. Būlāq), vol. I pp. 219–24; *Description topographique*, vol. II, pp. 646–59.

44 For this, see E. Blochet, 'Les relations diplomatiques des Hohenstaufen avec les sultans d'Égypte', *Revue historique* 80 (1902), 51–64, pp. 61–64.

45 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* (ed. Būlāq), vol. I, p. 221; *Description topographique*, vol. II, p. 652.

of the Nile, they all set sail for Acre. Al-Maqrīzī cannot resist the urge to further celebrate this victory over the Franks by citing poems which celebrate the débâcle of Louis IX at Tunis and his sad and rather pathetic demise.

### The Trilogy on the History of Egypt

It was when he was writing the initial version of the *Khīṭaṭ* that al-Maqrīzī must have conceived of the projects of both a great history of Egypt running from the Muslim conquest until his own day and his two biographical dictionaries, and the numerous preparatory readings carried out in order to write the *Khīṭaṭ* must have led him to the conclusion that he could write these works. His history of Egypt was drafted gradually. Being a triptych, it was composed of three parts, each devoted to a precise period: *Iqd jawāhir al-asfāt fī akhbār madīnat al-Fustāṭ* for the period covering the Muslim conquest of Egypt to the end of the Ikshīdīd dynasty (in the middle of the fourth/tenth century), *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā' bi-akhbār al-a'imma al-khulafā'* for the Fāṭimid period and, finally, *al-Sulūk li-ma'rīfat duwal al-mulūk* for the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk dynasties.

Of the first part, practically nothing is known except that al-Maqrīzī started writing the second, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, after he had completed it. No copy has been preserved, which suggests an extremely limited circulation; it may be that only one copy ever existed and that was the autograph.<sup>46</sup> It seems to have still been accessible a few years after his death because a later witness claims that the work consisted of one volume.<sup>47</sup>

#### *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*

The next part of the trilogy, however, has been well preserved. *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'* is devoted to the history of the Fāṭimid dynasty, which ruled Egypt and parts of Syria in the period 358/969–567/1171. In devoting a work to this Shī'ī Ismā'īlī dynasty, al-Maqrīzī departed significantly from his predecessors and his contemporaries. While certain historians of the Mamlūk era did write the history of this period, it was often done within a much larger historical work, and consequently al-Maqrīzī was something of a pioneer when he wrote his history of

46 Al-Maqrīzī's colleague, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, had been able to examine it before 829/1426. At this time, the work was called *al-Ightibāṭ bi-aḥwāl al-Fuṣṭāṭ*. Al-Maqrīzī changed its title sometime before 824/1421.

47 See Ibn Fahd, *Muḥjam al-shuyūkh*, p. 66.

the dynasty. His sympathy for it, doubtless caused by his family's probably fanciful genealogical links with it, is undeniable. In more ways than one, this work is a fundamental source for the history of the Fāṭimid period: al-Maqrīzī had access to sources which are now lost, written as much by Shī'īs as by Sunnīs, not to mention the works written by members of the Ismā'īlī sect itself.<sup>48</sup>

The writing of this work came at a time when al-Maqrīzī was still occupied writing the first version of the *Khiṭaṭ* (between 811/1408 and 816/1413–14): one finds, at the end of *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, a reference to the fact that al-Maqrīzī would deal with their government in the *Khiṭaṭ*.<sup>49</sup> It is also known that he only had access to one of the main sources for this period, Ibn Muyassar (m. 677/1278), from 814/1411 at the earliest, the date at which he prepared a summary of this source, the only trace of this text which is today preserved.<sup>50</sup> Thanks to this, it has been established that *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'* was written between 814/1411 and 818/1415 since the notes taken from Ibn Muyassar and inserted into the draft autograph volume of the *Khiṭaṭ* figure in the body of the text and not in the margin or on the rapportés sheets.<sup>51</sup> A *terminus ante quem* can also be fixed for the end of the redaction: in the preserved autograph volume of *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'* al-Maqrīzī added some information in a marginal note which he took from *al-Fihrist* by Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/995 or 388/998). Here too, the manuscripts show us that al-Maqrīzī would have had access to this source only in 824/1421.<sup>52</sup> By this time, the manuscript must have already been finished, even if al-Maqrīzī continued to add further information over time.

According to the account of a contemporary, the work had only one volume,<sup>53</sup> and of this an autograph part, corresponding to the first 58 folios, has been preserved<sup>54</sup> and was edited very early.<sup>55</sup> A number of years passed before a complete copy based on the autograph before it was split was

48 See P.E. Walker, 'Al-Maqrīzī and the Fatimids', *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7 (2003), 83–97.

49 Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā' bi-akḥbār al-a'imma al-fāṭimiyyīn al-khulafā'*, ed. J. al-Shayyāl and M. Ḥilmī, 3 vols (Cairo, 1967–73; reprint Cairo, 1996), vol. III, p. 344.

50 MS Paris—BNF ar. 1688. This copy was made using the autography copy of al-Maqrīzī.

51 See Bauden, 'Maqriziana XII. Evaluating the Sources for the Fatimid Period: Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī's *History* and Its Use by al-Maqrīzī (with a Critical Edition of His Résumé for the Years 501–515 A.H.)', in B.D. Craig (ed.), *Ismaili and Fatimid Studies in Honor of Paul E. Walker* (Chicago, 2010), 33–85.

52 See Bauden, 'Maqriziana II', p. 118, n. 200. Al-Maqrīzī added a note in the manuscript which he consulted detailing that he had taken from it a summary of the year in question.

53 Ibn Fahd, *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh*, p. 66.

54 MS Gotha—Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Ar. 1652.

55 Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb itti'āz al-ḥunafā' bi-akḥbār al-a'imma al-khulafā' (Fatimidengeschichte), zum ersten Mal herausgegeben nach dem autographen Gothaer Unikum*, ed. H. Bunz

discovered in Istanbul<sup>56</sup> and could be fully edited.<sup>57</sup> It was, however, not without numerous mistakes which Claude Cahen did not fail to highlight as two of his students had prepared an edition which had been pre-empted by the Cairene editor.<sup>58</sup> Recently a new edition has been published by Sayyid.<sup>59</sup> With the exception of this Istanbul copy and the partial autograph version, no other copy has yet been identified, which suggests that the work had little success and did not capture the attention of many scholars. It can thus be supposed that al-Maqrīzī's study of this Shī'ī dynasty was not highly regarded.

Al-Maqrīzī records in his introduction that after he had completed writing the first part of his trilogy, *ʿIqd jawāhir al-asfāt*, which recorded the history of al-Fuṣṭāṭ from the Muslim conquest to the arrival of the armies of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh in 358/969 and the foundation of Cairo which ensued, he developed the desire to write a history of the caliphs who had reigned from the city. The title which he gives in the introduction, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā' bi-akhbār al-a'imma al-khulafā'*, clearly demonstrates the ideas al-Maqrīzī had about the legitimacy of their power, as he recognises the titles of caliph and imam.<sup>60</sup> Al-Maqrīzī was not unaware that the genealogy of the Fāṭimids had been the object of denigration, particularly by eastern scholars, and his work thus begins with a number of chapters whose only aim is to establish the merits of their genealogy and, consequently, of their descent from Muḥammad via his daughter Fāṭima and his cousin and son-in-law 'Alī, thereby disproving the views of scholars who did not believe the truth of these claims.<sup>61</sup>

These elements having been clarified in the eyes of the author, he retraced the beginnings of the Shī'ī dynasty in Tunisia (Ifriqiya) from its first representative, 'Ubayd Allāh, up to the conquest of Egypt, the foundation of Cairo and the installation of the caliphal seat in the Egyptian capital. The internal structure of the work is based on the reigns of the caliphs and within each reign it follows an annalistic structure; several short obituaries are sometimes added

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(Leipzig, 1909). Another edition of the same manuscript was prepared by J. al-Shayyāl and M. Ḥilmī (Cairo, 1948).

