

Studies in Islamic Historiography

Essays in Honour of Professor Donald P. Little

Edited by

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BRILL

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Al-Maqrīzī and His *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr al-muqaffā li-Miṣr*

Part 1: an Inquiry into the History of the Work

Frédéric Bauden

1 Introduction¹

In his analysis of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s reign, Donald P. Little adduced that the richness of Mamlūk sources “is a mixed blessing.”² Students of the Mamlūk period know that, in contrast to previous periods in Islamic history, there is no lack of historical literary sources. What can be considered at times a plethora of sources poses several issues, the most central of which is their originality and reliability. Little’s analysis offered an approach to Mamlūk historical sources, namely, a way to sort them out in order to understand their inter-relationships, with the ultimate goal of establishing their individual importance. As he stressed in the late 1960s, many Mamlūk sources were as yet unpublished, and thus represented a challenge for historians of the period, who did not enjoy the ease with which we are now able to consult digital color reproductions of manuscripts online. The situation he faced compelled him to focus his attention on a narrow group of sources, printed or unpublished. Among those he set aside was al-Maqrīzī’s (766–845/1364–1442) *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr al-muqaffā li-Miṣr* (henceforth, *al-Muqaffā*), a multi-volume biographical dictionary of Egyptians—broadly speaking—who died before the beginning of the decade

1 Part of this article was written as part of the *Ex(-)Libris ex Oriente* (ELEO) project funded by the Fonds de la Recherche Scientifique—FNRS (Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles, Belgium) and the *Bibliotheca Maqriziana* (BiMa) project funded by the University of Liège. The research on which this study is largely based was carried out in May 2003 thanks to a fellowship granted by the Scaliger Institute at the University of Leiden. The preliminary results were presented in a lecture read there on November 27, 2003. The study is published in two parts, this one being the first. The second part, dealing with the history of the text and its copies after al-Maqrīzī’s demise will appear in *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*. I am grateful to Sami Massoud, the editor of this volume, and Antonella Gheretti for their thorough reading of a draft of this essay. Thanks to their comments, I was able to revise some of my assertions. It goes without saying that I am solely responsible for any mistakes that may still be identified by the reader.

2 Little, *An introduction* 1.

in which al-Maqrīzī was born (that is, 760/1359).³ The work is only preserved in a handful of manuscripts. Although these were known to Orientalists from the mid-nineteenth century, it is fair to say they attracted little attention.

In 1837, the Frenchman Étienne Quatremère (1782–1857) was the first to reveal the presence of a holograph volume of *al-Muqaffā* in the holdings of the National Library in Paris (MS Ar. 2144).⁴ This revelation allowed the young Dutchman, Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy (1820–83) to identify three additional holograph⁵ volumes in the Leiden University collections (MSS Or. 1366a, 1366c, 3075), a discovery he shared with the scholarly community in 1847.⁶ Ten years later, the Italian Michele Amari, who worked at the National Library in Paris between 1843 and 1848 while in exile there, published a selection of biographies of Sicilians, which he found discussed in *al-Muqaffā*.⁷ Strangely, the existence of the text went unnoticed for more than a century, until the Tunisian scholar Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī (1929–2015) published a selection of biographies from the Fāṭimid period (1987).⁸ This publication revived interest in *al-Muqaffā* and, in 1990, as part of an onomastic project, two Spanish scholars analyzed the list of biographies of Andalusians they could identify in this work.⁹ Meanwhile, al-Yaʿlāwī worked on the *editio princeps* of the four above-mentioned holograph volumes and one apograph volume¹⁰ that had surfaced in Istanbul (MS Pertev Paşa 496).¹¹ When he visited Leiden, al-Yaʿlāwī was informed that an additional, so far unknown, holograph volume had been sold by a famous London auction house in 1978 and purchased by the curator of Oriental manuscripts at the University of Leiden, Jan Just Witkam. Unfortunately, because of the poor state of its conservation, the manuscript (MS Or. 14533) remained

3 Al-Maqrīzī dedicated another biographical dictionary to his contemporaries (but not necessarily Egyptians), specifically, those who died or were born after 760/1359. The work is entitled *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda fi tarājim al-aʿyān al-mufīda*.

4 Quatremère, *Histoire* i, xj.

5 A holograph volume is a volume that is wholly in the author's handwriting. See Gacek, *A vademecum* 14–5.

6 Dozy, *Découverte* 14 (where he explains that in order to confirm his hypothesis he sent a facsimile of a few lines from one of the three Leiden manuscripts to the French Orientalist Charles Defrémery (1822–83) who, in return, validated that it was al-Maqrīzī's handwriting).

7 Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula* 661–9. The biographies were later translated into Italian: Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula, versione italiana* ii, 572–87.

8 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā l-kabīr: Tarājim maghribiyya wa-mashriqiyya*.

9 Fierro and Lucini, *Biografías de Andalusies*.

10 An apograph is a copy made by a copyist on the basis of the holograph.

11 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* (1991 ed.). It was soon followed by the publication of Ibn Taymiyya's biography in *al-Muqaffā* by another editor: al-Maqrīzī, *Tarjamat shaykh al-islām Ibn Taymiyya*.

unusable for several years.¹² It soon became clear that the material in this new volume was, for the most part, already covered by the Istanbul apograph. Yet, in 2006, al-Yaʿlāwī published an updated and corrected edition, one that included the restored and accessible holograph volume purchased by Leiden in 1978.¹³

With the exception of the specialists of the Fāṭimid period, who appreciate its value,¹⁴ and notwithstanding the fact that *al-Muqaffā* has been available in a printed edition for almost thirty years, it is rarely quoted in the modern literature. In fact, until I pointed out its existence, no one noticed that it contains a detailed biography of the great letrist¹⁵ al-Būnī (d. after 622/1225), on whose life we have only a limited number of sources, and these provide few details.¹⁶ My contribution here aims to bring *al-Muqaffā* into the limelight by providing a holistic analysis of its history in the broadest sense, i.e., from its inception up to its distribution, and in particular, al-Maqrīzī's intention in composing such a biographical dictionary and its place in the schedule of his work.¹⁷ These preserved manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā* (Leiden, MSS Or. 1366a, 1366c, 3075, 14533; Paris, MS Ar. 2144; Istanbul, MS Pertev Paşa 496) are key to such an analysis and their story provides us with a perfect illustration of the interconnection of the work of scholars across time and space.¹⁸

2 The Remnants of a Biographical Dictionary

According to Ibn Taghrī Birdī (d. 874/1470), al-Maqrīzī disclosed to him: “If this *History* were to be completed on the basis of [the material] that I have selected,

12 For the restoration, see Keus and Clements, *The Maqrīzī* in a better state.

13 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* (2006 ed.). Since then two new editions have been published: one in Beirut in 2010 under the title *Tārīkh al-Maqrīzī l-kabīr al-musammā l-Muqaffā l-kabīr* (in fact, this is an exact reproduction of the 1991 edition published by al-Yaʿlāwī); and a second one in Hyderabad (2000–10), by a group of scholars. I became aware of the existence of the latter thanks to the catalogue of the printing press (information provided by Tariq Sabra whom I thank), but I was unable to see it or even find a copy in online catalogs of libraries around the world (it may be that this edition never appeared on the market). Thus, it is impossible for me to say if the editors simply reproduced al-Yaʿlāwī's 1991 edition or if they prepared a new edition based on the same manuscripts.

14 See Walker, *Exploring an Islamic empire* 165 (“its importance for the Fatimid history is considerable when and where the biographies in it cover appropriate figures”).

15 I.e., a specialist in the science of letters.

16 See Gardiner, *Forbidden knowledge* 86, n. 14.

17 This study builds on and revises three former studies: Zaydān, *Manhaj al-Maqrīzī*; Witkam, *Les Autographes*; Witkam, *Reflections*.

18 Their story is the subject of the second part of this chapter.

it would exceed eighty volumes.”¹⁹ This testimony is singularly significant, not least because Ibn Taghrī Birdī belonged to the small circle of younger scholars who frequented al-Maqrīzī at the very end of his life.²⁰ A clear expression of dissatisfaction also emanates from this statement: contrary to his intentions, the work remained unfinished, even though, apparently, he had collected enough material. Al-Biqā’ī (d. 885/1480), a member of the same circle of junior scholars who attended al-Maqrīzī’s house when he was in his late seventies,²¹ transmitted a somewhat different account regarding the number of projected volumes: “If he were in a suitable state [to complete it], it would not have been fewer than one hundred large volumes.”²² Whatever the case may be, the issue here is not how many volumes *al-Muqaffā* would have been composed of, if al-Maqrīzī had brought it to completion according to his wish and the material he had collected, rather it is how many volumes it was at the time of al-Maqrīzī’s death. This is the work that was part of his output and, as such, became available to other scholars after his demise. Here again, the testimonies of his contemporaries prove essential. According to al-Biqā’ī, it consisted of sixteen volumes²³ and this number is confirmed by another young scholar who studied with al-Maqrīzī in his late years, the Meccan historian Ibn Fahd (d. 885/1480).²⁴ For al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497), who could not consult *al-Muqaffā* before at least the 850s/1450s, it consisted of at least fifteen volumes.²⁵ His

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- 19 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* i, 419 (dhakara li raḥimahu llāh: qāla: law kamula hādihā l-tārīkh ‘alā mā akhtāruhu la-jāwaza l-thamānīn mujallad). Al-Sakhāwī repeated the statement, borrowing it from Ibn Taghrī Birdī, in a nonverbatim quote in which he opted for the indirect discourse: “He said, more or less in these terms, that if he had attended to it, it would have come to eighty [volumes]” (qāla innahu law tawajjaha lahu la-jā’a fi thamānīn aw kamā qāla). Al-Sakhāwī, *al-I’lān* 266 = trans. 478.
- 20 Ibn Taghrī Birdī appears in a certificate of audition for the reading of a text in which al-Maqrīzī served as the master (*musnī*); the session took place at his house three weeks before his death. See Bauden, *al-Maqrīzī’s collection*, chapter 1.
- 21 Al-Biqā’ī attended a session in which a text was read aloud to al-Maqrīzī in his house in 841/1438. See *ibid.*
- 22 Al-Biqā’ī, *Unwān al-zamān* i, 110 (qāla: wa-mā yaqṣur in [not *an* as in the edition] yaḥmil [in the sense ‘to be ready for’ attested by Steingass] ‘an mi’at mujallad kibār).
- 23 *Ibid.*
- 24 Ibn Fahd, *Mu’jam* 66. Ibn Fahd took part in reading sessions of al-Maqrīzī’s biography of the Prophet (*Imtā’ al-asmā’*) in the author’s presence in 834/1431 and 839/1436, both times in Mecca; he also attended a session for another text read aloud to al-Maqrīzī in the latter’s house in Cairo in 838/1434. See Bauden, *al-Maqrīzī’s collection*, chapters 1 and 3.
- 25 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-I’lān* 266 = trans. 468 (fi khamsa ‘ashar mujallad fa-akthar, “in fifteen volumes and even more”). I have adapted Rosenthal’s translation slightly, for the sake of accuracy. Al-Sakhāwī was born in 830/1427; thus, he was only fifteen years old when al-Maqrīzī passed away and too young to have been granted access to his manuscripts. Furthermore, thanks to his note of consultation, we know that he only had access to

imprecision, in comparison with the statements of al-Biqā'ī and Ibn Fahd, may be due to the physical state of the work at al-Maqrīzī's death and the time that had elapsed until al-Sakhāwī was authorized to have access to it.

To be precise, another contemporary witness who belonged to that circle of juniorscholars regularly visiting the master at home, al-Khayḍarī (d. 894/1489),²⁶ provides us with a detail regarding the material state of these volumes. In Sha'bān 844/late December 1440–January 1441, a year before al-Maqrīzī's death, he perused and took advantage of the volumes of *al-Muqaffā*, as his reading notes (i.e., notes where he stated that he consulted al-Maqrīzī's manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā*) attest,²⁷ and he stresses, in two cases,²⁸ that he consulted several bunches of unbound quires (*rizam*), which were still identifiable as volumes, given that his notes of consultation are repeated in different manuscripts (Or. 14533, Ar. 2144). We have every reason to believe that this may have been the case for the remainder of *al-Muqaffā*, as it was still a work in progress when al-Maqrīzī died. Nevertheless, after al-Maqrīzī's death, the volumes were eventually bound. Some of the ones that have been preserved show a leaf where the design of the leather envelope flap left an impression (see fig. 3.1).²⁹ The mark corresponds to a design composed of what must have been an eight-pointed star in a circle placed in the middle of the flap with the upper and lower spaces filled with a geometric design. The decoration was certainly blind (i.e., without gold) and gilt tooled on leather. The color of the leather transferred onto the paper of the leaf where the flap was placed when the binding was closed. The eight-pointed star was a popular design in the Mamlūk period. It might indicate that the volumes were in fact bound in the second part of the ninth/fifteenth century.³⁰ At that time, before the binding took place, the volumes might have been reorganized into fewer volumes, a process facilitated by collecting the volumes into bunches of unbound quires. An indication that such a reorganization indeed took place can be found in another testimony

al-Maqrīzī's holograph manuscript of *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda* in 855/1451, when he was twenty-four years old. This date may also correspond to the time he managed to consult al-Maqrīzī's other manuscripts. For more details, see part 2 of this essay.

26 On him, see part 2 of this essay.

27 For his marks of consultation, see part 2 of this essay.

28 Or. 14533, fol. 170b and Ar. 2144, fol. 41b.

29 The transfer was caused by moisture. The same design appears in MSS Or. 1366c (fol. 31b) and Or. 14533 (fol. 53b). Both volumes are now in Leiden; they reached the repository at different periods, through two different itineraries. For these itineraries, see part 2 of this essay.

30 Ohta, *Covering the book* 112–4 (flaps), 141–2 (star pattern) and 120 (fig. 4.17); Weisweiler, *Der islamische Bucheinband* 27–30 (flaps) and 57–8 (star as a design for flaps); Scheper, *The technique*.

provided by a scholar who was granted access to *al-Muqaffā* by its owner at the time. This scholar, al-Dā'ūdī (d. 945/1539),³¹ wanted to peruse *al-Muqaffā* in order to extract material for his biographical dictionary of exegetes (*Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*),³² a work that he made a fair copy of in 941/1534–5. At the end of the text, he mentions the sources on which he relied, among which was al-Maqrīzī's biographical dictionary, *al-Muqaffā*. He says that it consisted of thirteen large volumes in the author's hand.³³ Thus, the number of volumes had already decreased from sixteen to thirteen. It is difficult to say if this reduction corresponded to a loss of text: al-Dā'ūdī quotes *al-Muqaffā* for biographies covering the letters *alif*, *ʿayn*, and *mīm* only.³⁴ If such a loss occurred, it must have taken place between the third quarter of the ninth/fifteenth century and the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century because al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), who was active as a scholar from the 860s/1450s–60s, quoted *al-Muqaffā* for biographies starting with the letters *alif*, *sīn*, *ṣād*, *ʿayn*, *mīm*, *nūn*, and *hāʾ*, meaning that he probably accessed almost the whole text, if not all of it.³⁵

In the mid-tenth/sixteenth century, the volumes progressively lost their bindings and another reorganization of the quires took place between one volume and the other. MS Or. 1366a is evidence of this process. Fol. 31a bears the mark left by the envelope flap of the original binding as well as two ownership notes, respectively datable to the end of the ninth/fifteenth century and the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century, and a note of consultation (specifically, by al-Dā'ūdī) datable to the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century. Such notes are usually added at the beginning of the manuscript, ideally on the title page, or, if that is missing, on the first leaf, as in the case here. The envelope flap impression and these notes confirm that the volume initially started with what is now fol. 31a. The thirty leaves that precede it thus come from other parts of *al-Muqaffā* as well as from another of his works, as confirmed by their contents. The biographies found on fols. 6a–30b start with the letters *alif* (fols. 6a–16b: Ibrāhīms and Aḥmads), *kāf* (fols. 17a–18b), *lām* (fols. 19a–20b: Lu'lū's), and *mīm* (fols. 21a–30b: Mājids, Mālik, Muqbil, Malika), while the remainder of the volume, which consists of 288 folios, only contains Muḥammads. On the other hand, fols. 1a–4b correspond to a treatise of traditions collected by

31 On him and his marks of consultation, see part 2 of this essay.

32 Contrary to what the title might suggest, the dictionary is organized alphabetically, not according to generations (*ṭabaqāt*).

33 Al-Dā'ūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn* ii, 386 (wa-qad tāla'tu 'alā hādhā l-kitāb ... wa-min al-Muqaffā lil-Maqrīzī bi-khaṭṭihi thalātha 'ashar mujallad kibār).

34 Note that if the remaining volumes still covered the whole alphabet, al-Dā'ūdī would have quoted biographies starting with other than these three letters.

