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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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5Ibid., 1.
6The question of the taking of notes, the existence of note-cards, and the problem of the draft are all briefly dealt with.
7Arab authors seem to have been more interested in these themes, as the bibliography shows. One can cite, for example, the following references: Dāwūd Sallūm, Dirāsāt Kitāb al-Aghānī wa-Manhaj Muʿallifihi, 3rd (sic) ed. (Beirut, 1985); Muṣṭafā al-Shakʿah, Manāḥīj al-Taʿlīf ʾinda al-ʿUlamāʾ al-ʿArab: Qism al-Adab, 3rd ed. (Beirut, 1979 [1973]); Akram Diyarʾ ʿUmari, Mawārid al-Khaṭṭāb al-Baghdādi fī Ṭārīkh Baghdād (Damascus, 1395/1975); Maryam Muḥammad Khayr al-Dirʿ, Mawārid Ibn al-ʿAdīm al-Ṭārīkhīyah wa-Manhajühu fī Kitāb Bughyāt al-Ṭalāb fī Ṭārīkh Ḥalāb (Damascus, 1426/2005).
An overwhelming number of manuscripts probably plays a role in this indifference along with the technical and administrative problems encountered by the researcher who would like to address this issue. No wonder if, here again, efforts have been directed to source criticism and all the correlative issues. For the Mamluk period, the works of Ulrich Haarmann and Donald Little are considered milestones.\textsuperscript{10} Even though their aims are quite different from those implied in this article, their results could elucidate some interesting features pertaining to working method; as Little put it: [while] “what is proposed [. . . is more a] close study of the way in which each historian used his sources and the type of events which he chose to describe, it is also hoped that some insight will be gained into the principles and methodology of Muslim historiography of this period.”\textsuperscript{11} In these particular cases, the inquiry did not focus on a single author and one of his works, but rather on the comparison of several works which revealed the similarity and the confluence in the wording and details in the depiction of a given event.

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{10}Ulrich Haarmann, \textit{Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit} (Freiburg im Brisgau, 1969); Donald P. Little, \textit{An Introduction to Mamlûk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik an-Nâṣîr Muhammad ibn Qalâ‘în} (Wiesbaden, 1970) The latest contribution to this field will be found in Sami Massoud, \textit{The Chronicles and Annalistic Sources of the Early Mamluk Circassian Period} (Leiden, 2007).

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., 1.

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

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

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

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¹⁴Ibid., 86 (on the basis of the description provided by Ibn Ṭawūs in his Falāḥ al-Sā’il wa-Najāḥ al-Maṣā’il and Al-Iqbal bi-al-A‘māl al-Ḥasanah).
¹⁵See Dorandi, Le Stylet, 29-40. The passage in question has been the object of several interpretations due to the ambiguity of the terms used. The process given hereafter results from Dorandi’s reading.
composition of his book. This example from antiquity is given here to show that, in this matter, the working method was a question of innate *modus operandi* which was to be formalized only in the Renaissance period.\(^{16}\)

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

a) manuscripts representing the final stage of a book (*mubayyaḍah, mubyaḍḍah*);

b) manuscripts of the draft version of a book (*musawwadah, muswaddah*);

c) manuscripts of the summaries and abstracts of the original sources used for the composition of a book (*mukhtar, mukhtār, muntaqā, etc*);

d) manuscripts of the notebooks compiled by an author to write his book (*tadhkirah, majmūʿ, taʿliq*);

e) original manuscripts of the sources used by an author with undeniable proof that these manuscripts were in his hands at a given time.

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

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

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\(^{16}\)See ibid., 3.

\(^{17}\)Regarding al-Maqrizi, for instance, see my forthcoming study: “Maqriziana IX: Should al-Maqrizi Be Thrown Out With the Bathwater? The Question of His Plagiarism of Al-Awḥadī’s *Khiṭat* and the Documentary Evidence” (to be published in a forthcoming issue of this journal).
material evidence for the other categories. Still, there is an exception, an author for whom all the above-mentioned categories are represented by even more than one manuscript: al-Maqrizī. Strangely, one of the most representative figures of Muslim scholarship, considering all periods, is precisely the one for whom more than twenty-three autograph manuscripts have been preserved (nearly 5,000 leaves) together with several copies of the sources he consulted, the whole covering all the categories regarded as necessary for an exhaustive study of his working method. Thanks to this abundance of material evidence, it is possible not only to compare the final stages of his works to the draft versions, but also to the (preserved) sources he used (i.e., the original manuscripts he consulted), and to the preliminary work necessary for an author to prepare a book (abstracts, notebooks, note-cards). The discovery of one of his notebooks constitutes a unique opportunity not only for the reconstruction of his working method, but also, more generally, to contribute to the building of an archaeology of scholarship, as expressed by Thierry Bianquis as early as 1997. In his review of an edition of one of al-Maqrizī’s drafts, he recognized the value of these autograph manuscripts and adumbrated the results that could be obtained through their study as witnesses of the author’s technique: “Quand j’avais travaillé sur ce texte à la BN [Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Ar. 2144, “Al-Tārikh al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr”], j’avais pensé que toute une archéologie du savoir historique pourrait être reconstituée en analysant ce type d’écrit et en travaillant en même temps sur l’usage qu’avait fait al-Maqrizī, dans l’Iltīʿāz al-Ḥunafāʾ, du manuscrit d’al-Musabbiḥi que nous avions publié et qui porte une mention de sa main en première page indiquant qu’il l’avait utilisé.” This “archaeology of scholarship,” historical scholarship in this case, echoes the title of Michel Foucault’s book first published in 1969, but it has a different scope. Foucault’s vision was that of a philosopher and his work was epistemological. The archaeology of scholarship, as put forward by Bianquis, is closer to the technical meaning of the first term: it should aim at studying, digging up what amounts to the soil for the traditional

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

19See Appendix II at the end of this article.

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

On the other hand, the scholar might wish to avoid, as often as possible, any

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

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

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

In the following example, the original text reads: 30

where a peculiar grammatical construction is discernible. 31

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

29 Dain, Les Manuscrits, 44.
31 If the word “sanah” had been repeated after “ʿishrīn,” the construction would have been correct according to the rules. See William Wright, A Grammar of the Arabic Language, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, 1896–98), vol. 2, § 104.
There is no other way to interpret the following passage but that al-Maqrizi was truly condensing the source during the reading process. The passage reads as follows in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam’s Futūḥ Miṣr (pp. 39–40):

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

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

In order to establish that this process of epitomizing during the reading operation is typical of al-Maqrizi’s working technique, it is necessary to demonstrate that
similar features appear in the other summaries. It is obviously impossible to deal with all the abstracts present in the notebook and for which the original source has been preserved, but the three following examples regarding two of these abstracts should provide convincing proof.

As already noted, the notebook opens with an epitome of Ibn Abī Usaybi‘ah’s ‘Uyūn al-Anbā’ fi Ṭabaqāt al-Āṭibbā’ (item I). On folio 16a, al-Maqrizī started summarizing a new biography: Socrates. He wrote the name in red ink to catch the eye, and began to read the source and to condense it. There is, however, a marginal note just above the name, which was added later. It consists of the name of the philosopher’s father (ibn Sufrūnisīq [sic]).
To understand why it appears there, it is necessary to turn back to the source and to compare it to al-Maqrizi’s rendering:

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

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

In this case, it is clearly established that al-Maqrizi read a bigger part, i. e., the first two lines, before he started summarizing. He shows here his ability to extract the meaning of the whole sentence concisely, stated here in a nutshell (five words). Then, he discovered that those who were responsible for Socrates’ death were the eleven judges of Athens. In his modified text, this part came at a better place to describe who those high priests and archons were, and so he added this information in the margin, opposite their mention. If he had read the whole passage on this affair, he would have had time to organize it then and would not have added the additional information in the margin. This passage demonstrates, if necessary, that the epitomizing process happened during the reading of a few words or of a whole phrase, but not more.
The last example considers a very short excerpt (item XXIII) appended to the previous abstract (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah, ‘Uyūn al-Anbā’), which ends on fol. 31b. The space left blank (roughly one third of the leaf) was filled in with an excerpt of seven lines. There is no doubt that it ends there because al-Maqrīzī did not write a catchword, as he did for the previous abstract. On the other hand, fol. 31 lies in the third quire which is completed with fol. 35. All these folios, which were also blank, have been filled with various notes taken from different sources (items XXIV–XXX). This excerpt, as already indicated, is remarkable by its very nature, as it was taken from a book of Isma‘ili literature: Kitāb Rāḥat al-ʿAql of Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī. Its mere presence in the notebook might reveal whether or not al-Maqrīzī truly had access to Isma‘ili sources, as he claimed. Several elements found in the excerpt reveal that, at least for this work, this statement was true.

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

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

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In order to understand why this data is found there, it is necessary to turn to the original source and see how the material is organized there. \(^\text{34}\)

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

\(^{34}\)Reference is made here to the following editions: Muhammad Kāmil Ḥusayn and Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ḥilīmī (Cairo, 1953); Muṣṭafā Ghālīb (Beirut, 1967).

\(^{35}\)Fiṭrī: (transcription)

\(^{39}\)Fiṭrī: (transcription)

\(^{37}\)Fiṭrī: (transcription)

\(^{38}\)Fiṭrī: (transcription)
the following chapters, particularly the fourth mashraʿ where the author explains the aim of the book. In al-Maqrizi’s eyes, this was better placed between the historical and the philosophical material already selected by him and left at the end of passage no. 2 and the margin, where he could just write the first word (wa-mawdūʿ). This analysis definitely proves that al-Maqrizi had access to a copy of this work, because he would never have been able to arrange the material in this way if he could not thumb through the book. It also resolves the question of his access to the works of Ismaʿili literature!

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

**ITS CONSTITUTION OVER TIME**

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

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

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40 “Al-mashraʿ al-rābiʿ fī al-garaḍ al-maṣṣād fī tartīb aswār hādāh al-kitāb bi-mā nusawwiruhu min mashārīʾihī al-ẓārī mā ruttībat ʿalayhi.”

