

Al-Maqrīzī

*Book of Exhortations and Useful Lessons in
Dealing with Topography and Historical
Remains*

Part I

Translated and Annotated by

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With an Introductory Essay by

Frédéric Bauden

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Al-Maqrīzī, *Book of Exhortations and Useful Lessons in Dealing with Topography and Historical Remains* (al-Khiṭaṭ). Part I

Translation and annotations by Karl Stowasser (†).

Edited by Frédéric Bauden and Clopper Almon.

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Introductory Essay⁽¹⁾

1. *The Egyptian Camden*

William Camden (1551–1623) became famous for his magnum opus, *Britannia* (1586), a work devoted to the topography and history of Great Britain and Ireland. In it, he related places to their ancient past by describing the traces that remain visible. It was high praise indeed—and rather an accurate characterization—when an English author referred to al-Maqrīzī (1364–5/1442) as “that Egyptian Camden,” even though al-Maqrīzī lived more than a century earlier.⁽²⁾

To reach his goal, Camden had recourse to the study of topography, geography, antiquarianism, and history, or, in one word, chorography.⁽³⁾ Despite his peregrinations to the various regions, he was, above all, a humanist archaeologist who prioritized texts over buildings. His interest was the written word, or anywhere he found written traces (on coins, inscriptions, heraldry) that helped him relate the place to the people to which it belonged, even to the detriment of architectural structures. To compose his book, he benefited from the work of his predecessors; one contemporary even charged him with plagiarism. Camden was also a historian who wrote annals of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.⁽⁴⁾ Drawing a compar-

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1. The part of this essay dealing with al-Maqrīzī’s biography and his works (sections 2–4) is a slightly revised version of F. Bauden, ‘Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī’, in *Medieval Muslim Historians and the Franks in the Levant*, ed. A. Mallett (Leiden and Boston, 2014), 161–200, pp. 161–73. All dates are given according to the Muslim and Common eras.
 2. P. Sanders, *Creating Medieval Cairo: Empire, Religion, and Architectural Preservation in Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (Cairo, 2008), p. xxxiii. The quotation regards Max Herz Bey on whom see below.
 3. Chorography can be described, broadly, as “the representation of space and place.” See D.J. Roll, ‘The Chorographic Tradition and Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Scottish Antiquaries,’ *Journal of Art Historiography* 5 (2011), 1–18, p. 4.
 4. On Camden, see R.J. Mayhew, ‘William Camden, 1551–1623,’ in Ch.W.J.

ison between Camden, the Elizabethan antiquarian, and al-Maqrīzī is not insignificant: they not only shared a common interest in the history of places, annals were also at the core of the Egyptian scholar's activities and he faced a similar charge for not citing sources he depended on.⁽⁵⁾

Due to the exemplary principles Max Herz Bey (1856–1919), the chief architect of the *Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe*, applied for the restoration of Islamic buildings in Egypt, he was considered a savior of mediaeval architecture in Cairo. To underline his intimate knowledge of the buildings, someone who needed to demonstrate the significance of “Makrizy” to a British audience pretended that Max Herz Bey “knows his Makrizy—that Egyptian Camden—almost by heart.” Max Herz Bey's characterization highlights the centrality of al-Maqrīzī's work to restore mediaeval buildings in Cairo. Conceived as a history of Egyptian places, al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* focuses on the capital, retracing the history of its quarters through their buildings, following a division in historical periods, the same periods to which he later dedicated one of his multi-volume chronicles. Relying on a wide variety of textual sources, al-Maqrīzī visited the monuments he described and took note of inscriptions and documents that helped him link the buildings with their history. As such, al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* has long been considered a major contribution to the history and topography of Egypt and, more specifically, Cairo. In fact, the *Khiṭaṭ* can be identified as a written example of chorography, as it represents both places and spaces, even though it is devoid of illustrations or maps, like those used in Antiquity and Renaissance Europe. Thanks to his work, it is now possible to study the portrayal of Cairo through the ages.⁽⁶⁾ Some have even seen in it a ‘site of memory’ according to

Withers and H. Lorimer, *Geographers: Bibliographical Studies* (London and New York, 2008), 28–42.

5. For more details, see below, sections 3 and 4.

6. In this respect, a number of studies were based on his material. See P. Ravaisse, *Essai sur l'histoire et sur la topographie du Caire d'après Makrizi* (Cairo, 1887–90); P. Casanova, *Histoire et description de la Citadelle du Caire*, 2

Pierre Nora's definition,⁽⁷⁾ i.e., a place (in this case a book) that has a special significance for a community that reinvests its affect and emotions in it.

The *Khiṭaṭ* is as comprehensive as it could be in al-Maqrīzī's time: building on numerous books composed on this subject by predecessors, some dating to the third/ninth century, he aimed to provide as many details as possible about the Egyptian provinces and the buildings of Cairo. In so doing, al-Maqrīzī clearly inscribed his work in the trend toward encyclopedic works that were characteristic of the Mamluk period from the early eighth/fourteenth century.⁽⁸⁾ In addition to its comprehensiveness, al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* is also a work deeply embedded in the *adab* genre, according to which instruction is on a par with entertainment. In fact, historical information and descriptions are interspersed with anecdotes and verses of poetry.

The significance of a book over time can be appraised in various ways: its longevity, its spread around the world and to libraries, and the number of references to it found in other works. The longevity and references to *al-Khiṭaṭ* do not require demonstration as, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, it remains a reference and a source of inspiration for scholars in a wide variety of fields. With regard to its spread, it was certainly well-known in the age of manuscripts and after the spread of printing. Despite its size in manuscript form (four volumes totaling almost 675,000 words), we know of more than 250 volumes in libraries around the world,

vols. (Cairo, 1894–7); G. Salmon, *Études sur la topographie du Caire: La Kal'at al Kabch et la Birkat al-Fil* (Cairo, 1902); P. Casanova, *Essai de reconstitution topographique de la ville d'al-Fouṣṭāṭ ou Miṣr*, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1913–9); S. Denoix, *Décrire le Caire: Fustât-Miṣr d'après Ibn Duqmāq et Maqrīzī: L'histoire d'une partie de la ville du Caire d'après deux historiens égyptiens des xiv^e-xv^e siècles* (Cairo, 1992); J. Loiseau, *Reconstruire la maison du sultan, 1350-1450: Ruine et recomposition de l'ordre urbain au Caire*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 2010).

7. N. Rabbat, 'Al-Maqrizi's *Khitat*, an Egyptian Lieu de Mémoire,' in D. Behrens-Abouseif (ed.), *The Cairo Heritage: Essays in Honor of Laila Ali Ibrahim* (Cairo and New York, 2000), 17–30.
8. On this trend, see E. Muhanna, *The World in a Book: al-Nuwayrī and the Islamic Encyclopedic Tradition* (Princeton, 2018).

dating from the life of the author up to the thirteenth/nineteenth century. Most of these volumes were initially part of full sets; this means that more than 150 copies of the full work were produced over four centuries. When printing was introduced in the Islamic world in the early thirteenth/nineteenth century, the *Khiṭaṭ* was one of the first titles on Arab heritage to be printed⁽⁹⁾ and has remained a reference work in modern times: a copy of at least one of its numerous editions can be found in most university libraries with Arabic collections. In sum, *al-Khiṭaṭ* earned its author a longevity that has lasted to our own time.

2. *Life and Times*

Taqī l-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Maqrīzī or Ibn al-Maqrīzī, the ḥadīth scholar and historian, was born in Cairo in 766/1364–65 into a family of Ḥanbalī scholars originally from Baalbek.⁽¹⁰⁾ His great-great grandfather

