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Maqriziana IX: Should al-Maqrīzī Be Thrown Out with the Bath Water? The Question of His Plagiarism of al-Awḥadī's *Khīṭaṭ* and the Documentary Evidence

INTRODUCTION

One of the most renowned scholars that Islamic civilization has produced, al-Maqrīzī is considered a major historian in his own right and is sometimes compared to the great thinker Ibn Khaldūn, with whom he was associated in the last years of the latter's life. Al-Maqrīzī's views on economics, history, and architecture still stimulate modern research in these fields; his ideas inform the way in which we look at certain questions, especially historiographical ones. His books are among the bestsellers of medieval literature, continuously copied in the age of manuscript culture, and then printed, reprinted, translated, and studied. As with every great figure, some criticisms, generated by contemporary envious colleagues or modern viewpoints based on anachronistic criteria, may tarnish the idyllic portrait. In this respect, al-Maqrīzī is no exception to the rule. Some scholars have questioned his integrity in historiographical terms. The case raised by Ayalon as regards al-Maqrīzī's position towards the *Yāsa*, the Mongol book of laws, probably surpasses all others in the modern period.¹ Ayalon's study did not stir up any controversy among the scholarly community because he based his arguments on irrefutable proofs, even though some remained conjectural.²

In his own time, al-Maqrīzī could not avoid the disparagement of his intellectual probity. The most derogatory remarks concern his alleged plagiarism of the work of his colleague and friend, al-Awḥadī. According to al-Sakhāwī, who vehemently

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¹David Ayalon, "The Great *Yāsa* of Chingiz Khān: A Reexamination," *Studia Islamica* 33 (1971): 99–140, 34 (1971): 151–80, 36 (1972): 113–58, 38 (1973): 107–56.

²The present writer recently produced indisputable evidence of al-Maqrīzī's intellectual dishonesty in the affair of the *Yāsa*, thus closing this case opened by Ayalon in 1971. See F. Bauden, "Maqriziana VII: Al-Maqrīzī and the *Yāsa*: New Evidence of His Intellectual Dishonesty," in *The Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria: Aspects of a Medieval Muslim State*, ed. Reuven Amitai and Amalia Levanoni (forthcoming).

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repeated his accusation on several occasions, al-Maqrīzī had supposedly laid hands on his colleague's drafts upon his death (811/1408) and clean-copied the whole lot, adding some data, but publishing it in his own name under the title *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa-al-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*. The treatment al-Maqrīzī reportedly applied to al-Awḥadī's text would thus be similar to what we now call "plagiarism." Such a charge must be taken seriously, even more so in the case of al-Maqrīzī given that the resulting book is considered his magnum opus. Though first opened five centuries ago, this case engendered a lively debate that started with the beginning of the last century. Several scholars have endeavored to elucidate the validity of this charge on the basis of the elements they had at their disposal: al-Sakhāwī's accusation and al-Maqrīzī's text.³ Most of the time, these efforts have resulted in a justification of al-Maqrīzī, best exemplified by F. Rosenthal's position: "the accusation of plagiarism is much too harsh."⁴ In their scrutiny of this charge, most scholars were influenced by al-Sakhāwī's well-known vindictiveness towards almost everybody in his works, and they rebutted his allegations.

The aim of this article is to reexamine the question in the light of new evidence that has surfaced only recently. In one of the two extant volumes of the first draft of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, I noticed that 19 leaves are written in a different handwriting, though most of al-Maqrīzī's extant autograph manuscripts are in fact holograph.⁵ Through a close analysis, both external and internal, I seek to

³ In chronological order: Ighnātyūs Yūlyānūvitsh Krätshkūvskī [I. Y. Kratchkovsky], *Tārīkh al-Adab al-Juhrāfī al-ʿArabī*, trans. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ʿUthmān Hāshim (Cairo, 1963), 2:483–85; Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ʿInān, "Khiṭaṭ al-Maqrīzī bayna al-Aṣālah wa-al-Naql," in *Dirāsāt ʿan al-Maqrīzī: Majmūʿat Abḥāth* (Cairo, 1971), 39–48; Ayman Fuʿād Sayyid, "Remarques sur la composition des *Ḥiṭaṭ* de Maqrīzī d'après un manuscrit autographe," in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron, 1927–1976* (Cairo, 1979), 2:231–58; Saʿīd ʿĀshūr, "Aḍwāʾ jadidah ʿalā al-muʿarrikh Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī wa-Kitābātihi," *Ālam al-Fikr* 14, no. 2 (1983): 165–210; Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī, *Arbaʿat Muʿarrikhūn wa-Arbaʿat Muʿallafāt min Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah* (Cairo, 1992), 222–24; Ayman Fuʿād Sayyid, "Early Methods of Book Composition: al-Maqrīzī's Draft of the *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ*," in *The Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts: Proceedings of the Second Conference of al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 4–5 December 1993*, ed. Yasin Dutton (London, 1995), 93–101; idem, "Muqaddimat al-Muḥaqqiq," in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiz wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (London, 2002–5), 1:59–66; Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, "Al-Muʿarrikhūn al-Muʿāṣirūn lil-Maqrīzī wa-al-Nāqilūn minhu," in al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājīm al-Aʿyān al-Mufīdah* (Beirut, 2002), 4:37–40.

⁴ Franz Rosenthal, "al-Maqrīzī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 6:194.

⁵ In May 2003, I received a copy of the manuscript (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi [Istanbul] MS E. Hazinesi 1405) and noticed the difference in the handwriting. Given that a new edition of the section covered by this manuscript was in preparation by Ayman Fuʿād Sayyid, I had to await its publication to see if he had established the same fact. When vol. 4 appeared at the end of 2003, I realized that he had apparently not noticed the difference in the handwriting. Moreover, several

demonstrate that this section must be identified as the unique remnant of al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ* that has survived. As a consequence, this discovery allows me to reopen the case raised by al-Sakhāwī and to see whether or not the charge was justified. However, I do not claim to be an exponent or a proponent in this case: my aim is to try to answer the charge as fairly as possible, and for this, I will have to consider it in view of the perception of plagiarism in the context under study.

This newly-discovered section of al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ* needs further investigation: a critical edition together with a biography of al-Awḥadī and a study of the text will be published separately.⁶

THE CHARGE

Without the charge brought by al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) against al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), the whole affair would have completely faded into oblivion. Indeed, al-Sakhāwī repeatedly accused al-Maqrīzī of having plagiarized a book written by one of al-Maqrīzī's colleagues whose name was al-Awḥadī (d. 811/1408). On at least five occasions, he leveled this charge in different terms, but always in a very direct manner. The first of these is to be found in his *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, under the year in which al-Maqrīzī died, and in his biographical dictionary entitled *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'* (al-Maqrīzī's entry):⁷

passages found in al-Awḥadī's section and not included by al-Maqrīzī in his final version had been included in the edition, as supplementary data. A. F. Sayyid even reproduced the leaves where these additional data appear (4:123–29 of the introduction). Regarding the first two volumes, I had already stressed that this new edition could unfortunately not be considered as a critical one, due to the fact that A. F. Sayyid emended the texts with passages from the sources quoted by al-Maqrīzī or found in the draft of the *Khiṭaṭ* instead of sticking to the manuscripts of the final version (see my review in this journal, 11, no. 2 [2007]: 169–76). This bias is more visible in the last two volumes of his edition and even more with the section in al-Awḥadī's hand.

⁶ See F. Bauden, "From Draft to Palimpsest: A Critical Edition of the Unearthed Part of al-Awḥadī's Autograph Book on the *Khiṭaṭ* of Cairo," forthcoming in *Mamlūk Studies Review*.

⁷ Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo, n.d.; reprint of Cairo, 1934–36), 2:22; idem, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fi Dhayl al-Sulūk*, ed. Najwá Muṣṭafá Kāmil and Labībah Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 2002–5), 1:73. The quotation is from the former, but both texts are almost identical.

And he remained in his hometown, devoting his time to occupying himself with history to such an extent that he became renowned and celebrated for this. A number of books in this [field] are attributed to him, such as *Al-Khiṭaṭ* of Cairo, which is a useful [book] given that he discovered al-Awḥadī's draft, as already stated in the latter's biography. He appropriated it and made brief additions to it.

وأقام ببلده عاكفا على الاشتغال بالتاريخ حتى اشتهر به ذكره وبعد فيه صيته وصارت له فيه جملة تصانيف كالخطط للقاهرة وهو مفيد لكونه ظفر بمسودة الأوحدي كما سبق في ترجمته فأخذها وزادها زوائد غير طائلة.

In a few words, al-Maqrīzī's reputation regarding the book that earned him fame until our time is demolished: it results from an appropriation of somebody else's work, only improved by adding a few data. The second denunciation is even more defamatory. Al-Sakhāwī wrote it, as he said, in al-Awḥadī's entry:⁸

He devoted his attention to history, of which he was passionately fond. He wrote a comprehensive draft about the topography of Miṣr⁹ and Cairo on which he worked hard. [With this], he did a useful work and in an excellent manner. He made a fair copy of part of it. Then Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī made a fair copy of it [completely] and attributed it to himself [after he had made] additions.

واعتنى بالتاريخ وكان لهجا به وكتب مسودة كبيرة لخطط مصر والقاهرة تعب فيها وأفاد وأجاد وبيض بعضها فبيضها التقى المقريزي ونسبها لنفسه مع زيادات.

So, al-Maqrīzī had supposedly gotten hold of al-Awḥadī's draft—some parts of which had already been transcribed by the latter—made a fair copy of the whole thing, and finally written his name on the title page although he had only expanded it with a few additions. Moreover, we are told that al-Awḥadī's work, even though most of it still consisted of a draft, was a comprehensive book to which he devoted a lot of his time. Last but not least, it is clear that this was more than just a few notes scribbled on some quires: it constituted a really important contribution to the history of Cairo's architectural development. Not content with

⁸ Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, 3:358–59.

⁹To be understood as the quarter of Cairo and not as referring to Egypt.

these two attacks, al-Sakhāwī reiterated his allegation in another of his books devoted to the defense of history as a science, *Al-ʿIlān bi-al-Tawbīkh*, where he provided the same details with, however, a reference to his informant in this affair:¹⁰

In the same way, al-Maqrīzī compiled [a history] of its topography, and it is a useful [book]. Our master told us that he discovered it in draft form through his neighbor Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan al-Awḥadī who, however, had [already] made a fair copy of some parts. He [al-Maqrīzī] appropriated it after making some additions to what he [al-Awḥadī] had done and then attributed it to himself.

وكذا جمع خططها المقريزي وهو مفيد. قال لنا شيخنا إنه ظفر به مسودة لجاره الشهاب أحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن الأوحدي بل كان بيض بعضه، فأخذها وزاد عليه زيادات ونسبها لنفسه.

Though the words differ only slightly from the previous quotation, the mention of an informant is a clue to understanding on what grounds al-Sakhāwī presumed to bring forth this charge. The *shaykhunā*, in al-Sakhāwī’s jargon, refers to the only person he ever considered his master and to whom he devoted a lengthy biographical monograph:¹¹ Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449). This is a significant point because al-Sakhāwī was born in 830/1427, which means that he was only 15 years old when al-Maqrīzī died. It is unlikely that al-Sakhāwī would have heard or witnessed anything relating to this case before al-Maqrīzī’s death, given his young age. On the other hand, it is reasonable to think that his master would have told him what he knew about this story when al-Sakhāwī got older, probably after al-Maqrīzī’s death. Given that Ibn Ḥajar died seven years after al-Maqrīzī, his disciple was 22 years old by that time, a more credible age for a divulgence of that kind.¹²

¹⁰ Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-ʿIlān bi-al-Tawbīkh li-man Dhamma Ahl al-Tārikh*, in Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, rev. ed. (Leiden, 1968), 402; *ibid.*, trans. Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad al-ʿAlī (Beirut, 1407/1986), 266.

¹¹ Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar fī Tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar*, ed. Ibrāhīm Bājis ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Beirut, 1999).

¹² For instance, al-Sakhāwī did not get access to Ibn Ḥajar’s dictionary of his authorities, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʿassis*, before 850/1447. As we will soon see, this was a major source for al-Sakhāwī’s charge against al-Maqrīzī. His reading note on *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʿassis*, together with two others by renowned scholars (Ibn Fahd and Taghri Barmish), found in Ibn Ḥajar’s autograph copy held in al-Maktabah al-Azhariyah, Cairo (MS muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 163a), is edited below.

Al-Sakhāwī confirmed that his informant in this case was Ibn Ḥajar in the biography he dedicated to his master, but he did not refer to an oral transmission, asserting rather that he read Ibn Ḥajar's allegation in the dictionary of his authorities, *Al-Majma' al-Mu'assis lil-Mu'jam al-Mufahris*:¹³

I also read in his [Ibn Ḥajar's] handwriting, in the biography of the man of belles-lettres, the historian Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭūghān al-Awḥadī, what follows: "He devoted his time to working on the topography of Cairo but it was in draft form when he died. The shaykh Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrizī made a fair copy of it."

وقرأت بخطه أيضا في ترجمة الأديب المؤرخ
الشهاب أحمد بن الحسن بن عبد الله بن طوغان
الأوحدى ما نصه: اعتنى بعمل خطط القاهرة ومات
عنه مسودة فبيضه الشيخ تقي الدين المقرئ.

Whatever the case may be, the charge is undoubtedly a very serious one, as he claims that al-Maqrizī's achievement in this case must be credited to al-Awḥadī. Before investigating if al-Sakhāwī's assertion was grounded on serious evidence and thus justified, it is necessary to turn to al-Awḥadī's biography and study his connection to al-Maqrizī.¹⁴

It can be argued that without the incident discussed here, al-Awḥadī would have remained an obscure scholar. He was indeed largely unnoticed, as the data provided by the sources to recount his life are only found in three sources written by contemporaries who were acquainted with him or by a later historian who relied on these testimonies. In fact, the main sources are the very protagonists of this affair: al-Maqrizī himself, Ibn Ḥajar, and al-Sakhāwī, the last not having had the opportunity to know al-Awḥadī, as he was born shortly after the latter's death. Thanks to the data provided by these authors,¹⁵ we know that Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭūghān al-Awḥadī was born in

¹³ Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar*, 1:394. This is the fifth time al-Sakhāwī exposes al-Maqrizī's plagiarism.

¹⁴ A fuller account of al-Awḥadī's life will be found in "From Draft to Palimpsest."

¹⁵ Al-Maqrizī, *Durar al-Uqūd al-Faridah fi Tarājim al-A'yān al-Mufidah*, partial autograph copy in Forschungsbibliothek, Gotha, MS 1771, fols. 47b–49a = *ibid.*, ed. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī (Beirut, 1992), 1:232–37; *ibid.*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī (Beirut, 2002), 1:185–90 (no. 120); Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Abnā' al-'Umr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1994–98; reprint of Cairo, 1969–72), 2:406; *idem*, *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāminah*, ed. 'Adnān Darwīsh (Cairo, 1992), 195 (no. 316); *idem*, *Al-Majma' al-Mu'assis lil-Mu'jam al-Mufahris*, ed. Yūsuf 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mar'ashlī (Beirut, 1992–94), 3:38–39; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, 1:358–59.

Cairo in 761/1360 in a family of eastern origin (probably Iraq or Iran). It was his grandfather who had come to Cairo, where he settled in 710/1310–11. He then entered the service of an influential Mamluk, Baybars al-Awḥadī, the governor of the citadel, and the latter's *nisbah* was attached to him, as frequently happened in the Mamluk milieu.¹⁶ His grandson, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, served in the army where he held several positions, after he had received a thorough instruction in the various Quranic readings. As a scholar, he compiled numerous notebooks (*majāmiʿ*) and composed at least two books: a *dīwān* of his own poetry and a topographical history of Cairo. The latter mostly remained in draft form, though he managed to make a fair copy of some parts of it before his death in his 48th year according to our calendar, in 811/1408. Incidentally, al-Maqrīzī, who was born in the sixties of the eighth century (probably in 766/1364–65, which means that al-Awḥadī was five years older than him), outlived him by more than 34 years, as he died in 845/1442. Even though al-Awḥadī died earlier, the two men were not strangers to one another: they were neighbors, living in the same quarter of Barjawān, in the Fatimid part of the city, close to the street of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, and they met each other in their respective homes for sessions of transmission (*imlāʿ*), and this occurred in 810/1407, a year before al-Awḥadī's death:¹⁷

Our fellow, the expert reader [of the Quran], the historian, the man of letters, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭūghān al-Awḥadī, the soldier, the Shafiʿite, transmitted to me orally in my home of Cairo on Saturday, 7 [nights] before the end of Rajab in 810 [25 December 1407].¹⁸

وحدثني صاحبنا المقرئ المؤرخ الأديب شهاب الدين أحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن طوغان الأوحدي الجندي الشافعي إملأ بمنزلي من القاهرة في يوم السبت لسبع¹⁹ أن بقين من شهر رجب سنة عشر وثمان مائة.

Their bonds can even be appreciated by the fact that al-Maqrīzī's nephew, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, attended al-Awḥadī's lectures,

¹⁶ See J. Sublet, *Le Voile du nom* (Paris, 1991), 28–30.

¹⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-Uqūd*, MS 1771, fol. 48b = ed. ʿAlī, 1:235–36 = ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:188.

¹⁸ This is the reading in the autograph copy. In both ʿAlī's and al-Jalīlī's editions: + ليل and the following أن missing. This shows that al-Jalīlī did not rely on his complete copy of the text, which belongs to his family (see Dāwud al-Čelebī al-Mawṣilī, *Kitāb Makhtūṭāt al-Mawṣil* [Baghdad, 1927], 264, no. 5), and the partial autograph, but on ʿAlī's edition, at least for this part!

¹⁹ See Manuel Ocaña Jiménez, *Tablas de conversión de datas islámicas a cristianas y viceversa* (Madrid, 1946), 42–43.

where he recited to him the Quran and another work he had learned by heart in 810/1407.²⁰ The relationship between the two scholars must have been friendly, as can be perceived in the biography al-Maqrīzī wrote about him, where some pieces of al-Awḥadī's poetry dedicated to him are provided. In these succinct examples of his mastery of the most appreciated literary genre in the Arab world, sympathy as well as kindness abound. Suffice it to quote the following distich:

شرفت قدري إذ أتيت لمنزلي وملككتني بالبر والمعروف
يا بن الخلائف أنت عاضد عصرنا لا بدع إن أنعمت بالتشريف

*You honored my rank when you came to my home
and conveyed to me kindness and friendliness.
O scion of the caliphs! You are the support of our times.
It is no heresy if you are vested in the title of sharīf.*²¹

Reading the data, it can be inferred that al-Maqrīzī and al-Awḥadī struck up a strong relationship based on mutual respect and devoid of academic rivalry, as sometimes happened in other cases.²²

Let us now come back to the charge brought by al-Sakhāwī against al-Maqrīzī, and more particularly to his source, Ibn Ḥajar, as he clearly indicated that he owed his knowledge of the case to him. Given this fact, it seems likely that al-Sakhāwī read something about the plagiarism in Ibn Ḥajar's writings. In three different places, Ibn Ḥajar devoted space to an account of al-Awḥadī's work on the *khiṭaṭ*. The first account appears in his chronicle entitled *Inbā' al-Ghumr*:²³

²⁰ See his biography in al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Daw' al-Lāmī'*, 9:150. He was born in 801/1399. Al-Sakhāwī cast doubt on his birth in that year, given that he already knew two books by heart at the age of 8. He died in 867/1462.

²¹ There is an evident play here on the double meaning of *tashrif*: to bestow upon somebody the title of *sharīf* (descendant of the Prophet) or a robe of honor. In the first case, it is a clear reference to al-Maqrīzī's alleged Fatimid ancestry. On this, see Paul Walker, "Al-Maqrīzī and the Fatimids," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7 (2003): 83–97, particularly 86–87. On *tashrif* in the second meaning, see Werner Diem, *Ehrendes Kleid und erhenndes Wort: Studien zu "tashrif" in mamlūkischer und vormamlūkischer Zeit* (Würzburg, 2002). The first meaning fits better given the beginning of that verse.

²² See Anne Broadbridge, "Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: al-ʿAynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (2003): 85–107.

²³ Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 2:406.

This Shihāb al-Dīn was passionately fond of history. He wrote a comprehensive draft on the topography of Miṣr and Cairo, parts of which he made into a fair copy. He did a useful work and in an excellent manner.

وكان شهاب الدين هذا لهجا بالتاريخ وكتب مسودة كبيرة لخطط مصر والقاهرة وبيض بعضه وأفاد فيه فأجاد.

As is noticeable, Ibn Ḥajar did not say a word about al-Maqrīzī and the possible use he might have made of al-Awḥadī's work. On the other hand, it confirms that al-Sakhāwī is quoting from his master's work when speaking of al-Awḥadī's book, as the words provided here to describe it are found in the entry he devoted to him in his *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*.²⁴ Ibn Ḥajar's silence on the affair persists in the second source, *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāminah*:²⁵

His grandson, Shihāb al-Dīn, who had nice handwriting, compiled a book on the topography of Cairo on which he worked hard and which was in draft form when he died.

وجمع شهاب الدين حفيده—وكان حسن الخط—كتابا في خطط القاهرة تعب عليه ومات وهو مسودة.

Here again, not a shadow of an accusation is to be found in Ibn Ḥajar's report; but once more, this report can be identified as a source of al-Sakhāwī's data (in the use of the phrase *ta'iba 'alayhi*²⁶). However, Ibn Ḥajar became more explicit in the dictionary of his authorities, *Al-Majma' al-Mu'assis*, and revealed a bit more information:²⁷

He compiled notebooks in belles-lettres, among them the topography of Cairo. He worked hard on it, but it was in draft form when he died. His friend, the shaykh Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī, made use of it.

وجمع مجاميع في الأدب منها خطط القاهرة تعب فيه ومات عنه مسودة فانتفع به رفيقه الشيخ تقي الدين المقرئ.

²⁴ See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, 3:358–59.

²⁵ Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāminah*, 195.

²⁶ See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, 3:358–59.

²⁷ Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, *Al-Majma' al-Mu'assis*, 3:39.

Ibn Ḥajar has hit the nail on the head: “he made use of it” (*intaḥa‘a bi-hi*). Interestingly, it must be noted that al-Maqrīzī probably knew what Ibn Ḥajar said about this in the dictionary of his authorities, given that he had read his own biography in it. This is proven by the corrections he added in the margins of the autograph manuscript of *Al-Majma‘ al-Mu‘assis*.²⁸ It is not known whether Ibn Ḥajar asked al-Maqrīzī to read his own entry and make corrections, if necessary, or let him borrow his book upon its completion,²⁹ but al-Maqrīzī undeniably leafed through the pages.³⁰ It is unlikely that he would have failed to notice al-Awḥadī’s entry that lies just a leaf before (fol. 129b). If this is the case, he agreed with the fact that he “made use of it [al-Awḥadī’s draft of the *Khīṭaṭ*]” (*intaḥa‘a bi-hi*), as he apparently did not modify Ibn Ḥajar’s text.³¹ Still, nowhere did Ibn Ḥajar say that al-Maqrīzī made a fair copy of it and then appropriated it, making some additions to it, as did al-Sakhāwī (*bayyadahā wa-nasabahā li-naḥsihi ma‘a ziyādāt*)! Should we conclude that this charge is just the result of al-Sakhāwī’s intellectual envy towards someone who, even after his death, was still in the limelight? Truly, al-Sakhāwī managed to build his own reputation as a mudslinger, as he often dipped

²⁸ Cairo, al-Maktabah al-Azhariyah MS muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 131a. This fact had not been noticed by the editor, al-Mar‘ashlī, who integrated these corrections in the text as if they were written by Ibn Ḥajar. The handwriting, though, is quite different. A critical edition of al-Maqrīzī’s and al-Awḥadī’s entries will be found in Appendix 1 at the end of this article. Al-Maqrīzī’s additions are identified in the picture by a frame and an arrow. It must be added that Ibn Ḥajar also added, at a later date, at the end of al-Maqrīzī’s marginal addition, some interesting data regarding his alleged Fatimid ancestry. These data had not been edited by al-Mar‘ashlī and were ignored by those who wrote on this subject.

²⁹ The actual copy was finished in Cairo on Thursday 16 Jumādā II 829/25 April 1426 (fol. 161a). Later on, Ibn Ḥajar added “save for what has been added after that” (*siwā mā ultuḥiqa fīhi ba‘da dhālika*), which refers to the numerous marginal additions. It can thus be ascertained that al-Maqrīzī read his entry after 829/1426.