35 On him and his use of *al-Muqaffā*, see part 2 of this essay.

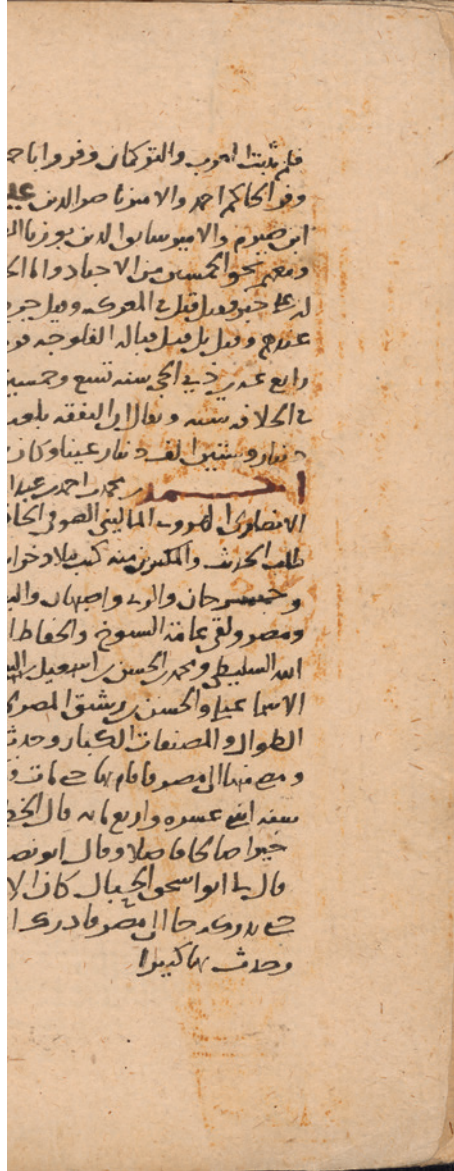


FIGURE 3.1 Impression left by the leather envelope flap (left: MS Or. 1366c, fol. 31b; right: MS Or. 14533, fol. 53b)

a certain Ibn Quṭrāl (d. 710/1310) and copied by al-Maqrīzī, who had a license of transmission for this text.³⁶ This treatise was originally the second text in al-Maqrīzī's collection of opuscles, also preserved in Leiden (MS Or. 560), as corroborated by a list of contents written on the first leaf at the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century by its owner at that time. We can deduce, from the fact that this opuscle is now found at the opening of MS Or. 1366a together with leaves (fols. 6a–30b) stemming from other volumes of *al-Muqaffā*, that, first, the volumes of *al-Muqaffā* lost their bindings and were reorganized; second, that the person who owned the collection of opuscles also possessed the volumes of *al-Muqaffā*. Moreover, there is evidence that that owner also possessed the volumes of al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*,³⁷ we know this because parts of *al-Muqaffā* are also found in the preserved section of the holograph of *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* (Gotha, MS Or. A1771) and vice versa. In the latter, we find, at the end of the manuscript, biographies starting with *ʿayn*; these are unrelated to the *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*, which was written about biographies of al-Maqrīzī's contemporaries who died after the beginning of the decade in which he was born, i.e., 760/1359.³⁸ By contrast, in some manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā*, we can now find certain biographies that should be in *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*, because the biographees died well after the chronological limit set by al-Maqrīzī for *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*. This is the case for several biographies starting with the letter *khāʾ* at the end of MS Or. 14533 (fols. 548a–550b). The last of these (fols. 549a–550b) regards a contemporary Indian ruler who was still living in 839/1434 and who never visited Egypt, a *sine qua non* condition to appear in *al-Muqaffā*.³⁹ This biography, and the others that precede it, can indeed be found in the only copy of *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* that was presumably made from the autograph and is supposedly complete.⁴⁰ Given that

36 See Bauden, *al-Maqrīzī's collection*, chapter 5, no. 23.

37 On that work, see al-Jalīlī's introduction in the first volume of al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*.

38 These thirty biographies were identified by the editor of *al-Muqaffā* as being part of it and were added to the 1991 edition, 8:697–756, and to the 2006 edition, 4:361–93.

39 See below, section 4.

40 The manuscript is in two volumes, each copied by a different scribe, two months apart, in 878/1474. For the copyists' colophon, see al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* i, 54 and 56. This copy was owned by the Jalīlī family in Mosul. Its present whereabouts are unknown. It is difficult to ascertain if the text as represented by the holograph was still complete when the copy was made. At least it reproduces the text as it stood at the time of this copy. The biography of this Indian ruler can be found in al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* ii, 57–61 (no. 444). Even though it should not be found in *al-Muqaffā*, al-Yaʿlāwī included it in his revised edition of 2006. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* (2006 ed.) iii, 432–4 (no. 1373/2), particularly 434 (n. 1): *tanqaṭīʿ al-tarjama hunā wa-tatawāṣal fī Durar al-ʿuqūd bi-īḍāfa*

TABLE 3.1 List of holograph volumes of *al-Muqaffā*

City	Library	Shelf mark	No. of leaves
Leiden	Universiteitsbibliotheek	Or. 1366a	288
Leiden	Universiteitsbibliotheek	Or. 1366c	252
Leiden	Universiteitsbibliotheek	Or. 3075	227
Leiden	Universiteitsbibliotheek	Or. 14533	550
Paris	Bibliothèque nationale de France	Ar. 2144	260

that copy of *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* was completed in 878/1474, we can infer that the material from the two texts was mixed after that date.⁴¹

Of the original sixteen unbound volumes of the holograph, only a portion has been preserved in five manuscripts (see table 3.1), which total 1,577 leaves.⁴²

yasīra wa-tarjamatuhu laysat min sharḥ *al-Muqaffā* in lam tudhkar lahu šila bi-Miṣr fa-lā tadrī sabab idrājihā fī makhṭūṭa mulḥaqa bi-l-*Muqaffā*. It is important to stress that the last leaf (fol. 550b), where the biography of the Indian ruler stops, has a catchword in a different handwriting than al-Maqrīzī's that gives the name of the following biography (Khalaf b. Ḥasan). This is precisely the biography that follows in *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* ii, 61–2 (no. 445), a further proof that material from these two works was mixed up at a later date.

- 41 Some volumes of *al-Muqaffā* still contain indications penned by later owners giving the number of the volume at that time: MS Or. 14533 (Leiden), fol. 266a:

الجزء الثاني من تاريخ المقرئ بخطه:

MS Ar. 2144 (Paris), fol. 226b:

آخر الجزء السادس.

However, it is impossible to know when these descriptive notes were added to the manuscripts and, consequently, to date the said division in volumes.

- 42 In this respect, note three additional manuscripts that are related, in one way or another, to *al-Muqaffā*:

- MS Or. 935 (Cambridge) was copied in the nineteenth century by M.J. de Goeje and presented to Cambridge University Library by William Wright's widow. It consists of 12 leaves, copied on one side only (recto); it corresponds to al-Mubarrad's biography (*al-Muqaffā*, 1991 ed., vii, 466–81; 2006 ed., vii, 250–8, no. 3564). See Browne, *Supplementary hand-list* 204, no. 1238. Wright planned to use this biography for the introduction to his edition of al-Mubarrad's *al-Kāmil* (Leipzig, 1864–92), an introduction that he never completed. See al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil* ii, 111 (de Goeje, the editor of that volume, explains that he found his own copy of that biography from *al-Muqaffā* among Wright's papers).
- MS Or. 14534 (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek), composed of a bifolio consisting of the title page of *al-Ṭāli' al-sa'īd al-jāmi' li-asmā' al-fuḍalā' wa-l-ruwāt bi-a'lā l-Ṣa'īd* by al-Udḥwī (d. 748/1347), was found in MS Or. 14533. On fol. 1a, the author's biography

The issue at hand is to understand what number of the sixteen original volumes these five manuscripts contain, so that we might conclude the total size of the work that al-Maqrīzī composed and thereby determine what has been lost. In 1994, Jan Just Witkam approached this issue by comparing the number of biographies starting with one of the letters covered in those five volumes with those appearing in a biographical dictionary written by al-Maqrīzī's contemporary, Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852/1449), in his *al-Durar al-kāmina*.⁴³ The result can only be a rough calculation, as Witkam himself recognized;⁴⁴ that is, in the said biographical dictionary these biographies would consist of 1,303 pages from a total of 2,095, i.e., 62 percent, or 3,325 biographies from a total of 5,204, i.e., 64 percent. On that basis, Witkam concluded that the five volumes would represent 9.6 volumes of the sixteen originals, each original volume being composed of 164.5 leaves (thus sixteen volumes = 2,632 leaves).⁴⁵ Another method to tackle this issue involves a consideration of the actual size of the five volumes. Even though these went through some reorganization, as we have just seen, the average number of leaves per volume is 257.⁴⁶ If we adopt that average for each of the original volumes, it gives us $16 \times 257 = 4,112$ leaves. In such

copied from *al-Muqaffā* appears; this tallies with the entry found in the printed version (1991 ed., iii, 36, no. 1072; 2006 ed., iii, 23, no. 1072).

- According to de Slane, *Catalogue* 327, MS Ar. 1790 (Ibn Taghrī Birdī's holograph copy of *al-Kawākib al-bāhira*, an abridgement of his *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*) contains a biography in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting (fol. 3) that might come from one of *al-Muqaffā*'s holograph volumes (at present, it is mutilated with two large portions of paper missing). First, the handwriting is not al-Maqrīzī's. Second, it is not a biography: the first line corresponds to a personal name, but the text that follows relates to the value of letters in a given name and the calculation that can be made thereof.
- 43 Witkam does not say which edition he used for the comparison, but we can assume that it was the 1966–7 Cairene edition in five volumes published by Muḥammad Sayyid Jād al-Ḥaqq, as this was the only one available at the time Witkam published his article.
- 44 The system adopted for the comparison is not completely accurate because Witkam thought all the biographies that start with a specific letter are preserved in the volumes of *al-Muqaffā*, while this is not the case. For instance, for the letter *mīm*, the biographees are mainly Muḥammads. On the other hand, Ibn Ḥajar's *al-Durar al-kāmina* is a biographical dictionary of men who died in the eighth/fourteenth century, while *al-Muqaffā* covers the whole Islamic period including some biographies of persons from the pre-Islamic period.
- 45 Witkam, *Les Autographes* 96.
- 46 In this calculation, the thirty leaves at the beginning of Or. 1366a and the three at the end of Or. 14533 identified as stemming from some of al-Maqrīzī's other works (*Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda* and collection of opuscles) were subtracted from the total. Moreover, MS Or. 14533, now composed of 550 leaves, cannot correspond to one volume, but more likely corresponds to two, as proven by the fact that a later owner indicated on fol. 266a that what was then the second volume (الجزء الثاني من تاريخ المقرئ بخطه) began. The total thus gives 1,543 leaves divided by six (the number of original volumes). Let us stress that

a case, the preserved portion (1,543 leaves) would represent 37 percent of the original sixteen volumes, versus the 62 percent calculated by Witkam.

The issue of the portion of text that has been lost can also be approached from the perspective of the number of biographies still extant. For this approach, we must consider the apograph that was based on the holograph and the two editions published by al-Yaʿlāwī. MS Pertev Paşa 496 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi) is composed of 448 leaves covering the beginning of *al-Muqaffā*, from *alif* to *khāʾ* inclusively.⁴⁷ The anonymous scribe did not date his copy but the manuscript can be dated to the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century; we know this because of the kind of paper he used.⁴⁸ We can easily confirm that he made his copy from the holograph because he clearly identified the autograph additions scribbled by al-Maqrīzī's colleague and friend, Ibn Ḥajar, who perused the text after al-Maqrīzī's death:⁴⁹ he wrote, in the margin, the expression *hādhihi l-tarjama li-Ibn Ḥajar* or the like. This apograph also indicates that the holograph volumes of *al-Muqaffā* had not yet been mixed with material from al-Maqrīzī's other works (his collection of opuscles and *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*), given that the few biographies identified at the end of MS Or. 14533 (fols. 548a–550b) as stemming from *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* are absent from this apograph. Nevertheless, we know from the quantity of the text covered by his copy that the copyist did not respect the original division into volumes.⁵⁰ We can also understand that he probably made a full copy of the sixteen volumes, because at the end of the last biography (fol. 448b), on the same line, he added the following inscription: *yatlū baʿdahu ḥarfū l-dāl* (the letter *dāl* follows after this [in the next volume]).⁵¹ This letter, as well as the following ones up to *ṭāʾ*, are now completely missing in the

257 leaves would tally with al-Dāʿudī's description quoted above in n. 32 (*thalātha ʿashar mujallad kibār*, "thirteen thick volumes").

47 For the history of this volume, see part 2 of this essay.

48 It is a laid Oriental paper with chain lines clustered in threes and parallel to the spine. According to Humbert, *Papiers non filigranés* 21 (type d), in the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the latest dated manuscript in which she identified this type is from 852/1448–9.

49 On these additions, see part 2 of this essay.

50 It corresponds to the biographies now contained in MS Or. 14533 (550 leaves), and the letter *khāʾ* that is now lost.

51 It is likely that the other volumes of this copy have not been identified because the copyist left the title page blank and it is a later owner who correctly identified the work. The other volumes of this copy might still have blank title pages, making their identification more complicated.

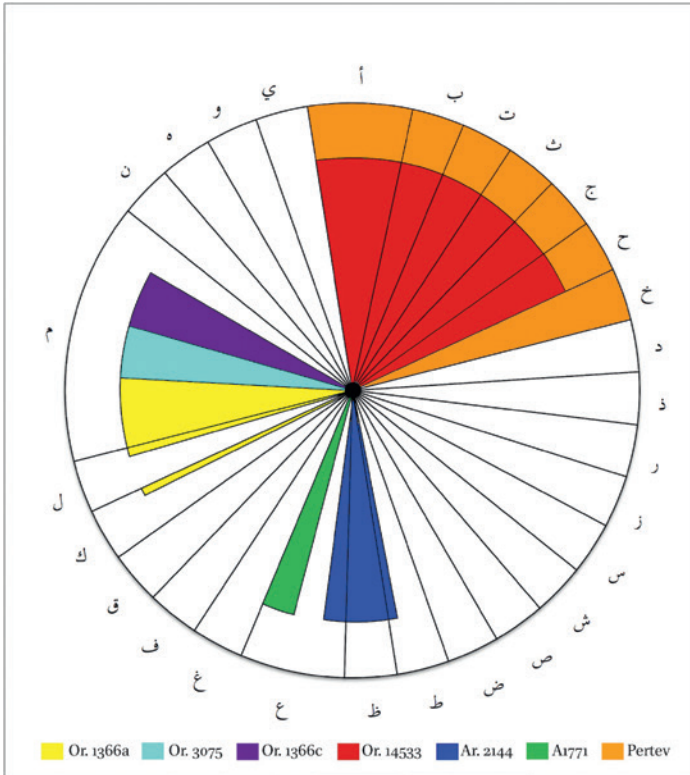


FIGURE 3.2 Diagram of the letters covered by each volume

holograph volumes.⁵² The preceding diagram (see fig. 3.2) helps us determine what part of the original text is still extant in the various manuscripts.⁵³

For the 2006 edition of *al-Muqaffā*, al-Ya'lawī was finally able to take MS Or. 14533 into consideration.⁵⁴ Since he had worked on the basis of the apograph

52 In addition to all the letters that follow *mīm*.

53 The inner circle represents al-Maqrīzī's holograph volumes of *al-Muqaffā* or of *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda* where some biographies from *al-Muqaffā* are now found, while the outer circle corresponds to the apograph. This diagram is not accurate in terms of the size attributed to each letter, as we ignore the quantity of biographies written by al-Maqrīzī for each of these letters. Nor is it accurate in terms of the number of biographies for each letter that has been preserved, as here, too, it is hard to know if something is missing. This is clearly exemplified by the apograph and the part of the holograph it is allegedly a copy of: a collation of both manuscripts shows that some 113 biographies were left out by the copyist.

54 Despite the fact that the manuscript was bought in 1978, al-Ya'lawī was unable to consult it when he started work on his first edition of the text because the manuscript needed to be restored and it remained inaccessible for many years. See also n. 12 above.

(MS Pertev 496) for the 1991 edition, he noticed that the newly acquired manuscript did contain some 113 additional biographies that had been overlooked by the copyist of the apograph. Al-Yaʿlāwī decided not to insert those biographies in the correct place in the text, rather they were placed at the end of each letter to which they pertain, as he probably wanted to keep the numbers of the biographies unchanged between the first and the second edition. The additional biographies are numbered according to the biography that precedes them, each receiving a serial number (e.g., 694/1, 694/2, etc.). Consequently, the new edition now contains the 3,635 numbers from the first edition, to which must be added the additional 113 biographies al-Yaʿlāwī found in MS Or. 14533 that are missing in the apograph, i.e., for a total of 3,748 biographies. From this total, we must subtract two empty entries (nos. 623 and 694), seven duplicates, and 178 entries in Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting;⁵⁵ this leaves a total of 3,561 extant entries that can be attributed to al-Maqrīzī.

Clearly, a significant number of biographies are missing, given the letters that are not covered in the preserved manuscripts. In some cases, al-Maqrīzī made cross references to past or forthcoming entries in *al-Muqaffā* and from these cross references, al-Yaʿlāwī was able to list eighty-eight biographies that are now absent in the manuscripts.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, al-Yaʿlāwī did not consider similar cross references that can be identified in al-Maqrīzī's other works.⁵⁷ The perusal of these works results in twenty biographies, of which only four can be found in the actual manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā*. In addition, al-Maqrīzī used to scribble indications to himself, to insert biographies he had taken notes about:⁵⁸ in two instances, some twenty-five biographies have been identified, of which twenty-one are missing in the preserved manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā*. Other scholars who exploited *al-Muqaffā* for their works also provide some indications about missing entries. Al-Suyūṭī and al-Dāʿūdī clearly indicated that *al-Muqaffā* was their source for, respectively, thirty and twenty-five biographies, of which two are redundant in their works. In the case of al-Suyūṭī, thirteen entries that we should find in *al-Muqaffā* are missing, while al-Dāʿūdī's work reveals that five biographies are missing. As a result, the total number of

55 Al-Yaʿlāwī failed to notice any difference in the handwriting and thus included all these biographies as if they were composed by al-Maqrīzī. It must also be stressed that al-Yaʿlāwī overlooked eight biographies in Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting. So the total number of biographies we can attribute to Ibn Ḥajar is 186. For the list of those entries in Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting, see part 2 of this essay, table 1.