9. See below, p. xxv sqq.

10. For the life of al-Maqrīzī, see Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr bi-abnā’ al-‘umr*, ed. H. Ḥabashī, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1969–72), 4187–88; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Majma’ al-mu’assis bi-l-mu’jam al-mufahris*, ed. Y.‘A.R. al-Mar‘ashī, 4 vols. (Beirut, 1992–94), 3:58–60; Ibn Fahd, *Mu’jam al-shuyūkh*, ed. M. al-Zāhī and Ḥ. al-Jāsir (Riyadh, 1982), 63–67; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi wa-l-mustawfi fi ba’d al-wāfi*, ed. M.M. Amīn et al., 13 vols. (Cairo, 1984–2009), 1:415–20 (no. 221); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Dalīl al-shāfi ‘ala l-manhal al-ṣāfi*, ed. F.M. Shaltūt, 2 vols. (Mecca, 1983; reprint Cairo, 1998), 1:63 (no. 217); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fi mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, 16 vols. (Cairo, 1963–72), 15:490–91; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Ḥawāḍith al-duḥūr fi madā l-ayyām wa-l-shuhūr*, ed. F.M. Shaltūt, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1990), 1:39–41; al-Biqā’ī, *Umwān al-zamān bi-tarājim al-shuyūkh wa-l-aqrān*, ed. H. Ḥabashī, 5 vols. published to date (Cairo, 2001–), 1:109–10; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmī ‘an ahl al-qarn al-tāsī*, 12 vols. (Cairo, 1934–36; reprint Beirut, 1992), 2:21–25; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk fi dhayl al-Sulūk*, ed. N.M. Kāmil et al., 4 vols. (Cairo, 2002–7), 1:70–78; al-Sakhāwī, *Wajiz al-kalām fi l-dhayl ‘alā duwal al-islām*, ed. B.‘A. Ma’rūf et al., 4 vols. (Beirut, 1995), 2:580 (no. 1342); al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs wa-l-abdān fi tawārikh al-zamān*, ed. H. Ḥabashī, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1970–89), 4:242–44 (no. 536); ‘Abd al-Bāsīt b. Khalīl al-Malaṭī l-Zāhīrī, *Nayl al-amal fi dhayl al-duwal*, ed. ‘U.A. Tadmurī, 9 vols. (Sidon and Beirut, 2002), 5:150–51; al-Zāhīrī, *al-Majma’ al-mufannan bi-l-mu’jam al-mu’anwan*, ed. ‘A.M. al-Kandarī, 2 vols. (Beirut, 2011), 1:347–52 (no. 429); Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr fi waqā’i’ al-duḥūr*, ed. M. Muṣṭafā, 5 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1960–75), 2:231–32; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fi akhbār man dhahab*, ed. ‘A.Q. al-Arna’ūt and M. al-Arna’ūt, 10 vols. (Damascus and Beirut, 1986–93), 9:370–71; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭālī’ bi-maḥasin man ba’d al-qarn al-sābi’*, ed. M.Ḥ. Ḥallāq (Damascus and Beirut, 2006), 109–11 (no. 46); F. Bauden, ‘al-Maqrīzī’, in *Encyclopedia of*

Ibrāhīm, or the latter's father Muḥammad, first settled in this town in greater Syria. We do not know where this ancestor originally came from, but the area of Baalbek in which he chose to live, Maqāriza, meant his descendants came to be known by the name al-Maqrīzī, according to al-Maqrīzī himself.⁽¹¹⁾ Another possibility, although less certain, given the nature of the source, is that the origin of this *nisba* was a certain Ibn Amqrīz, a Berber who belonged to the Kutāma tribe. One of his daughters may have married an ancestor of al-Maqrīzī and the family would thus have been known by this slightly altered form of the name.⁽¹²⁾ Whatever the case, it seems probable that the family were Shī'īs, perhaps related to the Fatimids, which would explain why al-Maqrīzī's ancestor opted for a family name that allowed him to blend into Baalbek when he settled in the city. Although al-Maqrīzī doubts a Fatimid origin for his family, he did leave several clues which suggest that his family had such a background, or at least that he believed this until a certain

the Medieval Chronicle, 2:1074–76; *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7 (2003), passim (proceedings of the international conference *The Legacy of al-Maqrīzī* [1364–1442], University of Notre Dame, September 28–29, 2001); Ḥ. Āṣī, *al-Maqrīzī Taqī l-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Qādir al-'Ubaydī* (766–845 h.-1366–1441 m.), *mu'arrikh al-duwal al-islāmiyya fī Miṣr* (Beirut, 1992); K. al-D. 'I. al-D. 'Alī, *Arba'a mu'arrikhīn wa-arba'a mu'allafāt min dawlat al-mamālīk al-jarākisa* (Cairo, 1992), 157–239; K. al-D. 'I. al-D. 'Alī, *al-Maqrīzī mu'arrikhān* (Beirut, 1990); S. 'Ashūr, 'Aḍwā' jadida 'alā l-mu'arrikh Aḥmad b. 'Alī l-Maqrīzī wa-kitābātihī, *Ālam al-fikr* 14 (1983), 165–210; J.-C. Garcin, 'Al-Maqrīzī. Un historien encyclopédique du monde afro-oriental, in *Les Africains*, vol. 9, ed. Ch.-A. Julien et al. (Paris, 1977), 195–223; F. Rosenthal, 'al-Maqrīzī', in *Etz; Dirāsāt 'an al-Maqrīzī* (Cairo, 1971); al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, 8 vols (4th ed., Beirut, 2002), 1:177–78; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2 vols. (Weimar-Berlin, 1898–1926; 2nd ed. Leiden, 1943–49), 3 supplements (Leiden, 1937–42), 2:47–50, and Suppl., 2:36–38; 'U.R. Kaḥhāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 4 vols. (Beirut, 1993), 1:204–5 (no. 1515). See also the introduction by M. al-Jalīlī to his edition of al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda fī tarājim al-a'yān al-mufīda*, 4 vols. (Beirut, 2002), 1:13–39.

11. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Majma' al-mu'assis*, 3:59. The passage in question was approved by al-Maqrīzī himself; he reviewed and corrected his own biography in the holograph manuscript of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī. See F. Bauden, 'Maqriziana IX: Should al-Maqrīzī Be Thrown Out With the Bathwater? The Question of His Plagiarism of al-Awḥadī's Khīṭaṭ and the Documentary Evidence', *Mamlūk Studies Review* 14 (2010), 159–232, pp. 221–23.
12. Ibn Fahd, *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh*, 64; Sibṭ Ibn al-'Ajāmī, *Kunūz al-dhahab fī tarīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Sh. Sha'ṭh and F. al-Bakkūr, 2 vols. (Aleppo, 1996–97), 2:267.

point in his life; this does not mean, however, that he was necessarily right or that until the end of his life he continued to believe what may have been a family legend.

It was al-Maqrīzī's grandfather, Muḥyī l-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir (b. 677/1278–79, d. 28 Rabī' I 732/29 December 1331),⁽¹³⁾ who was the first to leave his hometown and go to Damascus where he was, among other things, responsible for teaching hadith studies at Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Bahā'iyya, a leading institution for the subject.⁽¹⁴⁾ While based in Damascus he also made an academic journey that took him to Cairo, Aleppo, and the two Islamic holy cities, almost certainly on pilgrimage. Al-Maqrīzī's father, 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī (d. 25 Ramaḍān 779/25 January 1378 in Cairo, at almost fifty), was born in the Syrian capital where he benefited from the social status his father had acquired and undertook all his training.⁽¹⁵⁾ He does not seem to have made any other trips during this time; instead he began working in Damascus. It would seem that he only departed from that town when he left for Cairo, where he presumably went in an attempt to make his way through the ranks of the civil administration. We do not have a precise date for his departure for Cairo, but all indications suggest that it must have occurred before he was thirty years old.

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13. On al-Maqrīzī's grandfather, see al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl ta'rikh al-Islām*, ed. M.S. Bā Wazīr (Riyadh, 1998), 392–93; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, 30 vols. (Beirut, 1993), vol. XIX (ed. R. Sayyid) 42–43; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'aṣr wa-a'wān al-naṣr*, ed. N.A.'A. 'Alī Abū Zayd et al., 6 vols. (Beirut and Damascus, 1997–98), 3:19–20; Ibn Rajab, *al-Dhayl 'alā ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, ed. 'A.R.S. al-'Uthaymīn, 5 vols. (Riyadh, 2005), 5:29; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda*, 2:516–17 (a biography of his grandfather contained in the notice devoted by al-Maqrīzī to his own father); al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk li-ma'rīfat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. M.M. Ziyāda and S.'A.F. 'Ashūr, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1934–73), 2:365 (sub anno 733!). It is unclear whether members of the family remained in Baalbek during al-Maqrīzī's lifetime, but an older brother (b. 668/1269–70) of his grandfather, named Ibrāhīm and described as a Sufi, died there in 737/1337. See Ibn Rāfi' al-Salāmī, *al-Wafayāt*, ed. Ṣ.M. 'Abbās, 2 vols. (Beirut, 1982), 185.
14. This madrasa was founded by Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn 'Asākir; see al-Nu'aymī, *al-Dāris fi ta'rikh al-madāris*, 2 vols. (Beirut, 1999), 1:43–45.
15. On al-Maqrīzī's father, see al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda*, 2:516–17; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:326; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr*, 1:166.

