

ISMAILI AND FATIMID STUDIES
IN HONOR OF
PAUL E. WALKER

Edited by Bruce D. Craig

Contents

Biography	vii
Publications	ix
Editor's Introduction	xxi
Hidden Imams and Mahdis in Ismaili History FARHAD DAFTARY	1
<i>Kawn al-Ālam</i> : The cosmogony of the Ismā'īlī <i>dā'ir</i> Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī WILFERD MADELUNG	23
Maqriziana XII. Evaluating the Sources for the Fatimid Period: Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī's <i>History</i> and Its Use by al-Maqrizī (with a Critical Edition of His Résumé for the Years 501–515 A.H.) FRÉDÉRIC BAUDEN	33
Sources for al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's Works and Their Authenticity ISMAIL K. POONAWALA	87
Was Nāṣir-e Ḥusraw a Great Poet and Only a Minor Philosopher? Some Critical Reflections on his Doctrine of the Soul DANIEL DE SMET	101
A Shī'ī-Mu'tazilī Poem of al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād (d. 385/995) MAURICE A. POMERANTZ	131
An Illustration of the Caliph al-Ḥākim together with his Astronomer/Astrologer Ibn Yūnus DAVID A. KING	151
The Almohads and the Fatimids MARIBEL FIERRO	161
Church Building, Repair, and Destruction in Fatimid Egypt MARLIS J. SALEH	177
Urban Violence at Baghdad in the Rivalry between the Abbasid and Fatimid Caliphates ABBAS HAMDANI	197

Frédéric Bauden

**Maqriziana XII. Evaluating the Sources for the
Fatimid Period: Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī's
History and Its Use by al-Maqrīzī (with a Critical
Edition of His Résumé for the Years 501–515 A.H.)**

[...], because the history of the Fatimids in Egypt depends so heavily on the contribution of later Ayyubid and Mamluk writers, al-Maqrīzī's unusual attention to them—and the sheer volume of his works in which they play a major role—make of him the pre-eminent source for it. All that he had to say, therefore, in whichever context—and in all of them together—must be carefully compared prior to a final judgement about almost any detail that he relates.

Paul Walker, *Exploring an Islamic Empire*, p. 168–9.

Paul Walker's words remind us that historians of the Fatimid period cannot ignore al-Maqrīzī's contribution to the field. Nevertheless, the bulk of material he transmitted us in his various books still needs to be assessed in the light of philology applied to all the witnesses of his intellectual activity. One of the sources al-Maqrīzī frequently refers to is the *History* of Ibn al-Ma'mūn, an author from the sixth/twelfth century who witnessed the collapse of the Fatimid dynasty, which his father had served for several years at the dawn of the century. We know little about this author and his work, but a résumé prepared by al-Maqrīzī for the years 501/1107–8–515/1121 and preserved in the *Codex leodiensis*¹ provides us with some

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¹On this manuscript, see Frédéric Bauden, “Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method, Description: Section 1,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7 (2003): 21–68; Frédéric Bauden, “Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method, Description: Section 2,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10/2 (2006): 81–139. The résumé of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History* is on fol. 157a-160b.

answers about both his life and the contents of his work. More significantly perhaps, the study of the résumé combined with al-Maqrīzī's autographs reveals under what circumstances and at what time of his intellectual activity he gained access to this particular source. That is, it brings us closer to his *modus operandi*. As this résumé is the unique trace of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*, aside from the quotations in al-Maqrīzī's works and in a handful of other sources,² we present the first critical edition of this text at the end of this article as a token of appreciation of Paul Walker's achievement in this field.

Before this, and in order better to understand who Ibn al-Ma'mūn was—when he lived and died, who his family was, and what period his *History* covered—we need to gather all the information available to us.

IBN AL-MA'MŪN: A "FAMOUS UNKNOWN" AUTHOR

Even though any researcher working on the Fatimid period cannot ignore Ibn al-Ma'mūn's name, it is as if he has dwindled into oblivion. Indeed, a quick search in the classical bio-bibliographical references gives no result at all.³ In other words, he is like the phoenix: everybody knows who he is, but nobody knows where to find him.⁴ This is no surprise if we consider that the body of these reference books consists of material collected in various bio-bibliographical works produced in the Islamic civilization. This consequently indicates that these major works have not transmitted the slightest bit of information regarding Ibn al-Ma'mūn and his *History*. As a matter of fact, before 1970 no biographical data relevant to this author was available, and it is only the publication, in that year, of the section of Ibn Sa'īd al-Andalusī's *al-Mughrib fī Ḥulā al-Maghrib* dealing with Egypt that finally brought to light first-hand material. Being the one and only biography

²These quotations by al-Maqrīzī and al-Nuwayrī have been collected in the following book: Mūsā Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī, *Nuṣūs min akhbār Miṣr*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1983).

³He is not mentioned in Ḥājjī Khalīfah's *Kashf al-Zunūn 'an Asāmī al-Kutub wa-l-Funūn*, C. Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Ismā'īl Bāshā al-Baghdādī's *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn* or *Hadiyyat al-Ārifīn*, al-Ziriklī's *al-A'lām*, 'Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥālah's *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, or even the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. The first attempt to understand who he was and what period his work covered was made by Carl H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, 2 vols. (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1902), 1:23.

⁴Cf. the Italian proverb attributed to Pietro Metastasio (1698–1782) indicating that somebody or something is untraceable: *Essere come l'Araba Fenice* (*To be like the Arabian Phoenix*).

preserved, we give here its full translation:⁵ “Jamāl al-Mulk, the emir, Abū ‘Alī Mūsá, the son of the vizier al-Ma’mūn al-Baṭā’ihī. His father was vizier under al-Āmir, the caliph of Egypt, and he [al-Āmir] killed him. His son grew as a man of letters (*adīb*) and composed a book on their [the Fatimids] history. I read it and I have seen nothing more senseless than it. It stands in four volumes from which someone could hardly select anything, and this would probably still be insignificant.”

Ibn Sa‘īd, who completed this work in 641/1243 (the autograph manuscripts being dated between 645/1247 and 647/1249) and died in 685/1286, could not have known Ibn al-Ma’mūn. However, he arrived in Egypt a few decades after the fall of the Fatimids and could still exploit several works written during that period. Hence, his depiction of Ibn al-Ma’mūn and his work is unique, and it is the most contemporary account we have for this author.

Combined with all the scarce pieces of information obtainable in various sources, and with the data provided by al-Maqrīzī in his résumé and his works, this biography allows us to portray better than ever the identity of Ibn al-Ma’mūn and the scope of his *History*.

His full name was Jamāl al-Mulk⁶ Abū ‘Alī Mūsá ibn Muḥammad ibn Fātik ibn Mukhtār ibn Ḥasan ibn Tammām Ibn al-Baṭā’ihī. Obviously, he was the son of the vizier who held this position after the assassination of his master al-Afḍal (d. 515/1121).⁷ Before that, al-Afḍal had selected his father as one of his personal servants (*farrāsh*⁸) and soon thereafter promoted him to major-domo (*ustādār*). He was not the only member of his family to win

⁵‘Alī ibn Mūsá Ibn Sa‘īd al-Andalusī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah fī ḥulá ḥaḍrat al-Qāhirah: al-qism al-khāṣṣ bi-l-Qāhirah min Kitāb al-Mughrib fī ḥulá al-Maghrib*, ed. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub, 1970), 363.

⁶Not Jamāl al-Dīn as in Ayman Fu’ād Sayyid, “Lumières nouvelles sur quelques sources de l’histoire fatimide,” *Annales islamologiques* 13 (1977): 1–41, p. 20 and Ibn al-Ma’mūn al-Baṭā’ihī, *Nuṣūs min akhbār Miṣr*, title page and p. *kāf* of the introduction; nor Jamāl al-Dīn wa-l-Mulk as in Carl H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, 1:23.

⁷For al-Ma’mūn Ibn al-Baṭā’ihī, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (second edition), 1:1091 (art. by D.M. Dunlop). This article was written at a time when an important source had not yet been published, i.e. al-Maqrīzī’s *al-Muqaffá al-kabīr*, ed. M. al-Ya’lāwī, 8 vols., (Beirut, Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1987–1991), 6:478–500 (no. 2999). Al-Ma’mūn’s name was not al-Baṭā’ihī, as generally thought, but Ibn al-Baṭā’ihī, as is confirmed by al-Maqrīzī in the heading of his résumé (*al-ma’rūf wāliduḥu bi-Ibn al-Baṭā’ihī*).

⁸The word designated a person who was responsible for the spreading of carpets, the preparation of furniture in a room, or even the erection of a tent.

the favor of al-Afḍal: two of his brothers, named Abū Turāb Ḥaydarah and Abū al-Faḍl Jaʿfar entered in the latter's service at about the same time.⁹ Ḥaydarah eventually became governor of Alexandria in 517/1123 and, in all likelihood, got his titles (al-Mu'taman Sulṭān al-Mulūk), on that occasion.¹⁰ On the other hand, al-Ma'mūn made his brother Jaʿfar bearer of the private sword and, later on, also keeper of the treasury of the garments and of the pay office.¹¹ However, many more members of the family were involved in the management of state affairs: when al-Ma'mūn was arrested, on 4 Ramaḍān 519/4 October 1125, a similar fate befell five of his brothers and some thirty men belonging to his entourage and family.¹² Eventually, al-Ma'mūn and his brothers were all crucified in 522/1128, except for Jaʿfar, who was released.¹³ The Banū al-Baṭā'ihī clearly constituted an important family with several representatives working at different levels in the political machinery of the Fatimid dynasty: in fact, the ancestors of the vizier al-Ma'mūn had also played a significant role at some stage in the Fatimid regime, given that they had all borne the title of *amīr*.¹⁴ The author of the *History*, Ibn al-Ma'mūn, was not his only son. The names of at least three brothers are known: Tāj al-Ri'āsah, Tāj al-Khilāfah, and Sa'd al-Mulḳ Maḥmūd.¹⁵ Their titles might well indicate that they also participated at some level in the administration. Ibn al-Ma'mūn also bore the title of *amīr*,¹⁶ an indication that he, too, was

⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad Al-Ya'lāwī, 6:479. Al-Ma'mūn's father is said to have died in 512/1118–9. See Ibn Muyassar, *al-Muntaqā min Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1981), p. 104.

¹⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, 6:497 (*wilāyat al-Iskandariyyah wa-l-a'māl al-baḥriyyah*). See his long biography in al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, 3:715–18 (no. 1321).

¹¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, 3:40.

¹² Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, 6:498.

¹³ He died in 549/1154–5, leaving numerous offspring (7 sons and 4 daughters). Some of them were still living in 576/1180–1, and all were in debt at that time. In order to pay off their debts, they had to sell their family's mausoleum.

¹⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, 6:479 (all the ancestors of al-Ma'mūn going back to his great-grandfather are given this title by al-Maqrīzī).

¹⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iẓ wa-l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, 2 vols. (Būlāq, 1270 H/[1853]) [= *al-Khiṭaṭ'*], 1:411 = Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iẓ wa-l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, 5 vols. (London: Mu'assasat al-Furqān, 1422–1425 H/2002–2004) [= *al-Khiṭaṭ'*], 2:364 = Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī, *Nuṣūs min akhbār Miṣr*, p. 52.

¹⁶ See the first line of al-Maqrīzī's résumé, where this word has been added in the margin at a later date by al-Maqrīzī, which proves that he found this piece of information further

engaged in the regime's administration, along with several other members of his family, during al-Ma'mūn's vizierate or later. However, it might be that this title, in his case, was merely honorific, because Ibn Sa'īd explicitly states that Ibn al-Ma'mūn grew up as a man of letters (*nasha'a adībān*), meaning that he spent his life as an intellectual and nothing else. We can see a confirmation that he managed to remain detached from politics in the fact that he lived longer than any other relative, even witnessing the fall of the Fatimid dynasty. That said, it is difficult to know precisely if Ibn al-Ma'mūn was the youngest of his brothers. Nevertheless, this was probably the case considering that he died on 16 Jumadā I 588/30 May 1192, being the last member of the family according to al-Maqrīzī,¹⁷ and that his brother Tāj al-Ri'āsah had predeceased him in 544/1149.¹⁸ This is also confirmed by the date of his birth: his father died on 20 Rajab 522/20 July 1128,¹⁹ which provides us with a *terminus ante quem*. If Ibn al-Ma'mūn died in 588/1192, it means that he outlived his father by at least 64 years. The date of his birth can even be pushed back a little bit earlier if we assume that it happened before his father was imprisoned (in 519/1125). He was thus at least 67 years old when he passed away, and we may be confident that he must have been young, probably still a kid, when his father was assassinated, a fact of considerable importance for understanding the circumstances in which he wrote his *History*.²⁰ This is all that can be reconstructed of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's life from these scraps, which does not add up to very much. The situation is somewhat better as regards his *History*.

on in Ibn al-Ma'mūn's book.

¹⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ziyādah and Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr, (Cairo: Lajnat al-Ta'lif wa-l-Tarjamah wa-l-Nashr/Markaz Taḥqīq al-Turāth, 1934–1973), 1:111.

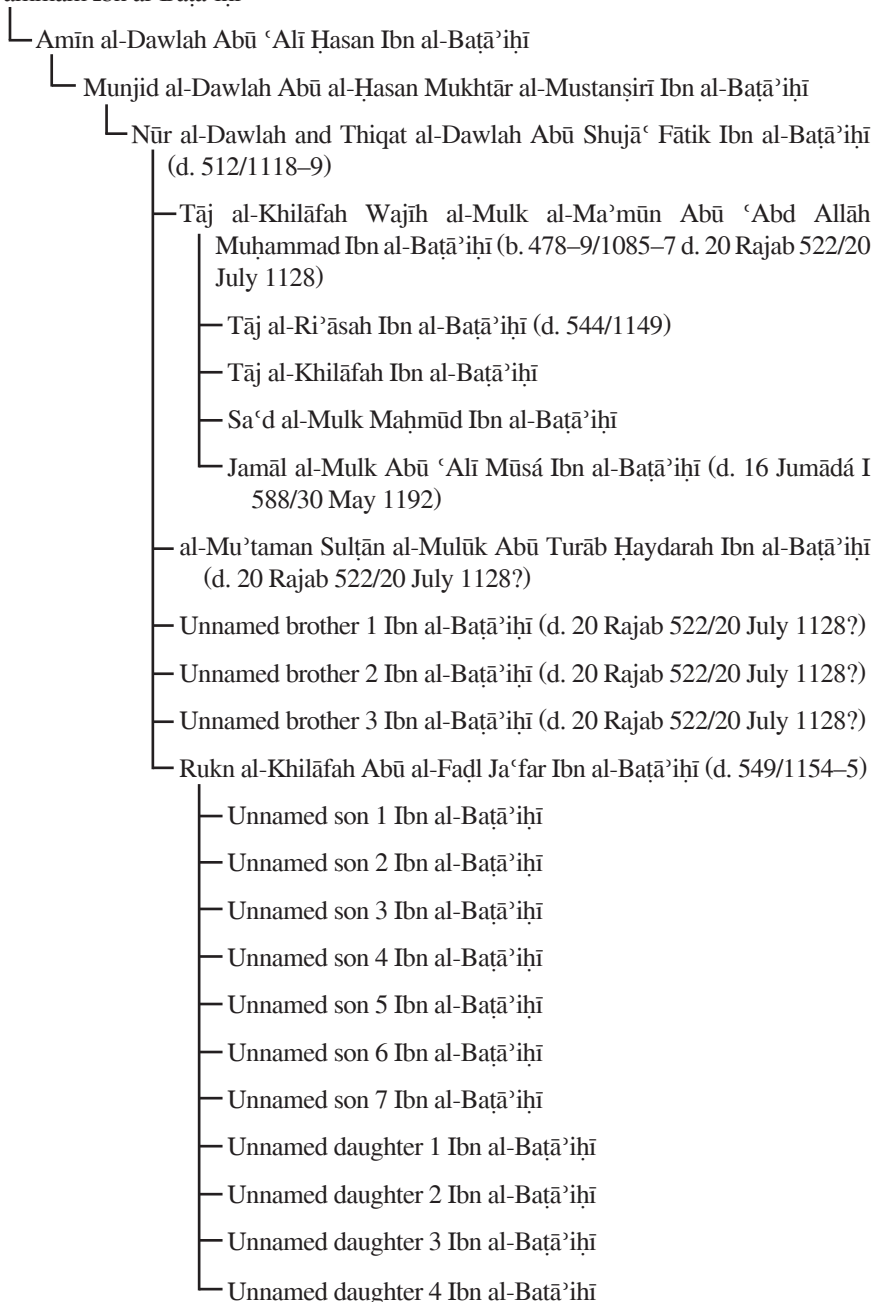
¹⁸ Ibn Muyassar, *al-Muntaqá*, p. 144.

¹⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá al-kabīr*, 6:499.

²⁰ Becker, who ignored the date of his death, believed that he was born much earlier, on the sole basis that he bore the title of emir, which Becker thought was given to him when his father was still in office. See Carl H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, *ibid*.

THE BANŪ AL-BAṬĀ'IHĪ

Tammām Ibn al-Baṭā'ihī



IBN AL-MA'MŪN'S *HISTORY*: TITLE AND CONTENTS

From a bibliographical point of view, Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History* is as obscure as its author.²¹ Fortunately, at least five later authors, aside from al-Maqrīzī, knew of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's work.²² Among these, four made use of it, which means that they had access to it. We have seen that one of these authors, Ibn Sa'īd, gave a negative evaluation of the work; this judgment had nothing to do with the fact that Ibn al-Ma'mūn's work dealt with facts pertaining to the Fatimid period. Ideology played no role here, as Ibn Sa'īd cited several other Fatimid sources such as al-Qurṭī (active mid-sixth/mid-twelfth century).²³ If he did not make use of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*, it is rather because he estimated that the work could not be epitomized (*lā yaqdarū al-muntaqī yakhtāru minhu shay'an illā ma nadara*). We might have taken the truth of Ibn Sa'īd's view for granted if it were not for the résumé that existed in Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's time²⁴ and the one al-Maqrīzī prepared, which show that

²¹To the classical bio-bibliographical sources mentioned above for Ibn al-Ma'mūn's biography, one must add al-Sakhāwī's *al-I'lān bi-l-Tawbīkh li-Man Dhamma Ahl al-Tawrikh*. The work is not quoted in it aside from the fact that al-Sakhāwī devoted a section to the histories of the viziers in which Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History* should have stood. See Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968; reprint 2nd rev. ed.), p. 412. The work must not be confused with *al-Ta'rikh al-Ma'mūnī* by Abū Muḥammad Hārūn ibn al-'Abbās ibn al-Ma'mūn (d. 573/1178) mentioned by Ḥajjī Khalīfah (*Kashf al-Zunūn 'an Kutub al-Asāmī wa-l-Funūn*, ed. Şerefettin Yaltkaya and Rifat Bilge, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1941) 2:302) and quoted by Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās, 8 vols. (Beirut, 1414/1994, reprint), 2:265, 521, 3:399, 5:69, 268, 7:60. On that author, see al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, 8 vols. (Beirut, 2002, reprint), 8:61.