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

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

43 Codices made of papyrus are also attested, but are quite late and rare. See for instance a blank papyrus codex later used for various notes (ca. 400 C.E., Chester Beatty Library, Pap. Ac. 1499) in Jonathan M. Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven and London, 2001), 26. Papyrus was particularly unsuitable for this kind of book.
Middle East and the Mediterranean area in the first centuries of the common era and it ultimately outweighed all the others in these areas. Quires, first of papyrus and parchment, then of paper, rather than loose leaves, were thus used for the taking of notes by Muslim scholars. Al-Maqrizi’s notebook shows this observation to be a certainty. Physical analysis indicates that the notebook is composed of 21 quires, most of which (14) consist of five sheets. Some summaries are spread over several quires. This means that al-Maqrizi had at his disposal a stock of such quires (most probably of five sheets each). When he saw that he would lack space to complete a summary, he had two options: either he inserted an intermediary sheet, thus modifying the structure of the quire (for instance, quire XIII has six sheets), or he continued on with a smaller one (two or three sheets, as in quire XVI, for example). In some cases, it happened that he finished a summary earlier in the quire, thus leaving several blank leaves. These leaves were later used for notes selected from different sources, which explains why they are sometimes scattered over several quires. However, when these notes fell at the intersection of two quires, they definitely linked these quires to one another. It thus establishes that those quires were in that order in al-Maqrizi’s lifetime. But we can further refine our understanding of this aspect of his working method by proceeding to another level of analysis. As already stated, two different kinds of paper are found in the notebook: al-Maqrizi utilized blank paper together with recycled paper, a feature which is not characteristic of this manuscript only, but of a large part of his autograph manuscripts. The recycled paper consists of chancery documents which were in the shape of scrolls (rotulus) and were cut into pieces, most probably by paper merchants. It is reasonable to believe that, when such documents were cut, the sheets obtained through this process and pertaining to the same document were gathered to form quires. In this way, we should find sheets belonging to the same document in a quire of the notebook made of this kind of paper. If we look carefully at the distribution of documents I and II, among the five identified in the notebook and reconstructed afterwards, we notice that the first

44 Déroche, Le Livre manuscrit, 16.
one is represented by quires IX and XII and that the second one constitutes quires I to III and XI. This corroborates the hypothesis that those recycled documents were cut up consecutively, and that the quires were also produced according to the same sequence.\footnote{It is even possible to affirm that the production of the quires only took place once a complete document had been cut. There is no other way to explain the disorder of the text of the documents inside the quires. For instance, document I in quire XII is in the correct order if the sheets are arranged this way: fols. 113, 114, 112, 111, 115.} It also raised the question whether or not the summaries scribbled on quires made of sheets belonging to the same document, such as quires I to III and XI (= document II), were written at approximately the same time. The answer can only be affirmative, because if al-Maqrizi had recourse to recycled paper, it was for financial reasons: blank paper, at that particular period,\footnote{At the present stage of the research, it is impossible to determine exactly when the purchase took place, except that it was prior to 811/1408 (see note 52). It is established that archival material from the chancery was sold in 791–92/1389–90, but it is difficult to ascertain if the recycled paper found in al-Maqrizi’s autographs corresponds to this archival material. See ibid., 74. It is important to note that he was not the only one in his milieu to exploit this kind of paper. See, for more details, “Maqriziana IX”; “Maqriziana VIII.”} must have been too expensive for writings not meant to survive after his death, like abstracts, notes, and drafts. In this sense, he probably bought a stock of quires of this recycled paper and used it over several years for various applications, although mainly for the drafts and the notebooks.\footnote{This is confirmed by the actual distribution of this recycled paper in his autograph manuscripts. See the following note and Appendix II (last column, the number in parentheses).} The stock must have been quite impressive: among the 22 autograph manuscripts,\footnote{No. 18 is excluded from this figure since it is a copy of an autograph manuscript.} 13 contain 509 sheets of this recycled paper, more than 10\% of the total number of sheets, but most of it was used during a short period, given that 83\% is found in only 3 volumes.\footnote{The great majority is found in the notebook now in Liège and in the two preserved volumes of the draft of the Khitaṭ (comprehensively 420 sheets). With regard to the two volumes of the Khitaṭ, it is now established that they were written between 811/1408 and 816/1413. See “Maqriziana IX.”} Quire XIII provides evidence that corroborates the idea that al-Maqrizi had at his disposal several quires of this recycled paper. That quire consists of six sheets of recycled paper, contrary to the five sheets usually found in the notebook and al-Maqrizi’s other autograph manuscripts. An analysis of the paper shows that five sheets belong to the same document (no. III in our reconstruction), while the extra sheet comes from document II! There is only one possible explanation: al-Maqrizi realized that he would run short of paper to complete his epitome, but that he did not need a full quire, just a sheet. He thus added one sheet to quire XIII, but this additional sheet was taken from a quire composed of the recycled
paper pertaining to document II. Moreover, if we look more closely at abstract V, which covers quires XI–XIII and IX, we notice that those quires are made of sheets belonging to documents I (quires XII and IX), II (quire XI and one sheet in quire XIII), and III (quire XIII). This distribution of the same extract, written during a short period of time, confirms that the quires of recycled paper were in disorder, if we consider the original documents. Al-Maqrızī selected his recycled sheets regardless of their original order. But this also perfectly demonstrates that the summaries written on that kind of paper are contemporaneous, given that resumé no. I (quires I–III) is composed of the recycled paper of document II. However, there is a caveat. As shown by the actual organization of the notebook, which must be ascribed to al-Maqrızī, as asserted earlier, the quires made of recycled paper were ordered, at al-Maqrızī’s death, as follows: I–III, X–XIII, IX, XXI, while the quires in between consist only of originally blank paper, and, thus, were written later. What could then explain how the quires, and consequently the summaries they contain, became separated in the notebook by these intervening quires, and consequently their summaries copied at a later date? The answer is provided by indirect testimony found in the autograph manuscripts of Al-Muqaffá. In 844/1440, one of al-Maqrızī’s students managed not only to consult, but also to take notes from, with the author’s approval, what seems to have been the complete text of Al-Muqaffá at that time. To describe the manuscript, this student referred to the technical term ream (rizmah), indicating that this unfinished work, unlikely

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


الحمد الله طاعان هذه الرزمة من أولها إلى هذا داعيا لمصنفها بطول حياته العبد محمد بن محمد بن الخيرت القمسي الشافعي غفر الله تعالى له أمين [عفى الله تعالى الدائم 94] ونقل منه واستفاد في شعبان سنة 844 بالقاهرة.


... واستفاد محمد بن محمد الخيرت. .. الله تعالى.


الحمد الله وسلام على عباد والذين اصطفى. انتهى العبد محمد بن محمد بن الخيرت القمسي مطالعة هذه الرزمة ودعا لصنفه بطول حياته بتاريخ شعبان سنة 844 بالقاهرة والحمد لله تعالى.

The Damascene Ibn al-Khaydar arrived in Cairo in 843/1439–40, aged 22. There, he became an associate (lāzama) of Ibn Ḥajar, with whom he studied. He also studied with al-Maqrızī until he went to the Holy City for the pilgrimage. See Najm al-Dīn ʿUmar [Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad] Ibn Fahd al-Ḥāshīmi al-Makkī, *Muṣjam al-Shuyūkh*, ed. Muḥammad al-Zāhī and Ḥamad al-Ḥāṣir (Riyadh, 1982), 389–90. Al-Maqrızī died 13 months after the date of these study-notes, after a long illness. The invocation for a long life might be a reference to the state of al-Maqrızī’s health at that time.
to be completed given al-Maqrizi’s advanced age at that time, was in draft form as an unbound collection of several quires. The position of these reading notes additionally indicates that the actual distribution in the bound volumes differed from the original versions. Above all, this description helps to solve the question of the shifting of the quires in the notebook. If the draft of a work in progress, like the biographical dictionary entitled *Al-Muqaffā*, was unbound in order to allow the shifting of the biographies, there are good reasons to believe that the notebooks were in the same state. Consequently, the quires in the notebook were moved by al-Maqrizi at a given time because each abstract formed a self-contained unit, the whole perhaps placed together within a cover, until he added additional notes and short extracts from other sources to fill in the blanks left at the end and within those summaries. The result was a volume which probably remained unbound. This explains why a quire (IX) could be misplaced later on, well after al-Maqrizi’s death.

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

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55 See “Maqriziana I/2,” 136.
56 See ibid., 134.
various autograph manuscripts revealed that 83% of this particular paper is to be found in three volumes: the notebook and the two extant volumes of the first draft of the *Khitaṭ*. As it has been established that the latter was written between 811 and 816, it is reasonable to assume that the quires made of the same paper in the notebook must be dated before 816. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the biography in quire XXI was drafted after 812 and that the remaining notes in that quire were written between 815 and 824. Additionally, there is the fact that several parts of the notebook, some of which are written on recycled paper, contain information that was used by al-Maqrizi in his *Khitaṭ*, and more importantly, already in the first draft of this work, where they can be identified.

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

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57 See, for the details of this dating, “Maqriziana IX.”
58 See, for instance, the third quotation of item XLV (“Maqriziana I/2,” 103) in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāq ed. [1853], 1:208 = MS Topkapı Sarayı 1405, fol. 76).
60 See Appendix II.
61 With the exception of vols. I and IV. The latter contains a marginal note in al-Maqrizi’s handwriting, however.
various marginal notes he added in different places. The verb used by al-Maqrizi is of particular significance for our purpose. By using “intaqá,” he clearly indicated that he prepared a summary, probably not of the whole work, but rather selecting from among the multiple volumes. This interpretation is corroborated by the evidence provided by the notebook: instead of a unique summary, more or less equal to the mass of the original source, it is established that, among the 71 items inventoried, 3 correspond to summaries made on the basis of this source (VII, XVII, XIX), although al-Maqrizi never mentioned Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-Umari’s name in any of these summaries. Moreover, these three epitomes involve passages located in different volumes in the original source. The first of these covers quires XV–XVI, starting at the beginning of the first quire. From this, it can be inferred that al-Maqrizi started the summary of the relevant section in the original source with a new quire and continued with another quire in order to complete it. The remaining part of quire XVI was left blank and filled with notes at a later date (items LXII–LXIII). The other two summaries are found in quires XVII–XVIII. The first starts on the last folio of quire XVII and ends on the verso of the first folio of the next quire. It therefore shows that al-Maqrizi added quire XVIII in order to be able to finish this summary. However, the second summary based on Masālik al-Abṣār does not follow immediately, but rather is separated from the preceding one by another summary made on the basis of a different source (Ibn al-Ma’mūn al-Batā’ihi). From this, it may be deduced that al-Maqrizi consulted and summarized a manuscript of this source during the period in which he had access to the whole set of Masālik al-Abṣār, i.e., in 831! It helps to date the references to this section of Ibn al-Ma’mūn al-Batā’ihi’s work in al-Maqrizi’s books. This reasoning can also be applied to the references to the Masālik al-Abṣār, but additionally the related parts in the notebook can be dated accordingly. Finally, the notes added by

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

63As was the case with other multi-volume works like al-Ṣafadi’s Al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafyāt (resumé II) or Ibn Abi Uṣaybi’ah’s ‘Uyyūn al-Anbā’ (resumé I), or even his Al-Muntaqā min Akhbār Miṣr of Ibn Muyassar (completed in 814). On the contrary, his Mukhtasār al-Kāmil fi al-Du’afa’ li-Ibn ʿAdī (completed in 795), is considered an independent resumé. For the analysis of the verbs used by al-Maqrizi to describe his summarizing activity, see the next section below.