Professionally, he benefited in Cairo from the relations he cultivated with Sayf al-Dīn Āqtamur al-Ḥanbalī (d. 11 Rajab 779/13 November 1377), a Mamluk amir who held a high position in the military government.⁽¹⁶⁾ When Āqtamur became chief executive secretary (*dawādār*) he took al-Maqrīzī's father under his wing, enabling the latter to take a job at the chancellery (*dīwān al-inshā'*) as a secretary (*kātib*). Thus, he was able to quickly consolidate his position and his fortune.⁽¹⁷⁾ In the meantime, he married Asmā' (b. 21 Rajab 747/7 November 1346; d. 12 Rabī' I 800/3 December 1397), the daughter of the famous Ḥanafī scholar Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Alī b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Su'ūdī b. al-Ṣā'igh (d. 12 Sha'bān 776/16 January 1375). This union with a prominent family from the Cairo elite was another way to increase his standing in society. 'Alī l-Maqrīzī's father-in-law held many important positions, notably that of mufti at the supreme court (*dār al-'adl*). One year after the marriage (in Muḥarram 765/October–November 1363) al-Maqrīzī was born. At least two other births followed, as al-Maqrīzī had two brothers, Muḥammad (772–822/1371–1419) and Ḥasan.⁽¹⁸⁾ When al-

16. He was essentially chief executive secretary (*dawādār*) from 19 Rajab 769/10 March 1368 to 20 Ramaḍān 770/28 April 1369; viceroy (*nā'ib al-saltāna*) from 20 Rabī' I 777/19 August 1375 to 21 Ramaḍān 778/1 February 1377 and from 19 Dhū l-Qa'da 778/30 March 1377 to 25 Ṣafar 779/3 July 1377; and then governor of Syria, a position he occupied until his death. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:326; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr*, 1:245–46; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, 11:191; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, 2:492–93. He must not be confused, as Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr*, 1:166, was, with Sayf al-Dīn Āqtamur min 'Abd al-Ghanī l-Nāṣirī l-Turkī (d. 29 Jumādā II 783/20 September 1381), who held the post of lieutenant of the sultan in Cairo alternatively with his homonym. For the latter, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:462; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina fi a'yān al-mī'a al-thāmina*, 4 vols. (Hyderabad, 1930–32; reprint Beirut, 1993), 1:392 (no. 1008); Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr*, 1:243–44 (no. 12); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, 2:493 (no. 498); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Dalīl al-shāfi*, 1:141 (no. 497); Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, 11:178–79.

17. According to al-Maqrīzī, Āqtamur was such a powerful chief executive secretary that he could issue documents in his own name without consulting the sultan, as stated on the documents issued. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-'tibār fi dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, 2 vols. (Būlāq, 1853), 2:221 = ed. A.F. Sayyid, 5 vols. (London, 2002–4), 3:720–21.

18. This was Asmā's second marriage: she had been married to Najm al-Dīn al-Muhallabī al-Ramlī at the age of twelve. After the death of al-Maqrīzī's father, she married for the third and final time, and gave birth to another boy. See al-

Maqrīzī's father died around the age of fifty, his eldest son had not yet reached his fourteenth birthday.

Although he came from a Ḥanbalī family, al-Maqrīzī was educated according to the *madhhab* of his maternal grandfather, though he was only ten when the latter died. His grandfather's influence must have been a significant factor in this choice of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* and, although his father did not oppose it, it seems that the latter could not have gone against the decision of his father-in-law. At just three years old al-Maqrīzī was present at his grandfather's lessons and at seven, having memorized the Quran, he was trained in the religious sciences, for which he demonstrated a definite aptitude, particularly that of hadith studies. By the age of five, he possessed several transmission licenses, issued by some of the greatest scholars of his age. Yet when he was twenty he decided to change to the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*. This choice, which he made well after the death of his maternal grandfather and his father, was based on his indifference toward, and even aversion to, the more conciliatory character of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, as well as from concern over his career: membership in the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*, which was followed by the majority in Egypt, constituted the quickest way to advance his career. While this change was justified by personal reasons, everything seems to suggest that in dogmatic terms al-Maqrīzī remained attached to the *madhhab* of his father: the various positions he took in his diverse writings demonstrate that he favored a more literal interpretation which was characteristic of the Ḥanbalī *madhhab*. Thus, his profession of faith, *Tajrīd al-tawḥīd al-mufīd*, probably written toward the end of his life, is full of implicit references to the works of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350), who was himself a disciple of Ibn Taymiyya

Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda*, 1:394–97 (no. 319); al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:1107; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr*, 2:33. For al-Maqrīzī's maternal grandfather, see al-Ṣafādī, *al-Wāfi*, 3:244; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda*, 3:255–60; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:245; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr*, 1:95–96. There is no biography of al-Maqrīzī's brother Ḥasan in the sources, and so nothing is known of him.

(d. 728/1328), both prominent Ḥanbalīs.⁽¹⁹⁾ His propensity for literalism led to accusations that he was a Zāhiri; the Zāhiriyya was a movement of thought which took its name from its founder Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064). The foundation of this accusation against al-Maqrīzī is very thin and seems to have been the result of a confusion.⁽²⁰⁾

In 783/1381 he performed the hajj, the first of a number of times he did so;⁽²¹⁾ he profited during his sojourn in Mecca by studying under numerous scholars, an activity in which he also engaged during several later visits to the holy city. His entry into working life came a little after this: for his first position, he was appointed deputy judge and administrator of endowments. Following in the footsteps of his father, he then worked in the chancellery, as a secretary (*kātib*) alongside the famous al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418). His contacts with various amirs grew and he was noticed by the sultan Barqūq (r. 784–91/1382–89 and 792–801/1390–99) and, at the end of the latter's reign, al-Maqrīzī was appointed to the prestigious post of inspector of the Cairo markets (*muḥtasib*).⁽²²⁾

19. See al-Maqrīzī, *Tajrīd al-tawḥīd al-mufīd wa-yalīhi Taḥīr al-ī'tiqād 'an adrān al-ilḥād li-Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Ṣan'ānī* (t. 1182), ed. Ṣ.Ṣ. Ṣāhīn and M.I. al-Ṣan'ānī (Riyadh, 2005). Interestingly, al-Maqrīzī's grandfather was buried near the tomb of Ibn Taymiyya, in Damascus.

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

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

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

However, this gained him the enmity of many of his colleagues, including his fellow-historian al-‘Aynī (d. 855/1453), who had an ongoing rivalry with him for the position.⁽²³⁾ Barqūq’s son, al-Nāṣir Faraj, who became sultan after his father (r. 801–8/1399–1405 and 808–15/1405–12), confirmed him in his position. Al-Maqrīzī was also, by turns, a preacher in the mosque of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ in Fustāṭ, then inspector and imam of the mosque of al-Ḥākīm, and so his power and influence continued to grow. The sultan even appointed him Mamluk ambassador to Tīmūr Lang (d. 807/1405), before replacing him with the son of a Mamluk amir. Al-Maqrīzī was also part of a group that accompanied the sultan on a trip to Damascus in 810/1407.

This journey marked the beginning of a new period in al-Maqrīzī’s life, as he stayed in the Syrian capital at regular intervals from 810/1407 to 815/1412. These years correspond to a politically difficult period in which the power of the sultan in Syria was severely tested. In Damascus, al-Maqrīzī held a number of roles, although it seems likely that he did not remain there continuously and returned to Cairo each time the sultan did. During his final journey, the sultan was assassinated, and al-Maqrīzī returned to Cairo in the company of the caliph al-Musta‘īn bi-llāh, who also became sultan for several months in 815/1412. This return marks the beginning of a decline in his fortune, as support from powerful patrons began to wane. From this point on, he retired from public life and devoted himself full-time to his passion for writing history, particularly that of his native country, Egypt. Al-Maqrīzī could afford to do this because he had acquired a fortune, in part from his

2011).

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

parents—from both the paternal and the maternal sides—and in part from his professional activities.

Al-Maqrīzī's choice to retire was doubtless also influenced by the loss of most of his relatives. In 782/1381 he had married a young girl (of twelve) from a family who had their origins in Baghdad. This woman, Safrā bt. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Salām (or b. 'Abd al-'Azīz) b. 'Abd al-Šamad al-Baghdādī, gave birth to his son, Abū l-Maḥāsīn Muḥammad, in 786/1384. He repudiated her several months later for unknown reasons, then married her again after a period of two years, when she bore him another son, Abū Hāshim 'Alī, in 789/1388, but he died a few months later, in 790/1388.⁽²⁴⁾ Al-Maqrīzī also had a daughter named Fāṭima (b. 798/1396; d. 826/1423) from another marriage. He also purchased a concubine, Sūl (d. 824/1421), in 799/1397, who did not bear him any children. It is not known when all his children died, but Fāṭima was the last of his children to do so.

The only member of his family to outlive al-Maqrīzī was his nephew Nāšir al-Dīn Muḥammad (b. 801/1399, d. 867/1462), who was the son of his brother Muḥammad, and who seems to have supported him in his old age.⁽²⁵⁾ We know with certainty that he accompanied al-Maqrīzī during his sojourn in Mecca between 838/1435 and 840/1436. As the sole inheritor still alive at the time of al-Maqrīzī's death, Nāšir al-Dīn took possession of all his manuscripts, among other things, as demonstrated by marks of possession signed in his own hand which can be found on the title pages of certain works written by his uncle. Al-Maqrīzī also owned a slave, Abū l-Durr Yāqūt, who helped him during the last years of his life and participated in some of his master's teaching sessions.

