

Caliphate and Kingship
in a Fifteenth-Century Literary History of
Muslim Leadership and Pilgrimage

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Frédéric Bauden (*Université de Liège*)

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Caliphate and Kingship in a Fifteenth-Century Literary History of Muslim Leadership and Pilgrimage

*al-Dahab al-masbūk fī dīkr man ḥaġġa
min al-ḥulafā' wa-l-mulūk*

Critical Edition, Annotated Translation, and Study by

Jo Van Steenbergen



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Abbreviations

<i>AI</i>	<i>Annales islamologiques</i>
<i>AJAMES</i>	<i>Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>EI²</i>	<i>Encyclopædia of Islam</i> , Second Edition, ed. H.A.R. Gibb et al. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960–2009), 13 vols.
<i>EI³</i>	<i>Encyclopædia of Islam</i> , <i>THREE</i> , ed. K. Fleet, G. Krämer et al. (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007–).
<i>EIr</i>	<i>Encyclopædia Iranica</i> , ed. E. Yarshater (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1982–), 15 vols. published
<i>EQ</i>	<i>Encyclopædia of the Qurʾān</i> , ed. J. Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2001–2006), 6 vols.
<i>GAL</i>	Brockelmann, C., <i>Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur</i> , 2 vols. & 3 supplements (Leiden: Brill, 1943–1949 [2nd edition]).
<i>IJMES</i>	<i>International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JAL</i>	<i>Journal of Arabic Literature</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>JSAI</i>	<i>Jerusalem Studies on Arabic and Islam</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>MSR</i>	<i>Mamlūk Studies Review</i>
<i>QSA</i>	<i>Quaderni di Studi Arabi</i>
<i>RSO</i>	<i>Rivisti degli Studi Orientali</i>
<i>SI</i>	<i>Studia Islamica</i>

Acknowledgements

This analytical study, critical edition, and annotated translation of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, a summary history of caliphs and other Muslim rulers who performed the *ḥaǧǧ*, the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, has been in the making for a long time. In the autumn of 2006 the Bibliotheca Maqriziana series editor and initiator, Frédéric Bauden, invited me to engage with this particular text and with the manuscript version that is preserved in the Leiden autograph collection of al-Maqrīzī's opuscles (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms Or. 560, fol. 115^b–135^a). As the relatively short text and chronographical narrative of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* appeared at first sight as allowing for the set-up of a manageable, pretty straightforward and clearly defined project, I happily accepted the invitation, assuming that it was an enterprise that could easily be accomplished on the side, without interfering too much with other, larger projects and commitments. As time went by, however, it transpired that this was an utterly wrong assumption and that any such liminal treatment would do grave injustice to any attempt to disclose and represent the rich complexity of this text and its meanings, and of the history and materiality of its production, reproduction and consumption. The result is that it has taken many more years and much more time than at first envisaged to accomplish the task of editing, translating, and studying this text of only 40 manuscript pages. In those years, however, this relatively brief text has compelled me to engage with a wide and highly stimulating variety of topics, debates, readings, and ideas. For this reason, this turned out to be not just a more time-consuming but also an intellectually far more rewarding enterprise than I ever could have imagined. It moreover increasingly appeared as tying in—sometimes in surprising and often also in extremely enriching ways—with my other projects, helping me to gain much better insights into how late medieval Syro-Egyptian social and cultural histories are intricately interconnected, and how the one cannot, and should not, be understood without the other. I am therefore extremely grateful to the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, to its author Aḥmad b. 'Alī l-Maqrīzī, and evidently also to Frédéric Bauden, for drawing me so deeply into this world of late medieval Arabic literature, Islamic historiography, Muslim political ideology, codicology, and the *ḥaǧǧ*. I genuinely hope that readers and users of *Caliphate and Kingship in a fifteenth-century literary history of Muslim leadership and pilgrimage* will be able to share at least some of these experiences. I also hope that they will not need so much time to wrestle through a book that is as much the generalising outcome of my personal explorations into various areas of Arabo-Islamic medieval specialisation as an attempt to make al-Maqrīzī's early fifteenth-century text

accessible in meaningful ways to a variety of specialist and non-specialist readers in the twenty-first century.

Having been in the making for such a long time, this book owes a great deal to several institutions that hosted me while I was working on it, and to many friends and colleagues who engaged in various ways with my work on al-Maqrīzī's *al-Dahab al-masbūk*. First, very preliminary steps were taken when I was finishing my position as lecturer at the School of History at the University of St Andrews (UK). The main bulk of the editing, translating and annotating work for the second part of this book was done at Ghent University (Belgium), especially after I became a research professor in late 2009. A number of shorter research visits to the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo (Egypt) in 2010, 2012, and 2013 also contributed to this. The first part, presenting contextual, textual, and material analyses for *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, as a kind of 'cultural biography', were mainly written during my October 2014–June 2015 fellowship at the Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg 'History and Society during the Mamluk Era, 1250–1517', Bonn University (Germany). In each and every one of these institutions I had the fortunate opportunity to present my research in progress to and discuss it with a substantial host of graduate students, colleagues, and friends. I am grateful to each and every one of them. At the risk of forgetting someone, the following colleagues certainly deserve to be mentioned, for more than pleasant academic (and other) conversations and exchanges along this long road, and for the (often unconscious) contributions they made to my thinking about late medieval history and culture in general, and about al-Maqrīzī's *ḥağğ* text in particular: Angus Stewart, Rob Hoyland, Hugh Kennedy, Jan Dumolyn, Kristof D'hulster, Patrick Wing, Malika Dekkiche, Urbain Vermeulen, Clément Onimus, Julien Loiseau, Konrad Hirschler, Reuven Amitai, Kate Raphael, Stephan Conermann, Mohammed Gharaibeh and Tariq Sabraa. Ideas that eventually ended up in the first part of this book were also presented at various stages of their development in different conference papers, seminar talks and lectures between 2010 and 2014 (IMC Leeds, CHESFAME Ghent, ISAP Tunis, NVIC Cairo, ASK Bonn, École française de Rome); I am grateful to organisers and audiences alike for these opportunities to receive most valuable feedback. I furthermore owe another word of gratitude to the *Bibliotheca Maqriziana* series editor, Frédéric Bauden, for identifying the extant manuscripts and the modern editions of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, for providing me with electronic copies of all relevant manuscripts and of two editions, and for allowing me to work with a draft of a relevant part of his first volume of the series, on the Leiden manuscript. I finally also am most grateful to him for his valuable feedback on a full draft of this book; this has helped me a lot to fine-tune my arguments and to prevent me from making too many mistakes and

infelicities. In the same vein, I would like to thank Brill's anonymous reader, whose detailed comments allowed me to produce a text that may hopefully be read more smoothly. Any remaining errors are of course my own.

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ألف شكر و بموت فيكي

Jo Van Steenberghe
Antwerpen, September 2015

Introduction

Number 14 in al-Maqrīzī's autograph collection of opuscles preserved in the Leiden University library (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Or. 560, fols. 115^b–135^a) is a copy of the author's *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, The Moulded Gold, a summary history of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca since the days of the Prophet. This is a relatively short text of 40 handwritten pages, also known under the longer title that was later added in the header of this manuscript's fol. 115^b: "The Book of Gold Moulded in the Format of the Report of the Caliphs and Kings Who Performed the *Ḥaġġ*" (*Kitāb al-Dahab al-masbūk fī dīkr man ḥaġġa min al-ḥulafā' wa-l-mulūk*).

Discussing issues of caliphate, kingship and Mecca pilgrimage, this *al-Dahab al-masbūk* is in many ways a curious and highly intriguing little text that has so far only attracted limited scholarly attention.¹ In accordance with the long-standing status and reputation of the Egyptian scholar, administrator, and judge Aḥmad b. 'Alī l-Maqrīzī (766–845/c. 1365–1442) as one of the most important historians of his age,² this attention has mainly considered the text for its historiographical value and for the convenience of its collection of diverse material concerning pilgrimages of illustrious caliphs and many other Muslim rulers. In a carefully organised chronographical manner this kind of collection allows this "report" to live up entirely to the promise of its longer title and to present all kinds of stories about a substantial list of rulers and their engagements with the *ḥaġġ*, the annual Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca. Starting with the Prophet's *ḥaġġ* of 10/632 and ending with the story of the Mecca journey in 778/1377 of the Egyptian sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'bān (r. 764–778/1363–1377), *al-Dahab al-masbūk* moves from the time of the Prophet, over that of the Caliphs, to that of non-caliphal rulers' pilgrimage engagements from the eleventh century onwards. Due to the work's limited size, however, the added historiographical value of its information about pilgriming Prophet, caliphs, and kings is only very limited, and the relative neglect of the text in historical research of the Mecca pilgrimage and of the history of the caliphates and of its successor polities is therefore perfectly understandable. The booklet is rather more remarkable for other reasons, not in the least from a wider literary

1 Al-Ġāsir (1952); al-Šayyāl (1955); al-Šayyāl (2000); Faraḥāt (2009).

2 See the biography of al-Maqrīzī by his student Ġamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Taġrī Birdī in his *al-Manhal al-šāfi*, 1:415–420, p. 417 ("His reputation in history and in other subjects became well-known during his life and after his death, so that he came to be referred to as a model").

point of view as the very first to claim to offer a more or less focused stand-alone narrative of Muslim leadership of the pilgrimage.³

As will be argued in this study, the disappointing historiographical nature of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* is actually only one residual dimension of a text that was constructed in this unique manner for far more complex purposes. It is the complexity of these particular purposes and their concomitant literary construction that makes the text so curious, intriguing, and valuable. This has to do with an author who tries to consciously communicate through his text with changing audiences. It also has to do with the larger contexts within which all three communicative partners—author, text and audiences—operated. In the early decades of the fifteenth century these contexts were defined by substantial political, socio-economic, and cultural transformations. They were also shaped by ongoing intellectual debates about the proper social order that should accommodate such transformations. At moments such as these, stories about pilgriming rulers represented very useful material for a scholar-author such as al-Maqrīzī. Many centuries of Muslim rulers' engagements with the annual pilgrimage to Mecca turned out to have produced powerful symbolic literary tools to speak about much wider issues of Muslim leadership duties and privileges. *Al-Dahab al-masbūk* and its particular engagement with the metaphorical options that its subject matter offered were therefore certainly also about al-Maqrīzī's personal experience of the transformations of his time, his participation in at least some of the debates that were raging, and his pursuance of some kind of impact on various people around him.

All of these issues matter for a proper understanding of the full complexity of a literary text such as al-Maqrīzī's *al-Dahab al-masbūk*. This book, consisting of a detailed analysis, a new critical edition, and an annotated translation of the text, wishes to present this type of comprehensive understanding. Its first part presents the first thorough study of the text, conceptualised here as the reconstruction of a kind of cultural biography of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, in its changing material and immaterial manifestations from its early fifteenth-century conception onwards.⁴ It will first pursue a reconstruction of those contexts that

3 Brockelmann's claim—following a note in the entry for *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in the *Kaṣf al-zunūn* by the seventeenth-century Ottoman bibliographer Ḥāğğī Ḥalīfa/Kātib Çelebī (1017–1067/1609–1657)—that the copy in the Leiden manuscript “only represents an excerpt from a more substantial text in five parts, completed in 841/1437 (nur ein Auszug aus einem grösseren Werk in 5 Teilen, voll. 841/1437)” was never endorsed or substantiated (*GAL*, 2:50).

4 This objective of reconstructing a cultural biography of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* of course refers to Kopytoff's “cultural biography of things”; this study will—even though for practical reasons mostly implicitly—take on board as key analytical tools and research questions Kopytoff's

defined the author and the production of his text as well as its reception by various audiences. The intricacies of the *ḥaǧǧ* tradition, the dynamic practices of Muslim leadership and scholarship, al-Maqrīzī's own eventful life and times, and the century-old traditions of *ḥaǧǧ* writings are like a rich canvas that serves as an indispensable background for readings and studies of this literary text to fully appreciate the depth of its forms, functions, and meanings. This first chapter therefore first discusses the Muslim pilgrimage ritual and its long and intricate history, the late medieval social and cultural worlds that connected Mecca to Cairo, and the place of al-Maqrīzī and his scholarship, his *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in particular, in these worlds. The second chapter moves from these defining contexts to the actual text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, set again within its wider framework of *ḥaǧǧ* writings in Arabic up to the later medieval period, but focusing above all on the detailed analysis of the textual aspects of those forms, functions, and meanings and reconstructing how in the textual interaction between author and audiences *al-Dahab al-masbūk* was a recipient, a transmitter, and an agent of old and new claims to historical truth. These intertextual, narratological, and semiotic readings are followed in the third and final chapter of this study by the analysis of the external, material factors of those forms, functions, and meanings that defined the life of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* as text and object, in al-Maqrīzī's time and beyond. This chapter consists basically of a descriptive study of the ten extant manuscript copies of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*. But it also moves beyond that. Tying together some of the insights gained from the other two chapters with this physical and paratextual manuscript mate-

explanation that "In doing the biography of a thing, one would ask questions similar to those one asks about people: What, sociologically, are the biographical possibilities inherent in its "status" and in the period and culture, and how are these possibilities realized? Where does the thing come from and who made it? What has been its career so far, and what do people consider to be an ideal career for such things? What are the recognized "ages" or periods in the thing's "life", and what are the cultural markers for them? How does the thing's use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness?" (Kopytoff (1986): 66–67). A parallel and similarly leading cultural biographical approach has above all been pursued in archaeology, such as proposed in a special issue of the journal *World Archaeology*, where Gosden and Marshall explain that "the central idea is that, as people and objects gather time, movement and change, they are constantly transformed, and these transformations of person and object are tied up with each", they are "social interactions involving people and objects [that] create meaning" (Gosden & Marshall [1999]: 169). Pursuing the cultural biography of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* as a thing, as an object, and as a literary text is then asking about its various transformations (as 'singularity' and as 'commodity'), its involvement in all kinds of social interactions, and its role in various processes of meaning-making.

rial, this final chapter actually aims to reconstruct in as much—occasionally necessarily speculative and hypothetical—detail as possible the history of the making and remaking of the text by author, copyists, readers, and all kinds of other users between the fifteenth century and today.

In this summing up of the history of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*'s production, reproduction, and consumption this short text's cultural biography presents itself as extremely rich and complex indeed. Rather than merely an unsatisfying fifteenth-century summary history of the pilgrimage of Muslim rulers, it appears as one literary manifestation of the many vibrant gateways that can lead modern researchers to better understandings of the social and cultural worlds that defined its life. This was a long life full of opportunities, encounters, and transformations, only a handful of which can actually be reconstructed. At every turn, however, the text appears and re-appears above all as a node in networks of people, ideas, practices, texts, and related cultural forms, which it connects and with which it is connected in ever changing configurations. Reconstructing all of these networks, connections and configurations is a much needed but also daunting task that lies far beyond the reach of this particular study of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*. Some of them will nevertheless make their appearances here in some relevant detail, and the contours of many others will come into sight at the horizons of this book's first part. It is hoped that in the future, this particular study's embedding within the wider scope of al-Maqrīzī's rich scholarly legacy as it is being studied in this *Bibliotheca Maqriziana* will become possible. It is only through comprehensive approaches of embeddedness, connectivity, and contextuality that these details may be further refined and that these contours may acquire more concrete shapes. It is therefore above all the combination of different cultural biographies and partially reconstructed social lives of al-Maqrīzī's many extant texts that may yield ever better and more nuanced insights into the different intellectual and practical universes that this fifteenth-century author and his regularly changing memories came to inhabit.

One important condition to achieve such enhanced understanding of arguably one of the most influential historians of pre-modern Islamic history is that we have access to his texts as he had intended them to be. As will be detailed in the third chapter of this first part, there are only a handful of modern editions of the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* and these all display in various ways important shortcomings in their relationship with the original versions of the text. The retrieval in the context of the *Bibliotheca Maqriziana* of all relevant manuscript copies and of authoritative manuscript traditions as well as the deepened understanding of the complexity of this text and of the contexts in which it operated also mean that the time certainly has come to start mov-

ing beyond current editions. Above all they all rely mainly on the same, much later copy of the text, and the only extant autograph of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in the manuscript MS Or. 560 (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek) has so far never been the object of any critical edition. There are therefore many good reasons to present such an edition of this text as it appears in Or. 560 in the second part of this book. In order to assure the widest possible accessibility and intelligibility of al-Maqrīzī's text, also for the non-specialist reader, this second part simultaneously presents the first English translation of al-Maqrīzī's summary history of the pilgrimage that has ever been published. A detailed reference apparatus accompanies this translation, identifying whenever possible names, places, and other phenomena that appear in the text and that continue to define in many ways its literary, historiographical and wider cultural meanings and values. A photographic reproduction of the autograph of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in Or. 560 (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek) follows at the end of the book, as well as a series of indexes that further supports the aim of achieving the greatest accessibility and intelligibility, both of the text and of its cultural biography.

PART 1

*Study—The Cultural Biography of a
Fifteenth-Century Literary Text*



Contexts: Introducing the *ḥaǧǧ*, al-Maqrīzī, and *al-Dahab al-masbūk* (Seventh – Fifteenth Centuries)

1 The *ḥaǧǧ* Ritual: Forms, Function, and Religious Meanings

Q 3: 97 “Pilgrimage to the House is a duty owed to Allah by all people who can make the journey.”

Ever since the dawn of Islam, the Qur’ānic injunction to perform the *ḥaǧǧ* or pilgrimage to God’s House has encouraged ever more Muslims from ever more places across the globe to come to the West-Arabian region of the Hijaz. Today, more than two million male and female pilgrims every year partake in the series of prescribed acts in and near the sanctuary of Mecca that make up this pilgrimage ritual. They do so in an environment that has substantially altered since the middle of the previous century. Modernisation, particular views of Muslim orthodoxy, and various incidents with and concerns for pilgrims’ health, safety and comfort, have had such a gigantic impact on pilgrimage facilities and infrastructures that conditions of travel and performance have radically changed from what they had been like for more than 1300 years. Yet the form of the *ḥaǧǧ* ritual itself, its function, and its meanings are not considered to have been affected by these or any other changes, ever since the days of the prophet Muḥammad.

For Muslims, Muḥammad performed the ritual acts of the *ḥaǧǧ* in their most pure, authentic, and correct way shortly before his death in 11/632, setting an example that ever since that time every individual pilgrim continues to have to abide by. The remembrance of this final prophetic pilgrimage, known as the Farewell Pilgrimage (*ḥiǧǧat al-wadāʿ*), was transformed into an authoritative model by the early Muslim community of the Prophet’s companions, their successors, and their followers. In these early years of Arab expansion, of confrontation with other rich and powerful socio-cultural traditions, and of variegating searches for Muslim political leadership, religious authority, and social identity, the Prophet’s Farewell Pilgrimage entered the community’s social memory through the institutionalisation of its annual repetition in practice and through the entrenchment of its story in the community’s early biographical, historical, and religio-legal textual production.

As with so many rules of good Muslim practice, this development did not prevent the survival or emergence of differences in remembrance of and in opinion on particular details of pilgrimage practice. Many of these eventually fed into the wider legal differences that marked the distinct but interconnected traditions of the Sunni schools of law, the *madāhib*. One of the bigger debates that continued to rage well into the later medieval period certainly concerned the distinction between the two types of pilgrimage to Mecca, the *ḥaǧǧ* and the *ʿumrah*. Whereas the *ʿumrah* is not defined by any time restrictions and only involves a series of ritual acts in and near the Mecca sanctuary, the dimensions of time and space that make for a valid *ḥaǧǧ* are very different. The correct timing of the performance of the different *ḥaǧǧ* rituals is absolutely crucial, for they can only be executed in a particular sequence on the eighth, ninth and tenth days of the twelfth month of the Muslim lunar calendar (appropriately known therefore as *Dū l-Ḥiǧǧah*, the month of the *ḥaǧǧ*). Furthermore, despite its incorporation of the *ʿumrah* rituals of circumambulation of the Kaʿbah-structure in the centre of the Mecca sanctuary (*tawāf*) and of running between the elevations Safa and Marwa just outside the sanctuary (*saʿy*), the *ḥaǧǧ*'s main ritual components are staged many kilometers away from Mecca, on the plain of ʿArafah at the foot of the Mountain of Mercy, and then midway between ʿArafah and Mecca, at a place called Miná, where the emblematic ritual slaughter (*adhā*), the laying down of the pilgrim's consecrated state (*iḥrām*), and the shaving of the head take place. The relation between these rituals of *ḥaǧǧ* and *ʿumrah*—whether they may be combined in an integrated fashion (*qirān*), have to be performed subsequently (*tamattuʿ*), or are carried out one without the other (*ifrād*)—has been the object of doctrinal debate and differing legal opinions, opposing scholars, schools, and remembrances of prophetic sayings and actions as recorded in reports of the Farewell Pilgrimage. However, these and other such discussions never really affected the general performance and sequence of the *ḥaǧǧ*'s main ritual components. Ever since the seventh century, these have always consisted of the taking on of the consecrated state upon entry of the larger Mecca region, of the circumambulation and running in Mecca, of waiting in contemplation—or 'standing' (*wuqūf*)—at ʿArafāt on the ninth of *Dū l-Ḥiǧǧah*, and of throwing pebbles (*ramy ḡamarāt*) and ritual slaughter at Miná on the tenth, followed by a few more days of celebrations, including opportunities for more pebble throwing at Miná and for further circumambulations at Mecca.

More than thirteen centuries of remembrance and re-enactment of the Farewell Pilgrimage have made it so that these main ritual forms of the *ḥaǧǧ* (and of the *ʿumrah*) have acquired an appearance of timelessness. This is also true for the basic function and meanings of the *ḥaǧǧ* and of its differ-

ent ritual components. In fact, for Muslims the ritual forms, function, and meanings of the *ḥaǧǧ* are all indeed to be understood as transcending any worldly notions of time and change. Obtaining redemption from sins and access to paradise are mentioned among the most tangible rewards that await those who successfully complete the *ḥaǧǧ*. But performing these *ḥaǧǧ* rituals connects pilgrims not just with the divine meaning of their individual destinies in this world and in the hereafter. Above all, it also connects them with all other pilgrims performing exactly the same sacred rituals at exactly the same sacred time at exactly the same sacred place in past, present and future. As such, these rituals remind the community of Muslims (*ummah*) of its sacred monotheist history, as progressing towards the Day of Judgement (at which all are believed to appear before God in the same simple and egalitarian capacity of the consecrated state of their *ḥaǧǧ*, the *iḥrām*) and as following in the divinely guided footsteps of a long range of prophets and messengers, including Muḥammad's, but also above all Abraham's (Ibrāhīm). In fact, the entire *ḥaǧǧ* ritual (as well as the wider sacred history of Mecca) is geared towards this commemoration of Abraham's engagements with the divine (and of Islam's direct descent from and reconnection with his monotheist legacy).

Considered to be the first monotheist who submitted to God's will, the first *muslim*, Abraham, his Egyptian consort Hagar, their son Ismail and their adventures in the Arabian desert are present in each and every one of the *ḥaǧǧ*'s ritual components. The original Ka'bah is believed to have been built more than 4,000 years ago by Abraham and Ismail, with divine guidance and assistance; the nearby source of Zamzam is thought to have been miraculously found by Hagar when she was running in despair between Safa and Marwa to look for a bit of water for her son; and at Miná the devil is claimed to have been chased away by the pebbles that Abraham threw at him when he tried to persuade him not to sacrifice his son, upon which Abraham abided by God's command to sacrifice Ismail (and not Isaac of Biblical history) and God rewarded him for his commitment by sending down a ram for slaughter instead. Eventually, Islam believes that it was Abraham himself who, upon divine instruction, set the proceedings of the *ḥaǧǧ*. The symbolism of an individual's performance of the *ḥaǧǧ* therefore transcends the particular case of Muḥammad by far, his paradigmatic Farewell Pilgrimage being no more than a restoration of the correct ritual, just as his wider mission is considered to be no more than a restoration of the natural, monotheist order of things, as also advocated by Abraham and many other prophets before.

It is these powerful, transcendent meanings, reminding believers of their communal place in monotheist history and of their timeless relationship with

divine Will, that have always informed the Qur’ānic injunction to every individual *muslim* able to do so to perform the *ḥaǧǧ* at least once. The obligatory nature of this ritual, as already formulated in the Qur’ān, makes that together with the proclamation of faith (*šahādah*), daily prayer (*ṣalāt*), fasting during the month of Ramaḍān (*šawm*) and the alms tax (*zakāt*), the *ḥaǧǧ* is considered one of the five ‘pillars’ of Islam. It may even be argued that among these five obligatory rituals—each of which is meant to confirm a believer’s relationship with the divine and each of which actively partakes in organising the monotheist rhythm of time, space, and community—the *ḥaǧǧ* stands out as special, owing to the deep commitment that speaks from a pilgrim’s achievement of its demanding requirements, as well as due to the very public nature of its performance. Every year since the Prophet’s Farewell Pilgrimage, the *ḥaǧǧ* has brought all kinds of people together in public spaces in Mecca, ‘Arafah and Miná in a shared performance of their religious duties. Every year, too, the particular and general nature of this performance has been a matter of such wider solidarity, concern, and interest that all kinds of reports, treatises, and stories have continued to be produced about it, ranging from the textual recordings of the Farewell Pilgrimage in early Islamic history, to widespread coverage in the traditional and social media of the contemporary world.¹

2 Pilgriming Rulers and the *ḥaǧǧ*’s Political Meanings in Islamic History

The Prophet’s leadership of the Farewell Pilgrimage did not just set an example that allowed individual Muslims to reconnect with monotheist history and ritual practice. It soon also acquired more direct political meanings of legitimate Muslim rule in the Prophet’s footsteps. In the decades that followed Muḥammad’s death in 11/632, succession to leadership over the rapidly expanding community of believers (*ummah*) remained a vexed issue. Discussions over rules of legitimate succession were never really resolved and continued to pit supporters of different leaders and definitions of legitimate leadership against each other. In the historical reality of the regular conflicts and clashes

1 Further on these religious forms, function and meanings of the *ḥaǧǧ*, see Hawting (2001); “Ḥaǧǧdj. iii The Islamic ḥaǧǧdj”, in *EI*² (http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/hadhdj-COM_0249); Armstrong (2012); Abdel Haleem (2012); Id. (2013); Peters (1994); Pearson (1994); Gaudefroy-Demombynes (1923).

through which this repeated competition for Muslim rule and sovereignty was fought out, as much as in their later explanations and remembrance by winners and losers, religious meanings of divine sanction, intervention, and guidance played important symbolic roles. As time evolved and the formulation of Muslim religious identities became more explicit, the functionality of these meanings was expanded to underscore a particular trajectory in the sacred history of a religious community and its leadership, that, in mainstream accounts, connected rulers and dynasties (the first four so-called Rightly-Guided caliphs Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uṭmān and ‘Alī in Medina [11–41/632–661], the Umayyad caliphs in Damascus [41–132/661–750], the ‘Abbāsid caliphs in Baghdad [132–656/750–1258] and in Cairo [659–922/1261–1517], and the Ottoman sultan-caliphs in Constantinople/Istanbul [c. 922–1342/1517–1924]), as though in a continuous and unbroken sequence with the leadership of Muḥammad and with his guidance along the divinely ordained path of monotheistic history.

Successful claims and performances of the leadership of the annual pilgrimage were one of the most effective, visible, and powerful ways by which this aura of legitimacy through continuity with the Prophet’s example tended to be operationalised. The annual pilgrimage caravan from the Arab-Muslim empires’ successive main centers (from Medina in the Hijaz, from Damascus in Syria, from Baghdad in Iraq, from Cairo in Egypt, and from Constantinople on the Bosphorus) was therefore always led by the caliph, or by one of his formally appointed representatives, and just as the Prophet had done in 10/632, the caliph or his representatives always led all pilgrims through the different stages of the pilgrimage ritual. Conflicts and competition over Muslim sovereignty therefore were often reflected in the appearance in the Mecca area of opponents’ caravans and opposing claims to ritual leadership. One of the best-known and most devastating occasions of this sort occurred in 73/692, when the Meccan caliphate of ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (r. 64–73/683–692) was violently subdued by its Umayyad rival in Damascus and the Umayyad siege of Mecca prevented rival Umayyad and Zubayrid caravans of pilgrims to complete all required rituals. Twice during this decade of Umayyad-Zubayrid competition for the caliphate the Ka’bah itself was so severely damaged that it had to be completely rebuilt. On both occasions this happened under close political supervision. Many centuries later, in the 1040s/1630s, a third and final round of Ka’bah reconstruction—this time occasioned by extreme flooding rather than war—was similarly pursued under close political watch, now from the Ottoman sultan of Istanbul and a specially appointed representative. All three cases illustrate how the Mecca sanctuary and the maintenance of its public buildings and services have always continued to be extremely important for those claiming some form of legitimate Muslim political leadership, often

even irrespective of the distance and political realities separating them from remote Mecca.²

In the seventh and eighth centuries, most early caliphs still managed to personally perform their natural duty as *ḥaǧǧ* leader, often even more than once during their tenure. After the ‘Abbāsīd caliph Hārūn al-Rašīd (r. 170–193/786–809), however, the number of regional Muslim leaders who personally led the pilgrimage and performed the *ḥaǧǧ* became surprisingly limited.³ Over time, as safe access to Mecca became more complicated and as the religious dimension of mainstream Muslim leadership got increasingly defined in more abstract terms, priority was given to representation through symbolic acts and appointed agents and to indirect patronage through all kinds of material support, including via public construction works such as those performed on the Ka‘bah.

The contraction of caliphal power from the ninth century onwards and the concomitant realities of devolution, fragmentation, and rapid transformation of Muslim political power between the Atlantic Ocean and the Oxus and Indus valleys generated a huge increase in the need for local and regional political legitimation. This created a particular context of conflicting ideologies of power within which the *ḥaǧǧ* often became even more than ever before one of the arenas of competition for legitimate Muslim leadership. Rulers’ sovereignty continued to be represented by such symbolic forms as precedence of one’s representatives in the pilgrimage’s rituals, providing the annually renewed richly embroidered veil (*kiswah*) for the Ka‘bah, and mentioning one’s name at the Friday *ḥuṭbah* in the Sanctuary or Ḥarām Mosque. In the competitive search for legitimate Muslim leaderships, the successful acquisition of such universally accepted symbolic forms of representation-*cum*-precedence in the *ḥaǧǧ*’s trans-regional value system became a truly performative characteris-

2 For more on these political meanings of pilgrimage leadership in early Islamic history, see Sijpesteijn (2014); Munt (2013); Kennedy (2012): 76–92; McMillan (2011); Marsham (2009): 91, 124–125, 189, 268—Marsham explains most explicitly how “lists of leaders of the *ḥaǧǧ* and annual campaigns [...] reveal that these poles of the religio-political calendar were kept in the control of the ruling dynasty throughout the Umayyad (and early Abbasid) period: they were assigned to the caliph himself, a relative by blood or marriage, or to the *walī al-‘ahd*; leadership of the *ḥajj* was closely associated with leadership of the *umma*, and appears to have been a prerequisite for the nomination of the *walī al-‘ahd*” (124–125); Robinson (2007): 95–100; Hawting (1993). For later Islamic history, see Faroqhi (2014) (incl. 113–120 for the Ottoman rebuilding of the Ka‘bah in the 1630s); Irwin (2012).

3 For a useful descriptive survey of Muslim leaders performing the pilgrimage up to the fifteenth century, see Möhring (1999).

tic of sovereignty, which could be effectively claimed, challenged, won, and awarded in Mecca and elsewhere along the *ḥaǧǧ* routes.⁴

Competition among local and regional Muslim rulers for these symbolic forms was furthermore exacerbated when the Ḥasanid family was established as a dynasty of local rulers (Sharifs) in Mecca in the course of the mid-tenth century. The Ḥasanid Sharifs of Mecca managed to retain their local leadership for almost a millennium, during which, at recurrent moments of political fragmentation, they took full advantage of their ability to “sell” their recognition to the highest bidder. When real and acclaimed sovereignties as well as physical control over pilgrimage routes and over the region of Mecca became extremely dispersed, localised, complicated, and often also intricately layered and diffuse, there always remained the *ḥaǧǧ*'s political dimension of treading in the Prophet's footsteps. When the Saudis conquered Mecca in 1926, for them this was also one of the many incentives to act against their Ḥasanid rivals.⁵

But the total and continued fragmentation of Muslim political communities created not just new ideological contexts that infused this trans-regional value system with adapted political meanings. It also created enormous logistical challenges for pilgrimage caravans to safely travel to Mecca, with similar political consequences. Throughout Islamic history, reports and stories of pilgrims suffering from natural disasters, famine, Bedouin attacks, or other worldly problems have always reflected badly on the reputation of their leaders. But the opposite was also always true. Whatever the time and place, assuming responsibility for the pilgrimage and for one or more of its main caravans of pilgrims has always offered huge symbolic opportunities for Muslim leaders, vis-à-vis local as well as regional audiences. It also presented them with equally huge political liabilities when things did not run smoothly. Despite the radical transformation of material circumstances, even in the contemporary globalising world this same political meaning of legitimacy in remembrance of the Farewell Pilgrimage continues to inform the connection between the local, regional, and international reputation of the Saudi patrons of the *ḥaǧǧ*'s modern logistics and the mass public event which the pilgrimage has become. From this infrastructural political perspective too, therefore, ancient as well as mod-

4 On the *kiswah* and other *ḥaǧǧ*-related symbols of sovereignty, see Sardi (2013); Nassar (2013); Mortel (1988); Gaudefroy-Demombynes (1954).

5 For the Ḥasanid Sharifian dynasty of Mecca, see “Makka, 2. From the ‘Abbāsīd to the Modern Period”, *EI*² (http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/makka-COM_0638); Meloy (2010a); Mortel (1987); Ota (2002). See also Peters (1994): 352–362.

ern reports, treatises, stories, and other representations of pilgrimage success and failure have always continued to matter.⁶

3 Cairo Sultans, Meccan Sharifs, and the Late Medieval *ḥaǧǧ*

In 656/1258, the ephemeral remnants of the ancient ‘Abbāsīd caliphate were annihilated by the Central-Asian Mongols, when they executed the 37th and last caliph of Baghdad, al-Musta‘šim (r. 640–656/1242–1258). By that time, for most Sunni Muslims the figure of the caliph was no longer a real political leader, but rather a divinely ordained mediator for human action, who safeguarded the connection between his community, the Prophet’s example, and divine Will. The cutting of this connection by the caliph’s disappearance in 656/1258 therefore generated throughout Sunni Muslim communities various challenges of legitimacy, in moral and legal as well as in political terms. These challenges, however, certainly also created a variety of opportunities, especially on the Levantine frontier of Mongol westward expansion, where that expansion forced local military leaders to close ranks behind one of theirs who had acquired the sultanate of Egypt. When in 658/1260 this partnership proved successful in pushing back the Mongol troops beyond the Euphrates and eventually also in re-integrating various Syrian and Egyptian elites and resources into the Cairo sultanate’s orbit, these opportunities were intensively explored to underscore and communicate the legitimacy of the new leadership. One of the many transformative ways in which this happened was in fact by a kind of re-invention of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate in the Muslim world’s new centre of gravity, Cairo. A surviving scion of the ‘Abbāsīd family was proclaimed the new caliph by sultan Baybars (r. 658–676/1260–1277) and his entourage. Despite ongoing debates about the validity of the ‘Abbāsīd lineage of this caliph al-Ḥākīm (r. 661–701/1262–1302), his descendants maintained their position, under the sultan’s continued patronage and control, until the early sixteenth century, when the Ottoman conquest of Egypt ended the sultanate as well as the Cairo caliphate.⁷

The long-standing sultanate of Cairo, thus given new military, geographical, and ideological impetus by mid-thirteenth-century military leaders such as sultan Baybars, is best known in today’s academic and popular discourse as

6 See Faroqhi (2014); Peters (1994); Bianchi (2004).

7 Heidemann (1994); “‘Abbāsīds”, in *EI*² (http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/abbasids-COM_0002).

the Mamluk Sultanate, or also as the Mamluk Empire. This Mamluk label is inspired by the continued particular social origins of the majority of its military-political elites, including of many of its sultans. Baybars was brought to Egypt a young Turkish slave (*mamlūk*) from north of the Black Sea region, and nineteen of the Cairo sultans after him shared similar *mamlūk* Central-Asian servile origins, local Arabo-Islamic and martial socialisation in the barracks of the Cairo citadel, and upward social mobility through manumission, military service, and court careerism. However, the sultanate was never the exclusive playground of any one continuous so-called Mamluk project, and this was mainly caused by the ongoing practice of slave trade and *mamlūks'* importation, and by the recurrent pattern of the subsequent newcomer status of many of the sultans and of most of the military-political elites between the thirteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Throughout the sultanate's long history, various distinct lineages (as opposed to one Mamluk continuity) of sultans and their supporters and descendants actually tried to impose their continued control, and especially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries some were quite successful in this process. One of the most well-known manifestations of the latter phenomenon certainly is the century-long sultanate of Qalāwūn (r. 678–689/1279–1290) and his descendants (r. 689–784/1290–1382), including the very long reign and extremely successful rule of his son al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 693–741/1293–1341, with two intervals). Such dynastic continuities, however, and their concomitant reproductive constructions of a particular dynastic political order of ideas, relationships, and things, never stopped to be challenged by rival individuals, groups, practices and ideas, resulting in continuously returning moments of elite fragmentation and transformation, when succession had to be resolved through factionalism and war, and continuities threatened to be disrupted. In this context of ongoing political complexity, of repeated competition between dynastic and non-dynastic agents, of ongoing clashes between newcomers and vested interests, and of dominance by successions of freedmen and freemen, contemporaries tended to define the various and dynamic Syro-Egyptian political environments within which they had to operate by the very generic common denominator of the *dawlat al-atrāk*, the Rule of the Turks, the latter referring in the most general terms to the inclusive and open political identity of some martial form of 'turkishness' that distinguished the urban political elites of the Cairo sultanate until, at least, the early sixteenth century.⁸

8 For a recent generalising impression of the sultanate's long and complex political history, carefully combining standard Mamluk narratives with more nuanced approaches, see

With power and authority in such a state of flux, sultans and their entourages were more than ever in a constant need for every kind of ideological support to explain and cement their rule. In this respect, the void left by the sudden disappearance of the 'Abbāsids of Baghdad also created unexpected ideological space beyond the issue of caliphal authority. Soon after 658/1260, and throughout the sultanate's further existence, Cairo sultans' appropriation from the 'Abbāsīd caliphs of the symbolic forms of representation-*cum*-precedence in the *ḥaǧǧ*'s trans-regional value system remained highly appreciated as another very important and effective tool to stake out claims for legitimate leadership. This included long-standing traditions such as the annual production and dispatch of a new Ka'bah veil (*kiswah*) and the precedence of the sultan's standard in the different pilgrimage rites. But there were also wider privileges of local sovereignty involved, such as the invocation of the sultan's name at the Friday sermon (*ḥuṭbah*) in the Sanctuary Mosque and the minting of Meccan coins in the sultan's name (*sikkah*). At the same time, sultans in Cairo continued to very proudly use the title of 'Servant of the two Sacred Places' (*Ḥādīm al-ḥaramayn al-šarīfayn*), confirming their role as the main patron and protector of Mecca and Medina and of their sanctuaries (the Ḥarām Mosque with the Ka'bah and the Prophet's Mosque with Muḥammad's grave, respectively). In 667/1269, sultan Baybars even performed the pilgrimage in person. Baybars only performed his pilgrimage in absolute secrecy though, with priority being given to an almost hagiographic remembrance rather than to public display. How this royal pilgrimage actually happened, therefore, remains unclear. The story in itself, however, already sufficed to direct the *ḥaǧǧ*'s empowering ideological effect to Baybars' royal personality. Before that, in 664/1266, similar effect had certainly already been obtained by the re-invention of a caliphal practice that was soon to develop into a highly symbolic institutional component of the annual regional *ḥaǧǧ* caravans. In that year, there was sent for the first time at the head of the Egyptian caravan the so-called *maḥmal*, a luxuriously decorated empty palanquin, raised on a camel, and symbolically representing the sultan's pilgrimage leadership along the caravan route to Mecca as well as throughout the different pilgrimage rituals. This *maḥmal* tradition was continued by Baybars' successors in Cairo, multiplied in the different caravans that departed from the sultanate's main urban centres in Syria, integrated in elaborate departure ceremonials that symbolically connected the court to the ritual performances in and around Mecca, challenged and copied by rival rulers

Loiseau (2014). For the contemporary use of *dawlat al-atrāk*, see Van Steenbergen (forthcoming); Yosef (2012); Ayalon (1990).

from Iraq and Yemen, maintained beyond 922/1517 under the supervision of the Ottoman sultan's representative in Cairo, and only discontinued when the Saudis acquired full control of the Mecca sanctuary in the 1920s.⁹

Whenever opportunities arose, Baybars' successors in Cairo pursued various similar and other engagements with Mecca and the *ḥaǧǧ*. Already from the sultanate's early days onwards this particular privileged relationship between Cairo and Mecca had been institutionalised by the emergence of the official position of Commander of Mecca (*amīr Makkah*), a title conferred with befitting robes, gifts, and honours by the sultan upon the Ḥasanid Sharif. Although hardly ever representing any real control from Cairo over Mecca, the tradition of conferring this political title was continued throughout the sultanate's existence because it was mutually beneficial. For the sultan, it was a symbolic act that confirmed his sovereignty over the sacred place that Mecca was, and that time and again re-integrated the Ḥasanid rulers of remote Mecca at least theoretically into the political framework of positions and functions that were emanating from the court in Cairo. For the Sharifs, it was an official title and a formal recognition of local authority that awarded local leverage and that created distinction from other local rulers in the Hijaz and from Ḥasanid pretenders in Mecca. For both rulers, concomitant mutual oaths and arrangements furthermore provided some clarity in the rights, duties, and privileges that they owed each other. This certainly also had to do with Mecca's socio-economic subordination to Egypt. Pilgrimage brought in substantial wealth that could be easily tapped by taxation. But natural resources in the Hijaz were extremely limited so that, despite such regular income from pilgrimage, local social and political organisation depended first and foremost on the importation of staple food. For centuries, therefore, the supply of grain from Egypt had been crucial to Mecca, the Hijaz, and the annual pilgrimage, and the practice of providing for this

9 On these engagements of Cairo sultans and others after them with the *ḥaǧǧ* and its symbolic forms, see Porter (2013); Meloy (2006); Behrens-Abouseif (1997); Ankawi (1974); Jomier (1953); Dekkiche & Van Steenberg (forthcoming). For Meloy and Jomier the *maḥmal* ritual was a tradition originating with Baybars, whereas for Behrens-Abouseif and Porter it derived from earlier symbolic practices that had originated with the later caliphs of Baghdad. On Baybars' secret pilgrimage in late 667/1269 see also Thorau (1987): 197–199; epigraphic evidence confirms that this pilgrimage, and especially its commemoration, indeed was considered a very important political event by the sultan and his entourage: a politically highly stylised (and revealing) inscription at the shrine of the Prophet Moses (*Maqām Nabī Mūsá*) in Palestine explains that it was constructed on Baybars' command in “one of the months of 668”, “after the return of his noble mount from the pious *ḥaǧǧ* and his setting out to visit holy Jerusalem” (Mayer [1933]; Amitai [2006]; Eddé [2012]).

through special arrangements with Cairo and through the set-up of religious endowments in Egypt persisted during and also after the sultanate's existence. Sultans, members from their courts, and other elite groups continued to endow yields from villages and estates that they owned in Egypt for consumption by Hijazi inhabitants and visitors, thus ensuring sufficient supplies to the Hijazi leaderships, but at the same time also furthering particular ties of patronage, reciprocity, power, and sovereignty.¹⁰

This privileged relationship between Cairo and Mecca and the many opportunities that it offered was of course also acknowledged by other real or would-be Muslim rulers, including by many rivals and opponents of the sultan of Cairo within and outside the sultanate's territories. A handful of rulers from the Rasūlid dynasty of Yemen (632–858/1235–1454) were notably ambitious in trying to appropriate this relationship for themselves. But most active in such respects were undoubtedly various Mongol and post-Mongol Muslim leaders in West Asia, who controlled in varying degrees populations and resources to the north and east of the sultanate. Throughout the thirteenth to early sixteenth centuries, they were regularly involved in an intense competition for regional sovereignty and for local control with, amongst others, different sultans of Cairo, and the symbolic forms of *ḥaǧǧ* representation-*cum*-precedence certainly constituted one among various arenas where such competition was fought out. This happened in particular during the first half of the fourteenth century, when this symbolism came to dominate more than anything else sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's scramble for sovereignty and regional supremacy with Mongol Ilḥānid leaders. As a result of this particular competition for representation-*cum*-precedence, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was actually pushed to personally lead the pilgrimage three times, in 712/1312, in 719/1320, and in 732/1332. These were truly unprecedented personal and very public engagements of the Cairo sultan with the *ḥaǧǧ*, every time accompanied by ever more lavish displays of his court's luxury, wealth, prosperity, and organisational capacity, by demonstrations of his generosity towards all kinds of local Hijazi elites and rulers as well as towards a diverse array of *ḥaǧǧ* participants, and by impressive manifestations of the expanding range and integrative force of his power. The elaborate representations of these royal pilgrimages in contemporary reports and texts reveal how at that time and place it almost seemed to many as though the long-forgotten glory of the classical caliphal era was finally being restored in the Islamic heartlands through the accomplished royal *per-*

10 For further details, see Meloy (2010a); Behrens-Abouseif (1999); Morisot (1998); Mortel (1997); Faroqhi (2014): 146–173; Mortel (1985); Darrag (1961): 190–194.

sona and authority of the sultan. In spite of the obvious hyperbolic nature of such literary reproductions, they were perhaps not entirely wrong either. Above all, these three pilgrimages of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad were extremely successful and effective in consolidating for many decades to follow the Cairo sultanate's supremacy in the *ḥaǧǧ*, in the Hijaz, and in regional politics.¹¹

It was only a century later, in the 830s/1430s, that this priority of the Cairo court in the *ḥaǧǧ* rituals was once more seriously challenged, and again similar aims and strategies were employed. At that time, both the Rasūlid ruler of Yemen and the Timūrid ruler of Herat tried to obtain or even appropriate the right to provide a Ka'bah veil (*kiswah*). The sultan of Cairo at that time, Barsbāy (r. 825–841/1422–1438), responded negatively, eventually managing to safeguard the rights that he had inherited from his predecessors.¹² But these were really very different times from those foregone days of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, on the regional scene of rulers and regimes as much as locally. From a time of West-Asian crises and chaos for most of the first decade of the fifteenth century, Timurids, Ottomans, and various Turkmen dispensations had emerged as the sultanate's renewed competitors for regional supremacy and for control over political and economic resources. But simultaneously, the nature and organisation of those resources were also radically transformed, above all by the rapid growth in size, scale, and relative value of commercial interactions connecting the Indian, West-Asian, Red Sea, and Mediterranean trade systems. In the regions of the Cairo sultanate, these new commercial circuits and expanding flows of objects, commodities, and money generated all kinds of new socio-political practices and their institutionalisation, as well as unprecedented opportunities for various groups and individuals in the sultanate's centre and on its many peripheries, for new or renewed integration into the court's political orbit, for the empowering acquisition of local leverage from the court, or for a renegotiation of existing relationships with that court in Cairo. The political rise of new commercial and other economic agents of the sultan; a commercialisation of the tributary mode of surplus extraction; the installation of new types of devolved taxation via the sale of offices and similar *ad hoc* tax farming strategies; the monetisation of urban social relations; and the court's withdrawal from Egypt's and Syria's countrysides and non-urban peripheries, which was only occasionally reversed, and then mostly in a symbolic or punitive manner only: these are but some of the most currently visible interlocking

11 See Broadbridge (2008): 99–114. On Rasūlid engagements with Mecca and the *ḥaǧǧ* see Vallet (2010): 425–469.

12 Dekkiche (2014–2015); Meloy (2010a): 138–139; Darrag (1961): 381–385.

processes of change, reform, and accommodation that made for a fifteenth-century Cairo sultanate that was very different from before, not just in political, but also in social, economic, and spatial terms.¹³

The re-imagination of political projects was certainly also part and parcel of these processes. In the 820s/1420s and 830s/1430s, sultan Barsbāy and his entourage in particular showed themselves very ambitious and active in this respect, trying to expand their political and economic reach and to renegotiate local arrangements on various frontiers, even beyond many traditional boundaries. The sultanate's conquest of Cyprus in 829/1426 was a function of this imperial policy, but so were the new engagements of Barsbāy's agents with local and regional leaderships in Syria, Southeast Anatolia, and the Hijaz. Attempts throughout the 820s/1420s at a more direct political integration of the latter West-Arabian region into Barsbāy's sultanate met with stiff and successful resistance from local elites, including most importantly from the Ḥasanids of Mecca. Instead, a policy of economic integration benefitting the court in Cairo was more successful. In their negotiations with the Ḥasanids and with other local leaders, Barsbāy's agents managed to obtain direct access to the seasonal Indo-Mediterranean commercial circulation, which in the 820s/1420s had found a new hub at Mecca's harbour of Jeddah. These mostly fiscal and tributary arrangements proved extremely effective and profitable, on local Hijazi levels as well as for Cairo's court. As a result, this economic engagement of the Cairo sultanate with the Hijaz would remain active until the sultanate's end, even under Sharif Muḥammad b. Barakāt (r. 859–903/1455–1497), when Mecca witnessed a phase of unprecedented regional empowerment, when political balances between Cairo and Mecca shifted again, and when arrangements had to be renegotiated.¹⁴

At such times of renegotiation, that other ongoing symbolic engagement of the sultan with Mecca through the *ḥaǧǧ* continued to prove its value. In Dū l-Ḥiǧǧah 884/February 1480, almost 150 years after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, a sultan again managed to perform in person the leadership of the Egyptian *ḥaǧǧ* caravan and of the rituals in and near Mecca. Sultan Qāyṭbāy (r. 872–901/1468–1496)

13 For identifications and discussions of various aspects of these radical political, economic, and social transformations marking the turn of the fourteenth century, see, amongst others, Garcin (2005): 411–567: “Troisième Partie: la désurbanisation”; Garcin (1973–1974); Apellániz (2009); Rapoport (2005); Id. (2007); Loiseau (2010); Levanoni (2004); Stilt (2011); Meloy (2004); Miura (1997); Sabra (2004); Abū Gāzī (2000); Walker (2011); Elbendary (2012); Id. (2015); Van Steenbergen, Wing & D'hulster (2016).

14 On these issues, see especially Meloy (2010a); Id. (2005); Id. (2003a); Wing (2014). For southeast Anatolia, see Wing (2015); Adriaenssens & Van Steenbergen (2016).

would actually turn out to be the last sultan in history to achieve this personal participation and leadership during his tenure. As with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's pilgrimages before, for Qāyṭbāy's reign, too, this unusual royal *ḥaǧǧ* served as an impressive illustration of the accomplished nature of his long-lasting power and authority, to contemporary rivals for regional supremacy such as the Turkman leader of Tabriz, to ambitious partners such as the Sharif of Mecca, and to modern observers. This image of supreme leadership and actual control was confirmed by Qāyṭbāy's unprecedented patronage of endowed religious monuments in and near Mecca and in Medina, including the construction of an impressive *madrasah* adjacent to the Sanctuary Mosque and the reconstruction of the Prophet's Mosque after its complete destruction by a fire in 886/1481. Since the thirteenth century, sultans of Cairo had continued to regularly invest in Meccan and wider Hijazi real estate, public services, and religious monument construction, but never in any similar quantities or qualities as those generated by Qāyṭbāy's investments.¹⁵

A few years before Qāyṭbāy's pilgrimage of 884/1480, his privilege of *ḥaǧǧ* representation-*cum*-precedence had actually already been claimed through yet another tradition, when in 879/1475 his wife, the princess Fāṭimah (d. 909/1504), made the *ḥaǧǧ*, sitting in a richly decorated palanquin and accompanied by her own personal caravan, which was even claimed to have included a private orchestra. As with her husband's pilgrimage five years later, Fāṭimah was actually following in Qalāwūnid footsteps, in her case those of the princess Ṭuǧāy (d. 749/1349). In 721/1321, Ṭuǧāy, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's senior wife, had performed for the first time in the sultanate's history this unusual kind of royal pilgrimage by spousal proxy, setting an example in religio-political practice as well as in the flowery literary representation and commemoration thereof, as moments of extremely luxurious display and of widespread awe for her husband, the sultan. A handful of other female royal pilgrimages followed, but this example was picked up most explicitly from 819/1416–1417 onwards. In that year, the leading royal spouse herself again made the pilgrimage, in splendid pomp and circumstance, and every successful sultan thereafter sent his wife, occasionally accompanied by sons and other members of his family, at least once on pilgrimage to Mecca. In some of these cases of spousal pilgrimage, the link with regional rivalry and competition for supremacy was obvious. In other cases, more local concerns for legitimacy and for the acceptance of the sultan's power, authority, and policies were in play. What this suggests above all is that in due course the traditional symbolic objects of representation-

15 Meloy (2010a): 184–187; Behrens-Abouseif (1999); Faroqhi (2014): 30.

cum-precedence, such as the *kiswah* and the *maḥmal*, were no longer deemed sufficient, especially when Cairo's economic interests in Red Sea commerce increased. Whereas personal participation in and leadership of the pilgrimage proved impractical for most sultans, the sending of distinguished representatives from their immediate entourage appeared as a more useful substitute to effectively continue to tap into the *ḥaǧǧ*'s networks and meanings, serving religious and political ends in Cairo, in Mecca, and everywhere in between.¹⁶

This pilgrimage leadership by spousal proxy happened a last time in 920/early 1515. This was a last grand occasion of royal splendour displayed from Cairo all the way to Mecca, amidst regional rivalry and competition, especially between the sultan and his very ambitious peer in Constantinople, Selim (r. 918–926/1512–1520). At the occasion of this pilgrimage, the ruler of the Hijaz, the Ḥasanid Sharif Barakāt (r. c. 903–931/1497–1525), made the unusual effort to accompany his royal guests back to Cairo. For years, this Sharif had been negotiating and fighting with local members of his family to consolidate his authority, while Mecca's (and Cairo's) profitable shares in the Red Sea commerce had been seriously affected by the arrival of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean and in the Red Sea. In 920/1515 therefore Cairo was considered to have as much political leverage to offer to Barakāt as Mecca had to sultan Qāniṣawh al-Ġawrī (r. 906–922/1501–1516). When Selim took Cairo in January 1517, however, and sultan Qāniṣawh's successor was hanged from one of the city's gates, Barakāt had no problem switching his allegiance, including the privilege of *ḥaǧǧ* representation-*cum*-precedence, to the new supreme Muslim ruler who could offer him much needed support in his many Hijazi concerns. By this simple transfer to Ottoman sovereignty, the Sharif safeguarded his Ḥasanid family's tenure for four more centuries.¹⁷

4 Military Commanders and Religious Scholars between Late Medieval Mecca and Cairo

In Dū l-Qa'dah 850/January 1447, a royal *ḥaǧǧ* caravan left from Cairo, led by members from the entourage of sultan Ġaḳmaq (r. 842–857/1438–1453), including two of his wives, the princess Muǧul bt. al-Bārīzī (d. 876/1472) and the princess Nafisah bt. Mehmed b. Dūlgādir (d. 853/1449). As contemporary reports suggest this was another typical occasion of making good royal use

16 Behrens-Abouseif (1997); Johnson (2000); Dekkiche & Van Steenberg (forthcoming).

17 Meloy (2010a): 205–232; Faroqhi (2014): 30–31.

of the empowering integrative forces inherent in the *ḥaǧǧ* value system. This royal caravan again confirmed the sultan's political sovereignty and Cairo's economic gravity through the spousal caravan's strong claim to precedence and through its lavish display and largesse in and between Cairo and Mecca.¹⁸ An informant arriving at the court on Saturday 23 Dū l-Ḥiǧǧah 850/11 March 1447 allegedly reported that in this particular *ḥaǧǧ* season, however, the sultan's caravan had been confronted with challenging competition from various other regional players, an occasion remembered by the Egyptian historian al-Saḥāwī (d. 902/1497) as follows:

The *ḥaǧǧ* had been performed by a *maḥmal* from Baghdad in a caravan of about 1,000 camels [...], by a sizeable caravan of West-Africans, by a crowd of Maghribians, and by the Ottoman vizier. [The vizier] had brought a lot of money with him for distribution among some of the needy and the poor in the two Sacred Places. He had melted 360 Egyptian sugar cones in the drinking fountain of the dome of al-ʿAbbās, to which he had added various *qintārs* of bee's honey. Waterskins had been filled with this, and it had been carried around during the running ceremony (*saʿy*) to quench the pilgrims' thirst.¹⁹

For several years throughout the 840s/1440s, *ḥaǧǧ* reports inform us of how caravans from Muslim West-Africa (Takrūr) and from the Maghrib were passing more frequently through Cairo than ever before, even culminating in 849/1446 in a pompous formal visit to Ğaqmaq's court by a princess from the Ḥafṣid dynasty of Tunis (627–982/1229–1574).²⁰ One year later, in 850/1447, these two African caravans once again linked up with the Egyptian caravans, at a time when after a substantial period of interruption the Iraqi caravan was also being re-established by the Turkman ruler of Tabriz, and when also Meccan chroniclers confirm the presence of the Ottoman vizier bringing many gifts and providing both food and water for pilgrims. In this year, the sultan of Cairo therefore had very good reasons to be excessively well represented in the pilgrimage, if he wished to retain the image of his sovereignty and Muslim superiority. Various reports about sultan Ğaqmaq's very high profile Egyptian caravan, however, reveal more than just how the 850/1447 *ḥaǧǧ* was noted by this culminating interregional dialectic of gift giving, displays of power, and competing claims to

18 Johnson (2000): 110–114.

19 Al-Saḥāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk*, 1:306.

20 Al-Saḥāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk*, 1:179, 252, 262; Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-warā*, 4:223, 238, 245.

Muslim sovereignty. The spelling out in some contemporary chronicles of the distinguished identities of Egyptian and non-Egyptian participants in this particular pilgrimage is actually highly revealing. It reminds us of how, despite—or in addition to—its local and translocal political meaning, the *ḥaǧǧ* remained above all a religious event dominated by varieties of Muslims, including most notably all kinds of religious scholars (*ʿulamāʿ*) who combined the religious duty of pilgrimage to Mecca with their long-standing tradition of searching for intellectual company and acquaintance and for knowledge, beyond any political boundaries. Al-Saḥāwī again in particular provides a unique insight into the intricate networks of royals, commanders, administrators, and scholars that participated in this particular *ḥaǧǧ*.

Those who travelled in this year are the senior princess Muǧul, [who is] the daughter of the judge (*qāḍī*) Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Bārīzī, the sister of the current head of the royal chancery (*kātib al-sirr*), and the wife of the sultan. The same goes for the princess who is the daughter of Ibn [Dūlgādir]. With the former came her daughter, and her sister, the wife of the pilgrimage's main commander. [The princess Muǧul's] brother, the head of the royal chancery (*kātib al-sirr*), similarly travelled as a companion for her, together with his wife and with his daughter, the wife of al-Ġammālī, the supervisor of the royal fisc (*nāẓir al-ḥāṣṣ*), and with a group that included [the esteemed administrators and scholars] al-Zaynī Abū Bakr b. Muẓhir [...], al-Šarafī b. al-ʿAṭṭār, al-Kamāl Abū l-Faḍl al-Nuwayrī, just mentioned [as newly appointed chief judge of Mecca], al-Šihāb b. Šāliḥ, Aṣīl al-Dīn al-Ḥuḍarī, the poet, our friend [the Meccan scholar and chronicler] Ibn Fahd [...], and Abū l-Waqt ʿAbd al-Awwal al-Muršidī l-Ḥanafī, who was in Cairo in this year [...]. They displayed pomp and circumstance that is beyond description, and along the roads and elsewhere they were extremely benevolent and generous [...]. When they arrived in Mecca, the lord Barakāt, its ruler, walked before the litter of the princess and of the other princesses, from the gate of al-Maʿlāh onwards. This was an arrangement considered as beautiful among those surrounded by luxury.²¹

21 Al-Saḥāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk*, 1:304–305. The particulars of the *ḥaǧǧ* of 850/1447 and of its diverse and competitive participation are also detailed by the Meccan contemporary chronicler Ibn Fahd, who seems to have travelled in this season's Egyptian caravan (Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-warāʿ*, 4:258–262). A summary account may be found in Ibn Taǧrī Birdī, *al-Nuǧūm al-zāhirah*, 15:372.

The great variety of pilgrims who annually departed from Egypt certainly were not always accompanied by such splendour. But they did always proceed in a rather similarly organised fashion, travelling mostly in two or three Egyptian caravans (*rakb*), the first of which always included the *maḥmal* and possibly also other royal passengers, and each of which was always led, managed, and protected by a military commander (*amīr al-rakb*) and his military troops and administrative assistants, under the general supervision of the pilgrimage's main commander (*amīr al-ḥaǧǧ*). The role of these commanders was actually crucial, not only for the individual pilgrims and the success of their religious enterprise, but also for the sultan, whose credibility as a legitimate Muslim sovereign also derived from his duty vis-à-vis pilgrims' fulfilment of their religious obligation of pilgrimage. These commanders were annually appointed by the sultan, and it was their personal responsibility to safely accompany the pilgrims to and from Mecca. They were expected to provide especially the needy among them with sufficient supplies of water and food, and they had to make arrangements with Bedouin tribes along the overland caravan route that connected Cairo over the Sinai and 'Aqabat Aylah, to Medina and Mecca, so as to secure safe passage, access to sources, reliable guides, and in some cases also riding animals. Similarly organised but mostly more modest caravans departed from Damascus and from other Syrian towns, and possibly also from Baghdad and from Yemen, the latter two of course remaining beyond the sultan's authority and responsibility. Pilgrims and caravans from further away, such as from Anatolia and the North, from Iran and the East, and from Africa almost always linked up with the Syrian, Iraqi, and Egyptian caravans respectively.²² Just as in the *ḥaǧǧ* season of 850/1447, this closely watched organisation of the main pilgrimage travel could result occasionally—in years of regional political stability and socio-economic prosperity in particular—in the arrival in Mecca of eight to ten different caravans and in the overcrowding of the town's basic facilities, as is also suggested by al-Saḥāwī for the unusually busy season of 845/1442:

[After the arrival of the Cairo caravans], the caravan from Gaza entered [Mecca], followed by the [caravans] from Aleppo, from Damascus, from Karak, from Safad, from Baghdad, and then from with the Turkmen. As

22 Faroqhi (2014): 32–53; Irwin (2012): 142–161; see also al-Ġabbān (2011). The organisation and administration of the Egyptian *ḥaǧǧ* caravan was recorded in minute historical detail by a sixteenth-century Egyptian *ḥaǧǧ* caravan official, see al-Ġazīrī, *Durar al-farā'id*. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Crusader presence in Syria made the hazardous maritime passage through the Red Sea from the Egyptian ports of Aydhab or Quṣayr the main route for the Egyptian pilgrimage.

a consequence, Mecca's houses, mountain paths, and mountains were filled up, and [pilgrim encampments] were stretched out all the way up to Miná.²³

As he did for the year 850/1447, al-Saḥāwī, who displays in his chronicle *al-Tibr al-masbūk* a particular interest in reporting about pilgrimages and their participants, added to his description of the 845/1442 pilgrimage season another explicit reference to some of those who

performed the *ḥaǧǧ*, including the judge (*qāḍī*) Bahā' al-Dīn b. Ḥiǧǧī, together with his young son amidst a group from his family, the master (*šayḥ*) Ṭāhir al-Mālikī, Walī l-Dīn, the son of our master (*šayḥ*) al-Sirāj al-Fahmī, and his brother; they sojourned (*yuǧāwirū*) during the following year.²⁴

These and similar rudimentary lists of important pilgrims drafted by al-Saḥāwī remind us above all of how each of these caravans was first and foremost populated by several tens or sometimes even hundreds of pilgrims of diverse social, economic, cultural, and regional backgrounds, who were physically and financially capable—or at least bold enough—to temporarily leave their homes for the hazardous trip to Mecca. Obviously, these practical as well as motivational conditions made going on pilgrimage easier for some people, for successful scholars and merchants in particular, than for others. Every year various religious scholars of often towering regional reputation within and beyond their Šāfi'i, Ḥanafi, Mālikī or Ḥanbali schools of legal thought again travelled to Mecca for the *ḥaǧǧ*. In many cases, they combined the effort of the long and dangerous pilgrimage journey with the ambition of sojourning for some time near the Sanctuary Mosque. In that case, they acquired the particular status of *muǧāwir*, of non-resident sojourner remaining in Mecca to benefit from its many opportunities to acquire and transmit religious knowledge, and to perform the lesser pilgrimage, the *ʿumrah*.²⁵

The often unparalleled size and diversity of Cairo's late medieval pilgrimage caravans, populated by many others besides royal representatives and military commanders, actually reflected not just the Cairo sultan's claim to Muslim

23 Al-Saḥāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk*, 1:67.

24 Ibid.

25 Irwin (2012): 163–164; “Ḥadǧǧi”, in *EI*² (http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/hadǧǧ-COM_0249); “Mudǧāwir”, in *EI*² (http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/mudǧawir-SIM_5307); Gellens (1990).

sovereignty. Above all, every year these caravans also epitomised the equally unparalleled metropolitan size, diversity, and efflorescence of Cairo's many urban groups and communities, and they illustrated then and now how Cairo had become a crossroads of all kinds of intersecting, competing, and overlapping cultural and economic networks that connected individuals, social groups, and cultural communities across Africa and Asia. This meant that there were many good reasons for Sunni religious scholars of all sorts of specialisation and intellectual allegiance, for Sufi masters, pupils, and practitioners, and for merchants of a variety of trades from across that wide area to continue to converge in Cairo throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, irrespective of any political or other boundaries and transformations. Cultural efflorescence, socio-economic prosperity, migration, and natural demographic growth had propelled Cairo's population to at least a quarter of a million by the first half of the fourteenth century, making it the second largest city of the Mediterranean world, and perhaps even of Eurasia, after Constantinople. From the middle of that century onwards, the Black Death pandemic and subsequent recurrent epidemics, local and regional politico-military turmoil, and economic transformation took a heavy toll on Cairo's urban constellation, but never on its regional and wider appeal and status.²⁶

In Cairo, just as in any other of the deeply interconnected towns and cities of West Asia and North Africa, resident and visiting scholars and other men of religion were mostly organised along the lines of particular knowledge communities, as defined by their allegiance to one of the four dominant schools of legal thought, the Sunni *madhabs*, to one of the congregations of mystic learning and practice, the Sufi *ṭarīqahs*, or—as mostly was the case—to any combination of both. These scholarly communities and their diverse and dynamic urban memberships were locally and trans-locally interconnected, and often also intersected, by scholarly friendships, lineages, and teacher-student networks, by institutionalised educational, legal, and religious practices derived from scholars' monopolisation of jurisprudence and of ethico-religious authorities, and by the reproduction and transmission of particular sets of knowledge and of knowledge practice. These were therefore all extremely amorphous as well as truly imagined communities, conscious and defining components of a global community of Muslims (*ummah*), but existing in the social reality of things in the particularity of their local manifestations through relevant scholars, ideas, institutions, and practices only. That historical particularity, as it may be reconstructed today, was defined above all by the interaction between a variety

26 Berkey (1998); Raymond (2001).

of specific institutions (judgeships, teaching posts, studentships, government offices, textual traditions) and widespread social practices, of knowledge and of patronage and competition in particular. Patronage, or the intricate process of exchange of benefit for service, connected particular scholars to other scholars, as well as to varieties of other social groups, through complex webs of vertical relationships of reciprocity, confirming, establishing, or challenging social hierarchies and identities. Competition, or the equally intricate process of distinguishing the social self in the pursuance of status, authority, and legitimacy, forced the majority of horizontal relationships consciously and unconsciously into a framework of particular binary moral discourses and constructions of social order and of its continuation, protection, or rehabilitation through various sets of strategies, tools, and ideas. Above all, these vertical and horizontal practices of patronage and competition regulated access to scarce resources in the context of West-Asian and North-African late medieval redistributive political economies, where the practice of patronage generated the wider circulation of symbolic and economic assets beyond the military and political elites, and where the practice of competition organised that circulation and stimulated ongoing social transformation. For the scholarly communities, these complex practices of patronage and competition defined the particular interaction of their members with those specific ranges of institutions and with the wider circulation of resources; it regulated the local dynamics of their internal social and intellectual organisation; and it secured scholars' integration within wider West-Asian and North-African social formations, such as in the cosmopolitan urban context of late medieval Cairo.²⁷

With its enormous resource flows, its rich intellectual and commercial trans-regional networks, and its unrivalled magnitude and diversity of social groups, including above all the sultan and his court, Cairo's social environment throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries continued to display a unique cumulative intensity in these social practices of patronage and competition, affecting all, and stimulating among many other things a remarkable cultural efflorescence. Even the aforementioned radical socio-political transformation of the early fifteenth century, in many ways rooted in the accommodation of these urban practices of patronage and competition to the effects of pestilence and war, did not meaningfully interrupt that intensity nor that cultural efflorescence.²⁸ In the early 1990s, Carl Petry summarized the full scope,

27 Berkey (2003): 177–257 (Part IV: Medieval Islam, 1000–1500); Lapidus (1967); Chamberlain (1994).

28 Berkey (1998); Petry (1981); Berkey (1992); Martel-Thoumian (2001); Behrens-Abouseif (2007).

particular detail, and remarkable result of this intensity of patronage and competition in late medieval Cairo so aptly and powerfully that his impression deserves to be quoted here in a slightly updated, full version, as an extremely telling concluding generalisation of how that particular interaction between commanders and scholars was not just extremely successful, but also pivotal for the future of Islamic societies in the East and West:

The majority of [the sultanate's] wealth was recycled back into civil society via maintenance of great households [of military commanders, including the sultan] with swarms of retainers and artisans, requisition expenditures to outfit military campaigns, and massive endowments (*awqāf*) made to found religio-academic institutions. By the fifteenth century, this latter propensity had created a network of more than two hundred mosques, colleges, and Sufi hospices in the capital alone, each supporting a core staff of clerics or faculty, instructional deputies of various specialties, and students whose needs were met out of *waqf* proceeds. The senior faculty, who held chairs (*karāsī*) in the Koranic sciences, Prophetic traditions (*ḥadīth*), or Shari' jurisprudence (*fiqh*), delivered formal lectures and certified the expertise of advanced students who presented themselves for disputation and examination. Their mentors signed authorizations (*ijāzas*) attesting to textual proficiency, which facilitated a novice's entry into the courts and/or academies. Since junior instructors handled the bulk of routine pedagogy, these senior scholars, most of whom had achieved prior renown as clerics or jurists, were left free to pen the corpus of treatises which rendered the [...] era a "Silver Age" of Islamic scholarship.²⁹

5 Introducing a Scholar between Late Medieval Cairo, Damascus, and Mecca

The scholarly tradition to pursue religious duty and knowledge was certainly what drove the scholar Aḥmad b. 'Alī l-Maqrīzī (b. 766/c. 1365; d. 26 Ramaḍān 845/7 February 1442) to join on several occasions the Egyptian caravans and to exchange from time to time the intense urban environment of his hometown of Cairo for the remote and much quieter surroundings of Sacred Mecca's Sanctuary mosque. Just as was true for any other scholar, however, whether

29 Petry (1993): 324.

in Mecca or in Cairo, metropolitan practices of competition and patronage also defined al-Maqrīzī's life, career, thinking, and scholarly production, and perhaps they even did so in even more intense and defining ways than has so far been acknowledged.

Al-Maqrīzī was born in the early 1360s in a family with a long tradition and reputation for religious status and scholarship. In the fourteenth century the different members of al-Maqrīzī's pedigree were especially highly valued in the family's hometown of Baalbek and in the nearby Syrian urban centre of Damascus. Al-Maqrīzī's father had however moved to Egypt before the 1360s to take up employment there, including as a scribe at the royal court, so that the young boy Aḥmad was born in Cairo. Aḥmad received a standard education and training in the skills and scholarship of his time, such as befitting young male members of reputed families such as his. Al-Maqrīzī's family, however, was marked by a particular regional and intellectual complexity, connecting not just the local scholarly communities of Cairo, Damascus and Baalbek, but also the intellectual *madhab* communities of Ḥanbalīs, of Ḥanafīs and—eventually also—of Šāfi'īs. The latter was due to the fact that al-Maqrīzī's father and father's father were Ḥanbalīs, whereas his other grandfather was a well-known Ḥanafī scholar, and al-Maqrīzī himself switched from Ḥanafī to Šāfi'ī allegiance in the later 1380s. Although this complex family situation was certainly not entirely unusual in scholarly circles of the time, it did create a particular social and cultural context for al-Maqrīzī to grow up in. The young al-Maqrīzī would prove an eager and ambitious student of *ḥadīth*, *fiqh* (jurisprudence), grammar, *qirā'āt* (Qur'ān readings), *adab* (literature) and—especially—*tārīḥ* (history). Eventually some of his biographers claimed that he personally boasted of having studied with no less than 600 teachers, in Cairo, in Damascus, and in Mecca.³⁰

Al-Maqrīzī's particular family background somehow created relatively straightforward access to a range of patronage and employment opportunities for the young scholar. According to most of his biographers, he started off in the late 780s/1380s in his father's footsteps, as a scribe in the royal chancery, and from there he quickly moved on to various salaried positions of considerable standing, reputation, and impact in royal service. He served as an assistant

30 For modern biographies of al-Maqrīzī, see, amongst others, Ziyādah (1971b); Farahāt (2009): 5–26; Rabbat (2003); Bauden (2014). For biographies by fifteenth-century Egyptian contemporaries, see, amongst others, Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-šāfi'*, 1:415–420; al-'Aynī, *Iqd al-ġumān*, 574; Ibn Ḥaġar, *Inbā' al-ġumr*, 9:170–172; al-Saḥāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk*, 1:73; Id., *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, 2:21–25; al-Šayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs*, 4:242–244. See also further references in Bauden (2014): 161–162.

Šāfiʿī judge in Cairo, and he was for some time preacher in the ancient congregational mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Fuṣṭāṭ and in the gigantic Sultan Ḥasan *madrasah* below the Cairo citadel. On three brief occasions between 801/1399 and 807/1405, he was appointed by the sultans Barqūq (r. 784–801/1382–1399) and his son Faraġ (r. 801–815/1399–1412) to the position of *muḥtasib* of Cairo and Lower Egypt. It is generally assumed that al-Maqrīzī actually took a particular and personal interest in the latter position, sometimes translated as ‘market inspector’, but in fact a religio-political office of much wider local representation of the ruler in the management of urban social spaces and practices, with as a particular duty the official performance of the collective religious responsibility of ‘commanding right and forbidding wrong’ (*al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*). This interest appears above all from the unusual socio-economic detail and from the regular expression of related expert views and personal opinions on urban practice and organisation that mark some of his writings. Much to al-Maqrīzī’s own frustration, however, his own known tenures of this important position of *muḥtasib* never were very successful. They lasted between one and seven months only, and none left any clear traces of policy, practice, or impact—not even in al-Maqrīzī’s own writings—except for brief references to his appointments and replacements by rival candidates. In fact, al-Maqrīzī’s last referenced appointment to the position of *muḥtasib*, in Šawwāl 807/April 1405, is his last known appointment to any position of similar—or any other—standing and responsibility in Cairo.³¹

Some two years later, there was yet a new episode of appointment, as teacher of *ḥadīṭ* in the Ašrafīyyah and Iqbāliyyah *madrasahs* in Damascus. It seems, however, that this concerned at best an ephemeral episode of tenure only, which unlike the Cairo *muḥtasib*ship was even left entirely unreferenced in al-Maqrīzī’s own writings. Al-Saḥāwī, in his biography of al-Maqrīzī, explains that from these years onwards, “he relinquished all that (i.e. his salaried positions) and abided in his home city, obsessed by the occupation of history, so that he acquired a well-known reputation for it, his fame in it spread wide, and he got a series of writings in it.” The reality of al-Maqrīzī’s life in the 1410s, ’20s and ’30s may have been more complex than al-Saḥāwī’s summary suggests here, if only because al-Maqrīzī is known to have spent considerable time away from his home in Cairo’s Barġuwān area, in Damascus and in Mecca. Throughout these many years, he actually performed three more pilgrimages to Mecca (in

31 On these specific points, see the afore-mentioned biographies and also: Broadbridge, (1999): 88–91; Stilt (2011): 65; Allouche (1994): 3–7, 120. The three appointments to the position of *muḥtasib* are also referred to by al-Maqrīzī himself in his *al-Sulūk*, 3:930, 970, 1155.

825/1422, in 834/1431, and in 838/1435), and also sojourned there regularly, twice between 834/1431 and 840/1436 in particular. But there is little reason not to accept the bottom-line of al-Saḥāwī's assessment of this second phase in al-Maqrīzī's life, as very different from before, and as prolific and successful in scholarly terms. Nor is there much reason to doubt the general feeling that emerges from contemporary biographies as well as from modern studies that the data, theories, and opinions that fed the more than two hundred works of history, which he eventually claimed to have authored, created a particular reputation and profile for this professional historian that deeply divided his widening audiences of students, readers, and colleagues into either admirers or opponents. When al-Maqrīzī eventually died an old man nearing his eighties in Ramaḍān 845/February 1442, he was buried in the so-called Cemetery of the Sufis immediately outside Cairo's Northern wall, but only few people seem to have taken much notice. By that time and age, the construction of the ivory tower of his scholarship had been successfully completed; his books and essays rather than his person aroused, and would continue to arouse, attention and debate.³²

The puzzling issue of this remarkable transformation that Aḥmad b. 'Alī l-Maqrīzī went through, from a very active and relatively successful career in the political, socio-economic and cultural limelight of city and sultanate, to a life of critical observation, detached contemplation, even unrelenting frustration, and widening yet mixed public reception, has continued to intrigue scholars since al-Saḥāwī. In current scholarship, there is a general consensus that this was indeed a rather slow process, of gradual withdrawal to the background of elite social life, beginning in the eventful years of sultan al-Nāṣir Faraḡ's reigns (r. 801–815/1399–1412), and taking a decisive turn in the days of his successor, sultan al-Mu'ayyad Šayḥ (r. 815–824/1412–1421). Whether it really was a voluntary process and whether al-Saḥāwī's suggestion of an obsession with history sufficiently explains it are questions that continue to arouse debate. Some modern scholars, such as Bauden, Ziyādah and Faraḥāt, follow al-Saḥāwī's explanation of consciously giving in to the appeal of a life of intellectual scholarship. They present this transformation moreover as enabled by a liberation from material concerns, when, by 813/1410, al-Maqrīzī would have inherited sufficient property and income from his parents and grandparents to become

32 These issues are detailed in the afore-mentioned biographies; for the quote by al-Saḥāwī, see al-Saḥāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk*, 1:73; Id., *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, 2: 22. For al-Maqrīzī's sojourning in Mecca, see especially Bauden (2014): 165, fn. 12, and also al-Maqrīzī, *Ḍaw' al-sārī*, 12, 47.

financially independent.³³ Anne Broadbridge, however, made a very different analysis, from the perspective of a socio-economic reality within which patronage and competition were the main social practices defining relationships of power, flows of resources, and individuals' lives. Broadbridge demonstrates how during the reign of al-Nāṣir Faraġ al-Maqrīzī gradually lost contacts and patrons among the political elites, and how he, after 815/1412, proved incapable of attracting new patronage and of obtaining new access to income, whereas the very opposite happened to some of his peers. "In terms of the competitive arena and Mamluk patronage practices", Broadbridge concluded, "al-Maqrīzī seems to have died a failure."³⁴ Nasser Rabbat, finally, agrees with this latter view of socio-economic isolation, but also qualifies it further by adding an emotional perspective of despair and reclusion. In doing so, he suggests an even more gloomy picture, of a middle aged man's intentional resignation that was inspired on the one hand by al-Maqrīzī's gradual "leaning toward *zuhd*, the 'mild ascetism' professed by a number of ulama in the medieval period", but on the other hand also by "a feeling of despondency", caused by the endless political intriguing, by the ongoing military confrontations, and by the unusually bloody violence that had plagued Egypt and Syria in the first dozen years of the fifteenth century and that had cost him his patrons and friends.³⁵

6 Contextualising al-Maqrīzī's Authorship

A further contextualisation of this transformatory process in al-Maqrīzī's life actually enables an even better understanding of how these three interpretations of scholarly pursuit, of social failure, and of asceticism and despair connect to each other and to this particular epoch of the early fifteenth century, with important repercussions for current assessments of al-Maqrīzī's writings, not in the least of his *ḥaġġ* treatise *al-Dahab al-masbūk*.

As explained above, the early years of the fifteenth century in Egypt and Syria were marked by processes of radical change, reform, and accommodation that, even despite the long-term continuation of social practices and cultural efflorescence, made for the emergence of an entirely different Cairo sultanate, in political as much as in any other terms of organisation, discourse,

33 Bauden (2014):166; Ziyādah (1971b); Faraḥāt (2009).

34 Broadbridge (1999) (quote p. 105).

35 Rabbat (2003) (quotes p. 16). Bauden equally refers to "the loss of most of his relatives" as an additional reason for al-Maqrīzī to decide "to retire from public life and to devote himself full-time to his passion for writing history" (Bauden [2014]:166).

and memberships. Al-Maqrīzī's career was very much confronted with those radical changes, which really started to set in just after his first appointment to the position of *muḥtasib* in 801/1399, when sultan Barqūq died. At that time dynastic arrangements around Barqūq's royal household proved strong enough to enable his succession by his young son al-Nāṣir Faraġ. Simultaneously, however, a whole range of phenomena and events and their direct and indirect effects turned into an explosive cocktail that proved destructive for all kinds of social formations in the Asian hemisphere. These ranged from the post-Mongol Central-Asian military leader Timūr's (r. 771–807/1370–1405) ruthless and unstoppable campaigns of Asian conquest and booty, hitting Syria and Anatolia shortly after Faraġ's accession; over the gradual but total reconfiguration of West-Asian leaderships in Timūr's wake, including the fragmentation of Cairo's political elites into an unstable and uncontrollable range of military factions from 807/1405 onwards, spreading over Egypt and Syria in increasingly lethal cycles of confrontation and violence; to the deep and systemic crises of traditional socio-economic systems, when political-military upheaval coincided with the cyclical effects of epidemics (the plague) and of natural disasters and when as a consequence century-old urban-rural balances were gravely disturbed.³⁶ This is not the place to expand on any of these transformative local and trans-local phenomena that pushed West-Asian social groups and formations onto a road of no-return towards adaptation. It is however clear that the impact on traditional social and economic resources in Egypt and Syria and on the different urban elites that had for at least two centuries relied and thrived on such resources was substantial.³⁷

As with anyone around him, al-Maqrīzī was also therefore forced to deal with these socio-economic changes on a daily and very personal basis. This did not just involve direct confrontations with disease and death through the loss of almost all of his relatives and children, including in 826/1423 his last surviving daughter Fāṭimah.³⁸ In al-Maqrīzī's unfortunate case, these radical changes moreover occurred just when, by the turn of the century, after careful preparation and with the help of family, friends, and patrons, he was about to firmly establish his person, his reputation, and his access to resources among the Cairo sultanate's ruling circles. Changes in patronage structures regularly

36 On these issues, see especially Onimus (2013); Manz (1999); Borsch (2005): 40–54.

37 For various appreciations of these impacts and accommodations, see Walker (2011): 233–271; Loiseau (2010); Apellániz (2009); Meloy (2005); Bacharach (1973); Garcin, (1973–1974); Elbendary (2015).

38 Bauden (2014): 166; Rabbat (2003): 17; Ziyādah (1971b): 16.

accompanying the accession of a new sultan and the natural dynamics of competition with peers may well help to explain initial adverse turns in this career, after sultan Barqūq's death in 801/1399. But when al-Maqrīzī himself added a rare personal note that he had only accepted his short-lived re-appointment to the position of *muḥtasib* in Šawwāl 807/April 1405 "reluctantly, and after the sultan's threefold repeated insistence", it becomes clear that by 807/1405 this wariness may have had most to do with growing political tension that was about to culminate in two military confrontations in and near Cairo in Dū l-Ḥiġġah 807/June 1405 and in sultan Faraġ's temporary abdication between Rabīʿ I and Ġumādā II of the next year (September–November 1405).³⁹ The same contextuality needs to be taken into account when considering al-Maqrīzī's surprising refusal in 810/1407 of sultan Faraġ's offer of the leadership over Šāfiʿī court justice in Syria, which according to most observers was his last known engagement with salaried positions.⁴⁰ This actually occurred when he had travelled in the royal entourage to Syria, during the sultan's fourth Syrian expedition against rival amirs (Muḥarram-Rabīʿ II 810/July–September 1407). This expedition ended with sultan Faraġ's victory at the battle of Baalbek and with the death of one of his opponents, his former tutor Yašbak al-Ša'bānī. But this outcome did nothing at all to end a competition for power that was gradually spiralling out of anyone's control and that was causing chaos and havoc in Syria, uncertainty in Egypt, and a radical reconfiguration of the sultanate's political landscapes, all of which was to culminate in 815/1412 in the public execution of sultan Faraġ in Damascus.⁴¹ Although this unprecedented outcome

39 On the events of 1405, see Onimus (2013): 463–481 ("la fragmentation du milieu émiral"), 747. For the quote, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:1155. On this moment in the life of al-Maqrīzī and in the history of the position of the *muḥtasib* of Cairo, see also Meloy (2003b): 190; Allouche (1994): 3–4, 120; 'Abd al-Rāziq (1977): 153. Al-Maqrīzī's deep political involvement is suggested by Meloy's speculative claim that one of his earliest treatises, the *Iġātat al-ummah*, may well have been written as a piece of economic advice for Faraġ's young brother 'Abd al-'Azīz, who briefly sat on the throne as al-Malik al-Manšūr (r. September–November 1405) (Meloy (2003b): 190).

40 See Broadbridge (1999): 91 (where confusion over the reasons for this refusal is expressed), 92 (where al-Saḥāwī's claim that al-Maqrīzī was appointed to a teaching post in the Mu'ayyadī mosque complex in the 1410s is shown to have been unlikely); Rabbat (2003): 15–16 (who assigns the refusal to "weariness" and "the traditional pious alim's fear of inadvertently committing injustice while holding the position of judge").

41 On these events and their consequences, see the detailed analyses in Onimus (2013): 481–512 ("Entre concentration et fragmentation: le second règne de Faraġ"), 649–657 ("La radicalisation des pratiques guerrières"). See also Bauden (2014): 166 (where al-Maqrīzī's direct exposure to these events is suggested by the explanation that after being "part of

was anything but evident to al-Maqrīzī and his colleagues in 810/1407, by then the ongoing violent political tension and lack of local control surely already offered very good reasons for his not wanting to accept the position of Šāfiʿī chief judge of Syria, and for not showing much obvious ambition for any other function of import in these and in subsequent years.

Personal loss, anxieties, and fears in times of political violence and socio-economic upheaval had a substantial impact on al-Maqrīzī's career. But as both Anne Broadbridge and Nasser Rabbat demonstrate, this withdrawal of course also had to do with the gradual disappearance of a range of patrons and powerful close friends, just as al-Maqrīzī was reaching middle age, leading to social bereavement, stimulating an attitude of asceticism, and possibly even causing despondency. This emergence of a new, adverse social reality around al-Maqrīzī however also deserves further contextualisation, especially since his known patrons and friends in high places all belonged to a particular group of political, administrative, and cultural elites who were all greatly affected by the crises of the early fifteenth century. So far, four political patrons have been clearly identified in contemporary biographies and in modern studies. These included of course first and foremost the royals Barqūq and his son Faraġ. In the former's case, al-Maqrīzī is even claimed to having been one of the sultan's boon companions (*nadīm*), whereas his membership in Faraġ's entourage on the latter's various expeditions to Syria between 810/1407 and 815/1412 also suggests a certain, yet much more qualified, closeness. Al-Saḥāwī's biographies of al-Maqrīzī furthermore suggest a very close and beneficial friendship with the above-mentioned military commander Yašbak al-Šaʿbānī, a former *mamlūk* of sultan Barqūq and sultan Faraġ's tutor, who had however a very complex relationship with the latter sultan, ranging from moments of support and Yašbak's *de facto* rule in Faraġ's name, to equally regular moments of competition for power and of military confrontation, culminating in Yašbak's death at the battle of Baalbek on 13 Rabīʿ II 810/17 September 1407.⁴² Caught between the often opposing interests of these two high-profile patrons, al-Maqrīzī finally also seems to have nurtured more stable good relations with the head of the chancery at

a group which accompanied the sultan on a trip to Damascus in 810/1407 [...] it seems likely that he did not remain in the town continuously and returned to Cairo each time the sultan did."), 168 (where the same suggestion follows from the statement that "[al-Maqrīzī's] ties with the sultan al-Nāṣir Faraġ were to increase two years later, when he accompanied the latter in his various sojourns in Damascus").

42 See Broadbridge (1999): 88 (Yašbak & Barqūq, including reference to Ibn Taġrī Birdī's boon-companionship claim), 89 (Barqūq), 91 (Yašbak). See also al-Saḥāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk*, 1:73; Id., *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ*, 2:22.

the royal court in Cairo, the royal secretary (*kātib al-sirr*) Faṭḥ Allāh al-Tabrīzī (d. 816/1413), who, according to Rabbat, “was both a dependable and resourceful patron and a faithful friend for more than twenty years”. This converted Jew from Tabriz, who was actually a doctor and who had been the official chief of doctors in Cairo (*raʿīs al-aṭibbāʿ*) when sultan Barqūq transferred him, despite his lack of qualifications, to the position of royal secretary, had remained in office for many years under Barqūq and Faraġ, until his dismissal and murder in 815–816/1413 by order of Faraġ’s executioner and successor, sultan al-Muʾayyad Ṣayḥ.⁴³ What each of these latter two patrons Yašbak and Faṭḥ Allāh have in common is their close connections to Barqūq, and to the royal household that was constructed around this sultan from the 1380s onwards, and that continued to be dominant—albeit eventually in an extremely fragmented and destructive way—until the execution of its leader Faraġ in 815/1412.⁴⁴ Al-Maqrīzī’s loss of his patrons between Barqūq’s death in 801/1399 and Faṭḥ Allāh’s murder in 816/1413 were therefore not isolated events or unfortunate co-incidences. This rather was symptomatic of the gradual implosion and total disappearance of a particular power constellation and of a particular socio-political order during the first decade of the century, and of how this anything but premeditated outcome also deeply affected scholars such as al-Maqrīzī.

Al-Maqrīzī’s personal history of social transformation and withdrawal is then not merely a story of mild asceticism, frustration, and failure. It is also the story of much wider changes that affected the political, economic, and social worlds in which he lived, and that had a huge impact on traditional social structures and elites in Cairo and beyond. It is above all the story of how he—willingly or not—chose to deal with these changes. With traditional socio-economic conditions in an unprecedented state of flux, and with the social field of politics undergoing rapid and violent transformation, old routes and trodden paths for social advancement were dwindling for people such as

43 See Rabbat (2003): 16 (also describing al-Maqrīzī as “suddenly jolted by the dismissal and then brutal killing of his last confirmed patron, Faṭḥ Allāh the *kātib al-sirr*, which took place after a painful six-month imprisonment (Ṣawwāl 815–Rabīʿ al-Awwal 816/January–June 1413”). See also the biography of Faṭḥ Allāh by Ibn Taġrī Birdī (*al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, 8:375–377), where it is explained that “he was an eager collector of precious books”, a particularity that might be somehow related to the wide range of al-Maqrīzī’s scholarship.

44 See Onimus (2013): 316–514 (“Quatrième partie: *al-bayt wa l-ḥizb*, l’ascension de la maison sultanienne face au factionnalisme émiral”); and Loiseau (2010): 179–214 (“4. Refondation de l’état, redistribution du pouvoir: vers un nouvel ordre mamelouk”), 287–330 (“6. Le sultan et les siens. Usages politiques et stratégies sociales dans la fondation de la maison du sultan [al-Zāhir Barqūq, al-Nāṣir Faraġ]”).

al-Maqrīzī. Simultaneously, however, new opportunities certainly also continued to arise, but they required new skills and assets, new friends and roads to patronage, and new dealings with old and new competitors. These were new circumstances that turned out to be more favourable for some than for others, including for some of al-Maqrīzī's peers, such as the great Šāfi'ī judge and specialist of *ḥadīth* Ibn Ḥağar al-'Asqalānī (773–852/1372–1449) or the *muḥtasib* and historian Maḥmūd al-'Aynī (762–855/1361–1451). The former's membership in an ancient wealthy family of spice merchants may have proven an incredible asset when traditional income from land came under immense pressures, whereas the latter's southeast-Anatolian origins, professed Ḥanafism, and cultural proficiency in Turkish secured his direct access to the new rulers and their patronage.⁴⁵ In al-Maqrīzī's case nothing much is known indeed of further advancements in terms of salaried positions, nor of any explicit ambitions in that respect; on the contrary, his attitude, as expressed through his writings, rather has been reconstructed so far as one of regular criticism of the ruling sultans and their representatives (eventually even including his former patron Barqūq),⁴⁶ of total abandonment of his former activism (though not of his political and socio-economic interest and concern), and of occasional frustration and despair with his personal circumstances, often even expressed as a longing for a better past, when things would have been—in the eyes of a historian such as him at least—much clearer and much better organised.⁴⁷

7 Contextualising al-Maqrīzī's *al-Dahab al-masbūk*

The preceding micro-historical contextualisation undoubtedly enables a more nuanced understanding of Anne Broadbridge's assertion that “in terms of the competitive arena and [...] patronage practices al-Maqrīzī seems to have died a failure.”⁴⁸ She however also added to this assessment that “in terms of academic endeavour, [he died] a resounding although not unqualified success with at least his followers, although not his detractors.”⁴⁹ Considering that this second phase in al-Maqrīzī's life coincided with what Bauden, Ziyādah, and Faraḥāt, after al-Saḥāwī, have also identified as a consciously constructed high-point in his scholarly production, it was clearly not just all melancholy, depression,

45 Broadbridge (1999): 86–87, 89–91, 94–97.

46 Ibid., 93–94. See also Levanoni (2001); Massoud (2003).

47 Rabbat (2003): 16–18; Id. (2000); Id. (2012).

48 Broadbridge (1999): 105.

49 Ibid.

isolation, and frustration that made him—in the words of one of his students and successors as a historian, Ġamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Taġrī Birdī (813–874/1411–1470)—into “the historian of his time whom no one could come near”;⁵⁰ neither can it have been simply a story of mild asceticism and aloofness that made al-Maqrīzī himself explicitly write down that in 833/1429 an ambassador from the Tīmūrid court in Herat came to Cairo requesting the sultan for a copy of his *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, his ongoing project of chronicling the late medieval Cairo sultanate.⁵¹ Obviously, the reality of al-Maqrīzī’s professional life in the 810s/1410s, ’20s and ’30s was more complex than any one explanation can account for. Whereas changing times and contexts, past experiences, personal intellectual developments, and ongoing encounters with loss and despair continued to inform and define al-Maqrīzī’s personality and mindset, it should also be made clear that in those decades his personal ambition had definitely moved away from direct participation in the newly composed post-815/1412 ruling establishments and its institutions, towards a life of observation and teaching, of describing that new organisation of the Cairo sultanate of his days from various *longue durée* perspectives, and even of connecting with its practices of patronage and competition in equally new ways.

As is well known, al-Maqrīzī mainly engaged in the production of historiographical scholarship in two different ways. On the one hand, he produced a number of carefully constructed and deeply interconnected grand works of Egyptian topography, biography, and history, in which he collected, surveyed, and preserved the history of Egypt, its Muslim capitals, and its changing elites from the seventh-century Arab conquest until his own days; apart from the above mentioned *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, which was itself a continuation of two other works by al-Maqrīzī dealing with Egypt’s history up to the emergence of the Cairo sultanate in the later twelfth century, these works include the famous *Ḥiṭaṭ* on the history of the city of Cairo, and the *Kitāb al-Tārīḫ al-Kabīr al-Muqaffā li-Miṣr* with biographies of people who lived in Egypt or visited the region.⁵² On the other hand, al-Maqrīzī also produced simultaneously with these multi-volume works a high number of short books, topical essays, and

50 Ibid., 92–93, referring to Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *History of Egypt*, 8:143.

51 Ibid., 103, referring to al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:818, and adding that Ibn Ḥaġar’s and al-‘Aynī’s references to this embassy make no mention of a request for al-Maqrīzī’s *al-Sulūk*. The ongoing nature of this chronographical project is explained in Ziyādah, “Aḥmad b. ‘Alī l-Maqrīzī”, and it is further qualified in Bauden (2014): 181.

52 Bauden (2014): 167–196; Ziyādah (1971a): 18–19; al-Šayyāl (1971): 23–24. To these grand works should certainly also be added a biography of the prophet Muḥammad (*Intā‘ al-asmā’ li-mā li-l-rasūl min al-anbā’ wa-l-aḥwāl wal-ḥafadah wa-l-matā’*) and a more

little treatises, on various socio-economic, cultural, or political subjects, and almost always including a perspective of identifying precedents, continuities, and changes for precisely defined historical phenomena from past or present; these undoubtedly made up the majority of the alleged number of more than 200 works by al-Maqrīzī, even though today only about twenty-five opuscles of this undoubtedly optimistically counted set have survived.⁵³

The production of most of al-Maqrīzī's grand works of history was a long-term project that was only more or less completed in the years immediately before his death.⁵⁴ Yet, the conception, set-up, and writing of most of them clearly fitted in some sort of coherent plan of scholarly action that he must have started to think of seriously in the course of the 810s/1410s, if not earlier.⁵⁵ These works were therefore never directly connected to any obvious form of commissioning or cultural patronage, even though through their size, subject matter, and detailed scholarship they obviously attracted a substantial level of high-profile attention. This is certainly suggested for the *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, when in 833/1429 this Arabic chronicle's fame already turned out to have travelled all the way to the Persianate Tīmūrid court in Herat, many years before it was actually completed.⁵⁶ Similar stories of renown and possibly also reward may

traditional universal history of mankind since Creation (*al-Ḥabar 'an al-Bašar*), both of which were written during the final decade of al-Maqrīzī's life (see Bauden [2014]: 171, 196–199).

- 53 Bauden (2014): 168; al-Šayyāl (1971): 25–37; Faraḥāt (2009): 19–25 (listing an overall number of 34 extant or known books by al-Maqrīzī—some of the titles listed by Faraḥāt may however only refer to parts from other works, such as number 8, the unpublished *Tārīḥ al-Ġarākiṣah* [Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Or. 458], which upon inspection turns out to be a copy from a part of the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* covering the years 807–830AH). Al-Saḥāwī claimed to have read “in [al-Maqrīzī's] own handwriting that his compositions consisted of more than two hundred large volumes” (al-Saḥāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, 2: 23).
- 54 See, in general, Bauden (2014): 173 (*Ḥiṭaṭ*), 181 (*al-Sulūk*), 191–192 (*al-Muqaffā*). For the *Ḥiṭaṭ*, see also Sayyid (1979): 240; Broadbridge (1999): 100; Bauden (2008): 99. Al-Maqrīzī's major annalistic chronicle *Kitāb al-Sulūk* runs up to the end of the year 844AH (May 1441), which means that he continued adding material to it until shortly before his death (Ziyādah [1971a]: 11; Bauden [2014]: 181). In the bibliographical section that Ibn Taġrī Birdī added to al-Maqrīzī's biography, he stated that the latter had confided to him that “if this history [i.e. *Kitāb al-Tārīḥ al-kabīr al-muqaffā*] had been completed the way I prefer, it would have consisted of more than eighty volumes”, suggesting that it was indeed never completed (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-šāfi*, 1: 419; also referred to in al-Šayyāl (1971) 24; al-Saḥāwī, who repeated the same statement, claims that eventually only sixteen volumes were completed (al-Saḥāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, 2: 22).
- 55 Bauden (2008): 71–72; Id. (2010); Id. (2014): 168–169, 176; Ziyādah (1971b): 18–19.
- 56 Broadbridge (1999): 103, referring to al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4: 818; Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Nuġūm*

surely be true for the reception of al-Maqrīzī's other, equally highly admired works, such as his multi-volume *al-Muqaffá* and his *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*.⁵⁷

This matter of the production, reproduction, and consumption of al-Maqrīzī's written word is obviously more diverse and complex for those many smaller texts. There are a few patterns that may be reconstructed here too, though, and that above all have some relevance for the historical contextualisation of one of these texts, which is this study's main subject, the *Kitāb al-Dahab al-masbūk*. In the case of a number of these texts, at least the perception of a genuine personal scholarly interest is created as the main reason for writing them. Thus, a short treatise on the history of Arab tribes in Egypt, the *Kitāb al-Bayān wa-l-i'rāb 'ammā bi-arḍ Miṣr min al-A'rāb*, begins with the clear statement that "I noted down [this treatise] for myself (*li-nafsī*) and for whom God wants from my brethren (*abnā' ḡinsi*)."⁵⁸ Other treatises, such as the monetary history *Šudūr al-ʿuqūd* and the legal inquiry of a Hebron endowment, the *Ḍaw' al-sāri li-ma'rifat ḥabar Tamīm al-Dārī*, make explicit claims to having been commissioned for particular purposes, in these two cases respectively by sultan al-Mu'ayyad Šayḥ (r. 815–824/1412–1421), soliciting monetary advice from al-Maqrīzī, and by the heirs of a Companion of the Prophet, Tamīm al-Dārī, seeking some form of support for their appeal to justice.⁵⁹ A third and final category of treatises seems to have been conceptualised by al-Maqrīzī for similar particular occasions and purposes, but with the explicit aim of soliciting or confirming relations of cultural patronage and impact. This is suggested to have been the case with one of the first known historical texts produced by al-Maqrīzī, the economic treatise *Iḡāṭat al-ummah*, which seems to have been written as an advice text for the sultan 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Barqūq when he briefly replaced his brother Faraḡ on the throne in the autumn of 1405.⁶⁰ This motive of socio-cultural promotion and of soliciting royal patronage also seems to have

al-zāhirah, 14:336. The seminal contemporary status of the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* is certainly also illustrated by the fact that it was explicitly continued by at least two mid-fifteenth-century chronicles, one by Ibn Taḡrī Birdī (*Ḥawādīṭ al-duhūr fi madā l-ʿayyām wa-l-šuhūr*; see also Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-šāfi*, 1:418) and the other by al-Saḥāwī (*al-Tibr al-masbūk fi ḍayl al-Sulūk*). Bauden similarly concludes that "the work was hugely successful, as demonstrated by the large number of manuscripts preserved in libraries across the world" (Bauden [2014]: 182).

57 For Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, the *Ḥiṭaṭ* managed to attain "extreme beauty (*fi ḡāyat al-ḥusn*)" (Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-šāfi*, 1: 419).

58 Al-Maqrīzī, *Bayān*, 6. See also Al-Šayyāl (1971): 25–26.

59 Meloy (2003b): 197; al-Maqrīzī, *Ḍaw' al-sāri*, 47–49.

60 Meloy (2003b): 190 ("... al-Maqrīzī may have taken advantage of the interregnum of al-Malik al-Manšūr 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Barqūq ... to submit his recommendations to be put into practice").

caused, almost thirty years later, the production of al-Maqrīzī's treatise on the legal rulings and historical practice of circumcision, the *al-Iḥbār 'an al-iḍḍār*; this is at least suggested by the author himself in an autobiographical note in his *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, added to a brief report of festivities organised for the circumcision of sultan Barsbāy's son, Ğamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf (827–868/1424–1463, r. 841–842/1438), in mid-Ša'bān 837/late March 1434:

At that occasion, I wrote a book (*kitāb^{an}*) which I entitled 'The Report on the Feast of Circumcision' (*al-Iḥbār 'an al-iḍḍār*). As far as I am aware nothing similar has ever been produced before, [considering] what it contains of stories and traditions, of rulings by the authoritative pioneers of Islam, of deeds of caliphs and rulers, and of memorable events and impressive cases.⁶¹

This combination of occasion, of promotion, and of seeking, confirming, or abiding by the rules of cultural patronage is even more explicitly suggested by al-Maqrīzī as the main ground for his writing of the short history of the pilgrimage to Mecca, which is the focus of this study. In the opening lines of this 'Book of Moulded Gold' (*Kitāb al-Dahab al-masbūk*) al-Maqrīzī actually makes a number of extremely informative and useful statements, enabling an unusually precise historical contextualisation of this text and its production. In this very personal literary reflection, the author dedicates his booklet directly to an individual whom he identifies clearly as a person of high standing and as his patron; he then explains at length that he wrote it as a present befitting the occasion of the latter's preparation for the *ḥaġġ*; and he finishes his introduction with some good wishes for his patron's safe journey.

I demand God—supplicating Him and stretching out my hand to Him—to cause the days of the noble lord to be followed by similarly good and additionally abundant ones ever after, such that every fortune that he anticipates and [every] expectation that he nurtures will come true, outdoing anyone who preceded him and unmatched by anyone who follows him. [...] The word has spread that the high-born intention was set on undertaking the *ḥaġġ* and to be endowed with the noise and blood of rituals. It has become common practice for servants to present a gift to their masters, for which reason I considered the situation of clients that owe presents on the occasion of an event like this, and I decided to

61 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:913.

follow their example. [...] Since knowledge is the most precious and most valuable of treasures, the most glorious and the longest remembered of deeds, I collected for the benefit of the esteemed library of our lord—may God support it with long life for its owner—a volume that comprises the report of those caliphs and kings who performed the *ḥaǧǧ*. [...] May God protect our lord whenever he does not expect it and may He guard him whenever he does not think of it; may He be with him as a guardian when traveling, and as a supporter and helper when he is staying somewhere.⁶²

As the long version of the title of the booklet already announces—“The Book of Gold Moulded in the Format of the Report of Those Caliphs and Kings Who Performed the *Ḥaǧǧ*”—, the text that follows this dedicatory introduction is organised around the *ḥaǧǧ*. Instead of approaching this subject from a traditional didactic or religio-legal perspective of the pilgrimage’s religious forms, function, and meanings, al-Maqrīzī decided to focus first and foremost on “those caliphs and kings who performed the *ḥaǧǧ*”, on pilgriming rulers. This focus, however, was not meant to offer its dedicatee any sort of guidance on or historical examples of the *ḥaǧǧ* journey, of good pilgrimage practice, or on ritual rules and regulations. As will be explained in detail in the next chapter, the combination of the subject of the *ḥaǧǧ* with that of rulers of caliphal or royal standing allowed al-Maqrīzī first and foremost to inform his audience about the *ḥaǧǧ*’s political meanings, and about how those meanings had been, and could or should be, operationalised throughout Islamic history. *Al-Dahab al-masbūk* is therefore not a religious or merely historiographical text, but rather above all a political didactic text, which would certainly have been entertaining and instructive for a larger readership, but which was meaningful first and foremost to a political audience, and which was therefore perhaps even as programmatic as some of al-Maqrīzī’s socio-economic texts, such as the *Iǧātat al-ummah* and the *Šuǧūr al-‘uqūd*, had been.

This brings up the issue of the nature of that political audience, of the identity of the booklet’s dedicatee and of al-Maqrīzī’s patron, of the occasion and time of its composition, and finally also again of al-Maqrīzī’s radically changed but clearly yet ongoing engagement with the social practice of patronage beyond the 1410s. Some scholars, such as the booklet’s first editor Ğamāl al-Dīn al-Šayyāl and then also Karam Ḥilmī Faraḥāt more recently, claimed that *al-Dahab al-masbūk* was written in May 1438.⁶³ This is however the result

62 See below, §§ 1, 2, 4, 5.

63 Al-Šayyāl (1955): 24–26; Id. (2000): 25–27; Faraḥāt (2009): 27–29. See also al-Šayyāl, (1971): 27; *GAL*, 2:50.

of a misinterpretation of the reference to this date (Dū l-Qa'dah 841) in some manuscript colophons, as a reference to the work's composition, whereas in fact it only refers to the moment when al-Maqrīzī collated, corrected, and finalised a copyist's copy of the text.⁶⁴ Dū l-Qa'dah 841/May 1438 can therefore only serve as a *terminus ante quem*. Furthermore, there is one clear internal reference in the text to the author's own time, which is explicitly situated after Ša'bān 815/November 1412, a date that therefore can serve as a *terminus post quem*.⁶⁵ This leaves a substantial level of doubt regarding the actual time of production of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, at some undefined moment between 815/1412 and 841/1438. Contextualising the text's production from the perspective of patronage may actually help to offer some more clues to resolve this issue.

Most scholars who have looked at the question of dedication and patronage for this text have felt extremely frustrated by the combination of, on the one hand, al-Maqrīzī's explicitness in dedicating the text and explaining the occasion for its production and, on the other hand, his silence on the actual identity of the patron whom he was writing it for, only referred to in the introduction by generic titles and epithets such as "the noble lord" (*al-maqrarr al-maḥdūm*), "the high-born intention" (*al-'azm al-šarīf*), "for the benefit of the esteemed library of our lord" (*bi-rasm al-ḥizānah al-šarīfah al-maḥdūmiyyah*), "the high-born mind" (*al-ḥāṭir al-šarīf*), and "the lord" (*al-maḥdūm*).⁶⁶ On the basis of the prominent appearance of the first title in particular, al-Šayyāl, and Faraḥāt after him, concluded that this patron had to be a high-ranking amir, who performed the pilgrimage in 841/1438, but whose identity could not be further established.⁶⁷ There are however good reasons, both internal and external to

64 These issues are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 of this study.

65 See p. 61 ("Until today, the situation has remained like that, the Friday sermon in Mecca never being spoken in the name of any of the 'Abbāsid caliphs of Egypt, except for [the name of] the caliph al-Musta'in bi-llāh Abū l-Faḍl al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad, [which was mentioned] for a few days in the year 815.") Al-Musta'in reigned as sultan between March and November 1412 ("al-Musta'in", in *EI*² (http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-mustain-SIM_5620)).

66 The first reference, *al-maqrarr al-maḥdūm*, appears three times, the others only once (see below, §§1–5).

67 See al-Šayyāl (1955): 24–26; id. (2000): 25–27; referring to the formal classification of titles such as *al-maqrarr*, including *al-maqrarr al-šarīf* and *al-maqrarr al-maḥdūm*, in the sultanate's chancery practice, as recorded in al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ al-a'šā*, 5:494; 6:130–133, 146–148, 154–155, 161. This argument is repeated word-for-word by Faraḥāt (2009): 27–29. The other editor of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, Ḥamad al-Ġāsir, suggests that this amir was al-Maqrīzī's former patron Yašbak al-Ša'bānī, referring to a similar statement in the entry for *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in the seventeenth-century bibliography *Kašf al-zunūn* (al-

the text, to develop some more precise ideas about the identity of this patron, moving beyond the formal question of titulature and introducing two rather different potential dedicatees of an engaged political booklet such as this *ḥağğ* history. One option is that it was dedicated in about 834/1431 to Ğamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf, the aforementioned son of al-Ašraf Barsbāy. Another option is that a first version of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* was already written at a much earlier date, in 821/1418, for sultan al-Muʿayyad Šayḥ. An argument can actually be made in favour of each of these two options.

Both potential dedicatees concern persons of royal status, and this tallies well with the text's obvious royal set-up, with its focus on caliphs and other Muslim rulers and their political patronage of the *ḥağğ*. These are subjects befitting a sultan or a sultan's heir, but they are highly unsuitable or at least hazardous to dedicate in a similarly programmatic way to a senior amir from a sultan's entourage.⁶⁸ The first suggested option of the dedication of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* to Yūsuf would also be in line with al-Maqrīzī's aforementioned composition in 837/1434 of another treatise on the occasion of the same Ğamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf's circumcision. A similar occasion for the production of another dedicated text, but then on the politics of the *ḥağğ*, certainly would have presented itself to al-Maqrīzī three years earlier, in the summer of 834/1431, when the author himself had been sojourning in Mecca, and when sultan

Ğāsir [1952]: 5–6); as suggested above, however, Yašbak died at the battle of Baalbek on 17 September 1407, making it highly unlikely—given the explicit reference to the 1412 sultanate of caliph al-Mustaʿīn—that al-Maqrīzī would have dedicated it to him posthumously; the dedication rather suggests the text's mediation of a patron-client relationship that is still active. The entire argument in favour of a high-ranking amir, however, is rather weak and follows from the conclusion that *al-maqarr* cannot formally be used in this combination with *al-mahdūm* for the sultan, nor for a non-military member of the court, so that it can only have been meant for an amir (even though the combination does not entirely match chancery usage for high-ranking amirs either, and the other titles and epithets that were mentioned do not match such known usage at all); for an alternative potential explanation for the generic nature of these titles and epithets, and for their non-representative character for that patron, from the perspective of wider socio-literary tradition rather than from chancery practices, see chapter three of this first part.

68 Another potential dedicatee that at least should be suggested here—even though a strong case cannot really be made for him—is the amir Qurqmās al-Šaʿbānī (d. 842/1438), deeply engaged in the affairs of the Hijaz as sultan Barsbāy's main local agent and eventually, in 842/1438 (shortly after the production of the Leiden manuscript), Ğaqmaq's main rival for Barsbāy's succession, in which context he was considered a valuable “candidate for the sultanate” (*taraššaha li-l-saltānah*) in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk* (4:1105) (see Van Nieuwenhuysse & Van Steenbergen [forthcoming]).

Barsbāy's senior wife, the princess Ğulbān al-Hindī (d. 839/1436), had been sent on the first of the two spousal pilgrimages that were organised during Barsbāy's reign. Confirming or re-establishing her royal husband's privilege of representation-*cum*-precedence and his sovereignty along the road and in Mecca at a time of growing regional competition, Ğulbān travelled in full royal splendour, bringing her entourage and family with her. Her only male son with sultan Barsbāy, Ğamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf—at that time a boy of about seven years old, living with his mother in the royal harem—was most certainly among those family members who participated in this 834/1431 *ḥaġġ* with her.⁶⁹ This particular context of the first royal pilgrimage from Cairo since 819/1417 obviously would have befitted the production of a text constructed around the history and political symbolism of this kind of meaningful royal engagement with the Hijaz,⁷⁰ and its dedication by the author to the only living son of sultan Barsbāy, who was at that occasion following in the royal footsteps of many an illustrious predecessor of his father, would then evidently have imposed itself.

But there are also good reasons to follow a second option, of the booklet's dedication to an actual sultan of Cairo: al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Šayḥ. As with Yūsuf, this would certainly also be in line with another known textual enterprise that similarly connected al-Maqrīzī to Šayḥ: the case of the *Šudūr al-ʿuqūd*, which was, as explained, a text of advice commissioned by this sultan.⁷¹ As with Yūsuf, an occasion for the production of this particular type of text certainly also presented itself, when in Ša'bān 821/September 1418 al-Mu'ayyad Šayḥ's plans to go on pilgrimage to Mecca were made public.⁷² By

69 For al-Maqrīzī's 'sojourning' in Mecca at this time, see Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-warā*, 4:55–56 (I am grateful to M. Dekkiche for providing me with this reference); al-Maqrīzī, *Daw' al-sārī*, 12; Bauden (2014): 165. On the *ḥawand al-kubrā* Ğulbān al-Hindī and her pilgrimage, "accompanied by her family and relatives (*wa-ma'ahā ahluhā wa-aqāribuhā*)", see Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-šāfi*, 5:15; also al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:858; Dekkiche & Van Steenbergen (forthcoming). On growing regional competition and the symbolical role of the *ḥaġġ* and of Mecca, see Dekkiche (2014–2015).

70 For the *ḥaġġ* of sultan al-Mu'ayyad Šayḥ's *ḥawand al-kubrā* Ḥadīġah (d. 833/1430) in 819/1417 (coinciding with the wife [*ḥātūn*] of the ruler of the Mongol Golden Horde joining the Damascus caravan for the *ḥaġġ* and with a sizeable caravan from Takrūr joining the Egyptian caravan), see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:368, 371; Ibn Ḥaġar, *Inbā' al-ġumr*, 7:223.

71 Meloy (2003b): 197–203; Broadbridge (1999): 92; Id. (2003): 239–240.

72 See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:458–459 (parading in Cairo of the sultan's camels selected for the trip to the Hijaz [*li-l-safar ma'ahu ilā l-Ḥiġāz*] and Syrian troubles urging for the abortion of the plans [*intānā 'azm al-sultān 'an al-safar ilā l-Ḥiġāz*]); similarly reported in Ibn Ḥaġar, *Inbā' al-ġumr*, 7:315 (but reformulated as "he gave up his intention to perform the *ḥaġġ* [*intānā 'azmuhu 'an al-ḥaġġ*]"); Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Nuġūm al-zāhirah*,

this, Šayḥ would actually follow in the footsteps of only three other sultans who are claimed to have undertaken this journey from Cairo—al-Zāhir Baybars, al-Nāšir Muḥammad, and al-Ašraf Ša'bān. Each of them was given an entry in *al-Dahab al-masbūk* and al-Ašraf Ša'bān's pilgrimage story even closed the booklet, creating then the impression of Šayḥ—if indeed he was the dedicatee—pursuing or stepping into a historical sequence that was reconstructed for him by al-Maqrīzī. There are also two more internal reasons that make this a very valid option. One has to do with an explicit reference in the text to the fact that the inner *kiswah* of sultan al-Nāšir Ḥasan “is still present today”; this inner *kiswah* of sultan Ḥasan was actually replaced by sultan Barsbāy's in the course of 826/1423, which would then move back the text's *terminus ante quem* substantially (provided at least that al-Maqrīzī would have known about this new inner *kiswah* arrangement), making a 821/1418 date of composition more likely.⁷³ This relatively early date would certainly also help to explain one puzzling auto-referential feature in the text, which is then the second internal reason for linking the text to al-Mu'ayyad Šayḥ's patronage. As will be detailed in the next chapter, there are a handful of explicit references throughout the text to other writings by al-Maqrīzī, explaining how more information on this or that ruler may be found in one or more of his other texts. However, the chronologically last ruler to receive this kind of references is sultan al-Zāhir Baybars, for whom al-Maqrīzī adds that more may be found in “his biography in the *Kitāb al-Tāriḥ al-Kabīr al-Muqaffá* and the *Kitāb Aḥbār Mulūk Mišr*.”⁷⁴ The abrupt ending of this pattern of auto-referencing in the narrative of Baybars may then be explained by the simple fact that by 821/1418 the production of works such as that *Kitāb Aḥbār Mulūk Mišr*—better known to later generations as the annalistic chronicle *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk*—had not yet advanced nor perhaps even been conceptualised beyond Egypt's history in the thirteenth century, making similar auto-references in the narratives of the next four fourteenth-century rulers simply impossible.⁷⁵

14:68 (adding to a detailed parading report that by that act “it was confirmed to everyone that the sultan was going to travel for the *ḥaǧǧ*”). In a personal communication Nasser Rabbat informed me that he has also developed in his forthcoming biography of al-Maqrīzī a similar argument for *al-Dahab al-masbūk*'s dedication to al-Mu'ayyad Šayḥ on the occasion of this 821/1418 pilgrimage project.