³⁰ His marginal notes are found on the following leaves: 11a (صوابه يوم الأحد ثالث عشر شوال), 12a (يوم), 127a (ثاني عشري), (ولد في تاسع عشر شهر ربيع الأول سنة تسع عشرة وسبع مائة), 50a (التثناء ثاني صح), 128b (اسمه يوسف بن محمد بن), (أخبرني الثقة فتح الله عنه بما نسب من ذكره), 135b (يوم الأربعاء عاشر ربيع الآخر), 137a (عيسى ولقبه سيف الدين). One will conclude that al-Maqrīzī corrected mistakes and added data unknown to Ibn Ḥajar. Al-Sakhāwī noticed al-Maqrīzī’s handwriting, as he says in the biography he gave of al-Maqrīzī in his *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk* (1: 77): “*wa-qad dhakarahu shaykhunā fī al-qism al-akhīr min mu‘jamīhi alladhī waqafa ṣāḥib al-tarjamah ‘alayhi*.”

³¹ One will notice on the leaf (see Appendix 1), to the left of this information, an additional note consisting of a few words, which was later cancelled with circles that render the decipherment impossible nowadays (the note is identified in the picture by a frame). It is hard to say if this is even Ibn Ḥajar’s handwriting. It could have been related to the question of plagiarism. I will come back to this note below.

his *qalam* in vinegar when depicting others.³² It can be said that he was not very fond of al-Maqrizī, as the following extract demonstrates:³³

He had a good memory for history, but his knowledge of the Ancients was tiny. This is why he often made mistakes in their names [phonetic distortions and slips of letters], and sometimes he misplaced the diacritical marks in the texts (*matn*). . . . As for the events of Islam, the knowledge of the transmitters and their names, the declaration of [their] dishonesty and integrity, [their] ranks, [their] lives, and all sorts of things which are part of the mysteries and beauties of history, he was incompetent. He had a limited knowledge of *fiqh*, hadith, and grammar.

وكان حسن المذاكرة بالتاريخ لكنه قليل المعرفة بالمتقدمين ولذلك يكثر له فيهم وقوع التحريف والسقط وربما صحف في المتن. . . . وأما الوقائع الإسلامية ومعرفة الرجال وأسمائهم والجرح والتعديل والمراتب والسير وغير ذلك من أسرار التاريخ ومحاسنه فغير ماهر فيه وكانت له معرفة قليلة بالفقه والحديث والنحو.

This is a pretty harsh depiction, and it partly misled modern scholars who dealt with the charge of plagiarism he brought against al-Maqrizī because they considered that it was additional proof of al-Sakhāwī's envy toward al-Maqrizī.

Given that al-Maqrizī is the accused in this affair, it would be interesting to know what he said about al-Awḥadī—his friend (*rafiquhu*), according to Ibn Ḥajar—and his work. In fact, he drew his portrait in two of his books. In his biographical dictionary devoted to Egypt, *Al-Muqaffá*, the only useful data is the following:³⁴

He compiled notebooks and copied [a lot] in his own hand. He was skillful in the Quranic readings, belles-lettres, and history.

وجمع مجاميع وكتب بخطه وبرع في القراءات والأدب والتاريخ.

³² See Carl Petry, "al-Sakhāwī," *EP*, 8:881.

³³ Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, 2:23.

³⁴ Al-Maqrizī, *Al-Tārīkh al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ya'lawī (Beirut, 1991), 1:513–14 (no. 498), 514.

In the dictionary of his contemporaries, *Durar al-Uqūd al-Farīdah*, he is more loquacious on the issue:³⁵

He memorized a lot about history, particularly the history of Egypt, to such an extent that he hardly missed anything of the history of its rulers, caliphs, and amirs, of the events of its wars, the topography of its houses, and the biography of its notables . . . I have jotted down from him heaps of historical data, and I benefited from him a lot in the field of history. God assisted me in providing me with drafts in his own handwriting about the topography of Cairo that I incorporated in my comprehensive book entitled *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa-al-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*. He also offered me the collection of his poems, which is a nice volume in his own hand.

وكان . . . حافظا للكثير من التاريخ، لاسيما أخبار مصر، فإنه لا يكاد يشذ عنه من أخبار ملوكها وخلفائها وأمرائها ووقائع حروبها وخطط دورها وتراجم أعيانها إلا اليسير. . . . علقت عنه جملة أخبار واستفدت منه كثيرا في التاريخ وأعانني الله بمسودات من خطه في خطط القاهرة ضمنتها كتابي الكبير المسمى بكتاب المواعظ والاعتبار في ذكر الخطط والآثار وناولني ديوان شعره وهو في مجلدة لطيفة بخطه.

Courtesy Forschungsbibliothek (Gotha), MS or. 1771, fol. 49a (featuring al-Maqrīzī's acknowledgment that he incorporated al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ* in his own book)

Of course, this represents a praiseworthy confession, but does it answer the allegation of plagiarism put forward by al-Sakhāwī? The problem does not lie so much in the fact that al-Maqrīzī incorporated a draft treating of the same subject as the book he was writing, but rather in the fact that he simply made a fair copy of it (*bayyadahā*) and then attributed it to himself (*nasabahā li-nafsihi*) after having made some additions to it (*ma'a ziyādāt*). What about this grievance?

³⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-Uqūd al-Farīdah*, ed. al-Jalili, 1:186.

Should we conclude, as some modern scholars have done, that al-Sakhāwī was liable to spin a yarn to bring such a scurrilous accusation? Here is how Ayman Fuʿād Sayyid appraised it:³⁶

This confession . . . refutes the accusation brought by al-Sakhāwī and that many researchers have doubted. It confirms the malicious intent of al-Sakhāwī, who, in consulting al-Awḥadī's biography in al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah*, was only interested in the quotation and garbled al-Maqrīzī's words to give more weight to the accusation he brought against him.

وهذا الاعتراف . . . ينفي الاتهام الذي ساقه السخاوي وتشكك فيه الكثير من الباحثين ويؤكد سوء نية السخاوي الذي اطلع على ترجمة الأوحدي عند المقريزي في «درر العقود الفريدة» ولكنه توقف بالنقل وحرف كلام المقريزي ليؤكد الاتهام الذي ساقه ضده.

Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, who also dealt with the charge of plagiarism at about the same time as Ayman Fuʿād Sayyid, interpreted the data in a similar way:³⁷

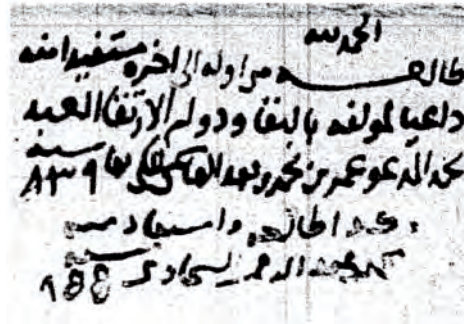
³⁶ Ayman Fuʿād Sayyid, "Muqaddimat al-Muḥaqqiq," in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-ʿtibār fi Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (London, 2002–4), 1:64.

³⁷ Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, "Al-Muʿarrikhūn al-Muʿāṣirūn lil-Maqrīzī wa-al-Nāqilūn minhu," in al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah*, 4:38.

Furthermore, al-Sakhāwī had read the draft of al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-Uqūd al-Farīdah*, given that he wrote on it: "Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī also consulted it and took advantage of it in 855," as it appears on the published photograph and as [it is confirmed] by the fact that he borrowed from *Durar al-Uqūd* for several biographies in his book. This establishes a malicious intent of alteration and omission towards al-Maqrīzī, because there is a big difference between copying from the sources and making a fair copy of a complete book and then appropriating it.

ثم إن السخاوي كان قد قرأ مسودة درر العقود الفريدة للمقريزي إذ أنه كتب عليها «وكذا طالعه واستفاد منه محمد بن عبد الرحمن السخاوي سنة ٨٥٥» كما يظهر في الصورة المنشورة، كما نقل في تراجم كثيرة في كتابه عن درر العقود مما يدل على سوء القصد تجاه المقريزي بالتحوير والحذف، فهناك فرق كبير بين الأخذ من المصادر وبين تبييض كتاب كامل ونسبه لنفسه.

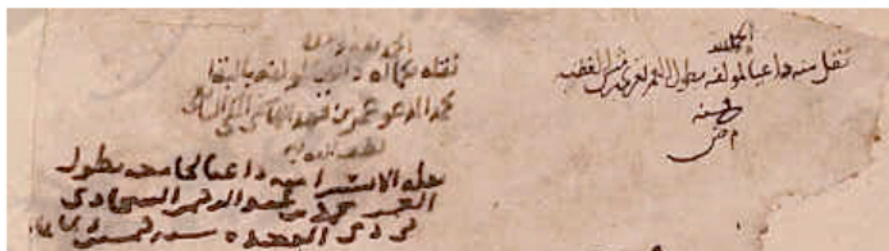
Both authors, writing at the same time, considered al-Sakhāwī's accusation to be a mere result of his "malicious intent" (*sū' al-nīyah/al-qaṣd*) given that, according to them, al-Sakhāwī made up the charge on the basis of al-Maqrīzī's confession in his biographical dictionary. Al-Jalīlī stressed that a proof of this maliciousness can be seen in the note of consultation al-Sakhāwī wrote on the title page of the autograph of *Durar al-Uqūd al-Farīdah*, as is visible here:



Courtesy Forschungsbibliothek (Gotha), MS or. 1771, fol. 1a

الحمد لله || طالعه من أوله إلى آخره مستفيدا منه || داعيا لمؤلفه بالبقاء ودوام الارتقاء العبد || محمد المدعو عمر بن محمد بن فهد الهاشمي المكي بها سنة ٨٣٩ [٣٦-٤٣٥].
وكذا طالعه واستفاد منه || محمد بن عبد الرحمن السخاوي سنة ٨٥٥ [٥٢-٤٥١].

To this, two rebuttals can be made. First, al-Sakhāwī also read what Ibn Ḥajar had written in his *Al-Majma' al-Mu'assis* regarding the fact that al-Maqrīzī made use of al-Awḥadī's draft on the *khiṭaṭ*, and this five years earlier, as is shown here:³⁸



Courtesy al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah (Cairo), MS muṣṭalah 1360, fol. 163a

الحمد لله || نقل منه داعيا لمؤلفه بطول العمر تغري برمش الفقيه || في سنة م ض [١٤٣٦-٣٧\٨٤٠ =].
 الحمد لله وحده || نقله بكماله داعيا لمؤلفه بالبقاء || محمد المدعو عمر بن فهد الهاشمي المكي الشافعي || لطف الله به.
 نقله إلا يسيرا منه داعيا لجامعه بطول || العمر محمد بن عبد الرحمن السخاوي || في ذي القعدة سنة خمسين وثمانمئة [١٤٤٧].

He was thus fully aware of the story thanks to these two sources. Second, it must be emphasized that al-Sakhāwī implicitly acknowledged his awareness of al-Maqrīzī's confession in the *Durar al-Uqūd al-Faridah*, a point apparently disregarded by Sayyid and al-Jalili:³⁹

³⁸ These reading notes were not published by the editor of this text, al-Mar'ashli. The first reader, Taghrī Barmish, was the *nā'ib al-qal'ah* and Ibn Ḥajar's student. Taghrī Barmish narrated a dream he had involving Ibn Ḥajar, on the same leaf, just above his reading note. This account, unpublished too, can be read in the biography of Ibn Ḥajar that al-Sakhāwī wrote, where he said he read it in one of his master's works (i.e., *Al-Majma' al-Mu'assis*). See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar*, 1:309–10. Al-Sakhāwī reveals in the same work that he managed to consult the manuscript of *Al-Majma' al-Mu'assis*, which was brought back by somebody else from Ibn Ḥajar's house, and that he took note of the biographies mentioned there in a very short time (maybe four days), before returning it to his master. See *ibid.*, 3:1019 ('*āda wa-al-mu'jam ma'ahu fa-surirtu bihi kathīran wa-rajā'tu min fawri fa-fakaktuhi min al-jild wa-tajarradtu fa-katabtu minhu al-tarājim dūna al-asānid iktifā'an bi-al-fihrist ma'a tanbihī fi kull tarjamah 'alā asmā' mā dhakara fihā min al-marwiyāt wa-tamma fi ayyām yasīrah azunnuhā arba'ah wa-jī'tuhu bi-hi fa-qaḍā al-'ajab min dhālika wa-sa'altuhu fi fihrist al-kitāb bi-khaṭṭihi fa-fa'ala*).

³⁹ Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, 1:359.

And there are interesting details in his [al-Awḥadī's] biography in al-Maqrīzī's *ʿUqūd* [= *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah*], [where] he [al-Maqrīzī] admitted that he took advantage of his drafts on the topography.

وفي ترجمته من عقود المقريزي فوائد واعترف بانتفاعه بمسوداته في الخطط.

Furthermore, al-Sakhāwī never claimed that Ibn Ḥajar had reported the offense committed by al-Maqrīzī in his own writings. The only thing we are sure of is that he said that Ibn Ḥajar told him (*qāla lanā shaykhunā*). From this, it may be inferred that this was a testimony by word of mouth, transmitted by a master to his pupil. No doubt, al-Sakhāwī's conviction was strengthened by what he read in al-Maqrīzī's own handwriting in 855/1451–52, ten years after the latter's death, though al-Maqrīzī did not confess he had plagiarized his colleague's draft, but only that he had incorporated it into his own work. Consequently, Ibn Ḥajar's oral disclosure was critical, as we will see. Now, the time has come to leave the world of conjecture and to bring forth evidence.

THE EVIDENCE

No autograph copies of the final version of al-Maqrīzī's *Khīṭaṭ* have been reported thus far. However, two volumes, probably out of four, of the first draft have been preserved.⁴⁰ It must be stressed that it is quite rare that a draft of a first version would be preserved when a fair copy of a fuller version had been prepared and the book published; when a fair copy of a work had been made, there remained no reason for the draft (*musawwadah*) to survive. Once published, the draft usually disappeared on the author's death, or even earlier if he destroyed it himself.⁴¹ In this particular case, we can explain this idiosyncrasy by the fame gained by al-Maqrīzī during his own lifetime, which gave some value to his autograph manuscripts, even if they were drafts of works already published.⁴² After his

⁴⁰ They are now held in the library of the Topkapı palace in Istanbul under the shelfmarks E. Hazinesi 1405 and Hazinesi 1472. The latter was published by A. F. Sayyid under the title *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Ftibār fī Dhikr al-Khīṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (London, 1995).

⁴¹ This kind of auto-da-fé is documented for Shujāʿ ibn Fāris ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Dhuhli al-Suhrawardi al-Ḥarīmī (d. 507/1113). A renowned copyist, he had written a supplement to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Tārīkh Baghdād*, but he “washed” (*ghasala*) the manuscript when he knew that he would die (*fī maraḍ mawtihi*). By washing, it must be understood that the leaves were washed with water or that the book was immersed in water. In both cases, it caused the ink to fade and rendered the text illegible. In this case, no fair copy had been made. See al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmuri (Beirut, 1990–2000), 35:161.

⁴² Twenty-one holograph volumes representing twelve different works have been located so far.

death, they became collectibles.⁴³

Logically, as we are speaking of drafts, both volumes are holograph manuscripts from the first to the last leaf—with one exception. In the second volume (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, MS E. Hazinesi 1405), nineteen leaves (82a–100b), corresponding to two quires⁴⁴ and dealing with the chapter devoted to the madrasahs, seem to bear both al-Maqrīzī's handwriting and a different one. The question is: does it correspond to the handwriting of a copyist hired by al-Maqrīzī to produce a fair copy of this section? We know indeed that al-Maqrīzī used a copyist for such a purpose at least once. At the end of his life, four years before passing away (841/1438), he hired a professional copyist⁴⁵ who was responsible for producing a fair copy of several small treatises, some of which al-Maqrīzī had finalized during his last stay in Mecca in 839/1435–36.⁴⁶ He was less than satisfied with the work accomplished, as he revealed in the comment he added to some colophons.⁴⁷ In any case, the handwriting of that copyist does not match with the one found in the section under study in the draft of the *Khitāṭ*. Furthermore, neither of the volumes representing the draft was in any way a definitive version, as is shown by the numerous additions in al-Maqrīzī's hand found on slips of paper, in the margins, or in the body of the text itself.

See F. Bauden, "Maqriziana II: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method: Analysis," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 12, no. 1 (2008): 115–16.

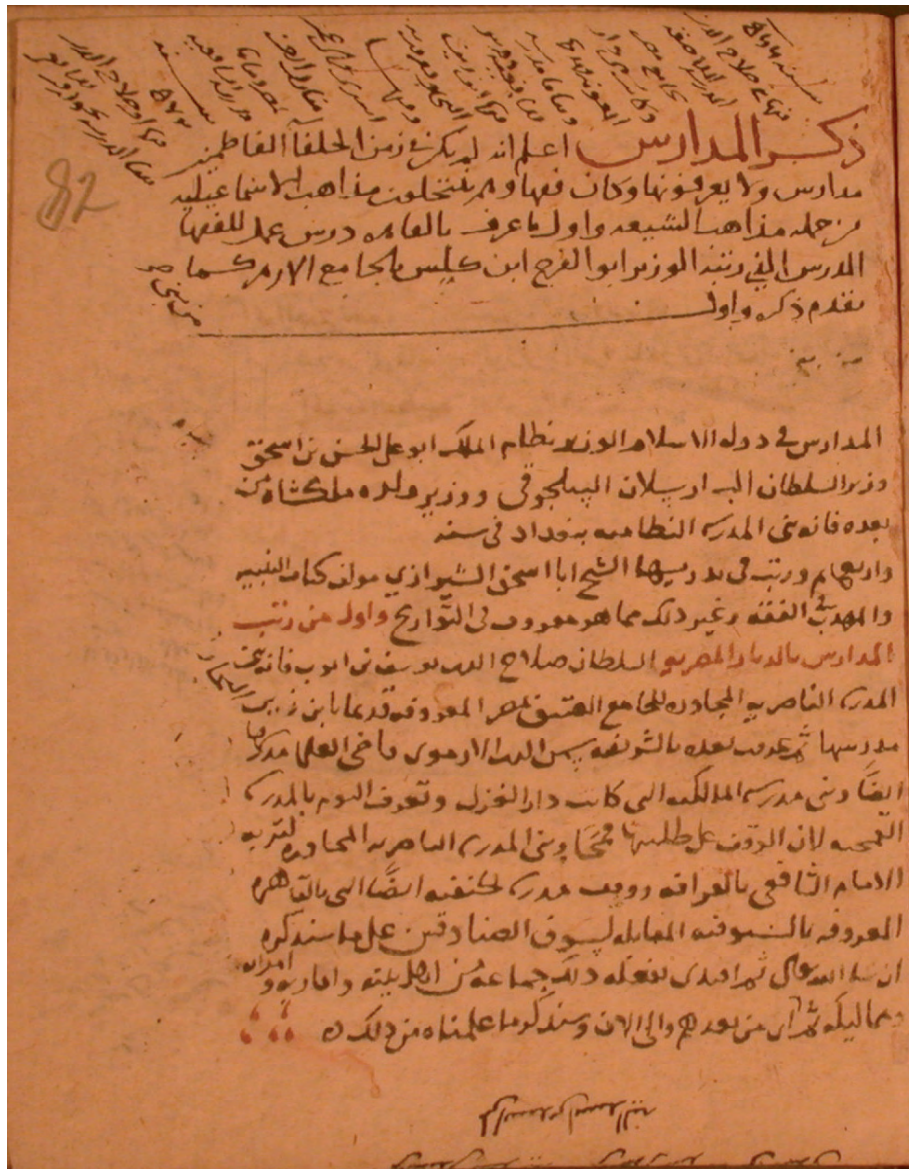
⁴³ There is no other way to explain why two of his notebooks would have survived. On autograph manuscripts as collectibles, see Houari Touati, *L'Armoire à sagesse: bibliothèques et collections en Islam* (Paris, 2003), 70–71.

⁴⁴ One leaf is obviously missing.

⁴⁵ The handwriting is clearly that of a clerk who worked at the chancellery. Some features are common with those found in documents produced at the same period. See, for instance, the closing formulas in the colophon on fol. 43a (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS or. 560).

⁴⁶ The MS is now in Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS or. 560. It was accurately described for the first time by Reinart P. A. Dozy, "Notice sur le manuscrit 560 de la Bibliothèque de Leyde, contenant les Opuscules d'al-Makrīzī," in *Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes*, ed. idem (Leyde, 1847), 17–28.

⁴⁷ For instance, fol. 61b: انتهى تصحيحه جهد الطاقة مع كثرة سقم النسخة جامعه ومؤلفه أحمد بن علي المقريزي في شهر رمضان سنة إحدى وأربعين وثمانمائة



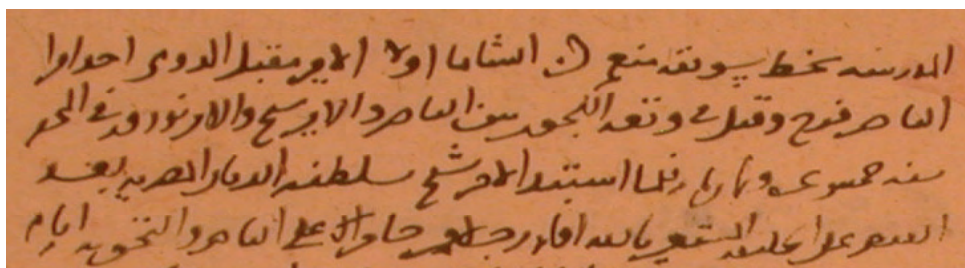
Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 82a (featuring al-Awḥadī's handwriting in the lower part and al-Maqrizī's in the upper part (the first five lines) after he rubbed out part of al-Awḥadī's introduction).

Al-Maqrizī would hardly have asked somebody to recopy these nineteen leaves if they were only a draft, as the rest of the manuscript is.⁴⁸ In the following pages,

⁴⁸ It must be remembered that none of the twenty-one autograph volumes mentioned earlier contains any handwriting other than al-Maqrizī's—they are holograph manuscripts. The volume

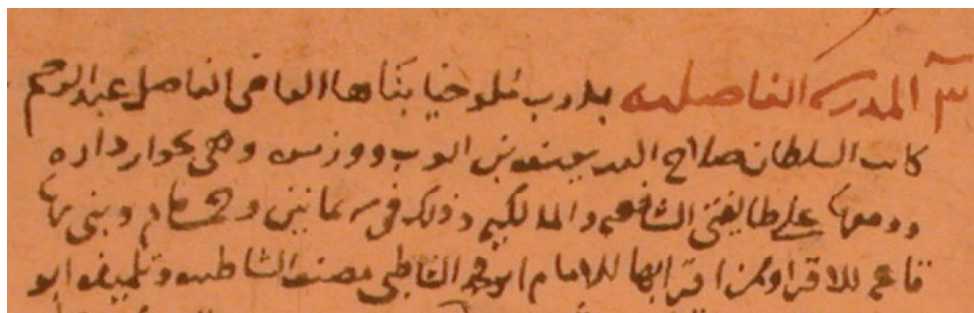
I argue that this is al-Awḥadī's handwriting and that these two quires must be regarded as the unique surviving part of the book he devoted to the topography of Cairo, a fact that will have consequences for the question of al-Maqrizī's alleged plagiarism. In support of my allegations, I will produce several external and internal elements.

Thanks to Ibn Ḥajar, whose role was of the utmost importance in this affair, as we will see, we know that al-Awḥadī's handwriting was a nice one (*kāna ḥasan al-khatt*).⁴⁹ By this, we must understand that he probably had an almost calligraphic script, as opposed to the more common scholar's *naskh*. Ibn Ḥajar wrote in a scholar's *naskh*, as did al-Maqrizī, which means that the script was not so attractive:



Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 97a: al-Maqrizī's scholar's *naskh*

The other handwriting featured on these nineteen leaves may indeed be described as beautiful:



Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 83a

One notices especially the final shape of the *kāf* (line 3: *wa-dhālīka*) with its oblique stroke maintained and the curvy *wāw*. Some ligatures are also visible,

of treatises in Leiden already referred to is excluded from this figure.