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

65I.e., summaries VII, XVII–XIX.
al-Maqrîzî at a later date to fill up the blanks left at the end of these summaries can also be situated temporally: they were jotted down after 831. It must be added that this dating has an impact on other autograph manuscripts too, like the notebook preserved in Alexandria, and gives a hint as to the exact period when part of it was written and the related section in the final version of his books, like *Al-Khiṭat*. 66

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

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

67 See “Maqriziana I/2,” 122.
In this case, the manuscript must have been at his disposal during the composition of his opus magnum, though it will be established, as already mentioned, 71 that this work was not begun before or only shortly before 811. Given that the manuscript of Al-Mughrib belonged to someone else, as indicated by al-Maqrizi himself, 72 how then could he gain access to it later on? The inscription indicates that he utilized it 73 in 803, but the word used (istafāda) refers here to more than this, as it was also used by al-Maqrīzī on several volumes of Ibn ʿAdi’s Al-Kāmil il-Dīʾāfā 74 of which he produced a mukhtaṣar dated to 795. If this term implies that he made a summary of Al-Kāmil, then it is clear that the same conclusion can be drawn for Al-Mughrib. This summary, however, is now lost and the very brief notes traceable to this source which are scattered in the notebook conspicuously do not represent

70 Ed. Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan et al. (Cairo, 1953), 10.

71 See “Maqriziana IX.”

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

73 Al-Maqrīzī was preceded in this by several of his colleagues, some of whom were his contemporaries, such as al-Awhadī in 802 (ṭalāʿahu Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn [al-Ḥasan] ibn al-Aḥṣadī sanah 81[0]2), and Ibn Duqmāq (istafāda minhū dāʾīyān li-mālikhī Ibrāhīm ibn Duqmāq ʿafā Allāh ʿanhu wa-rabīʿimātīmīn). Al-Ṣafadī also benefitted from the text which he owned (ṭalāʿahu wa-intaqā minhū mālikhī Khalīl ibn Aybak ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣafadī ʿafā Allāh ʿanhu). See reproduction of fol. 1a of Al-Mughrib (vol. 4, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS 103 Tārikḥ Minī) in B. Moritz, Arabic Palaeography: A Collection of Arabic Texts from the First Century of the Hijra till the Year 1000 (Cairo, 1905), 167.

74 See Appendix II.
the result of the summarizing process. Rather, they must be regarded as extracts selected from the resumé in order to be reused afterwards. The fact that two of these notes found their way into *Al-Khiṭat* corroborates this hypothesis.75 In doing so, al-Maqrīzī probably went back either to his summary or to the original source76 in order to be able to quote the given paragraph completely. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the notes taken from *Al-Mughrib* are not datable to 803, but to a later date.

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

**WHAT FOR?**

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

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

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75The remaining two must have been reused in *Al-Muqaffā* in the parts unfortunately now lost.
76The manuscript of *Al-Mughrib* entered, at some time, into al-Muʿayyad Shaykh’s ownership, who then bequeathed it as waqf to the library annexed to his mosque. See Shawqi Dayf in Ibn Saʿīd, *Al-Mughrib fi Ḥulā al-Maghrib* [*Washy al-Ṭurṣu fi Ḥulā Jazīrat al-Andalus*], 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1964), 1:22. Al-Maqrīzī could have had access to the original as often as he needed once it entered the library of al-Muʿayyad Shaykh’s mosque.
77In certain circumstances, the term also refers to the draft of an author. See on *pugillares* Dorandi, *Le Stylet,* 17–25.
78This border between personal notes and summaries is sometimes subtle. As a consequence, the term is also used to describe the preparatory notes intended for a personal work and even the draft version of this work. It is then opposed to the *syngrammata*/συγγράμματα. See ibid., 77–101.
this perfectly: “For whenever I had taken in hand any Greek or Latin book, or had heard anything worth remembering, I used to jot down whatever took my fancy, of any and every kind, without any definite plan or order; and such notes I would lay away as an aid to my memory, like a kind of literary storehouse, so that when the need arose of a word or a subject which I chanced for the moment to have forgotten, and the books from which I had taken it were not at hand, I could readily find it and produce it.”

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

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

83 See ibid., 78–79, and more particularly for the authorial question.

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

The study of al-Maqrizi’s summarizing activity reveals that he produced both kinds of resumés. Considering first the three examples preserved outside the notebook, we notice that two of them deal with hadith, while the third has to do with history. The first is a resumé (mukhtasar) of Ibn ʿAdī’s Al-Kāmil fī al-Ḍuʿafa', a book which criticizes transmitters and emphasizes the weaknesses of the traditions they transmitted. The text features the characteristics of a resumé

85A. Arazi and H. Ben-Shammay, “Mukhtasar,” The Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd. ed., 7:536–39. This article is by far too restrictive, as it only considers the first purpose listed here.
86Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, Al-ʿIqd al-Farid, 1:2 (وقد قالوا: اختيار الرجل وافد عليه).
88Ibid., 6.
89See Appendix I (nos. 8, 18, and 22).
produced to be published: the title, together with his full name, is written in his own hand on the title-page which consists of the recto;\textsuperscript{90} it starts with a preface in which al-Maqrizi states that he wanted to condense (ulakhişs) Ibn ‘Adi’s work, focusing his attention on its substance. His main goal is to eliminate the superfluous chains of transmitters (\textit{isnād}) as well as his criticism of the traditions, except those he thought it necessary to include.\textsuperscript{91} Finally, it ends with a colophon where he repeats his goal and his name, and gives the date of completion.\textsuperscript{92} The same characteristics are observed in the second resumé, once again entitled mukhtasar, which he made on the basis of three works ascribed to al-Marwazi,\textsuperscript{93} though in this case he focused on deleting the traditions repeated by the author with a different chain of transmitters. But unlike what he did with Ibn ‘Adi’s book, he quoted the traditions with their full isnād, omitting, on the other hand, the non-Prophetic traditions (\textit{āthār}).\textsuperscript{94} As for the third, it consists of a resumé (\textit{muntaqá}) of Ibn Muyassar’s \textit{Akhbār Miṣr}. Unfortunately, only the second volume of it has been preserved.\textsuperscript{95} While the two aforementioned resumés represent the holograph copy in al-Maqrizi’s handwriting, the \textit{Muntaqá} is a copy made by a later scribe on

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\textsuperscript{90}Istanbul, Murat Molla Kütüphanesi MS 569, fol. 1r:

كُتب مُختصر الكامل لأنّي استعِنُ على الله احده بن علي بن عبد القادر بن محمد بن إبراهيم بن محمد بن إبراهيم بن محمد بن علي بن عبد الصمد بن أبي الحسن بن عبد الصمد بن تيمم الشهير بالمقريزي الشافعي) سامحه الله وبركاته، وبهاء دار آمنة دار آمنة.

\textsuperscript{91}Ibid., fol. 1v=

إلى مكتبة الكتب المفتتحة في عصر الحديث وأعمال المحتاجين من الرواة وأشتهى الجهد، وقاذف النار، فأنزل عليه بالخطأ والحيتان، إنّا أتبطأ في أسلوب الكتب. وإنّا من أهم ما ألقى في الرواية على سبيل الإجادة، حتفق على الحديث إلا إذا اضطمرت عن ذكر الأسانيد إلا أنّي أعكر الضرورة إليها والله تعالى (أعمال) أن يجعّل عوناً على ملأ العالم، وسبباً لإتباع السنة، وله أحد أخصم.

\textsuperscript{92}Murat Molla Kütüphanesi MS 569, fol. 215r-v = Dimashqi ed., 844:

الثاني: ولكل ذلك رائدة الفنكوحة، وقد لقي الفكر إليه من الكمال في أسماء المحتاجين من الرواة، وعلل الحديث، ثم راح كتابة أحمد بن علي، والثاني: أحمد بن علي بن عبد القادر بن محمد بن إبراهيم بن محمد بن تيمم المقريزي يبلغ الله نوره وأجمع في الدارين دار آمنة بهمن وذل ذلك عند غروب الشمس، من يوم أحد المبارك مقتضي عام 749.

\textsuperscript{93}These are: Kitāb Qiyām al-Layl; Kitāb Qiyām Ramaḍān; Kitāb al-Witr.

\textsuperscript{94}Mukhtaṣar Kitāb Qiyām al-Layl lil-Marwazi (Lahore, 1320 H.), 2:

أما بعد فاني اختصرت في هذا الجزء كتاب قيل الليل تأليف أحمد بن محمد بن نصر الوردي، رحمه الله، على أنّ أنا أخفت المكر من الأحاديث السنة والأثر وأورد جميع ما فيه من الأحاديث السنة، وأجمعت الأثر مع نظر أسانيدها وأصحابها، والله أعلم أنه على إتمامه، والتوقيع للعمل إليه قريب محب.

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

وأشار النسخة التي اختصرت منها ما كله وذلك في شهر ربيع الآخر، لصف منه من سنة سبع ومائتين وثلاثين [...] وتم هذا المختصر على يد كتبة أحمد بن علي بن عبد القادر بن محمد المقريزي في نصف يوم الخمس لثمن أن يكون من جمادى الآخرة سبع ومائتين وثلاثمائة. والحمد أولا وأخيراً.

\textsuperscript{95}The preface is thus lost. The second volume bears a less indicative title:

الجزء الثاني من أخبار مصر تأليف محمد بن مسرح بن يوسف بن بليل عن الله عليه.