73 See p. 81; the particular history of the decoration with Barsbāy's new inner *kiswah* in 826/1423 was certainly known to al-Maqrīzī's Meccan student, colleague, and friend Ibn Fahd (see Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-wará*, 3:596); Dekkiche (2014–2015).

74 See p. 82.

75 This suggestion of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*'s predating the composition of most of the *Kitāb al-*

This factor of royal dedication then finally brings up again the issue of al-Maqrīzī's asceticism, despair, and alleged failure to engage with new patronage in the second phase of his life, or at least his withdrawal from active participation in the sultanate's new, post-1412 ruling establishments. This attitude certainly may have been the case as far as salaried positions, court privileges, and government duties were concerned. The above presentation and historical contextualisation of his writings suggests, however, that things may have been rather different with his involvement in socio-cultural patronage. As is generally accepted, al-Maqrīzī certainly persevered with actively pursuing royal attention and patronage during the reign of al-Mu'ayyad Ṣayḥ, and it may well be that *al-Dahab al-masbūk* was part and parcel of that social strategy (even though the text soon lost its direct value when Ṣayḥ's pilgrimage was aborted due to Syrian troubles).⁷⁶ Whether effective and successful or not, the same practice of a particular cultural production aimed at the sultanate's political elites may have been continued by al-Maqrīzī during the reign of Ṣayḥ's successor Barsbāy, and in the 1430s it may even have engaged with the entourage of the sultan's wife Ğulbān al-Hindī (d. 839/1436) and of their only son Yūsuf.⁷⁷ Past

Sulūk would certainly also help to explain three obvious dating mistakes in two narratives from the post-Baybars era (the dating of al-Ḥākīm's pilgrimage to the year 699AH rather than to 697AH, of al-Mujāhid 'Alī's second pilgrimage to 752AH rather than to 751AH, and of the same ruler's death to 769AH rather than to 767AH); in *al-Sulūk* the correct dates are mentioned in all three cases, which makes for a remarkable inconsistency between both texts that can only be explained by the fact that for the production of these narratives in *al-Dahab al-masbūk* the *al-Sulūk* and the material used for it were not yet available to the author for easy reference. It has to be admitted, however, that this argument on the basis of internal suggestions in the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* does not agree well with Bauden's conclusion that "by 820/1417 [al-Maqrīzī] had already written the whole part [of *al-Sulūk*] covering the years 567/1171–791/1389, the equivalent of three volumes, as there is a comment that a practice which he described is still current at the time he wrote the passage, that is to say the year 820/1417" (Bauden (2014): 181); in the latter case the absence of further references to and the dating discrepancies with the *al-Sulūk* remain rather enigmatic. From the reference to the *al-Sulūk* as *Kitāb Aḥbār Mulūk Miṣr* it is anyway clear that *al-Dahab al-masbūk* was written before the *al-Sulūk* was awarded the more poetic title by which it has become known to later generations.

76 See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:459; Ibn Ḥaġar, *Inbā' al-ġumr*, 7:315; Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Nuġūm al-zāhirah*, 14:68.

77 An illustration of that entourage's status and position in the 1430s is the fact that Ibn Taġrī Birdī was quite impressed by the charisma of Ğulbān and by her empowerment in her son's slipstream, as suggested by his claim that "if she had lived until her son al-'Azīz became sultan, she would have managed his reign most efficiently" (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, 5:16).

experiences with radical socio-political transformation and with personal loss, and stark or even controversial personal opinions about social order, justice, and socio-economic policy surely continued to inform his writings in various direct, indirect, and above all dynamic ways, which certainly require further exploration.⁷⁸ But neither this particular mindset nor the choice for a life of scholarship from the 810s/1410s onwards meant that al-Maqrīzī—as he himself also explains in the introduction of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*—ever really wished, tried, or would have been able to escape from the context of patronage and competition that defined the field of socio-cultural practice for any fifteenth-century Egyptian scholar and his audiences. In this social reality of things, and despite his own death in solitude, al-Maqrīzī may even be claimed to have been quite successful, given the long survival of his post-815/1412 scholarship's fame, remembrance, and textual production among patrons, peers, and pupils, and among admirers as well as among opponents.

The suggestion of the existence of an aspired or even actual bond of scholarship and cultural patronage between al-Maqrīzī and Ġamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf in the 1430s of course remains tenuous and speculative, standing on one explicit textual leg only (the reference in *al-Sulūk* to the reason for writing *al-Iḥbār 'an al-i'dār*). The full picture nevertheless begs the final question whether it was really merely a coincidence that—as will be explained below—the careful preparation for publication of a selection of al-Maqrīzī's shorter texts, including *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, happened at about the same time as the illness that confined sultan Barsbāy to his deathbed and that caused his son Yūsuf's official nomination as heir apparent soon thereafter, in late 841/mid-1438.⁷⁹ This particular publication project had of course everything to do with an old man's general concern to preserve his scholarly legacy and to organise the orderly

78 One issue demanding further exploration certainly is the afore-mentioned fact that quite a few of these sultans, from Barqūq over Šayḥ to Barsbāy, receive a very negative press from al-Maqrīzī, albeit apparently always posthumously (Bauden [2014]: 182; Broadbridge [1999]: 93–94; but also Id. [2003], offering a didactic purpose as an explanation).

79 The Leiden autograph, including *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, was produced by a copyist at some time between early 1437 and early 1438, and it was corrected by al-Maqrīzī between February–March and June–July 1438 (see chapter 3). Sultan Barsbāy's fatal illness apparently started to manifest itself from Rajab 841/January 1438 onwards (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:1027); he officially installed his son Yūsuf as heir apparent in early Dū l-Qa'dah 841/late April 1438, when it became clear that an epidemic was decimating the membership of the sultan's household (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:1040, 1041–1042, 1042–1045); Barsbāy died 12 Dū l-Ḥiġġah 841/6 June 1438, and was succeeded by his son the next day (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:1051, 1053–1054, 1065–1066).

and authentic transmission of the various kinds of knowledge that over time he had been engaging with. But even in the ivory tower of al-Maqrīzī's scholarly pursuit such concerns betray an ongoing interest in the impact of his writings and in issues of readership and of his own status and identity as an authoritative member of the scholarly community. Al-Maqrīzī may then actually also have seen a good occasion in the events, changes, and re-alignments affecting the sultanate's elites in 841/1438 and coinciding with his publication project to draw (renewed) attention to the many merits of his scholarly production.

From this perspective of ongoing scholarly communication and performance in a socio-cultural context that is rooted in practices of patronage and competition the two dedicatory options suggested above for *al-Dahab al-masbūk* may not even be mutually exclusive.⁸⁰ It seems sound to claim that the case for dedication to al-Mu'ayyad Ṣayḥ is quite strong, but also that at the same time the aborted plan of this sultan's *hağğ* in 821/1418 must have made the text somewhat meaningless. It may then well be that it was never published in this original form, and that it was recycled many years later by its author, when new contexts arose that re-aligned with at least some of the text's meanings and that justified renewed investments in its preparation for publication. The 834/1431 pilgrimage of Ğulbān al-Hindī and her family as well as the accession of al-'Azīz Yūsuf on 13 Dhū l-Ḥiğğah 841/7 June 1438 certainly provided for occasions that tallied well with the political text that *al-Dahab al-masbūk* was meant to be.

At the same time, however, Yūsuf's extremely short-lived tenure of the sultanate, between 13 Dhū l-Ḥiğğah 841 and 18 Rabī' 1 842/7 June and 8 September 1438 only, as well as Ṣayḥ's aborted pilgrimage twenty years earlier may have added yet other moments of disappointment and despair to al-Maqrīzī's long life, moments of despondency for more lost channels of access to his audiences indeed, perhaps even inviting for unhappy musings similar to the ones that Nasser Rabbat identified to have been added in al-Maqrīzī's hand at the bottom of the cover page of the autograph manuscript of the first volume of the *al-Sulūk*:

I have been afflicted by such bad fortune, that whenever it goes up, it immediately comes down, and whenever it stands up, it inevitably falls down, and whenever it goes straight, it surely bows down again, and

80 A similar suggestion was made for the textual history of al-Maqrīzī's *Šudūr al-'uqūd* and its changing dedication from al-Mu'ayyad Ṣayḥ in the 1410s to "Barsbāy's successor" in 1438, see Meloy (2003b): 197, fn. 54.

whenever it runs smoothly, it at once encounters obstacles, and whenever it becomes alert, it soon sleeps again. [...]

By your life, I do not lack a banner of glory
Nor did the horse tire of competing
Instead, I am afflicted with bad fortune
Just like a beautiful woman is inflicted with divorce.⁸¹

81 Rabbat (2003): 17.

Texts: *al-Dahab al-masbūk* between Narratives, Stories, and Meanings

1 The *ḥaǧǧ* in Arabic Writing and Literature: Between *fiqh* and *tārīḥ*

Just as the Prophet's Farewell Pilgrimage of 10/632 (*ḥiǧǧat al-wadā'*) had established itself as a normative paradigm in the social and cultural realities of the performance and leadership of the annual pilgrimage, so did its remembrance and reproduction in Arabic writings on the *ḥaǧǧ* from the seventh century onwards. Already at an early date in the Islamic community's complex socio-cultural history the Farewell Pilgrimage was singled out as a separate and important subject of more or less coherence among the many stories (*aḥbār*) of the Prophet's life and of the early Muslim community's history. These stories of Muḥammad's actions and sayings during the Farewell Pilgrimage, transmitted in various and often also conflicting versions, soon acquired with many others of these reports much larger moral, political, and religious meanings. Moulded in this particular context, the Farewell Pilgrimage account started a life in Arabic writing and literature as one of those bundles of codified prophetic narratives that continued to provide guidance, food for debate and conflict, and a powerful model for emulation, into the contemporary period.

Between the seventh and ninth centuries, all these prophetic reports of varying size, detail, origins, value, and reliability underwent a substantial transformation towards becoming an integral component of the emerging community's social memory. The variety of Farewell Pilgrimage reports fully shared in this transformatory process of transmission, from stories' collection through oral and written practices, over their reproduction in comprehensive books, to their selective incorporation and organisation as authoritative traditions (*ḥadīth*) in specialist genres, emerging simultaneously with the rise of particular branches of Islamic learning. In that process, the Farewell Pilgrimage made its way as a valid subject to write on—as did so many aspects of the Prophet's biography—into two increasingly distinct but never fully disconnected branches: jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and history (*tārīḥ*). These interlocking traditions in the field of Arabo-Islamic culture and literature—the one looking to the past in order to retrieve normative precedents for individual guidance towards a predetermined future, the other searching the past for points of reference to imagine and explain a community and its varied memberships in

a temporal continuum that gave meaning to the present—have continued to write about the *ḥaǧǧ* for many centuries, arguably even until today.¹

The reports about the Prophet's pilgrimage experience, as well as about similar experiences of those in his early community who followed in his footsteps, were successfully and in a formative manner integrated into more or less coherent narratives in the first chronographies of Muḥammad's life and of the exploits of the first generations of Muslims that were produced in the eighth and early ninth centuries. The biography of Muḥammad by Ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767), as preserved in its edition by Ibn Hišām (d. 218/833), and the accounts of the events and of the generations of people involved in the Muslim community's first two centuries or so by al-Wāqidi (d. 207/823) and by Ibn Sa'ūd (d. 230/845), all produced deeply interrelated versions of the Prophet's Farewell Pilgrimage that were to be preserved and reproduced in legal as well as in historical texts from the ninth century onwards.²

Islamic legal thought and writing, which acquired their first distinct intellectual and cultural identities simultaneously with these chronographies and in competitive and often even conflicting socio-cultural and political contexts, incorporated these and related reports about the Prophet's Farewell Pilgrimage in legal texts that were meant to produce, preserve, and communicate authoritative rules, regulations, and guidelines for good Muslim behaviour. A 'book of the *ḥaǧǧ*' (*Kitāb al-ḥaǧǧ*), informed by reports of the Prophet's Farewell Pilgrimage and related texts, became a standard component of all seminal works of *ḥadīth* and of legal rules, regulations, and categorisations that were composed since the ninth century. The great and widespread diversity in legal views in these early centuries of Islamic jurisprudence, however, also reflected in the varieties of opinions on the particularities of various pilgrimage rules, as expressed in different 'books of *ḥaǧǧ*' and as supported by differing interpretations of reports of the Prophet's Farewell Pilgrimage. From the eleventh century, at latest, onwards, some of these legal works, their 'books of *ḥaǧǧ*', and their particular opinions about pilgrimage rules acquired seminal status, within the much larger context of the crystallisation of religio-legal differences and debates into a mainstream consensus around particular knowledge practices—with priority being given to the normative example of the Prophet, or *Sunnah*, as embodied in the *ḥadīth*—and around the valid (although not

1 See especially Khalidi (1994): 1–82 (“1. The birth of a tradition”; “2. History and *Hadīth*”); Robinson (2003); McMillan (2011): 167–179.

2 See Ibn Hišām, *al-Sīrah*, 1091–1095; al-Wāqidi, *al-Maǧāzī*, 3:1088–1116; Ibn Sa'ūd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 2/1:124–136.

always uncontested) co-existence of only a handful of distinct knowledge communities of Sunni legal thought and practice—the *madāhib* or schools of law. Differences of opinions, including about *ḥağğ* rules and regulations, were thus accepted, codified, and furthered in thought, debate, and writing within the increasingly impermeable intellectual boundaries of the different Sunni legal traditions.³

On an individual rather than on a communal level, simply accepting the validity of these differences continued to prove difficult for many members of these scholarly communities. Even though over time inter-*madhhab* competition and polemics gradually shifted from sometimes violent confrontations to much more peaceful and mostly intellectual interactions and disagreements, this generalising diachronic picture needs to be qualified by the particular cases of quite a few individual legal scholars who continued to try and transcend or challenge in varieties of ways emerging institutional boundaries. The conscious shift early in his life to the Šāfiʿī *madhhab* of the author of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, has been mentioned before. In the late-fourteenth-century case of the young al-Maqrīzī there were surely sound pragmatic reasons for making this intellectual and socio-cultural switch in the Šāfiʿī-dominated Egyptian context. Nasser Rabbat, as well as some of al-Maqrīzī's

3 On the formation and crystallisation of differing socio-legal views and practice in general, see Berkey (2003): 141–151, and Melchert (1997); for books of the *ḥağğ* and the related codification of differences of scholarly opinion in particular, see Adang (2005): 114–115. A 'book of *ḥağğ*' may be found in each of the six canonical *ḥadīth* collections: in the *Šaḥīḥs* of al-Buḥārī (d. 256/870), of Muslim (d. 261/875) and of al-Tirmidī (d. 279/892), and in the *Sunans* of Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/888), al-Nasāʿī (d. 303/915) and of Ibn Māğāh (d. 273/887). It may also be found in each of the *madhabs*' seminal texts: in Saḥnūn b. Saʿīd's (d. 240/854) *al-Mudawwanah* and in al-Qayrawānī's (d. 386/996) *al-Risālah* for the Mālikīs, in al-Marğīnānī's (d. 593/1197) *al-Hidāyah* for the Ḥanafīs, in al-Šāfiʿī's (d. 204/820) *Kitāb al-Umm*, and in Ibn Qudāmah's (d. 620/1223) *al-Muğnī* for the Ḥanbalīs. Many specialist legal *ḥağğ* manuals, or *manāsik* books, have furthermore been produced and preserved, such as by al-ʿAdawī (d. c. 156/773) (*Kitāb al-Manāsik*), by al-ʿUtbi (d. 255/869) (*Kitāb al-Ḥağğ*), and by al-Nawawī (d. 677/1277) (*Kitāb al-Īğāz fi l-Manāsik*); by Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 728/1328) (*Aḥamm al-aḥkām fi manāsik al-ḥağğ wa-l-ʿumrah ʿalā hady ḥayr al-anām; Šarḥ al-ʿUmdah fi bayān manāsik al-ḥağğ wa-l-ʿumrah*), by al-Tabrīzī (fl. 737/1337) (*Kitāb al-Ḥağğ min Miškāt al-mašābih*), by Ibn Ġamāʿah (d. c. 767/1366) (*Hidāyat al-sālik ilā l-madāhib al-arbaʿah fi l-manāsik*), by al-Ġundī (d. c. 766/1365) (*Manāsik ʿalā madhhab al-imām Mālik*), by Ibn Farḥūn (d. 799/1397) (*Iršād al-sālik ilā afʿāl al-manāsik*); by Ibn al-Ḍiyāʾ (d. c. 855/1451) (*al-Baḥr al-ʿamiq fi manāsik al-muʿtamir wa-l-ḥağğ ilā bayt Allāh al-atīq*), by Ibn Zuhayrah (d. 889/1484) (*Kifāyat al-muhtāğ ilā l-dimāʾ al-wāğibah ʿalā l-muʿtamir wa-l-ḥağğ; Ġunyat al-faqīr fi ḥukm al-ḥağğ al-ağīr*), by al-Kirmānī (d. c. 883/1478) (*al-Masālik fi l-manāsik*), by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) (*Kitāb al-Ḥağğ*), and by many others.

contemporaries and biographers suggest that this however may also have been part of a much longer intellectual process, related to those emerging institutional boundaries, and in which this scholar developed an increasingly critical attitude vis-à-vis some dominant interpretative and accommodating applications of legal sources and ideas of justice. “Al-Maqrīzī was known later in his life”, so Rabbat explains, “for his bias against, even his antipathy toward, the Hanafis, ostensibly because of his unconfirmed leaning toward the by-then uncommon *Zāhirī madhhab*.”⁴

The latter *madhhab* actually was one of those religio-legal traditions of Islamic thought that would prove intellectually too strict and socio-culturally too narrow to survive the above-mentioned process of Sunni crystallisation, even though it seems to have retained some limited popularity and acquaintance with individual scholars into the early fifteenth century.⁵ One of the main reasons for this temporary survival certainly was the fact that the main written formulations of this uncompromising literalist approach to understanding Qur’ān and *ḥadīth* had been produced by a formidable and highly influential intellectual personality from eleventh-century al-Andalus: the man of letters, philosopher, religious scholar, and polemicist Abū Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sa‘īd Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064). Among the different works by Ibn Ḥazm that codified *Zāhirī* religio-legal thought, there actually also figures a unique and remarkable piece of writing, entitled “The Farewell Pilgrimage” (*ḥiǧǧat al-wadā‘*), in which the author isolated the topic of the Prophet’s Farewell Pilgrimage from traditionally much wider legal or historical discussions. Ibn Ḥazm’s aim with this treatise was indeed to transcend boundaries, and to resolve once and for all the disagreement on the rules for the proper performance of the *ḥaǧǧ*, by imposing a clean, clear, and easily accessible version of the Farewell Pilgrimage, explained by an explicit literalist *Zāhirī* reading of relevant *ḥadīth* and by an equally explicit refutation of diverging interpretations. Despite the work’s highly polemic approach and its subsequent failure to actually resolve *madhhab* disagreements, its particular and easily accessible nature proved very influential for later religio-legal writings about the Prophet’s Farewell Pilgrimage. At least, in the fourteenth century prominent Syrian scholars such as Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 728/1328) and Ibn Kaṭīr (d. 774/1372) praised the quality of the work, even though they did not entirely agree with its arguments.⁶

4 Rabbat (2003): 12; referring to, among others, Ibn Taǧrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, 2: 417. Also Bauden (2014): 164–165.

5 On the *Zāhirīs* in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Egypt and Syria, see especially Wiederhold (1999): 204–206.

6 Adang (2005): 113–116.

In the early fifteenth century, al-Maqrīzī equally considered Ibn Ḥazm's contribution to the scholarship of the Prophet's Farewell Pilgrimage a moment of the utmost importance in that Pilgrimage's intellectual trajectory. This emerges from the fact that in his own pilgrimage book, the *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, he decided to open his summary discussion of it by referring his readers to Ibn Ḥazm's work and to his own discussion, in another (now lost) book, of some of the debates that had arisen around Ibn Ḥazm's *hiǧǧat al-wadā'*:

The books of *ḥadīṭ* are full of reports of the pilgrimage of the Prophet—may God bless him and grant him salvation. Out of all of these the jurist and *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Muḥammad 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sa'īd Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī created an important single volume (*muṣannaḥ^{an} ḡalīl^{an}*). I responded in the book *Šārī' al-naǧāt* (The Road to Deliverance) to certain passages in it to which objections were raised.⁷

As mentioned above, the formative collections and chronographies of Ibn Ishāq, al-Wāqidi, and Ibn Sa'd also had a defining impact on the Farewell Pilgrimage's representations in Arabo-Islamic historiography. The multifarious textual production of what today tends to be considered under that label gradually developed into a more or less separate branch of learning simultaneously with the emergence of other specialisms. A clear distinction in aims, scope, and material between *ḥadīṭ* scholarship, *fiqh*, and other cultural modes such as *adab*, however, only emerged very slowly, not in the least because many of its practitioners continued to pursue many if not all branches of traditional scholarship. Among the different genres and categories that emerged within this only loosely definable historiographical tradition, chronography in particular attached some importance in its writings to the annually returning event of the pilgrimage to Mecca. The fixed and genuinely Islamic time-space dimensions of the *ḥaǧǧ* provided a useful and very meaningful point of reference for writing about and imagining a newly emerging transregional political and socio-cultural community. Especially the genre of annalistic chronography, which emerged in the course of the ninth century and which remained a dominant form of Arabic historiography until modern times, incorporated *ḥaǧǧ* reports as a useful pattern for closing its annual cycles of variously recorded events. In doing so, these particular types of memory texts obviously also looked beyond the increasingly codified stories about the particular engagements of the Prophet and his early community with the annual *ḥaǧǧ*. The latter

⁷ See below, § 6.

stories continued to be incorporated in manners that closely mirrored their representations in *hadīṭ* and *fiqh* texts. However, historiography's growing presentist concerns in the increasingly consolidated spatial and social contexts of Islamic caliphate and cultural order also stimulated the incorporation of a variety of reports about subsequent generations' regular and occasionally equally eventful engagements with the same rituals. Recording reports about caliphs' literally stepping in the Prophet's footsteps, about their or their representatives' engagements with *ḥaǧǧ* caravans and infrastructures, and eventually even about the experiences of growing varieties of pilgrims *en route* and in Mecca, contributed in important ways to the pre-dominant purpose of a long range of such historiographical works to explain their present as meaningfully connected to an expanding community's glorious past. In this process of the historiographical production and reproduction of *ḥaǧǧ* and *ḥaǧǧ*-related reports in annalistic and other types of Arabic chronography, and eventually also in biographies and in related prosopographical and hagiographical genres, many of these reports became fixed in form to particular plots and related stories, in ways reminding us of the codified reproductions of the Farewell Pilgrimage. From the eleventh century onwards, therefore, if not earlier already, historians seeking to incorporate *ḥaǧǧ* reports in their works of communal or individual history were always bound by the particular choices, framings, and models imposed on this as on any other similarly valuable material by earlier generations of textual producers and consumers, if at least these post-1000 historians truly wished to participate in and meaningfully contribute to the textual discourses of the Arabo-Islamic historiographical genre and its audiences.⁸

A key moment in this standardisation of, amongst other things, annual *ḥaǧǧ* reports was undoubtedly represented by the *magnum opus* of pre-1000 CE Arabo-Islamic historiography: the voluminous *History of Messengers and Kings* (*Tārīḥ al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*) by the Iraqi scholar Muḥammad b. Ġarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923). This expansive composition of Muslim world history from the moment of creation until the Muslim year 302 (/915) was so comprehensive in the reports that it managed to integrate and so tuned in to the meticulous transmission methods of *ḥadīṭ* scholarship that it became a crucial point of reference for the remembrance of almost any historical phenomenon from the formative period of Islam. In the annalistic representation of the first 300 years of the Muslim era in the final part of this chronicle, focus is really on the whereabouts of the leading characters of the community, which obviously includes

8 For comprehensive accounts of the formation of the Arabo-Islamic historiographical genre, see, amongst others, Khalidi (1994); Robinson (2003).

their annual engagements with the *ḥaġġ*. A few other works of history, such as the entirely different but equally impressive *Meadows of Gold* (*Murūġ al-dahab*) by al-Ṭabarī's near-contemporary al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/955), also include detailed lists of *ḥaġġ*-leaders. But none set the standards for future representations as al-Ṭabarī did.⁹

Beyond the eleventh century, the achievement of al-Ṭabarī was above all transformed into a normative standard representation of the formation of Islam by the work of a scholar from Mosul, in the historical region of the Jazīra (Northern Iraq), 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭīr (d. 630/1233). His *Complete History* (*al-Kāmil fi l-tārīḥ*) is an equally impressive multi-volume annalistic chronicle of Muslim world history, incorporating the work of al-Ṭabarī and also of others, accommodating this material to the requirements of his time, and complementing it with annalistic reports up to the Muslim year 628 (/1231). By Ibn al-Aṭīr's time, the production of historiography had actually moved much closer to the circles of rulers and their courts than ever before, in the urban socio-cultural realities of patronage and competition as much as in its authors' overwhelming interest in politics, in lineages of Muslim leaderships, and in the relationships that connected individuals across time and space. The growing pre-dominance of a so-called *siyāsah*-oriented trend in an Arabic historiography that no longer needed to justify the religious past, but that rather was meant to try to understand, connect, and legitimate the complex socio-political present, manifested itself in particular in a booming production. From the time of Ibn al-Aṭīr onwards, annalistic chronicles, but also individual biographies, impressive prosopographical collections of biographical dictionaries, multi-volume encyclopaedic works of history and geography, and combinations of these and of similar works of historiographical interest started to be written, published, consumed, and reproduced in unprecedented numbers, first mostly in Syria and in the Jazīra, but from the fourteenth century onwards increasingly predominantly by cultural elites who convened in Cairo or who had at least strong connections with this trans-regional metropolis.¹⁰

9 Khalidi (1994): 73–81; McMillan (2011): 168–173; Marsham (2009): 91, 124–125. Marsham in particular explains how “lists of leaders of the hajj and annual campaigns [...] form two of the earliest strands in Islamic historiography”.

10 See especially Khalidi (1994): 182–231 (“Chapter 5: History and *Siyasa*”); Robinson (2003): 97–102 (“Chapter 5: Historiography and traditionalism—1000 to 1500: New directions”). For Ibn al-Aṭīr's *al-Kāmil*, see also Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Chronicle*; Richards (1982).

This—as Konrad Hirschler phrased it—“veritable explosion that history writing experienced in Syria and Egypt from the thirteenth century onwards” went hand in hand with other, deeply related cultural processes of transformation. Thomas Bauer has argued convincingly that there occurred a general literarisation of communication among educated (and increasingly also non-educated) individuals and groups, with poetry and ornate prose becoming widespread accepted forms and norms of socio-cultural interaction, resulting in a huge production of anthologies as well as of new literary material of all sorts (most of which remains to be discovered and fully appreciated). According to Hirschler, this happened simultaneously with a process of textualisation of cultural life, when the consumption of texts gradually became possible for more and more people as general reading skills and availability of texts improved. Expanding from what Carl Petry—as quoted in the previous chapter—described as the emergence of a huge “corpus of treatises which rendered the era a ‘Silver Age’ of Islamic scholarship”, Hirschler even identified this efflorescence as part and parcel of a much wider socio-cultural trend: the popularisation of textual production, a growing active participation in bustling literary life from the course of the fourteenth century onwards by increasing numbers of people who are not regularly considered among the cultural elites. When al-Maqrīzī therefore re-oriented his life in the 810s/1410s to that of an active historian, he did so in a context that was not only remarkable for its many historiographical engagements with a complex present and with set precedents—including a continued interest in the Farewell Pilgrimage and in many other leadership engagements with the *ḥaǧǧ*—, but that was also particular because of the widespread literarisation of the forms and channels of communication that made up its culture in general.¹¹

11 See Bauer (2005); Id. (2013a); Hirschler (2013) (quote p. 161); Id. (2012); Petry (1993): 324. Apart from *fiqh* and historiography, other genres of Arabo-Islamic culture and literature also obviously engaged with the memories and representations of the *ḥaǧǧ*, including Arabic poetry and travel writings (most famously the texts associated with the pilgrimages and travels of Ibn Ġubayr [d. 614/1217] and Ibn Baṭṭūṭah [d. c. 779/1377]), but they will not be considered here because they are not directly relevant for contextualising al-Maqrīzī's *al-Dahab al-masbūk* (see e.g. Van Gelder [1998]: “Large portions of the famous travel accounts by Ibn Jubayr and Ibn Battuta describe the holy sites of Islam. The pilgrimage, a major theme already in the poetry of ‘Umar b. Abi Rabi’a, remained the source of literary inspiration, for frivolous poets like Abu Nuwas as well as pious ones. In the poems and prose writings of the great mystics such as the Egyptian Ibn al-Farid and Ibn al-Arabi from Spain, the Hijaz is very much present”; Netton [2008]; Waines [2010]).

2 Introducing *al-Dahab al-masbūk*: Prophet, Caliphs, and Kings between Narratives and Stories

When Aḥmad b. ‘Alī l-Maqrīzī composed and recomposed *al-Dahab al-masbūk fī dīkr man ḥaġġa min al-ḥulafā’ wa-l-mulūk* between 821/1418 and 841/1438, he straightforwardly engaged with the different traditions of Arabic writing that had emerged over time around the memory of the Prophet and that continued to define the historiography-of-pilgrimage discourse of his time. Legal texts’ representations of the Farewell Pilgrimage, early historiography’s interest in the precedents of pilgriming caliphs, and the booming business of *siyāsah*-historiography and its presentist concerns for questions of non-caliphal pilgrimage leadership all received their due attention in this booklet. Starting with the Prophet’s *ḥaġġ* of 10/632 and ending with the story of the *ḥaġġ* in 778/1377 of the Cairo sultan al-Ašraf Ša‘bān (r. 764–778/1363–1377), *al-Dahab al-masbūk* moved from the time of the Prophet, over that of the Caliphs, to that of non-caliphal rulers’ pilgrimage engagements from the eleventh century onwards. Due to the work’s limited size, however, the added legal or historiographical value of the diverse material about pilgriming Prophet, caliphs, and kings is only very limited. The booklet is rather more remarkable for other reasons, not in the least, from a wider literary point of view, as the very first—at least, by the present state of acquaintance with the field of Arabic literary production up to al-Maqrīzī’s time—to claim to offer a more or less focused narrative of Muslim leadership of the pilgrimage. In order to try and come to some level of understanding of what this means, it is this chronographical material, the language, styles, and narrative forms in which it was cast, and the precise literary context of historiographical precedents and antecedents with which it interacted that first require a more detailed explanation.

Following the minimalist literary conventions of *siyāsah*-historiography, the adoption in most parts of the text of a language and style that seem to aim at straightforwardness, accessibility, and clarity rather than at any sort of complexity is entirely in line with al-Maqrīzī’s writing practice in his other known works of history. It is a practice that prioritises chronography over literary aesthetics as a guiding principle, and that is therefore deeply embedded in the historiographical genre’s process of formation and crystallisation out of the many individual reports of varying size, length, value and authenticity, the *ḥabars*, that informed and defined the early Muslim community’s social memory. Ornate prose is largely absent from the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, and only at four particular occasions a handful of lines of poetry are included, when quotes from others’ poetic repertoires were considered relevant for the plotting

of a story.¹² As with many texts of this type, however, this booklet opens with a general introduction that stands as an exception to this general rule of literary sobriety. Unbound by restrictions of genre and tradition, al-Maqrīzī used this introduction to explain his motives for writing this particular kind of history in a far more belletrist and personalised prose, also embellished by four lines of poetry. Dedicating—as discussed in the previous chapter—the work in the best of Arabic literature’s panegyric tradition to an unnamed patron, the author describes in flowery language how his personal quest for finding a gift that befitted the occasion of this patron’s *ḥağğ* eventually resulted in his “collecting for the benefit of the esteemed library of our lord [...] a volume that comprises the report of those caliphs and kings who performed the *ḥağğ*”, a history of pilgriming Muslim rulers which he then decided to entitle “The Moulded Gold” (*al-Dahab al-masbūk*).¹³

The main storyline of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* is indeed just this “report of those caliphs and kings who performed the *ḥağğ*”: a simple identification of all the Muslim rulers who, according to al-Maqrīzī, had meaningfully and actively engaged with the *ḥağğ* during eight centuries of Muslim history. Starting from the Prophet’s Farewell Pilgrimage, a comprehensive chronological list

12 See below, §§ 27, 31, 66, 129.

13 See below, § 4. In the Leiden autograph, the actual title page of this text is missing (as explained in chapter 3 of this study) and in the text itself only *al-Dahab al-masbūk* was explicitly mentioned by al-Maqrīzī and his copyist as the booklet’s title. The second part of the longer title by which it is now generally known (*al-Dahab al-masbūk fi dīkr man ḥağğa min al-ḥulafā’ wa-l-mulūk*) only appears in the lines preceding this short title, as an explanation of its contents rather than as any part of its intended title (“*ğuz’an yahtawī ‘alā dīkr man ḥağğa min al-ḥulafā’ wa-l-mulūk sammaytuhu l-Dahab al-masbūk*”). That longer title is present in the header of the text’s first page in the Leiden autograph, but this is an addition by a different, later hand (see Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms Or. 560, fol. 115^b). By the early seventeenth century, however, the longer, two-tiered title had become the standard way to refer to the text, including in the manuscript copies that were then and later produced (see chapter 3). In al-Maqrīzī’s biographies by Ibn Tağrī Birdī and al-Saḥāwī, however, it is only this explanatory addition to the title that is used to identify this text (Ibn Tağrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, 1:419: *kitāb fi dīkr man ḥağğa min al-ḥulafā’ wa-l-mulūk*; al-Saḥāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk*, 1:73; Id., *al-Daw’ al-lāmi’*, 2:23: *dīkr man ḥağğa min al-mulūk wa-l-ḥulafā’*). Yet another version of the title may be found in al-Ġazirī’s sixteenth-century manual and history of the *ḥağğ*, *Durar al-farā’id*, where it is claimed that al-Maqrīzī “called [his text] (*sammāhu*) *l-Dahab al-masbūk fi tāriḥ man ḥağğa min al-mulūk*” (al-Ġazirī, *Durar al-farā’id*, 2:325); this ‘non-caliphal version’ of the title is also the one by which the text was listed in the *Kaṣf al-ẓunūn* by the seventeenth-century Ottoman bibliographer Ḥağğī Ḥalīfah/Kātib Çelebī (1017–1067/1609–1657) (Kātib Çelebī, *Kaṣf al-ẓunūn*, 1:828).

of twenty-seven leaders is presented and combined with twenty-seven equally diverse leadership narratives, consisting of simple or complex strings of variegated stories about some of their leadership experiences that were mostly somehow related to the Mecca sanctuary. Before looking at the complex issue of how al-Maqrīzī squeezed all this material into his *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, however, it is the complexity of this particular list that deserves a few comments. At first sight, this list of twenty-seven appears not just as constructed along a chronological plan, but also as conveying a sequential vision of Muslim rule since the Prophet's time. Upon further inspection, this apparent sequence is quite remarkable for certain choices that were made by the author, mostly to include certain rulers, but also to exclude some others. Among the latter there were at least one 'Abbāsīd caliph and a handful of mostly African rulers who did not make it to al-Maqrīzī's final selection.¹⁴ Among the former al-Maqrīzī's unquestioning inclusion of the caliphate of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (r. 64–73/683–692) stands out as a remarkable counter-narrative to certain assumptions about the end of the Hijazi caliphate in the late 30s/650s and

14 From the late medieval 'Abbāsīd caliphs of Cairo, only the pilgrimage in 1298 of al-Ḥākim was recorded; according to al-Maqrīzī's own historiographical texts, however, another of these caliphs, al-Mu'taḍid bi-llāh (d. 763/1362), also performed the *ḥaǧǧ* twice, in 1354 (754AH) and in 1359 (760AH) (*al-Sulūk*, 2:903; 3, 77; *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, 3:785; *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīdah*, 2:210—I am grateful to Dr Mustafa Banister (Univ. Toronto) for providing me with these references). According to al-Ġazīrī, the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Ma'mūn (r. 197–218/813–833) performed the *ḥaǧǧ* in 212/828, but he adds his doubts since this was a story acquired from the early-fourteenth-century Syrian scholar al-Dahabī only (al-Ġazīrī, *Durar al-farā'id*, 2:345–346); al-Maqrīzī himself anyway makes the explicit claim that after al-Ma'mūn's father, Hārūn al-Rašīd, no 'Abbāsīd ever performed the *ḥaǧǧ* again from Baghdad (§ 82). Apart from the West-African ruler Mansā Mūsá (r. 712–738/1312–1337), *al-Dahab al-masbūk* also makes explicit reference to three of his predecessors—Sarbandānah, the legendary first Muslim ruler of Mali; Mansá Ulī (r. 653–668/1255–1270, son of the legendary Māri Ġātā [also known as Sundjata Keita, r. 627–653/1230–1255]), and the usurper Sākūrah (r. 684–699/1285–1300)—who would have already performed the pilgrimage before Mansā Mūsá; they were not however awarded any separate narratives in the text, but fully integrated into that of Mansā Mūsá (see § 203) (see also al-Ġazīrī, *Durar al-farā'id*, 2:359–364 [*dīkr man ḥaǧǧa min mulūk al-Takrūr*]; Möhring [1999]: 326). Al-Ġazīrī mentions a handful of other pilgriming rulers that did not make it into al-Maqrīzī's list, even though they were not really dissimilar from those that were included: "Mawlāy al-Sulṭān Ḥillī 'Abd al-'Azīm, the sulṭān al-Maǧrib", performing the *ḥaǧǧ* in 766/1365, the Marīnid "Šāhib Fās" sultan 'Abd al-'Azīz shortly before 774/1372, the Ayyūbid "Šāhib Ḥiṣn Kayfā" al-Malik al-Šālih in 776/1375 and the East-African "Šāhib Kilwa" Ḥasan b. al-Mu'ayyad Sulaymān b. al-Ḥusayn in 813/1411 (al-Ġazīrī, *Durar al-farā'id*, 2:367; see also Möhring [1999]: 327, listing even a few more cases).

about the continuity of the Syrian Umayyad caliphate between 41/661 and 132/750.¹⁵ Another remarkable moment occurs in the text when it suddenly leaps forward by almost 500 years, from the glorious days of the ‘Abbāsīd Hārūn al-Rašīd (r. 170–193/786–809)—after whom “there was no other caliph who performed the pilgrimage from Baghdad”—to the thirteenth and last caliph in the list, al-Ḥākīm (r. 661–701/1262–1302), the second ‘Abbāsīd caliph of Cairo whose lineage would continue to represent the caliphate throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In al-Ḥākīm’s case, it is above all al-Maqrīzī’s plotting of the story of this caliph’s 697/1298 pilgrimage against a background of powerlessness and defunct authority that reads as an anticlimactic moment in the text, after the great deeds and exemplary exploits of al-Ḥākīm’s twelve caliphal predecessors.¹⁶

In many ways, this moment then announces and explains the transition of the author’s focus from the caliphs to the kings of the booklet’s title. Actually, al-Maqrīzī’s concluding sentence of this caliphal part of the text is auspiciously programmatic in this particular respect. Connecting the sequence of caliphs to his own time, he subtly explains this transition by zooming in on the long-standing tradition of mentioning the ruler’s name in the Friday sermon (*ḥuṭbah*) in the Mecca sanctuary:

Until today, the situation has remained like that, the Friday sermon in Mecca never being delivered in the name of any of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphs of Egypt, except for the caliph al-Musta‘īn bi-llāh Abū l-Faḍl al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad, [in whose name the Friday sermon was delivered] for a few days in the year 815 [1412].¹⁷

15 On these assumptions of Umayyad continuity, constructed in modern scholarship rather than by premodern Muslim historians, see esp. Robinson (2007): 31–35. On this discussion among historiographers of how to record in Arabic chronography the complex turmoil of the second *fitnah* (c. 60–72/680–692), see also Robinson (2003): 76 (from which al-Maqrīzī’s pragmatic approach in *al-Dahab al-masbūk* appears indeed as historiographically less unusual than might be expected from modern scholarship). This particular portrayal of the caliphate of Ibn al-Zubayr as a legitimate and integral part of Muslim sacred history does not just transpire from what al-Maqrīzī mentions in the narrative that goes by this Meccan leader’s name. It is also made explicit in the next narrative, where al-Maqrīzī explains that the Umayyad ‘Abd al-Malik (r. 65–86/685–705) “remained in the office of caliph after Ibn al-Zubayr for 13 years and 4 months less 7 nights”, thus presenting Ibn al-Zubayr’s death as the real starting point for the caliphate of ‘Abd al-Malik. See below, 25–27, 28.

16 For Hārūn, see below, §§ 82–107; for al-Ḥākīm, see below, §§ 108–110.

17 See below, § 110.

Al-Ḥākim's scion al-Mustaʿīn (r. 808–816/1406–1414) was indeed briefly awarded this supreme Muslim rulership privilege. This, however, derived from al-Mustaʿīn's accession to Muslim kingship rather than from his caliphal authority, when during a short span of time in 815/1412 al-Mustaʿīn was made sultan, uniquely combining the by now empty shell of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate with the sovereignty of the Cairo sultanate.¹⁸ Non-caliphal Muslim kingship, including the sultanate of Cairo, is therefore what al-Maqrīzī focused on in the next part of the booklet. In general, this part confronts the reader with far less coherent narratives than the previous caliphal part, mainly due to the fact that at first sight this chronological list of 'kings' seems to be made up merely by those non-caliphal local or regional Muslim leaders who shared the privilege of having *al-malik*, 'the king', in their titles. What was already true for the sequence of caliphs is therefore even more so relevant for al-Maqrīzī's chronological listing of these 'kings': any first appearance of historical sequence is qualified by remarkable, even disruptive textual moments.

The first ruler on the list, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī (d. 473/1081), is almost as surprising a character as his immediate caliphal predecessor on the list. ʿAlī is immediately identified as "one of the world's revolutionaries (*aḥad tuwwār al-ālam*)" and as an agent of the anti-ʿAbbāsid Shiite Fāṭimid caliphate of Cairo (358–567/969–1171), who briefly gained control over Yemen and over Mecca in the Fāṭimids' name. In the staunchly Sunni and anti-Shiite environment of fifteenth-century Cairo this is a surprising—if not indeed revolutionary—way for any author to start a list such as this one.¹⁹ The second and third rulers are then also surprising, but this is for the simple reason that their actual engagements with the *ḥaǧǧ* is tenuous rather than for the fact that these two unmistakable champions of Sunni Islam, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (r. 541–569/1146–1174) and Saladin's brother Tūrān Šāh (d. 576/1178), represent a strong and explicit symbolic counterbalance to the Shiite case of ʿAlī I-Ṣulayḥī.²⁰ Then there is the fifth ruler, Tūrān Šāh's nephew al-Masʿūd Yūsuf (d. 626/1229), whose case

18 On this caliph, see "al-Mustaʿīn", in *EI*² (http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-mustain-SIM_5620).

19 On al-Maqrīzī's own link with the Fāṭimids, his stance towards Shiism in general, and the discussions and debates that arose around these issues in fifteenth-century Cairo, see Rabbat (2003): 6–10; Walker (2003). On the anti-Shiite climate in late medieval Egypt and Syria in general, see Winter (1999).

20 The alleged pilgrimage of Nūr al-Dīn in 556/1161 does not feature at all in the narrative, but is rather tucked away and pushed to the very end, where it suddenly appears in the format of the shortest possible reference only (see below, §122); substantial doubts

stands out as one of wrongful violence and of violation of the sacred character of the *ḥaǧǧ* rituals and of the Mecca sanctuary.²¹ Finally, after the prodigious cases of the Rasūlid ruler of Yemen al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf (r. 647–694/1249–1295), of the Egyptian sultans al-Zāhir Baybars (r. 658–676/1260–1277) and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 693–694/1293–1294; 698–708/1299–1309; 709–741/1310–1341), and of the West-African Mansā Mūsá (r. 712–738/1312–1337), unlawful violence and violation of sacred rules return as defining the twelfth and the thirteenth cases of this list of non-caliphal rulers, of the Rasūlid al-Muǧāhid ‘Alī (r. 721–764/1322–1363) in the pilgrimage season of 1352, and of the Qalāwūnid sultan al-Ašraf Ša‘bān in 778/1377. The story of Ša‘bān is actually told here in as anticlimactic a manner as that of the caliph al-Ḥākīm was presented before. This last ruler of the entire list left his seat of government in Cairo for the pilgrimage, but he never made it to Mecca due to a series of rebellions in his own royal entourage. This then appears as a final moment of political failure and chaos that contrasts in dark ways with the redemptive theme of pilgrimage and that provided the booklet with a rather fatalistic end. In this rather negative line of thought, al-Maqrīzī aptly concluded both Ša‘bān’s case and *al-Dahab al-masbūk*’s text with the claim that “the last that is known about [sultan Ša‘bān] is that he was killed by strangulation—God knows best.”²²

What can be made out of this complex general whole of particular arrangements that define the organisation of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*? The meanings that are conveyed through this text, the authorial decisions and choices by which it was created, and the morality that it bespeaks will be discussed in some detail below. Suffice it to claim here already that for all the winding roads that the text seems to be taking along a very mixed variety of stories about Muslim leaders

have indeed been raised about the veracity of Nūr al-Dīn’s pilgrimage, which was left unnoticed by his own chroniclers and which seems to have been recorded in the early fifteenth century only, in *al-Dahab al-masbūk* and—in an equally very brief reference—in the writings of al-Maqrīzī’s Meccan contemporary al-Fāsi (d. 832/1429) (see Möhring [1999]: 318). For Saladin’s brother Tūrān Šāh reference is only made to his performance of the lesser pilgrimage, the *‘umrah*, which means that technically speaking he did not deserve to be included in this list of non-caliphal rulers performing the *ḥaǧǧ* (see below, § 125). These rulers’ Sunni championship speaks from the explicit references to Nūr al-Dīn’s active restoration of Sunni Islam in Shiite dominated Aleppo, and to Tūrān Šāh’s leading role in Saladin’s victories over the Fatimid black troops in Cairo and over a *Ḥārīǧī* ruler in Yemen (see below, §§ 117, 123, 125).

21 As al-Maqrīzī explains, he spilled the blood of pigeons in the sacred mosque and he got drunk from drinking wine during his stay in Mecca (see below, § 142).

22 See below, § 221.

great and small, there is more that connects those stories than just the issue of pilgrimage. Formally, it transpires at least that clear and conscious choices were made about the general lay-out of the text, when it is realised that it has a structural unity that transcends any issues of chronographical organisation.²³ *Al-Dahab al-masbūk* actually is made up of three parts that were each demarcated by explanatory titles that define these parts as three separate chapters, one on the Prophet, one on caliphs, and one on kings.²⁴ By sheer size, the second and third chapter clearly function as the text's main structural blocks, and this is not in the least also suggested by the fact that these two chapters are symmetrically aligned in two units of exactly thirteen Muslim leaders. Thirteen pilgriming caliphs (Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uṭmān, Mu'āwīya, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, 'Abd al-Malik, al-Walīd, Sulaymān, Hišām, al-Manšūr, al-Mahdī, Hārūn al-Rašīd, and al-Ḥākīm) are thus succeeded by thirteen pilgriming 'kings' ('Alī al-Ṣulayhī, al-'Ādil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, al-Mu'azzam Tūrān Šāh, al-Mu'azzam 'Īsá, al-Mas'ūd Yūsuf, al-Manšūr 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Rasūl, al-Nāšir Dāwūd, al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, al-Zāhir Baybars, al-Nāšir Muḥammad, Mansā Mūsá, al-Muḡāhid 'Alī, al-Ašraf Ša'bān). The first, much shorter chapter on the Farewell Pilgrimage then

23 At three occasions in the text al-Maqrīzī also clarifies how he himself considered the overall structural nature of the entire booklet, identifying it as representing a 'ǧuz', a comprehensive volume (a term that is mostly used in *ḥadīth* studies to identify a selection of *ḥadīth* by one transmitter—I am grateful to F. Bauden for this clarification). In the introduction, the author thus clarifies the nature of his textual endeavour by explaining that he "collected for the benefit of the esteemed library of our lord [...] a volume (*ǧuz*'^{an}) that comprises the report of those caliphs and kings who performed the *ḥaǧǧ*"; in the first chapter on the Prophet, he similarly opens the text with the personal statement that "I began this volume (*ḥādā l-ǧuz*' with [the Prophet's pilgrimage]"; and in the narrative of the 'Abbāsīd caliph Hārūn al-Rašīd he hints at certain rules regulating the composition of such a *ǧuz*' when he explains the summary nature of a story by suggesting that "its report does not fit within the parameters of this volume (*min šart ḥādā l-ǧuz*'") (see below, §§ 4, 6, 91). The confusion and wrong expectations that a term such as *ǧuz*' may cause (as does 'volume' in English) appears from the statement in the entry for *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in the *Kašf al-zunūn* by Ḥāǧǧī Ḥalīfah/Kātib Çelebī that the text had been produced by al-Maqrīzī "in five volumes (*fi ḥamsat aǧzā*'") (Kātib Çelebī, *Kašf al-zunūn*, 1:828; see also *GAL*, 2:50) (see also chapter 3 for further explanations of the latter confusion).

24 "Chapter on the pilgrimage of the Messenger of God", "Chapter with the report of the caliphs who went on pilgrimage during their caliphate", and "The report of the kings who went on pilgrimage when they were king". Just as the Farewell Pilgrimage, also the caliphal part was explicitly identified as a full-fledged "chapter" (*faṣl*), suggesting that—although the term was not explicitly used there—the third part was also considered as such. See below, pp. 185, 201, 303.

clearly was constructed by al-Maqrīzī as a sort of textual axis and as a touchstone for each of the other two chapters of thirteen rulers, reminding of the way in which the example of the Prophet was referential for Muslim rulers in general.

This clearcut structure of three chapters and two sets of thirteen Muslim rulers emanating from the Prophet surely goes a long way toward explaining al-Maqrīzī's sometimes surprising choices for or against the inclusion of particular rulers. But there may be much more than meets the eye, even structurally. If some of the most remarkable moments in the text—the powerless caliph al-Ḥākim, the revolutionary 'Alī l-Ṣulayhī, and the doomed al-Ašraf Ṣa'bān—are mapped on to this larger structural perspective of two times thirteen Muslim rulers, it transpires that these moments coincide with particular structural junctures in the text. These representations of Muslim rule at its nadir really come across as repeating each other in their parallel anticlimactic tones at beginning or end, and as thus confirming and explaining the structural boundaries of the booklet's two main narrative blocks. On both occasions, they immediately follow reconstructions of particularly glorious moments of Muslim rule, such as under the 'Abbāsid caliphs al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī, and al-Rašīd, and under the Egyptian sultans al-Zāhir Baybars and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. In this structural combination, then, al-Ḥākim's, 'Alī's and Ṣa'bān's stories all bespeak the idea of a cycle of rise, decline, and fall, as manifested in the caliphal line, and then again in the non-caliphal line of Muslim rulers and their multiple engagements with pilgrimage.

In this literary construction of Muslim caliphal and non-caliphal rulership as bound, even doomed, by the internal logic of successive historical cycles of rise, decline, and fall, the separate prophetic chapter again stands out as entirely different, in many ways reminding of the notion that the Prophet's example escapes from the particular historical logic of mankind and of its rulers. This brief first chapter follows its own literary construction, thus indeed remaining far removed from the numerical and cyclical symmetries of the following chapters two and three. In fact, it displays its own particular internal logic of two distinct narratives, the one primarily historical and the other mainly jurisprudential. On the one hand, there is a summary chronography of the prophet's performance of the farewell pilgrimage in 10/632, presented in the spirit of Sunni traditionalism as setting the historical norm for a Muslim future. On the other hand, there are embedded into this narrative four separate moments when in the best of Sunni *fiqh* traditions certain points of legal debate (the relationship between *ḥağğ* and *'umrah*, the bringing of oblatinal animals, the noon prayer of 10 Dū l-Ḥiğğah, the timing of the call to pilgrimage) are discussed. Deeply intertwined in the chapter's text, these two narra-

tives are clearly separated in various micro-structural ways. The frame narrative of the farewell pilgrimage is told in a quick and summarising chronological manner from a bird's eye outsider perspective. The embedded legal debate narrative—especially concerning the first two issues of *ʿumrah* and of oblatinal animals—develops in much slower and much more detailed ways and is told from constantly moving perspectives and points-of-view that include those of various contemporary or later participants in those debates. This particular plotting enabled above all the introduction of particular views, opinions, and some Shāfiʿī partisanship into the set text of the Farewell Pilgrimage. It also made it possible for al-Maqrīzī to even construct another remarkable end note to this legal narrative, and to the first chapter as a whole, surprisingly connecting this prophetic example to one of the eponymous non-caliphal rulers of his own days, sultan al-Zāhir Baybars (r. 658–676/1260–1277). Just as the Prophet—according to an explanatory note at the opening of the chapter—“showed to the people the milestones of their religion” by preceding them in their pilgrimage rituals, so was Baybars alleged to have shown the way by installing another great and longstanding *ḥaǧǧ* tradition: the parading of the *maḥmal*. In its structural relationship with that opening reference this final note at least seems to suggest in all but subtle ways that al-Maqrīzī thought of this parallel when he ended this prophetic chapter by stating summarily and quite unexpectedly that “the first one to organise the parading of the *maḥmal* was al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars al-Bunduqdārī—may God’s mercy be upon him.”²⁵ By this kind of ritual closure as much as by its particular internal structure, the first chapter indeed remains firmly separate from the two very differently organised chapters that follow. The presence of Prophet and Baybars as pioneers of *ḥaǧǧ* rituals at the beginning and end of the chapter, however, make it so that, for the reader, this structural separation happens without the chapter being entirely out of touch with the caliphal successors of the Prophet and the royal peers of Baybars who populate the narratives that follow.

Beyond their larger structural definition along numerical and cyclical symmetries these narratives of chapters two and three also deserve further brief consideration from more particular, micro-structural perspectives. This is not in the least so because the latter perspectives demonstrate how internally these chapters are both much more different as well as alike than so far might appear. Each of these two chapters’ twenty six individual ruler narratives are more or less similar in their general framing within opening contexts that share an inter-

25 See below, §§ 6, 15.

est in naming and lineage, and in most cases also in oaths of allegiance or other accession-to-power particulars, often expanded with term-of-office highlights or with references to when or how these terms came to an end.²⁶ The focus of the individual narratives themselves is then in most cases not directly derived from these general introductory frames of legitimate rulership, but rather from subsequent summary chronologies of pilgrimage participation that identify how many and what pilgrimages the narrative's ruler actually participated in. Thus, for Hārūn al-Rašīd, the narrative is structured along the nine pilgrimages that he performed. The same happened for al-Nāšir Muḥammad and his three pilgrimages, for Baybars and his secret pilgrimage of 667/1269, for 'Alī l-Ṣulayḥī and his two pilgrimages, for the caliph 'Umar and three of the nine or ten pilgrimages that he performed, and in parallel ways for most of the other listed rulers and their singular or multiple pilgrimage engagements. This actually created a generally shared internal narrative hierarchy of introductory rulership frame, pilgrimage chronography, and stories that were mostly occasioned by the latter, but that often also continued to refer to the former. In some cases, however, the disturbance of this hierarchy by the oscillating of different stories between rulership and pilgrimage—both acting in those cases as two extremes in a structural continuum rather than as hierarchical partners—leave disparate and confusing overall impressions on a reader.²⁷ For the author, this kind of flexible structuring, wavering between hierarchy and continuum, clearly enabled the inclusion of a great variety of material, and hence the creation of a complex, multilayered text. It even enabled the inclusion of absolute outsiders to

26 This general rule can be observed for all caliphal narratives, but not for all non-caliphal ones, where the accession-to-power factor is missing from the Mansā Mūsā (ruler n° 11) and the al-Muḡāhid 'Alī (12) narratives. The non-caliphal narratives for al-Muẓaffar 'Īsā (4) and to some extent also al-Nāšir Dāwūd (7) are also different due to the inclusion of educational data (references to the study of particular texts and with particular teachers) that remind of a religious scholar's biography (*tarǧamah*); in the non-caliphal cases of al-Mas'ūd Yūsuf (5), al-Muḡāhid 'Alī (12) and al-Ašraf Ša'bān (13) this type of rulership framing has been expanded beyond an introductory functionality, structuring the entire narrative instead.

27 This is especially the case for the caliphs Ibn al-Zubayr (caliph n° 5) (whose regular pilgrimage leadership is mentioned, but not as a cause for the two rulership stories that are recorded here) and al-Walīd (7) (whose narrative also includes stories about public works in and around Medina that are entirely devoid of any pilgrimage connection), and for the non-caliphal rulers Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (ruler n° 2) and Tūrān Šāh (3) (see next footnote), and al-Mas'ūd Yūsuf (5) and al-Nāšir Dāwūd (7) (whose pilgrimages are merely included among the strings of stories that are occasioned by a structurally dominant rulership chronography).

the general theme of pilgriming rulers, such as the non-caliphal rulers Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd and Tūrān Šāh, whose pilgrimage engagements were, as mentioned before, rather tenuous. For both of them, al-Maqrīzī could legitimately reduce any necessary pilgrimage references to a bare and marginalised minimum, without really jeopardising the structural unity and coherence of his booklet on pilgriming rulers.²⁸

This complex and flexible micro-structure of the twenty-six individual ruler narratives enabled al-Maqrīzī to include accounts of or references to more than 120 different stories that he considered relevant for *al-Dahab al-masbūk's* topic and purpose.²⁹ They are all spread in a rather amorphous way over the different ruler narratives, some reproducing one story only, and others really consisting of strings of stories, connected through the frames of rulership or pilgrimage. Two narratives—of the caliphs Abū Bakr and Mu'āwiyah—actually have no stories attached to them at all, consisting of rulership and pilgrimage frames only.³⁰ At the other end of this quantitative scale, there are a handful of narratives that are the complete opposite in having not just complex frames, but also large numbers of intricate stories attached to them. For the sake of clarifying the above argument and its relation with these stories, the diverse yet parallel structures of these narratives of the caliphs al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī and Hārūn, and of the non-caliphal rulers Baybars and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad deserve to be schematically reconstructed here.

The al-Manṣūr narrative (n° 10)

- rulership frame
- pilgrimage frame (6 pilgrimages)
 - pilgrimage 1: story 1
 - pilgrimage 2: story 2
 - pilgrimage 6: story 3

28 These references were limited to the following statements: “[Nūr al-Dīn] died on 11 Šawwāl of the year 569 in Damascus, after he had performed the pilgrimage in the year 556” (see below, § 122); “[Tūrān Šāh] came to Mecca and performed the lesser pilgrimage, and he moved on to Zabīd” (see below, § 125).

29 I counted 126, but this can only be an approximate number, due to the fragmented nature of some stories, and the blurred boundaries between others, making this counting impossible to claim any authority of exactness. Rather than any mathematical exactness, it is of course their numerous presence and participation in this textual construction that is the point here.

30 See below, §§ 16–20, 35–36.

- pilgrimage 6: story 4
- story 5
- story 6
- story 7
- story 8

The al-Mahdī narrative (n° 11)

- rulership frame
- pilgrimage frame (1 pilgrimage)
 - story 1
 - story 2
 - story 3
 - story 4
 - story 5
- rulership + pilgrimage frame
 - story 6
 - story 7
 - story 8

The Hārūn al-Rašīd narrative (n° 12)

- rulership frame
- pilgrimage frame (9 pilgrimages)
 - pilgrimage 1: story 1
 - pilgrimage 2: story 2
 - pilgrimage 3: story 3
 - pilgrimage 4: story 4
 - pilgrimage 5
 - story 5
 - story 6
 - story 7
 - story 8
 - story 9
 - pilgrimage 7
 - story 10
 - story 11
 - pilgrimage 9: story 12
- pilgrimage frame (bis)
 - story 13

- rulership + pilgrimage frame
 - story 14/version a
 - story 14/version b

The Baybars narrative (n° 9)

- rulership frame
- pilgrimage frame (1 pilgrimage)
 - story 1
 - story 2
 - story 3
 - story 4
 - story 5
 - story 6
 - story 7
 - story 8
 - story 9

The al-Nāṣir Muḥammad narrative (n° 10)

- rulership frame
 - pilgrimage story 1
- pilgrimage frame (3 pilgrimages)
 - pilgrimage 1
 - story 2
 - story 3
 - pilgrimage 2
 - story 4
 - story 5
 - story 6
 - story 7
 - story 8
 - story 9
 - story 10
 - story 11
 - pilgrimage 3
 - story 12
 - story 13
 - story 14
 - story 15

- story 16
- story 17
- story 18

The actual workings of factors of micro-structural variation and flexibility within and between narratives clearly transpire from this very schematic reconstruction of the booklet's five most sizeable and most complex narratives. Elicited by issues of rulership, pilgrimage, or both, all the stories themselves moreover also vary enormously in contents and size, some merely referring to well-known stories in one or two sentences only, others explaining in much and often dramatised detail what the story was all about. Whereas many stories are thus retold in summarised or more panoramic ways and from bird's-eye perspectives, some thirty-five stories are rather differently plotted, sometimes taking up much more space within the narratives as a result. These stories—or at least certain parts of them—are staged for the reader to slowly and sometimes quite dramatically unfold in front of his or her reading eyes. To this effect they often also include vivid dialogues that contain direct speech that is explicitly put in the mouth of named speakers. The story of the caliph 'Umar assigning shares in Egyptian supplies thus develops through his dialogue with an entrepreneurial merchant, whereas the story of 'Umar's humble origins is told through his monologue about the memories that his passage through a valley of his youth evokes.³¹ The narrative of the Umayyad caliph Sulaymān develops through one story only, a relatively detailed account of the construction, inauguration, and eventual gradual deconstruction of a watering system that he commissioned for the Mecca sanctuary.³² For the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mahdī, a prophecy story for his accession is included that is constructed around an opponent retelling in scenic fashion a dream that he had about an epigraphic inscription in the mosque of Medina.³³ Another such story is told in similarly appealing ways about the non-caliphal ruler Tūrān Šāh, for whom one Ibn al-Ḥaymī is brought up saying that in a dream he had seen him giving away his burial shroud from the grave.³⁴ Then there also is the narrative of the Cairo sultan al-Nāšīr Muḥammad, which actually really stands out as full of this kind

31 See below, §§ 24, 30. 'Umar's narrative contains seven different stories in all; two more stories of this dramatised type both have to do with prophecies of his murder.

32 See below, §§ 51–52.

33 See below, § 80. Al-Mahdī's narrative consists of eight stories; these include one other of this dramatised type, about his overhearing a bedouin woman bewailing the fate of her kin (see below, § 81).

34 See below, §§ 128, 129. This is the only story told about Tūrān Šāh.

of slowly developing and highly dramatised stories, such as how his very good relationship with the bedouin causes confusion among his courtiers, how he refuses special treatment in the sanctuary mosque, how his pilgrimage is prepared with minute care by his agents, how a storm causes havoc and fear in his camp, or how his return to Cairo is an occasion for festivities and splendour.³⁵

There is thus substantial internal variation between these thirty-five slowly plotted and therefore relatively longer stories³⁶ and the many others that are presented in much more rapid modes throughout the different narratives. Even among the former, however, there is substantial variation between dialogues that run on for pages—such as between Hārūn al-Rašīd and the ascetic al-Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ (d. 187/803)³⁷—and other scenic stories that only take up a paragraph at most. From this feature another complex and potentially confusing structural dimension emerges for the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, as developing along speeds that continuously varied between the different narratives, and also on many occasions within them. Again, therefore, the overall impression that remains is that of stories being pitched by the author on a continuum, but this time one of modes of speed, oscillating between very rapidly and very slowly developing plots.

35 See below, §§ 191, 193, 195, 200, 202. Al-Nāšir Muḥammad's narrative of 18 stories has, apart from the five mentioned here, three more stories that include this kind of dramatised material, about the sultan's entry in Damascus in 1313, about his arrival in Cairo in 1320, and about his conflict with an amir in 1332 (see below, §§ 189, 197, 199–201).

36 The 19 other not yet mentioned stories concern the following events and occasions: ʿUṭmān's ritual prayer at Miná (see below, § 33), ʿAbd al-Malik's Friday sermon in Medina (see below, § 44), al-Walīd's meeting with Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab in the mosque of Medina (see below, § 48), the prophecy of al-Manṣūr's death and his encounters with the Medinan judge Muḥammad b. ʿImrān (see below, §§ 65–67, 68–70), Hārūn's encounters with Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ (see below, §§ 97–105, 106–107), al-Nāšir Dāwūd's conflict with the caliph of Baghdad (see below, § 158), different events, encounters and adventures happening during al-Zāhir Baybars' secret pilgrimage (see below, §§ 165–182), Mansā Mūsá's reception by al-Nāšir Muḥammad (see below, § 204), and al-Muḡāhid ʿAlī's confrontations with Hijazi and Egyptian amirs in Mecca and his reception by al-Nāšir Muḥammad in Cairo (see below, §§ 212–213, 214).

37 See below, §§ 97–105. There also is a second version of this al-Fuḍayl story, much shorter but equally scenic and including a dialogue with the caliph (§§ 106–107). The al-Fuḍayl story is moreover among the few, in the caliphal narratives only, in which there is a narrator identified who even actively participates in the story (also in the three last stories about ʿUmar involving amongst others ʿĀʾiṣah and ʿAlī, and in the stories about Hiṣām and Abū l-Zinād and about al-Mahdī and his dreaming competitor for the caliphate) (see below, §§ 26–28, 29; 54; 80).

Between the structural continuum that connects frames and stories and the modal continuum that connects stories and the way they are being presented, chronology continues to figure as an organising principle to hold on to for the author and his audiences. Years, dates, and chronography continued to be important tools on the micro-structural level of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* too, and al-Maqrīzī pursued a chronological arrangement of his stories wherever the available material allowed for such a set-up. As on the macro-structural level also micro-structurally the order of time is taken seriously for the order of telling stories. There are the more general rulership and pilgrimage participation statements, providing not just for a narrative macro-structure but also for a temporal frame of terms-of-office, years of pilgrimage participation, and times of death for situating, arranging, and connecting stories. Although again never applied rigidly or similarly, this frame is obstructed only very rarely by references that suddenly move time forward or backward between or within stories.³⁸

It is rather a very different kind of disruption that occasionally interferes in this congruence of time and telling and that actually tends to transcend plots, stories, and narratives and connect them with metatextual and other realities. On a number of occasions, short references appear in the narratives that subtly introduce al-Maqrīzī's own early fifteenth-century experiences into the text. In the list of caliphs, this happened when he explains that al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ made the Ka'bah "as it still is today", that in the time of al-Mahdī the *kiswa* was not annually removed "as it is the practice now", that after al-Ḥākīm "the caliphate has remained with his offspring to this day", and finally that since

38 In two cases, stories within other stories occur that seem to disrupt the orderly flow of time: a story about the death of the caliph al-Manṣūr is followed by a story of the miraculous announcement to al-Manṣūr of his approaching death and then by three more stories about his encounters with Muḥammad b. 'Imrān (see below, §§ 63, 65–67, 68–70); the story of how one of Hārūn al-Rašīd's pilgrimages was performed on foot is followed by references to how the Byzantine emperor Heraclius once similarly performed the pilgrimage, and to how the caliph's earlier marriage with his brother's widow had been the reason for this particular behaviour (see below, §§ 88, 89). A rare example of time disruptions in the arrangement of stories may be found in the caliph Ibn al-Zubayr's narrative, where the story of his execution by al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ is followed by that of the different reconstructions of the Ka'bah, first by the caliph and then by his executor (see below, §§ 39–41). Time disruptions within stories may be found in the *kiswah* story of the caliph al-Mahdī, where his removal of the *kiswah* introduces a story about *kiswah* practices going back to the time of the Umayyad Hišām and before (see below, § 73); and in the story about 'Alī l-Ṣulayhī's conquest of Mecca, generating safety for its population and visitors "such as they had not experienced before him" (see below, § 114).

the days of al-Ḥākim “until today [...] the Friday sermon [is] never being delivered in the name of any the ‘Abbāsīd caliphs of Egypt, except for the caliph al-Musta‘īn bi-llāh Abū l-Faḍl al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad, [in whose name the Friday sermon was delivered] for a few days in the year 815 [1412].”³⁹ In the list of non-caliphal rulers, this includes such brief and isolated references as “the Darb Šams al-Dawlah in Cairo was named after” Tūrān Šāh and “the Mas‘ūdī *dirhams* in Mecca are named after” al-Mas‘ūd Yūsuf, but also the more elaborate explanations that “the Friday sermon [...] continued to be delivered from the *minbar* of Mecca in the name of the rulers of Yemen until our own days, [but then nowadays only] after the sermon [is delivered] in the name of the sultan of Egypt”, and—in the same narrative of al-Muḥaffar Yūsuf of Yemen—that “the *kiswah* of al-Muḥaffar, which he had the inside of the Ka‘bah covered with, continued to be present until in the year 761 [1360] al-Malik al-Nāšir Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn covered it with this *kiswah* which is still present today.”⁴⁰ These sudden intrusions of these carefully and consciously constructed narratives and stories by chronologically atypical and highly disconnected symbolic and ritual practices are one more remarkable characteristic of this text, obviously operating as points of direct contact for readers who shared the same frameworks of cultural reference with al-Maqrīzī and for whom *kiswah* practices, Cairo’s Darb Šams al-Dawlah, Meccan Mas‘ūdī *dirhams*, and political dedications of sermons were equally meaningful.

A similar, but even more complex, process seems at work with another type of such metatextual material that also disturbs the strict chronological flow of narratives and stories in notable ways. In the above cases, as well as in quite a few others, references are often also included to other works of literature and history, not just to occasionally indicate sources for particular stories, but also to situate narratives or stories explicitly within their wider historiographic, jurisprudential, and literary contexts as these had developed up to the early fifteenth century. Just as the first prophetic chapter was explicitly linked up with discussions arising around Ibn Ḥazm’s Farewell Pilgrimage text,⁴¹ so did al-Maqrīzī also add a reference to one of his own books, the *Kitāb Šāri‘ al-nağāt*, apparently a work of religious history and jurisprudence that has furthermore

39 See below, §§ 41, 73, 109, 110; similar, but less explicit, occasions concern the discussion of differences in naming (eg. Ibn al-Zubayr’s *kunya*: “Abū Bakr—and it was said Abū Bukayr”, see below, p. 229) or the explanation of the spelling and genealogy of the Banū Lihb in one story in the ‘Umar narrative (“Lihb—with the vowel i after the *lām*—is one of the clans of al-Azd, known for harbouring feelings of aversion and reprimand”), see below, § 25.

40 See below, §§ 130, 146, 160, 161.

41 See below, § 6.

remained unknown.⁴² The wording of this reference actually suggests that this opening chapter is really only a summary of the relevant passages in that text. This particular inter-textual arrangement is made even more explicit for a number of other references to texts of al-Maqrīzī elsewhere in the narratives. For the Ka'bah story of Ibn al-Zubayr's narrative, al-Maqrīzī thus adds that he has "reported that in great detail in the book *al-Iṣārah wa-l-i'lām bi-binā' al-ka'bah al-bayt al-ḥarām* [Advice and Information Regarding the Construction of the Ka'bah, the Sacred House]"; for 'Abd al-Malik, he explains in the context of a summarily reported story about rebels that "the stories about them were recorded in their proper place", whereas he also added in the general narrative frame that this caliph's term-of-office was also "reported in his biography and in the biography of his father in *al-Tārīḥ al-kabīr li-Miṣr* [the Great History (in Continuation) of Egypt]".⁴³ Similar references occur elsewhere, as in the narrative of Tūrān Šāh, which was concluded by the author's personal statement that "I [= al-Maqrīzī] reported his biography in detail in the book *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār bi-dīkr al-ḥiṭaṭ wa-l-ātār* [Admonitions and Reflections on the Quarters and Monuments (in Fustāṭ and Cairo)] and in the book *al-Tārīḥ al-kabīr al-muqaffā li-Miṣr* [The Great History of Egypt in Continuation]",⁴⁴ and in the narrative of Baybars, where it was written by al-Maqrīzī that "there is a long story (*ḥabar ṭawīl*) of that which I have reported in his biography (*fī tarḡamatihī*) in the book *al-Tārīḥ al-kabīr al-muqaffā* [The Great History in Continuation] and the book *Aḥbār Mulūk Miṣr* [The Stories of the Kings of Egypt]".⁴⁵ The primary literary, jurisprudential, and historiographical contexts that readers are referred to by this meta- and—at the same time—intertextual material was therefore first and foremost the fruit of al-Maqrīzī's own productive pen, in the format of both his grand works of Egyptian history and of any other books that he had already begun to write at the time of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*'s initial composition.

42 According to al-Maqrīzī's biographer al-Saḥāwī (who is the only one to refer to this text) this *Kitāb Šāri' al-naḡāt* "consisted of all the differences in the principles and substance of mankind's religions, including an exposition on their proofs and on their guidance towards the truth" (al-Saḥāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, 2: 23; see also Faraḥāt [2009]: 23).

43 See below, §§ 41, 42, 43.

44 See below, § 131.

45 See below, § 163. Other similar references are found in the narratives of Hārūn (see below, § 93), of al-Mu'azzam 'Isá (see below, § 139), of al-Mas'ūd Yūsuf (see below, § 145), and of al-Nāšir Dāwūd (see below, § 157), in each of these four cases referring to the "*Kitāb al-Tārīḥ al-kabīr al-muqaffā*"; the 'Umar narrative, finally, includes another reference to al-Maqrīzī's *Ḥiṭaṭ* (see below, § 23); in all, there are twelve auto-references, seven of which refer to the *Kitāb al-Tārīḥ al-kabīr al-muqaffā*, in the narratives of a total of nine rulers (four caliphs and five non-caliphal rulers).

However, a few other historiographical contexts and literary texts were also included explicitly in particular narratives or stories in this chronologically disturbing, metatextual manner. For the caliphs ‘Umar, ‘Utmān, Mu‘āwiyah, Ibn al-Zubayr and Sulaymān, al-Maqrīzī included references to discussions that had arisen in later scholarly circles around their pilgrimage and rulership stories.⁴⁶ The identity of only one of those scholars involved in these discussions is revealed, when al-Maqrīzī explains for the caliphate of ‘Utmān that unlike others the historian “Ibn al-Aṭīr reported that ‘Utmān led the people on the pilgrimage in the first year [of his term of office].”⁴⁷ This type of naming external textual origins also happens in one of the stories about the caliph ‘Umar, which is explicitly linked to the writings of al-Wāqidi and of the Andalusian scholar Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr al-Namarī l-Qurṭubī (d. 463/1070).⁴⁸ A reference to Ibn Ḥazm returned in the narrative of Hārūn al-Rašīd, where the story of the caliph’s marriage to his brother’s widow is explained as stemming from Ibn Ḥazm’s work of Arabic genealogy, the *Ġamharat al-ansāb*.⁴⁹ In the same narrative, the two final stories about the caliph’s encounter with the ascetic al-Fuḍayl b. ‘Iyāḍ are moreover referenced as being taken from the *Kitāb al-Ḥilyah*, a biographical dictionary of ascetics and mystics by Abū Nu‘aym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038).⁵⁰ But these are all the references there are, and they are really only minor exceptions

46 For ‘Umar, al-Maqrīzī explains that “he performed the pilgrimage in all of [these years], except for one year only, [...] It was [also] said that ‘Umar rather performed the pilgrimage every year of [his caliphate].” (see below, § 21); for ‘Utmān, he details to some extent the discussions on what pilgrimages the caliph had actually participated in (see below, § 33); for Mu‘āwiyah, al-Maqrīzī refers to discussions on the year of the main oath of allegiance to him (see below, § 35) and on the exact number of pilgrimages which he actually participated in (see below, § 36); for Ibn al-Zubayr mention is made of discussions on his *kunya* (Abū Bakr or Abū Bukayr) (see below, p. 229); and for Sulaymān, al-Maqrīzī explains that it was unclear whether he reigned for two years and eight months “and 5 days” or “less 5 days” (see below, § 50).

47 See below, § 33. For Ibn al-Aṭīr and the importance of his *al-Kāmil fi l-tārīḥ*, see above (Chapter 2, 1).

48 See below, § 28. For al-Wāqidi, see above (Chapter 2, 1); Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr was an Andalusian scholar whose scholarly portfolio included *al-Istī‘āb fi ma‘rifat al-aṣḥāb*, a compendium of biographies of Companions (see “Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr”, in *EI*² [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibn-abd-al-barr-SIM_3027]).

49 See below, § 89.

50 See below, § 97. The religious scholar Abū Nu‘aym Aḥmad al-Iṣfahānī (336–430/948–1038) is best known as the author of this *Kitāb Ḥilyat al-awliyā’ wa-ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyā’*, a biographical encyclopaedia of individuals from the earliest days of Islam onwards, who, at least according to the author, were to be regarded as ascetics and mystics (“Abū Nu‘aym

of external interferences in a text that is clearly first and foremost constructed around a conscious authorial persona and his very intricate and particular narrative methodologies.

3 The Sources of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*: Between *ḥabar* and *tarḡamah*

Explicit references such as to the writings of Ibn al-Aṭīr, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Ibn Ḥazm or Abū Nu‘aym illustrate how al-Maqrīzī constructed the narratives of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* employing a fully conscious acquaintance with the Arabic literary heritage of his age. As detailed above, the environment of textual and literary forms within which he and his peers operated was one of longstanding as well as more recent historiographical antecedents and precedents, many of which had been set to paradigmatic basic forms and meanings that by the standards of early fifteenth-century social norms and cultural aesthetics could not be simply discarded. Al-Maqrīzī’s literary environment constituted, as it were, a historically socialised as well as socialising matrix of meanings embodied in literary forms, defined by and defining authors and scholars as well as their production, reproduction, and consumption of knowledge. This is not at all particular to early fifteenth-century Cairo, of course. But for its booming business of historiography it meant that it was above all through reproductive strategies of selection, re-organisation, or reformulation of this extant literarised material that textual communication, authorial identities, and innovative ideas had to be constructed.⁵¹ This was certainly the case for the different traditions of Arabic writing that had emerged over time around the memory of the Prophet and that continued to define the historiography-of-pilgrimage imagination into al-Maqrīzī’s own time. At least, that is what is

al-Iṣfahānī”, in *ET*³ [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/abu-nuaym-al-isfahani-COM_23648].

51 For this particular nature of al-Maqrīzī’s literary environment and related issues of understanding intertextuality, communication and literary aesthetics of ‘medieval’ Arabic literary texts, see especially Bauer (2005); Id. (2007); Id. (2013a); Id. (2013b). On the idea of a matrix of cultural forms and meanings, and of how also issues of social identity and social performance are related to this literary matrix, see Van Steenberg (2012). The substantial textual interdependence of Arabic historiographical texts from late medieval Egypt and Syria has been demonstrated in some of its technical detail in the following: Haarmann (1969); Little (1970); Massoud (2007). On al-Maqrīzī’s engagement with his literary environment—in particular the technicalities of his “working method”—and with intertextuality, see the detailed analyses by Frédéric Bauden in his Maqriziana series of articles, in particular Bauden (2008); Id. (2009); Id. (2010).

suggested when *al-Dahab al-masbūk* is approached from this perspective of its inevitable embeddedness in a longstanding and socio-culturally disciplined Arabic historiographical tradition, and in this tradition's discourse on rulership and pilgrimage in particular. As will be reconstructed in some detail here, explicit and implicit intertextual relationships with this discursive tradition provided al-Maqrīzī with the necessary material for the creative process of constructing particular narratives, awarding the text at the same time the aura of historiographical authority and authenticity that it aspired.

A first level of intertextuality is perhaps the most obvious and conspicuous one, at least to the text's learned contemporary readership. This level derives from the booklet's title that was clearly specifically chosen to position the text—or at least educated readers' expectations about it—in one very particular and rather surprising web of texts and authors, usually considered under the literary rubric of the Mirrors-for-Princes genre (*naṣīhat al-mulūk*). The booklet's title, as identified by the author himself in the opening chapter—"I entitled it: 'The Moulded Gold' (*al-Dahab al-masbūk*)"—,⁵² clearly entered into direct communication with similar titles of seminal status by well-known authors from eleventh- and twelfth-century Iraq. This was the case in particular with a work by the Baghdadi Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn al-Ġawzī (d. 597/1201), similarly entitled *al-Dahab al-masbūk fī siyar al-mulūk* (The Gold Moulded around the Conduct of Kings), and above all with the epitome of this genre, a work of princely advice in Persian attributed to the towering scholarly authority of Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111) and known in Arabic in a late twelfth-century translation as *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī naṣīhat al-mulūk* (The Gold Moulded around the Advice to Kings). The latter text in particular was widely known and read in late medieval Egypt and Syria, making the relationship between *al-Tibr al-masbūk* and al-Maqrīzī's choice of title real, conspicuous, and discursively meaningful. The interaction with titles such as these may at least have raised particular textual expectations with *al-Dahab al-masbūk*'s readership. Beyond this very particular level of a repeated literary wordplay in the title, however, there appears no further direct relationship whatsoever between the booklet's contents and these popular works of political advice, at least not as far as any other textual similarities and intertextualities are concerned.⁵³

52 See below, § 4, and see also above fn. 13, for a discussion of the different formats and versions of this title.

53 On these Mirrors-for-Princes texts, the *al-Tibr al-masbūk* in particular, see Marlowe; Crone (1987); Hillenbrand (1988). For Ibn al-Ġawzī's *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, see *GAL*, 1:661; *GAL* s 1:915; this text currently only seems to be available in the format of a summary repro-

The actual nature of the material with which al-Maqrīzī constructed *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, of the building blocks of the micro-structural components of his text, are quite different. They are identified most explicitly in one passage that refers unusually explicitly to the origins of the lines of text that tell the story of a jinn's elegy for 'Umar. "This story (*hādā l-ḥabar*)", al-Maqrīzī explains, "was thus transmitted by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Umar Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Barr al-Namarī."⁵⁴ The passage that preceded is indeed a literal reproduction of how this story was plotted in *al-Istī'āb fī ma'rifat al-aṣḥāb*, a compendium of biographies of Companions of the Prophet by the Andalusian scholar Ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Namarī (d. 463/1070).⁵⁵ As mentioned above, there are a few other explicit references to such intertextual connections, especially to Ibn Ḥazm's work of Arabic genealogy, the *Ġamharat ansāb al-'Arab*, for the story of Hārūn's marriage to his brother's widow,⁵⁶ and to the *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, a biographical compendium of ascetics and mystics by the Isfahani traditionist Abū Nu'aym (d. 430/1038), for two versions of the story of Hārūn's encounter with the ascetic al-Fuḍayl b. 'Iyād.⁵⁷ In both cases, again the relevant passages concern identical textual reproductions from the *Ġamharat ansāb al-'Arab* and *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* respectively. In the latter case, al-Maqrīzī actually stated very frankly that he was merely copying Abū Nu'aym's selected versions of the story, when he opened the passage with the announcement that "among the qualities of [Hārūn] al-Rašid, there was what the great transmitter Abū Nu'aym selected (*aḥraġa*) in the *Kitāb al-Ḥilyah*." What it was that had been selected first by Abū Nu'aym in *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, and that had been faithfully reproduced by al-Maqrīzī in *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, obviously was a *ḥabar*, a story, as made clear in the fragment from Ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Namarī. In all three cases, *ḥabar*-like versions of stories, transmitted in classics such as *al-Istī'āb*, *Ġamharat ansāb al-'Arab* and *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, were infused into the particular narrative structures of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, without any authorial interference, but with due acknowledgement.

duction that presents a short biographical history of the caliphate from al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik (r. 86–96/705–715) to al-Musta'sim (r. 640–656/1242–1258) (see Ibn al-Ġawzī/al-Irbīlī, *Ḥulāṣat al-ḍahab al-masbūk*). *Al-Tibr al-masbūk fī tawārīḫ al-mulūk* by the scholar and Ayyubid prince/sultan from Hama Abū l-Fidā' (672–732/1273–1331) may represent another possible point of this type of intertextual reference (see Abū l-Fidā', *al-Tibr al-masbūk*).

54 See below, § 28.

55 See "Ibn 'Abd al-Barr", *ET*²; Wasserstein (1998).

56 See below, § 89. For Ibn Ḥazm, see "Ibn Ḥazm", *ET*²; and also Adang et al. (2012).

57 See below, § 97. For Abū Nu'aym, see "Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī", *ET*².

As is well known to scholars of Islamic history, these handful of *ḥabars* belong to an enormous repertoire of such reports of varying size, value, and authenticity, in which stories and anecdotes about individuals, places, or events from Muslim history were set to particularly constructed and often juxtaposed, overlapping, or dispersed forms. *Ḥabars* formed, informed, and defined the Muslim community's social memory since the early days of the Arabic historical tradition, and they continued to represent the basic building blocks of that memory through the centuries. When from the tenth century onwards annalistic chronography and *siyāsa*-oriented historiography became dominant macro-structural formats of historiographical communication, *ḥabars* retained, within those larger formats, normative status for the transmission of knowledge about early Islamic history. As a literary form, the self-contained textual unit of the *ḥabar* arguably even seems to have retained some level of micro-structural appeal for the recording of contemporary history in certain literary historiographies such as *al-Dahab al-masbūk*.⁵⁸ This genealogical process, which physically connects the different generations of Arabic historiographical and related texts through the growing body of *ḥabars* that informed their stories, is in fact central for any understanding of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*. It is present in direct and explicit ways in the handful of *ḥabars* that connect *al-Dahab al-masbūk* with *al-Istī'āb*, *Ġamharat ansāb al-'Arab*, and *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*. It is equally present in direct but implicit ways in dozens of similar types of *ḥabars* that were reproduced in many of the more than 120 stories of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, positioning the text in a web of very meaningful (and discursively inevitable) textual ties with a handful of other classics of Arabic historiography. This was a textual reality especially for the first and second chapters, with its stories about Prophet and caliphs really mainly being made up of *ḥabar* material that throughout the centuries had been thoroughly codified in form and meaning by the increasingly shared social memory of mainstream Muslim communities from east and west (a process of transregional community-building that is also exemplified by the explicit presence in this Egyptian text

58 See Khalidi (1994):137–151; Robinson (2003): 92–97. Al-Maqrīzī occasionally is very explicit about his qualification of the textual units with which he constructed *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, as well as some of his other texts, as *ḥabar/aḥbār*, as in the following cases: *kamā qad ḍakartu ḥabarahu* (see below § 23); *fa-kāna min aḥbārihim mā qad ḍakira fī mawḍi'ihi* (see below, § 43); *wa-qad ḍakartu ḥabar ḍālika mabsūṭ^{am} fī tarġamat al-Ma'mūn* (see below, § 93); *wa-qad istawfaytu aḥbārahu* (see below, § 145); *wa li-ḍālika ḥabar ṭawil qad ḍakartuhu fī tarġamatihi* (see below, § 163). Other similar terms were sometimes also used (*ḍikr*, *qiṣaṣ*, *anbā'*), but they occur far less frequently than terms related to *ḥabar* do (throughout the text, *ḥabar* and derived verbal forms occur no less than fifteen times).

of material from Ibn Ḥazm's and Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's al-Andalus and from Abū Nu'aym's Persia). But also for the third chapter on non-caliphal rulers, intertextuality of its stories along *ḥabar*-lines may be reconstructed, even though that material was far less burdened by transcendent and translocal communal meanings.

As suggested above, two key moments in the genealogical process of *ḥabar* transmission and codification were the *History of Messengers and Kings* (*Tārīḥ al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*) by the Iraqi scholar al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) and the *Complete History* (*al-Kāmil fī l-tārīḥ*) by Ibn al-Aṭīr (d. 630/1233). For the majority of the second chapter's stories for which so far a genealogy could be reconstructed, the normative historiographical status of these works of history is reflected in al-Maqrīzī's heavy reliance on *ḥabars* that can be traced back to these texts.⁵⁹ In fact, it is always Ibn al-Aṭīr's version of a *ḥabar* that al-Maqrīzī is reproducing, with occasionally only slight adaptations in wording, phrasing, or detail, but without ever identifying this textual relationship.⁶⁰ For six caliphal narratives this canonical *ḥabar* tradition even is the sole source for all related stories.⁶¹ In four narratives, however, this *ḥabar* tradition is entirely absent, either because there are no stories, as with the caliph Mu'āwiyah, or because the narrative post-dates Ibn al-Aṭīr's time, as with al-Ḥākim, or because other *ḥabar* traditions were prioritised. In the narrative of Ibn al-Zubayr it thus seems to have been al-Maqrīzī's own history of the Ka'bah, *al-Īsārah wa-l-i'lām*, that was followed (and explicitly named as such), whereas

59 For the second chapter of the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, we counted 34 moments of direct textual interdependence between *ḥabars* in the text and other texts; 24 of these moments have been identified as connecting directly with the Ibn al-Aṭīr/al-Ṭabarī tradition (further details are provided in the footnotes that follow). Each of these moments has been duly referenced in the critical apparatus of the edition of the Arabic text.

60 On three occasions, a *ḥabar* could be traced back to Ibn al-Aṭīr's *al-Kāmil* only, and not to al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīḥ* (Abū Bakr's pilgrimage leadership in 12 AH [not a story as such, but only a brief reference to the conflicting reports about the leadership of that year's *ḥaġġ*], 'Abd al-Malik's public Friday sermon in Medina, and Hārūn's confronting the *ḥārīġī* rebellion of al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf in 177 AH; see below, §§ 19, 44, 86–87). Slight variations in the wording, phrasing or detail of the *ḥabar* texts may have to do with al-Maqrīzī's working method of first taking notes from other texts in a personal notebook, sometimes slightly adapting or summarising them for his personal use, and then quoting from the notebook rather than from the actual texts when drafting his own texts (see the detailed analysis in Bauden [2008]; Id. [2009]).

61 All *ḥabars* (or pilgrimage/rulership references) making up the narratives of Abū Bakr (no. 1), 'Uṭmān (3), 'Abd al-Malik (6), al-Walīd (7), Hišām (9) and al-Mahdī (11) stem directly from the Ibn al-Aṭīr/al-Ṭabarī tradition.

the narrative of Sulaymān is entirely constructed (again, however, without any explicit reference) around a single *ḥabar* from the *Reports of Mecca* (*Aḥbār Makkah*), attributed to the ninth-century Meccan historian al-Azraqī.⁶² The caliphal narratives of ‘Umar, al-Manṣūr, and al-Rašīd, finally, were also made up of substantial material from the Ibn al-Aṭīr *ḥabar* tradition, but added to that there are *ḥabars* from other traditions, either explicitly identified, such as with the aforementioned five stories from *al-Istī‘āb*, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab*, and *Hilyat al-awliyā’*, or on two other implicit occasions in the ‘Umar narrative from Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam’s ninth-century *Conquest and Other Reports Concerning Egypt* (*Fuṭūḥ Miṣr wa-aḥbāruhā*).⁶³ The latter actually was as authoritative a *ḥabar* tradition for Egyptian local history as the Ibn al-Aṭīr/al-Ṭabarī tradition was for the history of the caliphate, and al-Azraqī’s for that of Mecca and its sanctuary, which is then possibly one of the reasons why there was no need for al-Maqrīzī to make these particular genealogies explicit. Unlike in the case of *al-Istī‘āb*, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab*, and *Hilyat al-awliyā’*, *ḥabars* from the latter three codified traditions simply identified themselves, plugging *al-Dahab al-masbūk* almost automatically into a web of textual ties and authorities that were well-known, widely acknowledged, and historiographically normative.

This issue of intertextuality is far more difficult to establish for the third chapter. Its narratives of non-caliphal rulers are even richer in story material than the second chapter, and many of these stories continue to present themselves *ḥabar*-wise as self-contained textual units of varying size and detail. Identifying this chapter’s *ḥabar* genealogy, however, turns out to be less evident. The non-caliphal rulers around whom the narratives and their stories were constructed simply were far less transcendent politico-cultural characters than many of their caliphal predecessors continued to be. By the early

62 See below, §§ 40–41, 51–52. On the Meccan historian Abū l-Walid Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Azraqī and his unique history of Mecca and its sanctuary, see “al-Azraqī”, in *EI*² (http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-azraqi-SIM_0958).

63 See below, §§ 23–24 (related, without acknowledgment, with Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam’s *Fuṭūḥ*), §§ 25–28 (with Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr’s *al-Istī‘āb*), § 89 (with Ibn Ḥazm’s *Ġamharah*), §§ 97–105, 106–107 (with Abū Nu‘aym’s *Hilyah*) and §§ 68, 70 (demonstrating some indirect textual relationship with the Baghdadi scholar Wakī’s [d. 306/918] *The Reports of the Judges* (*Aḥbār al-quḍāt*) [see “Wakī”, in *EI*² (http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/waki-SIM_7834)]). On ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871) and his *Fuṭūḥ Miṣr*, see Khalidi (1994): 65–67; “Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam”, *EI*² (http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibn-abd-al-hakam-SIM_3028).

fifteenth century time had moreover not yet allowed specific memories to crystallise into equally authoritative *ḥabar* traditions. But memories and traditions there undoubtedly were, and even if they had not yet been—nor ever would be—crystallising into anything resembling the globally meaningful al-Ṭabarī/Ibn al-Aṭīr tradition, they were yet already forming into something that was at least as meaningful for Egyptian elites' localising social memory as the Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam tradition was.⁶⁴ Obviously, al-Maqrīzī's own prolific historiographical production represented an important moment in this particular (but not necessarily intentional) genealogical process, which was then continued or challenged by colleagues and students alike (and extremely successful up to this day).⁶⁵ Chapter three of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* was very much part and parcel of this, which explains why it is set within al-Maqrīzī's own growing production of works of Egyptian history even more explicitly than was done in the second chapter.⁶⁶ This may also be one of the reasons why, unlike in

64 Conermann interestingly explains this 'natural' process of crystallisation in pre-modern history writing as "a willingness to reduce the complexity of human experience into stereotypes according to 'literary canons' which could be utilized easily to make a moral point" (Conermann [2008]: 3). On the question of whether or not there were in late medieval *siyāsa*-oriented Arabic historiography distinct local/regional traditions of historiographical production, including thirteenth-to-fifteenth-century Syrian and Egyptian 'schools', referring for the latter even to some form of "court culture" that may have had a substantial formative impact, see Guo (1997): 29–33, 37–41; see also Id. (2010): 450–451. For a general appreciation of late medieval Syro-Egyptian Arabic historiographical writing, see Little (1998). For detailed micro-historical analyses of particular sets of intertextual historiographical traditions, see especially Little (1970); Massoud, (2007).

65 Little, however, approached this characteristic rather more from a negative perspective: "... until such time as the annals of *al-Sulūk* have been compared with those of other historians, [...] al-Maqrīzī's significance as a historian will remain as a compiler and preserver of the work of others" (Little [1998]: 436–437, esp. 437).

66 The second chapter has four references to al-Maqrīzī's own production: one to the aforementioned Ka'bah history, one to the *Ḥiṭaṭ* (referring any reader interested in how a canal between the Nile and the Red Sea was famously redug to this topographical work of history of his), and two to the biographical collection *al-Tārīḥ al-kabīr al-muqaffá* (referring to his biographies of 'Abd al-Malik and of his father Marwān, and to his account of the story of Hārūn's problematic succession in the biography of the caliph al-Ma'mūn) (see below, §§ 41, 23, 42, 93). The third chapter has seven similar references: five to the biographical collection *al-Tārīḥ al-kabīr al-muqaffá* (for each of the Ayyubid and Mamluk rulers Tūrān Šāh, al-Mu'azzam 'Īsá, al-Mas'ūd Yūsuf, al-Nāšir Dāwūd and al-Zāhir Baybars, but not for the fourteenth-century sultans al-Nāšir Muḥammad and al-Ašraf Ša'ban), one to the *Ḥiṭaṭ* (for Tūrān Šāh) and one to the chronicle *Kitāb al-Sulūk* (for Baybars) (see below, §§ 131, 139, 145, 157, 163). Whereas for chapter two these references have to do with particular

the second chapter, the author did not feel any need to identify explicitly any other textual ties beyond those rather more forward looking ones with his own scholarly production in full progress. Either there simply were no ties considered valuable enough by him for the establishment of the text's authority, or there were such ties, but then rooted in local *ḥabar* traditions that had already become so dominant and well-known by the early fifteenth century that they too could do without any explicit reference. The latter must certainly have been the case with the 667/1269 secret pilgrimage *ḥabars* that were used to construct al-Zāhir Baybars' narrative, and that all referred directly—with the occasional omission of some details only—and without any acknowledgement back to the panegyric biography that Baybars' personal secretary, Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir (d. 692/1292), wrote for his sultan, *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir fī sirat al-Malik al-Zāhir*.⁶⁷ For three Yemeni rulers—'Alī l-Ṣulayḥī and the Rasūlids Nūr al-Dīn 'Umar and his son al-Muzaffar Yūsuf—some *ḥabars* can similarly be traced back to one of the Meccan histories by a contemporary of al-Maqrīzī, Taqī l-Dīn Muḥammad al-Fāsī (775–832/1373–1429), the *Ṣifā' al-ġarām bi-aḥbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām*.⁶⁸ No further similarly clear textual ties have so far come to light, but if these two cases suggest anything already, it certainly is that in the third chapter al-Maqrīzī also continued to root his stories within a web of *ḥabar* intertextualities, that these ties represented distinct recent and localised *ḥabar* genealogies that were gradually being codified in their own locally meaningful ways, and that further publication and exploration of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century historiographical texts may reveal much more about the genealogies and impact of these emerging later historiographical traditions for situating *al-Dahab al-masbūk* as well as for understanding the wider cultural field of the era's exploding historiographical production.

With a second chapter that is directly plugged into heavily codified globalising *ḥabar* traditions, and a third chapter that does the same with localising

stories within the narratives only, for chapter three they often concern the entire narrative and the clarification that much more comprehensive accounts about these five particular rulers may be found in one of al-Maqrīzī's other works.

67 See below, §§ 164–181. For Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir and his panegyric of al-Zāhir Baybars, see Holt (1982): 20–24; Id. (1985): 129–133; "Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir", in *EI*² (http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibn-abd-al-zahir-SIM_3034).

68 See below, §§ 114, 152–153, 160. For the Meccan scholar al-Fāsī and his history of the city of Mecca, see "al-Fāsī", *EI*² (http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-fasi-SIM_2311); "al-Fāsī, Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad", *EI*³ (http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/al-fasi-taqi-l-din-muhammad-COM_27018).

ḥabar traditions in formation, the first chapter stands out as as distinct in intertextual ways, as it also was structurally. As mentioned before, the chapter opens explicitly with references to Ibn Ḥazm's Farewell Pilgrimage text, and to al-Maqrīzī's own work of comparative theology, the Road to Deliverance (*Šāri' al-nağāt*). In terms of intertextuality, however, its text does not seem to be related to either one but rather to the relevant passage in a separate text of prophetic biography by the Damascene *ḥadīth* specialist and historian Ibn Kaṭīr (700–774/1300–1373).⁶⁹ The entire chapter turns out to be reproduced without hardly any variation from Ibn Kaṭīr's *al-Fuṣūl fī sirat al-rasūl*, and most of it eventually figured in very similar but more elaborate fashion in another, later work by al-Maqrīzī on prophetic biography, the multi-volumous *Imtā' al-asmā' bi-mā li-l-nabī min al-aḥwāl wa-l-amwāl wa-ḥafaḍah wa-l-matā'*.⁷⁰ This ties *al-Dahab al-masbūk* up with yet another web of textual production, this time of a particular *ḥabar* tradition of longstanding Syro-Iraqi *ḥadīth* scholarship, widely known and respected for its contribution to the articulation of Sunni Islamic socio-cultural identities and memories.⁷¹

These very deeply rooted multiple intertextualities surely endowed *al-Dahab al-masbūk* with particular types of textual authority and socio-cultural meaning. But first and foremost they clearly had a very strong impact on the contents of the three chapters of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, nuancing the intentionality of their structural organisation. At least aforementioned micro-structural elements such as the plotting of stories along a modal continuum, their continued chronological organisation, and even the first chapter's embedded legal debate narrative, were then imposed rather by the particularities of different extant *ḥabar* traditions than merely by the author's intentions. Authorial decisions mainly played on the macro-structural level of selecting particular stories and related *ḥabars*, of devising particular rulership-pilgrimage frames for each

69 Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Fuṣūl*, 214–217. For Ibn Kaṭīr, see "Ibn Kaṭīr", *EI²* (http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibn-kathir-SIM_3237).

70 Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-asmā'*, 2:102–120. This extensive work on the Prophet's biography was produced between 832/1429 and 836/1433 (Bauden [2014]: 196–197). The idea that the Farewell Pilgrimage text in the *Šāri' al-nağāt* (the production date of this now lost text remains unclear) was somehow different and predated that in *al-Dahab al-masbūk* is suggested by explicit references in the latter's chapter one, such as "I responded in the book *Šāri' al-nağāt* to certain passages in [Ibn Ḥazm's text] ..." and, especially, that an argument for the combination of *ḥağğ* and *'umrah* "has also been transmitted ... by sixteen successors, whom I have mentioned in the book *Šāri' al-nağāt*" (see below, §§ 6, 9).

71 On this particular genealogical tradition of *ḥadīth* scholarship, see Lucas (2004): 109–112. For this tradition's central role in the articulation of a particular historiographical genre in Mamluk Syria and Egypt, see Guo (1998): 82–87.

and every narrative—formally directly related to the *tarǧamah* or individual biography of the biographical genre⁷²—, and of wrapping those narratives in an equally particular three-tiered structure of communicating chapters. Micro-structurally reproduction is the key word to understand *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, situating the text within rich and discursively even inevitable intertextual contexts of global and local *ḥabar* traditions. Macro-structurally, however, production rather is the key word, al-Maqrīzī creating something entirely new within the textual webs that connect those traditions. It was this authorial creative process of the production of particular, innovative kinds of *tarǧamahs* and chapters that endowed the text with its most obvious meanings.

4 The Meanings of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*: Between Author and Ruler

The construction of a historical text such as *al-Dahab al-masbūk* along particular structural dynamics and its positioning within particular genealogical webs of Arabic literary canons are obviously part of a set of authorial decisions, some consciously taken and others rather more imposed by the conventions of genre, of discourse, and of the author's wider contexts of time and space. These decisions actually define the text's intersubjectivity, connecting particular social memories and claims to veracity to discursive imaginations of the author's present and generating the communication of particular cultural and social meanings. As this kind of authorial construct *al-Dahab al-masbūk* is actually one among many remnants of the growing body of textual 'makers' in the cultural and social realities of late medieval Egypt that were all participating in this socio-cultural agency in remarkable and widely penetrating ways. Indeed, the historiographical partners in the aforementioned double process of expanding textual consumption and production were not merely representing, reconstructing, transmitting, or preserving some externalised and objective real world. On the contrary, they all actively contributed to making that world, in all the subjectivity of its many social and cultural manifestations.⁷³ In

72 On the set formalities of the *tarǧamah* (with its textual references organised in sub-categories of name, of dates, of social and textual relations, and of *aḥbār* and similar anecdotes), see al-Qāḍī (1998): 151–152. In *al-Dahab al-masbūk* the technical term *tarǧamah* occurs several times (see below, §§ 42, 93, 131, 139, 163), but always to refer the reader to the full-blown biographical entries for caliphs and kings that al-Maqrīzī had produced elsewhere, explaining that the material in *al-Dahab al-masbūk* were topical derivatives of such full *tarǧamahs* only.

73 For more on these issues of the historical agency of late medieval Arabic historiographical

many ways they were even that world, constituting some of the hard facts that not just reproduced but also produced late medieval Egyptian realities, along the diverse, changing, and segmented pathways by which their growing bodies of authors and readers experienced, imagined, and tried to make sense of these realities.

Al-Ḍahab al-masbūk is part and parcel of these formative and performative socio-cultural processes, operating in the general context of late medieval Egyptian social practices and value systems as well as in the specific contexts of al-Maqrīzī's authorship and life. It reproduced and produced meaningful relations for both contexts, and to some extent, a glimpse of these can still be grasped, even though the passage of time has obviously radically transformed or even annihilated contexts and relations alike. As suggested above, it is the authorial creative process of the production of particular innovative kinds of chapters and narratives for selected sets of reproductive historical material that endowed the text with its most relevant meanings. Considering *al-Ḍahab al-masbūk's* core business of pilgriming Prophet, caliphs, and non-caliphal rulers, these meanings obviously operated first and foremost on the level of making the past of Muslim kingship meaningful for the present of al-Maqrīzī's early fifteenth-century readership. Before considering those relational meanings of Muslim kingship, however, another level also needs to be briefly contemplated, directly related to the latter present of al-Maqrīzī's readership, and made explicit by the author himself on various occasions, above all in his ornate introduction of the text.

As mentioned before, in this introduction al-Maqrīzī dedicates the text to an anonymous patron, describing how his personal quest for finding a gift that befitted the occasion of this princely patron's *ḥağğ* eventually resulted in his production of *al-Ḍahab al-masbūk*.⁷⁴ Although this is nothing unusual for this type of literary dedication, the explicit presentation of the text as a gift and—above all—of the author's skills and knowledge as special and relevant for such an exchange certainly reveals some of his intentions and therefore deserves to be reproduced here:

and other texts, see Hirschler (2006); Id. (2013): 167–180; Conermann (2008): 1–4 (“With the aid of such ‘literary canons’, the chroniclers could use past figures and events as explanations and modes of legitimizing present political life”, p. 4), 21–24. See also Bauer (2013a): 53 (“Literature, especially poetry and ornate prose, was central, it permeated every field of life and was an important medium of educated communication [...]. It was always also a means of distinction as well as a means of creating group identity.”); Van Steenberghe (2012).

74 See below, §§ 1–5.

The word has spread that the high-born intention was set on undertaking the *ḥaǧǧ* and to be endowed with the noise and blood of rituals. It has become common practice for servants to present a gift to their masters, for which reason I considered the situation of clients that owe presents on the occasion of an event like this, and I decided to follow their example. But then I thought: I could offer my soul as a present, but it already belongs to the noble lord; I could offer my property, but that is his already; I could offer my love and gratitude, but they already are his full and undivided due. I abhorred [the idea of] draining this intention [of my lord] from its habitual practice and of becoming as a result one of those that are considered negligent, or [the idea of] claiming to possess what can meet the noble lord's due and becoming as a result one of those that are considered liars.

I cannot present my soul, because he already owns it, so I am only guarding it as the most precious sort of noblesse;
 Nor can I present any wealth, because he has donated it, so I am the one who owes him thankfulness.
 Nor can I present my gratitude, because it is a pawn until the end of time for your comeliness.
 When the sun rises, she does not need to be lit by the full moon's highness.

Since knowledge is the most precious and most valuable of treasures, the most glorious and the longest remembered of deeds, I collected for the benefit of the esteemed library of our lord—may God support it with long life for its owner—a volume that comprises the report of those caliphs and kings who performed the *ḥaǧǧ*. I entitled it: 'The Moulded Gold', as a reminder to the high-born mind that what comes from me is better informed, more entitled to be considered useful, and more appropriate. In what I do and compose, I am like someone who presents drops of water to the sea, or who sends light to the moon, and fragrance to flowers, or even better, like someone who sends the rays of light to the sun, and the breath of life to the soul: apart from the fact that there is sinlessness in such a man's noble manners and that there is a satisfying aspect in the purity of his sweat, what is given is little but also surpasses things that are a fault and a shortcoming.

A remarkable concern to display the individuality, speciality, and authenticity of al-Maqrīzī's authorship appears from these opening statements. This con-

cern finds confirmation throughout the text in various aforementioned meta- and intertextual references by which *al-Dahab al-masbūk* and al-Maqrīzī's authorial person and wider authorship became explicitly and tightly interwoven. Already the very first word of this introduction—"I demand" (*fa-as'al*)—leaves no doubt about this authorial presence, as it immediately introduces al-Maqrīzī into the text through a first person reference.⁷⁵ This is also repeated at the very start of the actual text, where the first prophetic chapter begins with a similar auto-reference—"I began" (*iftatahtu*)—that leaves no doubt about the author's personal textual agency.⁷⁶ This decisive authorial authority is also emphasised in the many first-person references in the above passage from the introduction, making clear how the text is intended by its author "as a reminder to the high-born mind that what comes from me is better informed, more entitled to be considered useful, and more appropriate" (*li-yakūna taḍkirat^{an} li-l-ḥāṭir al-šarīf bi-mā huwa minnī adrā wa-aḥaqq bi-ifādatihi wa-aḥrā*). The relation between author and patron is then not just simply hierarchical⁷⁷ but also reciprocal, and the text is meant to mediate this dyadic relationship as a confirmation of its validity, or at least as an agent of the author's related claims to distinction, identity, and socio-cultural entitlement.

This mediation of the relation between the author and his wider socio-cultural environment also appears from various other meta- and intertextual occasions. In the opening chapter, al-Maqrīzī makes very clear not just that the text's macro-structural organisation was his own conscious decision ("I began this volume with [the Prophet's pilgrimage] because ..."), but also that he had much more to say about this in another work of his.⁷⁸ Similar auto-references appear in chapters two and three. For two particular stories in the second chapter—al-Manšūr's will and the pilgrimage of Hārūn al-Rašīd's wife Zubaydah—al-Maqrīzī intrudes into the text to explain explicitly how he limits himself to summary references for practical reasons only, suggesting at the same time that space and time allowing he indeed would have had much more

75 See below, § 1.

76 See below, § 6.

77 A hierarchy that is also quantitatively represented in the introduction, with 31 direct references to this patron ('he', 'him', 'his', and once in a more direct manner 'your' ["for your beautiful acts"]), compared to only 18 references to al-Maqrīzī himself ('I', and once 'me').

78 See below, §§ 6, 9. ("I responded in the book *The Road to Deliverance*"—"It has also been transmitted ... by sixteen successors, whom I have mentioned in the book *The Road to Deliverance*").

to say.⁷⁹ A similar connotation emerges from ten further auto-references,⁸⁰ equally spread over both chapters and each allowing the author to intrude in parallel authoritative ways and to explain that more has been said about many of these particular narratives and stories in his other literary works.⁸¹ To this meta- rather than intertextual kind of material should certainly also be added the aforementioned short references to *kiswah* practices, Cairo's Darb Šams al-Dawlah, Meccan Mas'ūdī *dirhams*, and political dedications of sermons.⁸² In subtle ways these similarly introduce al-Maqrīzī's own early fifteenth-century experiences into the text, operating not just as recognizable points of direct contact for his readers, but also as points of reference for displaying his own knowledgeability about these and similar cultural practices. The primary literary, jurisprudential, historiographical, and heuristic contexts that readers are referred to by this metatextual material were therefore first and foremost the fruits of al-Maqrīzī's own mind and productive pen. Wrapped in carefully constructed narratives, stories, and *ḥabars*, these fruits are displayed here as legitimate, authoritative, and comprehensive containers of knowledge about Muslim history, from the days of the Prophet until al-Maqrīzī's own time and

79 See below, § 63 (“... if it were not for its length, I would mention it [here]”); § 91 (“... its report does not fit within the parameters of this volume [*min šarḥ ḥādā l-ġuz*], and therefore, I will leave out this report”).

80 “As I have reported” (*kamā qad ḍakartu ḥabarahu*) (see below, § 23); “as I have reported that in great detail” (*kamā qad ḍakartu dālika ḍikr^{an} šāfiy^{an}*) (see below, § 41); “as I reported in his biography” (*kamā qad ḍakartu tarġamatahu*) (see below, § 42); “stories about them were recorded in their proper place” (*fa-kāna min aḥbārihim mā qad ḍukira fi mawḍi‘ihi*) (see below, § 43); “I have extensively reported the story of that in the biography of al-Ma’mūn” (*wa-qad ḍakartu ḥabar dālika mabsūṭ^{an} fi tarġamat al-Ma’mūn*) (see below, § 93); “I reported his biography in detail” (*wa-qad ḍakartu tarġamatahu mabsūṭat^{an}, wa-qad ḍakartu tarġamatahu mustawfāt^{an}*) (see below, §§ 131, 139); “I have recorded his stories in much more detail” (*wa-qad istawfaytu aḥbārahu*) (see below, § 145); “there are tales and tidings about him which I have reported” (*wa kānat lahu qiṣaṣ wa-anbā’ ḍakartuhā*) (see below, § 157); “there is a long story of that which I have reported in his biography” (*wa li-dālika ḥabar ṭawīl qad ḍakartuhu fi tarġamatihī*) (see below, § 163).

81 As explained in the previous chapter these auto-references end with al-Zāhir Baybars, fourteenth-century rulers such as al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Mansā Mūsá, al-Muġāhid ‘Alī and al-Ašraf Ša’bān surprisingly not receiving any similar notes (even though al-Maqrīzī does deal with them extensively in other works of his); as suggested, this may hint at the early date of composition of the work's first draft, as predating al-Maqrīzī's treatment of any of these later rulers in any of his texts.

82 See below, §§ 110, 130, 146, 161, 160.

from Rasūlid Yemen to Muslim West-Africa. This highly functional translation of communal past to authorial present then generates nothing less than a textual performance of al-Maqrīzī's mastery of historical knowledge, announced in the introduction as "the most precious and most valuable of treasures, the most glorious and the longest remembered of deeds" and presented throughout the text as though monopolised by its author. *Al-Dahab al-masbūk* thus pursues a very particular and highly personalised social and cultural mediation, exchanging the hierarchy of material patronage for a reversed immaterial one of knowledge and making strong and effective claims to wider socio-cultural entitlement.

Against this background of the assumption of an authorial and then socio-cultural authority that transcends *al-Dahab al-masbūk* as a text but not as an agent, other relations become apparent that are similarly hierarchical in reversed order, that derive their full meaning from that reversal, and that communicate in didactic ways particular moral values from the author via the agency of the text to his royal audiences. It is at this level above all that the particular past of Muslim kingship could be made meaningful for the author's early fifteenth-century present and that the creative process of the production of particular, innovative kinds of chapters and narratives for selected sets of codified and authoritative historical material acquired its true meanings. Not surprisingly the author's selection of particular stories about caliphal and non-caliphal rulers and their framing in narratives of rulership and pilgrimage participate above all in the communication of the grand old theme of legitimate Muslim kingship. Throughout the chapters, the narratives, and the stories that make up the text, its audience learns from a kaleidoscope of examples what it means to be a good ruler, from 'Umar securing Egyptian supplies for the Hijaz, over 'Abd al-Malik fighting rebels, al-Manṣūr submitting to the law, and al-Mahdī making *kiswah* arrangements and organising the Arabian postal system, to Hārūn heroically performing the pilgrimage on foot and seeking moral advice from pious men of learning; from 'Alī l-Ṣulayhī spreading justice in the Hijaz, over al-Mu'azzam 'Īsā distributing alms in Mecca and Medina, Nūr al-Dīn 'Umar abolishing unlawful taxes, Baybars performing a secret pilgrimage, and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad being welcomed with pomp and circumstance, to Mansā Mūsā exchanging royal gifts. Ritual precedence and distinction, public works and patronage, generosity and largesse, order and justice, victory and sovereignty, piety and knowledge, modesty, lineage and charisma: they all are there one way or another, emerging as the main qualities of good rule from this incongruous wealth of material.