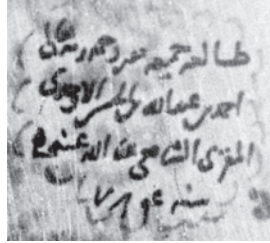
⁴⁹ Ibn Ḥajar, *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāminah*, 195.

most notably in words ending in a *tāʾ marbūṭah* or *hāʾ* (line 1: *al-madrasah*, line 2: *wazīruhu*, line 3: *al-shāfiʿīyah*, *al-mālikīyah*, line 4: *qāʿah*, *tilmīdhuhu*). But establishing that this is a pretty script and that it therefore corresponds to Ibn Ḥajar’s description of al-Awḥadī’s handwriting does not suffice to establish the truth. Ideally, it should be compared with a sample of al-Awḥadī’s handwriting. Unfortunately, none of his autograph manuscripts are known to exist anymore,⁵⁰ but five very brief specimens of his script are still found on title pages of manuscripts he owned or consulted.⁵¹ To these ownership and reading notes, he always appended the date, a practice also followed by his colleague, al-Maqrīzī.⁵² They are all reproduced here:

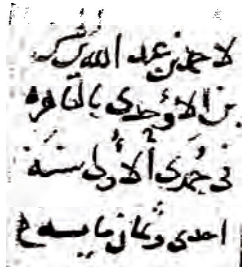
⁵⁰ His holograph *dīwān*, given to al-Maqrīzī (see al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah*, ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:186 [*wa huwa fī mujalladah laṭīfah bi-khaṭṭihī*]), has not been discovered so far. Moreover, the resumé of the “Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa-al-Tuḥaf” (Afyon Karahisar, Gedik Ahmet Paşa Kütüphanesi Memurluğu, MS 17596), which is said to have been prepared by al-Awḥadī and later copied by Ibn Duqmāq, must in fact be attributed to Ibn Duqmāq. Al-Awḥadī only added a note to the original, complete manuscript of the “Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa-al-Tuḥaf,” and Ibn Duqmāq took note of it at the end of his resumé. The attribution to al-Awḥadī is due to a misunderstanding of the note in question and is imputable to the editor of the text, Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh (who also wrongly attributed the book to al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr): *Kitāb al-Dhakhāʾir wa-al-Tuḥaf* (Kuwait, 1959). The same mistake was repeated by the translator: Ghādah al-Ḥijjāwī al-Qaddūmī, *Books of Gifts and Rarities* (Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa-al-Tuḥaf): *Selections Compiled in the Fifteenth Century from an Eleventh-Century Manuscript on Gifts and Treasures* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996). For more detail about this, see my “From Draft to Palimpsest.”

⁵¹ These are: (1) Muḥammad ibn Hilāl al-Sābiʿ, “Al-Hafawāt al-Nādirah,” Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Ahmet III 2631, fol. 137a (the text is known to me thanks to F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 479, n. 4, where he states that the reading note is dated to 784/1382: *طالعه جميعه فقير رحمة ربه تعالى أحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن الأوحدي المقرئ الشافعي عفا الله عنه هـ سنة ٧٨٤*); (2) Ibn Ḥamdīs, “Dīwān,” Biblioteca apostolica vaticana (Vatican City), MS ar. 447, fol. 1a (*طالعه أحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الأوحدي بالقاهرة في جمادى الأولى سنة إحدى وثمان مائة*); (3) Ibn Saʿīd, “Al-Mughrib fi Ḥulā al-Maghrib,” Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah (Cairo), MS tāriḫ 103 mīm, fol. 1a (*طالعه أحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الأوحدي بالقاهرة سنة ٨٠٣*); (4) al-Musabbihī, “Akḥbār Miṣr,” Biblioteca de El Escorial (El Escorial) MS 534, fol. 132a (*طالعه أحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الأوحدي بالقاهرة سنة ٨٠٣*); (5) al-Kindī, “Kitāb al-Wulāh wa-al-Quḍāh,” British Library (London), MS add. 23.324, fol. 134a (*طالعه أحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الأوحدي بالقاهرة في شهر رمضان المعظم من سنة خمس وثمان مائة*). See also Ayman Fuʿād Sayyid, “Muqaddimat al-Muḥaqqiq” in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār*, 1:61–62.

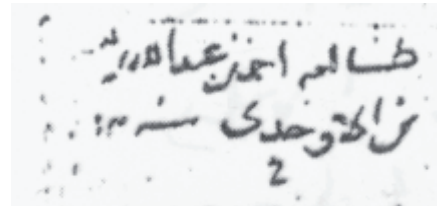
⁵² To such an extent that al-Maqrīzī’s reading notes are found on the title pages of two manuscripts consulted earlier by al-Awḥadī. On al-Maqrīzī’s notes of consultation, see F. Bauden, “Maqriziana II,” 117–18, where a list is provided.



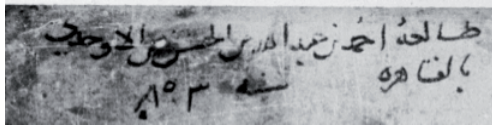
Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Ahmet III 2631, fol. 137a.



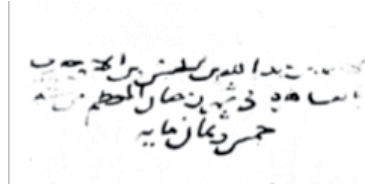
Courtesy Biblioteca apostolica vaticana (Vatican City), MS ar. 447, fol. 1a.



Courtesy Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah (Cairo), MS tāriḫ 103 mīm, fol. 1a.



Courtesy Biblioteca de El Escorial (El Escorial), MS 534, fol. 132a.



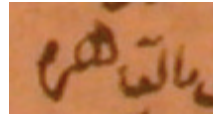
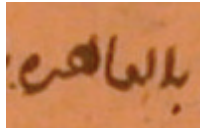
Courtesy British Library (London), MS add. 23.324, fol. 134a.

The following sample must also be considered to be in al-Awḥadī's handwriting. It appears on the title-page of the copy of Ibn Ḥamdīs' *Dīwān* that al-Awḥadī owned (see ownership note above).



Courtesy Biblioteca apostolica vaticana (Vatican City), MS ar. 447, fol. 1a.

A comparison between these brief specimens and the handwriting appearing in the draft allows us to notice a great similarity. The word *bi-al-Qāhira* being present twice in these reading notes, it can be compared with the same word in the section of the draft bearing a different handwriting, for which two occurrences are also found:



Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fols. 82a and 93a.

Once again, the resemblance is striking. However, any specialist in Arabic paleography knows perfectly well how difficult and dubious it is to authenticate somebody's handwriting, even more so if the specimens compared are brief, as is the case here. To this *prima facie* evidence, it is thus necessary to bring forward other, internal, elements in order to corroborate the identification of this script as al-Awḥadī's. For this purpose, we must now turn to a textual analysis.

While reading this section, one notices cross references to other parts of the work. The author obviously planned to write a section dealing with houses (*al-ādur*), and from the text it is understood that this section was to come after the one devoted to madrasahs.⁵³ But in the final version of al-Maqrīzī's *Khīṭaṭ*, the section on houses precedes the one on madrasahs. Though one could argue that, in the draft, al-Maqrīzī had yet to write down the section on houses and that he later modified the order, how can it be explained that, in the second reference, the author of this section refers to his forthcoming study of the house of Ibn Wakīl al-Wazīr al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī and that this house is not even dealt with by al-Maqrīzī in his final version? If this is al-Awḥadī's script, it means that either he did not finish the section on houses or that, more probably, al-Maqrīzī ignored his data, as will become clear later regarding some of the madrasahs. Another cross reference, on fol. 99b, mentions the construction of al-Azhar mosque, and in this case, the author indicates that he had already dealt with this subject and the question of courses taught in that place.⁵⁴ Here again, the section is found neither

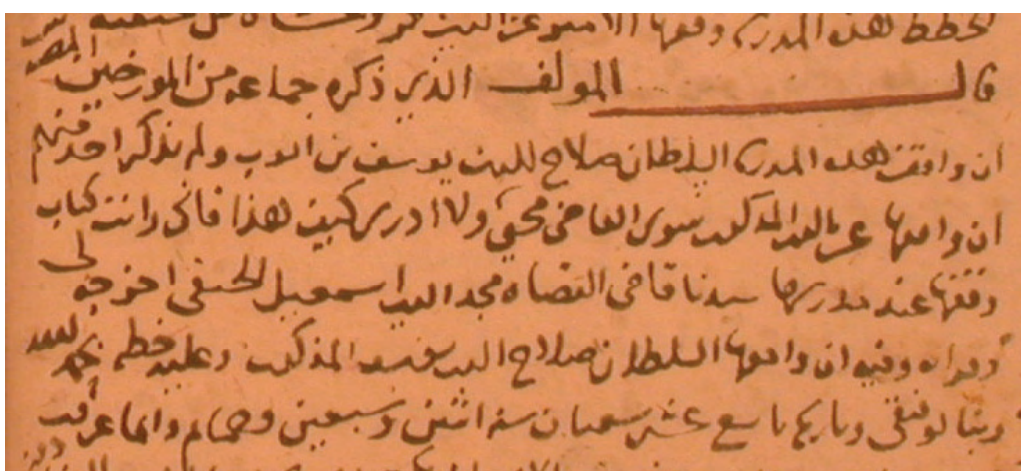
⁵³ Fol. 87a: *wa-saya'ti dhikr dhālika in shā'a Allāh ta'ālā fī dhikr al-ādur*; fol. 99a: *wa-saya'ti dhikr dhālika fī al-ādur*.

⁵⁴ Fol. 99b: *qad taqaddama fī dhikr binā' al-jāmi' al-azhar mā kāna qarrarahu fīhi al-wazīr Abū al-Faraj ibn Killis min al-dars bi-hi ba'da ṣalāt al-jum'ah . . .*

in the draft nor in the final version.⁵⁵ In this case too, al-Maqrīzī did not bother with this cross reference made by al-Awḥadī, as he knew that he would produce a fair copy and that he could modify these references at that time.

Furthermore, several personal testimonies are found in this specific section, where the author confirms that he visited the monuments whose history he is detailing, in order to verify the historical facts reported in other books he used. For this, we can provide three enlightening examples.

On fol. 82b, one reads the following text:



Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 82b.

It is striking that the first words of this paragraph, until *alladhī*, have clearly been rubbed out by al-Maqrīzī, who replaced them with the convenient *qāla al-mu'allif*, an impersonal way to refer to himself, thus attributing to himself the following words. The author of these lines explains that he had the opportunity to see the document of the *waqf* of the said madrasah (al-Suyūfiyah) and that he read it, then giving details that corroborated what he declared at the beginning of the paragraph. Let us compare this text with the one appearing in al-Maqrīzī's final version of the *Khitaṭ*:

⁵⁵ The draft just has a section entitled *dhikr al-jawāmi' allatī tuqām bi-hā al-jum'ah* (fol. 127a ff). That section has been reorganized in the final version.

المواعظ والاعتبار، مج ٢، ص ٣٦٥-٣٦٦ (ط). المسودة، و ٨٢ب.

بولاق).⁵⁶

وقد وهم القاضي محيي الدين عبد الله بن عبد الظاهر
فإنه قال في كتاب الروضة الزاهرة في خطط المعزية
القاهرة مدرسة السيوفية وهي للحنفية وقفها عز الدين
فرحشاه⁵⁷ قريب صلاح الدين وما أدري كيف وقع
له هذا الوهم فإن كتاب وقفها موجود قد وقفت عليه
ولخصت منه ما ذكرته وفيه أن واقفها السلطان
صلاح الدين || وخطه على كتاب الوقف ونصه الحمد
لله وبه توفيقه⁵⁸ وتاريخ هذا الكتاب تاسع عشري
شعبان سنة اثنتين وسبعين وخمسمائة.

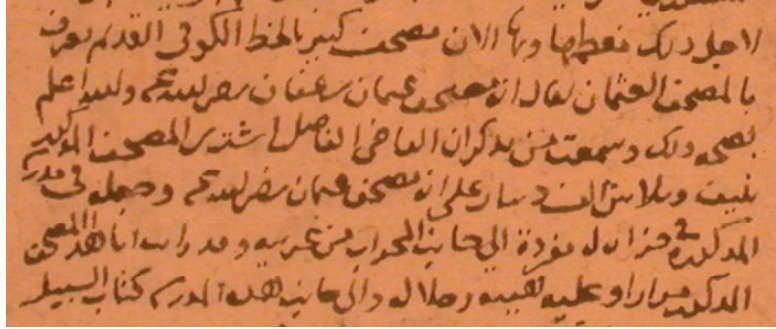
قال المؤلف الذي ذكره جماعة من المؤرخين
المصريين || أن واقف هذه المدرسة السلطان صلاح
الدين يوسف بن أيوب ولم يذكر أحد منهم || أن واقفها
عز الدين المذكور سوى القاضي محيي [الدين]
ولا أدري كيف هذا فإني رأيت كتاب || وقفها عند
مدرسها سيدنا قاضي القضاة مجد الدين إسماعيل
الحنفي أخرج له || وقرأته وفيه أن واقفها السلطان
صلاح الدين يوسف المذكور وعليه خطه بحمد الله
ربنا توفيقه وتاريخه تاسع عشر شعبان سنة اثنتين
وسبعين وخمسمائة.

The most conspicuous difference concerns his disregard of the name of the person who is supposed to have shown him the *waqf* document mentioned in the draft. We may wonder why al-Maqrizī would have deleted such important data that would have confirmed his seriousness and scrupulousness, when he in fact resorted to this practice in other cases. The only possible interpretation is that al-Maqrizī was reluctant to lie so explicitly about where he got his information (though the temptation to do so must have been strong); when he introduced al-Awḥadī's account with the vaguer and less authoritative “*qāla al-mu'allif*,” he felt no qualms about appropriating it as his own work. The same is true for the following passage, even more disturbing:

⁵⁶I am referring here to the Būlāq edition, given that A. F. Sayyid replaced the text of the final version with the one found in the draft in his own edition of the *Khīṭaṭ* (London, 2002–4), 4:461.

⁵⁷Read فرحشاه.

⁵⁸A. F. Sayyid, *Khīṭaṭ*, renders the text in his edition in this way: الحمد لله ربنا وبه توفيقه. One understands that he combined what he found in the draft with the reading given by the Būlāq edition, thus creating a new motto for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn!



Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 83a.

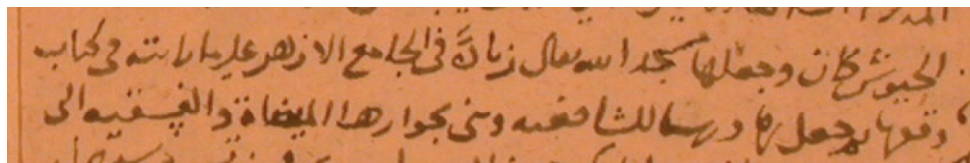
As can be seen, this passage is totally devoid of al-Maqrīzī's handwriting. The author of these lines attests that he saw a copy of the Quran attributed to 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān in the madrasah al-Fāḍilīyah. If we compare this text with the one appearing in al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, it appears that, in this case too, al-Maqrīzī neglected to mention these personal data:

المسودة، ص ٨٣. المواعظ والاعتبار، مج ٢، ص ٣٦٦ (ط. بولاق).⁵⁹

وبها الآن مصحف كبير بالخط الكوفي القديم يعرف وبها إلى الآن مصحف قرآن كبير القدر جدا مكتوب || بالمصحف العثماني. يقال إنه مصحف عثمان بن عفان رضي الله عنه والله أعلم || بصحة ذلك وسمعت مصحف عثمان بن عفان ويقال إن القاضي الفاضل من يذكر أن القاضي الفاضل اشترى المصحف اشتراه بنيف وثلاثين ألف دينار على أنه مصحف المذكور || بنيف وثلاثين ألف دينار على أنه مصحف عثمان رضي الله عنه وجعله في مدرسته || المذكورة في خزنة له مفردة له بجانب المحراب من غريبه وقد رأيت أنا هذا المصحف || المذكور مرارا وعليه هيبة وجلالة.

If this section of the draft was composed by al-Maqrīzī, why would he withdraw such personal testimonies (indicated here with an underline) in the final version? One final example will demonstrate that he did so because he was not at ease with material he had not written himself.

⁵⁹A. F. Sayyid partially replaced the text of the final version with the one found in the draft in his own edition of the *Khiṭaṭ*, 4:462.



Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 87b.

Here is one more personal testimony attributable to the author of these lines where he states that he saw the document of the *waqf* of the madrasah al-Ṭaybarsīyah. Again, the comparison between the two texts is illuminating.

المواعظ والاعتبار، مج ٢، ص ٣٨٣ (ط). المسودة، ص ٨٧.

بولاق).⁶⁰

. . . الجيوش كان وجعلها مسجداً لله تعالى زيادةً . . . الجيوش وجعلها مسجداً لله تعالى زيادةً في الجامع الأزهر على ما رأيت في كتابه || وقفها الجامع الأزهر وقرر بها درساً للفقهاء الشافعية وأنشأ ثم جعل بها درساً للشافعية وبنى بجوارها الميضاة بجوارها ميضاة وحوض ماء سبيل . . . والفسقية التي . . .

Once more, the personal data have disappeared in al-Maqrīzī's version. This is upsetting because it betrays his determination never to refer to al-Awḥadī, as he could have simply introduced those words by *qāla al-Awḥadī*.

Last but not least, a decisive element in my opinion lies in the names of persons with whom the author of these lines cultivated a disciple-master relationship, calling them *shaykhunā*. Considering the nineteen leaves, four names are characterized in this way: Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī (fols. 90a, 98b), Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī (fol. 90b), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Bilbaysī (fols. 90b, 98b), and Taqī al-Dīn al-Baghdādī (fol. 100a). If we consider those who were common masters of both al-Awḥadī and al-Maqrīzī, we find only two of them (al-Bulqīnī and al-ʿIrāqī). Moreover, the remaining two (al-Baghdādī and al-Bilbaysī) are explicitly listed as having played a major role in al-Awḥadī's education, particularly in the field of Quranic readings, in which he excelled,⁶¹ but they do not appear in al-Maqrīzī's curriculum:⁶²

⁶⁰A. F. Sayyid partially replaced the text of the final version in his own edition of the *Khiṭaṭ* on the basis of what is found in the draft (4:536).

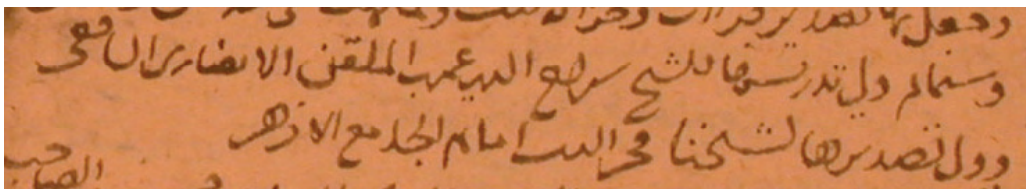
⁶¹Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 2:406; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʿ al-Lāmiʿ*, 1:358. Cf. al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah*, ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:185–86.

⁶²The four are mentioned by him in his dictionary of his contemporaries, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah*, ed. al-Jalīlī, 2:421–42 (al-Bilbaysī, no. 726), 254–55 (al-Baghdādī, no. 584), 234–37 (al-ʿIrāqī, no. 563), 431–36 (al-Bulqīnī, no. 740). It is noteworthy that he devoted less space to the

He [al-Awḥadī] recited [the Quran] according to the seven, and even the fourteen [readings] under the supervision of Taqī al-Dīn al-Baghdādī. Likewise, for twelve years, he was inseparable from Fakhr al-Dīn al-Bilbaysī, who was a master in this [field].

وتلا بالسبع بل بالأربع عشرة على التقي البغدادي وكذا لازم الفخر البلبيسي الإمام في ذلك اثنتي عشرة سنة.

How, then, should we interpret the following passage, where two names are provided?



Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 90b.

ولي تدريسها للشيخ سراج الدين عمر بن الملقن الأنصاري الشافعي || وولي تصديرها لشيخنا فخر الدين إمام الجامع الأزهر.

The first one, Ibn al-Mulaqqin, is simply designated as *al-shaykh*, while the second, Fakhr al-Dīn [i.e., al-Bilbaysī], as *shaykhunā*, although the latter does not appear among al-Maqrizī's masters.⁶³ However, about the first, al-Maqrizī declares:⁶⁴

first two men, who were not his masters, than the last two who were. About al-Bulqīnī, he says that he was “the most venerable man with whom I studied” (*ajall man akhadhtu ‘anhu al-‘ilm*). Ibid., 2:434. It is also worth mentioning that al-Maqrizī wrote down al-Bulqīnī's death date on the first leaf of the first preserved volume of his draft of the *Khīṭaṭ* (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Hazinesi 1472, fol. 1a). See also the list of his masters established by al-Jalīlī on the basis of the information provided by al-Maqrizī in his biographical dictionary: al-Jalīlī, “Al-Muqaddimah,” in al-Maqrizī, *Durar al-‘Uqūd al-Farīdah*, ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:21–27 (neither al-Baghdādī nor al-Bilbaysī appears in this list).

⁶³ The fact that the author of these lines referred to his master only by his *laqab* is rather illuminating, in that the author did not feel the need to clarify who his master was because this was evident in his eyes.

⁶⁴ Al-Maqrizī, *Durar al-‘Uqūd al-Farīdah*, ed. al-Jalīlī, 2:431.

I was closely associated with him for several years and I studied with him numerous works he was authorized to transmit and several of his own books.

صحبتة عدة سنين وأخذت عنه كثيرا من مروياته
ومصنفاته.

In this case, should he not have called Ibn al-Mulaqqin *shaykhunā* in his draft, rather than applying this title to a person with whom he never studied? Of course, there was no need for him to change these personal data particular to al-Awḥadī in the draft, as they would be modified in the final version.

Thanks to all these elements, we can establish that the fragment covering nineteen leaves preserved in al-Maqrizī's autograph draft is part of al-Awḥadī's own draft of his book on the topography of Cairo. Yet, we still have to address the accusation of plagiarism brought by al-Sakhāwī ("he made a fair copy of it and attributed it to himself"). For this, it is necessary to consider how plagiarism, a rather modern concept, was understood in the historical context under consideration.

PLAGIARISM: A NEBULOUS CONCEPT OR A CLEARLY APPREHENDED NOTION?

Though it is almost as old as literature, plagiarism remains a complicated issue.⁶⁵ Conceptualized mainly during the modern period with the impulse of the Romantic movement, which promoted the vision of the inspired writer whose originality was interpreted in aesthetic words, the concept has seen its definition evolving through the ages.⁶⁶ When used nowadays, it is understood with moral and aesthetic implications that were not necessarily valid in earlier times and different cultures. Plagiarism, in its modern meaning, may be defined as the act of appropriating, rather faithfully, a textual element written by another author, and doing this without acknowledgement. Moreover, the intent to deceive people into thinking that the borrowed text is the result of one's own work is essential. Plagiarism nonetheless remains a hazy concept in literary terms. Nowadays, plagiarism in literature is better defined as intertextuality, meaning by this that

⁶⁵ The Latin word "plagiarius," designating a person who stole a slave or sold a free man as a slave, was used metonymically for the first time by the poet Martial (died in 104) for a person who had appropriated some of his verses. For Antiquity, see Anthony Grafton, "Plagiarism," in *Brill's New Pauly* (Leiden and Boston, 2007), 315. From the very beginning, the ideas of alienation and swindling were thus present. See Ch. Vandendorpe, "Introduction," in *Le Plagiat: Actes du colloque tenu à l'Université d'Ottawa du 26 au 28 septembre 1991*, ed. Ch. Vandendorpe ([Ottawa], 1992), 7. The following book was not available to me before the publication of this article: *Remploi, citation, plagiat: Conduites et pratiques médiévales (X^e-XII^e siècle)*, ed. Pierre Toubert and Pierre Moret (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2009).

⁶⁶ M. Randall, "Critiques et plagiaires," in *Le Plagiat*, 91-104.

an author cannot help but find himself at the point where all his previous readings intersect, with each of them nurturing his ideas in their turn. In other fields, the term is perfectly well understood, and many universities around the world advise their students with regard to plagiarism and its negative effects.⁶⁷ It is thus important to keep in mind the difference that exists between the concept with its literary meaning and its use in the other fields such as the scientific, philosophical, or historical ones.

Looking at the past with this modern definition in mind may lead some scholars to identify striking similarities, either in words or in ideas, in works composed by contemporary (or non-contemporary) authors and, on that basis, to charge one of them—usually the one who wrote later—with plagiarism. When he read the *Disputa de l’Ase* of Anselm Turmeda (ca. 1352–ca. 1424), Miguel Asín Palacios, who knew the *Rasā’il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’*, immediately saw the resemblance between the story developed by Turmeda and the structure of the 28th epistle of the Brethren of Purity (“The Case of the Animals versus Man before the King of the Jinn”). He concluded that Turmeda had plagiarized the epistle and that, consequently, his work was not original.⁶⁸ Recent research has shown that Turmeda had undoubtedly read the said epistle, but that “he took what he found useful in their work, adapted it to his own message and his intended audience.”⁶⁹ In other words, this is a perfect case of intertextuality.