²²A.F. Sayyid mentioned four authors, two of whom certainly relied on Ibn al-Ma'mūn (al-Maqrīzī and al-Nuwayrī) and one of whom remains dubious (Ibn Zāfir al-Azdī). See Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī, *Nuṣūs min akhbār Miṣr, Muqaddimah*, p. ḥā' of the introduction. At that time, he was still unaware that Ibn al-Ma'mūn was also a source for Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir (see below).

²³See Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, "Lumières nouvelles sur quelques sources de l'histoire fatimide," 22.

²⁴We know of this *Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History* through the secondary quotation made by al-Maqrīzī in *al-Khiṭaṭ'*, 2:144 = *al-Khiṭaṭ'*, 3:478 (*qāla Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir 'an Mukhtaṣar Ta'rikh Ibn al-Ma'mūn*). Becker was the first to highlight this. See Carl H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, 1:23. That quotation from Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir does not appear in the version of his work published by A.F. Sayyid (Abū al-Faḍl 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍah al-bahiyyah al-zāhirah fī khiṭaṭ al-Mu'izziyyah al-Qāhirah*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, (Beirut: Awraq Sharqiyyah, 1417 H/1996)) and was surely found by al-Maqrīzī in the longer version—now lost—he consulted of that work.

the task was not unachievable. But Ibn Sa'īd's assessment should not be discarded so quickly, as al-Maqrīzī only summarized a few years from Ibn al-Ma'mūn's work on a handful of folios. In the end, from al-Maqrīzī's point of view, he might also have seen little value in summarizing this material; alternatively, he might have stopped summarizing the text because, as we will demonstrate, he gained access to it at a late date, after he had already consulted several other sources dealing with the Fatimid history. Among these sources, for the period of interest here, he mainly drew on the *Ta'rikh* of Ibn Muyassar, who might also have benefitted from Ibn al-Ma'mūn's book.²⁵ In this case, the new material was deemed rather scant. In the absence of the original work, no conclusive assessment of the value of this source can be given. Whatever the case may be, it is clear that, for some aspects, Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *Ta'rikh* was highly praised by al-Maqrīzī,²⁶ particularly for its information on the institutions and the ceremonies during al-Āmir's caliphate and al-Afdāl's and al-Ma'mūn's vizierates.²⁷ Besides Ibn Sa'īd, who disregarded this source, and al-Maqrīzī, who abundantly quoted it, three additional authors knew Ibn al-Ma'mūn's book. These are Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir (d. 692/1293), Ibn Zāfir al-Azdī (d. 613/1216 or 623/1226), and al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333). As for Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, it is clear that this author had access to Ibn al-Ma'mūn's work, for at least two explicit quotations are found in his book on the topography of Cairo.²⁸ Moreover, Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir clearly indicated that he relied on this source in the introduction to

²⁵ As Ibn Muyassar's *Ta'rikh* is only preserved in a summarized version made by al-Maqrīzī, it is difficult to confirm this point. See Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī, *Nuṣūṣ min akhbār Miṣr*, p. zāy of the introduction; Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, "Lumières nouvelles sur quelques sources de l'histoire fatimide," p. 21.

²⁶ Ibn al-Ma'mūn is explicitly quoted 53 times in the *Khiṭaṭ* and only once in *Itti'āz al-Hunafā'* (see Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, "Lumières nouvelles sur quelques sources de l'histoire fatimide," p. 21). Having said that, several passages for which no source is mentioned in *Itti'āz al-Hunafā'* and *al-Muqaffā'* must be credited to this source, as is confirmed by the résumé. See below.

²⁷ See Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *al-Dawlah al-fāṭimiyyah fī Miṣr: taḥṣīn jadīd* (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyyah al-Lubnāniyyah, 1420 H/2000), p. 49.

²⁸ Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍah al-bahiyyah*, p. 43 and 128–9. One must keep in mind that al-Maqrīzī had access to two different versions of Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's book. Only one, short, version has reached us (MS British Library, Or. 13317, ff. 142–180, the one published by A. F. Sayyid), in which just a few of the quotations from Ibn al-Ma'mūn are to be identified. See A. F. Sayyid's introduction to the edition, p. 10, and al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, (London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1995) [= *al-Khiṭaṭ*], p. 252.

his book, where he provides a list of the sources he used to compile his own work.²⁹ There is no doubt that he is referring to the same source cited by Ibn Sa'īd since he says that it stood in four parts (*juz'*), which is confirmed by Ibn Sa'īd's description of the book as comprising 4 volumes (*mujalladah*). A full quotation from the *ṣāhib muṣannaḥ al-Ta'rīkh al-Ma'mūnī* (p. 128) is also found in al-Maqrīzī's résumé,³⁰ which corroborates the authenticity of the latter's source. We will soon see that al-Maqrīzī first quoted Ibn al-Ma'mūn through Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, before he finally discovered a copy of the original work and corrected those indirect quotations. With regard to the other authors who probably knew and used Ibn al-Ma'mūn's book, Ibn Zāfir al-Azdī remains conjectural, because no unequivocal quotation is found in his book, *Akhbār al-Duwal al-Munqaṭi'ah*.³¹ Al-Nuwayrī made a very limited use of the given source, as only two quotations could be traced back to this source in his *Nihāyat al-Arab*.³² Even though both of these quotes are traceable in the *Ta'rīkh* of Ibn Muyassar, it can be ascertained that al-Nuwayrī had a copy of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's book in his hands because he cited the name of the author in a very personal manner (*nāẓim Sīrat al-Ma'mūn*).

On the basis of the data provided by these different authors, we will try to establish the title of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's book, its scope and the nature of its contents. So far, Ibn al-Ma'mūn's work has always been quoted as the *History* (*Ta'rīkh*), the title being connected to its author (the *History of Ibn al-Ma'mūn*). Nobody has tried to understand whether this was its original title or just a way to refer to it in the literature. The lack of an

²⁹ Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍah al-bahīyyah*, p. 6.

³⁰ See the edition in Appendix I, § 5.

³¹ Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Zāfir al-Azdī, *Akhbār al-duwal al-munqaṭi'ah*, ed. André Ferré, (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1972). A.F. Sayyid remains doubtful about his possible use of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *Ta'rīkh*. See Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī, *Nuṣūs min akhbār Miṣr*, p. ḥā' of the introduction.

³² Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, ed. Muḥid Qumayḥah, 33 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1424 H/2004), 28:184 (*nāẓim Sīrat al-Ma'mūn*) and 186 (idem). Even though A.F. Sayyid specified in the core of his collection of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's quotations that he collected them in al-Maqrīzī's and al-Nuwayrī's works, I have not been able to trace more than these two quotations attributed to al-Nuwayrī in A.F. Sayyid's book. See Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī, *Nuṣūs min akhbār Miṣr*, p. kāf of the introduction ("wa-l-kitāb alladhī anshuruḥu al-yawm huwa al-nuṣuṣ allatī intaqāhā al-Maqrīzī wa-l-Nuwayrī min *Ta'rīkh Ibn al-Ma'mūn*"). The two quotations originating in al-Nuwayrī are on p. 26–27 and 102–3 (= *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 28:186–8 and 184–5).

original manuscript does not simplify the task of the historian who hopes to discover if this was its actual title. Furthermore, the unique description of the book we owe to Ibn Saʿīd is useless in this case, as the author does not provide a title and only mentions that Ibn al-Maʿmūn wrote a book on “their history”. In the list that Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir provides of the sources he used, he refers to the work with the title *Taʾrīkh al-Maʿmūn*,³³ while in the text he mentions it just as *al-Taʾrīkh*³⁴ or *al-Taʾrīkh al-Maʿmūnī*.³⁵ This induces us to interpret the work as a history focused on al-Maʿmūn, the author’s father, or more particularly the reign of al-Āmir, rather than on the Fatimids in general; this impression is confirmed by other evidence. As a matter of fact, al-Nuwayrī refers to him as *nāẓim Sīrat al-Maʿmūn*: that is “the author of al-Maʿmūn’s biography,” and when al-Maqrīzī records his death he specifies that he is the compiler (*jāmiʿ*) of *al-Sīrah al-Maʿmūniyyah*.³⁶ The title supplied in the résumé, *Mukhtār min Sīrat al-Maʿmūn al-Baṭāʾihī* (“An Epitome of the Biography of al-Maʿmūn al-Baṭāʾihī”), further stresses the main theme of the book, i.e. the life of al-Maʿmūn al-Baṭāʾihī. From these scraps of information, we can confidently conclude that the title was either *Sīrat* (or *Taʾrīkh*) *al-Maʿmūn al-Baṭāʾihī*. In order to understand if it focused mainly on al-Maʿmūn’s life, we must now turn to the problem of its contents.

To resolve this problem we have to rely on the only evidence that has reached us, i.e. al-Maqrīzī’s résumé, his numerous quotations in at least three of his works (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, *Ittiʿāz* and *al-Muqaffá*) and the few excerpts traceable in the sources quoted above. On the sole basis of the citations found in *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Becker found that they mainly concern the period spanning from 515/1121 to 519/1125, which corresponds to al-Maʿmūn’s vizierate and the preceding years when al-Maʿmūn probably already played a significant role under his master’s office. Consequently,

³³He also cites, a few words later, another work bearing the same title but obviously by a different author, as it stood in five parts (*Taʾrīkh al-Maʿmūn ayḍan, khamsat ajzāʾ*), while the one by Ibn al-Maʿmūn contained four parts, a fact confirmed by Ibn Saʿīd’s assessment of the book. See Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍah al-bahiyyah*, p. 6 (ll. 1–4). Interestingly, the editor of the text, A.F. Sayyid, has added the word *Ibn* in between, for the sake of sense (*ziyādah iqtadāhā al-siyāq*), considering that both titles must be so because they should refer to their author (like *Taʾrīkh Ibn al-Furāt* for instance). This interpolation is unnecessary because it modifies the text without improving it, and it should be discarded.

³⁴Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍah al-bahiyyah*, p. 43.

³⁵Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍah al-bahiyyah*, p. 128.

³⁶Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, 1:111.

he established that the work covered al-Ma'mūn's vizierate and maybe also the preceding period, the main subject being al-Ma'mūn himself, the author's father.³⁷ On the other hand, Sayyid considered that the work also dealt with later events because one quotation in the *Khiṭaṭ* is dated to the year 531/1136–7, the latest attestation from Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*;³⁸ Becker regarded this quotation as doubtful in light of al-Maqrīzī's careless system of citing his sources. Becker considered that the given passage came after a quotation of Ibn al-Ma'mūn for an event dating to his father's vizierate and that what followed maybe stemmed from another source.³⁹ Now that we have discovered more information than was available to these two scholars, we can say that Becker almost guessed right. The résumé al-Maqrīzī prepared covers only the years 501/1107–8–515/1121, until the death of al-Afḍal, thus corroborating the hypothesis that these years were part of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's focus. Together with the excerpts dealing mainly with al-Ma'mūn's vizierate, it demonstrates that Ibn al-Ma'mūn did not plan to write a history of the Fatimids or of a particular caliph; his aim was rather to celebrate his father's career, which began under al-Afḍal's auspices in 501/1107–8, precisely the year in which al-Ma'mūn entered in the latter's service.⁴⁰ Born in 478/1085–6 or 479/1086–7, he was 22 or 23 years old at that time. Logically, he must have ended his work with his father's dismissal in 519/1125. The quotations found in Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, al-Nuwayrī and al-Maqrīzī all concern the given period, starting with the year 501/1107–8 and ending with the year 519/1125. No later event is reported by these authors on the authority of Ibn al-Ma'mūn, with one exception: a passage regarding an event dating to 531/1136–7 and reported by al-Maqrīzī via Ibn al-Ma'mūn. Becker preferred to discard

³⁷ Carl H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, 1:23 (“Naturgemäss interessiert den Ibn al-Ma'mūn am meisten sein Vater, dessen Stellung und Verbesserungen in der Regierung. Daher sind die meisten Nachrichten aus dem Vezirat des Ma'mūn (515–519) datiert oder aus der Zeit des Afḍal, in der Ma'mūn, wenigstens nach seinem Sohne, schon eine hervorragende Rolle gespielt haben muss.”).

³⁸ Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, “Lumières nouvelles sur quelques sources de l'histoire fatimide,” p. 20; Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍah al-bahīyah*, p. 48–9. The year 535/1140–1, also referred to by A.F. Sayyid, is presumably an interpolation to be attributed to al-Maqrīzī. As for the year 586/1190–1, mentioned by Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī, *Nuṣūs min akhbār Miṣr*, p. lām of the introduction, it is a mistake never repeated in his later publications.

³⁹ Carl H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, 1:23 (“Nur an einer Stelle kommt ein späteres Datum, 531 H., vor, das jedoch bei der Manier Maqrīzī's, seine Quellen überzuführen, zur Datierung des Autors nicht verwertet werden darf.”).

⁴⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, 6:479.

it, arguing, as we have seen, that this passage did not correspond to Ibn al-Ma'mūn's words, but merely came after a quotation by Ibn al-Ma'mūn without any indication separating the two passages, as he claimed al-Maqrīzī was wont to. This argument hardly stands up to a critical analysis: when referring to Ibn al-Ma'mūn, al-Maqrīzī was always faithful to the promise he made to his reader in his introduction to *al-Khiṭaṭ* to quote his sources precisely.⁴¹ Thanks to *al-Khiṭaṭ*, we indeed have a pretty good idea of the contents of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*, a fact that cannot be confirmed for the other authors who made use of it. And this is already visible in the autograph volumes of the draft of *al-Khiṭaṭ*, where most of the citations deriving from Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History* are found in the margins with its title mentioned as *Ta'rikhuḥu* at almost each occurrence, confirming al-Maqrīzī's commitment to fulfill his promise.⁴² Turning to the internal analysis of this quotation, it appears that it deals with a unique piece of information—regarding lands inalienably transmitted by al-Afdāl to his offspring (*al-ḥabs al-juyūshī*)—for which details are provided until the year 531/1136–7 and even much later.⁴³ As a matter of fact, the events reported indicate that later on, al-Afdāl's offspring almost died out, an old lady being the only relative still alive. All these details pertain to the same issue and should be considered the continuation of a policy instituted by al-Afdāl during his vizierate. Consequently, rather than negating Ibn al-Ma'mūn's authorship for this note, it should be taken as a hint about the time he composed his book. These details were included well after the end of al-Ma'mūn's vizierate, normally considered the end of the scope of his son's *History*: this means either that Ibn al-Ma'mūn made a later interpolation, if the book had already been written, or more likely, that he composed his book after these events took place and was thus able to include the later fate of *al-ḥabs al-juyūshī*. For Becker, the work was produced during the last year of his father's vizierate (519/1125),⁴⁴ while A.F. Sayyid preferred to date the draft from the end of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's life (d. 588/1192).⁴⁵ We have already seen that at the time of his father's

⁴¹ *al-Khiṭaṭ*¹, 1:4 ("fa-innī a'zū kull naql ilā al-kitāb alladhī naqaltuhu minhu"). The same cannot be said of *Itti'āz al-Ḥunafā'*, but there, no such promise was made.

⁴² See below.

⁴³ On this, see Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *al-Dawlah al-fāṭimiyyah fī Miṣr: tafsīr jadīd*, p. 546.

⁴⁴ Carl H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, 1:23.

⁴⁵ This is due to the fact that he thought that the last date mentioned by Ibn al-Ma'mūn was 586, two years before his death. This was a mistake, as we have seen, and his proposal can be ignored.

death, al-Ma'mūn was probably still a kid. This is why he started writing a book about him at a later date. Evidence for this argument may be found in his reliance on witnesses to supply information about events that he was no doubt too young to have remembered or that were otherwise inaccessible to him. Among the rather sparse material transmitted by authors who quoted him and who were not always interested in citing his own sources, only two such witnesses are mentioned. Speaking of the storehouse of spices (*khizānat al-tawābil*), Ibn al-Ma'mūn confessed that he did not find a document attesting the events that happened there during his father's vizierate, but that he relied for this information on a servant who worked in the storehouse.⁴⁶ The informant remains anonymous; hence, we do not precisely know when he met with him, but it must have been well after his father's death. Ibn al-Ma'mūn thus collected the material for his *History* a long time after the events he describes. The second witness corroborates this statement. Ibn al-Ma'mūn gives his name as al-Makīn ibn Ḥaydarah, a judge described as a professional witness operating in Fuṣṭāṭ (Miṣr), and whose testimony Ibn al-Ma'mūn invokes regarding the illumination of the mosque of 'Amr on a given occasion in 517/1123–4.⁴⁷ This person could not be identified.⁴⁸ Yet, as he is speaking of al-Ma'mūn's time, it can be surmised that his statement was recorded by Ibn al-Ma'mūn at a date much later than 517/1123–4. Hence, the year 531/1136–7 might well be the *terminus a quo* for the beginning of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's composition of his *History*, though it may be presumed that he began even later than

⁴⁶ “*Wa lam yaqa' li shāhid bi-hā bal innanī ijtama'tu bi-aḥad man kāna mustakhdaman fi khizānat al-tawābil fa-dhakara....*” This personal testimony is quoted by al-Maqrīzī in the first volume of his draft (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Hazinesi 1472, fol. 64b, for a reproduction see below; *al-Khiṭaṭ*³, p. 160) and repeated verbatim in *al-Khiṭaṭ*¹, 1:420; *al-Khiṭaṭ*², 2:387.

⁴⁷ Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī, *Nuṣūs min akhbār Miṣr*, p. 64 and 104 = *al-Khiṭaṭ*¹, 1:466 and 2:256 = *al-Khiṭaṭ*², 2:526 (l. 3, not identified) and 4/1:37 (l. 4, not identified).

⁴⁸ One might consider that the name is corrupted and that he could be identified with Makīn al-dawlah Abū Ṭālib Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Majīd ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ḥadīd ibn Ḥamdūn al-Kinānī (d. 528/1134). On him, see Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Silafī, *Mu'jam al-safar*, ed. 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar al-Bārūdī, (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr), p. 53–4; Ibn Muyassar, *al-Muntaqā*, p. 120; Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā' bi-akhbār al-a'imma al-fāṭimiyyīn al-khulafā'*, eds. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl and Muḥammad Ḥilmī Muḥammad Aḥmad, 3 vols. (Cairo: Lajnat al-Ta'lif wa-l-Tarjamah wa-l-Nashr, 1967–73), 3:151; Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, 1:505–7 (no. 490). But given that the name is correctly quoted twice in *al-Khiṭaṭ* and moreover that it is specified that he was a judge in Alexandria, this solution is ineffective.

that, likely at the moment when he recorded that al-Afḍal's offspring had almost vanished. In view of this, it is understandable that he had to rely on witnesses, but he also clearly had at his disposal private archives that he could exploit. As a matter of fact, he refers at least once to the existence of a document coming from his father, a copy of an oath taken by al-Āmir to secure a promise made to al-Ma'mūn: two copies had been prepared, one of which was held in a silver casket. When his father was arrested, in 519/1125, the document in the casket was requested and immediately destroyed by the caliph, while the second copy was still in his son's ownership until it was also destroyed due to presumably tumultuous political events (*al-ḥarakāt allatī jarat*):⁴⁹ this could be a reference to the troubles that agitated the country during the reign of al-Āmir's successor, al-Ḥāfiẓ (526/1132–544/1149), and heralded the decline of the dynasty.⁵⁰ When Ibn al-Ma'mūn wrote these lines, the document had been lost and he could not quote it, which is a further indication that he drafted his book at a date well after his father's death, undeniably at a more reasonable age to compose a work of this magnitude.

