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Maqriziana II: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method Analysis

TOWARDS AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF SCHOLARSHIP

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

In the field of classical studies, this issue has been the subject of inquiry for a long time, but it has received much more attention since the eighties of the last century. In a pioneering book presenting the findings he has amassed during the last twenty years, Tiziano Dorandi¹ succeeds in providing answers to many of the above-mentioned questions. Because they deal with Greece and Rome, civilizations

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¹Tiziano Dorandi, *Le Stylet et la tablette: dans le secret des auteurs antiques* (Paris, 2000).

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that have not left behind a large number of books, let alone autograph versions,² classicists struggle with either (a) rare quotations where the *modus operandi* of some authors is described, or (b) even rarer tangible evidence. The first group represents what could be called the “indirect tradition,” in which either first- or second-hand testimonies of the working method of an author are found. In the second group, the evidence constitutes the “direct tradition,” i.e., all the original documents (holograph and autograph manuscripts of the fair and draft versions, notebooks). Needless to say, classicists seldom are lucky enough to deal with items from the second group.

It is well established that Islam was a civilization of the book where the practice of scholarship and writing was undeniably given impetus by the introduction of a new writing material (paper).³ Islamic civilization is more recent than Greek and Roman civilization, and thus more examples of Islamic books have survived. Furthermore, the quality of the material used for the publication and transmission of texts assured better preservation of the manuscripts, provided—of course—that the political situation permitted it. Thus, there is no reason to wonder why several million Islamic manuscripts have survived, mainly from after the sixth/twelfth century until the last century. Among them, the large number of autograph copies representing the final version of a work or another step of the writing process is quite impressive. If the researcher specializing in the field of Islamic studies has no reason to complain in comparison with his fellow classicist, who adheres to the adage “a little is better than nothing,” it is also true that he is sometimes overwhelmed by the volume of the manuscripts preserved. Consequently, he concentrates his research on more directly palpable aspects, such as the text itself (i. e., the contents of the manuscript), and seldom considers the material approach. Despite the abundance of material, the field of Islamic studies is deficient in the analysis and explication of the working methods of writers. Some stimulating attempts, however, have been made, but to little avail. Worth mentioning is the landmark study of Franz Rosenthal,⁴ published as early as 1947, in which he mainly addressed the problem of scholarship, his aim being “to find out what Muslims

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

³See François Déroche, *Le Livre manuscrit arabe: Préludes à un histoire* (Paris, 2004), 44.

⁴Franz Rosenthal, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship* (Rome, 1947).

thought, and not how they acted.”⁵ Nevertheless, Rosenthal summarily tackled some technical aspects connected with the methods employed by authors to write their books.⁶ His observations were exclusively based on the indirect tradition, i.e., the testimonies which the authors interspersed or hinted at in their works, or the clues they deliberately or unwittingly left. In the following decades, several books devoted to the methods to which an author had recourse in order to compose his book(s) have appeared.⁷ Once again, these studies base themselves on a unique, somewhat biased, tradition: the evidence provided by the final stage of a work which, most of the time, survived in later manuscripts. Most of these deal with the peripheral problem of the sources (*Quellenuntersuchungen*), source criticism together with the relationship of the author to his sources (oral or written), and the quotation technique. Among these, the studies relying on books written in the classical period (pre-fifth/eleventh century) employing the traditional quotation technique (*isnād*) constitute the lion’s share, because the underlying question of the trustworthiness of the information is foremost in the author’s mind.⁸ The recent contribution of Gregor Schoeler,⁹ which represents the *lubb al-albāb* of his research in this direction for the last two decades, gathers some of the results reached by his predecessors. Moreover, it breaks new ground in giving, for the very first time, a clear view of the arduous procedure of the transmission of texts and the writing process in early Islam, as well as the problem of authorship in all fields of writing activity. The answers he suggests also enlighten us, although superficially, on the working method for the classical period.

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

⁵Ibid., 1.

⁶The question of the taking of notes, the existence of note-cards, and the problem of the draft are all briefly dealt with.

⁷Arab authors seem to have been more interested in these themes, as the bibliography shows. One can cite, for example, the following references: Dāwūd Sallūm, *Dirāsāt Kitāb al-Aghānī wa-Manhaj Mu’allifihī*, 3rd (sic) ed. (Beirut, 1985); Muṣṭafā al-Shak‘ah, *Manāhij al-Ta’līf ‘inda al-‘Ulamā’ al-‘Arab: Qism al-Adab*, 3rd ed. (Beirut, 1979 [1973]); Akram Ḍiyā’ ‘Umārī, *Mawāriḍ al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī fī Tārīkh Baghdād* (Damascus, 1395/1975); Maryam Muḥammad Khayr al-Dir‘, *Mawāriḍ Ibn al-‘Adīm al-Tārīkhīyah wa-Manhajuhu fī Kitāb Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab* (Damascus, 1426/2005).

⁸Sebastian Günther, *Quellenuntersuchungen zu den »Maqātil at-Tālibīyyīn« des Abū ‘l-Farağ al-Iṣfahānī (gest. 356/967)* (Hildesheim, Zurich, and New York, 1991); idem, “Assessing the Sources of Classical Arabic Compilations: The Issue of Categories and Methodologies,” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 32, no. 1 (2005): 75–98; idem, “». . . nor have I learned it from any book of theirs«: Abū l-Farağ al-Iṣfahānī: a Medieval Arabic Author at Work,” in *Festschrift für Werner Ende zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Rainer Brunner et al. (Würzburg, 2002), 139–53.

⁹Gregor Schoeller, *Écrire et transmettre dans les débuts de l’islam* (Paris, 2002).

overwhelming number of manuscripts probably plays a role in this indifference along with the technical and administrative problems encountered by the researcher who would like to address this issue. No wonder if, here again, efforts have been directed to source criticism and all the correlative issues. For the Mamluk period, the works of Ulrich Haarmann and Donald Little are considered milestones.¹⁰ Even though their aims are quite different from those implied in this article, their results could elucidate some interesting features pertaining to working method; as Little put it: [while] “what is proposed [. . . is more a] close study of the way in which each historian used his sources and the type of events which he chose to describe, it is also hoped that some insight will be gained into the principles and methodology of Muslim historiography of this period.”¹¹ In these particular cases, the inquiry did not focus on a single author and one of his works, but rather on the comparison of several works which revealed the similarity and the confluence in the wording and details in the depiction of a given event.

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

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

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

¹⁰Ulrich Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Freiburg im Brisgau, 1969); Donald P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā’ūn* (Wiesbaden, 1970) The latest contribution to this field will be found in Sami Massoud, *The Chronicles and Annalistic Sources of the Early Mamluk Circassian Period* (Leiden, 2007).

¹¹Ibid., 1.

¹²Eleazar Birnbaum, “Kātib Chelebi (1609–1657) and Alphabetization: A Methodological Investigation of the Autographs of His *Kashf al-Zunūn* and *Sullam al-Wuṣūl*,” in *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, ed. François Déroche and Francis Richard (Paris, 1997), 236–63.

second-hand testimonies are useful, they are also scarce. Indeed, several others are still waiting to be tracked down, as illustrated by the following description dated to the seventh/thirteenth century, probably the most detailed at our disposal, by Ibn Ṭāwūs (died 664/1266 in Baghdad). This Shi'ī figure, whose peculiar method of quotation has drawn the attention of Etan Kohlberg,¹³ also provided, in two of his books, a very precise picture of how he composed books, differing, he says, from the traditional method. The various steps are summarized by Kohlberg as follows:

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

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

¹³Etan Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Ṭāwūs and His Library* (Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1992).

¹⁴Ibid., 86 (on the basis of the description provided by Ibn Ṭāwūs in his *Falāḥ al-Sā'il wa-Najāḥ al-Masā'il* and *Al-Iqbāl bi-al-A'māl al-Ḥasanah*).

¹⁵See Dorandi, *Le Styliet*, 29-40. The passage in question has been the object of several interpretations due to the ambiguity of the terms used. The process given hereafter results from Dorandi's reading.

composition of his book. This example from antiquity is given here to show that, in this matter, the working method was a question of innate *modus operandi* which was to be formalized only in the Renaissance period.¹⁶

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

- a) manuscripts representing the final stage of a book (*mubayyadah, mubyaddah*);
- b) manuscripts of the draft version of a book (*musawwadah, muswaddah*);
- c) manuscripts of the summaries and abstracts of the original sources used for the composition of a book (*mukhtaṣar, mukhtār, muntaqá*, etc);
- d) manuscripts of the notebooks compiled by an author to write his book (*tadhkirah, majmūʿ, taʿlīq*);
- e) original manuscripts of the sources used by an author with undeniable proof that these manuscripts were in his hands at a given time.

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

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

¹⁶See *ibid.*, 3.

¹⁷Regarding al-Maqrizī, for instance, see my forthcoming study: "Maqriziana IX: Should al-Maqrizī Be Thrown Out With the Bathwater? The Question of His Plagiarism of Al-Awhādī's *Khīṭaṭ* and the Documentary Evidence" (to be published in a forthcoming issue of this journal).

material evidence for the other categories. Still, there is an exception, an author for whom all the above-mentioned categories are represented by even more than one manuscript: al-Maqrīzī. Strangely, one of the most representative figures of Muslim scholarship, considering all periods, is precisely the one for whom more than twenty-three autograph manuscripts have been preserved (nearly 5,000 leaves)¹⁸ together with several copies of the sources he consulted,¹⁹ the whole covering all the categories regarded as necessary for an exhaustive study of his working method.²⁰ Thanks to this abundance of material evidence, it is possible not only to compare the final stages of his works to the draft versions, but also to the (preserved) sources he used (i.e., the original manuscripts he consulted), and to the preliminary work necessary for an author to prepare a book (abstracts, notebooks, note-cards). The discovery of one of his notebooks constitutes a unique opportunity not only for the reconstruction of his working method, but also, more generally, to contribute to the building of an archaeology of scholarship, as expressed by Thierry Bianquis as early as 1997. In his review²¹ of an edition of one of al-Maqrīzī's drafts,²² he recognized the value of these autograph manuscripts and adumbrated the results that could be obtained through their study as witnesses of the author's technique: "Quand j'avais travaillé sur ce texte à la BN [Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Ar. 2144, "Al-Tārīkh al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr"]", j'avais pensé que toute une archéologie du savoir historique pourrait être reconstituée en analysant ce type d'écrit et en travaillant en même temps sur l'usage qu'avait fait al-Maqrīzī, dans l'*Itti'āz al-Ḥunafā'*, du manuscrit d'al-Musabbihī que nous avons publié et qui porte une mention de sa main en première page indiquant qu'il l'avait utilisé." This "archaeology of scholarship," historical scholarship in this case, echoes the title of Michel Foucault's book first published in 1969,²³ but it has a different scope. Foucault's vision was that of a philosopher and his work was epistemological. The archaeology of scholarship, as put forward by Bianquis, is closer to the technical meaning of the first term: it should aim at studying, digging up what amounts to the soil for the traditional

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

¹⁹See Appendix II at the end of this article.

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

²¹*Bulletin critique des Annales islamologiques* 13 (1997): 158.

²²Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa-al-F'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (London, 1995).

²³Michel Foucault, *L'Archéologie du savoir* (Paris, 1969).

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

As mentioned earlier, al-Maqrīzī constitutes a case study and a logical starting point.²⁴ The present article is conceived as a contribution to this new form of archaeology, keeping in mind two caveats:

It does not aim at reconstructing al-Maqrīzī's working method in all its complexity, for two reasons. Firstly, it is seen as a continuation of the preceding articles in which the notebook was comprehensively described. In the following pages, the analysis will be primarily based on this witness, although limited references will be made to the other autograph manuscripts. Consequently and secondly, it is implied that a study considering all the autograph manuscripts would take more time and space than is allowed for such an article.²⁵

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

THE *CODEX LEODIENSIS*: A NOTEBOOK?

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

²⁴Regarding al-Maqrīzī, some attempts have already been made, but all are sketchy. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid only touched on the subject in the following publications: Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, "Remarques sur la composition des *Ḥiṭaṭ* de Maqrīzī d'après un manuscrit autographe," in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron, 1927-1976*, vol. 2, *Égypte post-pharaonique* (Cairo, 1979), 231–58; idem, "Early Methods of Book Composition: al-Maqrīzī's Draft of the *Kitāb al-Khīṭaṭ*," in *The Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts: Proceedings of the Second Conference of al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 4-5 December 1993*, ed. Yasin Dutton (London, 1995), 93–101. On the other hand, Muḥammad 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī followed the traditional method which concerns the question of the sources and the method of quotation, which brings some answers, however partial. See Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī, *Arba'at Mu'arrikhīn wa-Arba'at Mu'allafāt min Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah* (Cairo, 1992).

²⁵It is the present writer's project to carry out this larger analysis.

the future. Thus the notebook plays the role of a memorandum, a book to which a scholar is able to refer when needed. Such a book will contain two kinds of information: first, personal observations and even oral testimonies, heard during the day and memorized, or already scribbled on slips of paper on the spot, with the intent to transfer them into the notebook later on, at the end of the day, for instance, or when it comes to mind again.²⁶ Second, during the reading of the sources, with a projected book in mind or not, the scholar writes down all the material he deems useful, which may consist of small notes. But if the mass of material is very important, he may rather make a summary in order to make the best use of this source. The summary might be faithful to the original, a word-by-word excerpt, or, on the contrary, paraphrased, depending on its usefulness and the ultimate scope of the finished work. Obviously, the notebook will also reflect the scholar's interests, depending on the period considered: his notes and excerpts based upon an eclectic range of works would be the result of his readings in a great variety of fields. The comprehensive description of the *codex leodiensis* has revealed the heterogeneous character of the texts collected (from history to zoology, from Quranic commentary to numismatics), as well as the diversity of the nature of these texts (from summaries to excerpts, from personal notes to short quotations). Furthermore, the question of authenticity is not problematic, given that the script may be compared without difficulty to the numerous other holograph manuscripts of al-Maqrīzī. Handwriting, together with style, could be affected by the very nature of the work accomplished by a scholar in his notebook. The scholar, concentrating on the task of condensing his source, might not be liable to devote his whole attention to his style, in which grammatical mistakes and aberrant orthographical features would be visible.²⁷ As for handwriting, one would expect a more cursive script than the one used for the writing of a book.²⁸ On the other hand, the scholar might wish to avoid, as often as possible, any

²⁶If the notebook consists of only this kind of information, it should rather be considered a journal. Two exceptional witnesses of this genre have reached us, one from eleventh-century Baghdad and the other from fifth-century Damascus: Georges Makdisi, "Autograph Diary of an Eleventh-Century Historian of Baghdād," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 18 (1956): 9–31, 239–60; 19 (1957): 13–48, 281–303, 426–43; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq, *Journal d'Aḥmad ibn Ṭawq (834/1430–915/1509) = Al-Ta'liq: Yawmiyāt Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Ṭawq (834–915 H./1480–1502 M.)*, ed. Ja'far al-Muhājir (Damascus, 2000–4).

²⁷Such features are conspicuous in al-Maqrīzī's notebook and have been inventoried in the forthcoming study: 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: Actes du Premier Colloque International (Louvain-la-Neuve, 10–14 Mai 2004)*, ed. Jérôme Lentin and Jacques Grand'Henry (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2008), 21–38.

²⁸Item XXII, which most probably represents the first stage of redaction of a biography by al-Maqrīzī, shares this characteristic.

ambiguity in the reading of passages which are not his own, in which case he might be unable to read his own handwriting correctly. This raises the problem of the neatly written texts found in the notebook, which give the impression that al-Maqrizī copied what he had already condensed elsewhere. If this is the case, material evidence characteristic of the technique of copying would emerge, like homoioteleuton, for instance.²⁹ However, such a phenomenon is not observed in the manuscript. The question arises whether these neatly written summaries and excerpts were made on the spot, i.e., at the very moment when al-Maqrizī was reading the source, or written later on in the notebook. An answer can only be found through the comparison of the results of this scholar's notes and the original sources, when preserved. Several examples will serve to give an unequivocal answer.

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

In the following example, the original text reads:³⁰

... فملك مائة سنة وعشرين وهو الأعرج ...

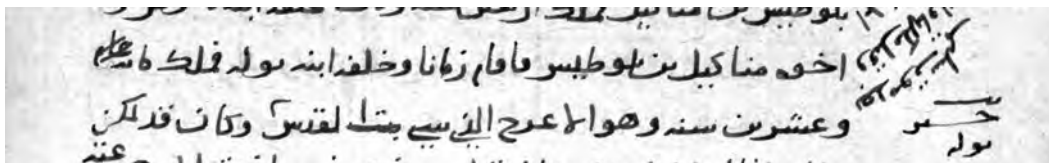
where a peculiar grammatical construction is discernible.³¹

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

²⁹Dain, *Les Manuscrits*, 44.