56 ms Istanbul—Topkapı Saray 3013.

57 Ed. J. al-Shayyāl et M. Ḥilmī (see above, note 49).

58 C. Cahen and M. Adda, 'Les éditions de l'*Itti'āz* [sic] *al-ḥunafā'* (Histoire fatimide) de Maqrīzī par Aḥmad Hilmy, Sadok Ḥunī (Khouni), Fāṭiha Dib et Peter Kessler', *Arabica* 22 (1975), 302–20.

59 Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā' bi-akhbār al-a'imma al-khulafā'*, 4 vols, ed. A.F. Sayyid (Damascus-London, 2010). A critical edition with an English translation is in preparation by P.E. Walker, which will appear in the series *Bibliotheca Maqriziana*, published by Brill.

60 Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, ed. al-Shayyāl and Ḥilmī, vol. 1, p. 4.

61 Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, ed. al-Shayyāl and Ḥilmī, vol. 1, pp. 5–34.

to the end of a year, but in no systematic order. The distribution of the material is rather unbalanced since the events of one year can be related, in some cases, over a number of pages while, at other times, on only half a page. The work ends with the removal of the last caliph in 567/1171, followed by a plea from the author on behalf of the dynasty and an account of the fate of their descendants after the beginning of the Sunnī Ayyūbid dynasty. In his plea, al-Maqrīzī shows once more his general sympathy for the dynasty, although he does criticise some of its members, such as the caliph al-Ḥākim (r. 386/996–411/1020). It is also in this section that he demonstrates that he is a historian concerned with weighing up his sources, calling the reader's attention to the fact that certain other historians present the facts in a biased manner, which recalls the words of Cicero (*Non numerentur sed ponderentur*): ‘Make a distinction between the information [you receive] as you do for good money’.<sup>62</sup>

The sources used by al-Maqrīzī must have been numerous and may be guessed at from reference to those cited in the *Khīṭaṭ*, because he did not take the trouble to systematically note them in *Itti‘āz al-ḥunafā’*. Among those which he does specifically cite, particularly for the years corresponding to the first volume of the edition, there are as many Sunnī sources as Shī‘ī, because, as has been demonstrated, it is undeniable that he had access to the latter.<sup>63</sup> Among the former, he seems to have often had recourse to Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233)—whose position with regard to the Fāṭimids he harshly criticises—Ibn Zūlāq (d. 386/996)—for the first years of the Cairene caliphate—al-Musabbihī (d. 420/1030), Ibn Muyassar (d. 677/1278) and Ibn Sa‘īd (d. 685/1286). Among the Shī‘ī authors, he cites the works of Ibn al-Ma‘mūn (d. 588/1192) and Ibn Abī Ṭayyī’ (d.c. 625–30/1228–33), to only mention historians. A recent study has proved that al-Maqrīzī cited Ibn al-Ma‘mūn by the intermediary work of Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir (m. 692/1292), but that he managed to find a copy of the original work later in his life, which allowed him to correct the indirect citation and to complete his work.<sup>64</sup> The importance of this is in how it highlights al-Maqrīzī's working method: to try to go back to the sources closest to the events they are describing.

For the history of the Crusades, it is the third volume of the printed work which is of most interest, although it must be emphasised that this is almost exclusively limited to Egypt. Unlike Ibn al-Athīr, who wrote a history of Islam and who reports occurrences from across the Islamic world and principally, at least for the crusading period, the Near East, al-Maqrīzī has an Egyptocentric

62 Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti‘āz al-ḥunafā’*, ed. al-Shayyāl and Ḥilmī, vol. III, pp. 345–46.

63 See Bauden, ‘Maqriziana II’, pp. 65–67.

64 See Bauden, ‘Maqriziana XI’.



view of events. Taking, for example, the year 507/1113–14, Ibn al-Athīr concentrates his account on the attack led by the Muslim forces assembled by the rulers of Mosul, Sinjār and Damascus in response to actions undertaken the previous year by Baldwin I of Jerusalem around Damascus, which had led to a rise in prices of essential commodities.<sup>65</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, on the other hand, focuses on the reinforcements of men and supplies which were sent to Tyre by an Egyptian fleet, which contributed to a reduction in prices there. He also reports the conclusion of a treaty between Baldwin I and Mas'ūd, the governor of Tyre, at the request of the former, an event that Ibn al-Athīr seems to have ignored.<sup>66</sup> In addition, no events are reported for the year 510/1116–17—even though al-Maqrīzī was prepared to add new information, as he left three folios relating to this year blank in his autograph text—while Ibn al-Athīr relates a number of events which took place in the East.

While information on the Franks occurs regularly between 492/1099 and 514/1120, it is rarer thereafter. Mention is made of the release of Baldwin II, king of Jerusalem, in 517/1124 after he had been made prisoner by the ruler of Aleppo, Balak ibn Bahrām, for a ransom of 80,000 dinars and 30 Muslim prisoners, a report which is at odds with some Syrian sources, which insist that Baldwin II had managed to escape through the connivance of the Muslim army.<sup>67</sup> The loss of Ascalon, the last Fāṭimid bastion in Palestine, in 548/1153, appears in the assessment al-Maqrīzī gives of the reign of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ẓāfir, where it is embellished by a commentary on the immoderate tastes of this caliph for entertainment and fun in the company of his concubines, thus highlighting the consequences of such a depraved lifestyle.<sup>68</sup>

From 552/1157 until 554/1159 references are lengthier and occur more often, as these years correspond to a renewal of Fāṭimid attacks against the Latin states in the Levant.<sup>69</sup> This is also the case during the account of the end of Fāṭimid rule, during the rise to power of Shīrkūh and Saladin and the forfeit of the country by the vizier Shāwar, who made an alliance with Amalric I of Jerusalem and allowed the Franks right into the heart of Egypt.<sup>70</sup> The year 564/1169 is presented by al-Maqrīzī as one where the Franks took possession of Egypt and imposed a tyrannical government on it, so that the people were

65 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-tārīkh*, ed. A.F.'A.A. al-Qāḍī and M.Y. al-Daqqāq, 11 vols. (Beirut, 1987–2003), vol. IX, pp. 149–50.

66 Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, ed. al-Shayyāl and Ḥilmī, vol. III, p. 52.

67 Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, ed. al-Shayyāl and Ḥilmī, vol. III, p. 106.

68 Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, ed. al-Shayyāl and Ḥilmī, vol. III, p. 209.

69 Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, ed. al-Shayyāl and Ḥilmī, vol. III, pp. 230–37.

70 Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, ed. al-Shayyāl and Ḥilmī, vol. III, pp. 262–318.



convinced that no-one was able to protect them. The description of these events is highly detailed and is derived, for the most part, from the works of ‘Umāra al-Yamanī (d. 569/1174) and Ibn Abī Ṭayyī’ (d. 625–30/1228–33).<sup>71</sup>

Overall, al-Maqrīzī, unsurprisingly, presents the Franks in a negative light, and their mention is often accompanied by curses against them. With regard to the Fāṭimids, his writing is more positive, and he tries to highlight the multiple efforts led by them and their viziers to attempt to stem the losses of territory in Palestine in the first decades of the Frankish presence.