Provided that all that has been said so far is taken as given, and remembering that, according to Ibn Sa'īd, Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History* stood in four volumes, the work must have been very exhaustive and descriptive as it covers only a little bit more than twenty years. By descriptive, one must understand that its author particularly focused his attention on the outward signs of power gained by his father. Indeed, his *History* is considered as one of the best sources for the ceremonies and rituals performed during that period, but Ibn al-Ma'mūn also provided many details regarding the state and the management of various offices at court. The profusion of narratives illustrating the protocols that were followed may well have caused Ibn Sa'īd's frustration with the book and his statement that it could not be summarized.

Now that we have a better idea of when Ibn al-Ma'mūn must have written his *History* and what period it covered, we can turn to al-Maqrīzī's résumé and its importance for appraising the value of this work and learning when and how al-Maqrīzī made use of it. To answer these questions, we will

⁴⁹ "Wa-baqīyat al-nuskhat al-ukhrā 'indī fa-'udimat fī al-ḥarakāt allatī jarat." See Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī, *Nuṣūs min akhbār Miṣr*, p. 23 = *al-Khiṭaṭ*¹, 1:442 = *al-Khiṭaṭ*², 2:449; Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, 6:483.

⁵⁰ See Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *al-Dawlah al-fāṭimiyyah fī Miṣr: tafsīr jadīd*, p. 255–271, particularly 271.

tackle two corollary issues: al-Maqrīzī's working method and the dating of some of his books.

AL-MAQRĪZĪ'S RÉSUMÉ

The résumé found in the *Codex leodiensis* (ms. 2232) just covers four leaves (157a-160b). It starts on the recto of the second leaf in the quire, which is definitely joined to the preceding quire: the previous résumé (an extract from Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī regarding numismatics) starts on leaf 155b, the last one in the preceding quire, and ends on leaf 156b, the first one in the given quire.⁵¹ These details are significant, as will be explained shortly. The résumé is simply introduced with the *ḥamdalah* and a precise indication of its contents. For al-Maqrīzī, this was nothing more than an excerpt (*mukhtār*) of the *Sīrat al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī*, and he plainly expresses that it is the work of al-Ma'mūn's son, whose name is fully given. The excerpt begins with an event that took place in 501/1107–8 and terminates with the death and burial of al-Afḍal, i.e. the year 515/1121. For most events reported, al-Maqrīzī wrote the date in overlined numbers. However, when several events happened during a same year, they are separated from the previous one with a pyramid of three dots in red ink and/or a small sign, also in red ink, indicating that new data is following (—∩). The function of these devices is to separate visually each piece of information and, consequently, to ease the reader's task when looking for a given passage. In that way, al-Maqrīzī could skim through his excerpt and quickly find what he was looking for.

From a historical point of view, the résumé does not bring forth much unpublished material: this is due to the fact that 96.68% of the excerpt has been exploited by al-Maqrīzī in his works.⁵² Specialists of Fatimid history

⁵¹ For the presentation of the texts in the notebook and its significance for the dating of some parts, see Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana IV. Le Carnet de notes d'al-Maqrīzī: l'apport de la codicologie à une meilleure compréhension de sa constitution," in *Scripts, Page Settings and Bindings of Middle-Eastern Manuscripts. Papers of the Third International Conference on Codicology and Paleography of Middle-Eastern Manuscripts (Bologna, 4–6 October, 2000)*, Part 2, ed. François Déroche and Francis Richard, *Manuscripta orientalia* (St. Petersburg: Thesa, 2003); and Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana II: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method, Analysis," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 12/1 (2008): 51–118, p. 67–76.

⁵² The text contains 1,840 words, 61 of which, corresponding to the last sentence of paragraph 1 as well as of paragraph 7 and the whole paragraph 8, are found neither in *al-Khiṭaṭ* nor in *Itti'āz*. It may be that they were nevertheless used by al-Maqrīzī in *al-Muqaffā*, but in the part that has not reached us.

might be disappointed to discover this fact.⁵³ However, it brings us invaluable details regarding the originality of the material generally ascribed to Ibn al-Ma'mūn, which is itself a noteworthy piece of information. As a matter of fact, it corrects several passages that A.F. Sayyid attributed to this source in his reconstruction, as is the case with a proclamation (*sijill*) dated to 501/1107–8. The text of the given *sijill* is not provided by al-Maqrīzī in his résumé and we doubt that it ever appeared in Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*.⁵⁴ We can see a confirmation of this in the fact that the résumé has been exploited almost completely by al-Maqrīzī, verbatim in the majority of cases.⁵⁵ If Ibn al-Ma'mūn had cited the text of a document, al-Maqrīzī would have jotted it down for later inclusion in his works. No reference of any kind to the text of the aforementioned document appears in the résumé. Moreover, in *al-Khiṭaṭ*, al-Maqrīzī omitted the last sentence found in his résumé, but quoted the text of the document, a hint that he did so from another source he did not mention.⁵⁶ This is further corroborated by the demonstration I have made

⁵³It nevertheless allows us to correct several mistaken readings in *al-Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāq and A.F. Sayyid's editions) and overall in *Itti'āz*. The most significant correction regards the word *adillā'uhum*, read as *awlāduhum* in both editions of *al-Khiṭaṭ* and other texts, while the correct reading was already provided by the text of Ibn Duqmāq, which corresponds to the same quotation from Ibn al-Ma'mūn. Additionally, the description of the circumstances of al-Afḍal's death and burial in *Itti'āz*, thought by A.F. Sayyid to stem from Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*, but not incorporated in his reconstruction of the work, can now be definitely ascribed to that source (see Appendix I, § 10).

⁵⁴A.F. Sayyid even wondered how Ibn al-Ma'mūn could have gained access to such documents that, he thought, were quoted by him, as he never worked in the chancery. Sayyid surmised that he found copies of them in his father's papers ("lā nadrī min ayna naqalahā khāṣṣatan wa-huwa lam ya'mal fī dīwān al-inshā' wa-l-rājiḥ annahu wajada suwaran fī mukhallafāt wālidihī alladhī kāna mudabbiran amr al-Afḍal Shāhanshāh"). Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī, *Nuṣūs min akhbār Miṣr*, p. lām of the introduction. Elsewhere, Sayyid expresses the view that Ibn al-Ma'mūn was able to consult official documents during his father's tenure in office. See Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *al-Dawlah al-fāṭimiyyah fī Miṣr: tafsīr jadīd*, p. 49. As we have seen, this was impossible given Ibn al-Ma'mūn's young age when his father died.

⁵⁵Only the last paragraph (no. 10), dealing with al-Afḍal's death, which was reused by al-Maqrīzī to narrate the circumstances of his death and burial in *Itti'āz*, has been partly written anew with the help of another source not mentioned.

⁵⁶The paragraph in the résumé ends in this way: "*fa-kharaja al-amr ilā al-shaykh Abī al-Qāsim Ibn al-Ṣayrafi bi-inshā' sijill bi-hi fa-nusikha naṣṣuhu fī dawāwīn al-amwāl wa-l-juyūsh wa-khullida ba'da dhalika fī bayt al-māl*" ("The order to compose a proclamation of this was issued to the shaykh Abū al-Qāsim Ibn al-Ṣayrafi. Its text was copied in the bureaux of land taxes and of the Army and, after this, archived in the Treasury"). In *al-Khiṭaṭ*¹, 1:279, the words in bold are not quoted (however, they are in *al-Khiṭaṭ*², 1:757 on the basis

with a passage of al-Maqrīzī's résumé of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History* and with a notecard, also found in the notebook (fol. 145), bearing text that matches the relevant passage in the résumé and that was later inserted by al-Maqrīzī in the first volume of the draft of *al-Khiṭaṭ*.⁵⁷ The text on the notecard and the one later inserted in the draft exactly tally with the passage excerpted by al-Maqrīzī in his résumé, proving that the résumé, in this particular case, was quoted as it stood, without referring back to the original source.⁵⁸ This is true for the document just referred to, but it is probable that it is also the case for the other documents perhaps attributed to Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*.⁵⁹ Some of these could well have been inserted by al-Maqrīzī on the basis of another source, presumably Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, who authored several of these documents.⁶⁰

Only a few years are covered by the résumé, corresponding to what must have been the beginning of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History* and thus the first volume out of four. We may wonder then why al-Maqrīzī interrupted it with the burial of al-Afḍal: obviously his intent was to conclude the résumé with that event, as some space was still available at the end of the leaf. This space was later used to jot down a note, which is a common feature in the notebook. Under no circumstances should we consider that al-Maqrīzī did not have access to the remaining volumes of the given source. It has been established that résumés found in the notebook were often not completed: al-Maqrīzī discontinued his summarizing activity of a source without further notice. In fact, there is no clear indication that his intent is to stop at a given point.⁶¹ Nevertheless, he made quotations from these sources well after the point to which he had arrived with his summaries.⁶² The numerous citations

of al-Maqrīzī's résumé!). They were replaced with "*fa-ansha'a mā nasakhtuhu*" ("and he composed what I am providing the copy of") and then the full text of the document.

⁵⁷ See Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana II," p. 93–104.

⁵⁸ This other aspect of al-Maqrīzī's working method has also been addressed in Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana II," p. 74–6.

⁵⁹ Seven other documents are attributed to Ibn al-Ma'mūn by A.F. Sayyid: Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī, *Nuṣūs min akhbār Miṣr*, p. 17–9, 19, 28–9, 30, 31–2, 32–3, 54.

⁶⁰ Several found their way into his *Sijillāt*, of which Ibn Sa'īd could still see 20 volumes during his stay in Egypt. See Gamal el-Din El-Shayyal, "Ibn al-Ṣayrafī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3:932.

⁶¹ Only in one case did he declare that he reached his goal, indicating that the résumé was not meant to go further. As a matter of fact, the whole work was not completely summarized. See Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana II," p. 81.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 82–3.

stemming from Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History* and dated to between 515/1121 and 519/1125 indicate without a doubt that al-Maqrīzī gained access to the volumes that covered these years. For instance, the notecard previously cited (fol. 145) contains a verbatim quotation of a passage found in the résumé. It is followed by another quotation from the same source, in this case regarding the year 516/1122–3, that is not found in the résumé. It is difficult to understand what caused him to terminate a résumé at a specific place, and we can only speculate on this. One conjecture that might pertain to this particular case regards the contents of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*, particularly the detailed descriptions of the ceremonials and protocols observed during al-Ma'mūn's vizierate. Its descriptive character could have rendered it hard to epitomize. If al-Maqrīzī made extensive use of this part of the book, it might have been directly, without summarizing it, because he already knew where to place its contents. Another possibility would be that he started the résumé and decided not to proceed further after he had collected a certain amount of data, as happened with several other résumés in the notebook, such as Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's *Kitāb Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Akḥbārīhā*. Whatever the case may be, there is no doubt that the four volumes of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History* were in al-Maqrīzī's hands at a certain moment of his writing activity. For sure, al-Maqrīzī earned the respect of later historians for gaining access to unparalleled sources, in particular for ancient times and specifically for the Fatimid period. One of the most important sources for the latter is the *Akḥbār Miṣr* of Ibn Muyassar, a two-volume supplement to al-Musabbiḥī's book that was still available at the end of the ninth/fifteenth century⁶³ and that is only partially known nowadays thanks to the résumé al-Maqrīzī prepared in 814/1411.⁶⁴ As for Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*, the four volumes were at his disposal up to the time when Ibn Sa'īd completed his work (end of the first half of the seventh/thirteenth century). A few decades later, they could again be consulted by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, though in his case it remains possible that he only had access to an epitome.⁶⁵ Be that as it may, al-Maqrīzī's ability to discover rare manuscripts needs not be questioned. An additional indication that he kept Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History* on hand can be found in the résumé itself. A characteristic feature of al-Maqrīzī's *modus operandi* in his résumés is that, despite the neat handwriting, they were made during

⁶³According to al-Sakhāwī (*al-I'lān*), both volumes were the property of two different owners in his time. See Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, p. 478.

⁶⁴Ibn Muyassar, *al-Muntaqā*.

⁶⁵See note 24 above.

the reading process. In other words, he took note of what interested him while reading a given source. The process could result either in an almost verbatim summary or a reworded version. I have already demonstrated how it was possible to find evidence of this, and particularly for Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*.⁶⁶ Suffice it to say here that these demonstrations have allowed me to establish that al-Maqrīzī could not have reworded some passages without having in hands the aforementioned book.

Also of interest is another aspect of the résumé that concerns al-Maqrīzī's perplexity towards several words with a technical meaning or referring to locations. Undoubtedly, these words were no longer understood by a scholar of the fifteenth century because either their meaning had changed or the locations they referred to had disappeared, been transformed, or acquired new names. In such cases, al-Maqrīzī applied a device that can be interpreted as a reminder: he wrote a letter resembling a *kāf* (possibly standing for *kadhā*, i.e. *sic*), in red ink above the problematic word, suggesting that he needed to find a definition of the technical term or an explanation for the location.⁶⁷ This device was used more frequently than ever in the résumé of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*, as can be seen, for example, on leaf 159a, indicating how a historian reading this source several centuries later could find it complex.

⁶⁶See Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana II," particularly p. 87–8.

⁶⁷For the analysis, see *ibid.*, p. 86–7.

١٥٩
 لهم السهاط وقدم الصبح اول من اتي بين يدي افضل لاخر السهاط عند
 اسود ثم بعده عدس مصيف الى خوا السهاط ثم رفع وقدمت حوز جميعها
 نخل **خ** موقبل افضل لما كان ليلة عيد الفطر وحضرها
 العاد تجر من الدواب والامات لركوب الحليفة وجلس بين يديه
 ان عرضت المظال على العاد كل سنة والدواب والسلاح ثم عاد دوا
 ما يجب عليه من سنام الخليفة فنقدم اليه لقايدا الما سوزان يا مرصا
 الباب ان نصف العساكر الى صوب باب الخوخة وركب افضل من
 مكانه والناس على طمقاتهم وخرج من باب الخوخة فاصدا دار ال
 فلما حصل رها وقع العجب من الناس في نزوله ليلة الموسم ولم يعلم
 ما قصد وكان قصده ان يعليق المجلس الذي جلس فيه وتروا
 العاقبة منه ويليها الظهر فلما قرب العصر ركب منها بعد انصرف اكثر
 المستخرمين بسبب ظنهم من مبيتها في حكم الموسم وقصد الزهري
 فوجد الامراء الاجناد والمستخرمين والرهجية فداخعتوا اخذ منه
 وكان قد خمر ويغ خلفة لا يسرا في حال الصيام فلما راى اجتماع الناس
 وكثرتهم ابعدهم بمقدموا ووقفوا عند باب الساحل فابعد ايضا
 جرد من ابعدهم وبيع في علة يسيمة والجد صانك السخ من ورا
 وسار فوثب عليه اربعة نفر متابعين من دكان كل استغل من
 حوله بواحد خرج يه فري من دابته الى الارض وضربوا ثمان
 ضربات وكافل لعايد الماسو لعيداً منه لا خد رفاع الماسو وسماع
 تظلمه ويعرق لصدقات على الفوايا الطريق فلما سمع الضوضاء اسرع
 اليه ورمي بغيره الى الارض عليه فوجد قد قيض تحبه وحمل على ايدي مقدمي

ح
 دار الزمعة
 منها فوجاه
 العامة كحبات
 السور من مظل
 على اكل
 ح
 الزهر من موضع
 من ماض السباح
 الى باب اللوق
 ح
 باب السهاط كان

Courtesy Bibliothèque universitaire (Liège), MS 2232, f. 159a.

In many cases, he eventually discovered the meaning or explanation of these words; one notices that the definitions in the margin have been added at a later date, since the color of the ink is different from the one of the text and the handwriting is more cursive.

Obviously, al-Maqrīzī jotted down his résumé while reading the source. Now that this concept has been established, one may wonder if it was faithful to its source, i.e. is it a verbatim quote or a paraphrase? Establishing this would not be complicated if the source were still available.⁶⁸ However, Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History* has not been preserved, and we must thus consider other clues to undertake such an analysis. Firstly, we may consider that grammatical mistakes occurring in a passage of the résumé are an indication that al-Maqrīzī is paraphrasing at least that passage. Though a learned man, al-Maqrīzī may be caught off guard with respect to his classical Arabic, particularly when he is summarizing, as we have already proven. This is not unusual: even the less absentminded scholar is liable to make orthographical and grammatical mistakes if the language he uses for his everyday speech is different from the one he employs for writing. Al-Maqrīzī was no exception to the rule.⁶⁹ In the résumé, such mistakes are visible: e.g. the use of the nominative for a word in the sound plural (*pluralis sanus*) instead of the genitive ("bi-rasm al-qāḍī... wa-l-mu'minūn"),⁷⁰ or instead of the accusative ("kāna 'iddatu mā khutima lahu...biḍa'un wa-khamsūna khatmatan").⁷¹ Secondly, the modification of the phrasing, either later or immediately after having written down a passage, may suggest that al-Maqrīzī is quoting that passage verbatim. In that case, he would have noticed that the author's wording as it stood in the source, which he was faithfully transcribing in his résumé, was unclear and he wished to modify it, as is the case with one particular phrase in the résumé.⁷² The same procedure is perceivable when al-Maqrīzī opted for a word different than the one appearing in the source: he immediately modified it afterwards, crossing it out and writing the original word behind it. For instance, speaking of the bunches of reed (*ḥuzum al-būṣ*) used to dam the water of the Nile before digging a new canal, al-Maqrīzī first wrote

⁶⁸ See examples in Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana II," p. 60–7.

⁶⁹ See Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana VIII: Quelques remarques sur l'orthographe d'al-Maqrīzī (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 à travers l'histoire. Actes du Premier Colloque International (Louvain-la-Neuve, 10–14 mai 2004)*, ed. Jérôme Lentin and Jacques Grand'Henry, Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique de Louvain, Institut orientaliste, 2008), 21–38.

⁷⁰ See note 185.

⁷¹ See note 186.

⁷² See note 114 and Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana II," p. 87–88 for the analysis of this passage.

al-ḥaṭab (timber), but soon changed his mind when he realized that it could not be timber, since the digging was carried out in the Delta, where timber was scarce. Oversimplification resulted here in a distortion of the author's wording as well as the reality of the situation. He thus crossed out *al-ḥaṭab* and wrote straightaway behind it the original word he read in the source. In that way, we know for sure that this word must have tallied with what one found in Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*. Thirdly, when al-Maqrīzī retained words he did not understand, indicating them with the *kāf* sign, we can be confident that these also correspond exactly to Ibn al-Ma'mūn's wording. To sum up, some parts of the résumé matched Ibn al-Ma'mūn's wording while others must be regarded as a paraphrase.