³⁰Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *The History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain Known as the Futūḥ Miṣr of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam*, ed. Charles C. Torrey (New Haven, 1922), 29.

³¹If the word "*sanah*" had been repeated after "*ishrīn*," the construction would have been correct according to the rules. See William Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, 1896–98), vol. 2, § 104.



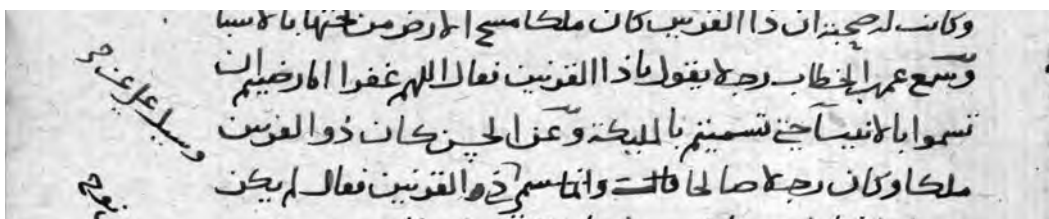
MS 2232, fol. 48b (Courtesy Université de Liège)

There is no other way to interpret the following passage but that al-Maqrīzī was truly condensing the source during the reading process. The passage reads as follows in Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam’s *Futūḥ Miṣr* (pp. 39–40):

قال وإنما سمّي ذا القرنين كما حدّثنا وثيمة حدّثنا سفيان بن عيينة عن ابن أبي حسين عن أبي الطفيل أن علياً رضي الله عنه سئل عن ذي القرنين فقال لم يكن ملكا ولا نبيا . . .

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

قال وإنما سمّي ذو القرنين . . .



MS 2232, fol. 53a (Courtesy Université de Liège)

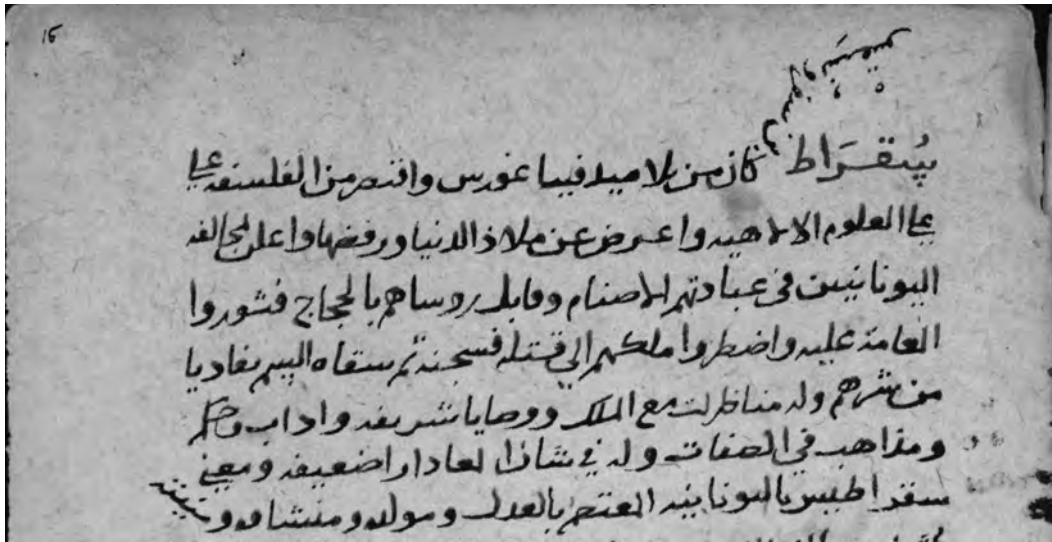
Once he had written down this passage, he proceeded further in the reading of the text and discovered that Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam quoted a *khbar* in support of this appellation, which introduced a redundancy with the previous words already quoted. Clearly, al-Maqrīzī did not consider the chain of transmitters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

وسئل علي عن ذي القرنين فقال لم يكن ملكا ولا نبيا . . .

In order to establish that this process of epitomizing during the reading operation is typical of al-Maqrīzī’s working technique, it is necessary to demonstrate that

similar features appear in the other summaries. It is obviously impossible to deal with all the abstracts present in the notebook and for which the original source has been preserved, but the three following examples regarding two of these abstracts should provide convincing proof.

As already noted, the notebook opens with an epitome of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah’s ‘*Uyūn al-Anbā’ fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā’*’ (item I). On folio 16a, al-Maqrizī started summarizing a new biography: Socrates. He wrote the name in red ink to catch the eye, and began to read the source and to condense it. There is, however, a marginal note just above the name, which was added later. It consists of the name of the philosopher’s father (*ibn Sufrūnusiqs* [sic]).



MS 2232, fol. 16a (Courtesy Université de Liège)

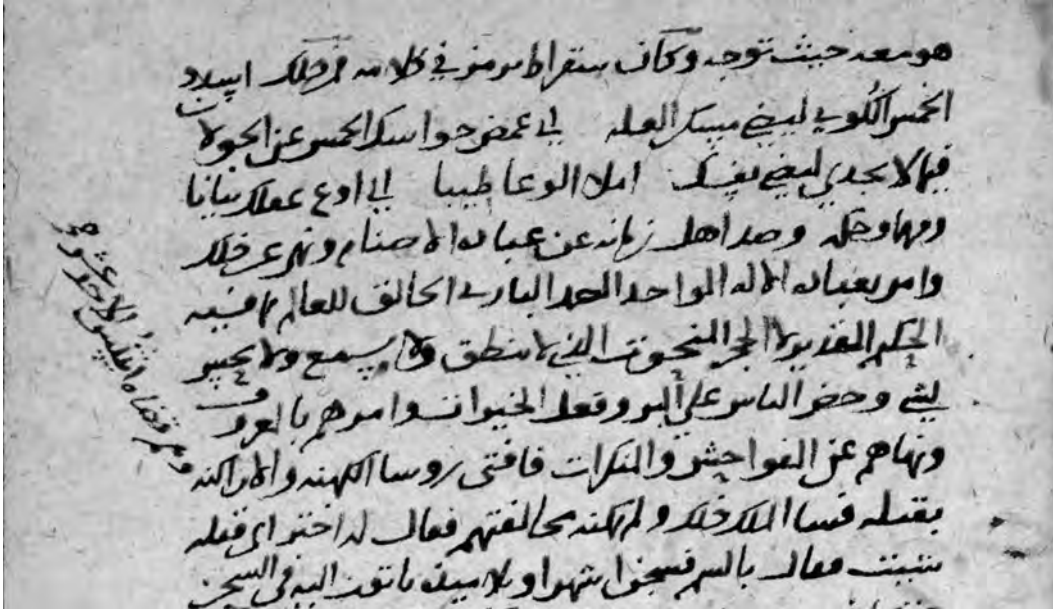
To understand why it appears there, it is necessary to turn back to the source³² and to compare it to al-Maqrīzī's rendering:

المقريزي	ابن أبي أصيبعة
سُقْرَاطُ بْنُ سَفْرُونُسُقِسَ.	سقراط.
كان من تلاميذ	قال القاضي صاعد في كتاب طبقات الأمم إن سقراط كان من تلاميذ
فيثاغورس واقتصر من الفلسفة على العلوم الإلهية وأعرض عن ملاذ الدنيا	فيثاغورس. إقتصر من الفلسفة على العلوم الإلهية وأعرض عن ملاذ الدنيا
ورفضها وأعلن بمخالفة اليونانيين في عبادتهم الأصنام وقابل رؤساءهم	ورفضها وأعلن بمخالفة اليونانيين في عبادتهم الأصنام وقابل رؤساءهم
بالحجاج فثوروا العامة عليه واضطروا ملكهم إلى قتله فأسجنه	بالحجاج والأدلة فثوروا العامة عليه واضطروا ملكهم إلى قتله فأودعه الملك
ثم سقاه السم تفاديا من شرهم وله مناظرات مع	الحبس تحمدا إليهم ثم سقاه السم تفاديا من شرهم مع مناظرات جرت له مع
الملك ووصاياا شريفة وأداب وحكم ومذاهب	الملك محفوظة وله وصاياا شريفة وأداب فاضلة وحكم مشهورة ومذاهب
في الصفات	في الصفات قريبة من مذاهب فيثاغورس وبندقليس إلا أن له في شأن المعاد
أراء ضعيفة	أراء ضعيفة بعيدة عن محض الفلسفة خارجة عن المذاهب المحققة.
ومعنى	وقال الأمير المبشر بن فاتك في كتاب مختار الحكم ومحاسن الكلم معنى
ومولده ومنشأه	سقراطيس باليونانية المعتمضم بالعدل وهو ابن سفرونسقس ومولده ومنشأه
ومنيته بأثينة. . . .	ومنيته بأثينة. . . .

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

³²Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah, *‘Uyūn al-Anbā’ fi Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā’*, ed. August (Imru’ al-Qays ibn al-Ṭaḥḥān) Müller (Cairo/Königsberg, 1299/1882–84), 43.

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



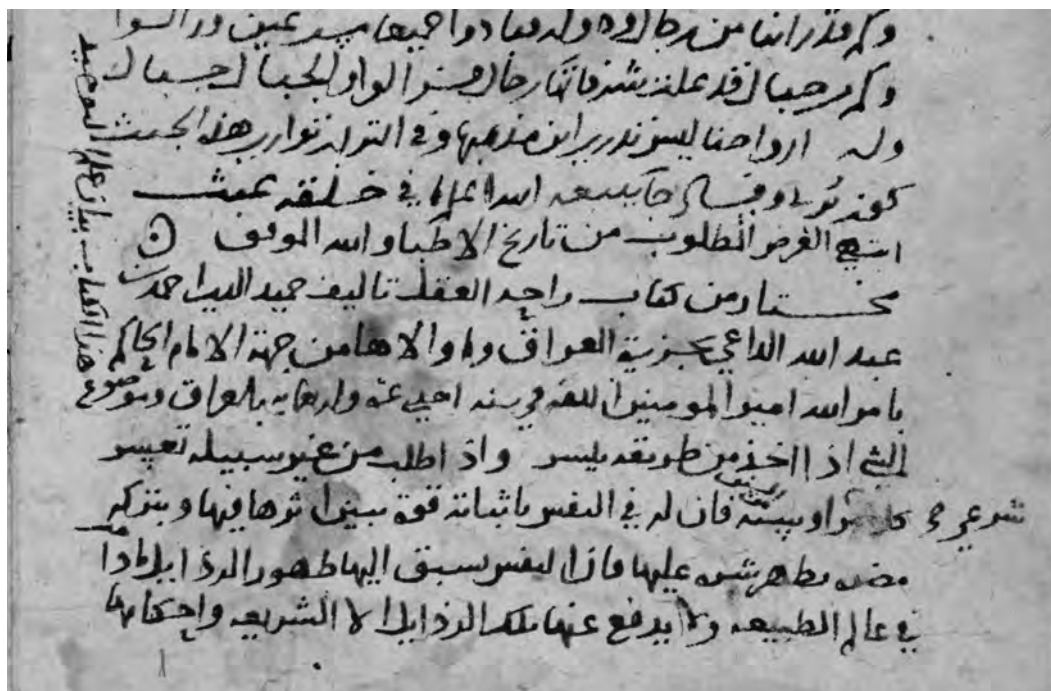
MS 2232, fol. 17a (Courtesy Université de Liège)

<p>المقريري.</p> <p>فأفتى رؤساء الكهنة والأراكنة وهم قضاة أثينس الأحد عشر بقتله</p> <p>فساء الملك ذلك ولم يمكنه مخالفتهم. . .</p>	<p>ابن أبي أصيبعة.</p> <p>فلما علم الرؤساء في وقته من الكهنة والأراكنة ما رامه من دعوته وأن رايه نفي الأصنام ورد الناس عن عبادتها شهدوا عليه بوجوب القتل وكان الموجوبون عليه القتل قضاة أثينس الأحد عشر وسقي السم الذي يقال له قورنيون لأن الملك لما أوجب القضاة عليه القتل ساءه ذلك ولم يمكنه مخالفتهم. . .</p>
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In this case, it is clearly established that al-Maqrīzī read a bigger part, i. e., the first two lines, before he started summarizing. He shows here his ability to extract the meaning of the whole sentence concisely, stated here in a nutshell (five words). Then, he discovered that those who were responsible for Socrates' death were the eleven judges of Athens. In his modified text, this part came at a better place to describe who those high priests and archons were, and so he added this information in the margin, opposite their mention. If he had read the whole passage on this affair, he would have had time to organize it then and would not have added the additional information in the margin. This passage demonstrates, if necessary, that the epitomizing process happened during the reading of a few words or of a whole phrase, but not more.

The last example considers a very short excerpt (item XXIII) appended to the previous abstract (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah, ‘*Uyūn al-Anbā’*), which ends on fol. 31b. The space left blank (roughly one third of the leaf) was filled in with an excerpt of seven lines. There is no doubt that it ends there because al-Maqrīzī did not write a catchword, as he did for the previous abstract. On the other hand, fol. 31 lies in the third quire which is completed with fol. 35. All these folios, which were also blank, have been filled with various notes taken from different sources (items XXIV–XXX). This excerpt, as already indicated,³³ is remarkable by its very nature, as it was taken from a book of Isma‘ili literature: *Kitāb Rāḥat al-‘Aql* of Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī. Its mere presence in the notebook might reveal whether or not al-Maqrīzī truly had access to Isma‘ili sources, as he claimed. Several elements found in the excerpt reveal that, at least for this work, this statement was true.

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



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

³³See 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, no. 2 (2006): 82–83.

In order to understand why this data is found there, it is necessary to turn to the original source and see how the material is organized there.³⁴

- المقريري. الكرمانى.
- (١) فنقول إن كتابنا هذا كتاب راحة العقل (ص. ١٠٦|٢٠). (١) مختار من كتاب راحة العقل.
- (٢) ومؤلفه حميد الدين أحمد بن عبد الله الداعي بجزيرة العراق وما وليها³⁵ (٢) تأليف حميد الدين أحمد بن عبد الله الداعي بجزيرة العراق وما والها من جهة الإمام الحاكم بأمر الله أمير المؤمنين . . ألفه في سنة إحدى عشرة وأربعمائة في ديار العراق (ص. ١٠٦|٢٠).
- (٣) لما كان الغرض المقصود في تأليف هذا الكتاب بيان علم التوحيد (ص. ١١١|٢٤). (٣) وموضوع هذا الكتاب بيان علم التوحيد.
- (٤) إذ الشيء إذا أخذ من طريقه تيسر وإذا طلب من غير طريقه تعسر (ص. ١٠٠|١٦). (٤) الشيء إذا أخذ من طريقه تيسر وإذا طلب من غير سبيله تعسر.
- (٥) إذ كل أمر من الأمور وسنة من السنن لها في النفس باحياؤها قوة يتبين أثرها فيها وبتركها مضرة يظهر شرها عليها ذلك بأن النفس بكونها في عالم الطبيعة ظهور الرذائل فيها أسبق إليها من سبق النار إلى النفط وليس يدفع عنها تلك الرذائل إلا الشريعة وأحكامها (ص. ١٠١|١٧-٢). (٥) كل ضر شرعي³⁷ أو سنة من السنن³⁸ فإن له في النفس باثباته قوة يبين أثرها فيها وبتركها مضرة يظهر شره عليها فإن النفس يسبق إليها ظهور الرذائل ما دامت في عالم الطبيعة ولا يدفع عنها تلك الرذائل إلا الشريعة وأحكامها.

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

³⁴Reference is made here to the following editions: Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn and Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ḥilmī (Cairo, 1953); Muṣṭafá Ghālib (Beirut, 1967).

³⁵In one manuscript: والها.

³⁶In the manuscript: اللفه. See, on this mistake frequently displayed in the notebook, "Maqriziana VIII."

³⁷ شرعي : marginal addition.

³⁸ من السنن : interlinear addition.

³⁹It appears in the second *mashraʿ*.

the following chapters, particularly the fourth *mashraʿ* where the author explains the aim of the book.⁴⁰ In al-Maqrīzī's eyes, this was better placed between the historical and the philosophical material already selected by him and left at the end of passage no. 2 and the margin, where he could just write the first word (*wamawḍūʿ*). This analysis definitely proves that al-Maqrīzī had access to a copy of this work, because he would never have been able to arrange the material in this way if he could not thumb through the book. It also resolves the question of his access to the works of Ismaʿīli literature!