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

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

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

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96 See “Maqriziana I/2,” 100 (no. 62).
97 See al-Maqrizī, Al-Muntaqāq, 157:

98 See “Maqriziana I/1,” no. II.

99 Liège MS 2232, fol. 37v:

100 See “Maqriziana I/1,” 34–35, and “Maqriziana V” (forthcoming).
The same conclusion may be applied to another summary, the one based on al-Ṣafadī’s *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafāyāt*. Here, the introductory section is even shorter: al-Maqrīzī is content with mentioning that the following are “useful notes” (*fawā'id*) he selected (*iltaqqattuhā*) from al-Ṣafadī’s book. No reference is made to the elements looked for or omitted. This may be due to the fact that, contrary to all the previous resumés already studied, the contents of this source are not primarily based on hadith. As with the previous example quoted, the end of this summary is missing in the notebook as it has come down to us, but in this case it is highly probable that al-Maqrīzī went further than what is preserved. Though it is unknown if he condensed the whole of *Al-Wāfī*, there is no reason to believe that the present summary was ever to be published: even though there is a preface, it is too concise to play that role, and furthermore his name never appears throughout the text. Whether he wrote a colophon or not, given that the end is wanting, is purely conjectural. Yet a hint may be found in the last example to be considered.

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

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

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101 See “Maqriziana I/1,” no. V.
102 Liège MS 2232, fol. 101v:
103 See “Maqriziana I/1,” 46.
104 Liège MS 2232, fol. 4r:
105 Ibid., fol. 31v:
this way in order to protect the first page of the text from future damage. The recto is thus reserved for the title page.\(^{106}\) No. I, on the other hand, constitutes an exception: al-Maqrīzī wrote his summary on the recto. This last example allows us to establish that it was meant to be part of a notebook; hence the reason why al-Maqrīzī did not deem it necessary to “protect” it. For the others, he must have felt that it was better to start on the verso because these resumés were perhaps considered as independent elements, given their volume (five quires for the first, four for the second). The analysis of the constitution of the notebook now held in Liège has revealed that these independent elements were gathered together at a given date, notes being scattered later in the spaces left blank, thus joining the whole.

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

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

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

\(^{107}\) At the end of nos. XIII (in the margin: انتهى الخاتم (الخاتم ما قبل في الدرهم والدينار من مختار من كتاب الدنائير والدرهم تأليف أبي بكر محمد بن خلف بن حبان المعروف بوكيع ولم أقف على الأصل).)

\(^{108}\) See nos. XII, XIII, XVIII, XXIII, and XXVIII. No. XV is rather a talkhīṣ of a mukhtār made by someone else and al-Maqrīzī’s words establish that he made the best of a bad job (wa-lam aqif ʿalā al-asl).
where the text tallies exactly with the *Futūḥ Miṣr!*

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

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109 See previous section.

110 See Appendix II. He uses the same term regarding his selections in al-Musabbiḥ’s *Ṭārīkh.* See “Maqriziana I/2,” 96–97 and 117.

111 *Talkhīṣ* is applied twice to such works, both of them made up of traditions (Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam’s *Futūḥ Miṣr* and Waki’ī’s *Kitāb al-Danīr wa-al-Darāhim*).

112 These are only some examples: Rashid al-Dīn al-Mundhirī (d. 643 or 644/1245–47), *Muntaqā Tārīkh al-Musabbiḥ* (see “Maqriziana I/2,” 97); al-Ṣafādī (d. 764/1363), an *Intiqā* of Ibn Sa’īd’s *Al-Mughrīb fī Hulā al-Maghrib* (see n. 73); Ibn Qādī Shuhbāh (d. 851/1448), *Muntaqā Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt,* *Muntaqā Tārīkh Ibn Duqmāq,* *Muntaqā Tārīkh al-Dhahabi,* *Muntaqā Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq,* *Muntaqā Nihāyat al-Arāb* (see David C. Reisman, “A Holograph MS of Ibn Qādī Shuhbāh’s *Dhayl,*** MSR 2 (1998): 45), *Muntaqā al-Ībar lil-Dhahabi* (MS British Library Suppl. Ar. 460); al-Dhahabi (d. 748/1348) (see the list provided by Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma’rūf in *Sīyār A‘lām al-Nubalā* [Beirut, 1996], 1:85–87). The connection with thetraditionists is not innocent: most historians of the period considered still passed through the traditional education system and were first and foremost traditionists. The term *muntaqā* is found profusely in répertoires of texts based on hadith where it means that a disciple made a selection of the traditions transmitted by a master. See particularly *Al-Ṭārīkh al-Shāmī lil-Turāth al-‘Arabī al-Makhṭūṭ: al-Ḥadith al-Nabawi al-Sharīf wa-Ulūmuhu wa-Rijāluhu* (Amman, 1991–92), s.v. *muntaqā.* In light of what has been said, the following words sound somewhat misplaced: “Furthermore, there appeared a new kind of writer who devoted his talents to compiling *mukhtaṣars;* al-Dhahabi constitutes an apt example: the majority of his output comprises abridgments of works by other authors” (Arazi and Ben-Šhammay, “Mukhtaṣar,” 537). Al-Dhahabi’s numerous abridgments are of course linked to his authorial activity, and were
Finally, the analysis of the distribution of some scattered notes in the quires reveals that al-Maqrizi did not prepare a resumé of all the sources he consulted. Some of these were less relevant for his purpose, such as the histories written by Eastern authors, who were less well informed of the events that happened in Egypt, al-Maqrizi’s main subject of study. In the notebook, several scattered notes have been identified as coming from Ibn al-Jawzi’s Al-Muntaẓam and Ibn ‘Asākir’s Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq, two works belonging to this category. Al-Maqrizi was obviously not interested in summarizing these multi-volume books and took note, during his readings, of only the most relevant information. If we first consider Ibn ‘Asākir, we notice that the material selected can be traced back in this source and that its placement in the published volumes reveals the progression of al-Maqrizi’s reading process in this work (excerpts LVI/36–37: vol. 62; LXIII: vols. 52, 69, 70, 74; LXVII: vols. 64, 67). Thanks to this arrangement of the data, we know precisely which parts he read and in which order. The same conclusion applies to Ibn al-Jawzī (excerpts LI: vol. 17; LV: vols. 16, 17; LVIII: vol. 16). These excerpts were clearly written backwards in the notebook, utilizing the spaces left blank. The volumes correspond to the end of the work, i.e., al-Maqrizi consulted the parts contemporary with the author. This was another aspect of his working method: to consider works relating contemporary events to be the most reliable ones. 113

**Summarizing, Epitomizing, Excerpting vs. Quoting, Paraphrasing, Interpreting**

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

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

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113 See also the forthcoming study Frédéric Bauden, “Maqriziana XI: al-Maqrizi et al-Ṣafadī: Analyse de la (re)construction d’un récit biographique,” in a forthcoming monographic volume of Quaderni di Studi Arabi devoted to the working method of classical Islamic historians.

114 Dain, Les Manuscrits, 41.
text (in the case of Arabic, everyone knows the difficulties connected with the cursive script, the potential lack of diacritics and vowels), and the understanding of the meaning of the text, which requires knowledge in a great variety of fields, particularly of technical or archaic vocabulary. Thus, one cannot be content with just reproducing what he sees, though in some cases, this cannot be avoided. These four operations are characteristic of the act of copying. However, in the case of al-Maqrizi, another operation, necessitated by the desire to summarize the text, must sometimes be added, then emphasizing, more than ever, the difficulties of the copyist’s work. The study of the notebook reveals that al-Maqrizi did not escape the vicissitudes inherent in the act of copying and found in every manuscript which was copied from another. One of the most interesting features imputable to the third operation listed above (the silent dictation) regards the idiosyncratic phonetic peculiarities of the copyist. While it is established that a Latin copyist of German origin will tend to write *suafis* instead of *suavis*, in the case of Arabic, a copyist will probably be less influenced by his mispronunciation than by phonetic and grammatical traits of Middle Arabic. This is even more to be expected when the copyist is a scholar engaged in a summarizing activity, during which his main focus is the rendering of the meaning of the text. Of course, the more the text is condensed, the more he will make mistakes characteristic of the language he speaks daily. The question has been considered regarding al-Maqrizi and his notebook, where such features are observed more than anywhere else. The preliminary results confirm that the notebook presents several peculiarities that can be characterized as pertaining to Middle Arabic (orthographical aberrations, morphological and syntactical mistakes), such as the doubling of *lām* in the word *allafa*, the presence of a *wāw* in the aorist (3rd sg.) in *verba tertiæ radicalis*, and the use of a plural verb preceding the subject (*akalūnī al-barāğīth*). Such features will doubtless be identified in the autograph manuscripts of his books, once they have been scrutinized in that way.

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

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115 Ibid., 44–45.
116 See “Maqriziana VIII.”
identifiable as such given that they could be imputed to the source rather than to al-Maqrizī’s lack of attention. Consequently, caution is always recommended when noticing such errors. 117

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

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

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

118 Paul E. Walker, Exploring an Islamic Empire: Fatimid History and its Sources (London and New York, 2002), 222 n. 3.
the script, that he discovered what the word meant and added, in the margin, a gloss preceded by the letter ḥāʾ (for ḥāshiyah, “gloss”). The text thus reads:

wallet day [hashia] the day of the month from the seventh to the seventh

Other instances found in the same summary¹¹⁹ allow us to confirm the meaning of the symbol used together with al-Maqrīzī’s perplexity over several words appearing in this text. Consequently, it can be established that, for al-Maqrīzī, Ibn al-Ma’mūn’s History represented a difficult source, due to the presence of several unknown words. It also shows that a text composed three centuries earlier could contain words which were no longer used and understood by a historian of the fifteenth century.

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

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

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

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

The whole can be illustrated thus:

¹¹⁹See next section.
Thanks to this modification, we can safely infer that al-Maqrizi wrote corresponded to the words he read in the source, which implies that he is not paraphrasing it, but rather quoting it. The modified sentence does not say something different (the *aqwiyā* could express their displeasure towards the land grants, *iqṭāʿāt*, of the soldiers), but is simplified. Nevertheless, al-Maqrizi, of course, understood the ins and outs of the affair, and felt the need to modify the sentence in order to interpret it: instead of considering, as the source related, that they were allowed to complain about the *iqṭāʿāt* of the army, he preferred to let the text imply that they were asked what their complaint was.