We must now turn our attention to the résumé as a material witness of al-Maqrīzī's scholarly activity and ponder how it was used. This exercise is easier to perform since several of his works have been preserved. As already pointed out, the bulk of the material present in the résumé has been reused by al-Maqrīzī in *al-Khiṭaṭ* and *Itti'āz*. This allows us to compare both versions, and sometimes even three of them when the same passage has been quoted both in *al-Khiṭaṭ* and *Itti'āz*. Our analysis will focus on such an instance, since it better exemplifies the way al-Maqrīzī handled his raw material.

The passage, corresponding to paragraph 4 in the résumé, is reproduced in *al-Khiṭaṭ* as well as in *Itti'āz*. It deals with an event that saw the vizier al-Afdal and one of the high functionaries of the state, Yuḥannā ibn Abī al-Layth, engaged in a discussion regarding the state of the treasury. This excerpt contains both indirect and direct discourse and consequently allows a better survey of the techniques put in action by al-Maqrīzī. We present the text in three columns, containing the respective passage in the résumé (right), in *al-Khiṭaṭ* (middle) and in *Itti'āz* (left). The alterations are evidenced as follows: a blank in the first column hints at the presence of additional word(s) in the other columns, while a blank in the second and last columns may correspond to disregarded word(s) that are featured in the résumé; an underline shows that the original word has been modified.

Résumé

ولما كثرت الأموال عند ابن أبي الليث
 الليث رغبت في
 التبجح على الأفضل
 بنهضته فسأل أن يشاهده
 قبل حمله وذكر أنه كان سبع مائة
 ألف دينار وذلك خارجا عن
 نفقات الرجال. فجعلت الدنانير في
 صناديق بجانب الدراهم في
 صناديق بجانب وقام ابن أبي
 الليث بين الصفيين. فلما شاهد
 الأفضل ذلك قال
 لابن أبي الليث: "يا شيخ،
 تفرحني بالمال وتربة أمير
 الجيوش إن بلغني أن بئرا
 معطلة أو أرضا بائنة أو بلدا
 خرابا⁷³ لأضربن رقبتك." فقال:
 "وحق نعمتك، لقد حاشى الله
 أيامك أن يكون فيها بلد خراب أو
 بئر معطلة." فأبى
 أن يخلع عليه حتى يكشف عما
 ذكر.^a

al-Khiṭaṭ

ولما كثرت الأموال عند ابن أبي
 الليث صاحب الديوان رغبت في
 التبجح على الأفضل بن أمير
 الجيوش بنهضته فسأل أن يشاهده
 قبل حمله وذكر أنه سبع مائة
 ألف دينار خارجا عن
 نفقات الرجال. فجعلت الدنانير في
 صناديق بجانب الدراهم في
 صناديق بجانب وقام ابن أبي
 الليث بين الصفيين. فلما شاهد
 الأفضل بن أمير الجيوش ذلك قال
 لابن أبي الليث: "يا شيخ،
 تفرحني بالمال وتربة أمير
 الجيوش إن بلغني أن بئرا
 معطلة أو أرضا بائنة أو بلدا
 خرابا⁷⁴ لأضربن عنقك." فقال:
 "وحق نعمتك، لقد حاشى الله
 أيامك أن يكون فيها بلد خراب أو
 بئر معطلة أو أرض بور." فأبى
 أن يخلع عليه حتى يكشف عما
 ذكر.^b

Itti' āz

ولما كثرت الأموال عند ابن أبي
 الليث صاحب الديوان وحدث أن
 تبجح على الأفضل
 بخدمته
 وكان سبعمائة
 ألف دينار خارجا عما
 أنفق في الرجال. فجعل
 صناديق بمجلس الجلوس
 فلما شاهد
 الأفضل المال قال:
 "يا شيخ،
 تفرحني بالمال وتربة أمير
 الجيوش إن بلغني أن بئرا
 معطلة أو أرضا بائنة أو بلدا
 خرابا⁷⁵ لأضربن رقبتك." فقال:
 "وحق نعمتك، لقد حاشى الله
 أيامك أن يكون فيها بلد خراب أو
 بئر معطلة." فتوسط القائد
 له بخلع فقال: "لا والله حتى
 أكشف عما ذكر." ^c

a مجموع لياج، fol. 157b

b ابن المأمون ٩ (سنة ١٥٠١) =
 الخطط¹: ١؛ ٤٠١؛ الخطط²: ٢
 ٣٣٢ (٩) - ٣٣٣ (٣)

c اتعاظ ٣: ٤٣ (سنة ٥٠٢)

At first sight, the similarity that emerges between the résumé and the quotation in *al-Khiṭaṭ* is striking indeed. The few differences are noticeable in the omission of some insignificant words (*kāna* on l. 5; *wa-dhālīka* on l. 6), the replacement of a word by a synonym (*unuqak* for *raqabataka* on l. 14), and interpolations he either felt were necessary to

⁷³ Sic.⁷⁴ Sic.⁷⁵ وتريد. ed.⁷⁶ أن يلقى. ed.: إن بلغني أن⁷⁷ Sic.

explain the text taken out of its original context (like *ibn amīr al-juyūsh* on l. 3) or deemed *de rigueur* for rhetorical reasons (like *aw arḍ bawr* on l. 17 echoing the *arḍ bā'irah* on l. 13). Besides these discrepancies, both texts are almost identical, and we can thus conclude that al-Maqrīzī was faithful to his résumé and hence to his source if the résumé was accurate. As for *Itti'āz*, things are more complicated. Al-Maqrīzī has evidently recast and condensed the text of his résumé. He discarded some words regarded as superfluous, opted for synonyms, and used direct instead of indirect discourse. These changes result in a more articulated text. A question arises from this observation: why did al-Maqrīzī so deeply modify his résumé in one of his books and not in the other? Though purely conjectural, one may put forward this reason: *Itti'āz* is conceived as annals wherein the coherence of several reports, both in their contents and their literary shape, is important in the eyes of the author. On the other hand, *al-Khiṭaṭ* was mainly conceived as a catalogue of monuments where the coherence was less crucial. Whatever the case may be, the analysis has demonstrated that al-Maqrīzī's résumé could sometimes be accurate to the source and sometimes not, and that the same is true for his use of it in his works. Fortunately, given that we have several works in which this material has been reused, we can better understand when he accurately quotes the original source and when he does not, thus partly answering to P. Walker's suggestion.

In order to fulfill this task more completely, we will need to consider how and when al-Maqrīzī gained access to Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*. Trying to answer these questions will help us to understand how al-Maqrīzī used his sources and will also provide a framework for constructing a better picture of his writing activity and therefore to date some of his works.

As already stated, the position of the résumé in the notebook brings invaluable information for its dating. Enclosed between two other epitomes prepared on the basis of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-absār*, it can be dated quite precisely because we know for sure that al-Maqrīzī read and summarized the *Masālik al-abṣār* in 831/1427–28. Accordingly, the year 831 must be considered the *terminus a quo* for the résumé of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*.⁷⁸ If this is true for the years 501/1107–8 to 515/1121, the only years dealt with in the résumé, probably corresponding to the beginning of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's work, should we conclude that this was the case for the whole work? Answering in the affirmative without any proof would be purely

⁷⁸Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana II," p. 72–3 and 99.

conjectural. To tackle this issue, one needs to turn to al-Maqrīzī's autograph manuscripts of the two books in which Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History* was quoted, i.e. *al-Khiṭaṭ* and *Itti'āz*. For the first, we have two volumes of the draft, and for the second, we have the first volume of what must have been the final version. In another study, I have argued that the two volumes of the draft of *al-Khiṭaṭ* must be dated between 811/1408 and 818/1415 on the basis of a textual analysis.⁷⁹ This dating, which can even be narrowed further to between 814/1411 and 818/1415, is unquestionable. The first volume of the draft roughly covers the section of the book that addresses the Fatimid period;⁸⁰ one may guess that this section will be the most likely to contain quotations from Ibn al-Ma'mūn, and this does indeed seem to be the case. To give evidence of this, I have scrutinized all the sources that al-Maqrīzī quoted in this first volume, paying special attention to their place in the text (in the body of the text, marginal addition, addition on a separate leaf). These details can reveal either that al-Maqrīzī already had a given source at hand when he composed this volume of the draft (when it is in the body of the text and in the same handwriting), or that he got access to it afterwards (when most of the quotations are mainly found in another place such as the margin, between the lines, on a separate leaf, or filling a blank). The results of this analysis may be consulted in Appendix II.⁸¹ Two additional remarks are needed. First, no quotation of any kind from the material present in the résumé found its way into the two preserved volumes of the draft of *al-Khiṭaṭ*, with the exception of § 9 (the same that is also found on the notecard in the notebook). This absence could be explained by the possibility that this material was mentioned in the lost volumes of the draft (the two preserved volumes represent roughly one half of the work in its first version). Second, in one case, the mention of Ibn al-Ma'mūn is nothing more than a reference for a later addition:⁸² al-Maqrīzī merely indicated that he needed to quote there what was found in the said

⁷⁹See Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana IX: Should al-Maqrīzī Be Thrown Out With the Bathwater? The Question of His Plagiarism of al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ* and the Documentary Evidence," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 14/1 (2010) (in the press).

⁸⁰This volume was edited by A.F. Sayyid, *al-Khiṭaṭ*³.

⁸¹A quick look at this list reveals that al-Maqrīzī composed the first version of *al-Khiṭaṭ* mainly on the basis of four sources: Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, Ibn Abī Ṭayyi' and Ibn Muyassar. The great majority of the quotations from these sources are found in the body of the text.

⁸²Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), ms. Hazinesi 1472, fol. 51a ("yudhkar al-turbah [sic, read bi-l-turbah] mā dhakarahu Ibn al-Ma'mūn 'inda 'aqd al-majlis bi-sabab Nizār ibn al-Mustanşir").

source. This was nothing more than a reminder for the next version of the draft, as he never added the desired information to this draft.

Let us now proceed with the analysis of the data in the first volume of the draft. Here, Ibn al-Ma'mūn is quoted 41 times, and slightly less than two thirds of the quotations are later additions, whatever the shape of these (marginal, interlinear, on a supplementary leaf). On the basis of this figure, it could be concluded that al-Maqrīzī mainly made later additions from this source and that he consequently used it when the draft had already been written (i.e. after 818/1415). However, this way of reasoning is too simplistic because 15 occurrences are found in the body of the text, which means that this source was already available to him when he was writing the draft. A good way to tackle the issue is to focus our investigation on the passages integrated into the body of the text and try to understand why these are found inside the text while the rest of the quotations are found outside it. A demonstrative passage will lead the way.

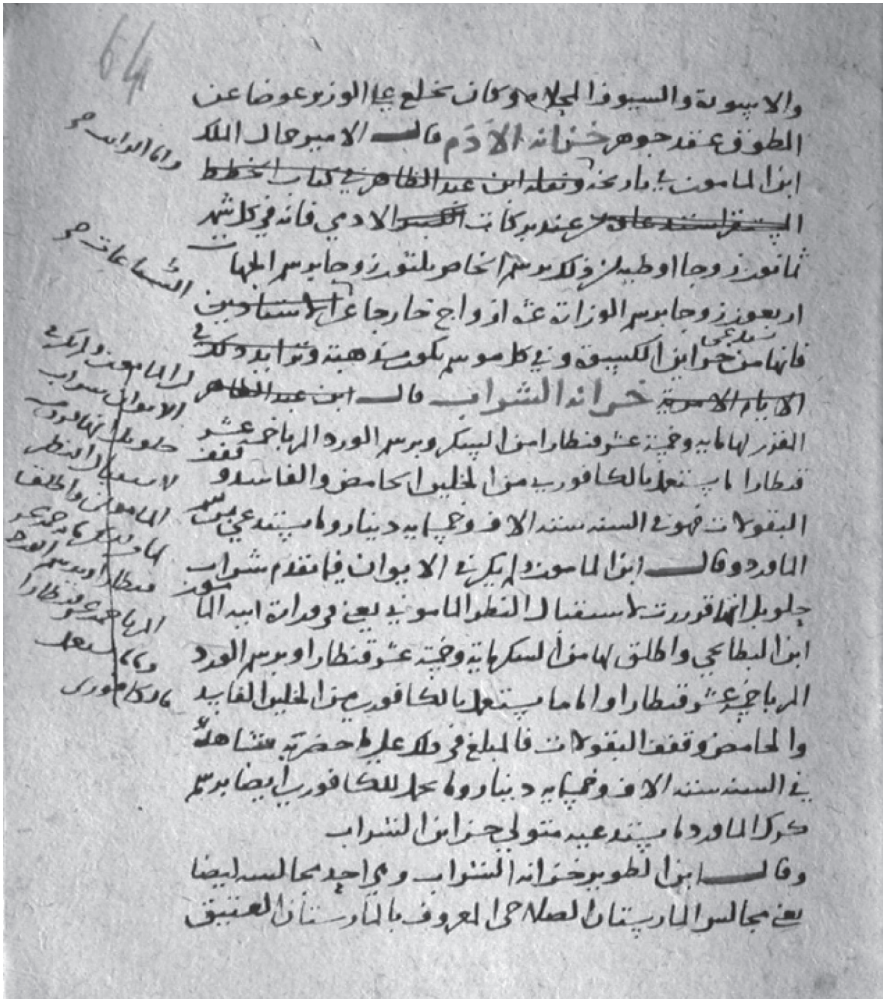
Speaking of the leather storehouse (*khizānat al-adam*) (fol. 64a), al-Maqrīzī gives a text deeply modified through cancelled words and marginal as well as interlinear additions. These changes result from two different stages of redaction: the first, when the text was written down; the second, when the additions were made for inclusion in the next version of the text, presumably the forthcoming final version. These two stages may be represented as follows:

Stage I:

خزانة الأدم. قال الأمير جمال الملك ابن المأمون في تاريخه ونقله ابن عبد الظاهر في كتاب الخطط: المستقر استدعاؤه من عند بركات الكبير الأدمي فإنه في كل شهر ثمانون زوجا أوطية من ذلك برسم الخاص ثلثون زوجا برسم الجهات أربعون زوجا برسم الوزارة عشرة أزواج خارجا عن الأستاذين فإنها من خزائن الكسوة وفي كل موسم تكون مذهبة وتزايد ذلك في الأيام الأمرية.

Stage II:

خزانة الأدم. قال الأمير جمال الملك ابن المأمون في تاريخه وأما الراتب صح ونقله ابن عبد الظاهر في كتاب الخطط: المستقر استدعاؤه من عند بركات الكبير الأدمي فإنه في كل شهر ثمانون زوجا أوطية من ذلك برسم الخاص ثلثون زوجا برسم الجهات أربعون زوجا برسم الوزارة عشرة أزواج خارجا عن ^{ك الساعات} الأستاذين فإنها تستدعى من خزائن الكسوة وفي كل موسم تكون مذهبة وتزايد ذلك في الأيام الأمرية.



Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Hazinesi 1472, f. 64a.

Unequivocally, this passage demonstrates that al-Maqrīzī quoted Ibn al-Ma'mūn through a secondary source, whom he names: Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir. Hence its presence in the body of the text. He recorded this passage at a moment when he did not have access to Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*, otherwise he would have made the quotation directly from this source. Later on, he cancelled the name of the secondary source, Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir. By doing so,

al-Maqrīzī wanted the reader to believe that he directly had access to Ibn al-Ma'mūn's work. We may wonder what prompted him to cancel the reference to Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir. The modifications imply that he did so because, in the end, he really did get his hands on Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*. Thus, he was able to compare Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's quotation and the original text and make the necessary corrections, as is proven by a technical word he did not understand that he added in place of another word in Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's quotation (*al-ustādhīn*). This demonstrates that he obtained a copy of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History* after the draft had been written, but more importantly that al-Maqrīzī's intent was to quote his sources as faithfully as possible, a trait he already exhibited, especially in *al-Khiṭaṭ*.⁸³

As for the technical term (الساعات), it obviously bears no diacritical dots, which betrays, in this particular case, al-Maqrīzī's perplexity towards it. This impression is further strengthened by the presence of a small *kāf* above the word, which denotes that al-Maqrīzī did not know what the word meant. It was rendered by A.F. Sayyid as الشماعات (clothes pegs),⁸⁴ which does not make any sense here, while Būlāq provided السباعيات,⁸⁵ a proposal found again in the new edition of A.F. Sayyid.⁸⁶ Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir is of no help in this case, as the editor, A.F. Sayyid, could not decipher the word and proposed the reading found in the *Khiṭaṭ* on the basis that this passage was quoted by al-Maqrīzī through Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir.⁸⁷ If this is the correct reading, then we are dealing with a kind of cloth that is attested in other sources.⁸⁸ However, there is no *yā'* in the *ductus*. Moreover, if the meaning of the word was still known in the eighteenth century, since it was registered by al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1751), I doubt al-Maqrīzī would have been ignorant of

⁸³ See Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana II," p. 91.

⁸⁴ *al-Khiṭaṭ*³, p. 158.

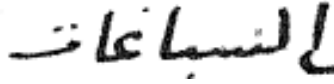
⁸⁵ *al-Khiṭaṭ*⁴, 1:422.

⁸⁶ *al-Khiṭaṭ*², 2:393 (l. 6: vocalized *al-sibā'īyyāt*!)

⁸⁷ Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍah al-bahiyyah*, p. 45.

⁸⁸ The word appears in a tariff document dated to the mid-sixth/twelfth century and in operation in Aden. See R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles: Material for a History up to the Mongol Conquest* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1972), p. 130, who interprets it as "(cloth) consisting of seven (parts)," or "seven (yards in length)." He adds: "The meaning is uncertain, but Miles translated this word as 'scarves.' This name is now applied to a type of waist-wrapper used by tribesmen and seems to refer to the pattern." A definition that escaped Serjeant is provided by Muḥammad Murtaḍā Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs min jawāhir al-qāmūs*, 40 vols. (al-Kuwayt: Wizārat al-Irshād wa-l-Anbā', 1385/1965–1422/2001), 21:177 (*thawb subā'ī idhā kāna ṭūluhu sab'a adhru' aw sab'at ashbār*: "a subā'ī garment if it is seven cubits long or seven spans of a hand long").

its meaning. On the other hand, al-Maqrīzī cited this passage in al-Ma'mūn's biography in *al-Muqaffá*. In the edition, the word is once again rendered as السباعيات, but this is not what the autograph manuscript features, as can be seen here:



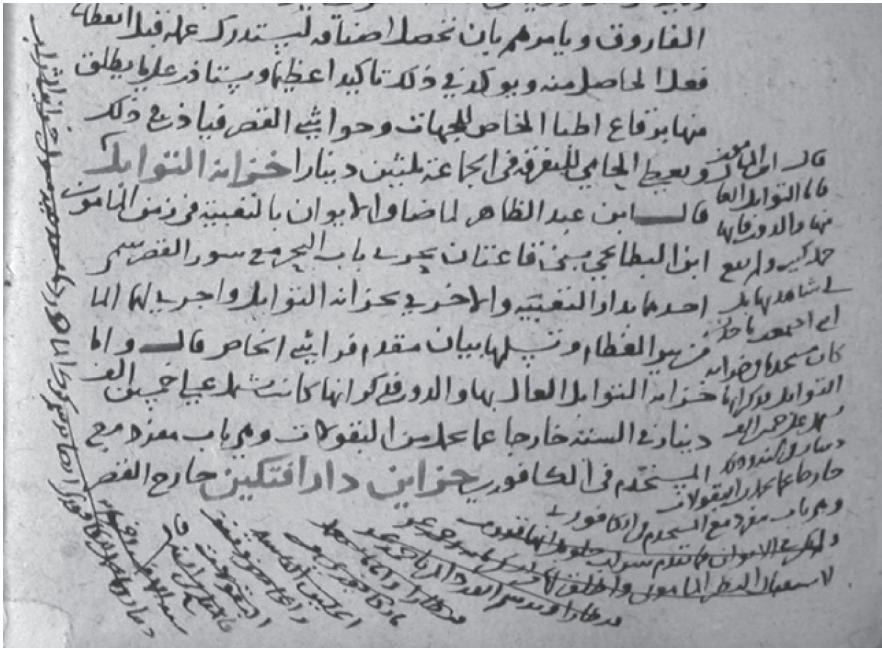
Courtesy Universiteitsbibliotheek (Leiden), MS or. 1366b, f. 209a.