Al-Maqrīzī became a recluse in his home, which he seldom left except to perform his religious obligations and to make his final pilgrimage to Mecca (838–40/1435–36); he only received visits from

24. See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda*, 2:98–99.

25. For details of Nāšir al-Dīn's life, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, 9:150.

scholars and disciples in search of his knowledge. On 26 Ramaḍān 845/7 February 1442 he died and was buried in the Sufi cemetery, situated outside the city walls, beyond Bāb al-Naṣr (lit., the ‘gate of victory’), where both the great historian Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) and al-Maqrīzī’s own father had been buried some decades before.

3. *Al-Maqrīzī’s Historical Writings*

In the initial years of his studies, al-Maqrīzī devoted himself to the prophetic traditions (hadith): the first attestation of his lectures appears in a work devoted to traditionists who were considered unreliable, of which he made a *précis* (dated 795/1393).⁽²⁶⁾ His interest in such material never dissipated, as evidenced by other summaries and holograph copies of works of the same genre which can be dated to the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century. But it was his passion for writing history which occupied the majority of his scholarly activity after he reached around forty years of age. His contact with the well-known Ibn Khaldūn, whom he greatly admired, certainly had an influence on the direction of his historical writing. From the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century he read and summarized various historical sources, such as *al-Mughrib* by Ibn Saʿīd (d. 685/1286), al-Musabbihī’s (d. 420/1030) *Akhbār Miṣr*, and *al-Iḥāṭa* by Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1374), all of which proved useful for the works he was already planning to write. The result of his indefatigable writing activity, such as it appears to us today thanks to the preservation of numerous copies—of which more than twenty are holograph volumes—is over thirty different titles. Some of these are multi-volume works, while others are comparable to treatises or pamphlets, and at least some of these works were written in response to specific requests.

His employment in the Mamluk chancellery at the end of the eighth/fourteenth century inspired him to write two works (focused on two types of civil servants, chancellery secretaries and

26. See Bauden, ‘Maqriziana II’, 115 (number 8).

viziers), that he considered essential to guarantee good governance of the state: *Khulāṣat al-tibr fī kuttāb al-sirr*, which was written about chancellery secretaries (*kuttāb al-sirr*), and *Talqīh al-ʿuqūl wa-l-ārāʾ fī tanqīh akhbār al-jullā al-wuzarāʾ*, dedicated to viziers. We do not have copies of either of these two works, thus, it is difficult to say precisely when they were written. However, we can suggest, with some confidence, that he must have written them before he commenced his historiographical project which focused on the land of his birth, Egypt; consequently, it was before the beginning of the second decade of the ninth/fifteenth century.⁽²⁷⁾

The first work which he seems to have written that may be dated with certainty is a small socio-economic tract entitled *Ighāthat al-umma bi-kashf al-ghumma*.⁽²⁸⁾ Incorrectly identified as a treatise on famines by its first editors and by G. Wiet afterward,⁽²⁹⁾ it actually addresses the multiple causes that led to the economic crises between the years 796/1394 and 808/1405 and reached their zenith in 806/1403–4.⁽³⁰⁾ Written in 808/1405 with the aim of fostering reforms, particularly economic ones, that would reverse the crises, this pamphlet probably also had an ulterior motive: to attract the attention of the powers-that-be to his abilities as market inspector (*muḥtasib*), a position that he occupied on many occasions, including up until a year after writing this piece. His ties with

27. For the first work on chancellery secretaries, information comes from a note (added by al-Maqrīzī) to an holograph copy of *al-Mughrib* by Ibn Saʿīd (MS Sūhāj—Maktabat Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭawī, fol. 105v), in which he states that he was in the middle of writing this work when he read Ibn Saʿīd's book, that is, in 803/1400–1. He planned to prepare a fair copy of it around the end of the second decade of the ninth/fifteenth century. See F. Bauden, 'Maqriziana XIII: An Exchange of Correspondence between al-Maqrīzī and al-Qalqashandī', in *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History: Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni*, ed. Y. Ben-Bassat (Leiden and Boston, 2017), 201–29, pp. 216–17.

28. Ed. K.H. Farḥāt (Cairo, 2007).

29. Ed. M.M. Ziyāda and J. al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1940); trans. G. Wiet, 'Le traité des famines de Maqrīzī', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 5 (1962), 1–90 (also published as a book, Leiden: Brill, 1962).

30. English trans. A. Allouche as *Mamluk Economics. A Study and Translation of al-Maqrīzī's Ighāthah* (Salt Lake City, 1994).

the sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj increased two years later, when he accompanied the latter in his various sojourns to Damascus; this would suggest that his aim was successful.

It was around this time that al-Maqrīzī developed a major project which occupied him until his death and gained him fame during his lifetime and even beyond the borders of the Mamluk sultanate. The circumstances in which he embarked on this project remain obscure, but it is possible to make an educated guess. When he went to Damascus for the second time, in 811/1409, accompanying the sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj, al-Maqrīzī came into possession of a manuscript that changed his life: the text, partly in draft form and partly completed, was a historical topography of Cairo written by his friend and neighbor al-Awḥadī (d. 811/1408), the latter had devoted many years of his life to this text. It was far from being in a publishable state, but it served as a blueprint for al-Maqrīzī's own work which, to a large degree, earned him his place in posterity: *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*—often shortened, as much by medieval authors as by modern scholars, to *al-Khiṭaṭ*. Al-Maqrīzī increased the amount of material in al-Awḥadī's work by starting with the history of Cairo from the Muslim conquest; he also considered, among other topics, the history of other towns, as well as Jewish and Christian monuments. The subject matter of this work is not original: many authors preceding him produced works of this genre, in Iraq and Syria as well as in Egypt.⁽³¹⁾ However, its chronological extent, the number of sources utilized, and the combination of topographical data and historical elements make it a veritable encyclopedia of the heritage of Cairo. His parallel projects, of a history of Egypt from the Muslim conquest until his time and of biographical dictionaries, all overlap, in scope at least, with this first book.

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

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

Si ces travaux de Makrizi, dont quelques parties manquent encore à nos bibliothèques, étaient réunis, on pourrait les regarder comme une espèce d'encyclopédie pour l'histoire de l'Égypte pendant les huit premiers siècles de l'hégire et la première moitié du neuvième. Makrizi n'est guère cependant autre chose, comme nous l'avons dit, qu'un compilateur; et s'il montre, parfois, un jugement sain et plus de critique que la plupart des écrivains de sa nation, il ne paraît pas plus réservé sur l'article du merveilleux.⁽³²⁾

This critique by de Sacy concerning the character of the writer is undoubtedly too severe. If it is true that al-Maqrīzī had a special gift for unearthing sources which were, already in his time, rather rare, such as those related to the Fatimid era, he also managed to extract the essence and restore the data intelligently, using an attractive style of writing. All the experts who have examined his output recognize that he managed to combine reports from a variety of sources and reconstruct the facts into a single narrative. This suggests that intense preparatory work—undertaken through diverse readings, note taking, and the preparation of summaries—was his *modus operandi*, as demonstrated by rare surviving volumes of his notebooks and some of his summaries.⁽³³⁾ Thus, we know he had an exceptional ability to construct historical re-

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

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

ports.⁽³⁴⁾ The influence which Ibn Khaldūn—who was also his teacher—and his works had on al-Maqrīzī is clear in many of the latter's writings, as much by the deep level of his reflections on history itself as by the wide-ranging nature of his interests.⁽³⁵⁾

Al-Maqrīzī also employed other methods of working, such as borrowing unpublished works from authors, such as the partially completed draft of the work of al-Awḥadī on the topography of Cairo, or using works that were difficult to acquire, such as the encyclopedia of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349) entitled *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*. He did this in a manner that often comes close to what would be regarded as plagiarism today. In the former case, it has been proved that the holograph manuscripts of al-Awḥadī served as the basis for al-Maqrīzī's writing of the *Khīṭaṭ*, though he did not at any time acknowledge in this work his debt to his colleague and neighbor: he did not even cite his name.⁽³⁶⁾ From the holograph fragment of al-Awḥadī's work conserved in al-Maqrīzī's holograph draft, we can determine that his personal contribution was essentially limited to adding biographies of the founders of the monuments examined.⁽³⁷⁾ In the latter case, it appears that, to a large extent, al-Maqrīzī used the data of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī for many of his works and in one case, he even went so far as to knowingly alter the words of the latter for purely ideological reasons.⁽³⁸⁾

However this may appear to our modern eyes, such an approach earned his works great renown for the indelible mark they

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

35. See N. Rabbat, 'Was al-Maqrīzī's *Khīṭaṭ* a Khaldūnian History?', *Der Islam* 89/2 (2012), 118–40.

36. He did recognize his debt in the biography he dedicated to al-Awḥadī in his *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda*. See Bauden, 'Maqriziana II', 170.