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

ITS CONSTITUTION OVER TIME

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

While it is documented that authors of classical antiquity utilized, for the taking of notes and copying of their drafts, scrolls of papyrus (*volumen* or *rotulus*) rather than sheets of the same material assembled in scrolls later on,⁴¹ the use of paper lent itself to another organization of the writing material: instead of the scroll, which is also attested in the Muslim world, but in a somewhat confined use,⁴² paper allowed the creation of a quire made of several sheets folded in two. The multiple quires could then be sewn together and bound in order to protect the whole (codex).⁴³ The codex was a model of book already widespread in the

⁴⁰"Al-mashraʿ al-rābiʿ fi al-gharaḍ al-maqṣūd fi tartīb aswār hādhā al-kitāb bi-mā nusawwiruḥu min mashāriʿihi ʿalā mā ruttibat ʿalayhi."

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

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

⁴³Codices made of papyrus are also attested, but are quite late and rare. See for instance a blank papyrus codex later used for various notes (ca. 400 C.E., Chester Beatty Library, Pap. Ac. 1499) in Jonathan M. Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven and London, 2001), 26. Papyrus was particularly unsuitable for this kind of book.

Middle East and the Mediterranean area in the first centuries of the common era and it ultimately outweighed all the others in these areas.⁴⁴ Quires, first of papyrus and parchment, then of paper, rather than loose leaves, were thus used for the taking of notes by Muslim scholars. Al-Maqrizī's notebook shows this observation to be a certainty.⁴⁵ Physical analysis indicates that the notebook is composed of 21 quires, most of which (14) consist of five sheets. Some summaries are spread over several quires. This means that al-Maqrizī had at his disposal a stock of such quires (most probably of five sheets each). When he saw that he would lack space to complete a summary, he had two options: either he inserted an intermediary sheet, thus modifying the structure of the quire (for instance, quire XIII has six sheets), or he continued on with a smaller one (two or three sheets, as in quire XVI, for example). In some cases, it happened that he finished a summary earlier in the quire, thus leaving several blank leaves. These leaves were later used for notes selected from different sources, which explains why they are sometimes scattered over several quires. However, when these notes fell at the intersection of two quires, they definitely linked these quires to one another. It thus establishes that those quires were in that order in al-Maqrizī's lifetime. But we can further refine our understanding of this aspect of his working method by proceeding to another level of analysis. As already stated,⁴⁶ two different kinds of paper are found in the notebook: al-Maqrizī utilized blank paper together with recycled paper, a feature which is not characteristic of this manuscript only, but of a large part of his autograph manuscripts. The recycled paper consists of chancery documents which were in the shape of scrolls (*rotulus*) and were cut into pieces, most probably by paper merchants.⁴⁷ It is reasonable to believe that, when such documents were cut, the sheets obtained through this process and pertaining to the same document were gathered to form quires. In this way, we should find sheets belonging to the same document in a quire of the notebook made of this kind of paper. If we look carefully at the distribution of documents I and II, among the five identified in the notebook and reconstructed afterwards, we notice that the first

⁴⁴Déroche, *Le Livre manuscrit*, 16.

⁴⁵The following remarks are summed up on the basis of the following publication: Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana IV: Le Carnet de notes d'al-Maqrizī: 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* 9 (2003): 24–36.

⁴⁶Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrizī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method: Description: Section 1," *MSR* 7, no. 2 (2003): 28.

⁴⁷See Frédéric Bauden, "The Recovery of Mamlūk Chancery Documents in an Unsuspected Place," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, ed. Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni (Leiden, 2004), 59–76.

one is represented by quires IX and XII and that the second one constitutes quires I to III and XI. This corroborates the hypothesis that those recycled documents were cut up consecutively, and that the quires were also produced according to the same sequence.⁴⁸ It also raised the question whether or not the summaries scribbled on quires made of sheets belonging to the same document, such as quires I to III and XI (= document II), were written at approximately the same time. The answer can only be affirmative, because if al-Maqrīzī had recourse to recycled paper, it was for financial reasons: blank paper, at that particular period,⁴⁹ must have been too expensive for writings not meant to survive after his death, like abstracts, notes, and drafts. In this sense, he probably bought a stock of quires of this recycled paper and used it over several years for various applications, although mainly for the drafts and the notebooks.⁵⁰ The stock must have been quite impressive: among the 22 autograph manuscripts,⁵¹ 13 contain 509 sheets of this recycled paper, more than 10% of the total number of sheets, but most of it was used during a short period, given that 83% is found in only 3 volumes.⁵² Quire XIII provides evidence that corroborates the idea that al-Maqrīzī had at his disposal several quires of this recycled paper. That quire consists of six sheets of recycled paper, contrary to the five sheets usually found in the notebook and al-Maqrīzī's other autograph manuscripts. An analysis of the paper shows that five sheets belong to the same document (no. III in our reconstruction), while the extra sheet comes from document II! There is only one possible explanation: al-Maqrīzī realized that he would run short of paper to complete his epitome, but that he did not need a full quire, just a sheet. He thus added one sheet to quire XIII, but this additional sheet was taken from a quire composed of the recycled

⁴⁸It is even possible to affirm that the production of the quires only took place once a complete document had been cut. There is no other way to explain the disorder of the text of the documents inside the quires. For instance, document I in quire XII is in the correct order if the sheets are arranged this way : fols. 113, 114, 112, 111, 115.

⁴⁹At the present stage of the research, it is impossible to determine exactly when the purchase took place, except that it was prior to 811/1408 (see note 52). It is established that archival material from the chancery was sold in 791–92/1389–90, but it is difficult to ascertain if the recycled paper found in al-Maqrīzī's autographs corresponds to this archival material. See *ibid.*, 74. It is important to note that he was not the only one in his milieu to exploit this kind of paper. See, for more details, "Maqriziana IX"; "Maqriziana VIII."

⁵⁰This is confirmed by the actual distribution of this recycled paper in his autograph manuscripts. See the following note and Appendix II (last column, the number in parentheses).

⁵¹No. 18 is excluded from this figure since it is a copy of an autograph manuscript.

⁵²The great majority is found in the notebook now in Liège and in the two preserved volumes of the draft of the *Khīṭaṭ* (comprehensively 420 sheets). With regard to the two volumes of the *Khīṭaṭ*, it is now established that they were written between 811/1408 and 816/1413. See "Maqriziana IX."

paper pertaining to document II. Moreover, if we look more closely at abstract V, which covers quires XI–XIII and IX, we notice that those quires are made of sheets belonging to documents I (quires XII and IX), II (quire XI and one sheet in quire XIII), and III (quire XIII). This distribution of the same extract, written during a short period of time, confirms that the quires of recycled paper were in disorder, if we consider the original documents. Al-Maqrīzī selected his recycled sheets regardless of their original order. But this also perfectly demonstrates that the summaries written on that kind of paper are contemporaneous, given that résumé no. I (quires I–III) is composed of the recycled paper of document II. However, there is a caveat. As shown by the actual organization of the notebook, which must be ascribed to al-Maqrīzī, as asserted earlier,⁵³ the quires made of recycled paper were ordered, at al-Maqrīzī’s death, as follows: I–III, X–XIII, IX, XXI, while the quires in between consist only of originally blank paper, and, thus, were written later. What could then explain how the quires, and consequently the summaries they contain, became separated in the notebook by these intervening quires, and consequently their summaries copied at a later date? The answer is provided by indirect testimony found in the autograph manuscripts of *Al-Muqaffá*. In 844/1440, one of al-Maqrīzī’s students managed not only to consult, but also to take notes from, with the author’s approval, what seems to have been the complete text of *Al-Muqaffá* at that time.⁵⁴ To describe the manuscript, this student referred to the technical term ream (*rizmāh*), indicating that this unfinished work, unlikely

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

⁵⁴“Al-Muqaffá,” LeidenMSOr. 14533, fol. 170b (see Jan J. Witkam, “Les Autographes d’al-Maqrīzī,” in *Le Manuscrit arabe et la codicologie*, ed. Ahmed-Chouqui Binebine [Rabat, 1994], 88–98, 93–94):

الحمد لله طالع هذه الرزمة من أولها إلى هنا داعيا لمصنفها بطول حياته العبد محمد بن محمد بن الخيزري الدمشقي الشافعي غفر الله تعالى له أمين [not عفى الله تعالى الدائم 94, as in ibid., 94] ونقل منها واستفاد في شعبان سنة ٨٤٤ بالقاهرة.

“Al-Muqaffá,” fol. 457a (not mentioned by Witkam, “Les Autographes”):

. . . واستفاد محمد بن محمد الخيزري . . . الله تعالى.

“Al-Muqaffá,” Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS Ar. 2144, fol. 41b (partly erased; not mentioned by Witkam, “Les Autographes”):

الحمد لله وسلام على عباده والذين اصطفى. انتهى العبد محمد بن محمد بن الخيزري الشافعي مطالعة هذه الرزمة ودعا لمصنفه بطول حياته بتاريخ شعبان سنة ٨٤٤ بالقاهرة والحمد لله على جميع نعمه.

The Damascene Ibn al-Khayḍarī arrived in Cairo in 843/1439–40, aged 22. There, he became an associate (*lāzama*) of Ibn Ḥajar, with whom he studied. He also studied with al-Maqrīzī until he went to the Holy City for the pilgrimage. See Najm al-Dīn ‘Umar [Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad] Ibn Fahd al-Hāshimī al-Makkī, *Mu‘jam al-Shuyūkh*, ed. Muḥammad al-Zāhī and Ḥamad al-Jāsir (Riyadh, 1982), 389–90. Al-Maqrīzī died 13 months after the date of these study-notes, after a long illness. The invocation for a long life might be a reference to the state of al-Maqrīzī’s health at that time.

to be completed given al-Maqrīzī's advanced age at that time, was in draft form as an unbound collection of several quires. The position of these reading notes additionally indicates that the actual distribution in the bound volumes differed from the original versions. Above all, this description helps to solve the question of the shifting of the quires in the notebook. If the draft of a work in progress, like the biographical dictionary entitled *Al-Muqaffá*, was unbound in order to allow the shifting of the biographies, there are good reasons to believe that the notebooks were in the same state. Consequently, the quires in the notebook were moved by al-Maqrīzī at a given time because each abstract formed a self-contained unit, the whole perhaps placed together within a cover, until he added additional notes and short extracts from other sources to fill in the blanks left at the end and within those summaries. The result was a volume which probably remained unbound. This explains why a quire (IX) could be misplaced later on, well after al-Maqrīzī's death.

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

⁵⁵See "Maqriziana I/2," 136.

⁵⁶See *ibid.*, 134.

various autograph manuscripts revealed that 83% of this particular paper is to be found in three volumes: the notebook and the two extant volumes of the first draft of the *Khīṭaṭ*. As it has been established that the latter was written between 811 and 816,⁵⁷ it is reasonable to assume that the quires made of the same paper in the notebook must be dated before 816. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the biography in quire XXI was drafted after 812 and that the remaining notes in that quire were written between 815 and 824. Additionally, there is the fact that several parts of the notebook, some of which are written on recycled paper, contain information that was used by al-Maqrīzī in his *Khīṭaṭ*, and more importantly, already in the first draft of this work, where they can be identified.⁵⁸

Other parts can be precisely dated thanks to external elements. It indeed seems that each time al-Maqrīzī borrowed a manuscript which he made use of, he felt the need to indicate this in a note he scribbled, most of the time on the title page, or less frequently elsewhere in the manuscript.⁵⁹ These reading notes, which coincide with category (e) in the previously mentioned list of sources for the reconstruction of the working method, offer us a good opportunity to understand how al-Maqrīzī read these manuscripts, since the date is generally appended to the notes. Such notes were found in no less than 25 volumes representing 7 works,⁶⁰ but only two of them are useful for the dating of the notebook, more precisely the relevant parts containing either a summary or scattered notes: Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmārī's *Masālik al-Absār* and Ibn Saʿīd's *Al-Mughrib*. The first source is preserved in several sets of numerous volumes, although just ten volumes of the set consulted by al-Maqrīzī have come down to us. On the title page of each of them,⁶¹ he added a note of consultation which reads: "Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī made excerpts from it in the year 831, invoking [God's favors] on its lender." Therefore, we can conclude that al-Maqrīzī obviously managed to consult a whole set of this work at the same time, i.e., in the same year, and more importantly that he could make use of it with the utmost ease given that he had borrowed it from its owner. This is confirmed by the

⁵⁷See, for the details of this dating, "Maqriziana IX."

⁵⁸See, for instance, the third quotation of item XLV ("Maqriziana I/2," 103) in *Al-Khīṭaṭ* (Būlāq ed. [1853], 1:208 = MS Topkapı Sarayı 1405, fol. 76).

⁵⁹All these manuscripts were borrowed from private owners, and not from public libraries, like those of madrasahs. Al-Maqrīzī refers, in *Al-Khīṭaṭ* (Būlāq ed., 2:395 = Ayman Fuʿād Sayyid ed. [London, 2002–], 4:2:592), to such a public library in the madrasah of Maḥmūd al-Ustādhḍār, considered as one of the best for its holdings and renowned for its collection of autographs. He emphasizes that the books could not be taken out of the madrasah. On the lending of books in Islam, see Fuʿād Sayyid, "Naṣṣān Qadīmān fī lʿārat al-Kutub," *Majallat Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabīyah/Revue de l'Institut des manuscrits arabes* 4 (1958): 125–36.

⁶⁰See Appendix II.

⁶¹With the exception of vols. I and IV. The latter contains a marginal note in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting, however.

various marginal notes he added in different places.⁶² The verb used by al-Maqrīzī is of particular significance for our purpose. By using “*intaqá*,” he clearly indicated that he prepared a summary, probably not of the whole work, but rather selecting from among the multiple volumes.⁶³ This interpretation is corroborated by the evidence provided by the notebook: instead of a unique summary, more or less, equal to the mass of the original source, it is established that, among the 71 items inventoried, 3 correspond to summaries made on the basis of this source (VII, XVII, XIX), although al-Maqrīzī never mentioned Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umārī’s name in any of these summaries.⁶⁴ Moreover, these three epitomes involve passages located in different volumes in the original source. The first of these covers quires XV–XVI, starting at the beginning of the first quire. From this, it can be inferred that al-Maqrīzī started the summary of the relevant section in the original source with a new quire and continued with another quire in order to complete it. The remaining part of quire XVI was left blank and filled with notes at a later date (items LXII–LXIII). The other two summaries are found in quires XVII–XVIII. The first starts on the last folio of quire XVII and ends on the verso of the first folio of the next quire. It therefore shows that al-Maqrīzī added quire XVIII in order to be able to finish this summary. However, the second summary based on *Masālik al-Abṣār* does not follow immediately, but rather is separated from the preceding one by another summary made on the basis of a different source (Ibn al-Maʿmūn al-Baṭāʾihī). From this, it may be deduced that al-Maqrīzī consulted and summarized a manuscript of this source during the period in which he had access to the whole set of *Masālik al-Abṣār*, i.e., in 831! It helps to date the references to this section of Ibn al-Maʿmūn al-Baṭāʾihī’s work in al-Maqrīzī’s books. This reasoning can also be applied to the references to the *Masālik al-Abṣār*, but additionally the related parts in the notebook can be dated accordingly.⁶⁵ Finally, the notes added by

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

⁶³As was the case with other multi-volume works like al-Ṣafadī’s *Al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafāyāt* (resumé II) or Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah’s *‘Uyūn al-Anbā’* (resumé I), or even his *Al-Muntaqá min Akhbār Miṣr* of Ibn Muyassar (completed in 814). On the contrary, his *Mukhtaṣar al-Kāmil fī al-Ḍu‘afā’ li-Ibn ‘Adī* (completed in 795), is considered an independent resumé. For the analysis of the verbs used by al-Maqrīzī to describe his summarizing activity, see the next section below.

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

⁶⁵I.e., summaries VII, XVII–XIX.

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

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

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

⁶⁷See "Maqriziana I/2," 122.

المقريزي (مخ. لياج، ١٣٠٠ ب).

القرافة: قال ابن سعيد في المغرب:

المقريزي، الخطط.⁶⁸

وقال علي بن موسى بن محمد بن سعيد في

كتاب المغرب في أخبار المغرب:

ابن سعيد، المغرب.⁷⁰

وهي في شرفيها بها منازل لأعيان الفسطاط والقاهرة وقيور عليها. وبت ليالي كثيرة بقرافة الفسطاط وهي في شرفيها بها منازل لأعيان فسطاط والقاهرة وقيور عليها مبان معتنى بها وفيها القبة العظيمة العالية المزخرفة التي فيها قبر الإمام الشافعي رضي الله عنه وبها مسجد جامع وترب كثيرة عليها أوقاف للقراء ومدرسة كبيرة للشافعية ولا تكاد تخلو من طرب ولا سيما في الليالي القمرية وهي معظم مجتمعات أهل مصر وأشهر منتزهاتهم وفيها أقول . . .