### *Al-Sulūk*

Barely had al-Maqrīzī completed writing the second part of the trilogy than he began preparations for the third and final part which, as he indicated in the introduction, would examine the history of the Kurdish Ayyūbid and Turkic and Circassian Mamlūk dynasties who ruled Egypt from 567/1171 until his own day. The precise date at which he began to work on these annals is unknown: it is thought that he began to acquire material for it during the course of the years when he was working on the *Khīṭaṭ* and the first two volumes of the trilogy being described. However, the date can be surmised, taking into account that *Itti‘āz al-ḥunafā’* was probably finished by 818/1415. Another factor is that by 820/1417 he had already written the whole part covering the years 567/1171–791/1389, the equivalent of three volumes, as there is a comment that a practice which he described is still current at the time he wrote the passage, that is to say the year 820/1417.<sup>72</sup> Thus, it cannot have taken more than a few more years to write to his own time, and he then continued to add the events of the years through which he lived, a practice which he continued until a few months before his death: the work ends with the final month of 844/April 1441. It can therefore be assumed that he wrote the events of each year at the end of it, which would explain why we have no information about the year of his death (845/May 1441–February 1442). But as early as 828/1425 the work’s reputation had already crossed the frontiers of the Mamlūk empire: that year, a Timūrid

71 ‘Umāra al-Yamanī, *al-Nukat al-‘aṣriyya fī akhbār al-wuzarā’ al-miṣriyya*, ed. and tr. H. Derenbourg, 3 vols (Paris, 1897–1904); Ibn Abī Ṭayyī’, *Ma‘ādin al-dhahab fī ta’rīkh al-mulūk wa’l-khulafā’ wa-dhawī al-rutab* (numerous extracts preserved in Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta’rīkh al-rusul wa’l-mulūk*).

72 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. III, p. 639.

embassy arrived in Cairo with the aim, amongst others, of obtaining a copy of *al-Sulūk* for the library of Shāh Rukh, the son of Tīmūr.<sup>73</sup>

After the death of al-Maqrīzī the work was hugely successful, as demonstrated by the large number of manuscripts preserved in libraries across the world. According to his contemporary, the Meccan historian Ibn Fahd (d. 885/1480), *al-Sulūk* consisted of five volumes,<sup>74</sup> and this comment is likely to be accurate since this author consulted the autograph version only one year after al-Maqrīzī's death.<sup>75</sup> However, nowadays most of the copies made on the basis of the autograph are in four volumes.

When al-Maqrīzī began writing *al-Sulūk* he had already been in a state of worldly withdrawal in his home for a number of years. His contacts with the Mamlūk elites were rare and he did not receive visitors apart from his colleagues, friends and followers. He did not write these annals tracing the events which took place under the rule of his former patrons the Mamlūks in an effort to get closer to the centre of power; al-Maqrīzī's comments about certain sultans are not devoid of acerbic criticism, demonstrating that he was not afraid to express himself freely and that he was not interested in sycophantically praising the current rulers. No copy made from the autograph is attested during al-Maqrīzī's lifetime (the oldest dates from 847/1443–848/1444); the autograph must therefore have been the only copy and it was without doubt kept with him, which may explain the freedom with which al-Maqrīzī criticised certain sultans in his assessment of them, or the actions of certain influential emirs. However, many of the extant copies were made to satisfy the wish of various Mamlūk emirs to possess an example of these annals in their library. Among these, at least one bears the name of its sponsor, the emir Yashbak min Mahdī, the executive secretary under the sultan Qā'itbāy (r. 872/1468–901/1496).<sup>76</sup> Thanks to these copies it is known that the work was widely appreciated, despite its open criticism of the ruling Mamlūks.

Of the autograph work, only the first volume has reached us.<sup>77</sup> However, it furnishes us with unique information on the author's working method and his

73 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. iv, p. 818 (year 833/1429).

74 Ibn Fahd, *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh*, p. 66.

75 ms Istanbul—Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Yeni Cami 887, f. 3 (consultation note dated 846/1442–43).

76 ms Istanbul—Fatih Kütüphanesi 4383. On this emir as bibliophile, see Z. Tanındı, 'Two Bibliophile Mamluk Emirs: Qansuh the Master of the Stables and Yashbak the Secretary', in D. Behrens-Abouseif (ed.), *The Arts of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria: Evolution and Impact* (Göttingen, 2012), 267–81.

77 ms Istanbul—Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Yeni Cami 887.

aims. As al-Maqrīzī explains in his introduction, in a note added *a posteriori* in the margin, he did not intend to add obituaries at the end of each year for the simple reason that he had already undertaken to write a separate biographical dictionary.<sup>78</sup> Although he does not name this it is possible to infer, from a passage in the year 733/1332–33, that he means *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr al-muqaffā*. However, this approach seems to have been forgotten afterwards since *al-Sulūk* contains a section of obituaries, listing important people who died during that year, along with the exact date of their death, although these only appear from the reign of Shajar al-Durr (r. 648/1250) onwards, the time which can be said to mark the transition of power from the Ayyūbids to the Mamlūks. The autograph reveals that the decision to add these obituaries from this date onwards was late: they all appear either on slips of paper pasted at the right place, or in the body of the text written on quires of a smaller size than the rest of the manuscript, which indicates that these sections were rewritten by al-Maqrīzī, thus allowing him to integrate them directly into the body of the text. The reason for this reversal is perhaps to be found in the criticism of a colleague who had learnt of his decision, or al-Maqrīzī's realisation that the majority of his predecessors and contemporaries had adopted this system. Another contribution of the autograph concerns how it is possible to understand the author's working method: al-Maqrīzī made a number of revisions to his text, no doubt because he discovered new sources who were better informed. Consequently, marginal additions, deletions and rewritten sections are legion.

In its design, *al-Sulūk* is the successor of the two previous works, written in an annalistic form.<sup>79</sup> It is thus logical that its internal organisation would be identical: a year by year presentation and, when a new sultan ascended the throne in a given year, a sub-section including information about his life before he became sultan and the circumstances which led to his taking power. Furthermore, in the year of his death there is a general review of his reign.

After the traditional introduction, composed of a doxology and an explanation of the reasons which drove al-Maqrīzī to embark on writing this book, the work begins with a series of small chapters which have no other goal but to explain how power passed into the hands of representatives of those who were not Arabs. The first chapter gives an overview of the religious situation before the appearance of Islam; this is followed by another which details the caliphs who ruled between the death of the Prophet and the establishment of the

<sup>78</sup> See below, p. 191.

<sup>79</sup> This is at least the case for *Ittiʿāz al-ḥunafāʾ*. For *ʿIqd jawāhir al-asfāt* it is pure conjecture, but there is no reason to believe that the internal organisation would have been any different from that of the two other parts of the trilogy.

‘Abbāsīd caliphs in Cairo under the aegis of the Mamlūk sultans. Al-Maqrīzī then devotes two chapters to the Būyids, Persian emirs, and to the Seljūq sultans who had unquestionably been the real holders of power in the East, to the detriment of the caliphs of Baghdad who had been confined to their palace. This allows him to make the transition with the arrival of Saladin in Egypt and the establishment of the Ayyūbid dynasty. These introductory chapters to *al-Sulūk*, taken together and placed in the context of the two other parts of the trilogy and the works which followed (*Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ* and *al-Khabar ʿan al-bashar*), allow us to discern the true intention of al-Maqrīzī: to highlight the ephemeral character of power and the divine will which makes and destroys rulers, seemingly on a whim. His introduction is unequivocal about this subject:

Praise be to God [ . . . ] who humiliates the vanity of the powerful and the rich, who elevates the humble and obscure man, who demeans the powerful and noble, who glorifies the one who is despised and reviled, who hides the fugitive from the sight of men who pursue [him], who abases those who are armed with inexorable laws or who have many soldiers, those who hold above their heads banners and flags, and those who control the armed forces and troops. He gives his strength to the one who has nothing, whose fathers and ancestors are unknown, but who conforms in his conduct to the wish of his Master and who is good to his neighbor, whom people hate and for which no one has any care, who cannot make himself useful to himself or anyone else, who is incapable of avoiding the evil and the calamities which fall on him because of his weakness and the obscurity in which he lives. He removes the empire to those who the worst of people fear because of their trickery, to those before whom warriors, despite their hardness and cruelty, humble themselves, at the feet of whom the bravest soldiers prostrate themselves.<sup>80</sup>

It is also possible to infer here an expression of the wish that the Arabs should be the holders of power and that the caliph, who should come from the family of the Prophet (the Banū Hāshim), should regain his rightful power.