Here, al-Maqrīzī expressed no more hesitation in reading the word: no sign (*kāf*) alluding to his perplexity, no *yā'* at the end, dots clearly indicated (السباعيات). This word is not recorded in the classical dictionaries, except for *sābiḡh* (pl. *āt*) which refers to a long and loose-fitting garment (*sabagha* means “to be long, ample,” speaking of a garment). It might thus be that we have here a technical word not registered in the dictionaries.⁸⁹ Unfortunately, al-Maqrīzī did not provide any explanation, as he did in other instances.⁹⁰ Be that as it may, the word is certainly not *al-subā'īyyāt*.

Thanks to this example, we have seen that a quotation from Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History* in the body of the text does not necessarily imply that al-Maqrīzī already had access to that text, but that it could come from a secondary source. We must now address another situation to proceed with the analysis. On the same leaf (64a), under the next heading, similar modifications are visible. To interpret them, it is necessary to turn to the verso of that leaf. There, under the heading *The spice storehouse (khizānat al-tawābil)*, the text starts with a quotation from Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir. No other source is cited in this section. However, in the margin, at a later date al-Maqrīzī added a long extract indicated as coming from Ibn al-Ma'mūn. The end was also crossed out. The whole may be rendered as follows:

⁸⁹Not even in R. B Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles: Material for a History up to the Mongol Conquest*.

⁹⁰See Frédéric Bauden, “Maqriziana II,” p. 101 (for *miswarah*).



Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Hazinesi 1472, f. 64b.

In the body of the text:

خزانة التوابل قال ابن عبد الظاهر... قال وأما خزانة التوابل العال بها والدون فذكر أنها كانت تشتمل على خمسين ألف دينار في السنة خارجا عما يحمل من البقولات وهي باب مفرد مع المستخدم في الكافوري.

In the margin:

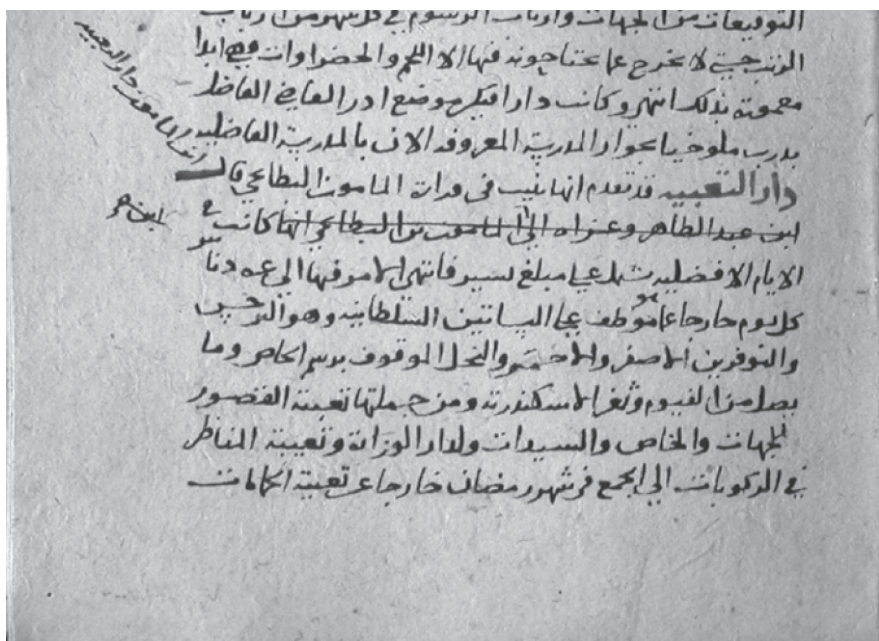
قال ابن المأمون: فأما التوابل العال منها والدون فإنها جملة كبيرة ولم يقع لي شاهد بها بل إنني اجتمعت بأحد من كان مستخدما في خزانة التوابل فذكر أنها تشتمل على خمسين ألف دينار في السنة وذلك خارجا عما يحمل من البقولات وهي باب مفرد مع المستخدم في الكافوري ولم يكن في الإيوان...

One notices that the last part of the text, starting with *qāla*, from Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's quotation, tallies almost exactly with the text added in the margin and said to be from Ibn al-Ma'mūn. Such a striking feature can only be elucidated if we consider that things happened in this way: once al-Maqrīzī got a copy of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's book, he realized that the second quotation in the paragraph was taken by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir from another source, i.e. Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*, something Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir had not revealed. However, al-Maqrīzī noticed that this quotation was not faithful (Ibn al-

Ma'mūn declared that he got this piece of information from an informant and therefore that it was not something he witnessed himself), and he corrected it in the margin, clearly stating the name of the source. He also wanted to put Ibn al-Ma'mūn's quotation before Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's (the first part of the text, which was his), thus respecting the chronological order of his sources.

Another noteworthy feature lies in the last part of the marginal quotation from Ibn al-Ma'mūn that was cancelled by al-Maqrīzī afterwards. Strangely, this same text, similar in every aspect, is also found on the previous leaf in the body of the text (under heading *khizānat al-sharāb*) and repeated in the margin, though there it is once again crossed out (see the reproduction of fol. 64a above). This reveals that al-Maqrīzī had access to the original source at the moment when he added the marginal notes, for he noticed shortly afterwards that he had already quoted the passage on the previous leaf through Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir. The process may be reconstructed as this: he jotted down the marginal quotation on leaf 64b; he immediately cancelled the last part because it dealt with a building mentioned on leaf 64a; he started to copy the quotation in the margin of leaf 64a but stopped before he completed it; he crossed out the marginal quotation once he saw that it was already in the text and that it was identical to Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's quotation from this source. He nonetheless obliterated Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's name, reattributing the whole quotation to its author, Ibn al-Ma'mūn. From all this, it may be inferred that the last two steps happened consecutively because he did not even complete the marginal quotation. It further gives the impression that such a process would only have been possible if al-Maqrīzī was leafing through Ibn al-Ma'mūn's work and adding any passage relevant to a particular section in *al-Khiṭaṭ* whenever his eyes fell upon it. This strengthens our hypothesis that he did not proceed further with the résumé after the year 515. After that date, he rather read the source itself and incorporated the relevant data into *al-Khiṭaṭ* and *Itti'āz*.

A final example will allay any doubt about the validity of this demonstration. Just one leaf further (65a), another quotation from Ibn al-Ma'mūn is made through the intermediary of Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir.

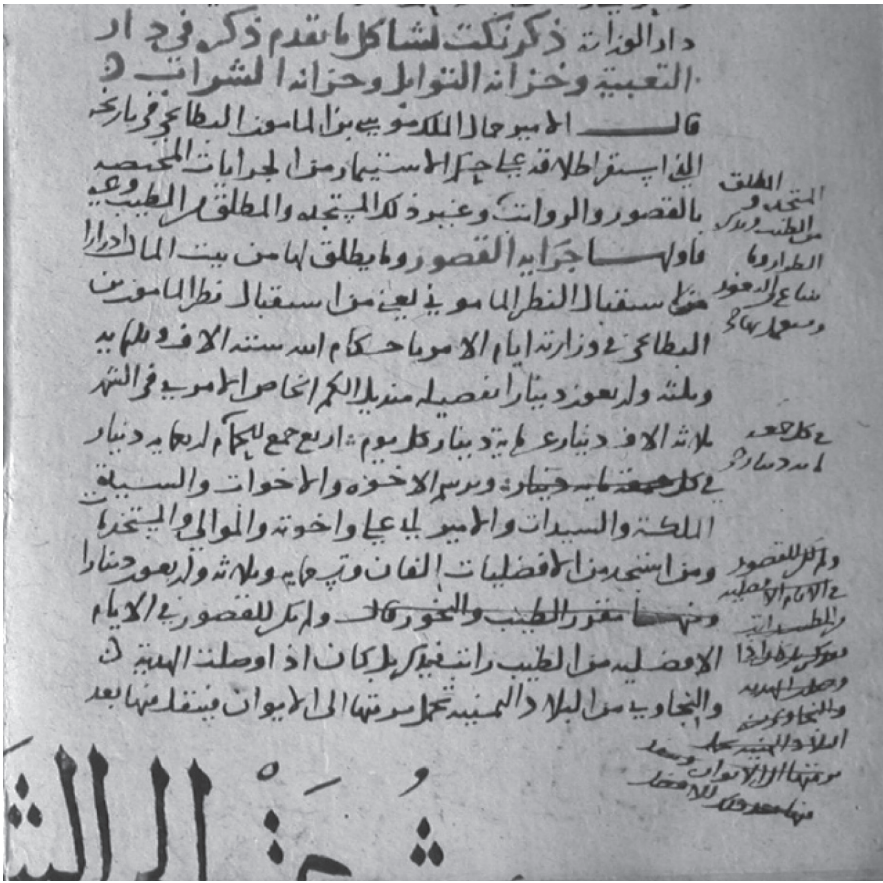


Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Hazinesi 1472, f. 65a.

دار التعينة. قد تقدم أنها بنيت في وزارة المأمون البطاحي. قال ابن المأمون: دار التعينة ^{ابن عبد الظاهر} وعزاه إلى ^{ابن} صبح المأمون بن البطاحي أنها كانت...

Here again, al-Maqrīzī cancelled the reference to Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir. This is not because he hoped to deceive his reader into believing that he was quoting the passage directly from Ibn al-Ma’mūn while actually quoting from a secondary source. Rather, it is because he read Ibn al-Ma’mūn’s book once he got a copy of it, after he had written this passage, and there he found the exact quotation. He thus slightly modified the text, in this case, as is visible in the word *al-aḥmar* (line 5), where the last three letters have been written over something that had been rubbed out.

If these cases are easy to deal with, those where no secondary source is indicated are more complicated, as we are still trying to prove that al-Maqrīzī gained access to Ibn al-Ma’mūn’s *History* after he had already composed the first draft of the *Khīṭaṭ*. This kind of quotation casts doubts on our reasoning because these are direct quotes in the body of the text, thus predating the composition of the draft. I hope to raise doubts about these quotations with the two following instances.



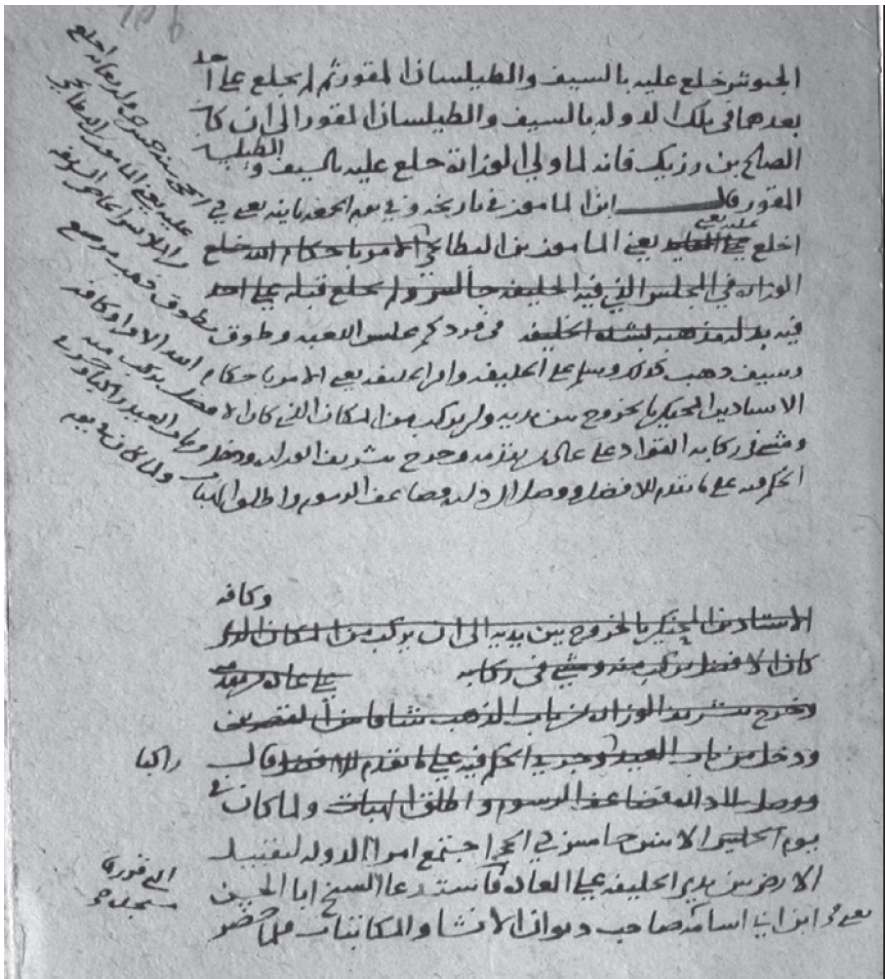
Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Hazinesi 1472, f. 65b.

قال الأمير جمال الملك موسى بن المأمون البطانحي في تاريخه الذي **تسفر** إطلاقه على حكم الاستيثار من الجرايات المختصة بالقصور والرواتب، **المستجدة** والمطلق من الطيب وتذكرة الطراز وما يتنازع من الثغور ويستعمل بها صح وغير ذلك المستجدة والمطلق من الطيب وغيره.

Apparently, we are dealing here with a direct quotation in the text, and this is carefully written, thus implying that at least this passage was available to al-Maqrīzī when he composed the draft, i.e. before 818. It must be specified that the text continues on several leaves (up to fol. 68b), making it one of the longest quotes from Ibn al-Ma'mūn. However, here again, the marginal additions demonstrate that al-Maqrīzī improved the quotation: the same words have been repeated in the margin, as if al-Maqrīzī wished to move them just after *wa-l-rawātib*. This could be interpreted as a mere improvement

of the text, which does not imply that he changed it on the basis of the original source. Still, it must be stressed that the text is not exactly identical: al-Maqrīzī improves the list (*wa-tadhkirat al-ṭirāz wa-mā yubtā' min al-thughūr wa-yusta'mal bihā*). This would have been impossible unless he had access to the source: we can then deduce that the quotation in the text was originally made through the intermediary of a secondary source.

The next example is less ambiguous. The process may be reconstructed in three different phases. Here, it again seems that this quote was originally taken from a secondary source, but we have no more information about this source, as al-Maqrīzī erased any reference to it.



Phase I

قال ابن المأمون في تاريخه [rubbed out : ونقل عنه ابن عبد الظاهر؟] أخلع على القائد يعني المأمون بن البطاحي الأمر بأحكام الله خلع الوزارة في المجلس الذي فيه الخليفة جالس ولم يخلع قبله على أحد فيه بدلة مذهبة بشدة الخليفة [space corresponding to seven lines left blank] وكافة الأستاذين المحنكين بالخروج بين يديه إلى أن يركب من المكان الذي كان الأفضل يركب منه ومشى في ركابه [one word later rubbed out leaving a blank space] على عادة من تقدمه وخرج بتشريف الوزارة من باب الذهب شاقا بين القصرين ودخل من باب العيد وجرى الحكم فيه على ما تقدم للأفضل قال ووصل إلى داره فضاغف الرسوم وأطلق الهبات ولما كان في يوم الخميس الإثنتين...

This phase corresponds to the text as it stood when al-Maqrīzī composed the draft. At this stage he is obviously copying, as evidenced by the mistake he immediately corrected (*yawm al-ithnayn* instead of *al-khamīs*). On the other hand, here we have a quote that clearly ended with the word *al-khalīfah*, followed by a significant blank space left by al-Maqrīzī before he completed the text, and then goes on with *wa-kāffat al-ustādhīn*. This space was filled later in a more cursive handwriting, a sign that this is a posterior addition. In this case, the question is: why did al-Maqrīzī leave several lines blank? In view of the position of the blank (in the middle of the passage), a unique reason may be invoked: he felt the quotation was incomplete and needed to be improved on the basis of another source. Moreover, this quotation was attributed to Ibn al-Ma'mūn, but one can see that what follows *ta'rikhihi* is written in a more cursive handwriting and that it even goes on in the margin, a feature that would not appear during the first phase of the draft, which was a first neat copy. In conclusion, some text followed the word *ta'rikhihi* and was rubbed out, probably during the final phase. Any text might have stood there, but given that al-Maqrīzī added the date of the event in the space vacated by the obliterated text, we are confident that what stood here was the name of Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir; in this case, this was a quotation made on the basis of a secondary source. This reasoning is supported by the rest of the analysis.

Phase II

قال ابن المأمون في تاريخه [rubbed out : ونقل عنه ابن عبد الظاهر؟] أخلع على القائد عليه يعني المأمون بن البطاحي من الملابس الخاص الشريفة الأمر بأحكام الله خلع الوزارة في المجلس الذي فيه الخليفة جالس ولم يخلع قبله على أحد فيه بدلة مذهبة بشدة الخليفة [space corresponding to seven lines left blank] وكافة الأستاذين المحنكين بالخروج بين يديه إلى أن يركب من المكان الذي كان الأفضل يركب منه ومشى في ركابه [one word rubbed out leaving a blank space] على عادة من تقدمه وخرج بتشريف الوزارة من باب الذهب شاقا بين القصرين ودخل من باب العيد ^{مراكبا} وجرى الحكم فيه على ما تقدم للأفضل قال ووصل إلى داره فضاغف الرسوم وأطلق الهبات ولما كان في يوم الخميس الإثنتين...

This stage simply shows that al-Maqrīzī polished the text with personal adjustments. The marginal addition regarding the garments that were bestowed upon al-Ma'mūn (*min al-malābis al-khāṣṣ al-sharīfah*) also belongs to this phase, as al-Maqrīzī noted with a sign that it had to be inserted in the body of the text, a feature not to be observed with the rest of the marginal additions.