Such accusations expressed by modern critics towards medieval scholars exist for other fields too, such as history and the sciences. Regarding history, and particularly early Muslim history where the facts are reported on the basis of pieces of information (*khabar*) and traditions (*ḥadīth*) that by definition should not be considered as belonging to a given author, the case raised by J. Horovitz is indicative of this modern trend to identify such practices as plagiarism. Horovitz, following his predecessor, Wellhausen, noticed that al-Wāqidi and Ibn Ishāq’s works shared identical reports both in content and shape, and he concluded that, given that al-Wāqidi never quoted Ibn Ishāq in his book and that the latter wrote at an earlier date, al-Wāqidi consequently was guilty of plagiarism.⁷⁰ J. M. B. Jones

⁶⁷ Speaking of my own experience, I have already identified some cases of plagiarism in M.A. theses I was asked to supervise. Furthermore, the University of Liège has recently made software available to professors that is supposed to detect plagiarism in the written material submitted by students.

⁶⁸ M. A. Palacios, “El original árabe de la *Disputa del asno contra fray Anselmo Turmeda*,” *Revista de filología española* 1 (1914): 1–51.

⁶⁹ See L. M. Alvarez, “Beastly Colloquies: Of Plagiarism and Pluralism in Two Medieval Disputations between Animals and Men,” *Comparative Literature Studies* 39 (2002): 196.

⁷⁰ See J. Horovitz, “The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and Their Authors,” *Islamic Culture* 2 (1928): 518.

reevaluated this assumption and concluded that if both versions were similar, this was the result of the kind of material available at their time.⁷¹ In other words, the story was transmitted by the *quṣṣāṣ*, and both authors shared a common corpus from which they selected the material they found interesting. Though they might slightly modify the form of the material (words, structure of the sentence), they usually did not alter the overall structure or content. Jones could establish, for instance, that al-Wāqidi's version was closer to the story as it was told by the *quṣṣāṣ* because it still contains the characteristics of the literary processes used by these storytellers, which have been reduced by Ibn Ishāq in his own version. In any case, the charge of plagiarism was out of context, once again.⁷²

Similarly anachronistic statements have also been made regarding scientific texts. In the field of medicine, the case recently publicized by Khader Musa is interesting.⁷³ A comparison between two texts—the *Kitāb Khalq al-Janīn wa-Tadbīr al-Ḥabālah wa-al-Mawlūdīn* of ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd al-Qurṭubī (d. 370/980) and the *Siyāsat al-Ṣibyān wa-Tadbīruhum* of Ibn al-Jazzār (d. 369/979 or 360/970)—led him to conclude that 90% of the contents of the latter could be identified in the former, and this without quoting Ibn al-Jazzār at any time.⁷⁴ On the basis of the similarity he found in the contents and the fact that he tracked down one identical passage from the *Siyāsat al-Ṣibyān* in the *Kitāb Khalq al-Janīn*, Musa reckoned that al-Qurṭubī had plagiarized his contemporary's work, a charge that nobody had dared to put forward during the author's lifetime, or any time thereafter.

As in every case, the key elements that drive modern scholars to charge medieval authors with plagiarism are: similarity in either expression or content, the absence of reference to the "plagiarized" source (which points to intellectual dishonesty of the "plagiarist"), and the desire to deceive the reader by pretending that the "plagiarist" is the real author of the book. This is the typically biased view that results from a comparison between two books produced in a given period of the past, judged by a definition of a concept that cannot but be anachronistic when applied to the period in which the said "plagiarism" is detected.⁷⁵ Undoubtedly,

⁷¹ See J. M. B. Jones, "Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidi: The Dream of ʿĀtika and the Raid to Nakhla in Relation to the Charge of Plagiarism," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 22 (1959): 41–51.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 51: "A more acceptable theory would be that the greater part of the *sīrah* was already formalized by the second century A.H. and that later writers shared a common corpus of *qāṣṣ* and traditional material, which they arranged according to their own concepts and to which they added their own researches."

⁷³ Kh. Musa, "La Paidología de ʿArīb al-Qurṭubī e Ibn al-Īazzār al-Qayrawānī: ¿Coincidencia o plagio?" *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* 10 (1999): 97–132.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 127.

⁷⁵ As regards literature, see M. Peled, "On the Concept of Literary Influence in Classical Arabic

when dealing with books written in these times, an accusation of plagiarism remains controversial. In order to apprehend the phenomenon of plagiarism correctly, it is thus essential to try to understand how it was perceived in the context we are dealing with, i.e., the pre-modern Muslim culture. We have seen that there may be a difference in the way it was apprehended in literature and the non-literary fields, and we will therefore evaluate both situations independently.

As theorized by Muslim authors of the pre-modern period, plagiarism in literary criticism was a concept expressed through the word *sariqah*.⁷⁶ In this sense, it was mainly used for poetry and, to a lesser extent, epistolography.⁷⁷ Though many works have been devoted to this theme from an early period onwards,⁷⁸ a clear theory of what *sariqah* meant was never really developed.⁷⁹ Several works tried to categorize the different genres and the broader limits of plagiarism in poetry, but they resulted in a quite complicated and wide-ranging taxonomy of various kinds of “borrowings,” from crude plagiarism to creative borrowing.⁸⁰ Even if crude

Literary Criticism,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 11 (1991): 37: “A discussion of the concept of literary influence in classical Arabic literature has to contend with several obvious difficulties. First, the very notion as conceived by present-day criticism was unknown to the Arab critics, just as it was unknown to their Greek predecessors, whose ideas on intertextual relations are often discernible in Arabic critical thinking. Consequently the phenomenon of literary influence is never explicitly discussed in Arabic works dealing with problems of poetics. If, in spite of this difficulty, we can attempt to reconstruct their attitude toward it, it is because the results of such influence are nevertheless apparent in Arabic poetry. This was recognized by the medieval critics within another conceptual framework, namely, that of plagiarism (*al-sariqah al-adabiyah*).”

⁷⁶ For a very broad presentation of plagiarism in poetry and a good bibliography, see W. Heinrichs, “Sariqa,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Supplement*, fascicules 9–10, 707–10.

⁷⁷ W. Heinrichs, “An Evaluation of *Sariqa*,” *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 5–6 (1987): 357: “One of the favorite pastimes of the medieval critic of Arabic literature was to hunt for *sariqāt* (“thefts”, “plagiarisms”) in the works of the poets and, to a lesser extent, the epistolographers.”

⁷⁸ The *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, for instance, already listed several titles of books tackling this issue in poetry. See more particularly on this: D. Sturm, “Ibn an-Nadīm’s Hinweise auf das Verhältnis zum geistigen Eigentum im Historikerkapitel des Kitāb al-Fihrist,” *Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft* 13 (1990): 65–70.

⁷⁹ See W. Heinrichs, “An Evaluation of *Sariqa*,” 367: “By now it will have become abundantly clear that the *sariqāt* literature is less important to us for what, on the surface, it purports to be, namely collections of plagiarisms.”

⁸⁰ With several technical words being applied to each of these kinds of “borrowings.” For this, see specially the work of S. A. Bonebakker on al-Ḥātimī (d. 998): “Sariqa and Formula: Three Chapters from Ḥātimī’s *Ḥilyat al-Muḥāḍara*,” *Annali dell’Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli* 46 (1986): 367–89; “Four Chapters from the *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara*—Arabic Texts,” *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 17 (1999): 29–52. See also his “Ancient Arabic Poetry and Plagiarism: a Terminological Labyrinth,” *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 15 (1997): 65–92; and A. Sanni, “From Value Judgment to Theoretical Formalism: The Development of Arabic Theory on *Sariqa* (Plagiarism),” *Proceedings of the 1989 International Conference on Europe and the Middle East held at the University of Durham*,

plagiarism existed (quotation word for word of the verse[s] of another poet), most of the forms it took encompassed a broad range of literary devices, from borrowing to quotation through evocation, to cite just a few. The idea of blameworthiness conveyed by the word *sariqah* (“theft”) was however not instinctive in the mind of those who used that term. Some kinds of *sariqah* were laudable, others reprehensible. Hence the development of the concept of *akhdh*, more neutral, and also divided into two ethical categories: laudable and blameworthy.⁸¹ Arab critics who devoted their time to identifying and classifying the borrowings in poetry relied on a binary system: that of the *lafz* (expression) and *ma‘ná* (poetical idea). If the poetical ideas were considered to be common property, the way they were expressed by a poet was regarded as personal and thus not permissible to be copied and reused in the same context.⁸² Furthermore, *sariqah* was never considered from the legal point of view, as Islamic law does not recognize any legal value for the “theft” of intellectual property.⁸³ Nonetheless, it remains true that “the idea of intellectual property seems to have been well developed.”⁸⁴ To conclude with this part, *sariqah* in literary criticism, as conceptualized by Arab critics of classical literature, does not fully equate with the word “plagiarism.” Most of the cases registered by the treatises on *sariqah* have to do with what is now called intertextuality, though this was not expressed in those terms by Arab critics. However, they knew that a poet or a littérateur is inspired by his previous readings and cannot avoid the repetition of a theme or a metaphor.⁸⁵ Plagiarism,

9–12 July 1989 (Oxford, 1989), 384–94; idem, “Recomposition: An Aspect of Arabic Literary Theory,” *Islamic Culture* 73 (1999): 105–20; idem, “The Arabic Theory of Originality and Imitation in a New Light,” *Asiatische Studien/Études asiatiques* 54 (2000): 597–608.

⁸¹ A. Sdiri, “Les théoriciens arabes et le plagiat,” in *Le Plagiat*, 128. *Akhdh* was used for the taking over of a *ma‘ná* (poetical idea) of an earlier poet. See W. Heinrichs, “An Evaluation of *Sariqa*,” 359.

⁸² Peled, “On the Concept of Literary Influence,” 37–38.

⁸³ It must be remembered here that in Western law, intellectual property was not recognized as such before the end of the eighteenth century (France, arrêts du Conseil du Roi, 30 August 1777), and was not protected by copyright before the end of the nineteenth century (the Bern convention of 1886). Even in this case, jurists prefer to speak of counterfeit rather than plagiarism. See A. Lucas, “Plagiat et droit d’auteur,” in *Le Plagiat*, 199–200.

⁸⁴ W. Heinrichs, “*Sariqa*,” 707. The idea of the consciousness of intellectual property in Islam was expressed for the first time, as far as I know, by G. Schoeller, “Die Anwendung der oral poetry-Theorie auf die arabische Literatur,” *Der Islam* 58 (1981): 222. For al-Ḥātimī’s point of view, see also Sanni, “The Arabic Theory,” 42–43: “He [al-Ḥātimī] dismisses the argument that all poetical ideas are common property and are therefore not subject to copyright. If this were so, he argues, al-A‘shā (d. 7/629) would not have been imprisoned for his alleged appropriation of a work by another poet.”

⁸⁵ Abū Hilāl al-‘Askarī (d. 395/1005) underwent such a situation: “This is something I have experienced myself and about which I have no doubt. Namely, I had composed something to

as we use the term nowadays, should rather be reserved for crude or slavish copying.⁸⁶

If seldom established in literary works, especially poetry, this baser form of plagiarism is more likely to be recurrently used in the other fields of non-literary texts (hadith, history, sciences, etc.). And this is more pertinent for our purposes because the concept of intertextuality can hardly be invoked as a justification in these cases. Historical facts, for instance, would never be considered an author's intellectual property, but the words he chose to recount these facts could. We will see whether, in these cases, an author who slavishly copies from another without quoting his source is regarded as a plagiarist. It has repeatedly been said that authors in Islam very often quoted sources without paying their dues, i.e., citing the author or the title from which they were borrowing, but whether this behavior was evaluated, and if so in what manner (positively, neutrally, or negatively) has not really been approached from the point of view of the authors of these periods. For this, we will have to consider the evaluations and examples collected in several books dating to the period under consideration (eighth–ninth/fourteenth–fifteenth c.) and belonging to different genres, mainly hadith works, history and sciences.

The field of traditions (hadith) might appear to have eluded such practices, but the sources give a different picture. Here is what a renowned specialist of the field, al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348), had to say about *sariqah* with regard to hadith works:⁸⁷

describe women and said: '*safarna budūran wa-intaqabna ahlātā.*' I came to believe that nobody had already combined these two metaphors until I exactly found them [under the pen] of an author of Baghdad. I was really surprised and decided that I would never at all charge any modern poet of plagiarism regarding one of his predecessors" ("*wa-hādhā amr qad 'araftuhu min nafsi fa-lā amtari fihī wa-dhālika anni kuntu 'amiltu shay'an fī ṣifat al-nisā' fa-qultu 'safarna budūran wa-intaqabna ahlātā' wa-ḡanantu anni lam usbaq ilā jam' hādhayn al-tashbūhayn ḥattā wajadtu dhālika bi-'aynihi li-ba'ḍ al-baghdādīyīn fa-kathura ta'ajjubī wa-'azamtu 'alā allā aḥkum 'alā al-muta'akhkhir bi-al-sariqah min al-mutaqaddim ḥukman ḥatman*"). See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1913–20, reprint 1963), 2:303.

⁸⁶ See Sdiri, "Les théoriciens arabes et le plagiat," in *Le Plagiat*, 127.

⁸⁷ Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 17:140.

Ibn Maʿīn said: “This [transmitter, i.e., al-Ḥusayn ibn Faraj], we know that he plagiarized traditions. I [al-Dhahabī] say: “The plagiarism of traditions is less considerable than forging or inventing them. It consists in that a traditionist is the only one to transmit a given tradition, then the plagiarist comes and pretends that he heard it too from the same master. This is not similar to the plagiarism of the *ajzāʾ* [small compendia of hadith] and the books: this is far more disastrous than the plagiarism of the transmission, which is less wicked than the forgery of tradition because of his saying: “To tell a lie on my behalf does not equal a lie told on behalf of someone else.””

قال ابن معين: ذلك نعرفه يسرق الحديث. قلت: سرقة الحديث أهون من وضعه أو اختلاقه وسرقة الحديث أن يكون محدث ينفرد بحديث فيجيء السارق ويدعي أنه سمعه أيضا من شيخ ذلك المحدث وليس ذلك بسرقة الأجزاء والكتب فإنها أنحس بكثير من سرقة الرواية وهي دون وضع الحديث في الإثم لقوله: إن كذبا علي ليس ككذب علي غيري.

This very interesting passage posits several perceptions of the word *sariqah* not necessarily encountered so far in the context of literary texts. Thanks to it, we learn that traditionists identified people who attributed to themselves traditions that were known to be transmitted by only one person. This is similar to the appropriation of someone else’s intellectual property.⁸⁸ However, it was regarded as less egregious (*ahwan*) than the forgery of traditions, which is more blameworthy because it implies that a lie is forged and put in the mouth of the Prophet. Obviously, to “steal” a tradition from someone who is its only transmitter is more easily forgiven. For the sake of understanding, al-Dhahabī wanted to make intelligible that there existed another kind of appropriation of someone else’s words that was more harmful than the “theft” of a tradition: the plagiarism (*sariqah*) of works. Even speaking of *ajzāʾ*—the compendia of traditions (often on a certain theme) collected by a transmitter, which necessarily consisted only of hadiths and thus greatly obscured the transmitter’s authorial voice—al-Dhahabī considered that to copy it and appropriate it was tantamount to an act of plagiarism. Authorship is nevertheless clearly discernible in these compendia because the transmitter selected those traditions, put them in a given order, and sometimes

⁸⁸ Al-Dhahabī provides two examples in other places: “*thumma saraqahu qawm ḍuʿafāʾ mimman yuʿrafūn bi-sariqat al-ḥadīth*,” *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 16:428; idem, *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnaʿūṭ et al. (Beirut, 1401–9/1981–88), 10:601; “*uttuhima bi-sariqat ḥadīthayn*,” idem, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 15:348.

appended a commentary for a difficult word found in a given tradition. Moreover, the personal approach is conspicuous in the *isnād*, which is very individualized.⁸⁹ Of course, he added that books (*kutub*) could be the subject of the same treatment, but this is far more to be expected. In al-Dhahabī's perception of the phenomenon, one understands that, on an ethical scale,⁹⁰ crude plagiarism (of compendia or books) is situated beneath the forgery of traditions (the worst) and above the appropriation of someone else's traditions (the least of all).

This perception concerning crude plagiarism emerges when reading the biography of a renowned *ʿālim* who was mainly a traditionist: Ibn al-Mulaqqin (d. 804/1401). Here is what a Syrian historian, himself a traditionist, had to say about him:⁹¹

After that, he wrote numerous books, but the Egyptians accuse him of plagiarism in his works. Indeed, he did not attend anything, he did not study thoroughly, and he composed many works in the sense that he copied the books of others.

ثم كتب بعد ذلك كتبا عديدة والمصريون ينسبونه إلى سرقة تصانيفه فإنه ما كان يستحضر شيئا ولا يحقق علما ويؤلف المؤلفات الكثيرة على معنى النسخ من كتب الناس.

What several authors reproached Ibn al-Mulaqqin for was the fact that his numerous works, amounting to more than three hundred, could only be produced in such quantities because he composed them by stealing what others had already written. We understand that Ibn al-Mulaqqin's books were not necessarily completely borrowed from others, but that the material he put in them mainly stemmed from others' production. One of Ibn Ḥajar's comments enlightens us in this matter. It is reported by al-Sakhāwī in the biography he devoted to his

⁸⁹ Al-Dhahabī elsewhere gives a telling example regarding Ibn Wadʿān (d. 494/1100) in this case: "wa-rawā al-Arbaʿīn al-Wadʿāniyah al-mawḍūʿah allatī saraqahā ʿammuhu Abū al-Faṭḥ ibn Wadʿān min al-kadhḥāb Zayd ibn Rifāʿah. . . . Wa-kitābuhu fī al-Arbaʿīn saraqahu min Ibn Rifāʿah wa-ḥadhafa minhu al-khuṭbah wa-rakkaba ʿalā kull ḥadīth rajulan aw rajulayn ilā shaykh Zayd ibn Rifāʿah wāḍiʿ al-kitāb." See al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 34:200.

⁹⁰ Cf. the words he used: *anḥas* (calamitous) and *ithm* (sin).

⁹¹ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Khān (Beirut, 1987), 4:43. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 2:218: "wa-ishtahara bi-kathrat al-taṣānīf ḥattā kāna yaqūl innahā balaghat thalāthamīʾat taṣnīf wa-ishtahara ismuhu wa-ṭāra ṣīyatuhu wa-kānat kitābatuhu akthar min istiḥḍārihi fa-li-hādḥā kathura al-qawl fīhi min ʿulamāʾ al-Shām wa-Miṣr ḥattā qaraʿtu bi-khaṭṭ Ibn Ḥijjī: 'kāna yunsab ilā sariqat al-taṣānīf fa-innahu mā kāna yastahḍir shayʿan wa-lā yuḥaqqiq ʿilman wa-yuʿallif al-muʿallafāt al-kathīrah ʿalā maʿnā al-naskh min kutub al-nās.'" One will notice that in this case, the charge was uttered by a Syrian historian, Ibn Ḥijjī (d. 816/1413).

master, in a section entitled “Those who appropriated someone else’s work and attributed it to themselves, adding or cutting out insignificant material, but the majority being mentioned in the words of the original.” This section contains several cases of “plagiarism” or “borrowing” that Ibn Ḥajar could track down. Al-Sakhāwī gives the data regarding Ibn al-Mulaqqin on the basis of a note in Ibn Ḥajar’s handwriting found on a supplement (*dhayl*) Ibn al-Mulaqqin wrote to his *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi‘īyah*.⁹²

I [al-Sakhāwī] saw in his [Ibn Ḥajar’s] handwriting found on a Supplement of his master Ibn al-Mulaqqin . . . what follows:

“I examined this book from its beginning to its end and compared all the biographies it contains with *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Wuṣṭá* of the judge Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī. I found that almost everything is copied, word for word, from it. Likely, the small amount of additional material does not exceed ten biographies.”

وقرأت بخطه أيضا على ذيل لشيخه ابن الملتن . . . ما نصه:
نظرت هذا الكتاب من أوله إلى آخره وقابلت التراجم
جميعها على كتاب الطبقات الوسطى للقاضي تاج
الدين السبكي فوجدت الجميع إلا اليسير منقولا منها
بحروفها والقدر اليسير الزائد لعله عشرة تراجم لا
يزيد على ذلك.

As is noticeable, Ibn Ḥajar’s comment, written directly on a copy of this book,⁹³ does not characterize Ibn al-Mulaqqin’s borrowing as plagiarism (*sariqah*). But for someone who reads between the lines, that is precisely what he is saying. Hence al-Sakhāwī’s remark:⁹⁴

⁹² Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar*, 1:391.

⁹³ Al-Sakhāwī explains, a few lines later (*ibid.*, 392), that he managed to lay hands on a copy of Ibn al-Mulaqqin’s *Ṭabaqāt* in the handwriting of someone who was acquainted with Ibn Ḥajar. The first volume consisted of the *Ṭabaqāt* while the second contained, among other things, the *Dhayl* Ibn Ḥajar examined. Al-Sakhāwī found Ibn Ḥajar’s comment on that copy.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 392.

I remained astonished at my master's purpose in this matter. It would not have harmed him if he had said in his comment: "He gleaned it from the work of one of his predecessors." Did he think that Tāj al-Dīn's *Ṭabaqāt* would be buried with its author in his grave and would not be published? And that he would not have yet authorized another copy to be made? That is really strange!

ولقد طال تعجبي من شيخنا فيما اعتمده من ذلك فما كان يضره لو قال في خطبته: إنه التقطه من تصنيف من سبقه إليه. أتراه ظن أن طبقات تاج الدين تدفن معه في القبر فلا تظهر؟ وما جوز قط أن ينقل منها نسخة أخرى؟ إن هذا لشيء عجيب!

Even though al-Sakhāwī never speaks of plagiarism (*sariqah*) because the work contained some additional—albeit limited—original material, he considered that his master's judgment was too neutral and that he should have been more explicit in order to reveal Ibn al-Mulaqqin's bad behavior. Interestingly, his comment also demonstrates that a deceit such as this one would have been unmasked sooner or later, as copies usually survived their author and were always likely to be compared with someone else's work.

In the given section of Ibn Ḥajar's biography, al-Sakhāwī lists further cases of appropriation noticed by his master, most of the latter's comments having been found written on the incriminated books. In none of these comments does Ibn Ḥajar refer to the appropriation with the word "*sariqah*," and his tone always remains almost neutral, with no hint of a moral judgment. He simply exposed what was wrong in the way they acted: the books they produced were just a collection of passages borrowed from others without quoting them; the material they added or omitted was insignificant in comparison with the amount of data they took from others; they copied almost word for word; and, finally, they deceived others by saying that this was their original work. Only once did he pour out his feelings about such behavior. Describing what al-Birmāwī (d. 816/1413) had done in a particular case, he declared: "This does not advance knowledge!"⁹⁵ which is, in our modern perception of the phenomenon, a justifiable criticism.

If Ibn Ḥajar was reluctant to use the word "*sariqah*" (plagiarism) in such cases, his remarks nevertheless imply that he did not at all appreciate the way these authors acted. His assessment of one of his colleague's books further corroborates that he felt this way even for verbatim quotations of passages without referring to the source, a practice generally observed in those days. This assessment, which

⁹⁵ Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar*, 1:394 ("wa-laysa dhālik min shukr al-ilm").

brings us to the historical field,⁹⁶ refers to al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1451) and his *ʿIqd al-Jumān*, and Ibn Ḥajar placed it at the beginning of his chronicle entitled *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*.⁹⁷

I have consulted for it the *History* of the judge Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-ʿAynī, who mentioned that he based himself on the *History* of Ibn Kathīr, and that is indeed the case. However, when Ibn Kathīr[’s *History*] ends, he relied mainly on the *History* of Ibn Duqmāq, to such an extent that he uninterruptedly copied almost a full page from it, sometimes following him blindly in his mistakes, even his grammatical mistakes like “*akhlaʿa ʿalā fulān*.” Even stranger, Ibn Duqmāq mentions that he witnessed an event, and al-Badr [al-ʿAynī] blindly reproduces his words although this event happened in Cairo while he [al-ʿAynī] was far away from it, in ʿAyntāb. I have not busied myself with following his slips. Rather, I copied from him things I believe he was aware of, things I did not witness myself but he did, and that were not at my disposal [elsewhere].

وطالعت عليه تاريخ القاضي بدر الدين محمود العيني، وذكر أن الحافظ عماد الدين ابن كثير عمدته في تاريخه وهو كما قال؛ لكن منذ قطع ابن كثير صارت عمدته على تاريخ ابن دقماق، حتى يكاد يكتب منه الورقة الكاملة متواليه، وربما قلده فيما بهم فيه حتى في اللحن الظاهر مثل “أخلع على فلان،” وأعجب منه أن ابن دقماق يذكر في بعض الحوادث على أنه شاهدها فيكتب البدر كلامه بعينه بما تضمنه، وتكون تلك الحادثة وقعت بمصر وهو بعيد في عينتاب، ولم أتشغل بتتبع عثراته، بل كتبت منه ما ليس عندي مما أظن أنه اطلع عليه من الأمور التي كنا نغيب عنها ويحضرها.