وهي في شرفيها بها منازل لأعيان الفسطاط والقاهرة وقيور عليها مبان معتنى بها وفيها القبة العظيمة العالية المزخرفة التي فيها قبر الإمام الشافعي رضي الله عنه وبها مسجد جامع وترب كثيرة عليها أوقاف للقراء ومدرسة كبيرة للشافعية ولا تكاد تخلو من طرب ولا سيما في الليالي القمرية وهي معظم مجتمعات أهل مصر وأشهر منتزهاتهم وفيها أقول . . .

In this case, the manuscript must have been at his disposal during the composition of his opus magnum, though it will be established, as already mentioned,⁷¹ that this work was not begun before or only shortly before 811. Given that the manuscript of *Al-Mughrib* belonged to someone else, as indicated by al-Maqrīzī himself,⁷² how then could he gain access to it later on? The inscription indicates that he utilized it⁷³ in 803, but the word used (*istafāda*) refers here to more than this, as it was also used by al-Maqrīzī on several volumes of Ibn ‘Adī’s *Al-Kāmil lil-Du‘afā’*⁷⁴ of which he produced a *mukhtaṣar* dated to 795. If this term implies that he made a summary of *Al-Kāmil*, then it is clear that the same conclusion can be drawn for *Al-Mughrib*. This summary, however, is now lost and the very brief notes traceable to this source which are scattered in the notebook conspicuously do not represent

⁶⁸Būlāq ed., 2:444; Sayyid ed., 4:849.

⁶⁹This reading may be questioned, as both the extract in the notebook and the autograph of Ibn Sa‘īd used by al-Maqrīzī give a common reading. The editor of the new edition probably followed the Būlāq edition. See also, for a similar conclusion, p. 53.

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

⁷¹See “Maqriziana IX.”

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

⁷³Al-Maqrīzī was preceded in this by several of his colleagues, some of whom were his contemporaries, such as al-Awḥadī in 802 (*ṭāla‘ahu Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn [al-Ḥasan] ibn al-Awḥadī sanah 8[0]2*), and Ibn Duqmāq (*istafāda minhu dā‘īyan li-mālikihī Ibrāhīm ibn Duqmāq ‘afā Allāh ‘anhu wa-rahimahu āmin*). Al-Ṣafadī also benefitted from the text which he owned (*ṭāla‘ahu wa-intaqā minhu mālikuhu Khalīl ibn Aybak ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṣafadī ‘afā Allāh ‘anhu*). See reproduction of fol. 1a of *Al-Mughrib* (vol. 4, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS 103 Tārīkh Mīm) in B. Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography: A Collection of Arabic Texts from the First Century of the Hidjra till the Year 1000* (Cairo, 1905), 167.

⁷⁴See Appendix II.

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

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

WHAT FOR?

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

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

⁷⁵The remaining two must have been reused in *Al-Muqaffá* in the parts unfortunately now lost.

⁷⁶The manuscript of *Al-Mughrib* entered, at some time, into al-Muʿayyad Shaykh's ownership, who then bequeathed it as *waqf* to the library annexed to his mosque. See Shawqī Dayf in Ibn Saʿīd, *Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib* [*Washy al-Ṭurus fī Ḥulá Jazīrat al-Andalus*], 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1964), 1:22. Al-Maqrīzī could have had access to the original as often as he needed once it entered the library of al-Muʿayyad Shaykh's mosque.

⁷⁷In certain circumstances, the term also refers to the draft of an author. See on *pugillares* Dorandi, *Le Stylet*, 17–25.

⁷⁸This border between personal notes and summaries is sometimes subtle. As a consequence, the term is also used to describe the preparatory notes intended for a personal work and even the draft version of this work. It is then opposed to the *syngammata*/συγγράμματα. See *ibid.*, 77–101.

this perfectly: “For whenever I had taken in hand any Greek or Latin book, or had heard anything worth remembering, I used to jot down whatever took my fancy, of any and every kind, without any definite plan or order; and such notes I would lay away as *an aid to my memory*, like a kind of literary storehouse, so that when the need arose of a word or a subject which I chanced for the moment to have forgotten, and *the books from which I had taken it were not at hand*, I could readily find it and produce it.”⁷⁹

As for the milieu of traditional Islam, there is no reason to believe that things were different. Given the very prolific activity of Muslim scholars in ancient times, it is no surprise to remark that the *ars excerpendi*, “the art of condensing a book or treatise came to be considered one of the accomplishments of true scholarship,”⁸⁰ to such an extent that authors such as Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi considered that “condensing a work is more complicated than writing it.”⁸¹ The particularity of its educational system based on the oral, or more correctly aural,⁸² transmission of texts gave birth to a great variety of notes: those prepared by a teacher for his lectures, those jotted down by a student during these lectures, and finally those taken by any one of them during their readings for their personal use. The first category corresponded, somewhat, to the first stage of an authorial work: the teacher had selected and organized the material and commented on it. It could eventually give birth to the publication of a book, either by the author himself, or, after his death, by a disciple who then put his master’s notes in order or, when these were no longer available, his personal notes (second category).⁸³ The third category consisted of the personal notes resulting from reading of sources or any other kind of information gleaned by other means. The result of the three categories of activity could be found, either separately or altogether, in what was, in fact, a notebook. The evidence provided by al-Maqrīzī’s specimen combined with the indirect tradition⁸⁴ shows that they contained summarized texts, short excerpts, personal testimonies, comments, and first sketches of small parts to be included in drafts later on, but the group of summaries by far surpasses the other categories. If notes played a mnemonic role in ancient Greece and Rome, they served the same purpose in Islamic civilization. Consequently, summaries were not only meant for

⁷⁹*The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*, trans. John C. Rolfe (London and Cambridge [MA], 1954), xxvii. The French translation is quoted in *ibid.*, 40. The italics are mine.

⁸⁰Rosenthal, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship*, 45.

⁸¹Aḥmad ibn Muhammad Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *Al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, ed. Muḥammad Sa‘īd al-‘Aryān (Cairo, 1372/1953), 1:2 (واختيار الكلام أصعب من تأليفه).

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

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

⁸⁴See below the section entitled *Referring to the Notebook?*

didactic use or for the sake of offering quicker access to a voluminous work.⁸⁵ Here, a clear distinction must be made between two purposes. The first is represented by the summary intended as a handbook, an abridged manual, sometimes itself the object of commentaries, or a condensed version of a comprehensive work. This genre can easily be differentiated as the condenser produces what he considers an authorial work as confirmed by several common features: introduction where the condenser mentions his name and explains why he contemplated doing this work, cross- and internal references in the body of the text, and an epilogue. Generally speaking, all these characteristics indicate the condenser's intention to see his work published. Summaries may have another objective, however. Instead of being intended to serve others, they may be produced by a scholar who wants to take note of things he considers seminal for his reflection and useful for his own book production, since "he who condenses gets ideas."⁸⁶ In case of need, he would be able to go back to a passage of his summary he wants to quote or refresh his memory on a particular subject. It does not mean that this kind of summary will not be copied by someone else, after the author's death, and thus published, but then it goes beyond the author's initial intention. To illustrate this theoretical passage, the circumstances in which Ibn al-Athīr composed his *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* may be detailed. As Ibn al-Athīr explains in his introduction, he initially wanted to produce a book dealing with history where all the facts that could otherwise only be read in several books would be available. In that way, the result would have served him "as a *memorandum* which I could have consulted for fear of forgetting."⁸⁷ He started condensing al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh*, and then added what he found in other books, inserting them at the right place in his resumé. He proceeded this way, adding more and more material, making of his resumé a personal work, until a friend of his asked him to transmit it to him. After some hesitancy, he agreed. In this way, what started as a memorandum for his personal use became a work ready to be published to the world.⁸⁸

The study of al-Maqrīzī's summarizing activity reveals that he produced both kinds of resúms. Considering first the three examples preserved outside the notebook,⁸⁹ we notice that two of them deal with hadith, while the third has to do with history. The first is a resumé (*mukhtaṣar*) of Ibn 'Adī's *Al-Kāmil fī al-Du'afā'*, a book which criticizes transmitters and emphasizes the weaknesses of the traditions they transmitted. The text features the characteristics of a resumé

⁸⁵A. Arazi and H. Ben-Shammy, "Mukhtaṣar," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd. ed., 7:536–39. This article is by far too restrictive, as it only considers the first purpose listed here.

⁸⁶Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Al-Iqd al-Farīd*, 1:2 (وقد قالوا: اختيار الرجل وافد عقله).

⁸⁷Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil* (Beirut, 1965–66), 1:5 (*li-yakūn tadhkirah li urāji'uhu khawf al-nisyān*).

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 6.

⁸⁹See Appendix I (nos. 8, 18, and 22).

produced to be published: the title, together with his full name, is written in his own hand on the title-page which consists of the recto;⁹⁰ it starts with a preface in which al-Maqrīzī states that he wanted to condense (*ulakhiṣṣ*) Ibn ‘Adī’s work, focusing his attention on its substance. His main goal is to eliminate the superfluous chains of transmitters (*isnād*) as well as his criticism of the traditions, except those he thought it necessary to include.⁹¹ Finally, it ends with a colophon where he repeats his goal and his name, and gives the date of completion.⁹² The same characteristics are observed in the second resumé, once again entitled *mukhtaṣar*, which he made on the basis of three works ascribed to al-Marwazī,⁹³ though in this case he focused on deleting the traditions repeated by the author with a different chain of transmitters. But unlike what he did with Ibn ‘Adī’s book, he quoted the traditions with their full *isnād*, omitting, on the other hand, the non-Prophetic traditions (*āthār*).⁹⁴ As for the third, it consists of a resumé (*muntaqá*) of Ibn Muyassar’s *Akhbār Miṣr*. Unfortunately, only the second volume of it has been preserved.⁹⁵ While the two aforementioned resúmes represent the holograph copy in al-Maqrīzī’s handwriting, the *Muntaqá* is a copy made by a later scribe on

⁹⁰Istanbul, Murat Molla Kütüphanesi MS 569, fol. 1r:

كتاب مختصر الكامل لابن عدي اختصار فقير عفو الله احمد بن علي بن عبد القادر بن محمد بن ابراهيم بن محمد بن تميم [بن عبد الصمد بن أبي الحسن بن عبد الصمد بن تميم الشهير بالمقريري الشافعي] سامحه الله يغفرانه وبوأه دار أمانة بمنه أمين.

⁹¹Ibid., fol. 1v = Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Kāmil fī al-Ḍu‘afā’ wa-‘Ilal al-Ḥadīth li-Ibn ‘Adī*, ed. Ayman ibn ‘Arif al-Dimashqī (Cairo, 1415/1994), 39:

وبعد فإن الحافظ أبا أحمد عبد الله بن عدي سقى الله جدته وصيب الغفران وبوأه بحبوحه دار الأمان قد أملى كتابة الكامل في علل الحديث وأسماء المجروحين من الرواة وأشخنة بكثرة الأسانيد فأحببت أن ألخص منه ما قيل في الرواة على سبيل الإنجاز وحذفت علل الحديث إلا إذا احتجج إليها وأضربت عن ذكر الأسانيد إلا أن تدعو الضرورة إليها والله تعالى [أسأل] أن يجعله عوناً على امتثال أمره وسبباً لإتباع السنة وبالله أعتمص.

⁹²Murat Molla Kütüphanesi MS 569, fol. 215r-v = Dimashqī ed., 844:

انتهى وكمل ما دل راند الاختيار عليه وقاد دليل الفكر إليه من الكامل في أسماء المجروحين من الرواة وعلل الحديث للحافظ أبي أحمد بن عدي على يد كاتبه أحمد بن علي بن عبد القادر بن محمد بن ابراهيم بن محمد بن تميم المقريري بلغه الله أماله وأحسن في الدارين ماله بمنه وذلك عند غروب الشمس من يوم الاحد المبارك مفتح عام ٧٩٥.

⁹³These are: *Kitāb Qiyām al-Layl*; *Kitāb Qiyām Ramaḍān*; *Kitāb al-Witr*.

⁹⁴*Mukhtaṣar Kitāb Qiyām al-Layl lil-Marwazī* (Lahore, 1320 H.), 2:

أما بعد فإني اختصرت في هذا الجزء كتاب قيام الليل تأليف أبي عبد الله محمد بن نصر المروزي رحمه الله على أني أحذف المكرر من الأحاديث المسندة والآثار وأورد جميع ما فيه من الأحاديث المسندة بأسانيدها وجميع الآثار مع حذف أسانيدها والله أسأل الإعانة على إتمامه والتوفيق للعمل به إنه قريب مجيب.

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

وبآخر النسخة التي اختصرت منها ما مثاله وذلك في شهر ربيع الآخر لنصف منه من سنة سبع وثمانين ومائتين [...] وتم هذا المختصر على يد كاتبه أحمد بن علي بن عبد القادر بن محمد المقريري في نصف يوم الخميس لثمان أن يقين من جمادى الآخرة سنة سبع وثمانمائة والله الحمد أولاً وآخرًا.

⁹⁵The preface is thus lost. The second volume bears a less indicative title:

الجزء الثاني من أخبار مصر تأليف محمد بن ميسر بن يوسف بن جلب عفا الله عنه.

See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá min Akhbār Miṣr li-Ibn Muyassar*, ed. Ayman Fu‘ād Sayyid (Cairo, 1981), 1.

the basis of the autograph and its contents demonstrate that he had at his disposal what looks like a fragment of the notebooks. Evidence of this assumption lies in the fact that some portions are not part of Ibn Muyassar's *Tārīkh*, but are rather excerpts from two other sources al-Maqrīzī often relied on (Ibn Zūlāq and al-Musabbiḥī).⁹⁶ An interesting bit of information the copyist did not fail to mention is the colophon al-Maqrīzī added at the end of his resumé.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, this resumé is not of great help for our concern given that the features dealt with here (title page, preface) have been lost.

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

Among the numerous summaries found in the notebook, only three are introduced by a short preface, preceded by the *basmalah*, where al-Maqrīzī explained what motivated him to summarize them. The more complete one concerns Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's *Kitāb Futūḥ Miṣr*.⁹⁸ The condenser explains that his present aim (*fa-innī qāṣid*) is to summarize (*talkhiṣ*) the book, selecting the reports (*al-akhbār*) he needs and omitting what is unnecessary *at the moment* (*al-ān*), such as mention of houses and mosques which have fallen into oblivion and the chain of transmitters of the non-Prophetic traditions, and the like.⁹⁹ Of particular concern is the reference to "at the moment." Al-Maqrīzī's intention is clearly revealed: the summary is meant for his personal use only, and even limited in time, as he skipped over what he deemed unnecessary for his purpose *at that moment*. As already noted, the end of this summary is missing, or rather was never finished,¹⁰⁰ which is perfectly understandable given the introductory words. Be that as it may, al-Maqrīzī never intended to publish it, at least as it appears in the

⁹⁶See "Maqriziana I/2," 100 (no. 62).

⁹⁷See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá*, 157:

آخر المنتقى من الجزء الثاني من تاريخ مصر لابن ميسر. ثم على يد أحمد بن علي المقرئ في مساء يوم السبت لست بقين من شهر ربيع الآخر سنة أربع عشرة وثمانمائة.

⁹⁸See "Maqriziana I/1," no. II.

⁹⁹Liège MS 2232, fol. 37v:

وبعد فإني قاصد تلخيص كتاب فتوح مصر وأخبارها من تأليف عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن عبد الحكم رحمه الله مع الاجتهاد في سرد ما حواه من الأخبار التي تدعو الحاجة إليها وترك ما لا يحتاج إليه الآن من ذلك كنعو ذكر الدور والمساجد التي دثرت وكذكر الأسانيد في الأخبار غير النبوية وشبه هذا والله أسأل تسيير ذلك بمنه وكرمه.

¹⁰⁰See "Maqriziana I/1," 34–35, and "Maqriziana V" (forthcoming).

notebook.

The same conclusion may be applied to another summary, the one based on al-Ṣafadī's *Al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafāyāt*.¹⁰¹ Here, the introductory section is even shorter: al-Maqrīzī is content with mentioning that the following are “useful notes” (*fawā'id*) he selected (*ilṭaqatuhā*) from al-Ṣafadī's book.¹⁰² No reference is made to the elements looked for or omitted. This may be due to the fact that, contrary to all the previous resumé already studied, the contents of this source are not primarily based on hadith. As with the previous example quoted, the end of this summary is missing in the notebook as it has come down to us, but in this case it is highly probable that al-Maqrīzī went further than what is preserved.¹⁰³ Though it is unknown if he condensed the whole of *Al-Wāfi*, there is no reason to believe that the present summary was ever to be published: even though there is a preface, it is too concise to play that role, and furthermore his name never appears throughout the text. Whether he wrote a colophon or not, given that the end is wanting, is purely conjectural. Yet a hint may be found in the last example to be considered.