Phase III

قال ابن المأمون في تاريخه [rubbed out] وفي يوم الجمعة ثانيه يعني ذي الحجة سنة خمس عشرة وأربعمائة [كذا] أخلع عليه يعني المأمون بن البطائحي [أخلع على القائد عليه يعني يعني المأمون بن البطائحي] من الملابس الخاص الشريفة الأمر بأحكام الله خلع الوزارة في المجلس الذي فيه الخليفة جالس ولم يخلع قبله على أحد فيه بدلة مذهبة بشدة الخليفة في فرد كم مجلس اللعبة وطوق بطوق ذهب مرصع وسيف كذلك وسلم على الخليفة وأمر الخليفة يعني الأمر بأحكام الله الأمراء وكافة الأستاذين المحنكين بالخروج بين يديه وأن يركب من المكان الذي كان الأفضل يركب منه ومشى في ركابه القواد على عادة من تقدمه وخرج بتشريف الوزارة ودخل من باب العيد راكبا وجرى الحكم فيه على ما تقدم للأفضل ووصل إلى داره فضايف الرسوم وأطلق الهبات ولما كان في يوم [وكافة الأستاذين المحنكين بالخروج بين يديه إلى أن يركب من المكان الذي كان الأفضل يركب منه ومشى في ركابه] one word previously [rubbed out leaving a blank space] على عادة من تقدمه وخرج بتشريف الوزارة من باب الذهب شاقا بين القصرين ودخل من باب العيد راكبا وجرى الحكم فيه على ما تقدم للأفضل قال ووصل إلى داره فضايف الرسوم وأطلق الهبات ولما كان في يوم الخميس [الإثنين]...

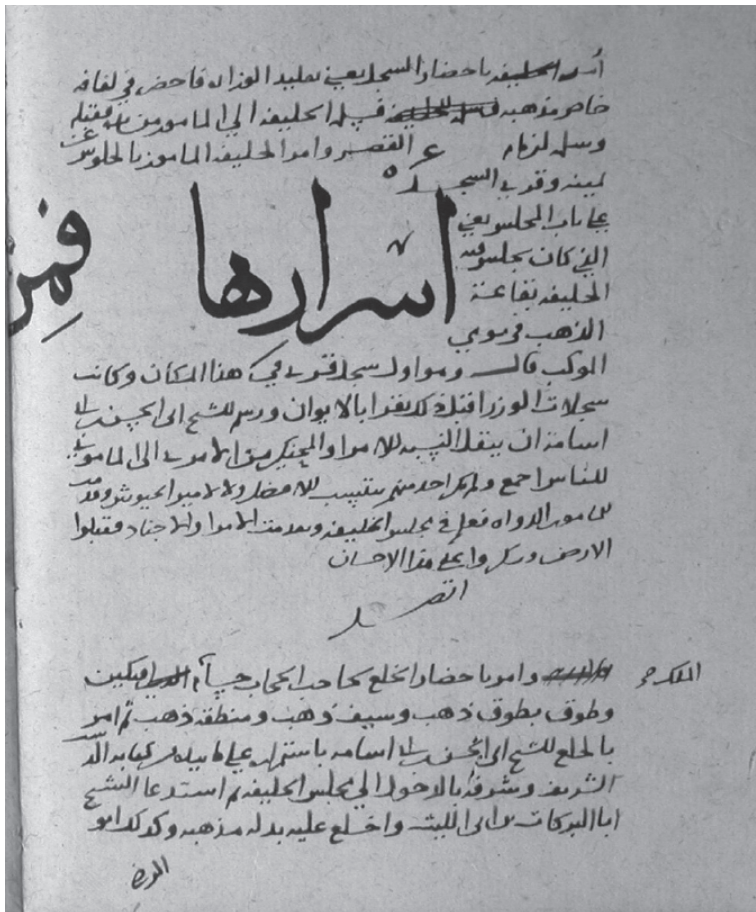
The last phase demonstrates that al-Maqrīzī finally got access to the original source: Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*. Here, al-Maqrīzī modified several parts, according to this source, in order to cite it faithfully. The additions have been written as follows: first, over the text rubbed out just after the mention of Ibn al-Ma'mūn, he added the sentence proceeding in the margin; then he crossed out the parts that he realized did not agree with Ibn al-Ma'mūn's wording and jotted down the correct text in the blank space and the margin; the text that came after the blank space was also crossed out because it was already included in the addition. He thus became aware that, in the original source, the quotation was not so much longer as to take up all the blank space he had left for it. In the end, the quotation was updated, in a more faithful way, as this time it surely tallied with Ibn al-Ma'mūn's wording; the mention of the precise date is a major clue that the process was carried out this way, even though al-Maqrīzī made a mistake while copying, as he wrote 415 instead of 515.⁹¹ Another detail is also worthwhile: the same text appears in al-Ma'mūn's biography in *al-Muqaffá*,⁹² and it is exactly

⁹¹This kind of mistake seems to have been recurrent. See Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana II," p. 96.

⁹²Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá al-kabir*, 6:480.

the text that corresponds to phase III. This detail points to the fact that this biography in *al-Muqaffá* was redacted after its counterpart in *al-Khiṭaṭ*.⁹³

The quotation studied is a long one, as it goes on several leaves. If one turns the leaf, he will find that al-Maqrīzī proceeded with the comparison of the passage from Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir with Ibn al-Ma’mūn’s text. Another blank space is visible there, too, an indication that al-Maqrīzī knew he would have to add some text. This is exactly what happened once Ibn al-Ma’mūn’s *History* became accessible to him.



Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Hazinesi 1472, f. 106a.

⁹³This is corroborated by the following sentence: “*wa-qad dhakartu tafṣīl al-aṣnāf fī Kitāb al-Mawā’iẓ wa-l-i’tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*”. See *ibid.*, 6:493 (further repeated in 6:494).

It can be observed that three lines were added at a later date (after *ajma'*, line 12), once again in handwriting that is more cursive. Nevertheless, the blank space was not fully filled, and to avoid any misunderstanding, he added the word *ittāṣil* (join) and cancelled the *qāla* that introduces the next quotation, indicating that the preceding text had to be connected to what follows.

We must conclude that the quotations from Ibn al-Ma'mūn found in the body of the text do not mean that al-Maqrīzī had access to this source when he scribbled the first draft. Rather, it implies that some of these passages were taken from Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, who sometimes mentioned his own source explicitly, while other passages were apparently found in another secondary source. In any case, al-Maqrīzī noticed that these secondary references did not respect Ibn al-Ma'mūn's wording, and he modified these quotations—sometimes slightly, sometimes more deeply—to make them more accurate. This brings us back to the central question that motivated our analysis: when and how al-Maqrīzī did gain access to Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*? It has already been established that the résumé was prepared sometime after 831/1428, and it has just been demonstrated that two thirds of the quotations from Ibn al-Ma'mūn in the draft of *al-Khiṭaṭ* were added at a later time, and the remaining third—those already present in the body of the draft—were made through a secondary source. Given that the body of the text in the two volumes of the draft can be dated shortly prior to 818/1415, it leads us to conclude that al-Maqrīzī gained access to Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History* after that date. If we consider that he got hold of the source at the same time when he prepared the résumé, the year 831/1428 must be regarded as the *terminus a quo*. This could be confirmed by the autograph volumes of *Itti'āz al-Ḥunafā'*, in which Ibn al-Ma'mūn was also put to good use. Unfortunately, only the first volume of the autograph has been preserved, while only the third volume would have proven useful for our purpose, since it contained the last part of the history of the Fatimids and, more importantly, the vizierate of al-Ma'mūn, the subject of his son's *History*. All we can say in this respect is that the first volume was already finished in 824/1421,⁹⁴ and we may suspect that this was also the case for the last two volumes. We can

⁹⁴In the first volume, al-Maqrīzī added a later marginal quotation from al-Nadīm's *al-Fihrist*. As I have argued (Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana II," p. 118, n. 200), al-Maqrīzī summarized this source in 824, thus indicating that this marginal quotation in *Itti'āz* is slightly after this date. The year of al-Maqrīzī's consultation note was read as 813 by A.F. Sayyid (*al-Khiṭaṭ* 1:89 of the introduction), but he has recently confirmed that my reading was correct in his new edition of al-Nadīm's *al-Fihrist* (London, 2009, 4 parts in 2 vols.), 1/1:107–9.

than deduce that al-Maqrīzī must have included the data regarding the last years of al-Afdal's vizierate as well as the period during which al-Ma'mūn occupied this position from Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*. This additional data, which was rather limited as can be seen in the final version of *Itti'āz*,⁹⁵ was undoubtedly added in the margins and on separate leaves.⁹⁶

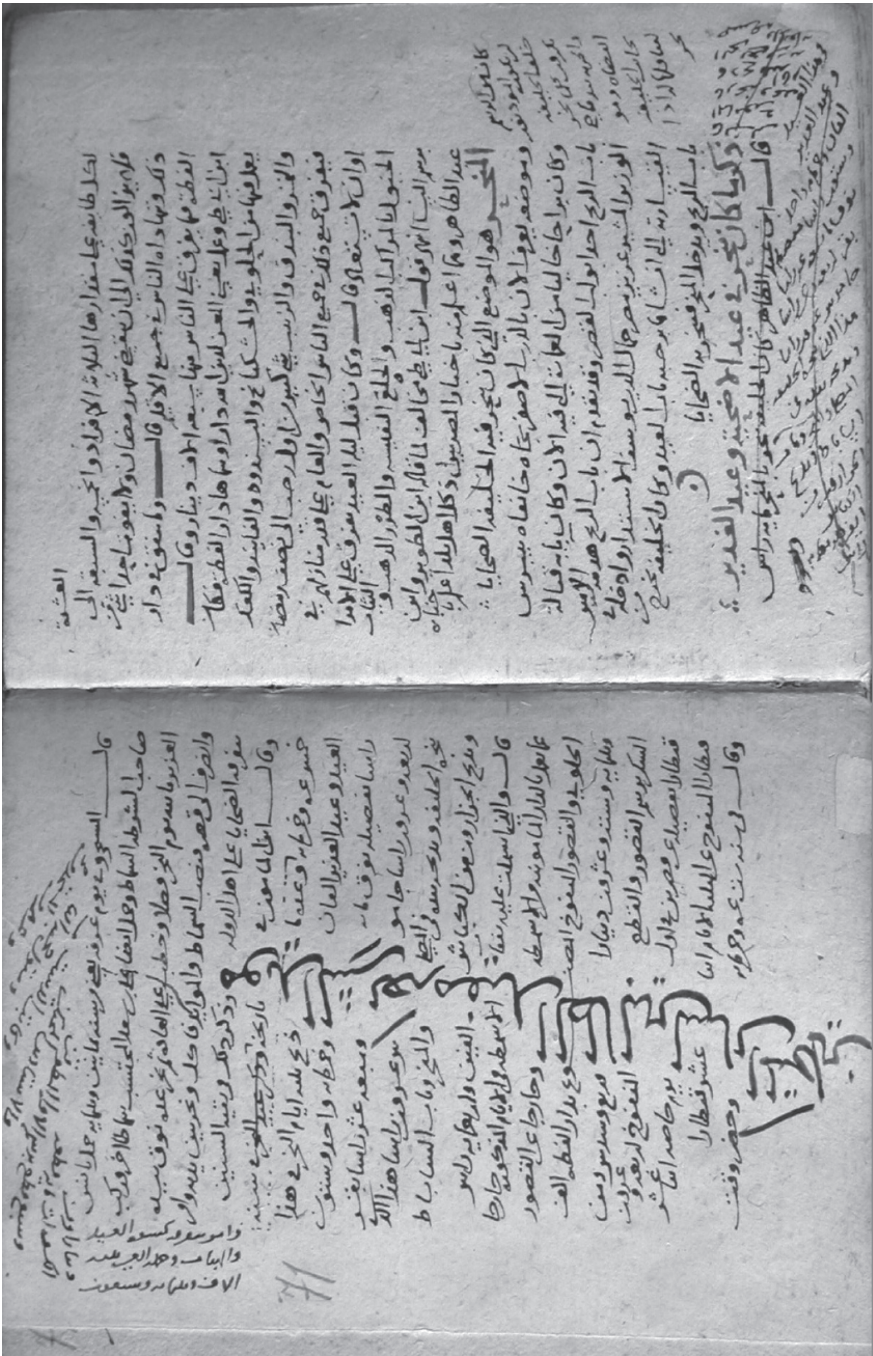
The material collected in Appendix II also allows us to know approximately when al-Maqrīzī read other Fatimid sources, more precisely *al-Dhakhā'ir wa-l-Tuḥaf* and al-Musabbiḥ's *History*. As for the first, all the quotations except for two of them are later additions, and most of the time they are merely references for later inclusion in the next version of *al-Khiṭaṭ*. In some cases, these appear after a reference to Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*, from which we may infer that both sources were available to al-Maqrīzī at about the same time. The case of al-Musabbiḥ's *History* is more complicated. We know with certainty that al-Maqrīzī prepared a résumé of vol. 40 of this source in 807/1404–5,⁹⁷ which does not mean that he had access to the whole work at that time. Evidence for this can be seen in the fact that none of the references to al-Musabbiḥ in the draft comes from vol. 40, and in the fact that they are all later additions. Certainly, al-Maqrīzī could not find more than a few volumes at different periods of time.⁹⁸ This argument is corroborated by the following example in the draft of *al-Khiṭaṭ*:

⁹⁵One understands that al-Maqrīzī mainly relied for the given period on Ibn Muyassar, a source he had summarized as early as 814/1411, and whose reliance on Ibn al-Ma'mūn for al-Ma'mūn's vizierate al-Maqrīzī must have noticed when he finally got access to the original source. See note 64.

⁹⁶This feature is plainly visible in the first volume of the autograph of *Itti'āz*.

⁹⁷See Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana II," p. 118, n. 203. Vol. 40 deals with the events of the years 414–415 A.H.

⁹⁸In the two volumes of the draft of *al-Khiṭaṭ*, this source is only quoted for the years 380, 381, 383, 395, 402 and 403. We have also noted that the volumes of Ibn Muyassar's book were the property of two different owners at the end of the ninth/fifteenth century. Several volumes of al-Musabbiḥ's *History* still available in al-Maqrīzī's time might also have been in different hands, thus complicating his task of consulting them simultaneously.



Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Hazinesi 1472, ff. 70b-71a.

On fol. 70b, al-Maqrīzī wrote a marginal quote from Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*. Later on, he crossed it out. If we look carefully, this same quote appears on the next leaf (fol. 71a), but after a passage stemming from al-Musabbiḥī. This leaf is obviously a separate sheet that was incorporated at that place later on, to allow al-Maqrīzī to include several quotations from two different sources (al-Musabbiḥī and Ibn al-Ma'mūn), the space for this being too limited in the margins. The quote from al-Musabbiḥī regards the year 380, and it had to be placed before Ibn al-Ma'mūn's text. Given that this separate sheet had to be added in order to insert the text of al-Musabbiḥī, it is clear that Ibn al-Ma'mūn's quotation predates the one from al-Musabbiḥī. The volume covering the year 380/990–1 was thus consulted after Ibn al-Ma'mūn, i.e. after 831/1428.⁹⁹ It must also be remembered that a résumé of al-Musabbiḥī was circulating in al-Maqrīzī's time. It had been prepared by Rashīd al-dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-'Aẓīm ibn 'Abd al-Qawī al-Mundhirī (d. 643/1245–6) and was still available to a Meccan author, al-Fāsī (d. 832/1429), who quoted this source through this intermediary.¹⁰⁰ As al-Maqrīzī sojourned in Mecca in 834/1430–1,¹⁰¹ he might have made the additions for the years referred to above from al-Musabbiḥī through the intermediary of al-Mundhirī's résumé. Be that as it may, the data originating in the other volumes of al-Musabbiḥī's *History* were gathered after al-Maqrīzī was finally able to consult Ibn al-Ma'mūn's book.

CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this article, an observation was made about the obscurity that surrounds both Ibn al-Ma'mūn and his work. Thanks to the résumé of a small part of his book that al-Maqrīzī prepared, and through the collection of all the—scarce—data available, it was possible to draw a clearer picture of the author and his oeuvre. For instance, the time when he wrote down his *History* can now be better approximated, the *terminus a quo* probably being 531/1136–7. The title of his *History* can also be considered as *Sīrat/Ta'rīkh al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī* or something quite

⁹⁹Cf. also the analysis of the notecard in the notebook. See Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana II," p. 92–9.

¹⁰⁰Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana I/2," p. 96–7.

¹⁰¹See al-Jalīlī's introduction to Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd al-farīdah fī tarājīm al-a'yān al-mufīdah*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, 4 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2002), 1:23.

similar, since it has been established that the aim of the author was to commemorate the career of his father, the vizier al-Ma'mūn. The scope of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's work was consequently limited to the years during which his father was active, between 501/1107–8 and 519/1125.

If our knowledge has been improved by these facts, we must pay tribute to al-Maqrīzī, whose résumé and numerous quotations, found above all in *al-Khiṭaṭ* and less importantly in *Itti'āz* and *al-Muqaffá*, throw a unique light on his *modus operandi*. In particular, the philological analysis of all these quotations has shown that al-Maqrīzī first had access to Ibn al-Ma'mūn's book through a secondary source, Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, and that these indirect quotations were later improved once he finally managed to locate a copy of the original work. This undoubtedly praiseworthy behavior is in accordance with al-Maqrīzī's commitment to quoting his sources faithfully, at least in *al-Khiṭaṭ*, though he did not completely accomplish this task, especially in his other books like *Itti'āz* or *al-Muqaffá*. We have also demonstrated that when al-Maqrīzī succeeded in getting a copy of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*, he started to read it with the intention of summarizing it. He nevertheless ended the résumé with the year 515/1121; for the following years, he proceeded with reading the source, and if he noticed a passage of interest, he directly incorporated it at the right place in his drafts, generally in the margins or on a separate leaf. This change of mind might be due to the fact that Ibn al-Ma'mūn's work was too descriptive to be summarized, as emphasized by Ibn Sa'īd.

Another benefit of our analysis lies in the apprehension of the chronology of al-Maqrīzī's oeuvre. If it is agreed that he could not have read Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History* prior to 831/1428, since the résumé must be dated after that year, it may be inferred that *al-Khiṭaṭ* at that time was still at the stage of the first—emended—draft and that the final version, which was closer to the state of the text as we know it today, was not made before that year. However, at that time al-Maqrīzī's intent was already to produce a newer version, since he sometimes referred to Ibn al-Ma'mūn in his draft very briefly (*yudhkar*), indicating that the data had to be added in the future version directly from Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History*. As for *Itti'āz*, it has been shown that al-Maqrīzī must have completed that book before 824/1421. In that case, it means that the information originating in Ibn al-Ma'mūn's *History* was included in the margins and on separate leaves in the autograph after 831/1428; in the end, the amount of data added there was rather limited.

Thanks to all the witnesses al-Maqrīzī left us of his intellectual activity, it has once again been possible to reconstruct his working method, but

also in this particular case to better evaluate a lost source of the Fatimid period.