56 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* (1991) viii, 669–75; (2006) viii, 297–301.

57 See appendix 2.

58 See appendix 1. Those biographies are preceded by one of these expressions: yuktab fi *l-Tāriḫ al-kabīr* in shā' llāh; yuktab in shā'a llāh fi *l-Tāriḫ al-kabīr* 'inda taḥrīrihi.

entries that have been preserved, or which we know with certainty were part of *al-Muqaffā*, is 3,704.⁵⁹

Now, if we rely on this figure, it is easier to estimate the size of *al-Muqaffā* that al-Maqrīzī managed to compose before his death: according to Witkam's estimation, the preserved holograph manuscripts represent 64 percent of the 16 original volumes, with an average of 5,814 biographies; according to my estimation of 37 percent of the total, the number of entries would reach 10,011. Had al-Maqrīzī completed *al-Muqaffā* in 80 volumes, as he had planned to do, the work would have included between 29,000 and 50,000 biographies. Whatever the method of calculation, this would have made of *al-Muqaffā* the largest biographical dictionary ever compiled, exceeding even al-Dhahabī's (d. 748/1348) *Tārīkh al-islām* (28,927 entries), and well ahead of the works of his predecessors, namely, Ibn 'Asākir's (d. 571/1176) *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq* (10,226 entries), al-Dhahabī's *Sīyar a'lām al-nubalā'* (5,925), or even al-Ṣafadī's (d. 764/1363) *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt* (14,786). But was it a realistic project? In terms of number of biographies, it was certainly realistic: al-Maqrīzī's contemporary, Ibn Ḥajar, gathered 5,204 entries in *al-Durar al-kāmina*, and al-Sakhāwī collected 11,748 entries in *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, even though they only focused on the biographies of people who were born or died in the century during which they themselves were born. Al-Maqrīzī could, of course, rely on a great variety of sources that he exploited for his other major works; these include al-Ṣafadī's *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, as his notebook housed in Liège demonstrates.⁶⁰ It also seems that he may have relied on another major biographical dictionary that is no longer extant, a work that might have provided him with the necessary impetus to undertake such a huge project. The issue of the title he chose for his work offers some evidence of this.

3 A Title (and the Impetus?) for a Book

The choice of a title for a book in progress is an issue that al-Maqrīzī usually tackled when the work was nearing completion and was almost ready for the making of a fair copy. When he reached that stage, he knew that he would have to think of the introduction to the work, where he usually indicated the title he had chosen. For instance, in a letter he wrote to al-Qalqashandī between

59 The calculation follows: 3,561 + 88 (cross references in *al-Muqaffā*) + 16 (cross references by al-Maqrīzī in his other works: 20-4) + 21 (entries to be added in *al-Muqaffā*: 25-4) + 13 (al-Suyūṭī: 30-17) + 5 (al-Dā'ūdī: 25-18-2).

60 See Bauden, *Maqriziana* I 39-46; Bauden, *Maqriziana* XI.

816/1413 and 821/1418, he mentioned that he was poised to finish his work on the history of Cairo and that he then hoped to prepare the fair copy (*tabyīd*) of another book he had been working on for years.⁶¹ While he provides the full title of the first book (*al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*)—proof that the said work was almost ready—he only refers to the second with a short description (*mā katabtuhu min akhbār kuttāb al-sirr*).⁶² Notwithstanding his ambitious research agenda, which included several works in the pipeline, he still felt the need to make cross references to some of his forthcoming works. At the end of his life, when he started to work on his last major opus (*al-Khabar 'an al-bashar*),⁶³ he first referred to it with a title (*al-Mabda'*) that was only later, i.e., when he prepared the fair copy, replaced with the one it is now known by.⁶⁴ In the case of *al-Muqaffā*, an unfinished work, we have not found a title or an introduction to it in the preserved holograph manuscripts. However, in his other books, al-Maqrīzī referred to it by a title on numerous occasions, as appendix 2 demonstrates: we find some nineteen occurrences in five books, each of which were composed at different periods of al-Maqrīzī's life as a writer. The title to which he refers varies slightly: *al-Tāriḫ al-kabīr al-muqaffā* (12 times); *al-Tāriḫ al-kabīr al-muqaffā li-Miṣr* (2 times); *Tāriḫ Miṣr al-kabīr al-muqaffā* (2 times); *al-Tāriḫ al-kabīr li-Miṣr* (1 time); *Tāriḫ Miṣr al-muqaffā* (1 time); *Tāriḫ Miṣr al-kabīr* (1 time). In two of his notebooks (see appendix 1), he also noted some biographies that he wanted to add to *al-Muqaffā*, which he referred to as *al-Tāriḫ al-kabīr* (2) or *al-Tāriḫ* (1). The number of occurrences for each version of the title, indicated between parentheses, shows that al-Maqrīzī was leaning toward a definitive title: *al-Tāriḫ al-kabīr al-muqaffā li-Miṣr*, in its long version, or *al-Tāriḫ al-kabīr al-muqaffā*, in its shortened version (in total, it appears this way fourteen out of nineteen times). The other renderings only represent a variation of these two versions. Moreover, whenever some scholars who frequented al-Maqrīzī in his old age alluded to this

61 See Bauden, Maqriziana XIII 222.

62 There is evidence that al-Maqrīzī made a fair copy of the second work later, as he refers to it with its full title in the *Khiṭaṭ: Khulāṣat al-tibr fī akhbār kuttāb al-sirr*. See Bauden, Maqriziana XIII 216–7. In this respect, note that in the second volume of the first version of the *Khiṭaṭ*, al-Maqrīzī wrote down the titles of the first two books of his historical trilogy (*ʿIqd jawāhir al-asfāt fī akhbār madīnat al-Fuṣṭāṭ* and *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā' bi-akhbār al-khulafā'*) in the corner of the title page (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, MS Hazine 1472, fol. 1a). This is an indication that, after he had written this first version of the *Khiṭaṭ*, he decided on their titles, in order to correctly refer to them in the said text.

63 For this work, see Bauden, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī.

64 See Bauden, Maqriziana XIV.

work, they did so by the following title: *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr al-muqaffā*.⁶⁵ This further supports the idea that this was the title that al-Maqrīzī chose, referred to in his works, used when he spoke of his biographical dictionary, and probably intended to maintain if he had completed it according to his plan.⁶⁶

Next, we address the meaning of this title. The first word, *tārīkh*, is easy to interpret in light of earlier examples of similar biographical dictionaries that focus on local history, like al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's (d. 463/1071) *Tārīkh Baghdād* or Ibn 'Asākir's (d. 571/1176) *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*,⁶⁷ and document the lives of important scholars who lived in those cities. The last word is, however, more problematic. In a recent contribution, Witkam proposed to translate *al-muqaffā* as "in continuation" based on the meaning of *qaffā*, "to cause or bid to follow" and "to make verses to rhyme." In its first meaning, the verb appears on four occasions in three Quranic verses (2:87, 5:46, 57:27). It clearly derives from *qafan* (back, occiput) and, in this respect, can be correlated with *dhayl* (tail, bottom), a word that is used by authors to describe books that supplement their own works or that of someone else.⁶⁸ *Al-Muqaffā* must be interpreted in the same way: it is 'The great history in continuation,' as Witkam proposed to translate it, or 'The great complementary history.'

When authors entitled their books, they paid great attention to select a title that was not already applied to another book. They were sensitive about the issue of repetition. A good example of this can be seen in Ibn Ḥajar's title for his commentary on al-Bukhārī's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, that is, *Fatḥ al-bārī fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. His disciple, al-Sakhāwī, stressed that two other authors had selected similar, if not identical, titles for their commentaries of the same work (respectively *Manḥ al-bārī* and *Fatḥ al-bārī*) well before Ibn Ḥajar. Ibn Ḥajar responded that he had not consulted those works, highlighting that he was not aware of these titles, and thus clearing himself of responsibility for the

65 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manḥal al-ṣāfi* i, 418–9; Ibn Fahd, *Muʿjam* 66; al-Biqāʿī, *Unwān al-zamān* i, 110.

66 Building on the heterogeneity of the titles for *al-Muqaffā*, Witkam, Reflections 99–100, claims that the work "never had a real title." He also condemns (ibid. 97) the modern use of *al-Muqaffā* alone to refer to the book (which he calls a "phantom title"); he states that "this is syntactically impossible." To this, we can reply that two authors like al-Suyūṭī and al-Dāʿūdī quoted al-Maqrīzī's biographical dictionary as *al-Muqaffā* (see part 2 of this essay).

67 See Humphreys, *Tārīkh* x, 278.

68 For instance, al-Birzālī's *al-Muqtafi* is presented by the author as a supplement to Abū Shāma's *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn*. See al-Birzālī, *al-Muqtafi* i, 147; Roiland and Sublet, *Le temps d'une vie* 223.

similarities.⁶⁹ In the case of al-Maqrīzī, we know that he was not the first to use the word *al-muqaffā* in parallel with *al-tārīkh*. He was indeed preceded by at least two historians.

Al-Sakhāwī noted that the first one, Ibn Abī l-Damm (d. 642/1244), authored a biographical dictionary organized like the biography of the Prophet, according to the occupation of the biographees (caliphs, jurists, theologians, traditionists, etc.), then in alphabetical order, starting with the Muḥammads, out of respect for the Prophet, then the others in the sequence described. According to al-Sakhāwī, the work was entitled *al-Tārīkh al-muqaffā* or *al-muqtafī*.⁷⁰

The second author is Quṭb al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Karīm b. ‘Abd al-Nūr al-Ḥalabī (d. 735/1335), who was credited by his contemporaries and later historians with a history of Egypt described as rich in content (*ḥāfil*).⁷¹ This history was, in fact, a biographical dictionary alphabetically organized, but starting with Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh out of respect for the Prophet, the first biographee being Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Shāfi‘ī.⁷² While most authors who mention Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī’s biographical dictionary just state that it was several volumes (*‘iddat mujalladāt*), of which al-Ḥalabī only had time to make a fair copy of the beginning, i.e., the Muḥammads (which took four volumes), Ibn Ḥajar goes further, saying that the draft consisted of twenty volumes.⁷³ After the author’s death, his son, Taqī l-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 773/1371), continued his father’s work by adding several biographies, particularly in the first four

69 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir wa-l-durar* ii, 675. As the editor of the text noted, Ibn Ḥajar consulted, relied on, and quoted the second commentary with the same title as his own work (ibid. note 1).

70 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-I‘lān* 290 (*al-muqaffā*) and 298 (*al-muqtafī*) = trans., 492 (*al-muqtafā*) and 499 (*al-muqtafā*). Rosenthal says that *al-muqaffā* or *al-muqtafā* is a mistake for *al-Muẓaffarī*, but this is the result of confusion with Ibn Abī l-Damm’s other history, *al-Tārīkh al-Muẓaffarī*, which is a summary and was so entitled because the author dedicated it to the ruler of Hama, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar (r. 626–42/1229–44). While *al-Tārīkh al-muqaffā/al-muqtafī* is considered lost, *al-Tārīkh al-Muẓaffarī* has been preserved partially (the first volume contains the biographies of the Prophet and of the Umayyad caliphs). See Ibn Abī l-Damm, *al-Tārīkh al-Muẓaffarī* 13.

71 Al-Dhahabī, *al-Ibar* 101–2 (*tārīkh kabīr li-Miṣr*); al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām* liii, 387–9; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* xix, 80–1 (no. 79); Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya* i, 361 (no. 1710); Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāmina* ii, 393 (no. 2483); Ibn Ḥajar, *Raf‘ al-iṣr* 3; al-Suyūṭī, *Dhayl* 349–50; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* ix, 306.

72 Al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar* xvi, 43.

73 Ibn Ḥajar, *Raf‘ al-iṣr* 3. In his *al-Durar al-kāmina* ii, 393 (followed by al-Suyūṭī, *Dhayl* 350), he states that, on the contrary, if the author had completed his work it would have been in twenty volumes.

volumes that contained the Muḥammads.⁷⁴ No copy of this history seems to have survived, but a selection made by Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya (d. 843/1440) has been preserved in part, offering some glimpse of what the original must have looked like.⁷⁵ No specific title is provided for this unfinished biographical dictionary⁷⁶ but al-Maqrīzī, who devoted a few words to Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī in the obituaries of *al-Sulūk*, is the only author to state that Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī was the author of *Tārīkh Miṣr muqaffan*.⁷⁷ His title almost matches the title of al-Maqrīzī's historical dictionary, with the last word being used as a specification (*tamyīz*) rather than as an epithet.

The title is not the only parallel that can be drawn between these two works. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī's book is described as an alphabetically arranged biographical dictionary of Egyptians.⁷⁸ Al-Maqrīzī is probably the only one to give a specific title to Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī's book because he could not ignore its existence, given his research agenda and his publishing program. He himself was the author of a biographical dictionary with a similar scope, so how could he avoid relying on a twenty-volume work, albeit one that was not finished? Ibn Ḥajar and al-Sakhāwī confirm that he indeed used that source. The first pointed out, in his introduction to *Raf' al-iṣr*, that Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī's *Akhbār Miṣr* was one of the sources he consulted for the redaction of his book and we can confirm that he owned some holograph volumes of this source.⁷⁹ Even more importantly, Ibn Ḥajar stressed that he also took great advantage of it, through his friend's *Tārīkh*. The friend (*rafiq*) in question is none other than "the imam, the unique, the well-informed Taqī l-Dīn Abī Muḥammad Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Tamīmī," i.e., al-Maqrīzī.⁸⁰ Ibn Ḥajar's words confirm

74 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-I'ān* 265 (wa-li-waladihi l-Taqī Muḥammad 'alayhi fihi zawā'id kathīra) = trans. 478; Kātib Ḥalebī, *Kashf al-zunūn* i, col. 301 (wa-zāda waladuhu Taqī l-Dīn fi l-Muḥammadīn kathīran).

75 It has recently been published: Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya, *al-Muntaqā*.

76 Al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar* xvi, 43; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* xix, 81; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira* ix, 306, all speak of a *Tārīkh Miṣr* that Ibn Ḥajar, *Raf' al-iṣr* 3, calls *Akhbār Miṣr*.

77 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* ii, 388.

78 Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya* i, 361 (rattabahu 'alā l-ḥurūf); Kātib Ḥalebī, *Kashf al-zunūn* i, col. 301 (ruttiba 'alā l-asmā').

79 He quotes this source on several occasions. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Raf' al-iṣr* 69, 128, 139, 187, 324, 341, 345, 364, 370. On some occasions, he specifically refers to the fact that it was a holograph (qara'tu bi-khaṭṭ). Ibn Ḥajar lent the volumes he owned to al-Khaydarī. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'* ix, 119 (kutub amaddahu shaykhunā bi-hā ka-l-mawjūd min *Tārīkh Miṣr* lil-Quṭb al-Ḥalabī ...).

80 Ibn Ḥajar, *Raf' al-iṣr* 3. (i'tamadtu 'alā ... thumma 'alā *Akhbār Miṣr* li-shaykh shuyūkhinā l-ḥāfiẓ Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī wa-huwa fi naḥw 'ishrīn mujallada bayyaḍa minhu al-Muḥammadīn fi arba'a wa-stafadtu kathīran min dhālik min *Tārīkh* rafiqī l-imām al-awḥad al-muṭṭalī' Taqī l-Dīn Abī Muḥammad Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Tamīmī).

that al-Maqrīzī also profited from Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī's book for his own *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr al-muqaffā*.

Al-Sakhāwī knew Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī's biographical dictionary of Egyptians well, as he stated that he owned more than ten volumes of the holograph draft as well as four volumes of the fair copy containing the Muḥammads (including the author's son's additions).⁸¹ With those volumes in his library, he was able to compare the material with al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā*; the result of the collation led him to accuse al-Maqrīzī of appropriating the whole draft and summarizing its contents without once citing the source from which he took them.⁸² Though there is no reason to doubt that al-Sakhāwī was right in his accusation, as there is evidence that supports the charge,⁸³ he clearly overlooked the fact that al-Maqrīzī did cite Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī on several occasions in *al-Muqaffā*, though al-Maqrīzī did not indicate the specific book he borrowed from.⁸⁴

Al-Maqrīzī's notebook, preserved in Liège, is evidence that he indeed made good use of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī's work. This notebook enabled me to compare groups of biographies of Egyptians, which I had previously been unable to attribute to specific sources, with selections made by Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya from Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī's *Tārīkh Miṣr*. Among these selections, I have identified seven biographies in which the wording and the order in which the data appear tally, even though both texts reflect a summarized version of Quṭb

If Ibn Ḥajar owned Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī's holographs, it was after he had completed *Raf' al-iṣr*, because at that time he could only access it through al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā*.