The summary he prepared of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's *Uyūn al-Anbā'* shares the same features with the previous one. The introductory words are once more striking in their brevity—he uses two verbs to describe his summarizing activity (*ikhtartu* and *intaqaytu*) and speaks of the result as “something” (*shay'*) and “words” (*kalim*),¹⁰⁴ but contrary to what we have for *Al-Wāfi*, al-Maqrīzī indicated, in a colophon, that he had reached the goal he had intended.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, the collation of this summary with the original source indicates that he did not condense the whole work, but stopped at an early stage in the book. In a way, al-Maqrīzī applied the same principle developed in his summary of *Al-Wāfi*: to condense what he needs at the moment of the reading. Compared with the other examples quoted above, this colophon does not offer any information about the authorship or the date when the summary was completed.

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

¹⁰¹See “Maqriziana I/1,” no. V.

¹⁰²Liège MS 2232, fol. 101v:

وبعد فهذه فوائد النقطتها من كتاب الوافي بالوفيات تأليف العلامة صلاح الدين خليل بن أبيك الصفدي صرف الله وجهه عن النار وحشره مع الصفوة الأبرار.

¹⁰³See “Maqriziana I/1,” 46.

¹⁰⁴Liège MS 2232, fol. 4r:

هذا شيء اخترته وكلم انتقيته من كتاب عيون الأنبياء في طبقات الأطباء جمع أحمد بن أبي القاسم بن خليفة الخزرجي المتطبيب رحمه الله.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., fol. 31v: انتهى الغرض المطلوب من تاريخ الأطباء والله الموفق.

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

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

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

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

¹⁰⁷At the end of nos. XIII (in the margin: انتهى المختار) and XV (لخصت ما قيل في الدرهم والدينار من مختار من كتاب الدينانير والدرهم تأليف أبي بكر محمد بن خلف بن حيان المعروف بوكيع ولم أقف على الأصل).

¹⁰⁸See nos. XII, XIII, XVIII, XXIII, and XXVIII. No. XV is rather a *talkhiṣ* of a *mukhtār* made by someone else and al-Maqrīzī’s words establish that he made the best of a bad job (*wa-lam aqif ‘alā al-aṣl*).

where the text tallies exactly with the *Futūḥ Miṣr!*

Likewise, the study of the terminology might enlighten our understanding of al-Maqrīzī's intentions. Though it is hazardous to draw conclusions solely on the basis of the small sample under study, the consideration of other elements will support the following remarks. We have seen that al-Maqrīzī's notes of consultation placed on the manuscripts he had access to prove without a doubt that he made use of them (*istafāda*), meaning by this that he had made a resumé.¹⁰⁹ In some cases, he alludes to his summarizing activity in more direct terms: the term *intaqá* (to pick out) leaves no doubt that he took what he reckoned useful for his purposes.¹¹⁰ While the term *mukhtaṣar* was probably reserved for a resumé meant to be published, in al-Maqrīzī's mind, the other terms might have referred to generally incomplete, summarized texts not fit for publication: hence the use of *talkhīṣ* for books composed of traditions,¹¹¹ and *muntaqá/mukhtār* for all the other kinds of books, simply differentiated one from the other by the extent of the selection. Such a classification can only be temporary, and if confirmed by other evidence, applicable to al-Maqrīzī alone. Nevertheless, the testimonies provided by the direct and indirect traditions tend to show that some of the preceding remarks are somewhat general for a given period and that these technical terms were not idiolects. Several examples may indeed be invoked regarding historians/traditionists.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹See previous section.

¹¹⁰See Appendix II. He uses the same term regarding his selections in al-Musabbiḥī's *Tāriḫ*. See "Maqriziana I/2," 96–97 and 117.

¹¹¹*Talkhīṣ* is applied twice to such works, both of them made up of traditions (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's *Futūḥ Miṣr* and Wakī's *Kitāb al-Danānir wa-al-Darāhim*).

¹¹²These are only some examples: Rashīd al-Dīn al-Mundhirī (d. 643 or 644/1245–47), *Muntaqá Tāriḫ al-Musabbiḥī* (see "Maqriziana I/2," 97); al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), an *Intiqā'* of Ibn Sa'īd's *Al-Mughrib fī Hulá al-Maghrib* (see n. 73); Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (d. 851/1448), *Muntaqá Tāriḫ Ibn al-Furāt*, *Muntaqá Tāriḫ Ibn Duqmāq*, *Muntaqá Tāriḫ al-Dhahabī*, *Muntaqá Tāriḫ Madīnat Dimashq*, *Muntaqá Nihāyat al-Arab* (see David C. Reisman, "A Holograph MS of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's 'Dhayl,'" *MSR* 2 (1998): 45), *Muntaqá al-'Ibar lil-Dhahabī* (MS British Library Suppl. Ar. 460); al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) (see the list provided by Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf in *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'* [Beirut, 1996], 1:85–87). The connection with the traditionists is not innocent: most historians of the period considered still passed through the traditional education system and were first and foremost traditionists. The term *muntaqá* is found profusely in répertoires of texts based on hadith where it means that a disciple made a selection of the traditions transmitted by a master. See particularly *Al-Fihris al-Shāmil lil-Turāth al-'Arabī al-Makhtūṭ: al-Ḥadīth al-Nabawī al-Sharīf wa-'Ulūmuhu wa-Rijāluhu* (Amman, 1991–92), s.v. *muntaqá*. In light of what has been said, the following words sound somewhat misplaced: "Furthermore, there appeared a new kind of writer who devoted his talents to compiling *mukhtaṣars*; al-Dhahabī constitutes an apt example: the majority of his output comprises abridgments of works by other authors" (Arazi and Ben-Shammay, "Mukhtaṣar," 537). Al-Dhahabī's numerous abridgments are of course linked to his authorial activity, and were

Finally, the analysis of the distribution of some scattered notes in the quires reveals that al-Maqrīzī did not prepare a résumé of all the sources he consulted. Some of these were less relevant for his purpose, such as the histories written by Eastern authors, who were less well informed of the events that happened in Egypt, al-Maqrīzī's main subject of study. In the notebook, several scattered notes have been identified as coming from Ibn al-Jawzī's *Al-Muntaẓam* and Ibn 'Asākir's *Tāriḫ Madīnat Dimashq*, two works belonging to this category. Al-Maqrīzī was obviously not interested in summarizing these multi-volume books and took note, during his readings, of only the most relevant information. If we first consider Ibn 'Asākir, we notice that the material selected can be traced back in this source and that its placement in the published volumes reveals the progression of al-Maqrīzī's reading process in this work (excerpts LVI/36–37: vol. 62; LXIII: vols. 52, 69, 70, 74; LXVII: vols. 64, 67). Thanks to this arrangement of the data, we know precisely which parts he read and in which order. The same conclusion applies to Ibn al-Jawzī (excerpts LII: vol. 17; LV: vols. 16, 17; LVIII: vol. 16). These excerpts were clearly written backwards in the notebook, utilizing the spaces left blank. The volumes correspond to the end of the work, i.e., al-Maqrīzī consulted the parts contemporary with the author. This was another aspect of his working method: to consider works relating contemporary events to be the most reliable ones.¹¹³

SUMMARIZING, EPITOMIZING, EXCERPTING VS. QUOTING, PARAPHRASING, INTERPRETING

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

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

essentially made for his personal use.

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

¹¹⁴Dain, *Les Manuscrits*, 41.

text (in the case of Arabic, everyone knows the difficulties connected with the cursive script, the potential lack of diacritics and vowels), and the understanding of the meaning of the text, which requires knowledge in a great variety of fields, particularly of technical or archaic vocabulary. Thus, one cannot be content with just reproducing what he sees, though in some cases, this cannot be avoided. These four operations are characteristic of the act of copying. However, in the case of al-Maqrizī, another operation, necessitated by the desire to summarize the text, must sometimes be added, then emphasizing, more than ever, the difficulties of the copyist's work. The study of the notebook reveals that al-Maqrizī did not escape the vicissitudes inherent in the act of copying and found in every manuscript which was copied from another. One of the most interesting features imputable to the third operation listed above (the silent dictation) regards the idiosyncratic phonetic peculiarities of the copyist. While it is established that a Latin copyist of German origin will tend to write *suafis* instead of *suavis*,¹¹⁵ in the case of Arabic, a copyist will probably be less influenced by his mispronunciation than by phonetic and grammatical traits of Middle Arabic. This is even more to be expected when the copyist is a scholar engaged in a summarizing activity, during which his main focus is the rendering of the meaning of the text. Of course, the more the text is condensed, the more he will make mistakes characteristic of the language he speaks daily. The question has been considered regarding al-Maqrizī and his notebook, where such features are observed more than anywhere else. The preliminary results confirm that the notebook presents several peculiarities that can be characterized as pertaining to Middle Arabic (orthographical aberrations, morphological and syntactical mistakes), such as the doubling of *lām* in the word *allaḥa*, the presence of a *wāw* in the aorist (3rd sg.) in *verba tertiæ radicalis* ء, and the use of a plural verb preceding the subject (*akalūni al-barāghith*).¹¹⁶ Such features will doubtless be identified in the autograph manuscripts of his books, once they have been scrutinized in that way.

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

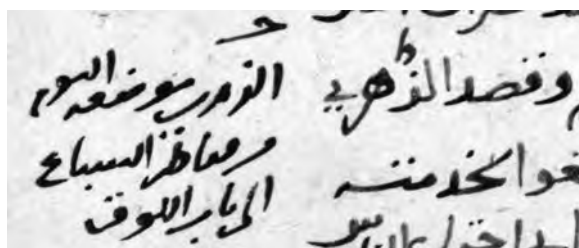
¹¹⁵Ibid., 44–45.

¹¹⁶See “Maqriziana VIII.”

identifiable as such given that they could be imputed to the source rather than to al-Maqrīzī's lack of attention. Consequently, caution is always recommended when noticing such errors.¹¹⁷

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

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



MS 2232, fol. 159a (Courtesy Université de Liège)

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

¹¹⁷See for instance item LII ("Maqriziana I/2," 109).

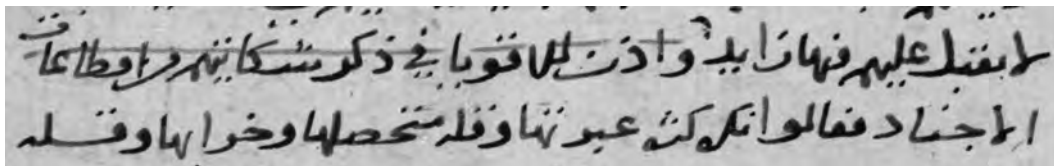
¹¹⁸Paul E. Walker, *Exploring an Islamic Empire: Fatimid History and its Sources* (London and New York, 2002), 222 n. 3.

the script, that he discovered what the word meant and added, in the margin, a gloss preceded by the letter *ḥā* (for *ḥāshiyah*, “gloss”). The text thus reads:

وقصد الذهري [حاشية] الذهري موضعه اليوم من قناطر السباع إلى باب اللوق

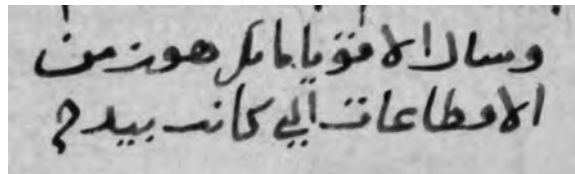
Other instances found in the same summary¹¹⁹ allow us to confirm the meaning of the symbol used together with al-Maqrīzī’s perplexity over several words appearing in this text. Consequently, it can be established that, for al-Maqrīzī, Ibn al-Ma’mūn’s *History* represented a difficult source, due to the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

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



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

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



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

The whole can be illustrated thus:

لا يقبل عليهم فيها زائد ↔ وأذن للأقباط في ذكر شكائهم من إقطاعات الأجناد

¹¹⁹See next section.

وسأل الأفوياء ما يكرهون من الإقطاعات التي كانت بيد صح.

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

In other circumstances, we already noted that al-Maqrīzī was able to get the most out of his source, paraphrasing, for example, a sentence of 50 words in just 15.¹²⁰ In each case, it has been established that this takes place during the reading of the source. Owing to the psychological conditions attendant to the copying process referred to earlier, it can be said that he could not read more than a limited number of words in order to be able to paraphrase or to quote, hence the modifications intervening in the margins or directly in the text.

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

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

¹²⁰See above, p. 14.

¹²¹No. 21 of LVI.

when he did not quote its title or author, and the evidence provided by his books.¹²² This procedure has revealed al-Maqrīzī's extraordinary capacity to extract the fundamental data and to combine it in a concise and well-constructed manner. But it has its pitfalls, in particular when the source cannot be identified with certainty. Thanks to the notebook and taking into consideration the autograph drafts of his works, this method of analysis can be refined in the best circumstances: in many cases, several versions can now be compared for a given source, whether or not it is extant. In the next section, for instance, a synoptical analysis of four versions of the same text is given, from the résumé up to the last version in the fair copy. It is thus possible to follow the evolution of al-Maqrīzī's intellectual activity from the very beginning up to the end of the process. Such analyses will not be detailed here for reasons of space:¹²³ only selected short instances will be dealt with.

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

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

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

¹²²See, more particularly, Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography*, 76–80; Reuven Amitai, “Al-Maqrīzī as a Historian of the Early Mamluk Sultanate (or: Is al-Maqrīzī an Unrecognized Historiographical Villain?),” *MSR* 7, no. 2 (2003): 99–118; Sami G. Massoud, “Al-Maqrīzī as a Historian of the Reign of Barqūq,” *ibid.*, 119–36.

¹²³See the following forthcoming studies: “Maqriziana V: Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam et al-Maqrizī,” where the use of a source composed of *akhbār* and hadiths is studied; “Maqriziana VII: Al-Maqrizī and the Yāsa: New Evidence of His Intellectual Dishonesty,” where the problem of the interpretation and the deliberate modification of the source are detailed; “Maqriziana XI: al-Maqrizī et al-Ṣafadī: Analyse de la (re)construction d’un récit biographique,” where the analysis of the reworking of data found in a source is scrutinized through three of al-Maqrizī's works.

المقريزي (مخ. لياج، 183).
 إبراهيم بن عبد الرحمن بن علي بن عبد العزيز بن علي بن قريش بن علي بن محمد بن أحمد بن سلامة بن الحسن بن سليمان بن خالد بن الوليد أبو إسحاق القرشي المخزومي المصري الكاتب شرف الدين أحد الكتاب المجيدين خطا وإنشاء خدم في دولتي العادل والكمال وسمع الحديث بمكة ومصر وحدث وولد بالقاهرة مستهل ذي القعدة سنة اثنتين وسبعين وخمسمائة وقرأ القرآن وحفظ قطعة من المذهب واشتغل بالأدب وكتب بخطه ما يزيد على أربعمئة مجلد وتوفي في الخامس والعشرين من جمادى الأولى سنة ثلاث وأربعين وستمئة.

المقريزي، الخطط.¹²⁴
 إبراهيم بن عبد الرحمن بن علي بن عبد العزيز بن علي بن قريش أبو إسحاق القرشي المخزومي المصري الكاتب شرف الدين أحد الكتاب المجيدين خطا وإنشاء خدم في دولة الملك أبي بكر بن أيوب وفي دولة ابنه الملك الكامل محمد بديوان الإنشاء وسمع الحديث بمكة ومصر وحدث وكانت ولادته بالقاهرة في أول يوم ذي القعدة سنة اثنتين وسبعين وخمسمائة وقرأ القرآن وحفظ كثيرا من كتاب المذهب في الفقه على مذهب الإمام الشافعي ويرع في الأدب وكتب بخطه ما يزيد على أربعمئة مجلد ومات في الخامس والعشرين من جمادى الأولى سنة ثلاث وأربعين وستمئة.