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

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

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

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\(^{120}\) See above, p. 14.

\(^{121}\) No. 21 of LVI.
when he did not quote its title or author, and the evidence provided by his books.\textsuperscript{122} This procedure has revealed al-Maqrizī’s extraordinary capacity to extract the fundamental data and to combine it in a concise and well-constructed manner. But it has its pitfalls, in particular when the source cannot be identified with certainty. Thanks to the notebook and taking into consideration the autograph drafts of his works, this method of analysis can be refined in the best circumstances: in many cases, several versions can now be compared for a given source, whether or not it is extant. In the next section, for instance, a synoptical analysis of four versions of the same text is given, from the resumé up to the last version in the fair copy. It is thus possible to follow the evolution of al-Maqrizī’s intellectual activity from the very beginning up to the end of the process. Such analyses will not be detailed here for reasons of space;\textsuperscript{123} only selected short instances will be dealt with.

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

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

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


\textsuperscript{123}See the following forthcoming studies: “Maqriziana V: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam et al-Maqrizī,” where the use of a source composed of \textit{akhbār} and hadiths is studied; “Maqriziana VII: Al-Maqrizī and the Yās: New Evidence of His Intellectual Dishonesty,” where the problem of the interpretation and the deliberate modification of the source are detailed; “Maqriziana XI: al-Maqrizī et al-Ṣafādī: Analyse de la (re)construction d’un récit biographique,” where the analysis of the reworking of data found in a source is scrutinized through three of al-Maqrizī’s works.
The comparison reveals, at first sight, that the text found in the notebook, though we do not know whether it is a paraphrase, a summary, or a quotation, already contained all the material al-Maqrizī deemed necessary. Apart from several names of the subject’s ancestors, the reworked version does not lack any of the information. Instead, it contains various additions which are all al-Maqrizī’s. These added parts do not provide anything new, but rather sum up the exact meaning of the text or place the data in context, and in certain cases reveal al-Maqrizī’s interpretation. A hint that al-Maqrizī is probably paraphrasing some parts may be inferred by the grammatical mistake he made in the notebook regarding the two rulers under whose reigns the subject served. Whereas the notebook displays a 

muḍāf followed by two muḍāf ilayhi (dawlatay al-‘Ādil wa-al-Kāmil), the text in Al-Khiṭat has been corrected according to the correct grammatical rule. The names of the rulers have also been clarified as the data is out of context. On the other hand, the addition regarding the fact that the biographee worked in the state chancery (dīwān al-inshā) is redundant due to the mention of his office (kāṭib) and his mastery of writing (script and composition). The modification affecting his date of birth, as well as the verb used to indicate his death, were also unnecessary and might reflect al-Maqrizī’s desire to modify slightly the phrasing of the source, although the reason which caused him to do so remains unknown. As for the book the subject memorized (Al-Muhadhdhab), al-Maqrizī felt the addition was necessary, though anyone knowledgeable understood which book was referred to here. The last two differences are dependent on al-Maqrizī’s interpretation. His personal knowledge, reinforced by other readings for instance, could be invoked to explain why the piece (qīṭah) became a lot (kathran), but the rather neutral ishtaghala bi-al-adab changed into a more biased bara’a fī al-adab could be the result of his own understanding of the text or of his wish to embellish the subject’s

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

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

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

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

125 See “Maqriziana I/2,” 93–94.
126 See above, p. 25.
them and copying the final version on papyrus rolls. Since then, classicists have moderated Prentice’s views and generally consider that if note-cards were used, it was only in the first stage of the work: for the taking of notes, for excerpts, or for occasional additions to the final text. As can be deduced, the problem resides in the transfer, the addition of data to a written text, and implicitly has to deal with the organization of the material. It is indeed quite difficult to move or to add information in a manuscript, be it a roll made of sheets pasted one to the other or a codex made of quires. If one is working, say, on a biographical dictionary alphabetically organized, he should ideally write each entry as an independent unit, so that it will be possible for him to move it according to the evolution of the work and the discovery of new material. Additional data pertaining to a biography could be added in the margins, if limited, or on a slip of paper inserted between two sheets with a cipher indicating where this addition must find its place. Once the author considers his work completed, a fair copy is produced. The note-card can thus be just a slip, a sheet, or even a quire, but the common feature is that it can be moved without requiring rewriting.

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

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128 Ibid., 25.
129 Rosenthal, The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship, 6 ff.
130 See above, p. 5.
this gap. Examples of note-cards, implying that card indexes must have existed, have been tentatively identified as such in *Al-Mu qa fa*¹³¹ and *Al-Khi ṯat,*¹³² where biographies or details have been added on slips of paper inserted in the quires. In these particular cases, the note-cards seem to result from the necessity to add a biography or information at an already advanced stage of the work, hence the organization in quires, and in this sense these should be considered more as a technical solution, not necessarily implying the existence of a card index. Be that as it may, they correspond to what one can call note-cards: they were produced once a new source was discovered, read, and perhaps summarized; then the data was selected, organized, and quoted or paraphrased, and finally written on a slip of paper appended at the right place in the work in progress. In some cases, the material read could be directly transferred on a slip of paper. At the end, once the fair copy was made, the note-cards were intended to be discarded together with the draft. Nonetheless, an instance illustrating the whole process (summary, note-card, draft, fair copy), therefore confirming the status of the card, had never previously been discovered. It is only by chance that such a witness has survived in the notebook, given that it represents a *hapax.*¹³³

¹³²See Sayyid, “Remarques sur la composition des *Ḫi ṯat* de Maqrizi.”
¹³³Item XXXVIII must have played the same role, but unfortunately one stage of the process (summary) is missing now.
Originally, fol. 145 (items LXIV–LXV) was a loose piece of paper which had been attached to the notebook by a narrow strip of paper by a later owner. It consists of two quotations from Fatimid sources, each one lying on one side of the leaf: al-Musabbiḥī on the recto and Ibn al-Maʻmūn on the verso.¹³⁴ Both deal with a similar subject (the etiquette observed at the Fatimid court on the occasion of the feast of ‘Āshūrā’), and together with the layout as well as the size of the slip (9.5 x 16 cm), it must be identified as a note-card. The following demonstration will corroborate this statement. In Ibn al-Maʻmūn’s text found on the note-card, two quotations may be identified: the first one which, erroneously as we shall see, refers to the year 512 (read 513), and the other one, placed just at the end of the latter from which it is separated by “wa-qālā,” which deals with a similar event that took place, once again mistakenly, in 416 (read 516). Physically, both quotations were rendered jointly as al-Maqrīzī did not indent a new line for the second quotation. It can only be differentiated thanks to the extended form of the introductory word “wa-qālā.” Turning to what was considered by al-Maqrīzī as the recto, it can be observed that the quotation from al-Musabbiḥī is smaller and that it does not fill the whole space. From this, it can be deduced that al-Maqrīzī obviously wanted to separate the two sources although they spoke of a similar event. The result is a note-card with different sources on each side, but all dealing with the same event. If this interpretation is confirmed, it should mean that al-Maqrīzī made it while consulting the original sources or the resumés he made from them, at different intervals. Fortunately, the notebook preserves a short resumé of Ibn al-Maʻmūn’s Tārīkh, now lost (no. XVIII). It specifically touches on events which took place between 501 and 515. On fols. 158v–159r, under the year 513, the text of the first quotation found on the note-card appears in almost exactly the same words. The comparison proves concretely that the aim of fol. 145 was to provide al-Maqrīzī with a tool to be used in one of his works, and this tool could only be a card. It remains that if it was really a card, we should find its text in one of al-Maqrīzī’s works, and, why not, in an autograph copy of it. In this way, the demonstration would be complete and unquestionable. It happens that the text of the card found its way into his Al-Khiṭat and, by chance, it appears in the preserved part of the autograph draft of this work too.

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

¹³⁴Actually, this piece of paper is bound on the wrong side given that al-Musabbiḥī’s quotation pertains to the year 396 while Ibn al-Maʻmūn’s deals with the year 512 (to be corrected to 513).
Turning to the immediately preceding folio (129r), one notices that it starts with the same title crossed out on fol. 130r and, even more strikingly, the title is followed by the introductory words of the first quotation found on fol. 130r (qāla Ibn Zūlāq), although the quotation is not found on fol. 129r. Instead, one reads “thumma baʿdahu qāla al-Musabbiḥī.” From this, it can be inferred that al-Maqrizī wanted the text written on fol. 129 to be inserted after the quotation from Ibn Zūlāq found on fol. 130r. This is confirmed by the words added at the end of fol. 129v: “wa-qāla Ibn al-Tuwayr,” after which there follows a blank representing one third of the folio. Here again, al-Maqrizī clearly indicated that, after this addition contained in fol. 129, the text had to proceed with the next quotation on fol. 130r, just after Ibn Zūlāq’s text. In summary, the various steps may be represented in the following scheme.

**Step I**

مسودة الخط (مخط وقبر), 1470: 
ذكر ما كان يعمل في يوم عاشوراء، قال ابن Zولاق في كتاب سيرة المعز ...
...
...
...
قال ابن الطوير ...

**Step II**

مجمع (مخط وقبر), 1470:
قال السبahi في حوادث سنة 296 ...
...
...
...
قال ابن المأمون الطائفي في تاريخه في سنة الثلث عشرة وخمسمئة ...
...
...