81 See al-Sakhāwī, *al-I'lān* 265 = trans. 478. He confirms this in his *al-Dhayl* 62 (kamā qara'tuhu bi-khaṭṭihi [al-Quṭb al-Ḥalabī] fī *Tārīkh Miṣr*). In this passage, al-Sakhāwī underscores Ibn Ḥajar's reliance on al-Maqrīzī's *Tārīkh Miṣr* (i.e., *al-Muqaffā*), then notes that the latter was mistaken (see part 2 of this essay).

82 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir wa-l-durar* i, 394 (qultu: wa-kadhā 'amila fī *Tārīkh Miṣr* lil-Quṭb al-Ḥalabī; fa-innahu lam yubayyiḍ minhu ghayr al-Muḥammadīn wa-ba'ḍ al-hamza. Fa-akhadha l-musawwada bi-tamāmihā wa-lakkhāsha tarājimāhā wa-lam yansub lahu fimā ra'aytu wa-lā l-tarjama al-wāḥida). This passage is quoted in Bauden, *Maqriziana* ix 219, n. 167.

83 See Bauden, *Maqriziana* ix; Bauden, *al-Maqrīzī's collection*, chapter 3.

84 These quotations also prove that al-Maqrīzī had access to most of the work, the letters covered range from *alif* to *mīm*. We can speculate that he also selected biographies for letters after *mīm* but these were not preserved in *al-Muqaffā*.

See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* (see table in the footnote on next page).

al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī's work.⁸⁵ The comparison of all this material with the biographies that are now found in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā* shows, definitively, that al-Maqrīzī went well beyond the extracted data, and in most cases expanded on the content of each biography with additional material from other sources. Be that as it may, we can surmise that al-Maqrīzī laid his hands on several volumes of a draft, and may have been inspired by more than the title; perhaps more importantly, he was inspired to launch a new project: an alphabetically organized biographical dictionary of all Egyptians, Muslims or not, entitled 'The great history in continuation' or 'The great complementary history.' The question is, what book(s) was this biographical dictionary supposed to supplement?

4 The Scope and the Aim of the Biographical Dictionary

As noted, al-Maqrīzī never completed *al-Muqaffā* according to his plan, rather, he left several bunches of unbound quires at his death. It is hard to know if

1991 edition	2006 edition
i, 187 (no. 183)	i, 116
v, 63 (no. 1597)	v, 41–2
v, 94 (no. 1632)	v, 58
v, 106 (no. 1650)	v, 64
v, 114 (no. 1667)	v, 68
v, 117 (no. 1672)	v, 69
v, 147 (no. 1685)	v, 85
v, 157 (no. 1700)	v, 90
v, 162 (no. 1710)	v, 93
v, 182 (no. 1732)	v, 103
vi, 93 (no. 2526)	vi, 52
vi, 371 (no. 2857)	vi, 198
vii, 38 (no. 3108)	vii, 24
vii, 425 (no. 3508)	vii, 229
vii, 467 (no. 3564)	vii, 250

85 See Bauden, *Maqriziana* 1/2 112 (no. 3), 113 (no. 11), 115 (nos. 39, 40, 41), 129 (no. 5), 130 (no. 9). These biographies correspond to Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya, *al-Muntaqā*, respectively 209 (no. 61), 83 (no. 58), 29 (no. 3), 198 (no. 37), 32 (no. 6), 56 (no. 30), 101 (no. 77).

he composed any introduction for this work, which was still in progress, or if he abandoned the idea to do so once he realized that he would not be able to complete the work as planned. If he had written an introduction, he might have applied the eight principia (*al-ru'ūs al-thamāniya*) he had set for the introduction of his *Khīṭat*.⁸⁶ In the absence of such an introduction, it is difficult to understand the scope al-Maqrīzī had fixed for his biographical dictionary, or its aims, beyond the fact that it was logically connected to the scope of his other major works, i.e., the history of Egypt. In this respect, the best way to approach these twin issues is to gather as much information as possible from what al-Maqrīzī scattered in his other works, and to analyze the contents of *al-Muqaffā*, even in its unfinished form. It is also essential to consider the testimonies of al-Maqrīzī's contemporaries, those who knew of and perused *al-Muqaffā*. In what follows, we first deal with the issue of its scope, then tackle the question of the aim of the work.

Ibn Taghrī Birdī is the only contemporary of al-Maqrīzī who reported that the scope of *al-Muqaffā* was to gather the biographies of those of note who were born in or traveled to Egypt.⁸⁷ From this, we can infer that al-Maqrīzī had planned to compose a dictionary that would gather the biographies of Egyptians, this word being taken in its broadest sense, i.e., not only those born in Egypt, but also those who set foot on its soil for a period of time, regardless of how long. The prerequisite of birth obviously made sense, but used exclusively, would have left out all those who contributed to the history of Egypt, but were born in another region of the Islamic world (like Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, for instance). While this short description is definitely helpful, because it indicates how the work was perceived by one of al-Maqrīzī's students, it must be corroborated by what al-Maqrīzī himself said about the work and what the material he gathered in this biographical dictionary actually demonstrates. Occasional references to the scope of the work can be found in *al-Muqaffā* itself. In the biography of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, the Fāṭimid caliph (r. 334–41/946–53) who died in Ifrīqiya and never visited Egypt, al-Maqrīzī explains,

ولما قدم المعز لدين الله أبو تميم معد إلى القاهرة كان معه توأيت أبائه [...] فدفنهم بتربة القصر من القاهرة فلذلك ذكرته في كتابي هذا.⁸⁸

86 These are the objective, the title, the utility, the position, and the authenticity of the book, the art it falls under, the number of parts it contains, and the methods it uses to convey information. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār* i, 6–9.

87 Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* i, 419–20 (fi tarājim ahl Miṣr wa-l-wāridin ilayhā).

88 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* (1991 ed.) ii, 179 = (2006 ed.) ii, 104.

When al-Mu‘izz li-Dīn Allāh Abū Tamīm Ma‘add (r. 341–65/953–75) arrived in Cairo, he took with him the coffins of his ancestors ... and he buried them in the mausoleum inside the palace in Cairo. This is why I mentioned him [al-Manṣūr bi-llāh] in this book of mine.

Thanks to this quotation, we can understand that, for inclusion in *al-Muqaffā*, a person’s whole body or any part thereof, dead or alive, must have touched the ground of Egypt. This is corroborated by other examples, in which the simple fact that the head of a person had been brought to Egypt earned him the right to receive some treatment in the dictionary:

ثم قتلوا وصلبوا وحملت رؤوسهم إلى مصر فطيف بها في القاهرة في شوال.
فلذلك ذكرت خلفا هذا وهو من شرط هذا الكتاب.⁸⁹

They [Khalaf b. Khayr and some of his relatives] were killed and crucified [in al-Manṣūriyya, near Qayrawan]. Then their heads were brought to Egypt and circulated around Cairo in the month of Shawwāl. This is why I mentioned this Khalaf, as he meets the requirements of this book.

The categories of persons taken into account for inclusion in *al-Muqaffā* are broad. Al-Maqrīzī did not limit himself to any given group. In addition to some prophets and prominent figures who lived in the pre-Islamic period, he took into consideration caliphs, sultans, amirs, belletrists, judges, traditionists, and historians, but not exclusively. In terms of the religion of the biographees, he included people from the various heterodox movements of Islam, as well as those of other religions.⁹⁰

In addition to the issue of the biographees’ relationship with the land of Egypt, now elucidated, there must have been, as is inevitably the case with similar works, a temporal prerequisite. This question can only be approached by thoroughly analyzing the 3,561 biographies that are still available in the preserved manuscripts. The date of death of each biographee was taken as a reference to understand al-Maqrīzī’s chosen time span. For the sake of convenience, death dates have been arranged for twenty-five-year periods (in *hijrī* years). The following chart (see fig. 3.3) shows that, for the Islamic period,

89 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* (1991 ed.) iii, 762 (no. 1373) = (2006 ed.) iii, 432 (no. 1373). Another emblematic case regards the Prophet’s grandson, al-Ḥusayn (see *al-Muqaffā* [1991 ed.] iii, 567–616, no. 1250 = [2006 ed.] iii, 320–47, no. 1250), whose head was said to have been brought to Cairo from ‘Asqalān in 548/1153.

90 See Zaydān, *Manhaj al-Maqrīzī* 210–2.

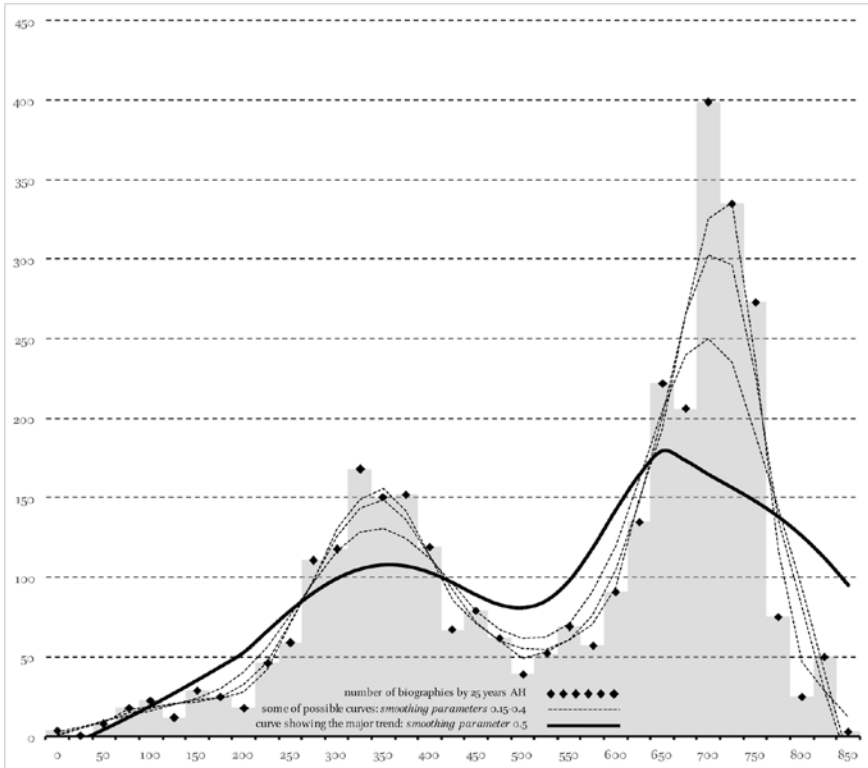


FIGURE 3.3 Chart showing the number of biographies in *al-Muqaffā* for twenty-five-year periods (in *hijri* years), based on death dates

al-Maqrīzī covered the whole span, from the emergence of Islam up to his own time.⁹¹ In some cases, he even considered figures who were born before Islam, e.g., prophets like Abraham, or rulers like al-Muqawqis.

The two peaks in the chart reveal the periods for which al-Maqrīzī had access to a greater number of sources. The first one (with an apex in 325 AH) corresponds to the first period of Muslim rule in Egypt, soon followed by a slump that coincides with the Fāṭimid period. As is well known, we have few sources from that period, and it would seem as if this was already the case

91 In this chart, we do not account for 369 biographees whose precise dates of death are not known. Moreover, we must keep in mind that only some letters of the alphabet are represented in the preserved manuscripts and some names (like Aḥmad and Muḥammad, for instance) are overrepresented in comparison with others. This may impact the conclusions that we can draw from the data.

in al-Maqrīzī's time, though he is, incidentally, regarded as a preserver in this respect. The start (in the year 575 AH) of the second peak precisely aligns with the end of the Fāṭimid period and the beginning of Ayyūbid rule. From then on, the number of biographies exponentially increases until it reaches its apex in the year 700 AH.⁹² This increase is revealing, because it reflects the period corresponding to the Sunnī revival, but is also evidence that numerous sources became available (both biographical dictionaries and chronicles). Al-Maqrīzī relied on several of these; his notebook preserved in Liège is a witness to his research process, notably in preparation for *al-Muqaffā*.⁹³ Interestingly, the chart also shows a steep fall for the period that follows the years 750 AH, with a lower minimum reached for the years around 800 AH.⁹⁴ Such a decrease is a surprise because it coincides with al-Maqrīzī's lifetime, during which he had ample opportunity to take note of the events related to his contemporaries, not to mention the fact that he could also rely on sources composed by historians who had passed away in the early ninth/fifteenth century, like Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405) and Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809/1406). The reason for the sharp decrease in the number of biographies after 750 AH can easily be explained by the aim of *al-Muqaffā*.

For this, it is essential to consider some passages in which al-Maqrīzī emphasizes his objectives for this work. In his *Khiṭaṭ*, he explains the following (see fig. 3.4):

[...] وستقف ان شا الله على ذكر من ملك من الاكراد والاتراك والجراسية

[beg. of addition that continues in the margin]

-
- 92 Maxim Romanov had similar results with al-Dhahabī's *Tārīkh al-islām*, whose geographical scope is much larger than *al-Muqaffā*, as it covers the whole Muslim world. Romanov states, "Interestingly, the Shī'ite century occupies almost the entire declining segment of the curve, while the end of the Fāṭimid dynasty marks the point where the curve returns to its highest point before the decline." Romanov, Digital age 145 (based on Romanov, *Computational reading* 71–4).
- 93 In addition to the biographies now identified as originating in Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī's *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, the Liège notebook also contains a partially preserved résumé of al-Ṣafadī's *al-Wāfi*. See Bauden, Maqriziana 1/1 39–46.
- 94 The slight increase in the last period, after 825 AH, can be explained by the fact that some of the biographies found in the manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā* for that period must be attributed to *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*, as noted (see above 73–4).

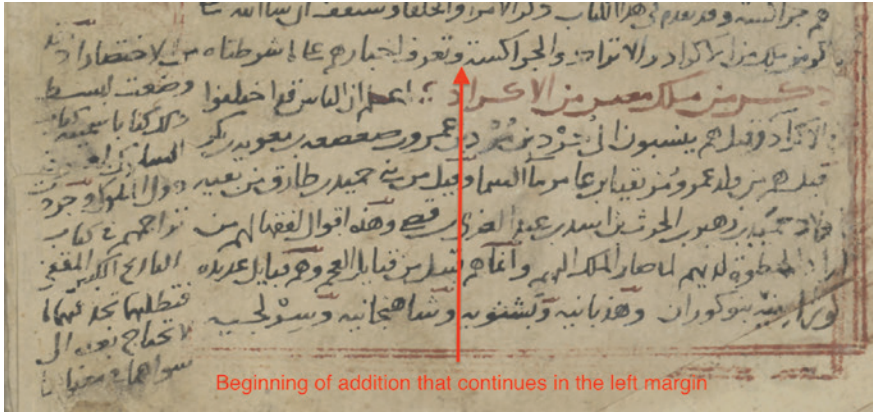


FIGURE 3.4 al-Maqrīzī’s fair copy of *al-Khiṭaṭ*
 COURTESY MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY (ANN ARBOR), MS 605, P. 495

وتعرف اخبارهم على ما شرطناه || من الاختصار اذ قد || وضعت لبسط || ذلك
 كتابا سميته كتاب || السلوك لمعرفة || دول الملوك وجردت || تراجمهم في كتاب
 || التاريخ الكبير المقفى || فطلبها تجد فيهما ما || لا تحتاج بعده الى || سواهما في
 معناهما

[end of addition].⁹⁵

[In what follows] you will find, God willing, an account of the Kurds, the Turks and the Circassians who ruled and you will become cognizant of their stories in the brief [format] that we stipulated, as I composed a book to detail [their stories] that I have entitled *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk* [The path to knowledge of the dynasties of kings], and I wrote their biographies in the book *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr al-muqaffā* [The great complementary history]. So, look for these and you will find in these [books information] about them [the sultans, such] that you will not need to [search for] anywhere else later.

He repeats roughly the same statement in various places of *al-Sulūk*. First, in the introduction (see fig. 3.5, below), he says,

95 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār* iii, 751. The figure comes from the fair copy of the *Khiṭaṭ* that can be dated shortly after the year 831/1428. It shows that the passage where he mentions *al-Sulūk* and *al-Muqaffā* is a later addition.

ويحوي أكثر ما في أيامهم من الحوادث والماجريات غير معتن فيه بالتراجم
والوفيات لاني افردت لها تاليفاً بديع المثل بعيد المنال.⁹⁶

It [*al-Sulūk*] gathers most of the events and happenings that took place in their [the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk sultans] days, without concern for the biographies and obituaries, because I devoted to these an incomparable work of an unprecedented example.

A similar statement is further repeated under the year 733/1333:

وقد ذكرنا ترجمته في كتابنا الكبير المقفى بما فيه كفاية إذ هو كتاب تراجم ووفيات
كما أن هذا كتاب حوادث وماجريات.⁹⁷

We have already mentioned that which suffices regarding his [Baktamur al-Sāqī] biography in our large book *al-Muqaffā* [Great complementary book]⁹⁸ as it is a book of biographies and obituaries, while this is a book of events and happenings.