The comparison reveals, at first sight, that the text found in the notebook, though we do not know whether it is a paraphrase, a summary, or a quotation, already contained all the material al-Maqrīzī deemed necessary. Apart from several names of the subject's ancestors, the reworked version does not lack any of the information. Instead, it contains various additions which are all al-Maqrīzī's. These added parts do not provide anything new, but rather sum up the exact meaning of the text or place the data in context, and in certain cases reveal al-Maqrīzī's interpretation. A hint that al-Maqrīzī is probably paraphrasing some parts may be inferred by the grammatical mistake he made in the notebook regarding the two rulers under whose reigns the subject served. Whereas the notebook displays a *muḍāf* followed by two *muḍāf ilayhi* (*dawlatay al-ʿĀdil wa-al-Kāmil*), the text in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* has been corrected according to the correct grammatical rule. The names of the rulers have also been clarified as the data is out of context. On the other hand, the addition regarding the fact that the biographee worked in the state chancery (*dīwān al-inshāʿ*) is redundant due to the mention of his office (*kātib*) and his mastery of writing (script and composition). The modification affecting his date of birth, as well as the verb used to indicate his death, were also unnecessary and might reflect al-Maqrīzī's desire to modify slightly the phrasing of the source, although the reason which caused him to do so remains unknown. As for the book the subject memorized (*Al-Muḥadhdhab*), al-Maqrīzī felt the addition was necessary, though anyone knowledgeable understood which book was referred to here. The last two differences are dependent on al-Maqrīzī's interpretation. His personal knowledge, reinforced by other readings for instance, could be invoked to explain why the piece (*qitʿah*) became a lot (*kathīran*), but the rather neutral *ishtaḡala bi-al-adab* changed into a more biased *baraʿa fī al-adab* could be the result of his own understanding of the text or of his wish to embellish the subject's

¹²⁴Būlāq ed., 2:93; Sayyid ed., 3:309.

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

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

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

WORKING WITH NOTE-CARDS

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

¹²⁵See "Maqriziana I/2," 93–94.

¹²⁶See above, p. 25.

¹²⁷W. K. Prentice, "How Thucydides Wrote His History," *Classical Philology* 25 (1930): 125, quoted by Dorandi, *Le Stylet*, 6.

them and copying the final version on papyrus rolls. Since then, classicists have moderated Prentice's views and generally consider that if note-cards were used, it was only in the first stage of the work: for the taking of notes, for excerpts, or for occasional additions to the final text.¹²⁸ As can be deduced, the problem resides in the transfer, the addition of data to a written text, and implicitly has to deal with the organization of the material. It is indeed quite difficult to move or to add information in a manuscript, be it a roll made of sheets pasted one to the other or a codex made of quires. If one is working, say, on a biographical dictionary alphabetically organized, he should ideally write each entry as an independent unit, so that it will be possible for him to move it according to the evolution of the work and the discovery of new material. Additional data pertaining to a biography could be added in the margins, if limited, or on a slip of paper inserted between two sheets with a cipher indicating where this addition must find its place. Once the author considers his work completed, a fair copy is produced. The note-card can thus be just a slip, a sheet, or even a quire, but the common feature is that it can be moved without requiring rewriting.

What about Islamic authors? Fortunately, the indirect tradition provides more examples than classicists could hope for. Some of them had already been collected by Rosenthal as early as 1947,¹²⁹ who showed that the terminology still remains to be investigated, according to the period and probably the area of origin of an author, as various terms are referred to in this study with the meaning of "notes." Indeed, a clear distinction must be made between the notes which resulted from the reading and summarizing activity of a scholar and the note-cards which are already the result of his composing activity. The first represents the raw material which he will perhaps reuse, while the latter corresponds to a later stage, being preliminary to final redaction. The quotation of Ibn Ṭāwūs' description of his personal working method, though precise,¹³⁰ provides another testimony to the use of note-cards. While the ones meant to keep his personal ideas are referred to as *ruqay'āt* (slips of paper), the others containing the quotations from the secondary literature are defined as *qā'imah/qawā'im* (individual sheets of paper) which could be reorganized according to the scheme of the work. On the basis of these indirect witnesses, it can be ascertained that note-cards were one of the various techniques used by Muslim authors to compose their books. If the indirect tradition had long ago provided convincing evidence of the use of note-cards, there was still a lack of examples of the direct tradition. Once again, the unusual collection of direct witnesses of al-Maqrīzī's authorial activity helps to fill

¹²⁸Ibid., 25.

¹²⁹Rosenthal, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship*, 6 ff.

¹³⁰See above, p. 5.

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

¹³¹Witkam, "Les Autographes," 94.

¹³²See Sayyid, "Remarques sur la composition des *Ḥiṭat* de Maqrīzī."

¹³³Item XXXVIII must have played the same role, but unfortunately one stage of the process (summary) is missing now.

كتاب السجى في حوادث سنة ٣٩٦
 و هو ما سدر جوده الا وقد على ما بحره كل عام يعطيل
 الى سواق و خروج المشركين الى جامع القام و يروا له محزون
 ما تروح و المشيد لم جمع بعد هذا اليوم فالله انضاه عند العزيم
 لراى سيار المشرك الذي يسير بالمشرك و النوح
 و كان له لا يلو هو الاله من احد من من اذا وقف على ما هو مشرك
 ولا يود و نهر و المشركوا ما تروح و المشركين ايراد ذلك
 فعليه بالحق اجمع بعد ذلك طافه منى و هو ان اجمع العسوف
 بعد الصلاة و المشرك و او حوصوا على ان ربح كما يحرم و سبوا
 بيلف بعضه بياره و نون عليه فذا حرام و سب على
 و الله على الله و الله على الله عليه فاصح الدعاء و العود و المشرك
 و سب و السلف و قدم الله على الله انما حريه محنته

MS 2232, fol. 145v (Courtesy Université de Liège)

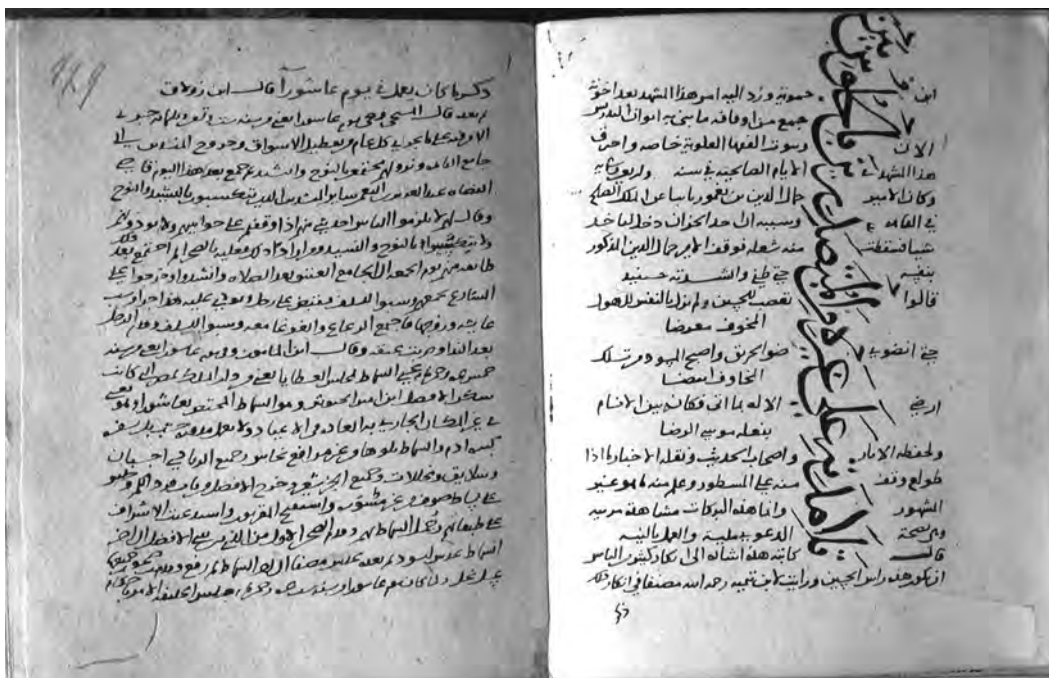
Originally, fol. 145 (items LXIV–LXV) was a loose piece of paper which had been attached to the notebook by a narrow strip of paper by a later owner. It consists of two quotations from Fatimid sources, each one lying on one side of the leaf: al-Musabbiḥī on the recto and Ibn al-Maʿmūn on the verso.¹³⁴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

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

¹³⁴Actually, this piece of paper is bound on the wrong side given that al-Musabbiḥī’s quotation pertains to the year 396 while Ibn al-Maʿmūn’s deals with the year 512 (to be corrected to 513).

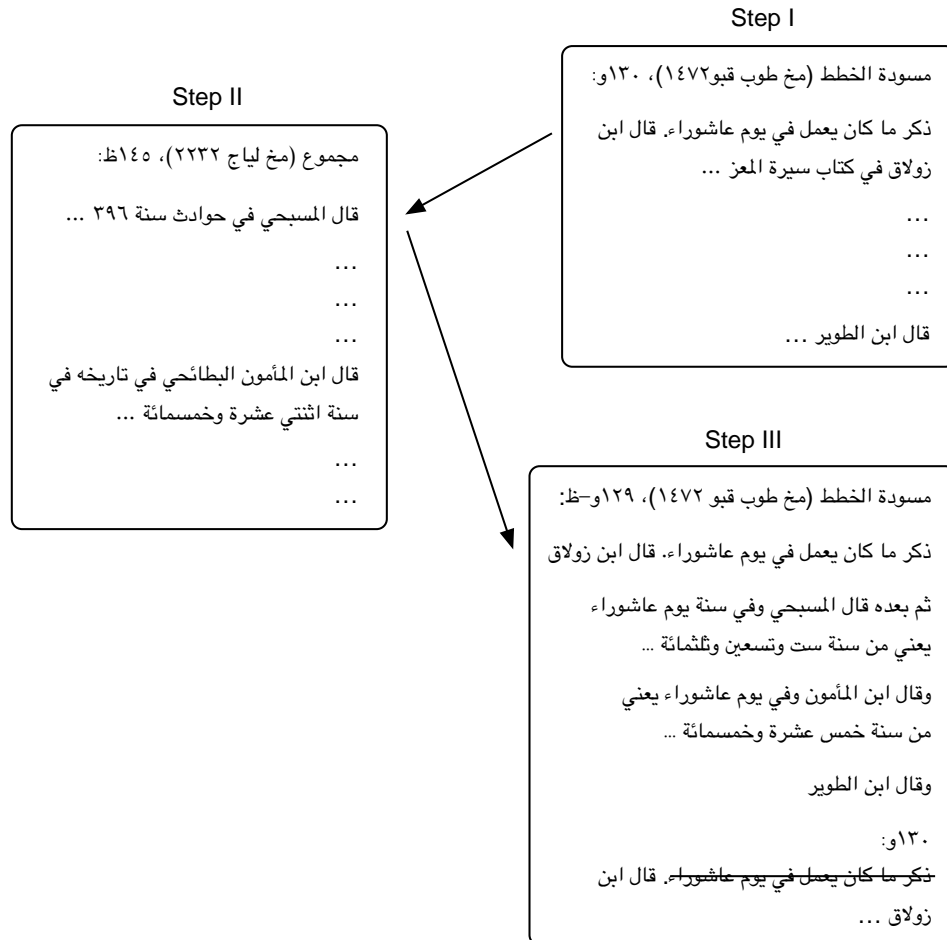


MS 1472, fols. 129v-130r (Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi)



MS 1472, fols. 128v-129r (Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi)

Turning to the immediately preceding folio (129r), one notices that it starts with the same title crossed out on fol. 130r and, even more strikingly, the title is followed by the introductory words of the first quotation found on fol. 130r (*qāla Ibn Zūlāq*), although the quotation is not found on fol. 129r. Instead, one reads “*thumma ba‘dahu qāla al-Musabbihī.*” From this, it can be inferred that al-Maqrīzī wanted the text written on fol. 129 to be inserted after the quotation from Ibn Zūlāq found on fol. 130r. This is confirmed by the words added at the end of fol. 129v: “*wa-qāla Ibn al-Ṭuwayr,*” after which there follows a blank representing one third of the folio. Here again, al-Maqrīzī clearly indicated that, after this addition contained in fol. 129, the text had to proceed with the next quotation on fol. 130r, just after Ibn Zūlāq’s text. In summary, the various steps may be represented in the following scheme.



First, al-Maqrīzī wrote a section dealing with the events that took place on the occasion of the feast of *‘āshūrā* during the Fatimid period. At that time, he only had access to two sources which addressed this event: Ibn Zūlāq and Ibn al-Ṭuwayr. Later on, he gained access to two other sources (al-Musabbiḥī and Ibn al-Maʿmūn), from which he made resumés¹³⁵ and, a second time, a note-card for this particular subject. The note-card was not inserted in the draft already prepared, although the additional text was meant to be inserted between the texts of Ibn Zūlāq and Ibn al-Ṭuwayr. Indeed, the chronological order had to be observed and, while Ibn Zūlāq spoke of an event that took place in 363, al-Musabbiḥī and Ibn al-Maʿmūn’s texts dealt with the same event that happened later, but before Ibn al-Ṭuwayr’s quotation. Instead of rewriting the whole quire, which represented a waste of time and paper, he preferred to add a leaf to the quire and indicate where the text had to be placed in the fair copy. He could not indicate it better than by cancelling the original title and rewriting it at the beginning of the additional text leaf. The question remains why al-Maqrīzī did not simply paste the note-card between fols. 128 and 130, as he did in many cases in several of his works. The answer is provided by the comparison of the text of the note-card with fol. 129 in the draft of *Al-Khiṭaṭ*: it reveals that both texts are identical, save some irrelevant discrepancies. However, this time, all the quotations follow each other, without physical separation. And more importantly, there is one additional quotation from Ibn al-Maʿmūn’s *Tārīkh*, regarding the year 517, which was placed at the end of fol. 129v, before shifting to Ibn al-Ṭuwayr’s text: it indicates that another note-card made for the same purpose existed and was copied here. Al-Maqrīzī probably felt uncomfortable pasting two note-cards in the same place, fearing that both could inadvertently be taken off or worked loose during the manipulation of the draft. Copying them anew seemed less risky to him. It is clear that al-Maqrīzī definitely worked with note-cards with the purpose of adding material to his books in embryo or already at an advanced stage and that he could organize them, in this particular case, according to chronological criteria.

There is more to say. We have come to the conclusion that the résumé of Ibn al-Maʿmūn’s *Tārīkh* (no. XVIII) in the notebook could be dated through a *terminus post quem* to after 831.¹³⁶ On this basis, the note-card, and consequently fol. 129 in the draft of *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, must have been copied after that date. Thanks to this dating, it is now possible to postulate that a fair copy of that work was not produced before 831!

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

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

¹³⁶See above, p. 23.

unfortunately lost, but no less than four different versions of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's two quotations have been preserved as shown by the following collation.¹³⁷ It offers a unique opportunity to scrutinize al-Maqrizī at work in different circumstances: summarizing and excerpting in the notebook; quoting in the draft and the final version of his book. It will bring us closer to his uncertainties, his misunderstandings, his misapprehensions, and sometimes his ignorance. The analysis will also highlight some of the deficiencies of ecodotics nowadays.

المقريري، مختار من سيرة المأمون البطاحي (مخ. لياج، ١٥٨ب-١٥٩).
 المقريري، رقيعة (مخ. لياج، ١٤٥).
 ... سنة ٥١٣ ...
 ... في سنة <ثنتي عشرة وخمسة> ...
 وفي يوم عاشوراء عبئ السمات بمجلس العطايا
 وهو السمات المختص بيوم عاشوراء ويعبأ بغير
 المكان الجاري به العادة في الأعياد ولا يعمل مدورة خشب بل سفرة كبيرة
 أدم والسمات تلوها بغير مرافع نحاس وجميع الزبادي أجبان وسلانق¹³⁸
 ومخللات وجميع الخبز شعير وخرج الأفضل من باب فرد الكم فجلس
 على بساط صوف من غير مسورة¹³⁹ واستفتح المقرئون واستدعيت
 الأشراف على طبقاتهم فجمل بهم السمات وقدم الصحن الأول من الذي
 بين يدي الأفضل إلى آخر السمات عدس أسود ثم بعده عدس مصفى¹⁴⁰ إلى
 آخر السمات ثم رفع وقدمت صحن جميعها عسل نحل.

¹³⁷For the sake of space, only the first of these is studied here.

¹³⁸Al-Maqrizī put a symbol over the word that looks like a ك [i.e., *kadhā?*, sic], indicating that it required an explanation of its meaning.

¹³⁹Same remark as above.

¹⁴⁰Written مصفا.