The kaleidoscope, however, occasionally also takes strange or surprising turns that make connections with legitimate Muslim kingship less obvious

and rather suggest the opposite. The non-Umayyad ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr is portrayed as a legitimate caliph, because he received the oath of allegiance (*bay‘ah*); at the same time it is his public execution that restores political order, after “the earth had been covered in warfare” and when “fortune was on the side of (*sā‘adat al-aqdār*) ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, and all those who opposed him were killed”.⁸³ The lineage of the Cairo caliph al-Ḥākim is the object of “disagreement” (*‘alā ḥilāf fi nasabihi*), and his claims to legitimacy are simply not accepted in Mecca.⁸⁴ ‘Alī b. Muḥammad is “one of this world’s revolutionaries” (*aḥad tuwwār al-‘ālam*) and an agent of the Shiite Fātimid dynasty (*aḥad du‘ā’ al-dawlah al-fātimiyyah*), who dies at the hand of an opponent.⁸⁵ Tūrān Šāh dies leaving an enormous debt, due to “the wealth of his generosity and the wide extent of his benevolence” (*wa-sabab hādā l-dīn katrat ḡawdihi wasa‘at ‘aṭā’ihi*).⁸⁶ Al-Mas‘ūd Yūsuf “committed gravely sinful deeds of insolence towards God” (*wa-aḡhara min al-ḡar‘a ‘alā llāh qabā’ih*), including shooting pigeons and drinking wine in Mecca’s sacrosanct area.⁸⁷ Al-Nāšir Dāwūd, ruler of Damascus, “began to oppress the populace, seizing their property and abandoning himself to amusements” (*wa-aḡada l-Nāšir fi ḡulm al-ra‘iyyah wa-aḡd amwālihīm wa-l-inhimāk fi l-la‘ib*), and he experienced the loss of Damascus, of family and supporters, and eventually even of any principality to rule.⁸⁸ Due to misfortune and bad weather *en route*, Mansā Mūsá lost two-thirds of his enormous West-African royal entourage and was forced to borrow money (*iḡtāḡa ilá qirḡ māl katīr*), after first having brought “impressive gifts and lots of gold” (*hadāyā ḡalilah wa-daḡab katīr*).⁸⁹ Al-Muḡāhid ‘Alī overplayed his hand when he tried to gain control over Mecca, “contriving a despicable innovation” (*tab-tadi‘u bid‘ah fāḡiḡah*) by bringing weapons into the sanctuary, and only managing to return to Yemen after much trouble, including even a period of captivity in Cairo.⁹⁰ Al-Ašraf Ša‘bān, finally, failed to deliver his entourage’s travel allowance (*nafaḡah*) and to command sufficient loyalty, resulting in rebellion, defeat, and violent death.⁹¹

83 See below, § 42.

84 See below, p. 297, § 110.

85 See below, §§ 111–112, 115.

86 See below, § 127.

87 See below, § 142.

88 See below, §§ 156–157.

89 See below, §§ 204, 207.

90 See below, §§ 212–217.

91 See below, § 221.

These are all but examples of good, legitimate Muslim rule. At the same time, however, their selection and inclusion in the text clearly also served related didactic purposes, illustrating in often graphic ways the opposites of good rule, as well as the consequences of such unwelcome behaviour. Therefore the negative counterparts of those qualities of good rule found almost metaphorical expression in these stories: defunct authority (vs. charisma), faulty lineage (vs. lineage), excesses (vs. modesty), sinfulness and ignorance (vs. piety and knowledge), defeat and loss (vs. victory and sovereignty), disorder and injustice (vs. order and justice), indulgence and shortage (vs. generosity and largesse), and negligence (vs. public works and patronage). Even the royal need for ritual precedence and distinction is similarly highlighted through opposition, such as in the story of the Rasūlid al-Manṣūr ‘Umar, who wanted to provide a new *kiswah* for the Ka’bah in 643/1246, but was allowed only a rudimentary restoration of the old *kiswah* when the *ṣayḥ al-ḥaram* insisted on this being an exclusively caliphal prerogative; in the story of ‘Umar’s descendant al-Muḡāhid ‘Alī in 742/1342 being denied outright the right to provide any *kiswah*, making him “leave in anger”; or in the story of al-Ḥākim, requesting in vain for the privilege of having his name mentioned in the Friday prayer in Mecca.⁹² These very different cases thus present some of the many pitfalls and temptations that Muslim rulers may also find on their way, illustrating by doing so in again incongruous metaphorical ways a well-known wisdom about the many moral dangers involved in being a Muslim ruler in this world. This wisdom was actually expressed most explicitly in one of Hārūn’s stories, about the mystic al-Fuḍayl b. ‘Iyād’s advice to the caliph, such as in the following greeting: “Never have I seen anyone with a face more beautiful than yours; if you are able not to blacken this face with the heat from the fire [of Hell], then do so.”⁹³

Most selected stories thus contributed along a winding, kaleidoscopic road of didactic examples to making the very same moral point of what a good ruler should and should not do, with pilgrimage representing in this a secondary thematic tool only for selecting stories and for providing the kaleidoscope with some coherence. What that winding kaleidoscope moreover suggests—

92 See below, §§ 153, 211, 110.

93 See below, § 107. See also Crone (1987): 172–173. For al-Maqrīzī’s stance on such issues of rulership and social order, see also more in general Anne Broadbridge’s extremely pertinent assessment that “indeed, al-Maqrīzī does demonstrate a marked interest in [...] the connections among royal authority, justice, and the maintenance of order in society. In al-Maqrīzī’s hands, however, the concept is most frequently shown in reverse as the weakening of royal authority, the proliferation of injustice and the resultant spread of societal disorder.” (Broadbridge [2003]: 236).

or at least what impression it produces—is that al-Maqrīzī presents history in *al-Dahab al-masbūk* not as a simple Whiggish and black-and-white process, but rather as developing along similarly winding roads, where being a ruler is serious business and hard work with limited hope for future reward and positive recompense. Rulers are then portrayed in stories and narratives alike not just as a human kind apart, but also as always qualified by the transcendent reality of divine sovereignty. Even they cannot escape their larger destiny, as suggested in several prophecy stories announcing the deaths of the caliphs ‘Umar and al-Manṣūr,⁹⁴ in the ways ‘Alī l-Ṣulayḥī and al-Mas‘ūd Yūsuf are presented as dying *en route* to or in Mecca, in the ways Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd and Tūrān Ṣāh are presented as passing away in peaceful circumstances after rich lives of conquest and warfare, and in the booklet’s final line, where al-Ašraf Ṣa‘bān is made to leave the scene “killed by strangulation”, a passage tellingly ending in the fatalist mode of divine providence with the well-known saying “God knows best”.⁹⁵ This separate secondary theme of the absolute sovereignty of divine will finally certainly also explains the inclusion in the al-Manṣūr narrative of three stories about the caliph’s encounters with the Medinese judge Muḥammad b. ‘Imrān (fl. 2nd/8th c.), each illustrating rulers’ absolute subordination to God’s Law and its human agents, the *qāḍīs*.⁹⁶

These universal themes of good Muslim rule and divine sovereignty are paired by at least three related but more particular moral themes, similarly communicated from the author via the agency of the text to his royal audiences. For a number of non-caliphal rulers, the author constructs his narrative so as to also make room for a conspicuous set of recurrent statements about the proper political relationship between Cairo and Yemen. This set of Cairo-Yemen statements begins in the narrative of ‘Umar al-Ṣulayḥī, who upon his conquest of Yemen is presented as “publicly proclaiming allegiance to the Imam al-Mustaṣfir bi-llāh Abū Tamīm Ma‘add b. al-Ẓāhir b. al-Ḥākim, one of the Fāṭimid caliphs in Cairo”.⁹⁷ It is continued in the narrative of Saladin’s brother Tūrān Ṣāh, who “took control of the territories of Yemen, assumed

94 See below, §§ 25, 65–67.

95 See below, 116, 145, 123, 128, 222.

96 See below, §§ 68–70. This emphasis on “the ephemeral character of power and the [pre-eminence of] divine will which makes and destroys rulers, seemingly on a whim” appears also elsewhere in al-Maqrīzī’s writings as a recurrent and powerful subtext (see Bauden [2014]: 184).

97 See below, § 113.

the honorific al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam and had the Friday sermon delivered in his own name, after [that of] the ‘Abbāsīd caliph.”⁹⁸ Then it moves to the narrative of Tūrān Šāh’s nephew, al-Mas‘ūd Yūsuf, which explains that he was appointed by his father, the ruler of Egypt, over Yemen in 611/1214–1215, that “he occupied it and he acquired control over Tihāmah, Ta‘izz, Sanaa and all the territories of Yemen”, and that in 622/1225 he “left Nūr al-Dīn ‘Umar b. ‘Alī b. Rasūl al-Kurdī as his agent to govern it” when he travelled to Egypt.⁹⁹ This ‘Umar (d. 647/1249), the eponymous founder of the ruling dynasty of Yemen up to al-Maqrīzī’s time, the Rasūlids (632–858/1235–1454), and two of his successors, his son al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf and a later descendant al-Muğāhid ‘Alī, are then all accorded separate narratives. In each one, however, the same theme of Yemen’s particular relationship with the sultan of Egypt returns. ‘Umar is presented as having “sent a precious gift to al-Malik al-Kāmil [in Egypt], saying ‘I am the representative of the sultan over the lands.’” Yūsuf “had the inside of the Ka‘bah covered with [a *kiswah*, which] continued to be present until in the year 761 [1360]”, when it was replaced by that of the sultan of Cairo. And the Cairo-Yemen statements really culminated in the narrative of al-Muğāhid ‘Alī, which explains that he was defeated by the sultan’s agents in Mecca and that he was eventually brought to Cairo as the sultan’s captive twice, each time to be scorned for his insubordination and to be reminded of his proper place in the sultan’s shadow; this included that he was made “to kiss the ground before the sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn”, that “he was chided and seriously reprimanded by the amirs”, and that “he was obliged to annually transfer money [to the sultan], as was the habit”.¹⁰⁰ Meanwhile, the same theme of Cairo’s sovereignty over Yemen appeared in the narrative following that of al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf and dedicated to his Egyptian contemporary, sultan al-Zāhir Baybars, in the format of the story of a letter sent by Baybars reproaching Yūsuf for falling short of his leadership duties and urging him to follow in Baybars’ pilgriming and warring footsteps:

I have composed [this letter] from glorious Mecca, which I have travelled to in seventeen steps’ [...] ‘the ruler is he who performs for God the duty of his *ḡihād*, and who exerts himself in defending the territory of Islam. If I were a ruler, I would go out and confront the Mongols!¹⁰¹

98 See below, § 125.

99 See below, §§ 141, 143.

100 See below, §§ 147, 161, 212–216.

101 See below, § 175.

Egypt's sovereignty over Yemen (and thus also over other similar polities) emerges from all these story lines and recurrent statements not just as historically qualified since at least the early eleventh century, but also as morally defined, and therefore as the only proper way of cultivating the relationship between Cairo sultan and Rasūlid ruler into the early fifteenth century. In the al-Muzaffar Yūsuf narrative this idea of Egypt's regional sovereignty is indeed brought up to al-Maqrīzī's own time, by the explanation that "the sermon [...] continued to be delivered from the *minbar* of Mecca in the name of the rulers of Yemen until our own days, [but then nowadays only] after the sermon [is delivered] in the name of the sultan of Egypt".¹⁰²

It is al-Maqrīzī's construction of chapters rather than that of the *tarğamah*-like narratives within them, however, that endowed the text with what may be considered its most particular, imminent, and programmatic meanings. It was already explained before that some of the most remarkable moments at the extremes of the text's two main chapters—the powerless caliph al-Ḥākim, the revolutionary 'Alī l-Ṣulayhī, and the doomed al-Ašraf Ša'bān—bespeak the idea of a rise, decline, and fall, as manifested in the caliphal line, and then again in the non-caliphal line of Muslim rulers and their multiple engagements with pilgrimage. As suggested, the separate and very differently constructed prophetic chapter then reminds in many ways of the prevalent idea in Sunni Islam that the Prophet's example escapes from the particular historical logic of mankind and its rulers. Together with the other two chapters' internal logic of successive historical cycles of rise, decline, and fall a particular historical appeal is made by the author, not just to support a particular communal understanding of sacred history, but above all to promote a much more localised, political vision of past, present, and future. Against the background of the interlocking moralising themes of divine sovereignty, of the challenges of good Muslim rule, and of the realities of Egyptian sovereignty, the text was actually communicating in subtle and discursively grounded ways two powerful political ideas to its royal audiences that emerge in particular from situating their reproduction within the larger socio-cultural and ideological contexts that made them meaningful.

These ideas appear above all in the remarkable, anticlimactic, and therefore surprising ways by which chapters two and three end, with the defunct authority of the 'Abbāsīd caliph of Cairo, al-Ḥākim, and with the violent murder of sultan Ša'bān in Dū l-Qa'dah 778/March 1377 respectively. As mentioned before, the former issue of defunct caliphal authority was extended to al-

102 See below, §160.

Maqrīzī's own time at the very end of the al-Ḥākim narrative, and thus of the entire caliphal chapter, when the text explains not just that “until today” the authority of the ‘Abbāsīd caliph of Cairo was never accepted in Mecca, but also that one exception to this general picture had to be made “for the caliph al-Mustaʿīn bi-llāh Abū l-Faḍl al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad, [in whose name the Meccan Friday sermon was delivered] for a few days in the year 815 [1412–1413].”¹⁰³ As was undoubtedly still fresh in the memories of al-Maqrīzī's readers it had not been al-Mustaʿīn's caliphal authority that had thus been acknowledged in 1412, but rather the authority of the sultanate of Cairo, which the caliph had briefly been made to occupy at that time, smoothening the disruptive and violent transition between the public execution of sultan al-Nāṣir Farağ (r. 801–815/1399–1412) and the accession of the emerging new strong man Šayḥ al-Maḥmūdī (r. 815–824/1412–1421). In this peculiar reference's closing combination with the cyclical nature of the caliphal chapter—including also al-Maqrīzī's explicit statement that the soundness of the lineage of al-Mustaʿīn's ancestor al-Ḥākim remained debated—the transition from the caliphate to non-caliphal rule is legitimated, not just in the author's construction of the text, but also in his consideration of Muslim history's moral order in general.¹⁰⁴ In fact, what al-Maqrīzī seems to suggest through the balanced double chapter structure of 13 caliphs and then 13 non-caliphal rulers is that as far as good Muslim rule is concerned the rulers of his days inhabit the same universe as the caliphs of old did. By taking this stance the author was actually tapping into a local ideological discourse on the relationship between caliphate and sultanate that remained much debated, that was highly accommodating to Syro-Egyptian political circumstances, and that had been promulgated most explicitly by towering scholars such as the early fourteenth-century Šāfiʿī chief judge Ibn Ğamāʿah (d. 733/1333) and al-Maqrīzī's own teacher Ibn Ḥaldūn (d. 808/1406).¹⁰⁵ Participants to this powerful discourse claimed that over time the divinely ordained political role of the caliphs to lead Muslims in accordance with God's will had indeed been taken over by other local rulers, or, as Ibn Ḥaldūn formulated it when discussing the conditions of the caliphate,

103 See below, § 110.

104 If Šayḥ was the text's original dedicatee, as was put forward as a hypothesis in the preceding chapter, it may even be read as also directly underscoring, via this set-up of its chapters, the particular transition from al-Mustaʿīn the caliph to Šayḥ the non-caliphal ruler in 815/1412.

105 For more details and relevant references, see especially Hirschler (2006): 109–113; “Khalifa. (ii) in political theory”, in *EI*² (http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/khalifa-COM_0486).

we consider it a [necessary] condition for the person in charge of the affairs of the Muslims that he belong to the people who possess a strong group feeling, superior to that of their contemporaries, so that they can force the others to follow them and the whole thing can be united for effective protection. [...] Qurashite [= including ‘Abbāsīd] [group feeling] was all-comprehensive, since the mission of Islam, which the Quraysh represented, was all-comprehensive, and the group feeling of the Arabs was adequate to that mission. Therefore, [the Arabs] overpowered all the other nations. At the present time, however, each nation has people of its own who represent the superior group feeling [there].¹⁰⁶

This pragmatic idea of the demise of the caliphate and its replacement or absorption by more localised rulers such as the sultans of Cairo and, related to that, of the appropriation of local power itself as sufficient to provide legitimacy,¹⁰⁷ is then also clearly propagated through the general authorial construction of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in three chapters that consider Prophet and caliphal and non-caliphal rulers on an equal footing of legitimate Muslim leadership.¹⁰⁸ It appears as an overarching organisational mechanism rather than as an explicitly formulated ideological stance, first and foremost, but it never-

106 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-Muqaddimah*, 1: 401 (Chapter 111/24: ‘The differences of Muslim opinion concerning the laws and conditions governing the caliphate’).

107 For this particular phrasing, referring to Ibn Ḡamā’ah’s ideas as formulated in his advice text *Tahrīr al-aḥkām fī tadbīr ahl al-islām*, see Hirschler (2006): 111: ‘The sultan took the caliph’s position, or, more precisely the sultanate absorbed the caliphate. The sultanate was now directly subordinate to God without the intermediary position of the caliph. Most importantly, Ibn Jamā’a argued that the seizure of power itself was sufficient to detain legitimate authority.’

108 The idea, dominant in Sunni circles of relevant scholarship, that any ruler, even an unjust one, is better than rebellion, discord, and *fitnah* in the community, may then also explain al-Maqrīzī’s rather unproblematic inclusion in his list of legitimate Muslim rulers of some characters that were apparently lacking in proper Muslim conduct, such as al-Mas’ūd Yūsuf (n° 5) (see Crone [2004]: 255–256). It needs to be noted here, however, that this sub-text of the legitimacy of post-caliphal rule in *al-Dahab al-masbūk* squarely contradicts Bauden’s suggestion, derived from his preliminary study of the *al-Sulūk*, the *Imtā’ al-asmā’* and *al-Ḥabar ‘an al-bašar*, that ‘it is also possible to infer here an expression of the wish that the Arabs should be the holders of power and that the caliph, who should come from the family of the Prophet (the Banū Hāshim), should regain his rightful power’ (Bauden [2014]: 184); given the fact that the production of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* seems to predate these three works, this difference may well suggest that throughout the 1420s and ’30s there occurred a radical shift in al-Maqrīzī’s thinking about political legitimacy.

theless clearly positions the text within this particular political discourse that explained and underscored the Cairo sultanate and its political order from the perspective of its main religious communities.

Finally, this propagation of the end of the caliphate closing chapter two and, more generally again, the balanced cyclical chronological construction of both chapters suggest that the end of chapter three, with its rebellion against and murder of a Muslim ruler, is similarly pitched as the end of an era, and thus that the post-778/1377 time of writing *al-Dahab al-masbūk* belonged to another era at which a new cycle was unfolding. Of course, nowhere in the actual text is this idea really explicitly formulated, and it may even have been an unintentional consequence of the author's infusion of the text's many complex narratives with codified historical material. But this textual construction's coinciding with a turn of the century that was a time of personal, political, and socio-economic crises for the author and his audiences alike—as also reminded by the reference to al-Mustaʿīn's unorthodox tenure of the sultanate in 815/1412—at least suggests that the readership of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* may have been highly susceptible to ideas of causality through moral decay (that is, rebellion and murder in 778/1377), of restoration of good and legitimate Muslim rule, and of revival of Egyptian sovereignty that may also be read between the booklet's many lines.¹⁰⁹ In the specific context of the royal patronage relationship that the text mediated, generating that reversed hierarchy of the knowledgeable author and his susceptible audiences, it makes a lot of sense then to consider *al-Dahab al-masbūk* as participating not just in a more passive tradition of

109 These ideas of moral decay, its causality, and its resolution by the restoration of a traditional order certainly also emerge as important themes in some of al-Maqrīzī's other texts, such as in the *Iǧāʿat al-ummah* (See Meloy [2003b]: 188–197), and in the ongoing project of his grand history of Egypt, the *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, where the account of the event that ended *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, the murder of al-Ašraf Šaʿbān, was actually concluded with a remarkable personal comment that reveals how al-Maqrīzī indeed considered this a matrix moment in recent social and political history, a beginning of the end, related to the collapse of proper social order and political hierarchy that followed from the sudden collapse of al-Ašraf Šaʿbān's rule: “There occurred a rise of the lowest (*irtifāʿ al-asāfil*) which was such that there is a lesson to be learned from it for those who care to contemplate such matters (*mā fīhi ʿibrah li-man iʿtabara*). The junior *mamlūks* (*al-mamālik al-aǧlāb*), who only yesterday had been too trivial to be noticed (*aqall al-maḍkūr*), but [who] then pursued a path of murder, eviction, and all kinds of torture, became rulers (*mulūk*) for whom the fruits from everything were collected and who reigned over the realms of the land as they saw fit. From then onwards, the region's situation changed because of its people's transformation (*wa-min hīnaʿid taǧayyarat aḥwāl al-bilād bi-taǧayyur ahlīhā*)” (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:289).

history-writing to explain a political present, but also in another ancient literary tradition of pursuing an impact in that political present by offering advice to the ruler.¹¹⁰

The themes of legitimate and good Muslim rule in general and of the Egyptian sultanate's supremacy in particular, set within a wider theme of acknowledging divine sovereignty, certainly obtain a coherence, relevance, and deeper meaning when viewed from this contextualised 'advice-to-rulers' perspective. The cure that al-Maqrīzī then suggests to his readership to overcome their present predicaments is that of a moral political programme of connecting again with the line that had begun with the Prophet, that had been furthered by the caliphs first and then, for better or worse, by a series of non-caliphal rulers, and that had materialised in—among many other things—their continued physical and symbolic leadership of the pilgrimage to Mecca.¹¹¹ In the text, this historical line actually culminated in the reign and political morality of the sultans of Cairo, a process that, as mentioned above, was already announced in the first prophetic chapter's sudden ending with an explicit reference to sultan Baybars stepping in the Prophet's foundational footsteps. There is then a complexity of meanings that are reproduced and communicated by *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, some undoubtedly more intentionally constructed by its author than others, and some more readily acceptable to its audiences than others. But they all seem to converge in these prophetic footsteps, or perhaps even more in the vexed political road of legitimate, sovereign, and good Muslim leadership along which these prophetic footsteps were meant to be leading.

110 For a parallel interpretation of al-Maqrīzī's *Iḡāṭat al-ummah* and his *Šuḍūr al-'uqūd* as advice-for-rulers texts, see Meloy (2003b): 186–187, and Broadbridge (2003): 238–239. This would also help to explain the afore-mentioned textual relationship that is suggested by *al-Dahab al-masbūk*'s title with advice texts attributed to Ibn al-Ġawzī and to al-Ġazālī.

111 *Al-Dahab al-masbūk* actually communicates, seen from this advisory perspective, a politico-religious programme that nicely pairs with and complements the economic agenda of similarly constructed texts such as the *Iḡāṭat al-ummah* and, especially, the potentially more contemporary *Shuḍūr al-'uqūd*, summarised by John Meloy as follows: "For al-Maqrīzī, sound economics then was based on the excellences of predecessors, which required a review of previous monetary exempla. By using the notion of such *faḍā'il* to present his case, al-Maqrīzī in effect composed in the *Shuḍūr* a monetary mirror for princes. As with the other branches of Islamic statecraft, such knowledge required a grounding in the excellent examples of predecessors. History in the *Shuḍūr* comes across clearly as a didactic subject and its role here was to provide advice for sound economic policy." (Meloy [2003b]: 197–198).

Production, Reproduction, and Consumption: *al-Dahab al-masbūk*'s Life and Times (Fifteenth – Twentieth Centuries)

Al-Dahab al-masbūk is an extremely complex text, made up of many layers that were not just defined by its internal construction and meanings but also by its social history as a cultural product that went through many different hands, from its author's and copyists' to its readers' and users'. It is in this materiality of production, reproduction, and consumption that the intricate textual structures and semiotics of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* and the rich socio-cultural contexts within which it existed connected, interacted, and engaged with each other. It is there that a text such as *al-Dahab al-masbūk* acquired, and re-acquired time and again, its value and that it lived its complex social life, from its inception in the fifteenth century until its study, re-edition, and translation some six centuries later.

1 Producing *al-Dahab al-masbūk* (821–841/1418–1438)

Some scholars, such as the booklet's first modern editor Ġamāl al-Dīn al-Šayyāl and then also its more recent editor Karam Ĥilmī Faraḥāt, claimed that *al-Dahab al-masbūk* was written in Dū l-Qa'dah 841/May 1438.¹ As explained before, this assumption is actually the result of a misinterpretation of the reference to this date in the colophons of the two oldest extant manuscript versions of the text. In MS Escorial árabe 1771 (E)—a codex dated to the sixteenth century and containing a copy of two of al-Maqrīzī's shorter treatises (see below)—the colophon on fol. 75^b explains that this copy

“was written down from an original [that was] handwritten by its composer; its author—may God have mercy upon him—said:

1 Al-Šayyāl (1955): 24–26; Id. (2000): 25–27; Faraḥāt (2009): 27–29. See also al-Šayyāl (1971): 27; GAL, 2:50.

It was corrected by me—its author Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī—to the best of [my] abilities, so that it is correct, in Dū l-Qa’dah of the year 841”

Kutiba min aṣl bi-ḥaṭṭ muṣannifihī qāla mu’allifuhu raḥimahu llāh ḥarrar-tuhu ḡuhd al-qudrah fa-ṣaḥḥa mu’allifuhu Aḥmad b. ‘Alī l-Maqrīzī fī Dī l-Qa’dah sanat 841.²

In MS Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek Or. 560 (L)—a fifteenth-century codex mainly containing twenty shorter texts and notes on a variety of subjects by al-Maqrīzī (see below)—the colophon on fol. 135^r similarly states that

“It was corrected to the best of [his] abilities by its author Aḥmad b. ‘Alī l-Maqrīzī, so that it is correct, in Dū l-Qa’dah of the year 841”

Ḥarrarahu ḡuhd al-qudrah fa-ṣaḥḥa mu’allifuhu Aḥmad b. ‘Alī l-Maqrīzī fī Dī l-Qa’dah sanat 841.³

These colophons—added in the latter case by al-Maqrīzī himself—clearly suggest that L was actually the “original [that was] handwritten by its composer” in 841/1438 from which E was then copied about a century or more later. Just as several colophons of other texts in L (and various other features) equally explain (see below), these colophons confirm above all the key status of L as an autograph manuscript for the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, created by a professional copyist who had probably been hired for the task by al-Maqrīzī, and copy-edited in Dū l-Qa’dah 841/May 1438 by the author himself. What these colophons finally also clarify, however, is that there must have been an earlier holograph draft of the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* for the copyist to produce his copy from and for al-Maqrīzī to collate that copy with. As the author complained in another colophon elsewhere in the manuscript, the copying of this and of all other texts in this codex turned out to have been poorly done, requiring a lot of editorial work, which in different colophons and revision notes al-Maqrīzī explicitly claimed to have carried out between Ramaḍān 841/February–March 1438 and Muḥarram 842/June–July 1438. As suggested before, the date of Dū l-Qa’dah 841/May 1438 can therefore have been no more than a *terminus ante quem* for the actual production of the text of *al-Dahab*

2 Ms. Escorial árabe 1771, fol. 75^b.

3 Ms. Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek Or. 560, fol. 135^a.

al-masbūk and for its draft from which the copy in L was produced in particular. It has furthermore been suggested that the copyist of L did his work some time earlier, between al-Maqrīzī's known completion in the course of the second half of the year 840/the first half of 1437 of another text that was copied into L, and the start of his editorial activities in Ramaḍān 841/February–March 1438. The *terminus ante quem* for the production of this now lost holograph draft of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* should therefore be slightly moved further back in time, to the beginning of 841/mid-1437, when the copying of L seems to have started, at the very latest.⁴

In the preceding chapters of this study I developed the argument that al-Maqrīzī actually may have produced a first version of the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* already in 821/1418, when the sultan al-Mu'ayyad Ṣayḥ intended to perform the pilgrimage and when the complex construction of the text around the theme of legitimate, sovereign, and good Muslim leadership made a lot of sense. The premature abortion of the sultan's pilgrimage plans may have resulted in the parallel abortion of al-Maqrīzī's plans, leaving the text at the draft stage of its production. This may then have been the same holograph draft that was eventually brought to some proper use when al-Maqrīzī in the early 840s/the second half of the 1430s decided that there were good reasons to collect and publish in one single codex most of the shorter literary works that he had written in the course of the 810s/1410s, '20s and '30s.

It can however also be suggested that before this reproduction in L the history of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* may have been a bit more complex than that. Dedicated to a ruler such as, perhaps, sultan al-Mu'ayyad Ṣayḥ, with powerful didactic and moral as well as very personal socio-cultural objectives in mind, the titles and epithets that were explicitly used in the introduction to identify

4 A similar suggestion for the staged production process of another one of the different texts in L has recently been formulated by Fabian Käs (*al-Maqrīzī, al-Maqrīzī al-saniyyah*, 4, 7; referring also to Dozy [1847–1851]: 17–27, esp. 18); the suggestion of the author's production of a pre-publication draft copy conforms also with al-Maqrīzī's general working method as that has been reconstructed by Frédéric Bauden (Bauden [2008]). L is described and analysed in the fullest detail in Bauden [2017] (I am grateful to F. Bauden for providing me with a draft copy of relevant parts of this forthcoming publication); the codicological presentation and analysis in the current volume of the *Bibliotheca maqriziana* will therefore remain limited to a minimum that is relevant for the present study, as informed by Bauden's study. For the suggested dating of the copying and correction of L, see Bauden (who demonstrates that the copyist had a draft of all of al-Maqrīzī's texts available when he started his copying work) and al-Maqrīzī, *Ḍaw' al-sārī*, 38–39, 47–49 (where it is demonstrated by Frenkel that the work on *Ḍaw' al-sārī li-ma'rifat ḥabar Tamīm al-Dārī* must have started in Raḡab 840/January 1437).

the dedicatee as a patron and the text as a mediator in a particular author-patron relationship stand out as remarkably generic. “The noble lord” (*al-maḡarr al-maḥdūm*), “the high-born intention” (*al-‘azm al-šarīf*), and their like appear as surprisingly neutral signifiers of intended audience for a text that is otherwise extremely explicit in very subtle ways about any other aspect of the communicative relationship that it was meant to mediate. In line with a wider literary practice to functionally adjust dedications in the reproduction of texts, it may therefore well be that the draft that was used to copy L from was only a neutralised later version of the original 821/1418 draft. In the latter, original draft the dedicatee would have been explicitly identified in a full and flowery style that was the only correct way to represent a sultan’s high social status as well as the hierarchical relationship between such a patron and the text’s author. At some point between 821/1418 and the late 840s/mid-1430s—perhaps even, as suggested above, at the occasion of the pilgrimage in 834/1431 of sultan al-Ašraf Barsbāy’s wife Ğulbān al-Hindī and her family—a new, more generic version of the text must then have been produced by al-Maḡrīzī. In this hypothetical textual scenario, the revision of at least parts of the introduction actually redirected the text and its meanings from the very particular context and relationships of 821/1418 to a more general—or certainly more flexible and accommodating to ever changing circumstances—level of communication, performance, and author-audience interaction. This transformation also made the text of *al-Daḡab al-masbūk* more fit for wider publication, as seems to have been the intention when this allegedly second version of the text became the draft from which the copy in L was made.⁵

Manuscript L, produced between early 841/mid-1437 and early 842/mid-1438 by an anonymous copyist and then by Aḡmad b. ‘Alī l-Maḡrīzī himself, consists of a codex with 205 leaves of oriental laid paper. It entered the library of Leiden University already in 1668, as part of a uniquely rich collection

5 This practice of producing two versions of a text, one explicitly dedicated and the other rewritten in more generic and publishable terms, has been identified as a common socio-literary tradition by Thomas Bauer (Bauer [2013a]: 26–29.) For the particular case of al-Maḡrīzī’s texts and their reproduction in 841/1438, John Meloy also notes similar corrections to the introduction of the text of the *Šudūr al-‘uḡūd* (Meloy [2003b]: 197, fn. 54: “Note that some of the manuscripts of the *Šudūr* include the name of al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh: ‘Inspire our master the sultan [al-Mu‘ayyad Šayḡ] with the ...,’ while others simply state ‘the sultan’. But there is ambiguity to the imperative appeals to ‘Our master the sultan,’ which suggests that perhaps al-Maḡrīzī’s corrections to the text in Ramaḡān 841 [February–March 1438] eliminated these so that the text could be used as an appeal to Barsbāy’s successor. Barsbāy fell ill in Ša‘bān 841 and died by the end of the year.”).

of Oriental manuscripts bequeathed to his *alma mater* by a Dutch scholar, merchant, and diplomat to the sultan of Istanbul, Levinus Warner (1619–1665). Nothing much seems to be known of the manuscript's whereabouts between the mid-fifteenth and the mid-seventeenth centuries. Most of the different texts in L, including *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, were copied in the same clear and legible *nash* handwriting, using the same creamy paper, text frame, *mistarāh* or ruling board of 25 lines per page, black carbon ink, and red ink for specific text markers. The current binding of the text is a European one, done after the arrival of the manuscript in Leiden. It has been demonstrated that in the course of this (or an earlier) binding a rearrangement of the different texts of the manuscript occurred, for unknown reasons. The copied text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, occupying 34 pages (fol. 115^b–135^a, minus fols. 122, 123, 126 [see below]), therefore is currently number fourteen of the collection, whereas originally it had been copied by the copyist as one of the last texts of the codex. In both bindings it immediately follows al-Maqrīzī's treatise on the family of the Prophet, *Ma'rifat mā yaǧib li-āl al-bayt min al-ḥaqq*, and in the original set up it was followed by al-Maqrīzī's history of the Ka'bah, *al-Iṣārah wa-l-i'lām bi-binā' al-ka'bah al-bayt al-ḥarām*. In the current binding the first page of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* is on the verso of the last leaf of the preceding text, the *Ma'rifat* (fol. 115). The verso of the final leaf of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* itself was left blank. The latter physically separating arrangement of beginning a new text's copy on a new separate leaf actually seems to have been the copyist's standard practice, and *al-Dahab al-masbūk*'s copy starting on another text's verso really stands out as unusual in the manuscript. The reason for this is that when correcting the preceding text of the *Ma'rifat* al-Maqrīzī decided to make substantial final additions, for which he eventually also had to use a slip of paper that was inserted after fol. 114 in the manuscript, and that was eventually pasted on the recto of fol. 115. Originally, however, this fol. 115 had indeed been reserved for copying *al-Dahab al-masbūk* only.⁶

These general features of the copyist's writing practices, as applied between mid-840/early 1437 and mid-841/early 1438, created a physically coherent, uniform, and polished outlook for these copies of al-Maqrīzī's different texts throughout this single codex. All that was left for the author himself to do was to complete the titles of some texts, to emend any inevitable copying errors, and to add colophons and correction notes confirming and closing this process of careful and authoritative preparation for publication. This was all

6 For this codicological information and for further detailed analyses and discussions, see Bauden (2017).

done by al-Maqrīzī between Ramaḍān 841/February–March 1438 and Muḥar-rām 842/June–July 1438, the chronological order of his authorial proofreading as documented in the different colophons diligently following the original arrangement of text copies in L. The copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* was thus identified as one of the five text copies in L that were collated and re-appropriated by their author in Dū l-Qa‘dah 841/April–May 1438. However, as just explained, the recto of this particular copy’s first leaf, which in the case of other texts in L was consistently used for the addition of title and authorship details, is no longer visible. Another later user or owner (perhaps Muḥammad al-Muzaffarī, one of L’s first owners after al-Maqrīzī, according to a note on L’s title page) therefore briefly added details of title and author on the text’s actual first page, currently fol. 115^b, above the first line of the *miṣṭarah*.⁷ As in many other copies, on this first line, left blank on purpose by the copyist, a typical opening *bas-malah* invocation was added in a carefully executed, ornate, and vowelled version of al-Maqrīzī’s own peculiar handwriting (“In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. My Lord, ease [my task], o Noble One”). Just as in the other copies of texts in L al-Maqrīzī then also collated the copyist’s version of the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, making more than 200 textual corrections and providing more than 100 additions of words or phrases, in both cases apparently making up for at least part of the copy’s large number of scribal errors, omissions, or inaccuracies. As detailed above an appropriate authorial colophon was eventually also added at the end of the text, on the last line of the *miṣṭarah* of fol. 135^r—again left blank on purpose by the copyist—, explaining to anyone consulting L the particular status of this copy, as corrected and authenticated by its author.

As a collection of at least sixteen of al-Maqrīzī’s texts, all made uniform, polished, and upgraded, L was thus fully prepared and finalised by the author for disclosure to a wider readership in early 842/the summer of 1438. This entire

7 In the introduction of the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* al-Maqrīzī only identifies this text with the short title of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* (“I entitled it ‘The Moulded Gold’ [...]”, see below, § 4, L fol. 115^b), rather than with the longer twofold title that was added to the top of fol. 115^b of L (“The Gold Moulded in the Format of the Report of Those Caliphs and Kings Who Performed the *Ḥaǧǧ*”), that made its appearance in this same passage in the introduction in later manuscript copies of the text (“I entitled it ‘The Gold Moulded in the Format of the Report of Those Caliphs and Kings Who Performed the *Ḥaǧǧ*’, see e.g. Y fol. 27^a), and by which the text is generally known today. It remains therefore unclear to what extent *al-Dahab al-masbūk fi dīkr man ḥaǧǧa min al-ḥulafā’ wa-l-mulūk* was indeed the title that al-Maqrīzī had intended for this text (see also chapter 2, fn. 13, for different references to this text’s title from the fifteenth century onwards).

complex process of many months of copying and editing therefore indeed cannot have been anything less than the carefully planned publication by the author of a consciously constructed, unified collection of a range of different shorter texts of his. In this publication project, however, the forms, functions, and meanings of these individual texts—including those of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*—were radically re-imagined and re-directed from the varied particular contexts, which had defined the production of each, to a very different setting, in which it was their combination and relative arrangement rather than their particularity that was considered most meaningful by al-Maqrīzī. Those transformed forms, functions, and meanings that made for L transcend the particularity of any of these individual texts, including that of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, and can therefore only be accounted for in their joint study as full and complementary partners in the particular communicative act that, in early 842/the summer of 1438, gave shape to L.⁸

L, however, does not just consist of 205 leaves with clearly produced and critically annotated text. Fifteen slips of paper of different sizes, types, and qualities were also inserted at various locations throughout the manuscript. They all bear varying numbers of irregular lines of text, and they were all written—or rather scribbled—in black ink in al-Maqrīzī's own cursive and difficult to read handwriting. These inserts all contain additions by al-Maqrīzī that were apparently too large or too extensive to be put in the margins of the copyist's text. In the case of the copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* three inserts were added by al-Maqrīzī (fols. 122, 123, and 126), leaving reference marks (*signes-de-renvoi*) in the text at the exact places where these inserted texts should be added. At some point in the history of L—most probably at the moment of rebinding—these three inserts were actually misplaced so that the connection between them and the original copy was lost.⁹ Most importantly, it remains unclear whether these inserts were produced during al-Maqrīzī's revision work between Ramaḍān 841/February–March 1438 and Muḥarram 842/June–July 1438 or whether they were later additions.¹⁰ Whatever may have been the case, the three inserts (fols. 122, 123, 126) that he added in L to this copy of the text

8 For further detailed analyses and discussions, see Bauden (2017). For the original list and arrangement of al-Maqrīzī's opuscula, and for the chronology of his work on L, see also al-Maqrīzī, *al-Maqaṣid al-saniyyah*, 8–9.

9 The text of 19 and 13 lines on fol. 126 is an addition that was marked for insertion in the copy on fol. 121^b; the proper order of fols. 122 and 123 was even reversed and their text, starting on fol. 123^b and ending on fol. 122^a and written in 16, 15, 16, and 10 lines respectively, was marked for insertion on fol. 125^b.

10 For further detailed analyses and discussion of these inserts, see Bauden (2017).

of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* were definitely more than mere authorial emendations in the proofreading process. To a certain extent these notes actually produced a new version of that same text that al-Maqrīzī may have first written in very different circumstances twenty years earlier, that in the same scenario must have been revised a first time before early 841/mid-1437, and that had been meant to be finally published as part of this larger collection in early 842/mid-1438. These inserted notes now added a handful of new stories to the original text, suggesting indeed that they were most probably only inserted some time after al-Maqrīzī's collation of the copy with his draft of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in Dū l-Qa'dah 841/May 1438. They seem to confirm also that by that later time L indeed continued in its entirety to be revised by him, as though a work-in-progress consisting of this unique selection, combination, and collection of his texts, to which notes from various sources could still be added.

In the case of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, such notes were added at the end of two caliphal narratives, the one of al-Manṣūr and the other of al-Rašīd. Both narratives had been brought to a perfect structural close in the earlier draft, ending with the story of the death and burial of al-Manṣūr *en route* to Mecca and with the story of the mythical riches and benevolence of al-Rašīd after that of his last pilgrimage, respectively. In the latter case, apart from inserting a reference mark al-Maqrīzī made no real attempt at creating any explicit structural connection between this old text and the new addition. He simply began the added text on the insert with the statement that “among the qualities (*faḍā'il*) of al-Rašīd, there was what the great transmitter Abū Nu'aym selected in the *Kitāb al-Ḥilyah*.” This introduction of the nature and source of this piece of text was then followed by a word-by-word reproduction of two versions of the same story from Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī's work. In the former case of the al-Manṣūr narrative, a more explicit connection was made, at least physically, when the last line of the original version of the narrative was erased and replaced by a new line of text in al-Maqrīzī's own handwriting, making an introductory statement similar to the one for al-Rašīd that “among the unusual things (*badī'*) that were told about him, [there was the following:] When he had performed the pilgrimage and was about to reach the Prophet's Medina”. This introduction and first line of the newly inserted text was then again followed by a mark referring to the inserted slip, where the text simply continues with three stories about the caliph's encounters with the Medinan judge Muḥammad b. 'Imrān.¹¹

11 See below §§ 68–70, 97–107 for these passages in the text, and fols. 121^b + 126 (al-Manṣūr) and fols. 125^a + 123–122 (al-Rašīd) of L.

To sum up, the argument about the production history of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* that has been developed here on the basis of material remains, textual and paratextual characteristics, and historical contexts suggests that al-Maqrīzī produced at least three different versions of his text: one in 821/1418, a second one before early 841/mid-1437, and the third one after early 842/mid-1438. It also suggests that at least on two occasions, in 821/1418 and in 841–842/1438, al-Maqrīzī saw good reason to try and publish a final, polished version of the text. It is finally also argued that the 841–842/1438 publication project substantially changed *al-Dahab al-masbūk*'s function and meaning due to that project's ambitious nature of collecting and combining more than a dozen different texts in one coherent whole, perhaps meant above all to transmit as well as to speak of al-Maqrīzī's achievements after a lifelong career of scholarship.

L undoubtedly represents an important if not crucial material node in this complex web of versions, drafts, and publication projects. It began its life as the object of al-Maqrīzī's ambitious publication project in the final months of sultan Barsbāy's reign, and it contains as a consequence an emended and authenticated copy of the second version of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*. But it soon transformed again when the author continued to make revisions, so that it also contains yet another version of the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, and perhaps even of some of the other texts too. The latter fact of al-Maqrīzī's continued work on different texts in L (with a potentially negative impact on the legibility of the text, as appears from the eventually wrong arrangements of the three inserts in this copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*) suggests that between mid-842/late 1438 and his death about three years later, in Ramaḍān 845/February 1442, the possibility should not be ruled out that the publication of another fine version of this collection of texts was at least considered. It may of course well be that the changed arrangement of texts in later manuscript versions of this collection no longer had anything to do with al-Maqrīzī's editorial work. It may also well be that the faithful and correct reproduction of the very latest version of the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*—including, without any notice and in their proper place, the texts from the three inserts—in each one of these later manuscripts was entirely due to later scribes' diligent and careful copying from L. But it is certainly also possible that that changed arrangement and correct and full reproduction sprang from a final published and now lost version of the collection that was made from the revised L shortly before al-Maqrīzī's death.¹²

12 A similar possibility of the author's drafting of a final post-L version is briefly referred to as an equally hypothetical option for al-Maqrīzī's *al-Maqāṣid al-saniyyah* by Käs ("unklar ob weitere Korrektur je durchgeführt—keine Belege") (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Maqāṣid al-saniyyah*, 6).

2 Reproducing *al-Dahab al-masbūk* (Sixteenth – Twentieth Centuries)

Al-Maqrīzī's conscious production of L in the course of 841/1437–1438 and beyond created a different, new work of literature in his scholarly portfolio, which would prove much larger than the sum of its individual constituents. At least as far as the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* is concerned, the importance of this transformation is suggested by the fact that no separate copies of it have been preserved. In the manuscript reproduction of al-Maqrīzī's work texts such as this one were mainly considered relevant, interesting, or meaningful in their combination with other shorter texts by the same author, in the tradition that was established by al-Maqrīzī himself with his production of L. It is therefore only in the comprehensive study of these different extant collections of al-Maqrīzī's shorter texts that that history of textual reproduction, stretching between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, can be fully accounted for. This study's necessary focus on the manuscript reproduction of one of these texts only, *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, is by default distorted, can only purport to contribute to lifting a small tip of a much larger and far more complex veil, and will as a result be of a restricted nature only.¹³

Today there are—apart from L—nine more extant and known manuscripts that have preserved a copy of the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in their collection of al-Maqrīzī's shorter texts.¹⁴ Three of these are fragmentary remnants of such collections, having preserved in their current status two or three of such texts only. The others all tend to follow more or less, with recurrent exceptions, the selection of texts that was already made in L, even though none adopted these texts' original arrangement from L. A collation of the different copies of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in these manuscripts enables the preliminary reconstruction of a rudimentary *stemma codicum* that—with the caveat of distorting partiality—will be presented below. But first, the material and paratextual features of these different manuscripts and of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*'s copies in them will be briefly introduced in a chronological description.¹⁵

13 For this history of manuscript reproduction from the only correct and full perspective of L, see Bauden (2017).

14 This full set of manuscripts containing a copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* has been identified by the editor of the series *Bibliotheca maqriziana*, Frédéric Bauden; I am grateful to him for sharing this information with me and for providing me with a high-resolution digital copy for each of these manuscripts.

15 For further details and references, see Bauden (2017); unless otherwise stated the information in this entire section has been taken from Bauden.

a *Madrid/San Lorenzo de el Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, MS Árabe 1771, fols. 22^b–75^b [E] (Sixteenth Century?) Plates 1–2*

E is a codex of 76 paper leaves, containing a copy of two of al-Maqrīzī's shorter texts: *Šudūr al-ʿuqūd fi dīkr al-nuqūd* and *al-Dahab al-masbūk*. The texts are written in a careful *nash* by the same hand throughout the manuscript, applying a *miṣṭarah* of 15 lines on each page. The copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* begins on the verso of fol. 22 and is reproduced on 53 leaves. These have no marginal notes, corrections, or any other addenda, apart from three cases only where words were added or completed that fell outside of the text frame (fols. 24^a, 36^a). The entire copy successfully and faithfully integrates into the text all the marginal, interlinear, and inserted corrections and additions that al-Maqrīzī had made in L. A full title page on fol. 2^r introduces the first text, but this is not the case for the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, which is only introduced by its title and by a brief reference to its author (*li-l-Maqrīzī*) on the first four lines of the *miṣṭarah* of its first page (fol. 22^b, plate 1). As explained above, a scribal colophon (fol. 75^b) explicitly identifies this manuscript as a direct copy from the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in L, the authorial colophon of which was copied into this scribal colophon; it does not however provide any details about E's own origins (plate 2).

As a result of these characteristics the fragmentary manuscript E turns out to contain a very fair copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, which very closely resembles what that copy should have looked like in a final re-published version of L's collection of texts. Unfortunately, however, very little is known about E's own history. Fol. 1^r contains several different Arabic and Persian notes, but they appear as aphorisms rather than as any more revealing statements. Another note added to the left top corner of fol. 2^r is more useful as it makes the following statement in clear Maghribi script:

Glory to God.

It was in the possession of the servant of God the Exalted, Zaydān, the Commander of the Faithful,

son of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, the Commander of the Faithful, al-Ḥasanī, may God grant him long life.

al-ḥamd li-llāh

tamallakahu ʿabd Allāh taʿālā Zaydān amīr al-muʿminīn

Ibn Aḥmad al-Manṣūr amīr al-muʿminīn al-Ḥasanī ḥallada llāh lahu

Mawlāy Zaydān al-Ḥasanī (r. 1016–1036/1608–1627) was a member of the Saʿdians, a Sharifian dynasty that ruled as sultans of Morocco from 961/1554 to c. 1070/1659. His ownership mark places E in early-seventeenth century Morocco, while the Arabic and Persian notes in Oriental scripts suggest that the manuscript had had a life in the East before arriving in Morocco. E was therefore most probably produced in the course of the sixteenth century, if not before. It undoubtedly ended up in Spain in the course of 1021/1612 already, as part of the 73 boxes of Arabic books that Zaydān is said to have sent ahead when he tried to leave Morocco in the face of rebellion and that were declared war-booty when intercepted by the Spanish.¹⁶

b *New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS Landberg m, fols. 26^a–62^b [Y] (1018/1609) (Plates 3–5)*

Y is a codex of 108 paper leaves, containing a copy of three of al-Maqrīzī's shorter texts: *Ḍaw' al-sārī li-ma'rīfat ḥabar Tamīm al-Dārī*, *al-Ḍahab al-masbūk* and *al-Nizā' wa-l-taḥāṣum fīmā bayna Banī Umayyah wa-Banī Ḥāšim*. The text is written by the same hand throughout the manuscript, in what has been defined as a scholar's *nash*, making consistent use of a *miṣṭarah* of 19 lines. The copy of *al-Ḍahab al-masbūk* begins on the recto of fol. 26 and it was reproduced on 39 paper leaves, 37 of which are still extant and in fairly good condition (there are two lacunae of one leaf between fols. 41–42 and 61–62). Again there are no marginal notes, corrections, or any other addenda in this copy of the text, apart from the different subtitles that were repeated by the copyist in the margins for easy reference, and apart from different notes and scribbles that were added by the manuscript's late-nineteenth-century owner. Apart from the introduction of a number of scribal errors (see below) the entire copy again stands for a rather faithful representation of al-Maqrīzī's last known version of the text. Y has furthermore preserved the first extant copy of a proper title page introducing the text of *al-Ḍahab al-masbūk* (fol. 26^a) (but unusually omitting the author's *ism* and *nasab*, only naming him as "Taqī l-Dīn al-Maqrīzī l-Ṣāfi'") (plate 3). A scribal colophon (fol. 62^b) clarifies that this was actually one of five copies that had so far been made of this text by one and the same scribe, 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Mallāḥ, and that this one was done on 5 Ğumādā II 1018/5 September 1609 (plate 5).¹⁷

16 "Sa'dids", in *EI*² (http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/sadids-SIM_6417).

17 Perhaps there is a direct link between this early-seventeenth-century reference to five copies being made of the text, and the afore-mentioned puzzling note in the entry for *al-*

This reproduction of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* again very closely resembles what the text should have looked like in a final re-published version of L's collection. It has indeed been established that the fragmentary Y with its three texts originally had been part of such a larger codex containing al-Maqrīzī's texts, all produced by al-Mallāḥ in 1018/1609. Parallel scribal references in the colophons of the other extant text copies as well as one other remaining fragmentary manuscript (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Or. 3019, dated 20 Shawwāl 1017/27 January 1609 and explicitly identified in its colophon as "the fourth copy" prepared by 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Mallāḥ) confirm that Y was part of the fifth copy in a series of at least five full copies that had all been prepared by the same copyist. The colophon of the *Daw' al-sārī* on Y's fol. 25^b even claims that the copying of this and the other texts had happened from "a copy that has been emended in the author's handwriting (*nushah muṣaḥḥahah bi-ḥaṭṭ mu'allifihā*). Al-Mallāḥ's early-seventeenth-century reproductions of al-Maqrīzī's collection of shorter works, including *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, thus claimed an authoritative status that paralleled that of the copy to which E had once belonged. The son of this scribal entrepreneur, Yūsuf b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Mallāḥ, is furthermore identified by Bauden as the scribe of another fragment of al-Maqrīzī's work (Riyadh, Maktabat Ġāmi'at al-Malik Sa'ūd, MS 2170). This manuscript's colophon states that it was produced at about the same time as his father's fifth copy (15 Ġumādā I 1018/16 August 1609). This fragment then was presumably also part of yet another copy of al-Maqrīzī's collection that was produced by Yūsuf in circumstances very similar to those defining his father's copies, suggesting that there may even have been more copies that were made at that time. The first decade of the seventeenth century and father and son al-Mallāḥ thus represent an important moment in the history of the reproduction of al-Maqrīzī's collection, from which obviously also the reproduction of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* benefited.

c *Istanbul, Atıf Efendi Kütüphanesi, MS 2814, fols. 84^a–107^a [Ia]
(1041/1632) (Plates 6–8)*

Ia is a codex of 216 paper leaves, containing a copy of fifteen of al-Maqrīzī's shorter texts, most of which are also to be found in L (but in a different order). The text is written by the same hand throughout the manuscript, in a *nash* script making consistent use of a *miṣṭarah* of 25 lines. The copy of *al-Dahab*

Dahab al-masbūk in the *Kaṣf al-zunūn* by the Ottoman bibliographer Ḥaġġi Ḥalifah/Kātib Çelebi (1017–1067/1609–1657) that it was "a report involving 26 people ... in five volumes (*fi ḥamsat aġzā'*), which [al-Maqrīzī] completed in Dū l-Qa'dah of the year 841" (Kātib Çelebi, *Kaṣf al-zunūn*, 1:828; see also *GAL*, 2:50).

al-masbūk is the sixth text in this collection, preceded by *Ḍaw' al-sārī* and followed by *al-Nizā' wa-l-taḥāṣum*, an arrangement that parallels that of the fragmentary Y. The text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* begins on the recto of fol. 84 and it was reproduced on 24 leaves. Again there are no marginal notes, corrections, or any other addenda in this copy of the text, apart from the different titles that were—as in Y—repeated by the copyist in the margins for easy reference, and apart from one marginal note in another hand (fol. 87^a) that emends a scribal omission that was also present in Y (Y fol. 31^a1, Ia fol. 87^a17: *Lihb maksūr qabīlah min qabā'il al-Azd*; emended Ia fol. 87^a left margin: *ḥ Lihb bi-lām maksūrah fa-hā' sākinah qabīlah min qabā'il al-Azd*; the original in L fol. 117^b15–16, E fol. 29^a14: *Lihb maksūr al-lām qabīlah min qabā'il al-Azd*). Apart from such scribal errors (see below) the entire copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in Ia again represents a rather faithful representation of al-Maqrīzī's last known version of the text. Just as in Y, Ia also begins with a proper title page introducing the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* (fol. 84^r) and naming its author as “Taḳī l-Dīn al-Maqrīzī l-Šāfi'ī” (plate 6). A scribal colophon (fol. 107^r) explains that the unnamed copyist finished his work “on Thursday 20th of the noble [Dū] l-Ḥiḡḡah”, without however mentioning the year (plate 8). Following the colophon of the third text in this collection (*Kitāb Naḥl 'ibar al-naḥl*)—completed on “Tuesday 11th of the noble [Dū] l-Ḥiḡḡah of the months of the year 1041 of the prophetic *hiḡrah*” (fol. 62^b)—this should refer to 20/12/1041, corresponding to Thursday 8 July 1632. For five texts (8 to 12) in this collection's copy in Ia an exact reproduction of authorial colophons from L preceded these scribal colophons, suggesting some link with the latter autograph. This explicit authorial reference was however not copied at the end of this copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*.

d *Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, MS 4937, fols. 145^a–186^a [In]
(1085/1674) (Plates 9–11)*

In is a codex of 363 paper leaves, also containing a copy of fifteen of al-Maqrīzī's shorter texts in exactly the same order as they appear in the preceding Ia (and—presumably—in the original of Y). The text is written by the same hand throughout the manuscript, in a careful and conspicuous *nasta'liq* script making consistent use of a *miṣṭarah* of 17 lines. The copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* is again the sixth text in this collection, preceded by *Ḍaw' al-sārī* and followed by *al-Nizā' wa-l-taḥāṣum*. It begins on the recto of fol. 145 and it was reproduced on 42 leaves. There are no marginal notes, corrections, or any other addenda in this copy of the text (not even marginal titles), apart from one marginal note in another hand (fol. 158^a: *fī ḡamā'ah ṣaḥḥa*) that corrects a scribal omission. Interestingly, the scribal omission that was also present in Ia and Y (*Lihb maksūr qabīlah min qabā'il al-Azd*) has also been reproduced

in In (fol. 150^a2–3). Apart from some more scribal errors (see below) the entire copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in In once again makes up a rather faithful representation of al-Maqrīzī's last known version of the text. Just as in Y and Ia, In also begins with a proper title page introducing the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* (fol. 145^a) and naming its author as “Taḳī l-Dīn al-Maqrīzī l-Šāfiʿī” (plate 9). The scribal colophon (fol. 186^a) only consists of a brief religious final formula, devoid of any paratextual data (plate 11). The more detailed scribal colophons of four other texts in this collection situate the production of In between 24 Šaʿbān 1085/23 November 1674 and 4 Shawwāl 1085/1 January 1675. The scribal colophon of In's last text (*Ḥall luġz al-māʿ*) moreover identifies its copyist as one Abū l-Šalāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī, “known as al-Qaṭarī (*al-šāhūr bi-l-Qaṭarī*)” (fol. 363^a). Similar to what was found in Ia, finally, in In, seven texts (8 to 14)—but not the copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*—have an exact reproduction of authorial colophons from L preceding their scribal colophons.

e *Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi, MS Velīyüddin 3195,*
fol. 64^a–85^a [Iv] (1101/1690) (Plates 12–14)

Iv is a codex of 201 paper leaves, again containing a copy of the same fifteen shorter texts of al-Maqrīzī, but this time differently arranged from how these same texts appeared in Ia, In, and—presumably—Y. The text is written by the same hand throughout the manuscript, again in a careful and conspicuous *nastaʿlīq* script making consistent use of a *mīštarah* of 25 lines. The copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* is now the fifth text in this collection and it is preceded by the *Kitāb Naḥl ʿibar al-naḥl* and followed by the *Kitāb al-Bayān wa-l-irāb ʿammā fī arḍ Mišr min al-Aʿrāb*. It begins on the recto of fol. 64 and it was reproduced on 22 leaves. There are only four marginal notes and corrections in this fair and carefully made copy of the text, and all four are in the copyist's own hand (fol. 79^a: *maṭlab šarāfat Makkah al-mušarraḥah*, fol. 80^a: *maṭlab*; and fol. 65^b: *muḥaqqiqī šaḥḥa*, fol. 85^b: *yawm al-aḥad šaḥḥa*, in the latter two cases correcting a scribal omission). Again the scribal omission that has been identified above for In, Ia, and Y (*Lihb maksūr qabīlah min qabāʾil al-Azd*) was also reproduced in Iv (fol. 67^a5–6). Apart from this and quite a few other scribal errors (see below) the entire copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in Iv once again represents rather faithfully al-Maqrīzī's last known version of the text. Just as Y, Ia, and In did, Iv also begins with a proper title page introducing the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* (fol. 64^a), but now referring to its author as “Taḳī l-Dīn al-Maqrīzī” only (plate 12). As in In, the scribal colophon of this copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in Iv (fol. 85^a) only consists of a brief religious final formula, devoid of any paratextual data (plate 14). Similar to what was found in Ia and In also in Iv seven texts (the same as in In, here numbered 6, 8–10, 12–14)—but

not the copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*—have an exact reproduction of authorial colophons from L preceding their scribal colophons.

A number of more detailed scribal colophons of other texts in this collection situate the production of Iv between 19 Ša‘bān and 17 Dū l-Qa‘dah 1101/28 May and 22 August 1690 (fols. 27^a, 201^a). They furthermore repeatedly name its copyist as Muḥammad al-Qaṭarī, who is identified explicitly on various occasions as *imām* and *ḥaṭīb* of a mosque in Jeddah and as producing this copy in the town of Jeddah. This confirms that In and Iv were produced by the same religious scholar/copyist, who clearly was able to make money out of copying al-Maqrīzī’s collection in the 1080s/1670s as he still did in 1101/1690. In due course, however, it also seems that Muḥammad al-Qaṭarī had learned to do so in creative ways, changing the order of the texts from how they had been arranged in most of the extant seventeenth-century manuscripts.

f *Cambridge, University Library, Ms Add. 746, fols. 78^a–105^b [Ca]*
 (1112/1701) (Plates 15–17)

Ca is a codex of 260 leaves of different qualities and paper types (some dyed in red, yellow, and green), containing a combination of copies of only ten texts from al-Maqrīzī’s collection of opuscles (fols. 1–164) and of five other unrelated texts that were added to the textblock at some later date. The copies of al-Maqrīzī’s ten texts were all done in the same hand, in a clear *nash* script making consistent use of a *mishṭarah* of 25 lines. The copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* is now the fourth text in this collection of ten (which in its current arrangement does not seem to follow that of any other manuscript), and it is preceded by the *Kitāb Naḥl ‘ibar al-naḥl* and followed by the *Kitāb al-Nizā‘ wa-l-taḥāṣum*. It begins on the recto of fol. 78 and it was reproduced on 28 leaves. There are more than 35 marginal notes in this copy of the text, mostly addenda of scribal omissions written in the scribe’s own hand. Five technical marks (*balaja*) in the outer margins of fols. 82^a, 86^a, 92^b, 101^b, and 104^a suggest that most of those marginal notes were the result of the copyist’s careful collation of his copy with one or more other copies; three of these marginal notes actually explicitly identify alternative readings from such a copy (referred to as *nushḥah*) (fols. 82^a, 94^b, 103^a). Apart from such scribal errors (see also below) the entire copy in Ca once again is a rather faithful representation of al-Maqrīzī’s last known version of the text. Just as in Y, Ia, In and Iv, Ca also begins with a proper title page introducing the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* (fol. 78^a), but in the case of Ca its author is fully named as “Taḳī l-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī”. These title and author references are inserted in an inverted triangle in red ink. On the lower half of the same title page a royal pilgrimage *ḥabar* that is absent from any other manuscript has been inserted. It starts with the explanatory

phrase that “al-Ṭa‘ālabī in his book *Laṭā‘if al-ma‘ārif* reported about Ğamilah bt. Nāṣir al-Dawlah b. Ḥamdān that she performed the pilgrimage in the year 366 [977], which then became an exemplary and remembered act (*fa-ṣāra ḥağğuhā maṭal^{an} wa-tāriḥ^{an}*).”¹⁸ (fol. 78^a, plate 15)

The scribal colophon (fol. 105^a) only consists of the briefest possible note (“The book is done; glory to God alone”) (plate 17). Two more detailed scribal colophons of two other texts in this collection (fols. 18^a, 77^a) identify its copyist as one Yūsuf b. Muḥammad “known as Ibn al-Wakīl al-Mallawī” and they situate the production of al-Maqrīzī’s ten texts in Ca around January and February 1701 (Ša‘bān and Ramaḍān 1112). The last of these two colophons actually refers to the earliest of these two dates, suggesting that the original arrangement of these texts was changed at some point in this manuscript’s history.

g *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 4657, fols. 101^b–131^a*
[P] (*Mid-Eighteenth C.*) (*Plates 18–19*)

P is a codex of 266 leaves of two types of paper. It again contains a copy of the full set of fifteen shorter texts of al-Maqrīzī, arranged in the same order as in Ia, In, and—presumably—Y. The text is written by the same hand throughout the manuscript, in a clear *nash* making consistent use of a *miṣṭarah* of 25 lines. The copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* is the sixth text in this collection and it is preceded—as in Ia, In, and Y—by the *Ḍaw’ al-sārī* and followed by *al-Nizā’ wa-l-taḥāṣum*. It begins on the verso of fol. 101 and it was reproduced on 31 leaves. There are no marginal notes, corrections, or any other addenda in this copy of the text, apart from a number of titles that were repeated by the copyist in the margins for easy reference, without however pursuing this as a systematic and consistent practice. On more than twenty pages, moreover, the copyist had to make up his repeated failures to fully fit a line’s final word within the page’s text frame by adding remaining letters or word parts in the relevant line’s direct margin. Interestingly, the scribal omission that was also present in Iv, In, Ia and Y (*Lihb maksūr qabilah min qabā’il al-Azd*) has been reproduced once again in P (fol. 105^a11–12). A paragraph was furthermore lost when in the turning of leave 120 the copyist mistakenly substituted two references to the year 600 (*wa-sittimī’ah*) and the text in between was not copied. Apart from some more of these old and new scribal errors (see also below) the entire copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in P consists of another rather faithful representation of al-Maqrīzī’s last known version of it. The text is not identified by any title or authorial reference (nor is any of P’s other texts),

18 For this paradigmatic story of royal female patronage, see also Behrens-Abouseif (1997): 93; Meloy (2006): 407.

even though fol. 101^r was probably left blank by the copyist for the purpose of their later addition. As in Iv and In, the scribal colophon of this copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in P (fol. 131^a) only consists of a brief religious formula, devoid of any paratextual data (plate 19). Actually, none of the scribal colophons in P provide any information about the identity of P's copyist or about its date of production. However, a datable paper filigree and owner's stamp make clear that the latter must have happened some time between 1749 and 1781. Finally, also in P five texts (the same as in Ia, 8 to 12)—but not the copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*—have a reproduction of authorial colophons from L preceding their scribal colophons.

h *Cambridge, University Library, MS Qq. 141, fols. 1^a–37^a [Cq] (1232/1817)*
(Plates 20–22)

Cq is a codex of 86 paper leaves, containing a copy of three of al-Maqrīzī's shorter texts only: *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, *Naḥl 'ibar al-naḥl*, and *al-Ṭurfah al-ġaribah min aḥbār Wādī Ḥaḍramawt al-ʿaġibah*. The text is written by the same hand throughout the manuscript, in what may be defined as a scholar's *nash*, making consistent use of a *miṣṭarah* of 19 lines. The copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* begins on the recto of fol. 1 and it was carefully reproduced on 37 leaves. There are no marginal notes, corrections, or any other addenda in this copy of the text. Interestingly, the scribal omission that has been identified above for Iv, In, Ia, and Y (*Lihb maksūr qabīlah min qabā'il al-Azd*) was also reproduced in Cq (fol. 5^b17–18). Apart from a number of such scribal mistakes (see also below) the entire copy again makes for a rather faithful representation of al-Maqrīzī's last known version of the text. Just as in Y, Ia, In, Iv, and Ca, Cq also begins with a proper title page introducing the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* (fol. 1^a), but in the case of Cq its author is now only referred to as “Aḥmad b. ʿAlī l-Maqrīzī” (plate 20). A scribal colophon (fol. 37^a) clarifies that this copy was finished by an unnamed scribe on 15 Ṣafar 1232/4 January 1817 (plate 22). This manuscript entered Cambridge University Library two years later already, in 1819, as part of the bequest of the Swiss traveller J.L. Burckhardt. Burckhardt must have acquired this manuscript shortly before his death in Cairo in October 1817. This tight timing between Cq's production and Burckhardt's death make it likely that it was especially copied in Cairo for Burckhardt and for the newly emerging Orientalist markets that he represented.¹⁹

19 Browne (1900): 82, no. 442.

i *Ḥuraydah, Maktabat al-ʿAṭṭās [Ḥ]*

This codex, preserved in a Yemeni private collection, has so far remained inaccessible. It has been identified as containing a copy of a set of thirteen of al-Maqrīzī's shorter texts. These include that of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, as well as most other texts featuring in the complete sets of Ia, In, Iv, P and L. Unfortunately, no further material, textual, or paratextual information about this copy is currently available.

To sum up, these nine manuscripts with fragmentary or complete sets of copies of the shorter texts that al-Maqrīzī had chosen to publish as one collected volume in L span a substantial timeframe, ranging between the sixteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. Despite the substantial temporal, material, and also geographical distances that separated these specimens of an ongoing reproduction, and despite the fact that some copies (E, L, Cq, and also P) were all removed from local flows of circulation and reproduction at rather early dates in their material lives (ending up in European libraries in the early seventeenth [E, L] and early nineteenth centuries [Cq, P] respectively), many of these manuscripts, and of the copies of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in them, share certain features that deserve to be repeated here.

- Four manuscripts (Ia, In, Iv, P) have a full set of fifteen texts, and three of them (Ia, In, P) share the same arrangement of these texts. There are good reasons to suggest that Y represents a fragmentary remnant of a similar manuscript, and that also Ca and Ḥ originally had followed this tradition, or at least somehow derived from it.
- Six manuscripts (E, Y, Ia, In, Iv, P) include authorial colophons or related paratextual claims to authenticity in at least a number of their texts, referring to or repeating word-for-word al-Maqrīzī's authorial colophons in L. Two manuscripts (In, Iv) include such colophons for seven texts and two (Ia, P) do so for five texts. E uniquely has such reference for *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, whereas the equally fragmentary Y only hints at this claim indirectly in another text.
- Five manuscripts (Y, Ia, In, Iv, Ca) may be roughly dated to the same seventeenth century. Y in particular represents a specimen of an important moment in this history of reproduction, being one of at least six copies that were produced in the early seventeenth century by father and son al-Mallāḥ. The reproduction of In and Iv by the same copyist al-Qaṭarī in Jeddah in the last quarter of this century represents a similar cluster of scribal entrepreneurship organised around al-Maqrīzī's collection of texts.
- Six copies of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* (in Y, Ia, In, Iv, Ca, Cq) begin with a genuine title page (which is missing in E and also in P), with some slight variations in

the references to the author's name: Taqī l-Dīn al-Maqrīzī l-Šāfi'ī (Y, Ia, In); Taqī l-Dīn al-Maqrīzī (Iv); Taqī l-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī (Ca); Aḥmad b. 'Alī l-Maqrīzī (Cq).

- Three copies of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* (in Y, Ia, P) have subtitles that are repeated in the margins of the text, for easy reference. In P, however, this practice was not pursued consistently.
- All copies of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in all manuscripts faithfully represent the very last version of al-Maqrīzī's text as copied, collated, and revised in L, but they do so in remarkably uncritical ways. None display any clear signs of systematic collation with L or with any other copy, because none of these copies bear any relevant number of scribal marks or other notations to that effect (even though scribal errors did occur; see below). The only exception to this general rule is the copy in Ca, but the absence of reproductions of authorial colophons in this manuscript (as in E, Y, Ia, In, Iv, P) and its incomplete nature and complex material history (consisting of ten texts by al-Maqrīzī only, which were combined with later copies of an unrelated set of texts) make it impossible to say much more about its relationship with other copies.
- The copies of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in six manuscripts (Y, Ia, In, Iv, P, Cq) all display a remarkable reproduction of the same scribal omission (*Lihb mak-sūr*). This attests to this shared practice of uncritical copying and lack of collation (in Ia, there is a marginal note to correct this, but this correction seems not to have happened after collation because this scribal suggestion [*Lihb bi-lām maksūrah fa-hā' sākinah*] differs from what L says [*Lihb mak-sūr al-lām*]). This also suggests that these manuscripts were somehow all connected to the eldest among them, Y, rather than to L directly. Further collation actually confirms this and allows in combination with the above for a more precise preliminary reconstruction of those connections.

This collation of all the currently known manuscript copies of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* from L, as corrected and revised by al-Maqrīzī in and beyond early 842/mid-1438, and from the eight codices that are currently available for study, has resulted in the identification of many dozens of scribal errors across the entire field of reproduction. As may be expected for a field spread out between substantial temporal, material, and geographical ranges, these errors represent all of the traditional types that are well-known in Arabic manuscript studies: omissions, additions, substitutions, transpositions, corrections, variations, and cacography.²⁰ None had any relevant impact on the meanings of the text of *al-*

20 Gacek (2009): 234–235.

Dahab al-masbūk, but they do provide further suggestions about relationships between these different manuscript copies and about the relative distances separating these copies from L and from each other. In order to get a better sense of these relationships and distances a selection has been made of the 58 most relevant scribal errors across the reproductive field. These were listed in a table in which every column details how these 58 textual moments appear in one of these nine manuscript copies and in which every row identifies continuities and changes across the different copies in the reproduction of one of these 58 moments. Changes in these rows, representing the appearance of a scribal error in a copy, were highlighted with different colours, every colour identifying a particular copy of the text and, if relevant, the reproduction of its error across the other manuscripts (table 1).

Even though this collation table is biased towards the identification of errors and limited by its working with a relevant sample only, this visualisation does provide further strong suggestions about how at least the texts within these different manuscript copies were related. Thus, the 1018/1609 copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Mallāḥ, Y, introduces into the table a total of 19 of these 58 scribal errors. Ten of these errors were fully reproduced in all of the six later copies and five more errors were fully reproduced in three, four or five copies. As was already suggested by the reproduction of the *Lihb maksūr* error mentioned above, Y therefore clearly stands as a representative of a particular and powerful tradition in the reproduction history of the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*. This tradition, coinciding with the scribal entrepreneurship of the al-Mallāḥ family in the early seventeenth century, acquired archetypal status for most of the manuscripts that followed at a time when al-Maqrīzī’s autograph, L, was acquired by the Dutch diplomat Warner and disappeared from local circulation.

The opposite appears to be the case for manuscript E. It remains unclear whether its two texts originally did or did not belong to a codex with the full set of al-Maqrīzī’s shorter texts, as in L. The close relationship between E’s copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* and that in L is nevertheless obvious, also from this collation. But so is the fact that in the text’s circulation E was first sidelined in Morocco and then isolated in Spain, therefore leaving no relevant traces in a reproduction history of this text that seems to have focused on eastern Arabic regions first and foremost.

Manuscripts In and Iv, both produced by the scholar and scribe Abū l-Ṣalāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī l-Qaṭarī in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, fully engaged with the archetypal tradition represented by Y. But they also represent their own tradition of reproducing the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, which not only reproduced most of Y’s errors but also introduced 17 new ones.

The latter can be found in In and Iv only, establishing—in this table at least—al-Qaṭarī's scribal activities in Jedda as a particular and separate enterprise. In the 1101/1690 manuscript Iv al-Qaṭarī introduced even more new errors (11 in the table) that were not reproduced in any other extant copy.

One of the more puzzling manuscripts in the list certainly is Ca, mainly consisting of substantial remnants of copies made in 1112/1701 by Yūsuf b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Wakīl al-Mallawī. On the one hand, Ca clearly participated in the reproduction of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* from the archetypal tradition represented by Y. On the other hand, it also followed its own very particular dynamics of reproduction, adding its own scribal errors to the list and—as mentioned above—being far more critical in its reproduction than any of the other manuscripts (avoiding thus even the *Lihb maksūr* error). As the product of collation with more than one model (which cannot have been L or E, since these had disappeared to Europe in the course of the seventeenth century) Ca probably derives from two different archetypal traditions, only one of which has actually been preserved in Y.

These particular relationships, clustering, and grouping of the extant manuscript copies of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* are finally also suggested in very illustrative ways when these same continuities and changes for L and the nine other copies, for Y and the seven later copies, and for In and Iv are calculated and expressed in percentages of reproduction (Table 2).

The close relationship, or short textual distance, between L and E speaks very strongly from this table, as does the short distance between Y and Ia-Cq-P-Ca and between In and Iv. At the same time, this table reveals that as far as these scribal errors are concerned Iv is farthest removed from L, and it gives an indication of the substantial relative distance separating L from Y, as well as Y from In. With due acknowledgement of the very particular and partial nature of these data and of the chosen parameters from which they emerge, L, Y, and In again appear as representatives of particular moments in the history of the reproduction of the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*.

Above all, many parallel appearances of relationships and distances and of clustering, and grouping emerge from these different sets of qualitative and quantitative descriptions. A genuine *stemma codicum* defining precise connections between individual copies cannot be constructed from what remain above all appearances of similarity and dissimilarity that may be explained in multiple ways.²¹ Nevertheless, particular relationships and distances between scribal versions of the text and particular clusters and families of manuscript copies there most certainly were (see also figure 1):

21 See also Gacek (2009): 268.

- The autograph L was part of an authorial cluster of mostly non-published versions, and with E this cluster represents an important early family of copies of the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*. Specimens of this family of copies seem to have survived by chance only when they were variously removed from local flows of consumption, reproduction, and circulation in the course of the seventeenth century.
- Y represents an early seventeenth-century cluster of at least half a dozen manuscripts, produced within a particular context of entrepreneurship, as though participating in a process of commodification of al-Maqrīzī's collection of 15 texts.²² This cluster soon transformed into an archetypal tradition of substantial reproductive impact of its own, to which all other known manuscripts are related. The Y-cluster itself was somehow closely related to the L-E family, if only because explicit references to the latter awarded textual authority and value to the former. The exact nature of this relationship remains unclear, however, and given the distance between L and Y it is not unlikely that one or more other copies interfered as models for the production of this cluster.
- In and Iv represent a third deeply related cluster of copies, produced within another particular context of entrepreneurship and commodification. It stands out above all as a highly independent and distant cluster within the larger family of manuscripts that emerged around the Y-cluster.
- The 1112/1701 manuscript Ca finally is part of this larger family too, but it reveals at the same time that parallel archetypal traditions may have also been reproduced, at least into the early eighteenth century, either directly from lost remnants of the L-E-cluster, or indirectly from a now lost archetypal tradition that existed side by side with that of the Y-cluster.

In the post-World-War-II period the survival of the text of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in this complex multitude of copies resulted in its renewed reproduction in four printed editions.²³ Most important among these are the two editions that were done independently from each other in the early 1950s, by Ġamāl al-Dīn al-Šayyāl in Cairo and Ḥamad al-Ġāsir in Riyadh. The

22 On the process of commodification (or also 'commoditization'), that is, of the transformation of 'singularities' into commodities, or of the acquisition by things and relations of market values instead of or in addition to their social values, see Kopytoff (1986); Van Binsbergen (2005).

23 I am again grateful to the series editor, Frédéric Bauden, for sharing his information about these four editions with me, and for providing me with a copy of the al-Šayyāl 2000 and the al-Ġāsir 1952 editions.

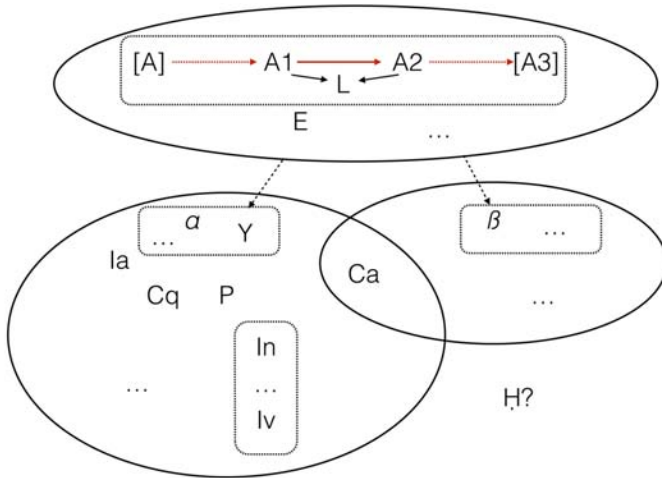


FIGURE 1 *Visual representation of apparent mss. relationships and distances.*

- symbols: *A* = 821/1418 version [hypothetical] / *A*₁ = pre-841/1437 version in autograph *L* / *A*₂ = post-842/1438 version in autograph *L* / *A*₃ = revised published version [hypothetical] / α = archetype 1 / β = archetype 2 / *L*, *E*, *Y*, *Ia*, *In*, *Iv*, *Ca*, *P*, *Cq*, *H*: mss. (see above) / ... = other unknown and lost mss.
- arrows: red = production / black = reproduction / full line = direct attested relationship / broken line = indirect attested relationship (via lost intermediaries) / dotted line = hypothetical relationship
- Venn diagrams: full line = family (related group of mss.) / dotted line = cluster (related mss. of a particular shared quality appearing closely together at a particular time and place)
- Distances between mss. are represented by their relative positioning in the diagram.

other two editions, published in 2000 and in 2009, are actually no more than reproductions of al-Šayyāl's 1955 edition, in the format of a complete and unchanged reprint in one case and of an update in quantitative rather than in qualitative terms in the second case.²⁴ Al-Šayyāl's edition, which was first published in 1955, was part of a larger publication project—the *Maktabat al-Maqrīzī al-Šaġīrah* series—in which it was the third (and apparently also the last) to be published. As is explained by the al-Maqrīzī specialist al-Šayyāl in a brief study preceding and introducing the text and his work on it, his edition was first done from *P* and *Iv*, and he had considered *Iv* as the *aṣl* to work from because it was the oldest of the two. Al-Šayyāl then details how, after finishing

24 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḍahab al-masbūk*³; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḍahab al-masbūk*⁴.

the edition, he discovered a third ms., which was E and which proved much more authoritative because it was a stated copy from an autograph; his edition was therefore collated with E, and variations were noted in footnote or added in the text. Nevertheless, the heavy reliance on Iv for this edition of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* left many traces and certainly not all of them were effaced in this process of collation.²⁵

Three years earlier, in 1952, Ḥamad al-Ġāsir, “member of the Academy for the Arabic Language in Damascus”, had published his own work on the same text of al-Maqrīzī, in a serial edition in seven monthly instalments as an annex to volume six of the *Mağallat al-Ḥaġġ* (‘The Pilgrimage Journal’), appearing between Raġab 1371AH and Muḥarram 1372/April–September 1952. In his brief introduction, this editor al-Ġāsir explains that he had relied for his work on microfilmed copies in Cairo and in Mecca from Iv and Ca, and that he had chosen Iv as his *aṣl* to work from as he considered it to be of better quality than Ca.²⁶ Unlike al-Šayyāl’s work, which was reprinted and re-edited in the early twenty-first century, al-Ġāsir’s edition does not seem to have had much of a long-lasting impact.

More generally, considering—as detailed above—the distance separating Iv, and the cluster to which it pertains, from L, it appears as highly problematic that this handful of modern textual reproductions of al-Maqrīzī’s *al-Dahab al-masbūk* continue until today to rely first and foremost on this Iv. In their critical readings, reproductions, and explanations of the text, these two editions have had substantial merit; the identification of other relevant copies and authoritative manuscript traditions as well as the deepened understanding of the complexity of this text and of the contexts in which it was produced and reproduced simultaneously also demonstrate their limitations.

3 Consuming *al-Dahab al-masbūk*: From Memory to History

The conscious communicative act that al-Maqrīzī’s *al-Dahab al-masbūk* was did not just involve the participation of its author and of scribal reproducers, but obviously also of the audiences and recipients of its message. Producing and reproducing any text is only meaningful if it is also provoking interest,

25 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Dahab al-masbūk*². We so far identified more than 60 variant readings of words or phrases between this al-Šayyāl edition and the L-E Mss. family. The collation with E seems to have resulted above all in referring to it in footnote rather than in making any textual amendments.

26 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Dahab al-masbūk*³.

read, studied, thought about, debated, and preserved. It is from this variegated consumption above all that webs of people, of things, and of ideas continued to be woven around texts and that all kinds of intended, unintended, and changing meanings became effective nodes in those webs. Given its long social life in various forms, shapes, and contexts this must certainly also have been the case for *al-Dahab al-masbūk*. However, available textual, paratextual, and material data for this other side of this text's life prove rather limited, allowing for making no more than a few general assumptions only. The transfer of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in the early 840s/late 1430s from being a separate text of moral-didactic purpose to becoming only one particle in the large and complex whole of al-Maqrīzī's collection as it appeared in L has a lot to do with that silence. This story of consumption again appears first and foremost as one that can and should only be told for the full complexity of that collection. At the same time, however, the early 840s/late 1430s represent a moment of such radical transformation in the consumption as much as in the production of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, that this change in communication certainly offers some powerful clues for this particular text too.

It has been argued above that *al-Dahab al-masbūk* was first and foremost produced as a programmatic text of moral-didactic purpose, which used the formats of pilgriming ruler narratives and leadership stories to communicate ideas of good Muslim rule, Egyptian supremacy, and divine sovereignty. Its first intended audience was therefore the ruler and his court, most likely the sultan al-Mu'ayyad Ṣayḥ and his advisors. However, when the plans for the sultan's 821/1418 pilgrimage had to be cancelled, the casting of this message in the format of an innovative pilgrimage text proved futile and the text was therefore probably never published for nor received by its originally intended audience.

As a consequence, when the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* entered the collection of L some twenty years later, it may have done so in a slightly altered, more generic and less specific form, taking into account the new audiences whose interests it still might serve. These audiences were certainly still members of the political and other elites, and they possibly even included Barsbāy's son and short-lived successor al-'Azīz Yūsuf and his entourage.²⁷ At that same time, however, political circumstances had substantially changed and the imminent relevance of the text's original meaning of political restoration after the deep crisis that had ended the Barqūqīd era (784–815/1382–1412) was for ever lost.

27 See—as mentioned before—also John Meloy's parallel suggestion for the *Šuḍūr al-'uqūd*, another treatise in the same collection, that "al-Maqrīzī's corrections to the text in Ramaḍān 841 (February–March 1438)" perhaps made possible "that the text could be used as an appeal to Barsbāy's successor" (Meloy [2003b]: 197, fn. 54).

Due to the lack of any reading notes or external references it remains unclear how the text was actually read by its new readership in the 830s and 40s/1430s, if not for its political message. The inclusion of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in al-Maqrīzī's collection of texts covering a wide range of subjects is nevertheless quite suggestive, as is this text's constant featuring along many others in long lists of al-Maqrīzī's scholarly production that were drafted by contemporary biographers such as Ibn Taġrī Birdī and al-Saḥāwī.²⁸ A particular expectation is at least created about one of the meanings that may have been intended by the author and perhaps even understood by most of his fifteenth-century audiences. The latter lists, as well as the former collection, certainly speak of al-Maqrīzī's authoritative achievements in a wide range of related fields of scholarship. It was demonstrated above how the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* certainly was also meant to mediate such more personal socio-cultural meanings of the author's claims to distinction, identity, and entitlement. It could be argued then that despite the loss of the acuteness of its political meanings the text continued to be relevant (and continued to be redrafted) for the more personal socio-cultural meanings that it communicated. What remained was its textual performance of al-Maqrīzī's mastery of historical knowledge, announced in the introduction as "the most precious and most valuable of treasures, the most glorious and the longest remembered of deeds" and presented throughout the text by inter- and metatextual means as though monopolised by its author. In the particular combination with the other texts in the collection, *al-Dahab al-masbūk* thus continues to attest above all to the accomplished scholarship of its author.

However, as time went by and al-Maqrīzī as well as those scholars who derived some level of socio-cultural authority from his status gradually disappeared from the scenes of textual consumption, this level of personalised socio-cultural meanings evidently retreated to the background too. Al-Maqrīzī and his texts obviously retained an authority that is exemplified by the temporal, geographical, and material dimensions of the field of reproduction of the collection that includes *al-Dahab al-masbūk*. But in the ongoing consumption of this collection and of different other products of al-Maqrīzī's pen, texts such as *al-Dahab al-masbūk* increasingly derived their meanings from that authority rather than that they were merely meant to perform it. Their consumption thus transformed from accepting them (or not) as presenting particular social

28 Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, 1:418–419; al-Saḥāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, 2:22–23. One reference in a recently published bibliography suggesting that al-Saḥāwī even would have produced a text with the same title as al-Maqrīzī's turns out to be an unfortunate bibliographic conflation of *al-Dahab al-masbūk's* title with that of al-Saḥāwī's continuation of the *al-Sulūk*, *al-Tibr al-masbūk fi ḍayl al-Sulūk* (see al-Musawi [2015]: 418).

claims about historical knowledge to understanding them as privileged carriers and transmitters of that knowledge. As far as *al-Dahab al-masbūk* is concerned, this process made that eventually its historical character was prioritised over the different other meanings that it communicated, and that an understanding of the particular ways in which it had been constructed to pursue the latter communication was side-lined for retrieving names, data, and *ḥabars* of pilgriming Muslim rulers.

Already in the sixteenth century, this changed pattern of consumption had become the norm for the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*. In those early modern Ottoman times, as Suraiya Faroqhi explained, the historical example of predecessors of the Ottoman rulers in affairs of the pilgrimage had become a matter of political exigency.

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors dealing with the Ottoman sultans in their role of protectors to the pilgrimage, have often measured Ottoman performance against the yardstick of what had been done, really or presumably, by their Mamluk predecessors. This explains why Ottoman sultans adhered as closely as they could to the practices connected with the names of Qāyṭbāy (r. 878–901/1468–1496) and Qāniṣawh al-Ġawrī (r. 906–922/1501–1516).²⁹

This context certainly explains why reproductions of texts such as that of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* and its accounts of Ottoman predecessors found fertile ground in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ottoman times. Substantial reference is actually even made to al-Maqrīzī's text in a unique account of the pilgrimage that was written by a mid-sixteenth-century Egyptian scholar who had been employed in the Ottoman administration of pilgrimage caravans from Egypt. This 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ġazīrī (d. c. 977/1570) wrote an extensive text on that administration of the *ḥaġġ* and its history, including an account of "notable men and women" performing the pilgrimage to Mecca in the seventh and last part (*bāb*) of this book.³⁰ At the start of that chapter, al-Ġazīrī explains metaphorically that

some of the later [historians] such as al-Maqrīzī have spoken about similar things as there are in this part; he entitled it The Gold Moulded in the Format of the History of Those Kings Who Performed the Pilgrimage [*al-Dahab al-masbūk fī tāriḥ man ḥaġġa min al-mulūk* (sic)]. I consulted

29 Faroqhi (2014): 33.

30 Al-Ġazīrī, *Durar al-farā'id*, 2:325. On al-Ġazīrī (also known as al-Ġazarī) and his text, see also Faroqhi (2014): 33–35.

it, stripped off that product of smelting, and added it as a purifier to this silver [= this seventh part]. Whoever reads my book, may he say: there is no further trail [to follow] after [being quenched by] a source [such as this one].³¹

Throughout the text of this last part of his book then, al-Ġazīrī appeals to the authority and information of al-Maqrīzī's booklet to produce his own chronography of rulers performing the pilgrimage. Unlike al-Maqrīzī, however, al-Ġazīrī wants this to be a comprehensive historical account, and he therefore also has to come to some terms with how *al-Dahab al-masbūk* is lacking in that respect. He thus explicitly notes textual lacunae and interdependencies, such as between al-Maqrīzī's *ḥabar* about Hārūn's barefoot pilgrimage and that of Šibṭ Ibn al-Ġawzī (d. c. 654/1256) in the *Mir'āt al-zamān*.³² Al-Ġazīrī provides more material from other sources, and eventually also adds many more names of caliphs and, especially, of non-caliphal rulers to al-Maqrīzī's limited list of 26.³³ In all, one may claim that for al-Ġazīrī al-Maqrīzī's text on the matter clearly stands as the main authority and point of reference, but that his purely historiographical approach to it proved all but straightforward when it came to the details.

It remains nevertheless this historiographical approach of al-Ġazīrī that seems to have continued to dominate the textual consumption of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*.³⁴ In the twentieth century, at least, similar readings from the perspective of useful "summary biographies of selections of rulers" still provided the main types of meanings and values that were prioritised in any specific study of the text, such as by al-Šayyāl in the 1950s, and by Faraḥāt in his adapted introduction to the re-edition of the text in 2009.³⁵ Parallel to what was concluded about the current state of the reproduction of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, therefore, it should be acknowledged that also as far as its consumption is concerned current appreciations certainly have their merits, but that the deepened understandings of the complexity of this text and of the contexts in which it was produced, reproduced, and consumed simultaneously also demonstrate that much more can and should be read in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Dahab al-masbūk*.

31 Al-Ġazīrī, *Durar al-farā'id*, 2:325.

32 Ibid., 2:345.

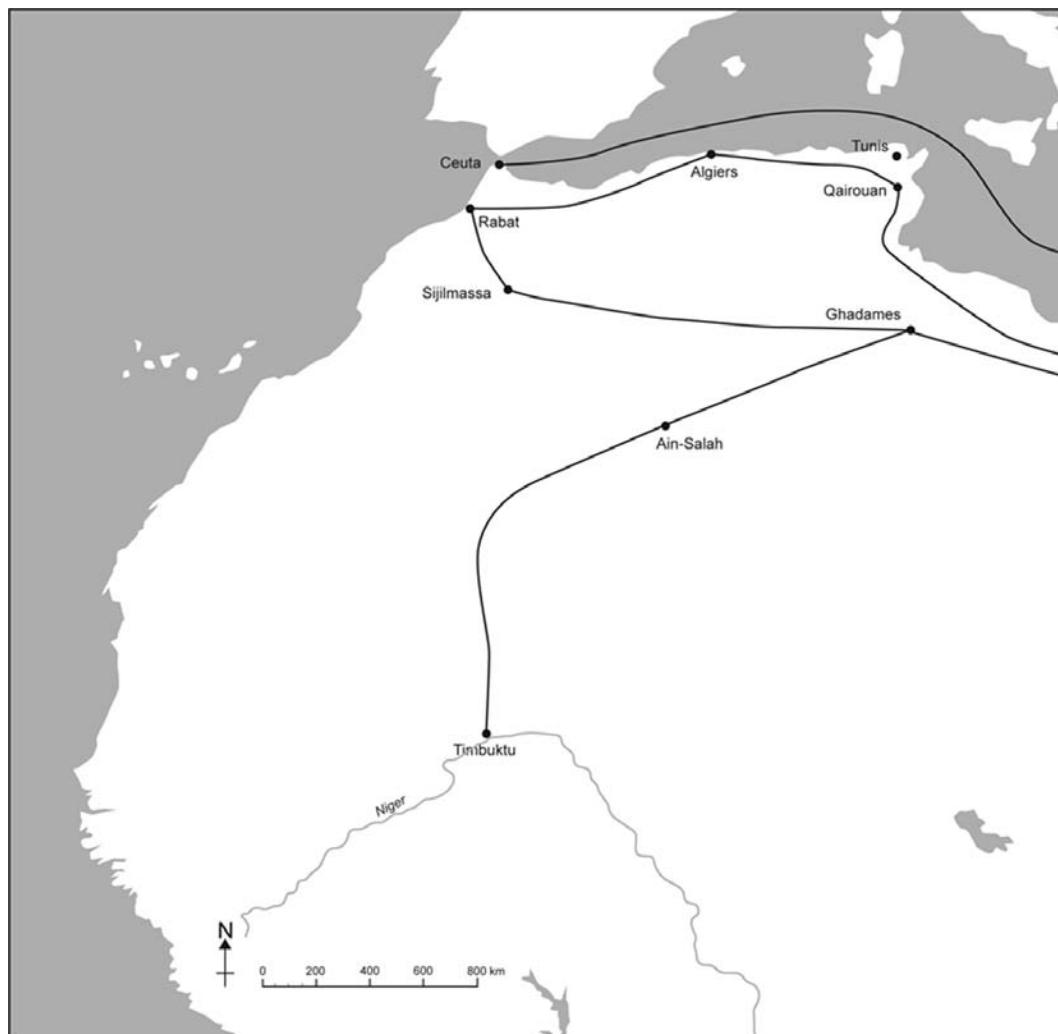
33 Ibid., 2:345–374.

34 *Al-Dahab al-masbūk* was also referred to and used in this historicising manner by the Ottoman Egyptian historian al-Ġabartī (1167–1241/1753–1825) (as suggested by Ayalon [1960]: 221).

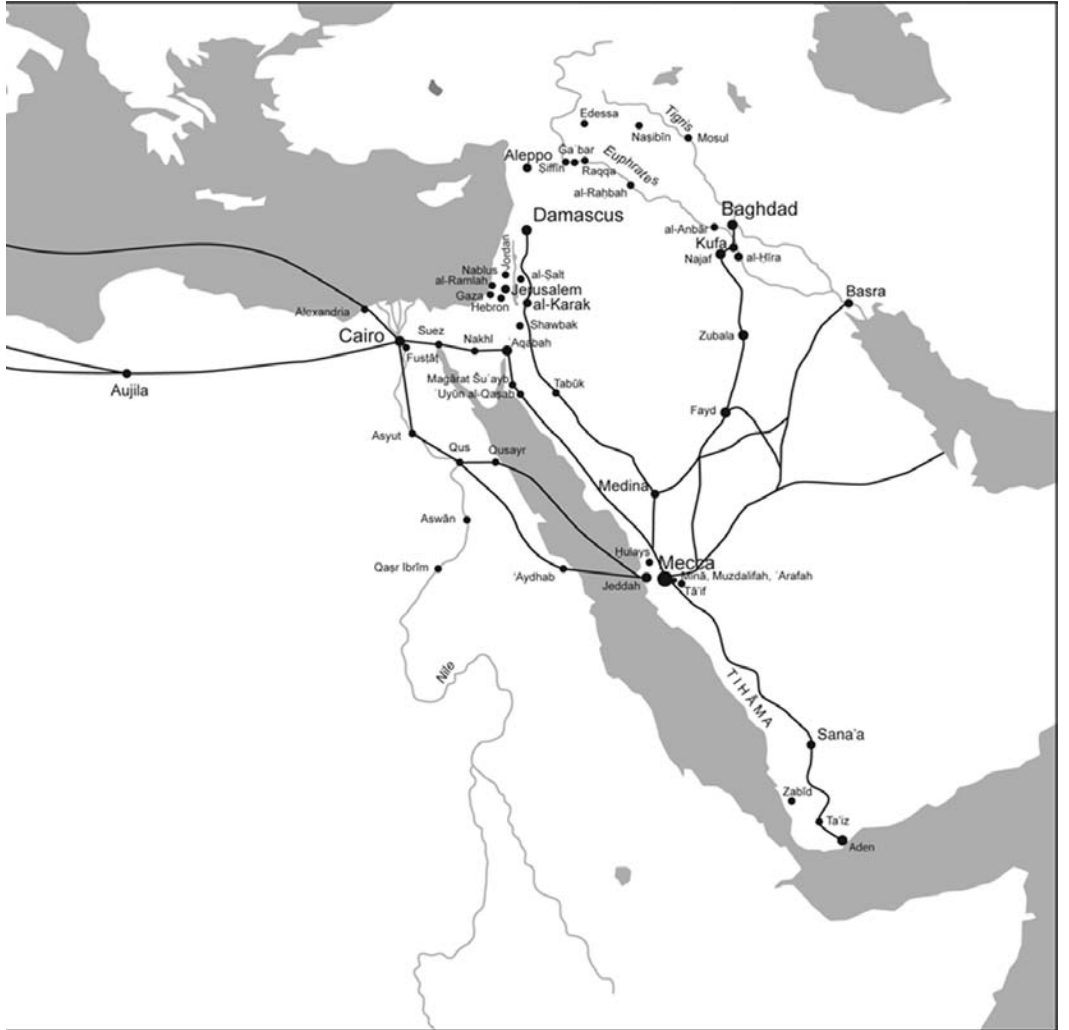
35 See al-Šayyāl (1971): 25 (*al-tarġamah al-muḥtaṣarah li-maġmū'ah min al-mulūk*); see also al-Šayyāl (1955): 10–24; Faraḥāt (2009): 29–34.

Map, Plates and Tables

Map



Map of the Middle East and North Africa, with the main medieval ḥaǧǧ routes and the most important cities, towns, and places mentioned in this book (map drawing courtesy of Erik Smekens, 2016)



بِكَالِدِهِ الْمَيْسُورِ لِخَيْرِكُمْ
مَنْ حَمَى الْحُلَفَاءَ
وَالْمَمْلُوكَ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَبِهِ الْمَيْسُورَانِ عَلَى كُلِّ مَا عَزَّ وَهَمَّانِ
وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ طَمَّ النَّبِيِّينَ وَعَلَى
اللَّهِ وَأَصْحَابِهِ وَالتَّابِعِينَ صَلَواتُهُ بِنَاقِبِهِ إِلَى
يَوْمِ الدِّينِ وَبِعَدَمِهِ فَاسْأَلِ اللَّهَ
مُسْتَعِلاً اللَّهُ مَا دَايِرِي لَهُ أَنْ يَبِيعَ أَيَّامَ الْمُعْتَمِرِ
الْمُحْزَمِ بِأَحْوَالِهَا الْبَاقِيَاتِ الصَّالِحَاتِ
وَالرِّيَاضَاتِ الْعَامِرَاتِ لِيَكُونَ كُلُّ دَهْرٍ سَيِّئَةً
وَأَمَلٌ لَسَيِّئَاتِهِ مَوْفِقاً عَلَى الْمُتَقَدِّمِ لَهُ قَاصِراً
عَنِ الْمُنَاجِرِ عِنْدَهُ وَيُوسِّدُ مِنَ الْعَمْرَاطِ طَوْسَهُ
وَالعَبْدَ وَمِنَ الْعَبَسِ عَذْبَهُ وَأَزْعَكَ عَزِيمَ مَنصُوراً

عجبا

وقبض عليّ الاشرف من بيت امرأة في ليلة
 الاثنين خامس ذي القعدة وكان اخر العهد
 به قتل خنثاء

والله اعلم كـ

من اصل بخط مصنفه

قال مؤلفه

رحمة الله حررته حمد

العدد فصيح مؤلفه

احمد بن علي المقرئ

في ذي

العدن

سنة
 ٨٤١

١٢١

PLATE 2 Madrid/San Lorenzo de el Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, MS Árabe 1771, fol. 75^b

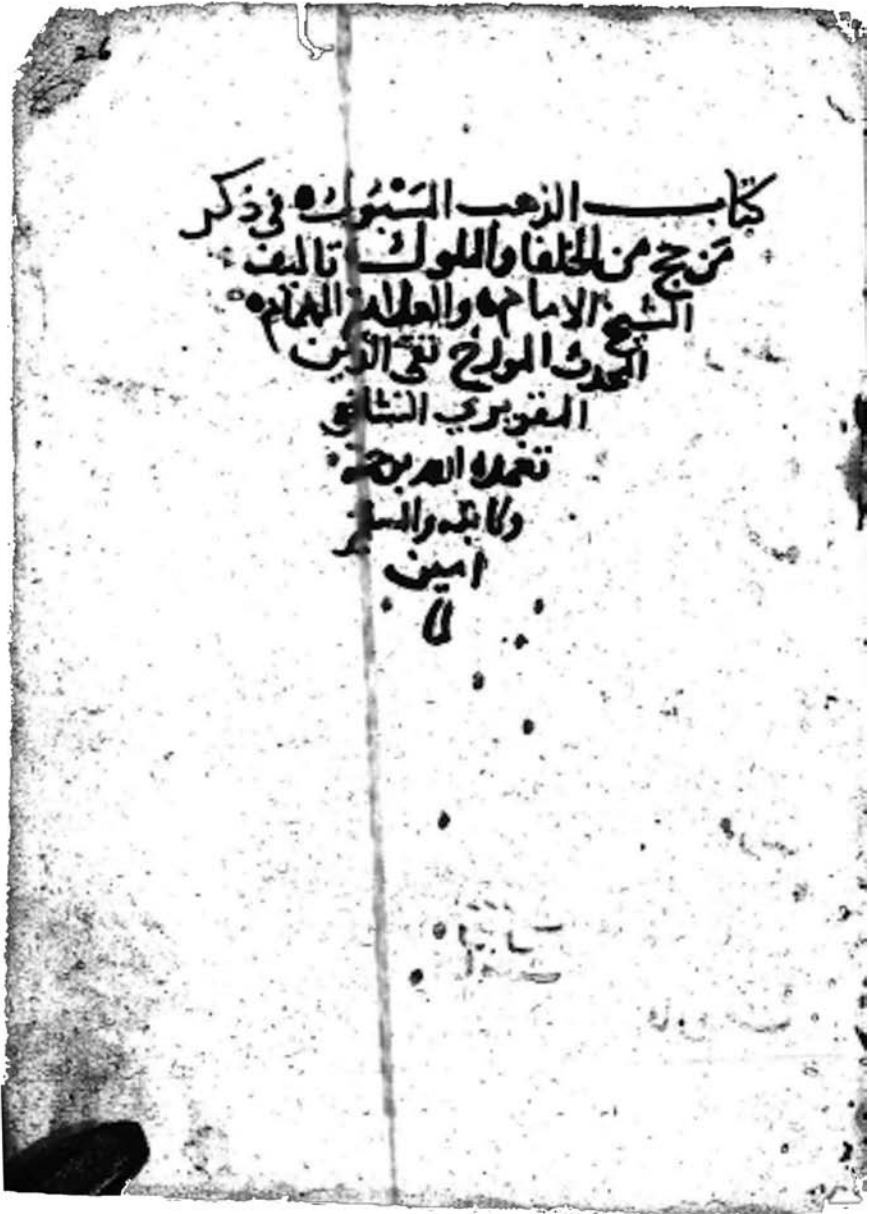


PLATE 3 *New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS Landberg 11, fol. 26^a*

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَوَجَّهْنَا
 لِدَارِهِمْ فِي الْآخِرَةِ الْمَسْجِدَ الَّذِي كُنَّا
 وَجَّهْنَا لَهُ فِي الْأُولَى وَمَا نَكُرُ
 لَهُ إِلَّا الْفِتْرَةَ الَّتِي كَانَتْ لِلنَّاسِ
 فَمَنْ عَمِلَ فِيهَا مِنْ سُوءٍ فَلَسْنَا
 بِمُؤْمِنِينَ إِلَّا مَنْ تَابَ وَجَزَاءُ
 الْعَمَلِ أَتَى النَّاسَ وَاللَّهُ عَلِيمٌ
 حَكِيمٌ
 وَجَّهْنَا لِدَارِهِمْ فِي الْآخِرَةِ الْمَسْجِدَ
 الَّذِي كُنَّا وَجَّهْنَا لَهُ فِي الْأُولَى
 وَمَا نَكُرُ لَهُ إِلَّا الْفِتْرَةَ الَّتِي
 كَانَتْ لِلنَّاسِ فَمَنْ عَمِلَ فِيهَا
 مِنْ سُوءٍ فَلَسْنَا بِمُؤْمِنِينَ إِلَّا
 مَنْ تَابَ وَجَزَاءُ الْعَمَلِ أَتَى
 النَّاسَ وَاللَّهُ عَلِيمٌ حَكِيمٌ

لعدة العواطف
 بالعبارة الموحدة

أي يحفظه

العرف في الصوت
 بالتسليم والفتح
 وسائر حركاته
 والاعتماد على
 الهمزة والفتحة

التام

PLATE 4 New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS Landberg m, fol. 26^b

راسه وجماعه في بوج المست ثالث ذى القعدة
 خارج القاهرة وسلطنوا الأمير علي بن السلطان
 تقدم لهم بوج الاحد ثابته بان السلطان دخل
 الى عقبة ليلة بوج الثلاثاء واقام لليلة الخميس
 وركب عليهم المالك ليلة الخميس بسبب تاخير النقلة
 فانهم من السلطان في نفر يسير فخرجوا الى ارض
 النصر فقبضوا على الامير ضرعهمش وغيره من الامراء
 وقتلوهم وقبض على الامير ف من بيت امرأة في
 ليلة الاثنين خامس ذى القعدة فكان
 آخر العمدية قتل خنقا والاراع
 وصل الله على سيدنا محمد وآله
 وصحبه وسلم كتبه فقير
 رحمة رب العالمين
 علي بن محمد اللاحق
 عفر الله
 وتوابعه
 وسنة يوم الخميس والاربعاء في بوج الجمعة خامس جمادى
 الثالث سنة ثمان مائة وعشرون الف وثمان مائة
 كتبه الفقير خطه جنس مراد رحمة الله من قاروقى المراد

PLATE 5 New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, ms Landberg 11, fol. 62^b

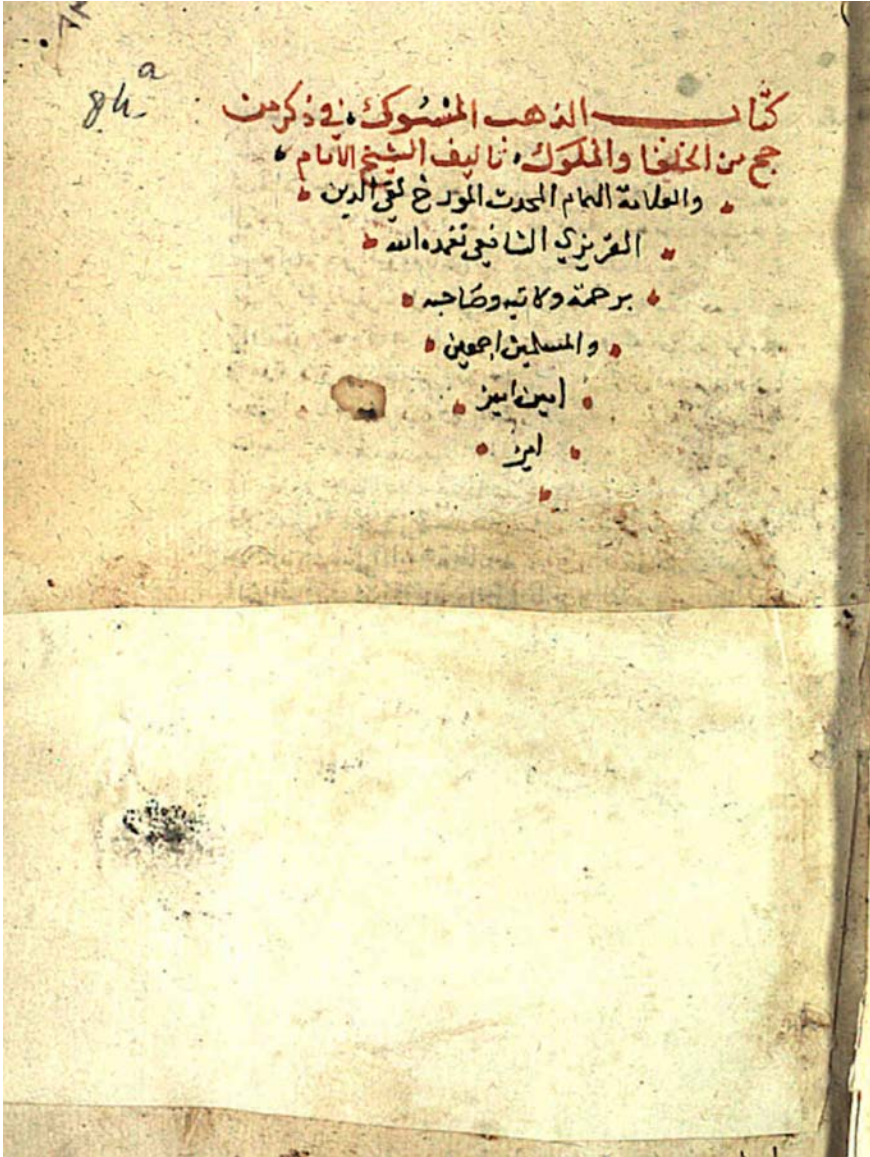


PLATE 6 Istanbul, Atıf Efendi Kütüphanesi, MS 2814, fol. 84^a

84^{هـ}

لست بالله الرحمن الرحيم وهو حسبي ونعم الوكيل
أخبرني وبه الاستعانة • على كل ما عزو وهان **وصلى الله على نبيته**
 محمد خاتم النبيين • وعلى آله وصحبه وإتباعه من **حلاله** يا قومه •
 اليوم الدين **وبعد** فأحال الله بهنلا إليه ما آذيني له ان
 يتبع أيام للفر المخدم باخاتهما اليآيات الصاكتة والزيادة
 العاظرات • ليكون كل دهر يستعمله • وامر يستأفقه نونيا
 على المتقدم له • قامرا عن الناخر عنه • ويوتيه من العراطولة •
 وابعره • ومهر العيش اعديه وارغده عزير منضورا • جميعا
 موفورا • باسطا يده فلا يفضها الا على نواصي اعداء وصناد
 ساميا طرفه فلا يفضه الا على لذة غمض ورقاد • يسترحبه
 دكا به • فلا يجعلها الا لاستصافه عزو ملك حازبة قدومه •
 فلا يجعلها الا حازبة مال حرقه يبال احصى ما توجه اليه اشية
 جابحه • وتسمى اليه طامحه • **وقد** استفاض ان العزم •
 الضريفه قد توي على الحج • والتجلي بالبح والشج • **وحررت**
العادة بالطاف العمد للسادة • **فتاملت** حلا الاتباع الذين
 يحب عليهم الهدايا فيقل هذه الحركة **فاردت** الشايعي بهم •
 ورايتني ان اهديت نفسي في ذلك المقر المخدم **وان** اهديت
 مالي فهو منه **وان** اهديت مودتي وشكري فما خالصين له
 غير مستر كين **وكرهت** ان اخلي هذا العزم من منصفه واكون
 من المقهرين • او ادعي في ملكي ما يني بحق المقر المخدم فاكون
 من الكاذبين • **سعيد** •
 • ان اهدت نفسي فهو مالكمنا • ولها اصون كرايم المخدم •
 • او اهدت مالي فهو واهبه • وانا الحق عليه بالكد •
 • او اهديت شكري فهو مرتين • بحيل فعلى اخر الدهر •
 • والشئ تستغني اذ اخلعت • ان تستغني بطلعة البدل •

وللان

PLATE 7 Istanbul, Atif Efendi Kütüphanesi, MS 2814, fol. 84^b

107^a

الاجلاب **وشرع بالاحتتام** بالبحر في سنة ثمان وسبعين
وخرج الجلاب الاثر للسفر يوم السبت ثاني عشر شوال **وخرج**
 طيب السلطان يوم الاحد ثالث عشر **فجر عشرين قطار من**
 بتماش ذهب وخمسة عشر قطارا بعين خير **وقطارا** حلب
 حلبين **وقطارا** بتماش ابيض برسم الاجرام **وامائة** راس خيل
 مشيرة **وكجا** وتين وتسع محفات كلها باعشمة حمير **وزكش**
 وستة واربعين زوج مجاير **وفراية** عشرين جلا **وقطارين**
 جمال يحمل خضر مز درعة **ومن** الجبال المحملة شياك **اورك**
 يوم الاثنين رابع عشره فاقام بسرايوس الى يوم الثلاثاء ثاني
 عشرونه واستقبل بالسيرو ومع من الاثر المقدمين **سعة** **ومن**
 الظلمة ناه خمسة وعشرون ومن العشر واتحفة عشر **فركب**
 طاش سمر المجدية اللغافا حوال العشرات **وقطارا** راس نوبه **فركب**
 في يوم السبت ثالث ذك القعدة خارج القاصق **وصلطوا**
 امير علي ابن السلطان تقدم الخبر يوم الاحد نانه بان السلطان
 وصل الى عقبة الابد يوم الثلاثاء واقام الى ليلة الخميس **فركب**
 عليه المائدة ليلة الخميس بسبب تاخير النفقة **فانضم** السلطان
 في تقريسيه في جوا الى قبة النصر فقبضوا على الامير صرغتمش وغيره
 من الاثام وقتلواهم **وقبض على الاشرف** من بيته امرأة في ليلة
 الاثنين خامس ذك القعدة فكان آخر العمد به قتل خنقا والله
 تعالى اعلم **وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد** وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم تسليما
كثيرا الى يوم الدين **امين اللهم** اغفر لولفه ولكاتبه ولصاحبه ولن
قراء فيه وتكرير وضعها واصلمه ولو الديرهم ولن دعاتهم
يا تغفرهم والصلوات على من كان الفراع من هذه
السنحة يوم الخميس عشرين الحجة الحرام من الحج
النبوية على صاحبها افضل الصلاه
والسلام