Even if this criticism must be gauged in the light of an academic rivalry between both scholars, as A. Broadbridge stressed,⁹⁸ this passage is remarkable because it can be placed in a broader context, i.e., all the other cases Ibn Ḥajar tried to track down: as such, it definitely confirms his own apprehension, in negative terms, of the phenomenon.

⁹⁶ For the earlier periods, see particularly the following example mentioned by al-Masʿūdī about Ibn Qutaybah: “*wa-jarrada dhālika Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī fī kitābihi wa-qad salaba dhālika Ibn Qutaybah fa-naqalahu ilā kutubihī naqlan wa-jaʿalahu ʿan nafsihi wa-qad faʿala dhālika fī kathīr min kutub Abī Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī hādihā.*” Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Maʿādin al-Jawhar*, ed. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, rev. Charles Pellat (Beirut, 1966–74), 3:359.

⁹⁷ Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 1:4–5.

⁹⁸ See A. F. Broadbridge, “Academic Rivalry,” 98 ff.

Al-Maqrīzī himself did not refrain from revealing the bad behavior of colleagues, and his reaction is just as significant:⁹⁹

He [Ibn Duqmāq] limited himself to copying what he found to such an extent that those who know the truth have accused him of negligence. Among this is that he borrowed my notebooks. When he died, I found the history of Timur Lang the tyrant in his handwriting and there, he had copied a section related to the seizure of Aleppo by Timur that I had written, where I said: “An unsuspecting person informed me that he witnessed” and he had written what he saw “An unsuspecting person informed,” making the reader believe that he was the person who was telling this section though, by God, he did not find this section but in my handwriting.

حسبه نقل ما يقف عليه حتى ربما ينسبه من علم حقيقة أمره إلى الغفلة فمن ذلك أنه كان يستعير مجاميعي التي بخطي فلما مات وقفت 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 يوهم الناظر أنه هو الراوي للجزء ولا والله وقف على ذلك الجزء إلا من خطي.

In al-Maqrīzī’s words, the appropriation of one of his texts, quoted word for word, without even modifying passages considered to be personal, was tantamount to negligence (*ghaflah*).¹⁰⁰ If he was disturbed by the discovery of his own words attributed to someone else, he was more upset by seeing that a fact that was transmitted to him by a trustworthy informant, some sort of a scoop, was “stolen” from him because Ibn Duqmāq used the same words to introduce the informant. In this way, Ibn Duqmāq was becoming another possible source for this matter. Moreover, a comparison of both works would have raised the question of plagiarism and the conclusion reached by a reader would have been disadvantageous to al-Maqrīzī because he was younger than Ibn Duqmāq and

⁹⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-Uqūd al-Farīdah*, ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:102.

¹⁰⁰ The same word is used to define the way Ibn al-Furāt acted with the same section on Timur Lang: “*thumma ba‘da dhālik shāhadtu fī al-ghaflah a‘jab min dhālik wa-huwa anna . . . Ibn al-Furāt kataba tārikh kabīr . . . wa-yanqulu ‘anhu fī tārikhihi kathīran. Fa-lammā māta waqafu ‘alā qiṭ‘ah min tārikhihi bi-khaṭṭihi fa-marra bi-minhu hādihā al-mawḍi‘ bi-‘aynihi wa-qad katabahu immā min khaṭṭ Ibn Duqmāq aw waqafa ‘alā khaṭṭi ‘indahū fa-qāla huwa ayḍan: ‘akhbarānī man lā attahim.’ Fa-ṣāra al-nāẓir fī khaṭṭ Ibn al-Furāt yaḥṣabu annahu huwa rāwī al-juz’ ayḍan wa-mā dhāka illā ghaflah.*” Ibid.

more likely to have borrowed it from his predecessor.

From all this, we may conclude that authors of non-literary texts were acquainted with the concept of plagiarism in the sense that a text appropriated by someone else is sometimes slightly modified but, nevertheless, remains identifiable for a vigilant mind. It became a pastime for several authors of the Mamluk period to recognize such hoaxes. Sometimes, they were themselves the victims and did not appreciate that the result of several years of thorough study could be stolen by a dilettante. In such cases, their reaction could be measured, as with Ibn Ḥajar, or vehement, as with al-Sakhāwī or al-Maqrīzī. An author like al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) went further and did not refrain from publicly denouncing another author he accused of having plagiarized several of his works.¹⁰¹ The title and several passages of his book clearly refer to the theft and the thief as *sariqah* and *sāriq* respectively, demonstrating that he understood that the appropriation of his personal work, slightly modified or not, was plagiarism and the author of this act was a plagiarist.¹⁰²

At this point, we probably need to make a distinction between two different situations. The first is the quotation of passages in the body of a work considered as original without referring to the source. Though not appreciated, it appears that this was a rather common practice at all times. But, in this matter, there was undoubtedly a difference between a book written several decades or centuries before and another one published by a contemporary. Old books were considered a common heritage and as such could be plundered without paying one's debts towards their authors.¹⁰³ Older sources sometimes circulated for several centuries and were consequently widespread and known to the general readership. Anyone

¹⁰¹ See al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Fāriq bayna al-Muṣannif wa-al-Sāriq*, ed. H. Nāḥī (Beirut, 1998).

¹⁰² In the field of the sciences, which was no exception in this matter, a similar example may be quoted. This is the *Fa'alta fa-Lā Talum* (You have done it, so do not condemn) of Qutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311), who wrote this treatise partly to denounce the fact that his contemporary, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Ḥimādhī, had substantially plagiarized his *Al-Tuḥfah al-Shāhiyah*. See J. Ragep, *Naṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's Memoir on Astronomy (al-Tadhkira fi 'ilm al-hay'a)* (New York, 1993), 1:60. I wish to express my thanks to the author for pointing me to this example.

¹⁰³ Cf. Charles Nodier's words: "Le plagiat commis sur les auteurs modernes, de quelque pays qu'ils soient, a déjà un degré d'innocence de moins que le plagiat commis sur les anciens." Ch. Nodier, *Questions de littérature légale* (Paris, 1828), 4 (quoted by Ch. Vandendorpe, "Introduction", in idem, *Le Plagiat*, 8). Cf. the attitude of some websites where electronic copies of copyrighted works and manuscripts are put at the disposal of everybody because they are considered to be part of a cultural heritage and as such *waqf lillāh*. An instance of this attitude as regards ancient material can be given for al-Maqrīzī, who extensively exploited al-Kindī's works, as well as Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's *Kitāb Futūḥ Miṣr* and Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari's *Masālik al-Abṣār*, without quoting the source in most cases. For al-Kindī, see in particular G. Wiet, "Kindī et Maqrīzī," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 12 (1916): 61–73.

sharing a common cultural heritage could identify the sources without problem, and in this sense, the phenomenon was in no way comparable to plagiarism: the idea of deceit was generally absent. On the other hand, contemporary works took time to be circulated and become well-known. They could be defended by their own authors or their disciples and were regarded as a personal work normally to be quoted with full attribution. The second situation is the slavish copying and appropriation of somebody else's work by a later author, whether or not he made additions to it, a practice most of the authors condemned. The terms they chose to express their discontent with the phenomenon varied greatly, from the explicit *sariqah* or neutral *akhdh* to a more ambiguous *ghaflah*. Nevertheless, they always referred to the same practice, to be identified as plagiarism.

As Ibn Ḥajar is the central witness in the case at the core of this article, what would he have thought of al-Maqrīzī's plagiarism of al-Awḥadī, given that we can now speak of plagiarism in the light of the aforesaid elements? What Ibn Ḥajar saw in this part of the draft is: that al-Maqrīzī took al-Awḥadī's draft and erased some parts of the text that he then replaced with his own words, to establish that he was the author of these words, as is discernible in the introductory part of the section on the madrasahs; that he modified the personal references made by al-Awḥadī, as is conspicuously evident on fol. 82b where he erased some words and replaced them with *qāla al-mu'allif*; that in most cases he copied al-Awḥadī's words almost verbatim, without citing him in his final version; finally, a close analysis of the layout of this section, I mean the order in which the madrasahs are enumerated, shows conclusively that al-Maqrīzī followed it almost exactly:¹⁰⁴ only eight madrasahs appear to have been moved to another place in al-Maqrīzī's plan,¹⁰⁵ which means that he stuck to al-Awḥadī's general organization of the section on buildings. This is another upsetting element.

Undoubtedly, it must have been worrisome for a colleague like Ibn Ḥajar to notice that the text composed by al-Awḥadī had been appropriated by his colleague al-Maqrīzī. However, in these conditions, it is better understood why al-Maqrīzī never referred to al-Awḥadī as an author in his *Khīṭaṭ*,¹⁰⁶ not even in the list of

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix 3.

¹⁰⁵ These are nos. 6, 9, 10, 11, 15, 25, 27, 67 according to their order of appearance in al-Awḥadī's draft and nos. 24, 25, 31, 30, 26, 41, 62, 71 according to their order of appearance in the final version of the *Khīṭaṭ*. Three additional madrasahs appearing in the draft have also been moved to another place in the final version, but these were added to al-Awḥadī's draft by al-Maqrīzī and must not be considered here, given that al-Maqrīzī placed them where he found blank spaces in the draft.

¹⁰⁶ Al-Maqrīzī mentioned al-Awḥadī only once for a *khābar* he transmitted to him on the authority of Ibn al-Furāt regarding the teaching sessions that took place in the mosque of 'Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣ in Fustāṭ before 749/1348. Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-I'tibār*, Būlāq ed., 2:256 (see the Sayyid edition, 4:36, l. 22). The same *khābar* is given by al-Maqrīzī in al-Awḥadī's entry in his

authors who preceded him in this field, a list that he placed in his introduction to the book.¹⁰⁷ Sayyid recognized the unforgivable nature of this deliberate omission and noted that al-Maqrīzī should have mentioned al-Awḥadī's contribution, as he did in al-Awḥadī's biography in his biographical dictionary, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah*. Yet Sayyid justified al-Maqrīzī's behavior by claiming that al-Awḥadī's drafts at his death partly covered the material collected in al-Maqrīzī's own drafts: in other words, when al-Maqrīzī took possession of these drafts, he would have noticed that they were nothing more than a miscellany of unorganized extracts (*amshāj min al-nuqūl ulṣiqat janban ilá janb dūna mā ayy tamḥiṣ*). Nonetheless, these extracts would have been indispensable for his own work, but rather than adding them to his own drafts, Sayyid argues that al-Maqrīzī would have gone back to the sources used by al-Awḥadī. Doing so, he was excused from quoting his name in the body of his work.¹⁰⁸

Sayyid's argument belittles al-Awḥadī's work: nowhere is it said that his book was just a collection of notes, cards, slips, and extracts. On the contrary, we know for sure that he had already made a fair copy of part of it and that, according to al-Maqrīzī himself, there were several volumes of drafts.¹⁰⁹ Sayyid probably interprets the word *musawwadah* as designating a chaotic draft, but this was not the case. It already reflected the author's intentions toward his book. Consequently, the rough draft was more than a bunch of notes. Proof of this is that such drafts were sometimes prized by later authors. Several examples corroborate that drafts surviving their authors could be deemed useful enough to be sold and later on exploited.¹¹⁰ The rough draft was often considered as a personal work and worth

biographical dictionary. See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah*, Gotha MS 1771, fol. 48b = ed. ʿAlī, 1:235 = ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:188.

¹⁰⁷ See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-ʾIṭibār*, Būlāq ed., 1:4–5. The same is true of Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809/1407), another colleague with whom al-Maqrīzī was acquainted, and the author of an unfinished book dealing with the topography of Egypt entitled *Al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat ʿIqd al-Amṣār*. Vols. 4 and 5 of the autograph were discovered and published by K. Vollers in 1893 (Būlāq).

¹⁰⁸ A. F. Sayyid, “Muqaddimat al-Muḥaqqiq,” in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-ʾIṭibār*, 1:65.

¹⁰⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah*, ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:186.

¹¹⁰ Ibn al-Furāt's *Tārīkh*, of which he had time to make a fair copy of the last third only (still 20 vols.), was sold as a *musawwadah* by his son, who had no interest in it. Several historians took advantage of it, among them al-Maqrīzī himself. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ al-Lāmiʿ*, 8:51; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis*, 2:515–16; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah*, ed. al-Jalīlī, 3:227. See another example reported by al-Sakhāwī, *ibid.*, 6:328 (“*wa-sharaḥa al-Ḥāwī sharḥan ḥasanan mabsūṭan bayyaḍa thulthahu al-awwal wa-māta ʿan bāqīhi musawwadah yuntafaʿ bi-hā ka-al-intifāʿ bi-al-mubayyaḍah wa-in kāna fī tilka ziyādāt kathīrah*”). Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī's rough draft of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* was also sold, but probably for another reason: it became a collectible. See Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Irshād al-Arīb ilá Maʿrifat al-Adīb*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1993), 4:1719.

being quoted,¹¹¹ even when a fair copy of the work existed.¹¹² More relevant for our purposes, the rough draft could, in some cases, be fair-copied by someone else, a disciple or a colleague; this is what happened with al-Jawhari's famous dictionary, *Al-Ṣaḥāḥ*, which was still a draft when its author became convinced that he could fly like a bird and died as a result. A fair copy of the unrevised rough draft was prepared by his disciple, who was apparently less knowledgeable and introduced many mistakes.¹¹³

Rough drafts were thus considered personal works in their own right, even though they were not published. They were valued as sources and quoted by others who did not hesitate to refer to them. Thus al-Maqrizī had several options at his disposal. He could have prepared a fair copy of al-Awḥadī's drafts, even cutting off some parts and adding others, but published it in the name of his colleague, as others did in such cases. This option was disregarded by al-Maqrizī, who rather decided to start his work on the *khiṭaṭ* thanks to the material collected and already prepared by al-Awḥadī, as I will demonstrate in the following pages. In this case, he could have quoted al-Awḥadī's draft, a solution adopted by several of his predecessors, but he chose not to do so. On the contrary, he completely obliterated al-Awḥadī's contribution to the field, except in the biography he devoted to him in his *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Faridah*. However, his decision indicates his intent to deceive the readers of his *Khiṭaṭ*. Consequently, Sayyid's justification hardly stands up, particularly in light of the section identified as being in al-Awḥadī's handwriting. Indeed, it shows that we are not dealing with disorganized cards bearing unverified data, in fact not even a mere draft.

AL-AWḤADĪ'S *KHIṬAṬ*. JUST A DISORGANIZED DRAFT?

A close analysis of the section on the madrasahs allows us to establish several facts, thanks to the external and internal elements it contains.

First of all, it may be argued that al-Awḥadī's work on the madrasahs was at a fairly advanced stage at the time of his death. The section begins with a preamble in which the author explains how and when the madrasah was instituted for the first time and who introduced this institution in Egypt.¹¹⁴ Then, he proceeds

¹¹¹ See al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 45:421 (“*muṣannif Tārīkh al-Shīʿah wa-huwa musawwadah fi ʿiddat mujalladāt naqaltu minhu kathīran*”); Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān wa-Anbāʾ Abnāʾ al-Zamān*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1968–72, reprint 1994), 6:42 (“*naqaltuhā min khaṭṭ al-qāḍī Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm min musawwadat tārikhihi*”).

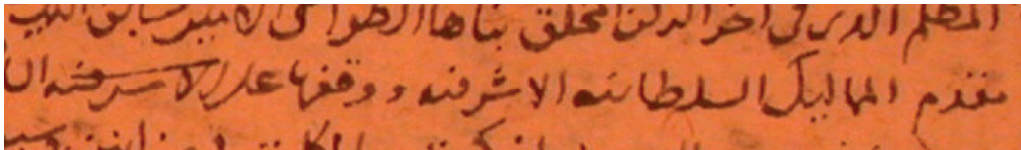
¹¹² See al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 1:24 (“*ṭālaʿtu musawwadat Tahdhīb al-Kamāl li-shaykhinā al-ḥāfiẓ Abī al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī thumma ṭālaʿtu al-mubayyaḍah kullahā*”).

¹¹³ See Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Irshād al-Arib*, 2:658. For other examples, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah*, 5:117; idem, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 1:345.

¹¹⁴ This preamble was slightly modified by al-Maqrizī. See the first five lines of text on fol. 82a

with the list of the buildings arranged chronologically according to the year of foundation, starting with the Ayyubid period and proceeding further into the Mamluk period until the end of the eighth/fourteenth century.¹¹⁵ For almost every building, data about the location, the name of the founder, the year of construction, the furnishings, the *waqfs* dedicated by the founder, and the law schools to which it was devoted are provided. The section ends with an appendix dealing with the lessons that were also organized in the various mosques in Cairo, which demonstrates that, in al-Awḥadī's mind, the section on madrasahs dealt essentially with teaching.

Additionally, this section clearly indicates that al-Awḥadī's work was more than just miscellanies on the topic. In truth, it probably represents the partial fair copy referred to by Ibn Ḥajar and al-Sakhāwī, a fact confirmed by the following passage:



Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 90b.

مقدم المماليك السلطانية الاشرافية ووقفها على الاشرافية الشافعية.

In this passage, the first occurrence of the word *al-ashrafiyah* was right, but it was repeated a few words further on instead of *al-shāfi'iyah*, a mistake he noticed immediately given that he had not even had the time to add all the diacritical dots. He drew a line through the word and wrote at its end the correct reading. This phenomenon (*homoioteleuton*), typical of the copying process, shows that al-Awḥadī was clean-copying his text.

Thus, al-Awḥadī's work was far from being a draft or a collection of disorganized quotations. The author organized the material according to the date of foundation, as already stressed above, numbered the buildings accordingly,¹¹⁶ and used red

illustrated on p. 176.

¹¹⁵ This chronological order is somewhat disrupted at the end with two madrasahs going back to the Ayyubid period that Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir did not mention in his work, *Al-Rawḍah al-Bahiyah*, though he should have, according to al-Awḥadī (fols. 98b–99b: al-Madrasah al-Nābulusiyah (*lam yadhkurhā Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir*); al-Madrasah al-Kuhāriyah (*wa-lam yadhkurhā Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir fi kitābihi wa-hiya min sharṭihi*).

¹¹⁶ In its current state, the manuscript bears only a few figures placed in front of the names of the madrasahs, starting with no. 3 up to no. 10, then no. 13, where it stops. The fact that the first numbers and those between 10 and 13 are missing may be explained by the fact that they were

ink to write their names. His sources are quoted in the body of the text, while no marginal note in his handwriting nor any addition on a slip of paper is found in the section. Nevertheless, in some cases, he left blank spaces at the end of a building for future additions. In summary, the text is the result of a preliminary version, but it obviously shows that the author intended to revise it in the future. Cross references also confirm that the author had already written more than this section by the time he clean-copied it. He indicates that the section on mosques had already been dealt with¹¹⁷ and that the one on houses was still to come or to follow, meaning by this that he had already written it in draft form.¹¹⁸

Finally, this preserved section proves that al-Awḥadī used several kinds of sources: works by predecessors, oral witnesses, documents, and visits to the monuments described. With all these he was very critical, in that he always tried to corroborate second-hand data with primary information such as documents or inscriptions.

Furthermore, an analysis of the text in al-Awḥadī's handwriting reveals that his book must have been particularly detailed. Through the comparison of this section with the equivalent in the final version of al-Maqrīzī's *Khīṭaṭ*, we notice that the latter decided, quite strangely, not to take advantage of all the material he had at his disposal: 72 madrasahs were recorded by al-Awḥadī¹¹⁹ against 72 by al-Maqrīzī.¹²⁰ Yet, 23 madrasahs present in al-Awḥadī's census were omitted by al-Maqrīzī, which means that he replaced them with new ones: in fact, those built mainly after al-Awḥadī's death (811/1408).¹²¹ If the entirety of al-Awḥadī's *Khīṭaṭ* was as detailed as this surviving part is, then we can only imagine how many buildings al-Awḥadī recorded in the remaining parts of his book and that

presumably rubbed out by al-Maqrīzī. The lack of figures after no. 13 is either due to al-Awḥadī himself, who decided not to use this system until the end of the section, or must be attributed to al-Maqrīzī, who erased them in the same way he likely did at the beginning. Only a material analysis of the manuscript could reveal this.

¹¹⁷ Regarding al-Azhar (fol. 99b): “*qad taqqadama fi dhīkr binā' al-jāmi' al-Azhar mā kāna qarrarahu . . .*”; the mosque of al-Ḥākim (ibid.): “*qad qaddamnā mā rattabahu fihi . . .*”; the mosque of Ibn al-Maghribī (fol. 89b): “*bi-jānib jāmi'ihi al-madhkūr.*”

¹¹⁸ On one occasion, he referred to this section in the past (fol. 86a): “*kamā qaddamnā sharḥahu fi dhīkr al-ādur.*” In the other cases, he always mentioned it in the future (fol. 87a): “*wa-saya'ti dhīkr dhālik in shā'a Allāh ta'ālā fi dhīkr al-ādur*” (the whole sentence has been cancelled with a stroke in red ink by al-Awḥadī himself); (fol. 99a) “*wa-saya'ti dhīkr dhālik fi al-ādur.*”

¹¹⁹ This figure does not include the eleven buildings added by al-Maqrīzī to al-Awḥadī's manuscript.

¹²⁰ Actually, al-Maqrīzī listed 73 buildings, but his list includes a duplication (nos. 20 and 58: al-Madrasah al-Muhadhhabīyah; see Appendix 3).

¹²¹ It must also be said that al-Maqrīzī overlooked six of the eleven madrasahs he added to al-Awḥadī's work!

al-Maqrīzī decided to omit in his own work!¹²²

In light of what has been substantiated and of other elements to be considered shortly, another question arises, one which might have an answer as disturbing as the fact just established: when did al-Maqrīzī start working on the topography of Cairo? Or, more perniciously, did he hit upon the idea of writing a book on this topic before al-Awḥadī's death, as is generally believed, or afterwards, upon acquiring his deceased neighbor's draft?

DATING THE DRAFT OF AL-MAQRĪZĪ'S *KHITĀṬ*

In order to try to answer this question, a chronologically arranged list of his writings would be necessary. Unfortunately, such a list does not exist, although proposals could be made on the basis of the autograph manuscripts and other elements.¹²³ Meanwhile, we must rely on the facts at our disposal, and these are al-Maqrīzī's biographical data, dated references in *Al-Khitāṭ*, dated notes in the autograph draft of the first version, and the order of the data on some leaves therein.

The earliest date referred to in the final version of the *Khitāṭ* is 818/1415, seven years after al-Awḥadī's death, and the last one is 843/1439; it is generally assumed that al-Maqrīzī composed this work between 1415 and 1424.¹²⁴ But before composing it, he had to collect most of the data he needed, and this is more problematic. Sayyid is convinced that al-Maqrīzī started to record and organize the material just after the year 806/1404, the year al-Maqrīzī identified as corresponding to the beginning of Cairo's collapse from an architectural point of view.¹²⁵ This hardly stands up with al-Maqrīzī's agenda. As a matter of fact, a few pieces of information on his early life as a scholar gathered from various sources

¹²² That he meant not to include them in the final version of the *Khitāṭ* is clearly visible in the manuscript. The names of the neglected buildings are not accompanied by the sign indicating that the data were copied (*nuqila*), while those found in the *Khitāṭ* are. On this sign, see Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana II," 109–12.

¹²³ The present writer will tentatively provide a chronology of al-Maqrīzī's works in his forthcoming study of al-Maqrīzī's working method.

¹²⁴ See Jean-Claude Garcin, "Al-Maqrīzī: un historien encyclopédique du monde afro-oriental," in *Les Africains*, ed. Charles-André Julien et al. (Paris, 1977), 9:210. According to Nasser Rabbat, the work was begun in 1417 and completed in 1439–40. See Nasser Rabbat, "Al-Maqrizi's *Khitāṭ*, an Egyptian *Lieu de Mémoire*," in *The Cairo Heritage: Essays in Honor of Laila Ali Ibrahim*, ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo and New York, 2000), 22. According to Sabri Jarrar, the book was composed between 1415 and 1422. See Sabri Jarrar, "Al-Maqrizi's Reinvention of Egyptian Historiography through Architectural History," in *ibid.*, 32. Obviously, al-Maqrīzī continued to add new material until very late in his lifetime, as shown by the elements added until three years before his death.