The importance which al-Maqrīzī gives to each of the two historical periods which are the object of *al-Sulūk* varies: the section on the Ayyūbids only occupies 93 folios of the first volume of the preserved autograph, while that devoted to the Mamlūks holds the lion's share. This difference may be explained by the evidence he had to work with, but only partly. All signs seem to indicate that

80 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 7.

al-Maqrīzī knew that he could not produce an original work for the events of which he had not been a contemporary and for which he was therefore limited to providing a synthesis, as full as possible, but nonetheless limited in space. As in his other works, al-Maqrīzī was largely reliant on his sources which were both numerous and of various genres, although, as for the majority of his other works, he neglects to directly cite them, so the modern historian is thus reduced to having to make comparisons with extant sources which he may have employed; such efforts have been carried out for the Mamlūk era.<sup>81</sup> Modern studies have demonstrated that al-Maqrīzī provides originality, as he manages to give accounts which are not to be found in any extant sources, although al-Maqrīzī's synthetic approach is not without its problems in certain cases.<sup>82</sup> For the Ayyūbid period, detailed study of this kind is still lacking, although it can be determined that al-Maqrīzī made extensive use of the works of his predecessors: Ibn Wāṣil, Ibn Abī Ṭayyī, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Mundhirī, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200), Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād (d. 632/1245), Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 654/1256), Abū Shāma (d. 675/1276), and al-Nuwayrī (d. 732/1331).

The contents of *al-Sulūk* first gained the attention of historians of the Crusades at an early stage, in 1761, when Denis Dominique Cardonne (1721–1783), the holder of the Chair of Turkish and Persian at the Collège Royal in Paris (from 1750) made a translation of extracts relating to Louis IX.<sup>83</sup> Yet it was only half a century later that the work received the attention that it merited, when the Orientalist Étienne Marc Quatremère (1782–1857), a disciple of Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838) and holder of the Chair of Hebrew and Syriac at the Collège de France (from 1819), published for the first time a translation of the part relating to the Mamlūk dynasty which covered the years 648/1250 to 708/1309. This translation was a milestone in the history of oriental studies not only for its quality but also for its detailed annotations

81 D.P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn* (Wiesbaden, 1970), pp. 76–80; S. Massoud, *The Chronicles and Annalistic Sources of the Early Mamluk Circassian Period* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 48–53, 112–15, 158–62.

82 See also R. Amitai, 'Al-Maqrīzī as a Historian of the Early Mamluk Sultanate (or: Is al-Maqrīzī an Unrecognized Historiographical Villain?)', *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7 (2003), 99–118; S. Massoud, 'Al-Maqrīzī as a Historian of the Reign of Barqūq', *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7 (2003), 119–36.

83 D.D. Cardonne, 'Extraits des manuscrits arabes, dans lesquels il est parlé des évènements historiques relatifs au règne de S. Louis', in *Histoire de Saint Louis par Jehan Sire de Joinville* (Paris, 1761), 525–45.

explaining the numerous technical terms.<sup>84</sup> In order to do this, Quatremère used numerous sources which in his time were still only available in manuscript form. In his introduction, he explained that his intention was to translate the part dealing with the Ayyūbids and to publish the result of his work in the *Collection des Historiens des Croisades*, but circumstances outside his control prevented him from achieving this aim.<sup>85</sup> Ultimately, it was Edgar Blochet (1870–1937), keeper of oriental manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, who realised the wish of Quatremère. Between 1898 and 1902 he published his translation which covered the whole of the Ayyūbid dynasty and so completed Quatremère's work,<sup>86</sup> although Blochet's translation is generally regarded as being of inferior quality to that of Quatremère. While this work was, nonetheless, accessible in French, an English translation was still lacking until Broadhurst published his translation in 1980 in the collection *Library of Classical Arabic Literature*.<sup>87</sup> Between these two publications the first Arabic critical edition of the text appeared; the first two volumes were prepared by the Egyptian scholar M.M. Ziyāda, who only had time to publish these two,<sup>88</sup> and his work was taken up by another Egyptian scholar, Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāh 'Āshūr, several years later, although this work does not match the critical quality of his predecessor.<sup>89</sup>

As it is in the form of annals, it should be obvious that the Crusades are not treated separately from other events. The main disadvantage of the presentation of events on a yearly basis is that the reader only gets a global vision of them after having read all of the years concerned. In order to achieve this in his writing, al-Maqrīzī therefore had to summarise and synthesise sources where their authors may have used a different methodology.

In general, it seems that al-Maqrīzī refrained from passing judgement on the actions of both Franks and Muslims. Occasions when the name of the Franks is accompanied by curses are almost non-existent in his writing. Even with regard to the infamous Reynald of Châtillon, al-Maqrīzī remains sober

84 É.M. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte*, 2 vols (Paris, 1837–45).

85 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. xviii.

86 E. Blochet, 'Histoire d'Égypte de Makrizi. Traduction française accompagnée de notes historiques et géographiques', *Revue de l'Orient latin* 6–11 (1898–1908). This collection of articles was reprinted as a book under the same title in 1908 (Paris).

87 R.J.C. Broadhurst, *A History of the Ayyūbid Sultans of Egypt* (Boston, 1980).

88 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. M.M. Ziyāda (Cairo, 1934–58), vols. 1–2 in 6 parts.

89 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. S.'A. al-F. 'Āshūr (Cairo, 1970–73), vols. 3–4 in 6 parts. There is another, non-critical edition, recently prepared by M.'A.Q. 'Aṭā, 8 vols (Beirut, 1997).

in his judgement. The latter's attack against the Ḥijāz in 578/1183 is reported neutrally, with al-Maqrīzī content to report that a Christian had never before even approached the Holy Cities.<sup>90</sup> The only examples where he does alter this approach are when he writes that a Muslim victory was granted by God to the true faith, thereby highlighting the religious fallibility of the Franks. As for the Muslims, al-Maqrīzī sometimes takes the part of a critic, such as his assessment of the decision to destroy the walls and buildings of Ascalon in 594/1198; for al-Maqrīzī, the destruction of this town was the result of the sultan's inability to repel the Franks by force of arms. Had he been stronger, the Muslims would not have been reduced to razing the city out of fear that it would be re-taken by the Franks.<sup>91</sup>

The historian of the Crusades needs to know which sections of *al-Sulūk* dealing with events surrounding the Franks and the Latin states between 1171 and 1291 are original. It is undeniable that for a long time the work was considered one of the principle sources for the history of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods, and numerous modern historians, including P.K. Hitti, H.A.R. Gibb and F. Gabrieli, put great significance on al-Maqrīzī's writings.<sup>92</sup> This esteem, no doubt merited at the time these historians were writing, has now been lessened, for the simple fact that many of the sources used by al-Maqrīzī have been discovered and published since then. If *al-Sulūk* still possesses some interest for historians of Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times, this is primarily due to al-Maqrīzī's ability to unearth sources which were often difficult to access, even in his own time, and which are no longer extant. Whatever judgement is brought to bear on his working method in the future, he will remain an essential source for the period he writes about, although he was not a witness and still less an actor in the events which he reports; he is thus entirely dependent on his sources, while the accounts he gives of the events also reflect the subjective level of importance he gave to them. For the Ayyūbid era, the reader will find evidence for events throughout the Crusades, especially during the reigns of Saladin and al-Kāmil. The reigns of other sultans are dotted with brief reports concerning Palestine, but these contain little new information compared to contemporaneous sources.

However, certain events which made a deep impression on the people who lived through them and which are regarded as key moments in the Muslim reconquest receive only limited attention from al-Maqrīzī. Unlike other historians who were witnesses of these events, al-Maqrīzī knew the outcome of the struggle with the Franks, and so they no longer constituted a threat from his

90 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, pp. 78–79; Broadhurst, *History*, p. 70.

91 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, pp. 141–42; Broadhurst, *History*, pp. 124–25.