المقريزي، مسودة الخطط (مخ. طوب قبو سراي ١٤٧٢، ١١٢٩). وقال ابن المأمون: وفي يوم عاشوراء يعني من سنة خمس عشرة وخمسمائة عبي السماط بمجلس العطايا يعني من دار الملك بمصر التي كانت سكن الأفضل بن أمير الجيوش وهو السماط المختص بعاشوراء وهو يعياً في غير المكان الجاري به العادة في الأعياد ولا يعمل مدورة خشب بل سفرة كبيرة أدم والسماط تلوها¹⁴¹ من غير مراغ نحاس وجميع الزبادي أجبان وسلانق ومخللات وجميع الخبز شعير وخرج الأفضل من باب فرد الكم وجلس على بساط صوف من غير مسورة¹⁴² واستفتح المقرنون واستدعيت الأشراف على طبقاتهم وحُمل¹⁴³ السماط بهم¹⁴⁴ وقدم الصحن الأول من الذي بين يدي الأفضل إلى آخر السماط عدس أسود ثم بعده عدس مصفى إلى آخر السماط ثم رفع وقدمت صحن جميعها¹⁴⁵ عسل نحل.

المقريزي، الخطط (تحقيق أ. ف. سيد)، ٤١٩:٢.¹⁴⁶ وقال ابن المأمون: وفي يوم عاشوراء يعني من سنة خمس عشرة وخمسمائة عبي السماط بمجلس العطايا من دار الملك بمصر التي كان يسكنها الأفضل بن أمير الجيوش وهو السماط المختص بعاشوراء وهو يعياً في غير المكان الجاري به العادة في الأعياد ولا يعمل مدورة خشب بل سفرة كبيرة من أدم والسماط يطؤها من غير مراغ نحاس وجميع الزبادي أجبان وسلانق ومخللات وجميع الخبز من شعير وخرج الأفضل من باب فرد الكم وجلس على بساط صوف من غير مسورة¹⁴⁷ واستفتح المقرنون واستدعيت الأشراف على طبقاتهم وحمل السماط لهم وقد عمل في الصحن الأول الذي بين يدي الأفضل إلى آخر السماط عدس أسود ثم بعده عدس مصفى إلى آخر السماط ثم رفع وقدمت صحن جميعها عسل نحل.

As stated earlier, the first quotation of Ibn al-Ma'mūn on the note-card was selected by al-Maqrizī in the summary he prepared of this source. At a later stage, the text of the note-card was transferred into the draft of the *Khitaṭ* and later on to the fair copy which was produced on this basis. The quotation deals with the events that took place during the feast of 'āshūrā' during the second decade of the sixth/twelfth century. According to Ibn al-Ma'mūn, on that day, a tablecloth (*simāt*), reserved for that purpose only, was laid in the council of the gifts (*majlis al-ṭāyā*).¹⁴⁸ He then proceeds to give details on the characteristics of this tablecloth, the dishes, and the etiquette followed on this occasion. The source being lost, it is obviously difficult to say whether al-Maqrizī paraphrased the original text or not. The general impression is that he was summarizing without significantly modifying the source. A confirmation of this may be seen in the fact that the text is very descriptive and that al-Maqrizī did not omit words he clearly did not understand. Two instances occur in the text. In both cases,

¹⁴¹Not يعلها as in al-Maqrizī, *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa-al-Itibār*, 316.

¹⁴²Not مشورة as in ibid. Over the word, al-Maqrizī put a ك as in the resumé, indicating his perplexity towards this word and the necessity to explain it. See note 138 and p. 36 above.

¹⁴³Not وحمل as in ibid.

¹⁴⁴Not لهم as in ibid.

¹⁴⁵جميعها is lacking in ibid.

¹⁴⁶Būlāq ed., 1:431 = Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī, *Nuṣūṣ min Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (Cairo, 1983), 15. The discrepancies between the Būlāq edition and Ibn al-Ma'mūn's text with Sayyid's edition of the *Khitaṭ* are not indicated here.

¹⁴⁷The editor added a footnote on the basis of a marginal note found by the copyist in al-Maqrizī's handwriting: المسور والمسورة بكسر الميم متكا من أدم وهي التي يقال لها في زمننا المدورة.

¹⁴⁸On this council, instituted by the vizier al-Afḍal, see al-Maqrizī, *Al-Khitaṭ* (Būlāq ed., 1:483 = Sayyid ed., 2:573–74).

al-Maqrīzī wrote the words as he read them, but indicated, through a symbol (*kāf?* for *kadhā?*), his perplexity and the need to provide an explanation of both terms, something he was able to do at a later stage, as we shall see. A collation of the summarized text with the excerpt found on the note-card reveals several discrepancies. First of all, the handwriting is noticeably different in the sense that the note-card is the result of haste: it appears as if al-Maqrīzī is just copying the text in a hurry and that is understandable as he is preparing a note-card. It is clearly visible in the less numerous diacritics and also in the modification he brings to the text while reading and writing it: while the summary gave *bi-ghayr* (l. 3), he changed it to *fī ghayr* directly after he wrote the words in accordance with the source, deleting them with a stroke.¹⁴⁹ On the other hand, his haste might be the reason why he made a mistake in copying the date. In the summary, the date was indicated in ciphers, while on the note-card, he wrote it in letters. But instead of 513, he wrote 512. Another interesting feature lies in the exegesis supplied in the note-card. The quotation, taken out of context, required some explanation. The council of the gifts, which was mentioned and explained in the summary under the year 512 (fol. 158r),¹⁵⁰ now lacked clarity and al-Maqrīzī added the required data just after its mention (*yaʿnī min dār al-afḍal ibn amīr al-juyūsh*). More interestingly, one of the two terms al-Maqrīzī marked as requiring further clarification is missing completely in the note-card (*min ghayr miswarah*). Did he feel that he could not find the meaning and thus preferred to skip over it? In any case, he reconsidered his decision later on, given that it appears in the draft. Moving to the draft version, the changes made to the summary in the note-card all remain untouched. Nonetheless, other differences emerge: the date, mistaken in the note-card, here became 515 and this is the version to which al-Maqrīzī ultimately adhered since it is the one that is provided in the final version. The basis on which this modification in the dating was made is unclear, since the summary, presumably made on the basis of the source, indicates the year 513. If he changed it to the year 515, this means that he found a corroborative indication of this in another source. This happened between the time when he produced the note-card and when he inserted it in the draft. As for the portion he skipped in the note-card (*min ghayr miswarah*), it surfaces here again with the typical symbol¹⁵¹ and a vowel.¹⁵² Al-Maqrīzī thus returned to the summary and did not just copy the text of the note-card in this particular case. He probably remembered that he

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

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

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

¹⁵²*Fathah* on the *wāw* thus implying that the word had to be read *miswarah*.

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

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

¹⁵³The text adds: "without brass stands" (*bi-ghayr/min ghayr marāfi' nuḥās*), i.e., the dining table, with the tablecloth upon it, was laid on the ground.

¹⁵⁴The place of the *ḍammah* is unquestionable and can not be considered as being over the *mīm*, in which case the translation would have been: "and the tablecloth befitted them."

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

REFERRING TO THE NOTEBOOK?

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

The first one has been known since 1797, when the treatise on numismatics (*Shudhūr al-‘Uqūd*) was published for the first time.¹⁵⁵ In this opusculum composed at the request of Sultan al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh, after 818/1415,¹⁵⁶ al-Maqrizī, while dealing with an aspect of metrology, added a very personal statement: *wa-qad dhakartu ṭuruq hādihā al-ḥadith wa-al-kalām ‘alayhi fī majāmī‘i* (“I mentioned the ways of transmission of this tradition and the discussion of it in my miscellanies”). De Sacy thought, on the sole basis of this statement, that those miscellanies

¹⁵⁵ Antoine I. Silvestre de Sacy, *Traité des monnoies musulmanes* (Paris, 1797); *Historia monetæ Arabicæ*, ed. and trans O. G. Tychsen (Rostock, 1797).

¹⁵⁶ The author mentions the *dirham mu’ayyadī* that appeared during that year. See Daniel Eustache, “Études de numismatique et de métrologie musulmanes II,” *Hespéris Tamuda* 10 (1969): 132 (trans.) and 133 (Ar. text); John L. Meloy, “The Merits of Economic History: Re-Reading al-Maqrizī’s *Ighāthah* and *Shudhūr*,” *MSR* 7, no. 2 (2003): 197.

contained legal judgements.¹⁵⁷ He was followed in his interpretation by Eustache,¹⁵⁸ who went further, conjecturing that al-Maqrīzī collected in these volumes the quotations of the traditions dealing with matters he treated in his writings. He consequently could skip quoting some of these traditions in his opusculum, arguing that they were all available in those miscellanies. Eustache was not far from having solved the problem. The *majāmīʿ* are undoubtedly to be identified with the notebooks where al-Maqrīzī summarized numerous sources he utilized in his writings. As already emphasized,¹⁵⁹ the *codex leodiensis* contains a résumé of Wakīʿs *Kitāb al-Danānīr wa-al-Darāhim*. On fol. 155r, the traditions quoted by al-Maqrīzī in his treaty can be read and the temptation to link the reference to the notebooks with this passage is great. However, the chains of transmitters are not provided in the résumé and, of course, no discussion of the question takes place, as it is not a personal work. Thus, the reference is obviously to another notebook. Yet it demonstrates that the notebooks were referred to as “miscellanies” by al-Maqrīzī and that they not only contained resumé, but also personal statements on certain matters.

The second reference also confirms the mnemonic function of the notebooks. At the end of the first volume of *Al-Sulūk*,¹⁶⁰ al-Maqrīzī jotted down some preparatory notes. On fol. 261r, he relates a story about ‘Alī’s grandson through Ḥusayn, named ‘Alī, and the poem al-Farazdaq composed on that occasion. The first verse is quoted by al-Maqrīzī, who added just after it: *al-abyāt wa-‘iddatuhā thamāniyah wa-‘ishrūn bayt qad dhakartuhā fī majāmīʿī* (“the number of verses is twenty-eight which I mentioned in my miscellanies”). This example further establishes that the notebook contained resumé based on his reading, to which he referred in his personal notes. In this case, the story found at the end of the first volume of *Al-Sulūk* was read by al-Maqrīzī in a given source. He noted the story, but remembered that he had already taken note of al-Farazdaq’s poetry on another occasion. It is likely that al-Maqrīzī had read the poetry in a different source, possibly out of context, and that he was satisfied with indicating the first verse only and referring to his notebooks for further reading.

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

¹⁵⁷Silvestre de Sacy, *Traité des monnoies musulmanes*, 11 n. 16.

¹⁵⁸Eustache, “Études de numismatique et de métrologie musulmanes II,” 152 n. 42.

¹⁵⁹“Maqriziana I/2,” 58–60.

¹⁶⁰Istanbul MS Yeni Cami 887.

he borrowed my personal notebooks (*majāmī*).¹⁶¹ When he died, my eyes fell on what he had written about the story of Tīmūrlank the Tyrant, and lo there he had copied a section on Tīmūr's seizing of Ḥalab that I had written in which I said: 'A trustworthy witness informed me that he saw . . .' He copied as he saw: 'A trustworthy witness informed me . . .,' making the reader believe that he was the author of this section. By God! He did not find this section except in my handwriting."¹⁶² Besides the anecdotal side of this report, which has to deal with the concept of intellectual property and the question of plagiarism,¹⁶³ another reference to the notebooks is clearly made: they even could be lent to a colleague who could read them and benefit from them, provided, as al-Maqrīzī suggests, that he indicated his source for that information. It furthermore allows us to conclude that the notebooks also included pieces of personal redaction and that these presumably short pieces were called by al-Maqrīzī himself *juz'* (a section, but more likely a single-quire section).¹⁶⁴

The use of the term *majmū'* as meaning notebook, miscellany of notes, personal or not, is attested in the literature and was even used by al-Maqrīzī, when he spoke of his colleague and friend al-Awḥadī (d. 811/1408): *wa-jama'a majāmī'* ("He compiled notebooks").¹⁶⁵ When describing al-Maqrīzī's activity in the field of history, his biographers had recourse to the same word: *wa-tawalla'a bi-al-tārīkh fa-ḥafīza minhu kathīran wa-jama'a fihi shay'an kathīran wa-ṣannafa fihi kutub ḥasanah mufīdah khuṣūṣan fī tārīkh al-Qāhirah* ("He was passionately fond of history. He memorized a lot of it, compiled a lot in [this field], and composed in it good and useful books, especially regarding the history of Cairo").¹⁶⁶ This quotation is of particular importance, because the word *jama'a* is used in context with the term *ṣannafa*, thus clarifying the meaning of the first: he did not compile a work, but rather notes taken from other sources.

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

¹⁶²Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājīm al-A'yān al-Mufīdah*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī (Beirut, 2002), 1:102:

فمن ذلك أنه كان يستعير مجاميعي التي بخطي فلما مات وفتت على أخبار الطاغية تيمورلنك من خطه فإذا هو قد كتب فصلا في أخذ تيمور لحلب من خطي قد قلت فيه : أخبرني من لا أتهم أنه شاهد، فكتب هو كما رأى أخبرني من لا أتهم فصار يومهم الناظر أنه هو الراوي للجزء ولا والله وقف على ذلك الجزء إلا من خطي.

¹⁶³See, for further investigation, "Maqriziana IX."

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

¹⁶⁵Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad Al-Ya'lawī (Beirut, 1411/1991), 1:513–14.

¹⁶⁶Ibn Fahd al-Hāshimī al-Makkī, *Mu'jam al-Shuyūkh*, 66.

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

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

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

وقد رأيت بخط شيخنا الإمام العلامة المؤرخ الكبير تقي الدين أبي العباس أحمد بن علي بن عبد القادر المقرئ المصري نغمته الله برحمته في بعض تعاليقه ما نصه

“I have read in the hand of our master, the leader, the well-versed scholar, the great historian Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī—may God protect him with his grace—in one of his notebooks (*taʿlīq*) what follows . . .”).

¹⁶⁹Izz al-Dīn ʿAlī, *Arbaʿat Muʿarrikhīn*, 191 (no. 13). It consisted of about eighty volumes, according to Yūsuf Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi wa-al-Mustawfā baʿd al-Wāfi* (Cairo, 1985–2005), 1:419, who, however, did not consider giving more detail about it.

¹⁷⁰Abū al-Fidāʾ Qāsim Ibn Quṭlūbughā al-Sūdūnī, *Tāj al-Tarājim*, ed. Muḥammad Khayr Ramaḍān Yūsuf (Damascus, 1413/1992), 85:

وبعد فيقول العبد الضعيف قاسم بن قطلوبغا الحنفي: لما وقعت على تذكرة شيخنا . . . المقرئ . . . رأيت فيها ما كتبه من تراجم الأئمة الحنفية، فأحببت أن ألحق بكل اسم ما تيسر لي من تراجم من تسمى به منهم على نحو ما قصد من الاقتصار على ذكر من له تصنيف

“Now then, the modest servant [of God], Qāsim ibn Quṭlūbughā al-Ḥanafī said: When I fell on the *Tadhkirah* of our master . . . al-Maqrīzī . . . , I saw in it the biographies of the Hanafite imams he had written and I wanted to add to each name the biographies that I could of those who were named with it [this name], aiming, as he did, to concisely mention those who have composed a book”).

¹⁷¹Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Ar. 1514. It corresponds to the first volume. The end is missing.

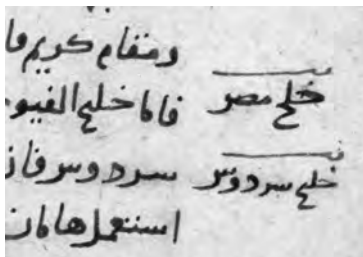
¹⁷²Ibid., fol. 2v.

Maqrīzī's mind, as a memorandum.¹⁷³ Thus, it is impossible that al-Maqrīzī used the term *tadhkirah* for his notebooks.

FINDING HIS WAY IN THE NOTEBOOK?

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

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



MS. 2232, fol. 39v (Courtesy Université de Liège)¹⁷⁵

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

¹⁷³See, for a short analysis, ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Alī, *Arba‘at Mu‘arrikhīn*, 211–13. Cf Ibn al-Athīr’s words, in his introduction to *Al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, 1:5:

فلما رأيت الأمر كذلك شرعت في تأليف تاريخ جامع لأخبار ملوك الشرق والغرب وما بينهما ليكون تذكرة لي أراجعه خوف النسيان.

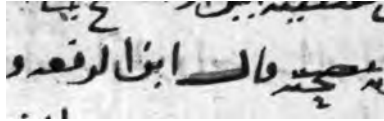
¹⁷⁴No. II: *Talkhiṣ Kitāb Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Akhhārīhā* of Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam.

¹⁷⁵The headlines read: *khuluj Miṣr* and *khalij Sardūs*.

¹⁷⁶Even in this case, the headlines disappear after fol. 54r, although the résumé ends on fol. 81v.