¹²⁵ A. F. Sayyid, "Muqaddimat al-Muḥaqqiq," in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā'iz wa-al-ʿIṭbār*, 1:66.

contradict this statement. First of all, the first work of history (more precisely, economic history) he wrote was published in 808/1405.¹²⁶ Secondly, we know for sure that, from 810 to 815, he was far away from Cairo (he lived in Damascus, sometimes travelling between the Syrian capital and his hometown).¹²⁷ Under these circumstances, he would hardly have had the time to produce a manuscript of the *Khiṭaṭ* in almost finished form, as represented by the two preserved volumes of the draft, before 811. It may be added that al-Maqrīzī knew perfectly well that Ibn Duqmāq and al-Awḥadī were working on that subject, as both of them were his colleagues. Eventually, Ibn Duqmāq died in 809/1407, leaving an unfinished draft, and al-Awḥadī followed him in 811/1408 with his work in the same stage. If al-Maqrīzī had ventured to write a book on the topography of Cairo shortly after 806/1404, the result would have been a third book on the topic, and at that time he obviously could not have known that the other two authors would die prematurely.

Yet, the two volumes of the draft can be accurately dated between 811¹²⁸ and 816, striking evidence that he had at his disposal most of his material at a very early date. For Sayyid, neither manuscript of al-Maqrīzī's draft help in this matter.¹²⁹ However, several autograph notes found at the beginning of the first volume, on the first leaves, provide a *terminus ante quem*. These notes refer to events that all took place in 816, although they are scattered on various leaves and were written at different moments as is shown by the color of the ink.¹³⁰ If we assume

¹²⁶ *Ighāthah al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah*. The date is provided by al-Maqrīzī himself in his treatise. See John L. Meloy, "The Merits of Economic History: Re-Reading al-Maqrīzī's *Ighāthah* and *Shudhūr*," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, no. 2 (2003): 190.

¹²⁷ His stay in Damascus was generally thought to have lasted ten years, more or less between 810 and 820. It can now be fixed precisely thanks to the publication of his *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Faridah*, where he states that he stayed in Damascus from 810 to 815. See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Faridah*, ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:154 (*wa-lammā waradtu Dimashq min sanat ʿashr wa-thamāni miʿah wa-īlā sanat khamsah ʿasharah*) and 34–35.

¹²⁸ Even 814 if we consider that he prepared a resumé of the *Tārīkh* of Ibn Muyassar during that year and that this source is quoted in the body of the text of the first volume of the draft.

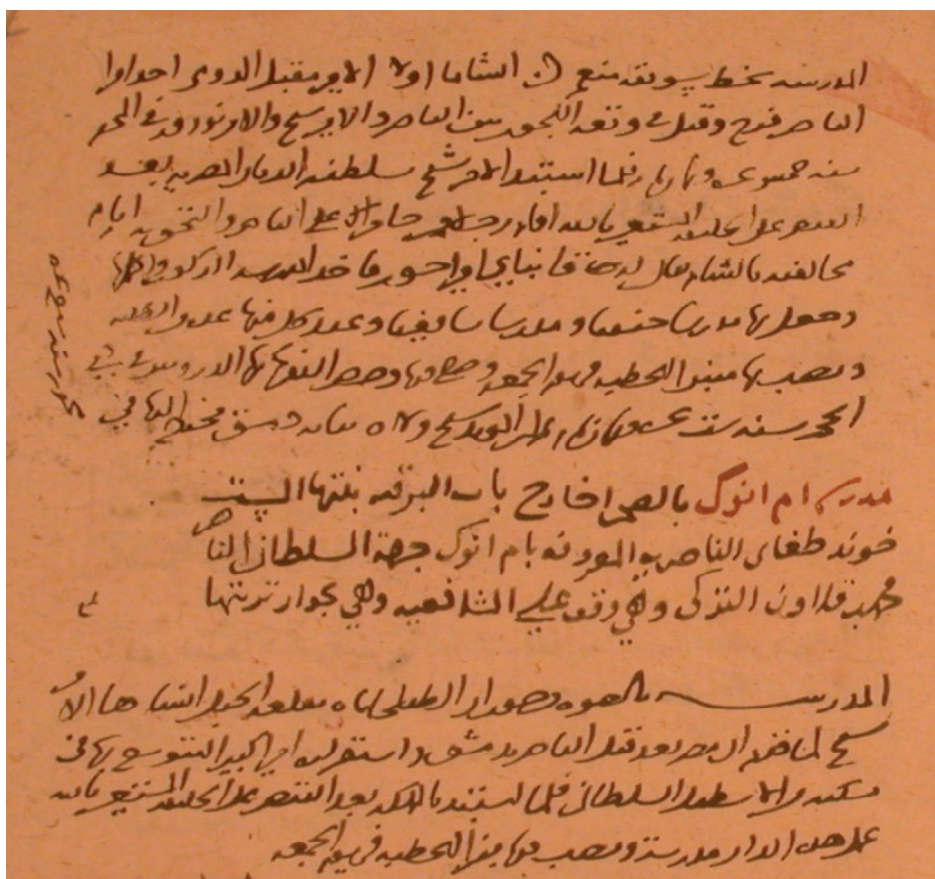
¹²⁹ A. F. Sayyid, "Muqaddimat al-Muḥaqqiq," in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār*, 1:66 (*wa-lā tuʿīnūnā musawwadat al-Maqrīzī lil-kitāb—wa-allatī waṣalat ilaynā minhā qiʿatayn [sic] maḥfūzatayn [sic] fī mathaf Ṭūbqabū Sarāy bi-Istanbūl—fī maʿrifat al-tārīkh al-ḥaqīqī li-bidāyat taʿlīf hādihā al-kitāb*).

¹³⁰ Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Hazinesi 1472, fol. 1a (title-page providing the title in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting: *Al-Juzʿ al-Thānī min Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*): note recording the death of Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn al-Ādamī on 8 Ramaḍān 816; fol. 1b (containing a list of contents): note recording the death of *ṣāhibūnā* Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUthmān ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad al-Birmāwī 11 nights from the end of Shaʿbān 816; fol. 4a (containing a list of contents for the *kharāj*): note regarding the insurgence of Ṭūghān al-Dawādār on 16 Jumādā I 816.

that al-Maqrīzī wrote down these events shortly after they happened, these notes allow us to establish that, at that date, the first volume of this draft was already finished. On the other hand, one will notice that these leaves contain several parts of the table of contents:¹³¹ from this, it can be deduced that the plan was complete as early as 816, and given that this table refers to contents included not only in this first volume, but also in the second, and probably a third (now lost), we may infer that those parts were also finished by that date.

Proceeding now to the second volume of the draft and, more particularly, to the section now identified as al-Awḥadī's draft, we can draw the same conclusion and even determine that it was completed before 811, which further corroborates the identification of this part with al-Awḥadī's work, as he died during that year. This is proven by the following examples selected from the section in al-Awḥadī's handwriting:

¹³¹ These tables of contents were not published by A. F. Sayyid in his edition of this volume of the draft (al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa-al-I'tibār*). A critical edition of these tables will be found in Appendix 2.

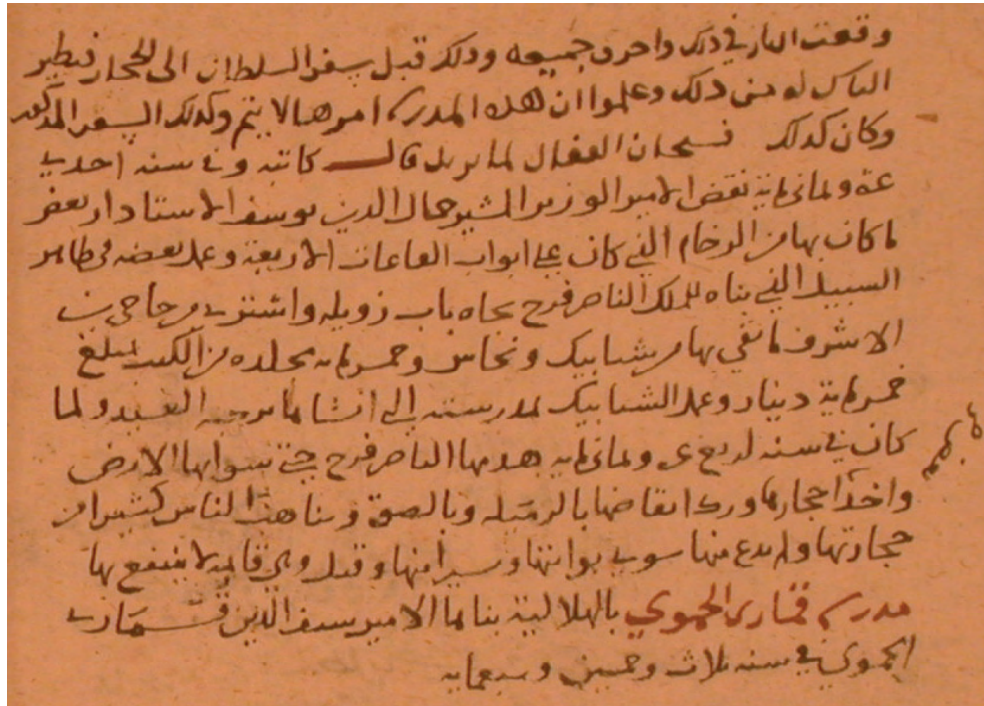


Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 97a.

On leaf 97a, a few lines in al-Awḥadī's handwriting dealing with Madrasat Umm Ānūk (founded by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn's wife at the beginning of the eighth/fourteenth century) can be read.¹³² The space left blank, above and below, was used by al-Maqrizī to add two madrasahs:¹³³ one in the quarter of the Suwayqat Mun'im for which a date is provided (817) and another one, the Madrasat al-Şuwwah, founded by the sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, who reigned from 815/1412 to 824/1421. From this, it may be inferred that both additions were made after these dates. But the dating of this section can be better narrowed with leaf 95b:

¹³² It is clearly visible that al-Maqrizī rubbed out the space at the end of the first two lines as he completed the text afterwards (here in upper case: *al-sitt*; *al-sultān AL-NĀṢIR*).

¹³³ In his final version, al-Maqrizī neglected them. This is also confirmed by the absence, above each name, of the *nuqila* sign already referred to earlier.



Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 95b.

Here, al-Maqrizī added a note at the end of al-Awḥadī's text, which ends in the middle of the third line: one is dated to 811 and the following one, added immediately after it, to 814! We can hardly say if the information regarding the year 814 was added at a later stage, but that referring to the year 811 provides us with a very useful *terminus ante quem*: the preceding data was definitely written before that date.¹³⁴ Be that as it may, we can now establish that this section was written before 811.

All this implies that, at a very early date, al-Maqrizī already had in hand a comprehensive version of his book. On this basis, my conviction is that he did not start working on the *Khīṭaṭ* before al-Awḥadī's death. In this case, he would have made a fair copy of his colleague's draft, surely improving and developing it¹³⁵ his whole life long;¹³⁶ but he largely based himself on what had already been

¹³⁴ Another case will strengthen this argument. Regarding the Madrasat Ibn al-Maghribī (fol. 89b), for which all the data is in al-Awḥadī's handwriting, al-Maqrizī stated at the end that the madrasah was demolished and that its building material was sold in 814.

¹³⁵ The improvements are already visible in that section on the madrasahs.

¹³⁶ Though his efforts to expand his survey sensibly diminished roughly after 1420. See André

accomplished by another author, as was maintained by al-Sakhāwī.¹³⁷ There is insufficient evidence to prove this view, although the following striking features could help to bolster it.

One of the sources used by al-Awḥadī consisted of what he calls “the ancient books of estates” (*kutub al-amlāk al-qadīmah*), likely some archival material.¹³⁸ On at least one occasion, he refers to these to confirm the existence of a madrasah that must have been replaced by another building later on.¹³⁹ A striking feature regarding this archival material appears elsewhere in the same volume of the draft (this time in al-Maqrīzī’s handwriting). On fol. 1a of the same volume, for the Darb al-Ṣufayrah, reference is made to this very source in the first person: “*wa-ra’aytu fī kutub al-amlāk al-qadīmah*.” In the final version of the *Khīṭaṭ*,¹⁴⁰ this became: “*hākadhā yūjad fī al-kutub al-qadīmah*.” The same applies to the other example, a little bit further down (fol. 8b): speaking about the Bāb al-Khūkhah, the author writes this time “*wajadtu fī kutub al-amlāk al-fāṭimīyah*,” which disappeared in the final version.¹⁴¹ On fol. 39b, one reads: “*wa-ra’aytu fī kutub al-amlāk al-qadīmah allatī bi-ḥārat Barjawān mā yadullu ‘alā dhālika . . . wa-hādhā muwāfiq li-qawl Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir*,” a personal testimony that was completely omitted in the final version!¹⁴²

Raymond, “Al-Maqrīzī’s *Khīṭaṭ* and the Urban Structure of Mamluk Cairo,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, no. 2 (2003): 148.

¹³⁷ It must be remembered here that al-Maqrīzī acknowledged (*Durar al-‘Uqūd al-Farīdah*, ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:186) that he became the owner of several *musawwadāt* of al-Awḥadī’s *Khīṭaṭ*, meaning by this several volumes.

¹³⁸ This source was also available to Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā‘iz wa-al-‘Iṭibār* (Būlāq ed.), 1:438, 445; 2:14. On one occasion, al-Maqrīzī referred to this source as *kutub ibṭiyā‘āt al-amlāk al-qadīmah* (ibid., 1: 438) from which it may be concluded that these books recorded the sales of properties, probably dating back to the Fatimid period.

¹³⁹ Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 91b (*wajadtu dhikrahā fī kutub al-amlāk al-qadīmah*).

¹⁴⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā‘iz wa-al-‘Iṭibār* (Būlāq ed.), 2:41.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 2:45. This precious piece of information has been added by A. F. Sayyid to al-Maqrīzī’s text in his recent edition, once again against al-Maqrīzī’s intention! See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā‘iz wa-al-‘Iṭibār*, ed. Sayyid, 3:140.

¹⁴² Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā‘iz wa-al-‘Iṭibār* (Būlāq ed.), 2:101. The whole passage was introduced by A. F. Sayyid into al-Maqrīzī’s *Khīṭaṭ* though the author had decided not to insert it in his final version! See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā‘iz wa-al-‘Iṭibār*, ed. Sayyid, 3: 334.

Another passage may be added to this list. It appears on fol. 53a: “*qāla wa-ra’aytu fī ba‘ḍ kutub al-amlāk al-qadīmah*.” It is missing in the final version. See Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā‘iz wa-al-‘Iṭibār* (Būlāq ed.), 2:115. Once again, it was included by A. F. Sayyid in the final version. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā‘iz wa-al-‘Iṭibār*, ed. Sayyid, 3:381 (who erroneously attributed the passage to Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir).

Another striking feature lies in the fact that on fol. 111b, a section completely in al-Maqrīzī’s handwriting, one reads: “*shaykhunā Fakhr al-Dīn al-Bilbaysī*,” though he was not al-Maqrīzī’s

Now, the question is: why would al-Maqrīzī modify this information, written in the first person in the draft, into an impersonal one in the final version of his book? Apparently, al-Maqrīzī was not able to see these books, given that in such cases he always replaced the personal reference in the draft with an anonymous one in the final version, or he simply omitted it altogether. Undoubtedly, he did not feel at ease with a source to which he had no access. Still, in the sections of the draft in his own handwriting, he appropriated the fact that “he saw himself.” What induced him to act this way? Personally, I think that these sentences come from al-Awḥadī’s draft and that al-Maqrīzī felt uncomfortable, in the end, with these personal testimonies that belonged to someone else. He thus rendered them with more anonymous references in the final version of his *Khiṭaṭ*. Consequently, we may surmise that large parts of the data found in the two preserved volumes of the drafts are likely to be identified as al-Awḥadī’s *Khiṭaṭ*.

In order to demonstrate that this view is credible, we need to provide further evidence, still on the basis of the second volume of the draft. We know that before his death in 811/1408, al-Awḥadī had already composed several parts of his book on the topography of Cairo, having already clean-copied part of it. It may thus be inferred that he started working on this topic at a much earlier date. This is confirmed by his reading notes, found on the title page of five manuscripts already mentioned that are dated from 801 to 805.¹⁴³ It is reasonable to think that he collected data even during the last decade of the eighth/fourteenth century and that he started to write his work several years before his untimely death.¹⁴⁴ On the other hand, al-Maqrīzī is generally believed to have started collecting data on that topic after the year 806. Turning back to the second volume of the draft, the following quotation in al-Maqrīzī’s handwriting is quite disturbing (fol. 127a): “*wa-ammā al-ṭilasm alladhī bi-hi fa-innahu ṣaḥīḥ wa-huwa bāqin mustamirr al-‘amal ilá waqtinā hādhā wa-huwa sanat thamānin wa-tis‘in wa-sab‘imi’ah*”! It is found at the beginning of the section dealing with the mosques where the Friday

master. On the contrary, he was al-Awḥadī’s master, as stated earlier. If this material was also written by al-Awḥadī, this means that al-Maqrīzī copied it blindly, without taking pains to modify this word relevant only to al-Awḥadī.

¹⁴³ See note 51.

¹⁴⁴ Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1404) quoted al-Awḥadī in his *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk*, where he asserted, on several occasions, that he read the information in his handwriting, meaning that he had access to his notes or books. Among these quotations, some may be identified as stemming from al-Awḥadī’s work on the *Khiṭaṭ*, which confirms that al-Awḥadī’s book was already in an advanced stage before 807, the year of Ibn al-Furāt’s death. See the list provided by A. F. Sayyid, “Muqaddimat al-Muḥaqqiq,” in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā‘iz wa-al-I’tibār*, 1:64 (read 9/2: 425 instead of 9/2: 417 and 9/2: 450 instead of 451). The following quotations were overlooked by Sayyid: Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk*, ed. Qusṭanṭīn Zurayq and N. ‘Izz al-Dīn (Beirut, 1936–42, vols. 7–9), 4/1: 11, 9/1: 132, 9/2: 341, 354.

prayer was performed, starting with the al-Azhar mosque. In it, the author of these lines wanted to specify that the talisman (*ṭilasm*) that was found in that mosque to prevent birds from settling and nesting in the building, thus some sort of scarecrow, was still playing its role at the time he was writing those lines, i.e., in 798. How could al-Maqrīzī have written this at that time, as it would mean that he had already been working on the topography of Cairo well before the date of 798, given that this was part of a section dealing with the great mosques (*jawāmiʿ*)? However, al-Awḥadī could be the author of these lines, given that in the section on the madrasahs, still in his own handwriting, he stated that he had already discussed the great mosques, as we have already seen. Though in his preliminary draft al-Maqrīzī faithfully copied what he was reading, even if they were not his words, he totally disregarded this in his final version.¹⁴⁵

This demonstration can be reinforced by a similar quotation found in the section on the madrasahs in al-Awḥadī's handwriting, a further element that will prove that this is part of his original clean-copied work. Speaking of al-Madrasah al-Suyūfiyah (fol. 82b), al-Awḥadī specified that he had access to the *waqf* document of this institution, which was shown to him by the scholar who was teaching there (*mudarris*), Majd al-Dīn Ismāʿīl al-Ḥanafī. This scholar must be identified as Ismāʿīl ibn Ibrāhīm al-Bilbaysī, who died in 802/1399.¹⁴⁶ In other words, al-Awḥadī saw this document before that date, proving, if still necessary, that he had been working on this topic well before 802. In the final version of the *Khiṭaṭ*, these personal details were forgotten, but al-Maqrīzī replaced them with his own personal testimony, as he stated that he had seen the very document; this is true, as he quoted some parts of it, though al-Awḥadī did not in his text. This establishes that al-Maqrīzī went back to the source exploited by his colleague and replaced al-Awḥadī's personal testimony with his own, but also that al-Maqrīzī worked on the topic of the *khiṭaṭ* well after 802.

So far we have established that, besides the section on the madrasahs now identified as being al-Awḥadī's autograph fair copy, some parts of the second volume of the draft in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting might originate in al-Awḥadī's work too: in this case, al-Maqrīzī faithfully copied data and left al-Awḥadī's personal testimonies unchanged until he elaborated the final version and the fair copy of the *Khiṭaṭ*. However, this same volume also includes material that was obviously drafted by al-Maqrīzī. The emendations added in the margins and on slips of paper must undoubtedly be credited to him. When a date is mentioned in these additions, it provides us with a *terminus ante quem* for the main text to which it was added. Three cases may be put forward in this respect: two of them

¹⁴⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Fitbār* (Būlāq ed.), 2:273.

¹⁴⁶ See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-Uqūd al-Faridah*, ed. al-Jalili, 1:408–13.

are dated to the year 818 and one to the year 813.¹⁴⁷ If we consider now the dates provided by al-Maqrīzī in the body of the text, these never go further than 815 when they are explicitly given, or 815–18 when they must be surmised.¹⁴⁸ Thanks to these elements, we are in a good position to date the second volume of the draft as having been copied sometime between 815 and 818. As we saw, the first volume of the draft may be dated at the earliest to the year 816;¹⁴⁹ this means that al-Maqrīzī had already finished most of that first version by 815. In this context, it is better understood why his appropriation of al-Awḥadī's draft was pivotal: between 811 and 815–18, he expanded his colleague's draft, copying several parts of it into his own new work.¹⁵⁰

In light of this, al-Sakhāwī's words (“[he] made a fair copy of it [completely] and attributed it to himself [after he had made] additions”) are better understood. Of course, it does not mean that everything in the actual version of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* comes from al-Awḥadī's draft, as we have seen. Obviously, he completed the book, expanded its plan, and added data regarding the period between al-Awḥadī's death in 811 and the date of his own death in 845. Nonetheless, this was not originally his work, and a great part had already been written by someone else.

To conclude this section, we should remember that in al-Sakhāwī's eyes no excuse of any kind could justify this reprehensible way of acting, though Ibn Ḥajar himself, the key witness in this case, did not seem to mind it. Ibn Ḥajar maintained a high opinion of his colleague, al-Maqrīzī, as confirmed by the

¹⁴⁷ Fol. 40a: “*wa-jaddada hādhihi al-suwayqah al-qāḍi Faṭḥ al-Dīn ibn Mu'taṣim kātib al-sirr fī sanat thalāth 'asharah wa-thamānīmī'ah*”; fol. 26b: “*fī sanat thamān [sic] 'asharah wa-thamānīmī'ah*”; fol. 174a: “*wa-lammā kathura mā al-Nīl fī sanat thamān [sic] 'asharah*.”

¹⁴⁸ Fol. 40b: “*wa-mā zāla kharāb ilā sanat ihdā 'asharah wa-thamānīmī'ah*”; fol. 77a: “*khaṭībuhu fihā min ṣafar sanat 814*”; fol. 107b: “*ilā an qutīla al-Malik al-Nāṣir fī sanat khamsah 'asharah wa-thamānīmī'ah*”; fol. 152a: “*wa-baqiya qā'im ilā sha'bān sanat khamsah 'asharah wa-thamānīmī'ah*”; fol. 27b: “*fa-lammā qutīla al-Nāṣir Faraj [815]*”; fol. 18b: “*wa-kāna qabla zamaninā hādihā bi-naḥw thalāthūn sanah fī ḥudūd al-thamānin wa-sab'īmī'ah qablahā [circa 30 years earlier, at the end of the eighties].*”

¹⁴⁹ See p. 206.

¹⁵⁰ When Ibn Ḥajar completed his work entitled *Al-Majma' al-Mu'assis* (his dictionary of authorities), he had already included a biography of al-Maqrīzī which the latter read and even corrected for some details (see above, n. 28). Though this dictionary was started in 803/1400, it was not finished before 829/1426. However, the only work Ibn Ḥajar deemed worthy of mention regarding al-Maqrīzī's production was *Al-Ightibāt*. Though we do not know when Ibn Ḥajar wrote al-Maqrīzī's biography (sometime between 803 and 829), this means that al-Maqrīzī's project for the *Khiṭaṭ* was already known to Ibn Ḥajar, as he confirmed that al-Maqrīzī benefitted from al-Awḥadī's draft, but that the book was not yet completed.

following words:¹⁵¹

Our master, the most erudite, the scholar of his time [Ibn Ḥajar], revered him and showed him respect and awe. He used to go to his house and to spend time there with him.

كان شيخنا العلامة حافظ العصر [ابن حجر] يكرمه
ويبجله ويعظمه ويتوجه إلى داره ويقوم عنده.

And indeed, in 829/1426, Ibn Ḥajar expressed his feelings towards al-Maqrīzī with warm words:¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ ‘Ali ibn Dāwūd al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970–94), 4:243.

¹⁵² Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Majma‘ al-Mu‘assis*, 3:60.

The friendship that exists between us is beyond words. May God—he is exalted—prolong his benefits.

وبيننا من المودة ما لا يسعه الورق فאלله تعالى يديم النفع به.

Yet, Ibn Ḥajar was also acquainted with al-Awḥadī, as they met together during lessons with common masters:¹⁵³

I met him on several occasions and he accompanied me to attend the lessons of some of my masters.