**Step III**

مسودة الخط (مخط وقبر), 1470: 
ذكر ما كان يعمل في يوم عاشوراء، قال ابن Zولاق ثم بعده قال السباهي في سنة بوم عاشوراء يعني من سنة سبت وتسع وثمانية ...
وقال ابن المأمون وفي يوم عاشوراء يعني من سنة خمس عشرة وخمسمئة ...
وقال ابن الطوير 129:
فكر ما كان يعمل في يوم عاشوراء، قال ابن Zولاق...
First, al-Maqrizî wrote a section dealing with the events that took place on the occasion of the feast of ‘āshūrā during the Fatimid period. At that time, he only had access to two sources which addressed this event: Ibn Zūlāq and Ibn al-Ṭuwayr. Later on, he gained access to two other sources (al-Musabbihî and Ibn al-Ma’mûn), from which he made resumés and, a second time, a note-card for this particular subject. The note-card was not inserted in the draft already prepared, although the additional text was meant to be inserted between the texts of Ibn Zūlāq and Ibn al-Ṭuwayr. Indeed, the chronological order had to be observed and, while Ibn Zūlāq spoke of an event that took place in 363, al-Musabbihî and Ibn al-Ma’mûn’s texts dealt with the same event that happened later, but before Ibn al-Ṭuwayr’s quotation. Instead of rewriting the whole quire, which represented a waste of time and paper, he preferred to add a leaf to the quire and indicate where the text had to be placed in the fair copy. He could not indicate it better than by cancelling the original title and rewriting it at the beginning of the additional text leaf. The question remains why al-Maqrizî did not simply paste the note-card between fols. 128 and 130, as he did in many cases in several of his works. The answer is provided by the comparison of the text of the note-card with fol. 129 in the draft of Al-Khiṭat: it reveals that both texts are identical, save some irrelevant discrepancies. However, this time, all the quotations follow each other, without physical separation. And more importantly, there is one additional quotation from Ibn al-Ma’mûn’s Tārikh, regarding the year 517, which was placed at the end of fol. 129v, before shifting to Ibn al-Ṭuwayr’s text: it indicates that another note-card made for the same purpose existed and was copied here. Al-Maqrizî probably felt uncomfortable pasting two note-cards in the same place, fearing that both could inadvertently be taken off or worked loose during the manipulation of the draft. Copying them anew seemed less risky to him. It is clear that al-Maqrizî definitely worked with note-cards with the purpose of adding material to his books in embryo or already at an advanced stage and that he could organize them, in this particular case, according to chronological criteria.

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

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

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135 This is now confirmed for al-Musabbihî, thanks to the reading note al-Maqrizî added on the title page of vol. 40 (see Appendix II) and a note ascribable to him in the notebook (see “Maqriziana 1/2,” 96–97, 117–18 (last page, line 3, read “al-Mundhîrî” instead of “al-Maqrizî”).

136 See above, p. 23.
unfortunately lost, but no less than four different versions of Ibn al-Ma’mūn’s two quotations have been preserved as shown by the following collation. It offers a unique opportunity to scrutinize al-Maqrizi at work in different circumstances: summarizing and excerpting in the notebook; quoting in the draft and the final version of his book. It will bring us closer to his uncertainties, his misunderstandings, his misapprehensions, and sometimes his ignorance. The analysis will also highlight some of the deficiencies of ecdotics nowadays.

\[\text{137 For the sake of space, only the first of these is studied here.}\]

\[\text{138 Al-Maqrizi put a symbol over the word that looks like a \( \text{kadhā?, sic} \), indicating that it required an explanation of its meaning.}\]

\[\text{139 Same remark as above.}\]

\[\text{140 Written مصداً.}\]
As stated earlier, the first quotation of Ibn al-Ma’mūn on the note-card was selected by al-Maqrīzī in the summary he prepared of this source. At a later stage, the text of the note-card was transferred into the draft of the Khīṭāt and later on to the fair copy which was produced on this basis. The quotation deals with the events that took place during the feast of ʿāshūrā during the second decade of the sixth/twelfth century. According to Ibn al-Ma’mūn, on that day, a tablecloth (simāṭ), reserved for that purpose only, was laid in the council of the gifts (majlis al-ʿaṭāyā). He then proceeds to give details on the characteristics of this tablecloth, the dishes, and the etiquette followed on this occasion. The source being lost, it is obviously difficult to say whether al-Maqrīzī paraphrased the original text or not. The general impression is that he was summarizing without significantly modifying the source. A confirmation of this may be seen in the fact that the text is very descriptive and that al-Maqrīzī did not omit words he clearly did not understand. Two instances occur in the text. In both cases,

141 Not as in al-Maqrīzī, Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawāʾir wa-al-Iṭībār, 316.
142 Not as in ibid. Over the word, al-Maqrīzī put a ك as in the resumé, indicating his perplexity towards this word and the necessity to explain it. See note 138 and p. 36 above.
143 Not and جم as in ibid.
144 Not as in ibid.
145 جم is lacking in ibid.
147 The editor added a footnote on the basis of a marginal note found by the copyist in al-Maqrīzī’s handwriting:

148 On this council, instituted by the vizier Al-Afdal, see al-Maqrīzī, Al-Khīṭāt (Būlāq ed., 2:573–74).
al-Maqrizi wrote the words as he read them, but indicated, through a symbol (kāf? for kadha?), his perplexity and the need to provide an explanation of both terms, something he was able to do at a later stage, as we shall see. A collation of the summarized text with the excerpt found on the note-card reveals several discrepancies. First of all, the handwriting is noticeably different in the sense that the note-card is the result of haste: it appears as if al-Maqrizi is just copying the text in a hurry and that is understandable as he is preparing a note-card. It is clearly visible in the less numerous diacritics and also in the modification he brings to the text while reading and writing it: while the summary gave bi-ghayr (l. 3), he changed it to fī ghayr directly after he wrote the words in accordance with the source, deleting them with a stroke. On the other hand, his haste might be the reason why he made a mistake in copying the date. In the summary, the date was indicated in ciphers, while on the note-card, he wrote it in letters. But instead of 513, he wrote 512. Another interesting feature lies in the exegesis supplied in the note-card. The quotation, taken out of context, required some explanation. The council of the gifts, which was mentioned and explained in the summary under the year 512 (fol. 158r), now lacked clarity and al-Maqrizi added the required data just after its mention (yaʾnī min dār al-afḍal ibn amīr al-juyūsh). More interestingly, one of the two terms al-Maqrizi marked as requiring further clarification is missing completely in the note-card (min ghayr miswarah). Did he feel that he could not find the meaning and thus preferred to skip over it? In any case, he reconsidered his decision later on, given that it appears in the draft. Moving to the draft version, the changes made to the summary in the note-card all remain untouched. Nonetheless, other differences emerge: the date, mistaken in the note-card, here became 515 and this is the version to which al-Maqrizi ultimately adhered since it is the one that is provided in the final version. The basis on which this modification in the dating was made is unclear, since the summary, presumably made on the basis of the source, indicates the year 513. If he changed it to the year 515, this means that he found a corroborative indication of this in another source. This happened between the time when he produced the note-card and when he inserted it in the draft. As for the portion he skipped in the note-card (min ghayr miswarah), it surfaces here again with the typical symbol and a vowel. Al-Maqrizi thus returned to the summary and did not just copy the text of the note-card in this particular case. He probably remembered that he

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

150 In the margin: من جملة ما قرر من تنظيم المملكة وتفخيم أمر السلطنة أن المجلس الذي يجلس فيه الأفضل يسمى مجلس العطايا.

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

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

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

153 The text adds: “without brass stands” (bi-ghayr/min ghayr marāfi‘ nubās), i.e., the dining table, with the tablecloth upon it, was laid on the ground.

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

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

The first one has been known since 1797, when the treatise on numismatics (Shudhūr al-ʿUqūd) was published for the first time.155 In this opuscule composed at the request of Sultan al-Muʿayyad Shaykh, after 818/1415,156 al-Maqrīzī, while dealing with an aspect of metrology, added a very personal statement: wa-qad dhakartu ṭuruq ḥādhā al-ḥadīth wa-al-kalām ʿalayhi fi majāmīʿ (“I mentioned the ways of transmission of this tradition and the discussion of it in my miscellanies”). De Sacy thought, on the sole basis of this statement, that those miscellanies

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155Antoine I. Silvestre de Sacy, Traité des monnoies musulmanes (Paris, 1797); Historia monetae Arabicae, ed. and trans O. G. Tychsen (Rostock, 1797).
contained legal judgements. He was followed in his interpretation by Eustache, who went further, conjecturing that al-Maqrizī collected in these volumes the quotations of the traditions dealing with matters he treated in his writings. He consequently could skip quoting some of these traditions in his opuscule, arguing that they were all available in those miscellanies. Eustache was not far from having solved the problem. The majāmīʿ are undoubtedly to be identified with the notebooks where al-Maqrizī summarized numerous sources he utilized in his writings. As already emphasized, the codex leodiensis contains a resumé of Wākīʿ’s Kitāb al-Danānīr wa-al-Darāhim. On fol. 155r, the traditions quoted by al-Maqrizī in his treaty can be read and the temptation to link the reference to the notebooks with this passage is great. However, the chains of transmitters are not provided in the resumé and, of course, no discussion of the question takes place, as it is not a personal work. Thus, the reference is obviously to another notebook. Yet it demonstrates that the notebooks were referred to as “miscellanies” by al-Maqrizī and that they not only contained resumés, but also personal statements on certain matters.

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

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

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157 Silvestre de Sacy, Traité des monnoies musulmanes, 11 n. 16.
158 Eustache, “Études de numismatique et de métrologie musulmanes II,” 152 n. 42.
159 Maqriziana I/2,” 58–60.
160 Istanbul MS Yeni Cami 887.
he borrowed my personal notebooks (majāmī).161 When he died, my eyes fell on what he had written about the story of Timūrlank the Tyrant, and lo there he had copied a section on Timūr’s seizing of Ḥalab that I had written in which I said: ‘A trustworthy witness informed me that he saw . . .’ He copied as he saw: ‘A trustworthy witness informed me . . .’, making the reader believe that he was the author of this section. By God! He did not find this section except in my handwriting.”162 Besides the anecdotal side of this report, which has to deal with the concept of intellectual property and the question of plagiarism,163 another reference to the notebooks is clearly made: they even could be lent to a colleague who could read them and benefit from them, provided, as al-Maqrīzī suggests, that he indicated his source for that information. It furthermore allows us to conclude that the notebooks also included pieces of personal redaction and that these presumably short pieces were called by al-Maqrīzī himself juz’a (a section, but more likely a single-quire section).164

The use of the term majmūʿ as meaning notebook, miscellany of notes, personal or not, is attested in the literature and was even used by al-Maqrīzī, when he spoke of his colleague and friend al-Awḥadī (d. 811/1408): wa-jamaʿa majāmī (“He compiled notebooks”).165 When describing al-Maqrīzī’s activity in the field of history, his biographers had recourse to the same word: wa-tawallaʿa bi-al-tārīkh fa-hāfiṣa minhu kathīrān wa-jamaʿa fīhi shayʿan kathīrān wa-sannāfā fīhi kutub hasanah muftidah khusūsīn fī tārīkh al-Qāhirah (“He was passionately fond of history. He memorized a lot of it, compiled a lot in [this field], and composed in it good and useful books, especially regarding the history of Cairo”).166 This quotation is of particular importance, because the word jamāʿa is used in context with the term ṣannāfa, thus clarifying the meaning of the first: he did not compile a work, but rather notes taken from other sources.