In the same work, under the year 812/1409, he declares,

وقد بسطت ترجمته في التاريخ الكبير المقفى وفي كتاب درر العقود الفريدة في
تراجم الأعيان المفيدة هو وكل من له وفاة في هذا الجزء ويستحق بها أن يذكر
إما بشهرته أو بفضيلته.⁹⁹

I have already reported his [Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bīrī] biography extensively in *al-Tāriḫ al-kabīr al-muqaffā* [The great complementary history]¹⁰⁰ and in *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda fī tarājīm al-aʿyān al-mufīda* [The matchless pearl necklaces for the useful biographies of the notables].¹⁰¹ [This is valid] for him and all of those who have an obituary in this volume [*al-Sulūk*] by which he deserves to be mentioned, either because of his fame or his merit.

96 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* i, 9. This passage is also a marginal addition made in the fair copy of the first volume of *al-Sulūk*. For its dating, see next section.

97 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* ii, 365.

98 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* (1991 ed.) ii, 468–74 = (2006 ed.) ii, 269–72 (no. 939).

99 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 129.

100 This biography is now missing in the preserved manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā*.

101 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* iii, 562–72 (no. 1459).

In all these passages, al-Maqrīzī indicates that *al-Muqaffā* was conceived as a biographical dictionary, in which he would record the lives of those he happened to mention in his other works, i.e., *al-Sulūk* or *al-Khiṭaṭ* for the above quotations, but not exclusively, as the cross references in his other works confirm (see appendix 2). Consequently, the aim of *al-Muqaffā* was to provide a useful supplement or complement to al-Maqrīzī's other works, hence its title 'The great complementary history.' What he did not consider, when he started the composition of that biographical dictionary, is that he would undertake another work that would replicate, in part, *al-Muqaffā*: a biographical dictionary of his contemporaries, i.e., those who died or were born in or after the decade during which he was born (760/1359), not only those he met or Egyptians, but also strangers with whom he had no contact, i.e., *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*.¹⁰² When he conceived this new book, al-Maqrīzī was of course aware that part of the data would appear in both works, as the last passage quoted testifies. Even though some duplicate biographies can indeed be found in *al-Muqaffā*, al-Maqrīzī undoubtedly wanted to avoid repeating the data in two different places. Thus, the reason for the steep fall in the number of biographies in *al-Muqaffā* after 760/1359 must be related to his decision to devote a specific dictionary to the people who lived during his lifetime. His decision is central to our understanding of the relationship between the two biographical dictionaries, as well as the issue of when al-Maqrīzī made up his mind about such a project. This brings us to the place of *al-Muqaffā* in al-Maqrīzī's writing program.

5 The Place of *al-Muqaffā* in the Author's Writing Program

In the absence of a precise date provided by al-Maqrīzī for the beginning of the composition of *al-Muqaffā*, we must focus our attention on external and internal details identified not only in the manuscripts of the said work but also in his other books where he referred to *al-Muqaffā* to precisely reconstruct the underlying reasons for the project and writing process. In so doing, we must pay great attention to the true meaning of some passages, particularly those for which a reproduction of the manuscript is unfortunately unavailable. For example, in the following sentence identified in al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-ʿuqūd*

¹⁰² In this, he followed the example of al-Ṣafadī who, in addition to *al-Wāfi*, also composed a dictionary of his contemporaries, *A'yān al-ʿaṣr bi-a'wān al-naṣr*, where he includes biographies quite similar to those in *al-Wāfi*, though in the former he quotes more poetry and uses rhymed prose.

al-farīda, he speaks of Muhannā b. ʿĪsā, the amir of the Arabs at the time of the sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and states,¹⁰³

ثم كانت له [مهنا بن عيسى] مع السلطان الملك الناصر محمد بن قلاوون أنباء
وقصص قد ذكرتها سنة ثنتي [sic] عشرة في ترجمته من التاريخ الكبير المقفى.

Then there were reports and stories regarding him [Muhannā b. ʿĪsā] with the sultan, the king, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn, that I have already mentioned in the year 12 in his biography in [my work,] *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr al-muqaffā* [The great complementary history].

At first sight, this passage might be interpreted to mean that al-Maqrīzī composed the biography of Muhannā b. ʿĪsā in *al-Muqaffā* in [8]₁₂ (/1409–10). The mode of expression is no doubt elliptic and thus ambiguous.¹⁰⁴ However, it is better understood with the sentence that immediately follows it in the text, where al-Maqrīzī says that Muhannā's brother took his place as amir of the Arabs in 712/1312–3.¹⁰⁵ Consequently, in the preceding sentence, he simply alludes to his mention of these events in Muhannā's biography under the year [7]₁₂.¹⁰⁶ Thus, for our purpose, this passage could be misleading.

External features in al-Maqrīzī's holograph manuscripts are more significant and helpful to our understanding of the inter-relationship between his various works and, consequently, of his writing program. One of these external features relates to the writing material. In addition to blank paper, al-Maqrīzī also used scraps of chancery documents.¹⁰⁷ In the manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā*, 65 leaves (= 4.1 percent of the total, i.e., 1,577 leaves¹⁰⁸) were identified as

103 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* iii, 512.

104 It is possible that the editor of the text made a mistake in transcribing this passage. Unfortunately, the unique complete manuscript of *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* was owned by the editor, al-Jalīlī, who lived in Mosul and refused to share a reproduction of it. See n. 39 above.

105 Fa-wallā ʿiwaḍahu akhāhu Faḍl b. ʿĪsā fi sanat ithnatay ʿashara wa-sabʿimiʿa. Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* iii, 512.

106 Muhannā b. ʿĪsā's biography in *al-Muqaffā* is lost. In al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's biography, al-Maqrīzī nevertheless hints at Muhannā's collusion with the Mongol ruler in the said year (712), behavior that led al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to dismiss Muhannā as amir of the Arabs and to substitute his brother for him. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* (1991 ed.) vii, 202–3 = (2006 ed.) vii, 113.

107 See Bauden, The recovery. This reused paper features primarily in his drafts, notebooks, and résumés, in other words, in the first stages of his personal works and working tools.

108 Nine leaves in MS Or. 1366a; twelve in MS Or. 3075; five in MS Or. 1366c; twenty-five in MS Or. 14533; fourteen in MS Ar. 2144.

corresponding to the category of reused paper.¹⁰⁹ In some cases, the original documents can be reconstructed and even accurately dated. This is true for fourteen leaves that belong to the same document, a Qara Qoyunlu letter datable to the year 818/1415.¹¹⁰ These leaves are found in two volumes¹¹¹ and are almost always contiguous, even though they contain different biographies. Clearly, al-Maqrīzī inserted these leaves of reused paper to add those biographies to the already assembled quires. In this way, he preserved the integrity of the said quires and respected the correct alphabetical order. Thanks to the dating of the original document, we can demonstrate that these biographies were redacted for inclusion in *al-Muqaffā* after 818/1415, and this constitutes a *terminus post quem*.¹¹² Nevertheless, we are unable to state exactly when, after that date, al-Maqrīzī penned these additional biographies, because we cannot know when the document was discarded by the chancery and reused by al-Maqrīzī.

Another external feature we must take into consideration relates to marginalia, specifically emendations added by al-Maqrīzī to his holographs, as these can help us date (approximately) the inclusion of a reference and thus refine the chronological order of some of his works, like *al-Muqaffā*, in his working schedule. Such an intriguing example appears in the first volume of *al-Sulūk* (the only holograph preserved for that work), as fig. 3.5 shows.

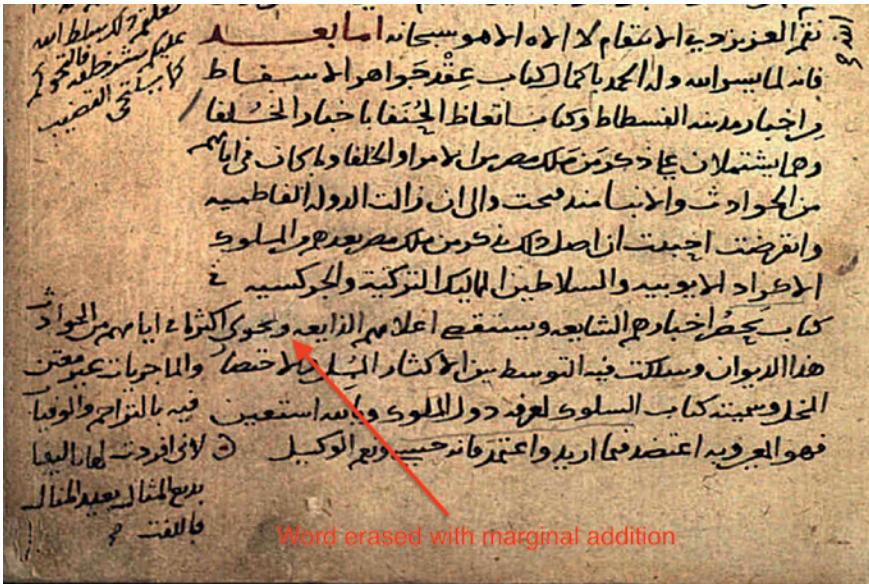
اما بعد || فانه لما يسر الله وله الحمد بآكمال كتاب عَقَد جَوَاهِر الاسفاط || من
 اخبار مدينة الفسطاط وكتاب اتعاظ الحنفا باخبار الخلفا || وهما يشتملان على
 ذكر من ملك مصر من الامرا والخلفا وما كان في ايامهم || من الحوادث والانبا
 منذ فتحت والى ان زالت الدولة الفاطمية || وانقرضت احيت ان اصل ذلك بذكر
 من ملك مصر بعدهم من الملوك || الاكراد الايوبية والسلاطين المماليك التركية
 والجركية في || كتاب يَحْصُر اخبارهم الشائعة ويستقصي اعلامهم الذائعة [beg.
 [of marginal addition] ويجوي أكثر ما في ايامهم من الحوادث || والماجريات

109 On the basis of the statement made in n. 106 above, we can conclude that most of *al-Muqaffā* is composed of a fair copy of the text.

110 The letter was addressed by Qarā Yūsuf to al-Muʿayyad Shaykh, when al-Maqrīzī was no longer working in the chancery. See Bauden, *Diplomatic entanglements*; Bauden, *Mamluk diplomatics* 8–9.

111 MS Or. 1366c, fols. 15–6, 25–7, 29, 37, and MS Or. 14533, fols. 331–2, 371–2, 373, 388–9.

112 This system can be applied to the other leaves of reused paper but their overall small number, in comparison with the rest of the “normal” paper (only 4.1 percent), does not allow a general application.

FIGURE 3.5 *al-Sulūk*

COURTESY SÜLEYMANIYE KÜTÜPHANESİ (ISTANBUL), MS YENI CAMI 887,
FOL. 4A

غير معتن || فيه بالتراجم والوفيات || لاني افردت لها تاليفا || بديع المثال بعيد
 المنال || فاللفت صح [end of marginal addition] || هذا الديوان وسلكت فيه
 التوسط بين الاكثار المُمِل والاختصار || المخل وسميته كتاب السلوك لمعرفة
 دول الملوك وبالله استعين || فهو المعين وبه اعتضد فيما اريد واعتمد فانه حسي
 ونعم الوكيل.

We can see that al-Maqrīzī erased a word at the end of the fourth line before the end,¹¹³ over which he wrote *wa-yaḥwī*. This meant he could connect the later marginal addition with the remainder of the text. Before the marginal addition, al-Maqrīzī was explaining that *al-Sulūk* is a book that chronicles the events that took place under the rule of the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks. The marginal addition is a further specification: the sole aim of *al-Sulūk* was to narrate the events and happenings of the periods in question and not to detail the biographies and obituaries of the persons who lived at that time because,

¹¹³ The word فاللفت (sic) that is found at the end of the marginal addition was probably replaced by ويجوي.

he stresses, he has composed another book for this specific purpose.¹¹⁴ While he did not mention the title of the biographical dictionary, it is easy to identify it with *al-Muqaffā*, whose scope and aim are detailed above.¹¹⁵ This addition also conveys significant information: when a fair copy of the first volume of *al-Sulūk* was made, al-Maqrīzī explained that his work would not deal with biographies and obituaries because he had another work that already fulfilled that purpose: *al-Muqaffā*. The question is, when did he jot down this marginal addition? To answer this, we must now investigate when the first volume of *al-Sulūk*, in which this marginal addition appears, was produced. In the third volume of *al-Sulūk*, where he describes a custom that was instituted in 791/1389, al-Maqrīzī informs his reader that it was still observed at the time he was writing, i.e., in 820/1417.¹¹⁶ Thanks to this indication, we know with certainty that the first volume was written before that date, but how long before?

We can marshal other evidence regarding the place of *al-Muqaffā* in al-Maqrīzī's literary production by means of the source al-Maqrīzī chiefly relied on for the composition of *al-Sulūk*. As established by several scholars,¹¹⁷ al-Maqrīzī borrowed heavily from Ibn al-Furāt's *al-Ṭarīq al-wāḍiḥ al-maslūk ilā ma'rifat tarājim al-khulafā' wa-l-mulūk*.¹¹⁸ If *al-Sulūk* owes much to Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle, al-Maqrīzī could not have finished *al-Sulūk* before he had summarized the contents of *al-Ṭarīq al-wāḍiḥ al-maslūk*. Fortunately, we know precisely when this summarization process took place, as al-Maqrīzī left a

114 He also states this in *al-Sulūk* (ii, 365), when speaking of Baktamur al-Sāqī under the year 733 AH. See the preceding section for the quotation of that passage.

115 The editor of that section of *al-Sulūk*, Muṣṭafā Ziyāda, noted that the book referred to there by al-Maqrīzī might be *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda* (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* i, 9, n. 3). This is impossible, as this biographical dictionary considers only those who were born or died after 760 AH, i.e., the beginning of the decade in which al-Maqrīzī himself was born. See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda* i, 62 (min ibtidā' sanat sittin wa-sab'imi'a).

116 See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iii, 639 (fa-stamarra ilā yawminā min sanat 'ishrīn wa-thamānīmī'a).

117 Little, *An introduction* 77 (year 694/1294–5: "The point to be emphasized, however, is that for this year *al-Sulūk* is nothing more than a paraphrase of *Tārīḥ ad-duwal wal-mulūk*, a paraphrase, moreover, which omits the single original contribution made by Ibn al-Furāt"; Little could not make the same comparison for the years 699/1299–1300 and 705/1305–6, as these are not part of the preserved manuscripts of Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle); Amitai, al-Maqrīzī as a historian 100 ("... for the first decades of the Mamluk Sultanate (up to 696/1296–7), al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk* should be read in conjunction with his main, and at times exclusive (particularly for 658–80/1260–81), source. I am referring to the chronicle of the Egyptian historian ... Ibn al-Furāt"); Massoud, *The chronicles* 191 ("Later, al-Maqrīzī would make massive use of Ibn al-Furāt's work, largely by editing it, in order to write the annals of his *Kitāb al-Sulūk*").

118 Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle is usually quoted as *Tārīkh al-duwal wa-l-mulūk*. In a forthcoming study, I propose to revisit the question of the title and the scope of Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle.

note when he consulted three holograph volumes of Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle (see table 3.2).¹¹⁹

Thanks to these notes from 818–9/1415–6, in which al-Maqrīzī declared that he prepared a résumé (*intaqāhu*),¹²⁰ we can establish that *al-Sulūk* was in the preliminary stages of composition at that time.¹²¹ As we see above, one year later, in 820/1417, al-Maqrīzī announced that he was narrating the events of the year 791/1389. Such a quick redaction process can only be appreciated in light of what has been shown, namely, that he relied heavily on Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle. On that basis, we can be certain that the first volume of *al-Sulūk* must have originated in 820/1417, this date constituting the *terminus a quo*.

With regard to the *terminus ante quem*, the manuscripts also offer conclusive evidence. Contrary to al-Maqrīzī's affirmation in his introduction to *al-Sulūk*—and even after his addition about writing a biographical dictionary and his consequent decision to avoid biographies and obituaries—he did insert obituaries, but only for the Mamlūk period, starting from the year 648/1250 when Aybak seized power.¹²² While the edition of *al-Sulūk* does not refer to

119 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Āmma lil-Kutub wa-l-Wathā'iq, MS 241Q, fol. 1a:

انتقاه داعيا لملكه احمد بن علي المقرئ في محرم سنة ٨١٨

[/March–April 1415]; Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Ar. 726, fol. 291b:

انتقاه داعيا لملكه احمد بن علي المقرئ في شهر ربيع الاول سنة ٨١٨

[/June–July 1415]; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS A.F. 123, fol. 95b:

انتقاه داعيا لملكه احمد بن علي المقرئ في صفر سنة ٨١٩

[/April 1416]. The fact that we lack a similar note in the majority of the volumes does not necessarily mean that al-Maqrīzī did not read and summarize them. We can demonstrate that those volumes are not complete and that al-Maqrīzī's note probably appeared on a leaf that is now missing. On the other hand, some of the volumes where al-Maqrīzī's note of consultation is absent do have marginal notes in his hand (see Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MSS A.F. 123 and 125). As he himself confirms, he could access Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle (*waqaftu 'alayhā*) and take advantage of it (*wa-stafadtu minhā*). See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqud al-farīda* iii, 227.

120 See Bauden, *Maqriziana* II 73, 81, and 83.

121 The time it took al-Maqrīzī to summarize two consecutive volumes of Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle (years 625–38, finished in March–April, and 639–59, finished in June–July) might indicate that he was exploiting the material immediately after consulting it, that is, that he composed his own chronicle for the years in question after the résumé was completed. This assumption supports the idea that Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle was the backbone of *al-Sulūk*.