اجتمعت به مرارا ورافقتنا في السماع على بعض شيوخنا.

Truly, he must have known him quite well. In the end, is it not he who informs us that al-Awḥadī had nice handwriting (*kāna ḥasan al-khatt*)?

The question remains: how did Ibn Ḥajar know about the misdemeanor? Once again, sources and manuscripts come to our rescue. Scholars could lend their works, finished or not, to colleagues, if they trusted them. We have a fairly good example concerning al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809/1407). Al-Maqrīzī declared in his biography, in the dictionary of his contemporaries, *Durar al-Uqūd al-Farīdah*.¹⁵⁴

He borrowed my holograph notebooks. . . . I was closely associated with him for a while and he was my neighbor for many years. He frequently visited me at home.

كان يستعير مجاميعي التي بخطي . . . صحبته مدة وجاورني عدة سنين وتردد إلي كثيرا.

In the case of Ibn Ḥajar, it has already been established that he lent the dictionary of his authorities, *Al-Majma' al-Mu'assis*, to al-Maqrīzī, who did not hesitate to correct therein the data regarding his own biography or to make some marginal additions, which means that he had time to read it through at home. Al-Maqrīzī might have lent Ibn Ḥajar his own works too, but probably not his draft of the first version of the *Khīṭaṭ*.¹⁵⁵ it is unlikely that this is how Ibn Ḥajar discovered

¹⁵³ Ibn Ḥajar, *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāminah*, 195.

¹⁵⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-Uqūd al-Farīdah*, ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:102–3. We have already seen that he was not at all pleased with the use Ibn Duqmāq made of his personal notes.

¹⁵⁵ In 829, he confessed that among al-Maqrīzī's writings he had consulted was *Al-Ightibāṭ bi-Aḥwāl al-Fuṣṭāṭ*, confirming that that book was already completed by that time, but did not say a word about *Al-Mawā'iz wa-al-F'tibār*. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Majma' al-Mu'assis*, 3:60 (“*wa-mimmā waqafu*

al-Maqrīzī's plagiarism.¹⁵⁶ On a scholar's death, his intellectual legacy could be coveted by his colleagues, particularly if he was a prolific author (the same thing can be said of his library). This is what happened, for instance, to the *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk* of Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1404), who had not had enough time to make a fair copy of the draft, except for the volumes covering the last three centuries. The draft was sold because his son had no interest in this matter.¹⁵⁷ Al-Maqrīzī made use of it, he said, by which he meant that he summarized it, when he managed to lay hands on it.¹⁵⁸

As for al-Maqrīzī's legacy, there is an indirect reference to it in al-Sakhāwī's *Ḍaw'*.¹⁵⁹

He [al-ʿUryānī] compiled a commentary on the *shawāhid* of *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah* by Ibn Mālik, as I saw in our master [Ibn Ḥajar]'s handwriting. It is a nice commentary that demonstrates a thorough study in grammar . . . , even though some pretend that a commentary on the same book by al-Ghammārī was found in al-Maqrīzī's bequest. If he [al-ʿUryānī] laid hands on it, he might have appropriated it and expanded it.

وجمع شرح شواهد الكافية الشافية لابن مالك كما رأيت بخط شيخنا وهو شرح حسن يدل على اطلاع زائد في النحو . . . وإن زعم بعضهم أنه وجد بتركة المقرئ شرحها للغماري. فإن كان وقف عليه فيمكن أن يكون أخذه وزاد عليه.

ʿalayhi kitābuhu al-Ightibāt bi-Aḥwāl al-Fuṣṭāṭ”).

¹⁵⁶ In *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʿassis*, 3:39 (al-Awḥādī's entry), he revealed that al-Maqrīzī took advantage of al-Awḥādī's drafts, which means that he already knew what happened, but he refrained from saying more about this. As already stated, al-Maqrīzī read the manuscript of *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʿassis* but he did not correct Ibn Ḥajar's divulgation. He thus agreed with this view.

¹⁵⁷ About 20 volumes, out of 60 according to al-Sakhāwī, or 100 according to al-Maqrīzī. See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah*, ed. al-Jalīlī, 3:227; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʿ al-Lāmiʿ*, 8:51.

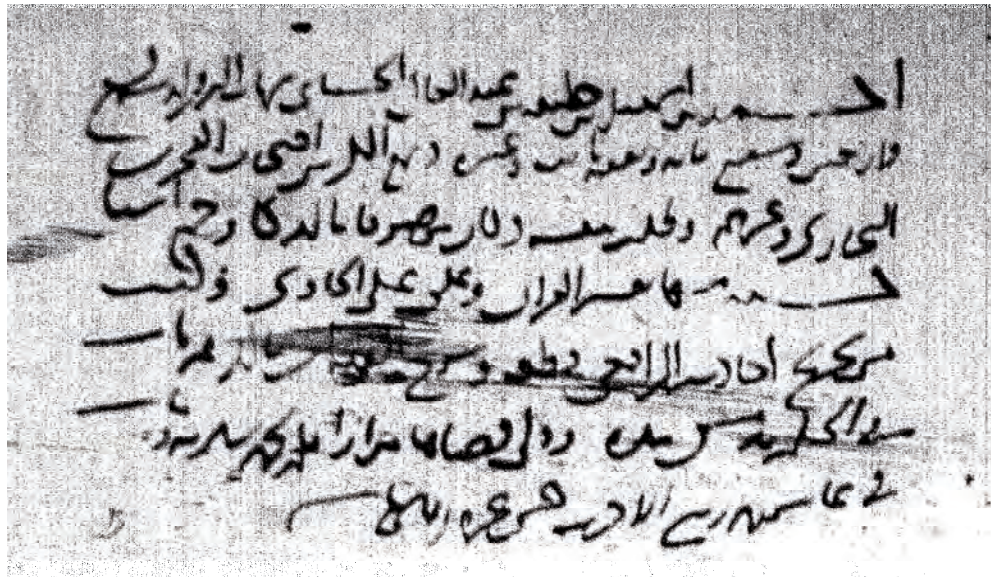
¹⁵⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah*, ed. al-Jalīlī, 3:227 (“*waqafu ʿalayhā wa-istafadu minhā*”). Hence his notes of consultation (dated 818 to 819) found in three volumes of Ibn al-Furāt's holograph copy. See F. Bauden, “Maqriziana II,” 117–18.

¹⁵⁹ Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʿ al-Lāmiʿ*, 1:70–71. Al-Maqrīzī's library, at least some of his holograph volumes, were inherited by his nephew, Naṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Maqrīzī (801–67/1399–1462). (On him see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʿ al-Lāmiʿ*, 9:150). His mark of ownership (*malakahu Muḥammad al-Maqrīzī*) is found in the following holograph manuscripts of his uncle: “Al-Khabar ‘an al-Bashar,” vol. 1, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Ayasofya 3362, fol. 4a; *ibid.*, vol. 3, MS Fatih 4338, fol. 1a; *ibid.*, vol. 4, MS Fatih 4339, fol. 1a; *ibid.*, vol. 5, MS Fatih 4340, fol. 1a; *ibid.*, vol. 6, MS Fatih 4341, fol. 1a; “Al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,” vol. 1, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Yeni Cami 887, fol. 3a.

In 845/1442, Ibn Ḥajar, who was to die seven years later, was probably the first to get access to al-Maqrīzī's private library (the drafts and the fair copies). The fact that he had access to the autograph manuscripts of his colleague is established by two elements: a report and material evidence. As for the report, it is provided by al-Sakhāwī:¹⁶⁰

Our master [Ibn Ḥajar] also wrote [al-Ḥusbānī's] biography in his additions to al-Maqrīzī's *History of Egypt* [*al-Muqaffá*], though [al-Ḥusbānī] is found in his *Uqūd*.¹⁶¹

وترجمه شيخنا أيضا فيما استدركه على تاريخ مصر للمقريزي ولكنه عنده في عقوده.



Courtesy Universiteit Leiden (Leiden), Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS or. 14533, fol. 120b showing al-Ḥusbānī's biography in Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting, confirming al-Sakhāwī's statement.

This information would seem ambiguous if Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting were not found in several of al-Maqrīzī's autograph manuscripts, which definitely proves that he had access to them, most probably after the latter's death, as we are told that he supplemented (*istadraka*) his data. In at least three instances, Ibn

¹⁶⁰ Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, 1:239.

¹⁶¹ One must understand that Ibn Ḥajar's addition to *Al-Muqaffá* was not pertinent given that al-Maqrīzī devoted some space to the biographee in his dictionary of his contemporaries. See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Faridah*, ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:366 (no. 286).

Ḥajar indeed added notes and data, consisting of additions and corrections, in the margins or in the body of the text: these are several volumes of *Al-Muqaffá*,¹⁶² *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah*,¹⁶³ and the final version of the *Khiṭaṭ*.¹⁶⁴ To his great surprise, he found (as did I) in a volume of the draft of the first version, nineteen folios in al-Awḥadī’s handwriting where al-Maqrīzī had lined through, erased, and modified some words or sentences, adding some details in the margins or on slips of paper. Nevertheless, he hesitated to indicate his discovery in his writings, maybe because of his esteem for al-Maqrīzī. One must remark that Ibn Ḥajar revised his historical works almost until he passed away: al-Maqrīzī’s death is recorded in his *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, and in this sense he could have added something about his discovery at that time.¹⁶⁵ Anyway, if he did not modify his appreciation of al-Maqrīzī in his books, he might have dropped a word into the ear of his pupil al-Sakhāwī, who had fewer scruples about writing the news down. Alternatively, al-Sakhāwī might have been content with Ibn Ḥajar’s words found in his *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʿassis*, which he interpreted as meaning, in his master’s choice of words, that this was a case of plagiarism.¹⁶⁶ Whatever the case, al-Sakhāwī had

¹⁶² His handwriting is found in almost every volume preserved, hence al-Sakhāwī’s comment quoted above, which also confirms that al-Sakhāwī managed to consult the autograph volumes of *al-Muqaffá*. For the list of these volumes, see F. Bauden, “Maqriziana II,” 115–16.

¹⁶³ His handwriting is found on fol. 152 (a biography added) of al-Maqrīzī’s partially preserved autograph (Forschungsbibliothek [Gotha], or. 1771).

¹⁶⁴ The autograph of the final version is considered lost, but the copyist of one of the manuscripts used by A. F. Sayyid identified Ibn Ḥajar’s handwriting in these notes and indicated it. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-ʿItibār*, ed. Sayyid, 4:490 (“*wujida bi-khatti mawlānā qāḍī al-quḍāh Ibn Ḥajar ʿalā hāmish nuskhat al-muṣannif al-manqūl minhā mā naṣṣuhu*”). A. F. Sayyid did not indicate in which of the manuscripts he used he found this note.

¹⁶⁵ It is interesting to note that some words have been added to the right of the passage where he divulged that al-Maqrīzī benefitted from al-Awḥadī’s drafts on the *khiṭaṭ* (Ibn Ḥajar, “Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʿassis,” al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah [Cairo], MS muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 129b. See Appendix 1, al-Awḥadī’s entry). These words were cancelled later on and are now illegible, and, as such, could have been related to this affair.

¹⁶⁶ That Ibn Ḥajar’s words were understood in this sense is confirmed by two details. First, there is the fact that al-Sakhāwī included this case of plagiarism in the list of the other cases identified by Ibn Ḥajar himself. See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar*, 1:390–94 (“*faṣl fīman akhadha taṣnīf ghayrihi fa-idda ʿāhu li-nafsihi wa-zāda fīhi qalīlan wa-naqaṣa minhu wa-lākinna aktharahu madhkūr bi-lafẓ al-aṣl*”). Secondly, an anonymous reader of *Al-Muqaffá*, who had previously read al-Sakhāwī’s words in his *Al-ʿIlān bi-al-Tawbīkh*, added to *Al-Muqaffá* a short biography of al-Awḥadī, in which he mentioned al-Sakhāwī’s accusation (attributed to Ibn Ḥajar), and he concluded: “*hākadhā wajadtuhu maktūban bi-khatti al-ḥāfiẓ Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī raḥimahu Allāh wa-huwa thiqaḥ fī dhālika li-annahu amīr al-muʿminīn fī ʿilm al-ḥadīth*”! See al-Maqrīzī, “Al-Muqaffá,” Universiteitsbibliotheek (Leiden), MS 14533, fol. 225b. This proves that al-Jalīlī’s opinion that “*law kāna hunāka adnā shayʾ min al-ṣiḥḥah fī ittihām al-Sakhāwī lil-Maqrīzī fīmā yakhtaṣṣu bi-kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ, la kāna ashāra Ibn Ḥajar ilā dhālika*” is mistaken. See al-Jalīlī, “Al-Muʿarrikhūn al-Muʿāṣirūn

the merit to tell the truth, although Ibn Ḥajar probably never revealed to him all the details, which is why al-Sakhāwī could not give evidence to sustain his accusation. Whether jealousy (*ghayrah*) pushed him to reveal this *qīl wa-qāl* is not important: he did his job as a historian with professional integrity.

There remains one more worrying question: why did al-Maqrīzī not erase every bit of al-Awḥadī's handwriting in his draft by copying the only remaining section of al-Awḥadī's fair copy? And of course, we lay aside the possibility that this also occurs in the lost volumes of al-Maqrīzī's draft. The two-part answer, although completely conjectural, is quite simple. First of all, as already established, the draft was not meant to survive after al-Maqrīzī's death, as a fair copy of his work was already circulating in his lifetime. Secondly, al-Awḥadī died in 811, a long time before al-Maqrīzī's own death. With the passing of time, persons who were closely enough acquainted with al-Awḥadī to be able to identify his handwriting became rare. Even if the draft might have been seen by others, the probability of discovering the secret was almost nil.

CONCLUSIONS

The title of this article issues a challenge: should al-Maqrīzī be thrown out with the bath water? Obviously, the answer cannot but be negative. However he behaved, his work on the *khīṭaṭ* still remains the best source for the study of the history of the Egyptian capital from the very beginning down to his own period. This is partly because he used several sources that are now considered lost, but also because he benefitted from al-Awḥadī's work on which he built his own magnum opus. However, the modern historian must be conscious that his tremendous activity as a historian is partly explained by his having recourse to some dubious practices. Plagiarism was definitely one of them, and it is particularly noticeable in the *Khīṭaṭ*.

To conclude, I think that I have been able to establish that:

- the nineteen folios carrying a different handwriting in al-Maqrīzī's draft of the first version of his *Khīṭaṭ* represent one part of al-Awḥadī's fair copy on the *khīṭaṭ*;
- al-Maqrīzī utilized this part for his own book, sometimes modifying slightly al-Awḥadī's text;
- other parts of the *Khīṭaṭ* might have been based on other parts of al-Awḥadī's drafts;
- al-Maqrīzī did not begin working on the *Khīṭaṭ* prior to al-Awḥadī's death, and consequently he completed the work initiated by his colleague, without

lil-Maqrīzī," in al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah*, 4:40.

crediting him;

- the charge of “plagiarism”—as perceived in those times—brought against him by al-Sakhāwī, who relied on his master Ibn Ḥajar, was justified because he made a fair copy of al-Awḥadī’s drafts, later expanding them and deleting some parts, but the result owed a great deal to al-Awḥadī’s work.¹⁶⁷

Thus, five centuries later, this case can finally be closed. But I would like to conclude with an ironic twist. In his *Latāʾif al-Minan*, al-Shaʿrānī recorded the following information:¹⁶⁸

I also read aloud to him the commentary to the *Alfiyah* of al-ʿIrāqī by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, the great scholar. It is said that, in fact, it was [written] by Ibn Ḥajar, the great scholar. Al-Sakhāwī discovered the draft in the legacy of Ibn Ḥajar or of someone else, corrected it, made a fair copy of it, and published it.

وقرأت عليه أيضا شرح ألفية العراقي للجلال الحافظ السخاوي ويقال إنه للحافظ ابن حجر ظفر به السخاوي مسودة في تركة الحافظ ابن حجر أو غيره فضبطه وبيضه وأبرزه للناس.

The general moral of this story could be: people who live in glass houses shouldn’t throw stones. But one may also conclude that even the harshest critics of plagiarism were not always above the practice themselves.¹⁶⁹

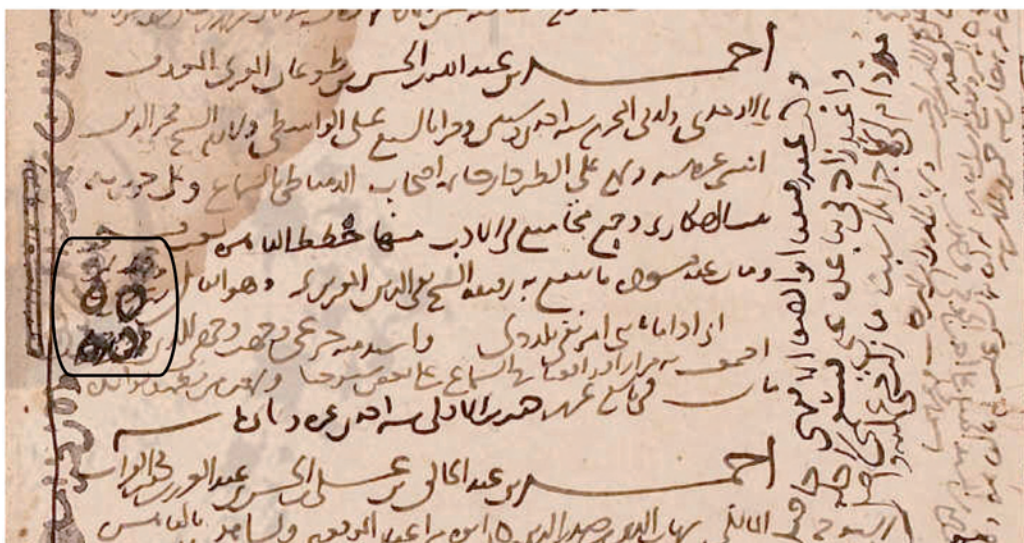
¹⁶⁷ It is noteworthy to mention that al-Sakhāwī opened another case against al-Maqrīzī regarding his *Tārīkh Miṣr* (i.e., *Al-Tārīkh al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr*). See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar*, 1: 394 (“*qultu: wa-kadhā ʿamila fī Tārīkh Miṣr lil-Qutb al-Ḥalabī. Fa-innahu lam yubayyid minhu ghayr al-Muḥammadīn wa-baʿḍ al-hamzah. Fa-akhadha al-musawwadah bi-tamāmihā wa-lakhkhaṣa tarājimāhā wa-lam yansub lahu fimā raʾaytu wa-lā al-tarjamah al-wāḥidah*”). He is referring there to ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn ʿAbd al-Nūr al-Ḥalabī (d. 735/1334), who wrote a *History of the Egyptians* alphabetically organized. In his *Al-Flān bi-al-Tawbīkh*, he did not say a word about this plagiarism, but he advanced that he owned ten volumes of the draft and a fair copy of the Muḥammads in four volumes, which confirms that he could compare this work with al-Maqrīzī’s *Al-Tārīkh al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr*. See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Flān*, in Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 401.

¹⁶⁸ ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, *Latāʾif al-Minan wa-al-Akhlāq fī Bayān Wujūb al-Taḥadduth bi-Niʿmat Allāh ʿalā al-Itlāq al-Maʿrūf bi-al-Minan al-Kubrā* (Cairo, 1976), 64.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Ch. Vandendorpe, “Introduction,” in *Le Plagiat*, 10: “Mais, si traquer le plagiat est une façon pour le critique d’affirmer une culture infiniment supérieure à celle du lecteur naïf, cette activité ne laisse pas d’apparaître dérisoire et virtuellement sans fin, car, pour parodier une formule célèbre, un plagiat peut en cacher un autre et l’on risque toujours de découvrir, avec Anatole France, que ‘le volé était lui-même voleur.’”

APPENDIX 1: A CRITICAL EDITION OF AL-AWHĀDĪ'S AND AL-MAQRĪZĪ'S ENTRIES IN IBN ḤAJAR'S "AL-MAJMA' AL-MU'ASSIS LIL-MU'JAM AL-MUFAHRIS" (CAIRO, AL-MAKTABAH AL-AZHARIYAH, MS MUṢṬALAḤ 1360, FOLS. 129B, 131A).

Al-Awhādī's entry (fol. 129b)¹⁷⁰



Courtesy al-Maktabah al-Azhariyah (Cairo), muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 129b.

أحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن طوغان المقرئ المعروف || بالأوحدى. ولد في المحرم سنة إحدى وستين وقرأ بالسبع على الواسطي ولازم الشيخ فخر الدين || اثنتي عشرة سنة وسمع على الطبردار خاتمة أصحاب الدمياطي بالسماع وعلى جويرية || بنت الهكاري وجمع مجاميع في الأدب منها خطط القاهرة. تعب فيه || ومات عنه مسودة فانتفع به رفيقه الشيخ تقي الدين المقرئ وهو القائل ||

إنني إذا ما نابني أمر نفي تلذذي واشتد منه¹⁷¹ جزعي وجهت وجهي للذي

|| اجتمعت به مرارا ورافقتنا في السماع على بعض شيوخنا وسمعت من نظمه وفوائده. || مات في تاسع عشرين¹⁷² جمدى الأولى سنة إحدى عشرة وثمانمائة.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Majma' al-Mu'assis*, 3:38–39.

¹⁷¹ In al-Mar'ashli's ed.: مني. The actual reading is confirmed by the quotation of the same verses by al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, 1:359, who relied on Ibn Ḥajar's *Al-Majma' al-Mu'assis* as evidenced by his reading note on fol. 163a.

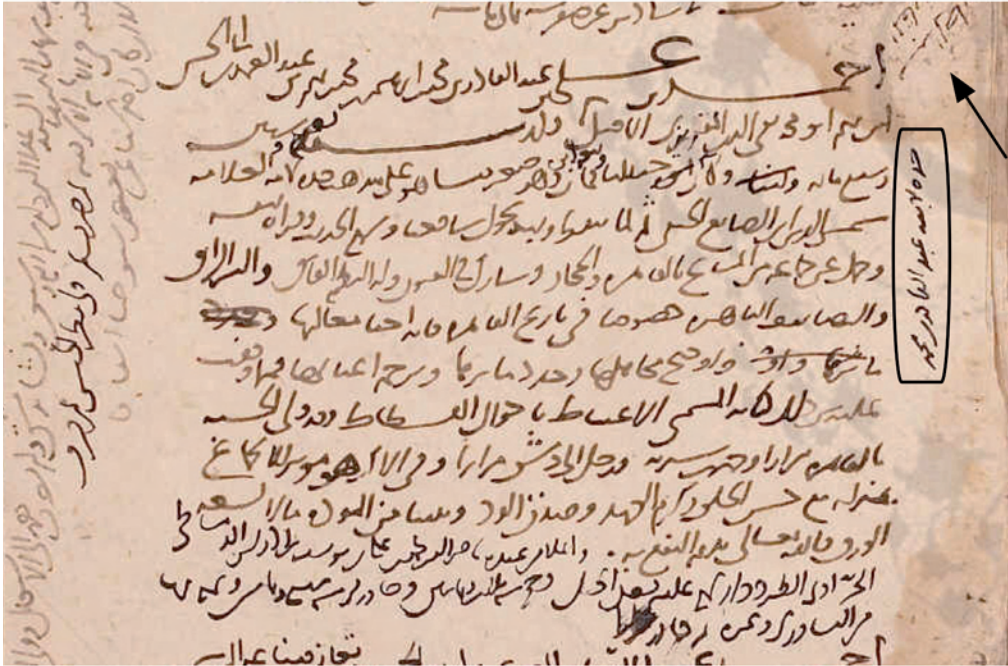
¹⁷² In al-Mar'ashli's ed.: عشر. The actual reading is confirmed by al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, 3:359.

Added at a later date, in the right margin:

وكتب عنه رفيقنا أبو الصفاء الأقفهسي ||
وأغيد زاد في تباعده عن فسق قمي لأجله حاصل
مذ دام لي هاجرا بلا سبب ما زلت حتى عملته واصل

Added at a later date, at the left of lines 5–6 (see the frame), are a few words on three lines that were later erased and are now illegible.

Al-Maqrīzī's entry (fol. 131a)¹⁷³

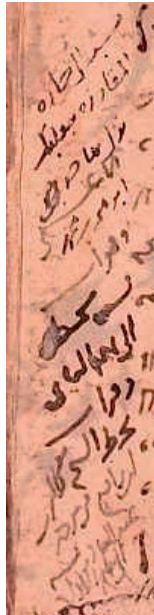


Courtesy al-Maktabah al-Azhariyah (Cairo), muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 131a.