92 See Broadhurst, *History*, pp. xvii–xviii.



point of view and so Muslim victories against them are of less significance for him. Thus, the famous battle of Ḥaṭṭīn (583/1187) receives only a very brief mention in *al-Sulūk*: there is just a summary paragraph containing the main pieces of information (the date of the battle, the opposing forces, the death of Reynald of Châtillon and others from the Frankish forces),<sup>93</sup> immediately followed by the siege of Acre. Unusually for *al-Sulūk*, al-Maqrīzī embellishes his report with an account he took from an eyewitness, ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (d. 629/1231–32), concerning the market which accompanied Saladin’s army when he was encamped opposite Acre.<sup>94</sup> Al-Maqrīzī’s notebook reveals that he did not have direct access to this source, but that he cited the extract in question from another author whose work is considered lost: al-Yaghmūrī (d. 673/1274). The extract found in the notebook was added by al-Maqrīzī in the margin of the autograph of *al-Sulūk*,<sup>95</sup> which suggests that he discovered this source after he had already written this part of his work.<sup>96</sup>

The alliance concluded by al-Kāmil and the German Emperor Frederick II which led to the return of Jerusalem to Frederick in 626/1229 also garners little comment from al-Maqrīzī. In contrast, the behaviour of Frederick II when he entered Jerusalem, giving favourable position to the Muslims and respect to their places of worship, is reported positively.<sup>97</sup> Moreover, when al-Maqrīzī gives his assessment of al-Kāmil at the time of his death, he makes no mention of the handover of Jerusalem, choosing instead to portray him as a good politician.<sup>98</sup>

On the other hand, al-Maqrīzī reports many details concerning the sale of arms and other military equipment to the Franks who were allowed to visit Damascus by the ruler al-Šāliḥ Ismā‘īl in order to purchase them in the year 638/1240–41. He provides valuable information on the reactions of Muslim scholars who judged the permissibility of this and cites the prayer which was recited in the Great Umayyad Mosque of Damascus on this occasion.<sup>99</sup> Overall, although al-Maqrīzī’s references to the treaties concluded between

93 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, pp. 93–94; Broadhurst, *History*, pp. 82–83.

94 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 94; Broadhurst, *History*, pp. 82–83. This passage does not appear in ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, *The Eastern Key. Kitāb al-ifādah wa’l-i’tibār*, tr. with a facsimile of the Arabic autograph by K.H. Zand and J.A. and I.E. Videan (London, 1965), as in this book the author gives a report of his stay in Egypt in 588/1192–589/1193.

95 ms Istanbul—Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Yeni Cami 887, f. 268.

96 Bauden, ‘Maqriziana I/2’, pp. 119–21.

97 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, pp. 221–22 and 230–32; Broadhurst, *History*, pp. 198 and 206–9.

98 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, pp. 258–60; Broadhurst, *History*, pp. 229–31 (‘he was deeply politic’).

99 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, pp. 303–4; Broadhurst, *History*, pp. 262–63.

the Ayyūbids and the Franks are numerous, quotations of extracts from these treaties remain rare, as is the case for correspondence between the sultans and various Frankish rulers. One rare example is a letter sent by Louis IX a little after his landing in Egypt and the response which was drafted by the Ayyūbid chancellery; the extracts cited are sufficiently long to give an idea of their overall contents.<sup>100</sup>

Al-Maqrīzī's taste for good stories and anecdotes can be seen in his reference to a Genoese merchant, whom he named William the Frank (Kilyām al-Firanjī), who arrived in Egypt in 607/1210–11. According to al-Maqrīzī, he managed to win the trust of al-ʿAdil by offering him sumptuous gifts. The sultan made him a member of his entourage despite warnings from his advisors that he was a spy giving information to the Franks. The sultan gave little heed to these words and, the following year, William accompanied him to Damascus.<sup>101</sup> Unfortunately, al-Maqrīzī makes no mention of what happened after that.

One other fairly characteristic element of al-Maqrīzī in his capacity as a historian appears in his appreciation of curious coincidences (*ittifāqāt gharība*).<sup>102</sup> His account of the capture of Ascalon (587/1191) is embellished by an eyewitness account which he took from *al-Muʿjam al-mutarjam* by al-Mundhirī, mentioned above. This recounts how there was an inscription found in the tower of the Templars which indicates that the tower in question had been built by a certain Khuṭluj during the Fāṭimid era. The author notes the incredible mirroring of events in this case, as the name of the person who was in charge of its destruction was also Khuṭluj and the time at which it took place (the month of Shaʿbān) was the same as that of the completion of its construction.<sup>103</sup>

In light of what has been said about the Egyptocentrism of the majority of al-Maqrīzī's work it is hardly surprising that it is events relating to this country which receive the most exhaustive treatment on the part of our author. Those which receive the most detailed accounts are the Fifth Crusade and the Crusade of Louis IX, both of which led to occupation of part of the country for a time, although it should be noted that these reports differ little from those in the *Khiṭaṭ*.

From the thirteenth century onwards al-Maqrīzī was aware, like his predecessors, that the danger the Franks represented for Islam was limited and that there was instead a different threat to the whole of the Muslim East: the Mongols. It is no coincidence that the victory of al-Kāmil over the Fifth

100 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, pp. 333–35; Broadhurst, *History*, pp. 288–89.

101 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 173; Broadhurst, *History*, p. 154.

102 See Bauden, 'Maqriziana 1/2', p. 134.

103 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 106; Broadhurst, *History*, p. 94.

Crusade is presented by al-Maqrīzī as a victory announced across the world but, at the same time, it is placed alongside the news of the appearance of the Mongols in the East.<sup>104</sup>

With the advent of the Mamlūk dynasty the presentation of events varies somewhat from reports from the preceding period. For this section, al-Maqrīzī is heavily reliant on al-Nuwayrī even if, as is usual, he does not limit himself to just one source. Mentions of sieges conducted against fortresses remaining in Frankish hands are more frequent, even if these events by this time really only affected Palestine. References to more northerly lands, such as Cilicia and Armenia, are even more sporadic, but treaties signed between the Mamlūk sultans and the Frankish rulers are frequently cited. Although certain details related to the conditions of these treaties are provided by al-Maqrīzī, the texts themselves are almost never mentioned.

He does, however, provide a detailed narrative for the most important Mamlūk conquests of Frankish strongholds. This is the case for the fall of the fortress of Arsūf (663/1264), where very precise details are given for the role played by Baybars, who actively participated in the work of sapping and mining the place, and by the deep religious fervour which prevailed in the Muslims camp where wine was prohibited and where virtuous women carried drinks and participated in the work.<sup>105</sup>

The fall of Acre in 690/1291, which marked the end of the Frankish presence in Palestine, is, however, only recorded in a summary occupying little more than a page. It is preceded by numerous lines reporting preparations, but the report of the siege—which lasted forty days—and the fall of the town receive only very limited attention. Instead, the event is given the merit it deserves through citations of poems which were composed for the occasion.<sup>106</sup>

Thus, the interest of *al-Sulūk* for scholars of the crusading period is undeniable, and not just because the parts dealing with this period are available in English and French translation. Events concerning Egypt in particular receive significant attention from al-Maqrīzī and his account of these events has the advantage of being based on sources written by contemporary historians about events which occurred in Egypt during their own lifetime. For Palestine, it is clear that the interest of his account is somewhat lessened by the numbers of extant Syrian sources which have been brought to light in the second half of the twentieth century but it is also true that, for a good number, they are not

104 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 210; Broadhurst, *History*, p. 188.

105 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, pp. 527–29; Quatremère, *Histoire*, vol. 1/2, pp. 8–10.

106 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, pp. 763–67; Quatremère, *Histoire*, vol. 11/1, pp. 121–129.

available in translation, and so al-Maqrīzī remains extremely useful for this period.