APPENDIX I

A CRITICAL EDITION OF AL-MAQRĪZĪ'S RÉSUMÉ OF IBN AL-MA'MŪN'S *SĪRAT AL-MA'MŪN AL-BATĀ'IHĪ*

The edited text was standardized according to the current rules of orthography. However, obvious grammatical mistakes have been retained, with the correct form according to classical Arabic signaled in the footnotes. The text has been divided into numbered paragraphs that are clearly indicated as such by al-Maqrīzī through various systems detailed in the article. Each passage that has been reused by al-Maqrīzī in *al-Khiṭaṭ* and/or *Itti'āz* is circumscribed by a letter between parentheses referring to a footnote below the text. Other occurrences of the same passage in other sources are also provided.

(fol. 157a) الحمد لله. مختار من سيرة المأمون البطائحي، تأليف الأمير¹⁰² جمال الملك أبي علي موسى بن المأمون أبي عبد الله محمد بن فاتك بن مختار المعروف والده بابن البطائحي عفا¹⁰³ الله عنه.

(١) في هذه السنة، يعني سنة ٥٠١، فتح ديوان¹⁰⁴ التحقيق. (a) (b) تولاها ابن أبي الليث النصراني وأضيف إليه ديوان المجلس. (b) (c) فأول ما تحدث فيه نقل السنة الشمسية إلى العربية وكان قد حصل بينهما تفاوت أربع سنين. فخرج الأمر إلى الشيخ أبي القاسم¹⁰⁵ بن الصيرفي بإنشاء سجل به (c) (d) فنسخ نصه في دواوين الأموال والجيوش وولد بعد ذلك في بيت المال. (d)

(a)(a) ابن المأمون ٩ = الخطط^١ ١: ٤٠١ (وفيه: ديوان المجلس)؛ الخطط^٢ ٢: ٣٣٢ (٧-٨)؛ اتعاض ٣٩: ٣.

(b)(b) اتعاض ٣: ٣٩.

(c)(c) ابن المأمون ٣-٤ = الخطط^١ ١: ٢٧٩؛ الخطط^٢ ١: ٧٥٦ (١٩)-٧٥٧ (١)؛ اتعاض ٣: ٤٠.

(d)(d) الخطط^٢ ١: ٧٥٧ (٢) عن مجموع لياج!

¹⁰² ص. ح. + marginal add.: الأمير.

¹⁰³ عفا: ms. has عفي.

¹⁰⁴ ديوان: ms. has دايوان with two small strokes over the first *alif*.

¹⁰⁵ القسم: ms. has القاسم.

(٢) ^(e) وكان قد اختل حال الرجال ¹⁰⁶ العسكرية والمقطعين من خسة ¹⁰⁷ ارتفاع الإقطاعات وقلة متحصلها وتضاعف ارتفاعات إقطاع الأمراء وزيادتها عن غيرها ¹⁰⁸ وتوفير ¹⁰⁹ في كل ناحية جملة للديوان صارت تجبى بالعسف من تردد الرسل من الديوان بسببها فأمر الأفضل بن أمير الجيوش بحل ¹¹⁰ جميع الإقطاعات وراكها وأقر ما كان في النواحي من ملك أو بستان أو معصرة بيد ماله ولم يدخل ذلك في الإقطاعات وأذن ¹¹¹ لضعاء الجند فتزايدوا في إقطاعات الأقوياء حتى انتهت زيادتهم فكتبت السجلات بأنها باقية في أيديهم إلى مدة ثلاثين ¹¹² سنة لا يقبل عليهم فيها زائد وسأل الأقوياء ما يكرهون ¹¹³ من الإقطاعات التي كانت بيد ¹¹⁴ الأجناد فقالوا: ” نكره كثرة عبرتها وقلة متحصلها وخرابها وقلة الساكن فيها “. فأمرهم أن يبذلوا في كل ناحية ما تحتمله بغير نظر في العبرة الأولى فتزايدوا فيها حتى بلغت إلى الحد الذي رغب كل منهم فيه فأقطعوا به وكتبت لهم السجلات على الحكم المتقدم وحصل للديوان (fol. 157b) بلاد مقورة مما ¹¹⁵ كان مفرقا في الإقطاعات بما مبلغه خمسون ألف دينار. ^(e)

(٣) ^(f) ووردت ¹¹⁶ الأخبار بحركة متملك النوبة إلى أطراف البلاد فجهز الأفضل عسكريا إلى والي قوص وتقدم إليه بأن يسير بنفسه إلى أطراف بلاد المذكور ويلقاه بها فورد الخبر بوقوع الفتنة بين ملك النوبة وبين قومه وأن أحد أخواله ¹¹⁷ قتله وتملك مكانه وأنه قتل أيضا وأجلس مكانه صبي وسيرت أمه تسأل ¹¹⁸ العفو من الغزو فأمر والي الصعيد الأعلى ¹¹⁹ بتسيير العسكر إلى أطراف البلاد وأن يبعث إليهم رسولا يجدد عليهم القطيعة الجاري بها العادة وهي في السنة

(e) ابن المأمون ٩-١٠ = الخطط ١: ٨٣؛ الخطط ١: ٢٢٢ (١٠)-٢٢٣ (١٢)؛ اعناظ ٣: ٤٠.

¹⁰⁶ الرجال: the last three letters are in the margin, showing that al-Maqrīzī did not want to split the word into two parts, though he had arrived at the end of the line with the first three letters.

¹⁰⁷ *Itti'āz* 3:40: حسية.

¹⁰⁸ *Itti'āz* 3:40: غيرها.

¹⁰⁹ *Itti'āz* 3:40: صار.

¹¹⁰ *Itti'āz* 3:40: بحمل.

¹¹¹ *Itti'āz* 3:40: وأمر.

¹¹² ثلاثين: ms. has ثلاثين.

¹¹³ *Itti'āz* 3:40: وأمر الأقوياء أن يبذلوا.

¹¹⁴ *Itti'āz* 3:41: وأذن للأقوياء في ذكر شكايهم من أقطاعات من أقطاعات: this sentence is a marginal addition that replaces the following passage in the text crossed out in red وسأل... بيد.

¹¹⁵ *Itti'āz* 3:40: مفردة بما.

¹¹⁶ ووردت: above the word, in red ink, is the sign 𐤎 corresponding to قف, which is meant to catch the eye of the reader.

¹¹⁷ أخاه: marginal correction + صح replacing the word أخاه in the text, which has been crossed out afterwards. *Itti'āz* 3:41: أخي.

¹¹⁸ تسأل: ms. has تسأل.

¹¹⁹ الأعلى: ms. has الأعلى.

ثلاثمائة¹²⁰ وستون رأسا رقيقا بعد أن يستنض¹²¹ منهم ما يجب عليهم في السنين المتقدمة فتوجهت العساكر نحوهم ودخلوا تحت الطاعة وكتبوا المواصفات¹²² وسألوا في الإغفاء عما يخص السنين وحملوا ما تيسر وعادت العساكر كاسية.^(f)

٤ (g) ولما كثرت الأموال عند ابن أبي الليث رغب في التبيح على الأفضل بنهضته¹²³ فسأل أن يشاهده قبل حمله وذكر أنه كان سبع مائة ألف دينار وذلك خارجا عن نفقات الرجال فجعلت الدنانير في صناديق بجانب والدراهم في صناديق بجانب وقام ابن أبي الليث بين الصفيين فلما شاهد الأفضل ذلك قال لابن أبي الليث: "يا شيخ، نفرحني بالمال وتربة"¹²⁴ أمير الجيوش إن بلغني¹²⁵ أن بئرا معطلة أو أرضا بائنة أو بلدا خرابا¹²⁶ لأضربن رقبته. فقال: "وحق نعمتك، لقد حاشى الله أيامك أن يكون فيها بلد خراب أو بئر معطلة." فأبى¹²⁷ أن يخلع عليه حتى يكشف عما ذكر.^(g)

٥ (h) وكان الماء لا يصل إلى الشرقية إلا من السردوسي ومن الصماصيم¹²⁸ ومن المواضع البعيدة فكان (fol. 158a) أكثرها يشرق في أكثر السنين وكان أبو المنجي¹²⁹ اليهودي مشارف الأعمال المذكورة فتصور¹³⁰ المزارعون إليه وسألوا في فتح ترعة يصل الماء فيها¹³¹ في ابتدائه إليهم فابتدئ بحفر¹³² خليج أبي المنجي¹³³ في يوم الثلاثاء السادس من شعبان سنة ست وخمسمائة وركب الأفضل في العشاري والعساكر تحاذيه في البر وجمعت شيوخ البلاد وأدلاؤها¹³⁴ وركبوا في المراكب

(f) اتعاض ٣: ٤١.

(g) ابن المأمون ٩ (سنة ٥٠١!) = الخطط^١: ١: ٤٠١؛ الخطط^٢: ٢: ٣٣٢ (٩) - ٣٣٣ (٣)؛ اتعاض ٣: ٤٣ (سنة ٥٠٢).

¹²⁰ ثلاثمائة: ms. has ثلاثمائة.

¹²¹ يستخلص: Itti'āz 3:41.

¹²² المواصفات: above the word, in red ink, is the sign ك meaning that the word requires an explanation. Itti'āz 3:41.

¹²³ بخدمته: Itti'āz 3:43.

¹²⁴ وتريد: Itti'āz 3:43.

¹²⁵ أن يلقى: Itti'āz 3:43.

¹²⁶ خراب Sic for.

¹²⁷ فتوسط: Itti'āz 3:43.

¹²⁸ الصماصيم: *al-Khiṭaṭ*¹ and *al-Khiṭaṭ*², 2:584(13).

¹²⁹ المنجا: ms. has المنجي.

¹³⁰ *al-Khiṭaṭ*¹, 1:487; وتضرع Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir 129: (but in the ms.: وتضرعوا) وتضرع: *al-Khiṭaṭ*¹, 1:487; وتضرع: *al-Khiṭaṭ*², 2:584(15).

¹³¹ منها: *al-Khiṭaṭ*¹ and *al-Khiṭaṭ*², 2:584(15).

¹³² صح + marginal addition: بحفر.

¹³³ المنجا: ms. has المنجي.

¹³⁴ *al-Khiṭaṭ*¹ and *al-Khiṭaṭ*², 2:584(18); Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir: وأولادها. Ibn Duqmāq provides the same reading as here.

ومعهم حزم البوص¹³⁵ والنيل في ابتدائه فلما قربوا من فم البحر رموا حزم البوص في البحر وصار العشاري والمراكب تتبعهم إلى أن رماهم الموج إلى الموضع الذي حفروا فيه البحر وأقام الحفر فيه سنتين وفي كل سنة تبين¹³⁶ الفائدة فيه ويتضاعف¹³⁷ من ارتفاع البلاد ما يهون الغرامة عليه ولما عرض على الأفضل جملة ما أنفق فيه استعظمه وقال: ” غرمتنا هذا المال جميعه والاسم لأبي المنجى؟“¹³⁸ فغير اسمه ودعي بالبحر الأفضلي فلم يتم ذلك ولم يعرف إلا بأبي المنجى¹³⁹ ثم جرت بين أبي المنجى¹⁴⁰ وبين ابن أبي الليث خطوب بسبب المال الذي أنفق أدت إلى اعتقال أبي المنجى¹⁴¹ عدة سنين ثم نفي إلى الإسكندرية بعد ما كاد يهلك.^(h)

٦) سنة ٥١٢. (i) من جملة ما قرر من تعظيم المملكة وتقويم أمر السلطنة أن المجلس الذي يجلس فيه الأفضل يسمى مجلس العطايا¹⁴³. أمر بتفصيل ثمانية¹⁴⁴ ظروف ديباج أطلس من كل لون اثنين¹⁴⁵ وجعل في¹⁴⁶ سبعة منهم¹⁴⁷ خمسة وثلاثون¹⁴⁸ ألف دينار في كل ظرف خمسة آلاف دينار سكب وبطاقة بوزنه وعدده وشرابة حرير كبيرة من ذلك ستة ظروف دنانير بالسوية عن اليمين والشمال في مجلس العطايا الذي يرسم الجلوس وعند مرتبة الأفضل بقاعة اللؤلؤة طرفان أحدهما دنانير والآخر دراهم جدد فالذي في اللؤلؤة يرسم ما يستدعيه الأفضل إذا كان عند الحرم وأما الذي في مجلس العطايا فإن الشعراء (fol. 158b) لم يكن لهم على الشعر جار وإنما إذا اتفق استحسان السلطان لشعر ينشده يدفع للشاعر ما يسهله الله له على الجائزة فاقتضى الرأي أن يكون ذلك من بين يديه من الظروف وكذلك كل من يتضرع ويسأل¹⁴⁹ في طلب صدقة أو ينعم عليه بغير سؤال منه فإنه يخرج من الظروف فإذا انصرف الحاضرون نزل المبلغ في البطاقة ويكتب الأفضل عليه بخطه ” صح “ ويعاد إلى الطرف ويختتم عليه.⁽ⁱ⁾

(h)(i) ابن المأمون ١١ (سنة ٥٠٦) = الخطط^١: ١: ٤٨٧-٤٨٨؛ الخطط^٢: ٢: ٥٨٤ (١٢)-٥٨٥ (٦)؛ اتعاط: ٣: ٥٠. ذكر هذا النص نفسه ابن عبد الظاهر، الروضة البهية، ١٢٨-١٢٩ وابن دقماق، الانتصار، ٥: ٤٦. (i)(i) ابن المأمون ١٠١ = الخطط^١: ١: ٤٨٣-٤٨٤؛ الخطط^٢: ٢: ٥٧٤.

¹³⁵ الحطب: the word is preceded by الحطب, which has been crossed out afterwards.

¹³⁶ تتبين: *al-Khiṭaʿ* and *al-Khiṭaʿ*, 2:585(1).

¹³⁷ ويتضاعف: + an *alif* crossed out.

¹³⁸ المنجا: ms. has المنجى.

¹³⁹ المنجا: ms. has المنجى.

¹⁴⁰ المنجا: ms. has المنجى.

¹⁴¹ المنجا: ms. has المنجى.

¹⁴² سنة: above the word, in red ink, is the sign — (see note 116).

¹⁴³ العطايا: من جملة...: this sentence is a marginal addition + صح.

¹⁴⁴ ثمانية: ms. has ثمان.

¹⁴⁵ Sic for اثنين.

¹⁴⁶ في: followed by كل crossed out.

¹⁴⁷ منها: Sic for.

¹⁴⁸ ثلاثون: ms. has ثلاثون.

¹⁴⁹ يسأل: ms. has يسأل.

(٧) فلما^{150(j)} أهل شهر رجب جلس الأفضل في مجلس العطايا على عادته وحضر الناس للهناء وتقدم الشعراء¹⁵¹ على طبقاتهم فأمر لكل واحد منهم بجائزة وشاع خير الظروف وكثر القول لها واستعظم أمرها وضوعف مبلغها وأنعم¹⁵² هذا الإنعام بالصدقات الجاري بها العادة في مثل هذا الشهر لفقراء¹⁵³ القاهرة ومصر والرباطات بالقرافة وفقرائها.^(j) افتخر¹⁵⁴ اليازوري في وزارته أنه كان يوقر في كل سنة خارجا عن نفقات الدولة مائتي ألف دينار ويسميه بالمال المصون.

(٨) سنة¹⁵⁵ ٥١٣ جلس الأفضل في مجلس العطايا للسلام والهناء بالعرش وحضر الأمراء والخواص والرعايا فسلموا وختم القراء وخرج لهم الإنعام وتقدم الشعراء فأئشدوا على طبقاتهم وأنعم عليهم من الظروف.

(٩) وفي يوم عاشوراء عبى السباط بمجلس العطايا وهو السباط المختص بيوم عاشوراء ويعبى بغير المكان الجاري به العادة في الأعياد ولا تعمل مدورة خشب بل سفرة كبيرة آدم والسباط تلوها¹⁵⁶ بغير مرافع نحاس وجميع الزبادي أجبان وسلانق¹⁵⁷ ومخللات وجميع الخبز شعير وخرج الأفضل من باب فرد الكم فجلس على بساط صوف من غير مسورة¹⁵⁸ واستفتح المقرئون واستدعيت الأشراف على طبقاتهم فجمل¹⁵⁹ (fol. 159a) بهم¹⁶⁰ السباط وقدم الصحن الأول من الذي بين يدي الأفضل إلى آخر السباط عدس أسود ثم بعده عدس مصفى إلى آخر السباط ثم رفع وقدمت صحن جميعها¹⁶¹ عسل نحل.^(k)

(١٠) خبر قتل الأفضل.

(١١) لما كان ليلة عيد الفطر جهز ما جرت العادة بتجهيزه من الدواب والآلات لركوب الخليفة وجلس^(l)

(j) ابن المأمون ١٠٢ = الخطط^١: ٤٨٤ (سنة ٥١٢)؛ الخطط^٢: ٥٧٤-٥٧٥.

(k) ابن المأمون ١٥ (سنة ٥١٥) = الخطط^١: ٤٣١ (سنة ٥١٥)؛ الخطط^٢: ٤١٩ (١٣-٥)؛ سنة ٥١٥؛ الخطط^٣: ٣١٦.

¹⁵⁰ فلما: above the word, in red ink, is the sign — (see note 116).

¹⁵¹ الشعراء: ms. has للشعراء, obviously a mistake.

¹⁵² واتسع: *al-Khiṭaṭ*¹ and *al-Khiṭaṭ*², 2:575(1).

¹⁵³ لفقهاء: *al-Khiṭaṭ*¹ and *al-Khiṭaṭ*², 2:575(2).

¹⁵⁴ افتخر: above the word, in red ink, is the sign — (see note 116).

¹⁵⁵ سنة: above the word, in red ink, is the sign — (see note 116).

¹⁵⁶ يعلوها: *al-Khiṭaṭ*¹, 1:431; *al-Khiṭaṭ*², 2:419; *al-Khiṭaṭ*³, 316.

¹⁵⁷ وسلانق: above the word, in red ink, is the sign ك (see note 122).

¹⁵⁸ مسورة: above the word, in red ink, is the sign ك (see note 122). *Al-Khiṭaṭ*¹, 1: 431, *al-Khiṭaṭ*³, 316: المشورة.

¹⁵⁹ وحمل: *al-Khiṭaṭ*¹, 1:431; *al-Khiṭaṭ*², 2:419; *al-Khiṭaṭ*³, 316.

¹⁶⁰ لهم: *al-Khiṭaṭ*¹, 1:431; *al-Khiṭaṭ*², 2:419; *al-Khiṭaṭ*³, 316.

¹⁶¹ جميعها: *al-Khiṭaṭ*³, 316: جميعها is missing.