37. See Bauden, 'Maqriziana IX'.

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

left on Islamic historical writing. The most important of these works are the *Khiṭaṭ*; his trilogy on the history of Muslim Egypt, of which only the last two components are preserved (*Iqd jawāhir al-asfāt fi mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Fuṣṭāṭ*, from the Muslim conquest up to the arrival of the Fatimid dynasty (969); *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā' bi-akhbār al-a'imma al-khulafā'* for the Fatimid period, covering the fourth/tenth to the sixth/twelfth centuries; and *al-Sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk* for the Ayyubid and Mamluk eras, the sixth/twelfth to the ninth/fifteenth centuries; to which he later added a biography of Muḥammad (*Imtā' al-asmā' li-mā li-l-rasūl min al-anbā' wa-l-aḥwāl wa-l-ḥafada wa-l-matā'*); a history of humanity (*al-Khabar 'an al-bashar*); two biographical dictionaries, namely (1) *al-Ta'rikh al-kabīr al-muqaffā li-Miṣr*, which list Egyptians and people who lived or passed through Egypt; and (2) *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīda fi tarājim al-a'yān al-mufida*, which relates his contemporaries, that is, people who died or were born after the beginning of the decade of al-Maqrīzī's own birth (i.e., before 760/1358–59), and who he did not necessarily meet; and finally his booklets on other subjects (economics, metrology, numismatics, the history of Egyptian borderlands such as Abyssinia, gemology, religion, etc.).

4. The *Khiṭaṭ*

The *Khiṭaṭ* is extant in four manuscript volumes. Two holograph volumes of the first version (usually referred to as the draft) have been preserved while one holograph volume of the version published in the time of al-Maqrīzī has recently surfaced.⁽³⁹⁾ First published in 1853–54 at the Būlāq Press in Cairo, it was a great success upon its release during al-Maqrīzī's lifetime, as witnessed by its wide circulation: more than 250 manuscripts have been identified around the world. Known as an archeological and monumental history of the city of Cairo, it was inspired by many other books of the same genre composed from the fourth/ninth century on-

39. Istanbul–Topkapı Saray Library, MSS E.H. 1405 and H. 1472, and Ann Arbor–Michigan University Library, Isl. MS 605, respectively.

ward. However, al-Maqrīzī's work renewed the genre as a whole by adding preliminary chapters on Egypt, including its description, position, history, and main towns. This means the book includes, for example, a description of initiation rites into the Ismā'īlī sect, information usually jealously guarded by its followers. He also provides an account of the history of Cairo from its foundation until his own day and including the Fatimid period, which is essential for understanding the development of the city. He then details the districts and buildings of the town which he categorizes (as baths, mosques, madrasas, etc.); he places each building into its historical context by providing, among other elements, biographical details about the people who founded them and why they did so.

The variety of sources al-Maqrīzī exploited is vast and reflects his capacity to locate texts that must have been difficult to access even in his own time. These included chronicles, annals, biographical dictionaries, Quranic commentaries, lexicographical works, scientific encyclopedias and works of the same genre by his predecessors. The overall number of these texts may be estimated at more than one hundred.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In many cases, al-Maqrīzī prevented their contents from being lost completely, as many were not otherwise preserved, particularly those dealing with the Fatimid era. In his introduction, he took the time to specify that he would be scrupulous in citing his sources:

When I transmit a passage taken from scholars who dealt with different areas of study, I must indicate from which work it is taken, so I can be absolved of any responsibility and cannot incur blame.⁽⁴¹⁾

Despite this laudable aim, he did not follow it in every case; there are numerous passages in which al-Maqrīzī neglected to indicate his sources. This is notably the case with Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, whom al-Maqrīzī seemed to hardly appreciate, in spite of the

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

41. Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāq ed.), 1:4 = (Sayyid ed.), 1:8.

fact that he happily pillaged al-‘Umarī’s encyclopedic work *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*.

As noted, al-Maqrīzī probably came up with the idea of writing the *Khiṭaṭ* after reading the partly-finished draft of his colleague and neighbor al-Awḥadī. The holograph volumes of the first version of the *Khiṭaṭ* demonstrate that by 818/1415, the essence of the text had already been written. It must have taken another few years and the discovery of new sources for the definitive version to finally be made available and be published; the holograph volume of this version, recently discovered, allows us to date it slightly after 831/1427 and certainly before 834/1430–31⁽⁴²⁾. However, al-Maqrīzī continued to add information to it until two years before his death.

5. *The Khiṭaṭ in print*

5.1. European attempts

Al-Maqrīzī’s *Khiṭaṭ* drew the attention of scholars in Europe very early, as evidenced by the significant number of manuscripts preserved in various libraries; some of these copies reached the continent in the early seventeenth century.⁽⁴³⁾ It thus comes as no surprise that the text was widely used in the publications and translations of Orientalists. The first who took notice of it was Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838), one of the most prominent specialists of Islam of his time. In his own words, he translated a large section of al-Maqrīzī’s work, which he hoped would be published later, a wish that was never fulfilled.⁽⁴⁴⁾ On several occasions, de Sacy referred to the *Khiṭaṭ* in his works. One of his students, Étienne Marc Quatremère (1782–1857), followed his master’s

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

43. My current survey of the manuscripts of the *Khiṭaṭ* includes more than one hundred volumes preserved in European libraries.

44. A.-I. Silvestre de Sacy, ‘Addition pour le Tome Ier des *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*’, *Notices des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale* IV (Paris year VII of the Republican Era [= 1799]), vii–xi, p. vii.

footsteps and paid much attention to al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, but not exclusively, as he also published the first translation of the first half of his chronicle of the Ayyubids and the Mamluks (*al-Sulūk*).⁽⁴⁵⁾ Louis-Mathieu Langlès (1763–1824), who considered himself a student of de Sacy, though they were born just five years apart, also published the edition and translation of an extract dealing with the canal of Cairo. In his essay, he offered, for the first time, an edition and translation of al-Maqrīzī's introduction to the *Khiṭaṭ*.⁽⁴⁶⁾ All these scholars relied on the large collection of Arabic manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris which at that time had already preserved numerous copies of al-Maqrīzī's text. From then on, the *Khiṭaṭ* became a continuously growing focus of more studies.

In 1824, the Dutch Orientalist Hendrik Arent Hamaker (1789–1835) published an extract of the *Khiṭaṭ* regarding the various Byzantine attacks led against Damietta from 708 until the 1221 expedition of the King of Jerusalem, Jean de Brienne (d. 1237).⁽⁴⁷⁾ Like Langlès, Hamaker relied on a rich collection of Arabic manuscripts in Leiden, including several early copies of the *Khiṭaṭ* brought back from Istanbul in the mid-seventeenth century.

Hamaker was followed in his efforts to make al-Maqrīzī's text more known to the community of scholars by a German Orientalist. Heinrich Joseph Wetzer (1801–53) specialized in the history of Christianity and, after his studies in Oriental languages in various German universities, he went to Paris with the intention of study-

45. He made great use of the information provided by al-Maqrīzī in his *Khiṭaṭ* for his *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte, et sur quelques contrées voisines*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1811).

46. L.-M. Langlès, 'Le Livre des avis et sujets de réflexions sur la description historique des divisions territoriales et des vestiges, tirés des annales de l'Égypte, par le cheykh, l'imâm très-savant, Taqy êd-dyn Ahhmed ben A'ly, ben A'bdoûl-qâder ben Mohhamed, surnommé Ebn âl-Maqrizy', *Notices des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale* VI (Paris year IX of the Republican Era [= 1801]), 320–86.

47. H. A. Hamaker, ed. *Takyoddini Ahmedis al-Makrizii, Narratio de expeditionibus, a Graecis francisque adversus Dimyatham, ab A.C. 708 AD 1221 susceptis* (Amsterdam, 1824).

ing under the guidance of de Sacy and Quatremère. During his stay in the French capital, he worked on the collection of Arabic manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale, where he was attracted to the section on the Copts in the *Khiṭaṭ*. In 1828, he published an edition and Latin translation of part of this section which greatly contributed to the work's renown in Europe.⁽⁴⁸⁾ A few years later, a fellow-countryman, Heinrich Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (1808–99), published an edition and German translation of the full section on the Copts.⁽⁴⁹⁾

All these initiatives were limited to small parts of the *Khiṭaṭ*. No one in Europe dared to consider publishing the whole text. Its richness and vastness were certainly not unrelated to the fact that European scholars refrained from embarking on such a huge project.

5.2. The first complete edition: Būlāq, 1853

The Būlāq Press was founded in 1820 as part of a modernization project launched by the Khedive Muḥammad 'Alī (r. 1805–48). Located on the right shore of the Nile, north of the Būlāq district in Cairo, the press published its first book two years after its foundation. While numerous books dealt with the modern (exact) sciences—most of the time translated from European languages—the press also started to include in its publishing program several works on Arab heritage.⁽⁵⁰⁾ The *Khiṭaṭ* was among the early texts

48. H. J. Wetzer, *Taki-eddini Makrizii Historia Coptorum Christianorum in Aegypto Arabice, edita et in linguam latinam translata* (Sulzbach, 1828). This includes the chapter dealing with the conversion of the Egyptians to Christianity (known as Copts) and the section regarding the Zuhra church in *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāq edition, 2:482–501, 512–17.