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

فَمَن ذَلِكَ أَنَّهُ كَانَ يَسْتَعِيرُ مَجَامِعِيَّةً أَثْبَةً فَكَبَّرَ مَا وَقَتَ عَلَى أَخْبَارِ الطَّاغِيَةِ تَيَمَّرُ لَكُنَّ مَنْ خَلَفَهُ فَإِذَا هُوَ قَدْ كَتَبَ فَصَلَا فِي أَخْذِ تَيَمُّرِ لَحْبٍ مِنْ خَلِيفَةٍ قَدْ قَلِتَ فِيهِ: أَخْبَرْنِي مِنْ لَا أَنْتَمَ كَثِيرُٰنِي مِنْ لَا أَنْتُمُ فِي وُسُوعَ يَوْمِ الَّذِي نَتَبَيِّنُ أَنَّهُ الرَّأِيُّ لِلْجَزَءِ وَلَا وَلَا وَقِفَ عَلَى ذَلِكَ الْجُزَءِ إِلاَّ مِنْ خَلِيفَةٍ.

163 See, for further investigation, “Maqriziana IX.”

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


166 Ibn Fahd al-Hāshimi al-Makki, Muʿjam al-Shuyūkh, 66.
To conclude this section, it may be stated that al-Maqrizi referred to his own notebooks with the word majmūʿ,167 while other scholars preferred the term tadhkirah (memorandum) or taʿliq (notebook). Though taʿliq could also be applied to these kinds of texts,168 it must still be demonstrated whether tadhkirah was also used by al-Maqrizi to refer to his notebooks. A work of his is so titled.169 It is unfortunately lost, but a later author could still consult it and make use of it.170 The content of his introduction seems to indicate that Al-Tadhkirah is an independent work and not a notebook. Furthermore, a summary, prepared by the author himself (Muntakhab al-Tadhkirah), which has been partially preserved,171 establishes that Al-Tadhkirah was considered by al-Maqrizi as a work and not a notebook: fa-haddāh kitāb . . . intakahabihu min kitābī al-nusammd bi-al-Tadhkirah (“This is a book . . . that I condensed from my book entitled Al-Tadhkirah”).172 The introduction clearly indicates that Al-Tadhkirah was a book on history, organized chronologically, starting from the pre-Islamic period, and that it was meant, in al-

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

168The following quotation shows that Ibn Fahd was also authorized to consult al-Maqrizi’s notebooks, during al-Maqrizi’s last stay in Mecca that ended in 839. There, the word used to describe the notebooks is taʿliq. It also means that they accompanied al-Maqrizi in this travel to the Holy City. See Najm al-Dīn ʿUmar [Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad] Ibn Fahd al-Ḥāshimī al-Makkī, Īthāf al-Wārā bi-Akhbār Umm al-Qurā, ed. Fahim Muḥammad Shaltūt et al. (Mecca and Cairo, 1404–10/1983–90), 1:4:

وقد رأيت خط شيخنا الإمام الإمام العلامة المؤرخ الكبير تقي الدين أبي العباس أحمد بن علي بن عبد القادر المقرزي المصري تعود الله برحمته في بعض تعاليمه ما نصبه (“I have read in the hand of our master, the leader, the well-versed scholar, the great historian Taqi al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Ahmad ibn ʿAli ibn ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī—may God protect him with his grace—in one of his notebooks (taʿālīq) what follows . . .”).

169Izz al-Dīn ʿAli, Arbaʿat Muʿarrīkhīn, 191 (no. 13). It consisted of about eighty volumes, according to Yūsuf Ibn Taghibirdī, Al-Manhal al-Sāfī wa-al-Mustawfā bāʾd al-Wāfī (Cairo, 1985–2005), 1:419, who, however, did not consider giving more detail about it.

170Abū al-Fidaʾ Qāsim Ibn Qutlūbughā al-Sūdūnī, Tāj al-Tarājīm, ed. Muḥammad Khayr Ramaḍān Yūsuf (Damascus, 1413/1992), 85:

وبدع يقول البدع الصغير قائم بن قطليغا الحنفي: لما وقفت على ذكركة شيخنا . . . المقرزي . . . رأيت فيها ما كنت فيه من تراجم الأئمة الحنفية، فاجبت أن الحلق بكل اسم ما تيسر لي من تراجم من تسمي به منهم على نحو ما قصد من الأقتصر على ذكر من له تصنيف (“Now then, the modest servant [of God], Qāsim ibn Qutlūbughā al-Ḥanafi said: When I fell on the Tadhkirah of our master . . . al-Maqrīzī . . . I saw in it the biographies of the Hanafite imams he had written and I wanted to add to each name the biographies that I could of those who were named with it [this name], aiming, as he did, to concisely mention those who have composed a book”).

171Ibid., fol. 2v.

172Ibid., fol. 2v.
Maqrizi’s mind, as a memorandum. 173 Thus, it is impossible that al-Maqrizi used the term _tadhkirah_ for his notebooks.

**Finding His Way in the Notebook?**

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

In one particular case, 174 al-Maqrizi added in the margins, in front of the description of a given event, a heading indicating the content, the whole highlighted by a cipher in red ink, probably signifying _qif_ (“pay attention”).

![Image](MS. 2232, fol. 39v (Courtesy Université de Liège)) 175

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

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فلما رأيت الأمر كذلك شرعت في تأليف تاريخ جامع لأخبار ملوك الشرق والعرب وما بينهما ليكون ذكرى لي آرائه خوف السباق.


175 The headlines read: _khuluj Misr_ and _khalij Sardus_.

176 Even in this case, the headlines disappear after fol. 54r, although the resumé ends on fol. 81v.
Egyptian chancery (fol. 130b, in red ink). On the basis of the scarcity of these headings, it can be concluded that headings were not usually used by al-Maqrīzī to orientate himself in the notebook. Red ink, without doubt, played a role similar, although less useful, to headings. It is found throughout the notebook in various situations: it is employed for the symbol قف put over a given passage or at the beginning of a new sentence. The role of this symbol is to catch the eye and lead it to the starting words of a sentence in the course of a summary covering several pages. In this way, al-Maqrīzī could concentrate on only some points on the page and did not need to read, even quickly, the whole page. Red ink is also featured in keywords, where a stroke, in black ink, is overwritten in red.

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

All that has been said has to do with the necessity of quickly finding something. Once a particular passage had been found and quoted, al-Maqrīzī had to avoid wasting time in reading, once again, the same passage, and more importantly to avoid repetitions. The best way to know whether he had already used something was to clearly indicate it in the notebook. Throughout the manuscript, usually in the margin, in front of a biography, or over the first word of a passage, a cipher looking like the numerals ٣ or ٢ has been added, indifferently in red or brown ink.

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

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

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

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

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

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179In this example, the greatest part of the cipher disappeared due to the trimming.
In an article published in 1986, Geoffrey Khan studied a copy of a decree dated to the Fatimid period. This document is of particular importance given that it is not the original which was released to the beneficiary, but the copy that was filed in one of the registers held in the archives. One of the most interesting features of this document lies in the mark that crosses the whole text on the first page. This mark looks like a big three in Arabic and it tallies exactly with the cipher used by al-Maqrizi in his notebook and his drafts, confirming that this could not be a sīn. Instead, it clearly stands for the word *nuqila* ("it has been transcribed"). It is no surprise to see that al-Maqrizi utilized a mark for which evidence is found on archival material. Part of his official career took place in the chancery, where he was employed for several years. Consequently, he was knowledgeable in all the nuances of this practice. On the other hand, the fact that this mark was still in use in the Mamluk period demonstrates the durability of the conventions of the chancery bureaux. While this cipher worked as a check mark in al-Maqrizi’s notebook, indicating that a passage had been transcribed in one of his works, it meant, when used in his drafts, that a passage had been recopied in the new, either intermediary or final, version. As for the other mark, which looks like the Arabic numeral for 2, it is unlikely that it corresponds to a more cursive form of the preceding mark, because it is sometimes used together with the latter. It could be interpreted as an indication that al-Maqrizi had to quote the passage characterized in that way; hence the sporadic presence of an *ilā*, at the end of the text, and of the check mark as indicated above. If such was the case, this system

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181 See the reproduction in ibid.

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

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

184 See the instance given for fol. 122r above (it is in brown ink while the mark for *nuqila* stands in red ink).
did not indicate precisely where the quotation had to be transcribed. In some cases, al-Maqrizi must have been aware of the place where he wished to use a given text, but this was probably not generally true. Evidence of this is provided by the existence of unambiguous references to the need to copy some parts in his books in embryo. At least two such references are found in the notebook. The first (fol. 122r) was placed at the end of a biography and reads: *yudhkar fi Khiṭat Miṣr* (“let it be mentioned in the topography of Egypt”).