بين يديه إلى أن عرضت المظال¹⁶² على العادة كل سنة والدواب والسلاح ثم عاد وأدى ما يجب عليه من سلام الخليفة فتقدم إلى القائد المأمون بأن يأمر صاحب الباب¹⁶³ أن يصف العساكر إلى صوب باب¹⁶⁴ الخوخة وركب الأفضل من مكانه والناس على طبقاتهم وخرج من باب الخوخة قاصدا دار¹⁶⁵ الذهب فلما حصل بها وقع التعجب من الناس في نزوله ليلة الموسم ولم يعلم أحد ما قصد وكان قصده أن يكمل تعليق المجلس الذي يجلس فيه ونزول العاقبة منه وصلى بها الظهر فلما قرب العصر ركب منها بعد انصراف أكثر المستخدمين بسبب ما ظنوه من مبيتة بها يحكم الموسم وقصد الذهري¹⁶⁶ فوجد الأمراء والأجناد والمستخدمين والرهجية قد اجتمعوا¹⁶⁷ لخدمته وكان قد ضجر وتغير خلقه لا سيما في حال المصيام فلما رأى اجتماع الناس وكثرتهم أبعدهم فتقدموا ووقفوا عند باب¹⁶⁸ الساحل فأنفذ أيضا¹⁶⁹ من أبعدهم وبقي في عدة يسيرة وأبعد صبيان السلاح من ورائه وسار فوثب عليه أربعة نفر متتابعين من دكان كلما اشتغل من حوله بواحد خرج غيره فرمي من دابته إلى الأرض وضربوه ثماني¹⁷⁰ ضربات وكان القائد المأمون بعيدا منه لأخذ رقايع الناس وسماع تظلمهم وتفريق الصدقات على الفقراء بالطريق فلما سمع الضوضاء أسرع إليه ورمى نفسه إلى الأرض عليه فوجده قد قضى نحبه وحمل على أيدي مقدمي (fol. 159b) ركابه والقائد راجل وهم يبشرون الناس بالسلامة وقتل من الذين خرجوا عليه ثلاثة¹⁷¹ وقطعوا وأحرقوا وسلم الرابع ومن العجب أن اسمه سالم ولم يعلم به إلا لما ظفر به مع غيره بعد مدة ولم يزل محمولا إلى الموضع المعروف باللولوة وجعل على مرتبته التي كان يجلس عليها وغطى¹⁷² وأرسل القائد إلى الخليفة يقول له: "أدركني وتسلم ملكك لنلا أغلب عليه" وصار من لقيه يهنئه بسلامة السلطان ويوهم أهله أن الطبيب عنده ويأمرهم بتهيئة الفرايج والفواكه ثم عاد إلى قاعة الجلوس فوجدها قد غصت بالناس فرد عليهم السلام وهنأهم وأظهر قوة عزم ثم عاد إلى القاعة الكبيرة وقد حضر إليه متولي المائدة الأفضلية واستأذنه على سماع العيد فقال له: "إذبح ووسع فالسلطان بكل نعمة" وهو الذي يجلس

¹⁶² *Itti'āz*, 3:60: الطبول.

¹⁶³ *Itti'āz*, 3:60: السير.

¹⁶⁴ *above the word, in red ink, is the sign ك meaning that the word requires an explanation (see note 122), which appears in the margin, preceded by ح (for حاشية):*

باب الخوخة بين الوزيرية وسوقة المسعودي بالقاهرة.

¹⁶⁵ *above the word, in red ink, is the sign ك meaning that the word requires an explanation (see note 122), which appears in the margin, preceded by ح (see previous note):* دار الذهب:

بقي منها قبو خارج القاهرة بخط بين السورين تطل على الخليج.

¹⁶⁶ *above the word, in red ink, is the sign ك meaning that the word requires an explanation (see note 122), which appears in the margin, preceded by ح (see note 164):* الذهري:

الذهري موضعه اليوم من قناطر السباع إلى باب اللوق.

¹⁶⁷ *Itti'āz*, 3:60: اتجهوا.

¹⁶⁸ *above the word, in red ink, is the sign ك meaning that the word requires an explanation (see note 122), which appears in the margin, preceded by ح (see note 164):*

باب الساحل كان في مصر.

¹⁶⁹ *Itti'āz*, 3:60: يخرج.

¹⁷⁰ ثمان: ms. has ثمان.

¹⁷¹ ثلاثة: ms. has ثلاثة.

¹⁷² *Itti'āz*, 3:61: أو يُمطى.

على السماط في غد وهو مع ذلك¹⁷³ في قلق وخوف من أن يبلغ أولاد الأفضل فيجري منهم ما لا يستدرك. فلما أصبح وركب الخليفة ودخل إلى الدهليز¹⁷⁴ ومعه الأستاذون المحنكون قال له¹⁷⁵ القائد: "عن إذن مولانا، أفتح الباب؟" فقال: "نعم." ففتح ودخل القائد والأستاذون والأمراء وغيرهم فلما وصلوا إلى موضع الأفضل قال¹⁷⁶ القائد: "الله يطيل عمر أمير المؤمنين ويفسح في مدته ويورثه أعمار ممالكه. هذا وزيره قد صار إلى الله تعالى وهذا ملكه يتسلمه." فضربت المقرمة على الأفضل وأذن للناس فدخلوا على غير طبقاتهم حتى مثلوا بين يدي الخليفة وهو قاعد على حصير عند المقرمة فأعلمهم ب وفاة وزيره وأن القائد واسطة بينه وبينهم كما كان واسطة بينهم وبين الأفضل ثم انصرفوا وأمر بالختم على الخزائن فعلم النساء الخبر وقام الصراخ من جميع جوانب المواضع وكانت ساعة أزعجت (fol. 160a) من بالبلد ومن بالحيزة والجزيرة وأرسل يختم الخزائن التي بمصر ووصل الخبر بأن أولاد الأفضل قد جمعوا وأنهم يريدون المثورة في طلب الوزارة لأخيهم الأكبر فأمر بالحوطة عليهم واعتقالهم فأمضى ذلك ولما كان سحر يوم العيد¹⁷⁷ وأحضر بين يدي الخليفة ما أحضر من قصوره في مواعينه الذهب المرصعة وعليها المناديل المذهبة فيها التمر المحشو والجوارشنات¹⁷⁸ المطيبة فلما كبر مؤذنو¹⁷⁹ القصر سمي الخليفة وأخذ ثمرة واحدة وأكل¹⁸⁰ بعضها وناولها للقائد ثم ناول الثانية لولد الأفضل فقاما وقبلا الأرض ولم يجلسا وتقدم الحاضرون فأخذوا من يد الخليفة من التمر خاصة دون غيره ورفع الباقي¹⁸¹ وختم القراء فأظهر الخليفة الحزن على وزيره وتلثم وتبعه جميع المحنكين والحاشية فتلثموا وهو شعار الحزن وأمر بإحضار القاضي والداعي ثم الأمراء فدخل الناس على طبقاتهم فلما عاينوا الخليفة بزي الحزن اشتد البكاء والعويل وخرق كل أحد ما عليه ورميت المناديل عن الرؤوس¹⁸² إلى الأرض وبكى¹⁸³ الخليفة وحاشيته وبعد ساعة سأل القائد¹⁸⁴ الخليفة أن يفطر على ثمرة¹⁸⁵ ليشاهده من حضر ففعل وأشار الخليفة إلى القائد بكلام الناس فقال القائد: "أمير المؤمنين يرد عليكم السلام وقد شاهدتم فعله وكونه لم يشغله مصابه بوزيره ومدير دولته ودولة آبائه عن قضاء فرض هذا اليوم وقد أفطر بمشاهدتكم وأمركم بالإفطار." فمسح الخليفة على ما بقي من فطره وناول القائد ذلك لمن حضر فبدأ بالقاضي ثم الداعي ثم أخذ القائد بيد الداعي وقربه إلى الخليفة فناوله الخطبة وأمره أن ينوب عنه في الصلاة والخطبة فخرج ومعه الأمراء

¹⁷³ صح + marginal addition: مع ذلك.

¹⁷⁴ الدهليز: ms. has.

¹⁷⁵ له: interlinear addition.

¹⁷⁶ قال: followed by له crossed out afterwards (see note 174).

¹⁷⁷ صح + marginal addition: لما... العيد.

¹⁷⁸ *Itti'āz*, 3:63: جوارشيات, which is a mistake. *جوارشن* is a kind of sweetmeat. See Blachère et al., *Dictionnaire arabe-français-anglais* (Paris, 1964–, 4 vols.), 3:1864 (*sub verbo*) and *al-Khiṭaṭ*¹, 2:274.

¹⁷⁹ مؤذنو: ms. has.

¹⁸⁰ وأكل: the *alif* has been added afterwards.

¹⁸¹ ورفع الباقي: marginal correction + صح replacing the following text stricken through: وأخرج باقي ذلك ففرق.

¹⁸² الرؤوس: ms. has.

¹⁸³ وبكا: ms. has.

¹⁸⁴ القائد: marginal addition + صح.

¹⁸⁵ ثمرة: *Itti'āz*, 3:63.

والناس بزي الحزن فقفوا سنة اليوم وعادوا (fol. 160b) فأمر بتجهيز الأفضل ومد السباط برسم الأمراء وسباط برسم القاضي والداعي والشهود والقراء والوعاظ والمؤمنون¹⁸⁶ وحمل إلى الجهات الفضليات سباط فلما انقضى السباط عاد القراء إلى القراءة وكان عدة ما ختم عليه في ليلتين ويوم بضع وخمسون¹⁸⁷ ختمة فلما انقضى معظم ليلة الثاني من شوال تقدم الأمر للداعي بغسل الأفضل وتكفينه ودفع للداعي بذلتان مكملتان مذهبة وحريري عوضا مما كان على الأفضل من ثياب الدم فإنها لم تنزع عنه فلما كمل غسله دفع للداعي أيضا ألف دينار^(m) فلما كان في الساعة الثانية من نهار الثلاثاء خرج التائبون بجمع لا يحصى والخليفة بمفرده راكب وراءهم وهو ملثم^(m) وساروا إلى ثاني رذيلة إلى باب الزهومة إلى باب العيد فأدخل التائبون إلى الإيوان وصلى عليه الخليفة وحمل إلى التربة فوقف الخليفة على القبر حتى ألحده الداعي وأنفض الناس فعاد الخليفة إلى قصره فختم للأفضل في القصر ختمه بحضرة الخليفة وتقدم الشعراء بمرائهم ثم خرج القائد والأمراء إلى التربة فكان بها مثل ما كان بالدار وعمل في اليوم الثاني كذلك وكتب سجل بتعزية الكافة في الأفضل تلي على رؤوس¹⁸⁸ الأشهاد بسائر البلاد⁽ⁿ⁾ وفي السادس والعشرين من شوال عمل تمام الشهر على تربة الأفضل على قضية الصبحة والتأثت.^{(n)(l)}

^{(l)(l)} اتعاط ٣: ٦٠-٦٩ (مع زيادة).

^{(m)(m)} ابن المأمون ١٥ = اتعاط ٣: ٦٥-٦٦.

⁽ⁿ⁾⁽ⁿ⁾ ابن المأمون ٢٠ = اتعاط ٣: ٦٩.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF THE SOURCES QUOTED IN THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE DRAFT OF *AL-MAWĀ'IZ WA-L- I'TIBĀR FĪ DHIKR AL-KHIṬAT WA-L-ĀTHĀR*

The sources quoted by al-Maqrīzī in the first volume of his draft of the *Khiṭat* have been scrutinized and ordered according to their order of appearance in the said volume. The first figure represents the leaf where the quotation is found (i.e. the reference); the second figure between parentheses refers to the page in A. F. Sayyid's edition of the draft and is followed by the line number on which the source is quoted. When a note was disregarded by this editor, it is indicated as "missing."

¹⁸⁶ المؤمنین: sic for المؤمنون.

¹⁸⁷ بضعا وخمسين: sic for بضع وخمسون.

¹⁸⁸ رؤوس: ms. has رؤوس.

The meaning of the format is as follows: roman (data in the body of the text, thus dating from the copy); bold (data found on a leaf added at a later date); *italics* (data added inside the text but obviously a later addition [cursive handwriting or additional leaf]); underline (data found in the margins).

1. Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib fī ḥulá al-Maghrib*: 9a (= 19,2).
2. Ibn Waṣīf Šāh: 13a (= 31,8).
3. Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍah al-bahiyyah al-zāhirah fī kḥiṭat al-muʿizziyyah al-qāhirah*: 15a (= 32, 2); 17a (= 39, 4); 18a (= 43, 3); 27b (= 68, 9); 31b (= 81, 11); 32a (= 82, 2); **47a (= 113, 11)**; 48a (= 115, 11); **49b (= 121, 14)**; 53a (= 127, 12); 53b (= 131, 11); 54b (= 133, 15); 57b (= 141, 14); 58b (= 143, 8); 62a (= 152, 12); 64b (= 160, 14); 65a (= 162, 8); 68b (= 170, 5); 70b (= 179, 13); **72b (= 179, 13; repeats 70b)**; 74a (= 183, 7); 75a (= 187, 6); 97b (= 241, 2); 100b (= 249, 2); 101b (= 251, 16); 108b (= 267, 3); 110b (= 271, 9); 113a (= 277, 6); 114b (= 280, 16); 117a (= 287, 2); 118b (= 290, 15); **123a (= 301, 19)**; 126a (= 307, 3); 127b (= 311, 12); 131a (= 318, 17); 138b (= 329, 6); 148a (= 349, 12); 148b (= 350, 3); 148b (= 350, 10); 149a (= 351, 15); 149a (= 352, 9); 149b (= 353, 13); 152a (= 357, 8); 152b (= 359, 10); 154a (= 365, 2); 154a (= 365, 11); 154b (= 365, 10); 154b (= 365, 13); 158a (= 373, 6); 158b (= 375, 12); 159a (= 376, 13); 159a (= 377, 5); 159b (= 378, 2); 159b (= 378, 5); 160a (= 382, 6); 160b (= 383, 14); 165b (= 389, 2); 170b (= 403, 11); 171a (= 404, 10); 171b (= 406, 2).
4. Ibn Zūlāq, *al-Dhayl ʿalā Kitāb al-Umarāʾ li-l-Kindī*: 16a (= 36, 10); 152b (= 359, 5); 158a (= 374, 4); 159b (= 378, 8).
5. Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb*: 18b (= 43, 14).
6. al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, *Taʿlīq al-mutajaddidāt*: **19a (= 44, 9)**; **52b (= 128, 12)**; **102b (= 254, 5)**; **122a (= 299, 11)**; *131a (= 319, 8)*.
7. al-Musabbiḥī: **19a (= 45, 14)**; **30^{bis}a (= 77, 17)**; 34a (= 84, 11); 37a (= 91, 5); **56a (= 140, 15)**; *57b (= 140, 15; repeated from 56a)*; **71a (= 176, 11)**; **74^{bis}b (= 185, 11)**; 114b (= 280, 12); **123a (= 300, 8)**; 123a (= 301, 15); **129a (= 315, 3)**; 154b (= 366, n. 2); **156a (= 370, 10)**; 159a (= 377, n. a).

8. al-Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā'ir al-qudamā'*: **19a (= 46, 2)**.

9. Ibn al-Tuwayr, *Nuzhat al-muqlatayn*: 28a (= 70, 10); 30b (= 78, 7); 32b (= 82, 11); 34a (= 84, 15); 37a (= 91, 9); 46b (= 112, 2); 55a (= 136, 4); 55b (= 138, 4); 61b (= 150, 15); 62a (= 152, 8); 62a (= 153, 3); 62b (= 154, 5); 62b (= 154, 11); 64a (= 159, 10); 65a (= 161, 8); 69b (= 173, 1); 73a (= 181, 1); 76a (= 189, 2); 76a (= 189, 7); 83a (= 209, 15); 98a (= 242, 10); 99b (= 246, 12); 100b (= 249, 4); 101a (= 250, 3); 105b (= 260, 8); 109a (= 267, 16); 112a (= 272, 12); 112b (= 275, 7); 113b (= 278, 3); 117b (= 288, 8); 119b (= 294, 3); 130b (= 317, 6); 132a (= 320, 5); 138b (= 329, 1); 171a (= 404, 7).

10. Ibn al-Ma'mūn, *Ta'rīkh*: 28a (= 70, n. b); **36a (= 88, 7)**; **47a (= 113, 8)**; **47b (= 114, 4)**; 51a (= 125, n. 2); 62b (= missing); 63b (= 156, 7); 64a (= 158, 6); 64a (= 159, 3; repeats the previous quotation); 64b (= 160, 10; repeats 64a); 65a (= 162, 8); 65b (= 163, 3); 70b (= 177, 3); **70b-71a (= 177, 3)**; 73a (= 180, 8); 75a (= 186, 7); 84b (= 213, 10); 86a (= 215, 4); 86a (= 215, 16); 87b (= 218, 11); 92a (= 229, 6); 98a (= 241, 11); 100a (= 247, 16); 101b (= 251, 7); 106a (= 261, 5); 108a (= 266, 2); 109b (= 269, 8); 110a (= 271, 3); **111a (= 273, 6)**; 113a (= 277, 10); 115b (= 281, 17); 116b (= 284, 15); 117b (= 288, 3); 119a (= 291, 13); 119b (= 293, 5); 124a (= 303, 8); 126b (= 309, 5); 126b (missing; repeated on 127a); **129a (= 315, 13)**; 133b (= 323, 9); 135a (= 326, 5).

11. *al-Dakhā'ir wa-l-tuḥaf*: 28a (= 69, n. d); 32a (= 82, n. 1); 48a (= 115, n. 4); 51a (= 125, n. 2); 55b (= 138, n. 1); 57b (= 140, 9); 58a (= 141, 16); 61b (= 150, n. 2); 62a (= 152, n. 2); 62a (= 153, n. a); 62b (= 154, n. 1); 62b (= 154, n. 2); 62b (= missing).

12. Ibn Zūlāq, *Sīrat al-Mu'izz*: 34a (= 84, 6); 35b (missing; cancelled and repeated on 34a); 74a (= 184, 3); 130a (= 314, 4).

13. al-Qālī, *al-Amālī*: 48b (= 118, 7).

14. Ibn Abī Ṭayyīṣ, *Ta'rīkh Ḥalab*: **49b (= 121, 3)**; 53a (= 128, 1); 57a (= 139, 14); 57b (= 141, 12); 63b (= 157, 8); 70b (= 174, 16); 73a (= 180, 3); 105b (= 260, 3); 109b (= 269, 1); 121b (= 299, 8).

15. Ibn Muyassar, *al-Ta'rīkh*: **49b** (= **121, 10**); 53a (= 127, 14); 61a (= 150, 1); 107a (= 263, 1); 107a (= 263, n. c); 110b (= 271, 8); 114b (= 280, 7); 127b (= 310, 19); 148a (= 348, 8); 169b (= 401, 12).
16. Yahyā ibn Sa'īd, *Ta'rīkh wuzarā' al-Miṣriyyīn*: 59b (= 148, 17).
17. al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-nāẓir fī sīrat al-sulṭān al-malik al-Nāṣir wa-man waliya min awlādihi*: **60a** (= **145, 15**); 138b (= 329, 9).
18. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishārah ilā man nāla al-wizārah*: 62a (= 151, 11); 108a (= 265, 11); 154b (= 367, 4); **155a** (= **369, 1**).
19. Ibn Diḥyah, *al-Nibrās*: **103^{bis}b** (= **257, 5**).
20. al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Mawālī*: 137b (= 327, 3).
21. Ibn Zūlāq, *Sīrat al-Ikhshīd*: **153a** (= **360, 7**).
22. Ibn al-Mutawwaj: **179b** (= **15, 2**).