49. F. Wüstenfeld, *Macrizi's Geschichte der Copten. Aus den Handschriften zu Gotha und Wien mit Übersetzung und Anmerkungen* (Göttingen, 1845). This covers the full chapter on the Copts in *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāq edition, 2:480–519.

50. On the Būlāq printing house, see A. Geiss, 'Histoire de l'imprimerie en Égypte', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, cinquième série 1/1907 (1908), 133–57, cinquième série 2/1908 (1909), 195–220; M.A. Bahgat Bey, 'Aperçu historique sur l'imprimerie nationale égyptienne', in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1931), 275–77; M.Y. Hammam, 'History of Printing in Egypt', in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1951), 156–59; A. al-F. Riḍwān, *Tārikh maṭba'at Būlāq wa-lamḥa fi*

printed by the nascent Būlāq Press. At that time, the layout of printed books did not differ much from manuscripts. For instance, the *Khiṭaṭ*, published in two in-folio volumes (of 498 and 521 pages respectively), included a frontispice as well as a colophon⁽⁵¹⁾ where the proofreader (*muṣaḥḥiḥ*), Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Qutṭa al-‘Adawī (d. 1281/1864),⁽⁵²⁾ indicated that the printing of the work was completed on Monday 19 Ṣafar 1270/21 November 1853 at the expense of Rafā‘īl (Raphael) ‘Ubayd.⁽⁵³⁾ The latter was a Syrian orthodox man whose family was originally from Baalbek and whose great-grandfather settled in Egypt during the eighteenth century.⁽⁵⁴⁾ The reason ‘Ubayd subsidized the printing of the *Khiṭaṭ* can perhaps be found in the origin of his family.⁽⁵⁵⁾ While the identity of the proofreader and the patron is known to us, we do not know which manuscripts the printing press based the work on. None of the few copies held in the collections of the Egyptian National Library (Dār al-Kutub al-Waṭaniyya) in Cairo fully corresponds to the Būlāq edition. It might be that the copies used were in fact disposed of at the end of the production of the book: the typesetters usually handled the manuscripts they were reproducing with inky fingers. The black ink stained the manuscripts, which were hardly readable at the end of the process.

tārīkh al-ṭibā‘a fī buldān al-sharq al-awsaṭ (Caire, 1953); R.N. Verdery, ‘The Publications of the Būlāq Press under Muḥammad ‘Alī of Egypt’, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 91 (1971), 129–32; ‘A.I. Nuṣayr, *Haraka nashr al-kutub fī Miṣr fī al-qarn al-tāsi‘ ‘ashar* (Cairo, 1994); Ch.-H. Hsu, ‘A Survey of Arabic-Character Publications Printed in Egypt During the Period of 1238–1267 (1822–1851)’, in *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East*, ed. Ph. Sadgrove (Oxford, 2004), 1–16.

51. In manuscripts, the colophon is the text added by the copyist; this is where he usually provides useful information on his identity and his work in producing the copy.
52. On him, see al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām* 8 vols. (Beirut, 2002), 6:198.
53. Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā‘iẓ wa-l-i‘tibār* (Būlāq 1853), 2:521–22.
54. Raphael and his brother Ḥaṇāniyya founded a school (al-‘Ubaydiyya) in Cairo in 1860. A.-L. Dupont, *Ḡurǧī Zaydān (1861–1914): Écrivain réformiste et témoin de la Renaissance arabe* (Beirut 2006), 69.
55. As we saw above, al-Maqrīzī’s family was also from Baalbek.

Be that as it may, for more than one hundred and fifty years the Būlāq edition remained the standard text, despite its defects and shortcomings. It was, moreover, far from user-friendly and pleasant to read; it lacks indexes and is very narrowly spaced, with thirty-eight lines per page.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Reprinted several times and reused as the basis for allegedly improved editions that in fact reproduced and increased its mistakes, the Būlāq edition was obviously unsatisfactory and several late nineteenth-century scholars called for a critical edition of this fundamental text.

5.3. The first critical edition: Cairo, 1911–27

One of the scholars who called for a critical edition was the French scholar Gaston Wiet (1887–1971); he tried to produce a text to meet the standards of critical editions that prevailed at that time (i.e., derived from those long established in the field of classical studies). He produced a critical edition⁽⁵⁷⁾ that was praised not only for its scientific method (several manuscripts were collected and collated, the result of which was conscientiously indicated in footnotes), but also as a technical achievement.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Wiet's annotation, which attempts to identify the sources and the passages quoted by al-Maqrīzī, was another cause for praise. However, ultimately, only five volumes, covering pages 1–322 of the Būlāq edition, were issued.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Although in some way it represented an improvement in comparison to the Būlāq edition, it still contained many mistakes (which is confirmed by the numerous errata added at the end of

56. Indexes were finally published by Aḥmad 'Abd al-Majīd Harīdī, *Index des Ḥiṭat: index analytique des ouvrages d'Ibn Duqmāq et de Maqrīzī sur le Caire*, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1983–84).

57. *El-Mawā'iz wa'l-i'tibār fī dhikr el-khitat wa'l-âthâr*, vols. I–II: 1re partie (Cairo, 1911–13); III–IV: 2e partie (Cairo, 1922–24); V, 1er fascicule: 3e partie, chs. I–XII (Cairo, 1927). Published in the series "Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie du Caire" (vols. 30, 33, 46, 49, 53).

58. In addition to the quality of the Arabic characters, one may also commend the headpiece specifically engraved with the title of the book in Arabic. This headpiece is reproduced at the beginning of Stowasser's translation in this first volume.

59. The first volume appeared when Wiet was just twenty-four years old.

each volume). Moreover, when he discovered that more than 170 manuscripts of *al-Khiṭaṭ* were preserved in libraries around the world, Wiet abruptly ended his project.⁽⁶⁰⁾ He claimed that it was impossible for a single man to proceed further and that this should be a collective work involving specialists for the various periods covered by the book. This was in 1927 and for seventy-five years no one dared to carry out such a project.⁽⁶¹⁾

5.4. The second critical edition: Sayyid 2002–4

The Egyptian scholar Ayman Fuʿād Sayyid finally took up the challenge. Sayyid is known for his editions of numerous historical texts related to the history of Egypt.⁽⁶²⁾ He was the first to draw attention to the presence of one holograph volume of the first version of the *Khiṭaṭ*,⁽⁶³⁾ which he eventually published.⁽⁶⁴⁾ His work on this holograph volume convinced him that he could embark on a project to publish the full text of the *Khiṭaṭ*. Sayyid worked on the basis of the Būlāq edition and the Wiet edition, taking into consideration other critical manuscripts that had been identified in the meantime, including a second holograph volume of the first ver-

60. In the foreword to the fourth volume, Wiet announced that the sixth volume was well advanced; unfortunately, it was never published.

61. Wiet's partial edition was reprinted by the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University (Frankfurt, 1995).

62. Al-Musabbiḥī, *al-Juzʿ al-arbaʿūn min Akhbār Miṣr*, 366–420/977–1029, vol. 1: *al-Qism al-tārīkhī*, ed. Th. Bianquis and A.F. Sayyid (Cairo, 1978); Ibn Muyassar, *al-Muntaqā min Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. A.F. Sayyid (Cairo, 1981); Ibn al-Maʿmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī, *Nuṣūṣ min akhbār Miṣr*, ed. A.F. Sayyid (Cairo, 1983); Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fi mamālik al-amṣār: L'Égypte, la Syrie, le Ḥiǧāz et le Yémen*, ed. A.F. Sayyid (Cairo, 1985); Ibn al-Ṣayrafi, *al-Qaṣṣa fi dīwān al-rasāʾil wa-l-Ishāra ilā man nāla al-wizāra*, ed. A.F. Sayyid (Cairo and Beirut, 1990); Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍa al-baḥiyya al-zāhira fi khiṭaṭ al-Muʿizziyya al-Qāhira*, ed. A.F. Sayyid (Beirut, 1996).

63. A.F. Sayyid, 'Remarques sur la composition des *Ḥiṭaṭ* de Maqrīzī d'après un manuscrit autographe', in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron, 1927–1976*, vol. 2: *Égypte post-pharaonique* (Cairo, 1979), 231–58; A.F. Sayyid, 'Early Methods of Book Composition: al-Maqrīzī's Draft of the *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ*', in *The Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts. Proceedings of the Second Conference of al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 4–5 December 1993*, ed. Y. Dutton (London, 1995), 93–101.