122 These obituaries are introduced by what became a standard expression placed at the end of each year: *wa-māta fi hādhihi l-sana min al-a'yān*. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* i, 380–1. Al-Sakhāwī, *al-I'lān* 229 = trans. 455, indeed regards *al-Sulūk* as a chronicle that combined events and obituaries, though he failed to underline that these are only given for the

TABLE 3.2 MSS of Ibn al-Furāt's *al-Ṭarīq al-wāḍiḥ al-maslūk* and al-Maqrīzī's dates of consultation

Years	Manuscript	al-Maqrīzī's dates of consultation
501–21	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS A.F. 117	
522–43	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS A.F. 118	
544–62	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS A.F. 119	
563–7, 586–8, 591–9	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS A.F. 120	
600–24	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS A.F. 121	
625–38	Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Āmma lil-Kutub wa-l-Wathā'iq, MS 241Q	Muḥarram 818/ March–April 1415
639–59	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Ar. 726	Rabī' 1 818/June– July 1415
660–71	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS A.F. 122	[The manuscript contains marginal notes in al-Maqrīzī's hand]
672–82	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS A.F. 123	Ṣafar 819/April 1416
683–96	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS A.F. 124	
789–99	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS A.F. 125	[The manuscript contains marginal notes in al-Maqrīzī's hand]

Mamlūk period: "al-Maqrīzī, *as-Sulūk*, in four volumes. In the work, al-Maqrīzī restricted himself to the rulers of Egypt after the final disappearance of the Fāṭimid dynasty, that is, the Ayyūbid Kurds and the Turkish and Circassian Mamlūk Sulṭāns. He included a brief

any significant change in the holograph manuscript from this point onwards, it appears that the manuscript displays a compelling feature: the obituaries in the first volume were added, for the most part, on slips of paper, or, in other cases, in the margins and in the body of the text; in the latter case, the obituaries clearly filled a blank. This feature reveals, beyond doubt, a shift in al-Maqrīzī's initial decision not to include obituaries.¹²³ Al-Maqrīzī changed his mind and this change can be dated, thanks to another of his holograph manuscripts that has recently surfaced: his résumé of Ibn Ḥabīb's (d. 779/1377) *Durrat al-aslāk fī dawlat al-Atrāk* (years 648–777 AH).¹²⁴ This manuscript is quintessential for our purpose because of the obituaries that this résumé contains. A comparison of the latter with those in the first volume of *al-Sulūk* indicates an exact correspondence.¹²⁵ Given that al-Maqrīzī specifies that he completed the résumé in 824/1421, the insertion of the obituaries in the first volume of *al-Sulūk* can be dated accordingly, i.e., to 824/1421 or shortly after. Thanks to all this information, this fair copy of *al-Sulūk* can be dated between 820/1417 at the earliest (i.e., the year following his perusal of Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle), and 824/1421 at the latest (i.e., the year he summarized Ibn Ḥabīb's *Durrat al-aslāk* and inserted obituaries in the first volume of *al-Sulūk*, exclusively on the basis of that source).¹²⁶ The marginal note he incorporated in the introduction, where he stated the contrary of what he opted to do post-824/1421, can thus be located between those two dates (820/1417 and 824/1421).

So far, these external elements (reused paper) and internal elements (marginalia and references) permit us to assign a date to some parts that were added to *al-Muqaḥḥā* and to later references to it in al-Maqrīzī's other works. What

treatment of the events in their days. For each year, he mentioned the cases of death which God had willed to happen (in that particular year). He continued the work to the year of his own death."

- 123 Note that the chronicle of the Fāṭimid period, *Itti'āz al-hunafā'*—and probably the one for the preceding period, *Iqd jawāhir al-asfāt*, so far considered lost—, and completed before *al-Sulūk*, is entirely devoid of any obituaries.
- 124 Dushanbe, Kitobhona-i milli-i Todjistikiston, MS 1790. See Bahramiyān, *Fihrist* 91; Bahramiyān, *Athar-i nāshinākhtah az Maqrīzī*. The MS is acephalous and starts in the middle of the year 649 AH.
- 125 They are mentioned in the same order and the words chosen are definitely traceable to this résumé. This is the subject of a forthcoming study on al-Maqrīzī's résumé of Ibn Ḥabīb's *Durar al-aslāk* and its relationship with *al-Sulūk* in which I address the reason he finally decided to add obituaries for the Mamlūk period.
- 126 The dating proposed by the above analysis is further strengthened by the dating of the first volume of *Itti'āz al-hunafā'*, whose completion can be placed before 824/1421. See Bauden, *Maqriziana* XII 70. In any case, it contradicts N. Rabbat's dating as he reported it to Massoud, al-Maqrīzī as a historian 133 (*al-Sulūk* was written sometime around or after 824–6/1421–3).

remains to be established is when the idea of composing a comprehensive biographical dictionary occurred to him. The idea for such a project must have been related to the parallel project of a biographical dictionary that would be solely devoted to his contemporaries, i.e., *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*. For the latter, al-Maqrīzī explains in the introduction that he had the idea to write the biographies of his contemporaries when he noticed that, when he was not yet fifty, he was losing his best friends and relatives.¹²⁷ If we are to give credit to his words, al-Maqrīzī was thus inspired to narrate their lives around 816/1413, when he was reaching his fifties.¹²⁸ At that time, the first version of the *Khiṭaṭ* was nearing completion¹²⁹ and he was about to start work on his historical trilogy in chronological order (first, the beginning of Islam in Egypt up to the advent of the Fāṭimids; second, the rule of the Fāṭimids; and third, the more recent period).¹³⁰ We have seen that some biographies of contemporaries also found their way into *al-Muqaffā*.¹³¹ This duplication of the data seems to reflect al-Maqrīzī's initial intent to conceive the scopes of the two biographical dictionaries as separate entities. As indicated in the preceding section, *al-Muqaffā* was meant to gather the biographies of those who lived, died or passed by Egypt, mainly (but not exclusively) in the Islamic period; by contrast, the aim of *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* was to collect the biographies of al-Maqrīzī's contemporaries who were born or died after 760/1359, i.e., the decade in which he himself was born, and this he did not restrict to Egypt. This distinction of scope allowed him to deal with the same person in both dictionaries, as the following quotation from the biography in *al-Muqaffā* about an individual who died in 800/1398 confirms:

127 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* i, 61 (fa-innī mā nāhaztu min sinī l-ʿumr al-khamsīn ḥattā faqadtu muʿzam al-aṣḥāb wa-l-aqrabīn).

128 Of course, the *hijrī* era is taken into consideration here.

129 See Bauden, Maqriziana II; Bauden, Maqriziana XIII.

130 As he confirms in his introduction to *al-Sulūk* i, 9 (see above, fig. 5): ammā baʿd: fa-innahu lammā yassara llāh wa-lahu l-ḥamd bi-ikmāl *Kitāb ʿIqd jawāhir al-asfāt min akhbār madīnat al-Fustāṭ wa-Kitāb Ittīʿāz al-ḥunafāʾ bi-akhbār al-khulafāʾ* ...

131 I am not referring here to those biographies that belong to *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* and were inserted in the manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā* after al-Maqrīzī's death. These are easy to identify because the text of those biographies tallies exactly with the version found in what is, presumably, an apograph of *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*. See above, 73–4.

وقد ذكرته بأبسط من هذا في كتابي درر العقود الفريدة في تراجم الأعيان المفيدة.

And I have mentioned him more extensively than this in my book *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda fi tarājim al-aʿyān al-mufīda* [The matchless pearl necklaces of the useful biographies of the notables].¹³²

While this is the only cross reference to *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* in *al-Muqaffā*,¹³³ in the latter we can identify no fewer than four.¹³⁴ This imbalance in the cross references might indicate that *al-Muqaffā* was the first biographical dictionary al-Maqrīzī conceived of and, since we know that the idea for *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* could only have been formulated around 816/1413, as his introduction to that text suggests, the inception of *al-Muqaffā* might thus be dated to a few years before that date. This conjecture would also help explain why al-Maqrīzī then abandoned the idea of writing about his contemporaries and acquaintances in Egypt in *al-Muqaffā*; it would also explain the significant slump in the number of biographies that appear there after the year 760/1359. When he started working on *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*, he must have realized that there would be some redundancy, and when he accepted that he would not be able to complete *al-Muqaffā*, he abandoned the unnecessary duplication.

6 The Organization of the Biographical Dictionary

When editing *al-Muqaffā*, al-Yaʿlāwī followed the order in which the biographies now stand in the holographs and the apograph. We have established that the holographs represent only a small part of the text as it was left by al-Maqrīzī at his death and that these holographs were altered several times; some parts of other holographs of al-Maqrīzī's works were even mixed into *al-Muqaffā*. In such a situation, the apograph (MS Pertev Paşa 496) is the only true reflection of the text as it was composed by its author because it was produced in the decades following al-Maqrīzī's death. The apograph starts with the traditional *basmala*, followed by these words in red ink and large characters, like a title:

¹³² Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* (1991 ed.) i, 45 = (2006 ed.) i, 32.

¹³³ This sentence is the last one in the biography and could be a later addition. Unfortunately, this passage only appears in the apograph (MS Pertev Paşa 496), making the verification of this hypothesis impossible because the copyist did not pay attention to physical characteristics in the holograph, like the position of an addition in the margin.

¹³⁴ See appendix 2, no. 3.

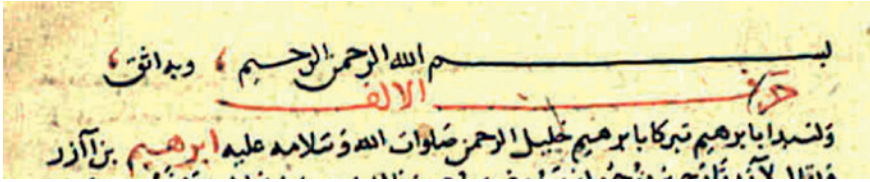


FIGURE 3.6 Incipit of MS Pertev Paşa 496 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), fol. 1b

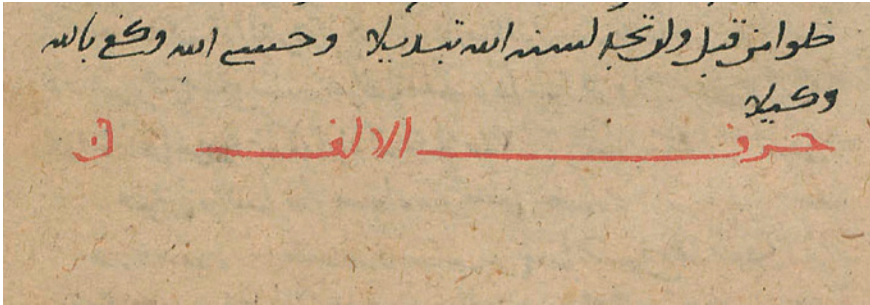


FIGURE 3.7 End of the introduction in *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda* (holograph) (Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, MS Or. 1771), fol. 2a

ḥarf al-alif. Beneath it, the text starts with ‘wa-l-nabda’ bi-Ibrāhīm tabarrukan bi-Ibrāhīm Khalīl al-Raḥmān’ (Let us start with [the name] Ibrāhīm, seeking blessings [of God] from Abraham the Compassionate’s friend; see fig. 3.6).

On the basis of this *incipit*, al-Ya’lāwī logically considered that al-Maqrīzī began *al-Muqaffā* with the letter *alif*. The text of *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda* might have strengthened his decision, as in the holograph of that text al-Maqrīzī indeed indicated, beneath the last words of his introduction, *ḥarf al-alif* (see fig. 3.7) that he followed the alphabetical order, i.e., from the first letter, *alif*, up to the last one, *yā’*.

As Sublet has shown, when the authors of biographical dictionaries did not respect the chronological order (by generation/*ṭabaqa*), they adopted the alphabetical order, but did not necessarily adhere to it strictly. While some, like Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282) in *Wafayāt al-a’yān* and Ibn Taghrī Birdī in *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, preferred a strict alphabetical order, others preferred to begin with the name of the Prophet (Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh), like al-Ṣafadī in *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, or a name based on the same root, like Aḥmad.¹³⁵ In other cases, several systems were intermingled, as in the work of Ibn al-Faraḍī (d. 403/1012), who adopted three criteria (alphabetic, geographic, precedence)

¹³⁵ See Sublet, *Chroniques et ouvrages de biographies* 50–3.

and placed Ibrāhīm before Abān in order to give precedence to prophets' names.¹³⁶

In the absence of the author's introduction to *al-Muqaffā*, it is hard to be certain about the system al-Maqrīzī used, based only on the manuscripts. The apograph seems to prove that the biographies were alphabetically organized with precedence given to Ibrāhīm/Abraham, whose biography opens *al-Muqaffā*. The only way to tackle the issue of its organization is to consider the text itself and especially passages that might indicate the system the author adopted. One such passage concerns the biography of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's father—whose name was Muḥammad—where al-Maqrīzī specifies that his son's biography was yet to come.¹³⁷ In another biography, also concerning a Muḥammad (b. 'Abdallāh al-Ramlī), al-Maqrīzī notes that the biographies of his father ('Abdallāh) and his grandfather (Mujallī) would follow.¹³⁸ These two examples suffice to establish that al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā* began with the biographies of Muḥammads, then other names followed, according to a strict alphabetical order (*alif*, *bā'*, etc., up to *yā'*). In so doing, he conformed to his model, namely, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī's biographical dictionary. As noted earlier, al-Ḥalabī had made a fair copy of four volumes corresponding to the beginning of his work, specifically the Muḥammads, a further proof that the work in question was more than just a source like any other and that al-Sakhāwī's claim that al-Maqrīzī heavily relied on it is fully justified. In any case, we can understand that the scribe who produced the apograph of *al-Muqaffā*, dealing as he was with several volumes with no introduction, assumed that the work was organized alphabetically. If he found Ibrāhīm's biography at the beginning of the volume containing the letter *alif*, it is likely that he assumed that the said biography constituted the right way to open the work, whether this beginning corresponded to the author's intention or not.

As for the inferior classification system—i.e., how the biographies are organized after the first name (*ism*) of any individual—, the manuscripts in their present state are not particularly helpful: the rebinding of the volumes, done in different periods, the mixing of material with some of al-Maqrīzī's other holographs, and the single leaves that have been misplaced, all contribute to

¹³⁶ Ibid. 54.

¹³⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* (1991 ed.) v, 616 (no. 2184) = (2006 ed.) v, 329 (no. 2184): wa-sayudhkar in shā'a llāh fi tarjamat Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. This passage puzzled al-Ya'lāwī, who shared his perplexity in a footnote of the first edition; he indicated that al-Maqrīzī might have opted for the precedence of the name Muḥammad, like al-Ṣafādī did in *al-Wāfi*. He canceled this footnote in the second edition.

¹³⁸ Ibid. (1991 ed.) vi, 102 (no. 2542) = (2006 ed.) vi, 56–7 (no. 2542): wa-ya'tī in shā'a llāh dhikr abihi ['Abdallāh] wa-jaddihi [Mujallī].

mislead researchers attempting to draw any conclusion on the sole basis of the manuscripts in their present state.¹³⁹ In such a case, we proceed by considering a small part of the text and observe how al-Maqrīzī arranged the biographies on a single leaf. For instance, fol. 234 in MS Or. 1366c includes three biographies on the recto (the verso is blank) in the following order:

محمد بن يوسف بن يعقوب بن حفص ...
 محمد بن يوسف بن يعقوب بن محمد ...
 محمد بن يوسف بن يعقوب بن مهدي ...

The three biographies are clearly arranged in the alphabetical order of the second name (*ism*), then the third, followed by the fourth, etc. Al-Maqrīzī could not have organized these so precisely unless he was making a fair copy of these biographies from a draft; the text is written with the same ink, the color does not vary, the handwriting shows no variation, for instance, due to age, and there is no blank space between these biographies that would indicate that any were added later on.¹⁴⁰ A closer look at a longer list of ensuing names helps us to understand how al-Maqrīzī organized his classification system, particularly in cases where only a limited number of ancestors were known to him.

As table 3.3 shows,¹⁴¹ al-Maqrīzī adhered strictly to the alphabetical classification system as far back as possible, based on the number of ancestors he knew of; if he did not know the names of the ancestors, he placed the name at the end.¹⁴² It also reveals that he sorted teknonyms (*kunyas*) used as a name (*ism*) (e.g., Abū Bakr) according to the first letter of the second part of the teknonym: hence Abū Bakr (*bā'*) comes after Aḥmad and before al-Khiḍr (nos. 5–7). More interestingly, in cases where the names of the ancestors could not be provided, because al-Maqrīzī ignored them, as evidenced by a blank space, or

139 In her study on *al-Muqaffā*, Zaydān, Manhaj al-Maqrīzī 212–6, relied only on the 1991 edition. Consequently, her conclusions on the classification system adopted by al-Maqrīzī should not be taken into consideration (ibid. 216: “wa-hākadhā idhā tatabba'nā kull tarājim al-Muqaffā waqafnā 'alā 'adm murā'at al-Maqrīzī li-manhaj wāhid”).

140 On this issue of the manuscripts that are fair copies, see the next section.

141 It is worth stressing here that all the biographies covering fols. 235a–242b in MS Or. 1366c once again correspond to the process of making fair copies (same color of ink, no cancellations, same handwriting, limited later additions in the margins). In some cases, al-Maqrīzī left some blank space between two biographies, perhaps to allow for the insertion of new biographies later.