Egyptian chancery (fol. 130b: *من الكتاب في الإنشاء*, in red ink). On the basis of the scarcity of these headings, it can be concluded that headings were not usually used by al-Maqrīzī to orientate himself in the notebook.

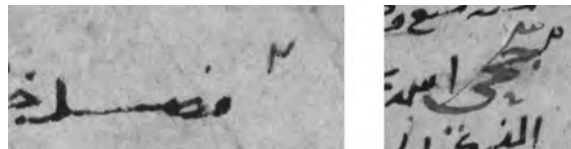
Red ink, without doubt, played a role similar, although less useful, to headings. It is found throughout the notebook in various situations: it is employed for the symbol *ف* put over a given passage or at the beginning of a new sentence. The role of this symbol is to catch the eye and lead it to the starting words of a sentence in the course of a summary covering several pages. In this way, al-Maqrīzī could concentrate on only some points on the page and did not need to read, even quickly, the whole page. Red ink is also featured in keywords, where a stroke, in black ink, is overwritten in red.



MS 2232, fol. 167v (Courtesy Université de Liège)¹⁷⁷

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

All that has been said has to do with the necessity of quickly finding something. Once a particular passage had been found and quoted, al-Maqrīzī had to avoid wasting time in reading, once again, the same passage, and more importantly to avoid repetitions. The best way to know whether he had already used something was to clearly indicate it in the notebook. Throughout the manuscript, usually in the margin, in front of a biography, or over the first word of a passage, a cipher looking like the numerals ۳ or ۲ has been added, indifferently in red or brown ink.



MS 2232, fol. 32v and fol. 122r¹⁷⁸
(Courtesy Université de Liège)

¹⁷⁷In this case, the horizontal stroke of the *lām* has been overwritten in red. The word (*qāla*) represents a break in the text that introduced another discourse, hence the necessity to indicate it with this system.

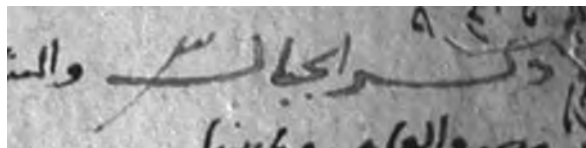
¹⁷⁸In this case, both ciphers have been used.

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



MS 2232, fol. 96v (Courtesy Université de Liège)

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



MS 1472, fol. 13r (Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi)

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



MS 1472, fol. 9r; MS 1405, fol. 21r; MS 1405, fol. 111r;¹⁷⁹
and MS 1405, fol. 104v

(Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi)

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

¹⁷⁹In this example, the greatest part of the cipher disappeared due to the trimming.

In an article published in 1986, Geoffrey Khan studied a copy of a decree dated to the Fatimid period.¹⁸⁰ This document is of particular importance given that it is not the original which was released to the beneficiary, but the copy that was filed in one of the registers held in the archives. One of the most interesting features of this document lies in the mark that crosses the whole text on the first page. This mark looks like a big three in Arabic¹⁸¹ and it tallies exactly with the cipher used by al-Maqrīzī in his notebook and his drafts, confirming that this could not be a *sīn*. Instead, it clearly stands for the word *nuqīla* (“it has been transcribed”).¹⁸² It is no surprise to see that al-Maqrīzī utilized a mark for which evidence is found on archival material. Part of his official career took place in the chancery, where he was employed for several years.¹⁸³ Consequently, he was knowledgeable in all the nuances of this practice. On the other hand, the fact that this mark was still in use in the Mamluk period demonstrates the durability of the conventions of the chancery bureaux. While this cipher worked as a check mark in al-Maqrīzī’s notebook, indicating that a passage had been transcribed in one of his works, it meant, when used in his drafts, that a passage had been recopied in the new, either intermediary or final, version. As for the other mark, which looks like the Arabic numeral for 2, it is unlikely that it corresponds to a more cursive form of the preceding mark, because it is sometimes used together with the latter.¹⁸⁴ It could be interpreted as an indication that al-Maqrīzī had to quote the passage characterized in that way; hence the sporadic presence of an *ilá*, at the end of the text, and of the check mark as indicated above. If such was the case, this system

¹⁸⁰Geoffrey Khan, “A Copy of a Decree from the Archives of the Fāṭimid Chancery in Egypt,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 49 (1986): 439–53.

¹⁸¹See the reproduction in *ibid.*

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

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

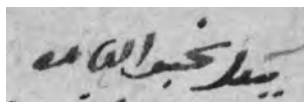
¹⁸⁴See the instance given for fol. 122r above (it is in brown ink while the mark for *nuqīla* stands in red ink).

did not indicate precisely where the quotation had to be transcribed. In some cases, al-Maqrizī must have been aware of the place where he wished to use a given text, but this was probably not generally true. Evidence of this is provided by the existence of unambiguous references to the need to copy some parts in his books in embryo. At least two such references are found in the notebook. The first (fol. 122r)¹⁸⁵ was placed at the end of a biography and reads: *yudhkar fī Kḥiṭat Miṣr* (“let it be mentioned¹⁸⁶ in the topography of Egypt”).



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

The data is indeed found in *Al-Kḥiṭat*¹⁸⁷ and the cipher (*nuqila*) is to show that the data had already been transferred, thus confirming its function. The second example (fol. 156v) shows that the indication could be quite elusive. The phrase must be deciphered as: *yunqal bi-khabar al-Qāhirah* (“let it be transcribed with the story of Cairo”).



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

Given that the text deals with several historical facts spanning a period of thirty years, the passage could not logically have found its way *en bloc* into one of al-Maqrizī’s books. The mention of Cairo might be misleading, since one might expect to read this information in *Al-Kḥiṭat*. Instead, it ended up in the history of Egypt under the Fatimid dynasty (*Itti’āz al-Ḥunafā’*).¹⁸⁸ In this case, however, al-Maqrizī did not use the check mark, showing that the system was not routine. On the other hand, the verb used by al-Maqrizī in this example corroborates the decipherment of the check mark (*nuqila*). In the end, all the systems dealt with in this section validate, once again, the identification of the *codex leodiensis* as a notebook.

CONCLUSION

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

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

¹⁸⁷Būlāq ed., 2:85 = Sayyid ed., 3:282. See also “Maqriziana I/2,” 108.

¹⁸⁸See “Maqriziana I/2,” 127.

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

This study has allowed us to establish that:

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

- al-Maqrīzī's notebooks were referred to by him as *majāmi'* (miscellanies);
- in order to find his way in the notebook, al-Maqrīzī utilized a series of techniques, one of which was characteristic of chancery practice.

APPENDIX I: AL-MAQRĪZĪ'S AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPTS

No.	CITY	LIBRARY	SHELF-MARK	TITLE	NO. OF LVS. ¹⁸⁹
1	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Aya Sofya 3362	"Al-Khabar 'an al-Bashar" (vol. 1)	245 (2)
2	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Fatih 4338	"Al-Khabar 'an al-Bashar" (vol. 3, dated 844)	254 (0)
3	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Fatih 4339	"Al-Khabar 'an al-Bashar" (vol. 4)	163 (0)
4	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Fatih 4340	"Al-Khabar 'an al-Bashar" (vol. 5)	265 (15)
5	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Fatih 4341	"Al-Khabar 'an al-Bashar" (vol. 6)	276 (0)
6	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Şehit Ali P. 1847	"İmtā' al-Asmā' bi-mā lil-Rasūl . . . (vol. 1)	211 (2)
7	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Yeni Cami 887	"Al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk" (vol. 1)	257 (0)
8	Istanbul	Murat Molla Kütüphanesi	569	"Mukhtaşar al-Kāmil li-Ibn 'Adī" (dated 795)	215 (0)
9	Istanbul	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	Ahmet III, Hazine 1472	"Musawwadat al-Mawā'iz wa-al-I'tibār" (vol. 1)	179 (158)
10	Istanbul	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	Ahmet III, Emanet Hazinesi 1405	"Musawwadat al-Mawā'iz wa-al-I'tibār" (vol. 2)	182 (177)
11	Leiden	Universiteitsbibliotheek	Or. 1366/a	"Al-Muqaffā"	226 (9)
12	Leiden	Universiteitsbibliotheek	Or. 1366/b	"Al-Muqaffā"	287 (5)
13	Leiden	Universiteitsbibliotheek	Or. 3075	"Al-Muqaffā"	252 (12)
14	Leiden	Universiteitsbibliotheek	Or. 14533	"Al-Muqaffā"	550 (25)
15	Leiden	Universiteitsbibliotheek	Or. 560	"Majmū'ah" (opuscles) ¹⁹⁰ (dated 841–42)	214 (0)

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

¹⁹⁰ Mostly the work of a copyist hired by al-Maqrīzī, it nonetheless contains autograph additions and corrections. Fols. 1–14, 29–30, and 204–14 are completely in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting.

16	Gotha	Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek	Ar. 1771	“Durar al-‘Uqūd al-Farīdah”	185 (3)
17	Gotha	Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek	Ar. 1652	“Itti‘āz al-Ḥunafā”	58 (0)
18	Paris	Bibliothèque nationale	Ar. 1688	“Al-Muntaqá min Akhbār Miṣr li-Ibn Muyassar” ¹⁹¹ (dated 814)	94 (0)
19	Paris	Bibliothèque nationale	Ar. 2144	“Al-Muqaffá”	260 (14)
20	Alexandria	Bibliotheca Alexandrina ¹⁹²	<i>Tārīkh</i> 2125/d	Notebook	52 (0)
21	Damascus	Maktabat al-Asad	4805	“Dhikr Binā’ al-Ka‘bah al-Bayt al-Ḥarām” + various notes	78 (2)
22	Hyderabad	Oriental Manuscripts Library and Research Institute	937	“Mukhtaṣar Qiyām al-Layl wa-Qiyām Ramaḍān wa-Kitāb al-Witr lil-Marwazī” (dated 807)	??? (?)
23	Liège	Bibliothèque universitaire	2232	Notebook	209 (85)
	Total		23 MSS		4714 (509)

¹⁹¹ The manuscript is not, strictly speaking, an autograph, but a copy of the autograph which was dated 814. However, it remains useful as it faithfully mirrors the result of al-Maqrizī’s summarizing activity.

¹⁹² Previously in al-Maktabah al-Baladiyah, Alexandria. See ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Alī, *Arba‘at Mu’arrikhūn*, 214 (no. 39), who was the first to mention it.

APPENDIX II: AL-MAQRĪZĪ'S NOTES OF CONSULTATION ON MANUSCRIPTS

CITY	LIBRARY	SHELF-MARK	AUTHOR	TITLE	DATE
Cairo	Dār al-Kutub	Muṣṭalaḥ ḥadīth 94	Ibn 'Adī	"Al-Kāmil lil-Ḍu'afā'"	[795] ¹⁹³
Cairo	Dār al-Kutub	Muṣṭalaḥ ḥadīth 95–96	Ibn 'Adī	"Al-Kāmil lil-Ḍu'afā'"	[795] ¹⁹⁴
Manchester	J. Rylands Library	344	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al- 'Umarī	"Masālik al-Abṣār" (vol. 20)	831 ¹⁹⁵
Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofiya 3418, 3428, 3432, 3437	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al- 'Umarī	"Masālik al-Abṣār" (vols. 5, 15, 19, 25)	831 ¹⁹⁶
Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Laleli 1037	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al- 'Umarī	"Masālik al-Abṣār" (vol. 6)	831
Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Yazma bağışlar 1917	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al- 'Umarī	"Masālik al-Abṣār" (vol. 26)	831
London	British Library	Add. 9589	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al- 'Umarī	"Masālik al-Abṣār" (vol. 14)	831
Paris	Bibliothèque nationale	Ar. 2327	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al- 'Umarī	"Masālik al-Abṣār" (vol. 17)	831
Rabat	al-Khizānah al-'Ammah	240-241 qāf	Ibn al-Furāt	"Al-Tārikh" (vol. 5)	818 ¹⁹⁷

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

¹⁹⁴ Five volumes. The note, on two lines (fol. 1a), reads in each volume as follows: استفاد منه داعيا لملكه: أحمد بن علي لطفه الله. See *Fihrist al-Makhtūṭāt (al-Ḥadīth)*, 279. For the date, see the preceding note.

¹⁹⁵ Part of the same partial set composed of ten volumes now scattered in various European libraries. The inscription, placed on the title page of each volume, reads: انتقاء داعيا لمعيره أحمد بن علي: المقرئ سنة ٨٣١. See also al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khitāṭ*, Sayyid ed., 1:198 n. 2.

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

¹⁹⁷ Part of the same set now scattered between Vienna, Rabat, and the Vatican (autograph manuscripts of Ibn al-Furāt). See *ibid.*, 1:64 (of the introduction); Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Al-Kitāb al-'Arabī al-Makhtūṭ wa-'Ilm al-Makhtūṭāt* (Cairo, 1997), 2:341, where only the date is provided. The note must be similar to the one found on the volume in the Vatican Library (see next footnote).

Vatican	Biblioteca apostolica vaticana	Ar. 726	Ibn al-Furāt	“Al-Tāriḫ”	818 ¹⁹⁸
Vienna	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	AF 123	Ibn al-Furāt	“Al-Tāriḫ” (vol. 7)	819 ¹⁹⁹
Dublin	Chester Beatty Library	Ar. 3315	Ibn al-Nadīm	“Al-Fihrist” (vol. 1)	824 ²⁰⁰
Cairo	Dār al-Kutub	Tāriḫ 103 mīm	Ibn Sa‘īd	“Al-Mughrib”	803 ²⁰¹
Balaşfūra (Sūhāj)	Private library	--	Ibn Sa‘īd	“Al-Mughrib”	803 ²⁰²
Escorial	Library	534 (fols. 132–289)	al-Musabbiḥi	“Akhbār Mişr” (vol. 40)	807 ²⁰³
Lost?			Ibn al-Khaṭīb	“Al-Iḥāṭah”	808 ²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁸ The note appears on fol. 291b and is almost illegible today: انتقاه داعيا لملكه أحمد بن علي المقريري في شهر ربيع الاول سنة ٨١٨. The month and the date are illegible, but were read, almost a century ago, by Eugenius Tisserant, *Specimina codicum orientalium* (Bonnae, 1914), p. XXXIII, who, however, was unable to read the second and the third words. See also Claude Cahen, “Quelques chroniques anciennes relatives aux derniers Fatimides,” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 37 (1937): 15 n. 6.

¹⁹⁹ On fol. 95b: انتقاه داعيا لملكه احمد بن علي المقريري ففرغ منه في صفر سنة ٨١٩.

²⁰⁰ Part of the same set in two volumes, the second being in Istanbul (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi MS Şehid Ali Paşa 1934). The note, which appears on fol. 1a of volume 1 only, is difficult to read today: انتقاه . . . أحمد بن علي المقريري سنة ٨٢٤. See Muḥammad ibn Işhāq al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, ed. Riḍā Tajaddud (Tehran, 1971), *bā* and pl. 1. The reading given by the editor in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, Sayyid ed., 1:89* (انتقاه منه داعيا لمعيره أحمد بن علي المقريري ٨١٣), is partly erroneous and conjectural given the actual state of this reading note.

²⁰¹ On fol. 132a of vol. 4: استنقاده منه داعيا لملكه أحمد بن علي المقريري سنة ٨٠٣. See ‘Alī ibn Mūsā Ibn Sa‘īd al-Andalusī, *Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulā al-Maghrib: al-Juz’ al-Awwal min al-Qism al-Khāṣṣ bi-Miṣr [al-Ighṭibāt fī Ḥulā Madīnat al-Fuṣṭāṭ]*, ed. Zaki Muḥammad Ḥasan et al. (Cairo, 1953), 59 (of the introduction); and Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography*, 167.

²⁰² Part of the same set as the preceding one (autograph manuscript of Ibn Sa‘īd), same note as above. A microfilm of this manuscript is held at the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah, Cairo (Tāriḫ 103 mīm; see Fu‘ād Sayyid, *Fihrist al-Makhṭūṭāt: Nashrah bi-al-Makhṭūṭāt allatī Iqtanathā al-Dār min Sanah 1936–1955* [Cairo, 1380–83/1961–63], 3:81).

²⁰³ On fol. 132a: استنقاده منه داعيا له أحمد بن علي المقريري في سنة ٨٠٧.

²⁰⁴ The reading note was noticed by al-Maqqarī, during a stay in Cairo, on the autograph copy sent by Ibn al-Khaṭīb. It read: انتقى منه داعيا لمؤلفه أحمد بن علي المقريري في شهر ربيع [كذا] سنة ثمان وثمانمائة. See Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭib min Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Din ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo, 1369/1949), 9:312.