64. Al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fi dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, ed. A.F. Sayyid (London, 1995).

sion. Published over three years in five volumes (volume 5 contains detailed indices), the edition is not devoid of flaws.⁽⁶⁵⁾ The most worrisome of the defects lies in the use Sayyid made of the two holograph volumes of the first version. This version was completed by al-Maqrīzī around 818/1415, while the text of the *Khiṭaṭ* as we know it, i.e., the last version published after al-Maqrīzī's death, is the result of expansions the author carried out around 831/1428 and other material he added up to the end of his life. Whenever Sayyid found a more detailed passage in the manuscripts of the first version, he favored these over the last version. The result is a mixed text that does not correspond to what I believe al-Maqrīzī would have wanted to see published. Another major fault is Sayyid's failure to notice that twenty leaves in the second holograph volume of the first version were not in al-Maqrīzī's hand. As I later demonstrated, the author of these leaves must have been al-Awḥadī, a colleague, friend, and neighbor of al-Maqrīzī who had been working on a book on the topographical history of Cairo for years before his untimely death. As al-Maqrīzī himself acknowledged, he greatly benefited from the manuscript (a draft for the most part, but also a fair copy in some cases) he inherited from al-Awḥadī.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Apart from these weaknesses, the annotation is also limited, despite Sayyid's efforts to keep a record of the publications in languages other than Arabic. Among other things, he failed to identify numerous people, technical terms, and concepts.

5.5. The third critical edition: Sayyid 2013

On 15 April 2010, while I was stuck at Chicago O'Hare airport due to the eruptions of the Eyjafjallajökull, I received a message from a PhD student at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. At

65. On the quality of the edition, see my review in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11 (2007), 169–76.

66. See F. Bauden, 'Maqriziana IX: Should al-Maqrīzī Be Thrown Out With the Bathwater? The Question of His Plagiarism of al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ* and the Documentary Evidence', in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 14 (2010), 159–232.

that time, Noah Gardiner was working part-time on the cataloguing of the collection of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts acquired by the university library⁽⁶⁷⁾ from various sources, including Abraham Shalom Yahuda (1877–1951). Yahuda was a Jewish scholar born in Palestine who collected a huge collection of manuscripts, parts of which he sold to several institutions.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Gardiner informed me that he thought he had identified a holograph volume of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* in the section bought from Yahuda in 1926 (Isl. MS 605), and he wanted confirmation from me on the issue of whether or not the handwriting was that of al-Maqrīzī. The few color images he attached to his message allowed me to immediately corroborate that his intuition was correct. He then proposed for me to study the manuscript and together publish an article announcing the discovery.⁽⁶⁹⁾ We concluded that the holograph volume corresponded to the third volume, of a set of four, of the final version of the *Khiṭaṭ*. Together with the two holograph volumes of the first version, this newly discovered volume thus represents a unique witness for the history of the text as well as for al-Maqrīzī's working method.

67. The catalog can be consulted online (<https://guides.lib.umich.edu/islamicms>).

68. In the case of the University of Michigan, the collection came from Yahuda's brother, Benjamin S.E. Yahuda. For details on the Yahuda acquisition, see E. Kropf, 'The Yemeni Manuscripts of the Yahuda Collection at the University of Michigan: Provenance and Acquisition', in *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen* 13 (2012) (<https://cmv.revues.org/1974>). In addition to the University of Michigan, Princeton University (through the donation of one of its trustees, Robert Garrett (1875–1961)) and the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin bought the most significant parts. Yahuda donated the remainder of his collection, which he had kept for his own use, to the National Library of Israel in Jerusalem. The catalog of the collection has begun to appear: E. Wust and R. Ukeles, *Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Manuscripts of the Yahuda Collection of the National Library of Israel, Volume 1* (Leiden and Boston, 2016).

69. N. Gardiner and F. Bauden, 'A Recently Discovered Holograph Fair Copy of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār* (Michigan Islamic MS 605)', in *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 2/2 (2011), 123–31. In this study, Gardiner provides the codicological description as well as the history of the manuscript while I focus on the text itself in order to establish when al-Maqrīzī produced the volume.

Informed of the discovery, Sayyid got a copy of the manuscript. Ten years had passed since he had published the first volume of his edition of the *Khiṭaṭ*. In the meantime, he had received feedback from scholars around the world. Thanks to this new evidence, Sayyid considered an updated edition necessary. Published in 2013 in six volumes,⁽⁷⁰⁾ this new edition has hardly been noticed, probably because it was published such a short time after the first. While Sayyid relied on the recently identified holograph manuscript in Ann Arbor, he unfortunately failed to address all the flaws identified in his first edition, including the mixing of the first and the last version of the text. In addition, his annotations were not improved significantly.

5.6. Toward a definitive critical edition

In the framework of the *Bibliotheca Maqriziana* project, which aims to publish critical editions based on holograph or autograph manuscripts (when they have been preserved) with fully annotated translations,⁽⁷¹⁾ it is clear that the *Khiṭaṭ* needs to be edited, and every detail must be attended to, like the place of the marginal additions and the nature of corrections. Such a project can only be brought to fruition with the collaboration of numerous scholars who are specialists in the fields dealt with in the text, just as Wiet recognized more than one century ago. It is only when this condition is met that the text will finally be faithful to al-Maqrīzī's text and will be accessible with a full annotation.

6. *The Khiṭaṭ in translation*

Because of the interest of non-Arabists, several scholars have called for a complete translation of the *Khiṭaṭ*. So far, this call has only been answered in part. Several sections were translated very early on, often together with the edition provided. Some of these

70. The first volume corresponds to the introduction.

71. On the project, see <https://brill.com/view/serial/BIMA>.

were mentioned at the beginning of the previous section (see ‘European attempts’). It is clear that the section al-Maqrīzī devoted to the history of the Copts and their churches was the focus of most of the attention of these scholars.⁽⁷²⁾ The sections on the markets of Cairo and the agricultural calendar have also drawn the interest of scholars.⁽⁷³⁾

A first attempt to provide a full translation in French was formulated by Étienne Quatremère who started his translation in the mid-nineteenth century, but this effort was not brought to completion.⁽⁷⁴⁾ It was only half a century later that another attempt was made. The second project was initiated by Urbain Bouriant (1849–1903), a French Egyptologist who had also mastered Arabic and was director of the French Archaeological Mission in Egypte (later the Institut français d’archéologie orientale, IFAO), based in Cairo, from 1886 to 1898. In 1895, he published the first volume of his translation, which he had begun a few years before; he announced that it would be followed by three more volumes, including one of

72. S.C. Malan, *A Short History of the Copts and of Their Church. Translated from the Arabic of Tāqi-ed-Dīn [sic] El-Maqrīzī* (London, 1873) (English trans. of part of the chapter dealing with Copts in *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāq edition, 2:480–500); L. Leroy, ‘Les églises des chrétiens’, in *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 12 (1907), 190–208, 269–79 (French trans. of the section dealing with Coptic churches in *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāq edition, 2:510–19); L. Leroy, ‘Les couvents des chrétiens’, in *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 13 (1908) 33–46, 192–204 (French trans. of the section dealing with Coptic monasteries in *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāq edition, 2:501–10); R. Griveau, ‘Les fêtes des coptes’, in *Patrologia Orientalis* 10 (1915), 313–43 (French trans. of the section dealing with Coptic festivals in *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāq edition, 2:501). Other small sections have appeared in translation in research articles. These are not detailed here.

73. A. Raymond, and G. Wiet, *Les marchés du Caire. Traduction annotée du texte de Maqrīzī* (Cairo, 1979) (French trans. of the section dealing with the markets of Cairo in *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāq edition, 2:94–107); C. Pellat, *Cinq calendriers égyptiens* (Le Caire, 1986), 102–09 (French trans. of the section dealing with the agricultural calendar in *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāq edition, 1:101–03).

74. Quatremère’s text, which was meant to serve as a review of the Būlāq edition, was not printed. It is now preserved, together with Quatremère’s library, in Munich, at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. A printed leaf of the beginning of a translation of al-Maqrīzī’s *Khiṭaṭ* is appended to the unpublished review. These pieces were translated by U. Bouriant in his introduction to his own translation of the *Khiṭaṭ* (on which see below), 1:ii–xiv.

indices. In 1900, the second volume was indeed published.⁽⁷⁵⁾ Unfortunately, Bouriant, whose health had started to decline in 1895, was struck down by hemiplegia three years later and died in 1903 without having recovered.⁽⁷⁶⁾ His work was resumed by Paul Casanova (1861–1926), an Arabist born in then French Algeria who became vice director of the IFAO from 1900.⁽⁷⁷⁾ Casanova published a first volume in 1906, followed by a second one in 1920.⁽⁷⁸⁾ In the preface to the second volume, Casanova revealed that the fourteen-year delay in printing was due to his numerous engagements as well as his health problems. He nevertheless planned to continue his translation. His death, six years later, put an end to his project. Ultimately, Bouriant and Casanova were only able to translate the first half of the text of the *Khiṭaṭ*, but not equally well.⁽⁷⁹⁾ while Casanova provided his text with very informative notes, Bouriant's translation is completely devoid of annotation.

The next contributor to the translation of the *Khiṭaṭ* was Karl Stowasser (1925–97).⁽⁸⁰⁾ Born in 1925 in Graslitz (now Kraslice) Czechoslovakia, only two miles from the German border (part of the Sudetenland during World War II), when he turned eighteen, he was conscripted into the German army and took part in the battle on the beaches of Normandy. His entire company surrendered, and he was brought to the United States and taken to a prisoner of

75. *Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte*, trans. U. Bouriant, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1895–1900).