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

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

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

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

**CONCLUSION**

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

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


188 See “Maqriziana I/2,” 127.
The aim of this study was to present the preliminary results obtained through a thorough analysis of al-Maqrizi's notebook pertaining to his working method. As shown in the first part of the study ("Maqriziana I"), the notebook is a heterogeneous manuscript reflecting al-Maqrizi's complex modus operandi. The following conclusions may be drawn, although they still must be corroborated and clarified by further studies on the notebook and the other autograph manuscripts of this author. The richness of the surviving corpus of writings by al-Maqrizi, as has been stressed, is of particular importance and represents an opportunity that cannot be overlooked. It is hoped that, in the future, these conclusions will be applicable to other scholars thanks to corroborating analyses.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Library</th>
<th>Shelf-Mark</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>No. of Lvs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi</td>
<td>Aya Sofya 3362</td>
<td>“Al-Khabar ‘an al-Bashar” (vol. 1)</td>
<td>245 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi</td>
<td>Fatih 4338</td>
<td>“Al-Khabar ‘an al-Bashar” (vol. 3, dated 844)</td>
<td>254 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi</td>
<td>Fatih 4339</td>
<td>“Al-Khabar ‘an al-Bashar” (vol. 4)</td>
<td>163 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi</td>
<td>Fatih 4340</td>
<td>“Al-Khabar ‘an al-Bashar” (vol. 5)</td>
<td>265 (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi</td>
<td>Fatih 4341</td>
<td>“Al-Khabar ‘an al-Bashar” (vol. 6)</td>
<td>276 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi</td>
<td>Şehit Ali P. 1847</td>
<td>&quot;Imtā‘ al-Asmā‘ bi-mā lil-Rasūl . . . (vol. 1)</td>
<td>211 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi</td>
<td>Yeni Cami 887</td>
<td>“Al-Sulūk li-Ma‘rifat Duwal al-Mulūk” (vol. 1)</td>
<td>257 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>Murat Molla Kütüphanesi</td>
<td>569</td>
<td>“Mukhtaṣar al-Kāmil li-Ibn ‘Adī” (dated 795)</td>
<td>215 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi</td>
<td>Ahmet III, Hazine 1472</td>
<td>“Musawwadat al-Mawā‘iẓ wa-al-l’itibār” (vol. 1)</td>
<td>179 (158)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi</td>
<td>Ahmet III, Emanet Hazinesi 1405</td>
<td>“Musawwadat al-Mawā‘iẓ wa-al-l’itibār” (vol. 2)</td>
<td>182 (177)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Leiden</td>
<td>Universiteits-bibliotheek</td>
<td>Or. 1366/a</td>
<td>“Al-Muqaffā”</td>
<td>226 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Leiden</td>
<td>Universiteits-bibliotheek</td>
<td>Or. 1366/b</td>
<td>“Al-Muqaffā”</td>
<td>287 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Leiden</td>
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<td>Or. 3075</td>
<td>“Al-Muqaffā”</td>
<td>252 (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Leiden</td>
<td>Universiteits-bibliotheek</td>
<td>Or. 14533</td>
<td>“Al-Muqaffā”</td>
<td>550 (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Leiden</td>
<td>Universiteits-bibliotheek</td>
<td>Or. 560</td>
<td>“Majmū‘ah” (opuscles)190 (dated 841–42)</td>
<td>214 (0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

189 The number in parentheses refers to the number of leaves consisting of recycled paper (chancery documents).

190 Mostly the work of a copyist hired by al-Maqrizi, it nonetheless contains autograph additions and corrections. Fols. 1–14, 29–30, and 204–14 are completely in al-Maqrizi’s handwriting.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Repository Details</th>
<th>Manuscript No.</th>
<th>Title of Manuscript</th>
<th>Volume</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Gotha</td>
<td>Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek</td>
<td>Ar. 1771</td>
<td>“Durar al-‘Uqūd al-Faridah”</td>
<td>185 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Gotha</td>
<td>Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek</td>
<td>Ar. 1652</td>
<td>“Itti‘āz al-Ḥunafā‘”</td>
<td>58 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Bibliothèque nationale</td>
<td>Ar. 1688</td>
<td>“Al-Muntaqá min Akhbār Miṣr li-Ibn Muyassar” (dated 814)</td>
<td>94 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Bibliothèque nationale</td>
<td>Ar. 2144</td>
<td>“Al-Muqaffā‘”</td>
<td>260 (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Alexandria</td>
<td>Bibliotheca Alexandrina</td>
<td>Tārikh 2125/d</td>
<td>Notebook</td>
<td>52 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Damascus</td>
<td>Maktabat al-Asad</td>
<td>4805</td>
<td>“Dhikr Binā‘ al-Ka‘bah al-Bayt al-Ḥarām” + various notes</td>
<td>78 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>Oriental Manuscripts Library and Research Institute</td>
<td>937</td>
<td>“Mukhtasār Qiyām al-Layl wa-Qiyām Ramadān wa-Kitāb al-Wil‘ lil-Marwazi” (dated 807)</td>
<td>??? (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Liège</td>
<td>Bibliothèque universitaire</td>
<td>2232</td>
<td>Notebook</td>
<td>209 (85)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>23 MSS</td>
<td></td>
<td>4714 (509)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

191 The manuscript is not, strictly speaking, an autograph, but a copy of the autograph which was dated 814. However, it remains useful as it faithfully mirrors the result of al-Maqrizi’s summarizing activity.
192 Previously in al-Maktabah al-Baladiyah, Alexandria. See ‘Izz al-Din ‘Ali, Arba‘at Mu‘arrikhin, 214 (no. 39), who was the first to mention it.
## APPENDIX II: AL-MAQRIZI’S NOTES OF CONSULTATION ON MANUSCRIPTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CITY</th>
<th>LIBRARY</th>
<th>SHELF-MARK</th>
<th>AUTHOR</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>DATE</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manchester</td>
<td>J. Rylands Library</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmari</td>
<td>“Masālik al-Abṣār” (vol. 20)</td>
<td>831195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi</td>
<td>Laleli 1037</td>
<td>Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmari</td>
<td>“Masālik al-Abṣār” (vol. 6)</td>
<td>831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi</td>
<td>Yazma başıșlar 1917</td>
<td>Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmari</td>
<td>“Masālik al-Abṣār” (vol. 26)</td>
<td>831</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
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<td>Ar. 2327</td>
<td>Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmari</td>
<td>“Masālik al-Abṣār” (vol. 17)</td>
<td>831</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rabat</td>
<td>al-Khizānah al-ʿAmmah</td>
<td>240–241 qāf</td>
<td>Ibn al-Furāt</td>
<td>“Al-Tārīkh” (vol. 5)</td>
<td>818197</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

193 Two volumes. The note, on two lines (fol. 1a), reads in each volume as follows: استقاد منه داعياً لمالكه أحمد بن علي لتفقه الله. See Fihrist al-Makhtūṭāt: Al-Mujallad al-Awwal: Muṣṭalah al-Hadith (Cairo, 1375/1956), 279. The date appears in the resumé he made of this text (Istanbul, Murat Molla Kütüphanesi MS 569, autograph, fol. 215b. See also al-Maqrīzī, Mukhtasār al-Kāmil, 844).

194 Five volumes. The note, on two lines (fol. 1a), reads in each volume as follows: استقاد منه داعياً لمالكه أحمد بن علي لتفقه الله. See Fihrist al-Makhtūṭāt (al-Hadith), 279. For the date, see the preceding note.

195 Part of the same partial set composed of ten volumes now scattered in various European libraries. The inscription, placed on the title page of each volume, reads: انتقاء داعياً لمعيره أحمد بن علي لتفقه الله. See also al-Maqrīzī, Al-Khiṭṭat, Sayyid ed., 1:198 n. 2.

196 The inscription is equivalent to the one found in vol. 20. See preceding note. This is valid for all the other volumes of this set listed below.

197 Part of the same set now scattered between Vienna, Rabat, and the Vatican (autograph manuscripts of Ibn al-Furāt). See ibid., 1:64 (of the introduction); Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, Al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī al-Makhtūṭ wa-ʾIbn al-Makhtūṭāt (Cairo, 1997), 2:341, where only the date is provided. The note must be similar to the one found on the volume in the Vatican Library (see next footnote).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vatican</th>
<th>Biblioteca apostolica vaticana</th>
<th>Ar. 726</th>
<th>Ibn al-Furát</th>
<th>“Al-Târîkh”</th>
<th>818(^{198})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vienna</td>
<td>Österreichische National-</td>
<td>AF 123</td>
<td>Ibn al-Furát</td>
<td>“Al-Târîkh” (vol. 7)</td>
<td>819(^{199})</td>
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<td></td>
<td>bibliothek</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dublín</td>
<td>Chester Beatty Library</td>
<td>Ar. 3315</td>
<td>Ibn al-Nadim</td>
<td>“Al-Fihrîst” (vol. 1)</td>
<td>824(^{200})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>Dâr al-Kutub</td>
<td>Târîkh 103 mim</td>
<td>Ibn Sa’îd</td>
<td>“Al-Mughrib”</td>
<td>803(^{201})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balasfiru (Sûhâj)</td>
<td>Private library</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Ibn Sa’îd</td>
<td>“Al-Mughrib”</td>
<td>803(^{202})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escorial</td>
<td>Library</td>
<td>534 (fols. 132–289)</td>
<td>al-Musabbihi</td>
<td>“Akhbâr Miṣr” (vol. 40)</td>
<td>807(^{203})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lost?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ibn al-Khâṭîb</td>
<td>“Al-Iḥāṭah”</td>
<td>808(^{204})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{198}\) The note appears on fol. 291b and is almost illegible today. The month and the date are illegible, but were read, almost a century ago, by Eugenius Tisserant, Specimina codicum orientalium (Bonnae, 1914), p. XXXIII, who, however, was unable to read the second and the third words. See also Claude Cahen, “Quelques chroniques anciennes relatives aux derniers Fatimides,” Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale 37 (1937): 15 n. 6.

\(^{199}\) On fol. 95b: إنتقاه داعيا لملكه أحمد بن علي المقرزي فرغ منه فيصرف سنة 819.

\(^{200}\) Part of the same set in two volumes, the second being in Istanbul (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi MS Şehid Ali Paşa 1934). The note, which appears on fol. 1a of volume 1 only, is difficult to read today: إنتقاه... أحمد بن علي المقرزي سنة 824. See Muhammad Ibn Ishâq al-Nadîm, Al-Fihrîst, ed. Riḍâ Tajaddud (Tehran, 1971), bâṭ and pl. 1. The reading given by the editor in al-Maqrizî, Al-Ḥiṭât, Sayyid ed., 1:89° (استقدامه داعيا لملكيه أحمد بن علي المقرزي سنة 823), is partly erroneous and conjectural given the actual state of this reading note.


\(^{202}\) Part of the same set as the preceding one (autograph manuscript of Ibn Sa’îd), same note as above. A microfilm of this manuscript is held at the Dâr al-Kutub al-Miṣrîyah, Cairo (Târîkh 103 mim; see Fu’âd Sayyid, Fihrîst al-Makhtûṭât: Nashrâh bi-al-Makhtûṭât allâlat Iqtanathâ al-Dâr min Sanah 1936–1955 [Cairo, 1380–83/1961–63], 3:81).


\(^{204}\) The reading note was noticed by al-Maqzî, during a stay in Cairo, on the autograph copy sent by Ibn al-Khâṭîb. It read: إنتقاه داعيا لملكيه أحمد بن علي المقرزي في شهر ربيع [ك] سنة ثمانان وثمانمادان. See Aḥmâd ibn Muhammad Al-Maqzî, Naʾîf al-Tîb min Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Râṭîb, ed. Muhammad Muḥîy al-Dîn ʿAbd al-Ḥamîd (Cairo, 1369/1949), 9:312.