PLATE 8 Istanbul, Atf Efendi Kütüphanesi, MS 2814, fol. 107^a

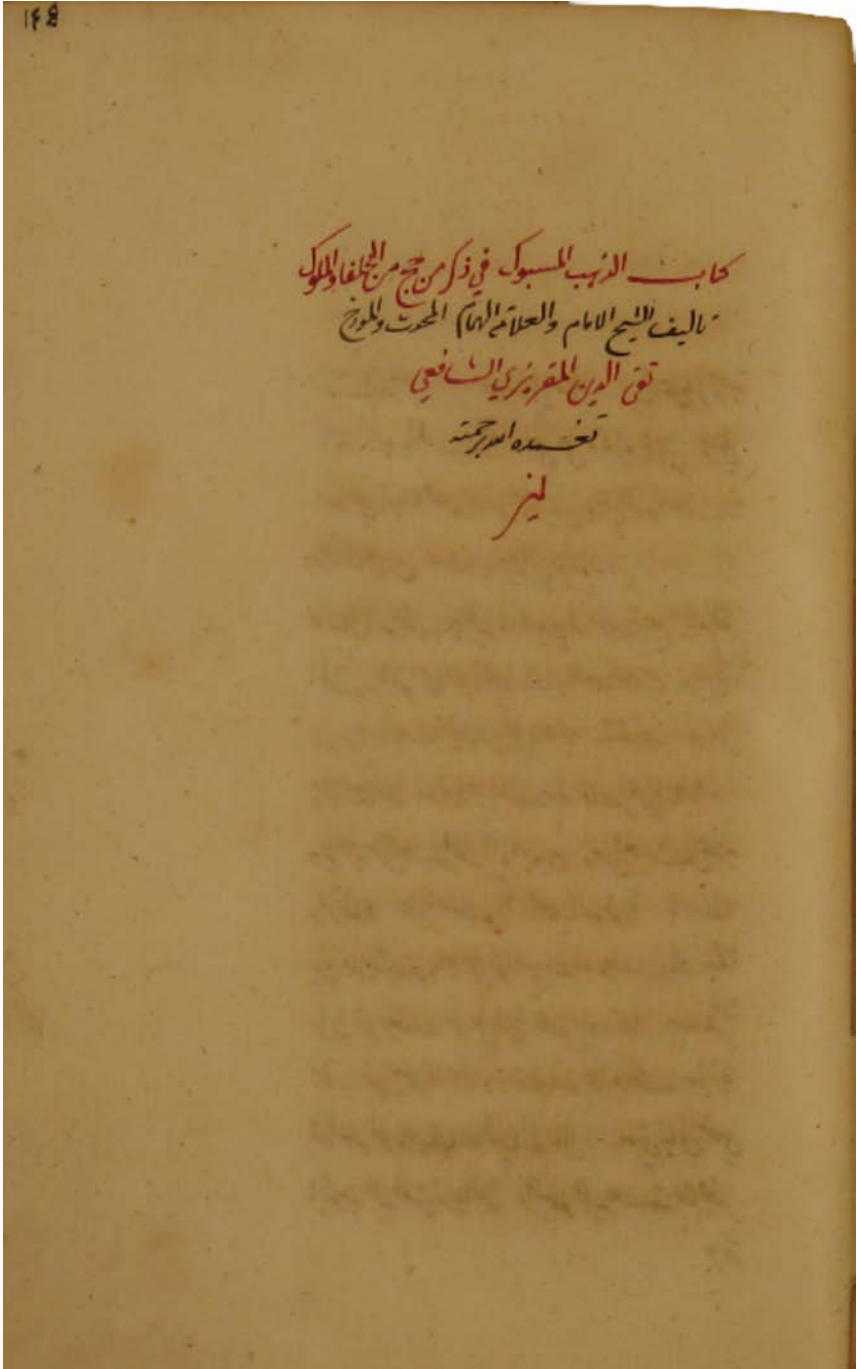
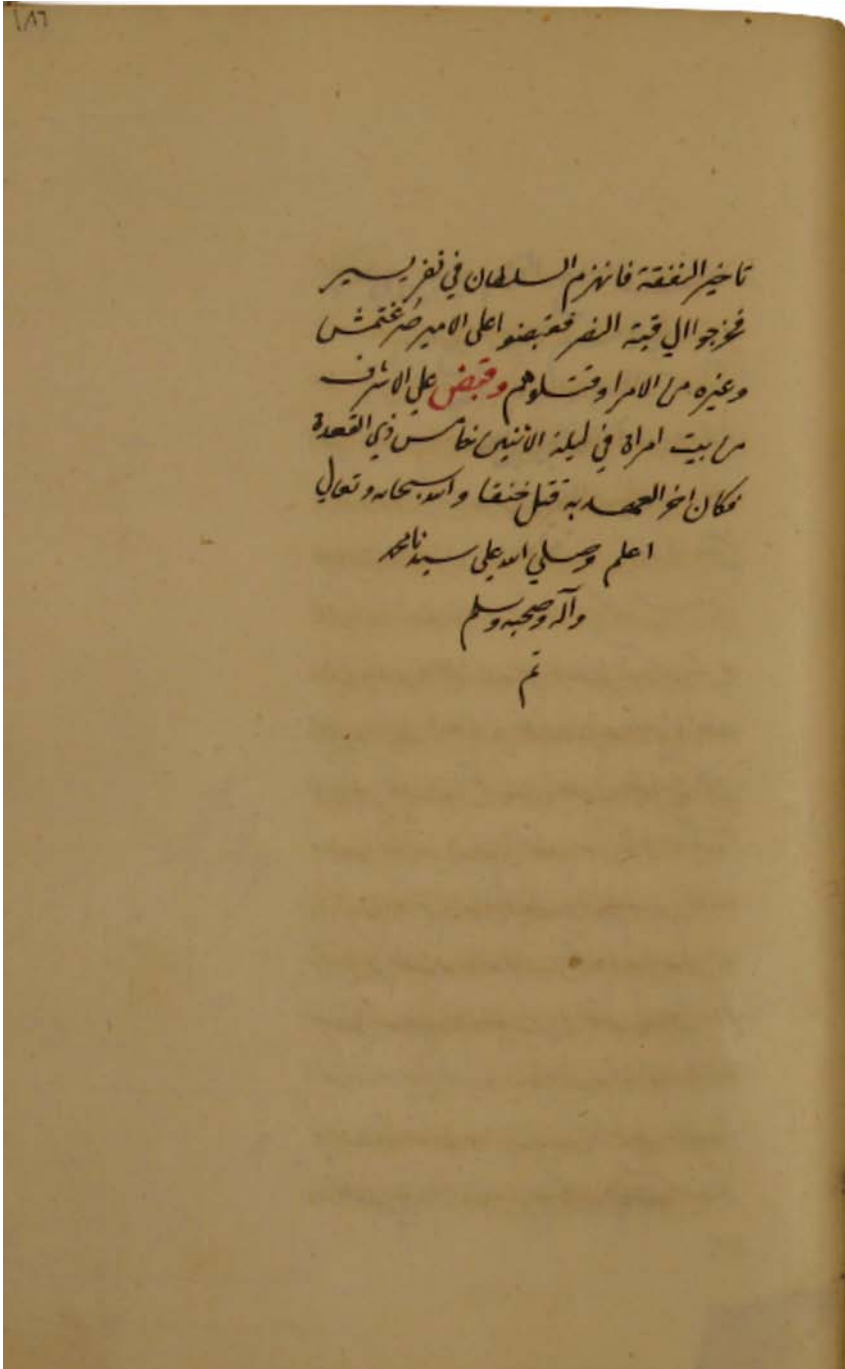


PLATE 9 Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, MS 4937, fol. 145^a

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم صلى الله عليه وسلم
الحمد لله وبالله التوفيق على كل ما عزو ولان صلى
 الله على نبينا محمد خاتم النبيين وعلى الرواحين
 والتابعين صلاة باقية الى يوم الدين **وجهد**
 فاسأل الله بتهنئته ما اريد لي ان يتبع ايام القدر
 المقدوم باخوانها الباقيات الصالحات والزيادات
 الفاضلات ليكون كل دهر يستقبله وامل
 يستأنفه موقفا على المتقدم له قاصر عن المتأخر عنه
 ويوتيه من الحسن اطول ما يعين ومن العيش اهدى
 وارغده عزز منصورا محببا موفورا باسما
 بين فلا يقبضها الا على نواصي اعداء وحساد سايا
 طرفه فلا يقبضه الا على لئق عنقض ورقاد مستحقة
 ركابه فلا يعلمها الا الاستضافة عز وطك حائزة
 قد احه فلا يجلبها الا الحيازة مال سبي نبال اخصي
 ما توجه اليه امنية جامعته وتسمو اليه همة طامحة
 وقد

PLATE 11 Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, MS 4937, fol. 186^a

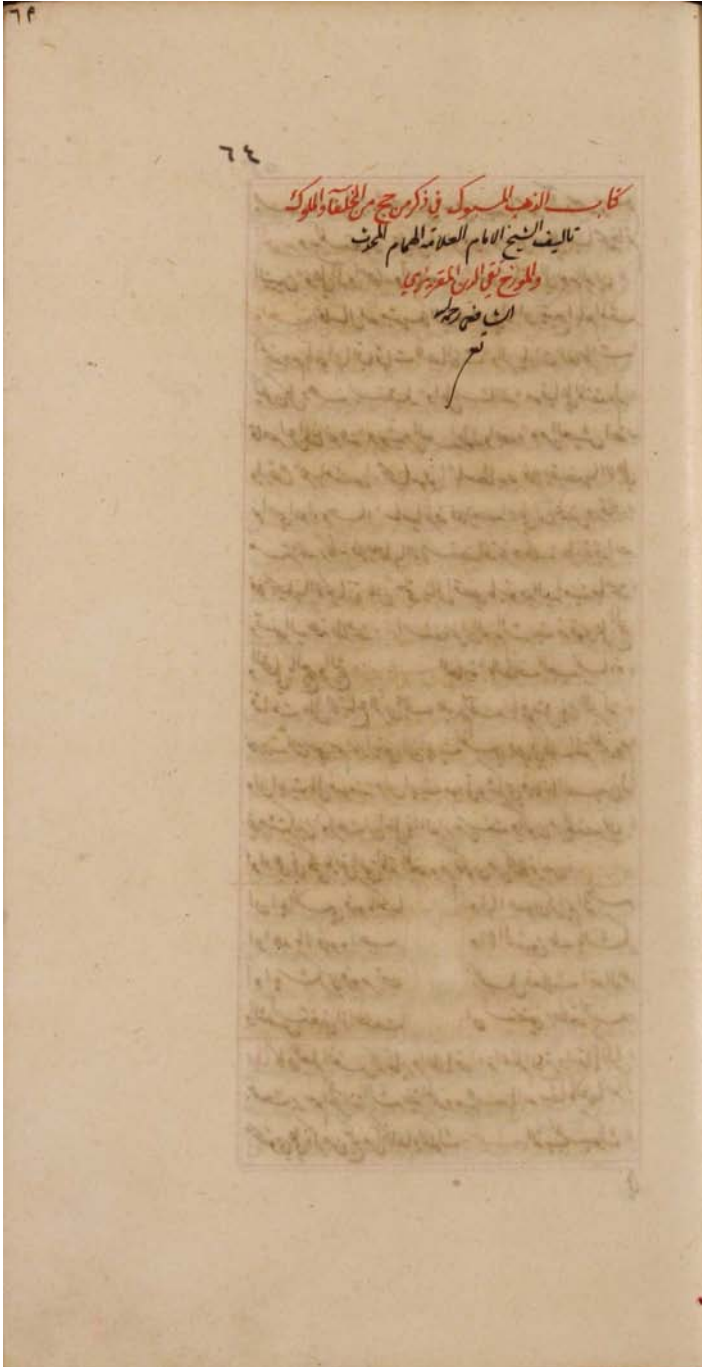


PLATE 12 Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi, MS Veliyüddin 3195, fol. 64^a

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ نَامُ مُحَمَّدٍ وَاللهُ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ
المحمدية وبه يستعان على كل ما خولنا من وصل على نبينا محمد بن عبد
 النبيين وعلى آل وصحابته وأئمتنا عشرين صلاة باقية إلى يوم الدين
واجبه فاسأل الله بمرسلاته ما يدري له ان يتبع ايام المقدر
 انخدوم باخوانها السابقات الصالحات والزيارات الفاطمات
 يكون كل درهم يستقبله وامر استأنفه موفيا على المقدم له
 قاصدا على التواضع وروية من العسر لعله وبعده ومن العيش اهذبه
 وانفق عمره منصورا محبا موفورا باسطا يده فلا يقبضها الا على
 نواصي اعداء وحده ساسا لطفه فلا يفضله الا على الخ غرض ورفاه
 مستحبه ركابه فلا يعلبه الا الاستضافة في ملكه حائزة قد احده
 فقه بجلبها الا بحجارة مال حتى ينال اقصى ما يتوجه اليه امينة حاشية
 وتسمو اليه همة طامحة وقد استفاد من العلم الشريف قد قوي على الحج
 والتخلي بالصبح والنج **وجرت** العادة بالاطراف الجيدة
 قضاة حل الاتباع الذين يجب عليهم الحمد اياهم مثل من الحركة
 غارت الناسي بهم ورايتني ان اهدت نفسي في ملك المقدم المحذوم
 وان اهدت مال فيومته وان اهدت مودتي وشكري فيها خالصين له
 غير مشتكين وكرهت ان اخل في العزم من سنة والكون من المقصرين
 لو ادعي في كل ما يعني بحق المقدم فكلون من الكاذبين

ان اهدت نفسي فهو ما كرهنا	ولها اصبون كرايم الله
او اهدت مالا فهو واجبه	وانا الحقيق عليه بالشكر
او اهدت شكري فهو من تهن	بجميل فعلك اضركم
والشكر مستغني اذا طلعت	ان تستغني بطلعة الله

ولما كان العلم النفس الدخاير واعلاها فورا واعظم الماشق وابقا اذكارا
 جمعت برسم الخزانة الشريفة الموهومة بحمد الله سبحانه وتعالى
 تحتوي على ذكر من حج من خلفا والملوك **وسميت** الذهبية بسوك

PLATE 13 Istanbul, Beyazit Devlet Kütüphanesi, MS Veliyüddin 3195, fol. 64^b

٨٥

في عشرين قطار هجين بقماش ذهب وخمسة عشر قطارا يعنى عشرين
 وقطارا ملبس خفيفي وقطار بقماش ابيض برسم الاصوامم ورمانية
 راسن خيل مشهوره وكجاو بين وتسع مخفات كلها باغشية
 صوير مزر كشن وستة واربعين زوج حيايز وثمانية عشر من جملها
 وقطارين جمال تحمل خضه فزرجه ومن الجمال المحملة ساكنين اورك
 يوم الاثنين رابع عشره فاقام بسره باقوس الي يوم الثلاثاء ثانيا عشره
واستقل بالمسيه ومع من الدر المقتد من ثلثه ومن الطبلخا ناه
 خنة وعشرين ومن العشرة اوات خنة عشرين طاشن ورا محمد
 الالفه احد العشرات وخرطاي راسن ثوبه وجماعة يوم السبت
 ثالث في ذوالقعدة خارج القاسره **وسلطونو امير علي بن السلطان**
 فقدم الخبر ثمانية بان السلطان وصل الي عينة امير يوم الثلاثاء واقام
 الي ليلة الخميس فركب عليه المالك بسبب تاخير النفقة فانزيم
 السلطان في نقر بسره فخرجوا الي قبة النضر فقبضوا على الامير
 صرغتمش وعذره من الامراء وقتلوهم **وقبض على الاشرف**
 من بيت المرأة في ليلة الاثنين خامس في القعدة فكان اخر
 الحرب به قتل خنقا والسراجا وعلالي
 اعلم حصل امر علي بن باجه
 والروحية
 وعل

يوم الاحد

PLATE 14 Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi, MS Veliyüddin 3195, fol. 85^a

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Hist. regum qui Meccam adiunant

(4)



كتاب الذهب المسبوك في ذكر
 فرج الخلفاء والملوك
 تأليف الشيخ الامام
 المرحوم تقي الدين
 احمد بن محمد
 القادر
 المقرئ
 رحمه الله

لاحته

ذكرنا في كتابنا هذا في تاريخ القادريين عن جعل بيتنا هذا في مكة
 انها حجت سنة ثمان وخمسين وثلثمائة فمنازل حجها مملوون ونازلها
 وذاك ما فيها قامت من المذبح وقرنت من الاموال ووقفت من المحاسن والاشرف
 لبعضه عن زيد بن عمرو بن نفلة بن مالك بن ابي نضلة الخلفاء والاشرف
 الملوك وهو ما ذكره القادريين انها سقت اهل البيت المسنون بالسكن
 الطير والاشرف واستخصت البيوت الماروعة في مكة على الخلفاء
 عن ما سواها من اعدت سمعنا من تراجم المصنفين من الخراج ونازل على
 الكعبة عشرة الاف دينار ولم تستصحب فيها مائة اقامتها الا بسبع
 الف مائة اقامتها حكمة فاعتفت الائمة بعد ما في داره فاعتفت
 بخارجين بالصلوة وحلفت على طيقات المنا من خمسين الف نوب
 وكان مقرها اربعة محاربه لا يدري في ايها هي انتهى في الله اعلم
 ومن الجحيم ما في الائمة اظلمت اوقات الولاة وضربوا بغير ضمانة
 واستولوا على الدولة فبا حصر على المواقيع وما لكل اهل بيتها اقتصت
 بها الخرافة في كل قارة وذاك ما كتبت من غير مدغم وكان قد احسن وخطها
 لغته فاستفتت بزنها عنه فاحتملها فاحتملها فاحتملها فاحتملها فاحتملها
 تشفيها وما زال يهيبها والمطالبة حتى اعراها وهتكها من الزمان
 اسرارها ان يصح ما يقع عليها من الما والما ان تختلف الولاة ما
 حلتب فيها ما وقع من ماصا ووسما جدا صاف بها الجرم والشرف
 على المشقة انهم من حمله الخلفاء منها والعتق نفسها في دولة
 تفرقة رحمنا الله تعالى ولو لا فاحتملها امين

PLATE 15 Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 746, fol. 78a

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
الحمد لله وبه المستعان على كل ما عجز وقاد هو صلى
الله على نبينا محمد طم النبیین وعلى آله وأصحابه والاتباعین
صلاة باقية الأيام والدين **والمجد** فأسأله سبحانه
اليه ما أدى له ان يتبع أيام المقر المحذور باخوانها
اباقيات الصالحات والزيادة انت الفامرات ليكون
كل دم يستقبله وأمل نسيانته مؤفيا على المقدمة له
قاصرا عن المتأخر عنه ويوتيه من الفم العذراء والحواء
ومن القيس عذبة وارحمة من نيا مضورا محيا يوفور
باسط يدك فلا يفيضها الا على فواصي عذراء وحساد
ساميا طرفه فلا يفيضه طرفة عين ورفاد سترجيه
ركابه فلا يملها الا لاستفاضة عز وملك خازنه
قداحة فلا يجيلها الا لحيانة مال حتى ينالك افضى
يتوجه اليه امنينة جامعهم ولتسموا اليه همه طابحة
وقد استفاض ان العزيم الشريف قد قوي على الخ والكل
بالبحر والسبح وجرت العادة بالطاق العبد للسادة
فتاملت حال الاتباع الذين يجيب عليهم الهدايا في سبل
هذه الحركة فان دت الناس بهم ورايتي ان اهديت
نفسى في ملك المقر المحذور وان اهديت مالي فهو
وان اهديت مودتي وشكري بما خالص له عين مستر كين
وكهنت ان اخطى هذا العزم من سنة واقون من المصربا
او ادعي في ملكي ما يفي بحق المقر المحذور فاقون من الكاذبين
ان اهدتني فهو ما كساها ولها اصول كرامة الزجر
او اهدتني لاهو واهاه وانا الحقيق عليه بالسكر
او اهدتني فهو منهن يحيل فضلا اخر المصربا

والسر

PLATE 16 Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 746, fol. 78b

سنة اربع و سبعين و ستمائة و قام بامر الملك الامير بليغا العربي
الغاسق الى ان قتل في ربيع الاخر سنة ثمان و ستين و ستمائة
فقول عامه قليلا ثم قتل استدر بعد بليغا فاستدر
واوتم با بليغا و بليغا الاجلاب و شرح با لاهتمام بالبحر في
سنة ثمان و سبعين و خرج اطلاب الامر للسفر في يوم
السبت ثمان و عشرين و خرج طلب السلطان و امر الاحد
ثمان عشرة و ثمان و عشرين و قطار هجى بقاس ذهب و حنة
عشر قطار و ثمان و عشرين و قطار املبس خليف و قطار
بقاس اربعين برهما لاجرام و ثمان و عشرين خيل مسهون و جمال
و تسع صحافات كلها با عشية حريم مرزكس و سنة و اربعين
زبح محابرو خزانة عشر من جملاق و قطار من جمال تحمل
حضر اوقات مرز و عة و من الجمال المحملة شيئا كثيرا و ترك
يوم الاثنين سابع عشرة فاقام بسرا قوس الى يوم
الثلاثاء فاني عشر بيرة و استقل بالمسير و بعد من الامراء
المقدمين تسعة و من الطلبة امان خمسة و عسرون و من
العسرا و امان خمسة عشر فوكب طاس و من المحرمي الفا واحد
العشرات و قرطاي و اسنوبه و جماعة في يوم السبت
ثالث في العدة خارج القاهرة و لطف الامير علي السلطان
فقد الخبر يوم الاحد ثمانية مات السلطان و وصل العفة في
الثلاثاء و اقام الى ليلة الخميس فوكب عليه المالك ليلة الخميس
سبب اخيل المنفعة فامتدت السلطان في ثمان و عشرين و نحو الى
ثقة النصر و قبض على الامير صر عمنس و غيره من الامراء
و قتلهم و قبض على الامراء من بيت امرأة في ليلة الاثنين
خامس في العدة فوكب اخر المهدي و بعد اخفا و جملة
تمس احكام و الحرس و حرام

PLATE 17 Cambridge, University Library, Ms Add. 746, fol. 105b

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
الحمد لله وبه المستعان، على كل ما عزوه هان
 وصل الله على نبينا محمد خاتم النبيين وعلى آله واصحابه
 والتابعين صلاة باقية إلى يوم الدين **وبعد**
 فاستقبل الله ميتي ملائكة ما دأبدي له من يسوع أيام
 المقدس المخدم بأخواتها المناقبات العبا الحيات
 والزيايات الطامرات ليكون كل دهر يستقبله وأمل
 ببساتنه موفيا على المتقدم له قاصرا على عن المتأخر
 عنه ويوتيه من المراهولة وأبعده ومن العيش أهدى
 وأرضه عزه بمنصورا محميا موفورا بإسطارده
 فلا يقضها إلا على نواصي أعداء حساد سامعا
 طرفه فلا يقضه على لذة تممض ورقا دمستقحة
 ركا به فلا يبعثها إلا الاستفاضة عز وملك حاتبة
 قد اهدت فلا يجلبها إلا الحياة مال حتى ينال أقصى
 ما يتوجه إليه أمسة خاشعة وتسمو إليه همه طامحة
 وقد استفاضت أني أن العزم الشريف قد قوى على الخ
 والتجنى بالبور والسخ وجزت العادة لالطاف
 العبيد للسادة فتاملت حال الاتباع الذي يجيب
 عليهم الهدايا في مثل هذه الحركة فأردت التأسى بهم
 ورايتني أنا أهديت نفسي وهي في ملك المقر
 المخدم وأنا أهديت مالي فهو منه وأنا أهديت
 مودتي وشكرتي تمامًا خالصي له غير مستغربين
 وكرحت أن أخلي هذا المخدم من سنته والون من القصر
 أو ادعي في ملكي ما في بحق المقر المخدم فالون من
الكاذابين شمس

PLATE 18 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms arabe 4657, fol. 101^b

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طلب السلطان يوم الأحد ثالث عشر من شهر محرم
 قطار هجين بثمانين ذهب وخمسة عشر قطاراً يعنى
 حبراً و قطاراً ملبساً بغيره و قطاراً بغيره
 برسم الاحرام ومائة فوس خيل مشهوره ومجاويز
 وتسع محفات كلها باعسية حبر مزر كوش وستة
 واربعين زوج مجاير وقرانة عشرين جلا و قطاراً
 جملاً لا تحمل خضر مرورعة ومن الجمال المحملة شياكها
 وركب يوم الاثنين رابع عشره فاقام بسربا قوس الى
 يوم الثلاثاء ثاني عشر منه واستقل بالمسير يومه
 من الامراء المقدمين تسعة ومن الطبليخانات خمسة
 وعشرون ومن العشاوات خمسة عشر فركب
 طائفة من المجرى المغاف احد العشرات ووظاكي
 راس نوبة وجماعة في يوم السبت ثالث ذى القعدة
 خارج القاهرة وسلطوا الامير علي بن السلطان
 فقدم الخبر يوم الاحد رابعه بان السلطان وصل
 الى عقبة ايلة يوم الثلاثاء واقام الى ليلة الخميس
 فركب عليه المماليك ليلة الخميس بسبب تاخر
 النفقة فانتم السلطان في تقدسير فخرجوا
 الى عقبة النصر فقبوا على الامير صر عتمش وعبر
 من الامراء قتلوه وحبسوا على الاسرف من بيت
 امراء في ليلة الاثنين خامس ذى القعدة
 فكان اخر العهد به قتل خنقا وانما اعلم بالصواب
 واليه المرجع والمآب وصلى الله على سيدنا
 محمد وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم والحمد
 لله رب العالمين

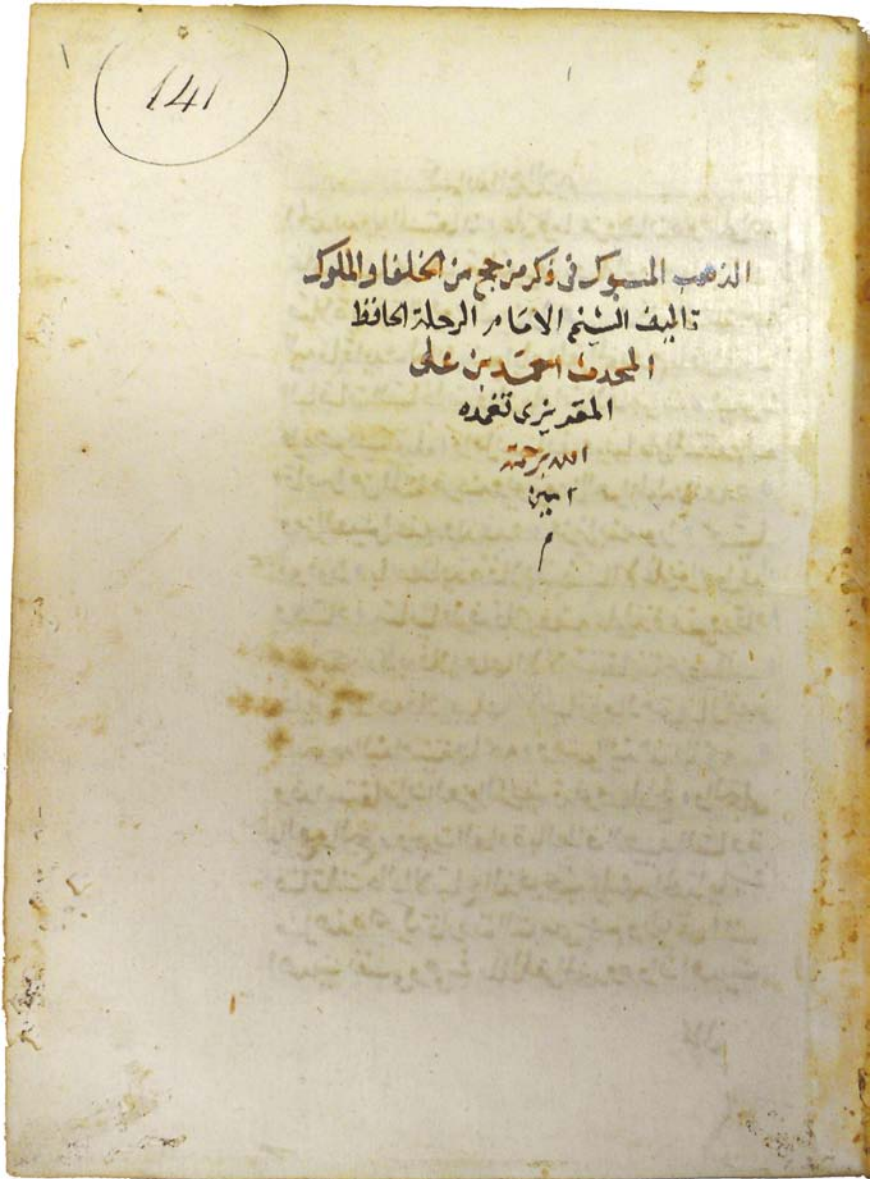


PLATE 20 Cambridge, University Library, MS Qq. 141, fol. 1^a

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 الحمد لله وبه المستعان على كل ما عجز وهان وصلى الله
 على نبينا محمد خاتم النبيين وعلى آله واصحابه والتابعين
 صلاة باقية الى يوم الدين **وبعد** فاسأل الله مبتلانا
 اليه ما ايدى له ان يمنع ايام المقر المحذوم باخواننا
 البقيات الصالحات والزيادات الغامرات ليكون
 كل دهر يستقبله وامل يستأنفه موفيا على المتقدم له
 قاصرا عن المتأخر عنه ويؤتميه من العرا طوله والبعده
 ومن العيش اعذبه وارغده عزير منصورا محمدا
 موفورا باسطا يده فلا يقبضها الا على نواصي غدا
 وحساد ساميا طرفه فلا يغضه على لذة غمض ورقاد
 مسترجية ركابه فلا يعملها الا لاستفاضة عز وملك
 حائزة قد احد فلا يجعلها الا حيازة مال حتى ينال أقصى
 ما يتوجه اليه امتية جامحه وتتمو اليه همه طامحه
 وقد استفاضت العز الشريف قد قوى على الخ والتجلى
 بالعم والبخ وجرت العادة بالاطاف العميد السادة
 فتاقلت حال الاتباع الذي يجب عليهم الهدايا يست
 مثل هذه الحركة فاروت الناسى بهم ورايتنى ان
 اهديت نفسى وهمي في ملك المقر المحذوم وان اهديت

مالي

37

وابعثه فاقام بسريا قوس الى يوم الثلاثاء اثنى عشر يني
 واستقل بالمسيير ومعه من الامراء المقدمين تسعة ومن
 الطبايخا نافع خمسة وعشرون ومن العشاوان خمسة عشر
 فركب طلائس تمر المحمري اللغاف احد العشاوان وقرطاي
 راس نوبه وجماعة في يوم السبت ثالث ذي القعدة
 خارج القاهرة وساطنوا الامير علي بن السلطان فقدم
 الخبر يوم الاحد ثابته بان السلطان وصل الى عقبة ابله
 يوم الثلاثاء واقام الى ليلة الخميس فركب عليه المراكب
 ليلة الخميس بسبب تاخير النفقة فانزله السلطان في نفر
 يسير فخرجوا الى قبة النصر فقبضوا على الامير صرغتمش
 وغيره من الامراء قتالوهم وقبض على الاشرف من بيوت
 امرأة في ليلة الاثنين خامس ذي القعدة فكان اخر العهد
 به قتال حقيقا والله اعلم بالصواب واليه المرجع والمآب
 وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد والال واصحابه
 وكان الفراغ من كتابتها يوم الجمعة
 خامس عشر شهر صفر الحجة
 سنة ١٢٣٢ هـ لكتابتها
 ومولتها وقايرها
 والمهين
 امير
 ا

TABLE 1 *Collation table of 58 scribal errors in mss. L (white [= scribe]/orange [= author]), E (yellow), Y (light blue), Ia (purple), In (grey), Iv (dark blue), Ca (red), P (dark green), Cq (light green)*

Leiden UB MS Or 560, ff. 115 ^b -135 ^a (<i>asl</i>) → L [A1 + A2] / 1438	Escorial, MS Ar. 1771, ff. 22 ^b -75 ^b → E / 16th c.	New Haven, Yale UL, MS Landberg 111, ff. 26-62 → Y / 1609	Ist. SK, MS Atuf Efendi 2814, ff. 84 ^b -107 ^b → Ia / 1632
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سميته الذهب المسبوك (١١٥)

سميته الذهب المسبوك
في ذكر من حج من
الخلفاء والملوك (١٢٧)

يامره عن ربه تعالى (١١٦)

وامر من كان معه هدي (١١٦)

فقال له صلى الله عليه وسلم بما اهللت قال
بأهلل كاهلال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم
(١١٦)

/ (١٢٦)

ثم حل من كل شي حرم منه صلى الله عليه
وسلم وخطب ثاني يوم النحر (١١٦)

ثم حل من كل شي
حرم منه صلى الله
عليه وسلم ثاني يوم
النحر ثم خطب
(١٢٩)

في تلك الحجة (١١٩)

المنصف (١١٩)

المنصف (٣٤)

Ist., SK, MS Nuruosmaniye 4937, ff. 145 ^a – 186 ^a → In / 1674–1675	Ist. SK, MS Veliüddin 3195, ff. 64–85 → Iv / 1690	Cambridge UL, MS Add. 746, ff. 78–105 → Ca / 1701	Paris, BnF, MS arabe 4657, ff. 101 ^b –131 ^a → P / mid-18th c.	Cambridge UL, MS Qq. 141, ff. 1–37 → Cq / 1817
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وسميته بالذهب
المسبوك في ذكر
من حج من الخلفاء
والملوك (١٧٩)

يامره عن ربه عز
وجل (١٦٥)

وامر من كان معه
(١٤٧ب)

ثم حل من كل شيء
احرم منه صلى الله
عليه وسلم ثاني يوم
التحر ثم خطب
(١٨٠ب)

في تلك السنة (١١٥٣)

Leiden UB MS Or 560, ff. 115 ^b -135 ^a (<i>asl</i>) → L [A1 + A2] / 1438	Escorial, MS Ar. 1771, ff. 22 ^b -75 ^b → E / 16th c.	New Haven, Yale UL, MS Landberg 111, ff. 26-62 → Y / 1609	Ist. SK, MS Atf Efendi 2814, ff. 84 ^b -107 ^b → Ia / 1632
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ويعث الوليد الى ملك الروم بما عزم عليه
(١١٩ب)

بجزر (١١٢٠)

بجزور (٣٥ب)

الذي سقاكم الماء العذب الزلال النقاخ العذب
(١٢٠)

/ (١٢٠ب)

من بغداد الى مكة (١٢١)

ومن بديع ما يحكي عنه (١٢١ب-١٢٦)

ومن بديع ما حكي
عنه ... (٣٩ب)

وعن حسبك (١٢٦ب)

وعن حبيك (٤١ب)

ولما دخل الرشيد مكة (١٢٤ب)

والكسوة الظاهرة (١٢٥)

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Ist., SK, MS Nuruosmaniye 4937, ff. 145 ^a - 186 ^a → In / 1674-1675	Ist. SK, MS Veliüddin 3195, ff. 64-85 → Iv / 1690	Cambridge UL, MS Add. 746, ff. 78-105 → Ca / 1701	Paris, BnF, MS arabe 4657, ff. 101 ^b -131 ^a → P / mid-18th c.	Cambridge UL, MS Qq. 141, ff. 1-37 → Cq / 1817
ويعث الوليد بما عزم عليه الى ملك الروم (١١٥٤)				
الذي سقاكم الماء العذب الزلال التقاخ (٦٩ب)				
		والله المعين (١٨٦)	والله المعين الهادي الى طريق الارشاد (١١٠)	والله المعين الهادي الى طريق الرشاد (١١ب)
من بغداد الى الكوفة (١٧٠)				
ولما دخل الرشيد مكة وهو خليفة (١١٦٢)				
الكسوة الطاهرة (١٦٢ب)	والكسوة الظاهرة الفاخرة (١٧٢)			

Leiden UB MS Or 560, ff. 115 ^b -135 ^a (<i>asl</i>) → L [A1 + A2] / 1438	Escorial, MS Ar. 1771, ff. 22 ^b -75 ^b → E / 16th c.	New Haven, Yale UL, MS Landberg 111, ff. 26-62 → Y / 1609	Ist. SK, MS Atf Efendi 2814, ff. 84 ^b -107 ^b → Ia / 1632
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ومن فضائل الرشيد (١٢٣ب)

ثم قال له (١٢٣ب)

/(١٢٥ب)

قسم الدولة بن اقسنقر (١٢٥ب)

والمارستان (١٢٥ب)

وستماية (١٢٧ب)

بالحرمين (١٢٧ب)

وبالغ في الاحسان (١٢٧ب)

كفنى (١٢٧ب)

جزيلة (١٢٧ب)

والجنبايات (١٢٨ب)

وخمسمية (٤٦ب)

جليلة (١٤٨)

الجنبايات (٤٩ب)

Ist., SK, MS Nuruosmaniye 4937, ff. 145 ^a - 186 ^a → In / 1674-1675	Ist. SK, MS Veliüddin 3195, ff. 64-85 → Iv / 1690	Cambridge UL, MS Add. 746, ff. 78-105 → Ca / 1701	Paris, BnF, MS arabe 4657, ff. 101 ^b -131 ^a → P / mid-18th c.	Cambridge UL, MS Qq. 141, ff. 1-37 → Cq / 1817
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		وقال (ب٩١)		
والله سبحانه وتعالى اعلم (١٧٥)				
		قسم الدولة بن آق (ب١١٧)		
والبيمارستان (ب١٦٧)		والبيمارستانات (ب٩٣)		
بالحرمين الشريفين (١١٦٨)				
وبالغ في الاحسان رحمه الله تعالى (١١٦٨)				
الكفن (ب١٦٨)				
		/ (ب١٢٠)		

Leiden UB MS Or 560, ff. 115 ^b -135 ^a (<i>asl</i>) → L [A1 + A2] / 1438	Escorial, MS Ar. 1771, ff. 22 ^b -75 ^b → E / 16th c.	New Haven, Yale UL, MS Landberg 111, ff. 26-62 → Y / 1609	Ist. SK, MS Atif Efendi 2814, ff. 84 ^b -107 ^b → Ia / 1632
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والجنايات (١٢٨ب)

الجبايات (٤٩ب)

/ (١٢٨ب)

سلطنة مصر (١٢٨ب)

ان التشتت (١٢٨ب)

ان التشتت (١٥٧)

ان تشتت (٥٠ب)

ولم تزل كسوة المظفر التي كساها للكعبة
(١٢٩)

الفوار (١٣٠)

النوار (٦٠ب)

الفور (١٥٣)

يوم الخميس خامس شهر شوال (١٣٠)

وبلاد الشام (١٣١)

مهاجرة السلطان (١٣١)

قتل اخيه الملك الأشرف صلاح الدين خليل
بن قلاوون (١٣١ب)

Ist., SK, MS Nuruosmaniye 4937, ff. 145 ^a - 186 ^a → In / 1674-1675	Ist. SK, MS Veliüddin 3195, ff. 64-85 → Iv / 1690	Cambridge UL, MS Add. 746, ff. 78-105 → Ca / 1701	Paris, BnF, MS arabe 4657, ff. 101 ^b -131 ^a → P / mid-18th c.	Cambridge UL, MS Qq. 141, ff. 1-37 → Cq / 1817
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والله سبحانه وتعالى اعلم (٧٧ب)				
سلطنته (١٧١ب)				
ولم تزل كسوة الكعبة التي كساها المظفر (١١٧٣)		ولم تزل كسوة المظفر التي كساها الكعبة (١٢١ب)		
يوم الخميس خامس شوال (١٧٩)				
والشام (١٨٠)				
مهاتنه (١٨٠)				
		اخيه الملك الاشرف صلاح الدين خليل بن قلاوون (١١٠٠)		

Leiden UB MS Or 560, ff. 115 ^b -135 ^a (<i>asl</i>) → L [A1 + A2] / 1438	Escorial, MS Ar. 1771, ff. 22 ^b -75 ^b → E / 16th c.	New Haven, Yale UL, MS Landberg 111, ff. 26-62 → Y / 1609	Ist. SK, MS Atf Efendi 2814, ff. 84 ^b -107 ^b → Ia / 1632
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اشلون بنت شكراي (١٣١ب)	اسلُونُ بنتُ شُكْرَاي (١٦٤)		
فقدم (١٣١ب)			
وتقطاي الساقى (١٣١ب)		وتقطاي الساقى (١٥٦)	
وسلهم (١٣١ب)			
ومنهم من له خمسون عليقة (١٣٢ب)			ومنهم من له خمسين عليقة (١٠٣ب)
بعد ما كان سلوكها مشقا (١٣٢ب)			
وتقدم اليه قاضي القضاة بدر الدين ابن جماعة (١٣٢ب)	وتقدم اليه ابن جماعة (١٦٨)		
مدة سنين (١٣٣)			
وصاروا يدلون عليه ادلالا زائدا (١٣٣)			
والاحمدي مستمر عليه زرديه وسيفه (١٣٣ب)		وكل احد مشتمل عليه زرديه وسيفه (٥٩ب)	
ومعه مائة حجارا (١٣٣ب)		ومعه مائة حجار (١٦٠)	

Ist., SK, MS Nuruosmaniye 4937, ff. 145 ^a – 186 ^a → In / 1674–1675	Ist. SK, MS Veliüddin 3195, ff. 64–85 → Iv / 1690	Cambridge UL, MS Add. 746, ff. 78–105 → Ca / 1701	Paris, BnF, MS arabe 4657, ff. 101 ^b –131 ^a → P / mid-18th c.	Cambridge UL, MS Qq. 141, ff. 1–37 → Cq / 1817
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اسلون بنت سگاي
(۱۱۰۰)

فتقدم (۸۰ب)

واسلهم (۱۸۱)

بعدا ما كان سلوکه
صعب (۱۱۸۰)

والاحمدي مستمر
زرديه وسيفه (۱۱۲۸)

والاحمدي مشتمل
عليه زرديه وسيفه
(۱۱۰۳)

Leiden UB MS Or 560, ff. 115 ^b -135 ^a (<i>asl</i>) → L [A1 + A2] / 1438	Escorial, MS Ar. 1771, ff. 22 ^b -75 ^b → E / 16th c.	New Haven, Yale UL, MS Landberg 111, ff. 26-62 → Y / 1609	Ist. SK, MS Atf Efendi 2814, ff. 84 ^b -107 ^b → Ia / 1632
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مَسَّا (١٣٣ب)	منسا (٦٠ب)	
انا رجل مالكي المذهب (١١٣٤)		
وقربه اليه (١١٣٤)		
فلم يمكنه امير مكة من ذلك (١١٣٤)	فلم يمكنه من ذلك امير مكة (١٦١)	
وعنف تعنيفا كثيرا (١١٣٥)	؟	
وقام بامر المملكة (١١٣٥)	وقام بامر الملك (١٦٢)	
وهو محفات كلها باغشية حرير مزركش (١١٣٥)	كلها باغشية حرير مزركش (١٦٢)	
طاش تمر المحمدي اللفاف (١١٣٥)		
ليلة الخميس (١١٣٥)		
والله اعلم (١١٣٥)	والله اعلم وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه وسلم (٦٢ب)	والله تعالى اعلم وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد والى آله وصحبه وسلم تسليما كثيرا الى يوم الدين امين اللهم (١٠٧)

Ist., SK, MS	Ist. SK, MS	Cambridge UL,	Paris, BnF, MS	Cambridge
Nuruosmaniye 4937, ff. 145 ^a – 186 ^a → In / 1674–1675	Veliüddin 3195, ff. 64–85 → Iv / 1690	MS Add. 746, ff. 78–105 → Ca / 1701	arabe 4657, ff. 101 ^b –131 ^a → P / mid-18th c.	UL, MS Qq. 141, ff. 1–37 → Cq / 1817
انا مالكي المذهب (١١٨٣)				
وقربه (١١٨٣)				
وعنف تعنيفا كبيرا (١١٨٤) ?				وعنف تعنيفا (١٣٦)
طاش قرا المحمدي اللقاف (١١٨٥)				
/ (١١٨٥)				
والله سبحانه وتعالى اعلم وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم (١١٨٦)		رحمه الله تمت الكتاب والحمد لله وحده (١٠٥)	والله اعلم بالصواب واليه المرجع والمآب وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى اله وصحبه وسلم والحمد لله رب العالمين (١٣١)	والله اعلم بالصواب واليه المرجع والمآب وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد والال والاصحاب (١٣٧)

TABLE 2 *Calculation of the reproduction from L, Y, or In in other relevant manuscripts (Y only has data for 55 errors due to missing pages in the manuscript) (number of cases of exact reproduction in one of the manuscripts/58 cases selected as comparative model in L, Y [only 55] or In)*

	L [A ₁ + A ₂] 1438	E 16th c.	Y 1609	Ia 1632	In 1674-1675	Iv 1690	Ca 1701	P mid-18th c.	Cq 1817
L	58/58	51/58	36/55	40/58	24/58	9/58	34/58	37/58	39/58
% reprod.	100	87,95	64,45	68,97	41,38	15,52	58,62	63,8	67,24
Y			55/55	52/55	38/55	28/55	43/55	46/55	47/55
% reprod.			100	94,55	69,09	50,91	78,18	83,63	85,45
In					58/58	44/58			
% reprod.					100	75,86			

PART 2

Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of
al-Maqrīzī's al-Dahab al-masbūk fī dīkr
man ḥaġġa min al-ḥulafā' wa-l-mulūk

∴

Introduction

As explained in the third chapter of this monograph's first part, the four modern editions of the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* that have so far been published are all rooted one way or another in the early 1950s, when almost simultaneously but independently from each other two editions were produced, by Ġamāl al-Dīn al-Šayyāl in Cairo and by Ḥamad al-Ġāsir in Riyadh. The retrieval in the context of the *Bibliotheca Maqriziana* of all relevant manuscript copies and of authoritative manuscript traditions as well as the deepened understanding of the complexity of this text and of the contexts in which it operated also mean that the time certainly has come to revisit these editions. Above all this has made clear that this handful of modern textual reproductions relies on one of the more distant manuscript clusters in the material history of the text, and that the only extant autograph of *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in the manuscript L (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Or. 560, fol. 115^b–135^a) has so far never been the object of any critical edition. There are therefore many good reasons to present such a new edition of this text as it appears in L in this second part of this book. This new critical edition tries to faithfully reflect the text as al-Maqrīzī continued to add some material to it during and after late 841/mid-1438 (A2), and as it eventually also would be reproduced in the course of the sixteenth century in E, and thereafter in all known other manuscripts. The nature and extent of these collations, emendations, and additions by al-Maqrīzī are indicated and clarified in the critical apparatus (in Arabic), so that al-Maqrīzī's substantial corrections of the copyist's work as well as his additions to the pre-841/1437 version of the text (A1) continue to stand out, as they do in L. Wherever relevant this Arabic critical apparatus also clarifies where the orthography of L (especially regarding the writing and/or support of the *hamza*) was aligned with modern standards, and where for reasons of legibility L's many orthographic idiosyncrasies and particularities (especially regarding the presence/absence of consonantal diacritics) had to be adjusted. The critical apparatus finally also identifies references to al-Maqrīzī's and others' texts, parallels with other texts, and the text's handful of Qur'anic verses.

Side by side with this new critical edition, this second part also presents the first ever English translation of al-Maqrīzī's summary history of the pilgrimage and of his identification of all the Muslim rulers who, according to the author, had meaningfully and actively engaged with the *ḥaġġ* during eight centuries of Muslim history. This also enables non-specialist readers to engage directly with *al-Dahab al-masbūk*'s twenty-seven diverse leadership narratives and with their simple or complex strings of variegated stories about some of

these rulers' leadership experiences that were mostly somehow related to the Mecca sanctuary. In order to enhance the accessibility and intelligibility of this convoluted literary construct a detailed reference apparatus accompanies this translation, identifying whenever possible names, places, and other phenomena that appear in the text and that continue to define in many ways its literary, historiographical, and wider cultural meanings and values. Published English translations of parallel passages in other texts (especially from *The History of al-Ṭabarī*) are also identified in this reference apparatus.

Abbreviations and Symbols

﴿...﴾

Qur'ānic Verses

[...]

Interpolation

{...}

Correction

|

Used in the Arabic text to indicate the passage to the next folio (number indicated in the left margin)

L/الأصل

Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms Or. 560, fols. 115^b–135^a

E/أ

Madrid/San Lorenzo de el Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, ms Árabe 1771, fols. 22^b–75^b

Edition and Translation of al-Maqrīzī's

**al-Dahab al-masbūk [fi dīkr man
ḥaġġa min al-ḥulafā' wa-l-mulūk]**

كتاب الذهب المسبوك [في ذكر من حج من الخلفاء والملوك]

*The Book of Gold Moulded [in the Format of the Report
of Those Caliphs and Kings Who Performed the Ḥaġġ]*



كُتَابُ الذَّهَبِ الْمَسْوُوكِ
فِي ذِكْرِ مَنْ حَجَّ مِنَ الْخُلَفَاءِ وَالْمُلُوكِ

تأليف المقرئزي

The Book of Gold Moulded
in the Format of the Report of Those Caliphs
and Kings Who Performed the *Ḥaġġ*

by al-Maqrīzī

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

رب يسر يا كريم

الحمد لله، وبه المستعان، على كل ما عز وهان، وصلى الله على نبينا محمد خاتم النبيين، وعلى آله وأصحابه والتابعين، صلاة باقية إلى يوم الدين.

٥ **ويعد** فأسأل الله مبتهلاً إليه ماذا يدي له أن يتبع أيام المقر المخدوم بأخواتها الباقيات الصالحات والزيادات الغامرات، ليكون كل دهر يستقبله وأمل يستأنفه، موفياً على المتقدم له قاصراً عن المتأخر عنه، ويؤتية من العمر أطوله وأبعده ومن العيش أعذبه وأرغده، عزباً منصوراً محمياً موفوراً، باسطاً يده فلا يقبضها إلا على نواصي أعداء وحساد، سامياً طرفه فلا يغمسه إلا على لذة غمض وورقاد، مستريحة ركابه فلا يعملها إلا لإستضافة عز وملك، حائزة قدأحه فلا يجلبها إلا لحيازة مال حتى ينال أقصى ما تتوجه إليه أمنية جامحة، وتسمو إليه همة طامحة. ١٠

وقد استفاض أن العزم الشريف قد قوي على الحج والتحلي بالعج والشج. وجرت العادة بإلطاف العبيد السادة، فتأملت حال الأتباع الذين يجب عليهم الهدايا في مثل هذه الحركة، فأردت التأسى بهم، ورأيتني أن أهديت نفسي فهي في ملك المقر المخدوم، وأن أهديت مالي فهو منه، وأن أهديت مودتي وشكري فهما خالصين له غير مشتركين. وكرهت أن أخلي هذا العزم من سنته وأكون من المقصرين، أو أدعى في ملكي ما يفي بحق المقر المخدوم فأكون من الكاذبين: [الكامل] ١٥

٣ كل: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقريري في الهامش الأيسر من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "على". ٥ مبتهلاً: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقريري. ٦ قاصراً: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقريري. ٧ ومن: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقريري. ٨ يده: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقريري. || أعداء: "أعداء" في الأصل. ٩ حائزة: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقريري ("حائرة"). ١٠ وتسمو: "تسموا" في الأصل. || همة: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقريري في الهامش الأيسر من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "إليه". || طامحة: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقريري. ١٣ أن: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقريري.

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate

O Lord, make it easy, o Noble One!

Praise be to God, who is being sought for help against all that overpowers and humiliates. May God bless our Prophet Muḥammad—the seal of
 5 prophets—, his folk, his companions, and the generation that followed them, and may He continue to do so until the Day of Judgment.

§1 I demand God—supplicating Him and stretching out my hands to Him—to cause the days of the noble lord to be followed by similarly good and additionally abundant ones ever after, such that every fortune that he
 10 anticipates and [every] expectation that he nurtures will come true, outdoing anyone who preceded him and unmatched by anyone who follows him. [I demand God that] He gives him the longest and most extensive lifetime, a life of the utmost sweetness and pleasance, in circumstances of high standing, victory, protection, and opulence; [a life during which he] spreads out
 15 his hand, only to close it for grasping enemies and enviers by the forelock; [a life during which he] raises high his look, only to bring it down for the pleasure of sleeping and lying down; [a life during which] his riding camels find rest, only to be used by him for welcoming majesty and kingship; [a life during which] his divining arrows are well-arranged, only to be moved about by
 20 him for collecting wealth. [I demand God all of this] so that he achieves the highest that untamable aspiration can pursue and that high-aiming ambition can reach for.

§2 The word has spread that the high-born intention was set on undertaking the *ḥaġġ* and to be endowed with the noise and blood of rituals. It has
 25 become common practice for servants to present a gift to their masters, for which reason I considered the situation of clients that owe presents on the occasion of an event like this, and I decided to follow their example. But then I thought: I could offer my soul as a present, but it already belongs to the noble lord; I could offer my property, but that is his already; I could
 30 offer my love and gratitude, but they already are his full and undivided due. I abhorred [the idea of] draining this intention [of my lord] from its habitual practice and of becoming as a result one of those that are considered negligent, or [the idea of] claiming to possess what can meet the noble lord's due and becoming as a result one of those that are considered liars. [*Kāmil*
 35 meter]

إن أهد نفسي فهو مالكها ولها أصون كرائم الذخر

أو أهد مالاً فهو واهبه وأنا الحقيق عليه بالشكر

أو أهد شكري فهو مرتهن بجميل فعلك آخر الدهر

والشمس تستغني إذا طلعت أن تستضيئ بطلعة البدر^ا

- ٥ ولما كان العلم أنفوس الذخائر وأعلاها قدرا وأعظم المآثر وأبقاها ذكرا، جمعت برسم الخزانة الشريفة الخدمية—عمرها الله ببقاء مالكها—{جزء} يحتوي على ذكر من حج من الخلفاء والملوك سميته الذهب المسبوك، ليكون تذكرة للخطر الشريف بما هو مني أدري وأحق بإفادته وأحرى. وإني— فيما فعلت وصنعت— كمن أهدى القطر إلى البحر، أو بعث النور إلى القمر والأرج إلى الزهر، بل كالذي أرسل الضياء إلى الشمس وروح الحياة إلى النفس، غير أن في كريم أخلاقه الزكية،^{116a}
- ١٠ وزاكي أعراقه المرضية ما يقبل البسير ويتجاوز عن الخطأ والتقصير.

رعى الله الخدوم من حيث لا يرتقب، وحرسه من حيث لا يحسب. وكان له في سفره خفيرا، أو في حضره عوناً وظهيرا بمنه.

١ ولها ... الذخر: ناقصة في الأصل بسبب ثقب في المخطوطة، مضافة هنا من أ، ص. ٢٣ ب ("لها أصون كرائم الذخر"). ٦ بقاء: "بقا" في الأصل. || جزء: "جزا" في الأصل. || الخلفاء: "الخلفاء" في الأصل. ٧ وإني: "واني" في الأصل. ٩ الضياء: "الضياء" في الأصل. ١١ رعى: "رعا" في الأصل. || من ٢: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "حرسه". || يحسب: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || خفيرا: "خفير" في الأصل. ١٢ عوناً: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في مكانها الصحيح في الجملة عند آخر السطر بعد كلمة "حضره". || وظهيرا: "ظهيرا" في الأصل، الواو والألف لتتوين الفتح من إضافة المقرئ.

اراجع خبرا مساويا عن الشاعر العباسي أبي عثمان سعيد بن حميد بن سعيد (ت. ٨٧٣/٢٥٩)، على شكل مختلف ولكن بمفردات وجمل ومعان متشابهة، في الخالديان، التحف والهدايا، ص. ٢٨، ٣٣. هذه البيوت الأربعة كلها لسعيد بن حميد الا الكلمتان الأخيرتان اللتان في شعر سعيد "بسة البدر".

§ 3 I cannot present my soul, because he already owns it,
so I am only guarding it as the most precious sort of noblesse;

Nor can I present any wealth, because he has donated it,
so I am the one who owes him thankfulness.

5 Nor can I present my gratitude, because it is a pawn
until the end of time for your comeliness.

When the sun rises, she does not need
to be lit by the full moon's highness.¹

§ 4 Since knowledge is the most precious and most valuable of treasures, the
10 most glorious and the longest remembered of deeds, I collected for the bene-
fit of the esteemed library of our lord—may God support it with long life for
its owner—a volume that comprises the report of those caliphs and kings
who performed the *ḥağğ*. I entitled it: ‘The Moulded Gold’, as a reminder
15 to the high-born mind that what comes from me is better informed, more
entitled to be considered useful, and more appropriate. In what I do and
compose, I am like someone who presents drops of water to the sea, or who
sends light to the moon, and fragrance to flowers, or even better, like some-
one who sends the rays of light to the sun, and the breath of life to the soul:
20 apart from the fact that there is sinlessness in such a man's noble manners
and that there is a satisfying aspect in the purity of his sweat, what is given
is little but also surpasses things that are a fault and a shortcoming.

§ 5 May God protect our lord whenever he does not expect it and may He
guard him whenever he does not think of it; may He be with him as a
guardian when traveling, and as a supporter and helper when he is staying
25 somewhere.

1 This poem, as well as the preceding discussion of the reciprocal obligations between patrons and clients, demonstrates an obvious (for the poem even almost word for word) intertextual relationship with reports about the poet Sa'īd b. Ḥumayd (d. 259/873) writing a letter to his patron at the 'Abbāsīd court, as these may be found, amongst others, in the section on gifts (*al-hadāyā*) in al-Ḥālidīyyān, *al-Tuḥaf wa-l-hadāyā*, 28, 33. The latter tenth-century belletrist text on gift-giving has been identified as a source for al-Maqrīzī's *Ḥiṭaṭ*, which makes it highly likely that it also informed the current passage (I am grateful to Frédéric Bauden for this suggestion).

فصل في حجة رسول الله ﷺ

افتتحت بها هذا {الجزء} إذ كان ﷺ هو الذي بين للناس معالم دينهم وقال: "خُذُوا عَنِّي مَنَاسِكَكُمْ". وقد امتلأت كتب الحديث بذكر حجة رسول الله ﷺ، وأُفردَ فيها الفقيهُ الحافظُ أبو محمد علي بن أحمد بن سعيد بن حزم الأندلسي مُصنفاً جليلاً^٢، قد اعترض عليه في مواضع منه، أُجبتُ عنها في كتاب شارع النجاة^٣.

وملخص حجة الوداع؛ أن رسول الله ﷺ لما دخل ذو القعدة تجهز للحج، وأمر الناس بالجهاز له، وأذن فيهم، فاجتمعوا. ثم صلى الظهر يوم الخميس لست بقين من ذي القعدة سنة عشر من الهجرة بالمدينة أربعاً، وخرج منها بمن معه من المسلمين من أهل المدينة ومن تجمع من الأعراب—

٢ الجزء: "الجزء" في الأصل. || هو: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٤ اعترض: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٧ وأذن: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || عشر: كسط المقرئ تاء مربوطة. ٨ أربعاً: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

٢ راجع ابن حزم، حجة الوداع، ص. ١٣٩-١٦٥ (ذكر حجة الوداع وترتيبها وصفتها) خصوصاً. ٣ كتاب "شارع النجاة" للمقرئ مذكور في ترجمة المقرئ للسخاوي (الضوء اللامع، ج. ٢، ص. ٢٣: "يشتمل على جميع ما اختلف فيه البشر من أصول دياناتهم وفروعها مع بيان أدلتها وتوجيه الحق منها")، ولكنه حسبما عرف مفقود. ٤ هذا الملخص كله موجود على نفس الشكل تقريباً في ابن كثير، الفصول، ص. ٢١٤-٧ (فصل حجة الوداع). وأكثر أخبار حجة الوداع المذكورة هنا موجودة أيضاً على شكل مساو في كتاب آخر للمقرئ: راجع المقرئ، إمتاع الأسماع، ج. ٢، ص. ١٠٢-١٢٠.

2 Abū Muḥammad 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sa'īd Ibn Ḥazm (384–456/994–1064) was an Andalusian poet, historian, jurist, philosopher, and theologian; he is especially renowned for his codification of the literalist Zāhiri doctrine and the application of its method to all the religious sciences (see R. Arnaldez, "Ibn Ḥazm", in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibn-hazm-COM_0325). For Ibn Ḥazm's discussion of the Prophet's farewell pilgrimage, see in particular Adang (2005).

Chapter on the Pilgrimage of the Messenger of God—may God bless him and grant him salvation

§ 6 I began this volume with [the Prophet's pilgrimage] since he—may God bless him and grant him salvation—is the one who has shown to the people the milestones of their religion, saying: “learn your pilgrimage rituals from me”. The books of *ḥadīṭ* are full of reports of the pilgrimage of the Prophet—may God bless him and grant him salvation. Out of all of these the jurist and *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sa‘īd Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī² created an important single volume. I responded in the book *Šāri‘ al-nağāh* [The Road to Deliverance] to certain passages in it to which objections were raised.³

§ 7 The farewell pilgrimage⁴ can be summarised [as follows]: The Messenger of God—may God bless him and grant him salvation—prepared for the pilgrimage when [the month of] Dū l-Qa‘dah began, and he ordered the people to prepare for it as well. He called [to prayer] among them, so they gathered. Then, on Thursday 24 Dū l-Qa‘dah of the tenth year since the *hiğrah* [20 February 632], while still in Medina, he prayed the midday prayer in four [*rak‘ahs*],⁵ and he left from there, together with the Muslims from among the people of Medina and with those Bedouins that had assembled—

3 Al-Maqrīzī's “Road to Deliverance” is mentioned by his biographers, such as by al-Saḥāwī (d. 902/1497) (*al-Ḍaw‘ al-lāmi‘*, 2:23), but no copy of the work is so far known to have been preserved.

4 This name is derived from the fact that this pilgrimage occurred only a few months before Muḥammad's death, bidding his community ‘farewell’ by taking the lead in the rituals of the pilgrimage to Mecca; these rituals are believed to have obtained their definite form at this particular occasion, and the farewell pilgrimage has therefore acquired a referential status for any discussion of the rituals and meanings of the *ḥağğ*, one of the five ‘pillars’ of Islam (see D.J. Stewart, “Farewell Pilgrimage”, *EQ* http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-the-quran/farewell-pilgrimage-SIM_00151).

5 The word *rak‘ah* refers to a fixed sequence of specific positions and movements of the body, always in combination with set phrases and words in Arabic, that make up the substance of the Islamic ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*); every ritual prayer consists of at least two successive *rak‘ahs* (see G. Monnot, “Ṣalāt”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/salat-COM_0983).

وهم عشرة آلاف—، بعدما استعمل على المدينة أبا دُجَّانَةَ الساعدي—ويقال سِبَّاحُ بْنُ عُرْفُطَةَ الغفَّاري. فصل العَصْرُ بذي الحليفة ركعتين وبات بها.

وأناه آت من ربه عز وجل في ذلك الموضع—وهو وادي العقيق—بأمره عن ربه تعالى أن يقول في حجته: "هذه حجة في عمرة"^٥ ومعنى هذا أن الله سبحانه أمره بأن يقرن الحج مع العمرة.

^٥راجع ابن حنبل، المسند، ج. ١، ص. ٢٩٩-٣٠٠ (مسند عمر بن الخطاب، ١٦١: سمعتُ رسولَ الله ﷺ وهو بالعقيق يقول: "أتاني الليلة آت من ربي فقال: صلِّ في هذا الوادي المبارك وقل: عمرة في حجة")؛ وراجع أيضا البخاري، الجامع الصحيح، ج. ٢، ص. ١٣٥-١٣٦ (كتاب الحج، باب قول النبي ﷺ العقيق وادٍ مبارك، ١٥٣٤: سمعتُ النبي ﷺ بوادي العقيق يقول: "أتاني الليلة آت من ربي فقال: صلِّ في هذا الوادي المبارك وقل عمرة في حجة")، و ج. ٣، ص. ١٠٧ (كتاب الحرث والمزارعة، ٢٣٣٧: قال: "الليلة أتاني آت من ربي وهو بالعقيق أن صلِّ في هذا الوادي المبارك وقل عمرة في حجة")؛ وراجع أيضا أبو داود، السنن، ص. ٢٩٤ (كتاب المناسك، باب في الإقران، ١٨٠٠: سمع رسول الله ﷺ يقول: "أتاني الليلة آت من عند ربي عز وجل، وقال: وهو بالعقيق، فقال: صلِّ في هذا الوادي المبارك وقال: عمرة في حجة")؛ وراجع أيضا ابن ماجه، السنن، ج. ٣، ص. ٣٣ (كتاب المناسك، باب التمتع بالعمرة إلى الحج، ٣٠٣١/٢٤٢٨: سمعتُ رسولَ الله ﷺ يقول وهو بالعقيق: "أتاني الليلة آت من ربي فقال: صلِّ في هذا الوادي المبارك وقل: عمرة في حجة").

- 6 Abū Duġānah Simāk b. Ḥarāṣah was a respected companion from one of the Arab tribes of Medina who had welcomed and supported the Prophet after his departure from Mecca; Abū Duġānah was especially known for his courage and horsemanship (see his short biographical note in al-Ṭabarī, *History xxxix*, 286, fn. 1297).
- 7 Sibā' b. 'Urfuṭah al-Gifārī was a member of the Ḥiġāzī tribe of Gifār that are remembered for their alliance with the Prophet in the course of the 620s, and most of whom converted to Islam before 8/630. Sibā' is believed to have been left as a representative in Medina during a number of the Prophet's expeditions (J.W. Fück, "Banū Ghifār." in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/banu-ghifar-SIM_2501).
- 8 Dū l-Hulayfah: until today, this site—today's Abar 'Alī, about ten kilometers from Medina—marks one of the *mīqāt*, the place where people performing the pilgrimage from Medina assume the *iḥrām*, a pilgrim's state of temporary consecration (J. Jomier, A.J. Wensinck, "Iḥrām", in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/iḥram-SIM_3506).

they numbered 10,000. Before that, he had appointed over Medina Abū Duġānah al-Sā'idī,⁶ and it was said [that the appointee rather was] Sibā' b. 'Urfuṭah al-Ġifārī.⁷ He prayed the afternoon prayer in two *rak'ahs* at Dū l-Ḥulayfah,⁸ and he stayed there for the night.

- 5 § 8 At that place—Wādī l-'Aqīq⁹—there came to him from his Lord—may He be strong and lofty—the instruction, on authority of his Lord, the exalted, to say regarding this pilgrimage of his: 'this is a pilgrimage within a lesser pilgrimage.'¹⁰ The meaning of this is that God—may He be praised—ordered him to integrate¹¹ the pilgrimage with the lesser pilgrimage. The next morn-

9 Wādī l-'Aqīq: a valley passing just West of Medina, along which in the Prophet's time the first stage of the route from Medina to Mecca ran (up to Dū l-Ḥulayfah) (G. Rentz, "al-'Aqīq", in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-akik-SIM_0477). See also Eskoubi (2006).

10 The lesser pilgrimage or visitation (*'umrah*) refers to a set of rituals in and around Mecca that are very similar or even identical to those of the pilgrimage (*ḥaġġ*), but that are fewer in number and that are therefore considered to make up a separate, lesser type of ritual visitation to Mecca; unlike the pilgrimage—which is one of the five 'pillars' of Islam, and therefore obligatory—, the lesser pilgrimage is an act of devotion and piety that is not obligatory; it may be performed simultaneously with the pilgrimage (the timing of which is fixed in the Muslim calendar) or at any other moment. As transpires from this issue of timing as well as from the current passage, the relationship between pilgrimage and lesser pilgrimage has been a point of vehement discussions ever since the time of the Prophet; in due course, however, scholarly consensus has accepted the idea of a threefold relationship: *qirān* (integration, without breaking the *iḥrām* between their performance), *tamattu'* (combination, with a break in the *iḥrām* between them) and *ifrād* (completely separate performance) (R. Paret, E. Chaumont, "Umra", in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/umra-COM_1292). As the *ḥadīth* referred to here occupies an important position in these discussions, it is remarkable to note that al-Maqrīzī, following Ibn Kaṭīr (and probably also Ibn Ḥazm [see below]), reversed the original word order of this passage authorising integration (*qirān*), for in the main hadith collections this phrase—attributed to God, and therefore part of a *ḥadīth qudsī*, an instance of extra-scriptural divine revelation—is preserved as stating: "say: [there is] a lesser pilgrimage in a pilgrimage (*wa-qul: 'umratun fi ḥiġġatin*)" (see Ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:299–300; al-Buḥārī, *al-Ġāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 2:135–136, 3:107; Abū Dāwūd, *al-Sunan*, 294; Ibn Māġah, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3:33). For a detailed discussion of this point of contention in Ibn Ḥazm's text (with reference to the actual context of this short passage: the discussion whether women on pilgrimage who get their periods should put off *iḥrām* or not, thus going for combination or integration of *'umra* and *ḥaġġ*), see Adang (2005): 114, 120, 135–144.

11 *Qirān* or integration of *ḥaġġ* with *'umrah* (see previous footnote).

فأصبح ﷺ فأخبر الناس بذلك. وطاف على نسائه يومئذ بغسل واحد—وهنَّ تسعٌ وقيل إحدى عشرة. ثم اغتسل وصلى عند المسجد ركعتين، وأهلَّ بحجة وعمرة معاً.

هذا الذي رواه بلفظه ومعناه عنه ﷺ ستة عشر صحابياً، منهم خادمه أنس بن مالك رضي الله عنه. وقد رواه عنه ﷺ ستة عشر تابعياً قد ذكرتهم في كتاب شارع النجاة. وهذا صريح لا يحتمل التأويل إلا أن يكون بعيداً، وما عدا ذلك مما جاء من الأحاديث الموهمة التمتع أو ما يدل على الأفراد، فليس هذا محل ذكرها. والقرآن في الحج هو مذهب إمامنا أبي عبد الله محمد بن إدريس الشافعي رحمة الله عليه، وقد نصره جماعة من محققي أصحابه، وهو الذي يحصل به الجمع بين الأحاديث

١ نساؤه: "نساياه" في الأصل. || يومئذ: "يومئذ" في الأصل. || إحدى: "احدي" في الأصل، والياء مضافة بخط المقرئ في مكانه في السطر. ٢ عشرة: "عشر" في الأصل، والتاء المربوطة مضافة بخط المقرئ في مكانه في آخر الكلمة. ٤ تابعياً: "تابعا" في الأصل، وحرف الياء مضافة في مكانها في الكلمة بخط المقرئ. ٥ مما: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "ذلك". || جاء: "جآ" في الأصل.

ing, he—may God bless him and grant him salvation—informed the people of that. On that same day, he went around among his wives—they were nine, or some say eleven—, performing one single ritual ablution. Thereafter he performed [another] ritual ablution, prayed two *rak'ahs* at the mosque, and entered into *ihrām* for the pilgrimage and the lesser pilgrimage together.

§ 9 This is what has been transmitted in letter and spirit about him—may God bless him and grant him salvation—by sixteen companions, including his servant Anas b. Mālik¹²—may God be pleased with him. It has also been transmitted about him—may God bless him and grant him salvation—by sixteen successors, whom I have mentioned in the book *Šāri' al-nağāh* [The Road to Deliverance]. This is therefore unambiguous and does not allow for interpretation, for that could only be far-fetched. This is not the place either to mention those *ḥadīths* that have come down and instill the delusion of the principle of combination¹³ [of the pilgrimage and the lesser pilgrimage] or those that point at the principle of complete separation.¹⁴ The principle of integration during the pilgrimage is the doctrine of our *imām* Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Šāfi'ī¹⁵—may God's mercy be upon him—, supported by a group of authoritative adherents of his, for he is the one who managed in this matter to collate all the *ḥadīths*. Some scholars say that it is obligatory.

12 Anas b. Mālik was a young servant of the Prophet in Medina, who became an important transmitter of *ḥadīth* and an authoritative figure in later collections; he died in Basra in the early years of the second/eighth century (A.J. Wensinck, J. Robson, "Anas b. Mālik", in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/anas-b-malik-SIM_0654).

13 *Tamattu'* or combination of *ḥağğ* and *'umrah* (see footnote 10).

14 *Ifrād* or complete separation of *ḥağğ* from *'umrah* (see footnote 10).

15 Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Šāfi'ī is the well-known eponymous pioneer of a method of jurisprudence (*fiqh*) that was to crystallise over time in a coherent intellectual community of legal thinkers and practitioners, the Šāfi'ī *madḥab*, one of the four 'schools of law' that acquired authoritative status in matters of Islamic law; al-Šāfi'ī was born in 150/767 and he died in Egypt in 204/820; his main contributions to the field of Islamic jurisprudence concern his narrowing down of the definition of authoritative custom to the *Sunna* of the Prophet, and his systematisation of analogical reasoning (see E. Chaumont, "al-Shāfi'ī", in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-shafii-COM_1020; Kecia [2011]).

116^b كلها. ومن العلماء | من أوجبه، ومن قال بأفضليته الإمام أبو حنيفة النُعمن بن ثابت رحمه الله، وهو رواية عن الإمام أبي عبد الله أحمد بن حنبل الشيباني رحمه الله.

وساق رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ الهدي من ذي الحليفة، وأمر من كان معه هدي أن يُهل كما أهل رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. وسار رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ والناس بين يديه وخلفه وعن يمينه وشماله أما لا يُحصون كثرةً، كلهم قدم ليأتهم به رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. فلما قدم رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ مكة لأربع ليال خلون من ذي الحجة طاف للقدوم. ثم سعى بين الصفا والمروة، وأمر الذين لم

١ العلماء: "العلماء" في الأصل. || النُعمن بن: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ (النعمن بن).

- 16 Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu‘mān is another eponymous pioneer of a method of jurisprudence (*fiqh*) that crystallised over time into the Ḥanafī *madhhab*; he lived in Iraq, where he died in 150/767; his legal thought, only transmitted via the writings of his pupils, is especially known for its high degree of reasoning using personal judgment and analogy (see J. Schacht, "Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu‘mān", in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/abu-hanifa-al-numan-SIM_0194).

Among those that say that it is preferable there is the *imām* Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu‘mān b. Ṭābit¹⁶—may God have mercy upon him—, as transmitted on the authority of the *imām* Abū ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal al-Šaybānī¹⁷—may God have mercy upon him.

- 5 § 10 He—may God bless him and grant him salvation—drove the oblatinal animals¹⁸ on from Dū l-Ḥulayfah, and he ordered who had brought an oblation animal with him to enter into *iḥrām* just as he—may God bless him and grant him salvation—had. When he—may God bless him and grant him salvation—moved on, an innumerable amount of people from
 10 all nations were before and after him, and to his right and left. All of them came to follow his—may God bless him and grant him salvation—example. When he—may God bless him and grant him salvation—reached Mecca on 4 Dū l-Ḥiġġah [1 March], he performed the circumambulation [of the Ka‘bah] for the occasion of the arrival.¹⁹ Thereafter he performed the ritual
 15 of running between al-Šafā and al-Marwah.²⁰ He commanded to those who

17 Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is yet another eponymous pioneer of a method of jurisprudence (*fiqh*), which crystallised over time into the Ḥanbalite *madhhab*; he lived in Baghdad, where he died in 241/855; Ibn Ḥanbal is especially associated with the triumph of traditionalism in the formation of Sunni Islamic thought and practice (see H. Laoust, “Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ahmad-b-hanbal-COM_0027; Melchert [2006]).

18 *Hady* is an ancient Arabic term meaning ‘oblation’; in the context of Islamic pilgrimage it refers to the animals that are to be offered to God as part of the pilgrimage rituals (J. Chelhod, “Hady”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/hady-SIM_2611).

19 *Ṭawāf* refers to the ritual of walking or running seven times counterclockwise around the Ka‘bah at Mecca; it is one of the rituals that must be performed for the pilgrimage to be valid; there are three sets of *ṭawāf*: that of ‘the arrival’ (*al-quḍūm*), that of ‘the overflowing’ (*al-ifāḍah*) or of the visitation on 10 Dū l-Ḥiġġah—marking the end of *iḥrām* restrictions—, and the non-obligatory one of the departure (*wadā’*) (U. Rubin, “Circumambulation”, in *ET*³ http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/circumambulation-COM_25135).

20 *Sa’y* is the ritual of running between al-Šafā and al-Marwah, two hills to the south and north-west of the Ka‘bah, connected by a 300-meter-course which pilgrims have to travers seven times in all; this ritual is obligatory at the arrival and recommended at the departure of all pilgrims; it symbolises the prophetic story of Hagar’s running in search for water for her son Ismā‘il (T. Fahd, “Sa’y”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/say-SIM_6675).

يسوقوا هدياً أن يفسخوا حجهم إلى عمرة ويتحللوا حلاً تاماً، ثم يُهلوا بالحج وقت خروجهم إلى منى. وقال ثم: "لو استقبلت من أمري ما استدبرت ما سقت الهدي، ولجعلتها عمرة".^٦ وهذا دليل ظاهر أنه ﷺ لم يكن متمتعاً كما ذهب إليه بعض أصحاب الإمام أحمد وغيرهم.

وقدم علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه من اليمن، فقال له ﷺ: "بما أهلت؟" قال: "بإهلالٍ كإهلالِ النبي ﷺ". فقال له النبي ﷺ: "إني سقت الهدي وقرنتُ". روى هذا اللفظ أبو داود وغيره من الأئمة ٥

٥ الأئمة: "الائمة" في الأصل.

٦ راجع أبو داود، السنن، ص ٣٠٧ (كتاب المناسك، باب صفة حجة النبي، ١٩٠٥: "إني لو استقبلت من أمري ما استدبرت لم أسق الهدي ولجعلتها عمرة")، وراجع أيضاً أبو داود، السنن، ص ٢٩٠ (كتاب المناسك، باب في أفراد الحج، ١٧٨٤: "لو استقبلت من أمري ما استدبرت لما سقت الهدي")، والنسائي، السنن، ج ٥، ص ١٤٣ (كتاب مناسك الحج، الكراهية في الثياب المصبغة للحرم، ٢٧١٢: "لو استقبلت من أمري ما استدبرت لم أسق الهدي وجعلتها عمرة")، وابن حنبل، المسند، ج ٢١، ص ٣٢٠ (مسند أنس بن مالك، ١٣٨١٣: "لو استقبلت من أمري ما استدبت لجعلتها عمرة ولكن سقت الهدي وقرنت الحج والعمرة").

21 Miná is a town in the hills east of Mecca on the road to 'Arafah, where on 10 Dū l-Hiġġah part of the pilgrimage rituals are performed, such as the throwing of pebbles, the sacrifice, and the shaving or cutting of the pilgrims' hair; it is also the site for the three-day-celebration after the conclusion of the pilgrimage, on 11, 12 and 13 Dū l-Hiġġah (Fr. Buhl, "Minā", in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/mina-SIM_5201).

- had not brought along an oblation animal to rescind their pilgrimage [and to transform it] into a lesser pilgrimage, to completely end their state of *iḥrām*, and to enter into *iḥrām* [again] at their departure for Miná.²¹ He said: “Had I known at the beginning of my case what I knew at the end thereof, I would not have driven on the oblation animal and thus would have made it a lesser pilgrimage.”²² This is a clear proof that he—may God bless him and grant him salvation—was not combining [pilgrimage and lesser pilgrimage], as was believed by some companions of the *imām* Aḥmad²³ and by others.
- 10 § 11 ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib²⁴—may God be pleased with him—arrived from Yemen, and he—may God bless him and grant him salvation—said to him: “How did you enter into *iḥrām*?” He said: “In the way the Prophet—may God bless him and grant him salvation—entered into *iḥrām*.” The Prophet—may God bless him and grant him salvation—said to him: “Verily, I led on the oblation animal and integrated [the pilgrimage with the lesser pilgrimage].”
- 15 This wording was transmitted by Abū Dāwūd²⁵ and by other *imāms*, via

22 For the translation of the more detailed parallel passage in Ibn Ḥazm’s text, regarding this discussion of the requirements following from bringing along sacrificial animals, see Adang (2005): 121–122.

23 For Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, see above, note 17.

24 ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib is the nephew and son-in-law of the Prophet; he was married to the Prophet’s daughter Fāṭimah, with whom he had two sons: al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn; he was one of the first believers in Muḥammad’s mission, and succeeded in 36/656 to the leadership of the Muslim community as the fourth successor to Muḥammad, or caliph, in a context of general upheaval, discord, and competition (the first *fitnah*) that prevented his authority from ever being generally accepted; he was murdered in the mosque of Kufa, Iraq, in 40/661; his lineage, the ‘Alids, and their various supporters eventually crystallised into a separate religious community, the *ṣī‘at ‘Alī* (‘Alī’s party) or the Shiites, who believe in the transhuman nature and mission of ‘Alī and his designated descendants, the *imāms* (L. Veccia Vaglieri, “Alī b. Abī Ṭālib”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ali-b-abi-talib-COM_0046).

25 Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 275/889) is the compiler of one of the six collections of *ḥadīth* that are considered canonical in Sunni Islam (Christopher Melchert, “Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī”, in *EI*³ http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/abu-dawud-al-sijistani-SIM_0024; Melchert [2008]).

بإسناد صحيح، وهو صريح في القرآن^٧ وقدم مع علي رضي الله عنه من اليمن هدايا. فأشركه ﷺ في هديته أيضا، فكان حاصلهما مائة بدنة.

ثم خرج ﷺ إلى منى، فبات بها، وكانت ليلة الجمعة التاسع من ذي الحجة. ثم أصبح، فسار إلى عرفة، وخطب بمنرة خطبة عظيمة شهدها من أصحابه نحو من أربعين ألفا رضي الله عنهم أجمعين. وجمع بين ٥ بين الظهر والعصر. ثم وقف بعرفة، فحج على رحل، وكانت زاملته. ثم بات بالمزلفة وجمع بين المغرب والعشاء ليلتئذ. ثم أصبح، فصلى الفجر في أول وقتها. ثم سار قبل طلوع الشمس إلى منى، فرمى جمرة العقبة، ونحر وحلق. ثم أفاض، فطاف بالبيت طواف الفرض، وهو طواف الزيارة.

١ صريح: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٢ مائة: "ماية" في الأصل. ٦ والعشاء ليلتئذ: "والعشاء ليلتئذ" في الأصل. || الشمس: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

٧ راجع أبو داود، السنن، ص. ٢٩٢ (كتاب المناسك، باب في الإقران، ١٧٩٧: فلما قدم علي من اليمن على رسول الله ﷺ قال: ... فأتيت النبي ﷺ فقال لي رسول الله ﷺ: "كيف صنعت؟" فقال: قلت: "أهللت بإهلال النبي ﷺ". قال: "فإني قد سقت الهدى وقرنت"، راجع أيضا النسائي، السنن، ج. ٥، ص. ١٤٩ (كتاب مناسك الحج، القرآن، ٢٧٢٥: فلما قدم علي النبي ﷺ قال علي: "فأتيت رسول الله ﷺ فقال لي رسول الله ﷺ: "كيف صنعت؟" قلت: "أهللت بإهلالك". قال: "فإني سقت الهدى وقرنت")، و.ص. ١٥٨ (كتاب مناسك الحج، الحج بغير نية يقصده المحرم، ٢٧٤٥: فلما قدم علي النبي ﷺ قال علي: "... فأتيت النبي ﷺ فقال لي: "كيف صنعت؟" قلت: "أهللت بما أهللت". قال: "فإني قد سقت الهدى وقرنت").

an authentic chain of transmission, being very clear about the principle of integration. ‘Alī—may God be pleased with him—brought oblatinal animals from Yemen, and he also gave him—may God bless him and grant him salvation—a share of his oblatinal animals. They jointly received 100
5 head of cattle.

§12 Then he—may God bless him and grant him salvation—left for Miná, where he spent the night. This was the night of Friday 9 Dū l-Ḥiġġah [6 March]. The next morning he went to ‘Arafah.²⁶ He delivered a sublime sermon at Namirah,²⁷ witnessed by about 40,000 of his companions—may
10 God be pleased with all of them—, and he combined the noon and afternoon prayer. Then he performed the standing [before God] at ‘Arafah. He performed the pilgrimage on a mount which was his pack camel. Then he spent the night at Muzdalifah,²⁸ combining there and then the sunset and evening prayer. At early dawn of the next morning, he performed the morning prayer
15 [at Muzdalifah], and before sunrise he went to Miná, where he performed the throwing at Ġamrat al-‘Aqabah, the sacrifice, and the shaving of his hair. Then he ran back in an enthusiastic manner, and performed around the house [of God] the obligatory circumambulation, which is the circumambulation of the visitation.²⁹ There is disagreement on where exactly he

26 ‘Arafah or Mount ‘Arafāt refers to a wide plain with an isolated hill on it, situated about 21 kilometers east of Mecca, where pilgrims perform the “standing before God” (*wuqūf*) from noon to sunset of 9 Dū l-Ḥiġġah, after a public sermon (*ḥutbah*) and a combination of the noon and afternoon prayer; it is one of the rituals that must be performed for the pilgrimage to be valid, and it is generally believed that the sins of pilgrims performing it are forgiven (Uri Rubin, “Arafāt”, in *ET*³ http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/arafat-COM_22903).

27 Namirah is claimed to be the name of a site near ‘Arafah, with a cave in which the Prophet is believed to have stayed before beginning the ritual at ‘Arafah (Rubin, “Arafāt”).

28 Muzdalifah is—next to ‘Arafah—the second place outside Mecca’s *ḥaram*-area which pilgrims are to visit during the pilgrimage; it is on the route between Mecca and ‘Arafah; pilgrims combine the sunset and evening prayer and then spend the night between 9 and 10 Dū l-Ḥiġġah at this site, finishing with another but much shorter standing before God (*wuqūf*) and the morning prayer (A.J. Wensinck, J. Jomier, “Ḥadīdj”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/hadidj-COM_0249).

29 *Ṭawāf al-īfāḍah* or *ṭawāf al-ziyārah*, see above note 19.

واختلف أين صلى الظهر يومئذ، وقد أشكل ذلك على كثير من الحفاظ. ثم حل من كل شيء حرم منه ﷺ. وخطب ثاني يوم النحر خطبة عظيمة أيضا، ووصى وحذر وأندر، وأشهدهم على أنفسهم بأنه بلغهم الرسالة. فنحن نشهد أنه بلغ الرسالة، وأدى الأمانة، ونصح الأمة ﷺ تسليما كثيرا إلى يوم الدين. ثم أقبل ﷺ منصرفا إلى المدينة، وقد أكمل الله له دينه.

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١ يومئذ: "يومئذ" في الأصل. || شيء: "شيء" في الأصل. ٢ ثاني ... وحذر: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "خطب". || وأشهدهم: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

performed the noon prayer on that day—this has been a source of confusion for many experts. Then everything that had been forbidden for him—may God bless him and grant him salvation—became lawful again. On the day after the Day of Immolation, he delivered another sublime sermon, and he
5 gave counsel, cautioned, and admonished. He called upon them as a witness for themselves that he had told them about [God's] message. We similarly testify that he—may God bless him and grant him total salvation until Judgement Day—told about [God's] message, led to [God's] faithfulness, and gave good counsel to the community. Thereafter he—may God bless
10 him and grant him salvation—began to return to Medina. Thus God had made his religion complete for him.

لطيفة

النداء بالحج سنةً للمسلمين. ويُنادى بديار مصر في رجب، وهو قياس ندائه عليه السلام أول ذي القعدة لأن مسافة الحج من المدينة عشرة أيام فقدم النداء بثلاثة أمثالها، ومسافة الحج في البر من مصر أربعون يوماً، فقدم النداء بثلاثة أمثالها، فكانت الجملة من أول رجب إلى انقضاء عشر ذي الحجة خمسة أشهر وعشرة أيام. ٥

وكذلك بدمشق.

وأول من أدار المحمل الملك الظاهر بيبرس البندقداري رحمه الله.

٢ النداء: "النداء" في الأصل. || ندائه: "ندأيه" في الأصل. ٣ النداء: "النداء" في الأصل. ٤ النداء: "النداء" في الأصل. || انقضاء: "انقضاً" في الأصل. ٧ البندقداري: مضافة بخط المقرئ في مكانها الصحيح في الجملة بعد كلمة "بيبرس". || رحمه الله: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "البندقداري".

Brief note

§13 The public call for the pilgrimage is a binding tradition for Muslims. In the regions of Egypt, the call is done in Rağab. This is by analogy with the call by him—peace be upon him—on 1 Dū l-Qa‘dah: the distance for
 5 the pilgrimage from Medina is 10 days, whereas the call is done 3 times the same amount [of days] before; the distance for the pilgrimage over land from Egypt is 40 days, whereas the call is done 3 times the same amount [of days] before, there being in all 5 months and 10 days between 1 Rajab and the end of 10 Dū l-Ḥiğğah.

10 §14 The same is true [for the public call for the pilgrimage] in Damascus.

§15 The first one to organise the parading of the *maḥmal*³⁰ was al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars al-Bunduqdārī³¹—may God’s mercy be upon him.

30 Since the mid-thirteenth century the *maḥmal* was a central component of rulers’ pilgrimage paraphernalia, consisting of an empty palanquin covered with an elaborately decorated cloth that accompanied the main pilgrimage caravans (from Egypt, from Syria, from Iraq ...) to Mecca; it symbolised the presence and (aspired) reality of a ruler’s authority along the route and in Mecca, as well as his patronage of the caravan and pilgrimage rituals; *maḥmals* were in use into the twentieth century (see Jomier [1953]); on the legendary origins of the *maḥmal* parade, see Behrens-Abouseif (1997).

31 Al-Zāhir Baybars was sultan of Egypt and Syria between 658/1260 and 676/1277 (P. Thorau, “Baybars I, al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn”, in *EI*³ http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/baybars-i-al-malik-al-zahir-ruk-n-al-din-COM_23709; Thorau [1987]).

فصل في ذكر من حج من الخلفاء في مدة خلافته

أبو بكر الصديق رضي الله عنه.

اسمهُ عبد الله بن أبي قحافة عثمان بن عامر بن عمرو بن كعب بن سعد بن تيم بن مرة بن كعب بن لؤي بن غالب بن فهر بن مالك القرشي التيمي، خليفة رسول الله ﷺ.

٥ بويع له بعد وفاة رسول الله ﷺ بيعة العامة يوم الثلاثاء ثالث عشر شهر ربيع الأول سنة إحدى عشرة من الهجرة.

فجج بالناس في هذه السنة عتّاب بن أسيد، وقيل: عبد الرحمن بن عوف رضي الله عنهما.

١ الخلفاء: "الخلفاء" في الأصل. ٥ له: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في مكانها الصحيح في الجملة فوق السطر. || العامة: "العامة" في الأصل. || الثلاثاء: "الثلاثاء" في الأصل. ٦ عشرة: التاء المربوطة ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في مكانها في السطر.

Chapter with the Report of the Caliphs Who Went on Pilgrimage During Their Caliphate

1. **Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq**³²—May God be pleased with him.

§16 His name is ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Quḥāfah ‘Uṭmān b. ‘Āmir b. ‘Amr b. Ka‘b
5 b. Sa‘d b. Taym b. Murrah b. Ka‘b b. Lu‘ayy b. Ġālib b. Fihri b. Mālik al-Quraṣī
l-Taymī, Successor of the Messenger of God—may God bless him and grant
him salvation.

§17 The public oath of allegiance was sworn to him after the passing of
the Messenger of God—may God bless him and grant him salvation—on
10 Tuesday, the 13th of the month Rabī‘ al-Awwal, of the year 11 since the *hiġrah*
[9 June 632].

§18 In this year ‘Attāb b. Asīd³³—it was said ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf,³⁴
may God be pleased with both of them—led the people on the pilgrim-
age.

32 Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq was the first to succeed the Prophet as leader of Muḥammad’s community, as ‘Commander of the Faithful’ and ‘Caliph’; he is remembered as a long-standing close companion of Muḥammad and as the father of his favourite wife, whose main achievement during his brief caliphate was the continuation and consolidation of Muḥammad’s achievement in the Hijaz and on the Arabian peninsula; he died in 13/634 (W.M. Watt, “Abū Bakr”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/abu-bakr-SIM_0165; Madelung [1997]: 28–56).

33 ‘Attāb b. Asīd b. Abī l-‘Īṣ b. Umayyah was a member of the Umayyad clan, the leading clan of pre-Islamic Mecca, who changed sides upon Muḥammad’s capture of Mecca in 8/630 and who was made governor of Mecca shortly afterwards; he continued to hold this post during the caliphate of Abū Bakr, and died between 12/634 and 23/644 (“Attāb”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/attab-SIM_0856).

34 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf was an early convert and companion of Muḥammad, with considerable standing in Muḥammad’s community; he was a close advisor of Abū Bakr and eventually he also was a member of the council (*ṣūrā*) that arranged the succession to the caliph ‘Umar in 23/644; he died in about 31/652 (M. Houtsma; W.M. Watt; “Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/abd-al-rahman-b-awf-SIM_0113).

وحج أبو بكر رضي الله عنه بالناس سنة اثنتي عشرة، واستخلف على المدينة عثمان بن عفان رضي الله عنه، وقيل: حج بالناس عمر بن الخطاب أو عبد الرحمن بن عوف رضي الله عنهما، والأول أصح.^٨

وتوفي أبو بكر رضي الله عنه على رأس سنتين وثلاثة أشهر واثني عشر يوماً، وقيل غير ذلك.

^٨ راجع هذا الخبر على نفس الشكل تقريباً في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٢، ص. ٢٥١.

§19 Abū Bakr—may God be pleased with him—led the people on the pilgrimage in the year 12 [634]. He left as his deputy over Medina ‘Uṭmān b. ‘Affān³⁵—may God be pleased with him. There was said that ‘Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb³⁶ or ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf—may God be pleased with both of them—led the people on the pilgrimage. But the first statement is the most authentic.

§20 Abū Bakr—may God be pleased with him—passed away after exactly two years, three months, and twelve days [in office]—it was said otherwise.

35 ‘Uṭmān b. ‘Affān was a member of the Umayyad clan of pre-Islamic Mecca, but also an early convert and a close companion and son-in-law of Muḥammad, and therefore a highly respected member of his community; in 23/644 he was chosen to succeed ‘Umar in the caliphate, which he held—with mixed success—until 35/656; he was murdered in Medina by tribal groups dissatisfied with his centralising policy vis-à-vis recently acquired rich provinces such as Egypt and Iraq (G. Levi Della Vida, R.G. Khoury, “‘Uṭmān b. ‘Affān”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/uthman-b-affan-COM_1315; Madelung [1997]: 78–140).

36 ‘Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb was one of the closest companions to Muḥammad, who was married to his daughter; upon Muḥammad’s death, he undoubtedly was one of the community’s most charismatic leading members, which resulted in his succession to Abū Bakr in 13/634; his leadership until his death in 23/644 was a pivotal moment in the community’s early history, taking a defining course that included its successful expansion beyond the Arabian peninsula and the set-up of embryonic organisational structures that were soon to transform into the basic features of the early Islamic empire (G. Levi Della Vida; M. Bonner, “‘Umar (i) b. al-Khaṭṭāb”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/umar-i-b-al-khattab-SIM_7707; Madelung [1997]: 57–77).

عُمر بن الخطاب

ابن نُفَيْل بن عبد العُزَّى بن {رياح} بن عبد الله بن {قُرط} بن رزاح بن عدي بن كعب القرشي العدوي، أبو حفص، أمير المؤمنين رضي الله عنه.

ولي الخلافة بعد أبي بكر الصديق رضي الله عنه. بويع له بها باستخلافه له في جمادى الآخرة سنة ٥
ثلاث عشرة، واختلف في اليوم كما اختلف في يوم وفاة أبي بكر رضي الله عنه. وقتل مطعوناً بيد
أبي لؤلؤة—غلام المغيرة بن شعبة—لثلاث بقين من ذي الحجة سنة ثلاث وعشرين. فكانت خلافته
عشر سنين ونصف، حج في جميعها إلا السنة الأولى فقط، فإنه حج بالناس فيها عتاب بن أسيد،
وقيل: بل حج عمر بالناس سنه كلها.

وفي سنة سبع عشرة اعتمر رضي الله عنه وبنى المسجد الحرام ووسع فيه، وأقام بمكة عشرين ليلة.
١٠ وهدم على قوم أبوا أن يبيعوا دورهم وعوضهم أثمانها من بيت المال. وجدد أنصاب الحرم على يد

٢ العُزَّى: "العُزَّى" في الأصل. || {رياح}: "رَباح" في الأصل وهو خطأ. || {قُرط}: "قُرط" في الأصل وهو
خطأ ومن الظاهر أن المقرئ صحح الظاء. || بن: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٤ باستخلافه:
القاء والهاء في الهامش الأيسر على نفس السطر بخط الناخب. ٨ بل: تصحيح في الأصل بخط
المقرئ. || سنه: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٩ رضي ... عنه: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط
المقرئ في مكانها الصحيح في الجملة على آخر السطر في الهامش الأيسر.

2. ‘Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb

b. Nufayl b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā b. Riyāḥ b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Qurṭ b. Razāḥ b. ‘Adī b. Ka‘b al-Quraṣī l-‘Adawī, Abū Ḥafṣ, Commander of the Faithful—may God be pleased with him.

- 5 § 21 He occupied the position of caliph after Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq—may God be pleased with him. The oath of allegiance was sworn to him for [this position], following his appointment as successor by [Abū Bakr] in Ğumādā
- 11 of the year 13 [August 634]. There are different opinions on the exact date, just as there are different opinions on the day of the demise of Abū
- 10 Bakr—may God be pleased with him. [‘Umar] was stabbed to death by Abū Lu’lu’ah, the slave of al-Muġīrah b. Šu‘bah,³⁷ on 27 Dū l-Ḥiġġah of the year 23 [4 November 644]. His caliphate lasted for ten years and a half. He performed the pilgrimage in all of [these years], except for one year only, because in [that year] ‘Attāb b. Asīd led the people on the pilgrimage. It was
- 15 [also] said that ‘Umar rather performed the pilgrimage every year of [his caliphate].

- § 22 In the year 17 [638] he—may God be pleased with him—performed the lesser pilgrimage. He carried out building works on the sacred mosque,³⁸ creating more space inside. He stayed in Mecca for twenty nights. He had
- 20 [the properties] demolished of people who refused to sell their [neighbouring] houses and he compensated them with their market values from the public treasury. He had the stones that stake out the sacrosanct area (*ḥaram*)

37 On the murder of ‘Umar by Abū Lu’lu’ah, a Christian slave of the then governor of Basra and companion al-Muġīrah b. Šu‘bah (d. c. 51/671), and a refused appeal against a tax as its main motive, see Levi Della Vida; Bonner, “‘Umar (1) b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb”, *EI*²; Madelung (1997): 68–70.

38 The Meccan sanctuary of *al-masġid al-ḥarām*, the sacred mosque, was originally constructed as a place of Muslim worship in 8/630 by Muḥammad, on the small open space around the Ka‘bah and incorporating the related sacred sites of the Maqām Ibrāhīm and the well of Zamzam; soon proving too small for its purpose, this mosque has continuously been enlarged, embellished, and added to by a long list of political rulers, from the days of the caliph ‘Umar until contemporary engagements by the Sa‘ūdī kings (A.J. Wensinck, “al-Masġid al-Ḥarām”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-masdjid-al-haram-SIM_4999; see also Grabar [1985]: 4–7; al-Harigi [1994]).

مَحْرَمَةٌ | بن نوفل في آخرين. واستأذنه أهل الميعة في أن يبنوا منازل بين مكة والمدينة، فأذن لهم 117^b
وشرط عليهم أن ابن السبيل أحق بالظل والماء.^٩

ثم خرج من المدينة عام الرمادة ١٠ حاجاً أو معتمراً، فأتى الجار ليرى السفن التي قدمت من مصر في الخليج الذي احتفروه عمرو بن العاص، كما قد ذكرت خبره في كتاب المواعظ والاعتبار بذكر

٢ أحق : ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأسفل الى الأعلى + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "السبيل". || والماء : "والماء" في الأصل. ٣ معتمراً : ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في مكانها الصحيح في الجملة على آخر السطر في الهامش الأيسر. || فأتى : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || ليرى : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٤ الذي : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || ذكرت : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

٩ راجع هذا الخبر على نفس الشكل تقريباً في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٢، ص. ٣٨٢؛ وفي الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج. ١/٥، ص. ٢٥٢٨-٢٥٢٩. ١٠ عام الرمادة هـ سنة ١٨ (ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٢، ص. ٣٩٦؛ الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج. ٥/١، ص. ٢٥٧٠).

renewed by Maḥramah b. Nawfal,³⁹ amongst others. The overseers of the wells asked for his permission to build way stations [on the route] between Mecca and Medina. He gave them permission, but made it conditional upon them that the wayfarer⁴⁰ would always be entitled to shelter and water.⁴¹

- 5 § 23 Then he left Medina in the Year of the Drought,⁴² either performing the pilgrimage or the lesser pilgrimage. He came to al-Ġār⁴³ to view the ships that came from Egypt via the canal which ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ⁴⁴ had dug out—as I have reported in the book *al-Mawā‘iẓ wa-l-‘itibār bi-ḍikr al-ḥiṭaṭ wa-l-āṭār*

39 Maḥramah b. Nawfal b. Uhayb b. ‘Abd Manāf (d. 54/673–674) was a member of the Quraysh of Mecca who converted to Islam in 8/630; he is remembered in particular by later authorities for his knowledge of Quraysh traditions, of their genealogy, and of these stones that demarcated the sacrosanct area of Mecca and that are believed to have been put there by the prophet Ibrāhīm under the supervision of the angel Ġibril (see his biography in al-Ṭabarī, *History* XXXIX, 42–43).

40 In pre-Islamic and early Islamic society, the term ‘wayfarer’ (*Ibn al-sabil*) referred to a specific social group that enjoyed a particular protected social status among settled people (see al-Ṭabarī, *History* XIII, 109, fn. 375).

41 For the translation of the parallel text in al-Ṭabarī’s *History*, see al-Ṭabarī, *History* XIII, 109.

42 In his history, al-Ṭabarī explains that “in this year, I mean 18 (639), the people were afflicted by a severe famine and a drought of catastrophic proportions. This is the year that is called the Year of the Drought (*ramādah*)” (al-Ṭabarī, *History* XIII, 151); he furthermore explains the use of the specific Arabic noun *ramādah* (derived from *ramād*, meaning ashes) as follows: “In the reign of ‘Umar the people in Medina and its surrounding territory were afflicted by a drought in which the world was awlirl with dust when the wind blew, as if it rained ashes. That is why this year was called the Year of Drought” (al-Ṭabarī, *History* XIII, 154).

43 Al-Ġār was Medina’s supply port on the Red Sea until the eighteenth century; from the days of the caliph ‘Umar until the middle of the second/eighth century, this supply consisted predominantly of grain brought from Egypt (A. Dietrich, “al-Djār”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-djar-SIM_1999).

44 ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ was a Meccan leader and companion of the Prophet, who acquired his fame especially in his leading involvement in the Arabic conquests of Palestine and of Egypt; he consolidated Arab authority over Egypt and became Egypt’s first Muslim governor; he was dismissed by the third caliph, ‘Uṭmān, but returned to the governorship of Egypt after successfully siding with the Umayyad Mu‘āwiyah against the caliph ‘Alī in 36–38/656–658; he died in office at an allegedly very advanced age in 42/663 (A.J. Wensinck, “‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/amr-b-al-as-SIM_0633).

انحطط والآثار. ١١ وقال للناس: "سيروا بنا ننظر إلى السفن التي سيرها الله إلينا من أرض فرعون." وأكل في سفره هذا وهو محرم لحم ظبي أصابه قوم حلال. فلما نزل على البحر قال: "إغتسلوا من ماء البحر فإنه مبارك."

ثم صك للناس بذلك الطعام صكوكا، فتبايع التجار الصكوك بينهم قبل أن يقبضوها. فلقي عمر العلاء بن الأسود، فقال: "كم ربح حكيم بن حزام؟" فقال: "إبتاع من صكوك الجار بمائة ألف درهم، وربح عليها مائة ألف." فلقيه عمر، فقال: "يا حكيم، كم ربحت؟" فأخبره بمثل خبر العلاء. قال: "فبعته قبل أن تقبضه؟" قال: "نعم." قال: "فإن هذا بيع لا يصلح، فاردده." قال: "ما علمت أن هذا لا يصلح وما أقدر على رده." قال: "ما بد." قال: "والله، ما أقدر على ذلك، وقد تفرق وذهب، ولكن رأس مالي وربحي صدقة."^{١٣}

٣ ماء: "مآ" في الأصل. ٤ صك: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٥ العلاء: "العلاء" في الأصل. ٦ بن: ١: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٧ فقال: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأسفل، من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "الاسود". ٨ بمائة: "بماية" في الأصل. ٩ مائة: "ماية" في الأصل. ١٠ العلاء: "العلاء" في الأصل. ١١ وربيحي: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

١١ راجع المقرئ، انحطط، ج. ١، ص. ١٩١؛ ج. ٣، ص. ٣٧٦. ١٢ راجع خبر عام الرمادة على نفس الشكل تقريبا في ابن عبد الحكم، فتوح مصر، ص. ١٦٦.

[Admonitions and Reflections on the Quarters and Monuments (in Fustāt and Cairo)].⁴⁵ He said to the people: “Come along with us to watch the ships that God has sent to us from the land of Pharaoh.” During this trip of his, he ate the meat of a gazelle shot by respectable people, while he was in the state of *iḥrām*.
 5 When he came down to the sea, he said: “Perform the ritual ablution with water from the sea, for it is blessed.”

§ 24 Then he assigned to the people fixed shares in that food [that was brought from Egypt to Arabia via al-Ġār].⁴⁶ But the merchants sold the shares among each other before they had actually acquired [the food]. So
 10 when ‘Umar met with al-‘Alā’ b. al-Aswad,⁴⁷ he said: “How much profit did Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām⁴⁸ make?” He said: “He purchased the shares of al-Ġār for 100,000 *dirhams* and made a profit on them of 100,000 [*dirhams*].” ‘Umar met with him and said: “Ḥakīm, how much profit have you made?” He reported to him just as al-‘Alā’ had reported. [‘Umar] said: “Did you sell it before you had
 15 acquired it?” He said: “Yes.” [‘Umar] said: “This is a sale that is not permitted, so return [the money].” He said: “I did not know that this is not permitted, and I cannot return it.” [‘Umar] said: “There is no other way.” He said: “By God, I cannot do that, because [the money] has been distributed and spent. But my capital and my profit are charitable gifts [that should make up for
 20 this].”

45 See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, 1:191; 3:376.

46 Vehement discussions on the permissibility of trade in fixed shares, or assignments (*ṣukūk*), for grain from the storehouses in al-Ġār are well-attested from the earliest extant writings of Islamic legal discourse (Dietrich, “Al-Djār”, *ET²*); today, the term *ṣukūk* continues to be used in Islamic banking for a specific type of bonds that complies with Islamic requirements, with the prohibition of interest in particular (see eg. Suhaib [2009]).

47 Al-‘Alā’ b. al-Aswad: His name appears in the chain of transmitters of a *ḥadīth* reported by al-Buḥārī as al-‘Alā’ b. al-Aswad or al-Aswad b. al-‘Alā’ b. Ġāriyah who transmitted the tradition from ‘Ā’ishah (al-Buḥārī, *al-Ta’rīḥ al-kabīr*, 7:209). Apart from that, I have so far not been able to retrieve any further information on this person.

48 Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām b. Ḥuwaylid b. Asad b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzá b. Quṣayy was an old member of the Meccan clan of Quraysh and a nephew of the Prophet’s first wife Ḥadīḡah; he is believed to have converted to Islam with his four sons in the year 8/630, and they were therefore all considered to belong to the Prophet’s Companions; Ḥakīm is said to have died in Medina in the year 54/674, at the highly advanced age of 120 (see his biographies in al-Ṭabarī, *History* XXXIX, 40–42).

واتفق في آخر حجة حجها عمر رضي الله عنه أنه لما رمى الجمرة أناه حجر فوقع على صلته، فأدماه. وثم رجل من بني لُهب، فقال: "أشعر أمير المؤمنين لا يحج بعدها" ثم جاء إلى الجمرة الثانية، فصاح رجل: "يا خليفة رسول الله." فقال: "لا يحج أمير المؤمنين بعد عامه هذا." فقتل عمر رضي الله عنه بعد رجوعه من الحج. لُهب—مكسور اللام—قبيلة من قبائل الأزد تُعرف فيها العيافة والزجر.^{١٣}

٥ وعن عائشة رضي الله عنها أن عمر أذن لأزواج النبي ﷺ أن يحججن في آخر حجة حجها. قالت: "فلما ارتحل من الحُصبة، أقبل رجل مثلتم، فقال وأنا أسمع: "أين كان منزل أمير المؤمنين؟" فقال قائل وأنا أسمع: "هذا كان منزله،" فأناخ في منزل عمر، ثم رفع عقيرته يتغنى: [الطويل]

١ عمر... عنه: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "حجها". ٢ جاء: "جآ" في الأصل. ٥ عائشة: "عائشة" في الأصل. ٦ قائل: "قائل" في الأصل.

^{١٣} راجع هذا الخبر على نفس الشكل تماما في ابن عبد البر، الاستيعاب، ج. ٣، ص. ٢٤٠.

§25 During the last pilgrimage which ‘Umar—may God be pleased with him—performed, it so happened that while he was throwing at the [first] Ġamrah,⁴⁹ a stone flew at him and fell on a wen he had, making him bleed. There was a man from the Banū Lihb who said: “I sense that the Commander of the Faithful will not make another pilgrimage.” Then ‘Umar came to the
 5 of the Faithful will not make another pilgrimage.” Then ‘Umar came to the second Ġamrah, where a man shouted: “O Successor of the Messenger of God”, and he said: “The Commander of the Faithful will not perform the pilgrimage beyond this year.” ‘Umar—may God be pleased with him—was indeed killed after his return from the pilgrimage. Lihb—with the vowel i
 10 after the *lām*—is one of the clans of al-Azd, known for harbouring feelings of aversion and reprimand.⁵⁰

§26 [It is transmitted] on the authority of ‘Ā’iṣah⁵¹—may God be pleased with her—that during the last pilgrimage that ‘Umar performed he allowed the wives of the Prophet—may God bless him and grant him salvation—
 15 to perform the pilgrimage. She said: “When I departed from the pebble throwing, I ran into a veiled man. He said, while I heard him: “Where is the dwelling of the Commander of the Faithful?” Someone else said, while I heard him: “This was his dwelling.” He dismounted at the dwelling of ‘Umar, and then he raised his voice and started singing: [*Tawīl* meter]

49 The three sites at Miná where pebbles are to be thrown as part of the pilgrimage rituals, are each referred to as al-Ġamrah (“the pebble”), the first one to be encountered on the way back from ‘Arafah being known as al-Ġamrah al-Ūlā (“The First Ġamra”), the second one some 150 metres further as al-Ġamrah al-Wuṣṭā (“The Middle Ġamra”), and the third one 115 metres on as Ġamrat al-‘Aqabah (the Ġamrah of the mountain pass) (F. Buhl, J. Jomier, “al-Djamra”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-Djamra-SIM_1977).

50 The name for two ancient Arab tribal groupings, the Lihb belonging to the largely settled Azd Sarāt of the highlands of ‘Aṣīr (see G. Strenziok, “Azd”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/azd-SIM_0946).

51 ‘Ā’iṣah was the daughter of the caliph Abū Bakr and one of the Prophet’s wives; it is generally believed that she was the Prophet’s favourite wife; in the field of the transmission of stories and traditions about the Prophet and the first caliphs, ‘Ā’iṣah is considered an important and authoritative source of information due to her highly respected status that continued up to her death in 58/678 (W.M. Watt, “‘Ā’iṣah Bint Abī Bakr”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/aisha-bint-abi-bakr-SIM_0440).

عليك سلام من أمير وباركت يد الله في ذاك الأديم الممزق
 فن يجر أو يركب جناحي نعمة ليدرك ما قدمت بالأمس يسبق
 قضيت أمورا ثم غادرت بعدها بوائج في أكمامها لم تفتق

قالت عائشة: "قلت لبعض أهلي: "أعلموا لي من هذا الرجل؟" فذهبوا، فلم يجدوا في مناخه أحداً؛
 قالت عائشة: "فوالله، إني لأحسبه من الجن." فلها قتل عمر نحل الناس هذه الأبيات للشماخ بن
 ضرار أو لأخيه مَرْدَد. هكذا روى هذا | الخبير الحافظ أبو عمر يوسف بن عبد الله بن عبد البر
 التَّمْرِي. ١٤ وذكر محمد بن عمر الواقدي في كتاب الفتوح هذه الأبيات بزيادة في عدتها. ١٥

١ وباركت: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٤ عائشة: "عائشة" في الأصل. ٥ عائشة: "عائشة" في
 الأصل. || بن: "ابن" في الأصل والالف مضافة بخط المقرئ في مكانها الصحيح في الكلمة فوق السطر
 وبينيها خط قلم يشير إلى شطبها. ٦ الخبير: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

١٤ راجع ابن عبد البر، الاستيعاب، ج. ٣، ص. ٢٤٤. ١٥ كتاب الفتوح للواقدي مفقود.

52 In Islam, the *ġinn* are conceived of as intelligent beings just as mankind and angels, with bodies composed of vapour or flame; Muḥammad was sent to them just as he was sent to mankind; they cannot be perceived as such by human senses, but they can appear under different forms; their relationship with the devil remains somewhat ambiguous, and in particular in popular thought and folklore there has always existed a rich tradition of how *ġinn* interfere in man's life and vice versa (see Lebling [2010]).

§ 27 May there be upon you a peace that is a commander's due
 May this torn skin by God's hand be blessed

One who runs ahead or rides the wings of an ostrich
 surely realises that what you forwarded yesterday will be passed

5 You accomplished things whereafter you departed
 [leaving behind] calamities the sleeves of which could not be
 unstitched.”

§ 28 ʿĀʾiṣah said: “So I said to some of my folk: ‘Let me know who this man
 is,’ so they left, but they did not find anyone where he had dismounted.”
 10 ʿĀʾiṣah said: “By God, I truly think he is one of the *ǧinn*.”⁵² When ʿUmar was
 killed, the people attributed these verses to al-Šammāḥ b. ʿDirār or to his
 brother Muzarrid.⁵³ This story was thus transmitted by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿUmar
 Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namari.⁵⁴ Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-
 Wāqidi mentioned these verses in the *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* [Book of Conquests],⁵⁵
 15 augmenting their number.

53 Al-Šammāḥ b. ʿDirār is the name of a poet of the northern ʿDubyān tribe, who converted to Islam, actively participated in the Arab conquests and died in the course of them, allegedly in 30/650; he belonged to a family of well-reputed pre-islamic and early islamic poets, that also included his brother al-Muzarrid, and he is known for the superb quality of his poetry (hence his nickname al-Šammāḥ—the proud one) (see A. Arazi, “al-Šammāḥ b. ʿDirār”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-shammakh-b-dirar-SIM_6806).

54 See Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, 3:240. Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (368–463/978–1070) was a highly reputed Andalusian scholar of *ḥadīth*, law, and genealogy, and a *qādī*, who left a considerable number of scholarly works, including *al-Istīʿāb*, a compendium of biographies of Companions (see Ch. Pellat, “Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibn-abd-al-barr-SIM_3027).

55 Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidi (130–207/747–822) was an Islamic scholar and historian from Medina, whose writings are considered of paramount importance for the construction and transmission of knowledge about the first decades of Islamic history; his work only survived in part in the *Kitāb al-Maǧāzī*, and through all kinds of references in later historical writings (M. Leder, “al-Wāqidi”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-wakidi-SIM_7836). The passage in the *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* referred to here does not seem to have survived.

وقال أبو عثمان النهدي: "رأيت عمر يرمي الجمرة وعليه إزار مرقوع بقطعة جراب". وقال علي بن أبي طالب: "رأيت عمر يطوف بالكعبة وعليه إزار فيه إحدى وعشرون رقعة فيها من آدم".

وعن سعيد بن المسيب، قال: "حج عمر، فلما كان بضعجنان قال: "لا اله الا الله العلي العظيم المعطي من شاء ما شاء، كنت أرى إبل الخطاب بهذا الوادي في مدرعة صوف، وكان فظا يتعبنى إذا عملت، ويضربني إذا قصرت، وقد أمسيت وليس بيني وبين الله أحد." ثم تمثل: [الكامل] ٥

لا شيء مما ترى تبقى بشأسته يبقى الإله ويودى المأل والولد

لم تغن عن هرْمُرٍ يوماً خزائنه والخلد قد حاولت عادٌ فما خلدوا

٢ إحدى : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || وعشرون : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.
 ٤ من : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || شاء: ١: "شأ" في الأصل. || ما : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || شاء: ٢: "شأ" في الأصل. || شيء: ٦: "شي" في الأصل. || والولد: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || لم ... خلدوا : هذا البيت كله مضاف في السطر الصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ تصحيحاً. || خزائنه: "خزائنه" في الأصل.

56 Abū 'Utmān al-Nahdī, from the clan Nahd b. Zayd, only converted to Islam during the reign of 'Umar; he came to live in Kufa and Basra, and he died in 83/702-703 (al-Ṭabarī, *History* xxxix, 214-215).

§ 29 Abū ‘Uṭmān al-Nahdī⁵⁶ said: “I saw ‘Umar throwing at the Ġamrah, wearing a cloak patched with a piece of leather bag.” ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said: “I saw ‘Umar circumambulating the Ka‘bah, wearing a cloak made up of twenty-one pieces of cloth, some of which were of leather.”

- 5 § 30 [It was transmitted] on the authority of Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab,⁵⁷ who said: “‘Umar went on pilgrimage. When he was at Ḍaġnān⁵⁸ he said: ‘There is no god but God, the Great, the Sublime, the Giver to whomever He wishes of whatever He wishes. I used to graze the camels of al-Ḥaṭṭāb in this valley, wearing a woollen cloak; [my father] was a rude [man] who wearied me
10 when I was working and who beat me when I fell short [of doing my work properly]. Now, however, my situation has become thus that there is no one between me and God.’ Then he recited: [*Kāmil* meter]

- 15 § 31 There is nothing of what you see whose joy lingers on
[only] the divine lingers on, whereas wealth and offspring will be destroyed.

The treasures of Hurmuz⁵⁹ have been of no avail to him, [not even] for a day;

[The people of] ‘Ād⁶⁰ have tried to achieve eternity, but they did not abide;

57 Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab was a highly respected early Muslim scholar and genealogist from Medina, who died in 94/712–713 (al-Ṭabarī, *History* XXXIX, 316, fn. 1462).

58 Ḍaġnān: a small mountain close to Mecca, on the route to Medina (see al-Ṭabarī, *History* XIV, 131, fn. 648).

59 Hurmuz is a name that was borne by five rulers of the Sassanid dynasty of late antique Persia; the most well-known in history and in Arabic literature was Hurmuz IV (r. 579–590), who was executed following a successful rebellion against his rule (Cl. Huart, H. Massé, “Hurmuz”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/hurmuz-SIM_2963; A. Shapur Shahbazi, “Hormozd IV”, in *EIr*, 12:466–467).

60 ‘Ād is the name of an ancient Arab tribe, known from pre-Islamic poetry and Arabic mythology; they are referred to in the Qur’ān as the people to whom the Arabian prophet Hūd was sent, but who rejected him and who were then destroyed by a violent wind, which is referred to in the next verse of this poem (A. Rippin, “‘Ād”, in *EI*³ http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/ad-COM_26300; R. Tottoli, “‘Ād”, in *EQ* http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-the-quran/ad-SIM_00008).

ولا سليمان إذ تجري الرياح له والإنس والجن فيما بينها بَرْد
 أين الملوك التي كانت نوافلها من كل أوب إليها راكب يَفِدُ
 حوض هناك مورود بلا كدر لا بُدَّ من ورده يوماً كما وردُوا^{١٦}

^{١٦} راجع هذا الخبر عن ابن المسيب على نفس الشكل إلا لبعض التفاصيل في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٢، ص. ٤٥٦-٤٥٧؛ وفي الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج ٥/١، ص. ٢٧٦٤-٢٧٦٥؛ وراجع هذا الخبر على شكل مختصر في ابن عبد البر، الاستيعاب، ج. ٣، ص. ٢٤٣.

And neither did Sulaymān,⁶¹ despite the fact that the winds blew for him and that man and *ǧinn* were made weak among themselves.

Where are the kings to whose gifts
from every direction a rider used to come?

5 [At the end of life] there is a pool which is like a watering place that can be reached without having to wade through mud:

It is unavoidable that one day [we] will reach it, just as [others already] have reached [it].⁶²

61 The Muslim Sulaymān is identical with the biblical king Solomon, known in Islam as one of the most powerful rulers on earth, with deep knowledge, unparalleled wisdom, and great powers of magic and divination; he is frequently mentioned in the Qurʾān, where he is presented as a messenger of God and as a prototype for Muḥammad, and where it is also claimed that a strong wind was subjected to him (J. Walker, P. Fenton, “Sulaymān b. Dāwūd”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/sulayman-b-dawud-SIM_7158; P. Soucek, “Solomon”, in *EQ* http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-the-quran/solomon-COM_00188).

62 For the translation of the parallel text of this story transmitted on account of Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab in al-Ṭabarī’s *History*, see al-Ṭabarī, *History XIV*, 131.

عثمان بن عفان

ابن أبي العاصي بن أمية بن عبد شمس بن عبد مناف بن قصي القرشي الأموي، أبو عبد الله وأبو عمرو، ذو النورين، أمير المؤمنين رضي الله عنه.