### *Al-Muqaffā*

The idea of collecting data for a biographical dictionary devoted to Egyptians who left their mark on history in some way must have started when al-Maqrīzī examined the sources which would serve him when writing the *Khīṭaṭ*. However, it is likely that he only conceived of writing it after beginning drafting his annals of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk sultans (*al-Sulūk*) because, as noted above, the only preserved autograph of the completed version of these annals, that of the first volume, carries a marginal note by al-Maqrīzī where he writes that he will not deal with biographies and obituaries, having already devoted a biographical dictionary to this material. Even though he does not name this work, it is easy to guess that al-Maqrīzī is here referring to *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr al-muqaffā li-Miṣr*, more often known under the shortened title of *al-Muqaffā*.<sup>107</sup> He must only have added this marginal note after he was well advanced in his writing of this dictionary, to which he had not yet given a title. The events relating to the year 733/1332–33 must be examined to obtain more detail:

Our great book which is a continuation (*al-muqaffā*) [of *al-Sulūk*] is a work of biographies and obituaries just as this book (*al-Sulūk*) is a work of events and occurrences.<sup>108</sup>

The first mention of its title which can be fixed in time appears in a marginal note which al-Maqrīzī added to a volume of the encyclopaedia of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, called *Masālik al-abṣār*, which may be dated with precision to 831/1427–28.<sup>109</sup> By this time, al-Maqrīzī must already have been well advanced in his writing and it is not rare to find references to this dictionary on the pages of many of his autograph volumes.

107 In his edition of *al-Sulūk* (vol. 1, p. 9, n. 3), Ziyāda put forward the idea that it could also have referred to al-Maqrīzī's other biographical dictionary, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*, which he devoted to his contemporaries. This is impossible given that al-Maqrīzī's idea for this text was to include data on the biography of people who had died after the beginning of the decade during which he was born, i.e. 760/1358–59. *Al-Sulūk* treated the Ayyūbid period similarly.

108 See *al-Sulūk*, vol. 11, p. 365.

109 See Bauden, *Trusting the Source*.

By the time of his death, this dictionary extended to sixteen volumes, but al-Maqrīzī informed some of his visitors that, if he had had enough time to work on it, it would have run to 80. Of these sixteen volumes, it is known that four have been preserved in their autograph form while the whole of the first part, comprising the letters *alif-khā'*, exists only in a copy made from another part of the autograph which had been considered lost until 1978,<sup>110</sup> when the library of Leiden University took the opportunity to purchase an autograph volume of *al-Muqaffā*. While this discovery was essential for the textual history of the work and the study of the author's working method, it was less so in terms of content as it roughly corresponds to the Istanbul manuscript: only 20 more biographies were discovered when compared to the Istanbul version.<sup>111</sup>

Of the sixteen autograph volumes available on the death of al-Maqrīzī, five have been identified so far (totalling around 1,550 folios). They have just over 3,600 biographies encompassing the letters *alif, bā', tā', thā', jīm, ḥā', and khā'*, part of the letters *ṭā'* and *ʿayn*, a tiny part of the letters *kāf* and *lām*, and finally the letter *mīm*. The unevenness of the spread of these letters is evident from a comparison of them: for the first seven letters of the alphabet there are a total of 1,401 notices, while for the single letter *mīm*, where the name Muḥammad is the most popular, for obvious reasons, and where Maḥmūd also often appears, there is a total of 2,062. From this, it is possible to get a sense of the scale of the project and its state upon the death of its author. It can be calculated that the autograph manuscripts represent 9.6 volumes of the 16 originals,<sup>112</sup> which means that *al-Muqaffā* contained around 6,000 biographies. This also means that, if al-Maqrīzī had been able to complete his project, it would have contained around 30,000, making it one of the most complete biographical dictionaries of the history of Egypt ever written.

Studying the autograph manuscripts allows historians to understand how al-Maqrīzī developed his biographical dictionary. He worked by using a system of notes, the contents of which were then written up as drafts at a time

110 The autograph volumes are: MS Leiden—University Library, 1366a, 1366c, 3065 (= 1366b) and MS Paris—BNF arabe 2144. The copy made using part of the autograph is in Istanbul: MS Istanbul—Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Pertev Pasha 496.

111 The incredible history of this acquisition is reported by its principal participant, the curator of oriental manuscripts at that time, J.J. Witkam. See J.J. Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden*, vol. 15: *Manuscripts OR. 14.001–OR. 15.000* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 242–44. The announcement of this acquisition was made the following year: J.J. Witkam, 'Discovery of a Hitherto Unknown Section of the *Kitāb al-Muqaffā* by al-Maqrīzī', *Quaerendo* 9 (1979), 353–54.

112 J.J. Witkam, 'Les Autographes d'al-Maqrīzī', in A.-Ch. Binebine (ed.), *Le manuscrit arabe et la codicologie* (Rabat, 1994), p. 96.

when al-Maqrīzī believed he had amassed enough material to constitute a full work. However, he knew that this work could only continue to increase in size. Additions were introduced in various ways: at the end of one biography if a blank space remained, written on extra sheets inserted into the quires if the notice was brief, or, for larger biographies, full quires of a smaller format could be added to the original. It is therefore unsurprising that biographies generally begin at the top of a page and are sometimes followed by other notices added *a posteriori*. As for all of his works, al-Maqrīzī continually revised his text and made corrections, additions and deletions.

The text of *al-Muqaffā* was noted very early by Orientalists. The first partial edition was that of Michele Amari (1806–1889) in his famous *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, an anthology of sources dealing with people who were born, lived or died in southern Italy or Sicily.<sup>113</sup> These extracts were then translated by the same scholar into Italian.<sup>114</sup> This first effort was not followed by a complete edition of the work, probably because the only four autograph copies which were known before the second half of the twentieth century (three volumes have been in Leiden since the eighteenth century while one volume is in Paris) are considered defective, so scholars preferred to wait until more complete copies were discovered. Thus, it was not until 1987 that another partial edition was published, this time limited to the records of people from the Fāṭimid era, by an expert on the Fāṭimids, the Tunisian scholar Muḥammad al-Ya‘lāwī.<sup>115</sup> He stated that it was his intention to undertake a full critical edition of the preserved manuscripts, including that in Istanbul, and this was finally published in 1991.<sup>116</sup> However, he was unable to consult the autograph manuscript acquired in 1978 by the University of Leiden (Or. 14533), as it was being restored for several years around this time. As the Istanbul manuscript covers the same material as that of Leiden, the editor decided to rely on it in the meantime. Since then, it has come to light that the Leiden manuscript contains a few additional records; thus, the editor published a new revised, corrected and enlarged edition in 2006.<sup>117</sup> It should be noted here that al-Ya‘lāwī did not realise that dozens of notices were added in the autograph manuscripts of the

113 M. Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula ossia raccolta di testi arabici che toccano la geografia, la storia, le biografie e la bibliografia della Sicilia* (Lipsia, 1857), pp. 661–69.

114 M. Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula, versione italiana*, 2 vols (Turin, 1880–81), vol. II, pp. 572–87.

115 Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-muqaffā al-kabīr (tarājim maqhrīqīyya wa-maghribīyya min al-fatra al-‘ubaydiyya)* (Beirut, 1987).

116 Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-muqaffā al-kabīr*, ed. M. al-Ya‘lāwī, 8 vols (Beirut, 1991).

117 Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-muqaffā al-kabīr*, ed. M. al-Ya‘lāwī, 8 vols (Beirut, 2006).



work, probably after al-Maqrīzī's death, by his friend and colleague Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī. They therefore should not have been edited in the body of the text of al-Maqrīzī, but rather placed in an appendix, since they were not written by him. This is but one of the many flaws of this edition.