76. See his obituary by É. Chassinat in *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 3 (1903), 213–14.

77. See J. Loiseau, 'Casanova, Paul,' in *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, ed. Fr. Pouillon (Paris, 2008), 184–85.

78. *Livre des admonitions et de l'observation pour l'histoire des quartiers et des monuments ou Description historique et topographique de l'Égypte*, trans. P. Casanova, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1906–20).

79. Their translation ends at page 397 of vol. 1 of the Būlāq edition which they followed. They did not rely on Wiet's translation which was first published in 1911.

80. Most of this section is based on the text published in Clopper Almon's preface and his blurb to his edition of vol. 1 of Stowasser's translation published in 2014.

war camp in Louisiana. After the war, he was returned to Germany and given a blue suit and \$200. He was eventually able to find his parents, who had gotten into West Germany. He entered the University of Erlangen, where he became fascinated with the study of language, especially Arabic. He returned to the United States and studied at Cornell, where he translated the Hans Wehr Arabic-German dictionary into English; he then returned to Germany, where he earned a doctorate from the University of Muenster. In the 1950s, he served as an interpreter and translator in Syria. From 1961, he worked at Georgetown University (Washington, DC) and completed his *Dictionary of Syrian Arabic*, co-authored with Moukhtar Ani; this work was published by Georgetown (1964). In 1970, he joined the Department of History at the University of Maryland. He retired as Associate Professor in 1995 and died of leukemia in 1997.

Stowasser started to work on his translation of the *Khiṭaṭ* shortly after he arrived at the University of Maryland. He received two grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities in 1978 and 1982 to complete his project. At his untimely death, shortly after retirement, the translation and annotations were complete and he had begun work on indexes, but the work was not published. Stowasser worked from the two editions of *al-Khiṭaṭ* that were available at the time: the two-volume Būlāq edition of 1853 and the 1911–27 partial edition by Gaston Wiet published in Cairo. In his division of the text into chapters and paragraphs, Stowasser in fact followed Wiet's own division of the text. Stowasser's notes show that while he used both editions, he often rejected the Wiet version in favor of the Būlāq text. Of course, he may have intended to say in the preface that was never written that he relied on the Wiet text except where noted. But his disparaging remarks about some of Wiet's choices makes that seem unlikely. Stowasser made every effort to understand the text and, whenever the editions did not offer a satisfactory reading, he checked the alternative readings found in manuscripts by Wiet and in the sources used by al-Maqrīzī. In so doing, he almost prepared an edition of his own, one

that was much more accurate than the two editions he had to rely on. He also made the exceptional effort of consulting a copy he had found in Bursa (İnebey Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, MS Hüseyin Çelebi 790, referred to in his notes as HC). Though undated, it is from the end of the ninth/fifteenth century and was thus copied a few decades after al-Maqrīzī's death. In addition to the translation, Stowasser's notes are a major contribution, as these provide information essential to understanding the text.

When he died in 1997, the manuscript of his translation, in the form of a printout in several ring binders, passed on to Stowasser's former wife, Barbara Freyer Stowasser (1935–2012), who, from 1966, had spent her whole career at Georgetown University. In 2001, an international conference dedicated to al-Maqrīzī was organized by Prof. Li Guo at Notre Dame University (29–30 September). I was one of the participants who had been invited to present the results of my research on al-Maqrīzī's working method based on the notebook I had identified four years earlier in the holdings of the library of the Université de Liège (Belgium). At the end of the conference, at Bruce Craig's request, a meeting was organized with all the participants. At that time, Craig was the bibliographer for Middle Eastern Studies at the library of the University of Chicago, and the creator and editor of the *Mamlūk Studies Review* and the *Mamluk Bibliography Online*. He informed all the participants that Barbara F. Stowasser had recently brought Stowasser's translation to him, in the hope that he could help publish it. The decision was taken to leave the manuscript under the supervision of one of the participants who would make every effort to contribute to its publication. This good intention, however, did not lead to tangible results and ultimately the manuscript was restored to Barbara F. Stowasser. When she died in 2012 her estate entrusted the manuscript to the Special Collections unit of the Georgetown University Library.

We might not have known anything about the technical preparation of Stowasser's translation, if we did not have the testi-

mony of Clopper Almon. In his preface to his edition of the first part published in 2014, he states:

I was a colleague of Karl Stowasser at the University of Maryland but in the Economics Department. I had a graduate student who spoke very highly of him, so during his last semester of teaching, I attended his lectures on Arabic history. I learned about the manuscript of this work because he was using WordPerfect and was having trouble making the ḥ, ṣ, ṭ, ḏ, and ḏ used in the ALA-LC Romanization of Arabic. I wrote a macro for him to put the dot under these letters. He was delighted with it, and the dots are all in place in the manuscript.⁽⁸¹⁾

Stowasser thus wrote his text and notes using a computer and a word processor with a system that allowed him to transliterate some Arabic letters that need to be differentiated from others. Unfortunately, the computer source files have been lost and only the printout in three binders is preserved at the Georgetown university library. The translation covers a bit more than the first half of the first volume of the *Khiṭaṭ* in the Būlāq edition, ending with page 285, and volume 4 of the Wiet edition. The first binder covers the first part while the second and third binders correspond to the second part in Wiet's division of the text. It seems that Stowasser's translation went beyond this, as in his notes he refers to the third part, which tallied with Wiet's fifth volume. If this was the case, the binder of this part has been lost.

In 2014, Clopper Almon decided to publish the first binder of Stowasser's translation.⁽⁸²⁾ The typescript was scanned and put through an optical character recognition (OCR) program. Almon then undertook to correct the result. Unfortunately, those letters with underdots and those with macrons (the ā, ī, ū used in the romanization of Arabic) eluded the OCR. Almon knew that Stowasser cared about them passionately, so he endeavored to re-

81. K. Stowasser (trans.), *Medieval Egypt: al-Khiṭaṭ of Aḥmad ibn Alī al-Maqrīzī*, part I (Lexington, KY 2014), 8.

82. Stowasser (trans.), *Medieval Egypt*. The volume was a print-on-demand publication using CreateSpace and was released by Hans A. Stowasser, Karl's son, under the Creative Commons.

store them, fixing some 10,000 of them. As he recognized, he probably missed others. Before publishing the second part (the second and third binder), he expressed the wish that someone could help him polish the text and fix all the transliterated letters. Given my interest in Stowasser's translation, I plan to include, in the future, the *Khiṭaṭ* in the *Bibliotheca Maqriziana* project. I thought that Stowasser's translation, even though partial, could be used as a basis for a new critical edition with an annotated English translation. I thus contacted Clopper Almon in the course of 2014 and we arranged a meeting in Washington, DC, in November of the same year. We reached an agreement with Karl Stowasser's son, Hans, and the text of the second and third binders was scanned and put through an OCR program. Clopper Almon carried out a first reading of the result, and fixed some of the underdots; he then transmitted the whole file to me. I asked him to include the text of the first already published part as well, because I did not think it would make sense to publish the text of the two last binders without polishing the first, which still contained many mistakes. My work also consisted of preparing the layout and transforming all the endnotes into footnotes. Unfortunately, some of these notes for the last chapters of part I (first binder, from chapter 40) are missing in the manuscript held at Georgetown University Library. The manuscript also lacks a preface by Stowasser, in which he could have explained his method and choices, and provided the list of the abbreviations he used in the annotation and a bibliography. I have added a list of all the abbreviations in the footnotes as well as a full bibliography of the sources and references Stowasser quoted. In most cases, I was able to identify the edition he used when he failed to indicate it, though for a limited number of sources I had to indicate that I have been unable to do so. In preparing this edition of Stowasser's translation I refrained from correcting the text or from editing the language. It may thus be regarded as an edition that is entirely faithful to the version left by Stowasser. I also canceled the additional footnotes that Clopper Almon added in the first volume, to match the lack of these in the last chapters, as mentioned above. I

must also emphasize that I did not collate his work with the Arabic original, particularly with Sayyid's editions. This step will need to be taken once the *Khiṭaṭ* is published in the *Bibliotheca Maqriziana*. Needless to say, such an edition with a fully annotated translation must be prepared by a team of specialists, as I have already stressed.

At this point, I would like to express my warmest thanks to Hans A. Stowasser for allowing me to use his father's translation in the future (of course with due acknowledgment), and to Clopper Almon for accepting my offer to work with him on editing the three volumes and for being so patient with the delays we have experienced preparing these three volumes for publication. Finally, I am also grateful to Brill for permitting me to use the Brill font and to Evyn Kropf and the University of Michigan for granting permission to reproduce al-Maqrīzī's handwriting on the cover of the volume of the *Khiṭaṭ* identified in their holdings in 2010.

Frédéric Bauden

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