بوع له بالخلافة يوم السبت غرة المحرم سنة أربع وعشرين، بعد دفن عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه بثلاثة أيام، بإجتماع الناس عليه. وقتل بالمدينة يوم الجمعة ثمان عشرة أو سبع عشرة خلت من ذي الحجة سنة خمسٍ وثلاثين، وذلك على رأس إحدى عشرة سنة وأحد عشر شهرا واثنين وعشرين يوما من مقتل عمر رضي الله عنه.

حج فيها كلها إلا السنة الأولى والاخيرة. وذكر ابن الأثير أنه حج بالناس في السنة الأولى وقيل: بل حج بالناس عبد الرحمن بن عوف بأمر عثمان. ١٧. ولما حج في سنة تسع وعشرين ضرب فسطاطه بمئى، فكان أول فسطاط ضربه عثمان بمئى. وأتم الصلاة بها ويعرفه. فكان أول ما تكلم به الناس في عثمان ظاهرا حين أتم الصلاة بمئى، فعاب ذلك غير واحد من الصحابة، وقال له علي رضي

٢ عبد ٢: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "بن". || القرشي: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٤ الخطاب: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٥-٤ رضي ... عنه: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في مكانها الصحيح في الجملة على آخر السطر في الهامش الأيسر. ٨ الأولى: "الأولى" في الأصل. || الأولى: "الأولى" في الأصل. ١١-١٢٢٠ رضي ... عنه: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "علي".

١٧ ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٢، ص. ٤٧٥؛ وراجع أيضا خبرا مساويا في الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج.

3. ‘Uṭmān b. ‘Affān

b. Abī l-‘Āṣī b. Umayyah b. ‘Abd Šams b. ‘Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy al-Qurašī l-Umawī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh and Abū ‘Amr, Dū l-Nūrayn [Possessor of the two lights⁶³], Commander of the Faithful—may God be pleased with him.

- 5 § 32 The oath of allegiance was sworn to him for the office of caliph on Saturday, the first day of Muḥarram of the year 24 [6 November 644], three days after the burial of ‘Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb—may God be pleased with him—, as a result of the people’s consensus on [the succession by] him. He was killed in Medina on Friday, the 18th or 17th of Dū l-Ḥiġġah of the year 35
10 [17 June 656], exactly 11 years, 11 months, and 22 days after the murder of ‘Umar—may God be pleased with him.

- § 33 He went on pilgrimage in each of those years, apart from the first and the last. Ibn al-Aṭīr⁶⁴ reported that he led the people on the pilgrimage in the first year, whereas it was said that rather ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf led
15 the people on the pilgrimage by order of ‘Uṭmān. When he performed the pilgrimage in the year 29 [650], he set up his tent at Miná—it was the first tent ‘Uṭmān set up at Miná—and he fulfilled the ritual prayer there and at ‘Arafah [with two additional *rak‘ahs*]. It was the first thing about ‘Uṭmān that the people openly spoke about, when he fulfilled the ritual prayer at Miná.
20 More than one of the Companions⁶⁵ found fault with that. So ‘Alī—may God

63 ‘Uṭmān’s epithet *Dū l-nūrayn* (“possessor of the two lights”) is traditionally explained as referring to his consecutive marriages with two of the Prophet’s daughters, Ruqayyah and Umm Kulthūm.

64 See Ibn al-Aṭīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:475. ‘Izz al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī Ibn al-Aṭīr (d. 630/1233) was a scholar from Mosul who gained a towering socio-cultural reputation, above all as a historian recording the history of the local Syro-Mesopotamian dynasty of the Zangids as well as that of the wider Muslim community of his time, in Arabic works of mainly annalistic history that soon acquired authoritative historiographical status; his grand work is the multi-volume *al-Kāmil fī l-tārīḥ* [The Complete History] (see F. Rosenthal, “Ibn al-Athīr”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibn-al-athir-SIM_3094).

65 The Companions (*ṣaḥābah*) refers to the first generation of Muslims who are distinguished from other generations by their direct contact with the Prophet; they are as a result key authoritative figures in early Islamic history as well as for the development of Muslim thought and practice (M. Muranyi, “Ṣaḥāba”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/sahaba-SIM_6459).

- 118^b الله عنه: "ما حدث أمر، ولا قدم عهد، ولقد عهدت النبي ﷺ وأبا بكر وعمر يصلون | ركعتين، وأنت صليت ركعتين صدرا من خلافتك." فما درى ما يرجع إليه، وقال: "رأى رأيته." وبلغ الخبر عبد الرحمن بن عوف رضي الله عنه وكان معه، فجاءه وقال له: "ألم تصل في هذا المكان مع رسول الله ﷺ وأبي بكر وعمر ركعتين {وصليتها} أنت ركعتين؟" قال: "بلى ولكنني أخبرت أن بعض من حج من اليمن وجفأة الناس قالوا إن الصلاة للمقيم ركعتين، واحتجوا بصلاحي، وقد اتخذت بمكة أهلا ولي بالطائف مال." فقال عبد الرحمن بن عوف: "ما في هذا عذر. أما قولك "اتخذت بها أهلا،" فإن زوجك بالمدينة تخرج لها إذا شئت وإنما تسكن بسكاك. وأما مالك بالطائف فينك وبينه مسيرة ثلث ليال. وأما قولك عن حاج اليمن وغيرهم، فقد كان رسول الله ﷺ ينزل عليه الوحي والإسلام قليل، ثم أبو بكر وعمر فصلوا ركعتين وقد ضرب الإسلام بجراحه." فقال عثمان: "هذا رأي رأيته." فخرج عبد الرحمن، فلقى عبد الله بن مسعود، فقال: "أبا محمد، قد غير ما تعلم." ١٠

١ حدث: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || عهد: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٢ الخبر: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٣ رضي ... عنه: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "عوف". || جفاه: "جفاه" في الأصل. ٤ وصليتها: في الأصل "صليتها"، والتصحيح من السياق ومن ابن الأثير، الكامل في التاريخ، ج. ٢، ص. ٤٩٤. || أخبرت: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٦ بالطائف: "بالطائف" في الأصل. ٧ شئت: "شيت" في الأصل. || بالطائف: "بالطائف" في الأصل. ٩ والإسلام: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

be pleased with him—said to him: “Whenever something new happens that is without any precedent, I adhere to [the example of] the Prophet—may God bless him and grant him salvation—, of Abū Bakr and of ‘Umar, [just as in this case, where they used to] perform the prayer in two *rak‘ahs*, just as you performed it in two *rak‘ahs* at the beginning of your term as caliph.”

5 [‘Uṭmān] did not know what he could base [his changes] upon, so he said: “[This is] a personal opinion that I have.” The story reached ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf—may God be pleased with him—, while he was in [the caliph’s] entourage. So he came to him and said to him: “Did you not perform the

10 prayer at this spot together with the Messenger of God—may God bless him and grant him salvation—, with Abū Bakr, and with ‘Umar in two *rak‘ahs*? [I’m sure that] you did perform it in two *rak‘ahs*!” [‘Uṭmān] said: “Surely, but I learned that some from Yemen who went on pilgrimage and [other] uncouth people said that for someone permanently residing [at Mecca] the

15 ritual prayer is to be performed in two *rak‘ahs*, and they advanced as an argument my ritual prayer, because I have become connected [by marriage] to a family in Mecca and I have property in Ṭā‘if.”⁶⁶ But ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf said: “This is no excuse, not your saying ‘I have become connected to a family there’, because your wife in Medina [only] leaves it when you want

20 her to, and she merely lives where you do; nor is your property in Ṭā‘if [an excuse], because there are three nights of travel between you and [Ṭā‘if]; nor is your saying about the pilgrims of Yemen and others. Revelation descended upon the Messenger of God—may God bless him and grant him salvation— while Islam was small, whereas Abū Bakr and ‘Umar performed the prayer

25 in two *rak‘ahs* when Islam had become firmly established.” ‘Uṭmān said: “[This is] a personal opinion that I have.” So ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf left, and he met ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd⁶⁷, saying: “O Abū Muḥammad, whatever

66 The town of Ṭā‘if in the Arabian Hijaz was dominated in the early days of Islamic history by the tribe of Ṭāqif; it is situated to the southeast of Mecca, and it was known for its pleasant climate and for the fertility and prosperity of its mountainous environment, for which reason various members of the Meccan elite are recorded to have developed, already before Muḥammad’s prophetic mission, estates in the valleys around Ṭā‘if and to have had close connections with the town and its inhabitants (M. Lecker, “al-Ṭā‘if”, in *EI*², http://brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-Taif-SIM_7324).

67 ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd was a widely respected Companion, Qur’ān transmitter and early scholar; he is believed to have died in 32/652–653, either in Medina or in Kufa (J.-C. Vadet, “Ibn Mas‘ūd”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/Ibn-masud-COM_0338).

قال: "فما أصنع." قال: "إعمل بما ترى وتعلم." فقال ابن مسعود: "الخلافة شر، وقد صليت بأصحابي أربعاً." فقال عبد الرحمن: "قد صليت بأصحابي ركعتين، وأما الآن فسوف أصلي أربعاً." وقيل: كان ذلك سنة ثلثين.^{١٨}

ولم يحج أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب في خلافته لاشتغاله بحرب الجمل وصيفين.

١ الخلافة: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

^{١٨} راجع هذا الخبر كله على نفس الشكل تقريباً في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٢، ص. ٤٩٤؛ وراجع هذا الخبر على شكل مساو أيضاً في الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج. ٥/١، ص. ٢٨٣٣-٢٨٣٥.

you know has been changed.” He said: “How should I then proceed?” He said: “Do as you see fit and [as] you know [to be right].” Ibn Mas‘ūd said: “Disagreement is an evil thing, so I have performed prayer in four [*rak‘ahs*] with my companions [following ‘Uṭmān’s example].” ‘Abd al-Raḥmān said:
 5 “I have been performing prayer in two *rak‘ahs* with my companions, but from now on I shall perform prayer in four [*rak‘ahs*].” It was said that this happened in the year 30 [651].⁶⁸

§ 34 The Commander of the Faithful ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib did not perform the pilgrimage during his caliphate, due to his preoccupation with the Battle of
 10 the Camel⁶⁹ and with [the Battle of] Ṣiffīn.⁷⁰

68 For the translation of the parallel text of this story, transmitted by al-Wāqidi on account of Ibn ‘Abbās and of ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Amr b. Abī Sufyān al-Ṭāqafi, in al-Ṭabarī’s *History*, see al-Ṭabarī, *History* xv, 38–40; 39, fn. 65, explains the reasoning behind ‘Uṭmān’s changes to the ritual prayer as follows: “‘Uṭmān’s point is twofold: (1) Many ordinary Muslims were ignorant of the different numbers of ritual prostrations (*rak‘as*) connected with the act of prayer at different times. Hence, they would assume that all prayers were to be performed with two *rak‘as*, although in fact only those who were travelling or on pilgrimage were permitted to abbreviate the usual four *rak‘as* in that manner. (2) ‘Uṭmān’s property holdings and family ties made him a permanent resident in Mecca and al-Ṭā’if as well as Medina; hence, he felt obligated to observe the complete rite of four *rak‘as* even during the Pilgrimage season.”

69 The Battle of the Camel is the name given to the 36/656 military confrontation near Basra in Iraq between ‘Alī and his supporters on the one hand, and the Companions Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr with their associates—including the Prophet’s widow ‘Ā’iṣah—on the other, in which the latter were defeated; this was the culmination of a conflict over the succession of the caliph ‘Uṭmān, that had begun in the aftermath of his murder, when ‘Alī had assumed the caliphate without consultation of Companions such as Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr; the name ‘Battle of the Camel’ is derived from the fact that tradition claims that the worst fighting occurred around the camel that carried ‘Ā’iṣah in a litter on its back (A. Afsaruddin, “‘Ā’iṣha bt. Abī Bakr”, in *EI*³ http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/aisha-bt-abi-bakr-COM_23459).

70 The Battle of Ṣiffīn refers to the 37/657 confrontation in Syria between the Iraqi forces of the caliph ‘Alī and the Syrian forces of the Syrian governor Mu‘āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān, generated by the fact that Mu‘āwiyah—an Umayyad kinsman of the murdered caliph ‘Uṭmān—was denied the right to avenge the murder of his kinsman; the outcome of the battle of Ṣiffīn, near Raqqa by the Euphrates, was inconclusive, but it did set several historical processes in motion that generated, by 40/661, the murder of ‘Alī and the general acceptance of Mu‘āwiyah’s caliphate from Damascus (M. Lecker, “Ṣiffīn”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/siffin-SIM_7018); see also Hinds (1972); Humphreys (2006).

مُعلوية بن أبي سفيان

واسمه صخر بن حرب بن أمية بن عبد شمس بن عبد مناف القرشي الأموي، أبو عبد الرحمن، أمير المؤمنين.

كان أميراً بالشام نحو عشرين سنة. وبيع له أهل الشام خاصة بالخلافة سنة ثمان أو تسع وثلاثين، واجتمع الناس عليه حين بايع له الحسن بن علي وجماعة من معه في ربيع [الآخر] أو جمادى [الأولى] سنة إحدى وأربعين، وقيل سنة أربعين. وأقام في الخلافة تسع عشرة سنة وتسعة أشهر وثمانية وعشرين يوماً، وقيل غير ذلك.

وحج بالناس عدة سنين أولها سنة أربع وأربعين. ولم يحج سنة خمس وأربعين، فحج بالناس مروان

٢ صخر: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || عبدا: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٤ خاصة: "خاصة" في الأصل. ٥ الآخر: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة من السياق. ٦ الأولى: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة من السياق. ٨ خمس: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

71 Mu'awiyah was the son of one of pre-Islamic Mecca's leaders; upon his conversion to Islam in about 8/630, he was allowed to retain his privileged position, but now in the Prophet's entourage at Medina. Mu'awiyah participated in the Arab conquest of Syria, and eventually, in 18/639, he became this former Byzantine province's first Muslim governor, who managed to transform Syria into a powerful Arab-Muslim powerbase; after the inconclusive confrontation with 'Ali at Šiffin, Mu'awiyah obtained supreme leadership over the caliphate, which he retained from 41/661 until his demise in 60/680; in doing so he shifted the Arab empire's headquarters to Syria and initiated what is considered to be the first dynasty of Islam: the Umayyad caliphate (41–132/661–750) (see M. Hinds, "Mu'awiya", in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/muawiya-i-SIM_5279; Humphreys [2006]).

4. **Mu‘āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān**⁷¹

His name is Ṣaḥr b. Ḥarb b. Umayyah b. ‘Abd Šams b. ‘Abd Manāf al-Qurašī l-Umawī, Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, Commander of the Faithful.

§ 35 He was a governor in Syria for about 20 years. [Then,] in the year 38
 5 or 9 [659], mainly the people of Syria swore the oath of allegiance to him
 for the office of caliph. [Most of the other] people only agreed on him [as
 their caliph] once al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī⁷² and a group of his associates swore the
 oath of allegiance to him in Rabī‘ [11] or Ğumādā [1] of the year 41 [August–
 September 661], and it was said: of the year 40 [660]. He remained in the
 10 office of caliph for 19 years, 9 months and 28 days; and it was said otherwise.

§ 36 He led the people on the pilgrimage during several years, the first of
 which was the year 44 [665]. He did not perform the pilgrimage in the year
 45 [666], when Marwān b. al-Ḥakam⁷³ led the people on the pilgrimage.

72 Al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī was born in 3/624–625; he was the grandson of the Prophet, through his mother, the Prophet’s daughter Fāṭimah; his father was the caliph ‘Alī. Upon his father’s murder in Kufa in 41/661, al-Ḥasan was proclaimed caliph by the Iraqis; eventually, however, in the face of renewed hostilities with the Syrians, he renounced his office in favour of Mu‘āwiyah and returned to a quietist life in Medina, where he died in the year 49/669–670. Al-Ḥasan is considered by all Shiite groups alike as the second divinely inspired *imām*, designated by his father to succeed him as the only legitimate leader of the faithful (see L. Veccia Vaglieri, “(al-)Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-hasan-b-ali-b-abi-talib-COM_0272).

73 Marwān b. al-Ḥakam (c. 2–65/ 623–685) was a well-respected Companion and a cousin of caliph ‘Uṭmān, who acted as a governor on several occasions during the reign of caliph Mu‘āwiyah. By the time of Mu‘āwiyah’s death in 60/680, Marwān was considered the most senior of the Umayyad clan in the Hijaz; when by 63/683 the Umayyads were on the defense on several fronts, Marwān and his family were forced to flee to Syria. In 64/684 he emerged victoriously from a major confrontation among Syrian Arab tribes, and was proclaimed the Umayyad caliph in Damascus. Marwān died in 65/685, and was succeeded in the Umayyad caliphate by his son ‘Abd al-Malik. All Umayyad caliphs after Marwān were from his lineage, and they are therefore known as the Marwānids (C.E. Bosworth, “Marwān I b. al-Ḥakam”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/marwan-i-b-al-hakam-SIM_4979).

ابن الحكم، ثم حج معوية سنة خمسین، وقیل: بل حج بالناس ابنه یزید بن معوية. وقیل: حج معوية عدة سنين أكثر من هذه.

Thereafter Mu‘āwiyah again went on pilgrimage in the year 50 [670–671], and it was said [that in that year] rather his son Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiyah⁷⁴ led the people on the pilgrimage. There was said [that] Mu‘āwiyah went on pilgrimage for several more years than these.

74 Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiyah succeeded his father to the Umayyad caliphate in 60/680; although as capable a leader as his father, he is remembered especially for the fact that his agents slaughtered the Prophet’s grandson al-Ḥusayn and his family at Karbalā’ in Muḥarram 61/October 680. Yazīd died in 64/683, while his armies were confronting opposition against his rule in the Hijaz (G.R. Hawting, “Yazīd (1) b. Mu‘āwīya”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/yazid-i-b-muawiya-SIM_8000).

عبد الله بن الزبير

ابن العوام بن خويلد بن أسد بن عبد العزى بن قصي القرشي الأسدي، أبو بكر—وقيل: أبو بكر—
 وأبو حبيب، أمير المؤمنين رضي الله عنه.

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بوع له بالخلافة سنة أربع—وقيل: خمس—وستين، بعد موت معاوية بن يزيد بن معاوية بن أبي
 سفيان. وكان قبل ذلك لا يدعي بالخلافة. واجتمع على طاعته أهل الحجاز واليمن والعراق وخراسان.

وحج بالناس ثماني حجج.

وقُتل رحمه الله على يد الحجاج بن يوسف الثقفي في أيام عبد الملك بن مروان بن الحكم، يوم الثلاثاء

٧ الثلاثاء: "الثلاثاء" في الأصل.

75 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr was a renowned Companion, who became leader of the Hijaz group that contested the legitimacy of the succession of the caliph Mu'āwiyah in 60/680 by his son Yazīd. This opposition was locally successful, giving rise to the so-called second civil war (*fitnah*); when the Umayyads of Syria got into disarray after Yazīd's early death in 64/683, Ibn al-Zubayr successfully claimed the caliphate and his leadership was established over most of the Arab empire; eventually, however, the Syrian Umayyads, led by Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and his son 'Abd al-Malik, fought back, generating the siege of Mecca and the murder of the caliph Ibn al-Zubayr in 73/692, and the recreation of the Umayyad caliphate (H.A.R. Gibb, "Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr", in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/abd-allah-b-al-zubayr-SIM_0069).

5. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr⁷⁵

b. al-‘Awwām b. Ḥuwaylid b. Asad b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā b. Quṣayy al-Qurašī l-Asadī, Abū Bakr—and it was said Abū Bukayr—and Abū Ḥabīb, Commander of the Faithful, may God be pleased with him.

- 5 § 37 The oath of allegiance for the office of caliph was sworn to him in the year 64 [684]—and it was said: [in the year 6]5 [685]—, after the death of Mu‘āwiyah b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān.⁷⁶ He did not use to make any claims for the office of caliph before. The people of the Hijaz, of Yemen, of Iraq, and of Ḥurāsān agreed to submit to him.

- 10 § 38 He led the people on the pilgrimage eight times.

§ 39 He—may God’s mercy be upon him—was killed by the hand of al-Ḥaġġāġ b. Yūsuf al-Ṭaqafī⁷⁷ in the days of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān b. al-

76 Mu‘āwiyah b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān, or Mu‘āwiyah II, was the son and successor of the Umayyad caliph Yazīd; he reigned very briefly in 64/683–684 amidst great turmoil in Syria and beyond; Mu‘āwiyah II moreover died, probably from a disease, before he had been able to nominate a successor. His shortlived reign, which was never widely accepted anyway, and thus presaged the temporary collapse of Umayyad power (C.E. Bosworth, “Mu‘āwīya II”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/muawiya-ii-SIM_5280).

77 Al-Ḥaġġāġ b. Yūsuf al-Ṭaqafī was one of the main military agents and commanders for the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. After bringing a violent end to the caliphate of Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca and after a brief governorship over the Hijaz, al-Ḥaġġāġ was appointed governor of Iraq in 75/694, from where he successfully consolidated Umayyad Syrian authority over Iraq and further East; he remained in charge of the whole of the Islamic East in name of the Umayyad caliph of Syria until his death in 95/714 (A. Dietrich, “al-Ḥadīdjādī b. Yūsuf”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-hadjdjadj-b-yusuf-SIM_2600).

لسبع عشرة خلت من جمادى الأولى—وقيل: جمادى الآخرة—سنة ثلث وسبعين، وصلب بعد قتله بمكة.

وبدأ الحجاج بحصاره من أول ليلة من ذي الحجة سنة اثنتين وسبعين. وجم بالناس الحجاج في ذلك العام، ووقف بعرفة وعليه ذرع ومغفر. ولم يطوفوا بالبيت في تلك الحجة. فحاصره الحجاج ستة أشهر وسبعة عشر يوماً إلى أن قتل. ٥

ولما غزاه أهل الشام في أيام يزيد بن معاوية احترقت الكعبة—في سنة أربع وستين—فتركها ابن الزبير ليشنع بذلك على أهل الشام. فلما مات يزيد واستقر الأمر له، هدمها إلى الأرض وبنها على قواعد إبراهيم عليه السلام، وأدخل فيها الحجرَ وجعل لها بابين. فلما قتل الحجاج عبد الله بن الزبير هدم بناء ابن الزبير من الكعبة في سنة أربع وسبعين وجعلها على ما هي عليه الآن، كما قد ذكرت ذلك في كتاب الإشارة والإعلام ببناء الكعبة البيت الحرام ذكرنا شافياً. ١٠

١ الأولى: "الأولى" في الأصل. ٥ يوماً: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٧ ليشنع: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٨ عليه السلام: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "إبراهيم". ٩ هدم: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ١٠ بناء: "بنأ" في الأصل. ١١ ابن: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ١٢ عليه الآن: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، على نفس السطر + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "هي". ١٠ ببناء: "بنأ" في الأصل.

Ḥakam,⁷⁸ on Tuesday 17 Ğumādā I—and it was said Ğumādā II—of the year 73 [4 October/3 November 692]. After his murder in Mecca [his body] was exposed on a cross.

5 § 40 Al-Ḥaġġāġ began besieging him from the first night of Dū l-Ḥiġġah of the year 72 [24 April 692]. In that year, al-Ḥaġġāġ led the people on the pilgrimage. At ‘Arafah, he performed the ritual of standing while he was wearing a coat of mail and a helmet. During that pilgrimage, they did not circumambulate the house [of God]. Al-Ḥaġġāġ besieged him for 6 months and 17 days, until [Ibn al-Zubayr] was killed.

10 § 41 When the Syrians attacked [Ibn al-Zubayr] in the days of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiyah, the Ka‘bah was burnt down. [This happened] in the year 64 [683]. Ibn al-Zubayr left it [untouched] so as to defame the Syrians by that. But when Yazīd died and leadership was vested in him, he destroyed it to the ground and built it on the foundations of Abraham⁷⁹—may there be peace
15 upon him. He included the *ḥijr*⁸⁰ into it and he made two doors for it. When al-Ḥaġġāġ killed ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, he demolished Ibn al-Zubayr’s construction of the Ka‘bah—[this happened] in the year 74 [693]—and he made it as it still is today, as I have reported that in great detail in the book *al-Iṣ̄arah wa-l-i‘lām bi-binā’ al-ka‘bah al-bayt al-ḥarām* [Advice and Information Regarding the Construction of the Ka‘bah, the Sacred House].⁸¹
20

78 ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was Umayyad caliph between 65/685 and 86/705; he managed to restore Umayyad power throughout the Arab empire and to consolidate his authority East and West in unprecedented Arabo-Islamic imperial fashion (H.A.R. Gibb, “‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/abd-al-malik-b-marwan-SIM_0107; Robinson [2007]).

79 In Islam, the prophet Ibrāhīm—Abraham of the Judeo-Christian tradition—is accredited with building, together with his son Ismā‘īl, the Ka‘bah in Mecca by direct order from God, as the cosmic centre of the original monotheistic cult of mankind; upon completing the Ka‘bah’s construction, Ibrāhīm and Ismā‘īl are furthermore believed to have established the rites of pilgrimage to it, which were then only revived by Muḥammad (R. Paret, “Ibrāhīm”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibrahim-SIM_3430; see also Cook [1983]: 36–37).

80 The *ḥijr* or *ḥijr Ismā‘īl* refers to a small open area between the Ka‘bah’s north-west wall and a semi-circular low wall of white marble, which is believed to contain the graves of Ibrāhīm’s son Ismā‘īl and of Ismā‘īl’s mother Hagar (Wensinck, Jomier, “Ka‘bah”, *EI*²).

81 Al-Maqrīzī, *Binā’ al-Ka‘bah*, 156–158 (*Dikr binā’ al-Ḥaġġāġ b. Yūsuf al-Ka‘bah* [‘Report of al-Ḥaġġāġ b. Yūsuf’s construction of the Ka‘bah’]).

عبد الملك بن مروان

ابن الحكم بن أبي العاص بن أمية بن عبد شمس بن عبد مناف بن قصي.

قام بدمشق بعد موت أبيه في شهر رمضان سنة خمس وستين، وبمكة عبد الله بن الزبير يدعى له بالخلافة، وعلى العراق المختار بن أبي عبيد الثقفي يدعو لمحمد بن الحنفية. والأرض تستعر حرباً منذ قتل الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنهما. فساعدت الأقدار عبد الملك بن مروان، وقتل جميع من خالفه. وأقام في الخلافة بعد ابن الزبير ثلث عشرة سنة وأربعة أشهر إلا سبع ليال، كما قد ذكرت ترجمته وترجمة أبيه في التاريخ الكبير لمصر، فإنهما دخلاها.^{٢٠}

٤ يدعو: "يدعوا" في الأصل. ٥ رضي ... عنهما: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح، يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "طالب". ٦ عشرة: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

٢٠ هتان الترجمتان ناقصتان من المخطوطات المعروفة وجودها لهذا الكتاب. راجع المقرئ، المقفي، ج. ٨، الفهارس العامة.

82 Al-Muḥtār b. Abi 'Ubayd al-Ṭaqafī was the leader of a movement that controlled Kufa in 66–67/685–687 in the name of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyah, a son of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib whom they claimed to be the only legitimate heir to the caliphate; eventually al-Muḥtār and his supporters were defeated by the agents of Ibn al-Zubayr, al-Muḥtār being killed in battle on 14 Ramaḍān 67/3 April 687 (G.R. Hawting, "al-Mukḥtār b. Abī 'Ubayd", in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-mukhtar-b-abi-ubayd-SIM_5473).

6. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān

b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī l-‘Āṣ b. Umayyah b. ‘Abd Šams b. ‘Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy.

§ 42 He came to power in Damascus after the demise of his father in the month Ramaḍān of the year 65 [April 685]. [At that time] there was in Mecca
 5 ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr for whom the office of caliph was claimed, and over
 Iraq there was al-Muḥtār b. Abī ‘Ubayd al-Ṭaqafī,⁸² who claimed [the office
 of caliph] for Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyyah.⁸³ [At that time also] the earth
 had been covered in warfare, ever since the killing of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī
 10 Ṭālib⁸⁴—may God be pleased with them both. But fortune was on the side
 of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, and all those who opposed him were killed. He
 remained in the office of caliph after Ibn al-Zubayr for 13 years and 4 months
 less 7 nights, as I reported in his biography and in the biography of his father
 in *al-Tārīḥ al-kabīr li-Miṣr* [The Great History (in Continuation) of Egypt]⁸⁵
 15 (because both of them entered [Egypt and were therefore recorded in that
 history]).

83 Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyyah was the son of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib by a woman of the Banū Ḥanīfah; he lived a politically quietist life in the turbulent days of the early Muslim community; but when the leadership of his half-brothers, the Prophet’s grandsons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, had become impossible by the early 60s/680s, some supporters of the leadership of ‘Alī’s lineage—al-Muḥtār in Kufa in particular—briefly turned to him to lead their cause; after the failure of al-Muḥtār’s movement, Muḥammad continued to try and live his quietist life in the Hijaz until his death in 81/700–701 (Fr. Buhl, “Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/muhammad-ibn-al-hanafīyya-SIM_5351).

84 Al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was the youngest son of ‘Alī and Fāṭimah, the Prophet’s daughter; he is especially remembered for the unfortunate fate he encountered near Karbalā’, in Iraq, in 60/680, when after accepting an invitation from an anti-Umayyad movement to come to Kufa and assume leadership over the community, he was stopped on the road by Umayyad troops and killed (L. Veccia Vaglieri, “(al-)Ḥusayn b. Abī Ṭālib”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-husayn-b-ali-b-abi-talib-COM_0304).

85 Both biographies seem to have been lost, as they are not mentioned in any of the extant fragments of this voluminous biographical history of Egypt by al-Maqrīzī (see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*). For a detailed discussion of this compilation’s title and its translation (*al-Tārīḥ al-kabīr al-muqaffá*—The Great History in Continuation), see Witkam (2014): 96–101. I am grateful to professor Witkam for drawing my attention to this publication.

وحج عبد الملك في خلافته سنتين، {إحداهما} سنة خمس وسبعين. فهم شبيب بن يزيد—أحد الخوارج—أن يفتك به، فبلغه ذلك، فاحترس وكتب إلى الحجاج بن يوسف بعد انصرافه يأمره بطلب صالح بن مسرح وغيره من الخوارج. فكان من أخبارهم ما قد ذكر في موضعه.^{٢١}

119^b وخطب عبد الملك الناس بالمدينة النبوية، فقال—بعد حمد الله | والثناء عليه: "أما بعد فإنني لست بالخليفة المستضعف—يعني عثمان رضي الله عنه، ولا بالخليفة المداهن—يعني معاوية، ولا بالخليفة المأبون—يعني يزيد بن معاوية، ألا وإني لا أداري هذه الأمة إلا بالسيف، حتى تستقيم لي قناتكم وإنكم تكلفونا أعمال المهاجرين الأولين ولا تعملوا مثل أعمالهم، وإنكم تأمروننا بتقوى الله

١ إحداهما: "إحديهما" في الأصل. ٤ والثناء: "الثنا" في الأصل. ٥ رضي ... عنه: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ فوق كلمة "عثمن" رأساً على عقب.

٢١ راجع هذا الخبر على شكل مساو في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٤، ص. ١٥٠؛ وأيضا في الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج. ٢/٢، ص. ٨٨١.

§43 During his caliphate, ‘Abd al-Malik went on pilgrimage in two years. One of them was in the year 75 [695], when Šabīb b. Yazīd,⁸⁶ one of the *Ḥārīǧīs*,⁸⁷ intended to murder him. But he was informed of that, so he took his precautions. He wrote to al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ b. Yūsuf—after his departure [from the Hijaz for the governorship of Iraq]—ordering him to summon Šāliḥ b. Musarriḥ⁸⁸ and other *Ḥārīǧīs*. The stories about them were recorded in their proper place.

§44 ‘Abd al-Malik delivered a public Friday sermon to the people in the Prophet’s Medina. After praising and lauding God, he said: “Now then, I am not like the weakling caliph, that is ‘Uṭmān—may God be pleased with him—, nor [am I] like the sycophant caliph, that is Mu‘āwiyah, nor [am I] like the catamite caliph, that is Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiyah; on the contrary, I will only treat this community with the sword, so that your lances will be correctly lined up for us again. You charge us with following the actions of the first emigrants,⁸⁹ but you do not act according to their actions; and you

86 Šabīb b. Yazīd b. Nu‘aym al-Šaybānī (c. 25–78/c. 646–697) was an Arab leader from the region of Mosul who participated in some of the many Iraqi uprisings against the Syrian Umayyads, traditionally referred to as *Ḥārīǧī* rebellions; between 76/695 and 77/696 Šabīb lead one such rebellion himself in Northern and Central Iraq (K.V. Zettersteen, C.F. Robinson, “*Šhabīb b. Yazīd*”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/shabib-b-yazid-SIM_6728).

87 The term *Ḥārīǧī* is used to denote a member of the earliest of the religious sects of Islam, which emerged in the mid-seventh century as a result of ongoing competition and conflicts for legitimate leadership over the young Muslim community; *Ḥārīǧīs* appeared especially in the sources for the early Islamic period in the context of continuous rebellions against central Muslim authorities (G. Levi Della Vida, “*Khāridjites*”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/kharidjites-COM_0497).

88 Šāliḥ b. Musarriḥ was another rebel against Umayyad authority; he was killed in battle in Northern Iraq shortly after this caliphal pilgrimage, in 76/695, whereupon the above-mentioned Šabīb b. Yazīd continued his rebellion, or at least recuperated Šāliḥ’s forces for his own rebellion (Robinson, “*Šhabīb b. Yazīd*”, in *ET*²).

89 The term ‘First Emigrants’ refers to the group of people from Mecca who accepted Muḥammad’s call to prophetic leadership and who converted before his migration (*hiǧrah*) to Medina in 0/622; they all migrated with him—hence their name; their early conversion in the adverse circumstances of polytheist Mecca and their closeness to the Prophet have awarded them a special status in the remembrance of the early days of the Muslim community.

وتنسون ذلك من أنفسكم. والله، لا يأمرني أحد بتقوى الله بعد مقامي هذا إلا ضربت عنقه!" ثم
نزل. ٢٢

٢٢ راجع هذه الخطبة على نفس الشكل في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٤، ص. ١٥٠.

order us to fear God, but you forget that for yourself. By God, no one will order me anymore to fear God after this rise in rank of me, or I will have his head cut off." Then he came down [from the *minbar*].

الوليد [بن] عبد الملك بن مروان

بويج بعد موت أبيه بعهدده إليه المنصف من شوال سنة ست وثمانين، وكانت خلافته تسع سنين وسبعة أشهر.

وعمر مسجد رسول الله ﷺ في سنة ثمان، وكان على يد عمر بن عبد العزيز وهو على المدينة. فكتب إليه في ربيع الأول يأمره بإدخال حجر أزواج النبي في مسجد رسول الله ﷺ، وأن يشتري ما في نواحيه حتى يكون مائتي ذراع في مثلها، وأن يقدم القبلة. فقوم عمر الأملاك قيمة عدل، وأعطى الناس أثمانها، وهدم بيوت أزواج النبي ﷺ، وبني المسجد، وأنته الفعلة من الشام. وبعث الوليد إلى ملك الروم بما عزم عليه، فبعث له مائة ألف مثقال ذهباً ومائة عامل وأربعين حملاً من الفسيفساء، فحمل الوليد ذلك إلى عمر بن عبد العزيز. فحضر عمر ومعه الناس فوضعوا أساس المسجد وابتدؤوا بعمارته. ٢٣. ١٠

١ الوليد ... مروان : بالرغم من العناوين الأخرى في الأصل، عنوان باب الخليفة الوليد هذا بالمداد الأسود. || بن ١ : ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة من السياق. ٢ المنصف : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٥ وأن : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || يشتري : ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح، يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "ان". ٦ مائتي : "مائتي" في الأصل. || قيمة : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٧ وأعطى : "واعطأ" في الأصل. || ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح، يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "النبي". || وبني : "وبنا" في الأصل. ٨ مائة : "ماية" في الأصل. || ومائة : "ماية" في الأصل. ١٠ وابتدؤوا : "وابتدؤوا" في الأصل.

٣٣ راجع هذا الخبر على شكل مساو في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٤، ص. ٢٤٦-٢٤٧؛ وراجع هذا الخبر بتفاصيله في الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج. ٢/٢، ص. ١١٩٢-١١٩٤.

7. Al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān⁹⁰

§45 The oath of allegiance was sworn to him after his father’s death, by designation from him, on 15 Šawwāl of the year 86 [9 October 705]. His term of caliph lasted for 9 years and 7 months.

- 5 §46 He had the mosque of the Messenger of God—may God bless him and grant him salvation—built in the year 88 [707]. That happened by the hand of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz,⁹¹ while he was [governor] over Medina. [Al-Walīd] wrote to him in Rabī‘ 1 [February] ordering him to incorporate the apartments of the Prophet’s wives into the mosque of the Messenger of
 10 God—may God bless him and grant him salvation—, to acquire what was surrounding it so that it would measure 200 cubits on each side, and to move the *qiblah* forward. So ‘Umar assessed the value of the properties in a fair manner and he gave the people their prices. He pulled down the rooms of the wives of the Prophet—may God bless him and grant him salvation—and
 15 he built the mosque. [Soon afterwards] workmen came to him from Syria. Al-Walīd sent [word] to the ruler of the Byzantines [informing him] of what he intended. [The Byzantine emperor] sent to him 100,000 *mitqāls*⁹² of gold, 100 workers, and 40 loads of mosaic. Al-Walīd had [all] that transported to ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. Then ‘Umar came [to the site] while the leading people [of
 20 Medina] were with him. They laid the foundations of the mosque and started its construction.⁹³

90 Al-Walīd succeeded his father ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam in the Umayyad caliphate in 86/705 without opposition; he remained in office until his death in 96/715, continuing his father’s policies and generating a period of internal peace and external expansion (R. Jacobi, “al-Walīd”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-walid-SIM_7846).

91 ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was the son of caliph ‘Abd al-Malik’s brother; he was governor of Medina on behalf of al-Walīd between 87/706 and 93/712. In 99/717 he succeeded al-Walīd’s brother Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik in the Umayyad caliphate, and he remained in office until his death in 101/720 (P.M. Cobb, “‘Umar (II) b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/umar-ii-b-abd-al-aziz-COM_1282).

92 A measurement of weight, equalling about 5 grams, one silver coin and a half, or one gold coin.

93 For the translation of the parallel text of this story, transmitted by Muḥammad b. ‘Umar, in al-Ṭabarī’s *History*, see al-Ṭabarī, *History XXIII*, 141–142.

وكتب أيضا إلى عمر أن يسهل الثنايا ويحفر الآبار ويعمل الفوارة بالمدينة. فعملها وأجرى ماءها. فلما حج الوليد وراها أعجبتة، فأمر لها بقوام يقومون عليها، وأمر أهل المسجد أن يستقوا منها. وكتب إلى جميع البلاد بإصلاح الطرق وعمل الآبار بطريق الحجاز ومنع المجذمين من الخروج على الناس وأجرى لهم الأرزاق.^{٢٤}

- ٥ وكان حجه في سنة إحدى وتسعين. فلما دخل المدينة، غدا إلى المسجد ينظر إلى بناءه، وأخرج الناس منه، ولم يبق غير سعيد بن المسيب، فلم يجسر أحد من الحرس يخرجه. فقبل له: "لوقت". فقال: "لا أقوم حتى يأتي الوقت الذي كتب أقوم فيه." فقبل: "فلوسلمت على أمير المؤمنين." قال: "والله، لا أقوم إليه." قال عمر بن عبد العزيز: "فجعلت أعدل بالوليد في ناحية المسجد لثلا يراه." فالتفت الوليد إلى القبلة، فقال: "من ذلك الشيخ؟ أهو سعيد؟" قال | عمر: "نعم، ومن حاله كذا وكذا، ولو علم بمكانك لقام فسلم عليك، وهو ضعيف البصر." قال الوليد: "قد علمت حاله، ونحن نأتيه." فدار في المسجد، ثم أتاه، فقال: "كيف أنت، أيها الشيخ؟" فوالله، ما تحرك سعيد، فقال: "بخير، والحمد لله. فكيف أمير المؤمنين وكيف حاله؟" فانصرف الوليد وهو يقول لعمر: "هذا بقية الناس."^{٢٥}
- ١٠

١ يسهل: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || ماءها: "ماها" في الأصل. ٢ يستقوا: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٣ من: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٤ وأجرى: "اجري" في الأصل. ٥ بناءه: "نايه" في الأصل. ٨ لثلا: "ليلا" في الأصل. ٩ ولو: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ١٠ علمت: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز " بعد كلمة "قد".

^{٢٤} راجع هذا الخبر على نفس الشكل تقريبا في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٤، ص. ٢٤٧؛ وراجع هذا الخبر بتفاصيله في الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج. ٢/٢، ص. ١١٩٥-١١٩٦. ^{٢٥} راجع هذا الخبر على نفس الشكل تقريبا في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٤، ص. ٢٦٢-٢٦٣؛ وأيضا في الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج. ٢/٢، ص. ١٢٣٢-١٢٣٣.

§ 47 [Al-Walīd] also wrote to ‘Umar [instructing him] to facilitate [passage through] the narrow mountain passes [around Medina], to dig out wells and to construct a drinking fountain in Medina. [‘Umar] constructed it and caused its water to flow. When al-Walīd performed the pilgrimage and saw
 5 [the fountain], he was impressed by it. He assigned caretakers for it who had to look after it, and he ordered that the people of the mosque should be given to drink from it. He wrote to all the regions [instructing them] to repair the roads and to dig wells along the road of the Hijaz, and he prevented lepers
 10 from going out among the people, arranging for allowances to be allocated to them.⁹⁴

§ 48 His pilgrimage happened in the year 91 [710]. When he entered Medina, he immediately went to the mosque to inspect its construction. The people were cleared out of it, no one remaining behind except for Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab.⁹⁵ None of the guards dared to make him leave, so it was said
 15 to him: “if only you stood up.” But he said: “I will not stand up until the time has come that was written for me to stand up.” Then it was said: “and if only you greeted the Commander of the Faithful.” He said: “By God, I shall not stand up for him.” ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz said: “I began making al-Walīd turn towards the [other] side of the mosque so as not to see him.” But
 20 al-Walīd turned his face towards the *qiblah* and said: “who is that elderly man? Is he not Sa‘īd?” ‘Umar said: “Yes, but his condition is so-and-so, and if he had known that you are standing here, he certainly would have stood up and greeted you; but [he did not because] his sight is weak.” Al-Walīd said: “I already know about him; let us go towards him.” So he went around
 25 the mosque and then came to him. He said: “How are you, *ṣayḥ*?” But, by God, Sa‘īd did not move. He said: “I’m well, praise to God; and how is the Commander of the Faithful and how is his condition?” Al-Walīd left, saying to ‘Umar: “This is the last remaining one from the [first generation of the community’s] leading people.”⁹⁶

94 For the translation of the parallel text of this story, transmitted by Muḥammad b. ‘Umar and by Ibn Abī Sabrah, in al-Ṭabarī’s *History*, see al-Ṭabarī, *History XXIII*, 144.

95 The Medinan scholar Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab (d. 94/712–713) was remembered for refusing to swear allegiance to al-Walīd, for which he ended up in prison (al-Ṭabarī, *History XXXIX*, 316, fn. 1462 [see also fn. 57]).

96 For the translation of the parallel text of this story, transmitted by Muḥammad b. ‘Umar, in al-Ṭabarī’s *History*, see al-Ṭabarī, *History XXIII*, pp. 179–180.

وقسم بالمدينة أموالا كثيرة، وصلى بها الجمعة. فخطب الناس الخطبة الأولى جالسا، ثم قام فخطب الثانية قائما. فقال رجل لرجاء بن حيوة: "أهكذا يصنعون؟" قال: "نعم، وهكذا صنع معوية، وهلم جرا." فقيل له: "ألا تكلمه؟" فقال: "أخبرني قبيصة بن ذؤيب أنه كلم عبد الملك في القعود، فلم يتركه، وقال: "هكذا خطب عثمان؛" قال: "فقلت: والله، ما خطب إلا قائما." قال رجاء: "روى لهم شيء، فأخذوا به."^{٢٦} ٥

١ أموالا: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || الأولى: "الأولى" في الأصل. ٢ لرجاء: "لرجاء" في الأصل. || بن حيوة: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٤ قائما: "قائما" في الأصل. || رجاء: "رجاء" في الأصل. ٥ شيء: "شيء" في الأصل.

٢٦ راجع هذا الخبر على نفس الشكل تقريبا في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٤، ص. ٢٦٤؛ وأيضا في الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج. ٢/٢، ص. ١٢٣٤.

§49 He distributed a lot of riches in Medina, and performed the Friday prayer there. He delivered the first public Friday sermon before the people while he was sitting down. Then he stood up and delivered the second Friday sermon while he was standing up. A man said to Rağā' b. Ḥaywah:⁹⁷ "Is this
 5 the way [the caliphs] perform [the sermon]?" He said: "yes, for this is how it was done by Mu'āwiyah and so on." But it was said to him: "Aren't you going to speak to him [about it]?" He said: "Qabiṣah b. Du'ayb⁹⁸ reported to me that he spoke to 'Abd al-Malik on the matter of sitting down, but he did not
 [want to] refrain from it, saying: 'This is how 'Uṭmān performed the Friday
 10 sermon.' [Qabiṣah] said: 'I said: By God, 'Uṭmān only delivered the Friday sermon while standing up.'" Rağā' said: "They just follow anything that is transmitted to them."⁹⁹

97 Rağā' b. Ḥaywah b. Ḥanzal al-Kindī was an influential religious and political adviser at the Umayyad court from the reign of 'Abd al-Malik up to 'Umar's; it is said that he had a hand in 'Umar's succession of his nephew Sulaymān in 99/717. Rağā' is also known as a man of piety and religious learning. He died in 112/730 (C.E. Bosworth, "Radja' b. Ḥaywa", in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-islam-2/radja-b-haywa-SIM_8865).

98 Qabiṣah b. Du'ayb (d. 86/705) was a jurist and traditionist, who worked as a leading figure in the administration of 'Abd al-Malik (see al-Ṭabarī, *History* XXXIX, 317, fn. 1469).

99 For the translation of the parallel text of this story, transmitted by Muḥammad b. 'Umar, in al-Ṭabarī's *History*, see al-Ṭabarī, *History* XXIII, 180–181 (according to this account, the man who spoke to Rağā' was known as Ishāq b. Yahyá).

سليمان بن عبد الملك بن مروان

بويغ بعد موت أخيه الوليد في نصف جمادى الآخرة وهو بالرملة. فاقام في الخلافة سنتين وثمانية أشهر وخمسة أيام—وقيل: إلا خمسة أيام.

و حج بالناس سنة سبع وتسعين، وكتب إلى خالد بن عبد الله القسري—وهو على مكة—أن "أجر لي عينا يخرج من مائها العذب الزلال حتى تخرج بين زمزم والمقام، فعمل خالد بركة بأصل شير ٥

٥ من : ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صحح، يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "يخرج". || شير: كذا في الأصل (أشكال الحركات مضافة بخط المقرئ).

100 Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān succeeded his brother al-Walid in the Umayyad caliphate in 96/715 without opposition; his reign ended abruptly in 99/717 when he died in Northern Syria, leading a campaign against the Byzantine empire that included an unsuccessful siege of Constantinople (R. Eisener, "Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik", in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/sulayman-b-abd-al-malik-SIM_7156).

8. Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān¹⁰⁰

§ 50 The oath of allegiance was sworn to him after the death of his brother al-Walīd on 15 Ğumādā II of the year 96 [25 February 715], while he was at al-Ramlah.¹⁰¹ He remained in the post of caliph for 2 years, 8 months, and 5
5 days—it was said: less 5 days.

§ 51 He led the people on the pilgrimage in the year 97 [716]. He wrote to Ḥālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī¹⁰²—he was [governor] over Mecca: “Make me a spring producing sweet and cold water [and make it thus] that [its water] wells up between Zamzam¹⁰³ and the *Maqām*.”¹⁰⁴ So Ḥālid created a rock

101 The coastal town of al-Ramlah was founded and developed as the new capital of the *ġund Filastīn*, the Umayyad province of Palestine, when Sulaymān was governor there during the caliphate of al-Walīd; Sulaymān allegedly also continued to live in al-Ramlah when he became Umayyad caliph (E. Honigmann, “al-Ramla”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-ramla-SIM_6215).

102 Ḥālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī was an Umayyad governor, first of Mecca and later of the province of Iraq; he finally fell from office and favour in 120/738 and died under torture in 126/743–744; there is an unresolved discussion in historiography about whether Ḥālid remained governor of Mecca under Sulaymān, and hence whether this fountain, intended to supplant Zamzam, was constructed on the orders of Sulaymān or rather of al-Walīd before (as al-Ṭabarī suggests) (G.R. Hawting, “Ḥālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/khalid-b-abd-allah-al-kasri-SIM_4145).

103 Zamzam is the name of the well inside the Ḥaram mosque of Mecca, east of the Ka’bah, from which water is believed to have welled up for the first time in the days of the prophet Ibrāhīm and which is then believed to have been rediscovered by the grandfather of the prophet Muḥammad in the sixth century; as a result of these mythic origins, water from Zamzam is traditionally considered to possess particular qualities (J. Chabbi, “Zamzam”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/zamzam-SIM_812).

104 The *maqām Ibrāhīm* refers to a little building close to Zamzam and to the northeast façade of the Ka’bah; inside there is preserved a stone with the prints of two human feet, which are believed to have remained when the prophet Ibrāhīm stood on it for building the Ka’bah (M.J. Kister, “Maqām Ibrāhīm”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/makam-ibrahim-SIM_4815).

من حجارة، وأحكمها وأنبط ماءها وشق لها فلجا يسكب فيها من شعب في الجبل، ثم شق من البركة عينا تخرج إلى المسجد الحرام تجري في قصب من رصاص حتى أظهره من فوارة تسكب في فسقينة من رخام بين زمزم والمقام. فلما جرت وظهر ماءها، أمر القسري بجزر، فنحرت بمكة وقسمت بين الناس وعمل طعاما دعا إليه الناس. ثم أمر صائحا، فصاح: "الصلاة جامعة." وأمر بالمنبر فوضع في وجه الكعبة، ثم صعد فحمد الله وأثنى عليه، وقال: "أيها الناس، إحمدوا الله وادعوا لأمر المؤمنين الذي سقاكم الماء العذب الزلال النُقَاحَ العَذْبَ." فكانت تفرغ تلك الفسقينة في سرب من رصاص يخرج إلى موضع {وضوء} كان عند باب الصفا وفي بركة كانت في السوق. وكان الناس لا يقفون على تلك الفسقينة ولا يكاد أحد يقربها، وكانوا على شرب ماء زمزم أحرص وفيه أرغب. فصعد خالد المنبر وأنب الناس وأقذع في كلامه.

٥

١٠ فلم تزل البركة حتى هدمها داود بن علي بن عبد الله بن عباس في خلافة أبي العباس السفاح،^{120b} وصرف العين إلى بركة باب المسجد. وبقي السرب من الرصاص حتى قدم يسر الخادم من بغداد

١ ماءها: "ماها" في الأصل. ٣ بجزر: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || فنحرت: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٤ صائحا: "صايحا" في الأصل. ٦ الماء: "الماء" في الأصل. ٧ الفسقينة: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ (من "الفسقية"). || وضوء: "وضو" في الأصل. ٨ الفسقينة: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ (من "الفسقية"). || شرب: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || ماء: "ماء" في الأصل. ١٠ أبي: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ١١ وبقي: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || السرب: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ؛ مضافة في السطر في مكانها الصحيح في الجملة ولكن مكتوبة من الأسفل إلى الأعلى.

105 Ṭubayr is the name of a mountain near Mecca.

106 Bāb al-Ṣafā is the name for one of the many gates that traditionally regulated access to the Meccan sanctuary of the sacred mosque, *al-masjid al-ḥarām*.

basin at the foot of Ṭubayr,¹⁰⁵ he made it solid and he made its water rise, by cutting a fissure in it through which [water] could pour in it from a canyon in the mountain. Then he cut through [the other side] of the basin, [creating] a spring from which [water] poured down to the sacred mosque. It ran through a pipe of lead until it appeared again through a jet of water that poured into a marble drinking fountain between Zamzam and the *Maqām*. When it was all set up and its water appeared, al-Qasrī ordered camels to slaughter. They were slaughtered in Mecca and distributed among the people, and he organised a banquet to which he invited the people. Then he ordered with a loud voice, shouting: “all to prayer.” He ordered for the *minbar* [to be brought]. It was put in front of the Ka‘bah, whereupon he mounted [it]. He praised and lauded Allah, and said: “O people, praise God and pray for the Commander of the Faithful, who has given you sweet, cold, and fresh water to drink.” This drinking fountain poured out in a conduit of lead that ran to a place for ritual ablution which used to be at the Bāb al-Ṣafā’,¹⁰⁶ as well as in a basin that was at the market. The people did not take up the habit of stopping at this fountain, and in fact hardly anyone came near to it, for they were more intent on and longing for drinking the water of Zamzam. So Ḥālid mounted the *minbar* and blamed the people, speaking in a slanderous way.

§ 52 The basin [at the market] remained until Dāwūd b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās¹⁰⁷ destroyed it, during the caliphate of Abū l-‘Abbās al-Saffāh.¹⁰⁸ The spring was transformed into a basin at the mosque’s gate. The conduit of lead remained until Yusr al-Ḥādīm¹⁰⁹ came from Baghdad to Mecca in the year

107 Dāwūd b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās was one of the most respected uncles of the first two ‘Abbāsid caliphs; he died in 133/750–751 (al-Ṭabarī, *History* XXXIX, 277, fn. 1258).

108 Abū l-‘Abbās ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās was the first caliph of the ‘Abbāsid dynasty; he was proclaimed as caliph with the title al-Saffāh in 132/749 and died in 136/754 (S. Moscati, “Abū l-‘Abbās al-Saffāh”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/abu-l-abbas-al-saffah-SIM_0150).

109 Yusr al-Ḥādīm (also sometimes referred to as Bišr al-Ḥādīm, Yusr al-Afšīm, or Bišr al-Afšīmī) was a member of the ‘Abbāsid court in the second half of the ninth century who supervised the restoration of the mosques of Mecca and Medina in 256/870, at which occasion he was also involved in the restoration of the *maqām Ibrāhīm* (see Kister [1971]: 485) and—as explained here—of Zamzam. See also al-Ṭabarī, *History* XXXVIII, 164; Id., *History* XXXIV, 219–220; Id., *History* XXXVI, 31.

إلى مكة في سنة ست وخمسين ومائتين، فعمل القبة بجانب بيت الشراب، وأخرج قصب خالد فجعلها في سَرَبِ الفوارة التي يخرج منها الماء إلى حياض زمزم، فتصب في هذه البركة. ٢٧

١ ومائتين: "مائتين" في الأصل. ٢ الماء: "الماء" في الأصل. || فتصب: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || في: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

٢٧ خبر البركة والفسقية موجود على شكل مساو ولكن بتفاصيله في الأزقي، أخبار مكة، ص. ٣٣٩-٣٤٠.

256 [870]. He had the dome constructed next to the drinking place and he removed the pipe of Ḥālīd and used it for the conduit of the jet of water that poured into the cisterns of Zamzam, [enabling it] to overflow into this basin [at the mosque's gate].

هشام بن عبد الملك بن مروان

استخلف بعد موت أخيه يزيد بن عبد الملك لليال بقين من شعبان سنة خمس ومائة. فقام في الخلافة تسع عشرة سنة وتسعة أشهر وأحد وعشرين يوماً، وقيل: وثمانية أشهر ونصف.

حج فيها مرة واحدة سنة ست ومائة. وكتب له أبو الزناد سنن الحج. قال أبو {الزناد}: "لقيت هشاماً. فإني لفي الموكب إذ لقيه سعيد بن عبد الله بن الوليد بن عثمان بن عفان، فسار إلى جنبه فسمعته يقول له: "يا أمير المؤمنين، إن الله لم يزل ينعم على أهل بيت أمير المؤمنين وينصر خليفته المظلوم، ولم يزالوا يلعنون في هذه المواطن أبا تراب. فإنها مواطن صالحه وأمير المؤمنين ينبغي له أن يلعنه فيها." فشق على هشام قوله وقال: "ما قدمنا لشم أحد ولا للعنه. قدمنا حجاجاً" ثم قطع كلامه وأقبل

٢ ومائة: "ماية" في الأصل. ٤ ومائة: "وماية" في الأصل. || الزناد: "الزياد" في الأصل، وهو خطأ.

110 Hišām b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān succeeded his older brother Yazīd in the Umayyad caliphate in 105/724 without opposition; he reigned in relative peace, stability and prosperity for 19 years, until his death in 125/743, which made him the longest reigning of the Syrian Umayyad caliphs (F. Gabrieli, "Hišām", in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brittonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/hisham-SIM_2901).

9. Hišām b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān¹¹⁰

§ 53 He was appointed as caliph after the death of his brother Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik¹¹¹ in the course of the last ten days of Ša‘bān of the year 105 [late January 724]. He performed the office of caliph for 19 years, 9 months, and 21 days—it was said 8 months and a half.

§ 54 During [his term], he went on pilgrimage once, in the year 106 [725]. [On the caliph’s request] Abū l-Zinād¹¹² wrote up for him the traditions of the pilgrimage. Abū l-Zinād said: “I have met Hišām [as follows]: I was in the procession [behind the caliph], when Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Walīd b. ‘Uṭmān b. ‘Affān¹¹³ encountered him. He came riding beside him, and I heard him saying to [Hišām]: ‘O Commander of the Faithful, God has not ceased his benevolence toward the house of the Commander of the Faithful, and He [has not ceased] to stand by his ill-treated caliph;¹¹⁴ [likewise] have they not ceased to curse Abū Turāb¹¹⁵ in these lands; as they are virtuous lands, the Commander of the Faithful ought to curse him [too while he is] in them.’ His talk troubled Hišām, so he said: ‘We have not come to vilify nor to curse anyone; we have come as pilgrims.’ Then he stopped talking and turned

111 Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik succeeded his nephew ‘Umar in the Umayyad caliphate in 101/720 without opposition; he reigned until his death in 105/724 (H. Lammens, Kh.Y. Blankinship, “Yazīd (II) b. ‘Abd al-Malik”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/yazid-ii-b-abd-al-malik-SIM_8001).

112 Abū l-Zinād (sometimes also referred to as Abū l-Zanād) is the nickname of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḍakwān, an Umayyad administrator in Iraq who died in 130/747–748; together with his three sons, Abū l-Zinād is considered an important transmitter of *ḥadīth*, and one of these sons, known as Ibn Abī l-Zinād (d. 174/790–791), also gained fame as an early specialist of Medinan jurisprudence (*fiqh*) (Ed., “Ibn Abī ‘l-Zinād”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibn-abi-l-zinad-SIM_8635).

113 Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Walīd was a great-grandson of the third caliph ‘Uṭmān, and also a great-great-grandson of the first caliph Abū Bakr (al-Ṭabarī, *History* xxv, 19, fn. 19).

114 That is, Sa‘īd’s great-grandfather, the caliph ‘Uṭmān, who was murdered in 35/656.

115 Abū Turāb is a pejorative nickname for the fourth caliph ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (“Abū Turāb”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/abu-turab-DUM_0104).

علي فسألني عن الحج، فأخبرته بما كتبت له، قال: "وشق على سعيد أني سمعته تكلم بذلك، فكان منكسرا كلما رأيته".^{٢٨}

وكلم إبراهيم بن محمد بن طلحة هشاما وهو في الحجر بمكة، فقال له: "أسألك بالله وبحرمة هذا البيت الذي خرجت معظما له ألا رددت علي ظلامي". قال: "أي ظلامه؟" قال: "داري". قال: "فأين كنت عن أمير المؤمنين عبد الملك؟" قال: "ظلمي". قال: "فالوليد وسليمان؟" قال: "ظلماني". قال: "فعمرو؟" قال: "يرحمه {الله، ردها علي". قال: "فيزيد بن عبد الملك؟" قال: "ظلمي وقبضها مني بعد قبضي لها وهي في يدك". فقال هشام: "لو كان فيك ضرب لضربتك". فقال: "في والله ضرب بالسيف والسوط". فانصرف هشام وقال لمن معه: "كيف سمعت هذا اللسان؟" قال: "ما أجوده!" قال: "هي قريش وألسنتها، ولا يزال في الناس بقايا ما رأيت مثل هذا".^{٢٩}

١٠ ولم يحج بعد هشام أحد من بني أمية وهو خليفة.

٦ فعمرو: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || يرحمه: "يرحمه" في الأصل.

^{٢٨} راجع هذا الخبر على نفس الشكل تماما في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٤، ص. ٣٧٤؛ وراجع أيضا على نفس الشكل تقريبا في الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج. ٢/٢، ص. ١٤٨٣-١٤٨٣. ^{٢٩} راجع هذا الخبر على نفس الشكل تماما في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٤، ص. ٣٧٦؛ وراجع أيضا على نفس الشكل تقريبا في الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج. ٢/٢، ص. ١٤٨٣-١٤٨٤.

towards me. He asked me about the pilgrimage, and I informed him about what I had written for him.” [Abū l-Zinād] said: “It troubled Sa‘īd that I had heard him saying that, so he was broken-hearted every time he saw me.”¹¹⁶

§ 55 Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah¹¹⁷ spoke to Hišām when he was in the
 5 *ḥiḡr* in Mecca. He said to him: “By God and by the sacredness of this house
 for which you have gone out expanding its greatness, I supplicate you not
 to bring over me once again my injustice.” [Hišām] said: “What injustice?”
 He said: “my house.” [Hišām] said: “Where were you with respect to the
 Commander of the Faithful ‘Abd al-Malik?” He said: “He treated me unjustly.”
 10 [Hišām] said: “What about al-Walīd and Sulaymān?” He said: “They both
 treated me unjustly.” [Hišām] said: “What about ‘Umar?” He said: “May God
 have mercy upon him, he returned it to me.” [Hišām] said: “What about Yazīd
 b. ‘Abd al-Malik?” He said: “He treated me unjustly, taking it from me just
 after I had taken it, so that it is [now] in your possession.” Hišām said: “If
 15 you could bear a beating, I would beat you.” He said: “By God, I can stand
 a beating with the sword and with the whip!” Hišām went away, saying to
 whoever was with him: “What did you make of hearing this tongue?” [The
 other person] said: “How skilful it is!”. [Hišām] said: “It is the tongues of
 Quraysh, and among the people there continue to be remnants similar to
 20 this which I just noticed.”¹¹⁸

§ 56 After Hišām, no one from the Banū Umayyah went on pilgrimage while he was caliph.

116 For the translation of the parallel text of this story, transmitted by al-Wāqidī on authority of Ibn Abī al-Zinād, in al-Ṭabarī’s *History*, see al-Ṭabarī, *History* xxv, 19.

117 Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah (also known as al-‘Araḡ) was a grandson of Ṭalḥah b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, an early convert and prominent Companion of Muḥammad who was killed in 36/656 in the Battle of the Camel near Basra, when he rose with other companions against the succession to the caliphate of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (W. Madelung, “Ṭalḥa”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/talha-SIM_7362; al-Ṭabarī, *History* xxv, 19–20, fn. 99).

118 For the translation of the parallel text of this story in al-Ṭabarī’s *History*, see al-Ṭabarī, *History* xxv, 20.

ثم كانت دولة بني العباس. فأول من حج منهم وهو خليفة:

أبو جعفر المنصور

واسمه عبد الله بن محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن عباس بن عبد المطلب، أمير المؤمنين، العباسي الهاشمي.

٥ بُويع بعد موت أخيه أبي العباس | السفاح عبد الله بن محمد—وهو بطريق مكة—سنة ست وثلثين^{121a} ومائة.

فقدم الكوفة، ثم حج في سنة أربعين ومائة، فأحرم من الحيرة، ولما قضى حجه، توجه إلى بيت

٦ ومائة: "ومائة" في الأصل. ٧ ومائة: "ومائة" في الأصل.

Then there was the reign of the ‘Abbāsids. The first of them to go on pilgrimage while he was caliph was:

10. **Abū Ġa’far al-Manṣūr**¹¹⁹

5 His name is ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Commander of the Faithful, al-‘Abbāsī l-Hāšimī.

§ 57 The oath of allegiance was sworn [to him] after the death of his brother Abū l-‘Abbās al-Saffāḥ ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, while he was on the road to Mecca, in the year 136 [754].

10 § 58 He came to [live in] Kufa.¹²⁰ In the year 140 [758] he went on pilgrimage. He entered into *iḥrām* from al-Ḥīrah¹²¹ onwards. Once he had concluded

119 Abū Ġa’far al-Manṣūr was the second caliph of the ‘Abbāsīd dynasty, succeeding his brother al-Saffāḥ in 136/754 and reigning until his death in 158/775; the successful longevity of his rule consolidated the ‘Abbāsīd take-over of the caliphate and meant the starting point of many decades of ‘Abbāsīd imperial prosperity emanating from Iraq and integrating elites and regions from North Africa to Transoxania (H. Kennedy, “al-Manṣūr”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-mansur-SIM_4935).

120 Kufa (al-Kūfah) was established in Iraq—together with Basra to the south—as a military encampment (*miṣr*) and control center in the course of the Arab conquest of the region in the 630s; it soon transformed into a regional capital for, as well as a hotbed of regional (especially pro-‘Alid) dissent with, caliphal authority as emanating from the Hijaz and then from Syria; in the mid-eighth century, it briefly became the centre of the new ‘Abbāsīd caliphate, before its transfer to Baghdad in the course of the reign of al-Manṣūr; throughout the caliphal era, Kufa (and Basra) operated as key centers of Arabo-Islamic cultural formation and efflorescence (H. Djaït, “al-Kūfa”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-kufa-COM_0536).

121 Al-Ḥīrah was a settlement in Iraq that was the most important Arab city in the region before the rise of Islam, due its being the political and cultural capital of the pre-Islamic Lakhmid dynasty, a bulwark in the Sasanid protection system against nomads and Byzantines, and a crucial caravan stop in the transit trade between Persia and Arabia; with the advent of Islam, the Christian city of al-Ḥīrah was gradually eclipsed by new settlements in the region, especially by Kufa (A.F.L. Beeston, I. Shahīd, “al-Ḥīra”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-hira-SIM_2891).

المقدس وسار منها إلى الرقة ومضى إلى الكوفة.

وحج ثانيا سنة أربع وأربعين. فلما حج بالناس ورجع، لم يدخل المدينة ومضى إلى الربذة وأحضر بني حسن بن علي إليه في القيود والأغلال. فسار بهم إلى الكوفة، وعتا عتوا كبيرا في ظلهم.

ثم حج بالناس في سنة سبع أربعين ومائة.

٢ الربذة: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٤ ومائة: "وماية" في الأصل.

his pilgrimage, he headed for Jerusalem,¹²² and from there he traveled to Raqqa¹²³ and [then] he proceeded to Kufa.

§ 59 He went on pilgrimage a second time in the year [1]44 [762]. When he had led the people on the pilgrimage and returned, he did not enter
5 Medina but went to al-Rabaḍah.¹²⁴ He had the descendants of Ḥasan b. ‘Alī¹²⁵ brought to him in chains and shackles, and he took them to Kufa, mistreating them in an extremely violent way.

§ 60 Then he led the people on the pilgrimage in the year 147 [765].

122 Jerusalem, the third sacred city of Islam after Mecca and Medina, was identified here by the name of “al-Bayt al-Muqaddas”, often encountered in Arabic sources as a corruption of the early Islamic name “Bayt al-Maqdis” (“[The City of] the Temple”—a shorthand for “Īlyā’ Madīnat Bayt al-Maqdis”, “Aelia, the City of the Temple”) and as an equivalent for the common Arabic name of Jerusalem until today, “al-Quds” (S.D. Goitein, “al-Ḳuds”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-kuds-COM_0535).

123 Raqqa (al-Raqqah) on the left bank of the Euphrates is an ancient town on the route connecting Syria with northern Mesopotamia (the Jazīra) and Iraq; after the Arab conquest, it was gradually transformed into an important regional metropolis, especially in the early ‘Abbāsīd period, under the caliph al-Manṣūr and his successors; it lingered on thereafter as a regional urban centre until its destruction in the mid-thirteenth century (M. Meinecke, “al-Raḳḳa”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-rakka-COM_0907).

124 Al-Rabaḍah was the name of a settlement in early Islamic Arabia, at the eastern foot of the Hijaz mountain chain some 200 kilometers east of Medina; it lay on the main pilgrimage route from Kufa to Mecca, providing all kinds of facilities to pilgrims (S.‘A. Rashid, “al-Rabadḥa”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-rabadha-SIM_6152).

125 In 145/762–763 al-Manṣūr was confronted with a last ‘Alīd rebellion against his rule, led by the brothers Muḥammad—also known as al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah (“the Pure Soul”)—and Ibrāhīm, who claimed on the basis of their direct descent from the Prophet’s grandson Ḥasan b. ‘Alī that they had better rights to the caliphate than al-Manṣūr had; an important phase in the build-up of tension concerned this arrest and maltreatment in 144/762 of several members of their family (here referred to as “descendants of al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī”, the Prophet’s grandson) by al-Manṣūr (F. Buhl, “Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, called al-Nafs al-Zakiyya”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/muhammad-b-abd-allah-b-al-hasan-al-muthanna-b-al-hasan-b-ali-b-abi-talib-called-al-nafs-al-zakiyya-SIM_5331).

وحج رابعا في سنة ثمان وأربعين.

وحج خامسا في سنة اثنتين وخمسين.

وسار في سنة أربع وخمسين إلى الشام وبيت المقدس. ثم سار في سنة ثمان وخمسين ومائة من بغداد إلى مكة ليحج. واستخلف ابنه محمد المهدي ووصاه وصية بليغة جدا—لولا طولها لذكرتها، وودعه، وبكى وأعلمه أنه ميت في سفره هذا. ثم سار إلى الكوفة، وجمع بين الحج والعمرة، وساق الهدي وأشعره وقلده لأيام [خلت] من ذي القعدة. فعرض له—وهو سائر—وجع اشتد به حتى مات في بئر ميمون خارج مكة لست خلون من ذي الحجة. فكم الربيع الحاجب موته حتى بايع للهدي: ٣٠

٣ ومائة: "وماية" في الأصل. ٦ خلّت: ناقصة في الأصل مضافة من السياق. || سائر: "ساير" في الأصل. ٧ بئر: "بير" في الأصل. || خلون: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || الحاجب: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "الربيع".

٣٠ راجع خبر موت المنصور بكاله—الذي اختصره المقرئ هنا—في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٥، ص. ٢١٦-

٨. راجع أيضا الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج. ١/٣، ص. ٣٩٠-٣٨٧.

§ 61 He went on pilgrimage a fourth time in the year [1]48 [766].

§ 62 He went on pilgrimage a fifth time in the year [1]52 [769].

§ 63 In the year [1]54 [771] he travelled to Syria and Jerusalem. Thereafter, in the year 158 [775] he travelled from Baghdad¹²⁶ to Mecca for the performance
 5 of the pilgrimage. He appointed his son Muḥammad al-Mahdī¹²⁷ as caliph, commissioning him by a most eloquently produced will of his—if it were not for its length, I would mention it [here]. He bid him farewell, wept, and informed him that he would die on this trip of his. Then he left for Kufa. He combined the pilgrimage and the lesser pilgrimage, and he drove the
 10 oblatinal animals [towards Mecca], marking them for sacrifice by stabbing them in the hump and by hanging something upon their necks.¹²⁸ [This happened] in the course of early Dū l-Qa’dah [September]. But when he was travelling, a pain befell him that became unbearable, until he died at Bī’r Maymūn,¹²⁹ outside Mecca, on the 6th of Dū l-Ḥiġġah [7 October]. Al-Rabi’
 15 the Ḥāġib¹³⁰ concealed his death until allegiance was sworn to al-Mahdī.

126 Baghdad was constructed on the Tigris in Iraq as the new capital of the new ‘Abbāsīd dynasty in the reign of al-Manṣūr, and it retained its status as one of the most important centres of the Islamic world until the 7th/13th century (A.A. Duri, “Baghdād”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/baghdad-COM_0084).

127 Muḥammad al-Mahdī succeeded his father al-Manṣūr without opposition as the third ‘Abbāsīd caliph in 158/775; his reign, which lasted until his death in 169/785, was very much a continuation of the long and prosperous reign of his father’s (H. Kennedy, “al-Mahdī”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-mahdi-SIM_4779).

128 For the translation of a parallel but more detailed text of this fragment on the 158/775 pilgrimage, including reference to the combination with the lesser pilgrimage and to the slaughter animals, in al-Ṭabarī’s *History*, see al-Ṭabarī, *History* *XXIX*, 88–89.

129 Bī’r Maymūn is the name of an oasis just outside Mecca, mostly known for being the place where al-Manṣūr died (see al-Ṭabarī, *History* *XXIX*, 88).

130 Al-Rabi’ b. Yūnus b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Farwah (d. c. 169–170/785–786) was a manumitted slave who served in various capacities under the first four ‘Abbāsīd caliphs; al-Manṣūr first made him his chamberlain (hence the title ‘the Ḥāġib’, the Chamberlain) and then his vizir, reflecting al-Rabi’[’]s powerful position at his court; as a result, he is often also very present in stories about al-Manṣūr as the caliph’s righthand (A.S. Atiya, “al-Rabi’ b. Yūnus”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-mahdi-SIM_4779).

فكانت خلافة أبي جعفر اثنين وعشرين سنة تنقص أياما قد اختلف في عدتها. ٣١

واتفق أنه لما نزل آخر منزل بطريق مكة نظر في صدر البيت فإذا فيه بعد البسملة: [الطويل]

أبا جعفر، حانت وفاتك وانقضت سنوك وأمر الله لا بد واقع

أبا جعفر، هل كاهن أو منجم لك اليوم من حد المنية مانع؟

٥ فأحضر متولي المنازل وقال له: "ألم أمرك: لا يدخل المنازل أحد من الناس؟" وكانت الخلفاء يبنّي

لهم في كل منزلة ينزلونها بطريق مكة دار، ويعد لهم فيها سائر ما يحتاج إليه من الستور والفرش والأواني وغير ذلك. فقال: "والله، ما دخله أحد منذ فرغ:" فقال: "اقرأ ما في صدر البيت." فقال:

"ما أرى شيئا." فأحضر غيره فلم ير شيئا. فقال: "يا ربيع، قف بيني وبين الحائط." فقام الربيع بينه وبين الجدار، فأرى البيتين كما كان يراهما قبل وقوف الربيع، فعلم أنه قد نعتت إليه نفسه. فقال:

١٠ "يا ربيع، اقرأ آية من كتاب الله." فقرأ: ﴿وَسَيَعْلَمُ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا أَيَّ مُنْقَلَبٍ يَنْقَلِبُونَ﴾ ٣٢ فرحل

من المنزل، وقد تطير، فسقط عن دابته فاندق عنقه—وقيل: بل مات | من مرضه. ودفن بيئر^{121b}

ميمون. ٣٣

٣ حانت: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || وفاتك: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في

الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح، يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "حانت". ٥ الخلفاء: "الخلفاء" في الأصل. ٦ سائر: "سائر" في الأصل. ٧ منذ: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٨ شيئا: "شيئا"

في الأصل. || شيئا: ٢. "شيئا" في الأصل. || الحائط: "الحائط" في الأصل. ٩ فرأى: "فراي" في الأصل.

١١ مات: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || بيئر: "بيير" في الأصل.

٣١ راجع تفاصيل الاختلاف في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٥، ص. ٢١٨، وفي الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك،

ج. ١/٣، ص. ٣٩٠-٣٩١. ٣٢ القرآن، سورة الشعراء، الآية ٢٢٧. ٣٣ راجع هذا الخبر على نفس الشكل

تقريبا في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٥، ص. ٢١٨-٢١٩؛ وراجع هذا الخبر على شكل مساو أيضا في الطبري،

تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج. ١/٣، ص. ٤٤٩.

§ 64 The caliphate of Abū Ğaʿfar lasted for 22 years less some days—their number is disputed.

§ 65 It so happened that when he halted at the last stop on the road to Mecca, he looked inside the lodge,¹³¹ and behold [he saw verses written on its main wall], which—after the *basmalah*—went as follows: [*Ṭawīl* meter]

§ 66 Abū Ğaʿfar: your demise is drawing near
and your years are coming to an end—God’s command: there is no
escape from its reality.

Abū Ğaʿfar: is there a sorcerer or astrologer
10 with you today who can push back the limits of mortality?

§ 67 [Al-Manṣūr] had the caretaker of the halting places brought and said to him: “Did I not order you not to let anyone of the people enter [the caliphal lodges at] the halting places?” The caliphs had constructed for themselves at every halting place along the road to Mecca a house in which everything
15 necessary was prepared for them, including curtains, carpets, dishes, and the like. [The caretaker] said: “By God, no one has entered it since it was finished.” [Al-Manṣūr] said: “Read what is [written on the wall] inside the lodge.” He said: “I don’t see anything.” Then he summoned another one, but he did not see anything either. So he said: “O, al-Rabīʿ, stand between me
20 and the wall.” So al-Rabīʿ stood between him and the wall, but he still saw the two verses as he had seen them before al-Rabīʿ came to stand there. So he knew that his soul was announcing his own death to himself. He said: “O, al-Rabīʿ, recite a verse from the Book of God.” So he recited: “Those who do wrong shall surely know by what overturning they will be overturned.”¹³² He
25 left from the halting place after he had seen the evil omen, and he fell from his riding animal and broke his neck. There was said that he rather died from a disease he had. He was buried at Biʿr Maymūn.¹³³

131 The author is playing here with the double meaning of the Arabic phrase *fi ṣadr al-bayt*, which can mean both ‘inside the lodge’ and ‘at the first hemistich of the verse’.

132 Qurʾān, s. 26: 227. Translation from Arberry (1955).

133 For the translation of a parallel, only slightly diverging story, transmitted by Mūsá b. Hārūn on authority of ʿĪsá b. Muḥammad, in al-Ṭabarī’s *History*, see al-Ṭabarī, *History* XXIX, 155–156.

126^a ومن بديع ما يحكى عنه أنه لما حج وأشرف على المدينة النبوية | ترجل الناس له لما استقبلوه إلا محمد ابن عمران—قاضي المدينة. فقال المنصور: "يا ربيع، ما له لا يترجل لي؟ يتجادل علي ويمتنع مما فعله بنو عبد المطلب وبنو علي، فلم ينزل إلى الأرض لما بصري؟" فقال الربيع: "يأمر المؤمنين، لو رأيتهم على الأرض، لرحمته ورثيت له من ثقله وعظمه." فأمره بالذنو، فدنا منه راجعا عند تمهيد الربيع له العذر، فسأله عن حاله. ثم قال: "يا ابن عمران، أيما رجل أنت؟ لولا خصال فيك ثلاث كنت أنت الرجل." قال: "وما هن، يأمر المؤمنين؟" قال: "قعودك عن الصلاة في مسجد رسول الله ﷺ في جماعة، فتصلي وحدك. وثانية أنك لا تكلم إنسانا في الطريق تباها وعظمة. وثالثة أنك رجل

١ ومن ... النبوية: تصحيح في الأصل، مضافة في السطر في مكانها في النص بخط المقرئ. || النبوية: بقية نص المنصور ناقصة في الأصل ومكتوبة بخط المقرئ على جزأه منفردة مضافة في هذه المخطوطة في المكان الغلطان (صفحة ١٢٦-ب)، يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد الكلمة "النبوية".

134 Muḥammad b. ‘Imrān b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Taymī was the last Umayyad *qāḍī* of Medina (Judd [2014], Appendix 2: *Qāḍīs of Medina*, 159); Judd explains that little is known about his life, tenure in office, and scholarship, referring to Waki’s entry on him, which mainly consisted of reports of several incidents in which Muḥammad met al-Manṣūr (see Waki, *Aḥbār al-quḍāt*, 1181–199).

§ 68 Among the unusual things that were told about him, [there was the following]. When he had performed the pilgrimage and was about to reach the Prophet's Medina, [all] the people dismounted for him when they went out to meet him, [all] except for Muḥammad b. 'Imrān,¹³⁴ the judge of Medina. Al-Manṣūr said: "O, al-Rabī, what is it about him that he does not dismount for me? Does he want to engage in a fight with me, and abstain from what [even] the descendants of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib¹³⁵ and the descendants of 'Alī¹³⁶ have done, by not dismounting to the ground when he saw me?" Al-Rabī said: "O, Commander of the Faithful, if you had seen him [standing] on the ground, you would have had compassion with him and you would have felt sorry for him, due to his greatness and importance." [Al-Manṣūr] commanded him to come closer, so he approached him, but he remained mounted as a result of al-Rabī's providing him with an excuse. [Al-Manṣūr] asked him how he was. Then he said: "O, Ibn 'Imrān, what kind of a man are you? If it were not for three of your characteristics, you would have been a great man." [Ibn 'Imrān] said: "What are they, O Commander of the Faithful?" He said: "Your abstinence from the communal prayer in the mosque of God's Messenger—may God bless him and grant him salvation—for you pray on your own; secondly, that you do not talk to anyone on the road, which is a token of haughtiness and pride; thirdly, that you are a greedy man who lives

135 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim was the grandfather of the prophet Muḥammad; the 'Abbāsids claimed the legitimacy of their rule on the basis of the fact that they descend from the same ancestor—'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, via his son al-'Abbās—as the prophet Muḥammad did—via another son, 'Abd Allāh; this passage then alludes to this particular claim to legitimacy as residing in and accepted by the broad group of descendants of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (see U. Rubin, "'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim", in *EI*³ http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/abd-al-muttalib-b-hashim-SIM_0156).

136 As referred to above (fn. 125), in 145/762–763, al-Manṣūr overcame a last rebellion against his rule from partisans for and supporters of a more narrow definition of legitimate claims to rule, as residing only in the direct descendants of the prophet Muḥammad, via his daughter and his nephew 'Alī, rather than in the broader clan that also included the 'Abbāsids; as referred to in this passage, throughout the remainder of al-Manṣūr's reign and for some time thereafter, these 'Alids seem to have accepted—or at least they posed no further threat to—'Abbāsīd political authority.

بخیل فیک ضیق شدید. فقال: "یأمر المؤمنین، أما الأولى فإني أكره أن أصلي بصلاة الإمام، فما يدخل علي من فسادها أعظم عندي من تركي إياها لشغلي. وإني لا أدرك معهم ركوعا ولا سجودا، فأرى أن أصلي وحدي أفضل. وأما الثانية فإني قاض ولا يجوز أن أعطي من نفسي التسليم عليهم والابتدال لنفسي، فيكون في ذلك مفسدة للخصوم. وأما الثالثة فإني لا أجمد في حق ولا أذوب في باطل." قال: "خرجت منهن، يا ابن عمران؟ يا ربيع، إدفع إليه ثلاثة آلاف درهم."^{٣٤}

قال: "يأمر المؤمنین، بالباب مستعدون عليك يذكرون أن في يدك حقا من دار كذا." قال: "فأنصفهم مني." قال: "وكل وكلا يقوم مقامك أو احضر معهم مجلس القضاء." قال: "قد وكلت الربيع." قال: "أشهد علي وكالتك إياه عيسى بن علي والعباس بن محمد." ففعل. ثم أخرج حدود الدار التي ينازعونه فيها. ودعا بالربيع وخصمائه، وأحضر شهادته على الوكالة وأنفذها. ثم سأل القوم عن دعواهم وعن شهودهم. ثم قضى لهم عليه.

واستعدى أيضا الجمالون على المنصور بالمدينة. فقال القاضي محمد بن عمران للشبلي: "أكتب إليه في ذلك." فأبى عليه وقال: "تعفني." فقال: "لتكتبن." فكتب. فلما استتم الكتاب وختمه، قال له:

٧ القضاء: "القضا" في الأصل. ٩ وخصمائه: "خصمايه" في الأصل.

^{٣٤} راجع هذا الخبر، على شكل مختلف تماما، في وكيع، أخبار القضاة، ج. ١، ص. ١٩٣-١٩٤.

137 'Īsā b. 'Alī (d. 163/780) was one of al-Manṣūr's paternal uncles; he was a powerful, well-known, and influential character at the early 'Abbāsīd court (see al-Ṭabarī, *History* XXIX, 7, fn. 14).

138 Al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad was another well-known protagonist of the early 'Abbāsīd ruling circle, a brother of the caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr who was last recorded at the 'Abbāsīd court in 170/786-787 (see al-Ṭabarī, *History* XXIX, 21, fn. 58).

in grave poverty.” He said: “O, Commander of the Faithful, as far as the first [characteristic] is concerned, I abhor to pray the prayer of the prayer leader, because the imperfection which this would cause with me would be more distressing for me than my abstaining [from prayer] for some preoccupation.
 5 I therefore do not pursue any bow nor any prostration with them, but I rather consider it better to pray on my own. As for the second [characteristic], I am a judge and it is not permitted that I myself would greet them and hence debase myself, because therein would be a cause of [accusations of] corruption for opponents. As for the third [characteristic], I do not freeze for
 10 the truth and I do not melt for deception.” [Al-Manṣūr] said: “You have freed yourself from them, O, Ibn ‘Imrān. O, al-Rabī‘, pay him 3,000 *dirhams*.”

§ 69 [Ibn ‘Imrān] said: “O, Commander of the Faithful, there are people at the gate appealing for assistance against you, claiming that you have a [disputed] right of property for such and such a house.” He said: “See that
 15 justice is done to them on my behalf.” [But Ibn ‘Imrān] said: “Appoint a representative to stand in your place or appear with them in the court of justice.” He said: “I have appointed al-Rabī‘.” [Ibn ‘Imrān] said: “Call upon ‘Isā b. ‘Alī¹³⁷ and al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad¹³⁸ as witnesses for your appointment of him.” [This] he did. Then [Ibn ‘Imrān] established the borders of the
 20 house which they were challenging his rights to, and he summoned al-Rabī‘ and his adversaries. [Al-Rabī‘] produced [al-Manṣūr’s] document for the appointment of a representative and he acted accordingly. Then [Ibn ‘Imrān] asked the people about their claim and about their witnesses. Eventually, he passed judgement in favour of them against him.

25 § 70 In Medina, the cameleers also appealed for assistance against al-Manṣūr. The judge Muḥammad b. ‘Imrān said to al-Šibli:¹³⁹ “Write to him on that.” But he refused that, saying: “Excuse me [from this task].” But [Ibn ‘Imrān] said: “You have to write!” So he wrote. When the letter was completed

139 This al-Šibli remains to date unidentified; in Wakī‘’s version of this report, however, the scribe (and transmitter of this story) is identified differently, as one Numayr al-Šaybānī, who explains the wider context of this event: “I was a scribe for Muḥammad b. ‘Imrān while he was occupying the post of *qāḍī* in Medina. [One day] Abū Ġa‘far performed the pilgrimage, and he wanted to take away the carriers [*al-ḥammālīn*, as opposed to *al-ḡammālīn* in Maqrīzī’s text] to Syria. They appealed to Muḥammad b. ‘Imrān for assistance against him...” (Wakī‘, *Aḥbār al-quḍāt*, 1:193). There is thus a likely possibility that the *nisbah* al-Šaybānī was corrupted to al-Šibli in the transmission process of this story.

”لا يمضي به سواك.“ فمضى ووافى إلى باب المنصور وسلم الكتاب إلى الربيع فأوصله إلى المنصور، فقرأه. وعاد الشبلي إلى محمد بن عمران، فعرفه أنه سلم ما كتب إلى الربيع، فأوصله، فقرأه المنصور، وأجاب إلى الحضور. ثم خرج المنصور مؤتزرا ببردة، مرتديا بأخرى، ومشى إلى أن قارب مجلس محمد بن عمران، ووقعت عينه عليه—والربيع بين يديه—فقال له: ”يا ربيع، نُفِيت عن العباس. لئن تحرك محمد بن عمران من مجلسه هيبة لي، لأولى ولاية أبدا.“ ثم صار إلى محمد بن عمران. فلما رأى المنصور—وكان متكئا—أطلق رداءه على عاتقه، ثم اجْتَبَى ودعا بالخصوم، فحكم لهم عليه وأمره بإنصافهم، وانصرف أبو جعفر. وأمر الربيع بإحضار محمد بن عمران. فلما دخل عليه، قال له: ”يا بن عمران، جزاك الله عن دينك وعن نبيك وعن حسبك وعن خليفتك أحسن الجزاء.“ وأمر له بعشرة آلاف درهم. ٣٥

٣ ومشي: ”ومشي“ في الأصل. ٥ لئن: ”لئن“ في الأصل. ٦ رأى: ”رأي“ في الأصل. || متكئا: ”متكئا“ في الأصل. || رداءه: ”رداه“ في الأصل. ٨ الجزاء: ”الجزء“ في الأصل.

٣٥ راجع هذا الخبر، على شكل مختلف تماما، في وكيع، أخبار القضاة، ج. ١، ص. ١٩٣.

and he had sealed it, [Ibn ‘Imrān] said to him: “There is no one but you who should deliver it.” So he went, arrived at the gate of al-Manṣūr and handed the letter to al-Rabī‘. He brought it to al-Manṣūr, who read it. Al-Šiblī returned to Muḥammad b. ‘Imrān, and he informed him that he had
 5 delivered what had been written to al-Rabī‘, who had brought it, and that al-Manṣūr had read it and had agreed to appear. Thereafter, al-Manṣūr left [for Ibn ‘Imrān], wrapping a shawl against the cold over the other one he was already wearing. He walked until he approached the court of Muḥammad b. ‘Imrān and he caught sight of it, while al-Rabī‘ was in front of him. He said
 10 to him: “O, al-Rabī‘, I have been excluded from [the lineage of] al-‘Abbās, because if Muḥammad b. ‘Imrān had left from his court out of respect for me, I would have been entrusted with sovereignty for ever.” Then he came to Muḥammad b. ‘Imrān. When [Muḥammad] noticed al-Manṣūr taking a seat, he took off his cloak. Then he selected [the witnesses], he called for the
 15 opponents, and he passed judgement in favour of them against him. [Ibn ‘Imrān] ordered him to see that justice is done to them, and Abū Ğa‘far [al-Manṣūr] left. He ordered al-Rabī‘ to summon Muḥammad b. ‘Imrān. When he came to him, he said to him: “O, Ibn ‘Imrān, may God award you the best possible reward for your religion, your prophet, your noble descent, and your
 20 caliph.” He ordered [to pay] him 10,000 *dirhams*.

المهدي

أبو عبد الله محمد بن أبي جعفر عبد الله بن محمد المنصور، أمير المؤمنين.

ولي بعد وفاة أبيه بعهدده إليه، فقام في الخلافة عشر سنين {و تسعة} وأربعين يوماً.

و حج في سنة ستين ومائة، واستخلف ببغداد ابنه موسى، ومعه خاله يزيد بن منصور. و حج معه ابنه هرون بن محمد في جماعة من أهله. ٥

فلما قدم مكة، نزع الكسوة عن الكعبة عندما رفع إليه سدنة البيت أنهم يخافون على الكعبة أن تنهدم لكثرة ما عليها من الكسوة. فوجد كسوة هشام بن عبد الملك من الديباج الثخين، وكانت

٢ الله: ١: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٣ وتسعة: "وتسعا" في الأصل. ٤ ومائة: "وماية" في

الأصل. ٥: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

II. Al-Mahdī

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Ğa‘far ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, Commander of the Faithful.

§71 He was appointed after the demise of his father, by his designation of
5 him. He performed the office of caliph for ten years and forty-nine days.

§72 He went on pilgrimage in the year 160 [777]. He appointed his son Mūsá¹⁴⁰ as his representative in Baghdad, while his uncle Yazīd b. Manṣūr¹⁴¹ remained with him. His son Hārūn b. Muḥammad¹⁴² went on pilgrimage with him, in a group of his folk.¹⁴³

10 §73 When he arrived in Mecca, he removed the *kiswah*¹⁴⁴ from the Ka‘bah. This was because the custodians of the [sacred] house raised the issue before him that they feared that the Ka‘bah would be damaged due to the great number of *kiswah* covers that were on it. The *kiswah* of Hišām b. ‘Abd al-Malik, made from thick brocade, was found: the *kiswah* was not annually

140 Mūsá b. al-Mahdī succeeded his father in 169/785 as the fourth ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Hādī; this succession was however contested, especially by his brother Hārūn, a conflict which was resolved by the sudden death of Mūsá I-Hādī in 170/786, an event in which according to some Hārūn’s mother had a hand (D. Sourdel, “al-Hādī Ilā ‘l-Ḥaḳḳ”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-hadi-ila-l-hakk-SIM_2587).

141 Yazīd b. Manṣūr (d. 163/779–780) was the brother of Arwá, wife of the caliph al-Manṣūr and mother of the caliph al-Mahdī; he came from Yemen, acted at one point as ‘Abbāsīd governor of Yemen, and also became a respected member of al-Mahdī’s court (see al-Ṭabarī, *History* *XXIX*, p. 62, fn. 163).

142 Hārūn b. al-Mahdī succeeded his brother al-Hādī in 170/786 as the fifth ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Rašīd; his long, successful, and eventful reign until 193/809 marked an important stage in early ‘Abbāsīd history (F. Omar, “Hārūn al-Rašīd”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/harun-al-rashid-SIM_2747).

143 For the translation of a parallel, slightly more detailed, version of this fragment in al-Ṭabarī’s *History*, see al-Ṭabarī, *History* *XXIX*, 193–194; there remains some ambiguity on Yazīd’s role, rendered by Kennedy’s translation of al-Ṭabarī’s report as follows: “with him [= al-Mahdī] left Yazīd b. Manṣūr, the maternal uncle of al-Mahdī, as his vizier and administrator of his affairs” (194).

144 The *kiswah* is the richly decorated veil that covers the four walls of the Ka‘bah in Mecca; until today, the privilege of providing the *kiswah* is considered a powerful political symbol of islamic sovereignty (see Wensinck & Jomier, “Ka‘bah”; Mortel [1988]).

الكسوة لا تنزع عن الكعبة في كل سنة كما هو العمل الآن، بل تلبس كل سنة كسوة فوق تلك الكسوة. فلها تكاثر العهد وكثر ذلك خافت السدنة على الأركان أن تهدم لثقل ما صار عليها من الكسوة—وكانت كسوة الكعبة تعمل من الديباج المذهب.^{٣٦}

وأنفق المهدي في هذه الحجّة مالا عظيما قدم به معه من العراق مبلغ ثلثين ألف درهم سوى ما وصل إليه من مصر—وهو مبلغ ثلثمائة ألف دينار عينا—ومن اليمن مبلغ مائتي ألف دينار عينا. فرق ذلك كله، ومعه مائة ألف ونحسون ألف ثوب.^{٣٧}

ووسع مسجد رسول الله ﷺ، وأخذ نحسمائة من الأنصار جعلهم حرسا له، وأقطعهم بالعراق الإقطاعات وأجرى عليهم الأرزاق.^{٣٨}

وحمل إليه محمد بن سليمان الثلج إلى مكة—وهو أول خليفة حمل إليه الثلج إلى مكة.^{٣٩}

وأمر ببناء القصور بطريق مكة أوسع من القصور التي بناها السفاح، وأمر باتخاذ المصانع في كل منهل منها وتجديد الأميال وحفر الركايا.

٥ مائتي: "مائتي" في الأصل. ٦ مائة: "مائة" في الأصل. ٧ نحسمائة: "نحس مائة" في الأصل.
١٠ ببناء: "بنتا" في الأصل.

٣٦ راجع مثل هذا الخبر تقريبا في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٥، ص. ٢٣٦، وفي الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج. ١/٣، ص. ٤٨٣. ٣٧ راجع هذا الخبر على شكل مساو في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٥، ص. ٢٣٦؛ وراجع أيضا خبرا مساويا في الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج. ١/٣، ص. ٤٨٣. ٣٨ راجع نفس الخبر تماما في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٥، ص. ٢٣٦؛ وراجع هذا الخبر بتفاصيله في الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج. ١/٣، ص. ٤٨٣. ٣٩ راجع نفس الخبر تماما في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٥، ص. ٢٣٦-٢٣٧؛ وراجع أيضا هذا الخبر على شكل مساو في الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج. ١/٣، ص. ٤٨٤.

removed from the Ka'bah, as it is the practice now, but every year a *kiswah* rather was draped over this *kiswah*. When the decades grew in number and that [number of *kiswahs*] increased, the guardians feared that the pillars would collapse from the heaviness of the *kiswahs* that were coming to rest
 5 on them. The *kiswah* of the Ka'bah was made from [very heavy] gilded silk brocade.¹⁴⁵

§ 74 For this pilgrimage al-Mahdī spent an enormous sum of money, which he brought with him from Iraq, amounting to 30,000,000 *dirhams*, not taking into account what arrived with him from Egypt—an amount of 300,000
 10 *dīnārs* in cash—and from Yemen—an amount of 200,000 *dīnārs* in cash. He distributed all of that. There also came with him 150,000 garments.¹⁴⁶

§ 75 He extended the mosque of the Messenger of God—may God bless him and grant him salvation. He took 500 from the *Anṣār*¹⁴⁷ and made them guardians for him. He granted them allotments in Iraq and he assigned
 15 salaries to them.¹⁴⁸

§ 76 Muḥammad b. Sulaymān¹⁴⁹ brought ice to him in Mecca; he is the first caliph to have ice brought to him in Mecca.¹⁵⁰

§ 77 He ordered the construction of palaces along the road to Mecca, more extensive than the palaces which al-Saffāḥ had constructed. He ordered the
 20 construction of reservoirs at every watering place along it, the renewal of the milestones, and the digging of watering troughs.¹⁵¹

145 For the translation of a variant version of this story, see al-Ṭabarī, *History* XXIX, 194.

146 For the translation of a variant version of this report, see *ibid.*

147 The *Anṣār* refers here to a particular social group in Medina; the descendants of the original inhabitants of the oasis of Yaṭrib (Medina), known as the *Anṣār* or Helpers because they welcomed the Prophet and his Meccan supporters in 622 in their midst, accepted his leadership, and supported him until his death in 10/632 (W.M. Watt, “al-Anṣār”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-ansar-SIM_0678).

148 For the translation of a more expanded version of this report, see al-Ṭabarī, *History* XXIX, 194.

149 Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ‘Alī (d. 173/789–790) was a wealthy and important member of the ‘Abbāsīd family who served several terms as governor of Basra and Kufa (see al-Ṭabarī, *History* XXIX, 12, fn. 29).

150 For the translation of this same report, see al-Ṭabarī, *History* XXIX, 195.

151 For the translation of a slightly more expanded version of this report, see al-Ṭabarī, *History* XXIX, 198.

ويبعث ابنه موسى الهادي فحج بالناس سنة إحدى وستين.

وأمر في سنة ست وستين ومائة بإقامة البريد بين مكة والمدينة واليمن وبغلا وإبلا، ولم يكن هناك بريد قبل ذلك.

وحكى محمد بن عبد الله بن محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن جعفر بن أبي طالب، قال: "رأيت فيما يرى
 ٥ النائم—في آخر سلطان بني أمية—كأني دخلت مسجد رسول الله ﷺ، فرفعت رأسي، فرأيت
 الكتاب الذي بالفُسَيْفَسَاءِ، فإذا فيه: "مما أمر به أمير المؤمنين الوليد بن عبد الملك،" وإذا قائل يقول:
 "يحيى الكتاب ويكتب مكانه اسم رجل من بني هاشم يقال له محمد." قلت: "فأنا محمد، فابن من؟"
 قال: "ابن عبد الله." قلت: "فأنا ابن عبد الله، فابن من؟" قال: "ابن محمد." قلت: "فأنا {ابن} محمد،
 124^a فابن من؟" قال: "ابن علي." قلت: "فأنا ابن علي، فابن من؟" قال: "ابن عبد الله." قلت: "فأنا ابن
 عبد الله، فابن من؟" قال: "{ابن} عباس." فلو لم يبلغ العباس ما شككت أني صاحب الأمر.
 ١٠ فتحدث بها ذلك الزمان ونحن لا نعرف المهدي حتى ولي المهدي، فدخل مسجد رسول الله

١ الهادي: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٢ ومائة: "وماية" في الأصل. ٤ قال رأيت: ناقصتان في الأصل ومضافتان بخط المقرئ إلى آخر السطر في مكانهما الصحيح في الجملة، مكتوبتان من الأسفل إلى الأعلى. || فيما يرى: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٥ سلطان: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٦ بالفُسَيْفَسَاءِ: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || قائل: "فايل" في الأصل. ٨ قلت: ٢: أضيفت هنا في الأصل جزازتان منفردتان مكتوبتان بخط المقرئ [١٢٢-١٢٣ب] ولكنهما في المكان الغلطان في النص حتى يتم نص المهدي (و تتم المخطوطة الأصلية، كما أشارت إليه كلمة الإشارة "فأنا" المضافة تحت نص صفحة ١٢١ب بخط الناخب) في صفحة ١٢٤أ. || ابن ٣: "بن" في الأصل. ٩ ابن ٢: الألف من إضافة المقرئ. || ابن ٣: الألف من إضافة المقرئ. || ابن ١: الألف من إضافة المقرئ. ١٠ ابن ٢: "بن" في الأصل. ١١ مسجد: تصحيح في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "فدخل".

§ 78 He sent his son Mūsá l-Hādī to lead the people on the pilgrimage in the year [1]61 [778].

§ 79 In the year 166 [782–783] he ordered the set up of the *barīd*¹⁵² between Mecca and Medina and Yemen, by mule and by camel. There was no *barīd* there before.

§ 80 Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ğa‘far b. Abī Ṭālib¹⁵³ narrated, saying: “By the end of the rule of the Banū Umayyah, I saw as a sleeper sees [the following vision]: it was as if I was entering the mosque of the Messenger of God—may God bless him and grant him salvation—, and when I raised my head, I saw the writing which is done in mosaic; and behold, there stood in it: [This] is part of what the Commander of the Faithful al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik has ordered’. Then there was someone saying: ‘The writing should be erased and there should be written instead of it the name of a man from the Banū Hāšim, known as Muḥammad’. I said: ‘But I am Muḥammad, but the son of whom?’ He said: ‘The son of Ibn ‘Abd Allāh’. I said: ‘But I am the son of Ibn ‘Abd Allāh, but the son of whom?’ He said: ‘The son of Muḥammad’. I said: ‘But I am the son of Muḥammad, but the son of whom?’ He said: ‘The son of ‘Alī’. I said: ‘But I am the son of ‘Alī, but the son of whom?’ He said: ‘The son of ‘Abd Allāh’. I said: ‘But I am the son of ‘Abd Allāh, but the son of whom?’ He said: ‘The son of ‘Abbās’. If al-‘Abbās had not been reached, I would not have doubted that I should be the lord of the command. I spoke about it at that time, while we did not know al-Mahdī until al-Mahdī was appointed. [When that had happened] he entered the mosque of the Messenger of God—may God bless him and

152 The *barīd* is the term used for the postal communication system of routes, relays, riding-mounts, and couriers, that was especially well organised in the early ‘Abbāsīd period, connecting the different regions and elites of the realm. See A. Silverstein, “Barīd”, in *ET*³ http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/barid-COM_23475.

153 Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ğa‘far b. Abī Ṭālib was a descendant of ‘Alī’s brother Ğa‘far who, indeed, shared identical names for five generations with al-Mahdī (al-Ṭabarī, *History* XXIX, 254, fn. 831).

ﷺ، فرأى اسم الوليد، فقال: "أرى اسم الوليد إلى اليوم" فدعا بكرسي، فألقى في صحن المسجد، وقال: "ما أنا ببارح حتى يمحي ويكتب اسمي مكانه." ففعل ذلك وهو جالس.^{٤٠}

وطاف بالبيت مرة ليلاً، فسمع أعرابية تقول: "قومي مُقْتَرُونَ، نَبَتْ عَنْهُمْ الْعِيُونَ، وَفَدَحَتْهُمْ الدِّيُونَ، وَعَضَّتْهُمْ السُّنُونَ، بَادَتْ رِجَالَهُمْ وَذَهَبَتْ أَمْوَالُهُمْ، وَكَثُرَتْ عِيَالُهُمْ أَبْنَاءَ سَبِيلٍ وَأَنْضَاءَ طَرِيقٍ وَصِيَةَ اللَّهِ وَوَصِيَةَ الرَّسُولِ. فَهَلْ مِنْ أَمْرٍ لِي بِجَبْرِ كَلَاءِ اللَّهِ فِي نَفْسِهِ، وَخَلْفِهِ فِي أَهْلِهِ؟" فَأَمَرَ لَهَا بِخَمْسَمِائَةِ دَرَاهِمٍ.^{٤١}

١ فرأى: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٤ أبناء: "أبناء" في الأصل. || وأنضاء: "وانضاً" في الأصل.
 ٥ أمر: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || بجبر: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || كلاًه: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || في نفسه: ناقصة في الأصل مضافة بخط المقرئ في آخر السطر بعد كلمة "الله". || وخلفه: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٦ بخمسمائة: "بمئس مائة" في الأصل.

^{٤٠} راجع هذا الخبر على نفس الشكل تماماً في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٥، ص. ٢٦٢؛ وراجع أيضاً هذا الخبر على شكل مساو في الطبري، تاريخ، ج. ١/٣، ص. ٥٣٥. ^{٤١} راجع هذا الخبر على نفس الشكل تماماً في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٥، ص. ٢٦٢؛ وراجع أيضاً هذا الخبر على نفس الشكل في الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج. ١/٣، ص. ٥٣٦-٥٣٥.

grant him salvation—, he saw the name of al-Walīd, and said: ‘Until today, I see the name of al-Walīd.’ He called for a chair, had [it] put in the court of the mosque, and said: ‘I will not leave until it is erased and my name is written in its place.’ That was done while he was sitting down.”¹⁵⁴

- 5 § 81 One time, he circumambulated the [sacred] house at night, and he heard a Bedouin woman saying: “My people are living in poor circumstances: eyes look at them with repugnance, debts burden them, the years make them suffer, their men pass away, their wealth dissolves, and their dependents multiply, [becoming] vagabonds and wanderers, as a result of the instruction
10 of God and of the Messenger: is there anyone who can give me advice on a decree of fate [such as this]—may God watch over him and his soul and may He appoint him as his successor over His people?” [Al-Mahdī] ordered to [give her] 500 *dirhams*.¹⁵⁵

154 For the translation of a slightly more expanded version of this report, narrated on the authority of ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Nawfalī via his father, see al-Ṭabarī, *History XXIX*, 254–255.

155 For the slightly diverging translation of a similar report, narrated on the authority of Aḥmad b. al-Hayṭam al-Quraṣī via ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Aṭā’, see al-Ṭabarī, *History XXIX*, 255.

هرون الرشيد

ابن محمد المهدي بن أبي جعفر المنصور عبد الله بن محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن عباس رضي الله عنهم.

٥ بوع بالخلافة بعد موت أخيه موسى الهادي في ليلة الجمعة للنصف من ربيع الأول—وقيل لأربع عشرة خلت منه—سنة سبعين ومائة. فأقام في الخلافة ثلثا وعشرين سنة وشهرين وثمانية عشر يوما، يغزو سنة ويحج سنة. فحج تسع حجج، ولم يحج بعده خليفة من بغداد.

فأول ما حج—وهو خليفة—سنة سبعين، وقسم في أهل الحرمين عطاء كثيرا، وقيل إنه غزا أيضا فيها بنفسه.

وحج ثانيا في سنة ثلث وسبعين، وأحرم من بغداد.

١٠ حج بالناس سنة أربع وسبعين، وقسم في الناس مالا كثيرا.

ثم حج في سنة سبع وسبعين، وخرج عليه الوليد بن طريف الشاري—أحد الخوارج من بني تغلب—بنصيبين، وأخذ أرمينية، وحصر خلاط، وعاث في بلاد الجزيرة. فسير إليه الرشيد يزيد

٣ عنهم: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٥ ومائة: "وماية" في الأصل. ٧ عطاء: "عطاء" في الأصل.

12. **Hārūn al-Rašīd**

b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī b. Abī Ġaʿfar al-Manṣūr ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās—may God be pleased with them.

§82 The oath of allegiance for the caliphate was sworn [to him] after the
5 death of his brother Mūsá l-Hādī, during the night of Friday, 15 Rabīʿ 1—it
was said the 16th of it—of the year 170 [14–15 September 786]. He remained
in the office of caliph for 23 years, two months and 18 days, carrying out
military expeditions in one year and performing the pilgrimage in the other.
He went on pilgrimage nine times, and after him there was no other caliph
10 who performed the pilgrimage from Baghdad.

§83 The first time he went on pilgrimage when he was a caliph was in
the year [1]70 [787]. He distributed a lot of gifts among the people of the
two sacred places. It was said that he then also personally led a military
expedition.

15 §84 He went on pilgrimage a second time in the year [1]73 [790], entering
into *iḥrām* from Baghdad onwards.

§85 He led the people on the pilgrimage in the year [1]74 [791], and he
distributed a lot of money among the people.

20 §86 Then he went on pilgrimage in the year [1]77 [794]. Al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf
al-Šārī, one of the *Ḥārīġīs* from the Banū Taġlib,¹⁵⁶ rebelled against him
in Našībīn,¹⁵⁷ taking Armenia, besieging Ḥilāṭ¹⁵⁸ and causing havoc in the

156 Al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf al-Taġlibī l-Šaybānī l-Šārī was a famous *Ḥārīġī* rebel, who successfully confronted Hārūn's agents and armies in 178–179/794–795, until he was defeated and killed; his own verses and elegies for him by his sister Laylá (see also below) have been preserved in collections of Arabic poetry (H. Eisenstein, “Al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-walid-b-tarif-SIM_7849).

157 Našībīn was an ancient town in upper Mesopotamia, now known as Nusaybin, in modern Turkey close to the Syrian border (E. Honigmann, C.E. Bosworth, “Našībīn”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/nasibin-SIM_5818).

158 Ḥilāṭ, or Aḥlāṭ, is an Armenian town near Lake Van, on the road between upper Mesopotamia and eastern Armenia (V. Minorsky, “Aḥlāṭ”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/akhlat-COM_0036).

ابن مزيد بن زائدة الشيباني—وهو ابن أخي معن بن زائدة—على العساكر، فلم يزل يحاربه حتى قتله. وفيه تقول أخته ليلى بنت طريف ترثيه بالأبيات المشهورة التي فيها قولها: [الطويل]

فيا شجر الخابور، مالك مورقا كأنك لم تجزع على ابن طريف

الأبيات. ٤٢.

٥ فاعتمر الرشيد في شهر رمضان سنة تسع وسبعين ومائة شكرا لله تعالى على قتل الوليد، وعاد إلى المدينة، فأقام بها إلى وقت الحج. فحج بالناس، ومشى من مكة إلى منى إلى عرفات، وشهد المشاعر كلها ماشيا، ورجع على طريق البصرة. ٤٣ ولا يعرف | من ملوك الدنيا ملك حج ماشيا سوى ملكين: هرقل بن هرقل بن أتونيش—من أهل صلوقيا—حج من حمص إلى إيليا—التي

١ ابن: الألف من إضافة المقرئ. ٣ ابن: الألف من إضافة المقرئ. ٥ ومائة: "ومائة" في الأصل.

٤٢ راجع هذا الخبر بتفاصيله في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٥، ص. ٣٠٢-٣٠٣. ٤٣ راجع هذا الخبر على نفس الشكل تقريبا في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٥، ص. ٣٠٦، وكذلك في الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج. ٣/١، ص. ٦٣٨-٦٣٩.

Jazira region.¹⁵⁹ Al-Rašīd sent Yazīd b. Mazyad b. Zā'idah al-Šaybānī, the nephew of Ma'n b. Zā'idah,¹⁶⁰ at the head of the army against him. He continued fighting him until he killed him. His sister, Laylá bt. Ṭarīf, lamented him in famous verses, including the following: [*Ṭawīl* meter]

- 5 § 87 O elder tree, how green are your leaves!
 It is as though you do not mourn for Ibn Ṭarīf.

[and many similar] verses.

- § 88 Al-Rašīd performed the lesser pilgrimage in the month Ramaḍān of the year 179 (November–December 795), thanking God the exalted for the killing
 10 of al-Walīd. He returned to Medina and stayed there until the time of the pilgrimage. He led the people on the pilgrimage, he walked from Mecca to Miná to 'Arafah, and he attended on foot all the pilgrimage sites and rites. He returned via the road of Basra.¹⁶¹ Among the rulers of the world, there is no ruler known to have performed the pilgrimage while walking, except for two:
 15 Hercules, son of Hercules, son of Antonius, from the people of Seleucia,¹⁶² who went on pilgrimage from Ḥimṣ¹⁶³ to Aelia—which is the [the City of]

159 The Jazira is the name used in Arabic sources to denote the rich and fertile northern part of the area between and beyond the rivers Tigris and Euphrates (M. Canard, “al-Djazīra”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-djazira-SIM_2054).

160 Yazīd b. Mazyad b. Zā'idah al-Šaybānī and his uncle Ma'n b. Zā'idah al-Šaybānī (d. 152/769–770) were famous Arab Bedouin chiefs and military commanders who led the tribe of Shaybān and acquired important court positions in the late Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods (H. Kennedy, “Ma'n b. Zā'ida”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/man-b-zaida-SIM_4899; Kennedy (2001): 103).

161 For the translation of the same report of the 179/795 pilgrimage, in al-Ṭabarī's *History*, see al-Ṭabarī, *History* xxx, 154.

162 This is the standard way for Arabo-Muslim tradition to refer to the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (r. 610–641); on the functionality and meaning of reports of a correspondence between Heraclius and Muḥammad, see Conrad (2002).

163 The ancient town of Ḥimṣ (Homs, Latin: Emesa) in Syria, on the east bank of the Orontes river, has a longstanding history at or near the crossroads of empires, as an important site for early and late antique Christianity, and, since its integration in the early Arabo-Islamic polity in 16/637, as a well-known regional or local center of Muslim government (N. Elisséeff, “Ḥimṣ”, in *EI*², http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/Hims-COM_0289).

هي بيت المقدس—ماشيا، ووافاه كتاب رسول الله ﷺ في سفرته هذه يدعوهُ إلى الإسلام، كما وقع في الصحيحين وغيرهما، والملك الثاني هرون الرشيد.

وذكر أبو محمد بن حزم في كتاب جمهرة الأنساب أن موسى الهادي بن محمد المهدي كان له أم ولد تسمى أمة العزيز تزوجها أخوه هرون من بعده، وهي التي كان حلف الرشيد لأخيه بالمشي إلى الكعبة أن لا يتزوجها. فلما مات الهادي تزوجها. ومشى راجلا من بغداد إلى مكة—وهو خليفة. فولدت له عليا، وكان أقبح الناس صورة.٤٤

ولما دخل الرشيد مكة، كان يطرح له الرمل حول البيت—ومقدار عرضه {ذراعان}—، ويرش بالماء، ويقوم الحرس بينه وبين الناس، وكان يطوف بين المغرب والعشاء ثلثة عشر أسبوعا، ولا يطيق ذلك أحد ممن كان معه. وكان إذا سعى شمر إزاره وجعل له ذننين، فكان يفتن من يراه.

وكذلك حجت زبيدة—أم جعفر— بنت جعفر بن أبي جعفر، زوج هرون الرشيد، ماشية أيضا، وكانت حجة عظيمة غير أن ذكرها ليس من شرط هذا الجزء، فلذلك تركت ذكرها. ١٠

٧ له : كشط المقرئ نهاية الكلمة وأثبتها كما هي الآن. || حول : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المؤلف. || ذراعان: "ذراعين" في الأصل، وهو خطأ. ٨ بالماء: "بالماء" في الأصل. || والعشاء: "والعشاء" في الأصل. ٩ ممن كان: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || فكان: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المؤلف. ١١ الجزء: "الجزء" في الأصل.

٤٤ راجع هذا الخبر على نفس الشكل تماما في ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب، ص. ٢٣.

the Temple [Jerusalem]—while he was walking. The letter of the Messenger of God—may God bless him and grant him salvation—came to him during this journey of his, calling him to Islam, as that is reported in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* and elsewhere;¹⁶⁴ the second ruler is Hārūn al-Rašīd.

- 5 § 89 Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ḥazm reported in the book *Ġamharat al-ansāb* [The Collection of Genealogies]¹⁶⁵ that Mūsá l-Hādī b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī had a slave concubine known as Amat al-‘Azīz, whom his brother Hārūn married after him. This is the one for whom al-Rašīd had sworn to his brother to walk to the Ka‘bah or else he could not marry her. So when al-Hādī died,
10 he married her and walked on foot from Baghdad to Mecca, while he was caliph. She gave birth for him to ‘Alī, and by appearance he was the ugliest of [all] people.

- § 90 When al-Rašīd entered Mecca, the dust was removed for him [in a zone of] two cubits wide around the House, water was sprinkled, and a guard was
15 stationed between him and the people. For thirteen weeks in a row he [daily] performed the circumambulation between the evening prayer and the night prayer. No one of those who were with him was able to do that. When he performed the ritual of running, he rolled up his shawl, making two tails from it. He used to charm everyone who saw him.

- 20 § 91 Zubaydah,¹⁶⁶ the mother of Ġa‘far, the daughter of Ġa‘far b. Abī Ġa‘far, the wife of Hārūn al-Rašīd, equally performed the pilgrimage [in this year], while she too was walking. It was an impressive pilgrimage, although its report does not fit within the parameters of this volume, and therefore, I left out this report.