أحمد بن علي بن عبد القادر بن محمد بن إبراهيم بن محمد بن تميم بن عبد الصمد بن أبي الحسن || إبراهيم أبو محمد تقي الدين
المقريزي¹⁷⁴ الأصل

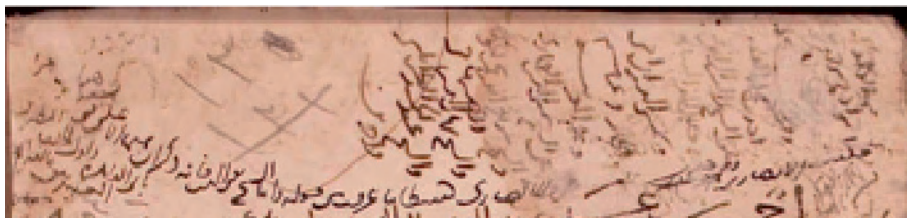
¹⁷³ Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Majma' al-Mu'assis*, 3:58–60.

¹⁷⁴ The letters *rāʿ*, *yāʿ*, and *zāy* rewritten by al-Maqrīzī.



Courtesy al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah (Cairo), muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 131a.

نسبة¹⁷⁵ إلى حارة || المقارزة ببعلك. || نزل بها جدي¹⁷⁶ || الأعلى¹⁷⁷ || ابرهيم بن محمد. ||
وقرأت¹⁷⁸ || نسبه بخط-ه || إلى تميم الثاني || وقرأت || بخط الشيخ تقي الدين || ابن رافع في ترجمة || عبد القادر نسبه || إلى
تميم الأول.¹⁷⁹ ||



Courtesy al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah (Cairo), muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 131a.

¹⁷⁵ From نسبة to محمد: this data in the right margin is in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting.

¹⁷⁶ Corrected by Ibn Ḥajar in جده.

¹⁷⁷ This word was added by Ibn Ḥajar later on.

¹⁷⁸ This data is found at the end of this note, still in the right margin, in Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting and added at a later date.

¹⁷⁹ In al-Mar'ashli's edition, the last four words read: !وقد نسبه أنصاريًا

فكتب¹⁸⁰ [؟] الأنصاري وتميم جد [؟] [...] الأنصاري. كتبه طانا. عرفت من قوله وأما الشيخ تقي الدين فإنه ذكر أن تميما الأعلى في نسبه هو [ابن] [...] ¹⁸² || باني القاهرة وأول الخلفاء المصريين || العبيديين بالقاهرة¹⁸⁰].
ولد سنة بضع و¹⁸³ستين || وسبع مائة ونيفا وكان أبوه¹⁸⁴ جده لأبيه عبد القادر بن محمد¹⁸⁵ حنبليا وتبعه أبوه¹⁸⁶ فمات وهو صغير فنشأ هو على مذهب جده لأمه العلامة || شمس الدين ابن الصائغ الحنفي ثم لما تيقظ ونبه تحول شافعيًا وسمع الحديث وقرأه بنفسه وحمل عن جماعة من المشايخ بالقاهرة والحجاز وشارك في الفنون وله النظم الفائق والنثر الرائق || والتصانيف الباهرة خصوصا في تاريخ القاهرة فإنه أحيا معالمها وجدد مآثرها وأوضح مجاهلها وجدد مآثرها وترجم أعيانها فمما وقفت || عليه من ذلك كتابه المسمى الاغتباط بأحوال الفسطاط وقد ولي الحسبة || بالقاهرة مرارا وحسنت سيرته ودخل إلى دمشق مرارا وفي الأكثر هو مؤثر للانجماع || بمنزله مع حسن الخلق وكرم العهد وصدق الود وبيننا من المودة ما لا يسعه || الورق فأنه تعالى يديم النفع به.
وأعلى¹⁸⁸ من عنده ناصر الدين محمد بن علي بن يوسف بن إدريس الدمياطي || الحراوي الطبردار سمع عليه فضل الخيل وحج سنة ثلاث وثمانين وجاور في سنة سبع وثمانين وسمع بها || من النشأوري وغيره ثم جاور مرارا¹⁸⁹.

¹⁸⁰ This data up to [بالقاهرة؟] added at a later date, is found in the top margin, in Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting. It is missing in Mar'ashli's edition.

¹⁸¹ Two words illegible now due to water stain.

¹⁸² One or two words illegible now, as the ink has faded.

¹⁸³ بضع و: added at a later date by Ibn Ḥajar.

¹⁸⁴ This word cancelled by al-Maqrīzī.

¹⁸⁵ These words, from جده up to محمد, added by al-Maqrīzī in the right margin.

¹⁸⁶ وتبعه أبوه: added by Ibn Ḥajar, above the line.

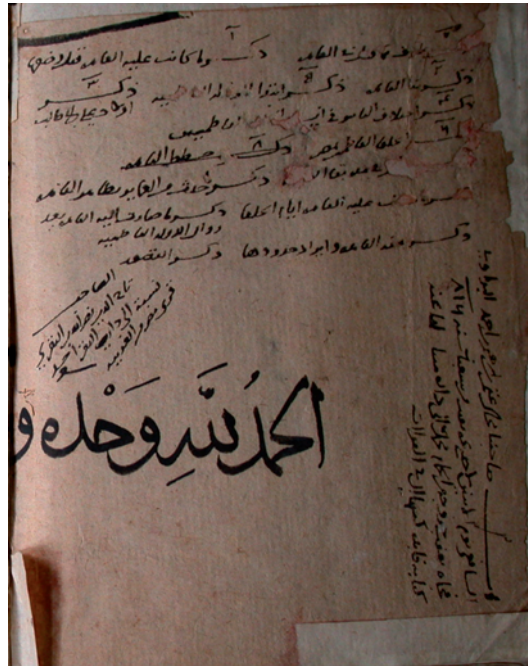
¹⁸⁷ These words cancelled by Ibn Ḥajar during the writing process.

¹⁸⁸ The following words were added by Ibn Ḥajar at a later date.

¹⁸⁹ The last three words are missing in al-Mar'ashli's edition. The last word seems to be cancelled but this is due to the fact that the ink was not dry and it resulted in a blot as shown by the word that just precedes it.

APPENDIX 2: A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE LIST OF CONTENTS FOUND IN THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE DRAFT OF *AL-MAWĀ'IZ WA-AL-I'TIBĀR* (ISTANBUL, TOPKAPI SARAYI KÜTÜPHANESİ, MS HAZINESİ 1472).¹⁹⁰

fol. 1b:



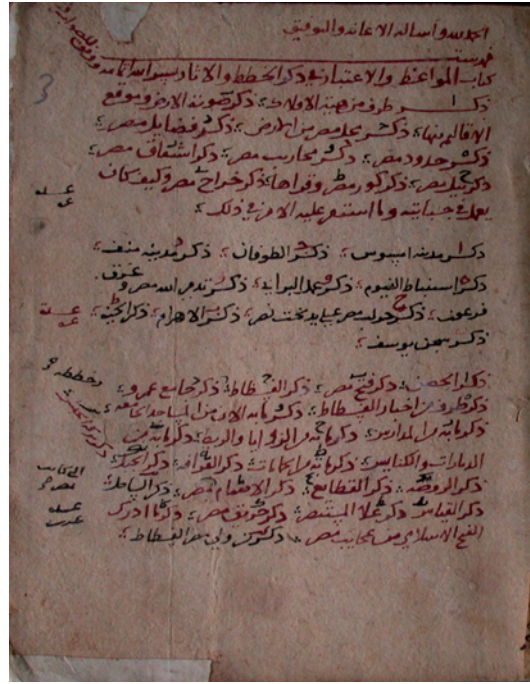
- (٤) ذكر اختلاف الناس في انس[اب] الخلفاء [لفاطميين
 (٦) [ذكر] الخلفاء الفاطميين بمصر
 (٨) ذكر خطط القاهرة
 [ذكر] في مدة بقاء [القاهرة]
 ذكر [م] حدث من العمانر بظاهر القاهرة

- (٧) [ذكر] اختلاف ما قيل في القاهرة
 (١) ذكر ما كانت عليه القاهرة قبل وضعها
 (٢) ذكر بناء القاهرة
 (٥) ذكر ابتداء الدولة [الفاطمية]
 (٣) ذكر اولاد علي بن أبي طالب

[ذكر] [ما كان]ت عليه القاهرة ايام الخلفاء
 ذكر ما صارت اليه القاهرة بعد زوال الدولة الفاطمية
 ذكر حد [؟] القاهرة وإيراد حدودها
 ذكر القصور

¹⁹⁰ Not edited by Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid in his edition of this volume (al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa-al-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* [London, 1995]), nor in his edition of the *Khiṭaṭ* (London, 2002–4, 5 vols. in 6).

fol. 3a:



in red (numbers in black)

- | | |
|---|---|
| | الحمد لله وأسأله الإعانة والتوفيق |
| و[٦=] ذكر محاريب مصر؛ | فهرست كتاب المواعظ والاعتبار في ذكر الخطط والآثار يسر |
| ز[٧=] ذكر اشتقاق مصر؛ | الله |
| ح[٨=] ذكر نيل مصر؛ | إتمامه ووفق للصواب فيه |
| ط[٩=] ذكر كور مصر وقراها؛ | ا[١=] ذكر طرف من هيئة الأفلاك؛ |
| ي[١٠=] ذكر خراج مصر وكيف كان يعمل في جبايته وما | ب[٢=] ذكر صورة الأرض وموقع الأقاليم منها؛ |
| استقر عليه الأمر في ذلك عدة عشرة. | ج[٣=] ذكر محل مصر من الأرض؛ |
| | د[٤=] ذكر فضائل مصر؛ |
| | ه[٥=] ذكر حدود مصر؛ |

black ink, numbers in red:

- ح[=٨] ذكر خراب مصر على يد بخت نصر؛
 ب[=٢] ذكر الأهرام؛
 ط[=٩] ذكر الجيزة؛
 ي[=١٠] ذكر سجن يوسف.
 عدة عشرة.
- ا[=١] ذكر مدينة أمسوس؛
 ج[=٣] ذكر الطوفان؛
 د[=٤] ذكر مدينة منف؛
 ه[=٥] ذكر استنباط الفيوم؛
 و[=٦] ذكر عمل البرابي؛
 ز[=٧] ذكر تدمير الله مصر وغرق فرعون؛

red ink, *abjad* letters in black:

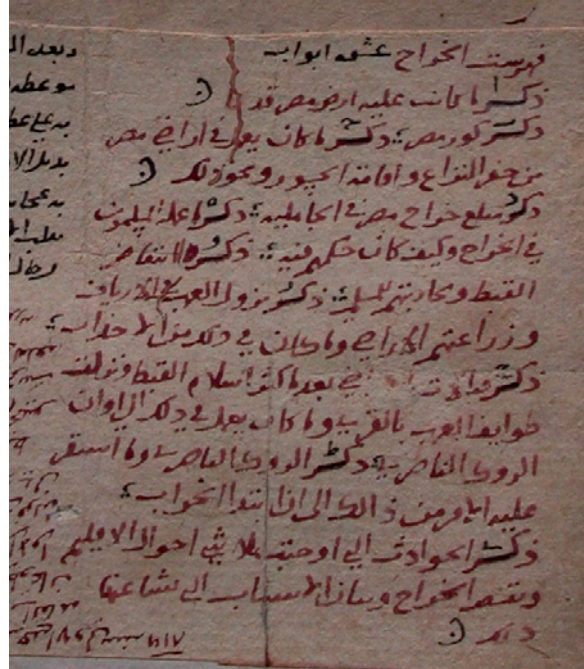
- يح[=١٨] ذكر الجبل؛
 يز[=١٧] ذكر بركة الحبش¹⁹²؛
 يو[=١٦] ذكر الروضة؛
 يچ[=١٣] ذكر القطنع؛
 يا[=١١] ذكر الأصنام التي كانت بمصر¹⁹³ بمصر [كذا]؛
 يب[=١٢] ذكر الساحل؛
 يد[=١٤] ذكر المقياس؛
 يط[=١٩] ذكر غلاء المستنصر؛
 لك[=٢٠] ذكر حريق مصر؛
 كا[=٢١] ذكر ما أدرك الفتح الإسلامي من عجائب مصر؛
 يب[=٢٢] ذكر من ولي مصر الفسطاط.
 عدة عشرين.
- ا[=١] ذكر الحصن؛
 ب[=٢] ذكر فتح مصر؛
 ج[=٣] ذكر الفسطاط وخططه¹⁹¹؛
 د[=٤] ذكر جامع عمرو؛
 ه[=٥] ذكر طرف من اخبار الفسطاط؛
 و[=٦] ذكر ما به الآن من المساجد الجامعة؛
 ز[=٧] ذكر ما به من المدارس؛
 ح[=٨] ذكر ما به من الزوايا والربط؛
 ي[=١٠] ذكر ما به من الديارات والكنائس؛
 ط[=٩] ذكر ما به من الحمامات؛
 به[=١٥] ذكر القرافة؛

¹⁹¹ في الهامش بخط المقريري + صح: وخططه.

¹⁹² في الهامش بخط المقريري: يز) ذكر بركة الحبش.

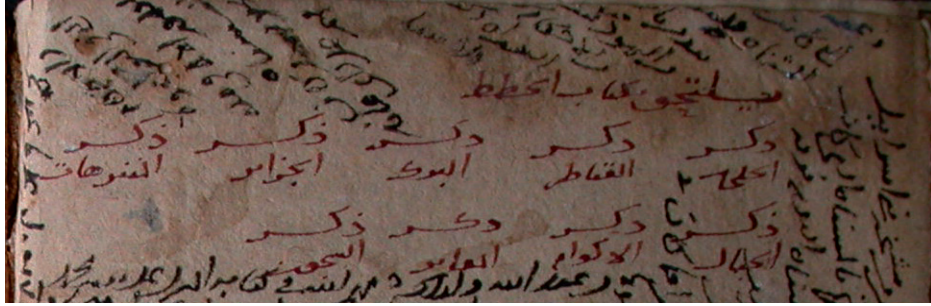
¹⁹³ في الهامش بخط المقريري + صح: التي كانت بمصر.

fol. 4a:



- فهرست الخراج عشرة أبواب
- ١= ذكر ما كانت عليه أرض مصر قد [بم]ـا.
- ٢= ذكر كور مصر؛
- ٣= ذكر ما كان يعمل في أراضي مصر من حفر الترع وإقامة الجسور ونحو ذلك.
- ٤= ذكر سلع خراج مصر في الجاهلية؛
- ٥= ذكر ما عمله المسلمون في الخراج وكيف كان حكمهم فيه؛
- ٦= ذكر انتقاض القبط ومحاربتهم للمسلمين؛
- ٧= ذكر نزول العرب في الأرياف وزراعتهم الأراضي وما كان في ذلك من الأجداب؛
- ٨= ذكر قبالات [الأر]اضي بعد ما كثر إسلام القبط ونزلت طوائف العرب بالقرى وما كان يعمل في ذلك إلى أوان الروك الناصري؛
- ٩= ذكر الروك الناصري وما استقر عليه الأمر من ذلك إلى ان ابتدأ الخراب؛
- ١٠= ذكر الحوادث التي أوجبت تلاشي أحوال الإقليم ونقص الخراج وسائر الأسباب التي نشأ عنها ذلك.

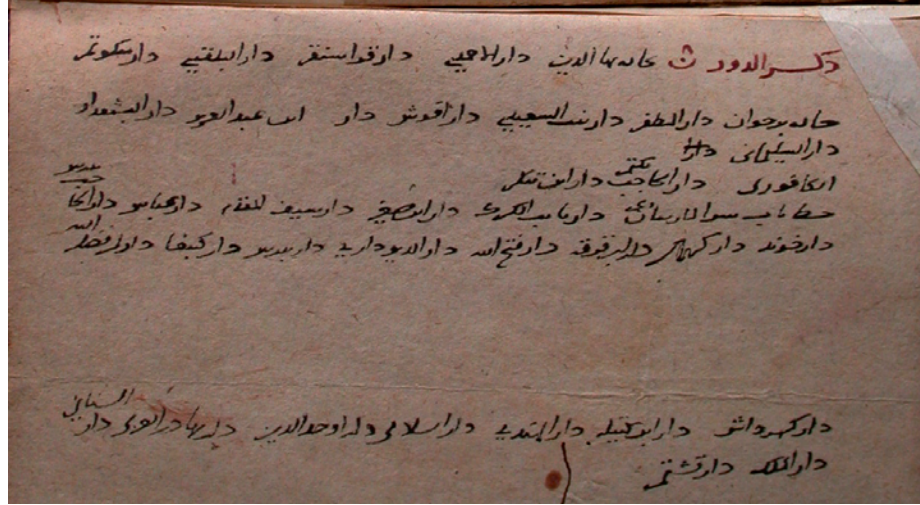
fol. 8b:



ذكر المنزهات
ذكر الجبال
ذكر الأكوام
ذكر المقابر
ذكر السجون

يلتحق بكتاب الخطط
ذكر الخلجان
ذكر القناطر
ذكر البرك
ذكر الجزائر

fol. 14b:



دار سيف المقدم	ذكر الدور
دار عباس	حارة بهاء الدين
دار الحاجب بيبرس	دار الأحمدي
دار خوند	دار قراسنقر
دار كريم الدين	دار البلقيني
دار ابن قرقة	دار منكوتر
دار فتح الله	حارة برجوان
دار الديوداري	دار المظفر
دار بيبرس	دار بنت السعيد
دار كتبخا	دار آقوش
دار ابن فضل الله	دار [بياض] ابن عبد العزيز
دار كهرداش	دار البشمقدار
دار ابن كتيلة	دار السلیماني
دار الهندي	دار
دار السلامي	[دار] الكافوري
دار أوحده الدين	دار الحاجب بكتمر ¹⁹⁴
دار بهادر العزي [كذا لـ "المعزي"]	دار ابن تنكز
دار السناني	خط باب سر المارستان وغيره
دار آملك	دار نائب الكرك
دار قشتمر	دار ابن صغير

194 فوق السطر: بكتمر.

APPENDIX 3: A JUXTAPOSITION OF THE SEQUENCE OF THE MADRASAHS IN AL-AWḤADĪ'S DRAFT AND AL-MAQRĪZĪ'S FINAL VERSION OF *AL-KHITĀṬ*

المواعظ والاعتبار، ط. بولاق، مج ٢، ص ٣٦٢-٤٠٥. ¹⁹⁶	المسودة، مخ طوب قيو سراي ١٤٠٥. ¹⁹⁵
٩) المدرسة القطبية	١) المدرسة القطبية العتيقة
١٠) المدرسة السيوفية	٢) المدرسة المعروفة بالسيوفية
١١) المدرسة الفاضلية	٣) المدرسة الفاضلية
١٢) المدرسة الأزكشية	٤) المدرسة الأزكشية
١٣) المدرسة الفخرية	٥) المدرسة الفخرية
٢٤) المدرسة الصاحبية	٦) المدرسة الصاحبية
١٤) المدرسة السيفية	٧) المدرسة السيفية
١٥) المدرسة العاشورية	٨) المدرسة العاشورية
٢٥) المدرسة الشرفية	٩) المدرسة الشرفية
٣١) مدرسة بحارة الديلم	١٠) المدرسة الحنفية
٣٠) المدرسة القوصية	١١) المدرسة القوصية*
٢٧) المدرسة الكاملة	١٢) المدرسة الكاملة
٢٨) المدرسة الصيرمية	١٣) المدرسة الصيرمية
٢٩) المدرسة المسرورية	١٤) المدرسة المسرورية
٢٦) المدرسة الصالحية	١٥) المدرسة الصالحية
٣٢) المدرسة الظاهرية	١٦) المدرسة الظاهرية العتيقة
٣٣) المدرسة المنصورية	١٧) المدرسة المنصورية
٣٤) المدرسة الناصرية	١٨) المدرسة الناصرية
	١٩) المدرسة الظاهرية المستجدة
٣٥) المدرسة الحجازية	٢٠) المدرسة الحجازية
٣٦) المدرسة الطبرسية	٢١) المدرسة الطبرسية
٣٧) المدرسة الأقبغاوية	٢٢) المدرسة الأقبغاوية
٣٨) المدرسة الحسامية	٢٣) المدرسة الحسامية
٤٢) المدرسة البوبكرية	[المدرسة الأوبكرية]
٣٩) المدرسة المنكوتمية	٢٤) المدرسة المنكوتمية
٤١) المدرسة الغزنوية	٢٥) المدرسة الغزنوية
٤٠) المدرسة القراسنقرية	٢٦) المدرسة القراسنقرية

¹⁹⁵ An asterisk indicates that the name of the madrasah has been modified by al-Maqrīzī in al-Awḥadī's text, while the square brackets point to the fact that the given madrasah has been added by al-Maqrīzī to al-Awḥadī's text. In the latter case, the madrasah is not numbered.

¹⁹⁶ Each madrasah is numbered according to its place in the final version of the *Khīṭaṭ*. Only those mentioned by al-Awḥadī or added by al-Maqrīzī to al-Awḥadī's draft are taken into consideration here.

- (٢٧) المدرسة الفارقانية
 (٢٨) مدرسة ابن البقري
 (٢٩) المدرسة القطبية الجديدة
 (٣٠) مدرسة ابن المغربي
 (٣١) المدرسة البدرية
 (٣٢) المدرسة البديرية
 (٣٣) المدرسة الملكية
 (٣٤) المدرسة الجمالية
 (٣٥) المدرسة الفارسية
 (٣٦) المدرسة السابقية
 (٣٧) المدرسة القيسرانية
 (٣٨) المدرسة الزمامية
 (٣٩) المدرسة الصغيرة
 [المدرسة الصحابية]
 [مدرسة ابن عرام]
 (٤٠) المدرسة القيسرانية
 (٤١) مدرسة محمود بن علي المؤذن
 (٤٢) مدرسة محمود الأستادار
 (٤٣) المدرسة المهذبية
 (٤٤) المدرسة السعدية*
 (٤٥) المدرسة الطقجية
 [المدرسة الجاولية]
 (٤٦) المدرسة الفارقانية
 (٤٧) المدرسة البشيرية
 (٤٨) المدرسة المهندارية
 (٤٩) مدرسة أَلجاي
 (٥٠) مدرسة أم السلطان
 (٥١) المدرسة الأيتمشية
 (٥٢) مدرسة الذهبي
 (٥٣) مدرسة ابن أقبغا أص
 (٥٤) المدرسة الدوادية
 [المدرسة الجمالية]
- (٦٢) المدرسة الفارقانية
 (٤٣) المدرسة البقرية
 (٤٤) المدرسة القطبية
 (٤٥) مدرسة ابن المغربي
 (٤٦) المدرسة البديرية
 (٤٧) المدرسة البديرية
 (٤٨) المدرسة الملكية
 (٤٩) المدرسة الجمالية
 (٥٠) المدرسة الفارسية
 (٥١) المدرسة السابقية
 (٥٢) المدرسة القيسرانية
 (٥٣) المدرسة الزمامية
 (٥٤) المدرسة الصغيرة
 (٢٣) المدرسة الصحابية البهائية
 (٥٦) مدرسة ابن عرام
- (٢٠ و ٥٨) المدرسة المهذبية
 (٥٩) المدرسة السعدية
 (٦٠) المدرسة الطقجية (كذا)
 (٦١) المدرسة الجاولية
 (٦٢) المدرسة الفارقانية
 (٦٣) المدرسة البشيرية
 (٦٤) المدرسة المهندارية
 (٦٥) مدرسة أَلجاي
 (٦٦) مدرسة أم السلطان
 (٦٧) المدرسة الأيتمشية
- (٧٢) مدرسة الأمير جمال الدين الأستادار

- ٥٥) المدرسة الأشرافية المستجدة
٥٦) مدرسة قماري الحموي
٥٧) المدرسة الصارمية
٥٨) المدرسة بميدان القمح
٥٩) مدرسة الحاجب بكتمر
[مدرسة قراجا]
٦٠) مدرسة بن كرائمي
[المدرسة الشميساطية]
[المدرسة بخط سويقة منعم]
٦١) مدرسة أم أنوك
[المدرسة بالصوة]
٦٢) مدرسة ابن غلامها
٦٣) مدرسة إبراهيم الزويل
٦٤) مدرسة الطنقش
٦٥) المدرسة الأشرافية
٦٦) المدرسة الصرغتمشية
٦٧) مدرسة إينال
[مدرسة ابن البابا]
٦٨) مدرسة أبي غالب
٦٩) المدرسة البلقينية
٧٠) المدرسة الشريفة
٧١) المدرسة النابلسية
٧٢) المدرسة الكهارية
[مدرسة مقبل الأشقتمري]
- ٧٣) المدرسة الصرغتمشية
٧١) مدرسة إينال