142 Al-Maqrīzī seems to have broken the rule he set in only one case: no. 18 should have preceded no. 17. Such an error, rather limited in the sample analyzed, might be attributed to absentmindedness.

TABLE 3.3 List of subsequent names in MS Or. 1366c, fols. 235a–242b

محمد بن يوسف بن عبد المعطي ...	14	محمد بن يوسف بن إبراهيم بن داود ...	1
محمد بن يوسف بن علي بن خلف ...	15	محمد بن يوسف بن إبراهيم بن عبد الرحمن ...	2
محمد بن يوسف بن علي بن محمد ...	16	محمد بن يوسف بن أحمد بن يوسف ...	3
محمد بن يوسف بن علي بن يوسف بن علي ...	17	محمد بن يوسف بن أحمد أبو الحسن ...	4
محمد بن يوسف بن علي بن يوسف بن حيان ...	18	محمد بن يوسف بن أبي بكر بن أحمد ...	5
محمد بن يوسف بن غنيم ...	19	محمد بن يوسف بن أبي بكر بن هبة الله ...	6
محمد بن يوسف بن محمد بن إبراهيم ...	20	محمد بن يوسف بن أبي بكر ضياء الدين ...	7
محمد بن يوسف بن محمد بن الجنيد ...	21	محمد بن يوسف بن الخضر ...	8
محمد بن يوسف بن محمد بن علي بن أحمد ...	22	محمد بن يوسف بن زيري ...	9
محمد بن يوسف بن محمد بن علي بن يوسف ...	23	محمد بن يوسف بن سالم ...	10
محمد بن يوسف بن محمد بن أبي الفتح ...	24	محمد بن يوسف بن سعادة ...	11
محمد بن يوسف بن محمد بن أبي المجد ...	25	محمد بن يوسف بن عبد الرحمن ...	12
محمد بن يوسف بن محمد بن أبي يداس ...	26	محمد بن يوسف بن عبد الغني ...	13

he wanted to stop at that point of the genealogy, he sorted those biographies at the end of the other biographies with the same sequence of names (see nos. 4 and 7). The same system is applied to names for which, at some point in the sequence, an ancestor is only known by his *kunya* (nos. 24–6): these are placed at the end of the sequence Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad. When he reached the Muḥammad b. Yūnus sequence, al-Maqrīzī classed after it all the biographies of Muḥammads without the names of fathers, grandfathers, and ancestors. In most cases, he just wrote “Muḥammad b.,” leaving a blank space before writing the family name (*nisba*). His classification system thus appears to have been applied rather strictly.

In this respect, a final issue arises: the differentiation between biographies of men and women. In his *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*, al-Maqrīzī devoted some biographies to women of his time.¹⁴³ In their present form, the extant manuscripts

143 To be precise, 52 (3 Asmā's, 1 Tatar, 1 Tujjār, 1 Juwayriyya, 7 Khadijas, 3 Ruqayyas, 6 Zaynabs, 1 Sāra, 3 Sitts, 1 Sittita, 1 Safrā, 1 Shams al-Mulūk, 1 Ṣafīyya, 9 ʿĀishas, 10 Fāṭimas, 1 Kulthūm, 1 Maryam, and 1 Malika), from a total of 1,473 biographies, i.e., 3.53 percent.

of *al-Muqaffā* also include nine biographies of women (seven Khadijas, one Kulthūm, and one Malika), an infinitesimal number in comparison with the total number of 3,561 preserved biographies. These female biographees all died between 777/1375–6 and 805/1402–3, which means they fall within the purview of *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*, from which they were taken word for word.¹⁴⁴ In the case of the seven Khadijas, all of them appear on one folio and their biographies appear in exactly the same order as they do in *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*. Another element that proves that these biographies never belonged to *al-Muqaffā* lies in the fact that they were not copied by the scribe of the apograph (MS Pertev Paşa 497); this is a further indication that parts from some

144 MS Or. 14533, fol. 548a–b:

	<i>al-Muqaffā</i> (2006 ed.)	= <i>Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda</i>
Khadija (d. 777)	iii, 422–3 (no. 1363/4)	ii, 54–5 (no. 437)
Khadija (d. 779)	iii, 422 (no. 1363/3)	ii, 55–6 (no. 438)
Khadija (d. 803)	iii, 422 (no. 1363/2)	ii, 56 (no. 439)
Khadija (d. 803)	iii, 423 (no. 1363/5)	ii, 56 (no. 440)
Khadija (d. 801)	iii, 423 (no. 1363/6)	ii, 56 (no. 441)
Khadija (d. 803)	iii, 424 (no. 1363/7)	ii, 56–7 (no. 442)
Khadija (d. 800)	iii, 424 (no. 1363/8)	ii, 57 (no. 443)

What follows (fols. 549–50)—corresponding to the end of the manuscript—is the biography of Khalaf, ruler of Gulbargā, who also belongs to *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda* (ii, 57–61, no. 444).

MS Or. 1366a, fol. 17 (slip of paper):

	<i>al-Muqaffā</i> (2006 ed.)	= <i>Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda</i>
Kulthūm (d. 805)	v, 7 (no. 1562)	iii, 24 (no. 910)

fol. 30b:

	<i>al-Muqaffā</i> (2006 ed.)	= <i>Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda</i>
Malika (d. 802)	v, 33 (no. 1572)	iii, 419 (no. 1364).

Both biographies are found in the 30 fols. at the beginning of the manuscript that have different origins: al-Maqrīzī's collection of opuscles, biographies from *al-Muqaffā* (mainly *alif*, while this volume starts, on fol. 31a, with the Muḥammads), and *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*.

of al-Maqrīzī's other manuscripts were mixed up, and this took place after that apograph was produced, i.e., in the late ninth/fifteenth century at the earliest.¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless, some cross references indicate that al-Maqrīzī did plan to include biographies of women in *al-Muqaffā*. When speaking of the Fāṭimid caliph 'Ubaydallāh al-Mahdī (r. 297–322/909–34), al-Maqrīzī notes that the caliph had eight daughters; he mentions the names of four of them, and adds that they were all already mentioned in the book.¹⁴⁶ The way al-Maqrīzī expresses this indicates that he had already composed those biographies. Given that *al-Muqaffā*, in the form it has been preserved, does not contain a single biography of a woman, we can infer that al-Maqrīzī relegated them to a special section at the end of the book, as other authors before and after him did.¹⁴⁷ By contrast, in *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*, he followed a system in which women's biographies appear with those of men, according to the alphabetical order.

7 What Is the True Nature of *al-Muqaffā*?

In a recent study on *al-Muqaffā*, Witkam advanced, first, that it was not a book in al-Maqrīzī's time,¹⁴⁸ in the sense that the preserved manuscripts should be considered a "master file on persons, which he could use as a reference for his other historical works,"¹⁴⁹ and second, that al-Maqrīzī later "abandoned the idea of completing" it.¹⁵⁰

The first statement is rather provocative and thought provoking, and leads us to ask, what makes a literary work a book? In terms of theoretical studies on authorship and authorial manuscripts in early modern Europe, Roger Chartier, inspired by Foucault's reflections on the subject, considers literary archives,¹⁵¹ which started to appear in Europe from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, part of an author's output.¹⁵² Chartier and Foucault were concerned that these literary archives be regarded as part of an author's work in their own right.

145 See above, 73–4.

146 *al-Muqaffā* (1991 ed.), iv, 565 = (2006 ed.) iv, 312 (wa-qad dhukirna fi hādihā l-kitāb).

147 For instance, al-Fāsi, in his *al-ʿIqd al-thamīn fi tārikh al-balad al-amīn* and al-Sakhāwī in his *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmīʿ*.

148 Witkam, Reflections 98.

149 Ibid. 100. In his 1994 article, he opted for a totally different viewpoint; he considered the holograph manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā* to be a fair copy (*tabyīda*). See Witkam, *Les Autographes* 93.

150 Witkam, Reflections 98.

151 Literary archives typically include drafts, fair copies, notebooks, reading notes, correspondence, etc.

152 Chartier, *From the author's hand* 12–5.

I will refrain from making generalizations, even for the Islamic world, as this is not the subject of this essay. Elsewhere I have presented some arguments that a work, even if it is unfinished, was the intellectual property of its creator if the author and others considered it a book.¹⁵³ Al-Silafī's (d. 576/1180) *Muḥjam al-safar* is a case in point. Al-Sakhāwī says the following about it:

ومعجم السفر للسلفي وهو في مجلد كثير الفوائد بخط محمد بن المنذري قال عن أبيه الزكي انه وقع له بخط السلفي في جزازات كل ترجمة في جزارة فيضها ورتبها كما تبيء لا كما يجب وكذا لم يكن ترتيبه كما ينبغي.¹⁵⁴

Al-Silafī's *Muḥjam al-safar*:¹⁵⁵ This volume, full of useful notes, is in the handwriting of Muḥammad b. al-Mundhirī [d. 644/1246] who reported from his father, al-Zakī [ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm b. ʿAbd al-Qawī, d. 656/1258], that it came into his ownership in the shape of slips (*juzāzāt*) in al-Silafī's hand, each biography being on a slip, that he prepared a fair copy of them in the order in which they were, not as they should have been. For this [reason], its arrangement is not as it should be.

The description of the state in which al-Silafī left his biographical dictionary definitely tallies with what one would typically call a draft: it consisted of unbound single slips, each slip containing one biography. This system allowed the author to organize the slips as the work progressively expanded and the single slip permitted him to add material if he found new data. Their owner later copied these slips as they stood. In so doing, he contributed to the publication of al-Silafī's work, which later scholars regarded as al-Silafī's book.

From this perspective, al-Maqrīzī's notebooks, drafts, résumés, marginal notes in someone else's manuscripts—his literary archive—are undeniably part of his work. However, in the case of *al-Muqaffā*, we face a somewhat different situation: external and internal evidence, as well as cross references, show that this work was much more than a draft like al-Silafī's *Muḥjam al-safar*. Among the several external elements that substantiate this argument, we know that the major part of the manuscripts was made of quires, not slips, and that these quires are the result of a fair copying process.¹⁵⁶ This is corroborated

153 This issue has been tackled *en passant* in Bauden, Maqriziana IX 200–1.

154 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Iʿlān* 211 = trans. Rosenthal 441 (I have amended his translation slightly).

155 A biographical dictionary of authorities he met during his travels.

156 Witkam, Reflections 100, is of the opinion that the manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā* were made of loose leaves that al-Maqrīzī could move as cards in case of necessity, like al-Silafī. As

by the features presented earlier: the color of the ink, the hand, and the classification system of the biographies. We can identify a further proof, namely, that al-Maqrīzī inserted a new biography using slips or quires made of a different paper in a different size, so that he could paste in the quire where the biography belonged.¹⁵⁷ Most of the slips are made of reused chancery documents; it has been established that he used fewer of these than in his other holograph manuscripts (drafts, notebooks, and résumés); this indicates that the manuscript of *al-Muqaffā* has a different status, it is a fair copy.¹⁵⁸ The quires remained unbound until his death because of their intrinsic link to the nature of the book: al-Maqrīzī constantly improved, emended, and made additions to his text.¹⁵⁹ Unbound quires enabled him to move one biography covering several leaves to another place in the dictionary, by simply detaching them and pasting them in the right place in another quire. For example, he did this when he discovered that the name of the biographee or that of his father was wrong. The biography of the first ‘Abbāsīd caliph in Cairo, al-Mustanṣir Aḥmad (r. 659–660 to 661/1261 to 1262), which appears in MS Or. 14533, fols. 51a–53b, offers a compelling example. The last leaf, fol. 53a, starts with the word *al-jihāz*,

evidence of this system, he refers to an example (ibid. 114) where al-Maqrīzī wrote over the names of the biographee the same names with the letters separated, i.e.,

ح س ي ن ح س ن

for Ḥusayn and Ḥasan. Witkam surmised that al-Maqrīzī used this to help him maintain the alphabetical order. But if this were the case, the system would have been applied by al-Maqrīzī for each biography, but it only appears in a very limited number of cases (I counted only two). In fact, that person was named al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan. The reason behind these separated letters is linked to al-Maqrīzī’s wish to confirm that the names written in full just below were correct (both names al-Ḥusayn and al-Ḥasan could be mistaken by copyists if they did not pay attention). The other case regards the Turkish name Aṭsız (MS Or. 14533, fol. 189a): al-Maqrīzī avoids any potential confusion by writing the separate letters above the name

(ا ط س ز).

- 157 The holographs of al-Ṣafādī’s *al-Wāfi* share the same features. See, for instance, MS 3196 (Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul).
- 158 For the reused chancery documents, see above, 93–4. I counted 327 inserts (out of 1,577 leaves, i.e., 20.73 percent) either slips or leaves composing a full quire, in the five manuscripts (respectively MS Or. 1366a: 58, MS Or. 1366c: 32, MS Or. 3075: 72, MS 14533: 87, MS Ar. 2144: 78). Of these 327 inserts, 65 bear chancery inscriptions. In comparison with the first version of the *Khīṭaṭ* (MS Hazine 1472 and Emanet Hazinesi 1405), which contains 158 and 177 chancery fragments, respectively, out of 179 and 182 leaves, this is an insignificant number. For the list of chancery fragments in al-Maqrīzī’s holograph manuscripts, see Bauden, *Diplomatic entanglements* 412.
- 159 The manuscripts of his other texts also remained unbound for the same reason. He most certainly used a cover to protect the volume and keep the quires in the right order.

and the remainder of the text found on this leaf tallies exactly with a text found on fol. 16a ending at the top of fol. 16b.¹⁶⁰ There, the text is unconnected to what precedes it, and al-Maqrīzī canceled it using a cipher, by which he meant “copied” (*nuqila*) (see fig. 3.8).¹⁶¹ This feature shows that al-Maqrīzī needed to move the whole biography from one quire to another. However, he could do this for the first two leaves only, the last one had to remain in its place because it contained, on the verso, the beginning of a new biography that covers the subsequent leaves. This compelled him to cancel the remainder of the biography, which he moved and wrote anew on a new leaf (fol. 53). This example further confirms that al-Maqrīzī had already made a fair copy of most of *al-Muqaffā*, i.e., all the parts that are written on quires of the same kind of paper that constitute the majority of the holograph volumes preserved.¹⁶²

Internal evidence also supports the argument that the text found in the manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā* corresponds to the outcome of a final literary process, as its biographies are the result of a composition involving several stages (reading of sources, first stage of redaction or draft) and are not just résumés of other sources to which he would have added data found elsewhere, later. The analysis of one biography of an eighth-/fourteenth-century amir named Almās reveals that al-Maqrīzī relied heavily on the material he found in al-Şafadī’s *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*.¹⁶³ The preparatory stage can thus be summarized: (1) the résumé he made of al-Şafadī’s *al-Wāfi* can be found in his notebook, now in Liège, where this specific biography appears.¹⁶⁴ (2) Nevertheless, in this biography in *al-Muqaffā*, we find additional data stemming from another of al-Şafadī’s works (*Aḡān al-‘aṣr*) and al-Ÿusufī’s (d. 759/1358) *Nuzhat al-nāzir*. (3) Using his résumé of *al-Wāfi* as a framework, al-Maqrīzī built his own text, in the next redaction stage, with the help of these two additional sources.¹⁶⁵ (4) The draft was then made into a fair copy in *al-Muqaffā*, as it stands now. This evidence can hardly be reconciled with the idea that *al-Muqaffā* was a draft. In fact, the whole issue arises because the boundary between a draft and a fair copy is blurry. In the case of al-Maqrīzī, and most authors of his time, a

160 Leaf 16a also starts with the word *al-jihāz*.

161 On this sign, which can also be noted in some of his other holographs, see Bauden, Maqriziana II 109–12.

162 In this respect, note that al-Maqrīzī used catchwords for biographies whose text covered more than one folio. This helped him keep the internal structure of the quires in good order, a critical necessity given that they were unbound. The same system can be observed in the holograph of his *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farida* (Gotha, MS. Or. A1771).

163 Al-Şafadī, *al-Wāfi* ix, 370–1 (no. 4296).

164 Liège Université, Bibliothèque d’Architecture, Lettres, Philosophie, Histoire et Arts, MS 2232, fol. 93a.

165 On this analysis, see Bauden Maqriziana XI.

book remained a draft until there was a fair copy of it, meaning, it was a draft until he reached a certain level of satisfaction with the result of his work. Once the clean copy was ready, he could still work on it, and improve the text as he discovered new sources. The clean copy itself thus became a draft until a new fair copy was produced. In some cases, this stage was never reached. In this respect, the issue of publication (i.e., making it public) is of course pivotal: a fair copy that was distributed and copied, that is, published by its author, contained all the elements that make up a text (title, introduction, internal references). On the other hand, a fair copy of a work still in progress was only meant to serve the author for its future development. While it is obvious that in the latter case the author intended to enlarge the fair copy in view of a future publication, we must stress that even in the former case, the author was still free to amend his already published text, though with less oversight of the version(s) that was already in circulation.¹⁶⁶ The holograph of the first volume of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk* contains the same text (years 567–703) that was copied by scribes after his death and that is found in all the available copies. As such, it reflects the version that al-Maqrīzī established and wanted to see published. Initially, it looks like a fair copy: it has a title page, introduction, continuous text, the same ink, the same paper, and the same hand. Notwithstanding this, the manuscript contains numerous additions in the margins and on slips, sometimes full quires of a paper of smaller size, and other indications that al-Maqrīzī was involved in ongoing editing. As for *al-Muqaffā*, al-Maqrīzī continued to expand upon what amounted to the clean copy. Despite this, it is not regarded as a draft, but as the version that al-Maqrīzī wanted to see published.¹⁶⁷ We should look at *al-Muqaffā* in just the same way, as a fair copy with later additions. Thus, it was an unfinished work that was published *post mortem*, once the apograph was produced.