165 See Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab*, 23. Abū Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sa‘īd b. Ḥazm (384–456/994–1064) was an Andalusian poet, historian, jurist, philosopher, and theologian of great renown; his *Ġamharat al-Ansāb* is a work of Arabic genealogy (R. Arnaldez, “Ibn Ḥazm”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibn-hazm-COM_0325; see also Adang et al. [2012]).

166 Zubaydah bt. Ġa‘far (145–210/763–831) was a granddaughter of al-Manṣūr, a niece of Hārūn al-Rašīd, his wife, and the mother of his son and successor Muḥammad al-Amin; she was remembered for her beauty, intelligence, and generosity, for her patronising of scholars, poets, and musicians, and for her public works, in Mecca in particular; she also became a famous literary figure in Arabic prose and in popular stories (R. Jacobi, “Zubayda bt. Dja‘far”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/zubayda-bt-djafar-SIM_8187).

وحج الرشيد أيضا بالناس في سنة إحدى وثمانين ومائة.

وحج في سنة ست وثمانين ومائة من الأنبار ومعه ابناه عبد الله المأمون ومحمد الأمين. فبدأ بالمدينة، فأعطى فيها ثلث أعطية: أعطى هو عطاء وكل من ولديه عطاء، وسار إلى مكة فأعطى أهلها ألف ألف دينار وخمسين ألف دينار، وكان قد ولي الأمين العراق والشام إلى آخر الغرب وجعله ولي عهده، وضم إلى المأمون من همدان إلى آخر المشرق وعهد إليه بعد الأمين. ثم بايع لابنه القاسم ٥ بولاية العهد بعد المأمون ولقبه المؤتمن وضم إليه الجزيرة والثغور والعواصم. فجمع بمكة القضاة والفقهاء، وكتب كتابا أشهدهم فيه على الأمين بالوفاء للمأمون، وكتب كتابا أشهدهم فيه على المأمون بالوفاء للأمين، وعلق الكتابين بالكعبة.٥٤ وقد ذكرت خبر ذلك مبسوطا في ترجمة المأمون من تاريخ مصر الكبير المقفى. فإنه قدم مصر في سنة سبع عشرة ومائتين.٥٦

١ ومائة: "ومايه" في الأصل. ٢ وثمانين ومائة: "وتمانن ومايه" في الأصل. ٣ عطاء: "عطآ" في الأصل. ٥ عطاء: "عطآ" في الأصل. ٧ والفقهاء: "والفقهاآ" في الأصل. ٨ بالوفاء: "بالوفآ" في الأصل. ٩ المقفى: "المقفا" في الأصل. ١٠ ومائتين: "ومايتين" في الأصل.

٥٤ راجع هذا الخبر على شكل مساو في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٥، ص. ٣٢٥-٣٢٦؛ راجع هذا الخبر بتفاصيله في الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج. ٣ / ٢، ص. ٦٥١-٦٦٧. ٥٦ ترجمة المأمون مفقودة في المخطوطات المعروفة وجودها لكتاب المقفى للمقريزي. راجع المقفى، ج. ٨.

167 Al-Anbār was an ancient strategic town on the left bank of the Euphrates, some 60 kilometers west from Baghdad; it had strong connections with the early 'Abbāsīd caliphs, who regularly resided there (M. Streck, A.A. Duri, "al-Anbār", in *ET²* http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-anbar-SIM_0659).

§ 92 Al-Rašīd led the people on the pilgrimage in the year 181 [798].

§ 93 He went on pilgrimage in the year 186 [802] from al-Anbār,¹⁶⁷ and his two sons ‘Abd Allāh al-Ma’mūn¹⁶⁸ and Muḥammad al-Amīn¹⁶⁹ were with him. He began in Medina, presenting there three gifts, one given by himself
 5 and one by each of his two sons. He went to Mecca and presented to its people 1,050,000 *dīnārs*. He had already appointed al-Amīn over Iraq and Syria, until the far end of the West, and he had made him his heir apparent; he had brought together [the region] from Hamadān until the far end of the East for al-Ma’mūn [to rule], and he had made him his heir after al-Amīn;
 10 then he had pledged allegiance to his son al-Qāsim¹⁷⁰ as heir apparent after al-Ma’mūn, giving him the title of al-Mu’taman, and he had brought together for him [to rule] the Jazira and the Anatolian frontier zone. In Mecca, he gathered the judges and the jurists, and he wrote a letter in which he confirmed their witnessing for al-Amīn the pledge to al-Ma’mūn, and
 15 he wrote a letter in which he confirmed their witnessing for al-Ma’mūn the pledge to al-Amīn, and he had the two letters hung up in the Ka’bah. I have extensively reported the story of that in the biography of al-Ma’mūn in the *Tārīḥ Miṣr al-kabīr al-muqaffā* [The Great History of Egypt in Continuation], because he came to Egypt in the year 217 [832].¹⁷¹

168 ‘Abd Allāh al-Ma’mūn succeeded his brother Muḥammad al-Amīn, after several years of internecine warfare, as seventh ‘Abbāsīd caliph in the period 196–198/812–813; begun in difficult circumstances, al-Ma’mūn’s caliphate was eventually successful in regaining control over most of, and then pacifying, his father’s empire; he reigned until his death in 218/833 (M. Rekaya, “al-Ma’mūn”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-mamun-SIM_4889).

169 Muḥammad al-Amīn succeeded his father Hārūn al-Rašīd as ‘Abbāsīd caliph in 193/809, but he was ousted from the caliphate by his brother ‘Abd Allāh; he was executed by his brother’s agents in 198/813 (M. Cooperson, “al-Amīn, Muḥammad”, in *EI*³ http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/al-amin-muhammad-COM_22995).

170 Al-Qāsim al-Mu’taman (d. 208/823) was another son and third designated heir of Hārūn al-Rašīd, but he never succeeded to the caliphate (see Rekaya, “al-Ma’mūn”; al-Ṭabarī, *History* xxx, xx, 181, 327).

171 The meaning of this passage is that it was a result of this Egyptian connection that al-Ma’mūn’s biography was recorded in this “Egyptian” biographical dictionary (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* [but the entry for al-Ma’mūn does not seem to have survived]).

وفي عود الرشيد من هذه الحجة نكب البرامكة النكبة المشهورة بالأنبار سلخ المحرم سنة سبع | وثمانين^{125a} ومائة.

ثم حج الرشيد في سنة ثمان وثمانين راجلا، وقسم أموالا كثيرة، وهي آخر حجة حجها.^{٤٧}

وكان إذا حج حج معه مائة من الفقهاء وأبنائهم. فإذا لم يحج أجم ثلثمائة رجل بالنفقة السابعة
والكسوة الظاهرة. ولم ير خليفة قبله أكثر عطاء منه، ويقال: "لو قيل للدنيا: متى أيام شبابك،^٥

123^b

لقلت: أيام هرون الرشيد." |

ومن فضائل الرشيد ما أخرجه الحافظ أبو نعيم في كتاب الحلية:^{٤٨} ثنا سليمان بن أحمد—يعني

٢-١ وثمانين ومائة: "ومئتين ومائة" في الأصل. ٤ مائة: "مائة" في الأصل. || الفقهاء: "الفقهاء" في الأصل.
٥ عطاء: "عطا" في الأصل. ٦ الرشيد: بقية نص هارون الرشيد ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة على جزائتين
منفردتين مكتوبتين بخط المقرئ ومضافتين في هذه المخطوطة في المكان الغلطان في النص (ص. ١٢٢
و١٢٣)، وفي الترتيب الغلطان (الترتيب الصحيح هو ١٢٣ب-١٢٣أ-١٢٢ب-١٢٢أ)؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد
كلمة "الرشيد". ٧ فضائل: "فضائل" في الأصل.

^{٤٧} راجع هذا الخبر على نفس الشكل تقريبا في ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج. ٥، ص. ٣٣٧؛ وراجع أيضا خبرا
مساويا في الطبري، تاريخ الرسل والملوك، ج. ٢/٣، ص. ٧٠١. ^{٤٨} راجع الحاشيتين ٥٠ و٥١.

§94 On the return of al-Rašīd from this pilgrimage, the Barmakids¹⁷² were afflicted by their famous calamity at al-Anbār, towards the end of Muḥarram of the year 187 [January 803].

5 §95 Thereafter al-Rašīd performed the pilgrimage in the year [1]88 [804], on foot and distributing great wealth. It is the last pilgrimage that he performed.

10 §96 It used to be so that if he performed the pilgrimage, 100 from the jurists and their sons would perform the pilgrimage with him; and if he did not perform the pilgrimage, he would make 300 men perform the pilgrimage, [bringing along as always] the full charitable gift and the external *kiswah*. There was no caliph before him who was known to have given more than he did. It is said: “if it were said to the material world: ‘When were the days of your youth?’, it would reply: ‘[In] the days of Hārūn al-Rašīd.’”

15 §97 Among the qualities of al-Rašīd, there was what the great transmitter Abū Nu‘aym selected in the book *al-Ḥilyah* [The Ornament].¹⁷³ There was transmitted to us by Sulaymān b. Aḥmad—that is, al-Ṭabarānī¹⁷⁴—, via

172 The Barmakids were a powerful and influential family of non-Arab origins, supplying viziers, administrators, and advisors to the courts of the first ‘Abbāsīd caliphs, until their leading members were suddenly removed from power in 187/803; this sudden fall of the Barmakids has become a powerful trope for the fickleness and transient nature of power and authority (K. van Bladel, “Barmakids”, in *ET*³ http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/barmakids-COM_24302).

173 See Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā’*, 8:105–108. Abū Nu‘aym Aḥmad al-Iṣfahānī (336–430/948–1038) was a religious scholar and traditionist from Iṣfahan, who is best known as the author of this *Ḥilyat al-awliyā’*, a biographical encyclopaedia of individuals from the earliest days of Islam onwards, who, at least according to the author, were to be regarded as ascetics and mystics (J. Chabbi, “Abū Nu‘aym al-Iṣfahānī”, in *ET*³ http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/abu-nuaym-al-isfahani-COM_23648).

174 Abū l-Qāsim Sulaymān b. Ayyūb b. Muṭayyir al-Laḥmī l-Ṭabarānī (260–360/873–971) was one of the most important traditionists of his age; after many years of travelling in search for knowledge, he spent most of his life in Iṣfahan, where Abū Nu‘aym was one of his many students (M. Fierro, “al-Ṭabarānī”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-tabarani-SIM_7246).

الطبراني، نا محمد بن زكرياء الغلابي، نا الغلابي، نا أبو عمر الجرمي النحوي، نا الفضل بن الربيع، قال:

”حج أمير المؤمنين—يعني هرون الرشيد—فأتاني، نفرجت مُسرعا، فقلت: ”يأمر المؤمنين، لو أرسلت إلي أيتك.“ فقال: ”ويحك! قد حاك في نفسي شيء، فانظري رجلا أسأله.“ فقلت: ”هاهنا سفين بن عيينة.“ فقال: ”إمض بنا إليه.“ فأتيناه، فقرعت الباب، فقال: ”من ذا؟“ قلت: ”أجب أمير المؤمنين!“ نفرج مسرعا، فقال: ”يأمر المؤمنين، لو أرسلت إلي أيتك.“ فقال له: ”خذ لما جئناك له رحمتك الله.“ فحدثه ساعة، ثم قال له: ”عليك دين؟“ قال: ”نعم.“ قال: ”أبا عباس، إقض دينه.“

فلما خرجنا قال: ”ما أغنى عني صاحبك شيئا. أنظري رجلا أسأله.“ قلت: ”هاهنا عبد الرزاق بن همام.“ قال: ”إمض بنا إليه.“ فأتيناه، فقرعت الباب، فقال: ”من هذا؟“ قلت: ”أجب أمير المؤمنين!“

٤ شيء: ”شيء“ في الأصل. ٦ جئناك: ”جئناك“ في الأصل. ٨ شيئا: ”شيء“ في الأصل.

Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Ġallābī,¹⁷⁵ via al-Ġallābī, via Abū 'Umar al-Ġarmī the Grammarian,¹⁷⁶ from al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī^c,¹⁷⁷ who said:

§ 98 “The Commander of the Faithful—that is, Hārūn al-Rašīd—performed the pilgrimage, and he came to me. I quickly went out and said: ‘O Commander of the Faithful, if you had sent me [word], I would have come to you.’ He said: ‘Woe onto you. Something has come up in my mind. Look for me for a man whom I may question.’ So I said: ‘Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah¹⁷⁸ [lives] over there.’ So he said: ‘Let us go to him.’ So we came to him, and I knocked at the door. He said: ‘Who is it?’ I said: ‘Accede to the request of the Commander of the Faithful.’ So he quickly came out and said: ‘O Commander of the Faithful, if you had sent me [word], I would have come to you.’ He said to him: ‘Behold what we have come to you for, may God’s mercy be upon you.’ He spoke with him for an hour. Then he said to him: ‘Do you have a debt?’ He said: ‘Yes.’ He said: ‘Abū 'Abbās, settle his debt.’

§ 99 When we left, he said: ‘Your friend has not been of any benefit to me; look for me for a man whom I may question.’ I said: ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām¹⁷⁹ [lives] over there.’ He said: ‘Let us go to him.’ So we came to him, and I knocked at the door. He said: ‘Who is this?’ I said: ‘Accede to the request of the Commander of the Faithful.’ So he quickly came out and said: ‘O

175 Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' b. Dīnār al-Ġallābī (d. 298/910) was a traditionist and historian from Basra (al-Ziriklī [2002], 6:130).

176 Abū 'Umar al-Ġarmī was a scholar from Basra, especially known as a key figure in the early grammatical tradition (see Bernards [1990]).

177 Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī^c (138–208/757–824) was the son of al-Manšūr's chamberlain al-Rabī^c b. Yūnus (see above, fn. 130); just as his father, he was a person of status and influence at the early 'Abbāsīd court, and he served as vizier to the caliphs Hārūn al-Rašīd and al-Amīn (D. Sourdel, “al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī^c”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-fadl-b-al-rabi-SIM_2227).

178 Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah b. Maymūn al-Hilālī (107–196/725–81) was a famous traditionist who lived and studied for most of his life in Mecca (S.A. Spectorsky, “Sufyān b. 'Uyayna”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/sufyan-b-uyayna-SIM_7131).

179 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām b. Nāfi' al-Šan'ānī l-Ḥīmyarī (126–211/744–827) was a leading Yemeni scholar and specialist of *ḥadīth* and history (H. Motzki, “al-Šan'ānī”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-sanani-SIM_6597).

نفرح مسرعا، فقال: "يا أمير المؤمنين، لو أرسلت إلي أتيتك." فقال: "خذ لما جئناك له." فحادثه ساعة ثم قال له: "عليك دين؟" قال: "نعم." قال: "أبا عباس، إقض دينه."

فلما خرجنا قال: "ما أغنى عني صاحبك شيئا. أنظر لي رجلا أسأله." قلت: "هاهنا الفضيل بن عياض." قال: "إمض بنا إليه." فأتيناها، فإذا هو قائم يصلي، يتلو آية من القرآن يرددوها. فقال: "إقرع الباب!" فقرعت الباب، فقال: "من هذا؟" قلت: "أجب أمير المؤمنين!" فقال: "مالي ولأمر المؤمنين؟" فقلت: سبحن الله، أما عليك طاعة؟ أليس قد روي عن النبي ﷺ أنه قال: "ليس للمؤمن أن يذل نفسه؟" فنزل ففتح الباب. ثم ارتقى الغرفة فأطفأ السراج. ثم التجأ إلى زاوية من زوايا البيت. فدخلنا، فجعلنا نجول عليه بأيدينا. فسبقت كف هرون قبلي إليه، فقال: "يا لها من كف! ما أليها إن نجت غدا من عذاب الله عز وجل." فقلت في نفسي: ليكلمنه الليلة بكلام من قلب تقي. فقال له: "خذ لما جئناك له رحمك الله." فقال: "إن عمر بن عبد العزيز لما ولي الخلافة دعا سالم بن عبد الله ومحمد بن كعب القرظي ورجاء بن حيوة، فقال لهم: "إني قد ابتليت بهذا البلاء. فأشيروا

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١ جئناك: "جئناك" في الأصل. ٣ شيئا: "شيا" في الأصل. ١٠ جئناك: "جئناك" في الأصل.
١١ ورجاء: "رجاء" في الأصل. || البلاء: "البلاء" في الأصل.

180 Al-Fuḍayl b. Iyāḍ al-Tamīmī l-Yarbūʿī (d. 187/803) was a leading religious scholar and transmitter of *ḥadīth*; he lived and worked in Kufa and then in Mecca, where he acquired a reputation as an exemplary ascetic; he appears in various biographical anecdotes—such as those preserved in the *Hilyah*—demonstrating his superiority and authority

Commander of the Faithful, if you had sent me [word], I would have come to you.' He said: 'Behold what we have come to you for.' So he talked with him for an hour. Then he said to him: 'Do you have a debt?' He said: 'Yes.' He said: 'Abū 'Abbās, settle his debt.'

- 5 §100 When we left, he said: 'Your friend has not been of any benefit to me; look for me for a man whom I may question.' I said: 'Al-Fuḍayl b. 'Iyād¹⁸⁰ [lives] over there.' He said: 'Let us go to him.' So we came to him. But he was just beginning his prayer, reciting a verse from the Qur'ān which he repeated all the time. [Al-Rašīd] said: 'Knock at the door.' So I knocked at the
- 10 door. He said: 'Who is this?' I said: 'Accede to the request of the Commander of the Faithful.' He said: 'What is my business with the Commander of the Faithful?' I said: 'Praise God! Do you not owe allegiance? Is it not transmitted about the Prophet—may God bless him—that he said: It is not up to the believer to submit himself [to a trial]?' So he came down and opened the
- 15 door. Then he ascended to the room [which he had been praying in], put out the lamp, and then he resorted to one of the corners of the house. We entered and we tried to [follow him by] laying our hands on him, Harūn's hand palm preceding mine [in our movement] towards him. He said: 'What kind of a hand palm is this? How can I soften it so that it may be rescued
- 20 tomorrow from the punishment of God, may He be great and exalted.' I said to myself: '[I hope] that he may speak with him overnight with words from a devout heart.' [Harūn] said to him: 'Behold what we have come to you for, may God's mercy be upon you.' He said: 'When 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz¹⁸¹ performed the office of caliph, he called for Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh,¹⁸²
- 25 Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī,¹⁸³ and Raġā' b. Ḥaywah.¹⁸⁴ He said to them: I have been afflicted by this tribulation, so give me advice—he considered

over Hārūn al-Rašīd (D. Tor, "al-Fuḍayl b. 'Iyād", in *Er*³ http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/al-fudayl-b-iyad-COM_27202).

181 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz was Umayyad caliph between 99/717 and 101/720 [see fn. 91].

182 This may well refer to a grandson of the second caliph 'Umar, Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb (d. 107/725–726) (Ḥalifah b. Ḥayyāt, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 427 [n° 213]; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Dahab al-masbūk*⁴, 119, fn. 7).

183 This may well refer to Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī (d. 117/735) (Ḥalifah b. Ḥayyāt, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 459 (n° 2344); al-Maqrīzī, *al-Dahab al-masbūk*⁴, 119, fn. 8).

184 Raġā' b. Ḥaywah b. Ḥanzal al-Kindī (d. 112/730) was an influential advisor at the courts of the Umayyad caliphs 'Abd al-Malik, al-Walīd, Sulaymān, and 'Umar [see footnote 97].

علي، فقد انخلفة بلاء، وعددتها أنت وأصحابك نعمة. فقال له سالم بن عبد الله: "إن أردت النجاة من عذاب الله فصم الدنيا وليكن إفطارك منها الموت." وقال له محمد بن كعب: "إن أردت النجاة من عذاب الله فليكن كبير المسلمين عندك أبا وأوسطهم عندك أخا وأصغرهم عندك ولدا. فوقر أبك وأكرم أخاك وتحنن علي ولدك." وقال له رجاء بن حيوة: "إن أردت النجاة من عذاب الله فأحب للمسلمين ما تحب لنفسك وأكره لهم ما تكره لنفسك. ثم مت إذا شئت." وإني أقول لك: ٥
فإني أخاف عليك أشد الخوف يوم تزل فيه الأقدام. فهل معك رحمك الله مثل هذا أو من يشير عليك بمثل هذا؟"

فبكي هرون بكاء شديدا حتى غشي عليه. فقلت له: "إرفق بأمر المؤمنين!" قال: "يا بن أم الربيع، تقتله أنت وأصحابك وأرفق به أنا؟" ثم أفاق فقال له: "زدني رحمك الله." فقال: "يا أمير المؤمنين، ١٠
بلغني أن عاملا لعمر بن عبد العزيز شكاً إليه، فكتب إليه عمر: يا بن أخي، أذكرك طول سهر أهل النار في النار مع خلود الأبد، وإياك أن ينصرف بك من عند الله إلى عذاب الله، فيكون آخر العهد وانقطاع الرجاء." فلها قرأ الكتاب طوى البلاد حتى قدم على عمر بن عبد العزيز، فقال له: "ما أقدمك؟" فقال: "خلعت قلبي بكتابك. لا أعود إلى ولاية حتى ألقى الله."

فبكي هرون بكاء شديدا، ثم قال له: "زدني رحمك الله." فقال: "يا أمير المؤمنين، إن العباس — ١٥
عم المصطفى ﷺ — قال: "يرسول الله، أمرني على إمارة." فقال له النبي ﷺ: "إن الإمارة حسرة وندامة يوم القيامة. فإن استطعت أن لا تكون أميرا فافعل."

١ بلاء: "بلاء" في الأصل. ٣ عندك: ٢ تصحيح بخط المقرئ في الأصل. ٤ رجاء: "رجاء" في الأصل.
٥ شئت: "شيت" في الأصل. ٨ فبكي: "فبكي" في الأصل. ١٠ شكاً: "شكى" في الأصل.
١٢ الرجاء: "الرجاء" في الأصل. ١٣ ألقى: "القا" في الأصل.
١٤ بكاء: "بكا" في الأصل. ١٥ أمرني: "امرني" في الأصل.

the caliphate a tribulation and you and your companions consider it a gift. Sālim b. ‘Abd Allāh said to him: If you want to be rescued from the punishment of God, abstain from this world so that death may be as your fast-breaking. Muḥammad b. Ka’b said to him: If you want to be rescued
 5 from the punishment of God, make the elder of the Muslims like a father with you, the intermediate of them like a brother with you, and the junior of them like a son with you; respect your father, honour your brother, and feel compassion for your son. Rağā’ b. Ḥaywah said to him: If you want to be rescued from the punishment of God, love for the Muslims what you
 10 love for yourself and dislike for them what you dislike for yourself, and then die if you want. Now I [= al-Fuḍayl] say to you [= Hārūn] that I greatly dread for you the day on which the feet will slip; is there with you—may God’s mercy be upon you—anyone like this or who advises you anything like this?’

15 §101 Hārūn wept heavily until he lost consciousness. I said to him: ‘Be kind to the Commander of the Faithful’. He said: ‘O son of the mother of al-Rabī’, you and your companions will kill him and I should be kind to him?’ Then [Hārūn] regained consciousness. He said to him: ‘Give me more, may God’s mercy be upon you.’ He said: ‘O Commander of the Faithful, I was informed
 20 that an agent of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz complained to him, so ‘Umar wrote to him: O my nephew, let me remind you of the people of the fire [= the unbelievers] who have to stay awake in the fire for as long as the infinity of time; be careful that you are not made to move away from [being] with God to [undergoing] God’s punishment, for that is the end of time and the cutting
 25 off of hope. When he read the letter, he traversed the lands to come to ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. He said to him: What has made you come? He said: My heart is wrenched by your letter; I will not return to a governorship until I have met with God.’

30 §102 Hārūn wept heavily. Then he said to him: ‘Give me more, may God’s mercy be upon you.’ He said: ‘O Commander of the Faithful, al-Abbās, the uncle of the chosen one—may God bless him and grant him salvation—said to the Messenger of God: Appoint me to a command. But the Prophet—may God bless him and grant him salvation—said to him: The command is the grief and regret of the Day of Resurrection; if you can manage not to be a
 35 commander, then do so.’

فبكى هرون بكاء شديداً، وقال: "زدني رحمك الله." | قال: "يا حسن الوجه، أنت الذي يسألك الله عز وجل عن هذا الخلق يوم القيامة. فإن استطعت أن تقبلي هذا الوجه من النار فأياك أن تصبح وتمسي وفي قلبك غش لأحد من رعيتك. فإن النبي ﷺ قال: "من أصبح لهم غاشاً لم يرح رائحة الجنة"."

٥ فبكى هرون وقال له: "عليك دين؟" قال: "نعم، دين لربي لم يحاسبني عليه. فالويل لي إن ساءلني، والويل لي إن ناقشني، والويل لي إن لم أهتم حجتى." قال: "إنما أعني من دين العباد." قال: "إن ربي عز وجل لم يأمرني بهذا. إنما أمرني أن أصدق وأطيع أمره." فقال: ﴿وَمَا خَلَقْتُ الْجِنَّ وَالْإِنْسَ إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُونِ. مَا أُرِيدُ مِنْهُمْ مِنْ رِزْقٍ وَمَا أُرِيدُ أَنْ يُطِيعُونِ. إِنَّ اللَّهَ هُوَ الرَّزَّاقُ ذُو الْقُوَّةِ الْمَتِينُ﴾. ٤٩؛ فقال له: "هذه ألف دينار. خذها فأنفقها على عيالك، وتقو بها على عبادتك." فقال: "سبحن الله، أنا أدلك على طريق النجاة وأنت تكافيني بمثل هذا؟ سلهك الله ووفقتك!" ثم صمت فلم يكلمنا. فخرجنا من عنده. فلما صرنا على الباب، قال هرون: "أبا عباس، إذا دللتني على رجل، فدلي على مثل هذا. هذا سيد المسلمين!"

١٥ فدخلت عليه امرأة من نسائه، فقالت: "يا هذا، قد ترى ما نحن فيه من ضيق. فلو قبلت هذا المال فتخرجنا به." فقال لها: "مثلي ومثلكم كمثلي قوم كان لهم يعبرياً يكون من كسبه. فلما كبر نحروه فأكلوا لحمه." فلما سمع هرون هذا الكلام، قال: "تدخل. فعسى أن يقبل المال." فلما علم الفضيل، خرج بفلس في السطح على باب | الغرفة، فجاء هرون وجلس إلى جنبه، فجعل يكلمه، فلا يجيبه. 122^a فبينما نحن كذلك إذ خرجت جارية سوداء، فقالت: "يا هذا، قد أذيت الشيخ منذ الليلة. فانصرف رحمك الله." فانصرفنا. ٥٠

١ بكاء: "بكاء" في الأصل. ١٣ نسائه: "نساياه" في الأصل. ١٦ فجاء: "فجأ" في الأصل. ١٧ سوداء: "سوداً" في الأصل.

٤٩ القرآن، سورة الذريات، الآيات ٥٦-٥٨. ٥٠ راجع خبر الفضل بن الربيع وهارون الرشيد هذا كله (من "حدثنا سليمان بن أحمد" إلى هنا) وعلى نفس الشكل تماماً في أبو نعيم، الحلية، ج. ٨، ص. ١٠٥-١٠٨.

§103 Hārūn wept heavily, and said to him: ‘Give me more, may God’s mercy be upon you.’ He said: ‘O beautiful one, you are the one whom God—may He be great and exalted—will ask about this creation on the Day of Resurrection; if you want to protect this [handsome] face against the fire,
 5 take care not to have in your heart from morning to evening deception towards anyone from your flock; the Prophet—may God bless him and grant him salvation—said: He who tends to treat them with deception will not smell the fragrance of paradise.’

§104 Hārūn wept and said to him: ‘Do you have a debt?’ He said: ‘Yes, a debt
 10 to my Lord which He has not yet settled with me. Woe onto me if He asks me, and woe onto me if He discusses with me, and woe onto me if He does not direct my argument with inspiration.’ But he said: ‘But I mean a debt of the human beings.’ He said: ‘My Lord—may He be great and exalted—did not command me to such a thing; rather He commanded me to believe and to
 15 obey His command, saying: I have not created *ġinn* and mankind except to serve Me. I desire of them no provision, neither do I desire that they should feed Me. Surely, God is the All-Provider, the Possessor of Strength, the Ever-Sure.’¹⁸⁵ He said to him: ‘These are 1,000 *dīnārs*; take them, spend them on your family, and strengthen your worship with it.’ He said: ‘Praise God! I guide
 20 you along the road of deliverance, while you recompense me in this way? May God grant you salvation and may he give you success.’ Then he became silent and he did not speak to us. So we left from him. When we reached the door, Hārūn said: ‘Abū ‘Abbās, when you bring me to a man, bring me to someone like this; this one is the best of the Muslims.’

§105 A woman from his wives went to him [= al-Fuḍayl] and said: ‘You there,
 25 you know the need we are in. If you took this money, we would be relieved by it.’ But he said to her: ‘Me and you, we are just like people who have a camel [that produces] a surplus which they eat from; but when it grows old, they slaughter it so as to eat its meat.’ When Hārūn heard this talk, he said: ‘Let
 30 us enter; maybe he will accept the money.’ When al-Fuḍayl was informed, he came out and sat on the floor at the door of the room. Hārūn came and sat next to him. He began to speak to him, but he did not reply. While we were in the midst of this, a black slave girl suddenly came out and said: ‘You there, you have troubled the old man all night, so leave now—may God’s mercy be
 35 upon you.’ So we left.”

185 Qur’ān, s. 51: 56–58. Translation from Arberry (1955), 2:239–240.

نا إبراهيم بن عبد الله، نا محمد بن إسحق، حدثني إسماعيل بن عبد الله أبو النصر، نا يحيى بن يوسف الزبيبي عن فضيل بن عياض، قال:

«لما دخل علي هرون—أمير المؤمنين—قال: «أيكم هو؟» فأشاروا إلى أمير المؤمنين. فقال: «أنت هو، يا حسن الوجه. لقد كلفت أمرا عظيما. إني ما رأيت أحدا أحسن وجهها منك. فإن قدرت أن لا تسود هذا الوجه بلفحة من النار فافعل.» فقال لي: «عظني.» فقلت: «ماذا أعظك؟ هذا كتاب الله تعالى بين الدفتين. أنظر ماذا عمل بمن أطاعه وماذا عمل بمن عصاه.» وقال: «إني رأيت الناس يعرضون على النار عرضا شديدا ويطلبونها طلبا حثيثا. أما والله! لو طلبوا الجنة بمثلها أو أيسر لنا لوها!» فقال: «عد إلي.» فقال: «لو لم تبعث إلي لم آتك. وإن انتفعت بما سمعت مني عدت إليك.»^{٥١}

٣ إلى: «الي» في الأصل.

^{٥١} راجع خبر فضيل بن عياض وهارون الرشيد على نفس الشكل تماما في أبو نعيم، الحلية، ج. ٨، ص. ١٠٥.

§106 There was transmitted to us by Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd Allāh,¹⁸⁶ via Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq,¹⁸⁷ via Isma‘īl b. ‘Abd Allāh Abū l-Naḍr,¹⁸⁸ via Yaḥyá b. Yūsuf al-Zammī,¹⁸⁹ from Fuḍayl b. ‘Iyād, who said:

§107 “When Hārūn, the Commander of the Faithful, entered to me, he said:
 5 ‘Which one of you is it? Advise the Commander of the Faithful.’ [Fuḍayl]
 said: ‘It is you, O handsome one. You have been entrusted an important
 command; never have I seen anyone with a face more beautiful than yours.
 If you are able not to blacken this face with heat from the fire, then do
 so.’ He said to me: ‘Caution me.’ So I said: ‘What should I caution you for?’
 10 This is the book of God, the Elevated One, between the two covers: look at
 what happened to who obeyed Him and at what happened to who opposed
 Him.’ He said: ‘I saw the people submitting themselves eagerly to the fire and
 aspiring to it hastily; truly, by God, if they aspired to paradise in a similar or
 lesser way, they would attain it.’ He said: ‘Come back to me.’ [Fuḍayl] said:
 15 ‘If you had not sent [word] to me, I would not have come to you, and if you
 take advantage of what you heard from me, I will come back to you.’”

186 Abū Iṣḥāq Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥurraṣīd Qūlah al-Iṣbahānī was a *ḥadīth* transmitter and merchant from Isfahan, who lived and worked in Baghdad, where he died in 400/1009 (al-Dahabī, *Sīyar*, 17:69–71).

187 Abū l-‘Abbās al-Sarrāḡ Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Mihrān al-Taqaḥī was a *ḥadīth* scholar and transmitter of towering importance who lived and worked in Nishapur and Baghdad, and who died in 313/925 (al-Dahabī, *Sīyar*, 14:388–398).

188 Abū l-Naḍr Isma‘īl b. ‘Abd Allāh: I have so far not been able to establish any information on the identity of this transmitter.

189 Abū Zakariyyā’ Yaḥyá b. Yūsuf b. Abī Karīmah al-Zammī was an important *ḥadīth* scholar and transmitter from Baghdad, who died in 229/844 (al-Dahabī, *Sīyar*, 11:38–39).

الحاكم بأمر الله أبو العباس أحمد

125^a

ابن محمد بن الحسن بن أبي بكر بن أبي علي القُيِّ بن الحسن الخليفة الراشد بالله، على خلاف في نسبه، ثاني خلفاء بني العباس بديار مصر.

خرج من بغداد في واقعة هولاءكو، وجمع طائفة من الناس ولقي الإمام المستنصر بالله أبا العباس أحمد بن الخليفة الظاهر بأمر الله أبي نصر محمد بن الخليفة الناصر لدين الله العباسي المهزوم من ديار

٣ خلفاء: "خلفاء" في الأصل. ٤ أبا: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

- 190 The refugee 'Abbāsīd scion al-Ḥākīm (d. 701/1302) was installed as 'Abbāsīd caliph in Cairo by the sultan Baybars, after the violent termination of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate of Baghdad by the Mongols in 656/1258—when in the sultanate the wish to re-establish the caliphate arose for reasons of legal and, especially, political exigency—, after al-Ḥākīm's earlier proclamation as caliph in Aleppo by an opponent of sultan Baybars, and after the violent death of his shortlived predecessor and 'Abbāsīd rival in Cairo al-Mustanšir (see below). See B. Lewis, "'Abbāsīds", in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/abbasids-COM_0002; for a detailed discussion of this transition of the caliphate from Baghdad to Cairo, see Heidemann (1994).
- 191 Al-Rāšīd bi-llāh briefly performed the caliphate in Baghdad between 529/1135 and 530/1136; after him, the caliphate moved back to the line of his father's brother, al-Muqtafī (r. 530–555/1136–1160); some accounts claim al-Ḥākīm's descent from al-Rāšīd, others from al-Rāšīd's father, the caliph al-Mustaršīd (r. 512–529/1118–1135), via a brother of al-Rāšīd (mostly identified as al-Ḥusayn, but here by al-Maqrīzī as al-Ḥasan) (Lewis, "'Abbāsīds", in *EI*²; Heidemann [1994]: 71–75 [for a detailed discussion of the debate on al-Ḥākīm's contested lineage]).

13. *Al-Ḥākīm bi-Amr Allāh Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad*¹⁹⁰

b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Bakr b. Abī ‘Alī l-Qubbī b. al-Ḥasan, [who was] the caliph al-Rāšid bi-llāh,¹⁹¹ there is, however, disagreement on his pedigree. [He was] the second caliph of the descendants of al-‘Abbās in
5 Egypt.

§108 He left Baghdad during the event involving Hülegü.¹⁹² He gathered a group of people, and encountered the *Imām* al-Mustanšir bi-llāh Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad,¹⁹³ son of the caliph al-Ẓāhir bi-Amr Allāh Abū Naṣr Muḥammad,¹⁹⁴ son of the caliph al-Nāšir li-Dīn Allāh al-‘Abbāsī,¹⁹⁵ who was sent

192 Hülegü (1217–1265) was a grandson of the Mongol conqueror Jinghiz Ḥān (d. 1227), who successfully extended Mongol control over Iran, Iraq, Azerbaijan, and Anatolia, in a long military campaign that lasted from 1253 to 1260; his successors ruled over this wide area until 1335, as the Mongol dynasty of the Īl-Ḥāns; in Muslim sources, Hülegü’s name remained infamously connected with one event in particular: the conquest and sack of the ancient Islamic capital of Baghdad in 656/1258, and with the subsequent execution of the last ‘Abbāsīd caliph of Baghdad, al-Musta‘šim (W. Barthold, J.A. Boyle, “Hülāgū”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/abbasids-SIM_2940; A.A. Duri, “Baghdād”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/baghdad-COM_0084).

193 Abū l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. al-Ẓāhir Muḥammad, known by his caliphal title al-Mustanšir bi-llāh (r. 659–660/1261), was an ‘Abbāsīd scion from Baghdad who managed to escape to Egypt, where he was proclaimed the new ‘Abbāsīd caliph in 659/1261; he was sent on an expedition to reclaim his ancestral dominions from the Mongols in Iraq, but he was defeated and killed in battle (P.M. Holt, “al-Mustanšir”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-mustansir-SIM_5628; Heidemann [1994]: 91–107, 145–157).

194 Abū Naṣr Muḥammad, known by his caliphal title al-Ẓāhir bi-Amr Allāh (r. 622–623/1225–1226), succeeded his father al-Nāšir, but only reigned for nine months due to his untimely death (A.M. Eddé, “al-Ẓāhir bi-Amr Allāh”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-zahir-bi-amr-allah-SIM_8079).

195 Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad, reigning with the caliphal title al-Nāšir li-Dīn Allāh from 575/1180 to 622/1225, is best known for (re-)establishing ‘Abbāsīd local and regional authority and power in Baghdad and Iraq, and for restoring the primacy of ‘Abbāsīd sovereignty over the entire Sunni Muslim world (A. Hartmann, “al-Nāšir Li-Dīn Allāh”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-nasir-li-din-allah-COM_0854).

مصر لقتال الططر، وصار في جملمته. فلها قتل المسنصر في وقائع الططر قدم إلى القاهرة في سبع
عشرين ربيع الأول سنة ستين وسمائة، فباعه الملك الظاهر ركن الدين ببرز البندقداري في يوم
الخميس ثامن المحرم سنة إحدى وستين وسمائة.

هـ فلم يزل خليفةً لا أمر له ولا نهى ولا نفوذ كلمة حتى مات بمناظر الكباش خارج القاهرة ليلة
الجمعة ثامن عشر جمادى الأولى سنة إحدى وسبع مائة. فكانت خلافته أربعين سنة، وهو أول
خليفة عباسي مات بمصر. واستمرت الخلافة في عقبه إلى اليوم.

٤ يزل: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. هـ الأولى: "الأولى" في الأصل.

from Egypt to fight the Mongols. He joined his group, but when al-Mustaṣṣir was killed during the confrontations with the Mongols, he came to Cairo, [arriving] on 27 Rabīʿ 1 of the year 660 [19 February 1262]. Al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Bunduqḏārī¹⁹⁶ swore the oath of allegiance to him
5 on Thursday 8 Muḥarram of the year 661 [23 November 1262].

§ 109 He remained a caliph, without any [power to] command and forbid and without any effective authority, until he died at Manāẓir al-Kabš,¹⁹⁷ outside Cairo, in the night of Friday, 18 Ğumādā 1 of the year 701 [19 January 1302]. His caliphate lasted for 40 years, and he was the first ‘Abbāsīd
10 caliph to die in Egypt. The caliphate has remained with his offspring to this day.¹⁹⁸

196 Al-Zāhir Baybars (r. 658–676/1260–1277) was the first successful *manlūk* sultan of Egypt and Syria; he was especially remembered for successfully staging the consolidation and (re-)organisation of the realm (P. Thorau, “Baybars 1, al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn”, in *ET*³ http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/baybars-i-al-malik-al-zahir-rukn-al-din-COM_23709; Thorau [1987]).

197 Manāẓir al-Kabš, the “Pavillions of Kabsh Hill”, refers to the residences that had mostly been constructed by Ayyūbid princes on a hilly platform some two kilometers south of historic Cairo, behind the Ibn Ṭūlūn mosque; in the course of the thirteenth century this pleasant area overlooking the Elephant Lake to the North became a residential district for royals and also, in alternation with the Cairo Citadel, for the ‘Abbāsīd caliphs of Cairo (Raymond [2001]: 98, 133–135).

198 That is, up to the time of al-Maqrīzī’s writing of the text of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*.

وحج في سنة تسع وتسعين وستمائة^{٥٢} والسلطان يومئذ الملك المنصور لاجين، وأعطاه مبلغ سبع مائة ألف درهم فضة. ولما قدم مكة أراد من الشريف أبي نمي—أمير مكة—أن يدعو له على منبر مكة، فامتنع من ذلك وجرت {بينهما} مفاوضة ترفع فيها عليه أبو نمي تفانراً بنسبه الشريف. واستمر الأمر على ذلك إلى اليوم لم يخطب قط بمكة لأحد من خلفاء مصر العباسيين سوى الخليفة المستعين بالله أبي الفضل العباس بن محمد أياما يسيرة في سنة خمس عشرة وثمانى مائة. ٥

١ يومئذ: "يومئذ" في الأصل. ٢ مائة: "مايه" في الأصل. || نمي أمير: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || يدعو: "يدعوا" في الأصل. ٣ بينهما: "بينها" في الأصل. ٤ خلفاء: "خلفاء" في الأصل. ٥ وثمانى مائة: ناقصة في الأصل مضافة بخط المقرئ ("وثمانى مايه") في السطر على آخر نص الحاكم بعد كلمة "عشرة".

٥٢ كذا في الأصل، وهو خطأ لأن سلطنة المنصور لاجين انتهت في ربيع الآخر سنة ٦٩٨، والأصح أن حجة الحاكم كانت في سنة ٦٩٧ ولا في سنة ٦٩٩ (راجع نفس الملاحظة في المقرئ، الذهب المسبوك، تحقيق الشيال، ص. ٦١، وتحقيق فرحات أحمد، ص. ١٢٥).

§ 110 He went on pilgrimage in the year 699 (1300),¹⁹⁹ the sultan at that time being al-Manṣūr Lāğīn.²⁰⁰ He gave him an amount of 700 silver *dirhams* [for distribution in Mecca]. When he wanted from the Sharif Abū Numayy,²⁰¹ the amir of Mecca, that the Friday sermon would be delivered in his name from the *minbar* of Mecca, [Abū Numayy] refused that. So there was a discussion
 5 between them, in which Abū Numayy declared himself of higher birth than [al-Ḥākim], boasting about his noble descent. Until today, the situation has remained like that, the Friday sermon in Mecca never being delivered in the name of any of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphs of Egypt, except for the caliph al-
 10 Musta‘īn bi-llāh Abū l-Faḍl al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad,²⁰² [in whose name the Friday sermon was delivered] for a few days in the year 815 [1412].

199 This is an obvious mistake in the text, because sultan Lāğīn’s sultanate ended in early 698/1299; al-Ḥākim rather participated in the *ḥağğ* season of the year 697/1298: on this caliphal *ḥağğ* and the conflict with Abū Numayy, see especially Heidemann (1994): 190–191.

200 Al-Manṣūr Lāğīn was sultan over Egypt and Syria between 696/1296 and 698/1299 (see Holt [1973]).

201 Muḥammad Abū Numayy was a member of a local dynasty of rulers or Sharifs of Mecca, which came to power in the course of the tenth century, and which only lost its power with the rise of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the mid-1920s; they supported their successful claims to rule by their descent from the Prophet via his grandson al-Ḥasan; the Sharif Abū Numayy (r. 652–700/1254–1301) was one of the more energetic and successful rulers of this longlasting dynasty (A.J. Wensinck, C.E. Bosworth, “Makka, 2. From the ‘Abbāsīd to the Modern Period”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/makka-COM_0638; Meloy [2010a]: 15–16, 47–48; Mortel [1987]: 461–462).

202 Al-Musta‘īn bi-llāh, regnal title of Abū l-Faḍl al-‘Abbās, was the tenth ‘Abbāsīd so-called “shadow” caliph in Egypt, reigning from 808/1406 to 816/1414; he died from the plague in 833/1430; al-Musta‘īn’s name is especially remembered for the fact that for six months in 815/1412, he was also endowed with the sultanate in Cairo, an unusual arrangement that did not arise from any renewed ‘Abbāsīd empowerment, but rather from the contingent need to organise and legitimate the transition from the murder of the preceding sultan to the enthronement of one of his murderers as the next sultan (P.M. Holt, “al-Musta‘īn”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-mustain-SIM_5620).

[فصل في] ذكر من حج من الملوك وهو ملك

الصُّلَيْحِي

واسمه علي بن محمد بن علي—أحد ثوار العالم—، كنيته أبو الحسن بن أبي محمد.

كان أبوه علي قضاء اليمن ومن أهل السنة، وكان في عشيرة من قومه. فصحب علي داعي اليمن
 ٥ عامر بن عبد الله الزواحي—أحد دُعاة الدولة الفاطمية—، ومال إلى مذهب التشيع، وتضلع من
 علوم الشيعة حتى صار إماما فيه.

[Chapter with] **the Report of the Kings Who Went on Pilgrimage When They were King**

1. **Al-Şulayḥī**²⁰³

§ 111 His name is ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, [and he is] one of this world’s
5 revolutionaries; his *kunya*h is Abū l-Ḥasan b. Abī Muḥammad.

§ 112 His father held the judgeship of Yemen. He belonged to the adherents
of the Sunna and lived amidst a clan of his people. ‘Alī became a compan-
ion of the missionary of Yemen, ‘Āmir b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Zawāḥī,²⁰⁴ one of
the missionary agents of the Fāṭimid dynasty.²⁰⁵ [As a result] [‘Alī] started
10 sympathising with the path of Shiism and he became proficient in the sci-
ences of Shiism, until eventually he [himself] became a leading figure in
it.

203 ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Şulayḥī (d. 473/1081) was the first ruler of the Şulayḥid dynasty of Yemen, a Shii Ismā‘īlī dynasty that ruled over the southern highlands and the Tihāmah region of the Yemen between approximately 439/1047 and 532/1138 (G.R. Smith, “Şulayḥids”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/sulayhids-COM_1112).

204 ‘Āmir b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Zawāḥī was a missionary agent from Fāṭimid Egypt, sent to his native region of Yemen to spread the Fāṭimid Ismā‘īlī cause; his first name is mostly rendered as Sulaymān, however, and that of his son—a powerful Şulayḥid—as Sulṭān ‘Āmir (Smith, “Şulayḥids”; I. Poonawala, “Şahriyār b. al-Ḥasan”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/shahriyar-b-al-hasan-SIM_6777).

205 The Fāṭimids were an Ismā‘īlī dynasty that emerged in North Africa in 297/909, from where they successfully established their rule over Sicily, Egypt, the Hijaz, and southern Syria; from 358/969 they reigned over their empire from Egypt, where they founded a new capital, al-Qāhirah (Cairo); with Şulayḥid support, their sovereignty was eventually also acknowledged in Yemen. The Fāṭimid rulers asserted direct descent from the Prophet’s daughter Fāṭimah and her husband, ‘Alī, generating divine inspiration and special status, to support their claims to Muslim leadership; as a result of these claims, they assumed the title of caliph and developed an ambitious anti-‘Abbāsīd policy of eastward military expansion and Ismā‘īlī missionary activities; this was only successful until the early decades of the eleventh century; the dynasty was brought to an end in 567/1171 by the Sunni military leader Saladin (M. Canard, “Fāṭimids”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/fatimids-COM_0218; Halm [1996]).

125^b ثم ثار سنة تسع وعشرين | وأربع مائة بستين رجلاً—أصحاب عشائر—، فصار في عشرين ألف ضارب سيف من يومه. ودعا للإمام المستنصر بالله أبي تميم معد بن الظاهر بن الحاكم—أحد الخلفاء الفاطمية بالقاهرة—، وملك اليمن كله—سهله وجبله ووعره وبره وبحره—وخطب بنفسه، وكانت قاعدة ملكه صنعاء.

٥ و حج سنة خمس وخمسين وأربع مائة، وملك مكة في سادس ذي الحجة منها ونشر بها العدل وأكثر فيها من الإحسان، ومنع المفسدين وأمن الناس أماناً لم يعهدوه قبله. ورخصت بها الأسعار لكثرة ما جلب إليها بأمره، فأحبه الناس حبا زائداً. وكسا الكعبة الديباج الأبيض—وهو كان شعار الدولة الفاطمية—وأقام بها دعوتهم. ٥٣

١٠ ثم حج في سنة ثلث وسبعين وأربعمائة. فلما نزل ظاهر المهجم، قتل في ثاني عشر ذي الحجة بيد سعيد الأحول بن نجاح، وملك بعده.

١ مائة: "ماية" في الأصل. || عشائر: "عشاير" في الأصل. ٣ الخلفاء: "الخلفاء" في الأصل. ٤ صنعاء: "صنعا" في الأصل. ٥ وأربع: الكلمة غير واضحة في الأصل بسبب ثقب في المخطوطة. ٦ المفسدين: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٧ زائداً: "زايداً" في الأصل. ٩ وأربعمائة: "وارعمائة" في الأصل.

٥٣ راجع هذا الخبر على شكل مساو ولكن بعدة تفاصيل زائدة في الفاسي، شفاء الغرام، ج. ٢، ص. ٢٧٢-

§113 Then he revolted in the year 429 [1037–1038], with 60 men, all clan chiefs. Soon thereafter, he got 20,000 swordsmen, and he publicly proclaimed allegiance to the *imām* al-Mustanşir bi-llāh Abū Tamīm Ma‘add b. al-Zāhir b. al-Ḥākīm, one of the Fāṭimid caliphs in Cairo.²⁰⁶ He took control
 5 over all of Yemen, its coasts, mountains, and wildness, and its land and its sea. He delivered the Friday sermon in his own name. The seat of his reign was Sanaa.

§114 He went on pilgrimage in the year 455 [1063]. He took control of Mecca on the sixth of Dū l-Ḥiġġah of this year [30 November 1063], and he spread
 10 justice in it. He increased the performance of good deeds in [Mecca], hindered the evil doers, and provided safety for the people such as they had not experienced before him. Prices in it got cheap because of the multitude of what was imported to it by his order. People loved him enormously. He covered the Ka‘bah with a *kiswah* of white brocade, which is one of the symbols
 15 of the Fāṭimid dynasty, and he established their religious cause there.

§115 Then he went on pilgrimage in the year 473 [1081]. When he settled down outside al-Mahġam,²⁰⁷ he was killed, on the twelfth of Dū l-Ḥiġġah [24 May], by the hand of Sa‘īd al-Aḥwal b. Naġāḥ,²⁰⁸ [who] took power after him.

206 Al-Mustanşir bi-llāh, regnal title of Abū Tamīm Ma‘add b. ‘Alī al-Zāhir b. al-Ḥākīm, was the eighth Fāṭimid caliph (b. 420/1029, r. 427–487/1036–1094); his reign of some 60 years is the longest recorded of any Muslim ruler, and it witnessed substantial changes in the nature and extent of Fāṭimid authority (H.A.R. Gibb, P. Kraus, “al-Mustanşir”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-mustansir-COM_0817).

207 Today Mahjamm, in the Yemeni Hajja governorate.

208 Sa‘īd al-Aḥwal b. Naġāḥ (d. 481/1088) was a member of a dynasty of former Abyssinian slaves, the Naġāḥids, that ruled over the Yemenite city of Zabīd and over the northern Tihāmah for most of the period between 412/1022 and 553/1158; the murder of the dynasty’s founder Naġāḥ by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad in 452/1060, the subsequent Ṣulayḥid occupation of Zabīd, and the murder of ‘Alī by Naġāḥ’s sons, Sa‘īd and Ġayyāš, near the Tihāmah town of al-Mahġam in 473/1081, marked a first and defining phase in the long competition of the Naġāḥids with the Ṣulayḥids for control over the Tihāmah (R. Strothmann, G.R. Smith, “Nadġāḥids”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/nadjahids-SIM_5717).

ثم حج

الملك العادل نور الدين محمود

ابن عماد الدين أتابك بن زنكي بن أبي سعيد قسيم الدولة بن آقسنقر—المعروف بالحاجب—بن عبد الله.

٥ كان جده آقسنقر مملوكا تركيا للسلطان ملك شاه بن ألب أرسلان السلجوقي، وترقى إلى أن استنابه تاج الدولة تنش بن أرسلان في حلب لما ملكها في سنة ثمان وسبعين وأربع مائة. فعصى عليه وحاربه. فقتل في جمادى الأول سنة سبع وثمانين وأربع مائة. وصار ابنه عماد الدين زنكي من

١ ثم حج: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "بعده". ٦ مائة: "مايه" في الأصل. || فعصى: "فعصا" في الأصل. ٧ مائة: "مايه" في الأصل.

Then there went on pilgrimage

2. **Al-Malik al-‘Ādil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd**²⁰⁹

b. ‘Imād al-Dīn [the] Atābak, [i.e.] b. Zankī b. Abī Sa‘īd Qasīm al-Dawlah, [i.e.] b. Āqsunqur, known as al-Ḥāḡib, b. ‘Abd Allāh.

- 5 § 116 His grandfather Āqsunqur²¹⁰ was a Turkish military slave of the sultan Malik Šāh b. Alp Arslān al-Salḡūqī.²¹¹ He rose in the ranks until Tāḡ al-Dawlah Tutuš b. Arslān²¹² appointed him as his representative in Aleppo, when he took hold of it in the year 478 [1085–1086]. [But then] he rebelled against [Tutuš] and engaged into battle against him. [Āqsunqur] was killed
10 in Ġumādā I of the year 487 [May–June 1094]. His son ‘Imād al-Dīn Zankī

209 Al-Malik al-‘Ādil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (d. 569/1174) ruled from 541/1146 until his death over most of Northern Mesopotamia and Syria; the main components of these domains first had been brought together by his father Zankī’s military campaigning and they had then been divided among Maḥmūd and his Zankid brothers; from his appanage in Aleppo Maḥmūd succeeded to gradually extend his authority over family, friends, and foes in the region and thus to transform into the uncontested Muslim leader West of the Tigris; under the banner of *ḡihād* he was regularly engaged in warfare against Crusaders of the Levantine coast, and eventually he even obtained control over Egypt (N. Elisséeff, “Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zankī”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/nur-al-din-mahmud-b-zanki-SIM_5988).

210 Qasīm al-Dawlah Āqsunqur al-Ḥāḡib (d. 487/1094) was a *mamlūk* or military slave in Salḡūq service who eventually served as Salḡūq governor in Aleppo; he was executed in the course of a Salḡūq succession conflict; his son Zankī (d. 541/1146) followed in his footsteps (H.A.R. Gibb, “Āk Sunqur”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ak-sunkur-SIM_0451).

211 Ġalāl al-Dawlah Mu‘izz al-Dīn Abū l-Faḥ Malik Šāh b. Alp Arslān (b. 447/1055, r. 465–485/1072–1092) was the greatest of all Salḡūq rulers (*sultāns*), a Turkish dynasty different branches of which dominated the eastern Islamic world for most of the eleventh and a great part of the twelfth centuries (C.E. Bosworth, “Malik-Šhāh”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/malik-shah-COM_0651); Peacock (2015).

212 Tāḡ al-Dawlah Tutuš b. Arslān (458–488/1066–1095) was the brother of sultan Malik Šāh, who was given Syria as his Salḡūq appanage; he was killed in a prolonged conflict for the succession of his brother (C.E. Bosworth, “Tutush (I) b. Alp Arslan.” in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/tutush-i-b-alp-arслан-COM_1267).

الأمراء ببغداد، ثم ولي الموصل سنة {اثننتين} وعشرين وخمسمائة، وأخذ الرها. وقتل على جعبر في ربيع الآخر سنة إحدى وأربعين وخمسة مائة—وهو على فراشه.

وولد نور الدين محمود في سابع عشر شوال سنة إحدى عشرة وخمسمائة. فقام بعد قتل أبيه، وأخذ قلعة حلب وجد في قتال الفرنج—ويدهم حينئذ من الرها إلى السوادة من حدود أرض مصر—وافتح عدة حصون. وأظهر بحلب مذهب أهل السنة—وكان أهلها

١ الأمراء: "الأمراء" في الأصل. || اثننتين: "اثنين" في الأصل. || وخمسمائة: "وخمسمائة" في الأصل.
٢ مائة: "مايه" في الأصل. ٣ وخمسمائة: "وخمسمائة" في الأصل. ٤ حينئذ: "حينئذ" في الأصل.

became [one] of the amirs in Baghdad. Then he was appointed over Mosul²¹³ in the year 522 [1128]. He took Edessa [from the Crusaders].²¹⁴ He was killed near Ġa'bar²¹⁵ in Rabi' 11 of the year 541 [September–October 1146], while he was in his bed.

- 5 § 117 Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd was born on 17 Šawwāl of the year 511 [11 February 1118]. He rose [to power] after the murder of his father, taking the citadel of Aleppo [as his seat]. He made every effort in fighting the Franks,²¹⁶ who controlled at that time [an area stretching] from Edessa to al-Sawwādah,²¹⁷ near the frontier of the territory of Egypt. He conquered several fortresses.
 10 He made the path of the people of the Sunna dominant in Aleppo, [where most of] its people had belonged to the *Rāfiḍah*.²¹⁸ He abolished the [Shiite]

213 Mosul, or al-Mawṣil, is an old city in Northern Mesopotamia, or the Jazira, on the west bank of the Tigris, in present-day Iraq (P. Sluglett, “al-Mawṣil”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-mawasil-COM_0717).

214 Al-Ruhā, traditionally known as Edessa in European sources and today as Urfa (also Şanlıurfa) in the southeast of modern Turkey, is the Arabic name of a city with ancient roots in Eastern Anatolia; between 1098 and 1144, following the first crusade, it was the capital of the Latin “County of Edessa”, until its conquest and sack by Zankī; this event gave Zankī and his offspring the empowering aura of champions of Islam and holy war, but it also triggered the second crusade (E. Honigmann, C.E. Bosworth, “al-Ruhā”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-ruha-COM_0936).

215 Ġa'bar, better known as Qal'at Ġa'bar, is situated on the east bank of the upper Euphrates, to the west of the regional center of Raqqa; it is a fortified site on a hill, overlooking the river valley and controlling its passage since pre-Islamic times (see Tonghini [1998]).

216 “Franks” (*firanġ*, *ifranġ*) is the generic name used in medieval Muslim sources to refer to Latin Christians, including those coming or originating from Europe in the context of crusading and the set-up of Levantine crusader principalities (A. Mallett, “Franks”, in *EI*³ http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/franks-COM_27178).

217 Al-Sawwādah was the name of one of the stops on the postal route connecting Cairo with Gaza; it was the fourteenth station from Cairo, the second from Qaṭyā, and the third before al-Arish (see al-Qalqašandī, *Subḥ al-a'šā*, 14:378).

218 Rāfiḍah (‘those who reject’ [the first three caliphs]) is a term used in medieval Sunni Muslim sources to refer to Twelver-Šī'ah, mostly with an antagonistic and pejorative undertone (E. Kohlberg, “al-Rāfiḍa”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-rafida-SIM_6185).

من الراضية—، وأبطل الأذان بجي على خير العمل، وأنشأ بها المدارس على مذاهب الأئمة الأربعة.

ثم ملك دمشق بعدما أشرف الفرنج على أخذها، وضبط أمورها وأنشأ بها المدارس والمساجد والمارستان، وعمرها، وأبطل المكوس كلها ومنع المنكرات بأسرها وعاقب عليها.

واستنقذ من الفرنج عدة معاقل، وبني في أكثر ممالكه دار العدل وأحضرها القضاة والفقهاء وجلس فيها بنفسه لإزالة المظالم.

127^a

وبالغ في الإحسان لأهل مكة والمدينة، وبعث العساكر لحفظ المدينة النبوية، وأقطع أمير مكة إقطاعا، وأقطع أمراء العربان إقطاعات لحفظ الحاج فيما بين دمشق والحجاز، وأكل سور المدينة النبوية، واستخرج لها العين، فدُعي له بالحرمين على منبريهما.

١ الأئمة: "الائمة" في الأصل. ٥ وبني: "وبنا" في الأصل. || القضاة: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || والفقهاء: "الفقهاء" في الأصل. ٦ بنفسه: أضيفت هنا في الأصل جزاءة منفردة مكتوبة بخط المقرئ [١٢٦] ولكنها في المكان الغلطان في النص حتى يتم نص نور الدين (وتتم المخطوطة الأصلية، كما أشارت إليه كلمة الإشارة "لازاله" المضافة بخط النسخ تحت نص ص. ١٢٥ب) في ص. ١٢٧أ. ٨ أمراء: "امراء" في الأصل. || فيما... والحجاز: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح، يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "الحاج". ٩ بالحرمين: تصحيح في الأصل. || منبريهما: تصحيح في الأصل.

219 The call to prayer of Sunni Muslims consists of seven formulas; that of the Shiites differs in that it has an eighth formula: "Come to the best of works" (*ḥayya 'alā ḥayr al-'amal*) (Th.W. Juynboll, "Adhān", in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/adhan-SIM_0302).

call to prayer [that includes the phrase:] ‘Come to the best of works’,²¹⁹ and he erected there *madrasas* for the four schools of [Sunni] law of the four eponyms [Abū Ḥanīfah, Mālik b. Anas, al-Šāfi‘ī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal].

5 § 118 Then he gained possession of Damascus, after the Franks had been about to take it.²²⁰ He inspected its affairs, he erected *madrasas*, mosques and a hospital in it, and he developed [the city]. He abolished all the non-*šar‘ī* taxes,²²¹ he prevented all reprehensible things, and he had [people] punished for [committing] them.

10 § 119 He recovered several strongholds from the Franks. He built houses of justice in most ruling centres of his realm, and he had judges and jurists brought to them. He himself presided over sessions in them to remove injustices.

15 § 120 He went to the greatest lengths to perform good deeds for the people of Mecca and Medina, sending the armies to protect the Prophet’s Medina, assigning an *iqṭā‘*²²² to the ruler of Mecca, and assigning *iqṭā‘*s to the amirs of the Bedouin Arab tribes for guarding the pilgrimage [route] between Damascus and the Hijaz. He completed the wall of the Prophet’s Medina and he had a well dug for it. His name was proclaimed in the two august places, from their *minbars*.

220 Between 541/1147 and 549/1154, Damascus was a bone of contention in the competition for regional hegemony in southern Syria between the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Nūr al-Dīn, and local military and urban leaders; in the end, Nūr al-Dīn emerged victoriously as a result of successful military operations and shrewd diplomacy (Elisséeff, “Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zankī”, in *EI*²).

221 Non-*šar‘ī* taxes (*mukūs*) are levies on rural and urban goods and services that are not prescribed or condoned by Muslim scripture, and that therefore—despite their ubiquitousness and importance for the region’s political economies—tend to be negatively perceived.

222 An *iqṭā‘* (‘apportionment’) refers to a distinctive form of tributary remuneration in return for—mostly—military service; it was dominant in the Islamic world between the tenth and the eighteenth centuries and consisted basically of the assignment to its holder of the usufruct of designated rural estates; the actual nature and conditions of the assignment varied greatly according to time and place (Cl. Cahen, “Iḳṭā‘”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ikta-SIM_3522).

ويعث الأمير أسد الدين شيركوه بالغزّ إلى مصر، واستنقذ القاهرة من الفرنج بعد ما حصرها مُري لعنه الله بعساكر الفرنج أياما. ولم يبق إلا أن يملكها. فلما استولى شيركوه على القاهرة، دعي لنور الدين على منابر القاهرة ومصر.

ومات في حادي عشر شوال سنة تسع وستين وخمسمائة بدمشق، بعدما حج في سنة ست وخمسين وخمسمائة. وأكثر من فعل الخير بالحرمين وبالغ في الإحسان. ٥

١ واستنقذ: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٣ على ٢: "علي" في الأصل. ٤ وخمسمائة: "وخمسمائة" في الأصل. ٥ وخمسمائة: "وستمائه" في الأصل وهو خطأ واضح من السياق.

§121 He sent the amir Asad al-Dīn Šīrkūh²²³ with the Ġuzz [Turks]²²⁴ to Egypt and he recovered Cairo from the Franks, after [King] Amaury²²⁵—may God curse him—and the armies of the Franks had besieged it for some days and [after he] had almost taken control of it. When Šīrkūh took control over
5 Cairo, the name of Nūr al-Dīn was proclaimed from the *minbars* of Cairo and of Miṣr [al-Fuṣṭāṭ].²²⁶

§122 He died on 11 Šawwāl of the year 569 [15 May 1174] in Damascus, after he had performed the pilgrimage in the year 556 [1161]. He did a lot of good in the two august places and he went to the greatest lengths to perform
10 benevolent deeds.

223 Asad al-Dīn Šīrkūh (d. 564/1169), belonging to a Kurdish family from Armenia, was a military leader and agent of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, active in Syria and then in Egypt; he secured Egypt for Nūr al-Dīn in 564/1169, by rescuing Fāṭimid Egypt from an attack from the Kingdom of Jerusalem and by becoming the vizier of the last Fāṭimid caliph; he died shortly afterwards, leaving his role in Egypt as Fāṭimid vizier and agent of Nūr al-Dīn to his nephew Saladin (D.S. Richards, “Šīrkūh”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/shirkuh-SIM_6966).

224 Ġuzz is the form that is generally used by medieval Arabic authors to refer to the Turkish Oghuz people, a grouping of western Turkish tribes in Central Asia that entered the Muslim world through migration and conquest in the 5th/11th century, led by the Saljuq family; in later times, the term is also used to refer to Turkman mercenary troops (Cl. Cahen, “Ġhuzz: 1.-Muslim East”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ghuzz-COM_0240).

225 Murī is the Arabic name used to refer to one of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd’s most formidable opponents for hegemony in Syria and in Egypt, the king of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Amaury (or Amalric) I of Jerusalem (r. 1163–1174) (Elisséeff, “Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zankī”, in *EI*²).

226 Miṣr al-Fuṣṭāṭ is the name of the city that predated Cairo as the Muslim capital of Egypt, lying some kilometers to the south, along the Nile’s eastern shore; it first emerged at the time of the Arab conquest of Egypt, soon transformed into a thriving Mediterranean metropolis, and remained an important urban centre when Cairo took over its role as regional political and commercial center from the twelfth century onwards (J. Jomier, “al-Fuṣṭāṭ”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-fustat-SIM_2409; Raymond [2001], 7–30, 98–102, 162–164).

الملك المعظم شمس الدولة تُوْران شاه

ابن والد الملوك نجم الدين أيوب بن شادي بن مروان الكردي.

نشأ بدمشق وقدم إلى القاهرة مع أهله في سنة أربع وستين وخمسمائة، وقد تقلد أخوه الملك الناصر صلاح الدين يوسف بن أيوب وزارة مصر للخليفة العاضد لدين الله أبي محمد عبد الله بن الأمير يوسف بن الحافظ لدين الله. فكان من أعظم الأسباب في نصرته أخيه صلاح الدين يوم ٥

١ تُوْران: تصحيح في الأصل بخط النسخ. ٣ وخمسمائة: "وخمسمائة" في الأصل. ٥ من: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "فكان".

3. Al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam Šams al-Dawlah Tūrān Šāh²²⁷

Son of the father of kings, Nağm al-Dīn Ayyūb b. Šādī b. Marwān al-Kurdī.²²⁸

§ 123 He was raised in Damascus and in the year 564 [1169] he came to Cairo with his family, when his brother al-Malik al-Nāšir Šalāh al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb²²⁹ had been invested with the post of vizier of Egypt for the caliph al-‘Āḍid li-Dīn Allāh Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Amīr Yūsuf b. al-Ḥāfīz li-Dīn Allāh.²³⁰ [Tūrān Šāh] was one of the foremost reasons for the victory

227 Al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam Šams al-Dawlah Faḥr al-Dīn Tūrān Šāh b. Ayyūb (d. 576/1178) was the older brother of Šalāh al-Dīn (Saladin), who is mainly remembered for his conquest of the Yemen in 569/1173 and its addition to his Ayyūbid family’s territorial control over Syria and Egypt (G.R. Smith, “Tūrānshāh b. Ayyūb”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/turanshah-b-ayyub-COM_1258).

228 Nağm al-Dīn Ayyūb b. Šādī b. Marwān al-Kurdī was the eponym of the Ayyūbid dynasty, which was established after Šalāh al-Dīn’s taking control over Egypt in 564/1169, and which remained in power in Egypt and Syria into the later thirteenth century; Ayyūb (and his brother Šīrkūh) was of Kurdish origins, born in Armenia in the early twelfth century, and he served as a local agent and governor to various Saljuq and post-Saljuq rulers, including Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (A.-M. Eddé, “Ayyūbids”, in *ET*³ http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/ayyubids-COM_0164).

229 Al-Malik al-Nāšir Abū l-Muzaffar Šalāh al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb (b. 532/1138, r. 564–589/1169–1193), better known as Saladin, was the first ruler of the Ayyūbid dynasty; he began his career as an agent in Egypt of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd and as a vizier to the Fāṭimid caliph; shortly afterwards, he ended the Shiite Fāṭimid caliphate in Egypt, established Sunni Islam as its main creed, and transformed Egypt into a power-base and stronghold for his own family and followers; from Egypt he engaged in a successful project of the expansion of his authority over Syria, Yemen, and northern Mesopotamia, culminating in the 583/1187 conquest of the capital of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, which catapulted him to the eternal status of a Muslim hero; in the last years of his life, his territorial successes were somewhat mitigated by the impact of the Third Crusade (1189–1192) (D.S. Richards, “Šalāh al-Dīn”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/salah-al-din-SIM_6517; Eddé, “Ayyūbids”, in *ET*³; Lyons & Jackson [1982]; Mouton [2001]; Eddé [2008]).

230 Al-‘Āḍid li-Dīn Allāh, regnal title of Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. al-Ḥāfīz li-Dīn Allāh (b. 546/1151, r. 555–567/1160–1171), was the fourteenth and last Fāṭimid caliph of Egypt; upon his death (at the age of twenty), Saladin formally restored the authority of the ‘Abbāsīd caliph in Cairo (M.J. Salih, “al-‘Āḍid li-Dīn Allāh”, in *ET*³ http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/al-adid-li-din-allah-COM_22734).

وقعة السودان حتى هزمهم وأفناهم بالسيف. فأقطعه قوص وأسوان وعيذاب، وعبرتها يومئذ مائتا ألف دينار وستة وستون ألف دينار مصرية في كل سنة.

ثم {غزا} النوبة في سنة ثمان وستين، وأخذ قلعة إبريم، وعاد غانما.

١ وقعة: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || وعبرتها: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || يومئذ: "يومئذ" في الأصل. || مائتا: "مائتا" في الأصل. ٣ غزا: "غزا" في الأصل.

of his brother Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn on the day of the confrontation with the blacks,²³¹ in which he managed to defeat them and to wipe them out with the sword. [Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn] assigned Qus,²³² Aswan²³³, and Aydhab²³⁴ as an *iqṭā'* to him, its estimated income at that time being 266,000 Egyptian *dīnārs* annually.

§ 124 Then he invaded Nubia²³⁵ in the year [5]68 [1172–1173]. He took Qal'at Ibrīm²³⁶ and returned plundering.

231 This refers to a critical episode in the beginning of Saladin's take-over of power from the Fāṭimids, in 564/1169, when the Sudanese regiments of the Fāṭimid caliphate revolted and Tūrān Ṣāh was reported to have taken charge in subduing the revolt and destroying the regiments after two days of fighting (Eddé, "Ayyūbids," in *ET*³; Lyons & Jackson [1982]: 34–36).

232 The ancient town of Qus (Qūṣ) in Upper Egypt, on the Nile's east bank, became a strategic local site in late antiquity, and developed into an important regional centre of trade, agriculture, and government especially from the fourth/tenth century onwards, reaching its zenith in the eighth/fourteenth century (Garcin [2005]; Id., "Kūṣ," in *ET*², http://brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/Hims-SIM_4555).

233 The town of Aswan (Uswān) in the south of Egypt, on the Nile's east bank, grew into an important regional center of Muslim government and trade from the first/seventh century onwards, controlling Egypt's connections with Nubia and operating as a stop on the pilgrim routes; it fell in decay in the later eighth/fourteenth century (J.-C. Garcin & M. Tuschere, "Uswān," in *ET*², http://brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/uswan-COM_1314).

234 Aydhab (ʿAydāb) was a port town on the African coast of the Red Sea, which was used by pilgrims to Mecca and as a central hub in the commercial networks that linked Yemen to Egypt; the port and its town flourished in particular between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, but they were both destroyed in the early fifteenth century (H.A.R. Gibb, "Aydḥāb," in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/aydhab-SIM_0900).

235 Nubia, or al-Nūbah in medieval Arabic sources, refers to the land and its people south of Egypt, beyond Aswan and the first cataract of the Nile and into the Land of the Blacks (al-Sūdān) ("Nūba," in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/nuba-COM_0870).

236 Qal'at Ibrīm, better known as Qaṣr Ibrīm, is an ancient fortified site on the Nile's east bank between the first and second Cataract, in the frontier region between Muslim Egypt and the Nubian Christian kingdoms in the south (S. Munro-Hay, "al-Marīs," in *ET*², http://brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/almaris-SIM_4967).

ثم سار إلى بلاد اليمن في سنة تسع وستين، وعلى مُلك زيد أبو الحسن علي بن مهدي الملقب عبد النبي. وقدم مكة معتمراً، وتوجه إلى زيد واستولى على ممالك اليمن، وتلقب بالملك المعظم وخطب لنفسه بعد الخليفة العباسي.

ثم توجه في سنة إحدى وسبعين إلى الشام، فللكه أخوه صلاح الدين دمشق في ربيع الأول سنة اثنتين وسبعين. ٥

ثم جهزه إلى القاهرة في ذي القعدة سنة أربع وسبعين، وأنعم عليه بالإسكندرية، فأقام بها إلى أن مات هناك أول صفر سنة ست وسبعين وخمسمائة. فوجد عليه مبلغ مائتي ألف دينار مصرية دينا قضاها عنه السلطان صلاح الدين، وسبب هذا الدين كثرة جوده وسعة عطائه.

ومن غريب ما يحكى عنه أن الأديب الفاضل مهذب الدين أبا طالب محمد بن علي — ابن الخيمي — قال: "رأيت في النوم المعظم شمس الدولة | توران شاه، وقد مدحته وهو في القبر ميت، فلف كفنه ١٠ ورماه وأنشدني: [البسيط]

٤ ثم: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "العباسي". || إحدى: "أحدي" في الأصل. ٧ وخمسمائة: "وخمسمائة" في الأصل. || مائتي: "مائتي" في الأصل. ٨ قضاها: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || عطائه: "عطائه" في الأصل. ٩ ابن: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

§125 Then he went to the land of Yemen, in the year [5]69 [1173–1174], when Zabīd²³⁷ was controlled by Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Mahdī,²³⁸ whose honorific was ‘Abd al-Nabī. He came to Mecca and performed the lesser pilgrimage, and he moved on to Zabīd and took control of the territories of Yemen. He
5 assumed the honorific al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam and had the Friday sermon delivered in his own name, after [that of] the ‘Abbāsīd caliph.

§126 Then, in the year [5]71 [1175–1176], he travelled to Syria. His brother Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn put him in charge of Damascus in Rabī‘ 1 of the year [5]72 [September 1176].

10 §127 Then [Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn] sent him to Cairo, in Dū l-Qa‘dah of the year [5]74 [April 1179], and he granted him Alexandria [as an *iqṭā’*?]. He lived in [Alexandria] until he died there, on the first of Ṣafar of the year 576 [27 June 1180]. He was found to be in debt for an amount of 200,000 Egyptian *dīnārs* and the sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn settled it in his stead. The reason for
15 this debt was the wealth of his generosity and the wide extent of his benevolence.

§128 A curious thing that is told about him is that the excellent man of letters Muḥaḍḍab al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Ibn al-Ḥaymī²³⁹ said:
20 “I saw al-Mu‘azzam Ṣams al-Dawlah Tūrān Ṣāḥ in a dream. I had written a eulogy to him, while he was [lying] dead in his grave; he took off his burial shroud and threw it [at me], reciting [the following] verses to me: [*Basīṭ* meter]

237 The town of Zabīd, in the Tihāmah plain on Yemen’s Red Sea coast, was founded in 204/820 by the ‘Abbāsīd representative in the region, upon which it remained a regional seat of government, a prosperous centre of commerce, and an important station for pilgrims travelling to Mecca until the late ninth/fifteenth century (N. Sadek, “Zabīd,” in *ET*², http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/zabid-COM_1372).

238 Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Mahdī, known as ‘Abd al-Nabī, was a ruler of *Ḥārīḡī* reputation from the Mahdīd dynasty of Zabīd, who pursued a violent policy of expansion in the Yemen, against other local rulers, that may actually have triggered the Ayyūbid invasion by Tūrān Ṣāḥ; he was arrested and executed by the Ayyūbids in 571/1176 (G.R. Smith, “Mahdīds”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/mahdids-COM_0620).

239 Muḥaḍḍab al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Ibn al-Ḥaymī (549–642/1155–1245) was a well-known *littérateur* and linguist from Cairo (Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt al-a’yān*, 2:342).

لا تستقلن معروفًا سمحت به ميتا وأمسييت منه عاريا بدني
 ولا تظنن جودي شأنه بخل من بعد بذلي ملك الشام واليمن
 إني خرجت من الدنيا وليس معي من كل ما ملكت كفي سوى كفي

وإليه ينسب درب شمس الدولة بالقاهرة.

٥ وقد ذكرت ترجمته مبسوطاً في كتاب المواعظ والاعتبارات بذكر الخطط والآثار وفي كتاب التاريخ الكبير المقفى لمصر؛^{٥٤}

١ تستقلن : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || وأمسييت : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || منه : ناقصة في الأصل ، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر ، على نفس السطر + صح ؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "أمسييت". ٥ ترجمته : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || والاعتبارات : كذا في الأصل.

٥٤ راجع المقرئ ، الخطط ، ج. ٣ ، ص. ١٠٩-١١١ ؛ وترجمة شمس الدولة توران شاه مفقودة في المخطوطات المعروفة وجودها للتاريخ الكبير المقفى للمقرئ. راجع المقفى ، ج. ٨.

§ 129 You should really not underestimate a recompense which I grant while being dead and of which I have deprived my body.

You should really not consider my generosity as a case of greed, after my renunciation of the rule of Šām and of Yemen.

5 Because I left from the world only taking with me from all that I possessed in abundance my burial shroud!”

§ 130 The Darb Šams al-Dawlah²⁴⁰ in Cairo was named after him.

§ 131 I [= al-Maqrīzī] reported his biography in detail in the book *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibārāt bi-dīkr al-ḥiṭaṭ wa-l-āṭār* [Admonitions and Reflections on the
10 Quarters and Monuments (in Fuṣṭāṭ and Cairo)] and in the book *al-Tārīḥ al-kabīr al-muqaffā li-Miṣr* [The Great History of Egypt in Continuation].²⁴¹

240 For the neighbourhood of Darb Šams al-Dawlah in late medieval Cairo, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, 3:108–111.

241 See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, 3:109–111; Id., *al-Muqaffā* (but the entry for Tūrān Šāh does not seem to have survived).

الملك المعظم شرف الدين أبو الفتح عيسى

ابن الملك العادل سيف الدين أبي بكر محمد بن نجم الدين أيوب بن شادي بن مروان الكردي الأيوبي، الفقيه الحنفي النحوي الأديب الشاعر.

ولد بدمشق في خامس رجب سنة ست وخمسين وخمسة مائة. وتفقه على مذهب الإمام أبي حنيفة بالشيخ {جمال الدين} أبي المحامد محمود بن أحمد الحَصِيرِي البخاري الحنفي، وأخذ العربية عن التاج أبي اليمن زيد بن الحسن الكندي، وكان يسعى إلى منزليهما على قدميه لأخذه العلم عنهما، وأفرط في العصبية لمذهب الحنفية.

٤ وخمسة مائة: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ (”وخمسة مائة“). ٥ جمال الدين: ”جمال الدين“ في الأصل.

٦ منزليهما: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

4. Al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam Šaraf al-Dīn Abū l-Faḥ Ḳisā²⁴²

§ 132 [He is] the son of al-Malik al-‘Ādil Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Nağm al-Dīn Ayyūb b. Šādī b. Marwān al-Kurdī l-Ayyūbī;²⁴³ [he was] a Ḥanafī jurispudent, a grammarian, a man of letters, and a poet.

- 5 § 133 He was born in Damascus on 5 Rajab of the year 556 [30 June 1161]. He was trained in the jurisprudence of the rite of the *imām* Abū Ḥanifāh by the *šayḥ* Ğamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Maḥāmid Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-Ḥašīrī l-Buḥārī l-Ḥanafī.²⁴⁴ He read Arabic with al-Tāğ Abū l-Yumn Zayd b. al-Ḥasan al-Kindī.²⁴⁵ He used to hurry walking to the places where they live, so as to
10 obtain knowledge from them. He was quite excessive in his partisanship of the Ḥanafī rite.

242 Al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam Ḳisā (b. 576/1180, r. 594–624/1198–1227) was an Ayyūbid ruler of Damascus, with a substantial role in and impact on the organisation of the Ayyūbid dynastic political formation dominating Egypt, Syria, Armenia, and northern Mesopotamia in the first half of the 7th/13th century; he is also remembered as an active jurispudent and staunch supporter of the Ḥanafī school of law (R.S. Humphreys, “al-Mu‘azzam”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-muazzam-SIM_5288).

243 Al-Malik al-‘Ādil Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr (b. 540/1145, r. 596–615/1200–1218), known in Western sources as Saphadin, was a younger brother of Saladin, who emerged victoriously from the long power struggle within the Ayyūbid family that followed Saladin’s death; with his sons performing his power and authority as royal princes in Egypt, Syria, northern Mesopotamia, and Armenia, and he himself moving from place to place as circumstances required, he firmly controlled the Ayyūbid territories, thus managing to consolidate his brother’s Ayyūbid legacy; al-‘Ādil died while preparing for the defense of Egypt against the forces of the Fifth Crusade (H.A.R. Gibb, “al-‘Ādil”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-adil-SIM_0312).

244 Ğamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-Ḥašīrī (546–636/1151–1239) was an eminent Ḥanafī scholar from Bukhara, who spent a large part of his life teaching in Damascus (Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt al-a‘yān*, 4:259).

245 Al-Tāğ (or Tāğ al-Dīn) Abū l-Yumn Zayd b. al-Ḥasan al-Kindī (520–613/1126–1217) was a *littérateur* and scholar from Baghdad, who came to Syria in 563/1168, entered the service of the Ayyūbid family, and eventually settled down in Damascus as a scholar of widespread reputation (Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt al-a‘yān*, 2:339–342).

وشرح الجامع الكبير في الفقه وصنف السهم المصيب في الرد على الحافظ أبي بكر الخطيب. ورؤي بخطه على كتاب سيبويه: إنني قطعته حفظاً من خاطري، وعلى كتاب النكت في الفقه على مذهب أبي حنيفة أنه: قطعته حفظاً—وهو في مجلدين.

واعتنى بالعلم وأهله عناية تامة، وسمع الحديث من حنبل وعمربن طبرزد وغيره وحدث.

§134 He wrote a comment on *al-Ġāmi‘ al-kabīr fī l-fiqh* [The Great Compilation in Jurisprudence]²⁴⁶ and he composed *al-Sahm al-muṣīb fī l-radd ‘alā l-ḥāfiẓ Abī Bakr al-Ḥaṭīb* [The Arrow that Hits Its Target Responding to the ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr al-Ḥaṭīb].²⁴⁷ [The following] was seen [to have been written] in his handwriting on [a copy of] the *Kitāb Sibawayhi* [The Book of Sibawayhi]:²⁴⁸ “I have entirely absorbed it, learning it by heart with my mind”, and on [a copy of] the *Kitāb al-Nukat fī l-fiqh ‘alā madhhab Abī Ḥanīfah* [The Book of Anecdotes Concerning the Jurisprudence Following the Rite of Abū Ḥanīfah]:²⁴⁹ “I have entirely absorbed it, learning it by heart”—this one consists of two volumes.

§135 He was deeply concerned for knowledge and for its people. He studied *ḥadīth* with Ḥanbal,²⁵⁰ ‘Umar b. Ṭabarzad,²⁵¹ and others, and he transmitted *ḥadīth*.

246 *Al-Ġāmi‘ al-kabīr* is a work of jurisprudence attributed to a student of Abū Ḥanīfah, al-Šaybānī (d. 189/805); it is considered a cornerstone for the thought and practice of the Ḥanafī school (E. Chaumont, “al-Šhaybānī”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-shaybani-COM_1051).

247 *Al-Sahm al-muṣīb fī l-radd ‘alā l-Ḥaṭīb* is a polemical work written by al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsá to counter the partial biography of Abū Ḥanīfah by the Šāfi‘ī scholar al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī (d. 463/1071), in his voluminous *Tārīḫ Baġdād* (*GAL* s. 1:563).

248 *Kitāb Sibawayhi* is one of the most important, founding texts of the Arabic grammatical tradition, composed by the grammarian Sibawayhi (d. c. 180/796) (M.G. Carter, “Sibawayhi”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/sibawayhi-COM_1068).

249 *Kitāb al-Nukat fī l-fiqh ‘alā madhhab Abī Ḥanīfah* probably refers to al-Šaybānī’s *Nukat al-Ġāmi‘ al-kabīr* (also known as *Išārāt al-Ġāmi‘ al-kabīr*) (*GAL* s. 1:289) (see fn. 246).

250 Abū ‘Alī Ḥanbal b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Faraġ b. Sa‘ādah was a *ḥadīth* transmitter, of the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in particular, who lived and worked in Iraq and Syria and who died in 604/1207 (al-Ḍahabī, *Sīyar*, 21:431–433).

251 Abū Ḥaḥṣ ‘Umar b. Abī Bakr Muḥammad b. Ṭabarzad (actually: Ṭabarzaḍ) al-Baġdādī l-Dāraquzī (516–607/1123–1210) was a renowned *ḥadīth* scholar from Baghdad, who visited Syria to transmit *ḥadīth* there towards the end of his life (Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt al-a’yān*, 3:452–453).

وأعطاه أبوه الملك العادل دمشق وجعل في ولايته غزة والكرك والشوبك، وذلك سنة ست وتسعين وخمسمائة، فلم يزل حتى مات بدمشق آخر ذي القعدة سنة أربع وعشرين وستمائة.

وحج، فخرج من دمشق في حادي عشر ذي القعدة سنة إحدى عشرة وستمائة على الهجن، وسار على طريق تبوك، وبني البركة وعدة مصانع، وتصدق على أهل الحرمين بصدقات جزيلة.

وقدم منها إلى القاهرة وافدى على أبيه ومعه الشريف سالم بن قاسم—أمير المدينة—شافعا فيه، فأكرمه الملك العادل وبعث معه عسكريا إلى المدينة، وعاد المعظم إلى دمشق.

٢ وخمسمائة: "وخمسمائة" في الأصل. || وستمائة: "وستمايه" في الأصل. ٣ وستمائة: "وستمايه" في الأصل.
 ٥ وافدى: "وأفدا" في الأصل ويبدو أن المقرئ كسحط ياء وحولها إلى ألف. ٦ الملك: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || عسكريا: الألف من إضافة المقرئ. || المعظم: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

252 The placement of the ancient Mediterranean town of Gaza in southern Palestine, on the junction of overland roads and routes that connect Egypt, Syria, and the Arabian peninsula, and amidst rich agricultural lands, has defined its destiny as a major commercial centre, as a bone of political contention, and as a meeting place for learning and scholarship, since immemorial times; integrated in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem throughout the sixth/twelfth century, it remained an object of competition between Ayyubid and 'Frankish' leaders from the 560s/1170s until 642/1244 (J. Büssow, "Gaza", in *ET*³).

§136 His father al-Malik al-ʿĀdil gave him Damascus [to rule] and he put Gaza,²⁵² Karak²⁵³, and Shawbak²⁵⁴ under his authority. That happened in the year 596 [1200]. [This] did not change until he died in Damascus by the end of Dū l-Qaʿdah of the year 624 [November 1227].

5 §137 He went on pilgrimage, leaving from Damascus on camels on 11 Dū l-Qaʿdah of the year 611 [14 March 1215]. He followed the Tabūk²⁵⁵ road. He constructed the pond and several installations. He gave abundant alms to the people of the two august places.

10 §138 From there, he came to Cairo, coming to see his father, and with him there was the Sharif Sālim b. Qāsim, the amir of Medina,²⁵⁶ whom he interceded for. Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil honoured him and sent an army with him to Medina. Al-Muʿazzam returned to Damascus.

253 Karak (al-Karak) is the name of another stronghold with adjacent settlement in Transjordan, east of the Dead Sea, with ancient origins but appearing in Muslim sources only from the mid-twelfth century onwards, in a Crusader context; its strategic location derived from its commanding the route to Egypt as well as the pilgrimage route from Damascus; it was taken by Saladin's brother, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, in 584/1188, after which it also became an important site and occasional bone of contention for the Ayyūbid dynasty (D. Sourdel, "al-Karak", in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-karak-SIM_3906; Milwright [2008]).

254 Shawbak (al-Šawbak) is the name of a fortified place with adjacent settlement, originally constructed by the Crusaders (as Montréal), in Transjordan, on a strategic position commanding the route to Egypt; it was conquered by Saladin in 585/1189, after which it became an important site and an occasional bone of contention for the Ayyūbid dynasty (M.A. Bakhit, "al-Šhawbak", in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-shawba-SIM_6872).

255 Tabūk is an ancient town in northwestern Arabia that was an important station of the Syrian *ḥaǧǧ* route (M.A. al-Bakhit, "Tabūk", in *EI*², http://brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/tabuk-SIM_7267).

256 The Sharif Sālim b. Qāsim (d. 612/1215) was *amīr* of Medina after his father Qāsim b. Muḥannā b. al-Ḥusayn; they were members of the Ḥusaynid dynasty that had founded the emirate of Medina early in the last third of the tenth century, legitimating their rule by successfully claiming direct descent from the Prophet's grandson al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī; Sālim is especially remembered for his successful resistance, with Ayyūbid assistance (referred to in this passage), of the attempts by the Sharif of Mecca to incorporate Medina into his domains (Mortel [1991]: 69–71).

وقد ذكرت ترجمته مستوفاة في التاريخ الكبير المقفى لمصر. ٥٥

١ ذكرت: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

٥٥ ترجمة المعظم عيسى مفقودة في المخطوطات المعروفة وجودها للتاريخ الكبير المقفى للمقرئ. راجع

المقفى، ج. ٨.

§139 I [al-Maqrīzī] reported his biography in detail in *al-Tārīḫ al-kabīr al-muqaffá li-Miṣr* [The Great History of Egypt in Continuation].²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá* (but the entry for al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsá does not seem to have survived).

الملك المسعود صلاح الدين أبو المظفر يوسف—ويقال له أطسرا|

ويقال أقسيس—بن السلطان الملك الكامل ناصر الدين أبي المظفر محمد بن السلطان الملك العادل سيف الدين أبي بكر محمد بن والد الملوك نجم الدين أبي الشكر أيوب بن شادي بن مروان الكردي الأيوبي.

٥ ولد في ربيع الآخر سنة سبع وتسعين وخمسمائة، وولاه أبوه مملكة اليمن في أيام جده سنة إحدى عشرة وستمائة. فسار إليها في ألف فارس، ومن الجاندارية والرماة خمسمائة وقدم مكة وتوجه منها إلى زبيد، وملكها واستولى على تهامة وتعزّ وصنعاء وسائر ممالك اليمن.

وحج في سنة تسع عشرة وستمائة، وقاتل أمير مكة الشريف حسن بن قتادة الحسيني، وهزمه ونهب مكة. فلما كان يوم عرفة منع أعلام الخليفة من التقدّم على أعلام أبيه. وأظهر من الجرأة على

٣ أبي: تصحيح في الأصل بخط النسخ. ٥ وخمسمائة: "وخمسمائة" في الأصل. ٦ وستمائة: "وستمائه" في الأصل. || خمسمائة: "خمسمائة" في الأصل. ٧ وصنعاء: "صنعا" في الأصل. || وسائر: "وساير" في الأصل. ٨ وستمائة: "وستمائه" في الأصل. ٩ مكة: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

5. **Al-Malik al-Mas‘ūd Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Abū l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf,**²⁵⁸ known as **Aṭsiz**

§140 [He was also] known as Aqṣīs; [he was] the son of the sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāṣir al-Dīn Abū l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad,²⁵⁹ [who was] the son of the sultan al-Malik al-‘Ādil Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad, [who was] the son of the father of kings, Nağm al-Dīn Abū l-Šukr Ayyūb b. Šādī b. Marwān al-Kurdī l-Ayyūbī.

§141 He was born in Rabī‘ 11 of the year 597 [January 1201]. In the year 611 [1214–1215], in the days of his grandfather [al-Malik al-‘Ādil], his father appointed him over the territory of Yemen. He went there amidst 1,000 horsemen and 500 [men] from the armour bearers and the bowmen. He came to Mecca and from there he proceeded to Zabīd. He occupied it, and he acquired control over Tihama, Ta‘izz, Sanaa and all the territories of Yemen.

§142 He performed the pilgrimage in the year 619 [1223]. He fought the amir of Mecca, the Sharif Ḥasan b. Qatādah al-Ḥasanī.²⁶⁰ He overcame him and plundered Mecca. When it was the Day of [the standing at] ‘Arafah, he prevented the standards of the caliph from preceding his father’s standards. He publicly committed gravely sinful deeds of insolence towards God, among

258 Al-Malik al-Mas‘ūd Yūsuf (d. 626/1229) was the son of al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad, the Ayyūbid ruler of Egypt, and the grandson of the Ayyūbid ruler al-Malik al-‘Ādil; he is mostly remembered for his rule over Yemen in his father’s name, between 612/1215 and 626/1229 (Eddé, “Ayyūbids”, in *ET*³).

259 Al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad (b. 573/1177, r. 604–635/1207–1238) was the eldest son of Saladin’s brother al-Malik al-‘Ādil, who was given Egypt to rule by his father, and who managed after his father’s death in 615/1218 and after a prolonged struggle with his brothers to have his authority acknowledged over the entire Ayyūbid polity of Egypt, Syria, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Yemen (H.L. Gottschalk, “al-Kāmil”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/sibawayhi-COM_1068).

260 Ḥasan b. Qatādah al-Ḥasanī was ruler or amir of Mecca after his father Qatādah b. Idrīs (r. 597–619/1201–1221), who according to some reports was one of the greatest of the long line of Ḥasanid Sharifs of Mecca (see also fn. 201); Ḥasan took power by killing his father in 618/1221, ushering in a period of internecine warfare that culminated in the Ayyūbid occupation of Mecca in 620/1223 (referred to here) and the loss of Ḥasanid effective control until 652/1254 (A.S. Wensinck, S. Zakkar, “Ḥatāda b. Idrīs”, in *ET*² [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/katada-b-idris-SIM_4015; Mortel \[1987\]: 461](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/katada-b-idris-SIM_4015; Mortel [1987]: 461)).

الله قبائح منها أنه كان يصعد أعلى زمزم فيرمي حمام الحرم بالبندق، ويستخف بجُرمة الكعبة، وأكثر من سفك الدماء. وكان إذا نام في داره بالمسعى ضربت الجاندارية الطائمين بالمسعى بأطراف السيوف لئلا يشوشوا عليه وهو في نوم من شدة سكره بالخمر.

ثم عاد إلى اليمن، وخرج منها بعدما استخلف عليها نور الدين عمر بن علي بن رسول الكردي في سنة اثنتين وعشرين، وقدم القاهرة بهدايا جليلة، ونزل بالقصر وأقام لأبيه حرمة وافرة. تخافه الأمراء والأجناد، وخشوا سطوته.

ثم توجه إلى اليمن بعدما أتاه التشریف الخليلي من بغداد، فأقام بها إلى أن بلغه أن أباه أخذ دمشق. فتاق إلى أخذها عوضا عن اليمن، وخرج بأمواله وأثقاله. فمات بمكة في ثالث عشر جمادى الأولى سنة ست وعشرين وستمائة. فدفن بالمعلا. وقام بأمر اليمن بعده نائبه عمر بن علي بن رسول.

١ قبائح: "قبائح" في الأصل. || أعلى: "أعلا" في الأصل. ٢ الدماء: "الدماء" في الأصل. || كان: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "الدماء" و. ٥ الأمراء: "الامراء" في الأصل. ٩ وستمائة: "وسمائه" في الأصل. || نائبه: "نايه" في الأصل.

which [the following]: he took the habit of hunting from atop Zamzam, shooting bullets at the pigeons of the sacred mosque, and thus not taking the sacrosanctity of the Ka'bah seriously and causing a lot of bloodshed; it used to be so that when he was asleep in his house at the time of the ritual
 5 of running [between al-Şafā and al-Marwah], the armour bearers would hit the two groups at the running course with the tips of their swords to make them not disturb him while he was asleep [and recovering from] his heavy drunkenness from wine.

§143 Then he returned to Yemen. In the year [6]22 [1225] he left from it,
 10 leaving Nūr al-Dīn 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Rasūl al-Kurdī²⁶¹ as his agent to govern it. He came to Cairo with fine presents and he settled down in the palace. Due to his father he obtained lofty status, the amirs and soldiers fearing him and dreading his influence.

§144 When there came to him from Baghdad the caliphal robe of honour,
 15 he moved back to Yemen. He remained there until he was informed that his father had taken Damascus and he wished to take it instead of Yemen. He left with his possessions and goods, but he died [on his way North,] in Mecca, on 13 Ğumādā 1 of the year 626 [9 April 1229]. He was buried at al-Ma'lāh.²⁶² After him, Yemen was ruled by his representative 'Umar b. 'Alī b.
 20 Rasūl.

261 Al-Malik al-Manşūr 'Umar b. 'Alī (r. 626–647/1229–1249) started as an Ayyūbid deputy in Yemen, but soon transformed into an independent ruler and became the eponymous founder of the Sunni Rasūlid dynasty of Yemen (632–858/1235–1454) (G.R. Smith, “Rasūlids”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/rasulids-COM_0912). See Vallet (2010).

262 Al-Ma'lāh is the name of the place that houses the main historical graveyard of Mecca, the Ma'lāh cemetery, also known as the cemetery of al-Ḥaġūn, north of the *Ḥaram*; several members of the Prophet's family as well as prominent Companions and early Muslims are buried here (S. Ory, “Maḡbara: 1. In the central Arab lands”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/makbara-COM_0636; R.B. Winder, “Makka: 3. The Modern City”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/makka-COM_0638).

وقد استوفيت أخباره في تاريخ مصر المقفى.^{٥٦}

وإليه تُنسب الدراهم السعودية بمكة.

^{٥٦}ترجمة الملك المسعود يوسف مفقودة في المخطوطات المعروفة وجودها لكتاب المقف للمقرئزي. راجع

المقفى، ج. ٨.

§145 I have recorded his stories in much more detail in the *Tārīḫ Miṣr al-muqaffá* [The History of Egypt in Continuation].²⁶³

§146 The Mas'ūdī *dirhams*²⁶⁴ in Mecca are named after him.

263 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá* (but the entry for al-Mas'ūd Yūsuf does not seem to have survived).

264 These Mas'ūdī *dirhams*, struck by order of al-Malik al-Mas'ūd, marked an important stage in the monetary history of the Hijaz, to the extent that they continued to provide the standard for the striking of new *dirhams* in the area into the sixteenth century (Meloy [2010b]).

الملك المنصور نور الدين عمر

ابن علي بن رسول الكردي

ملك اليمن بعد موت الملك المسعود، وبعث الملك الكامل هدية جليلة وقال: "أنا نائب السلطان على البلاد." فأقره عليها.

٥ وعمر هذا أول من ملك اليمن من بني رسول.

وبويع له بها سنة تسع وعشرين، وخطب له بمكة فيها أيضا، ودامت مملكته إلى أن قتل في سنة سبع وأربعين وستمائة. وملك بعده ابنه الملك المظفر شمس الدين يوسف.

128^b

وحج نور الدين هذا في سنة إحدى وثلاثين وستمائة على النجب.

وبعث في سنة {اثنتين} وثلاثين إلى الكعبة قناديل من ذهب وفضة.

١٠ وحج أيضا في سنة تسع وثلاثين، وأبطل المكوس والجنایات من مكة، وكتب ذلك تجاه الحجر الأسود. فاستمر ذلك حتى إزالة ابن المسيب لما ولي مكة سنة ست وأربعين وستمائة، وأعاد المكوس والجنایات، وصام شهر رمضان بمكة. ٥٧

٣ نائب: "نائب" في الأصل. ٧ وستمائة: "وسمائه" في الأصل. ٨ وستمائة: "وسمائه" في الأصل.

٩ اثنتين: "ثنى" في الأصل. ١١ ابن: الألف من إضافة المقريري. || وستمائة: "وسمائه" في الأصل.

٥٧ راجع هذا الخبر على شكل مساو تماما في الفاسي، شفاء الغرام، ج. ٢، ص. ٢٨٦.

6. Al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nūr al-Dīn ‘Umar

[He was] the son of ‘Alī b. Rasūl al-Kurdi.

§147 After the death of al-Malik al-Mas‘ūd he acquired control over Yemen. He sent a precious gift to al-Malik al-Kāmil [in Egypt] and he said: “I am the representative of the sultan over the lands.” [Al-Malik al-Kāmil] confirmed his [authority] over it.

§148 This ‘Umar is the first of those who were in control of Yemen from the Rasūlids.

§149 The oath of allegiance was sworn to him there in the year [6]29 [1232]. In [this year], the sermon in Mecca was also said in his name. His reign continued until he was killed in the year 647 [1249]. His son al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Šams al-Dīn Yūsuf²⁶⁵ ruled after him.

§150 This Nūr al-Dīn performed the pilgrimage in the year 631 [1234], [travelling there] on especially bred she-camels.

§151 In the year [6]32 [1235] he sent lamps made from gold and silver to the Ka‘bah.

§152 He also performed the pilgrimage in the year [6]39 [1242]. He abolished the non-*shar‘ī* taxes and [removed other] illegal customs from Mecca. He had that written down [on a slab] opposite the [Ka‘bah’s] black stone; that [writing] remained until Ibn al-Musayyab²⁶⁶ had it removed when he took control over Mecca in the year 646 [1248] and [when] he reinstated the non-*shar‘ī* taxes and [other] illegal customs. [Nūr al-Dīn] performed the ritual of fasting during the month of Ramaḍān in Mecca.

265 Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf (r. 647–694/1249–1295) was the second Rasūlid ruler of Yemen, who reaped the fruits of his father’s territorial and political achievements and whose longstanding and stable rule represents a high point in Rasūlid history (Smith, “Rasūlids”, in *ET*²).

266 Aḥmad b. al-Musayyab al-Yamanī was appointed as local representative in Mecca by Nūr al-Dīn ‘Umar in 646/1249, but he was taken prisoner later in the same year by the Ḥasanid Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Qatādah, who thus resumed full control over Mecca for the Banū Ḥasan (al-Fāsī, *Šifā’ al-ġarām*, 2:240; Mortel [1985]: 50).

واتفق في سنة ثلث وأربعين وستمائة—وقيل أربع وأربعين—أن هاجت ريح شديدة مزقت كسوة الكعبة وألقتها، وبقيت الكعبة عارية. فأراد عمر بن رسول أن يكسوها، فامتنع من ذلك شيخ الحرم عفيف الدين منصور بن منعة البغدادي، وقال: "لا يكون ذلك إلا من الديوان"—يعني الخليفة—، وكساها ثيابا من قطن مصبوغة بالسواد، وركب عليها الطرز القديمة.^{٥٨}

١ وستمائة: "وسمائه" في الأصل.

^{٥٨} راجع هذا الخبر على شكل مساو تقريبا في الفاسي، شفاء الغرام، ج. ١، ص. ١٦٨.

§153 It so happened in the year 643 [1246]—it was said [6]44 [1247]—that a strong wind was stirred up and tore apart the *kiswah* of the Ka‘bah, throwing it off, the Ka‘bah remaining uncovered. ‘Umar b. Rasūl wanted to cover it [with a new *kiswah*]. But the *šayḥ al-ḥaram* ‘Afif al-Dīn Maṣṣūr b. Maṣṣah al-Baḡdādī²⁶⁷ prevented him from doing that, saying: “That can only come from the *dīwān*”, that is, [from] the caliph. So [Ibn Maṣṣah] had it covered with a cloth made from cotton dyed in black, on which he mounted the old embroidered inscription bands.

267 ‘Afif al-Dīn Maṣṣūr b. Maṣṣah al-Baḡdādī was supervisor of the Mecca sanctuary (*šayḥ al-ḥaram*) in the mid-thirteenth/mid-seventh century; not much is known about him, apart from the fact that after his death (at an unknown date) he was succeeded in this position of *šayḥ al-ḥaram* by his nephew, the Baḡdādī *ḥadīṭ* scholar Ḍahīr al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī l-Faḍl b. Maṣṣah al-Baḡdādī (d. 708/1308–1309) (Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Bidāyah*, 14:49).

الملك الناصر

أبو شادي داود بن الملك المعظم أبي الفتح عيسى بن الملك العادل سيف الدين أبي بكر محمد بن نجم الدين أبي الشكر أيوب بن شادي بن مروان الكردي الأيوبي.

ولد في تاسع عشر جمادى الآخرة سنة ثلث وستمائة، وحفظ القرآن وعمره تسع سنين، وقال الشعر وهو ابن عشر سنين، وبرع في كل فن من علوم الأدب والحكمة وغير ذلك. ٥

وولي سلطنة دمشق بعد موت أبيه—وهو في السنة {الحادية والعشرين} من عمره—أول ذي الحجة سنة أربع وعشرين وستمائة، وأقبل على اللهو.

فطلب منه عمه السلطان الملك الكامل قلعة الشوبك، فامتنع. فتنكر عليه وعزم على المسير إليه وزعه من سلطنة {دمشق}. وأخذ الناصر في ظلم الرعية وأخذ أموالهم والانهماك في اللعب، واستدعى عمه الملك الأشرف شاه أرمن موسى، فقدم عليه من الشرق وحكمه في المملكة. فآل ١٠ الأمر أن حاصر الملك الكامل دمشق حتى أخذ الناصر، وعوضه عن دمشق بالكرك والشوبك

٤ وستمائة: "وستمايه" في الأصل. || القرآن: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئزي. ٥ ابن: الألف ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة فوق السطر. || وبرع: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئزي. ٦ سلطنة: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئزي. || الحادية والعشرين: "الحادي عشر" في الأصل، والتصحيح من السياق. ٧ وستمائة: "وستمايه" في الأصل. ٩ دمشق: في الأصل "من سلطنة مصر"، وهو خطأ لأن الناصر ما ولي سلطنة مصر أبداً، والتصحيح من السياق. ١١ أخذ: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئزي.

7. *Al-Malik al-Nāṣir*

Abū Šādī Dāwūd b. al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam Abū l-Fatḥ ‘Īsá b. al-Malik al-‘Ādil Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Nağm al-Dīn Abū l-Šukr Ayyūb b. Šādī b. Marwān al-Kurdi l-Ayyūbī.²⁶⁸

5 §154 He was born on 19 Ğumādá II of the year 603 [21 January 1207]. He memorised the Qur‘ān at the age of nine. He said poetry at the age of ten. He excelled in every branch of the sciences of literature and wisdom and their like.

10 §155 Upon the death of his father, on the first of Dū l-Ḥiğğah of the year 624 [12 November 1227], he was appointed sultan of Damascus. [At that time] he was twenty-one years old, and he devoted himself to amusement [instead of government].

15 §156 His uncle, the sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil, demanded the citadel of Shawbak from him. But he refused. So [al-Malik al-Kāmil] turned against him, making plans to march against him and to take the sultanate of Damascus from him. Al-Nāṣir began to oppress the populace, seizing their properties and abandoning himself to amusements. His uncle [al-Kāmil] summoned al-Malik al-Ašraf Šāh Arman Mūsá,²⁶⁹ who came to him from the East and who confirmed him [= al-Kāmil] as ruler over the realm. Eventually, the matter
20 came to al-Malik al-Kāmil besieging Damascus until he took [the city from] al-Nāṣir and he compensated him for [the loss of] Damascus with Karak,

268 Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd (603–656/1207–1258) succeeded his father al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsá as Ayyūbid ruler of Damascus in 624/1227, but he soon lost the city to his uncles al-Kāmil Muḥammad and al-Ašraf Mūsá, in Rağab 626/June 1229, and after that he was mainly left with the region of Transjordan to rule, eventually ending up deeply embroiled in squabbles and conflicts for control over land with other members of his family until he lost all (K.V. Zettersteen, “al-Nāṣir: i. al-Malik al-Nāṣir Šalāh al-Dīn Dāwūd b. al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-nasir-COM_0851).

269 Al-Malik al-Ašraf Mūsá (d. 635/1237) was another son of Saladin’s brother al-Malik al-‘Ādil, who controlled parts of Armenia and northern Mesopotamia and eventually, from 626/1229 onwards, Damascus, under the suzerainty of his brother in Egypt (Gottschalk, “al-Kāmil”, in *ET*²).

والصلت والبلقاء والأغوار جميعها ونابلس وأعمال القدس وبيت جبريل. وكانت هذه الأعمال يومئذ عامرة جلييلة القدر. ثم نزل الناصر عن الشوبك لعمه الكامل، وتسلم الكامل دمشق أول شعبان سنة ست وعشرين.

فأقام بالكرك، وكانت له قصص وأنباء ذكرتها في التاريخ الكبير المقفى آلت به أن التشتت في البلاد. وموته في إحدى قرى دمشق يوم السادس عشرين من جمادى الأولى سنة | ست وخمسين^{129a} وستمائة، فدفن بصالحية دمشق.^{٥٩}

١ والبلقاء: "اللقاء" في الأصل. || هذه: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٢ يومئذ: "يومئذ" في الأصل. || عامرة: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٤ وأنباء: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ ("وانبأ"). ٥ جمادى: "جمادى" في الأصل. || سنة: في الأصل الكلمة مكتوبة مرتين، مرة في آخر ص. ١٢٨ ومرة أخرى في أول ص. ١٢٩. ٦ وستمائة: "وسمائية" في الأصل. || بصالحية: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

^{٥٩} ترجمة الملك الناصر داود مفقودة في المخطوطات المعروفة وجودها للتاريخ الكبير المقفى للمقرئ. راجع المقفى، ج. ٨.

Shawbak, al-Şalt,²⁷⁰ al-Balqā',²⁷¹ the entire Jordan valley, Nablus,²⁷² the districts of Jerusalem, and Bayt Ğibril.²⁷³ At that time, these districts consisted of cultivated lands of high value. Only then did al-Nāşir renounce Shawbak in his uncle al-Kāmil's favour. Al-Kāmil took hold of Damascus on the first of
5 Şa'bān of the year [6]26 [25 June 1229].

§157 He [= al-Nāşir] remained in Karak; there are tales and tidings about him which I have reported in *al-Tārīḥ al-kabīr al-muqaḥḥā* [The Great History in Continuation], and in which he ended up moving from one region to another. His death occurred in a village near Damascus, on 26 Ğumādā I of
10 the year 656 [31 May 1258]. He was buried at the Şāliḥiyyah [cemetery] of Damascus.²⁷⁴

270 The ancient town of al-Şalt (or al-Salt), in the Balqā' region, west of Amman, is known for the rich agricultural production of its orchards; a bone of contention in Crusader times, in 588/1192 it came in the hands of Ayyūbid kinsmen, who had the town's citadel constructed; it remained, next to Ḥiṣbān and Amman, a local centre of trade and government into the Ottoman period (M.A. Bakhit, "al-Salt", in *EI*², http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-salt-SIM_6562).

271 Al-Balqā' is the name given to the relatively fertile limestone plateau of the middle-Transjordanian region, which had, depending on the period, Ḥiṣbān, Amman, or al-Şalt as its main center; it often also appeared as an administrative unit in the southern Bilād al-Şām, dependent either on the leadership of Damascus, or on that of Karak (J. Sourdell-Thomine, "al-Balkā'", in *EI*², http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-balka-SIM_1151).

272 Nablus (Nābulus) is a town of Roman origins in a very fertile valley in central Palestine, with a complex history related to Judaism, Samaritanism, late antique Christianity, and the Crusades; it remained disputed territory between the latter and the Muslim rulers of the region until the mid-seventh/mid-thirteenth century (F. Buhl & C.E. Bosworth, "Nābulus", in *EI*², http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/nabulus-SIM_5706).

273 Bayt Ğibril, also known as Bayt Ğibrīn (and as Beth Gebrim, or also as Gibelin, in Crusader times), is a town of ancient origins in central Palestine, southwest of Jerusalem; it was a local commercial center and, from the sixth/twelfth century onwards, a fortified seat of government that acted as a local satellite for the leaderships of Gaza and Damascus (J. Sourdell-Thomine, "Bayt Dġibrīn", in *EI*², http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/bayt-djibrin-SIM_1336).

274 Al-Şāliḥiyyah refers to a settlement north of Damascus, on the slopes of Mount Qāsyūn, known for containing many saints' tombs and a majority population of Ḥanbalī scholars ("al-Şāliḥiyya", in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-salihyya-COM_0986).

وحج في سنة ثلث وخمسين وستمائة، وسبب حجه أنه لما تنكر له الملك الصالح نجم الدين أيوب بن الكامل وبعث إليه الأمير نجر الدين يوسف بن شيخ الشيوخ صدر الدين بن حمويه على العساكر، فهزمه وأوقع الحوطة على بلاده ونازل الكرك حتى طلب منه الأمان. فرحل عنه وقد ضاقت الأمور بالناصر، فخرج إلى حلب ومعه جواهر جليلة قيمتها ما ينيف على مائة ألف دينار، فبعثها إلى الخليفة المستعصم بالله ببغداد لتكون عنده وديعة، فقبضت من رسوله، وكتب الخط الشريف بقبضها، فشق ذلك على أولاده وخرجوا عن طاعته ولحق بعضهم بالملك الصالح نجم الدين أيوب بمصر، وسله الكرك. فجرت أمور آلت بالناصر إلى مسيره إلى بغداد لطلب وديعته. فمنعه الخليفة من الدخول إليها ومظله بالجواهر. فلما

١ وستمائة: "وستمايه" في الأصل. ٥ مائة: "مايه" في الأصل. ٨ إليها: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

275 Al-Malik al-Ṣālīḥ Ayyūb (603–647/1206–1249) was the son and successor of al-Malik al-Kāmil in Ayyūbid Egypt, who was first given Ayyūbid territories in Northern Mesopotamia and Armenia to rule, but who managed to obtain control over southern Syria and eventually also of Egypt after the death of his father, in 635/1238;

§158 [Al-Nāṣir Dāwūd] performed the pilgrimage in the year 653 [1256]. The cause for his pilgrimage was [the following:] When al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Nağm al-Dīn Ayyūb b. al-Kāmil²⁷⁵ turned against him, he sent the amir Faḥr al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Šayḥ al-Šuyūḥ Šadr al-Dīn Ḥammūyah²⁷⁶ at the head of the armies
 5 against him. He routed him and occupied his lands, [eventually] getting into a fight over Karak, until [al-Nāṣir] demanded a safe-conduct [for his departure] from him. [Thus being forced] to leave from [Karak], things had gotten into dire straits for al-Nāṣir. He went away to Aleppo, and he took splendid jewels with him, their value exceeding 100,000 *dīnār*, which he sent
 10 on to the caliph al-Mustaʿsim bi-llāh²⁷⁷ in Baghdad, entrusting them to his custody. But they were taken from his envoy, [after] an official letter [from the sultan of Egypt] was written [ordering] their confiscation. That troubled his sons, and they left his dispensation, one of them joining up with al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Nağm al-Dīn Ayyūb in Egypt, who handed him [the rule over] Karak
 15 [in return]. [Many] things then happened that ended with al-Nāṣir's going to Baghdad to request his deposit. But the caliph refused to let him enter [Baghdad] and the place where he preserved the jewel. When he despaired

this appears as a long, complex, and violent process of re-establishing Ayyūbid coherence under al-Šāliḥ's authority, as the sultan of Egypt, that was all but finished when he died (D.S. Richards, "al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Nağm al-Dīn Ayyūb", in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-malik-al-salih-najm-al-din-ayyub-SIM_6543).

276 Faḥr al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Šayḥ al-Šuyūḥ (580–647/1184–1250) was a military commander in Ayyūbid service and one of the main political advisors of al-Malik al-Kāmil and al-Malik al-Šāliḥ; he stemmed from a Syrian branch of an Iranian family of mystics and Šāfiʿī jurists, the *Awlād al-Šayḥ* or Banū Ḥammūyah/Ḥammawayh, that monopolised the position of head of the mystics of Damascus (*Šayḥ al-Šuyūḥ*) for more than a century; Faḥr al-Dīn served as al-Kāmil's ambassador to the Holy Roman emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen, in the context of the conclusion of the sixth crusade; when al-Šāliḥ assumed power in Egypt, Faḥr al-Dīn was made commander-in-chief of the Egyptian armies, in which capacity he was killed when leading his armies to repel an attack by the armies of Louis IX of France at al-Manšūra (A.-M. Eddé, H.L. Gottschalk, "Awlād al-Shaykh", in *ET*³ http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/awlad-al-shaykh-COM_23034).

277 Al-Mustaʿsim bi-llāh (r. 640–657/1247–1258) was the last ʿAbbāsīd caliph of Baghdad; he was put to death after his surrender of the city of Baghdad to the Mongol ruler Hülegü (K.V. Zetterstéen, "al-Mustaʿsim Bi'llāh", in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-mustasim-bi-llah-SIM_5632).