The title chosen by al-Maqrīzī for his biographical dictionary is not without its problems and the absence of an introduction, explained by the evolutionary nature of the book, complicates our understanding of the author's true intention. The word *al-muqaffā* is derived from the root (Q-F-W) which means neck and, by extension, the sequel to something. It is rarely attested in Arabic book titles—only one example can be found, that of the 'chronicle' of al-Birzālī (d. 739/1339), which is a continuation of the work of Abū Shāma (m. 665/1267)<sup>118</sup>—and it does not correspond to what may be expected, as it is not a continuation of the work of an earlier historian. Rather, its meaning seems to be closely linked to the overall aim of al-Maqrīzī's historical project: *al-Muqaffā* is the continuation of his many other histories. Al-Maqrīzī sometimes calls it *The Great History of Egypt (al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr li-Miṣr)*, and in the notes he made on title pages or inside his manuscripts he refers to it most often as *The Great History (al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr)*. I suggest that the aim of the dictionary was to list the maximum number of biographical notices of persons who had had links—sometimes firm, sometimes tenuous—with the land of Egypt. In al-Maqrīzī's eyes, to be included in *al-Muqaffā* it seems to have been enough simply to have seen Egypt. Thus, it not only contains notices on people who were born and who lived much of their life there: the spectrum is much broader and, given Egypt's position as a gateway between the East and the West of the Islamic world which had to be traversed if travelling overland between those regions, huge numbers of people were eligible for inclusion. Some of the most extreme examples include the grandson of Muḥammad, al-Ḥusayn, who never set foot in Egypt, but nevertheless receives a long notice for the simple fact that his head was brought to Cairo by the Fāṭimids (where it is still located), and even Idrīs I, who passed through Egypt when moving to the far West to establish his dynasty in Morocco. In addition, the time period was immense: from Abraham until the time of al-Maqrīzī; consequently, eighty planned volumes does not seem to have been an overestimation.

As with the majority of his writings, al-Maqrīzī used an impressive number of sources, although these are often the same as those he used for his chronological works. Yet in contrast to the methodology he developed for the *Khīṭaṭ*, al-Maqrīzī refrains from citing them in most cases. The historian is

<sup>118</sup> Al-Birzālī, *al-Muqtaṭfi ʿalā kitāb al-rawḍatayn al-maʿrūf bi-taʾrīkh al-Birzālī*, ed. ʿU.A. Tadmūrī, 4 vols (Sidon, 2006).



therefore reduced to guessing through comparison—when the relevant source is preserved—or speculating without possibility of corroboration. This work of identifying sources, which any serious scientific text editor should carry out, is unfortunately lacking in the only complete edition available to date. Footnotes regarding innumerable facts, and references to places, people and objects are also seriously lacking in the edition.

As al-Maqrīzī's main geographical area of historical interest is Egypt, it is unsurprising that there is consequently limited detail on the Crusades in *al-Muqaffā*, although it must be borne in mind that the book has survived in an incomplete and deficient form. Nevertheless, al-Maqrīzī did devote a biographical notice to Baldwin I<sup>119</sup> because of the latter's incursion into Egyptian soil. This fairly brief entry (occupying half a folio), begins with the name of the King of Jerusalem using the system of alphabetical classification employed throughout the dictionary: Baghdawīn ibn [...]. Al-Maqrīzī took the trouble to vocalize the first three letters (B-GH-D), thus indicating the pronunciation of the name according to him. Unaware of the name of Baldwin I's father, he left the space blank in the hope of being able to complete this information should he discover it somewhere later. In its brevity, the record provides little new. Al-Maqrīzī deals with the main facts of Baldwin's life after the death of his brother Godfrey (K.N.D.F.RĀ): his arrival in Jerusalem in the company of 500 knights and infantry; the victory of the Egyptian army sent against him at Ramla in 495/1102 (neglecting to mention, in passing, the victory of Baldwin in the same place against the same enemy the previous year); his escape from the reeds which were set ablaze by Muslim troops; the fire which caused burns that left marks on parts of his body; and his capture of Acre in 497/1104. His march against Egypt in the year 512/1118 is reported, as is his conduct in al-Faramā (Pelusium), which led to the destruction of much of the city—in the words of al-Maqrīzī, it was there that God decreed his death.<sup>120</sup> According to the historian, Baldwin's comrades hid the death of the King for fear of what the reaction might have been, doing so by keeping his body hidden after it had been emptied of its entrails and filling the hole with salt when they brought it back to Jerusalem. Al-Maqrīzī here reveals a detail that is unknown in any other preserved source: Baldwin's entrails were buried in an area of salt marsh located near the city of al-Warrāda which was still known in al-Maqrīzī's time

119 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* (ed. 1991), vol. II, p. 440 = (ed. 2006), vol. II, p. 254. The title added to the notice (*Baghdawīn šāhib al-Quds* ['Baldwin, lord of Jerusalem']) has been added by the editor and does not appear in the manuscript.

120 In *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, ed. al-Shayyāl and Ḥilmī, vol. III, pp. 53 and 56, al-Maqrīzī puts his death both in the year 509/1115–16 and 511/1117–18!

under his name (*sabkhat Bardawīl*).<sup>121</sup> This place was the subject of a *damnatio memoriae* rite practiced by the common people of the area: the stoning of the burial place of Baldwin I's entrails.<sup>122</sup> Such detail from al-Maqrīzī is unsurprising given that our author liked to gather such data concerning Egyptian sites. As Baldwin I had the honour of receiving a biographical sketch in *al-Muqaffā*, it is extremely likely that Louis IX would also have been included in the same way, due to his presence on Egyptian soil during the first of his crusades. Yet, if that was the case, his record has not survived.

In addition to a few scattered references in various notices, the only other noteworthy passage is the capture of the city of Acre (690/1291) at the end of a siege that lasted 44 days, according to al-Maqrīzī. As may be expected, this comes as part of the death notice of the Mamlūk sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl, who led the Muslim armies against that last Frankish stronghold.<sup>123</sup> This report matches, *grosso modo*, that which al-Maqrīzī gave in his annalistic work, *al-Sulūk*.<sup>124</sup>

### *Al-Khabar 'an al-bashar*

When he went to Mecca on pilgrimage in 834/1431 al-Maqrīzī expressed a wish to transmit part of his biography of the Prophet (*Imtā' al-asmā'*) which he had begun to write in 832/1429. In Mecca he was able to transmit the first four volumes that he had already finished, before completing two more volumes during the subsequent four years,<sup>125</sup> and he carried out his wish to transmit

121 Al-Warrāda was situated on the route linking Egypt and Syria. In the thirteenth century it was surrounded by sand dunes. It may be significant that the lake situated in this area of the northern Sinai is still, today, called *Baḥr Bardawīl* ('Baldwin's Lake'). See Yāqūt al-Rūmī, *Muḥjam al-buldān*, 5 vols (Beirut, 1977), vol. v, p. 369; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* (ed. Būlāq), vol. I, p. 184 (where this episode is not reported); M. Ramzī, *Al-Qāmūs al-juḡhrāfī li'l-bilād al-Miṣriyya min 'ahd qudamā' al-Miṣriyyīn ilā sanat 1945*, 6 vols (Cairo, 1953–54, reprint 1994), vol. I, pp. 124–25.

122 Cf. al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, ed. M. Qumayḥa, 33 vols (Beirut, 2004), vol. XXVIII, pp. 178–79.

123 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* (ed. 1991), vol. III, pp. 794–96 = (ed. 2006), vol. III, pp. 452–54.

124 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. I, pp. 763–67; Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks*, vol. II, pp. 121–29. Al-Maqrīzī follows, for the most part, al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*.