The cross references al-Maqrīzī continuously made to *al-Muqaffā* in his other books further substantiate this assertion. Even though *al-Muqaffā* was an ongoing project, he considered it part of his output and a book in its own

166 This process was quite common for works written before the age of printing and explains the authorial variants that are sometimes noticed in copies. For Islam, see Rosenthal, *The technique* 30; for European authors, see Cerquiglino, *In praise of the variant*. That authors tried to oversee a published version of their text is attested. Ibn Ḥajar, for instance, wrote to several disciples in Syria who were circulating one of his works, and requested that they cancel a given passage because he had discovered that the passage was based on data provided by an unreliable source. See Bauden, *Maqriziana* xvii.

167 The existence of a draft preceding the state of the text as it stands in the present manuscripts is clear from the fact that al-Maqrīzī could indicate that he had already devoted a biography to one of the biographee's relatives or that it was forthcoming.

right. On one occasion, in *al-Sulūk*, he even invited the reader to check the biography of St. Mark in *al-Muqaffā* under the letter *mīm*;¹⁶⁸ he indicated by this that he conceived of *al-Muqaffā* as a book that was meant to be published (i.e., generally made known and consulted). Furthermore, a section of one of his notebooks preserved in Alexandria, datable to after 831/1428, shows that he was still taking note of names that he needed to add to *al-Muqaffā*, which he later did.¹⁶⁹ As late as 837/1433, i.e., nine years before his death, he referred to it in a treatise he composed at the time.¹⁷⁰

The evidence presented above indicates that al-Maqrīzī truly considered *al-Muqaffā* a full-fledged book, based on a project he never abandoned. Ultimately, he realized that he would not be able to reach the goal he had set at the time of its conception. This is what he expressed before his death, when he said that he only managed to complete sixteen volumes, though he had collected enough material to fill more than eighty. Despite the unfortunate reality that he could not finish it, the sixteen volumes were part of his legacy. Of course, he was fully aware that these volumes would be perused by his contemporaries and by later generations, just as he had used sources, including a fair copy of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī's biographical dictionary, which was, for the most part, still in draft form at the time of al-Ḥalabī's death. The fortunes of those sixteen volumes testify that this was the case.¹⁷¹

8 Conclusion

The thorough perusal of the material witnesses (drafts, fair copies, notebooks, résumés, notes of consultation) of al-Maqrīzī's intellectual output and of the copies that were made thereof offers a unique insight into his activity as a scholar. Not only does it reveal unknown aspects of his activity, but it also confirms testimonies transmitted by contemporary scholars whose contentions would otherwise remain obscure. Al-Sakhāwī's claim that al-Maqrīzī benefited

168 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 505 (wa-qaḍ iqtāṣaṣtu fī *Tārīkh Miṣr al-kabīr al-muqaffā* akhbār al-Murqūṣ ḥādhā fa-nzurhu fī ḥarf al-mīm tajidhu). This biography is now missing in the manuscripts.

169 See appendix 1. The presence of the cipher *nuqila* (i.e., copied) confirms that the biographies were indeed transferred in *al-Muqaffā*, where some of these were identified in the preserved manuscripts.

170 See Bauden, *al-Maqrīzī's collection*, chapter 2.

171 The history of the text, and its copies, after al-Maqrīzī's death appears in the second part of this study: Maqriziana x: al-Maqrīzī and his *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr al-muqaffā li-Miṣr*. Part 2: The fortunes of the work and of its copies.

greatly from the work of one of his predecessors, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, was no less detrimental to al-Maqrīzī than al-Sakhāwī's charge of plagiarism in relation to the *Khiṭaṭ*. In the absence of evidence, it is inconceivable that we should give credence to such repetitive allegations. In this study, I have brought forward a wide array of evidence indicating that al-Maqrīzī indeed relied heavily on Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī's biographical dictionary; among these signs are the identification of summarized biographies from al-Ḥalabī's work in al-Maqrīzī's notebook. Moreover, hints singled out in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffā* and other works provide instructive indications that al-Ḥalabī inspired al-Maqrīzī in more ways than one: he adopted an almost similar title under which Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī's biographical dictionary was known; he embraced the same classification system (giving precedence to the Muḥammads before proceeding with the normal alphabetical order); and he took on a similar scope (biographies of Egyptians). All these elements demonstrate, once again, that al-Sakhāwī's claim was not entirely false, though he was wrong when he said that al-Maqrīzī did not quote Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī even once. As in the case of the *Khiṭaṭ*, al-Maqrīzī obviously expanded on his predecessor's work; he composed a book, *al-Muqaffā*, that became his own work, thanks to a variety of authorial interventions, like the addition of new data and material and the selection of the biographies he included.

The analysis in these pages has also yielded engaging results regarding al-Maqrīzī's program as an author, the relation between *al-Muqaffā* and his various works—particularly the aim of his biographical dictionary—as well as the nature of the manuscripts containing the text. We can now suggest that *al-Muqaffā* was conceived as a supplement (hence the meaning of the word *al-muqaffā*) to his various works—the *Khiṭaṭ*, the historical trilogy, some of his opuscles—which explains the numerous cross references he made to it in these books. The opinion that the holograph manuscripts corresponded to al-Maqrīzī's biographical master file composed of loose leaves—a kind of card index—is definitely at odds with the evidence it purports to present. This evidence includes the textual analysis of biographies; the physical examination of the manuscripts; and material evidence, like the color of the ink, the aspect of the handwriting, and the position of the text on the page, which all point to the process he was engaged in, namely, of making a fair copy. Over time, al-Maqrīzī evidently revised and emended his text (authorial revisions), just as he did for the fair copies of all of his other works.

Before and after al-Maqrīzī's death, *al-Muqaffā* drew the attention of his friends, colleagues, students, and generations of scholars who contributed to shape the text as it stands now. They added biographies and notes, made corrections and comments, exploited and quoted passages. Thus, with the passing

of time, al-Maqrīzī's text was appropriated by readers and owners and evolved independently from its author's will. The manuscripts constitute the undeniable witness that an author's text must be considered by the yardstick of its evolution after his death. The watershed is al-Maqrīzī's death, when his vision of his work came to an end. This statement raises issues about making critical editions and the standards scholars should apply to such an enterprise. In both his attempts to publish *al-Muqaffā*, al-Ya'lawī ignored these paratextual elements, and completely reorganized the whole biographical dictionary. His editions clearly reflect the actual state of the manuscripts and, as such, can in no way be regarded as a faithful reproduction of the text that was composed by al-Maqrīzī. Consequently, it is even more necessary to produce a critical edition (and English translation) that takes into consideration all the transformations the manuscripts of *al-Muqaffā* went through after al-Maqrīzī's death.

Appendix 1

Biographies al-Maqrīzī noted in some of his holograph manuscripts to indicate necessary additions to *al-Muqaffā*¹⁷²

Alexandria, Bibliotheca Alexandrina, MS Tārīkh 165
fol. 1a:

يكتب في التاريخ الكبير إن شاء الله
عبد الله بن علي بن عيسى الوزير
أبو الحسين الواصي المفسر
الحسن بن رشيق العسكري المحدث
أبو محمد بن أبي الطيب
موسى بن الحسن بن أبي الحسين أبو الفتوح
أبو عبد الله المغازلي
زهير اللؤلؤي
عبد العزيز بن أعين الفارض أبو القاسم

¹⁷² If the biography appears in the preserved manuscripts, the reference is to the 2006 edition of *al-Muqaffā*.

١٦ ٢٢
 الجهاد اليه يلقب به وكان قد عزم ان يعث مع اكليفه عشرة الاف
 فارس حتى تستقر بلاد الخلافة في بغداد ويعيد الامور كما كان و
 اولاد صاحب بوسل الكور مع خدمته محلا اخرهم بالسلطنة و
 و اكليفه انه في استقر اسم بغداد نار علكه و اخره من ملك مصر
 فتومر هذا القول ورجع عما كان فيه و لم يعث مع اكليفه سوى
 للمامة فارس و جرد الامير سيف الدين بيانك ارشيد و الامير حسن
 سنقر الرومي الى حلب لينزل على القوات و اذا استدعا اكليفه
 احدها سار اليه بركب لوداع اكليفه و سفره في اليعيش و
 القدر و بعد اولاد صاحب الموصل الثلثة فزار اكليفه و ايتا
 الطريق و يوجد كل منها الى ملكته و سار اكليفه الى الرجبه و عدم
 عليه الامير علي جرد في الاصل و ارجاه في فارس من العزم و حقه
 و ما ليك الموصل نحو سبعين مائتا و حقه في الامير الذي سار و
 حماه في اثنتي عشرة فارس و طلع من الرجبه الى مشهد على فوج و
 انزل في العباس و بلبق بالامام الكاخر بامر الله اجد واجتمع معه
 سبعه فارس من التركان و كتب اليه اكليفه تستعطفه و يستقبله
 و يعينه بان يجعله و يعمده و يرغب اليه في اجتماع الكل على جاسه
 العرو و دعاهم فكان بعد التركان و قدموا على اكليفه و اجتمعوا
 على طاعته فلم يجد الكاخر يدار الاذعان لاكليفه و عدم عليه فاكرمه
 و احسن بركه و سار و بعد اليه الكريته و خرج يريد هيت و كتب
 الى الملك الظاهر يعرفه بذلك و ان السارق اجابوا و اتقادوا اللطافه
 فبلغ السارق و اكليفه فخرج اليه فوافعا مقدم التماس بغداد من
 جهه هولاء و سار الى ايتار فنهبا و قتل اهلها و البغية اكليفه
 و قدر تب عساخه و جعل العرب و التركان في جناح العسر و او
 حاصره في العلب و طلقه على السارق فقدمته فجلد العرب و التركان
 لعدم قتاله و خرج كبر التماس فغزا العرب و التركان و احاط التماس
 من في قلبه من سواد الكاخر اليه العباس و احد و الامير ناصر الدين
 ابن مهنا و الامير ناصر الدين رحيم و الامير سبوح الدين جوزا الهري

FIGURE 3.8 The end of a biography that al-Maqrīzī canceled by using vertical strokes, the central one corresponding to the cipher نقل LEIDEN, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, MS OR. 14533, FOL. 16A

إبراهيم بن عياش
 أبو بكر النعال الفقيه
 علي بن الشويخ الشريف أبو الحسن
 جعفر بن علي بن النعمان
 عبد الرحمن بن حسين بن مهذب
 مجير بن تميم أبو الفتوح
 إبراهيم بن يوسف بن كلثوم الوزير (= المقفى، ج ١، ص ٢٠٤، رقم ٣٩٥)

fol. 5b:

يكتب إن شاء الله في التاريخ الكبير عند تحريره
 إبراهيم بن إسماعيل بن جعفر بن مسلم الحسيني (= المقفى، ج ١، ص ٦٧، رقم ٥٧)
 جعفر بن شاذان النحوي أبو القاسم
 أبو بكر بن بطريق
 طعج بن جف الفرغاني أمير دمشق (= المقفى، ج ٤، ص ١٦، رقم ١٤١٤)
 هاشم بن إلياس بن عبيد الله المهدي
 طولون بن خمارويه بن أحمد بن طولون
 تركان شاه بن يلدكوش التركي ناصر الجيوش (= المقفى، ج ٢، ص ٣٤٠، رقم ١٠٢٦)
 رقيب بن علي عازم الدولة
 المقوقس بن قرقب اليوناني

Damascus, Maktabat al-Asad, MS 4805

fol. 67a:

يكتب في التاريخ إن شاء الله
 ديف بن راشد مولى يزيد بن المهلب بن أبي صفرة

Appendix 2

References to biographies in *al-Muqaffā* made by al-Maqrīzī in his other works¹⁷³

1. *al-Dhahab al-masbūk*¹⁷⁴

- p. 233 (‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam)
كما قد ذكرت ترجمته وترجمة أبيه في التاريخ الكبير لمصر، فإنهما دخلاها
- p. 283 (al-Ma’mūn)
وقد ذكرت خبر ذلك مبسوطا في ترجمة المأمون من تاريخ مصر الكبير المقفى.
- p. 321 (al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam Shams al-Dawla Tūrān Shāh¹⁷⁵)
وقد ذكرت ترجمته مبسوطا في كتاب المواعظ والاعتبارات بذكر الخطط والآثار وفي كتاب التاريخ الكبير المقفى لمصر.
- p. 329 (al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā)
وقد ذكرت ترجمته مستوفاة في التاريخ الكبير المقفى لمصر.
- p. 335 (al-Malik al-Mas‘ūd Yūsuf)
وقد استوفيت أخباره في تاريخ مصر المقفى.
- p. 343 (al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd)
وكانت له قصص وأنباء ذكرت في التاريخ الكبير المقفى.
- p. 351 (al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars)
ولذلك خبر طويل قد ذكرته في ترجمته من كتاب التاريخ الكبير المقفى وكتاب أخبار ملوك مصر.

¹⁷³ If the biography appears in the preserved manuscripts, the reference is to the 2006 edition of *al-Muqaffā*.

¹⁷⁴ Reference is made to Van Steenberghe's edition in his *Caliphate and kingship*.

¹⁷⁵ Not to be confused with al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam Tūrān Shāh, the last Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt, whose biography has been preserved. See *al-Muqaffā* (2006 ed.) ii, 361–5.

2. *Dhikr mā warada fī Banī Umayya wa-Banī l-‘Abbās*¹⁷⁶

- fol. 10a (‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās)

وقد أتيت على أخبار عبد الله بن عباس رضي الله عنه في كتاب التاريخ الكبير المقفى (=المقفى، ج ٤، ص ٢٧١-٨٩، رقم ١٥٢٧)

3. *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīda fī tarājīm al-a’yān al-mufīda*

- ii, 238 (Aḥmad b. Uways)

وحدثني [عبد الرحيم بن نجيب البغدادى] عن قدوم تمرلنك إلى بغداد وفرار السلطان أحمد بن أويس منه بما أثبتته في ترجمته من كتاب التاريخ الكبير المقفى.

- iii, 17 (Fath Allāh b. Mu‘taṣim b. Nafīs al-Tibrīzī)

وذكرته في كتاب التاريخ الكبير المقفى.

- iii, 498 (Mansā Mūsā)

كما ذكرته في ترجمته من كتاب التاريخ الكبير المقفى.

- iii, 512 (Nu‘ayr/Muḥammad b. Ḥiyār b. Muḥannā)

ثم كان له [مهنا بن عيسى] مع السلطان الملك الناصر محمد بن قلاوون أبناء وقصص قد ذكرتها سنة اثنتي عشرة في ترجمته من التاريخ الكبير المقفى.

4. *al-Mawā‘iz wa-l-i‘tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*

- iii, 98(16) (‘Umar b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥammūya’s sons)

وقد ذكرت أولاد شيخ الشيوخ في كتاب تاريخ مصر الكبير واستقصيت فيه أخبارهم (ترجمة محمد فقط، المقفى، ج ٦، ص ٢٢٣-٤، رقم ٢٩١٠).

- iv, 436(11) (Ibn Saba’)

وابن سبأ هذا هو الذي أثار فتنه أمير المؤمنين عثمان بن عفان حتى قتل كما ذكر في ترجمة ابن سبأ من كتاب التاريخ الكبير المقفى.

- iv, 910(12) (al-Shāfi‘ī)

ومناقب الشافعي كثيرة قد صنف الأئمة فيها عدة مصنفات وله في تاريخي الكبير المقفى ترجمة كبيرة (المقفى، ج ٥، ص ١٦٩-٢٢٦، رقم ١٨٩٥)

¹⁷⁶ Reference is made to MS A.F. 342b (Vienna).

5. *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*

- ii, 365 (Baktamur al-Sāqī)

وقد ذكرنا ترجمته في كتابنا الكبير المقفى بما فيه كفاية إذ هو كتاب تراجم ووفيات كما أن هذا كتاب حوادث وماجريات (المقفى، ج ٢، ص ٢٦٩-٧٢، رقم ٩٣٩)

- iii, 238 (Ashaqtimur)

وقال الأدباء في ذلك شعرا كثيرا ذكرنا بعضه في ترجمة الأمير أشقتمر من تاريخنا الكبير المقفا.

- iv, 129 (Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bīrī)¹⁷⁷

وقد بسطت ترجمته في التاريخ الكبير المقفى وفي كتاب درر العقود الفريدة في تراجم الأعيان المفيدة هو وكل من له وفاة في هذا الجزء ويستحق بها أن يذكر إما بشهرته أو بفضيلته.

- iv, 505 (al-Murquṣ = Apostle Mark)

وقد اقتضت في تاريخ مصر الكبير المقفى أخبار المرقص هذا فانظره في حرف الميم تجده.

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¹⁷⁷ His biography may indeed be found in *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*, iii, 562-72, but not in *al-Muqaffā* in its present state.

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