أيس من ذلك سار إلى مكة من طريق العراق، وحج. فلما قدم المدينة النبوية تعلق بأستار الحجر بحضرة الناس، وقال: "إشهدوا أن هذا مقامي من رسول الله داخلا عليه مستشفعا به إلى ابن عمه المستعصم في أن يرد علي وديعتي." فأعظم الناس ذلك وجرت عبراتهم وارتفع ضجيجهم بالبكاء. وكتب بصورة ما جرى مكتوب في يوم السبت ثامن عشرين ذي الحجة تسلمه أمير حاج العراقي، ومضى الناصر معه إلى بغداد. فعوض الجوهر بشيء تافه، وعاد إلى الشام مقهورا. ٥

١ إلى: "الي" في الأصل. ٢ مستشفعا: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٣ بالبكاء: "بالبكا" في الأصل. ٤ بصورة: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٥ إلى: "الي" في الأصل. || بشيء: "بشيء" في الأصل.

of [retrieving] that, he left for Mecca via the Iraq route, and he performed the pilgrimage. When he arrived in the Prophet's Medina, he hung on to the curtains of the sacrosanct area in the presence of the people, saying: "Bear witness that this is where I am standing vis-à-vis the Messenger of
5 God, entering his house and appealing for his mediation with his cousin al-Mustaʿsim, so as to make him return my deposit to me." People found that distressing, their tears running [down their cheeks] and their cries rising in loud wailing. A report of what had happened was written on Saturday
28 of Dū l-Ḥiġġah [29 January], which was handed to the amir of the Iraqi
10 pilgrimage caravan. Al-Nāṣir left with him to Baghdad, and in compensation for the jewel something was given that still made him mutter in complaint; humiliated, he returned to Syria.

الملك المظفر شمس الدين يوسف

ابن الملك المنصور نور الدين عمر بن علي بن رسول.

قام بعد أبيه بملك اليمن في سنة سبع وأربعين وستمائة، وحج سنة تسع وخمسين، وغسل الكعبة بنفسه وطيبها وكساها من داخلها وخارجها.

٥ وهو أول من كسا الكعبة بعد قتل الخليفة المستعصم ببغداد من الملوك، وذلك أن الحاج انقطع من العراق عن مكة من سنة خمس وخمسين وستمائة إلى سنة ست وستين، فلم يرد من هناك حاج في هذه المدة. وقام المظفر بمصالح الحرم وأهله، وأكثر من الصدقات، ونثر على الكعبة الذهب والفضة، وخطب له بمكة واستمر يخطب بعده ملوك اليمن على منبر مكة إلى يومنا هذا بعد الخطبة لسلطان مصر. ٦٠

١٠ ولم تزل كسوة المظفر التي كساها للكعبة من داخلها باقية إلى أن كساها الملك الناصر حسن ١29^b ابن محمد بن قلاوون هذه الكسوة—الموجودة اليوم—في سنة إحدى وستين وسبعمائة.

٣ وأربعين وستمائة: "وأربعين وستمائة" في الأصل. ٥ كسا: "كسى" في الأصل. ٦ وستمائة: "وستمائه" في الأصل. ١٠ إلى: "الي" في الأصل. ١١ وستين وسبعمائة: "وسن وسبعماية" في الأصل.

٦٠ راجع هذا الخبر على شكل مساو في الفاسي، شفاء الغرام، ج. ٢، ص. ٢٨٨.

8. Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Šams al-Dīn Yūsuf

[He was] the son of al-Malik al-Manšūr Nūr al-Dīn ‘Umar b. ‘Alī b. Rasūl.

§159 In the year 647 [1249], he took up rule over Yemen, succeeding his father. He performed the pilgrimage in the year [6]59 [1261]. [On that occasion], he washed the Ka‘bah by himself, perfumed it, and covered it with a *kiswah* on the inside and on the outside.

§160 He is the first of the rulers who covered the Ka‘bah with a *kiswah* after the killing of the caliph al-Musta‘šim in Baghdad.²⁷⁸ The reason for that was that pilgriming between Iraq and Mecca was interrupted from the year 655 [1257] until the year [6]66 [1268]. During this period there did not come from there any pilgrim anymore. As a result, al-Muẓaffar took responsibility for the wellbeing of the Ḥaram and its people, increasing the alms that were given and sprinkling gold and silver over the Ka‘bah. The Friday sermon in Mecca was delivered in his name, and the sermon thus continued to be delivered from the *minbar* of Mecca in the name of the rulers of Yemen until our own days, [but then nowadays only] after the sermon [is delivered] in the name of the sultan of Egypt.

§161 The *kiswah* of al-Muẓaffar, which he had the inside of the Ka‘bah covered with, continued to be present until in the year 761 [1360] al-Malik al-Nāšir Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn²⁷⁹ covered it with this *kiswah* which is still present today.

²⁷⁸ For the events involving the execution of the last ‘Abbāsīd caliph of Baghdad, al-Musta‘šim, in 656/1258 by the Mongol ruler Hülegü, see fn. 192, 277.

²⁷⁹ Al-Malik al-Nāšir Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (r. 748–752/1347–1351; 755–762/1354–1361) was sultan of Egypt and Syria and a member of the Qalāwūnid dynasty; he was made sultan twice, first as a minor and then again when he was about twenty; during his second term of office, he eventually managed to impose his authority more firmly than before, but he yet failed to hold onto power and was killed by members of his own entourage; he is remembered especially for his impressive public works, especially his huge religio-economic complex at the foot of the Cairo citadel (known as the sultan Ḥasan mosque or *madrasah*) (J. Wansbrough, “Ḥasan”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/hasan-SIM_2752).

السلطان الملك الظاهر ركن الدين أبو الفتح بيبرس البندقداري الصالح النجمي

اشتراه السلطان الملك الصالح نجم الدين أيوب بن الملك الكامل ناصر الدين محمد بن الملك العادل سيف الدين أبي بكر محمد بن نجم الدين أيوب، وعمله أحد الممالك البحرية بقلعة الروضة. فترقى في خدمته واستفاد من أخلاقه وتنقلت به الأحوال حتى ملك مصر بعد قتل الملك المظفر سيف الدين قطز، وتسلم قلعة الجبل ليلة الاثنين تاسع عشر ذي القعدة سنة ثمان وخمسين وستمائة. واستمر ملكه حتى مات بدمشق في سابع عشرين المحرم سنة ست وسبعين وستمائة. وقد ملك مدة سبع عشرة سنة وشهرين واثنى عشر {عشر} يوماً.

وحج سنة سبع وستين وستمائة، ولذلك خبر طويل قد ذكرته في ترجمته من كتاب التاريخ الكبير المقفى وكتاب أخبار ملوك مصر.^{٦١}

٥ وتسلم : تصحيح في الأصل. || وستمائة : "وسمائه" في الأصل. ٦ سنة ١ : تصحيح في الأصل. || وسبعين : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || وستمائة : "وسمائه" في الأصل. ٧ عشرة : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || عشر : "عشرة" في الأصل. ٨ وستمائة : "وسمائه" في الأصل.

٦١ "أخبار ملوك مصر" - يعني السلوك - راجع المقرئ، السلوك، ج. ١، ص. ٥٧٣-٥٨٣. وترجمة الملك الظاهر بيبرس مفقودة في المخطوطات المعروفة وجودها لكتاب المقفى للمقرئ. راجع المقفى، ج. ٨.

9. The sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Abū l-Faṭḥ Baybars al-Bunduqdārī l-Šāliḥī l-Nağmī²⁸⁰

§162 The sultan al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Nağm al-Dīn Ayyūb b. al-Malik al-Kāmil
 Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Malik al-Ādil Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥam-
 5 mad b. Nağm al-Dīn Ayyūb bought him and he made him one of the
 Baḥriyyah *mamlūks*²⁸¹ in the citadel of al-Rawḍah.²⁸² [Baybars] advanced
 in his service, benefitting from his noble character. All kinds of things hap-
 pened to him, until he took power over Egypt after the murder of al-Malik al-
 Muẓaffar Sayf al-Dīn Quṭuz.²⁸³ [Baybars] was handed over [Cairo's] citadel
 10 of the mountain in the night of Monday, 19 Dū l-Qa'dah of the year 658
 [25 October 1260]. His rule lasted until he died in Damascus on 27 Muḥarram
 of the year 676 [30 June 1277], [after] he had ruled for a period of 17 years, two
 months, and 12 days.

§163 He went on pilgrimage in the year 667 [1269]. There is a long story
 15 of that which I have reported in his biography in the book *al-Tārīḥ al-kabīr
 al-muqaffā* [The Great History in Continuation] and the book *Aḥbār Mulūk
 Miṣr* [The Stories of the Kings of Egypt].²⁸⁴

280 For sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars (r. 658–676/1260–1277), remembered as a pioneering ruler of the sultanate of Egypt and Syria, see fn. 196.

281 The Baḥriyyah *mamlūks* were a corps of elite military slaves of the last Ayyūbid ruler of Egypt, stationed on the island of al-Rawḍah in the Nile (*al-Baḥr*) (D. Ayalon, “al-Baḥriyya”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-bahriyya-SIM_1075).

282 The citadel of al-Rawḍah was constructed by the last Ayyūbid ruler of Egypt between 637/1240 and 641/1243 on the island of al-Rawḍah in the Nile, East of Fustāt; it consisted of palaces for the sultan and his family and retainers, and of barracks for his *mamlūks*; after the sultan's death, this citadel was abandoned by Egypt's new rulers (Raymond [2001]: 101–102).

283 Sultan al-Muẓaffar Quṭuz (r. 657–658/1259–1260) was a *mamlūk* commander who ruled Egypt at the time of the Mongol invasion of Syria; he is remembered for the victory that his armies won near the town of ‘Ayn Ġālūt in 658/1260 against the hitherto invincible Mongols; shortly afterwards, Quṭuz was murdered by a band of peers that included his successor, sultan al-Zāhir Baybars (Thorau, “Baybars I, al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn”, in *EI*²).

284 See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:573–583 (= *Kitāb Aḥbār Mulūk Miṣr*); al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* (but the entry for al-Zāhir Baybars does not seem to have survived).

وملخص ذلك أنه أجلس ابنه الملك السعيد محمد بركة خان في مرتبة الملك وحضر الأمراء فقبلوا الأرض بين يديه، وجلس الأمير عز الدين أيدير الحلي—نائب السلطنة—وجلس الأتابك والصاحب بهاء الدين علي بن حنا وكتاب الإنشاء والقضاة والشهود، وحلف له الأمراء وسائر العساكر في تاسع صفر منها، وركب في ثالث عشره الموكب كما يركب والده، وجلس في الإيوان وقرئت عليه القصص، وقرئ في العشرين منه تقليد بتفويض السلطنة له في الإيوان، واستمر جلوسه فيه لقضاء الأشغال، ووقع وأطلق وركب في المواكب. ٦٢.

وأقام السلطان الأمير بدر الدين بيليك الخازندار نائباً عنه عوضاً عن الحلي. وسار إلى الشام في ثاني عشر جمادى الآخرة بحصة من العساكر، وترك أكثرها مع ولده الملك السعيد. ونزل بخربة اللصوص—خارج دمشق—، وسار منها متكرراً إلى القاهرة ليُشاهد أحوال ولده: نخفي

١ الأمراء: "الأمراء" في الأصل. ٣ بهاء: "بها" في الأصل. || الإنشاء: "الإنشاء" في الأصل. || الأمراء وسائر: "الأمراء وسائر" في الأصل. ٥ منه: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "العشرين". ٦ جلوسه: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || فيه: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "جلوسه". || لقضاء: "لقضاء" في الأصل. ٧ الأمير: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "السلطان". || نائبا: "نايبا" في الأصل. ٩ متكرراً: تصحيح في الأصل.

٦٢ راجع هذا الخبر على نفس الشكل تقريباً في ابن عبد الظاهر، الروض الزاهر، ص. ٣٣٨.

285 Sultan al-Sa'īd Barakah Ḥān (also Berke Ḥān) (658–678/1260–1280) was the son of al-Zāhir Baybars, who co-ruled with his father since 662/1264 and who succeeded him briefly upon his death in 676/1277, without however ever managing to impose his authority against that of his father's entourage; he was forced into exile in 678/1279 (Stewart [2007]: 49–51).

§164 The short version of that [story] is [the following]: He made his son al-Malik al-Sa'īd Muḥammad Barakah Ḥān²⁸⁵ sit on the seat of the ruler, in the presence of the amirs. They kissed the ground before him, and the amir 'Izz al-Dīn Aydamur al-Ḥillī, the viceroy,²⁸⁶ sat down, as did the commander of the army,²⁸⁷ the lord Bahā' al-Dīn 'Alī Ibn Ḥinnā,²⁸⁸ the scribes of the chancery, the *qāḍīs*, and the legal witnesses. The amirs and the entire army swore an oath to him [= al-Malik al-Sa'īd Barakah] on 9 Ṣafar of [667] [18 October 1268]. On 13 [Ṣafar] [22 October] he rode in the public procession—just as his father used to ride—, he held session in the audience hall, and the petitions were read to him. On 20 [Ṣafar] [29 October] an official diploma was read out in the audience hall for the delegation of the sultanate to him. [Thereafter] he continued to hold session there to deal with royal business, [including] putting his signature [on documents and decrees], expressing [his will] without restriction, and riding in the public processions.

§165 The sultan [Baybars] installed the amir Badr al-Dīn Bilik al-Ḥāzindār²⁸⁹ as his representative [in Egypt] instead of al-Ḥillī. [Baybars] left for Syria on 12 Ğumādā II [667] [16 February 1269] with a small part of the army, leaving most of it behind with his son al-Malik al-Sa'īd. He settled down at Ḥirbat al-Luṣūṣ²⁹⁰ outside Damascus and he went from there to Cairo in disguise, so as to see with his own eyes how his son was doing. That remained

286 'Izz al-Dīn Aydamur al-Ḥillī (d. 667/1269) was a senior commander and peer of Baybars, who acted as *nā'ib al-salṭānah* or vice-gerent in Egypt for some time (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, 3:170–171; Amitai [1997]: 293, no. 9).

287 The commander of the army, or *atābeg*, at that time was the senior commander Fāris al-Dīn Aqṭāy al-Ṣāliḥī (d. 672/1273–1274) (Amitai [1997]: 292, no. 1).

288 Bahā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥinnā (603–677/1206–1278) was the highly respected right-hand and vizier of al-Zāhir Baybars, who arranged the sultan's affairs throughout his reign (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, 8:150–151).

289 Badr al-Dīn Bilik al-Ḥāzindār (d. 676/1278) was a *mamlūk* of al-Zāhir Baybars from before the time he became sultan; he became Baybars' vice-gerent and the right-hand of his son Barakah Ḥān (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, 3:512–514; Amitai [1997]: 292–293, no. 4).

290 Ḥirbat al-Luṣūṣ: I have so far not been able to retrieve any more specific information on this site, apart from that, obviously, it lay south of Damascus, on the road to Cairo, and that—given its name, Ḥirbah, 'The Ruins'—it may have been connected to the remains, along the Damascus-Cairo road, of some ancient construction.

ذلك على جميع من معه من العسكر حتى عاد إليهم، وفي حكاية ذلك هنا طول ليس من قصد هذا
 {الجزء} ٦٣.

فاتفق الاختلاف بين الشريف نجم الدين أبي نجي وبين عمه الشريف {بهاء} الدين إدريس —
 أمير مكي —، فرتب السلطان لهما عشرين ألف درهم نقرة في كل سنة عوضاً عما يؤخذ بمكة^{130a}
 من المكوس وأن لا يمنع أحد من دخول الكعبة وأن يُخطب له بمكة والمشاعر وتضرب السكة
 باسمه. فأجاباه، وكتب لهما تقليد الإمارة، وسلت أوقاف الحرم بمصر والشام لنوابهما.

وسلم للشريف قاضي المدينة النبوية وخطيبها ووزيرها، عندما حضر برسالة الأمير عز الدين
 جماز، أمير المدينة، الجمال التي نهىها الأمير أحمد بن حجي لأشراف المدينة — وهي ثلاثة آلاف

١ هنا: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها
 الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "ذلك". ١-٢ هذا الجزء: "هذا الجزء" في الأصل. ٣ الشريف ١: ناقصة في الأصل،
 مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، على نفس السطر + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "بين". || بهاء:
 "بهاي" في الأصل. ٤ عما: في الأصل الكلمة مكتوبة مرتين، مرة في آخر ص. ١٢٩ب ومرة ثانية في بداية
 ص. ١٣٠.

٦٣ راجع هذا الخبر بتفاصيله كله في ابن عبد الظاهر، الروض الزاهر، ص. ٣٤٢-٣٤٦.

hidden for all who were with him from the army, until he returned to them. The narrative of that [story] is so long that it does not suit the purpose of this volume to tell it here.

§166 There occurred discord between the Sharif Nağm al-Dīn Abū
 5 Numayy²⁹¹ and his uncle, the Sharif Bahā' al-Dīn Idrīs, the two amirs of
 Mecca. The sultan assigned to both of them 20,000 high quality *dirhams*²⁹²
 annually, instead of the non-*šarī* taxes that used to be collected in Mecca,
 and [on the condition] that no one would be prevented from entering the
 Ka'bah, that the sermon in Mecca and at the ceremony shrines would be
 10 said in his name, and [that] the coin would be struck in his name. They both
 accepted and the official diploma for the amirate was written for both of
 them. The [responsibility for the] pious foundations for the *Ḥaram* in Egypt
 and Syria was handed over to their representatives.

§167 Upon the arrival [in Ḥirbat] of the Sharif [Šams al-Dīn]—[who was]
 15 the *qāḍī*, the *ḥaṭīb* and the vizier of the Prophet's Medina—with a letter from
 the amir 'Izz al-Dīn Ğammāz,²⁹³ the amir of Medina, there were handed over
 to him the camels which the amir Aḥmad b. Ḥiğği²⁹⁴ had looted from the

291 On the Sharif Abū Numayy (r. 652–700/1254–1301) and his family of Ḥasanid rulers of Mecca, see fn. 201.

292 The actual meaning of the Arabic numismatic terminology used here, *dirham nuqrah*, remains an issue of debate; it either refers to a particular type of *dirhams* of higher than standard silver purity, or to a fixed-weight money of account used to determine the actual, weighed value of silver coins of irregular weight (Schultz [2004]: 231–234).

293 'Izz al-Dīn Ğammāz b. Šiḥah (d. 704/1304) was a member of the Ḥusaynid ruling family of Medina (see also fn. 256); Ğammāz seems to have shared the amirate of Medina with his brother Munif from 649/1251 until the latter's death in 657/1259; thereafter Ğammāz continued as the independent and ambitious ruler of Medina until 700/1301 or 702/1303; in the period 665–667/1266–1268, however, his authority was successfully albeit only briefly challenged by his brother's son, Mālik b. Munif, who received the support for this from the sultan Baybars (Mortel [1994]: 99–103).

294 Aḥmad b. Ḥiğği b. Yazīd (d. 682/1283) was a leader of the Āl Murrah tribal group, a powerful tribe of nomadic pastoralists still present in contemporary Saudi Arabia, which in the later medieval period controlled much of the region in the triangle between Syria, lower Mesopotamia, and the central Arabian Najd (E. Landau-Tasseron, "Murra", in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/murra-SIM_5546; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, 1:425).

بعبير—ليوصلها لأربابها. وأنعم على الطواشي جمال الدين محسن الصالحي—شيخ الخدام بالحجرة الشريفة—بمائتي ألف درهم، وأعادته مع القاضي صحبة الراكب الشامي. ٦٤

وجهاز الكسوة لمكة والمدينة. ٦٥

وقدم الأمير شرف الدين عيسى بن مهنا إلى الدهليز بالخربة، فأوهم السلطان أنه يريد الحركة إلى العراق، وأمره بالتأهب ليركب إذا دعي، وردده إلى بلاده، وكان السلطان في الباطن إنما يريد الحركة للحجاز، لكنه ورى بالعراق. ٦٦

فلما دخل شوال أنفق في العساكر جميعها ووجد طائفة مع الأمير آقوش الرومي السلاح دار ليكونوا صحبة الراكب السلطاني، ووجد طائفة مع الأمير شمس الدين آق سنقر الفارقاني أستاذار إلى دمشق

١ جمال الدين: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٢ بمائتي: "بمائتي" في الأصل. ٧ طائفة: "طائفه" في الأصل. ٨ السلطاني: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "الراكب". || طائفة: "طائفه" في الأصل. || شمس: ناقصة في الأصل مضافة بخط المقرئ فوق كلمة "الامير" على آخر السطر. || الدين: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || أستاذار: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

٦٤ راجع هذا الخبر بتفاصيله في ابن عبد الظاهر، الروض الزاهر، ص. ٣٥١-٣٥٣. ٦٥ راجع هذا الخبر بتفاصيل لتاريخ الكسوة في ابن عبد الظاهر، الروض الزاهر، ص. ٣٥٣. ٦٦ راجع هذا الخبر على شكل مساو في ابن عبد الظاهر، الروض الزاهر، ص. ٣٥٨.

nobles of Medina—they were 3,000 camels—, so that he could lead them back to their owners. To the eunuch Ğamāl al-Dīn Muḥsin al-Šāliḥī, the *šayḥ* of the eunuch servants in the noble enclosure,²⁹⁵ [who had also come to Ḥirbat,] there were granted 200,000 *dirhams*. [Al-Zāhir Baybars] sent him
 5 as well as the *qāḍī* [Šams al-Dīn and his camels] back [to Medina] with the Syrian pilgrimage caravan.

§168 [Baybars] sent the *kiswah* to Mecca and Medina.

§169 The amir Šaraf al-Dīn ʿĪsā b. Muḥannā²⁹⁶ came to the royal tent at Ḥirbat [al-Luṣūṣ]. The sultan made believe that he wanted to proceed to
 10 [Mongol] Iraq and he ordered him to be prepared to ride out if he is summoned. [Thereupon] he sent him back to his lands. Secretly, the sultan only wanted to move to the Hijaz, but he pretended [to march] for Iraq.

§170 When Šawwāl [667] [June 1269] began, he disbursed a sum of money
 15 over the entire army. He sent a party ahead with the amir ʿAqqūš al-Rūmī l-Silāḥdār²⁹⁷ to accompany the sultan’s caravan. He sent a party ahead to Damascus with the amir Šams al-Dīn ʿAq Sunqur al-Fāriqānī l-Ustā-

295 Since the twelfth century, a corps of eunuchs guarded the access to the Prophet’s tomb and to the noble enclosure (*al-ḥuḡrah al-šarīfah*, the structure that enclosed the tombs of the Prophet and of the first two caliphs) in Medina; the leader of this eunuch community, the *šayḥ al-ḥuddām*, always combined this position with that of *šayḥ* of the Prophet’s sanctuary (*šayḥ al-ḥaram*), which made him one of the most powerful figures in Medina; this situation lasted until the mid-nineteenth century; the eunuch Ğamāl al-Dīn Muḥsin al-Šāliḥī (d. 668/1269–1270), who had been a powerful member of the Egyptian court since the days of the last Ayyubid ruler al-Šāliḥ Ayyūb, occupied this position of high status at the time of Baybars’ pilgrimage (Marmon [1995]: 31–53, 93–112; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:342, 356, 512, 580, 588).

296 Šaraf al-Dīn ʿĪsā b. Muḥannā (d. 683/1284) was the leader of the Arab clan of the ʿĀl Faḍl in Syria; his charismatic leadership over the Arab Bedouin clans and groupings in Syria was acknowledged by the sultan Baybars through his appointment as *amīr al-Arab* in 663/1264; as a widely respected and successful local leader, ʿĪsā always managed to negotiate a reasonable autonomy vis-à-vis the sultan’s suzerainty, including via occasional rapprochements to the Mongol Īlḥānids (M.C. Šehabeddin Tekindağ, “ʿĪsā b. Muḥannā”, in *Et²* http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/isa-b-muhanna-SIM_3599; Hiyari [1975]: 516–517).

297 Ğamāl al-Dīn ʿAqqūš al-Rūmī l-Silāḥdār was a peer of Baybars from the time of their membership in the corps of the last Ayyūbid ruler of Egypt; in the 650s/1250s they had continued their partnership in Syria; ʿAqqūš remained an important supporter for Baybars throughout his reign (Amitai [1997]: 299, no. 57).

ليقيموا ظاهرها. وتوجه السلطان إلى الحج ومعه الأمير بدر الدين الخازندار وقاضي القضاة صدر الدين سليمان الحنفي ونفر الدين إبراهيم بن لقمان— كاتب السر— وتاج الدين بن الأثير ونحو ثلثمائة مملوك وعدة من أجناد الحلقة. وسار من الفوار يوم الخميس خامس شهر شوال كأنه متوجه إلى الكرك كأنه يتصيد، ولم يجسر أحد يتحدث بأنه متوجه إلى الحجاز، وذلك أن الحاجب جمال الدين بن الداية كتب إلى السلطان يسأله: "إني أشتي أن أتوجه صحبة السلطان إلى الحجاز." فأمر بقطع لسانه، فلم يتفوه أحد بعدها بذلك.

فوصل إلى الكرك أول يوم من ذي القعدة، وكان قد دبر أمره في خفية من غير أن يطلع أحد على شيء مما فعله، بحيث أنه جهز البشماط والدقيق والروايا والقرب والأشربة، وعين العربان المتوجهين معه والمرتين في المنازل من غير أن يشعر أحد من الخالصة فضلا عن العامة بذلك.

٣ من ٢: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || الفوار: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٤ أن: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "ذلك". ٤-٥ جمال... بن: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٨ شيء: "شيء" في الأصل.

dār,²⁹⁸ to set up camp outside it[s walls]. The sultan proceeded to perform the pilgrimage, together with the amir Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥāzindār, the chief judge Ṣadr al-Dīn Sulaymān al-Ḥanafī,²⁹⁹ the chancery chief Faḥr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Luqmān,³⁰⁰ Tāğ al-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭīr,³⁰¹ about 300 *mamlūks* and a number of rank-and-file troops. He left without delay on Thursday the fifth of the month Ṣawwāl [6 June], pretending to proceed towards Karak to go hunting. No one dared to talk about his proceeding towards the Hijaz. [The reason for] that was the doorkeeper Ġamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Dāyah's³⁰² writing to the sultan, asking him: "I would like to go with the sultan to the Hijaz": it was ordered to cut his tongue [for this disclosure of the sultan's secret], and afterwards no one dared to speak about that again.

§171 He arrived in Karak on the first day of Dū l-Qa'dah [2 July]. He had already secretly arranged his affairs [for the journey to Mecca], without informing anyone of what he was doing. In this way, he had sent ahead biscuits, flour, camels that carry water, waterskins, and drinks; he had appointed Bedouins to proceed with him as well as to be in charge of the halting places; [he had organised all this] without anyone from his entourage, let alone from the commoners, realising that.

298 Ṣams al-Dīn Āq Sunqur al-Fāriqānī l-Ustādār (d. 677/1278) became an important agent of al-Zāhir Baybars' royal authority, after a career of *mamlūk* service in Syria and then in Egypt, where Baybars eventually made him his main steward (*ustādār*) and one of the leading men in his entourage; after Baybars' death, he was caught by his opponents and remained in prison until he died (Ibn Tağrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, 2:494–496).

299 Ṣadr al-Dīn Sulaymān b. Abī l-'Izz al-Ḥanafī (d. 677/1278) was a highly respected scholar of the Ḥanafī creed; he was a teacher and chief judge in Damascus, and also in Egypt (Ibn Tağrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, 6:57–58).

300 Faḥr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Luqmān al-Ṣaybānī l-Is'ardī (612–693/1215–1293) was a well-known and widely respected scribe in the royal chancery in Cairo, with a long-standing track record that had started in the reign of the Ayyūbid ruler al-Kāmil Muḥammad (Ibn Tağrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, 1:136–138).

301 Tāğ al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Sa'īd b. al-Aṭīr al-Ḥalabī (d. 691/1291) was a leading scribe in the chancery in Damascus, and then in the royal chancery in Egypt, during the reign of al-Zāhir Baybars and during those of his successors (Ibn Tağrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, 1:300–302).

302 Nothing further is known about this Ġamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Dāyah, apart from the fact that he was one of the sultan's doorkeepers (*ḥāğibs*) at this particular moment (thus, he is merely referred to as "some person from [the group of] doorkeepers known as Ġamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Dāyah" in the version of this story by the early-fourteenth-century historian Baybars al-Mansūrī, *Zubdat al-fikrah*, 121).

ففرق في المجردين معه الشعير، وبعث الثقل في رابعه، وتبعه في سادسه، فنزل الشوبك، ورسم بإخفاء خبره، واستقل بالمسير في حادي عشره، وأنفذ | البريد إلى قلعة الجبل لمهمات له. فجهزت^{130b} الكتب مع العربان وقدم المدينة النبوية في خامس عشرينه، فلم يقابله الشريف جمار ولا مالك— {أمير} المدينة—، وفرا منه، فأعرض عنهما.

٥ ورحل في سابع عشرينه، وأحرم، فدخل مكة في خامس ذي الحجة، وأعطى خواصه جملة أموال لتفرق في الناس سرا، وعم أهل الحرمين بالكسوة التي فرقها فيهم، وصار كآحاد الناس لا يحجبه أحد ولا يحرسه إلا الله تعالى، وبقي منفردا يصلي وحده ويطوف وحده ويسعى وحده، فلا يعرفه إلا من يعرفه. وغسل الكعبة بيده بماء الورد، وصار بين جميع الناس على اختلاف طبقاتهم وتباين أجناسهم، وما منهم إلا من يرمي إليه إحرامه، فيغسله بيده ويتأوله صاحبه. وجلس على باب الكعبة وأخذ بأيدي الناس ليطلعهم إليها، فتعلق بعض العامة بإحرامه ليطلع فقطعه، وكاد يرمي السلطان عن العتبة إلى الأرض وهو مستبشر بجميع ذلك، وعلق كسوة الكعبة بيده ومعه خواصه، وتردد إلى من بمكة والمدينة من أهل الخير يلتمس بركتهم ويسأل دعاءهم.

هذا وقاضي القضاة صدر الدين معه طول طريقه يستفتيه ويتفهم منه أمور دينه.

٢ بإخفاء: "باخفآ" في الأصل. ٣ الشريف: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "يقابله". ٤ أميراً: "امرى" في الأصل، والتصحيح من السياق. ٨ بماء: "بمآ" في الأصل. || الورد: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || جميع: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "بين". ٩ من: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "الا". ١٢ دعاءهم: "دعآهم" في الأصل.

§172 He distributed the barley among those that were proceeding with him, and he sent the supplies ahead on 4 [Dū l-Qa'dah] [5 July], and he followed them on 6 [Dū l-Qa'dah] [7 July]. He set up camp at Shawbak, and he gave the command to conceal any news about him. On 11 [Dū l-Qa'dah] [12 July] he
 5 set out alone. [In the course of this] he set the postal service to the citadel of the mountain in operation for some business of his, sending the letters with Bedouins. He arrived in the Prophet's Medina on the 25 [Dū l-Qa'dah] [26 July]. Neither the Sharif Ğammāz nor Mālik—the two amirs of Medina—received him. They fled away from him, and he left them alone.³⁰³

10 §173 He departed on 27 [Dū l-Qa'dah] [28 July] and entered into *iḥrām*. He entered Mecca on 5 Dū l-Ḥiġġah [5 August], providing his retainers riches to secretly distribute among the people, and many of the inhabitants of the two august places were dotted with the garments that he had distributed among them. He became like one of the people, not sheltered nor guarded
 15 by anyone unless by God the Exalted. He remained alone, praying on his own, making the circumambulation on his own, and running on his own, without anyone recognising him, except for those who knew him. With his own hands he washed the Ka'bah with rose water, and he got among all the people, with all the differences of their classes and the variety of their
 20 ethnic backgrounds. One of them even threw his ritual garb to him, which he washed with his own hands and which he then handed back to its owner. He sat down at the gate of the Ka'bah and took the people's hands to help them climb it; one of the commoners clung to his ritual garb to climb up, tearing it and almost throwing the sultan from the step to the ground; but
 25 [Baybars] only rejoiced in all that. He hung up the *kiswah* of the Ka'bah with his own hands, together with his retainers. He frequented those in Mecca and Medina that belonged to the people of goodness to request their blessing and to ask for their supplication.

30 §174 So far [this story of the pilgrimage of sultan Baybars]. The chief judge Ṣadr al-Dīn [Sulaymān] was with him all along his route, so that [Baybars] could ask his counsel and could try to understand from him the issues of his religion.

303 It is very likely that this refusal of the two Ḥusaynid amirs of Medina at that time, Ğammāz b. Šiḥah and his nephew Mālik b. Munif b. Šiḥah, to welcome the sultan was due to a dispute in the previous year on revenue generated from the collection of taxes in Medina (Mortel [1994]: 101).

ولم يغفل مع ذلك عن تدير الممالك، وكتاب الإنشاء تكتب عنه في المهمات، وكتب إلى صاحب اليمن ينكر عليه أمورا ويقول: "سطرتها من مكة المشرفة وقد أخذت طريقها في سبع عشرة خطوة"—يعني بالخطوة المنزلة—ويقول: "الملك هو الذي يجاهد في الله حق جهاده ويبدل نفسه في الذب عن حوزة الدين. فإن كنت ملكا، فاخرج والت الططر!"

٥ وأحسن إلى أميرَي مكة وإلى أمير ينبع وأمير خُليص وأكابر الحجاز، وكتب منشورين لأُميري مكة، ورتب معهما الأمير شمس الدين مروان—نائب أمير جاندانار—يقيم معهما بمكة حسب سؤالهما ليكون مرجع الأمور إليه والحل والعقد على يديه. وزاد أميرَي مكة مالا وغلالا في كل سنة لأجل تسبيل الكعبة للناس.

١٠ وسار من مكة بعد قضاء النسك في ثالث عشره، وقدم المدينة النبوية ثانيا في عشرينه، فبات بها وسار من غده، فجد في السير ومعه عدة يسيرة. فقدم الكرك بكرة يوم الخميس سلخه من غير أن يعلم

١ عن: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "ذلك". || الإنشاء: "الانشاء" في الأصل. ٢ عشرة: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٣ في الله: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٥ وأحسن: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || مكة: ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقرئ في مكانها الصحيح في الجملة، في آخر السطر بعد كلمة "أميرَي". ٦ نائب: "نائب" في الأصل. ٩ قضاء: "قضاء" في الأصل. || عشرة: ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقرئ في مكانها الصحيح في الجملة، في آخر السطر فوق كلمة "ثالث". || وقدم: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

304 Yanbu' is the name of a port town on the Red Sea coast of the Hijaz; it was the ancestral home of the branch of the Ḥasanid family that controlled Mecca from the early thirteenth century onwards, but it was ruled more or less independently from Mecca by its own amir in this period and beyond (E. van Donzel, "Yanbu", in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/yanbu-SIM_7979).

§175 Despite that [pre-occupation with the pilgrimage rituals], [Baybars] did not neglect the government of his realms, [since] the scribes of the chancery wrote down on his behalf [documents] concerning weighty affairs. [An example of this is that] he wrote to the ruler of Yemen reproaching him for certain things. He said: “I have composed [this letter] from glorious Mecca, which I have travelled to in seventeen steps”—by step he meant halting place—and he said: “the ruler is he who performs for God the duty of his *ġihād*, and who exerts himself in defending the territory of Islam. If I were a ruler, I would go out and confront the Mongols!”

10 §176 He was benevolent towards the two amirs of Mecca, towards the amir of Yanbu³⁰⁴, the amir of Ḥulayṣ,³⁰⁵ and the chiefs of the Hijaz. He had two diplomas of investiture written for the two amirs of Mecca, and he assigned next to them the amir Šams al-Dīn Marwān, Nāʾib Amīr Ġāndār,³⁰⁶ to stay with them in Mecca, following the request of both of them, so as to be
15 consulted in the affairs and so that the authority to rule would be in his hands. He increased the annual amount of money and crops to the two amirs of Mecca, for the facilitation of the people’s access to the Kaʿbah.

20 §177 He left Mecca after the completion of the ceremonies on 13 [Dū l-Ḥiġġah] [13 August], and he arrived again in the Prophet’s Medina on 20 [Dū l-Ḥiġġah] [20 August]. He spent the night there and left the next morning. He made every effort in going on, together with a small band, and he arrived in Karak in the morning of Thursday, the last day of [the month], without

305 Ḥulayṣ is the name of a settlement in the Hijaz on the coastal road between Mecca and Medina, set back some distance from the coast; in the later medieval period this cultivated area was also ruled by its own amir (G. Rentz, “al-Ḥidjāz”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-hidjaz-SIM_2857).

306 Šams al-Dīn Marwān, an assistant (*nāʾib*) of the amir ʿIzz al-Dīn Amīr Ġāndār, was appointed by Baybars as his local representative in Mecca, to rule in his name and to confirm the sultan’s local sovereignty; by lack of military resources Marwān’s local authority remained very limited and the arrangement was more symbolic than real; within a year after Marwān’s appointment the two amirs of Mecca removed him from Mecca, took matters again in their own hands, and were acknowledged as Mecca’s sole rulers by the sultan in Cairo (Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-warā*, 3:98–99; Mortel [1985]: 56).

أحد بوصله حتى نزل مشهد جعفر بقريه مؤتة. فتلقاه الناس بها، ودخل المدينة وعليه عباءته التي سار بها—وهو راكب راحله—فبات بها. ٦٧

ورحل من الغد، بعدما | صلى الجمعة مستهل المحرم سنة ثمان وستين وستمائة، ومعه مائة فارس بيد كل فارس منهم فرس، وساق إلى دمشق وسائر من في بلاد مصر وبلاد الشام من الأمراء ومن دونهم لا يعرفون شيئاً من خبر السلطان، هل هو في الشام أو الحجاز أو غير ذلك من بلاد الله. ولا يجسر أحد، لشدة مهابة السلطان والخوف منه، أن يتكلم بشيء من خبره ولا يسأل عنه. فلما قارب دمشق بعث أحد خاصته على البريد بكتب البشارة إلى دمشق بالسلامة بعد قضاء الحج. فلما دخل على الأمير جمال الدين النجيبى—نائب دمشق—جمع الأمراء لقراءة الكتب السلطانية، فبينما هم في القراءة إذ قيل لهم: "قد نزل السلطان بالميدان!" فتبادروا إلى لقائه، فإذا به وحده وقد أعطى فرسه لبعض دلالي سوق الخليل لينادى عليه وهو لا يعرفه أنه السلطان. فعندما شاهدوه ١٠

١ عباءته: "عباءته" في الأصل. ٣ ما: في الأصل الكلمة مكتوبة مرتين، مرة في آخر ص ١٣٠ ب ومرة ثانية في بداية ص. ١١٣١. || وستمائة: "وسمائه" في الأصل. || مائة: "مايه" في الأصل. ٤ وسائر: "وساير" في الأصل. || في: ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "من". || الأمراء: "الامراء" في الأصل. ٥ شيئاً: "شيا" في الأصل. || هو: ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، على نفس السطر + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "هل". ٦ لشدة: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || بشيء: "بشي" في الأصل. ٧ خاصته: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || قضاء: "قضاً" في الأصل. || الحج: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٨ جمال الدين: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || نائب: "نايب" في الأصل. || الأمراء لقراءة: "الامراء لقراءة" في الأصل. || السلطانية: تصحيح في الأصل. ٩ القراءة: "القراه" في الأصل. || إلى: "الي" في الأصل. || لقائه: "لقايه" في الأصل. ١٠ أعطى: تصحيح في الأصل. || فرسه: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "أعطى".

٦٧ راجع خبر حج السلطان بيبرس من "فلما دخل شوال" (356، ٧) إلى هنا على شكل مساو في ابن عبد الظاهر، الروض الزاهر، ص. ٣٥٤-٣٥٧.

anyone knowing about his arrival, until he set up camp at Mašhad Ğa'far, at the village of Mu'tah.³⁰⁷ The people came to see him there. He entered the town, while he was wearing the cloak which he had left with, and while he was mounted on his riding camel. He spent the night there.

- 5 §178 He left the next morning, after he had prayed the Friday prayer of 1 Muḥarram of the year 668 [30 August 1269]. With him were 100 horsemen, every horseman among them having a horse in his hand. He moved on to Damascus, while all those who were in Egypt and Syria, from the amirs and from those lower in status than them, were unaware of any news about the
10 sultan: was he in Syria, or in the Hijaz, or at any other place of God's lands? Because of the strong reverence and fear for the sultan no one dared to say anything about his whereabouts nor ask after him. When he approached Damascus, he sent one of his retainers via the postal system with letters of good news to Damascus, [announcing] the safe return after the completion
15 of the pilgrimage. When he entered with the amir Ğamāl al-Dīn al-Nağībī, the governor of Damascus,³⁰⁸ the amirs had gathered to read the sultan's letters. While they were reading, there suddenly was said to them: "The sultan has set up camp on the hippodrome [outside the city wall]". They hurried to meet with him. There he was all by himself, having given his horse
20 to one of the stewards of the horse market, who had been called for [by Baybars] without knowing that he was the sultan. When they sighted him,

307 Mu'tah is the name of a village south of Karak, on the Syrian *ḥağğ* route, in the centre of a fertile plain in the lower Transjordan region; Mašhad Ğa'far refers to the mausoleum that was built over the tombs of the Arab leaders, including the Prophet's nephew, Ğa'far b. Abī Ṭālib, who, in 8/629, fell at Mu'tah, defeated by Byzantine forces (F. Buhl, "Mu'ta", in *EI*², http://brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/muta-SIM_5637).

308 Ğamāl al-Dīn Āqqūš al-Nağībī (d. 677/1278) was a peer of Baybars since the time of the last Ayyūbid ruler of Egypt, al-Šāliḥ Ayyūb; after having been steward (*ustādār*) in Egypt, he was governor in Syria from around 660/1262 until 670/1271 (Amitai [1997]: 294, no. 13). His name and tenure of office in Syria are also mentioned in the Maqām Nabī Mūsá inscription that includes an explicit reference to Baybars' *ḥağğ*: "[the construction of this shrine in the course of 668/late 1269 happened during] the governorship of his slave and agent, the great amir, the frontier warrior, Ğamāl al-Dīn 'Āqqūš al-Nağībī, governor of the Syrian provinces" (Amitai [2006]: 46–49).

قبل النائب الارض وتلاه الأمراء، وحضر الأمير آق سنقر الفارقاني ومن معه من عسكر مصر، فأكل السلطان شيئا، وقام ليستريح، وانصرف الناس.

فركب في نفر يسير وتوجه في خفية يريد حلب. فلما حضر الأمراء خدمة العصر لم يجدوا السلطان ولا عرف له خبر. فبينما نائب حلب والأمراء في الموكب تحت قلعة حلب وإذا بالسلطان قد ساق ووقف ساعة، فلم يعرفه أحد حتى فطن به بعضهم. فنزل عن فرسه وقبل له الأرض، فبادر الجميع ونزلوا وقبلوا الأرض، وساروا في ركابه حتى دخل دار نائب حلب. ثم كشف القلعة وخرج من حلب ولم يعرف أحد به.

فدخل دمشق في ثالث عشره على حين غفلة، ولعب بالكرة، وسار ليلا إلى القدس، وسار إلى الخليل، وتصدق بعدة صدقات.

وكان الأمير آق سنقر قد سار بمن معه من عسكر مصر، ونزل تل العجول، فوفاه السلطان هناك وعليه عباته لم يغيرها، وسار من تل العجول بالعسكر في حادي عشرينه، وقدم القاهرة أول صفر وعليه عباته التي حجج بها لم يغيرها نحو خمسة وسبعين يوما. فخرج الملك السعيد إلى لقائه، وصعد قلعة الجبل. ٦٨

١ النائب: "النائب" في الأصل. || الأمراء: "الأمراء" في الأصل. ٢ شيئا: "شيا" في الأصل. ٣ الأمراء: "الأمراء" في الأصل. ٤ نائب: "نائب" في الأصل. || والأمراء: "والأمراء" في الأصل. ٦ نائب: "نائب" في الأصل. ٨ حين: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || إلى: ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقرئ ("الي") في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "سار". ١١ عباته: "عباته" في الأصل. ١٢ عباته: "عباته" في الأصل. || لقائه: "لقائه" في الأصل.

٦٨ راجع خبر زيارات السلطان السرية في دمشق وحلب والقدس والخليل من "ورحل من الغد" (354، 3) إلى هنا على شكل مساو في ابن عبد الظاهر، الروض الزاهر، ص. ٣٥٩-٣٦٠.

the governor kissed the ground and the amirs followed him. The amir Āq Sunqur al-Fāriqānī and those who were with him from the army of Egypt were present. The sultan ate something and stood up to take a rest and the people left.

5 §179 He mounted with a handful of people and headed secretly for Aleppo. When the amirs [in Damascus] attended the evening public audience, they did not find the sultan, and no news was known about him. While the governor of Aleppo and the amirs were in the midst of the ceremonial procession below the citadel of Aleppo, there suddenly appeared the sultan, who had
10 come riding and who stood for an hour without anyone recognising him, until one of them became aware of him. [This one then] dismounted from his horse and kissed the ground to honour [the sultan], and all [thereupon] hastened to dismount and to kiss the ground. They proceeded in his escort until he entered the residence of the governor of Aleppo. Then he inspected
15 the citadel and left from Aleppo.

§180 No one knew about him, and then he entered Damascus unnoticed on 13 [Muḥarram] [11 September], he played [a game of] polo and left at night for Jerusalem. He went to Hebron and he made several charitable donations.

§181 The amir Āq Sunqur had left with who was with him from the army of Egypt and he had set up camp at Tall al-‘Ağūl.³⁰⁹ The sultan joined him there, wearing his cloak which he had not changed. From Tall al-‘Ağūl he left with the army on 21 [Muḥarram] [19 September], and he arrived in Cairo on 1 Šafar [29 September], wearing the cloak which he had performed the pilgrimage in, without changing it for about 75 days. Al-Malik al-Sa‘īd came
20 out to meet him and he ascended the citadel of the mountain.
25

309 Tall al-‘Ağūl is a place in Palestine, near Gaza; it is best known for the fact that a Fāṭimid army gained a victory there against the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, in 553/1158 (See M. Canard, “Dirghām”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/dirgham-SIM_1874).

السلطان الملك الناصر ناصر الدين أبو المعالي محمد بن الملك المنصور سيف الدين قلاوون الألفي
الصالح النجفي

131^b ولد يوم السبت نصف المحرم سنة أربع وثمانين وستمائة، وأقيم في السلطنة بعد | قتل أخيه الملك
الأشرف صلاح الدين خليل بن قلاوون في رابع عشر المحرم سنة ثلث وتسعين، وعمره تسع سنين
٥ تنقص يوماً واحداً. فأقام سنة إلا ثلاثة أيام، وخلع بمملوك أبيه زين الدين كتبغا—الملك العادل—

١ قلاوون: "قلاون" في الأصل. ٣ ولد: كلمة غير واضحة بسبب ثقب في المخطوطة ومضافة هنا من أ
(ص. ١٦٤). ٥ وستمائة: "وسمائه" في الأصل. ٥ بمملوك: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

10. The sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Abū l-Maʿālī Muḥammad b. al-Malik al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn Qalāwūn al-Alfī l-Ṣāliḥī l-Nağmī³¹⁰

§182 He was born on Saturday 15 Muḥarram of the year 684 [23 March 1285], and he was installed in the position of sultan after the murder of his
 5 brother al-Malik al-Aṣraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ḥalīl b. Qalāwūn³¹¹ on 14 Muḥarram of the year [6]93 [15 December 1293], at the age of nine years minus one day. He remained in office for one year less three days, and he was deposed [and replaced] by the *mamlūk* of his father, Zayn al-Dīn Kitbugā, al-Malik

310 Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (684–741/1285–1341; r. 693–694/1293–1294, 698–708/1299–1309, 709–741/1310–1341) was the third Qalāwūnid sultan of Egypt and Syria; he was made sultan twice at a young age by prominent amirs from his father's entourage, but in the first case he was soon deposed as a result of this entourage's fragmentation, and in the second instance he resigned from office to escape the impotence of his nominal rule; he eventually returned to power a third time by his own doing, embarking upon three decades of increasingly stable, powerful, and successful rule, marking a high point in the sultanate's history, a remarkable era of economic and cultural efflorescence for Egypt and Syria, and the formation of a Qalāwūnid dynastic state that survived him by many decades (P.M. Holt, "al-Nāṣir. 1. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn", in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-nasir-COM_0852; Levanoni [1995]; Flinterman & Van Steenbergen [2015]).

311 Al-Aṣraf Ḥalīl b. Qalāwūn (r. 689–693/1290–1293) was the second Qalāwūnid sultan of Egypt and Syria; he succeeded his father upon the latter's untimely death, bringing to a victorious end the campaign which his father had begun against the Latin Crusaders, the city of Acre and a handful of other remaining crusader strongholds on the Syrian littoral falling into his hands in 690/1291; his reign and fame are therefore especially remembered in this context of the final expulsion of the Crusaders; but Ḥalīl never really managed to fully impose his authority on his father's former entourage of senior amirs, and he was killed by some of them eventually (U. Haarmann, "Kḥalīl", in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/khalil-SIM_4163).

في حادي عشر المحرم سنة أربع وتسعين، وأخرج مع أمه أشلون بنت شكاي إلى الكرك.

فثار الأمير حسام الدين لاجين المنصوري—نائب السلطنة—على العادل كتبغا، وتسلطن عوضه. فثار عليه {طغجي} وكرجي، فقتلاه، وقتلا أيضا، واستدعى الناصر من الكرك. فقدم إلى قلعة الجبل، وأعيد إلى السلطنة مرة ثانية في سادس جمادى الأولى سنة ثمان وتسعين.

٢ نائب: "نائب" في الأصل. ٣ طغجي: "طغى" في الأصل وهو خطأ، والتصحيح من السياق.

al-ʿĀdil,³¹² on 11 Muḥarram of the year [6]94 [1 December 1294]. He was removed to Karak with his mother Ašlūn bt. Šaknāy.³¹³

§183 The amir Ḥusām al-Dīn Lāğīn al-Manšūrī,³¹⁴ who was viceroy, revolted against al-ʿĀdil Kitbuğā, and he became sultan instead of him. [The amirs] 5 Ṭuğğī and Kurğī³¹⁵ revolted against him, and they killed him, but they were also killed. [Thereupon] al-Nāšir was summoned from Karak. He came to [Cairo’s] citadel of the mountain and he was reinstated in the position of sultan a second time, on 6 Jumāda I of the year [6]98 [9 February 1299].

312 Al-ʿĀdil Kitbuğā l-Manšūrī (r. 694–696/1294–1296) was a former *mamlūk* of Oirat Mongol origins in the service of sultan al-Manšur Qalāwūn; as a senior member from Qalāwūn’s entourage, he managed to become vicegerent and the strong man behind the throne of the child-ruler al-Nāšir Muḥammad, until he deposed him and took the throne and position of sultan for himself; his short reign was marked by dearth and famine in Egypt, and by the settlement in Palestine of Mongol refugee warriors with their families; eventually, he was deposed by a party headed by his own vicegerent, Lāğīn al-Manšūrī, who succeeded him as sultan (P.M. Holt, “Lādǰīn”, in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ladjin-SIM_4611; Elham [1977]).

313 Ašlūn was the daughter of a Mongol notable, Šaknāy (more commonly known as Šaktāy), who moved with his family from Anatolia to Egypt in 675/1276; Ašlūn’s marriage to sultan Qalāwūn was concluded in 680/1281–1282 (Holt [1995]: 314).

314 Ḥusām al-Dīn Lāğīn l-Manšūrī (r. 696–698/1296–1299) was a former *mamlūk* in the service of sultan al-Manšur Qalāwūn, in whose name he successfully performed the position of governor of Syria for many years; as one of the strong men from Qalāwūn’s entourage, he continued to dominate the political theatre of Cairo after Qalāwūn’s death throughout the 690s/1290s; he became vicegerent of sultan al-ʿĀdil Kitbuğā, and upon his deposition Lāğīn was himself installed as sultan al-Manšūr; he however equalled failed to fully impose his authority on his fellow amirs, and when he tried to reform and re-organise the allocation of fiscal resources to the realm’s elites in an attempt to strengthen his position as sultan, he was murdered (Holt, “Lādǰīn”, in *ET*²; Id. [1973]; Elham [1977]).

315 The amirs Kurğī and Ṭuğğī l-Ašrafī were two former *mamlūks* of al-Ašraf Ḥalīl, who promoted them to high status and office; they retained their positions after Ḥalīl’s murder, but in the reign of al-Manšur Lāğīn they got into conflict with the sultan’s vicegerent and organised a successful conspiracy as a result; in the days following their murder of the sultan and his vicegerent their plan to usurp their victims’ power and positions failed and they were both killed (Ibn Tağrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-šāfi*, 6:414–415; 9:125–126; Holt [1973]: 529–531).

فأقام عشر سنين وخمسة أشهر وستة عشر يوماً محجوراً عليه لا يملك التصرف في أكلة طعام يشتهيها، والقائم بتدبير الدولة الأميران بيبرس الجاشنكير—أستادار السلطان—وسلار—نائب السلطنة—، فدبر لنفسه في سنة ثمان وسبعمائة، وأظهر أنه يريد الحج بعياله. فوافقه الأميران على ذلك، وشرعوا في تجهيزه، وكتب إلى دمشق والكرك برمي الإقامات، وألزم عرب الشرقية بحمل الشعير. فلما تهيأ ذلك أحضر الأمراء تقادمهم من الخليل والجمال في العشرين من شهر رمضان. فقبلها، وركب في خامس عشرينه من القلعة، ومعه الأمراء، إلى بركة الحاج وتعين

١ فأقام: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٢ والقائم: "القائم" في الأصل. || بيبرس: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || نائب: "نائب" في الأصل. ٣ وسبعمائة: "وسبعمائة" في الأصل. ٥ الأمراء: "الأمراء" في الأصل. ٦ الأمراء: "الأمراء" في الأصل.

§184 He remained in office for ten years, five months, and 16 days, while he was placed under guardianship, without even possessing the authority to eat the food that he desired, the state being run by the two amirs Baybars al-Ġāšnikīr,³¹⁶ who was the steward of the sultan, and Sallār,³¹⁷ who was the vicegerent. Therefore, he hatched up a plan for himself in the year 5 708 [1309]. He made it look as though he wanted to perform the pilgrimage with his family. The two amirs agreed with him on that, and they began to prepare for it. There was written to Damascus and Karak to sent forth supplies, and the Bedouin of al-Šarqiyyah³¹⁸ were obliged to provide barley. 10 When that was prepared, the amirs presented their ceremonial gifts, consisting of horses and camels, on the 20th of the month Ramaḍān [3 March]. He received them and rode from the citadel on 25 [Ramaḍān] [8 March], together with the amirs, until the Birkat al-Ḥāġġ.³¹⁹ To accompany him on

316 Baybars al-Manšūrī l-Ġāšnikīr (r. 708–709/1309–1310) was a former *mamlūk* in the service of sultan al-Manšūr Qalāwūn, who acted as taster (*ġāšnikīr*) in Qalāwūn's household, and who rose to prominence after Qalāwūn's death, eventually obtaining the position of royal steward (*ustādār*); after the killing of al-Manšūr Lāġīn, and together with his peer Sallār, Baybars emerged as one of the new leading amirs behind al-Nāšir Muḥammad's throne, establishing a *duumvirate* that lasted until al-Nāšir Muḥammad's abdication; the widely respected Baybars was then proclaimed sultan al-Muzaffar, but support for his unexpected rule soon proved fickle and eventually he was deposed by al-Nāšir Muḥammad and strangled (L. Fernandes, "Baybars II, al-Malik al-Muzaffar Jāšnikīr", in *ET*³ http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/baybars-ii-al-malik-al-muzaffar-jashnikir-COM_24315).

317 The amir Sayf al-Dīn Sallār (d. 710/1310) (also known as Sālār) was a former *mamlūk* of Oirat Mongol origins in the service of al-Manšūr Qalāwūn, who had been captured by Qalāwūn during a military expedition in Anatolia; just as his peer Baybars, he rose to prominence after Qalāwūn's death, and he eventually obtained the position of vicegerent (*nā'ib al-saltānah*) when he took power with Baybars behind al-Nāšir Muḥammad's throne; he retained the viceregency when Baybars was enthroned, but when al-Nāšir Muḥammad marched on Cairo, Sallār delivered the city to him; eventually, he was arrested and starved to death (Holt [1986]: 110–112).

318 Al-Šarqiyyah was (and still is) the name of one of the largest provinces of the eastern part of lower Egypt, with the town of Bilbays as its administrative centre (al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ al-a'šā*, 3:400–401).

319 Birkat al-Ḥāġġ, the Pond of the Pilgrim (also known as Birkat al-Ḥāġġ, the Pond of the Pilgrimage, or Birkat al-Ḥuġġāġ, The Pond of the Pilgrims), refers to a small lake northeast of Cairo, formed by the waters of the ancient Canal (*Ḥalīġ*) that had been blocked there; it was the first station on the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca from Egypt (Raymond [2001]: 16).

معهُ للسفر أيدمر الخطيري والحاج أَل مَلِك الجوكندار وقرا لاجين—أمير مجلس—وبلبان—
 أمير جاندار—وأبيك الرومي—أمير سلاح—ويبيرس الأحمدى وسنجر الجمقدار وتقطاي الساقى

١ أَل: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || لاجين: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

320 Aydamur al-Ḥaṭīrī (d. 737/1337) was a former *mamlūk* of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, who rose to prominence during the successive reigns of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, 3:180–182; Amitai [1990]: 161, no. 1).

the voyage, there were appointed Aydamur al-Ḥaṭīrī,³²⁰ the *ḥājj* Āl Malik al-Ġūkandār,³²¹ Qarā Lāğīn,³²² who was master of the audience, Balabān,³²³ who was master of the reception, Aybak al-Rūmī,³²⁴ who was master of arms, Baybars al-Aḥmadī,³²⁵ Saṅğar al-Ġamaqdār,³²⁶ Tuqtāy al-Sāqī,³²⁷ Sunqur al-

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- 321 Āl Malik al-Ġūkandār (d. 747/1346) was a former *mamlūk* of al-Manşūr Qalāwūn, acquired from the spoils of war of a campaign in Anatolia by sultan Baybars; he rose to prominence during the successive reigns of al-Nāşir Muḥammad, becoming a highly venerated and widely respected veteran amir in the 730s/1330s and 740s/1340s; he was known as *al-ḥājj* as a token of his piety and interest in the pilgrimage (Ibn Tağrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-şāfi*, 3:85–88; Amitai [1990]: 162, no. 12; Van Steenberg [2005]: 197).
- 322 Qarā Lāğīn al-Manşūrī (d. 715/1315) was a former *mamlūk* of al-Manşūr Qalāwūn who rose to prominence after the latter's death, eventually obtaining the position of steward (*ustādār*) under al-Nāşir Muḥammad, apparently after also having served as his master of the audience (*amīr mağlis*) (Ibn Tağrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-şāfi*, 9:53; Amitai [1990]: 162, no. 9).
- 323 Balabān (d. 734/1333), also known as Balabān Ṭurnā,—whose origins remain unclear—was an amir and master of the reception (*amīr ġāndār*) in Egypt until al-Nāşir Muḥammad made him governor of Karak in Syria; shortly afterwards, in 714/1315, he was arrested and forced to spend a decade in the prison of the governor of Syria; he ended his days as a senior amir in the retinue of the same governor (Ibn Tağrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-şāfi*, 3:421–422; al-Şafadī, *A'yān al-ʿaşr*, 2:44–45).
- 324 Aybak al-Rūmī l-Manşūrī (d. ?) was a former *mamlūk* of al-Manşūr Qalāwūn who rose to prominence after the latter's death, apparently eventually obtaining the position of master of arms (*amīr silāh*) at al-Nāşir Muḥammad's court; he fell from favour in 713/1314, after which all traces of him are lost in extant sources (Amitai [1990]: 162, no. 14; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:128).
- 325 Baybars al-Aḥmadī (d. 746/1345) was a senior amir who soon after al-Nāşir's third accession became master of the reception (*amīr ġāndār*), which he remained throughout the rest of the sultan's reign; as one of the Qalāwūnid state's most longstanding agents, he became a highly respected and powerful veteran amir in the 730s/1330s and 740s/1340s (Ibn Tağrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-şāfi*, 3:479–481; Amitai [1990]: 163, no. 19; Van Steenberg [2005]: 197–198).
- 326 Saṅğar al-Manşūrī l-Ġamaqdār (d. 745/1345) was a former *mamlūk* of al-Manşūr Qalāwūn who rose to prominence after the latter's death; he remained a senior amir in Egypt until al-Nāşir Muḥammad transferred him to a position of senior amir in Damascus in 730/1330 (al-Şafadī, *A'yān al-ʿaşr*, 2: 465; Amitai [1990]: 161, no. 5).
- 327 No information has been retrieved for this amir; he obviously had been a member of one of the preceding sultans' household corps of cupbearers (*sāqī*), and he had risen to rank and prominence in the first decade of the eighth/fourteenth century, but nothing further is known about him.

وسنقر السعدي—النقيب—ونخسة وسبعين مملوكا. وعاد بيبرس وسلار من غير أن يترجلا له عند نزوله بالبركة.

فرحل من ليلته وعرج إلى الصالحية وعيد بها، وتوجه إلى الكرك. فقدهما في عاشر شوال، وبها الأمير جمال الدين آقوش الأشرفي نائبا. فنزل بقلعتها وصرح بأنه قد انثنى عزمه عن الحج واختار الإقامة بالكرك وترك السلطنة ليستريح. وكتب إلى الأمراء بذلك وسأل أن ينعم عليه بالكرك والشوبك. وأعاد من كان معه من الأمراء وسلمهم المهجن—وعدتهم خمسمائة هجين—والمال والجمال وجميع ما قدمه له الأمراء، وأخذ ما كان من المال بالكرك—وهو ستمائة ألف درهم فضة وعشرون ألف دينار—، وأمر نائب الكرك أيضا بالمسير عنه، فسار إلى مصر.

١ النقيب: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٤ جمال: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || نائبا: "نايبا" في الأصل. || بأنه: ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "صرح". ٥ الأمراء: "الامراء" في الأصل. ٦ الأمراء: "الامراء" في الأصل. || خمسمائة: "خمسمائة" في الأصل. ٧ الأمراء: "الامراء" في الأصل. || ستمائة: "ستمائة" في الأصل. ٨ نائب: "نايب" في الأصل.

Sa'dī,³²⁸ who was parade officer, and 75 *mamlūks*. When he had set up camp at the pond, Baybars and Sallār returned, without having dismounted for him [as protocol demands].

§185 He left the same night, and halted at al-Šālihiyyah,³²⁹ where he celebrated the Feast [of Fast-breaking]. [Then] he headed for Karak. He arrived there on 10 Šawwāl [23 March], and the amir Ġamāl al-Dīn Āqqūš al-Ašrafī³³⁰ was there as a governor. [The sultan] settled down in its citadel, and declared that he no longer wished to perform the pilgrimage, and [that] he preferred to stay at Karak, renouncing the post of sultan so as to find some rest. He wrote about that to the amirs and asked that Karak and al-Shawbak would be granted to him. He sent back those from the amirs who were with him, handing over to them the dromedaries—their number was 500 dromedaries—the money, the camels, and everything that the amirs had presented to him. He took the money that was in Karak—600,000 high quality silver *dirhams* and 20,000 *dīnārs*. [Finally] he ordered the governor of Karak to also leave him alone, so [Āqqūš al-Ašrafī] left for Egypt.

328 Sunqur al-Sa'dī (d. 728/1328) was an amir in the entourage of al-Nāšir Muḥammad, and a parade officer (*naqīb*) of the royal *mamlūks*, until his removal to Tripoli in 723/1323, where he remained until his death; he is remembered especially for the peculiar *madrasah* for women with attached domed mausoleum which he had constructed south of Cairo, between 715/1315 and 721/1321 (and which is still standing there) (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:246; Id., *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, 4:598–602; Behrens-Abouseif [1989]: 107–108; Warner [2005]: 137, no. 263).

329 Al-Šālihiyyah refers to the name of a settlement on the north-eastern fringe of al-Šarqiyyah province of Egypt, on the route connecting Cairo with Syria, via Bilbays and Gaza; it was founded by the last Ayyūbid ruler of Egypt, al-Šāliḥ Ayyūb (hence its name), as a strategic stopping place for caravans and troops travelling from and to Egypt (al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ al-ašā*, 3:400; 14:377).

330 Ġamāl al-Dīn Āqqūš al-Ašrafī (d. 736/1336) was a former *mamlūk* of al-Ašraf Ḥalīl, who rose to prominence during the successive reigns of al-Ašraf Ḥalīl and of al-Nāšir Muḥammad, securing throughout his long career various high positions in Egypt and Syria, including the governorships of Karak (which he retained for 18 years, until 708/1309, hence his nickname 'the Governor of Karak' [Nā'ib al-Karak]), and—briefly—of Damascus and of Tripoli; he died in the prison of Alexandria, after having been arrested in 734/1333 (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-šāfi*, 3:27–30).

وتسلطن بيبرس الجاشنكير | وتلقب بالملك المظفر، وكتب للناصر تقليدا بناية الكرك وجهزه مع^{132a} الحاج آل ملك. فأظهر الملك الناصر البشر وخطب باسم المظفر على منبر الكرك، وأنعم على الحاج آل ملك وأعادته. فلم يتركه المظفر، وأخذ يناكره ويطلب منه من معه من المماليك الذين اختارهم للإقامة عنده وانحلول التي أخذها من قلعة الجبل والمال الذي أخذه من الكرك، وهدده بتجهيز العساكر إليه وأخذه. فحقق لذلك وكتب لنواب الشام يشكو ما هو فيه. فحثوه على القيام لأخذ ملكه ووعدوه بالنصر. فتحرك لذلك وسار إلى دمشق، وأتته النواب، وقدم إلى مصر، ففر بيبرس وطلع الناصر القلعة يوم عيد الفطر سنة تسع وسبعمائة.

فأقام في الملك اثنتين وثلاثين سنة وشهرين وعشرين يوما. ومات في ليلة الخميس حادي عشرين ذي الحجة سنة إحدى وأربعين وسبعمائة، وعمره سبع وخمسون سنة وأحد عشر شهرا وخمسة أيام.

ومدة سلطنته في المدد الثلاث ثلاث وأربعون سنة وثمانية أشهر وتسعة أيام. حج فيها ثلاث مرات:

الأولى في سنة اثنتي عشرة وسبعمائة، وسببها أن خربندا تحرك لأخذ الشام ونزل على الفرات. نفرج السلطان بعساكر مصر في ثالث شوال، وسار إلى الصالحية، فقدم البريد من حلب ودمشق

١ الجاشنكير: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || تقليدا: "تقليد" في الأصل، والألف لتنوين الفتح مضافة بخط المقرئ في مكانها فوق السطر. ٢ الملك الناصر: ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح، يشير إليها الرمز "ب" بعد كلمة "فأظهر". ٣ الذين: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٤ التي: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٥ وأخذه: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || يشكو: "يشكو" في الأصل. ٧ وسبعمائة: "وسبعمائة" في الأصل. ٨ اثنتين: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٩ وأربعين وسبعمائة: "وأربعين وسبعمائة" في الأصل. || وأحد: تصحيح في الأصل. ١٠ ثلاث: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ١١ الأولى: تصحيح في الأصل. || اثنتي: "بنتي" في الأصل. || وسبعمائة: "وسبعمائة" في الأصل.

§186 Baybars al-Ġāšnikīr assumed the position of sultan, with the royal style of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar. He had a diploma of investiture written for al-Nāšir for the position of governor of Karak, and he had it sent over with the *ḥāġġ* Āl Malik. Al-Malik al-Nāšir made the glad tidings public [in Karak], and he had the Friday sermon delivered in the name of al-Muẓaffar from the *minbar* of Karak. He showed his benevolence towards the *ḥājj* Āl Malik and then he sent him back. But al-Muẓaffar did not leave him alone. He began to distrust him and to demand from him the *mamlūks* who were with him and whom he had chosen to stay with him, the horses which he had taken from the citadel of the mountain, and the money that he had taken from Karak. [Al-Muẓaffar] threatened him with sending the armies against him and with his arrest. [Al-Nāšir] became angry because of that, and wrote to the governors of Syria to complain about his situation. They prompted him to rise and take his realm, and they promised him victory. Therefore, he started to organise his campaign and he proceeded towards Damascus, [where] the governors came to him. [When he marched on and] arrived in Egypt, Baybars fled, and al-Nāšir ascended to the citadel on the day of the Feast of Fast-breaking of the year 709 [4 March 1310].

§187 He continued to rule for 32 years, two months, and 20 days. He died in the night of Thursday 21 Dū l-Ḥiġġah of the year 741 [7 June 1341], at the age of 57 years, 11 months, and five days.

§188 The period of his sultanate over the three terms is 43 years, eight months, and nine days, during which he went on pilgrimage three times.

§189 The first one was in the year 712 [1313]. The reason for it was that Ḥarbandā³³¹ was organising a campaign to take Syria, and [that] he was setting up camp near the Euphrates. The sultan left with the armies of Egypt on 3 Šawwāl [1 February 1313], proceeding up to al-Šālihiyyah. The postal system then brought message from Aleppo and Damascus that Ḥarbandā had left

331 Ḥarbandā refers to the penultimate Mongol ruler of the Īlḥānid realm in Iraq and Persia, Ġiyāt al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥarbandā (later changed to Ḥudābandā) Ōljeytū (r. 704–716/1304–1316); he is remembered in particular in Arabic sources for mounting the last but unsuccessful Īlḥānid campaign against the Syro-Egyptian sultanate, in 712/1312–1313 (D.O. Morgan, “Ōldjeytū”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/oldjeytu-SIM_6018).

برحيل خربندا عن الرحبة يوم عيد الفطر يريد بلاده. فسر السلطان بذلك وعزم على الحج. ودخل دمشق في ثالث عشرينه، وفرق العساكر في الجهات، وركب في أربعين أميراً وستة آلاف مملوك على الهجن في أول ذي القعدة، وأخذ معه مائة فرس. فقتضى نسكه وعاد إلى دمشق بعد مروره بالمدينة النبوية ودخوله الكرك. فدخل في حادي عشر المحرم سنة ثلث عشرة وهو راكب ناقه لطيفة القد بعمامة مدورة ولثام وعليه بثت من أبشات العرب وفي يده حربة، وتلقاه شيخ الإسلام تقي الدين أحمد بن تيمية وسائر الفقهاء وجميع الناس. فكان يوماً مشهوداً بلغ كراء دار للتفرج على السلطان ستمائة درهم فضة. ثم سار إلى مصر وصعد قلعة الجبل في ثاني عشر صفر.

ثم حج في سنة تسع عشرة وسبعمئة. فلما تحرك لذلك أئتمه تقادم الأمراء وسائر نواب الشام وأمراء دمشق وحلب، وأول من بعث تقدمته الأمير تنكر—نائب—وفيهما الخليل والهجن بأكوار الذهب

٣ مائة: "ماية" في الأصل. ٥-٦ شيخ... أحمد: ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "تلقاه". ٦ وسائر: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ ("وساير"). || الفقهاء: "الفقهاء" في الأصل. || كراء: "كرآ" في الأصل. ٧ ستمائة: "ستمايه" في الأصل. ٨ وسبعمئة: "وسبعماه" في الأصل. || الأمراء: "الامرآ" في الأصل. || وسائر: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ ("وساير"). || وأمراء: "وامرآ" في الأصل. ٩ نائب: "نايب" في الأصل. || بأكوار: كلمة غير واضحة بسبب ثقب في المخطوطة ومضافة هنا من أ (ص. ٦٦ ب).

332 Al-Rahbah, or Raḥbat al-Šām is the name of a town with a citadel on the right bank of the middle Euphrates; in the later medieval period it functioned both as a strategic military stronghold and as an important caravan station, on the natural frontier between Syria and Mongol/post-Mongol Iraq (E. Honigmann, Th. Bianquis, "al-Rahba", in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-rahba-SIM_6190).

333 Aḥmad b. Taymiyyah (661–728/1263–1328) was a Ḥanbalī theologian and jurist from Damascus, whose charismatic personality and controversial thinking had a substantial impact—during and after his own lifetime—upon the social and intellectual life of Damascus, of Syria, of the Syro-Egyptian sultanate, of the Ḥanbalī socio-intellectual

from al-Raḥbah³³² on the day of the Feast of Fast-breaking, heading back to his lands. The sultan was happy with that, and he set his mind on performing the pilgrimage. He entered Damascus on 23 [Šawwāl] [21 February], and he spread the armies over the different regions [in the Damascus province].

5 He then rode off amidst 40 amirs and 6,000 *mamlūks*, on dromedaries, on 1 Dū l-Qa'dah [28 February], taking 100 horses with him. He fulfilled his pilgrimage rituals, and returned to Damascus, passing by the Prophet's Medina and entering Karak on the route. He made his entry [into Damascus] on 11 Muḥarram of the year [7]13 [8 May 1313], riding a she-camel of fine

10 stature, [wearing] a round turban with a veil and one of the Bedouin's cloaks, and [holding] a spear in his hand. The *šayḥ al-Islām* Taqī l-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taymiyyah,³³³ all the jurists, and the entire population came out to meet him. It was a memorable day, the rent for a house from which one could watch the sultan reaching [no less than] 600 silver *dirhams*. Then he

15 proceeded to Egypt, and he ascended the citadel of the mountain on 12 Šafar [8 June].

§190 Then he went on pilgrimage in the year 719 [1319–1320]. When he started organising that campaign, there came to him ceremonial gifts from the amirs, from all governors of Syria, and from the amirs of Dam-

20 ascus and Aleppo. The first who sent his ceremonial gift was the amir Tankiz,³³⁴ the governor of Syria. It consisted of horses and dromedaries with

community, and beyond; the polemicist Ibn Taymiyyah clashed regularly with the authorities of his day, to the extent that he was persecuted and enjoined on various occasions; at first, sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad sympathised with Ibn Taymiyyah, but as a consequence of the latter's uncompromising attitude, their relationship soon changed for the worse, and eventually Ibn Taymiyyah died in the citadel of Damascus, after having been imprisoned for more than two years by order of the sultan (H. Laoust, "Ibn Taymiyya", in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibn-taymiyya-SIM_3388; Bori [2003]).

334 Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī (d. 740/1340) was a former *mamlūk* of Lāḡīn and of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who rose to prominence during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's second reign, and who became the sultan's right hand in Syria in 712/1312; as governor of Damascus his authority stretched over the entire region of Syria, and as the prime regional agent of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's state, also related to the sultan through various marriages, Tankiz remained in power until 740/1340, over time increasingly transforming into a semi-autonomous Syrian ruler; eventually, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had his overpowerful agent Tankiz arrested and executed (S. Conermann, "Tankiz", in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/tankiz-COM_1168; Conermann [2008]).

والسلاسل من الذهب والفضة وجميع المقاوود والمخاطم والآلات | من الحرير الملون المحكم الصنعة،^{132b} ثم تقادم الملك المؤيد عماد الدين—صاحب حماة—، ثم تلاه الأمراء.

وشرع القاضي كريم الدين عبد الكريم—ناظر الخالص—في تجهيز ما يحتاج إليه، وخرج إلى ناحية سرياقوس، وصار يقف—وهو مشدود الوسط—أو يجلس على كرسي وسائر أرباب الوظائف

١ والآلات : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقريري. ٢ تقادم : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقريري. || الأمراء: "الأمراء" في الأصل. ٣ القاضي كريم الدين عبد الكريم: مضافة بخط المقريري في الأصل في مكانها الصحيح في السطر. ٤ هو: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقريري. || مشدود: ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقريري في الهامش الأيسر، من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "هو".

golden camel saddles and chains of gold and silver, and all the reins, halters, and equipments were of coloured silk, constructed in a solid fashion. Then [came] the ceremonial gift of al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad 'Imād al-Dīn, the lord of Ḥamāh;³³⁵ thereafter followed [the gifts of] the amirs.

- 5 §191 The judge Karīm al-Dīn 'Abd al-Karīm,³³⁶ who was controller of the privy purse, began to prepare what was necessary. He left for Siryāqūs,³³⁷ and he began to organise things, either standing up as the central point of intense [hustle and bustle], or sitting on a chair, while all the officials

335 Al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad 'Imād al-Dīn Abū l-Fidā' Ismā'īl b. 'Alī b. Maḥmūd (672–732/1273–1331) was a scion of the Ayyūbid family, who also obtained fame as a historian and a geographer; as the only remaining Ayyūbid in Syria, he was proclaimed lord of Ḥamāh and beyond upon his father's death; soon loosing his authority to the sultan, Abū l-Fidā' always maintained close and constructive relationships with rulers in Cairo and their representatives in Ḥamāh; as a result, in 710/1310 Ḥamāh was restored to him by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and in 720/1320 Abū l-Fidā' was even made sultan of Ḥamāh, an unusual title and position that were inherited by his son after him; this local restoration of the Ayyūbid sultanate came to an end upon the latter's death in 742/1341 (D.J. Talmon-Heller, "Abū l-Fidā', al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad 'Imād al-Dīn", in *ET*³ http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/abu-l-fida-al-malik-al-muayyad-imad-al-din-SIM_0286).

336 Karīm al-Dīn Ibn al-Sadīd (c. 654–724/c. 1256–1324), also known as Karīm al-Dīn al-Kabīr, was a member of the Egyptian Coptic scribal class, who converted to Islam during his career as a scribe, taking the name 'Abd al-Karīm; a scribe in the royal financial administration, Karīm al-Dīn rose to prominence and to remarkable influence during the first decade of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign; he was the first to occupy the position of controller of the privy purse (*nāẓir al-ḥāṣṣ*) in its new capacity as supreme financial administrator of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's state; in 723/1323, he fell from royal favour and was tried for embezzlement, and he ended up strangled (W.M. Brinner, "Ibn al-Sadīd", in *ET*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibn-al-sadid-SIM_3345; Eychenne [2012]).

337 Siryāqūs was the name of a village to the North of Cairo, where there appeared between 723/1323 and 725/1325 by order of the Qalāwūnid sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (d. 741/1341) an enormous hospice (*ḥānqāh*) for the housing of 100 mystics, a hippodrome for the polo game, and palaces for the sultan and his amirs, surrounded by lush gardens; Siryāqūs allegedly remained a royal resort and a place of elite entertainment until the end of the eighth/fourteenth century, after which the place was left to ruin (Levanoni [1995]: 160).

في خدمته وهو يرتب الأمور، فعمل عدة قدور من فضة ونحاس تحمل على البخاتي ليطيخ فيها، وأحضر الخولة لعمل مَبَاقِلٍ وخضراوات ورياحين ومشمومات في أحواض خشب لتحمل على الجمال وتسقى طول الطريق ويؤخذ منها كل يوم ما يحتاج إليه. ورتب الأفران وقلائي الجبن وصناع الكماج والسميد وغير ذلك مما يحتاج إليه. وأعطى العربان أجر الجمال التي تحمل الشعير والبشماط والدقيق، وجهاز مركبين في البحر إلى ينبع ومركبين إلى جدة بعدما اعتبر كلفة العليق بأوراق ٥ كتب فيها أسماء اثنين وخمسين أميراً منهم من له في اليوم مائة عليقة ومنهم من له خمسون عليقة وأقلهم من له عشرون عليقة. فكانت جملة الشعير المحمول مائة ألف إردب وثلثين ألف إردب. وجهاز من الشام خمسمائة جمل تحمل الحلوى والسكرانات والفواكه، وحضرت أيضاً حوائج خاناه على مائة وثمانين جملاً تحمل الحب رمان واللوز وما يحتاج إليه في المطبخ سوى ما حمل من الحوائج خاناه من القاهرة، وجهاز ألف طائر إوز وثلاثة آلاف طائر دجاج. ١٠

فلما تهيأ ذلك ركب السلطان مستهلاً ذي القعدة ومعه المؤيد—صاحب حماة—وقاضي القضاة

٣ وتسقى: "وتسقا" في الأصل. ٤ وأعطى: "واعطا" في الأصل. ٦ أسماء: "اسماء" في الأصل. ٥ مائة: "مايه" في الأصل. ٧ مائة: "مايه" في الأصل. ٨ خمسمائة: "خمسمايه" في الأصل. ٥ وحضرت: تصحيح في الأصل. ٩ مائة: "مايه" في الأصل. ٥ سوى: "سوي" في الأصل. ١٠ ألف طائر: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ (الف طائر). ٥ طائر: "طائر" في الأصل.

were in his service. He arranged for several silver and copper kettles to be carried on Bactrian camels for cooking purposes, and he had servants brought to arrange herbs, vegetables, aromatic plants, and sweet-smelling plants in wooden containers that were to be carried on camels, that were
 5 to be watered along the road, and from which there was to be taken daily what was needed. He organised the ovens, the cheese pans, and the hard bread and semolina makers, and similar things that were needed. He gave the Bedouin the rent for the camels that were to carry the barley, the biscuits, and the flour. He arranged for two boats to sail to Yanbu' and two boats
 10 to sail to Jeddah, after assessing the expenditure for the fodder [that was transported on the boats] on sheets of paper. The names of 52 amirs were written [on these sheets]: among them there were those who had 100 daily fodder rations, among them there were those who had 50 fodder rations, and the lowest among them were those who had 20 fodder rations. The
 15 total amount of the barley that was transported was 130,000 *irdabb*.³³⁸ From Syria, there were sent 500 camels carrying sweets, sugar pots, and fruits. There were also brought containers for provisions on 180 camels, containing pomegranate seeds, almonds, and what is needed for cooking. On top of [all that], provision containers were also brought from Cairo, and there were
 20 sent along 1,000 geese and 3,000 chickens.

§ 192 When all that had been prepared, the sultan rode out on 1 Dū l-Qa'dah [14 December 1319], together with al-Mu'ayyad, the lord of Ḥamāh, and

338 *Irdabb* is an ancient measure of capacity for grain, used in Egypt in particular; its actual weight varied according to time and place, and is therefore difficult to reconstruct; in general, one *irdabb* is equaled to five bushels or about 200 litres ("irdabb", in *EI², Glossary and Index of Terms*. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2-Glossary-and-Index-of-Terms/irdabb-SIM_gi_01803).

بدر الدين محمد بن جماعة الشافعي، بعدما مهدت عقبة أيلة من الصخور ووسع مضيقها بعدما كان سلوكه مشقاً، وفتح مغارة شعيب.

فلما قدم مكة أظهر من التواضع والذلة والمسكنة أمراً زائداً، وسجد عند معاينة البيت بسجود عبدٍ ذليل. ثم التفت إلى الأمير بدر الدين جنكلي بن البابا وقال: "لا زلت أعظم نفسي حتى رأيت البيت. فذكرت تقبيل الناس الأرض لي، فدخل قلبي مهابة عظيمة لم تزل حتى سجدت لله تعالى ٥ شكرًا". وتقدم إليه قاضي القضاة بدر الدين ابن جماعة وحسن له أن يطوف راجلاً. فإن النبي ﷺ طاف راجلاً. فقال: "يا قاضي، ومن أنا حتى اتسبه بالنبي ﷺ؟ والله لا طفت إلا كما يطوف الناس". فطاف من غير أن يكون معه أحد من الحجاب، فصار الناس يزاحمونه ويزاحمهم كواحد منهم حتى قضى | طوافه وسعيه.

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٣ زائداً: "زايداً" في الأصل. ٦ قاضي ... الدين: ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح (بدون رمز إشارة). || ابن: "بن" في الأصل، والألف مضافة بخط المقرئ قبل كلمة "بن" في مكانها الصحيح فوق السطر. || جماعة: كلمة غير واضحة بسبب ثقب في المخطوطة ومضافة هنا من أ (ص. ٦٨). || ﷺ: ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "النبي". ٧ ﷺ: ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، على نفس السطر والتالي + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "النبي". ٩ طوافه: في الأصل الكلمة مكتوبة مرتين، مرة في آخر ص. ١٣٢ ب ومرة أخرى في بداية ص. ١٣٣ أ.

339 Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ġamā'ah (639–733/1241–1333) was a member of a notable family of Šāfi'ī scholars in late medieval Syria and Egypt; he became chief judge of Egypt three times, and twice of Damascus, thus making the fortune of his family and establishing it among the leading families of scholars of the period, especially during the eighth-/fourteenth-century period of the Qalāwūnid sultanate (K.S. Salibi, 'Ibn Djamā'a', in *ET*² [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibn-djamaa-SIM_3133; Salibi \[1958\]](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibn-djamaa-SIM_3133; Salibi [1958])).

340 The town of Aylah, also known as 'Aqabat Aylah, on the Gulf of 'Aqabah, was an ancient commercial port at the crossroads of various overland and maritime routes; it also served since early Islamic times as an important station on the Egyptian overland *ḥaġġ* route; when over time the town developed further to the southeast, its name shifted along to that of 'Aqabat Aylah, 'the Pass of Aylah' (referring to the mountain pass that served as the town's overland access) and, ultimately, to the

with the Šāfiʿī chief judge Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Ġamāʿah.³³⁹ [They proceeded over the land-route only] after the pass at Aylah³⁴⁰ had been cleared from rocks, [after] its narrowness which used to hinder traffic had been widened, and [after the passage to] Maġārat Šuʿayb³⁴¹ had been opened for traffic.

§ 193 When he arrived in Mecca, he displayed a great amount of modesty, submissiveness, and humbleness, and when he saw the House [of God] with his own eyes, he prostrated just as a humble servant would do. Then he turned to the amir Badr al-Dīn Ġankalī b. al-Bābā³⁴² and he said: “I have always considered myself important, until I saw the House. I remembered people kissing the ground for me, an enormous [feeling of] dignity entering my heart and continuing to do so, until I prostrated for God, the Exalted, out of gratitude.” The chief judge Badr al-Dīn Ibn Ġamāʿah came to him and presented as good to him that he would circumambulate riding his mount, “because the Prophet—may God bless him and grant him salvation—circumambulated riding his mount”. But he said: “O, judge, who am I to imitate the Prophet—may God bless him and grant him salvation. By God, I will only circumambulate just as the people circumambulate.” So he circumambulated without any of the guardians being with him, and the people crowded around him and he joined their ranks as one of them, until he completed his circumambulation and his running.

shortened form of al-ʿAqabah (M. Lecker, “Ayla”, in E13; H.W. Glidden, “al-ʿAqaba”, in E12, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-akaba-SIM_0454).

341 Maġārat Šuʿayb (the ‘Cave of Šuʿayb’, better known locally as Maġāʿir Šuʿayb, the ‘Caves of Šuʿayb’) refers to a large necropolis with tombs carved into limestone (mainly Nabataean, just as the much better preserved Petra to the north), near the north-west Arabian town of Madyan Šuʿayb; this town and necropolis were lying in the Wādī l-Abyaḍ, a valley lying inland from the eastern shore of the Gulf of Aqaba which hosted the ancient pilgrimage route from Aqaba to Mecca that ran inland there to avoid the mountainous coast of the Gulf (F. Buhl, C.E. Bosworth, “Madyan Shuʿayb”, in E12 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibn-djamaa-SIM_3133).

342 Badr al-Dīn Ġankalī b. al-Bābā (675–746/1276–1346) had been a high-ranking officer in Ilḥānid Persia before fleeing to Egypt in 704/1304; he was welcomed with great respect and allowed to become a highly revered senior amir in Cairo, which he remained throughout the rest of his career (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-šāfiʿī*, 5:22–25; Amitai [1990]: 163, no. 22; Van Steenbergen [2005]: 198).

وكان قد حج جماعة من المغل، فأحضرهم وأنعم عليهم إنعاماً زائداً. وأمر أن تكسى الكعبة بالحزير الأطلس، وأخرج الثياب للصناع فعملوها. وفرق في أهل مكة مالا عظيماً، وأفاض التشاريف على أمراء مكة وأرباب وظائفها وأمير ينبع وأمير خليص. وأنعم عليه بخمسة آلاف درهم برسم عمارة عين خليص، وكان لها مدة سنين قد انقطعت، وجعل ذلك مقرراً له في كل سنة برسم عمارتها. ٥

واجتمع عند السلطان من العربان [من] لم يجتمع لملك قبله وهم: سائر بني مهدي وأمراءها، وشطي وأخوه عساف وأولاده، وأمراء مكة وأشرفها، وأمراء المدينة، {وصاحباً} ينبع وخليص، {وبنو} لام، وعرب حوران وبقارها، وأولاد منها. وصاروا يدلون عليه إدلالاً زائداً بحيث قام في بعض الأيام ابن موسى بن مهنا وقال للسلطان: "يأبا علي، بجات هذي"—ومد يده إلى لحية

١ زائداً: "زايداً" في الأصل. || تكسى: "تكسا" في الأصل. || بالحزير: ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "الكعبة".
 ٣ أمراء: "أمراء" في الأصل. || وظائفها: "وظائفها" في الأصل. || درهم: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "آلاف". ٦ من ٢:
 ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة من السياق. || سائر: "سائر" في الأصل. || وأمراءها: "وامرائها" في الأصل.
 ٧ وأمراء: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ ("وامرا"). || وأمراء: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ ("وامرا"). || وصاحباً: "صاحبي" في الأصل وهو خطأ، والتصحيح من السياق. ٨ وبنو: "وبني" في الأصل وهو خطأ، والتصحيح من السياق. || وعرب: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || منها: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || وصاروا: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || يدلون: "يدلون" في الأصل ومن الظاهر أن النسخ كتب "يدلوا" وكشط المقرئ الألف فأضاف نونا ولكن لم يصح الفتحة في بداية الفعل. || زائداً: "زايداً" في الأصل. ٩ ابن: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

343 The Banū Maḥdī was a tribal grouping that mainly dominated the Balqā' region, the eastern plateau of the Jordan valley; its leaders were integrated into the sultanate via the installation of the amirate of the Banū Maḥdī, usually divided among four tribal leaders and an important vehicle for the negotiation of relationships between tribe and sultanate (al-Qalqaṣandī, *Subḥ al-a'ṣā*, 4:212–213, 12:135–140).

§194 A group of Mongols turned out to have made the pilgrimage, so he had them brought to him and he gave them a lot of gifts. He commanded that the Kaʿbah be covered with satin silk and he had the textiles brought to the artisans, who prepared them. He distributed among the people of Mecca a lot of money and he overwhelmed the amirs and officials of Mecca, the amir of Yanbuʿ, and the amir of Ḥulayṣ with ceremonial gifts and robes. He granted to the latter 5,000 *dirhams* for the benefit of constructing the well of Ḥulayṣ, which for many years had been cut off. He made that into a regular annual stipulation for him, for the purpose of its upkeep.

§195 There gathered with the sultan from the Bedouin who had not gathered for any ruler before him: all the Banū Mahdī and its amirs;³⁴³ Šaṭī, his brother ʿAssāf, and his sons,³⁴⁴ the amirs and notables of Mecca, the amirs of Medina, the lords of Yanbuʿ and of Ḥulayṣ, the Banū Lām,³⁴⁵ the Bedouin of Ḥawrān³⁴⁶ with their chiefs, and the sons of Muḥannā. They got on increasingly amiable terms with him, to the extent that one day a son of Mūsā b. Muḥannā³⁴⁷ rose and said to the sultan: “O, Abū ʿAlī, by the life of this

344 Šaṭī, his brother ʿAssāf, and his sons: I have so far not been able to retrieve further information on these Bedouin leaders from the Hijaz.

345 The Banū Lām is the name of a sizeable and varied Arab tribal grouping that long time dominated the area East of the lower Tigris region in Iraq and Iran; its exact origins and its whereabouts in the later medieval period remain obscure, however (V. Minorsky, R.M. Burell, “Lām”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/lam-SIM_4629).

346 Ḥawrān refers to the region between the Damascus plain and the Yarmūk river, which separates Syria from Transjordan; in the fourteenth century, nomad groups belonging to the Banū Rabīʿah and led by the Āl Muḥannā gradually settled in this region, which they came to share with the Āl Murrah (D. Sourdell, “Ḥawrān”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/hawran-SIM_2817).

347 Mūsā b. Muḥannā (d. 742/1341) was a son of the Syrian Āl Faḍl tribal leader Muḥannā b. ʿIsā b. Muḥannā (d. 735/1334), the *amīr al-ʿArab* who experienced very mixed relations with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and who on various occasions therefore moved from Syria to Īlḥānīd Iraq; Mūsā performed the position of *amīr al-ʿArab* between c. 735/1334 and his sudden death at Tadmur (Palmyra) in 742/1341 (M.A. Bakhīt, “Muḥannā”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/muhanna-SIM_5423; Hiyari [1975]: 519–520; al-Ša-fadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr*, 5:490).

السلطان ومسكها—”إلا أعطيتني الضيعة الفلانية“ فصرخ فيه الفخر—ناظر الجيش—فقال: “إرفع يدك قطع الله يدك! والك، يا ولد زناء، تمد يدك إلى السلطان!“ فتبسم السلطان وقال: “يا قاضي، هذه عادة العرب. إذا قصدوا كبيرا في شيء يكون عظمتهم عندهم مسك ذقنه—يعني أنه قد استجار به—فهو عندهم سنة.“ فقام الفخر مغضبا وهو يقول: “والله، إن هاؤلاء مناحيس وستهم أنحس منهم، لا بارك الله فيهم!“ ٥

وصلى السلطان الجمعة بمكة، فدعي له وللشريف فقط ولم يدع لصاحب اليمن تأدبا مع السلطان. وقضى نسكه، وسار إلى المدينة النبوية وصلى بها الجمعة أيضا، وأقام يومين حتى قدم الركب، وبعث المبشرين إلى مصر والشام، وسار إلى ينبع، فلم يجد المراكب وصلت. فحصلت مشقة زائدة من قلة العليق، ومشى أكثر المماليك لوقوف الجمال حتى أتت الإقامات من مصر والشام.

١٠ ونزل السلطان بركة الحاج في ثاني عشر المحرم سنة عشرين وسبعمائة، فعمل له سماط عظيم جدا، وركب في موكب جليل إلى القلعة. فكان يوما مشهودا. وجلس يوم الخميس نصف المحرم بدار العدل وخلع على سائر الأمراء وأرباب الوظائف وأمراء العربان.

١٥ ووج ثالثا في سنة {اثنين} وثلاثين وسبعمائة، ورسم بسفر الخواتين وبعض السراري، وكتب لثائب الشام بتهيئ ما يحتاج إليه. فوصلت التقادم على العادة من النواب وأمراء الشام وأمراء العربان، وطلب سائر صناع مصر لعمل الاحتياجات.

٢ زناء: "زنا" في الأصل. ٣ شيء: "شيء" في الأصل. ٤ مغضبا: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٥ هاؤلاء: "هاؤلاء" في الأصل. ٨ زائدة: "زائدة" في الأصل. ٩ ومشى: "ومشا" في الأصل. ١٠ عشرين وسبعمائة: "عشرين وسبعمائة" في الأصل. ١١ المحرم: أداة التعريف من إضافة المقرئ. ١٢ سائر الأمراء: "ساير الامراء" في الأصل. ١٣ لثائب وأمراء: "لثائب" في الأصل. ١٤ وأمراء: "ساير" في الأصل. ١٥ سائر: "ساير" في الأصل.

one”—and he stretched out his hand to the beard of the sultan and grasped it—“[I will consider you in default] if you do not give me estate such-and-such.” Al-Faḥr, the controller of the military bureau, called out to him, saying: “Remove your hand—may God cut off your hand—, woe onto you, o son of
 5 adultery, for stretching out your hand to the sultan.” But the sultan smiled and said: “O judge, this is the custom of the Bedouin: when they go to see someone important on an issue, his high status with them is [indicated] by grasping his beard, meaning that his patronage is being sought; it is a tradition with them.” Al-Faḥr stood up angrily, while he was saying: “By God,
 10 these are ill-fated ones and their tradition is even more ill-fated than they are; may God not give his blessing to them.”

§196 The sultan prayed the Friday prayer at Mecca. It was delivered in his name and in the name of the Sharif only, and not in the name of the lord of Yemen, out of courtesy for the sultan. He fulfilled his pilgrimage rituals,
 15 and then he proceeded to the Prophet’s Medina. He prayed the Friday prayer there as well, and remained for two days, until the caravan arrived. He sent the messengers to spread the good news [of his successful pilgrimage] in Egypt and Syria, and he proceeded to Yanbu‘. [There] he did not find any ships arriving, so that great calamity occurred due to the shortage of fodder.
 20 Most of the *mamlūks* had to walk [back] on foot, due to the camels’ having to wait [near Yanbu‘] until the supplies would come from Egypt and Syria.

§197 The sultan settled down at Birkat al-Ḥāḡḡ on 12 Muḥarram of the year 720 [25 February 1320]. A huge banquet was organised for him, and he rode in a splendid procession to the citadel. It was a memorable day. On Thursday
 25 15 Muḥarram [28 February] he held session in the Palace of Justice, and he gave a robe of honour to all the amirs, to the officials, and to the amirs of the Bedouin.

§198 He went on pilgrimage a third time in the year 732 [1332]. He ordered the royal ladies and some concubines to travel along. He wrote to the gover-
 30 nor of Syria to prepare what he needed. As usual, the ceremonial gifts from the governors, from the amirs of Syria, and from the amirs of the Bedouin arrived. He required from all the artisans of Egypt to make everything necessary.

133^b وخرج | المحمل على العادة وأمر الרכب الأمير عز الدين أيدير الخطيري، فرحل في عشرين شوال. وركب السلطان في سبعين أميرا من قلعة الجبل يوم الخامس والعشرين منه، وسفر الحریم مع الأمير سيف الدين طقزتمر. فلما قارب عقبة أيلة بلغه أن الأمير بكتمر الساقی علی نية المخامرة، فهم بالرجوع وبعث ابنه آنوك وأمه إلى الكرك. ثم قوي عزمه على المسير، فسار وهو محترز، ورسم أن كلا من الأمراء يحضر على باب الدهليز بثلاثين مملوكا، فصار الجميع ينامون وعددهم تحت {رؤوسهم}، والأحمدي مستمر عليه زردیه وسيفه متقلد به وترسه على كتفه، وترك السلطان النوم في ميته.

٢ أميرا: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٤ آنوك: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٥ الأمراء: "الامرا" في الأصل. ٥ وعددهم: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٥ تحت: ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح، يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "عددهم". ٦ رؤوسهم: "روسهم" في الأصل. ٧ في: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

§199 The *maḥmal*³⁴⁸ left as usual, and the commander of the caravan was the amir ʿIzz al-Dīn Aydamur al-Ḥaṭīrī. He set out on 20 Šawwāl [15 July], and the sultan rode from the citadel of the mountain, amidst 70 amirs, on 25 [Šawwāl] [20 July]. The women travelled with the amir Sayf al-Dīn 5 Ṭuqztamur.³⁴⁹ When [al-Nāšir Muḥammad] approached ʿAqabat Aylah,³⁵⁰ he was informed that the amir Baktamur al-Sāqī³⁵¹ intended to revolt. He wanted to return, and he sent his son Ānūk and his mother to Karak. Then his determination to go along was strengthened, so he proceeded while he was on his guard. He ordered that each of the amirs should be present 10 at the entrance of the royal tent, with 30 *mamlūks*. All took the habit of going to sleep with their gears under their heads; [the amir Baybars] al-Aḥmadī continued to have his chain mail on, his sword girded, and his shield [hanging] from his shoulders; the sultan forsook to sleep in his sleeping quarters.

348 The *maḥmal* or empty palanquin in the pilgrimage caravan was a central component of rulers' pilgrimage paraphernalia from the mid-thirteenth to the early twentieth centuries (see fn. 29).

349 Sayf al-Dīn Ṭuqztamur al-Ḥamawī (d. 746/1345) was a former *mamlūk* of Abū l-Fidāʾ, the sultan of Ḥamāh (see fn. 319), who had offered him as a gift to al-Nāšir Muḥammad; Ṭuqztamur rose to prominence in the latter's service, eventually becoming one of the leading figures at court; after al-Nāšir Muḥammad's death, he remained an important and highly respected senior amir, and he secured various leading positions in Egypt and Syria (Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-šāfiʿi*, 6:420–422; Van Steenbergen [2005]: 198).

350 For the town of ʿAqabat Aylah, also known as Aylah, on the Gulf of ʿAqabah, see fn. 340.

351 Baktamur al-Sāqī (d. 733/1333) was a former *mamlūk* of Baybars al-Ġāšnikīr and then of al-Nāšir Muḥammad; as a privileged member of the latter's private retinue, he soon earned the sultan's close friendship and great esteem, becoming a high-ranking amir as well as the recipient of all kinds of exceptional royal privileges that made him be remembered as one of the closest and most prestigious intimates of al-Nāšir Muḥammad; eventually, however, for a combination of political and personal reasons, the sultan had Baktamur and his twenty-year old son Aḥmad—also a high-ranking amir—poisoned (Behrens-Abouseif [2000]: 55–60).

فلما وصل إلى ينبع تلقاه الشريف أسد الدين رميثة—أمير مكة—ينبوع ومعه القواد والأشراف، فأكرمه ورحب به، وتوجه حتى نزل خُلَيْص. ففر عند الرحيل ثلاثون مملوكا، فاهتم السلطان لذلك وسار حتى قدم مكة، وجرى على عادته في التواضع لله تعالى وكثر الصدقات على أهل مكة والإنعام على الأمراء والأجناد، وقضى نسكه. وبعث الأمير أَيْمَشَ المحمدي ومعه مائة {حجار} إلى العقبة، فوسعها ونظفها. ودخل السلطان المدينة النبوية، فهبت بها رياح عاصفة قلعت الخيم وأظلم الجو ٥ وصار كل أحد يهجم على غير خيمته ولا يعرف موضعه. فانزعج السلطان انزعاجا زائدا، وخاف من أن يفتك به أحد أو يغتاله، ووقع الصباح في الوطاقات، فكان أمرا موهولا طول الليل، حتى طلع الفجر. فانجلى ذلك، وحضر أمراء العربان بالمماليك الهاربين عن آخرهم، ورحل من المدينة فتوَعَكَ أحمد بن الأمير بكتمر الساقى، ومات بعد أيام، ولم يبق بعده بكتمر سوى ثلاثة أيام، ومات أيضا بالقرب من عيون القصب. فتحدث الناس أن السلطان سقاها. فدفنا بعيون القصب، ثم نقلنا إلى تربة بكتمر بالقرافة. ١٠

٢-٣ حتى ... وسار: ناقصة في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، على نفس السطر وعلى السطور الأربعة التالية + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "توجه". ٣ وكثر: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٤ الأمراء: "الأمراء" في الأصل. ٥ مائة: "مائة" في الأصل. ٦ حجار: في الأصل "حجارا" وهو خطأ، والتصحيح من السياق. ٦ زائدا: "زايدا" في الأصل. ٧ الصباح: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٨ أمراء: "أمراء" في الأصل. ٩ الساقى: ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٧ بعد كلمة "بكتمر". ١٠ أيام: "ام" في الأصل.

352 Rumayṭah b. Abī Numayy (d. 746/1346) was a member of the Banū Ḥasan, and a son of the great Sharif Muḥammad Abū Numayy (see fn. 201); throughout the first and second decades of the eighth/fourteenth century Rumayṭah and his brothers continuously competed for the amirate over Mecca, trying to play out against each other the ʾIlḥān and the sultan in their various bids for power; eventually, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad managed to impose his authority, establishing Rumayṭah and a brother of his as joint amirs, but the relationship between Rumayṭah and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad remained vexed (Mortel [1987]: 462–466; Meloy [2010a]: 47–48, 245).

§ 200 When he arrived at Yanbu‘, the Sharif Asad al-Dīn Rumayṭah,³⁵² the amir of Mecca, came to meet him at Yanbu‘, with the commanders and notables, and he honoured him and welcomed him. He moved on until he settled down at Ḥulays. En route, 30 *mamlūks* fled, and the sultan was worried because of that and he proceeded until he arrived at Mecca. He acted as usual in humbling himself before God the Exalted, in the multitude of alms for the people of Mecca, and in giving gifts to the amirs and the soldiers. He fulfilled his pilgrimage rituals. He sent the amir Ayitmiš al-Muḥammadi³⁵³ with 100 stonemasons to ‘Aqabah to make it[s passage] wider and to clean it up. The sultan entered the Prophet’s Medina. Stormy winds raged there, tearing down the tents and darkening the sky. Every one started to enter without permission into another tent than his own, not knowing his location. The sultan got extremely upset, and feared that someone would slay or murder him. There was clamour in the pavilions, and it was a frightening situation all night long, until dawn rose and that cleared up. The amirs of the Bedouin came [bringing] every single one of the *mamlūks* who had fled. [Thereupon, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad] departed from Medina.

§ 201 Aḥmad, the son of the amir Baktamur al-Sāqī, was unwell and died after a couple of days. After him, Baktamur only remained for three days, and he also died, close to ‘Uyūn al-Qaṣab.³⁵⁴ The people were saying that the sultan had poisoned both of them. They were both buried at ‘Uyūn al-Qaṣab; later they were transferred to the mausoleum of Baktamur at the Qarāfah.³⁵⁵

353 Ayitmiš al-Muḥammadi l-Nāṣirī (d. 755/1354) was a former *mamlūk* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who became an amir during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad’s third reign, and who obtained various leading positions in Egypt and Syria after the latter’s death (Ibn Taḡrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-šāfi*, 3:137–138; al-Šafadī, *Aḡyān al-‘aṣr*, 1:648–649).

354 ‘Uyūn al-Qaṣab is the name of an oasis settlement near the North-Arabian Red-Sea coast, where the Egyptian *ḥaǧǧ* route coming from ‘Aqabat Aylah turns southwest and starts following the coastal line.

355 This so-called mausoleum actually was a richly endowed and lavishly furnished Sufi hospice with attached mausoleum, built in 726/1326 at the foot of the Muqattam hill, a desert area southeast of Cairo also known (until today) as the small cemetery (al-Qarāfah al-Šuḡhrá) (Behrens-Abouseif [2000]: 56–57).

وسار السلطان وقد اطمأن بعدما كان خائفا فزعا، فقدم بركة الحاج يوم السبت ثاني عشر المحرم سنة ثلث وثلثين وسبعمائة، وصعد القلعة في موكب عظيم لم ير مثله، ومشى على شقاق الحرير بفرسه وهو ضارب اللثام، وفرح الناس به فرحا زائدا، ودقت البشائر وطبلخانة الأمراء ثلثة أيام، وعملت الأفراح، وجلس في يوم الاثنين وخلع على سائر الأمراء والمقدمين وأنعم إنعاما عظيما. ٥

١ خائفا: "خائفا" في الأصل. ٢ وسبعمائة: "وسعمايه" في الأصل. ٣ زائدا: "زايدا" في الأصل. ٤ البشائر: "البشائر" في الأصل. ٥ الأمراء: "الامراء" في الأصل. ٤ الأفراح: كلمة غير واضحة بسبب ثقب في المخطوطة ومضافة هنا من أ (ص. ١٧١ أ). ٥ سائر الأمراء: "ساير الامراء" في الأصل.

§ 202 The sultan proceeded, having become at ease after having been terribly afraid. He arrived at Birkat al-Ḥājj on Saturday, 12 Muḥarram of the year 733 [3 October 1332]. He ascended the citadel in a magnificent procession, the likes of which have not been seen. He walked over strips of silk with his horse, while he was [showing his face to the people by] striking off the veil
5 [that was covering the lower part of his face]. The people were extremely happy with [his safe return]. For three days, the royal drums and the orchestras of the amirs played, and feasts were organised. On Monday, he held a
10 public session, awarding robes of honour to all the amirs and commanders, and giving lavish gifts.

{مَنْسَا} موسى ملك التكرور

أول من حج من ملوك التكرور سَرَبْنَدَانَه—ويقال بِرْمَنْدَانَه—. ثم حج مَنْسَا وَلي بن ماري بن جَاطَه في أيام الملك | الظاهر بيبرس. ثم حج ساكوره وكان قد تغلب على ملكهم وفتح بلاد كوكو.^{134a}

ثم حج مَنْسَا موسى لما قدم إلى مصر سنة أربع وعشرين وسبعمائة بهدايا جلييلة وذهب كثير. فأرسل السلطان الملك الناصر محمد بن قلاوون المهندار لتلقيه، وركب به إلى القلعة في يوم الخدمة. فامتنع أن يقبل الأرض، وقال للترجمان: "أنا رجل مالكي المذهب ولا أسجد لغير الله" فأعفاه السلطان

١ مَنْسَا: "مَسَا" في الأصل، والتصحيح من كتابة الاسم في الصفحة التالية (١٣٤أ، سطر ٢) ومن أ (ص).
٢ سَرَبْنَدَانَه: كلمة غير واضحة بسبب ثقب في المخطوطة، متممة هنا من أ (ص. ١٧١أ). ٣ الظاهر: في الأصل الكلمة مكتوبة مرتين، مرة في آخر ص. ١٣٣ب ومرة أخرى في بداية ص. ١٣٤أ. ٤ وعشرين وسبعمائة: "وعشرين وسعمايه" في الأصل.

11. **Mansā Mūsá,**³⁵⁶ **the ruler of Takrūr**³⁵⁷

§ 203 The first to undertake the pilgrimage from the rulers of Takrūr was Sarbandānah—it was said: Barmandānah. Then Mansā Walī b. Mārī b. Āzāh performed the pilgrimage, in the days of al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars.
 5 Then Sākūrah performed the pilgrimage. He had subdued their ruler and he had conquered the lands of Kawkaw.³⁵⁸

§ 204 Then Mansā Mūsá performed the pilgrimage, arriving in Egypt in the year 724 [1324], with impressive gifts and lots of gold. The sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn sent the *mihmandār*³⁵⁹ to meet him, and
 10 he rode with him to the citadel on the day of the public audience. [When he entered the sultan’s public audience, Mansā Mūsá] refused to kiss the ground, saying to the interpreter: “I am a man of Mālikī creed and I prostrate

356 Mansā Mūsá (r. 712–738/1312–1337 [alternative reign dates that are also encountered are 707–732/1307–1331]), also known as Kankan Mūsá, was a Muslim ruler (*mansa*) of the kingdom of Mali, reigning at the height of this polity’s prosperity; his 724/1324 pilgrimage, which took him and the enormous entourage that accompanied him via Timbuktu to Cairo, made him into one of the most famous of all royal West African pilgrims, firmly establishing the fame of Mali as an immensely wealthy Muslim polity (D.C. Conrad, “Mansa Mūsá”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/hasan-SIM_2752; Lewis, *Islam* [“7. The Pilgrimage of Kankan Mūsá (1324–1325)”]; Schultz [2006]: 430–431).

357 Takrūr is the Arabised form of an African ethnonym that by the later medieval period tended to be used as a name for Muslim West Africa, either in part or in whole, and for its inhabitants (J.O. Hunwick, “Takrūr”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/takrur-SIM_7348).

358 Sarbandānah, Mansā Walī (= Mansā Uli) (r. 1255–1270), and Sākūrah (r. 1285–1300) are the names of the first set of rulers who, in the course of the thirteenth century, created through expansion and trade (including in the region of Kawkaw, the commercial settlement of Gao on the left bank of the Niger), and through conversion to Islam, the kingdom of Mali in West Africa; as a token of their power and of their piety, they each participated in the tradition of royal pilgrimage from West Africa to Mecca, thus creating important connections with the central lands of the Muslim world (N. Levtzion, “Mali”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/mali-SIM_4860; Möhring [1999]: 324–326).

359 The *mihmandār* is the name of a court position commissioned to receive and to provide hospitality for guests, including foreigners and envoys (C.E. Bosworth, “Mihmān”, in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/mihman-SIM_8826).

من ذلك وقربه إليه وأكرمه وسأله عن سبب مجيئه، فقال: "أردت الحج". فرسم للوزير أن يجهزه بكل ما يحتاج إليه.

ويقال إنه قدم معه أربع عشرة ألف جارية برسم خدمته خاصة. فأقبل أصحابه على شراء الجواري من الترك والحبوش والمغنيات والثياب، فانحط سعر الدينار الذهب ستة دراهم.

٥ وقدم هديته، وخرج مع الركب بعدما أوصى به السلطان الأمير سيف الدين أيتمش—أمير الركب—، فسار ركبا وحده ساقية الحاج حتى قضى حجه.

وتأخر بمكة بعد الموسم أياما وعاد. فهلك كثير من أصحابه وجماله بالبرد حتى لم يصل معه إلا نحو الثلث منهم. فاحتاج إلى قرض مال كثير من التجار.

واشترى عدة كتب من فقه المالكية، وأنعم السلطان عليه بخيول وجمال.

١٠ وسافر إلى بلاده بعدما تصدق في الحرمين بمال كثير.

وكان إذا حدثه أصحابه في أمر، كشفوا {رؤوسهم} عند مخاطبته عادة لهم.

١ من : كتب النسخ "عن" وكشط المقريري العين وكتب في مكانها ميما. || مجيئه : "مجيئه" في الأصل.
 ٣ عشرة : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقريري. || شراء : "شرا" في الأصل. ٤ الدينار : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقريري ("الدينار"). || الذهب ستة : ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقريري في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "الدينار". ٧ بمكة : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقريري. || لم : ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقريري في الهامش الأيسر، على نفس السطر + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "حتى". ٩ فقه : تصحيح في الأصل. ١١ رؤوسهم : "روسهم" في الأصل.

to none but God.” The sultan forgave him for that. He made him come nearer to him, he honoured him, and he asked him about the cause for his coming. He said: “I want to perform the pilgrimage.” [The sultan] ordered the vizier to send him everything that he needed.

5 § 205 It is said that there came with him 14,000 slave girls for the benefit of his service alone. His companions began to purchase Turkish and Abyssinian slave girls, female singers, and textiles. The price of the gold dinar was lowered by six *dirhams*.

10 § 206 [When] he had presented his gift [to the sultan], he left with the [regular pilgrimage] caravan after the sultan had entrusted him to the care of the amir Sayf al-Dīn Ayitmiš, the commander of the caravan. He proceeded along the pilgrim’s itinerary, riding alone, until he had completed his pilgrimage.

15 § 207 After the [pilgrimage] season, he remained behind in Mecca for a couple of days, and then he returned [to Egypt]. But [on the road back] many of his companions and of his camels perished from the cold, so that only a third of them arrived [in Cairo] with him. [As a result of his misfortune] he needed to borrow a lot of money from the merchants [for his home journey].

20 § 208 [In Cairo] he bought a number of books of Mālikī jurisprudence. The sultan gave him horses and camels.

§ 209 He travelled back to his homeland after he had left a lot of money for almsgiving in the two august places [Mecca and Medina].

§ 210 It was customary for them [that] when his companions would talk to him about anything, they would uncover their heads while addressing him.

الملك المجاهد علي

ابن الملك المؤيد داود بن الملك المظفر يوسف بن الملك المنصور عمر بن علي بن رسول، صاحب اليمن.

٥ حج في سنة اثنتين وأربعين وسبعمائة، وأطلع عليه جبل عرفة وقد وقف بنو حسن في خدمته حتى قضى حجه. وعزم على كسوة الكعبة، فلم يمكنه أمير مكة من ذلك، فسار وهو حنق.

ثم حج ثانياً في سنة اثنتين وخمسين وسبعمائة، وقد قدم عليه الشريف ثقبه بن رميثة، وأغراه بأخيه عجلان، وأطعمه في مكة وكسوة الكعبة. فسار في عسكر كبير. فبلغ ذلك الشريف عجلان. وكان الأمير طاز قد حج في جماعة من الأمراء. فبلغهم قدوم صاحب اليمن في جحفل عظيم وأنه يريد

٤ اثنتين: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || وسبعمائة: تصحيح في الأصل ("وسبع مائة"). || قد: ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد حرف "و". ٦ اثنتين: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || وخمسين وسبعمائة: "وخمسن وسبعمائة" في الأصل. ٨ الأمراء: "الامراء" في الأصل. || في جحفل: غير واضحة في الأصل بسبب ثقب في المخطوطة ومضافة هنا من أ (ص. ٧٢ ب).

360 Al-Malik al-Muğāhid 'Alī (r. 721–764/1322–1363) was the fifth of the Rasūlid rulers of Yemen (Smith, "Rasūlids", in *EI*²).

12. *Al-Malik al-Muğāhid ‘Alī*³⁶⁰

[He was] the son of al-Malik al-Mu‘ayyad Dāwūd b. al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf b. al-Malik al-Manṣūr ‘Umar b. ‘Alī b. Rasūl;³⁶¹ [he was] lord of Yemen.

§ 211 He performed the pilgrimage in the year 742 [1342]. He raised his
5 banner on the mountain of ‘Arafah, and the Banū Ḥasan³⁶² remained in his
service until he completed his pilgrimage. [But when] he wished to cover
the Ka‘bah with a *kiswah*, the amir of Mecca did not enable him to do that,
so he left in anger.

§ 212 Thereafter he performed the pilgrimage a second time in the year 752
10 [1352].³⁶³ The Sharif Ṭāqabah b. Rumayṭah had come to him [in Yemen] and
had set him up against his brother ‘Aḡlān [b. Rumayṭah],³⁶⁴ making him
covetous for Mecca and for covering the Ka‘bah with a *kiswah*. [Al-Malik al-
Muğāhid] left [for Mecca] with a great army, but that reached the ears of the
15 Sharif ‘Aḡlān [just when] the [Egyptian] amir Ṭāz³⁶⁵ had been performing
the pilgrimage amidst a group of [Egyptian] amirs. He informed them of the
coming of the lord of Yemen with an enormous host, and that he wanted to

361 Al-Malik al-Mu‘ayyad Dāwūd (r. 696–721/1296–1322) was the fourth Rasūlid ruler of Yemen, son and successor of the long-reigning al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf (Smith, “Rasūlids”, in *ET*²).

362 Banū Ḥasan refers to the ruling elite of Mecca, the sharifian family that claimed to be descended from the Prophet’s grandson al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and that was therefore collectively known by this name (Meloy [2010a]: 47; Mortel [1987]: 455). See also fn. 201, 352.