125 The sixth and final volume has the date of the 10th Shawwāl 836/30th May 1433. See MS Istanbul—Fazıl Ahmad Paşa 1004, f. 919. For the first complete edition, see al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-asmā' bi-mā li'l-nabī min al-aḥwāl wa'l-amwāl wa'l-ḥafada wa'l-matā'*, ed. M. 'A. Ḥ. al-Numaysī, 6 vols (Beirut, 1999).

it entirely in the Holy City during the last pilgrimage he made to Mecca in 838/1435–840/1436. The idea for this biography of the Prophet came to him after completing his trilogy, although he still added material to all his works, notably *al-Sulūk*, which he continued writing until a few months before his death. Having completed this new book, al-Maqrīzī hoped to write another allowing him to terminate his historical writings and thus complete the historical cycle to which he had devoted most of his life as scholar *ab orbe condito usque ad dies nostros*: thus, the project of a history of humanity (*al-Khabar ‘an al-bashar*) was born, one which would serve as an introduction (*madkhal*) to *Imtā‘ al-asmā’*. If al-Maqrīzī had succeeded in completing it, his total *œuvre* would have included pre-Islamic history, the life of the Prophet, and the history of Egypt from the Muslim conquest until his own time. He began to work on this in 836/1433, as soon as he had finished *Imtā‘ al-asmā’*, and he seems to have worked hard on it until the end of his life. It was divided into six volumes and five autograph volumes corresponding to the fair copy have been preserved. Thanks to them, we know that the third volume was completed in 844/1441, nine months before his death, meaning that the following three were started by al-Maqrīzī during the last months of his life.<sup>126</sup>

The first of the six volumes is the introduction to the whole book. It includes a section on the Creation, followed by a geographical presentation of the world according to the traditional division into seven climes, after which there are a number of remarks on chronology. Al-Maqrīzī then moves onto the inhabitants of the earth and the appearance of the first human being and its offspring, which brings him to the ancestors of the Arabs, followed by the Yemeni kings and finally the different Arab tribes. Volumes 2, 3 and 4 are devoted to the pre-Islamic Arabs, including their genealogy, customs, religion, and institutions in Mecca. In volume 5, al-Maqrīzī divided the material into four sections: the first is devoted to poet-brigands and the days of the Arabs (*ayyām al-‘Arab*); the second to the Persians before Islam; the third to the Jews and the last to the Greeks and other related peoples. The final volume deals with the history of the prophets (biblical and others).

Al-Maqrīzī’s initial aim, writing what he knew would be his last book, is clearly explained in the introduction: to write something which would serve as an introduction to his biography of the Prophet (*Imtā‘ al-asmā’*) with the

126 MSS Istanbul—Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Aya Sofya 3362 (vol. 1); Fatih 4338 (vol. III); Fatih 4339 (vol. IV); Fatih 4340 (vol. V); Fatih 4341 (vol. VI). See also F. Tauer, ‘Zu al-Maqrīzī’s Schrift *al-Ḥabar ‘an al-bašar*’, *Islamica* 1 (1925), 357–64. The text has recently been published as *al-Khabar ‘an al-bashar fī ansāb al-‘Arab wa-nasab sayyid al-bashar*, ed. Kh.A.M. al-Suwaydī and ‘Ā.‘A. al-Ghanī, 8 vols (Beirut, 2013).

history of humanity since the beginning of the Creation until the appearance of the Arabs and their division as its subject. The aim of this was to highlight the importance of the Arabs who had been singled out by God, demonstrated by the fact that He elected His Messenger to be from the Banū Hāshim, of the Quraysh, which was, itself, one of the Arab tribes; the Arabs thus deserve affection, respect, and glory. However, al-Maqrīzī realised after beginning his work that he had accumulated enough material that he could make an independent book, one he chose to entitle *A History of Humanity*.<sup>127</sup>

Chronologically therefore, al-Maqrīzī reversed what many of his fellow historians did: instead of writing a universal history as his first work, al-Maqrīzī began with a history of Egypt since the Muslim conquest until his time and only after completing this did he write a biography of the Prophet and followed it with a history of humanity. Behind this method an ideological, if not a political, programme can be discerned: al-Maqrīzī intended to highlight the Arabs at the expense of other peoples, bringing to the forefront the question of power in Islam which he thought should only be in the hands of the Quraysh. The true aim of al-Maqrīzī can thus be seen in the background of this work; he always underlined the central role which the ‘Abbāsid Caliphs played. It is therefore not surprising that the Turks and the Mongols, peoples who embraced Islam and dominated much of the eastern Islamic world for centuries, are absent from this story of humanity.

At the end of his life, al-Maqrīzī had accumulated enough material for this book to be a final example of the scale of his ambitions and of his curious mind. The sources he used are numerous, and many of them are currently unpublished, lost or little known. In addition to Muslim sources, al-Maqrīzī also employed Christian sources such as Paul Orose (d.c. 418 A.D.) and Ibn al-‘Amīd (d. 673/1273), Arabic translations of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, and a Synaxarion. In the light of these sources, the interest of this book is significant.<sup>128</sup>

It is in the fifth volume that al-Maqrīzī devotes space to the Franks. The fourth section (ff. 233r–64v), which contains descriptions of the Greeks, Byzantines, Latins and Goths, also includes a description of the Franks which gives a history of their conquests since the beginning of the *Reconquista* until the end of the Crusades (f. 260v). Their arrival in the Middle East is interpreted as the result of a weakening of the power of the Arabs and of the ‘Abbāsid Caliphate. Al-Maqrīzī recounts the journey of the First Crusade from Constantinople into

127 MS Istanbul—Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Aya Sofya 3362 (vol. 1), ff. 4v–5r.

128 For the question of the idols of Mecca, see M. Lecker, ‘Idol Worship in pre-Islamic Medina (Yathrib)’, *Le Muséon* 106 (1993), 331–46. This work was recently edited (see bibliography), but the collection will be a part of the *Bibliotheca Maqriziana* project and many sections are in the course of being edited.

Muslim territory, the initial refusal of the Byzantine Emperor to let them go, the changing of his mind by the Franks with the promise to hand over the city of Melitene (Malatya) to him if they conquered it, their penetration into Seljūq territory up to the fall of Antioch, and the installation of Bohemond of Taranto (Bīmand) as prince of the city. The story continues with the capture of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bouillon (Kandafī), the first king, who was succeeded by his brother Baldwin (Baghdawīn). Al-Maqrīzī also mentions events surrounding Raymond of St.-Gilles’ (Ṣanjīl) operations at Tripoli and gives the list of the places taken by the Franks in the years that followed. He goes on to report (f. 261) events which took place in Constantinople at the time of Roger II of Sicily (Rujjār)—such as attacks by his admiral George of Antioch (Jirjā ibn Mikhā’il)—the creation of the Latin Empire of Constantinople after 1204 and that of the Empire of Nicaea under the ruler Lascarīs (Alashkarī). He then recalls the Muslim resistance to the Franks, their expulsion from the Middle East, the attempt of Louis IX on Egypt, and his death in Carthage in 668/1270, which al-Maqrīzī also chronicled in *al-Sulūk*.

In his eyes, it was from this time on that the power of the Franks weakened and their territories became limited to the north of the Mediterranean and some islands they occupied. He details (ff. 262–263v) the Frankish states which remained at the time of his writing, from those of Venice in the East to Iberia in the West. This part is of considerable interest because of the details al-Maqrīzī provides on the political systems in force in each of these states. From these it appears he was well informed, even if the complexity of certain systems, such as that of Venice, for example, escaped him. The historical facts reported about the crusader states and the names of the rulers are also accurate. From this, we can infer that his source of information was certainly oral and of European origin, and the date at which he collected his information may be located around 814/1411, a time when he went frequently to Damascus; it is not impossible that he was in direct or indirect contact with a merchant whose origin was the Italian peninsula.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, the Egyptocentric nature which marks much of al-Maqrīzī’s production results in this historian being especially attentive to events that have a direct connection with that country in which he was born. Those Crusades which had a direct impact on Egypt (specifically the Fifth Crusade and the Crusade of Louis IX) are therefore treated in some detail in several of his works, while those which were directed against Palestine and Syria receive less attention from our author; operations against Muslims and their cities

here are mentioned little and when they are it is in relation to the actions of Ayyūbid and Mamlūk sultans. Despite this, his books still have much interest for crusade historians despite the significant amount of time elapsed between the end of the Latin presence and the time of writing, mainly due to the ability of al-Maqrīzī, an ardent worker with great energy, to find sources which, at least in part, have disappeared, even though he rarely cites these sources within his works.

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