363 Although the Arabic text has clearly been corrected by al-Maqrīzī to refer to the year 752, the story’s continuation, as well al-Maqrīzī’s own discussion of the same event in his chronicle *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, make amply clear that this second pilgrimage actually happened towards the end of 751 [early 1351] (see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:831–832).

364 ‘Aḡlān b. Rumayṭah (r. 747–776/1346–1375) was a member of the Banū Ḥasan (see fn. 362), a son of the Sharif Rumayṭah (see fn. 352), and a grandson of the great Sharif Muḥammad Abū Numayy (see fn. 201); his rule as Sharif over Mecca was highly contested, including by his brother Ṭāqabah (d. 762/1362) (A.J. Wensinck, C.E. Bosworth, “Makka. 2. From the ‘Abbāsīd to the Modern Period”; Meloy [2010a]: 245, 246).

365 Ṭāz al-Nāṣirī (d. 763/1362) was a high-ranking military commander (*amīr*) in Cairo; in the early 750s/1350s, he was one of the most powerful political leaders at the court of Cairo (Wansbrough, “Ḥasan”, in *ET*²; Van Steenberghe [2006]: 187).

يدخل مكة بلامة الحرب وحوله سلاح داريته وطبرداريته ليقيم فتنة. فبعثوا إليه أنه "من يريد الحج إنما يدخل مكة بذلة ومسكنة، وأنت تريد تبتدع بدعة فاحشة، ونحن لا نتمكنك من الدخول على هذه الصفة. فإن اردت السلامة، فابعث إلينا الشريف ثقبه يكون عندنا حتى | تقضي الحج".^{134b} فلم يجد بدا من الإذعان، وبعث ثقبه. فأكرمه الأمراء وبعث الأمير طاز إلى صاحب اليمن بالأمير طقطاي في جماعة من المماليك ليكونوا في خدمته حتى يقضي حجه. فساروا إليه وأبطلوا السلاح دارية وحمل الغاشية وسائر ما كان قد اهتم به، ومشوا في خدمته حتى دخل الحرم، وسلم على الأمراء واعتذر إليهم وأضر أنه يصبر حتى يرحل الأمير طاز ويثور—هو وثقبه—على من بقي مع أمير الركب ويأخذنا عجلان ويملكا مكة.

فلما كان يوم منى ركب الأمير بزلار—أمير الركب—من مكة، فرأى خادم صاحب اليمن، فاستدعاه إليه. فامتنع من الحضور، وضرب مملوك بزلار بعض جنده بحربة. فوقع الصوت في الركب، وركب بزلار إلى طاز وثار أهل اليمن بالسلاح. فركب أمراء مصر وقت الظهر واقتتلوا مع اليمنيين وهزموا بزلار هزيمة قبيحة، وأقبل عجلان—أمير مكة—بجيش كبير. فأمره طاز أن

١ مكة: ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "يدخل". || وحوله: كلمة غير واضحة في الأصل بسبب ثقب في المخطوطة ومضافة هنا من أ (ص. ٧٢ب). ٢ بذلة: كلمة غير واضحة في الأصل بسبب ثقب في المخطوطة ومضافة هنا من أ (ص. ٧٢ب). ٤ الأمراء: "الأمراء" في الأصل. || إلى: "الي" في الأصل. ٥ إليه: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٦ وسائر: "وسائر" في الأصل. || ومشوا: الألف من إضافة المقرئ. ٧ الأمراء: "الأمراء" في الأصل. || هو: تصحيح في الأصل. || بقي: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٨ يأخذنا: "ياخذنا" في الأصل، والألف مضافة بخط المقرئ إلى آخر الفعل فوق السطر. ١٠ فامتنع: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ١١ أمراء: "أمراء" في الأصل. ١٢ مع اليمنيين: ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٧ بعد كلمة "اقتتلوا".

enter Mecca in a wartime cuirass and surrounded by his corps of weapons-bearers and axe-bearers, so as to arouse chaos. So they sent [a message] to him, [stating] that: “whoever wants to perform the pilgrimage can only enter Mecca in submissiveness and humbleness. You, you want to contrive
 5 a despicable innovation, but we will not make it possible for you to enter in this fashion. If you want safety, then send to us the Sharif Ṭaqabah to stay with us until you have finished the pilgrimage.” [Al-Malik al-Muğāhid] saw no other option than to yield, so he sent Ṭaqabah. The amirs treated him honourably, and the amir Ṭāz sent the amir Ṭuqtāy³⁶⁶ with a group
 10 of mamluks to the lord of Yemen, to be in his service until he completed his pilgrimage. They went to him and they abolished the corps of arms-bearers, the carrying of the saddle blanket,³⁶⁷ and everything that he had been attaching importance to. They walked in his service until he entered the *ḥaram*. He greeted the amirs and apologised to them. He kept a secret
 15 that he was really only waiting his time until the amir Ṭāz would leave and he and Ṭaqabah could rise up against whoever remained with the commander of the [Egyptian] caravan and [until] they both could take ‘Aḡlān and take possession of Mecca.

§ 213 When it was the day of Miná, the amir Buzlār,³⁶⁸ the commander of
 20 the caravan, rode from Mecca. He saw the servant of the lord of Yemen, and he called him to him. But he refused to appear and the *mamlūk* of Buzlār hit one from [al-Muğāhid’s] army with a spear, and there occurred noise in [Buzlār’s] following. Buzlār rode to Ṭāz [to complain], and the people of Yemen revolted in arms. The amirs of Egypt rode out at the time of the
 25 midday prayer, and they clashed with the Yemenites. Buzlār was defeated in a disgraceful way, but then ‘Aḡlān, the amir of Mecca, arrived with a large

366 Ṭuqtāy al-Nāširī (719–760/1319–1358) was a *mamlūk* amir in the entourage of the amir Ṭāz; he was married to one of the latter’s daughters (Van Steenberghe [2006]: 59, 83).

367 The *ḡāshiyah* or covering for the saddle was one of the insignia of royal status in the medieval Nile-to-Oxus region; it used to be carried before the ruler during public processions (“*Ghāshiyah*”, in *Et*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ghashiyah-DUM_1422).

368 Buzlār al-Nāširī (d. 756/1355) was a high-ranking *mamlūk* amir who led the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan in this particular pilgrimage season (al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān al-‘aṣr*, 1:689).

يحفظ الحاج، واستمرت الحرب إلى العصر فانكسر جيش الين وقتل منهم جماعة وقطع دهليز المجاهد وقبض عليه ونهبت أثقاله.

وقضى الناس حجبهم وسار الأمير طاز بالمجاهد معه ورتب في خدمته جماعة من مماليكه، وبالغ في إكرامه ووصى الأمير عجلان بأمه وحرمه، وكتب إلى السلطان يعرفه بما وقع، وتوجه إلى مصر. فقدم به في العشرين من المحرم سنة اثنتين وخمسين وسبعمئة، وصعد به إلى القلعة مقيدا في يوم الخدمة. فأوقف تجاه النائب، والأمراء قعود، حتى خرج أمير جاندار ودخل الأمراء إلى الخدمة بالإيوان وهو معهم. فقبل الأرض بين يدي السلطان الملك الناصر حسن بن محمد بن قلاوون. ثم فك قيده وأنزل بالأشرفية من القلعة، وأطلق له راتب وأقيم له من يخدمه.

ثم رسم بسفره إلى بلاده، ونخرج معه الأمير قشتمر—شاد الدواوين—، وكتب للشريف عجلان—أمير مكة—أن يجهزه، وخلع عليه أطلسين وركب في الموكب واستأنس السلطان به وتردد إليه الناس، واقترض مالا كثيرا، واشترى المماليك والخليل والجمال، وأنته الإنعامات من السلطان والتقادام من الأمراء والتزم بحمل المال في كل سنة على العادة. وسار أول ربيع الأول.

٣ ورتب: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٥ اثنتين: تصحيح في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح، يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "سنة". ٥ وخمسين وسبعمئة: "وخمسين وسبعمئة" في الأصل. ٥ مقيدا: "مقيد" في الأصل، والألف لتتوين الفتح مضافة بخط المقرئ في مكانها بعد كلمة "مقيد" في السطر. ٦ والأمراء: "والامراء" في الأصل. ٥ الأمراء: "الامراء" في الأصل. ٨ وأطلق: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٩ إلى: "الي" في الأصل. ١١ واشترى: "واشترأ" في الأصل. ١٢ والتقادام من: تصحيح في الأصل، مضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح، يشير إليها الرمز ٦ بعد كلمة "و". ٥ الأمراء: "الامراء" في الأصل.

army, and Ṭāz commanded him to protect the pilgrims. The battle went on until the afternoon prayer, [when] the army of Yemen was defeated and a group of them were killed. The tent of al-Muğāhid was torn, he was caught, and his baggage was looted.

5 §214 The people completed their pilgrimage and the amir Ṭāz left, [taking] al-Muğāhid with him. He assigned a group from his *mamlūks* to [al-Muğāhid's] service and did his utmost to treat him honourably. He entrusted [al-Muğāhid's] mother and his wives to the care of the amir 'Ağlān. He wrote to the sultan to inform him of what had happened, and he headed for Egypt,
10 which he reached on 20 Muḥarram of the year 752 [19 March 1351]. On the day of the [sultan's] public session, [Ṭāz] entered the [Cairo] citadel with him, in chains. [Al-Malik al-Muğāhid] was made to wait standing in front of the viceroy, while the amirs were sitting down, until the commander of the bodyguard came out [to summon them to enter]. The amirs entered the public
15 session in the great hall together with him. He kissed the ground before the sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn³⁶⁹ and then his chains were undone. He was made to stay in the Ašrafiyyah-palace of the citadel,³⁷⁰ there was awarded a stipend to him, and there were installed for him those who were to serve him.

20 §215 Then it was ordered that he should travel to his land. The amir Qaštamura, the controller of the financial departments,³⁷¹ left with him. There was written to the Sharif 'Ağlān, the amir of Mecca, that he should equip him. Two robes of honour of black satin were granted to him, he rode in the [sultan's] public procession, the sultan got on friendly terms with him, and the
25 people frequented him. He borrowed a lot of money, and he bought *mamlūks*, horses, and camels. Grants from the sultan and ceremonial gifts from the amirs came to him, and he was obliged to annually transfer money [to the sultan], as was the habit. He left on 1 Rabi' I [28 April].

369 For al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (r. 748–752/1347–1351; 755–762/1354–1361), see fn. 279.

370 The Ašrafiyyah-palace was one of the main palaces in the southern enclosure of the citadel of Cairo, constructed by order of the Qalāwūnid sultan al-Ašraf Ḥalil (r. 689–693/1290–1293) (Rabbat [1995]: 36–38, 156–180; Warner [2005]: 185).

371 The *mamlūk* amir Qaštamura al-Manšūrī (710–770/1310–1369) was *šadd al-dawāwīn* or controller of the financial departments, involved in issues of tax collection, in the late 740s/1340s and early 750s/1350s (Ibn Ḥağar, *al-Durar al-kāminah*, 3:249).

فبعث قشتمر بالشكوى منه، فرسم له أن يقبض عليه ويسيره إلى الكرك. ففعل ذلك وقبض عليه بالينبع وبعث به إلى الكرك، وأقام بالكرك قليلا. ثم أفرج عنه وأحضر إلى القاهرة، ووبخ وعنف^{135a} تعنيفا كثيرا من الأمراء. ثم خلع عليه وجهاز في النيل ليتوجه إلى بلاده من عيذاب في البحر، وأنعم عليه الأمراء والسطان بأشياء كثيرة.

٥ فوصل إلى بلاده وقد ضبطت له أمه المملكة، وأقام بها حتى مات في سنة تسع وستين وسبعمائة، وملك بعده ابنه الملك الأفضل عباس.

٢ قليلا : كلمة غير واضحة في الأصل بسبب ثقب في المخطوطة ومضافة هنا من أ (ص. ١٧٤). || ثم : في الأصل الكلمة مكتوبة مرتين، مرة في آخر ص. ١٣٤ ومرة أخرى في بداية ص. ١٣٥. ٣ من : تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || الأمراء : "الامرا" في الأصل. ٤ الأمراء : "الامرا" في الأصل. || بأشياء كثيرة : "باشيا كديرة" في الأصل. ٥ وسبعمائة : "وسبعمايه" في الأصل. ٦ بعده : تصحيح في الأصل.

§ 216 But [on the road] Qaštamur sent [an envoy to Cairo] to complain about him. There was ordered to him that he should arrest him and bring him to Karak. He did that, arresting him at Yanbu‘ and sending him to Karak. He remained in Karak for a little while. Then he was set free and brought to
 5 Cairo. He was chided and seriously reprimanded by the amirs. Then a robe of honour was given to him and he was sent along the Nile, so as to head towards his land by sea, via Aydhab. The amirs and the sultan awarded a lot of things to him.

§ 217 He arrived in his land, [where] his mother had held the realm for him.
 10 He remained there until he died in the year 769 [1368].³⁷² After him, his son al-Malik al-Afḍal ‘Abbās³⁷³ reigned.

372 The Arabic text here clearly refers to 769 as the year of al-Muḡāhid’s death; there is however considerable confusion on this issue: in his chronicle *al-Sulūk* al-Maqrīzī himself mentions al-Muḡāhid among those that died in the year 767 (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:125); other sources and studies, however, rather refer to the year 764 in this context (see Smith, “Rasūlids”, in *EI*²).

373 Al-Malik al-Afḍal ‘Abbās (r. 764–778/1363–1377) was the sixth of the Rasūlid rulers of Yemen (Smith, “Rasūlids”, in *EI*²).

الملك الأشرف شعبان بن حسين بن محمد بن قلاوون

جلس على تخت الملك—وعمره عشر سنين—في نصف شعبان سنة أربع وستين وسبعمائة، وقام بأمر المملكة الأمير يلغا العمري الخاصكي إلى أن قتل في ربيع الآخر سنة ثمان وستين وسبعمائة، فقوي أمره قليلا، ثم قتل أسندمر بعد يلغا، واشتد أمره، وأوقع باليلغاوية الأجلاب.

٥ وشرع في الاهتمام بالحج في سنة ثمان وسبعين، وخرج أطلاب الأمراء للسفر في يوم السبت ثاني عشر شوال، وخرج طلب السلطان يوم الأحد ثالث عشره. فجر عشرين قطار هجن بقماش ذهب

١ قلاوون: "قلاون" في الأصل. ٢ وسبعمائة: "وسبعمايه" في الأصل. ٣ وسبعمائة: "وسبعمايه" في الأصل. ٥ في ١: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || الأمراء: "الامراء" في الأصل.

13. Al-Malik al-Ašraf Šaʿbān b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn³⁷⁴

§ 218 He sat on the royal throne at the age of ten, on 15 Šaʿbān of the year 764 [30 May 1363]. The command over the realm was performed by the amir Yalbuḡā l-ʿUmarī l-Ḥāššakī,³⁷⁵ until he was killed in Rabīʿ II of the year 768 [December 1366]. [Thereupon] his [= Šaʿbān's] authority slightly increased. Then, after Yalbuḡā, [the new powerholder] Asandamur³⁷⁶ was killed. His [= Šaʿbān's] authority became strong, and he brought down the young Yalbuḡāwiyyah *mamlūks*.³⁷⁷

§ 219 [Sultan Šaʿbān] began to take an interest in the pilgrimage in the year [7]78 [1377]. The regiments of the amirs went out [of the city in preparation] for the voyage on Saturday 12 Šawwāl [21 February], and the regiment of the sultan left on Sunday 13 [Šawwāl] [22 February]. He took along twenty

374 Al-Malik al-Ašraf Šaʿbān b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (r. 764–778/1363–1377) was sultan of Egypt and Syria and a member of the Qalāwūnid dynasty, made sultan at a young age by prominent amirs from his father's entourage; after a number of years of mere nominal rule, from 1366 onwards he increasingly managed to impose his effective authority, eventually sitting firmly on the throne for about a decade, until he was deposed and killed in a rebellion against his rule (P.M. Holt, "Šaʿbān. 2. al-Malik al-Ašraf", in *EI*² http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/shaban-SIM_6718).

375 Yalbuḡā l-ʿUmarī l-Ḥāššakī (d. 768/1366) was a *mamlūk* amir and one of the leading figures at the Qalāwūnid court of Cairo in the 1360s; he was one of the main instigators of the fall of the Qalāwūnid sultan al-Nāšir Ḥasan in 762/1361, and his empowerment thereafter was only thwarted in 768/1366 by a rebellion, which began in his own entourage and which ended in 769/1367 with the rather unexpected victory of sultan al-Ašraf Shaʿban b. Ḥasan (Van Steenbergen [2011b]).

376 Asandamur al-Nāširī (d. 769/1368) was a *mamlūk* amir who emerged from the entourage of Yalbuḡā l-Ḥāššakī after the latter's murder in 768/1366: he became one of the new leaders in Cairo in the subsequent year, but he was eventually arrested and equally murdered (Van Steenbergen [2006]: 179–180).

377 The young Yalbuḡāwiyyah *mamlūks* (*al-Yalbuḡāwiyyah al-Aḡlāb*) is a term used to refer to the mass of young and unemancipated *mamlūks* in the military corps of the amir Yalbuḡā l-Ḥāššakī, many of whom played a role in the murder of their master in 768/1366: they caused havoc and chaos in Cairo for some months thereafter, until in 769/1368 they were subdued and punished for this by sultan al-Ašraf Šaʿbān; many of those that survived this purge (including the later sultan al-Zāhir Barqūq) re-emerged from the second half of the 770s/1370s onwards, to dominate Syro-Egyptian politics into the 790s/1390s (Van Steenbergen [2011a]).

وخمسة عشر قطارا بُعِي حرير وقطارا ملبس خليفتي وقطارا بقماش أبيض برسم الإحرام ومائة رأس خيل مشهورة وكحاوتين وتسع محفات—وهو محفات كلها بأغشية حرير مزركش—وستة وأربعين زوج محاير وخزانة عشرين جملا وقطارين جمال تحمل خُصْرَ مُزْدَرَعَة ومن الجمال المحملة شيئا كثيرا.

٥ وركب يوم الاثنين رابع عشره، فأقام بسرياقوس إلى يوم الثلاثاء ثاني عشرينه، واستقل بالمسير—ومعه من الأمراء المقدمين تسعة ومن الطبلخاناه خمسة وعشرون ومن العشاوات خمسة عشر.

فركب طاش تمر المحمدي اللفاف—أحد العشرات—وقرطاي—رأس نوبة—وجماعة في يوم السبت ثالث ذي القعدة خارج القاهرة، وسلطنوا أمير علي بن السلطان. فقدم الخبر يوم الأحد

١-٢ ومائة رأس: "ومائة راس" في الأصل. ٢ محفات: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || كلها: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٣ جمال: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٤ شيئا: "شيا" في الأصل. ٥ يوم الاثنين: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. || بسرياقوس ... الثلاثاء: جزء غير واضح في الأصل بسبب ثقب في المخطوطة ومضاف هنا من أ (ص. ١٧٥) ("بسرياقوس الى يوم الثلاثاء"). || بالمسير: تصحيح في الأصل. ٦ الأمراء: "الامراء" في الأصل. ٧ فركب: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ.

convoys of dromedaries with gold cloth, fifteen convoys with packs of silk, a convoy with caliphal clothing and a convoy of white cloth for *iḥrām*; [he also took along] 100 head of thoroughbred horses, two camel litters,³⁷⁸ and nine stretchers, all of them with covers of silk embellished with brocade embroidery; [he took with him] 46 pairs of water tanks, a treasury [carried by] 20 camels, and two convoys of camels that carried freshly sown vegetables; [and finally,] there also was a great lot of pack camels.

§ 220 [The sultan] rode out on Monday 14 [Šawwāl] [23 February]. He stayed in Siryāqūs until Tuesday 22 [Šawwāl] [3 March]. He went ahead alone,
10 together with nine from the [group of] amirs commanders, with 25 from the amirs of 40, and with 15 from the amirs of ten.

§ 221 On Saturday 3 Dū l-Qa‘dah [14 March] Ṭāštāmūr al-Muḥammadī l-Laffāf³⁷⁹—one of [the amirs of] ten—, Qaraṭāy³⁸⁰—the head of the royal guard—, and a group rode out [in rebellion] and left Cairo, and they pro-
15 claimed sultan the amir ‘Alī, the son of the sultan.³⁸¹ The news arrived [in

378 According to Ġamāl al-Dīn al-Šayyāl the unfamiliar word *al-kaḡāwah* that is used here in the text comes from Persian and is used to refer to a camel litter for women (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Dahab al-masbūk*², 119, fn. 6).

379 Ṭāštāmūr al-Muḥammadī l-Laffāf (d. 779/1377) was one of the small-time amirs who rose to prominence after a successful rebellion against sultan al-Ašraf Ša‘bān in 778/1377; Ṭāštāmūr however succumbed to the plague before he could reap the fruits of his sudden empowerment (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-šāfi*, 6:394).

380 Qaraṭāy al-Ṭāzī (d. 779/1378), a mamlūk and a member of the personal household of sultan al-Ašraf Ša‘bān’s son ‘Alī, appears to have been one of the instigators of the successful rebellion against the sultan in 778/1377, whereupon he immediately rose to prominence, to high income and status, and to the effective leadership in Cairo; within less than two months, however, he was defeated by one of his rivals for power and sent off to Syria, where, eventually, he was put to death (Van Steenbergē [2006]: 165, 184, 195).

381 Al-Malik al-Manšūr ‘Alī b. Ša‘bān b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (r. 778–783/1377–1381) was one of the last Qalāwūnid sultans of Egypt and Syria; in 778/1377, he was made to succeed his deposed father at a very young age and subsequently throughout his short reign he never managed to have more than nominal authority, the amir and later sultan Barqūq rising to power behind his throne and soon ruling in his name (Van Steenbergē [2006]: 164–168).

ثانيه بأن السلطان وصل إلى عقبة أيلة يوم الثلاثاء وأقام إلى ليلة الخميس، فركب عليه المماليك ليلة الخميس بسبب تأخير النفقة، فانهزم السلطان في نفر يسير، فخرجوا إلى قبة النصر. فقبضوا على الأمير صرغتمش وغيره من الأمراء وقتلوه، وقبض على الأشرف من بيت امرأة في ليلة الاثنين خامس ذي القعدة. فكان آخر العهد به. قتل خنقا. والله أعلم.

٥ حرره جهد القدرة فصح مؤلفه أحمد بن علي المقرئ في ذي القعدة سنة ٨٤١.

١ إلى: "الي" في الأصل. || الثلاثاء: "الثلاثاء" في الأصل. || فركب: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٣ على ١: ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن، من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح؛ يشير إليها الرمز ٢ بعد كلمة "فقبضوا". || الأمراء: "الأمراء" في الأصل. || وقتلوه: تصحيح في الأصل بخط المقرئ. ٤ والله أعلم: ناقصة في الأصل ومضافة بخط المقرئ في مكانها الصحيح في النص في آخر السطر بعد كلمة "خنقا". ٥ حرره: كلمة غير واضحة في الأصل بسبب ثقب في المخطوطة مصححة هنا من السياق ووفقاً للشكل المستقل الواضح لحرف الهاء الأخير، ولكن هذه الكلمة كتبت "حررتة" في آخر (ص. ٧٥ب). || حرره ... ٨٤١: هذه الجملة كلها مضافة بخط المقرئ تحت النص في السطر الأخير للصفحة.

Cairo] on the next [day,] Sunday, that the sultan had arrived at ‘Aqabat Aylah on Tuesday, [where] he had stayed until Thursday night. But in the night of Thursday [—this news said—] the *mamlūks* had ridden against him, because of the delay of the travel allowance; the sultan had been routed, 5 [remaining only] with a few people, and they had left for Qubbat al-Naṣr [near Cairo].³⁸² [The new rulers in Cairo then] caught the amir Ṣarġitmiš³⁸³ and others from the amirs [while they were at Qubbat al-Naṣr], and they killed them. Al-Ašraf [escaped, but then he] was taken from [his hiding place in] the house of a woman, in the night of Monday 5 Dū l-Qa‘dah [15 March]. 10 The last that is known about him is that he was killed by strangulation.

God knows best.

[This Book of Moulded Gold] was corrected to the best of [his] abilities by its author Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī, so that it is correct, in Dū l-Qa‘dah of the year 841 [May 1438].

382 Qubbat al-Naṣr refers to a domed commemorative monument outside Cairo, of unknown origins (Mouton & Dayoub [2013]: 520).

383 Ṣarġitmiš al-Ašrafī (d. 778/1377) was a leading *mamlūk* amir in the entourage of al-Ašraf Ša‘bān, until he, his peers, and the sultan were brutally murdered outside Cairo (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-šāfi*, 6:341–342).

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Index of Qur'ānic Verses

Page and line numbers between parentheses refer to the translation.

الشعراء [26]
وَسَيَعْلَمُ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا أَيَّ مُنْقَلَبٍ يَنْقَلِبُونَ [227]
260:10 (261:23-24)

الذريات [51]
وَمَا خَلَقْتُ الْجِنَّ وَالْإِنْسَ إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُونِ. مَا أُرِيدُ مِنْهُمْ مِنْ رِزْقٍ وَمَا أُرِيدُ أَنْ يُطْعَمُوا. إِنَّ اللَّهَ هُوَ الرَّزَّاقُ ذُو
الْقُوَّةِ الْمَتِينِ [56-58]
292:7-8 (293:15-18)

Index of Prophetic Traditions

Page and line numbers between parentheses refer to the translation.

إن الإمارة حسرة وندامة يوم القيامة. فإن استطعت أن لا تكون أميرا فافعل
290:15-16 (291:34-36)

إني سقت الهدي وقرنتُ
192:5 (193:14-15)

خُذُوا عني مناسككم
184:2 (185:5-6)

لو استقبلت من أمري ما استدبرت ما سقت الهدي، ولجعلتها عمرة
192:2 (193:4-6)

ليس للمؤمن أن يذل نفسه
288:6-7 (289:13-14)

من أصبح لهم غاشما لم يرح رائحة الجنة
292:3-4 (293:7-8)

Index of Verses

p./ص	meter/بحره	rhyme/قافيته	صدر البيت/ beg. of 1st hemistich
278	ṭawīl/الطويل	ابن طريف	فيا شجر
320	basīṭ/البيسط	بدني	لا تستقلن
182	kāmil/الكامل	الذخر	إن أهد
212	ṭawīl/الطويل	الممزق	عليك
260	ṭawīl/الطويل	واقع	أبا جعفر
214	kāmil/الكامل	والولد	لا شيء

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ثم اخرج عنده واحضراه القاهره ووقع وعنفه تعذيفا كثيرا من الامراء ثم خلع
 عليه وجهر في النيل ليتوجه الى بلاده من عذاب في البحر وانعم عليه الامراء
 والسلطان باشيا كمين فوصل الى بلاده وتدرى بطنه له امه الملكة واقام بها
 حتى ماتت في سنة تسع وستين وسبعماية ومكث بعد انيته للانفل عباس
الملك الاشرف شعبان بن حسين بن محمد بن قلاوون جلس على تحت الملكة
 وعمره عشرين سنين في نصف شعبان سنة اربع وستين وسبعماية وقام باسم
 الملكة الامير بيلغا العزى الخاصكى الى ان قتل في ربيع الاخر سنة ثمان وستين
 وسبعماية فقوى ابن تليلا م قتل اسد م بعد بيلغا واشتد امره ووقع
 بالبلغا وبه الاحلام وشعر بالاهتمام بالمالح في سنة ثمان وسبعين وخرج
 الى ابله الامرا للسفر في يوم السبت في عشرين شواله وخرج طلبه السلطان
 يوم الاحد ثمان عشرين فخرج عشرين قطار هجن لقيهاش ذهب وخمسة عشرين
 قطارا بعثي حرس وقطارا ملبس خليفتي وقطارا لقاهاش ايضا برسوم الاحرام
 ومائة راس خيل مشهون وكما بين وتسع محجات وهر محجاتها باغشية
 حرس مزر كش وستة واربعين زوج محاس وخزانه عشرين جمالا وقطارا
 جمالا تحمل خضرمز درعة ومن الجمال الجملة شيئا كثيرا وركب يوم الابرار
 بلح عشرين فاقام بسريته يوم الابرار ثمان عشرين واستقل بالمسير
 ومعه من الامراء المقدمين تسعة ومن الطبايا خمسة وعشرون ومن
 العسراوات خمسة عشرين فركب طائر تمر المجرى اللقاها احد العسراوات وقرباها
 راس نوبة وجماعه في يوم السبت بالثدي القنقة خارج القاهره وسلطوا
 امير علي بن السلطان فقدم الخبر يوم الاحد ثمانية بان السلطان وصل الى
 عقبه ابه يوم الثلاثاء واقام الى ليلة الخميس ركب عليه المماليك ليلة الخميس
 بسبعين اخيرا انقده فالزم السلطان في نفر لسير في جزا الى قبة النصوة
 تمبضوا الامير صرتمش وعاد من الاسرا وقتلوه وقبض على الاشرف من بيت
 امراة في ليلة الاثنين خامس دي القنق فكان اخر العهد به قل خنقا واما
 حرمه حمد القنق فمخ من راحة احمد على المقر في القنق سنة ثمان

تعفى الخيل بجمع بدامن الاذعان وبعثه ثقبه فاكرمه الامراء وبعث الامير
 غازي صاحب اليمن بالامير طقاي في جماعة من الممالكة ليكونوا في خدمته
 حتى يقضى حجه فساروا اليه واطلوا السلاح داريه وحمل القاشية وساروا
 ما كان قد اهتم به وشوان في خدمته حتى دخل الحرم وسلم على الامراء واعتذر
 اليهم واخبرانه يصير حتى يرحل الامير طاز ويشور وهو وثقه على من يقضي مع امير
 الركب وياخذ بمجالان وعلها ماله فلما كان يوم مئى ركب الامير بزلار امير الركب
 من ماله فزاي خاوم صاحب اليمن فاستدعاه اليه فامتنع من الحضور وضرب
 بملاوك بزلار بعض حرك بحربة فوثق الصوت في الركب وركب بزلار الى طاز
 وناراهل اليمن بالسلاح وركب اسرا منصور وقت الظهر واتسلوا هزمو بزلار
 هزيمة قبيحة واقتل عجلان امير ماله بجيش كبير فامره طاز ان يحفظ الحجاج
 واستمرت الحرب الى العصور فانكسر جيش اليمن وقتل منهم جماعة وقطع
 دهليز المجاهد وقبض عليه ونهبت اقاله وتقتل الناس حرم وسار الامير
 غازي بالمجاهد معه ورتبته في خدمته جماعة من ممالكه وبالفتح في اكرامه
 ووصي الامير عجلان بامه وجرمه وكتب الى السلطان يعرفه بما وقع وتوجه
 الى مصر فقدم به في العشرين من المحرم سنة ٧٠٧ وثمانين وسبعماية وبعث
 به الى القلعة مقيداً في يوم الخدمة فاوقف تجاه الناب والامراء فعد حتى خرج
 امير جاتدار ودخل الاسرا الى الحكمة بالايوان وهو محرم تقبل الارض بين
 يدي السلطان الملك الناصر حسن بن محمد بن تولاون ثم قك قيدك وانزل
 بالاشرفية من القلعة واطلق له راتبه واقبل له من خدمه ثم رسم بسفزه اليه
 بالاده فخرج معه الامير قشتمر شاد الدواوين وكتب للشرية عجلان امير ماله
 ان يجهن وخلق عليه اطلسين وركب في الموكبه واستاناس السلطان به وتزود
 اليه الناس واعترض مالا كثيرا واشترا الممالكة الخيل والجمال واليه الاقلام
 من السلطان والامراء لمزم بحمل الماله في كل سنة على العاده وسار اوامير
 الاول فبعث قشتمر بالشكوى منه فرسم له ان يقبض عليه ولسنوع الى الملك
 فعول ذلكم وقبض عليه بالينبع وبعث به الى الكرك واقام بالكرك قليل ثم

مئى ركب

بزلار

بزلار

الظاهر سوسم حج ساكوك وكان ذر تغلب على ملكهم وفتح بلاد كوكوش وخرج
 منسا موسى لما قدم الى مصر سنة اربع وعشرون وسبعماية بهد ايا جليله و
 كثير فارسيل السلطان الملك الناصر محمد بن قلاوون الممندان للقبه وركب به
 الى القلعه في يوم الخدمه فامتنع ان يقبل الارض وقال للترجانه ان ارجل
 ما لكي المذهب ولا اسجد لغير الله فاعطاه السلطان من ذلك وقربه اليه واكرم
 وساله عن سبب هججه فقال اردت الحج فزسم للوزير ان يحمن كل ما يحتاج
 اليه ويقال انه قدم معه اربع عشر الف جاريه رسم خدمته خاصة فاجل
 اصحابه على شرا الحارثيه من التركه والحجوش والمخنيات والشيابه فانحط سعر
 الدنيا ^{الاراضي} دراهم و قدم هديته وخرج مع الركب بعد ما اوصى به السلطان الامير
 سيف الدين ايتمش امير الركب فسار ركبا وحك سادة الحاج حتى قضى حجه وناخر
 ملكه بعد الموسم انا ما رعا ديهلاك كثير من اصحابه وجمالها بالبرد حتى وصل معه الا
 نحو الملحه منج فاصحاح الى قرصه مال كثير من التجار واستمرى عنه كتب من قوه
 المالكيه وانتم السلطان عليه تحيول وجمال وسافر الى بلاده بور ما تصدق في
 الحرمين مال كثير وكان اذا حدثها اصحابه في امر كشغور وروهم عند مخاطبته
 عادة لم **الملك المجاهد على** بن الملك المريد داود بن الملك المظفر
 يوسف بن الملك المنصور عمر بن علي بن رسول صاحب اليمن حج في سنة اربع
 واربعين وسبعماية واطلع عليه جيش ^{الاراضي} بركه ووقف بنو حسن في خدمته حتى قضى
 حجه وعزم على كسوة الكعبه فلم يملكه امير مكة من ذلك فسار وهو حنق ثم حج باينا
 في سنة اربع وخمسين وسبعماية و قد قدم عليه الشريف ثقبه بن زمينه
 واغراه با حيه عجلان واطمعه في مكة وكسوة الكعبه فسار في عسكر كبير
 فبلغ ذلك الشريف عجلان وكان الامير طار قد حج في جماعة من الامراء
 فبلغهم وطلب صاحب اليمن ^{الاراضي} ليقفل عظيم وانه يريد يدخل بلائمة الحرب
 وحوال سلاح داريته وطبر داريته ليقم فننه فبعثوا اليه انه من يريد الحج انا دخل
 مكة يدوم مسكنه وانت تريد تبسح برة فاحشده ونحن لا نملكك من الدخول
 على وجه الصفه فان اردت السلامه فاجتنب الينا الشريف ثقبه لكون عندنا حتى

لم

الاراضي

ع

ت

ا

المحجل على العاده و امرا الركبة الامير عز الدين ايد مر الخطيرى من حله عشرين
 شوال وركب السلطان في سبعين ابراس قلعه الجبل يوم الخامس والعشرين
 منه وسعد المحرم مع الامير سيف الدين طغرل ثم فلما قارب عقبه ايلة يلعه ان
 الامير بكترايا في على نية المخاض ثم بالرجوع وبعث ابنه انور وامه الى المراك
 م فولى عزمه على المسير وسار وهو محترق ورسم ان كلام من الامرا حضر على باب
 الدهليز تسليم على كافار الجميع يتناولون وعدد يوم 7 روم والاحمدى بكتير
 عليه زرديه وسيفه مقلده وترسه على كتفه وترك السلطان النوم في بيته
 فلما وصل الى بنج اتلفاه الشريف اسد الدين ربيته امير بركه يبيع وبعه القواد
 والاشتراف فاكرمه ورجب به وتوجه مكة وحج على عادته في التواضع لله
 تعالى واكثر الصدقات على اهل مكة والانعام على الامراء والاجناد ونفى عنك وبعث
 الامير اتيش الحمدى معه مائة بجانا الى عقبه فوسعها ونطقها ودخل
 السلطان المدينة النبويه فهبت بهارياح عاصفه فلعقت الحيم وانظم الجوصار
 كل احد بهم على غير حيمته ولا يعرف موضعه فانزعج السلطان انزعجا زائدا
 وغاف من ان يفتك به احد او يقتاله ووقع الصياح في الوطقات وكان امرا
 موهوا لا طول الليل حتى طلع الفجر فاجل ذلك وحضر امرا العربان بالمال والاهل
 عن اخرهم ورحل من المدينة فتوكل احمد بن الامير بكتير ومات بعد ايام
 ولم يبق بعد بكتير سوى ثلثة ايام ومات ايضا بالقرب من عيون القصب بمقت
 الناس ان السلطان لم يستقما هما فبقينا بعين القصب ثم نقلنا الى تربة بكتير لقرافه
 وسار السلطان وقد اطمأن بعدما كان خائفا فزعا فقدم بركه الحام لوم
 السبت ربي عشر المحرم سنة ثلث وثلث وسمع به وصعد القلعه في موكب
 عظيم لم يرمثله ومشى على شقاق الحد برقرسه وهو ضارب للثناء وخرج الناس
 به فزحازبا ودقت الشياير وطبل الخيامة الامرا ثلثة ايام وعملت الامرا حلس
 في يوم الاسن وخلع على ساير الامرا والمقدمين وانعم انعاما عظيما
فتبا موتى ملكه التكرور اول من حج من ملوك التكرور ومقر ايدانه
 ويعل برستانه ثم حج بتساوى من ماري بن جاطه في ايام الملك الظاهر

م

عن تراخيص
 من عند الرحيل
 لا يوزن الموكب
 ما هو السلطان
 له كذا ما
 قدم

م

من البحر الملون المحكم الصنعة ثم تقادد الملك المولى عماد الدين صاحب جماله
 ثم ناله الامراء وشروع الماء في كرمه المسمى كرمه المسمى كرمه ناظر الخاص في تجميع ما يحتاج
 اليه وخرج الى ناحية سراي قوس وصار يقف وهو الوسيط او يجلس على
 كرسى وسائر ارباب الوظائف في خدمته وهو يرتب الامور فتعمل عدة قديرون
 ترضه ونحاس تجمل على النجاشه ليطبخ فيها واحضر الخبز له لعل ميازل وتغضرات
 ورياحين ومشمومات في الخواض خشب لتجمل على الجمال وتسقا طول الطريق
 ويوجد معها كل ادم ما يحتاج اليه وترتب الاوزان وقلايى الحين وصناع الكجاج
 والسميد وغير ذلك مما يحتاج اليه واعطا العربان اجر الجمال التي تجمل الشعير
 والبشماط والديق وجهاز مركبين في البحر الى يمين ومركبين الى جهة بعد ما
 اعتبر كلغة البقرة باوراق كتبت فيها اسماء اثنين وخمسين اميراسم من له في
 اليوم مائة علفه ومنهم من له خمسون علفه واقلهم من له عشرون علفه كانت
 جملة الشعرا المجرى مائة الف اردب وتلين الف اردب وجوه من الشام
 خمسمائة حمل تجمل الحلوى والسكروانات والعاكوه وحضرت ايضا حواج
 خاناه على مائة وثمانين جملا لتجمل الحب رمان والموز وما يحتاج اليه في
 المطبخ نسوي ما حمل من الحواج خاناه من القاهرة وجهاز الف مياوز وولائه
 الاف طابردجاج فلما انتهى ذلك ركب السلطان مستعمل ذي القعدة وبعه
 المولى صاحب جماله في القضاة بدر الدين محمد بن جماعة الشافعي بعدما
 مهدت عقبة ابيه من الصخور ووسع مضيقها بعدما كان سلوكه مشقيا وفتح
 معان شعيب فلما قدم حلة اظهروا التواضع والذلة والمسكنه امران ابيد ووجد
 عند معابنه البيت محمود عبيد ليل تم المقت الى الامير بدر الدين جمل من البابا
 وقال لا زلت اعظم نفسي حتى رايت البيت ذكرت قبيل الناس الاربعين في فضل
 تلى مهابة عظيمة لم يزل حتى سجدت لله تعالى شكرا ووقدم اليه من جماعه
 وحسن له ان يطوف راكبا فان البن طاف راكبا فعاد يا قاضي ومن انا حتى
 انشبه بالنبى والله لاطفت الا كما يطوف الناس نطاق من غير ان يكون ربه
 احد من الحجاب فصار الناس يراجمونه ويترجمونهم حتى قضى طواف

سنة ١٠٠٠

سنة ١٠٠٠

صلى الله عليه وسلم

وتلقب بالملكه المظفر وكتب للناصر تقليدا بنبيا له الكركه وجهزه مع الحياح
 ال ملكه فاظهر البش وخطب باسم المظفر على منبر الكرك وانعم على الحاج ال
 ملك واعاده فلم تركه المظفر واخذ بناكره ويطلب منه من معه من الممالكة الذي
 اختارهم الا قامه عنده والجنول التي اخذها من قلعة الجبل والمال الذي اخذ
 من الكرك وهدده بتجهيز العساكر اليه واخذ يفتن لذلك وكتب لنواب الشام
 يشاوروا ما هو فيه فحشوه على القيام لاخذ ملكه ووعده بالنصر فتحرك لذلك وسار
 الى دمشق وابته النواب وقدم الى مصر فخر بيبرس وطلع الناصر القلعة يوم
 عيد الفطر سنة تسع وسبعماية فاقام في الملك ^{الذي} ثلثين سنة وشهرين
 وعشرين يوما ومات في ليلة الخميس حادي عشرين ذي الحجة سنة احدى
 واربعين وسبعماية وعمره سبع وخمسون سنة واحد عشر شهرا وخمسة ايام
 وربع سلطنته في المدة الثالثة عشر واربعون سنة وعاشه اشهر وتسعة ايام
 حج بها ثلث مرات الا ولحق في سنة ثني عشر وسبعماية وبسببها ان خربند
تحرك لاخذ الشام ونزل على الغزاة فخرج السلطان بعساكر مصر **بالت**
 شواله وسار الى الصالحية وقدم اليه من حلب ودمشق برجيل خربند اعن
 الرحبه يوم عيد الفطر يريد بالاده فامر السلطان بذلك وعزم على الحج ودخل
 دمشق في ثالث عشرينه وبقية العساكر في الجهات وركب في اربعين امير ^{الملك}
 الاف بلوك على الحجن في اول ذي القعدة واخذ معه مائة فارس فقتل بيكر وعاد
 الى دمشق بعد مرور بالمدينة النبوية ودخله الكرك فدخل في حادي عشر
 المحرم سنة ثلث عشره وهو ركب ناقة لطيفة القدر بعامة مدركه وثام وعليه
 بشت من ايشات العرب وفي يد حربة ونبلاء كس تيمية وسائر القضاة وجميع
 الناس وكان يوما مشهودا بلو كرادار اللقنح على السلطان بسنما به درهم فضة
 ثم سار الى مصر وصعد قلعة الجبل في ثاني عشر صفر من حج في سنة تسع عشرين
 وبغداد به فلما تحرك لذلك ائنه تعاكه الامراء ونواب الشام وامراء دمشق
 وحلب واول من بعث تقدمته الامير تكمز باب الشام وفيها الجبل والحجن
 بالكر الذهب والسلاخيل من الذهب والفضة وجميع المقادير والمخاطم والآلات

المظفر
 الملك
 الملك
 الملك

قتل اخيه الملك الاشرف صلاح الدين خليل بن قلاوون في رابع عشر المحرم
 سنة ثلث وتسعين وعمره تسع سنين تنقضي لوما واحدا فاقام سنة الاثنته
 ايام وخلص مما لوكة اميه زين الدين كنيغا الملك العادل في حادي عشر المحرم سنة
 اربع وتسعين واخرج مع امه اشلاف بنت شكاي الى الكرك فنار الامير
 حسام الدين لاجين المنصوري نايب السلطنة على العادل كنيغا وتسلمن عوضه
 ثار عليه طغي وكرجى تقصلاه وقتلا ايضا واستدعى الناصر من الكرك فقد م
 الى قلعة الجبل واعيد الى السلطنة من تانبه في سادس جمادى الاولى سنة
 عان وتسعين اقام عشرين سنين وخمسة اشهر وستة عشر يوما محجورا عليه
 لا يملك التصرف في اكلة طعام يشتهيها والقيام بتدبير الدولة الاميران بغير
 الجاشنكير استادار السلطان وسلا نايب السلطنة وبرادوسه في سنة ثمان
 وسبع مائة واظهر انه يريد الحج بعباله فوافقه الاميران على ذلك وشروع في تجهيز
 وكتبه الى دمشق والكرك بمرى الاقامات والزم عرب الشوقية بحمل الشعير
 فلما تهيأ ذلك احضر الامرا قادم من الخيل والجمال في العشرين من شهر
 رمضان فقبلها وركب في خامس عشر منه من القلعة ومعه الامرا البركة
 الحاج وتعين معه السعرايد من الخطيري والحاج ابي بكر الجوكندار وقرالاجين
 امير مجلس ولبان امير جندار وابي بكر الرومي امير سلاح وبيبرس الاجرمي
 وسبحر الجوقدار ونظاي الساقى وسنقر السعدى وغيرهم وخمسة وسبعين
 مملوكا وعاد ببيبرس وسيلار من غير ان يترجل له عند ذلك وانه بالبركة فوخل من
 ليثته وعرج الى الصالحية وعيدها وتوجه الى الكرك فقدمها في عاشر سوالف
 وبها الامير جمال الدين اقوش الاشرى نايبا فمزل تعلقها وصرح قد اتفق عزمه
 عن الحج واختار الاقامة بالكرك وترك السلطنة ليستريح وكتبه الى الامرا
 وسلا ان يتبع عليه بالكرك والشوكية واعاد من كان معه من الامرا وسلم الجين
 وعدت مع خمسمائة مجين والماله والجمال وجمع ما قدمه له الامرا واخذت كان
 من الماله بالكرك وهو ستمائة الف درهم فضه وعشرون الف دينار واهرب
 نايبه الكرك ايضا بالمسير عنه فسار الى مصر ولسلطون ببيبرس الجاشنكير

وتلقب

ما على الجمجمة من أهل الحرم سنة ثمان وستين وثمانمائة ومعه مائة فارس
 بيد كل فارس من فرس وساق الى دمشق وسائر من بلاد مصر وبلاد الشام
 من الامراء ومن دولهم لا يعرفون شيئا من خبر السلطان هل في الشام والحجاز
 او غير ذلك من بلاد الله ولا يحسرا حدثت مهابة السلطان والخوف منه
 ان يكلم بشئ من خبره ولا يسأل عنه فلما قارب دمشق بعث احد خاصته
 على البريد بكتب البشائر الى دمشق بالسلامة بعد قضا الحج فلما دخل على
 الامير جمال الدين الجيبي نائب دمشق جمع الامراء لقرأة الكتب السلطانية بيبايع
 في القراءه اذ قيل لم يرد له السلطان بالميدان فتبادروا اليه لقاياه فاذا به
 وحده وقد اعطى لبعض دلاله سوق الخيل لينادي عليه وهو لا يعرفه انه
 السلطان فعندما شاهدوه قيل لنا يا ارض وناياه الامراء وحضر الامير ارق
 سقر الفارقي ومن معه من عسكر مصر فاكل السلطان شيا وقام يستريح
 وانصرف الناس فركب في لغز ليسير وتوجه في خفية يريد حلب فلما حضر الامراء
 خدمه العصر لم يجدوا السلطان ولا عرف له خبر فبينما نائب حلب والامراء في المركب
 تحت قلعه حلب واذا بالسلطان قد ساق ووقف ساعة فلم يعرفه احد حتى فطن
 به بعضهم فنزل عن فرسه وقبل له الارض فبادر الجميع ونزلوا وقبلوا الارض
 وساروا في ركابه حتى دخلوا في ارض حلب فكشف الغلغلة ونجح من حلب
 ولم يعرف احد به ودخل دمشق في الثالث عشر من جمادى الاولى وكان الامير ارق يستنصر
 ليل الى القدس وسائر الخليل واتصدق بوقت صدقات وكان الامير ارق يستنصر
 قد سار من معه من عسكر مصر ووزل تل العجوليه موافاه السلطان هناك
 وعليه عباة لم يعرفها وسار من تل العجوليه بالعسكر في حاوي عسريته
 وقد طالت من اول صفر وعليه عباة التي حج بها لم يعرفها نحو خمسه وسبعين
 يوم فخرج الملك السعيد الى لقايد وصعد قلعه الجبل
السلطان الملك الناصر ناصر الدين ابو المعالي محمد بن الملك الناصر
نور الدين قلاوون الالف الفصالحى البحرى
 في يوم السبت بضم الحاء سنة اربع وثمانين وثمانمائة واقيم في السلطنة بعد

البربر الى قلعة الجبل لمهمات له تجهزت الكتب مع العربان وذدم المدينة
 النبوية في خامس عشرينه فلم يقابله اجمان ولا مالك اميرى المدينة وقرا منه
 فاعرض عنهما ورجل في سبع عشرينه واحرم يدخل مكة في خامس ذي الحجة
 واعطى خواصه جملة اموال لفرق في الناس سراوهم اهل الحرمين بالكسوة
 التي يرتونها فيهم وصار كاحاد الناس لاجبته احد ولا يحرسه الا الله تعالى وتقى
 منفردا يصلى وحده ويصوم ويحله وليسعى وحده ولا يعرفه الا من يعرفه وغسل
 الكعبة بين ما التورد وصار من الناس على اختلاف طبقاتهم وتباين اجناسهم
 ومازهم الا يرمى اليها احرامه فيغسله بين ويناوله صاحبها وجلس على باب
 الكعبة واخذ يبرى الناس ليطلعهم اليها فتعلق بعض العامة باحرامه ليطامح
 فقطعه وكاد يرمى السلطان عن العتبة الى الارض وهو مستلبش جميع ذلك
 وعلق كسوة الكعبة بين ومعه خواصه وتردد الى مكة والمدينة من اهل
 الخيبر ليخمس بركتهم ويسال دعاهم هذا وافاض القضاة صدر الدين معه طول
 طريقه ليستنقضي ويتفهم منه امور دينه ولم يفعل مع ذلك تزييرا للمالك وكاب
 الا لشا تكلف عنه في المهمات وكتب الى صاحب اليمن يتكر عليه امور ويقول
 سطرتهما من مكة المشرفة وقد احدثت طريقها في سبع عشر خلوهم يعني بالخطون
 المنزلة ويقول الملك هو الذي يجاهد الله حوز جهاده وبذل نفسه
 في الدب عن حوز الدين فان كسوة مكة فخرج والى الطاهر واخذ الى اميرى مكة
 و الى اميرى صنع و امير خليف واكابر الحجاز وكتب منشورين لامييرى مكة ورتب
 معهم الامير شمس الدين مروان تايب امير جانداز ليقم معهم مكة حسب سوالها
 ليكون مرجع الامور اليه والحل والعقد على يديه وزاد اميرى مكة ما لا وخال لا
 في كل سنة لاجل تسهيل الكعبة للناس وسارهم مكة بعد تضا النسب في مكة
 وقدم المدينة النبوية ثمانى عشرينه فبانت بها وسار من غل مجرى السير
 ومعه عن تيسير فقدم الكرك بكرة يوم الخميس سلمه من عمران بعلم احرامه
 بوصوله حتى تركه شهيد جعفر تقريه مؤنه فتلقاها الناس بها ودخل المدينة
 وعليه عباة التي سار بها وهو راكب راحله فبات بها ورجل من الغد بعونه

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عما يوجد به من المكوس وان لا يمنع احد من دخول الكعبة وان تحطب
 له مكة والمشاعر وتضرب السكة باسمه فاجابه وكتبه لهما فقلده الاسان
 وسلمت اوقاف الحرم بصر والشام فنواهما وسلم للشريف قاضي المدينة النبوية
 ونخيبها ووزرها عندما حضر رسالة الامير عن الدين بجزاز امير المدينة
 الجمال التي نهبها الامير احمد بن يحيى لاشراف المدينة وهي ثلثة الاف بعير
 ليوصلها لاربها وانع على الطوائف جمالها برحمن الصالح شيخ الخدم
 بالمحرم الشريفه مايتي الف درهم واعاده مع القاضى صحبه الركاب الشامي حزين
 الكسوف ملكه والمدينة وقدم الامير يثرون الدين عيسى بن مهنا الى الدهليز
 بالخرية فارغم السلطان انه يريد الحركة الى العراق واسم بالناهب ليركب اذا
 دعي ورده الى بلاده وكان السلطان في الباطن انما يريد الحركة للمجاز لكنه
 ترك بالعراق فلما دخل شوال اتفق في العساكر جميعها وجر طابقه مع
 الامير اقوش الرومي السلاج دار ليكونوا صحبة الركاب وجر طابقه مع الامير
 الدين ابي سنقر الفارقي استنار اذ الى دمشق ليقموا ظاهرها وتوجه
 السلطان الى الحج ومعه الامير بدر الدين الحازدار وقاضي القضاة صدر الدين
 سلم بن الحنفى ومخرا الدين ابراهيم بن لقمان كاتب السر وياح الدين سر
 الاثير وحمولها به صلته به امين من اخوان الحلقة وسامر الفوار يوم الخميس
 خامس شهر شوال كانه متوجه الى الكرك كانه يتصدوم بحسرا حدثت
 بانه متوجه الى الحجاز وذلك الحاجب جمال الدين الراية كتب الى السلطان
 يسالته انى اشتري ان توجه صحبه السلطان الى الحجاز فامر بقطع لسانه فلم
 يتغوه احد بعد ذلك فوصل الى الكرك اول يوم من ذي القعدة وكان قد تبر
 اموره في خفية من غير ان يطلع احد على شئ مما فعله بحيث انه جنر البشطاء
 والدينى والروايا والقريب والاشربة وعين العراب المتوجحين معه
 وان يبيت في المنازل من غير ان يشعروا من الخاصه فضلا عن العامة ذلك
 فصار في الحجاز من معه الشعير وبعث الثقل في رابعة وتبعه في سادسه
 بزل الشوكه ورسمها خفا خبز واستقل بالمسير في حادى عشره وانفذ

السلطان

سنة ست وخمسين وستماية وفرن بصا بحية دمشق وخرج في سنة ثلثة وخمسين
 وستماية وسبب حجه انه لما تكلمه الملك الصالح نجم الدين ايوب بن الكامل
 وبعث اليه الامير بنجر الدين يوسف بن شيخ الشيوخ صدر الدين بن جوينيه
 على العسكر فهزمه واقوع الحوطه على بلاده ونازل الكرك حتى طلب منه الاما
 فرحل عنه وقد ضاقت الامور بالناصر فخرج الى حلب ومعه جواهر جليله
 قيمتها ما ينيف على مائة الف دينار فبعثها الى الخليفة المستعصم بالله ببغداد
 لتكون عنده وديعه فقبضت من رسوله وكتب الخط الشريف بقبضها فشق
 ذلك على اولاده وخرجوا عن طاعته ولحق بعضهم بالملك الصالح نجم الدين ايوب
 بمصر وسلك الكرك فجزت امورا لآل الناصر الى مسيره الى بغداد لطلب وديعته
 فمعه الخليفة من الدخول اليها ومطله بالجوهر فلما ليس من ذلك سار الي
 ملكه من طريق العراق وخرج فلما قدم المدينة النبويه تعلق باستار الحج بحضرة
 الناس وداله اشهدوا ان هذا مقامى من رسول الله داخلا عليه **بمقتضى**
 به الى ان عمه المستعصم في ان يرد على وديعته فاعظم الناس ذلك وجزت
 عبراتهم وارتفع ضجيج بالبكا وكتب بمصورة ما جري مكوف في يوم السبت
 ثامن عشرين ذي الحجة تسلمه امير خارج العراق ونصى الناصر معه الى
 بغداد فعوض الجوهر بثمنه **بمقتضى** عاد الى الشام متهورا
الملك المظفر شمس الدين يوسف ان الملك المنصور نور الدين عمير بن علي بن
 رسول قام بجدايه يملك اليمن في سنة سبع واربعين وستماية وخرج سنة اثنين
 وخمسين وعسل الكعبة بنفسه وطبها وكساها من داخلها وخارجها وهو
 اول من كسى الكعبة بعد قتل الخليفة المستعصم ببغداد من الملوك وذلك ان
 الحاج اقطع من العراق عن يمينه من سنة خمس وخمسين وستماية الى سنة
 ست وستين فلم يرد من هناك حاج في هذه المدة وقام المظفر يصلح الحرم
 واهله واكثر من الصدقات ونشر على الكعبة الذهب والفضة ونخط له مكة
 واستخرج خط بغداد للملوك اليمن على منبر مكة الى يومنا هذا بعد الخطبة
 لاططان مصر ولم يزل لسنة المظفر التي كساها للكعبة من داخلها باقية الى

الدين يوسف وخرج نور الدين هذا في سنة احدى وثلثين وستماية على النجف
 وبعث في سنة ثمان وثلثين الى الكعبة فادبل من ذهب وفضة وخرج ايضا في سنة
 تسع وثلثين وابطل المكوس والنجارية من مكة وكتب ذلك تجاه الحجر الاسود
 فاستمر ذلك حتى ازاله بن المسيب لما ولي مكة سنة ستة واربعين وستماية واعاد
 المكوس والنجارات وصام شهر رمضان بمكة وانفق في سنة ثلثة واربعين وسهام
 وابل اربع واربعين ان هاجت ريح شديدة منقته كسوق الكعبة والفتها ووقيت
 الكعبة عارية فاراد عمر بن رسول ان يكسوها فامتنع من ذلك شيخ الحرم عفيف
 الدين منصور بن منعه البغدادي وقال لا يكون ذلك الا من الديوان يعني الخليفة
 وكساها ثيابا من قطن مصبوغه بالسواد وركب عليها المظن القديمة
الملك الناصر ابوشادي داود بن الملك المعظم اى الفتح عيسى بن الملك
 العادل سيف الدين اى بكر محمد بن نجم الدين اى الشكر ابوبن شادي بن مروان
 الكردى الا يرمى وولد في تاسع عشر جمادى الاخرة سنة ثلثة وستماية وحفظ
 القزاز وعمره تسع سنين وقاله الشعر وهو من اعش سنين وبيع في كل فن
 من علوم الادب والحكمة وغير ذلك وولد له ملطنه دمشق بعد موت ابيه وهو
 في السنة الحادية عشر من عمره اول ذبح الحجة سنة اربع وعشرين وستماية
 وانتقل على اللهو فطلب منه عمه السلطان الملك الكامل قلعة الشوك فامتنع
 فشكر عليه وعزم على المسير اليه وتزعه من سلطنة مصر واتخذ الناصر في ظلم
 الرعية واحدا موالطه والائمانه في اللعب واستدعى عمه الملك الاشرف شاه
 ارمن موسى فقدم عليه من الشرق وحكيه في المملكة فآله الامران حاصر الملك
 الكامل دمشق حتى اخسل الناصر وعوضه عن دمشق بالكرك والشويك
 والصلب والبلقا والاعوار جميعها ونا بلس واعماله القدس وبيت حبريل
 وكانت هذه الاعمال توميذ عام من جليله القدر ثم نزله الناصر عن الشوك فجمع
 الكامل وتسلم الكامل دمشق اوله شعبان سنة ستة وعشرين فاقام بالكرك
 وكانت له قصص واما ذكرتها في التاريخ الكبير المعنى آتية ان السنة في
 البلاد وموتة في احدى قرى دمشق يوم السادس عشر من جمادى الاولى سنة

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ودعا لقسيس بن السلطان الملك الكامل ناصر الدين أبي المظفر محمد بن السلطان
 الملك العادل سيف الدين ابي بكر محمد بن والد الملك محمد بن الدين ابي الشكر ايوب
 ابن شاهدين مروان الكردي الايوبي ولد في ربيع الاخر سنة سبع وتسعين
 وخمماية وولاه ابيو مملكة اليمن في ايام جلوسه سنة احدى وعشرون وستماية
 فسار اليها في الف فارس ومن الجندارية والرماسه خمماية وقدم مكة وتوجه
 منها الى زيد وملكها واستولى على تمامه وتجزر وصنعوا سائر مما لك اليمن
 ورجع في سنة تسع وعشرون وستماية وقابل امير مكة الشريف حسن بن قتال هـ
 الحسيني وهزمه ونهب مكة فلما كان يوم عرفة منع اعلام الخليفة من
 التقدم على اعلام ابيه واظهر من الجراة على الله قبايح منها انه كان يصعد
 اعلام زمن فيرمي حمام الحرم بالبندق ويستخف لحرمه الكعبة واليمن
 سقفة الدسا واذانام في دار بالمسعى ضربت الجندارية الطائفين بالمسعى
 بطراف السيوف ليلا يشوشوا عليه وهو في يوم من شدة سكره بالخمير ثم
 عاد الى اليمن وخرج منها بعد ما استخلفه عليها نور الدين عمر بن علي بن رسول
 الكردي في سنة اثنى عشر وعشرين وقدم القاهرة بعد ااجليله ونزل بالقصر
 واقام لايه حرمة وافرن فحاذه الامراء والاحساد وخشوا سطوته ثم توجه الى
 اليمن بعد اثناء التشرية الخليفة بن ^{بن} فاقام بها الى ان بلغه ان اياه اخذ
 دمشق فثار الى اخذها عوضا عن اليمن وخرج بامواله واتاه فاتمكة في
 ثلث عشر جمادى الاولى سنة ست وعشرين وستماية فدفن بالمعلا وقام
 بامر اليمن بعد ثابته عمر بن علي بن رسول وقد استوفيت اخباره في تاريخ مصر
 المقري واليه تنسب الدراهم المسعوديه بمكة هـ

الملك المنصور نور الدين عمر بن علي بن رسول الكردي ملك اليمن

بعد موت الملك المسعود ونعت الى الملك الكامل هدية جليله وقال انا ايب
 السلطان على البلاد فاقبل عليها وعمر هذا اول من ولد اليمن من بني رسول
 ويوجد له بها سنة تسع وعشرين وخطب له مكة فيها ايضا ودامت مملكته الى
 ان وصل في سنة سبع واربعين وستماية وملكه بعد ابنه الملك المظفر شمس

توران شاه وقد مدحته وهو في القبر عيت فلف كفته ورماه واشدني
 لا يستعملن معروفه واسمته به ميتا واسمته عاربا يدني منه
 ولا تفتنن جودك شانته تحملن بعد ذلك ملكه الشام واليمن
 اني خرجت من الدنيا وليس معي من كل مملكت كمنوي كفتي
 واليه نسب درب شمس الدولة بالقاهره وقد ذكرت ترجمته متوسطه في كتاب
 المواعظ والاعتبارات بذكر الخطط والاشارة وفي كتاب المارح الكبير الملقب بمصر
الملك المعظم شرف الدين ابو الفتح عيسى بن الملك العادل سيف الدين ابي بكر
 محمد بن نجم الدين ايوب بن شادي بن مروان الكردي الاثرف الفقيه الحنفي الخوري
 الاديب الشاعر ولد دمشق في خامس رجب سنة ست وخمسين وخمسمائة
 وفقه على مذهب الامام ابي حنيفة بالشيخ جمال الدين ابي المحامد محمود بن احمد
 الحصري البخاري الحنفي واخذ العربية عن الناح ابي اليمن ريد بن الحسن اللذيذ
 وكان يسمي الى منزلهما على قدميه لانه العلم عنهما وافطر في العصبية لمذهب
 الحنفية وشرح الجامع الكبير في الفقه وصنف السهم الصيب في الرد على الخلف
 ابي بكر الخطيب وروي بخطه على كتاب سيويه اني قطعتة حفظا من خاطري
 وعلى كتاب التلک في الفقه على مذهب ابي حنيفة انه قطعة حفظا وهو في
 مجلدين واعتنى بالعلم واهله عناية تامة وسهم الحديث من حنبل وعمرو بن
 طبرزد وعين وحدث واعطاه ابوه المدة العادل دمشق وجعل في ولادته غزوة
 والكرکة والشوبكة وذلك سنة ست وتسعين وخمسمائة فلم يزل حتى مات
 بدمشق اخذ في القتل سنة اربع وعشرين وستماية وخرج من دمشق
 في حادي عشر ذي القعدة سنة احدى عشرة وستماية على الهجن وسار على
 طريق بيوکه وسى البركة وعلق مصانع وتصدق على اهل الحرمين بصدقات
 جزيلة وقدم بها الى القاهره واذا على ابيه ومعه الشريف سالم بن قاسم
 امير المدينة شاقعانه فاكرمه الملك العادل وجعل معه عسكرا الى المدينة
 وعاد المعظم الى دمشق وقد ذكر ترجمته مستوفاه في التاريخ الكبير الملقب بمصر
الملك المسعود صلاح الدين ابو المظفر يوسف وتقال له **الطاهر**

ونار

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لازاله المطام وبالف في الاحسان لاهل مكة والمدينه وبعث العساكر لحفظ
 المدينة النبويه واقطع امير مكة اقطاعا واقطع امرا العيران اقطاعات لحفظ
 الحاج واكمل سور المدينة النبويه واستخرج لها العين ودعى له بالبحر على منبرهما
 وبعث الامير اسد الدين شيركوه بالفتح الى مصر واستنقذ القاهر من
 الفرنج بعد ما حصرها ثم لعنه الله بعساكر الفرنج اياما ولم يبق الا ان ملكها
 فلما استولى شيركوه على القاهرة دعى لور الدين علي منابر القاهرة ومصر
 ومات في حادي عشر شوال سنة تسع وستين وخمسمائة بمشقة بعد ما ج في
 سنة ستة وخمسين وستماية واكثر من فحل الخبر بالحرمين وبالغ في الاحسان
الملك العظيم شمس الدوله توران شاه بن والد الملوك نجم الدين ارباب
 شادي بن مروان الكردى نشا بمشقة وقدم الى القاهرة مع اهله في سنة اربع
 وستين وخمسمائة وقد نقله اخوه الملك الناصر صلاح الدين يوسف بن ايوب
 وزاع مصر للخليفة العاضد لدين الله ابي محمد عبد الله بن الامير يوسف بن الخازن
 لدين الله فكان اعظم الاسباب لضع اخيه صلاح الدين يوم وقعت السودان
 حتى هزمهم وافناهم بالسيف واقطعه قوص واسوان وعذباه وغيرهما او بعد
 ما يتا الف دينار وستة وستون الف دينار مصريه في كل سنة ثم غز المؤبقة
 في سنة ثمان وستين واخبر طاعة ابريم وعاد غانام سارا الى بلاد اليمن في
 سنة تسع وستين وعلى ملكه زبيد ابو الحسن علي بن مهدي الملقب عبد النبي
 وقدم بكة معتمرا وتوجه الى زبيد واستولى على مماله اليمن ويلقب بالملك العظيم
 ثم خطب لنفسه بعد الخليفة العباسي توجه في سنة احدى وسبعين الى الشام
 فملكه اخوه صلاح الدين دمشق في ربيع الاول سنة اثنين وسبعين ثم
 جهزه الى القاهرة في ذي القعدة سنة اربع وسبعين وانعم عليه بالاسكندرية
 فاقام بها الى ان مات هناك اول صفر سنة ستة وسبعين وخمسمائة ووجد
 عليه مبلغ مايتي الف دينار مصريه دينافضا عنه السلطان صلاح الدين وسبب
 هذا الدية كثر جوده وسعة عطايه ومن عذب ما حكى عنه ان الاديب الفاضل
 ابراهيم الدين اباطالب محمد بن علي بن الخبيبي قال رايت في اليوم المعظم شمس الدوله

الملك العظيم

ايضا الجمالون على المنصور بالمدن فقال العاصم محمد بن عمران المشيخي التميمي اليه
 ذلك فأتاه عليه وقال تعفن فقال التميمي فكتبت فلما استتم الكتاب وختمته
 قال له يا شيخ بن جواد فمضى ووافى الى المنصور وسلم الكتاب الى الربيع
 فأوصله الى المنصور فقراه وعلم ان المشيخي التميمي محمد بن عمران يعرفه انه سلم ما
 كتب الى الربيع فأوصله فقراه المنصور وأجاب الى المنصور بم شرح
 المنصور ووترها ببرد قهرتيا بما حوى وشيخ الازن قارب مجلس محمد بن عمران
 ودقت عينه عليه والربيع بين يديه فقال له ما رسمت عنيت والعباس
 لين تحو محمد بن عمران من مجلسه صبيته الاول والاية الهامة صار الى محمد بن عمران
 علما راي المنصور وكان متكبيا اطلق ردها عما عاتقته من اجتهاد وواعا
 لخصوم فحلم له عليه واسره بانصافه وانصرف ابو جعفر وامن
 الربيع باحضار محمد بن عمران فلما دخل عليه قال له يا محمد بن عمران جزاى الله
 ربك وعيبيك وعي جسدك وعي خليفتك احسن الجزاى واسره
 عشرة الاورد

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 ترحل الناس له لما استقبلوه الي محمد بن عروان فاجاب المدائنه فقال المنصور اربع اليه
 يترحل اليه في اربع ايام وسبع ما فعله من غير المظلمة وسوا على منور ال الارض لا اجسر
 في معان الربع مايه المومنين لورائته على الارض لرحمته ورحمته له من ثقله وعظمه
 فامر به باله نور نائنه را حيا عنده تمهيد الربع له العذر فمساله في حاله ثم
 قال يا محمد بن عروان ايام رحلتك لولا خصال فيك ما كنت انت الرجل كان
 وما هن ايام المومنين قال نعم وده العلاء في مسجد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
 وجماعه فقط وحرى وما نية انك لا تكلم نساء ايام الطريق تيهما وعظمت
 وبالله انك رحلت بحبل فيك ضيق شديد فقال يا ميو المومنين اما ال اول
 فاني اكره ان يصلى الامة في صلاة الامة مما يرحل على فسادها اعلم عندي من
 تركي ايامها شيئا وان لا ادري معي ركونا ولا كجودا فاره اراضا وحده
 افضل واما السابيه فاني قاض ولا يجوز ان اعطى من نبي القسليم عليهم السلام
 والاشغال لنفسه فيكون في ذلك ففسدهم للخصوم واما السابيه فاني لا
 اجمع في حق ولا اذوني باظلمة في حرجت من ابن عروان يا ربيع ادع
 اليه لانه الا فرهم قال مايه المومنين بالسابيه مستعدون عليك بكره
 ان في يد حقا من دار عدا قال فانصبر بين قال وكيه يعوم فقام
 او حضر مع مجلس القضاء قال قد وكلت الربع كان شهيد على والكل
 اياه على رعا والعباس ثم ففعلتم اخرج حدود الدار الي بنازعونه
 فيما ودها الربع وخصايه واحضر شهادته على الوكاه وانفذها
 ثم سال القوم بانه عواهم وعشهودهم فضلم عليهم واستعد

واربع مائة بستين رجلا احباب عشائير فصار في عشرين الف ضارب سيف
 من يومه وودع الامام المستنصر ابيه ابي تيمح معدن الظاهر من الحاكم احد
 الخلفاء الفاطمية بالقاهرة وملكه اليمن كله سهله وجبله ودعوه ورحل
 وخطب بنفسه وكانت قاعد ملكه صنعاء وخمسة وخمسين واربعمائة
 وملكه مكة في سادس ذي الحجة منها ونشرها العدة واكثر فيها من الانسان
 ومنع المتغيرين وامن الناس امانا لم يوجد قبله ونخصت بها الاسعار اكثر
 ما جلب اليها من فاجحة الناس حيا زابدا وكسا الكعبة الالباب وهو
 كان شعار الدولة الفاطمية واقام بها عدة ثم حج في سنة ثمان وسبعين
 واربع مائة فلما نزل ظاهر الحج قيل في ما في عشرين ذي الحجة سيد سعيد الاحول
 ابن نجاش وملكه بولس **الملك العادل نور الدين محمود** بن عماد الدين اتاك من
 زنكي من ابي سعيد قسيم الدولة بن اقسنقر المعروف بالكاچيه بن عبدالله كان طبع
 اقسنقر ملوكا تركيا للسلطان ملك شاه بن الب ارسلان السلجوقي وترقى
 الى ان استنابه تاج الدولة فتمسك من ارسلان في حلب لما ملكها في سنة ثمان
 وسبعين واربع مائة فغصا عليه وحاربه فقتل في جمادى الاولى سنة سبع وثمانين
 وثمانين واربع مائة وصار ابيه عماد الدين زنكي من الامراء بغداد ثم ولي الموصل
 سنة اثنين وعشرين وخمس مائة واخذ الرها وقتل على جعفر في ربيع الاخر
 سنة احدى واربعين وخمس مائة وهو عمي دراشه وولد مؤر الدين محمود في
 سابع عشر شوال سنة احدى عشرين وخمس مائة فقام بعد قتل ابيه واخذ
 قلعة حلب وجد في قبال الفرج ويدهم حفيد من الرها الى السواد من
 حدود ارض مصر وانتخب على حصون وظهر بحلب مذهب اهل السنة وكان
 اهلها من الرافضة وابطل الاذان يحيى على خير العمل وانتشأها المدارس على
 مذهب الائمة الاربعة ثم ملك دمشق بعد ما اشرف الفرج على اخذها وضبط
 امورها وانتشأها المدارس والمساجد والمارستان وعمرها وابطل المكوس
 كلها ومنع المنكرات باسرها وعاقب عليها واستنقذ من الفرج على معاتل
 وبنى في اكثر مالكة دار العدة واحضرها الفقهة وفقها وطبغ فيها بنفسه

م
 م
 م

م

لاراله

وعان ربايه مح الرشيد في سنة عان وثمانين راجلا وقسم اموال الكثيرين
 وهي اخرجة جبهها وكان اذا حج حج معه مائة من الفقهاء وانشاءهم فاذا لم يحج
 لعلماءه رجل بالنفقة السابعة والكسوة الظاهر ولم ير خليفة قبله التزعطا
 منه وبعاله لوقيل للديانتى ايام شبابه لقات ايام هرون الرشيد
الحاكم بامر الله ابو العباس احمد بن محمد بن الحسن بن ابي بكر بن ابي علي
القيس بن الحسن الخليفة الراشد بالله على خلافة في سنة ثمانين خلفا لابي العباس
 به يار مصر حج من بغداد في واقعه هو لا كرو جمع طايغه من الناس ولحق الامام
 المستنصر بابيه ابا العباس احمد بن الخليفة الظاهر بامر الله ابي نصر محمد بن الخليفة
 الناصر لدين الله العباسي المجهز ويار مصر لقتال الطغر وصار في جهلته فلما
 قبل المستنصر وفتح الطغر قدم الى القاهرة في سابع عشرين ربيع الاول سنة
 ستين وثمانين فبايعه الملك الظاهر ركن الدين بيبرس البندقداري في يوم
 الخميس ثمانين المرم سنة احدى وستين وثمانين فبلغ نزله خليفة لا امره ولا لله
 ولا نفوذ كله حتى مات بمناظر الكيش خارج القاهرة ليلة الجمعة ثمان عشر جمادى
 الاولى سنة احدى وسبع مائة فكانت حالته اربعين سنة وهو اول خليفة عباسي
 مات مصر واستمرت الخلافة في عقبه الى اليوم وحج في سنة تسع وتسعين وثمان
 والسلطان ارمية الملك المنصور لاجين واعطاه مبلغ سبع مائة الف درهم فضة
 ولما قدم مكة اراد من الشريف ابي محمد ويكده ان يدعو اليه على شجرة مكة فامتنع من
 ذلك وجرى بينهما ما عارضه ترفع فيها عليه ابو بكر تفاقرا بنفسه الشريف
 واستمر الامر على ذلك الى اليوم لم يخطبه قط لمكة لاحد من خلفاء العباسيين
 سوى الخليفة المستعين بالله ابي الفضل العباس بن محمد ابا ابي سير في سنة خمس
 عشرون وثمان مائة **ذكر من حج من الملوك وهو ملك الصليبي**
 واسمه علي بن محمد بن علي احد ثوار العباسيين ابو الحسن بن ابي محمد كان ابو
 علي قضاة لاجين ومن اهل السنة وكان في عشرين من قومه فصعب على داعي
 اليمن عامر بن عبد الله الرواحي احد دعاه المرزلة القاطنية ومال الى مزب
 الشيعة وفتح من علوم الشيعة حتى صار اماما فيهم ثم ارسنه تسع وعشرين

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من ملوك الدنيا ملك حج بانثيا سومي ملكين هرقل بن هرقل بن أنتونيش من
 اهل صوليا حج من حفص الى ايليا التي هي بيت المقدس ماشيا ووافاه كتاب
 رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في سفوفه هذه يدعون الى الاسلام كما وقع بين
 الصحبين وغيرها والملة التي هي هرون الرشيد وذكر ابو محمد بن جرح في كتاب
 جرح الانساب ان موسى الهادي بن محمد المهدي كان له اسم ولد يسمى اخنقرز
 تزوجها اخن هرون بن جرح وهي التي كان تحلف الرشيد لاجيه بالمشي
 الى الكعبة ان لا يتزوجها فلما مات الهادي تزوجها ومشي راجلا من بغداد
 الى مكة وهو خليفه فولدت له عليا وكان اقبح الناس صوتا ولما دخل الرشيد
 مكة كان يطرح له الرمل حول البيت ومقدار عرضه ذراعين ويطرش بالماء
 ويقوم الحرس بينه وبين الناس وكان يطرف بين المغرب والعشاء ثلثة عشرين
 اسبوعا ولا يطق ذلك احد من كل زمعه وكان اذا سعى شمران وحج له
 ذنبن وكان يقطن من يراه وكذلك حجته زيد ام حفص بنت حفص بن ابي حفص
 زوج هرون الرشيد ماشية ايضا وكانت حجة عظيمة غير ان ذكرها ليس
 من شرط هذا الجزء فذلك ترك ذكرها وحج الرشيد ايضا بالناس في سنة
 احدى وعشرين ومائة وحج في سنة ست ومائة ومائة من الانبار ومعه
 ابناه عبد الله المأمون ومحمد الامين في مكة فاعطى اهلها الف الف دينار
 هروطا وكل من ولديه عطا وسار الى مكة فاعطى اهلها الف الف دينار
 وخمسين الف دينار وكان تدرك الامين العراق والشام الى اخر الغزب
 وجعله ذلك عهدا وضع الى المأمون من هرون الى اخر المشرك وعهد اليه بعد
 الامين ثم بايع لابنه القاسم بولاية العهد بعد المأمون ولقبه المرحوم وضع اليه
 الجزية والبقور والعوام جميع مكة القضاة والفقهاء وكتب كتابا اشهدهم فيه
 على الامين بالوفاء للمأمون وكتب كتابا اشهدهم فيه على المأمون بالوفاء للامين
 وعلق الكتابين بالكعبة وتدكرت خبر ذلك مبسوطا في ترجمه المأمون من تاريخ
 مصر الكبير المتفان انه قدم بمصر في سنة سبع وعشرين ومائتين وفي عهد الرشيد
 من هذه الحجة نكب البرامكة النكبة المشهورة بالانبار في الحرام سنة سبع

فان ابن عبد الله فابن من قال ابن محمد قلت فان ابن محمد فابن من قال ابن علي قلت
 فان ابن علي فابن من قال ابن عبد الله قلت فان ابن عبد الله فابن من قال ابن
 عباس فلو لم يبلغ العباس ما شئت الى صاحب الامر فحدثته بهذا ذلك الزمان
 ونحن لانعرف المهدي حتى ذلك المهدي فدخل رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
 في اسم الوليد فقال ارى اسم الوليد الى اليوم فدعا بكرى قال في حين المسجد
 وقال ما انا بيارح حتى يحيى ويكتب اسمي كانه فقول ذلك وهو جالس وكان
 بالبيت من ليل الا سمع اعرابية تقول قوموا فمغزوا ونبهت عنهم العيون وودعهم
 اليربوع وعظفهم الستون بادت رجالهم وذهبت اموالهم وكثرت عيالهم ايا سبيل
 وانضا طرفي وصيبة الله ووصية الرسول فهل من امر لي بحسب كراه الله في
 وحسب في اهله فامر لها بحسب ابيه درهم **هرون الرشيد** بن محمد المهدي
 ابن ابن جعفر المنصور عبد الله بن محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن عباس رضي الله عنهما
 بويج بالخلافة بعد موته اخيه موسى الهادي في سنة الجماعة للصف من ربيع الاول
 وسنة اربع عشرة خلت منه سنة سبعين ومائة فانام في الخلافة ثلاثا وعشرين
 سنة وشهرين وعشرين يوما اجز وسنة وثمان مئة تسع مئة واربعمائة
 خليفة من يزار فاول ما حج وهو طيفه سنة سبعين وتسع في اهل الحرمين عطا
 كثيرا وقيل انه غزا ايضا بها بنفسه ربيع ثانيا في سنة ثلث وسبعين واحرم
 من يزار حج بالناس سنة اربع وسبعين وتسم في الناس بالاكثير ما حج في
 سنة سبع وسبعين وحج عليه الوليد بن طريف الشامي وهو من اخي معن بن زبير على الحساكر
 تغلب بتبصيين واخذ ارمينية وحصر الحلاط وعات في بلاد الجزيرة فسير اليه
 الرشيد يزيد بن مزيد بن زايده الشيباني وهو من اخي معن بن زبير على الحساكر
 فلم يزل يجارح حتى قتله وفيه نقول اخيه ليل بنت طريف تزنيه بالايام
 المشهور التي فيها قولها **ح** عيا تجرا لخالبر ما لك مورقا كانك اخرج على بن طريف
 الايات فاعثر الرشيد في شهر رمضان سنة تسع وسبعين ومائة شكر الله تعالى
 على تولى الوليد وعاد الى المدينة فانام بها الى وقت الحج بالناس ومضى من مكة
 الى مي الى عرفات وشهد المشاعر كلها ماشيا ورجع على طريق البصر ولا يعرف

من هذا الرصيد ما خرجت الحافط ابو يعقوب كما امكنه سلمت اليه مع العلم بان
 رحوما الفطري بالانعام يا او عموما كجرب الخويجا العصارى الرابع قال ج ابو الوهبين
 مع هروا لرضيه فانما نخرت من عاصموا عطنا ابو الوهبين او اسلمت اليك فقال
 وكلفه جاد في سفح في فانظر بارطوا اسما فقلتها هاهنا سفين عيينه فقال
 امض بنا اليه فاقبناه ففرغنا فقال من اقلنا جمل ابو الوهبين فخرج مسرعنا فقال
 يا ابو الوهبين لو ارسلت الي ابيك فقال له جملنا جينا له انكرا له فلهنا مساعدا قال
 له عليك بركا مع قال ابا اسما قال امض بنا جرحا كما قال اغني عن صاحبك شتميا
 انظر بارطوا اسما له فله هاهنا عبد الرزاق عياهم قال امضنا اليه فاقبناه ففرغنا
 الما معا لمره اقلنا جبارا ابو الوهبين فخرج مسرعنا فقال يا ابو الوهبين لو ارسلت الي
 ابيك فقال جينا له فلهنا مساعدا قال امض بنا جرحا كما قال اغني عن صاحبك
 امض بنا جرحا كما قال اغني عن صاحبك شتميا انظر بارطوا اسما له فله هاهنا
 عياهم قال امضنا اليه فاقبناه فله هاهنا مساعدا قال امض بنا جرحا كما قال اغني
 الما ففرغنا فقال من اقلنا جبارا ابو الوهبين فخرج مسرعنا فقال يا ابو الوهبين لو ارسلت الي
 الما عليك طاعة اليسير في او مع ذلك طاعة عليك لانه قال امضنا اليه فله هاهنا
 مع الما مع ارغى الغرفة فاطفنا السيراج في النخالة او نمن زوالا الشريف فلهنا جملنا
 بخول عليه يا يدنا فسقطت هرون فيا اليه فقال يا الما كفا اليها ان جنتها ان

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عدا له عز و طرقت في شئ يمكنه اللينة بظلم قلبه فقال له ضربه بالاحجار له وركب الله فقال له
 عمر عن النبي العز لا والكل في حاسا لم عبد الله و هو في القفر يطرد بين خيوة فقال له انما قد
 انبثقت هذا اليها فاشبهوا فعدا كلوا قد لا و عدد بها انه و احكاما كذبت في قتال سالك
 حسب انه ان ردنا النجاة عن عدا الله جميع الدنيا و تكفي القطار كمنها التوت و قال له كبر لعبد الله و
 النجاة من عدا الله فليكن بينك وبين عدا الله و اسع على عدا الله و اسع على عدا الله و اسع على عدا الله
 و الكرم اخطى و تخون على ذلك و قال له رطاب من جنة ان في الجنة من عدا الله فاحبسك ما
 تخشعك و اظهرك له و انك لم تلتك فتمت ما استحييت و يا اقول لا كابت انا و عليك اشهد
 انك و هو يوم تترافيا و اقام فلم يركب كماله مثل هذا و اوشى عليك على هذا و اوشى عليك
 شد ما عيش عليه فطقت له ارقوبيا و الوشيعا اياك اياك الومع تغلته انه و احكاما و ارقوبيا
 انما انا في فعال له زور و ركبا له فعال اياك الوشيعين بلع اراكم له لوعيد العزير شك الراكب له
 عدا الله في اذ و كذا طوله سهدا هلالا و انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في
 له عدا الله فليكون اجماعهم و انتطاع الرطاب و انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في
 فعال انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في
 على الورد في ركبا له فعال اياك الوشيعين ان العباس مع المحطف على الله عليه و لم كابر رسول
 انه امون على المارة فعال له الفع على الله عليه و انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في
 فان استغفنا لا يكون له و انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في و انا في

من مرضه ودفن ببيروت ووسم مع اسمك عنه انه الملاح واشرف على المذبح
 النبوية **المهدي** ابو عبد الله محمد بن ابي جعفر عبدالله بن محمد المصور
 امير المؤمنين ولي يعرفه ابيه بعهد اليه فقام في الخلافة عشرو سنين
 وتسعاً واربعين يوماً وخرج في سنة ستين ومائة واستخلف بنو داود ابنه موك
 ومعه خاله يزيد بن منصور وخرج معه مائة هرون بن محمد في جماعه من اصله
 فلما قدم مكة خرج الكسوف عن الكعبة عنده ما رفع اليه سرقة البيت انهم كانوا
 على الكعبة ان تهديم اكثر ما عليها من الكسوف فوجد كسوف هشام بن عبد الملك
 من الديساج الحنين وكانت الكسوف لا تنزع عن الكعبة في كل سنة كما هو العمل
 الا ان بل تلبس كل سنة كسوف فترك الكسوف فلما كثرت الهدم واكثر الخسوف
 المسندة على الاركان ان تهديم لتقل ما صار عليها من الكسوف وكانت كسوف الكعبة
 تعمل من الديساج المذهب وانفق المهدي في هذه الحجة ما لا عظيم اقدم به معه
 من العراق مبلغ ثلثين الف درهم سوى ما وصل اليه من مصر وهو مبلغ
 لمائة الف دينار عينا ومن اليمن مبلغ مائة الف دينار عينا فرق ذلك كله
 ومعه مائة الف وخمسون الف ثوب ووسع مسجد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
 واخذ خمس طرية من الاضار جعلهم حرسا له واقطعهم بالعراق الاقطاعات الجوز
 عليهم الارزاق وجعل اليه محمد بن سليمان الثلج الى مكة وهو اول خليفة حمل اليه
 الثلج الى مكة وامر ببناء القصور بالمزقة مكة اوسع من القصور التي بناها السفاح
 وامر بانجاد المصانع في كل منزل منها وتجديد الاميال وحفر الركابا وبعث ابنه
 موسى الجعدي بالاناس سنة احدى وستين وامر في سنة ست وستين
 ومائة باقامة البرية بين مكة والمدينة واليمن بغالا والبلاد لم يكن هناك برية
 قبل ذلك وحكى محمد بن عبدالله بن محمد بن علي بن عبدالله بن جعفر بن ابي طالب
 في تاريخه في اخر سلطاني امية كان في دخلت مسجد رسول الله صلى الله
 عليه وسلم فرقت راسي فرائض الكتاب الذي بالقسمة عينا فاذا فيه مما امر
 به امير المؤمنين الوليد بن عبد الملك واذا جليل يقول في كتاب وكتب مكانه
 اسم رجل من بني هاشم بعاله له محمد قلت واذا محمد وابن من قال ابن عبدالله قلت

فانا

السماع عند ابنه من محمد وهو بطريق مكة سنة ست وثلاث ومائة فقدم الكوفة
ثم حج في سنة اربعين ومائة فاحرم من الحجة ولما قضى حجه توجه الى بيت
المقدس وسار منها الى الرقة ومضى الى الكوفة وحج ثانيا سنة اربع واربعين
فهاج بالناس ورجع لم يدخل المدينة ومضى الى الرقة واحضر في حرس من علم
اليه في القيود والاعلال فسار بهم الى الكوفة وعناعتوا كبيرا في طلبهم ثم حج
بالناس في سنة سبع واربعين ومائة وحج رابعا في سنة ثمان واربعين وحج خاسسا
في سنة اثنى وخمسين وسار في سنة اربع وخمسين الى الشام وبيت المقدس
ثم سار في سنة ثمان وخمسين ومائة من بغداد الى مكة للحج واستخلف ابنه
محمد المهدي ووصاه وصية بليغة جدا لولا طولها لذكرتها وودعه وبكى واعلمه
انه ميتة في سفره هذا ثم سار الى الكوفة وجمع من الحج والعمرة وساق الهدي
واشعره وتذره لايام من ذي القعدة فعرض له وهو ساير وجمع اشترده حتى
مات في بيبرسون خارج مكة لست خلوز من ذي الحجة فكنم الروح موته حتى يابح
المهدي فمات خلافة ابن جعفر اربعين وعشرين سنة بقصر اياما قد اختلف في
عدتها واتفق انه لما نزل اخزمزل بطريق مكة نظرت في صدر البيت فاذا فيه

هذا البسملة

• اما جعفر حاضرا وانقضت سنوك وامر انه لا بدوا فتح
• اما جعفر هل كان او منجى كل اليوم من حرماتيه مانع
فاحضر متولاه المنازل وقال له لم امرك لا يدخل المنازل احد من الناس
وكانت الخلفاء ياتي لهم في كل منزله ينزلونها بطريق مكة دار يوجد لهم فيها ساير
ما يحتاج اليه من الستور والفرش والاواني وغير ذلك فقال وانه ما دخله
احد منذ فزع فقال اقرا ما في صدور البيت فقال ما اري شيئا فااحضر غيرهم فلم
يرشيا فقال يا اربع فف بيني وبين الحايطة فقام الربيع بينه وبين الجدار فزاي
البيتين كما كان يراها قبل وقوف الربيع ففعل انه قد نعت اليه نفسه فقال
يا رب مع اقرا اية من كتاب الله فقرأ وسيعلم الذين ظلموا اي مقلب ينقلبون
فرحل من المنزل وقد طير فسقط عن رابته فانرق عنقه وقيل بل مات

العباس السفاح وصرف العين الى بركة باب المسجد ويقع ^{من الرصاص}
 حتى قدم يسير الخادم من بغداد الى مكة في سنة ست وخمسين ومايتى في محل
 القبة بجانب بيت الشراب واخرج فصب خالد فجعلها في سرب الفوارق التي
 كخرج منها الماء الى حياض زمزم فنصب هذه البركة **هشام بن عبد الملك**
ابن مروان استخلف بعد موت اخيه يزيد بن عبد الملك الليثي من شعبان
 سنة خمس ومائة فعام في الخلافة تسع عشرة سنة وتسعة اشهر واحد وعشرين
 يوما وقيل وعشرون اشهر ونصف فيهما من واحد سنة وست وماية وكتب
 له ابو الزناد سنن الحج قال ابو الزناد لقيت هشاما فاني لقي الموكب اذ لقيه
 سعيد بن عبد الله بن الوليد بن عثمان بن عفان فسار الى جيبه فسمعته يقول
 له يا امير المؤمنين ان الله لم يزل يبعث على اهل بيت امير المؤمنين وينصر خليفته
 المظلوم ولم يزلوا يلجئون في هذه المواطن ابا تراب فانها موطن صلاحه وامير
 المؤمنين يعني له ان يلعبه فيها فشق على هشام قوله وقال ما قدرنا لشم
 اسد ولا لعنه قد منا حجاجا م قطع كلامه واقبل على هشام عن الحج فاخبرته
 ما كتبت له قال وشق على سعيه اني سمعته يكلم بذلك فكان منكسرا كما رايتني
 وكلم ابراهيم بن محمد بن طلحة هشاما وهو في الحج فذكره فقال له اسالك بالله
 وحرمة هذا البيت الذي خرجت معظما له الارادت على طلحة قال اي
 الخلافة قاله داري قال فان كنت عن امير المؤمنين عبد الملك قال طلحة قال
 فالوليد وسلمان قال طلحة قال فمع وال يرجع الله ردها على وال في يزيد بن
 عبد الملك قال طلحة وقبضها مني بوزنهم لها وهي بركة فقال هشام لو كان
 فيك ضرب لضرتك فقال في والله ضرب بالسيف والسوط فانصرف هشام
 وقال لمن معه كيف سمعته هذا اللسان قال ما اجوز قال هي قرين والسمتها
 ولا يزال في الناس تمايم باريت مثل هذا ولم يح بعد هشام احد من بني امية
 وهو خليفته م كانت دولة بني العباس فاول من حج منهم وهو خليفه **ابو**
جعفر المنصور واسمه عبد الله بن محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن عباس بن عبد
 المطيب امير المؤمنين العباسي الهاشمي بويج بعد موت اخيه ابى العباس

عن نعيم ومن حاله كذا وكذا ولوعلم مكانك لعام فسلم عليك وهو ضعيف البصر
 قال الوليد قد حاله ونحن نأتمه نذار في المسجد ثم اناه فقال كيف انت ايها
 الشيخ فوايه ما تتحرك سعيه فقال بخير والحمد لله كلكت امير المؤمنين وكيف
 حاله فانصرف الوليد وهو يقول لعمر هذا بقيه الناس وتسم بالمدينه احوالا
 كثيره وصلى بها الجمعه فحلب الناس الخطره الاولي جالساً قام فخطب اليائه
 قائماً فقال رجل لرجل خيمو اهلنا يصنعون قال نعم وهكذا صنع معويه وهم
 جرا فقل له الا كلمه فقال اخبرني فبيصته من ذوبت انه كلم عبد الملك في
 القعود فلم يتركه وقال هكذا خطب عثمان قال فقلت وانه ما خطب الا قايماً
 قال رجلاً ردى ثم شئ فانذره **سلمان بن عبد الملك بن مروان** بوج بعد
 موت اخيه الوليد في نصف جمادى الاخر وهو بالرملة فاقام في الخلافة
 سنتين وعماينه اشهر وخمسة ايام وقيل الاحمسة ايام وحج بالناس سنه
 سبع وتسعين وكتب اليه خالد بن عبد الله القسري وهو على ملكه ان اجر
 لي عينا تخرج ماها العذب الزلاله حتى تخرج بين رزم والمقام فعمل خالد البركة
 باصل شير من حيران واحكمها وانط ماها وشق لها فلما بسكب فيها من
 شعب في الجبل ثم شق من البركة عينا تخرج الى المسجد الحرام تجرى فيه
 قصب من رصاص حتى الظهوره من فوانق تسكب في فسقينه من رصاص
 رزم والمقام فلما جرت وظهرها ما امر القسري تجرى فخرت ملكه
 وتسمته بين الناس وعمل طعاماً دعا اليه الناس ثم امر ما يجانصاع
 الصلاة جامعة وامر بالمنبر فوضع في وجه الكعبه ثم صعد فحمد الله واتى عليه
 وقال ايها الناس احمروا الله وادعوا لامير المؤمنين الذي سقاكم الماء العذب
 الزلاله التقاتح العذب فكانت تغرخ تلكه الفسقيه في سرت من رصاص تخرج
 الى موضع وضو كان عند باب المضاوي في ركه كانت في السوق وكان الناس
 لا يفتقون على تلكه الفسقيه ولا يجاد احد يقربها وكانوا على شربها رزم
 احمر وفيه ارعب فصعد خالد المنبر واتى الناس واتدع في كلامه فلم
 تزل البركه حتى هدمها اراد من علي بن عبد الله بن عباس في خلافة النبي

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الله عنه بوجاه بالخلافة سنة اربع ومثل خمس وستين بعد موت معاوية بن
زيد بن عوفية بن ابي سفيان وكان قبل ذلك لا يدعي بالخلافة واجتمع على طاعته
اهل الحجاز واليمن والعراق وخراسان وحج بالناس ثمانى حج وقيل رحمه الله على
ير الحجاج بن يوسف النخعي في ايام عبد الملك بن مروان بن الحكم يوم الثلثا لسبع
عشر خلعت من جمادى الاولى ومثل جمادى الاخر سنة ثلث وسبعين وطلب
بموتله مكة وبدا الحجاج يحاصر من اول ليلة من ذي الحجة سنة اثنين وسبعين
وحج الناس الحجاج في ذلك العام ووقف بعوفية وعليه ذبح ومغفر ولم يطوفوا
بالبيت في ذلك الحجة فحاصر الحجاج ستة اشهر وسبعة عشر يوما الى ان قتل
ولما غزا اهل الشام في ايام يزيد بن معاوية احتزقت الكعبة في سنة اربع وستين
فتركها ابن الزبير ليشنع بذلك على اهل الشام فلما مات يزيد واستقر الامر
له هدمها الى الارض وبنها على قواعد بن ابيهم وادخل فيها الحجر وجعل لها
بابين فلما قتل الحجاج عبد الله بن الزبير هدم بنات الزبير من الكعبة في سنة
اربع وسبعين وجعلها على ما هي كما قد ذكرت ذلك في كتاب الاشارة والاعلام
بنات الكعبة البيت الحرام ذكر اشافيا **عبد الملك بن مروان بن الحكم بن**
ابى العاص بن امية بن عبد شمس بن عبد مناف بن قصي قام برشق بعد موت
ابيه في شهر رمضان سنة خمس وستين وبكاه عبد الله بن الزبير يعالاه
بالخلافة وعلى العراق المختار بن ابي عبيد النخعي يدعوا لمحمد بن الحنفية هـ
والارض تستعجب بما سد قتل الحسين بن علي بن ابي طالب فساعدت الاقدار
عبد الملك بن مروان وقتل جميع من خالفه واقام في الخلافة بعد ان الزبير
ثلاث عشر سنة واربع اشهر الاسبوع ليال كما قد ذكرت ترجمته وتزجه
ابيه في التاريخ الكبير لمصوفانها دخلاها وحج عبد الملك في خلافته
ستين احد هما سنة خمس وسبعين وهم شبيب بن يزيد احد الخوارج
ان نعتك به فبلغه ذلك فاحترس وكتب الى الحجاج بن يوسف بعد انصرافه
يا سر بطلب صالح بن مسريح وعيزه من الخوارج فمان من اخباره ما قد ذكر
في بوضعه وذهب عبد الملك التامر بالمدينة النبوية فعاد بعد حمد الله هـ

عليه السلام

عليه السلام

عنه

ركعتين وانت صليت ركعتين صدر من خلافتك فنادى ما يرجع اليه وقال
 راي رايته وطلع الخبر عبد الرحمن بن عوف وكان معه نجاه وقال له ام تصل
 في هذا المكان مع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وامي بكر وعمر ركعتين وصليتهما
 انت ركعتين قال بلى ولكن اخبرته ان بعض من حج من اليمن وجأه الناس
 بالوان الصلح للمقيم ركعتين واختار الصلح وقد اتحدت بحكمه اهلا والى الطائف
 ما له فقال عبد الرحمن بن عوف ما في هذا عند ما قولك اتحدت بها اهلا كان
 زوجك بالمدية يخرج لها اذا شئت وانما تسكن بسكناك واما مالك بالطائف
 فيبتك ويديه مسيرة ثلثة ايام واما قولك عن حاج اليمن وغيرهم فقد كان رسول
 الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ينزل عليه الرحي والاسلام قليلا ثم ابو بكر وعمر وصلاوا
 ركعتين وقد سوب الاسلام بجرانه فقال عثمان هذا راي رايته فخرج عبد الرحمن
 فلقى عمرا بن مسعود فقال ابا حميد قد غير ما تعلم قال فما اصنع قال اعمل
 بما ترى وتعلم فقال له مسعود الخ لا تشر وقد صليت باصحاب اربعا فقال
 عبد الرحمن قد صليت باصحاب ركعتين واما الان فسوف اصلي اربعا وقيل
 كان ذلك سنة ثلثين ولم يحج امير المؤمنين علي بن ابي طالب في خلافته لاستغاله
 حرب الجمل وصفين **معووية بن ابي سفيان** واسمه سفيان بن حرب بن امية بن
 عبد شمس بن عبد مناف القرشي الاموي ابو عبد الرحمن امير المؤمنين
 كان اميرا للشام ثور عشرته سنة وبايع له اهل الشام خاصة بالخلافة
 سنة ثمان وتسع وثلثين واجتمع الناس عليه حين بايع له الحسن بن علي
 وجماعة من معه في ربيع اوجمادى سنة احدى واربعين ومثل سنة اربعين
 واتام في الخلافة تسع عشر سنة وتسعة اشهر وثمانية وعشرون يوما
 وقيل غير ذلك وحج بالناس عدة سنين اولها سنة اربع واربعين ولم يحج سنة
 خمس واربعين حج بالناس مردان من الحكم ثم حج معوية سنة خمس وثم
 بلح بالناس ابنه يزيد بن معوية وقيل حج معوية عدة سنين اكثر من هذه
عبد الله بن الزبير بن العوام بن خويلد بن اسد بن عبد العزى بن
 قصى القرشي الاسدي ابو بكر وقيل ابو بكر وابو جيب امير المؤمنين رضي

لمع

لم

الحافظ ابو عمر يوسف بن عبد الله بن عبد البر التيمي وذكر محمد بن عمرو الوائلي
 في كتابه الفتوح هذه الايات من زياده في عدتها وقال ابو عثمان النهدي رايت
 عمر بن الخطاب عليه ازار من فرج بقطعة جراب وقال علي بن ابي طالب رايت
 عمر يطرفه بالكعبة وعليه ازار فيه احد وعشرون رقعة فيها من ادم وعن
 سعيد بن المسيب قال حج عمر فلما كان بفتحان قال لا اله الا الله العلي العظيم
 المعطى من شأ ما شا كتارعي ابل الخطاب هذا الوادي في مدرعة
 صوف وكان فلما يتبعني اذا عملت ويصيرني اذا قصرت وقد اسميت لسبب
 يعني وبين الله احد مثل

- لا شيء مما تركت بقي لسانه يبقى الاله ولو دى المال والولس
- لم تعرف من يوم ما خرابه واحمله قد حط ولت ما ذنبا خلدوا
- ولا سليمان اذ تحريم الريح له والانس والجن في ابيها برد
- ابن الملوكة التي كانت نوافلها من كل اوج البهارا كعب يعلو
- حوض هناك مورود بالاكدر لا بد من ورد يومها كما وردوا

عثمان بن عفان بن ابي العاص بن امية بن عبد شمس بن مناف بن قصي القرشي
 الاموي ابو عبد الله وابو عمرو ذو النورين امير المؤمنين رضي الله عنه بوسع
 له بالخلافة يوم السبت عشرة المحرم سنة اربع وعشرين بعد دفن عمر بن الخطاب
 ثلاثه ايام باجتماع الناس عليه وقتل بالمدينة يوم الجمعة ثمان عشرة او
 سبع عشرة خلت من ذي الحجة سنة خمس وثلاثين وذلك على راس احدي
 عشره سنة واحد عشر شهرا واثنين وعشرين يوما من مقتل عمر رضي الله
 عنه حج فيها كلها الا السنة الاولى والاخيرة وذكر ابن الاثير انه حج بالناس
 في السنة الادوية وقيل بل حج بالناس عبد الرحمن بن عوف باسم عثمان ولما حج
 في سنة تسع وعشرين ضرب فسطاطه بمكة كان اول فسطاط ضربه عثمان
 على راقع الصلاه بها وعرفه فكان اول ما حكم به الناس في عثمان طاهر حين
 اتى الصلح مني فجاب ذلك غير واحد من الصحابة وقال له علي ما حدث
 امر ولا قدم عهد ولقد عهدت النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وابا بكر وعمر بصلون

في سنة

الكتاب

ابن نوفل في آخوس واستأذنه اهل الميعة في ان يبيتوا منازلهم بين مكة والمدينة
 فاذا نزلهم وشروط علمهم ان من السبيل الظل والماء يخرج من المدينة عام الرماة حاجا او معتمرا
 فباتت الحار ليرى السفن التي قدمته من مصر والخلج ابي الحقره عمرو العامي كما قد
 ذكره خبير في كتاب الواعظ والاعتبار بكر الخط والانا وقاله للناس سير وابنا نزلوا
 السفن التي سيرها الله لنا من ارض وزعون واكله سفره هذا وهو محرم حتى اصابه
 قوم حلال فلما نزل على البحر قال اغتسلوا من ماء البحر فانه مبارك ثم عكك للناس بذلك الطعام
 مكوكا فنباع التجار الصكوك بينهم قبل ان تقبضوها فلقى عمر العلاء بالاسود ثم رجع حكيم بن حزام
 فقال ابتاع من صكوك التجار ثمانية الف درهم ورجع عليها مائة الف فلقىه عمر فقال يا حكيم كم ربحت
 فاخبره بمثل خبر العلاء قال فربعته قبل ان تقبضه قال نعم قال فان هذا
 بيع لا يصلح فاردده قال ما علمت ان هذا لا يصلح وما اقدر على رده قال وما
 يدعك والله ما اقدر على ذلك وقد تغرت وذهب ولكن اسما لي ورجع صده
 وانفق في امرجه مجتمعا انه لما رمى الجمرة اناه حجر فوقع على بطنه فادماه ثم
 رجل من بني لحيان فقال اشعر امير المؤمنين لا يحج بعدها ثم جأ الى الجرس
 الثانيه فصاح رجل يا حليفه رسول الله فقال لا يحج امير المؤمنين بعد عامه
 هذا فقتل عمر رضي الله عنه بوجوه من الحج لحيته بكسور الام تبيله من
 قبائل الارذ تعرفت فيها العياقة والرجز وعن عايشة رضي الله عنهما ان عمر
 اذ نزل اروج النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ان يحج في آخر حجه مجتمعا قالت فلما
 ارتحل من الحصبية اقبل رجل مثلث فقال وانا اسمع ابن كان منزله امير المؤمنين
 فقال قائل وانا اسمع هذا كان منزله فانما في منزله عمر ثم رفع عقيرته
 يعني عليه السلام من امير وباركتم يد الله في ذلك الا ادم المبرك
 فمن حجر او ركب جناح نعانة ليدرك ما قدمت بالامس فيسبى
 قضيت امورهم غادرتهم بعدها بواج في الكمامها لم تقسق
 قالت عايشة فقلت لبعض اهلي اعملوا لي من هذا الرجل فدهيوا فمجدوا
 في مناخه احد قالت عايشة فوالله اني لاحسبه من الجن فلما مثل عمر نخل
 الناس هذه الابيات للشهاع كمن ضرار اولايه نزلت هكذا في هذا

قال
 عمر بن الخطاب

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الحج

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له دينه **لطيفة** النداء الحج سنة للمسلمين وثبوا يدري مصر في رجب
وهو قياس نداءه عليه السلام اولى القعود لان مساندة الحج من المدينة عتق
ايام فقدم النذائلا ثلثه امثالها ومساندة الحج في البر عن مصر اربعون يوما
وقدم النذائلا ثلثه امثالها فكانت الجملة من اول رجب الى انقضاء عشرين
الحج خمسة اشهر وعشرون ايام وكذلك يمشق راول من اذارا الحجل الملك
الظاهر بيبرس السند قه اري **فصل** في ذكر من حج من الخلفاء في مدة خلافة
ابوبكر الصديق رضي الله عنه اسمه عبدالله بن ابي قحافة عثمان بن عاص
ابن عمرو بن كعب بن سعد بن تيم بن مرة بن كعب بن لؤي بن غالب بن فهر
ابن مالك القرشي التيمي خليفه رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بويج بعد وفاته
رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بمكة يوم الثلاثاء ثالث عشر شهر ربيع
الاول سنة احدى وعشرين من الهجرة حج بالناس في هذه السنة عتاق من اسيد
وقيل عبد الرحمن بن عوف رضي الله عنهما وحج ابوبكر رضي الله عنه بالناس
سنة اثنى عشره واستخلف على المدينة عثمان بن عفان رضي الله عنه وقيل حج
بالناس عمر بن الخطاب او عبد الرحمن بن عوف رضي الله عنهما والاول اصح
ونوفى ابوبكر رضي الله عنه على راس سنتين وثلاثة اشهر واثنى عشر يوما
وقيل غير ذلك **عمر بن الخطاب** بن قنيل بن عبد العزي بن رباح بن عبدالله
ابن قنظ بن رزاع بن عدي بن كعب القرشي العدوي ابو حفص امير المؤمنين
رضي الله عنه وفي الخلافة بعد ابي بكر الصديق رضي الله عنه بويج له بها استخلا
له في هادي الاخرة سنة ثلث عشرة واختلف في اليوم كما اختلف في يوم وفاة
اب بكر رضي الله عنه وقتل ملعونا بيده ابي اولاد غلام المعيرة بن شعبة لثلاث
بنتين من ذى الحجة سنة ثلث وعشرين فكانت خلافة عشرين سنة ونصف حج
في جميعها الا السنة الاولى فقط فانه حج بالناس فيها عتاق من اسيد وقيل
سلك حج بالناس بيده كلها وفي سنة سبع عشرة اعتمر **عمر بن الخطاب**
وفي المسجد الحرام ووسع فيه واقام ملكه عشرين ليلة وهدم على قوم ابواب
بيعه وادهم وعرضهم اثامها من بيت المال وجدد انصاب الحرم على يد حرمته

من ادبته ومن قاله بافضليته الاسم ابو حنيفة الشعر ثابت رحمه الله
 وهو رواية عن الامام ابي عبد الله احمد بن حنبله الشيباني رحمه الله وساق
 صلى الله عليه وسلم المهدي بن ذكي الخليفة وامر من كان معه هدي ان يجعل كما
 اهل صلى الله عليه وسلم وسار صلى الله عليه وسلم والناس بين يديه وخلفه
 وعن مبيته وشماله اما لا يحدون كثرة كلام قدم ليام صلى الله عليه وسلم فلما قدم
 صلى الله عليه وسلم مكة لاربع ليال خاون من ذي الحجة طاف للقدوم ثم
 سعى بين الصفا والمروة وامر الذين لم يسوتوا هديا ان يعسجوا بهم الى عنق
 ويقلوا حيا امامهم يهلوا بالبحر وقت خروجهم الى منى وقاله ثم لو استقلت
 من امرى ما استدرت ما سقت المهدي ولجعلتها عنق وهذا دليل ظاهر انه
 صلى الله عليه وسلم لم يكن متمعا كما ذهب اليه بعض اصحاب الامام احمد
 وغيرهم وقدم على بن ابي طالب رحمه الله عنه من اليمن فقال له صلى الله عليه
 وسلم ما اهللت قال باهلالي كاهلال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال له النبي
 صلى الله عليه وسلم الى سقت المهدي وقرئت روى هذا اللفظ ابو داود وغيره
 من الائمة باسناد صحيح وهو صريح في القرآن وقدم مع على رحمه الله عنه من اليمن
 هذا ايافاشركه صلى الله عليه وسلم في هديه ايضا كان حاصلها مائة بدنة
 ثم خرج صلى الله عليه وسلم الى مكة فبات بها وكانت ليلة الجمعة التاسع
 من ذي الحجة اصبح فسال ان عرفه وخطب من خطبه عظيمه شهدها من
 اصحابه نحو من اربعين الف صلى الله عنهم اجمعين وجمع بين الظهر والعصر
 ثم وقف بعرفة فحج على رجل وكانت زاملته ثم بات بالمزدلفة وجمع بين المغرب
 والعشا ليلا ثم اصبح صلى الفجر اول وقتها ثم سار قبل طلوع الشمس الى
 منى فري حرة العقبة ويحز وحلق ثم افان فطاف بالبيت طواف العزم وهو طواف
 الزيارة واختلف ابن صلى الظهر ثم بعد ذلك على كثير من الحفاظ ثم حل
 من كل شيء حرم منه صلى الله عليه وسلم وخطبه وانذروا شهرهم على انفسهم بانه بلغهم
 الرسالة فحينئذ شهد انه بلغ الرسالة وادى الامانة ونصح الامة صلى الله عليه وسلم
 كثيرا الى يوم الدين ثم اقبل صلى الله عليه وسلم بمصر فاجاب المهديته وقد اهل الله

من خطبه عليه صلوات الله وسلامه
 عليه

الشمس وروح الحياة الى النفس غير ان في كريم الاخلاقه الزكيه وراكى
اعراقه المرضيه ما يقبل اليسير ونجاوز عن الخطا والبصير رعا الله المحمود
من حيث لا يرتقب وخرسه حيث لا يتخسب وكان له في سفره حفياراً وحضراً
وفهيراً **فصل** في حجة رسول الله صلى الله عليه
وسلم اقتتحت بها هذا الحزب اذ كان صلى الله عليه وسلم هو الذي بين للناس
معالم دينهم وقال خذوا عني مناسككم وقد امتلأت كتب الحديث بذكر حجة رسول
الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وافرد فيها الفقيه الحافظ ابو محمد علي بن احمد بن سعيد
ابن حزم الاندلسي تصديفاً جليلاً قد تعرض عليه في مواضع منه اجبت عنها في
كتاب شرايع النجاة والمخص حجة الوداع ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم لما دخل
ذوالقعدة تجهز للحج وامر الناس بالمجهاز له واذا زفتم فاجتمعوا ثم صلى الظهر
يوم الخميس لستين ثمانين من ذي القعدة سنة عشر من الهجرة بالمدينة اربعاً
وخرج مهاجراً معه من المسلمين من اهل المدينة ومن تبع من الاعراب
وهم عشرة الاف بهرماً استعمل على المدينة ابا جحانه الساعدي ويقال سباع بن
عروفه القرظي فضلى العصر بذي الخليفة ركعتين وبات بها وانه اتته من ربه
عز وجل في ذلك الموضع وهو وادي العقيق ياسر عن ربه تعالى ان يقول في
حجته هذه حجة في عمره ومعنى هذا ان الله سبحانه امره بان يقرن الحج مع العمرة
فاصبح صلى الله عليه وسلم ما حبرها من ذلك وطاف على نسائه لوميذ بغسل
واحد وهن تسعة ذيل احدى عشر ثم اغتسل وصلى عند المسجد ركعتين واهل
حجته وعمرته معاً هذا الذي رواه بلقظه ومعناه عند صلى الله عليه وسلم سنة
عشر صحابياً منهم خاردمه انس بن مالك رضي الله عنه وقد رواه عنه صلى الله عليه
وسلم سنة عشر تابعياً وقد ذكرتهم في كتاب شرايع النجاة وهذا صريح لا يتحمل
في التاويل الا ان يكون بعيداً وما عدا ذلك جأ من الاحاديث الوهمه التمتع
او ما يدل على الافراد فليس هذا الحمل ذكرها والقران في الحج هو مذهب
امنا ابي عبد الله محمد بن ادريس الشافعي رحمه الله عليه وقد نص جماعة
من محققى اصحابه وهو الذي حصل به الجمع بين الاحاديث كلها ومن العلماء

كتاب الذهب المسبوك في ذكر من حج من الخلفاء والملوك

تأليف المقرئ

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم رب يسر لي

الحج لله وبه المستعان على ما عاهدت مني على بيضاء خاتم النبیین
وعلى ما عاهدت مني على ما عاهدت مني على ما عاهدت مني على ما عاهدت مني
اليه ما يدري له ان تبع انام المقر المحذوم باخوانها الباقيات الصالحات والزوار
الغائبات ليكون كل دهر يستقبله وامل يستأنفه موفيا على المقدم له قاصرا
عن المناخر عنه ويوتيه من العراطلوه وابوده وراعيته اعزبه وارغفه عزرا
منصورا محميا موفورا باسطة يده فلا يقبضها الا على نواصي اعداء وحساد ساميا
طرفه فلا يقبضه الا على لونه غض ورفا دسترجحة ركابه فلا يجلبها الا لاستنقا
عز وملكه حاجية فداحه فلا يجلبها الا لجان مال حتى ينال افضى ما توجه
اليه امينه باجمه وشموا اليه طاحمه وقد استغاص ان العزم الشريف قد
قوي على الحج والتجلى بالعبج والتج وجرت العادة بالظاف العبيد السادة فاملت
حال الاتباع الذين يجب عليهم الهدايا في مثل هذه الحركة فاردت ان تسمى لهم
ورايت ان اهديت نفسي في ملك المقر المحذوم وان اهديت مالي فهو منه
وان اهديت مودتي وشكركي فمما خالص لغير مستركين واهدت ان اخلي
هذا العزم من سنته واكون من المقصرين او ادي ملكي ما لي بحق المقر المحذوم
فاكون من الكاذبين

- ان اهد نفسي فهو ما لكها
- او اهد مالي فهو واهدته وانا الخصب عليه
- او اهد شكركي فهو من عن جميل فعلك آخر الدهر
- والشمس تستضي اذا طلعت ان تستضي بطلعة البدر

ولما كان العلم انفس النخاير واعلاها تدرا واعظم المآثر وايضاها ذكر اجتمعت
برسم الحراثة الشريفة المحذومية عمرها الله سبحانه ما لكها جزا محتوي على ذكر من
حج من الخلفاء والملوك سميت الذهب المسبوك ليكون تذكرا للحاضر الشريف ما
هو من ادري واحق بافادته وأخرجه وانى فيما فعلت وصنعت لمن اهدى القطر
الى البحر او بعث النور الى القمر والارح الى الزهور كالذي ارسل الضياء الى

الشمس